Plutarch's Lives (Loeb Classical Library, 11 volumes in one)

Plutarch (translated by Bernadotte Perrin)

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PLUTARCH’S
| LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

7 5 Ui oe PERRIN
bak ~
IN A VOLUMES

THESEUS AND ROMULUS
LYCURGUS AND NUMA
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA
LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : THE MACMILLAN CO.
7 MCMXIV
Nad

PREFATORY NOTE

AGREEMENT between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873- 1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) texts of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text of the present edition. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. All the Lives included in this volume are contained in the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), and occasional use has been made of the collations of that MS. by W. Meyer (Leipzig, 1890). Since no collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F*), the excellent MS. so closely related to S, have been accessible to the Editor, its readings could only be inferred here and there from the text and notes of Stephanus. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

PREFATORY NOTE

The translation must speak for itself. Its author, like Plutarch himself, prays that he may find kindly readers, and feels reasonably confident of doing so among those who are able to appreciate the peculiarities of Plutarch’s Greek. All the standard translations of the Lives have, of course, been carefully compared and utilized.
B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecricot, U.S.A.
February, 1914.
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THESEUS ... .
ROMULUS . 2 6 6 © © © we @ ee Hw
COMPARISON OF THESEUS AND ROMULUS...

LYCURGUS = ¢- 3. 6% ee He wR ea we 8
NUBEA «0 55 es tm ee ae SR ORY pe Dn a Ae ene a BLS
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SOLON: . . . . «© « « © © «= ©
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INTRODUCTION

Piutarcn’s Lire ann WriTINGs

PLuTarcu was born at Chaeroneia, a small town on the northern confines of Boeotia, about the middle of the first century of our era, and toward the close of the reign of the emperor Claudius. He belonged to a family of ample means and generous culture, and was liberally educated. He studied at Athens, the most attractive university town in his day for both Greeks and Romans, and was a disciple of Ammonius of Lamptrae, a Peripatetic philosopher deeply versed in religious lore. Returning to his native town, he was soon called upon to represent it as deputy to the Roman governor of the province of Greece. That he travelled extensively over Greece, visited Asia Minor, Egypt, and Italy, and resided much at Rome, may be inferred from his writings, as most that is known about him must be inferred. At Rome, he was in charge of certain public business, so that he had not time to learn thoroughly the Latin language, as he himself con- fesses in the introduction to his Demosthenes. But Greek was the language of literary and polite

1X

INTRODUCTION

society at Rome, and cultivated Greeks, especially philosophers, were welcome there. As a Greek philosopher, and a populariser of Platonism, Plutarch read and lectured at Rome, much as he did in the small but select circle of his intimates and friends at home. He made and retained a large acquaintance

with the prominent Romans of his day, and was familiar with the questions which most occupied the minds of men at the political centre of the world, Then, after Athenian education, generous travels, diplomatic missions, modest literary celebrity, and considerable residence at Rome, he seems to have retired to his little country home, with his books, notes, lectures, essays, and gentle philosophy, and there, in a leisure not all too much encroached upon by local magistracies and certain religious offices at neighbouring Delphi, to have elaborated the sketches of his lectures and essays, which have come down to us under the collective name of Morals, and to have composed the work on which his fame chiefly rests, —the Parallel Lives of Greeks and Romans. He lived through the reigns Nero, Domitian, and Trajan, and, leaving the world as he did about 120 a.p., must have rejoiced at the accession of Hadrian to the imperial throne. His world had grown steadily better while he lived, and was now to enjoy its second golden age.

The Morals were composed, for the greater part, before the Lives, and are an invaluable prelude to and commentary on them, especially if we would

know just what manner of man the author of the Lives was. They tell us, as the Lives do not, “of the points of view, moral and religious, from which he contemplated not this man’s life or the other’s, but the whole life of men. Nor is it too much to affirm that of the two halves of Plutarch’s writings, of his Lives and his Morals, each constitutes a complement of the other; the one setting forth to us, and, so far as this was possible, from ideal points of view, what the ancient world had accomplished in the world of action, and the other what, in like manner, it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought” (Trench, Plutarch, p. 90). But even in the Lives, Plutarch is far more moralist than historian.

Greece, after passing under Roman sway, lost sight gradually of her great men of action, and contented herself with the glories of her men of thought. Here surely the dominant Romans could not vie with her. It was to prove that the more remote past of Greece could show its lawgivers, commanders, statesmen, patriots, and orators, as well as the nearer and therefore more impressive past of Rome, that the Parallel Lives were written. With Scipio Africanus the Elder, the greatest man of Rome, Plutarch matched Epaminondas, the greatest man of Greece. This pair, or “book,” of Lives is unfortunately lost. With Camillus, who saved Rome from the Gauls, he matched Themistocles, who saved Athens from the Persians. Then followed, as nearly

as the order can be determined—for the order of the Lives in our collection is not the original one, the Cimon and Lucullus, the Lycurgus and Numa, the Demosthenes and Cicero, the Pelopidas and Marcellus, the Lysander and Sulla, the Philopoemen and Flamininus, the Pericles and Fabius Maximus, the Aristides and Cato Major, and thirteen other pairs. Eighteen of the twenty-two pairs which have come down to us, close with a formal comparison of the two careers and characters. This is often fanciful and forced, abounds in contrasts rather than resemblances, and is seldom of any special historical value, although it often has great literary charm. There are also four single Lives in our collection, Artarerzes, Aratus, Galba, and Otho, and we get traces of twelve more that are now lost. One of the pairs is a double one, where, to match the two Gracchi, Plutarch selects the two reforming Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes. We have in all, therefore, fifty Lives by Plutarch.

Manuscripts, Epirions, TRANSLATIONS, ETc.

A full account of the MSS. of Plutarch must be sought in the critical editions of the Lives by Sintenis and Bekker. It will be sufficient to speak here of six.

The oldest and, with one exception, the most authoritative MS., is the Codex Sangermanensis (S*),

in the library of the monastery of St. Germaindes- Prés, in the French Department of the Loire. Itis a parchment MS. of the Xth century, but unfortunately contains only fifteen of the Lives: Antony (last part), Pyrrhus-Marius, Aratus, Artaxerxes, Agis and Cleo- menes, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, Lycurgus-Numa, Lysander-Sulla, and Agesilaiis-Pompey.

The second oldest MS., and on the whole the most authoritative, is the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), belonging to the monastery of Seitenstetten, near Waidhofen, in Lower Austria. It is a parchment MS. of the XIth century, containing sixteen Lives : Lycurgus-Numa, Solon-Publicola, Aristides-Cato the elder, Themistocles-Camillus, Cimon-Lucullus, Peri- cles-Fabius Maximus, Nicias-Crassus, and Agesilaiis-Pompey. There are large deficiencies in the Lycurgus, Fabius, Nicias, and Crassus. It is only since 1870, and the edition of the Aristides and Cato by Hercher, that this MS. has been known to be not only the second oldest, but the best extant MS. of Plutarch. It has not been used in any special editions of Lives included in this first volume, but its readings are collected in the dissertation of W. Meyer, De codice Plutarcheo Seitenstettensi eiusque asseclis, Leipsic, 1890.

Three parchment MSS. in the Bibliothéque Nationale of Paris, No. 1671 (A), of the XIIIth century, containing all the Morals and Lives, No. 1672 (C), also of the XIIIth century, containing all the Lives, and No. 1674 (D), of the XVIth century containing all the Lives, are of supreme importance,

and on these the texts of Sintenis and Bekker mainly rest. Of these three MSS., A and D seem to be more closely related to S*, while C partakes of the characters both of S* and S, and is often corrective of A and D.

Another MS. in the same library, No. 1676 (F*), of the XVth century, has only more recently been recognized as the chief authority of Stephanus, and as partaking of the character of S. Its readings have not been fully published as yet, but have been used in editing the texts of special Lives, none of which, however, are included in this first volume.

Other MSS. will be mentioned as they come into importance for the text of special Lives. '

The editto princeps of the Parallel Lives, 1517, " Florentiae, in aedibus Philippi Juntae," was based on Florentine MSS. of relatively inferior value.-

The Aldine edition of the Parallel Lives, 1519, " Venetiis, in aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri,'' was based on Venetiarr MSS., which were of greater excellence than the Florentine, some of them retaining their importance to the present day.

The first edition of the complete works of Plutarch, 1572, Paris, 13 voll. 8vo, was edited by Henri Etienne (Stephanus), who improved the text of his pre- decessors with readings of better MSS. unknown to them, making special use of Codex Parisinus, No. 1676 (F*). The Paris edition of 1624, in two volumes folio, reproduced the text of Stephanus, and became the textus receptus. By its pages (given on the inner

margin of the text of the present edition) Plutarch is cited in the Index vocum verborumque exquisitiorum in Plutarcho, which closes Wyttenbach's great edition of the Morals (Oxford, 1830). ,

Critical and annotated editions of all the works of Plutarch by Reiske (Leipzig, 1774-82, 12 voll. 8vo), and of the Parallel Lives by Coraés (Paris, 1809-14, 6 voll. 8vo), were followed by the great critical. edition of the Parallel Lives by Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-46, 4 voll. 8vo), which still remains the standard edition (Sintenis'). A minor edition of this work appeared in the Bibliotheca Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1852-55, 5 voll. 12mo, re-issued without much change in 1873-75). It shows more boldness in the correction of obvious error, and greater freedom in the admission of conjecture, than the major edition, but is the most generally accepted text of the Lives (Sintenis?). The Tauchnitz text, edited by Immanuel Bekker (Leipzig, 1855-57, 5 voll. 8vo), does not differ very much from the first minor edition of Sintenis, but has a convenient division of the chapters into sections, which has been adopted in the present text.

-In 1559 appeared the French version of the Parallel Lives by Jacques Amyot, the earliest French classic recognized by the French Academy. Amyot consulted many MSS. unknown to the authors of the Juntine and Aldine editions, and his work has an independent philological value, aside from its great literary merits,

It was from Amyot's version, rather than from the original Greek, that Sir Thomas North made his version of the Lives (1579), a translation by the earliest master of great English prose from the earliest master of great French prose. Shakespeare used this version in his Cortolanus, Julius Caesar, and Antony and Cleopatra. It was the Elizabethan
- Plutarch. .

In Queen Anne's time, Dryden was " prevailed upon by his necessities'' to head a company of translators of the Lives, and the version was called by his name (1683), although he furnished merely the Preface and the Life of Plutarch. Notwithstanding all the failings of this motley version, it supplanted that of North.

The first scholar's translation of the Lives from the original Greek into English, by the brothers John and William Langhorne, was published in 1770, and was the version most current from that time down to 1850. Compared with North's spirited version, it is rather dull and pedantic, although much more accurate.

Arthur Hugh Clough's revision of the so-called Dryden translation, a work which occupied this gifted scholar and poet for some seven years, was published in five volumes by Little, Brown & Co., of Boston, in 1859, and reprinted in one large octavo volume in 1876 and 1880. It is probably the best extant English version of all the Lives.

The best monograph on Plutarch in English js

that of Archbishop Trench, which was published by the Messrs. Macmillan & Co. in 1873, and in a second edition in 1874. Ralph Waldo Emerson had already furnished a characteristic essay on Plutarch as an Introduction to Goodwin's revision of the translation of the Morals “by several hands” (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1870, reprinted, 1889). To the edition of North’s translation of the Lives in the “Tudor Translations’’ (London, David Nutt, 1895-96), the Rt. Hon. George Wyndham furnished an Introduction of superlative power and excellence. Professor Mahaffy’s chapters on Plutarch in his Greek World under Roman Sway (Macmillan & Co., 1890, pp. 291-350 = The Stlver Age of the Greek World, Chicago and London, 1906, pp. 339-402) abound in discriminating and suggestive appreciations. Finally, mention may be made of Plutarch’s Themistocles and Aristides, newly translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Bernadotte Perrin, New York, Charles Seribner’s Sons, 1901.
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ORDER OF THE

PARALLEL LIVES IN

THIS

EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.
VouuME I.

(1) Theseus and Romulus.
Comparison.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
Comparison.
VouuME II.

(4) Theinistocles and Camillus.
(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.

Comparison.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.
Comparison.
VouvumeE III.

(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
Comparison.
(14) Nicias and Crassus.
Comparison.
VouLumeE IV.

(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
Comparison.
_ (12) Lysander and Sulla.
Comparison.
VoLuME V.

(16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
Comparison.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
Comparison.
XVill

(22) Dion and Brutus.
Comparison.
(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
| Comparison.
(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
Comparison.
Vouum_e VII.

(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.
VoLuME VI.
|
|
(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
Comparison.
VouuME VIII.

(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.

(21) Demetrius and Antony.
Comparison.
VoLuME IX.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and
Tiberius and Cains
Gracchus.
Comparison.

VOLUME X.

(10) Philopoemen and Fiam-
ininus.
Comparison.
(23) Aratus.
(24) Artaxerxes.
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE
PARALLEL LIVES.
(1) Theseus and Romulus,

(2) Lycurgus and Numa.

(3) Solon and Publicola.

(4) Themistocles and Camillus.

(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.

(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.

(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.

(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.

(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
(10) Philopoemen and Flamininus.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
(12) Lysander and Sulla.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.
(14) Nicias and Crassus.
(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
(16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.

(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius Gracchus,
(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
21) Demetrius and Antony.
(22) Dion and Brutus.
(23) Aratus.
(24) Artaxerxes.
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.
x1xX

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PLUTARCH'S PARALLEL LIVES
THESEUS

VOL. I. B

MAOYTAPXOY BIOI ITAPAAAHAOI

OHZEY2

I, "Qomep év tais yeoypadiats, @ Locate Severiwv, ot totoptxol Ta diapevyovra THY yacw avtav trois eaXarors pépece TOY Wlvda- Koy mreCouvtes; aitias} Tmapaypadovoww 6 bre "Ta 5 emexetvar Dives avu8por Kal Onpraders " h "o1nnos aidyns" H "XnvOtxov xpvos" 4 "< qréharyos TeTrn- os, obT ws épol meph rhy TOV Bicov TOY Trapan- Anhov ypapny, TOV eguxtov elKOTL hoy Kai Baot- _ MOV iaropig Tpayydray éxouery Xpovor der Dove, Tepl Trav avwotépw Karas elyev eireiv: "Ta S eT éxewva Tepatadn Kal TparyiKa, Total Kal puboypador vewovTat, Kal ovKer' exet mio TL ovde caprjveray. émel 5é Tov Tepl Aveoupyou Tov vomolérov Kal Nopa Tow Bacthéws Aoyor éxdovres, eOoxodpev ovn av Groyas TO 'Papiry mpocavaSivau, mwrAnolov TeV Kpovev avrov TH iotopia yeyovores, oxoTrouvTe 5é jot

1 airlas Amyot, Stephanus, Coraés, Sintenis? with C; Bekker and Nintenis! have évfss (explaining some by saying).

Paris

Editio:
a. 1624,
1

PLUTARCH’S PARALLEL LIVES

THESEUS

I. Just as geographers, O Socius Senecio,! crowd on to the outer edges of their maps the parts of the earth which elude their knowledge, with explanatory notes that “ What lies beyond is sandy desert without water and full of wild beasts,” or “ blind marsh,” or ‘«< Scythian cold,” or “frozen sea,’ so in the writing of my Parallel Lives, now that I have traversed those periods of time which are accessible to probable reasoning and which afford basis for a history dealing with facts, I might well say of the earlier periods: ‘ What lies beyond is full of marvels and unreality, the land of poets and fabulists, of doubt and obsecurity.” But after publishing my account of Lycurgus the lawgiver and Numa the king, I thought 1 might not unreasonably go back still farther to Romulus, now that my history had brought me near his times. And as I asked myself,

1 One of the many friends whom Plutarch made during his residence at Rome. He was four times consul between the years 98 and 107 B.c. Plutarch addresses him also at the

opening of the Memosthenes and the Dron, thus dedicating to
him these ‘‘ books.”
| 3
B 2
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tor@de dwti (kar Aioytnov) Tis Eup Byoerat;'
tiv’ avtiraEw t@be; Tis Pepeyyvos; *
épaivero TOV TOY KaXoV Kal daoldipwv olKLoT Hy
“AOnvav avTiaTioat Kal mapaBanreiv TO TA zpl
Ths aviKnTov kal peyarodofou ‘Payins, ein ev
ou npty éxxaBatpouevov oye TO pvdades vTra-
Kodaat kal rAaBeiv iotopias dy, Orrou & av
avdaddas Tob aBavov Tmepippovi; kal a) béxnra
THhv ™ pos TO €LKOS pikw, evyvapovay aK poaTav
Senoopeda Kal mpaws Thy apyatoroyiay mpoode-
NOMEVWY.
II. "Edoxee & oby 0 Onaers TH ‘Pamir Kara
ToAhas évapporre omovoTnTas: apo ee yap ®
aveyyuo Kal axotiw yevopevor Sofav Exyov éx
Oeav yeryovevat,
"Auda o aiyunrd, To ye 69 Kal ipev adrravtes,

kal peta Tov. duvatod TO ouvetoy ExovTEs. TrOAEwY

5¢ tav eripavertatwr o pev Extioe THY ‘Pawpmny,
¢ l) e \ \ a
o de cuvmnice Tas AOhvas:. aprayn b€ yuvarkav
éxatépp mpoceati. ovdétepos dé Svatuyiav Tepl
\ b aA } oa b) ni n 5 4 tAXAa \
TA OlKELA Kal véyeow eyryevi Stehuyev, AAAA Kal
a / / va “a
TeAevTw@VTES apphotepot A€yovTat Tois éavTav
w~ 4 A .
mMpoaKpovoar ToALTaLs, el TL TOV HKioTa Tpayt-
1 Seven against Thebes, 435, rode gwrl wéure— cls
tvothoerat;
2 Ibid. 395f.

rly dvrirdters rgde; rls Mpolrov muddy
KAnHOpwy AvoeYTwY MpooTareEiy PEepéyyuos;
8 Coraés, Bekker, and Cobet, with ©, after Reiske;
buow per.
4

THESEUS

“ With such a warrior” (as Aeschylus says) “who will
dare to fight ?”’
“ Whom shall I set against him? Who is com-
petent?”’
it seemed to me that I must make the founder
of lovely and famous Athens the counterpart and
parallel to the father of invincible and glorious
Rome. May I therefore succeed in purifying Fable,
making her submit to reason and take on the sem-
blance of History. But where she obstinately dis-
dains to make herself credible, and refuses to admit
any element of probability, I shall pray for kindly
readers, and such as receive with indulgence the
tales of antiquity.
II. It seemed to me, then, that many resemblances
made Theseus a fit parallel to Romulus. For both
were of uncertain and obscure parentage, and got
the reputation of descent from gods ;
“ Both were also warriors, as surely the whole world
knoweth,”
and with their strength, combined sagacity. Of the world’s two most illustrious cities, moreover, Rome and Athens, Romulus founded the one, and Theseus made a metropolis of the other, and each resorted to the rape of women. - Besides, neither escaped domestic misfortunes and the resentful anger of kin- dred,

but even in their last days both are said to have come into collision with their own fellow-citizens,

1 Jliad vii, 281, of Aias Telamon and Hector.

KOS elphoOar SoxovvTwv Sherds éort mpos adn-
Oevav.
IIT. Oncéws 76 pév ratp@ov yévos els EpeyOéa
Kal tovs mpwrtovs avroyOovas dvnxa, Te Sé
entp@@ Tleromidns jv. Ilétoyr yap ov xpn-
patov ANGEL padrrov } Traidov péeytcroy iayuce
trav év IleXotovyycm Bactdéwv, oddas pev
éxddpuevos Ouyarépas ois dpiotots, moAXous dé
tais ToAecw viods éyxaTaoTelipas apXovTas: wy
els yevopevos IlitOevs, 0 Onoéws madmmos, Tod
pev ov peyarnv thy Tpottnviov @xice, doEav dé
paddoTa TayTwr ws avip AOyLos ey Tots TOTE Kal
aopwtatos érxyev. Hy bé THs codias éxeivns
ToLavuTn Tis, ws éorxev, dda Kal Svvapus, ola
xpnadpevos 'Haiodos evdoxkiue padiota tepl Tas
év tois "Epyos yuoporoyias. xal play ye ToUTwY
éxetynv Aéyovae IurOéws elvat,
Mia Obs & avdpl dirp cipnuévos apxtos Err.

ToUTo pev otv Kal "AptotoréAns 6 dtdocodgos
eipnxev, 0 & Euperidns, tov 'Immovvroyv dyvod
IlirOéws rraisevpa mpocearav, éudaiver thy rept
rov IIirOéa S0Eav. ,
Alive? 68 raidwv Seopévm tiv TlvOtayv avedeiv
Néyouot Tov Opvrovpevoy ypnopov, SraKedevo-
péevnv undead yuvarckt ovyyevéoOar mplv édOeiv
eis "AOnvas, ov mdavu dé rodto dpdlew evdnrws
6

if there is any aid to the truth in what seems to have been told with the least poetic exaggeration. III. The lineage of Theseus, on the father's side, goes back to Erechtheus and the first children of the soil; on the mother's side, to Pelops. For Pelops was the strongest of the kings in Peloponnesus quite as much on account of the number of his children as the amount of. his wealth. He gave many daughters in marriage to men of highest rank, and scattered many sons among the cities as their rulers. One of these, named Pittheus, the grand- father of Theseus, founded the little city of Troezen, and had the highest repute as a man versed in the lore of his times and of the greatest wisdom. Now the wisdom of that day had some. such form and force as that for which Hesiod was famous, especially in the sententious maxims of his '"

Works and Days.” One of these maxims is ascribed to Pittheus,

namely :—

“Payment pledged to a man who is dear must be
ample and certain.” }
At any rate, this is what Aristotle the philosopher
says, and Euripides, when he has Hippolytus
addressed as “nursling of the pure and holy Pit-
theus,”’ shows what the world thought of Pittheus.
Now Aegeus, king of Athens, desiring to have
children, is said to have received from the Pythian
priestess the celebrated oracle in which she bade him
to have intercourse with no woman until he came to
Athens. But Aegeus thought the words of the
command somewhat obscure, and therefore turned
1 Verse 370. 2 Fragment, 556. 3 Hippolytus, 11.

Soxovcav: SOev eis Tpotlfiva rapebarv avexot-
A A A A A \ a 4
vooto Iliret tiv tod Oeod havnv ottws éyovcay:
"Ackod tov mpovxyovta Toda, péya héptare
Nawr,
pn AVoNS Tply Sjpwov “AOnvéwy cicagixéc bac:
a Qa ? / He so > +. A
@ SAXov Ott vonaoas o litOevs, Erreuev avtov 7
/ a IO. f \ \
Suntratnce TH AlOpa avyyevécOar. ovvedOov 5é
a x4 a ,
Kat yvovs éxelvos OTe TH IlitOéws Ovyatpt cuy-
yévyove, kal Kveww avTiv UTrovonaas, atrédiTre Eidos
Kal médtka Kpvras vTro Tétpay peyadyny, évTos
éyovcay KowdoTnTa cuppétpas éewreptrapySdavov-
cay Ta Keipeva. dpdcas Sé€ mpos povny éxetvny,
\ 4 en > ’ a“ lA
Kal StaxeXevodpevos, av vios é& avTod yévnrat,
kal AaBwv avdpoes jrtkiav Svvatos 7 THY méfpay
dvaotThoat Kal Uderelv TA KaTareapOévtu, Tép-
Tey mpos avtov éxovta taita pndevos €idoros,
GXX ws éveote padiota AavOavovta mdytas
(laxupas yap édedoixer tovs Iladdavtibas, ém-
4 bd A \ \ \ J ,

Bovrevovras atte nal da thy araidiav Kxata-
dpovobvtas' joav Sé wevTjxoyra aides ex
Tlad\Aavros yeyovotes), ane.
IV. Texovons 6€ tis AlOpas viov, of pev evOds
’ a / 4 \ \ A
ovopacOjvat Oncéa Aéyovar 1a THY TOV yvwpl-
4 A e \ cf ? 4 ad
opatov Oéow, of 8& batepov 'AOnvnot traiba
Oepévov Tod Aiyéws avtov. Tpedouevov é w7ro
8

aside to Troezen and communicated to Pittheus the
words of the god, which ran as follows :—
“Loose not the wine-skin’s jutting neck, great
chief of the people,
Until thou shalt have come once more to the city of
Athens.” ! .
This dark saying Pittheus apparently understood, and persuaded him, or beguiled him, to have intercourse with his daughter Aethra. Aegeus did so, and then learning that it was the daughter of Pittheus with whom he had consorted, and suspecting that she was with child by him, he left a sword and a pair of sandals hidden under a great rock, which had a hollow in it just large enough to receive these objects. He told the princess alone about this, and | bade her, if a son should be born to her from him, and if, when he came to man’s estate, he should be able to lift up the rock and take away what had been left under it, to send that son to him with the tokens, in all secrecy, and concealing his journey as much as possible from everybody; for he was ‘mightily in fear of the sons of Pallas,2.who were plotting against him, and who despised him on account of his childlessness ; and they were fifty in number, these sons of Pallas. Then he went away. —

IV. When Aethra gave birth to a son, he was at once named Theseus, as some say, because the tokens for his recognition had been placed 3 in hiding ; but others say that it was afterwards at Athens, when Aegeus acknowledged®.him as hisson. He was reared

1 Cf. Euripides, Medea, 674, 676 (Kirchhoff).

2 His brother.

3 It is impossible to reproduce in English the play on the
Greek words. _
9

tov IlitOéws émictarny exyew xat madaywyov
bd 4 @ A A > ” a
dvona Kovvidav, 6 péxpe viv ’AOnvaior pa
TpoTEpov nuépa TaV Onoeiwy Kxpiov évayivovar,
pepvnpévoe kal Tiw@vtTes TorvD Sixadtepoy 7
Lwraviwva tin@ot cat Tlappdouov, eixovay @n-
céws ypadeis Kal mAdoTAS yevopéevous.
—V."E@ous &€ dvtos éte TOTe Tovs petaBai-
vovtas é« maidwy éXOovtas eis Aedhods airapyxe-
Oat TO Oe@ Tis Kopns, AOE pev eis AedrAhods
€ , \ , > 9 > A \ , v
0 Onoevs, Kai Torey amr auvTov thv Oncetay Err
vov ovopatecOar A€youcty, éxeipato Sé Ths Kepa-
a N , , 4 vA dl \
ARs Ta mpocGev povov, aoTEep “Opnpos Edn TOUS
“ABavras nat TovTO THs Koupas TO yévos Bnaonts
avopnacbn Sv’ éxetvov.
Oi Sé “ABavtes éxeipavto mp@tot TOY TpoTrOV

a ? e % , A e 54
tovrov ovy wm “ApadBov didayOertes, ws Evcoe
vopitovaw, ovdé Mucovs Cnrwaavtes, XX’ GvTes
ToNeptkol Kat ayyéuayxol, Kal paduota on TavTey
eis xelpas wOcicBar Tots evavtiows peuadnxoTes,
@s paptupel Kat Apytroxos €v TovTots:
Ov trot wodAN eri roka tTavuvccetat ovdé
Oaperat
odevdovat, evT’ av dn paXov “Apns cuvayn
b] , Ul \ A wv w
év medio, Erhéwy 5é ToAVaTOVOY EaceETas Epryor:
TauTns yap Keivor Saipoves Eroe WAYS
’ 9 Ld o
Searrotat EvBotas Soupixdutot.
10

THESEUS

by Pittheus, as they say, and had an overseer and tutor named Connidas. To this man, even down to the present time, the Athenians sacrifice a ram on the day before the festival of Theseus, remembering him and honouring him with far greater justice than they honour Silanio and Parrhasius, who merely painted and maulded likenesses of Theseus.

V. Since it was still a custom at that time for youth who were coming of age to go to Delphi and sacrifice some of their hair to the god, Theseus went to Delphi for this purpose, and they say there is a place there

which still to this day is called the Theseia from him. But he sheared only the fore part of his head, just as Homer! said the Abantes did, and this kind of tonsure was called Theseis after him.

Now the Abantes were the first to cut their hair in this manner, not under instruction from the Arabians, as some suppose, nor yet in emulation of the Mysians, but because they were war-like men and close fighters, who had learned beyond all other men to force their way into close quarters with their enemies. Archilochus is witness to this in the following words :—

“Not many bows indeed will be stretched tight, nor frequent slings
Be whirled, when Ares joins men in the moil of .

war
Upon the plain, but swords will do their mournful work ;
For this is the warfare wherein those men are expert
Who lord it over Euboea and are famous with the spear.’ ?

1 Iliad, ii. 542. 2 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr.', ii. p. 383.

II

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

4 Saws ovv py Mapexorev €x TOV TpLxeoy “avTt-
Agypey ToS TONE MLOLS dmekelpavTo. TOUTO Be
apenet cal “AdéEavdpov tov Maxedova évver-
cavTd pact _mpoortagat TOUS oTparnyois Evpeiv
Ta ryévera Tey Makxedovar, Os AaBny ravTnv ev
Tais paxars obaav TpoxepoTarny.

VI. Tov pév ody &dXov Xpovov ExpuTTTeV Ai6pa
THY arnOuny Tov Onoéws yeveow’ jv Sé Noyos
ume tov Uuir0éws 6adobels os é€x Tocedavos
Texvwein. Hocebdava yap Tposknveot oéSovTau
SeahepovTws, Kat Oeos obTOs éoTty avTtois mrotov-
Xs, o Kal KapTr@v amapxovrat Kal TplaLvay
2 emrianjov EXovee Tov vopiawaros. érrel 6é petpa-
KLOV OY, dpa TH To} o@paTos poun duepawver
aXKnY Kat ppovnua pera yoo kal TUvET EWS
BéBavov, ottws avrov uJ AiOpa Tpos THD TET pay
Tpocayaryovoa, Kal ppacaca Tept TS yevéoews
Tarn bes, éxéhevoev Upereiy Ta Tat ppa ovpBora

3 Kal mhetv Els AOivas. o O€ THY pev wéTpav
vmébv Kal padicas avewse, relp 6 aréyva,
KaiTrep ovans aapanretas Kat Seopevary Tob Te
Tantov Kat Tis PNT pos. Narerrov yap ay meth
TmopeverOa THY €S AOijvas od0v, ovdéev Bépos
cadapov ovee axivévvov wd AnoT@Vv Kal xKa-
Koupyov éxouc av.
4 ‘O yap én Xpovos EKELVOS HveyKev av pwrrous
Kerpav pev epryues Kal ToO@V TAXETL Kal TOLaATWY
popars, Qs Eouren, umenpueis Kat axaparous,
7 pos ovdev O€ Th pice Xp@wEvous émuetkes ovdé
@PEALWOD, ann’ DBpe Te Yaipovtas vrepnpdve,
Kal amodavovTas THS Suva pews @LOTNTL Kal
mixpia, Kal T@ Kpateivy Te Kai BudlecBae Kal
12

. THESEUS. :

Therefore, in order that they might not give their enemies a hold by their hair, they cut it off. And Alexander of Maeedon doubtless understood. this when, as they say, he ordered his generals to have the beards of their Macedonians shaved, since these afforded the readiest hold in battle.

VI. During the rest of the time, then, Aethra kept his true birth concealed from Theseus, and a report was spread abroad by Pittheus that he was begotten by Poseidon. For Poseidon is highly hon- oured by the people of Troezen, and he is the patron god of their city ; to him they offer first fruits in sacrifice, and. they have his trident as an. emblem on their coinage. But when, in his young manhood, Theseus displayed, along with his vigour of body, prowess also, and a firm ‘spirit united with intelli- gence and sagatity, then Aethra brought him. to.the rock, told him the truth about his birth, and bade him take away his father’s tokens and go by sea to Athens. Theseus put his shoulder to the rock and easily raised it up, but he refused to make his journey by sea, although safety lay in that course, and his grandfather and his mother begged him to take it. For it was difficult to make the journey to Athens by land, since no part of it was clear nor yet without peril from robbers and miscreants.

For verily that age produced men who, in work of hand: and speed of foot and vigour of body, were extraordinary .and indefatigable, but they applied their. powers to nothing that was fitting or useful. Nay rather, they exulted in monstrous insolence, and reaped from their strength a harvest of cruelty and bitterness, mastering and forcing and destroying everything that came in their path. And as for

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

SiabOelpey To Tapatrimroyv, abd é Kal dixato-

acuvnv Kat Td icov kal To dirdvOpwror, ws
aroApla tov abixeiy kal poB@ Tov abixcicBar
TOUS TOAXOUS etraLvodYTas, OvdSéY OlopévoUs TpOC-
5 nxewv tols mréov exe Suvapévos. TovTav
“Hpaxrfs tos péev éFexomte xal avnper treptiov,
ot S€ AavOdvovtes exeivou Taptovros em@Tno coy
Kal avedvovto Kal TapnueNodvTO TaTELVa WpaT-
rovres. émel dé ‘“Hpaxrjs éxpnoato Tumpopa,
kal xreivas “Iditov ets Avdiay amipe xal ovxvov
éxet ypovov edovrNeve trap’ "Oudarn, Sixnv tod
gdovou tavTnv émidels abt@, ToTe Ta pev Avdwv
Tpadybata ToNAHy éoxev eipnynv Kal adeav: év
S€ tots wept tv ‘EAXdba ToTrots adOrs eEnvOncav
ai xaxias Kal aveppdynoav, obdevds miefodvTos
ovde KaTElpyovTos.
6 "Hv ovtv oréOptos wopeia ois “AOnvae
welj Babdifovow éx TleXotrovynjcov: cal trav
kaxovpywov Exactov éEnyouvpevos IlitOevs orroios
eln xal otrota Spen mept trovs Eévous, éreibe
Tov @noéa xopibecOar Sta Oaddtrys. tov 5é
TddvaL peév, WS orxe, NeEANOOTSS Sréxarey 4 Soka
ths “Hpaxdéous dperfs, xal amdeiotov éxeivou
AOyov elxe, Kal mpoOuvpoTatos axpoaThs éyiveTo
Tav Sunyoupéven éxeivov olos ein, padtoTta 66 TOV
avTov éwpaxoTwv Kal mwpdttovTt Kal AéyorTs
7 Tpootetuxnkoreav' Tote O€ TavtTdtTacw Hy
dhavepos wetrovOas Strep VaTEpov Kpovols TWoAXois
OcurotoKxAns érrade, cal elev ws Kabevdery avtov
ovx én TO MiAdriddou tpotravoy ottws éxeiv@
tov ‘Hpaxréovs Oavpdfovt: thy aperny, Kal
14 ;

i.

THESEUS |

reverence and righteousness, justice and humanity, they thought that most men praised these qualities for lack of courage to do wrong and for fear of being wronged, and considered them no concern of men who were strong enough to get the upper hand. Some of these creatures Heracles cut off and destroyed as he went about, but some escaped his notice as he passed by, crouching down and shrink- ing back, and were overlooked in their abjectness. And when Heracles met with calamity and, after the slaying of Iphitus, removed into Lydia and for a long time did slave's service there in the house of Omphale, then Lydia indeed obtained great peace and security; but in the regions of Hellas the old villainies burst forth and broke out anew, there being none to rebuke and none to restrain them.

The journey was therefore a perilous one for travellers by land from Peloponnesus to Athens, and Pittheus, by describing each of the miscreants at length, what sort of a monster he was, and what deeds he wrought upon strangers, tried to persuade Theseus to make his journey by sea. But he, as it would seem, had long since been secretly fired by the glorious valour of Heracles, and made the greatest account of that hero, and was a most eager listener to those who told what manner of man he was, and above all to those who had seen him and been present at some deed or speech of his. And it is altogether plain that he then experienced what Themistocles many generations afterwards experienced, when he said that he could not sleep for the trophy of Miltiades.} In like manner Theseus admired the valour of Hera- cles, until by night his dreams were of the hero's

1 Cf. Themistocles, iii. 3.

viKTwp dvEeLpos Hoav ai moakes, Kal pel" nuéepav
éEjyev avtov o Chros Kal avnpéOile tTavTa Tpar-
Tetv Stavoovpevov.
VII. 'Ervyyavov 6€ cal yévous Kxotvwvodvtes
é& dveliav évtes. AlOpa pév yap hv Iitéws
Duyarnp, "ArKunvy 6é Avowdixns, Avowdien 6&é
cat TirOeds aderpol yeyovéres e& 'Irrmodapeias
Kal [edorros. Secvov ovv érrotetto Kal ovK dvexTov
éxelvov pev ert Tous TavTaxod Tovnpovs Badi-
Sovra Kadaipew yhv Kali Oararray, auTov de Tous
éumod@v aD dous amrobibipdc Kew, TOV Mev AOYE
wal do&n marépa: KaTaiexXvvov dua Oardrrns
ouy7 Kourlopevos, TD dé 6 évTe mpoo pépwv yepe-
cpata rédtia Kal Eipos avaipaxTov, ovw &pyots
evOvs aryabois Kal mpatear Tapéxov éupari
Xapaxtnpa THS evryevetas. TOLOUT@ hpovn ware
Kal TOLOVTOLS oyeo pois éEwpunoev, ws adtKyo wy
peev ovdéva, Tous bé wmrdpyovtas Bias apuvov-
HEVOS.
VIII. Kai mparov peev ev TH 'Em daupia Tepe-
dyntnv, STAM Xa uevov Kopuvy Kat bud TOUTO
Kopuvyrqy érrimarovpevor, aTrTOMEvOV avtod Kal
KONUVOVTA mpodryety cupPadov d dméx Teer" nabets
dé TH Kopuvy haBov d7rov em ovnaa.To Kat dueTtéree
Xpapevos, Gomep 0 "Hpakhijs 7 déppare Tov
NéovTos. éxeivep poev ovv emidergis Vv popoupevor
nAticou TO peryeBos Onpiov Kparnoeey, odT0s dé

THY Kopuvny émedeixvuen 7 HTTHwevnV fey utr avrod,
pet avrov: be anrtntov ovcav.
"Ey 8 'lo8u@ ivw tov Titvonaumnrny @.TpoTe

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THESEUS

achievements, and by day his ardour led him along
and spurred him on in his purpose to achieve the
like.
VII. And besides, they were kinsmen, being sons of cousins-german. For Aethra was daughter of Pittheus, as Alemene was of Lysidice, and Lysidice and Pittheus were brother and sister, children of Hippodameia and Pelops. Accordingly, he thought it a dreadful and unendurable thing that his famous cousin should go out against the wicked everywhere and purge land and sea of them, while he himself ran away from the struggles which lay in his path, disgracing his reputed father! by journeying like a fugitive over the sea, and bringing to his real father as proofs of his birth only sandals and a sword un- stained with blood, instead of at once offering noble deeds and achievements as the manifest mark of his noble birth. In sucha spirit and with such thoughts he set out, determined to do no man any wrong, but . to punish those who offered him violence.

VIII. And so in the first place, in Epidauria, when
Periphetes, who used a club as his weapon and on
- this account was called Club-bearer, laid hold of
him and tried to stop his progress, he grappled
with him and slew him. And being pleased with
the club, he took it and made it his weapon and
continued to use it, just as Heracles did with the
lion’s skin. That hero wore the skin to prove how
great a wild beast he had mastered, and so Theseus
carried the club to show that although it had
been vanquished by him, in his own hands it was
invincible.
On the Isthmus, too, he slew Sinis the Pine-bender

1 Cf. chapter vi. 1.
17
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

AX \ > ? , dé @ 3 4 2
Tous avypel, ToOVTH OLvepOerpev auTOS, OV peLE-
3 la
AETNKWS OVO EiOtapévos, érideiEas 5é THY aperrV

bt xal téyvns mepleote Kal pedretns amdons.
9 be A Di Py 4 \ , @ 4
nv O€ TM LAtvloe KaANOTH Kal peyloTn Cuyatnp,
dvoya Ilepiyovvn. tavtnvy tod Tatpos avnpn-
/ “A Ig / oN € UA e b
pévov duyovoay éCnter treptiwnvy o Onaevs: 7 5
bd 4 b a / v N
els ToTrov ameNOovca AoXpnv exXovTa todAAHY
oTopyny te wAEioTHy Kal doddpayov, axadKas
Tavu Kal TaLdLKas WoTep aicBavopévav Seouevn
mpocevyeto pe Spxv, av caowoly avTny Kat
amrokpuywat, undéemote Aupaveta Oat pndé KavCELD.
avaxanoupévou b6€ tov @ncéws Kal riotw s-
SOVTOS, OS ETLpEAHTETAL KAA@S avTHS Kal ovdey
adiucnoet, mponrGe Kal TO pev Once avyyevo-
4 , wv oo a \ A b 4
peevn MerXaverrtrov érexe, Aniovet d€ tT Evputov
a 4 /
Tov Oiyardtéws Dotepoyv cuv@exnae, Onaéws Sovtos.
> \ / A , J v
éx d€ MeXavizrrrov tov Oncéws yevopevos “Iwkos
"Opvite tis ets Kapiav dtoxias petéoyev’ Or
J 4 \ ? 4 / é /
wkidais nat Iwkiot matpiov Katéotn pyte
»¥ 9 / / \ 4 3 \
axavOay acdhapayou pnte ororBny Kaiew, adrAa
céBecOar nal Tipav.
TX. ‘H &€ Kpoppvwvia cis, Hv Pasay mpoc-
wvopatov, ov padrov Hv Onpiov, aNAA paxtpov
A e A
Kal yareTov xpatnOjvar. TavTny od0v mdpepyor,
@s pn Soxoin mdvta Tpos avayKny tovetv, vio-
oTas avelde, kal dua tav pev avOporav Tois
Tovnpois apuvomevov olouevos ety tov ayaov
a ,
mpoopépecOar, Tav dé Onpiwv Kal mpoemryxer-
potvta Tots yevvaios payecOar nat dSsaxivdv-
18
\

THESEUS

in the very manner in which many men had been — destroyed by himself, and lie did this without practice or even acquaintance with the monster’s device, but showing that valour is superior to all device and practice. Now Sinis had a very beautiful and stately daughter, named Perigune. This daughter took to

flight when her father was killed, and Theseus went about in search of her. But she had gone off into a place which abounded greatly in shrubs and rushes and wild asparagus, and with exceeding innocence and childish simplicity was supplicating these plants, as if they understood her, and vowing that if they would hide and save her, she would never trample them down nor burn them. When, however, Theseus called upon her and gave her a pledge that he would treat her honourably and do her no wrong, she came forth, and after consorting with Theseus, bore him Melanippus, and afterwards lived with Deioneus, son of Eurytus the Oechalian, to whom Theseus gave her. From Melanippus the son of Theseus, Ioxus was born, who took part with Ornytus in leading a colony into Caria ; whence it is ancestral usage with the Ioxids, men and women, not to burn either the asparagus-thorn or the rush, but to revere and honour them.

IX. Now the Crommyonian sow, which they called Phaea, was no insignificant creature, but fierce and hard to master. This sow he went out of his way to encounter and slay, that he might not be thought to perform all his exploits under compulsion, and at the same time because he thought that while the brave man ought to attack villainous men only in self defence, he should seek occasion to risk his life in battle with the nobler beasts. However, some say

veverv. eyiot 5€ ghact thv Paray AnoTpisa
ryevéoOat yuvaixa govxny Kal axodaaTop, av-
To00t Katoucodoay év Kpopprvart, cov 6€ é érrovopa-
aOeicav bia TO 700s Kai Tov Biov eita wo
Oncéws atrobavety.
X. LKelpwova dé T™ po Tijs Meyapixiis aveine
piipas Kata TOV TETPOV, OS pev 0 ToAus AOYOS
AnotevovTa TOUS TapLovTas, Os & évioe Aéyouowy
DBpe Kat Tpuph mporeivovTa T@ TOOE Tos Eévors
Kat KehevovTa vimreLy, cia NaktiCovTa Kal aTro-
2 Potvta vittovtas eis thy OddatTav. ot 6é Me-
yapobev suyypadeis, O“oae Th dipun Badifovres
Kal TO TOAD V pov, Kara tpovidny, mone-
povvTes, ovTE iBprorny ouTE AnoTHy ryervyovevat
Tov YKeilpwovd pacw, GNA Anata jev KohaaTHy,
arab ov dé Kal Sixatwv oietov \av0pav Kal pirov.
Alaxoy Te yap “ENA veov oLwTaTov vopiter Gan,
Kat Kuxpéa THpas Jeay exe "AOnvnoe Tov
Larapivior, Thy 6é IInréws kat Tedapdvos ape-
3 THY vm ovdevos ayvoeiabar. XKeipwva Toivuy
Kuypéws pev ryever Gar yauBpov, Aiaxod 5é trev-
Oepor, IInréws oe kat Tedapovos Ta TOD, e&
"Evdnidos yeryovoroy THS EKceipeovos kat Xapt-
Kdods Ouyat pos. oUKOUD ele 0s elvat TO KaKtore
TOUS aptarous els KoLWwviav yévous enGeiv, Ta

péyiota Kal Tipi@tTata AapBavortas Kat &1-
Sovtas. aN Oncéa pac ovx OTE TO TPWTOV
éBddibev ets "AOnvas, GND’ vo TEpov "EXevoiva
Te NaBeiv Meyapéwy éyovTar, 7 0,pa.k POUT a[LEvOV
Avoxréa TOV apxovra, Kal LKeipwova aT OKTEVAL.
TavTA pep ovY EXEL TOLAUTAS avTLNOYias.
20

THESEUS —

that Phaea was a female robber, a woman of murderous and unbridled spirit, who dwelt in Crommyon, was called Sow because of her life and manners, and was afterwards slain by Theseus. .
X. He.also slew Sciron on the borders of Megara, by hurling him down the cliffs. Sciron robbed the passers by, according to the prevalent tradition; but as some say, he would insolently and wantonly thrust out his feet to strangers and bid them wash them, and then, while they were washing them, kick them off into the sea. Megarian writers, however, taking issue with current report, and, as_ Simonides! expresses it, “waging war with antiquity,”” say that Sciron was neither a violent man nor a robber, but a chastiser of robbers, and a kinsman and friend of good and just men. For Aeacus, they say, is regarded as the most righteous of Hellenes, and Cychreus the Salaminian has divine honours at Athens, and the virtues of Peleus and Telamon are known to all men. Well, then, Sciron was a son-in-law of Cychreus, father-in-law of Aeacus, and grandfather of Peleus and Telamon, who were the sons of Endeis, daughter of Sciron and Chariclo. It is not likely, then, they say, that the best of men made family alliances with the basest, receiving and giving the greatest and most valuable pledges. It was not, they say, when Theseus first journeyed to Athens, but afterwards, that he captured Eleusis from the Megarians, having circumvented Diocles its ruler, and slew Sciron. Such, then, are the contradictions in which these matters are involved.
1 Fragment 193 (Bergk).
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XI. "Ey dé "EXevoive Kepxtova tov é& ’Ap-
Kadias KaTaTaXaicas avethe’ Kal puLKpoYv mpo-
rXGa A 4 b °K a1 \ Il ,
eOav Aapdorny év “Epived! tov Ipoxpovorny,
dvayxdoas auTov amicovy Tois KALYTHpaLY WaoTeEp
tous Eévous éxeivos. émpatte &€ tabta pupov-
‘\ € / \ \ bd a 9
pevos Tov Hpakdéa. Kail yap éxeivos ols érreBov-
,
NeVETO TPOTTOLS apUVYdpEvOS TOS TMpoETLXEL-
povvras, €0vce tov Bovorpw Kal xaterddatce
a \
Tov ‘Avtaiov cai tov Kuixvov Kxatepovopdynoe
N \ / A \ \ ? ,
Kat tov Téppepov ouppntas thy Kxeharnv arreé-
N \
xrevev. ad ov dn Kal To Tepuéperov Kaxov Gvo-
pacOjvat N€eyovet’ Taiwy yap, @s EoLke, TH
a \ b 4 e / > ,
Keparn tovs évtvyydvovtas o Téppepos dman-
: \
Avev. ovTw® 5 Kal Onoevs Kortalov Tovs
‘ 3 A \ bd / \
movnpovs emeenOev, ols péev éBialovto Tovs
” e 3 9 4 / 2 \ a
GdXous, ut’ éxetvou KataBiatopmevovs, év 5é Tois
TpoTrols THS EavT@v abdexias ta Sixava TdoyYovTas.
XII. Tpoiovte 6€ atte xat yevouévm kata
tov Kndicov, avdpes éx tod Dutaridav yévous
ATAVTHOAVTES nod avtTo TpOTOL, Kal Seomeévou
cabapOjvan, TOUS VEVOMLE HEVOLS ayvioavres Kal
perdixva Ovucavtes eiotiacay oiKot, wndevos Tpd-
TEpov avT@ prravOparrov ad” odov EVTUXOVTOS.
“Hyepa pev ovv oyd0n Néyerat Kpoviou pnvos,
Ov -vuY ‘ExarouBardva Kanovet, water beir.
katedOav é eis THY TOLD evpe Ta TE Kowa
Tapaxis peora Kab Stxoppocrns, Kal Ta Tepl
tov Aiyéa Kal Tov oixov idta voootvta. Mrédera

1 "Epweg@ with Coraés, after Pausanias, i. 38, 5: “Eppet, a correction by Palmerius of the MSS. ‘Epyidyn.

XI. In Eleusis, moreover, he out-wrestled Cercyon the Arcadian and killed him; and going on a little farther, at Erineiis, he killed Damastes, surnamed Procrustes, by compelling him to make his own body fit his bed, as he had been wont to do with those of strangers. And he did this in imitation of Heracles. For that hero punished those who offered him violence in the manner in which they had plotted to serve him, and therefore sacrificed Busiris, wrestled Antaeus to death, slew Cycnus in single combat, and killed Termerus by dashing in his skull. It is from him, indeed, as they say, that the name " Termerian mischief'? comes, for Termerus, as it would seem, used to kill those who encountered him by dashing his head against theirs. Thus Theseus also went on his way chastising the wicked, who were visited with the same violence from him which they were visiting upon others, and suffered justice after the manner of their own injustice.

XII. As he went forward on his journey and
came to the river Cephisus, he was met by men of
the race of the Phytalidae, who greeted him first,
and when he asked to be purified from bloodshed,
cleansed him with the customary rites, made pro-
pitiatory sacrifices, and feasted him at their house.
This was the first kindness which he met with on his
journey.
It was, then, on the eighth day of the month Cronius, now called Hecatombaeon, that he is said to have arrived at Athens. And when he entered the city, he found public affairs full of confusion and dissension, and the private affairs of Aegeus and his household in a distressing condition. Tor Medea,

PLUTARCH'S LIVES-

yap éx KopivOou guyotca, pappaxas vroaxyopmévn
a b / 9 lA > / A > A
Ths atexvias amadddfeav Aiyéa, ovviv avt@.
A A "A
mpoatcbouevn 5é mept tod @ncéws aitny, Tod
dé Aivéws ayvoobytos, dvtos 5€ wpecButépou Kat
goBovpévou mravra bia thy oTdaty, Ereroev avTov
¢ / e a / > a ' \
as Eévov éEctiavtTa dhappydKos avereiv. €AO@v
s € ' > \ " > > /
obv o Onoevs éml to apiotov ovx édoxipace
, e / a / 9 4
dpaley avtov, doris ein, mpotepos, éxeivm Se
Bovropevos apynyv avevpécews trapacyeiv, kpeav
TAPAKELLEVOY OTATaMEVvOS THY padYaLpay, ws
TauTn Témver, edeixvuey éxelvo. Ttaxv Sé cata-
\ e > 4 \ \ 4 A ,
pabav o Alyets, THY mev KUALKA TOU happaKoU
/ \ \ e\ ' / ' / \

kaTéBare, Tov 5€ viov avaxpivas nomaleto, Kat
cuvayayav Tovs TodiTas éyvwpifev, Hdéws Sexo-
pévous bia THY avipayabiav. réyeras Sé Tis
KUNLKOS Tecovans exxvOnVvaL TO padppaKov Grou
fe) 9 4 \ / , b 3 A
vov ev Aerduvip to Tepippaxtov éativ, évtavda
e > \ v \ \ € A \ \ of
yap 6 Aéyevs wer, cal Tov ‘Epunv rov impos &w
a ¢ A A > 3 > A
Tov iepov KaXovow én’ Aivéws TvXaLs.
XIII. Oc 6€ Wadrravridar rpotepov pév Hrmifov
avtol thy Bactreiav xabéEew Aiyéws atéxvou
, q
TereuTnoavTos: émrel dé Onoevs amedeixyOn da-
Soxos, yareras hépovtes et Bacirever pev Aivyeds
Oeros yevopevos Tlavdtou Kal pndev ’EpeyOeibars
mpoonkwv, Bacirevoes © 0 Onoeds marsv Ernrvs
jv Kat Eévos, eis tmrodcnov KabiotayTo. «Kal
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who had fled thither from Corinth, and promised by her sorceries to relieve Aegeus of his childlessness, was living with him. She learned about Theseus in advance, and since Aegeus was ignorant of him, and was well on in years and afraid of everything because of the faction in the city; she persuaded him to entertain Theseus as a stranger guest, and take him off by poison. Theseus, accordingly, on coming to the banquet, thought best not to tell in advance who he was, but wishing®to give his father a clue to the discovery, when the meats were served, he drew his sword, as if minded to carve with this, and brought it to the notice of his father. Aegeus speedily perceived it, dashed down the proffered cup of poison, and after questioning his son, embraced him, and formally recognized him before an assembly of the citizens, who received him gladly because of his manly valour. And it is said that as the cup fell, the poison was spilled where now is the enclo- sure in the Delphinium,! for that is where the house of Aegeus stood, and the Hermes to the east of the sanctuary is called the Hermes at Aegeus’s gate. XIII. Now the sons of Pallas had before this themselves hoped to gain possession of the kingdom when Aegeus died childless. But when Theseus was declared successor to the throne, exasperated that Aegeus should be king although he was only an adopted son of Pandion and in no way related to the family of Erechtheus, and again that Theseus should be prospective king although he was an immigrant and a stranger, they went to war. And dividing

1 The site of this sanctuary of the Delphinian Apollo is conjectured to have been somewhere to the east of the Olympieum.
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SseXovtes EéauTous ob pev eppavears 2pnrroev 6
éywpouv. éml To dotu peta TOD matpds, of Se
Tapynrrot xpthpaytes éavtous evi pevor, @S
d:y 00 ev értOna opevor Tols Umevavtion. mv be
Knpv& pet avtav, avap “Ayvovatos, évopa Aeas.
ovTos €Ejyyerke TO Onoe? ta BeBovrevpéva Trois
Ilavvavridais. o 5é éEaidrns émimec@v rots
évedpevovat mavtas diéerpev. ot 5é peta Tod
IldAXavros mudopevor Steardpnoav. é« tovTov
gact To Tladrnvéwv Sim mpos tov ‘Ayvouciov
émiyapiay pn elvar, pndé xnpuTtecOar ov-
Tiy@plov Tap avtois “’Axovete NE@’” pLocodar
yap Ttovvoua Sia THY Tpodociay Tov avdpos.
XIV. “O d€ @naevs évepyds elvar Bovropuevos,
dpa b€ kal Snuaywyar, éEnrAOev eri tov Mapa-
QOwviov Tadpov, ovK dAiya TPdyyaTa TOIS OiKOvGE
tThv Tetpatodw tapéyovta’ Kal yetpwodpevos
éredeiEato Cavta dia Tov dateos éXaoas, eita TH
"ArmodAdou te Acrdivip Kxatébvcer. 7 8é
‘ExddAn kal 1oO wept avtny pvOorcynua Tov
Eevicpod Kxal tis vmodoyis Eouxe pn wdons
dpotpeiy adnOeias. EOvov yap “Exadnjota) of
méprE Siow acuvovtes “Exdrw Art, nal thy
‘ExaAny étipev, Exarivny vroxopilopevor Sia 76
Kaxeivny véov dvta Kouidy tov Onoéa EeviLovcay
aomacacBat mpexButiKas Kal dirodppovetcOar
1 ‘ExaAnow the correction of Coraés ; ‘ExaAjotoy,

themselves into two bands, one of these marched openly against the city from Sphettus with their father; the other hid themselves at Gargettus and lay in ambush there, intending to attack their enemies from two sides. But there was a herald with them, a man of Agnus, by name Leos. This man reported to Theseus the designs of the Pallantidae. Theseus then fell suddenly upon the party lying in ambush, and slew them all. Thereupon the party with Pallas dispersed. This is the reason, they say, why the township of Pallene has no intermarriage .with the township of Agnus, and why it

will not even allow heralds to make their customary proclamation there of “Akouete leoi” (Hear, ye people !). For they hate the word on account of the treachery of the man Leos.

XIV. But Theseus, desiring to be at work, and at the same time courting the favour of the people, went out against the Marathonian bull, which was doing no small mischief to the inhabitants of the Tetrapolis.1_ After he had mastered it, he made a display of driving it alive through the city, and then sacrificed it to the Delphinian Apollo. Now the story of Hecale and her receiving and enter- taining Theseus on this expedition seems not to be devoid of all truth. For the people of the townships round about used to assemble and _ saérifice the Hecalesia to Zeus Hecalus, and they paid honours to Hecale, calling her by the diminutive name of Hecaline, because she too, when entertaining Theseus, in spite of the fact that he was quite a youth, caressed him as elderly people do, and called

1 An early name for a district of Attica comprising Marathon and three other adjacent townships.

4 e a > \ \ ” XN
3 TotovTols UmoKopicpois. eet Sé€ evEaTO ev
e A bd A A of. 4 2A \ 4
vrép avtov Te Ari, BadiCovtos emi tHhv paxny,
el ows trapayévoto, Ovcev, améBave Sé tply
9 a 9 6 a ” a > / 3 \
éxelvov érraveNelv, ExxXe Tas elpnuevas aporBas
THs pirokevias tov Oncéws KedeVcaVTOS, OS
Diroyopos taTopnKev.
5) , 2 ° : / ‘
XV. ’Odiyo S€ tortepov eov éx Kpnrns ro
Tpitov ot tov dacuov amd£ovtes. STL pév ovV
"Avépoyem mept thy ’Attixny amobavetv Ser
dofavtos, 6 te Mivws moddAa Kaka ~TroAELOV
eipyateto Tovs avOpwrovs Kai TO Sdatpoviov
¥ \ 4 3 , \ 4
EpOetpe THY Yopav (agopia te yap Kal vocos
> 4 \ \ > 7s e / \
évéaoxnwe TOAAN Kal avédvoay ot ToTapmoi), Kat
Tod Yeov mpootdtavtos tNacapévois Tov Mivw
kat diadrAayetoe AwHyoTEY TO pHVILA Kal TOY
Kaxov écecOar Travrav, émiknpvKevodpevo. Kal
denBévres erroincavto auvOnjKas ooTte Tréutrew bv
b 4 > A bY \ riO€ e a \ Oé
évvéa éTav Sacpov niOéous érra Kal trapbévous
TOTAUTAS, OMOAOYODaLY Ol TrELTTOL TOV OVYypa-

/ \ \ a bd 4 4 e
2 héwy: Tovs dé maidas eis Kpnrnv xoptlopévous 6
bev Tpayixwtatos pvOos atropaives tov Miva-
tavpov év T@ AaBupivOe dadbecipew, 7 TAAVW-
peévous avtovs kal tuxeiv éEodov pn Suvapévous
éxet xatabvncKev, tov d€ Miveravpov, domep
Kvpuridns pyot,
- Lvppextov eidos xatropwrsov Bpéhos
yeyovévat, Kal
Tavpou pepixyOat cat Bpotrod Sirrn dices.
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him affectionately by such diminutive names. And since she vowed, when the hero was going to his battle with the bull, that she would sacrifice to Zeus if he came back safe, but died before his return, she obtained the above mentioned honours as a return for her hospitality at the command of Theseus, as Philo-chorus has written.

XV. Not long afterwards there came from Crete for the third time the collectors of the tribute. Now as to this tribute, most writers agree that because Androgeos was thought to have been treacherously killed within the confines of Attica, not only did Minos harass the inhabitants of that country greatly in war,! but Heaven also laid it waste, for barrenness and pestilence smote it sorely, and its rivers dried up; also that when their god assured them in his commands that if they appeased Minos and became reconciled to him, the wrath of Heaven would abate and there would be an end of their miseries, they sent heralds and made their supplication and entered into an agreement to send him every nine years a tribute of seven youths and as many maidens. And the most dramatic version of the story declares that these young men and women, on being brought to Crete, were destroyed by the Minotaur in the Laby- rinth, or else wandered about at their own will and, being unable to find an exit, perished there; and that the Minotaur, as Euripides says, was |

‘A mingled form and hybrid birth of monstrous

shape,”

and that

“ Two different natures, man and bull, were joined in him.” 2

1 Cf. Plato, Laws, p. 706.
2 Nauck, T'rag. Graec. Frag.?, p. 680.
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XVI. Birdyxopos 5 Snow ov tavTa suyxwpew
rr AR > € 4
Kpjras, ddrd Aéyerv Ste ppoupa pev Hv 0 AaBv-
\ \ a
puvOos, ovdey Exwv Kaxdyv AXX H TO py Staduyely
\ , 3, OA de e Mi >. 3
Tous gvAattouévous, ayava b€ 0 Mivws én
"Avdpoyem yupvixov éroies kat tos mraidas abda
A A 26 ,) / > lo A tv
Tois vikaow édidou téws ev te AaBupivbe
duratropevous: évixa 5é Tovs MmpoTépous ayavas
A /
0 péytoTov wap avT@ Sduvdpevos Tote Kal
a a \ \
atpatnyav, dvoua Taipos, avnp ovK émverens
Kal Hpepos TOV TpOTrOV, GANA Kal. Tots Tracol TeV
"AOnvaiwy wrepnddvws xal yYaret@s Tpoc-
depopevos. “Aptotorédrns 56 Kal avdtos ey TH
Bottiaiwy oditeia Sidds Cori ov vopitwr
bd a \ ny) ee. \ A / 2 \
avatpetcBar tovs waidas bird Tov Miva, adra
Onrevovtas év TH Kpntn xataynpdoKxev: kat rote
a 4
Kpjras evynv tradaay atrodidevtas avOp@Tav
arapynv eis Aedrhovs aroctédrev, Tots dé
TeuTromevors avamxOévtas éxyovous éxelvav ouv-
A e \ > 2 é \ / e ‘
eEeXOeiy: ws 5€ otk Hoav (xavol tpépewv éEaurovs
avToOt, mpatov pev eis “Itadtavy Siamepdoat
Kakel Katotkeiy tept tHv “lamruyiav, éxetOev &é
9 >] , wn \ “A
avdis ets Opannv KoptcOjvar Kal xrAnOnvar
Bottiaiovs: 516 tas Kopas tav Borriaiwy Ovoiav
\ , 2 7 § cc™ > 9 f >»
Tia Tehovaas erradey’ “ lwpev ets AOnvas.
"BR \ v \ t \ J ,
OLKE Yap OVTwWS YadeTrOD Elvat PwvnVY exoVTN
moder Kat potcay aexOdverbar. Kal yap 6
Mivas del dseréres xaxds axovwv xal rodopo-
a an
pevos év Tots Attixots Oeatpots, Kal ode ‘Haiobos
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XVI. Philochorus, however, says that the Cretans do not admit this, but declare that the Labyrinth was a dungeon, with no other inconvenience than that its prisoners could not escape; and that Minos instituted funeral games in honour of Androgeos, and as prizes for the victors, gave these Athenian youth, who were in the meantime imprisoned in the Labyrinth ; and that the victor in the first games was the man who had the greatest power at that time under Minos, and was his general, Taurus by name, who was not reasonable and gentle in his disposition, but treated the Athenian youth with arrogance and cruelty. And Aristotle himself also, in his " Constitution of Bottiaea,''! clearly does not think that these youths were put to death by Minos, but that they spent the rest of their lives as slaves in Crete. And he says that the Cretans once, in fulfilment of an ancient vow, sent an offering of their first-born to Delphi, and that some descendants of those Athenians were among the victims, and went forth with them; and that when they were unable to support themselves there, they first crossed over into Italy and dwelt in that country round about Iapygia, and from there journeyed again into Thrace and were called Bottiaeans; and that this was the reason why the maidens of Bottiaea, in per- forming a certain sacrifice, sing as an accompaniment : "To Athens let us go!"

And verily it seems to be a grievous thing for a man to be at enmity with a city which has a language and a literature. For Minos was always abused and reviled in the Attic theatres, and it did not avail him either that Hesiod 2 called him " most

1 Not extant. 2 In some passage not extant.

avrov avnce ' 'Bacthevtatov" ovTe" "Opnpos:-' ' oapt-
oTHy Avs" Tpogaryopevaas, aXr eT LK PATHS AVTES
ot Tpayexol TONY aro TOU oyelou Kal THS oKNUHS
abotiav autob KarecKébac ay WS xarerod Kal
Buatov ryevopuevon. KQUT Ot gaat TOV pev Miva
Bactréa kat vowoberny, Sicacrny dé TOV 'Paéa-
pavduy elvat Kai dvAaKa TOV wplopévwy UT
éxeivou ducaiwv.
XVII. "Evel 8 ovv Kadicev 0 xpovos Tov
TpiTov Sacpov, Kat Tapexey &dee Tovs Tarépas
émt Tov KAAjpov ols Hoav niBeor aides, av0us
avepvovTo TO Aiyet 61a Borat 7 pos TOUS Twohitas,
ddupopevous Kal ayavaxtovyTas OTL TAVT@V aiTLos
QV exeivos, ovoev pépos Eyer THS Konda ews fL0V0S,
GNX' emt vob Kat Fev tarot THY apxny TETOLN-
pévos avTous meptopg yenoiov épnyous Kal
amabas dmoherTropevous. TAUT 7, qvia TOV Oncea,
Kal SiKa@v pa apenrerv, GANA Kowwovety THS
TUXNS TOS ToAiTALS, émédcoxen € éauTov avev KAnpov

mpocenOaw. Kal Tots pev Grows TO Té ppovnpa.
Oavpacror epavy Kal TO SnporiKoy Hyanneay,
0 O€ Aiyeus, € €7ret Sedpevos Kal KabiKeTEvWD a per a-
WeloTOV EW@PA Kal apeTaTpETTTOV, ATrEKAT|PWOE
TOUS GAXous Traidas.
‘EdAadviKos bé gnaw ov Tous AaxXovTas aro
Krpou Kal Tas Aaxovoas ex Tre MITEL THV TOALY,
avrov dé Tov Mivo Taparywwowevov exréyerOat
Kab TOV Oncea TavTov ehea Oar Tp@Tov emt Tols
opta Beiow: apo wevov & elvac thy pep vabv
‘AOnvaious TApeXely, éuBavtas be wrely ovV
avT@ Tovs HiPéovs pndév Srrrov apniov émiepo-
THESEUS :

royal,’ or that Homer? styled him “a confidant. of Zeus,” but the tragic poets prevailed, and from platform and stage showered obloquy down upon him, as a man of cruelty and violence. And yet they say that Minos was a king and lawgiver, and that Rhadamanthus was a judge under him, and a guardian of the principles of justice defined by him.

XVII. Accordingly, when the time came for the third tribute, and it was necessary for the fathers who had youthful sons to present them for the lot, fresh accusations against Aegeus arose among the people, who were full of sorrow and vexation that he who was the cause of all their trouble alone had no share in the punishment, but devolved the kingdom upon a bastard and foreign son, and suffered them to be left destitute and bereft of legitimate children. These things troubled Theseus, who, thinking it right not to disregard but to share in the fortune of his fellow-citizens, came forward and offered himself independently of the lot. The citizens admired his noble courage and were delighted with his public spirit, and Aegeus, when he saw that his son was not to be won over or turned from his purpose by prayers and entreaties, cast the lots for the rest of the youths.

Hellanicus, however, says that the city did not send its young men and maidens by lot, but that Minos himself used to come and pick them out, and that he now pitched upon Theseus first of all, follow- ing the terms agreed upon. And he says the agree- ment was that the Athenians should furnish the ship, and that the youths should embark and sail

1 Odyssey, xix. 179.

pévous, Grrodopévou S¢ tod Muvwravpov répas
Every THY TroLvry.
IIporepov pév ovv ovdepia owtnpias édmris
vréxerto’ 60 Kal péXav totiov Eyovcar, ws ert
cuupopa mrpodnrw, THY vadv ereptrov: Tote 5é
ToD @ncéws Tov Tatépa Oappuvovtos Kal peyarn-
yopovvTos ws yetpwoetat TOY Mivwraupor, Ewxev
Erepov iotiov evKov TO KuBepyynty, KEedevoas
troatpépovta awlouevov Tov Oncéws erradpacbar
TO AevKov, ef O€ pn, TO péAave TEV Kal AaTrOTn-
paiver To Talos.
‘O 8 2upovidns ov NevKOV gnaw elvat 76
Soev tro tod Aiyéws, GAAa “ hotvixeov ioriov
iyp@ wedhupyévoyv mpivov avOe. éptOddrov*” Kai
TovTO THS TwTNplas avTaV TroLnoacdbat onpetov.
éxvBépva dé trav vaiv ’Apapovddas Déperdos,
OS once Yepwvidns. PidoxXopos d€ Tapa YKipou
pnotv ex 2arapivos TOV Oncéa AaBeiy xuBep-
yHTHV pev Navoioor, mpwpea Oé Paiaxa, Ln-
dé7r@ TOTE TOY “AOnvatav Tpoa eX ovT ov 7 Qa-
AdtTTy Kal yap elvat TOV niBewv éva MevécOnv
Sxlpou Buyatpibobv. paptupel dé TovTos np@a
NavovOoou kat Paiaxos eto apevou Oncéws Pa-
APO TpoOs T@ TOU Lipou é tep@,' Kal rHv éoprny
Ta KuBepynod pact exelvous Terela Oa.
XVHI. Tevouévou 8¢ Tob KApov maparhaBeov
TOUS AaxovTas) Oncevs éx TOU mpuTavelou, Kal
maperOarv Ets Acrpinor, eOnnev virép avTov TO
"AmoAAwVE THY ikeTnpiav. mv d5é KAdSOS aro
1 jep@ bracketed by Bekker (near that of Scirus).

with him carrying no warlike weapon, and that if the Minotaur was killed the penalty should cease.

On the two former occasions, then, no hope of safety was entertained, and therefore they sent the ship with a black sail, convinced that their youth

were going to certain destruction ; but now Theseus encouraged his father and loudly boasted that he would master the Minotaur, so that he gave the pilot another sail, a white one, ordering him, if he returned with Theseus safe, to hoist the white sail, but otherwise to sail with the black one, and so indicate the affliction.

Simonides, however, says! that the sail given by Aegeus was not white, but ‘‘a scarlet sail dyed with the tender flower of luxuriant holm-oak,” and that he made this a token of their safety. Moreover, the pilot of the ship was Phereclus, son of Amarsyas, as Simonides says; but Philochorus says that Theseus got from Scirus of Salamis Nausithoiis for his pilot, and Phaeax for his look-out man, the Athenians at that time not yet being addicted to the sea, and that Scirus did him this favour because one of the chosen youths, Menesthes, was his daughter’s son. And there is evidence for this in the memorial chapels for Nausithoiis and Phaeax which Theseus built at Phalerum near the temple of Scirus, and they say that the festival of the Cybernesia, or Pilot’s Festival, is celebrated in their honour.

XVIII. When the lot was cast, Theseus took those upon whom it fell from the. prytaneium and went to the Delphinium, where he dedicated to Apollo in their behalf his suppliant’s badge. This

1 Fragment 54 (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graect, iii.‘ p. 413).

THS tepas édalas, épim RAeve@ KaTectempévos. evEduevos bé€ xatéBawev Extn penvos ém Oa-Aacgoav taotapévov Movvuxiavos, 7 Kal viv ere Tas Kopas Téwrovaow iNacopévas eis Aerdiviov. AeyeTar dé auT@ Tov pev év Acrdois dverety Geov “Adpoditny xabnyepova troveicBar Kai Trapa-anrely auvéutropov, Ovovtse 6€ mpos Oaraoon THV alya OnXeray ovoay avToudtas tpayov yevéobar: 5:0 Kal KareicOar tHv Oeov ’Emitpayiav.

XIX. *Esrel 68 watémrevcev eis Kpnrny, ws bev ob TodXOl ypdadovar Kal adovat, Tapa TIS

"Apiddvns épacbeians To Aivov AaBwv, Kal 4b:-
SayGels ws Erte tod AaBupivOov tods Ediypors
SreEeNOciv, améxtevve tov Muvetavpov al arré-
wrevoe THY ‘Apiadyny dvarxaBov kal tors Hi-
Oéovs. Depexvdns 5é nal ta édddn trav Kpn-
Tixav veav gnaw eéexxoyrac tov @naéa, Thy
Siwkw adarpovpevov. Anpuov dé xa rov Tadpov
dvaipeOfRvai dno. tov tod Mivw otpatnyov, év
TO Auer. Svavavpayobvta tod Oncéws éx-
mréovtos. ws 5é Piroxopos iotopyKe, TOV ayaova
tov Mivw auvteAobvtos, éridofos dy aravtas
Taw vinjoew, 6 Tavpos épOovetto. xal yap 4
Sivauis avtod dia tov tpoTrov Hv émraxOns, Kar
SiaBorny elyey ws TH Ilaciupdn wAnoidfov. 816
Kal tod Onoéws aktoivtos aywvicacba. cuve-
xapnoev 0 Mivas. ous 5é dvtos ev Kpyry
Gedc Oar nai Tas yuvaixas, Apiadvn tapovea pos
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was a bough from the sacred olive-tree, wreathed
with white wool. Having made his vows and
prayers, he went down to the sea on the sixth day ot
the month Munychion, on which day even now the
Athenians still send their maidens to the Delphinium
to propitiate the god. And it is reported that the
god at Delphi commanded him in an oracle to make
Aphrodite his guide, and invite her to attend him on
his journey, and that as he sacrificed the usual she-
goat to her by the sea-shore, it became a he-goat
(“ tragos’’) all at once, for which reason the goddess
has the surname Epitragia.

XIX. When he reached Crete on his voyage, most historians and poets tell us that he got from Ariadne, who had fallen in love with him, the famous thread, and that having been instructed by her how to make his way through the intricacies of the Labyrinth, he slew the Minotaur and sailed off with Ariadne and the youth. And Pherecydes says that Theseus also staved in the bottoms of the Cretan ships, thus depriving them of the power to pursue. And Demon says also that Taurus, the general of Minos, was killed ina naval battle in the harbour as Theseus was sailing out. But as Philochorus tells the story,} Minos was holding the funeral games, and Taurus was expected to conquer all his competitors in them, as he had done before, and was grudged his success, For his disposition made his power hateful, and he was accused of too great intimacy with Pasiphaé. Therefore when Theseus asked the privilege of entering the lists, it was. granted him by Minos. And since it was the custom in Crete for women to view the games, Ariadne was

present, and was

1 Cf. chapter xvi. 1.
37
on

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Te Thy ov é£erAdyn Tob Oncéws Kxal thy
GOAnow eavpace mrdvtwv Kparncayvtos. Habeis
5é xal 0 Mivws pddtota Tov Tavpou Kataradat-
aOévtos xat mpomnraxtobévtos, amédwxe TO
@ncet tovs maidas Kal advice TH TWodeL TOV
dao Lov.
[dims 5€ ras Kal repittas 6 KretSnyos amrmy-
yetre mepl tovTwv, dvwbév rofev apEduevos, Srt
Soya Kowov Hv “EAAnvov pnoepiav éxrdeiv
Tpinpn pndapolev avdipav mévte wreiovas Seyo-
pévny: tov Oé apyovta THs Apyots "ldcova povov
mepit@retv! é£eipyovta tis Oaratrns ta dy-
ornpia. Aaddrov 8 rrol@ duyovtos els AOnvas,
Mivos rapa ta Soypata paxpais vavol d:oKxev
UTS Yetpwavos els Yuxedtav amnvéyOn xaxei xaté-
atpewe tov Biov. émet &€ Aeveariwv o vids
avTov TorNemKas Eywv pos Tors "AOnvaious
éreuwev, éxdidovae Aaidarov avT@ Kxerevwov 7}
Tovs Tatdas armoxteveiy ameiav ods édXaBev
ounpovs 6 Mivas, TovT@ peyv atrexpivato wpdws
0 Oncevs, TAPALTOUMEVOS averiov évta Aaidadov
Kakeiv@ KaTa yévos TMpoonKovTa, pmTtpos dvTa
Meporns ths “EpeyOéws, avtos 8€ vavrnyiav
éreBareTo, Thy pev ev Qupattadav avToO. pa-
kpav tis Eevixns od00, rhv dé Sia TlerOéws ev
Tportnv, Bovrdpevos rAavOdvev. ryevopévav Se
éroipov é&érvevoe tov te Aaidarov éxwv cal
gduydbas éx Kpyrns xabnyeuovas: ovdevds 8é
) wepimAciy Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna after this

word. A Bodleian MS. (B4) has rpihpe: wAfpe: dvdpav ixavay
(with a trireme fully manned). .
33

THESEUS

smitten with the appearance of Theseus, as well as

filled with admiration for his athletic prowess, when he conquered all his opponents. Minos also was delighted with him, especially because he conquered Taurus in wrestling and disgraced him, and therefore gave back the youths to Theseus, besides remitting its tribute to the city.

Cleidemus, however, gives a rather peculiar and ambitious account of these matters, beginning a great way back. There was, he says, a general Hellenic decree that no trireme should sail from any port with a larger crew than five men, and the only exception was Jason, the commander of the Argo, who sailed about scouring the sea of pirates. Now when Daedalus fled from Crete in a merchant- vessel to Athens, Minos, contrary to the decrees, pursued him with his ships of war, and was driven from his course by a tempest to Sicily, where he ended his life.) And when Deucalion, his son, who was on hostile terms with the Athenians, sent to them a demand that they deliver up Daedalus to him, and threatened, if they refused, to put to death the youth whom Minos had received from them as hostages, Theseus made him a gentle reply, declining to surrender Daedalus, who was his kinsman and cousin, being the son of Merope, the daughter of Erechtheus. But privately he set himself to building a fleet, part of it at home in the township of Thymoetadae, far from the public road, and part of it under the direction of Pittheus in Troezen, wishing his purpose to remain concealed. When his ships were ready, he set sail, taking Daedalus and exiles from Crete as his guides, and since none

1 Cf. Herodotus, vii. 170; Diodorus, iv. 79.

mpoeldoTos, GAAa vavs girAias olopévwy Tov Kpnrav mpocdépecOar, tod Aipévos Kpatnoas cal amoBas ébOacev eis tHv Kvwoodv taped- Gov: Kal pdadynv év mvrdas tod AaBupivOov cuvaryyas améxtewe tov Aeveadiwva Kai Tovs Sopudopous. év 5é Trois mpdypacet THs "Apiaddvns yevouevns, omeltapevos Tmpos avuTHY TOUS TE niOéous avédaBe Kal didiav éroince tos 'AOn- vaiots mpos tovs Kpfras, ouocavtas pndérrote Toveuou KatapEeu.

XX. TloArod b€ AOyor Kal wept tovtwyv ért éyovrac kal repli TAS "Apiadyns, ovdév oporo- ryoupevov &yovres. ob wey yap andyfacbai pac avTny amonrerpbeic av td ToD Oncéus, ot Se eis Ndé£ov v6 vavtav Kopicbeicay Oivapw Te iepet tov Atovicov avvoixeiv, atrorkepOjvar 5é Tod Oncéws ép@vtos Erépas: |
Aewvos yap puv étecpev Epws Iavomnidos Aiyans.

A A \ 3 A 'H a) Il /
TOUTO yap TO ETos Ex TWY Kiatodou lletataTpator

éFereiv dno ‘Hpéas 0 Meyapevs, domep ad md-
3 a ? \ e / , \
uv éwParety ets THY Opnpov vévviay To
Oncéa Ilecpiodv te Pew aptdeixera Téxva,

yapifouevov ’AOPnvaios Evior Sé Kal texeiv éx
Onoéws ‘Apedouny Oivotriwva Kab Lrdpudov Ov
cat o Xios “lev éorl rept THS éavtod Tatpibas
Neyo"
Try rote Onaeidns Exticev Olvorriov.

of the Cretans knew of his design, but thought the approaching ships to be friendly, Theseus made himself master of the harbour, disembarked his men, and got to Gnossus before his enemies were aware of his approach. Then joining battle with them at the gate of the Labyrinth, he slew Deucalion and his body-guard. And since Ariadne was now at the head of affairs, he made a truce with her, received back the youthful hostages, and established friendship between the Athenians and the Cretans, who took oath never to begin hostilities.

XX. There are many other stories about these matters, and also about Ariadne, but they do not agree at all. Some say that she hung herself because she was abandoned by Theseus; others that she was conveyed to Naxos by sailors and there lived with Oenarus the priest of Dionysus, and that she was abandoned by Theseus because he loved another woman :—

“‘ Dreadful indeed was his passion for Aigle child of Panopeus.”’ !

This verse Peisistratus expunged from the poems of Hesiod, according to Hereas the Megarian, just as, on the other hand, he inserted into the Inferno of Homer the verse :—

“Theseus, Peirithous, illustrious children of

Heaven,” ?

and all to gratify the Athenians. Moreover, some say that Ariadne actually had sons by Theseus, Oenopion and Staphylus, and among these is Ion of

Chios, who says of his own native city :—
“¢ This, once, Theseus’s son founded, Oenopion.”’ 3

1 Cf. Athenaeus, p. 587 a. 2 Odyssey, xi. 631.
3 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. ii.’ p. 254.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

“A & éorly evpnuotata Trav pv0orocyoupévoy,
mavres ws érros eitrety ba ordpatos éxyovatyv.
doy S€ tiva trept TovTwy Adyov éxdédwxe Tacwy
e939 4 ‘\ \ , e \
o Apadovotos. tov yap Oncéa dyoly vo yxe-

A ? U4 b] , \ > 4
pavos eis Kuzpoy éFeveyOévra cal rnv "Apiddynv
éyxvov éyovta, pavrws 8 Svaxetpévny bd Tod
, \ A Pd A L4 oN
carovu kal Svadopodaay, éxBiBdoa povny, avTov
5¢ 1@ mAol@ BonOodvra madw eis TO wéXdyos
amd THs yhs pPépecOat. Tas odv éyxwpiovs yu-
vaixas thy ’Apiddvyny dvadaBeiv cal qweptétrey
A 9 \ A 4 ?

abvpovoay él TH povece, Kal ypdupata TA-

a ’ Led
oTa Tpoahépery, @S TOD Oncéws ypddorros auth,
kat wept THv @diva auprovetvy Kal BonOety: arro-
Oavodcav 8é& Odvrar pn Texodcav. émedovta
dé tov @noéa Kai wepidvrov yevopuevov Tots pev
éyxwplos amronttreiy ypjpata, cuvtdeavta Ovew
a 3 4 , \ ? , e ,
Th Apiddvn, dv0 5 pexpovs avéptavticKous idpu-
cacbat, Tov pev apyupovv, Tov dé yarxKodv. év
5é 1H Ovola tod Topmuatov pnvos ioTapevov
4 a)
Seurépa Kataxdivopevoy tia taV veavicxwY
POeyyecOar Kal rrovety arrep wdivovaa. yuvaixes-
carey 88 7d ddoos "Apabovaious, év & tov tadov
Secxvuovaw, Apiddyvns 'Adpoditns.
Kat Nakiwv 6€ tives idiws iotopodat Svo
Mivewas yevéoBat cal S00’ Apidévas, av THY pév
Aicvicw yaunOijvai dacw ev Nakp cal rovs
mept Yradurov texelv, thy 5é vewrépay dpra-
a e \ a , ? a ?

oOeicav vio Tov Oncews Kal arroradUeicay eis
Nadfov édOeiv, Kai tpopdov pet avtns dvopua
42

THESEUS

Now the most auspicious of these legendary tales are in the mouths of all men, as I may say; but a very peculiar account of these matters is published by Paeon the Amathusian. He says that Theseus, driven out of his course by a storm to Cyprus, and having with him Ariadne, who was big with child and in sore sickness and distress from the tossing of the sea, set her on shore alone, but that he himself, while trying to succour the ship, was borne out to sea again. The women of the island, accordingly, took Ariadne into their care, and tried to comfort her in the discouragement caused by her loneliness, brought her forged letters purporting to have been written to her by Theseus, ministered to her aid during the pangs of travail, and gave her burial when she died before her child was born. Paeon says further that Theseus came back, and was greatly afflicted, and left a sum of money with the people of the island, enjoining them to sacrifice to Ariadne, and caused two little statuettes to be set up in her honour, one of silver, and one of bronze. He says also that at the sacrifice in her honour on the second day of the month Gorpiaeus, one of their young men lies down and imitates the cries and gestures of women in travail; and that they call the grove in which they show her tomb, the grove of Ariadne Aphrodite. .

Some of the Naxians also have a story of their
own, that there were two Minoses and two Ariadnes,
one of whom, they say, was married to Dionysus in
Naxos and bore him Staphylus and his brother,
and the other, of a later time, having been carried
off by Theseus and then abandoned by him, came
to Naxos, accompanied by a nurse named Corcyne,
43

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kopxvvnv, Hs SeixvucOar tdpov. amobaveiv Se
kal tnv ’Apiddyvnv avrob. wal ripds eye ody
opoias TH mpotépa. TH wey yap Hdopévous xal
maivovtas éoptdtew, tas 8€ tavtn Spwpévas
Oucias elvar mrévOer tw Kal otuyvoTnt. pe-
pry wevas.
XXT. Ex 6€ tHs Kpyrns amomdéwv els AfjXov
katéoxe: kal T@ Oe@ Bvdcas nal dvabels To
adpodiatov & trapa tis “Apiadyns édraBev, éxo-
pevoe peta tav nidéwy yopeiay ty ere viv émi-
tereivy Andlouvs Réyovor, piunua tov év TH
AaBupiv0e trepidodwv cai dueFddmr, &v rive pub p@
maparrdfes xal avediers Exovte ytyvopévny.
kareitat S€ TO yévos TovTO Ths yopelas w7ro

Anriwy yépavos, was totopet Arxaiapyos. éxo-
pevaoe 5é rept tov Kepatava Bapor, éx Kxepdrav
cUYNppLOG Mévoy EvwWVUpLwWY aTravTwY. TronoaLr Sé
cal ayava pact avtov év Ando, Kal Trois vix@oe
TOTe Tpa@Tov wT éxeivou poivika SoOjnvar.
XXII. TH 8 “Artixg mpocdhepopévwy éxra-
OécOat pev adrov, éxrabécOar dé tov xuBepynrny
t1d yapas érdpacBa 76 iotiov Sb THY cwtnplav
avt@ayv éder yvopimov tO Alyet yevéoOar Tov
5é dmoyvovta pirat Kata THY WéTpas éavTov
cal SiadOaphvar. xatamrevoas S€ 0 Onoevs
€Ove pev autos as éxmrrAéwv Oucias evEato Tots
Oeots Padrnpol, cnpuxa 5€ améoreire THs cwTN-
pias ayyeXov eis Gotu. ovtos évéruyey ddupopé-
VOLS TE TOAKNOLS THY TOD Bactréws ‘TeAEUTHVY Kal
Yaipovat, Ss EeiKos, ETEpaLs Kal didrodppoveicBat
44

whose tomb they show; and that this Ariadne also
died there, and has honours paid her unlike those
of the former, for the festival of the first Ariadne is
celebrated with mirth and revels, but the sacrifices
performed in honour of the second are attended
with sorrow and mourning.

XXI. On his voyage from Crete, Theseus put in at Delos, and having sacrificed to the god and dedi- cated in his temple the image of Aphrodite which he had received from Ariadne, he danced with his youths a dance which they say is still performed by the Delians, being an imitation of the circling passages in the Labyrinth, and consisting of certain rhythmic involutions and evolutions. This kind of dance, as Dicaearchus tells us, is called by the Delians The Crane, and Theseus danced it round the altar called Keraton, which is constructed of horns (“kerata”’) taken entirely from the left side of the head. They say that he also instituted athletic contests in Delos, and that the custom was then begun by him of giving a palm to the victors.

XXII. It is said, moreover, that as they drew nigh the coast of Attica, Theseus himself forgot, and his pilot forgot, such was their joy and exultation, to hoist the sail which was to have been the token of their safety to Aegeus, who therefore, in despair, threw himself down from the rock and was dashed in pieces. But Theseus, putting in to shore, sacrificed in person the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at Phalerum when he set sail, and then dispatched a herald to the city to announce his safe return. The messenger found many of the people bewailing the death of their king, and others full of joy at his tidings, as was natural, and eager to welcome him

45

“ 4
Kal orepavody autov én) tH cwrnpla mpoOdpos
2 ° A Q @ 4 5 , QN
oval. TOUS pev ov oTepavous OCEexYopEVOS TO
xnpvxetoy avéotepev, éeravenOwv Sé éri Oa-
a“ lA
Aacoay ovTw TeTrolnpévoy aTrovoas TOV Onoéws
” , \ ’ A a ,
Ew meptéperve, 7) BovAopevos THY Ovotav tapd-
Far. yevopévav S¢ tay orrovdav amnyyetke THY
tov Aiyéws tereutnv. of 5€ crv xravOpo Kal
4
OopuBo amevdovres avéBatvov eis THv qWoNs».
@ \ “a 3 “ > rd ce
60ev cai viv év toils w@ayodopios atepavova bau
A > N a, 4 > QA >} a
pév ov TOV KnpuKa AEyovoLY, ANAA TO KNPUKELOD,
émupwveiy dé éy tais omovdais, "EXeded, ‘Tov,
"lov, Tous Tapovtas: MY TO pév oTrEvdoVTES ava-
ghovety kai tatwvilovtes ciwOact, ro Sé éxtA7>
Eews Kal Tapayis €oTt.
@apas 5é€ tov matépa, to *ArodAdwove THY
evynyv amredidov TH EBSopnn Tod Tvaveyridvos
pnvos totapévouv’ tavtn yap avéBnoapv eis aatu
cwlévtes. 1 pev ovv &nots TAY oonpiov éye-
4 \ , 9 \ ? > A
tas yiverOar dia TO owbévtas avTovs eis TavTO
ouppitar Ta weptovta TeV octtiovy Kal play
xUTpav Kony eEYrnoavtas ouveotiabnvar xa
ouyxatapayeiy aAArAos. Thy 5é eipect@vny
éxpépovot xrAdbov édaias epip pev aveoteupévor,
WOTTEP TOTE THY txeTNpiay, TayTobaTray S€ aya-
Trew Katapypatwv dia TO AREAL THY adopiar,
é€mr ddovtes:
46

10

THESEUS

and crown him with garlands for his good news.
The garlands, then, he accepted, and twined them
about his herald’s staff, and on returning to the sea-

shore, finding that Theseus had not yet made his libations to the gods, remained outside the sacred precincts, not wishing to disturb the sacrifice. But when the libations were made, he announced the death of Aegeus. Thereupon, with tumultuous lamentation, they went up in haste to the city. Whence it is, they say, that to this day, at the festival of the Oschophoria,! it is not the herald that is crowned, but his herald's staff, and those who are present at the libations cry out: "Eleleu! Tou! Jou!" the first of which cries is the exclamation of eager haste and triumph, the second of consternation and confusion.

After burying his father, Theseus paid his vows to Apollo on the seventh day of the month Pyanep- sion; for on that day they had come back to the city in safety. Now the custom of boiling all sorts of pulse on that day is said to have arisen from the fact that the youths who were brought safely back by Theseus put what was left of their provisions into one mess, boiled it in one common pot, feasted upon it, and ate it all up together. At that feast they also carry the so-called "eiresione," which is a bough of olive wreathed with wool, such as Theseus used at the time of his supplication, and laden with all sorts of fruit-offerings, to signify that scarcity was at an end, and as they go they sing :—

1 A vintage festival, during which branches of the vine with grapes upon them (éexor) were borne in procession from Athens to Phalerum. See chapter xxiii. 2.

Eipeciovn cica pepe Kai Tiovas aprous
Kal péde ev KOTUAN Kai EXavov atonoac bat
Kai KvrALx' evCwpov, ws av peOvovca xabevin.

KaiTOL TAUTA TIVES emt Tots 'Hpaxdreidats yiver Oat

, 4 s e XN "a >
Aéyouowy, ovTws Statpehopevors UO Tov AOn-
vaiwy: ot Sé WrELovEs WS TpoEipNTat.
XXIII. To 5€ wAotov ev & peta toY HiDéwy
€rdrevoe Kal Tad éowOn, THY TplaxoVvTopoY, aX pL
trav Anpntpiov tov Padrnpéws ypovev Sivepv-
AatTov of "AOnvaio, Ta pev Taraa tov EvroV
tpatpovuvTes, GAXa b€ éuBaddovtes toxupa Kal
TULTNYVUVTES OUTWS WaTE Kat ToIs Ptdooddorts
eis Tov ayEopevoy Adyov apudidoFovpevoy trapd-
Serypua TO WAOLOY Elval, TOY MeV WS TO AUTO, TOY

5¢ @s ov TO aUTO Siapévot NEYorTOV.
2 “Ayovot & xal THY TOV waxXOdopiwy éopTHY
O@ncéws KatacTHcavTos. ov yap amdcas avrov
éfayayely tas Aayovoas ToTe Trapbévous, ara
a , 4 4 a
Ttav avvnbwv veavicxwv dvo Onrudavets peéev
opOjvat Kal veapots, avdpwdes b€ tas yruxas cal
m poO uous, AouTpois Te Oeppois Kai oxtatpadiacs
kat tTais Tept Kopnv Kat AeLoTnTa Kal xXporav
arorpais cal Koopnoecw ws Eotw éEadrdkavra
A 4 \ \ a N
Kopin, Kal diddkavta gwvnv nal oyjpa xa
48

THESEUS

‘“‘ Kiresione for us brings figs and bread of the richest,
Brings us honey in pots and oil to rub off from the
body,
Strong wine too in a beaker, that one may go to
bed mellow.”
Some writers, however, say that these rites are in
memory of the Heracleidae,| who were maintained
in this manner by the Athenians; but most put the
matter as I have done. |
XXIII. The ship on which Theseus sailed with
the youths and returned in safety, the thirty-oared
galley, was preserved by the Athenians down to the
time of Demetrius Phalereus.2, They took away the
old timbers from time to time, and put new and
sound ones in their places, so that the vessel became
a standing illustration for the philosophers in the
mooted question of growth, some declaring that it
remained the same, others that it was not the same
vessel.
It was Theseus who instituted also the Athenian festival of the Oschophoria. For it is said that he did not take away with him all the maidens on whom the lot fell at that time, but picked out two young men of his acquaintance who had fresh and girlish faces, but eager and manly spirits, and changed their out- ward appearance almost entirely by giving them warm baths and keeping them out of the sun, by arranging their hair, and by smoothing their skin and beauti-

1 On the death of Heracles, his children, to escape the wrath of the tyrant Eurystheus, came as suppliants to Athens, bearing branches in their hands. See the Heracletdae of Euripides. .

2 Regent of Athens for Cassander of Macedon, 317-307 B.c.
Cf. Plato, Phaedo, p. 58.
49
VOL, I. 'E
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Badbiouv ws &t partiota rapbévors opovodabar rat
pndev daivecOar Stadépovtas, éuBareiy ets tov
Tov traplévwv apOpov Kat Sradabeiy amaytas:
3 \ ? A > / A ‘
érret 6€ érravnAOev, avTov Te TomTevoaL Kal TOUS
veaviaxous OUTWS apuTexopévous ws viv dytré-
é \ > \ lA lA \
YovTat Tovs aaxovs Pépovtes. épovor 5é Aro-
viow wat ’Apiddvy xaptCopuevor dea Tov pdOor, 7
a a * PJ , 9 A
MarAXov Ott cuyKxomlopuévns omwpas érravyndOor:
ai Sé Semvodopot waparapPavovta Kat Kowe-
vodot THs Ovoias aTroptpovpevar Tas pmTépas
éxel(vov TOV AaYOVTMOY: érrepoiTwy yap avTots
ova Kal citia Kopitovaas Kal pd0or AéyorTas
Sia TO Kdkelvas evOvpias &vexa nal Twapnyopias
U f a ‘7 a 2 \
pvOous SreEcévat tots tract. tadta pev ovv cat
Anpov iotopncev. &é&npéln 5é cad répevos adro,
kal tovs amo THY TapacyovTwy Tov Sacpor
v 3 , e A nw ’ 4
oixwv érakev els Ovoiay avT@ redrely atropopas:
kat THs Oucias émrepeXodvTO Purarldat, Oncéws
atrodovtos avtois auorBny ths pirokevias.
XXIV. Mera 6€ tryv Aiyéws rerXeuTHV péya Kal
\ ” ? A , /
Oavpacrov épyov eis voiby Badépuevos cuvmexice
\ a
Tous thy AtriKny Kxatotxovvras eis ev dotu, Kal
pias merews Era Sipwov arrépyve, Téws omopddas
bvtas Kal dvcavakdyTous TMpos TO KOLVOY TdVTODV
5°

THESEUS

fying their complexions with unguents; he also taught them to imitate maidens as closely as possible in their speech, their dress, and their gait, and to leave no difference that could be observed, and then enrolled them among the maidens who were going to Crete, and was undiscovered by any. And when he was come back, he himself and these two young men headed a procession, arrayed as those are now

arrayed who carry the vine-branches. They carry these in honour of Dionysus and Ariadne, and because of their part in the story; or rather, because they came back home at the time of the vintage. And the women called Deipnophoroi, or supper-carriers, take part in the procession and share in the sacrifice, in imitation of the mothers of the young men and maidens on whom the lot fell, for these kept coming with bread and meat, for their children. And tales are told at this festival, because these mothers, for the sake of comforting and encouraging their chil- dren, spun out tales for them. At any rate, these details are to be found in the history of Demon. Furthermore, a sacred precinct was also set apart for Theseus, and he ordered the members of the fami- lies which had furnished the tribute to the Minotaur to make contributions towards a sacrifice to himself. This sacrifice was superintended by the Phytalidae, and Theseus thus repaid them for their hospitality.! XXIV. After the death of Aegeus, Theseus conceived a wonderful design, and settled all the residents of Attica in one city, thus making one people of one city out of those who up to that time had been scattered about and were not easily called together for the common interests of all, nay, they

1 Cf. chapter xii. 1.

aupdépov, ote & Ste nat Siahepopévovs AdANAOLS
2 xal Todepodvtas. emiov ovv avérreOe Kata
i Kal yevn, Tav pev idtwTav Kal TevynTov -
evoeyouéevov TAXYDY THY TapaKAnolv avTOD, Tots
Sé Suvatois aBacirevtov woditeiav mpotetvwv
kat Snpoxpariay av'T@ povoy apyovtTs Torémov
kal vopov dvrAaxt xpnoopéevny, trav bé addrAdwv
3 wapéEovcav amacw "icopopiav. Ttovs pev 3
a " € \ / ? " 5 /
Tavta érebev, ot Sé tHv Sdvapw adtov dedioTes
peyarnv ovcav Hon Kal Thy ToApav, éBovAovTO
mevOopevor wadrov 1 Bralopevoe Tadra ovyxKwpelv.
Katadvoas ovv Ta Trap éxdoTols MpuvTaveia Kal
Bovrevrynpia xa apyds, ev b€ moinoas aract
kowov évrad0a mputaveiov Kal PBovdeuvTyHprov
ea le) cf \ mM" / 4 ? 4
Strov viv iputTat TO dotu, THYV Te TOALY 'AOHVas
,

mpoonyopevae xal Ilavabyvara Ovoiav éroince

/ " \ / a 4 | ?
4 xownv. Ovce bé nal Meroimia rH extn emt
béxa tod 'ExatopBatavos, iv ére viv Oudover.
A , bd / 4 e /
kat tv Bacirelay adeis, dorwep Mpmoroynoe,
Suexdoper THY TodtTElav amd Deady apydopmevos:

Ke yap avT@ xpnouos ex Acrhav pavtevopéve
TEept THS TONEWS"
5 Aéyeidn Onoed, It7Onidos exyove xovpys,
TOAAALS TOL TrOALETaL TATHP Ewos eyKaTéeOnKe
Téppata Kal KNwoTHpas év vueTéep@ TTOALEO PH.
GANA ov yn TL ALnY TreTTOVnpevos evdoOt Oumov
Bovreverv’ aoxds yap év olduate rovtoTopevc et.
1 icopoiplay. rovs wey with Coraés and Bekker: lcopo:play,
TOUS péy.
52

sometimes actually quarrelled and fought with each other. He visited them, then, and tried to win them over to his project township by township and clan by clan. The common folk and the poor quickly answered to his summons; to the powerful he promised government without a king and a democracy, in which he should only be commander in war and guardian of the laws, while in all else everyone should be on an equal footing. Some he readily persuaded to this course, and others, fearing his power, which was already great, and his boldness, chose to be persuaded rather than forced to agree to it. Accordingly, after doing away with the town- halls and council-chambers and magistracies in the several communities, and after building a common town-hall and council-chamber for all on the ground where the upper town of the present day stands, he named the city Athens, and instituted a Panathenaic festival. He instituted also the Metoecia, or Festival of Settlement, on the sixteenth day of the month Hecatombaeon, and this is still celebrated. Then, laying aside the royal power, as he had agreed, he proceeded to arrange the government, and that too with the sanction of the gods. For an oracle came to him from Delphi, in answer to his enquiries about the city, as follows :—

“ Theseus, offspring of Aegeus, son of the daughter

of Pittheus,

Many indeed the cities to which my father has given

Bounds and future fates within your citadel’s
confines.
Therefore be not dismayed, but with firm and
confident spirit
Counsel only; the bladder will traverse the sea and
its surges.”
53

Tovro Sé kal LiBvrAXrav torepov atrootopatioat
Tpos THY TOALY (aTOpovaLY, dvapbeyEapévnv’

"Aokds Batrifn: Sivas 5é rou od Depts eoriv.

XXV. "Ere 5é warrov avkfjoa: thy Tod Bov-
Adpmevos éxdrer Tavtas él toils taots, Kab TO
“ Acdp tre mavtes Xe@” Kypvyua Onoéws yeve-
a8at fact mavdnpiav tia Kabtatadvtos. ov pny
dtaxtov ovdé pemeypéevnv weptetdev Uo wANGOUS
émrixvbévtos axpitou yevouéevny thy Snpoxpariay,
GANA MpO@TOS atroxpivas ywpls evrarpidas Kal
yewpmopous Kal Snusovpyovs, evtrarpisars §€ yive-
axe Ta Ocia Kal rapéxev apyovtas amrodous
cal vopwv ddacKdXovs elvar Kal ociwv Kal iepav
bd 4 a ¥ / e ?
éEnyntds, Tois adNots TorITALS WoTrEp Ets toov
xatéatnae, S0&n pév edtrarpidav, xpeia 88 yew-
popwv, ANGE. Sé Snuscovpyav trepéyey Soxovv-
tov. OT dé mpaTos aTéKALVE TIPOS TOV BYAOV, WS
3 , / IEA \ a ”
Aptorotédns baci, cal ddbjxe To povapxelv, ore
paptupeiy cal “Opunpos ev vedv Katardoyp povous
"AOnvaiovs Sipov mpocayopevaas.
"Exowe 5€ xal voutopa, Bovv éyxapatas, dd

XN , A “a \ ,
tov Mapa8wmov tadpov, } 81a Tov Mivw otpatn-
yov, } Tpos yewpyiav Tovs TodiTas TapaKanrov.
> 9% 93 4 , \ e¢ / \ lA
am’ éxeivou 5é dace 76 ExaTtopBotov Kal To Sexd-
Botov ovopacOjvar. mpooxtnaduevos 5 TH 'At-
Tuxh THY Meyapixny BeBaiws, tiv Opuroupéevyny
54

THESEUS

And this oracle they say the Sibyl afterwards ee
to the city, when she cried :—
“Bladder may be submerged ; but its sinking will
not be permitted.”
XXV. Desiring still further to enlarge the city, he invited all men thither on equal terms, and the phrase “Come hither all ye people,’ they say was a proclamation of Theseus when he established a people, as it were, of all sorts and conditions. How- ever, he did not suffer his democracy to become | disordered or confused from an indiscriminate mul- titude streaming into it, but was the first to separate the people into noblemen and husbandmen and handicraftsmen. To the noblemen he committed the care of religious rites, the supply of magistrates, the teaching of the laws, and the interpretation of the will of Heaven, and for the rest of the citizens he established a balance of privilege, the noblemen being thought to excel in

dignity, the husbandmen in usefulness, and the handicraftsmen in numbers. And that he was the first to show a leaning towards the multitude, as Aristotle says, and gave up his absolute rule, seems to be the testimony of Homer | also, in the Catalogue of Ships,! where he speaks of the Athenians alone as a “ people.”

He also coined money, and stamped it with the effigy of an ox, either in remembrance of the Marathonian bull, or of Taurus, the general of Minos, or because he would invite the citizens to agriculture. From this coinage, they say, “ten oxen” and “a hundred oxen” came to he used as terms of valuation. navn attached the territory of Megara securely to

1 Jad, ii, 547.

év "loOu@ ornrnv eorncer, emuyparypas 76 Svopifov
ériypappa tiv yopav Svc) tpimérpors, dv eppate
To! ev pos éw
Ta& ody Tedomrévynoos, ddr’ "Iwvia:
701 8é apes éomépav
Tad éort TeXorovvnaos, ove lovia.
Kal Tov ayava Tpatos One Kata Cirov ‘Hpa-
Kréous, ws bt éxeivoy ‘Oddpria tO Ati, eal be
avrov “IcOua te Tocesdave dirotipnOels dyew
tovs “EAXnvas. o yap éml Mertxépty teOels av-
TOOL vuKtos edpato, TeAETHS ExoV pardov H Oéas
kal tavnyupicpod taf. evo. 5é dacw én
Sxelpwre ta “IoOma teOjvar, tod Onoéws ado-
atoupeévov Tov hovov bia THY avyyévetav’ UKelpwva
yap viov elvas KavnOov cat ‘Huoyns tis Tet0éws.
of 8€ Liv, od Xketpwva, cal Tov ayava TeOHvac
51a, tovTov bd Onoéws, ov bu’ exeivov. érakev ovv
xa Suwpicato mpos tots Kopwbiovs ’AOnvaiwv
Tots adixvoupévors etl ta “loOpwa mapéyey Tpo-
eSpiav dcov av toTov éricyn xatatetacbev 7d
THs Oewpidos vews iatiov, as ‘EdAdviKos Kal
“Avdpov o ‘Adtkapvaceds ioropnkacwy.

1 7d wey, 7d de with Coraés, after Reiske : 7a per, ra 3¢.

Attica, he set up that famous pillar on the Isthmus, and carved upon it the inscription giving the territorial boundaries. It consisted of two trimeters, of which the one towards the east declared :—

‘“‘ Here is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia ;’
and the one towards the west :—

“ Here is the Peloponnesus, not Ionia.”
He also instituted the games here, in emulation of Heracles, being ambitious that as the Hellenes, by that hero's appointment, celebrated Olympian games in honour of Zeus,so by his own appointment they should celebrate Isthmian games in honour of Poseidon. For the games already instituted there in honour of Melicertes were celebrated in the night, and had the form of a religious rite rather than of a spectacle and public assembly. But some say that the Isthmian games were instituted in memory of Sciron, and that Theseus thus made expiation for his murder, because of the relationship between them ; for Sciron was a son of Canethus and Henioche, who was the daughter of Pittheus. And others have it that Sinis, not Sciron, was their son, and that it was in his honour rather that the games were instituted by Theseus. However that may be, Theseus made a formal agreement with the Corinthians that they should furnish Athenian visitors to the Isthmian games with a place of honour as large as could be covered by the sail of the state galley which brought them thither, when it was stretched to its full extent. So Hellanicus and Andron of Halicarnassus tell us.
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XXVI. Bis dé Tov ™OvT OV émdevoe Tov Kib-eu-VoV, WS pev Piroyxo os | Kal tives aAXot Aéyoust, ped” ‘Hpaxdeous émt tas ‘Apatovas cvaTparev-cas, Kal yépas? ’Avriomny éda Bev" ot dé relovs, av éott Kal Pepextdys cat “EXddvixos kal “Hpo-dwpos, Uarepov pacw “Hpaxdéous idtoo TONOV mrevoa. Tov Oncéa xa THY "Apatova ra Bety aixydrwror, miavertepa eyorTes. ovdels yap aNAOS loTOpnTAL TAY per’ avTov oTparevadyT@y "A palova AaBeiv aiyuarwtov. Biwv dé cal tav-THY Tapaxpovd duevov obxer Oar AaBovra: pucer yap ovaas tas “Apalovas prrdv6pous ouTe puyeiv TOV Oncéa mpoa BddAovta 7) xopa, GvAa Kal Eévia TéprreLly* TOV O€ THV xopitoucav épBivac Tapakanrely els TO WAotovy éwBdons 5é ava-NOnvat.

Mevexparns bé€ Ts, totopiav mept Nixaias THs
év Biduvia qodews EXOEOWKOS, Oncea dnaot THY
*Avreomny éXovTa diatpivrat epi TOUTOUS TOUS
TOTrOUS" Tuyyavery dé cveTpaTevovTas auT@ Tpeis
veavia Kous e& "AOnvav adedgous aAApAwY, Ko-
vewv kat Qoavra Kat Zonoeva. ToUTOv obv épav-
Ta TNS "Avriomns Kal havOavovta TOUS a&Nous
eEevmely mpos éva, THY oun bor: éxeivou dé Trepl
TOUT@Y eVTUXOVTOS 7) 'AvrioTy, 'THY pep meipav
ioxupas amotpinpas Bat, To 6€ mparywa cappovas
dua Kab Tmpdws éveyxely Kal Tpos Tov Oncéa pen
KaTnyophca.. Tob dé Lodoevros @s aTréyvo pl-
ravtos é éauTov els TOT pov Tia «al Siap Oapevros,
pe vauayer ToTe THY aitiav Kal Td TaBos Tod
1 yépas with Cobet ; yépas apioretov MSS., Coraés, Bekker ;
yépas apiorecov.
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XXVI. He also made a voyage into the Euxine Sea, as Philochorus and sundry others say, on a campaign with Heracles against the Amazons, and received Antiope as a reward of his valour; but the majority of writers, including Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodorus, say that Theseus made this voyage on his own account, after the time of Heracles, and took the Amazon captive; and this is the more probable story. For it is not recorded that any one else among those who shared his expedition took an Amazon captive. And Bion says that even this Amazon he took and carried off by means of a stratagem. The Amazons, he says, were naturally friendly to men, and did not fly from Theseus when he touched upon their coasts, but actually sent him presents, and he invited the one who brought them to come on board his ship; she came on board, and he put out to sea.

And a certain Menecrates, who published a history of the Bithynian city of Nicaea, says that Theseus, with Antiope on board his ship, spent some time in those parts, and that there chanced to be with him on this expedition three young men of Athens who were brothers, Euneos, Thoas, and Solois. This last, he says, fell in love with Antiope unbeknown to the rest, and revealed his secret to one of his intimate friends. That friend made overtures to Antiope, who positively repulsed the attempt upon her, but treated the matter with discretion and gentleness, and made no denunciation to Theseus. Then Solois, in despair, threw himself into a river and drowned himself, and Theseus, when he learned the fate of

veavioxou Tov Oncéa Bapéws éveyxeiv, ral Svodo-
pobvra Noytov Te mudoxpya tov dveveryneiv Tpos
éavtov: elvat yap avTe m poo Terary pevov év Aed-
gots v7re Ths IIvOias, 6tay éml Eévns dviabh pa
MoTa Kal TepiivTros yévNTaL, TodLW exEl KTICAL
Kal TOV apd avtov Twas HyEenovas KaTAaXuTrElY.
éx O€ TOUTOU THY meV TOALY, HY ExTLCEV, ATO TOU
Geod TluOorodv mpocayopevaoat, Yorevta Sé Tov
TANTioV TOTAmOV ETL Tih TOU VeavioKoV. KaTa-
Autrely O€ Kal TOs abeAhOvS avTod, olov émictd-
Tas Kat vopobéras, cal aouv avtois “Eppov avdpa
tov “AOnvnow ettratpidav: ad’ ov Kal Tomov
‘Epuov Kadely oixiay tots Iv0oronitas, otk
op0as thy Sevrépay cvAdAaBnv Teptotavtas Kal
tnv do€av eri Geov aro Hpwos petatiOévtas.
XXVIII. Hpodaci pév ovv tavrny o tav
"Apalovey jorepos Exye: haivetar dé 7) adrov
avToo unde ryuvatxetov yevéoOat TO epyov. ov yap
ay év doret KATETTPATOTESEVTaY oude 77 payny
cuviyav €v YpP@ rept THY Tlyuca kat to Mov-
GELOY, Eb f4)) Kpatovoat THS Xeopas adeas he) monet
TpooguEav. ef Uev odv, OS EdAdvixos ¢ iotopnkKe,
T@ Kippepir@ Boonopy: wayevtt diaBacas TEpt-
HrGov, € épyov €oti wioTevoas: TO O€ &Y 7H Todt
ayedov autas évotpatoTredevoas papTuperTas Kai
TOS OvOHaG’ TOY TOTwY Kai Tais Oneass TOV
WEoovTMY.
TloAuy dé Xpovov Sxvos nv Kai pedAAHTES ap
horépas THS eTixErpjcews: TéAOs 56€ @noevs cata

the young man, and what had caused it, was grievously disturbed, and in his distress called to mind a certain oracle which he had once received at Delphi. For it had there been enjoined upon him by the Pythian priestess that when, in a strange land, he should be sorest vexed and full of sorrow, he should found a city there, and leave some of his followers to govern it. For this cause he founded a city there, and called it, from the Pythian god, Pythopolis, and the adjacent river, Solois, in honour of the young man. And he left there the brothers of Solois, to be the city's presidents and law-givers, and with them Hermus, one of the noblemen of Athens. From him also the Pythopolitans call a place in the city the House of

Hermes, incorrectly changing + the second syllable, and transferring the honour from a hero to

a god.

XXVIL Well, then, such were the grounds for the war of the Amazons, which seems to have been no trivial nor womanish enterprise for Theseus. For they would not have pitched their camp within the city, nor fought hand to hand battles in the neighgourhood of the Pynx and the Museum, had they not mastered the surrounding country and approached the city with impunity. Whether, now, as Hellanicus writes, they came round by the Cimmerian Bosporus, which they crossed on the ice, may be doubted ; but the fact that they encamped almost in the heart of the city is attested both by the names of the localities there and by the graves of those who fell in battle.

Now for a long time there was hesitation and delay on both sides in making the attack, but finally

1 Literally, giving it the circumflex accent.

Tt NOyov TO DoB@ ochayiacdpevos ovvippev avtais. 1 pév otv pdyn Bondpopsmvos éyévero penvos éf' 4 Ta Bondpoma péxpt viv "AOnvaior Ovovowv. iotoper 5é Kretdnpyos, éEaxpiBody ta xa' &xacta Bovropevos, TO pev evovUpOY TOY "Apaloven xépas emriotpépev mpos TO viv Kadovpevov "Apatoverov, To Se Se€i@ mpos tHv Ivica cata THY Xpvoav hee. payerbas Sé pos TodTO tous "AOnvaiouvs amo tod Movceiov tais 'ApaCoo. ouptecovtas, nal tddovs TaV WeorovTwv wept THY wAaTEelaY elvat THY Pépovoay emi Tas 13 mUnas mapa dO Xarxwdovros Hp@ov, As viv Tlecpaixds ovopdfovor. xal ravtn pev éxBiacd7vat péxype tov Kopevidwv xal troywphoa: tats yuvarkiv, amo bé Taddadiov wat "Apdntrod Kal Avxeiou mpoaRarovtas doacbat 76 SeFtov adtav adypt tod otpatorédouv Kal TodAds xataBanelv. TerapT@ 6é pv cuvdynKxas ryevea dau 51a Ths 'Lmraronurns: 'Inrrronorqy yap ovTos ovoyates THY T® Onoei svvorxodcav, ovn Avteowny.

"Evot 5€ dace peta tod Onoéws payxopevny
meceity THY avOpwrov bro ModAmadias daxovte-
aletcav, cal THY oTHANY THY Tapa TO THS ‘OdUp-
mlas iepov érl tavtn KeicOat, nal Gavpactoy ovK
Eoriv érl Tm paypacw ovTw manatots mravacbas
THY t ia ropiay, emel Kal Tas TeTpopévas gdacl tay
"Apatovev bn’ ’Avtidmns eis Xadxida Adbpa
SiatreupOecicas Ttuyydvew émipedreias, cal tadh-
val twas éxet wept To viv Apaloveroy cadovpevoy.
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Theseus, after sacrificing to Fear, in obedience to an oracle, joined battle with the women. This battle, then, was fought on the day of the month Boédromion on which, down to the present time, the Athenians celebrate the Boédromia. Cleidemus, who wishes to be minute, writes that the left wing of the Amazons extended to what is now’ called the Amazoneum, and that with their left they touched the Pnyx at Chrysa; that with this left wing the Athenians fought, engaging the Amazons from the Museum, and that the graves of those who fell are on either side of the street which leads to the gate by the chapel of Chalcodon, which is now called the Peiraic gate. Here, he says, the Athenians were routed and driven back by the women as far as the shrine of the Eumenides, but those who attacked the invaders from the Palladium and Ardettus and the Lyceum, drove their right wing back as far as to their camp, and slew many of them. And after three months, he says, a treaty of peace was made through the agency of Hippolyta; for Hippolyta is the name which Cleidemus gives to the Amazon whom Theseus married, not Antiope.
But some say that the woman was slain with a javelin by Molpadia, while fighting at Theseus’s side, and that the pillar which stands by the sanctuary of Olympian Earth was set up in her memory. And it is not astonishing that history, when dealing with events of such great antiquity, should wander in uncertainty, indeed, we are also told that the wounded Amazons were secretly sent away to Chalcis by Antiope, and were nursed there, and

some were buried there, near what is now called
the Amazoneum. But that the war ended in a
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Oo

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GANA TOD ye TOV TOAEMOY Eis OTTOVSAS TEXEUTIHTAL
papruptov éotw % Te TOU TOTOU KAHoLS TOU Tapa
70 Onociov, dvirep ‘Opxapoctov Karovow, 7} TE
ywwopéevn tarat Ovoia tais "Apatooe mpd Trav
Onceiwv. Secxvdovor & nat Meyapeis ’Auato-
vov Onknv wap avrtois, éml tov carovpevov ‘Pody
Badifovow é& ayopas, Grov 7d “PopBoedés.
NéyeTas O€ xal wept Xarpwverav érépas atrobaveiv,
kal radfvat tapa To pevpatiov § madar pév, as
Gorxe, Meppwdav, Aluwv S¢ viv Karetrar tept ov
év t@ Anpoabévous Bio yéypattat. paivovras 5é
pnde Geocariav dmpaypovas ai’ Apafoves dved-
Godcat: tddor yap avtav és Kal viv Seixvuvtac
mept THY ZKoTovaaiav Kal Tas Kuvds xepandas.
XXVIII.'Taita péev otv adk&ta pvnpns rept
tov "Apalovwv. iv yap o tis Onaonidos mourns
"Apalover éravdotacw yéypade, Onoet yapobv-
Tt Daidpav tHs Avtiomns émitiOepevns Kal TOV
pet autis Apalovev ayvvopévov kal Kteivovtos
avtas “Hpardéous, mepipavas gouxe pvOm Kal
TAdopate. tHS dé Avtiomns amobavovons éynpe
Paispayv, Eywv viov ‘Immodvtov €€ Avtidmrys, os 5é
Tlivdapés dyot, Anuoddvra. ras 88 rep) tavrny
kal Toy vioy auted dvatuyias, émel pundey avtt-
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solemn treaty is attested not only by the naming of the place adjoining the Theseum, which is called Horcomosium,! but also by the sacrifice which, in ancient times, was offered to the Amazons before the festival of Theseus. And the Megarians, too, show a place in their country where Amazons were buried, on the way from the market-place to the place called Khus,? where the Rhomboid? stands. And it is said, likewise, that others of them died near Chaeroneia, and were buried on the banks of the little stream which, in ancient times, as it seems, was called Thermodon, but nowadays, Haemon ; concerning which names I have written in my Life of Demosthenes.2 It appears also that not even Thessaly was traversed by the Amazons without opposition, for Amazonian graves are to this day shown in the vicinity of Scotussa and Cynoscephalae.

XXVIII. So much, then, is worthy of mention regarding the Amazons. For the “ Insurrection of the Amazons,” written by the author of the Theseid, telling how, when Theseus married Phaedra, Antiope and the Amazons who fought to avenge her attacked him, and were slain by Heracles, has every appear- ance of fable and invention. Theseus did, indeed, marry Phaedra, but this was after the death of Antiope, and he had a son by Antiope, Hippolytus, or, as Pindar says, Demophoén. As for the calami- ties which befell Phaedra and the son of Theseus by Antiope, since there is no conflict here between

1 From the oaths of ratification.

2 “Stream,” because water from the mountains above the city once flowed this way. Pausanias, i. xli. 2, The ‘* Rhomboid ” may have been an irregular mound.

3 Chapter xix. 4 In a passage not extant.

TINTEL TAPA TOV LOTOPLK@Y TOLS TPAYLKOLS, OUTWS
Exe Oeréov ws éxeivor TETOLNKAGLW ATraVTES.
XXIX. Eliot pévrot Adyou rept yapwov @ncéws
Kal Erepot, thy oxnynv StaTrepevyortes, OTE apKXas
evyvapovas ote evTUYEls TeheUTAS ExXOoVTES. Kal
yap "Avako twa Tpottnviav dprdcar réyeTtat,
Kal Liv amoxteivas nat Kepxvova cuvyyevécOar
Bia tais Ovyatpdow adtay ynyar 6é xa Tepi-
Bovav thy Aiavtos pntépa cal DepéBorav adOis
car “lorny rhv “Idixréous: nab did tov AlyAns
Epwra THs Ilavorréws, domep elpnrar, Hv Apiad-
yns amorenpey aitiavrar wn Kadyv yevérOar pnde
Tpémrovoay: émi waor Sé tHhv ‘EXévns dprayny
ToNeuwou pev euTrAnocas THv Artixny, avT@ 6é els
guyny Kal dreOpov terevtioar mepl av GdAlyov
UoTEpoV EipnoeTat.
TloAA ap dé téTe Tois apiators GOAwv yevopévwv
‘Hpodwpos pév ovdevos olerar tov Onoéa peta-
axelv, adda povois AawiBais Ths KevTavpopa-
xias Erepor 8é Kal peta "Idaovos év Korxous
yeveoOar nal Meredypm cuvetenciy tov Kdmpov:
Kal Osa TovTO Trapotpiav elvar thy “OvK dvev
Oncéws’” adtov pévtos pndevos cuppdyov Sen-
Oévta todrovs Kal Kadovs AOAous KaTepydoa-

oat, kal tov “"AXXos obtos “HpardHs” Noyov én’
éxeivou xpatnoat. avuverpake 5é nat "Adpaor@
THY avaipesty Tov Uo TH Kadpeia tecdvror,
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historians and tragic poets, we must suppose that they happened as represented by the poets uniformly.

XXIX. There are, however, other stories also about marriages of Theseus which were neither honourable in their beginnings nor fortunate in their endings, but these have not been dramatised. For instance, he is said to have carried off Anaxo, a maiden of Troezen, and after slaying Sinis and Cercyon to have ravished their daughters; also to have married Periboea, the mother of Aias, and Phereboea after- wards, and Iope, the daughter of Iphicles; and because of his passion for Aegle, the daughter of Panopeus, as I have already said,! he is accused of the desertion of Ariadne, which was not honourable nor even decent; and finally, his rape of Helen is said to have filled Attica with war, and to have brought about at last his banishment and death, of which things I shall speak a little later.

Of the many exploits performed in those days by the bravest men, Herodorus thinks that Theseus took part in none, except that he aided the Lapithae in their war with the Centaurs; but others say that he was not only with Jason at Colchis,? but helped Meleager to slay the Calydonian boar, and that hence arose the proverb “Not without Theseus’’; that he himself, however, without asking for any ally, per- formed many glorious exploits, and that the phrase ‘Lo! another Heracles” became current with refer- ence to him. He also aided Adrastus in recovering for burial the bodies of those who had fallen before the walls of the Cadmeia,? not by mastering the

1 Chapter xx. 1. 2 In quest of the yolden fleece.
5 The citadel of Thebes.
07
F 2 i
an

ovy ws Kvpiridns éroincey ev tpaymoia, uayy
tov OnBaiwv xpatynoas, adda Teicas Kal oTe-
odpevos: o0Tw@ yap oi TrEtoTOL Aéyovct: Pido-
yopos 6& cal omrovdas Tepl vexpov dvatpécews
yevéoBar mpwras éxeivas. Ste dé “Hpaxrjs wpd-
Tos amédwxe vexpovs Tois Trodepioss, év Tois Tept
“Hpaknréous yéypattar. tadal dé tev péev ToA-
Nov év ‘EnXevOepais Seixvuvtar, Trav Sé Hryewoveov
mept ‘EXevciva, kal tovto Onoéws ’Adpadore@

Yapicapévov. Katapaptupovar 5é trav KvpeTridou
‘Ixetidwy ot Aloyvrov *Enevaivior, dv ols Kat
TavTa Néywr o Onaevs TweTrointat.
XXX. Thy &€ wpos TeepiOovv gdirtav todtov
TOV TpOTTOV aUT@ yevécOar Néyouot. SdEav elyev
emi pan kali avdpeia peyiotny: Bovdopevos ovv
o IlespiOous éFeréyEar nat AaBety Sedtrecpay,
nrdcato Bots éx Mapabavos aitod, cat mvGo-
pevos Oloxey peta TOV OTAWY Exeivov OvK Epuryer,
ann’ dvaatpepas aM VINO ED. as dé eldev dire-
pos Tov €tepov Kal 70 KAaNXOS €Oavpace kab tH
TOhmaY nyaaOn, paxns pev Eaxovto, TletpiOous
5€ mpotepos THV befcay mporeivas éxéXevoev avTov
ryeverOau SuxcaatTny Tov Oncéa THS Bondacias:
éx@y yap upebew iv av opion Stxny exeivos”
@ncevs 5é cai id Sixny ap jer avT@ Kal /T pou-
KaNetTo pidov elvat Kal ovppayov’ éromnoayto
dé ray pidiay évopKov.—
"Ex 6€ tovTou yapav o TlecpiBous Aniddpear,
éden0n Tod Onoéws eAOeiv Kai THY Ywpav ioTo-
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Thebans in battle, as Euripides has it in his tragedy,} but by persuading them to a truce; for so most writers say, and Philochorus adds that this was the first truce ever made for recovering the bodies of those slain in battle, although in the accounts of Heracles it is written that Heracles was the first to give back their dead to his enemies. And the graves of the greater part of those who fell before Thebes are shown at Eleutherae, and those of the com- manders near Eleusis, and this last burial was a favour which Theseus showed to Adrastus. The account of Euripides in his “Suppliants’’? is disproved by that of Aeschylus in his “ Eleusinians,” ? where Theseus is made to relate the matter as above.

XXX. The friendship of Peirithoiis and Theseus is said to have come about in the following manner. Theseus had a very great reputation for strength and bravery, and Peirithoiis was desirous of making test and proof of it. Accordingly, he drove Theseus’s cattle away from Marathon, and when he learned that their owner was pursuing him in arms, he did not fly, but turned back and met him. When, how- ever, each beheld the other with astonishment at his beauty and admiration of his daring, they refrained from battle, and Peirithoiis, stretching out his hand the first, bade Theseus himself be judge of his robbery, for he would willingly submit to any penalty which the other might assign. Then Theseus not only remitted his penalty, but invited him to be a friend and brother in arms; whereupon they ratified their friendship with oaths.

After this, when Peirithoiis was about to marry Deidameia, he asked Theseus to come to the wedding,

1 Suppliants, 653 ff. 7 Verses 1213 ff. 3 Not extant.

phoar Kal auyyevécOar trots Aamidats. étunyyave
5é xal tovs Kevtavpous xexdnxas emt 16 Setrvov.
ws O€ noéAyawvov DBpe Kal peOvovtes ovK arrei-
YOVTO TOV yuUvaLKa@V, éeTpaTOVTO pos auuvay
ot Aamidau: Kal tovs péev extevayv avTov, TOUS
dé modéum Kpatnoavtes botepov éFéBadov ex THs
Yapas, ToD Oncéws adtois cuppayopévow Kal
ouptrodepoovTos. “‘Hpddwpos S¢ tadta mpaxOjvat
dnolv ovy oUTwS, GANA TOD TrONg“OU GUVETTWTOS
70n tov @ncéa BonOotvta tots AawiOais Twapa-
yevéoOar, xal Tote mpa@tov dwer yvwpicat Tov
‘Hpaxnréa, trounodpevoy Epyov évruxeivy avT@ Tepl
Tpayiva wemavpévm mrdvns Hon kal aOr\wvr-
yevéoOar dé pera, TuLns Kal prroppos vvns Kal
TOAA@Y erraivev apporépors THY évrevgiv. ov
BV GAG paddov av Tis Mpoaxor Tois TOANEKLS
évtuxely autovs aAdndOLs (aoTopovot Kal THY
punow ‘Hparre yevéoOat Onoéws ctrovddoavtos
Kal Tov Tpo THS puncews KaBappov ws Seopévep
dua twas mpdkes aBovrAntovs.
XXXI. "Hén Sé revrnxovta Ern yeyoves, as
now ‘EdAavixos, Erpake Ta tmepl thy ‘“Edévny,
ov Kal’ wpav. SOev as 89 pwéytotov érravopBov-
pevol TOUTO TeV éeyKAnudTwv, eviot R€yovety
ovK auToy dpirdcat tiv ‘Edévnv, added “Ida
kat Avyxéws dptacavtov trapaxatadnny Xa-
Bovra tnypeiv cal px wpolecOas Tots Avocxovpois
atrattovow: 4 vy Aia Tuvdapew rrapaddvtos
7°

and see the country, and become acquainted with the Lapithae. Now he had invited the Centaurs also to the wedding feast. And when these were flown with insolence and wine, and laid hands upon the women, the Lapithae took vengeance upon them. Some of them they slew upon the spot, the rest they after- wards overcame in war and expelled from the country, Theseus fighting with them at the banquet and in the war. Herodorus, howeyer, says that this was not how it happened, but that the war was already in progress when Theseus came to the aid of the Lapithae ; and that on his way thither he had his first sight of Heracles, having made it his business to seek him out at Trachis, where the hero was already resting from his wandering and labours; and he says the interview passed with mutual expressions of honour, friendliness, and generous praise. Notwith- standing, one might better side with those historians who say that the heroes had frequent interviews with one another, and that it was at the instigation of Theseus that

Heracles was initiated into the mysteries at Eleusis, and purified before his initiation, when he requested it on account of sundry rash acts.

XXXI. Theseus was already fifty years old, accord- ing to Hellanicus, when he took part in the rape of Helen, who was not of marriageable age. Wherefore some writers, thinking to correct this heaviest accusation against him, say that he did not carry off Helen himself, but that when Idas and Lynceus had carried her off, he received her in charge and watched over her and would not surrender her to the Dioscuri! when they demanded her; or, if you will believe it, that her own father, Tyndareiis,

1 Castor and Pollux, her brothers.

avtov, poBnbévtos "Evapadopov tov 'Imrmoxdwr-
Tos éTt vytriay ovcav Bialopevov tiv 'EXévny
NaBeiv. ta Sé elxora Kal mreliatovs eyovta
paptupas ToradTa éotwy.
"HrGov peév eis Lardprynv dudotepor Kat tiv

, > e lo) b] , > , 4
xopny év iep@ "Aptéutdos "Opbias yopevovcay
e 4 4 A \ 4 9 A
apracavtes Epuyov tov O€ TeupOévtwy em tH
Siwéwy od troppatépw Teyéas érraxodovOnodavrov,
> O°f ' ' i. ,
év adeia yevouevoe cal dteXOovtes thv IleXorov-
vpnoov étonoavto ouvOiKas, Tov pév NaAXOVTA
KAnpw THV "EXévny Exew yuvaixa, cvpmpdtrecy
dé Oatép@ yduov Gdrov. ert tavtass 5é KANpov-
pévwv tais oporoyiais EXaye Onaevs: Kal wapa-
AaRov tHv Twaplévov oitTw ydpwov @pav &yovaay
eis "'"Adidvas éxouice: Kal thy pntépa KatacTHoas
' > an is LS y , 5
pet avutis Adidve mapédwxer dvte diro, dta-
Kedevoapevos guratrew Kai ANavOdvew Tovs ad-
> \ \ , \ e 4 > 7
hous. avtos dé [letpiO@ tyv brrovpyiav atrob.bous,
eis "Hrretpov ovvarrednunoer ert tHv "Aidiavews
Ouyatépa tod ModXooc ay Bactréws, d5 TH yuvarne
Depcedovny dvopa Oéuevos, Kopny 6é 7H Ovyarpi,
T@ 5é xuvl. KépBepov, éexédeve tovT@ SrapayecOar
Tovs pywpévous THY Taida Kal NaBeiv TOY Kpat-
gavta. Tous pevtor trept Tov IlecpiOovv od pyn-
oTipas Hew, AAN apracopévous truvOavopevos
ouvéraBe: Kal tov péev Tletpidovv ev0vs nddvice

51a Tod Kuvos, Tov b€ Oncéa xabeipEas épirartrev.
XXXII. "Ev 5 1@ ypovm tovtm MeveaOeds o
Ilete® tod "Opvéws tov ‘EpexOéws mpatos, as
gaci, avOpwrwv ériOéuevos TO Snpaywryety Kat
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entrusted her to Theseus, for fear of Enarsphorus, the son of Hippocoén, who sought to take Helen by force while she was yet a child. But the most probable account, and that which has the most witnesses in its favour, is as follows.

Theseus and Peirithoiis went to Sparta in company, seized the girl as she was dancing in the temple of Artemis Orthia, and fled away with her. Their pursuers followed them no farther than Tegea, and so the two friends, when they had passed through Peloponnesus and were out of danger, made a com- pact with one another that the one on whom the lot fell should have Helen to wife, but should assist the other in getting another wife. With this mutual understanding they cast lots, and Theseus won, and taking the maiden, who was not yet ripe for marriage, conveyed her to Aphidnae. Here he made his mother a companion of the girl, and committed both to Aphidnus, a friend of his, with strict orders to guard them in complete secrecy. Then he himself, to return the service of Peirithoiis, journeyed with him to Epirus, in quest of the daughter of Aidoneus the king of the Molossians. This man called his wife Phersephone, his daughter Cora, and his dog Cerberus, with which beast he ordered that all suitors of his daughter should fight, promising her to him that should overcome it. However, when he learned that Peirithotis and his friend were come not to woo, but to steal away his daughter, he seized them both. Peirithoiis he put out of the way at once by means of the dog, but Theseus he kept in close confinement.

XXXII. Meanwhile Menestheus, the son of Peteos, grandson of Orneus, and great-grandson of Erech- theus, the first of men, as they say, to affect popularity

mpos Yapiy ByAw StaréyerOar, tos te Svvarovs
cuvictn Kal mapwtuve, waddat Bapuvopévous Tov
Oncéa cal vouifovtas dpynv cal Bacireiay adn-
pnuévov éxdotov tay cata Sipov evrratpioay, eis
év dotu ovvetpEavta TravtTas UIrNnKoos xpncbat Kat
SovrAors, Tovs Te TOAAOUS SueTdpatTe Kal SéBar-
dev, Ws Gvap érXeVOEpias opavTas, py Sé atreate-
pnuévous tatpiowv Kat iepav, 6tTas avtTl ToNN@Y
kal ayabav cal yvnoiwv Bactréwv mpos &va Se-

orotny érnduv cal Edvoy amoBNéTwot. TavTa
5¢ avtov mpayuarevopévov peyadny pomny 0 T0-
AEM“OS THO vewTEpiau@ TpoaéOynxe, TOV Tuvdapidav
9 , e \ C4 \ e A 4
éreNOovtwv: ot dé Kal drws haclv bro TovTOU
areca Oévras éNGeiv.
To peév ody mp@tov ovbdéev 7SixouY, ANN amrynToUY

Q ’ , “y t A 9 ”

Thy aderXonv. amroxpwapévwy S€ TaV ev aoTeEL
pynte Exew pte yivwoKey Gtrov KaTanéNeLTTTAL,
mpos TOAELoY ETrpdtrovTo. ppater dé avtois 'Axd-
Snpuos 7oOnwévos 6 57 tive TpOT@ THY ev ’Adidvacs
tA 9 A (nd 9 l4 “A A
Kpinpiv autns. Oey exeivm te tial Carte Tapa
tav Tuvdapioav éyévovto, cal trodAdAdKs DaTeEpov
eis tTHy "Artixny éuBarovtes Aaxedaipoviot Kat
TATA OM0d THY KwpaV Té“voTEs, THS Axadnpelas
9 , A N b) VA € 4
atreiyovto 61a Tov "Axddnuov. o 6é@ Aixaiapyos
"Exedyjuou! dynol cat MapdOov cvotpatevedytwv
1 *"Exedquou with Coraés, Sintenis!, and Bekker, after
Xylander : ’Exé€uov.
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and ingratiate himself with the multitude, stirred up and embittered the chief men in Athens. These had long been hostile to Theseus, and thought that he had robbed each one of the country nobles of his royal office,! and then shut them all up in a single city, where he treated them as subjects and slaves. The common people also he threw into commotion by his reproaches. They thought they had a vision of liberty, he said, but in reality they had been robbed of their native homes and religions in order that, in the place of many good kings of their own blood, they might look obediently to one master who was an immigrant and an alien. While he was thus busying himself, the Tyndaridae* came up against the city, and the war greatly furthered his seditious schemes ; indeed, some writers say outright that he persuaded the invaders to come.

At first, then, they did no harm, but simply demanded back their sister. When, however, the people of the city replied that they neither had the girl nor knew where she had been left, they resorted to war. But Academus, who had learned in some way or other of her concealment at Aphidnae, told them about it. For this reason he was honoured during his life by the Tyndaridae, and often after- wards when the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica and laid waste all the country round about, they spared the Academy,’? for the sake of Academus. But Dicaearchus says that Echedemus and Marathus of .

1 Cf. chapter xxiv. 1-3.

2 Or Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.

3 A shady precinct near the river Cephissus, about a mile N.W. of Athens. Here Plato and his disciples taught. See Plutarch’s Cimon, xiii. 8.

tore Tois Tuvdapidass é€& "Apxadias, ad od peév "Eyednulay mpocayopevOqvar thy viv *Axadn-pecav, ad’ ov 5é Mapadava tov Sipov, émidovtos €aUTOVY Exovciws KaTa TL NoyLtoy shayidcacbat Tpo THS TapaTateus.
"Edfovres ody eri tas “Adidvas cal payy Kpatnoavtes é€eihov TO Ywpiov. évTad0d dact kal "AXuKoy wecely Tov XKeipwvos viov, TUaTpa-Tevopevov TOTE TOIs AtocKovpois, ad’ ov Kal TOTrOY THs Meyapixns “AXvKov xaretobar Tov c@partos évraghévros. “Hpéas 8 brd Onoéws avrod rept "Adidvas aio0aveiy tov “AXuKoy iotopnKe, Kal paptupta tauvtl ta émn Tapéxetar wept Tov "AXUKou-
) Tov év evpyxopp Trot Adidvy papvapevov Onoerds “EXévns Even’ jvKdpoto KTELVED.

Od pny eKxos adtod Oncéws TapovTos GA@vat TH Te pntépa Kal tas “Adidvas. .
XXXII. "Eyopuévwv 8 ody trav ’Adidvaev cat
” b v 4 +4 \ lol e
Tov év aoret dSedtoTwr, éTrecce Tov ShHpov o Meve-abevs SéyecOar tH Tore Kal dirodpoveicbat
\ VA e J na: , e€ 4
tous Tuvdapidas, as wove Onoet Bias brdpEavete TodemouvTas, Tov b€ GAAwWY eEvEpyéTas GVTAS avOpatrwyv Kai cwTipas. éeuaptipe: S¢ adT@ Kal Ta Tap éxeivwr ovdev yap nkiwcav andavtwv Kpatovvres GAN 7H punOjvat, pndev Hrrov ‘Hpa-KNéoUS TH TOAEL TpooHKOVTES. Kal TOUTO Ov.

Arcadia were in the army of the T'yndaridae at that time, from the first of whom the present Academy was named Echedemia, and from the other, the township of Marathon, since in accordance with some oracle he voluntarily gave himself to be sacrificed in front of the line of battle.
To Aphidnae, then, they came, won a pitched battle, and stormed the town. Here they say that among others Alycus, the son of Sciron, who was at that time in the army of the Dioscuri, was slain, and that from him a place in Megara where he was buried is called Alycus. But Hereas writes that Alyeus was slain at Aphidnae by Theseus himself, and cites in proof these verses about Alycus :—
"whom once in the plain of Aphidnae,
Where he was fighting, Theseus, ravisher of fair-haired Helen,
Slew."
However, it is not likely that Theseus himself was present when both his mother and Aphidnae were captured.
XXXIII. At any rate, Aphidnae was taken and the city of Athens was full of fear, but Menestheus persuaded its people to receive the Tyndaridae into the city and show them all manner of kindness, since they were waging war upon Theseus alone, who had committed the first act of violence, but were benefactors and saviours of the rest of mankind. And their behaviour confirmed his assurances, for although they were masters of everything, they demanded only an initiation into the mysteries, since they were no less closely allied to the city than Heracles. This privilege was accordingly granted

e aA b a b) / / a"
umnpEev avtois, "Adidvov trouncapévou taidas,
os TIvdtos "Hpaxréa: cal tipas icoBéovs éoxor,
"Avaxes mpooayopevOevtes, 7 Sta Tas yevouévas
avoxas } dua tHv éripérerav Kal xndenoviay Tod
pndéva xaxas Tadeivy otpatias tocavtTns évdov
ovonS' avaKkas yap Eéxew Tos émipedopévous 7}
guAaTrovtas oTtody: Kal Tovs PRactreis iows
pA \ le) a 3 e
avaxtas 61a TovTO KadovaL. cial dé ot A€yorTeEs
d:a thy Tov dotépwy éemipdverav "Avaxas dvopd-

Cecbat 7O yap avw tovs ’AtTiKO’s aveKas dvo-
pate, cal avéxabev 76 avolev.
XXXIV. Ai@pav &é trav Onoéws pnrépa yevo-
pévny aixpdrdwtov atraxOjvat Néyouvaw eis Naxe-
Saipova, xaxeiOev eis Tpoiay pera “Enrévys: cat
a ¢f ig ae , ,
paptupety “Ounpov, ErecOar TH ‘EXévn hdpevov:
AlOpnv IlttOjos Ouyatpa KrXupévnv te Bowmiy.

Oi dé xai tovto To ros StaBddAXover Kal THY
mept Movviyou pv0oroyiav, bv éx Anuopavtos
Aaodixns xpipa texovons év “Trip auverOpéyrar
thv AlOpay Aéyovow. idiov 5é Twa Kal Tapyr-
Aaypévov SrAwWS RAoyor o “Iotpos ev TH TpLoKat-
Sexatn tav "Artixav avadéper trept AiOpas, as
éviwv Aeyovtwy “AréEavdpov péev tov Idpuw év
Beccaria! ir’ ’AxirAXrws Kal Tlatpoxrov payn
KpaTnOnvar mapa tov Xmepxetov, “Extopa sé
tnv Tpotfnviov mod dAaBovta Saprdcat Kal
1 roy Mdpw év @ecoadrla, with Bekker: roy év @eaaarlg
Tidpuv.
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them, after they had been adopted by Aphidnus, as
Pylius had adopted Heracles. They also obtained
honours like those paid to gods, and were addressed
as “ Anakes,” either on account of their stopping
hostilities, or because of their diligent care that no
one should be injured, although there was such a
large army within the city; for the phrase “anakos
echein” is used of such as care for, or guard any-
thing, and perhaps it is for this reason that kings are
called “ Anaktes.” ' There are also those who say
that the Tyndaridae were called “ Anakes”’ because
of the appearance of their twin stars in the heavens,
since the Athenians use “anekas”’ and “ anekathen ”
for “ano” and “anothen,” signifying above or on
high.
XXXIV. They say that Aethra, the mother or
Theseus, who was taken captive at Aphidnae, was
carried away to Lacedaemon, and from thence to
Troy with Helen, and that Homer! bears witness to
this when he mentions as followers of Helen :—

“ Aethra of Pittheus born, and Clymene large-eyed
and lovely.”
But some reject this verse of Homer's, as well as the legend of Munychus, who was born in secret to Laodice from Demophoon, and whom Aethra helped to rear in Ilium. But a very peculiar and wholly divergent story about Aethra is given by Ister in the thirteenth book of his “Attic History.”” Some write, he says, that Alexander (Paris) was overcome in battle by Achilles and Patroclus in Thessaly, along the banks of the Spercheius, but that Hector took and plundered the city of Troezen, and carried

1 Thad, iii. 144.

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

anv Ai@pay dmadyew éxet KatarepOeioav. adrAa
TOUTO wey EvEL TTONANY Adorytay.
XXXV. ’Aidwvéws 5€ tod Modroccod Eevt-
Covros ‘Hpaxréa xal trav rept tov Onoéa Kal
TlecpiOovv cata tiynv prnoOévtos, & Te Tpd-
Eovres HAOov Kal & dwpabéytes Erabov, Bapéws
nveyxev 0 ‘Hpaxndijs, tod pev atrodwdoTos aboews,
tov dé amoAAvpévov. xal trepi TleepiOov peév
ovdév @eto Toijoey mA€ov éyKada@v, Tov Sé
@noéa wapytetto Kal yadpw nkiov tavtny ait@
SoOjvar. cuyxywpnocavtos 5é Tod ‘Aidwréws, Av-
Oels 6 Onoevs évravnrdOe pev eis tas "AOnvas,
ovdémw Tavrdtact tav ditov avTod Kexpatn-
pévwv, Kal doa oTHpye Teu“évn MpoTEpoy avT@
THs Toews eFeXovons amavta Kabsépwoe TO
‘Hpaxnrel al rpoonydpevoev avtl Onceiwr ‘Hpd-
KNELA, TANY Tecoadpwov, ws Piroyopos toTopyKev.
avOis! S€ BovAdcpevos ws mpotepov apyew Kal
xaOnyetaOat Tov TroALTEvpaTos Els oTdoELS évE-
mece Kal tapaxyds, ods peév atrédure pcovvTas
avrov etpioxwv To pn poBeto0a TH picety Tpoc-
etAngdotas, év 5€ Te SHuw woru To depOap-
pévov opav Kal OeparrevesBat Bovropevov aytt
TOU TOLELY OLWITTH TO TpOTTATTOMEVOY. EMLYELP@V
owv BialecOar xatednuaywyeitro nal Kateota-
oateto. Kal TéXos atroyvous Ta TPaypaTa TOUS
pev traidas eis EvBoray vre&éreure mpos 'EXe-
dynvopa tov Xadrxwdovtos, avtos bé Tapynrrot
kata tav "AOnvaiwy apas Oéuevos, ov viv éort
7) Kadovpevov Aparnptoy, eis YKipov éFérdevcev,
1 ads Coraés, after Reiske : ed@vs (at once).

away Aethra, who had been left there. This, however, is very doubtful.

XXXV. Now while Heracles was the guest of Aidoneus the Molossian, the king incidentally spoke of the adventure of Theseus and Peirithoiis, telling what they had come there to do, and what they had suffered when they were found out. Heracles was greatly distressed by the inglorious death of the one, and by the impending death of the other. As for Peirithoiis, he thought it useless to complain, but he begged for the release of Theseus, and demanded that this favour be granted him. Aidoneus yielded to his prayers, Theseus was set free, and returned to Athens, where his friends were not yet altogether overwhelmed. All the sacred precincts which the city had previously set apart for himself, he now dedicated to Heracles, and called them Heracleia instead of Theseia, four only excepted, as Philo- chorus writes. But when he desired to rule again as before, and to direct the state, he became involved in factions and disturbances; he found that those who hated him when he went away, had now added to their hatred contempt, and he saw that a large part of the people were corrupted, and wished to be cajoled into service instead of doing silently what they were told to do. Attempting, then, to force his wishes upon them, he was overpowered by demagogues and factions, and finally, despairing of his cause, he sent his children away privately into Euboea, to Elephenor, the son of Chalcodon, while he himself, after invoking curses upon the Athenians at Gargettus, where there is to this day the place called Araterion,! sailed away to the island of Scyros,

1 That is, the place of prayer, or cursing.

avons aUT@ mpos Tovs éexel dirias, ws weTO, Kal Yopiov év TH vnom tatpwwv. éBacireve Se Avxoundys tote TOY LKupiwy. mpos TovTov ody 3 4 bd , \ 2 \ bd A e apixopevos eCnret Tovs aypous atovaBely, ws avToO: xatounowv: evior 5€ hace trapaxanely avtov BonOety emi tovs "AOnvatous. o dé Avxo- unons, elte Seicas thv S0€av rob avdpes, elte TO MeveoOet yapifopuevos, ert ta axpa Ths yopas dvayaywv avtov, ws éxetOev érideiEwv tous aypovs, @ae KaTa Tov TeTpav Kal bvépOecper. ” 9 b » @ A ra , \ eviot 8 ad éavtod mrecely hace cparévta, petra Setmrvov, Motrep ciwber, wepitatovvTa. Kal Tapav- tixa pev ovdels Exyev avtod Aoyov ovdéva TEOvN- KOTOS, GAAa tav pev *AOnvaiwv éBacirevoe MevecOevs, of S€ maides iStwrevovres 'EXepyvopu / > 9 a \ 4

cuveotpatevoay eis “Idtov. éxet d€ MeverBéws
amobavovtos émaveNOovtes avrot thy Bactrelay
avexoicavto. xpovows 8 dorepov ‘AOnvaious
Gra Te Tapéotycey as Aowa Tinav Oncéa, nal
tav év Mapadar mpos Mydous payopévwn okay
b) 5] 4 , 4 J 4 A \
ovK oriryor Pdopa Oncéws ev dros Kabopav po
autTa@v él tovs BapBdpous depopevoy.
XXXVI. Mera d€ ta Mydixd Daidwvos dp-
YovTos pavTevouevots Tots "AOnvaiots avetrev %
IIvia ta Onoéws avaraBelv dota nal Oepévous
? / ? e@ a 4
évtiwws trap avtots guddtrew. hv dé cal ra-
Beiv aropia Kal yvavar tov tdpov amkia nat
yaneTroTnTe Tay évotcovvTwy AodoTwy. ov pny
82

17

THESEUS

where the people were friendly to him, as he thought, and where he had ancestral estates. Now Lycomedes was at that time king of Scyros. To him therefore Theseus applied with the request that his lands should be restored to him, since he was going to dwell there, though some say that he asked his aid against the Athenians. But Lycomedes, either because he feared a man of such fame, or as a favour to Menestheus, led him up to the high places of the land, on pretence of showing him from thence his lands, threw him down the cliffs, and killed him. Some, however, say that he slipped and fell down of himself while walking there after supper, as was his custom. At the time no one made any account of his death, but Menestheus reigned as king at Athens, while the sons of Theseus, as men of private station, accompanied Elephenor on the expedition to Ilium ; but after Menestheus died there, they came back by themselves and: recovered their kingdom. In after times, however, the Athenians were moved to honour Theseus as a demigod, especially by the fact that many of those who fought at Marathon against the Medes thought they saw an apparition of

Theseus in arms rushing on in front of them against the Barbarians.!

XXXVI. And after the Median wars, in the archonship of Phaedo,? when the Athenians were consulting the oracle at Delphi, they were told by the Pythian priestess to take up the bones of Theseus, give them honourable burial at Athens, and guard them there. But it was difficult to find the grave and take up the bones, because of the inhospitable and savage nature of the Dolopians,

1 Cf. Pausanias, i. 15, 4. 2 476-475 B.c.

aia Kipov éXov Hv vicov, ws év Tois sept
éxeivou yéypatrrat, Kal piroripovmevos éEavev-
pety, adeToo tTiva Torov Bovvoedy KoTToVTOS, OS
pact, TH oTopate nal S:acrérXrovtos Tois dbvvEe
Jela tTivt TUX TUpdpovncas avéoxarper. eEppéOn
5é Onn Te peyaddov cepaTos aixpn Te WapaKet-
pérn yarn cal Eldos. xopcbévrwv && rovTwv
e_sN , ? A / € e
vo Kipwvos émt tis tpinpovs, jnoOévtes of
"AOnvaioe woumais te Aapmrpais edéEavto Kal
Ovolas Gorep avtov érravepyopevoy eis TO dorTu.
Kal xetrar pev ev péon TH Woret Tapa TO vov
yupvdotov, gots Sé hvkipov oixéraus Kal tact
Tols Tamewwotépars Kal Sedtoce KpEiTTOVaS, WS KAL
Tov @ncéws tmpootarixod Tivos xa BonOnrixod
, 4 ,
yevopevov Kal mpocdexouevou pirav0parras Tas
Tav tatewotépwy Sejoes. Ouvciay Sé Trorovow
avT@ Thy peyiatny oydon Ilvaveyriavos, ev 7
peta Tov niOéwv ex Kpnrns éravariev. od pny
GAA Kal Talis Arras Gydoats Tim@ow avTor, 7
Sid 70 rp@tov ex Tporkivos aducéoOar rH oySon
nA @¢ A e e 4 4 e
tod 'ExatopBaiavos, ws totopnxe Asodwpos o
mepinyntns,) voultovres éTrépov padgXov éxeivep
mpoonrey tov apiOuoyv todtov éx Tlocedavos
yeyovévat reyopevm. Kal yap Togeadova sais

who then inhabited the island. However, Cimon took the island, as I have related in his Life,! and being ambitious to discover the grave of Theseus, saw an eagle in a place where there was the semblance of a mound, pecking, as they say, and tearing up the ground with his talons. By some divine ordering he comprehended the meaning of this and dug there, and there was found a coffin of a man of extraordinary size, a bronze spear lying by its side, and a sword. When these relics were brought home on his trireme by Cimon, the Athenians were delighted, and received them with splendid processions and sacrifices, as though Theseus himself were returning to his city. And now he lies buried in the heart of the city, near the present gymnasium,' and his tomb is a sanctuary and place of refuge for runaway slaves and all men of low estate who are afraid of men in power, since Theseus was a champion and helper of such during his life, and graciously received the supplications of the poor and needy. The chief sacrifice which the -Athenians make in his honour comes on the eighth day of the month Pyanepsion, the day on which he came back from Crete with the youths. But they honour him also on the eighth day of the other months, either because he came to Athens in' the first place, from Troezen, on the eighth day of the month Hecatombaeon, as Diodorus the Topographer states, or because they consider this number more appropriate for him than any other since he was said to be a son of Poseidon.® For they pay honours to Poseidon on the eighth day

1 Chapter viii. 3-6.
2 The nasium of Ptolemy. Pausanias, i. 17, 2.
3 Cf. chapter vi. 1.

dydoats TLL@GLY. 1 yap Oydoas KUBos am' apriouv
TpOTOS ovoa Kal Tov Mpwrov TeTpaywvou S-
wracia, TO wovepov Kal duoKivytoy oixetov exer
THs ToD Oeov Suvapews, by dodareov Kal yatjyoyov
™ pocovop.dtopev. |

of every month. The number eight, as the first cube
of an even number and the double of the first square,
fitly represents the steadfast and immovable power
of this god, to whom we give the epithets of
Securer and Earth-stayer.

~ ROMULUS

POMYAO2Z

I To péya tH "Popuns Gvopa. Kat bof dua

mayroy avOpamwy KEeXwpnos ad’ dbrov nat oe
nv airiay Th TWoNet yeyovev, ovx @pworoynras
Tapa Tos cuyypahetory, arr’ Ot pev Heracyous
éml wretoTa THs oixouperns mravnbévras av-
Oporreyv TE Thelo TOY KpaTnoavras, aurode Kar-
OuKfoat, Kal dia THY ev tois SrrA0Ls pouny
obTas ovoudoat THV moNW, ot O€ Tpoias aNt-
TKOMEVNS Stapuyovrtas évious Kal mAotwy émitv-
xovras a) TVEUHAT OV Th Tuppnvig poo trecety
epopévous, Kal wept Tov OvpBpu TOTa pov opps
cacOar' tais b€ yuvarkiv aura dmropoupévats
non Kal ducavacxerovoars Tpos THV Oddaccay
vroGéc Oat piay, u) Kat ryever mpovyew Kat ppovety
eddxee partota, Pon Gvoua, KaTamphoar ta
whola’ mpaxdevros 5é rovTou T p@Tov pev aya-
VaKTELV TOUS avépas, éqrevta be’ avdryeny iSpuv-
Oévras epi To HadAdvrvov, @s oMYy@ Xpovep
Kpelt Tov édmidos é emparror, arabs TE TreLpwmevoe
@pas Kal Sexouévor aUTOUS TOV mpocoiKay,
anAnv TE TEND amrovewely 7 ‘Popn kal Thy
mony an avrns, os aitias, T poo aryopevewy, e&
éxeivou Te Trapapévery Aéyouce TO TOUS OUYYEVEIS
go

1

ROMULUS

1. From whom, and for what reason the great name of Rome, so famous among mankind, was given to that city, writers are not agreed. Some say that the Pelasgians, after wandering over most of the habitable earth and subduing most of mankind, settled down on that site, and that from their strength in war they called their city Rome. Others say that at the taking of Troy some of its people escaped, found sailing vessels, were driven by storms upon the coast of Tuscany, and came to anchor in the river Tiber; that here, while their women were perplexed and distressed at thought of the sea, one of them, who was held to be of superior . birth and the greatest understanding, and whose name was Roma, proposed that they should burn the ships! ; that when this was done, the men were angry at first, but afterwards, when they had settled of necessity on the Palatine, seeing themselves ina little while more prosperous than they had hoped, since they found the country good and the neigh- bours made them welcome, they paid high honours to Roma, and actually named the city after her, since she had been the occasion of their founding it. And from that time on, they say, it has been

1 Cf. Aeneid, v. 604-699.

Tas yuvaixas Kal oixetovs avdpas acmalecOat
Tots oTopact Kat yap éxelvas, Ste Ta Troia
Katémpnoav, ovtws aomdtecOar Kat dirodpo-
veioOat tous avdpas, Seopévas avTav Kal wapac-
Toupévas Ti opyny.
II. “AAAo. 5é “Pépny, “Itadrod Ouyarépa xal
Aevxapias, ot 5é, Tnrépov tov ‘Hpaxndéous,
Awveia yapnbeioav, ot & ’Acxaviov tod Aiveiov,
Aéyovot Tovvoua Oécba TH TOAE ot Sé “Po-
pavov, Odvacéws traida nal Kipens, oixicas rip
moAw* ot 5€ ‘Papmov éx Tpotas oro Acopjdous
amocTanévra TOV "Hyaliovos, ot 6eé ‘Papcv
Aartivey TUpavvor, éxBadovra ‘Tuppnvous TOUS
elg Avdiav péev é« @errarias, éx 6é€ Avébias eis
ItaXiav mapayevopévovs. ov pnv ovd oi ‘Po-
TadLay Tapayevouevous. ov pn w
pudov T@ StxatoTaT@m TOY AOyov arropaivovres
em @vULOV THS TrodEWs opohoyotcr epi Tov
yévous avTov. ot pev yap Aivetou Kal AckiGéas
THS PopRavros viov ovTa VAT LOV els ‘Iradlav
comoOnvar, Kab TOV adehpov avtou ‘Pamov: év
dé T@ TOTAL TANMBUpAYTE TOV Geo oxapov
SiapGapevrer, éy @ 5¢é Hoav ot maives els pa
AaKnVv atroxAwOévTos GxOnv aTpéua, owbevtas*
anpoadoxntws,” ovopacbfvar ‘Pepnv. ot 5é
‘Popny Ouyatépa tis Tpwados éxelvns Aative
7 Tndeudyxou yapnGeioar Texety Tov ‘PwuvrAor
ot de Aiwuday THY Aiveiou xal NaBwias’ "Apet
auyyevopevny ot 5¢ pv0@dn TavTdrace Teph Tis
1 gw0evras MSS., Coraés, Sintenis!, and Bekker: caévros.
2 axpocdoxhrws after this word, Bekker assumes a
in the text,
Q2

ROMULUS

customary for the women to salute their kinsmen
and husbands with a kiss; for those women, after
they ‘had burned the ships, made use of such tender
salutations as they supplicated their husbands and
sought to appease their wrath.
II. Others again say that the Roma who gave her name to the city was a daughter of Italus and Leucaria, or, in another account, of Telephus the son of Heracles; and that she was married to Aeneas, or, in another version, to Ascanius the son of Aeneas. Some tell us that it was Romanus, a son of Odysseus and Circe, who colonized the city ; others that it was Romus, who was sent from Troy by Diomedes the son of

Emathion ; and others still that it was Romis, tyrant of the Latins, after he had driven out the Tuscans, wha passed from Thessaly into Lydia, and from Lydia into Italy. Moreover, even those writers who declare, in accordance with the most authentic tradition, that it was Romulus who gave his name to the city, do not agree about his lineage. For some say that he was a son of Aeneas and Dexithea the daughter of Phorbas, and was brought to Italy in his infancy, along with his brother Romus ; that the rest of the vessels were destroyed in the swollen river, but the one in which the boys were was gently directed to a grassy bank, where they were unex- pectedly saved, and the place was called Roma from them. Others say it was Roma, a daughter of the Trojan woman I have mentioned, who was wedded to Latinus the son of Telemachus and bore him Romulus; others that Aemilia, the daughter of Aeneas and Lavinia, bore him to Mars; and others still rehearse what is altogether fabulous concerning his

yevéoews dueEiacr. Tapyetio yap *AdBavev
RBacikel Trapavoywtatm Kal porate ddcpa
Sarwoviov olxor yevécBar- parrdv yap ex THs
éotias dvacyxeiv Kal Siapéver eri words Huépas:
elvat dé TnOvos ev Tuppnvia ypnornpiov, ad od
KopicOjvar Te Tapyetip ypnopov vote oup-
pitas TO Paopatt trapOévov: ececOar yap éf&
avths tmaida Krevotatoy apeth Kal Toyn Kal
poun Stadépovta. ppdoavtos odv Td pdvTevpa
tod Tapyetiou pug tav Ovyatépwv Kal ouy-
yevésOar T@ Parr@ tpocrdEavros, abtiv pev
amraki@oat, Oepdrravay &é eloréprar, ov &e
Tapxérvov, as éyvw, yadeTas dépovta cvrAXNaBety
pev audortépas él Oavaro, tHv 8 'Eoriay iSevra
Kata Tovs Umvovs arayopevovoay avT@ Tov
govov, iorovy twa mapeyyvica, tals Kopacs
ipaive dedeuévais, as Gray éEugdyvwot, Tore
SoOnoouévas mpos yapmov. éxeivas pev ovv 8:
nuepas upatvew, érépas dé wietwp tod Tap-
NETLOU KENEVOVTOS avanvELY TOV iotov. ek Se TOD
parrod ths Oeparraividos Texovons bidupua, Sodvai
rut Tepatiw tov Tapyétiov averely xerdevoarvra.
Tov 6€ Oetvat pépovta tod motapod mdnolov
elra AvKatvay pev emiportav pactov évdidobcap,
dpviOas b€ mavrodarols Wopicnata Kxopilovras
évTiévar tois Bpépeoty, dypu od Bovkorov iSovra
cal Oavpdoavta ToApijoat mpoceNeiy xa dve-
AéoGar Ta radia. toadtns 8 THs cwrnplas
avrois yevoperns, éxtpadévras ériBécba rH
Tapxetip xal xpatijcat. raira pev otv IIpo- 19

origin. For instance, they say that Tarchetius, king of the Albans, who was most lawless and cruel, was visited with a strange phantom in his house, namely, a phallus rising out of the hearth and remain- ing there many days. Now there was an oracle of Tethys in Tuscany, from which there was brought to Tarchetius a response that a virgin must have inter- course with this phantom, and she should bear a son most illustrious for his valour, and of surpassing good fortune and strength. Tarchetius, accordingly, told the prophecy to one of his daughters, and bade her consort with the phantom ; but she disdained to do so, and sent a handmaid in to it. When Tarchetius learned of this, he was wroth, and seized both the © maidens, purposing to put them to death. But the goddess Hestia appeared to him in his sleep and for- bade him the murder. He therefore imposed upon the maidens the weaving of a certain web in their imprisonment, assuring them that when they had finished the weaving of it, they should then be given in marriage. By day, then, these maidens wove, but by night other maidens, at the command. of Tarche- tius, unravelled their web. And when the handmaid became the mother of twin children by the phantom, Tarchetius gave them to a certain Teratius with orders to destroy them. This man, however, carried them to the river-side and laid them down there. Then a she-wolf visited the babes and gave them suck, while all sorts of birds brought morsels of food and put them into their mouths, until a cow-herd spied them, conquered his amazement, ventured to come to them, and took the children home with him. Thus they were saved, and when they were grown up, they set upon Tarchetius and overcame him.

pabiwy tis iotoplay ‘Itadixny ovuvretaypévos
eLpnKe.
TIT. Tod b€ ariotev &yovtos Noyou padtota Kal
TAELTTOUS PLAPTUPAS TA MEV KUPLOTATA TPOTOS Eis
Tovs "EdAnvas éFédwxe AroxrAns LemrapyOu0s, &
kal DPdBros o Tlixtwp év trois wrelorots éarnKo-
Ud / \ 7 4
NovOnxe. yeyovacr S€ Kal tept TovTwy Erepat
Stadopais tuir@ Oé eimeiv ToLovTOs €oTt. TOVaT
Aivetov yeyovotwy év “AXBn Bacidéwy eis ader-
govs dvo, Nountopa nal ’Apovruov, 7 Siadoyy
A ’ / \ , \ 4 4
Kadyjxev. "Apovdriov 6é veipavros ta mavta dixa,
" a QK / \ / \ 3 /
7H 6€ Baciheia Ta Ypnwata Kal Tov é« Tpoias
Komobevta xpuoov avtiOévtos, efreTo THY Bact-
Aetav o Nopuntwp. éxov ovv o ’ApovrXos Ta
Xpyyata Kat mréov am’ avtav Suvdpevos Tod
Nountopos, thy te Bactrciav adeireto padias,

kal hoBovpevos éx THS Ovyatpos avTod yevérOar
matdas tépecav THS “Eotias améderEev, dryapov Kat
mapBévov del Biwcouevnv. tavtny of pev Trap,
ot de “Péay, of 58 YrAoviav dvopdlover. gpwparar
dé er’ ov ToAVY Ypovoyv Kvodca Tapa TOV Kabe-
orata Tals ‘Kotiaot vopov. Kal TO pev aviKerta
N un > A @e- lal v4 s b) AY
pn wabeiy avtny 9 ToD Bacidéws Ovyarnp "AvOw
mapyTnoato, Senfeica Tov matpos: etpxOn dé cat
lartav elyev aveTripixTov, OTwS un AGGoOL TexovVTA

\ ? 4 +4 \ vA A e A

tov Apovdov. étexe 5é dv0 taidas vmepdueis
A e
peyeOes Kal KaddrAXa. Sv 6 Kat waGdXov o ’ApovALos

poBnbeis éxéXevoev avtovs vmrnpétny AaRovta
CA “A wv Us >
pipar. tovtov émot DavotvrAov ovopdlecbas

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ROMULUS

At any rate, this is what a certain Promathion says,
who compiled a history of Italy.
III. But the story which has the widest credence and the greatest number of vouchers was _ first published among the Greeks, in its principal details, by Diocles of Peparethus, and Fabius Pictor follows him in most points. Here again there are variations in the story, but its general outline is as follows. The descendants of Aeneas reigned as kings in Alba, and the succession devolved at length upon two brothers, Numitor and Amulius.!- Amulius divided the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures and the gold which had been brought from Troy over against the kingdom, and Numitor chose the kingdom. Amulius, then, in possession of the treasure, and made more powerful by it than Nu- mitor, easily took the kingdom away from his brother, and fearing lest that brother’s daughter should have children, made her a priestess of Vesta, bound to live unwedded and a virgin all her days. Her name is variously given as Ilia, or Rhea, or Silvia. Not long after this, she was discovered to be with child, contrary to the established law for the Vestals.? She did not, however, suffer the capital punishment which was her due, because the king’s daughter, Antho, interceded successfully in her behalf, but she was kept in solitary confinement, that she might not be delivered without the knowledge of Amulius. Delivered she was of two boys, and their size and beauty were more than human. Wherefore Amulius was all the more afraid, and ordered a servant to take the boys and cast them away. This servant’s name was Faustulus, according to some, but others

1 Cf. Livy, i. 3. 2 Of. Livy, i. 4, 1-5.

Néyovoty, of 8 ov TOUTOV, GAXA TOV avEdOpEVOV.
évOépevos odv eis oxadny Ta Bpédn, xatéBn pév eri
TOV ToTapoV ws pirrwr, idwy Sé KaTLOVTA TOAA@
pevpats cal tpayvvopevov Ederce mpocenOelv, ey-
yus 5€ THs GyOns Katadels amrndddoceTo. TOU Sé
ToTapov KaTakAUlovros 7 TANLMUpA THY oKAadNY
itroAaBovca Kal peTewpicaca Tpaws KaTHVEYKEY
eis yopiov émiexas padOaxov, 6 viv Kepparov
Kadovot, Tara d€ Teppavov, as Eotxev, bre Kat
TOUS abEeAHous yeppavovs ovoudlovarv.
IV. "Hv &€ waAnoiov épiveds, bv ‘Pwptvarov
éxdrour, 7 da Tov ‘PwpvAoy, ws of ToAXNOl vopi-
Cova, 7 1a TO TA pnpvKopeva Tov Openpator
éxel Sia tHhv oxrdv éevdsdlerv,) pdrtota bia Tov
Tov Bpepav Onracpov, 6te thy Te Ondyv podpav
avopatov oi Tadatot, Kai Oeov Tia THs éextpopis
TOV VyTiOV emipeeio Gar Soxovaav ovoudtovat
‘Poupediay, kal Ovovow adth vnddda, cal yara
Tois tepois ema mévdovaw. évtatOa 8 ois
Bpédec KELpEVOLS THY Te AUKaLvaY iaTopobat
Onraloperny, Kal Spvoxoddnrny Tia mapeivat
ouvextpepovTa Kat purdrrovta. vouiferar &
"A pews ¢ tepa ta ta tov dé Spvoxohdrrny al
StadepovTws Aativot oéBovtas al Top@ay"
dev ovxX ietota Tictw éaxev 7 Texovoa Ta
Bpédn Texely && "A pews pdoKovaa. Kaltot TobTo
male avtny éEanarnOeioay Aéyouaty, UmO TOU
‘Apovrtiou SrarapbevevOeioar é év Ordos emrihavéy-
TOS aUTH Kal cvvapTdcayTos.
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give this name to the man who took the boys up.
Obeying the king’s orders, the servant put the babes
into a trough and went down towards the river,
purposing to cast them in; but when he saw that
the stream was much swollen and violent, he was

afraid to go close up to it, and setting his burden down near the bank, went his way. Then the overflow of the swollen river took and bore up the trough, floating it gently along, and carried it down to a fairly smooth spot which is now called Kermalus, but formerly Germanus, perhaps because brothers are called “ germani.”

1V. Now there was a wild fig-tree hard by, which they called Ruminalis, either from Romulus, as is generally thought, or because cud-chewing, or rumt- nating, animals spent the noon-tide there for the sake of the shade, or best of all, from the suckling of the babes there; for the ancient Romans called the teat “ ruma,” and a certain goddess, who is thought to preside over the rearing of young children, is still called Rumilia, in sacrificing to whom no wine is used, and libations of milk are poured over her victims. Here, then, the babes lay, and the she-wolt of story here gave them suck,! and a woodpecker came to help in feeding them and to watch over them. Now these creatures are considered sacred to Mars, and the woodpecker is held in especial veneration and honour by the Latins, and this was the chief reason why the mother was believed when she declared that Mars was the father of her babes. And yet it is said that she was deceived into doing this, and was really deflowered by Amulius himself, who came to her in armour and ravished her.

1 Cf. Livy, i. 4, 6-7.

Oi 5é rotvoya ths tpodod bu’ aupeBoriav émi TO pvOades ExtpoTny TH Pun Tapacyely. ovTas yap éxddouy ot Aativot tov Te Onpiwv Tas AvKaivas, KaL TOY yuvaLKav Tas ératpovaas: Elvat 5é roravtny Ty PavotvAou yuvaixa Tod TA Bpédn Opépavtos,”"Axxav Aapevtiay dvoua. tavry dé cad Ovovewy oi ‘Pwpaiol, cab yoas éripéper Tov "Ampirdrlou pnvos adtH!o Tod” Apews tepedts, Kat Aapevtiav Kadodot thy éopTny.

V. ‘Erépav 8& tipaor Aapevtiay é& aitias TotauTyns. o vewKxopos tov ‘Hpaxdéous davor, ws osxev, VIO axXONS, MpovHero mpos Tov Oedv SiaxuBeverv, vremo@v Ste vixrjoas pev avros ekee Tt mapa Tov Oeod ypnorov, nrtnOels 8& 7H De@ tpatetav adOovov tapéEer Kai yuvaixa Kadnv cuvavatravaopevnv. éml TovToss Tas peyv Uirép Tod Oeod riOeis, Tas & brép avTod wWhdous, avedayvn vikepevos. evovvbereiy 5é Bovrdpuevos kat Stxarov éppévery trois optoOeior, Seimvov re T@ Oc@ trapecxevace, kai trv Aapevtiay ovcay

wpaiay, oiTw Sé émidbavh, picOwodpevos, eictia-
oev ev TO LEp@, KALYHY UTOCTOpécas, Kal peTa TO
delrrvov cuveipEev, ws 57) Tov Oeod E€ovtos aurnpy.
kal pévtor nal Tov Oeov évruyeiy DéyeTat TH
yuvatxt kal Kerctoar Badbifev Ewhev érd riv
ayopav Kai Tov aTavTncavTa Tp@TOY aoTraca-
pérnv toeicbar pirov. amnvtncey ovv avrTn
TOV TOMTOY avNp NAtKias TE TOppw HKeY Kai
1 ab7i bracketed in Sintenis?, to avoid the hiatus.

But some say that the name of the children's nurse, by its ambiguity, deflected the story into the realm of the fabulous. For the Latins not only called she-wolves "lupae,' but also women of loose character, and such a woman was the wife of Faustulus, the foster-father of the infants, Acca Larentia by name. Yet the Romans sacrifice also to her, and in the month of April the priest of Mars pours libations tn her honour, and the festival is called Larentalia.

V. They pay honours also to another Larentia, for the following reason. The keeper of the temple of Hercules, being at a loss for something to do, as it seems, proposed to the god a game of dice, with the understanding that if he won it himself, he should get some valuable present from the god ; .but if he lost, he would furnish the god with a bounteous repast and a lovely woman to keep him company for the night. On these terms the dice were thrown, first for the god, then for himself, when it appeared that he had lost. Wishing to keep faith, and thinking it right to abide by the contract, he pre- pared a banquet for the god, and engaging Larentia, who was then in the bloom of her beauty, but not yet famous,' he feasted her in the temple, where he had spread a couch, and after the supper locked her in, assured of course that the god would take pos- session of her. And verily it is said that the god did visit the woman, and bade her go early in the morning to the forum, salute the first man who met her, and make him her friend. She was met, accordingly, by one of the citizens who was well on in years and possessed of considerable property, but

1 In Morals, p. 273 a, she is called a public courtezan.

\ b / e , wv \ N
cuvethoxas ovotay ixavyny, amas bé Kal BeBro-

Kos dvev yvvatkos, Gvoua Tappovrios. | obtos
éyva tiv Aapevtiay Kal nydirnoe, Kal TeXMeUTOV
b lA 4 3 \ é A i “A
amédure KXnpovopov él aWodrdois Kal Kadois
KThpacw, Ov éxeivn TA TrEioTA TH SHuw KaTA
SvaOrjxas ewKe. Aéyetas S& adtny evdokov odaav
aN N A A bd a. ,
#5n Kal Ocodiry vousrloperny, adpavh yevérOar
mepl todToy Tov ToOTOV év @. Kal THY TpoTEpay
A a) fe) e
éxeivnv Aapevtiay xeicOar. Kxareitar d€ viv o
rémos ByNaupov, ott Tov moTtapod moNNAKLs
imrepeomevov SieTreparodyTo TopOpetows Kata TOb-
To TO ywpiov eis ayopay. thy Sé ropO pear
Anvatovpay Kadodow. énot S€é réyovae THY
eis Tov immodpopov hépovoay e& dyopas tapodov
totlow KaTaTetavyivat Tovs THY Oéav Trapée-
lel ‘ on 2 ve Q
yovras, évTeDOev apxouevovs: pwpaiati de To
iotiov BHdov dvopdfover, Sia tadta pev exer
ripas 9 Sevtépa Aapevtia tape ‘Pwpaios. |
VI. Ta 8é Bpépn Pavortiros ’ApovdAiov ou-
, : > 4
dopBos aveiiero AaOwy arravtas, ws 8 Mot
gact Tov eixdTav exopevor padrov, eidotos TOU
a ; ,
Nopjropos nat ouyyopynyodvros tpopas xpupa
Tois Tpépovcr. Kal ypappata RéyovTar Kal
= , e a 3 ‘ /
Tadra pavOavey oi traides eis TaBtovs Kope-
abévres, Baa yp TOUS ED yeyovotas. KdnOjvat
, A A a e
Sé cab TovTOUs amd THS Ondjs iaTopotcr ‘Pwpvrov
v ¢ A of A Ww \ 4
cal ‘Papov, dtu Onralovtes GPOnoav to Anpiov.
4) pev ovv ev Tois owpacw edyévera Kal vnTioV
dvrwy ebvOvs éFéhaive peyéOa Kal idéa Thy duow
abfdpevor Sé Ovpoedeis oav aphorepor Kal
. , . ape
dvdpedses xal ppovnpata mpos Ta awwopeva
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- childless, and Unmarried all his life, by name Tarrutius. This man took Larentia to his bed and loved her

well, and at his death left her heir to many and fair possessions, most of which she bequeathed to the people. And it is said that when she was now famous and regarded as the beloved of a god, she disappeared at the spot where the former Larentia also lies buried: This spot is now called Velabrum, because when the river overflowed, as it often did, they used to cross it at about this point in ferry-boats, to go to the forum, ard their word for ferry is' "velatura." But some say that it is so- called because from that point on, the street leading to the Hippodrome! from the forum is covered over with sails by the givers of a public spectacle, and the Roman word for sail is "velum."' It is for these reasons that honours are paid to this second Larentia amongst the Romans.

VI. As for the babes, they were taken up and reared by Faustulus, a swineherd of Amulius, and no man knew of it; or, as some say with a closer approach to probability, Numitor did know of it, and secretly aided the foster-parents in their task. And it is said that the boys were taken to Gabii to learn letters and the other branches of knowledge which are meet for those of noble birth. Moreover, we are told that they were named, from "ruma," the Latin word for teat,2 Romulus and Romus (or Remus), because they were seen sucking the wild beast. Well, the noble size and beauty of their bodies, even when they were infants, betokened their natural disposition ; and when they grew up, they were both of them courageous and manly, with spirits which

1 That is, the Circus Maximus. 2 Cf. chapter iv. 1.

dewa Kai Today dws dvextAneToY ExovTEs' o
6¢ "Pwptros yooun te xpycOar padrrov édoxe
Kat TomTiKny exe avveoty, év Tats Tepl vomas
Kal Kuynyias mpos Tovs yerTMavTas éeryuklats
TOAANY EAUTOU TAPEXWY KATAVONALW ryE"ovLKOD
padrgov 7 weiOapyixod gpicet yeyovoTtos. S40
TO peVv OpopvAos 7 TatrevoTépols TMpordireis
joav, émistdras dé cat duomevs Bacidixovs Kat
AYENAPYAS, WS pander avT@Y apeTH Siapépovras,
Umepd povoby Tes ouT ares éppovtilov ovTe
hes eXpOvTo dé Staitars Kat SiatptBais éNev-
epiows, ov THY oXOnY édevOéptov mYOUpevor
Kal THY amroviay, adda yupvaowd Kal Onpas Kat
Spopous xa TO Apotas apuvacbas Kat Kr@TTAS
éhaiy Kat Bias éfereobau TOUS dOdLKOUpEVOUS.
joav 61) dia TadTa meptBonTor.
Vil. Tevopeévns 5é Tivos pos TOUS Noyijropos
Bouxonous TOUS 'Apoviiou Ssagopiis kat Booxn-
parov éAdoews, OvK avacxopevoL TUyKOMTOVTL
pev avrovs Kal TpeTrovTa, amroréuvavrat bé tis
Aetas aouyyyy. dyavaxtobvTos dé Tod Nopnropos
aAuya@povv- auvivyov 8é Kal Tpoa ed€XovTo Toddovs
pev amopous, moAXous 8é SovAous, Opdcous aqro-

OTATLKOY Kal ppoviparas apxKas évd.dovres. Tob
dé Papvrov poy Twa Ouotay daroT pam opevov
(cal yap hv prob urns Kat pavTixos), ot TOU
Nopnropas Borijpes TP ‘Papp pet odLywr Babi-
Core TPoaTUXoVTEs euadXovTo. Kat yevopevay
mrAnyav Kat TpaUbaTOY év apporépors expaTnoay
ot tov Nopntopos nai avvédaBov Cavra Tov
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ROMULUS

courted apparent danger, and a daring which nothing could terrify. But Romulus seemed to exercise his judgement more, and to have political sagacity, while in his intercourse with their neighbours in matters pertaining to herding and hunting, he gave them the impression that he was born to command rather than to ebey. With their equals or inferiors . they were therefore on friendly terms, but they looked down upon the overseers, bailiffs, and chief herdsmen of the king, believing them to be no better men than themselves, and disregarded both their threats and their anger. They also applied themselves to generous occupations and pursuits, not esteeming sloth and idleness generous, but rather bodily exercise, hunting, running, driving off robbers, capturing thieves, and rescuing the oppressed from | violence. For these things, indeed, they were famous far and near.

VII. When a quarrel arose between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius,! and some of the latter's cattle were driven off, the brothers would not suffer it, but fell upon the robbers, put them to flight, and intercepted most of the booty. To the displeasure of Numitor they gave little heed, but collected and took into their company many needy men and many slaves, exhibiting thus the beginnings of seditious boldness ‘and temper. But once when Romulus was busily engaged in some sacrifice, being fond of sacrifices and of divination, the herdsmen of Numitor fell in with Remus as he was walking with few com- panions, and a battle ensued. After blows and wounds given and received on both sides, the herdsmen of Numitor prevailed and took Remus prisoner, whe was

1 Cf. Livy, i. 5, 3 ff.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

‘Popov. davaxOévtos oty avtou 7 pos, Tov Noun-
Topa Kal Karmyopnbevros, AUTOS Mev OVK exddace,
xarer ov dvta Sedims tov adeAdov, eAOa@v Sé

mpos éxeivoy édetTo Tuxely Sinns, derpos a @v Kai
xabuBpiopévos vo olxeTav éxetvov. Bacidéws
3 dvtos. cuvayavaxtovvrwy 5é Tay év “AXBn Kai
Sewa macyew oiopévwy tov avdpa rap afiav,
evmGels) “Apov\aos avT@ Tapadidwar To Nopn-
Tope Tov Papov 6 Te Bobhorro xpnoacbar.
IlapadaPov dé é éxeivos, as Kev olxape, Oaupd-
Cwv pév ato TOU cwpaTos TOY veavioxov weEp-
pépovra peryeec Kal poun mavTas, evopéay d€ Tw
TpotwnTg TO Oappartov Kal irapov Ths poxis
4 adovAwtov Kal amabes iro TOV TapovT@v, Eprya
dé avtov kal wpdfes Guora Ttois Bretropévors
axovov, TO b€ péytoTtov, ws Eouxe, Oeod cupra-
povros Kat ouverrevOivovTos apxyas peydhoy 7 pay-
~paToy, am TO pevos émrtvota kal TOXN THIS ady-
Oelas, avéxpiver dats ein wat bras yévotro,
pov Te mpgela kat giravOpar@ Bréupare
5 miotw avT@ per’ érmidos evdsbovs. o be Gappav
Ereyer: “ANN obdev arroxpvouat ve wa yap
elvau boxets ‘A povdiou Baowrixwrepas.. aKovels
yap Kal avaxpivess mpiv v7 Kohatery: o S _axpitous
teb(Stoar. 7 pOoTEpov fev EavTovs oLKEeTOV Bact-
AéEws DavotvArov Kat Aapevrias nro rapeba, Tak
das (éopev dé didupor), ryevopevos dé év aitia
Tpos oé Kai 61a Bodais Ka. Tots mepi puxis
ayaa, dxovonev peydda mepl éavtdy’ e b¢
6 TloTd, Kpivery Eouxe voV Oo Kivduvos. yoval pév
1906
~.,
ROMULUS

then carried before Numitor and denounced. Numitor himself did not punish his prisoner, because he was in fear of his brother Amulius, who was severe, but went to Amulius and asked for justice, since he was his brother, and had been insulted by the royal servants. The people of Alba, too, were incensed, and thought that Numitor had been undeservedly outraged. Amulius was therefore induced to hand Remus over to Numitor himself, to treat him as he saw fit. :

When Numitor came home, after getting Remus into his hands, he was amazed at the young man’s complete superiority in stature and strength of body, and perceiving by his countenance that the boldness and vigour of his soul were unsubdued and unharmed by his present circumstances, and hearing that his acts and deeds corresponded with his looks, but chiefly, as it wonld seem, because a divinity was aiding and

assisting in the inauguration of great events, he grasped the truth by a happy conjecture, and asked him who he was and what were the circumstances of his birth, while his gentle voice and kindly look inspired the youth with confidence and hope. Then Remus boldly said: “Indeed, I will hide nothing

from thee ; for thou seemest to be more like a king-

than Amulius; thou hearest and weighest before punishing, but he surrenders men without a trial. Formerly we believed ourselves (my twin brother and I) children of Faustulus and Larentia, servants of the king; but since being accused and slandered before thee and brought in peril of our lives, we hear great things concerning ourselves; whether they are true or not, our present danger is likely to decide. Our birth is said to have been secret, and

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yap pov amoppnror Aéyovtar, tpopat Sé Kal
TiOnvicets arora@repat veoyvav, ols éppidnpev
olwvois Kat Onpioss, UTO TOUVTWY TpEpopmeEvoL,
pagre AvKaLYNS wal Spvoxoddmrov pouiopacw,
ev oKxady Tit Kélmevot Tapa TOY peyay ToTAapoY.
éote © 1) oxddyn xal oolerat, yarxois urroke-
oLACt 1pa ppd ory apvdpov eyxexaparypevery, &
ryévour’ dv tows borepov avopedi YyVO pio para
TOOLS ToKevow NOY drohopevov.”
‘O pev otv Nounrop & te Trav oon TOUT@Y
Kat Tpos THY Ow eixalwy TOV Ypovoy, oUK EpEevye
Thy édrida caivovaay, adr’ édportiley Gras TH
Ouyatpi epi tovtwy Kpida cuyyevopevos dpd-
oevev’ efpoupetro yap Ett KapTepas.
VIII. ‘O 8 PavaotirAos axotoas tHv TE avA-
Apo Tov ‘Popov Kai thy mapddoow, TOV pev
‘Paptrov ngiov Bon Geir, TOTE Tapes bdd£as
mepl Tis yeverews’ 7 poTepov bé UmyviTTETo Kat
mapedn hou ToqovTov dcov T pooéxovTas en pix ov
ppoveiv’ avros O€ THY oxadny Kopiley exeoper
pos TOV N omnropa, omovons Kat d€ous perros
ay dia TOY Katpov. browiay ovv trois mepl Tas
ee Ppovpois, Tob Baorréws Ta pexon, Kai
pepevos | Ur avToY Kai _Tapatropevos rept
Tas amroxpicets, ovx éEdade thy cKapny Th xAa-
pudip TeptkadumTov. yw 8€ tus év avrois amo
TUXNS Tov Ta Tala piyrar AaBovtov Kat yeyo-

voTO@D mrept TH Exdeow. ovTOs ideav THY aKadny
TOTE, KAL YYWPLoaS TH KATATKEVT Kal TOs ypap-
1 Spopwpevos corrected by Bekker to eres (quealioned).

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our nursing and nurture as infants stranger: still.
We were cast out to birds of prey and wild beasts,
only to be nourished by them,—by the dugs of a
she-wolf and the morsels of a woodpecker, as we lay
in a. little trough by the side of the great river. The
trough still exists and is kept safe, and its brenze
girdles are engraved with letters now almost effaced,
which may perhaps hereafter prove unavailing tokens
of recognition for our parents, when we are dead and
gone."
Then Numitor, hearing these words, and conjec-
turing the time which had elapsed from the young
man's looks, welcomed the hope that flattered him,
and thought how he might talk with his daughter
eoncerning these matters in a secret interview ; for
she was still kept in the closest custody.
VIII. But Faustulus, on hearing that Remus had
been seized and delivered up to Numitor, called upon
Romulus to go to his aid, and then told him clearly
the particulars of their birth; before this also he
had hinted at the matter darkly, and revealed
enough to give them ambitious thoughts when
they dwelt upon it. He himself took the trough
and went to see Numitor, full of anxious fear lest he
might not be in season. Naturally enough, the
guards at the king's gate were suspicious of him,
and when he was scrutinized by them and made
confused replies to their questions, he was found to
be concealing the trough in his cloak. Now by
chance there was among the guards one of those
who had taken the boys to cast them into the river,
and were concerned in their exposure. This man,
now seeing the trough, and recognizing it by its

pacty, éruxev UTrovota Tou éyTos Kal ov Tapy-
pédnoer, ANNO ppdoas TO mpaypa TO Bacvret
KaTéaTnoev els EXeyyov. év be modhais Kal pe-
yaraus dvayKals 0 _Pavarvros ovr anTTnTov
éavrov Suepvrakev ovte TavTdmacwy exBrac Geis,
awleabat pe @LoroynTe TOUS maidas, elvat 8
drrwbev Ths “AXBnS Epn vévwovtas: autos 6é TodTO
Tpos THY Tiiav pépov Badifery, TOANAKLS idety
kai Ouyeiy ém’ édrridt BeBarotépa tay Téxvov
mobjcacay.
“Orep ouv. oi TapaTToOpEvor Kal pera déous 4
mpos opyny T parrovrTes OTLOUV ET LELKOS wdaxXovat,
TUVETTETE Tabeiv TOV “Apoudov. avipa yap adn
TE Xpyoroy kai trou N ourropos dirov v0 arov-
bis éreppe, Starrv0écOar Tob Nopjropos Ke-
Nevoas et Tis HKoL NOYOS Eis avdrov Drrép | TeV
Taliov ws TEPLYEVOMEVOD. ddixopevos ovv Oo
avOpwiros, Kat Jeacdpevos Soov ova Tov ‘Pa-
prov ev meptBonais Kal prop pocwvars Tob Nopn-
TOPOS, THV TE TiaTLD toxupay émoinge THS exridos
cal Tapexehevaato TOV mpayparav dféws avre-
AapBdvecOar, Kal ouviy autos 76n Kal ouve-
Tparrev. 0 6 Kaipos ove BovAopevors oxvety
Tapeixer. O yap ‘Pepvnros eyyus qv non, Kal
pos avTov eeOeov OvK oduryor TOV TOMTOY pices
Kal poBy Tov "ApovAiou. TloAAny dé Kal. our
auT@ Sivapuy nYE oudAEAOX LG MEV NY eis. éxa-
TooTvas: éxaaTns O€ avinp adyyeiro Xoprou Kat
Dns aryKarioa KOVT@ TEpiKerpevny avexov pa-
vida TavTas Aarivot Karovatv am’ éxeivou &e
Kal viv év tols orpatevpact trovTovs pave-
Trapiovs ovouafovow. aya S€ Tov péev “Papmov
ITO

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ROMULUS

make and inscription, conceived a suspicion of the
truth, and without any delay told the matter to the
king,and brought the man before him to be examined.
In these dire and pressing straits, Faustulus did not
entirely hold his own, nor yet was his secret wholly
forced from him. He admitted that the boys were
alive and well, but said they lived at a distance from

Alba as herdsmen; he himself was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often yearned to see and handle it, in confirmation of her hope for her children.
As, then, men naturally fare who are confounded, and act with fear or in a passion, so it fell out that Amulius fared. For he sent in all haste an excellent man and a friend of Numitor's, with orders to learn from Numitor whether any report had come to him of the children's being alive. When, accordingly, the man was come, and beheld Remus almost in the affectionate embraces of Numitor, he confirmed them in their confident hope, and entreated them to proceed at once to action, promptly joining their party himself and furthering their cause. And the opportunity admitted of no delay, even had they wished it; for Romulus was now close at hand, and many of the citizens who hated and feared Amulius were running forth to join him.. He was also leading a large force with him, divided into companies of a hundred men, each company headed by a man who bore aloft a handful of hay and shrubs tied round a pole (the Latin word for handful is "manipulus," and hence in their armies they still call the men in such companies " manipulares."'). And when Remus incited the
IT!

PLUFARCH'S LIVES

Tovs évros aduotavros, tod $8 'PwuiXouv mpocdyovros &Ewhev, ore mpdEas obdey 6 TYpAVVOS otre Bovievoas cwrnpiov édutd, Sta TO atropety kai tapatrecbar, catarndbels améBaver.
"Ov ta wreiota cat rod PaBiou Xéyovros Kal tov IlerapnOiov Aroxréovs, bs Sone? mparos éxdovvar 'Papuns xticw, Drortov pev éviots éati TO Spapatixoy Kal mwrAacpaT@des, ov Set 58 amoTely THY TUXNY OpavTas olwy TrolnpaTtov Snpuoupyos éott, Kal ta "Pwpaiwy rpdypata AeyCompévous ws ove av éevtaiv0a tpouBn Suvdpeos, pn Oeiav tia apynv AaBovra Kal pmdev péya pnde rapadoEoy éyovcay.
IX. 'Apovatov b€ atoBavevtos nal trav mpaypatwv KatactavTwy, "AXBny pev odt' oiKxeivy py

apxovres oT apxev éBovrovto Tod pntpoTatopos
Lavros, atrodovtes 5é tiv aryepoviav éxelvp nat rH
pentpl Teuas mperovaas, éyvwoay oixely Kad”
éavtous, Tod év ols ywpios é& apyns éverpa-
dnocay xticavtes: attn yap evmpetecotatn TeV
aittay eat. Fw S tows dvaycaiov, oietav Kal
amoatatav Toray nOpoic péevwv pos aUTOUs, F
KaTarvOjvat tayvtamact TovTwyv Siactapiytev
7 ouvouxeiy idta pet adtav. Ste yap ove n€louvy
of tHv “AXBnvy otxobvtes avaptyvivat Tovs atro-
otdtas éavtois ovde mpocdéxyecOat ToriTas, é57-
Awoe TPw@TOY pev TO TEept Tas yuVaiKas Epryop,
ovx UBper TorpunOev, adra Ou’ dvdyeny, éxovoteoy
I12

citizens within the city to revolt, and at the same
time Romulus attacked from without, the tyrant,
without taking a single step or making any plan for
his own safety, from sheer perplexity and confusion,
was seized and put to death.

Although most of these particulars are related by Fabius and Diocles of Peparethus, who seems to have been the first to publish a “ Founding of Rome,” some are suspicious of their fictitious and fabulous quality ; but we should not be incredulous when we see what a poet fortune sometimes is, and when we reflect that the Roman state would not have attained: to its present power, had it not been of a divine origin, and one which was attended by great marvels.

IX. Amulius being now dead, and matters settled in the city, the brothers were neither willing to live in Alba, unless as its rulers, nor to be its rulers while their grandfather was alive. Having therefore restored the government to him and paid _ fitting honours to their mother, they resolved to dwell by themselves, and to found a city in the region where, at the first, they were nourished and sustained ; } this surely seems a most fitting reason for their course. But perhaps it was necessary, now that many slaves and fugitives were gathered about them, either to disperse these and have no following at all, or else to dwell apart with them. For that the residents of Alba would not consent to give the fugitives the privilege of intermarriage with them, nor even receive them as fellow-citizens, is clear, in the first place, from the rape of the Sabine women,? which was not a deed of wanton daring, but one of necessity, owing to the lack of marriages by consent ;

1 Cf. Livy, i. 6, 3 f. 2 See chapter xiv.

] , , : > / \ > \ e 4
dropig yipov: eriuncay yap abtas iprdcavtes
TEPLTTOS. EElrTa THS MorAEWS THY TpwTNY
(ra a e , 4 a) >
iOpvatv NapBavovens, icpov tt PvEtpov Tots ade-
oTapévors KaTacKkevacaytes, 6 Beov *Acudraiov
Tpoonyopevov, edéyovto tdvtas, ovte SeaTroTals
SodAov ovte Ota ypHoTas ovT apxYovot avdpo-
Uj ? 4 b] \ lA ,
dovov éxdiddvtes, GAA pavTevpate tmUOOKpHoTH
n a A oe , , o
mao. BeBatodv thy davriav ddcKovtes, WaTE
TAnOvoar TAYD THY TOALY: érrEl TAS Ye TPwWTAS
e / / a / \ / 4
-€OTLAS NEYOUVGL TOV XtALWY jun TrELOVaS yever Oat.
TavTa pev ovv DaTeEpor.
e / \ v3 \ : ‘ > A
Oppnoact 5€ mpos Tov cuvoiKiapoyv avTois
< a
evOus Hv Siagopa tept tov téTrov. “Pwpyvros pev
ovv THY Kanrovpéevnv ‘Pounv Kxovadparny, direp
éotl teTpadywvov, extice, Kal éxeivov éBovdeTO
monivey tov toTrov, ‘Papmos 5& ywpiov te Tod
> , 4 A é > 9 “ A > ,
A Bevtivou kaptepov, 6 ot éxeivoy pev wvopacn
e ? “a , ¢ , “A
Pepwvioy, viv dé “Peyvaptov xadreirar. avvde-
, de \ ” v > / ro)
pévoy 5é thy épiv Gpuctv aicios BpaRevoa Kral
, 4 [4 a ¢ ,
KabeCopévwv ywpis, € dact tO ‘Pong, SirAa-
, ne 4 aA A
cious be 7 Pwoptr@ mpopavijvar yorras. ot &é
A b a A A
Tov pev “P@pov arnOas ideiv, revoacOar dé tov
“Pwpvrov éMovros 5€ tod ‘Pemov, tote Tovs
daHdexa TO ‘Paopwr@ havhvar, 66 nat viv pddtota
xpnabas yuri “Pwpaious oiwrlopévous.
‘Hpodwpos 6é o ovrixos toropet nal tov ‘Hpa-
Kea Xaipe yurros emi mpd&e dhavévros. éore
év yap aBNaBéctarov Cowy ara dev 6
peev yap a éotarov & avtov, pndev ov
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for they certainly honoured the women, when they had carried them off, beyond measure. And in the second place; when their city was first founded, they made a sanctuary of refuge for all fugitives! which they called the sanctuary of the God of Asylum. There they received all who came, delivering none up, neither slave to masters, nor debtor to creditors, nor murderer to magistrates, but declaring it to be in obedience to an oracle from Delphi that they made the asylum secure for all men. Therefore the city was soon full of people, for they say that the first houses numbered no more than a thousand. This, however, was later.

But when they set out to establish their city, a dispute at once arose concerning the site. Romulus, accordingly, built Roma Quadrata (which means square), and wished to have the city on that site ; but Remus laid out a strong precinct on the Aventine hill, which was named from him Remonium, but now is called Rignarium. Agreeing to settle their quarrel by the flight of birds of omen,? and taking their seats on the ground apart from one another, six vultures, they say, were seen by Remus, and twice that number by Romulus. Some, however, say that whereas Remus truly saw his six, Romulus lied about his twelve, but that when Remus came to him, then he did see the twelve. Hence it is that at the present time also the Romans chiefly regard vultures when they take auguries from the flight of birds.

Herodorus Ponticus relates that Hercules also was glad to see a vulture present itself when he was upon an exploit. For it is the least harmful

1 Cf. Livy, i. 8, 5f. 2 Cf. Livy, i. 7, 1.

/ A 4, bl 4 ¥

ameipovaty 1 putTevovor % vésovoty avOpwrot aivopevov, tpéderas Sé awd vexpov cwpator,

> / 2 399\ IO , \
arroxtivyvat & ovdév ovdé Nupaivetar ruxny exo,
mrnvoss 5€ Ota cuyyévetay ovbe vexpois Tpogeaty.
detol 6€ Kai yNadxes Kal iépaxes CavtTa KomTOVGL
ig 4 4 , > 3
Ta opodvra Kal dovevovor: Kaito. cat At-
oyvNov
"OpuiBos opts TAS av ayvetor dayav;

7 ért Tada pev ev OPOarpois, ws Eros eltreiv, ava-
otpépetar nal mapéyee Sta rravtos alcOnacy
éavrav: o 6é yu amdvioy éott Oéapa Kal veoo-
a ; A 9 e , ” J , >
aois yuTros ov padiws iopey évreruynKoTeEs, GANA
nal mapéoyev éviots atorov irovoav, &oOerv
avtrovs ad’ érépas Tivos yAs KaTtaipev évrabOa,
TO oTrdvLov Kal p11) TUVEXES, olov ot wavrets afvov-
ow elvat TO un KaTa pvawv pnd ad’ avrod, TouTTH
Sé Oeia harvopevov.
§ \ 8 v \ 2 / e epr
X. Eet 0 éyvw thy atratnv o ‘Papos, éya-
: a e
AETratve, Kal TOU “Pwpyvrov Tadpov opvTToVTOS 7
TO Tetyos Euedre KuKAOVTOaL, TA pev eyrevale
la) al > ‘
tay épyov, tots 5 éumodwy éyéveto. tédros Se
e ae a
SeadAOpevoy avtov ol ev avtTov Pwpyvtrov TaTda-
Favtos, of S¢ Tav étaipwv tiwds Kédepos, evrad0a
2 qeceiv Néyouow. émece Se kal Pavotinros dv TH
payn cat Wreorivos, bv aderpov dvra Davord-
Nou auverOpéevrar Tovs mept Tov Pwpmvrov ictopov-
ov. o pev ovyv Kérep eis Tuppnviay petéotn nat
an’ éxeivou tovs taxeis of “‘Papaio: nat d&ets
4 3 UU \ Iw 4
KéNepas ovoualovaor «at Koivtrov MéredXopr, Sri
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a.

ROMULUS

of all creatures, injures no grain, fruit-tree, or cattle, and lives on carrion. But it does not kill or maltreat anything that has life, and as for birds, it will not touch them even when they are dead, since they are of its own species. But eagles, owls, and hawks smite their own kind when. alive, and kill them. And yet, in

the words of Aeschylus :—!

“ How shall a bird that preys on fellow bird be
clean?”
Besides, other birds are, so to speak, always in our eyes, and let themselves be seen continually; but the vulture is a rare sight, and it is not easy to come upon a vulture’s young, nay, some men have been led into a strange suspicion that the birds come from some other and foreign land to visit us here, so rare and intermittent is their appearance, which soothsayers think should be true of what does not present itself naturally, nor spontaneously, but by a divine sending.

X. When Remus knew of the deceit, he was enraged,? and as Romulus was digging a trench where his city’s wall was to run, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, when he leaped across it, he was smitten (by Romulus himself, as some say; according to others, by Celer, one of his companions), and fell dead there. Faustulus also fell in the battle, as well as Pleistinus, who was a brother of Faustulus, and assisted him in rearing Romulus and Remus. Celer, at any rate, betook himself to Tuscany, and from him ‘the Romans call such as are swift and speedy, “celeres.’’ Quintus Metellus, for instance, when his father died,

1 Suppliants, 226 (Dindorf). 2 Cf. Livy, i. 7, 2.

Tov TaTpos aTOPavEYTOS ayava povowaxyov npé-
pats orlyass érroinae, Oavpdcavres TO TAaYOS THS
TapacKkeuns KéXepa ™ poomyopevoay.
XI. ‘O & “‘Paopvaros év tH “Pepowvia ! bdypas
Tov ‘Pa@pov opod eal TOUS Tpopeis, prite THY
mokw, é« Tuppnrias petatwepdpevos avdpas
tepots trae Oecpots Kal ypdppaow tdynyoupevous
ef \ 4 ef b ” ,
Exaota Kal d:ddoKxovtas wotrep év TeAXETH. BOO-
pos yap wpuyn tmept TO viv Kopitiov xuxdXortepys,
amapyai te Tdvtwv, boos vouw pev ws Kadots
eypavto, duce 5 ws avaryxaios, ametéOnoay
? a \ ? we a.
évtav0a. Kai Tédos, €& Hs adixtro yHs Exactos
odiynv Kopilwv potpav, EBaddov eis tadTa Kat
auvepiyvuov. Karodor S€ tov BoOpov TodTov @
Kal Tov GXvpTrOY ovopaTe podvdoy. Elta waTrEp

, , , \ 4 e o
KUKNOY KéVTP@ Trepléeypayayv THY TOA. oO 8
> \ > \ > / A of: e 4
aikioTns éuBadrwov apotpw yarknv dw, UnofevEas
dé Boiv dppeva Kxai OnreLav, adtos peéev emdryet
, Ww nw A 4 ~ b
TepteXauvey avtrAakxa Badetay trois Téppact, trav §
e , ” b] , A > 2 , ‘
ETropevov Epyov éativ, as avictnat BwXous TO
dpotpov Katactpépev cicw, Kal pnoepiav eo
Weplopav exTpeTopevnv. TH péev OvY ypauUH TO
Tetyos adopitovat Kat KadeiTas KaTa ovyKoTi
mapnptov, olov dmiabev TEeiyous 7) PETA TELKOS"
ef \ 4 b] “ A \ 7
Strov dé TuAnv éuBareiv Stavoobvrar, thy dvw
éEeXovtes kal TO dpotpov vTepOévtes Sidrerppa
1 ‘Pexwvlz Coraés and Bekker, with UC: ‘Peuopl:.

took only a few days to provide gladiatorial contests in his honour, and the people were so amazed at his speed in preparing them that they gave him the surname of Celer.

XI. Romulus buried Remus, together with his foster-fathers, in the Remonia,! and then set himself to building his city, after summoning from Tuscany men who prescribed all the details in accordance with certain sacred ordinances and writings, and taught them to him as ina religious rite. A circular trench was dug around what is now the Comitium,? and in this were deposited first-fruits of all things the use of which was sanctioned by custom as good and by nature as necessary ; and finally, every man brought a small portion of the soil of his native land, and these were cast in among the first-fruits and mingled with them. They call this trench, as they do the heavens, by the name of “mundus.” Then, taking this as a centre, they marked out the city in a circle round it. And the founder, having shod a plough with a brazen ploughshare, and having yoked to it a bull and a cow, himself drove a deep furrow round the boundary lines, while those who followed after him had to turn the clods, which the plough threw up, inwards towards the city, and suffer no clod to lie turned outwards. With this line they mark out the course of the wall, and it is called, by contraction, “ pomerium,” that is “ post murum,” behind or next the wall. And where they purposed to put in a gate, there they took the share out of the ground, lifted the plough over, and left a vacant

1 See chapter ix. 4. :

2 A space adjoining the forum where the people met in assembly. The mundus, or augural centre of the city, was really on the Palatine.

to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Totovow. O0ev array TO TelXos _tepov 7 TOW
TUNGY vouifovar tas dé TUAAS tepas vouitovras
ovK HV a avev devo darpovias Ta pev SéxerOat, Ta
8 arroméwretv TOY dvaryKaiov ral pn cabapev.
XII. “Ore pev ov » KTicts TIPE PG yévoltto TH
po évbexa, Kanavoay Matwv opohoyetra Kal
THY pep TAUTHY éoptatovar ‘Popaior, yevé-
OrLov THs mar pisos ovowatovtes. év apxh 8, as
pacw, ovdey Ep puxov éOvov, anna kabapay Kat
AVQLLALKTOY @OVTO Seiy TH mar pioe THY em@ovupOY
TIS Yyeverews copThy pudarrew. ov pay ada,
Kal 7 po Tips KTLTEWS Bornpixy TEs Rv avrots éoptn
Kare TAUTNY THv nuépav, Kal Ilapiina mpoon-
‘yopevov avTay.
Nob bv pep ow ovdev at ‘Popaixat voupnviat
™ pos TAs ‘EXAqvixas omohayoupevov éxovosv:
éxetyny be TV Hpepar, 7 7 THY TOA oO “PwmUroS
exten, aT peKh Tpraxdoa _ TuxXely Aéyovot’ Kar
avvodov exNELT TLENY év ava yevéoOar ocedquns
™ pos HpALov, ny etdévar Kat (Avtipa ov olovrat,
tov Tniov emomroLor, ETeL TPLTW Ths Exrys oAUEL-
Td60s gupmecodoay. ev dé Tos KaTa Bappova
TOV prroaogov Xpovors, avdpa ‘Popatov €v toro-
pia BtBdaxwratov, 7 HV Tapourtos eTaipos avrod,
didrocopos _peD dros Kal pabnpariros, anTo-
HEVOS dé THs mept Tov qTivaKa peBodou Jewpias
évexa xal dona év auth TEPLTTOS elvat. TOUTED
m povBarev 0 Bdppov avaryaryetv THY "Popvdov
yeverty els mpepay Kat @pav, €k TOV heyoueveoy
aTOTEhEs MATODY mepl TOV avdpa. ToLnag aevov TOV
avANOYLT MOV, WOTTEP AL TMV YyewpeTpLKaY Udn-
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ROMULUS

space. And this is the reason why they regard all the wall as sacred except the gates; but if they held the gates sacred, it would not be possible, with- out religious scruples, to bring into and send out of the city things which are necessary, and yet unclean.

XII. Now it is agreed that the city was founded

on the twenty-first of April, and this day the Romans celebrate with a festival, calling it the birthday of their country. And at first, as it is said, they sacrificed no living creature at that festival, but thought they ought to keep it pure and without stain of blood, since it commemorated the birth of their country. However, even before the founding of the city, they had a pastoral festival on that day, and called it Parilia.

At the present time, indeed, there is no agree- ment between the Roman and Greek months, but they say that the day on which Romulus founded his city was precisely the thirtieth of the month, and that on that day there was a conjunction of the sun and moon, with an eclipse, which they think was the one seen by Antimachus, the epic poet of Teos, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.! And in the times of Varro the philosopher, a Roman who was most deeply versed in history, there lived Tarutius, a companion of his, who, besides being a philosopher and a mathematician, had applied himself to the art of casting nativities, in order to indulge a speculative turn of mind, and was thought to excel in it. To this man Varro gave the problem of fixing the day and hour of the birth of Romulus, making his deductions from the conjunctions of events reported in the man’s life, just as the solutions of

1 754 B.C,
. 12!
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

yobvrat TpoBAnudTov avadvces: THs yap avTis Jewpias elvat ypovey te NaPRdvtas avOpedtrov yeveoews Blov mpoerrrety cal Bip So0évte Onpedi- 5 cat xpovov. énoinoey odv TO mpocTaxOev Oo Tapovtios, nal tad te wdOn nal ta epya Tov avépos émidov Kxal xpovov Sans Kxal tporov TeNeUTHS Kal TavTa Ta ToLavTa cuveis, ed para teOappynKotes Kal avdpeiws atrepyvato THv péev év TH pntpl yeyovévar tod “‘Pwuvrou cvAAN- Yu eres mpwtm tHS Seutépds GAuvpmiddos, év pnvi wat Abyumrtiovs Xotdx, tpitn wal eixdor, tpitns @pas, Kal” hv o Aros e&éAcTrE TravTEAaS" Thy & éupavn vyéveow ev pnvi Oov0, hyépa G mpwrn pet eixdda, wept fALov avaToAds. KTE- cOnvar Sé rHv ‘Pépny tr’ adtod rh évarn Pap- pov pnvos iorapévov, petakd devrépas @pas Kal tpitns’ émel cal Twédews TUYNY, Motrep av- Opwrov, Kuptov eyew olovtar xpovov, ex THs TpPOTNS YyEevéTewS TIPOS TAS TOY aaTépwy éerroKas Jewpovpevoy. aAAa TattTa pev tows Kal Ta totavTa Te Eévm Kal wepitT@ mpocakerar panr- ov » Sia TO pvOwdes evoxAnTEL TOUS évTUYXd-

YOVTAS AUTOLS.
XIII. KrucPetons o€ ths wodews Tp@tov pev
Scov hw ev nrLKia TAHOOS eis cvvTaypata oTpa-
tiotixa Steitev: Exactov Sé€ avvtayya mtrelov
Tpioxiriov hv Kal tTptaxoctwy imméewv. éxrHOn
5é Aeyewv TH Aoyddas elvar Tovs payipsovs ex
wavTwv. éretta Tois péev aArAros expHto Shum
Kal qrotmovnXous @voundaOn To WARS: Exatov Se
Tous apiatous amédeEe Bovrevtds, Kal avrous
122

“——,

ROMULUS

geometrical problems are derived; for the same science, he said, must be capable not only of fore- telling a man’s life when the time of his birth is known, but also, from the given facts of his life, of hunting out the time of his birth. This task, then, Tarutius performed, and when he had taken a survey of the man’s experiences and achievements, and had brought together the time of his life, the manner of his death, and all such details, he very courageously and bravely declared that Romulus. was conceived in his mother’s womb in the first year of the second Olympiad,! in the month Choeac of the Egyptian calendar, on the twenty-third day, and in the third hour, when the sun was totally eclipsed; and that he was born in the month Thoth, on the twenty- first day, at sun-rise ; and that Rome was founded by him on the ninth day of the month Phar- muthi, between the second and third hour: for it is thought that a city’s fortune, as well as that of a man, has a decisive time, which may be known by the position of the stars at its very origin. These and similar speculations will perhaps attract readers by their novelty and extravagance, rather than offend them by their fabulous character.

XII. When the city was built, in the first place, Romulus divided all the multitude that were of age to bear arms into military companies, each company consisting of three thousand footmen and three hun- dred horsemen. Such a company was called a legion,’ because the warlike were selected out of all. In the second place, he treated the remainder as a people, and this multitude was called “populus” ; a hundred of them, who were the most eminent, he

1 772 B.C.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

peév tratpixious, TO 6¢ avaoTHMA TEVaTOY Tpoanyo;
2 pevoev. O pev ovv GEVaTOS aTpEKaS ‘yEepovatay
onpaives twatpitious 5é tovs Bovrevtas KANn-
Ojnvar réyovow of pev STL wWaidwy yvnoiwy ta-
Tépes Hoav, of 5é padXrAov ws avdTovs ExovTas
éavta@v atrodei~tar tTatépas, OTEep ov ToANOIS
virqpEe TOY TPWTwY Es THY TrOoALY GUPpEoYTwY'

ot 5€ amo THS TaTpwreias. ovTw yap éexdrovy
THY TMpoctaciay Kal Kadovow aypt viv, oLopevor
Ildtpwva tiva trav ovv Evdvip@ wapayevopévon,
xndepovecov TOV Drrodeea Tépwy 6Yra Kat BonOn-
TLKOD, arp' auTov TO Tpdarypare TAUT AY TV ™poon-
yopiav arromuTreiy. padora & ap ts TUYXaVvOE
TOU elKOTOS, él vopiou tov Pwpvrov afvobvra
TOUS TpwTOous Kat duvatwTarous TAT PLKH xnde-
povia Kat ppovtide TPOTHKELY éripernеioOa TOV
TATELVOTEDWY, dua d€ tovs addous biddoKxovra
pn Sedrévar pnd ax Ger Bau Tais TOV KPELTTOVOY
Tipais, anna xpia Gar Mey evvoias Kab vouiCovtas
Kat T poaaryopevorTas Tarepas, oUTWS Ovop"acal.
Kat yap axypt viv TOUS ev TVYKAITO TEAOUYTAS
Ot pev éEwOev avdpas nryEHovas Karovow, avrol
dé 'Papaior TATE PAS TVYYEYPAUPEVOS, TO pé-
yeoroy pev akiwopa Kal Tiny, Heora b¢ pOovov
éxovre pepevor TOV ovoparor. éy apyn pev
ovy TraTEépas AaVTOUS [oOvo?, Uarepov dé mAELovey
mpocavahapBavopevar, TmaTépas ouyyeypapipe-
VOUS Tm poonyopevaay. cal TOUTO bev ty dvopa
TELVOTENOY AUT@ THS T pos TO SnpworeKov TOU
Bovreutixod Siagopas: érépors S€ tovs Suvatovs
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appointed to be councillors, calling the individuals themselves " patricians,"' and their body a " senate."' Now the word "senate" means literally a Council of Elders, and the councillors were called " patricians," as some say, because they were fathers of lawful childrag!; or rather, according to others, because they could tell who their own fathers were, which not many could do of those who first streamed into the city ; according to others still, from " patronage," which was their word for the protection of inferiors, and is so to this day; and they suppose that a certain Patron, one of those who came to Italy with Evander, was a protector and defender of the poor and needy, and left his own name in the word which designates such activity. But the most reasonable opinion for any one to hold is that Romulus thought it the duty of the foremost and most influential citizens to watch over the more lowly with fatherly care and concern, while he taught the multitude not to fear their superiors nor be vexed at their honours, but to exercise goodwill towards them, considering them and addressing them as fathers, whence their name of Patricii. For down to the present time foreign peoples call the members of their senate "chief men," but the Romans themselves call them "conscript fathers," using that name which has the greatest dignity and honour, and awakens the least envy. At first, then, they called them simply "fathers, but later, when more had been added to their number, they addressed them as "conscript fathers." By this more imposing title Romulus distinguished the senate from the commonalty, and in other ways, too, he separated the nobles from the

1 Cf, Livy, i. 8, 7.
125
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

J \ A A 4: 4 ? 4,

amd TOY TroAA@Y Sinper, TaTpwvas dvopatwr,
5 \ / 2 / \ 4 4
dmep éoti Tpoardatas, éxeivous b€ KXrievtas, SrEep
€otl weAdtas dua Sé mpos aAAHAOVS OavpactTiHy
4 9 A \ , , e /
evvotay autos Kal peydrwv Sixaiov ordpEovcay
éveTroingeyv. ovTo mev yap éényntds te Tay. voul-
pov Kai mpooraras dixatopévors cupBovrovs Te
TavTwov Kal KNOe“ovas EavTovs TapeElyov, éxetvot
5é tovTous éGepdtrevov ov povoy Tis@yvTes, GAA
cal trevopévors Ouyatépas cuvexdidovtes nal ypéa
GuvexTivovTes. KaTapapTupelv Te WeAaTOU TpoT-
TaTHY, 7) TpoTTaToU TEAATHV, OVTE VOLOS OvOEls
¥ v 2 , ef 4 a) M:
ovte apyov nvayxalev. tortepov dé, TOY aNrOV
Sixaiwy pevovtayv, To NapBdavey xXpynpata tovs
duvatovs mapa tav TaTevotépwy aiaypov évo-
picbn Kal ayevvés. Tadta pév ovv TeEpt TOUTOY.
\ \

XIV. Terdprm S€ pnvi peta tHv Kticww, os
@PaBios iotopet, TO Tepl tTHy dptayny érormnOn
TOY yuvatKov. Kal Aéyoucr pev Eno Tov ‘Po-
pvrAov avTov tH hvoe gdtAoTrOAELOV GyTa, Kat
metrerapévov éx Tivwy apa Noyiwy Ste THY “Pomnv
méTpwrat Toreuors tpehopéevny Kat avouevny
yevésOat peyiotnv, Bias tardpkat mpos rtovs
LaBtvous: ovdé yap Todds, AANA TPLdKOVTA
povas wapBévous NaBely adrov, are 67 ToAEmoV
A a 4 , A \ > > 7+
HadXoY H ydpov Seopevov. todto Sé ovK eiKos*
GANA THY Mev TOALY Op@DV éTroiKwY EOds éumiTAA-
pévynv, @v OdLyot yuvaixas elyov, of 5é€ ToAXol
126

ROMULUS

multitude, calling the one “ patrons,” that is to say, protectors, and the other “clients,” that is to say,

dependants. At the same time he inspired both classes with an astonishing goodwill towards each other, and one which became the basis of important rights and privileges. For the patrons advised their clients in matters of custom, and represented them in courts of justice, in short, were their counsellors and friends in all things; while the clients were devoted to their patrons, not only holding them in honour, but actually, in cases of poverty, helping them to dower their daughters and pay their debts. And there was neither any law nor any magistrate that could compel a patron to bear witness against a client, or a client againt a patron. But in later times, while all other rights and privileges remained in force, the taking of money by those of high degree from the more lowly was held to be disgraceful and ungenerous. So much, then, on these topics.

XIV. It was in the fourth month after the founding of the city, as Fabius writes, that the rape of the Sabine women was perpetrated.1. And some say that Romulus himself, being naturally fond of war, and being persuaded by sundry oracles, too, that it was the destiny of Rome to be nourished and increased by wars till she became the greatest of cities, thereby merely began unprovoked hostilities against the Sabines; for he did not take many maidens, but thirty only, since what he wanted was war rather than marriages. But this is not likely. On the contrary, seeing his city filling up at once with aliens, few of whom had wives, while the greater part of them, being a mixed rabble of needy

1 Cf. Livy, i. 9.

U ’ 3 , \ > A Ww e
puyades €E amropwv nai adavav daytes virepew-
pavro Kal mpocedok@vto p11) cuppevety BeBaiws,
/ \ \ \ 4 \
érmivwv Sé€ mpos tovs YaBivovs tporov tiva
auyKkpdcews Kal Kolvwvias apyny avTois TO adi-
KNLA TOLNTELY TMEpwoamevols TAS yUvatKas, éTre-
xelpnoe TO Epy@ Tovde TOV TpOTFOV.
Avedo0n oyos UT’ avtod mpa@tov ws Oeot
Twos aveupnKkot Bwpov vireo ys Kexpuppévov.
avopatoyv 5& tov Oedv Kavoov, elite Bovratov
wv 4 \ ¥ A \ UA
GvTa (Kwycidkloy yap éTL viv TO oupPBovrLOV
Kadovdot, Kal Tovs bardtous KwvcotAas, oloy mpo-
Y] 4 fe) \ e \
Bovnous), etre trmiov Tlocede. xal yap o Bwpos
éy TO peifov. tev immodpopwry éotiv, adavis
Tov &AXov xpovov, év Sé Tols immxois ayaou
? , e 4 Q A

dvakadurTopevos. of S€ Kal br(ws dhacl Tod
Bovrevpatos atoppyntou Kal adavovds 6vtTos v1o-
yelov oux adroywos T@ Oe@ Bawpov yevéoOar xe-
/ e b] > 4 / \
Kpuppévov. ws 8 avedavn, Ovolay te Naprpay
ér avTt@ kal ayava cal Oéav én Karayyerias
émerénet Travnyupixny. Kal Toddod pev avOpwrrat
auvnrOov, autos Se mpovedOnto peta TaV api-
oTwY aroupyide Kexoopnpévos. Hv S€ Tov KaLpod
THS emuyeipnoews oupBorov éEavactavta THv
aGNoupyida mrv—ar Kail meptBarécOar mdreyv.
M” @ 4 a 2 A
exovtes ovv Eighn TrodXol wpoceixyov avTo, Kat
fe) /
TOU onpeov yevouévov orracdpevar Ta Eidn Kat
\ a e /,
peta Bors oppnoarvtes fptraloy tas Bvyatépas
tav YaPRivwv, avtovs 8 devyovtas eclwy Kat
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7”

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and obscure persons, were looked down upon and expected to have no strong cohesion; and hoping to. make the outrage an occasion for some sort of blending and fellowship with the Sabines after their women had been kindly entreated, he set his hand | to the task, and in the following manner.

First a report was spread abroad by him that he had discovered an altar of a certain god hidden underground. They called this god Consus, and he was either a god of counsel (for “ consilium”’ is still their word for counsel, and they call their chief magistrates “consuls,” that is to say, counsellors), or an equestrian Neptune. For the altar is in the Circus Maximus, and is invisible at all other times, but at the chariot-races it is uncovered. Some, however, simply say that since counsel is secret and unseen, it is not unreasonable that an altar to the god of counsel should be hidden underground.! Now when this altar was discovered, Romulus appointed by proclamation a splendid sacrifice upon it, with games, and a spectacle open to all people. And many were the people who came together, while he himself sat in front, among his chief men, clad in purple. The signal that the time had come for the onslaught was to be his rising and folding his cloak and then throwing it round him again. Armed with swords, then, many of his followers kept their eyes intently upon him, and when the signal was given, drew their swords, rushed in with shouts, and ravished away the daughters of the Sabines, but permitted and encouraged the men

1 The altar was kept buried in the earth to signify the secret processes of nature in the production of crops and

vegetation. For Consus was an ancient Italian god of agriculture.
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6 waplecay. apracOnva 5é hac ot pév Tpta-
xovra povas, ad ov Kxal tas dparpias ovopa-
aOjvar, Ovarrépios Sé "Avtias érra Kal eixoot
xal wevtaxocias, IdoBas 6é tpeis Kal dySoryKovta
kal é€axocias rapOévous: 5 péytoTov jv aTro-
AOynua TO ‘PwpvA@: yuvaina yap ov dAaBelv
arn’ 7 play, ‘Epatriay, Staradodcav avtovs, ate
8m py we? BBpews pnd adsxlas éXNOovtas él thy
aprrayynv, add\ja ouppi~ac cal ovvayayeiy ets
TAUTO TA Yyevn Tals peyioTals avdayKats Stavon-
7 Oévtas. tHv 8 “Epowdiav of pév ‘Ootirov yhpat
Aéyovowy, avdpa “Pwpaiwy éridpavéctatov, ot &é
avrov ‘Pwpvrov, xal yevéoOat nal traidas ava,
piav pev Ovyarépa IIpipav, tH taker tis yevé-
sews oUTW TpocayopevOciaay, Eva & vidov povor,
dv "AcAALov pev évelvos amo THs yevouevns AOpot-
sews Um avTod TOY TOoNTOY wvopacev, oi
daotepov "ABidNov. ddAA TadTa pev ioTOpar
Znvoboros o Tporkywos modrrgods exer Tovs
avTiNéyovTas.
XV. *Ev 6& tois dpwdfovcr tas trapOévors
TOTE Tuxely héyouar TOY OvK eT ipavay Twas
GyovTas Kopnv TO TE KdNNEL TOAD Kal TO meyer
Stagpépovoay. éret & amavravtes Evie TeV
KpetTTovwy émexelpovy adpatpeicOar, Boayv tovs
ayovtas a Taracip Kopuifaev aityy, dvdpl vé
2 pév, evdoxipm Sé nal ypnot@: Todt’ ody axov-
cavtas evdnpety Kal Kpotety érawobvtas, évious
dé xal Tapaxodovbely avacrpéavtas evvoia cat
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themselves to escape. Some say that only thirty maidens were seized, and that from these the Curiae 1 were named; but Valerius Antias puts the number at five hundred and twenty-seven, and Juba

at six hundred and eighty-three, all maidens. And this was the strongest defence which Romulus could make, namely, that they took only one married woman, Hersilia, and her by mistake, since they did not commit the rape out of wantonness, nor even with a desire to do mischief, but with the fixed purpose of uniting and blending the two peoples in the strongest bonds. As for this Hersilia, some say that she was married to Hostilius, a most eminent Roman, and others, to Romulus himself, and that she also bore him children: one daughter, Prima, so called from the order of birth, and one son only, whom Romulus named Aollius, from the great concourse? of citizens under him, but later ages Avillius. However, Zenodotus of Troezen, who gives us this account, is contradicted by many.

XV. Among those who ravished away the maidens at that time, it chanced, they say, that certain men of meaner sort were dragging along a damsel who far surpassed the rest in beauty and stature ; and when some men ef superior rank met them and tried to rob them of their prize, they cried out that they were conducting the girl to Talasius, a young man, but one of excellent repute. The other party, then, on hearing this, shouted and clapped their hands in approval, and some of them actually turned back

1 The thirty divisions into which the three ancient Roman tribes were divided for political and ceremonial purposes. Cf. Livy, i. 13, 6 f.

2 A Greek etymology, connecting the name with aodAdAfs, an throngs.

yapitt ToD Taraciov, peta Bons Tovvopa Pbery-
/ 9 > hs 87 N T 4 ¥ A e
youeévous. ad ov on Toy TaXaowov axpt viv, ws
"“EAAnves tov ‘Tyévacov, érradover “Pwpaiot rois
yao Kal yap evtvyia gaci ypnoacbar rept
THY yuvaixa Tov Taddovov.
4
LéEtTios 5€ YArAas o Kapyndovos, ovte pov-
cov ovTe Yapitwy éridens avnp, Edreyeyv Huty Gre
THS aprayns cwwOnua Thy dovny EwKe TavTHY oO
“e@ , ¢ ¢ A , I19/ e
Pwpvros. amavtes otv tov Tadrdovoyv éBowy ot
Tas TrapOévous xopivoytes: Kal 1a TodTO Tos ya-
pots Tapapéver TO E005. of b€ TWAEloTOL vopitov-

ov, wy nal “loBas éoti, tapdxAnow elvar Kar
mTapakérevory eis direpyiay Kal tadaciav, orm
g ~ e a > lA la) > A
tote tots EAAnvixots ovopace tav ‘ItadiKcov
émixeyupévov. ef 5 TodTO pn A€yeTaL KAKOS,
GAN éyp@vto ‘Pwyaio: Tore TH GvopaTe THs
Tadacias, xaddrep jets, érépay ay tts aitiay
eixdoee TLavwtépay. érrel yap of SaBivor pos
\ € 4 4... , b]
tous Pwpaious roreunoavtes Siunr\rAdynoar, éyé-
vovto cvvOjKat Tept TOV yuvatKkav, STws pNndev
” 4 A b 4 A \ \ ‘4
aNAO Epyov Tots avdpdow 7 Ta Tept THY TAAAGiaY
UToUpy@ol. Tapéuewev ovv Kal Tos avOts ya-
povat Tous didovtas 4 maparéutrovtas 4 Sdws
TapovTas, avadwvety Tov Tadrdotov peta Tradias,
paptupopévous ws er’ ovdev AdXO Hrrovpynpa THs
yuvaixos 7 TaXaclav eicayomévns. Siapéver Sé
4 A ‘ A a, > \ 9 4? e HA A
HEXpL vUY TO THY vUEpHY auUTnY ad avuUTHS py
e , \ IQA > \ 4 9 p
uTepBaivey tov ovdov els TO dSwpudtiov, aXXr
aipomevny cladéperBar, dia TO Kai ToTE KomcOH-
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and accompanied them, out of good will and favour to Talasius, shouting his name as they went along. Hence, indeed, down to the present time, Talasius is the nuptial cry of the Romans, as Hymenaeus is of the Greeks; for they say that Talasius was fortunate in his wife.

But Sextius Sulla, the Carthaginian, a man who lacks neither learning nor charm, told me_ that Talasius was the word which Romulus gave as a watchword for the rape. All those, therefore, who took the maidens away, shouted “ Talasius !’’ and on this account the custom now prevails at mar- riages. But most writers are of the opinion—and Juba is one of them—that the cry is an exhor- tation and incitement to industry and “ talasia,” as the Greeks aall spinning, Italian words having not yet at that time entirely submerged the Greek. Now if this is right, and the Romans did at that time use the word “talasia’’ for spinning, as we do, then a more credible reason for the custom might be conjectured as follows. When the Sabines, after their war against the Romans, were reconciled with them, it was agreed that their women should perform no other tasks for their husbands than those which were connected with spinning. It was customary, therefore, at subsequent marriages, for those who gave the bride away, or escorted her to her new home, or simply looked on, to cry “Talasius !”’ merrily, in testimony that the woman was led home for no other task than that of spinning. And it continues to be a custom down to the present time that the

bride shall not of herself cross the threshold into her new home, but be lifted up and carried in, because the Sabine women were carried in

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vat Bracbeioas,"y1 eicerOeiv.' Evo bé Aéyouce
Kal TO THY KOuNY THS yapoupévyns atyun Sea-
xpivesOat Sopatiov cvpBodov elvat Tov peTa WAXNS
Kal TONELLKAS TOV Tp@TOV yamov yevéerOat: trepl
av émimnéoy év Tois Aitiots epnKkaper.
? 4 \ @ e @ \ \ >

ErorpunOn pév ody 4 aptayn mepl THY oKTH-

, e 4 a 4 4 f

KaLdEKaTHY Huépav Tov TOTE pev YeETLALOV puNVOS,
Avyovotou 8 viv, ev % tHhv tov Kwvoadiov
éopTny ayovatv.
XVI. Of 5é ZaBivor worrol perv joav Kai
TONE MLKOL, KOpas Sé M@KOUY ATELYiC TOUS, WS TpOC-
jKov avtois péya dpoveiy cal py poBeicbas
AaxeSatpoviwy aroikos oto. ov pny ard

OpavTes avToUS évdedepévous pEeyarOLs Ounpevpact,
Kat Sedcotes Trept Tav Ouyatépwv, mpéc Bes arré-
OTELNAY ETTLELKT Kal péTPLA TPOKGAOUpPEVOL, TOY
e 4 > / , > a a,
Pwpvroy atrodovta Tas Kopas avtois Kal AvVCav-
Ta 70 THs Bias Epyov, eita teBot Kal voy
mpatrew Tots yéveore didiav Kal oixetoTnTAa. TOD
Sé 'Pwytrov Tas pevy Kopas py mWpotepévor,
Tapakadodvtos 8 Thy Kowvwviay déyecBat Tovs
SaBivous, of pev dAXot BovAevopevor kab trapa-
aoxevalopevoe StétptBov, "Axpwv dé Bactreds
Kevyytav, avnp Ovpoedns nat Sewods év rots
TONELLKOLS, TA TE TP@TA TOApHnpaTa TOD Pwpd-
Nou oe' Utrovpias elye, Kal T@ mpayOévte trept Tas
yuvaixas 67 poBepov Hryovmevos TacL elvat Kat
OUK avEKTOV, eb pn KoAATOEin, Tpoc~avéoTyn THE
Tokéum Kal peTa TorArARS exper Suvdpews em'
1 uh eloerdeivy bracketed by Bekker.
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by force, and did not go in of their own accord. And some say also that the custom of parting the bride's hair with the head of a spear is a reminder that the first marriage was attended with war and fighting ; on which topic I have spoken more fully in my " Roman Questions." !

Leaving such matters aside, the rape was committed on the eighteenth day of the month once called Sextilis, but now, August, on which day the festival of the Consualia ? is celebrated.

XVI. Now the Sabines were a numerous and war- like people, and dwelt in unwalled villages, thinking that it behoved them, since they were Lacedae- monian colonists, to be bold and fearless. Neverthe- less, seeing themselves bound by precious hostages, and fearing for their daughters, they sent ambassa- dors with reasonable and moderate demands, namely, that Romulus should give back to them their maidens, disavow his deed of violence, and then, by persua- sion and legal enactment, establish a friendly re- | lationship between the two peoples. But Romulus would not surrender the maidens, and demanded that the Sabines should allow community of mar- riage with the Romans, whereupon they all held long deliberations and made extensive preparations for war. But there was one exception. Acron, king of the Caeninenses, a man of courageous spirit and skilled in war, had been suspicious of the daring deeds of Romulus from the beginning, and now that this violence had been done the women, thinking him a menace to all peoples, and intolerable unless chastised, at once rose up in arms, and with a great

1 Morals, p. 285 c (Question 87).

2 A harvest festival, named: from Consus. See chapter xiv. 3.

4 avtov: xal-o 'Pwpiros én' éxeivov. yevouevor &

év Owes xal xatidovtes ANANAOUS TPOvKAXNODYTO payecOat, THY oTpatevpdtwy év Tois SToLs atpexovvTwyv. evédpevos otv o 'Pwpvros, e xpaTnoee Kal KataBdro., T@ Aut dépwy avaln- cely AUTOS TA OWAG TOD avipos, aUTOY TE KaTA- Barre. xparnoas Kal tpémeras TO oTparevpa paxns yevopevns, aipet S¢ eal thy Tod: ov pny nolanoe Tovs éyxaTaArndOévtas, GAN 4 Tas oixias éxéXevoe KaedXovtas axorovbeiv eis "'Paduny, ws

monitas emt rois tlaous écopévous.
Tovtou pev obv ovx dati 6 Te padrov nignoce
THY ‘Poyny, adel 7 poamovova ay éautn kal ovp-
vépquoay ov Kpatnceev: o dé “Pawpvnros, as. dv
padsota Thy evyny TO TE Aut Keyapiopévnv cal
Trois Todas iSeiv emitepTry Tapdoxor oKeyd-
| pevos, él otpatotédsou Spiv Eteyev UreppeyéOn,

Kal Suesoppwcey WaoTrEp TpOTTALOY, Kal TOY OTAWwY
tov “Axpwvos éxaotov év taker trepinppoce Kal
Karnptncey: avros bé thy pev eoOtTa Trept-
eCwcato, Sadvy Sé dotépato thy Kepadny kope-
cav. .uro\aBov b€ Te Sefig@ TO TpOTALOY Bum
mpocepedopepov opov, éBddilev eEapywv émi-
wixiov tTasavos év Sirdoes érropern TH oTparia,
Sexopmeveoy TOV TOMTOV peta xapas xal Oadpua-
TOS. 1%) pev ovv Tom TOV abdis Pptdp Bev
apynv kal Cnrov mapécxe tO S5é tpotatoy ava-
aN

ROMULUS

force advanced against him.! Romulus also marched out to meet him. But when they were face to face and had surveyed each other, they challenged mutually to single combat before battle, while their armies remained quiet under arms. Romulus, then, after making a vow that if he should conquer and overthrow his adversary, he would carry home the man’s armour and dedicate it in person to Jupiter, not only conquered and overthrew him, but also routed his army in the battle which followed, and took his city as well. To the captured citizens, however, he did no harm beyond ordering them to tear down their dwellings and accompany him to Rome, where, he promised them, they should be citizens on equal terms with the rest.

Now this, more than anything else, was what gave increase to Rome: she always united and incor- porated with herself those whom she conquered. But Romulus, after considering how he might perform his vow in a manner most acceptable to Jupiter and accompany the performance with a spectacle most pleasing to the citizens, cut down a monstrous oak that grew in the camp, hewed it into the shape of a trophy, and fitted and fastened to it the armour of Acron, each piece in its due order. Then he himself, girding his raiment about him and wreathing his flowing locks with laurel, set the trophy on his right shoulder, where it was held erect, and began a triumphal march, leading off in a paean of victory which his army sang as it followed under arms, and being received by the citizens with joyful amazement. This procession was the

origin and model of all subsequent , triumphs, and the

1 Cf. Livy, i. 10.
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er
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Onua Peperpiov Aros érrwvopdcOn. 16 yap TrA-
Ear hepipe ‘Pwpaios xadrodow: evEato ¢ wAnEae
7 Tov dvdpa kal xataBareiy: oripia 5¢ ta cKdda,

gnot Bdppwv, xabors kal thv meptovoiay dep
ANéyovet. wiBavwrepov & av tis eltror Sta Thy
mpakiv: Oirovs yap dovoyalerat TO épyov. av-
toupy@ 5€ apioteias oTpaTny@ oTpaTnyov dave-
Dovte Séb0Tar KaGtépwors omripior.
Kal tpiot povors tovtov tuyely umapke ‘Po-
paios Hyepoot, mpate “Papvr\., Kxtelvaytt Tov
Kevvntny “Axpwva, Sevrépm Kopynrtio Koocg,
Tuppnvoy dverovte Torovpmov, émt maar Se
Kravdie Maprédr@, Bpitroydprov xpatnoavti
Taratav Baoiréws. Koooos peév otv nal Map-
KerXroS On TeOpitrmos Eeionravvoy avTol Ta
tpoTa:a épovte: ‘Pwpvrov & ove opbas dno
dppat. yxpnoacGa, Atovictos. Tapxuvov yap
tatopovat tov Anpapatov tov Bactréwv pero
eis TOUTO TO oYHpa Kal Tov byxov éEapar Tovs
OptdpBovs: Erepor S€ mpawrov éd’ Apparos Oprap-
Bedoat Tomrdixorav. tod dé ‘Pwpvtr0ov ras eixo-
vas opay értiy év ‘Pan tas tpomaropopous melas
aTacas.
XVII. Meta dé trav Kevivntayv addwow ere tev
adAwv LaBivwv év tapackevais évtwv, cvvéatn-
cay ot Didnvnv xai Kpovorouvpépiov xai *Avé-
pvay oiKxodrtes él rods ‘Pwpaious: nal payns
ee

ROMULUS

trophy was styled a dedication to Jupiter Feretrius,
so named from the Roman word “ ferire,” to sméte ;
for Romulus vowed to smite his foe and overthrow
him. And such spoils were called “ opima,” because
as Varro says, “ opes”’ is the Roman word for richness ;

but it would be more plausible to say that they were so called from the deed of valour involved, since " opus" is the Roman word for deed or exploit. And only to a general who with his own hand has performed the exploit of slaying an opposing general, has the privilege of dedicating the " spolia opima " been granted.

Furthermore, only three Roman leaders have at- tained this honour: Romulus first, for slaying Acron the Caeninensian ; next, Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan ;! and lastly, Claudius Marcellus, for overpowering Britomartus, king of the Gauls.? Cossus indeed, and Marcellus, already used a four-horse chariot for their entrance into the city, carrying the trophies themselves, but Dionysius ® is incorrect in saying that Romulus used a chariot. For it is matter of history that Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, was first of the kings to lift triumphs up to such pomp and ceremony, although others say that Publicola was first to celebrate a triumph riding on a chariot. And the statues of Romulus bearing the trophies are, as may be seen in Rome, all on foot.

XVII. After the capture of the Cuaeninensians, while the rest of the Sabines were still busy with their preparations, the people of Fidenae, Crustu- merium, and Antemnae banded together against the

1 In 436 B.c., according to Livy, iv. 19, 1-5.
2 In 222 B.c. See Plutarch's Marcellus, vii.
3 Antiq. Rom. ii. 34. 4 Cf. Publicola, ix. 5.
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/ e 4 e / VA / €
yevoperns ntTnOévtes omoiws, Tas Te TONES Po-
PUA® TraphKay édely Kal thy yopav SacacIat
kal petouicas odas avtovs eis 'Pounv. o &é
¢ , \ \ " / oy fs
Pwpvros THY pev AAANY KaTEVELLE YMOPAY TOIS
jonitas, donv 8 elyov of TeV npTacuévwr
TmapQévwv Tatépes, avTous Eye exeivous elacev.
"Eml rovrows Bapéws pépovtes oi Aowtrrol La-
Bivoc Tariov dodeiEavtes otpatnyov émrt tiv
'p , bY 4 9 de PY , 5 e /
apny éotpatevaav Hv 5€é dvampocodos 7 Tors,
éyovca mpoBdAnpua to viv Kamitodov, ev @
ghpoupa xaberornxe: nal Taprrnios hryepov avris,
bd \ of. , € 4 / > /
ovxt Taprnia trapBévos, ws évior Néyovow, evHnOn
Tov 'Pwpvrov amodexvuovtes' adda Ouydrnp 7
Taprnia tod apyovtos ovca trpovdwxe toils Da-
Bivois, émOupjoaca TOV xpvo ov Bpaxovirrnpey

ovs elde TEpiKelpevors, Kal nTNOE puobov THS 7 po-
Socias a popoien € év Tas aptotepais yepot. ourde-
pévou b€ Tov Tartiov, vixtwp avoi~aca mUAnY pilav
256 ‘\ > 4 td LA 9 e 4
é6éEato tovs YaBivous. ov povos odv, ws Eorxer,
"Avtiryovos pn mpodsdovtas pév direiv, 7podedw-
xotas b€ puceiv, ovde Kaioap, eimav émi too
@paxos ‘Powuntadxov, perety pev mpodociay, ™po-
Sorny dé poet GANG KOLVOY TL TOUTO 7 aBos éoti
™pos Tavs Trovnpovs Tois Seopévots avTav, Oamep
tov Kat _Xonais éviwy Onpiov Séovrar tH yap
xpetav bre hap Bavovowy dayaTavres, exPaipovar
THY KaKiav oTav TUX WOE. TOUTO Kat TWpos THY
Taprniav tote mabe@v o Tdtios éxédevoe pepmyn-
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Romans,! and in a battle which ensued, they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus their cities to be seized, their territory to be divided, and themselves to be transported to Rome. Romulus distributed among the citizens all the territory thus acquired, excepting that which belonged to the parents of the ravished maidens ; this he suffered its owners to keep for themselves.

At this the rest of the Sabines were enraged, and after appointing Tatius their general, marched upon Rome. The city was difficult of access, having as its fortress the present Capitol, on which a guard had been stationed, with Tarpeius as its captain,— not Tarpeia, a maiden, as some say, thereby making Romulus a simpleton. But Tarpeia, a daughter of the commander, betrayed the citadel to the Sabines, having set her heart on the golden armlets which she saw them wearing, and she asked as payment for her treachery that which they wore on their left arms. Tatius agreed to this, whereupon she opened one of the gates by night and let the Sabines in. Antigonus was not alone, then, in saying that he loved men who offered to betray, but hated those who had betrayed ; nor yet Caesar, in saying of the Thracian Rhoemetalces, that he loved treachery but hated a traitor; but this is a very general feeling towards the base on the part of those who need their services, just as they need certain wild creatures for their venom and gall; for while they feel the need of them, they put up with them, but abhor their vileness when they have obtained from them what they want. This, too, was the feeling which Tatius then had towards Tarpeia, when he ordered

1 Cf, Livy, i. 11.
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, aA e a \ / \
pévouvs TOV Gporoyt@v Tovs LaBivous jndevos
avth POoveivy wy év tails apiotepais Exovot. Kal
mpa@tos dua tov Bpaxroviotnpa THs ‘KeErpos
A a. \ ‘ > / , \
TepieA@v Kal Tov Ovpeoy étréppie. travtwv &é
avTo TotovvTtwy BadrAomevn TE TO Ypve@ xal
kataxwobcioa toils Oupeois wird mrHOovs Kal
, > / es \ \ fe
Bdpous améBavev. éddw 8é kal Tapmnios mpo-
Soaias tro “Pwptrou diwxGeis, ws “loBas gpyol
TdrBayv Yovrrixcoy ioropeiv. tov & adda wepi
Taprnias Aeyovtwr amiPavor pév eto ot Tatiou
Ouyatépa tod ryemovos Tav LaBivwv oveay av-
THv, “Pwoptr@ Sé Bia suvoixotcay, iotopodvTes
A a ,
tadta Toinoat Kal tadeiy vmrép Tov TraTpos wv
kai ’Avtiyovds éott. pvros 8 oO wantHs Kal
mavramac. Anpel py LaPivors oidpevos, adra
KeAtois tHv Taprniav mpodobva: ro Kamita@dtov
9 ray > A fe) 4 , A
épacBeicav avtav tov Bacidéws. Déyer dé
TaUTAa’
‘H & ayyod Tdpresa twrapal KamitoXuov altos
vaiovaa ‘Pons érrero TEevyoréTts,
KeAtov 7) orépEaca yaundta Néxtpa yevéc Oar
TKNTTOVKO, TATépwY oUK épirake Sopous.
Kal met Oriya trepl THS TeNEUTAS

Thy & ov’ &p Boioi re xal &Ovea pupia Kerrav

4 e / 9 \ 54 4

Xnpapevor pel\Opwv évros EBevto I1ddou:

ef > 9 4 > 4 ? \ A

dara 5 émimpoBarovtes dpepavéwy aro Yetpav
xovpn él atuyepy Koopoy &bevto povov.
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his Sabines, mindful of their agreement, not to

begrudge the girl anything they wore on their left arms. And he was first to take from his arm not only his armlet, but at the same time his shield, and cast them upon her. All his men followed his _ example, and the girl was smitten by the gold and buried under the shields, and died from the number and weight of them. And Tarpeius also was convicted of treason when prosecuted by Romulus, as, according to Juba, Sulpicius Galba relates. Of those who write differently about Tarpeia, they are worthy of no belief at all who say that she was a daughter of Tatius, the leader of the Sabines, and was living w;th Romulus under compulsion, and acted and suffered as she did, at her father's behest; of these, Antigonus is one. And Simylus the poet is altogether dbsurd in supposing that Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, not to the Sabines, but to the Gauls, because she had fallen in love with their king. These are his words :—

"And Tarpeia, who dwelt hard by the Rapitotian steep,
Became the destroyer of the walls of Rome;
She longed to be the wedded wife of the Gallic chieftain, -
And betrayed the homes of her fathers."'

And a little after, speaking of her death : —

" Her the Boii and the myriad tribes of Gauls
Did not, exulting, cast amid the currents of the oO 4
But hurled the shields from their belligerent arms
Upon the hateful maid, and made their ornament her doom."

XVIII. Tis pévros Taprnias éxel tagelans 0 Ogos avopalero Taprnios, axpt ov Tapeuviov Bactréws Act tov tomov Kabrepobvros a dua Te Ta Aeinrava peTnvexOn Kal ToUvopa TAS Taprnias éFéXurre. mAnv Tétpav tt vov ev 78 Karitworip Taprniav Karovow, ad Hs éppintovy tous KaKoupyous.

'E opevns dé Tis axpas Ue TOV ZaPivor, 6 6 Te

‘Popvros um opyyiis Els ayn avrous 7 povKa-
retro, Kal) Tarios eOdppet, Kaptepay, et Bta-
aOeiev, dvaxwpnaww opay avtois Umdpxovaay.
0 yap petakd toTOs, év o CUM IT TELY EuedXop,
UTO TOAN@Y hopov TELEX OWEVOS ayava pev ee
édoxer Kal Xander ov ve Svaxwpias apporé pots
mapeEey, guyas bé Kal dia£ets ép oTEV@ Bpa-
xelas. eTUXE dé Tob TOTALOV ALLVATAVTOS OV TrOA-
ais mpoTepov HEPALS, éyrataneneth Gat TEA pa
Badu Kal TUprov év TOTOLS émuméedous KATA THY
vov ovoay aryopay" 50ev ovK Hv dypec ‘™podnror,
ovo" evpvAaxTor, adXrAwWS be Xander ov Kal Umounov.
emt TovTO Tois LaPivors drretpig Pepouevors EvTU-
xXnea ylyverat. Koupteos yap avnp emupavyps,
b0€n kal ppovnpare yadpos, trarov EXeov TON
Tpo TOY GAdwv éx@pee’ deFapévou dé Tob Bapa-
Opov Tov tmmov aypl pev TLVOS émetpaTo TANT
Kal TAPAKENEUG EL NP@pevos efedavvey, as iv
apnxavon, €acas Tov im ov éauTOV éawtev. 6
pev ovv romos Ob. éxetvoy ert viv Kovptios AdxKos
dvopateras: puratdpevor dé TOV Kivduvov of 2a-
Bivoe paxny Kaptepay éuaxéravTo Kpiow ov
NaBodcay, Kaito TOAAOY TrecovT?, év ols HY Kal
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XVIII. However, Tarpeia was buried there, and
the hill was called from her Tarpeius, until King
Tarquin dedicated the place to Jupiter, when her
bones were removed and the name of Tarpeia died
out, except that a cliff on the Capitol is still called
the Tarpeian Rock, from which they hurl male-
factors. _

The citadel thus occupied by the Sabines,? Romulus angrily challenged them to battle, and Tatius was bold enough to accept, since he saw that the Sabines, if worsted, had a strong place of retreat. For the intervening space, in which they were to join battle, being surrounded by many hills, seemed to impose upon both parties a sharp and grievous contest, owing to the difficulties of the field, where flight and pursuit must be narrowly confined and short. It happened, too, since the river had overflowed not many days before, that a deep and blind slime had been left in the valley where the forum is now. Wherefore it was not apparent to the eye, nor yet easy to avoid, and besides it was soft beneath the surface and dangerous. On to this the Sabines were ignorantly rushing, when a piece of good fortune be- fell them. Curtius, a conspicuous man among them, eager for glory and high aan was advancing on horseback far in front of the rest, when his horse sank in the gulf of mud. For some time he tried to drive him out, with blows and cries of encourage- ment, but since: it was impossible, he abandoned his horse and saved

himself. Accordingly, the place to this day is‘called from him “lacus Curtius.” But the Sabines, having avoided this peril, fought a sturdy fight, and one which was indecisive, although

1 Cf. Livy, i. 12.

5 ‘Ootinos. todrov “Epoirtias dvdpa nat wamrov 29
‘OoriAtov tov petra Nopav Bactrevoavtos ye-
véaOat rAéyovotv. avOis 8€ ToAAaY ayovery év
Bpaxet ovvictapévar, os eixds, vos paddoTa TOD
TeAeuTAiou pynpovevovowy, ev @ “Paptrov THY
Keparyy tArAnyévTOS NO@ Kal Teceiv odio SE7-
aavtos Tod 7 avtéxew ddepévov Tots LaBivoss,
évédwxay of ‘Pwpaio. cal puyh mpos To TlaXdteov
6 éy@povy éEwfovpevos tov émimédov. 76n 5é o
“Pwpvros ex THs TANyHAS advahépwy éBovreTO pév
eis Ta StrAa Ywpeiv Tois Pevryovor évaytins, Kar
péya Bowv iotacba: nai payecOas Trapexdarer.
ToAAns 5é€ THS guvyns avT@ reptyeopevns Kal
pndevos avactpépery toApa@vTos, avatelvas els
ovpavoy tas xeipas evEato TH Act othoat rd
aotpdtevpa Kal Td Popaiwy mpdypatra tecovTa
7 py teptidely, GAN dpOacat. ‘yevopévns 5é Tis
evyns, aides te TOD Bactréws Eaxe TrordXovs Kal
Bapoos éx petaBorns tapéotn trois pevryovaey.
ésTnoav ovv mpa@tov o8 viv o tov Ards Tov
Yraropos téputat vews, by éemictacioy dy Tes
épunvevoeev’ elta auvactioaytes wad Ewoay
oTiaw Tous LaBivous émt thy viv “Pyyav mpoc-
ayopevopéevny Kai To THS “Eotias iepov.
XIX. ’Evtadda 8 avtovs dorep && trapyis
payecOar tapacKxevalopévous erréoye Servov idety
Péapa nal Aoyou KpeitTwY ois. ai yap HpTra-
opevat Ovyatépes TOV LaBivwv whOnoav adrra-
obev ddAXat peta Bors Kal orXoAVYypod Sia Thy
OmAwv hepopevar Kal Tov vexpav, WaTrep ex Oeod
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many fell, among whom was Hostilius. This man, they say, was husband of Hersilia! and grandfather to the Hostilius who was king after Numa. After- wards many conflicts raged within a short time, as might be expected, but one is most memorable, namely the last, in which Romulus was hit on the head with a stone and almost fell to the ground, abandon- ing his resistance to the Sabines. The Romans thereupon

gave way and began to fly to the Palatine, now that they were repulsed from the plain. But presently Romulus, recovering from his blow, wished to stem the tide of fugitives and renew the battle, and called upon them with a loud voice to stand and fight. But as the waves of flight encompassed him and no man dared to face about, he stretched his hands towards heaven and prayed Jupiter to stay his army and not suffer the Roman cause to fall, but to restore it. No sooner was his prayer ended than many stopped out of reverence for their king, and courage returned to the fugitives. They made their first stand, then, where now is the temple of Jupiter Stator, which epithet might be interpreted as Stayer. Then they closed their ranks again and drove the Sabines back to where the so-called Regia? now stands, and the temple of Vesta. |

XIX. Here, as they were preparing to renew the battle, they were checked by a sight that was wonderful to behold and a spectacle that passes description.2 The ravished daughters of the Sabines were seen rushing from every direction, with shouts and lamentations, through the armed men and the

1 Cf. chapter xiv. 6 f.
2 In historical times, the house of the Pontifex Maximus. See Numa, xiv. 1. 3 Cf. Livy, i. 13.

KaTOYOL, TpOS TE TOS avdpas avTaY Kal TOUS Tatépas, ai pev tradia Kopitovoat vymia mpos tais ayxddats, ai S€ THY KOpNVY TpoicxXopevat NeAupEeVnY, Taga 5 avaxadovpevat Tos PiATa-ToOls 'ovouaot mote pey Tovs YaBivous, rote Se \ e / ; a) 4 ® > , tovs 'Pwpaious. érexrdaOnoav otv apdotepot, kal Séoxov avtais évy péowm Katacthvat THs mapatakews: cal kXavO pos dpa bua wdvtwv éyo-7 9 / \ oy \ pet, Kal TOADS olxTOS Hv Tpos TE THY OLY Kal '\ , a > e \ 4 TOUS AOyous éTt pAAXov, cis ixeciav Kal dénory éx Sixatoroyias xal tappynoias TeXevtavtas. "Ti A " "ea \ 4 \ > , yap (€pacav) vpds dSevoy 1 AUTNpOV Eépyacd-peval, Ta pey Hon TreTOvOapev, Ta b& TaaKXopLEV TOY CXETAiwY KaKaV; HpTacOnyey bTO TOV VOY éyovrav Bia Kal trapavipws, apracbeica & npernonuev on' adeXdav Kal tatépwv xal oi-Kelwy "povoy TocoUTOY Saos Huas mpos TA eyO-oTa Kepdcas Tais peyiota avdyKats, TeTOinKe

yov urép tov Biacapévwy Kal rrapavounoartwy
Sedsévar payopévoy cat xralev OvnoKdvtwv. ov
yap nAOeTE TLLwpHaorTeEs Huiy TapOévors odvaaLS
2 N\ \ b A ¥) \ a > A) a
él Tovs adtxodyTas, GAA viv avdpay aTroonate
yaperas kal téxvwy pntépas, oixtpotépav Bon-
Jevav éxelvys tis apedeias' Kal mpodoctas Bon-
Oobvres july tats dOdats. TovadTa peéev nyatn-
Onuev bd TovTwr, ToLadTa Sé bh tpayv édeov-
> b v > / > J 4
peOa. Kal yap ei 8 addnv aitiay éudyeobe,
mavoacbar &." pas mevOepods yeyovotas Kai

dead bodies, as if in a frenzy of possession, up to their husbands and their fathers, some carrying oung children in their arms, some veiled in their dishevelled hair, and all calling with the most endearing names now upon the Sabines and now upon the Romans. So then both armies were moved to compassion, and drew apart to give the women place between the lines of battle; sorrow ran through all the ranks, and abundant pity was stirred by the sight of the women, and still more by their words, which began with argument and reproach, and ended with supplication and entreaty. "Wherein, pray (they said), have we done you wrong or harm, that we must suffer in the past, and must still suffer now, such cruel evils? We were violently and lawlessly ravished away by those to whom we now belong, but though thus ravished, we were neglected by our brethren and fathers and kinsmen until time had united us by the strongest ties with those whom we had most hated, and made us now fear for those who had treated us with violence and lawlessness, when they go to battle, and mourn for them when they are slain. For ye did not come to avenge us upon our ravishers while we were still maidens, but now ye would tear wives from their husbands and mothers from their children, and the succour wherewith ye would now succour us, wretched women that we are, is more pitiful than your former neglect and abandonment of us. Such is the love which we have here enjoyed, such

the compassion shown to us by you. Even if ye
were fighting on other grounds, it were meet that
ye should cease for our sakes, now that ye are
become fathers-in-law and grandsires and have
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\ > , v. > n >] e \
5 Twammous Kal oikelovs OvTas éxyphy. et 8 wrrép
Nav O TOAELOS éoTL, Kopicacbe Huas peta
yap Bpov kal téxvwyv cal atrodote huiv watépas
, 4 a
Kai obKeLous, unde apérAnabe Traidas nal avdpas.
LXETEVOPEV UPAS fy) TAALY aiyparwrToL yevér Oat."
Totadta moda tis "Epotdias mpoaryopev-
, \ a v 4 b ,
ovens Kal Tov dANwv Seopéevworv, éeoTreicOnoav
9 A \ A ? 4 ee , e
6 dvoxat Kai avvAdov ets Noyous ot nyEpoves. at
dé yuvaixes ev TovT@ Tois Tatpdot Kal Tois
tO "A \ # 5 (o] A \ / 1
aderdois tous avdpas mpoonyov Kal ta Téxva,
mpocépepoy te tpodyny kal trotov Tots Seopévors,
Kal Tovs TeTpwpévous eOepdmevov olkace Kopi-
Covoar Kal Twapelyoyv opav apyovaas pev avtas
TOU olxov, mpocéxovtas dé Tovs avdpas avrais
7 kal per evvoias tiny amacay véuovtas. éx
TovTouv ouyTidevtat THY pev yuvatxav Tas Bovdo-
pévas cuvotkeiy trois Exovow, Womep cipnras,
\ *
TaVTOS Epyou Kal Taons NaTpElas TANY TAaXacias
> 4 > a \ A \ 4 e 4,
adepevas oixety b€ Kowwn THY TOdLV 'Pwpaious
kat LaBivous, nat KareicOar pev "Pdynv én
; €
'Pwpvrg thy mod, Kupitas 5€ "Pwpaious
adnavras ént +H Tartiov tatpisd:, Bacidevery dé
Kown Kal otparnyeivy daphorépovs. Srrov 6é
a A 4 a
Travta avvéJevto péexpt viv Kopitioy xaretrac:
Koptpe yap 'Pwpaioe to cuvedOeivy Karovor.
XX. Autractacbeions S€ THs TOAEWS, ExaToV
pev éx LaBivwrv twarpixioe mpooxateréyOnoar, ai
1 +4 réxva Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske: réxva.

family ties among your enemies. If, however, the war is on our behalf, carry us away with your sons-in-law and their children, and so restore to us our fathers and kindred, but do not rob us of our children and husbands. Let us not, we beseech you, become prisoners of war again.’

Many such appeals were made by H ersilia, and the other women added their entreaties, until a truce was made and the leaders held a confer- ence. Meanwhile the women brought their hus- bands and their children and presented them to their fathers and brothers; they also carried food and drink to those that wanted, and bore the wounded to their homes for tender nursing; here they also made it evident that they were mistresses of their own households, and that their husbands were attentive to them and showed them all honour with good will. Thereupon agreements were made that such women as wished to do so might continue to live with their husbands, exempt, as aforesaid,! from all labour and all drudgery except spinning; also that the city should be inhabited by Romans and Sabines in common; and that the city should be called Rome, from Romulus, but all its citizens Quirites, from the native city of Tatius?; and that Romulus and Tatius should be joint kings and leaders of the army. The place where these agreements were made is to this day called Comitium, from the Roman word “ conire,’”’ or “ coire,’ to come together.

XX. The city thus doubled in its numbers, a hundred of the Sabines were added by election to the Patricii,s and the legions were enlarged

1 Cf. chapter xv. 4. =? Cures, a Sabine town.

* Cf. chapter xiii. 1.

dé Aevewves éyévovro metov pev éEaxioxyidonr, immévwy 5é éEaxooiwy. uras bé Tpeis KaTAaCT TH CavTes @vOmacay Tovs pev aro ‘Pwpmvrovu ‘Pap- vyvons, tovs &€ amd Tariou Tatinvons: tpitous 5¢ Aouxepyvons Sa TO adoos, ets 6 Todo KaTa- guyovtes, GovAias Sedopévns, ToD modtTedvparos petécyov' Ta 5 Adon AovKous dvoudlovow. st 8 joav ai dural tocaitat, rotvoua paptupet: tpiBous yap éte viv tas pudas Kadovol, Kat tptBovvous tovs ghuddpyous. éxdotn Sé dvrAn déxa hparpias elyev, &s Evsot Neyouoey errwvipous elvat éxeivoy tav yuvatkav. todto Sé Soxel

weddos elvat: rodXNal yap éyovoww amd yopiov
Tas mpoonyopias. adda pevToL TOANG tals yu-
vaitly eis Tewhy améSwxay, dv Kal tadTa corey:
éFictacbar pev od00 Badifovaaus, aiax pov 58
pndéva pndev eirreiy trapovons yuvacxos, pnd
OPOjvar yupvov, 4 Sixny hevyew mapa: trois émt
Tov povixay Kabeotaat, hopeiv dé Kal tovs Tai-
das avrov THY Kadoupéevny BodAXav amo Tov
g XMATOS» Guotov Troudorvyt, mepud¢pparov TL
al mepeTroppupor.
*BBoudeborre dé. of Baornreis OvK ‘ebOds ey
Kow@ per addprov, aXN’ éxdtepos 7 POTE pov idta
pera Tov éxaTov, Elta oUTMS «Eis TAUTOV dmavras
ouviyov. ret 5¢ Tdteos pev Srrov viv o tis
Movirns vacs éorte, ‘Paopvros oe Tapa Tovs
Neryosuévous Babpous Kars axths.! oboe 5€ eicl
1 xadjjs daris @ corruption of Kdxov? Cf. Diodorus, iv.

to six thousand footmen and six hundred horse- men. The people, too, were arranged in three bodies, the first called Ramnenses, from Romulus ; the second Tatienses, from Tatius; and the third Lucerenses, from the grove into which many betook themselves for refuge, when a general asylum was offered,? and then became citizens. Now the Roman word for grove is “lucus.” ‘That these bodies were three in number, their very name testifies, for to this day they call them éribes, and their chief officers, trtbunes. And each tribe had ten phratries, or brotherhoods, which, as some say, were named after the thirty Sabine women;* but this seems to be false, since many of them bear the names of places. However, they did make many other concessions to the women, to do them honour, some of which are as follow: to give them the right of way when walking; not to utter any indecent word in the presence of a woman; that no man should be seen naked by them, or else that he be liable to prosecution before the judges of homicide ; and that their children should wear a sort of neck- lace, the “ bulla,” so called from its shape (which was that of a bubble), and a robe bordered with purple.

The two kings did not at once hold council in common with one another, but each at first sat with his own hundred councillors apart, then afterwards they united them all into one body, as at the present time. Tatius dwelt where now is the temple of Moneta, and Romulus beside the so-called Steps of Fair Shore ; ;* these are near the descent into the

! Cf. chapter xiii. 1. 2 Cf. chapter ix. 3. =

3 Cf. chapter xiv. 6. |

4 The Greek text is probably corrupt. The ‘‘scalae Caci,”

or Steps of Cacus, must be meant.
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> \ e 4 ‘ 4 9

wept THv eis Tov immddpopov Tov peyay éx Ila-
Natlov xatdBacw. évtadOa &é nal rnv Kpa-
verav Epacay TV iepay yeyovévat, uvOodXoyouvTES
@ 4 e ¢ 4 e A , J
OTL Treipw@pevos 0 ‘Pwuvros avTov AOYYXNY axov-
tiaetev aro TOU. Aoveytivoy to EvaTov éyovoay
, 4 a > le > 4
Kpaveias' xatadvons dé THs alypAs eis Baos,
9 U4 . bY 4 “
avaoTdacai pev ovdels metpwpévwoy TONY
” Q A 4 4 e a , 9
taxvaoe, TO O€ EvAOv EateEev 7 yn Cwdutos ovca,
A 3, A } > ,
kal Bracrovs avyxe Kal otérexos evpeéryebes
A > e
kpaveias GOpee. Ttodto 8 of peta ‘Pwmvrov
@s Ov TL TOY aylwrdtwv lep@v huArattovtes Kat
oeBopevot TEpleTELYLGaY. 6T@~ 5é Wpoctovte So-
\ \ , b :
Eee un Oarepov civas pndé yAwpov, adr’ olov
9 a ‘ / e A a
atpogeiy cai Pbivew, o pev evOus Eppale kpauryn
A 9 td A
Tois Wpootuyyavovet, ot 8, wormep eutTrpnou@

D ‘ bdwp,' Kal é-
BonOodvres, éBowv vdwp, p| Kal ouv
Tpeyov mavrayolev ayyeia wAnpn KopivovTes
éml rov torov. Tatov dé Kaicapos, ds act,
tas avaBaces émiaxevdlovtos Kal TOV TEXYVLTOV
4 4 es,
meptopuTTovTwY Ta TANnciov, EXaGov ai pita
caxwleioa Traytamact Kal to puTov éwapavOn.
XXI. Mavas peév ody oi LaBivor rots ‘Popaiov
é5éEavro, «al trepl avtav boa Kados elyey ey Te
Nopa Bip yéypamrar: Oupeois 5¢ Trois éxeivwy o
e
“‘Pwywros éxypnoato, xal peténare Tov omALo pov

aA A >
éavtod te Kal Tov “Pwopaiwr, ApyoNcds tTpote-
pov aomidas dopovvtwy. éoprav dé Kal Ouovay
dAAHAow petelyov, as pev Hye TA evn wpoTEepov
oux avenrortes, etépas 5€ Oeuevor Katvdas, WY 7 TE
tav Matpwvariov éorti, So0eica tais yuvackiv
1 §$3wp, JSwp with two Bodleian MSS. (B%>) : 83wp.

Circus Maximus from the Palatine. There also, it is said, grew the sacred cornel-tree, of which the following tale is told. Romulus, once, in trial of his strength, cast thither from the Aventine hill a spear, the shaft of which was made of cornel-wood ; the head of the spear sank deep into the ground, and no one had strength to pull it up, though many tried, but the earth, which was fertile, cherished the wooden shaft, and sent up shoots from it, and pro- duced a cornel-trunk of good size. Those who came after Romulus preserved this with religious care as one of the most sacred objects, and walled it in. And if any visitor thought that it was not green nor flourishing, but likely to wither away and die, he immediately proclaimed it loudly to all he met, and these, as though helping to save a house on fire, would cry “Water! Water!” and run _ together from all sides carrying full buckets to the place. But when Caius Caesar, as they say, was repairing the steps about the enclosure, and the workmen dug here and there in the neighbourhood, the roots were inadvertently destroyed and the tree withered away.

XXI. The Sabines, then, adopted the Roman months, about which I have written sufficiently in my Life of Numa.! Romulus, on the other hand, made use of their oblong shields, and changed his own armour and that of the Romans, who before that carried round shields of the Argive pattern. Feasts and sacrifices they shared with one another, not discarding any which the two peoples had observed before, but instituting other new ones. One of these is the Matronalia, which was bestowed upon the women to commemorate their putting a
1 Chapters xviii. and xix.

éml TH Tov TONe“oU KaTadUcE, Kal » Tov Kap-
pevtariov. trav dé Kappévray olovrai tives peoi-
pay elvat xupiav avOpworev yevécews: S10 Kal

‘Thao avTny ai pnrépes. ot S€ THY Tod Evdy-
Spov tov ’Apxddos yuvaixa, pavtixny tiva Kat
horBactinny éupétpov Xpnopav yevouévnv, Kap-
pévrav étrovopacOnvar (Ta yap ern Kapmuva
a N / 1 be 4 4 > A
kadovar) Nixoorpatn! &€ Av dvopa Kvptov avr.
\ a \ ¢ a \ ,
Kat TovTO pev oporoyetrar’ thy 5é Kappévray
éo. wiPavw@tepov adepynvevovaw olov éorepy-
pévny vou, dia Tas ev tois évOovotacpols Trapa-
dpoctvas. TO pev yap orépecOar Kapype, pevtep
Sé tov vovdv dvoudfovor. wept &€ tov Hapidiov
mpocipntat. ta dé Aovmepxdda TO pev ypovm
Sofecev dy elvar xaOdpora: Sparas yap éy yuépats
dmoppact TOU PeBpovapiou paves, Ov xalapovov
dv tis épunvevoee, cal tHv npépay éxetynv To
qmadatov éxadrouv DeSpdrnv: tobvopa 5é Tihs
e A e Q\ 4 , A a QA
€opTHs EAAnuioTL onuaiver AvKcawa, wai Sonet dia
ra , ? 99 lA 2 ” \
TOUTO TapTdAaLos amr Apeddeov elvat TOY TrEpL
Evavdpov. GAG TOTO pev KOLO éote’ SvVaTAL
yap a0 THS AvKalvns ryevyovevas Tovvopa. Kat yap
apYopevous THs Trepidpopijs tous AoviépKous ope-
pev évted0ev Oro Tov “‘Popdrov cxreOivat ANéyou-
ot, Ta dé Spmpeva thy aitiav rove SuctoTacTov
apdttovet yap alyas, celta petpaxiwy dvoty amo
1 Nuxoorpdrn Coraés and Bekker with the MSS. : Nuxo-
orparn after Stephanus.
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stop to the war; and another is the Carmentalia. This Carmenta is thought by some to be a Fate presiding over human birth,and for this reason she is honoured by mothers. Others, however, say that the wife of Evander the Arcadian,! who was a prophetess and inspired to utter oracles in verse, was therefore surnamed Carmenta, since “ carmina”’ is their word for verses, her own proper name being Nicostrate. As to her own name there is general agreement, but some more probably interpret Carmenta as meaning bereft of mind, because of her ecstasies under inspiration, since “ carere”’ is the Roman word for to be bereft, and “mens” for mind. . Of the Parilia I have spoken before.? . As for the Lupercalia, judging .by the time of its celebration, it would seem to be a feast of purification, for it is observed on the inauspicious days ° of the month of February, which name can be interpreted, to. mean purification, and the very day of the feast was anciently called Febrata. But the name of the festival has the meaning of the

Greek “ Lycaea,” or feast of wolves, which makes it seem of great antiquity and derived from the Arcadians in the following of Evander.‘ Indeed, this meaning of the name is commonly accepted ; for it can be con- nected with the she-wolf of story. And besides, we see that the Luperci® begin their course around the city at that point where Romulus is said to have been exposed. However, the actual cere- monies of the festival are such that’ the reason’ for the name. is hard to guess. For the priests slaughtér

1 Cf. Plutarch’s Roman Questions, 56 (Morals, p. 278 b, c), and Livy, i. 7, 8 2 Chapter xii. 1. 7

3 «* Dies nefasti.” 4 Cf. Livy, i. 5, 1-2. ,

5 Priests of Faunus, the Roman Pan.

yévous mpocaxGévtwy avtois, oi- pev npayyern
’ A , , @ » 9
payaipa tov petwrrou Ouyydvovat, érepot 5° atro-
4 bf ? wv 4 o
pattovow evOus, époy BeBpeypévoy yadXaxte
5 mpoopépovtes. yeray bé Set Ta perpuxia peTa THY

6

7

? , 9 \ , Q , A 2 A
atropakw. éx € TovTov Ta déppata TOY aiyav
katarepovtes SvaGéovor év repilwopact yupvol,
Tois oxuTeat Tov éutrodwy taiovtes. ai & év
e 4 a 9 4 \ , @ , :
HrLKLG yUvaiKes ov hevyovat TO TatecBat, vouifov-
gat wpos evtoKiay Kal Kuinow auvepyeiv. idsov
5é THs EopTns To Kab xvva Ove Tods AovTrépKous.
Bovras 5é tis aitias puOddes ev érexyetous
\ fa) id - A > v4 A ~ >
Tept TaV Pwpaixav avaypadar, dyol tov ’Apov-
€ ; ae a
Aiov Tovs Trept Tov Pwyvrov Kpatnoavtas éAOeiv
Spopm peta yapas emt tov Torey év & vywios
9 b A 4 \ e ‘ ,
ova avtois 1) NUKaiva Onriv dTrécyxe, Kal pipnpa
n ‘
tov te dSpopou tiv éoptny ayerOat, Kal Tpéxew

TOUS GO Yyévous TOUS
"Eptrodious tumrovras, Srrws ToTe Pdayay Exovtes
éE “AXBns EPcov ‘Pwpvaros 75é “Pépos.
wal To pev Eidos nuayuévoy mpoodépecOar Ta
peror@ Too Tore dovov Kat xwdvvou avpBoror,
thv dé a Tod ydXaxtos arroxdbapow bTopynpa
THS TpoPHs avTav eivat. Tdios 5 Axidsos iatopet
mpo HS KTicews Ta Opéupata tev tepl Tov
‘Pwpvrov adpavn yevéerOar' tovs 5€ re Davy
mpocev£éapévous éxdpapetiy yusvous ert thy Crrn-
ow, STws vrd TOU idp@Tos py EevoydoivTo: Kal
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goats, and then, after two youths of noble birth have been brought to them, some of them touch their foreheads with a bloody knife, and others wipe the stain off at once with wool dipped in milk. The youths must laugh after their foreheads are wiped. After this they cut the goats’ skins into strips and run about, with nothing on but a girdle, striking all who meet them with the thongs,! and young married women do not try to avoid their blows, fancying that they promote conception and easy child-birth. A peculiarity of the festival is that the Luperci sacrifice a dog also.
A certain Butas, who wrote fabulous explanations of Roman customs in elegiac verse, says that Romulus and Remus, after their victory over Amulius, ran exultantly to the spot where, when they were babes, the she-wolf gave them suck, and that the festival is conducted in imitation of this action, and that the two youths of noble birth run
“ Smiting all those whom they meet, as once with brandished weapons,
Down from Alba’s heights, Remus and Romulus ran.

And that the bloody sword is applied to their fore- heads as a symbol of the peril and slaughter of that day, while the cleansing of their foreheads with milk is in remembrance of the nourishment which the babes received. But Caius Acilius writes that before the founding of the city Romulus and his brother once lost their flocks, and after praying to Faunus, ran forth in quest of them naked, that they might not be

impeded by sweat; and that this is the reason why

1 Cf. Phutarch’s Antony, xii. 1.
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Sud TooTO yupvors TepuTpeXery TOUS Aourépxous.
Tov 5€ KUva hain Tis av, Et pev 4 Ovoia xabappos
8 date, OvecIar cabapaip Kpwpévav avT@ Kai yap
"EAAnves év Te TOUS KkaBapators oKUAAKAS expe-
povot Kal mohhaxod Xpovrar TOUS eyopevoes
Tmepia Kvaakco pois” et O€ Th AuKaivy YaptoTHpra
TAvTA Kal Tpopeta Kal cwTnpia ‘Pwpidov TENOU-
ow, OUK ATOTTAS O Kbov opdttetal' vUKOLS yap
€oTe TOAEMLOS’ EL #1) vy Ata KonageTat TO S@ov
&s Tapevoyoby tous Aoviépxous Otay srept-
Oéwar.
XXII. Aéyerat Sé cal thy Tmept TO Wup aye-
oteiav ‘Pwpvrov KATAOTHO GL TPOTEV, aTrOoEL-
Eavra mapOevovs lepas. ‘Eoteddas ™ poo aryopevo-
pévas. oi 88 TodTo pev eis Nopav avadépovor,
ta & adda TOV ‘Peoptrov OcoaeRh StadepovTas,
ére O€ payrixov ia Topovar ryever Gar, nal popeiv
emt pavTtkh TO Kadovpevoy hitvoy, éare bE Kear
won papsos, 7 Ta TALVOLa nabeCopuevous én’
2 olwvav Siaypddew. todto 8 év Hadati¢p gu-
NaTTOMEVOY adavia Oivat mept ta Kearrixa tH
ToAEWS GAOVoNS ElTAa pevTOL TOD | BapBdpwy
extrecavtwv evpeOjvar kata tTéppas Babeias arra-
Oés bd TOU TUpos ev TaoL TOis AANOLS aTTOhW-
oot Kal SrepOappevors. |
3 "EOnxe dé Kal vopous TLVaS, OV a podpos peev
éotw 6 yuvaxt pn 8.8005 GTTONELTELY dv6pa,
yuvaixa Se didovs éxBddrew! ert pappareia Kal
1 éxBdddAew Bekker, after Corads: éxBareiy.
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the Luperci run about naked. If the sacrifice is a
purification, one might say that the dog is sacri-
ficed as being a suitable victim for such rites, since
the Greeks, in their rites of purification, carry forth
puppies for burial, and in many places make use of

the rites called “ periskuJakismoi ;”1 and if these rites are performed in grateful remembrance of the she-wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, it is not without reason that the dog is slain, since it is an enemy to wolves, unless, indeed, the animal is thus punished for annoying the Luperci when they run about.

XXII. It is said also that Romulus first introduced the consecration of fire, and appointed holy virgins to guard it, called Vestals. Others attribute this institution to Numa,? although admitting that Romulus was in other ways eminently religious, and they say further that he was a diviner, and carried for purposes of divination the so-called “ lituus,” a crooked staff with which those who take auguries from the flight of birds mark out the regions of the heavens. This staff, which was carefully preserved on the Palatine, is said to have disappeared when the city was taken at the time of the Gallic invasion; after- wards, however, when the Barbarians had been expelled, it was found under deep ashes unharmed by the fire, although everything about it was com- pletely destroyed.’

He also enacted certain laws, and among them one of severity, which forbids a wife to leave her husband, but permits a husband to put away his wife

? Sacrifices where puppies were killed and carried about.
2 See Numa, chapters ix. and x.
3 Cf. Camillus, xxxii. 4-5.

TéKVOV UroBonF * Kal pouxevOeicar ei o adds 32

TLS dmoméuyrarto, TAS ovaias avTod TO peév Tihs yuvarnds elvat, To Se Tis Ajpntpos lepdv KeNEVwV" Tov & a7ro80pevov yuvaira Over Gar xPoviots Oeois. iov dé To pndepiay Sixny Kata TAT POKTOVOY opicavra Tac av avdpopoviar TAT pOKTOvIAY 7 pooeuTetv, @S TOUTOU pev évtos évaryods, éxeivov dé abuvatou. kal pex pe Xpoverr ToAN@y okey op0as dmoyvavat THY TOWAUT AY adixiav ovoeis yap eSpace ToLOUTOV OvdEV éV Poun axedov € era éEaxootov Sraryevopevar, aNNG T PWTOS META TOV “AvviBrarov TONE MOV taropetras Aevxwos "Oottos TAT POKTOVOS yevéoOar. tadra pev ody ixava mept TOUTMD.

XXHI. "Eret de ELT TY rhs Tatiou Bactreias, oixeiol Tues avTovd Kal ouyyevels mpéaBeow a amo Aavpévtov Badifovor els ‘Poyny évTuxovTes Kad od6p, émexelpour apaipeio Bar Ta Xpnpara Bia,

Kal pn) Tpotewévous, AAN a LUYOMEvoUs dveldov.
epyov dé devvod ToApnbévtos, 0 pev “Pwpvros
evdvs Seiy Beto KorAadlecOat Tovs adicnoavras,
o 6é€ Ta aTLOS é£éxpove Kal mapiyye. Kat TOUTO
pbvor avtois Umiptev aitiov éudavods Srapopas:
Ta 5 adAXa _kataxoo pobvTes EAUTOUS as &u pa
Miata KOLVOS eXpaYTO Kat pel? opovotas Tots
m™ paypagwy. ot 6€ TOV dvypnyevov olKetot, mdons
éFerpryopevor Sixns yop wou Sia tov Tatiov, atro-
KTEVvYYOVE LY aQuTov év AaBwig Ovovra peta ‘Po-
prov tpootecovtes, Tov 8 “Pwptrov ws Sixacov
1 én) dapyaxela xal réxvwv broBodG with Cobet: éml gap

pakela réxvwy } KAeidav broBorg (for poisoning his children or counterfeiting his keys).

for using poisons, for substituting children, and for adultery ; but if a man for any other reason sends his wife away, the law prescribes that half his substance shall belong to his wife, and the other half be consecrate to Ceres; and whosoever puts away his wife, shall make a sacrifice to the gods of the lower world. It is also a peculiar thing that Romulus ordained no penalty for parricides, but called all murder parricide, looking upon one as abominable, and upon the other as impossible. And for many ages his judgement of such a crime seemed to have been right, for no one did any such deed at Rome for almost six hundred years; but after the war with Hannibal, Lucius Hostius is reported to have been the first parricide. So much, then, may suffice concerning these matters.

XXIII. In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, some retainers and kinsmen of his, falling in with ambassadors from Laurentum on their way to Rome, attempted to rob them of their money,! and when they would not stand and deliver, slew them. It was a bold and dreadful crime, and Romulus thought its perpetrators ought to be punished at once, but ‘Tatius tried to put off and turn aside the course of justice. This was the sole occasion of open variance between them; in all other matters they acted in the utmost concert and administered affairs with unanimity. The friends of the slain ambassadors, shut out as they were from all lawful redress, through the efforts of Tatius, fell upon him as he was sacri- ficing with Romulus at Lavinium, and killed him, but escorted Romulus on his way with loud praises of his

1 Of. Livy, i. 14, 1-3.

3 dySpa T pouTrepypay ep npoovres. o 5€ To pev
odpa tov Tatiov xopicas évripes Bawe, cai
KetTaL TEpt TO KaXovpEevoy ‘AppuXovaTpLoy év
’"Aovertive, TAS 5é Sixns Tov dovov taytaracw

npérAnoev. evo. b€ TaYv ouyypadéwy iotopovct
Thy pev Tov Tov Aaupevtioy poBnOeicar éxds-
Sovas Tovs avtoyetpas Tatiou, tov dé “Pwpvrov
4 adewvat, dncavta povov dovm rAerAvaAat. TovTO
5é Aoyov pay twa Twapécye nai wrowiay ws
AO MEVO YEYOVEY AUT@ TO TOV GUVapYOYTOS aTTad-
Aayivat, Tov S€ Tpaypatwv ovdev Suerdpaker,
oudé dSuectaciace zovs LaBivous, GAN of pev
EvVOLa TH TPOS autov, ot b€ poe THs Suvdapews,
ot S ws Ge@ ypwpevot eis Tacav evvoay,' Bav-
pavovres SceréXouv.
5 "Edavpalov b€ ToAXO Kai TOV €XTOS avd parry
TOV ‘Peopurov: ot be T pOyEvér TEpot Aativot Te
Wavtes avt@ pilav emotnaavTo Kat oUpma iav.
Prdijvas dé elvev, dotuyeltova Tis. ‘Pans Toy,
OS Bev Evuol pact, éEaipyns Tous im7méas méppas
Kat Kedevoas UTOTEMELY TOV Tudo TOUS OTpO-
puyyas, eita emipaveis avTos am poo bon nTws"
6 érepoe ce A€yovet Tportépous EKELVOUS éuBadovtas
eAdcaaGai TE Nelav xal KabvBpicat worda THY
X@pav Kai TO mpodaTevov, evédpas dé rov “Po-
puro Gépevor autos Kat d.apGeipavta TOANOUS
AaBety thy Tord. od pny aveirev OvdE KaTE-
oxawev, adda “Pwpaiwy éroinoev artrotxiay,
1 ypapevan eis tacar ebvoiav MSS., Coraés ; Bekker corrects to xowpevory eis way edpever (hecause heaven favoured him in all his undertakings.)

justice. Romulus brought the body of Tatius home and gave it honourable burial, and it lies near the so-called Armilustrium, on the Aventine hill; but he took no steps whatsoever to bring his murderers to justice. And some historians write that the city of Laurentum, in terror, delivered up the murderers of Tatius, but that Romulus let them go, saying that murder had been requited with murder. This led some to say and suspect that he was glad to be rid of his colleague, but it caused no disturbance in the government, nor did it lead the Sabines into faction, nay, some through the good-will they had for him, others through their fear of his power, and others because they regarded him as a benevolent god,

all continued to hold him in reverence to the
end.
Romulus was held in reverence also by many foreign peoples, and the earlier Latins sent ambas- sadors and established friendship and alliance with him. Fidenae, a neighbouring city to Rome, he took,! as some say, by sending his horsemen of a sudden with orders to cut away the pivots of the gates, and then appearing himself unexpectedly ; but others say that the men of Fidenae first made an incursion, driving off booty and devastating the territory and outskirts of the city, and that Romulus set an ambush for them, killed many of them, and took their city. He did not, however, destroy or raze it to the ground, but made it a colony of Rome, and sent thither

_ 7 CEé. Livy, i. 14, 4-11.
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dia XLMous Kal WevTaKogliovs atrooTeiAas obKnN-
Topas eLdots 'AmpthrAaes.
XXIV. 'Ex tovtov orpos cumimret, Javatous
pev aipyidious avO pwr ous dvev voowv emupepeor,
GTO PEVOS bé Kal KapTrav aopiats kat Open-
parov aryoviats. Ban 5é kal ctayoow aivatos
n TOMS, @OTE TONANY Mpoayeved Oat Tots avary-
Kaiots mabect Sera darpovian. émrel 5€ kal Tots TO
Aavpevtov OLKODG LY dpova cuveBawver, 78 Tav-
TaTacw édoxe. Tov emit Tatia TUyKEXUMEVOY bu-
Kaley ei TE TOES mpeo Beat povevdeicr pynvipa dac-
pooviov apporepas ehavvewv TAS TOAELS. exbo0 év-
TOV Sé trav hovéwy Kal Koha Bevtay Tap' apdo-
TEpots, ehapnaev érrd7jrAws Ta deuva: Kal i xaappois
O 'Pepvros iyvice Tas Tones, ods Ett viv iato-
povowy émt THs Depevtivnys TUANS ovvrTedeto Bau.
Hpiv dé Ana TOV AoLpov éneBevro Kapépvoe 33
'Pepatoss Kal catédpapov THY YOpav, ws abv-
VaTov dpover bat dua 70 mdbos. evOus obv 0
'Papiros eo Tpatevaev én avTous Kal ayn
Kpatnoas eEaxtoytdious am ex TeLve® ral THY
T ONLY EXWV, TOUS peV Hploess TOV TEpLyEVOMEVOY
els 'Popny éEdxice, TOV 5 UrropevovTov oumda-
aious ex 'Pwopns KaToKioey eis THY Kapepiav
LeEtiAias Kaddvédais. TocovToY auTe TeEpiny
TOALTOV éxxaidena, érn axedov OLKODVYTL THY
"Pepny. év S€ Tots ddXots Aad vpots kal XadKovv
EXOMLGE TeO purrmov éx Kapeptas: TOUTO b¢ ave-
oTnoev év TO lep@ Tod 'Hdaiotov, roincdpmevos
éavtov vmo Nixns orepavovpevor.
XXYV. Otro de povvupevors Tots Tpaypacty

ot pev acbevéctepo. TaV T pogorKey uTredvovTo
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twenty-five hundred colonists, on the Ides of
April.
XXIV. After this, a plague fell upon the land, bringing sudden death without previous sickness upon the people, and afflicting the crops with un- fruitfulness and the cattle with barrenness. There was a rain of blood also in the city, so that many superstitious. fears were added to their unavoidable sufferings. And when similar calamities visited the people of Laurentum, all agreed at once that it was the miscarriage of justice for the death of Tatius and the slain ambassadors which brought the wrath of heaven down upon both cities. The murderers, therefore, were delifered up on both sides and punished, and the mischief visibly abated. Romulus also purified the cities with lustral rites, which they say are celebrated to this day at the Ferentine gate.

But before the pestilence had ceased, the people of Cameria attacked the Romans and overran their territory, thinking them incapable of defending themselves by reason of their distress. Romulus therefore at once marched against them, overcame them in battle, and killed six thousand of them. He also took their city, transplanted half of the sur- vivors to Rome, and sent to Cameria as colonists from Rome twice the number he had left there, and this on the first of August. So many citizens had he to spare after dwelling in Rome less than sixteen years. Among other spoils he brought also a bronze four-horse chariot from Cameria, and dedicated it in the temple of Vulcan. For it he had a statue made of himself, with a figure of Victory crowning him.

XXV. The Roman state thus gathering strength,
its weaker neighbours submitted to it, and were
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kal tuyydvovtes abeias jydtav: ot b€ duvarot
Sedsdtes Kat POovodvtes ov wovTo deiv Tepiopar,
Grn’ évicotacOar TH avéjoe Kal Kodovew Tov
‘Pwpvrov. mpatoe & Tuppnvav Odnios, ywpav
KEKTNMEVOL TOAAHY Kal TOALY pEyadANY OlKODYTES,
apynv érotnoavto tmodkeuou Didjvas araiteiv,
@S Tpoonkovaay avtots. To 5 ovK abdixov hv
povov, GANA Kalb yedolov, STL KivSuvEevoVeL TOTE
Kal moNepmoupévols ov TpocapvvavtTes, ANN éd-
cavres atronéa bar TOUS dvépas, oixtas Kal viv
aTrauToley aNAwY exovTo. , caduBpra Gevres ov
vTO TOD ‘Papvrov € év Tals dmoxpiceat Siva SietXov
éautous, Kal TO pev eméxervte TH Dednvav otpa-
Tevpatt, T@ b€ pos ‘PwpvrAov amnvTwY. TpOsS

pev ovv Didnvais Seoxysdious “Pwpaiwy Kxpatn-
cavtes amréxtewav, vd ‘Pwpvrou 5é wKnOévtes
Umép oKxTaktaxtrtous amwéBarov. adOis 5 epi
Didnuvnv epayécavto: nat TO pév mretoTov Epyov
avtov ‘Pwpurou yevéo Oat, Téxvyy Te peTAa TOAMNS
macav émidecEapevov poun Te Kal Trodwxeia
TOAD Sofavtos avd pwrivns pelt Tove KexpioOan,
TWAVTES oporoyobat: to 8 tm éeviwv Aeryopevov
Kopueop pudadés eat, paiddov dé ddws artarov,
bre pupiov Kal TeTpaxta tdiwy mea ovToy vmep-
nutoets joav ods avros dia xeupl “Pwpvros é-
KTELVEV, OTOV ‘YE Kal Meoorjriot Kou xpjoacbar
doxovar rept "Aptotopévous AéyovTes ws Tpls
exaToupovea Ovoevev amd Aaxedatpoviov.
Tevopevns 8& tis tpomis, adels pevyev Tous
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satisfied to be let alone ; but the powerful ones, out of fear and jealousy, thought they ought not to tolerate, but resist and check the growing power of Romulus. And of the Tuscans, the people of Veii, who possessed much territory and dwelt in a great city, were the first to begin war! with a demand for Fidenae, which they said belonged to them. Now this was not only unjust, it was actually ridiculous, that they, who had not come to the aid of the people of Fidenae when they were in the perils of war, but suffered them to perish, then demanded their houses and land from those who had come into - possession of them. Accordingly, Romulus gave them contemptuous answers, upon which they divided themselves into two armies, attacked Fidenae with one, and confronted Romulus with the other. Before Fidenae, then, they overpowered two thousand Romans and slew them ; but they were defeated by Romulus with a loss of eight thousand men. Once more a battle was fought near Fidenae, and here all agree that the victory was chiefly due to Romulus himself, who displayed every possible combination of skill and bravery, and seemed endowed with strength and swiftness far beyond the lot of man. But there is a statement made by some writers which is alto- gether fabulous, nay rather, wholly incredible, name- ly, that of the fourteen thousand Tuscans who fell in this battle, more than half were slain by Romulus with his own hand ; for even the Messenians seem to have been boastfully extravagant in saying that Aristomenes thrice offered sacrifice for a hundred Lacedaemonian enemies slain.

After the rout of the enemy, Romulus suffered the

1 Cf, Livy, i. 15, 1-5.
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TepLovTas O ‘Pwpvnros, én aurny éya@pel THY
Tony: of & ovK nvérxXovTo peyadns cuppopas
yevouerns, GNA denGevres Oporoyiay eTOLT Avro

Kal piriay els eT ExaTov, “Y@pay TE TONY
™ poe wevor Tis éavTa, hy Lemreum dyvov xanob-
ol, Omrep éotiv EMTapopLoy, kal TOV Tapa TOV
TOTApov exaTavres ddornyiovr, Kal TevTHKovTA
TOV apioToV Ounpous eyxerplo avres, eO pid u-
Bevoe 5€ Kal amo tovtwy eidois OxroSpiass,
adAous TE TOANOUS aly pwadwrous eXov Kal TOV
nryepova TOV Ovniwr, avopa mpeaBurny, ad poves
So€avta cal rap BALKLaY aTreipws Tots mpaywace
Kexphaar. 610 Kal voy étt Ovovtes eT iviKia,
yépovra pev dyovor be aryopas ets Kamrirodtov
ev TepiToppupe, BodAXav avT@ trabuenv aypav-
TES, Knpurret & o Knpu& Lapbravous @vious.
Tuppavol yap aTrOUKOL Lapdiavav rAéyovtat, Tup-
pynvirn S€ modus ot Ovnior.
XXVI. Todrov éryarov ToheLOV O ‘Popvros
émoheunaen. el’, 6 TONAL, parXov dé wry
OMyov maa xovoe mares ot peyaArats cal Tapa-
Aoryos apbévtes evtuyxiais eis S¥vauww Kal Gycor,
ove abros Stépuye mabetv, arr’ exteOappnKas
TOUS mpdypact kat Bapurépo ppovnpare V pw-
pevos, efiatato Tov Snuottxov, Kat mapydNatrev
els povapxiay érayOn kal AvTOvCAaY amo ToD
TX MATOS Tp@TOV @ Katerxnuarilev éavuTov.
droupyi pev yp évedvero xeTava, Kal THBevvov
époper TepiT oppupov, év Opovm & avakhite
Kad nuevos expnpareber. joav oe mepl aurov
adel TOY vévv ot Kadovpevor Kédepes, azro THS
Tepit Tas UToupyias OEUTNTOS. éBadsbov Se mpoc-
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survivors to escape, and moved upon their city itself. But they could not hold out after so great a reverse, and suing for peace, made a treaty of friendship for a hundred years, giving up a large portion of their territory, called Septempagium, or the Seven - Districts, abandoning their salt-works along the river, and delivering up fifty of their chief men as hostages. _ Romulus also celebrated a triumph for this victory on

the Ides of October, having in his train, besides many other captives, the leader of the. Veientes, an elderly man, who seems to have conducted the campaign unwisely, and without the experience to-be expected of his years. Wherefore to this very day,

in offering a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the forum to the Capitol, wearing a boy's toga with a bulla attached to it, while the herald cries: " Sardians for sale!'' For the Tuscans are said to be colonists from Sardis, and Veii is a Tuscan city.

XXVI. This was the last war waged by Romulus. Afterwards, like many, nay, like almost all men who have been lifted by great and unexpected strokes of good fortune to power and dignity, even he was emboldened by his achievements to take on a haughtier bearing, to renounce his popular ways, and to change to the ways of a monarch, which were made hateful and vexatious first by the state which he assumed. For he dressed in a scarlet tunic, and wore over it a toga bordered with purple, and sat on a recumbent throne when he gave audience. And he had always about him some young men called Celeres, from their swiftness in doing service.!_ Others, too, went

Cf. chapter x. 2; and Livy, i. 15, 8.

Gev érepor Baxrnpiars aveipyovtes tov SyAov,
e 4 \ e lA C4 a bd 4 A
Umelwopmévor S€ idvras, WoTE Guvdelv EvOUS ods
mT poo Tagete.
To 8€ djcae Aarivos wddat pev ALyGpe, viv Sé
addiyape karovow: SOev of te paBdodyor ALKTO-
pets, at re paBdo. RBdxvrAa Kxarodvrat, Sia TO
" 4 4 > A ,
xphoOar tote Baxtnpias. eixos 5é ALKTw@pELS
évtewévou tov Kama viv dvoudtecOar, mpo-
Tepov ALTwpELS, EAANUGTL 5é NerTOUpyods dyTas.
Anitov yap TO Synudotov éte viv "EXAnves xal
Aaov TO TWAHOOS cvouatovow.

XXVIII. *Evel 5€ tod awdarrov Nopntopos év
"ANBy TeXevTHCAYTOS, AVT@ BactrEvelv TpoaHKor,
eis pécov 2Onxe tiv Tmodtteiav Snpaywyav, ral
b 3 \ > 4 LA a bd
Kat éviavTov amredeixvuey apyovta Tots 'ANBa-
vois, édidake nal tors év 'Pon Suvatovs aBaci-
NeuToy CnTely Kal avTOVvomov TroNTELaY, apxo-
pévous év péper wal dpyovtas. ovdé yap ot
KANOUMEVOL TATPiKLOL TPAYpaTwWY pETELYOV, GAN
dvopa kal cxXjpa Trepiny evtipov avtois, Eovs eve-
a a , > / 9 A :

K& £arXov H yvouns aOporfopeévors eis TO Boudev-
THpLOV. Elta aLYH MpoaTaTTOVTOS HKpOwYTO: Kar

T® MWpoTepoe TO Sedoypevov éexeivp mvubécOar TaV
TOANOY TAEOY EXOVTES ATNAAATTOVTO. Kai TaANA
\ ? / a a \ /
pev hv édXatrova: tis Sé ys THv Sopixrnrov
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before him with staves, keeping off the populace, and they were girt with thongs, with which to bind at once those whom he ordered to be bound.
To bind, in the Latin language, was formerly " ligare," though now it is "alligare'' ; whence the wand-bearers are called " lictores," and the wands ~ themselves " bacula,' from the use, in the time of Romulus, of " bakteriai,'"" which is the Greek word for staves. But it is likely that the "ec" in the word " lictores,' as now used, has been added, and that the word was formerly "litores,'' which is the Greek ''leitourgoi," meaning public servants. For the Greeks still call a public hall "leiton,' and the people "laos." }
XXVII. But when his grandfather Numitor died in Alba, and its throne devolved upon Romulus, he courted the favour of the people by putting the government in their hands, and appointed an annual ruler for the Albans. In this way he taught the influential men at Rome.also to seek after a form of government which was independent and without a king, where all in turn were subjects and rulers. For by this time not even the so-called patricians had any share in the administration of affairs, but a name and garb of honour was all that was left them, and they assembled in their council-chamber more from custom than for giving advice. Once there, they listened in silence to the commands of the king, and went away with this advantage only over the multitude, that they learned earlier what he had decreed. The rest of his proceedings were of lesser importance ; but when of his own motion merely

1 For this assumed use of Greek words by the Romans. cf. chapter xv. 3.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

autos ép éavtod Sacdyevos Tois orTpatiorass, kal Tovs ounpous tots Ovntots arrodovs, obte mevaBévtwrv ovte Bovroucvor éxeivov, Soke Ko-pod Thy yepovciay mpomnraxivew. SOev ets uTowiay kal diaBorny évérece Taparoyus ada-viobévtos avTov pet' odLyov xpovov. ndhavicOn 5é vavais 'lovrlats, os viv ovoudlovow, ws bé

rote, Kuvtidiats, ovdéev eirety BéBatov ovdé
oporoyovpevov TrubécOat mepi TIS TeNEUTHS aTrO-
MuTra, arr’ a TOV xpovov, @S mpoeipn Ta. Sparat
yap ert viv poa TH TOTE TADEL TOMA KATA THY
nuépav éexeiynv.
Ov det b€ Oavydlew THY doddevay, dtrov zen-
TLWVOS ‘Ad picavod pera Seimrvoy olxot TeNEUTY-
TAaVTOS, OUK éoxe ior ove ENeyXov) Tpomos
Tis TehEuTAS, GX of pev AUTOMATOS dvTa pues
voowdn Kapety Aéyouow, o 6 avrov ud’ éavtod
papparors amroBavetv, ot 8& tovs éxOpous THY
avaTrvony atroNaBeiv avTod VUKT Mp TapeLamed ov-
Tas. Kaitou Lenriov é ExerTO ver pos eudavns tdety
Taot, Kab TO cya mapeixe mraow Opwpevov
brrowiav Tia Tov mdaGovs Kal KaTavonoty:
‘Pwyvdou dé adve HETANAAEAVTOS ovTe pé os
adn TWPATOS oure Aeifpavoy éaOfjros. ann ot
pey elxatov € Ev T@ jbep@ TOU ‘H¢aiorou tous Bov-
heuTas émavactavtas avT@ kal SiapGeipavras,
velmavTas TO capa Kal HE pos éxacTov évO éwevov Els
Tov KodTOV éeveyxeiy: erepor 6° olovTay pnte év
T@ lep@ Tov ‘Hdaiorou pnre povev TOV Bovdev-
TOV ‘TapovTay yevér Gar TOV apavic pov, ana
Tuxeiv pev &Ew Tepi TO KadovpEvoy avyos éNoS
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he divided the territory acquired in war among
his soldiers, and gave back their hostages to
the Veientes, without the consent or wish of the
patricians, he was thought to be insulting their
senate outright. Wherefore suspicion and calumny
fell upon that body when he disappeared unaccount-
ably a short time after. He disappeared on the
Nones of July, as they now call the month, then
Quintilis, leaving no certain account nor even any
generally accepted tradition of his death, aside from
the date of it, which I have just given. For on that
day many ceremonies are still performed which bear
a likeness to what then came to pass.
Nor need we wonder at this uncertainty, since although Scipio Africanus died at home after dinner, there is no convincing proof of the manner of his end, but some say that he passed away naturally, being of a sickly habit, some that he died of poison administered bv his own hand, and some that his enemies broke into his house at night and smothered him. And yet Scipio's dead body lay exposed for all to see, and all

who beheld it formed therefrom some suspicion and conjecture of what had happened to it; whereas Romulus disappeared sud- denly, and no portion of his body or fragment of his clothing remained to be seen. But some conjectured that the senators, convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and slew him, then cut his body in pieces, put each a portion into the folds of his robe, and so carried it away. Others think that it was neither in the temple of Vulcan nor when the senators alone were present that he disappeared, but that he was holding an assembly of the people

exxAnotiay ayovra Tov 'Pwutrov, apyw é Oavya-
oTa Kal Kpeitrova AOdyou mepl Tov aépa 7a0n
yever Oa Kal petaBoras dmiarous: TOD pev yap
mAtov TO POS emeduTreiy, vuxtra 66 KaTacxely, ov
mpgeiav, ovee Hovxov, ara Bpovras Te devas
Kal TVvOas avewov Cahny ehauvovTay mavrayobev
Eéyouocay: év bé TOUT TOV pév ToNvY OxXAOV
axedacbevra puyeiv, TOUS 6é duvatous ovat papi
vat per aAmhov- émrel 5° | eAngev 7 " TApAaX?) xal
TO bas eFéraprpe Kal Tov TOBY els TAUTO
maduy TUVEPXOMEVCOV onrnas nv tov Baciréos
kat 1000s, ovx éav Tovs Suvatovs éFeTralew ovde
ToAUTpaymovely, GNAA Tipay TwapaKxereverOa
mace Kai céBec0ar Paopvaror, a> aynptracpévov
eis Deovs nal Oeov evpevny yevnodpevov avrois éx
YpNnaToU Baciréws. TOUS ev ovv TroAXOUS TAd-
Ta mecOopevous kal yatpovras anardar rea Bat
per énaridcoy ayabev TpooKuvodvras: eivat O€
Tivas ot TO TMpaypa mixpes Kal duc pevas éferéy-
novres eTaparrov TOUS TAaTpLKLoUs Kal b¢BadarAov,
@S aBenrepa TOV SF pov avarreiBovtas, avrous &é
Tov Baciréws avToxerpas dvTas.
XXVIII. Odtws otv 1 advipa trav martpixiov
ryéver 1 p@TOV, 0¢e TE Soxtpw@tarov, aure TE
'Papvrp Tistov Kal ouvnOn, TOY ar "AXBns
eT OLKMD, "TovAcov IIpoxdov, eis aryopay Tpoen-
Oovra? kal TOY ayunt aT ov évopKov lepay ayd-
pevov eimeiy ev maow ws odov avT@ Babdifovre
'Pwpvros €€ évaytias mpocimy pavein, KaXos pev
! oftws ouv Coraés, following Stephanus and C, has ofrws

oby Tapartouévwy (hile such disorder prevailed). 2 wpoerdOdvra MSS., Coraés, Nintenis!: waperddvra.

outside the city near the so-called Goat's Marsh,!
when suddenly strange and unaccountable disorders
with incredible changes filled the air; the light of
the sun failed, and night came down upon them,
not with peace and quiet, but with awful peals of
thunder and furious blasts driving rain from every
quarter, during which the multitude dispersed and
fled, but the nobles gathered closely together ; and
when the storm had ceased, and the sun shone out,
and the multitude, now gathered together again
in the same place as before, anxiously sought for
their king, the nobles would not suffer them to
inquire into his disappearance nor busy themselves
about it, but exhorted them all to honour and
revere Romulus, since he had been caught up into
heaven, and was to be a benevolent god for them
instead of a good king. The multitude, accord-
ingly, believing this and rejoicing in it, went away
to worship him with good hopes of his favour ; but
there were some, it is said, who tested the matter
in a bitter and hostile spirit, and confounded the
patricians with the accusation of imposing a silly tale
upon the people, and of being themselves the
murderers of the king.

XXVIII. At this pass, then, it is said that one of the patricians, a man of noblest birth, and of the most reputable character, a trusted and intimate friend also of Romulus himself, and one of the _ colonists from Alba, Julius Proculus by name,? went

into the forum and solemnly swore by the most sacred emblems before all the people that, as he was travelling on the road, he had seen Romulus coming

1 Cf, Livy, i. 16, 1-4, 2 Cf. Livy, i. 16, 5-8.

opO7vat Kat peyas, @S OUTOTE mpoabev, Grows de
Aap pois Kal préyourr KEKOT UNLEVOS. aUTOS ev
ov exTrrayels ™ pos THY pw "<"O Bacired,"

pavar, “rt on madov t dvavon Gels mwas pev éy
aiTiats adixous Kal movnpais, Tacay dé THY TON
opphavny év pupio révOer mpohehouTras; ” ” éxetvov
6 anoxpivacGat, " Beois édokev, @ Tlpoxne, TOC OV-
TOV meas yevea bat per’ avOpwrov Xpovor, exeiDev
évTas,' Kal T ONLY én apxh Kat 60&n peylorn
KTiaavtas avis oixeiy oupavov. aNXa xaipe, Kat
ppate ‘Peopators é6Tt cwppoovvny pert’ avdpeias
doxobvtes emi mAcioTov avOpwmivns adpifovras
Suvdpews. eyo dé tyiv evpevns écopar Saipeov
Kupivos.” tavta miota pev eivat tots “Papaiots
éSoxer Sta Tov TpoTrOV TOD AéyovTos Kal Sia Tov
Spxov' ov pnv adrdrd}a Kal Satpowov te ovv-
epavracbat 7a0os Guovoyv évOovotacn@: pndéra
yap avrTeteiv, GAA Tacav Jrovorav cal da-
Bodny adéevtas ebyer Oa ee kat Oeoxwrv-
Tely exelvov.
“Eouce ev ovv Tadta Tois Ud’ ‘EAAjvev mept
TE *Aptotéov tov [Ipoxovyncieu xat Kreopjdous
TOU “AotuTahaséws pudoroyoupéevors. "Apia téay
pev yap ev Tee Kvapelep TeMeUTH Tal dact, kat TO
oOLa PETLOVT@Y avtov Tav dirwv adaves oixe-
oar: eye dé Twas evO0s é& atroénpulas 7 HKOvTAaS
evruxely ‘Apia tég Thy emt K pot@vos TOpEvoperen:
Kr«<02.98 bé, popn Kai peyeder TOMATOS vmep-
gva yevopevov EUTANKTOV Te TO TpOTre Kat
Havxor évta, Toda dpav Biaa, Kat TéXos ev
1 éxeidev Svras MSS., Coraés, Sintenis!?, and Bekker ;
Sintenis? transposes to follow otpaydy.
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to meet him, fair and stately to the eye as never before, and arrayed in bright and shining armour. He himself, then, affrighted at the sight, had said: “O King, what possessed thee, or what purpose hadst thou, that thou hast left us patricians a prey to unjust and wicked accusations, and the whole city sorrowing without end at the loss of its father? ’’ Whereupon Romulus had replied : “ It was the pleasure of the gods, O Proculus, from whom I came, that I should be with mankind only a short time, and that after founding a city destined to be the greatest on earth for empire and glory, I should dwell again in heaven. So farewell, and tell the Romans that if they practise self-restraint, and add to it valour, they will reach the utmost heights of human power. And I will be your propitious deity, Quirinus.”’ These things seemed to the Romans worthy of belief, from the character of the man who related them, and from the oath which he had taken; moreover, some influence from heaven also,-akin to inspiration, laid hold upon their emotions, for no man contradicted Proculus, but all put aside suspicion and calumny and prayed to Quirinus, and honoured him as a god.

Now this is like the fables which the Greeks tell about Aristeas of Proconnesus! and Cleomedes of Astypaleia.2_ For they say that Aristeas died in a fuller's shop, and that when his friends came to fetch away his body, it had vanished out of sight ; and presently certain travellers returning from abroad said they had met Aristeas journeying towards Croton. Cleomedes also, who was of gigantic strength and stature, of uncontrolled temper, and like a mad man, is said to have done many deeds

1 Cf, Herodotus, iv. 14 f. 2 Cf. Pausanias, ix. 6 ff.

, oA \ ¢€ , Q
Tie StdacKareio waidwv tov vepeldovta tiv
opodiay Kiova wataktavta TH yerpl KrAdoat pécov
Kal Thy otéyny KataBarely. atrodopéver b€ TeV
maidwv Siwxopevoy eis xiBwrov Kataduyety
peyaAny, Kal TO Ta KaTaKNELcavTAa ouUVeYeLY
9 a 4 3 4 A 4 A
évTOS, @CTE aTooTaca, pn SuvacGat ToAXOUS
ood Bialouévous: Kxatacyicavtas Sé THY KiBo-
Tov ote Cavra Tov avOpwiroy evpety ovTE vExpov.
A ,

éxtrAayévtas ovv atrooteiNat Oeompotrovs eis
Aeros, ols thy Tlu@tav eirrety:
"Eayatos npowv Kreopndns "Actutanarevs.

Néyerar 5€ Kat Tov "AXxunvns éxxoplopéerns

: \ 54 S / \ "~ '4
vexpov Gdnrov yevécOar, AiOov dé havyvar Ket-
oN a , Vo \ a
feevoy él THS KNLYNS. Kal OXNWS TTOAAa ToOLAUTA
le) \ \ > N ,
pvOorXo0yotver, twapa TO eixos éxOerdlovres Ta
Ovnta tis hicews apa Tots Betots.
'Atroyavar uev odv Tavtdtract THy OedtnTa
THS apeTns avoowov Kal ayevvés, ovpav@e be pu-
yvuew ynv dBértepov. éatéov ody, éxopmévois TIS
acdhanreias, cata Tivdapov, ws
capa pev Tavtwv Ererat Oavat@ treptabevel,
\ A \
Cwov 8 re Reimetat ai@vos eldwAov' TO yap
€oTL "OvoV
ex Oeav.

4 \ 9 a ? a > » > ,
Hees yap éxeiOev, exet & dvetow, ov peta oo-
b b] 2\ a lA , >
patos, aAN €av oTt parXiotTa o@paTos aTrad-
Aayn Kal draxp.On nai yévntar xaOapov Twavta-
Tact kal doapKov Kai ayvov. Ain yap wuyy
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of violence, and finally, in a school for boys, he smote with his fist the pillar which supported the roof, broke it in two, and brought down the house. The boys were killed, and Aristeas, being pursued, took refuge in a great chest, closed the lid down, and held it so fast that many men with their united strength could not pull it up; but when they broke the chest to pieces, the man was not to be found, alive or dead. In their dismay, then, they sent messengers to consult the oracle at Delphi, and the Pythian priestess gave them this answer :—

“ Last of the heroes he, Cleomedes, Astypalaean.”

It is said also that the body of Alemene disappeared, as they were carrying her forth for burial, and a stone was seen lying on the bier instead. In short, many such fables are told by writers who improbably ascribe divinity to the mortal features in human nature, as well as to the divine.
At any rate, to reject entirely the divinity of human virtue, were impious and base; but to mix heaven with earth is foolish. Let us therefore take the safe course and grant, with Pindar,! that
“Our bodies all must follow death’s supreme behest,
But something living still survives, an image of life, for this alone
Comes from the gods.”
Yes, it comes from them, and to them it returns, not with its body, but only when it is most completely separated and set free from the body, and becomes altogether pure, fleshless, and undefiled. For “a dry

1 Fragment 131, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. i.* p. 427.
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aptatn,' Kad ‘Hpdxrertov, WO TEP dorpaTn yé-
gous Siarrrapevy Tou TOMATO. » O¢ copate
mepuppern Kat TepiTrAEws o@paTos, olov avau-
places éuBpOns Kat omexrwdns, ducéEarros € EOTL

kal dvcavaxoptatos. ovdév ovv Set Ta co"ara
TOV ayad ay cvvavar eure ‘mapa pow els ov-
pavov, adr Tas apeTas Kal Tas puxas mavra-
Tac oer Bau Kara puow Kal Sinny Geta € éx pev
avOpomov ELS peas, éx & Tpoov eis Saipovas,
éx dé Satpovar, a dv TéXeov doTep EV TENETH cabap-
Oact Kai oowwbacw dmav amopuyovca TO
Ovnrov Kat mabnrixor, ov pomp TOAEWS, arr’
arnbeva xat Kata, Tov eiKoTa Aoyou ets Deovs
dvapépea Bau, TO KaAMOTOV Kal paKkapLoTaToV
TéXOS aTroAaBovaas.
XXIX. Tray dé ryevoperny éravuuiay TO ‘Po-
pvr TOV Kupivov ot mev "EvudAvov 7 poo a'yopev-
ovotv' ot oe monty,” bre Kal TOUS ToMTAS
Kupiras avopatov: ot b€ Thy aixyny h to Sopu
Tous TANALOUS Kp ovopatery, Kal Kupiribos
“Hpas dyarpa Kane én’ ai wis iSpupévor, év dé
Th ‘Pavia Sopu cabSpupévov “Apea Tm poo aryop-
evely, Kal Sopare Tous ev TOAEUOLS apis revovTas
yepaipew: @S ovY apnioy Tia TOY "Pepvrov V)
aiXmnT ny Oeov ovopac Ofvat Kupivov. iepov pep
obp GQUTOU KATETKEVATHEVOY év T@ fa TQ Kv-
piva Tpocayopevopevep be éxeivov, 7 o nea 7 1)
weTnrraken, 6 Nov guy kanerras, wal vavat
Kampartivac 61a ro Ovewv eis TO THs aiyos EXos éx
1 Ain yap Wuxh aplorn Bekker: airn yap puxh Enph xal
dplorn.
2 of 3¢ woAlrny, Sr: Coraés and Bekker, with two Bodleian
MSS. (B®): of 3€ 871.
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ROMULUS °

soul is best,” according to Heracleitus,' and it flies from the body as lightning flashes from a cloud. But the soul which is contaminated with body, and sur- feited with body, like a damp and heavy exhalation, is slow to release itself and slow to rise towards its source. We must not, therefore, violate nature by sending the bodies of good men with their souls to heaven, but implicitly believe that their virtues and their souls, in accordance with nature and divine Justice, ascend from men to heroes, from heroes to demi-gods, and from demi-gods, after they have been made pure and holy, as in the final rites of initiation, and have freed themselves from mortality and sense, to gods, not by civic law, but in very truth and according to right reason, thus achieving the fairest and most blessed consummation.

XXIX. To the surname of Quirinus bestowed on Romulus, some give the meaning of Mars, others that of

Citizen, because the citizens were called Quirites; but others say that the ancients called the spear-head (or the whole spear) “ quiris,”’ and gave the epithet Quiritis to the Juno whose statue leans upon a spear, and the name Mars to a spear consecrated in the Regia, and a spear as a prize to those who performed great exploits in war ; and that Romulus was therefore called Quirinus as a martial, or spear-nielding, god. However that may be, a temple in his honour is built on the hill called Quirinalis after him, and the day on which he vanished is called People’s Flight, and Capra- tine Nones, because they go out of the city and

1 Fragment 74 (Bywater, Heracliti Hphesit reliquiae, p. 30).

Modkews KATLOVTAaS: THY yap abya xd pay évopa-
fovow. efcovres dé 7 pos Thv Ouciay TONG TOV
eriyopiov OvopwaT ov POEyyovTat peta Boje, olov
Mapxou, Aovxiov, Tailov, [WOUPEVOL THY TOTE
Tpomny kal avakXnow addAgnrwv peta S€ovs Kal
Tapax is.
"Evioe wévtot TO) pene TovTo dact pn puyis,
arr’ ere: ews elvat Kal amoudis, els altiav
TOLAUT DY avahépovtes Tov Aoyov. érrel Kedrol
tiv “Peony KxataraBovres éSexpouc Inaav vo
Kapidrov kal de aa Béverav n onus ovKeTL pa-
Siws € éauTny avehauBaver, eo Tpdrevoay er’ auTny
TorRol TOV Aarive, dpxovra AtBvov Tloorov-
pov éxovres. OUTOS be xadicas TOV a7 par ov ou
mpoaw THS ‘Poyns errewTre KnpuKa, BovrecBar
A€éyoov TOUS Aarivous éxdTrovoay non THY Ta-
Natav oiKeloTnTa Kal ouryyeveray exCwmrupno a,
Katwais adbts dvaxpalévtov ériyapias TeV
yevan. av obv Téprpoct map0evous TE TUXVAaS
Kal yuvainav Tas avavopous, elonuny éxecOat cal
pudiay autois, os Umnpte Tpos LaBivous 7 po-
Tepov éK TOV opotev. TAaPTA aKova artes ot ‘Pw-
paior Tov Te TodEpoV epoBotvto cat THY Tapda-
docu TOY yuvatkav ovder aixparwaias emrveticé-
oTEpoy exe évopuitov. atropovat 8 avtois Oepa-
Trawva BDirortis, ws 8 ior Aéyouat," Tovréra xandou-
pévn, ocuveBovreuce pnderepa Tmovely, arra Xpnca-
pévous dorm Siaduyeiv & awa TOV TONE Lov Kal Thy
éEounpevow. ay 8 6 S0X0s abtny te THY Pirrw-
rida Kal ov auth Jeparrawvidas evmpeTreis
KOT UNTAVTAS WS erevOépas doc rethat pos TOUS
modeptous’ elra vixctwp tHv Dirwrtida mupaov

™!,

sacrifice at the Goat's Marsh; and " capra " is their word for she-goat. And as they go forth to the sacrifice, they shout out many local names, like Marcus, Lucius, and Caius, in imitation of the way in which, on the day when Romulus disappeared, they called upon one another in fear and confusion. Some, however, say that this imitation is not one of flight, but of haste and eagerness, and explain it as referring to the following occasion. After the Gauls had captured Rome and been driven out by Camillus, and when the city was still too weak to recover itself readily, an expedition was made against it by many of the Latins, under the command of Livius Postumius. This general stationed his army not far from Rome, and sent a herald with the message that the Latins wished to renew their ancient relationship and affinity with the Romans, by fresh intermarriages between the two peoples. If, therefore, the Romans would send them a goodly number of virgins and their widows, they should have peace and friendship, such as they had formerly made with the Sabines on the like terms. On hear- ing this message, the Romans hesitated between going to war, which they feared, and the surrender of their women, which they thought no more desir- able than to have them captured. But while they were in this perplexity, a serving-maid called Philotis (or, as some say, Tutola) advised them to do neither, but by the use of a stratagem to escape alike the war and the giving of hostages. Now the stratagem was this, that they should send to the enemy Philotis herself, and with her other comely serving-maids arrayed like free-born women; then in the night Philotis was to display a signal-fire, at which the

dapat, Tous. 5é 'Peopaious ere Oetv pera, TOV OTrhwv
kal xpnoacbat KOULWLEVOLS Tots Tone Lots. Taira
& édparo mera Gevtay TOV Aativor: Kal Tov Tupaov
averxev 7) Piroris & eK TLVOS épveod, TEepiayovca
TpPOKANUppace Kat TapatreTaa pact OrrvaOev,
@OTE TOS TONE LLOLS doparoy elvat TO Pas, Tots dé
'Popaiors aT dénnov. as ovy érretoov, evOus eEne-
aap erreryopevor wal d1a tH émerEtv adAnrous Teépt
Tas TUAAS GVAKANODVTES TOAAGKIS. éumred ovres dé
Tots | Trohepots ampoadoxnTas Kal MpaTnoavTes,
emrcvikvov _a&youat Thv éoptny. Kat Karparivas
fev at vavat Kadovyras dia Tov épiveov Kam pl-
g@ixov vo '"Pwpaiov ovopalouevor, éotiaoe é
Tas yuvaixas é&o, cuKhs Krabols axralouevas.
at 6 Deparracvides ayeipovat weptiovcar Kal 3

maifovot, ela mArnyais Kar Borais AMGwv ypav-
TAL 7 pos G\AnAas, ws Kal TOTE Tols 'Peopators
TO, ParyeVvowevart kal cwvayovirdpevar Haxopevors.

Tadr’ otv! ToARol mpootevTat TOV ovyypa-
péov, ara Kal To pel! muepay xphicGar rH
avaxhycet TOV OvopaTav Kal To pos TO EXOS TO
THS airyos ws éml Ouvciav? BadiCovras éoure T@
Tporépe oye mpoariGec Bau _baddop, él pny vn
Aia tis avtis myeépas év Xpovors érépors d.pupo-
Tépa T wda0n auvérvye yevéoOa. Aéyerar dé
‘Pwpddos Técaapa pev érn xal TEVTKOVTA rye-
yovas, dydoov Sé€ Baciretwv exeivo nal Tpla-
xoorov €€ avOparrwv adaviaOjvat.
1 ody with Cobet : ov (by few).
2 @valavy with Coraés (as in xxix. 2): O@dAarray (sea),
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od

(

ROMULUS

Romans were to come in arms and deal with their enemies while asleep. This was done, with the approval of the Latins, and Philotis displayed the signal-fire from a certain wild fig-tree, screening it behind with coverlets and draperies, so that its light was unseen by the enemy, but visible to the Romans. When, accordingly, they beheld it, they sallied forth at once in great haste, and because of their haste calling upon one another many times at the gates. They fell upon their enemies when they least expected it and mastered them, and now celebrate this festival in memory of their victory. And the Nones on which it falls are called Capratine from the mild fig-tree, the Roman name for which is “ caprificus,’ and they feast the women outside the city in booths made of fig-tree boughs. Then the serving-maids run about in companies and play, after which they strike and throw stones at one anotber, in token that on that earlier day they assisted the Romans and shared with them in their battle.!

These details are accepted by many historians, but their calling out one another's names in the day time, and their marching out to the Goat’s Marsh as for sacrifice, seem to be more consonant with the former story, unless, to be sure, both actions happened to take place on the same day in different periods. Romulus is said to have been fifty-four years of age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign when he disappeared from among men. :
1 Cf. Camillus, xxxiii.

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@®HSEQS KAI POMYAOY SYIPKPLSI5

I.“A pev ody adk&ia pvnuns mvbécOar Tepl
‘Pwptrov cal Oncéws cupBeéBnxev npiv, tadT
dott. gaiverar 5¢ mpatov o pev ex mpoatpécews,
ovdevos avayxdlovtos, adr’ éFov dbdeds ev Tpor-
Chve Baorrevery SiabdeEdpevov apynv ove adofor,
autos ad’ éavtod peydrwv opexOeis: o Sé Sov-
Nelas Puy} twapovons Kal tiuwpias emipepopevns,
éexeivo To Tov IAdtwvos, ateyvas vo Séous av-
dpelos yevopevos, cal po8@ Tod ta écyata mabey
émt to Spav peydra & dvdyenv traparyevo-
pevos. émerta tovTou pev épyov éatl TO péytorov
dverety va tov “AXBns Tvpavvov, éxeivou Se
mdpepya Kal mpodywves oav o LKelpwv, o Lives,
o IIpoxpovorns, 0 Kopurnrns, ods dvaipov cat
Koralwov amnratte thy ‘EAAdba Sevev tupdvvev
mpl dots eat) yiwecKev Tovs UT’ avTod awlo-
pévous. Kal TO pev Taphy ampaypoves Kopl-
CecOat ba Oardrrns abdixoupéevm pndev vo tev
AnoTav, ‘Pwytry@ & ov waphy ph wpdypata
éyew ’Apovriou Cavros. péya S€ rovTov Texun-
ptov o pev yap ovdev avtos abdixovpevos Mppnoev
virép adAAwy éml Tovs tovnpovs, of 5S Scov avrot
KAKOS ovK EracyoY UTO TOU TUPaYVOU, TEpLEwpwV
adicodvta mavtas. Kal piv eb péya TO TpwOFvar
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COMPARISON OF THESEUS AND ROMULUS

I. Sucu, then, are the memorable things about Romulus and Theseus which I have been able to learn. And it appears, first of all, that Theseus, of his own choice, when no one compelled him, but when it was possible for him to reign without fear at Troezen as heir to no inglorious realm, of his own accord reached out after great achievements ; whereas Romulus, to escape present servitude and impending punishment, became simply “ courageous out of fear,’ as Plato phrases it,! and through the dread of extreme penalties proceeded to perform great exploits under compulsion. In the second place, the chief deed of Romulus was the slaying of a single tyrant of Alba; whereas for mere by-adven- tures and preliminary struggles Theseus had Sciron, Sinis, Procrustes, and Corynetes, by slaying and chastising whom he freed Greece from dreadful tyrants before those who were saved by him knew who he was. Theseus might have travelled to Athens by sea without any trouble, and suffering no outrage at the hands of those robbers; whereas - Romulus could not be without trouble while Amulius lived. And there is strong proof of this;

for Theseus, although he had suffered no wrong at their hands himself, sallied out in behalf of others . against those miscreants; while Romulus and Remus, as long as they themselves were not harmed by the tyrant, suffered him to wrong everybody else. And surely, if it was a great thing for Romulus

1 Phaedo, p. 68 a.

payopevov LaBivors cal dvedeivy "Axpwva kat
A lol 4
TOAA@Y paYn KpaThoat Tworepiwy, ToUTOLs pev
gate Tols Epyous KevTavpopayiay Kal Ta mMpos
"Apatovas wapaBaneiv: 6 8 éroApunoe! Onoeds
\ N \ , v \ , 4
mept tov Kpntixoy dacpov, ete tii Onpiw Bopay,
ral 9
elite mpochaypa tois 'Avdpdyew tddots, e108", 6
xoupoTatoy eat. TOV AEyopévwv, NaTpEvELY Trap
avdpdcww vuBptotais Kal dvopevéow axren da-
Tpelav Kal atimov émLdovs EauTOV, Exovaiws pETa
mapQévwrv TrEvaas Kal Traidwy véwv, ovK Av eltroL
Tis NAiKNS éoTl TOAMNS peyarodpoavyys 7H b.-
,
Katoauvns wept TO Kotvov TOOov dons Kat
apeTis. @at Eworye haivetas py KAaK@s <Gpi-
\ / \ " a e
CecBar tovs dirocodovs tov épwra Oewy v7r7-
peoiav impos émimédkerav Kal cwtnpiav véwv. oO
a "A tO 4 \ n ¥ 5
yap "Apiddvns Epws mavtos parXov Eotxev Epyov
Beod Kal pnyavn yevécOar awtnpias Evexa Tov
avopos. Kal oux a&vov aitracOat THhv épacbeicap,
? \ / > \ , C4 \ n
arya Gavydaler e¢ wn tTavtTes ovTM Kal TradaL
duetéOnaoav: e & éxeivn povn tovr émaler, eixo-
TWS éywrye hainv av avTny dktépactov Oe@ 'yeryo-
vévat, prroxarov cal dirdyabov Kai TaY apiotav
ENWTLKNY OvaAD. |
II. "Apdotépwy towvy tH hice ToAUTIAeY
yeyovotwv, ovdétepos Stepvrake tov BactArKov
tpotrov: é&éotn dé Kal petéBare petaBorgrny o
pev Snpotixnv, o Sé€ TupavyiKny, TavTOVY an
1% 8 érdédunoe Coraés and Sintenis would begin the
second chapter here.

to be wounded in a battle with the Sabines, and to slay Acron, and to conquer many enemies in battle, with these exploits we may compare, on the part of Theseus, his battle with the Centaurs and his campaign against the Amazons; but as for the daring which he showed about the Cretan tribute, whether that was food for some mon- ster, or a sacrifice on the tomb of Androgeos, or whether—and this is the mildest form of the story— he offered himself for inglorious and dishonourable servitude among insolent and cruel men when he volunteered to sail away with maidens and young boys, words cannot depict such courage, magna- nimity, righteous zeal for the common good, or yearning for glory and virtue. It is therefore my opinion that the philosophers! give an excellent definition of love when they call it “a ministration of the gods for the care and preservation of the young.”’ For Ariadne’s love seems to have been, more than anything else, a god’s work, and a device whereby Theseus should be saved. And we should not blame her for loving him, but rather wonder that all men and women were not thus affected towards him ; and if she alone felt this passion, 1 should say, for my part, that she was properly worthy of a god’s love, since she was fond of virtue, fond of goodness, and a lover of the highest qualities in man.

II. Although Theseus and Romulus were both statesmen by nature, neither maintained to the end the true character of a king, but both deviated from it and underwent a change, the former in the direction of democracy, the latter in the direction of tyranny, making thus the same mistake through opposite

1 Polemon, as cited in Morals, p. 780 d.

évavtiov madav dpaprovtes. Set yap Tov ap-
yovTa awle mpa@Ttov avTny Thy apxnv: owleras
8 ovy Hrtov amexopévn tov pn MpoonKovtTos 4
Meptexopwéevn Tov wpoonxovtos. o & évdidovs 7
émitelvav ov péver Bactreds ovdé apxywv, GAN 7h
Snuaywyos 7) Seamdtrns yiyvopuevos, éurrotet TO
pucely xatadpoveiy Tots apxopmévors. ov puny
GX’ éxetvo péev éreixeias Soxel nal diravOpw-
mias elvat, TovTo dé gdidavTias apapTnpa Kal
VANETOTHTOS.
III. Ei 8€ b¢2 nal ta dvotuynPévta pon Tavta-
Tact TocicOat Saipovos, GAX 7OtKas Kai rraOn-
TUKaS onreiy év avtois Siapopas, Oupod pev ao-
yia Tou Kal TAXOS exovons aBovnrov opyis pyre
Tes éxeivov év Tots TpOos TOV aderpov amodvéro
pare TOUTOV év Tots pos TOV vioV' u] dé KWhoaca.

TOV Super apxn PaXXov Tapattetrat Tov wire
peiSovos aitias domep UTrO TANYAS. Kare wT Epas
avaTpaTévra. ‘Papwhe pev yap éx BovAjs Kal

oKepens mept KOWav cumpepov Tay Siapopas Yye-
vowevns oux av nkiwoé tis abva THY dudvotay
év THALKOUTD made ryevéa Bau Oncéa 5€ T1pos
TOV vior, a mapmay odiryou TOY évtwv Statredpev-
yaw, Epws Kal CnroTuTia Kal diaBorat yuvac-
KOS éapnhay. & dé pettov corey, O pev ‘Pamirou
Oupos els épyov efemece Kal m pat ovKx evTUXES
éxovcay téhos, 7 O€ Oncéws opyy péxpt Aoryou
Kal Bracdnuias Kal katapas mpeaBuTixhs
Tponnrle, Ta o adr paiveras 7H TOXD Xpijoa-
aOat 70 perpuKtov. WATE TAUTAS Mev AV TLS aTO-
Soin TH Onoei Tas Wyqous.
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affections. For the ruler must preserve first of all the realm itself, and this is preserved no less by refraining from what is unbecoming than by cleaving to what is becoming. But he who remits or extends his authority is no longer a king or a ruler; he becomes either a demagogue or a despot, and implants hatred or contempt in the hearts of his subjects. However, the first error seems to arise from kindliness and humanity; the second from selfishness and severity.

III. Again, if the misfortunes of men are not to be attributed altogether to fortune, but to the different habits and passions which will be found underlying them, then no one shall acquit Romulus of unreasoning anger or hasty and senseless wrath in dealing with his brother, nor Theseus in dealing with his son, although the cause which stirred his anger leads us to be more lenient towards the one who was overthrown by a stronger provocation, as by a heavier blow. For since the difference between Romulus and his brother arose from a deliberate investigation of the common welfare, there could have been no good reason for his flying into such a passion; while Theseus was impelled to wrong his son by love, jealousy, and a woman’s slanders, the overmastering power of which very few men have escaped. And what is of greater weight, the anger of Romulus vented itself in action and a deed

of most unfortunate issue; whereas the wrath of Theseus got no farther than words of abuse and an old man's curse, and the rest of the youth's calamities seem to have been due to fortune. On these counts, therefore, one would give his vote of preference to Theseus.

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IV. 'Exeitvm 5€ mpa@tov pév trdpye péya TO pixpotatas AaBeiy dpyas éml ta mpdypara. Sodvor yap 8) Kal cudopBav traides dvouato- Hevor, mply édrevOepor yevécOat, Tavtas Odéryou dely nrevOépwoav Aativous, evi yxpovp TeV KaNACTMY dvopadTwov aya TuyxovTes, goveis éyOpav xal cwtnpes oixeiwy cal Bacrrels eOvav Kal oiictal moAEewv, ov peTotxictai, xabdmep Hv 0 Oncevs, éx TwoANoV auvTibels Kal ouVOLKO- Souav &v oixntnpiov, dvatpay Sé todas ToAES éravipovs Bacttéwv nal Hpwwv taratav. "Po- poros 6€ tadra peéev totepov dpa, tovs Tore- plovs avaykdlov ta oixeta xataRddXovtas Kal adavifovtas trois veuxnxoot mpoovéueoOat TO 5é mp@tov ov petatibels od avEwv thy bTdp- xovoav, adda trowv €€ ovy bTapxovTwy Kal KT@pEVOS EavT@ YOpay opmod, TaTpida, BactreLav, rYEVN, YaMOUS, OlKELOTNTAS, avnper pev ovdéva Ode am@Advev, evepyéter Se Tovs eF doixwy nal ave- otiwy Shuov éOérovras elvat nal moditas. Xy- otras S€ Kal KaKovpyous ovK amréxTevev, GAN €Ovn mpoonyayeto TroAéu@ Kal ToneLs KATES T pe- wrato Kal Baotreis eO piapBevoe Kal 7 nryepovas. Vv. Kal TO. wey 'Popov mos appro Rntov- pevov exer TOV auroxerpa, Kat TO TAéloTOV els érépous Tis aitias Tpémovel! TV 6e pnrépa ScodAupergy gr woe Teptpavars, Kal TOV TAT TOV axreas SovrAevovta xal Gripes eis TOD Aiveiov Opovov éxaOice. Kal toda pe EX@Y evepye- tnoev, EBrAave dé avrov ovdé dxwv. thy &e

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IV. But Romulus has, in the first place, this great superiority, that he rose to eminence from the smallest

beginnings. For he and his brother were reputed to be slaves and sons of swineherds, and yet they not only made themselves free, but freed first almost all the Latins, enjoying at one and the same time such most honourable titles as slayers of their foes, saviours of their kindred and friends, kings of races and peoples, founders of cities; not trans- planters, as Theseus was, who put together and consolidated one dwelling-place out of many, but demolished many cities bearing the names of ancient kings and heroes: Romulus, it is true, did this later, compelling his enemies to tear down and obliterate their dwellings and enrol themselves among their conquerors ; but at first, not by removing or enlarg- ing a city which already existed, but by creating one from nothing, and by acquiring for himself at once territory, country, kingdom, clans, marriages and relationships, he ruined no one and killed no one, but was a benefactor of men without homes and hearths, who wished instead to be a people and citizens of a common city. Robbers and miscreants, it is true, he did not slay, but he subdued nations in war, laid cities low, and triumphed over kings and commanders.

V. Besides, there is dispute as to who actually slew Remus, and most of the blame for the deed is put upon others than Romulus; but Romulus did unquestionably save his mother from destruction, and he set his grandfather, who was living in inglorious and dishonourable subjection, upon the throne of Aeneas. Moreover, he did him many favours of his own accord, and did him no harm, not even inadver-

O@ncéws ANOnv Kal apérerav THs wept Td torlov
évToNAs ports Av olpas paxpa Ti TrapaLTnoe
Kal év pabvpos Stxactais aitiay atodpuyeiv
matpoxtovias: 6 &) Kal cuvidev tis *ATTiKOS avnp
@s TayydAerov dott BovrAopévols atroroyeto Gat,
mwrdtre Tov Aivéa Tis vews mpoohepopévns U7r0
omovons avatpéyovTa mpos THY aKxpoTrody Béas
é&vexa xal opaddopevov KataTrecey, woTrep oTTAa-
Sav Epnuov,) tHv él Odratrav odoyv omeddovTe
pn Tapovens Twos Oeparreias.
VI. Kal pay ta wept tas dpmayas trav y-
VaLK@V HpapTnpéeva Onoci péev evoxnpovos evded
mpopacews yéyove. mpa@Ttov pey Ste ToAAdKLS:
hprace yap Apiddvnv nat 'Avridanyv nal 'AvaEo
tv Tpottnviav, él macats 5é tv "Enévnp,
TAPHKMAKWS OUK akpdlovcaY, GAA vyTiay Kal
dwpov avros @pav éxav On ydpov teratdcbat
Kal vopipwy: ereta bcd tTHv aitiayy ov yap
akiwrepai ye madoTool trav 'AOnvnow 'Epe-
NOnidwv Kai Kexporidwv ai Tpolnviev xal
Aandvev nal *Apalovwy avéyyvor Ouyartépes
Hoav. adrdd\a Tadta pev vowiavy eyes mTpos
bBpw Kal nal' ndovnvy wempaxGat. Poudros

5é mp@tov peév oxtaxociwr drLyov aptOu@ Seovaas
aprdcas, ov mdoas, GANG plav, os acu,
‘Epottav édaBe, tas & adrras Sréverue ois
ayabois! trav todtTaV Ererta TH peTa Tadta
TLuUn Kal ayarrnoe. Kal Sinacootvyn TH Tepl Tas
yuvaixas améderEe tiv Biay éxeivnv Kai tiv
1 &yaGors MSS. and edd. : dyduors (unmarried).
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tently. Theseus, on the contrary, for his forgetfulness and neglect of the command about the sail, can hardly, I think, escape the charge of parricide, be the plea of his advocate ever so long and his judges ever so lenient. Indeed, a certain Attic writer, conscious that would-be defenders of Theseus have a difficult task, feigns that Aegeus, on the approach of the ship, ran up to the acropolis in his eagerness to catch sight of her, and stumbled and fell down the cliff; as though he were without a retinue, or was hurrying down to the sea without any servants.

VI. Furthermore, the transgressions of Theseus in his rapes of women admit of no plausible excuse. This is true, first, because there were so many ; for he carried off Ariadne, Antiope, Anaxo of Troezen, and at last Helen, when he was past his prime and she had not reached her prime, but was an unripe child, while he was already of an age too great for even lawful wedlock. It is true, secondly, because of the reason for them; for the daughters of Troezenians and Laconians and Amazons were not betrothed to him, and were no worthier, surely, to be the mothers of his children than the daughters of Erechtheus and Cecrops at Athens. But one may suspect that these deeds of his were done in lustful wantonness. Romulus, on the other hand, in the first place, although he carried off nearly eight hundred women, took them not all to wife, but only one, as they say, Hersilia, and distributed the rest among the best of the citizens. And in the second place, by the subsequent honour, love, and righteous treatment given to these women, he made it clear that his

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adiuciay KddAdoTov Epyov Kal ToALTLKMTATOV Ets
Kowwviay yevouéevnv. o0Tw ocuvéusEev AXANAOLS
kal auvennke Ta yévn, Kal Tapéoxe THyHY THs
eis avOis evvoias Kal duvdpews Tois mpdypacey.
aidots é nat hirtas al BeBarorntos, iy eipya-

gato wept Tovs yapous, 0 Xpovos éotl papTus.
év yap éreot Tptdxovta Kal dvaxociols ote avnp
eTOAUNTE yUVaLKOS OUTE YUYN Kolvwviav avdpos
éyxaTanitretV, XX wotrep ev" EAAnow ot cpodpa
TEPLTTOL TOY TP@TOV EXOVaLY ELTELY TATPOKTOVOY
Hh pntpopovov, o0tw ‘Pwpaior mdvtes toacw Ott
KapBirsos Yropios amenéuyyato yuvaixa mpo-
Tos, aTratdiav aitiacdpevos. 7@ Sé Tocov’TP
Ypove oUmpapTUpEr Kal Ta Epya. Kal yap apyis
éxowwvnoav oi Bacideis, kal modtTelas Ta yévn
dua THY emiyapiav éxetynv: aro 6€ TOV Oncéws ya-
pov AOnvators hirsxov ev ovdev ovde KoLvwYLKOV
umnpEe mpos ovdéva aupBoratov, éyOpar bé Kai
ToNepoL Kat hovot TodTaY Kal TédAos ‘Adidvas
amovécat Kal ports Um’ olxTov THY TrOAELiOD,
mpocxuvyncavtas Kal Oeovs avertrovtas, fy Tra-
Ociv & Tpaes Erafov bd ’AréEavdpov. 1) wévToe
entnp 7 Oncéws ove exiwdvvevoev, arr Erade
ta THS ‘ExaBns, éyxataXitrovtos Kal mpoeuévou
TOU Taidos, elye fy WéTAATTAL TA THS alypa-
Awaias, @s eer ye Kal TovTO Wevddos Elvat Kai
Ta TAELCTA TOV AAXwWV. éTrel Kal Ta. TEpt TOU
Geiov pvOoroyovpeva TOAAnVY Toes Stadhopay.
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deed of violence and injustice was a most honourable achievement, and one most adapted to promote political partnership. In this way he intermixed and blended the two peoples with one another, and supplied his state with a flowing fountain of strength and good will for the time to come. And to the modesty, tenderness, and stability which he imparted to the marriage relation, time is witness. For in two hundred and thirty years no man ventured to leave his wife, nor any woman her husband; but, just as the very curious among the Greeks can name the first parricide or matricide, so the Romans all know that Spurius Carvilius was the first to put away his wife, accusing her of barrenness. And the immediate results of his act, as well as the long lapse of time, witness in favour of Romulus. For the two kings shared the government in common, and the two peoples the rights and duties of citizen- ship, because of that intermarriage ; whereas from the marriages of Theseus the Athenians got no new friends at all, nor even any community of enter- prise whatsoever, but enmities, wars, slaughters of citizens, and at last the loss of Aphidnae, and an escape from the fate which Troy suffered by reason of Alexander, only because their enemies took compassion on them when they called upon them worshipfully as gods. However, the mother of Theseus was not only in danger, but actually suf- fered the fate of Hecuba when she was deserted and abandoned by her son, unless, indeed, the tale of her captivity is fictitious, and it may well be false, as well as most of the other stories. For example, the tales told of divine intervention in their lives are in great contrast; for Romulus was

"'Papir@ pev yap) cwrnpia peta TOANHS brnpFe
Oecd evpeveias, o 8 Aived So0els ypnopos, amé-
xecOat yuvarxos éml Eévns, eoxev arropaivev
Tapa yvounv Oedv yeyovévat tv Oncéos
TEKVWOLD.
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preserved by the signal favour of the gods, while
the oracle given to Aegeus, forbidding him to ap-
proach a woman while in a foreign land, seems to
indicate that the birth of Theseus was not agreeable
to the will of the gods.
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AYKOYPTO2

I. Tlepi Avxovpyou tod vouobérou xaforou peév
ovdey éotw eitrety avaudicByntnTov, ob ye Kat
yévos Kal atrodnuia Kal TeXevTH Kal Tpos Atracty
Wept TOUS Vvo"oUs avTOD Kal THY TrONTELAY
mpayywateta Ssahopous éoxnKev iotopias, hxiora
5é of ypovor xa' obs yéyovev o dvnp oporoyouvras.
ot pev yap 'Idite cuvarpdoa Kal cvvds:abeivar
N 9 \ 3 , VA > ' Aa
thv Oduptriaxny éxexerpiay Néyovoly avTOV, OV
dott wal 'AptototérAns o pirccodos, TEexunptov
4 A 9 , 4 wv
mpooghépwv tov 'Ondvytriace dtoxov év @ Tovvopa
2 tov Auxovpyou Stacwlerar xatayeypappévov' ot
5é tais Suaboyais tov év Yraptn BeBacirevKo-
Tov avaneyopuevot TOY Ypovov, HaTEep Epatoobévns
9 a + DJ 4 ww 4
kal "ArroAXobwpos, ovK orALyoLS ETeot peo BUTEpoY
9 ? 4 ry , b , i,
atropaivovat tHs mpatns 'Oduprridbdos. Tipacos
5¢ dtrovoei, Suety ev Yardptn yeyovotwv Aveovpywv
ov KATA Tov aUTOV YpOVOY, TE éTépw TAs apdoiv

, \ s 5) nA ,
mpdakes dia thy Sofav avaxeicOar Kal Tov ye
mpecButepov ov troppw trav ‘Op-rpou yeyovévat
a » \ 9 ww 9 “~ @e 4
xpovewy, vio. dé xal Kat’ ov évtvyety ‘Onno.
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LYCURGUS

I. Concerninea Lycurgus the lawgiver, in general, nothing can be said which is not disputed, since indeed there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and above all, of his work as law- maker and statesman ; and there is least agreement among historians as to the times in which the man lived. Some say that he flourished at the same time with Iphitus, and in concert with him established the Olympic truce. Among these is Aristotle the philosopher, and he alleges as proof the discus at Olympia on which an inscription preserves the name of Lycurgus.' But those who compute the time by the successions of kings at Sparta, like Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, prove that Lycurgus was many years earlier than the first Olympiad.2,— And Timaeus con- jectures that there were two Lycurgus at Sparta, at different times, and that to one of them the achievements of both were ascribed, owing to his greater fame ; he thinks also that the elder of the two lived not far from the times of Homer, and some assert that he actually met Homer face to face.

1 As joining with Iphitus in founding, or reviving, the Olympic games, in 776 B.c., the date assigned to the first onied victory. Cf. Pausanias, v. 4, 5f.; 20, 1. A stay of hostilities waa observed all over Greece during the festival.

2 776-73 B.C.

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3 didwor 5é cal Bevoparv trrovoiay apyaiotyntos év 40
ols tov avdpa déyer yeyovévat Kata tTovs ‘Hpa-
, / \ \ ¢€ a ,
Kreldas. yéver pev yap ‘Hpaxrcidar 82 7rovbev
9 \ ie , a 9 4 / £
qoav Kal ol vewtato Tav évy Yardptn Bacidéwy, o
5é doune BovAopévw tos mwpwtouvs éxeivous Kal
4 e 4 9 vA e ,
auveyyus ‘Hpaxréous ovopalev “Hpaxreidas.
Ov phy adda Kaitrep odtws TeTAAYNpEeVNS TIS
toTopias, Tetpacouela Tois Bpayutdtas Exovaty
dvtiroylas 7) yvwpiuwrTatovs paptupas émopevoe

TOV Yyeypaypéevwv wept Too avdpos atrodovvar THY
5 4 9° 1 , e AY b
4 dunynow. érret cal! Yipwvidyns o tromntns ovK
Kvvopou Aéyet tov Aveodpyov mratpos, adda IIpu-
tavidos Kal tov Aveotipyov xal tov E’vopor, ot
dé? mreloTtot oyeddv ovy oUTwW yeveadoyodaty,
> / \ a 3 ‘ / 4
adda TIpoxréous pév rod "Apiratodypov yevéobar
, 4 \ J A 4 \ 4
Ldov, Yoov dé Evpuravra, tovrou dé Iputavey,
éx toutou O¢ Evvoyov, Evvopov be Tovvdéerny éx
mpoTépas yuvaixos, Avxodpyov 5é€ vewrepov éx
Atwvdoons, ws Avevtuyidas iotopnkev, Extov pév
ato IIpoxnéous, évdéxatov 68 ad’ “Hpaxdéovs.
II. Tav &€ rpoyovay abtod pddorta pev eGav-
peaadn Xoos, éf’ ob Kal tods etAwTas érotncavTo
SovAous of 2rapridrat Kal yopav mpocexTycavTo
\ 9 / ? 2 , VN
TONAnY “Apkddwy atroremopevot. éyetar 5é TOV
1 éwe) xal Sintenis would begin the second chapter here,
assuming also a lacuna in the text preceding.
2 of 8 with Bekker: oi.
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Xenophon, also,' makes an impression of simplicity in the passage where he says that Lycurgus lived in the time of the Heracleidae. For in lineage, of course, the latest of the Spartan kings were also Heracleidae ; but Xenophon apparently wishes to use the name Heracleidae of the first and more immedi- ate descendants of Heracles, so famous in story.

However, although the history of these times is such a maze, I shall try, in presenting my narrative, to follow those authors who are least contradicted, ‘or who have the most notable witnesses for what they have written about the man. For instance, Simonides the poet says that Lycurgus was not the son of Eunomus, but that both Lycurgus and Eunomus were sons of Prytanis; whereas most writers give a different genealogy, as follows: Aristodemus begat Procles, Procles begat Soiis, Soiis begat Eurypon, and he begat Prytanis, from whom sprang Funomus, and from Eunomus Polydectes by a first

wife, and Lycurgus, who was a younger son by a
second wife, Dionassa, as Dieutychidas has written,
making Lycurgus sixth from Procles, and eleventh
from Heracles."
II. Of these ancestors of Lycurgus, Soiis was most famous, under whom the Spartans made the Helots their slaves, and acquired by conquest from the Arcadians a large additional tract of land. It is also

1 Reip. Lac. x. 8.‘ yeurgus is said to have lived in the
times of the Heracleidae.’
2 Aristodemus, from whose twin sons Eurysthenes and Procles the elder and younger royal lines at Sparta (the Agids and Eurypontids) were descended, was the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Heracles. See Pausanias, iii. 1-10; Herodotus, vii. 204 and viii. 131.

Loov vy ywpi~ yarer@ nal dvvdpm trodMopKovupe-
vov to KnXe:topiov, ouoroyjoa tHv Sopterntov
yqv avtois adnoesv, ei tlot Kal avtos Kal of per'
avTov TayvTes ato THS TANGLOY TNYyIS. yevouevwv
5é tay opxiwv! cuvayayovta tous pel" éavtod
diddvae TH pty TriovtTe THY Bactrelav: ovdevds be
KaptTepynoavTos, GANA TavT@V TLOVT@Y, AUTOY ert
Tao. KkataBdayta Kal Teptppavdapevov Ett THY TrO-
Aeioy twaporvtwy dedOetv Kal THY yopay KaTa-
axel, OS pn TavT@OV TLOVTOV.
7AXAG Kaitrep él TovTos OavydlovtTes avTov
ovK amo TtovToU THY oixiay, GAA TOD TaLdds
avTov wpoonyspevoav Evputawytidas, Ste Soxet
m@patos Kvpuray To adyav povapyixov avelvas TIS
Baotrelas, Snuaywyav cai yaptGopevos Tols trov-
Nois. ex b€ THs TovavTNS avécews TOD pev Sjpwou
Opacuvopévov, tav 5 totepov Bacidéwy Ta pmev
amrexOavouéevov te BidlecOas Tovs ToAXNOvs, TA
5é arpds yapuv 7 Se dcOéveray bTropepopmévov, avo-
pla kal atakia catéoye thy Yraprny él wordy
xpovoy' ud hs Kal tov matépa tod Auxovpyou
Bacirevovta cuvéBn TereuTHcat. StrepvKwv yap
aypipayiav tid, payerpich xomide wrnyels arré-
Gave, t® wpecButépw madi IlodvdéeTn Kata-
Nere@v THY BactreElav.
III. 'Avroavovros 5é «al tovtou per' dAlyor —
xpovoy ee Bacirevev, ws mavTes @ovTo, TOY
Avxotpyov> al mpiv ye rnv yuvatca tod abed-

god havepay yevérOat xvovoav éBacirevev. érret
1 dpxtwv with Bekker and Cobet: dpxlwy dnoA0y:a@y.
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related of this Soiis that when he was besieged by the Cleitorians in a rough and waterless place, he agreed to surrender to them the land which he had conquered if he himself and all his men with him should drink from the adjacent spring. After the oaths to this agreement were taken, he assembled his men and offered his kingdom to the one who should not drink; no one of them, however, could forbear, but all of them drank, whereupon Soiis him- self went down last of all to the water, sprinkled his face merely, while the enemy were still at hand to see, and then marched away and retained his ter- ritory, on the plea that all had not drunk.

But although on these grounds he was held in great admiration, his royal line was not named from him, but were called Eurypontids from his son, because Eurypon appears to have been the first king to relax the excessive absolutism of his sway, seeking favour and popularity with the multitude. But in consequence of such relaxation the people grew bold, and succeeding kings were some of them hated for trying to force their way with the multitude, and some were brought low by their desire for favour or through weakness, so that lawlessness and confusion prevailed at Sparta for a long time; and it was ow- ing to this that the father of Lycurgus, a reigning king, lost his life. For as he was trying to separate some rioters, he was stabbed to death with a butcher’s knife, leaving the kingdom to his elder son, Polydectes.

III. Polydectes also died soon afterwards, and then, as was generally thought, the kingdom de- volved upon Lycurgus; and until his brother's wife was known to be with child, he was king. But as soon

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dé todTo tTdytaTa yobeTo, tTHv pev Ractrgéiav amrépyve TOD Tratdos ovcav, avmep appyny yévntat, Thy 5é apxnyv avtTos ws émitporros Stet7re. TovS Sé trav dpdavav Bacidéwv émitpotovs Aaxedat-
2 povio. mpodixouvs! wvopatov. ws Sé 1 yurn mpooémeume xpvpa Kal Rdyous érrotetto, Bov- Nopévn StapBetpar to Bpépos él tO cuvornetv exeivp Bactrdevovts tis Yrdprns, To pev BOs

auTis éuionoe, mpos dé Tov NOYyov avTov ovK
avreitrev, GAN érrawveiv Kat dSéyecOar mpoatrotov-
pevos, ovx égn Seely auBricKovcay avTny Kal
dappaxevopévny SvarvupaiverOar ro capa Kat
Kivduvevery' avT@ yap peAnoew Grras evOus éx-
3 modav éxta. TO yevvynOév. otdtw 5é Trapayayov
axpe Tob TOKOU THY avOpwrov, as nabero TiKTOU-
gay, eloémeue trapédpovs ais wbdiow avTiis
kal pvAaxas, ols jv Tpoctetaypévoy, dav pev
ORAv Tex Of; mapabovvas Tals yuvasgiv, dav Se
é
dppev, kouicas mpos ¢auTov 6 Tu dy tUxn mpdr-
Tov. éTUYXE dé Seurrvoivtos avrod pera TOY
apxovTwy atroxunféey appev' Kal Taphoay ot vir7-
4 pérat TO Taddptov avT@ Kopifovtes. o 5é deEd-
HEVOS, WS AéyEeTAaL, Kal TpPds TOUS TrapoYTasS eiTreOY,
" Baowreds tuiy yéeyover, @ LwapTiatat," KaTéxrL-
vev év TH Baoitixh xopa cal Xaplraov ovopace
51a TO Tovs TWavTas elvat TepLyapeis, ayapévous
avtTov TO dpovnua Kal thy Sixarcorcvyvny. éBaci-
Nevoe S€ phvas oxTw@ TO cvuTrav. Av Se Kal
TaAXa TepiBrETTOS LTO TOY TONTHYV, Kal TeéELo-
1 gpodtkovs with most MSS. and edd.: mwpodicws with A
(corrected), the Doric form.
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7k,

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as he learned of this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her offspring, if it should be male, and himself administered the government only as guardian. Now the guardians of fatherless kings are called " prodikoi'' by the Lacedaemonians. Presently, however, the woman made secret over- tures to him, proposing to destroy her unborn babe on condition that he would marry her when he was a king of Sparta; and although he detested her character, he did not reject her proposition, but pretended to approve and accept it. He told her, however, that she need not use drugs to produce a miscarriage, thereby injuring her health and en- dangering her life, for he would see to it himself that as soon as her child was born it should be put out of the way. In this manner he managed to bring the woman to her full time, and when he learned that she was in labour, he sent attendants and watchers for her delivery, with orders, if a girl should be born, to hand it over to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, no matter what he was doing. And it came to pass that as he was at supper with the chief magistrates, a male child was born, and his servants brought the little boy to him. He took it in his arms, as we are told, and said to those who were at table with him, " A king is born unto you, O men of Sparta;"' then he laid it down in the royal seat and named it Charilaiis, or People's Joy, because all present were filled with joy, admiring as they did his lofty spirit and _ his righteousness. And so he was king only eight months in all. But on other

accounts also he was revered by his fellow-citizens, and more than

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ves éyévovTo TOY ws éemitpoT@ Bacréws cal Ba-

‘ > 4 ” , e > » ‘\
airuxny éEovaiay éxovte weOopéver oi 51° apethy
MpocéxYovTes avT@ Kal trovety COédovTes EToL MWS
TO TPOTTATTOMEVOD.
"Hy 8€ te nal 16 POovody cal mpos thy abEnow
6vT. vém Tetp@pevoy evictac0al, pmddtoTa pep
ot auryyevets Kal oixetos THS TOD BactXéws pnTpos
e A ,
UBpicbas Soxovons, o 5é dderpos adtis Aewvidas
Kat Opacitepov tote TO AvKovpyp dodopnGeis,
vreitev ws ebdeln cadas pédAXAovTa Baclrevery
> 7 ef ‘ \ f
avtov, wmovotay did0vs Kal mpoxatarapPBavev
A Q A ” 4 A
S:aBorn Tov AvKovpyor, et te cupBain to Bacr-
a A , le)

Nel mabeiv, ws ewuBeBourevxoTta. TotovTor Sé
Ties Aoyot Kal Tapa THs yuvaiKos éEedoitwr:
éf ols Bapéws hépwv Kal Sedorxas TO adnrov,
éyum uyely arrodnuia thy vrdvotay, Kal TwavN-
OFjvat péxpis Av o adergidods ev nAtkia yevopevos
mPae BEX PU e gob ALE YEvOES
Texvocn diddoxov THs Bacinelas.
IV. Odtws amdpas mp@tov pev ets Kpnrny

apixeto: Kai Tas avToOs TodTElas KaTavoncas
A s
Kal avyyevopevos Tois mpwrtevovor xata do€ap
dvipaot, Ta ev eCnrwoe xal wapéd\aBe Tey
vopwv, a> olxade petoiowy Kal ypnodpevos, Erte
5S av Kxateppovncev. &va Sé tav vomlopévor
> a “A \ A 4 ,
éxet copay Kat oditix@v yapiTt Kal ditia
4 > / > \ 4 4
meioas améoterev eis THY Yraptnv, OdrnTa,
Tointyny pev SoxodvTa AUpLKaVY pEA@V Kal TTpd-

oxXna Thy TéxyNny TavTHY TeTroLnpEévoV, Epyp Sé
admep ol xpdticton Tav vopolerav Stampatto-

those who obeyed him because he was guardian of the king and had royal power in his hands, were those who clave to him for his virtues and were ready and willing to do his bidding.

‘ There was a party, however, which envied him and sought to impede the growing power of so young a man, especially the kinsmen and friends of the queen-mother, who thought she had been treated _with insolence. Her brother, Leonidas, actually railed at Lycurgus once quite boldly, assuring him that he knew well that Lycurgus would one day be king, thereby promoting suspicion and paving the way for the accusation, in case any thing happened to the king, that he had plotted against his life. Some such talk was set in circulation by the queen-mother also, in consequence of which Lycurgus was sorely troubled and fearful of what might be in store for him. He therefore determined to avoid suspicion by travelling abroad, and _ to continue his wanderings until his nephew should come of age and beget a son to succeed him on the throne.

IV. With this purpose, he set sail, and came first to Crete. Here he studied the various forms of government and made the acquaintance of their most distinguished men. Of some things he heartily approved, and adopted some of their laws, that he might carry them home with him and put them in use; for some things he had only contempt. One of the men regarded there as wise statesmen was Thales, whom Lycurgus persuaded, out of favour and friendship, to .go on a mission to Sparta. Now Thales passed as a lyric poet, and screened himself behind this art, but in reality he did the work of

/
2 pevov. Aoyor yap Hoav at @dal pos evTreiPerav
4 a
kal opovotay avakAnttkol, dia perov dua xa
pvOpav morv TO KOomov éyovTwY Kal KaTaoTa-
f. 4
TLKOV, @V aKpowpevot KaTeTpaivovto AEANOOTAS °

\ »# N a A , a a
ta 70n nat cuvmeKxeodvto Te Ento TOY Kadov
éx THs émtywpialovans ToTe mpos GAANHXOUS
a 4 XOP I A p f
KkaxoOupias, wate TpoTroy Tia T@ AvKovpy@
TpooovoTrovety THY Traidevoly AUT@V ExELVvoV.
a re) 4
3 ‘Amo dé THs Kpnrns 0 Auxodpyos él ’Aciav
émrevoe, BovrAcpevos, ws AéyeTat, Tais Kpntixais
diaitats, evtedéaw ovaais Kal avornpais, Tas
> \ / \ , ad ? N
Iwvixas modvtedeias nal Tpudas, @oTEp LaTpos
cwHpaciw vylewols UrovAa Kal vorwdn, TapaBa-
A n 4
AwVv atrobewphcat tHv Stapopay tav PBiwv xal
4 TOV ToNTEL@V. éxet S€ Kal Tots ‘Omnpou trotn-
A le) ° a
pac évTvy@v wpaTov, ws EolKe, Tapa ToS
, an
éxyovors tois KpeopvAouv Siatnpovpévots, Kat
KaTlowv év avtois THS Wpos HOovyY Kal axpaciay
A \
StatpuBhs TO wWodsTixoy Kal travdevtTLKOVY ovK
éXdttTovos aftov amovdns avapmepiypévov, eypa-
rato mpo8vpws Kal cvvnyayev ws Sedpo Koma.
qv yap tis non Sdka Tav éra@v auavpda Trapa
a ¢ > / \ > \ S Ul
tois “EXAnow, exéxtnvto Sé ov TroAXOl pépn TLV,
omopdony THS Toincews, ws eTvxXeE, Svahepopéevns:
yvopiunv 5€ adtnv cal pddtoTta TpwTOS erroince
Avxovpyos.
b J, \ \ ‘ e \ > 4 Q
5 <Alyvarrios 5€ Kai mpos avTovs adixéoOar tov
Avxodpyov olovtat, cai Thy ato TOV adXwV yevav
Tov payiuov Ssidxpiow pardiota Oavpacavta

one of the mightiest lawgivers. For his odes were so many exhortations to obedience and harmony, and their measured rhythms were permeated with ordered tranquillity, so that those who listened to them were insensibly softened in their dispositions, insomuch that they renounced the mutual hatreds which were so rife at that time, and dwelt together in a common pursuit of what was high and noble. Thales, therefore, after a fashion, was a forerunner in Sparta of Lycurgus and his discipline.

From Crete, Lycurgus sailed to Asia, with the

desire, as we are told, of comparing with the Cretan civilization, which was simple and severe, that of the TIonians, which was extravagant and luxurious, just as a physician compares with healthy bodies those which are unsound and sickly ; he could then study the difference in their modes of life and forms of government. There too, as it would appear, he made his first acquaintance with the poems of Homer, which were preserved among the posterity of Creophylus; and when he saw that the political and disciplinary lessons contained in them were worthy of no less serious attention than the incentives to pleasure and license which they supplied,: he eagerly copied and compiled them in order to take them home with him. For these epics already had a certain faint reputation among the Greeks, and a few were in possession of certain portions of them, as the poems were carried here and there by chance; but Lycurgus was the very first to make them really known.

The Aegyptians think that Lycurgus visited them also, and so ardently admired their separation of the military from the other classes of society that he

fo.)

peteveyxeiy eis THY Yraptnv, kal ywpiocavta tovs Bavavaous Kal yetpotéxvas aoretiov ws ad7-Oa Tb wodtTevpa Kal KaSapov atrodeiEat. tadta pev otv Alyumrriow gor Kal tov “EAAnuiKoV cuyypadhéwy paptupovow: Ste dé cal ArBunv cat 1Bnpiav érndOev o Aviodpyos Kal mepl thy "Ivdcany wravnbels trois Tupvocogiotais wpirn-aev, ovdéva my _Aptotoxparn TOV ae Yraptiatny eipnxota ywac Koper.

V. Of 5é AaxeSacpovcon tov Auxodpyov €1 0-Oovd amovra Kal peTeréutTrovTo TOANGKLS, WS TOUS pev Bacirels Gvopa kal Tyny, adrro 6€ udev dea-dépov tav TodAwY exovTas, év éxeivp Sé Piow Hyepovicny Kal Sivas dvOpatrwv aywyov odaay. ov pv ovde tots Baotredouw Hv aBovANTOS 7 mapovoia tov avdpos, aAX’ HAMLCoV exeivou cup-

mapovtos Hrrov UBpifover ypjoOat Tots toAXois.
éravehOav ovv mpos ottw SdiaKewpévovs evOvs
éreyelpe Ta TapovtTa Kuively Kal peOroTavae THY
TOMTELAY, OS TOV KATA MEpos vommwY ovdeyv Epyov
ovdé Sheros, El wn TLS WoTEP THaTL TrOYNP@ Kal
yéuovTe TavTodaTav voonudtaoy Thy UrapYovoay
éxtntas kal petaBadav xpaci bro happdcov
kal xaSappov érépas dpketas xawns Svairns.
Stavonbels 58 tadta mp@tov ev arednunoer eis
Aerhovs: xal TO Oem Ovcas Kal ypnodpevos
érravndle tov SraBontoy éexeivov ypnopov xopt-
Cov, @ Oeodiry pev avrov y IlvOia wpocettre Kat
Oeov padrov 4} avOpwrov, edvouias Sé ypytovte
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~~.

transferred it to Sparta, and by removing mechanics and artisans from participation in the government, _ made his civil polity really refined and pure. At any rate, this assertion of the Aegyptians is confirmed by some Greek historians. But that Lycurgus visited Libya and Iberia also, and that he wandered over India and had conferences with the Gymnosophists, no one has stated, so far as I know, except Aristo- crates the son of Hipparchus, the Spartan.

V. The Lacedaemonians missed Lycurgus sorely, and sent for him many times. They felt that their kings were such in name and station merely, but in everything else were nothing better than their subjects, while in him there was a nature fitted to lead, and a power to make men follow him. How- ever, not even the kings were averse to having him at home, but hoped that in his presence their subjects would treat them with less insolence. Returning, then, to a people thus disposed, he at once undertook to change the existing order of things and revolutionize the civil polity. He was * convinced that a partial change of the laws would be of no avail whatsoever, but that he must proceed as a physician would with a patient who was debilitated and full of all sorts of diseases; he must reduce and alter the existing temperament by means of drugs and purges, and introduce a new and different regimen. Full of this determination, he -first made a journey to Delphi, and after sacrificing to the god and consulting the oracle, he returned with that famous response in which the Pythian priestess addressed him as “ beloved of the gods, and rather god than man,” and said that the god had granted

Sidovas xal xataweiv &¢n tov Oeov %) wodv
KpatioTn TOV GAAWY ETTAL TOMTELODV.

"ErrapOels 88 tovrots mpoonyeto! tots apic-
Tous Kal cuvehdrrecOar Trapexdre, cpvda Srare-
youevos Tols dirows mpOTov, celta odTws Kata
puxpov aTTOMEVOS TAELOVOY Kal cuMLaTAS él THY
mpakiv. ws & o Kalpos Ke, TpidKovTa TOUS Tpa-
Tous éKéXevoe peTa TOV STTAWY Ewley Eis ayopay
mpoeNOeiv éxmrnEews vera cal poBov mpos Tovs
avtimpatrovTas. wv elxoot Tovs émipavertaTous
“Eppummos avéypaye tov S€ pdaddwoTa Tov
Avxovpyou épywv kowwvjcavta TavTwv Kal oup-
TpayLaTevaapevov TA TrEpl TOUS vopovs ’ApOwid-
dav ovopafovorv. apyopévns S€ THS Tapaxns o
Baotreds Xapiraos hoBnbeis ws én’ adtov 6Ans
THs mpdkews ocumotaperns, Katépuye mpos THY
Xarxioxov: elta trewoOels nat AaBwv EpKous
avéoTn Kal petelye TOV TpaTTopévav, Pvoet
Tpaos av as TOU Kal NéyeTaL cUUBacLrNEVOYTA
Tov ApyéXaov avt@ Tpos Tovs éyxaptdlovtas Tov
veavioxov eitrety: “las 8 av ein Xapiraos avip
ayaos, ds ovdé Tois Tovnpots yareTrOs EoTL;””
TIXevovev S5é Kawvoropoupévwy bd Tob Av-
KoUpyoUu mpwTov hv Kal péytotov 7 KaTAaoTAOLS
TOV yepovTar, jv dynow o Iddtwv TH TeV Bact-
éwy apy preyparvovan myGeioav Kal yevouéevny
ico wnpov es Ta péytota owrTnpiay aya Kal
1 xpoohyero Cobet : mpootye.

his prayer for good laws, and promised him a constitution which should be the best in the world.

Thus encouraged, he tried to bring the chief men of Sparta over to his side, and exhorted them to put their hands to the work with him, explaining his designs secretly to his friends at first, then little by little engaging more and uniting them to attempt the task. And when the time for action came, he ordered thirty of the chief men to go armed into the market-place at break of day, to strike conster- nation and ,terror into those of the opposite party. The names of twenty of the most eminent among them have been recorded by Hermippus; but the man who had the largest share in all the under- takings of Lycurgus and co-operated with him in the enactment of his laws, bore the name of Arthmiadas. When the tumult began, King Charilaiis, fearing that the whole affair was a conspiracy against himself, fled for refuge to the Brazen House;! but he was soon convinced of his error, and having exacted oaths for his safety from the agitators, left his place of refuge, and even joined them in their enterprise, being of a gentle and yielding disposition, so much so, indeed, that Archelaiis, his royal colleague, is said to have remarked to those who were extolling the young king, “ How can Charilaiis be a good man, when he has no severity even for the bad?”

Among the many innovations which Lycurgus made, the first and most important was his institu- tion of a senate, or Council of Elders, which, as Plato says,? by being blended with the “feverish ” government of the kings, and by having an equal vote with them in matters of the highest importance,

1 A temple of Athena. 2 Laws, p. 691 e.

awdporvvny Tapacyeiv. aiwpoupévn yap 7
ToNrtTela Kal aToKNivovca voV pev os TOUS Bact-
reis emi tupavvida, viv S& @s TO WAHBOS ert
Snpoxpatiav, olov Eppa THY TOY yEepovTaY apynV
év péow Oepévn kal icoppomncaca thy achanre-
oTaTny Taki rye Kal KaTAOTACLY, Gel TOV OKT@
Kal elxoot yepovTwy Trois pév Bactdedoe TpooTe-
Gepévwy Goov ayvtiBivac mpos Snpoxpartiav,
avis 5é bmép tod wn yevéoOar tupavvida tov
Sjpov dvappwvvivtav. Ttocovtous b€ dno. KaTta-
orabjvat tovs yépovtas ‘Aptototédys, OTe
TpidKovra ToD T POTWV pera Avxovpyou ‘yevo-
pévov dvo Thy mpakuv eyeateMtrov amrodeAtdoav-
Tes. 6 6€ 2 paipos 3 apyins ono TogoUTOUS
yever Oar Tors TAS yvoOpns peta xovtas. ein 8 av
Tt kal TO TOD apiO pod 50 éBoopdbos TeTpade
TodhaThactacbeians AM OTENOUMEVOD, Kal dt tots
avrob péperwy igos @y pera TH éEd8a TENELOS
EoTLV. enol dé Soxet padora, TocoUTOUS amro-
SeiEar Tovs yépovTas émras ot mavtes elev Tpid~
KovTa, Tots OxT® Kal elxoae Toiv Svoiy Bacthéow
mpooTBepévorr.

VI. Obra dé repli TAUTHY éoTovdace THY apxny
) Auxodpyos Gore pavteiav ékx Achpav Kopioas
meph AUTHS, Hv p prtpav Kanovow. yer dé obras:
“ Avds SurAXaviou! Kab APavas ZuANavias * iepov
iSpuadpevov, guras purd£avra Kat oBas oBa-
Eavra, tpidxovta ‘yepovciay abv dpxaryérais
KaTaotTnoavTa, wpas é£€ Mpas dmeddaley petakv

1 SvAAavlov, ZvAdavlas Bekker adopie the corrections of Bryan to ‘EAAaviov and ‘EAAavias.

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brought safety and due moderation into counsels of state. For before this the civil polity was veering and unsteady, inclining at one time to follow the kings towards tyranny, and at another to follow the multitude towards democracy; but now, by making the power of the senate a sort of ballast for the ship of state and putting her on a steady keel, it achieved the safest and the most orderly arrangement, since the twenty-eight senators always took the side of the kings when it was a question of curbing democracy, and, on the other hand, always strengthened the people to withstand the encroachments of tyranny. The number of the senators was fixed at twenty- eight because, according to Aristotle, two of the thirty original associates of Lycurgus abandoned the enterprise from lack of courage. But Sphaerus says that this was originally the number of those who shared the confidence of Lycurgus. Possibly there is some virtue in this number being made up of seven multiplied by four, apart from the fact that, being equal to the sum of its own factors, it is the next perfect number after six. But in my own opinion, Lycurgus made the senators of just that number in order that the total might be thirty when the two kings were added to the eight and twenty.

VI. So eager was Lycurgus for the establishment of this form of government, that he obtained an oracle from Delphi about it, which they call a “rhetra.”” And this is the way it runs: “ When thou hast built a temple to Zeus Syllanius and Athena Syllania, divided the people into ‘ phylai’ and into ‘obai,’ and established a senate of thirty mem- bers, including the ‘ archagetai,’ then from time to

BaBuras te xal Kvaxiovos, obTas eta pepe Te
kak adgioracbar dap 6é Tay Kupiay Hyev Kat
KpaTos. éy TOUTOLS TO Hey guras puraga wal
@Bas wBd&ar Steretv dott nal xataveipar Td
beled els peploas, @y Tas pev Aaa tas 6é
@Bas ™ poo nryopevKer. apyaryéras 5€ ot Baorreis
AéyovTat, To é€ amedra ety exxdnorate ore THY
apynv kal THY aitiav Tis moduTelas els TOV T1v-
Orov aviyfe. Thy dé BaBvxav Xeipappos," Kal Tov
Kvaxiava viv Otvobvra T™ pocaryopevovaty" Apt:
oToTeAns Sé TOV pev Kvaxidva TOTA MOD, Thv sé
BaBvxav yepupay. év péow oe TOUTED Tas é€K-
KANo Las HYOV, OUTE Tag Tddev ovcay ouTE arANS
TLVOS KATACKEUTS. ovey yap weTo TadTa Tpos
evBovarcay elvat, ParXov dé Brdarrev, prvapwdets
amrepyatoueva, kal yauvous hpovnuate Kev Tas
d:avoias TOV TULT OpEvopEVvorr, Stray eis dydNpata
Kal ypagas Tpooknvia Gedtpav atéyas Bov-
AeuTn ploy HoKnpevas TEPLTTOS éxxdnovalovTes
aTroBheTaot. Tou oe m0 ous a0 poraBevros ét-

mety pev ovdevl yvounv TOV Adrwv edeito, THY S
v6 TOV YyepovTay Kal TOY Bacihéwv TpoteGeioay
émexpivat KUptos HW o Siipos. dorepov pévToL TOV
ToAA@Y adhatpécet Kal 7 poabécet TAS yopas bia-
otpepovtav Kat mapaBialopeven, TloAvdwpos Kal
®corroptros of Bactneis Tabe TH pytpa 7 apEve-
ypayray: “Ac be o Koay O Sa pos édovto, TOUS
m pea Buryevéas kal dpxayéras amoaTaThpas Tpev,”
TOUT éoTL MN KUpODV, GAN Grws adiotacBar Kal

1 Xeluappos this, or some other later name, is thought to have fallen from the text by Sintenis?, after E.. Curtius, Peloponnesu3, ii. p. 315; Coraés and Bekker have rhy 5¢ BaBixav nal roy Kvaxiwva, with the MSS.

time ‘appellazein’ between Babyca! and Cnacion,! and there introduce and rescind measures; but the people must have the deciding voice and the power.” In these clauses, the “ phylai” and the “ obai” refer to divisions and distributions of the people into clans and phratries, or brotherhoods; by “ archagetai” the kings are designated, and “apellazein ”» means to assemble the people, with a reference to Apollo, the Pythian god, who was the source and author of the polity. ‘The Babyca is now called Cheimarrus, and the Cnacion Oenus; but Aristotle says that Cnacion is a river, and Babyca a bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls nor any other kind of Building for the purpose. For by such things Lycurgus thought good counsel was _ not promoted, but rather discouraged, since the serious purposes of an assembly were rendered foolish and futile by vain thoughts, as they gazed upon statues and paintings, or scenic embellishments, or extrava- gantly decorated roofs of council halls. When the multitude was thus assembled, no one of them was permitted to make a motion, but the motion laid before them by the senators and kings could be accepted or rejected by the people. After- wards, however, when the people by additions and subtractions perverted and distorted the sense of motions laid before them, Kings Polydorus and Theo- pompus inserted this clause into the rhetra: “ But if the people should adopt a distorted motion, the senators and kings shall have power of adjourn- ment’; that is, should not ‘ratify the vote, but dismiss outright and dissolve the session, on the

1 Probably names of small tributaries of the river Eurotas.

Siadrvery Tov Sjpov, os éextpéwovTa Kal peratrot-

5 obvTa THY yuouny Tapa TO BéATLcTOV. éemrecoay
&é «al avrol tHv TOMY as TOD Beod TadTa Tpoc-
Ttdccovtos, ws tou Tuptaios émipéuvntae did
TOUTWY: 7

:
®olBou axovoavtes TvOwvdbev ofxad éverxav
pavteias te Oeod nal Teréevt’ érrea®
apyew pev Bovrts Oeotiunrovs Bacidjas,
olor pérer Lapras ipepdecoa Tons,
mpeaRuras Te yépovtas, émeta, dé Snpotas
avépas,
evOeiais pritpats advratraperBopévovs.
VIT. Odr@ 76 troditevpa tod AvKovpyou pi-
Eavtos, duws axpatov ett thy odtyapyiay Kar
ioxupay oi pet avTov opayTes oTTapyaoay Kar
Oupoupévny, os gnow o IIkdrov, olov ydadov
3 a 3 A \ “A > , , l4
éuBarXovow avTh tHv tov édopav Svvapmey, erect
Tou padioTa TpldKovTa Kal éxaTov peta Avxodp-
yov mpaTtwy tav mept "EXaTtov épopwy xatacta-
2 Oévrwyv émt @eorourov Bacidevovtos: bv Kat
gacw bro THs éavtod yuvasKos overdsfopevov os
éXdTTwo TapadwacovtTa Tois Tato THY Bactréiav
} 9 a
mapédaBe, “Meilw pév ovv,’ ettreiv, “dow ypoviw -
, 9 A ” \ » > le)
Tépav. TO yap dytt TO ayav amoBandovdoa peTa
le) , A

tov POovou Siépuye tov xivduvov, date wn TAabely

ground that it was perverting and changing the
motion contrary to the best interests of the state.
And they were. actually able to persuade the city
that the god authorized this addition to the rhetra,
as Tyrtaeus reminds us in these verses :—
' Phoebus Apollo's the mandate was which they
brought from Pytho,
Voicing the will of the god, nor were his words
unfulfilled :
Sway in the council and honours divine belong to
the princes ‘
Under whose care has been set Sparta’s city of
charm ;
Second to them are the elders, and next come the

men of the people
Duly confirming by vote unperverted decrees."
VII. Although Lycurgus thus tempered his civil polity, nevertheless the oligarchical element in it was still unmixed and dominant, and his successors, seeing it "swelling and foaming,' as Plato says,} 'imposed as it were a curb upon it, namely, the power of the ephors." It was about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus that the first ephors, Elatus and his colleagues, were appointed, in the reign of Theopompus. This king, they say, on being reviled by his wife because the royal power, when he handed it over to his sons, would be less than when he received it, said: " Nay, but greater, in that it will last longer." And in fact, by renouncing excessive claims and freeing itself from jealous hate, royalty at Sparta escaped its perils, so that the Spartan kings did not experience the fate which the

1 Laws, p. 692 a.

& Mecomviot xat 'Apyetot tovs trap avtois Ba-
airels eSpacav, pndev évdodvar pnde yartaoa
ths éEovolas émt To Snuotixov eOedXnoavtas. 5
cat padr.tota tTHy AuKovpyou codiay Kal mpovotay
érroince havepay eis Tas Meconviwr xal 'Apyelwv,
auyyevav Kal yetover, Snuwv cal Baciiéov ord-
oes Kal KaxkoToNTElas adopaow, of THY iowv
am' apyis tetuynnores, ev 66 TO KAHp@ Kal Tréov
éyew éKxetvav dofartes, ov émt mov ypovory
evdaipovncav, adr' BBpe. pev Trav Bactréwv, ov«
3 4 \ A Ww A VA
evrrevOeia Sé TOY byAwY, TA KADETTaTA cUYTApa-
4 a a) e > A 9 a
Eavres GecEav Gri Ociov Hv ws adnOas evTvynpa
Tols Lwapriatats Oo THY ToNLTELaY appoodpEVvos
kal Kepdoas Tap avtois. tabta pev ovv DoTepov.
VIII. Aevrepoy d€ trav Avxovpyou todTevpd-
Tov Kal veavixwratov 6 THS ys avabacpos éoTe.
Sewis yap ovons advwparias Kal ToNA@Y aKTn-
Hovey Kal arropav éripepopéevwv TH TOA, TOD Se
mwrovTOU TavTaTacLW Eis OAiyoUS TUVEppUNKOTOS,
bBpww nai POovov cal Kaxovpytay nal tpudnv cat
Ta Tovtay ére mpecRutepa Kai peitw voonpara
WoNTelas, TAOVTOV Kal Treviav, éFeXavvwV, cuve-
4 @ 9 /
Tee THY Xwpav arracay eis pécov Olvtas ef
apx7ns avaddcacbai, cat Civ pet' AAAHAOY Atrav-
Tas opareis xal icoxAnpous Tois Biows yevopuevous,
TO O€ TPWTEiOY ApETH mETLOVTAS, WS GANS érép~

\ (4 > wv “n 9 9 4
Mpos Etepov ovK ovans Stadopas ovdé avicoTnTos,
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LYCURGUS

Messenians and Argives inflicted upon their kings, who were unwilling to yield at all or remit their power in favour of the people. And this brings into the clearest light the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus, when we contrast the factions and mis- government of the peoples and kings of Messenia and Argos, who were kinsmen and neighbours of the Spartans. They were on an equality with the Spartans in the beginning, and in the allotment of territory were thought to be even better off than they, and yet their prosperity did not last long, but what with the insolent temper of their kings and the unreasonableness of their peoples, their established institutions were confounded, and they made it clear that it was in very truth a divine blessing which the Spartans had enjoyed in the man who framed and tempered their civil polity for them. These events, however, were of later date.

VIII. A second, and a very bold political measure of Lycurgus, in his redistribution of the land. For there was a dreadful inequality in this regard, the city was heavily burdened with indigent and help- less people, and wealth was wholly concentrated in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to banish insolence and envy and crime and luxury, and those yet more deep-seated and afflictive dis- eases of the state, poverty and wealth, he persuaded his fellow-citizens to make one parcel of all their territory and divide it up anew, and to live with one another on a basis of entire uniformity and equality in the means of subsistence, seeking pre- éminence through virtue alone, assured that there was no other difference or inequality between man

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Q 2
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

mrny bony aicypayv royos opife: kal Karov
ET aLVos.
"Emayov 5€ TO AOyo TO Epyov Evetwe THY jeV
GAAnv ois teptotxots Aaxwvixny TpLopupious
xAnpous, THY Sé eis TO dot THY YrdpTnY cuvTeE-
Notcay evakioytAlovs: ToTovTOL yap éyévorTo
KNApor Yraptiatav: éevoe S€ dace tov pev Av-
xovpyov éEaxioxidlous velwat, tpioxerdtovs Se

peTa Tadta tpocGecivar IloAvdwpov: ot 8€ Tous
pev yuicets TOY evaxicxtriwy TodTOY, Tovs fe
hpicers Auxovpyov. o dé KARpos HY éxdotou
ToaovTos wate arropopay dépev dvdpi pev éEBSo-
pncovra KplOdv pedipvous, yuvakl dé SHdexa,
Kal Tav vypOv KapTra@v dvadoyws TO TAGs.
apkécey yap @eTO ToTOUTOY avTois, THs Tpohys
mpos eveFiay Kal vryeiay ixavins, dddov bé pu7-
Sevds Senoopevors. Néyeras & avrov vortepov
TOTE Ypove TH Xepay Srepxopevov é& drrobnias
apte TeBe pio pevny, OpavTa TOUS Twpovs mapan-
Anrous Kat opanels, pevdiacat, Kal etrety T pos
TOUS TapovTas os 4» Aaxouny paiverar naca
TONNY aderpav elvas veworl VEVEMNMEVOD.
IX. ’Emeye:pnoas 5é «al 7a, émuTha Scaspeiv,
67WS TaVTaTracL, éFédou TO avicov Kal aved-
panrov, evel Karem as e@pa mpoadexopuévous TY
QVTUKPUS adatpeow, érépa mepiTprOev o6@ Kal
KaTeToMTEvaaTo THY ev TOUTOLS | wheovefiav.
‘Tp@rtov pep yap dxupwcas ita vopec pa pu-
cobv Kal apryupoby joe xphiod al T@ atdnp@
ampocérake: xal tovrm d€ amd todXoU otabpod
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LYCURGUS

and man than that which was established by blame
for base actions and praise for good ones.
Suiting the deed to the word, he distributed the rest
of the Laconian land among the “ perioeci,” or free
provincials, in thirty thousand lots, and that which
belonged to the city of Sparta, in nine thousand
lots, to as many genuine Spartans. But some say
that Lycurgus distributed only six thousand lots
among the Spartans, and that three thousand were
afterwards added by Polydorus; others still, that
Polydorus added half of the nine thousand to the
half distributed by Lycurgus. The lot of each was
large enough to produce annually seventy bushels of
barley for a man and twelve for his wife, with a
proportionate amount of wine and oil. Lycurgus
thought that a lot of this size would be sufficient for
them, since they needed sustenance enough to pro-
mote vigour and health of body, and nothing else.
And it is said that on returning from a journey some

time afterwards, as he traversed the land just after the harvest, and saw the heaps of grain standing parallel and equal to one another, he smiled, and said to them that were by: “ All Laconia looks like a family estate newly divided among many brothers.”

IX. Next, he undertook to divide up their movable property also, in order that every vestige of unevenness and inequality might be removed ; and when he saw that they could not bear to have it taken from them directly, he took another course, and overcame their avarice by political devices. In the first place, he withdrew all gold and silver money from currency, and ordained the use of iron money only. Then to a great weight and mass of this he gave a trifling.

kat éyxouv Suvayw orLynv edexer, dare béxa pVav aporBny an oOnxns TE peyarns éy otKia SeicOat Kxal Levyous dyovTos. TOUTOU de Kupe-Dévros é&érecev adiaenpareov yen TOANA THS Aaxedaipovos. Tis yap v1] KET TEL cweddev i] Sapodoxeiv v7] amroarepely H apirdavev 6 pare KaTaxpirar Suvatov Hv pnre Kent ho Oa Cndwrar, GAXa pnde Kataxowat AvarTenes: oFer yap, ws NéyeTa, Star vpou atS7pou TO TTOpCo LAL Kaga-aBéoas adeideTo THY els TaNANa xpelav Kat v-vapy, adpavobs Kal Suaépyou ‘yevopuevov.
Mera 6€ tovTO TaY axXpnoTey Kat Tepioo ay ETFOLELTO TEXVOY Eevndaciav. émehAov é grou Kai pndevos eEeXavvortos at TwoAXal T@ Kow@ vopic-pare ouvecrreccio bat, bidBeaw TOV Epyav ouK eXov-TOV. TO yap atdnpodbv a ary arytpov ovK HY T pos TOUS GNXovs * "EXAnvas odd’ elye TL KATAYENMOMEVOD, DOTE ovee mpiacOat Te TaV Eevixe Kat po-TKD Dmriipxev, ovd eioemNet papros EUTOpPLKOS els TOUS Acpevas, ovoe erréBawe Ths AMaxwvixhs ov copiarns hoyon, ov paves GrYUPTLKOS, oux ETALPOV Tpopevs, ou Xpvo ay Tess OUK apyupav Kaddwmig waTwv Snuwoupyos, are on vopic paros ovK 6vTOS. AANA OUTMS arrepnpwbeia a Kara px pov v) Tpugy TOV Swmupouvtav Kai Tpepovt@y autn de QuTns évapaivero Kal Tdetov ovdev 7 Hv Tots TONG KEKTNMEVOLS, oOoV OvK exovons ELS peérov Tis ev-Topias, arr éyxar@nodopn pevns Kat apyovons.
d10 Kal Ta Tpoxetpa TOV TKEVaY Kal avayKxaia

Taira, KAwripes Kal Sippot xal tparelaz, Ben-
TloTa Trap avtois édnutoupyeito, Kal KoOwy o
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value, so that ten minas' worth! required a large store-room in the house, and a yoke of cattle to transport it. When this money obtained currency, many sorts of iniquity went into exile from Lacedaemon. For who would steal, or receive as a bribe, or rob, or plunder that which could neither be concealed, nor possessed with satisfaction, nay, nor even cut to pieces with any profit? For vinegar was used, as we are told, to quench the red-hot iron, robbing it of its temper and making it worthless for any other purpose, when once it had become brittle and hard to work.

In the next place, he banished the unnecessary and superfluous arts. And even without such banish- ment most of them would have departed with the old coinage, since there was no sale for their pro- ducts. For the iron money could not be carried into the rest of Greece, nor had it any value there, but was rather held in ridicule. It was not possible, therefore, to buy any foreign wares or bric-a-brac ; no merchant-seamen brought freight into their harbours; no rhetoric teacher set foot on Laconian soil, no vagabond soothsayer, no keeper of harlots, no gold- or silver-smith, since there was no money there. But luxury, thus gradually deprived of that which stimulated and supported it, died away of itself, and men of large possessions had no advantage over the poor, because their wealth found no public outlet, but had to be stored up at home in idleness. In this way it came about that such common and necessary utensils as bedsteads, chairs, and tables were most excellently made among them, and the Laconian "kothon," or drinking-cup, was in very high repute

"1 About £40, or $200.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Aaxwvixds evdoxipet pdrduora mpos Tas oTpareias,

5 ds gyot Kprtias. Ta yap dvarykains Tivopeva.
TOV vdatov Kab dvowmobvra Thy dw aexpur-
TeTO TH Kpoa, Kat Tou Gonrepots T POT KOTTOVTOS
évtos Kal Tpoataxopevov Tots apBoot, cadapw-
TEpov émrnaiate T@ oT Omar TO TLVOMEVOY. aittos
5é Kal ToUTwY Oo vopoberns: annrdary Wevor yap at
Snpsoupyol TOV axpnotwy éy Trois davayKaiots

em edeLKVUYTO THY KaddTEx via.
X. "Ere 56 parrov ériBécbar rF Tpupy Kal
TOV Cinrov aperérbat Tou TAoUtOU Savondeis, 7a TO
TpuToV modiTeupa Kal Kaddto TOV CTE, THY TOV
cvoottioy KatacKeuny, wore Sevmveiv per' aXAn-
hov ouveevTas éml xowvots xal retaypévots drypors
ral oitioss, olxoe dé un StactacOar KataKrduvévras
eis OTPWOLVAS ToduTeeis Kal Tpamelas, Xepal
Snpoupya@v Kal paryetporv UTO OKOTOS, WoTrEp
2 adndaya Coa, TLALVOMEVOUS, kal Siapdeipovras
dpa rots nOear Ta To"aTa, ™ pos macay er Oupiav
averpeva Kal wrANo horny, paKpav pev Drrvev, Oep-
pay dé AovTpwY, TOAAS dé jouxias «al TpoTrov
TLVa, voonhelas caOnpepwns Seouerny. péya pev ouv
Kal TOUTO 7, petfov Sé ro Tov mAOvTOY anrov,
as onor Geoppacros, Kal dimhourov amepya-
cacGat Th KOLOTNTL TOV Seiya Kal Th TWepi
3 THY Slarray EVTEAEIA. 'Yphals yap ovK Ay ovde
aTroNAVa Ls OVdE pis Gres i eriderkis THS TODS
TapacKenijs, él To aro Selrvov Te TEVNTe TOU
mXovatou Babilovtos: dare Tobro 57) TO Opudov-
pevoy éy povn TeV U0 TOV HAtov TOAEOV TH
Ladptn Breve Oar, ruprov 6vra Tov wrovTov Kal
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mY
LYCURGUS

for usefulness among soldiers in active service, as Critias tells us. For its colour concealed the dis-

agreeable appearance of the water which they were —

often compelled to drink, and its curving lips caught the muddy sediment and held it inside, so that only the purer part reached the mouth of the drinker.

For all this they had to thank their lawgiver ; since

their artisans were now freed from useless tasks, and
displayed the beauty of their workmanship in objects
of constant and necessary use. |
X. With a view to attack luxury still more and remove the thirst for wealth, he introduced his third and most exquisite political device, namely, the institution of common messes, so that they might eat with one another in companies, of common and specified foods, and not take their meals at home, reclining on costly couches at costly tables, deliver- ing themselves into the hands of servants and

\. cooks to be fattened in the dark, like voracious

animals, and ruining not only their characters but ‘ also their bodies, by surrendering them to every desire and all sorts of surfeit, which call for long sleeps, hot baths, abundant rest, and, as it were, daily nursing and tending. This was surely a great achievement, but it was a still greater one to make wealth “an object of no desire,’ as Theophrastus says, and even “unwealth,”! by this community of meals and simplicity of diet. For the rich man could neither use nor enjoy nor even see or display his abundant means, when he went to the same meal as the poor man; so that it was in Sparta alone, of all the cities under the sun, that men could have that far-famed sight, a Plutus blind, and lying as lifeless

1 Cf. Morals, p. 527 b.
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ae

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kelpevov @omep ypadny arpvyoy Kal axivyrov.
ovde yap oixot mpodertyncavtas éEqv Badbilew
éml Ta avociTia TWemAnpwpévous, GAN eripeNras
of Nowtrol TapaduAatrovtTes TOY un TivovTa unde
éoOiovra pet’ avtav éxaxilov ws axpath Kai
Tpos THY Kowny arroparaxiCopevoy Siartav.
XI. Avd cal parrord dact r@ Avxotpye mpos
TOUTO TO ToAiTevya yadrerovs yevéoBat Tos
evmopous, Kal cuotavras én avtov aOpoous Ka-
taBoav Kal ayavaxreiy: TEAOS 5¢ BadAcpevos
vo TOAN@Y éEérrese TIS aryopas Spoue. Kart
Tous pep adddous pacer cus Lepov KaTapvyay:
els 5€ Tis veavioxos, GAXwWS pev ouK apuys, ous
dé Kal Oupoecdys, "Adnavdpos, emuxeipevos Kat
St@Kwv emia TpapevTos avTov TH Baxrnpia Ta-
Tatas Tov od0arpov efexorpev. O pev ovv Av-
Koupyos ovdéy évdous 70s TO 7abos, adda ores
évavt los &ecEe Tots ToALTaLs TO 7 poo wmov nh paary -
pévov Kal SepOapperny THY oypuy" aides 5é 1roAAT
ral KaThpera TOUS iSovras é Exyvev, WOTE mrapasov-
vat Tov ”AXxav6 pov auT@ Ka T porréurpar péexpe
Tis oixias _guvayavaxrobvtTas. 6 é Auxodpyos
exelvous MeV eTralveras apie, Tov 5é “Adcavépov
elaaryayeov oixade KaKov pev oudéey ovr eroinoey
ovr elarev, anarndakas 5é Tous ouvnders t omnpéras
Kat Oeparrevtipas éxeivov éxéhevoev varnpereiy.
0 6€ ovK op aryevuns emotes TO TpooTaTT opeEvoy
own, Kat Tapapevoy apa TO Avkovpyo Kat
ouvdrarrapevos év 7@ Katavoev THY WpaoTnra
ral To amabés avtov Tis yuxiis Kal TO repl

Thv Siattay avoTnpoyv Kal TO TpOS TOUS TOVOUS

and motionless as a picture. For the rich could not
even dine beforehand at home and then go to the
common mess with full stomachs, but the rest kept
careful watch of him who did not eat and drink with
them, and reviled him as a weakling, and one too
effeminate for the common diet.

XI. It was due, therefore, to this last political device above all, that the wealthy citizens were incensed against Lycurgus, and banding together against him, denounced him publicly with angry shouts and cries ; finally many pelted him with stones, so that he ran from the market-place. He succeeded in reaching sanctuary before the rest laid hands on him ; but one young man, Alcander, otherwise no mean nature, but hasty and passionate, pressed hard upon him, and as he turned about, smote him with his staff and put out one of his eyes. Lycurgus, however, was far from yielding in consequence of this calamity, but confronted his countrymen, and showed them his face besmeared with blood and _ his eye destroyed. Whereupon they were so filled with shame and sorrow at the sight, that they placed Aleander in his hands, and conducted him to his house with sympathetic indignation. Lycurgus com- mended them for their conduct, and dismissed them, but took Alcander into the house with him, where he did the youth no harm by word or deed, but after sending away his customary servants and attendants, ordered him to minister to his wants. The youth, who was of a noble disposition, did as he was com- manded, without any words, and abiding thus with Lycurgus, and sharing his daily life, he came to know the gentleness of the man, the calmness of his spirit, the rigid simplicity of his habits, and _ his

> f A , \

axapmrov, autos te devas dteréOn rept tov
dvdpa, kal pos tous avv7Bes Kal dirous édeyev
e 9 \ 2909 2n 7 e a 9 \
@s ov oKAnpos ovd avOddns o Auxodpyos, ddXa
povos Huepos Kal mrpaos éott Tols GAXOLS. OvTMH
fev ovv OUTOS ExexOAAoTO Kal TOLAUTHY UTrecynKEL
Sixnv, éx movnpod véov nal avOdbdous éuperéota-
TOS avnp Kal cwdhpovikwTatos yevomevos. Tod
5é waOovs vrrouvnpa AvKodpyos idpicato Tijs
3 A e 4 A b] A 4 AY
AOnvas tepov, hv Omririrw Tpoanyopevae’ TOUS
yap opOarpovs omTirovs of THde Awpteis Kadov-

aw. éyiot pevtoe tov AuKotpyov, ov cat Ato-
axopions éotiv o aurtetaypévos Thy Aaxowvixiy
TWorTELav, TANYHVvar wév hacwv, ov TUdrAWOHvac
Sé tov ofOarpov, adda Kal TO iepov TH Oe THs
> 4 / e 4 \ ,
aKETEWS YaptoTnpiovy iopvcacGar. TO pévToL
dépew Baxtnpiav éxxrnaidlovres of Yrapriaras
peTa THY cuudopay éexetynv arréuabov.
XII. Ta 8&€ avocitia Kpijres pév avdpeia,
AaneSarponot 6 piditia mpocayopevouaty, ere
as dirias nal diroppocvvns trapyovTwv, ayrt
Tov X TO & AapBavovtes, elite ws Tpos evTéXELaV
Kai phedo ouvelifovtwy. ovdév S€ Korver Kai
Tov mpatov éEwev émineioBat oi @o7rep
éviot ghacw, éditiwy, Tapa tHv diaitav Kal THY
eOmdnv Neyopévwv. cuvnpyovto Sé ava TevTexai-
Sexa xal Bpayet tovrwy édXarTous 7 WAéetous.
pepe 5é Exacros KaTa pHva THY cvoCiTwY Ardi-
Tov pédtvov, olvouv Yoas OKT, TUpod TrévTE pas;
ovKoY Huivaia mévre, mpos b€ TovTOLS Eis OYro-
yiav puxpov TL Kolton vopiopatos. GAXws
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unwearied industry. He thus became a devoted follower of Lycurgus, and used to tell his intimates and friends that the man was not harsh nor self-willed, as he had supposed, but the mildest and gentlest of them all. Such, then, was the chastisement of this young man, and such the penalty laid upon him, namely, to become, instead of a wild and impetuous youth, a most decorous and discreet man. Lycurgus, moreover, in memory of his misfortune, built a temple to Athena Optilitis, so called from “ optilus,” which is the local Doric word for eye. Some writers, however, of whom one is Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise on the Spartan civil polity, say that although Lyeurgus was struck in the eye, his eye was not blinded, but he built the temple to the goddess as a thank-offering for its healing. Be that as it may, the Spartan practice of carrying staves into their assemblies was abandoned after this unfortunate accident.

XII. As for the public messes, the Cretans call them “andreia,’ but the Lacedaemonians, “ phiditia,’’ either because they are conducive to friendship and friendliness, “phiditia’’ being equivalent to “ philitia ”’ ; or because they accustom men to sim- plicity and thrift, for which their word is “ pheido.” But it is quite possible, as some say, that the first letter of the word “phiditia” has been added to it, making “ phiditia” out of “ editia,’ which refers merely to meals and eating. They met in companies of fifteen, a few more or less, and each one of the mess-mates contributed monthly a bushel of barley- meal, eight gallons of wine, five- pounds of cheese, two and a half pounds of figs, and in addition to this, - a very small sum of money for such relishes as flesh and fish. Besides this, whenever any one made a

kal Oicas tis amapynv Kal Onpedoas pépos
emeprpev els TO auocitiov. efhy yap oixot Se-
mvew omote Ouoas Tis 7} cup Ov Ovpioele, TOUS
5é GAXous edeu trapeivar. nal péxpt ye ToAXNOD
Tas cuccitnoes axptiBas SuepvAatrov. “Arytdos
youv tod Baciréws, ws érravnOev amo TIS oTpa-
Telas KatateToNeunxws "AOnvaious, Bovdopévou
qwapa TH yuvatnl Seumrvety cal petatrepropévou
Tas peploas, ovK Ereuyay of Todéuapyxet, TOU
dé peO” jyépav wm’ opyns pn Ovoavros fv eéee
Ouciav, étnpimaoay avrov. °
Eis 6¢€ ra avacitia Kai Traides ehoitwy, doTrEep
eis SibacKxarcia owhpoovvns ayopuevot, Kal NOyov
HKPO@VTO ToALTLK@V Kal TradeuTas édEvBepias
émpwv, adtot Te traivew eiOifovto Kal oxwmrrety
dvev Bwporoytas cal oxwrropevor pn Svoyepai-
ve. apodpa yap édoxee xal todto Aaxwvixov
elvat, cK@ppatos avéyerOa: pn Phépovra Sé éERvy
mapaitetcOat, Kal 0 oxamtwv érémautTo. TOV
8 eiovdvtwv exedory SelEas) mpeaBvraros Tas
Oupas, “Ata tottwy,” dnoiv, ‘ ‘Ew Aaryos OUK
exTTOpEveTal. | SoxipaterOas dé Tov Bovdopevov
Tov guaatTiov peTacyely ovTw pact. hae TOV
auccitwy &xacTos atroparydadiav eis THY YeElpa,
Tou StaKxovou Pépovtos aryyetov él Tis Keparis,
éBarne ow h cabdrep piov, O pep Sontpdfov
amas, 0 8 éxxcpivev opodpa Th ye Tueaas.
n yap Temes weVN THY TIS TETPNMEVNS éyer Sv-
vas. Kav piay etpwot ToLtavrny, od mpocdé-
2338

sacrifice of first fruits, or brought home game from the hunt, he sent a portion to his mess. For when- ever any one was belated by a sacrifice or the chase, he was allowed to sup at home, but the rest had to be at the mess. For a long time this custom of eating at common mess-tables was rigidly observed. For instance, when King Agis, on returning from an expedition in which he had been victorious over the Athenians, wished to sup at home with his wife, and sent for his rations, the polemarchs! refused to send them to him; and when on the following day his anger led him to omit the customary sacrifice, they laid a fine upon him.

Boys also used to come to these public messes, as if they were attending schools of sobriety; there they would listen to political discussions and see instructive models of liberal breeding. There they themselves also became accustomed to sport and jest without scurrility, and to endure jesting without displeasure. Indeed, it seems to have been especially characteristic of a Spartan to endure jesting; but if any one could not bear up under it, he had only to ask it, and the jester ceased. As each one came in, the eldest of the company pointed to the door and said to him: ‘Through that door no word goes forth outside.” And they say that a candidate for membership in one of these messes underwent the following ordeal. Each of the mess-mates took in his hand a bit of soft bread, and when a servant came along with a bowl upon his head, then they cast it into this without a word, like a ballot, leaving it just as it was if he approved of the candidate, but if he disapproved, squeezing it tight in his hand first. For the flattened piece

1 At Sparta, military commanders under the kings,

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-PLUTARCH’S LIVES

\ b a 4 4 €
Novra. Tov émetotovTa, BovAduevot mdavras 1)50-
, ? , a \ \ e? ?
pévous GAAHAOLS auvElvat. TOV 5€ oUTwWS aTrO-
Soxipacbévra nexabdiabar Aéyouce Kaddeyos yap
KaneiTaL TO ayyeloy eis 0 Tas arrouaydaNas
épSdrrovat. tov Sé ov evdokiper pardiotra
>) ? n e 4 4 ef ,
jap avrois o péras Cwuos, Wore wnde xpeadiou
SeicBat tovs mpeaButépovs, GrAXA tTrapaywpely
Trois veavioxots, avtovs bé€ ToD Cwpod Katayxeo-
pévous éotiaoOar. Aéyetas 5é tia Tov Tlovrina@v
Bactrtéwv Evexa Tod Swpod nal mwpiacda Aaxw-
ViKOV paryetpov’ elra yevodpevoy dvaxepavat: cat
\ U b] a. 66 70 fe) a 5 A N
TOV pedryespov evrrety Bactned, rovtov Set tov
Copov ev tr@ Evpwra Neroupévous érowaoba.”
muovtes 5é petpiws amiace Siya Napmddos. ov
yap éeats pos pas Badilev, ote TavTny ovTeE
” eas cd 1fA/ , \
GAAnv odor, Gras €OilwvTa. aKotous Kal vuKToS
evOapoas nal adeds odevew. Ta pev oY cUGCL-
Tea ToLauTny exer THEW.
XIII. Nopouvs 5é yeypappévovs o Avcodpyos
ovx EOnxev, AAA pla TOV KadouULevwV pPnTPaY
éoTi avTn. Ta pev yap KUplwTaTa Kal péyLoTa
mpos evdatpoviay modews Kal apetyy, év ois
nOcow eto nal tais aywyais TeV ToduTaV

éyxatectoryermpeva, péverv axivnta Kail BéBaca,
éxovta THY mpoaiperw Seapov tayuporepoy Tis
avayKns, hv) Twaidevats éutrotel Tots véots, vopo-
Oérou Sidbeow atrepyalopwévn tept Exactov av-
Tov. Ta dé pixpa Kal ypnuatina cupBoraa Kal
e

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a

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of bread had the force of a perforated, or negative, ballot. And if one such is found in the bowl, the candidate is not admitted to the mess, because they wish all its members to be congenial. The candi- date thus rejected is said to have been " caddished," for " caddichus'' 1 is the name of the bow! into which they cast the pieces of bread. Of their dishes, the black broth is held in the highest esteem, so that the elderly men do not even ask for a bit of meat, but leave it for the young men, while they themselves have the broth poured out for their meals. And it is said that one of the kings of Pontus actually bought a Spartan cook for the sake of having this broth, and then, when he tasted it, disliked it; whereupon the cook said: '¢© King, those who relish this broth must first have bathed in the river Eurotas." After drinking mod- erately, they go off home without a torch; for they are not allowed to walk with a light, either on this or any other occasion, that they may accustom them- selves to marching boldly and without fear in the darkness of night. Such, then, is the fashion of their common messes.

XIII. None of his laws were put into writing by Lycurgus, indeed, one of the so-called "rhetras"' forbids it. For he thought that if the most import- ant and binding principles which conduce to the prosperity and virtue of a city were implanted in the habits and training of its citizens, they would remain unchanged and secure, having a stronger bond than compulsion in the fixed purposes imparted to the young by education, which performs the office of a law-giver for every one of them. And as for minor

1 Or ''caddos," from which the verb in the Greek text is formed.

peraminrovtTa Tats ypelats GAoTE GANS, BEATLOV
Hv pn KatarauBavew eyypaddos avdyKxais pnde
axuwnros ecw, arr éav él TOV KaLlpOv, Tpoc-
Bécers NapBavovta Kal adatpécets, as dv ot
memadevpéevor Soxisdowot. TO yap srov Kart
mTav THS vopobecias Epyov eis Hv Tatdeiav

aviyre.
Mia peév ovv TOV pnTpav jv, WoTep eipytat,

n xpd) syypadots. étépa b€ mdduy
Hn xXpholat vopols eyypadots. eETéep
KaTQ THs TonuTEnEias, Smres oixia Taoa THY peev
apopay amo TENEKEWS elpyac wevny EXI Tas 6é
Oupas aTro T ptovos povov kal pndevos TOV addeov
épyanrelwy. O7rep yap Uorepov "Erapewvevday el
mel Aéyouaw éml THs éavTov Tpamelns, MS TO
TovoTov dpiorov ov Xwpet T podoaiar, ToUTO m pe-
TOS évonoe Avxoipyos, @S olKia ToLavTn Tpupyy
ov Xwpel Kal TONUTEAELAP, oud éorw ovdels oUTMS
ametpoxanos cal dvonros @oTe els olxiav aderr
Kal Onmorueny elo pepery Krivas apyuporobas Kat
oTpwEYas ddoupyets Kat xpucas KUMCaS Kal TAVv
TOUTOLS err opevny TOAUTEAELAY, GAN dvarynn ouv-
appolecOar Kai cuveEopotody TH peév oixla THY
KALYnD, Th be Khivy THY éoOijra, tautn dé TH
anu Nopnyiav Kat KATA KUT. ex 66 TauTns
THS oundeias gdaci cat Acwruytidny rov mpea Bu-
TEpov év KopivOo Ser voivTa, kal Jeacdpevoy THS
oTéyns Tov olxou THY KaTao KeuTy TONUTEMT Kat
datvopatixny, épwrncat Tov Eévoy et tetpaywva
wap avtois Ta Eva puerar.
Tptrny dé p pnt pav Stapynpovetovet Tov Avnoup-
you, THY KwAVOVoaY él TOvS avTOUS ToAEmLLOUS
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matters, such as business contracts, and cases where the needs vary from time to time, it was better, as he thought, not to hamper them by written constraints or fixed usages, but to suffer them, as occasion demanded, to receive such modifications as educated men should determine. Indeed, he assigned the function of law-making wholly and entirely to education.

One of his rhetras accordingly, as I have said, prohibited the use of written laws. Another was directed against extravagance, ordaining that every house should have its roof fashioned by the axe, and its doors by the saw only, and by no other tool. For, as in later times Epaminondas is reported to have said at his own table, that such a meal did not comport with treachery, so Lycurgus was the first to see clearly that such a house does not comport with luxury and extravagance. Nor is any man so vulgar and senseless as to introduce into a simple and common house silver-footed couches, purple coverlets, gold drinking-cups,

and all the extravagance which goes along with these, but one must of necessity adapt and proportion his couch to his house, his coverlets to his couch, and to this the rest of his supplies and equip- ment. It was because he was used to this simplicity that Leotychides the Elder, as we are told, when he was dining in Corinth, and saw the roof of the house adorned with costly panellings, asked his host if trees grew square in that country. |

A third rhetra of Lycurgus is mentioned, which forbids making frequent expeditions against the same

roddraKis! otpateverv, iva phy) ToAAaKLs apuve-
coat cvved Cbpevot TOAEULKOL YEVOVTAL. Kat TOUTO
ye paduoTa katnyopovaw "Aynaotdaou Tov Bact-
réws Barepov, as Tals cuvexéoe Kal mukvais els
Tv Bowwtiav éuBorats Kal otpateias Tovs On-
Balous dvtimddovs ols Aaxedatpoviows Kata-
ceevgcavtos. So Kal TeTpwpévov avTov id@v
>A yrar«idas, " Kard," en, 7a Sidacnddua Tapa
@nBalov arorapBaves, un Bovropévous avrous
pnde eldotas payer Oar Sud£as." Tad pev odv ToL-
aita vopoberipaTa pitpas wvopacer, @s Tapa
rob Beod xoprtopeva® Kal xpnopous ovTa.
XIV. Tas 88 rasdeias, fv méyeorov nyeiTo TOU
vopobétou Kal KadddoTov gpyov elvat, troppwlev
dpxopevos evOvs dreakgmrel TH Tepl TOUS Yyapous
nal Tas yevécets. ov yap, WS "AptatoTéeAns pyoty,
émiyerpjoas cwppovitew Tas yuvaixas, éravaato
un KpaTOv THs TOMAS dvéoews Kal yuvatkoxpa-
rias Sid Tas ToANAS oTpaTelas THY avdpav, év
als jvayxdfovto Kupias dmoneltre éxeivas, Kal
Sid TodTO paAXov TOD TpoTnKOVTOS autas €Oepa-
revov Kal Searroivas mpoonyopevov' GNA Kat
roiTwy THy eévdexouerny émupederay ETT OLNTaTO.
Ta pév ye THpATA TOV TrapOévav Spopots Kal
médais Kad Borais Sicxwy Kal axovTiov due7r0vn-
cev, o> } TE TOV yevvopevar pilwors isxupay év
laxupois capacw dpyiv aBotca Bdactdvor
1 wodAdxts inserted before orparevew to agree with Morals, p. 227; mwodeulous oTparevely.
2 xouiCéueva Cobet, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis* : youiCopeva (were believed to come).

enemies, in order not to accustom such enemies to frequent defence of themselves, which would make them warlike. And this was the special grievance which they had against King Agesilaiis in later times, namely, that by his continual and frequent incursions and expeditions into Boeotia he rendered the Thebans a match for the Lacedaemonians. And therefore, when Antalcidas saw the king wounded, he said: "This is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teaching them how to fight, when they did not wish to do it, and did not know how." Such ordinances as these were called "rhetras"' by Lycurgus, implying that they came from the god and were oracles.

XIV. In the 'matter of education, which he regarded as the greatest and noblest task of the law-giver, he began at the very source, by carefully regulating marriages and births. For it is not true that, as Aristotle says,! he tried to bring the women under proper restraint, but desisted, because he could not overcome the great licence and power which the women enjoyed on account of the many expeditions in which their husbands were engaged. During these the men were indeed obliged to leave their wives in sole control at home, and for this reason paid them greater deference than was their due, and gave them the title of Mistress. But even to the women Lycurgus paid all possible atten- tion. He made the maidens exercise their bodies in running, wrestling, casting the discus, and hurling the javelin, in order that the fruit of their wombs might have vigorous root in vigorous bodies and come to better maturity, and that they themselves

1 Pol. ii. 6, 8.

Béxrvov, avrai Te pera, poyns ToUS TOKOUS varo-
pévovoat Kanéis dpa kat padies ayovifouvro ™ pos
Tas wdivas. apedwv dé Opinpw Kar oKiaTpapiay
Kal Onrurnta macav ovdev HT TOV eifice TOY
KOpov Tas KOpas yupvds TE Topmrevely Kal T pos
iepois teow dpxeicBar Kal ddew Tov veo Trapov-
Twv Kal Dewpevary. Eote 6€ 6 ore Kat CKO ULATA
héyouras mpos &kacTov eUXPHTTOS émehapBa-
VOvTO TOV Gpapravouever: Kal wad els TOUS
a€ious QuTo@V eyeapia per * gos TET OLN LEVaL Sief-
loved, prdoripiay modAny Kat bnrov éveolouy
Tos veavioxols. 0 yap éyxopiacdels én' avdpa-
ya0ia Kal KrEwos év Tais rapt évous yeyovas
amher peyahuvopuevos tmd tov emaivev' ai Se
pera malas Kal oxoppdrov dA€es ovdev ap-

BrorEpac Tov pera amovdins vouernwatov hoav,
are 87 mpos THY Béav opod Tois Gros Tortracs
Kal Tov Bactéwv xal TOV yepovT@Y cuptTropevo-
peeve.
H &€ yvpvwots TOV mapbévov oudev aia x pov
in aidovs pév Trapovons, axpagias 5é atrovons,
ng éOug pov aden} cal CijAov eveFias everpyatero,
Kal hpovnpatos TO Oidu Ta,peryevev ovK ayevvois,
@s pndev HTTOV avT@ Kal aperijs Kal pirorimias
perovciay ovcap. o0ev avuTais Kal eye empeu
kat dpovety ola Kal mepl Topryods ¢ loropytat THS
Aewvidou yuvares. elrovans yap TLVOS, @S Cote,
Eévns Tm pos AUTH ws “ Movar TeV dvipay a apxere
vpels ai Adxawat, “ Movat ydp,” én, “ tixtopev
dv6pas.”
XV. "Hy peév ody xal radra TapoppynriKa T POs
yapov' Aéyw &€ Tas woutas TeV TapOévor Kal
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7:

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might.come with vigour to the fulness of their times, and struggle successfully and easily with the pangs of child-birth. He freed them from softness and delicacy and all effeminacy by accustoming the maidens no less than the youths to wear tunics only in processions, and at certain festivals to dance and sing when the young men were present as spectators. There they sometimes even mocked and railed good- naturedly at any youth who had misbehaved himself ; and again they would sing the praises of those who had shown themselves worthy, and so inspire the young men with great ambition and ardour. For he who was thus extolled for his valour and held in honour among the maidens, went away exalted by their praises ; while the sting of their playful raillery was no less sharp than that of serious admonitions, especially as the kings and senators, together with +the rest of the citizens, were all present at the spectacle. |

Nor was there anything disgraceful in this scant clothing of the maidens, for modesty attended them, and wantonness was banished; nay, rather, it pro- duced in them habits of simplicity and an ardent desire for health and beauty of body. It gave also to woman-kind a taste of Jofty sentiment, for they felt that they too had a place in the arena of bravery and ambition. Wherefore they were led to think and speak as Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, is said to have done. When some foreign woman, as it would seem, said to her: “ You Spartan women are the only ones who rule their men,” she answered: “ Yes, we are the only ones that give birth to men.”

XV. Moreover, there were incentives to marriage in these things,—I mean such things as the appear-

Tas amrobuces Kal TOs ayavas ev des TAY véw?,
9 A bd a” 9 9 a a
ayopevwv ov yewpeTpixais, GAN epwTtiKais, as
\
dnow o TlAdtwv, avdayxaiss ov pny adda Kal
atipiav tia wpoaéOnKxe Tots aydpots. elpyorTo
yap év rats yupvorradiass THs Béas: tov 5 ye-
pavos of wey Apyovres avTovs éxédevov ev KUKAW
yupvous meptievar THY ayopdy, oi Sé treptiovtes
2 9 e A 9g / 4 e ,
MOOV eis AUTOVS @ONVY TWA TeTrOLNnMEeNY, ws Sixata
Tdoyxolev, Tt TOis vomots aTreLOovar TeuHs dé Kal
Deparreias fv véow mpecButépors Trapetxyov, éoré-
pnvro. dOev cal ro pos AcpxvaArtdav pnbev ovdeis
éucupato, Kaimrep evdoKiuov. dvta oTpatnyov.
értovtTs yap avT@ TOV vewTépwy Tis Edpas ovy
umetfev, eltrav, “ Ovde yap enol od tov tretEovra
yeyévyneas.”
"Eydpuouv b€é 6: aprayis, ob puxpas ovde
2? \ , > \ \ > 4 Q
d@pous MTpos yapov, adda Kal axpalovoas Kal
memetpous. THY 5& aptracdbelcav 7 vupdedtpLa
Kadoupévn taparaBodoa, tTHv pev Keparny év
“A lA ¢ , de ? 5 / t e } 4
XPP Tepréxerpev, ipwatip Se avdpei xat brrodjua-
ow évoxevdcaca Katéxdivev eri oTtBaba povny
dvev dwrtos. 6 dé vupdios ov peOvav ovdé Opv-
TTOMEVOS, GAAA vndwv, woTrep aei, SedecTIVNKAS év
Trois diditiow, TapercelOav Edve THY Cwvny Kal
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ance of the maidens without much clothing in pro- cessions and athletic contests where young men were looking on, for these were drawn on by necessity, “ not geometrical, but the sort of necessity which lovers know,’ as Plato says.!. Nor was this all; Lycurgus also put a kind of public stigma upon confirmed bachelors. They were excluded from the sight of the young men and maidens at their exercises, and in winter the magistrates ordered them to march round the market-place in their tunics only, and as they marched, they sang a certain song about them- selves, and its burden was that they were justly punished for disobeying the laws. Besides this, they were deprived of the honour and gracious attentions which the young men habitually paid to their elders. Therefore there was no one to find fault with what was said to

Dercyllidas, reputable general though he was. As he entered a company, namely, one of the younger men would not offer him his seat, but said : “Indeed, thou hast begotten no son who will one day give his seat to me.”

For their marriages the women were carried off by. force, not when they were small and unfit for wedlock, but when they were in full bloom and wholly ripe. After the woman was thus carried off, the bride’s-maid, so called, took her in charge, cut her hair off close to the head, put a man’s cloak and sandals on her, and laid her down on a pallet, on the floor, alone, in the dark. Then the bride-groom, not flown with wine nor enfeebled by excesses, but composed and sober, after supping at his public mess-table as usual, slipped stealthily into the room where the bride lay, loosed her virgin’s zone, and bore her

1 Republic, p. 458 d.

4 peTyveycev apadpevos él thy KrAlvny. ocuvd.aTpi-
was 5& ypovov od modvy atTnEL KoopLws ovTreEp
97 N 4 os a a ”
eiw0er TO TpoTepov, Kabevdnowy peta THY AXrOV
vévv. Kal TO Rotrov ovTwS éErpaTTeE, TOs pe
HrALKL@TAaLS TUVdnMEpevwY Kal cUVAVaTraVOpLEVOS,
mpos Se rv vupdny Kpuda pet evrAaBelas portov,
aicyuvopevos xa Sedorxas pn tis alcBorto Tov
évdov, Gua Kal ris vipdyns emitexvopévns ral
ouveuvTropovens Strws av év Kaip@ Kal NavOavovTes
5 adANAoLS TUpTropEvoLVTO. Kal TOUTO EmpaTToV OUK
ewer d , 9 > a \ A
OAiryov Ypovov, GAN wWoTe Kal Tratdas yevécOat
éviots amply és pépav OedcacOar Tas éavToy
yuvaixas. 1 &€ rotavtTn avvodos od povoy éyxpa-
, 4 ¥ 9 \ a
telas Kal cwhpocvyns aoKnots hv, ada Tots TE
TwMpact yovimous Kal T@ Pirely del Katvovs Kai
mpooghatous Hyev él Thy kowwviay, ov Siaxopeis
ovd é&itirous Tais avédnv Kowwvias, GAN det
TL Aeinpavoy xal brréxxavya wo0ov nal ydpttos
évatroXelrovras ANNALS.
, a 4 > / IRA \
6 Tooavrny Sé Tois yapots ériatyncas aide Kai 49
4 9 2¢/ \ A \
Taki, ovdey Hrrov éE€éBare tHhv nxevnv nal yvu-
vaixwdn Enrortutiav, év Kadk@ Katactyaas UBpu
pev kal avakiav wacayv elpyew ao Tod ydpou,
/ A aA
maidwv b€ nal Trexvacews Kowvaveivy trois atioss,

KaTayeX@vTas Tov @s auixta Kal aKowarnta
7 Tavra petiovrwy odhayais Kal modéuos. e&jv
pev yap avdpl mpecButépm véas yuvatxos, et 57
TWa TOV KaAXNOV Kal ayabav aordcatto vévv Kal
Soxtpdoeev, eicayayely map avtny Kal mA1-
cavta yevvaiov. oméppatos idstov avrois son-
250
™.,

in his arms to the marriage-bed. Then, after spend- ing a short time with his bride, he went away composedly to his usual quarters, there to sleep with the other young men. And so he continued to do from that time on, spending his days with his com- rades, and sleeping with them at night, but visiting his bride by stealth and with every precaution, full of dread and fear lest any of her household should be aware of his visits, his bride also contriving and conspiring with him that they might have stolen interviews as occasion offered. And this they did not for a short time only, but long enough for some of them to become fathers before they had looked upon their own wives by daylight. Such interviews not only brought into exercise self-restraint and moderation, but united husbands and wives when their bodies were full of creative energy and their affections new and fresh, not when they were sated | and dulled by unrestricted intercourse ; and there was always left behind in their hearts some residual spark of mutual longing and delight.

After giving marriage such traits of reserve and decorum, he none the less freed men from the empty and womanish passion of jealous possession, by mak- ing it honourable for them, while keeping the marriage relation free from all wanton irregularities, to share with other worthy men in the begetting of children, laughing to scorn those who regard such common privileges as intolerable, and resort to murder and war rather than grant them. For example, an elderly man with a young wife, if he looked with favour and esteem on some fair and noble young man, might introduce him to her, and — adopt her offspring by such a noble father as his

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cacBa To yevvnBév. ée&qv Sé wadw avdpl ypn-
oT@, Ta evTéxvwY TWa Kal cwdpdvwy Oavpa-
gavtt yuvaicav érépm yeyaunuéevny, Teicat TOV
dvipa auverbetv, Baotep ev Ywopa KaANKAapTT
P 4 , , P x pa 9 4 p °
gutevovta Kal trovovpevov traidas ayabovs, aya-
Oav opaimous Kal ovyyevets Ecopévous. mpaTov
pev yap ovx idiovs nyeiro TaV TaTépwv Tovs

a 3 \ A 4 e A
maidas, GANA KoLovs THS WoAEws 0 AvKovpyos,
54 b ? a / 2 2 3 a > /
d0ev ovK EK TOY TUYOVTWY, GAN’ ex TOY apioTwY
b 4 4 2 A v
éBovreTo yeyovotas elvat rods troditas. erecta
TOAAnY aBerTEpiay Kal Tohov évewpa Tots repli
TatTa Tov GAXwv vomobeTH pact, of KUvas péev
Kal (tmmous 1rd Tos Kpatictos TAY OYELwY
4 , / A fo ‘
BuBalover yapite weiBovres 4 puocO@ Tovs Ku-
/ \ a fe)
plous, tas 8é yuvaixas éyxrccadpuevoe poupodaory,
“A 4 “A
é& avtayv povev tixrey akvobytes, Kav adpoves
@
@ot, Kav TaphrLKes, Kav voowbels, MS OUXL TPw-
A a“ 4
ToLS TOS KEKTNMEVOLS Kal TpehoveL TaY Taidwr
ywopévwy tovnpav, éav éx tmovnpav yévwvrat,
kal touvavtiov ypnotady, dv tovavTns TYUXwoe
yevéoews. Tatra € odTws mpaTTopeva Hvcltkas
KQi TOMTLKOS TOTE TOTOUTOY aTrEtXE THS VoTEpoV
Neyouévns yevérOat wepl Tas yuvaixas evyepeias
C4 a
@oTe SdwS ATLoTOV elvaL TO THS potxelas Trap’
a ,
autois. Kal Noyos arropynpoveveras Tepada Tevos
. Saraptidtov tev odddpa Tada.av, bs épwrnbels

varo Eévou ti mdaxovow oi povyol wap’ avrois,

own. And again, a worthy man who admired some woman for the fine children that she bore her husband and the modesty of her behaviour as a wife, might enjoy her favours, if her husband would con- sent, thus planting, as it were, in a soil of beautiful fruitage, and begetting for himself noble sons, who would have the blood of noble men in their veins. For in the first place, Lycurgus did not regard sons as the peculiar property of their fathers, but rather as the common property of the state, and therefore would not have his citizens spring from random parentage, but from the best there was. In the second place, he saw much folly and vanity in what other peoples enacted for the regulation of these matters; in the breeding of dogs and horses they insist on having the best sires which money or favour can secure, but they keep their wives under lock and key, demanding that they have children by none but themselves, even though they

be foolish, or infirm, or diseased ; as though children of bad stock did not show their badness to those first who possessed and reared them, and children of good stock, contrariwise, their goodness. The freedom which thus prevailed at that time in marriage relations was aimed at physical and political well- being, and was far removed from the licentiousness which was afterwards attributed to their women, so much so that adultery was wholly unknown among them. And a saying is reported of one Geradas,! a Spartan of very ancient type, who, on being asked by a stranger what the punishment for adulterers was among them, answered : “ Stranger,

1 The name is Geradatas in Morals, p. 228 c (Apophtheg. Lacon. 20).

4 oc? / OQ \ , ‘ > © an 99
ervey: “"O, Eéve, ovdels yiveras poryos Trap’ Hiv.
éxetvov 5 vrodaBovtos, “’Edav otv yévntat;”
‘“““Tavdpov,’ ébn o Vepddas, “ éxtiver péyav, 55
e 4 \ Sh > N “ 3 4 4, 99
utepxuas TO Tavyetov aro Tov Kipwta mierat.
Oavpdoavtos & éxeivou cat dnoavros: “las dé
A , n a 99 a e ,
av yévorto Bovs TnAtKovTOS;” yeddoas o Iepddas,
A > bf
“las 8 dv,” én, “év Yadpty povyos yévouro;”
TavTa pév ovv ioTopnTas Trepl TOY yapov.
XVI. To dé yervnBev ov Hv Kvpios o yeryncas
Tpéperv, arr edepe AaRwv eis TOTov Tua NéE-
oxnv Karovpevov, ev & KaOnpevoe TOV purAETOY
ot mpecRutato: KatapadovTes TO TratddpLiov, Ee
pev evtrayes ein kal pwparéov, tpéperv éxédevor,
KANpoy avTe@ Tav evaxicytNiwv TpocveipayvTes:
et & dyevvés xat apuophov, amémeptrov eis tas
Aeyouévas “Amrobétas, mapa Taiyerov Bapabpo-
4 el A
5n Tomov, ws ovTe avt@ Chv dpuevov bv! ove
A , \ \ “a 3 \ 3 bd A \
TH WONEL TO Hy Kahos evbus €€ apxis mpos
4 QV a
evefiav Kal pouny. TepuKos. b0ev ovee vdarte
Ta Bpédn, arr’ oive meptéhovov at yuvaines,
dgavov Tia Toltovpevat THs Kpdoews aura.
NéyeTar yap efictacbar Ta éM@iAnTTiKa Kal vo-
addn mpos TOV axpatov amoo paxedibovra, Ta &
vylewva Haddov oropovebar Kal kpatuverbat THY

eEw. Wy dé rept TAS Tpopovs CTLMEAELE TLS PETE
Téyyns, @oT avev omapyavev éxtpehovoas Ta
Bpepn Tois péreoe Kat Tots eldeouv éhevOépta
Towel, ére 66 eUKona Tas Svairass Kal adowuxya
kat dBauBh cKotov Kai mpos épnyiay adoBa Kat
' by supplied by van Herwerden: &ewoy obre.

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there is no adulterer among us." "Suppose, then," replied the stranger, "there should be one." "A bull,'' said Geradas, " would be his forfeit, a bull so large that it could stretch over Mount Taygetus and drink from the river Eurotas."" Then the stranger was astonished and said : " But how could there be a bull so large?"' To which Geradas replied, with a smile: «But how could there be an adulterer in Sparta?" Such, then, are the accounts we find of their marriages.

XVI. Offspring was not reared at the will of the father, but was taken and carried by him to a place called Lesche, where the elders of the_ tribes officially examined the infant, and if it was well- built and sturdy, they ordered the father to rear it, and assigned it one of the nine thousand lots of land; but if it was ill-born and deformed, they sent it to the so-called Apothetae, a chasm-like place at the foot of Mount Taygetus, in the conviction that the life of that which nature had not well equipped at the very beginning for health and strength, was of no advantage either to itself or the state. On the same principle, the women used to bathe their new-born babes not with water, but with wine, thus making a sort of test of their constitutions. For it is said that epileptic and sickly infants are thrown into convulsions by the strong wine and loose their senses, while the healthy ones are rather tempered by it, like steel, and given a firm habit of body. Their nurses, too, exercised great care and skill; they reared infants without swaddling-bands, and thus left their limbs and figures free to develop; besides, they taught them to be contented and happy, not dainty about their food, nor fearful of the dark, nor afraid to be left alone,

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dtretpa SvoKxoArlas dwyevvods Kal KravOpupiopar.
5:0 kal tev éEwbev evior tois téxvots Aakwvinas
éwvotvtTo titOas' Kat tyv ye tov 'AOnvaiov
"ArKBidinv titOevcacay 'Apicrav ioropovat
yeyovéva, Adxavvav.
"AANA TovT@ pév, as TIAdtov dynoi, Zwrupov
éréotnoe tradaywyov Ilepixrjs, ovdéy te TeV
adrwv Stahépovta SovrAwv tovs 5¢ Yraptiatav
qatdas ovn él wvntois ovdé picOiows érotnoato
mavdaywyots o AuKoipyos, ovd é&qv éxdore
tTpépew ovdé tadevery ws éBovrAeTO TOY vid»,

GvNa wavtTas evOds émraeteis yevopévous trapa-
AapBavwv avtros eis ayédas Katedoyile, xal
guvyopous Tro@y Kal cuvTpopous per GAAHAWY
el0ile cuprraivery Kat cucyordtew. dpyovra &
avrois wapiorato THs ayéAns Tov TE Ppoveiv
Siadépovta Kal Ovpoedéctatoy ev Te paxerOar
kal mpos TovToy adewpwv Kal mpoordtrorTos
nkpo@vTo Kat KorNdlovtTos éxaptépovy, BaoTE THY
madetay elvat peréTnv evtreieias. émeaKorrouy
5é ot mpecButepos maifovtas avtovs, nal ra
TAArAa pdyas Tivas éuBdarXovtes del nab dido-
veixias, ov trapépyws KatewavOavov omoids éott
Thy dvow Exactos avTav mpdos TO ToApav Kal
pn huyopayeiv ev rais apidrats.
['paupara peév ody &vexa tis ypelas éwavOavov:
7 8 adAn aca Tratdcia Wpds TO apxYecOar Karas
éylvero kal Kaptepety TrovotvtTa Kal wiKav payo-
pevov. 610 ea THS NAtKias mWpoepYopuevns érré-
TELVOY AUTOY THY AoKnoL, év YP@ TE KElpoVvTES
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nor given to contemptible peevishness and whim-
pering. This is the reason why foreigners sometimes
bought Spartan nurses for their children. Amycla,
for instance, the nurse of. the Athenian Alcibiades,
is said to have been a Spartan.!
And yet Alcibiades, as Plato says,? had for a tutor, set over him by Pericles, one Zopyrus, who was just acommon slave. But Lycurgus would not put the sons of Spartans in charge of purchased or hired tutors, nor was it lawful for every father to rear or train his son as he pleased, but as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them all to be taken by the state and enrolled in companies, where they were put under the same discipline and nurture, and so became accustomed to share one another's sports and studies. The boy who excelled in judgement and was most courageous in fighting, was made captain of his company; on him the rest all kept their eyes, obeying his orders, and submitting to his punishments, so that their boyish training was a practice of obedience. Besides, the elderly men used to watch their sports, and by ever and anon egging them on to mimic battles and disputes, learned accurately how each one of them was naturally dis- posed when it was a question of boldness and aggres- siveness in their struggles.

Of reading and writing, they learned only enough to serve their turn; all the rest of their training was calculated to make them obey commands well, en- dure hardships, and conquer in battle. Therefore, as they grew in age, their bodily exercise was increased ; their heads were close-clipped, and they

1 Cf. Alcibiades i. 2. 2 Alcibiades i. p. 122 b.
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kai Badilev avutrodntous wailew re yusvovs ws
TOA TONAG cuvedilovtes. yevopevas 5é Swdexaereis
dvev yit@vos Hbn ScerérXovy, ev ipariov eis Tov
éviavtov NapBavoytes, avypnpot Ta oopata Kal
AouTpav Kal dreLupadtov aetpor WANY OrjgLYaS
nuépas Tlvas Tov eviavTov THS ToLavTnS pidNapy-
Opwrias pereixov. éxadevdov Sé ood Kat ¢tdnv
Kal dye érl atiBddwv, ds avtois ovvepdpour,
Tov Tapa Tov Eiporay TepuKoTos KaAd“oU TA
dxpa tais xepoiy avev oidypov xataxdacavtes.
éy 06 TO YELw~@Ve TOVS RAeEyopuevous AUKOpOVvAaS
umeBdArXrovto Kal KaTepiyvucay Tais ortBaot,
Oepyavrixoy éxev Te THS BANS Soxovons.
XVII. "H8y &Sé rots tyAKovTOIsS épactal Trav
evdoxipwv vévy ovvaveatpépovro: Kal mpocetyov
ot mpecBurepor, Kal warXov émrihocravrTes cis TA
yupvaota, kal paxopévos Kal ox@mrovoly AddA}-
NOUS TapaTuyyXdvovTes, OV Tapépyws, GAAA TPO-
Tov Twa Mayes oLopevor Tavrwv Kab mrarépes
elvau Kal matdaywyol wal dpxovres, OOTE pare
KaLpov amoneim ea Oat pare \@piov épnpov Tou
vouderovvTos TOV apapravovra Kal xoralovtos.
ov pny adda Kal Tmabovopos ex TOV KANOY wal
ayabar avdpay étarrero, Kal Kar’ dyéhas avtol
mpolaTavTo TOV Aeyoueéveov elpeveoy ael Toy ow-
ppovérraroy Kal payimeraror. elpevas dé xa-
ovat Tous eros HON Sevrepov éx maidiov yeyouve-
Tas, pedrelpevas be TOV matdeov TOUS mpea Burd-
TOUS. OUTOS OV O Elpny, elkoat éTn yeryoves, dpxes
Te TOV UIroTeTaypévwy ev Taig payals, kal Kat
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were accustomed to going bare-foot, and to playing
for the most part without clothes. When they were
twelve years old, they no longer had tunics to wear,
received one cloak a year, had hard, dry flesh, and
knew little of baths and ointments; only on certain
days of the year, and few at that, did they indulge

in such amenities. They slept together, in troops and companies, on pallet-beds which they collected for themselves, breaking off with their hands—no knives allowed—the tops of the rushes which grew along the river Eurotas. In the winter-time, they added to the stuff of these pallets the so-called "lycophon," or ¢thestle-down, which was thought to have warmth in it.

XVII. When the boys reached this age, they were favoured with the society of lovers from among the reputable young men. The elderly men also kept close watch of them, coming more frequently to their places of exercise, and observing their contests of strength and wit, not cursorily, but with the idea that they were all in a sense the fathers and tutors and governors of all the boys. In this way, at every fit- ting time and in every place, the boy who went wrong had someone to admonish and chastise him. Nor was this all; one of the noblest and best men of the city was appointed paedonome, or inspector of the boys, and under his directions the boys, in their several companies, put themselves under the com- mand of the most prudent and warlike of the so- called Eirens. This was the name given to those who had been for two years out of the class of boys, and Melleirens, or Would-be Eirens, was the name for the oldest of the boys. This eiren, then, a youth of twenty years, commands his subordinates in their

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s 2

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3 olxov omnpétais xphras mpos To Seitvov. éart- tdocet 8é trois péev abdpois Evra éperv, tots 5é puxpotépos AdxYava. Kal Pépovar KAE€rTOVTES, oi pev él Tovs Kntous Babifovres, oi dé els Ta Tov avopav avocitia T ApELa pEOVTES ev para mavoupyws Kal wepurayuevas: av 8 ad, ToA- Aas AauBave: TANyas TH wdortuyt, pabvuws Soxav KAérTev nal atéyvas. KAémTovot 5é Kal Tov oitiwy 6 TL av aut en pavOavoytes evpuas émitiPecOat Tois Kabevddovow 4 padvpws pudadr- Tovot. te bé arovte Enuia wAnyal Kal TO Te- viv. yAioxpoy yap avtois éort Seirvov, Sires 5: avTav apvvopevoe thy évderav avayxalwovrar ToApay Kal mavoupyety.

Kat rovro pev pyov tis OdXLyooLTias' Tapépyov 5é dace thy TOV cwopdtwv aiktnow. dépetas yap eis pnKos, Stay TO Tvedpa pH TOAAnY OXF SiatpiBnv Kal doyodiay bro mAnOovs tpodys eis BaOos nal wAdtos mueCouevov, GAN dvw Ba- Sify Sta Koudotynta, ToD awpatos exAUTws Kar

padiws érudidovtos. To 8 avto TodTo Kal Kadovs
Soxei troveiy: ai yap ioxval Kal Sidxevot wadrov
&€eus bmaxovover mpos tHv SudpOpwowv, ai Se
oyx@ders xab moAvTpoda: dia Bapos avtiBai-
youow, woTrEp auere Kal Tov dv Te Kvew Kabat-
popévay yuvarcay ioxyva péy, everdn dé Kal yra-
gupa yiveras ta Bpépn, Sia thy édadpornta ths
Ans Kparovpévns padrov bd Tod TuTObYTOS.
GANA yap 7 wey aitia ToD aupBaivovTos ev péow
apoxeicOw oxortrety.
XVIII. Obtw 82 Krérrrovet Tedpovticpévs
oi maides, WoTE Aéyeral Tis dn TKUpVOY Ado-
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mimic battles, and in doors makes them serve him at ~~
his meals. He commissions the larger ones to fetch
wood, and the smaller ones potherbs. And they steal
_ what they fetch, some of them entering the gardens,
and others creeping right slyly and cautiously into
the public messes of the men ; but if a boy is caught
stealing, he is soundly flogged, as a careless and un-
skilful thief. They steal, too, whatever food they
can, and learn to be adept in setting upon people
when asleep or off their guard. But the boy who
is caught gets a flogging and must go hungry.
For the meals allowed them are scanty, in order
that they may take into their own hands the fight
against hunger, and so be forced into boldness and
cunning.
This is the main object of their spare diet; a secondary one is to make them grow tall. For it contributes to height of stature when the vitality is not impeded and hindered by a mass of nourish- ment which forces it into thickness and width, but ascends of its own lightness, and when the body grows freely and easily. The same thing seems also to conduce to beauty of form; for lean and meagre habits yield more readily to the force of articulation, whereas the gross and over-fed are so heavy as to resist it. Just so, we may be sure, women who take physic while they are pregnant, bear children which are lean, it may be, but well-shaped and fine, because the lightness of the parent matter makes it more susceptible to moulding. However, the reason for this I must leave for others to investigate.

XVIII. The boys make such a serious matter of their stealing, that one of them, as the story goes,

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MEKOS KeKNOPers wa T® TpiBeoviep TEpiaTehrop,
oma pagaopevos bao ToD Onpiov THV yaorépa Tois
Ovvke Kat Tots ddovoun, vmép Tob Aabety é eyKapte-
pov amo0avely. Kai rodTro pmév ovdé aro Trav
vov épynBov amiotov écti, dv TodXovs er) Tov
Bopod ris "OpOias éwpdxapev évarroOvicKovtas
Tats WANyals.
Aemvnoas &€ 0 elpny KATAKELMEVOS 7@ pep
doa. wpocérake tov Taidwr, TO Se eparnud. Tt
mpoiBane mehpovtiapévns Seopevov amroxpicews:
olor, 6 Satis aptaros év Tots avipaaw, q Toba, Tis
» tobde wpakis. éx -rovTov de xal kpivey Ta
Kara Kab modu parypovely ev0us é& apxyns Oi-
fovro mepl rév TOMTADY. TO yap éparnGerra,
Tis moritns ayabds, } Tis ob EvdoKLMOS, aropeiv
Tob arroxpivacGau, vwOpas érotodvTo Kai T pos
d.perny adtNoTipov apuxiis onpeiov. ee. 5é hv
ar oKpiow kal) wet aittas elvat rat atrobeiEews
eis Bpaydv tia oun y LenS oyov Kal ovvTopov
o éé TANMMENDS aTroK pLvawevos éxodatero Sirypa
Aap Paver v0 Tob elpevos eis TOV avrixetpa..
TOANEaKLS 68 Kal m pea BuTépwv TapovToV kat
OvT@Y oO Elpnv éxorate TOUS maidas, am oderEw
see éb pera Aoyou Kal Os dei xoraer. Kat
KoraSov pev ouK exwveTo, TOV be Taiowv arenr-
Oovrev evOuvas breixe, eb TPAXUTEpOV tov déov-
TOS éretiunoev 7) Tovvaytioy ene eaves Kat
aTOVOS.
"Exovvevouy dé of épacral Tots Tratol Tis d0kns

én’ audotepa: Kat Néyetai mote trades év TH

1 thy awdxpiow nat Coraés, Sintenis!, and Bekker, with
the MSS. : xal rhy dwdxpiory.

who was carrying concealed under his cloak a young
fox which he had stolen, suffered the animal to tear
out his bowels with its teeth and claws, and died
rather than have his theft detected. And even this
story gains credence from what their youths now

endure, many of whom I have seen expiring under
the lash at the altar of Artemis Orthia.
The eiren, as he reclined after supper, would order one of the boys to sing a song, and to another would put a question requiring a careful and deliberate answer, as, for instance, “ Who is the best man in the city?” or, “ What thinkest thou of this man’s conduct?” In this way the boys were accustomed to pass right judgements and interest themselves at the very outset in the conduct of the citizens. For if one of them was asked who was a good citizen, or who an infamous one, and had no answer to make, he was judged to have a torpid spirit, and one that would not aspire to excellence. And the answer must not only have reasons and proof given for it, but also be couched in very brief and concise language, and the one who gave a faulty answer was punished with a bite in the thumb from the eiren. Often-times, too, the eiren punished the boys in the presence of the elders and magistrates, thus show- ing whether his punishments were reasonable and proper or not. While he was punishing them, he suffered no restraint, but after the boys were gone, he was brought to an account if his punish- ments were harsher than was necessary, or, on the other hand, too mild and gentle.

The boys’ lovers also shared with them in their honour or disgrace ; and it is said that one of them

a @ A > a / A

paxec0ar dovnv ayevyn mpoeuévov CnuwOjvat
Tov é€pacTHy vd Tov apyovTwov. ovTw Se Tov
épav éyxexpiuévov map’ avtois, wate Kal Trav
map0évwy Epav Tas Karas Kal ayabas yuvaixas,
TO GVTEPAY OUK Hv, GAA paAXov apynv erroobyTo
didtas pos GAAjAOUS Of TOV avTav épacbérTes,
kal SseténXovuy Kowh arovddlovres Strws aptaTov
ATEpyaoaLvTo TOV épwpeEvov.
XIX. ’Edidacxov dé tovs.waidas Kai rAOy@
XphcOat wixpiav eyovre pemrypméevny yapite Kat
Tony amd Bpaxevas rAéEews avafewpnaw. TO
pev yap aLdnpody voutopa puxpay exew érroinoey
aro TOAD atabpyod Svvaytv o AuKotpyos, os
elpntat, TO 5é TOU AOYou vopLopa TovvavTioV aT’
evTeXods Kal driyns AéEEwWs eis TOANHY Kal TTre-
pittny Kateoxevace Sidvotav, TH TOAAH oLwmTyH
Tous, Taidas aop0eypartixovs Kal memabdevpe-
vous Tpos Tas aTroKpioes UNXaveOpevos. Ws yap
TO OTrépua TOV TpPOS TAS TUVOVGLAS aKOAdOTwY
dyovov @$ Ta ToANa Kal axaprov éoriv, obTwsS
#) TpOs TO AaAElY akpacia Kevov TOV Oyo TroLel
2 Kat avontov. "Ayis pev ovv o BactrEus, cxo-

mrovros "Attixod Twos tas Aaxwixds paxaipas
els THY puKpOTNTa, Kal NéyovrTos OTL padiws abras
ot Oavpatotool Katamivovow év tots Oedtpo.s,
“Kal nv padsota,” elrev, ‘“npeis epicvovpeda
Trois ey xerprotors TOY Tokeuov éyw 5é Kal Tov
Aoyov opa tov Aaxwvixov Bpayov pev elvat So0-
KobvTa, pddora 6€ TOY TpaypaTrawv édpicvovpevor,
kal tis Stavotas amrTopevov TOV Axpowpmevov.
3 Kal yap o Aveotpyos avros Bpaxvroyos 52

was once fined by the magistrates because his favourite boy had let an ungenerous cry escape him while he was fighting. Moreover, though this sort of love was so approved among them that even the maideps found lovers in good and noble women, still, there was no jealous rivalry in it, but those who fixed their affections on the same boys made this rather a foundation for friendship with one another, and persevered in common efforts to make their loved one as noble as possible.

XIX. The boys were also taught to use a discourse which combined pungency with grace, and condensed much observation into a few words. His iron money, indeed, Lycurgus made of large weight and small value, as I have observed,! but the current coin of discourse he adapted to the expression of deep and abundant meaning with simple and brief diction, by contriving that the general habit of silence should make the boys sententious and correct in their answers. For as sexual incontinence generally produces unfruitfulness and sterility, so intemperance in talking makes discourse empty and vapid. King Agis, accordingly, when a certain Athenian decried the Spartan swords for being so short, and said that jugglers on the stage easily swallowed them, replied: “ And yet we certainly reach our enemies with these daggers.’ And I observe that although the speech also of the Spartans seems short, yet it certainly reaches the point, and arrests the thought of the listener.

And indeed Lycurgus himself seems to have been

1 Chapter ix. 1.

TIS G0LKE yevéoOar al anopbeyparixos, et det
Texpaiped Oat Tois amopynpovevpact’ olov éote
TO Tepl TAS ToMuTEeLas T™ pos TOV afvobvra qroveiy
Sypoxpatiay é év TH monet: « Svyap, " én, “ T PWTOS
év TH olKia cou Tolngov Snpoxpatiav.” kal Tept
TOY Ovovay 7 pos TOV 7 vO omevov dia Tt paKpas
ovTw Kal evTenets érakev, “Iva oz) TOTE,
épn, “ Tysdvtes TO Oetov Siadimrwper.” Kai Trept
TOV aOrnparov, TavTa pova Th) K@AUVTaVTOS
ayoviterOat Tovs mohiTas év ols elp ovK ava-
TetveTa. pépovrat é avrob kat * eT lo TON@Y
amoxpicers TOLADTAL TIPOS TOUS TrOALTAS. TAS ay
Toe piov Epodov areEoipeda ; «Ap mraxol pe-
vynTe Kal pn pécdwv & GT Epos Jatépw epare Typev.”
Kal wad mept TOY Tevxavr “ Ovn av ‘eln arei-
XLaros Tors TIS dvSperat," Kat ov TrLvOors
éorepavorar.” Tepe pev ovv TovTwY Kal TOV
TOLOVT@Y ETLTTOAWY OUTE aTLOTHOAL Padioy ovTE
TirTEvT AL.
XX. This 82 Tpos Ta paKN TaVv NOyov Sia-
Borys Setypara, TovavTa, TOV arropbeyparov éoti.
Newvidas O Baowreds aKaipws TLVOS mept Tpary-
paren ovK aXpnoT@D StarexGevros, °O, Eéve,”
elrrev, “ oun év dort. xpén TH S€ovre.” Xaptraos de
0 ddergibods : rod Auxovpyou mepl THs dAUYOTNTOS
avTou TeV YO pov epwrnbeis, elev @S Of OYOLS
pa Xpw@pevoe Toddois ovde vowwv Séovrat ToAhav.
“Apxeoapioas dé pepbopevov TLD ‘Exataiov Tov
copia Thy drt Taparnpeels eis TO gucaitiov ovder
Exeryev, ““O eldas,” edn, “\oryov Kal Kalpov oldev.”
& b€ tTav mixpav Edny atropynpovevpatwYy ovK
&ydpecor Cobet ; avdpelors,

short and sententious in his speech, if we may judge from his recorded sayings; that, for instance, on

forms of government, to one who demanded the establishment of democracy in the city: “Go thou,” said he, “ and first establish democracy in thy house- hold.” That, again, to one who inquired why he ordained such small and inexpensive sacrifices : ‘‘ That we may never omit,” said he, “ to honour the gods.” Again, in the matter of athletic contests, he allowed the citizens to engage only in those where there was no stretching forth of hands.! There are also handed down similar answers which he made by letter to his fellow-citizens. When they asked how they could ward off an invasion of enemies, he answered : “ By remaining poor, and by not desiring to be greater the one than .the other.’”’ And when they asked about fortifying their city, he answered : “A city will be well fortified which is surrounded by brave men and not by bricks.” Now regarding these and similar letters, belief and scepticism are alike difficult.

XX. Of their aversion to long speeches, the following apophthegms are proof. King Leonidas, when a certain one discoursed with him out of all season on matters of great concern, said: “ My friend, the matter urges, but not the time.”” Char- ilaiis, the nephew of Lycurgus, when asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered : “ Men of few words need few laws.” Archidamidas, when certain ones found fault with Hecataeus the Sophist for saying nothing after being admitted to their public mess, answered: “He who knows how, knows also when to speak.” Instances of the pungent sayings

1 After the manner of men begging their conquerors to spare their lives.

9 a a > 3 / ?
apoipety yapiTos, Toladr éori. Anpuadparos av-
Opwirov tovnpod KoTTovTos avTOY aKatpots épw-
/ } 57; “A 4 >] “a ce Ti
typac. Kal dn TodTO ToANaKLS épwravTos, “ Tis
ww nw 99 v7 cof \ > , 99
dpiotos {rraptiatav; épn: ““O tiv avopototratos.
9 , > 4 “A \ 9 4 e
Ayis 6é, érawotvtav tay tovs "Hréiouvs ws
Karas ta ‘Oddprria cal Stcaiws dyovtas, “ Kar
4 / 99 66 b lal A b] 3 ” 4
Ti peya, én, “’Hretoe rroodvte 8s’ érav aévre
Gpépa ud Xpdpevor Ta Sixacootve;” @cozroputros
‘ 7 > ‘ 4
Sé &évou-tivds evvorav évderxvupévov, Kar pa-
e \ ” e a 4 Ul
TKOVTOS WS Tapa TOLS aUTOU TrONTAaLs diLoNAKwY
Kaneirat, “ Kaddwov! hv rot,” eltrev, “ w Eéve, htro-
/ a 99 A \ oe ,
monitav Kareioba.” Trkeoravak &¢ 6 Taveaviou,

¢ > 6g / \ 5 / > “
pytopos "AOnvaiov tovs Aaxedatpoviovs apadets
atroxanrobvtos, “’OpOds,” Edn, “réyets* pwovor yap
e 4 ” ye \ 9
FAAdvwv appes ovdev Kaxov pepuabjxapev Tap
A 9 > ,
tpav.” “Apyidapuidas 8 mpos tov muvOopevoy
A ”
mocot clot Lrapriarat, ‘‘Ixavoi,” elev, ‘“‘“w Eéve,
TOUS KAKOUS ATrepuKELY.”
Ww \ \ a \ a ? 4 aD
Kore 5€ cat trois pera rradas elpnuévous vr
avTav texunpacba Tov eOicpov. eiOilovto yap
pndérote ypiobar TH Aoyw Tapépyws, pnde
agpiévar havnv Hris ovK apas yé Tas ele TLVOS
e lel
ewpias akiav Sidvowav. o péev yap axodoas
ToD pupoupévov tHy dayndova mapaKxadovpevos,
cA > Lal >> ed ce OCU” VA 99 e de > \
uTas, é€dn, “axovxa tHvas.” o Sé avayvors
TO éTiypapupa TooTO:
2 Bewuyras wore tovade rupavvida yadxeos "Apns
elhe> Leduvodvtos S audi trvras EOavor,
1 «dAdAcov Cobet, van Herwerden; cf. xpetcoov Morals,
p. 22le: Kardyv (tt were well).

not devoid of grace, of which I spoke,! are the
following. Demaratus, when a troublesome fellow
was pestering him with ill-timed questions, and
especially with the oft repeated query who was the
best of the Spartans, answered at last: “He who is
least like thee.’’ And Agis, when certain ones were
praising the Eleians for their just and honourable
conduct of the Olympic games, said: “ And what
great matter is it for the Eleians to practise righte-
ousness one day in five years?’’ And Theopompus,
when a stranger kept saying, as he showed him
kindness, that in his own city he was called a lover
of Sparta, remarked: “ My good Sir, it were better
for thee to be called a lover of thine own city.”
And Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias, when an
Athenian orator declared that the Lacedaemonians
had no learning, said : “True, we are indeed the only

Hellenes who have learned no evil from you."' And Archidamus, when some one asked him how many Spartans there were, replied : " Enough, good Sir, to keep evil men away."
And even from their jests it is possible to judge of their character. For it was their wont never to talk at random, and to let slip no speech which had not have some thought or other worth serious attention. For instance, when one of them was invited to hear a man imitate the nightingale, he said: "I have heard the bird herself.'' And another, on reading the epitaph :— }
"Tyranny's fires they were trying to quench when panoplied Ares
Slew them ; Selinus looked down from her gates on their death,"
1 Chapter xix. 1.

"Aixaiws," elie, " teOvdaxavti Tol avdpes: Be yap adéuev Say avtay Kkataxadpev. veavioxos be
\ \ 2 / > A , b
pos Tov éTayyeAAopevoy avT@ Swoew arex-
Tpvovas atroOvncKovras év TO payer Oar, "My ov ye," elarev, "arr Sos pot TOY ATroKTevoyvTav év TO
, 9" y EX» 7) ,
payecOar. repos Sé tis iddy ey atroxwophae Gaxevovras ert Sippav avOparous, "My yévorto,"
3 2 a / " > ¢

eltrev, "évtadda xabicas dOev ovn Extw UTeEava-

orhvat mpecButépw." TO wey ody TaY atrodpbey-

patov eldos Hv toodTov Mate Kal Aéyety Tivas
> ? ' (cd aA 4 > . A a \
OUK ATOTTWS OTL MAaNAOY EgTL TO PLrAOTOdELY 7 TO

diroyupvacteiy Naxwviter.

XXI. 'H 8@ wepi tas pdas cat Ta péAn Tail-
Sevots ody Arrov éotrovddlero THs ev Tols NOyous ev&nrias xal xaBapiotntos, GAAA Kal Ta pwédXy xévtpov elyev eyeptixoy Oupod Kal wapactatixoy

opis évOovarwdous Kal mpaypatixns, Kal 4» r€E«s
> ” 4 a
mw aherns nab AOpuvrrros éml wpdypact cepvois
kal nOomrotois. emavoe yap Hoav ws Ta TOANA
tav teOvnxotwy brép THS Lmdprns evdatpovrito-
pévov, Kal ~royou THY TpEeTavTwY, wS aNyELvoV Kal
Kaxodaipova Biovvtwv Biov, érayyedia te xal
peyarauvyia Tpos apeTHy TpéTovaa Tais HALKLALS"
av évexa Selypuartos ov yelpov éotw & tt trpo-
evéyxac0ar. tTpiav yap Yopav Kata Tas Tpeis
HrAtKiasS GUVLoTapéVvoDV év Tais Eoprais, 6 pev TOV -

yepovTwy apyopevos AOEv"

"Appes Tox Hues AXetpor veavias.
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LYCURGUS

said: “ The men deserved to die; they should have
let the fires burn out entirely.” And a youth, when
some one promised to give him game-cocks that
would die fighting, said, “ Don’t do that, but give
me some of the kind that kill fighting.” Another,
seeing men seated on stools in a privy, said : “ May
I never sit where I cannot give place to an elder.”
The character of their apophthegms, then, was such as
to justify the remark that love of wisdom rather than
love of bodily exercise was the special characteristic
of a Spartan.
XXI. Nor was their training in music and poetry
-any less serious a concern than the emulous purity of
their speech, nay, their very songs had a stimulus
that roused the spirit and awoke enthusiastic and
effectual effort; the style of them was simple
and unaffected, and their themes were serious
and edifying. They were for the most part praises
ot men who had died for Sparta, calling them blessed
and happy; censure of men who had played the
coward, picturing their grievous and _ ill-starred life ;
and such promises and boasts of valour as befitted
the different ages. Ot the last, it may not be
amiss to cite one, by way of illustration. They
had three choirs at their festivals, corresponding to

the three ages, and the choir of old men would sing first :—
“We once did deeds of prowess and were strong young men.”
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0 6¢ Tay akpalovTwy dpeBomevos éreyev"
"Appes S€ 9° eipév: al dé As, avydodeo.)
o O€ TpiTos 6 TOV Traidwr
“Appes 56 y' éooopecOa ToAA®@ Kappoves.
"“Orws S€é av tis émioryiocas toils Aaxewrixois Tommpact, av ett Kal nuds ena SverwlbeTo, rat
\ > 4 e \ ? 4 9 “A
Tous euBatnpious puOuovs avaraBor, ols éypavro mpos Tov avrov émdyovtes Tois moAeplots, ov KAk@S HYynoalto Kal Tov Tépmavdpov nal Tov llivdapov tiv davdpeiav tH povoikn ovvartety.
O pev yap ovTws Tremoinxe wept Tov Aaxedat-poviwr:
"Ev? aixpa te vévv OarrAeu Kal podoa Aiyera
cab dixa evpvayua — —
Tlivdapos 8€ pyoww:

"EvOa Bovral yepovtwv
Kai véov sal er aptoTevovTt aiypal
kal yopoi Kal Mota «al ayrala.
Movoixwrdtovs yap aya Kxal trodeuKwrarous arodaivovatv avtovs:
“Péwes? yap dvta ta aiddpw Td Kad@S KI-Oapiadev,
ws 0 Aaxwvixos rotnrns cipnxe. Kal yap év tais paxais mpocOvero tais Movaais o peered avapimyycKov, ws gorxe, THS Tratdelas Kal TeV

1 giydocdeo Cobet, as in Morals, pp. 238 b, 544 e, and S (first hand): weipay AaBé (come take a try).
2 ‘péwe: Scaliger’s correction of épwe. Cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. iii.4 p. 51 (Aleman, Frag. 35).

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Then the choir of young men would respond :—
“We are so now, and if you wish, behold and see.”’

And then the third choir, that of the boys, would sing :—
‘“‘We shall be sometime mightier men by far than both.”
In short, if one studies the poetry of Sparta, of which some specimens were still extant in my time, and makes himself familiar with the marching songs which they used, to the accompaniment of the flute, when charging upon their foes, he will conclude that Terpander and Pindar were right in associating valour with music. The former writes thus of the Lacedaemonians :—
“ Flourish there both the spear of the brave and the

Muse’s clear message,
Justice, too, walks the broad streets ef
And Pindar says :—!
“There are councils of Elders,
And young men’s conquering spears,
And dances, the Muse, and joyousness.”
The Spartans are thus showr to be at the same time most musical and most warlike ;
‘In equal poise to match the sword hangs the sweet art of the harpist,”
as their poet says. For just before their battles, the king sacrificed to the Muses, reminding his warriors, as it would seem, of their training, and of the firm

1 Fragment 199, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. i.‘ p. 448.

Kpioewr, iva Oot Tpoxerpor mapa Ta Sewa xa AGyou TLVOS akias tmapéywou tas mpakeas trav waxopméevon.
XXII. Tore dé Kal ToS véous Ta oKdnpoTara TIS aryory7s emavievTes, OUK éx@AVOV Kadhoni-CecOas rept Kounv cal Kocpov OrAwV Kal ipatiov, xaiporres, damep trots, yaupiace Kal ppuatto-pévors 7 pos TOUS aryavas. 510 Kopavres evOus ex THs Tov édnBwv nrLKias, paduiota mepl TOUS xuvduvous eepamevov THY Kony Merrapay Te dai-

verOar Kar Siaxexpiperny, am opynpovevovTés Twa
wal Avuxotpyou NOvyov mrepl THS KOUNS, ott - TOUS
pev kadovs evIrpeTreaTEPOUS mote, Tovs Sé aic-
Xpovs poBepwrépovs. expavTo 5é xal ryupva-
oios paraxwrépors Tapa Tas aTpareias, Kat TI
GdAnv Siarray ovrx obte KeKodao wevny ov" bmev-
Buvov Tots veous Tapeixov, Gare povots avO para
éxetvous THs els TOV TOAELOV aoKHoEwS dvadTavatY
elvat Tov Todepov. 76n dé cuvTeTary pens THS
parayyos auTay Kal TOV ToAEpLooy TapovTwy,®
) Bactrevs aya tTHv Te Xtwatpay eopayiatero
Kat orepavovelas mapnyyedre Tao Kat Tovs
avrnTas abrciy éxédeve TO Kao ropevov pédos:
dua 5 eEnpxev éuBarnpiou mrativos, dare oEumyny
dpa Kal KATATANKTLKHY Thv orp elvat, pv0p@
TE Wpos TOV avrov éuBasvovrev Ka pare d:a-
oT Ao 1a jWowovuvTwy é€v TH parayyt pate TAL
puxais GopuBoupever, ara Tpaas kal thapas
vm0 Tov pehous ayouévey ért tov Kivdvvoyv. ove
yap oBov ovte Oupov éyyiverOat mreovalovra

1 xapévrwy MSS., Coraés, Sintenis!, and Bekker: épdévrep (sn the sight of), with Xenophon, Retp. Lac. xiii. 8.

decisions they had made, in order that they might be prompt to face the dread issue, and might perform such martial deeds as would be worthy of some record.! XXII. In time of war, too, they relaxed the severity of the young men's discipline, and permitted them to beautify their hair and ornament their arms and clothing, rejoicing to see them, like horses, prance and neigh for the contest. Therefore they wore their hair long as soon as they ceased to be youths, and particularly in times of danger they took pains to have it glossy and well-combed, remember- ing a certain saying of Lycurgus, that a fine head of hair made the handsome more comely still, and the ugly more terrible. Their bodily exercises, too, were less rigorous during their campaigns, and in other ways their young warriors were allowed a regimen which was less curtailed and rigid, so that they were the only men in the world with whom war brought a respite in the training for war. And when at last they were drawn up in battle array and the enemy was at hand, the king sacrificed the customary she- goat, commanded all the warriors to set garlands upon their heads, and ordered the pipers to pipe the strains of the hymn to Castor; then he himself led off in a marching paean, and it was a sight equally grand and terrifying when they marched in step with the rhythm of the flute, without any gap in their line of battle, and with no confusion in their souls, but calmly and cheerfully moving with the strains of their hymn into the deadly fight. Neither fear nor excessive fury is likely to possess men so disposed,

1 The Greek of this sentence is obscure, and the translation

doubtful.
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T 2
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Tois oUTW StaKxetpévots etkos éotiv, AAN evoTtabes
dpdvnua pet’ érmidos nat Opdcovs, ws Tod Oeod
TUMLTAPOVTOS. |
"Exper 6€ 0 Bactrevs él TOUS Tohepious
eXov pe éavtob arepaviTny ayava VEVLKNKOTA.
Kat gdact yé Tiva XenpaT ov ToAAov év ’'OdXvp-
mous dudopevwv avT@ iT SeEdpevor, andra TOAD
Tovey KaTaTranaicavTa TOV avrayavar yy, OS TLS
elev avTo@, “Ti cou TrEov, @ Adxawv, yéyove did
a /) / , ‘6 \ a

THs viens ; pavat pedidoavta, Tipo Tou Bace-
News TET AY UEVOS paxoduat Tots Troheptous.” Tpe-
papevor dé Kal VK TO AYTES édiwxov daov éxBe-
Ba wocac bar TO vinnpa Th puyy TOV) TONE MLO, elra
evOus avexXw@povy, UTE syevvatov obte “EXXnviKov
Hyoupevor KOT TEL Kal povevery aroheyouévous
cal TAPAKEXwpHKOTAS. Hv dé ov povov xaXov TobTo
Kal b weryarowuxov, adda Kal Xprorpov. eldoTes yap
ot Haxopmevor 7 pos auTous OTL TOUS i code ega
dvatpovat, peidovrar Sé tav évdvdovtwy, Tov
pévelv TO pevryery nryouvTo AvatTehéa TEpor.
XXIII. Avtov &€ tov Avkoipyov ‘Imaias pev
) copia TNs TONEMLKOTATOV dnote yevéoOat nai
TONY éuTretpov OTPATELED, Prroc réepavos de
Kal THY KaT ovrNapLOUS TOV iar éooy Stavounv
Avxovpyw mpoctiOnow: elvar 5& Tov ovAapor,
@S éxeivos TUvEes THEY, immévy TEVTHKOVTA wrI-
Bos ev TeTpayove oY MATE TET AY EVO. o 8
Darnpevs Anprtptos, ovde mas aypdpevov qWone-
purijs mpatews € €V elonvy KataaThoaa ae THV 10-
urelay. cote bé nal THs ‘Odupmianis € exexerplas
v) émivoua T™paov Kal pos etpnyny oixei@s EYOVTOS
avipos elvat. Kaito. daci tives, ws “Epperros
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™

but rather a firm purpose full of hope and courage, believing as they do that Heaven is their ally.

The king marched against the enemy in close companionship with one who had been crowned victor in the great games. And they tell of a certain Spartan who refused to be bought off from a contest at Olympia by large sums of money, and after a long struggle outwrestled his antagonist. When some one said to him then: " What advantage, O Spartan, hast thou got from thy victory?" he answered, with a smile: "I shall stand in front of my king when I fight our enemies." When they had conquered and routed an enemy, they pursued him far enough to make their victory secure by his flight, and then at once retired, thinking it ignoble and unworthy of a Hellene to hew men to pieces who had given up the fight and abandoned the field. And this was not only a noble and magnanimous policy, but it was also useful. For their antagonists, knowing that they slew those who resisted them, but showed mercy to those who yielded to them, were apt to think flight more advantageous than resistance.

XXIII. Hippias the Sophist says that Lycurgus himself was very well versed in war and took part in many campaigns, and Philostephanus attributes to him the arrangement of the Spartan cavalry by "'oulamoi," explaining that the "oulamos," as constituted by him, was a troop of fifty horsemen in a square formation. But Demetrius the Phalerean says he engaged in no warlike undertakings, and established his constitution in a time of peace. And indeed the design of the Olympic truce would seem to bespeak a man of gentleness, and predisposed to peace. And yet there are some who say, as

pvnpovever, tov Avxodpyov od mpocéyety ovde
xowwveiv év apy toils mept tov "Iditov, adda
Tuyxavey addrAjgws eridnuodvta Kal Oewpevor:
axovaa, Sé dwviy dowep avOpwrov Tivos é£o-
micOev éeritipa@vTos aut@ Kal Oaupdlovtos bre
TOUS TOALTAS OU TIPOTPETTETAL KOLVMVELY THS TAVN-
yupews: as S¢ peractpadévros ovdapyod pavepos
6 dOeyEduevos Fv, Oelov Hrynodpevov, oTw Tpos
tov "Id¢itov tpatrécOas Kal ovvdtaxocpnoavta
Thv éoptnyv évdokotépav Kal BeBaotépay Kara-
oTHOAL.
XXIV. 'H 6&é radeia pexpt Tov évndixwv b1é-
Telvev. ovodels yap Hv adetpevos ws EBovrETO Cv,
arr' olov év otpatrotédm TH wore Kal Slarrav

éyovres wpiopéevny cal dvatpiBny mepl Ta Kowa,
Kal Sdrws vopivovtes ovY AUTOV, GANA THS TaTpi-
50s elvar SveréXovuv, eb poy TL TpaTTe Erepov Ein
T pos TET ay UEvOY, émiaKxoTrouvTes TOUS Traioas, Kal
diddoxovtés TL TOV XpNnoiwov h pavOdvovTes
2 avtol mapa tav mpecButépwv. Kat yap & Te
TOUTO TOV KaXOV HY Kal paxapiwv & TapecKevace
Tots éavTov TodiTats o AUKOvpyos, apJovia vyxo-
Afjs, ols téyvns pev Grpacbat Bavavoov To wWapd-
TAaVv OUK éeiro, Xenpatiopod Sé cuvaywyny
éyovtos épywon Kal mpaypuatelay ovd' otioby eet,
dua To KouldH Tov TrAODTOY AlnrAOV yeyovéevat Kal
3 dtipov. ot dé etrwres avtois eipydtovtTo THY yy,
atropopav thy eipnuévny TeXovVTEs. emridnuav Sé
tis "AOnynoe Sixactnpiov dvtwv, cal tuOdpevos
tiva Slknv apyias adAnkota Babifew adupodvra
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™, :
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Hermippus reminds us, that at the outset Lycurgus had nothing whatever to do with Iphitus and his enterprise, but happened to come that way by chance, and be a spectator at the games; that he heard behind him, however, what seemed to be a human voice, chiding him and expressing amazement that he did not urge his fellow-citizens to take. part in the great festival ; and since, on turning round, he did not see the speaker anywhere, he concluded that the voice was from heaven, and therefore betook himself to Iphitus, and assisted him in giving the festival a more notable arrangement and a more enduring basis.

XXIV. The training of the Spartans lasted into the years of full maturity. No man was allowed to live as he pleased, but in their city, as in a military encampment, they always had a prescribed regimen and employment in public service, considering that they belonged entirely to their country and not to themselves, watching over the boys, if no other duty was laid upon them, and either teaching them some useful thing, or learning it themselves from their elders. For one of the noble and blessed privileges which Lycurgus provided for his fellow-citizens, was abundance of leisure, since he forbade their engaging in any mechanical art whatsoever, and as for money- making, with its laborious efforts to amass wealth, there was no need of it at all, since wealth awakened no envy and brought no honour. Besides, the Helots tilled their ground for them, and paid them the produce mentioned above.! Therefore it was that one of them who was sojourning at Athens when the courts were in session, and learned that a certain

} Chapter viii. 4.

Kal TpoTreumTopuevov Ure TOV ditwv cvvayGouévev
xal Bapéws hepovrwr, édeito SetEar Tovs cupTrap-
oVvTaS aUT@ Tis éoTLV Oo THY EdXevOEpias) EaXwKOS
Sixnv. oftw Sovromperes Hyotvto THY TEpl TAS
Téyvas Kal Tov xXpnuatiopov dcyoriav. Sdixat
5é, ws eixos, éFéNTTOV Gua TO voplopuaTl, pHTE
mreovetias pte amropias avTois trapovens, ico-
tntos 6é év evrropia Kal pacravns de edrérerav
yeyevnévns. yopoi 8& cat Bariar cab ebwyiac
kat SiatpiBal epi te Onpas Kal yupvdowa nat
Neayas Tov aTavta yYpovoy éerrexwpialov, STE pp
OTPATEVOMEVOL TUYOLED. ,
XXV. Of pév ye vewtepor TpidKovra eT@V TO
mapadmav ov KxaréBatwvov eis ayopav, ddra bia
TOV auyyevav Kal TOV épacT@Y éroLodVTO TAS
dvayxatas olxovopias. Tois Sé mpeaRutépois
ainxpov nv suvexas opacbat trepi tabra Satpi-
Bovotv, adra pt) TO TrELoTOY TIS Nuepas Tepl TA
yupvdowa Kal Tas Kahoupévas Noxas dvaorpé-
decbar. Kal yap eis TavTas auMmorTeEs érrlEeLKas
eoxoralov per GAANAWY, OVSEVvOS pepYNnpevOL TOV
™pos Xpnuaticpov h xXpeiav ayopaioy ouvte-
NovvTwy: GAAA TO WrElaoTOVY Hv THs TowavTns
SwatpiBns epyov éraweiv te TOY KadOV, } TOY
aioxpav vpéyew, pera trardids Kal yédwros, éda-
ppas wmohépovtos eis vovOeciav nal SvopAworr.
ovde yap avTos Hv akpdtws avotnpos o Av-
Kovpryos* a\XAa Kal To ToD TéXwtos ayadpariov
éxeivov iSpvcacbat XwaiBios iotopel, THY Tat-
Sav Wotep Hdvoepa Tov wovou Kal Ths Suairns
I ércvdeplas, Sintenis? with Coraés, after Bryan; éaev-
Gepfavy MSS., Sintenis!, and Bekker.
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Athenian had been fined for idleness and was going home in great distress of mind and attended on his way by sympathetic and sorrowing friends, begged the bystanders to show him the man who had been fined for living like a freeman. So servile a thing did they regard the devotion to the mechanical arts and to money-making. And law-suits, of course, vanished from among them with their gold and silver

coinage, for they knew neither greed nor want, but equality in well-being was established there, and easy living based on simple wants. Choral dances and feasts and festivals and hunting and bodily exercise and social converse occupied their whole time, when they were not on a military expedition.

XXV. Those who were under thirty years of age did not go into the market-place at all, but had their household wants supplied at the hands of their kinsfolk and lovers. And it was disreputable for the elderly men to be continually seen loitering there, instead of spending the greater part of the day in the places of exercise and the so-called “leschai.””+ For if they gathered in these, they spent their time suitably with one another, making no allusions to the problems of money-making or of exchange, nay, they were chiefly occupied there in praising some noble action or censuring some base one, with jesting and laughter which made the path to instruction and correction easy and natural. For not even Lycurgus himself was immoderately severe ; indeed, Sosibius tells us that he actually dedicated a little statue of Laughter, and introduced season- able jesting into their drinking parties and like

1 Places where men assembled for conversation.

éuBarovra KaTd Katpov eis TA ouptroota Kal Tas
TOLAVTAS SiarpiBas.
To 5é Grov elOibe rods roritas pn Bovr\ecOar
pndée errioracOat Kat’ idiay bnv, adr’ Bomep Tas
HEAT TAS T@ KOW@ oupdvels SvTas ael Kal pet’
GNAnN@V Ethoupéevovs Tepl Tov apxovTa, pLAKPOD
Sev eFeotatas éavtav tbr’ évOovotacpod Kal
dirotiuias, GAouvs elvar THs watpidos: ws éort
eal gavais tiow avTav dr ofewphaat thy Sea-
yowav. oO pep yap HaiSdpyros OuK eryxepubels els
TOUS Tplaxoatous amrnes pana, pardpos, domep
aipwy tt Bedtiovas abtod Tpiaoatous y) moALS
evel Todvnpatibas dé 0 mpeo Bevov TOs TOUS
Baciréws oT paTHyous pe?” (ETEPOV, épouévwv av-
TaY ToTepov LOig TapEeray 7} Snpocta mreppérres,
elrrev, “Alka TiX@per, Snpocia, aixa amoruv-
wpev, dia.” 7 de Bpacidov payrnp ‘Apytheavis,
@S adixopevol TLVES ELS Aaxedaipova Tov &&f
"Apdurrorews elanOXov Tos auTny, TpoOTnTEv €L
KAAS O Bpacidas améOave «at Tas Lrdpras
akiws peyahuvovtov Sé éxeivov Tov dvbpa war
AeyovTov @S ovK ever ToLOUTOV adDov a Lmdprn:
“M7 Néyere,” elev, ‘@ .Eévou Kados pev yap
qv Kal arya os) Bpacibas, Todos 5é dvdpas
Aaxedaipov é éxel THVOU Kdppovas.”

XXVI. Tous de yepovtas avTos Hev, WS elpnTat, katéotTnoe TO mp@rov éx TGV petaaxovToV Tob Bovretparos: Uarepov 6é avtl Tob TEhevTOYTOS érake Kabioravat TOV dpto tov apeTh xpidevra trav biep éEixovta &rn yeyovstav. Kad péyrortos
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diversions, to sweeten, as it were, their hardships and meagre fare.
In a word, he trained his fellow-citizens to have neither the wish nor the ability to live for themselves; but like bees they were to make themselves always integral parts of the whole community, clustering together about their leader, almost beside themselves with enthusiasm and noble ambition, and to belong wholly to their country. This idea can_
- be traced also in some of their utterances. For instance, Paedaretus, when he failed to be chosen among the three hundred best men, went away with a very glad countenance, as if rejoicing that the city had three hundred better men than himself. And again, Polycratidas, one of an embassy to the generals of the Persian king, on being asked by them whether the embassy was there in a private or a public capacity, replied: “ If we succeed, in a public capacity ; if we fail, in a private.” Again, Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas, when some Amphipolitans who had come to Sparta paid her a visit, asked them if Brasidas had died nobly and in a manner worthy of Sparta. Then they greatly extolled the man and said that Sparta had not such another, to which she answered: “Say not so, Strangers; Brasidas was noble and brave, but Sparta has many better men than he.”
XXVI. The senators were at first appointed by Lyeurgus himself, as I have said,! from those who shared his counsels; but afterwards he arranged that any vacancy caused by death should be filled by the man elected as most deserving out of those above sixty years of age. And of all the contests in

1 Chapter v. 7 f.
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band Lal 3 > , b) , ze > N
édoxet Tov év avOpwrrots aywvwy ovTos elvat Kal
4
TEPLUAYNTOTATOS’ ov yap év Taxyéot TAXLOTOV
oO. > > a 9 , > > b] > @ “”
ovd €V LaXUpoOlsS LaXUpOTAaTOV, AAN ev ayalots
Kal a@ppoow apictov Kai cwdpovéctatov edee
A a \ , \
xcpi0évta vixntypiov éxew HS apeThs da Biov TO
a i a , ,
TULTAY, WS ElTrEely, KPaTOS ev TH TOALTELA, KUPLOV
dvta Kal Oavadtov Kal atipias Kal dros TaV
,
peyiotwv. éyivero Sé 4 Kpiots Tovde TOY TpOTTOV.
/
éxxrnotas aOporcbeions avdpes aiperol Kabeip-
yvuvto wAnciov eis olknua, THY péev drYpLv OVX
A ,
op@vTes ovde op@pevot, THY 5é KpavynY povoy
a a
dxovovtes éxxdAnotatovrwv. Bon yap ws TaAXda
e “A
Kal Tovs autdrwpévous Expivory, OVX opod TaVTwY,
e \ fol > , \ el
GNX’ ExdoTOV KATA KANpoV ELoayopévou Kal TLWTH
Ssatropevoyévov thy éxxrAnoiav. éxovrTes ovv ot
KaTdadKnreroTot ypaypateta, Kal” Exactov émecy-
paivovto THS Kpavyns TO pméyeDos, ovK eidortes
St@ yévolto, TANY OTL Tp@TOS 7} SevTEpos H TpiTos
h otoctocouv ein tav cicayouevwv. stm dé
TAELOTH yévorTo Kal peyioTn, TOUTOY avNyopEvoD.
e
o 5€ otefavwodpevos Tepinet TOUS Oeovs: eltovToO
dé modXol véor Cndodvres Tov avdpa Kal pweyadv-
vovTes, woANai Te yuvatxes éyxoptdtovoar be
won \ 9 \ \ \ Bi 9 5 1q
PONS THY apeTny Kal Tov Biov evdatpovilovaac.
A 4 nw a
tov de émitndeiwy Exactos avT@ Seimvov tapa-
TUOeis EXevyev OTL) TWodls TAVTH Tia TH TPATEL
\ Y \ > \ : 4 a Me a P \ Z a
meptehOav O€ es TO TVGCiTLOV anne’ Kal Ta meV
adr éyivero cuvvynbws, Sevtépas 5é pepidos avtae
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the world this would seem to have been the greatest and the most hotly disputed. For it was not the swiftest of the swift, nor the strongest of the strong, but the best and wisest of the good and wise who was to be elected, and have for the rest of his life, as a victor's prize for excellence, what I may call the supreme power in the state, lord as he was of life and death, honour and dishonour, and all the greatest issues of life. The election was made in the following manner. An assembly of the people having been convened, chosen men were shut up in a room near by so that they could neither see nor be seen, but only hear the shouts of the assembly. For as in other matters, so here, the cries of the assembly decided between the competitors. These did not appear in a body, but each one was introduced separately, as the lot fell, and passed silently through the assembly. Then the secluded judges, who had writing-tablets with them, recorded in each case the loudness of the shouting, not knowing for whom it was given, but only that he was introduced first, second, or third, and soon. Whoever was greeted with the most and loudest shouting, him they declared elected. The victor then set a wreath upon his head and visited in order the temples of the gods. He was followed by great numbers of young men, who praised and extolled him, as well as by many women, who celebrated his excellence in songs, and dwelt on the happiness of his life. Each of his relations and friends set a repast before him, saying: "The city honours thee with this table." When he had finished 'his circuit, he went off to his mess-table. Here he fared in other ways as usual, but a second portion of food was set before him,

mapateBelons épvrattev apapevos: Kal peta TO
Sefrrvoy emi tais Ovpass Tod idetiou Tav oixetwv
TWAPOVTOV YUVALKOY, tv padiota TUYYdvoL TLLOY
mpocexanreito, kal Sidovs THv potpay Ereyey Ott
TavTny autos AaBwv apioteiov éxeivyn Sidwour,
@ote Kaxelyny Enroupévny iro THY ANNWY TpO-
méprreabar yuvatcov.
XXVII. Kai pov «at ra mepl TAS Tapas
apiora, drexoopnoev aurois." ™ pérrov pev yap
GVEN@V derordatpoviav dnacav évy Th monet
Pane tovs vexpovs, cal wAnoioy exe TA pYT-
para TOY iepov ovK éx@XVaE, TUYTPOhOUS TrOL@V
tais Totavtats OwWeot nal auvnfets tous véous,
@aoTe yn TapattredOar nd oppwoeiv tov Odvartov
@> plaivovta Tovs drpapévous vexpod capatos H
51a tabav SteNovtas. erecta ouvOdrrew ovdev
elacev, GAA ev dowixids Kal pvrAdos édNaias
Oévres TO copa TepleaTeNov. emuypayras dé
Tovvowa Oarpavras ov« éfhv tod vexpod, TrIY

avdpos éy TONE Lap Kal yuvarkos TOY lepev aTro-
Javovtwv. Xpovov 5é mévOous odiryov Mpocwpicer,
nmepas évoexa: Th dé Swbexary Oicavtas éder
Anuntpe Aveu To mdOos. ovdev yap ag apryov
ovde a eLevov, adrnra moot KaTepiryyue TOUS
avaryKators aperis tia Chrov h KaKias Sa Bodny-
Kal KaTemUKYOU mapaderyparov wAnse: = THV
Tod, ols avarykaiov WV évruyxdvovtas del xal
out pepopevous dryerOa Kat catacynpatives bat
iovTas TMpos TO KAXOD.
1 airots Coraés and Bekker, after Bryan: abrés (himeel/).

which he took and put by. After the supper was over, the women who were related to him being now assembled at the door of the mess-hall, he called to him the one whom he most esteemed and gave her the portion he had saved, saying that he had received it as a meed of excellence, and as such gave it to her. Upon this, she too was lauded by the rest of the women and escorted by them to her home.

XXVII. Furthermore, Lycurgus made most excellent regulations in the matter of their burials. To begin with, he did away with all superstitious terror by allowing them to bury their dead within the city, and to have memorials of them near the sacred places, thus making the youth familiar with such sights and accustomed to them, so that they were not confounded by them, and had no horror of death as polluting those who touched a corpse or walked among graves. In the second place, he permitted nothing to be buried with the dead; they simply covered the body with a scarlet robe and olive leaves when they laid it away. To inscribe the name of the dead upon the tomb was ‘not allowed, unless it were that of a man who had fallen in war, or that of a woman who had died in sacred office. He set apart only a short time for mourning, eleven days; on the twelfth, they were to sacrifice to Demeter and cease their sorrowing. Indeed, nothing was left untouched and neglected, but with all the necessary details of life he blended some commendation of virtue or rebuke of vice; and he filled the city full of good examples, whose continual presence and society must of necessity exercise a controlling and moulding influence upon those who were walking the path of honour.

"Odev ovS atrodypeiv Bwxe trois BovNopévots
kal mrAavacOat, Eevixa cuvdyovtas 7On Kal pipn-
para Biwy amraiSevTov Kat TONTEVLATOV dia-
popu. adda Kat TOUS a porCopevous én ovdevt
XPNTipem al "Tapeta peovras els Thy TONY ann-
NAVVEV, OVY, WS @ovnvdidns gnet, debias pa THS
TOMTELAS pinral yevovTat Kal Tpos aper ay Te
XPHoLpwov éxpudwory, GAG. waddov Omras pn
bibdoKaror Kaxod Tivos wmdp—wow. apa yap
Eevous cOMacW avaryKn Aoyous émerarevas Eévous*
Aovyor be Kawol Kpioets KaLvas emu épovary. ef
@v avayKny man Toa pvecOar kal mpoarperecs
amqbovoas T pos THV cabertaoav TONLTELAY,
damep dppoviay. 616 parXov @eTO Yphvar pu-
NaTTELW THY Tohy Straws nO av OvK avaTrdnaOn-
oeTaL Tovnpav } capudtwr vocepav eéFwlev
em ELoLOVTOV.
XXVIII. "Ev pév odv TovtTots ovdéy éotuV
adixias iyvos ovdé reovefias, fy éykadovoty
évsoe TOUS Aveovpyov YOLOLS, os iKaVvaS EYovoL
Pos avdpevay, evoe@s dé mpos Suxavocvvny. "
bé kahoupeévn KpuTtéia Tap avrois, el ye bn
TOTO TOV Avkovpyou TOM TEVPATOY & éor,
Ws 'Aptororénns ioTopnKe, TAvTHY av ein Kal TG
TWAdteve meph THS ToneTelas Kal TOU avdpos
éverpyacpevy bofav. Hv 6é TowauTn' TOV vévy
ot apyovTes da Xpovov Tous paMora voov éxyeuv
Soxovyras els THY Xepay adds eérreprrop,
éyovras eyxetpio.a Kat Tpopny avayKatay, ado
dé ovdév: ot O€ pel? neEpay pev els dauvdrrous
Siacre:popevoe TOTOUS, aTréeKpUTrTOY éauvToUs Kal

This was the reason why he did not permit them to live abroad at their pleasure and wander in strange lands, assuming foreign habits and imitating the lives of peoples who were without training and lived under different forms of government. Nay more, he actually drove away from the city the multitudes which streamed in there for no useful purpose, not because he feared they might become imitators of his form of government and learn useful lessons in virtue, as Thucydides says,! but rather that they might not become in any wise teachers of evil. For along with strange people; strange doctrines must come in; and

novel doctrines bring novel decisions, from which there must arise many feelings and resolutions which destroy the harmony of the existing political order. Therefore he thought it more necessary to keep bad manners and customs from invading and filling the city than it was to keep out infectious diseases.

XXVIII. Now in all this there is no trace of injustice or arrogance, which some attribute to the laws of Lycurgus, declaring them efficacious in producing valour, but defective in producing righte- ousness. The so-called “krupteia,” or secret service, of the Spartans, if this be really one of the institutions of Lycurgus, as Aristotle says it was, may have given Plato also? this opinion of the man and his civil polity. This secret service was of the following nature, The magistrates from time to time sent out into the country at large the most discreet of the young warriors, equipped only with daggers and such supplies as were necessary. In the day time they seattered into obscure and out of the way places,

1 In the Funeral Oration of Pericles, ii. 39, 1.
2 Laws, p. 630 d.

averravovro, vuxtwp 5& Katdvres eig Tag odovs
TOV ELAWTOV TOV ANoKOpeEvoy aTréchaTToY. TON-
Nats 8 Kal toils dypots! émretropevopevor tors
poparewtdrovs nal xpatiorovs avTay avypovv.
daomep Kal @ovevdtdns év trois TeXotovynotaxots
istopet tovs én’ avdpeta mpoxpiOévtas bred TeV
Lraptiatav orepavocacbar pev ws édrevOépous
yeyovotas Kal tepiedbeity ta TeV Oedv iepa,
pixpov S& borepov aravtas adaveis yevécOar,
mrelovas } SiaxXtdLous 6vTas, @S unTe Tapayphpa
unre Daotepov yew Twa rAéyev Stw* TpdOT]E
SiePOdpnoav. ‘Apiotorérns 5é pardiota dyot
cal rovs épopous, Otay eis THY apYhy KaTacTaCL
m@p@tov, Tos elAwot KataryyédreLy TrOAEpOY,
Strws evayes 7 TO avendety.
Kal raddra 6 tpayéws mpooepépovto xai
oKAnpas avdtois, Oote Kal tive avayKdalortes
ToXvy aKpaton eis TA GvaciTia TrapEonyov, ért-
Secxvipevoe TO peOverv olov éate Tots véols. Kab
@odas éxédevov adewy Kal yopelas yopeverv ayevvels
Kal Katayerdaorous, atréxerOar 5é trav édevOépowr.
5:6 nai dacw totepov év tH OnBaiwv eis tHv
Aaxovixny otpateia tos adtoKxopévous etXwtas
KENEVOMEVOUS ASew ta Teprrdvépou nat “AXKtpavos
kal Srévdovtos tov Adxwvos mapateicOai, ha-
oKxovtas ovK eOédew TOVs SeatTroTUVOUS. WaTE TOUS
Néyovtas, év Aaxedaipou Kal tov érevOepov pa-

Mata édevMepoy elvar Kai Tov SovrAov pddoTA
1 rots &ypots MSS. (incl. 8): robs d&ypobs after Coraés.
2 8rqm Cohet, cf. Thuc. iv. 80, 4: r¢.
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where they hid themselves and lay quiet; but in the night they came down into the highways and killed every Helot whom they caught. Oftentimes, too, they actually traversed the fields where Helots were working and slew the sturdiest and best of them. So, too, Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian war,! tells us that the Helots who had been judged by the Spartans to be superior in bravery, set wreaths upon their heads in token of their emancipation, and visited the temples of the gods in procession, but a little while afterwards all disappeared, more than two thousand of them, in such a way that no man was able to say, either then or afterwards, how they came by their deaths. And Aristotle in particular says also that the ephors, as soon as they came into office, made formal declaration of war upon the Helots, in order that there might be no impiety in slaying them.

And in other ways also they were harsh and cruel to the Helots. For instance, they would force them to drink too much strong wine, and then introduce them into their public messes, to show the young men what a thing drunkenness was. They also ordered them to sing songs and dance dances that were low and ridiculous, but to let the nobler kind alone. And therefore in later times, they say, when the Thebans made their expedition into Laconia,? they ordered the Helots whom they captured to sing the songs of Terpander, Aleman, and Spendon the Spartan ; but they declined to do so, on the plea that their masters did not allow it, thus proving the correctness of the saying: “In Sparta the freeman is more a freeman than anywhere else in the world,

1 iv. 80. 2 Under Epaminondas, 369 B.c.
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vu 2
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Sotrov, ov havrAws teewpynxévar tHv Stapoparv.

6 Tas pév ody ToLaUTAaS YadeTOTHTAS DoTEpoY éy-
yevéoOat, Trois Sraptidtass vopito, paddtoTta peta
TOV péyav cetopov, ® avveTriOéabat ToOvs ethwTas
peta Meconviwy iotopodot, cai mreioTa KaKad
THY x@pav épydcacbar Kai péytotov TH TodeEL
mepiaThoat Kivduvov. ov yap av éywrye rpocbetny
Avxovpy@ piapov ob tw THS KpUTTEtas Epyov amo
Ths GdAns avToD mpaoTtntos Kal Sixatoovvns
TEXPALPOpMEVvOS TOV TpoTTOY, @ Kal TO Satpomoy
eTréepwapTupnae.

XXIX. KatesAnupévwv Sé trois eOropots Hdn
TOV KUpLwTatev bm avtTov, Kal THs TodtTELas
éxteOpappevns ixavas Kal duvapévns héperv éav-
tv nal colev & éavtis, dotep o TWAdtov
dnolv érl TO Koop@ yevomév Kal xuvnOévte THv
mpeTny Kivnow evppavOjvar tov Oeov, otTwS
ayacbels Kal dyamnoas TO THS vopobertas Kan-
Nos Kal péyeOos év epye ryevoperns cai 06@ Baébk-
Covons, érreOupnaer, os avuotov é& avopwomivns
mpovoias, ab uvatov avr HD amohurrety Kab aKivytov
2 eis TO péddov. cUvaryaryov ovv imavras els ex
KAnoiay, Ta péev adra peTpioos exew épn Kat
ixavers T pos evdaiuoviay Kal apeTny Tis TONEDS,
& 6€ KUpL@ratov cots Kal péytorov ovx dy éfe-
veryKety ™ pOTEpov T POs avrous i) xXpycacIa Te
Jeg. Setv ovv éxeivous éupévery Tots Kabertaat
vopors Kal pn dev adddo ew pndée peraxerecy Ews
émdavecw éx Aeddav avtos: érravenOov yap 6 tt
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and the slave more a slave.’’ However, in my opinion, such cruelties were first practised by the Spartans in later times, particularly after the great earthquake,! when the MHelots and Messenians together rose up against them, wrought the widest devastation in their territory, and brought their city into the greatest peril. I certainly cannot ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable a measure as the “ krup- teia,”’ judging of his character from his mildness and justice in all other instances. To this the voice of the god also bore witness.”

XXIX. When his principal institutions were at last firmly fixed in the customs of the people, and his civil polity had sufficient growth and strength to support and preserve itself, just as Plato says 3 that Deity was rejoiced to see His universe come into being and make its first motion, so Lycurgus was filled with joyful satisfaction in the magnitude and beauty of his system of laws, now that it was in operation and moving along its pathway. He therefore ardently desired, so far as human forethought could accomplish the task, to make it immortal, and let it go down unchanged to future ages. Accordingly, he assembled the whole people, and told them that the provisions already made were sufficiently adapted to promote the prosperity and virtue of the state, but that something of the greatest weight and importance remained, which he could not lay before them until he had consulted the god at Delphi. They must therefore abide by the established laws and make no change nor alteration in them until he came back from Delphi in person ;

1 464-B.c. Cf. Plutarch’s Cimon, xvi.
2 See chapter v. 3. 3 Timaeus, p. 37 c.
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3 dv T@ Be@ SoxH Toinoev. oporoyouvTwv 8 Tav-
Tov cal KedXevovtwv Badbiterv, Spxous AaBov Tapa
tov Bacthéwy cal Tav yepovTwy, ereita Tapa
TOV AANWV TOMTOD, eupevery Kal ypnoecOat TH
4 / h e
xabeot@an TodtTela péxpis av érravédOn o Av-
Kovpyos, amnpev eis Aerdous.
Ilaparyevopevos S5é mpds TO pavretov Kal te
Oe@ Ovcas, npwTnoev ef KAwS OF Vopor Kal ixa-
VaS Tpos evdatpoviay Kal apeTny TOAEWS KElpeEvot
TuyXavovew. arroxpivapévou bé Tod Geod Kal Tovs
, a a , 4
vomous KaXWS KetcOat Kal rhv rod évdoEoTaTHY
pe ie ‘
Stapevety tH Avxovpyou Xpaperny wonLTEla, TO
/ >
pedvrevpa ypayrdpuevos eis Yrdptny améorenev.
> A A a 4 V4 \ /
autos 6¢ t@ Oe@ wad Ovaas Kal Tovs Pirous
aoracdpevos Kal Tov viov, éyvw pnKéte Tots
, ? a \ @ > “ a
ToniTas adetvar Tov Spxov, avtov S€ KaTaddcat
tov Biov éxovaias, iALKlas yeyovas év-} Kad Brody
Ett kal wetmravaba Bovropévors w@paiov éott, cal
TaV Tepl avToY ixavas pos Eevdatpoviay Exe 5o-
KovVTMY. éTEAEUTNOEY OVV ATrOKApPTEpHaAS, HYyoU-
HEVvOS YpHval TOV ToNTiKaY avdpav pnde Tov
Odvatov atonitevtov elvar pndé apyov Td Tob
Biov rédos, adr’ ev aperis pepids cal mapakews
yevopevov. auT@ te yap ékeipyacpévw Ta Kar-
MoTa THY TEeXEUTHY WS AXNODS erLTEAELwoD elvat
THS evdatmovias, Kal Tois moAitats @yv dua Tod
/ 4 a“ ? A 4 \
Biou wapeckevace Karav cal ayabayv dvrara Tov
Odvarov atonrcipey, opwpoxooe ypnoGat TH To-
ALTELa PEK pLS Av Exeivos émravénOy. Kal ov dieyev-
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then he would do whatsoever the god thought best.

When they all agreed to this and bade him set out on his journey, he exacted an oath from the kings and the senators, and afterwards from the rest of the citizens, that they would abide by the established polity and observe it until Lycurgus should come back ; then he set out for Delphi.

On reaching the oracle, he sacrificed to the god, and asked if the laws which he had established were good, and sufficient to promote acity's prosperity and virtue. Apollo answered that the laws which he had established were good, and that the city would continue to be held in highest honour while it kept to the polity of Lycurgus. This oracle Lycurgus wrote down, and sent it to Sparta. But for his own part, he sacrificed again to the god, took affectionate leave of his friends and of his son, and resolved never to release his fellow-citizens from their oath, but of his own accord to put an end to his life where he was. He had reached an age in which life was not yet a burden, and death no longer a terror; when he and his friends, moreover, appeared to be sufficiently prosperous and happy. He therefore abstained from food till he died, considering that even the death of a statesman should be of service to the state, and the ending of his life not void of effect, but recognized as a virtuous deed. As for himself, since he had wrought out fully the noblest tasks, the end of life would actually be a consummation of his good for- tune and happiness ; and as for his fellow-citizens, he would make his death the guardian, as it were, of all the blessings he had secured for them during his life, since they had sworn to observe and maintain his polity until he should return. And he was not

Oy TOV hoyiopdv: tocodTov én porreva ev 7 TOALS THS 'Edd d805 evvouig Kat 8éEn, x Xpovov ero TEVTAKOT LOY TOUS Avnotpyou Xpnoapevn vopoes, ous dexatecadpav Bactréwv per éxeivov ELS "Ay TOV "Apxvddpou yevopeveoy ov6els € exivnoen. 1 yap TOV epopav KATACTAGLS OUK avETIs ide GAN éritacts TIS moAtTelas, Kal Soxovoa T pos Tob Sjuou yeyovévat oodpotépay éroinae THV aploToKpaTiav.

XXX. "Ayéos dé Bacidevovros eloeppin vo- pio wa Wp@Tov eis THY Lrdptyy, Kal peta TOU VOMiC LATOS Treovetia Kal TNOUTOU Cijdos éréBn bia Avcavépor, & Os autos @V aVAdAWTOS VITO xen paTov, évéeTTAnae TH mat piba pido AovTias Kat Tpupiys, Xpuaov al dpyupov éx Tov TOoNe"OU KaT- aryaryov Kal TOUS AvKovpyou KATATONTEVG due- Os vopous. ov em LK paTOUVT@Y _TpoTepov ov 10- AEws n Lrdprn ToMTELAY, arr avbpos acKnTou Kal copod Biov éxouca, HarXov 0, WaTreEp oe mounTat TOV 'Hpaxdea pvdoroyoiar déppa Kat

EvXov é éxovra THY orouperny émemopever Gat, Ko-
Aalovra TOUS Tapavopous Kal Onpradders Tupav-
vous, ots TOS ATO oKUTaANS pas ai Tpi-
Bevos apXxouvea THs “EXddbos éxovons nal Bov-
NoL“EVNS, KaTéhve Tas adiKxous duvaceias at
Tupavvioas €yv Tots TONTEVLAC L, Kat TONELOUS
éBpaBeve nal otdoes Katémave, ToANAKLS OVS
aoTrioa Kivjoaca pilav, arn éva, Téwrpaca
mpeo Bevtnp, @ TavTeEs evOus émoiovv TO 7 poo-
TACT OpMEvO?, dorep at pedooat pavevros nYye-
HOv0s, TUVTpPEXOVTES Kal KaTaxoopovpevot. Toc
OUTOY TEpLnV Evvomias TH TONE Kal dixatocurns.
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. LYCURGUS *

deceived in his expectations, so long did his city have the first rank in Hellas for good government and reputation, observing as she did for five hundred years the laws of Lycurgus, in which no one of the fourteen kings who followed him made any change, down to Agis the son of Archidamus. For the institution of the ephors did not weaken, but rather strengthened the civil polity, and though it was thought to have been done in the interests of the people, it really made the aristocracy more powerful.

XXX. But in the reign of Agis, gold and silver money first flowed into Sparta, and with money, greed and a desire for wealth prevailed through the agency of Lysander, who, though incorruptible him- self, filled his country with the love of riches and with luxury, by bringing home gold and silver from the war, and thus subverting the laws of Lycurgus. While these remained in force, Sparta led the life, not of a city under a constitution, but of an individual man under training and full of wisdom. Nay rather, as the poets weave their tales of Heracles, how with his club and lion’s skin he traversed the world chas- tising lawless and savage tyrants, so we may say that Sparta, simply with the dispatch-staff and cloak of her envoys, kept Hellas in willing and glad obedience, put down illegal oligarchies and tyrannies in the different states, arbitrated wars, and quelled seditions, often without so much as moving a single shield, but merely sending one ambassador, whose commands all at once obeyed, just as bees, when their leader appears, swarm together and array themselves about him. Such a surplus fund of good government and Justice did the city enjoy.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

"“Odev &ywye Oavpdfw ta AeyovTwV ws Apyxe-
Oa. pev WOecar, dpyew 8é ov HiotavTo Aaxe-
Saipoviot, kat tov @eondpurov tod Bacihéws
éraivouvtwy doyov, 6s, elrovtos Tivos cwHlerOaL
Thv Laraptnv Sa tos Bacirels apxexovs yeyo-
- potas, “Maa nop,” elie, “dia tous moXitas Tret-

Oapyx-xovs Gytas’” ov yap axovew Uropévovet TOY
™poorareiy 1 Suva evan, eed ” mea ta paOn-
pa pév €otiy ToD apyovTos | (éurrovel yap 0 KAN@S
dywv To karas ErecOar: nat KaOdrrep immxis
TeXUNS atroTékeopa tTpdov immov Kal weOnveoy
mapacyeiv, ovtw PBacitixyns émiotnuns Epyov
avOpwrows evreiOerav évepydcacbat), Aaxedat-
povioe Sé ovK evrreiOerav, GrrériOvpiay everpyd-
fovro tois adXaLs TOV apyecOa Kai braKxovew
avtois. rovv yap ov vais ovdé ypnuata tap’
avta@y ovdé omditas téumovtes, GANA &va Yrrap-
Ul € , \ , > “
_TuaTny Hyewova’ Kai ANaBovtes expa@vTo peta
a , a / “
Tiyuns Kat Séous, womwep Turtwr@m Xxetuaras
Kal Bpacida Xarxdeis, Avodvdpp 6é wal Karrx-
xpatida kal ’Aynoitkd@ mavtes ot thv ‘Actay
oixovvtTes “EXAnves, Tous pev avdpas dppootas
kat gwhpovotas tev éxactayov Snuwv «al
apxyovTwyv ovoydloytes, mpos 5€ ovuracay TH
Tov Yraptiatav Tow woTrep Tralbaywyov 7
duddocKxadov evoynpovos Biov Kal teraypéevns
i > 4 > 4
morTelas atroBNeTrovtes. ets 6 Kal YTpatovexos
émucxawat Soxet, peta trabsas vopolerav xal
kerevov AOnvaious ayerv pvotypia Kal Tomas,
» , ? a e , “
Hnreiovs 8 aywvo0eteiv, as KadANOTA TODTO
motovvtas, Aaxedaipmoviouvs 5é, av ayuaptdvwoww
1 tov &pxovros with S: &pxovros.

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Wherefore, I for one am amazed at those who declare that the Lacedaemonians knew how to obey, but did not understand how to command, and quote with approval the story of King Theopompus, who, when

some one said that Sparta was safe and secure because her kings knew how to command, replied : “ Nay, rather because her citizens know how to obey.” For men will not consent to obey those who have not the ability to rule, but obedience is a lesson to be learned from a commander. For a good leader makes good followers, and just as the final attainment of the art of horsemanship is to make a horse gentle and tractable, so it is the task of the science of government to implant obedience in men. And the Lacedaemonians implanted in the rest of the Greeks not only a willingness to obey, but a desire to’ be their followers and subjects. People did not send requests to them for ships, or money, or hoplites, but for a single Spartan com- mander ; and when they got him, they treated him with honour and reverence, as the Sicilians treated Gylippus; the Chalcidians, Brasidas; and all the Greeks resident in Asia, Lysander, Callicratidas, and Agesilaiis. These men, wherever they came, were styled regulators and chasteners of peoples and magistrates, and the city of Sparta from which they came was regarded as a teacher of well-ordered . private life and settled civil polity. To this position of Sparta Stratonicus would seem to have mockingly alluded when, in jest, he proposed a law that the Athenians should conduct mysteries and processions, and that the Eleians should preside at games, since herein lay their special excellence, but that the Lacedaemonians should be cudgelled if the others

ovrot, dépecOar. xal tovto pev elpnrar yap
Tov yerolou: ’Avricbévns 5é 0 Lwxpatixos amo
Ths év Aevxtpots payns 6pav tors @nBaious
péya ppovodvtas, ovdév avtovs én Siadéperv
Tatoapiwv éml TH cuvyKoWat Tov Tadaywyov
yaupiovrav.
XXXI. Ov phy tobto ye TH Aveovpy@ xepa-
Aatov HY ToTe, TAEOTwWY THyYOUMLEeVNY ATrONLTTELY
TV TOA’ GAN @aoTep Eévds avdpos Biw Kar
Torews SAns vouilwv evdaipoviay an’ apetis
eyyiverOat Kal opovoias THs mpds avTnv, mpos
tovTo ouvétake xal cuynppocev, dTras édevOépsot
Kai avtdpKeas yevouevot kal cwdpovotytes emt
TrElaTov Ypovoy S:aTeA@or. TavTnv cal IIAdtwv
éxaBe THs todtelas brobeow Kal Aroyévns Kat
Zyvov cal mavres Soot te wept tovTeY émiyetpy-
cavtes evmrety érratvovvTat, ypdupata Kal Aoyous
GTONTOVTES OVO. O 5é OV ypdppaTa Kal NOyous,
GN Epyw TodTElay apyipntov eis has TpoEveyKd-
Hevos, Kal Tois avitapKTov elvat THY Neyouéevny
wept Tov codov didbeoww trrokapBdvovow émdel-
Eas ONnV THY Tod dirocopodaar, eixoTws UrreEp-
jpe 7H S0En tTovs mwmote TodTevoapevous ev
tois"EXAnat. 80 Strep eal AptotoréAns éXaTTO-
vas cyxelv hynot Tiuas } TpoajKov hv avtov yew

év Aaxedaipou, xaimep éxovta tas peyloras.
lepoy Te yap éotw avTou, Kal Ovovor nal’ éxa-
oTov éviauTov ws Dem. Néyeras bé Kal TOY Nerpa-
vov avTovd Kxoptobévtwy oixade xepauvov eis Tov
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."

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did amiss.1 This was a joke; but Antisthenes the Socratic, when he saw the Thebans in high feather after the battle of Leuctra,? said in all seriousness that they were just like little boys strutting about because they had thrashed their tutor.

XXXI. It was not, however, the chief design of Lycurgus then to leave his city in command over a great many others, but he thought that the happiness of an entire city, like that of a single individual, depended on the prevalence of virtue and concord within its own borders. The aim, therefore, of all his arrangements and adjustments was to make his people free-minded, self-sufficing, and moderate in all their ways, and to keep them so as long as possible. His design for a civil polity was adopted by Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and by all those who have won approval for their treatises on this subject, although they left behind them only writings and words. Lycurgus, on the other hand, produced not writings and words, but an actual polity which was beyond imitation, and because he gave, to those who maintain that the much talked of natural disposition to wisdom exists only in theory, an example of an entire city given to the love of wisdom, his fame rightly transcended that of all who ever founded polities among the Greeks. Therefore Aristotle says that the honours paid him in Sparta were less than he deserved, although he enjoys the highest honours there. For he has a temple, and sacrifices are Offered to him yearly as to a god. It is also said that when his remains were brought home, his

1 Cf. chapter xviii. 4.
2 In 371 B.c., when the Thebans under Epaminondas broke the supremacy of Sparta.
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tadov Kataoka’ tovto 5é ov padiws érépm
Twit Tav émipavav wry Evpetidn cuptrecety
Batepov, TekeuvTHoavts Kal rahévts THs Maxedov-
tas wept ApéQovcav. @ote arrodoynpa Kal pap-
TUpLOV péya elvas TOS dyaT@at Tov EvpeTiény To
pov@m oupmeceiy avT@ peta TereuvTyV! a2 TO
Jeodircotate Kai oolwTdt@ MpoTEpoy cuvéTrEceE.
Tereuticas 5€ tov Aveotpyov ot péev év Kippa

Néyouaw, "AmrorAroGeus Se ets "Ade xopscbévra,
Tipatos 8€ cat "Apioto£evos év Kpntn xataBia-
cavra: Kal tadpov ’Apiotokevos avtot Seixvuabat
dnow wo Kpnrav tis Uepyapias steph tiv
Eevixnv obov. vidov 5é Aéyetar povoyevh KxaTtadt-
weiv Avtiwpov: ov TeXeuTHoaVYTOS GTéKVOU TO yéVvOS
éEérurrev. ot & éEraipor nal oixetor Svadoxynv tiva
kat ovvodov él moAXovs ypovous Stapecvacav
KaréoTnoayv, Kai Tas huépas év als auvnpyovto
Avtoupyiéas mpoonyopevoav. *Apiaotoxparns 8é
0 ‘Immdpyov dyna -tovs Eévous tod Aveovpyou
TerevTncavtTos év Kpytn xadocat 70 copa Kat
Staomreipas thy Téppav eis THY OdraTTAaV, avToOD
SenGévros xal duvdrdakapyévou pn wote apa tav
Nerdy es Aaxedaipova xoptcOévtwr, ws erray-
HKOVTOS AUTOD Kal THY OpkKay EAUpLEVOV, pETA-
Bdarwot thy TodTElav. TavTa pév odv Trept TOU
Avxoupyou.
1 The words xal yevéoOa: following reAevr}y are deleted by Bekker and Sintenis? (in critical notes).

tomb was struck by lightning, and that this hardly happened to any other eminent man after him except Euripides, who died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedonia. The lovers of Euripides therefore regard it as a great testimony in his favour that he alone experienced after death what had earlier befallen a man who was most holy and beloved of the gods.

Some say that Lycurgus died in Cirrha; Apollo- themis, that he was brought to Elis and died there ; Timaeus and Aristoxenus, that he ended his days in Crete; and Aristoxenus adds that his tomb is shown by the Cretans in the district of Pergamus, near the public highway. It is also said that he left an only son, Antiorus, on whose death without issue, the family became extinct. His friends and relations, however, instituted a periodical assembly in his memory, which continued to be held for many ages, and they called the days on which they came together, Lycurgidae. Aristocrates the son of Hip- parchus says that the friends of Lycurgus, after his death in Crete, burned his body and scattered the ashes into the sea, and that this was done at his request, and because he wished to prevent his remains from ever being carried to Sparta, lest the people there should change his polity, on the plea

‘ that he had come back, and that they were therefore released from their oaths. This, then, is what I have to say about Lycurgus.

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VOL. I.

NOMA2

I. “Eore 58 wal rept trav Nowa tod Baotdéws
xpovov, Kad’ obs yéyove, veavixr Siapopd, Kaitrep
é& apxis eis TovTOY KaTtayecOaL TOY oTEUpaTwV
axpiBas Soxovvtwv. addr Krwdc0s Tes ev EAeyy—p
Ypovov (oUTw yap Tws éruyéyparrtat 76 BuBAiov)
ioxupiverar Tas pev apxaias éxelvas avaypagas
év tots KeArixots wdbeot tis ToAews nhavica.,
Tas 5é viv datvopévas ove adNO@s cuyKetaOar be’
avdpav yaptfouévwr tioly eis TA Tp@ta yevn Kal
Tovs émipavertatous oixous é€€ ov mpoonKovTwry
eta Bialopévois. Neyouevou & ody as Nopas yévor-
to IIvOayopov cuviOns, ot pev drAws a€todcr
pndev ‘EAAnunis maidevoews Nowa pereivar,
Kabarrep } pice Suvatov Kal avtdpKn yeverBar
mpos apetiy 7 Bertiove TluOayopou BapBapp twi
tHv Tov Bacikéws arrobodvar traidevowv: ot Se
IIvOayopay pév ore yevéoOar, Toav Nopa ypdvev
opod Te trévte yeveais atroAeTropevoy, IlvOayopav
5é rov Sraptidtny Orvprria verrxnnota atadcov
éml ris éexxadexdtns ‘Ondvputridoos, Hs érec tpite
Nopas eis tov Baotreiay xatéotn, tAaVnOEevTA
wept THY Itadiav ouyyevécOa TH Nowa nal ovr-
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I. Tuere is likewise! a vigorous dispute about the time at which King Numa lived, although from the beginning down to him the genealogies seem to be made out accurately. But a certain Clodius, in a book entitled “An Examination of Chronology,” insists that the ancient records were lost when the city was sacked by the Gauls,? and that those which are now exhibited as such were forged, their compilers wishing to gratify the pride of certain persons by inserting their names among the first families and the most illustrious houses, where they had no cause to appear. Accordingly, when it is said that Numa was an intimate friend of Pytha- goras, some deny utterly that Numa had any Greek culture, holding either that he was naturally capable of attaining excellence by his own efforts, or that the culture of the king was due to some Barbarian superior to Pythagoras. Others say that Pythagoras the philosopher lived as many as

five generations after Numa, but that there was another Pythagoras, the Spartan, who was Olympic victor in the foot-race for the sixteenth Olympiad 3 (in the third year of which Numa was made king), and that in his wanderings about Italy he made the ac- quaintance of Numa, and helped him arrange the

1 Cf. Lycurgus, i. 1-3.

2 390 B.c. Cf. Camillus, xix.—xxix. 3 657-654 B.C.

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x 2
ec)

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Staxoopioar thy woNTelav, BOev ovK OrALya Tots "Pwpaixois émirndevpact tav Aakwvixay avape- pixOas TIvOayopou bidaEavtos. adXws 5é Nopas yévos pev Hv éx LaBivwv, LaBivor 5& BovrAovrar AaxeSaipoviwy éavtovs atroixous yeyovévat. ods peyv odv ypovous éFaxpiBaoar yYaderov éort, Kal pariota Tous é« tay 'Odvptriovixay avayouévous, av THv avaypadny ope dhacw 'Trmiav éxdodvar tov 'Hrelov, am' ovdevos oppmpevov avayxatou ampos wiorw: & 8 raperndapev jpyets afta Aoyou wept Nopa, SiéEcuev apyny oixetay da- Bovres.

II. "ESSopov évnavrov 7 'Paun nal rpraxocrov dn 'Pwptrov Baoidevovros wxeito: wéurrn &e iorapévov pnvos, hv viv juépav vovas Karmpa- tivas KanXovdot, Buciay tiva Snuoterh mpd THs morews 0 'Pwpuvros Ove rept TO Kadovpevov Aiyos éXos, kal raphy te Bourn cal rod Sypov To wrelaTov. éEaidyns Se peydAns Trepl Tov aépa TpoT hs yevouerns Kal véhous eri THY yhv épetoar- Tos dua trvevuate cal Carn, TOV pev Arov Susrov éxtrAayevta auvéBn guyety xal oxedacbjva., tov 5é€ "Pwptrov adavn yevéoOa, xal pre avrov érs unre cdma teOynKoros evpeORvat, ya- erny 5é tw' wrovotay GrpacGat TeV TatpiKion, kal pujvat dAoyov év te Shum Kat adTav ws mara. Bapuvopuevoe TO BactrevecOar Kal pera- OThoat TO KpdTos Eis avTovs OédNovTes avérotev tov Baothéa. Kal ydp édoxes tpayvrepov dn mpocpépes Oar cal wovapyixwrepov avTois. adda Taurny pev thy vtowiayv eOepdmevov eis Oeay

government of the city, whence it came about that many Spartan customs were mingled with the Roman, as Pythagoras taught them to Numa. And at all events, Numa was of Sabine descent, and the Sabines will have it that they were colonists from Lacedaemon, Chronology, however, is hard to fix, and especially that which is based on the names of victors in the Olympic games, the list of which is said to have been published at a late period by Hippias of Elis, who had no fully authoritative basis for his work. I shall therefore begin at a convenient point, and relate the noteworthy facts which I have found in the life of Numa.

II. For thirty-seven years, now, Rome had been built and Romulus had been its king; and on the fifth of the month of July, which day they now call the Capratine Nones, Romulus was offering a public sacrifice outside the city at the so-called Goat's Marsh,*in the presence of the senate and most of the people. Suddenly there was a great commotion in the air, and a cloud descended upon the earth bringing with it blasts of wind and rain. The throng of common folk were terrified and fled in all directions, but Romulus disappeared, and was never found again either alive or dead. Upon this a grievous suspicion attached itself to the patricians, and an accusing story was current among the people to the effect that they had long been weary of kingly rule, and desired to transfer the power to themselves, and had therefore made away with the king. And indeed it had been noticed for some time that he treated them with greater harshness and arrogance. This suspicion the patricians sought to remove by ascribing divine honours to Romulus,

Timas avdyovtes ws ov TeOvnxota Tov 'Pwpvror,
GANA KpelTTOVos bvTa poipas: Kal IIpoxdos, avnp
éridavys, Stwpocato 'Pwyvrov idelv eis odpavov
ouy Tots SirAOLs avadepopevoy, Kat having axotcas
xeXevovros avTov ovopaterBat Kupivoy.
'Erépa 5€ tapayy xal ordow xatedduBave
Thy TOAW vTrép TOU péAXOVTOS aTrodeYOnoerOat
Baciréws, obra TeV érndrvdwv Koutdy Tois Tpw-
TOKS oUyKEXpapévwv WoriTats, GAN ETL TOU Te
Ssuov woANa Kupalvovtos év éauvt@ Kal tov
matpixiwoy év vrowiats é« tov Siaddpov pos
GAAnNOUS SvTwWV. OV pnV arANA Bacirever Bat
pev edoxes traci, Hptoav Sé nab Séotnoayv ovx
uirép avdpos povov, dAXd Kal yévous, omorepov

mapébes Tov Hryemova. Kat yap ot peta ‘Popvrov
MPATOL Tuvoikicayres THY TOMY OK avaTKXETOV
énotobvTo Trodews Kal ywpas Tovs YaBiveus pe-
radaBovras dpyew BidlecOar trav ert taira
SeEapévwv, nal tois YaBivors Fv tis evyvopwv
Novos, érreb Tatiov rod Bacihéws avtay arro-
Bavovros ove eotaciacay mpos ‘Pwpvrov, adr
elacav adpyew povov, adOis aktovvrwy Tov ap-
xovTa iyever Oar Tap auTa@v. ovTe yap éK Ta-
TEwWOTEpwY KpElTTOTL mpooyevécOal, Kal Tpoaye-
vomevot ANGE te pacat Kal mpoayayeiv eis
akiwpa qodews éxeivous pel’ Eavtav. vmép pev
ovv TovTwy éatraciatov.
"Orws 5€ yun ovyyvow éx Tis avapxias 7
oTdols aTrepydoeTat, peTewpou Tov ToNLTEU-
patos dévtos, érakay of twatpixiot, TevtjKovra 61
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on the ground that he was not dead, but blessed
with a better lot. And Proculus, a man of eminence,
took oath that he had seen Romulus ascending to
heaven in full armour, and had heard his voice com-
manding that he be called Quirinus.!
The city was now beset with fresh disturbance and faction over the king to be appointed in his stead, for the new comers were not yet altogether blended with the original citizens, but the commonalty was still like a surging sea, and the patricians full of jealousy towards one another on account of their different nationalities. It is indeed true that it was the pleasure of all to have a king, but they wrangled and quarrelled, not only about the man who should be their leader, but also about the tribe which should furnish him. For those who had built the city with Romulus at the outset thought it intolerable that the Sabines, after getting a share in the city and its territory, should insist on ruling those who had received them into such privileges ; and the Sabines, since on the death of their king Tatius they had raised no faction against Romulus, but suffered him to rule alone, had a reasonable ground for demanding that now the ruler should come from them. They would not admit that they had added themselves as inferiors to superiors, but held rather that their addition had brought the strength of numbers and advanced both parties alike to the dignity of a city. On these questions, then, they were divided into factions.

But in order that their factions might not produce utter confusion from the absence of all authority, now that the administration of affairs was suspended,

. Cf. Romulus, xxvii. 3—xxviii. 3.

e@ A v 3 A 4 b] a
kal éxarov dvtTwy avTayv, Exaorov év pépet Tots
BacirtKots Tapacnpots Koo povpevov Ovewv TE Tots
Geois Ta vevomicpéva Kal ypnpativew && pév Opas
THS vuctos, && 5é THs Huépas. Kai yap 7 Stavopy
TOV Katp@V ExaTépov Tpos ioOTNTA KANaS ExeLV
éSdxet Tois apxovet, cal mpds Tov SHuoy 7H peTa-
A) “A b] , 3 A \ 4 , e la
Born tis éEovcias adaipety tov POovov, opavrTa
THS aUTHS Hyépas Kal vuKTos Tov av’rov idstoTnv
éx Bactrtéws yiwomuevov. to € oxRMA TODTO TIS
apyis wecoBacireiav ‘Pwyaior carovow.
III. "ANA Kxaivrep oTw TordTIKa@S Kal dveE-
maxOas adnyeicbas Soxodvtes, vrovoiats Kat
GopvBos meptémimrov, ws peOrotavtes eis OrL-
yapxiavy Ta tpaypata Kal dtatravdaywyobvres
év adhicw avtois thy troditeiav, BacieverOar
\ 9 2f/ > 4 / > /
dé ovx éOédovev. €x TovTOV cuvéByoay audorepat
pos GAANAaS al oTdoEs, BaoTE THY ETépav ex
a es 9 a / 4 \ a
THS éTépas amrodeiEas Bactdéa> partota yap av
ovTws év TE TH Tapovte travoacOar THy ptdo-
/ \ 9 , N 9 ,
vetxiav, kal Tov amrodeyOevta mpos auotépous
icov yevérOat, Tos pev ws EXopévOUS ayaTrOVTA,
rots Sé€ evvouvy dvTa dtd aovuyyéveray. émiTpe-
wavrwv b€ mporépats Tots ‘Pwpaios tav LaBivev
THhv aipeciv, &oke wadrrov édécOat YaBivov av-
Tous atrodetEavtas 7} Tapacyeiv Popaiov éxeivwv
éXopéevwov. Kat Bovrevadpuevar xaP éavtovs arro-
Secxviiovow éx LaBivov Nopuav Wopridsov, dvdpa
Tov pev eis “Paunv ar@xicpévov ov yevdpevon,

it was arranged by the senators, who were one
hundred and fifty in number,! that each of them in
his turn should assume the insignia of royalty,
make the customary sacrifices to the gods, and

transact public business, for the space of six hours by day and six hours by night. This distribution of times seemed well adapted to secure equality between the two factions, and the transfer of power likely to remove all jealousy on the part of the people, when they saw the same man, in the course of a single day and night, become king and then a private citizen again. This form of government the Romans call " interregnum."

III. But although in this way the senators were thought to rule constitutionally and without oppression, they roused suspicions and clamorous charges that they had changed the form of govern- ment toan oligarchy, and were holding the state in tutelage among themselves, and were unwilling to be ruled by a king. Therefore it was agreed by both factions that one should appoint a king from the other. This was thought the best way to end their prevailing partisanship, and the king thus appointed would be equally well-disposed to both parties, being gracious to the one as his electors, and friendly to the other because of his kinship with them. Then, as the Sabines gave the Romans their option in the matter, it seemed to them better to have a Sabine king of their own nomination, than to have a Roman made king by the Sabines. They took counsel, therefore, among themselves, and nominated Numa Pompilius from among the Sabines, a man who had not joined the emigrants to Rome,

1 Cf. Romulus, xx. 1.

yvopyiov & ottw 8' aperiy dvta macw ote
TOV éEXopevwv TpoOumoTEpoY dvopacGévros avo
déEacdat tors LaBivous. Ppdcavtes ov TH Syup
Ta Sedoypeva, mpéoBers éexméwrrovot mpos Tov
dvdpa Kowh Tovs mpwrevovtas am apuotépav,
jew Senoouévovs xa traparaBelv thv Bact-
relay.
"Hy &€ aodews pev o Nopas émidavois év
LaBivors ths Kupewv, ad Fs nal Kupiras
'Pwpuaios ofas avrovs Gua tois avaxpabetor
LaBivors mpoonyopevoay, vies dé Tlopumwvos,}
avipos evdoxipov, treccdpwy aberdav vewraros:
MEpg dé yeyovwas kata 5 twa Ociav tiynv év
4 Tnv "Pouny éxticav ot trept 'Pwyvrov avn 5é
éoTt mpd Sexawas xaravdov Maloy. dices dé
Tpos Tacav apetny ev KEexpapévos TO 4005, Ere
bGAXov aurov éEnuépwoe did Traidelas Kal KaKo-
mwabeias kal pirocodgias,? od povov Ta AoLdopov-"
peva wdOn Tihs Wuyi, G\Ad wal THY evddone-

povoay év tois BapBdpos Biav Kal mreoveFiay
éxtrodw@y troinadpevos, avdpelay S¢ adnO7 THY bd
NOyou trav émiusuav év avT@ xdbeipEw myov-
pevos. éx 5 rovTov tracav olxobev dua tpudyy
Kat TroduTéeNeav é€eAavver, travtl 5é moditn Kal
Eév yphoOar trapéxwv éavtov dpeuTrrov Sixac-
Thv kal avpBovrov, autos 8 éavt@ cyordlovtt
xpwpevos ovdey pos HduTraeias Kal Tropiopous,
adr\a Oeparreiay Oedv xat Oewpiav Bh Noryou
duceds Te a'tav nal duvdpews, dvopa péya Kal
1 Tiduxwvos a correction of Nouzrwvlov by Sintenis? (critical notes), adopted by Bekker, and now confirmed by S. 2 nal pidogoplas omitted by Bekker, with C.

but was so universally celebrated for his virtues that, when he was nominated, the Sabines accepted him with even greater readiness than those who had chosen him. Accordingly, after making their decision known to the people, the leading senators of both parties were sent as ambassadors to Numa, begging him to come and assume the royal power. Numa belonged to a conspicuous city of the Sabines called Cures, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the joint name of Quirites. He was a son of Pompon, an illustrious man, and was the youngest of four brothers. He was born, moreover, by some divine felicity, on the very day when Rome was founded by Romulus, that is, the twenty-first day of April! By natural temperament he was inclined to the practice of every virtue, and he had subdued himself still more by discipline, endurance of hardships, and the study of wisdom. He had thus put away from himself not only the infamous passions of the soul, but also that violence and rapacity which are in such high repute among Barbarians, believing that true bravery consis- ted in the subjugation of one's passions by reason. On this account he banished from his house all luxury and extravagance, and while citizen and stranger alike found in him a faultless judge and counsellor, he devoted his hours of privacy and leisure, not to enjoyments and money-making, but to the service of the gods, and the rational contemplation of their nature and power. In consequence he had a great

1 Cf, Romulus, xii. 1.

Sofav elyev, Bote cal Tdtiov rov év '"Popn

cupBactrevoavta 'Pwpiro, wads adT@ Ovyatpos
ovons Tatias, romoacbar yapBpov éxeivov. ov
pny érnpOn ye TO yao petoixicacbar pos Tov
mevOepov, GAN avTov Teptémav TaTépa ynpatov
évy LaBivos vréuevev, dua Kal ths Tarias éNope-
yns THY TOD avdpos LdtwrevovTos Haovylav mpo Ths

év ‘Payn dca tov tratépa tins Kal Sofns. airy
bev odv A€éyeTat TpiTw Kal Sexdtw pera Tov
yapov éres TeAcEuTHOAL.
IV. ‘O 8€ Nopds éxXeitrwv ras ev doter d:a-
TpiBas aypaunelv Ta TOAA Kal TrAavaCBAat povos
HOerev, év adocot Oewv nal rAetpwowy iepois Kal
TOoTraLs epypuots tolovmevos tHy Siattav. dev
ovY HatoTa THY apxynv o epi THS Ocas EraPe
Noyos, ws apa Nopas éxeivos ove adnpovia tivr
Wuys «al wravn tov peta avOpwmwy atronré-
Noutre Blov, GAAA GEeuvoTépas yeryeupéevos optrAcas
Kai yduov Oeiwv n€wwpévos, "Hyepla Saipovr
cuvav épocn Kal cvvdiart@pevos, evdaipwv dvip
kal ta Ocia Tmemvupévos yéyovev. OTL pev ovv
TavTa Todos TOV Tavu TadaLtav pvOwY Eoxer,
obs of Dpuyes te mept “Attew cal BiOvvol crept
‘Hpodetrou nal trepi “Evdupimvos "Apeddes ardor
Te Tept GAAwY evdatwovay by Tw Kal Jeopirav
yevéoOar Soxovvtwy taparaBorvtes nydtnoar,
ovx Gdnrov éott. Kat tov Noyov Evet Tov Oeor,
ov dirsmmov ovdé piropwy, adr(a PiravOpwrrov
dvTa, Tots Stamhepovtws ayabois eOérXew ouveivas,
kal un Svoxepaivery unde aripate avdpos ociov
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name and fame, so that Tatius, the royal colleague of Romulus at Rome, made him the husband of his only daughter, Tatia. He was not, however, so exalted by his marriage as to go to dwell with his royal father-in-law, but remained among the Sabines min- istering to his aged father. Tatia, too, preferred the quiet life which her husband led as a private citizen to the honour and fame which she had enjoyed at Rome because of her father. But she died, as we are told, in the thirteenth year after her marriage. IV. Then Numa, forsaking the ways of city folk, determined to live for the most part in country places, and to wander there alone, passing his days in groves of the gods, sacred meadows, and solitudes. This, more than anything else, gave rise to the story about his goddess. It was not, so the story ran, from any distress or aberration of spirit that he for- sook the ways of men, but he had tasted the joy of more august companionship and had been honoured with a celestial marriage ; the goddess Egeria loved him and bestowed herself upon him, and it was his communion with her that gave him a life of blessed- ness and a wisdom more than human. However, that this story resembles many of the very ancient tales which the Phrygians have received and cherished con- cerning Attis, the Bithynians concerning Herodotus, the Arcadians concerning Endymion, and other peoples concerning other mortals who were thought to have achieved a life of blessedness in the love of the gods, is quite evident. And there is some reason in supposing that Deity, who is not a lover of horses or birds, but a lover of men, should be willing to consort with men of superlative goodness, and should not dislike or disdain the company of a wise and

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cat ow@dppovos omtrdiav. a Sé xal ceparos
> f ‘ og 3 7 a N 7
avOpwirivov cai @pas é€oti tis Oe@ nai Saipors
Kowovia Kai yapis, épyov dn Kai tovto
wero Orvat.
Kaitot Soxodaw ot« amiOdves Aiydrrcot Srat-
peiy ws yuvatki pev ovx advvatoy mvevpa wW1-
otdcat Oeod xai Twas évtexeiy apyas yevécens,
avipt € ovK« éote cvppsEss mrpds Oeov ovde opsria
ceopatos. ayvoovor Sé€ Ste TO payvipevoy @
piryvuTar THY tony avTatrodiéwot Kowwviay. ov
nv adrAa didiav ye mpos avOpwrov civar Oe@
‘ ? 4 s 4 \ Ld
Kat Tov él TavTn Aeyopevoy Epwra Kai huopevov
eis émripéderay Oovs Kal apetis, wpérov av etn.
> ray e 4 , ' N
Kal ov mAnppEAOVCLY of Tov PdpBavta Kal Tov
‘TadnsOov xai rov “Adunrov épwpévous °Arrod-
Awvos yeyovéva, pvOoroyovrTes, MaTrep av Kar
Tov Xxuwvov ‘Iamodvtov, @ 89 nab hac,
e 4 4 4 ? l4 wn”
oodnis Tuyot StaTTAéwy eis Kippay é« Lexvdvos,
tThv TIvOtav, olov ataOavopévov tod Beod Kai
Xaipovtos, amroGearrivey trode TO Np@ov
Kai 8 av@’ ‘Immodvrowo didov napa es ada
Baiver.
IIwvdapov dé cai trav perov cpactiy yevécOar
tov lava puOoroyovow. adamédwxe Sé tTiva Tiny
\ 9 / € , ,
kat Apyrroy@ xal “Hodd@ trerevtycace 51a Tas
Movoas 76 datpovmov. Yohoxret 5é nal Cavrs
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man. But that an immortal god should take carnal
pleasure in a mortal body and its beauty, this, surely,
is hard to believe.
And yet the Aegyptians make a distinction here which is thought plausible, namely, that while a woman

can be approached by a divine spirit and made pregnant, there is no such thing as carnal intercourse and communion between a man and a divinity. But they lose sight of the fact that in- tercourse is a reciprocal matter, and that both parties to it enter into a like communion. However, that a god should have affection for a man, and a so-called love which is based upon affection, and takes the form of solicitude for his character and _ his virtue, is fit and proper. And therefore it is no mistake when the ancient poets tell their tales of the love Apollo bore Phorbas, Hyacinthus, and Admetus, as well as the Sicyonian Hippolytus also, of whom it is said, that, as often as he set out to sail from Sicyon to Cirrha, the Pythian priestess, as though the god knew of his coming and rejoiced thereat, chanted this prophetic verse :—

“Lo, once more doth beloved Hippolytus hither
make voyage.”

There is a legend, too, that Pan became enamoured of Pindar and his verses. And the divine powers bestowed signal honour on Archilochus and Hesiod after their deaths, for the sake of the Muses.! Again,

1 The Delphian oracle pronounced a curse on the man who killed Archilochus, because ‘‘ he had slain the servant of the Muses.” And the same oracle told the people of Orcho- menus, when a plague had fallen upon them, that ‘‘ the only remedy was to bring back the bones of Hesiod from the land of Naupactus to the land of Orchomenus.”

tov "AoxArntiov émiEevaOjvat ANoyos éotl 1roAXa
péxps Sedpo Stacwlwv Texunpta, Kal TeXMevTHOAYTL
Tuxely Tapys adXros Geos, ws AéyeTaL, Tapéoyev.
dpa ovv adk&wv éott, tadta acuyyxwpovvras émt
rovTwv, amare e Larevew cat Mive cat Zo-
poaotpn Kxat Nowa xal Avxotpym Bactreias
xuBepvact Kal odttelas Staxocpobcw - eis TO
avro époita Td Satpoviov, TovToLs pev EiKos eo Te
Kat orovddlovtas Oeovs omsreiy eri didacKaria
cal trapaivéces trav BeXTictwY, Trointais 5é Kat
AupiKois puvupilovary, elmep apa, ypjoOa trai-
Covras; et 5é Aéyee Tis GAXWS, Kata BaxyvarLdyp,
“Tnateta xédevOos.” ovdé yap a&tepos Noyos exer
Tt hairov, dv mepi Avxovpyou cal Nowa xai
TOLOUTWY aAXwWY avdpav AéyovoLy, ws SUTKdbexTa
kal dvodpecta TANHOn yetpovmevor Kal peydras
émipepovres Tais ToAtTElLats KalwoTOMAS, Mpoce-
mwomocavto tTHv amo tov Oeod Sokav, avtois éxei-
vows Wpos ods eax npatiCovto owTHpLov ovaav.
V. "AAAA yap Eros Hn StatedXobvTs TO Nowa
TecoapakooTov AKov amo ‘Pauns ot mpéoBes
TapaxadovvtTes eri THY Bactrelav. tovs dé do-

yous étrotnoato IIpoxXos Kai OvédXeoos, oY Irpo-
Tepov etidokos Hv o Sipos aipnoecOat Tov Erepov
Baotréa, IlpoxrAm péev trav ‘“PwpvrAgov rAawy,
Overéow 5€ trav Tatiov padtora mpocexovTwv.
oro: pev otv Bpaxéa SueréxOnoav, olopevos TO
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there is a story, still well attested, that Sophocles, during his life, was blessed with the friendship of Aesculapius, and that when he died, another deity procured him fitting burial.) Is it worth while, then, if we concede these instances of divine favour, to dis- believe that Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroaster, Numa, and Lycurgus, who piloted kingdoms and formulated constitutions, had frequent audience of the Deity? Is it not likely, rather, that the gods are in earnest when they hold converse with such men as these, in order to instruct and advise them in the highest and best way, but use poets and warbling singers, if at all, for their own diversion? However, if any one is otherwise minded, I say with Bacchylides, “ Broad is the way.” 2 Indeed there is no absurdity in the other account which is given of Lycurgus and Numa and their like, namely, that since they were managing headstrong and captious multitudes, and introducing great innovations in modes of government, they pretended to get a sanction from the god, which sanction was the salvation of the very ones against whom it was contrived. |

V. But to resume the story, Numa was already completing his fortieth year when the embassy came from Rome inviting him to take the throne. The speakers were Proculus and Velesus, one or the other of whom the people was expected to choose as their king, Proculus being the favourite of the people of Romulus, and Velesus of the people of Tatius. These speakers, then, were brief, supposing

1 Dionysus is said to have appeared to Lysander and ordered him to allow Sophocles to be buried in the tomb of his fathers, on the road to Deceleia, then occupied by the - Lacedaemonian army. See Pausanias, i. 21, 1, with Frazer’s note. * Fragment 29 (Jebb, Bacchylides, p. 423).

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Nopad thy cuvtvyiay aotalopéevp yeyovévar hv
5 ov ptxpov, ws Gotxev, Epyov, GANA Kal AdyoV
ToNAoY Kal Sejoews TO Teicat Kal peTacTHoas

yveuny avdpos év jovxyia nat epnvn BeBuwxoros
els GPX TOAEwWS TPOTrOY TWA Kal yeyernpévns }
Tokéum Kal ovvnuEnpévyns. Edeyev ody TOD TE
jTatpos avTov tapovTos xal Mapxiov, tav ouy-
yevav évos, os “Ildca pév avOparrivou Blov pera-
Bor} cdarepov: 6 6 pit’ dedi Te TOY ixavev
NTE pe“TTOY éoTL TMV TrapovTwY, TOUTOY OvdEeY
GXXO WAnVY dvota petaxocper Kal peOiotnow
éx tav avynOwv: ols Kav eb pundev Erepov mpocein,
T@ BeBatorép@ Stadéper trav adyjrwv. arr ovde
adnra Ta THS Bacirelas Tois “Pwytrouv Texpat-
popévw trabjpacuy, ws Tovnpay pey autos éXaBe
SoEav émuBouvredoat TH cuvapyovtTs Tati, Tovn-
pav dé Tols opmoripors mepteTroincey ws avnpn-
pévos um avtav. xaitot “Paptrov pev odtor
maida Oedv vpvovor dyuats, Kal tpodyv Twa
Satpoviov avtov Kal owtnpiav amiocToyv Ett vy-
qiov Néyovatv’ émol 5é cal yévos Ovnrov éote cat
tTpop7 Kal tmaidevoits vm’ avOpaTav dv ovK
aryvoeite yeyernuévyn: ta & érrawovpeva Tod TpOd-
tou Bacthevew Toppw pédrovTos avdpds, Havxia
TE TONAT Kal StaTpLBy EPL AOYOUS aITpayp_ovas,
6 te Seuvos ovTos Kal ovvtpodos eipnyns Epws
Kal mpaynatwv ato\éuwov Kal avOpanev ém
Tin Oewv Kai pirodpocvvats eis TO avTO GuP-
tovTwy, Ta b€ adrAa Kal éavTodrs yewpyouvTaV 4
1 yeyevnuévns Bekker has -yeyerynuévns (born), after Corada,
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that Numa would welcome his good fortune. It was, however, no slight task, but one requiring much

argument and entreaty, to persuade and induce a.

man who had lived in peace and quiet, to accept the government of a city which owed its existence and growth, in a fashion, to war. His reply, therefore, in the presence of his father and one of his kinsmen named Marcius, was as follows. ‘ Every change in a man’s life is perilous; but when a man knows no lack, and has no fault to find with his present lot, nothing short of madness can change his purposes and remove him from his wonted course of life, which, even though it have no other advantage, is at least fixed and secure, and therefore better than one which is all uncertain. But the lot of one who becomes your king cannot even be called uncertain, judging from the experience of Romulus, since he himself was accused of basely plotting against his colleague Tatius, and involved the patricians in the charge of having basely put their king out of the way. And yet those who bring these accusations laud Romulus as a child

of the gods, and tell how he was preserved in an incredible way and fed in a miraculous manner when he was still an infant. But I am of mortal birth, and I was nourished and trained by men whom you know. Moreover, the very traits in my disposition which are commended, are far from mark- ing a man destined to be a king, namely, my great love of retirement, my devotion to studies ineonsistent with the usual activities of men, and my well-known strong and inveterate love of peace, of unwarlike occupations, and of men who come together only for the worship of the gods and for friendly inter- course, but who otherwise live by themselves as

5 vewovtwv. vupiv dé, w Pwpaior, wodXods péev tows
aBourntous aonéAoutre TroAguOUS "Pwpiros, ols
>) *y e 4 J , } aA ,
avTepeioovTos 7 TodLs éutretpov Seitar Bacidéas
\ ' , ' \ , \
Kat axpalovtos: wodAn Sé nal cuvnbea kal
0 , PS > > , , a 5 , \ yO€
mpoOupia Ss' evtuxiay yéyove TO SHue, Kal ovdéva
rnéeANOev abEecOat nat xpateiv étépwv BouvrAdpevos,
4 \ , A " b , , ,
@aTe Kal yédXws av ein Tapa, Oepatrevovtos eos,
\ la " , \ \ , >] 4
kar dixnv tipav, Biav bé€ nal Torenov éyOaipew
S:6doKovtTos TOMY oOTpaTnAaTOV padrov H Bact-
Aéws Seouévyv."
VI. Totodrots Adyous adhootovpévou thy Bact-
Nelav TOD avdpos, of Te 'Pwpaios Tacay érrotobyto
\ 5 n \ , ' a
amovony avttBorovvtTes Kal Seopevor pn odas
A /
avOus eis oTdoww éuBanrely Kai Todepov éuhvrcov,
, 4
ovK OvTos éTépou Trpos by auoTEepat curyvEdcovGLY
ai otdoes, 6 Te TaTHp Kal 60 Mdpxios éxetywv
petaotavtwy idia mpocketpevor Tov Nopuay &res-
2 Oov déyeoOar péya wai Octov Swpov. "Ei 5é avtos

" 4 VA 9 > 4 v , ?
ote TOVTOU én St avTdpKecay ote So-ay ap-
ys nal Svvacteias éfjAwKas Kpetooova THY am
9 le) 4 9 > e , n Q
dpeths Exwv, GAN UTrnpeciay ye Geod To Bact-
/ e / " > 7 \ > 2a

Neveu Hyoupevos, Os ye aviarnos Kal ode eG
n > wn“
ketcOar Kal apyeiy thy év col tooavrny Stxaco-
4 \ Le) \ > , \ > lé
auvnv, bn pheirye pnde arrodidpacKke thy apyny,
b \ 4 4 “A , ®e
avdpi dpovipm mpaktewv Kadov cal peydr\ov ov-
aav ywpav, év 7 Kal Oeparreias Oew@v peyador pe-
jets elot Kat Tpos evoéBaay avOpwrarv npuepo-
gels pdota Kal TayloTa peTAaKoopoUpPEVWY WITd

tillers of the soil or herdsmen. Whereas, unto you, O Romans, whether you want them or not, Romulus has bequeathed many wars, and to make head against these the city needs a king with a warrior’s experience and strength. Besides, the people has become much accustomed to war, and eager for it because of their successes, and no one is blind to their desire for growth by conquest. I should therefore become a laughing-stock if I sought to serve the gods, and taught men to honour justice and hate violence and war, in a city which desires a leader of its armies rather than a. king.”

VI. With such words did Numa decline the kingdom. Then the Romans put forth every effort to meet his objections, and begged him not to plunge them again into faction and civil war, since there was none other on whom both parties could unite. His father also and Marcius, when the envoys had withdrawn, beset him privately, and tried to persuade him to accept so great a gift or the gods. “Even though,” they said, ‘‘ thou neither desirest wealth for thyself, because thou hast enough, nor covetest the fame which comes from authority and power, because thou hast the greater fame which comes from virtue, yet consider that the work of a true king is a service rendered to God, who now rouses up and refuses to leave dormant and inactive the great righteousness which is within thee. Do not, therefore, avoid nor flee from this office, which a wise man will regard as a field for great and noble actions, where the gods are honoured with magnificent worship, and the hearts of men are easily and quickly softened and inclined towards piety, through the moulding influence of their ruler. This people

a A 2 4 ” v
3 Tod KpaTouvTos. ovTot Kal Tdttoy éatepEav érn-
, 4
Avy wyeudva, Kal THY “Papdrov prnunv artro-

Ocodat tals Tiats. tis dé oldev eb Kal vix@vTe
Sime tmoAéguou Kopos éotl, kal pweotot OprapBwv
, A /
kab Aapipwv yeyovores tryeuova mpdov Kal dicns
étaipov ér’ ebvopia xa eipyvy moBotow; e dé d7
a \ “A
Kal TavrTdTacw axpaTas Eyovot Kal paviKas
\ / 2? >. oN A ? , N
Mpos ToAepwov, ap ovxit BeATLov adrAaXooE THY
Opunv avTav tpémewv, Sia yerpos ExovTa Tas
e 7 a \ , \ a / ”
hvias, TH Se watpidc Kal TavTl TS LaBivwv Ever
, ey ae \ / \ os ? ,
avVvoed Lov evvolas Kal didias pos TOAW aKpa-
Covcav nai duvarny yevérbar;” TovTos mpoany,
as Aéyerat, onueid Te ypnoTa Kat orovdy TeV
a“ a € ? U \ A
TodTov Kal CHros, ws ervOovTo THY mpeaBelar,
Seoudvor Badifew kat mapadapBavev thy Baot-
Nelav eri Kowwvia Kal cvyKpace TOV TOALTOV."
4 a“ a
VII. ‘Qs otv éé80xr0, Gvaas tois Jeots mpo-
a ’ \ ‘Pp , 6 , de e \ \ ©
Aryev eis THY ‘Pounv. amnvra dé n BovdAn Kai o
Siuos gpwtt Oavpact@ Tov avdpos, evpyptat Te
mpérovcat yuvaikav éyivovto Kat Ovatar apos
iepois kal yapa tdavrwv, domep ob Bactréa Tis
Toews, AMAA Bactreiav Sexopévyns. errel Se ets
e “
THY ayopay KaTéaTHAAY, O pev Tais Opars éxeivass
\ \ , >/ ~
cuvetrdnyos pecoBactrevs Xroptos Overtios Yij-
gov éédwxe Tols Toditais Kal TavTes HvEeyKay,
mpoohepopévwv 8 avt@ tov Baothtsxwv Trapa-
onpov émiryev Kxerevoas épy SeiaOar Kai Beov
\ , 3 os bd a : N
thy Bactrelay éuredovvtos avT@. taparaBov

1 yoArray MSS. and edd., including Sintenis}. Bekker corrects to xéAewy (cities), and is followed by Sintenis ?.

loved Tatius, though he was a foreign prince, and they pay divine honours to the memory of Romulus. And who knows but that the people, even though victorious, is sated with war, and, now that it is glutted with triumphs and spoils, is desirous of a gentle prince, who is a friend of justice, and will lead them in the paths of order and peace? But if, indeed, they are altogether intemperate and mad in their desire for war, then were it not better that thou, holding the reins of government in thy hand, shouldst turn their eager course another way, and that thy native city and the whole Sabine nation should have in thee a bond of goodwill and friendship with a vigorous and powerful city?" These appeals were strengthened, we are told, by auspicious omens and by the zealous ardour of his fellow-citizens, who, when they learned of the embassy from Rome, begged him to return with it and assume the royal power there, in order to unite and blend together the citizens.

VII. Numa therefore decided to yield, and after sacrificing to the gods, set out for Rome. The senate and people met him on his way, filled with a wondrous love of the man ; women welcomed him with fitting cries of joy; sacrifices were offered in the temples, and joy was universal, as if the city were receiving, not a king, but a kingdom. When they were come down into the forum, Spurius Vettius, whose lot it was to be "interrex''! at that hour, called for a vote of the citizens, and all voted for Numa. But when the insignia of royalty were brought to him, he bade the people pause, and said his authority must first be ratified by Heaven. Then

1 Cf, chapter ii. 7.

dé pavrets Kal iepeis avéBawev eis.7to Karretodov' Tapryiov avto Aogov ot Tote 'Pwpaior mpoonyopevov. évtadda TaV pdyTewv Oo TpwTevwY TOV peVv els weanpBpiay Tpérpas eyKxexaduppévov, autos dé Tapactas éEoricbev Kal rH Seka THs Keharys épamropevos avTov xaTev—aTo, Kal TepleckoTe. TA Tapa TaV Oeav ev oiwvois 7 oupBoros mpopavopeva, Tavtayooe Tas dypess Twepipépwv. ayn Se amiotos év TANCE ToTOUT@ THY ayopay KaTelye KapadoxovyTwv Kal cuvaiwpoupévoy TO péAXovTL, péypt ov mpovipdvnoav dpviles ayabot Kal Se€ol érrétperay.' obtw Se

THv Baciiuxny avartaBov écOfra KatéBawe
Nopuds eis TO TAHOOS amo THs axpas. Tote Sé
kat doval Kai SeEtwoers Hoav ws evocBéotatov
cal Oeopiréotatoyv Seyopuévav.
TlaparaBov S& thy apynv mp@tov peyv TO TOY
Tpiakootwy ovoTN LA. duéAucen, ods ‘Popdros
éXwv del mept TO copa Kédepas mpoanyopevaer,
Strep éott Taxeis: obTE yap aTrLOTELY TLoTEVOVOLY
ovte Bacirever amiotovvtwv n€bov. Sevrepov
dé Tois ovow iepedot Atos nal “Apews tpitoy
‘PwuvAov mpooxatéotnoev, dv Prduwa Kupr-
yaXLov wvopacev. éxddovy dé Kal TOUS Tpoyeve-
atépovs PrAdpiwas aro TOV TrEpiKpaviwy TirwVy
ods epi Tais Keharais dopovar, mirapévas
Twas 6YTas, @S taTopoval, TOY ‘EAANVEKaV ovo-
HATwV TOTE MAAAOY 7) viv Tois AaTivots dvaKeKpa-
pévwv. Kal yap as épdpovy ot tepeis Naivas o
1 «al deftol erérpepay with S: «al detcol nal exer, evar.

taking with him the augurs and priests, he ascended the Capitol, which the Romans of that time called the Tarpeian Hill. There the chief of the augurs turned the veiled head of Numa towards the south, while he himself, standing behind him, and laying the right hand on his head, prayed aloud, and turned his eyes in all directions to observe whatever birds or other omens might be sent from the gods. Then an incredible silence fell upon the vast multitude in the forum, who watched in eager suspense for the issue, until at last auspicious birds appeared and approached the scene on the right. Then Numa put on his royal robes and went down from the citadel to the multitude, where he was received with glad cries of welcome as the most pious of men and most beloved of the gods.

His first measure on assuming the government was to disband the body of three hundred men that Romulus always kept about his person, and called “Celeres”’ (that is, swift ones); for he would not consent to distrust those who trusted him, nor to reign over those who distrusted him. His second measure was to add to the two priests of Jupiter and Mars a third priest of Romulus, whom he called _ the Flamen Quirinalis. Now before this time the Romans called their priests “flamines,’ from the close-fitting “ piloi,”’ or caps, which they wear upon their heads, and which have the longer name of “ pilamenai,” as

we are told, there being more Greek words mingled with the Latin at that time than now.’ Thus also the name “laena,’ which the Romans

1 Cf. Romulus, xxvi. 2.
2 Cf. Romulus, xv. 3. Plutarch does not. hesitate to derive the Latin ‘ flainines” from the doubtful Greek ‘ pilamenai.”
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, a“
"loBas xXAaivas dyolp elvat, cal Tov brnperotvta T@ leper tod Atos audiOary maida réyecOar Kaprr0ov, os cal tov “Epuny otras eveot tev “EAAjvav Kdyirrov! did ths Staxovias ipoon-ryopevop.
VIII. Taira 5é 6 Nopas én’ edvoia cal yapite tov Snwou tTodTevodpevos evOds erreyeipes THY Wow, WaoTep aldnpov, ex oKANpasS Kal Tode-pukns padaxwtépav trojoa, Kat StKxarotépav. atexvas yap iv WAdtwv droxarei preypai-vovoay TOMY éxelvyn TOT Fv, avcTaca pev EvOUS eE apxiis TOAMD Toph kat Tapapore Opacurnts Tov Opacutdtor Kal PAX woTaTov éxel Tavta-XoGev woapévov, tais Sé rodndais oTparelass Kat TOUS Tuvex ere Toréuos TeopH NXpnoapévn Kal avénoe THS Suvdpews, cal xabarep Ta KaTarn-yvupeva TH celecOar padov édpaterar, pov-vua Gat Soxovea Sia TOV KwvOovov. ottw 57 peTéwpov Kal TeTpaxypevov S7jwov ob puxpas ode pavrns oldpevos elvat Tparypareas peTaxerpl-cacbar Kal peTaxooufoat TOs elpnuny, emnya-yeTo THY amo Tav Oeav Bondeav, TQ ev TONG Ouoiacs kat Toprrais ar Xopetats, &s avros apyiare Kat KATETTNTEV, dpa ocepvotnts bia-yoyny érixapiy Kal prravOpwmov noovny éxou-cass, Snparyoryav Kat Tacevav TO Bupoetdes Kai pthomrorepov" gore 8 Ste nat poBous TWAS aTra'y-yehdov Tapa tov Oeod nal pacpata Satpovery GAXoKoTa Kal dwvas ovK evpeveis, eSovrAOV Kat
, KdpiAAov deleted by Bekker; corrected to KabdpiAoy by Sintenis 2,
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~

give to the priestly mantle, Juba says is the same as the Greek “chlaina”’ ; and that the name Camillus, . which the Romans give to the boy with both parents living who attends upon the priest of Jupiter, is the same as that which some of the Greeks give to Hermes, from his office of attendant.

VIII. After taking such measures to secure the goodwill and favour of the people, Numa straight- way attempted to soften the city, as iron is softened in the fire, and change its harsh and warlike temper into one of greater gentleness and justice. For if a city was ever in what Plato calls! a “feverish”’ state, Rome certainly was at that time. It was brought into being at the very outset by the excessive daring and reckless courage of the boldest and most warlike spirits, who forced their way thither from all parts, and in its many expeditions and its continuous wars it found nourishment and increase of its power; and just as what. is planted in the earth gets a firmer seat the more it is shaken, so Rome seemed to be made strong by its very perils. And therefore Numa, judging it to be no slight or trivial undertaking to mollify and newly fashion for peace so presumptuous and stubborn a people, called in the gods to aid and assist him. It was for the most part by sacrifices, processions, and religious dances, which he himself appointed and conducted, and which mingled with their solemnity a diversion full of charm and a beneficent pleasure, that he won the people’s favour and tamed their fierce and warlike tempers. At times, also, by heralding to them vague terrors from the god, strange apparitions of divine beings and threatening voices, he would subdue and humble

1 Cf. Lycurgus, v. 6.

A > \ lA b) fe) e N
TaTrEeHy Errove, THY Otavotay avTav vireo Serorbat-
f > ? \ 4 , v @e
povias. €& wv nal partota RAoyov Eoxev 7
copia nal 7 traidevots Tov avdpos, as IvOayopa
4 7 / A —P . e 2 , Y pe
TUYYEYOVOTOS. péya yap Rv pépos, ws ExEiv@ TAS
girocodias, cal ToUT@ THs woNtTElas 1 Trept TO
Oetov aytoteta! wai deatpiB)). Réyerar Se Kal
tov éEwOev dyxov Kai oxnpatiopoy amo TIS
auvtns Ilv@ayopa Stavotas meptBaréobar. Kat
yap éxeivos detov Te Soxet pabvat, dwvais Tiow
EMLOTHOAS KAL KaTAYaYyoV UVITEepLITTamEVOV, TOV TE
pnpov bTodjvar ypucobv ‘Odvprriace Statropevo-
fevos THY Tavyyuplyy GAXas Te TEpaTw@bers pN-
\ 2 a“ \ / 3 / 2)?
xavas avtov Kal mpdteas avayyédXovaw, ed’ als

\ / e , ”
kat Tipwv o PrALdotos Eypare:
Iluéayopnv Sé yontras aroxdivovt’ émi d0€as
Onpn én’ avOpwrwr, ceuvnyopins daptaTny:
t@ Se Nowa Spapa Oeds Tivos 4} vipdys dpeias
Epws Rv Kal cuvovoia mpos avTov atroppnros,
@oTrep elpntat, nal Kowal peta Movodv s&a-
TptBai. Ta yap WAéioTa TOV pavTevpdtwD eis
Movcas avijyye, coi play Motoav idtas cal
Stadepovtws édidake céBeobat tots “Pwpaious,
Taxitay mpocayopevoas, oloy crwmnrAny 7 évear’
Strep elvat Soxet Thv IvOayoperov aropvnpovev-
ovtos éxepvOiav cal Tima@vTos.

” \ \ \ \ “ b) 4-

Eort 6€ xal ta rept Trav adidpupatrov vopo-
Oetnpata travraracw aderoa tav IIv@aydpou
1 Gyiorela Bryan’s correction, after Amyot, adopted by Coraés and Bekker: ayxtorela (relationship). -

their minds by means of superstitious fears. This was the chief reason why Numa’s wisdom and culture were said to have been due to his intimacy with Pythagoras ; for in the philosophy of the one, and in the civil polity of the other, religious services and occupations have a large place. It is said also that the solemnity of his outward demeanour was adopted by him because he shared the feelings of Pythagoras about it. That philosopher, indeed, is thought to have tamed an eagle, which he stopped by certain cries of his, and brought down from his lofty flight ; also to have disclosed his golden thigh as he passed through the assembled throngs at Olympia. And we have reports of other devices and performances of his which savoured of the marvellous, regarding which Timon the Phliasian wrote :—

« Down to a juggler’s level he sinks with his cheating devices,
Laying his nets for men, Pythagoras, lover of bombast.”

In like manner Numa’s fiction was the love which a certain goddess or mountain nymph bore him, and her secret meetings with him, as already mentioned,! and his familiar converse with the Muses. For he ascribed the greater part of his oracular teachings to the Muses, and he taught the Romans to pay especial

honours to one Muse in particular, whom he called Tacita, that is, the silent, or speechless one ; thereby perhaps handing on and honouring the Pythagorean precept of silence.
Furthermore, his ordinances concerning images are altogether in harmony with the doctrines of Chapter iv. 1-2.
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Soyparov. ouTe yap € jleuaee aio Onrov 7 a aranrov, dopartov | dé nal axtictov! cat vonrov vieddp-Bavev elvat To mpa@tov, ovTds Te SexmAvOEV avOpwrroedh Kai Swopophov eixova Oeod 'Pwpai-ous vopiterv. ovd Hv wap avTots ovte ypamrov 8 ovTe mAaoTOV eldos Oeod mpoTepov, GAXr ev éxatov éBdounKovta Tols mpwros ereot vaous fev oixodopovpevoe Kal Kadidbdas iepas iotavtes, dyarpa 5é ovdéy Eupopdpov trocovpevor dierédovp, @> oUTE Savoy apopolody TA BeNTiova TOIS YEelpootY ovTE epamrer Gar Geov Suvatov addws a vonoes. Kopdh bé xal Ta, tev Ovaray EXT AL THS v0a-yopurtis aytateias: GvaipaKToL yap hoav ai ye moAnat, be ardirou Kal orovens Kat TOV EvTE-NETTATwWY TreETrOLNMEVaL.
9 Xwpis 5é rovtwr étépors EEwOev erraywvilovrat Texpnplous ot Tov dvdpa T® avdpl cuvorKerouvres. av év pév éotw tt Mv Garyopav 'Popatoc ™) troMteig Tpoo éyparpay, @S loTopnKev 'Eniyappos o KO MLKOS éy TLL hoy 7 pos "Avtnvopa yeypap-péve@, Tadacos avnp Kal TIS vOayopuxijs bta-TpLBAS peTeayNKwS* eTepov 5é OTe Tea oadpav vid Bactrhet Nowa yevouévov éva Mayepxov emt 72
10 IlvOaryopov rash T poo nyopevaen. an éxeivou dé «at tov Aipirdiwy olor avapeyBévra Trois TAT ptxiols ovopac Ofvat pacvy, OVTOS UmoKkopilo-pévou Tob Bacthews THY év Tots: hoyous Tod avdpos aipudav Kat yapw. auto d aKnkoapev TONN@V év 'Papun dteEcovtwy Ste ypnopod rote 'Pwpaios
1 &xrioroy Sintenis! with AC, followed by Bekker: axhparov (unmixed).
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Pythagoras. For that philosopher maintained that the first principle of being was beyond sense or feeling, was invisible and uncreated, and discernible only by the mind. And in like manner Numa forbade the Romans to revere an image of God which had the form of man or beast. Nor was there among them in this earlier time any painted or graven likeness of Deity, but while for the first hundred and seventy years they were continually building temples and establishing sacred shrines, they made no statues in bodily form for them, convinced that it was impious to liken higher things to lower, and that it was impossible to apprehend Deity except by the intellect. Their sacrifices, too, were altogether appropriate to the Pythagorean worship ; for most of them involved no bloodshed, but were made with flour, drink-offerings, and the least costly gifts.

And apart from these things, other external proofs are urged to show that the two men were acquainted with each other. One of these is that Pythagoras was enrolled as a citizen of Rome. This fact is recorded by Epicharmus the comic poet, in a certain treatise which he dedicated to Antenor ; and Epichar- mus was an ancient, and belonged to the school of Pythagoras. Another proof is that one of the four sons born to king Numa was named Mamercus, after the son of Pythagoras. And from him they say that the patrician family of the Aemilii took its name, Aemilius being the endearing name which the king gave him for the grace and ninsomeness of his speech. Moreover, I myself have heard many people at Rome recount how, when an oracle once commanded the

4
yevouévou Tov Ppovimwtatoyv Kal Tov avdpELoTaToV
¢ , 'S , oy ea v 24
EXAnvev idpvoacbat wap' avtois, Eotnoay eri
A b] A >) / a" v4 LY A >
THS ayopas exovas yadrxas dvo, Thy pev Ar«e-
, A , nr N 9
Biddov, tay bé IlvOayopov. tavtra pév ov
9 / M" \ \ \ A 5 \
audisBntnoes exovtTa TroNNas Kal TO KivEelY 01a
paxpotépwy Kai To TictovcBar! petpaxtwdous
éotl diroverkias.
A \ \ \ "A > 4 A f
IX. Nopd dé Kal Thy Ta apxtepewy, obs Ifovti-

gixas Kandodot, diatakw Kal catadotacw atrod60-
acl, Kal pact avTov Eva TOUTwWY TOY TPATOV yeyo-
, aA \ \ / € \ 4
véevat. KexdAHobat dé tovs Ilovtigiwas of pev Ott
Tovs Jeous Oeparrevovar Suvatovs Kal Kupious atray-
Twy dvTas' o yap duvatos b7r6 'Pwpaiwy ovopaterat
mwoTnys: Etepor 5€ hace wpos vrreEaipeoty ryeryo-
vévat Tovvopa Tay SuvaTav, @s Tod vopobéTou Tas
Suvatas émitedely tepoupyias Tous iepels KEedev-
"A \ ? ty a b]
ovtos, av b€ 4 TL KwAUUA pelCov, ov sUKOpar-
"A e \ a , ' ,
ToUVTOS. ot S€ TAELOTOL UadLOTA Kad TO yeA@pLEVvOY
le) bd , 4 € 2d) 3 > "A
TGV ovopaTov Soxipatovow, @S ovoEey ann 4
'yehupotratovs Tovs avdpas emicdnbevtas a amo TOV
TOLoUpEvoy Teph THY yéhupay iepar, ayaTatov
4
Kal TadaotTatwv SyTwy: TovTEew yap ot Aarivos
THY yepupay dvopdfova ty. elvas perros Kab THY
THpHoW avrijs Kal THY emiaKkeuny, @oTEp ado Tt
TOV AKU} TOV Kal maT pov Lepov, Tporjcovaay
Tots tepedow. ov yap Deperor, GAN éwdpatov
Hryeta Bar 'Pwpaious THY KaTadvow Tis Evrivns
yepupas. Néyerar b€ Kai TO Tapmav dvev otdypov
1 microvcGat a correction of Reiske's, accepted by Coraés
and Bekker: morevea@at (believe).
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Romans to erect in their city monuments to the
wisest and the bravest of the Greeks, they set up in
the forum two statues in bronze, one of Alcibiades,
and one of Pythagoras. However, since the matter
of Numa's acquaintance with Pythagoras is involved
in much dispute, to discuss it at greater length, and
to win belief for it, would savour of youthful
contentiousness.

IX. To Numa is also ascribed the institution of that order of high priests who are called Pontifices, and he himself is said to have been the first of them. According to some they are called Pontifices because employed in the service of the gods, who are powerful and supreme over all the world; and "'potens " is the Roman word for powerful. Others say that the namie was meant to distinguish between possible and

impossible functions ; the lawgiver en- joining upon these priests the performance of such sacred offices only as were possible, and finding no fault with them if any serious obstacle prevented. But most writers give an absurd explanation of the name ; Pontifices means, they say, nothing more nor less than bridge-builders, from the sacrifices which they performed at the bridge over the Tiber, sacrifices of the greatest antiquity and the most sacred character ; for " pons" is the Latin word for bridge. They say, moreover, that the custody and maintenance of the bridge, like all the other inviolable and ancestral rites, attached to the priesthood, for the Romans held the demolition of the wooden bridge to be not only unlawful, but actually sacrilegious. It is also said

1 According to the elder Pliny (N.H. xxxiv. 12), these statues stood in the comitium at Rome from the time of the Samnite wars (343-290 B.c.). down to that of Sulla (138-78 B.c.).

Kata Sn TL AOYyLov cuyyeyoupacbar Sia TeV EvAwv. 17 Sé ALOivn TroAXOIs DoTEpoy éFeLpyacOn xpovots vm Aiptdiou TapsevovTos. ov pv aGdAAa Kal thy Evrivny trav Nowa ypovwy atrodeitres Oat Aéyouo.v, vO Mapkiov trod Nopa Ouyarpidod Bactrevovtos atrorencoOetcar.
'O 8€ péytotos Tay Hovtipixwy olov éEnynrod Kab mpoqnroy, pardov 5é iepopdvtov raEw etrdn- yev, od povoy) tay Snpocia Spapévov emripedov- pevos, AANA Kal Tovs idia OvovTas émioKoTray Kat K@AUwY TrapexBaivey TA vevouiopéva, Kal b1da- axwyv Stov Tes SéoiTo mpos Oewy Tiny 7 Tapat- tho. ny 6 Kal TOY Lep@y TrapOévwr erricKoTros, as "Eotidéas mpocayopevovor. Nowd yap 67 «al Thv tav "Eotiadov mrapbevev Kabiépwow Kal dws THY TEpl TO TP TO aOdvaroy, 7) purdrrovew abrat, Oeparreiav Te Kal TOMY arobiboacw, elTe as kabapay Kat ap0aprov THhVv TOU TUPOS | ovata dxnpatous Kal apudvrous mapaTieuévov Topacw, elTe TO GkapTrov Kat dryovov Th mapGevia oup- OLKELODVTOS. é7reL TOL THS "EAA dS os Sarov wip ao BeoTov eoTlD, @s vuoi Kal 'AOhnow, ov mapbévor, yuvaires dé TET AV MEVaL ydpov éxovar 3 THY émrypéhevay™ éav oé vo TUXNS Tivos éxALtn, Kadamep "AOnyvnot pev emt Tis 'Apts tives Aeyerau Tupavvidos amooBecOjvat tov iepov AUYVOV, €V Acrdois dé Tob yaov karan pnodéevros v7ro M7jéor, Tept dé Ta McOpidartixa kal TOV

éupvrdcov “Pwyaiwy modepov dua TO Bopp ro
1 ywdvov with most MSS. (including S) and edd. : pdveov.
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that it was built entirely without iron and fastened together with wooden pins in obedience to an oracle. The stone bridge was constructed at a much later period, when Aemilius was quaestor.!_ However, it is said that the wooden bridge also was later than the time of Numa, and was completed by Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa by his daughter, when he was king.

The chief of the Pontifices, the Pontifex Maximus, had the duty of expounding and interpreting the divine will, or rather of directing sacred rites, not only being in charge of public ceremonies, but also watching over private sacrifices and preventing any departure from established custom, as well as teaching whatever was requisite for the worship or propitiation of the gods. He was also overseer of the holy virgins called Vestals; for to Numa is ascribed the consecra- tion of the Vestal virgins, and in general the worship and care of the perpetual fire entrusted to their charge. It was either because he thought the nature of fire pure and uncorrupted, and therefore entrusted it to chaste and undefiled persons, or because he thought of it as unfruitful and barren, and therefore associated it with virginity. Since wherever in Greece a perpetual fire is kept, as at Delphi and Athens, it is committed to the charge, not of virgins, but of widows past the age of marriage. And if by any chance it goes out, as at Athens during the tyranny of Aristion? the sacred lamp is said to have been extinguished, and at Delphi when the temple was burned by the Medes, and as during the Mithridatic and the Roman civil wars the altar was demolished

1 179 B.C.
2 88-86 B.c. Cf. Lucullus, xix. 6; Sulla, xiii. 3.
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z2
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nA 3 , Ww 5 A 9 \ e. , A
mip npavicbn, ov dact deliv amro ETépov TupOS
évaverOar, xavvov §€ troveity Kal véov, cvamrrovTas
> \ a ey / 4 \ \ > /
amo Tov nAiov droya KaBapav Kai apiavrov.
2 / 4 a ,
éEdmrovat 5é padtota tos oxadeios, & KaTa-
/ > \ A > A b]
oxevdleTas ev ATO AEUpas toooKedods GpOoyw-
vlov Tpiyevou KotAaLvoueva, cuvvever 8° eis ev ex
Ths Twepipepetas Kévtpov. Stav ovv Oéow evavriay
rdByn mpds Tov HALOV, OoTe Tas avyds TavTa-
4 b 4 > , \ 4

xo0ev avaxorrropévas abpoilecOar Kai cuprré-
KkecOat Tepi TO Kévtpov, avTov Te Staxpiver Tov
9 / , \ , /
dépa AeTTTUVOLEVOY, Kal TA Kovdorata Kal Enpo-
Tata Tov mpooTiBenévwv o€éws avantes xata
Thv avtTéperctv, copa Kal mAnyHY Wupwdn Tijs
avyis NaBovons. Evor pev ovv ovdev bro TeV
[o) > A
tepav trap0évwy adr f TO aoBeotov éxeivo
ppoupeicOar rip vouifovow: enor Se eival twa
acw abéata Tois AdAaLS (epa KpUTrTopeva, Tept
av boa Kal mv@écOar cal ppacas Oemsrov ev Te
Kapirrou Bio yéypar ras.
X. Lp@rov pév ov tira Nowa xadsepwOjnvar
Aéyouot Teyaviay nal Bepnviav, Sevtepov Se
Kavovaniay cal Taprntav: totepov dé YepBiov
duo mpocbévtos adXas TH aplOu@ Sratnpeio Oar!
péxpt TOY XpovwY TOUTwY TO TAOS. wpicOn Se
tais iepais trapOévors bard tov Bactdéws aryvela
TplaKxovTaétis, ev 7 THY yey TrpwTyy Sexaetiav a
xpy Spay pavOavover, tiv 8&8 péony & pepadjnact
Spaou, tThv dé tpitnv érépas avtal ddacKovew.
elra dveita: tH BovrAopévn peta Tov ypovoy Tod-
1 B:arnpeio Oa the correction of Coraés, adopted by Bekker :
d:arnpjoa.
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and the fire extinguished, then they say it must not be kindled again from other fire, but made fresh and new, by lighting a pure and unpolluted flame from the rays of the sun. And this they usually effect by means of metallic mirrors, the concavity of. which is made to follow the sides of an isosceles rectangular triangle, and which converge from their circum- ference to a single point in the centre. When, there- fore, these are placed opposite the sun, so that its rays, as they fall upon them from all sides, are collected and concentrated at the centre, the air itself is rarefied there, and very light and dry substances placed there quickly blaze up from its resistance, the sun’s rays now acquiring the substance and force of fire. Some, moreover, are of the opinion that nothing but this perpetual fire is guarded by the sacred virgins; while some say that certain sacred objects, which none others may behold, are kept in concealment by them. What may lawfully be learned and told about these things, I have written in my Life of Camillus.!

X. In the beginning, then, they say that Gegania and Verenia were consecrated to this office by Numa, who subsequently added to them Canuleia and Tarpeia; that at a later time two others were added by Servius, making the number which has continued to the present time. It was ordained by the king that the sacred virgins should vow them- selves to chastity for thirty years; during the first decade they are to learn their duties, during the second to perform the duties they have learned, and during the third to teach others

these duties. Then, the thirty years being now passed, any one who

1 Chapter xx. 3-6.
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Tov Hon Kal yauou petartauBavew Kal mpos ére-
pov tparrécOar Biov, aradndayelon Ths lepoupyias.
Aéyovra Se od ToAral TavTHY dotracacOar THV
dderay, ovde adorracapévats ypnota mpaypata
guvTuxely, GdAa peTavoig Kal KaTnheia cvvodaat
Tov Aowtrov Biov éuBareiv tas adras ets Sercordac-
poviay, woTe méxpt ynpws Kal Oavdrou datereiy
éyxaptepovoas Kal mapVevevopévas.
Tiuas S¢ peydras arédmxev avtais, ov éote
nad 70 dtabécOar Savtos éFeivar watpds Kal Tad-
Na Mpatrew avev wpootdtov Siayovcas, WoTeEp
ai tpimaives. paBdovyobvra: 8é rpoiotcar Kav
aryopuéve tiv mpos Oavarov abroudtas ovyTiyw-
ow, ove avaipeitar. Sei Se drropoca: tHv Trap-
Oévov axovcovov Kal tuyalay nab ox éberirndes
yeyovévat THY amrdvrnow. o dé tredOwv Koutto-
pévov bro 7d hopetov amobvncKke. Koddacts 8e
TOY pev GAXov auaptnudtwv mrAnyal tais wap-
Oévors, Tod peyiotou Tovrigixos cordlovtos éotiv
6te Kal yupyny thy wAnpEAHoacay, GOovns év
TadwoKkim Tapatevopevns: 1 dé THY Tapeviav
Katatcxvvaca aca KaTopuTTeTat Tapa THY
KondAiyny ANeyowéevny truNnv: év 4 Tis eoTL évTos
THs TWOAEwWS OPpYS yewdns Trapatelvovca Toppa:
Karetrar 6€ youa Staréeto tH Aativor. évraida
KatacKkevalerat Katayevos olxos ov péyas, éyov
avebev xatdBactv. xKetrar 5 év adtd Kxrlvn te
Umeotpwpéevn Kal AVYVOS KaLtopeEvoS, aTapYal TE
Tay mpos To CHv avayxatwv Bpayelat Teves, olov
aptos, vowp év aryyeiw, yada, édXalov, woTrEp
agpoctovpévay 76 7 Aum SiafOeipery copa tails
peylotats KaOtepwpévov dyioteiats. avuTnv sé
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wishes has liberty to marry and adopt a different mode of life, after laying down her sacred office. We are told, however, that few have welcomed the indulgence, and that those who did so were not happy, but were a prey to repentance and dejection for the rest of their lives, thereby inspiring the rest with superstitious fears, so that until old age and death they remained steadfast in their virginity.

But Numa bestowed great privileges upon them, such as the right to make a will during the life time of their fathers, and to transact and manage their other affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children. When they appear_in public, the fasces are carried before them, and if they ac- cidentally meet a criminal on his way to execution, his life is spared; but the virgin must make oath that the meeting was involuntary and fortuitous, and not of design. He who passes under the litter on which they are borne, is put to death. For their minor offences the virgins are punished with stripes, the Pontifex Maximus sometimes scourging the culprit on her bare flesh, in a dark place, with a curtain interposed. But she that has broken her vow of chastity is buried alive near the Colline gate. Here a little ridge of earth extends for some distance along the inside of the city-wall ; the Latin word for it is “agger.”’ Under it a small chamber is con- structed, with steps leading down from above. In this are placed a couch with its coverings, a lighted lamp, and very small portions of the necessaries of life, such as bread, a bow] of water, milk, and oil, as though they would thereby absolve themselves from the charge of destroying by hunger a life which had been consecrated to the highest services of religion.

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Thy Kodatopevny eis hopetov évOépevor Kal xata-
oteyacayvtes &Ewbev Kal ratadaBortes imac, os
pndé hovny éEdxovatov yevéoOat, Kopifover 80’
aryopas. é€iotavtat 6é TavTes clwTh Kal Tapa-
méptrovew AapOoyyot pera Tivos Seuns Katndeias:
ovde dativ érepov Oéapa Ppixtorepov, odd Hyépav
) TOALS GAANY ayer oTUyvoTépay éxeiyns. StTav
5é apos tov Tomov KouscOH TO hopeiov, of pep
umnpétat Tovs Seapovs éEéXvoap, o é TAY lepéwv
&Eapyos evyds Tivas atroppyrous trounadpevos Kal
yetpas avateivas Oeois mpd THs avayKns, cEdye
ouvyKexaduppevny kal KaBiotnow éml KrALpaxos
els TO Olxnpa KaTw hepovons. eita avTos pep
amoTpémeTat peTa THY AArAWY iepéww Tis Se
kataBdons 4 Te KAipaE avatpetrar Kal Kata-
KpUTTETAL TO OlKNUA YIS TOANS avwbev emripopou-
pevns, @aTe iaomedov TO NOLTO Xopare yever Oat

TOV TOTOV. OUTW MEY ai Tpoeuevar THY lepay Trap-
Geviay xoralovrat.
XI. Nopas dé Aéyeras Kal:To THs ‘Eorias i lepov
eyRUKALOD mepBaréa bat 7@ da Béorp Tupt $pov-
ay, [ATOLL OU PEVOS ob TO oxXTpma THS ys as
Eortias ovaons, ANA Tob otpmavtos Koo wou, ov
pécov ot Tvdaryoprxot TO TU ipicbar vopilovat,
kal TovTO ‘Eotiav Karodar Kal povdsa: Thv be
yi ouTe dxivnTov ovte éy perw THS Tmepupopas
ovoar, adda KUKX@ mept TO 7uUp aiwpouperny ou
TOV TEMLOTAT OV ovdé TOY TpWTwWY TOU KOopOU
poptov Uma pew. tadta 6€ Kal I\drevd pace
mpeaButny yevouevov Sravevonjabas trepl tH ys
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Then the culprit herself is placed on a litter, over which coverings are thrown and fastened down with cords so that not even a cry can be heard from within, and carried through the forum. All the people there silently make way for the litter, and follow it without uttering a sound, in a terrible depression ot soul. No other spectacle is more appalling, nor does any other day bring more gloom to the city than this. When the litter reaches its destination, the attendants unfasten the cords of the coverings. Then the high-priest, after stretching his hands toward heaven and uttering certain mysterious prayers before the fatal act, brings forth the culprit, who is closely veiled, and places her on the steps leading down into the chamber. After this he turns away his face, as do the rest of the priests, and when she has gone down, the steps are taken up, and great quantities of earth are thrown into the entrance to the chamber, hiding it away, and making the place level with the rest of the mound. Such is the punishment of those who, break their vow of virginity.

XI. Furthermore, it is said that Numa built the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire was kept, of a circular form, not in imitation of the shape of the earth, believing Vesta to be the earth, but of the entire universe, at the centre of which the Pythago- reans place the element of fire, and call it Vesta and Unit. And they hold that the earth is ueither motionless nor situated in the centre of sur- rounding space, but that it revolves in a circle about the central fire, not being one of the most important, nor even one of the primary elements of the universe. This is the conception, we are told, which Plato also, in his old age, had of the earth, namely that it is

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ws év érépa yapa Kabeataons, thy 5é péony Kal
Kuptwrarny érépm Tevl KpEeiTTOVL TpOaHKovaay.
XII. Ot 8 Hovridines nai ta rept tas tapas

4 a Ul > eo) a Ul
matpua Tos xpnfovow adnyovvrat, Nowa 86a-
Eavros pndevy nyetoOar piacpa tov ToLlovTmY,
anra nal Tovs exe? Oeovs céBecOar Tots vevout-
opévols, WS TA KUPLMTATA TOV hpeTéepwv UTrobEexo-
pevous: eEatpéras Sé THY tpocayopevoyéevny Ac-
Birwvav, éricxotrov tav tept Tovs OvnoKovtas
ooiwy Gedy ovoar, elte Ilepoehovny elite parXdor,
e e , € 4 e 4
@s ot AOylwrato: ‘Pwpyaiwy wrodcapPSdvoverr,
9 9 a > na UA n
Adpobitny, od xaxas eis pias Svvayuy Oeod ra
mept Tas yevéoess Kal Tas TeXEUTAS avd ToVTEs.
>A \ \ , » ¢ /, \ ,
autos 5 cal ta TwévOn Kal’ nrALKias Kal xpovous
érakev' olov maida pn mevOeciv vewrepoy TpLEeTodvs,
\ Ud “~ e 4
pmde mpecBurepov mrelovas phvas ov éBiwoev
évavrav peypt tov Séxa, nai tweparrépw pnoe-
play nrAtkiav, GAAA Tod paxpotdtov wévOous
, ® a > @ s
“povov etvas Sexaunuviaiov, ép Scov xal ynpev-
ovel ai tav atoPavoytwy yuvaixes. 1 Sé mpo-
Tepov yapnOeioa Body éyxvpova xaréOvev éexeivou
vomobernoavros.
TloAAds 8 wal addrXas Nowa xaradetEavtos
iepwavvas ért Svetv pyvnoOycopat, THs Te Ladiov
Kal THs TOV Dittaréwv, al pdadrdtota THY evoé-
Beav rod avdpds éudaivovow. of pev yap
Dirtareis eipnvopvracés tives dvres, ws 8 pol
Soxei, xal tovvopa AaBovres aro THS Tpadkews,
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7,
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established in a secondary space, and that the central
and sovereign space is reserved for some other and
nobler body.
XI1. The Pontifices also explain and direct the ancestral rites of burial for those who desire it, and they were taught by Numa not to regard any such offices as a pollution, but to honour the gods below also with the customary rites, since they receive into their keeping the most sovereign part of us, and par- ticularly the goddess called Libitina, who presides over the solemn services for the dead, whether she is Proserpina, or, as the most learned Romans maintain, Venus ; thereby not inaptly connecting man’s birth

and death with the power of one and the same god- dess. Numa himself also regulated the periods of mourning according to ages. For instance, over a child of less than three years there was to be no mourning at all; over one older than that, the mourning was not to last more months than it had lived years, up to ten ; and no age was to be mourned longer than that, but ten months was the period set for the longest mourning.! This is also the period during which women who have lost their husbands remain in widowhood, and she who took another husband before this term was out, was obliged by the laws of Numa to sacrifice a cow with calf.

Numa also established many other orders of priest- hood, of which I shall mention two, besides, those of the Salii and the Fetiales, which more than any others give evidence of the man's reverent piety. The Fetiales were guardians of peace, so to speak, and in my opinion took their name from their office, which was to put a stop to disputes by oral conference, or

1 Cf. chapter xix. 1.

NOy@ Ta velKn KaTéravoY, ovK éaYTEs OTPATEvELY
mpotepoy 4 tmacav éAmida Siens daroKxomhvat.
Kal yap eipnynv "EdAnves xarovdotw Stav oye,
pn Bia, mpos addjdrAovs Ypwopevor AVTwaL ht
Stadopds. of S¢ 'Pwpyaiwy Pittareis troANaxKts
pev EBabdiCov ws rods adscodvTas avrot mretOovres
evyvapoveiy» ayvepovovyvtay S€ paprupdpevor
Jeovs, cat xarevEdwevot trodda Kal Seva Kal"
attav avrol «al tis marpidos ef pn Stiaios
éreElacty, o0Tw KaTHYyyéAXOV AUTOS TOY TrOELOY.
kwAvovtav d€ TovTwv 1 wy auvaivotvTwr, ovTE
orpatiwrn Oeuitov ovte Bactrct 'Pwopaiwy Srra
Kively, GANA Tapa TovTwv ede THY apyny Tod
mwonépou SeEdpevoy ws Suxaiov Tov apyovta, TOTE
oKotrew wept Tov cupdépovtos. RéyeTae 5é Kal
to KeAtixov éxeivo maQos tH mode yevéoOat
ToUT@Y TaV lepéwy Trapavopnbévtov.
"Ervyov pev yap ot BdapBapot Kndovoivous
moNtopKouvres' éméupOn 5é apecBevtis PdBros
"ApBovoros eis TO orparoredoy Starvoes mpdkov
vrép TaY ToNLopKoupévav. ANaBav Se arroxpi-
oes ovK émiecKeis Kal mépas oxely abT@ Thy
mpecBelay oldpevos, éveavtevoato mpo Tav KXov-
civwv Stra AaBov mpoxartécac0ar Tov apioted-
ovra Tav BapRdpwv. Ta pev ovv THs paxns
evTuxetto Kal KataBadwv éoxvrevoe TOV avdpa:
yvwpioavtes 5é ot Kedtol méurovow ets 'Payny
Knpuxa tov DaBiou Katnyopobvtes ws éxaotrovdov

Kal amiorov Kal axatayyeNTtov éFevnvoyoros Ipods
auTous Todenov. évTav0a thy pevy avyKANTOY
ot Ditiareis Ereov exdidovar tov dvdpa rois
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parley!; and they would not suffer a hostile expedition to be made before every hope of getting justice had been cat off. For the Greeks call it peace when two parties settle their quarrels by mutual conference, and not by violence. And the Roman Fetiales often went to those who were doing them a wrong and made personal appeals for fair treatment ; but if the unfair treatment continued, they called the gods to witness, invoked many dreadful evils upon themselves and their country in case they resorted to hostilities unjustly, and so declared war upon them. But if they forbade it or withheld their consent, neither soldier nor king of Rome could lawfully take up arms. War had to begin with their verdict that it was just, and the ruler, on receiving this verdict, must then de- liberate on the proper way to wage it. And it is said that the dreadful disaster which the city ex- perienced at the hands of the Gauls was in conse- quence of the illegal treatment of these priests.

For when the Barbarians were besieging Clusium, Fabius Ambustus was sent from Rome to their camp to bring about a cessation of hostilities on behalf of the besieged. But on receiving an unseemly answer, he thought his office of ambassador was at an end, and committed the youthful folly of taking up arms for the Clusians and challenging the bravest of the Barbarians to single combat. Fabius fought suc- cessfully, unhorsed his adversary, and stripped him of his armour. But when the Gauls discovered who he was, they sent a herald to Rome denouncing Fabius for violating a truce, breaking his oath, and fighting against them before war was formally declared. At Rome the Fetiales tried to persuade the senate to

1 Connecting the name with fateri, fari, to speak.

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Kedrois, catahuyav 5é éxeivos eis Tovs ToANOUS
kal TO Sum amovddlovtse xpnoduevos Srexpov-
gato Thy dinnv. jer Cdrkyou 5é émedOovtes oi
Kearot tv ‘Péuny trv tod Kamit@ndiou Sdte-
mopOncav. adda taiTa pev ev Tois wept Ka-
pirrov paAXov axptBodtar.
* XIII. Tovs 8 Zariovs lepeis ee rTocavtTns
AéyeTat svoTncacbar Tpopdacews. ETos sySoov
avtov Bacirevovtos otuwdns voros TeEpLtiovca
thy “Itadiav éotpoBnoe cai tHv “Popunv.. abv-
povvtwy d€ Ttav avOpwrwv iotopeitar Yariv
mTéATHVY EF Ovpavod Katadepomévny eis tas Nowa
meceiy yxeipas. emt 5€ avTH Oavydaotoy twa

AOyov A€yerOas vUTO TOD Baciréws, dv ’Hyepias
te kal Tov Movoawy mrubécbat. 1d pev yap mov
qKew él owtnpia THS ToAEws, Kal Sety avTo
hpoupeiabar yevouévwy adrwv Evdexa Kal oxjpa
kat péyeOos Kai popdny éxeivp tapatAncior,
Smws atopov ein TO KAéTITN St Gpototnta Tod
Stomretovs eémituyety: ere be ypnvat Movcais
Kabtep@aat TO xwptov éxeivo Kal Tovs Tept avTo
ANetm@vas, Sov Ta ToAAA Hoitacat cuvdcaTpi-
Bovow avt@. thy && myynv 1) Katdpder Td
yapiov, wp iepov atrodeiEar tais ‘Eotiace wap-
Gévors, STws AapBavovaa Kal’ Hyépay dyvifwor
kal paivwot TO avdKTopov. TovTos pev ovD
paptuphoa Aeyover Kal Ta THs vooov Tapa-
Nphua Tavodueva, thy dé wéXTHY TpOOEeVTOS
avTov Kal KeAEvoaVTOS apirAAaCIaL TOUS TEeXviTAS
bmép THS opotoTnTos, TOUS péy ANXouS atrEesTrEtD,
Overovptoy 5¢ Mapovptoy &va tav axpov dnpu-
oupyav ovtws édixécOar ths éeudhepeias, Kat
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deliver Fabius into the hands of the Gauls, but he took refuge with the multitude, and through the favour of the populace evaded his punishment. After a little, therefore, the Gauls came up and sacked Rome, with the exception of the Capitol. But this story is more fully given in my Life of Camillus. XIII. The priesthood of the Salii Numa is said to have been established for the following reason. In the eighth year (of his reign a pestilence, which traversed Italy, distracted Rome also. The story goes that while the people were disheartened by this, a bronze buckler fell from heaven, which came into the hands of Numa, and a wonderful account of it was given by the king, which he learned from Egeria and the Muses. The buckler came, he said, for the salvation of the city, and must be carefully preserved by making eleven others of like fashion, size, and shape, in order that the resemblance between them might make it difficult for a thief to distinguish the one that fell from heaven. He said further that the spot where it fell, and the adjacent meadows, where the Muses usually had converse with him, must be consecrated to them; and that the spring which watered the spot should be declared holy water for the use of the Vestal virgins, who should daily sprinkle and purify their temple with it. Moreover, they say that the truth of all this was attested by the immediate cessation of the pestilence. When Numa showed the buckler to the artificers and bade them do their best to make others like it, they all declined, except Veturius Mamurius, a most excellent workman, who was so happy in his imitation of it, and made all the eleven so exactly

1 Chapters xvii.—xxii.

KaTacKevical Tudaas opoias, wate pnd avrov
ére tov Nopav Siaywooxev. tovtwy oby gv-
Nanas wal duditorous amédeacke tovs Yadrious
bepets. Dadrsos Se exAHOncay, ody, ws Eveot
pvOoroxvovcr, YaucOpaxos avdpos 4} Mavtivéws,
dvoua Larlov, mpwtouv thy évoTrALoy éxdidaEavtos
Spxnow, dAAA paAXov ato THs opyncews avTis,
GATiKhs ovons, hy bTopyodyrat Statropevopevor
THY TOMY, STav Tas iepas TéATAS avartaBoow
éy t@ Maptip pnvi, potvixods pev evdedupévor
xitavicxovs, pitpats 5 yarxais érelwopévor
mAaTElaLs Kal Kpadvn Karka hopodvtes, éyyerpe-
Siow; Sé puxpots Ta GtrAa Kpovovtes. 1 5¢ AAAH
THS Opxnoews Todav Epyov éaTi: KiwovvTaL yap
EM LTEPTEAS, EXuypovs Tivas Kat petaBords épv
puvdu@ TaX0s Eyovtt kal quKvornta ee papns
kal xovgotnros dtrodibovtes.
Avtas ‘bé tas méAtas dyxvdLa Kadrodot Sa 70
oXHMa KUKAOS yap oUK EoTLY Ode aTrodidwour,
@s wéXTH, THY mepupeperay, Gdn’ ex Topiyy exe
ypappis édexoesdobs, Hs ai Kepaiar kawmas éxov-

cat Kal cuverriaTpEpovaat TH TUKVOTHT 7 pos ?

adAjhas ayKUAOY TO OYA TroLodaLY 7 Sd Tov
aryKxava rept ov mepupepovrat. TadrTa 1p O
"ToBas elpnne yn OMEVOS eFedAnvioat ToUvoua.
Swvarto 8 dv ris avéxabev hopas 7 p@TOv em avu-
poy yeyovévat, Kal Tis aKETEWS tov vorouvTay,
Kal TIS TOV |, AUX MOY AUTEWS, ere dé THs TOV
Sewvav avacyécews, Kal’ 8 Kal rovs Acooxovpous
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like it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them. For the watch and care of these bucklers, then, he appointed the priesthood of the Salii. Now the Salii were so named, not, as some tell the tale, from a man of Samothrace or Mantinea, named Salius, who first taught the dance in armour; but rather from the leaping! which characterized the dance it- self. This dance they perform when they carry the sacred bucklers through the streets of the city in the month of March, clad in purple tunics, girt with broad belts of bronze, wearing bronze helmets on their heads, and carrying small daggers with which they strike the shields. But the dance is chiefly a matter of step; for they move gracefully, and execute with vigour and

agility certain shifting convolutions, in quick and oft-recurring rhythm.

The bucklers themselves are called “ ancilia,”’ from their shape; for this is not round, nor yet completely oval, like that of the regular shield, but has a curving indentation, the arms of which are bent back and united with each other at top and .bottom ; this makes the shape “ancylon,” the Greek for curved. Or, they are named from the elbow on which they are carried, which, in Greek, is “ ankon.”’ This is what Juba says, who is bent on deriving the name from the Greek But the name may come from the Greek ‘“anekathen,’ inasmuch as_ the original shield fell from on high; or from “akesis,” because it healed those who were sick of the plague ; or from “ auchmon lysis,’’ because it put an end to the drought ; or, further, from “anaschesis,” because it brought a cessation of calamities, just as Castor and Pollux were called Anakes by the Athenians; if,

1 The Latin ‘‘ salire,” to leap.

“Avaxas AOnvaio: tpoanyopevoay, ef ye Set mrpos thy ‘EXAnuinny Suddextov éEdryerv Tovvopa. Toa 5& Mapoupio réyouar piaBov yeverOar Tijs téyuns exeivns pvijpny tia bv @dis bro TOV Lariwv dua tH Tuppixn Statrepatvopévyns. ot Sé ov Ovetovptov Mapotpiov elvai pact tov aéddo- pevov, GAXA oveTépeu pepopiapy, Srrep éorti, tra- Aatay pynny.

XIV. ’Emel 5€ dsexoopnoe tas tepwovvas, édet- pato TAnciov Tov THS Eotias tepod tv Kadov- péevny “Pyyiav, olov te Bacineov oixnpa> cal Td ~ mrEloTov avToOt Tov ypovov SvétprBev iepoupyav i) Siudoxwy Tovs iepeis 7) Mpos evvoia Twi Tov Oeiwy mpos avTov oxordfwv. oixiav 8 elyev érépav wept tov Kupivov odor, hs ete viv Tov Tomov émudecxvuovow. éy &€ Talis mpotroptrais Kal ddwS TOY lepéav Tals Toptrais Tporryoovro Knnpunes ava THY Tod éduvveW xehevovTes Kal Ta épya KkaTamravovTes. os yap hac. tous Hvdayopixods ovx éay éx trapodov mpooxuvelp Kal m pooevxeo Gat Tots Oeois, GAX oixobev evOvs éml TOUTO youn Taper Kevac pévous Badifer, OUT ws @ETO _Nopas Xpivar Tous ToAiTas pHTE axovey TUT@Y Ociwv pare opav év Tapépyp av AMENDS, adda oXOAIY dryovras amo TOY arreol

Kal mpooéXovTas Thy Sidvovay ws mpdter peylory
Th mepl THY evoéBevar, popov Te Kal TaTayov
kal orevaypar, Kal dca Toadra Tois avayKatots
cal Bavavoots tovos Eretat, kaOapas tas odo0us
Tais iepoupyiats tapéxovtas. av ixvos Te méxpe

that is, we are bound to derive the name from the Greek. .

We are told that Mamertius was rewarded for his wonderful art by having his name mentioned in a song which the Salii sing as they perform their war-dance. Some, however, say that the song does not commemorate Veturius Mamurius, but " veterem memoriam,' that is to say, ancient remembrance.

XIV. After Numa had thus established and regulated the priestly orders, he built, near the temple of Vesta, the so-called Regia, or royal house. Here he passed most of his time, performing sacred functions, or teaching the priests, or engaged in the quiet contemplation of divine things. He also had another house on the Quirinal hill, the site of which is still pointed out. At all public and solemn processions of the priests, heralds were sent on before through the city, bidding the people make holiday, and putting a stop to all labour. For, just as it is said that the Pythagoreans do not allow men to worship and pray to their gods cursorily and by the way, but would have them go from their homes directly to this office, with their minds prepared for it, so Numa thought that his citizens ought neither to hear nor see any divine service while they were occupied with other matters and therefore unable to pay attention. They should rather be free from all distractions and devote their thoughts to the religious ceremony as a matter of the highest importance. They should also rid their streets of noise and clatter and clamour, and all such accompaniments of menial and manual labour, and clear them for the sacred ceremonies. And the Romans still preserve some traces of this earlier feeling.

>
es
bo
rl:
*
= roa

yov Stacwlovtes, Stay apywv mpos spycww i) Ovciats StatpiBn, Bow@aot ""Ox aye' onpaiver 5é 1) duovn "Tovtto mpacce, auvetiatpépovca xal KaTaKoo Lovaa TOUS TporTUyYavoyTas.
"Hy 6€ cal Tov aAdNwY Tapayyehparwv avTod

aorrd Tois IlvOayopucois éotxota. ws yap éxei-
vot wapnvovy émrt yoivixos py Kabncba, Kal
paxaipa mip wn oxareverr, cal BadlCovras eis
aTroonpias pn petactpéperOar, Kal Tols peév
ovpaviots Treptaca Ove, dptia 6é Tois yOovioss,
@v éxadotov tv Sidvotay amexpUTTovTO Tpos
Tous ToANous, o'Tws Evia Tov Nowa tratpiov
amoppntov éyer Tov Aoryov: olov To pun orévdey
Oeois && auTréd\ov atyuntrov pnde Ovew atep
adpitwv' Kal TO mpocKuvety treptorpepopévous
Kal TO KaOjob8a. TpocKvyncaytas. Ta mev ody
mpata dvo thy yns éEnuépwow eorxe Siddoney,
@> poptov evaeBelas ovaav 1 dé Treptatpody) TAY
T poo KUvOUYTOY AeyeTar pev aTroplunars elvat THS
Tod KOopov a parca b0£eve 6 ay pad dov O
TpoaKuvan, émel impos éw 'TOY Lep@v Breer ovtev
avTréoTpamTTat TAS avaToNas, peTaBarrELw EavTOV
évraida nal weptotpéedpev emt tov Oeov, KvKrov
TOY Kal TUVATT@OV THY ETLTEAELWOLY THS EVYTIS
8.' audoty: et wn vy Aia trois AiyuTrriots tpoyxots
aivitrerait Tt kal di8doKe: TapamAnotov) peta-
Born Tod oxHpatos, ws ovdevds éEoT@TOS TOV
avOpwrivav, aX Stes av otpéhyn Kat averXitry
tov Biov nuav o Oeos, ayatrav nal déyecOa
T poanKov. 70 dé | KabelerIar TpocKvyyncavTas
olwvicpov elvat Aéyoucr ToD PBeRatoTnTa 'ais
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Me.

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When a magistrate is busy taking auspices or sacri-
ficing, the people cry "Hoc age,' which means
'' Mind this," and helps to make the bystanders
attentive and orderly.

Many of his other precepts also resembled those of the Pythagoreans. For instance, the Pythagoreans said: '" Don't use a quart-measure as a seat"; «' Don't poke the fire with a sword'; "" When you set out for foreign parts, don't turn back" ; and "To the celestial gods sacrifice an even number, but an odd number to the terrestrial" ; and the meaning of all these precepts they would keep hidden from the vulgar. Soin some of Numa's rules the meaning is hidden ; as, for instance, " Don't offer to the gods wine from unpruned vines"; " Don't make a sacrifice without meal'; "Turn round as you worship'; and "Sit down after worship." The first two rules would seem to teach that the sub- jection of the earth is a part of

religion; and the worshippers' turning round is said to be an imitation of the rotary motion of the universe; but I would rather think that the worshipper who enters a temple, since temples face the east and the Sun, has his back towards the sunrise, and therefore turns himself half round in that direction, and then wheels fully round to face the god of the temple, thus making a complete circle, and linking the fulfilment of his prayer with both deities; unless, indeed, this change of posture, like the Aegyptian wheels, darkly hints and teaches that there is no stability in human affairs, but that we must accept contentedly whatever twists and turns our lives may receive from the Deity. And as for the sitting down after worship, we are told that it is an augury of the

evyais xal Stapovny trois dyabois érruyiverOat.
Aéyouor Oe Kal mpatewy Svopta pov elvat hy
avdtavatw* @S ovV TH mporépa mpageu Tépas
emuTBevras nab ec Bar a a tots Ocois, Wa
éTépas ma duy apynv Tap exeLvov AdBwor. duva-
Tat 6é Kal TOUTO TOis Eipnuevols oponroyery, e0t-
CovTos as TOU vonoGérou ru) mroveia Oat TAS TpOs
TO Oeiov évrevéets ev aaxorig Kab Tapepyos olov
omevdovTas, aX' Stay Xpovoy Exwpev Kal oYOATY
diryopev.
XV. 'Ex &¢é Tijs TOLAUTNS mardaryuryias mpos
TO Qeiov odtas 7 modus eyeyover vElpon 7S Kat
KkataTtapRnuévn THhv Tov Noa Suvapmey, OOTE
pvbous coixoTas THY aromiav Aoyous Trapa-
dexerGau, Kal vopiter pndev amriotov elvar pnde
apayxavov éxelvov BovdnBevtos. MeyeTat youv
WoTe KaNéaas emt THY Tpamevav OUK ddLyous TOY
TOMTOD, oKEUNn TE patra Kal Setrvov evredres
Tavu mpobéc bat Kal Onworixov™ dpEapévov dé
Seumveiv euBarov Aoyov ws 7 Oeds a ouvEerTLV
Hot 7 pos avTov, aidvidsov emdetEa Tov TE OLKOV
exT@ WaT OY TANPN TOAUTEA@Y Kal Tas tpamélas
oor Te TayToOaTT@V Kal TapacKevts darpirovs
yenouoas. macav oe brrepBeBAnxev aromiay
TO umép THS TOD Atos optdias ia Topovpevov.
pudoroyovar yap els tov ASevtivoy Aogov ouT®
HEpos 6vTa Tis TOAEWS OVE gUvOLKOUpEVO?, Grr'
éexovTa mnyas Te daypireis év avT@ xal vatras
oKtepas, porray dv0 Saipovas, IItxov xai Paivor
ols Ta pev Gd\XAa Latipwv dv tus } Tlavev yéves

TporerKdaere, Suva pet 6é pappaxwy Kat Secvornte
THs wept Ta Bela yonteias A€éyovTar TavTa Tos
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acceptance of the worshipper's prayers and the duration of his blessings. We are also told, that, as different acts are separated by an interval of rest, so the worshipper, having completed one act, sits down in the presence of the gods, in order that he may begin another with their blessing. But this, too, can be brought into agreement with what was said above : the lawgiver is trying to accustom us not to make our petitions to the Deity when we are busied with other matters and in a hurry, as it were, but when we have time and are at leisure.

XV. By such training and schooling in religious matters the city became so tractable, and stood in such awe of Numa's power, that they accepted his stories, though fabulously strange, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he wished them to believe or do. At any rate, the story goes that he once invited a large number of the citizens to his table, and set before them mean dishes and a very simple repast; but just as they began to eat, he surprised them by saying that the goddess with whom he consorted was come to visit him, and lo, on a sudden, the room was full of costly beakers and the tables were laden with all sorts of meats and abundant furniture. But nothing can be so strange as what is told about his conversation with Jupiter. When the Aventine hill—so runs the tale-——was not yet a part of the city nor even inhabited, but abounded in springs and shady dells, two demi-gods, Picus and Faunus, made it their haunt. In other ways these divinities might be likened to Satyrs or Pans, but they are said to have used powerful drugs and practised clever incantations, and to have traversed

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ip? 'EdAjvev T pocaryopevdetaw Tdatots Aaxrv-
Rots codpslopevot mepriévas Th 'Iraniav. TOUTOUS
pact xepdcacbat TOV Nopay, olve Kal péALTe
KepacavTa THV Kenny a' HS emivov cv7bus.
Anpbevras dé Todas pev idéas Tpémea Gat Kat
perexdver Ga THY avTav vow, adrOKoTa pdc-
pare Kat poBepa THS Orews mpoBarXouevous:
érrel dé é éyvocay EANWKOTES loxupay Kal apuxrov
ado, adda TE mpodeoriaat TOANG TOV ped-
AovToV Kab Tov él Tous Kepauvois éxdidakau
Kabappor, OS ToLelTat peXpe vov Sta Kpoppvwy
Kal Tpryov Kat pavidwv. evtor dé ov Tous
Oaipovds pacww vmrobécOat Tov cabappor, ann
éxeivous pev Katayayeiv tov Aia Hayevoaytas,
TOV 6é Jeov opry-Sopevov T@ Noa MpooTacaey
@S Ven yeverOar TOV eaBappov Keparais: UTro-

haBovros dé Tob Nopa, ‘ * KPOMpLBOD ; " eltrety,
“ vO pare” Tov &€ avOus ExT péTrOVvTA TO TOU
T por TayLaros Secvov émepeo bat, “OpiEiv;” aTro-
Kpwapevov be Tou Atos, * ‘ €uapuxors,” eraryaryeiv
tov Nopav, “ pacvicr ;” Tatra every UTO THS
"Hyepias Sedtdaypévov. Kal tov pev Oeov aer-
Beiv thew yevopevov, TOV be TOTrOV "Triacov an
éxeivou mpocaryopevOhvas Kal Tov caBappov ote
cuvrercio Gat. Tavra pev otv Ta pvOwdyn kal
yeXota THY Tov TOTEe avOpwrov émidetxvUTat
didfecw mpos TO Oeiov, Hv o eOtapos avrTois
éveroingen. autoy S€ Tov _Nopay ovTw daoly els
70 Octov aynptio bat Tats eMrriaw, adore wal
Mpocayyedias avT@ OTE YEVO LEVIS OS émép-
yon TroAéutol, perdtdcas Kal etrety’ “Kya oe
Adw a 39
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e

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Italy playing the same tricks as the so-called Idaean Dactyli! of the Greeks. These demi-gods Numa is said to have caught, by mixing wine and honey with the water of the spring from which they were wont to drink. When captured, they dropped their own forms and assumed many different shapes, presenting hideous and dreadful appearances. But when they perceived that they were fast caught and could not escape, they foretold to Numa many things that would come to pass, and taught him besides the charm against thunder and lightning, which is still practised with onions, hair, and sprats. Some, however, say that it was not the imps themselves who imparted the charm, but that they called Jupiter down from heaven by their magic, and that this deity angrily told Numa that he must charm thunder and lightning with “heads.” “Of onions?’’ asked Numa, filling out the phrase. “Of men,” said Jupiter. Thereupon Numa, trying once: more to avert the horror of the prescription, asked, “with hair?’’ “ Nay,’ answered Jupiter, “with living—” “sprats?’’ added Numa, as he had béen taught by Egeria to say. Then the god returned to heaven in a gracious mood,—“ hileos,”’ as the Greeks say,—and the place was called I[licium from this circumstance ; and that is the way the charm was perfected. These stories, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, show us the attitude which the men of that time, from force of custom, took towards the gods. And Numa himself, as they say, had such implicit confidence in the gods, that once, when a message was brought to him that enemies were coming up against the city, he smiled and said : «* But I am sacrificing.”

1 Fabulous gnomes associated with the Mount Ida of

Phrygia and Crete.
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XVI. IIp@rov 8€ dace xai Iiotews nai Tép-
povos lepov idpvcacbar. Kat thy pev Iiore
Spxov atrodetEas “Pwpaios péyrorov, © ypwpevot
péxpt viv StateXovow: o b€ Téppwv Spos av tis
ein, nat Ovovow avdt@ Snpocia Kal dia Kata
TOUS TOY aypav Trepltoptapous, viv peyv Eurpvya,
TO Tanatoy 5€ avaiwaktos nv 4 Ovoia, Nowa
gfirocopycavtos ws xpn Tov Sptov Oeov etpyvns
diraxa Kal Sixacoovvns paprv évTa povov
xaGapov elvau. Soxet 6€ nal 6Aws obTos opiaat
THY xepav o Bacrreds, ‘Popvrov pay Bovdn-
Bévros eFoporoynoacGat T@ péTp~ TOD oixeiou
THY adaiperuy TOU ddNorplou Secpov yap eivas
THs Suvdews Tov Gpov, av pudarrytat, pa
puraTTopevov dé TIS abixias EXeyyov. ov pay
ov6e 7 nv Saxprras Xewpa, Th monet KaT apxas, adnre
THY TOAHY aXe I POCEKTNHTATO ‘Papuros: Kal
TaUTnY Tacav oO Nopas Sreverpe TOLS drropots
TOV TOMTOY, as avdrynny THS adixias apaipav
THY amopiay, Kat Tpémowv ert ryewpyiav Tov Sijpov
apa Th YoOpa ouveEnpepovpevon. ovdev yap ado
TOV émurndevpdrav obras épwra Sprmuy elpnyns
épyaterat Kat TAX UY @S 0 a1r0 yis Bios, év :
Kal THs TONE mK TS evTohpias TO pev Urreppaxn-
TLKOV TOU oixetov Srapever Kal Tapert, TO 5é ets
aduciay Kal weovefiav _GVELPEVOV EXKEKOTTTAL.
510 Kal THY yewpyiav o Nopas oloy el onus
pidtpov éupitas Tos TodiTads Kal paddov as
nor ovev 7 TAOUTOTTOLOV ayanrncas TEXUNY, ets
HEpn TV X@pay Sueinev, & a \Taryous mT poonyopeuce,
kat nal éxaotov émiaKxotrous érake wal rept-
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XVI. He was also the first, they say, to build temples to Faith and Terminus; and he taught the Romans their most solemn oath by Faith, which they still continue to use. Terminus signifies boundary, and to this god they make public and private sacri- fices where their fields are set off by boundaries; of living victims nowadays, but anciently the sacrifice was a bloodless one, since Numa reasoned that the god of boundaries was a guardian of peace and a witness of just dealing, and should therefore be clear from slaughter. And itis quite apparent that it was this king who set bounds to the territory of the city, for Romulus was unwilling to acknowledge, by measuring off his own, how much he had taken away from others. He knew that a boundary, if observed, fetters lawless power; and if not observed, convicts of injustice. . And indeed the city’s territory was not extensive at first, but Romulus acquired most of it later

with the spear. All this was distributed by Numa among the indigent citizens. He wished to remove the destitution which drives men to wrong- doing, and to turn the people to agriculture, that they might be subdued and softened along with the soil they tilled. For there is no other occupation which produces so keen and quick a relish for peace . as that of a farmer's life, where so much of the warrior's daring as prompts a man to fight for his own, is always preserved, while the warrior's licence to in- dulge in rapacity and injustice is extirpated. Numa, therefore, administering agriculture to his citizens as a sort of peace-potion, and well pleased with the art as fostering character rather than wealth, divided the city's territory into districts, to which he gave the name of "pagi,' and in each of them he set

modous. éots 8 Gre xal avtos ehopdv Kat
TEKMALPOMEVOS ATO TAY Epywy TOUS TpPOTrOUS TOV
TOMT@V Tovs pev els TLLaAS Kal TioTELs avizye,
rous 6 pabvpous eal apereis éyor cal caxilwv
éowdpovite.
XVII. Tov 8¢ drAXwv avrod ToNtTevpaTav 7
kata téxvas Siavoyn tov mrnOovs pddtoTa
Oavydterar. THs yap rodews ex Suey yevar,
@omrep elpntat, cuvertavar Soxovons, dueat@ons
dé parrov Kal pndevi tpoTr@ pas yevécOar Bov-
Aopevns unde olov éEaretpar thy érepornra Kal
Siagopdy, dAAA auyKpovcets atravaTous Kal di-
NovetKias TOY pEpav éxovons, dtavonBels Srt eal
TOV copdtwv Ta dvoe Svopikta Kal oxAnpa
xarabpavovres Kat Siarpovvtes dvapeyvvovewr,
UTO puLKpOTNTOS GAAHAOLS TUUBaivovTa paAdXoP,
éyve Kararepelv Topas mrciovas TO cUpTay Ti}
Bos" éx dé Tovrwy es érépas éuBadrov Suaopas
THY TpwTny éxeivnv Kal peyddyv adavicat Tats
éXatTocw évdsactrapeicayv. jv b& 7 Stavopi
Kata Tas Téyvas, aVANTOY, YpYaoYOwY, TEKTO-
vov, Badéwv, oxvToTopwv, cxvTobewav, yadxéwv,
Kepapéwv. tas dé Noutras Téyvas els TAUTO oUP-
ayayov év aitav éx racav anédeake cvoTnpa.
Kotvwvias S€ Kat auvodouvs Kal Jeav Tias «arro-
Sous éxdotp yéves mpeTovcas, TOTEe TpPwTOV &ex
THS TWoAews aveiAe TO AEeyerOat Kal vopiterbat
Tovs pev LaBivous, tovs 5é "Pwpyatouvs, cal tovs

overseers and patrols. But sometimes he would inspect them in person, and judging of the characters of the citizens from the condition of their farms, would advance some to positions of honour and trust ; while others, who were indolent and careless, he would chide and reproach, and so try to make them sensible.

XVII. But of all his measures, the one most admired was his distribution of the people into groups according to their trades or arts. For the city was supposed to consist of two tribes, as has been said,! although it had no consistency, but was rather divided into two tribes, and utterly refused to become united, or to blot out its diversities and differences. On the contrary, it was filled with ceaseless collisions and contentions between its component parts. Numa, therefore, aware that hard substances which will not readily mingle may be crushed and pulverized, and then more easily mix and mingle with each other, owing to the smallness of their particles, determined to divide the entire body of the people into a greater number of divisions, and so, by merging it in other distinctions, to obliterate the original and great distinction, which would be lost among the lesser ones. He distributed them, accordingly, by arts and trades, into musicians, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, leather- workers, curriers, braziers, and potters. The remaining trades he grouped together, and made one body out of all who belonged to them. He also appointed social gatherings and public assemblies and rites of worship befitting each body. And thus, at last, he banished from the city the practice of speaking and thinking of some citizens as Sabines, and of others

1 Chapter ii. 4 f.

peev Tariou, tovs &é 'Pwuvrou moXitas, OoTE THY Scat EUV evappootiay Kai avait travtwv yevéoOat pos wavtas.

'Exracveiras dé TOY TOMTLKGY avtTov Kal 70 jept TOV VOmLoV SopB oa tov dL60vTa Tos mar paob TOUS naidas Tim pda KEL, brreFehopevou TOUS yeyapnnoras, et TOU 'TAT pos emaivobvTos Kal KENEVOVTOS 0 yapos YEvOLTO. Secvov yap nryetTo Thv ws edEvOep@ yeyaunpévny yuvaixa SovrA@ CUVOLKELD.

XVIII. "Hyato dé cal ths mepl Tov ovpavov mpayuateias ovTE ax piBors ovTE TavTaTracww Bewpntas. 'Popvrou yap Bacidevovtos anoyous eXp@vTo Tots pnot Kal aTaKTws, TOUS pev ovce ELKO LY TPEPOV, tous 6€ TévTe Kal TpidKovTa, tous 6é€ rELovenvy oyelopevot, THS 6e yevopmerns dveparias mept THY cedquny kat Tov HALOV évvotay OvK ExovTes, arn' ev purarrovtes povor, Ores efneovta, Kat Tpraxoa tov Tepe Oo éviauTos éo Tat. Nopas 5é 76 Tapadhary pa THS dvaparias

npepav evdexa vive Bar Aoyelopevos, @S Tou pep
cEANVaKoD TpiaKkoctas TEVTNKOVTA Téooapas
EYOVTOS 7HEpas, Tov 6é ndvaxod Tplaxoatas éEn-
KOVTa TEVTE, TAs évoexa TAUTAS npépas durAa-
oratov emnyare map évavTov ert t@ DeBSpov-
api@ pnvi tov euBorcpov, t vTO ‘Popatov Mepen-
Sivov kaovpevor, eleoge kal dvoty nMEp@y ovra.
Kal TOUTO per auTe TO lapa Ths avwpadrias pet-
Covey cuerrev i laparov Sejoer Gat.
Merexivnoe dé Kal THY Tae TOV pnvev Tov
yap ! Mapriop T™ pwTov dvta TpiTov érake, 7 pa@Tov
dé Tov ‘lavovdpior, os av évdéxatos ért “‘Pwpdrouv,
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as Romans; or of some as subjects of Tatius, and
others of Romulus, so that his division resulted in a
harmonious blending of them all together.
Praise is also given to that measure of his whereby
the law permitting fathers to sell their sons was
amended. He made an exception of married sons,
provided they had married with the consent and
approval of their fathers. For he thought it a hard
thing that a woman who had married a man whom
she thought free, should find herself living with a
slave.

XVIII. He applied himself, also, to the adjustment of the calendar, not with exactness, and yet not altogether without careful observation. For during the reign of Romulus, they had been irrational and irregular in their fixing of the months, reckoning some at less than twenty days, some at thirty-five, and some at more; they had no idea of the inequality in the annual motions of the sun and moon, but held to this principle only, that the year should consist of three hundred and sixty days. But Numa, estimat- ing the extent of the inequality at eleven days, since the lunar year had three hundred and fifty-four days, but the solar year three hundred and sixty-five, doubled these eleven days, and every other year in- serted after the month of February the intercalary month called Mercedinus by the Romans, which consisted of twenty-twodays. This correction of the inequality which he made was destined to require other and greater corrections in the future.

He also changed the order of the months. March, which had been first, he made the third month, and January, which had beenthe eleventh under Romulus,

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Swdéxatos 5é Kal TedXevTaios 0 DeBSpovdpios, ©

a lA A dé 9 “ N
vov dSevtépm ypavrat. toddol Sé etow ot Kat
mpooteOfvat tovtous umd Nowa rovs pvas dé-
youvat, Tov Te ‘lavovdptov Kal rov DPeBpovdprov,
é& apyns 5& ypnoOat Séxa povov els TOV éviauTor,
ws évio. Tv BapRdpwr tpici, Kal tov ‘EAAHvoY
"Apxdbes pev récoapary, && 5 "Axapvaves, Aiyu-
mriow dé pnviaios Hv o éviauTos, Elita TeTpa-
unvos, @ gact. 616 Kal vewratny ywpav oi-
KouvtTes apyatotato: Soxotow elvac Kal wrHOos
aunxavov érav él tats yeveadoyiats Katadépov-
aw, dre 81 Tovs pHvas eis érov apiO pov TiOémevor.
XIX. ‘Pwpaior 5é drt peév Séxa penvas eis Tov
éviautov étattov, ov dwdexa, Texpnptov 7 Tod
TeXeuTaiov Tpocnyopia: SéxaTov yap avTov aypt
vov Kadovow: ote 5é Tov Mdptiov wperov, 7
Takis: Tov yap aw éxeivov téumtTov éxddovy
, 4 \ \ oe N a wv
TéuTTov: éxtoy Oé Tov éxTov Kal Tov AAW
é&ijs opoiws Exaotov, émel tov “lavovdpiov xat
Tov WeBpovapiov mpo tod Maprtiov tiOepévoss
cuvéBatvey avtois Tov elpnuévoy phva méuTrtov
pev dvoudterv, EBdopov Sé apiOpety. adArws Se
/ 9 \ 4 wv A
kal Noyor elye Tov Maptiov “Ape xabtepwpévor
e \ a e¢ , A b A ,
umd Tov “PwrvAOU Tpe@TOV ovopudler Bat: Sevtepov
dé rov ‘AmpidXov, éra@vupov oyta tHs ‘Adpodi-
4 A A a
Tns, év @ Ovovai te TH Oe@ Kai Tals Kadrdvdats
ai yuvaixes éotepavwpévat pupoivn Rovorta.
tives dé ov dia THY Adpoditny tov ’AmpirXov
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he made the first month ; February, which had been twelfth and last, thus became the second month, as now. Butthere are many who say that these months of January and February were added to the calendar by Numa, and that at the outset the Romans had only ten months in their year, as some Barbarians have three, and as, among the Greeks, the Arcadians have four, and the Acarnanians six; the Aegyptian year had at first only a single month in it, afterwards four, as weare told. And therefore, though they in- habit a very recent country,! they have the credit of - being a very ancient people, and load their genealo- gies with a prodigious number of years, since they really count their months as so many years.

XIX. That the Romans had at first only ten months in their year, and not twelve, is proved by the name of

their last month; for they still call it December, or the tenth month. And that March used to be their first month, is proved by the sequence of months after it; for the fifth month after it used to be called Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and so on with the rest. Therefore, when they placed January and February before March, they were guilty of naming the above-mentioned month Quintilis, or fifth, but counting it seventh. And _ besides, it was reasonable that March, which is consecrate to Mars, should be put in the first place by Romulus, and April in the second place, since this month is named after Aphrodite. In it they sacrificed to this goddess, and on its first day the women bathe with myrtle garlands on their heads. Some, how- ever, say that April, with its smooth “p,” cannot

1 Perhaps as formed by the deposits of the Nile (Herod. ii. 5 and 9).

hac, arr daotep Exet Totvopa Wirov, Ampir-
Nov KexAHoOat TOV pHva THs éaptyAs Mpas axpa-
Covons avolyovta kal avaxadXuTTovta Ttovs Bra-
oTovs THY duT@Y TOUTO yap } yA@TTA onpaiver.
tav & épeEns tov pev Maiov canrodow amo Maias:
“Epyun yap avépwra:: tov bé ‘Jovviov amo tijs
a 3 e lA S ? 4
Hpas. etol dé tives of TovVTOUS HALKias ETM@VUpLOUS
elvat éyortes mpeaButépas Kal vewtépas: paiw-
pecs yap ol mpecBvTEpor Tap aUTOLS, LOUIL@peEts
dé of vEwTE pot Kaovvrat. tav o¢ NoiTaY ExaaTov
ato THS Tafews, BoTep apiOpovvTes, wvouatov
méuTrov, Extov, EBdopuov, dySoov, évarov, S€xaTov:
elra o Téurros amo Kaloapos tov xataywvca-
pévou Tloprniov ‘lovvsos: o 5 Extos Abryouaros
amo tov Sevtépov pev aptavros, LeBaotod &é
émixrnOévtas, wvoudcOn. rovs bé éde&js! Ao-
peTLavos eloeTroinge Tais avTOD Tpocwvupiats ov
TodUy Ypovov, GAAA Tas aUTaV dvadaBorTes
Tadw éxeivou adayévtos o pev EBSopuos, o 8e
é 800s Kahodvran. povor & ob tereutaio: Svo
THY amo THS Tafews KAHoW, dotrep Exyov e€
ap iiss duepurafay.
av S€ vd Nopwa mpooreBévtar 7} peTarte-
Devteo o 9 pep PeBpovdpros olov xabdpavos & QV TLS
ein’ Kab yap 7 reEes € éyytota TobTo onpaiver, Kal
TOUS Pocr0Is evayifover Tote kal THY T@Y AouTrep-
KanL@v éopTny els, Ta TOAAA cadappe@ ™ poceot-
Kutav Terovow: o be T p@Tos ‘lavoudptos amo
tov "lavov. Soxet dé por tov Mdprtiov o Nopas

1 épetiis Bekker adds 8vo.

be derived from Aphrodite, with its rough " ph," but that this month of high spring time is called April because it opens and discloses the buds and shoots in vegetation, this being the meaning of the word "aperio." The next month in order is called May, from Maia, the mother of Mercury, to whom it is sacred ; and June is so named from Juno. There are some, however, who say that these months get their name from an age, older and younger; for ''majores'' is their name for the elder, " juniores" for the younger men. Each of the remaining months they named from its arithmetical position in the list, the fifth Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and so on with September, October, November, and December. Afterwards the fifth month was named Julius, from Julius Caesar, the conqueror of Pompey; and the sixth month Augustus, from the second Caesar, who was given that title. The seventh and eighth months bore for a short time the names Germanicus and Domitianus, which the emperor Domitian gave them ; but when he was slain, they resumed their old names of September and October. Only the last two months, November and December, preserved the names derived from their position in the list just as they were at the outset.

Of the months which were added or transposed by Numa, February must have something to do with purification, for this is nearest to the meaning of the word, and in this month they make offerings to the dead and celebrate the festival of the Lupercalia, which, in most of its features, resembles a purification.! The first month, January, is so named from Janus. And I think that March, which is

1 Cf. Romalus, xxi. 4-8.

émavupov dyta tod "Apews éx TIS Mpoéedpias petractinaat, Bovdopevos éy tTravtl THS TrOAEMLKTS Suvdpews tmpotipacOar Thy TomTLIKHY. oO yap

"lavos év tots wavy wadaois ete Saipwy etre
Bacirevs yevopevos tmodtTixds Kal KoLvwVLKOS éK
tov Onpi@dovs nal aypiov éyeTar petaBanreiv
Thy Staitay. Kat da TovTO MraTTOVELY avToV
apopem poo wor, as érépav €€ érépas T@ Bie trepi-
TOLTAVTA THY poppiy cal dudbecry.
XX. "Eore 88 adtod Kai vews év ‘Payn
biGupos, & Ov TORE LOU mUdnY Kanroiar, vopiletat
yap dve@y Oar pev auTov éray 7 TONE LOS, KeKrei-
cOat dé elpnvns yevoperns. 7) Sy Nader ov Hv Kat
TTAVLWS” ‘yevopevon, det Tue TULTNPTHMEVNS To0-
AED THS Wyepovias, dia péryeBos Tois KUKAw
TEPLKEX UMEVOLS yévert BapBapors avrepedovons.
wry étri ye TOU eBaotob Kaicapos éxreia On
cadedovTos "Avtovov Kal 7 pOTEpov vmatev-
OVTOD | zMdpxou “AtiAtou kat Titov ManddrAilou
‘povov ov Todvy: Elta evOvs avewyOn Trodépmov
TuppayevTos. aXn’ ert ye THs Nopa Bactheias
ovdeuliav nuépav avemypévos wh0n, tpia Sé Kal
TETTAPAKOVTA ETH TUVEXY@S EpEelve KEKNELO LEVOS"
ottas éEnpnto TAVTENOS a Tou Tone wou Kal
mavrayobev. ou yap povov 0 ‘Pwpaior 7 TipEpworo
Kal KATEKEKNANTO TH Sixacoobvn Kal Tpaornte
TOU Bacvréws Ojpos, andra Kal Tas KUKI TONES,
Gomep. avpas TLVOS éxeiOev 7 Mvevpatos byvervod
pépovros, apxn petaBorjAs éaBe Kar 7 000s
elaeppun TdvTas euvopias Kal eipnyns Kat viv
gutTevery Kat téxva tpépav ev aovyia «al
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nd

3

NUMA

named from Mars, was moved by Numa from its place at the head of the months because he wished in every case that martial influences should yield precedence to civil and political. For this Janus, in remote antiquity, whether he was a demi-god or a king, was a patron of civil and social order, and is said to have lifted human life out of its bestial and savage state. For. this reason he is represented with two faces, implying that he brought men’s lives out of one sort and{condition into another.

XX. He also has a temple at Rome with double doors, which they call the gates of war; for the temple always stands open in time of war, but is closed when peace has come. The latter was a difficult matter, and it rarely happened, since the realm was always engaged in some war, as its in- creasing size brought it

into collision with the barbarous nations which encompassed it round about. But in the time of Augustus Caesar it was closed, after he had overthrown Antony; and before that, when Marcus Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls, it was closed a short time ; then war broke out again at once, and it was opened. During the reign of Numa, however, it was not seen open for a single day, but remained shut for the space of forty-three years together, so complete and universal was the cessation of war. For not only was the Roman people softened and charmed by the righteousness and mildness of their king, but also the cities round about, as if some cooling breeze or salubrious wind -were wafted upon them from Rome, began to ex- perience a change of temper, and all of them were filled with longing desire to have good government, to be at peace, to till the earth, to rear their children

aéBecba Oeovs. éoprai 5é nal Padiatr cal Trap
> AY, 5) A a7 \ ? 4 e
GAANNOUS AdEwsS loVT@Y Kal avapyLyVUpLEeVwY UTO-
6 \ \ 7 \ b / A
oxai Kai diroppocvvar thv ItaNav Kxatetyxov,
olov éx mnyns THs Nowa codias Tov KaXOv Kal
Sixaiwy émevopedvtTwy cis Atravtas Kal duaxeo-
wévns THS TWepl éxelvov yarnvns: @aoTEe Kal Tas
TountiKas UTepBoras évdeiy pos THY TOTE KAaTA-
s
ctacw réyoucw: "Ev dé odapodérors troprrakw
aidav dpayvav épya:" Kal, "evpos dSdpvatar
éyyed TE AoyywTa Eided T apdyKkea, yYadrKeav
Sé ovKéTt carmiyyov KTUTOS, OVS TUAGTAL peEXiI-
dpwv drrvos ato Brehpdpwv." ote yap TONELOS
oUTE OTdaLs OUTE vEewTEpiauoS Tepl ToNTELaY
e , "A J 3 \ 299 > 9
istopnta: Nowa Bactrevovtos: od pny ovd er
2 \ 9 a 4 A / A >
avtov éxeivoyv éyOpa tis POovos 7 bu Epwra
BactreiasériBovrAy Kal cvatacis avdpav, adr
v , A / , A
elte hoBos Oey mpoxndecOar Soxovvtwy Tod
avdpes elite THS apeTis aidas elite Satpoveos!
TUXYN, Taons Kaxias GOukTov ém' éxeivov Kal
\ 4 \ / > 9 4
xabapov Stapurdtrovea tov Biov, evapyes €&n-

veyxe Tapaderyua Kal Texpnptoy THS TXatwvenns
dwvis, iv Botepov éxeivos ovK orgLyos ypovots
ryevopevos éTOAPNoEV adelvat Trepl TroALTELAS, WS
o “A
pia KaxOv TadAa Kal Avots avOpwrrots éeoTiv, Ex
TLVOS Toxns Oeias eis TavTO Stavota girocdpy
Baciitxny cuptecotcay Svvapw éyxpatn Kat
bmepdéEtov THS KaKias THY apETHY KaTATTHCAL.
e
“ Maxdpios pev yap avtos” 0 cwdpwv ws adr-
1 Saiudéos Bryan’s correction, adopted by Coraés and
Bekker : dafuovos.
374

in quiet, and to worship the gods. Festivals and feasts, hospitalities and friendly converse between people who visited one another promiscuously and without fear,—these prevailed throughout Italy, while honour and justice flowed into all hearts from the wisdom of Numa, as from a fountain, and the calm serenity of his spirit diffused itself abroad. Thus even the hyperboles of the poets fall short of picturing the state of man in those days: “ And on the iron-bound shield-handles lie the tawney spiders’ webs’’; and, “rust now subdues the sharp-pointed spears and two-edged swords; no longer is the blast of brazen trumpets heard, nor are the eyelids robbed of delicious sleep.”! For there is no _ record either of war, or faction, or political revolution while Numa was king. Nay more, no hatred or jealousy was felt towards his person, nor did ambition lead men to plot and conspire against his throne. On the contrary, either fear of the gods, who seemed to have him in their especial care, or reverence for his virtue, or a mar- vellous felicity, which in his days kept life free from the taint of every vice, and pure, made him a manifest illustration and confirmation of the saying which Plato,? many generations later, ventured to utter regarding government, namely, that human ills would only then cease and disappear when, by some divine felicity, the power of a king should be united in one person with the insight of a philosopher, thereby establishing virtue in control and mastery over vice. ‘* Blessed,’ indeed, is such a wise man

1 A free citation, apparently from memory, of Bacchylides,
Fragment 13 (Bergk). See Jebb’s Bacchylides, p. 411.
2 Republic, p. 487 e.
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Os, “ waxdprot dé ot cvri Koo TaV éx Tou ow po-
8 vobvTos TTOMATOS lovey hoyov.” Taxa yap ovoe
avaryicns TLVOS bel mpos TOUS TOANOUS OVE ATrED-
ris, avtot dé THY aperny év evdnr@ mapadely pate
Kal Aap pe TO Biw tod apxovTos opavres, EXOU-
oiws coppovoic Kat cumpeTaaxnparivovrar

mpos Tov év piri xa opovoig TH 7 pos avrous
peta Sucacoaurys Kal HET PLOTNTOS appove ' Kal
padprov Biov, év A) 70 KAAALO TOV amraons Toh
Telas TERS éoti, kal Baciuxdraros anrdavTev
0 ToUTov Tov Biov Kat tavTny thy Stdbeow Tots
bmnxoots évepydcacbar Suvdpevos. taita pév
ovv Nopas traytés madXov paiveras TUVEWpPaKar.
X XI. Tept dé TmaiSwy avTov Kal yapov ayi-
Aoytal yeyovact Tots taToptKols. ot wey yap ovUTE
ydpov aAXov 7 Tov Tatias AaBelv avTov ove
matdos érépov ryevéo Oar TaTépa may pods Ouya-
T pos Tlopmedtas héyouow ot o€ 7 pos TAUTH téc-
capas viovs avaypddovaow avrod, Toumeva,
I]tvov, Kadrov, Madpepxoy, av éxacTov otkou
diadoxny cal yévous évtipou KaTanaTrely, elvat
yap amo pep ToD Tloumavos TOUS Toprevious,
amo dé Uivou rovs [wapious, amo &é Kaarrov
TOUS Kaaroupvious, amo Oé Mazépxov tous Ma-
pepKious, ols dua TovTO Kal "Piyyas yever Pau
Tapwvuucov, Strep earl Bacrdéas. TpiTot dé eiow
ob TOUTOV pev KaTnyopoovTes: @S xaptlopevoy Tots
yevert Kal mpoatiHevray ovK adnO7 OTe para
THs ao Nopa diadoxys, THY dé Tlopmedtay OUK €K
Tatias yeyovévar Néyovtes, GAN’ FE évépas yuvas-
U

1 Gudpova MSS. and edd.: dxtbuova (waveless, serene), after
Wyttenbach.
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NUMA

“in himself, and blessed, too, are those who hear the words of wisdom issuing from his lips.””} For possibly there is no need of any compulsion or menace in dealing with the multitude, but when they see with their own eyes a conspicuous and shining example of virtue in the life of their ruler, they will of their own accord walk in wisdom’s ways, and unite with him in conforming themselves to a blameless and blessed life of friendship and mutual concord, attended by righteousness and temperance. Such a life is the noblest end of all government, and he is most a king who can inculcate such a life and such a disposition in his subjects. This, then, as it appears, Numa was preeminent in discerning.

XXI. As regards his marriages and offspring, his- torians are at variance. Some say that he had no other wife than Tatia, and no other child than one daughter, Pompilia. Others ascribe to him four sons besides, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, each one of whom was the founder of an honourable family.

From Pompon the Pomponii are descended, from Pinus the Pinarii, from Calpus the Calpurnii, and from Mamercus the Mamercii, who for this reason had also the surname of Reges, .or Kings. But there is a third class of writers who accuse the former of paying court to these great families by forging for them lines of descent from Numa, and they say that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife whom Numa

1 Cf. Plato, Laws, p. 7lle.

3 «0s, hv 45n Bactrevwv énue, Aovapntias' mav-
tes 5 ov oporoyovas thy LloumaAiav Mapkio
yaunOjvar. trais 8¢ hv o Mdpxuos éxeivou Map-
xiov tod Nouay wapopynoavtos émi thv Baci-
Nelav' Kal yap cuppet@enoer eis 'Popny ato
Kal Tis cuyKANTOU peTéaxe TLU@PEVOS, KaL PETA
tHv Nopa tereutny 'Oortirdtw mept THs Bactdeias
eis Gyava KaTaoTas Kal nTTNOEls aTrexapTtépyoer.
o 6é vids avTod Mdpxios éyov tHv Topmediav
Katépevev év 'Pan cal Mapxuov "Ayxov éyévyn-
cev, 5 peta TurdXgov 'Oaotiniov éBacinrevae.
4 TOUTOV, ws A€yeTaL, TeEVTAETH KaTaduTToV Oo Nopds
éreXevTH EV, Ov TaXelas OVO aiduidtov yevopnévns
avT@ THs TENEUTHS, GAAA KATA pUKpdv UTO ynpPwsS
Kal vooou padakys aropapacvopuevos, aS loTopnKe
Iletowv. érerevtynce ypdvoy ov TOADY TOS
oySonxovta TpoaBiwcas.
XXIF. Zndrwrov 8 adtod nai T@ Tade— Tov Biov
émroinoay ot Te cUppaxor Kal diror Sipo, cvvEr-
Oovres eri tas tapas dua Snpocias emipopais
cal otepavors, of Te TaTpixtot TO AéYos apapevot,
Kal ouptrapovtes ot TOV Oewy iepeis Kal trapa-
méutovTes, 00 GAAOS Gyros avapemypévav Kal
yuvatcav Kal traidwy ovy as Bactdéws tadais
Ynpatovd Trapovtes, GAN WS TVA THY hirTATwY Exa-
oTos év axpy Biov mrodovpevov Sarto, pet' ob w0-
2 ys nal KravOpav érropevor. tmupl pév ovv ovK éSocav Tov vexpov AVTOU KWAVGAVTOS, WS
AéyeTaL, Svo 5é troinodpevor ALGivas copods vTTO Td "IdvoK- Dov EOnxav, Thy pev éETépav
Exoveay TO COpma, THY dé Erépav Tas iepas BiBXous &s éyparpato pévavtos,

married after he became king. However, all are

agreed that Pompilia was married to Marcius. Now this Marcius was a son of the Marcius who induced Numa to accept the throne.1_ That Marcius accompanied Numa to Rome, and there was honoured with membership in the Senate. After Numa's death, he competed for the throne with Hostilius, and being defeated, starved himself to death. But his son Marcius, the husband of Pompilia, remained at Rome, and begat Ancus Marcius, who succeeded Tullus Hostilius in the kingdom. This Ancus Marcius is said to have been only five years old when Numa died, not a speedy nor a sudden death, but wasting away gradually from old age and a mild disorder, as Piso writes. He was something over eighty years old when he died. | ;

' XXII. His obsequies were as much to be envied as his life. The peoples which were in alliance and friendship with Rome assembled at the rites with public offerings and crowns; the senators carried his bier, the priests of the gods served as its escort, and the rest of the people, including women and children, followed with groans and lamentations, not as though they were attending the funeral of an aged king, but as though each one of them was burying some dearest relation taken away in the flower of life. They did not burn his body, because, as it is said, he forbade it; but they made two stone coffins and buried them under the Janiculum. One of these held his body, and the other the sacred books which he had written out with his own hand, as the Greek

. 1 Cf. chapter vi.

@otep of TOV 'EdAqvov vopobérar TOUS cupBes, éxdibdfas dé Tous tepels ere Sav Ta yeypappeva Kal mavroy &iv te Kal yvounv évepyacdpevos avrots, éxéXevce cuvrapivar peTa TOV ToLaATOS, as ov Karas év 7 ypappact ppovpovpévey TOV amroppytav. Aoyioup pace pndé tovs Tu@ayopixovs ELS ypagiy caraTiOecOas Ta oup-Taybata, penny dé Kal maibevow avT@v aypa-

pov ep mrovety Tois afious. Kal THS ye Tept Tas
aT opous Kal appirous heyouevas ev yewpeT pia
peOodous Tparypareas ™pos Twa TOY dvatior
exdo0eions, epacay emuonpaive TO Sarpoviov
peyaro Tot Kal KOLV@ KAK@ THY ryeryer meray
Tapavopiay Kal daéBevav éme&epxopevov. OOTE
ouyyvayny EX ELV TONAHy Tots els 70 auto Tv0a-
ope Nopay hiroTipovupévars ovvayey emt Towav-

TALs opoLoTnaw.

Oi Se rept "Avtiay toropovat SoHbexa pey eivat
BiBrous ‘epopavtixds, badexa dé adras ‘EA-
AnviKas ptroa ogous Tas eis THY cOpoV ouvTeei-
cas. TETPAKOGLOY 6€ trov dtayevonévwv éeTav
bratot pev Raoav Ilomdtos Kopyndtos Kal M dpkos
Batftos: éuBpewv dé peyd dav emimes OvT@Y Kal
Xoparos TeplpparyeVvTos eFewoe TAS copous TO
pedpa: Kal TOV emeOnpatov amoTed OvT@Y " pev
érépa Kev TavTamacw On Kal pépos ovdev
ovde Aelpavov éxouca TOU THUATOS, ey dé TH
erépg TOV Ypapparov evpeD evry dvayvavat plev
aura héyera TletiAsos ouparnyay TOTE, apos O€
THY avyKANTOV Kopioat,) pn Soxety adT@ Oemerov
elvat Néywr nde Savoy Extrvata ToAddois TA YyeE-
1 xouloa: Coraés, Sintenis!, and Bekker, with C: bpufieas.

lawgivers their tablets. But since, while he was still living, he had taught the priests the written contents of the books, and had inculcated in their hearts the scope and meaning of them all, he com- manded that they should be buried with his body, convinced that such mysteries ought not to be en- trusted to the care of lifeless documents. This is the reason, we are told, why the Pythagoreans also do not entrust their precepts to writing, but implant the memory and practice of them in living disciples worthy to receive them. And when their treatment of the abstruse and mysterious processes of geometry had been divulged to a certain unworthy person, they said the gods threatened to punish such lawless- ness and impiety with some signal and wide-spread calamity. Therefore we may well be indulgent with those who are eager to prove, on the basis of so many resemblances between them, that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras.

Antias, however, writes that it was twelve pontifical books, and twelve others of Greek philosophy, which were placed in the coffin. And about four hundred years afterwards, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Baebius were consuls, heavy rains fell, and the tor- rent of water tore away the earth and dislodged the cofins. When their lids had fallen off, one coffin was seen to be entirely empty, without any trace whatever of the body, but in the other the writings were found. These Petilius, who was then praetor, is said to have read, and then brought to the senate, declaring that, in his opinion, it was not lawful or proper

that the

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ypappéera yeverOar' 810 wal xomtcbeioas eis TO
Kopitiov tas BiBdous Kxaraxajvac.
Tlaot pév odv ereras tots dexaiors Kal dyabois
avdpdat peileov 0 KaToTriy al peta THY TENEUT HY
éqrawvos, TOU POovov qo \“povoy ovK én bavros,
évioy dé Kal mpoaTroOyna KovTos® ov pny adr
éxelvou ye THD dofav ai tav totepov Bactréwv 75
TUYaL Lapmporépay émoingay. mévre yap yevo-
péveov per’ QvTOV oO bev ErxXaTos exTrec@v (Ths
apxiis ev puyf KaTeynpace, Tay b€ Tecodpwr
ovodeis KaTa puowy érehevTncer, GNX’ ol Mev TpEIs
emreBovrevd eves éopaynaay, ‘Oarindtos d€ Tvrdos,
Os peta Nopav éBacineuce, Kal Ta WwreloTa TOV
éxelvou Kkarav, év dé TpwrTots Kal pddora THY
qWept TO Deiov evddevay, emixrevdoas Kal Kabv-
Bploas OS dpyoroiov Kal yuvarnady, T pos TONe-
poov érpewe TOUS ToNtTas, oud" auros EVEMELVE TOLS
VeaVLEevLAGL TOUTOLS, adn’ vro vooou Xareris
Kal qTodutTpotov Thy yvoOunv adNaca opevos els
derowdarpoviay évédwaxev vibes Tl TH Kara Nopav
evoeBeig ™poankove ay, ére O€ paddov évetroinge
Tots ddRovs TO TotovTov 1d0os, ws NEeyETAL, KaTA-
prexGels brro xepauvav.
eee

AYKOYPLPOY KAI NOMA SYTKPIZI13

I, "AXX’ eel tov Noa nai Avukovpyou dtedn-
AvGapev Bio», exicet Leva apoir, rh xal Vane ov
epyov, ovx amoxvntéoy avvayayeiv tas Stadopas.
al

COMPARISON OF LYCURGUS AND NUMA

writings should be published abroad. The books were therefore carried to the comitium and burned.

It is true, indeed, of all just and good men, that they are praised more after they have left the world than before, since envy does not long survive them, and some even see it die before them; but in Numa’s case the misfortunes of the kings who followed him made his fame shine all the brighter. For of the five who

came after him, the last was dethroned and grew old in exile, and of the other four, not one died a natural death. Three of them were conspired against and slain; and Tullus Hostilius, who reigned next after Numa, and who mocked and derided most of his virtues, and above all his devotion to religion, declaring that it made men idle and effeminate, turned the minds of the citizens to war. He himself, however, did not abide by his pre- sumptuous folly, but was converted by a grievous and complicated disease, and gave himself over to a superstition which was far removed from the piety of Numa. His subjects, too, were even more affected with superstition, as we are told, when he died by a stroke of lightning.

COMPARISON OF LYCURGUS AND NUMA

I. Now that we have recounted the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, and both lie clearly before us, we must attempt, even though the task be difficult, to assemble and put together their points of difference.

e U A
ai pev yap Kowworntes éripaivovtas Tais mpdéecwy,
olov 7» cwhpociyn. Trav dvipav, 4 evoéBea, TO
TONLTLKOV, TO TWALSEUTLKOY, TO plaY apynY Tapa
Tav Peay audorépovs AaBeiv THs vopobecias:
" \ 997 e , n a / ? v a
Ttav dé idta éxatépov kadro@v mparov dor. Nopa
\ e ', a , 4 \ .
pev » tmrapddy us tis Bactrelas, Auveovpye@ Sé 7)
/ e \ \ > 2 A e '
mapddoow. o pev yap ov aitrav éraBev, o 5é
éywv amédwxe. Kal Tov pev Erepoe xuptov avTav
Katéstycav idioTnv cal Eévoy évra, o 5é autos
e_N ? " ? / 2 4 on \ \
avTov idiwwotnv ex Baorréws érroinge.. Kado pev
ow To Ktncac0at Sixatocvvy tHv Bactreiar,
karov d€ TO TpoTiunoat THY Sixatocvyny Tis
Bacireias. 9 yap apety Tov péev odTws EvdoEov
/ oe / ? A \ \
Kkatéatnoey wate Bactreias akiwbjva, rov sé
,
oUTw péyav éroincey Wate PBaagtrelas Kata-
ppovicat.
Ul ,

Acutepov Toiwvy, ere wad dmep appovirol
Upas, O pev exhehupergy Kal Tpupacar eT éTELVE
Thy {rdaptyy, o Sé THs 'Pans To chodpov avijxe

Kal ovyTovov, Mev Xarerorns Tov épyov T@
AvKoupy@ mpocertty. ov yap Owparas exdvvat
Kal Eign TOUS ToONLTAS catabéa bat érrevOev, GANG
Xpucov Kai dpyupov adpeivar Kal oTpwpvas éx-
Banreiv trodvuteAeis Kal tpanélas, oveé Tavaape-
vous Torkéuwv éoptalew Kai Ove, adrAa Seirrva
kal wotous édoayras év Tots Sr Ao1s Kat Tais
e
Tahatat pars Siarroveia Gat kal aoKe. OOev o
pev ds' evvoias Kat TEAS anavrTa metOcov én pager,
o 6 xuvduvevwy Kai Baddopevos poyis émexpd-
TNOEV.
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For their points of likeness are obvious from their careers: their wise moderatien, their piety, their talent for governing and educating, and their both deriving their laws from a divine source. But each also performed noble deeds peculiar to himself. To begin with, Numa accepted, but Lycurgus resigned, a kingdom. One got it without asking for it, the other had it and gave it up. One was made by others their sovereign, though a private person and a stranger ; the other made himself a private person, though he was a king. It was a noble thing, of course, to' win a kingdom by righteousness ; but it was also a noble thing to set righteousness above a kingdom. For it was virtue which rendered the one so famous as to be judged worthy of a kingdom, and virtue, too, which made the other so great as to scorn a kingdom. |

In the second place, then, it is granted that, just as musicians tune their lyres, so Lycurgus tightened the strings at Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, and Numa loosened the strings at Rome, where the tones were sharp and high ; but the task was more difficult in the case of Lycurgus. For his efforts were to persuade the citizens, not to take off their breast-plates and lay aside their swords, but to cast away gold and silver, and abandon costly couches and tables; not to cease from wars and hold festivals and sacrifices, but to give up feasting and drinking and practise laboriously as soldiers and athletes. Wherefore the one accomplished all his ends by persuasion, through the good-will and honour in which his people held him; but the other had to risk his life and suffer wounds, and scarcely then prevailed.

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‘ “Hyepos pévrot Kal prravi pwrros 7 tou Nopa
podca apos etpnyny exal Sixaroobyny peJappo-
capévov Kal KaTaT paivartos 4 ax ara Kat
Svamripwv nOav TOUS TOAITaS, et de Kal TO
mept tovs Kitwtas dvayKacet TUS Teas els THY
Avxovpyov Oéc Gas TOMTELAY, G@ WOT ATO epyov
rat Tapavopwrarov, paxp@ tin tov Nopav eddn-
VEKWTEPOD ryeyovevar vowobérny prj oper, és ye
Kal TOUS @pororynwevous SovAous evyevoe TLMAS
érevépas, ev trois Kpovious éotido Oar peta tov
SeaTroTav GVA WE [try LEVOUS Cicas. Kal yap TodTo
TOV Nopa matpiov év elvat Aéyouow, eri Tas
TOV éTnTiWY aTrohavaEts KapTrav TOUS cuvepyous
TraparauBavovros. evioe b€ TodTO UTopynya TIS
Kpowxis éxeivns icovopias aTmooaleabat pudo-
Aoyotauy, @S pndevos SovAou pnde Searrorov,
mavrwv &é oUyyevay Kal ¢ tootipev vopclopeveny.
II."Odws 6é paivovrar T pos THY avrdpxetav
apporepot Kal gappoovny opLotes dryovres Ta
TrIOy, Tov Se Gddwov apeTov o pev THY avdpeiav
MGAXOv, 0 € THY Stxatoovvny HyaTnKa@s: Ei Ln VT
Aia dua THY Drone: pévny TOV TONLTEV PAT OV
éxaTépou dvow 7 ouvn dear, ovy opotay oveap,
dvojoias der TapacKeviys. OvUTE yap Nopas bud
devAiay KaTéhuae TO Tonepely, Grn’ éml Te BY
adixetv, ove Avunodpyos els ddiciav KATETKEVATE
TOE MLKOUS, GAN’ varép Tod pwn adiKeio Oat. Tas
ovy umepBodas apatpoiytes audorepor Kal Tas
évdcias avatrAnpobvres TOV UmapxovtTov Tepl TOUS
monitas, nvayxdalovTo peydArats yphoOar peta-
BoXais.
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Numa’’s muse, however, was gentle and humane,
and he converted his people to peace and righteous-
ness, and softened their violent and fiery tempers,
And if we must ascribe to the administration of
Lycurgus the treatment of the Helots, a most savage
and lawless practice, we shall own that Numa was
far more Hellenic as a lawgiver, since he gave

acknowledged slaves a taste of the dignity of freedom, by making it the custom for them to feast in the company of their masters during the Saturnalia.! For this too was one of the institutions of Numa, as we are told, who thereby admitted to the enjoyment of the yearly fruits of the earth those who had helped to produce them. Some, however, fancy that this custom was a reminder of the equality which characterized the famous Saturnian age, when there was neither slave nor master, but all were regarded as kinsmen and equals.

II. In general, both alike manifestly strove to lead their peoples to independence and sobriety ; but as regards the other virtues, the one set his affections more on bravery, the other on righteousness ; unless, indeed, the different natures or usages on which the government of each was based required different provisions. For it was not out of cowardice that Numa put a stop to the waging of war, but to prevent the commission of injustice ; neither was it to promote the commission of injustice that Lycurgus made his people warlike, but that they might not suffer injustice. Accordingly, in removing the ex- cesses and supplying the deficiencies of their citizens, both were forced to make great innovations.

1 A mid-winter harvest festival in honour of Saturnus.

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Kad pny tis te Ssaradkews wal ris Svatpéocews
TOV TOATEULAGTWY OYALKH pey aKpaTwWS 1) TOU
Nowa cal Oeparevtixnn tov awdOous, éx ypvao-
Yowv cal avdANT@Y Kal oKVTOTOMOY CUMpLYH TLVa
Kal TaptroiKtXov atodaivoytos Shuov, avotnpa
5é 4 Avxovpyetos Kat adpiotoxpatinn, Tas ev
Bavavoous atroxabaipovoa réyvas eis olxeTav Kal
HeToixwy yeipas avtovs dé Tovs troAitas eis THY
dotiéa kal td Sopy auvdyouca, Todémou yetpo-
téyvas xal Oepdrovras “Apews dvtas, ddXo Se
ovdev eiddTas ovdée pereT@vTas 4 TeiOecOat Tots
apxovet Kal Kpareiy tay Trodepiov. Ovdée ya
yenpatilerOar trois édevOépors eEjv, a édev-
Gepo. wavteda@s kal xa0drak wow, adr’ hy 7H
Tepl Ta Kpnpata KatacKevn Sedopévn Sovdrots
kal Eiiwow, dowep 7 wept TO Setrvoy nal dro
Ssaxovia. Nopads dé€ ovdéy Stéxpive Ttotovror,
GANA Tas pev oTpaTiwTixas Eravce Treovetias,

Tov 5é GAAov ovK exddrAUTE KpNnpaTLa LOY, Ove TTY
TotavTny KaTecTopecey avwopartav, ddAdgAa Kal
TOUT Mpoigvar pmexXpt TravTos epHKe, Kal Trevias
Tors aOpolouevns kal wUioppeovans «is THY
mod nuéernae, Séov evOds ev apxy, pwndéTo
TOAAHS pyoe peyaAns avicoTnTos ovaNS, GAN Erte
trois Biow opardav Kxal mapatAnciwv svrwr,
évoThvas mpos Thy TreoveEiav, WaTep AuKodpryos,
kal purdtacbar tas at' aitis BrAdBas, od puxpas
yevouévas, GAAA ToV mreioTov Kal peyiotey
Kakov, doa ovvnvéxOn, orréppa Kal apyny tapa-
ayovcas. o dé THS YRS avadacpos ovTEe TOY
Avxoipyov, éuol Soxetv, motel vpextov yevopevos
ote tov Nopay pry yevoyevos. TE pev yap pay

And surely, as regards the arrangement and classification of the citizens under their respective governments, Numa's was strongly popular and inclined to favour the masses, resulting in a promiscuous and variegated commonalty of goldsmiths, mausicians, and leather-workers ; but that of Lycurgus was rigid and aristocratic, relegating the mechanical arts into the hands of slaves and aliens, but confining the citizens themselves to the use of the shield and the spear, so that they were artificers of war and servants of Ares, but knew and cared for nothing else than to obey their commanders and master their enemies. For freemen were not even permitted to transact business, that they might be entirely and forever free, but the whole apparatus of business was turned over to slaves and Helots, just like the pre- paration and serving of their meals. Numa, on the contrary, made no such distinctions, but, while he put a stop to military rapacity, he prohibited no other gainful occupation. Nor did he reduce the great inequalities resulting therefrom, but left the acquisition of wealth wholly unrestricted, and paid no attention to the great increase of poverty and its gradual influx into the city. And yet it was his duty at the very outset, while as yet there was no general or great disparity of means, but people still lived on much the same plane, to make a stand against rapacity, as Lycurgus did, and take measures of precaution against its mischiefs ; for these were not trifling, but furnished the seed and source of the most and greatest evils of after times. But as regards the redistribution of the land, Lycurgus, in my opinion, is not to be censured for making it, nor Numa for not making it. In the one case, the re-

Kai Kpnrida tis TwoALTelas 4 icoTns adtn Tap-
éaxe, Tov 5& mpooddrov THs KANpovyias ovans
ovdey Hrreyey GANov éuParew avadacpov ovdé
Kively THY TPWTNVY vé"uNnoLVY, wS EiKOS éoTL, KaTA
yapav pévovaav.
III. Tijs 5é rept rods ydpous cal ras Texvocess

Kotvwvias TO abnrétuTov opOas Kal trodTLKaS
éutrotobytes audotepot toils avdpdow ov Kata
wav els toto auvnvéyOncayv, addr’ 0 “Pwpaios
pev dvnp ixavas éxwv tratdotpodias, vp’ érépou
dé meicbels Seouévov téxvwv, é&ictato Tis
yuvarros, éxdoc0ar = xal petexdoc0ar KUpLos
UTdpxor, o be Adxov, olxot Ths yuvatKos
ovons Tap auT@ Kal TOU Yyapmou pEvOVTOS ert
trav é& apxis uxaiwv, petedioov TO mreloavTe
This Kolvwvias Eels TéXVWOLD. Todol 86, domep
elpntalt, Kal mapaxadovytes etonyov é& av av
édoxouy padora maidas everdeis xal dryabovs
ryevéa ar. tis ody 7 Stdxprots Tav eOtoperv; jj
TavTa pep laxupa kal axpatos amdbea pos
yapeTny Kal 7a TapdatrovTa kal KatakatovTa
CnroTuTiats Tovs ToAAOUs, exelva dé damep
alaxuvopern atudia TUS, TapaxdAvAuppa THY ey-
yunv epednopmeéry al To Svacxaptépnrov éEopmo-
oryouuevn THS Kovevias ;
"Ere 6€ waddov 1) teph Tas map8évous pudacn
Katéatarrat T@ Nopa Tos TO Ofy Kat Koa jt0v"
" 8€ TOU Avxoupyou TavTaTaciw avamentapéevn
Kal aOnrus ovoa Tois TounTais eyov Taper xX nKe.
daivounpldas te yap avtas amoxanovaw, os
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sulting equality was the foundation and base of his polity ; but in the other, since the allotment of lands was recent, there was no urgent reason for introduc- ing another division, or for disturbing the first assign- ment, which probably was still in force. > III. With regard to community in marriage and parentage, though both, by a sound policy, inculcated in husbands a freedom from selfish jealousy, still, their methods were not entirely alike. The Roman husband, if he had a sufficient number of children to rear, and another, who lacked children, could per- suade him to the step, relinquished his wife to him, having the power of surrendering her entirely, or only for a season ; but the Spartan, while his wife remained in his house, and the marriage retained its original rights and obligations, might allow any one who gained his consent to share his wife for the purpose of getting children by her.. And many husbands, as we have said,! would actually invite into their homes men whom they thought most likely to procure them handsome and noble children. What, then, is the difference between the two customs? We may say, perhaps, that the Spartan implies a complete indiffer- ence to the wife, and to the jealous emotions which confound and consume the hearts of most men; while the Roman, as if with shame-faced modesty, makes a veil of the new betrothal, and concedes that community of wives is really insupportable. Still further, Numa’s watchful care of young maidens was more conducive to feminine decorum ; but the treatment of them by Lycurgus, being entirely unconfined and unfeminine, has given oc- casion to the poets. They call them “ phainomerides,”’

1 Lycurgus,. xv. 7.
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“TBuxos, cal avdpopavets Notdopodow, ws Evpt-
midns, Néyou"
Al ovv véotow éEepnpuodcry' Sopovs
yupvotot pnpots Kal TémAOLS avEtpevous.
A aA n al J
4 7T@ yap vTt TOU TapHEVLKOD YLT@VOS ai TwTépuyes 77
> 4 4 2 > 9 ,
OUK Roay cuveppappévar KaTwbev, GAN aveTTTUC-
govto Kal cuvaveyvpvovv Srov év te BadbiCev
4
Tov pnpov. Kal cadhéotata TO yivopeooy elpnKe
Lodoxrs ev Tovtoss’
Kal tav véoptov, as ér’ doroXos yuT@v

Oupaiov appt -enpov
aTvaceTat, Epusovar.
5 610 xal Opacvtepar AéyovTat yevéoOat Kal mpos
avtTovs mpwtoyv dvdpwdes. tors avdpas, are 87
TOV pev OikwY apYovoat Kata Kparos, év Sé Tois
Snmocios mpaypact Kal yvauns petadrapBavov-
gat Kal Tappncias mept Tav peyiotwr. o dé
Nowas tais yapetais to pev akiopa cal rip-
Tiny éTnpnae Tpos Tovs avdpas, hv elyov dro
€ i , \ e 4 Qa
Pwptrov Oeparrevopevas Sa THY aprayny, aida
dé todd éeréctncev avtais Kal TodvT payyoou-
ynv ageire xalyndew edidake cai ctwray ciOicen,
” \ > , \ 4 -f A
olvov péev atrexouevas TO Taptav, Aoy@ S€ pndé
e le) ? , bd ‘ ¥
imép Tov advayxaiwy avdpos advev ypwpévas.
6 Aéyeras yobv ote yuvatKkos eitrovans Sixny idiay
éy ayopa téuyar thy avyKAnTov ets Oeod, rruv-
1 eepnuovorw adapted from étepnuotoa (leaving their homes).
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hare-thighed (so Ibycus), and revile them as mad after
men. Thus Euripides says ! :—
“ They leave their homes to mingle with the youths ; Their thighs are naked, flying free their robes.”

For in fact the flaps of the tunic worn by their maidens were not sewn together below the waist, but would fly back and lay bare the whole thigh as they walked. popnoces pictures the thing very clearly in these words ? :

« And that young maid, whose tunic, still unsewn,
Lays bare her gleaming thigh
Between its folds, Hermione.”

And so their women, it is said, were too bold, putting on men’s airs with their husbands even, to begin with, since they ruled their houses absolutely, and besides, on public occasions, taking part in de- bate and the freest speech on the most important subjects. But Numa, while carefully preserving to the matrons that dignified and honourable relation to their husbands which was bestowed on them by Romulus,’ when he tried by kindly usage to efface the memory of the violence done them, nevertheless enjoined great modesty upon them, forbade them all busy intermeddling, taught them sobriety, and accustomed them to be silent ; wine they were to re- frain from entirely, and were not to speak, even on the most necessary topics, unless their husbands were with them. At any rate, it is said that when a woman once pleaded her own cause in the forum, the senate sent to inquire of an oracle what the event might

1 Andromache, 587 f. raeaaae slightly adapted.
2 Fragment 788 (Nauck). f. Romulus, xix. 6.
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Javopévny tivos dpa Th ode onpetor ein TO yeyE-
ynpévov. kal rhs adds evrreOcias Kal mpadtynTOsS
AUTOV MéyA TEKUNPLOY) LYNN TOV YELPOVOY. WS
yap wap npiv ot toropixol ypddovat tovs mpe-
Tous % povov éudvrov épyacapévous 7 Todeun-
cavras adedpols 7 TaTpos avToYepas 7} pNTpOS
7 yevopévous, ottw “Pwpaior pvnpovevovow st
Tp@Tos pev aretéurparo yuvaixa Yropios Kap-
/ Q e , , ¥ ,
Birtos, peta tiv Papyns xtiow éreot TpidxovTa
kal Staxoaiors ovdevos ToLovTOU yeyovoTos, TPATH
dé yuvn [lwaplov @araia rotvopa SinvéyOn mpos
e ¢ a , /
éxupav avtTas Teyaviay Tapxvviov ZovrépBov
Bactrevovtos. oftw Karas Kal Koopiws TeTay-
péva TA TOY ydpwv hv VTO TOD vouobérou.
IV. Ty 5 GAAn tav TrapPévwr aywyn Kal Ta
mepl tas éxddcets Ouoroyel, ToD pev Auxovpyou
mwemeipous Kal opywoas vupdevorTos, OTws H TE
e 4 / 4 A , / 9

opria, Seopévns dn THS PioEews, YapiTos 7
kal didias apyn paddrov H picovs cal poBov
mapa dvow Bialopévwr, cal Ta copata popny
4 \ \ \ / ’ \ 2 Qa
éyn mpos TO Tas KUnTELS avahépery Kal Tas w6i-
e > 3 2Q\ yw / \ “
vas, ws én ovdev GAO yapoupevovy 7) TO THs
Texvacews Epyov, TaV 5é ‘Pwpyatwy Swdexaetets
cad vewrépas éxdiSdvtTwy: otto yap av uddioTa
kal 76 c@pa Kal To 7005 KaBapov Kal GOtKTOv eri
270 yapnobvte yiverOar. SHrov ovv Ste TO pey
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™∼

portend for the city. And for their usual gentle- ness and readiness to obey, there is strong evidence in the specific mention made of those who were less amenable. For just as our Greek historians record the names of those who first slew kinsfolk, or made war on their brothers, or were parricides, or matricides, so the Romans make record of the fact that Spurius Carvilius was the first to divorce his wife, two

hundred and thirty years after the founding of Rome,
' there being no precedent for it; also that the wife
of Pinarius, Thalaea by name, was the first woman to
quarrel with her own mother-in-law, Gegania, in the
reign of Tarquinius Superbus. In such fitting and
proper manner were marriages regulated by their
lawgiver.

IV. Further, the practice of the two peoples in the matter of giving their young maids in marriage conforms to their education of them in general. Lycurgus made them brides only when they were fully ripe and eager for it, in order that intercourse with a husband, coming at a time when nature craved it, might produce a kindly love, instead of the timorous hate that follows unnatural compulsion ; also that their bodies might be vigorous enough to en- dure the strain of conception and child-birth, con- vinced as he was that marriage had no other end than the production of children. The Romans, on the other hand, gave their maidens in marriage when they were twelve years old, or even younger. In this way more than any other, it was thought, both their bodies and their dispositions would be pure and undefiled when their husbands took control of them. It is clear, therefore, that one practice regarded nature more, with children in view; the other re-

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puotcw@repov mpos Tékvwciw, TO 8é al
™pos oupBiwaty.

"AdAG pn éemictaciats Te Taidwy Kal cuvarye-
a“ f
Aacpois Kal Tradaywyiats Kal Kotvwviats, Tepi TE
Seirva Kal yupvdow Kal Tatdsas avTov éupenrei-
A 4
ais Kat dtaxoopnoeow, ovdév TL TOD MpooTUXOVTOS
/ V4 \ . A € “
vonobétov BeAtiova tov Nopav o Aveodpryos
amodeixvucty, éml tais. Tov Tatépwy trounad-
pevov émiOvpiars 7) yYpelars Tas TOY véwy ayo-
yas, elte tus épyatnyv ys BovNoto Tovey Tov
eN ¥ N aA f 4 A > 4
uiov cite vauTTnyou 7) YadKéa SiddoKew 7 avANTHD,
a b] \ a / 3 + b] > a
@oTTep OV pos Ev Tédos Odeldovtas éEF apy7s
Ww \ f a ” ? >
ayesOar xai ovvettiatpépecar tois HOecww, GAX
olov ets vabv émiBdtas Erepov é& érépas AKovta
Npelas Kal mpoatpécews ev Tois KivduvoLs povov
go8@ tov idiov cuvictacOat mpos TO KoLvor,
v7 \ N > e_eN “ 4
dAdAws 5€ TO Kal’ avTov cKoTrety Exactoy. Kal
a \ n > ¥ > a ,
TOUS pev TONAOIS OVK aktoy éyxareiy vopobéTats
édNeltrovow 7H dv’ ayvorav } OV acOéverav- avSpl
5é cop@ Bacireiav waparaBovts Sypov vewarl
cuvoTapévov Kal mpos pndey avtuTetvovtos, Tept
Ti TPWTOV! Hv aTrovddcat TpoaHKov } Traidwv éx-
\ \ , v e A 4 A
Tpopny Kai vévwv aoxnoty, Stews pn Stadpopoe pnde
Tapaywdets yévowTo Tois HOecw, ANN eis & tt
A fo! ,
Kowov apeThs iyvos evOds && apyis wraTTOpEvot
\ 4 , > s a QA ld
Kal TuToupevor cupPaivotey GNAHXOLS; O 87 TpOS
\ a \ / ,] , A
TE TA ANAA Kal GwWTHpPlay vopnwv wpedrynoe TOV
A e a“ 4
Avxodpyov. xpos yap hv 0 TaY 6pxwv hoBos, eb
1 wp@rov Bekker corrects to xpérepoy.
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garded more the formation of character, with married
life in view.
But surely, by his careful attention to boys, by their collection into companies, their discipline and constant association, and by his painstaking arrange- ments for their meals and bodily exercise and sports, Lycurgus proves that Numa was no more than an ordinary lawgiver. For Numa left the bringing up of youths to, the wishes or necessities of their fathers. A father might, if he wished, make his son a tiller of the soil, or a shipwright, or might teach him to be a smith or a flute-player, as if it were not important that all of them should be trained with one and the same end in view from the outset, and have their dispositions formed alike; but rather as if they were like passengers on a ship, each coming with a different object and purpose, and each therefore uniting with the rest for the common good only in times of peril, through fear of private loss, but otherwise consulting only his own _ interests. Now, it is not worth while to censure the common run of legislators, who fail through ignorance or weakness. But when a wise man had consented to be king over a people newly constituted and pliant to his every wish, what should have been his first care, unless it was the rearing of boys and the training of youths so that there might be no con- fusing differences in their characters, but that they might be moulded and fashioned from the very outset so as to walk harmoniously together in the same path of virtue? This, indeed, was what helped Lycurgus to secure, among other things, the stability and permanence of his laws. The Spartans touk oaths to maintain these laws, it is true, but

\ P \ aA 6 , t fol > fol z 'y £5 1
pn d1a THS TaLdeias Kal THs aywyhs olov avédevce
A a 4
Tots HOeot THY TALSwY TOUS VOpOUS, Kal TUV@KELWCE
aA A A A ,
Th TpopH Tov Cnrov THs TONTELAS, MOTE TEVTAKO-
ciwy é€TOV THEW Ypovoy TA KUpLwTaTa Kal
aA A , 4 n
péylota Stapetvar THs vopoOecias, waoTrep Badis
A , °
axpatovu Kal ioxyupas Kcabawapévns.
N A be ed 5 f aA , >
oa O€ OTep Hv TéXOS THS TodtTElas, ev
> , ld \ e , e , > A
etpnvyn Kal dirla tHv "Pauny vrapyev, evOds
\ ,
ouvebédiTre' Kal peTa THV TEXEUTHY ExEivoU TOV
' , "A
appiOupov oixov, dv KexXeropévov avTos cuvetyer,
WoTEP OVTWS Ev AUT@ TUacEevwr KabetpypévoV TOV
Todenov, €& audotépwv dvaTreTdaavTes aipatos
\ A \ b] , > / Or

Kal vexpav tnv Itadtav evéerrdnoav: Kal ovdé
I~ 7 , e / \ / s
OMyov ypovoy 7 KadXrLoTH Kal SiKaLoTdTn KaTa-
aTacts éuewev, &te dn Kal TO cuvdeTixoy ev avTh,
THY TALoelay, OVK EXoUCA.
99
“Ti obv, pynoe tis, “oun emi tro BédXtLOv 4
‘Pawn pone Tots ToNEuLKOIS ;” épwray épernua
paxpas atroxpicews Seduevoy impos avOparrous
\ Ber > x 4 \ eo] \ e 4
70 Bédtiov év TrAOUT@ Kal TpUpH Kat Wpyepovia
aA “A \ fal
PaAXovy 7} ocwTnpia Kal TpaoTHT. Kat TH peta
, “a oN
Sixaroovvns avtapKeta Tiepévous. ov pny adrG
\ A 7 /, a \
kat tovto Avxovpym ov Soket BonOeiv, ro
“Pwpaious péev thv él Nowa xatdotacw é€anrra-
Eavtas émidodvat Tois mpayyace tocovTov, Aaxe-
Saipoviovs b€ dua Te wpatov éexBhnvar Thy
Avxovpyouv diataki, é« peyiotwv tatretvoTdrous
4 ‘ lal e , e 4 3
yevéoOat kal tHhv tav “EXXAnveY nyepoviay atro-
1 avéSevoe Bekker adopts Reiske’s correction to évédeuce.

this would have availed little had he not, by means of his training and education of the boys, infused his laws, as it were, into their characters, and made the emulous love of his government an integral part of their rearing. The result was that for more than five hundred years the sovereign and fundamental features of his legislation remained in force, like a strong and penetrating dye.

But that which was the end and aim of Numa’s government, namely, the continuance of peace and friendship between Rome and other nations, straight- way vanished from the earth with him. After his death the double doors of the temple! which he had kept continuously closed, as if he really had war caged- and confined there, were thrown wide open, and Italy was filled with the Blood of the slain. Thus not even for a little time did the beautiful edifice of justice which he had reared remain stand- ing, because it lacked the cement of education.

“What, then!’’ some one will say, “was not Rome advanced and bettered by her wars?” That is a question which will need a long answer, if I am to satisfy men who hold that betterment consists in wealth, luxury and empire, rather than in safety, gentleness, and that independence which is attended by righteousness. However, it will be thought, I suppose, to favour the superior claims of Lycurgus, that, whereas the Romans increased in power as they did after abandoning the institutions of Numa’s time, the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, just as soon as they forsook the precepts of Lycurgus, sank from the

highest to the lowest place, lost their supremacy over the Greeks, and were in danger of

1 Cf. Numa, xx. 1.

Badovtas xivduvedcat wepi dvactdcews. éxeivo
pévtoe TO Nowa péya xal Oeiov ws arOas
e 4 \ f 4 A
imapxel, To Eévp te petaréumrrTm yevécOat Kai
mwavra TrevOot petaRanreiv, Kal KpaTHoat TroAEws
bd 4 , a 4 ,
ovT@ oupTeTrVvevKUiAas, unTE GTA@Y SenOévTa pHTE
, / e A ? "N A = \
Bias tevos, ws Auxotpyos émt Tov Shpov Hye Tous
dpiotous, addAa aodia Kal Sixatocvvn mdvtas
4
mTpocayayouevov Kal cuvappocavta.

utter destruction. Nevertheless, this remains a great feature in Numa's career, and one really divine, that he was a stranger, and yet was summoned to the throne, where he changed the whole nature of the state by force of persuasion alone, and mastered a city which was not yet in sympathy with his views ; and that he accomplished this without appeal to arms or any violence (unlike Lycurgus, who led the nobles in arms against the commons), but by his wisdom and justice won the hearts of al] the citizens and brought them into harmony.

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bp D 2

ZOAQN

I. Aidvpos 0 ypapparcos év TH jept Tov akovwv TV YoOAWVOS avtiypadh T pos ‘Agkhared-onv PrroKr€ous Tivos TEOELKE heEw, év % Tov LorAwva TaTpds Evgopiovos aTropaives Tapa Tip TV aAXOV d0fay, dooL pépynvrae LorAwvos. "EEncearidou yap avtov amayres oparas ryeryo-vévat héeyouow, av6pos ovcig MeV, Os, pace, cal Suvdper _Héoov TOV TouTaVv, oixlas 5é TPATNS Kara, yevos" ny yap Kodpiéys avexabev. Thy dé pntépa Tov YoAwvos ‘Hpaxdeidns 0 Tlovtixos ta Topet TAS Tetovotparou pT pos aveyriay ye-veo Sau. Kal g@iria TO TPw@ToV my autois TON] pev da THY Tuy yEvEray, Torn de dua THY 79 evuiay kal @pav, ws évtot pac, EPWTLKAS TOV Tetciotpatov aamatopevov TOU Lohwvos. 50 ev UaTepon, OS EouKen, els Svadopav aura év TH ToNTEia KATAGTAYTOV ovdév iverywev n &9pa oKdmpov ovo dry prov ma0os, ada Trapépervev éxelva Ta Sixaca Tais uyais, cal rapepvrate, Tudopeva Aiov trupos ért S@oav droya, THY epeorucny prjuny Kal Xap. Ste 5é pos Tous KaXous ovK Hy exupos O Lowy oud "Epore Ga paréos “ avravactiva: TUKTHS Ores és yYetpas, |
1 “Epwrt pév vuv Sorts avtavloraras
wbnrns dws és xeipas, ob KarAds ppove’l.
(Sophocles, Trachtiniae, 441 f.)
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SOLON

I. Dipymus the grammarian, in his reply to Asclepiades on Solon’s tables of law, mentions a remark of one Philocles, in which it is stated that Solon’s father was Euphorion, contrary to the opinion of all others who have written about Solon. For they all unite in saying that he was a son of Execestides, a man of moderate wealth and influence in the city, but a member of its foremost family, being descended from Codrus. Solon’s mother, according to Heracleides Ponticus, was a cousin of the mother of Peisistratus. And the two men were at first great friends, largely because of their kinship, and largely because of the youthful beauty of Peisistratus, with whom, as some say, Solon was passionately in love. And this may be the reason

why, in later years, when they were at variance
about matters of state, their enmity did not bring
with it any harsh or savage feelings, but their former
amenities lingered in their spirits, and preserved
there,
‘smouldering with a lingering flame of Zeus-sent
fire,” 1
the grateful memory of their love. And that Solon

was not proof against beauty in a youth, and made

not so bold with Love as “to confront him like a

boxer, hand to hand,’ may be inferred from his

1 Euripides, Bacchae, 8.

exe TE TOV ToinudTwv avTov AaBeiv Ear, Kal
vopov eypare Staryopevovta SotAov un Enparor-
deiy pndé tradepacteiv, eis THY TOV KAaXOV
pepida Kal ceuvav émitndevydtwrv tiOéwevos TO
Tpaypa, Kal TpoTrov Twa TOs akious mpoKanov-
4 pevos Ov Tors avakiovs amndavuye. Reyetar dé
cat Ileeciatparos épactns Xdppou yevécOar, cat
TO ayadpa tov "Epwros év “Axadnueia xabee-
pacar, Stov TO TWUp dvatrTovaw ot THY lepay
Naprdada dcabéovres.
II. ‘O & oby Yorwv tv ovciav tov watpos
éXaTrw@cavtos cis piiavipwrias Twds, Os Pnow
"Eppcrimos, kal ydpitas, ovx dv amopnocas Tov
Bovropévwv érrapxeiv, aidovpevos S¢ NauRavewv
map érépwv é& oixias yeyovas eiOccpévns érépors
Bonbeiv, dpunce véos dv ere mpos éptropiav.
KatTou aay éviou troAvuTrerpias Evexa parrAov Kal
iatoplas } ypnpatiopod TAaVvNnOAVaL TOV LorwVva.
2 aopias pév yap mv oporoyoupévas epactys, 6s
ye kal mpecButepos wy Edeye “ynpdaoKev aiel
TOAAG SiOacKopevos’ | wAovTov 8 ovn Oavpater,
ANNA Kal Pnowv dpoiws WrovTEiv @ Te®
aronvs apyupds éott
kal pean Kab ys Tupop opov media
larrou @ nytovoi Te, Kal @ ova TadTa wWapeoTt,
yaoTpt Te Kal TEUpH Kal Troclv dBpa Tabeip,

Tasos T HOE yUVALKOS, ErHY Kal TAUT abixnrat,
Bn, cvv & apn yivetat appodia.
: a pea 8’ aie) woAAG Sidacxduevos. Fragment 18 (Bergk,
Poet. Lyr. Gr. ii.* p. 47).
3%lodv rot xAovrovow Srp wodds Upyupds ori, K.7.A.,
Fragment 24 (Bergk), verses 1-6.
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poems. He also wrote a law forbidding a slave to practise gymnastics or have a boy lover, thus putting the matter in the category of honourable and dignified practices, and in a way inciting the worthy to that which he forbade the unworthy. And it is said that Peisistratus also had a boy lover, Charmus, and that he dedicated the statue of Love in the Academy, where the runners in the sacred torch race light their torches.

II. Solon, then, after his father had impaired his estate in sundry benevolent charities, as Hermippus tells us, might have found friends enough who were willing to aid him. But he was ashamed to take from others, since he belonged to a family which had always helped others, aud therefore, while still a young man, embarked in commerce. And yet some say that he travelled to get experience and learning rather than to make money. For he was admittedly a lover of wisdom, since even when he was well on in years he would say that he “ grew old ever learning many things’; and he was not an admirer of wealth, but actually says that two men are alike wealthy of whom one

“much silver hath,

And gold, and wide domains of wheat-bearing soil,

Horses and mules; while to the other only enough belongs |
To give him comfort of food, and clothes, and shoes,
Enjoyment of child and blooming wife, when these too come,
And only years commensurate therewith are his.”

3 GAN évépwbe Aéyer:
Xpryata & ipeipw pev yew, adixws 5é se-
macbar
oux €BéXw: Tavtws datepov HAGE Sinn.
xkwrver 5é ovdév TOV ayaboy Kal ToNTLKOY avipa
UATE TOV TepliTTaV THY KTHoW éy oToVdn Ti-
OecOar pnte THS xpelas TaVY avayKxaiwy Kal
ixavav Katadpoveiv. év Sé tois tote ypovols,
kal 'Haiodov, Epyov ovdév jv dvetdsos, obs TéXVN
Stadhopav epepev, eurropia dé nal dofav elyev
oixecoupévn Ta BapBapixd xal mpokevodca du-
Alas Bactiéwv cal tpaypdtoyv éumetpous troLov-
4 ca ToAKoV. évior Sé Kal ToXEwY olxictal ye-
yovact peyarov, as cal Maccarias paris
umo KeAtav tev mept tov 'Podavoy ayarnbeis.
kat @arjy Sé daa europa xpycacbar Kai
'Immoxpatny tov paOnpatexov, cal TIAdtam ths
atroénpias épodsov éXaiou Tivos év Aiyirr@ b:d-
Deaw yevécOar.
III. To 3 ody evddravov 76 Yorwv Kal wypov
mpos THY Siattay, Kal Td hoptiKw@Tepov 7 didoco-
hwotepov év Tois Tounpact Scatucobai qepl TaDV
nOovav, Tov éumopiKoy olovtat Biov mpoate-
TpipOat: modrgovs yap exovta xivdvvous Kal
peyadous avTatatety madwv evtTradelas Tivas Kal
2 amodavoas. Str 8 abtov évy TH THY TevnToD
pepid. paddov Th TaV TAOVaiwY éraTTe, SHAGY
éotiy éx TOUTMV
IIorAol yap wAOUTEDOL KaKoi, dyabol Sé 7é-
vovTat'
GX Hueis avtots ov Siaperropucla
— 408
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However, in another place he says :—+

'Wealth I desire to have; but wrongfully to get it, I do not wish. Justice, even if slow, is sure."

And there is no reason why a good statesman should either set his heart too much on the acquisition of superfluous wealth, or despise unduly the use of what is necessary and convenient. In those earlier times, to use the words of Hesiod,? " work was ino disgrace,' nor did a trade bring with it social inferi- ority, and

the calling ofa merchant was actually held in honour, since it gave him familiarity with foreign parts, friendships with foreign kings, and a large experience in affairs. Some merchants were actually founders of great cities, as Protis, who was beloved by the Gauls along the Rhone, was of Marseilles. Thales is said to have engaged in trade, as well as Hippocrates the mathematician ; and Plato defrayed' the expenses of his sojourn there by the sale of oil in Egypt.

III. Accordingly, if Solon's way of living was expensive and profuse, and if, in his poems, he speaks of pleasure with more freedom than becomes a philosopher, this is thought to be due to his mercantile life; he encountered many and great dangers, and sought his reward therefor in sundry luxuries and enjoyments. But that he classed himself among the poor rather than the rich, is clear from these verses :—* _

" For often evil men are rich, and good men poor ;
But we will not exchange with them

1 Fragment 13 (Bergk), verses 7 f.
2 Works and Days, 311. 3 Fragment 15 (Bergk).

THS aGpeTns Tov TwAODTOV: émel TO pev Eutredov
alei,
ypnuata 5 avOpwrwv addoTe AdNos ExeL.
TH S€ trounce. Kat apyds pey eis ovdév dkvov
aovons, adda Tailwy éowxe tmporxpnaacbar
Kal tjapdywv éavtov év Te ayoralew DoTepov
dé Kal yuoopas evérewe gdtdocdpous xal Tar
TOALTLK@Y TOAAG GuyKaTémAEKe TOLS Trotnacty,
ovy loropias &vexev Kal pvnuns, aA atroroyt-
MOVs Te TOV TETTpAayLevwY EXovTa Kal TpoTpo-
Tas éviaxod Kal vovOecias kal émumrdn ers mpos
tovs "A@nvaiovs. vor Sé daciv Ste Kat Tors
vomous émexeipnoey evteivas eis eros eEeverxety,
Kai Stapynuovevovaor THY apyny oUTws Exoucay:
Tlpara peév edyapecOa Ait Kpovién Bacirji
Oecpois toicde TUyny dyabnv Kal Kidos omde-
oat.
Pirocodias 5é Tod HOtKod pddtoTa TO TOALTL-
OV, BOTWEP OF TWAELTTOL THY. COPOV, HyaTIGEV.
év 6€ Tois huatKois aTAovs dott ALay Kal apyaios,
w@s OnXov éx ToUTwWY
"Ex vedérns mérerat xeovos pévos nde yardlns:

Bpovrn & éx Naprpas yiverar doreporijs.
é& dvéuwv 5 Odracoa tapaccerat: hy S€é tes
QvTny |
Bn KWH, TavT@v éotl SixacoTaTn.
Kal Orws eotxey } @drsw povov aodia Tore
Tepartépw THS xXpelas éfixécOas TH Oewpig’ Tots
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SOLON

Our virtue for their wealth, since one abides
alway,
While riches change their owners every day.”
And he seems to have composed his poetry at first with no serious end in view, but as amusement and diversion in his hours of leisure. Then later, he put philosophic maxims into verse, and interwove many political teachings in his poems, not simply to record and transmit them, but because they contained justifications of his acts, and sometimes exhortations, admonitions, and rebukes for the Athenians. Some say, too, that he attempted to reduce his laws to heroic verse before he published them, and they give us this introduction to them :—

‘First let us offer prayers to Zeus, the royal son of
Cronus,
That he may give these laws of ours success and
fame.” !
In philosophy, he cultivated chiefly the domain of political ethics, like most of the wise men of the time; and in physics, he is very simple and anti- quated, as is clear from the following verses :—

‘From clouds come sweeping snow and hail,
And thunder follows on the lightning’s flash.
By winds the sea is lashed to storm, but if it be
Unvexed, it is of all things most amenable.” 2
And in general, it would seem that Thales was
the only wise man of the time who carried his
speculations beyond the realm of the practical ; the
1 Fragment 31 (Bergk).
2 Fragment 9, verses 1-2; and fragment 12 (Bergk).
AII

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

dé GNAOLS AITO THS TOMTLKAS apEeTHS TOUVOMA THS
copias umnpee.
IV. TevécOar 58 pet’ aXdrjdAwv & te Aeddois

opod AéyovTas Kal mdduv ev KopivO@, Iepedvdpou
aUANOYOY Tia KOLVOY avTaY Kal cULTocLOY
KatacKkevdcavtos. étt dé paddop eis akiwpa Kal
dofav avtovs Katéatncev 4 TOU TpiTrodos Trepiodos
kal 51a Tavtwv avaxvKrnots Kal avOvrreEts pet'
evpevelas piroTipouv yevouéevn. Kgwv ydp, os
gact, catayovtwy caynyny, cal Edvov éx Mery-
\ , v \ v
Tov mptapévwv Tov Borov ova davepoy dvta,
Npucods épavn Tpitrovs Edxopevos, Sy AéyouaLY
'EXévnv mréovcav éx Tpolas avtoO: Kxadeivar
Npnood Tos avayvnoOeicay Tadaov. yevo-
pévns 8€ tots E€vous mpa@tov dvtidoyias Tpos TOUS
ddiéas wept tov Tpitrodos, elta TaY ToAEwY
» \ 4
avabdcEapévwv thv Stapopav aype toXéwou Tpo-
erOodcay, avetreyv audortépas 7) Uv0la te codw-
TaTw Tov Tpitoba atrodobyva. Kal mpa@Tov pév
b) 4 \ A > I. e 4
ameotaAn mpos @aryv eis MidAnrov, éxovotws
tov Kody évi Swpoupévwy éxetym tmept od mpos
admavtas o"ov MiAnacious érrovtéunoayv. Odrew
5é Biavta copatepoyv atrodalyvovtos avtod mpos
2 a >» , > @ ' , \
exetvov Kev' am éxeivou 8 avOus atreaTtaXn pos
wv e , 9 oN bd
G\XNov ws copwtepov. Elta Teptiov Kal dava-
4 (4 > fo) \ 4 J ,
Teutropevos oUTws él @arjv to Sevrepov adi-
, ? , > , \
KeTO, Kal TéXos eis @nBas é« Murnrov Kromwoels
a? 4 > / 4

T@ 'Iopnvip Amod\d\wv xarepoOn.

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rest! got the name of wisdom from their excellence
as statesmen.
IV. They are all said to have met together at Delphi, and again in Corinth, where Periander arranged something like a joint conference for. them, and a banquet. But what contributed still more to their honour and fame was the circuit which the tripod made among them, its passing round through all their hands, and their mutual declination of it, with generous expressions of good will. Some Coans, as the story goes,

were dragging in a net, and some strangers from Miletus bought the catch as yet unseen. It proved to contain a golden tripod which Helen, on her voyage from Troy, is said to have thrown in there, when she called to mind a certain ancient oracle. First the strangers had a dispute with the fishermen about the tripod, and then their cities took up the quarrel and went at last to war, whereupon the Pythian priestess of Apollo told both parties in an oracle that the tripod must be given to the wisest man. So in the first place it was sent to Thales at Miletus, the Coans willingly bestowing upon him alone that for which they had waged war against all the Milesians together. But Thales declared that Bias was a wiser man than he, and the tripod was sent to Bias. From Bias, in his turn, it was dispatched to another, as wiser than he. So it went the rounds and was sent away by each in turn, until at last it came to Thales for the second time. Finally, it was carried from Miletus to Thebes and dedicated to Ismenian Apollo.

1 The names usually given in the list of the Seven Wise Men are: Bias of Priene, Chilon of Sparta, Cleobulus of

Lindus, Periander of Corinth, Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon of Athens, and Thales of Miletus. See chapter xii. 4.

@codpactos 5€ dyot, mpa@tov pev eis Upinvny
Biavte tov tpitroda treuhOjvat, Sedtepov 8 eis
MiAntov @aryq Biavtos aroréupavtos: ottTw dé
da wWavtwv wad eis Biavra weptedOetv, TéXOs Se
eis AeAdhovs atrootadjvar. tadta pev ovv bd
TreLovav TEOpvANTAL, TAHY StL TO S@pov avtl Tod
Tpimobos ot pev pidrAnv Vro Kpoicou reupOeicar,
of 5é mornptov BaOuxdéous atroduTrovtos eivas
Néyou tv.
V. "I8ia 8 "Avaydpoews te pds Yorwva Kal
madwv @drew auvovciav twa Kal oyous ava-
ypadovar TOLoUTOUS. ‘Avdyapory Mev ets "AOivas
paciv emi THY Lodwvos oixiav éXOovta KOT'TELY,
Kal éeyeuv QS Eevos & av apixrat didiay Towa OuEevos
Kal Eeviav 7 pos auTov. amrokpivapevov dé Tov
Lorwvos ws olor Bédtiov ears toreicOar girdias,
“Ouvxody,” pavar tov Ava apo, “abros av ovKot
ov Toingal purdiav Kal Eeviav T pos nas.” ovTw 67
Oavpacavta Thy ayxivoway TOU / avO pos TOV LoAwva,
béEacbac prrogpoves, kal xpovoy Tia KaTac Ely
Tap auT@, 769 Ta onpoowa mpaTTovTa Kal gup-
TATTOMEVOY TOUS VOMOUS. TOV obv “Avdyapoty

muOopevov KaTayeday THs Tpayyareias Tov yoAw-
vos, olopevou ypaupacty eg few Tas adixias Kat
mwreovetias TOY TONTOV, a pndev TOV apayvieoy
Siapépery, GNX’ ws éxetva TOUS pev da Geveis kal
NET TOUS TOV GAL KoMevoV xabéEev, & vo be TOV
duvaTa@v Kat Tova tov S:appaynoe Oar. Tov dé
LorAwva mpos TavTa hac evmety Tt Kal oup-
Onxas dvOpwrot hurattovew, as ovdetépm Avat-
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Theophrastus, however, says that the tripod was sent in the first place to Bias at Priene, and in the second place to Thales at Miletus, at the instance of Bias, and so passed through the hands of all the wise men until it came round again to Bias, and finally was sent to Delphi. These, then, are the more common versions of the tale. But some say that the gift thus passed from hand to hand was not the tripod now seen at Delphi, but a bowl sent there by Croesus; and others that it was a beaker left there by Bathycles.

V. In particular we are told of private intercourse between Solon and Anacharsis, and between Solon and Thales, of which the following accounts are given.! Anacharsis came to Athens, knocked at Solon’s door, and said that he was a stranger who had come to make ties of friendship and hospitality with him. On Solon’s replying that it was better to make one’s friendships at home, “ Well then,’ said Anacharsis, ‘do thou, who art at home, make me thy friend and guest.’’ So Solon, admiring the man’s ready wit, received him graciously and kept him with him some time. This was when he was already engaged in public affairs and compiling his laws. Anacharsis, accordingly, on learning what Solon was about, laughed at him for thinking that he could check the injustice and rapacity of the citizens by written laws, which were just like spiders’ webs; they would hold the weak and delicate who might be caught in their meshes, but would be torn in pieces by the rich and powerful. To this Solon is said to have answered that men keep their agreements with each other when neither party profits by

1 In chapters. v. and vi.

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an ee era

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tedés éott TrapaBaivey tav Oepévwv: Kal Tors
yomous avTos oUTwS dpyokeTas TOis TOAITALS WaTE
mwaot Tov Tapavopev BéXTLov émidetEat TO Stxato-
‘a 9 le e > 4 ”
mpayeiv. aAAa TavTa pev ws Avadyapors eixalev
adméBn wadrov } nat érrrida tod Yorwvos. edn
5é xaxeivo Oavydfav o ‘Avdyapous éxxdrAnoia
Tapayevouevos, STL Aéyouor pev of cohol Tap
"EdAnaot, xpivovas 5é ot apabeis.
VI. IIpos @arjv 8 eis Midrntov éOovta tov
id 4 [14 4 \ \
Dorwva Oavpdter Gti ydpou Kal wardorrotlas 76
mapdtay nuédnke. Kal tov Badrfv tore pev
A , 9 > ‘4 e tA
ciwthoat, Siaditrovta & ddrkyas Hpépas avdpa
mapackevaca. §£évov, aptiws rev ddoxovta
Sexataiov €€ ’AOnvav. uOopévov 8 tod o-
Novos ef 64 Te Katvov év tats AOnvats, dediday-
pévov & yp Aéyerv Tov avVOpwrrov, “ OvSEér,” eimrety,
‘* &repov, et un vy Aia veavioxou Tivds Hv éxpopa
2 xal mpovTEeutrev) TOALS. Hv yap vids, ws épa-
cay, avdpos évddEou Kal mpwtevovtos apeTn TaY
TOMT@Y ov Taphy Oé, GAN arrodnyueiy Epacay
avrov Hon TodvY Xpovov.” ‘“Os dvaTuXNS exeivos,”
ddvat Tov Yorwva. “‘tiva b€ wvopatov avtov;”
““Hrovaa,” ddvat, “tovvoya, tov avOpwror,
“AN ov pynuoved@: TAY OTL TOAVS AOYOS Hy av-
fe) / UA 39 oe \ 2 e VA
tov aodias Kal dixatocvuns.” odTw by Kal’ Exdorny
aT OKptow i poBw Tpocayopevov Tov Yorwva
kal TéXos 4On cuvTeTapaypévov avTov vToBdad-
Lew Todvopa TH Eéve, ruvOavopevov yp) Yorwvos
3.0 TteOynkas vids @voudtero. gpyaavtos dé Tod
avOpoTov, Tov pev opunoat Talew THY Kepadny
@ a , a)
kal Tada Trovety Kal réyerw A cupBaiver Tots
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*,

SOLON

the breaking of them, and he was adapting his laws
to the citizens in such a manner as to make it clear
to all that the practice of justice was more advanta-
geous than the transgression of the laws. But the

results justified the conjecture of Anacharsis rather
than the hopes of Solon. It was Anacharsis, too,
who said, after attending a session of the assembly,
that he was amazed to find that among the Greeks,
the wise men pleaded causes, but the fools decided
them.

VI. On his visit to Thales at Miletus, Solon is said to have expressed astonishment that his host was wholly indifferent to marriage and the getting of children. At the time Thales made no answer, but a few days afterwards he contrived to have a stranger say that he was just arrived after a ten days' journey from Athens. When Solon asked what news there was at Athens, the man, who was under instructions what to say, answered: "None other than the funeral of a young man, who was followed to the grave by the whole city. For he was the son, as I was told, of an honoured citizen who excelled all others in virtue; he was not at the funeral of his son; they told me that he had been travelling abroad for a long time." '"O the miserable man!" said Solon; "pray, what was his name?" "I heard the name,' the man said, "but I cannot recall it; only there was great talk of his wisdom and justice.'' Thus every answer heightened Solon's - fears, and at last, in great distress of soul, he told his name to the stranger and asked him if it was Solon's son that was dead. The man said it was; whereupon Solon began to beat his head and to do and say everything else that betokens a transport of

mepiTadovar, Tov dé @arnv éemtrdaBopevoy avtov
Kal yeddoavta, "Tadrd tot," davat, "a Yorgwv,
éue ydpou Kal tratboTalas adiotnow, & Kal ce
KaTEpElTreL TOV Eppwyevertatov. adda Oappe TaY
AOyww Evena TOUTWY' Ov yap cioty addAnOeis." TadTA
pev ovv "Eppirros iotopeiv pnot Udrarcov, bs
épacke tHv Atowtou Wuyny éyetv.

VII. "Aromros &€ wal ayewns 0 Te Poy Tis

9 a \ a e \ af 4
amoPonijs THY KTHOW oY YpH Tpoiepevos ODT |
yap ay TUS OU TrovTov, ov dofav, ov codiav
aryamna eve Taparyevowerny, Sedias atépec Oar.
Kai yap aperiy, as KThpa peilov ovder oud 78.0v,
éErorapevny vm vor wy Kal dapudxwv opa@pev"
aut Te Barz) ynpavee Wéov ovdev els ao-
Bia, el py Kal pirov KT How Epuye Kal oixetoy
Kal mat ploos. GNA Kat waida Gerav gaye
OLN GfLEVOS avros TOD THS aberois, ay dace,
KvBto Gov. éxovons yap Te Tis puxis ayann-
TUKOD év éauTh Kal mepucuias, & Oomep ata Oavec Oar
al Stavocia Bar Kal pynpovevew, ovTw Kal purely,

evdverat TL TOUT® Kal ‘Tpoapverat TOV exTOs ols
oiKetov ovdéev EOTW, Kal Kab amep oiKov 7 X@pav
yunoiwv Epnwov Siadoxyer, : TO pedoaropyor anNO-
Tplor Kal voGou jwatoes 1 Jepdrovtes elo ouKe-
odpevor Kat xataraBovtes Gps TO ptreiv TO
ppovrivey nat Sedrévar rrepl auTav everroina ay.
oor ious ay avOparous aTEppoTtépa ™m pvoet
mept yapou Kal yevécews tratdwv Saeryos ous,
elta Tovs avtovs éml tratoly oixotpiBov 7 1 Opéu-
pact Tahrkaxev vor ovar Kal OvicKover Tapa-
Tetvopevous 700m Kai dwvas ayevveis adrévtas.
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a
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SOLON

grief. But Thales took him by the hand and said, with a smile, “ This it is, O Solon, which keeps me from marriage and the getting of children; it overwhelms even thee, who art the most stout-hearted of men. But be not dismayed at_ this story, for it is not true.” Such, at any rate, accord-ing to Hermippus, is the story of Pataecus, who used to boast that he had Aesop’s soul.

VII. However, it is irrational and ignoble to renounce the acquisition of what we want for fear of losing it ; for on this principle a man cannot be grati- fied by the possession of wealth, or honour, or wisdom, for fear he may be deprived of them. Indeed, even virtue, the most valuable and pleasing possession in the world, is often banished by sickness and drugs. And Thales himself, though unmarried, was never- theless not wholly free from apprehension, unless he also avoided having friends, or relations, or country. On the contrary, he had a son by his own adoption, as we are told, Cybisthus, his sister’s son. For the soul has in itself a capacity for affection, and loves just as naturally as it perceives, understands, and remembers. It clothes itself in this capacity, and attaches itself to those who are not akin to it, and just as if it were a house or an estate that lacks lawful heirs, this craving for affection is entered and occupied by alien and illegitimate children, or retainers, who, along with love for them, inspire anxiety and fear in their. behalf. So that you will find men of a somewhat rugged nature who argue against marriage and the begetting of children, and then, when children of their servants, or offspring of their concubines fall sick and die, these same men are racked with sorrow and lament abjectly. Some, too,

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EE 2
2

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

v N A 4 \ rf 9 A
no. 5é Kal Kuvav OavaT@ Kal irTov aLtaxpas
ral dBiobrws bard Avans StetéOnoav. GAN Erepoi
a bd \ 9 ; f.. IQA 4
ye twaidas ayabovs amoBaddvres ovdév émafov
\ 3Q? 3 4 > , > \ 4
Sewvov ovd' érroincay aicypov, GAXA Kai ypwpevot
T@ KOT Bip cata doyov Suetédecav. acévera
yap, ov« edvota, AUTas atrepdvTous émayeTat Kal
poBovs dvOp@ros davacKytos bro AOyou mpos
Tux, ols ovd’ améXavats éyyivetat Tod ToBov-
pévov TrapovtTos, ToD péddovTos woivas ael Kab
Tpdpmous Kal ayavas, eb oTEpicovTaL, TapeXoVvTOS
> a a) \ / , \ 4
abrois. oe be pare mevia mpos Xpyudtov
mreppaxGas atépnow pare agiria a pos pirov
dtoBorny pnt daraidia mpos téxvav Odvaror,
GANA TH Roytoue pos Twavra. Kal TavTa pév,
> év TO TWapovTt, TAELOVA THV LKAVOV.
VIII. ’Evrei 8 paxpov twa Kal Svoxepi Trode-
a ,
pov of év dates mept THS Dadapwiwv vncov Meya-
pedoe trodepoovtes ébéxapov, Kal vopov éOevro
unre ypdrpar twa pnt’ eltreiy adOis as XpH THY
modu avtitoetac0ar THS Larapivos, } Oavare
a , / \ LO , e ,
tnpsodcbar, Bapéws pépwv tiv adofiav o Lorowr,
a“ ean “~
Kal Tov vévwy Opa@v Tordovs Seopévous apyis émt
Tov TréAEmov, avTOVS dé ut OappovvTas apkacBas
Sud Tov vopov, éoxyn ato pev Exotacw TdV do-
A U A
ytouav, Kal Noyos eis THY TOW ex THS oiKtas
§ue5d0n Trapaxwnytixas eyew adtov, édeyela Se
kpvda auvbels cal pedeTnoas wate Aéyewv aro
aropatos, eterndnoey eis THY ayopay adv
/ , wv \ fe)
aminidvov mrepiOéuevos. OXAov dé Todo cuvdpa-
1 weppdxGa: Bekker and Cobet, after Bryan: weravoda
(be delivered from).
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SOLON

at the death even of dogs and horses, have been plunged into shameful and intolerable grief. But. others

have borne the loss of noble sons without terrible sorrow or unworthy conduct, and have con- formed the. rest of their lives to the dictates of reason. For it is weakness, not kindness, that brings men into endless pains and terrors when they are not trained by reason to endure the assaults of fortune. Such men do not even enjoy what they long for when they get it, but are filled with con- tinual pangs, tremors, and struggles by the fear of future loss. However, we must be fortified not by poverty against deprivation of worldly goods, nor by friendlessness against loss of friends, nor by child- lessness against death of children, but by reason against all adversities. This, under present circum- stances, is more than enough on this head.

VIII. Once when the Athenians were tired out with a war which they were waging against the Megarians for the island of Salamis, they made a law that no one in future, on pain of death, should move, in writing or orally, that the city take up its contention for Salamis. Solon could not endure the disgrace of this, and when he saw that many of the young men wanted steps taken to bring on the war, but did not dare to take those steps themselves on account of the law, he pretended to be out of his head, and a report was given out to the city by his family that he showed signs of madness. He then secretly composed some elegiac verses, and after rehearsing them so that he could say them by rote, he sallied out into the market-place of a sudden, with a cap upon his head. After a large crowd had

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, , ane p - / /, 9 INA
wovros avaBas éri Tov tov KnpuKos ANiOov ev wdF
dueERAOE THv EXeyelav, hs eatw apyn’
Autos xijpv& 7AOov ad’ iveptis Yarapivos,
Koa mov emréwy @dIv avT ayopns Oémevos.
” \
TovTo TO Troinua Yarapmls éreyéyparrar Kal
/
oTivoy éxarov ETL, YapltévTwS Tavu TreTroLnmEeVvoOV.
tote 6€ dobévtos aitod cal trav iw Tod
Lorwvos apkapévwv erraweiv, padiota Sé Tod
Tlesorotpatov trois tmrodTais éyxedevopévov xat
qWapopyavros wetcOnvar Te AéyovTL, AVCaYTES
Tov vopov avis HartovrTo Tod ToAé“ov, TpogTn-
odpevor TOV Yowva.
, na nw
Ta pev ovv Snpwdn trav reyopévmv tolavT
3 / iid 4 > UA A
éotiv, Stet mrevaas eri Kwrtdda peta tov
4 \ \ 3 4 4
Ileeccaotpdtov, nat xatarkaBwv avTods wacas

Tas yuvaixas tH Anuntpe thv mdtpiov Buciav
éritedovoas, reper avdpa micTov els Yadapiva
TpooToLovpevoy AVTOMOAOY Elva, KEAEVOVTA TOUS
Mevyapeis, e& BovrAovra, tav ’AOnvaiwy tas pe-
A A b] 4 b > “
tas NaBety yuvainas, éml Kwrrabda pet’ avtod
a \ , e de Oé : e M
mrely THY TAXLOTHVY. WS O€ TreLaVEVTES Of Meya-
pets dvdpas é&érreprav ev Ta Trol@ kal KaTeidev
id An ry ,
0 LoOAwY TO WAoloy éEXaUYOLEVOY ATO THS VvIjCOU,
TAS pev yuvaixas éxtrobwyv amedOely exérevae,
Tov dé vewTépwr Tors pndérrw yevermvtas évdv-
a /
pact Kal pitpats Kat virodnpact Tots exetvov
‘ , V4 \
oxevacapévous Kat AaBovtas éyyerpidva KpuTTTA
waive xab yopevery mpocérate rpos TH Oardoon,
a \
péxpis av atroBa@ow ot Twohéuot Kal yévntae TO
Totov vIroxeipiov. odTw 67 TOUTWY TPATTOLEVOY,
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collected there, he got upon the herald’s stone and recited the poem which begins :—

“ Behold in me a herald come from lovely Salamis,
With a song in ordered verse instead of a harangue.”’ !

This poem is entitled “Salamis,” and contains a hundred very graceful verses. When Solon had sung it, his friends began to praise him, and Peisistratus in particular urged and incited the citizens to obey his words. They therefore repealed the law and renewed the war, putting Solon in command of it.

The popular account of his campaign is as follows. Having sailed to Cape Colias with Peisistratus, he found all the women of the city there, performing the customary sacrifice to Demeter. He therefore sent a trusty .man to Salamis, who pretended to be a deserter, and bade the Megarians, if they wished to capture the principal women of Athens, to sail to Colias with him as fast as they could. The Megarians were persuaded by him, and sent off some men in his ship. But when Solon saw the vessel sailing back from the island, he ordered the women to withdraw, and directed those of the younger men who were still beardless, arraying themselves in the garments, head-bands, and sandals which the women had worn, and carrying concealed daggers, to sport and dance on the sea shore until the enemy had disembarked and the

vessel was in their power. This being done as he directed, the

1 Only six more verses are preserved (Fragments 1-3, Bergk). They contain reproaches of the Athenians for abandoning Salamis, and an exhortation to go and fight for it.

¢
wrraxOévres of Meyapeis rH dye Kal mpocpi-
Eaves éyyus, éEerndwv as él yuvaixas, apurro-
MevoL Tpos GAANAOUS,! Bote pndéva Sraduryety,
GANA Tavras atroNécOat, Kal THY ViCoV émiTNEV-
cavtas evOvds exe Tos "AOnvatous. .
IX. "Adore 9 gdacty ov' TovTov TOY TpoTrOY
yevécOat THY KaTadnY iy, GANA TpaTov pev avT@
tov ev Aerdois Oedv ypiicac:
"Apxnyous xwpas Ovaiais Hpwas evoixous
trtaco, Tovs KoATrals "Acwrias audixcarvrret,
of POipevoe Sépxovrat és nédcov Svvovta:
rov d&€ Yorwva StawrAevoavta vuKros Eis THY
vioov éevreuciv aopayia Ilepepyjym xat Kuypet
Tois Hpwatv. elta Tapa tav AOnvaiwy éerovras
AaBeiy mevraxoaious, Sdypartos yevoyévou tov-
tous, dv KaTacyYa@ot THY vacoVv, Kupious elvat Tod
morTevpatos. avaxOévta Sé ovyvais dddow
dpa Tptaxovtopouv ouptapatreovans tbpoppi-
cacbat TH Yadrapive kata ynAnv Twa pos THY
EdBoav? aroBXérovaeav. mudopévous S€é rovs év
Larapive Meyapeis &x Tivos dypuns ovdev BéRarov,
avrovs pev eis TA SAA OopuBovpevous Baditerv,
vaiv 8 amootetNat xatacKeouévny TOV ToXe-
plov: Hs éyyus éXOovons xpatnoat Tov Yor(wva
kal xabetpEat Tos Meyapeis. éuiBdoas 8é trav
"AOnvaiwy tovs Kpatiotous KeNevoavrTa reiv éml
THY TOALY, ws dv évdéynTat wddoTa KpvIrrovTas
1 &AAfAous Sintenis and Bekker assume here a lacuna in the text, where such details were given as are found in Polyaenus, Strategemata, i. 20.
2 EtBoay Sintenis suggests Nloaay (cf. xii. 3).

Megarians were lured on by what they saw, beached their vessel, and leapt out to attack women, as they supposed, vying with one another in speed. The result was that not a man of them escaped, but all were slain, and the Athenians at once set sail and took possession of the island.

IX. Others, however, say that the island was not taken in this way, but that Solon first received thi. oracle from the god at Delphi : —

“The tutelary heroes of the land where once they lived, with sacred rites
Propitiate, whom the Asopian plain now hides in its bosom ;
There they lie buried with their faces toward the setting sun.”

Thereupon Solon sailed by night to the island and made sacrifices to the heroes Periphemus and Cychreus. Then he took five hundred Athenian volunteers, a decree having been made that these - should be supreme in the government of the island if they took it, and setting sail with a number of fishing boats convoyed by a thirty-oared ship, he anchored off the island of Salamis, at a point of land looking towards Euboea. But the Megarians in the city of Salamis, hearing only an uncertain report of what had happened, armed themselves hurriedly and set out for the place, at the same time dispatching a ship to spy out the enemy. This ship came near and was captured by Solon, who put her crew in confinement. Then he manned her with the best of his Athenians, and ordered them to sail against the city, keeping themselves as much

éautovs: dua 5é tovs aAXous AOnvalous avara-
Bovra weln cupdépecOar trois Meyapetou Kai
THS paxns ett cuvertoons POdcat Tovs aro THs
yews KaTaXaBovtas THY TOALY.
ww \ fe] , 4 \ \ ,
Eorxe 6€ TO AOYM TOVT@ Kai Ta Spwpeva

paptupety. vats yap tis “Attixy mpocémXer
TLWT TO TP@TOV, Elta Kpavyh.Kal adaraypo
/ > \ 4 bd /
mpoagepouéevwy els avnp evorrros é€addopevos
\ a x4 \ bd N 10 12 ”
peta Bons be tmpos axpov To Yxupadsov é« yAs
4 / \ a 9 , ‘
mpocghepopévois. mArnoiov dé tod ‘Evvadiouv To
iepov éoTw tdpvcapévouv Lorwvos. evinnoe yap
\ 4 \ @ \ 4 >
tous Meyapéas, nal Scot pn ScepOapnoav év
TH paXy, Tavtas UTOaTIOVSOUS adnKev.
X. Ov phy adda tov Meyapéwy émipevovtov
\ \ \ ce) 9 a /
To\Na Kaka Kal SpavtTes ev T@ Totem Kal
Tacyovtes, étoincavto Aaxedapoviovs d1adda-
KTas Kal Sixactas. ot pev ov ToAXNOL TO DorAwu
, 4 A e 4 Ld
cuvaywvicacbar Aéyovot. tHv ‘Opunpov Sokav:
> / \ > \ ” > fe) li“
éuBadovta yap avrov émos es veav KaTadoyov
éri ths diene avayvovar
Alas & é« Ladapivos dyev Svoxaidexa vias,
atnae 8 aywv ty A@Onvaiwy ictavto parayyes.
avtol & ’A@nvaioe tadta ev olovtar drvapiay
elvat, Tov b€ Yorkwvd dhacw amobdeiEae tots b-
a rd a \ ) 4 wv
Kactais ott Diratos cai Evpuvoaxns, Alavtos
viol, "AOnvnot trodtTelas petadaBovtes tapé-
1 Xxipddiov after this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text.

concealed as was feasible. At the same time, with the rest of his Athenians, he engaged the Megarians on land, and while the fight was still raging, the crew of the ship succeeded in capturing the city.

"Now there seems to be a confirmation of this story in certain ceremonies afterwards established. Namely, an Attic ship would approach the island in silence at first, then its crew would make an onset with shouts and cries, and one man in full armour would leap out with a shout of triumph and run to the promontory of Sciradium to inform those who were attacking by land. Hard by that place is the temple of Enyalius! which was erected by Solon. For he conquered the Megarians, and all who were not slain in the battle

were released on parole.

X. Notwithstanding all this, the Megarians persisted in their opposition, and both sides inflicted and suffered many injuries in the war, so that finally they made the Lacedaemonians arbiters and judges of the strife. Accordingly, most writers say that the fame of Homer favoured the contention of Solon ; for after himself inserting a verse into the Catalogue of Ships, he read the passage at the trial thus :—

«« Ajax from Salamis brought twelve ships,
And bringing, stationed them near the Athenian hosts.” 2

The Athenians themselves, however, think this an

idle tale, and say that Solon proved to the judges

that Philaeus and Eurysaces, the sons of Ajax,

became citizens of Athens, made over their island

| 1 Ares. 2 Iliad, ii. 557 f.

Socayv tHv vaoov avtois, Kal KkaT@Knoav o peéev
év Bpavpou tis “Attixys, 0 5é év Medity: Kat
Sjuov éravupov Piraiov trav Diraidav Eyovouv,
e¢ * ’ v \ a 9 ,
60ev tw Ileciotpatos. ére dé parrov éFeréyEar
\ A , >] ,
tous Meyapéas BovAcdpevov ioyupicacBae rept
TOV VEKPOY @S OVX Sy TpoTOY Eéxetvor BaTrTOVEL
KexndeupLevov, GAN bv avToi. Odmtovotr 5é Me-
yapeis mpos &w Tovs vexpovs aotpépovtes, ‘AOn-
a \ N e lA € VA \ e A
vaio. 5é mpos éotrépav. “Hpéas dé 0 Meyapeus
épiotapevos déyer kal Meyapeis mpos éotrépav
TETPAL EVA TH THOpATA TOV vexpav TiOévaL’ Kal
peitov éte TovTov, piav Exactov AOnvaiwy exe
Onxnv, Meyapéwy 5é Kal tpets Kal téooapas év
a A “a / , a
pod KxeicOat. Te pévTos Yorove Kal vOcKovs
twas BonOjoat Aéyovet Ypnopous, ev ols a Beds

"laoviay thy Ladapiva mpoonyopevoe. TavTny
Thy Sixny édixacay Lraptiatav mévre avipes,
Kpttoraidas, "Apouddpetos, ‘Tyrnxidas, ’Avaki-
Nas, Kreopévns.
XI. "Hdn pév otv Kal dio tovtwv évdokos
Av 0 YoAwV Kal péyas. eOavydobn 5é wai dte-
BonOn padrrov év tois “EAAnow eltr@v birép tov
iepov tov év Aeddois, ws yp BonOetv nal pr
meptopav Kippaiovs uBpifovtas eis 76 pavreion,
9 \ / e A a “ a
aANG Tpocapuvey UTrép ToD Beod Aedsois. ret-
abévtes yap um’ éxeivou mpos TOY TOAELOY @pun-
cap ot Apdixtioves, as ANXNOL TE papTUpOder Kal
"Apiotorérns ev tH Tov IIvOtoviKov avaypady
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to them, and took up their residence in Attica, one
at Brauron, and the other at Melité; and they have
a township named after Philaeus, namely Philaidae,
to which Peisistratus belonged. They say, too, that
Solon, wishing to refute the claims of the Megarians
still further, made the point that the dead on the
island of Salamis were not buried after the Megarian,
but after the Athenian fashion. For the Megarians
bury their dead facing the east, but the Athenians
facing the west. However, Hereas the Megarian
denies this, and says that the Megarians also turn
the faces of their dead to the west. And what is
still more important than this, he says that the
Athenians use one tomb for each body, whereas the
Megarians (like the early inhabitants of Salamis)
place three or four bodies in one tomb. However,
they say that Solon was further supported by sundry
Pythian oracles, in which the god spoke of Salamis
as Ionian. This case was decided by five Spartans,
Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas,
and Cleomenes.
XI. These events, then, presently made Solon famous and powerful. But he was even more admired and celebrated among the Greeks for what he said in behalf of the temple at Delphi, namely, that the Greeks must come to its relief, and not suffer the people of Cirrha to outrage the oracle, but aid the Delphians in maintaining the honour of the god. For it was by his persuasion that the Amphictyons! undertook the war, as Aristotle, among others, testifies, in his list of the victors at the Pythian games,

1 The twelve peoples who had as coinmon sanctuaries the temple of Apollo at Delphi and the temple of Demeter at Anthela, near Thermopylae.
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2 Yorwve THY yvounv avatibeis. ov pévTot oTpa- 84
THYyOS éml TovTOV amedeixXOn TOV TrOAELOV, OS
Aéyerv Hnoly"Epysmos EvavOn tov Yapsov- ote
yap Aioyivns o pntwp Tobit eipnKxev, év TE ToIS
Acrkdhov vropvnpacw "Adkpaiwv, od orp,
"AOnvaiwy otpatTnyos avayéypaTrrat.
XII. To 8 KuvAwvecov dyos 45n pév éx trodAod
duetdparte THv moALv, €€ ob TOs TUYWmOTAS TOD
Kvrwvos ixerevovtas tHv Oedv Meyaxdys 0 apyov
éml Sixn xatedeiv Erecoev' éEdxypavtas 5é tod
Gdous Kpoxny KXwoTHV Kal TAaUTHS EXOMEVOUS, WS
éyévovto mepl tas ceyvas Beds xataPaivovtes,
avToudTws THS KpOKNS payeions, @punoe ava-
AauBdvev o Meyarrns nal ot cuvdpyovtes, ws
THs Oeod THY ixeciav atroNeyopévns' Kal Tovs meV
éw xatédXevoay, of 5é toils Bwpots mpoaduyovtes
aneopdynaav: povot & adetOnoay oi Tas yuvai-
2 Kas avTov ixerevoavtes. é€x TovTov dé KANOevTES évayels éutcodvto: kal trav Kudovelwy of trept-

= yevopevoe TdALY Haoav ioxupol, Kal otacidlovTes
del Suetédouv mpds tods amd Tod Meyaxdéous.
éy dé T@ TOTE Ypovm THS oTdcews aKpnV Ra-
Botvons partota Kal tod Sypov dtactdvtos, 75n
Sofav éxywv o YorAwy TapHdrAOev eis pécov aya
tois apiotas tav "AOnvaiwy, cal deopevos Kat
diddcKwy éretce TOUvs evayeis Neyopévous Sixnv
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where he ascribes the measure to Solon. He was not, however, appointed general for this war, as Evanthes the Samian says (according to Hermippus), for Aeschines the orator makes no such statement,} and in the records of Delphi it is stated that Alcmaeon, and not Solon, commanded the Athenians.

XII. Now the Cylonian pollution had for a long time agitated the city, ever since Megacles the archon had persuaded Cylon and his fellow-con- spirators, who had taken sanctuary in the temple of Athena, to come

down and stand their trial.2. They fastened a braided thread to the image of the _ goddess and kept hold of it, but when they reached the shrine of the Erinyes on their way down, the thread broke of its own accord, upon which Megacles and _ his: fellow-archons rushed to seize them, on the plea that the goddess refused them the rights ot suppliants. Those who were outside of sacred pre- cincts were stoned to death, and those who took refuge at the altars were slaughtered there; only those were spared who made supplication to the wives of the archons. Therefore the archons were called polluted men and were held in execration. The survivors of the followers of -Cylon also re- covered strength, and were forever at variance with the descendants of Megacles. At this particular time the quarrel was at its height and the people divided between the two factions. Solon, therefore, being now in high repute, interposed between them, along with the noblest of the Athenians, and by his entreaties and injunctions persuaded the men who were held to be polluted to submit to a trial, and to

1 In his speech Against Ctesiphon, § 109.
2 About 6363.c. Cf. Herod. v. 71; ‘hue. i. 126.

irocyeiy Kal xpiOjvar Tpiaxociov apiotivdny
Sixativtav. Mupavos dé tod Prvéws xatnyo-
podvtos éddwaoay of advdpes, Kal petéctnoay ot
tavres: tov & amoOavovtwy Tovs vexpovs avo-
4 9¢s e \ \ 4 7
putavtes éFéppupay umép tous Opouvs. TavTats
Sé tais tapaxais cal Meyapéwv cuveTriPepévov
amnéBarov te Nicaray ot AOnvatos cal Yarapivos
ékérecov adOius. Kat goBot Teves éx Setrordac-
povias dua nal ddopata Kateiye THY TON, Ot
Te pdvres ayn Kal pLacpovs Seopévous xabappov
mpopatverOat Sia TOV lepev 7ryopevoy.
a \ 4 > a 2 4
Oitw 6) petdmeprtos avtois jKev ex Kpnrns
"Exripevidns 0 Paictios, dv EBdopov ev tois codois
KataptOpovow Eviot TOV ov Tpoctepévwv Tov
TlepiavSpov. édoxer S€ tus elvat Oeopirns Kat
\ \ \ a \ > \ \
copes Tept Ta Ocia tHhv évOovovactiKny Kal Te-
Neotixny codiav, 66 nal waida vuppys svopa
Baarns cat Kovpnta véov avtov ot tote avOpwrot
/ \ \ \ a > / ,
mpoanyopevuv. €\Oov dé Kal TO BoAwM yYpnoa-
pevos dito TOAAa TpoocuTElpyacato Kal mTpow-
, > a A 7 N ?
Somoinaey adr@ Tis vopobecias. Kal yap evota-
A >

Nets eroinoe Tas tepoupyias Kal mept Ta wévOn
, f \ »AN ? V4 N
mpaotépous, Ovaias tivas evOrs avauitas mpos
Ta Kon, Kal TO oKANPOY aderov Kat TO BapBa-
pixov w ouvelxyorvTo WpoTepov ai WreEioTas yu-
vaixes. TO dé péytoTov, (Aacpots Teas Kai xad-
appois xai (Spvcect xatopytacas Kai xaooww-
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abide by the-decision of three hundred jurors selected from the nobility. Myron of Phlya conducted the prosecution, and the family of Megacles was found guilty. Those who were alive were banished, and the bodies of the dead were dug up and cast forth beyond the borders of the country. During these disturbances the Megarians also attacked the Athen- ians, who lost Nisaea, and were driven out of Salamis once more. The city was also visited with super- stitious fears and strange appearances, and the seers declared that their sacrifices indicated pollutions and defilements which demanded expiation.

Under these circumstances they summoned to their aid from Crete Epimenides of Phaestus, who is reckoned as the seventh Wise Man by some of those who refuse Periander a place in the list.1 He was reputed to be a man beloved of the gods, and endowed with a mystical and heaven-sent wisdom in religious matters. Therefore the men of his time said that he was the son of a nymph named Balte, and called him a new Cures.2,- On coming to Athens he made Solon his friend, assisted him in many ways, and paved the way for his legislation. For he made the Athenians decorous and careful in their religious services, and milder in their rites of mourning, by attaching certain sacrifices immediately to their funeral ceremonies, and by taking away the harsh and barbaric practices in which their women had usually indulged up to that time. Most important of all, by sundry rites of propitiation and purification, and by sacred foundations, he hallowed and conse-

1 See note on iii. 5, and cf. Aristotle. Const. of Athens, i.

2 The Curetes were Cretan priests of Idaean Zeus, who took

their name from the demi-gods to whose care Rhea was said to have committed the infant Zeus.

A / e 4 a f \ A
cas THY TOMY UTTHKOOY Tov Sixaiov Kal padrov
evTretOn mpos opovoray KaTéoTnae. RéyeTar Sé
\ / ION N \ \
Thv Movvvyiav idov xat Kxatapabov todvy
, A

\Vpovoy, ElTEely POS TOUS TapoYTas WS TUpAdY
éoTs TOU péAXOVTOS aVvOpwTros: éxpayeiy yap av
"AOnvaious Tois avTa@y ddovcwy, et Tpondecav boa
THY TOMY avidoeL TO Ywpiov. Gpovov 5é Ti Kai
Oarjy cixdoat Néyovow KEedeVTAL yap auToV év
Tut ToT THS MeAdnoias pPavrA@ Kal Tapopwopévp
TeXeuvTycavTa Oeivar, mpoeiT@V WS ayopd ToTE
tovtTo Midnociwy éotar To ywpiov. *Eripevidyns
pév ov partota Oavpacbeis, xal ypnpata &e-
Sovtwy ToANG Kal Timas peyddas Tov AOnvaiwr,
QV A \ ed \ A e n 4 ? A
ovdeyv 7 OarXov aro THS Lepas éXalas aiTnadpevos
Kat NaBov anr7nnrlev.
XIII. Oi & ’A@nvaios tHs KuXwveiou tetrav-
pévns Tapayns Kal peOcotoHTwv, Baotrep elpynraz,
TOV evayOv, THY TadaLay avlis oTdow brép THS
f bd / a 4
mTodTelas eatacialoy, doas 7» ywpa d:adhopas
A a /
elyev, eis TOTavTA pépn THS TOAEWS StacTaoNs.
Hv yap To pev Tov Ataxpiwv yévos SnpoxpatiKe-
TAaTOV, oALyapyLKw@TaToV dé TO THY Iledséwy- Tpi-
tot © ot Ildpadoe pécov twa xa pepeypévov
aipovpevos ToALTeias TpOTOY, éuTobwYv HRoav Kat
Sex@dvov Tovs ETépous KpaThoat. ToTe bé€ THS TOV
TEVHTWVY TPOS TOUS TAOVGLOUS avwuaias Bomwep
> \ / 4 9 “ e ‘
akpnv XaBovons TavTaTacw éeTiaparas 7 TOMS
duéxerto, Kal povws dv édoxer xatacthHvat xat
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P SOLON

crated the city, and brought it to be observant of
justice and more easily inclined to unanimity. It is
said that when he had seen Munychia! and con-
sidered it for some time, he remarked to the by-
standers that man was indeed blind to the future ;
for if the Athenians only knew what mischiefs the
place would bring upon their city, they would devour
it with their own teeth. A similar insight into
futurity is ascribed to Thales. They say that he
gave directions for his burial in an obscure and

neglected quarter of the city's territory, predicting
that it would one day be the market-place of Miletus.
Well then, Epimenides was vastly admired by the
Athenians, who offered him much money and large
honours; but he asked for nothing more than a
branch of the sacred olive-tree, with which he
returned home.
XIII. But the Athenians, now that the Cylonian disturbance was over and the polluted persons ban- ished, as described," relapsed into their old disputes about the form of government, the city being divided into as many parties as there were diversities in its territory. The Hill-men favoured an extreme democracy ; the Plain-men an extreme oligarchy ; the Shore-men formed a third party,? which pre- ferred an intermediate and mixed form of govern- ment, was opposed to the other two, and prevented either from gaining the ascendancy. At that time, too, the disparity between the rich and the poor had culminated, as it were, and the city was in an alto- gether perilous condition ; it seemed as if the only

1 The acropolis of the Peiraeus, strategically commanding not only that peninsula, but also Athens itself. It was often

garrisoned by conquerors of Athens. 2 Chapter xii. 3. 3 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiii. 4.

ic? |
]
bo

mavoacOar tapattopéevn tupavvidos yevopevns.
amas pev yap o Shpos hv vTdxpews THY Trov-
ciwy. yap éyewpyouv éxecivors Exta TaV Ye-
VOMEVOY TEAOUVTES, EXTNMOPLOL TpPOTaryopEevopLEVOL
kal Onres, } ypéa AapPavovtes em) Tois Topaciy
ayeytyor tos SavelCovow jhoav, ot pev avrod
Sovrevovtes, of & éml tiv Eévnv mimpacKnopevot.
ToANol O€ Kal Traidas idious nvayxdlovto Tw.
(ovdels yap vouos exwrAve) cal THY TOAW hevryety
dua. THY YareTTOTHTA Tov SaveaTtav. ot Se Teéi-
oTot Kal pwyarewrTato: cvrvicotayTo Kal Tapexd-
Nouv GAAHAOUS 1) Treptopav, aAX' éEXouévous &va
mpootdtny advdpa muatov aperécOas rovs virep-
nuépovs Kal thy yhv avabdcacOa Kal dros
PETAOTHOAL THY TONTELAD.
XIV. 'Evrat0a 8) trav' AOnvalwy of dpovipe-
TATOL TUVOPAYTES TOY LOAwWVA LOVOY paMLoTA TOY
apapTnuateav éxrds bvtTa, Kal pte Tos TWAOVAtOLS

KotvwvoovTa Tis adixlas ponte tails tay Tevntwv
avayKais évexopuevov, édéovto Tois KoLVvOIS TrpOTEN-
Oeiy kal xatarratoa Tas Svadopds. Kaitot Pavias
o AéoBuos avdtov iotopet Tov YorAwva, Ypnodpevov
aTraTy Tpos auotépous eri cwtnpia THS TOAEWS,
vrocyéc0at Kpida Tots pev aTropois THY véewNory,
Tos O€ xpnuaTtixois BeBaiwow tav cuvpBoraiwv.
GN' avTos o LorAwy oxvav dnot TO TPa@TOV arba-
cOat THS TodtTelas, Kal SeSorcas TeV pev THY
eh eimiblan tov 5¢ thy bTepnpaviav. npéOn
é dpyewv peta DirouBpotov opod nab dsadrraxTys
Kal vonobérns, SeFapnévwr mpoOvpws adtov ws pev
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way to settle its disorders and stop its turmoils was to establishatyranny. All the common people were in debt tothe rich. For they either tilled their lands for them, paying them a sixth of the increase (whence they were called Hectemorioi and Thetes), or else they pledged their persons for debts and could be seized by their creditors, some becoming slaves at home, and others being sold into foreign countries. Many, too, were forced to sell their own children (for there was no law against it), or go into exile, because of the cruelty of the money-lenders. But the most and sturdiest of them began to band together and exhort one another not to submit to their wrongs, but to choose a trusty man as their leader, set free the condemned debtors, divide the land anew, and make an entire change in the form of government.

XIV. At this point, the wisest of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon. They saw that he was the one man least implicated in the errors of the time ; that he was neither associated with the rich in their injustice, nor involved in the necessities of the poor. They therefore besought him to come forward publicly and put an end to the prevailing dissensions. And yet Phanias the Lesbian writes that Solon of his own accord played atrick upon both parties in order to save the city, and secretly promised to the poor the distribution of Jand which they desired, and to the rich, validation of their securities. But Solon himself says that he entered public life reluctantly, and fearing one party's greed and the other party's arrogance.!_ However, he was chosen archon? to succeed Philombrotus, and made mediator and legislator for the crisis, the rich

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, y. 3. 2 594 B.c.

" A la e \ A ,
eUTropov TOV TAOVGiMY, ws Se YNoTOY TOV TeEV1-
/ 3 a 4
Tov. rAéyeTat 5é Kal dwv) Tis avTOd TEepipepopevn
MPOTEPOV, ELTOVTOS WS TO loov TOAELOP OV TrOLEl,
Kal Tois KTnpaTLKOIS apéoKey Kal TOiS AGKTHMOCL,

Tav pev akia Kal apeTn, TV Sé péTp@ Kal aprOu@
To icov éev mpocdoxavtTwv’ dOev én’ édrridos
peyarns éxatépwv yevouévwv ot mpoiotdpevor
A , A
TpocéKelvTo TH Yorwov tupavvida mpokevodvtes

/ a
kal avareiOovtes evToApoTepov arracGar THs
4 b a 4 \ “

TONEWS EYKPATH yevopuevov. Todd bé Kal TOY
51a, pécov ToNTOY, THY UITO AOyou Kal vopou
petaBorny opavtes épyodn Kal yarerny ovoay,
oun épevyov &va Tov Sixardtatov Kal ppovipwra-
Tov émisTHaat Tos Tpaypacw. évior 5€ haat
Kal pavteiav yevéoOar T@ Yorwve TlvOo0t torav-
TH"
*Hoo péonv kata via xuBepyntiptoy & Epyov
” edOUver: modXob TOL "AOnvaiwy émixoupot.
padota bé of cuvnbers éexaxtCov et dia Tovvopa
Sutwreita: THv povapylav, OaTrEp OvK apEeTH TOU
AaBovtos evOs Av Bactretay yevopervny, xal
yeyevnuévny ampotepov pev EvBoetor Tuvvar-
dav, viv oe MetvAnvaiows Iittaxov npnpévors
TUpavvov.
Tovrav ovdév eFéxpouce TOV Lodwva TIS avTOU
Tpoarpésews, advra Tpos peév tovs dirous elrrev,
as Aeyera, KaXov peév eivat THY tupavvida x«ptov,
OvK Exew Sé amroBacw, pos S& Daxov év roils
Tompacs ypapwv’
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SOLON

accepting him readily because he was well-to-do, and the poor because he was honest. _It is also said that a certain utterance of his which was current ‘before his election, to the effect that equality bred no war, pleased both the men of substance and those who had none ; the former expecting to have equality based on worth and excellence, the latter” on measure and count. Therefore both parties were in high hopes, and their chief men persistently recommended a tyranny to Solon, and tried to persuade him to seize the city all the more confidently now that he had it completely in his power. Many citizens, too, who belonged to neither party, seeing that it would be a laborious and difficult matter to effect a change by means of argument and law, were not reluctant to have one man, the justest and wisest of all, put at the head of the state. Furthermore, some say that Solon got an oracle at Pytho which ran as follows :— |

‘Take thy seat amidships, the pilot’s task is thine ; Perform it ; many in Athens are thine allies.”

And above all, his familiar friends chid him for being averse to absolute power because of the name of tyranny, as if the virtues of him who seized it would not at once make it a lawful sovereignty. Kuboea (they argued) had formerly found this true of Tynnondas, and so had the Mitylenaeans, now that they had chosen Pittacus to be their tyrant.

None of these things shook Solon from _ his
resolution. To his friends he said, as we are told,
that a tyranny was a lovely place, but there was
no way down from it. And in his poems he writes
to Phocus :—
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Ei b€ yfjs (bnaiv) épecoauny 86
maTpioos, Tupavvioos 5é cal Bins apecdixyou
ov Kabmpduny pudvas Kal Kataoxvvas Kréos,
ovdey aideduat wAgov yap @be uixjoew Soxéw
mwavtas avO parrous.
5Oev evdnrov Sti Kal po THS vopoOecias peyd-

6 Any Soap elyev. & 5é huyovros avdtod THY Tupav-
vida ToAAOL KaTayed@vTes Edeyov, yéypadev
OUTwWS°
Ovx épu YorAwv Babidpav ovdé Bovrnes avnp-
écOXa yap Oeod Sid0vtos avbtos ovn édéEaTo.
TepiBarwv & aypav ayacbels ovx éréctracev
péya
dixtuov, Ovpovd 0 apapth nal gpevav arro-
oparels.
nOeXov! ydp Kev Kpatynoas, wAOvTOY adOovov
- NaBov
cat tupavyetoas AOnvav podvor nuépay piar,
aoKos' dotepov SeddpOar xatrirerpipOas yévos.
XV. Tadta tovs modXdovs Kal davrous rept
avTovd memoinxe NéyovTas. ov mV aTwcdpeEvos
ye THY TUpavvida Tov TpadTaToY ex pHoaTo TpOTrOY
TOls Tpdypact, ovdé paraxas OVS UTretKwy Tots
Suvapévols ovde mpos ndovnv Tav édXopévwv eto
HOedov, aoxds Bergk, with the better MSS, : 4GcAcv, airds (he (Solon) wowd have been willing ; himself).

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“ And if,” he says, “I spared my land,
My native land, and unto tyranny and violence
implacable
Did not set hand, polluting and disgracing my fair
-fame,
I’m not ashamed ; in this way rather shall my name
be set above
That of all other men.” !
From this it is clear that even before his legislation
he was in high repute. And as for the ridicule
which many heaped upon him for refusing the
tyranny, he has written as follows ;—
‘“¢ Solen was a shallow thinker and a man of counsel

void ;

When the gods would give him blessings, of his own
will he refused.
When his net was full of fish, amazed, he would
not pull it in,
_All for lack of spirit, and because he was bereft ot
sense.
I had certainly been willing, for the power, and
boundless wealth,
And to be tyrant over Athens no more. than a
single day,
Then to have a poueh flayed from me, and my

lineage blotted out.” ?

XV. Thus he represents the multitude and men of low degree as speaking of him. However, though he rejected the tyranny, he did not administer affairs in the mildest possible manner, nor in the enactment of his laws did he show a feeble spirit, nor make concessions to the powerful, nor consult the pleasure

1 Fragment 32 (Bergk). 2 Fragment 33 (Bergk).

\ Ld 9 > @ \ C4 9 2 > ,
TOUS VOMLOUS* ANN 7) MEV APLOTOV HV, OUK ET ITYATVEV
‘
iatpelav ovde xawvoropuiav, poBnOels yn ouyyéas
mavrdrace Kal tapakas Thy wodw acbevéatepos

yévntat Tov KatacThcat mddtv Kal cuvappo-
\ \ A \ \ 4, bd
cacbat mpos TO apictov: & 5é Kal réyor HALLE
meopévots nal mpocdywyv davayxny bropévovet
XpnoacBat, tadr’ Erpattev, Os dno avTos,
‘Opod Binv te cai Sixny cuvappocas.!

d0ev Botepov epwrnGels ci Tovs apiotous *AOn-
vatows vopous éyparpev, “ "Ov adv,” en, “ mpoaedé-
Eavto Tovs apiotous.
“A 8 oby of vewtepor Tovs “AOnvaiouvs Aéyoucr
Tas TOY TpaypaTtwy Svaxepeias Gvopact xpnorois
Kal diravOperros émixadvTrrovtas aotelws vio-
xopilecOat, Tas pév Tropvas étaipas, Tovs 5é do-
povs ovrtakes, dudaxas 5€ tas ppouvpas Tov
modewv, oixnua dé TO SeopwrTnpioy Kadovvtas,
TpwTov YOAwVoS HV, Ss CoLKE, TOPLT PA THY TOV
NV pEeav atroxoT Ny cecadyOeay ovopacavTos. TovTO
yap eToincato mpwToy TodiTevpa, ypa\as Ta
bev uTdpyovta TaVv ypeav aveioBat, mpos Sé TO
Noutrov éeml Tols cwopact undéva Saveilerv. Kaitot
tives éyparpay, wy éativ Avdpotiwy, ovx atroxoTa
YVPEOV, GAAA TOKwWY peTPLOTNTL KovgicOEévTas aya-
THoaL TOUS TévNTAS, Kal cetcadyOeay ovoydoat
TO ptravOpwrevpa tTovTO Kal THY Gua TOUT
ryevomevny TOY Te MET PWV emavEnow Kal Tob vop-
TUATOS TlunY. ExaToYv yap éTroince Spaypav THY
1 Fragment 36, verse 14 (Bergk); verse 16 of the longer

fragment now found in Aristotle’s Const. of Athens, chapter xii. 4, where we have xpdre:: vduov, Blny re KTA,

of his electors. Nay, where a condition was as good
as it could well be, he applied no remedy, and intro-
duced no innovation, fearing lest, after utterly con-
fusing and confounding the city, he should be too
weak to establish it again and recompose it for the
best. But those things wherein he hoped to find
them open to persuasion or submissive to compulsion,
these he did,
‘‘Combining both force and justice together,”

as he says himself. Therefore when he was afterwards asked if he had enacted the best laws for the Athenians, he replied, “The best they would receive.” |

Now later writers observe that the ancient Athenians used to cover up the ugliness of things with auspicious and kindly terms, giving them polite and endearing names. Thus they called harlots “companions,’ taxes “contributions,” the garrison of a city its “guard,” and the prison a “chamber.” But Solon was the first, it would seem, to use this device, when he called his cancelling of debts a “disburdenment.” For the first of his public measures was an enactment that existing debts should be remitted, and that in future no one should lend money on the person of a borrower. Some writers, however, and Androtion is one of them, affirm that the poor were relieved not by a can- celling of debts, but by a reduction of the interest upon them, and showed their satisfaction by giving the name of “disburdenment’”’ to this act of humanity, and to the augmentation of measures and the pur- chasing power of money which accompanied it.! For

1 See Aristotle, Const. of Athens, x. 1, with Sandys’ note.

or

pvav mpotepov éBdounxovta Kal tprdv ovcar,
dor aptOu@ pev icov, dvvaye 8 edattov atodiSovTwr, aderciaOar péev Tovs exTivovtas peydra,
pndev S¢ BrarrecGar tovs Koptlopévouvs. ot dé
mTrEloTOL TdvTWY opod dace TaV cupBodraiwy
dvaipeciy yevécOas THY ceroadxOerav, Kal TovToLs
ouvgde: adXov TA Tounpata. Lewvuverar yap
Lorwy ev TovToLs OTL THS Te TpOUTrOKELpLEeVNS YAS
“Opous aveiie ToANAXH TETNYyOTAS
mpoabev 5é SovrAevovaa, viv érevbépa:
Kal TOY aywyipwv Tpds apyupLov yeyovoTwv ToXt-
TOV TOUS wey avyyayev aro Eévns,
yAdooay ovxér’ Arricny
iévtas, @s dv TOAAAYH TAAVwWLEVOUS:
\ > 9 709 3 A 4 bd 4
tous © évOdd’ avrod SovAinv aetkéa

Exyovras
érevOépovs dyol mrorjoag.
IIpaypa 8 avta cupmecety Néyetas TdavTev
dviapotatov amo THs mpdkews éexeivns. as yap
appnoev aviévat TA ypéa Kal Noyous apLoTtovTas
éfnre. xal mpémovcay apynv, éxowwcato Tav

dirwv ols padicta motevwv Kal ypwpevos
2 lA a ‘ S
éruyyave, Tois mept Kovwva nal KrYreviav rai
‘Immovcov, Stu ynv pev ov pédreEL Kiveiv, Ypeav
Sé movely atroxomras eyvaxev. of 5é mporaPovtes
3 \ 4 > 4 : \ bd 4
evOvs cal d0acavtes ebaveicavTo suyvov apyupior
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SOLON

he made the mina to consist of a hundred drachmas,
which before had contained only seventy-three, so
that by paying the same amount of money, but
money of a lesser value, those who had debts to dis-
charge were greatly benefited, and those who accepted
such payments were no losers. But most writers
agree that the “disburdenment’”’ was a removal of
all debt, and with such the poems of Solon are more
in accord. For in these he proudly boasts that from
the mortgaged lands
‘‘ He took away the record-stones that everywhere
were planted ;
Before, Earth was in bondage, now she is free.”’!
And of the citizens whose persons had been seized for debt, some he brought back from foreign lands,

“uttering no longer Attic speech,
So long and far their wretched wanderings ;
And some who here at home in shameful servitude
Were held "’?
he says he set free.

This undertaking is said to have involved him in the most vexatious experience of his life. For when he had set out to abolish debts, and was trying to find fitting arguments and a suitable occasion for the step, he told some of his most trusted and intimate friends, namely, Conon, Cleinias, and Hipponicus, that he was not going to meddle, with the land, but had determined to cancel debts. They immediately took advantage of this confidence and anticipated

1 Fragment 36, verses 4 f. (Bergk), with adaptation from the first person ; verses 6f. in Aristotle’s citation.

2 Fragment 36, verses 9-12 (Bergk); verses 11-14 in
Aristotle.
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a“ / 4 ,
Tapa TOV TOVGiwY Kal peyddas TUVEWYHCAYTO
ywpas. elta Tod Soypatos é&evexOévtos Ta pev
KTHpaTa KapTovpeEvol, TA 5é ypnpata Tots Savel-
> 3 , ? > 9 \ /
Tac ovK atrodtoovtes, eis aitiay Tov Yorwva
4 \ / a 3 4
peyarny cal dtaBornv, woTEp ov cuvadiKovpevor,
J \ “ , t] “A
a@yrXa cuvabsixovvta, Kxatéotnoav. adAQ TOTO
\ 9 \ 4 \ a 4 ,
pev evOvS EXVON TO EyxAnpa TOIS TréVTE TANAaVTOLS"
tocavTa yap evpéOn Saveilwv, cal tradta mpatos
apne kata Tov vopov. Evot dé mevTexaidexa
Néyovotv, wv Kat IloAvenros 0 “Podsds éott.
Tovs pévtTot Pirovs avTod ypewxoTridas KadodvTES
dueTéAEcav.
XVI. "Hpeoe & odderépots, GAN edrvrrnce Kat
ToOvs TAOUGLOUS GVENoY TA TULBOdaLa, Kal LaANOV
Ett TOUS TrévnTas, STL YRS avadacpov OvK éeTroinaeY
éXticaciw avtois, ovdé tTaytdracw, woTeEp oO
A e a

Avodpyos, ouarovs tots Biots nal tcous xarté-

> ? 2 aA \ e A > >)
oTnoev. GAN exeivos pty évdéxatos dv ad
‘Hpaxréous cal BeBacirevxeas etn TroAdNa TIS
/

Aaxedaipovos, akiopa péya xal didrous Kal
Sivayiv ols eyyw Karas Tepl Tis odLTElas
e an ba \ la a) Aa a
uTnpeTovcav elye, Kal Bia paddrov H trecOoi
XpnoTapevos, Bote Kal Tov oPOarpov éxxoTrvas,
KATELPYAaTATO TO péyLoTOY Eis TwWTNPiAY TrOAEWS
Kal opovoay, pndéva Tévynta pnode AOVGLOV Elvat
A a > ‘4 be 4 \ > 9 é
TWY TOALTOY’ 2ONWY OE TOUTOU peV OUK EdLKETO
Th TodTea Snuotixos ay Kal péoos, évdeéorepov
dé THs umapxovons Suvdyews ovdev émpatker,
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Solon's decree by borrowing large sums from the wealthy and buying up great estates. Then, when the decree was published, they enjoyed the use of their properties, but refused to pay the moneys due their creditors. This brought Solon into great condemnation and odium, as if he had not been imposed upon with the rest, but were a party to the imposition.! However, this charge was at once dissipated by his well-known sacrifice of five talents. For it was found that he had lent so much, and he was the first to remit this'debt in accordance with his law. Some say that the sum was fifteen talents, and among them is Polyzelus the Rhodian. But his friends were ever after called "' chreocopidae,"' or debt-cutters.

XVI. He pleased neither party, however; the rich were vexed because he took away their secur- ities for debt, and the poor still more, because he did not re-distribute the land, as they had expected, nor make all men equal and alike in their way of living, as Lycurgus did. But Lycurgus was eleventh in descent from Heracles, and had been king in Lacedaemon for many years. He therefore had great authority, many friends, and power to support his reforms in the commonwealth. He also employed force rather than persuasion, insomuch that he actually lost his eye thereby,? and most effectually guaranteed the safety and unanimity of the city by making all its citizens neither poor nor rich. Solon, on the contrary, could not secure this feature in his commonwealth, since he was a man of the people and of modest station; yet he in no wise

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, vi.
2 Cf. Lycurgus, xi.
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e , DJ 4 le) 4 '\ ,
Opu@pevos ex ovou Tov BovrceoOat nat mroTEeveELY
auT@ Tovs Toditas. Ott 8 ov mpocéxpouce Tots
mrelcTos érepa mpocdoxjnoaci, avTos elpnKxe
TEpPt AUTOY, WS
a , A
Xatva pév tor' éppdaavto, viv 5é pou yorov-
pevot
a e le! o
rNokov oPOarpois opwat.wavtes Wate Sniov.
xaitor gnoly ws, el tug Aros Exe THY aUTHV

Suvapey,
Ovn dv xatéoye Sipov, od8’ érravcaro,
api avrapdtas, twiap é€eiNev yadda.)
Tayv pévrot rod cupdépovtos aicbopuevor nat
a 29Q/ e “A A > 4 4
Tas tdias avTav peppers adévtes COvody Te
Kown, ceccadyYOerav tHv Ovciay ovopdoartes, Kat
\ 4 a , \ \
Tov YorAwva THS Toditeias StopAwrnv Kal vopo-
/
Oérny améderEayv, od Ta pév, TA 8 ovyi, travra 8°
oparas éemitpéravtes, apyds, éxxAnotas, Sixa-
, , ° / ; 4 fi ,
atypia, BovAds, Kal tipnpa tovTev éxdorou
e

Kal apiOuov Kal Katpov opicat, AvovTa Kab gu-
NdTTOVTA T@Y UTapxovTwY Kal KaBecT@Twy 6 TE
doxoin.
XVII. Hpatov pév ody trovs Apdxovtos vopous
dveibe ANY Tov hoviKxav amavtas, Sua Thy
A 4

YareroTnTa Kal TO péyeOos Tay éTiTibioy. pia
yap Gdiyou Sety Atraciy @pioro ToiS dpapTavovae
1 So the verses are now more correctly found in Aristotle (Const. of Athens, xii. 5, Sandys).
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acted short of his real power, relying as he did only on the wishes of the citizens and their confidence in him. Nevertheless he gave offence to the greater part of them, who expected different results, as he himself says of them in the lines :—

“Then they had extravagant thoughts of me, but
now, incensed,
All look askance at me, as if I were their foe.”
And yet had any other man, he says, acquired the
same power,
“ He had not held the people down, nor made an
end
Until he had confounded all, and skimmed the
cream.”
Soon, however, they perceived the advantages of his measure, ceased from their private fault-finding, and

offered a public sacrifice, which they called Seisactheia, or Disburdenment. They also appoint- ed Solon to reform the constitution and make new laws, laying no restrictions whatever upon him, but putting everything into his hands, magistracies, assemblies, courts-of-law, and councils. He was to fix the property qualification for each of these, their numbers, and their times of meeting, abrogating and maintaining existing institutions at his pleasure.

XVII. In the first place, then, he repealed the laws of Draco, all except those concerning homicide,” because they were too severe and their penalties too heavy. For one penalty was assigned to almost all transgressions, namely death, so that even those

1 Fragment 34 (Bergk) ; now verses 4f. of a fragment of nine verses cited by Aristotle (Const. of Athens, xii. 3).

2 Cf. Aristotle, op. cit. vii. 1.

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tnuia Odvatos, @aoTe Kal Tovs apyias adovTas

) V4 \ \ /

amoOyvnoxeyv, Kat Ttovs Adyava KréeYavTas 4F

OTwpayv opoiws KorAdtecOat Tois iepoovrots Kal
2 avdpodovors. 510 Anpadns Sortepov evdoxipun-
; > AN ef ’ o ? \ LA

gev eima@y OTe dt’ aipatos, ov dua pédXavos,

\ , e / ” 9 \ > 9 A
Tous vouous 0 Apdxwy éyparyev. adtos 8 éxeivos,
A , 4 a 4
a> dao, épwrapevos Sid Ti Tois TrELTTOLS
adicnuace Enuiav érake Oavatov, amexpivato Ta
4 ” 4 A 4
bev pupa tavrns akia vopilew, Tots 5é peyarous
oun eyew petfova.
XVIII. Aevrepov 8¢ Yorwy ras pev dapyxas
anTdoas, @oTEp Hoav, Tois evmopois amroNctTreEty
Bovdopevos, THY & aAXAnY pikat rrodsTelay, Hs oO
Sjmos ov petetyer, EXaPe Ta Tiunpata TaY TrOX-

Tav, Kal Tovs pev évy Enpois opod Kat wypois
péTpa tevtaxdo.a Trotobvras mpawtous érake Kal
TWEVTAKOTLOMEdiLVOUS Tpoanyopevoe SevTépous S5é 88
Tovs tmmov tpépev Suvapévovs 4 pétpa trovety
2 tTplaxocta' Kal tovTous immdéba TedobyTas éxa-
Nouv' Cevyirar S of Tov TpiTov TibnpaTOS wVO-
pacOnaayp, ols pétpov jv cvvaydorépwr Svaxociwy.
ot 5é Nowrrol waves éxarobvTo OTes, ols ovdeuiav
¥ " bd , b \ A Ul
apxew Eaxev apyjv, Ada TO cuverxrAnodlew
kat Sucale povov petetyov Ths rodttelas. 6
9 > \ \ 9 / ef '
kar apyas pev ovdév, totepov Se trappéeyebes
épavn' Ta yap mreioTa Tav Stapopey évémirrev
els tous Oucactas. Kal yap boca Talis apyxais
érafe xpivery, opoiws xal epi éxeivwy eis TO
45° e

i,

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convicted of idleness were put to death, and those who stole salad or fruit received the same punishment as those who committed sacrilege or murder. Therefore Demades, in later times, made a hit when he said that Draco's laws were written not with ink, but blood. And Draco himself, they say, being asked why he made death the penalty for most offences, replied that in his opinion the lesser ones deserved it, and for the greater ones no heavier penalty could be found.

XVIII. In the second place, wishing to leave all the magistracies in the hands of the well-to-do, as they were, but to give the common people a share in the rest of the government, of which they had hitherto been deprived, Solon made an appraisement of the property of the citizens... Those who enjoyed a yearly increase of five hundred measures (wet and dry), he placed in the first class, and called them Pentakosiomedimnoi ; the second class was com- posed of those who were able to keep a horse, or had a yearly increase of three hundred measures, and they were called Hippada Telountes, since they paid a Knight's tar; the members of the third class, whose yearly increase amounted to two hundred measures (wet and dry together), were called Zeugitai. All the rest were called Thetes ; they were not allowed to hold any office, but took part in the administration only as members of the assembly and as jurors. This last privilege seemed at first of no moment, but afterwards proved to be of the very highest importance, since most disputes finally came into the hands of these jurors. For even in cases which Solon assigned to the magistrates

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, vii. 3f.

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Sucaotynpiov éepécers EdwKe Tois PBovropévos.
Aéyerat 5€ Kal Tovs vopovs acadéotepoy ypdwas
Kal Todas avtidnpes exovtas av&joar tH
Tov SicactTynpioy ioxyiv un Suvapévous yap be
Tov vopwy SiarvOjvat rept ov Svepépovto, ouvé-
Bawev det SetcOar Stxactav Kai wav aye
audisByntnua mpos éxeivous, TpdToy Tia TOV
vouwv Kupiovs dvtas. émeonpaiverac 8 adtos
atte THy akiwaow odTws
Anup péev yap &wxa Tocov Kpatos Socov
aTrapKel,
" vw > 3 \ w 9% 9 Ul
TLLHS OUT adEedXwy ovT' eTropeEapevos'
ot & elyov Sivapw Kal Ypnuacu joa ayntol,
Kal Tots éppacdunv pndév devxes Eyerv.
" 5 > \ \ 4 9 A
éeoTny 0 apdiBadwv Kpatepov odKxos apydote-
po.oe:
vray & ov elac' ovderépous adixws.
"Ere pévTot padXov oiopevos Seip érrapKety TH
TaY TOAAMY doOevea, TavTt NaBeiv Sixny vrép
Tov KaK@s TreTOVOOTOS éwxKe. Kal yap TANYEVvTOS
érépov cal Bracbévros 4 PraBévtos eEnv TH
Suvapévp xat Bovropévm ypddecOar tov abu-
xoovta Kal Siwxerv, 6p0as eOiLovros Tov vopobéTou
TOUS TroAlTas M@oTEp Evos pépn cw@paTtos! ouvat-
cOdvecOat Kal cuvadryeivy addAHXOLS. TOUT@O 5é TO
vou@ cupdwvodvta AOyov avTod Stapynpovevov-
1 pépn odpuatos (or caparos pépn) Coraés and Bekker, after
Xylander: évds mépous.
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for decision, he allowed also an appeal to a popular court when any one desired it. Besides, it is said that his laws were obscurely and ambiguously worded on purpose to enhance the power of the popular courts.' For since parties to a controversy could not get satisfaction from the laws, the result was that they always wanted jurors to decide it, and every dispute was laid before them, so that they were in a manner masters of the laws. And he himself claims the credit for this in the following words :—

“For to the common people I gave so much power
as is sufficient,
Neither robbing them of dignity, nor giving them
too much ; .
And those who had power, and were marvellously
rich,
Even for these I contrived that they suffered no
harm. |
I stood with a mighty shield in front of both classes,

And suffered neither of them to prevail unjustly.” !

Moreover, thinking it his duty to make still further provision for the weakness of the multitude, he gave every citizen the privilege of entering suit in behalf of one who had suffered wrong. If a man was assaulted, and suffered violence or injury, it was the privilege of any one who had the ability and the inclination, to indict the wrong-doer and prosecute him. The law-giver in this way rightly accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and sympathize with one another's wrongs. And we are told of a saying of his which is consonant with this

1 Fragment 5 (Bergk); Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xii. 1;
cf. also ix. 1 f.
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ow. épwtnfels ydp, os eorxev, Aris otKxetrar
lel b ,
KdAMoTa TOY TOdEwY, “ “Exeivn,” eitrev, ‘ev 7
TOV AdiKOULEVwWY OVY HTTOV ob pn adLKOvUMEVOL
a@poBdAXovtat Kal Kordfovat Tous adtxobvras.”
Ul \ \ > > 4 4
XIX. Luorno dpevos dé Ty & Apeip Tayo
“A > 3
Bovrny é« tov Kat émauTov apyovtar, hs Sia
\ a ” “eo Cha
To adptat Kal adtos peteiver, Ere 8 opav Tov
“A fe) / n a n
Sjpuov oldodvtTa Kal Opacvvopevoy TH TAY Kpcav
/ N
adécet, Sevtépav mpooxatéverme BovArAnv, aro
urns éexdortns, TeTTAdpwv ovoay, éExatov avdpas
4 “
émireEdpevos, obs mpoBovrevey Erake Tov Snuou
« \ \ IA J / > > 4

Kat pndév éav ampoBovrAevTov ets éexxAnolav
bf , \ 9 ” \ > ,
elopépecOar. tHvy 8 avw Bovrnv éricKoToy
/ \ / “A / > Ul >)
Tavtwv Kal dvraxa ToV vopwv éxaBicer, ot0-
pevos éttl duct Bovrais womep ayKxvpats oppod-
b] , \ , ” A a
Gav HTTOY év GadXw THY TrOALY EveaOaL Kal WadXOV
aT pemovvtTa Tov Ofjpov trapéeev.
Oi pev odv treiotos thy é& "Apeiov mayou
/ ef ¥ do / ,
Bourn, WOTED ELPpNTaL, LOANWVA ovetncac bai
” ” a“ \
gacts kal paptupeiy avtois doxet padtota TO
} le) \ , 4 8 9 4
pndayod tov Apaxovra Réyew pnd’. dvopatery
"Apeotrayitas, GANA Tois eétas adel draréyecBar
le) A e w
Tept Tov hovxov. o dé Tpiexaldéxatos aFwv
le) A ,
Tov LYorwvos Tov Sydoov exer THY vopwY odTwS
a f > f ud
avTois ovopace yeypaypévov. “ Atipwv daot
” > \ H (¥ > /
atipot oav mpiv LYorwva apEar, émitipovs,
elvat wANnV doou €& Apeiov mayou 7h Soot éx Tey
— a

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law. Being asked, namely, what city was best to live in, “ That city,” he replied, “in which those who are not wronged, no less than those who are wronged, exert themselves to punish the wrong-doers.”

XIX. After he had established the council of the Areiopagus, consisting of those who had been archons year by year (and he himself was a member of this body, since he-had_been archon), he observed that the common people were uneasy and bold in consequence of their release from debt, and therefore established another council besides, consisting of four hundred men, one hundred chosen from each of the four tribes. These were to deliberate on public matters before the people did, and were not to allow any matter to come before the popular assembly without such previous deliberation. Then he made the upper council a general overseer in the state, and guardian of the laws, thinking that the city with its two councils, riding as it were at double anchor, would be less tossed by the surges, and would keep its populace in greater quiet.

Now most writers say that the council of the

Areiopagus, as I have stated, was established by Solon. And their view seems to be _ strongly supported by the fact that Draco nowhere makes any mention whatsoever of Areiopagites, but always addresses himself to. the “ephetai’’ in cases of homicide. Yet Solon’s thirteenth table contains the eighth of his laws recorded in these very words: “As many of the disfranchised as were made such before the archonship of Solon, shall be restored to their rights and franchises, except such as were
1 Of. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, viii. 4.

v

éderav 7 éx mputaveiov xatadicacGévtes bTr0 tov Baciriéov éml hove h chayaiow 7 ént / 4 @ ¢ \ > 4 @ bd A Tupavvids epevyov Ste 0 Oecpos epavn 6be.” tadta 57) TaALY WS TPO THS LoAwvos apyAs Kal vopo- Oecias thy é& "Apeiov mdyou BovAny odcav évoeixvuTat. tives yap oav of mpo Yorwvos éy "Apeim mayo xatadicacOévtes, ci mpatos Zorwy edwxe TH €& ’Apetov mayou BovAR 70 / ? \ \ , lA V4 > , n Kpiverv; ev pn vy Ata yéyove tis acahea Tov / “a 4 @ A e 4 9 9? ypaumatos n exdeufris, WaTE TOUS NAWKOTAS ET aitiats als xpivovor viv ot “Apeotayira: xai b / , 4 e N > 4 4 épérar kal mputdves, Ste 0 Oecpos epavn Ge, pévery atipous, TOV GAXwY emiTipwY yevopévar. TavTa pev ovv xa autos émioxorTet.

XX. Tav & addrAXAwY avdTodD vouwv tdtos pev paddtota Kal mapdbokos 6 KeXevwv aAtipov elvar Tov év oTdcet pnodetépas pepioos yevopevov. Bov- rNeTas 8’, ws Eotxe, un aTADaS pnd avatcOnTws éyewy mpos TO Kowwov, ev dodgaret Oéyevov ta oixela Kal TH ph ovvadryely pnde cuvvoceiv TH maTpios KaddAwilopevov, GAN avToOev Tois Ta Bertiow kal Sicarorepa mpadtrovas tpocbépevoy, ouyxivouvevery Kal Bonbetv, wadrXov 4 treptpeverv ‘axwbvves Ta TOV KpatovvTwY. aToTros bé Soxel

a e a“ “a

Kal yeAXotos o TH émixAnpw Sid0vs, av 0 KpaTaV
4
Kal KUpLOS YyEeyoVM@s KATA TOV VOpoY av’TOS pn)

duvatos 7 WAnoidlev, wTo TaV éyytoTa TOD

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condemned by the Areiopagus, or by the ephetai, or in the prytaneium by the kings, on charges of murder or homicide, or of seeking to establish a tyranny, and were in exile when this law was published.” This surely proves to the contrary that the council of the Areiopagus was in existence before the archonship and legislation of Solon. For how could men have been condemned in the Areiopagus before the time of Solon, if Solon was the first to give the council of the Areiopagus its jurisdiction? Perhaps, indeed, there is some obscurity in the document, or some omission, and the meaning is that those who had been convicted on charges within the cognizance of those who were Areiopagites and ephetai and prytanes when the law was published, should remain dis- franchised, while those convicted on all-other charges should recover their rights and franchises. This question, however, my reader must decide for himself.
XX. Among his other laws there is a very peculiar and surprising one which ordains that he shall be disfranchised who, in time of faction, takes neither side.!_ He wishes, probably, that a man should not be insensible or indifferent to the common weal, arranging his private affairs securely and glorying in the fact that he has no share in the distempers and distresses of his country, but should rather espouse promptly the better and more righteous cause, share its perils and give it his aid, instead of waiting in safety to see which cause prevails. That law, too, seems absurd and ridiculous, which permits an heiress, in case the man under whose power and au- thority she is placed by law is himself unable to con- sort with her, to be married by one of his next of kin. °

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, viii. 5.
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avdpos omvecOar. xal toito 8 dp0as éyew
Tivés hace mpds Tovs pH Suvapévovs cuveivat,
ypnuatoyv 8 évexa NapBavovtas émiKAnpovs Kal
TO vopw xataBialopévovs THY hvaw. opavTes
yap @ BovrActae tHv érixdrAnpov cuvotcay 7
mT poncovtTar Tov yapov h pet’ aloxurvns KabéEovat,
dirotrrAoutias kal bBpews Sixnv Scdovtes. ed

5 éyes wal ro py Tao, add. TeV oUYyyEevOV
Tou avd pos @ Bovnera SuaréyerOau Thy emixhy-
pov, ores olxeiov 7) Kal peTéexov TOD yevous 70
TLKTOMEVOV. els tovto b¢ ovvtedet wal Oo THY
vouonv TH vuppig cuyKabetpyvuc bas paprou
kvdeviou KaTatpayovoay, xal To Tpls éxdorov
pnVvos éytuyy ave TAVT OS Th émiKAnp@ Tov
AaBorta. Kal yap et un ryévouvro maides, anna,
Tin TLS avd pos adrn 7 pos owdpova yuvaixa, Kat
Sa a TOANA TOV curdreyouevey € éxaa ToTe
Svaxepav adatpoica, kal tais Sstadopais ouK
éHoa TavTaTacly dmoatpaphvar.
Tov 5 ado yapov ageine Tas pepvds, i indrva
Tpla Kal onxevn pixpod vopic patos aka Kedevoas,
Etepov bé pndev eee THV Yanouperny. ov
yap éBovnero po oopov ovd' wmov elvas Tov
yapov, GX’ érl. TEKVOTEL Kab xapere Kat perornte
yiver Bau Tov avdpos Kal yuvarkos TUYOLKLG LOD.
O pep yap Atovictos, ak.ovens TIS pnt pos avtob
S00 vat Tie TOY TOMTOY ™ pos yapov, épn Tovs
pev Tis TONEWS VOLOUS NEAUKEVAL TUPAYVOY, TOvs
dé ths hicews ovK elvar duvaros BidlecOae yd-
pous vupeparyory av Tap mp exiay" év b€ Tais moreat
Thv atakiay tavTny ov Soréov, ovee TepromrTéov
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Some, however, say that this was a wise provision against those who are unable to perform the duties of a husband, and yet, for the sake of their property, marry heiresses, and so under cover of law, do violence to nature. For when they see that the heiress can consort with whom she pleases, they will either desist from such a marriage, or make it to their shame, and be punished for their avarice and insolence. It is a wise provision, too, that the heiress may not choose her consort at large, but only from the kinsmen of her husband, that her offspring may be of his family and lineage. Conformable to this, also, is the requirement that the bride eat a quince and be shut up in a chamber with the bride- groom; and that the husband of an heiress shall approach her thrice a month without fail. For even though they have no children, still, this is a mark of esteem and affection which a man should pay to a chaste wife; it removes many of the annoyances which develop in all such cases, and prevents their being altogether estranged by their differences.

In all other marriages he prohibited dowries; the bride was to bring with her three changes of raiment, household stuff of small value, and nothing else. For he did not wish that marriage should be a matter of profit or price, but that man and wife should dwell together for the delights of love and the getting of children. Dionysius, indeed, when his mother asked him to give her in marriage to one of his citizens, said that, although he had broken the laws of the city by being its tyrant, he could not outrage the laws of

nature by giving in marriage where age forbade. And so our cities should not allow this irregularity, nor tolerate unions which age forbids

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ae@pous Kal axyapttous émumAoKds Kal pndev Epryov
yapnrdov éxyovoas pnbe TéXNOS. GAAA yéporTe véav
ayopéevm hain tis dv éupedras dpywov f vouobérns
TO pos Toy PiroKxtT ATHY'
EV your ws yapelv Eves Tddas,

xa véov év Swpatim mrovcias mperBuridos,
@omep ot mWépouxes, aTO auvovcias TayYuVopEvoy
éEaveuvpwv petoixices mpos tapBévoy vuipdny
avépos Seopévnv. tadra peév ovv trept TovTwr.
XXI. 'Emawveirat 88 tod Lédwvos Kal o Kwrdwv
vouos Tov TeOvnKoTa KaKa@s ayopeverv. Kal yap
Satov Tous peOeoTwTAas lepovs vopilerv, Kal Sixatoy
anvréyerOat TaY ovY UTapxoVTwY, Kal ToALTLKOY
adatpeiy ths éxOpas to alésov. (avra 8é xaKas
Ayer exw@AvTE Tpos lepois Kal StxacrTypiots Kal
apyeious xal Oewpias ovons daydvwv' 4 Tpels
Spaxpas TO idtwty, dv0 & adAas atrotivery eis
TO Snucotov érake. TO yap pndayod xpately
opyns amatdsevtov Kal dxodractov: To 5é mavtayxov
yaretrov, éviows 5¢ abivatov: Set 88 mpos To Suva-
Tov ypdpecOar Tov vopov, eb BovrAeTAL Ypnoipws
Odiryous, GAAG pq) ToAAOUS axXpHoTwWS KoAdCeLD.
Eidoxipnoe 5é xnav TO Trepl SiaOnxav vope
mpotepov yap ov é&qv, GAN ev 7 yéver ToD
teOvnxotos eer TA XpHpata Kal Tov olKov Kata-
péverv, 6 & @& BovdrgeTai tis émitpépas, ef pH
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and love does not invite, which do not fulfil the
function of marriage, and defeat its object. Nay,
to an old man who is marrying a young wife, any

worthy magistrate or lawgiver might say what is said to Philoctetes!:
“Indeed, poor wretch, thou art in fine state for marrying !”’
And if he discovers a young man in the house of a rich and elderly woman, waxing fat, like a* cock-partridge, in her service, he will remove him and give him to some marriageable maid that wants a husband. Thus much, then, on this head.
XXI. Praise is given also to that law of Solon which forbids speaking ill of the dead. For it is piety to regard the deceased as sacred, justice to spare the absent, and good policy to rob hatred of its perpetuity. He also forbade speaking ill of the living in temples, courts-of-law, public offices, and at festivals ; the transgressor must pay three drachmas to the person injured, and two more into the public treasury. For never to master one’s anger is a mark of intemperance and lack of training; but always to do so is difficult, and for some, impossible. And a law must regard the possibilities in the case, if its maker wishes to punish a few to some purpose, and not many to no purpose.

He was highly esteemed also for his law concerning wills. Before his time, no will could be made, but the entire estate of the deceased must remain in his family. Whereas he, by permitting a

1 In a play of this name, of uncertain authorship. See Nauck, J'rag. Graec. Frag.*, p. 841. Plutarch cites two entire verses in Morals, p. 789 a.

maises elev avT@, Sodvat TA avTov, didiav TE
ouyyevelas éeTiunoe padXAov Kal ydpw avdyens,
Kal T& Xpnpata KTHpaTAa TOY éxovTwY éToinceD.
> \ b] / 4, O- @ A \ 4
ov pny avédnv ye Tardy ovd atA@s Tas doces
épfxev, GAN et p27 voowy Evexey) hapydKay 7
Secpa@v! 7) avdyxn xatacyebels 7 yuvatkl 1O0-
pevos,? ed tavu Kal mpoonKkovTas TO TetcOjvat
Tapa To BéXtTLc Tov ovdey Hryovpevos TOD Brac Ojvat
Stadépev, dAN Eis TAVTO THY ATAaTHY TH avayKy
Kal T@ Trove Thy Hoovnv Oéuevos, ws OVX HTTOV
éxoTnoat Noyio pov avOpatrou dvvapévoy.
"Eréotnoe 5é€ nal tais é€odars TaY yuvatKav
kal tois mévOeot Kal tais éoprais voxov arreip-
N ” 9 a b lA \
yovra To ataxtov Kal axo\acTov: é€tévar pev
e / “ \ / ” 4

iwatiov TpLav un TA€oY EXoVaaY KErEVCAS, Unde
Bpwrov 7 mwortav mretovos 7 oBodrod depopevny,
, , / ,
pndsé xdvnta mnyvaiou peifova, poe voctwp
mopeverOae ANY apdkn Kourlopévny AVYVOU Tpo-
daivovtos. “Apuyas 5€ xottopévov nal 76 Opn-
a , \ \ 4 Mv ? ”
veiy tretompéva Kal TO KwKveLY Addov ev Tapais
eTépwy adeirev. évayitey d€ Bodv ovx« elacer,
Oe Gé 4 e (4 nn > >
ovde cuvTiévar mrA€oY ipatiwy TpLav, oVvd én
adXot pla pujpata Badivery ywpls éexxopsdys. av
Ta TAEtTTA Kal TOIS HuETépols VomoLS aTrnYyOpEU-
Tat’ mpookertar 5é€ Tois nuetépors Cnpovcbar
1 8ecua» Bekker adopts Schaefer’s correction to deopg.
2 wiOduevos Cobet : wesOduevos.

man who had no children to give his property to whom he wished, ranked friendship above kinship, and favour above necessity, and made a man’s possessions his own property. On the other hand, he did not permit all manner of gifts without restriction or restraint, but only those which were not made under the influence of sickness, or drugs, or imprisonment, or when a man was the victim of compulsion or yielded to the persuasions of his wife. He thought, very rightly and properly, that being persuaded into wrong was no better than being forced into it, and he placed deceit and compulsion, gratification and affliction, in one and the same category, believing that both were alike able to pervert a man’s reason.

He also subjected the public appearances of the women, their mourning and their festivals, to a law which did away with disorder and licence. When they went out, they were, not to wear more than three garments, they were not to carry more than an obol’s worth of food or drink, nor a pannier more than a cubit high, and they were not to travel about by night unless they rode in a waggon with a lamp to light their way. Laceration of the flesh by mourners, and the use of set lamentations, and the bewailing of any one at the funeral. ceremonies of another, he forbade. The sacrifice of an ox at the grave was not permitted, nor the burial with the dead of more than three changes of raiment, nor the visiting of other tombs than those of their own family, except at the time of interment. Most of these practices are also forbidden by our laws, but ours contain the additional proviso that such

TOUS TA TOLAUTA TOLODYTAS UTS TAY yUVaLKOVOLOD,
@s avavdpos Kal yuvatxwbdect Tots Trept Ta TévOH
mdaQect kal auaptnuacw éveyopévous.
XXII. “Opa@y &€ 76 pév Gotu miwAdpevoy av-
Oparrwv det ocuppeovTwy ravtayobev ém adeias
eis THY Arricny, ta 5é rrEloTa THIS Yopas ayevy7,
cal padra, Tovs 5é ypwpévous TH Gardrry pndev
eiwOoras eicayew Tois pndév Exovow avtidovvat,
Mpos Tas Téxyvas Etpere ToS TroNdiTas, Kal vopuov
éyparrev vid Tpépery Tov tratépa pn dudaEdpevov
TéXVNY erravayKes py elvat. TO pev yap AuKovpy@
kal ody oixovyT. KaBapav Gyrov Eevxod Kxai
YoOpav KexTnpéevo
TloAXotor rrorAnv, dts troaols S€é mreiova,}

b b , . \ A e “ ,
kat Eupimidnv, cat To péytorov, etNwTeKod mAN-
Gous, 6 BéXtvov Hv pn cyorAdlav, ddrAw TprBopevov
wel Kal Tovody TaTetvoicOat, TepiKeyupéevov TH
Aaxebaipou, Karas elyev acyoméav émitovev
\ 4 9 4 \ /
kat Bavatowv araddakavra tovs Tod tas ouve-
yew €v Tois STrAaLS, play TEeXVNY TAUTHDY expavOd-
vovtTas Kai doKxodvtas: Lorwy 5é Trois wpadypace
TOUS VomoUS “aAAOV } TA TpdypaTa Tos vOLOLS
n ec Aan A
TpocapLolwry, Kal THs Ywpas THY PvatW Opav Tots
yewpyovdar yAloxpws StapKovcay, apyov Sé Kal
cxYokactTHy OyXov ov Suvapévny rpépey, Tais
réyvats akiwmpa mepteOnne, nal thy éE *Apetouv
mayou BovAnv érakev émicxoreiy BOev Exactos
” a 9 7) \ \ b ‘\ Xa
EVEL TA ETLTNOELA, KAL TOUS apyous KoAaCeLD.
1 Following Nauck (7'rag. Graec. Frag.?, p. 680): woAAots,
Tocoiase.

offenders shall be punished by the board ot censors
for women, because they indulge in unmanly and

effeminate extravagances of sorrow when they mourn.
XXII. Observing that the city was getting full of people who were constantly streaming into Attica from all quarters for greater security of living, and that most of the country was unfruitful and worthless, and that seafaring men are not wont to import goods for those who have nothing to give them in exchange, he turned the attention of the citizens to the arts of manufacture, and enacted a law that no son who had not been taught a trade should be compelled to support his father. It was well enough for Lycurgus, whose city was free from swarms of strangers, and whose country was, in the words of Euripides,

‘‘For many large, for twice as many more than large,”

and because, above all, that country was flooded with a multitude of Helots, whom it was better not to leave in idleness, but to keep down by continual hardships and toil,—it was well enough for him to set his citizens free from laborious and mechanical occupations and confine their thoughts to arms, giving them this one trade to learn and practice. But Solon, adapting his laws to the situation, rather than the situation to his laws, and observing that | the land could give but a mere subsistence to those who tilled it, and was incapable of supporting an unoccupied and leisured multitude, gave dignity to all the trades, and ordered the council of the Areio- pagus to examine into every man’s means of liveli- hood, and chastise those who had no occupation.

"Exeivo & 45n chodporepov, 1rd pndé trois &€&
éraipas yevopévois emdvaryKes elvat Tovs TaTépas
/ e ¢ , € / e a e
tpépetv, ws “Hpaxretédns toropncev o Iovtixos. o
yap év yadu@ Tapopwv TO Kadov ov TéxvwY Evexa
d7jrXOS eoTLV, GAN’ HOoVAS ayopevos yuvaiKa, TOV
Te pioOov amréyel, Kal Tappnoiay abT@ pos Tovs
YEVOMEVOUS OVK aTroAéAOLTTED, Ols AUTO TO yevérBas
qWemoinkev OVvEtoos.
XXIII. “Orws 68 mreotny Exe atotiay ot
mepl TOV yuvatKav vowot TE Yorwve Soxodce.
povyov pev yap avedciy tO AaBovte Sédwxev-
2\ > e / / “ \ °
éav & aprdacn tis éXevOépay yuvaixa Kal Bra-

ontat, Cnuiay éxatov Spaypas érake: «ay mpo-
aywyevn, Spaxypas eixoot, TANV doar Tepacpévws
TwrobvTal, Aéywv 57 Tas Eétaipas. avTat yap
2 a a \ \ / a ”
éudavas gort@ot mpos Tovs Svdovtas. ért 8 ove
Ouyatépas tore od7 aderdas didwor, wANY
A \ A / ? \
dv pn AdBn tapOévov avdpt auryyeyevnuevnv.
to § avTo Tpaypa Tote pév TiKxpa@s Kal atrapat-
, 4 \ 3 bd / \ /
THT@s KonaCeLW, Tore 5 evKoros cal maivovta,
T poo Ttpov onuiay THY Tuxobcay opifovra, aXoryov
éoTe TAY ef 11) oravilovros Tore Tov vopla patos
év TH TONEL peydras emotes TAS apryupicas Cnpias
TO dvomd proton. els ey ye Ta Tlunpata TOY
duciav Aoyiverat 7 poBartov xal Spaypnyv avi
pedipvov To 8 “IoO wa viKnoavTt Spaxpas ératev
éxaTov Si8oc8a., ™@ S ‘Odtpmea TevTakooias:
AvKov Oé 7 kopicayTe mévTe Spaxpas EOWKE,
Avawd€ea dé play, Ov gow o Parnpers Anynrpros
TO pev Boos eivat, TO dé mpoRdtou Tiny. as yap
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But that provision of his was yet more severe, which, as Heracleides Ponticus informs us, relieved the sons who were born out of wedlock from the necessity of supporting their fathers at all. For he that avoids the honourable state of marriage, clearly takes a woman to himself not for the sake of children, but of pleasure ; and he has his reward, in that he robs himself of all right to upbraid his sons for neglecting him, since he has made their very existence a reproach

' to them.

XXIII. But in general, Solon’s laws concerning women seem very absurd. For instance, he per- mitted an adulterer caught in the act to be killed ; but if a man committed rape upon a free woman, he was merely to be fined a hundred drachmas ; and if he gained his end by persuasion, twenty drachmas, unless it were with one of those who sell themselves openly, meaning of course. the courtesans. For these go openly to those who offer them their price. Still further, no man is allowed to sell a daughter or a sister, unless he find that she is no longer a virgin. But to punish the same offence now severely and inexorably, and now mildly and pleasantly, making the penalty a slight fine, is unreasonable; unless money was scarce in the city at that time, and the difficulty of procuring it made these monetary punish- ments heavy. In the valuations of sacrificial offerings, at any rate, a sheep and a bushel of grain are reckoned at a drachma; the victor in the Isthmian games was to be paid a hundred drachmas, and the Olympic victor five hundred ;

the man who brought in a wolf, was given five drachmas, and for a wolf's whelp, one; the former sum, according to Demetrius the Phalerian, was the price of an ox, the latter that of

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HH 2

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

éy 7@ éxxaidexat@ tov akovev opite tLmdas TOV
Exxpitav tepetwv, eixos pev elvat ToAAaTaCIas,
addrAws O€ Kakeival TpOS Tas VvoV evTEAEIS Elo~>D.
apyaiov &€ tots "AOnvators 16 Tonrepety ois
Ul 4 4 a a , 54
AvKols, BeXTiova vépew yewpyely Ywpav Exover.
wal tas gudas eloly ot AdyovTes OvK aTTO TOY
"Iwvos vidv, AXX ato TOY yevar, els & SinpEOnoav
ot Bio. To Tp@tov, wvoudobar, TO wey payepwov
'Orditas, 76 8 épyatixov "Epyddes: Suey Se
Tav rNoTav Tedéovtas péev Tovs yewpyous, Alyt-
xopets dé TOUS él vopais Kal mpoBateias da-
TpiBovras.
9 \ \ " w a 9 ? /
Evel 5€ pos Bdwp ote woTapois eotiy devdors
ovTe Aipvats ticly ot adOovos myyais 4%
4 4 > > e a) a
Yapa dtapnns, GAN of WrEtoTor Ppéace trointois
€Ypa@vTo, vouov &yparrev, Strou pév eos Snpoctov
ppéap evros immixod, ypjacOar TovT@: TOS imm-
A 4 lA , ad
xov dtdoTnpa tecodpwv jv atadiwv: Sov Sé
TrElov atéyet, Cntety bdwp ldLov- éay Se opvEavres
opyuav béxa BdOos tap' éavtois py edpwot,
ToTe AapBdavev Tapa tod yeltovos é€dyour
Udpiav Sis éExaotns nuépas wANpodvtas: aropia
yap @eto Seiv Bonbeiv, ovx apylay éhodiakerv.
@ A , 'y~> 9 , '\
apice 5é kal dute@v pétpa par éutreipws, TOVs
¥. 4 9 > a , 4
péev adAO Te huTevovtas ev ayp@ wévte mddas
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a sheep. For although the prices which Solon fixes

in his sixteenth table are for choice victims, and naturally many times as great as those for ordinary ones, still, even these are low in comparison with present prices. Now the Athenians were from of old. great enemies of wolves, since their country was better for pasturage than for tillage. And there are those who say that their four tribes were originally named, not from the sons of Ion, but from the classes into which occupations were divided ; thus the warriors were called Hoplitai, the craftsmen Ergadeis ; and of the remaining two, the farmers were called Geleontes, the shepherds and herdsmen Aigikoreis.1

Since the country was not supplied with water by ever-flowing rivers, or lakes, or copious springs, but most of the inhabitants used wells which had been dug, he made a law that where there was a public well within a " hippikon,"' a distance of four furlongs, that should be used, but where the distance was greater than this, people must try to get water of their own; if, however, after digging to a depth of ten fathoms on their own land, they could not get water, then they might take it from a neighbour's well, filling a five gallon jar twice a day; for he thought it his duty to aid the needy, not to provision the idle. He also showed great experience in the limits which he set to the planting of trees; no one could set out a tree in a field within five feet of his

1 This is strained etymology to explain the ancient tribal names of Hopletes, Argadeis, Geleontes, and Aigikoreis, which are derived, in Herodotus v. 66, from the names of the four sons of Ion. The first has nothing to do with ‘‘ hopla," arms; nor the second with ‘‘ergon," work; nor the third with ‘‘ ge," earth ; nor the fourth with ‘‘aix," goat.

améyew tod yeitovos Kerevaas, Tovs dé cuKhD
h édaiav évvéa. tToppwrépw yap é&ixveitas
tavta tals pitas, Kal od maou yertta Tois
gutois aos, adda Kal Tpodny taparpeitar
cal Brarroveav éviows atroppony adinar. Bo-
Opous dé Kal taddpous tov BovAdpevov éexédXeuvcev
optoceyv, bcov éuBdrAr\gc Bdbos, adiordpevov
HKos TaNXNOTpioU: Kal peltcoaV opHnvn KafioTa-
pevov atréxe tay ud' érépov mpotrepov idpupévov
jooas Tplakoctous.

XXIV. Tay 5€é yiwvonéver b:a0eow rr pos Eévous
éXaiov povoy édbwxev, GAdra © é€dyew éx@druCE'
Kal kata tov éEayovtTwy apas Tov apxovrTa trot-
eicGar mpocérakev, éxtivey avTov éxaTov

Spaxpas els TO Snpdovov. nal mpotos akov
éotly 0 TOoUTOY TEepléxwY TOY vopoV. oOvK av ovv
TLS Hpjoarto TAavTENWS aTiOavous TOUS deyovTas
(6Tt Kal avewv éEaywyn TO Tadatoy ateipnto,
Kal To daivew evderxvdpevov tous é&dyovtas
KrAnOHvat cucoparteiv. eyparbe dé cal BrAABns
TET PAaTrOOWY vopor, € év @ Kal kuva SaxovTa Tapa-
Sodvat Kenrever Khoup TpuTnyet dedeuévov' TO pev
évO vpnpa xaprev 7 pos aopanecay.

Tlapéyer & amopiav Kai o TOV OnwoTrovyT oy
vOUOS, OTL yevec Oar ToNiTars ov didwar TAY
Tois pevryovot devpuyia THY éavT@v y) maveo Tiots
“AGnvate perorerbopévors éml TEX. touto &é
morhjoai pacuy avrov ovx obTwS dmehauvovra
Tovs GAXOus ws KaTaKaXovpevov AOjvate TovTOUS
émt BeBaiom to peOéEaw Tis Todteias, Kal aya
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neighbour’s field, or, in case it was a fig-tree or an olive-tree, within nine. For these reach out farther with their roots, and injure some trees by their proximity, taking away their nourishment, and emitting an exhalation which is sometimes noxious. He that would dig a pit or a trench, must dig it at the distance of its own depth from his neighbour's ; and he that would set out hives of bees, must put them three hundred feet away from those which another had already installed.

XXIV. Of the products of the soil, he allowed oil only to be sold abroad, but forbade the exportation of others; and if any did so export, the archon was to pronounce curses upon them, or else himself pay a hundred drachmas into the public treasury. His first table is the one which contains this law. One cannot, therefore, wholly disbelieve those who say that the exportation of figs also was anciently for- bidden, and that the one who showed up, or pointed out such exporters, was called a “sycophant,” or fig-shower. He also enacted a law concerning injuries received from beasts, according to which a dog that had bitten anybody must be delivered up with a wooden collar three cubits long fastened to it; a happy device this for promoting safety.

But the law concerning naturalized citizens is of doubtful character. He permitted only those to be made citizens who were permanently exiled from their own country, or who removed to Athens with their entire families to ply a trade. This he did, as we are told, not so much to drive away other foreigners, as to invite these particular ones to Athens with the full assurance of becoming citizens ; he also thought that reliance could be placed both

mustous vopivovta Tovs pev amroBeBAnKOTAS THY
éavtav Sia Thy avayKny, tors & aroXeXolTrOTAS
Sia tiv yvounv. idiov b€ tod Yorwvos Kal ro
mept THs év Snpocim aitncews, Sep avrTos
mapacttely KéKAnKe. TOV yap avTov ovK eG
aiteiaOat wodAdKs, av 5€ S Kabynnre py Bov-
AnTat, KorAdLEL, TO pev NyovUpevos mTAEoveeiay, TO
5 vmrepowiay tov Koweav.
XXV. 'Ioydy b€ toils vopows maow eis éxatov
éyiautous &duxe> Kal Kateypddynaay eis Evrtivous
adEovas év mratcios Teptéxovat otpepopévous,
ov étt Kal’ npas év IIputaveip Neiava pixpa
Stecwlero: Kal mpoonyopevOnaay, ws ’Aptotoré-
Ans dyoi, KipBew. Kal Kparivos o xwpuxos
elpnné tov’
II pos tod YoAwvos nal Apaxovtos olat viv
ppvyovaty Hn Tas KaYpuS Tols KUpBectv.
évior 6€ gacw idiws év ols iepa nal Ouaia

mepiexovTar, xupBes, afovas §€ tovs daAXous

9 4 \ \ 2 w @ e \

a@vopdcbat., Kowvov péev odv @pmvuev Spxov 4 Boudry
\ </ / b] 4 cy) be
TOUS YOAWVOS VoMOUS eumrEedwaety, idtov 5 ExacTos
a) “a b > A \ a /
tov Oeopolerav év ayopa mpos Te riOw, xata-

gdarilwv, et te TapaBain Ta Oecparv, avdpidvra

Npuaoby tcopéetpntov! avabijcew ev Acrdois.}

1 loomerpnroy and év AeAgois are not in the text of Aristotle.

on these who had been forced to abandon their own country, and on those who had left it with a fixed purpose. Characteristic of Solon also was his regulation of the practice of eating at the public table in the townhall, for which his word was “ parasitein.”}_ The | same person was not allowed to eat there often, but if one whose duty it was to eat there refused, he was punished. Solon thought the conduct of the first

grasping ; that of the second, contemptuous of the public interests. |

XXV. All his laws were to have force for a hundred years, and they were written on “ axones,’ or wooden tablets, which revolved with the oblong frames containing them. Slight remnants of these were still preserved in the Prytaneium when I was at Athens, and they were called, according to Aristotle,? “ kurbeis.”” Cratinus, also, the comic poet, somewhere says :—

“‘ By Solon, and by Draco too I make mine oath,
Whose kurbeis now are used to parch our barley-corns.’ 8 | |

But some say that only those tablets which relate to sacred rites and sacrifices are properly called “ kurbeis,’ and the rest are called “axones.” However that may be, the council took a joint oath to ratify the laws of Solon, and each of the “ thesmothetai,” or guardians of the statutes, swore separately at the herald’s stone in the market-place, vowing that if he transgressed the statutes in any way, he would dedicate at Delphi a golden statue of commensurate worth.

1 Hence, with scornful meaning, the word parasite.

2 Cf. Const. of Athena, vii. 1, with Sandys’ notes.
3 Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 94.

Suvidov $& tod unvds THY avwpariay, Kal THY Kivnoww THS aerHvns ovTe Svomévm TH rio TAVTWS OUT avigXoVTL TUUPEPOMevNV, ANAA TOD-AdKls THS aUTAS Huépas nal KaTadapSdvovacav Kal mapepxYopévny tov HrLov, avTny pev erake TauTnv évnv kal véav KareicOar, TO pev po guvodou popiov avThAs TH Tavopevp pyri, TO 5é AotTrOv dn TH apYopéevp TpoanKeEy Nyoupevos, Tp@Tos, ws Eotxev, OpOds axovacas ‘Opunpov Ré-yovTos,

Tod pev POivovtos pnvos, tod § torapévovo,

thv & éde&fs juépay voupnvlav éxdreoe. Tas 5
an’ etxados ov mpoatiOels, GAN’ adatpav Kal
9 s 4 A fo 4 ev
avarvov, womep TA PATA THS TEANVNS Ewpa,
pexX pe Tpraxdb0os npiO uncer.
_ 9 la! / 3 / wn
Ered 5¢ tav vouwrv eiceveyOévtwy eviot TH
, 3 @€ Ul , e VA 3
Lowy «ad éexdorny mpocjecay nyépay, éTrat-
voovtes 7 Wéyovtes 4) cuuRovrevovres éwBdrrety
Trois yeypappévors 6 TL TUYOLEY 4 aharpely, TAei-
ato. & hoayv of muvOavopevot nal avaxpivoytes
xal xeXevovtes avtov Sires éxaotTov éye Kat
\ - 4 ? 4
mpos fy xetrar Sedvoray érexdiddoKey kal cadn-
vitey, opav Ste tTadTa Kal TO mpaTTeLY aToToOV
kal TO pH mpdrrew émidOovov, Grws Sé tails
atropias UTexorhvat BovAodpevos nal Staduryety
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Observing the irregularity of the month, and that the motion of the moon does not always coincide with the rising and setting of the sun, but that often she overtakes and passes the sun on the same day, he ordered that. day to be called the Old and New, assigning the portion of it which preceded the conjunction to the expiring month, and the remaining portion to the month that was just beginning. He was thus the first, as it would seem, to understand Homer’s verse,! which speaks of a day when

‘This month is waning, and the next is setting in,”

and the day following this he called the first of the month. After the twentieth he did not count the days by adding them to twenty, but by subtracting them from thirty, on a descending scale, like the waning of the moon.?

No sooner were the laws of Solon put into operation than some would come to him every day with praise or censure of them, or with advice to insert some- thing into the documents, or take something out. Very numerous, too, were those who came to him with inquiries and questions about them, urging him to teach and make clear to them the meaning and purpose of each several item. He saw that to do this was out of the question, and that not to do it would bring odium upon him, and wishing to be wholly rid of these

perplexities and to escape from

1 Odyssey, xiv. 162=xix. 307, of the day when Odysseus would return to Ithaca.
2 Thus the twenty-first was called the tenth, the twenty- second the ninth, and so on, ‘‘of the waning month.” The

twenty-ninth was the second of the waning month, the thirtieth the Old and New.
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To dvadpectov cal diraitiov tav TrodsTav (Epy-
pace yap év peyados waow dobety yadeTor,
@> autos elpnke), TMpocynya THs wAdYyS THY
vauxrAnpiav Torna dpevos eFeT Neue, SexaeTH Tapa
tav "AOnvaiwv amodnpiav aitnadpevos. Hnrmube
yap ev Te xpove TOUT®@ Kal TOS VO"oLS avToUs !
éceaOar auvnbecs.
XXXVI. [[parov péev obv es Aiyurrrov adixeto
Kat duét pier, ws avdtos dyct,
Nelaovu éml mpoyono. KavwBidos éyyibev axtis.

ypovov dé tTiva Kal tois wept Vévwduv tov ‘Hrov-
Tonitny cal Layyw rov Lalrnv, Noywrdrors
ovat TaV iepéwv, cuvedidocddyge: trap’ dv Kal
tov “AtXavtixov axovaas Royov, as TIXdtov
dnaiv, érexeipnoe Sid trotipatos éEeveyxeiv eis
tous “EAXAnvas. émetta mrevoas eis Kuoarpov
nyannOn Stapepovtas vo PiroxvTpov Tivds TOY
éxet Bacidewv, b5 elyev ov peyddnv TOLD,
@xiapévnv wd Anpodavtos tod Oncéws, rept
tov Knrdptov torapov év xwpiors oxyupois pen,
Grrws Se Svoyvepéos Kal gavrAo1s Kerpéevny.
éretcev ovY avTOY 6 LorAwY UToKELpevou Kadov
medtou petaverta THY TOA HoLova Kal petLova
KatacKkevacat. Kal Tapwv émepednOn rod cuv-
ovKtc ov, Kal cuvdtexoopnoe pds te Staywyny
dpiora Kal wpos aodddXeav, WoTE ToAXOVS pev
oentopas Te DiroxuTrpm avvedGeiv, Cyraoat Se
Tovs adXous Bacidéas: 510 nab TH Yorove tippy
1 rots véuots abrovs after MSS. cited by Stephanus ; Bekker

has rovs vdéuous abrois, the conjecture of Stephanus (the laws

would he familiar to them). |
4x6

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the captiousness and censoriousness of the citizens (for “in great affairs,’ as he says himself, “ it is difficult to please all’’), he made his ownership of a vessel an excuse for foreign travel, and set sail, after obtaining from the Athenians leave of absence for ten years. In this time he hoped they would be accustomed to his laws.

XXVI. In the first place, then, he went to Egypt,? and lived, as he himself says,®

“Where Nile pours forth his floods, near the Canobic shore.”’

He also spent some time in studies with Psenophis of Heliopolis and Sonchis of Sais, who were very learned priests. From these, as Plato says,‘ he heard the story of the lost Atlantis, and tried to introduce it in a poetical form to the Greeks.° Next he sailed to Cyprus, and was greatly beloved of Philocyprus, one of the kings of the island. This prince had a small city, founded by Demophon, the son of Theseus, and lying near the river Clarius, in a position which was strong, but otherwise incominodious and sorry. Solon therefore persuaded him to remove the city to the fair plain which lay below it, and make it more spacious and pleasant. He also remained and took charge of the new city’s consolidation, and helped to arrange it in the best possible manner both for convenience of living and for safety. The result was that many colonists flocked to Philocyprus, and he was the envy of the other kings. He therefore paid Solon the honour of

1 Fragment 7 (Bergk).
2 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xi. 1.
3 Fragment 28 (Bergk). 4 Timueus, p. 22 a.
5 Cf. chapters xxxi. 3; xxxii. Lf.

amoéibous Aimeiay THY TONY KaXoOUpévnY TrpO-
4 tepov am éxeivov Yorovs mpoonydopevoe. Kal
avros S€ péuvntat Tov auvoLKLcpov' Tpoaayo-

pevoas yap év tails éXeyetars tov DiddxvT por,

Nov 6€ (dnot) od pév Yorlorot Tworvv ypovov
év0ad’ avacowyv
, , ’ Los e 7
THVOE TOALY VALOLS Kal YévOS UpéTE pov"
> \ > \ A n n > A 4
avrap éue Edv vyt Bon Kreis amo vnoov
aoxnOy méutrot Kimpis toorépavos:
b A 2 9 \ a) , A n 9 4
oixiop@ & él rede ydpw Kal Kddos o7ralor
b \ \ 4 yO? 9 e
éaOXov xal vootov tratpid’ és jmetépny.
XXVII. Thy dé mpos Kpotcov évrevEw avtod
Soxodow mot Tois ypovoits ws tmeTNACHEéVHY
éreyyew. éeym 5é Aoyor Evdokov ottTw Kai To-
govTous paptupas éyovta, Kai, 6 petlov éote,
TpeTovTa TO YOArAwvos HOer Kal ths éxelvou pe-
yanroppootyns Kal cogias aktov, ob por Soxm@
™ ponoea Gat Npovixois Tiat Leyopevors Kavoow,
ods pupioe dtopOodvtes aypt onpepov eis ovdév
avTots omoXoyoupevoy SvvaYTaL KaTaCTHGAaL TAs
2 avtiroyias. Tov 8 ody Yorwva hacwy cis Dapdeus
SenOévtt tH Kpoiow tapayevopuevov, trabety te
TapaTAnaLoy avopi Yepoaiw KaTLovy Tp@Tov eat
Oarattav. éxeivos Te yap op@v adrov éE adAXrov
ToTapoy weTo THY OddNaccay civat, Kal TO Lodwve
Thy .avrAnv Svatropevopévm nal Toros opwvte
Tav Bacidttkov Kexoopnpévous ToAVTEAS, Kal
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naming the new city after him, and called it Soli; its name had been Aipeia. Solon himself also makes mention of this consolidation. In his elegies, namely, he addresses Philocyprus, and says} :—

“Now mayest thou long time be lord and master for
the Solii here,
Dwelling in this city thyself, and thy family after
thee ;
But may I and my swift ship, as we leave this

storied isle,
Be brought upon our way in safety by Cypris of the violet crown. 2a
Upon this settlement of thine may she bestow favour and glory ;
And upon me an auspicious return to my father-land.” |

XXVII. As for his interview with Croesus, some think to prove by chronology that it is fictitious. But when a story is so famous and so well-attested, and, what is more to the point, when it comports so well with the character of Solon, and is so worthy of his magnanimity and wisdom, I do not propose. to reject it out of deference to any chronological canons, so called, which thousands are to this day revising, without being able to bring their contradictions into any general agreement. So then, they say that Solon, on visiting Sardis at the invitation of Croesus,” had much the same experience as an inland man who goes down for the first time to the sea. For just as such a man thinks each successive river that he sees to be the sea, so Solon, as he passed through the court and beheld many of the king’s retainers in

1 Fragment 19 (Bergk). 2 Cf. Herodotus, i. 30-33.

coBobyras éy dyA@ mpoTropm ay Kat Sopupepar, Exaatos éddxet Kpoicos elvai, péxpl mpos auTov HYOn, Tav Scov év riOots, év Badais écOAros, ev Téxvats Ypvdod wept Kdopov éxmpetrés Exew 7 mepittov % Endrwrov edoxer treptxeipevov, ws 87 Géapa cepvotatov odOein Kal TotxtdwtarTov. ével 8 0 Yorwv avtixpus Katactas ovr éradev ovdey ovT’ eltre pos THY dypiy WY 0 Kpotcos mpoc-edoxnoev, GAG Kal SHros HY Tots ED Ppovodar Ths atrepoxadias Kal pixpompetreias KaTadpovar, éxéhevoev aur@ TOUS Té Onoavpovs avotEa TOV Nenuatwov, Kat Hv adAny dryovtas émidetEa pndev Seomevep KaTacKeuny Kat TONUTENELAY. 7 pKet yap avros év éauT@ Tov TpoTrou KaTavong tv mapacyeiy. as 8 ouv avis AXON ryerOVOS amdy-tov Oearns, porna ev avrov 0 Kpotcos ei tia oidev av pwrrav avToo _paKaplorepov. amopnva-pévov O€ TOD Lorwvos 4 ore olde TédAov avrob Tont-

THY, Kal SteFeA Govt os 571 xpnoros avnp 6 TEédAog
yevouevos Kal waidas evdoxipous KaTadit@v Kat
Biov ovdevos évdedi TOV avaryKaiov, éTeAEUTN TED
evdotas dpiorevoas vTep THS TAT pLOOs, Hon pev
aGddOKOTOS eddxer elvat 7 Kpoio@ Ka GrypouKos,
él pn 7 pos apy vpov TOU poe xpuatov THS evdas-
povias ToveiTat THV avapeT pyar, GArAa Snpo-
TLKOU wal tStwTov Biov Kal Odvatov av8 pwrrov
padrov 7 7 ToTaUThY ayaT on Sivapuy Kal apxny.
ov pny adda madev NpwOrnoey avuToV eb peTa
Téd\Xov addov éyveoKev avO parrav evdatpoveote-
pov. wdduww && Tod Zorwvos elm 6vTOS evdévar
Kré0Bev xat Bitwva, diradérpous xai pidopn-
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costly apparel and moving proudly amid a throng of couriers and armed guards, thought each in turn to be Croesus, until he was brought to the king him- self, who was decked out with everything in the way of precious stones, dyed raiment, and wrought gold that men deem remarkable, or extravagant, or enviable, in order that he might present a most august and gorgeous spectacle. But when Solon, in this presence, neither showed any astonishment at what he saw, nor made any such comments upon it as Croesus had expected, but actually made it clear to all discerning eyes that he despised such vulgarity and pettiness, the king ordered his treasure chambers to be thrown open for the guest, and that he should be led about to behold the rest of his sumptuous equipments. Of this there was no need, for the man himself sufficed to give Solon an understanding of his character. However, when Solon had seen every- thing and had been conducted back again, Croesus asked him if he had ever known a happier man than he. Solon said he had, and that the man was Tellus, a fellow-citizen of his own; Tellus, he went on to say, had proved himself an honest man, had left reputable sons behind him, and had closed a life which knew no serious want with a glorious display of valour in behalf of his country. Croesus at once judged Solon to be a strange and uncouth fellow, since he did not make an abundance of gold and silver his measure of happiness, but admired the life and death of an ordinary private man inore than all this display of power and sovereignty. Notwithstanding, he asked him again whether, next to Tellus, he knew any other man more fortunate than he. Again Solon said he did, naming Cleobis and Bito, men surpass-

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, ” \ \ 4 “

Topas Stadepovtws avépas, of THY pnTepa TeV
Boar Bpaduvovtwy brodivres abtol Te Cuy@ THs
ig 4 > / \ \ a e @ \ >
dpakns éxéusrcav mpos TO TAS ”“Hpas lepov evdac-

povitopévny Um6 TOY TOMTOY Kal Yaipovaay, eita
Oicavres Kal moves ovK ete pel” Hyuépav avéoTn-
cav, @dAd TeOvnKdtes avadyh Kal GruTov érl
S6En toca’ty Odvarov BPOncav, ““Hyas 6é,”
elrev Sn mpos dpynv 6 Kpoiaos, “eis ovdéva
/ b , > N > , bo] \ e
TiOns evdarpovwev apiOpov avOpwerov; Kat o
, v UA s > \ ww
SdrAwv ovtTe KorXaxevery BovrAopevos avTOV oUTE
mepattépw mapokivev, “"Eddqow,” elev, “ @
Bactred Avdav, mpds te TaAAG peTpios exe O
beds wxe, cal codias tivds AOapaods, ws ore,
\ } lo > x n Oe x “” e \
Kal Snuotixhs, ov Baciduxys ovdé NapTpas, vTrO
PETPLOTNTOS Hiv péeTerTLV, 1) TUXALs OpOca Tay-
rodaTrais xpwpevov det tov Biov, ovK €@ Tots
a > a A a ? LA

mapovaw ayabois péya ppovetv, ovdé Oavpdlerv
avépos evtuyiay petaBorjs xpovov eéxoucav.
érevou yap éxdot@ Trotirov é& adjdov TO péddov:
? b ? / e
6 & eis Tédos 6 Saipwv eto tiv evrpagiav,
rovTov evdaipova vopifouev. 0 5é Cavtos Ete Kat
xuvduvevovtos ev TO Bim paxaptopos, @aTrEp
> ,
aywvilopévou Knpvypa Kal arépavos, éotiv
aBéBatos Kat dxupos.” Tair eirav 6 Yodwv
? 8
dindXdtTeTO AUTIHTAS péV, OV vovOeTHaas SéE
tov Kpoicov.
XXVIII. ‘O 8€ Aoyorrods Aicwios, éruyxave
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ing all others in brotherly love and in dutiful affection towards their mother; for once, he said, when the car in which she was riding was delayed by the oxen, they took the yoke upon their own shoulders and brought their mother to the temple of Hera, where her countrymen called her a happy woman and her heart was rejoiced; then, after sacrifice and feasting, they laid themselves to rest, and never rose again, but were found to have died a painless and tranquil death with so great honour fresh upon them. ‘“ What!” said Croesus, who by this time was angered, “dost thou not count us among happy men at all?’’ Then Solon, who was unwilling to flatter him and did not wish to exasperate him further, said: “O king of Lydia, as the Deity has given us Greeks all other blessings in moderation, so our moderation gives us a

kind of wisdom which is timid, in all likelihood, and fit for common people, not one which is kingly and splendid. This wisdom, such as it is, observing that human life is ever subject to all sorts of vicissitudes, forbids us to be puffed up by the good things we have, or to admire a man's felicity while there is still time for it to change. For the future which is advancing upon every one is varied and uncertain, but when the Deity bestows prosperity on a man up to the end, that man we consider happy ; to pronounce any one happy, however, while he is still living and running the risks of life, is like proclaiming an athlete victorious and crowning him while he is still contending for the prize; the verdict is insecure and without authority.'' When he had said this, Solon departed, leaving Croesus vexed, but none the wiser for it.
XXVIII. Now it so happened that Aesop, the

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 4 V4 N Ag \ /
yap eis Ldpdes petamepymros yeyovws vTo Kpot-
gov Kal Tiw@pevos, HYOéTOn TS Yorwve pundewtas
tuxovTe piravOpwrias: Kal mpotpémwv avtov,
«7 Sorov," edn, "tots Baciredor Set as
Heota } ws AdioTa opsrciv." Kai o Lodwv,
"Ma Al," elev, "ANN Os Haetota } was apiota."
Téte péev odv 6 Kpoicos ottw tod Yorwvos
kateppovyncer" érrel 5¢ Kip cupBarov éxpar7On
paxyn, Kal THY TOA amaddege, Kai COV arovs
avtos emedrNe xatatipmpacbar, nal yevopévns
mupas aveBtBdcOn Sedeyevos Oewpévwov Lepoav
amdvrev cal Kuipouv rapovtos, éf' dcov éEtxvetro
xa duvatos hv TH hovn POcyEduevos aveBonoe
rpis, "'O, Zorwv." Oavydoas ovv o Kipos éreprpe
rovs épnaopévous batts avOpwrwv 4 Oe@v ovTos
éotiv 6 YoAwv, Sv év Tvyats! aTopols povoy
dvanaretrat. Kal o Kpoiaos oddév amoxpua-
pevos elev Sti " Tav map' "EdAnot coda els
odtos Av o avnp, Sv éyo peTeTeradunv ovK
dxotcait tt Bovropevos ovde pabeiv av évdens
Aunv, GN ws 87 wor OeatHs yévorto Kal paptus
atios Ths evdatpovias éxeivns, iv amoBadeiv dpa
pettov hv Kaxov } AaBeiv dyaOdv. Aoyos yap Hv
nat Sé6£a taya0ov Tapovans' ai pwetaBoral S€ por
aiths eis 7aOn Seva nal ocupopas avnxéatous
doyw TeXeuT@oL. Kal Tat' éxeivos Oo dp éx TOY
TOTE TH VUV TEKpALpopmeEVos, exéAevEe TO TéXOS TOD
Biov cxoreiv xal pn Opacuvopevov aBeBators

trovotats UBpitew.” eet 8 Todt’ avnvéyOn mpos
tov Kidpov, ate 8%) copwtepos dv tod Kpoicov xai
1 gv rbxa:s Coraés, Cobet, and 8: rixais.

writer of fables, was in Sardis, having been summoned thither by Croesus, and receiving much honour at his hands. He was distressed that Solon met with no kindly treatment, and said to him by way of advice: ““O Solon, our converse with kings should be either as rare, or as pleasing asis possible.” ‘No, indeed !”’ said Solon, “ but either as rare or as beneficial as is possible.”

At this time, then, Croesus held Solon in a contempt like this; but afterwards he encountered Cyrus, was defeated in battle, lost his city, was taken alive and condemned to be burnt ; and then, as he lay bound upon the pyre in the sight of all the Persians and of Cyrus himself, with all the reach and power of which his voice was capable, he called out thrice :! “O Solon!” Cyrus, then, astonished at this, sent men to ask him what man or god this Solon was on whom alone he called in his extremity. And Croesus, without any concealment, said : “This man was one of the sages of Greece, and I sent for him, not with any desire to hear or learn the things of which I stood in need, but in order that he might behold, and, when he left me, bear testimony to the happiness I then enjoyed, the loss of which I now see to be a greater evil than its possession was a good. For when it was mine, the good I derived from it was matter of report and men’s opinion, but its departure from me issues in terrible sufferings and irreparable calamities which arereal. And that man, conjecturing this future from what he then saw, bade me look to the end of my life, and not let insecure conjectures embolden me to be proud and insolent.’”” When this was reported to Cyrus, since he was a wiser man than Croesus, and

1 Cf. Herodotus, i. 86.

Tov Ayo TOD Yorwvos loyupov év TH Trapadely-
pate Brérrav, ov povoyv adjxe tov Kpoicov, arava
kal tinav éf” Scov en Sretérece: Kal SoFav
éxxyev 0 Lorwv él roy Tov pev aoHaas, TOV SE
matoevoas Tav BactNewv.
XXIX. Of & év dore: wadw éotaciavov aro-
Snuodvtos Tov YOAwvos: Kal TpoELaTHKEL TOV [ev
Tledséwv Aveotpyos, trav 6 Tapddwv Meyaxr7s
o Ardxpaiwvos, Tecictpatos 8¢ trav Ataxpiov, év
ols jv o Ontixos bys Kal padoTa TOs mov-
cious axXGouevos' date xpyjoOar pev Ete TOUS

VOMOLS THY TrOALY, HON Se TpadypaTa vew@TEpa TT poc-
Soxav nal wodety dtravtas étépay xatdotaow,
ovx ltaov érrifovtas, ddXa mréov eEaw ev TH
petaBorr Kal Kpatnoceay Tavtatace Tov Siadpepo-
peéevov. obTw 5¢ TOY Tpaypdatav éxovTwv o Lowy
mapayevopevos eis Tas AOnvas, aidé pév elye kal
Tiny Tapa Tracy, év 5é xow@ réyew Kal mpdo-
cev opoiws ovK ér Hy Suvatos obdé mpdOupos vo
ynpws, GAN' éevruyxdvwv idSia Tols mpoecTHat THY
oTacewy avipdaow éretpato Sradvew Kal ovvap-
pore, paduota tov Ilecurtpdtov mpocéyew
Soxodvtos avT@. Kal yap aipvrov TL Kal mpoc-
dires elyev ev TO SiaréyerOar, xal BonOntexos
hv tows Tévnot Kal mpos TAS ExOpas eruerkys Kal
pétpios. & &¢ dices uy mpochy avTa, Kal TradTa
ptpovpevos émioteveTo padXov Tav exYovTwWY, wS
evriaBns kal Kooptos avnp Kal padiora 87 TO ior
ayaTa@v, Kat Svoxepaivev el tis Ta TaporTa
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saw the word of Solon confirmed in the example before him, he not only released Croesus, but actually held him in honour as long as he lived. And thus Solon had the reputation of saving one king and instructing another by means of a single saying. XXIX. But the people of Athens were again divided into factions while Solon was away. The Plain-men were headed by Lycurgus ; the Shore-men by Megacles the son of Alemaeon, and the Hill-men by Peisistratus.!. Among the last was the multitude of Thetes, who were the bitter enemies of the rich. As a consequence, though the city still observed the new laws, yet all were already expecting a revolution and desirous of a different form of government, not in hopes of an equality, but each party thinking to be bettered by the change, and to get the entire mastery of its opponents. Such was the state of affairs when Solon returned to Athens. He was revered and honoured by all, but owing to his years he no longer had the strength or the ardour to speak and act in public as before. He did, however, confer privately with the chiefs of the opposing factions, endeavouring to reconcile and harmonize them, and Peisistratus seemed to pay him more heed than the others. For Peisistratus had an insinuating and agree- able quality in his address, he was ready to help the poor, and was reasonable and moderate in his enmities. Even those virtues which nature had denied him were imitated by him so successfully that he won more confidence than those who actually possessed them. He was thought to be a cautious and order-loving man, one that prized equality above all things, and would take it ill if any one disturbed the existing

1 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiii. 4.

xiwvoin Kal vewTépwy opéyotto: tovToas yap &&n-
TATA TOUS TOANOUS. Oo 5é LorAwv Tayv TO OOS
épwpacey avtov Kai tHv émiBovAnv TpaeTos
éyxateioev? ov pny éuionoev, GA érEetpato
mpavve Kal vovleteiv, Kal pos avTov é Kat
™pos éTépous ws el Tus €£€éXoL TO pedon pwr ov auTou
THS vox Kat thy émiOupiav idoatto THS Tupay-
vidos,lovx grt addrXos edpuéoTepos)apos apeTHy
ovde BeAtiwv Tronritns.
"Apxopévoy Sé¢ trav wept Béomw nbn THVv
Tpaywdiay xiweiv, nat Sta THY KawoTnta TOUS
WoAXOus ayovTos Tov mwpaypatos, ove § ets
dusrrav évaywouvov éEnypévov, dvcet Gurynxoos @v
xal gdirouabns o Yortwy, ert padrrov ev ynpa
oyoAyH cal mraéiad Kat vy Ata motos cal povoixy
mapanéunrowv éautov, Cbedcato Tov BéoT avTov
oroxpivopevov, womep EO0s Hv Tots maXdacois.
peta dé tTHv Oéav mpocayopevoas avTov npwTNcEV
€f ToTOvTwY EvavTiov OvK aloyUvEeTaL THALKAUTA
wevddopuevos. dyoavtos 5é trod Oéaridos py Secvov
elvat TO peta tradias Aéyew TA ToLladTa Kai
Tpaooey, opodpa TH Baxrnpig THY viv O Lohwv
marifas: ‘Taxy pevrot THY Tratduay, "én, “ Tav-
THY erawobvtes odTw Kal TYL@vTES EUpTToper ev
TOUS cvpPoraiors.”
XXX. ’Enel &é KaTaTp@cas auTos €auTov o
Ilevciotpatos Hxev ets aryopay érri Cevryous KOpl-
Copevos, Kal Trapwfvve tov Shyov ws Sa tH
jwomTEelay vo Tay éyOpav émtBeBovrcupéevos,
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order and attempted a change. On these points,
indeed, he completely deceived most people. But
Solon quickly detected his real character, and was
‘the first to perceive his secret designs. He did not,
however, treat him as an enemy, but tried to soften
and mould him by his instructions. He actually said
to him and to others that if the desire for pre-
eminence could but be banished from his soul, and
his eager passion for the tyranny be cured, no other
man would be more naturally disposed to virtue, or a
better citizen.

Thespis was now beginning to develop tragedy, and the attempt attracted most people because of its novelty, although it was not yet made a matter of competitive contest. Solon, therefore, who was naturally fond of hearing and learning anything new, and who in his old age more than ever before in- dulged himself in leisurely amusement, yes, and in wine and song, went to see Thespis act in his own play, as the custom of the ancient poets was. After the spectacle, he accosted Thespis, and asked him if he was not ashamed to tell such lies in the presence of so many people. Thespis answered that there _ was no harm in talking and acting that way in play,

whereupon Solon smote the ground sharply with his staff and said: “Soon, however, if we give play of this sort so much praise and honour, we shall find it in our solemn contracts.”

XXX. Now when Peisistratus, after inflicting a wound upon himself,! came into the market-place riding in a chariot, and tried to exasperate the populace with the charge that his enemies had plotted against his life on account of his political

1 Cf. Herodotus, i. 59; Aristotle,Const. of Athens, xiv. 1.

kal qroAXous elyev ayavaxrovvtas kal Bowrtas, mpoceOwy éyyus o Yorwv xab tapactas, “ Ov Karas,” elrev, “@ wat ‘Iamoxpdtous, broxpivyn Tov ‘Opunpexov "OSvacéa: tadta yap rrovets Tovs ToNTas Tapaxpovopevos ols éxeivos TOUS TroNE-
2 plous éEnrdtnoev, aixiadpevos éavtov.” éx TOUTOU TO pev TAHOOS Hv Eroimov vrreppayety tov Ie- oiaTpatou, Kal cuvadOev eis exxdXnotav o SHyos. ’"Apiotavos 8€ ypdyavtos dtrws 500a01 trevtiKovTa xopuvnpopo. TO Ileovotpatp gvdrAann Tov ow- patos, avreitev 0 YOAwWY avactdas Kal TONNE dueEnAOey Guota rovras ols da TeV Troipatwv

/ : :

ryeypader i Ly ff OAS y :

Eis yap yA@ooav opate Kai eis Emn atpvrou av6pos.

vpay & els wév Exactos adwrexos lyvert Baiver, ovptracw © viv yadvos éverts voos.

3 opav 5é rovs péev TévnTas wpunpévous xa iferOau T@ Llecovotpat@ xal OopuBodytas, Tous 5é mXov- atous amroéubpacKovtas Kal amrodeih@vtas, ar- nrOev eirav Ste TaV pEev eats GopwTEpos, TaY Se avdperorepos: copuarepos Mev TOV LN TUVLEYTODY TO mpatTouevoy, avdpecorepos 5é¢ tay cumdvTwv péy,

évavtiova Oar Sé 1H Tupavvids hoBoupévwv. To dé
pigicpa Kupwaas o Sipos ovde rept Tod mAHOous
éTt TaY Kopuynpopwy Sieptxporoyetro mpos Tov
Tleraiotpatov, arr Scous éBovrero Tpéhovra Kal
cuvayovta pavep@s Trepiewpa, méexpt THY aKpo-
Tow KaTéa xe.
4 Yevopévou 5€ tovtov nal ris wodews ovrTa-

i,

opinions, and many of them greeted the charge with angry cries, Solon drew near and accosted him, saying: “O son of Hippocrates, thou art playing the Homeric Odysseus badly; for when he dis- figured himself it was to deceive his enemies,! but thou doest it to mislead thy fellow-citizens.’’ After this the multitude was ready to fight for Peisistratus, and a general assembly of the people was held. Here Ariston made a motion that Peisi- stratus be allowed a body-guard of fifty club-bearers, but Solon formally opposed it, and said many things which were like what he has written in his poems :—

‘Ye have regard indeed to the speech and words of
a wily man.
Yet every one of you walks with the steps of a fox,
And in you all dwells an empty mind.” ?

But when he saw that the poor were tumultuously bent on gratifying Peisistratus, while the rich were fearfully slinking away from any conflict with him, he left the assembly, saying that he was wiser than the one party, and braver than the other; wiser than those who did not understand what was being done, and braver than those who, though they understood it, were nevertheless afraid to oppose the tyranny.? So the people passed the decree, and then held Peisistratus to no strict account of the number of his club-bearers, but suffered him to keep and lead about in public as many as he wished, until at last he seized the acropolis.

When this had been done, and the city was in an

1 Odyssey, iv. 244-264.

2 Fragment 11 (Bergk), verses 7, 5, and 6. Plutarch has

changed the order; Bekker and Cobet restore it.
3 Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiv. 2.

paxOetons, o pév Meyarrtjs edvOis edpuye pera

TOV GrAXwv ’Adkpatwvidov, o Sé Lordwv 7dy pev

9 ’ , \ \ a > 9

iv aopodpa yépwr Kai tovs BonPodvras ovK elxev,

Suws dé mwpondev eis ayopav nal SiehéyOn pos

ToUs TroMiTas, Ta pev Kaxilwv thy aBouNay av-
A , \ LA wv
Tov Kal paraxiav, ta S€ rapokivwy ért Kal

5 japaxaroy pn mpoécbar thy edevOepiay: Ste xal
4
TO pynpovevomevoy Eltrevy, WS TPwNY eV HV ev-

papéotepoy avutTois TO KwAVTAaL THY TUpavvida

cuvicTtapevny, viv dé petlov €ote Kal NawTpoTeEpov

éxxowat Kat avedetvy cuvertacav On Kal medu-

kutav. ovdevos S€ tpocéyovtos adt@ Sia Tov
I 3 fo > \ > Sf ‘ e “~
doBov annrdOev eis tHY olxiay thy éavTov, Kal

AaBov ta Gtrra Kal mpd TaY Oupav Oéuevos eis
N 4 ac? \ 4 39 9 ce ° ‘
tov otevwov, “ Kot pév, etmrev, “as SuvuTtov

6 Av BeBonOnrar TH TmaTpid: Kal Tots vopots.” Kal

NO ; \ e , 9 A n ‘4 tA

TO AoLTOV Havyiav Hye, kal TaY dirwov hevyev

Tapawovvtwy ov mpowetxyev, AAG Troinpata ypd-

> , a 3 ,
gov wvetoife Tots “AOnvaiors:
Ki &é rerrovOate Avypa Su’ bpetépny Kaxornra,
pn TL Ocois TovTwY pny érrapdépere.
avtol yap TovTous nuéjoate pupata Sovtes,

\ “ A ” 4,
cal dua Tavta Kaxny Eoxete SovrAoTUYHD.
XXXI. Emi tovros 5€ roAX@v vovberovvTwr
avTov ws amoJavovpevov vo TOU Tupavvov, Kat
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SOLON

uproar, Megacles! straightway fled, with the rest ot the Alcmaeonidae. But Solon, although he was now a very old man, and had none to support him, went nevertheless into the market-place and reasoned with the citizens, partly blaming their folly and weakness, and partly encouraging them still and exhorting them not to abandon their liberty. Then it was, too, that he uttered the famous saying, that earlier it had been easier for them to hinder the tyranny, while it was in preparation ; but now it was a greater and more glorious task to uproot and destroy it when it had been already planted and was grown. No one had the courage to side with him, however, and so he retired to his own house, took his arms, and placed them in the street in front of his door, saying : “I have done all I can to help my country and its laws.” 2 From that time on he lived in quiet retirement, and when his friends urged him to fly, he paid no heed to them, but kept on writing poems, in which he heaped reproaches on the Athenians :— |

“If now ye suffer grievously through cowardice all your own,
Cherish no wrath against the gods for this,
For ye yourselves increased the usurper’s power by giving him a guard,
And therefore are ye now in base subjection.” 3

XXXI. In view of this, many warned him that the tyrant would put him to death, and asked him on

1 Grandson of the Megacles who brought the taint of pollution upon the family (chapter xii. 1-3). He had been allowed to return from banishment. .

2 It was for others now to dothe same. Cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiv. 2. 3 Fragment 11 (Bergk), verses 1-4.

muvOavopévwy tive miatevwy oUTwWS aTrovoEtTat,
“T@ yipa, elev. ov pv add’ oO Iletciotpatos
éyKpaTyns yevouevos TY mpayuatwv ovTws é€e-
Oepamevoe Tov YorAwva, Tiuav nal dtdodpovov-
pevos Kal peratreuropmevos, WoTe Kal avuBovrov
elvat Kal ToAXA TOV Tpaccopévwy erraweiv.
\ 9 v4 \ , , “A
kal yap épvAattTe Tovs mrELTTOUS VvOLOVS TOU
LoAwvoS, Eupévov Tp@Tos autos Kal ToOUs didous
? 4 @ a 9
avayxdatwv os ye nal dovov mpookAnbels exs
Apeoy wayov, 75n Tupavvay, atnvrnce Koo pLiws
amroXoynaopevos, 0 5é KaTHyopos ovY UarNnKoUCE’
kal vopous autos erépous éypawev, my éote Kal
e ‘ , > f
0 Tous mnpwbevtas ev Toren Snpooia TpéperBat
Kerevwov. Ttovto b€ dnaow ‘Hpaxrgetdns xal mpo-
tepov émt Qepoinap mnpwhévte tod Yorwvos
Wndicapévov pipnoacbar tov Ileciorpatov. ws
5é @eoppactos iotopnxe, nal Tov THs apylas
, b 4 9 4
vouov ov Yorwyv eOnxev, adda Tlevciorparos,
& thy te ywpay évepyotépay Kal THY TONY
npepatoTépay eTroincev.
‘O S€ YorAwv drdpevos peyddrAns Tis rept
tov ‘AtNavtixdy Aoyov } pvOov mpaypareias,
dv Senxovce tav Tepl Xdiv Aoyiwy mpoonKoyTa
trois ‘AOnvaiou, éFéxapev, ov 80 doxoriar, as
TlAdrwv dyciv, ddrXd parrov bd ynpws, poBn-
Gels 10 péyeBos Tihs ypadis. émel oxor‘s
SOLON

what he relied that he was so lost to all sense,
to which he answered, “My old age.” However,
when Peisistratus had become master of the situation,
he paid such court to Solon by honouring him,
showing him kindness, and inviting him to his palace,
that Solon actually became his counsellorand approved
of many of his acts. For he retained most of Solon’s

laws, observing them first himself, and compelling his friends to do so. For instance, he was summoned before the Areiopagus on a charge of murder, when he was already tyrant, and presented himself there to make his defence in due form, but his accuser did not put in an appearance. He also made other laws himself, one of which provides that those who are maimed in war shall be maintained at the public charge. But Heracleides says that even before that Solon had caused a decree to be passed to this effect in the case of Thersippus, who had been so maimed, and that Peisistratus was following his example. Moreover, Theophrastus writes that the law against idleness, in consequence of which the country became more productive and the city more tranquil, was not made by Solon, but by Peisistratus.

Now Solon, after beginning his great work on the story or fable of the lost Atlantis, which, as he had heard from the learned men of Sais,! particularly concerned the Athenians, abandoned it, not for lack of leisure, as Plato says, but rather because of his old age, fearing the magnitude of the task. For

1 Cf. chapter xxvi.1. There is no trace of any such work of Solon's, and the attribution of it to him is prebably a play of Plato's fancy.

nw o ¢
ye Teptove tay avToU pnvuovoly at TOLAVTAL
4
dwvat:
Tnpdoxo 8 aiel rod SidacKopevos:
Kal, |
"Epya &&¢ Kumpoyevots viv po pira wal Arovucou
cat Movoéwr, & tina' avdpdow evppoovvas.
XXXII. 'Os 8 yopas carijs ados o WAdtwv Epnuov, avT@ 8 Tas Kata ovyyéverav TpoaKor, éFepydcacba: Kal Staxoopijcar pidotipovpevos tiv Atravticny vToOecw, mpoOvpa pev peyara xai mepiBdrous Kal avras TH apy weptéOnxev, ola Adyos ovdels AAAs Eoyev ode pUO0s ovdE
, 9 \ \ 3 ul , wn"
moinats, owe dé apEayevos mpoxatédvoe Tov

4 \ , id A % , \
Epyov tov PBiov, 0om padAXov eEvppaiver TA YE-
A 4 aA a > a
ypappéva, TocovT@ padNov Tois azrohetpOeiow
duidoas. as yap 4 mods Tov ’"AOnvaiwy To
"Orvuutieiov, otTws 7 IIvdtwvos copia ov
"Arvavtixoy év ToAXols Kadois udvov Epyov ate-
Aes Eoryneev. :
’EmeBiwce S&S ody 6 Lorwv apEapévov rod
Ilewototpdtov tupavveiv, as pev “Hpaxreidns o
Tlovtixos (oropet, auxvov xpévov, as 6€ Pavias
¢ 3 4 4 5 a 2 A > \ a
6 "Epéctos, éAdttova dvoiv érav. emit Kwpiouv
yey yap jptato rupavveiy Ilevsiotpatos, é¢'
‘Hyeotpdtov 5é Lorwva pyow o Pavias aro-
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SOLON N

that he had abundant leisure, such verses as these testify :—
ode |

‘¢ But I grow old ever learning many things ;
and again,
‘¢ But now the works of the Cyprus-born goddess are dear to my soul,
Of Dionysus, too, and the Muses, which impart delights to men.” ®
XXXII. Plato, ambitious to elaborate and adorn the subject of the lost Atlantis, as if it were the soil of a fair estate unoccupied, but appropriately his by virtue of some kinship with Solon,®? began the work by laying out great porches, enclosures, and court-yards, such as no story, tale, or poesy ever had before. But he was late in beginning, and ended his life before his work. Therefore the greater our delight in what he actually wrote, the greater is our distress in view of what he left undone. For as the Olympieium in the city of Athens, so the tale of the lost Atlantis in the wisdom of Plato is the only one among many beautiful works to remain unfinished.

Well, then, Solon lived on after Peisistratus had made himself tyrant, as Heracleides Ponticus states, a long time ; but as Phanias of Eresos says, less than two years. For it was in the archonship of Comeas ® that Peisistratus began his tyranny, and Phanias says that Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus,

1 Cf. chapter ii. 2. 2 Fragment 26 (Bergk).

3 Plato mentions the relationship of Critias, his maternal uncle, with Solon (Charmides, 4¢ 155 a).

4 Plato's Critias is a splendid fragment. ° 561-60 B.o,

4 Oavely tov peta Keopiav adptavtos. 4 Sé dia-
omopa Kxataxav0évros abdtod ths téppas mept
Thy Sarapivtor vioov gore pev Sid THY aToTiay
aniOavos Tavtdtact Kal pvOwdns, avayéypartat
8 bird te GAdXwv avdpav afioroyev Kal 'Apicto-
TéXous TOU dirocogou.

the successor of Comeas. The story that his body was burned and his ashes scattered on the island of Salamis is strange enough to be altogether incredible and fabulous, and yet it is given by noteworthy authors, and even by Aristotle the philosopher.

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ITOITAIKOAA2

I. Totovre 8) yevopéve re Yorww tov Tommd-
xoAav wapaRddropev, @ TOvTO pev Bortepoy o
'Popaiwy Siuos éEedpev ert ripen Totvoua, mpo
tod 5é Tlomdsos Ovarnépios Exaretro, OvadXepiou
Soxav aroyovos elvat Tov Tadatav avdpos aitiw-

Tadtov yevopévou ‘Pwyaiovs xal YaBivous é«
Torepiov eva yevécOar Shuovy o yap padtora
tous Bacireis els tavTo Treicas cuvedOetvy Kar
SiadrAdEas exeivos éort. tovtm 8) Kata yévos
mpoonkwy o Ovarrépios, ws pact, BactNevopéerns
pev ere ths ‘Papuns éenidavys tv 80a AOyov Kal
TroOvTOY, OY TO pev GpOas Kal pera mappnotas
del ypwpevos trép tov Sixaiwyv, ad’ ov §é Trois
Seopévoes édevdepios kal diravOpares érapKarv,
dijhos. hv evOUs, e yévorro Snpoxpatla, mpw-
TEVTD.
"Enrel 8¢ Tapvviov LovmepBov obre AaBovra
THY apxnv KaN@s, GAN avocias Kal Tapavoues,
ouTE NPw@pevov auth Baoirixas, ann’ UBpifovra
Kal TupavvoivTa, pov) Siuos ral Bapuvopevos,
apynv atoatacews ékaBe to Aovepntias mdbos
aurny éml tT BracOjvac Siepyacapévns, Kat
Aevxios Bpovros GTTOMEVOS TOV TpayyaTov
502
PUBLICOLA |

I. Sucn was Solon, and with him we compare Publicola, to whom the Roman people gave this surname later as a mark of honour. Before that he was called Publius Valerius, and was reputed to be a decendant of that ancient Valerius who was most instrumental in making the Romans and the Sabines one people instead of enemies ; for it was he more than anyone else that persuaded their kings to come together, and settled their differences. Such being his lineage, Valerius, as we are told, while Rome was still a kingdom, was conspicuous for his eloquence and wealth, always employing the one with integrity and boldness in the service of justice, while with the other he gave liberal and kindly aid to the poor and needy. It was therefore clear that, should Rome become a democracy, he would at once be one of its foremost men.
Now Tarquinius Superbus had not acquired his power honourably, but by the violation of divine and human laws; nor did he exercise it in kingly fashion, but after the manner of an insolent and haughty tyrant. The people therefore hated him, resented his oppressions, and found occasion for revolt in the fate of Lucretia, who made away

with herself after violence had been done to her.
Lucius Brutus, engaging in the revolution, came to
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES .

THs petaBoris ert mparov HAGE tov Ovarrépiov
Kal Xpnodpevos avt@ mpoOvpotatp ocuveteBare
\ a / \ ? 4) e oF ”
TOUS Baaireis, pepe pev ei okos hv o Shuos Eva
Xerporovyceny avtt Tov Bactréos oTparnyor,
Houxiay aye o Ovarrépios, WS 7? Bpovto
pAAXOV Apyew mpoojKoy Hyewove THs édevOepias
yeyevnuevo: Svaxepatvouévov bé Tod THs povap-
xias ovdpatos, Kal Soxodvtos av ddutrorepov Tov
Syuov pepicOetoav vTopetvar thy apxnv Kal dvo
mpoBadropévou kal KadovvTos, eAmifwv pera Tov
Bpodrov aipeOjcecOar Kal cvvuTratevcew Sunjpap-
rev. 7pé0n yap axovtt T@ Bpovtp avvdpyov
dvtl tov OvadrAepiou Tapxivios Koddarivos, o
Aovxpntias avip, ovdév apeth Ovardrepiov da-
/ > bd e / \ 4
dhépwv, adr’ ot Suvatol Sediores tovs Bactrels Ere
TONAG metpavras tEwOev Kai paddooovtras TH
/ > 4 \ 9 4 9 A 9 N
TOoALV, EB0UAOVTO TOV EVTOVMTATOV AVTOLS éx0 pov
exew sTpaTnyov ws ovy Upyaopevor.

II. ’Ayavaxtav otv o Odardrépios, ef pn
muoTeverar TavTa wpaTTew &vexa THS tTraTpisos,
dre pndev idia xaxov U0 THY TUpdvvar TétroVbe,
Ths Te BovAns amréaTy Kal Tas cuYNnyopias atreiTeE
kal TO TpdtTeW Ta KoLWa mavTedas éeEéX«TreD,
@ote Kal AOdyov Tois ToANOIS Tapacyeiv Kat
, / A > 9 A
dpovrTida, poBovpévors yn Se dpynyv wpocbéuevos
Tois Bactredow avatpéeyn Ta mpdypata Kal THY
Tow emicharas Eyovoay. eet dé Kal apos
504

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PUBLICOLA

Valerius first of all, and with his most zealous assist- ance drove out the kings.1 Then, as long as the

people was likely to elect one-man as their com- mander in place of the king, Valerius acquiesced, thinking it more fitting that Brutus should have the office, because he had led the way to freedom. But the very name of monarchy was odious to the people, who thought that it would be less vexatious to submit to an authority which was divided, and therefore proposed and demanded that two men should be elected to the highest office. Then Valerius, who hoped that he would be chosen next to Brutus, and would be consul with him, was disappointed. For against the wishes of Brutus, Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was elected as his colleague," instead of Valerius. He was a man. of no greater excellence than Valerius, but the influential citizens were afraid of the kings, who were still putting forth many efforts outside, and trying to appease resentment inside the city, and they therefore desired to have as their commander the most pronounced enemy of the royal family, believing that he would make no concessions to them.

II. Valerius, accordingly, vexed that his desire to do his utmost for his country should be doubted, merely because he had received no private injury at the hands of the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, gave up his practice as an advocate, and abandoned entirely his public activities. This caused anxious remark among the multitude. They feared lest, in his wrath, he should attach himself to the royal exiles, and subvert the established order of the city, which was in a dangerous pass. But when Brutus,

1 Cf. Livy, i. 58f.; ii, 2, 11. 2 Cf. Livy, i. 60, 4.

érépous tivds trowiay éywv 6 Bpodtos éBovAeTo
51a aodaylwy opxecar thy Bovrny Kal mmpoetrrev
npépav, kataBas pdra daidpos els ayopav o
Ovarrépios, al patos opooas pndev évdadceu
pnd wdbynoecOar Tapxuviows, adrdXra trodepjoerv
Kata Kpatos omép ths édevOepias, nSovyy Te TH
BovrH wat Odpoos aya toils apyovot tapécyer.
evVOds 8 Kxal ta epya tov Spxov éBeBaiov.
mpecBers yap Heov amd Tapxvviov ypdppata
Kopivovres érraywya rod Syuov Kal AoOyous eme-
evKels, ols pdduora TOUS ToAXous @ovTo dia-
pOeipery, NEyOLEVOLS mapa Bactréws aderrévae
TO ppovnpa Kat peTpiov deta Bar Soxobvros.
TOUTOUS els 70 mrAOos olopéveoy deity TOV irareov
mpoaryaryety oux elacev 0 Ovarrépios, GX' évértn
cal Svexorva ev av Opdrrots mévnae cal Bapuvo-
[éEVOLS padrov THs Tupavvidos TOV TOAELOY APKas
ral Tpopac ets VE@TEPLT LOY éyyevéo Oar.
III. Mera &€ ravra m peo Bets HOV Erepot Tis
TE Bactretas adiatacbat Kat TohepoovTa Tav-
caa Ba TOV Tapxvviov AéyouTes, amraitety 8é Ta
Xpnpata wal Tas ovaias avT@® Kal pirors Kat
oixelors, ad' ov Sia Biworovrar petryovres. érrixdw-

pévov oé JTOMBY | Kai padoTa TOU Kodnartivov
guvaryopevovTos, aTpeT TOS OV avnp al Tpaxus
opyny O Bpobros éFé5papev eis aryopayv, mpodoTny
amoKkahay Tov cuvapxovTa, ToAémou Kat Tupay-
vidos adopyas xaprlopevor ols Secvov ay GyTws
épodia puyas Yvngicacba., ouvveOovrav Sé Tov
TONTaY TpaTos idsarns avip elrrev év Snug ToTE
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who had his suspicions of certain others also, desired the senators to take a sacrificial oath, and set a day for the ceremony, Valerius went down with a glad countenance into the forum, and was the first to take oath that he would make no submission or concession to the Tarquins, but would fight with all his might in defence of freedom. This pleased the senate and inspired the.consuls with courage. And his. actions speedily confirmed his oath. For envoys came from Tarquin bringing letters calculated to seduce the people, and specious words by which they thought the multitude were most likely to be corrupted, coming as they did from a king who seemed to have humbled himself, and to ask only moderate terms. These envoys the consuls thought should be brought before the assembled people, but Valerius would not suffer it. He was unalterably opposed to giving poor men, who considered war a greater burden than tyranny, occasions and excuses for revolution.

III. After this, other envoys came announcing that Tarquin abdicated his throne and ceased to wage war upon the city, but demanded for himself, his friends, and his kinsmen, their moneys and effects, wherewith to maintain themselves in exile. Many were inclined to grant this favour, and Collatinus in particular joined in advocating it, but Brutus, a man of harsh and unyielding temper, ran forth into the forum and denounced his colleague as a traitor, because he would bestow the means for waging war and maintaining tyranny on men to whom it were a terrible mistake to vote even a bare subsistence in exile. And when an assembly of the citizens was held, the first to speak among them

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 3, 5.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Taios Muvovetos, T@ te Bpovtm Siaxerevopevos
kal tois “Pwpyaiots tmapawav opav Stes ta
Xpyuatra pet avTav dvta todepoin mpos Tous
Tupdvvous padrdov 7H pert’ exeivwv mpos avtous.
ov nv arr éboke rots ‘Pwpatos thy érevOepiav
éyovow, vméep ts erronepour, pn wpoécGas thy
etpryny évexa XPnpdrorv, aX quver Barely Ka
TavTa TOUS Tupdvvors.
"Hv 8 dpa Tapxuvio ee pev éAdytoros
ToVY XpnudTwv, » 8 aTaitnots dua Teipa Tov
Sypou Kal KataoKxevn mpodocias. Kal trait’

émparrov ot mpéaRets vmropévovres emt TH TaD
Xpnudtoyv mpopdoe, TA pev amodidocbat, ra Se
gurdtrev, ta 8 atroréureyv pdoxovtes, axpt
od SidpOerpav oixovs 800 Tav KadOv Kayabov
vouitopéevwv, tov "AxvAX wv tpeis exovta Bov-
ANevTas Kat d¥0 Tov OviteXNiwv. ovToL Tapes
joav amo pntrépwy adedpidot Kodrdarivov tod
UTatevovTos, idia S& OviredrLous érépa mpos
Bpodrov olxeLoTns UMHApyYev. aderpny ‘yap avTav
O Bpodros elxe kat traidas é& aurijs Thelovas: av
dv0 Tovs év Haukia ouyyeveis ovtas dpa Kal
curnders of Ovitérd01 T paanyaryovTo | Kal ouve-
mecay év Th OT obocia yevéoOar kat Kar ops
£avtas éavtovs eis yévos peya TO TOV Tapkvvicr
Kat BacidtKas éXribas amradhayiyat THS TOU
Tar pos aBedrepias «al Karem orntos: Xanero-
TnTa pay TO ara paitnrov avTov mpos TOUS
movnpouvs deyoures, tH 8 aBeATEpia tpooTan-
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was Caius Minucius, a private man, who exhorted
Brutus and advised the Romans to see to it that the
treasures fought with them against the tyrants,
rather than with the tyrants against them. However,
the Romans decided that, since they had the liberty
for which they were at war, they would not sacrifice
peace for the sake of wealth, but cast this also out
along with the tyrants.!

Now the wealth, of course, was of very slight consequence to Tarquin, but the demand for it was at once a test of the people’s disposition and a means of instigating treachery among them. And it was with this that the envoys busied themselves, making the property merely a pretext for remaining in the city, and saying that they were selling part of it, and reserving part, and sending part of it away. At last they succeeded in corrupting two of the noble families of Rome, that of the Aquillii, which had three senators, and that of the Vitellii, which had two. All these, by the mother’s side, were nephews of Collatinus the consul, and besides, the Vitellii were related in another manner to Brutus. For Brutus had married a sister of theirs, and she had borne him several sons. ‘Two of these, who had come to manhood, and avere their near kindred and close companions, the Vitellii won over and persuaded to join the plot for betraying the city, to ally them- selves with the great family and the royal ex- pectations of the Tarquins, and rid themselves of the stupidity and cruelty of their father. For they gave the name of cruelty to that father’s inexorable treatment of criminals, and as for his stupidity, he had for a long time, as it appears, feigned and

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 4, 3.
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pare kal Tapaxadvppate TONY ypovov, ws EoLKe,
xpnodpevos dopadeias Evexa pos Tovs TUpdv-
vous, ovd Uvatepov épuyev avrhs THY érwvupiay.
IV. 'Os & ody cuveretaOn Ta petpdxia Kat
trois "AkuAXots eis Adyous 7AOEv, SpKov opooas
péyav edoke tact Kal Sevov, avOpwrov oda-
yévros émometoavras alua xal tov omddyxXvov
Oiyovtas. émd Tovrots eis THY AxudAX ov oixiav
auvnrOov. jw & o olxos, év & tadta Spdocuw
éuedrov, olov elxos, Umépnuos xal oxoTw@dns.
éxabev ody avtovs oixérns Gvopa Ovwvdineos
évdov xataxpias éavtov, ov Kxat' émiBovAnv
h wpoaicOnciv tiva Tod péAXovTOS, GAN' dow
av éruxe kal mpociodew autos peta otrovdns
OPOfvar HoBnOels bmréoTn, ANdpvaxa Keywévyny mpd
avrod Totnodpevos, MoTe Kal TOY TpaTTOpévov
Beatis yevécOar nal Trav Bovrevpatov érnKoos.
édofe 8 avtois tovs vrdtous avaipety, cal TavTa
Sndovcas ypavaytes émuatoAas pos Tov TapKu-
viov ébwKkay Tots. wpéaBeat* Kal yap @Kouv avto-
61, trav "AxuvrArAgov Eévor yeyovores, cal tOoTEe TH

ovvapocia Tapiaav.

'Os 8€ tatta mpdEavtes arndrXdynoap, trek-
eXbav o Oduvdixtos AAOpa, ypHnoacbat ois
mMpoometovaty ovxK elyev, ANN Hrropetro, Secvov
Hey aryoUpEVos, WaTrEp HV, Wpos Tatépa Bpodroy
viay éEaytota Karyyopety 7 mpos Oetov adergpidov
tov KodrAarivoy, idsorny 5é "Pwpaiwry ovdéva vo-
510

assumed this, to insure his safety from the cruel
designs of the tyrants, and afterwards the surname
of Brutus, which had been given him for it, 'clung to
him.
IV. When, accordingly, the youths had been per- suaded and held conference with the Aquillii, it was decided that all the conspirators should swear a great and dreadful oath, pouring in libation the blood of a slain man, and touching his entrails. For this purpose they met at the house of the Aquillii1 Now the room

in which the ceremony was to be held was, as was natural, dark and somewhat desolate. Without their knowing it, therefore, a slave named Vindicius had concealed himself therein, not with design, or with any inkling of what was to happen there; he merely chanced to be there, and when they came in with anxious haste, he was afraid to be seen by them, and hid himself behind a chest that lay there, so that he saw what they did, and heard what they resolved upon. Their decision was to kill the con- suls, and when they had written letters to Tarquin to this effect, they gave them to his envoys, who were living there as guests of the Aquillii, and were then present at the conspiracy.

Their business transacted, the conspirators de- parted, and then Vindicius stole secretly away from the house. He knew not what use to make of what had befallen him, but was at a loss, considering it a dreadful thing, as it really was, to arraign the sons of Brutus before their father, or the nephews of Collatinus before their uncle, on the most abominable charges, and yet believing that no Roman in a private station could be entrusted with such im-

1 At the house of the Vitellii, according to Livy, ii. 4, 5.

4 pigeov ey éyryvov aTroppytav THALKOUTOD. Tav
ad pardov 7 dvvaros dy novyiav aryety, édauve-
pevos be Te guverooTt TOU T paywaros, Hpynoe
Twos Wpos TOV Ovarnrépiov, padsora TOUS Kovvots
kal giravOpwrros* enayGels tod avd pos, 6re
maou ebm poaodos hv trois Seopévos, Kal THY
oixiay adel mapetyev avepymevny, Kar oryou ou-
Sevds ovde Xpetav ameppimrer TOV TATELVOD.
V. 'Qs ody aveBn mpos avuTov o Ouvuvdixzos
Kal cateire mata, Mapxov te Tob aerpob Tap-
avTos avT@ povov Kal THs yuvatcds, extrharyels
eat detcas o Ovarréptos ovKETL 7 ponKato Tov
av pwrrov, GNA Katakhelaas eis TO olxnua cal
praca THY éavTod yuvaixa Tais Oupas eTLOTN-
oas, TOV pev aderpov éxédevoe Hv BactiKny
érauNy TeploxovTa, Ta ypaupara AaBeiv, av
Suvarov 7, tal rovs oixétas Tapapudarrety
auros dé meXATO@Y Te TOANOY Kal pirwv del meph
aurov OvT@y Kal Gepametas TUXVIS, éBadife mpos
THY olktav TOV "AxvAXwY ovK évdov dvtTwv.
2 S20 pndevos av T poo Soxijaavtos QT aMEVOS dia
Oupav é emeTuyx.avel Tots ypdppace KELUEVOLS Grrov
KATEAVOV oi mpéeaBes. tavta 8 avtov mpdr-
TOVTOS ot "AxvAdLoe dpoyp ™ pogepépovro, xal
mept TAS Oupas ouppitavres eCnrouy ah Grog
Tas émiatoAas. of & TipUvOVTO, Kal Ta (para
meptBanrovres avréy Tots TpaxnArols UO Bias Kal

pores a0ovpevor ral adobyres dua TOV oTEveOT BY
eis THY ayopay évéBadov. ta 8 avta al tepl THY
éraviw aya tHv Bactdixny éyivero, Tro) Mapxou
ypappdrov érépwv év tois oxevect xopslopéevor
1 piAavOpéxas Bekker supplies rpéwors, after Porson.

portant secrets. The last thing that he could do, however, was to hold his peace, and driven on by his knowledge of the affair, he made his way somehow to Valerius, attracted especially by the affable and kindly ways of the man.! For he was easily accessible to all the needy, always kept open house, and never refused to hear or help one of the lowly.

V. Accordingly, when Vindicius came to him and told him the whole story, in the presence of his brother Marcus only, and of his wife, Valerius was _ struck with consternation and fear, and would not now let the man go, but shut him up in a room and set his own wife to guard the door. Then he ordered his brother to surround the royal residence, seize the letters, if possible, and take the servants into custody. He himself, with the numerous clients and friends who were always about him, and with a large company of retainers, went to the house of the Aquillii, who were not at home. Therefore, to the surprise of everybody, he forced the door, and came upon the letters lying in the quarters where the envoys were lodging. Meantime the Aquillii came up in hot haste, joined battle at the door, and sought to take away the letters. But Valerius and his party resisted the attack, threw their togas about their opponents' necks, and after much struggling on both sides, at last succeeded in pushing them through the streets into the forum. The same success was had at the royal residence, where Marcus laid hands on other letters which were to be conveyed away in the baggage, seized as many

1 Vindicius laid the matter before the consuls, according to Livy, ii. 4, 6.

érihauBavopévov, cal Tov BacidtKav Goous du.
vatos Hv EXKxovTos eis THY dyopav.
VI. "Emel &€ tov OopuBov xatémavoay ot bra-
ToL Kal TOU Ovadrcpiou KeXevaavTos ex TIS OLKiAS
6 Ovuvdixcos mponyOn, cal yevouévns Katnyopias
aveyvocOn ta ypdupata cal mpos ovdéy éroApn-
gav avreiteiy ot avdpes, hv pev xatnhea Kat
olwT) TaY AdAdwv, oriyor 5é BovAdpevor TO

Bpovtw yapitecOar guyns éeuéeuvnvto. Kai te
wal KodnXarivos avrois érxmidos émetxois évedidou
dedaxpupevos nal Ovarréptos oiwrav. o Se
Bpodros ovopact) trav vidy éxdrepov TpocEeTroy,
“Aye, @ Tite,” elev, “dye, ® TeBepte, ti ovx
atrovoyeloOe mpos THY KaTnyopiav;”’ ws & ovdev
amexpivavto Tpls épwrnbévtes, oTwWS TpPOS TOUS
Umnpétas atrootpewras TO TpdcwTroy, “ “Tyéerepov
Hon, elie, ‘To NotTrov épyov.” of dé evOds
avrAAaBovres Tovs veavioxous Trepleppyyvuoy Ta
iwaTia, Tas yelpas amiyov omicw, paBdots
éEawov Ta cw@pata, TOV pev AAdNwY ov duva-
péevav mpocopav ovde xaptepovvrdy, éxeivov &é
NeyeTas pnte Tas drypets aTrayayely adAdNaYXoCE
par olxrm te Tpepa THS Tepl TO TpoTwToY
opyns kal Baputnros, ddd Sevov évopay Koda-
Couévois Tots tatoly axpt ob KaTateivavTes av-
tovs én rovdadpos tmeréxer Tas Keharas aré-
Koay. ottw dé Tovs aAXous ert TH cUvdpxovTt
Townodapevos wet éEavactas, épyov elpyac évos
ovr émavety Bovropévors akiws ovTe rpéyeuv
épixtov. 7) yap apetis typos eis dmrdbeav
éEéotnoe tTHy wuyny, maOous péyeOos eis dvanr-
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of the king’s people as he could, and haled them to the forum.

VI. When the consuls had quieted the tumult, Valerius ordered Vindicius to be brought from his house, the denunciation was made, the letters were read aloud, and the accused had no courage to reply. Most of the people held their peace for very sorrow, but a few spoke of exile as a penalty, wishing to do Brutus a kindness. They were also somewhat encouraged to hope by the tears of Collatinus and the silence of Valerius. But Brutus, calling each of his sons by name, said: “Come, Titus, come Tiberius, why do ye not defend yourselves against this denunciation?”” But when they made no answer, though he put his question to them thrice, he turned to the lictors and said: “It is yours now to do the rest.’’ These straightway seized the young men, tore off their togas, bound their hands behind their backs, and scourged their bodies with their rods. The rest could not endure to look upon the sight, but it is said that the father neither turned his gaze away, nor allowed any pity to soften the stern wrath that sat upon his countenance, but watched the dreadful punishment of his. sons until the lictors threw them on the ground and cut off their heads with the axe. Then he rose and went away, after committing the other culprits to the judgement of his colleague.!| He had done a deed which it is difficult for one either to praise or blame sufficiently. For either the loftiness of his virtue made his spirit incapable of suffering, or else the

magnitude of his

1 With this account, compare Livy, ii. 5, 5-9. Brutus looked on ‘“eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium.”

, 3Q7 \ \ bmNS ? ,
ynoiav. ovdétepov b€ pxpov ovd dvOpwrnuivor,
b >] Aa “a a “a 4 \ nm 4
arr % Ociov H Onpiddes. Sixasov 5é TH Sok
a > \ \ / Cg a A A
Tov avdpos thy Kpiow ErecOat parrov Hh THY
apeTny aagbeveia Tov Kpivovtos amiateicbar. “Pw-
A Q 9 le! bd w e 4
patios yap ov tocovTov Epyov olovras ‘Pwpmvrov
4 a 4 A ¢ ,
yeveoOat THS TOAEWS THY WpuatY, Boov Bpovtou
THY KTLOLY THS WOALTELAS KaL KaTaOTACLD.
VII. ‘Os & oty arndOev é& ayopas rote, mov

\ , ” 2 \ , N \
pev xYpovoy extAnkis eiye Kal Pplen Kai own
mavras éml tots Siatrempayyévors’ mpos S€ TH
KodAativov padaxiav Kai pérrAnow aveddppnoay
of “AxvAdLol, Kal ypovoy nkiovy NaBovtes aro-
NoynoacGar, cat tov Ovuwdixcoy avtois arroédo-
Ojnvat SodAov bvTa, Kal pn Tapa Trois KaTNYyopoLs
elvat. Bovdropévov bé€ tTadta aovyywpelv Kal
Stadrvovtos ert FouTos THY exxAnoiay, 0 OvadrE-
plos ovTe Tov avOpwrov olos Tr Ww adelvar Ta
mept avTov 6XA@ KaTApEpLypévoy, oUTE TOV Srpov
ela mpoéuevov Tovs mpodotas aTeNbeiv. Tédos 5é
a , b \ \ “a 9 a
Tois c@paciw émiBadrwv Tas Yelpas Eemexadeito
tov Bpotrov, cat tov Koddarivoy éBoa Sewa
molelv, ef TH ouVvapyYovTt Tratdopovias avayxny
m poo pivrdpevos avtos oleras deity Kataxapileo Gas
a , ~
tais yuvatEl tovs mpodotas Kal trodepious TIS
matpioos. ayavaxtobytos S€ tod wmdrouv Kai

4 ’ 4 \ > , e A
KeNEVOVTOS amayecOar Tov Owuvdixcov, ot pev
tnnpérat Siwoapevoe Tov dYAOv Hwrtovto Tov
avOpwtou Kal tous adatpovpévovs EtuTrtoy, ot
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suffering made it insensible to pain. In neither case was his act a trivial one, or natural to a man, but either god-like or brutish. However, it is right that our verdict should accord with the reputation of the man, rather than that his virtue should be dis- credited through weakness in the judge. For the Romans think that the work of Romulus in building the city was not so great as that of Brutus in founding and establishing its form of government.

VII. After Brutus had left the forum at this time, for a long while consternation, horror, and silence prevailed among all who remained, as they thought of what had been done. But soon the weakness and hesitation of Collatinus gave the Aquillii fresh courage ; they demanded time in which to make their defence, and the surrender of Vindicius to them, since he was their slave, and ought not to be in the hands of their accusers. Collatinus was willing to grant this request, and was about to dissolve the assembly with this understanding ; but Valerius was neither able to surrender the slave, who had mingled with the throng about him, nor would he suffer the people to release the traitors and withdraw. So at last he seized the persons of the Aquillii and summoned Brutus to the scene, crying aloud that Collatinus was acting shamefully in laying upon his colleague the necessity of killing his own sons, and then thinking it necessary for himself to bestow upon their wives the lives of his country’s betrayers and foes. The consul was indignant at this, and ordered that Vindicius should be taken away, whereupon the lictors pushed their way through the crowd, seized the man, and beat those who tried to rescue him. Then Valerius and his

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dé hidos Tov OvadXepiov mpoéoTncay cpvvopevoe:
cal o djpos éBoa Kedevwv trapeivar tov Bpodtov.
HKev ovv avOis Vrootpéas: Kal yevopéervns avT@
aiwwmns elev Ste Tois péev viots avTos aTroxXpav
jy StxaoTys, Tept dé TaY GAdwv TOS ToNiTALS
érevOépors odar Widov Sidwor: rAeyérw SE oO
Bovropevos Kal weOérw Tov Sjpov. ovKEeTE péevTot
Noyor eSénoev, GAA THS Whpov Sobeions macars
€ 4 >] 4
anrovtes érrerexiaOnoav.

‘O d€ KodAartivos Av pév, as Eorxev, év vrowia
Tiwi Kal dla cuyyévecav TOV Baciréwpr, nx 9orro
& avtod cai T@ Sevtépw TaV Ovoudtwv, apoctov-

pevor Tov Tapxuviov. as Se kal tadta cuveBn,
TavramTact mpocKkpovaas apnKe THv apyny ExOV
Kal TS Todews wTeEHAOev. odtw 8 wdadw
apXatpecav yevoyéevwov vrratos amedetyOn Rap-
mpas o Ovarrépios, akiavy dtoxkaBov tis Tpo-
Oupias yap Hs otopevos te Seiv arroNadoat
\ b 4 9 A “ > 4
tov Ovuvdixrov éyyndicato mparov atredevOepov
9 nm 9 € , 4, 4 4
éxeivov év ‘Payn yevéoOar troditny nat dépev
Wipov i BovrAoto ppatpia mpocveynOévta. ois
& dAdo drerevOépors ord nal pera Toru
ypovov éEovatav Whdou Snpaywyav ewer ”Ar-
mos: 4 O€ wavTeAns amercvBépwors aypt vov
> ld J > 9 nw (4 \
owvodixta Réyerac & éxetvov, @s act, Tov
Ovuvdixcov.
VIII. "Ex tovrov ta pév xpnpata tav Bact-
Adwv Suaptraca. Tois “Pwpaios Edwxav, thy Sé

friends stood forth in the man’s defence, while the people shouted for Brutus to come. He turned back, therefore, and came, and when silence had been made for him, said that for his sons, he himself sufficed as judge, but he would leave the fate of the other traitors to the votes of the citizens, who were free, and any one who wished might speak and try to persuade the people. However, by this time there was no need of oratory, but a vote was taken which unanimously ‘condemned the men, and they were beheaded.

Collatinus, as it would seem, was already under some suspicion on account of his relationship to the royal family, and the second of his names also was hateful to the people, who loathed the sound of Tar- quin. But after these recent events, he saw that he was altogether obnoxious, and therefore resigned his office and withdrew secretly from the city.1 A new election was consequently held, and Valerius was triumphantly declared consul, thus receiving a worthy reward for his zeal. In this reward he thought that Vindicius ought to share, and therefore had a decree passed which made him, first of all freedmen, a citizen of Rome, and entitled him to vote with any curia in which he chose to be enrolled. Other freedmen received the right of suffrage in much later times from Appius,? who thus courted popularity. And from this Vindicius, as they say, a

rfect manumission is to this day called “ vindicta.”’ 3

VIII. After this, the property of the royal family was given to the Romans to plunder, and their house

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 2, 3-10.
; ape Claudius Caecus, censor in 312 B.c.
8 Cf. Livy, ii. 5, 10,
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oixiay Katécxayav Kal thy eravduv tod 8
b , 4 \ ef > f/f UA
Apeiov tediov To HOvotov éxéxtnto Tapxumnos,
kal TtovTo TO Oe@ KaOtépwoav. Ervye 5é TeOe-
piopevoy aptt, Kal Ketpévwv Ett TOV SpayyaTov
> v 5 a tr "~ Dy, " @ 5 \ \
ovx @ovto Seiv aroadv ovdé ypijcOar Sa tH
4 9 \ / ay / \
Kabtépwow, ara avvdpapovTes ehdpovy Tas
9 4 > \ , e >) (4 '
auadrXas eis Tov ToTayov. as 8 aitas Kai Ta
4 / > / > \ ,
dévdpa Komrovtes evéBaddov, apyov TravTdtace
TO Xwpiov avévtes TO Oe@ nai axaprov. wOov-
pévov Sé€ woddN@v ém addANdOLS Kal aOpdwv
e / e Cc a > \ , b) > @
dirqyayer 0 pods ov ToNUV TOTOV, AX' Grrov
Ta mpara ouvevexDévra Kal qmepiTmecovTa Tots
ore penis bréorn, TOY errupepopevov 5:€E050v ovK
éyovTwy, GAN évicyopevwy Kal TepiTrAEKOpEVOD,
, e 4 3 \ \ cf >
érxdpBavev n ovpmntis taxvv Kat piCworv av€avo-
pévnv rd TOU pevpatos. idvy Te yap émnyaye
4 a
TOAAHY, 1) TpociaTapevn Tpodny Trapeiyey apa
\ , (/ 4 > ? a,
Kal KoAAnoL, ai Te TWANYyal oddOV OvK érroiou)Y,
a\r\a paracas méCovcar cvvyravvoy eis TavTO
TavTa Kal ouveT Nar TOV. vo 6é peyeBous Kal
TTATEWS ErEpov | avTo peéyeOos éxtato Kal Xopav
avadexopevny 74 wheiota TOV bro Tob moTapou
KaTapepopevov. tobT0 voy vijo os éotw iepa
Kara THV Tod, exer Sé vaovs Oedy Kal trept-
mdtous, Kareirat Se hovy th Aativoy Méon
Suoiv yepupav.

"Eviot 6€ Tovro cupreceiy toTopobaty oux, dTe
Tapeuviou KadiepwOn TO mrediov, adda Xpovors
batepov GAAO Ywpiov opopoiy éxeive Tapxuvias
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and palace were razed to the ground. But the
pleasantest part of the field of Mars, which had
belonged to Tarquin, was dedicated to that god.
Now it chanced that it had just been reaped,
and the grain still lay upon the ground; but
since the field had been consecrated, they thought
it not right to thresh it or use it in any way.
They therefore with one accord carried the sheaves
to the river and cast them in. In like manner
also they cast in the trees which had been cut,
and left the place wholly untilled and barren for
the god of war. The quantities of stuff thus heaped
together were not borne along by the current
very far, but the advanced portions stopped and |
accumulated at the shallows which they encountered.
The portions that followed these could not get
through them, but impinged upon them and blended
inextricably with them, and the aggregation was
made increasingly firm and fast by the action of the
stream. For this brought along great quantities of
mud, the addition of which increased the size and
cohesion of the mass. And besides, the impacts of
the current were not rude, but with a gentle pres-
sure pushed and moulded everything together.
Owing to its size and position the mass acquired
fresh size, and an extent sufficient to receive most of
what was brought down by the river. It is now a
sacred island over against the city, containing temples
of the gods and covered walks,! and is called in the
Latin tongue “ Inter duos pontes.”
Some, however, say that this did not happen when the field of Tarquin was consecrated, but in later times, when Tarquinia devoted another field adjacent

Cf. Livy, ii. 5, 1-4.
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b) 4 e \ / 4 9 es
avetons. 1 Sé€ Tapxuvia mapOévos jy iépea,
, A e c \ > \ UU
pia tav ‘“Eotiadwy, éoye Sé teyuds avtl tovTou
peydras, ev als qv xal TO paptupiay avtis
SéxecOar povns yuvainav. 70 8 é€eivar yapeioOau
Wndicapévov ov mpocedé~ato. Kal tadta pev
ovTw yevéoOar pv0oroyodct.

IX. Tapxvmoy 5é tyv éx wpodocias amoyvorra

a > a b 4 29 / \ f
THS apxis avaddry uy édéEavto Tuppnvol pod vpes
Kal peyarn duvdper carhyov. avreEnyov &€é tous
“Pwpaious of brrato., cal Trapétakav év ywpiols
e ~ 2 \ \ w 1 Ww \ A 9 4
iepois, @Y TO pev “Apotov! adaos, TO 5é Aicovevov
NELL@VA TpoTayopevovaty. apyYopevwy 5é avTav
cuvayew eis yetpas ~Appwv o Tapxvviou mais
cal Bpovtos o ‘Pwpaiwyv tratos ov Kata TtHyNV
> A 4 > 3 e ’ Ww \
GAAHAOLS TWepiTEecovTEs, ANN UT ExXOGoUsS Kal
opyns, 0 pev ws éml TUpavvoy Kal TodémLov TIS
Tatpioos, 0 dé THS puyHs apuvvopevos, Opynocay
@e , la) ef n \ “A A “
ouoce Tots trons. Oup@ 5é padrXA(OV H AoyLoU@
mpoopigavres nheidnoav avTav kal cvvarrébavov
> / 4 \ a“ , a S
GdAnros. ovTw Sé Setvod yevopévou tov mWpod-
yovos oux éoyev 0 aywv TédOS errLEeLKéaTEpoD,
> \ \ / ” \ , e
ara Kai Spdcavtes ica xal trafovtes ot ot parol
SiexpiOnoav bro yEt“avos.
"Hy ovv év atropots 0 Ovadréptos, ovK cides
TO THS MAXNS TEpas, AAG TOUS OTPATLOTAS CpaVv
Tois pev aUT@V vexpois AOvpodVTAs, éTaLpopevous
5é toils TOY TrodEpioy: odTwWS axKpLTos HY Kal
1 “Apotov Amyot, Coraés, Bekker, after Livy’s silva Araa
(ii. 7, 2) : Odpoor.
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to this. Now Tarquinia was a holy virgin, one of

the Vestals, and received great honours for this act, among which was this, that of all women her testimony alone should be received. The people also voted her permission to marry, but she did not avail herself of it. This is how the thing happened, as the tale runs.

IX. But Tarquin, despairing of attempts to regain his throne Dy treachery, was eagerly welcomed by the Tuscans,! who set out to restore him with a great force. The consuls led the Romans out to meet them, and arrayed their forces in certain sacred precincts, one of which was called the Arsian grove, the other the Aesuvian meadow. When the engage- ment began, Aruns the son of Tarquin and Brutus the Roman consul encountered each other. It was not by chance, but both were driven on by hatred and wrath, the one to attack a tyrant and foe of his country, the other to avenge himself on the author of his exile. They urged their horses to the combat, but since they engaged with fury rather than calcu- lation, they were reckless of themselves, and fell by one another's hands. The battle which had such a dreadful beginning, ended no less disastrously ; the armies, after inflicting and suffering equal losses, were separated by a tempest. .

Valerius was therefore in perplexity, not knowing what the issue of the battle was, but seeing his soldiers as much disheartened by their own losses as they were encouraged by those of their enemies. So undistinguishable and equal was the slaughter on

a Fie people of Veii and Tarquinii, according to Livy, ii. 6, 4f.
2 According to Livy (ii. 7, 1), the Tuscans departed in terror after the battle.

«J

TApPGAANAOS VIO TWAROovs o hovos. ov pwHV arr éxatépois éyyllev opm@pmeva Ta oixeia padXov éBeBaiov tiv Array fh tHv vincny eixalopeva TA TOV TrOAEpIoV. émedovans Se vuKTOS olav eikds oUTM pepaynpévols, Kal yevouevwr év novxla Tav otpatoTrédwr, NEeyovar cero OFvat TO addoos, ex & avtod davinv éxrecety peyaddnv dpdalovear ws évi wreiovs év TH waxy TeOVaKact Tuppnvav 4 'Popaiov. qv 8 dpa Ociov te ro hOeyEduevov' evOUs Te yap UT adTov Tois pev araddfar wapéotn péya wal Oapparéov, ot Sé Tuppnvol mepipoBot yevopevoe nal ouvtrapayOévres e&érrecov éx tod otpatorédov Kal deeomapnaay oi mreloTo: Tous 5é cataderpOévras

Odiyw mevraxicytriwy éddacous émedOovtes el-
Nov ot ‘Pwpaior, nal radrXrAa Sinptracay. oi Sé
vexpol SiaprOunOevres evpéOnoayv tpiaxdctoe pev
él ytrlious Kal pupiows ot TaV TodEpiov, of Se
‘Pwpatov rap va tocobtot.
Tavtny thy paynv réyovar yevéo Oar po pas
caravdav Maptiwv. éOpiduBevoe & ar avtis
Ovarrépios eicerdoas teOpitir@ TPATOS UTaTwD.
Kal TO Tpayya ceuynv Kal peyaroTpenh tapé-
axev dy, ov étipOovoy ovd avdcacayv, ws
Gviot Aéyovuol, TOUS op@vTas’ ov yap ay éaxe
CiAov tocovTov ovdé irotimiay es ern Tap-
moira Stapévovcav. amedé-avto 5€ Tov Ovad-
ANepiov Kal Tas eis TOV GUVapXYOVTAa TLLAsS, als
éxxopiCopevov xal Oamrdpevov éxoopnce xa
Noyov er avT@ SteENrAGev émitdduov, bs obtws
U0 ‘Pwpaiwv nyatrnOn cal rocavtTny éxye Ydpwv
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both sides. Each army, however, was more convinced
of defeat by the near sight of its own dead, than it
could be of victory by conjecturing those of the
enemy. But when such a night came on as must
needs follow such a battle, and both camps were
quiet, they say that the grove was shaken, and a
loud voice issued from it declaring that the Tuscans
had lost one man more in the battle than the
Romans. The utterance was.manifestly from some
god,! for at once the Romans were inspired by it to
-loud shouts of courage, while the Tuscans were
panic-stricken, abandoned their camp in confusion,
and were for the most part dispersed. As for those
that remained, a little less than five thousand in
number, the Romans fell upon them, took them
prisoners, and plundered the camp. And when the
dead on both sides were numbered, those of the
enemy were found to be eleven thousand and three
hundred, and those of the Romans as many less
one.
It is said that this battle was fought on the last day of February. Valerius celebrated a triumph for it, being the first consul to drive into the city on a four-horse chariot. And the proceeding afforded a spectacle

which was imposing and magnificent, not odious and offensive to the spectators, as some say ; otherwise it would not have been continued with such ardour and emulation for countless years. The people were also pleased with the honours which Valerius bestowed upon his colleague at the funeral ceremonies. He even delivered a funeral oration in his honour, which was so admired by the Romans and won such favour that from that time on, when

1 Silvanus, as Livy tells the tale (ii. 7, 2).

@aoTe Waat Tois ayabois Kal peydros Uirapyetv
é& éxeivov TeXeuTHCacW UTO TAY apioTaV éyKo-
pudlecOar. Réyetas Sé kal Tov "EAAnUiKOY ére-
tahiwy éxeivos yevérOar mpecButepos, elye pi
Kal TOTO YoAwVOs éotw, ws 'Avaktméevns 6 pyTwp
iaTopnKev.
X. "ANAG be' exetva warrov FYOovTo T@ Ovar-
epi Kxal mpocéxpovov, Ste Bpodtos pév, Sv
mat épa THS edevbepias évoputev 0 Sfjpos, OUK
ngl@ce povos apxew, adda Kal mTp@Tov avuT@
cuvapxovra 1 pOdelAETO Kal devtepov® "« Oiroat
é, : épacay, "els abtov &travta TUVEVEYKGLEVOS
ovK EoTL THS Bpovrou KANpOVvopjLos Umateias wndev
auT@ TpoanKovans, arra Tis Tapevviov TUpav-
vidos. Kaito. Ti Set AOYM pev Bpodrov ¢ eyKW pLLa-
Gel, é Epyy dé pipeto Oar Tapxvvoy, uno paBdors
onod Tao ats Kal TWeNEKECL kaTvovTa pLovov ef
olxias TocaUvTns TO peyeBos 6 Sony ov Kadecire TH
tov. Bacihews;" Kat yap GVTWS O Ovarndéptos
@KEL TPAYLK@TEPOV UTEP THY Kadoupernyv Ovediay
oixiap emrix pepa.pevny 7H aryopa Kal xalopacav
é& Dypous anavta, dvompéaodov dé medaoat Kal
Naren ny éFwev, dare KataBaivovtos avtov To
ox Twa. PET Ew pov elvat Kal Bacthuxoy THS TWwpo-
TOLTHS TOV OyKoV. baov obv év apg Kat ™ pary-
pao peyddots ayabov ny exenv @Ta Tappnoiay
avtl Kohaxeias T poo téweva Kat oyous arnbeis,
edecEev. axovcas yap OTL Tots Todos dpapta-
vey edoKel TOV pirov dueELovT@v, ovK epedovel-
ANGE, ovo NYAVAKTHGEDY, anrxra Tayv ToXNous

their great and good men died, encomiums were

pronounced upon them by the most distinguished citizens. And this funeral oration of his is said to have been earlier than any among the Greeks, unless Anaximenes the orator is right in saying that the custom originated with Solon.

X. But that which the rather displeased and offended the people in Valerius was this. Brutus, whom they regarded as the father of their liberties, would not consent to rule alone, but once and again chose a colleague to rule with him. “ But this Valerius,’ they said, “in concentrating all power upon himself, is not a successor to the consulate of Brutus, to which he has no right, but to the tyranny of Tarquin. Yet why should he extol Brutus in words, while in deeds he imitates Tarquin, descending to the forum alone, escorted by all the rods and axes together, from a house no less stately than the royal house which he demolished?” For, as a matter of fact, Valerius was living in a very splendid house on the so-called Velia.1 It hung high over the forum, commanded a view of all that passed there, and was surrounded by steeps and hard to get at, so that when he came down from it the spectacle was a lofty one, and the pomp of his

' procession worthy of a king. Accordingly, Valerius

showed what a good thing it is for men in power and high station to have ears which are open to frankness and truth instead of flattery. For when he heard from his friends, who spared him no detail, that he was thought by the multitude to be transgressing, he was not obstinate nor exasperated, but quickly got together a large force of workmen, and while it

1 An eminence of the Palatine hill.

\ / ” \ ww
cuvayaywy Texvitas éTt vuKTOS ovans KatéBanre
Thy oixiay Kal Katécxawev eis Eadhos tracay,
bid e 4 \ e , ec oa \
a@ate wed nuépay tovs “Pwpaiovs opdvras Kat
cuvictapévous Tov pev avdpos ayamrav Kal Oav-
pate Hv peyaroppocuynv, axOecOar Se Tijs
oixias Kal qoOeiy to péyeOos nal TO KddXos,
@otrep avOpwrrov, dua POovov ov Sixaiws xata-
, a \ w C4 ? ,
ANeAupevns, TOV S€ apyovtos, WoTEp aveoTiou,
map érépots oixodvtos. édéyovTo yap ot pirot
tov Ovarrépiov axpt ov torov Edwxev o Sihyos
avT@ Kal KaTecKevacey oixiay éxeivns peTpLo-
Tépay, Orrov vov tepov éotivy Ovixas ToTas Gvopa-
Copevov.

BovAdpevos 5é 7 povoyv éavTov, dda Kal TH
apynv avtl gdoBepas yetponOn Kal mpoodirAy
a a a : 4 / ? ;
moleivy Tots TOANOIS, TOUS TE TEAéKELS ATréXUCE
fa) es > , \ e sf 9 b] ,
tav padBdwv, autds te Tas paBSous els éxxAnoiav
\ e “a a lA 4
Taptwv udnce TO Syum Kal KatéxdLWe, péya
Tot@v TO Tpoaxnpa THS Snwoxpatias. Kal TovTO
péxpe viv Sradpvradtrovery ot dpxovres. éXadvOave
5é TOUS ToAXOUS OvY EaUTOV, WS @OVTO, TOLaY
, 3 \ “ a A / 4,
TaTre.vov, adda Tov POovoyv TH peTpLoTHTL TavTY
a UA e han A
caBatp@v Kal Kod\ovwv, avT@ Sé€ mpoatilels To-
covtov péyeOos Suvdpews Ecov ddaipeiv édoxe
Tis éEovaias, vrrobvopévou pel? ndovis abt@ Tov
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was still night tore the house down, and razed it all to the ground. In the morning, therefore, the Romans saw what had happened, and came flocking together. They were moved to love and admiration by the man’s magnanimity, but were distressed for the house, and mourned for its stately beauty, as if it had been human, now that envy had unjustly compassed its destruction. They were also distressed for their ruler, who, like a homeless man, was now sharing the homes of others. For Valerius was received into the houses of his friends until the people gave him a site and built him a house, ot more modest dimensions than the one he had lived in before, where now stands the temple of Vica Pota,} so-called.

Wishing now to make not only himself but also the government, instead of formidable, submissive and agreeable to the multitude, he removed the axes from the lictors’ rods, and when he came into the assembly, inclined and lowered the rods them- selves to the people, emphasizing the majesty of the democracy. This custom the consuls observe to this day. And before the multitude were aware of it, he had succeeded, not by humbling himself, as they thought, but by checking and removing their envious feelings through such moderation on his part, in add- ing to his real influence over them just as much as he had seemed to take away from his authority, and the people submitted to him with pleasure and bore his

1 Victress Possessor, a name of the goddess of victory, whose temple was at the foot of the Velia (Livy, ii. 7, 12). According to Livy, Valerius was building the house on the Velia, but in order to allay the people's jealousy, brought the materials to the foot of the hill, and built the house there.

Sypov nal dépovtos éxovoiws. wate cat Tomwdu-
KoAaY avnyopevoev BUTOY onpaiver 5é Todbvoma
Snuoxndy Kat tovTo padXrov itoyvoce TaV ap-
yalwv dvoudtav, @ Kal npeis xpnoopeBa Tov
ANotTrov Biov Tov avdpos ictopovrtes.
XI. 'Yrateiay pev yap axe petiévar xal
mapayyédrev tois BovAopévors: mpo Se THs
KaTacTdcEws TOU suVdpxoVTOS ovK «EidMsS TOP
, > \ bd 4 ig \ 4
'vero Opevor, arrAa Seduas avrim pag UTO pGavov
TLVOS h aryvoias, expycaro Th povapxia mpos
Ta KadmoTAa «al peyeata TOV TOALTEULAT WD.
Tp@Tov pev yap dveTAjpoce THY Bovdny OAL-
yavdpotcar éreOynKeay yap of pev vd Tap-
xuviov T™ poTepov, oi dé evayxos € év TH paxn. TOUS
5 eyrypadevTas tm' avtod Aéyovoty ExaTov wal
éfjkovta Técoapas ever Ba. peta be Tatra
VOLOUS éypa eV, ov pddiota per t laxupous érroinge
TOUS TOANOUS O TOY SHyoyv ao TwV UTaTeY TO
pevryovte | dixny émixaretcOas did0vs" Sevrepos O
TOUS apxny avaraBovtas, iv o Onpos ovK edwxer,
atroOvnao Kew Kedevorv" TplTOS dé pera TOUTOUS,
Os éBon Once TOUS TEVNGLV, @ TA TEAN TOV TrokuTay
adeire Kat 7 poOvporepov dmrtecOar TOV épyacvéy
érroinaev amravras. o 8é ypagpels KaTa TOV
ameBourtav TOLS vrdrous _OUxX HTTOV eookeE Snpo-
TUKOS élvat, Kal mpos TOV TOMMY paddov 7
duvatav yeypap Ga. Cnpiav yap arreOeias erage
oa TéEVTE KAL duelv mpoBatwv akiav. Hv 6e
TUN mpoBdrou pev oBorol déxa, Boos dé éxarov,
ovT® vopic pate Xpopevery TON ToTE Pwpaior,
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™™/.
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yoke willingly. They therefore called him Publicola,!
a name which signifies people-cherisher. This name

prevailed over the older names which he had borne,
and it is the name which I shall use for him in the
remainder of this Life.
XI. For he permitted any who wished to enter the lists and sue for the consulship. But before the installation of his colleague, not knowing who he would be, but fearing an opposition due to some jealousy or ignorance, he used his sole authority for the enactment of his best and most important measures. In the first place, he filled up the senate, which was much reduced in numbers; for some had long before been put to death by Tarquin, and others had recently fallen in the battle with the Tuscans. Those who were enrolled in this body by him amounted, they say, to a hundred and sixty-four. After this he enacted several laws, one of which especially strengthened the position of the commons by allowing a defendant to appeal to the people from the judgement of the consuls. A second made it a capital offence to assume a magistracy which the people had not bestowed. A third, following these, came to the relief of the poor; it lifted the taxes from the citizens, so that all engaged more zealously in manufactures and commerce. And the one which was enacted against disobedience to the consuls was thought to be no less popular in its character, and to be in the interest of the many rather than of the powerful. For the fine which it imposed on disobedience was only the worth of five oxen and two sheep. Now the value of a sheep was ten obols, and that of an ox, a hundred, for the Romans at

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 1.

adda poBateias Kal Krnvotpopiars evOnvovvtar.
510 Kal Tas ovcias aypt viv aro TaY mpoBdaTwY
MEKOUNA KAaNODGL, Kal TOY vopiopdTwY Tots
manraotdtos Body éreydpattoy mpoBatov 7
abv. éridevto Sé nal mwasoly abtrav YvtrAXovs
kat BovBovrAKous cal Kampapiovs ovopata nal
Tlopxiovs: xdmpas pev tas alyas, moprous 8é
TOUS Yoipous ovoualorTes.
XII. Odtw S€é wept tadta Snpotixds yevdpevos
vomobérns Kal méeT pos, ev TE wy wetpio! THy Tipw-
play wirepétewvev. eyparre yap vouov dvev Kpicews
xteivat Sidovta Tov BovNomevoy Tupavveiv: KTEi-
vavra 5é dovov xabapov éroincer, e Tapdoyotto
Tov ddiKnpatos Tous édéyXoUS. eémEel yap ov
Suvatoy émixelpovvta THALKOUTOLS AaUeiv AatravTas,
ovx advvatov &€ TO pr) AaOovTa TOD KpLOjAvaL
POdcar KpettTova yevopevoy, ty dvaipel TO adi-
nua Kpiow, mporafely éwxe TO Svvapévm cata
Tov adixovvTos.
2 "Ennvédn 8 nal Sia tov tapevtixoy vopovr.
émel yap see ypnpata mpos Tov TodEpmOV cice-

veyKely ATO TOV OVTLMY TOUS TOALTAS, OUT AUTOS
dyacbat THs oixovopias ovTE TOvs dirous édcat
BovXopevos ob8 Gras eis olxov ids@ Tou trapedOely
Snpoca ypnuata, Tapueioy pev aéderEe Tov TOD
Kpdvov vaov, © péxypt viv xpwpevor StatedXodar,
tapias S€ To Shum Svo Tav véwy Edwxev arro-
3 Sei~ar: nal amedetxOnoay ot mpatot ovmdsos

1 évy rE wh perplp with Coraés: év rg perply.
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that time did not use much coined money, but their wealth consisted in flocks and herds. Therefore to this day they call their substance " peculium,' from "pecus," cattle ; and their oldest coins are stamped with the figure of an ox, a sheep, or a hog. And they actually gave their own sons such surnames as Suillius, Bubulcus, Caprarius, and Porcius; the last two from "capra"' and "porcus," their words for goat and pig.!

XII. But although in these particulars he showed himself a popular and moderate lawgiver, in the case of an immoderate offence he made the penalty severe. For he enacted a law by which any one who sought to make himself tyrant might be slain without trial, and the slayer should be free from blood-guiltiness if he produced proofs of the crinfe. For although it is impossible for one who attempts so great a task to escape all notice, it is not impossible for him to do so long enough to make himself too powerful to be brought to trial, which trial his very crime precludes. He therefore gave any one who was able to do so the privilege of anticipating the culprit's trial.

He also received praise for his law concerning the public treasury. When it was necessary for the citizens to contribute from their substance means for carrying on the war, he was unwilling to assume the administration of it himself, or to allow his friends to do so, or, indeed, to have the public moneys brought into any private house. He therefore made the temple of Saturn a treasury, as it is to this day, and gave the people the privilege of appointing two young men as quaestors, or treasurers. The first to

1 The first two from forms of '' sus," swine, and "' bos," oz.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Overovptos kal Muvodcios Mdpxos xal ypypatra
auvnyOn ToAAd. TpioKxaidexa yap jamreypaxpavro
pupiades, oppavois maiol Kal ynpas yuvackiv
aveDetans TIS elapopas.
Tabra dé Siovkjoas amederEev éauT@ ocuvdp-
xovra TOV Aouxpyrtias TwaTépa Aouxpiriov, @ THS
NYE MOVLKWTEPAS efrardpevos OvTL mpeo Butépe
TaLEWsS mapedwoxe TOUS Kaoupevous paonns: al
TOUTO Sve wervev Els aS TO m peo Betov an’ éxeivou
Tois ‘YeparTepous pudrarropevon. émet 5 oAiryass
TMépas Dorepov ered eUTAT EV O Aouxpyrtios, Wad
dpxatpec vay yevopmeveov npeOn Mad pros ‘Opdreos,
Kal TuvApxXe TP Tlowdcxdr@ Tov UroderTropevov
Xpovov Tov évavtod.

XIII. Tapxuviou « dé ‘Pwpaious Sevrepov TOE pov
éy Tuppyvia KLVOUVTOS péeya onpetov NeyeTat
ryevéer Oar: Bacinedwv yap ért xal TOV VE@V ToD
Kamitwriov Ards exov) Tapevvios cov ome
oUyTETEhEd UEVO?, ere payreias ryevomerns elt’ av-
TO bofay GdXAws, Gpya Kata Kopudny émiorhjoat
KEPa{LeouV eFeduxe Tuppyvots tTiow €& Ovniwy
Snpsoupyots, eit’ odtyov totepov ékérece THis
apr is. tav 6é Tuppnvav SiaTreT ac pévov TO
TO pummov éuBarovrav eis KapLVOD, ovx éralev
a T poo jKel Tdaoyvew mnrov év Tupl, aruxvova Gas
Kal ouritavery, exTNKOmerns THS Uyporntos, adn
ebay kai @dnoe Kal peyeBos é éaxev apa pouy
Kal TKANPOTNTL TOTOUTOY WATE pores eFarpeOnjvas
THY opodyy atrocKkevacapévoy THS Kauivou nat
TaY TOLXwY TmepiarpebevTov. os ov éddxeu Tots
pavTect Ociov elvat onpeiov evTuytas Kal Suvd-
pews tap’ ols écovto To TéOpiTmov, Eyvwoav ot
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be thus appointed were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minucius, and large sums of money were collected. For one hundred and thirty thousand names were on the assessment lists, orphans and widows being excused from the contribution.!

This matter regulated, he caused Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, to be appointed his colleague in the consulship.?2, To him he yielded the precedence, as the elder man, and committed to him the so- called “ fasces,’’ a privilege of seniority which has continued from that day to this. But Lucretius died a few days afterwards, and in a new election Marcus Horatius was chosen consul, and shared the office with Publicola for the remainder of the year. ,

XIII. While Tarquin was stirring up in Tuscany another war against the Romans, a thing of great portent is said to have happened. When Tarquin was still king, and had all but completed the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, either in consequence of an oracle, or else of his own good pleasure, he com- missioned certain Tuscan craftsmen of Veii to place upon its roof a chariot of terra cotta. Soon after this he was driven from his throne. The Tuscans, however, modelled the chariot and put it in a furnace for firing, but the clay did not contract and shrink in the fire, as it usually does, when its moisture evaporates. Instead of this, it expanded and swelled and took on such size, strength, and hardness, that it could with difficulty be removed, even after the roof of the furnace had been taken off and its sides torn away. To the seers, accordingly, this seemed a divine portent of prosperity and power for those who should possess the chariot, and the

1 Cf. Camillus, ii. 2. 2 Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 1-4. 535

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Ovnior uy wpoécbar trois ‘Pwpalows atrastoveor, Kal amexpivavto tovto Tapxuviois, od trois Tap- xuvious éxBarodat mpoanKew. ortyats 8 Sotepov nuépars Roay lrmay ayaves avtois. Kal TA ev adr Béav cal crovdny ciwOviav wapetxe, To 5é vixnoav TtéOpimmov o pev jvioxyos é€EnNauve TOU immodpopov ayédnv ecrehavwpévos, ot Sé tarot mronGévtes am’ ovdeutds éudavods mpopdcews, GdAa Kata Te Satpovioy 7 TUYNY ‘tevTO TapTi Taye. pos THY ‘Pwyaiwy modu, éyovTes TOV nvioxov, @s ovdeyv hv epyov avtod xatatetvoyTos ovde TapnyopobvTos, GAN Hptracto, Sovta TH pupn Kal gepopevov, adypr od TH Kamitwor\io mpoopigavtes éFéBadov avtov évtav0a Tapa tHhv muAnv jv viv “Patovpévay xadovdot. ‘yevouévou dé rovtou Oavydoavtes of Ovnios cai PoBnOévres érétpeway atrodobvar 76 Gpua Tots TexviTass.

XIV. Tov 8 vewv tot Kamitwdiov Atos eb-
Eato pév avabnoav Tapxivos o Anpaparov
TONE MOV LaBivors, geodounae dé Tapxivios 0
LovepBos vids dv Hh viwvos Tov evEapévou:
Kavepdoat dé ov« epOacer, adda pax pov amre-
AeimeTo Tob TEXOS éyeuv ore Tapxvveos efémumrev.
as obp arreipyaoro TEACWS Kal TOV TpvgnKxovTa
Koo HOV ameiyen, qv Te LomdcorAa purorepia
mpos THY Kabtépworr. épBovovr $8 ‘moddol TOD
duvatav, Kal mYXOGovTo tais pev dddaus Tipais
HTTOv, as vopoberay Kal oTpAT YOY éx ™poon-
KOVTOV éoxe” Tavrny 8 ovcay GddoTpiav ovK
@ovto Seiy ait@ mpocyevécOat, eat Tov “Opatciov
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people of Veii determined not to give it up. When the Romans asked for it, they were told that it belonged to the Tarquins, not to those who had expelled the Tarquins. But a few days afterwards there were chariot races at Veii. Here the usual exciting spectacles were witnessed, but when the charioteer, with his garland on his head, was quietly driving his victorious chariot out of the race-course, his horses took a sudden fright, upon no apparent occasion, but either by some divine ordering or by merest chance, and dashed off at the top of their speed towards Rome, charioteer and all. It was of no use for him to rein them in or try to calm them with his voice; he was whirled helplessly along until they reached the Capitol and threw him out there, at the gate now called Ratumena. The Veientines were amazed and terrified at this occur- rence, and permitted the workmen to deliver their chariot.

XIV. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had been vowed by Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, when he was at war with the Sabines, but it was actually built by Tarquinius Superbus, the son, or grandson, of him who vowed it. He did not, however, get so far as to consecrate it, but was driven out before it was quite completed. Accordingly, now that it was completely finished and had received all the orna- ments that belonged to it, Publicola was ambitious to consecrate it. But this excited the jealousy ot many of the nobility. They could better brook his other honours, to which, as legislator and military commander, he had a rightful claim. But this one they thought he ought not to have, since it was more appropriate for

others, and therefore they

mpoeTpétmovTo Kal twapwetvvoyv aytiroeiocbas TIS
cablepwocews. yevonévns ody +e TlomArKod@
otpateias avayxaias, Wndirdpevo, Tov 'Opdtiov
KkaQtepody avizyov eis TO Katut@dov, os ovK
dv éxelvov mepuyevopevot mapovtos. évioe Sé
dact K\ipwm Tov UTdTwy Aayely Exeivoy él
THY oTpaTelay dxovta, TovTov dé éml thy Kabsé-
pwow. é€eote 5é mepl tovTwy ws eoyev etxd-
few tois mpaxOeior tmepl tH Kadiépwory. eidois
ou Lenreupiass, 7) ourtuyyavet Tept THY Tav-
oédnvov paduora Tov Merayerryavos, aun pot-
opeéveov amdadytov eis TO Kamirwor, O pep
'Oparos TLWOT AS yevouérns Ta Tt adda Spdcas
kat tov Oupav arpdpevos, GoTrEp Gos éotiv,
émep 0 eyyero TAS VEVO[LLO MEAS émrl TH cabrepwmoct
gwvas' o 8 'abedpos rod Tlomduxdda Mdpnos éx
moNAOU Tapa, Tas Oupas dpertas kal Tapagu-
AdTTwWY TOY Kaupon, ©°O, orate,' ' elrrev, "6 VLOS
gov TéOvyker € ev TO atpatoTedyp vooyjaas." TOUTO
mavras nviace Tovs aKovoavTas: o 8 'Oparios
oudey S:atapax eis, ann' A Toc oUTOV povov
elm ov, es 'Pinpate Tolvuy O7roL _Bovreade TOV
vex pov, cya yap ov mpociepat TO mévOos," émé-
pave THY Aoumrny Kabrépwory. nv &€ TO ™poany-
eA pevov ovK arnOés, aX' o Mapxos Os amr0-
oT Hoey TOV Oparvov éevoaro. aupacTes ouv
0 avnp THS evoTadeias, elite THY anarny év Karp
Bpaxei ouveidev cite marevdels 0 AOdyos ovK
éxiynoev avtov.
XV. "Eouxe 5é xal wept tov Sevrepov vacv

encouraged and incited Horatius to claim the privilege ot consecrating the temple. At a time, then, when Publicola was necessarily absent on military service, they got a vote passed that Horatius should perform the consecration, and conducted him up to the Capitol, feeling that they could not have gained their point had Publicola been in the city. Some, however, say that Publicola was designated by lot, against his

inclination, for the expedition, and Horatius for the consecration.! And it is possible to infer how the matter stood between them from what happened at the conse- cration. It was the Ides of September, a day which nearly coincides with the full moon of the Attic month Metageitnion ; the people were all assembled on the Capitol, silence had been proclaimed, and Horatius, after performing the other ceremonies and laying hold upon the door of the temple, as the custom is, was pronouncing the usual words of con- secration. But just then Marcus, the brother of Publicola, who had long been standing by the door and was watching his opportunity, said : "O Consul, thy son lies dead of sickness in the camp." This distressed all who heard it; But Horatius, not at all disturbed, merely said: " Cast forth the dead then whither ye please, for I take no mourning upon me," and finished his consecration. Now the announce- ment was not true, but Marcus thought by his falsehood to deter Horatius from his duty. _Wonder- ful, therefore, was the firm poise of the man, whether he at once saw through the deceit, or believed the story without letting it overcome him.!

XV. A similar fortune seems to have attended the

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 8, 6-8.

opoia TUYN yeveo Oar TIS Kablepwoews. TOV peV yap TpaTov, ws elpntat, Tapxuviov KatacKeua- aavtos, "Opatiov 8 xadtepwoavtos, év ois éudvaAtors monéuors Op amwawdece: Tov Se Sev- Tepov avéotnce pev YAras, éreypaddn S€ 77H xabtepoaet Katovros XvANA TpoaTroPavovtTos. rovtou 5é madwy ev Tais kara OvitérAXov ordoect S:apOapévtos tov tpirov TH mpos TaAAA Kal
A Ul bY , 9 \ b]
tobTo xXpyoduevos edrroTpuig Over meavavos é& apyis axype tédovs avayayav, émeide yevouevor kat POerpopevov pet' Grlyov ovK émretdev, aXXNa ToaovTov evtvyia LArav waphrAOev oov exeivov ev THS adiepwcews tov Epyou, rodroyv bé TIS dvatpécews TpoaTroBavetv. aya yap T@ TErEV- thoat Ovectectavov éverrpyaOn To Kamiteéduov. 'O &€ tétapros ovtos tbo Aopetiavod Kai auvetertaOn Kai xabtepwOn. Réyerac S€ Tap- xuviov els Tous Oepedtous avadadcat Aitpas ap- yuplouv Tetpakiopupias: toutou Sé Tod Kal' pas Tov peytotoyv év 'Poun tov idtwrixov trotTov éxroyicOévTa TO THS Ypvawcews pn TErAdoaL dy avdvdwopa, wréeov 4H Sicytdiov cal pupiwv ta- AdvTwv yevouevov. of dé Kioves éx Tov Tlevte- Ajow éTunOncavy Aifov, KdAMoTaA TH Tayet TpOs TO [LKOS Exovtes: eldopuev yap avrous 'AG-

ynow. év 5é “Pwoyn wrAnyévtes adOis Kai avakv-
abévtes ov TocovToy éoxov yradupias dcop
aToecav cuppetpias kal! rod Kadov, dtdxevoe
1 «al supplied by Bekker. after G. Hermann: oupperplas
Tov Kadov (the symmetry of their beauty).
540

dedication of the second temple. The first, as I have said, was built by Tarquin, but consecrated by Horatius; this was destroyed by fire during the civil wars.!| The second temple was built by Sulla, but Catulus was commissioned to consecrate it,? after the death of Sulla. This temple, too was destroyed, during the troublous times of Vitellius,’ and Vespas- ian began and completely finished the third, with the good fortune that attended him in all his under- takings. He lived to see it completed, and did not live to see it destroyed, as it was soon after ; and in dying before his work was destroyed he was just so much more fortunate than Sulla, who died before his was consecrated. For upon the death of Vespasian . the Capitol was burned.‘

The fourth temple, which is now standing on the same site as the others, was both completed and consecrated by Domitian. It is said that Tarquin expended upon its foundations forty thousand pounds of silver. But the greatest wealth now attributed " to any private citizen of Rome would not pay the cost of the gilding alone of the present temple, which was more than twelve thousand talents.> Its pillars are of Pentelic marble,® and their thickness was once most happily proportioned to their length ; for we saw them at Athens. But when they were recut and scraped at Rome, they did not gain as much in polish as they lost in symmetry and beauty,

1 83 B.C. 2 69 B.C. 3 69 A.D. * 80 A.D.

5 For purposes of comparison a talent may be reckoned as worth £250, or $1200.
8 Pentelé was an Attic deme on the N.E. edge of the Athenian plain, near which excellent marble was quarried from the mountain. This was called Brilessus in earlier times then Pentelicus.
541

\ \ 4 e A 4 “
5 Kat Nayapot davevtes. o pévtot Gavpacas Tov
KamitwXiov tiv ToduTéAELay, eb play eldev ev
> / a“ A \
oiKig Aopersavod oroay 0] Bacidoeny i) Badra-

velov 7 TadXaKkiowy Siaitav, olov éott TO NeEyo-
\ \
pevoy ’"Enrtydppou mpos tov dowtov, -
Ov piravOpwros TU y éso" eyes vécov:
xaipes dd0us,
TovovToyv ay tL mpos Aopetiavov eimeiy mponyOn:
“Ovn edoeBys odde gidotimos TY oat: execs
vooov' Xaipers KaTouxobopar, aotep o Midas
éxeivos, AtwavTa aot Xpued wal MOwa Bovdo-
PeEVvOS yiver Oa.” Taira bev ov mrept TOUTWDV.
XVI. ‘O & Ta KUvLOS pera TV peyddny
payny év Kal tov viov aTr@rere Hovopayy-
cavra Bpovro, KaTapuyov els TO Knyovotov
ixérevoe Adpav Hlopcivay, avbpa Kai dSvvapev
peytorny éxovTa TOY "Tranicov Bactréwr Kal
oKOvYTAa YpnoToV eva Kal b pudorepor o 8 bmé-
TXETO BonOnceuw. Kar Tpe@Tov poev erreppev ELS
‘Poyny KedEVOV b¢ ecQat Tov Tapxvviov- as
ov UTRKOVTaY ot Popaior, KaTaryyelas: avrots
TOAEMOV Kal xpovov év @ Kal ToTrov eis Ov émendev
2 euBareiv, adtKero PETA TONKS Suvdwews. IIo-
mLKOAaS e npeOn pev are@v bratos TO Sevtepov,
Kal ou aur Tiros Aouxpyrios: éravehOov de
els “Pony rat Bovdopevos T@ ppovnuart ™ p@TOV
vrepBarérOat TOV Tlopoivay, exTile TOMY 2-
‘yALoupiay mn mya tov GvTOS avTov. Kal Tes-
Yicas peydrols avadwpaciw éEmtaxocious érrot-
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and they now look too slender and thin. However,
if anyone who is amazed at the costliness of the
Capitol had seen a single colonnade in the palace
of Domitian, or a basiiica, or a bath, or the apart-
ments for his concubines, then, as Epicharmus says
to the spendthrift,
“<’Tis not beneficent thou art; thou art diseased ;
thy mania is to give,”
so he would have been moved to say to Domitian:
«°Tis not pious, nor nobly ambitious that thou art ;
thou art diseased; thy mania is to build; like the
famous Midas, thou desirest that every thing become
gold and stone at thy touch.” So much, then, on
this head.

XVI. But to return to Tarquin, after the great battle in which he lost his son in a duel with Brutus, he fled for refuge to Clusium, and became a suppliant of Lars Porsena, the most powerful king in Italy, who was thought also to be aman of worth and noble ambitions. He promised Tarquin his aid and assist- ance. So in the first place he sent to Rome and ordered them to receive Tarquin as their king. Then when the Romans refused, he declared war upon them; proclaimed the time and place of his attack, and marched thither with a great force.! Publicola was chosen consul for the second time, in his absence, and Titus Lucretius as his colleague. Returning, therefore, to Rome, and wishing, in the first place, to surpass Porsena in the loftiness of his spirit, he built the city of Sigliuria, although his adversary was al- ready near at hand. After he had fortified it at great expense, he sent to it a colony of seven hundred

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 9.

xovs amréctetrev, WS padlws dépwv al abeas Tov médeu“ov. ov pv aGdAA TpooBorArns dkeias TO reixet yevouéevns eEewoOncav ot puvdaKes v7r0 tov Iopciva, cal dhevyovtes ddiyou acuvererTa- cavto Tovs Todeuious eis THY TOA. EhON Se mpo tav mudav éxBonOncas o Ilomdxodas, kai paxynv cuvarpas Tapa Tov ToTapoy avTeiye TA2- ber Bralopévors Tots ToAdepiows, AXpt OU Tpavpac~L veavixols TepiTrec@v atrexopiaOn popadyy éx THS payns. 70 8 abto kal Aovepytiov Tov cuvap- xovTos avre@ madovros abupia Tots Poopatoes évérrene, Kal huyn mpos THY TodLY éawlov Eau- tovs. @O0oupévar Sé TV ToAEuion Sia THS Evdt- yns yedupas éxivdvvevcev 7 “Paun kata xpdtos aN@vat. mpatos dé Koxdos ‘Opdrios Kat ovv aire Si0 Tay éemipavestdtav dvdpav, “Eppivios cai Adpxuos, advtéatnoay rept thy EvAtvnv yédv- pav. 0 & ‘Opdtios tov KoxAsov érwvipiov éoyev éy rodkéu@ Tov oupdtwv Odtepov éexKoreis’ ws 8S nor Néyover, ba cipotnta THs puvos évdedu- xvias ote pndev elvar 70 Siopivoy Ta Supata Kal tas oppis cuyxexicba, Kixrwma Bovdo- pevor Kadely avTov of ToAXOl THS yAWTTAS OM- aBawvovons éexpatncev bd wANGovs Koxdcov xa- NeloOat. ovTos éEcTw@S TpPd TIS yepurpas HuUvETO Tous Trodeuious, aypt ov Sréxoway of adv avT@ KatoTiv thy yépupav. ovTw dé peta TOV OTrwY adels éavtov els Tov Totapov amevntato, Kal mpockuke TH mwépav bxOn Sopate Tuppnuike BeBAnpévos tov yroutov. o Sé TlomAKodas Thy dpetnv Oavpdoas adtixa pév eionyjoato “Po- 106

men, indicating that he had no concern or fear about the war. However, a sharp assault was made upon its wall by Porsena, and its garrison was driven out. They fled to Rome, where the pursuing enem

almost followed them into the city. But Publicola promptly sallied out to their aid in front of the gate, joined battle by the river side with the enemy, who pressed on in great numbers, and held out against them until he was desperately wounded and carried bodily out of the battle. The same fate overtook Lucretius, his colleague, also, so that dismay fell upon the Romans, and they fled for safety towards the city. But as the enemy were forcing their way onto the wooden bridge, Rome was in danger of being taken by storm. Horatius Cocles,! however, first, and with him two of the most illustrious men of the city, Herminius and Lartius, defended the wooden bridge against them. Horatius had been given his surname of Cocles because he had lost one of his eyes in the wars. Some, however, say that his nose was flat and sunken, so that there was nothing to separate his eyes, and his eye-brows ran together, and that for this reason the multitude wished to call him Cyclops, but by a slip of the tongue the name of Cocles became generally prevalent instead. This Cocles, standing at the head of the bridge, kept the enemy back until his companions had cut the bridge in two behind him. Then, all accoutred as he was, he plunged into the river and swam across to the other side, in spite of a wound in the buttocks from a Tuscan spear. Publicola, out of admiration for his valour, proposed that every Roman should at once

1 The exploit of Horatius is much more dramatically narrated by Livy (ii. 10).

paious atravras, donv Exaotos €v Type pa. Tpopy
avi do Ke, dobvat oUvELaEveyKOVTAS, emeita TiS
Xepas hy aves Tepiapooeler éy TPEPQ. T pos
6é TOUTOLS eiKOva Karty éornoav aure’ év T@
Lep@ TOU “H¢aiorou, THY yevouerny é€x TOD Tpav-
paros TH avdpl Yw@XOTHTA pETA TLLAS Tapnyo-
pouvtes.
XVII. "Enrenetpévou dé Tlopoiva Th woAEL Kal
ALpLOs iymrero TOV ‘Powpaicor, xal Tuppyvar & ETEPOS
oTpatos avTos Kal” avrov Els THY Xwpay évéBanre.
Tlomduxodas dé TO Tplrov UiraTevo Tlopowva
pe ar pewav kal durdttav rHv médw weTo Seiv
avréxery, Tois Oé Tuppnvois emeEnrve Kar oupBa-
Nov €T peparo Kal mevraciaxtdious auto aveire.
To ay mept Movxuov elpnTar pev vd TOAD

Kal Sapopws, ex Téov bé 7 D padiora Tia TEvET AL
Kal nuiv. mv avyp els Tacav apetnv ayabos, év
5é€ Tots woNeutxots apiotos: émtBovrAevwv bé Tov
Tlopcivay dvedeiv rrapeanbev els 76 otparto-
qeoov Tuppyvida popav eoOijra xal pov Vpo-
pEvos opola. TrepiehOav dé TO Biya Tov Baot-
Aéws KaleCopévon, Kat Tapas pep avTov OUK
eldws, épécdar S€ mepi avtob bedias, dv w7HOn
pddiota TOV curyxabelouevov éxeivov elvat oTa-
GadpEevos TO Eidos ATEKTELVED. em TOUT® dé
currnpdeis avexptvero" Kai Tivos éoxapidos md
éxovans peddovTe TO Tlopoiva Ove KEXOMLO [é-
yn, birepoxXav THY SeFtay Xeipa Kalomévns Tis
gapKos ela TnKeL T™pos TOV Tlopcivay arroPrérav
iTaL@ Kal ATPETTH TO TpoTHOTM, méexpL Ov Bav-

1 airg bracketed in Sintenis? because of the hiatus following.

contribute for him as much provision as each con- sumed in a day, and that afterwards he should be given as much land as he could plough round in a day. Besides this, they set up a bronze statue of him in the temple of Vulcan, to console him with honour for the lameness consequent upon his wound.

XVII. While Porsena was closely investing the city, a famine afflicted the Romans,! and another Tuscan army on its own account invaded their territory. Publicola, who was now consul for the third time, thought that Porsena must be met by a quiet and watchful resistance within the city; but he sallied out upon the other Tuscan army, engaged it, routed it, and slew five thousand of them.

The story of Mucius has been often and variously told, but I must give it as it seems most credible to me.?_ He was a man endowed with every virtue, but most excellent in war. Designing to kill Porsena, he stole into his camp, wearing a Tuscan habit, and using a speech tocorrespond. After walking around the tribunal where the king was sitting with others, -not knowing him certainly, and fearing to inquire about him, he drew his sword and slew that one of the group whom he thought most likely to be the king. Upon this he was seized, and was being questioned, when a sort of pan containing live coals was brought to Porsena, who was about to offer sacrifice. Mucius held his right hand over the flames and, while the flesh was burning, stood looking at Porsena with a bold and _ steadfast countenance, until the king was overcome with

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 12, 1.
2 Plutarch’s version is far less coherent and dramatic

than Livy’s (ii. 12).
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a2
v4
bo
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

padcas adijxev adtov xal to Eldos dodcdovs
v 2 ‘ fe) / e A > 4
a@pe~ev amo tod Bnyatos: o Sé THY ev@vupov
, 23Q7 \ \ a _f | ee
mpoteivas édéEato. xal Sa todTd dacw avTa
yevéoOat tov Yxatorav érixAnow, Step eat
Aawv. épn dé tov doBov rod Tlopciva vew-
KNK@S NTTaTOaL THS apeTHs, eal yapiTe pwnvvew
& pos dvayxny ovK av éEnyopevae. “ Tptaxocror
\ e / b>] ” ce A b] \ 3 4
yap ‘Pwpaiwr,” edn, “thy adrnv éeuol yveuny
éyovres €v TO oTpaToTéd@ Go TAAVOVTAL KaLpov
3 a > A \ / \ A
émiTnpoovtres' éyw dé KAnpY Aayov Kal mpo-
emiyetpnoas ovK axGouat tH TUYn, Siapmaptev
avdpos ayabobd Kal dirov padXov % qodeuiouv
‘p / ? / 99 50° e jaf ,
wpatos elvat mpérovtos.” tad™’ o Topacivas
+ 4 > / \ \ V4 oe
axovaas émiarevoe kal mpos Tas dsadvoes Hdtov
gxxev, ov TocodTo, pot doxel, PoBw TeV TpLaKo-
4 sd > \ 4
ciwv, cov ayacbels nal Oavpdoas Tro dpovnpa
Kal THY apeTny TOY ‘Pwpaiwr.
Todtov tov dvdpa Moverov opod tte wavtwy
Kal {xatorav carovvtwv "AOnvodwpos o {dvdwvos
év t@ mpos "Oxraoviay trav Kaicapos aderpiy
cal Orpiryovov avoudobar pnoiv.
XVIII. ‘O pévror TMordcxdras avros, ody oftw

4 \ 4 \ e 4
moréuov ovta tov Ilopcivay Bapvy nyovpevos
ws GEvov woddod TH TroAE hirov yevécOat cal
oUppaxov, ovx epevryer er’ avtov dixn xpiOnvas
mpos Tapxivov, adr éOdpper kal mpovcanreiro
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admiration and released him, and handed him back his sword, reaching it down to him from the tribunal. Mucius stretched out his left hand and took it (on which account, they say, he received the surname of Scaevola, which means Left-handed). Then he said that although he had conquered the fear which Porsena inspired, he was vanquished by the nobility which he displayed, and would reveal out of gratitude what he would not have disclosed under compulsion. ‘Three hundred Romans, then,” said he, “ with the same resolution as mine, are now prowling about in thy camp and watching their opportunity. I was chosen by lot to make the first attempt upon thee, and I am not distressed at what has happened, so noble is the man whom I failed to kill, and so worthy to be a friend rather than an enemy of the Romans.” On hearing this, Porsena believed it to be true, and felt more inclined to come to terms, not so much, I suppose, through fear of the three hundred, as out of wondering admiration for the lofty spirit and bravery of the Romans.}

All other writers agree in giving this Mucius the surname of Scaevola, but Athenodorus, the son of Sandon, in his book addressed to Octavia, the sister of Augustus Caesar, says that his surname was Postumus.

XVIII. Publicola himself, moreover, thinking that Porsena would be more valuable as a friend and ally of the city than he was dangerous as its enemy, did not shrink from making the king an arbitrator in his dispute with Tarquin,! but often boldly challenged

1 According to Livy (ii. 13, 1-5), Porsena was so terrified by the disclosures of Mucius, that he made propositions of peace to the Romans.

mova os éFedéyEov Kdxiotov avipav Kat
4
Sixaiws abaipeévra Thy apynv. aTroxptvapevou
$8 rod Tapxvuviou tpaxvtepov, ovdéva troreta bar
4
Sicacthy, Axiota dé Tlopcivay, e ocvppaxos

e

dy petaBdrrxcTat, Svaxepdvas Kal KaTayvous oO

A \ v

Tlopaivas, dua 5¢ rod maidds “Appovtos Seouévou

, eu a e / ,

kat orovoatovtos umép tov Pwpaiwv, Katedu-

gato Tov qwodepov éFtoTapévors HS amreTé“ovTo

ths Tuppnvidos xwpas Kal tovs atxpadwrous

dtroméutovat, Komlouévors 5é Tovs avTopodous.

él rovtots opnpous edwxav éF evrrarploay Trept-

tropdupous Séxa Kxal tapOévovs tocavTas, ov
Av xat Womducora Ouydtnp Ovarrepia.
XIX. Lpartopévev 8 rovtwy rod te Tlopciva
TATAY HON THY TOAEMLK]VY GAVELKOTOS TapacKeunY
Sia triotiv, ai wapOévor tov “Pwpaiwy nat7dOov
3 \ wv ‘ 4 ”
él Noutpov eva bn pnvoedyns tus OXON TreEpt-
4 \ \ e , 4
BdadXovca TOV ToTapov jnovxiav pddioTa Kal
yadnvny Tov Kvparos trapetyer. ws 8 ovTE
Twa dvraxny é®pwv odte Tapwovtas GdrAwWS 7
Stamdéovtas, opunyv éoyov dtrovntacBat mpos
fe) 4
peda ToAv Kal divas Babelas. Evior 5€ act
/ >A ” , / 4
piav avtav, dvoua Knrotriav, trm@ dueFeracat
TOV Topov, éyKeXevopevny Tais AANaLS veovaats
Kai tapabappivovaav. émel S¢ cwOeicat mpos
tov TlomAxoray hxov, odx Oavpacev od Hyd-
9 ’ 9 4 ied M4 4 >
mnoev, GAN nvidOn, Gre Ilopciva xaxiwv ép
miote. havelrat, kal TO TOAMnLa TAY TrapOéveY
55°

10:

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Tarquin to do so, confident of proving that he was the basest of men and justly deprived of his king- dom. And when Tarquin gave him a rough answer, saying that he would make no man his judge, least of all Porsena, seeing that he was swerving from his alliance with him, Porsena was displeased and per- ceived the weakness of his cause. His son Aruns also pleaded earnestly with him in behalf of the Romans. Consequently, he put an end to his war against them, on condition that they gave up the territory of

Tuscany which they had taken, sent back their prisoners of war, and received back their deserters. In confirmation of these conditions, the Romans gave as hostages ten young men from their noblest families, and as many maidens, of whom Valeria, a daughter of Publicola, was one.

XIX. After these stipulations had been carried out, and when Porsena had already remitted all his ~ warlike preparations through his confidence in the treaty, these Roman maidens went down to the river to bathe, at a place where the curving bank formed a bay and kept the water especially still and free from waves. As they saw no guard near, nor any one else passing by or crossing the stream, they were seized with a desire to swim away, notwith- standing the depth and whirl of the strong current. And some say that one of them, named Cloelia, crossed the stream on horseback, exhorting and encouraging the rest as they swam. But when they were come in safety to Publicola, he bestowed no admiration or affection upon them, but was distressed because he would be thought less true to his word than Porsena, and because the daring exploit of the maidens would be called a base fraud on the part of

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aitiay é€e. xaxovpynpa 'Pwpaiwy yeyovevat.
516 cudAAaBwv avtas mddw amréoretNe Tpos TOY
Ilopoivay. tadra 8 of rept rov Tapxinov mpo-
arcOopevor, Kat xabicavtes évéSpay trois dryovat
TAS Taidas, ev TE Trepiiy éméOevto mXeloves OvTes.
éxeivov dé 6pws dpuvopéven, y TlowAtxora.
Ouyarnp Ovarrxcpia da péowy opuncaca Tey
paxopévwy amépuye, Kat Tpeis Ties oixéTas
/, " > 4 " > LA
cuvosextrecovtes Eowlov auvTnyv. trav 8 addwv
OvK axivdvvws avapemtypévov Tois paxopéevots,
wa " e 4 eX bd
aiGopevos "Appwv o Ilopaciva vids oféws apoce-
BonOnce, Kal gduyns yevopévns TeV TroNeuoV
mepteTroinae Tous 'Pwpatous.
'Os 5€ ras mrapOévovs Komtcbeiacas o Topcivas
elde, THY KatapEapévny tis mpdkews nal trapa-
4 vad ¥ 3¢g0/ bd , \

Kedevoapevny tais adrais efnrer. axovaoas dé
TO dvopa THS KXovrdias mpocéBrewev avtny trem
Kat haidp@ Te WpocwT@, Kal KeXevoas (larov
axOnvar tav Baoiiikay Kexoopnpévov evTrpEeTTas
éSwpynoato. TovTO TroLovYTAaL papTUpLoY of wovny
thv Knrourtav réyovtes ira SuekeAdoat Tov
motayov. of & ov dacw, GAXL Tihoat TO
avdpases adtis Tov Tuppnvov. avdxertar dé thy

e \ CAN , > 4 b) \
iepav odov Tropevopévors eis Iladdtiov avdpias
avTns édirios, dv tives ov THs KXotdlas, adda
THs Ovadrepias eivar Aéyovowy.
‘O 8€ Tlopcivas Sdiadrayels trois “Pwpaiots

the Romans. He seized them, therefore, and sent them back again to Porsena. But Tarquin and his men got timely intelligence of this, set an ambush for the convoy of the maidens, and attacked them in superior numbers as they passed along. The party attacked defended themselves, nevertheless, and Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, darted through the combatants and fled, and with the help of three attendants who broke through the crowd with her, made good her escape. The rest of the maidens were mingled with the combatants and in peril of their lives. But Aruns, the son of Porsena, learning of the affair, came with all speed to their assistance, put their enemies to flight, and rescued the Romans.

When Porsena saw the maidens thus brought back, he asked for the one who had begun the: enterprise and encouraged the rest in it. And when he heard Cloelia named as the one, he looked upon her with a gracious and beaming countenance, and ordering one of the royal horses to be brought, all fittingly caparisoned, he made her a present of it. Those who say that Cloelia, and Cloelia alone, crossed the river on horseback, produce this fact in evidence. Others dispute the inference, and say that the Tuscan merely honoured in this way the maiden’s courage. But an equestrian statue of her stands by the Via Sacra, as you go to the Palatine, though some say it represents not Cloelia, but Valeria.}

Porsena, thus reconciled with the Romans, gave

1 According to Livy, who gives a very different version of the Cloelia episode (ii. 13, 6-11), the maidens were incited by the example of Mucius to their display of courage,

in memory of which the Romans erected at the top of the Via Sacra an equestrian statue, ‘‘ virgo insidens equo.”

GAAnV Te éEavToD wroAAHY peyahoppoo vyny éqe-
deiEaTo TH trode, Kal Ta SAA TOVs Tuppyvods
avaraBeiv Kerevoas, dAXNo Sé pndév, GX’ éxrei-
Tew TOV Yapaka citov Te TOAAOD Kal YpnUadToV
éuovta TavTobaTav, tapédwxe tots “Pwpaiors.
bs kal nal? Huds ert twdovvtes ta Sypdota
Tpa@ta KnpuTtovar Ta Ilopciva xphpata, Tun
T@ avopl Tis Xa pias didvov év TH pvnpn Sa-
guArdtrovres. etaotrnces 5é Kal yarxods avdpias
avrov Tapa TO BovreuTHpLov, atrrovs Kal ap-
Naixos TH épyacia.
XX. Mera 8 taidta YaBivov éuBadrovrwv

> A , C4 ? , 4

els THY ywpav Uiratos pev arredetyOn Madpxos
Ovarrépios, aderAgpos Tlomduxdra, nat Woorov-
pos TovBeptos. Tpatropévoy d€ trav peyiotov
yvoun Kal tapovola TlomduKora dvol padyats
peydrais 0 Mapros éevixnoev, dv év Th Sevtrépa
undéva “Popalwvy dmoBarkov tpicytdovs én
Hupiou TOV Todelov dvetre. Kal yépas Eoyev
Ett tois OpuduBors oixiav avT@ yevér Oat Snpocioss
avaropacw év Iladatip. tav 8 GAdNwv TOTE
Oupav claw THs oiKias eis TO KAELCtOY avoLyo-
Mévev, éxeivns povns THs olxias éroincay éxTos
atrdayecbar tiv avreov, ws 81) KATA TO TUYXO-
PHA Ths Tins del tod Snpwociov mpocerTi-
AapBavor.
jDas & ‘EAXnuixds mporepov obras éyew amacas
€youcw, ao TaV Koppdiav AapBavortes, Ste
KomrTova. kal opotot tas avtav Ouvpas Evdobev
Ob Wpotévar wédAovTes, Oras alaBnats €Ew yévorto
| TWapepxyopuévors 7 Wpoeotaot Kal py Kata-

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the city many proofs of his magnanimity. In
particular, he ordered his Tuscan soldiers, when they
evacuated their camp, to take with them their arms
only, and nothing else, leaving it full of abundant
provisions and all sorts of valuables, which he turned
over to the Romans. Therefore it is that down to
this very day, when there is a sale of public property,
Porsena’s goods are cried first, and thus the man’s

kindness is honoured with perpetual remembrance. Moreover, a bronze statue of him used to stand near the senate-house, of simple and archaic workmanship.!

XX. After this, when the Sabines invaded the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, a brother of Publicola, was made consul, and with him Postumius Tubertus. Inasmuch as the most important steps were taken with the advice and assistance of Publicola, Marcus was victorious in two great battles, and in the second of them, without losing a single Roman, slew thirteen thousand of the enemy.? Besides his triumphs, he also obtained the honour of a house built for him at the public charge on the Palatine. And whereas the doors of other houses at that time opened inwards into the vestibule, they made the outer door of his house, and of his alone, to open outwards, in order that by this concession he might be constantly partaking of public honour.

They say that all Greek doors used to open outwards in this way, and the conclusion is drawn from their comedies, where those who are about to go out of a house beat noisily on the inside of their own doors, in order that persons passing by or standing in front of them may hear, and not be

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 14, 1-4. 2 Cf. Livy, ii. 16, 1.

AapRdvowTo wpoiovoas Tais KNELTLaoLWY eis 'TOV OTEVWTOV.

XXI. Te & é&fs ree wddw bmareve Lomd-KoAaS TO TéTapToy' Hv dé wpoadoxia Trodéuov SaBivev nal Aativov cuvmotapévwv. Kai tus dpa Seodatpovia THs Toews FYyaTo* Tacas yap ai xvotoat Tote yuvaixes éEéBadXov avamnpa, kal Téros ovdeuia yéveots Exyev. BOev ex TaV LuBurArcLwv o TlowAKoras ikacdpevos TO "Acdy Kai Twas ayovas tudoxpnotovs avadaBov kal tais éXmiot mpos TO Oetov ndiova KataoTycas Thy Tok, Hon Tos am avOparav dhoBepois mpoceixye. peyddrn yap édaiveto xatacKevy Ta Torepiov Kal cvoTacts.

"Hv ody "Ammeos Kiadaos év SaBivoss, avnp xonpuact te Suvatos Kal ca@patos pan pos arkny émipavys, aperns 5& SoEn padota xal AOyou SewvoTntt tmpwrevov. 6 bé tact cuvpBaive Tois peydros ov Siepuye rabeiv, GX éfOoveiro: Kal Tots P0ovovew aitiay Tmapéoxe KaTaTAaveD Tov Todepov avkev ta "Pwpaior, érl rupavvids kat SovrAwoet THS TraTpidos. atcOopevos Sé Tous

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Noyous TovTous BovrAopéev@ TO TANOEL AEyopEevous,

kal mpooxpovovta Tots todepoTroLois Kal oTpa-
a e 4 bd a \ , e
TlwTiKols EauToV, epoBeito THY Kpiatv. éTatpelay

dé cal dvvapiv dirov Kal oixeiwy Exwv dyv-

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taken by surprise when the doors open out into the street.

XXI. In the following year Publicola was consul again, for the fourth time, when there was expec- tation of a war with the Sabines and Latins com- bined.! At the same time also a sort of superstitious terror seized upon the city because all the women who were pregnant were delivered of imperfect offspring, and all births were premature. Wherefore, by direction of the Sibylline books, Publicola made propitiatory sacrifices to Pluto, and renewed certain games that had been recommended by Apollo, and after he had thus made the city more cheerful in its hopes and expectations from the gods, he turned his attention to what it feared from men. For their enemies were plainly making great preparations and a powerful league against them.

Now there was among the Sabines one Appius Clausus,? a man whose wealth made him powerful, as his personal prowess made him illustrious, but who was most eminent for his lofty character and for his great eloquence. He could not, however, escape the fate of all great men, but was an object of jealous hate, and when he tried to stop the war, those who hated him charged him with trying to increase the power of Rome, with a view to making himself tyrant and master of his own country. Perceiving that the multitude gave a ready ear to these stories, and that he himself was obnoxious to the war party and the military, he feared the issue, but with a large and powerful coterie of friends and

1 Livy gives a very brief account of this war (ii. 16, 2-6). > Attius Clausus among the Sabines, Appius Claudius among the Romans, according to Livy, ii, 16, 4.

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yovaoay Tepi avtov éotaciale. Kal TovT hv Tov morépov dStatpuBy Kal pédrAAnows Tots YaBivocs. Tadr’ otv o Ilowdxoras ov povov eidévae movoupevos épyov, adda Kal xively nal couvek- oppayv Thy otaow, elyev avdpas émitndeious of

T@ Kravom diedkéyovto trap avrov toladTa, ws
o Tlomdexoras avipa oe ypnotov éyra Kai Sixacov
ovdevt Kax@ Setv olerat Tovs ceavtod troAitas
dpvveo Gar, Kaimep adicovpevor" et dé Bovnoto
cate éauToy petacThvar Kai duyely tovs pu-
gobvTas, brodegerat oe Snpooia Kal toi THS TE
ons ApEeTnS aFios Kal THS ‘Peopate apm pornTos.
TaUTA TOAAGKES dvacKonovyTt TO Kravow Béd-
TLOTA TOV dvaryKaiwy épaivero, Kai TOvS pirous
cupTrapaKkarayv, éxeivwv Te Tohous opoiars
cuvavarreDovrwr, TEVTAKLT XUMLOUS oixous ava-
oTnoas pera Taidwv Kal yuvarKan, Gmrep yy év
LaBivors a8 opuBov pddata xat Biov mpaov Kal
xadeoT@ros oixeiov, eis “Popny Frye, m poewdéros
tov Ilomdxoda kal Sexopevov prrodpovas Kal
mpoOvuws éml mace Sixaiors. TOUS pev yap
olxous ev0vs dvéuige T@ TWOALTEUPATL, Kal _X@pav
GT évelpLev exdaT@ dvetv EO perv mept TOV "Avi-
ava. TOTALOY, T@ O€ Kravow EO pa Tévre Kal
elKool vis eOwxev, avrov 5€ TH BovrAq 7 pooe-
paren, apxXnv trodstTetas AapBavovra TAUTHD,
PX Pw MEVOS éuppovas avebpapev Eis TO mT pe@rov
t/ pa Kal Ouvapey éoxe peyadny, Kal Yévos
‘vos dpavporepov év “Pwyun to KrXavdior ad’
xaréALTre.
XII. Ta 6€ YaBivwy odtw Stax pllévra TO

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kinsmen to defend him, continued his opposition. This made the Sabines put off and delay the war.

Publicola, accordingly, making it his business not only to know about these matters, but also to foment and promote the faction, kept some of his followers employed in bringing to Clausus from him such messages as this: “ Publicola thinks thee too worthy and just a man to inflict any evil upon thy fellow citizens in self-defence, even though thou art wronged by them. But if thou wishest, for thine own safety, to change thine allegiance and flee from those who hate thee, he will receive thee with public and private honours which are worthy of thine own excellence and the splendour of Rome.”’” On repeated consideration of the matter, this course seemed to Clausus the best that was open to him ; he therefore summoned his friends, who in like manner persuaded many more, to join him, and taking five thousand families from their homes, wives and children in- cluded, the most peaceful folk among the Sabines, of gentle and sedate lives, he led them to Rome. Publicola knew beforehand of their coming, and gave them an eager and a kindly welcome, admitting them to all rights and privileges. For he at once incorporated the families in the Roman state, and gave each one two acres of land on the river Anio. To Clausus, however, he gave twenty-five acres of land, and enrolled him among the senators. This was the beginning of a political power which he used so wisely that he mounted to the highest dignity and acquired great

influence. The Claudian family, which is descended from him, is no less illustrious than any in Rome.

XXII. Though the schism among the Sabines was

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HETOLKLOL@ TaV avdpov, ovK elacay ot Snpayo-
youvres atpeunoat Kai KataoThvat, oyeTNa-
Covres ef KAatoos & rapwy ovn éreoe Stampad-
Eerar ghuyas yevopevos kal trodéptos, py Sovvas
Sixnv "Pwpaiovs av wuBpifovow. adpavres ovv
oTpaT@ peydrw rept Didjvas catnurAcavto, Kai
Tiva oxov Gépevor mpo THIS 'Payns ev Ywpiots
auvnpepéct kab Kxoidors SioyxtrLous omrritas, Eyer-
Nov ap mpepg pavepars odiryous immevat etav €Xav-
vel. eipnrto o avrois, dtav TH TOnEt 'Tporend-
Two, Umopevyen & EWS eu Barwa els THY évédpay
TOUS Tmoheptous® Tav@' o TlomAsKodas avd npepov
mud Opuevos wap avropodov Taxv dunppocato 7 pos
TavTa Kal Ovéverpe Tn Suvapev. Tlocrovpsos
pev yap BanBos o yapApes avTOU TpLoYLALOLS
omAiTaLs éomépas ére Tm poe ory kal Kata-
AaBwv Tous axpohopovs, up ols evn dpevov ot
Lafivor, _mapepvrarrer: 6 dé guvapxav Aov-
Kpnttos EXwv TO oupérarror €v TH monet Kat
yevvacoratov eran Tos eabvover THY Aeiay
immevow é1t erpeiv, autos &é€ THY aXAnv ava-
rAaBov ae KuKh@ mepin Oe TOUS Tone uous.
Kal Kara TUXnY OpiyANS Babetas emimerovans,
mept o Opov awa Tloorovpsos | TE TOUS éved pev-
oVvTas euBonoas éBanev amo TOV dx pov, Kat Tots
TpoimnacapEevors ephce Tos Tepl autov o Aov-
xpntios, cat TlomAcKoAas mpoaéBane Tois oT pato-
médots TOY TONELiWV. TaVTY pe, ovyv éKaKovTo
Ta Xa Biveov Kal SepOeipero Tous & évraida und
dpuvopevous, anrXra pevyovras, ev0us éxTetvoyv oat
'Pwpaiot, THs éXrridos autos OheO prorarns ryevo-
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thus removed by the emigration of these men, their popular leaders would not suffer them to settle down into quiet, but complained bitterly that Clausus, by becoming an exile and an enemy, should bring to pass what he could not effect by his per- suasions at home, namely, that Rome pay no penalty for her outrages. Setting out, therefore, with a large army, they encamped near Fidenae, and placed two thousand men-at-arms in ambush just outside of Rome in wooded hollows. Their intention was that a few of their horsemen, as soon as it was day, should boldly ravage the country. But these had been ordered, whenever they approached the city and were attacked, to retire gradually until they had drawn the enemy into the ambuscade. That very day Publicola learned of this plan from deserters, and took measures accordingly, dividing up his forces. Postumius Balbus, his son-in-law, while it was yet evening, went out with three thousand men- at-arms, occupied the hills under which the Sabines were lying in ambush, and kept the enemy under observation ; Lucretius, his colleague, retaining in the city the lightest armed and most impetuous troops, was ordered to attack the enemy's horsemen as they ravaged the country; he himself took the rest of the army and encircled the enemy in their camp. Favoured by a heavy fog, at break of day Postumius, with loud shouts, fell upon the ambuscade from the heights, while Lucretius hurled his troops upon the horsemen when they rode towards the city, and Publicola attacked the camp of the enemy. At all points, then, the Sabines were worsted and undone. Wherever they were, they made no defence, but fled, and the Romans straightway slew them. The

/ , \ of \ e / e
pévns. cablecOar yap oidpevor Tovs érépovs ot
Erepot TH pdxecOar Kal pévety ov mpoceixor,
GX of pev ex TaV épupdtwv pos Tors évedpeu-
ovtas, of dé TadLv ws éxeivous Eis TO OTPATO-
medov Oéovtes évavtion hevyouow évémiTTOv pos
ods épevyov Kal BonBetas Seopévors ods AmLCOY
> a / \ \ \ / 3 /
avtots BonOncev. To dé wn TavTas aToAécOat
\ / > \ 5 4 \ €
Tovs YaBivouvs, addAa Kal TrepiyevéoOar TLvas 7
Didnvatav mods eyyds ovca Trapéoxe, Kal
/ a > ra) '5 "Mm en /
padtoTa TOS Ex THY TTPATOTTECW?, 60 nALoKeEToO,
Suexrrimtovatv. door dé Didnvav dinpaptov Sec-
POdpnoav t Cavres arn yOnoav bT16 TaV NaBovT@v.
XXIII. Todto 16 catopOwpa 'Pwpaior, xaitrep
> , @¢ la 4 >] 4 \
etwOores atract Tots peyarous émipnpilerv TO dat-
povov, évos Epyov nyouvto Tod oTpatnyov yeyo-
vévat. Kal TOY pEe"aYnuevwv TPOTOV HY aKovELV
4 \ \ \ > nA Ld 3

6Tt Ywrovs Kal Tudrovs auTois Kal povoy ov
Kabeip~Eas Tovs trodepiovs LlomAunddXas Trapédwxe
xphoBat tois Eiheow. éppw@cOn Sé kal ypnpacw
e A 9 aA tA \ A ? 4
o Ojpos éx TOV Nahvpwv cal TOV atyparorTov.
‘O 6€ TlowAndras tov te OpiawBov ayayav
Kal Tois pet avToy aroderyGetow bmdtols Tapa-
\ \ / > \ > 4 e a 4
Sovs THY TrOALY evOds éredeUTnCEV, wS epsxToY
éorty avOp@mons partota Tos vEevopucpévots Ka-
ois nal ayabois, Tov éavtov Blov éxTEeNerdoas.
e \ a 4 OA ? aA “A > ,

o 5€ SiHpyos dotrep oddéy eis Covta Tov akiwv

TETOLNKWS, GANA Tacay Opelrdwy apt, éyrndi-
/ aA \ A e
caro Snuocia tadjvat TO o@pa, Kal TeTapTy-

poptoy éxactov émi Tih ouverceveyxerv. ai Sé

very hopes they placed in one another proved most fatal to them. For each party, supposing that the other was safe, had no thought of holding their ground and fighting, but those in the camp ran towards those in the .ambuscade, while these, on their part, ran to those in the camp, so that fugitives encountered fugitives, and found those needing succour from whom they expected succour themselves. And all the Sabines would have perished, had not the neighbouring city of Fidenae afforded a refuge to some, especially to those who fled from the camp when it was captured. All who did not gain this city were either slain or brought back to Rome as prisoners.

XXIII. This success the Romans, although they were wont to attribute all such great events to the influence of the gods, considered to be the work of their general alone. And the first thing his soldiers were heard to say was that Publicola had delivered their enemies into their hands lame, blind, and all

but imprisoned, to be dispatched by their ‘swords.
Great wealth also accrued to the people from the
spoils and prisoners.
- But Publicola, immediately after celebrating his triumph and handing the city over to the consuls appointed to succeed him, died. So far as it can possibly be achieved by men who are regarded as honourable and good, he had brought his life to pertection. The people, as if they had done nothing to show their esteem for him while he was alive, but owed him every homage, decreed that his body should be buried at the public charge, and that every man should contribute a quadrans towards the honour. The women also, by private agreement

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yuvaires, idta 7 pos auras cupppovycacat, dveTrév-
Onoav é évavtov bdov én 7 avopl mév0os evr ipov
cal SnrwrTov. érahn b¢ kal obTws TOY TONLTODV
Yapirapeveav évTos do reas Tapa THv KaNov-
pévnv Overlay, dore Kal yéver mavtTl Ths Tapys
peteivan. viv be Oamreras peev ovdels TOY are
yévous, KomicavTes bé TOV Vex pov éxet xatati-
Pevras Kal 646d TLS upevnv Aa Bev 8cov om7-
veyKev, elta dvatpeirar, papTupopevos ye TO
eFeivar, peiderBar dé THs Tins, cal Tov vexpov
ovTws aTroKopifovaty.
ZOAQNO® KAI MOMAIKOAA SYTKPISIS

I. "Ap’ ody icov Tt méept TavTny THY ouyKpiow
vmdpxer cal py Tmayy cup BeBnnos érépa TOY
avaryeypappevor, Tov &repov yeryovevar men TAY
Tou éTépou, Tov &repoy se paprvv; bpa Y ap ip
O Lodwy ebnveyne mept evdatpovias aTropacty
q pos Kpoicov, WS TlomAuKona parrov 7 Tédrr@
2 Tm poonKet: TéAXou pev yap, Ov elrre yeyovévas
paxapioTarov 62’ evmoTmiay «al aperny Kal ev-
TeKViAY, OUT auros év Tots Tounpao w {os av6pos
ayabod doyov éxxev ovTe Taides ob’ apxy Tes
eis So-av HOev: TlomAtKoras be kal Cov émpo-
tevoe Suvaper nal Sdn Se apetnv “Popaior, cat
1 “In the following year, Agrippa Menemus and P. Postumius being consuls, P. Valerius, by universal consent

the foremost Roman in the arts of war and peace, died, in the height of his glory, but so poor that means to aie his

“te,

amongst themselves, mourned a whole year for him, with a mourning which was honourable and enviable.} He was buried, too, by express vote of the citizens, within the city, near the so-called Velia,? and all his family were to have privilege of burial there. Now, however, none of the family is actually buried there, but the body is carried thither and set down, and some one takes a burning torch and holds it under the bier for an instant, and then takes it away, attesting by this act that the deceased has the right of burial there, but relinquishes the honour. After this the body is borne away.

COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

I. TuereE is, then, something peculiar in this comparison, and something that has not been true of any other thus far, namely, that the second imitated the first, and the first bore witness for the second. For it must be plain that the verdict concern- ing happiness which Solon pronounced to Croesus, is more applicable to Publicola than to Tellus. Tellus, whom Solon pronounced the most blessed man he knew, because of his fortunate lot, his virtue, and his goodly offspring, was not celebrated in Solon’s poems as a good man, nor did his children or any magistracy of his achieve a reputation ; whereas Publicola, while he lived, was foremost among the Romans in in- funeral expenses were lacking. He was therefore buried at the public charge, and the matrons mourned for him as they had done for Brutus” (Livy, ii. 16, 7).

2 See chapter x. 2.

teOvnxotos éy tois émupaveotatos yévert wal
oTéupact &re Kad’ nuads Tlomdxccvat cat’ Meo-
odvae cal Ovarrépioe be érav é€axoclwv Tis
evryevetas THY So-ay avadépovar. xat TédrXos pev
UTO TOV ToNELiwvy ws avnp ayabds ev Takes
pévoy nal paxopevos xatéotpewe: TlomdKdras
5é rods pév todepious xrelvas, 6 Tov TrEecety
eVTUXET TEPOY cor, Thv 8é mrarpida, ViKOOaY
émid@v ov aurov dpxovra Kat otparnyovvTa,
Tomnbets be kat OptapBevoas éTUXE THs SnXov-
pens bard Zor@vos rat paxaptfoperns TEMEUTIS.
ére toivuy ols ™ pos Mipveppov aytecreav trept
yYpovou Cwns émumepaornke,
Mndé por akravatos Odvatros podrot, adda
pirouse

\ BA \ 4
Tomcat Oavwov addyea Kal orovayds,
evdaipova TOV Tlowhuxoday avbpa motel. Tedev- 119

THOaS yap ov pirous ovd oixetots povor, andra, Th

monet Taon, puptdor Trodaais, ddxpva Kal a 00ov
Kal KaTHpeay éd’ auT@ Tapéaxev" ai yap ‘Po-
paiwy yuvaines énévOnoav avToY @oTEp viOV q
adehpov 7} TaTépa KoLvoV amoBarovoas. “ Xprp-
pata © ipeipw per exew,” prov o 0 Lodo, - adixas
dé€ memacbat ovK eBého,” Os otans emcovans:
IlowAccora 8 Drhpxev ov povov a KAaKOS
hourei, anrra Kal Kaas avanio Kes eb Tovovyrt
Tous Seopévovs. war’ et copaTatos amdvrwy o
Lory, evdarpoverTatos o Tom dicoras. a yap
ebéato trav ayabav éxeivos as péytota Kai
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COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

fluence and repute for virtue, and since his death the most illustrious family lines of our own day, like the Publicolae, the Messalae, and the Valerii, have for six hundred years ascribed the glory of their noble birth to him. Tellus, moreover, though he kept his post and fought like a brave man, died at the hands of his enemies ; whereas Publicola slew his enemies, which is a better fortune than to be slain by them, saw his country victorious through his efforts as consul and general, and enjoyed honours and triumphs before he came to the end which Solon pronounced so enviable and blest. Still further, what Solon says to Mimnermus,! in arguing with him on the proper duration of human life,

“ May not an unlamented death be mine, but unto
friends
Let me be cause, when dead, for sorrow and for
sighing,’’

argues Publicola a happy man. For when he died, his loss filled not only friends and kindred, but the entire city, numbering many tens of thousands, with weeping and yearning and sorrow. For the women of Rome mourned for him as though they had lost a son, or a brother, or a common father. “ Wealth I desire to have,” says Solon, “ but wrongfully to get it, I do not wish,” ? believing that punishment would follow. And Publicola’s wealth was not only not ill got, but also nobly spent in

benefactions to the needy. So that if Solon was
the wisest, Publicola was the most happy of men,
since what Solon prayed for as the greatest and
1 Fragment 21 (Bergk). 2 See Solon, ii. 3.

KaAMoTa, TadTa Kal KtrnoacOas IloTdLKOXe Kal
gurAdtar ypwopév pwéxpe TéeXous varnpEev.
II. Odtwm pév 6 Yorwv nexdopunne tov Tlownu-
KoNaY, TOY Lorwva 8 av mddv éxeivos ev TH
jwomtTela Trapaberypdtwy KdddLcTOY avdpt Ko-
apouvtTs Snuoxpatiay Oéuevos: Ths py yap apyis
\ b \ > a a Ww
Toy dykov aedov evpevy Tact Kal adUTOY KaT-
éotnoe, vopots 5€ TodXols expnoato TAY éxeivou.
Kal yap apxovTwy Katactacews Kupiovs érotnce
'\ 4 \ a 4 4 wn
TOUS TroANOUS, Kal Tots hevyouar Stixny erixaret-
' a a e s \ 4
aba tov Sipov, dorrep 6 LorAwv Todvs SixacTas,
éwxe. Kat Bovrny pev érépav ove éroincer,
@otep 6 Lorwv, tTHv 8 odcav niEncev apoyo
pexpod Sitrdaciacas. Te TOY Tamloy emt ToIs
Xpnpace Katdotacis éxeiOev ArAOev, Straws oO
dpywv pnt el xpnoros dot aaxyoNiay én pos
Ta peilo, pyr eb padros ddoppads Tod abdiceiv
HadXrov, Kal Tov mpodkewy nal Tov yYpnpaToV
KupLoS yevouevos. Td 5€ pLcoTupavvoy éy Te
4 ' > 4, > ,
Hlom\wodg apodporepor. él yap TUS emixerpoun
a \ e \

Tupavvely, o pev arovtse THv Sixnv éruiTiOnow, o
5é Kal wpo THs Kpicews avereiy bidwor. cemvu-
, A , > ra J, Cd \
vopuévou 8€ Tod LoAwvos GpOas Kal Sixaiws Sts Kal
TaY Tpaypdatwv avT@ Sidovtwv tupavvely Kal THV
TOMT@V OVK aKOVaiws Sexouevwv arreimev, ovY
HTTov UTapye Karov TO [lowALKorAg TO AaBovta
Tupavuikny apxnv totjoa Snpotixwrépay Kal
und ols é&qv éyovra xpjcacba. Kat todTo S

fairest of blessings, these Publicola was privileged to
win and continue to enjoy until the end.
II. Thus did Solon enhance the fame of Publicola. And Publicola, too, in his political activities, enhanced the fame of Solon, by making him the fairest of examples for one who was arranging a democracy. For he took away the arrogant powers of the consul- ship and made it gracious and acceptable to all, and he adopted many of Solon's laws. For instance, he put the appointment of their rulers in the power of the people, and gave defendants the right of ap- pealing to the people, as Solon to the jurors. He did not, indeed, create a new senate, as Solon did, but he increased the one already existing to almost double its numbers. And his appointment of ' quaestors over the public moneys had a like origin. Its purpose was that the consul, if a worthy officer, might not be without leisure for his more important duties, and, if unworthy, might not have greater opportunities for injustice by having both the ad- ministration and the treasury in his hands. Hatred of tyranny was more intense in Publicola than in Solon. For in case any one attempted to usurp the power, by Solon's law he could be punished only after conviction, whereas Publicola made it lawful to kill him before any trial. Moreover, though Solon rightly and justly plumes himself on rejecting absolute power even when circumstances offered it to him and his fellow-citizens were willing that he should take it, it redounds no less to the honour of Publicola that, when he had received a tyrannical power, he made it more democratic, and did not use even the prerogatives which were his by right of possession. And of the wisdom of such a course

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Zorne ouvideiv mpoTepos O YorAwv, bre Shyos

ay a v ; \ e 4 4

OS dy dptota ouv yepoverouy érrolTo,
, / b] 4 4
pnte Ainv avebels ute TLeCopmevos.

III. "[8cov 88 rod LorAwvos 4 TV Ypedv aveots, H
pdruora thy érevOepiav éBeBaiwae Tois TodLTaLs.
oddey yap shedos vopwv icotnTa TapexovTaD,
hy adarpeira TA Ypéa Tors mévnTas. GAN Grou
pdruota xpiicOar tH édevdepig Soxovar, Sov-
Nevovet padiota Tois TAovatols, ev TO Sixalerv
kal dpyew Kal Neyer emetatTopevor Kal UTnpeE-
Toovtes. TovTou dé peilov, OTL Tdon KpEewVv aTrO-
KoTh oTdcews éropevns, éxeivn povn, KadaTep
dappaxe rapaBor pév, iaxup@ Sé ypnodpevos
eixaipws, kal THy odcay oTdow édvae, TH Tept
abrov dpeth kal S0En Ths TOU mpdypatos abokias
xat SiaBorrs Twepeyevopevos.
Tis 8 8Ans TrodTelas TH wey apX Naptpo-

Tepos 6 Low: Hryjoato yap Kal ob« nxodrovOnce,
cai nal’ abrév, od peO’ Erépwr, Errpake TA TrELTTA
Kal péylota Tov KoLWWaV: TO Tér\E Sé aTEpOS
ebtuyyns Kal Cnrwrds. THY pev yap Lorwvos
moNtTelav autos émeide YorAwv xatadrvOeicav, 7
S¢ Tlomucdra péype tev éeupudiwy Todewov
Svepirakev ev xoopp THY TOMY O pev Yap apa
T@ OécOar Tors vopous admoduTav év Evra Kat
a/°

COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

Solon seems to have been conscious even before
Publicola, when he says} that a people
“then will yield the best obedience to its
guides
When it is neither humoured nor oppressed too
much.”
III. Peculiar to Solon was his remission of debts, and by this means especially he confirmed the liberties of the citizens. For equality under the laws is of no avail if the poor are robbed of it by their debts. Nay, in the very places where they are supposed to exercise their liberties most, there they are most in subjection to the rich, since in the courts of justice, the offices of state, and in public debates, they are under their orders and do them service. And what is of greater moment here, though sedition always follows an abolition of debts, in this case alone, by employing opportunely, as it were, a dangerous but powerful medicine, Solon actually put an end to the sedition that was already rife, for his own virtue and high repute prevailed over the ill-repute and odium of the measure.

As regards their political careers in general, Solon’s was more brilliant in the beginning. For he led the way and followed no man, and it was alone and without colleagues that he effected the © most and greatest of his public measures. But in the ending, the other was more fortunate and enviable. For Solon lived to see with his own eyes the dissolution of his polity, while that of Publicola preserved order in the city down to the civil wars. Solon, as soon as he had made his laws, left them

1 Fragment 6 (Bergk) ; cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xii. 2.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ypdppacw épnpovs tod BonBovvtos @yer atiav
éx trav “AOnvav, o 8 pévav kal apywv Kai
qrodTevopevos tSpuce Kal KatécTnaev eis aopanes
Thy morstelav. ete 8 exeivm pev ovdé pédXovtTa
koddoat mpoatcbopévm Llevctatpatov vmiptev,
GAN Hr7HOn ovvictapévns THS TUpavvidos’ obTOS
S¢ Bactreiav icxtovoav ex TOBY Xpovev Sy
Kal xpatodaay é&éBare xal xatédvoev, apeTnv

pev iconv cal mpoaipecw opoiay mapacyopevos,
Tuyn Se Kal Svuvdper tedectoupy@ mpos THV
dpeTny Kpnodpevos.
IV. Tov pévroe rorepixav Yorwve pev ovdé Ta
mpos Meyapeis Aatyayos o IIkatareds pepap-
rupnkev, @aomrep Hyueis SueAnrAVOapev' TlomALKodas
5é Tods peyiotous ayavas avTos Kal paxopevos
Kal otpatnyav Kxatepbwoe. xal pny ere mpos
Tas TodTLKas mpdkes o pev ev Tmadias Tove
TpoT@ Kal mpooroinua pavias avadaBov, vrep
Sarapivos épdv mpojrAGev: o & avtobev dvap-
piipas Tov mepl TOV peyloTwy Kivduvoy éravéoTy
te Tapxvvios xal tHv mpodociay épwpace cal
Tov KcodkacOjvat Kal pn Staduyeiv Tovs Tovnpous
aitiwTatos yevopuevos ov TA capaTa povoy TaV
tupavvwv é&éBare THs modews, GAA Kal Tas
éxmidas é&éxowev. odtw Sé€ Tots Seyopévors
mpaypacw ayova xal Ovyov Kai avtitakw
éppwuévws nal atevas amavtnoas, éTt BéAXtLOv
éypynoato Tois omtdtas atoNéwou Kal meWois
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COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

inscribed on wooden tables and destitute of a
defender, and departed from Athens; whereas
Publicola, by remaining in the city, serving as
consul, and busying himself with public affairs.
firmly and safely established his form of government.
And further, though Solon knew beforehand of the
designs of Peisistratus, he was not able to hinder
them, but yielded to his tyranny in its incipfency ;
whereas Publicola subverted and drove out a kingly
power which was strong with the might which many
ages bring. Thus, while exhibiting virtues equal to
Solon's, and a purpose identical with his, he enjoyed
a good fortune and an efficacious power which
supplemented his virtues.
IV. When we consider their military careers, moreover, Daimachus of Plataea does not allow Solon even the conduct of the war against the Megarians, as we have described it ; 1 but Publicola, fighting and commanding in person, brought the greatest struggles to a successful issue. And still further, comparing their political activities, Solon, in play, so to speak, and counterfeiting madness, went forth to plead for the recovery of Salamis ; but Publicola, without any subterfuges, ran the greatest risks, set himself in

opposition to the party of the Tarquins, and detected their treachery. Then, after being mainly instrumental in the capture and punishment of the traitors, he not only drove the tyrants themselves from the city, but extirpated their very-hopes of return. And if he thus sturdily and resolutely confronted situations which called for active and spirited opposition, still better did he deal with those which required peaceable intercourse and gentle

Solon, viii. ; cf. Aristotle, Const. of Athens, xiv. 1.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

umerxovans deopevots, Topoivar apayov avdpa
Kal PoBepov EM pedors Tpocayayouevos Kai peTta-
OTNTAS ELS prdiav.
Kairor dycer tus evtaida TOV pev Lodwva
mpoemevors avaraPety "AOnvaior Larapiva, TOV
b¢ IlomAucorayv As EKEKTNYTO 'Peopaior Xepas
amoaT Hvar. dei 5é mpos Tovs UToKeLpevous
Kat poUs TAs m pagers Gecopeiv. TOLKLNOS yap ay
O TONTLKOS @ TpoT~ TaV OvT wy éxaotoyv evAn-
m@TOVv éoTL petaxerpiceras,} Kar pépous: apécet
ToAAAKLS EcwWCE TO may Kal mixpav amoaTas
petCover eTUXED, @omep éxeivos o avip | TOTE THS
pep aor pias Yapas amrocTas écwoe THY éauTov
BeBaiws adracar, ois 8 Hy peya. THY TrOALY
Siapurd£at T POTEKTHTATO TO TOY TOMLopKOUYT@Y
oT patomedor, émeTpewas dé 7 Todepio Sixaoth
yevéodar, Kat | TE PLY EVOMEVOS Th din, mpooéha Bev
baa Sovtas ayannrov ip yiKnoar' wal yap TOV
WOAEMLOV SLéEdUGE Kal THY TapacKeuny TOU WONKE-
pou Katéhitrev avrois ova mor aperijs Kal
Karoxayabias, iy 0 apxov wumép amravter
eveTroinoey avT@.
1 peraxesploera: with two Paris MSS., Coraés, and Bekker:
peraxetpload@a:.
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COMPARISON OF SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

persuasion, as when he tactfully won over Porsena,
an invincible and formidable foe, and made him a
friend of Rome.
But here, perhaps, some one will say that Solon won back Salamis for the Athenians when they had given it up, whereas Publicola relinquished territory which the Romans had acquired. But we must view men's actions in the light of the times which call them forth.. The subtle statesman will handle each - issue that arises in the most feasible manner, and often saves the whole by relinquishing a part, and by yielding

small advantages secures greater ones. And so Publicola, in that instance, by yielding the territory which belonged to others, saved all that was assuredly his own, and procured besides, for those who were hard put to it to save their city, the camp of their besiegers with all its stores. He made his adversary judge in the controversy, won his case, and received besides what his people would gladly have. given for the victory. For Porsena put a stop to the war, and left the Romans all his provisions for carrying it on, owing to the confidence in their virtue and nobility with which their consul had inspired him.

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A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Abantes, 11, a people of Euboea in the Homeric period.
Adrastus, 67, king of Argos, and leader of ‘the “Seven against Thebes.”’
Acilius, Caius, 159, interpreter in the Roman senate for the Athenian embassy of 155 B.C. (Cato Major, xxii. 4), author of a history of Rome from the earliest to his own time.
Aeacus, 21, a mythical king of Aegina, after death one of the judges in Hades.
Agnus, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.
Alba, 97, a very ancient town of Latium, on the Alban lake, some twelve miles 8.E. of Rome.
Alcman, 291, a Lydian of Sardis, who came in his youth to Sparta, and became the founder of Dorian lyric poetry. He flourished in the eee half of the seventh century B
Alcmene i7, “wife of Amphitryon of Thebes, and mother of Heracles by Zeus
Avachars. 415, a Scythian, who travelled extensively in pursuit

of knowledge (Herod. iv. 76 f).
Anaximenes, the orator, 527, of Lampsacus, a upil of Diogenes the Cynic, act ve at Athens as rhetorician and historian in the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

Androgeos, 29, son of Minos the king of Crete.
Andron of Halicarnassus, 57, a genealogical writer of the fourth century B.C.
PLUT.—VOL. I.

Androtion, ia active in the political life of Athens from 376 to 346 B.c. In old age and exile he wrote an Aithis, or History of Attica, which was "much read.
Antias, Valerius, 131, 381, a Roman historian who flourished in the ue art of the first century B.C. s history extended from the sarllent times down to those of Sulla, and was much used by both Livy and Plutarch.
Antigonus, 141, probably' the general of Alexander who was afterwards king of Asia, surnamed the One-eyed.
Antigonus, 143, author of a History of Italy, in "Greek, probably in the latter part of the third century B.C.
Antimachus, of Teos, 121, an early epic poet. Two poems of the epic cycle, the Thebais, and the Epigoni, went under his name.
Antiathencs the Socratic, 301, a pupil of Gorgias and friend' of Socrates.
Apanae 75, an ancient Attic

wnship, about fifteen miles

v W. of Athens.
Apollodorus, 205, a learned grammarian of Athens in the latter part of the second century B.c. A treatise of hison mythology, the Bibliotheca, has come down to us.
Apollothemis, 303, mentioned only

her

Arcniloetius, 11, 319, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionian lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.o.
Ardettus, 63, a hill in the S.E. suburbs of Athens.
Ariadne, 37, daughter of Minos and Pasiphai, of Crete
577

DICTIONARY OF

Aristocrates, 217, 303, known only as the author of an antiquarian and historical work on Sparta, abet of the early Roman
dutomanes, 169, the Messenian hero of the second war between Messenia and Sparta (685-668 B.O.).
Aristoxenus, 308, of Tarentum, a Greek writer on philosophy and music, a pupil of Aristotle flourishing in 380 B.o. Parte of his works on Harmony and Rhythm have come down to us.
Athenodorus, son of Sandon, 549, ©

of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher long resident at Rome, and much esteemed by Augustus.
B
Bion, 59, of Proconnesus, a compiler of mythical history, of uncertain date, not earlier than the fourth century B.0O.

Boédromion, the third month in the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our September.
Brasidas, 283, the greatest Spartan hero of the Peloponnesian war. His death at Amphipolis is described by Thucydides in v. 10.
Brauron, 429, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Attica.
Busiris, 23, a mythical Egyptian king, who sacrificed all foreigners that entered his country.
Butas, 159, probably the freedman of Cato the Younger (Plutarch, Cato Minor, ixx.), known as a writer only from this mention of work.
C

Cameria, 167, an ancient city of Latium, the site of which is - unknown.

Cephisus, 23, a river flowing through

e plain west of Athens.
“haeroneia, 65, a town on the northern confines of Boeotia.
iB

PROPER NAMES

Chalcis, 63, the chief town of Kuboea, on the straits of the Euripus.
, 63, ap ntly a district of Athens at the foot of the Pnyx hill; but there are no other allusions to it.
Cirrha, 429, a town on the Corinthian pult, serving as the seaport of Delphi.
Cleidemus, 39, 63, the oldest annalist of Athens, circa 420-350 B.C.

Clodius, 307, a Roman chronographer, otherwise unknown.
Codrus, 405, the last king of Athens, who, according to tradition, sacrificed himself for his country.
Colchis, 67, a district on the eastern shore of the Euxine sea.
Colias, Cape, 423, about three miles to the south-east of the ancient harbour of Phalerum.
Creopny int 215, one of the earliest epic poets of Greece, said to have been a native of Chios, and a relative of Homer. The epic poem Oechalia was attributed to m.

Crommyon, Crommyonia, 19, a village and district on the Isthmus of Corinth.
Cychreus, 21, a mythical king of Salamis, receiving hero worship.
Cycnus, 23, a mythical son of Ares, slain by Heracles in Thessaly.
D

Daedalus, 39, the mythical ‘ cunoe artificer’’ of Athens, who took refuge with king Minos of Crete, for whom he built the Labyrinth. He was the father of Icarus.
Dalmachus of Plataea, 573, a Greek historian active in the latter of the fourth century B.O., author of a work on India.
Deidameia, 69, wife of Peirithoiis, commonly called Hippodameia.
Deinon, 37, 51, one of annalists of Athens, contemporary with Philochorus (306-260 B.C.).
DICTIONARY OF

Demades, 451, a prominent orator

and statesman at Athens in the times of Philip, Alexander, and Antipater; a member of the Macedonian party.
Demetrius the Phalerean, 277, 467, regent at Athens for Cassander 317-307 B.C., a voluminous writer on history, politics, poetry, and philosophy.
Dicaearchus, 45, a celebrated Peripatetic philosopher, a disciple of Aristotle and a friend of Theophrastus.
Didymus, 405, the _ celebrated Alexandrian grammarian, of the time of Augustus.
Dieutychidas, 207, perhaps Dieuchidas is meant, a Megarian chronicler, of the fourth century B.C.

Diocles of Peparethus, 97, 113, an otherwise almost unknown Greek writer, whom Plutarch regards as a source for Fabius Pictor.
Diodorus the Topographer (or Periegete), 85, was probably an Athenian, and flourished at and after the time of Alexander the Great (330-300 B.c.). He wrote a work on the townships of Attica, and one on its monuments.
Diogenes, 301, probably Diogenes the Babylonian is meant, the head of the Stoic school at Athens, and one of the Athenian embassy to Rome in 155 B.c. He wrote a treatise on Laws.
Dionysius, 459, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse 405-367 B.c.
Dionysius, 139, of Halicarnassus, went to Rome about 29 B.c., where he remained for twenty-two years, collecting materials

for his great work on the antiquities and history of Rome.
Dioscorides (or Dioscurides), 237, a pupil of Isocrates, writing in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.
449, one of the ‘“‘ thesmothetai,’ or six legislative archons at Athens, in 621 B.c.

PROPER NAMES

E

Eleusis, 21, a city some twelve miles west of Athens, the seat of the celebrated mysteries.
Eleutherae, 69, a mountain fastness between Eleusis and Boeotia.
Epicharmus the comic poet, 335, 542, born on the island of Cos, about 540 B.c., but early taken to Megara in Sicily, and from 484 to 450 B.c. one of the ornaments of the court of Hiero of Syracuse.
Epidauria, 17, between Troezen, on the N.E. cost of Peloponnesus, and the Isthmus of Corinth.
Eratosthenes, 205, of Cyrene, 276-196 B.C., a learned geographer and mathematician, for many years librarian at Alexandria.
Erechtheus, 39, a mythical king of Athens.
Eurytus, 19, a mythical king of the Thessalian city of Oechalia.
Evander, 125, the reputed leader of a colony from Arcadia into Italy, some sixty years before the Trojan war.
G

Gabii, 103, one of the oldest cities of Latium, about twelve miles

8.E. of Rome ; probably an earlier colony from Alba than Rome.
Gargettus, 27, an Attic township N.E, of Athens. ‘
Gymnosophists, 217, the naked

philosophers of India. See Plutarch’s Alexander, lxiv.
H
Hecataeus the Sophist, 267, of Abdera, a learned philosopher, critic, and grammarian, contemporary with the first Ptolemy (324-283 B.C.).
Hecatombaeon, the first month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our July.
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DICTIONARY OF

Hellanicus, 33, of Lesbos, the greatest of the Greek chroniclers, 480-395 (?) B.O.
Heracleides Ponticus, 405, 467, so called from his birth in Heracleia of Pontus, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all ssible subjects. Cicero thought m superstitious and uncritical.
Heracleitus, 183, of Ephesus, a philosopher of the Ionian school, who flourished in the latter part of the sixth century B.c.
Hereas the Megarian, 41, 77, 429, known only through Plutarch’s citations.
Hermippus, 279, 407, of Smyrna, a distinguished philosopher and pegeunel, active in the second half of the third century B.c.
Herodorus, 59, of MHeracleia in Pontus, flourished in the latter

half of the sixth century B.C., and was the author of an extended work on the mythology and worship of Heracles.
Hippias the Sophist, 277, 309, a native of Elis, and a contemporary of Socrates. Two dialogues of Plato bear his name.
Hippocrates, 409, of Chios, a Pythagorean philosopher, flourishing in the middle of the fifth century B.C., and chiefly famous as a mathematician.
Hippodameia, 17, daughter of Oenomaiis, and wife of Pelops.
I

Idas, 71, a Messenian hero, inseparable from his brother, the keen-eyed Lynceus, with whom he took part in the Argonautic expedition and the Calydonian boar hunt.
Ides, the fifteenth day of the Roman month (the thirteenth of March, May, July, and October).
Ion of Chios 41, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., also author of a prose work entitled ‘* Sojourns,” in which he

recounted his experiences with famous men of the day.
Ister, 79, of Cyrene, a Greek historian flourishing between 250 and 230 B.O.
J

Juba, 131, 331, 353, Juba I., king of Mauritania. e lived from 50 B.C. to about 20 aA.D., was educated at Rome, and became

a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.

L

Lapithae, 67, a mountain tribe of Thessaly.

Laurentum, 165, the ancient capital of Latium, on the sea-coast, about sixteen miles 8.W. of Rome.

Lavinium, 163, an ancient city of Latium, about seventeen miles S.W. of Rome.

Lyceium, 63, in historic times a gymnasium in the eastern suburbs of Athens.

Lynceus, 71, see Idas.

M

Mantinea, 353, one of the most ancient and powerful towns in Arcadia.

Melicertes, 57, a legendary personage, son of Athamas and Ino and, after his death by drowning, a beneficent sea deity.

Melité, 429, a deme, or ward, of the a of Athens, comprising the hill-region west of the acropolis.

Menecrates, 59, otherwise unknown.

Metellus, Quintus, 117, probably the consul of 60 B.c. father had been consul in 93 B.o.

Molpadia, 63, an Amazon who was said to have slain Antiope. She was herself slain by Theseus, and her tomb was shown at Athens (Pausanias, i. 2, 1).

DICTIONARY OF

Munychion, the tenth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our April.

Museum, 63, one of three hills to the S.W. of the acropolis at Athens.
N

Naxos, 41, the largest of the Cyclades islands, half way between Attica and Asia Minor.
Nones, the ninth day of the Roman month (the seventh of March, May, July, and October).
O

Oechalia, 19, see Eurytus.
Omphalé, 15, a mythical queen of Lydia.
P

Paeon the Amathusian, 43, otherwise unknown.
Palladium, 63, a sacred precinct, evidently near Ardettus, in the S.E. suburbs of Athens. In historical times the ‘‘ ephetai ”’ sat here to try cases of involuntary homicide.
Pallené, 27, an Attic township N.E. of Athens.
Parrhasius, 11, a celebrated painter, a native of Ephesus, but resident at Athens, flourishing in 400 B.c.
Pasiphat, 37, wife of Minos, and mother of Ariadne and the Minotaur.
Pataecus, 419, otherwise unknown.
Peirithoiis, 41, king of the Lapithae, a mountain tribe of Thessaly.
Peisistratus, 41, became tyrant of Athens in 560 B.c.

Peleus, 21, mythical king of the Myrmidons of Thessaly, father of Achilles.
Pelops, 17, a mythical king of Elis in Peloponnesus, husband of

Hippodameia.
Periander, 413, tyrant of Corinth 625-585 B.c., one of the Seven Wise Men.
PROPER NAMES

Phalerum, 35, the ancient harbour of Athens, before Themistocles fortified Peiraeus.
Phanias the Lesbian, 437, of Eresos the most distinguished pupil of Aristotle after Theophrastus, a prouns writer on philosophy and istory, an historical romancer.

Pherecydes, 37, of Leros, one of the Greek logographers, who lived at Athens, and died about 400 B.O.

Philochorus, 29, 35, the most celebrated writer on the anti-quities of Athens, 306-260 B.o.
Philostephanus, 277, of Cyrene, an Alexandrian historian and geographer, who was flourishing in 250 B.c.
Phlya, 433, a township in the eastern part of Attica.
Pictor, Fabius, 97, 113, the earliest Roman annalist, flourishing in the latter part of the third century B.C.
Plutus, 233, the god of wealth.

Pnyx, 61, that one of the three hills to the 8.W. of the acropolis of Athens on which the people’s assembly was held.
Polyzelus the Rhodian, 447, an historian of uncertain date.
Promathion, 97, otherwise unknown.

Pyanepsion, the fourth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding

nearly to our October.
R

Rhadamanthus, 33, a brother of Minos king of Crete, and like him a judge in the under world.
8

Samothrace, 353, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.
Scyros, 81, an island east of Euboea.

Selinus, 269, a Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily.
581

DICTIONARY OF

Silanio, 11, a famous Athenian statuary in bronze, flourishing in 320 B.C.
Simonides, 21, 35, of Ceos, the greatest lyric poet of Greece, 556~467 B.C.
Simylus the poet, 143, otherwise unknown.
Sosibius, 281, a distinguished Lacedaemonian grammarian, flourishing about 250 B.o.
Spendon the Spartan, 291, otherwise unknown.
Sphaerus, 221, a Stoic philosopher who lived at Alexandria and Sparta, and flourished early in the third century B.0. ;
Sphettus, 27, a township in the

_ eastern part of Attica.

Stratonicus, 299, probably the famous Athenian musician of the time of Alexander the Great.
Sulla, Sextius, the Carthaginian,

133, otherwise unknown.
T

Tegea, 73, an ancient city in southern Arcadia.
Telamon, 21, a mythical king of euamls, son of Aeacus, father of ias.

Termerus, 23, a mythical highway-man slain by Heracles.
erpander, 291, of Lesbos, father of Greek music and lyric poetry, who taught at Sparta during the seventh century B.C.
Thales, 409, 411, 417, of Miletus, the most celebrated Ionian philosopher, one of the Seven Wise Men, flourishing in the sixth century B.C.
PROPER NAMES

Thales (or Thaletas), 213, a Cretan musician and poet, who was flourishing about 680 B.c.
Timaeus, 205, 303, of Tauromenium, a famous historian of Sicily, 352-256 B.O.
Timon the Phliasian, 333, a native of Phlius in N.E. Peloponnesus, composed satirical poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy (320-230 B.c.).
Trachis, 71, a city of Malis, com-manding the approach to Ther-mopylae.
Troezen, 7, a city on the N.E. coast of Peloponnesus.
Tyrtaeus, 225, a poet who flourished at Sparta during the second Messenian war (685-668 B.C.).
V

Valerias, 131, see Antias.

Varro, 121, M. Terentius, ‘‘ the
most learned of the Romans,”
an intimate friend of Cicero,
whose political principles he
shared (116-28 B.C.).
Veii, 169, an ancient and powerful
city of Etruria, about twelve
miles north of Rome.
Z
Zeno, 301, probably the Stoic
philosopher meant, who taught
at Athens in the third century
B.c., and wrote on law and
government.
Zenodotus of Troezen, 131, referred
to by Dionysius Hal. (ii. 49) as
author of a history of Umbria.
PLUTARCH’S
" LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN TEN VOLUMES
I]
THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS
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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the first volume of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) texts of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. The more important ameliorations of the text which have been secured by collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F*) and Codex Seitenstettensis (S), have been introduced. The relative importance of these MSS. is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

Among editions of special Lives included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, Themistokles und Pertkles, Berlin, 1880, in the Haupt-Sauppe

series of annotated texts; that of Blass, Themistokles und Perikles, Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts ; and the same editor’s Aristides und Cato, Leipzig, 1898, in the same series. All these editions bring F* and S into rightful prominence as a basis for the text. This has been done also by Holden, in his edition of the Themistocles (Macmillan, 1892).

The translations of the Themistocles, Aristides, and Cimon have already appeared in my “ Plutarch’s Themistocles and Aristides’ (New York, 1901), and *‘ Plutarch’s Cimon and Pericles” (New York, 1910), and are reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. The translations of the Camillus, Cato, and Lucullus appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared aud utilised, including that of the Lucullus by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
February, 1914.

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VOL. II.

THEMISTOCLES

OEMISTOKAH?

I. @epwioronre? Sé Ta pev ex yévous duavportepa
mpos Soka trjpye tatpos yap iv NeoxXéous ov
Tov ayav érupavav "AOnvnot, Ppeappiov tar
Sipwv ex ths Aeovtidos puArs, vobos 5é mpos
UNTpos, ws Néyovaw
"ABporovov @pnioca yuvy yévos' adda TexécOau
Tov peyav "EAdnoiv dns Bepeotorréa.
Pavias pévtor THY pnTépa TOV Bewotoxréovs ov
@patrayv, adra Kapivny, ob8 ‘ABporovov dvopa,
arn. Evréprnv avaypage. NedvOns S€ cai
wok avutTn HS Kapias ‘AXtKapvacooy tpoc-
TtOnot.
Awd Kai Trav vodwy eis Kuvocapyes ovvTedovr-

tov (todTo & éotly wm muA@Y yupvdotov ‘Hpa-

KNEOUS, érrel KaKELVOS OUK HY yunatos év Deois, AX’

évetxeTo vobecia Sia thy pntépa Ovntiy ovcav)
éres0é tivas 0 BewotoxAns tov ev yeyovoTwv
/ ,
veavioxwy xataBaivoytas eis to Kuvocapyes
, A
areipesOar pet avrod. Kal TovTov yevopévou
Paris I
Kdition,
a. 1624, 7
1120

THEMISTOCLES

I. In the case of Themistdcles;! his family was too obscure to further his reputation. - His father was Neocles,—no very conspicuous man at Athens,—a Phrearrhian by deme, of the tribe Leontis; and on his mother's side he was an alien, as her spay testifies :—

«" Abrotonon was I, and a woman of Thrace age I brought forth
That great light of the Greeks,—know! 'twas Themistocles."' ?

Phanias, however, writes that the mother of Themistocles was not a Thracian, but a Carian woman, and that her name was not Abrotonon, but Euterpe. And Neanthes actually adds the name of her city in Caria,—Halicarnassus.

It was for the reason given, and because the aliens were wont to frequent Cynosarges,—this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasium of Heracles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something alien about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal,—that Themistocles sought to induce certain well-born youths to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him ; and by his success in this bit of cunning

1 It is probable that one or more introductory paragraphs of this biography have been lost. ? Athenaeus, xiii. p. 576.

Soxet travovpywas tov tav voOwy Kal yynciwy
Ssopta ov aveneiv.
3 "Ore peVTOL too Aveomdav yévous perelxe
Ojos éotte TO "yap Prvjoe TEE TIPLOY, direp
Rv Aviopidev xowov, eumpynobev vmo tay Bap-

Bapwv avros émeaxetace weal ‘ypadais éxécpnoer,
@> Biypwvidns toropyreev. *
Il. “Ere 6€ rraty: dv oporoyeirae popas peoros
elvat, Kal TH pev-pucer ouveros, TH 5é Tpoaipéc er
peya hom paryuoy ‘Kal TON TUKOS. éy yap Tais
avécest-jeai axXorais a7To Tov pabnudtwv yevo-
pevos ovg “eratev ovd’ eppadiper, xadatep o8
AeLTrO: TaLdes, GAN’ edpiaxero doyous TWWas MedrE-
_ 2 Tay Kal TUVTATTOLEVOS mpos éavtov. joav 8 oi

-. héyou xatnyopla twos a cuvnyopia TOY Taidwv.

SOev ciw@Ber rNéyerw pds avtov o SuddoKados ws
“ Ovdev on, Tai, ov pixpov, GArAA péya TaV’TOS
ayabov i) Kaxov.” érel cal Tov Tradevoewr TAs
péev nOorrotovs 4 Tpos ndovyY TiVa Kal yapLD
éxevOéprov arrovdalopévas oxvnpas Kal armpo-
Ovpws eEepavOave, rav 8é eis cvverw 4 pak
Aeyouevev SiHros Hv Urepopwv! rap’ HArckiay, ws
TH pvc TiaTEvov.
3 "Oey borepov év tais édXevOepiows Kal aoreiats
Aeyouévars StatpiBais ward tav Tetadedc0at
Soxovvtwy ydevalouevos jvayxalero optiKw-
i apuvecOat, Neywv, Tt AUpay pev appoca-
1 $xepopav Sintenis® with the best MSS.; Sintenis' and Bekker have ovx ixepopav, showed attentiveness.

4

=

THEMISTOCLES

he is thought to have removed the distinction
between aliens and legitimates.
However, it is clear that he was connected with
the family of the Lycomidae, for he caused the
chapel shrine at Phlya, which belonged to the
Lycomidae, and had been burned by the Barba-
rians, to be restored at his own costs and adorned
with frescoes, as Simonides has stated.
II. However lowly his birth, it is agreed on all hands that while yet a boy he was impetuous, by nature sagacious, and by election enterprising and prone to public life. In times of relaxation and leisure, when absolved from his lessons, he would not play nor indulge his ease, as the rest of the boys did, but would be found composing and rehearsing to himself mock speeches. These speeches would be in accusation or defence of some boy or other. Wherefore his teacher was wont to say to him: “My boy, thou wilt be

nothing insignificant, but some- thing great, of a surety, either for good or evil."' Moreover, when he was set to study, those branches which aimed at the formation of character, or ministered to any gratification or grace of a liberal sort, he would learn reluctantly and sluggishly ; and to all that was said for the cultivation of sagacity or practical efficiency, he clearly showed an indifference far beyond his years, as though he put his confidence in his natural gifts alone.

Thus it came about that, in after life, at entertain- ments of a so-called liberal and polite nature, when he was taunted by men of reputed culture, he was forced to defend himself rather rudely, saying that

o0at Kai petaxetpicacbat spadrnptov OUK ént-
oTaTal, mohwy dé pixpay kat adokov maparaBav
évdoEov Kal peyadnv amepyacacba. Katou
LTnoipBporos "Avafayopo te Staxovoar Tov
Ocwurrondéa gnat Ka mep\Médocov) orovdacat
TOV puaorKon, ovK ev TOV VOV ATTOMEVOS
Tlepiexre? yap, Ss woAv vewtepos Fv Beyoro-
xr€ous, MéNacos pev avTectparHnyet TOALOpKOUVTE
Lapious, 'Avafayopas dé ouvdser pre.
MaAnov ody ay Tus 7 pogexor ToS Mrnoudirou
TOV OcwicroKréEa Tou Ppeappiov norny yeve-
aOat Réyouowv, ovTeE propos OVTOS ouTe TOV
puoi KrAnPévtwv prrocopar, ara THY TOTE}
Kahouperny codiap, ovo ay 5é dewornta 7roX-
Ticny Kal Spactipiov cuverw, emit Oevpa Te-
TolnMevou Kal dcacwlovros GoTep aiperw €K
diadoyns amo Yorwvos: tv ot peTa Taira
Sicavixais pi€avtes Téxvats Kal peTaryaryovTes
amo TaY mpdkewy THY agKNoL éml TOUS ayous,
cogioral mpoanyopevOnaay. TOUT®@ pev OvV HON
TOALTEVOMEVOS émdnatater.
"Ev b¢ Tais TpOTats THS VEOTHTOS oppais avo-
panos nv Kat dot dbunros, aTe TH puces Kad
aurny NPwpevos dvev ovyou cal tratdeias én'
apdorepa peyaras TOLOUMEVY peraBoras Tey
emriTndevpar ov Kat TOAAKLS eLrorapevy Tos TO
VELpor, os DoTepov avros @ponroyet, Kal Tous
TPAXUTATOUS TONOUS apioTous larqrous yiver Bar
pacKkov, drav 7S. Tpoonker TUXWCL maideias Kal
6 Kataptucews. & Sé TovTwy ée~apta@ow évtot
Sinynpara wAatrovtes, atroxnpukiv pev vid TOU
1 hv rére Fuhr and Blass with S: rh»,

tuning the lyre and handling the harp were no accom- plishments of his, but rather taking in hand a city that was small and inglorious and making it glorious and great. And yet Stesimbrotus says that Themistocles was a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a disciple of Melissus the physicist; but he is careless in his chronology. Jt was Pericles, a much younger man _ than Themistocles, whom Melissus opposed at the siege of Samos,! and with whom Anaxagoras was intimate.

Rather, then, might one side with those who say that Themistocles was a disciple of Mnesiphilus the Phrearrhian, a man who was neither a rhetorician nor one of the so-called physical philosophers, but a cultivator of what was then called sophia, or wisdom, although it was really nothing more than cleverness in politics and practical sagacity. Mnesiphilus received this sophza, and handed it down, as though it were the doctrine of a sect, in unbroken tradition frgm Solon. His successors blended it with forensic atts, and shifted its application from public affairs to language, and were dubbed “ sophists.” It was this man, then, to whom Themistocles resorted at the very beginning of his public life.

But in the first essays of his youth he was uneven and unstable, since he gave his natural impulses free course, which, without due address and training, rush to violent extremes in the objects of their pursuit, and often degenerate; as he himself in later life con- fessed, when he said that even the wildest colts made very good horses, if only they got the proper breaking and training. What some story-makers add to this, however, to the effect that his father disinherited him, and his mother took her

1 440 B,c,

matpos avrTod, Oavarov 5é Tihs pnrpds éxovovov
émri TH TOU Tatoos aTiia TeptAvToU ryevoperns,
doxet cateypedobat Kal TovvayTiov etal ot
AéyovTes, 67 Tov Ta! Kowa mpd Tew amoT peTrav
QuTOV o TAaTIp émedeixvue Tpos TH ardrry Tas
Taharas _ Tpunpers pplmpevas ral Tapopwpévas,
OS 80 Kal T pos TOUS Snparywryous, 6 Stay aypno rot’

paivovrar, TOV TOAh@v o0lws EXovTo.

III. Tayv pévros Kal VEAVLKWS éouev Gxpao bat
TOU Oeprcroxdéovs Ta TOALTUKG Tpaypara Kat
opodpa uD Tpos Sofav opyn Kpario a. bc) ip
evOus €& ap cis Too Tpwrevely eplewevos rapes
bpiotaro Te $ ™mpos TOUS duvapévous éy TH Todt
Kal TpwrEevovTas amex Geias, pdriora 88 "Apt-
oreidny TOV Avotpayxov, THD évaytiav ael Topevd-
pevov * auT@. kairo. Soxei TavTaTacty) [pos

TOUTOV éxOpa perpaxradny raBeiv apxny: npaaOn-
gay yap auorepor Tod Kahov Lryctree, Keiov
TO ‘yévos ovTOs, WS *Apiatov) prrocogos ior6-
pyneev. éx 6& TovToU due éovy Kal mepl Ta
Snpoova oracatovres. ou py GX’ h TeV Biov
Kal TOV TpoTroy avopolorns Eotkev avtijoas THY
dua opay. T pdos yap av pices Kat Kahoxarya.-
OvKos TOV TpOTrOV O "Aptarelons, Kal ToheTevo-
pevos ov pos Xap ovde T pos d0Ear, ANN’ aro
TOU Bedtiorov peta aopanrelas Kal Sixacoa urns,
nvayKalero TO Ocpioronret Tov Onpov em TONG
KivoorTe Kab peydras émipépovte Kawvoropias
évavtrovabar TOANAKLS, EVLOTALEVOS AUTOD TrpOS
Thy avenowv.
1 rov ra Fuhr and Blass with FaS: ra.

? wopevéuevov with Bekker and the MSS.: wopevduevos.

8

113

THEMISTOCLES

own life for very grief at her son’s ill-fame, this
I think is false. And, in just the opposite vein,
there are some who say that his father fondly tried
to divert him from public life, pointing out to him
old triremes on the sea-shore, all wrecked and
neglected, and intimating that the people treated
their leaders in like fashion when these were past
service.
III. Speedily, however, as it seems, and while he
was still in all the ardour of youth, public affairs
laid their grasp upon Themistocles, and his
impulse to win reputation got strong mastery
over him. Wherefore, from the very beginning, in
his desire to be first, he boldly encountered the
enmity of men who had power and were already first
in the city, especially that of Aristides the son of
Lysimachus, who was always his opponent. And
yet it is thought that his enmity with this man
had an altogether puerile beginning. They were
both lovers of the beautiful Stesilaiis, a native
of Ceos, as Ariston the philosopher has recorded, and

thenceforward they continued to be rivals in public life also. However, the dissimilarity in their lives and characters is likely to have increased their variance. Aristides was gentle by nature, and 4 conservative in character. He engaged in public life, not to win favour or reputation, but to secure the best results consistent with safety and righteousness, and so he was compelled, since Themistocles stirred the people up to many novel enterprises and introduced great innovations, to oppose him often, and to take a firm stand against his increasing influence.
3

- PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Aéyeras yap otrw trapddopos mpos Sdd€av
9 4 iA e \ , >
elvat nal mpdtewy peyarXov vid didotipias épa-
oTNS, @oTE véos dv ett THs év Mapadave paxns
\ \ Ld lA a 4
mpos tous BapBapous yevouévns Kal THs Medtia-
Sov atpatnyias SiaBonbeions civvovs opacbat
Ta TWOAAA pos EAVT@ Kal Tas voKTAS aypuTVeELY
Kal Tovs WOTOUS Tapaiteia Oat TOvs cuVNnOeEts, Kal
A€yety pos TOUS épwTavTas Kal Oavpafovtas THY
\ \ , V4 e 4 oN >
dept Tov Biov peraBornvy, ws Kxabevderv avrov ove
A) \ a M x 10 , e \ \
én TO Tov Mudrtiddouv tpomaov. ot pev yap
aot Tépas Govto Tov ToAépov THY ev Mapabau
Tav BapBdpwv Arrav elvat, MemoroxrAns Se
apxiy pelovwv ayavar, éd' ods éavtov bTrép THs
6Ans "EXAdSos HrAEhe Kai THY Tod HoKEL Top-
pwev étt! rrpocdoxav TO péddov.
IV. Kai wrporov pév tv Aavpewtixny 7 pocodov
9 \ A b] 4 4 " 9 /
amTO TOV apyupeiwy petddAd\gwv EB0s éxYovTwWY
b , A 4 > na] 4
A@nvaiwv sdvavéuecOat, povos eimety érodpyoe
mapedOwv eis tov Shyov, ws xph THY Stavouny
édoavras éx TOV YpnudTwY ToUTwY KaTaTKEvAd-
, bP] \ N \ > V4 t
cac0at tTpinpes eri Tov mpos Aiytynras TroAepLov.
HKpale yap ovtos év TH 'EAAdL pddAtota Kal

KaTetyov ot vnot@tat? mANOEL veav THY Oarac-
cav. % Kal pdov DewioroxrANs ovvérercev, ov
Aapeiov ovdé Ilépcas (uaxpav yap Roav ovros
1 7: Fuhr and Blass with FS: 45n.
? ynot@rot Fuhr and Blass with FS; Alywijrat,
19
THEMISTOCLES

It is said, indeed, that Themistocles was so carried away by his desire for reputation, and such an ambitious lover of great deeds, that though he was still a young man when the battle with the Barbar- ians at Marathon ! was fought and the generalship of Miltiades was in everybody’s mouth, he was seen thereafter to be wrapped in his own thoughts for the most part, and was sleepless o’ nights, and refused invitations to his customary drinking parties,

a eee ee

Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. the
rest of his countrymen thought that the defeat ;
the Barbarians at Marathon was the end of the
war; bat Themistocles thought it to be only the
beginning of greater contests, and for these he
anointed himself, as it were, to be the champion of
all Hellas, and put his city into training, because,
while it was yet afar off, he expected the evil that
was to come.
IV. And so, in the first place, whereas the Athe- nians were wont to divide up among themselves the revenue coming from the silver mines at Laureium, he, and he alone, dared to come before the people with a motion that this division be given up, and that with these moneys triremes be constructed. for the war against Aegina.? This was the fiercest war then troubling Hellas, and the islanders controlled the sea, owing to the number of their ships. Wherefore all the more easily did Themistocles carry his point, not by trying to terrify the citizens with dreadful pictures of Darius or the Persians—

1 490 B.C, ? 484-483 B.c,
II
™~

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Aéyerar yap obtw mapddopos mpos So€av
elvat Kat eats payday bird didoTipias épa-
oTNs, @ote véos MY ETL THS ev Mapadane pans
Ipos TOUS BapBapous yevomerns Kal TIS Maria
dou oTparnyias Sia BonGetons TUVVOUS _Sphetat,
TQ TOAKG 7 pos éauT@ Kal Tas VUKTAS ayp whe
Kal TOUS TOTOUS Trapatteia bat TOUS oun de Ss

Neveu 7 pos TOUS EpOTEnP TANS Kal Gavpator
rept tov Biov petaBornv, as Kkabevdew av’
én TO To Mudtiadov T pom aay, J of
ddXot Tépas Govto TOD TOAgmoU THY EV:
Tov BapBapwv Ajrtav eivat, ep
apxiy pecLovay ayover, é ods
OAns “EXXAdSos HrErhe Kal THY
pwbev Ett! rpocdoxav TO peAXO
IV. Kai por pev THY Naup
avo TOV apyupelwv MeETa. Ve
"A@nvaior diavéueo Oat, a
\ ’ \ A an
TmapedOwv eis tov Stor,
€dcavTas €K TOV KpHEe
\
cacbat Tpinpecs emt TOP
” \ a >
nKuwale yap ovTOS &y
KATELYOV Ol YNOL@TaAL
gav. % Kal paov
Aapetov ovdé és

1 27: Fuhr ane
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2 ynowra Fub
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™ cS “28 *
THEMISTOCLES

indeed, that Dhemistocles was so carried

desire fo ation, and such an
f gree at though he was

whe with the Barbar-
he generalship of

uth, he yas seen

) nh or

ix

vil that

e Athe-

\~@

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

kat déos ov mavu BéBatov was adiEopevoe trapet-
9 ld b] A N > 4 9 aA A
yov) ériceiwy, ANAA TH pos Aiyiwwytas opy7y Kal
S A A b) 4 > 4
pudovernig TOV TOM TOD dmoxpnedpevos evxaipws
> e fa)
él THv TapacKeunv. éxaToY yap aTro TOV XpN-
peatov éxeivov érrounOnocav tpinpers, als! Kal
mpos FépEnv évavydynaav.
"Ex 5 tovTouv Kara puixpov UTaywv Kal Kata-
BiBdalov thy modw pos thy Odrdaccay, ws TA
mela pev ovde Tois opopors akvoudyous dovras,
th S amo tav vedv adxq cal tos BapBdpovs
apvvacbar kal tis ‘EXAdbos dpyew Suvapévovs,
9 \ J e A a e ,
aQvTt movipwv oTrrALToY, Ws drnow o IINatwr, vav-
Batas nal Badartiovs érroince, cal SdvaBornv
kal aitod mapécxev, ws apa BemoroxAANs To
Sopu cal thy dowida tay ToNTOV TApENOMEVOS
9 e f \ , / \ >]
els umnpéotoy Kal Kwrny auvértere TOV AOn-
/ a ¥ \ A /
vaiwy Sipov. émpake Sé ravta Mudriddov
Kpatnoas avTthéyovtos, ws latopet Yrnoip-
Bpotos.
Ei pév 82) tTHv axpiBevav cat To xabapdv Tod
mwoXiTevpatos EBAaWev 7} wy TavTa mpdkas, EoTw
dirocopwrepov éemicxotreiy: Ste 5é 4) TOTE THTN-

pia tots “EAXnow é« ths Oaraoons virijpee Kal
\ b 4 4 2 J VA e 4
Thy AOnvaiwy ror avis avéctncay ai TpLinpets
3 a 4 > \ b \ b] ,
éxeivat, Td T adda Kal FlépEns avros euaptupnyce.
THS yap webixns Suvapews GOpavaTtou Stapevov-
ons Epuye META THY TOV vEOV HTTAY, WS OUK OV
akwpayos, cat MapdSowov éeurrodov elvat Trois
1 fs Fuhr and Blass with S: at,

these were too far away and inspired no very serious fear of their coming, but by making opportune use of the bitter jealousy which they cherished toward Aegina in order to secure the armament he desired. The result was that with those moneys they built a hundred triremes, with —__ which they actually fought at Salamis! against Xerxes.

And after this, by luring the city on gradually and turning its progress toward the sea, urging that with their infantry they were no match even for their nearest neighbours, but that with the power they would get from their ships they could not only repel the Barbarians but also take the lead in Hellas, he nmrade them, instead of “ steadfast hoplites ’—to quote Plato’s words,” sea-tossed mariners, and brought down upon himself this accusation: ‘“ Themistocles robbed his fellow-citizens of spear and shield, and degraded the people of Athens to the rowing- ~- pad and the oar.” And this he accomplished in triumph over the public saponin of Miltiades, as Stesimbrotus relates.

Now, whether by accomplishing this he did injury to the integrity and purity of public life or not, let the philosopher rather investigate. But that the salvation which the Hellenes achieved at that time came from the sea, and that it was those very tri- remes which restored again the fallen city of Athens, Xerxes himself bore witness, not to speak of other proofs. For though his infantry remained intact, he took to flight after the defeat of his ships, because he thought he was not a match for the Hellenes, and he left Mardonius behind, as it seems to me,

(i 480 B.C. 2 Laws, iv. p. 706.

“EdAgoe Tis diaEecs ParXov 7 Sovreoaspevoy
avTous, @S éuol Soxel, KaTEALTTED.
V. Xwvtovoy 5é€ avbtov yeyovévas ypnuatiotny 114
e / /, > , \ \
of pév tives hace be érevOeproTnta: Kai yap
/ ” \ \ ? a \ \
hiroOurny bvta Kai Napmpov ev Taig Tepl TOUS
4 4 b 4 5 a @ 4 e oe
Eévous Samrdvats adOovou deicPat yopnytas: ot dé
ToUvvavTioy yALOYpOTHTA TOAATY Kal pLKPOKOYLay
le) Lo) ,
KATHYOpOvaLY, @S Kal TA TEuTrOpEva TAY edwoi-
le /
2 pov mwrovvtos. ere dé Diridyns o immorpodos
? e.» 9 A A by 4 ? I
airnOels tm’ avtov ma@Xov ovK &mxev, HITELANTE
THY olKiay av’Tovd Tayv Tonoey Sovpetov imo),
aimEdpevos éyxAnpata avyyenxa Kai dixas TO
avOpwmr@ pos oiKElous TLvas Tapakeu.
A 4 4 e / 4 >”
TH 6 ptroTipia wavtas vrepéBarev, WoT Ett
\ ¢ ,
pev véos Ov Kal adavns ’Emixréa tov €& ‘Epysovns
A 4 e \ “ > /
Kupiatny otrovdalopevoy vio tav *AOnvalor
exduTraphoar pedeTay Trap’ avT@, prroTLpmovpeEvos
qoAAovs THY oiKiay Enreiv Kal houTay pos avTov.
3 es 8 ‘Oduptriav €Mav cai StaptArdpg@pevos TO
Ki A 5 a \ N \ \ ¥.
iuwve rept OElTTVa Kal OKNVAaS Kal THY aXANHY
AapTpOTHTA Kal TapacKeunY, ovK HperKe TIS
"EAAnow. éxeivp pev yap byte véw kal an
tA ” A * la)
oixias peyadns wovto Seiy Ta ToLadTa cuyyYwpeEly:
e \ / , 4 > N “ >
o b€ pnTw yvapipos ,yeyovws, GrAXa Soxav é&
, .
ovy vTapxXovTwy Kal wap daéiav éraipecbar
4 mpoowdrtoKxavey draloveiav. évixnoe Sé Kal
Nopnyav tpaywoots, peyurnv dn TOTE aroVdnY
4 A A
kal dirotyslav Tod ayavos éxovtos, Kal tivaxa

rather to obstruct their pursuit than to subdue them.

V. Some say that Themistocles was an eager money-maker because of his liberality ; for since he was fond of entertaining, and lavished money splendidly on his guests, he required a generous budget. Others, on the contrary, denounce his great stinginess and parsimony, claiming that he used to sell the very food sent in to him as a gift. When Philides the horse-breeder was asked by him . for a colt and would not give it, Themistocles threat- ened speedily to make his house a wooden horse ; thereby darkly intimating that he would stir up accusations against him in his own family, and lawsuits between the man and those of his own household.

In his ambition he surpassed all men. For instance, while he was still young and obscure, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a harpist who was eagerly sought after by the Athenians, to practise at his house, because he was ambitious that many should seek out his dwelling and come often to see him. Again, on going to Olympia, he tried to rival Cimon in his banquets and booths and other brilliant appointments, so that he displeased the Hellenes. For Cimon was young and of a great house, and they thought they must allow him in such extrava- gances; but Themistocles had not yet become famous, and was thought to be seeking to elevate himself unduly without adequate means, and so was charged with ostentation. And still again, as choregus,.or theatrical manager, he won a victory with tragedies, although even at that early time this contest was conducted with great eagerness and

THS vinns avéOnnxe ToLavTny éeruypadny EyovTa:
“ @euiotoxrAHs Ppedppros éexopryer, Ppvwyos edidacker, "Adeipavtos jpyev.”
Ov piv adda Tois ToAXOs évyppoTTe, TovTO pev éxdoTOV TOY TONTO@Y TOvVO“A AéywV aTrO oTopatos, ToUTO dé KpiTnVY aopary mepl Ta cuuBoraa Tapéyov éavTov, Mate Tov Kal mTpos Lepovidny tov Keiov eireiv, airovpevoy te tav OU peTpiwy Tap avTov oTpaTnyouVTOS, Ms OvT éxeivos av ryévouro TOUTS ayabos adav Tapa péXos ovT autos aoTetos dpyov Tapa. vopov xapilopevos. wanrw oé TOTE Tov Ytpovidnv éme- cxworTwv édeye vodv ouK exe, KopivOious bev hotdopobyTa peyadny oixobyTas TOMW, avrTov b¢ qotovpevoy eikovas oTAS otros aisxpov THY

Oxpev. avEopevos dé xal ois tronnois apec Kav
TEXNOS Kater Tas lace kal petéatnoe é€oorpa-
xicOévta Tov ‘Apia reidny.
VI. "Hén 6e tov Mydou xataBaivovros ém THY
“EAAdoa Kal TOV "AOnvatov Bovdevopévoy Tept
atparnyoo, TOUS pev adrouvs éxovTas eKarivat
THS orparnyias Aéyouow éxtmemAnypévous TOV
xivduvov, "Enrecvdny dé TOV Evdnpisov, dn-
parycoryov évra Setvov bev elrreiy, paraxov dé
THv puxny Kar XONwaT ov ATTova, TIS apyxiis
épier Dau Kal Kparia ety émidofov elvat TH Xet-
porovia. TOY ovv @cwiorondéa Seioavta, BN 7a,
mparywara StapGapeln TayraTrace Ths Wryepovias
eis éxelvov éumerovons, Xpipace Thy piroripiay
éEwvncacbat trapa tod ’EKmixvéous.
16

THEMISTOCLES

ambition, and set up a tablet commemorating his victory with the following inscription: “Themistocles the Phrearrhian was Choregus; Phrynichus was Poet ; Adeimantus was Archon.” !
However, he was on good terms with the common folk, partly because he could call off-hand the name of every citizen, and partly because he rendered the service of a safe and impartial arbitrator in cases of private obligation and settlement out of court; and so he once said to Simonides of Ceos, who had made an improper request from him when he was magis- trate : “ You would not be a good poet if you should sing contrary to the measure; nor I a clever magis- trate if I should show favour contrary to the law.” And once again he banteringly said to Simonides that it was nonsense for him to abuse the Corinthians, who dwelt in a great and fair city, while he had portrait figures made of himself, who was of such an ugly countenance. And so he grew in power, and pleased the common folk, and finally headed a success- ful faction and got Aristides removed by ostracism.?

VI. At last, when the Mede was descending upon Hellas and the Athenians were deliberating who should be their general, all the rest, they say, voluntarily renounced their claims to the generalship, so panic-stricken were they at the danger; but Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a popular leader who was powerful in speech but effeminate in spirit and open to bribes, set out to get the office, and was likely to prevail in the election; so Themis- tocles, fearing lest matters should go to utter ruin in case the leadership fell to such a man, bribed and bought off the ambition of Epicydes.

1 476 B.C. 2 483-482 B.c. _

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2 "Emauvetras 8 avtod cal 76 rept Tov diyNwr Tov
Epyov év tots meupOeiow vio Bacidéws eri vis
kal bdatos aitnow. éppnvéa yap dvta avdXa-
Bav Sia wWnhdicpatos drréxtewev Ott wvny
‘EAAnvida BapBapots wpoctdypacw érodrApnoe
3 xXpnoa. ere S& Kal 1rd wept “ApOmoy Tov
ZLereirnv: Beptoroxréovs yap eiaovtos kai tod-
Tov eis TOUS atipmous Kal Taidas avTod Kal yévos
évéyparvav, Ste tov éx Mydwv ypuady eis tovs
“RAAnvas éxopice. péytorov Sé rdvtwy To KaTa-
ADaat ToS “EXAnVLKOdS TroAg“oUs Kal StadrAdEar
Tas ToAes GAAHAAaLS, TeicavTa Tas eyOpas Sia
Toy TWoAcuov avaBaréc0at apos 6 Kal Xeirewv
Tov 'Apxdda pardora cuvaywvicacbar Néyouct.
VII. HapakaBav 8& rHv dpynv ed0ds perv
€mexeipes TOvsS Troditas éuBiBdley eis Tas TpLN- 115
pets, Kal tTHv wodw ereOev éxdtTrOVTAS WS Tpo-
cwtadtTw HS “EXAddos amavtay 1r@ BapBdp@
kata Oddratrav. évotapévwv 5€ trod\rAwv &€§&n-
yare TONY oTpatiay eis TA Téurn pera Aaxe-
Satyoviov, ws avtoO. mpoxwduvevocovtwy THs
2 @ertarias otrw Tore pdilev Soxovons: érret
& dveywpnoav éxetOev ampaxto Kal Berrarov
Bactret mpocyevopevwy eunoile Ta péexpt Botw-
tias, wadArov On TH OcprctoKxrAe? mpocetyov oi
"AOnvaios wept THs Oardoons, Kal méutreTat peTa
veav ém Aptepicvoy Ta orevd purdéwv.
"EvOa 69 Tov pev “EXXAjvov EvpuBiddny nar

Praise is given to his treatment of the linguist in the company of those who were sent by the King to demand earth and water as tokens of submission : this interpreter he caused to be arrested, and had him put to death by special decree, because he dared to prostitute the speech of Hellas to Barbarian stipulations. Also to his treatment of Arthmius of Zeleia: on motion of Themistocles this man was entered on the list of the disfranchised, with his children and his family, because he brought the gold of the Medes and offered it to the Hellenes. But the greatest of all his achievements was his putting a stop to Hellenic wars, and reconciling Hellenic cities with one another, persuading them to_postpone their mutial hatreds

because a the foreign war. To which end, they say, Cheileos the Arcadian most seconded his efforts. |

VII. On assuming the command, he straightway went to work to embark the citizens on their tri- remes, and tried to persuade them to leave their city behind them and go as far as possible away from Hellas to meet the Barbarians by sea. But many opposed this plan, and so he led forth a large army to the vale of Tempe, along with the Lacedaemonians, in order to make a stand there in defence of Thessaly, which was not yet at that time supposed to be medis- ing. But soon the army came back from this position without accomplishing anything, the Thessalians went over to the side of the King, and everything was medising as far as Boeotia, so that at last the Athenians were more kindly disposed to the naval policy of Themistocles, and he was sent with a fleet to Artemisium, to watch the narrows.

It was at this place that the Hellenes urged

AaxeSaipoviovs AyetoOar KedXevovtav, tav 8
'AOnvatov, Ste wANOEL TOV vEeaVv cUpmavTas opLov
Tl Tous @AXous bmepeBadnor, OUK afvovyTwv
ETEPOLS érea Oat," cuviday TOV xivduvoy 0 Beut-
TTOKAAS avros TE THY apxny TO EvpuBiddy
TapHKe Kal KATET PAVE TOUS "AOnvaious, UTLTX-
VOUHEVOS, ay avdpes aryadot yév@vTat q@pos Tov
TOAEMLOV, ExOvTas avTois Tapé-eLy Eis TA OUTTA
metOopevous TOUS "EXAnvas. dioTrep Soxet Tips
cwTNpLAs aiTLaTaros yevéoOas TH 'EdAdor Kat
pdduara TOUS "AOnvatous "Tpoaryaryety Els dofay,
OS avdpeta fev TOV TONELLOY, evyvapocuvn é
TOV TULMAX wy TEplryEVOMEVOS.
"Esrel S€ traits "Agerais TOU BapBapcxod aTodov
Tm poo piEavtos extraryels O EvpuBiddns TOV KaTa
oTOMAa vEeav TO mrHO0s, adrras Se muvOavopevos
Siaxocias t brrép Lxed0ov mepitreiv, éBovreTo THY
TayloTny elow THS 'Edd dbos Kopia Gels dxpac Gat
IleXorrovynacov Kal Tov meCov orpaTtov Tais vavot
mpooTreptBarécbat, TAVTATACLW am poopaxov
TyoUpEvos THY KaTa Gararray adKny Bacrrews,
Seto avrTes ol EuBoeis, T,) opas ot "EAXnves Tpo-
@YTAL, ne TO OeprrroKret SeAeyovTo, Tleda-
yovta perc Xenpareov TOAK@Y meurpartes. a
AaBov éxeivos, ws 'Hpddotos taropnxe, Tots trepl
tov EvpuBiddnv exer.
'Evavtvoupévov 5 avT@ padvara TOV TOT OY
"ApxeTérous, os ny pev éml Tis lepas VEOS T pe

Npapxos, oux éyov € yYenpata Tots vaurars
xopnyety éomevdev anomredoat, mapwEuvev ere
PadXoY 0 DeptoroxARHs Tors Tpinpitas émr autor,
20

THEMISTOCLES

Eurybiades and the Lacedaemonians to take the lead, but the Athenians, since in the number of their ships they surpassed all the rest put together, disdained to follow others,—a peril which Themistocles at once comprehended. He surrendered his own command to Eurybiades, and tried to mollify the Athenians with the promise that if they would show themselves brave men in the war, he would induce the Hellenes to yield a willing obedience to them thereafter. - Wherefore he is thought to have been the man most instrumental in achieving the salvation of Hellas, and foremost in leading the Athenians up to the high repute of surpassing their foes in valour and their allies in magnanimity.

Now Eurybiades, on the arrival of the Barbarian armament at Aphetae, was terrified at:the number of ships that faced him, and, learning that two hundred ships more were sailing around above Sciathus to cut off his retreat, desired to proceed by the shortest route down into Hellas, to get into touch with Pelo- ponnesus and encompass his fleet with his infantry forces there, because he thought the power of the King altogether invincible by sea. Therefore the Euboeans, fearing lest the Hellenes abandon them to their fate, held secret conference with Themisto- ‘cles, and sent Pelagon to him with large sums of money. This money he took, as Herodotus relates,! and gave to Eurybiades.

Meeting with most opposition among his fellow- citizens from Architeles, who was captain on the sacred state galley, and who, because he had no money to pay the wages of his sailors, was eager to sail off home, Themistocles incited his crew all the

1 viii. 5.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

6 woTeE TO Selirvoy apTradcat auydpamovtTas. Tod
"Apxetérous abupovvtos él tovT@ Kal Bapéws
dhépovtos, eioérreprev 0 OewiorokArANs pos avrov
év xiotn Selmrvov aptov Kal xpeav, UTrobels Kato
tadavtov apyupiov Kai KerXevoas avTov te Set-
mvely ev TH TapovTe Kar pel? npepav emipednOhvat
Tay TpinpiT@y eb be pH, xataBojoew avrod
_ pos TOUS Tapdvtas! ws ExovTos apyuptov Tapa
TOV TOAELLoY. TadTa perv ovv Pavias o AéoBros
el pnKev.
VIII. Ai dé yevopevas tore mpos tas ToY
BapBdpov vads trepi Ta oteva payat Kpiow pév
eis Ta ONG peydrnv ovK ETroinoav, TH Sé Teipa
péytota tous “EAAnvas ovynoay, bro TeV épyov

mapa Tovs Kivduvous d:5axOévtas, ws odtE TANON
ve@v ovTe KOgpOL Kal AapTpoTHTEs emTLojnpwV
oUTE Kpavyal Koume@ders 7) BadpRapot trataves
éxovot TL Sewov avdpaou emiaTapévors eis yelpas
iévat kal payecBar ToAp@ow, adrAa Set TaD
TOLOUTWY KaATappovodvTas em avTa Ta THpaTa
dépecOat kal mpos éxeiva SiaywvilecOar ocup-
2mraxevras. 6 67 Kal Ilivéapos ov Kakas
Goce ouvid@y él tas év ‘Aptewicio payns
evTrety"
"OO: raises "APavaiwr éBdrovro paevvav

Kpnmtd édrevOepias*
apy yap évtws Tov wav To Oappery.
"Eote 5é€ tis EvBoias 76 ‘’Aptepiovov trrép
thv ‘Eoriatay airyiados eis Bopéay avarrerta-
pévos, avtiteivee 8 avT@ pddota THs v7
1 wapévras Fuhr and Blass with F4S: zoAiras.

more against him, so that they made a rush upon him and snatched away his dinner. Then, while Architeles was feeling dejected and indignant over this, Themistocles sent him a dinner of bread and meat in a box at the bottom of which he had put a talent of silver, and bade him dine without delay, and on the morrow satisfy his crew; otherwise he said he would denounce him publicly as the receiver of money from the enemy. At any rate, such is the story of Phanias the Lesbian.

VIII. The battles which were fought at that time with the ships of ‘the Barbarians in the narrows were not decisive of the main issue, it is true, but they were of the greatest service to the Hellenes in giving them experience, since they were thus taught by actual achievements in the face of danger that riei- ther multitudes of ships nor brilliantly decorated figure-heads nor boastful shouts or barbarous battle- hymns have any terror for men who know how to come to close quarters and dare to fight there; but that they must despise all such things, rush upon the very persons of their foes, grapple with them, and fight it out to the bitter end. Of this Pindar seems to have been well aware when he said of the battle of Artemisium :—

‘Where Athenians’ valiant sons set in radiance

eternal
Liberty's corner-stone.’’!
For verily the foundation of victory is courage.

Artemisium is a part of Euboea above Hestiaea,
—a sea-beach stretching away to the north,—and
just about opposite to it lies Olizon, in the territory
1 Bergk, Frag. 77.
e 23
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DiroxTyTH yevouévns yopas ‘Orlov. Eyer 5é
vaoy ov péyay ‘Aptréutdos érixAnow Ipoong@as,
cal Sévdpa aepl avT@ wéduxe Kal orhrat KUKA@
niOov AevKod tTemynyacw: o Sé NOS TH xeEupl
TptiBopevos Kal xpoay Kal dopnv xpoxifovaav
avabidwaw. év md S€ TOV oTndov édeyeloy Hy
TOOE yeypappéevov’
Tlavrodarav avipav yeveas 'Acias aro yw@pas
qaides "AOnvaiwy T@dé ToT év TEeNayer
4 4 > \ \ v
vavpayin Saydoarres, rel oTpatos @AETO
Mydwr,
onpata TadT ecav wapOéve Apréusc..
Setxvutar O€ THS AKTHS TOTOS Ev TOAAH TH repre
Ovi Kxovw redpwdn Kat pédrawav éx Bdbous
avadtoovs, BomEep TupixavoTov, év & Ta vavayta
Kal vexpovs xadoat Soxovdor.
IX. Tav pévroe wept OepporvrAas eis Td
"Aprepiovoy amayyerdovtwv! trudpevor Acw-
viday te xetoOar Kai xpateiv HépEnv rev cata
yiv wapoderv, elow tis ‘EXdXddos5 dvexopivlorto,
t@v ‘AOnvaiwy éml aot tetaypévov 8. apetrny
Kal péya Tots rem parypevors dpovovyvTwv. Tapa
wréwov 6€ THY KXwpaYv oO Bepsorowryjs, rep
KaT apo ets dvaryeatas kal KaTaguyas éwpa Trois
moreuios, evexdpatTe Kata ToV NOwY eripavi
ypdppata, ToUs pev EvpioKwY aro TUYNS, TOVs &
1 gwayyeAAdvrwy Fuhr and Blass with F8S : dxayyer0évrwr.
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once subject to Philoctetes. It has a small temple
_ of Artemis surnamed Proseoea, which is surrounded
by trees and enclosed by upright slabs of white
marble. This stone, when you rub it with your
hand, gives off the colour and the odour of saffron.

On one of these slabs the following elegy was inscribed :—

‘ Nations of all sorts of men from Asia’s boundaries coming,
Sons of the Athenians once, here on this arm of the sea,
Whelmed in a battle of ships, and the host of the Medes was destroyed ;
These are the tokens thereof, built for the Maid Artemis.” 1

And a place is pointed out on the shore, with sea sand all about it, which supplies from its depths a dark ashen powder, apparently the product of fire, and here they are thought to have burned their wrecks and dead bodies.

IX. However, when they learned by messengers from Thermopylae to Artemisium that Leonidas was slain and that Xerxes was master of the pass, they withdrew further down into Hellas, the Athenians bringing up the extreme rear because of their valour, and greatly elated by their achievements. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw places at which the enemy must necessarily put in for shelter and supplies, he inscribed con- spicuous writings on stones, some of which he found to his hand there by chance, and some he himself caused to be set near the inviting anchorages and

1 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graect, iii.4 p. 480.

avros totas mepl Ta vavrAoxa Kal Tras Hdpelas,
ériaknttov “Iwor dia TOV ypappdtov, ci pev
olov te, petatdeacOat mpos avtovs warépas
évTas Kal mpoxwouvevovtas uTép THs éxelvwv
érevOepias, ef 5é py, xaxodv to BapBapixoy év
tais paxyats Kal ovvtapdttew. tadta § Ar-
muceyv) petacotnoey tovs “Iwvas 7 tapdakeuv
UTomToTépous Tois BapBapors yevopévous.
ElépEou dé dia tis Awpidos dvobev éuBa-
Aovtos eis THY Paxida Kal Ta TOV Poxéewy adorn
a 6 A € vf

TUpTONOUYTOS ov mpoonuvvay ot “EKAXnVes,

4 a >] 4 A > ‘ 4
Kaitrep Trav AOnvaiwyv Sgouévwr ets THY Botwriav
amavrioat mpo THs “ATTUKAS, MoTEp aUTOL KaTa
Odratray én ’Aptrepiavov éBonOncav. ndevos
5’ vmaxovovtos avtois, dAAa THs LeXotrovyncov

Tepteyouevwv Kal mwacav évros ‘loOpod thy
Sivayuv @punpévwv ocvvayerv, Kat Staterytfovtav
A > A > 4 > 4 fu \
tov IcOpuov ets OddXattav éx OaratTNs, awa pev
? A , bd ‘\ b] , 4
copy? TtHS tpodocias elye tovs ‘APnvaious, dua
5é ducOupia cal xatnhera pepovwpévovs. pa-
vecbat pev yap ov Stevooivto puptdor otpatod
tocavrais: 5 8 Hv povov dvayxaiov év TO Trapor-
\ 4 9 / ? A “ 4 e
Tl, THY Todkw adevtas eupvvat tais vavoipr, ot
a ” e 4 , a
ToAXol NANETWS NKOVOV, WS LNTE VLKNS Seoevoe
pyte owrnpiav émictdpevot Oe@v te icpa Kal
TAaTépwv npia mpoiepevwv.
X. “EvOa 67 QeptoroxAs atropav trois avOpw-
Tivos Aoytapols TpocdyerOat Ta TWAHOOS, WoTEP
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watering places. In these writings he solemnly enjoined upon the Ionians, if it were possible, to come over to the side of the Athenians, who were their ancestors, and who were risking all in behalf of their freedom ; but if they could not do this, to damage the Barbarian cause in battle, and bring confusion among them. By this means he hoped either to fetch the Ionians over to his side, or to confound them by bringing the Barbarians into suspicion of them.

Although Xerxes had made a raid up through Doris into Phocis, and was burning the cities of the Phocians, the Hellenes gave them no succour. The Athenians, it is true, begged them to go up into Boeotia against the enemy, and make a stand there in defence of Attica, as they themselves had gone up by sea to Artemisium in defence of others. But no one listened to their appeals. All clung fast to the Peloponnesus, and were eager to collect all the forces inside the Isthmus, and went to running a wall through the Isthmus from sea to sea. Then the Athenians were seized alike with rage at this betrayal, and with sullen dejection at their utter isolation. Of fighting alone with an army of so many myriads they could not seriously think ; and as

for the only thing left them todo in their emergency,
namely, to give up their city and stick to their ships,
most of them were distressed at the thought, saying
that they neither wanted victory nor understood what
safety could mean if they abandoned to the enemy
the shrines of their gods and the sepulchres of their
fathers.
X. Then indeed it was that Themistocles, despair- ing of bringing the multitude over to his views by

év Tpaywodia pnxavnv dpas, onpeta Saoria Kal
Npnopous éeripyev avtois: onpetov pev NapBaveov
To Tov Spdxovtos, bs ahavyns éxeivats Tais
Huépats ex TOU onKod Soxel yevéoOat Kal Tas
Kal" ypépay avT@ mpoTiepévas atrapyas cdpi-
> 4 e e A b] V4 ?
aKovTes axpavoTtous ot tepets, eEnyyeddXov ets
TOUS TOANOUS, TOU MeuwsaToKrEous Aoyov S6ovTos,
@S atroNéAotrre THY Todw 7 Oeos vdnyoupévy
N =i 4 > a wn de "
mpos thy OdXNaTTay avTois. TH OE YPNTWO
TAAL eOnpayeye, Nyov pundev Addo SnrovcIa
EvAwov teixos h TAS vabs: 810 Kal THY Larapiva
Oeiav, ovyt Sewny ovdé cxeTAlav Karely Tov Oeor,
@s evTUYnpaTos peyddou Tois "EXAnow érro-
yupov éocopévnv. Kpatnoas 5€ TH yvoun Wr-
diopa ypdder, THv péev Tod Trapaxatabéabar
7H "AOnva tH "AOnvdav pedeovon, tors 8 év
nrtkia Tavras éuBaivey eis tas Tpinpers, raidas
dé nai yuvaixas kal avdpdtroéa cate exactov
¢ s— , \ a /
as Suvatov. Kupwbévtos 5é tod Wndiopatos
ot TrEtoToL TaY "AOnvaiwy vmeEeevTO yeveas }
Kat yuvaixas eis Tporliva, dirotiuws mavu tov
Tpovtnvior vrodexopévav Kxal yap tpépev en-
, , Waa, \ eos ,
gdisavro Snpuocia, S00 GBorovs Exdot@ Sidovtes,
Kat THs OTwpas AapBavew tovs traidas éFeivat
1 yeveds Madvig's correction, adopted by Blass: yovéas
parents,
28

any human reasonings, set up machinery, as it were, to introduce the gods to them, as a_ theatrical manager would for a tragedy, and brought to bear upon them signs from heaven and oracles. As a sign from heaven he took the behaviour of the serpent, which is held to have disappeared about that time from the sacred enclosure on the Acropolis. When the priests found that the daily offerings made to it were left whole and untouched, they proclaimed to the multitude,—Themistocles putting the story into their mouths,—that the goddess had abandoned her city and was showing them their way to the sea. Moreover, with the well-known oracle! he tried again to win the people over to his views, saying that its “wooden wall’ meant nothing else than their fleet; and that the god in this oracle called Salamis “ divine,” not “ dreadful ” nor “cruel,” for the very reason that the island would sometime give its name to a great piece of good fortune for the Hellenes. At last his opinion prevailed, and so he introduced a bill providing that the city be entrusted for safe keeping “ to Athena the patroness of Athens,’ but that all the men of military age embark on the triremes, after finding for their children, wives, and servants, such safety as each best could. Upon the passage of this bill, most of: the Athenians bestowed their children and. wives in Troezen, where the Troe- zenians very eagerly welcomed them. They actually voted to support them at the public cost, allowing two obols daily to each family, and td permit the boys to pluck of. the vintage fruit everywhere, and

1 Herod., vii. 141.

mavraxober, Ere & vrrép avta@v didacKdnaots Tedely
pucOovs. 70 dé Wydtopa Nixayopas éyparpev.
Ovk dvtwv Sé Synpociwy ypnudtar trois ’*AOn-
vaio, "ApiotorérAns péev dnote tHv é€& ’Apeiov
qmayou BovvAnv tropicacay oxTw Spaxpas éxdoT@
TOV oTpaTevopévwy aitiwtatny yevéoOar Tov
TAnpwOnva. tas Tpenpets, Kre’dnuos dé Kal
TovUTO TOU BepiotoKréovs Troveirat oTpaTHYNmA.
cataBawovtov yap eis Tepacad trav ‘AOnvaiwy,
gnaw atrorécOa. to Topyovevov amd rhs Oeov
Tov aydApatos: Tov ow BeptoTtoKrAéa Tpoc-
jotovpevoy Cnteiv Kal Suepevvopevoy aravta
Xpnudtov dvevpioxery mAROos év tais arro-
oKEVaIS ATOKEKPULULEVOV, MV Els pécOV KoOpLo-
Oévrwv evrropnoat tous éuBaivovtas eis Tas vais
epodiov.
"Exareovons 5€ THS ToAEwWS TOIS Mev OLKTOV
TO Oéapa, tois 5é Oaipa Tis TOAMNS TapeElye,
yeveds ev GAN TpoTreuTrOvTMY, avTaV 8 aKap-
TTWY POS oipwyas Kal Sdxpva yovewv Kal

meptBoras Statrepwvtw@v els THY viTOV. KaiToL
TONAOL péev 1a yHpas VITOAELTOMEVOL TOV TOAMLTOV
EXeov elyov: Hy Sé€ Tis Kal do TOV huépwr Kal
acuvtpopav Cowy emixioca yAvKvOuUpia, per
a@puyhs xal modov cvprapabeovtwv éuBaivovar
Tois éavTay tpopedorv. év ols iatopettar Kvwv
ElavOinmov tov Iepixdéovs matpos ovK ava-
TXOpEvos THY am' avTOD povwow évarécbat TH
Jarartn Kal TH Tpinpes Tapavnyopevos extrec ety
30

besides to hire teachers for them. The bill was introduced by a man whose name was Nicagoras. Since the Athenians had no public moneys in hand, it was the Senate of Areiopagus, according to Aristotle, which provided each of the men who embarked with eight drachmas, and so was most instrumental in manning the triremes; but Cleidemus represents this too as the result of an artifice of Themistocles. He says that when the Athenians were going down to the Piraeus and abandoning their city, the Gorgon's head was lost from the image of the goddess; and,then Themistocles, pretending to search for it, and ransacking everything, thereby discovered an abundance of money hidden away in the baggage, which had only to be confiscated, and the crews of the ships were well provided with rations and wages.

When the entire city was thus putting out to sea, the sight provoked pity in some, and in others astonishment at the hardihood of the step; for they were sending off their families in one direction, while they themselves, unmoved by the lamentations and tears and embraces of their loved ones, were crossing over to the island where the enemy was to be fought. Besides, many who were left behind on account of their great age invited pity also, and much affecting fondness was shown by the tame domestic animals, which ran along with yearning cries of distress by the side of their masters as they embarked. A story is told of one of these, the dog of Xanthippus the father of Pericles, how he could not endure to be abandoned

by his master, and so sprang into the sea, swam
across the strait by the side of his master’s trireme,
31

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els THY Larapiva Kal ATOOUvLNCAS aTroPaveiV

evOus: od Kal TO Serxvipevoy axpt vov Kal Kadov-
N a 4 9 /
pevov Kuvos ofa tadov eivar Néyovat.

XI. Tatra te 67 peydda to Bemsorondéous,
kal Tovs ToAdiTas aicBopevos moOobvras *Ap.-
4 \ , \ > 9» A a lA
ateionv cat Sed.otas, wn 8 opynv to BapBdpo
mpoobels éauTov avatpéyyn Ta Tpaypata TIS
e 4 b] 4 \ \ A 4
EAAdbos (€Ewotpdxiato yap wpo Tov TroAémou
katactactacbeis vmod @epsotoxdéous), ypade
Wnpiopa, Tois éml ypovm peOcotaow ekeivar
“ 4 A , \ LA lel
KkateNOovdat mpatrew Kal réyew Ta BédXtioTa TH
“EAAdos pera TOV GdXOV TOMTOD.
EvpuBidbdou Sé thy pév nyepoviay tav veav
V4 \ a 4 > ges A
éyovtos bia TO THS Yrdprns akiwpa, paraxod
dé mepl tov Kivduvoy dvtos, aipew d5é Bovropévou
\ a ? ee. , 4 = sN \ \
Kal maAety emt tov IoOpuov,- Gtrov Kai to Tefov
4 A V4 € A
nOpooro trav ledorovynciwv, 0 BemoroKrAHs
avréxeyev' Ste Kal TA pvnpovevopeva AeXORVvaAL
act. Tod yap EvpuB8iddou mpos avrov e-
movtos: “QO. @epiorowXes, ev Tols ayaot Tovs
mpoctaviarapeévous parrifover, “Nal,” elev 0
@ecwtorokrys, ‘ ddAa Tous arronepbevras ov
arepavovary.” émrapapévou 5é THY Baxrnpiav Os
TaTa£ovTos, o 0 BemoroxrARs Eby: “ aragov ev,
dxovaoy 66.” Oaupacavros dé THY TpgoTnTa
Tov EvpuBidéov Kat deyew KehevaavTos, O pev
emia tonr7Hs aviyryev aurov émi Tov ovyov. ei -
movtos O€ TLVOS, WS aYnp amrodts ovK Oopbds
didacKe Tovs éxovtas éyxataditrely Kal mpoécbat
32

and staggered out on Salamis, only to faint and die straightway. They say -that the spot which is pointed out to this day as " Dog's Mound" is his tomb.

XI. These were surely great achievements of Themistocles, but there was a greater still to come. When he saw that the citizens yearned for Aristides, and feared lest out of wrath he might join himself to the Barbarian and so subvert the cause of Hellas,—he had been ostracized before the war in consequence of political defeat at the hands of Themistocles,!—he introduced a bill providing that those who had been removed for a time be permitted to return home and devote their best powers to the service of Hellas along with the other citizens.

When Eurybiades, who had the command of the fleet on account of the superior claims of Sparta, but who was faint-hearted in time of danger, wished to hoist sail and make for the Isthmus, where the infantry also of the Peloponnesians had been assem- bled, it was Themistocles who spoke against it, and it was then, they say, that these memorable sayings of his were uttered. When Eurybiades said to him, "' Themistocles, at the games those who start too soon get a caning," " Yes,' said Themistocles, " but those who lag behind get no crown." And when Eurybiades lifted up his staff as though to smite him, Themistocles said: "Smite, but hear me." Then Eurybiades was struck with admiration at his calm- ness, and bade him speak, and Themistocles tried to 'bring him back to his own position. But on a certain one saying that a man without a city had no business to advise men who still had cities of their own

1 Cf. chap. v. fin.

\ 4 ¢ aA ? , A
Tas qwatpibas, 0 BewotoxrARs émictpéevras Tov oyou: ""Hyeis rot," eltrev, "aw poxOnpée, Tas pév
> 7&7 A / , b] >
oikias Kal Ta Telyn KaTaNEdOiTTApEV, OVK ati-
ovvtes ayuywv Evexa Sovreverv, Tors 8 nyiv
" ae A ¢ / e t
gore peyiotn tav "EdAnvidar, ai diaxdcvat Tpinpets, at vov pev vpiv wapectact Bonbol awtecbar d& avTav Bovropévars, ef & arite |

Sevtepov nas mpodortes, avtixa tevoetat Ts 'EX-Anvev "AOnvaiovs cal tod édXevbépav Kal yopav ov YElpova KEexTNpEvovs Hs améBadov. Tadta Tov Wepiaroxréous ettrovtos évvoia nal déos éxye

tov EvpuBiddnv trav ’A@nvaiwv, un odds aro-
Neirrovres olxovTar. Tod 8 *Eperptéws rretpwo-
pévou TL N€yeLY Trpos avTov, “"H ydp,” én, “ Kal
bmiv tept mror€uov tis eore AOYOS, of KaGdTEp ai
revides pdyatpay pev eyere, xapdiay dé ovn
éyete; |
XII. Aéyerar 8 tro tivwy tov pev Beporo-
KNéa Tepi tovTwY amo TOU KaTAaCTpwLATOS
avodev Ths vews StaréyeoOa, yradna 5 odOjvar
dtatretopévny amo Se€las TOY veav Kal Tois
Kapxnaiors émixabilovcar: 616 8 Kal pddwora
mpooéberro TH yawn kal maperxevdlovTo vav-
paxnoovTes. ANN ETE TMV TroAEMIWY O TE
aoTodos TH ’AtrtiKH Kata tO Padnpixov tpoc-
hepopevos tovs mméprE artréxpuwev aiytanrous,
avros te Bacirev’s peta tov Telod atpatov
cataBas émit tHv Odrattav GOpovs BhOn, TaY
dé Suvdpewv opod yevopévor, éfeppinaay OL TOD.

@cutotoxr€ovs AOyo: Tov ‘EAANVoY Kal ware
e
évramtawwov ot IleXomrovynctos mpos tov loOuov,
34

to abandon and betray them, Themistocles addressed his speech with emphasis to him, saying: “ It is true, thou wretch, that we have left behind us our houses and our city walls, not deeming it meet for the sake of such lifeless things to be in subjection; but we still have a city, the greatest in Hellas, our two hundred triremes, which now are ready to aid you if you choose to be saved by them; but if you go off and betray us for the second time, straightway many a Hellene will learn that the Athenians have won for themselves a city that is free and a territory that is far better than the one they cast aside.” When Themistocles said this, Eurybiades began to reflect, and was seized with fear lest the Athenians go away and abandon him. And again, when the Eretrian tried to argue somewhat against him, “ Aha!”’ said he, “what argument can ye make about war, who, like the cuttle-fish, have a long pouch in the place where your heart ought tobe?”

XII. Some tell the story that while Themistocles

was thus speaking from off the deck of his ship, an —

owl was seen to fly through the fleet from the right and alight in his rigging; wherefore his hearers espoused his opinion most eagerly and prepared to do battle with their ships. But soon the enemy’s

armament beset. the coast of Attica down to the haven of Phalerum, so as to hide from view the neighbouring shores ; then the King in person with his infantry came down to the sea, so that he could be seen with all his hosts; and presently, in view of this junction of hostile forces, the words of Themistocles ebbed out of the minds of the Hellenes, and the Peloponnesians again turned their eyes wistfully towards the Isthmus and were vexed if any one spake

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p 2
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el Tus AXXO TL ASyOL YaNeTralvovTes, eSoKxer Sé THS
VUKTOS ATrOXwWpELY Kal TrapnyyéAXETO TODS TOS
xuBepyyntats, &vOa bn Bapéws dépwv o Bepw-
OTOKANS, €6 THY ATO TOU TOTTOU Kal TOV aTEVaV
4 4 eem t
mpoenevoe BonOerav ot "EXXAnves StadrvOnoovtat
Kata trodes, EBovreveTo Kal avuvetiOes tHv Tepl
Tov Yixivvov mpaypatetav.
3? de A \ , 4 e / > U

Hv 6€ ro pev yéver Tépons 0 Sixevvos, atypa-
AwTOS, EvVOUS bE TO BeworoKrAE: Kai TOV Téxv@DV
avToo tTaidaywyos. Sv éximéutres mpos Tov
ElépEnv xpuda, xerevoas Névyerv, STs OeptoToKANS
o tav "AOnvatwy otparnyds aipovpevos Ta Ba-
athéws eEayyédAes TpwTos avT@ Tovs "EAAnvas
atrob.ubpacKovtas, Kali SiaxedeveTar un Tapetvar
guyciv avtots, AAN é€v @ TapattrovTar TaY Telav
\ " > VA \ aA \ :
xwpis ovTes émiBécbar Kai StapOeipas THY vavTe-
\ } , fe) S) e od , e b) > b) S
knv dvvamw. tadta dS o BépEns ws at evvotas
Nereypéeva SeEdpevos oOn, Kal rédros eEvOus
éFépepe mpos Tovs nyeuovas TOY vew@v, Tas peV
v a bd e , 4 b]
GdAAas mAnpoov Kxal' novyiav, Staxocias 4§
b 4 4 A \ , 9
avaxléevras dn meptBarécbat Tov Tropoy ev
KiKr@ travta Kal Siala@ocat Tas vicous, Sirs
éxpuryot unoels TOV TroNELiov.
Tovtwyv dé mpatropévor 'Aptotetdns o Avot-
pedxov mpw@tos atcbopevos HKev ert THY oKnYnDv
Tov @euiotoxdéous, ovK dv Piros, ddAArAa Kal be
éxeivoy éeEwotpakia pévos, WoTrEep ElpnTat TpoEA-
Oovre b€ TH Oewmtoronrc? dodler rv Kverworv.

o O€ THv Te AAANV KaXrOKayabiavy Tod avdpos
36
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of any other course; nay, they actually decided to withdraw from their position in the night, and orders for the voyage were issued to the pilots. Such was the crisis when Themistocles, distressed to think that the Hellenes should abandon the advantages to be had from the narrowness of the straits where they lay united, and break up into detachments by cities, planned and concocted the famous affair of Sicinnus.

This Sicinnus was of Persian stock, a prisoner of war, but devoted to Themistocles, and the paeda- gogue of his children. This man was sent to Xerxes secretly with orders to say : " Themistocles the Athe- nian general elects the King's cause, and is the first one to announce to him that the Hellenes are trying to slip away, and urgently bids him not to suffer them to escape, but, while they are in confusion and separated from their infantry, to set upon them and destroy their naval power." Xerxes received this as the message of one who wished him well, and was delighted, and at once issued positive orders to the captains of his ships to man the main body of the fleet at their leisure, but with two hundred ships to put out to sea at once, and-encompass the strait round about on every side, including the islands in their line of blockade, that not one of the enemy might escape.

While this was going on, Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was the first to perceive it, came to the tent of Themistocles, who was no friend of his, nay, through whom he had even been ostracized, as I have said ; and when Themistocles came forth from the tent, Aristides told him how the enemy sur- rounded them. Themistocles, knowing the tried nobility of the man, and filled with admiration for

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a

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20 \ a 4 4 9 4 4
eldws Kal THS TOTE Tapovaias aydpevos Réyer
Ta ep Tov Yixwvov avtT@ Kal mrapexdrer TOV
"EdXAnvev cuverrtrapBavecOar Kal cuprpobupei-
aOat wiotiv EXovTa padrrov, Stas év TOIS TTEVOIS
7 vaupaynowo. o ev ovv Aprotetdns érraivécas

\ \ v > U
Tov @eptotoxrAéa tovs AdrdrOUS emNEL oTpa-
THyous Kal Tpinpdpxous émt THY paxnv Tapo-
4 " > of > 4 9 , 4
Evvwv. ért & dpws anicrovvtay édavn Tyvia
Tpinpns avToporos, ns évavapye Ilavaitios,
amayyé\Xovca THY KUKNwWOW, Bote Kal Jup@
tous "EXAnvas opujoat peta THS avayKns pos

Tov Kivduvov.
XIII. “Apa & nyépa BépEns pév dvw xabijoto
Tov oToXoy éerromTevor Kal THY TapaTakty, ws
‘N f , e \ VN ¢ 4 e
pev Pavodnuos dyow, iiép to “Hpdxreov, 7
Bpayet mopm Sueipyerar tis “AtreKhs vicos,
os 8 ‘Axecrodapos, év peBopio tis Meyapisos
uTép TOV Kadoupévwv Kepatwv, xpvacovv Sidpov
Oéuevos Kal ypapupateis oddov’s Tapactn-
TUpEVOS, BY Epyov hy atroypapecOas TA KaTA THY
payny TpatTopeva.
2 Q@eptoroxrc? 5é rapa tHv vavapyida Tpinpn
ofaytalouevp tpels tpoonyOncav aixpdrwror,
KdAdaToL pev LoécOat THY driv, ecOHor 5é Kal
Npvc@ Kexoopnpévor Sratrpera@s. édéyovTo 5é
U4 “ % a / bd io
avéatnns traides eivac THs Bacitréws aderdijs
\ A 4 ON > / e
kat Aptavxtov. tovtous toov Evdpaytidns o
pavts, os aya pev avéNaprpev ex TOV lepav
péeya Kal tepipaves wip, aya dé mrappos ex 119
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his coming at that time, told him all about the Sicinnus matter, and besought him to join in this desperate attempt to keep the Hellenes where they | were,—admitting that he had the greater credit with them,—in order that they might make their sea-fight in the narrows. Aristides, accordingly, after bestowing praise upon Themistocles for his stratagem, went round to the other generals and trierarchs inciting them on to battle. And while they were still incredulous in spite of all, a Tenian trireme appeared, a deserter from the enemy, in command of Panaetius, and told how the enemy | surrounded them, so that with a courage born of | necessity the Hellenes set out to confront the danger. —

XIII. At break of day, Xerxes was seated on a high place and overlooking the disposition of his armament. This place was, according to Phanodemus, above the Heracleium, where only a narrow passage separates the island from Attica ; but according to Acestodorus, it was in the border-land of Megara, above the so-called “Horns.” Here a gilded throne had been set for him at his command, and many secretaries stationed near at hand, whose. task it was to make due record of all that was done in the battle. ° |
But Themistocles was sacrificing alongside the admiral’s trireme. There three prisoners of war were brought to him, of visage most beautiful to behold, conspicuously adorned with raiment and with gold.

They were said to be the sons of Sandaucé, the King’s sister, and Artayctus. When Euphran- tides the seer caught sight of them, since at one and that same moment a great and glaring flame shot up from the sacrificial victims and a sneeze gave forth

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—beEtav eonunve, Tov @emsotrokrAéa deEiwodpevos
éxéXevoe TOV veavioxwy Katap~acOar Kal xabe-
pedoat trdvtas wpnothn Avoviom mpocevédpevov:
ovTw yap Gua owtnpiav te Kal vicny EcecOa
tois "EAXAnow. éxtrayévTos 5é Tod Bemoro-
KNéOUS OS Méeya TO pavTevpa Kai Sewvov, olov
elmbev dv peydrous ayaou Kal Tpayyact yanre-
A “ 9 A 4 a “a >) Ul
TOL, PANNOY EX TWY TrapadoywY 7H TaV EvOYoV
Thy cwrnpiav érmilovres of ToAAOL Tov Oedy ama
KOLWH KaTEKAaXOUYTO PwVy Kal TOUS aiypwadWToUS
To Bwu@ Tpocayayortes HUdyKacay, WS O LaVTIS
4 a a
éxéXNevoe, THY Ouciav cuvTeXeoOnva. TadTa
pev ovv avnp gdirtocopos Kal ypappdtav ovK
atretpos iatopixav Pavias o Aéa Bios ecipnxe.
XIV. lept 5 rod wAnOovs trav BapBapixav

A 9 SS e ‘ e A 20 \ \
veav Atayvros 0 TronTIs @s av eidws kal dcaBe-
Bavovpevos év tpaywdia Ilépcars Neyer Tata
FiépEn 5é, nal yap olda, yuduas pév Fv

? 2 1 nO e S e , 4

@y rye WANHCGoS* al O UTépKouTaL TAXEL

€ \ \ = e A b eo Ww 4

éxatov Ols Haav érrTa 0 oS exer NOYos.

TeV S “ArriKey éxaTov oySorKovTa TO TrIOos
ovowy éxuaTn TOVS ato TOD KATATTPOLATOS
paxopéevous oxToKxaidera elyev, Ov TofoTaL Téc-
capes Roar, ot Nortrot 8° omhirat.
Aoxet e ovK yr rov ev TOV Kalpov o ®ep-
TTOKNAS Tov ToTov auvidwy Kar puratas

1) ~=«‘TpoTepov dV TUTTO poUS KaTacTHoat Tas
BapBapixais tas tpinpes, 4) THY EelwOviay
1 Sy» Frye Fuhr and Blass with Aeschylus: vey 7d.

its good omen on the right, he clasped Themistocles by the hand and bade him consecrate the youths, and sacrifice them all to Dionysus Carnivorous, with prayers of supplication ; for on this wise would the Hellenes have a saving victory. Themistocles was terrified, feeling that the word of the seer was monstrous and shocking; but the multitude, who, as is wont to be the case in great struggles and severe crises, looked for safety rather from unreasonable than from reasonable measures, invoked the god with one voice, dragged the prisoners to the altar, and compelled the fulfilment of the sacrifice, as the seer commanded. At any rate, this is what Phanias the Lesbian says, and he was a philosopher, and well acquainted with historical literature.

XIV. As regards the number of the Barbarian ships, Aeschylus the poet, in his tragedy of “ The Persians,’ as though from personal and_ positive knowledge, says this :—

“ But Xerxes, and I surely know, had a thousand ships :
In number under him ; those of surpassing speed
Were twice ve score beside and seven ; so stands the count.”

The Attic ships were one hundred and eighty in number, and each had eighteen men to fight upon the decks, of whom four were archers and the rest men-at-arnis.

Themistocles is thought to have divined the best time for fighting with no less success than the best place, inasmuch as he took care not to send his tri- remes bow on against the Barbarian vessels until the

1 Verses 341-343 (Dindorf).

@pav trapayevéoOar, TO mTvedpa Raptrpoy €x merayous del Kal kopa bia TOV oTEVOY KaTayouoay: 0 Tas pév ‘EXAniKas ovK EBXaTTE Vads aNtTevels OVaas Kal TaTreLvoTépas, Tas 5€ BapBapixas Tais Te Tpvpuvals aveoTwaas Kal ToOiS KaTAoTpopaciw wopohous xal Bapeias éemipepopéevas Exparrg€ mpoomintov Kal tapedidov mrayias tois “EdAnow o€éws mpoodpepopévars Kal T@

Oemsoronhet ™pooéXovaw, ws opavTs. pdduora
TO 7 ULpépon, Kat OTL Kat éxeivov O FépEov
vavapxos ‘Aprapérns vaoy éyov peyddny Gomep
amo Tevxyous érokeve kal neovriter, avnp arabes
OV Kal Tov Bacirtéws ade oy TrOnD KPaTia TOs
Te Kal Sixaroratos. ToUTOV yey ovv “Apewvias 0
Aexehevs Kat LZwKArHs o o HWasavtevs! opod THEOVTES,
Os at vies avtim pepot mpoonecova as Kab ouve-
pelracar Tois Narkopacty ever xeOnaar, emu-
Baivovta THS avTa@V Tplnpous UToaTtavTes Kal
tois ddépact TUMTOVTES els TH Odraocav é&é-
Banrov- kal TO o@pa per addov diacepspevov
vavaryiov "Aptepicia yvwpicaca mpos HépEnv
avijveyKer.
XV. Ep b¢ TOUT@ TOU ary @VOS dvTos das pev
exrdprpar péya Aéyouеww "Endevowoben, Xov dé
kal dovny ro Opidovor | Katee medtov ax pe
Garatrns, « WS dvOparey o omov TONA@V TOV puUCTI-
ov éEayovtTev “laxxov. éx be Tob wAnOous
TOV POeyyopeveov KaTa pxpov amo vis avade-
popevov vEpos eofev avOrs Umovoa rely Kal KaTa-
OKHTTEW Els TAS TpLpErs. ETEpor b€ dadcpaTta
1 Ta:avieds correction of Blass; Medieds,

42.

THEMISTOCLES

hour of the day had come which always brought the
breeze fresh from the sea and a_ swell rolling
through the strait. This breeze wrought no harm
to the Hellenic ships, since they lay low in the
water and were rather small; but for the Barbarian
ships, with their towering sterns and lofty decks and
sluggish movements in getting under way, it was
fatal, since it smote them and slewed them round
broadside to the Hellenes, who set upon them
sharply, keeping their eyes on Themistocles, because
they thought he saw best what was to be done, and
because confronting him was the admiral of Xerxes,
Ariamenes, with a great ship, and just as if he were
on a city-wall he kept shooting arrows and javelins,
—brave man that he was, by far the strongest and
justest of the King’s brothers. It was upon him
that Ameinias the Deceleian and Socles the Paeanian

bore down,—they being together on one ship,—and as the two ships struck each other bow on, crashed together, and hung fast by their bronze beaks, he tried to board their trireme ; but they faced him, smote him with their spears, and hurled him into the sea. His body, as it drifted about with other wreckage, was recognised by Artemisia, who had it carried to Xerxes.

XV. At this stage of the struggle they say that a great light flamed out from Eleusis, and an echoing cry filled the Thriasian plain down to the sea, as of multitudes of men together conducting the mystic Iacchus in procession. Then out of the shouting throng a cloud seemed to lift itself slowly from the earth, pass out seawards, and settle down upon the triremes. Others fancied they saw apparitions and

cal cidwra Kxabopav edoEav évorrAwv dvdpav at’
Alyivns Tas yelpas aveyovtav po Tov ‘EXNnveKaV
tpinpav: ods elxafov Aiaxidas elvas twapaKexdn-
pévous evyais mrpo THs waxns él thy BonOerav.
IIpatos pev ovv AapBaver vadv Aveopnons,
dvnp “A@nvaios tpinpapxav, Ws Ta Tapdonpa
mepixowas avéOnxev "ArrorAXNwvL Sadvnpopm Prv-
jow. ot & dAdo tois BapBdpos eEioovpevor
TO THOS EY OTEV@ KATA MEPS ™ poo pepopevous
Kal TmepimimrovTas GdAgrows érpévrayTo, HEXpL
deins avriaxovtas, @s elpnKe Zupaovidys, THY
Kadnv éxeivnv Kat meptBontov apdpevoe vixny,
hs 000 “EXdnow otte BapBdpos évddvov Epyov
elpyactat Aaptrportepor, avopela pev Kal mpoOvpia
KOWh TOV vavpaynodyTwv, yvoun Sé Kal Sewvo-
Tht. TH! Oepsorrodeovs.

XVI. Mera de THY vaupayiay FépEns pev Ere
Ovpopaxav ™mpos THY dmorevgw errexeipet bt
youdtov émdye to melov Tois "EdAgow ets
Larapiva, euppatas TOV 61a péoov qopov" Bemis -
TOKAAS 5 GTrOTrELPHMEVOS ‘Apioreidou hoy
yepny érrovetto Ave TO Cedypa Talis vavolv
emimrdevoavTas es ‘EAAjoTovtop, «"Orrws,”
épn, “ THY "Aciayv év tH Evporn AdBopev.”
Pa Sct hie dé ToD *Apioteidou Kal AéyovTos
“ Nov pep Tpupavre TO BapBape TET ONE
ae, dy 6é KATAKAELS 0 LEV els THY “EAAada
Kal KaTacTnowper eis avdyKnv vd Séous avopa

/ / / > / / ;
THALKOUTM@Y SuVaLEwV KUPLOV, OUKETL Kadnpevos
1 Sevdryrs 7H Fuhr and Blass with S: dendryt:.

44

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THEMISTOCLES

shapes of armed men coming from Aegina with their
hands stretched out to protect the Hellenic triremes.
These, they conjectured, were the Aeacidae, who
had been prayerfully invoked before the battle to
come to their aid.!
Now the first man to capture an enemy's ship was L s, an Athenian captain, who cut off its gure-head and dedicated it to Apollo the Laurel- bearer at Phlya. Then the rest, put on an equality in numbers with their foes, because the Barbarians had to attack them by detachments in the narrow strait and so ran foul of one another, routed them, though they resisted till the evening drew on, and thus " bore away," as Simonides says,? " that fair and notorious victory, than which no more brilliant ex- ploit was ever performed upon the sea, either by Hellenes or Barbarians, through the manly valour and common ardour of all who fought their ships, ~ but through the clever judgment of Themistocles."'

XVI. After the sea-fight, Xerxes, still furious at his failure, undertook to carry moles out into the sea on which he could lead his infantry across to Salamis against the Hellenes, damming up the intervening strait. But Themistocles, merely by way of sound- ing Aristides, proposed, as though he were in earnest, to sail with the fleet to the Hellespont and break the span of boats there, "in order,' said he, "that we may capture Asia in Europe." Aristides, however, was displeased with the scheme and said : " Now indeed the Barbarian with whom we have fought consults his ease and pleasure, but should we shut up in Hellas and bring under fearful compul- sion a man who is lord of such vast forces, he will

1 Herod. viii.64. 2 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, iii.' p. 423.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

bTo oKxitdts ypvon Oedoetac thy paynyv éd'
novxias, GAAA TavTa TOAM@Y Kal Tadcw avTOS
mapav dia Tov Kivdvvov érravopOa@ceTat Ta Trapel-
péva cat Bovrevoetas BérXtLov vrép TeV Grav:
ov THY ovaay ovv, épn, "det yédupav, @ Bep-
OTOKNELS, NUAS Avatpeiv, GAN érépay, elqep. olov
Te, WpockatacKevacavtas éxBarelv dia TaXOUS
Tov avOpwrov é€x tHS Evpamns." " Ovxodr,"
eltrev 0 Geprorowrgs, "ei Soxel TadTa ouppepern,
apa GKOTTELY Kal pnxavac bat mdyTas Teas,

Sirws amadXNaynoeTat THY TaxioTny éK Ts
“EXAd6os.”
"Errel bé tata, eoke, Té MTEL TLYA TOV Bacthe-
KO@V evvouxon éy Tools atypadrorors avevpan,
‘Apvaxnv dvopa, ppatew Bacthet Kehevoas, OTe
Tots per ° "EAAgoe dédoxTau T@ VAUTLK@ KEK paTn-
KOTaS avarrhetv els tov ‘EAAjhorovtov: él 75
Cedypa cal AVELY THY yepupay, Oemio trond hs 6
| KNOOMEVOS Bactréos mrapawvei o7revoety éqrt Thy
éautod Odratrav Kai mepacoda an, pex pts avros
éprrovel Twas SiatprBas TOUS TUMpayoLs Kal
peddyjoets Tpos THD diwEw. tai’ o BapBapos
dxovoas Kal rYEVOMEVOS mepipoBos ba Taxus
émovetTo THY avaxapnaw. Kat meipav 1 @ep-
a TOKNEOUS cat "Apioreidov ppovnc es éy Mapdovi
TapegVeEV, Eltye TOANOTTHLOPLM THS Fépfov Suvd-
pews dtaywvic dpevor Thararaow eélg TOV rept
TOV OXwWY KivduvOY KartéaTno ay.
XVIT. TloAvewy prev odv tHv Aiyivntav apcared-
cat dnow “Hpodotos, @ewotonre: 86, Kaitrep
46

no longer sit under a golden parasol to view the spectacle of the battle at his ease, but he will, dare all things, and, superintending everything i in person, because of his. peril, will rectify his previous remissness and take better counsel for the highest issues thus at stake. We must not, then,” said he, “ tear down the bridge that is already there, Themistocles, nay rather, we must build another alongside it, if that be possible, and cast the fellow out of Europe in a hurry.” “ Well, then,” said Themistocles, “ if that is what is thought for the best, it is high time for us all to be studying and inventing a way. to get him out of Hellas by the speediest route.”

As soon as this policy had been adopted, he sent a certain royal eunuch whom he discovered among the prisoners of war, by name Arnaces, with orders to tell the King that the Hellenes had decided, since their fleet now controlled the sea, to sail up into the Hellespont, where the strait was spanned, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, out of regard for the King, urged him to hasten into home waters and fetch his forces across; he himself, he said, would cause the allies all sorts of delays and postponements in their pursuit. No sooner did the Barbarian hear this than he was seized with ex- ceeding fear and speedily began his retreat. This thoughtful prudence on the part of Themistocles and Aristides was afterwards justified by the campaign with Mardonius, since, although they fought at Plataea with the merest fraction of the armies of Xerxes, they yet staked their all upon the issue.

XVII. Among the cities, now, Herodotus! says
that Aegina bore away the prize of valour; but
1 viii. 93.

axovtes vid Oovov, TO Tpwtetov atrédocav
aavres. érel yap dvaxwpyoavres els Tov
"IcOpuov ao tov Bwpov THY Wapov epepov ot
oTpaThyot, mparov fev Exactos éavrToy aré-
gaivev apeth, Sevtepov bé pel Eavtdy Bemorto-
Kréa. Aaxedatpovioe 8 eis THY Yrdptnv avrov
Katayayovres EvpuBiady pév avdpeias, éxeive
5é codias apiotetoy ESocav Oadrdod arédhavor,
Kal TOV KaTa THY TOMY apudtTwY TO TpwreEevoy
édwpncavto Kal TptaKkocious THY véwy TrouTrOUs
aypt tav GSpwv avvekérrepyrav. déyerar' 8
‘Odruprriov trav épeEjs ayouévwv Kal taper-
Povtos eis TO otddsov Tov BMeutatroxrAé€ous, apenrn-
cavTas TOV aywvicT@V Tovs TrapovTas SANV THY
nuepay éxetvov OeaaOar nal trois Eévous émidec-
kvvew aya Oavpalovras Kat xpotovrvtas, WoTE
Kal avuTov noOevta pos Tovs hirous oporoyhoat
Tov KapTrov atéyew Tov vTép ths “EAXabos
auT@ Tovnbévrav.
XVIII. Kal yap hv tH hice dirotiporaros,
ef Set TexpaipecOar Sia TeV aTropynpovevopevov.
aipebels yap vavapyxos uTO THS TONEWS ovdey
ovTe TaY idiwy ovTE THY KOLVOY KATA pMépos é éexpn-
parecer, aX’ emaveBadnero 1 160 mpoorimroy
els THD nyépav é exelyny, eal’ iy EXT ECV Epuednen,
iy” ood troddAa T™ paTTov mpaypara Kal TavTO-
Sarrois avOpwrras omtra@v péyas elvat Soxh Kab
meta Tov duvacOas.
1 GAN’ éwaveBdAdAero Fuhr and Blass with FaS: a&aad way
aveBdAAero every duty.

among individuals, all virtually awarded the first place to Themistocles, though their envy made them unwilling to do this directly. For when the generals withdrew to the Isthmus and solemnly voted on this question, taking their ballots from the very altar of the god there, each one declared for himself as first in valour, but for Themistocles as second after him- self. Then the Lacedaemonians brought him down to Sparta, and while they gave Eurybiades the prize for valour, to him they gave one for wisdom,—a crown of olive in each case,—and they presented him with the best chariot there was in the city, and sent three hundred picked youth along with him to serve as his escort to the boundary. And it is said that when the next Olympic festival was celebrated, and Themistocles entered the stadium, the audience neglected the

contestants all day long to gaze on him, and pointed him out with admiring applause to visiting strangers, so that he too was delighted, and confessed to his friends that he was now reaping in full measure the harvest of his toils in behalf of Hellas.

XVIII. And indeed he was by nature very fond of honour, if we may judge from his memorable sayings and doings. When, for example, the city had chosen him to be admiral, he would not perform any public or private business at its proper time, but would postpone the immediate duty to the day on which he was to set sail, in order that then, because he did many things all at once and had meetings with all sorts of men, he might be thought to be some great personage and very powerful.

A A A '\ > , > A

2 Toav &€ vexpav tos éxmecovtTas émicKxoTav
mapa thv OdraTTav, ws clde TrEpiKELpevous
Wwédta ypvod Kal otpeTTovs, avTos pep
mapnrve, to 8 Erropévm hiro Sei~as elev? 121
fe) A a
"°Avedov cavT@ av yap ovK el BemoroKArRs.
\ 4 a A / > /
mpos S€ TLva TOV KaXOY yeyovoTer, AvTiparny,
UTepnpdves av'T@ Kexpnuévoy TpoTepov, VaTEpov
5é Oepatrevovta Sa thy SoFav, "OD perpaxiov,"
elrrev, "oye pév, audotepor & aya voov éox-
99 \ > , b A > A
3 xkapev." Edevye O€ Tovs "AOnvaious ov Tina avTov
ovdé Oavpalev, arr' Borep TraTAdvm yetpato-
\
pévous pev Urotpéxew xivduvevovtas, evdias 6é
Tept AUTOVS yevomevns TiANELY Kal KOAOVELY. TOV
\ / \ 9 AN > ¢ e b 5 > ¢_.N
5é Yepipiov mpos avrov elirovtos, ws ov di abrov
géxynne Sofav, adda Sia tHv Tod, "'AdnOFR
revels," elrrev, "GAN ovT av éyw Lepighios ov
3 , 54 wv \ % a "
éyevouny évdokos, ovte ov 'AOnvaios.
e 4 / A a e 4 ,
4 'Erépouv dé tevos Tav otparnyav, ws &oké 1

Ypnoimoy SvatreTpaxOar TH TOAEL, Opacuvopéevon ©
mpos Tov @ewtotonréa xat tas éavtod tails
b 4 / ’ / ” a
éxelvou mpateoiww avtirapaBaAdXovtos, pn 7H
e a \ e M4 > / 4 e b ,
éopTH THY voTepaiav épicar Aéyovaay, ws exEeivn
Hey aoyotav Te peor? Kal KoTraodys éotiv, ev
attn 5é tavres arod\avovet TOY TapecKeva-
opéevay sxXordlovtes: THY O éopTHy pos TadT’
etrrety: “"’AdnOH DNéyerss GAN Ewod pr) yevouevns
erry, % 6 2 A , % cet
ov ovux av jada: Kapov Towvuy, edn, “ TOTE
\ , lo’ @ A e ~ 99 \ eN
5 py) yevopévov, tov ay hre viv byeis;” Tov dé viov
50

| 'THEMISTOCLES

Surveying once the dead bodies of the Barbarians which had been cast up along the sea, he saw that they were decked with golden bracelets and collars, and yet passed on by them himself, while to a friend who followed he pointed them out and said: “ Help thyself, thou art not Themistocles.” Again, to one who had once been a beauty, Antiphates, and who had at that time treated him disdainfully, but after- wards courted him because of the reputation he had got, “ Young man,” said he, “’tis late, ’tis true, but both of us have come to our senses.” Also he used to say of the Athenians that they did not really honour and admire him for himself, but treated him for all the world like a plane-tree, running under his branches for shelter when it stormed, but when they had fair weather all about them, plucking and docking him. And when he was told by the Seriphian that it was not due to himself that he had got reputation, but to his city, “ True,’ said he, ‘but neither should I, had I been a Seriphian, have achieved reputation, nor wouldst thou, hadst thou been an Athenian.”

Again, when one of his fellow-generals who thought he had done some vast service to the city, grew bold with Themistocles, and began to compare his own services with his, “ With the Festival-day,’ said he, ‘the Day After once began a contention, saying : ‘Thou art full of occupations and wearisome, but when I come, all enjoy at their leisure what has been richly provided beforehand’; to which the

Festival-day replied: ‘True, but had I not come -

first, thou hadst not come at all.’ So now,” said he, _ ‘‘ had I not come at that day of Salamis, where would thou and thy colleagues be now?” Of his son, who

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E 2
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évtpupavta TH wntpi Kal bv éxeiynv avtoe oKxo-

mrov édeye wreloTov Tav ‘EAAnvev Svvacbau'
”~ ‘ \ e > A 9 la
Tots pev yap “EXXnow émitdtrew *AOnvaious,
) A ra , s > 7 2 a de \ > / /
nvaiots & avtov, avr@ 5é thy éxeivou pnrépa,
TH wntpt & éexeivov? idios dé tis ev waor Bovro-
pevos elvas Ywpioy pév TimpdoKey éxédeve KnpUT-
Tew, Ste Kal yeiTova ypnotov exer Tav sé
pvopévwv avtov tHy Ouyarépa Tov emuetKh tov
wAovaiov tpoxpivas épyn bnteiv avdpa yenudtwv
’ a a i ’ / ? \ °
Seouevov padrov h ypnuata avdpos. év pév ovv
tois atropOéypact ToLovTos TLS Hy.
XIX. Tevopevos 8 aro tev mpdkewr éxeivov
evOus emexetpes THY TOALY avoiKodopety Kal TEéL-
vite, was pev iotopes @edrropros, ypnpacs
meioas pn évavtiwOjnvar Tovs épdpous, ws 8 ot
WAELTTOL, TapaKkpovoapevos. Ke pev yap es
4

LrdptTny Svoua mpecBetas ériypayrdpevos: éyxa-
NovvTwy dé THY Yraptiatav, Ste TexxXilovor TO
dotu, xat Ilodvdpyou Kxatnyopodvros émitndes
3 > # bd 4 5) a \ ,
é& Alyivns aroctadévtos, Hpvetto Kal méutrey
> 2 > 9 , \ , Pv) \
éxéXevev els "AOnvas Tovs KaTovpopévous, Gua pev
éuBdrXdov TO TEXLTL@ xXpovoy éx THs S:atpLBis,
apa 5é BovAopevos avr’ avtTod Tovs TreuTrOmevous
a?

brrapxew tots “A@nvaiow. 6 cal cvvéBy: yvovrTes

\ e , \ > \ bp] 2Q7
yap ot Aaxedaipovioe TO dAnOés ovK HdiKNTAY
QUTOV, GAN adnrws Yarerraivortes atrémeuwav.
ty de , \ Ca) , A

K tovtov Tov Ilepara xateoxevale, rHv

a > 4 \ 4

TaYV Apévwony evdvlav Katavoncas Kal THY TrOALY

lorded it over his mother, and through her over himself, he said, jestingly, that the boy was the most powerful of all the Hellenes ; for the Hellenes were commanded by the Athenians, the Athenians by ¥ himself, himself by the boy's mother, and the mother by her boy. Again, with the desire to be somewhat peculiar in all that he did, when he offered a certain estate for sale, he bade proclamation to be made that it had an excellent neighbour into the bargain. Of two suitors for his daughter's hand, he chose the likely man in preference to the rich man, shying that he wanted a man without money rather than money without a man. Such were his striking sayings.

XIX. After the great' achievements now described, he straightway undertook to rebuild and fortify the + city, — as Theopompus relates, by bribing the Spartan Ephors not to oppose the project; but as the majority say, by hoodwinking them. He came with this object to Sparta, ostensibly on an embassy, and when the Spartans brought up the charge that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and Polyarchus was sent expressly from Aegina with the same accusation, he denied that it was so, and bade them send men to Athens to see for themselves, not only because this delay would secure time for the building of the wall, but also because he wished the Athenians to hold these envoys as hostages for his own person. And this was what actually happened. When the Lacedaemonians found out the truth they did him no harm, but concealed their displeasure and sent him away.

After this he equipped the Piraeus, because he had noticed the favourable shape of its harbours, and

SAnv apuotrouevos mpos THY OddNaTTay, Kal TpoTrov Tia Tos Tadaois Bacrcdot Tov 'AOnvaiwy aVTiTroALTEVopEvOS. éKElvOL ev yap, WS NeyeTal, Tpayywatevopevol TOUS ToALTaS aTro-

omacat THs Oardtrns nat cuveicas Shy py
WréovTAas, GANA THY Yopav Hurevovras, Tov Trepl
tis "AOnvas déS0cav Aoxyov, as éepicavta rept
THS yepas Tov Tlocada SelEaca tHY popiav Tots
Sixactais évixnoe. @epiotronrAns 5 ovy, ws
"Aptotopavns 0 KwpiKds Aéyer, TH TodeL TOV
Ilevpaca mpoceuager, aA Thy mow é&n ve
TOU Ilerpacas kal TH yay TAS Oararrns: d0ev
kat Tov Shor nvénce KATA TOV aplorey Kat
Opacous évérAnoev, eis valTas Kal KéAevoTasS
kat kuBepyntas THs Suvdpews adixopévys. 510
kal to Bhya to év IIvunl retrounuévov aot
atroBrétrew mpos tv Odr\accav borepoy ot
TpLadKovTa mpos THY Ywpav atréoTperay, olopmevot
Thy pev Kata OdraTTay apynyv yéveow elvat
Snuoxpatias, drvyapyia 8 Frrov sSvoxepaivery
TOUS yewprobvTas.
XX. Bags cease b€ Kal petlov tt mept THS
VAUTLKTS evonOn Suvduews. érrel yap 0 TOV
‘EAArvev OTOAOS eee FiépEou KaTihpev
Ets Tayacas ral dueyeipale, Snunyopav év rots
"AOnvators épn Tiva mpatw Eyer Opedtpov pev
avTois Ka TwTIpLOV, amoppytov 5é ampos Tous
TONAOUS. trav 0 "AOnvatwy 'Apioteidyn ppdcat
Hov@ KedevovTwy, Kay éexelvos S0xiudon Tepat-
54

12:

THEMISTOCLES

wished to attach the whole city to the sea; thus in a certain manner counteracting the policies of the ancient Athenian kings. For they, as it is said, in their efforts to draw the citizens away from the sea and accustom them to live not by navigation*but by agriculture, disseminated the story about Athena, how when Poseidon was contending with her for possession of the country, she displayed the sacred olive-tree of the Acropolis to the judges, and so won the day. But Themistocles did not, as Aristophanes ! the comic poet says, “knead the Piraeus on to the city,’ nay, he fastened the city to the Piraeus,

and the land to the sea. And so it was that he

increased the privileges of the common people as | against the nobles, and filled them with boldness, since the controlling power came now into the hands of skippers and boatswains and pilots. Therefore it was, too, that the bema in Pnyx, which had stood so as to look off toward the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants so as to look inland, because they thought that maritime empire was the mother of democracy, and that oligarchy was less distasteful to tillers of the soil.

XX. But Themistocles cherished yet greater de- signs even for securing the naval supremacy. When the fleet of the Hellenes, after the departure of Xerxes, had put in at Pagasae and was wintering there, he made a harangue before the Athenians, in ' which he said that he had a certain scheme in mind which would be useful and salutary for them, but which could not be broached in public. So the Athenians bade him impart it to Aristides alone, and if he should approve of it, to put it into execution.

1 Knights, 815.

yew, 6 pev QeusotoxrAns éppace tO 'Apioretdn,
To vewptov éumpjoat Siavociobat tay "EAN Hvov:
0 8 'ApicteiSns eis tov Sipuov trapedOav Ep Tijs
apatens, iv Stavocirar mpatrew 6 MewsctonAgs,
pndepiay elvar unte AvoLTEACTTEéEpaY AT' adiKo-
Tépav. of wey ody "AOnvaio: da tabta Tavoa-
Oat TO QepioroKnrA€? mpocératav.
"Ev &€ tots '"Apdixtvovixois avvedpiow TaY
AaxeSatpoviwy cianyoupévar, Straws aeipywvrTat
ths "Apdixtvovias at pn cuppaynoacar Kata
TOU M7jdou Tones, hoBnGets, un Oerrarovs nat
"A pyetous, ére 6e OnBaious éxBadovtes TOU
cuvedptou TAVTENOS emiKpAaTT WoL TOV pnpov
Kal yernrac TO Soxoby éxeivors, CuvelTre Tals
'TWONECt Kad peTeOnne TAS Yepas TOV TudaYyopwP,
bidakas, @S Tpidxovra al pia povas TONELS
elo ly at petacxodcar Tod Tohéwou, Kal TOUT@Y
ai wXelovs tTavTatace pexpa Sevvov ovv, eb
THs aAAns "EXAdSos exatrovdov yevopévns él
Tais peyloras Sualy H tpiot TONET LY értat TO
auvédptov. ék TOUTOU pev ovv padiora Tos
ote sa T™poaéxpouce 520 Kal TOV Kipeva
Mpohyov tails tuais, avtimanrov év TH ToNTEla
T® Oewotokret cabioraytes.
XXI. "Hv b€ «al rots cuppdyors eax Ons
TepiT ew Te TAS vagous Kar Xpnparilouevos
am auTev' ola Kal mpos "Avdptous _apybptov
aitobvrd pyc avrov Hpddoros elirety TE Kal
axovoa. Sdvo0 yap Wwe Edn Jeovs Kopilov,
Tle0e® xat Biav ot & édpacav eivat Kxat rap'

Themistocles accordingly told Aristides that he purposed to burn the fleet of the Hellenes where it lay ; but Aristides addressed the people, and said of the scheme which Themistocles purposed to carry out, that none could be either more advantageous or moresiniquitous. The Athenians therefore ordered Themistocles to give it up.

At the Amphictyonic or Holy Alliance conven- tions, the Lacedaemonians introduced motions that all cities be excluded from the Alliance which had not taken part in fighting against the Mede. So Themistocles, fearing lest, if they should succeed in excluding the Thessalians and the Argives and the Thebans too from the convention, they would control the votes completely and carry through their own wishes, spoke in behalf of the protesting cities, and changed the sentiments of the delegates by showing that only thirty-one cities had taken part in the war, and that the most of these were altogether small ; it would be intolerable, then, if the rest of Hellas should be excluded and the convention be at the mercy of the two or three largest cities. It was for this reason particularly that he became obnoxious to the Lacedaemonians, and they therefore tried to advance Cimon in public favour, making him the political rival of Themistocles.

XXI. He made himself hateful to the allies also, by sailing round to the islands and trying to exact ‘money from them. When, for instance, he demanded money of the Andrians, Herodotus! says he made a speech to them and got reply as follows: he said he came escorting two gods, Persuasion and Compulsion ; and they replied that they already had two great

1 viii, 111.

| a

, amd

autos Beovs peydrous Svo, Teviay nal ’Arropiav,
2 ud av KworvecIar Sodvar ypnpuata éxeive
Xpipara éxeivy.
VA >] ee l4 \ b] a
Tipoxpéwv & o “Podsos perorrotes ev aopatt
Kka@dmretat wiKpotepov tod BepsortoKréouvs, ws
A \ > \ 4 4 /
addous pev el ypnwace puydbas StaTrpakapévov
kateNOeiv, avtov dé Eévoyv dvta Kat dirov mpoe-
4 > 3 4 lA > ce
peevou 80 apyvpiov. Réyer 8 ov Tas"
"ANN ef tuye Tlavoaviay } Kal reye BavOur-

Tov aiveis
h tuye Aeutuyiéay, éyw 8 ’Apsoteidav érratvéw
4 se aA > 99 A
avop iepav amr’ “APavav
éNOeiv Eva AG@oTov: érrel OemotroKrAH HxOape
Aare,
3 evotav, adixov, mpodotav, bs TipoxpéovTa
Ecivov govt
? / A \ > ”
apyuptots oxuBarsxTotct Teta Gels ov KaTayeEv
els Tratpav "laXvoopr,
AaBov Sé tpl’ apyupiov taddXavrT’ éBa Tréwv Eis
dA€O pop,
A \ 4 tO, \ S Pd Py ,
Tovs pev KaTdyov adixws, Tors 8 éxduoKor,
tous O€ Kaivwr,
9 / e , 9 a 9 ,
apyupiwy wromAews, ‘IcPuot & érravdoKeve
yerXolws uxpa xpéa Trapéyov:
e > v \ °¢ A
ot & jAoOov Kniyovto pn @pav Bewsotokrcds
f :
yeveo Oa.
4 modv 8 doedyeotépa kal avarreTTTapévn padXov
eis TOV Beworoxréa Bracdnpia Kéypntay peta
53

THEMISTOCLES

gods, Penury and Powerlessness, who hindered them from giving him money.

Timoereon, the lyric poet of Rhodes, assailed Themistocles very bitterly in a song, to the effect that for bribes he had secured the restoration of other exiles, but had abandoned him, though a host and a friend, and all for money. The song runs thus ! :—

“Come, if thou praisest Pausanias, or if Xanthippus,
Or if Leotychidas, then I shall praise Aristides,
The one best man of all
Who came from sacred Athens; since Leto
loathes Themistocles,
“ The liar, cheat, and traitor, who, though Timocreon was his host,

By knavish moneys was induced not to bring
him back
Into his native Ialysus,
But took three talents of silver and went cruising
off,— to perdition,
“ Restoring some exiles unjustly, chasing some away,
and slaying some,
Gorged with moneys; yet at the Isthmus he
played ridiculous host with the stale meats
set before his guests ;
Who ate thereof and prayed Heaven ‘no happy
return of the day for Themistocles !’”’
Much more wanton and extravagant was the raillery which Timocreon indulged in against Themistocles

1 No attempt is made in the translations of Timocreon to
imitate the metre of the original.
59

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

THY duyny avTod Kal thy KaTadixny o Timoxpéwy
dopa wounoas, ov éoTw apxy’
Modtca rovde tov péX€Os

Kréos av’ “EXXavas TiOet,

@s éotxos Kal dSixatov.
Aéyeras 8 6 Tipoxpéwy ert pndiope vyetv
cuyKkatayngicapévov tod Bepwiotoxkréovs. ws
otv 6 BemoronArAys aitiay éoxe pndiver, tadT’
érroinaev eis avTov’
Ovx dpa Tipoxpéwv potvos Mydotow opkia-

TOMEL,

GXN évti KadXoe 579 Tovnpot odK éyo pova
xOXoupts*
évti Kal adda adAowTreEKES.)

XXII. "Hédn Sé cal trav TrodTaY Sia TO PO0-

vely Hdéws Tas SuaBoras Tpoctepevwy nvayKaleTo
Avanpos elvas Tov avTobd mpdkewy troAdadKis év
TO Snu@ pvnpovevov: xal mpos tors dvayepai-
voyvtas “Ti xomliate, etvev, “UTO TOV avToV

ToAAaKS ED TaaxoVTEs;” Hviace b€ TOvS TOA-
Novs Kal To THS “Apréusdos lepov eiodpevos, iv
"AptaroBovAnyv pév mpoonydpevoev, ws aptota
Th TWode Kal tots “EAAnot RovrAcvadpevos, TAN-
otov dé Ths oixias KaTeo Kevarey éy Medity 76
iepov, ov viv Ta odpara TOY _Javaroupévey oi
Srpcot mpoBddrovor Kat Ta tudtia Kal Tovs
Spoxous Tav amayyoyévwv kal KabaipeDévtov
éxpépovow. éxevto b€ Kai Tod Oeuiatoxréous
60

1

THEMISTOCLES

after the latter’s own exile and condemnation. Then he composed the song beginning :—

“O Muse, grant that this song
Be famed throughout all Hellas,
As it is meet and just.”

It is said that Timocreon was sent into exile on a charge of Medising, and that Themistocles concurred in the vote of condemnation. - Accordingly, when Themistocles also was accused of Medising, Timocreon composed these lines upon him :—

“Not Timocreon alone, then, made compacts with the Medes,
But there are other wretches too; not I alone am brushless,
There are other foxes too.”

XXII. And at last, when even his fellow-citizens were led by their jealousy of his greatness to welcome such slanders against him, he was forced to allude to his own achievements when he addressed the Assembly, till he became tiresome thereby, and he once said to the malcontents: “ Why are ye vexed that the same men should often benefit you?” He offended the multitude also by building the temple of Artemis, whom he surnamed Aristoboulé, or Best Counsellor, intimating thus that it was he who had given the best counsel to the city and to the Hellenes. This temple he established near his house in Melité, where now the public officers cast out the bodies of those who have been put to death, and carry forth the garments and the nooses of those who have dispatched themselves by hanging. A portrait-statue of Themistocles stood in this

. 61

ia

ra

etxoviov év TH va@ THS ‘AptatoBovAns ere Kab!
nas’ Kat gaivetai tis od THY Wuynv povor,
aAAA Kal Thy Ow Npwikds yevopmevos.
Tov peév ovv éEootpaxtopov éronoavto Kat
avTOD KoNOvVOVYTES TO dEiwmpa Kal TiY brepoyny,
oomep elwbecav éri mdvtwv, ods govTo TH
Suvdyer Bapeis Kal mpos toornta Snpoxparucny
aouppeTpous eivat. KodacLs yap ovK Hv o é€o-
oTpakiopos, GAAA Tapapmv0ia POovov xa Kov-
giopos nSopévov TO Tatrevovv Tovs UrEepexXovTAas
kal tyy Svopéveray eis tavTny TH aTipav
aTOTVEOVTOS.
XXIII. ’Exiecovtos 8¢ tis troNews avTod Kal
S:atptBovros év “Apyet ta trept Tlavoaviay cvp-
mecovTa Kat éxeivov mapéoye Tois éxOpots
adopyds. o &8€ ypaypapevos avtov mpodocias
AewBorns my 0 "AAKpatavos ‘Aypavnioer, apa
TUVETTALTLO LEVEY TOV Lmapriarav. o yap Ilav-
cavias TpaTTo | éxeiva, 57 Ta Tepl THY mpodogtay
TpoTepov pev amexpomTeTo TOV Oewicroxhéa,
Kaltrep évTa pidov as 6 eldev éxtremrwxota THis
mohTeias Kal pépovra Yaretras eOdponcev ért
THY KoWoviay TOY TpaTToMevav mTapaxanety,
ypdppata! rod Bactréws émr Werxyupevos auT@
Kal trapokvvwr emt TOUS “EAAnvas @s Tovnpovs
Kal axaplorous.) be THY ev dénow @rerpixparo
tod Havoaviov Kal THY Kowwviay 6rXws atreiTrarto,
mpos ovdéva bé Tovs AOyous eEnveryxev ovde KaTeE-
pnvuce thy mpakw, elre twavcecOar mpocdoxav
1 ypdéupara Fuhr and Blass with F988: ra ypdupara.

temple of Aristoboulé down to my time, from which
he appears to have been a man not only of heroic
spirit, but also of heroic presence.
Well then, they visited him with ostracism,! curtailing his dignity and pre-eminence, as they were wont to do in the case‘ of all whom they thought to have oppressive power, and to be incom- mensurate with true democratic equality. For | ostracism was not a penalty, but a way of pacifying } . and alleviating that jealousy which delights to . humble the eminent, breathing out its malice into

this disfranchisement. we

XXIII. After he had been thus banished from "7 the city, and while he was sojourning at Argos, ’ circumstances connected with the death of Pausanias gave his enemies at Athens ground for proceeding against him. The one who actually brought in the indictment against him for treason was Leobotes the son of Alemeon, of the deme Agraulé, but the Spartans supported him in the accusation. Pau- sanias, while engaged in his grand scheme of treachery, at first kept it concealed from Them- istocles ; but when he saw him thus banished from his state and in great bitterness of spirit, he made bold to invite him into partnership in his own under- takings, showing him a letter he had received from the King, and inciting him against the Hellenes as ‘a base and thankless people. Themistocles rejected the solicitation of Pausanias, and utterly refused the ' proffered partnership; and yet he disclosed the propositions to no one, nor did he even give informa- tion of the treacherous scheme, because he expected either that Pausanias would give it up of his own

1 About 472 B.c.

b , yw 9 v7 fol 7 A
avtov, eit addNws Katadavn yevyoecBat auv
ovdevrl AOYioU@ WpaypaTwv atoTwY Kal Tapa-
Borwv opeyopevov.
Otto 8) tod Tavoaviov Gavatwbévtos émt-
aoTo\at tives davevpeBeicat Kal ypdupata trepl
4 > e 4 > / \ ,
TovTwy els UiroWiav évéBarov Tov MeuwotoKrEa’
kat xateBowy péev adtod Aaxedatpovior, KaTnyo-
povv & ot POovodvtes TAY TOALT@Y, OV TraporToS, |
’ \ \ , b / i“ ,
GANA Ota YypaypaT@v arrodoyoupévov padoTa
Tais Mpotépats Katyyopiats. duaBaddopevos yap
iro TOV eéxOpav pos TOUS TrodiTas eypader, aS
dpyew pev aet Cnrav, apyecOar 5é py TepuKas
\ , > M” lA e N
pnde Bovropevos, ove av tote BapBapows avrov
ovde troAepiots! amroddcGat pera THs “EXXaébos.
ov nV GAG cuprrecaOels UO TOY KaTHYyOpoUYT@Y
0 Ojos eee? avopas, ols eipyto ourdap Savery
Kal avaryewv? avrTov xpiOnaopevov € €v Tots “EAXAnowv.
XXIV. [poarcOopevos & éxetvos ets Képxupav
Suevrépacev, ovans avT@ Tpos THY TOALY EvEpyectas.
Tevopuevos yap avtav xpitns mpos Kopi0ious
2 4 / W \ v v
éXOvT@Y Suagopdy, EXvoe THY ExXOpay eixoct
TddavTa Kpivas TOUS Kopi ious xataBanreiv Kab
Aevndda Kown ve pel apcporé pw aTroLKov. éxelOev

& els "Hrrecpov epuye’ Kal SiwKopevos UTrO Tov
‘AOnvatoy Kal TOV AaxeSarpoviev eppirpev aurov
eis édmridas yaneTras kal dm opous KaTapuyov 99
“Adpntov, bs Baotheds pév jv Mondorrar, Sen els
dé te Tov AOnvaiwy nal rpoTnraxiabels bd Tod
1 girdy obdé woAeulors Fuhr and Blass with F@S: xal wode- plows abrdy. 2 dvdyew Fuhr and Blass with S: &yew.

accord, or that in some other way he would be found out, since he was so irrationally grasping after such strange and desperate objects.

And so it was that, when Pausanias had been put to death, certain letters and documents regarding these matters were discovered which cast suspicion on Themistocles. The Lacedaemonians cried him down, and his envious fellow-citizens denounced him, though he was not present to plead his cause, but defended himself in writing, making particular use of earlier accusations brought against him. Since - he was once slanderously accused by his enemies before his fellow-citizens—so he wrote, as one who ever sought to rule, but had no natural bent nor even the desire to be ruled, he could never have sold himself with Hellas to Barbarians, much less to foemen. The people, however, were overpersuaded by his accusers, and sent men with orders to arrest him and bring him up in custody to stand trial before a Congress of Hellenes.

XXIV. But he heard of this in advance, and crossed over to Corcyra, where he had been recog- nized as a public benefactor of the city. For he had served as arbiter in a dispute between them and the Corinthians, and settled the quarrel by deciding that the Corinthians should pay an indemnity of twenty talents, and administer Leucas as a common colony of both cities. Thence he fled to Epirus, and being pursued by theAthenians and Lacedaemonians, he threw himself upon grievous and desperate chances of escape by taking refuge with Admetus, who was king of the Molossians, and who, since he had once asked some favour of the Athenians and

@euioctoxdéous, OT Hxpavey ev 7H Trodstea, bv
opyis elyev avtov det Kal dHros Hv, et AdBor,
TLmo@pnodmevos. ev Se TH TOTE TUXYN MAAXoY Oo
BemictoxrAns PoBnbes cuyyev nal mpoadatov
POovov opyns madras xal Bacidixys, TavTy
dépov vmréOnxev éavtov, ixérns tod “Adpunrov
KataoTas tdvov Tiva Kal TapnrAXNaypEevoY TpOTrOY.
éYwv yap. avTod Tov viov éyta taida mpos THY
éotiay wpocémece, TavTny peyloTny Kal povny
ayedov dvavtippntov hyoupévav ixeciay Tov
Modcocay. évioe pev otv DOiav thy yuvaixa tod
Bactréws rAéyovow brobéc Oat TO OeptotoKArc? TO
ixérevpa TovTo Kal Tov viov éml tiny éoTiav
kabicas per avtov: tives 8 avrov tov” Adpntor,
@> adootwaaito mpos Tovs StwKovtas tv
avaykny, Sv iv ovk éxdidwot Tov avdpa, Siabetvar
Kal ovvtpaywdjoat THY. ixeciav.
"Exet & avt@ tiv yuvaica nal tovs traidas
éxxréwas x trav “AOnvav "Emrixcparns 6’ Ayapvevs
amréotethev: Ov él TovT@ Kipwv dorepov Kpivas
avatwoev, as ictope: YryncipSportos. elt’ ovK
016 Orrws ertNabopevos ToOUTWY 7) TOV MewtoToKNéa
ToLav eTtAaOopevov TWAECAa dyow es Dexedtav
kat tap ‘lépwvos aiteiy tod tupdvvov tHy Ovya-
Tépa mTpos ydpov, UmiaxXvovpEevoy . aUT@ TOvs
"EAAnvas barnkoous trounce’ atrotpiapévov! &é
Tov ‘lépwvos, obras eis tHv Actay dmapas.
1 &worpipauévov Fuhr and Blass with S: axvgrpepaueévov.
66
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had been insultingly refused it by ‘Themistocles, then at the height of his political influence, was angry with him ever after, and made it plain that he would take vengeance on him if he caught him. But in the desperate fortune of that time Themistocles was more afraid of kindred and recent jealousy than of an anger that was of long standing and royal, and promptly cast himself upon the king’s mercy, mak- ing himself the suppliant of Admetus in a way quite peculiar and extraordinary. That is to say, he took the young son of the king in his arms and threw him- self down at the hearth; a form of supplication which the Molossians regarded as most sacred, and as almost the only one that might not be refused. Some, it is true, say that it was Phthia, the wife of the king, who suggested this form of supplication to Themistocles, and that she seated her son on the hearth with him; and certain others that Admetus himself, in order that he might give a religious sanc- tion to the necessity that was upon him of not surrendering the man, arranged beforehand and solemnly rehearsed with him the supplication scene.

Thither his wife and children were privily removed from Athens and sent to him by Epicrates of the deme Acharnae, who, for this deed, was afterwards convicted by Cimon and put to death, as Stesimbrotus relates. Then, somehow or other, Stesimbrotus forgets this, or makes Themistocles forget it, and says he sailed to Sicily and demanded from Hiero the tyrant the hand of his daughter in marriage, promising as an incentive that he would make the Hellenes subject to his sway; but that Hiero repulsed him, and so he set sail for Asia.

XXV. Tabra 5' ovx etxos eat ovTH ryevéa Bat. Gedppactos yap év tois Tlepi Baovretas i iaropel TOV OepioroKréa méurypavTos ets - 'Oduptriay 'lépwvos -Umaous ayovUicrtas Kal oKNnVHY Twa KATETKEVAO HEVNY TOAUTEN DS oTHTAVTOS, etrreiv éy ois "EdAnoe oyor, Os xpn THY oKnvaY Siaprrdacat Tod Tupdvvov Kai Kwr0Ioat TOUS (arqrous ayovicaciar. Oouvcudidys 5é dynot Kai Tredoae aurTov émt THY éTépav kataBdvra Oadraccay aro T1vdvns, ovdevos elddtos 6 dotis ein TOV TEOVTOD, péxypt ov mvevpate THS odrKdbos Els Nafov KaTahepowevns U0 "AOnvatwv ToopKoupevny TOTE poBnbeis avadetEevev é éauTov T@ Te vavednpe Kal TO xuBepyytn, Kal TH [ev Seopevos, Ta oO aTeth@v Kat Aéyeov, étt KaTnYyopHc ot Kal KaTQAevoorro 7 pos tous 'A@nvaious, as OUK ayVvoounTES, andra Xpipace Treva Devres é& apyis, dvahapOLeV QUTOD, obras avaryKdoeve TApAT NDT aL Kal AaBéoOar THs "Acias. trav dé Xenwareov avT@ ToAAG pev uTexkNatrévta Sia TOV pihov els "Aciav. erneu' Tay dé davepav yevopévwv Kal cuvay Jévrov eis TO Snudctov @edrroptros peév éxaTOV Tahavta, @coppactos 5é dySonxovTd nae yevéo Gar TO TAHO0S, ovde T pay afva TadavTwy KEKTNEVOU Tov Weuworoxréovs wplvy amrecBat THS TWodLTElas.

XXVI. "Ezrei 5é xaTén hevoev eis Kopnv ral TOANOUS no Gero tav ett BardtTn mapapunarTOVTAS @UTOV AaBeiv, paduoTa 8e TOUS qept

‘Epyoréhn Kab Tuéodwpov (hv yap i) Onpa
AVOLTEANS TOls TO KEpOaivery ATO TaVTOS GyaTact,

XXV. But it is not likely that this was so. For Theophrastus, in his work “On Royalty,” tells how, when Hiero sent horses to compete at Olympia, and set up a sort of booth there with very costly decorations, Themistocles made a speech among the assembled Hellenes, urging them to tear down the booth of the tyrant and prevent his horses from competing. And Thucydides! says that he made his way across the country to the sea, and set sail from Pydna, no one of the passengers knowing who he was until, when the vessel had been carried by a storm to Naxos, to which the Athenians at that time were laying siege,? he was terrified, and disclosed himself to the master and the captain of the ship, and partly by entreaties, partly by threats, actually declaring that he would denounce and vilify them to the Athenians as having taken him on board at the start in no ignorance but under bribes, —in this way compelled them to sail by and make the coast of Asia. Of his property, much was secretly abstracted for him by his friends and sent across the sea to Asia; but the sum total of that which was brought to light and confiscated amounted to one hundred talents, according to Theopompus,—Theophrastus says eighty,—and yet Themistocles did not possess the worth of three talents before he entered political life.

XXVI. After landing at Cymé, and learning that many people on the coast were watching to seize him, and especially Ergoteles and Pythodorus,—for the chase was a lucrative one to such as were fond of getting gain from any and every source, since

1 i, 137. 2 About 469 B.c.

Staxociwy émixexnpvypkvoyv avtT@ Ttadrdvrov wvrd
tov Bactdéws), epuyey eis Alyds, AtorcKov
TONMOMLATLOV, UTO TAVTWY aryVvooUmeEVvos TANY TOU
Edvou Nexoyévous, bs Atodéwv mreiotny ovciav
EXEKTNTO Kal Tois avw duvaTois yveprpos UTHPYE.
Tapa TOUT@ KpUTrTOMEVOS HuUepas Oruryas SuéTpUper"
elta peta TO Settrvov éx Ouaias tives “OABcos
0 TaY Téxvav TOD Nixoyévous tradaywryos Exper
‘yevopevos kat Oeopopnros avehwovnoeyv ev pétpo!
TavTt:
Nuxtl deovaiv, vuett BovrAny, vuxtl thy virenv

didov.

Kal peta travra xotpnOeis 0 @emsorokrAHs dvap
édokev ideiv Spdxovta Kata THS yaoTpos auToU
TE PLEALTTOMEVOY kal TpocavepTovTa T@ TPAKNAM’
yevouevov 6 aeTov, a ato Tov Tpocwnou,
mepiBarovra tas mrépuyas éFapae xal Kopiverw
ToXAHY odor, ElTa ypvaod TiWOS KNpUKELOU
ghavévtos, él tovtTov aticat BeBaiws avrov
apnyavovu beluatos cai rapayns atraddayévta.
Tléumrera: 8 odv vd tod Nexoyévous pnyavn-
capévov te To.ovec.2 tod BapBapixod yévous. Td
qodv kal pddiota To Ilepovxov eis EndrotuTriav
THY Twepr Tas yuvaixas dryptov pucer Kal Xarerrov
€oTLv. OU yap povoyv Tas yapeTds, adda Kal Tas
apyupwrvntovs Kal TaddaKevopévas toyupas
TapapvAdtrovaety, ws UTO pndevds opacbar TeV
€xTOS, GAN’ olKoe pev StatTacOat KaTaKeKdeELo -
pévas, év 6 tais odottropiass Ure oKnvas KUKN@
1 dvepdvnoev ev wérpw Fuhr and Blass with S: advepdvnoe

Méerpy. 2 roidvde Fuhr and Blass with F@S;: rorovror,
79
125

THEMISTOCLES

two hundred talents had been publicly set upon his head by the King,—he fled to Aegae, a little Aeolic citadel. Here no one knew him except his host Nicogenes, the wealthiest man in Aeolia, and well acquainted with the magnates of the interior. With him he remained in hiding for a few days. During this time, after the dinner which followed a certain sacrifice, Olbius, the paedagogue of the children of Nicogenes, becoming rapt and inspired, lifted up his voice and uttered the following verse :—

“ Night shall speak, and night instruct thee, night
shall give thee victory.”
And in the night that followed, Themistocles, as he lay in bed, thought he saw in a dream that a serpent wound itself along over his body and crept up to his neck, then became an eagle as soon as it touched his face, enveloped him with its wings and lifted him on high and bore him a long distance, when there appeared as it were a golden herald’s wand, on which it set him securely down, freed from helpless terror and distress. However that may be, he was sent on his way by Nicogenes, who devised the following scheme for his safety. Most barbarous nations, and the Persians in particular, are savage and harsh in their jealous watchfulness over their women. Not only their wedded wives, but also their boughten slaves and concubines are strictly guarded, so that they are seen by no outsiders, but live at home in complete seclusion, and even on their journeys are carried in tents closely hung round about with curtains and set

7!

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

A a > A

mTepiTeppaypevas él Tov appapakav oyxeicBat.
a a ,
TotavTns TO OemworonrAe? KatacKxevacbetons
amnuvns Karadvs éxopileto, taVv Tepl avTov aél
Tos évruyydvovet Kal ruvOavopévors eyovTwr,
oe 14 € N ¥ > > > } , 4
dt yuvavoy “EAAnuixov ayouow at’ Iwvias mpos
tiva Tay éml Ovupais Baciréws.
XXVII. @ovevéidns pév ody nal Xdpwv o
Aapaknvos istopotot teOvnxotos EépEou mpos
Tov viov avTov T@ BeuiotoKrAEt yevéoOar Hv
évrevEw* “Eqopos dé cat Acivwv wal Kreitapyos
cat “Hpaxreidns, érs 8 addXoL wAetoves, pos
9 N b] VA N / : - \ “
avtov adixéoOar tov Eépkny. trois S€ ypovexois
Soxel parrov o Bov«vdidns cupdépecOat, xaitrep
ovd avTois atpéua cuvtatropuévois. o 8 ovv
nA 4 4
@curoToKAHsS yevouevos wap avto 70 Sewwov
évruyxdves mpatov ‘AptaBdve te yIALIdpX@
éyov, “EAAnv pév eivat, BovrecOar 8 évtuxeiv
Bactret tepi peyicotwyv wpayudtwv Kal mpos &
TuyxYave. partota aotrovddlwv éxeivos. o bé
dynow: “"O, Eéve, voor Stadpépovew avOperwv’
ddra 8 adXolts Kara? Kadov 66 Tadot Te obKELo
Koopely Kal owlev. vpas pevy ovv édevOepiar

/ 4 \ 3 7 , ‘ e nN \
partota Oavpdlew Kai icdtnta Aoyos’ Huiv Se
A , A :
TONAOY VOMwY Kal KAX@Y OYTMY KAA TOS OUTOS
dott, Tiwav Bactréa, kal mpockuveiy ws eixova
Geod Tod Ta TWavtTa cwlovTos. ef pev ovv errawav
Ta nueTEepa TpocKUYHCELs, ott cot Kal Oedoac Bat
, a > > A n
Bacthéa kal mpocerreiv: et 8 GAO tt ppoveis,
72

upon four-wheeled waggons. Such a vehicle was made ready for Themistocles, and safely ensconced in this he made his journey, while his attendants replied in every case to those who met them with enquiries, that they were conducting a Hellenic woman, fair but frail, to one of the King’s courtiers.

XXVIL. Now Thucydides! and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was dead, and that it was his son Artaxerxes with whom Themistocles had his inter- view ; but Ephorus and Dinon and Clitarchus and Heracleides and yet more besides have it that it was Xerxes to whom he came. With the chronological data Thucydides seems to me more in accord, although these are by no means securely established. Be that as it may, Themistocles, thus at the threshold of the dreadful ordeal, had audience first with Artabanus the Chiliarch, or Grand Vizier, and said that he was a Hellene, and that he desired to have an audience with the King on matters which were of the highest importance and for which the monarch entertained the most lively concern. Whereupon the Chiliarch replied : “O Stranger, men’s customs differ ; different people honour differ- ent practices; but all honour the exaltation and maintenance of their own peculiar ways. Now you Hellenes are said to admire liberty and equality above all things; but in our eyes, among many fair customs, this is the fairest of all, to honour the King, and to pay obeisance to him as the image of that god who is the preserver of all things. If, then, thou approvest our practice and wilt pay obeisance, it is in thy power to behold and address the King ; but if thou art otherwise minded, it will be needful

1a. 137.

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dyyéXows éTépots xX pon mpos avTov. Bacirei
yap ov Tatptov avdpos axpodcbar pn rpocKkurn-
4 gavtos. Tadta 0 BemotonrAHs axovoas eye
mpos autov’ “"’AAXN éyaye tHV Baciréws, @
> 4 , \ , b , Law Mal

ApraBave, djnunv Kai divapww av&nowy adiypas,
Kal avTos Te Téelcopat Tots tbmerépors vopmocs,
b \ A a Ss A C4 Cal ‘
émel Oe@ TO peyarvvorte Lépaas obtw Soxei, cat
bv éué reloves Tav viv Bactréa TpocKuyycovoL.
y "
ef le bd \ 54 a ,
@OTE TOUTO undey éeutrobay Ectw Tots NoyoLS, ods
, Ly a > mn 9 gg TEV 29 9

5 BovAopat wpos éxeivov eitretv.” “Tiva 8,” eitrev
o ’AptdBavos, ““EXAjvov adixyIai ce Papev; ov
yap idtoTn THY yveOunv Eoxas.” Kal o Oew-
atokAns: “Todt ovxér av,” edn, “ rvOotro Tx,
"A lA ’ , 99
praPave, mporepos Baoéws.

Oitw péev o Pavias dyaiv. o § ’Epatoabévns
év tots [lept wAovrTov mpoototopyae, dua yuvatKos
"EE “a e , 9 A A
PETpPLKIS, Hv Oo yLMapyos eclye, TO OepwortoKre’
THY Wpos avTov evrevéww yevérOar Kal cvortacry.
XXVIII. ’Ezret & obv eianyOn mpds Baciréa
Kal Mpookuvyncas éotn olwwTh, tpootatavtos
T@ €ppnvet Tod Baciréws epwrfcat, tis éott,
Kal Tov éppnvéws epwrnaavtos, elmev' “Heo
got, Bactrhed, BeutotoxrAns o *AOnvaios eyo
gduyas vd’ “EdXdjvav SiwxGeis, & moddka pev
opeiAovar Ilépcat cand, mrreiw Sé ayaba Korv-
cavre thy biwkw, ote THS “EAXdSos ev acdhadrel
yevomevns trapéaxe Ta oixot owlopeva yapicacOai
2 Tt Kal vpiv. éuol pev odv wdyta wpéTovTa Tails

for thee to employ messengers to him in thy stead,
for it is not a custom of this country that the King
give ear to a man who has not paid him obeisance.”’
When Themistocles heard this, he said to him:
“Nay, but I am come, Artabanus, to augment the
King’s fame and power, and I will not only myself
observe your customs, since such is the pleasure of
the god who exalts the Persians, but I will induce
more men than do so now to pay obeisance to the
King. Therefore let this matter by no means stand

in the way of the words I wish to speak to him.”
« And what Hellene,” said Artabanus, “shall I say thou art who hast thus come? Verily, thou dost not seem to be a man of ordinary understanding.” And Themistocles said: “This, Artabanus, no one may learn before the King.”
So indeed Phanias says, and Eratosthenes, in his book “ On Wealth,” adds the statement that it was through a woman of Eretria, whom the Chiliarch had to wife, that Themistocles obtained interview and conference with him.
XXVIII. That may or may not be so. But when he was led into the presence of the King and had made him obeisance, and was standing in silence, the King ordered the interpreter to ask him who he was, and, on the interpreter’s asking, he said: “ I who thus come to thee, O King, am Themistocles the Athenian, an exile, pursued by the Hellenes; and to me the Persians are indebted for many ills, but for more blessings, since I hindered the pursuit of the Hellenes, at a time when Hellas was brought into safety, and the salvation of my own home gave me an opportunity for showing some favour also to. you. Now, therefore, I may look for any sequel to

Tapovcas cvppopais éort, Kal Taperxevac pévos
adiyuat SéEac0ai te yapiv evpevas dadXaTTO-
pévov Kal trapaiteicOa pynoikaxobvtos opynv:
au Sé Tovs euovs eyOpovs paptupas Oémevos ov
evepyétnaa Ilépoas, viv amroypnoat tais éuais
TUYaLs Mpos émiderEy apeTns padrdrov 1 pos
aTOTANPWGLW GpyHAsS. Twces pev yap ikérny cov,
atroneis 8 “EXAHvwV Torépmwov yevouevov.” tadT’
elr@v 0 BemoroKrAns émreVelace TH AOYH Tpoc-
dueMOav tiv driv, hy eidev év Nuxoyévous, Kal To
pavrevpa tov Awdwvaiov Atos, @s Kxerevobels
Tpos Tov ou@vupov tod Beod Badifey cup-
hpovncee mrpos éxeivov avarréutrec Oar: peydNous
yap apportépous civai te eal AéyecIar Bacidéas.
’"Axovaas 8 o Ilépans, éxeivw péev ovdev arre-
Kpwato, xaitrep Oavypdoas TO ppovnya Kai TH
ToApayv avTou: paxapicas S€ mpds Tovs dPidrous
éauTov, ws ém evTuyxia peyioTn, Kal KaTevEdpevos
del Tots troAeutots Tovavtas ppévas Sidovar Tov
"Apipduov, Strws éXavvwat Tos apiarous €& éav-
tov, Odaat te Tots Oeois Aéyetas Kal pos Troow
evOds tpatréc Oat cal vixtwp vio yapas ba péocwy

Tav Urvev Bojoat tpis: “"Eyo @emioroxréa Tov
"A Onvaiov.”
XXIX. “Apa 8 nuépa cvyxaréoas tovs pirous
elanyev avtov ovdéev! errrilovta ypnatov e& dv
éopa tous él Ovpass, ws érvOovto tobvopa tra-
povros avtov, yanrerras Suaxetpévous Kal Karas
1 ob3ey Fuhr and Blass with FaS: unde.
76
126

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my present calamities, and I come prepared to re-
‘ceive the favour of one who benevolently offers
reconciliation, or to deprecate the anger of one who
cherishes the remembrance of injuries. But do
thou take my foes to witness for the good I wrought
the Persians, and now use my misfortunes for the
display of thy virtue rather than for the satisfaction
of thine anger. For it is a suppliant of thine whom
thou wilt save, but an enemy of the Hellenes whom
thou wilt destroy.’ After these words Themistocles
spoke of divine portents in his favour, enlarging
upon the vision which he saw at the house of
Nicogenes, and the oracle of Dodonaean Zeus, how
when he was bidden by it to proceed to the name-
sake of the god, he had concluded that he was
thereby sent to him, since both were actually “ Great
Kings,” and were so addressed.
On hearing this the Persian made no direct reply
to him, although struck with admiration at the bold-
ness of his spirit; but in converse with his friends
it is said that he congratulated himself over what he
called the greatest good fortune, and prayed Arima-
nius ever to give his enemies such minds as to drive
their best men away from them; and then sacrificed
to the gods, and straightway betook himself to his
cups; and in the night, in the midst of his slumbers,
for very joy called out thrice: “I have Themistocles
the Athenian.”
XXIX. At daybreak he called his friends together and bade Themistocles to be introduced, who expected no favourable outcome, because he saw that the guards at the gates, when they learned the name of him who was going in, were bitterly disposed and

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NeyouTas. ere bé “PwEayns o xAlapyos, @s KaT
avTov hv o Oepo towers T poor, xadnpevov
Bacttéws Kai Tov adXA@V clwTeVTWr, aTpé“a
orevatas elmer: ““Odus “EXAnV 0 Trotkiros, Oo
Baciréws ce Saipwv Seipo jyayev.” od pry
Grr’ eis Ow édMovTos adtov Kal wad tTpoc-
KUVnTaVTOS, aoTTAacdpEvosS Kal TpoveT@V pido-
dpovas o Bacirevs, 75n pev Epycev avT@ Siaxdora
Tadravta ofetNery? = KopicavTa yap avToY aTro\n-
Weobat Sixaiws 1O émixnpvyOev TO ayayovTe:
TONA@ O€ TAELW TOUTWY UTLCYVEITO Kal TrapeDdp-
puve kal réyey edidov rept Tav “EXAnUKaY, a
BovroT0, wappnotalopevov.
‘O 8é Qepiorondrs arrexpivato, Tov Noryoy éorKé-
vat Tov avOpwrrou Tols TroLKirOLs OTPALATLY' WS
yap éxelva Kal TOUTOV ExTEevopevoy pev emideiKvu-
aOas Ta eidn, ova TEeddOpevov dé xporrrew Kat dia-
pOetpesy- dev avT@ Xpovou Seiv. érrel O€, no Gevtos
TOU Bacirews 7H eixacta Kat hap Bdvew KeNEV-
CAaVTOS, eviauTOV aitnadpevos wal Th Ilepotéda
yAOTTAY GTrOXPOYT WS expadov ever uryyave Ba-
oirel 50 avrovd, Tots peév EXTOS doEav mapéaxe
mept tav ‘EdAAnviKev / Tparywarov Siethéx Oa,
TONNOY dé KaLvoTOMOUpEvOY Tept THY aurqy Kar
TOUS _pirous vo TOU Baotreécs év éxelvep 7
Kalp@, POovov ExxXe Tapa ois Suvatois, Os Kal
Kat éKxelvov ‘mappyaig xpncacbar 7 pos autor
GTOTETONMNKWS. ovdev yap hoav au Tipat Tats
TOV a\XNwv éoccviar Fever, andra Kal Kurnyectov
Baotrei petéoxye cat Tav oixat dvatpiBav, date
78

spoke insultingly to him. And _ besides, Roxanes the Chiliarch, when Themistocles came along opposite him,—the King being seated and the rest hushed in silence,—said in an angry undertone: “ Thou subtle serpent of Hellas, the King’s good genius hath brought thee hither.” However, when he had come into the King’s presence, and had once more paid him obeisance, the King welcomed him and spake him kindly, and said he already owed him two hundred talents, for since he had delivered himself up it was only just that he himself should receive the reward proclaimed for his captor. And he promised him much more besides, and bade him take heart, and gave him leave to say whatever he wished concerning the affairs of Hellas, with all frankness of speech.

But Themistocles made answer that the speech of man was like embroidered tapestries, since like them _ this too had to be extended in order to display its patterns, but when it was rolled up it concealed and distorted them. Wherefore he had need of time. The King at once showed his pleasure at this com- parison by bidding him take time, and so Themistocles asked for a year, and in that time he learned the Persian language sufficiently to have interviews with the King by himself without interpreters. Outsiders thought these conferences concerned Hellenic matters merely ; but since about that time many innovations were introduced by the King at court and among his favourites, the magnates became jealous of The- mistocles, on the ground that he had made bold to use his freedom of speech with the King to their harm. For the honours he enjoyed were tar beyond those paid to other foreigners; nay, he actually took part in the King’s hunts and in his household diver-

Kai pntpi tn RBactréws eis oyruv érbeiv Kat ryeve-
cAat ouvriOns, Staxotoa. b€ Kal TOY payiKov
hoyov TOU Bactréws KeXevoavtos. érrel dé An-
pdpatos o Lraptidrns airnoacbat Swpedy Ken-
evobels yTHTaATO THY Kitapw, @otep ot Bacirels,
émrapapevos elgeddaat dua Ldpsewr, McOporrave-
TNS per aveypros av Baciréws elzre Tob Anpapd-
Tou TAS Tedpas axpapevos: “ Adrn pev 7 KiT apts
ovK exe éyxépanor, Ov emuxaduyper av 8 ovK
éon Zevs av AdBys Kepauvor" : aTrwa apevou 5é
TOV Anpaparov opyn bua TO. airnpa tod Bact-
Aéws kat Soxodvtos amapaititas: exew Tpos
avtov, 0 @emoroxrns Senbeis rece al
dunrra€e.
Aéyerae 5€ xai tovs darepov Baovrels, éf’ ov
HaNNOY al Hepoveat mpdtes tais ‘EdAnuicais
avexpaOnoar, oodxus denBeiev ayvdpos ' 'Eddnvos,
emraryyerer Oar kal ypadew Exag Tov, as peivov
ExolTo Tap avTo OepraroKdr<€ous. avurov 5é Tov
OeworoKr<€a ghaciv 76n péyav ovta Kal Oeparrevo-
Hevov UTO TOAN@Y Aapmpas Tore Tpametns avT@
mapatebcions | 7 pos TOUS mraidas cimeiy: “°O,
maides, anwropeba a av, EL un ATrwXopeOa. TTrdrELs
8 auTe T pets bev ot Trelorou d00jvat Aéyouow
eis apTov Kal oivov Kai dypor, Maryvyoiav Kal
Aaprpaxov cat Muobyta: dv0 8 dAXdas Tpocti-
Onow o Kubixnvos Nedvéns wal Pavias, Hlep-
KOTNY cat Tladaiocnnypuw es otpopyny cal
amTrexovny.

XXX. Karafaivoyre 5S avr@ mpos tas “Ed-
Anvixas mpdkeus emt Oddattav pons avyp
1 gitg xaparedelons Bekker, Fuhr with F*S: xapare@elons.

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sions, so far that he even had access to the queen- mother and became intimate with her, and at the King’s bidding heard expositions also of the Magian lore. And when Demaratus the Spartan, being bidden to ask a gift, asked that he might ride in state through Sardis, wearing his tiara upright after the manner of the Persian kings, Mithropaustes the King’s cousin said, touching the tiara of Demaratus : ‘ This tiara of thine hath no brains to cover; indeed thou wilt not be Zeus merely because thou graspest the thunderbolt.” . The King also repulsed Demaratus in anger at his request, and was minded to be in- exorable towards him, and yet Themistocles begged and obtained a reconciliation with him.

And it is said that later kings also, in whose reigns Persia and Hellas came into closer relations, as often as they asked for a Hellene to advise them, promised him in writing, every one, that he should be more influential at court than Themistocles. And Themistocles himself, they say, now become great and courted by many, said to his children, when a splendid table was once set for him: “ My children, we should now have been undone, had we not been undone before.’’! Three cities, as most writers say, were given him for bread, wine, and meat, namely : Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus; and two others are added by Neanthes of Cyzicus and by Phanias, namely: Percoté and Palaescepsis; these for his bedding and raiment.
XXX. Now as he was going down to the sea on his commission to deal with Hellenic affairs, a
| 1 Thue. i. 138.
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’EmiEvns Svopa, catparevwv ths advwa Ppvyias,
émeBovNevoe, Taperxevaxas ExTradat Ilicidas
TiWas aTroKTEevouNTAs, Tay ey TH KaXOUpEYN K@EN |
Acovtoxepdrw yevopevos xatavacb7. Oo 5é

Néyerar KabevdsovTse peonpBpias THY pntépa Tov
Gedv Svap paveicay cimeiys “°O, BepsoroKres,
botépes Keparis Aéovtov, iva wn Novre mrepitréoys.
éyo 5é€ avtl tovTov ae aitd Oepdrraway Mvn-
ourtoréuav. StatapaxGeis ody 0 BemsoroKrAAs
mpocevEdmevos TH Oe@ THv ev Newhopor adjxer,
étépg 5é meptehOwv xal trapaddd£as tov ToTov
éxelvov On vuKTOS OVENS KATNUN CATO.
Tov dé thy oxnuny Kopsclovtav UTrotuyiwv évos eis
TOV TroTapov éuTEToVTOS, of TOU Beystatoxdréous
oixérat Tas avraias StaBpoxous yevouévas éxtre-
tTdcavtes avéwvyov. ot 8é Ilicidas ra Eipn Xra-
Bovres év tovT@ wpocedpépovto, Kal Ta Yruxdpeva
Mpos THY GEAnVNY ovK AKpLB@s iSovrTes BnOncAY
eluat THY oxnvay THY BeutotoKAéous KaKEivoD
évdov etipicev avaravopevoy. ws 8 éyyds ryevd-
pevos THY avrAaiay avéoteAXOV, EmitTinrovcLw
avtois oi TapapuAdocorTes Kat cuAAALBavova.
Staduyeav Sé rov Kivduvov odtw Kai Oavyacas Thy
éripaverav THS Geod vadv Katecxevacev év May-
vncia Avvdupjvns Kat tHv Ovyatépa Mvnocrro-
A€uay téperay arréderEer.
XXXI. ‘Os 8 FAGev els Yapders Kal sxorHv

1 «én Fuhr and Blass with FS: wdae: city.

Persian, Epixyes by name, satrap of Upper Phrygia, plotted against his life, having for a long time kept certain Pisidians in readiness to slay him whenever he should reach the village called Lion’s Head, and take up his night’s quarters there. But while Themi- stocles was asleep at midday before, it is said that the Mother of the Gods! appeared to him in a dream and said: ‘‘O Themistocles, shun a head of lions, that thou mayest not encounter a lion. And for this service to thee, I demand of thee Mnesiptolema to be my handmaid.” Much disturbed, of course, Themistocles, with a prayer of acknowledgment to the goddess, forsook the highway, made a circuit by another route, and passing by that place, at last, as night came on, took up his quarters.

Now, since one of the beasts of burden which carried the equipage of his tent had fallen into the river, the servants of Themistocles hung up the curtains which had got wet, and were drying them out. The Pisidians, at this juncture, sword in hand, made their approach, and since they could not see distinctly by the light of the moon what it was that was being dried, they thought it was the tent of

Themistocles, and that they would find him reposing inside. But when they drew near and lifted up the hanging, they were fallen upon by the guards and apprehended. Thus Themistocles escaped the peril, and because he was amazed at the epiphany of the goddess, he built a temple in Magnesia in honour of Dindymené, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema her priestess,

XXXII. When he had come to Sardis and was

1 Rhea, or Cybele, Magna Mater, called also Dindymené, from Mount Dindymon, in Phrygia.

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i)

drywv eOcato THY lep@v THY KaTaTKEUHY Kal TOV avabnpdtwv To TAnOos, elde Sé ev pontpos tep@ THY Kadovpévny Ldpopopov Kopny YarKv, péyeBos Slanxuv, tv avtos Ste trav "AOnvnow stdarov emLrTaTNS HY, EdXwv Tovs Upatpouvpévous TO vdwp kal wapoxerevovtas, avéOnnev éx tis Cypulas motnodpevos, elite 6 TaGwv TL mpos THY aixpa- Awoiav Tov avaOnpatos elte Bovropevos évdetEa - abat trois "AOnvaioss, donv éyes Tiny Kal Sivayw

DJ a / / / A 4

ev tois Bacidews mpdypact, Aoyov r@ Avdias CATPATH TPOTHVEYKEY ALTOVMLEVOS ATTOTTELAAL THY xopnv eis tas 'AOnvas. yarerraivovtos 5é tod BapBapouv kai Baciret ypayrew dyoavtos ére- oToAny, poBnGeis 6 MemoroKANs els THY yuva,Ko- vitw Katépuye Kat tas madrdaxidas ajrod Oepatrevoas ypnpaciy éxeivov Te KaTempauve TIS opyis Kal mpos Ta dda Tapelyey éavTov evrAa- Béorepov, 45n nal tov POovoy tav BapBdpev ded0xws. ov yap wAavepevos trept THY 'Aciap,

[4 , > be J 4 \ > al °

as dno Beorroutros, adr ev Mayvncia peév oixor, Kaptrovpevos 5é¢ dwpeds peyadas Kal Tipm@pevos 6uota Ilepoav trois apiorois, éml rodv xpovov adeas Sufryer, ov mdavu te Tois "EAXAnviKO's Tpary- pact Bacthéws mrpocéyovtos bm' aoyoay mreph Tas dvw mpdakers.

‘Os & Alyurres te adiotapévn BonBovvrwv
"AOnvaiwy Kal tpinpess “EAXniKal wéxpt Kvmpou
kal Kiduxias dvamdéovoas cal Kiev Barartro-
Kpatov émréotpeey avTov avtemyetpeiy Tots
“EdAnos kal corvew av€avopévous er avtov, nd
84

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viewing at his leisure the temples built there and the multitude of their dedicatory offerings, and saw in the temple of the Mother the so-called Water- carrier,—a maid in bronze, two cubits high, which he himself, when he was water commissioner at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated from the fines he exacted of those whom he convicted of stealing and tapping the public water,—whether it was because he felt some chagrin at the capture of the offering, or because he wished to show the Athenians what honour and power he had in the King’s service, he addressed a proposition to the Lydian satrap and asked him to restore the maid to Athens. But the Barbarian was incensed and threat- ened to write a letter to the King about it ; whereat Themistocles was afraid, and so had recourse to the women’s chambers, and, by winning the favour of the satrap’s concubines with money, succeeded in assuag- ing his anger. Thereafter he behaved more circum- spectly, fearing now even the jealousy of the Bar- barians. For he did not wander about over Asia, as Theopompus says, but had a house in Magnesia, and gathered in large gifts, and was honoured like the noblest Persians, and so lived on for a long time with- out concern, because the King paid no heed at all to Hellenic affairs, owing to his occupation with the state of the interior.

But when Egypt revolted with Athenian aid,}
and Hellenic triremes sailed up as far as Cyprus
and Cilicia, and Cimon’s mastery of the sea forced
the King to resist the efforts of the Hellenes
and to hinder their hostile growth; and when at
last forces began to be moved, and generals were
1 459 B.O.
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5é xal duvdpuers exivodvro nal otparryyol Sreréu-
mwovro Kal KatéBatvov) dryyediat pos Oepioro-
Kréa, Tav “EAAnuicav éEarrecOat KxedevovTos
Bactréws xal BeBavody tas vrrocxéoets, ovte Se
opyiv tia wapofuvOels Kata THY TroMTaY OTE
émapOels Tih tooavtn cal Suvduer mpds Tov
TONELOV, GAX tows pev ovd edixrdy® Hryovpevos
To Epyov, Gdrovs Te weydArous THS ‘EXAdSbos eyov-

ons otpatnyous tote kal Kipwvos vimeppuas
EUNpEpouVTOS Ev TOs TWodEmLKols, TO Sé MAEioTOY
aidot rhs te S0Ens TOY wpdkewy THY éavTod Kal
tay Ttpotralwy éxeivwv, dptora Bovdevodpevos
érBetvar r@ Bip rhv TeXevTHY mpérovaar, Cuvce
tots Beois, kal rovs hirous cuvayayov cal SeFww-
odpevos, WS pay 6 TODS Adyos, alua Tavpeov
mov, a 8 évor, Pdppaxov édjpepov Tpoc every-
xapevos, év Maryvncia xaréotpewe wévte pos
tous éEnxovta BeBiwoxas érn xal ta wreiota ToOv-
Tov év ToNtTeiats Kal Hyepovias. tH 8 aitiav
tov Oavatouv Kal tov Tpomov muOopmevov Baciréa
Néyouow ets padXrpjov Oauvyaoar tov avipa Kat
Tois hirous avrov Kal oixetors Ypw@pevov Svatereiy
pirav pwrres.
XXXII. ’Azrédurre 5€ Qentororrs waidsas éx
pev ’Apylaarns tis Avodvdpou rod ’AdwrrexnhiOev
"Apyxerrtony cat Todtevxrov cal Kreddavtov,
ov kal IIAatwv o pirocodos as im7éws dptotou,
Tarra 8 ovdevds akiou yevouévouv pynpovedver.
1 xaréBawov Fuhr and Blass with FS: xaréBawov eis
Mayvnolay.
2 ob8? épixrdy Fuhr and Blass with FS : obk épicrdy.
86
128

THEMISTOCLES

despatched hither and thither, and messages came down to Themistocles saying that the King commanded him to make good his promises by applying himself to the Hellenic problem, then, neither embittered by anything like anger against his former fellow-citizens, nor lifted up by the great honour and power he was to have in the war, but possibly think- ing his task not even approachable, both because Hellas had other great generals at the time, and especially because-Cimon was so marvellously successful in his campaigns; yet most of all out of regard for the reputation of his own achievements and the trophies of those early days ; having decided that his best course was to put a fitting end to his life, he made a sacrifice to the gods, then called his friends together, gave them a farewell clasp of his hand, and, as the current story goes, drank bull's blood, or as some say, took a quick poison, and so died in Magnesia, in the sixty-fifth year of his life,! most of which had been spent in political leader- ship. They say that the King, on learning the cause and the manner of his death, admired the man yet more, and continued to treat his friends and kindred with kindness. |

XXXII. Themistocles left three sons by Archippé,
the daughter of Lysander, of the deme Alopecé,
namely: Archeptolis, Polyeuctus and Cleophantus,
the last of whom Plato the philosopher mentions

as a capital horseman, but good for nothing else.?
1 Thuo. i. 138, 2 Meno, p. 93.
87
a

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tav d5é mpecButdtwv NeoxAns pev ete mais av
ip’ tarmov SnxGels améOave, Acoxréa 5é Avoar-
Spos 6 mWdamos viov éroncato. Ouyarépas Sé
TArelous éxxev, BY Myvnourrodéuav pev éx THs
émiyapnOetaons yevouévny "Apyémrons 0 adedpos
ovK dv omountptos eynpev, “Iradiav 8é TavOotdns
6 Xios, LPapw 8 Nexouydns o *AOnvaios:
Nixoudyny 5¢ Ppacixrjs 0 abderdioods Bepucro-
KANEOUS, HON TEeTENEUTNKOTOS eKxeEivou, TAEVGAS ELS
Mayvnciay édaBe rapa tav aberdav, vewrdrny
6¢ wdavrev tov tTéxvov ’Aciav Opee.
Kai tddov pév aitod ANapmpov év TH ayopa
Madyvntes éxovou epi dé tay rEndvev oir’
"Avdoxidn mpocéyev akiov ev t@ IIpos tovs
étaipous AéyovTt, pwpdcavtas Ta Neinpava Siap-
pirar tovs *AOnvaiouvs (evderar yap éml tov
Siuov tapokvvwyv Tovs oduyapytKous), 6 Te Dv-
apxos, Bomep ev tpaywodia TH toTopia povovov
UNXavnv apas Kat wpoayaywyv Neoxdéa tiva Kal
Anporroduv, vios Bemotonréovs, ayava Pov-
NeTae Kiwweivy Kal mdGos, 6 ovS dv o Tuya ayvon-
cevev Ott TéTAATTAL, Atddwpos 8 0 mepinynTns
év Tots Ilept pynudray elpnxev @s trrovoay pand-
NOV H ylv@oKerv, STL Tepl Tov péyay ALpéva TOD
Tletpac@s dio tov Kata Tov “Adxtpov axpwrn-
ptov mpoxetai Tis oloy ayxwv, Kai xaprartt
TovTOY evTos, 7) TO UTrEevoLoyv THS OadadtTNs, KpNTris
cori evpeyéOns nat To tept avrnv Bwpoedés
88
THEMISTOCLES

One of his two oldest sons, Neocles, died in boy-
hood from the bite of a horse, and Diocles was
adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had
several daughters, of whom Mnesiptolema, born of his
second wife, became the wife of Archeptolis her
half-brother, Italia of Panthoides the Chian, and
Sybaris of Nicomedes the Athenian. Nicomaché was

given in marriage by her brothers to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who sailed to Magnesia after his uncle's death, and who also took charge of Asia, the youngest of all the children.

The Magnesians have a splendid tomb of Themisto- cles in their market place; and with regard to his remains, Andocides is worthy of no attention when he says, in his Address to his Associates, that the Athenians stole away those remains and scattered them abroad, for he is trying by his lies to incite the oligarchs against the people; and Phylarchus, too, when, as if in a tragedy, he all but erects a theatrical machine for this story, and brings into the action a certain Neocles, forsooth, and Demopolis, sons of Themistocles, wishes merely to stir up tumultuous emotion ; his tale even an ordinary person must know is fabricated. Diodorus the Topographer, in his work " On Tombs," says, by conjecture rather than from actual knowledge, that near the large harbour of the Piraeus a sort of elbow juts out from the promontory opposite Alcimus, and that as you round this and come inside where the water of the sea is still, there is a basement of goodly size, and that the altar-like structure upon this is the

5 tadbos tod @euwoKoxréous. olerat Se cat IIda-
TOVA TOV KWMLKOV AUTO paptupely ev TovTOLS
'O abs 8é rupBos ev KAA@ Keywopévos

Tots epmropots Wpocpyats ~otar TavTaxod,
UA 2712 4 > , 4 >
tous t | éxmdéovtas evomrAcovTas T OWeTal,
bd 4 bud 9 a a @ /
YoOTOTAY Optra" TWY vewY VEeaceETal.

Tots & amd yévous tod @eptororréovs at
tTiyswat ties ey Mayvnoia pvadrarropevar péxpe
TOV NMETEpwOY Ypdvav Hoav, as éxapTrovTo Bem-
a b a ef / \ }
aToxAns 'AOnvaios, huétepos suvnOns Kai diros
79 / A , ,
Trap Appovie To dirocopm yevopevos.

1 robs 7' corrected by Bekker to obs.
2 dutAda Bekker has &u:aa' Ff after Porson.
a

tomb of Themistocles. And he thinks that the comic poet Plato is a witness in favour of his view when he says :—

“Thy tomb is mounded in a fair and sightly place ; The merchantmen shall ever hail it with glad cry ; It shall behold those outward, and those inward

bound,
And all the emulous rivalry of racing ships.”
For the lineal descendants of Themistocles there were also certain dignities maintained in Magnesia down to my time, and the revenues of these were enjoyed by a Themistocles of Athens, who was my intimate and friend in the school of Ammonius the philosopher.
gI

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CAMILLUS

KAMIAAO2

I. Ilept 5€ @ovpiou Kapidrygov aoddov nal 129
UL 4 ” ef a ,
peyarwv Aeyouévov idtov elvar Soxel padsota
kal tapdbofov, btu mAciota pev év Hyepoviars
kal péyiota xatopOacas, Sictratwp 8& tevrdxis
e , 4 \ 4 / \
aipeOeis, OptawBevoas Sé€ teTpaxis, xtiotns 5é
a eH ’ \ , 2»O\ @
ths ‘Pwpns avaypadeis Sevtepos, ovdé amak
wrdtevae. tovtov & altiov 7 THs TOTE ToA-
telas Kardotacis, éx Siapopas tod dyuou mpds
THY abyKANTOY UIraTOUS fev epicavTOS p12) aTro-
Seixvucar, yitudpyous b€ YeupotovodyTos émi
THY Hyemoviav, av, Kaimep am é£ovoias Kat
Suvdpews vratinns atavta wpatrrovTwy, HTTov
jv emayOns H apyn Sia 76 TARBOS. TO yap EE
w” 3 \ A A 4 > 4
avOpas, adNa pn Svo, Tols Tpdypacw edioTavat,
mapenv0eito Tovs Bapuvopévous THv oduyapxiav.
Kara todro 8) xatpod pdrdota TH O0En Kal Tois
4 ? 4 e 4 (4 3
mpdypacty axpacas o KdpeArXos brraros peéy ove
neiwoey dxovte TO Syuw yevécOat, xaitrep ev TO
Sia pécou SeEapévns ttratixas apyatpecias Tis
qonTelas TroANGKLS, ev 5é Tais GANaLS Hyepoviass
94

I. Turnina now to Furius Camillus, among the many notable things that are told of him, this seems the most singular and strange, namely, that although in other offices of command he won many and great successes, and although he was five times chosen dictator, four times celebrated a triumph, and was styled a Second Founder of Rome, not even once was he consul. The reason for this lay in the political conditions of his time. The common people, being at variance with the Senate, strove against the appointment of consuls, and elected military tribunes to the command instead. These, although they always acted with consular authority and power, were less obnoxious in their sway because of their number. For the fact that six men instead of two stood at the head of affairs, was some comfort to those who were bitterly set against the rule of the few.

Now it was at this period that Camillus came to the height of his achievements and fame, and he would not consent to become consul over a reluctant people, although during his career the city tolerated consular elections many times. But in the many other and varied offices which he held, he so con- ducted himself that even when the authority rightly

moAdAais Kai mavrodatrais yevopévats TtovovTov avTov wapécyev, @oTe THY pev éFovoiay Kal povapxoovtos elvas Kxownjv, tHv bé Sokay idiay kal pel érépwv otpatnyodvtTos’ av Tov pev 7 peTptoTns altioy avermipOovas apyovtos, Tov 8 7 dpovnars, dv hv oporoyoupévws erpwrevev.

II. Ovdw 5é tore wept Tov trav Poupiwy olxov ovans peydArns emipavelas autos ad éauTov mpa- tos eis S0Fav mponrOev ev TH pweyadrAn ayn TpOS Aixavovs xal Ovorovcxous vo duxtatop. Ioc- touuiw TouBéptm otparevopuevos. mpoimmrevwv yap Tov otpaTov Kal ANY TepitTec@y eis TOV penpov ovK avnKev, GAN éyxeluevoy TH TpavpaTt TapéAkov TO axovtTtopa Kal cupTTAEKOMEVOS TOLS aptorors THY Tronepbeoy tpomny érolincev. ex dé

ToUTOV TV T GAAwY yepav érvyYe Kal TLNTNS
amedetxOn, béya THS apyis afiwpa tavrTns él
T@Y TOTE Ypovwv exXovons. pvnuovevetar é
avtod TLunTevovTOS KaAOV pev Epyov TO TOUS
aydpous Aoyous te meiOovta Kal Cnpuiars atre-
NodvTa ovyxataledEas tais Xnpevovaats yuvarkt
(rodAal & Haoav avrat da Tous TroAéuovs), avay-
xaiov 5é€ To Kal Tous dpphavors UroteXEls Troujoat
mporepov averapopous dvras. aitias 8 Foav at
cuveyels oTpateias peyddwy avadopdtwv de0-
pevat, Kal padiota KaTnretyev 7 Ovniwv trodtop-
Kia. Tovtous éviot Ounievravovs Kadovaw.
"Hv be mporxXnpa THs Tuppnvias 7 Tos, bTA@v
pev aprOu@ cat mrAnOes TOV oTpaTEevoMévwWY OvK
amrobdéovaea THs ‘Pauns, rAovT@ Sé ral Biwy aBpo-
TnTt Kal tpupais xal trodvteEdciats ayadNopevn

belonged to him alone, it was exercised in common with others; while the glory that followed such exercise was his alone, even when he shared the command. In the first case, it was his moderation that kept his rule from exciting envy; in the second, it was his ability that gave him the first place with none to dispute it. 7

II. At a time when the house of the Furii was not yet very conspicuous, he, by his own efforts, was the first of his clan to achieve fame. This he did in the great battle with the Aequians and Volscians, serving under Postumius Tubertus the dictator. Dashing out on his horse in front of the army, he did not abate his speed when he got a wound in the thigh, but drag- ging the missile along with him in its wound, he engaged the bravest of the enemy and put them to flight. For this exploit, among other honours bestowed upon him, he was appointed censor, in those days an office of great dignity. //There is on record a noble achievement of his censorship, that of bringing the unmarried men, partly by persuasion and partly by threatening them with fines, to join in wedlock with the women who were living in widowhood, and these were many because of the wars ;likewise a necessary achievement, that of making the orphans, who before this had contributed nothing to the support of the — state, subject to taxation. The continuous campaigns, demanding great outlays of money, really required this. Especially burdensome was the siege of Veii (some call the people Veientani).

This city was the barrier and bulwark of Tus- cany, in quantity of arms and multitude of soldiery no whit inferior to Rome. Indeed, pluming her- self on her wealth, and on the refinement, luxury,

mroAXoUs Kal KaXOUs ayavas Nywvicato trept doEns
kat Suvactelas toNcepovcoa “Pwpaios. év 5é Ta
TOTE YpOvm THs pev hirotipias ageroTHKe. cuv-
tpiBeioa peydrais pdyats érrapdpevor 5€é Teiyn
peydia nal xaptepa Kal Thy Tod STrwY Kal
Bero@v cai citov cai wapacKevas amdons éuard2-
cavres, abed@s UTrépevoy THY TrOMOpKiay, paKpav
fev ovoay, ovx Arrov dé Tots TrodtopKovat ép-
yoon Kal yarerny yevouévnv. etOrcpévor yap ov
TmoAUY ypovoy dua wpa Oépovs ew otparevery,
olxot Oé duayetpalery, TOTe MpwToy nvayxacOnaay
UTO TOV Yikdpywv dpovpia KaTacKEeVodpEvaL
Kat TO oTpaToTedoy Tetxicavres ev TH Todeuia
yetuova Kat Bépos cuvdtrew, dn oxedoyv éTous
éBoopov TO Toke TEAEUT@YTOS. Wate Kal
Tovs apyovtas év aitia yevéoOar cal pararas
modopKely Soxobvtas adaipeOjvar thy apyny,
éTépwy aipeOévray él tov modeunov' av hv Kal
KdpirXos tore yidtapyav 7o Sevtepov. émrpake
Se mept thy modtopkiav ovdev ev exeive TO Ypova,
Aayov Darepiows cal Kamnvdrais wonrepelv, ot
&:’ doyoNay ToTe TOAAA THY ywpav KabuvBpi-
caytes Kal Tapa mavTa Tov Tuppnyixov TrodNEpLov
évoxrnoayvtes ériécOnaayv b7o tod Kapldrov cai
auvectddnoayv els Ta TE’xYn ToANO’S aroBa-
NovTes. |
ITI. "Ex rovrou +o rept tiv AdXBavida Aipyny
mwd0os dxpatovre Tp Todéum ouveveyOev ovdevas
TTov Tov arictwv mwubécGar Oavudtowv aitlas
Kownhs atrooia Kal Noyou guvoikny éyovTos apyry
époBncev. Hv pev yap Spa perovwpiwy, Kal Td
98
CAMILLUS

and sumptuousness in which her citizens lived she had waged many noble contests for glory and power in her wars with the Romans. At this time, however, she had .been crushed in great battles, and had given up her former ambitious pre- tensions. But her people built their walls high and strong, filled the city full of armour, missiles, grain, and every possible provision, and confidently endured their siege, which, though long, was no less laborious and difficult for the besiegers. These had been accustomed to short campaigns abroad as the summer season opened, and to winters at home; but then for the first time they had been compelled by their tribunes to build forts and fortify their camp and spend both summer and winter in the enemy’s country, the seventh year of the war being now nearly at anend. For this their rulers were held to

blame, and finally deprived of their rule, because they were thought to conduct the siege without energy. Others were chosen to carry on the war, and one of these was Camillus, now tribune for the second time. But for the present he had nothing to do with the siege, since it fell to his lot to wage war with the Falerians and the Capenates, who, while the Romans had their hands full, had often harried their territory, and during all the Tuscan war had given them annoyance and trouble. These were over- whelmed by Camillus in battle and shut up in their fastnesses with great loss of life.

III. And now, when the war was at its climax, the calamity of the Alban lake added its terrors. It seemed @ most incredible prodigy, without familiar cause or natural explanation. For the season was autumn, and the summer just ended had, to all

Bépos Edmryev ovT érrouBpov ove TvEv past votiots

2 Xaderov eid as ryevopevov" moddas S€ Aimvas
Kat TOTAPOUS Kal vapara TavTobaTa THS 'Ita-
dias exovons TH pev éFeXure Kooy, TA O avr-
éoxe YAtox pes Kal ports, ot dé ToTapol mayres
OOTeEp del KotXot Kal tatrewvol dua Bépous é éppun-
cay. To &é Tis "ArABavidos Aimyns apyny exov
év éauT@ Kai TEAEUT ID, Spec evyetous TEpLexa-
pevov, at ovdeEvos aittou, wry el Te Deion, avgo-
pevov éridnrws StwyKovTO Kal Wpodictato Tas
brreapetass Kal TOV dvatare AGhav omaras érré-
paver, dvevu oddou Kal kr\vdwvos eEaviatdpevov.
3 Kat TPGTOV Mev Wy TOLMevov Gaia Kal Botjpor
érrel 5é, Tov Sve pryovros aro Ths Kato X@pas
olov tO pod | TV Aipyny UmrexparyevTos uo Tov
mrBous Kal Badpovs, péya pebpa xatéBawve dua
TOV dpoupévev kal puTevopevev éml thv Odrat-
Tay, ov povov avtois Tapetye 'Pepators eeArniw,
GAA Kal mao édSoKer Tots Thy ITraXriav Karot-
Kotor pndevos pix pod onpeiov elvat. NEtoTos
& avrod Aovyos nv év TO aotpatoTréi@ T@ TOMOP-
KouvTt TOUS Ovnious, @oTE KaKelvols ExTrvaTOY
yevéobat TO mepl THY Aipony Taos.
IV. Ola & év mohopkia dua xpovou pijKos
emiymEias TE TOAAAS éxourn Kab Kotvohoyias
Mpos TOUS moAguLOUS, eryeryover Tit 'Papaip
cuvnbea Kal Tappyaia 1 pos éva TOV TOMTOD,
av pwrrov Eumretpov TE Aoylav maharov kal ve
kal wréov eidévas Tov AdA\XNOV ATO paVTiKijs

Soxotvra. ToUTOV ovY Oo ‘Poopaios, @se hrxovde
tHv éridocw Tihs Aipyns, opa@v Umrepydopevov
Te Kal xaTayed@vTa THs TodopKias, ov TadT’
190

CAMILLUS

observation, been neithe}? rainy nor vexed by south winds. Of the lakes, rivers, and streams of all sizes _ with which Italy abounds;.some had failed utterly, others barely managed to hdld out, and all the rivers ran low, between high banks, as was always the case in summer. But the Alban lake, -which had its source and outlet within itself, ant was girt about with fertile mountains, for no reason, except it be that heaven willed it, was observed to increase and swell until it reached the skirts of the mourtains and gradually touched their highest ridges: © All this rise was without surge or billow. At first it was a prodigy for neighbouring shepherds and herdsmen,’ But when the volume and weight of water broke | away the barrier which, like an isthmus, had kept the lake from the country lying below it, and a huge torrent poured down through the fields and vine- _ yards and made its way to the sea, then not only were the Romans themselves dismayed, but all the inhabitants of Italy thought it a sign of no small evil to come. There was much talk about it in the army that was besieging Veii, so that even the besieged themselves heard of the calamity.

IV. As was to be expected in a long siege requir- ing many meetings for conference with the enemy, it fell out that a certain Roman became intimate and confidential with one of the citizens of Veii, a man versed in ancient oracles, and reputed wiser than the rest from his being a diviner. The Roman saw that this man, on hearing the story of the lake, was over- joyed and made mock of the siege. He therefore told

IOI

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

épn povov evmvox evan Savnacra TOV mapovra

Ovov, GAN Erepa TevTOY drorrerepa onpeta
Popatous Yeryoveraty, wept @v é0édev éxeivep
Kowwwadevos, el Te Sovacto, Béc Oat TOY iotev
2 dwevvov év Tots, colvois vooouo ww. UTaxovaavTos

3.

4

5

be TOU dvOpdaroy’ Tpodupos Kat d.dorr0s éauTov
els kowvodoylery, @S aTroppnT@v TLVO@V axpoarny
éoopevon, Kara box pov ota Siareyopevos Kat

uTdyov. auTon, WS TOppwrT ep TOV TUN eyeyo-
vetoay, alper Te peTéwpov eUpwaTOTEpos @y Kal
TWO - TO oTpatoTédov T oc dpapovrwy Xetpar-
TG pEvOS Kal KpaTnoas Tapedwne Tos oTpATHYOIS.
-@Y ‘TOUT® S avayens yeyovas) avOpwrros kal
= paben & apa TO TET PWHEVOY OS ave Tov eln, Noyta
, “mpodpawer amroppnta Tepl THs éavTod Tat pisos,
@S OUK ovans adwoipmou ™ poTepov 1 THY "AXBa-
vida. Aipony exxvbeicav Kal pepoperny odous
érépas @oavrTes omiow Kal TEpLoT aT AVTES ot
TOAELLOL KWAVTOVCL piryvuc Bae TH Oardrr.
Tatra TH TVYKANTO mudopevn at diaropoton
KaXNOS exew éd0€e méeprpavTas ets Aeddous
épécGar tov Oeov. of 8€ rreppOevtes advdpes
EvdoEo Kal peyarot, Kooaos Acxivvios Kat Ovadr-
réptos Iloriros Kal Patios “ApBovoros, TAP
TE Xpno dpevor Kal TOV Tapa Tob Oeod TUXOVTES
Hycov addas TE bavreias Kopitovres, at matptov
TLVOV mel Tas Kadoupévas Aarivas éopTas
OArywpiay Eppatov auTois, Kal TO THS "AABavidos
bdwp EeKédevov elpyovtas @S> avuaToV éore THS
Gardoons avwOew es TOV apxaiov Ren i)
TobTO Tr) duvapevous opuyyuac. Kal tadpots
Tapayew eis, TO qWedtoy Kal KatavaricKer,
1O2
¢

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CAMILLUS

him this was not the only wonder which the passing days had brought, but that other and stranger signs than this had been given to the Romans, of which he was minded to tell him, in order that, if possible, he might better his own private case in the midst of the public distresses. The man gave eager hearing to all this, and consented to a conference, supposing that he was going to hear some deep secrets. But the Roman led him along little by little, conversing as he went, until they were some way beyond the city gate, when he seized him bodily, being a sturdier man than he, and with the help of comrades who came running up from the camp, mastered him com- pletely and handed him over to the generals. Thus constrained, and perceiving that fate’s decrees were not to be evaded, the man revealed secret oracles regarding his native city, to the effect that it could not be captured until the Alban lake, after leaving its bed and making new channels for itself, should be driven back by the enemy, deflected from its course, and prevented from mingling with the sea. The Senate, on hearing this, was at great loss what to do, and thought it well to send an embassy to Delphi to consult the god. The envoys were men of great repute and influence, Cossus Licinius, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus, who made their voyage and came back with the responses of the god. One of these told them that certain ancestral rites connected with the

so-called Latin festivals had been unduly neglected ; another bade them by all means to keep the water of the Alban lake away from the sea and force it back into its ancient bed, or, if they could not effect this, by means of canals and trenches to divert it into the

drraryryenGevrov 5é rovTwy of pev lepets Ta trept
Tas Quoias Emparrov, 0 5é dhpos exwper T pos
Ta epya kal To bdwp eFérperrev.
V. 'H &€ ovy«rntos eis 1O Séxarov Eros Tod
jToNguov Katadticaca Tas adAas apxas Sixta-
tropa Kaysrrov amédakev' trmapyov § éxeivos
aut®@ mpocedopevos Kopyndrov Lenriwva, mpo-
Tov pev evyas errotjoato toils Oeois eri TO
modem TéXOS EUKAEES AaBovTL Tas peydras Oéas
afew xal vewv Oeds, iy pyntépa Martodray
xarovot 'Pwpaior, rabtepwoery.
Tavrnv dv tis dd tev Spwpévev tepav
pdrtota AevxoBéav vopiceey elvar. xal yap
Gepatrawvay eis Tov anKoy eiadyouvcas patrifovaty,
elr é€eXavvover Kal Ta Tav aderdav Téxva Pd
tav idiwov évayxadivovrar wal dpa@ou mepl TH
O@vaiav & tais Atovicou tpopois Kal Trois Sta thy
Tadraxny rdbeot THs Ivods mpocéouxe.
Mera 6€ tas evyds o Kdrros eis tay
Paricxov évéBare, eal paxn peyary TOUTOUS
Te Kal Karnvatas poo BonOncavras aurois
evixnoev. emrevta Tpos THY ToNopKiay tTpatro-
pevos TOV Oinior Kat tov €x mposPonijs ayava
Narerrov Kal Sucepyov opay UTOVOMOUS ere uve,
TeV wept THY TONY Xo piov évd.dovtwy rots
Opvyuace Kal KaTadexouevay eis Babos Gryewy
adndov Tots mohepious Ta éprya. 510 Kal mrpoiovons
0b Tis érmidos auros pev éfwbev mpooéBannev,
éxxanovpevos éml ta Teiyn Tovs rodepulous,
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plain and dissipate it. On receipt of these responses the priests performed the neglected sacrifices, and the people sallied out into the fields and diverted the course of the water.

V. In the tenth year of the war,! the Senate abolished the other magistracies and appointed Camillus dictator. After choosing Cornelius Scipio as his master of horse, in the first place he made solemn vows to the gods that, in case the war had a glorious ending, he would celebrate the great games in their honour, and dedicate a temple to a goddess whom the Romans call Mater Matuta.

From the sacred rites used in the worship of this goddess, she might be held to be almost identical with Leucothea. The women bring a serving-maid into the sanctuary and beat her with rods, then drive her forth again; they embrace their nephews and nieces in preference to their own children; and their conduct at the sacrifice resembles thet of the nurses of Dionysus, or that of Ino under the afflic- tions put upon her by her husband's concubine.

After his vows, Camillus invaded the country of the Faliscans and conquered them in a great battle, together with the Capenates who came up to their aid. Then he turned to the siege of Veii, and seeing that direct assault upon the city was a grievous and difficult matter, he went to digging mines, since the region round the city favoured such works, and allowed their being carried to a great depth without the enemy’s knowing about it. So then, when his hopes were well on their way to fulfilment, he himself assaulted the city from the outside, and thus called the enemy

1 396 B.c.

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drror & adhrws Sroropevopevo. 51a toeV Urrovo-
pov éraBov éevrdos yevopevoe THs Axpas Kata TO
ns “Hpas' iepov, 5 péyrorov qv év tH TWorNE Kal
THs "Hpas! tepov, 5 péy Wy év TH TONE Kal
pdrLoTa TLLwpEVvoY.
’Evradda éyerar tuxelv wat’ éxeivo Katpoi
Tov Hyeyova Trav Tuppnvadv éd’ tepois: rov Sé
pavrw eis Ta omddyxyva KaTidovta Kal péya
hbcyEduevov eitretv, Ste vienv 6 Oeds Sidwor TO
KataxorovOjcarre Tots lepois exeivous’ TAUTNS
be TAS davis Tous év Tots Drove nous “Pwpatous
emaxoveartas Taxv diacmdca, To eéados, Kal
pera Bons Kal opou tav dmAwv dvaduvras,

demdayérron TOV mone peo Kat puyovrar, apmrd-
cavras Ta omhayxva Kopi at mpos Tov Kapr-
Nov. aGAAa Tadta pev laws eorxdvac dokee
pudevdqaowy.
‘Adovons be THIS TOAEWS KATA Kpdros Kal TOV
‘Pwpatov aryovT@v Kal pepovtoy dime pov Twa
movrov, epopav O Kdpsrros amo THS dxpas Ta
TpPAaTTOMEVa, mparov pev ET TOS éddxpucer, eira
parapta Gels UToO TOV TApovTov avéoxe TAS
xelpas Tois Oeois Kal T POG EVXO{LEVOS ele.“ Zed
peyiare rat Geol HoTay emicKorros Kat Tovn -
pay Epyeov, QvUTOL Tov curiae ‘Peopaiors, @S
ov trapa Sixny, dAdAa KaT avayKny dpuvopevoe
petepyoueda Svopevdy avdpav Kal Tapavopwwy
Two. e€ & apa TUS,” ébn, “wal npecv ayti-
aTpopos OpeireTaL THs Tapovens vewErts evTrpa-
Eias, ebyopmar TavTnY vmép Te ToAews Kal
otpatovd Pwpyaiwy eis euavroyv édaxicT@ KaK@
' rhs “Hpas with C and S: “Hpas,

away to man their walls; while others secretly
made their way along the mines and reached un-
noticed the interior of the citadel, where the
temple of Juno stood, the largest temple in the
city, and the one most held in honour.
There, it is said, at this very juncture, the
commander of the Tuscans chanced to be sacrificing,
and his seer, when he beheld the entrails of the
victim, cried out with a loud voice and said that
the god awarded victory to him who should fulfill
that sacrifice. The Romans in the mines below,
hearing this utterance, quickly tore away the
pavement of the temple and issued forth with
battle cries and clash of arms, whereat the enemy
were terrified and fled away. The sacrificial entrails
were then seized and carried to Camillus. But
possibly this will seem like fable.
At any rate the city was taken by storm, and
the Romans were pillaging and plundering its
boundless wealth, when Camillus, seeing from
the citadel what was going on, at first burst into
tears as he stood, and then, on being congratulated
by the bystanders, lifted up his hands to the

gods and prayed, saying: “O greatest Jupiter,
and ye gods who see and judge men’s good and
evil deeds, ye surely know that it is not unjustly,
but of necessity and in self-defence that we Romans
have visited its iniquity upon this city of hostile
and lawless men. But if, as counterpoise to this
our present success, some retribution is due. to
come upon us, spare, I beseech you, the city and ~
the army of the Romans, and let it fall upon my
own head, though with as little harm as may be.”
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TedkeuTnoa.” Tair eitwv, xaOatep éatt “Po-
paiows Bos érevEapévors Kai mpooxuyvncacw él
SeEia eFenitrew, eopdrn tepratpepopevos. bza-
TapayGévrwy 5€ TOY TapovTwYv wad avaraBov
EauTOV ex TOD TWT@UATOS EltrEev, WS YeyovEey AUT@
Kar evynv opdrpa puxpov én’ evTuyia peyioTn.
VI. AcarropOnoas Sé tHv Twodw eyvw TO ayar-
pa rhs “Hpas peradépery eis “Paounv, dotrep
evEato. Kal cuveNOovtwr eri TovT@ TOY TEexVI-
Tov, o pev Ebve Kal mpocevyeTo TH Oe@ Séxec Oar
THY m pod upiap aur ap Kal evpev7y yever bar cvvol-
Kov Tols ANaYovaL THY ‘Poyny Geois, To 8 dyadud
pacww vropOeyEdpevov ebrreiv, Ott Kal Bovr€cTat
Kal TUyKaTaLVEL. Atovios 8é dnow ebyeaOa
poev TOV Kaptddov ATT OpeEVOV Ths Jeod Kal Tapa.-
Kaneiy, atroxpivacOar 5é TWAS TOY TWapovrTwv, ott
kat Bovretat cal ovyxaraivel Kal cuvarorovbet
7 poOvuuws.
Oi & loxupr Sopevor kal TO mapaboty BonBoiv-
TES peyiorny pev éxovar ouvipyopov Thy TUYXNY
THS Toews, iy amo px pas Kal KaTappovoupervns
apxis émrt TOTOUTOV bons Kal Suvayews T poEn-
Get diya Oeov TodAais kat peydrats emupavelars
éxda Tore TUpTrApOVToS aunyavor- OU nV GANA Kal
ouvdryovow opoesdh; TVA, TOUTO bev idp@ras ayan-
Pato TOANAKES exxubevras, TouTo O€ oTEvaymousS
axovablevtas arroatpopas TE Setkvuvtes Kal KaTa-
pooes Eodvewv, as laropiikacw OUK oriryou Ta
WpoTepov. ToAAG O€ Kal Tov KAO 7Uas aKnKOO-

Tes avOpwrrwv NéyeLv éyouev afta Pavpatos, ov
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With these words, as the Romans’ custom is after prayer and adoration, he wheeled himself about to the right, but stumbled and fell as he turned. The bystanders were confounded, but he picked himself up again from his fall and said: “My prayer is granted ! a slight fall is my atonement for the greatest good fortune.”
VI. After he had utterly sacked the city, he determined to transfer the image of Juno to Rome, in accordance with his vows. The workmen were. assembled for the purpose, and Camillus was sacrificing and‘ praying the goddess to accept of their zeal and to be a kindly co-dweller with the gods of Rome, when the image, they say, spoke in low tones and said she was ready and willing. But Livy! says that Camillus did indeed lay his hand upon the goddess and pray and beseech her, but that it was certain of the bystanders who gave answer that she was ready and willing and eager to go along with him.
Those who insist upon and defend the marvel have a most powerful advocate for their contention in the fortune of the city, which, from its ‘small and despised beginning, could never have come to such a pinnacle of glory and power had God not dwelt with her and made many great manifestations of himself from time to time. Moreover, they adduce other occurrences of a kindred sort, such as statues often dripping with sweat, images uttering audible groans, turning away their faces, and closing their eyes, as not a few historians in the past have written. And we ourselves might make mention of many astonishing things which we
ly, 22.
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b] 4 x, A ‘4 ’ AN A

4 ovx av tls euKn KaTtadpovnoeev. adra TolS
4 \ \ 4 / N \ Ld
TolovToLs Kal TO TrLoTEveLW apddpa Kai TO Mav
b] A > V4 > \ \ > ,
amirtew éemuopares éote bra tHY avOpwrivny
aoOéverav Spov ovK Eyovoay ovdé Kpatovdaay
e ”~ > 3 3 lA a ‘ 9
auTis, GAN éxdepopévnv Grrov pev eis Serordar-
poviav Kal Todor, drrov & eis Gltywpiav TeV Dear
\ , e > > 4 \ N \
kal tmepippovnow: 1 & evrAdBera Kal To pndev
adyav aptorov.
VII. ‘O &€ Kapsrros el're peyéBee tov epryou,
, 9 , a e , ” 4 a
Tod avritarov THs “Pwopns eree Sexato . THs
qodtopKias KaOnpnKas, elite LITO TV evdatpovelov-
TwY avTov eis GyKov EFapOels Kal Ppovnpa vopi-
pov Kal qoduTiKHAS apxyns émayOéotepov, Ta TE
ddrXa coBapas eOptduBevoe nai téOpitrrrov bro-
CevEdpevos ANevcKoTrwAor eTéeBN Kal SreEnrace THs
“Pwpuns, ovdevds TOTO TroLnaAaVTOS HrYELOVOS TpO-
> ce a
Tepov ovo Dorepov. lepov yap nyoovrat TO TOLOU-
TOV oxnpa T® Bacrnrel Kal Tratpt Trav Gedy érite-
2 Pris pevov. &« te 5) TovTou SueBrXHOn mpos Tods
moniTas ovK eOiopévous évtpudpacbat, Kal Seuvté-
> / b , / /
pay @aBev aitiay ématdpevos voup S2orxifovte
THY TOMY. ElaonyovvTo yap ot SHuapyxor Tov TE
S7jpov Kal THY ovyKANnTOV ica pépyn Svo veunOjvar,
xal Tous pev avToOt Kxarotxetv, Tovs b€ KANP@
AaYovTas eis THY aiypadrdwTov peTATTHvar Tone,
@s evTopwTéepay ecopéevorv Kal duct peydros Kal
Karoly dateot THY TE YOPaY ood Kal THY AAXNV
3 evdatmoviay dvAakovtwyv. o pév ovv Shuos Hon
\ N
TONUS yEeyovMs Kal ayphpaTtos aopevos ébé£aTo,

have heard from men of our own time,—things
not lightly to be despised. But in such matters
eager credulity and excessive incredulity are alike
dangerous, because of the weakness of our human
nature, which sets no limits and has no mastery

over itself, but is carried away now into vain superstition, and now into contemptuous neglect of the gods. Caution is best, and to go to no extremes.

VII. Whether it was due to the magnitude of his exploit in taking a city which could vie with Rome and endure a siege of ten years, or to the congratula- tions showered upon him, Camillus was lifted up to vanity, cherished thoughts far from becoming to a civil magistrate subject to the law, and celebrated a triumph with great pomp: he actually had four white horses harnessed to a chariot on which he mounted and drove through Rome, a thing which ‘ no commander had ever done before or afterwards did. For they thought such a car sacred and devoted to the king and father of the gods. In this way he incurred the enmity of the citizens, who were not accustomed to wanton extravagance. They had also. a second grievance against him in that he opposed himself to a law dividing the city. The tribunes introduced a measure dividing the people and the Senate into two parts, one to remain and dwell there, and the one on which the lot fell to remove into the city they had captured, on the ground that they would thus be more commodiously bestowed, and with two large and fair cities could better protect their territory-as well as their prosperity in general. Accordingly the people, which was now become numerous and poor, welcomed the measure

\ \ “a \ \ A vA > A
Kal cuveyns WY Tois Tept TO Bnua BOopvBors attav Thy Whdov: 1 5é BovAy cal Tov GAXOV Ot Kpa- TioTo TokTaV ov Staipeciv, GAN avaipertv nryovpevot THs “Pauns worrtreverOat Tovs Snudp- yous Kal Svoavacyerodvtes eri tov Kapirrov Katépuyov. Kakelvos oppwd@v Tov ayava mpo- paces evéBarre TO Sypw cal daoyodas, d:’ ov del Tov vopov éEéxpovev. jv péev ody Sta TadTa AUT POS.
e } 4 4 a“ 9

H Se davepwrdtn wal peyiorn trav arre-

yOetav avT@ mpos Tov Sihpov éx THs Sexatns

Tov Aadvpwv UTApEev, ovK Aroyov, ce Kal uy wavy Sixaiay apynv TaV TTo\\@V AaBorTowv. evEato peéev yap él tovs Ovniovs, as Eouxe, Badi- Sov, eb thy modw Edot, TO Ded TovTwY THY Sexatny xadtepwoev. drovans S€ THs ToAEws wal Siaprracbeions, eit’ oxnvncas évoyrAnoat Tots moniTass, eite ANON Tis aVTOV UTO TOY TrapovTwY

mpayudatwv ExaBe Tis evyis, mepretdev wpernOév-
tas. Barepov Sé ypov@m ths apyns éxetvyns 787
WeTravpéevos avyveyKe Trepl ToUTY eis! TAY oUY-
KANTOV, of TE pavTELsS HyyEeAXoV emt Tois Lepois
mpopaiver Gat Oeav phvw Nee ney Kat YaptoTn-
plov deouéevnv.
VIII. Vndioapévns Sé tris Bours tHy pev
@pérerav (yaretrov yap Hv) avddactov uy yeve-
Oat, Ttovs 5€ AaBovras avdtots civ Spx THY
Sexdtnv tapadépew cis pécov, éyivero ToANa
1 «is Bekker and Sintenis', with most MSS.: axpbs.

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with delight, and was for ever thronging tumultu-
ously about the rostra with demands that it be put
to vote. But the Senate and the most influential of
the other citizens considered that the measure pro-
posed by the tribunes meant not division but
destruction for Rome, and in their aversion to it
went to Camillus for aid and succour. He, dreading
the struggle, always contrived to keep the people
busy with other matters, and so staved off the
passage of the bill. For this reason, then, they
were vexed with him.
But the strongest and most apparent reason
why the multitude hated him was based on the
matter of the tenth of the spoil of Veii, and herein
they had a plausible, though not a very just ground
of complaint. He had vowed, as it seems, on
setting out against Veii, that if he should take
the city, he would consecrate the tenth of its
booty to the Delphian god. But after the city had
been taken and sacked, he allowed his soldiers full
enjoyment of their plunder, either because he shrank
from annoying them, or because, in the multitude of
his activities, he as good as forgot his vow. At a”
later time, when he had laid down his command, he
referred the matter to the Senate, and the seers
announced tokens in their sacrifices that the gods
were angry, and must be propitiated with due

offerings.
VIII. The Senate voted, not that the booty should be redistributed, for that would have been a difficult matter, but that those who had got it should, in person and under oath, bring the tenth thereof to the public treasury. This subjected the soldiers to

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AvTHpa Kal Biaca epi Tovs oTpaTLwTas, avOpw-
qous Tévntas Kal TOAAA TeTOVNKETAS, avayKato-
pévous av éxéxtnvto Kal Katexéypnyto pépos
2 elo pépey ToaovTov. BopvBoupévp & un’ ab’tav
7 Kapirry Kal mpopacews d atropoovts BeXtiovos
eis TOY ATOTMTATOY TAY Oyo ouveatve KaTa-
hevyerv, oporoyobvre éminabécOan Tihs evy7js. oi
& éyadérrawvov, eb Ta THY Torepiov SexaTevoev
evEdpevos TOTE viv SexaTevet TA TOV TOALTOV. OV
pny GANG TavTev Goov eet pépos eioeveyKovTwV
édofe xpatnpa xXpucody KaTacKevdoartas eis
3 Aerdots dtootetNat. ypuciov & hv omdus év
Th woke Kal tov apyovtey Bev av wopicbein
TKOTOUYTWY, at yuvaixes avTal Kal avTas Bov-
Aevedpuevar Tov GvTa ypvaody éExdorn Tepl TO
COua Koopoy éTédwKav ets TO avaOnpua, cTAOp@
YPUGLOV YyEvomevoy OKT® Tadadvrav. Kal TavTas
pev ovyKANTOS atrobiwotca TLnY Tpérovoav
éeyndicato pera Odvatov dotep éml Trois avipdce
Kal tais yuvackt héyeo Bar Tov a&tov erawov' ov
yap iv elOccpévor 7 POTEpoOV eynapmidtea Iau yu-
4 vaira Snpocia TedeuTH Taga Ehdpevor dé Tpets
dvdpas x TOV apiorov Jewpous Kat vadv paxpay
evavOpobvre TANpOpare Kal KOTL@ TavyyupLK@
KaTacKevdoavres ébereunpav.
"Hy Oa dpa Kal Xela K Kal yarqvn daracons
dapyanéov, ws éxeivots TUVETUXE TOTE map ovdév
éXOovras amohéaGar Ssapuryeiy avdes am poo -
doxntTws TOV xivdvvov. émréT Nevo ay yap auToLs
Avrapéwy tpinpes tept tas AloXNov vycovs Tov
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many vexations and constraints. They were poor men, who had toiled hard, and yet were now forced to contribute a large share of what they had gained, yes, and spent already. Beset by their tumultuous

complaints, and at loss for a better excuse, Camillus had recourse to the absurdest of all explanations, and admitted that he had forgotten his vow. The soldiers were filled with indignation at the thought that it was the goods of the enemy of which he had once vowed a tithe, but the goods of his fellow citizens from which he was now paying the tithe. However, all of them brought in the necessary portion, and it was decided to make a bowl of massive gold and send it to Delphi. Now there was a scarcity of gold in the city, and the magistrates knew not whence it could be had. So the women, of their own accord, determined to give the gold ornaments which they wore upon their persons for the offering, and these amounted to eight talents weight. The women were fittingly rewarded by the Senate, which voted that thereafter, when women died, a suitable eulogy should be spoken over them, as over men. For it was not customary before that time, when a woman died, that a public encomium should be pronounced. Then they chose three of the noblest citizens as envoys, manned with its full complement of their best sailors a ship of war decked out in festal array, and sent them on their way.

Calm at sea has its perils as well as storm, it would seem, at least so it proved in this case. Envoys and crew came within an ace of destruction, and found escape from their peril when they least expected it. Off the Aeolian isles, as the wind died down, some Liparian galleys put out against them, taking them

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5 mvevpatos éxALTrOvTOS @s AnoTais. Seopéevwy be
Kal mpoicyouévay yetpas éuBorgs pev Exyxorto,
tnv 6 vabv dvadpevot Kal Katayayovtes
GTreKnpUTTOV, Gua Kal Ta xXpnuaTa Kal Ta
TWpATA, Telpatixa Kxpivavtes elvar. poms 8
évos avdpos apetn Kat Suvduer TiunoBéov rod
otpatnyod mecbévtes pweOjKxav. o 5é xal mpoc-
xaberXxvoas idta wroia Tapéreue Kal cvyxad-
tépwoe ro avabnpa: 8’ & Kal Timas Eoxev, as
eos HV, ev Pan.
IX. Tov &é dnudpyov adfis éreyetpovtwy Tov
mept tov Suoixccpovd vopov, o mpdos Partoxous
TONES ev KaLP@ Tapadaveis EdwKe Tois TpwToLS
dvépacw apxaipectacat Kata yropny nal Ka-
pirrov atrobeiEar pel” Erépwv rrévte yediapyxor,
@S TOV TpaypaTwv Hnyem“ovos Seouéevov akiwpa
2 xal Sofav per’ éurrespias Exovtos. >AWwyndicapévou
5é€ tov Syyov AaBav Sivayv o Kaprrdos eis TIV
Parioxov évéBare: wal rod épupvav Kate-
oKevacpévny waow eis moAe“ov Karas Pare-
pious émroAlopKer, TO prev Edely ov puLxpov Epryov
ovdé y“povov Tov TuYOYTOS HyoUpEvos, GAdws Sé
TpiBew Tovs Toditas Kal meptaomav Bovdopevos,
as wy oxorAdlorev oixor KaOnpuevos Snpaywyeiobae

kal otacidvev. émietx@s yap del pappax@
ToUT@ xXpwpevor SteréXovv, WoTEp iatpoi, Ta
Tapaxtixa maOn THs tondtelas ew TpérovTes.
X. Odrws Sé THs ToALopKias Kateppovovy ot
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for pirates. The enemy had sufficient regard to their prayers and supplications not to run their vessel down, but they took it in tow, brought it to land, and proclaimed their goods and persons for sale, adjudging them piratical. At last, and with much ado, through the brave intercession of a single man, Timesitheus, their general, the Liparians were persuaded to let the captives go. This man then launched boats of his own, convoyed the suppliants on their way, and assisted them in the dedication of their offering. For this he received suitable honours at Rome.

IX. Once more the tribunes of the people urged the passage of the law for the division of the city, but the war with the Faliscans came on opportunely and gave the leading men occasion to hold such elective assemblies as they wished, and to appoint Camillus military tribune, with five others. The emergency was thought to demand a leader with the dignity and reputation which experience alone could give. After the people had ratified the election, Camillus, at the head of his army, invaded: the territory of the Faliscans and laid siege to Falerii, a strong city, and well equipped with all the munitions of war. It was not that he thought its capture would demand slight effort or short time, but he wished to turn the thoughts of the citizens to other matters and keep them busy therein, that they might not be able to stay at home and become the prey of seditious leaders. This was a fitting and sovercign remedy which the Romans used, like good physicians, thereby expelling from the body politic its troublesome distempers.

X. The Falerians, relying on the great strength of

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Darépian TH Travraydbey eEwyupwoba mictev-
OVTES, MOTE TAHY TOV TA TEelyn HYAATTOVTwY TOS
GArXous ev (patios KaTa Thv TOW avacTpé-
gdecbat, tous S€ traidas avtay els te Ta dida-
oxarela horavy xal Tapa ta Tetyn TepiTra-
THOOVTAS Kal yUu“Vacop"Eevous LTO TOU didacKdXoOU
kataBiBalecOa. Kxow@ yap éxypavTo te 8.6a-
oxddw, waotrep "EXAnves, of Darépior, Bovdo-
pevo. auvtpépecbat Kai avvaryerateoOar per

adAAnrAwy evOus EE dpy7s Tous traidas. ovToS
ovv o dtddoKxaros émiBovrevwv Tots Parepioss
dua TeV traidwy éFfryev avTovs Hyuépas Exdorns
umd TO TelYos eyyUs TO TpaTOV, elt arriryev
avOis elaw yupvacapévous. éx 5é tovToV Kata
puixpov Uirdywv elOice Oappeiy ws TrOAATS oboNS
adeias, Kal TéXos éxov amavtas eis TOUS Tpopu-
Aaxas TaV “Pwpaiov évéBare cal trapédoxer,
dyew Kerevoas mpos Tov KdwaArov. ayxOels 5é
Kal KataoTas eis pécov EXeye TavdeuTHS pév elvat
kat diddoKxanros, THY S5é pos exetvov yYapw aytt
TovTav édXomevos TaV Sikalwv, HKew avT@ THY
jon ev Tois Tatcl Kopitwv. Sewov ovv axov-
cavtt TO épyov éddvn KapidrA(@: Kal mpos tous
Tapovras EelTraV, WS Yarerrov pév eaTL TOAELOS
Kat ta woAAHs abixias Kal Braiwv trepaivopevos
Epyav, etal 5€ Kal troréwov pws tives vopor Tots
ayabois avdpdolt, Kat TO vinav ovxX odTw dio-
nréov, @aTE pn hevyely Tas ex Kaxov Kal aoeBav
Epywov ydpitas (apeTtn yap otKeta Tov péyav
atpaTnyov, ovKx adAXoTpia Oappodyta Kaxia
xphvat otpatevev), mpocétake tois bmnpéracs
Tob pev avOpwrou KaTappnyvivat Ta iwdtia Kal
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their city at all points, made so light of the siege that, with the exception of the defenders of the walls, the rest went up and down the city in their garb of peace. The boys went to school as usual, and were brought by their teacher along the walls outside to walk about and get their exercise. For the Falerians, like the Greeks, employed one teacher in common, wishing their boys, from the very start, to herd with one another and grow up together. This teacher, then, wishing to betray Falerii by means of its boys, led them out every day beyond the city walls, at first only a little way, and then brought them back inside when they had taken their exercise. Presently he led them, little by little, farther and farther out, accustomed them to feel confident that there was no danger at all, and finally pushed in among the Roman outposts with his whole company, handed them over to the enemy, and demanded to be led to Camillus. So led, and in that presence, he said he was a boys’ school-teacher, but chose rather to win the general’s favour than to fulfil the duties of his office, and so had come bringing to him the city in the persons of its boys. Itseemed to Camillus, on hearing him, that the man had done a monstrous deed, and turning to the bystanders he said: “ War is indeed a grievous thing, and is waged with much injustice and violence ; but even war has certain laws which good and brave men will respect, and we must not so hotly pursue victory as not to flee the favours of base and impious doers. The great general will wage war relying on

his own native valour, not on the baseness of other men.” Then he ordered his attendants to tear the man’s clothing from him, tie

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Tas yetpas omicw Teptayev, tots 8 maol
diabotvas paBdous Kai pdotiyas, Sirws Koda-
Covres Tov TpodoTny eXavvworv els THY TOALD.
v \ “A , b 4 \ re)

Aptt 5€ tov Darepiwv yoOnpévwv tHv tod
S:dacKkdXov mpodociay Kal thv pév trod, olov
eLKOS, emi cumpops THALKaUTH Oprvov Kare-
XOVTOS, avdpav 8 oped Kal yuvaredy éml Ta
Tetyn Kal Tas TUAAS oUY ovdevL Aoyiay@ epo-
pévov, Tpochyov ot aides tov SidacKxadov
yupvov xal Sedeuévov mpormnraxilovtes, tov 6é
Kapsrrgov cwrtipa cal tarépa cal Oeov avaxa-
NoOvVTES, WATE (71) LOVOY TOIS yovedat TAY Taldw»,
GAA Kab Tols GAXAOLS ToAiTaLs TAvA opaat
Padua te xat roOov éutreceiv THs To Kapidndov
Sicatocuvns. Kal ouvdpapovtes eis éxxAnoiay
mpéecBes ereuav éexeivp ta xa? éavtous ém-
Tpémovtes, os o Kadpmtrros aréotetrev eis
‘Popynv. év &¢ rH BovAn xatactravtes elrov, Tt
‘Pwpaio: THs viens tHY Stxatoovvny mpoTibLn-
aavres edidakay avtovs tHy Array ayarioat
mpo THs éAEvOepias, ov TocovToy TH Suvdayet
AettecOar Soxodvtas, dcov HrracOar THs apeThs
omoroyobvras. atrodovans dé tis BovAns mdr
éxeiv@ 70 xpivar kal Starthoar tadTa, ypnpata
AaBov Tapa trav Darepiwy Kal diriav mpos
adtravtas Padioxovs Oéuevos aveywopnoerv.
XI. Of b€ ctpatidtat Si:apnacew mrpocdoKn-
aavtes Tovs Padepious, ws érravnrOov eis “Paopnv
Kevais yepol, Katnyopovy tod Kapiddrou mpos
Tovs GAXous TrodiTas ws pucodynpov Kal dOovn-
cavtos wperAnOfvat ois mévnow. eet dé Tov
Meplt TOU SLoLKLa MOU VopLoV OF Sypapyot TpoOEevTEs
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his arms behind his back, and put rods and scourges in the hands of the boys, that they might chastise the

traitor and drive him back into the city.

The Falerians had just become aware of the teacher's treachery, and the whole city, as was natural, was filled with lamentation over a calamity so great. Men and women alike rushed distractedly to the walls and gates, when lo! there came the boys, bringing their teacher back stripped, bound, and maltreated, while they called Camillus their saviour, their father, and their god. On this wise not only the parents of the boys, but the rest of the citizens as well, when they beheld the spectacle, were seized with admiration and longing for the righteousness of Camillus. In haste they held an assembly and sent envoys to him, entrusting him with their lives and fortunes. These envoys Camillus sent to Rome. Standing in the Senate, they declared that the Romans, by esteeming righteousness above ‘victory, had taught them to love defeat above freedom ; not so much because they thought themselves inferior in strength, as because they confessed themselves vanquished in virtue. On the Senate’s remanding to Camillus the decision and disposition of the matter, he took a sum of money from the Falerians, established friendship with all the Faliscans, and withdrew.

XI. But the soldiers thought to have had the sacking of Falerii, and when they came back to Rome empty-handed, they denounced Camillus to the rest of the citizens as a hater of the common people, and as begrudging to the poor the enjoyment of their rightful booty. And when the tribunes once more put forward the law for the division of the city

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avis él tiv ~pidov éexdrovv tov Sihpov, o 5é Kdpirros ovdepids amexOeias ovdé mrappnoias heroduevos eddvn pddyora wavtrwv exBialo-Mevos TOUS TOANOUS, TOY ev VoLOY aKOVTES are wndicayvro, Tov 5¢ Kdusrrov &e' opyis elyov, @ote Kat SvatuynoavtTos avTod Tept Ta otKeia (Trav yap viev améBare Tov Erepoy vooncayTa) pndev olxtm THs Opyns vhéoOar. Kaitor TO

maOos ov peTpiws Hveyxev avnp Huepos pvoe. Kal
NpnoTos, GAAA THs Sins TWpoyeypaypévns avT@
Sia trévOo0s otxovpes Kabetpypévos pera ToY
YUVALKOV.- |
XII. ‘O peév ody xatyyopos nv Aevxtos ’Atrov-
Anios, eyxeAnwa 8 Krorhs wepl ta Tuppnvixda
yonpata. Kat Shira Kal Ovpar tives édéyovTO
Nankai wap avT@ havivar tov aiyparorwv. 6
dé SHpos eEnpéOiocto Kal dros ie éx waons
Tpopdcews KaT avToD. TH Whdw YXpNaopevos.
ovTwS ovv cuUVayayav Tovs Te dirovs Kai TOUS
TVTTPATEVTApEVOUS OUK OriYyoUS TO TATOOS GvTas,
> a) ‘ o A > \ 2Q?7 > 9 > ?-
éSeiro pn meprideity avtov adixws én’ aitiass 135
A / A
jovnpais opAovTa Kal KatayéXaoTov bro TOY
eyOpav yevopievov. érrel & of hirou Bovreved-
pevote Kat dtareyOévtes éEavtois atrexpivavtTo, Tpos
\ \ , 2 A \ ¥ / \
pev THY Kpiow avT@ pwndev oleaOar BonOnoecv, THv
: \ , b) , , > 9 ,
O€ Cnpiav opXovte OUVUVEKTLOELY, OUK QAVAG'YVOMEVOS
éyva petacthvar Kal huyely éx THs TWOAEwS TpOS
opyyv. aotwacapevos ovv THY yuvaika Kal Tov
viov éml Tis oiKias mpone. ciwm@h péxpe Tis
mudns éxet b¢ éréatn, Kal petaotpadels orricw
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and summoned the people to vote upon it, then Camillus, shunning no hatred nor any boldness of utterance, was manifestly the chief one in forcing the multitude away from its desires. Therefore, they did indeed reject the law, much against their will, but they were wroth with Camillus, so that even when he met with domestic affliction and lost one of his two sons by sickness, their wrath was in no wise softened by pity. And yet he set no bounds to his sorrow, being by nature a gentle and kindly man, but even after the indictment against him had been published, he suffered his grief to keep him at home, in close seclusion with the women of his household.

XII. Well, then, his accuser was Lucius Apuleius, and the charge was theft of Tuscan goods. It was said, forsooth, that certain bronze doors belonging to the booty had been seen at his house. But the people were

exasperated, and would plainly lay hold of any pretext whatever for condemning him. So then he assembled his friends and comrades in arms, who were many in number, and begged them not to suffer him to be convicted on base charges and to be made a laughing-stock by his foes. When his friends had laid their heads together and dis- cussed the case, they answered that, as regarded his trial, they thought they could be of no help to him; but if he were punished with a fine, they would help him pay it. This he could not endure, and in his wrath determined to depart the city and go into exile. Accordingly, after he had kissed his wife and son good-bye, he went from his house in silence as far as the gate of the city. There he stopped, turned himself about, and stretching his hands out towards

Kal Tas Xetpas dvareivas pos TO Karird tov
émevEato Tois Oeois, et pn dixaiws, GND' bBper
Snpov, Kal pbove Tpomrnraxropevos EXTTiMTEL,
Tayv 'Pepaious peTavonaat Kal maa av pwrrots
pavepous ryevéoOas Seopuévovs avtod cat Trodobvras
Kdpsrrov.
XITI. "Exeivos pev ovv, domep o "AytAnevs,
apas Dé pevos emi TOUS TOA TAS Kat peTaaTas
@breE THY Sixny epnpny, Tina pupiwv Kat
TEVTAKLTX EMO aocapiov exoucay.
"O yiverat pos apyuptou Norvyov Xireae Spaxpai
cal TEVTAKOT LAL" aoadptov yap nv TO apyuptor,
Kab TO Sexdyadcov oUTHS éxaneito Snvaptov.
Ovdels & éotl 'Popator, Os ov vomller Tas
evyas tov Kaptdrov Taxy Thy Ateny vrohaBeiv,
Kal yevea Oat Tepcoptay aire TAS adixias OUK
joeiav, GX' avapay, dvopaaTny 5é Kal Tept-
Bonrov: ToT AUTH TmepiArbe THv "Poeun pépects,
Kal TogovTov dryov Popov Kal Kivouvov & dpa per'
aisxuvns épavn Katpos emi THY TOALY, ELTE THS
TUXNS ob cuveBovens, ele cal Oedsy TLVOS
epyov éorl 2) Tapapereiy apeTns ayaptorov-
pévns.
XIV. I porov pev obv eboke onpetov yeryoveva
KaKOU peyarou T poo LovTos u] "lovAiou Tod TULNTOD
TENET padiara yap 8 'Papaios céBovras Kal
vopitouct lepay THY TOV TLLNTOV apy. bev-
TEpov dé To TAS Kapidrov puyis avnp oUK
emipavns pev ovde Ex THS Bours, emrverens b¢ Kal
XPNTTOS elvat Soxov, Mdpxos Kacdixcos, dvnveyKe
Tpos TOS yLALapyous Mpayua gpovtidos aEtov.

the Capitol, prayed the gods that, if with no justice, but through the wantonness of the people and the abuse of the envious he was now being driven from his country, the Romans might speedily repent, and show to all men that they needed and longed for Camillus.

XIII. After he had thus, like Achilles,! invoked curses upon his fellow citizens, he removed from out the city. His case went by default, and he was fined fifteen thousand asses.

This sum, reduced to our money, is fifteen hundred drachmas. For the as was the current copper cuin, and the silver coin worth ten of these pieces was for that reason called the denarius, which is equivalent to the drachma.

Now there is no Roman who does not believe that justice followed hard upon the imprecations of Camillus, and that he received a requital for his wrongs which was not pleasing to him, but painful ; certainly it was notable and famous. For a great retribution encompassed Rome, and a season of dire destruction and peril not unmixed with disgrace assailed the city, whether fortune so brought things to pass, or whether it is the mission of some god not to neglect virtue that goes unrequited.

XIV. In the first place, then, it seemed to be a sign of great evil impending when Julius the censor died. For the Romans specially revere and hold sacred the office of censor. In the second place, before Camillus went into exile, a man who was not conspicuous, to be sure, but who was esteemed honest and kindly, Marcus Caedicius, informed the military tribunes of a matter well worth their atten-

‘1 Thad i. 407-412.

épn yap ev TH Tappxnuevn vucti xa? odov
Badlfav, He Kawny ovopatovar, cr Gels vio TUVOS
bb eyEapuévov peractpadivar, wal Jeacacbar pev
ovdeva, horns é peilovos h Kat avOporivnv
axovoat Tabe Aeyouons: “Ave, Mdpxe Kacdixce,
réye pos TOUS apxovras EwOev ear Odiyou
‘ypovou Tandaras mpoaSéxea Gat.” TaoT aKov-
TAVTES o XuALa.p or yéAwrTa «al madiay érrovob-
TO. Kal pet OALyov cuveBn Ta Tepl Kdpsrrov.

XV. Of 66 Tardrau Tob Kedrixod tyevous OVTES

v1r6 mAnGous éeyovTat THY aura dmoMTrovTes,
OUK ovoay jauTdapen _Tpepey adravtas, éqi vis
ojTqow érépas oppjncat pupeddes dé modal
YEvoueEvor vévv avopav Kal paxipov, ért dé
TAeLous Taidwv Kal yuvaikav deyovres, ot bey émt
TOV Bopevov ‘Deeavov vmepBanovtes Ta ‘Purraia
6pn pufvat Kal Ta éoxara THS Evpewrns KaTa-
aye, of dé petakv Iluppijyns Spous wal TOV
“AMrewy idpudevres eyyes: Lev@veov Kat Kehro-
piwv KaTotKety Xpovor Tou: ove & olvou yevod-
pevor TOTE mparov é& ‘Tradias Staxopiabévtos
ovTas apa Gavydcat To Toya Kal Tpos THY
KaWWOTNTA THS ndoviis Ex poves yevéa bau WAVTES,
dore dpdpevor Ta OTAa Kat ryeveds dvaraBovtes
éri Tas "AXrets péper Bar Kat Enreiv exeivny TH
vi, 4) TOLOUTOV Kaprrov avadiswct, Thy & adAnv
aKaprov iyyela Oar Kal av7pepov.
‘O 8 eloayayov TOV olvoy mpos avToOvs Kal
mrapokuvas émi thv Iradiav padora kal TpOTOS
“Appov Aéyerau yevéa Bau Tuppnvos, a avy emrupavns
Kat pucet pee ov Tovnpos, cuppopa é TovavTy
Vpnadpevos. mv eémitpotros ratdos opdavovd

tion. He said that during the night just passed, as he was going along the so-called New Street, he was hailed by someone in clear tones, and turned, and saw no man, but heard a voice louder than man’s saying: “ Hark thou! Marcus Caedicius, early in the morning go and tell the magistrates that within a little time they must expect the Gauls.” At this story the tribunes mocked and jested. And a little while after, Camillus suffered his disgrace.

XV. The Gauls were of the Celtic stock, and their numbers were such, as it is said, that they abandoned their own country, which was not able to sustain them all, and set out in quest of another. They were many myriads of young warriors, and they took along with them a still greater number of women and children. Some of them crossed the Rhipaean mountains, streamed off towards the northern ocean, and occupied the remotest parts of Europe; others settled between the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones and the Celtorians, and dwelt there a long time. But at last they got a taste of wine, which was then for the first time brought to them from Italy. They admired the drink so much, and were all so beside themselves with the novel pleasure which it gave, that they seized their arms, took along their families, and made off to the Alps, in quest~of the land which produced such fruit, con- sidering the rest of the world barren and. wild.

The man who introduced wine to them, and was first and foremost in sharpening their appetite for Italy, is said to have been Arron,a Tuscan. He was a man of prominence, and by nature not prone to evil, but had met with the following misfortune. He was guardian of an orphan boy who was heir to

TAOVTM TE TPwWTOV THY ToALT@Y Kal Oavpato-
pévou Kar’ eldos, dvopa Aoveovpavos. obras éx
veov mapa T@ “Appovt Siavtav exe, Kal peupaxvov
ov ouK dm édure THY oixiay, andra. mpoceTroteiro
Yaipew cvvav exeivy. Kal TONUY Xpovov ér.dvOave
dep DapKars avrov THY yuvaica Kal SiehOappevos
vr éxeiyns: Hon be Topp Tov maQous apporepov
yeyovoT@y Kal pnr adeivas Thy émiOupiay pnte
KpuTrTew ETt Suvapever, 0 O pev veavianos emexel pet
pavep as atoomaaas exw THY avOpwrrov, o §
avnp émi dStenv endow Kal KPATOUMEVOS wrAnOet
dirtov Kal ypnudtwv dSatravats v1rd tov AovKov-
pwvos é€éXurre THY éavtod: Kal truOopevos Ta TOV
Takara HKev es avTous Kal Kabnynoato THS Es
tv Iradiav orparetas. .
XVI. Oi & uBarovres evOus expatouv | THS
@pas anv TO mahavov ot Tuppvoi Karetxov,
aro TOY “AMrecv en" duporépas Kabnkovoay TAS
Jaraccas, @s Kal Tovvoya paptupel TO Oye.
THY bev yap Bopevov Oanratray Adpiay carobow
a6 Tuppnvuxijs TOES "Adpias, thy 5é aMpos
voToV KEK AMBEV NY aT uKpus Tuppyvuxov TéNAYOS.
Taca © earl Sevdpoputos avTn Kat Opéppaciy
ebBoros Kal Kat dpputos Torapois. Kal Tronens
elev oxTrwxaivera Karas Kal peyaras Kal Kare
oKevac pévas pos TE XPnpwatic mov EPYATLKMS Kal
mpos Startav TAVNYUPLEDS, as ot T'ararat tovs
Tuppavous éxBarovtres avtol KaTerXov. ad\ra
TavTa pev empaxOn TUXVP Tt Xpovep ‘Tpotepov.
XVII. O¢ dé Pararar TOTE TPOS TOALY Tuppn-
vida Krovorov oT patevaavres Emoto pKoun. ot
dé KAovoivos xataduydvtes él tous “Pwpaious
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the greatest wealth in the city, and of amazing
beauty, Lucumo by name. This Lucumo from his

youth up. had lived with Arron, and when he came to man's estate, did not leave his house, but pretended to take delight in his society. He had, however, corrupted Arron's wife, and been corrupted by her, and for a long time kept the thing a secret. But at last the passions of both culprits increased upon them so that they could neither put away their desires nor longer hide them, wherefore the young man made open attempt to remove the woman and have her to wife. Her husband brought the case to trial, but was defeated by Lucumo, owing to the multitude of his friends and his lavish outlays of money, and forsook the city. Learning about the Gauls,-he betook himself to them, and led them on their expedition into Italy.

XVI. The Gauls burst in ands straightway mastered all the country which the Tuscans occupied of old, namely, that stretching from the Alps down to both seas, the names of which bear witness to the story. For the northern sea is called Adria, from the Tuscan city of Adria; the southern is called out-. right the Tuscan Sea. This whole country is studded with trees, has excellent pasturage for flocks and herds, and an abundance of rivers. It had also eighteen cities, large and fair, well equipped for profitable commerce and for sumptuous living. These the Gauls took away from the Tuscans and occupied themselves. But this happened long before the time of which I speak.

XVII. Atthis time the Gauls had marched against the Tuscan city of Clusium and were laying siege - to it. The Clusians applied for assistance to the

yTncavto mpecBes Tap avTav Kal ypadupata mpos tovs BapBdpovs. eéréudOnoav 8é Tod PaBiwv yévous tpets avipes evdoxtpoe cal tipas peyaras éxyovres ev TH ode. TovTovs edéEavToO pev of Tardra diravOporras 5a 1d THs 'Pons dvopa, Kal Travodpevol THS TPs TA TELyN WAaXNS eis AOyous curAdOov. ruvOavopévov § avror, 5 te wadovres vd Krovoivev frotev ert tiv Toy, yeraaas o Bactrevs Tov Taratav Bpévvos,

‘Adicodow nas,” épn, “ KyXovaivor ye Kal
Yapav odrynv wer yewpryeiv Suvdpevot, TONAY dé
KaTexery afvobvres Kal pH petadidovtes npetv
Eévous, ovat Kal TodNobs Kal wéynot. TavTa o
dpa kat bpas nodixovr, @ ‘Pawpaior, 7 poTepov pev
"Ar\Bavot xal Didnvatrar cal ‘A pocara, vov 6é
Ovnios cal Karnvatat xal jwodXol Parickor Kral
Ovorovcrav: éd’ ods tyeis otTpatevortes, dav wy
peTadiodow vpiv tav ayabarv, avdpatrobilerbe
Kal XNenraTEeiTe Kal KaTacKaTrTETE TAS TONES
avrar, ovdev ovde byels ye Secvov ovde aSixov
TowouvrTes, GAA 7 mpeaButare@ TOV VO [Lov
axorovboivtes, 6 Os TO KpelT Tove Ta TOD NTTOV@Y
bidwow d.py.opevos ar6 Tou Bed kal TENEUT OY
els Ta Onpia. Kal yap ToUToLS éx pucews € ever Te
TO onreip WAEOV exe Ta KpelTTova, TOY UTrobE-
ea TEPODV. Krovaivous 6é mavoacGe trowopKou-
pévous olKTeipovTes, as pn kal Tadrdtas biddfnre
Xpnarovs Kal pido Tippovas yevéoOat Tots bird
‘Papatov adixoupéevors.”
"Ex TovTwv Tov AOyor éyvwcay of ‘Pwpator
Tov Bpévvoy aovpBdras éxovta, nal traped-
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Romans, and begged them to send ambassadors in their behalf with a letter to the Barbarians. So there were sent three men of the Fabian gens who were of great repute and honour in the city. The Gauls received them courteously, because of the name of Rome, ceased their attacks upon the city walls, and held conference with them. When they were asked what wrong they had suffered at the hands of the Clusians that they had come up against their city, Brennus, the king of the Gauls, burst into a laugh and said: “ The Clusians wrong us in that, being able to till only a small parcel of earth, they yet are bent on holding a large one, and will not share it with us, who are strangers, many in number and poor. This is the wrong which ye too suffered, O Romans, formerly at the hands of the Albans, Fidenates, and Ardeates, and now lately at the hands of the Veientines, Capenates, and many of the Faliscans and Volscians. Ye march against these peoples, and if they will not share their goods with you, ye enslave them, despoil them, and raze their cities to the ground; not that in so doing ye are in any wise cruel or unjust, nay, ye are but obeying that most ancient of all laws which gives to the stronger the goods of his weaker neighbours, the world over, beginning with God himself and ending with the beasts that perish. For these too are so endowed by nature that the stronger seeks to have more than the weaker. Cease ye, therefore, to pity the Clusians when we besiege them, that ye may not teach the Gauls to be kind and full of pity towards those who are wronged by the Romans.”

From this speech the Roman envoys saw that there was no coming to terms with Brennus, and so they

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Oovres eis tO Kdotvorov eOdppuvov nai tapop-
pwv Tous avopas eémekeAOetv toils PBapRBupors
pet avTav, elite rHy éxeivwy adKnv Kata-
paeiv cite THY EQUTOV emetEao Oat Gédorres.
exdpomis dé trav Kdovaiver xat paxns Tapa Ta
TelyXn yevouerns els TOV Pafiov, Koivros "Ap-
OUCTOS, immrov exo edn racev avtios avépi
peydd kat Kar@ Tandarn TOAU mpoimrmevovre
TOV adAXw)?, ayvonbels € év apx 51a TO Thy avvodov
ofelav yeverOau Kal Ta Orda TEepihapwrovTa THY
ope aTroKpUTTELY. as o emiKpathnoas TH pax
Ka caraBadov éoxueve TOV avO pwrrop, yepiaas
O Bpévvos aurov émepaptupato Beovs, ws mapa
TQ KOWWa Kal vevopiopéeva Taow avOparots bata
Kal Sixata mpea Bevtod pev HKovTos, Troe ua de
elpryac uevou. KaTaTravaas dé THY paxny avtixa
KAovaivous pep ela Xaiperv, emt 3é Thy ‘Popny
TOV oTparov nYev. ov Boudopevos Sé do0Fae THY
adixiav avtois doTep a LeVvoLs Yeryoveval cal
Seopévors Tpopacews, emeprpev eEarta@v émi TL-
pewpia Tov dvdpa Kal mpotyev aya TYXONALWS.
XVIII. Ev 6é ‘Poyy Ths BovAns cuvaxDeians
adXot Te WoAAol TOU PaBiov KaTHYyopour, Kal
TOV lepéwy ot Kadovpevor Dyriareis evaryov
emBecalovres Kal KENEVOVTES TO TOV Tem pary-
pévenv airyos: THY ouyKANTOV eis va Tov aitiov
Tpéepacay vTrép ToV aAAwY adociwcacbar.
Tovtous trovs Pntiareis oprrirsos Nopas,
Baciréwv TMEPwOTaToS YEvOuEvOS cal Stxavoraros,
aad e pudaxas bev eipnvns, erruyvepovas dé
BeBawwrdas aitiov, at obv dixn mméodepov
CUvaTTTOVGL.
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slipped into Clusium, and emboldened and incited its citizens to sally out against the Barbarians with them, either because they wished to discover the prowess of those warriors or to display their own. The Clusians made a sally, and in the fight which raged along the walls one of the Fabii, Quintus Ambustus, drove his horse straight at a stately and handsome Gaul who was riding far out in front of the rest. At first he was not recognized, because the conflict came swiftly to pass and his dazzling armour hid his face. But when he had conquered and un- horsed his foe and was stripping his arms from him, then Brennus recognized him, and called upon the gods to witness how, contrary to the general practice of all mankind, which was deemed just and holy, he had come as an ambassador, but had wrought as

-an enemy. Then, putting a stop to the battle, he straightway let the Clusians alone, and led his host against Rome. But not wishing to have it thought that his people were rejoiced at the outrage, and only wanted some pretext for war, he sent and demanded the offender for punishment, and in the meantime advanced but slowly.

XVIII. When the Senate convened in Rome, many denouhced the Fabii, and especially the priests called Fetiales were instant in calling upon the Senate in the name of all the gods to turn the curse of what had been done upon the one guilty man, and so to make expiation for the rest.

These Fetiales were instituted by Numa Pompilius, "gentlest and justest of kings, to be the guardians of peace, as well as judges and determiners of the

grounds on which war could justly be made.

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Ths dé Bovarjs ert Tov Sfjwov dveveyKawevns
TO Tparypa Kal TOY iepéwy Spova Too Pafiov
KATNYOPOUVTOD, ovTm mepBproay oi ToAXol Ta
Ocia xa KaTeyéhacay, @oTe Kal xidLapxov
atrodetEa Tov PaBuov pera Tav adeApav. ot dé
KeArol mubopevor tavta Kal XareTras pepovTes
ovoey épmrod@v em ovobvTo THs orovdns, Gd
ex pour Tavtt Taxel Kai mpos TO TAO os avrav
Kal THY Lapmpornta. THS TAapacKeuns Ka Biav
Kal Oupov excTreThyy WEVOV Tap dia péoou, Kal
THY TE Nopav aToAwAévat Tacay non Kat TAS
modes evOvs atrordctaOar Soxovvrar, Tap éd-

midas ovdey dixouv oud edu Bavov éx TOV

ary pay, ana wal Tapa Tas TOAES eyydS mapeg-
LOVES éBowv emi rv ‘Pony mopever Oar Kal
LOvots Tohepety ‘Pwpaiow, tovs & ddXous di-
Nous émioracbat.
Tovadry dé Hpomeveoy ope TOV BapBdpov
eEiryov or XiMapyxot TOUS ‘Pwpaiovs érri TOV
aryava, ae pev ovn évdecis (eyévovTo yap
omhiras TeTpaKia wuploy ovK éddacous), ava-
aK TOUS dé Tous pease Kal TOTE IWpwToOV
GTTOMEVOUS Ordon. éTL efnwednro Ta TOV
Geay avrois ovTE seins ore pavrecs
& mpo xwdvvov Kat _ Baxns ELKOS ig epopevors.
ovdeves bé TTOV emeTapat rev 7 mohvapyxia
Ta TPATTOMena. Kaitou 7 poTepov Ye Kal 1 pos
eharrovas ayavas eltNovTo TONAGKLS povapyous,
ods _Ateraropas Kanovow, oux ayvoobrres, daov
early els emeagpani Kaipov Opedos pag Xp@pevovs
yop pos avuT evOvvov apxny éy ‘xepal THY
Sten éxovcay evtaxtely, ovy Hxtota O€ Kat
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The Senate referred the matter to the people, and although the priests with one accord denounced Fabius, the multitude so scorned and mocked at religion as to appoint him military tribune, along with his brothers. The Gauls, on learning this, were wroth, and suffered nothing to impede their haste, but advanced with all speed. What with their numbers, the splendour of their equipment, and _their furious violence, they struck terror wherever they came. Men thought the lands about their cities lost already, and their cities sure to follow at once. But contrary to all expectation the enemy did them no harm, nor took aught from their fields, but even as they passed close by their cities shouted out that they were marching on Rome and warred . only on the Romans, but held the rest as friends.

Against this onset of the Barbarians the military tribunes led the Romans forth to battle. They were not inferior in numbers, being no fewer than forty thousand men-at-arms, but most of them were un- trained, and h€d never handled weapons before. Besides, they had neglected all religious rites, having - neither sacrificed with good omens, nor consulted the prophets as was meet before the perils of battle. But what most of all confounded their undertakings was the number of theircommanders. And yet before this, and on the brink of lesser struggles, they had often chosen a single commander, with the title of Dictator, not unaware how great an advantage it is, when confronting a dangerous crisis, to be of one mind in paying obedience to an authority which is absolute, and holds the scales of justice in its own hands. Moreover, their unfair treatment of Camillus

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Kapidros aryvepovn Gels éBrawe Ta Tpayyara,
Tov £1) 7WPOS xapw pndé KodNaxKevovTas apyeu
poBepov yevopevon.
IIpoehGovres oby ano THS TTrOAEwS aradious
évevijcovTa mapa tov *AXiav TOT a pov nuAL-
cOncav, ov Toppw TOD aTpaToTrédov TO OvpuPprd.
ouppepopevor. evtaida dé TOV BapBapov
emupavevTov ala xX pas ayovig apevot be atratiav
eT pat ovTo. haa TO pep dpia Tepov Képas evdus ;

éuBadovtes €iS TOV TOTApov ot Kenrol 5ié-
pOerpay TO 6€ devon brexxhivav THV emupopav
éx Tov Trediov pos TOUS dogous HT TOV éfexorrn:
kal dueFerrecov amo TOUTED els THY Tov ot
TONAOL. tois 8 adrous, GoOl TOV TONELLWD
GTELTOVT@OY TPOS TOV povov éoa0naar, els
Ounious ai puyal bua VUKTOS eay, Ws THS.

‘Pens otyouévns Kal tov éxel WdvTwV aTro-
NWAOTOY.
XIX, "Exyévero 87 paxn pera TpoTras Oepwvas
TEpl THY Tavaehnvov, 7 Kal ™ pOTepov npépa peya
mabos auveBn TO Tept TOUS PaBious TpLaKOo LoL
yap éx Tob yévous avdpes t bre Tuppnvev avnpebn-
cap. expatyae dé THY mpépay amo Ths Sevrépas
ntrns “Adtada péxype viv xareicGar dia tov
TOTaMOv.
Tleph o NMEPOY aroppaiwv, elite ypt) TiWecOat
Twas, eire opBais ‘H paxrertos émréT An Eev ‘Hovde
Tas bev aryabas TEOLOVHEVO, Tas dé avras, @sS
ayvoourTt puawy 7 MEpAs aT aons pula ovoay,
erépwOe Sintropnrat. ™7 8 UToKetpev7 ypadn TO
pynpovedoat trapaderypdtwor driywv icws adv
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was in no slight degree fatal to discipline, since it was now dangerous to hold command without paying regard to the pleasure and caprice of the people.

They advanced from the city about eleven miles, and encamped along the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the Barbarians came suddenly upon them, and after a disorderly and shameful struggle, they were routed. Their left wing was at once driven into the river by the Gauls and destroyed; their right wing was less cut up, because it withdrew before the enemy's onset from the plain to the hills, from which most of them made their way back to the city. The rest, as many as escaped the enemy's hands, which were weary with slaughter, fled by night to Veii. They thought that Rome was lost and all her people slain.

XIX. The battle! took place just after the summer solstice when the moon was near the full, on the very day of a former great disaster, when three hundred men of the Fabian gens had been cut to pieces by the Tuscans. But the second defeat was so much the worse that the day on which it fell is called down to the present time "dies Alliensis," from the river.

Now concerning " dies nefasti,'" or unlucky days, whether we must regard some as such, or whether Heracleitus was right in rebuking Hesiod for calling some days good and some bad, in his ignorance that the nature of every day is one and the same,—this question has been fully discussed elsewhere. Still, even in what I am now writing, the mention of a few

1 390 B.C.

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appocere. TOUTO pev toivuy Bowwrtois 'Irrrodpo-
pio pqvos, as Oo 'AGnvaior Karovow 'Exarop-
Bavévos, t tora peévov TENT TD Svo AaBeivy cuvéBn
Vikas eT veo Tatas, als TOUS "Eddqvas nrceulé-
pocay, THY TE mept Aeverpa Kal THY én Kepyco@
TAUTNS T pOoTepov ETEGL mAetoo ty i) Staxociors, 6 OTE
Aarrapuay Kat Oeccarors évixnoav. TovTo o
av Tad Hépoae _Bqvos Bondpopsdvos € extn pev
év Mapafan, tpitn & ép Ivarasais aya Kal
mept Muxdrny HT THOT ay vTO TOV 'EdAjvor,
TET TD dé POivovros év "ApBy rots. ot & 'A@n-
vaiot kal THv mepl Nd€ov é évixwv Vavpaxlay, Hs
XaBpias ¢ ea TpaTnyel, TOU Bondpoprdvos qept Thy
Tava€ehnvor, év bé€ Larapive Tepl Tas eixddas,

@sS npiv év 7@ Ilept TEpaV amrobebecT a. év7)-
voye Oé Kal O Oapyn ov pny ToLs BapBapors

€TLONAWS aruxias Kal yap AnréEav6pos él
Tpank@ TOUS Baciréws aTpaTHYyovs Oapynrcavos
évixnoe, Kal Kapxndoveoe Tept DeKeALAY bio
Teporeovtos 7 NTT OVTO TH éBdoun POivorTos, Tmept
iy doxet Kal To Tdtov arava, @apyndtovos, as
“Egdopos Kal Karnuo Bévns ral Aapaorns Kai
Dvrapxos loTopyKacty. avaTranuv & o Mertayecr-
viov, 6 ov Bowwrol Tlavepov Karodou, Tots "EX-
AoW OvVK evpevns ryéryove. TOUTOU yap Tov pNvos
éS8oun Kal tTHy év Kpavevt paynv qnrrndevtes UT
“Avtumatpov TEAEWS aT @ONOVTO, Kal TpOTEepov év
Xarpwveig pax opevot TOs Diderarov nTuxynoav.
THS 6 auris mpépas TAUTNS év T@ Metayerrnare
KAT TOV aQUuTov éviavTov ot per "Apyeddyov d1a-
Bavres ets ‘Itadiav veo tav éxet BapBapwr
' @apynA:avos deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.
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examples may not be amiss. To begin with, then, it was on the fifth day of the month of Hippodromius (which the Athenians call Hecatombaeon) that the Boeotians won two illustrious victories which set the Greeks free: that at Leuctra, and that at Ceressus more than two hundred years earlier, when they conquered Lattamyas and the Thessalians. Again, on the sixth day of the month of Boedromion the Greeks defeated the Persians at Marathon, on the third day at Plataea and Mycale together, and on the twenty-sixth day at Arbela. Moreover, it was about full moon of the same month that the Athenians won their sea-fight off Naxos, under the command of Chabrias, and about the twentieth, that at Salamis, as has been set forth in my treatise “On days.” Further, the month of Thargelion has clearly been a disastrous one for the Barbarians, for in that month the generals of the King were conquered by Alex- ander at the Granicus, and on the twenty-fourth of the month the Carthaginians were worsted by Timoleon off Sicily. On this day, too, of Thargelion, it appears that Ilium was taken, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus have stated. Contrary- wise, the month of Metageitnion (which the Boeotians call Panemus) has not been favourable to the Greeks. On the seventh of this month they were worsted by Antipater in the battle of Crannon, and utterly un- done ; before this they had-fought Philip unsuccess- fully at Chaeroneia on that day of the month ; and in the same year, and on the same day of Metageitnion, Archidamus and his army, who had crossed into Italy, were cut to pieces by the Barbarians there.

6 dvefOdpnoayv. Kapyndovior 8& rhv évdrnv $6i-

VOVTOS WS TA THEloTA Kal péyloTAa TOV aTUYnpd-
TWY avTOIS del hépovcay TapadvAdTTOVE LW.
Ovx dyvo0d 8 6ts wept Tov TOV pvaTNpiwV KaLpoV
avOus O7nBai te eateoxnadynoav v6 'AreEdvdpou,
kal pera tadrta ppovpav 'AOnvaios Maxeddévev
édéEavro repli abtny tHv eixdda tod Bondpopd-
7 vos, 7 Tov pvaTtiKxov "laxyov éEdyovow. opotws
5é 'Pwpaios tis abris nuépas mpotepov pev vd
KipBpov To peta Kasrriwvos améBadov oTpare-
medov, vatepov dé AovxovdAXov oTpaTnyouvTos
"A ppevious Kat _Teypaygy évixnoay. "ATTAAOS 5
o Bactrevs nai Toprnios Mayvos € €v TOLS eauT ay
yeveriors an éBavov. Kal 6XosS earl ToNNOUS em
dpporepa Tais avrais ypnoapévous arobettar
meptodous.
8 'AdAd 'Popators atrn pia TOV pamora aTro-
ppddwr é éorl, Kal bv avtny éxdorou pnvos erepar
duo, THS Wpos TO cup Pav evra Betas cal decordac-
povias emt melon, GoTrep elwOe, pveions. Tavita
pev ovv év t@ Tlept airvav 'Pwpaixdy émipenré-
oTEpOV Sunpntas.
XX. Mera 8é THY paxny éxetyny el pev evOus
emnxonovOnaay of Taddrtat tots dhevyovawy, obdév
dv éx@dvce THY 'Poyny apdnv avaipeOnvar Kat
mavTas dmonred Bau TOUS €v AUTH caTarerpbevras:
TOTOUTOY ot pEvyorTes éverpyalovto Seta TOUS
Drrovex opevors, kat Too auTnS mah eveTipTavro
2 rapax7s Kal Tapa porns. yuvi é amatig TOU
peyébous oi BdpBapos ris vinns Kal pds ebm dbet-
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The Carthaginians also regard with fear the twenty- second of this month, because it has ever brought upon them the worst and greatest of their misfortunes.

I am not unaware that, at about the time when the mysteries are celebrated, Thebes was razed to the ground for the second time by Alexander, and that afterwards the Athenians were forced to receive a Macedonian garrison on the twentieth of Bue-dromion, the very day on which they escort the mystic Iacchus forth in procession. And likewise the Romans, on the self-same day, saw their army under Caepio destroyed by the Cimbri, and later,

when Lucullus was their general, conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. Both King Attalus and Pompey the Great died on their own birth-days. In short, one can adduce many cases where the same times and seasons have brought opposite fortunes upon the same men.

But this day of the Allia is regarded by the Romans as one of the unluckiest, and its influence extends over two other days of each month throughout the year, since in the presence of calamity, timidity and superstition often overflow all bounds. However, this subject has been more carefully treated in my " Roman Questions."' !

XX. Now had the Gauls, after this battle, followed hard upon the fugitives, naught would have hindered Rome from being utterly destroyed and all those who 'remained in her from perishing, such was the terror which the fugitives infused into the occupants of the city, and with such confusion and delirium were they themselves once more filled. But as it was, the Barbarians could not realize the magnitude of their

1' Morals, pp. 269 f.

av €K Tov Teptyapo's dua Kal veprnoes TAV
A t
éawxotwv ev TO aTpaToTéd@ Ypyu"aToY TpaTro-
pHEvol, TH pev EximTovT. THS ToAEwS GYA@
¢ , A 4 bf , >] YG \
pastavny duyis wapécyov, éeXmicat & ett Kal
A 4
TapacKkevacacGat Tols UmTopévevot. THY yap
,
aAAnv TroALv Tpoguevoe TO Katritoov eppdkavro
, \ , > 4 \ a
3 Béreor kal Siateyiopaciw. év mpwtos Sé TaV
iepov & pev eis TO Kamtt@dov avecnevacarTo,
[fe A € nA
To 6€ Tip THS Eotias at wapBévo. peta Tav
e a " e 4
LEep@VY EepEevyov apTracapeval. ; 139
Kairoz revés ovdéev elvat to hpoupovpevoy vm'
b A a A A wv e la) la!
avrav érepov 4) Tip adOtTov iatopodat, Nopa
A /
Tov Bactréws KaTacTHOAVTOS WS apKXnVY aTaYTwY
, , 3 A / A

4 céBecOar. Kwntixwtatov yap év rH dvcet TovUTO:
/ A , /
Kivnots O€ Tis } OU TLL KLVHOEL TraVT@S 1 ryéveE-
\ b ” a 4 / ,
ais: Ta 5 - adda THs BrANs popta Oepporntos
\ / \ a :
€midtTovens apya KEelweva Kal vexpois eorKoTa
na \ A
mole THY TOU Tupos SUVapLY, ws YuynY, Kal
mpocenGovons apas yé tas eri ro Spav tt Kal
Tacyew Tpémetat. Toit ovv are bn TepiTTOV
¥ \ A \ , ” a) ,
avépa tov Nopav cal Noyov éxovra tais Movcass
a \ 4 b a \ a
cuveiva. dua codiav éEoormcat nal dpovpety
4 > / a
aKoiuntov év elKove THS TA TdvTa KoopmovenNs
PeO / , e \ \ fo) C4 b
5 aidiov Suvdpews. ot Sé 7O wey wip, domeEep Tap
/ a
“EAAnot, mpd iepov aifecOar xaddpotov, adr\a
\ \ a
dé Ta évTos aBéata KpiTrecOat TacL, TAY Tav-
a / a e 4 ? ,
Tals Tais TrapOévous, as ‘Eotidbas érrovouatovor,
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victory, and in the excess of their joy, turned to revelry and the distribution of the good things captured in their enemy’s camp. For this reason the throngs who were for abandoning the city had ample time for flight, and those who were for remaining plucked up hope and prepared to defend themselves. Abandoning the rest of the city, they fenced the Capitol with ramparts and stocked it. with missiles. But their first care was for their sacred things, most of which they carried away to the Capitol; the fire of Vesta, however, was snatched up and carried off by the vestal virgins in their flight, along with the other sacred things entrusted to their care. However, some writers state that these virgins have watch and ward over nothing more than the ever-living fire, which Numa the King appointed to be worshipped as the first cause of all things. For fire produces more motion than anything else in nature, and all birth is a mode of motion, or is accompanied by motion. All other portions of matter, in the absence of heat, lie inert and dead, yearning for the force of fire to inform them, like a spirit, and on its accession in any manner soever, they become capable of acting and being acted upon. This principle of fire, then, Numa, who was an extra- ordinary man, and whose wisdom gave him the repute of holding converse with the Muses, is said to have hallowed and ordered to be kept sleepless, that it might image forth the ever-living force which orders the universe aright. Others say that this fire is kept burning before the sacred things by way of purification, as among the Greeks, and that other objects within the temple are kept hidden from the

gaze of all except these virgins, whom they call

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\ A \ , A \ oo N
Kat mmEloTos pev AOYOs KaTetxye TO Tpwixov
éxetvo HadXadsov atroxeiaOar Sc Alvetov xop-
aOév eis "Irariav. eciol & of ra YapoOpaxia
uvOoroyoodvres Adpdavov péev eis Tpotav é£evey-
Kd {Levov opyudcat Kat KaGrepacar KTidavTa TH
mworw, Aivetav &é mept Thy adwow exxderpavta
dtacaaat pexpe Ths év Itadia Katoxnoews. ot
dé mpootrorovpevor mwAEOV énictracOai tt Tept
4 4 b 4 9 n 4
toutwy dvo dacly ov peydXous amoKxetcOat Ti-
Oovs, @y Tov pév avemydTa Kal, Kevov, Tov 6é
TwANpH Kal KaTaceonpacpévoyv, aphotépous Se
tais travayéot povats trapOévors oparovs eivat.
Gdrror Sé rovrous Sueweicbar vopifovar re Ta
aA le) U
TrEloTA TOV iepav TOoTE TAS KOpas éuBaXdovoas
3 oA 7 4 wa ig A N \ A
ets TriOous Sv0 Kpipar KaTa ys Ud Tov vewy TOD
/ "A A a
Kupivou, cai tov totrov éxeivov ért Kal viv Tav
iOicxwv pépecOat thy érwvupiav.
XXI. Ta 8€ cupsoratra K@l péytora trav iepav
avra: AaBovoat huyh Tapa Tov totapmoy érot-
An A >? , > A 4 b ,
odvTo THY aTroywpnow. evrav0a Aevnwos 'AXBi-
yios! dvnp Snpuorixds év Tois hevyouow éruxe
Téxva varia Kal yuvaixa peTa ypnudtov dvay-
, > e¢ e , ¢ ' N
kaiwy ép apakéns trexxopuifwv. ws 8 elde ras
mapOévous év Trois KOoATrols epovcas Ta TeV
Oeayv iepa Oéparreias epyjpovs mapatropevopmévas
Kal kaxotra0ovaas, TaxXd THY yuvaixa peta TaY
Taidwv Kal TOY XpnuaTwv KaBedX@v ATO THs
apudkns éxeivais Tapédwxev émiBnvar Kxai éd&a-
1 "AABlnos S and Livy, v. 40: "AABSivos.

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Vestals. And a very prevalent story had it that the famous Palladium of Troy was hidden away there, having been brought to Italy by Aeneas. There are some who say that it is the Samothracian images which are hidden there, and they tell the tale of Dardanus bringing these to Troy, after he had founded that city, and consecrating them there with celebration of their rites; and of Aeneas, at the capture of Troy, stealing them away and preserving them until he settled in Italy. Others still, pretend- ing to have larger knowledge in these matters, say that-two small jars are stored away there, of which one is open and empty, and the other full and sealed up, and that both are visible only to the holy virgins. But others think that these knowing ones have been led astray by the fact that the virgins, at the time of which 1 am now speaking, cast the most of their sacred treasures into two jars, and hid them under- ground in the temple of Quirinus, whence that place, down to the present time, has the name of " Doliola," or " Jars."

XXI. However that may be, these virgins took the choicest and most important of the sacred objects and fled away along the river. There it chanced that Lucius Albinius, a man of the common people, was among the fugitives, carrying off his wife and little children, with the most necessary household goods, upon a waggon. When he saw the virgins with the sacred symbols of the gods in their bosoms, making their way along unattended and in great distress, he speedily took his wife, with the children and the household goods, down from the waggon, and suffered the virgins to mount upon it and make

uyely els teva Tov 'EAAnVidwYv TOAEwV. THY
ey obv 'AdBuwiou ampos To Oetov evrAdBevav Kat
TOMMY év ois emtiapanred TAT 015 Kawpots éxdavij
yevopevny OUK abuov HV a dyn LovevTov mapereiv.
Or 8 rav addeov Gedy iepets of Te ynpasol Tav
UTaTLK@Y Kal OptapBicav avdp@v THY wey TroALY
éxhumreiy ovxX vIréuevav, iepas 5é Kal Aapmpas
dvaraBovres éaOnras, e€nyoupevov PaBiov TOD
dpxcepéws, émevEdpevor tois Oeois, ws EavTous
UTEP THS marpibos ™@ Satpove cabvepodvres, ent
TOV ehepavTivey Sipe ev dryopa exddnvro |
KEKOO LNpévol, THY émovoay TUYNY UTopévorTes.
XXII. Tpiry é amo Tis paxns nH pg Taphy
O Bpévvos a aryov emt Thy TOA TO oTparevpa: Kat
Tas TE mUhas evpav avery pévas kal Ta Téeyn
purdxeov épnua, _Tp@rov peev édevoev évébpav
Kal donov, aT La T OV od mavrdanacw ametpy-
Kévat TOUS 'Popaiors. émret 8 eyve TO arndés,
elaerdoas dia tHS KodAlvns mirns ere thy
'Popny éfjovra kal Tpraxoatoy er av Thetova,
Bpayd Xpovov aT THS KTLTEWS éXovaap, el T@

TLoTOV arocwkerbat TWA TOV Xpovery ax piSear,
ols Kal meph vewTépov adNwv aphis Barna "
ouyXuaLs exeivn TAperye. Tov pévroe wda0ous
avrou Kal Tis aAXwoews Eorxev apu8pd TLS evOus
els THY ‘EAA aba one bier Oeiv. ‘Hpaxneidns yap
) Tlovrexos Ov TOA THY Ypovav exeLveov arronet~
TOMEVOS év 7? Tlept yrux7ns cuyypaupari onow
amo THS éoTrépas Aoryov Katacxelv, as oTPATOS
é& ‘Tre pBop ov €Meav éEwlev npnros moduy
‘EdAnvida ‘Pwynv, éxet mov Kat@xnuevny trept
1 éxd@nvro with all MSS. and editors: xa@jvro.

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CAMILLUS

their escape to a Greek city. This pious act of Albinius,and the conspicuous honour which he showed the gods in a season of the greatest danger, could not well be passed over in silence.

But the priests of the other gods, and the aged men who had been consuls and celebrated triumphs, could not endure to leave the city. So they put on their robes of state and ceremony, following the lead of Fabius, the pontifex maximus, and vowed the gods that they would devote themselves to death in their country’s behalf. Then they sat themselves down, thus arrayed, on their ivory chairs in the forum, and a awaited their fate.

XXII. On the third day after the battle, Brennus came up to the city with hisarmy. Finding its gates open and its walls without defenders, at first he feared a treacherous ambush, being unable to believe that the Romans were in such utter despair. But when he realised the truth, he marched in by the Colline gate, and took Rome. This was a little more than three hundred and sixty years from her foundation, if one can believe that any accurate chronology has been preserved in this matter, when that of even later events is disputed, owing to the confusion caused by this very disaster. However, it would seem that some vague tidings of the calamity and capture of the city made their way at once to Greece. For Heracleides Ponticus, who lived not long after that time, in his treatise “On the soul,” saysthat out of the West a story prevailed, how an army of Hyper- boreans had come from afar and captured a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere on the shores

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L 2
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3 Thy peyddAny Odraccav. ovK dv ovv Oavpd-
capt pv0edn Kat Tac patiay 6vTa TOV ‘Hpa-
Krelony arnbet hoy T@ Tept Tis AN@a ews
emiKopmaaat TOUS ‘TarepBopéous Kal TV peyadnv
Odrarrav. "A piororedns 5é 0 hirdaodos TO pév
ahavas THY TOMY vTr0 Kerrov axprBas dHAGS
éoTW aknKkows, Tov Oé cacavTa Aevxtoy elvat
gdynow: qv 5&é Mdpxos, od Aevxtos, 0 KdprXos.
GNA TadTAa pev elkac up NENEKT AL. :
4 Karacxov dé THY ‘Poynv) Bpévyos TO pev
Kamirorip ppoupav TepLeaThaey, avros 6€ Kata-
* Baivev bu’ aryopas eOavpate TOUS mpoxadnpévous
dydpas év Koo Wp Kat oLwoT] Dewpevos, OS 00"
bmeEaveotnaay emriovTa@y Trohepioy ovr oyu ”
Xpoay éTpevrar, andra padipos Kal GOES EeryKe-
Kdepevor Tois oKiTwoLD, ‘ods épdpoup,} wal 1 poa-
5 Brerovtes adXiprors nobyalor. nV obv Oadua

Tots Tadarass mpos Thy atotiav, Kal TOY

ovoy oxvoovtes apacOat Kal mpooenBeiv WS
Kpeittroot Suntropovy. ere Sé ToAunoas tis &e&
QUuT@V eyyus Taperrn [asreupip Madpco Kat
mpocaryayanv THY Xelpa T PAWS pare TOU yevelou
Kal Karirye THY vITnUNV Bad clay ovaay, o pep
Ilazreipios TH Baxrnpia Thy «Kepanrny avrou
mardtas ouvérpipev, 6 8 BapBapos oTac auevos
6 Thy paxarpay GTrEKTELVED éxetvov. éx dé ToUTOU
Kat TOUS ouTrous avypouv TpoaTreovTes, Kat TOV
arXrwy scots emuTbxovev Sexp@vTo, Kal Tas oixias
emopOour | ép’ He pas TOAAAS dryovres kat é-
povres, elra KaTeTipmpacay Kai KATES KAT TOV
opytfouevoe toils éyovot +o Kamitodov, bre
1 épdpouy with S: Ipepos.

of the Great Sea. Now I cannot wonder that so fabulous and fictitious a writer as Heracleides should deck out the true story of the capture of Rome with his “ Hyperboreans”’ and his “Great Sea.” But Aristotle the philosopher clearly had accurate tidings of the capture of the city by the Gauls, and yet he says that its saviour was Lucius, although the fore- name of Camillus was not Lucius, but Marcus. How- ever, these details were matters of conjecture.

When he had occupied Rome, Brennus surrounded the Capitol with a guard. He himself went down

through the forum, and was amazed to see the men sitting there in public state and perfect silence. They neither rose up to meet their enemies when they approached, nor did they change countenance or colour, but sat there quietly, at ease and without fear, leaning on their staves and gazing into one another’s faces. The Gauls were amazed and per- plexed at the unwonted sight, and for a long time hesitated to approach and touch them, regarding them as superior beings. But at last one of them, plucking up his courage, drew near Papirius Marcus, and stretching out his hand, gently grasped his chin and stroked his long beard, whereupon Papirius, with his staff, smote him a crushing blow on the head. Then the Barbarian drew his sword and killed him. After that, they fell upon the rest and slew them, made away with every one else they met, sacked and plundered the houses of the city for many days together, and finally burned them down and levelled them with the ground, in their wrath at the defenders of the Capitol. For these would not

N

KaXovvTM@Y avTaV ovx UmnKovor, GANA Kal 7 poo-
Baddovar mAnyas éocav aro ToD Siareryiopa-
TOS dpuvopevot. dua Tadra pev oby éXNupnvavTo
THY modu Kal mpoa diépOerpav TOUS ato Kopevovs,
opolws pev avdpas Kal yuvaixas, opoiws 5é mpec-
Boras xat rratéas.
XXIII. Tis 6 vrorsopxias wjxos ANapBavovons
emiottia pod Tots Tanrdrais eu: kal SLeNOvTES
EaUTOUS Ob peVv TO Bacrnret TA pApevovTes éppov-
pouv TO Kamuréduoy, ot b THY xopav mepviovTes
éhenatouv Kal Tas Ko pas eropbouv T™pooTrt-
TTOVTES, ovxX opod TAVTES, aAXot 6 arAn Kal”
myepovias Kal cuvTaypara, T peya ppoveiy
UTO TOV evTUX maT ov Kal dedtevat pdev atro-
oKLOvapEvoL. TO b¢ TreloTov avTov Kal pdduora
guvTeTaypevov éyepet Tpos THY ‘Apoearav TOALW,
év 7 diéTpuBe Kadpirros apy@v rais mpager
peTa THY guyny Kal uorrevor, eamidas bé
ae ae Kal draroytia pos ovx! TO ANabeiv Kat
Staguyely TOUS . Toneptous aryaTOVTOS avdpos,
GXr ores, ét Taparyevorro KaLpOs, apuvetras
oKOTODVTOS. bio Kal Tovs "Apdedtas o opay mArnOeu
pev txavovs évTas, evoeets Oe TOAMNS de arretpiav
Kal paraxiav TOV OT PATHYOD, evéBare Aoyov
ets TOUS vEOUS mparov, @s ov Yp7 THY “Pwpator
druxiay avdpeiav Kerrov voutcery, ovd a KAKOS
ppovncact | ouveBn madety exelvous épya TOV

ovdev eis TO ViKHOAL TAPATXovTav, ana TUXNS
érriderEw ajyetoOar. Karov pep ouv elvat Kab
bia xivdvvav andcacbat moheLov addopudov
Kat BapBapixov, @ Tob Kpareiy mépas, dot ep 7
Tupi, StapOaphvat TO ViK@pevov' ov pnVY AAAw
150
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surrender at their summons, but when they were attacked, actually repulsed their foes from the ramparts with loss. Therefore the Gauls inflicted every outrage upon the city, and put to the sword all whom they captured, men and women, old and young alike.

XXIII. The siege lasted a long time, and the Gauls began to lack provisions. They therefore divided their forces. Some remained with their king and watched the Capitol, others ravaged the country round about, falling upon the villages and sacking them, not all together in one body, but scattered about by commands and companies, some here, some there, moved by their successes to great confidence and the fear of nothing. The largest and best disciplined body of them marched upon the city of Ardea, where Camillus was staying since his exile. He lived in complete retirement and privacy, it is true, but cherished the hopes and plans not of a man who eagerly desired to escape the notice and hands of the enemy, but of one who sought to avenge him- self upon them if occasion offered. Wherefore, see- ing that the Ardeans were of sufficient numbers, but lacked courage, through the inexperience and effemi- nacy of their generals, he began to reason with the young men first, to the effect that the mishap of the Romans ought not to be laid to the valour of the Gauls, nor the sufferings of that infatuated people to the prowess of men who did not deserve their victory, but rather to the dictates of fortune. It was a fine thing, he said, even at dangerous risks, to repel the attack of an alien and barbarous folk, whose only end in getting the mastery was, as in the work of fire, the utter destruction of what it conquered. But

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Kal Gappotor Kal slat mpansten avTois axiv-
duvov épv Kalp@ THY viny qapetety.
Tovtous TOUS Aoyous Tov vévy befapéveav émrl Tous
dpxovras Heb Kal TOUS tpoBovhous TOV "Apdearay
0 Kapsrros. OS b¢ KAKELVOUS cuvérreicey, Grice
TOUS éy nALKia mdavras Kal ouveixe TOU TeUxous
evTOs, dyvoeia Bat Bovdopevos bao TOV Tmrohepiooy
éryryus GvT@v. émrel 6¢ THV X@pav imma d.pevot
Kat Bapeis OVTES UTTO wAHOous TOV dryopévev Kal
hepopévwv apLEers Kal oALyopws eV To medio
KaTeaTpaton édeva ap, éx be TOUTOU wok erie
peOvovow avtois Kal stam KATETXE TO oTparo-

medov, Tudopevos Taira Tapa, TOV: KATATKOTTOV
0 Kaptrros ebipye TOUS ‘Apoearas Kal beh Bow
Kal? nouxiav Tov perafvu Tomov Tepl péoas
vocTas mpooewute TO ydpaxt Kpauy Te @[LEVOS
TOAAH Kal Tais oddaruyee mavraxobev KTapar-
TOV avOparrous KaK@s UIT péOns Kal bors ék
Tov vITveDV avadépovtas Tpos TOV JopuBov.
oALyot pev ouv avavnyavTes év T@ $08 wa
LacKevad duevor TOUS jept Tov KapsdAov uTré-
oTHTAaV, WOT dpuvopevot meaeiy- TOUS 5é amae-
aTous éTt KpaToupevous vrve Kal olv@ KATANA
Bavovres dvoTthous ExTewov. door Oe VUKTOS
am éSpacav éx Tov Xdpacos ov TOANOL, TOVTOUS
pe? TMepav omopdias éy TH Yopa Scapepopevous
émreNauvovTes larmets SudpOevpov.
XXIV. ‘H & oyun TaXU Siayyéddouca THY
mpatw émi tas monets éFexanetro TONAOVS TOV
év nrukta TVVLTTAMEVOUS, padora dé “Popatev
Scot Siaduydvtes ex tis én’ "Ada payns ev
Ovniows Foav: Kal wdvporTo Kata opas avTous,
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in the present case, if they were bold and zealous, he would find occasion to give them a victory without any danger.

After gaining the support of the young men, Camillus went to the rulers and councillors of Ardea, and when he had won them over also, he armed all who were of age for service and kept them together within the walls, that they might not be perceived by the enemy, who were near. These had scoured the country round about, and encamped in the plain, without care or concern, and heavily encumbered with their abundant booty. When night had fallen upon them, putting an end to their carousals, and silence reigned throughout their camp, Camillus, acquainted with this by his scouts, led forth the Ardeans. Passing quietly over the intervening space, they reached the camp about midnight, and with shouts and trumpet blasts on every hand confounded the men, who were scarcely

brought to their senses by the din, heavy as they were with drunkenness and sleep. A few of them were sobered by fear, armed themselves, and made resistance to Camillus and his men, so that they fell fighting ; but most were still mastered by sleep and wine when they were fallen upon and slain without their arms. <A few only ran from the camp, under cover of darkness, and when day came, were seen straggling about the fields, but horsemen pursued them and cut them to pieces.

XXIV. Rumour quickly carried news of this ex- ploit to the neighbouring cities, and called to arms many of those who were of age for service, particu- larly the Romans who had made their escape from the battle on the Allia, and were in Veii. These

"Olov jryenova tis "Pawpuns o Saipov adedopevos "Apdedtas éxdopnoe trois Kapidrou xatopbe- pacw, dé yewapévn nal Opéraca rTovodTov dvipa mons olxyetat Kal dmdv\wrevy. pyeis 5 drropig oTPATNHYOV adAOT pla rein meptBanro- pévoe Kabrucba Pog wevor THY 'Tradav. Pépe, Trépapavres 'Apoedras crranT apev TOV éavToY atparnyov, AaBovres avTol Ta Gra TpOS éxelvov Badilwpev ovKért "yap éott duyas ovd' npets TohiTaL Trarpidos ouK vans, anna Kpatou- pévns vd TOV TONEPLOV. tavt édo€e wal Teprpavres edéovro TOU Kapidndou déxer Bau THY apynv. 0.6€ ovx é&dn MpOorepov 7}) Tovs ev TO Kamran sronitas éerindicacbat Kata Tov vopov. éxelvous yap wyeta Oa marpiba aowto- pévous, kal Kedevovot pev UTaKovety mpodupas, axovTov Sé pydev TOUT ParyLOVTT EL. THS pev ovv evraBeias xal Karoxayabias Trov Kdpsrrov Cavpacav. hv 8 aropia tov tradta Sdiayye- hovvros ets TO Kamitodov: paddov é OXWS advvarov edoxer TOV TONEpLOV EXOVT@V THY TOLD aryyenXov eis THY dx porrodtv mapereiv.

XXV. "Hy 45 ts ev Tois véors Tovtios Ko- piveos, TOD perov Kara yévos ToMT av, d0Ens be Kal TUBS épacTns: OUTOS bmréarn TOV aOrov Exovatos. Kal ypaupara pep ovx éraBe 7 pos Tovs é&v TO Karirwrto, pn Angdevtos avtTov

popdrwow Of TroNéutot Ot avT@Y TOU Kapidrou
TH Sidvovay, éobira dé pavrny (Exov Kat
pedrovs tm auth Kopivov THY peev GNANV oOo
nuépas adeas Suprev, éyyus 6€ THs TWodews
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lamented among themselves, saying: " Of what a leader has heaven robbed Rome in Camillus, only to adorn Ardea with his victories! The city which bore and reared such a hero is dead and gone, and _ we, for lack of generals, sit pent up within alien walls, and see Italy ruined before our very eyes. Come! let us send to Ardea and demand our own general, or take our arms and go ourselves to him! For he is no longer an exile, nor are we citizens, now that our country is no more, but is mastered by the enemy." So said, so done, and they sent and asked Camillus to take the command. But he refused to do so before the citizens on the Capitol had legally elected him. They were preserving the country, as he thought, and if they had commands for him, he would gladly obey, but against their wishes he would meddle with nothing whatsoever. This noble restraint on the part of Camillus was much admired, but it was hard to see how the matter could be referred to the Capitol. Nay rather, it seemed utterly impossible, while the enemy held the city, fora messenger to elude them and reach the acropolis.

XXV. But there was a certain young man, Pontius Cominius by name, who was, in spite of his ordinary birth, a lover of glory and honour. He volunteered to attempt the task. He took no letter with him to the defenders of the Capitol, lest this, in the event of his capture, should help the enemy to discover the purpose of Camillus; but under the coarse garments which he wore, he carried some pieces of cork. The greater part of his journey was made by daylight and without fear; but as night came on he found himself near the city.
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2

yevopuevos 70n oKotatos, érel Kata yépupav ovK
WV TOY Totapmov Tepaca Tov BapBdpwv trapa-
dvrAatrovrav, Thy pev eoOAta TH KeharyH Tept-
4 b \ QA a a \
omeipdoas ov Toddny ovdé Bapeiav, Ttois Sé
a 9 \ \ A \ / Al
herrols édels TO cHpa Kal auverixovgilwy Te
“A N \ , g/
mepatovabat pos THY TOAW e&éBn. Kal Tapan-
AaTTwY ael TOUS eypnyopoTas, Tois héyyere Kal
A 7 7 . b 4 \ \
T@ OoptBw Texparpouevos, éRddile mpos tH
Kappevtida mvanv, } mrelorny elyev novyiar,
\ 4 b > A wv e ce ,
kal pddiora Kat’ avTny bpAtos 0 TOD KaretwAiou
Aopos avéoTnKe Kat TeT pa KUKA@ TON Kal
Tpaxeta TEpLTTepune &:” Hs dvéBn Aaov Kal
mpocéuée Tots Purdrrover TO SvaTeiyio pa
Xarerds Kal jones Kata TO Aayapwrarov.
doTacapevos dé TOUS dvbpas Kal ppdoas € éavTov
é€ o dvouaros, avarnpbeis é exper Tos TOUS év Tenet
TOV ‘Popaiov. TaXy dé ouyKdyTov yevoperns
mapehBov THY re vinny amnyyetne TOV Kaptrrov
mpoTepov ov mudopévors, Kal Ta SoKodvTa Tois
TTPATLOTALS Sunyetro- «al TA PEK are T@ Ka-
pir BeBarooar THY apXHV, WS pove TELoO-
pévov exeivp trav ew modiTdv. ob RY dKov-
cavtes Kal Bovrevodpevor Tov Te KdpirXov atro-
detxvvovar SieTaTopa, KaL TOV Tevreov avbus
aaromréprouct THD QUT HY odop 6 O{L0LWS arya TUXD
xpnodpevov. éXabe yap TOUS ‘Trohepous Kal Ta
TAPa THS Boudijs amnyyetre Tors &Ew ‘Pepaiors.
XXXVI. ’Exeivv bé deEapévev a poOvpws copt-
KOMEVOS O Kapsrros non wev év OT hous Sia wuptous
xatéxaBe, mreiovas 5€ ocuripyev amo TOV ocUp-
1 +g Bekker supplies ¢v with Bryan.
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He could net cross the river by the bridge, since the Barbarians were guarding it, so he wrapped his light and scanty garments about his head, fastened the corks to his body, and thus supported, swam across, came out on the other side, and went on towards the city. Always giving a wide berth to those of the enemy who were watchful and wakeful, as he judged by their fires and noise, he made his way to the Carmental gate, where there was the most quiet, at which the Capitoline hill was most sheer and steep, and which was girt about by a huge and jagged cliff. Up this he mounted unperceived, and __ finally reached, with great pains and difficulty, the sentries posted where the wall was lowest. Hailing them, © and telling them who he was, he was pulled up over the wall, and taken to the Roman magistrates. The Senate quickly convening, he appeared before it, announced the victory of Camillus, about which they had not heard, and explained to them the will and pleasure of his fellow-soldiers. He exhorted them to confirm Camillus in his command, since he was the only man whom the citizens outside would obey. When the Senate had heard his message and deliberated upon it, they appointed Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back again by the way he had come, wherein he repeated his former good fortune. For he eluded the enemy’s notice and brought the Senate’s message to the Romans outside the city.

XXVI. These gave eager welcome to the tidings, so that when Camillus came, he found twenty thousand men already under arms. He collected

pdyov xal mapecxevatero mpos THY émideou. ovTw pev npéOn Sixtatwp o Kaptrros To dev- Tepov Kal tropevbeis eis Odnlouvs éevétrvye Tots oTpaTiworats Kal auviye mAElous ato THY oUp- paxov was émiOnoopevos Tots Trodeuiors.}

"Ev 8€ 79 ‘Pon trav BapRdpwv tives exeivyn Kata Tuynv tapeEtovtes, % Std vuxtos o Ilovtios mpocéBn TO Karitorio, catayabovtes ToAdayXy

peév Lyvn Today Kal yelpov, Os avTeNauPdveTo Kal
mepucdpattero, Today Sé Tay émimepuKOTwY
Tols Kpnuvois atrotpiBas Kat TeptodicOnoes THY
yewoav, dodtfovas T@ Bacwrei. Kaxeivos émed-
Gav cal Ocacdpevos ToTe pev novyaler, éomrépas
Sé rovs eXadpotdrous Tois cwpact Kai TepuKoTAas
opeiBareiy pddtota tev Kertov ovvayayov,
“Tay wey odor,” elrrev, “ nuiv é Eavtovs aryvoov-
pévnv ot Trodéutoe Secxv¥ovow ws OUT aTropEevTOS
ouvTE aBaros avOpatrats éoTuy, aioxuvn dé mod}
THY apxXny exovras édneirrew mpos TO TEoS Kal
mpoéobar TOV TOTrOV os dvahwrop, aura TOV
Tohepiwy 4 ANTTOS éaTe SiOacKoVTHV. n yap
évi mpooPivas Passor, ovde moAXois cal? éva
dvaKONOV, GANA kal poun kal Bonlea Toh
eT aAANAWY emuxetpodat. Swpeat 5é «kal
Tipal TpeTrova at ths avdpayabias éxdore 6067-
covTat.
XXVII. Totadra rod Bactdéws Stare Bévros
bmréarno av ot Taddra _ Tp upes, Kal mrepl
péoas vixtas ériuBavtes Gua TodXol THs TéTpas
1 Oitw... wodreulors deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.

still more from the allies, and made preparations
for his attack. Thus Camillus was chosen dictator
for the second time, and proceeding to Veii, he
put himself at the head of the soldiers there,
and collected more from the allies, with the
purpose of attacking the enemy.
But in Rome, some of the Barbarians chanced
to pass by the spot where Pontius had made his way
by night up to the Capitol, and noticed in many
places the marks made by his hands and feet in clam-
bering up, and many places also where the plants
that grew upon the rocks had been torn away, and
the earth displaced. They advised their king of
this, and he too came and made inspection. At
the time he said nothing, but when evening came,
he assembled the nimblest men and the _ best
mountain-climbers of the Gauls and said to them:
“The enemy have shown us that there is a way
up to them of which we knew not, and one which
men can traverse and tread. It would be a great

shame for us, after such a beginning as we have made, to fail at the end, and to give the place up as impregnable, when the enemy themselves show us where it can be taken. For where it is easy for one man to approach it, there it will be no difficult matter for many to go one by one, nay, they will support and aid one another greatly in the undertaking. Gifts and honours befitting his valour shall be given to every man.” |
XXVII. So spake their king, and the Gauls eagerly undertook to do his will. About midnight a large band of them scaled the cliff and made
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éx@pour aye peTO oLomns, éupuopevot Tots

coptots drroropous ovol al Xarerois, ov pay aNNG HarXov ; mpocedokOn TEL po LEVY aur ap T poo vepevors Kat Tapeixovoty, @are TOUS Tpw-TOUS arfapevous TOV dxpov Kai StacKevaca-pevous Soop ovK 0n TOU TMPOTELXLT MATOS anr-Teabat «al Tois purakiv émuxeupelv KoLpopevors® nodero yap ob avOpwmos ovTe KUMY. adda VIVES joav tepot mept TOV VEOV THS “Hpas TpEepo-pevot TOV GOV YpovoY addoves, TOTE bé Tov ouriov nn yMaxXpas Kal pods avrois Stap-KoUvT@DV Gpeovpevor KAKOS émpartov. EOTL pev oby Kat pucet IPOs aicOnow 0&0 Kal popodeds To C@ov éexeivor dé Kal ba pov GrypuTryntixol Kal GopuB odes ryeryOvOTES Taxy Thy Epodov a cOovro trav Tadartov, Kal pera Spopov Kal Krayyns Pepopevor mpos aUTOUS emrpyerpav adravras, non Kal Tov BapBapev | Sia TO pen) NavOaverv apedovvtov PopvBov Kat Biasorepov emit Bepeveov. aprrdcavtes oby vd omovbijs @ Tes ExaoTos ork TpooeTuyyxaven, éx Tov Ta ovToS éBonGouv. aavrov oe TP@TOS MdAdos, avnp UTATLKOS, TO TE o ope popanréos Kat po-vypare Wuyi emepavns, amavrnoas Svaly opod TOV TONE LLeoD Tov pév épdace Sinppevov xoTrioa TO Eider THY deftav atroxowas, TOV dé TO Oupep matdtas els TO T poo war ov ewoey OTiTW KATA THS

TET PAs. émiaTas be T@ a pera TOV cuvdpa-
povToy Kal yevopevev Tep avrov améatpewre
Tovs GAAous, OUTE TOANOUS AVw yevopuévous OUTE
mpakavrds Te THS TOANs aéLov. ovTw 5é TOY
xivduvov éxgpuyovtes au' huépa Tov pev apyovTa
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their way upward in silence. They climbed on
all fours over places which were precipitous and
rough, but which yielded to their efforts better
than they had expected, until the foremost of
them reached the heights, put themselves in array,
and had all but seized the outwork and _ fallen
upon the sleeping watch. Neither man nor dog
was aware of their approach. But there were
some sacred geese near the temple of Juno, which
were usually fed without stint, but at that time,
since provisions barely sufficed for the garrison
alone, they were neglected and in evil plight.
The creature is naturally sharp of hearing and
afraid of every noise, and these, being specially wake-
ful and restless by reason of their hunger, perceived
the approach of the Gauls, dashed at them with loud
cries, and so waked all the garrison. At once
the Barbarians, now that they were detected, spared
no noise, and came on more impetuously to the
attack. The defenders, snatching up in_ haste
whatever weapon came to hand, made the best
shift they could. Manlius first of all, a man of
consular dignity, mighty in body and exceeding
stout of heart, confronting two of the enemy at
once, cut off the right hand of one of them with
his sword as he was lifting his battle-axe, and
dashing his shield into the face of the other,
tumbled him backwards down the cliff. Then
taking his stand on the wall with those who ran
to his aid and formed about him, he repulsed the
rest of the enemy, who had reaehed the top in
no great numbers, and showed no prowess to
match their daring. So the Romans escaped out
of their peril. At break of day, they east the
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Tav durdcwv éppipav eis Tovs Trodepious KaTa
THs méTpas, T® 6€ MadXyJo THs viKens apioreia
pos TomHY peyadyy® padrov i] xpetav Wndica-
jLevot ouvnveycav daov npépas ExacTOS ehap-
Bavev eis tpopyy, citou pév huidtTpoy emruywpiou
(ofTw yap KaXrovow ato), oivov 8é KoTvANS
“EAAnuicns Ttétraprov.
XXVIII. ’Ex tovrov ra trav Kerrov jy
GOuporepa. Kal yap émirndetwy éomrdutov eipyo-
pevoe tpovouns bd8@ tod KapidrXov, cal voaos
Umotkoupnoey avtTous év vexpa@v AOE. yvdSnv
kataBeBrAnpevwy oxnvovvras év épeutrious, TO TE
Bd8os tis téppas dépa Enpotnte nal SpipvtTyte
havrov vrd mvevpadtev Kal Kavydtov dvabo-
puwons éAupaiveto TA cwpata Sia THs avatrvons.
pamota & 7 petaBor) THs cuvTpopov SiaiTns
éx TOTwY oKLEep@v Kat Bépous KaTaduyas adUTOUS
éyovtwv éuBardovtas eis yopayv tatrewi kal
kek papevny aguas ™ pos TO [ETOTTW POV éxlunoev

aUTOUS, H TE 7 pos T® Kamitwrjio xabespa Kab
axon yevouevn Xpovios. EBSopov yap éxelvov
o.xoupovy piva TohopKoovTes. dare dbopay
elvat TOAANY ev TO atpatoTése kat mndé Odrre-
obat bia TAOOS. ETL TOUS arobuicKovtas.
Od py rapa’ TodT0 Ta Tpaypata Berto Tois
TOAOPKOUPEVOLS WV. eémérewwe yap O ALos, H TE
tav wept Kapsrdop aryvoua mapetye SucOvupiav
ovdels yap époita trap avtav dia TO ppoupetabat
1 peydAnv deleted by Coraés and Bekker.
2 wapa MSS. and edd., including Sintenis!: wept,
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captain of the watch down the cliff among the
enemy, but voted to Manlius a meed of victory
which did him more honour than service. They
collected for him the rations which each man
of them received for one day, namely, half a pound
of native spelt, Roman weight, and an eighth of a
pint of wine, Greek measure.

XXVIII. After this, the case of the Gauls was less hopeful. They lacked provisions, being shut off from foraging through fear of Camillus, and disease lurked among them. They were encamped amid ruins, where a multitude of corpses had been cast at random, and besides, an air made dry and acrid by vast quantities of ashes which wind and heat sent flying abroad, made breathing hurtful. But what most of all affected them was the complete change in their mode of life. They had come all at once from regions of shade, where easy refuge could be had from the heats of summer, into a land which was low lying and had an unnatural climate towards autumn. Then there was their long and idle sitting down before the Capitol_—_they were now whiling away the seventh month in its siege. For all these reasons the mortality was great in their camp; so many were the dead that they could no longer be buried.

All this, however, brought no relief to the besieged, for famine increased upon them, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing made them dejected. No messenger could come from him because the city was now closely watched

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

THY TOMY axptB@s vrd TeV BapBapov. 00 ev OUTw mpaT Tova dpdoréepors & éyivovTo cupBartiKor Aoryor 61a TOV mpopuhaxov TO Tp@Tov addajrous evTUyXavovT@v™ elTa, @S eboke Tots Kpatiorots, ouvenOovtos els Aoyous Bpévyw Lovdarexiou Tov Xeduapyou TOV 'Popaiwr, @poroynOn TOUS peey Xedias itpas _Xpuatov cataBanreiy, TOUS dé AaBovras ex THS Toews avtixa Kal Ths yw@pas dvaxopeiv. émi TovTo.s yevopevery GpKov Kat Tov xpuatou Kopi Bévros, Tov O€ Kerrav qept Tov oraO pov GryVOMOVOUVT OY pupa TO Tp@Top, ela Kal pavepas aehcovTov Kal duactpepovray THY pomny, NYAVAKTOUY Ot 'Popator mpos autous. o b€ Bpévvos olev epuppivor Kal KATAYENOY am obv-

odperos} THY pdxaipay apa Kai Tov Sworipa
mpoaéOnxe tots orabpois. murOavopevov dé Tod
ZLovdmuxiou, . Té tovTo ;” “ Te yap adno,” elirev,
“7H Tots VEVLKN LEVOLS sium ;” ;” TovTO pev ovv nn
Taporpia@dys AOryos yeyove. Tav Oe “Papaior ot
ev nyavdKtouv Kal TO _Xpuatov @OVTO Setv
AaBovras avdis amrlévat Kab THY mo\opKlay vqTro-
pévewy” ot O€ ovyxopelv éxéXevoy adsKovupévous
péTpLa, Kal pn TO TEOv d.d0var mpoanhoyitec Bat
TO alax por, avo ye TO Sobvat dea Tov Katpov ov
KAN@S GAN’ avayKaiws UmopevovTas.
X XIX. Obons dé mept TovTay T pos TE TOUS
Kenrovs Kal 7 pos avrovs Stag opas drycov TOV
oTpaTov oO Kapirros év Tats Tuva HY kal
muOopevos Td ylvomeva TOUS adddous éxéhevoev év
vase Kai oyédnv éraxorovbeciv, adtos b€ peta
, amoburduevos with 8: dwoAvoduevos unfastening.
abrovs Sintenis? with C: airovs Bekker and Sintenis!.
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by the Barbarians. Wherefore, both parties being
in such a plight, a compromise was_ proposed,
at first by the outposts as they encountered one
another. Then, since those in authority thought
it best, Sulpicius, the military tribune of the
Romans, held a conference with Brennus, and _ it
was agreed that on the delivery of a thousand
pounds of gold by the Romans, the Gauls should
straightway depart out of the city and the country.
Oaths were sworn to these terms, and the gold
was brought to be weighed. But the Gauls tampered
with the scales, secretly at first, then they openly
pulled the balance back out of its poise. The
Romans were incensed at this, but Brennus, with
a mocking laugh, stripped off his sword, and
added it, belt and all, to the weights. When
Sulpicius asked, “ What means this?” ‘ What else,”
‘said Brennus, “ but woe to the vanquished?’’! and
the phrase passed at once into a proverb. Some
of the Romans were incensed, and thought they
ought to go back again with their gold, and

endure the siege. Others urged acquiescence in
the mild injustice. Their shame lay, they argued,
not in giving more, but in giving at all. This
they consented to do because of the emergency ;
it was not honourable, but it was necessary.
XXIX. While they were thus at odds in the matter, both with the Gauls and with themselves, Camillus led his army up to the gates of the city. On learning what was going on, he ordered the rest of his army to follow in battle array and deliberately,

1 Vae victis /

TOV apiorav érrevyopevos evOLS érropeveTo Tpos
trovs "Pwpaiovs. Ssacravtwoy S¢ wavtTwv Kal
SeEapévwy aidtov ws avToxpdtopa Koop Kal
oLWTh, TO ev Ypvalov apas amo ToD Cuvyod Tois
uanpetas édwxe, Tov dé Evyov wal ta oTaOua
tous Kerrovs AaRovtas amoywpelv éxéXevoev
elev, os oldnp~ watpiov éott "Pwpaiots, ov.
Ypva@ tv tatpiba cwtew. ayavaxtodvytos Fé
Tov Bpévyvov cal dacKovtos abdixeicBar AvOMEéVNS
THS oporoyias, GVTéiTre UN VvoOLipbws yeyovévas
unde Kuplas elvac Tas ouvOnKas: nen yap avTou
Sextaropos 7) npnuévov Kal wndevos apyovros érépou
vow Tpos OvK éxovras éfouciay opordoynOjvac.
puvi dé xpivat every el TL Bovrovrar VOU@ yap
hie KUpLOS ryeryovas cuyyvayny Te Seopévots
Sotvat Kal Sixny, él pay petavootow, ériBeivar
Tots airtous. mpos TavTa BopuAnOels O Bpévvos
inparto pev dxpipaxias, kal mponrOov dypt £e-
povrkias Exar epot kal SiwO.o wav dva.peptry Evo
7 pos adrous, damep ELKOS, ev oixiais Kal
oTEVWTTOLS dvactpepopevot Kar xwpious déFacbat
mapatatw ob Suvapévors. Tayv 5é cupppovijoas
O Bpévvos amrnyarye TOUS - 'Kedrovs els TO oTpaTo-
medov Ov TrOANOY TET OVTMD. Kal vUKTOS dvaoTn-
cas amavras éEéNurre THY Tod, Kal mpoed Bary
éEnxovra, orabdious KaTeaTpatoT ébevc € Tape THY
PaBiviay oOov. aya S TIME Pe mapiy o KaptAXos
én aurov GAL Uevos apr pews Kal teBappnkoras
EXov TOTE TOUS 'Popaious: Kal yevowevns loxupas
payns eri todvv Xpovov avTous Te TpeTeTas

TOMK® povp kal AapBdaver TO oTpaToTEdov. TOY
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while he himself, with the flower of his men, pressed on, and presently came to the Romans. These all made way for him, in decorous silence acknowledg- ing him as their dictator. Thereupon he lifted the gold from the scales and gave it to his attendants, and then ordered .the Gauls to take their scales and weights and be off, saying that it was the custom with the Romans to deliver their city with iron and not with gold. When Brennus in wrath declared that he was wronged by this breaking of the agree- ment, Camillus answered that the compact was not legally made nor binding, since he himself had already been chosen dictator and there was no other legal ruler ; the agreement of the Gauls had there- fore been made with men who had no power in the case. Now, however, they must say what they wanted, for he was come with legal authority to grant pardon to those who asked it, and to inflict punishment on the guilty, unless they showed repentance. At this, Brennus raised a clamour and began a skirmish, in which both sides got no further than drawing their swords and pushing one another confusedly about, since the action took place in the heart of the ruined city, where no battle array was possible. But Brennus soon came to his senses, and led his Gauls off to their camp, with the loss of a few only. During. the ensuing night he broke camp and abandoned the city with his whole force, and after a march of about eight miles, encamped along the Gabinian way. At break of day Camillus was upon him, in glittering array, his Romans now full of confidence, and after a long and fierce battle, routed the enemy with great slaughter and took their camp. Of the fugitives, some were at once

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5é hevyovrwy ot péev evOvds avnpéOncav xatadio-
yOévtes, Tovs 5é mreiaTous StactapévTas éreK-
Béovres éx TOY TépLE KopaY Kal TOdEwY ExTeELvoOV.
XXX. Odtw pév 7 ‘Papin Trapanroyos Hw cat
TrapaorydaT epov éo@0n, pijvas étTa TOvS mévras
ims tois BapBdpo.s yevouévn. mapedOovres yap
eis aUTHY oriyats NuEépats DoTepoy trav Kvivte-
Lov eld@v Trepl tas DeBpovapias eidovs éEérrecov.
o 56€ Kdpirros eOpiapBevoe pév, @S eixds Hv, TOV
amodkwrvias cwThpa watpidos yevopevov xal
KATAYOVTA THY TWOALY aUTHY els éaUTHY: Ot TE
yap é&wev dua tract nai yuvackiv eioedav-
VOVTOS AVTOD GUYyKaTHEcaV, ol Te TrodLopKNnOéyTeEsS
év T@ KamitwrXio, pixpov Senoavtes atrorécbau
dua ALpov, dariyToy mrepiBaddovres add rous
cai Saxpvovtes v0} THs Tapovans Hoovns, & lepets
te kal Caxopor Gear, & boa pevyovres avToOe TaY
aBeBnrov eExpuvpav 7) atv avtois é&éxrevrar,

avacwloueva® Kxopivovtes éredetxvuvto ro0ov-
pevas dypeus Tots TOM TALS Sexopevors pera, xYapas,
@OTEp auTev tav Oey avdus els THY ‘Panu
oUyKATEpXopevon’ Bucas 5é trois Bevis Kal KaGa-
pas THY modu éEnyoupeveov TOV Tept TavTa
SeLv@v, TA ev évTa TOV lepov KaTéaTnoey, avros
6é isptcaro vE@Y Pryns Kat Krnddvos, aveupov
éxelvov TOV TOTFOV, eV @ VUKT@P 1) 7) KaTaryyédhovea
THY TOV BapBapov otpatiay €x Oeobd te Kau-—
dixig Mapx@ dwvn mpocérece.
1 $9d with S: amortg for distrust of.
2 dvacw(dueva xa nexoounnéeva S, and adorned.

pursued and cut down, but most of them scattered
abroad, only to be fallen upon and slain by the people
of the surrounding villages and cities.
XXX. So strangely was Rome taken, and more strangely still delivered, after the Barbarians had held it seven months in all. They entered it a few days after the Ides of July, and were driven out about the Ides of February. Camillus celebrated a triumph, as it was meet that a man should do who had saved a country that was lost, and who now brought the city back again to itself. For the citizens outside, with their wives and_ children, accompanied his triumphal chariot as it entered the city, and those who had been besieged on the Capitol, and had narrowly escaped death by starva- tion, came forth to meet them, all embracing one another, and weeping for the joy that was theirs. The priests and ministrants of the gods, bringing whatever sacred objects they had either buried on the spot or carried off with them when they took to flight, displayed them, thus preserved in safety, to _ the citizens, who caught the welcome sights with

delight, believing in their hearts that the gods
themselves were now coming back to Rome with
them. After Camillus had made sacrifices to the
gods and purified the city, in the manner prescribed
by those who were versed in such rites, he restored
the existing temples, and erected a new one to
Rumour and Voice,! having sought out carefully
the spot where by night the voice from Heaven,
announcing the coming of the Barbarian host, had
fallen upon the ears of Marcus Caedicius.
1 Ara Aii Locutii.

XXXII. Xarerads pev ody nal pors ai Tav
iep@v avexaduTrTovTo Y@pat dirotiuia Tod Ka-

pidrou Kal Tovm TOAA@ TOV lepopavTarv: ws dé
Kal THY TONY avoLKobopeiV edee TravTatrace SteE-
POappévnv, aOupuia apos TO Epyov évéruTte Tois
ToAXols Kal wérArANOLS HV eoTEpNpévais atravTwY
kai Twos €v TS Tapovtt pact@rvns xal dvatrav-
cews €x Kaka@v Seopévois padrov h Kduvev
kal amotpuyey Eéavtovs ovTe ypnwacw ovTE
cwpacty éppapévous. ota dé HoVvXH Tpos TOUS
Ovinlovs adOis arroatpepopevot, ToAw aract
KaTecKkevacpevny Kai Siapévovoar, apyas Snpa-
yoyav évédocay Tois mpos yap eiPtopévors
Opsrely, Kal NOYwWY HKPOWVTO TTATLATTLKAY TPOS
Tov Kaptrrov, ws éxeivou dirotipias vera Kal
S0Ens idtas adtroatepodyTos avTovs TrOAEwWS ETOLWNS
kat Bralouéevov aoxnvodv épeitia Kai TupKaiay
TocauTHY eyel perv, OTras WH MovoY rryenov “Popns
Kal aTpaTnyos, GXXA Kal KTioTHS A€ynTAL TrapO-
cas ‘Papvarov.
"Ex TovTou poPnGeica Tov OdpuBov 7 Boun4
Tov péev KadptrXrov ovx elace BovAopevoy arro-
OécOar thy apxnv évtds éviavtod Kaimwep &E
pivas ovdevds vmrepBadovtos érépou Sextd-
Topos, autn 6é tTapeuvOciro Kal KaTeTpduve
meovca Kai dektoupévn tov Sthpov, émidecxve-
pévn pev jpia Kal tdhovs tatépwy, vrropepyy-
oxovaa S€ ywpiwy iepav Kal ToTwY ayiwv, ods
“Pwptros 7 Nopwas 4 tis AAXNos avdtois TeV
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XXXI. Owing to the zeal of Camillus and the abundant labours of the priesthood, the sites of the temples were at last uncovered, but it proved a grievous undertaking. And since the city had also to be built up again from a state of utter destruc- tion, the multitude were overwhelmed with despair of the task, and shrank from it. They were bereft of all things, and for the present needed some rest and repose after their sufferings, instead of toiling ‘and wearing themselves out on a task for which they had neither means nor strength. And so it was that insensibly their thoughts turned again to Veii, a city which remained intact and was equipped with all things needful. This gave opportunity for mischievous agitations to such as were wont to consult only the

people’s will and pleasure, and ready ear was given - to seditious speeches against Camillus. He had an eye, it was said, only to his own ambition and fame, when he would deprive them of a city that stood ready to receive them, and force them to pitch their

tents among a mass of ruins, while they rebuilt what had become a monstrous funeral pyre. He wished not merely to be a leader and general of Rome, but to thrust Romalus to one side and be styled its founder.

The Senate, therefore, fearful of this clamour, would not suffer Camillus, much as he wished it, to lay down his office within a year, although no other dictator had served more than six months. Mean- while the Senators, by dint of kindly greetings and persuasive words, tried to soften and convert the people, pointing out the sepulchres and tombs of their fathers, and calling to their remembrance the shrines and holy places which Romulus, or Numa,

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4 Baciréwv éerileracas rwapédmxev. év mpwtots dé
tav Ociwv tiv te veooghayn Keharnv mpovdpepov 145
év TH Oepercooe. ToD Kamirwréiov daveicar, ws
TO TOT@ TeTpwpévon exeive THS Itadias Kepanrt
yeveo Bar, Kat 70 THS "Eotias wip, O meTa TOV
WONEMOV LITO TOV trapOevev ayarrr opevov aides
adavifew Kal oBevvovat TOUS mpodumovTas THY
Tot, Gveldos avTots éaopevov, av te UT' ANNOY
oixoupévny op@ow éemnry.dov cal Eevov av T
Epnuov ovaay Kal unroBorov.
5 Towadta Kxat wpos Exactov idia Kal Kow7
TodNaKs ev TO Onum oyetrLdlovTes eTEKN@VTO
Tasty UTO TOV TONY THY Tapoboav odopupo-
peveoy aunxaviay, Kab Seopevary pa opas womep
ék vavaryiou yupvors kal am opous owlévTas
mpoaBidtecOar ta reifrava tis SirepOappévns
TULITHYVUVAL TOAEWS, ETEPAS ETOLLNS TApOVENS.
XXXII. "Edofev otv BovrAnv mpobeivar Te
Kapirry.: xal wore pév avros deEnAOe Trapa.-
KaXrOv Umrép Ths mwatpidos, ToAda b€ Kal Tov
ddrAwy 6 Bovrpmevos: Tédros Se Tov ™P@Tov
elwora Néyerv yvounv Aevxiov Aovepnttov ava-
otnaas éxédXevoev amodjvacba: mpatov, eira
2 tovs adAous eheEjs. cyevopévns 5é oiwimrjs Kal
tod Aovxpntiov pédXovTos évdpyecOat, Kata
Tuyny Ewer ExatovTapyns ayov Taypa duXaxhs
NMEpLWhs TapeTopeveto, kal Tov dépovta mparov
TO onpetov peyddrn pwvh mpocayopevoas éxé-
Nevoev AUTOD pévery Kal TO onpeiov TiDecOar-

or some other king, had consecrated and left to their care. Among other signs from Heaven, they laid chief stress on the newly severed head that was found when the foundations of the Capitol were dug, showing, as it did, that the place where it was found was fated to be the head of Italy ; also on the sacred fire of Vesta, which had been kindled anew by her virgins after the war. If they should quench and extinguish this again by their abandonment of the city, it would be a disgrace to them, whether they saw that city occupied by immigrants and aliens, or abandoned to flocks and herds.

Thus did the Senators remonstrate with the people, both individually in private, and often in the public assemblies. They, in their turn, were moved to com- passion by the wailing complaints of the multitude, who lamented the helplessness to which they were come, and begged, now that they had been saved alive as it were from a shipwreck, in nakedness and destitution, that they be not forced to piece together the fragments of their ruined city, when another stood all ready to receive them.

XXXII. Accordingly, Camillus decided that the question should be debated and settled in council. He himself spoke at great length, in exhortation to preserve their common country, and every one else who wished did likewise. Finally, he called upon Lucius Lucretius, to whom custom gave the first vote, and bade him declare his opinion first, and then the other senators in the order due. Silence fell, and Lucretius was on the point of beginning, when it chanced that a centurion with a squad of the day watch passed by outside, and calling with a loud voice on the man who led with the standard,

KadMaoTa, yap évrava abedeia Gar kal peveiv.
cpa dé TO Karp@ Kal Th TWept TOU HEXOVTOS
évvoia Kal adnroTnTL THs pavijs yevopevns, & Te
Aovxpr}rios épn TpooKuryaas 1) eg mpoort-
OecOat rhv éavtod yvounv Kal Tov adrwv
Exactos émrnKxorovdnae. Gavpacty dé Kal TO
wrnOos éoxe petaBor THs opps, GdAH ous
TapaKadovvrav kat T POT PETTOLEVOY » T pos TO
Epyov, ovK ék Siavopis | FLVvOS 4 Takews, arn’ as
Exao Tos érouorntos PBovAyncews elye TOV
Xeplov KaTahapBavopéver. 5160 Kab TeTapary-
perp Tois oTevoTrois Kal oupmepuppevny Tais
olKno eat ay ryaryov THY TOMY UITO oTrovoAs Kai
TaXOUS. évT0s yap évavTov AéyeTas Kab Tous
TEeLYert Kaun) Kal tais idtwtiKais oixodopais ava-
oTHVaL madiv.
Oi 8é TOUS lepous TOTOUS avanaBetv Kal o opioas
Tax Dévres vumo Tov Kaptnrov, TuyKEeXULEVOY

GTaVTOV, WS Hcov él THY Kkadidba TOU “A pews mepiodevovTes To IlaXdriov, avrny pep, Os Ta adda, _StepOappevnr Kal KATAKEKAULEVND evpov UTO TOV BapBapor, TKEVOPOU [EVOL bé kal xabai- povres TO xm@piov éevTuyxdvovar TP MAVTLKO Eur tov ‘Pwptrov xara Tedpas qoNAns Kab Babetas kaTadeSvKort. tovto } éott pev eT LKAPT ES ex Jarépou TEparos, Kanreitas Sé ALTvov: Xpovrar 6 avT@ Tpos TAS TOV TAWO Lov Uroypapas 6 Orav é1r Gpvice StapayTevopevor Kabélwrvrat, @S KaKElvOS expiito pavrixotatos wv. ered) o é& avO pobrraay noavia On, TapahaBovres ot tepeits tO EvXOv @omep ado TL TOV lep@v arpavaTov épvAaTTo)P.
1 xporperopévay with S : rpexopévey.

bade him halt and plant his standard there, for that was the best place to settle down and stay in. The utterance fel] at the crisis of their anxious thought for the uncertain future, and Lucretius said, with a devout obeisance, that he cast his vote with the god. The rest, one by one, followed his example. Then the inclinations of the multitude were marvellously changed. They exhorted and incited one another to the work, and pitched upon their several sites, not by any orderly assignment, but as each man found it convenient and desirable. ‘Therefore the city was rebuilt with confused and narrow streets and a maze of houses, owing to their haste and speed. Within a year's time, it is said, a new city had arisen, with walls to guard it and homes in which to dwell.

Those who had been deputed by Camillus to recover and mark out anew the sacred places, found them all in utter confusion. When they came to the shrine of Mars, in their circuit of the Palatium, they found that it had been demolished and burnt by the Barbarians, like the rest, but as they were clearing away and renovating the place, they came upon the augural staff of Romulus, buried deep in a great heap of ashes. The augural staff is curved at one end, and is called ituus. It is used to mark off the different quarters of the heavens, in the cere- monies of divination by the flight of birds, and so Romulus had used this one, for he was a great diviner. But when he vanished from among men, the priests took this staff and kept it inviolate, like

TouTo 8 TOTE TOV AGAAWV aTOAWACTAY UaveEV-

f \ \ \ ege > f
povres Svatrepevyos thy POopav Hdious éyévovTo
tais éAmiow birép ths ‘Pans, ws aldcov aitA
THY cwTNpiay TOD onpetov BeBaLodvTos.
XXXIII. Ovsrw 5é rijs mept tavta temav-
pévois aoxorias avtois émiminte modepmos,
Aixavev pev dua xai Ovorodonwrv nai Aativev
9 \ 4 ? , a \
els THY yopav éuBarXovtwv, Tuppnvev Sé trods-
o
opKovvTav our pty, ovppayida ‘Pwpaiwy toni.
e
émedy S ob Thy Hyepoviay ExovTes yLdALapyxor
oTpatomedevoeduevor Tept TO Mdpxiov pos vid
trav Aativwy émrodtopKodvTo Kal xivduvevovtes
>) a AN 3 e 4 4
amoBanrely To atpatoredov ets “Payny ereprpay
atrobeixvuTas TO Tpitov Kaprros duxtatwp. rept
TOUTOU TOD TONELOU SLTTOL AGYyor AéyovTa Sievpu
Sé tov ppvO0dn TpdTEpov.
,
Paci tovs Aativous, eite mpopdce. Ypwpévous
elte PBovrouévous ws aArANnO@s dvapi~tacBar Ta
/ a / a
yévn tad €€ vrapxis, Téeupavras airety map
Tav ‘Pwpyaiwy mapbévovs édrevOépas yuvaixas.
4 A a
atropouvtwy 5é Trav ‘Pwpaiwy, Ti ypH Trorety (Kat
yap Tov TrONELOV @ppwdouV ovTra KADErTaTES OVS
avethnpotes avTOUS, Kal THY altnow TOY yuvas-
K@v UTe@Trevoy éEopnpevow elvat, ToD S evmpeE-
A la a
mous Yap éruyapiav KandeicOa), Oepatraivida
” , e 2 v / ,
Tovvopa TouvtrovAar, ws 8 Evia Aéyovat, Pirwrtida
Tols dpyovat Trapawéoa Twéutrey GUY avTH TOV
Suwldwy tas év @pa padiota Kai tais drypeow
éxevOepious, Kxoopnoavras ws vipdas evyeveis,
\ 9 > led , \
Ta Nota 8 avTH pednoev. eccbevtas bé Tovs

dpyovras émiréEacOar tav Oeparrawvidwv Scas
éxeivn mrpos THY Xpeiav edoxipace, Kal Koopnoav-
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any other sacred object. Their finding this at that time unscathed, when all the rest had perished, gave them more pleasing hopes for Rome. They thought it a token that assured her of everlasting safety.

XXXIII. They were not yet done with these pressing tasks when a fresh war broke upon them. The Aequians, Volscians, and Latins burst into their territory all at once, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a city allied with Rome. The military tribunes in command of the army, having encamped near Mount Marcius, were besieged by the Latins, and were in danger of losing their camp. Wherefore they sent to Rome for aid, and Camillus was appointed dictator for the third time. Two stories are told about this war, and I will give the fabulous one first.

They say that the Latins, either as a pretext for war, or because they really wished to revive the ancient affinity between the two peoples, sent and demanded from the Romans free-born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in doubt what to do, for they dreaded war in their unsettled and un- restored condition, and yet they suspected that this demand for wives was really a call for hostages disguised under the specious name of intermarriage. In their perplexity, a serving-maid named Tutula, or, as some call her, Philotis, advised the magistrates - to send her to the enemy with some maid-servants of the comeliest sort and most genteel appearance, all arrayed like free-born brides; she would attend to the rest. The magistrates yielded to her persuasions, chose out as many maid-servants as she thought meet

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Tas eo Ore Kal Xpuc@ mapadovvat Tois Aartivots
ov Tavu Toppo Tis Toews oTpatoTredevouct.
VUKTMP 5é Tas pev addas iperéa Bar Ta eyxerptOea
TOV TONEMLOY, THY & eire T ouTouAay el'Te Prw-
rida TpooBacav epwve® peydro Kal Taparteiva-
cay oniow TO iparov dpa Tupa ov els THY ‘Pouny,
@amTTrep iy ouryKel LEVvov avTh Tpos TOUS dpxovras,
ovdevos AAXOU TOV TOMTOY eidotos. Ot 6 xal

BopuBady yevéa Gat THY TOV oTPATLOTOY éfodon,
@S KAT HT EL YOY oi dpxovres, aXANAOUS avaKadovv-
Tov Kal pons els THY ra Ew Kabsorapevo. érren-
Govtas b€ TO yYdpake TOV Tohepioy ov T poabexXo-
pévov Kal walk vdovTwv érelv TO oTpatomedov Kab
diapGeipa TOUS mela Tous. TOUTO O€ yevéo Gat Tals
vov ‘lovAlass, TOTE de Kvivtiriats vovass, Kal THY
dryopevny éopTny Dropyn pa THS mpafews exeivns
elvat. Tp@rov pev yap eEvovtes aOparvr bua Tis
TUANS TOAAA TOV ETLywpiwy Kal KoLVOV ovopd-
TOV Bo7 PeyyovTas, Ddiov, Mdpxoyr, Aovecov
Kai Ta TOUTOLS - dota, pLpovpevor THY TOTE
ryevouerny peTa oTrovons adAnhov avakdynow:
émerta, Kexoopnpévat NapTPAS au Deparratvises
mepilag matlovaas dua oKouparov eis TOUS
ATAVTOVTAS. yiverar dé Kal payn TLS aurais 7 pos
aAMNaS, @$ Kal TOTE TOU Tpos TOUS Aativous
ay@vos auveriAapRavopévats. éotimpevar 5
cabélovrar KAdOoLS GUKIS oxratopevat wal THY
7 pépav vavas Karparivas Kadovarr, as otovras
dua Tov épiveor, ad’ ov THY maudionny TOV Tupa oY
dpat- Tov yap é epiveor KaTrpidixoy ovoudlovary.
: Erepot dé TOUTOY Ta WreloTa Spacbat Kat
NéyeoOai dacw eri tO Tod “PoptrAov wabec
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for her purpose, arrayed them in fine raiment and gold, and handed them over to the Latins, who were encamped near the city. In the night, the rest of the maidens stole away the enemy’s swords, while Tutula, or Philotis, climbed a wild fig-tree of great height, and after spreading out her cloak behind her, held out a lighted torch towards Rome, this being the signal agreed upon between her and the magis- trates, though no other citizen knew of it. Hence it was that the soldiers sallied out of the city tumultuously, as the magistrates urged them on, calling out one another's names, and with much ado getting into rank and file. They stormed the en- trenchments of the enemy, who were fast asleep and expecting nothing of the sort, captured their camp, and slew most of them. This happened on the Nones of what was then called Quintilis, now July, and the festival since held on that day is in remembrance of the exploit. For, to begin with, they run out of the city gate in throngs, calling out loudly many local and common names, such as Gaius, Marcus, Lucius, and the like, in imitation of the way the soldiers once called aloud upon each other in their haste. Next, the maid-servants, in gay attire, run about jesting and joking with the men they meet. They have a mock battle, too, with one another, implying that they once took a hand in the struggle with the Latins. And as they feast, they sit in the shade of a fig-tree’s branches. The day is called the “Capratine Nones,’ from the wild fig- tree, as they suppose, from which the maid held forth her torch ; this goes by the name of caprificus. But others say that most of what is said and done at this festival has reference to the fate of Romulus.

Kata TAUTHY yap apavia Bias Ty [Le pa auTov
eo TUANS; Copou Kar Overs advo mepraxovens,
Os S évi08 vopitovary, éxrelyrews apiou yevoperns,
Kal THY nuepay a amo Tob TOTrov yovas Kamparivas
Kn Ova, THY yap aia KaT pay dvopatovary: O
be ‘Papdros npavicn Snunyopav Teph TO THs
airyos EXos mpocayopevopevoy, ws év Tols Tept
exelvou ‘yeyparrrat.
XXXIV. Tov & érepov oyov Ol WAELoTOL TaY
ouyypadéwy Soxtpatovres Otte eyouew. aro-
dey Gels SieTaTwp ” TO Tpitov o Kdwsrros Kal
rub pers TO peta TOV Xirudpyov oTpareupa
TONLOPKOV{LEVOV UTO Tov Aartivay xal tav Quvonov-
oKor, nrayndaOn Kai TOUS ODK eV apg TOV TOAL-
TOV, AAN HON mapnBnxoras xabordicat. Tepten -
Oav oé paxpav Teptocov Wwepl TO Mépevov Bpos
Kal abo Tous ToAeplous hes TH oTpaTtiav
KaTomy avTov, Kal Tmupa TONNA Kavoas dueo7-
pnve THhv éavTod qWapovoiay. ot pev ovv TroNop-
KOUpEVOL lappyoavres emrévar Stevooivto al
pany ouvdmrely: ot Oe Aativor Kal Ovorodaxor
avoTeiNavtes elow TOD Xaparos EaUTOUS amreaTau-
pouy Evrous ToAXois Kat Suepparyvurto TAVTAXO-
Oev To atpatomesop, appiBoror myeyovores vd TOV
ToNEpiwy Kal Teptmévery eyvwKortes ETépay olxoOev
Siva, agua S€ Kal _ Tuppnvev | mpoa Sex ouevor
BonBevav. tovto & aiadopuevos 0 Kdyrros Kal
dedorxes mabeiv Orrep éroinaev avTos Tovs Trohe-
pious KUK wo dUEVvos éomevde mpordafeiy Tov
Kaupov. évros 8é rot Tepippayparos Evdivov | Kal
TVEVMATOS PéYANOU KATLOVTOS ATO TOV OpOY aya
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For on this same day he vanished from sight, outside
the city gates, in sudden darkness and tempest, and,
as some think, during an eclipse of the sun. The

day, they say, is called the “ Capratine Nones ” from the spot where he thus vanished. For the she-goat goes by the name of capra, and Romulus vanished from sight while haranguing an assembly of the people at the Goat’s Marsh, as has been stated in his Lsfe.}

XXXIV. But most writers adopt the other account of this war, which runs thus. Camillus, having been appointed dictator for the third time, and learning that the army under the military tribunes was besieged by the Latins and Volscians, was forced to put under arms even those of the citizens who were exempt from military duty by reason of advancing years. Fetching a long circuit around Mount Marcius and thus eluding the enemy’s notice, he planted his army securely in their rear, and then by lighting many fires made known his presence there. The besieged Romans at once took heart and purposed to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians re- tired within their trenches, fenced themselves in with a great wooden palisade, and barricaded their camp on all sides, for they now had a hostile force in front and rear, and were determined to await re- inforcements from home. At the same time they expected aid from the Tuscans also. Camillus, per- ceiving their design, and fearful of being himself surrounded by the enemy as he had surrounded them, made haste to improve his opportunity. The enemy’s barricades were of wood, and a strong wind

1 Chap. xxvii.

paer, mupoBona | Tapac kevacdpuevos Kat rept Tov OpOpov éEayayav thy Svvaptr Tovs pev dddous €xéNEUTE xphadae Bédect kal Kpavyh xa?’ Erepov Hépos, autos 6€ Tovs TO Tip adnoety péddovtras éXeov d6ev elder padiota mpooninrey o diveuos TO Xapace TOV TONE peo dveweve TH Gpav. emel de TuvEerToaNS TIS paxns 6 Te iALos avnel Kal TO mvedpa hap pov ebeninte, onunvas émedpopny KATEOTELPE TOU Xapakos apbova TOV TupoBodwv. TAXU dé THS proyos év vAN TUKYY) Kat oTavpo- pace Evrivors avatpadetans Kal KUKX® Trepwvepo- pévns, ovdey axos ovde oReorypiov eXovTes ot Aarivot Taper kevac Levon, WS 1WAHpES Tv 700 TO orpatomesov TUpOS, én’ OAtryon | TvaTEANOpEVOL TOTOV éFémumrov bn avaryKns T pos aro pévous Kal TAPATET A HEVOUS Tpo Tov YapaKos TOUS qoNepious. Kal TOUTOY per oriyot Suepuyov, TOUS dé Katarerpevras év TO otparorése mavTas dep Oerpe TO up, péxpt od KatacBécavtes ot “Pwpaios ra XpnwaTa, Sujpmacay.

XXXV. Teyovorwy b€ TovT@Y aTroATT@D etl TO
oTpatoTédou TOV vioy Aevxcov piraKa TOY Tw Ko-
TOV avO parr av Kab XPNMET OV avros eis THY TOV
Tmoheplov évéBanre. Kat THY Atkavav trod éfedov
Kat TPOTAYAYOLEVOS TOUS Ovorovexous evd us jj Hrye
THY oTpaTiay pos TO YovTpLoy, ovme Ta oupBe-
Bnxota trois Lourpivors TET UG HEVOS, GND @s étt
xivduvevovat Kab ToMLopKOUpEvOLS vd TOV Tup-
pyvay BonPijoat anevoav. ot & éruyov Hon THY
pev wom Tols TroAEpiots TrapadedwxoTes, avTOL
1 wupoBéAa conjecture of Sintenis?; wupa woAAd MSS., Sintenis!, and edd.
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blew down from the mountains at sun-rise. Accord- ingly, he equipped himself with fiery darts, and leading his forces out towards day-break, ordered part of them to attack with missiles and loud cries at an opposite point, while he himself, with those appointed to hurl fire, took his post where the wind was wont to smite the enemy’s trenches with the greatest force, and awaited the propitious moment. When battle had been joined and the sun rose and the wind burst forth with fury, he gave orders for an onset, and scattered no end of fiery darts along the trenches. The flames speedily found food in the crowded timbers of the wooden palisades and spread in all directions. The Latins had nothing at hand with which to ward off or quench them, and when at length their camp was full of fire, they were huddled together into a small space, and at last forced to dash out against an enemy who were drawn up in full battle array in front of the trenches. Few of them made their escape, and those who were left behind in the camp were all a prey to the fire until _ the Romans put it out and fell upon their booty. XXXV. This business dispatched, he left his son Lucius in command of the camp to guard the captives and the booty, while he himself invaded the enemy's country. He captured the city of the Aequians, brought the Volscians to terms, and straightway led his army towards Sutrium. He was not yet apprised of the fate of the Sutrians, but thought they were still in peril of siege by the Tuscans, and so hastened to relieve them. But they had already surrendered their city to the enemy, and been sent off in utter

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5¢ wdvrov évdecis ev ipatiows povoy aderpévor’

kat xa@ odov dvTe TO Kapirr pera tratsev Kal

yUVatKov arrnvrar odupopevol Tas EavToV TUYAaS.

o 5¢ Kdpsrros adres te wpos thy oyu émixra-

aes nat Tovs ‘Pwpatovs opay éudvopéver avtois

Tov Loutpivey daxpvovras Kal dvcavacyxerobyras

éml trois yeyevnpévors, éyvw py tovetcOar Tis
3 Tuuwpias avaBoArAnv, GAN evOds aye eérl To
Lovrpsov éxelvns THs Hyépas, Aoytlouevos avOpo-

mous evoaisova Kal TAOVGiaY TOMY apTL KaTELAN-

gotas cal pndéva THY TrodELioY UTrONENOITIOTAS
év avtn pnde mpocdeyopévous EEwOev, éxreXupé-
vous TavTamact Kal apurdxtous etpnoew opOas
Aoylodpevos. ov yap povoy THY ywpay Eade

SueNO wv, GANA Kal pos Tals WAALS yEevopmeEvos Kat

Ta Teiyn KataraBov épirarte yap ovdeis, ANN’

év olve Kal auvovaciats joav éoxedacpévos Kata
“4 Tas olkias. ézrel 8@ aoOovrTo Tovs troNEmious
Kpatovvtas On, obtw Siéxevro poxOnpas wre
mAnopovis Kal péOns, wes pnde mpds duynvy
Oppijcat ToAXovs, GAN ev tais oixiats aloyiora
TdavTwv vTropévoytas atrobviaKew Trapadidovat
adas avtovs Tots Todeuious. THY pev ov LovTpt-
vov TOA Huépa pa Sis arodcay ottTw avvéBn
Kai Tovs éyovtas atroBaneiv, Kal tos adnpnue-
vous atroNaBeiv 61a Kduiddov.
XXXVI. ‘O & ado tovtwv OpiauBos are
“dpi ovux éAaTTova Kal KOopov jveyKe TOV
mpwrTwv vey. Kal yap Tovs mdvu BacKaivoytas
TOY TOMTaVY Kal mavta BovropLévovs evtvyia
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i,

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destitution, with nothing but the clothes on their backs. As Camillus came marching along they met him, with their wives and children, all lamenting their misfortunes, Camillus himself was filled with compassion at the sight, and noticed that his Romans too, with the Sutrians hanging upon their necks in supplication, were moved to tears and anger at their lot. He therefore determined to make no postponement of his vengeance, but to march straight upon Sutrium that very day. He reasoned that men who had just taken a prosperous and opulent city, leaving none of their enemies in it, and expecting none from without, would be found wholly relaxed in discipline and off their guard ; and he reasoned correctly. He

not only passed unnoticed through the city's territory, but was actually at its gates and in command of its walls before the enemy knew it. For not a man of them was on guard, but they were all scattered among the houses of the city drinking and feasting. And even when they perceived that their enemies already had the mastery, they were so sluggishly disposed by reason of satiety and drunkenness that many did not so much as try to flee, but awaited there in the houses the most shameful of all deaths, or gave themselves up to their enemies. The city of Sutrium was thus twice captured in a single day, and it came to pass that those who had won it, lost it, and those who had first lost it, won it back, and all by reason of Camillus.

XXXVI. The triumph decreed him for these victories brought him no less favour and renown than his first two had done, and those citizens who had been most envious of him and preferred to ascribe all his successes to an unbounded good fortune rather

Tih padrrov i oe aperny caropbicbat, TOT
nvaryKator at mpagers Th Sewornre Kal TO Spa-
ornpio Tov avdpos dmodiBévau Thy Sokav. mv dé
TOV Ora way opeveov avT@ Kal mpoapIovovvray
emiupavérratos Mdpxos MdAmos, O T pOTOS
@OAPLEVOS TOUS Kearovs aT THS dxpas bTe To
Kamitwrio vuKtos eméBevo Kal dia TOTO
Kamitwdivos émrixrAnbeis. oTos yap akiov T pe-
Tos elvat T@V TONTOY Kal pn SuvapeEvos Tov
KdpirrXov amo: tov Bertiotou tpotou tH So&n
mapenOetv, vro8ecww Tupavvidos errotnaoaro KoWwnD
Kal auvnOn, Snpayaryav TOUS TONAOVS, padora
dé TOV OpetdovTov vpéa TOS pev apuvev Kal
cuvdsxav él tovs dSaverotds, Tors & aarpov-
HEVOS Bia xa KoVov ayer Oa Tos TOV Vowor,
Bote jworrods: TOY aro pov TAX ep avTov
yevéoOar xal aodrvy doBov Tapacyeiv Tots
Bedtioross TOV TONMTOD Opacvvopevous Kal
Tapdttovras TV aryopay. érrel O€ KatacTabels
em TavTa, SixTatwp Kovwtos Kamitwrivos els
THY elpKTHY évéBane TOV Marnor, o Oe Ojmos
yevomevov TovTov peTtéBare THV éobfira, Tm pary wa
rytvOeVvOV éml cuppopais peydhaus Kat Snuociass,
deicaca TOV OopuvBov 7 TVYKANTOS EXENEVO ED
'agbeDhvar tov MarArov. o & ovdev Hv adeDels
apeivov, ada, coBapdrepov eonparyaryel Kat
Stertaciate THY TOoAW. aipovvta. 8) aWdaALW

XiALapyov TOV Kapsarovr.
Eicayopevev bé TOV Kara TOU MaaAniov
dix@v peyanra TOUS KaTNYOpous éBramrev n
ovis. 0 yap ToTros, éd ob BeBnxws 6 Pens
1 yuerds with S: 3:4 vuerds,

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than to a native valour, were forced by these new exploits to set the man's glory to the credit of his ability and energy. Now of all those who fought him with hatred and envy, the most conspicuous was Marcus Manlius, the man who first thrust the Gauls down the cliff when they made their night attack upon the Capitol, and for this reason had been surnamed Capitolinus. This man aspired to be chief in the city, and since he could not in the fairest way outstrip Camillus in the race for glory, he had recourse to the wonted and usual arts of those that would found a tyranny. He courted, that is, the favour of the multitude, especially of the debtor class, defending some and pleading their causes against their creditors; snatching others from arrest and preventing their trial by process of law. In this way great numbers of indigent folk soon formed a party about him, and their bold and riotous conduct in the forum gave the best citizens much to fear. To quell their disorder, Quintus Capitolinus was made dictator, and he cast Manlius into prison. Thereupon the people put on the garb of mourners, a thing done only in times of great public calamity, and the Senate, cowed by the tumult, ordered that Manlius be released. He, however, when released, did not mend his ways, but grew more defiantly seditious, and filled the whole city with faction. Accordingly, Camillus was again made military tribune. ,

When Manlius was brought to trial, the view from the place was a great obstacle in the way of his accusers. For the spot where Manlius had stood

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évuxropaxynoe mpos tous Kedtovs, btrepepaivero
Tis ayopas amd tod Kamitwdiouv Kai tmapelxev
olxtov Tois opwawv: avTos TE TAS Yyelpas
dpéywv éxeioe cal Saxpvov trepiuynoxe TOV
aYOVOV, WATE TOUS KpivoyTas aTropeiy Kal ToA-
Aas avaBadrccDat Hv Sixny, pnt adeivat
BovrAopévous érrt texpnpioes havepois TO adixnnua
pnte xpjnoacbar TO vopw Suvapévous év 6>0ar-
pois THS mpadkews ovans bia tov Torov. 6 by
aupdpovncas o Kapirros petnyayer é€o wirns
70 StxaaT prov els TO [lernaivov dAcos" 50ev ovK
ovTos Tov KamitwAiou xatapavoos 6 Te StoKwv
eXpngato | Th KaTnyopia Kar Tots Kptvovat Tape-
YOpPNoEv H LYNN TOV yeyovoTey afiay avaXa-
Betv* opyiv él tots Tapovaty adunpacw. 0
bev ovv Madrxos arovs eis TO Kamvrwvov
annyOn, Kal Kara, Ths méTpas ao Gels TOV avrov
TOTrOV éaxe Kal TOV evTUXEo TAT OY Epyov Kal TOV
peyiorov aTUXN MAT OV punpetor. of 5é “Pwpaior
THY otKtav avTod KaTacKapavTes tepov iSpvcavro
Oeas, jv Movirav kandovor, Kal TO NoLTroV eyn-
picavro pndéva Tav Tatpixiov éml thy aKpas
KATOLKELD.
XXXVII. ‘O 6&é Kapsrros emt Xiuapyiav
ExT nv KaoUpEvos Tapyreiro, yeyovas poev Mrucias
non Tporw Kai Tov Twa kat POovov Sed.:a5 Kat
vewer wy emt do&n _TooauTy wal catopOopacty
7" Oe pavepwrdrn TOV aiTLOV id appwatia TOUA-
TOS" ervyxave yap voody rept Tas 7) pe as éxeivas.
ov pay Taphkev avT@ THY apyiy o OHpos, AANA
1 dvadaBeivy with S: AaBeiy.

when he fought his night battle with the Gauls, — overlooked the forum from the Capitol, and moved the hearts of the spectators to pity. Manlius himself, too, stretched out his hands toward the spot, and wept as he called to men’s remembrance his famous. struggle there, so that the judges knew not what to do, and once and again péstponed the case. They were unwilling to acquit the prisoner of his crime when the proofs of it were so plain; and they were unable to execute the law upon him when, owing to the place of trial, his saving exploit was, so to speak, in every eye. So Camillus, sensible of all this, trans- ferred the

court ontside the city to the Peteline Grove, whence there is no view of the Capitol. There the prosecutor made his indictment, and the judges were able to forget the man's past services in their righteous anger at his present crimes. So then Manlius was convicted, carried to the Capitol, and thrust down the rock, thus making one and the same spot a monument of his most fortunate actions and of his greatest misfortunes. The Romans, besides, razed his house to the ground, and built there a temple to the goddess they call Moneta. They decreed also that in future no patrician should ever have a house on the Capitoline hill.

XXXVII. Camillus, called now to be military tri- bune for the sixth time, declined the honour, being already well on in years, and fearful perhaps of the envy of men and the resentment of the gods which often follows upon such glorious successes as his. But the most manifest reason was his bodily weak- . ness, for it chanced that in those days he was sick. The people, however, would not relieve him of the

Body pyre immmevovtos avToD pte OTAOMAYOUVYTOS
év Tois ayaaot SetcOat, Bovrevopévov 5é povoy Kai
TpOoTaTTOVTOS, nvayKacev UTOCTHVaL THY oTpa-
Thylav Kai pe" éEvds TAY cuvapyovtav AevKiov
Movpiov tov otparov ayew evOvds él Tous
qoNeulous. ovro. & oav IIpaweorivo. at
OvorotcKxo: peta ToAAHS Suvdyews THY cUppa-
yida trav 'Pwpaiwy tropOobvres. é&eAOwv dé
Kal tapactpatoTedevoas Tos TroNEuLOLs avTOS
pev nkiov tpiBety tov modewov ypove, Kav et
paxns Senoee pwgas To copa Siaywvicacba,
Aevxiov 6€ Tod auvdpxovros emiOupia d0€ns
hepopévov mpos tov Kivduvoy axatacyétas Kal
cuveEopua@vTos dua takidpyous nal Aoyayous,
hoBnGels un dOovm 5H Ti Soxp Katopopa Kal
dirotipiav adaipeicbat véwy avdpav avvexopnaev
adxov éxeivp rapatdéa tiv Sivapiv, avtos Sé
dua THhv acéveray virereihOn pet ordiyov ev TO
otpato@éd@. tov dé Aeviov mpoteras ypynoa-
pévov TH maxn Kal Tpanrevros, aia bopevos THY
tpomTny TaVv Pwpaiwy ov KATETXEV QUTOD, arr'
avaBopwv €x Ths otiBddos amnvTa peta Taev
oTradav emi Tas TUAAS TOU ydpakos, 51a Tov hev-
yovtwy wbovpmevos eis TOUS OLwKOVTAS, BITE TOVS
pev evOds avactpéde xat cvvaxonroveiv, tovs
dé mpoodepopévous EFwlev iatacbat mpd avtod
kal cuvactivew, mapeyyu@vTas aAdndOLS By
atronNeirec Oa, Tov aotpaTnyov. tToTe pev ovp
oUTWS amreTpaTrovTo THs Simfews of Togo TH

& votepaia mpoayayau thy Siva o Kdapurros |

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office. He had no need, they cried, to fight in the ranks of the cavalry or the men-at-arms, but only to counsel and ordain; and so they forced him to undertake the command, and with one of his colleagues, Lucius Furius, to lead the army at once against the enemy. These were the Praenestines and Volscians, who, with a large force, were laying waste the lands of the Roman allies. Marching forth, therefore, and encamping near the enemy, he himself thought it best to protract the war, that so, in case a battle should at last be necessary, he might be strong of body for the decisive struggle. But Lucius, his colleague, carried away by his desire for glory, would not be checked in his ardour for battle, and incited the same feelings in the inferior officers ofthe army. So Camillus, fearing lest it be thought that out of petty jealousy he was trying to rob younger men of the successes to which they eagerly aspired, consented, with reluctance, that Lucius should lead the forces out to battle, while he himself, on account of his sickness, was left behind in the camp with a few followers. Lucius conducted the battle rashly and was discomfited, whereupon Camillus, perceiving the rout of the Romans, could not restrain himself, but sprang up from his couch and ran with his attendants to the gate of the camp. Through the fugitives he pushed his way to their pursuers. Those of his men who had passed him into the camp, wheeled about at once and followed him, and those who came bearing down on him from outside, halted and formed their lines about him, exhorting one another not to abandon their general. In this way, for that day, the enemy were turned back from their pursuit. On the next day, Camillus

IgI

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Kal cvvawas paxnv avTovs Te WKG KATA KPaTOS
Kal Tov ydpaxa apBdver cuvecaTTed@V ois
dhevyovot kali dvapOeipas tovs wreiarous. éx dé
TovTou mTudopevos TOALY Latpiav bro Tuppnver
éaroxévat xal Tovs - olKntopas amecpayba
"Pwpaiovs atravtas évras, THY yey ToAAHY Kal
Bapeiav ris Svvdpyews cis 'Popnv atréotesrer,
autos 5é Tovs axpdlovtas pddoTta Kal tmpoOupo-
TaTous avahaBov éréBare Tots THY TOALY ExoUGL
Tuppnvois nal xpatnoas tovs pev- éEnracev
avTav, tous dé aréxTesvev.
XXXVIII. 'EzravenOov 5é peta rodd@y Aagpv-
pov els "Poyny éméberEe Ppovipwtdtouvs amdvrwy
tovs pn hoBnOévras doBéverav Kal yijpas ijye-
peovos éwrepiav xal ToApav exovTos, GAN éXo-
pévous éxeivov akovta Kal vocovvTa madXov 7) TOV
év nartkia tovs Seopuévouvs Kxat orovdalovras

apxew. 16 Kal Tovoxravav apectava Aeyo-
pévav exédevov é€cévar Tov Kduidrov én’ avrovs
&va TOV WévtTEe TVTTPATHYWY TpoTENopEVOV. O Oé,
Kaimep atravtwv Bovropévor cai deopévar, édoas
Tous GAXous, wpoceiAeto Aevxvov Povpioy ovdevos
dv mpocdoxncavtos. ékelvos yap Hv oO Tapa
yvounv tov Kapidrdyou b:aywvicacOar mpobv-
pnbeis évaryxos kai dvotuxynoas Tepl THY waynr
adda Bovropevos, as Eotxev, arroxpivar Tip
cupudopay Kal thy aioyuynv amadrakat Tod
avdpos avtl tavtav TodToy mponyev. ot &é Tov-
oxNavol thy dayaptiay éravopOovpevot travovp-
yos, 70n Babifovtos ér adtovs Tod Kapidndovu To
pev tediov avOpwrwv ws év eipnvn yewpyouvTay
Kal vepovtwy évérrrAnoay, tas §€ mvdas elyov
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led his forces out, joined battle with the enemy, defeated them utterly, and took their camp, actually bursting into it along with those who fled to it, and slaying most of them. After this, learning that the city of Satricum had been taken by the Tuscans, and its inhabitants, all Romans, put to the sword, he sent back to Rome the main body of his army, comprising the men-at-arms, while he himself, with the youngest and most ardent of his men, fell suddenly upon the Tuscans who held the city and mastered them, ex- lling some and slaying the rest.

XXXVIII. He returned with much spoil to Rome, having proved that those citizens were the most sensible of all who did not fear the bodily age and weakness of a leader possessed of experience and courage, but chose him out, though he was ill and did not wish it, rather than younger men who craved and solicited the command. They showed the same good sense, when the Tusculans were reported to be on the brink of a revolt, in ordering Camillus to select one of his five colleagues as an aid, and march out against them. Although all the five wished and begged to be taken, Camillus passed the rest by and selected Lucius Furius, to everyone's surprise. For he was the man who had just now been eager to hazard a struggle with the enemy against the judg- ment of Camillus, and had been worsted in the battle. But Camillus wished, as it would seem, to hide away the misfortune and wipe away the disgrace of the man, and so preferred him above all the rest. But the Tusculans, when once Camillus was on the march against them, set to rectifying their transgression as craftily as they could. Their fields were found full of men tilling the soil and pasturing flocks, as in

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- avewypévas kal tovs taidas é ev Tots S:SacKareiors
pavOdvortas, Tov Oe O1jpou TO Bev Badvavaov él

TOV épyacrnplov éwparo rept TAS TEXVas, To 8
aaretov él THs ayopas év iparrious: ot 8 dpxovres
Tepineray omovdy KaTadvoers tots “Pwpaiots
eTrayyéeAXOVTES, WS ovdev KAKOV m poo Soxavres
4 ovee ouverbores. toutoy ode T paTTouEvay ant-
orelv be OUK emnet TP Kapirry TH Tpovosiay,
oixTeipas dé tH éml TH m™po ocia peTdvotay
avuTav éxédevce _T pos THY oveyk\nTov ed Oovras
mapatteia Oa THY opynv: Kal _TaparToupevors
ouven pager AUTOS apeOjvai TE THY mohuy airias
amraons Kat wetadraBelv icoroNTEelas. avTat pev
ovv éyévovtTo THs ExTNs YLdsapxXias eripavéctatat
mpakets.
IX XXIX, Mera dé taita Accewiou LToAwvos
év TH TWONEL THY peyadny oTaow éryetpovos, Nv o
Sijpos éataciate pos THY ouyKANTOV Bralopevos
Sveiv t brdtov Kabra tapeverv Tov Erepov TAavTWS éx
SnwoTay elvar Kal pn TuvappoTépous TaTpiKious,
57) jpapxor pev npéOncav, tas o vmariKas ap-
Xatpecias emteneo Oivar Stexwoduoay ot TONNOL.
2xal TOV Tpaypatwv ov avapyias pepopevery és
peifovas Tapaxas arrodeixvuTat dietarop o Ka-
ptAAos VITO THs Bourijs a aKovTL TO Onu@ TO TéTap-
Tov, ovd avTos Ov mpdOupmos ovde Bovdopevos
évavttoba Bat Tpos avOperrous Tappnaiay éxovras
aro TONG Kal peyahov ayovev 7pos AUTOV, WS
deiova pe avro@y Svarremparypevos é éy oTpatn-
Linge) peta TY Tatpixiwy év TodTeiats, Kal
2 per’ abrav Stamemparyuevos edd., including Sintenis', and S;
éy orparnylas per’ airay with C.
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times of peace ; their gates lay wide open ; their boys were at school conning their lessons; and of the people, the artizans were to be seen in their work- shops plying their trades, the men of leisure sauntered over the forum clad in their usual garb, while the magistrates bustled about assigning quarters for the Romans, as though they expected and were conscious of noevil. Their performances did not bring Camillus into any doubt of their intended treachery, but out of pity for the repentance that followed so close upon their treachery, he ordered them to go to the Senate and beg for a remission of its wrath. He himself also helped to make their prayers effectual, so that their city was absolved from all charges and received the rights of Roman citizenship. Such were the most conspicuous achievements of his sixth tribuneship. XXXIX. After this, Licinius Stolo stirred up the great dissension in the city which brought the people into collision with the Senate. The people insisted that, when two consuls were appointed, one of them must certainly be a plebeian, and not both patricians. Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the

multi- tude prevented the consular elections from being duly held. Owing to this lack of magistrates, matters were getting more and more confused, and so Camillus was for the fourth time appointed dictator by the Senate, though much against the wishes of the people. He was not eager for the office himself, nor did he wish to oppose men whose many and great struggles gave them the right to say boldly to him: "Your achievements have been in the field with us, rather than in politics with the patricians ;

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

viv dia POovov éxeitvwv npnpévos vr' avTov, tras
7 Katadvoee Tov Shpov iaxvaas 7) Katadvbein
pn Kparnoas. ov pny adda TreL_p@pevos apuUvELD
Tots Tapovat, THY Nuépav yvous, év 7 vomobeTetv
ot Snpapyor StevoodvTo, mpoéypawe otpatias Ka-
TaXoyov Kal petexdret Tov Shuov ex THs ayopas
eis TO Tredtoy peydras Cnulas atethk@v KaTa TOD
pn Uraxovoaytos. tav 5é dnudpywy éexeiOev ad
TaN avraviara pevov Tais amethais Kal Stopvu-
HEvov TéVvTE _pupidow apyuplov Cnpuw@aety, €t pa
Tava arto TOU Snjpou TOV vo pov aarpovpevors Kat
THY pipov, elte detaas puyny érépav Kal: KaTa-
Sixny, ws avipl peo Burn Kab KuTeipyac weve
peydda HH mpémovcay, elite TOD Symov THY Biav
dpaxov ovoav Kal Suavientoy vrrepBaréaBac py
Suvapevos pnde Bovdopevos, TOTE [ev brexwpnoev
olxabe: Tais 8 éfis. Hmeépaus oxmpdpevos ap-
pworeiv éFwpocato THY apxny.
H 8€ abyx«ArnrTos Erepov tKTaTO KaTéaTIGe:
KaKeLvOS amodeiEas immapxov QvTOV TOY HryEHova
Tis oTdTEws Yrorwva rapixcev emi UPOT aL TOV
vowov TOV pddora AUTrobVTA TOUS TarpiKious.
éxéXevoe 6 ovtos pndéva TALE pov TmevTaKoci@y
T)etova xXepay kex tha Oat. TOTE wey ovv Aap pos
0 XToA@V eryeryover TH Wnd@ Kpathioas: OAD &
Uarepov auros édw KEKT NUEVOS donv exe éxw-
Avey ETEpOUS, Kal KATA Tov av'Tov vouov SiKkny
edwxev.
XL. 'Trrodecrropevns dé Ths TEPL TOV VTATLK@V
apyarpec rev prroverkias, 6 0 367 Xarerroratov THS
aTacews Hv Kal mpatrov pte xal mreloTa

it is through bate and envy that they have now made you dictator; they hope that you will crush the people if you prevail, or be crushed yourself if you fail." However, be tried to ward off the threatening evils. Having learned the day on which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he issued proclamation

making it a day of general muster, and summoned the people from the forum into the Campus Martius, with threats of heavy fines upon the disobedient. The tribunes, on the contrary, for their part, opposed his threats with solemn oaths that they would fine him fifty thousand silver drachmas if he did not cease trying to rob the people of its vote and its law. Then, either because he feared a second condemna- tion to exile, a penalty unbecoming to a man of his years and achievements, or because he was not able, if he wished, to overcome the might of the people which was now become resistless and invincible, he withdrew to his house, and after alleging sickness for several days, resigned his office.

But the Senate appointed another dictator, and he, after making Stolo himself, the very leader of the sedition, his master of horse, suffered the law to be enacted. It was a most vexatious law for the patrician, for it prohibited anyone from owning more than five hundred acres of land. At that time, then, Stolo was a resplendent figure, owing to his victory at the polls; but a little while after, he himself was found to be possessed of what he forbade others to own, and so paid the penalty fixed by his own law.

XL. There remained, however, the strife over the consular elections,which was the main problem in the dissensions, as it was its first cause, and gave

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mpaypnata TH BovrAj Tapéa xe Stadhepopévn Tpos Tov Onpov, ayyediat mpocetrecov cadels, Kertous avOus amo THs "Adptatixns apavtas Oa-
Adoons puptdot woXAais él rHv “Pounv édrav-
2 vew. dpa S€7T@ Ayo Kal Ta Epya TOU TrONEpOU maphy topSoupévns THS Xwpas Kal Tov avOpo-
Tov, boos pr padtoy mv eis THY ‘Pwopyny Karaguyeiv, ava ta dpn cKedavvupévwr. odTOS Oo hoBos Katéravce tHv oTdow, Kal ovvedOovtes els TAUTO TOls TrOAAOIS OL KpdTLaTOL Kat TH BovrAT TO OnwoTtiKov etAovTO TavTes ex pias yuouns 61-
3 xTdTopa TO Téumtov Kaptrdgov. o 8 jv pev opodpa yépwv cal puxpov amérectrev oySonKxovTa etn yeyovevar: cuvopav Sé tHhv avdyKknv Kal Tov xivduvov, oUTe UiroTtipnow eiTeVv, ws TpOTEpOY, ovTe Tpopacer Ypnoduevos, GAN’ avToOev wro-
oTaS THY oTpaTHylay KaTéXeyEe TOUS payYnTO-

EVOUS.

Eidas 5€ tis tov BapBdapwv adkijs rnv Braco-
TaTnv év Tails payaipats ovcav, &s BapBapixcas
kal aovv ovdeuiad téyvn KatadépovTes wpous
4 pddtota Kal Keparas diéxotrTov, éyadKxevaaTo
per xpadvn Tols wAElaTOUs ONOTIonpa Kal rela Tals
mepipepeiars, ws amoNcOaivew Katayvucbar
Tas payxaipas, Tois b€ Oupeois KvK@ TEPLAPMLOG Ee
ANeTriOa YarKHy, Tov EiAov Kal avTo Tas TAN YAS
pn oTéyovtos: avtous bé€ Tols otpatimtas édt-
dake toils taaois paxpots Sa yerpos xpjoOas Kat
tois Eiheot TOV Trordeuioy bTroBddXovTas éKdé-
xecOat tas Katadopds.
XLI. ’Eset 5€ awAnoiov joav oi KeArot, rept
Tov ‘Aviwva trotayov aotpatoredoy Bapv Kar
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the Senate most concern in-its contention with the people. But suddenly clear tidings came that the Gauls had once more set out from the Adriatic Sea, many myriads strong, and were marching on Rome. With the word, the actual deeds of war kept pace. The country was ravaged, and its population, all who could not more easily fly to Rome for refuge, scattered among the mountains. This terror put an end to the dissension in the city, and brought to- gether into conference both the rich and the poor, the Senate and the people. All with one mind chose Camillus dictator for the fifth time. He was now quite old, lacking little of eighty years; but recog- nizing the peril and the necessity which it laid upon him, he neither made excuse, as before, nor resorted to pretext, but instantly took upon him the com- mand and went to levying his soldiers.

Knowing that the prowess of the Barbarians lay chiefly in their swords, which they plied in true barbaric fashion, and with no skill at all, in mere slashing blows at head and shoulders, he had helmets forged for most of his men which were all iron and smooth of surface, that the enemy’s swords might slip off from them or be shattered by them. He, also had thé long shields of his men rimmed round with bronze, since their wood could not of itself ward off the enemy’s blows. The soldiers them- selves he trained to use their long javelins like spears,—to thrust them under the enemy’s swords and catch the downward strokes upon them.

XLI. When the Gauls were near at hand, being
encamped on the Anio and encumbered with untold
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peatov apOovov reias eyovtes, eEayayov THv
Sivayuy idpyce Kata vans panaxijs Kal ouvy-
Kdloes TOAAAS exovans, WaTE TO pév TrEloTOV
aroxpuTTecOat, TO 8 opapevor Soxeiv dio Séovs
eis ywpia mpoodvTn KatethetcOar. tavTnv dé
thy dSofav avtav 6 Kdpirros abfey BovAdpuevos
ov T poo npuve TOV LITO TObAas ropBoupevev, GANG
TOV Xdpara ppatdpevos npéewer, mex pe ov Tos
pev év Tpovopais éoxedac pévous Katetoe, Tous &
éy T® oTpatoTéd@ Tacayv Wpav épriTrAapévous
adedas xal peOvovtas. tote 5é vuKTos ert TOUS
Wirous mpoexrréuwas éurrodwy elvar trois Bap-
Bdpoats eis tafity xaOtotapévois Kal dvatapattey
evOds érreEvovras, xateBiSalev GpOpov tous on-
Aitas Kal tapétattev ev Tois emu édous, TOANOUS
kal tpoOvpous, ody waoTrep ot BagBapot mpoce-
Soxwy, ddjLtyous Kal aToApous dhavévras. mpaTtov
bev odv TovTO TOV Kertav avétpee TA hpovn-
pata wap akiavy émeyetpetcOar Soxovvtor.
emetta TMpoomimrovTes of Wtdol Kat mply 7 Tov
ouv7On Aaeiv KOG MOV Kal Stax prOfivat kara
NOKOUS KevoovTes avTous kat Bialopevor mpos TO
ovyTUyov ATAKTOUS ivaryKacay waxes Bau. TENOS
bé TOU Kapirrou TOUS omhitas EM AYOVTOS, OL [Lev
avarewwdpevor TAs paxaipas cvvdpapeiv éo-
mevoov, ot O€ Tots vVacois atravTavtes Kal Ta
cecLOnpwmera pépn Tais mAnyais DropEpovTes
‘avéatpepov TOV éKeivov aiSnpov padanov évra
Kal AeTTAS ekpapévor, 6 Bare caprrrecOat TAXD
kat SumrAotcOat Tas payaipas, Tovs 5é Oupeovs
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plunder, Camillus led his forces out and posted them in a gently sloping glade with many hollows, so that the largest part of them were concealed, and the part that could be seen had the look of shutting themselves up in hilly places out of fear. This opinion of them Camillus wished to strengthen, and therefore made no defence of those who were plundered even at his very feet, but fenced in his trenches and lay quiet, until he saw that some of the enemy were scattered abroad in foraging parties, while those in the camp did nothing but gorge themselves with meat and drink. Then, while it was yet night, he sent his light-armed troops for- ward to hinder the Barbarians from falling into battle-array and throw them into confusion as they issued from their camp. Just before dawn, he led his men-at-arms down into the plain and drew them up in battle-array, many in number and full of spirit, as the Barbarians now saw, not

few and timid, as they had expected. To begin with, it was this which shattered the confidence of the Gauls, who thought it beneath them to be attacked first. Then again, the light-armed folk fell upon them, forced them into action before they had taken their usual order and been arrayed in companies, and so com- pelled them to fight at random and in utter disorder. Finally, when Camillus led his men-at-arms to the attack, the enemy raised their swords on high and rushed for close quarters. But the Romans thrust their javelins into their faces, received their strokes on the parts that were shielded by iron, and so turned - the edge of their metal, which was soft and weakly tempered, so much so that their swords quickly bent up double, while their shields were pierced and

ouprremapbar Ka Bapvvec Bar ToD Voowy epen-
Kopéeven. 50 Kal peOrrapevor Tov (dtwv Grrhwy
em etp@VTO Tois éxeivoy ovat péper Oar Kal Tous
baoous Tapadé pew émuhapBavopevor Tais Xepaiv.
ot O€ 'Peopaior yupvoupévovs * opavres 70n Tots
Eipeouy EXPOVTO, Kal povos bev Hv TONS TOV
TpOTaKT@V, puyn 5é Tey adeov TAVTAXOTE Too
medtov. Tovs yap Aopous Kal Ta Dyna 7 poKar-
ELAnper Kadpurros, 70 dé otparomedov dia 0
Oapaeiv aphpaxtov éyovres Hoecay ov YadeTras
Gdwoopevov.
Tavrny THY paxny éteow DaTepov Tpioxaideca
ryevéoOat héyouat THS 'Popns awa ews, kai Bé-
Bavov 4 auTnsS ppovnua KATA TOV Kerrav € eryrye-
véoOat "Pepaios apodpa Sedorkoar TOUS Bap-
Bapous, ws 70 mpartov bua vorous Kal tUYas
Taparoyous, ov Kara KpaTos, um aura veveKn-
pévous. OUT 8' ot o poBos ny toxupos, Oore
GécBau vOjov apeiabar Tous lepets oTpateias
xwpis av py TadariKos 7) TONE MOS.
XLII. Tov pe ovv OTPATLOTLKGY ayavev
obras nyovic8n Te Kapidrp TedEuT Ais. Thy
yap Ovehitpavev modu eldev ev Tapépyp TAUTNS
THIS oTparetas apayel TporxXwpyncacav are.
Tav oe TOT EKOY 0 Heya ros bmeXelTeTo Kal
Xarerwrepos " m™pos TOV Ofjpov toyupov emravn-
KOVTa TH ViKN «al Bualopevor é éx Snpotav i dmatov
dtrodeitas Tapa Tov KabecTOTA voor, avTITATTO-
pévns tHS BovAns cal tov KdpirXov ovK éoons
1 yupvouuévous with S: yupvods.

2 xal xaderwrepos Sintenis', now supported by S: xarerd-

weighed down by the javelins which stuck in them. Therefore they actually abandoned their own weapons and tried to possess themselves of those of their enemies, and to turn aside the javelins by grasping them in their hands. But the Romans, seeing them thus disarmed, at once took to using their swords, and there was a great slaughter of their foremost ranks, while the rest fled every whither over the plain ; the hill tops and high places had been occupied beforehand by Camillus, and they knew that their camp could easily be taken, since, in their overweening confidence, they had neglected to fortify it.

This battle, they say, was fought thirteen years after the capture of Rome, and produced in the Romans a firm feeling of confidence regarding the Gauls. They had mightily feared these Barbarians, who had been conquered by them in the first instance, as they felt, in consequence of sickness and extra- ordinary misfortunes, rather than of any prowess in their conquerors. At any rate, so great had their terror been that they made a law exempting priests from military service, except in case of a Gallic war.

XLII. This was the last military exploit performed by Camillus, for the capture of Velitrae was a direct sequel of this campaign, and it yielded to him with- out a struggle. But the greatest of his civil contests yet remained and it was harder to wage it now against a people which had come back flushed with victory, and bent on electing a plebeian consul, contrary to the established law. But the Senate opposed their demands, and would not suffer Camillus to lay aside .

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arolécOat Tv apymy; as per loxupas Kal
meyarns eEovotas Tihs éxeivou paxnoopever ay
Bérxtiov trép rhs dpiotoxpatias.. émel 8é
mpoxabnpévov tov KapiddXou Kal xpnwatifovros
ért THs dyopas varnpétns trepPOels Tapa Tov
Snudpywv éxéXevoev axorovbeiy Kai THY YeElpa
T copate Tpoonyey ws amdtwv, kpavyy S€ Kal.
OdpuBos, ofos otra, KaTéoxye THY ayopav, TaV
bev wept tov KdwrrAov @OovvTwv amo Tov
Bnparos Tov Snpocvov, TOY dé TONKGY Kat ober
EXKxewv CTrLKeAevojLevenr, drropovpevos Tos Tra-

potat TV ev dpxnv ov TPoHKaro, tous dé Bov-
AeuTas dvaraBov éBadifev él THY ouyKANTOD.
Kat mply etoeAOcivy petactpadels cis TO Kam-
TO@ALOV ebEaTo tots Oeois carevdivas Ta 1 a,povTa.
Tm pos TO KdddLaTOV Té)oS, brrocX omevos vaov
‘Opovoias iSptcacbar Tis Tapaxhs KaTacTaans.
Meydrou 6 aryaivos év TH TUyKAHTD Yyevo- -
pévou pos TAs évavtias yopas, Cpcos evienaey
paraxwTépa Kal bmeixovea TO On Kal
wovoa TaV omdrav Tov €repov amo TOU TAN-
Govs dpxatpectacat. TaiTa é Os TH Bovrn
SoxobvTa Tov Sixtaropos avert ovTos év TO Siue,
TapaxXphya mer, olov eiKos, Hdopevor TH BovrAy
SinAAaTTOvTO Kal TOV Kaporrov oixade KpOoT@
kat Bon T poeTre TOV. ™m 8 voTEpata auven-
Govres éeyndicavto THs pey ‘Opovoias iepov,
HoTep eiEaTo Kapirnros, eis Thy dryopav Kal THV
éxxAnotay atomroyv éml Tois ryeryernpévors iSpu-
cacbat, tais 6¢é Kadovpevars Aativats pia
népav mpocbévras éoptdtew tétTapas, tapav- 152
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his office, thinking that, with the aid of his great power and authority, they could make a better fight in defence of their aristocracy. But once when Camillus was seated in state and despatching public business in the forum, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow, actually laying hands upon him as though to hale him away. All at once such cries and tumult as had never been heard before filled the forum, the friends of Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the multitude below ordering him to drag the dictator away. Camillus, perplexed at the issue, did not renounce his office, but taking the — senators with him, marched off to their place of meeting. Before he entered this, turning to the Capitol, he prayed the gods to bring the present tumults to their happiest end, solemnly vowing to build a temple to Concord when the confusion was over.

In the Senate there was a great conflict of opposing views, but nevertheless, the milder course prevailed, concession was made to the people, and permission given them to elect one of the consuls from their own

body. When the dictator announced this to the people as the will and pleasure of the Senate, at once, as was to be expected, they were delighted to be reconciled with the Senate, and escorted Camillus to his home with loud applause. On the following day they held an assembly and voted to build a temple of Concord, as Camillus had vowed, and to have it face the forum and place of assembly, to commemorate what had now happened. They voted also to add a day to the so-called Latin festival, and thereafter to celebrate four days, and that all

tixa 5é€ Ovew Kal atepavnpopeiv "Pwpaiors
Grravtas. Tov o apxatpeciov BpaBevbévrwv
bro Kayidrouv KateaTadnaay dratot Mapxos
pev Aipinsos éx Tat pixion, Aevxtos dé LéEr195
éx Snporav TpOTOs. kat tovTo qépas at Ka-
pidrov mpaters 6 éaXov.
XLIII. "Ey 6€ 7 KATOT évauT@ Dowpadns
voros éumecodaa TH 'Pan Tov pév addov BX ov
ov TrepiAnmT ov apiO ue dep Oerpe, Tov o dpxovrav
TOUS Trelorous. 'Eredevt noe dé Kal Kdpirros,
Mrrxias pev ovvexa Kal Biou TENELOTNTOS, WS Eb
Tes aAos avOpaTrav @paios, auidoas 6é "Po-
patos as ovde oupmarres o TH voow KaT
éxeivoy Tov Ypovoy amroPavoytes.

Romans at once perform sacrifices with garlands on their heads. At the elections held by Camillus, Marcus Aemilius was chosen consul from the patricians, and Lucius Sextus first consul from the plebeians. This was the last public act of Camillus.

XLIII. In the year following, a pestilential sick- ness visited Rome, carrying off an incalculable number of the common people, and most of the magistrates. Camillus also died at this time, and he was full ripe for death, if any man ever was, considering his years and the completeness of his life; yet his loss grieved the Romans more than that of all those who perished of the plague at this time.

I. "Apioteténs o Avotpayov duvAns peéev jv

"Avtioyibos, Tav & Syuwv "Adwrren7nOev. epi
5 ovcias avtov Aoyou Sudhopor yeyovaciy, ot péev
as év mevia ovyvtéve KataBiwoavTos Kal peta
\ \ b 4 @ é 5 4 \
Tnv TeXeUTHY aTroNTrovTOS GuyaTépas Ovo TroNUY
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xpovov avexdotous Sv? amopiay yevouévas mpos
5é ToTov Tov AOryoy UTd TOAAOY Elpynpévoy avTt-
, e '\ , ? A
Ttacaopevos 6 Parnped's Anyuntpios ev TO Yox-
4 U a 4 b] /
pare. yopiov Parnpot dot ywooxev Apioteioouv
yevouevov, év @ TéaTrTaL, Kal TEKpNpLA THS TrEpt
TOV osKoV EvTropias ev ev HryelTat THY eTr@VvUpOV
apxnv, iv jpyev 0} T@ Kudpo AaxXov ex TOY
YEVOV TOV TA péeyloTa TiuNnMaTA KEKTNMEVO?, ODS.
TEVTAKOOLOMEOL VOUS TpOoanyopevoy, ErEepov Sé TOV
> / > a , J
éEootpaxiapov: ovdevl yap TOY TevyTwY, GANA
Tois €& olkwy te peydrwv cal dia yévous dryxov
' ' ~ 9 , / \
émipOoverv dotpaxov émipépecOau: tpitov dé Kat
Tedevtaiov, Ste vinns avabnpata yopnytKovs
tpitodas év Avovicou Kxatadérorrrev, of xal Ka?
n /
nas edeixverto To.avTny émiypadiy S:acw@lovtes:
1 #pxev 5 Blass, adopting Sintenis' conjecture: Apéte.
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I. Aristipes, the son of [Uysimachus, 'belonged to the tribe Antiochis, and to the deme Alopecé. As regards his substance, stories differ, some having it that he passed all the days of his life in severe poverty, and that at his death he left behind him .two daughters who for a long time were not sought in marriage because of their indigence. But in contradiction of this story which so many writers give, Demetrius of Phalerum, in his << Socrates,' says he knows of an estate in Phalerum which belonged to Aristides—the one in which he lies buried, and regards as proofs of his opulent circumstances, first, his office of Archon Eponymous, which only he could hold who obtained it by lot from among the families carrying the highest property- assessments (these were called Pentacostomedimni, or Five-hundred-bushellers) ; second, his banishment in ostracism, for no poor men, but only men from great houses which incurred envy because of their family prestige, were liable to ostracism ; third, and last, the fact that he left in the precinct of Dionysus as offerings for victory some choregic tripods, which, even in our day, were pointed out as still bearing the inscription: " The tribe

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“"Avtuoxis éevixa, Apioreidns éyopnye, ’Apyxé-
oTpatos édiOacKe.”
Tourl pév ovv, xatrep etvar Soxody péytoTor,
aoQevéotatov éott. Kat yap ‘Erapewvoveas, dv
mavres avOpwro ywooKxovow év Tevia Kal Tpa-
dévta TOAAH Kal Bidcavta, cal TIdtovo pido-
coos ovK adirotipouvs avedé~avto yYopnyias, o
pev avAntrais dvipdow, o Sé Tact KuKdLols
yopnyncas, TovTm pev Aiwvos tod Yupaxovciou
Thy Satdvny tapéxovtos, "Evrapewvavda 8 tav
wept Wlerdomiday. ov yap éott Tois ayabois
axnpuxtos Kal aotovdos mpos Tas Tapa Tov
dirwy Swpeads modepos, GAA Tas els amrd0ecw
Kal mreoveEiay ayevvets Hryovpevoe Kal Tatrewas,
boat pirotipias Twos axepSous ExovTar Kat Aap-
WpoTNTos ov“ atrwOodvTar.
Ilavaitios pévtot tept Tod rpizrodos atodaiver
Tov Anuntptoy opwvupia Sievrevopévov: amo yap
tav Mndixav eis tTHv tTéeXNeuTHY Tov [leXoTrovYN-
avaKxod troNéuou Svo0 povous ‘Aptoreidas yopnyous
avaypadecOar vxavras, av ovdétepov clvar TO
Avotpaxou TOV aurov, ara Tov pey Hevodirou
TATpOs, TOV 5é ypove TOMA vewrepov, ws Edey-
Nel Ta Ypdmpata THs pet’ Evxreldnv dvta ypap-
patikhns Kal mpooyeypappévos o 'Apyéotpatos,
ov év tots Mnoexois ovdeis, év dé rots [eXozrop-
vnoparots auxvol xyopav diddcKnarov dvaypd-
govot.
To pév ovv Tod Ilavartiou Bértiov émucxemréov

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Antiochis was victorious; Aristides was Choregus ;
Archestratus was Poet.”
Now this last argument, though it seems very
strong, is really very weak. For both Epaminondas,
who, as all men know, was reared and always lived
in great poverty, and Plato the philosopher, took
it upon themselves to furnish munificent public

performances, the first, of men trained to play the flute, the second, of boys trained to sing and dance ; but Plato received the money that he spent thereon from Dion of Syracuse, and Epaminondas from Pelopidas. Good men wage no savage and relentless war against the gifts of friends, but while they look upon gifts taken to be stored away and increase the receiver's wealth as ignoble and mean, they refuse none which promote an unselfish and splendid munificence.

However, as regards the tripods, Panaetius tries to. show that Demetrius was deceived by identity of name. From the Persian wars, he says, down to the end of the Peloponnesian war, only two Aristides are recorded as victorious choregi, and neither of them is identical with the son of Lysimachus. One was the son of Xenophilus, and the other lived long afterwards, as is proved by the inscription itself, which is written in the character used after Eucleides,! as well as by the last name, Archestratus, of whom there is no record during the Persian wars, while during the time of the Peloponnesian war his name often appears as that of a choral poet.

This argument of Panaetius should be more closely

1 In 403-402 8.c., when Eucleides was Archon Hponymous, the Ionian alphabet was officially adopted at Athens.

érws eye. Te 8 Gotpdem Tas o bia So€ay
A / A s U4 e é \ \
h yévos Aoyou Suvayiv wvmrép Tovs ToAXOUS
vouslopevos viréririev: Strov Kal Adpuoyv o Ilepe-
lA lA 4 \ A PANS
Kréous Stddonaros, Ste TO hpoveity edoxer Tis
elvas wepittos, éEwotpaxicOn. Kal pv ap—ar
N\ 9 Vd e9 \ ? , 3 b]
ye tov Aptotetdny o ldopevevs ov cvapevTov, aAX
e 4, 9 / , > \ \
érXopévov "AOnvaiwyv dnoiv. ec Sé nal peta THY
év [Iatasais paynv ipkev, as avtos o Anpn-

Tptos yéypade, cal wavy miBavov éotiy émi dSd&n
TocauTy Kal KatopOwpact tnArALKOUTOLS aEiwOnVvaL
5.’ apetnyv ts Sua twAovTOV érbyxavoy of Aayyd-
2 \ \ e \ / ’ ,

voyTes. adNa yap o pev Anpuntplos ov povoy
"Aptorenv, GANG Kal Zwoxparnv SHros éote THs
mevias éFeréaOar dirotipwovpevos ws peyddou
Kakov Kal yap éxeive dnaly ov povov THY oiKiav
UTapXELV, GAA Kal pras éEBSoprjxovta Toxr{o-
pévas vo Kpitavos.
II. ’Apsoreiins 8¢ KrXeroBévous pév tov xata-
oTHTAMEVOU THV TOALTELAY PETA TOUS TUpPaYVOUS
éraipos yevouevos, Enrwoas 8 xal Oavpaoas
pamota TOV ToALTIK@Y avdpav AvKotpyov Tov
‘ fo]
Aaxedatpovov, Hrypato pév apiotoxpatixhs Twod-
tetas, Eye 8 avtitacadpevoy iiép tod Sypov
Bemwortoxréa Tov Neoxréous. evot pev ovv dacwy
maidas ovTas avtovs Kal ouvtpepopévous at’
apxns év mavti cat aomovdys é oper Kal mavdias
mTpaypwate Kat Noym StadépecOat mrpos aAAAOUs,
Kai Tas hvaoes EVOds UIrd THIS Pedroverxias éxetvns
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examined as to its validity ; but to banishment in
ostracism every one was liable who was superior
to the common run of men in reputation, or lineage,
or eloquence. And so it was that Damon, the
teacher of. Pericles, was ostracized because he
was thought to be rather extraordinary in his
wisdom.! Furthermore, Idomeneus says that Aristides
obtained the office of archon, not by lot, but by
the election of the Athenians.?, And if he was
made archon after the battle of Plataea, as Demetrius
himself has written, it is certainly very credible
that in view of such a reputation and such successes
as he there won, he should be deemed worthy,
for his valour, of an office which men who drew lots
for it obtained for their wealth. In fact, Demetrius
is clearly ambitious to rescue not only Aristides,
but also Socrates from what he deems the great
evil of poverty, for he says that Socrates owned

not only his house, but also seventy minas out at interest with Crito.

II. Aristides was an intimate friend of that Cleisthenes who set the state in order after the expulsion of the tyrants. He also admired and emulated, above all other statesmen, Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian. He therefore favoured an aristocratic form of' government, and ever had opposed to him, as champion of the people, Themistocles the son of Neocles. Some say that even as boys and fellow-pupils, from the outset, in every word and deed, whether serious or trivial, they were at variance with one another, and that by

1 Pericles, iv. 2.

2 From 508 B.o. to 487 B.c. the archons were elected by the Assembly ; after 487, they were once more chosen by lot.

dvaxanrvrres Oat, Thy pev evyeph Kal TrapdBonov Kal mavoupyov ovaay Kai per ofbrnTos émi mavTa padiws Pepopevny, THY 8 lige év HOeu BeBaig Kal rpos TO Sixatov a arevi,' Weddos Sé Kai Boporoyiav cal amdarny ot8 év radias Tur TpOTr@ TpocLepevny.

'"Apiatov & o Keios &€& épwrixijs apxiis ryeveobat gnat cal mpoerOety él tocovrov. THY éyOpav avTav. 2ryoirew yap, Os Hv ever Keios, ida te nal poppy ca@patos wodV Tov ép apa Ram poraros, appotépous _fpacbevras ou petpios eveynety To Tabos ovd dua. AnYOUTL TO KdAXret TOU Tratdos atrobécOat THv dtNovetkiar, GAN wWomep éyyuuvacapévouvs exelvn Tpos THY qodttelay evOvs opunaat Svatrvpous évtas Kal diahopws éyovtas.

'O pév obv Memsoroxrs eis Evratpeiav éuBadrowv éautov elye mpoBrnua nab Sivayuy ovK evearadpovntov, @aTe Kal Wpds Tov eiTovTaA KAaXrBS avtov ap€ew "AOnvaiwr, dvirep isos 7 Kal Kowvos amac. " Mydérore," elmreiv, 'els TOUTOV eyo Kcabioarpe Tov Opovov, ev @ méov ovdev EEovarw Ob piror map "épol Trav addoTplav:" "Apioretdnys dé Kad EaUTOV domep obov idiav éBab.le b:a THs ToneTelas, ™ per ov pev ov Bovdopevos ouvadixely Tots

this very rivalry their natures were straightway
made manifest, the one as dexterous, reckless, and
unscrupulous, easily carried with impetuosity into
any and every undertaking ; the other as established
on a firm character, intent on justice, and admitting
_ no falsity or vulgarity or deceit, not even in any
sport whatsoever.
But Ariston of Ceos says that this enmity of
theirs, which came to be so intense, had its origin
in a love affair. They were both enamoured of
Stesilatis, who was of Ceian birth, and in beauty
of person the most brilliant of youths; and they
cherished their passion so immoderately, that not
even after the boy’s beauty had faded did they
lay aside their rivalry, but, as though they had
merely taken preliminary practice and exercise in
that, they presently engaged in matters of state
also with passionate heat and opposing desires.
Themistocles joined a society of political friends, and so secured no inconsiderable support and, power. Hence when some one told him that he would be a good ruler over the Athenians if he would only be fair and impartial to all, he replied: “ Never may I sit on a tribunal where my friends are to get no more advantage from me than strangers.” But Aristides walked the way of statesmanship by him- _ self, on a private path of his own, as it were, because, in the first place, he was unwilling to join with any comrades in wrong-doing, or to vex them by with- holding favours; and, in the second place, he saw that power derived from friends incited many to do wrong, and so was on his guard against it, deeming

Sé xodovov tH éxeivou Sivamy ydpiTe TOV
To\Xov av€ouevny vrrevavtiovabar ols Empatrev
0 BemworoxrAns, BérTvov Hyovpevos TmapedOety
évia TOY ouudepovt@v Tov SHyov TO Kpareiv
éxelvov év taow ioyupov yevécOat. Tédos S€
mote Tov @emotoxrAéovs mpatTovTos TL ToY
SeovTwy avtTixpovoas Kat Trepuyevomevos ov KaTé-
aoxyev, GX eEltrev ato THS éxxAnalas aTiwy, ws
ovx gots owtnpia Ttois "AOnvaiwy mpdypyacwv, et
pn Kal Bemwortonréa kal avtov eis To Bapadpov
éuBdaroev. ward dé ypaas Tia yvounv eis
Tov Spor, avtiroyias ovons mpos avTyy Kal
diroverkias, expater' pédXovtos S€ Tod mpoédpou
Tov Shmov emepwtav aiaQopevos éx TOV AOywV
avTav TO aovpdpopoy améctn Tod yndiopaTos.
jonndaKs de Kat St éErépwv eiaéhepe TAS yvomas,
@s pn) dtdoverxia TH Wpos avTov 6 BepioroxrAHs
éurrdd.os ein TH ovuépovte.
@avpactn Sé tis ehaiveto avtov Tapa Tas év
Th TodtTeia petaBorgas 7 evoeTabea, pte Tals
Tiyais ématpoyévou mpos Te Tas Svanpepias
aBopvBws Kal mpaws exovtos, Kal opolws Hyou-
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it right that the good citizen should base his con- fidence only on serviceable and just conduct.

III. However, since Themistocles was a reckless agitator, and opposed and thwarted him in every measure of state, Aristides himself also was almost compelled—partly in self-defence, and partly to curtail his adversary's power, which was increasing through the favour of the many—to set himself in opposition to what Themistocles was trying to do, thinking it better that some advantages should escape the people than that his adversary, by prevailing everywhere, should become too strong. Finally there came a time when he opposed and defeated Themistocles in an attempt to carry some really necessary measure. Then he could no longer hold his peace, but declared, as he left the Assembly, that there was no safety for the Athenian state unless they threw both Themistocles and himself

into the death-pit. On another occasion he himself introduced a certain measure to the people, and was carrying it through successfully, in spite of the attacks of the opposition upon it, but just as the presiding officer was to put it to the final vote, perceiving, from the very speeches that had been made in opposition to it, the inexpediency of his measure, he withdrew it withfout a vote. And oftentimes he would introduce his measures through other men, that Themistocles might not be driven by the spirit of rivalry with him to oppose what was expedient for the state.

Altogether admirable was his steadfast constancy amid the revulsions of political feeling. He was not unduly lifted up by his honours, and faced adversity with a calm gentleness, while in all cases alike he

pévov xphvar tH tatpid: mapéyew éavtov ov
Npynuatwy povov, adrAga Kat do—ns mpoika Kat
ayscOit modwTevopevoyv. Obev, ws Eoixe, TOY Eis
"Apdgidpaov br' Aicydtrovu reroinpévor layBetov
év T@ Oedtpw AEyouevov:
Ov yap Soxety Stxatos, aA' eivat BéreL,
a v \ \ ,
Baéeciay Groxa a ppevos Kaptrovpevos,

ad' is Ta Kebva Bractdver Bovrevpata,

mavres amréBreirav eis "Aptotetdny, ws éxeiv@
paroTa THS apeTas TavTNS TpocnKovons.
IV. Od povov 88 mpos ebvoray nal ydpiv, adra
Kal Tpos opynv Kat mpos ExOpay layupoTatos Hv
umTép trav Stxaiwy avtTiornvat. DAéyerar your
mote Siaxwov éxOpov év Stxacrnpio, peta THY
Katnyoptav ob BovAopéevey axoveww Tod Kivdvuvevovtos Ttav SixacTov, adrAa THY Whpov evOUs
aitouvtwy ém avrov, avarndnoas TO Kpwopeve
ouvixerevev, Sirws axovobein Kal Tvyos TOY
vonipoy maddy é Kkpivorv .idii@tats Svc, Tov
érépov AéyovTos, WS TWoAAa Tuyyaver Tov *Aptateiényv o avridixos NEAVTINnKAS "Aéy', @ 'yabé,"
ddvat, " padrov, el TL o€ KaKOV TeTrOinKe: col
yap, ovx épauvT@, dixalw." tov Sé Snpociwv

mpocddwv aipebels erriperntys ob pdvoy Tous
Ka? avrov, GAXd Kal Tovs mpd avrod yevouévous
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considered it his duty to give his services to his country freely and without any reward, either in money, or, what meant far more, in reputation. And so it befell, as the story goes, that when the verses composed by Aeschylus upon Amphiaraiis were recited in the theatre :—

‘«¢ He wishes not to seem, but rather just to be,
And reap a harvest from deep furrows in a mind
From which there spring up honourable counsel-
lings,” }

all the spectators turned their eyes on Aristides, feeling that he, above all men, was possessed of such excellence.

IV. It was not only against the inclinations of his good-will and personal favour that he was a most strenuous champion of justice, but also against those of his anger and hatred. ‘At any rate a story is told, how he was once prosecuting an enemy in court, and after he had made his accusation the judges were loath to hear the defendant at all, and demanded that their vote be taken against him straightway ; but Aristides sprang to his feet and seconded the culprit’s plea for a hearing and the usual legal procedure. And again, when he was serving as private arbitrator between two men, on one of them saying that his opponent had done Aristides much injury, “Tell me rather,’ he said, “whether he has done thee any wrong; it is for thee, not for myself, that I am seeking Justice.” When he was elected overseer of the public revenues, he proved clearly that large sums had been em- bezzled, not only by his fellow-officials, but also by

1 Seven against Thebes, 592 ff. (Dindorf).

dpyovras arredeixnvue TOAAA vevoodgiopévous, Kat
padota Tov Bepsoronréa:
Loos yap avnp, THs 5é yetpos ov KpaTav.

Aw Kal cuvayayav tonrdodvs ért tov *Apt-
aTeiOny év tats evOdvars Sioxwv KroTHAs Katadicn
meptéBarev, ws pnow [dopevets. ayavaxrovvTwv
S& tov mpdtav ev TH rode. Kal Bedtiotar, od
povor adelOn ths Enutas, GdAa Kal tTadw dpyov
éxt riv avtiy Svoixnow aredetyOn. mpoorrot-

ovpevos S€ TeV mpoTtépwy peTapédey avT@ Kal
paraxwrepov évdsdovs éauTov, Hpecxe Tots TA
Kowa KdEérTovaw ovK éEedAéyyxwv ovd axpiBoro-
youpevos, @OTE KATATLUTAApLEVOUS TOY Synod iwY
tmepetraivety Tov Aptoteionv cal Se€tovc8ar Tov
Sipwov wirép avtov, orovddlovtas apxovta maddy
aipeOjvar. pedrrovtwv Sé yeipotovely érreTtipnoe
trois ‘"AOnvaiou: ““Ore péev yap, én, “ tictas
Kal KaX@s vpiv Hp~a, mpovmrynraxicOny: érrei 5é
TOAAG TOY KOLVOY KaTATpOEtaL TOls KNETTOVAL
Oavpactos elvat Sox® Torjitns. avTos pév ov
aicyvvoyat TH viv tinn paddrov fH TH mpanv
katabixn, cvvaxOouar © dpiv, map’ ols évdo€o-
Tepov éote Tov calew Ta Snpocta To yapilecOar
Tots mrovnpols.” tata © eitr@y cal tas KNoTTIAS
éFeréyEas Tous wey ToTe Boavras brép avtod Kal
Haptupodyras émrectopice, TOV O° adNOLVOV Kal
Sixavoy amd tov BeAtiotwy érratvov elxev.
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those of former years, and particularly by The-
mistocles :—
<“‘The man was clever, but of his hand had no control.”

For this cause, Themistocles banded many to-
gether against Aristides, prosecuted him for theft at
the auditing of his accounts, and actually got a
verdict against him, according to Idomeneus. But
the first and best men of the city were incensed at
this, and he was not only exempted from his fine,
but even appointed to administer the same charge
again. Then he pretended to repent him of his
former course, and made himself more pliable, thus
giving pleasure to those who were stealing the
common funds by not examining them or holding
them to strict account, so that they gorged them-
selves with ¢he public moneys, and then lauded
Aristides to the skies, and pleaded with the people
in his behalf, eagerly desirous that he be once more
elected to his office. But just as they were about to
vote, Aristides rebuked the Athenians. “ Verily,”
said he, “when I served you in office with fidelity
and honour, I was reviled and persecuted ; but now

that I am flinging away much of the common fund to thieves, I am thought to be an admirable citizen. For my part, I am more ashamed of my present honour than I was of my former condemnation, and I am sore distressed for you, because it is more honourable in your eyes to please base men than to guard the public moneys.'' By these words, as well as by exposing their thefts, he did indeed stop the mouths of the men who were then testifying loudly in his favour, but he won genuine and just praise from the best citizens.
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V. 'Enet 5é Adtis b7r6 Aapetou treppbcis Koyo pev éemibeivac Sixny 'AOnvaiows, Ste Ydpdees évérrpnoay, épym 5é Katactpéyacba Tos "EX-Anvas, eis Mapadava trayti Te ocTOAM KaTécye kal tTHv yopav érop0a, Tov Séxa xabeotoTwv tois '"A@nvaiows éat roy mmodenoy otTpaTnyav péytotrov pev elxev akiwpa Mirriddns, d0En Sé kal Suvaper Sevtepos qv 'Apioteidyns. xal tore Tept THS maxXns youn TH Mirteddov pod Gépevos ov puxpay érroince poTriy: Kat Trap nuépay éxdorov oTpaTnyoU TO KpaTos ExovToS, ws TrEpLAAGEY Ets avrov apxn, twapédaxe Murtiddy, diddoxwv TovUs suvapyYovtas, Ste TO TWeiDecAat Kal dKodov-Oeiy trois ed Hpovadowy ovK aliaxpoV, AAA wEpvov éott Kal cwrnpiov. obtw 8 mpaivas TH dido-verxiavy Kal tpotpeyrdpevos avTovs ayamav pia yvoun TH Kpatiaotn ypwpuévous, Eppwce tov MurA-Tiddnv TO arrepiaTdaTw THs éEovaias taxupoy 'yevopevov. Xaipew yap éav Exacros H6n TO Tap' Tpépay dipxew éxelv mpooeixer.
"Ep be TH pax pddiora tov 'AOnvaiwr Tov peéoov TovyncavTos Kat Aéeio Tov evrava Xpovov TOV BapBapwv avTepeta avr ov Kara THY Acovtida cai THY "Avtuoxiba pudgy, nyavigavTo AapIrpas TETAYMEVOL Tap ard ous 6 TE Oew-aToKNijs Kat oO "Aptaretons' O pev yap Aeovtibos qv, o & 'Avtioyisdos: érel dé TpeYrapevor TOUS BapBdpous évéBadov eis TAS vais kal TEOVTAS ovx énl vncwy é@pwv, add' U76 Tob TVEULATOS kal ths Oardoons eiow mpos ty '"ATTiKnY

V. Now when Datis, on being sent by Darius ostensibly to punish the Athenians for burning Sardis, but really to subdue all the Hellenes, put in at Marathon with all his armament and went to ravaging the country, then, of the ten generals appointed by the Athenians for the conduct of the war, it was Miltiades who enjoyed the greatest con- sideration, but in reputation and influence Aristides was second. By adopting at that time the opinion of Miltiades about the battle to be fought, he did much to turn the scale in its favour. And since each general held the chief authority for a single day in turn, when the command came round to him, he handed it over to Miltiades, thereby teaching his - fellow-officers that to obey and follow men of wisdom is not disgraceful, but dignified and salutary. By thus appeasing the jealousy of his colleagues and inducing them to be cheerfully contented in the adoption of a single opinion (and that the best), he confirmed Miltiades in the strength which comes from an unrestricted power. For each of the other generals at once relinquished his own right to com- mand for a day in turn, and put himself under the orders of Miltiades. |

In the battle, the Athenian centre was the hardest pressed, and it was there that the Barbarians held their ground the longest, over against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis. There, then, Themistocles and Aristides fought brilliantly, ranged side by side ; for one was a Leontid, the other an Antiochid.

‘' When the Athenians had routed the Barbarians

and driven them aboard their ships, and saw that they were sailing away, not toward the islands, but into the gulf toward Attica under compulsion of

atroBialopévors, poBnOévtes un THY TodALY Epnwor
AdBwot TOY apvvopévwv, Tais pev evvéa hurais
nireiyovTo Tpos TO aoTU Kal KaTHYUCAaV avOnpeEpoV
éy 5¢ Mapabau peta tis Eavtod dvarjs ’Apio-
retons atroragpbels PvrAaE TaV aiyparwTev Kal
TOV Aadvpwy ovK eYrevoato thy Sdtav, adrAA
xvdnv pev dpyvpov Kal ypuaod trapovtos, éaOFTos
dé mravTodamis Kal ypnudtwv adrddXov apvOyTeov év
Tals oxnvais Kal Tois HAwKOCL okddeoww UTrap-
, ” 9 b) ‘ > 4 aA wy >
Yovtwy, ovT autos émeOvunce Oiyetv ovT adXrOv
elace, TAY Et TLVES Exeivov AaADoVTEs MPEANOnTAaY:
@v hv Kat Karas o dadobyos.

Tovrtp yap Tis, as Eouxe, TOV BapBdpov ™poa-
émrea ev oinBels Bao théa 61a THY Kony Kat TO
ag wg elvas: TporKUyygas 5é «al AaBopevos
THs Sefas ederfe Todd Xpuatov év haxn Tut
Katopwpuypévov. 0 d¢ KadNias a @MOTATOS dvOpo-
Tov Kat | TApAvomoraros YEVOMEVOS TOY pev Ypu-
oov dvetheTo, TOV 8 av pwmov, as 1) KaTELTrOL
q pos érépous, arréKTewver. éx TOUTOU gaci kal
haxKoTovTous wre TOV K@MLKBY TOUS amo Tis
otxius eye Oat, TKMTTOVTOY els TOV TOTTOY, ev ©
TO Xpuaiov O Kahiias eUpev.
"Aptoretons bé THY éT@vupov EvOrs a apxny np&e.
xalrot pnoly 6 Dadnpevs Anpnrtpros apEas TOV
dvdpa, pu pov eumpoabev Tov Oavdtov peta THv
év Irarasais paynv. év 6 Tais avaypagais
PETA wep EavOurmidnp, ép’ ov pay ae nTTn0n
Aatadow, ovS opovipov Aptoteldny év mavu
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wind and wave, then they were afraid lest the enemy find Athens empty of defenders, and so they hastened homeward with nine tribes, and reached the city that very day. But Aristides was left behind at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the captives and the booty. Nor did he belie his reputation, but- though silver and gold lay about in heaps, and though there were all sorts of raiment and untold wealth besides in the tents and captured utensils, he neither desired to meddle with it himself, nor would he suffer any one else to do so, although certain ones helped themselves without his knowledge. Among these was Callias the Torch-bearer.!
Some Barbarian, it seems, rushed up to this man, supposing him to be a king from his long hair and the headband that he wore, made obeisance to him, and taking him by the hand in suppliant fashion, showed him a great mass of gold buried up in a sort of pit.

llias, most savage and lawless of men, took up the gold; but the man, to prevent his betraying the matter to others, he slew. From this circumstance, they say, his descendants are called by the comic poets “ Laccopluti,” or “ Pit-wealthies,” in sly allusion to the place where Callias found his gold.

Aristides at once received the office of. Archon Eponymous. And yet Demetrius of Phalerum says that it was a little while before his death, and after the battle of Plataea, that the man held this office.” But in the

official records, after Xanthippides, in whose year of office Mardonius was deteated at Plataea, you cannot find, long as the list is, so much

1 Qne of the highest officers at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. 2 479-478 B.c.
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Q 2
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a ®
jodnots AaBetv éott, peta 5¢ Paivrroy,! éf' ov
\ > "A 4 > / > A393 4
thv ev Mapadarvt payny évixwy, evOvs Apirreidns apywv avayéypanrat.
VI. Ilacav 8 trav rept adtoy apetov 7 Sixatocuvn pwarLoTa Tos TOAXOIS alaOnow TrapeElxe dua TO «THY xXpeiav evdeXexeoTaTHY avTS Ka KOLVOTATNHY imdpyew. 50ev avnp wévns Kat Snpo-TLKOS exTHaAaTO THY BaciAtKwTdatny Kal OevoraTny mpoonyopiav tov Aixatov' 6 Trav Baciréwv xal
, bd \ 2s bd \ \ \
Tupavvwv ovdels éfjrwoev, Gra TodopKytai Kai Kepavvot xat Nixdropes, évioc 8 *Aerot kal 'Tépaxes Eyatpov mpocayopevopevot, THY amd TH Bias xal ra SUvdpews, ws Eorxe, wGAXNOY THV avo THS aperns Sofayv ayaTa@vTes. KalToL TO Geiov, 6 yAixXovTat cvvotxecodyv Kal cvvadhopoLody avrous, tptat Soxet Siadéper, apOapoia Kat Suvdpe. cal apety, Ov Kal* ceuvotatov 4 apeT? kal Oevotatrov éotiv. adOdpt@ pév yap elvat Kat TO Kev@ Kal Tois atoxelors TUpBERKe, Sivapuy
e
5é€ xal ceropol Kai Kepavvoi Kal mrvevpdatwv oppat Kal pevpatev émipopal peyarnv exovart, dixns &é kat Béusdos obdév Ste wy TO ppovely nal rovile-cOat® perarayyaver.
Avo kal Tptov dvtwy, & merovOacw oi trodXol

\ \ A 4 \ , a re)
mpos TO Getov, Enrov xat PoBou cal tipns, Cnrodv pev avtovs Kal paxapifew éoixact Kata TO a-
\ 3 P] V4 \ /
va kat aidsor, éxarrntTec Oar é Kal dedrévae KaTa TO.KUptov Kal duvaroy, ayaray Sé Kai Timav
1 dalvienovy Bekker, Hercher, and Blass with F4S: #4-

vinwoy. 2 év xa) Hercher and Blass with S: dv.
ae Aoyl(ecOa: Blass: Aoyl(ecOa: +d Oeiov reasoning about the
ay.
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as the name Aristides; whereas immediately after
Phaenippus, in whose year of office the victory at
Marathon was won, an Aristides is recorded as
archon.!
VI. Of all his virtues, it was his justice that most impressed the multitude, because of its most con- tinual and most general exercise. Wherefore, though poor and a man of the people, he acquired that most kingly and godlike surname of “The Just.” This no kings or tyrants ever coveted, nay, they rejoiced to be surnamed “ Besiegers,’ or “ Thunderbolts,” or ‘Conquerors,’ and some “ Eagles,’ or “ Hawks,” 2 cultivating the reputation which is based on violence and power, as it seems, rather than on virtue. And yet divinity, to which such men are eager to adapt and conform themselves, is believed to have three elements of superiority,—incorruption, power, and virtue ; and the most reverend, the divinest of these, is virtue. For vacuum and the ultimate elements partake of incorruption; and great power is ex- hibited by earthquakes and thunderbolts, and rushing tornadoes, and invading floods; but in fundamental justice nothing participates except through the exercice of intelligent reasoning powers.

Therefore, considering the three feelings which are generally entertained towards divinity,—envy, fear, and honourable regard, men seem to envy and felicitate the deities for their incorruption and per- petuity ; to dread and fear them for their sovereignty and power ; but to love and honour and revere them

1 490-489 B.c.
2 Demetrius Polorcetes; Ptolemy Ceraunos; Seleucus
Nicator; Pyrrhus Aétos ; Antiochus Hieraz.
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4 nat oéBecOar xata tHv Sixatoovyvnv. adda,
xaitep ottw Siaxeipevot, THS wev GDavacias, iy 1
vats nua ov SéxeTat, Kal THs Suvapews, Hs ev
TH TUXN) KEelTaL TO TAELoTOV, ErLOvpOdaL, THY
? by , / > a / > A >y°
5 dpetnv, 5 povoy éoti tav Jeiwy ayabav é>
nut, ev votépw TiPevtar, Kax@s PpovodyTes, ws
‘N b 4 \ 4 4 \ 3 A , e
tov éy Svvdmet xal tTuyn peyary Kai apyn Biov 7
A 4 a a e > 3 , 4

pev Sixatocvvyn trove: Oeiov, % 8 adsxia Onpiwon.
VII. Té & ody ’Aptoteién ovvéBn TO TpwToOV
ayarropéva Sa tH érwvupiay botepov POovei-
Oat, pardtota pev ToD Beptatoxréovs AOYov Eis
Tous TroAAovs StadsdovTos,” ws "Aptoteidns avnpn-
Kas Ta Sixactypia TH Kpivery Atravta Kal Sixa-
Cav, AédNOe povapyiay dadopudopyntov éavT@
KaTecKkevacpévos’ 5n S€ mou Kal o SHpos emt TH
/ A A a
vikn méya ppovav kal Tav peyiotwv aiav avrov
HXGerTo Tois dvopa Kal Sokay imép Tovs ToAXOVS
2 €yovct. Kal cuvedOovtes cis aotu tavraxobev
éEootpaxilovar tov Apioretdny, dvopa te POove
A , ,
THs do&ns poBov tupavvidos Oéuevor.
4 e
MoyOnpias yap ovx Hv Kodacts 0 éEootpakia-
, > > 3 “A XN >] > , ” \
0s, GNX éxanretto pev Ou’ evTrpeTretav OyKoU Kal
duvipews Baputépas tamreivwows kal KoXovats, Hv
5é Oévov trapapvbia diravO pwrros, eis avyKea Tov
> , b > > 4 3 A , \ N
ovdev, GAN’ eis petdataci étrav Séxa THY TpOsS
1 +f tdxn Reiske, Hercher, and Blass with F8S: roxp. | 2 d:ad:5évr0s Hercher and Blass with F°S; é«Baddvros,

for their justice. And yet, although men are thus disposed, it is immortality, of which our nature is not capable, and power, the chief disposal of which is in the hands of fortune, that they eagerly desire ; while as for virtue, the only divine excellence within our reach, they put it at the bottom of the list, unwisely too, since a life passed in power and great fortune and authority needs justice to make it ' divine; by injustice it is made bestial.

VII. Now, to resume, it befell Aristides to be loved at first because of this surname, but afterwards to be jealously hated, especially when Themistocles set the story going among the multitude that Aristides had done away with the public courts of justice by his determining and judging everything _in private, and that, without any one perceiving it, he had established for himself a monarchy, saving only the armed body-guard. And_ besides, the

people too must by this time have become greatly elated over their victory; they thought nothing too good for themselves, and were therefore vexed with those who towered above the multitude in name and reputation. So they assembled in the city from all the country round, and ostracized Aristides, giving to their envious dislike of his reputation the name of fear of tyranny.

Now the sentence of ostracism was not a chastise- ment of base practices, nay, it was speciously called a humbling and docking of oppressive prestige and power ; but it was really a merciful exorcism of the spirit of jealous hate, which thus vented its malig- nant desire to injure, not in some irreparable evil,

?

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3 70 AviobY arrepedopévov Sucpéverav. érrel 5
HpEavTo Ties avOpwrrous ayevvets Kal trovnpovs
uToBdAXev TO TpdypaTt, TeNEUTALoy aTrUdvT@Y
‘TrépBorov éEootpaxicartes érravcavto. NéyeTat
dé rov “TrrépBorov éEootpaxicOjvar Sia TovavTny
aitiav. “ArgxiBuddns cal Nixias péytotoy ev TH
monet Suvdpevor Steotacialov. ws ovr o Stpos
Guerre hépey to detpaxoy Kal SHros hv Tov
Erepov yparror, duarex Devres ards roes Kal Tas
oTaces éxatépas eis TavTO cuvayaryorres TOV
4 ‘TarépBodov é£oo tpaxiaOhvar TapesKevacay. éx
b¢ TOUTOU Suoxepavas o 0 hues @s KabuBpropévov
TO Tm parypa Kal T poem nhakia pévov adpnxe trav-
TEADS Kal Katéhuaev.
"Hp 6€ ToLoUTOY, @s TUT@ ppacar, TO yLvomevov.
doTpaKov ha Pov ExaoTOs Kat ypaypas ép éBov-
AeTO peTATTHeaL TOV TONLTHY, edepev els éva 7T0-
Tov THS aryopas TEpLTEpPA'y HEVOV év KUKN@
5 Spupdxrors. ol é dpxovres mparov pev Sinpib-
pouv TO cUptray ev TAUT@ TOV doTpaxoy THOS
él yap éFaxioxirLeov éNdTToves ot Péportes | elev,
aTedns HV O éFooTpakia pos: émerra TOV évopd-
TOV ExagTov idta Oévres TOY v76 TOV TrELT TOV
Yeypappeévov éFexipuT tov eis Ern Séxa, KapTov-
Hevoy TA auToD.
Tpadopevov ony TOTE TOV OoTpdKcoy Aéyeraé 324
Tia TOV dypapparov Kal TavTEnas ay olay

avasovra TO "Aptaretdn TO do7Tpakov @S EvL TOV
TUYOVTOY ‘mapaxareiy, OTWS ‘Apioreidny eyypa-
qd Wee. tov d¢ Pavpdcartos Kai rvPopévov, yy Tt

1 pépovres Blass with FaS: ypdpavtes.

but in a mere change of residence for ten years. And when ignoble men of the baser sort came to be subjected to this penalty, it ceased to be inflicted at all, and {Punetborus was the last to be thus ostracized.! It is said that Hyperbolus was ostracized for the following, reason. Alcibiades and Nicias had the greatest power in the state, and were at odds. Accordingly, when the people were about to exercise the ostracism, and were clearly going to vote against one or the other of these two men, they came to terms with one another, united their opposing factions, and effected the ostracism of Hyperbolus. The people were incensed at this for they felt that the institution had been insulted and abused, and so they abandoned it utterly and put an end to it.

The method of procedure—to give a general outline—was as follows. Each voter took an ostrakon, or potsherd, wrote on it the name of that citizen whom he wished to remove from the city, and brought it to a place in the agora which was all fenced about with railings. The archons first counted the total number of ostraka cast. For if the voters were less than six thousand, the ostracism was void. Then they separated the names, and the man who had received the most votes they proclaimed banished for ten years, with the right to enjoy the income from his property.

Now at the time of which I was speaking, as the voters were inscribing their ostraka, it is said that an unlettered and utterly boorish fellow handed his ostrakon to Aristides, whom he took to be one of the ordinary crowd, and asked him to write Aristides on it. He, astonished, asked the man what possible

1 About 417 B.c. Cf. Nicias, xi., Alcibiades, xiii.

kaxov avtov ‘Aptotetdns srerrolncev, “ Ovdér,”
9 ce yOe , \ 4 0 > 9 9
eltrev, “ovde yiyvaoKw Tov avOpwtov, GAN évo-
a a / “a
YAodpat travtayov Tov Aixatov axovwv.” Tatra
b) / \ ? , , a er

adxovoavta Tov "Apiotetdny arokpivacOar pev
ovdev, eyypdyyrar 5é tovvopa TO OoTRdK@ Kai
amodovvat. ths 5é ToAEWS aTradANaTTOMEVOS HON,
TaS yEelpas avaTteivas pos Tov ovpavoy evEaTo
\ bd , e : > \ A > ”“
THhv évavtiav, ws Gorxev, evynv Te "AxtrrEél,
pndéva Karpov “AOnvaiovs xatanaBeiv, ds avay-
Kkace. Tov Ojpov ‘Aptoteioov pynaOjvat. |
VIII. Tpitm 8 eres BépEou da errarias

\ , sf > \ \ ’ 4 a
kat Botwtias éXauvoytos emt thy ‘Artixny, NU-
cavTes Tov vopov éeyndicavto rois peOcotaat
ckabodov, pardtcta hoBovpevor tov “Aproteidny,
A , a 4, 4 A
en wpocBémevos Tots trodepiors StadOeipyn Kal
peTAaoTHON ToAAO’s THY TWoNLT@Y TWpos TOV
a 4 n

BapBapov, ov« opOas otoyalopevot tov avdpos,
bs ye xal mpd tov Soypatos tovrou Srerére
4 \ , \ a > \
TPOTPETM@VY KAL maposvvey Tous EAAnvas én
Thy édevOepiav, Kal pera, TO Soya Touro,
@eprotoxr€ovs atpatnyovbvTos avToxpdtopas,
wavTa ouver parte Kat ouveBovrever, évdoko-
Tato emt TwTnpig Kown ToL@y Tov éyOiatov.
‘Os yap arroNrely THY Larapiva BovxXevo-
péveov TOV mept EuvpuBiddny ai BapBaptxai
Tpurpeus VUKTWP dvaxBetoar Kat wepiBarovaat
TOV TE Tropoy ev KUKAw Kal TAS VHTOUS KaTELXoD,
OUSEVOS m poeLb0r 0s Thy KUKKwoW Heev oO 'Apt-
ateiins am Aiyivns mapaBorws Sia tev
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wrong Aristides had done him. “None whatever,’
was the answer, “I don’t even know the fellow, but
Iam tired of hearing him everywhere called ‘The
Just.’”” On hearing this, Aristides made no answer,
but wrote his name on the ostrakon and handed it
back. Finally, as he was departing the city, he
lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed—a prayer
the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles

made !—that no crisis might overtake the Athenians which should compel the people to remember Aristides.

VIII. But in the third year thereafter,?, when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to .the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the Barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from Aegina, venturously sailing through the

1 Tiad i. 407-412. ? 480 B.C.

moeuiov vedov Suextrrevoas: Kal vucros érAOov
érl Tv oKxnvny Tov BewtotoKréovs Kal Kadréoas
avrov é&wo _HOvoY "« "Hyeis," elrrey, "@ _ Bep-
GTOKAELS, éb cwppovoiper, On THY KEvnY ral
perpaxiody oTdow ad évres apEopeba, cw@Tnpiov
Kat Karis prroveretas 1 p0s adda ous Gptrro-
pevot THoAaL THY 'ENA dba, ov wey apyewv Kal
oTpaTyyar, éya O Drroupyay | Kat oupBovrevor,
émrel Kal viv ce muvOavopat povov amrecOar TOV
apiorwy hoya pay, KeNevovTa, Stavavpaxely év
Tots oTevois THV TaxlorTny. Kai cob TOV cup
paxov aytimpartTovTay ot ToAépLoL ouvepyeiv
éoixact TO yap ev KvKh Kat KATOT LD Hon
TEharyos cumremhnaTat VEOY TONELLOV, WOTE Kab
TOUS [1 Gedovtas avayxy Kxateirndev aryabous
dvdpas elvau Kal _baxer Oar: duyis yap odds ov
éreuTTTAL." Tpos Tatra O OewrroKrAjs elvrev"
" Ov av éBoudouny, ® "Apiotetdn, oe Kata

TobT0 pov Kpeirrova yeveaOau, jewpacopar dé
mpos Kany apxny Gpiddapevos bmepBadnea Gat
Tots epyous. dpa & avTe ppacas TI og'
éavtod KatacKxevacbeicav arrarny mpos Tov
BapBa ov, TApeKanret melO eww TOV EvpuBiddny
Kat ou do Kew, as apn avov éorTt owOivas BN
vaupaxnoavras: ele yap avTov padrov more.
d0ev év TO TUAAGYp TOV TT PATH YOY elwrovTos
Kneoxpirov Tob Koprv6iov T pos TOV GeuroroKréa,
pnd 'Apioretby THY yvemny apéo Key avrob,
mapovra yap clo may, avreimev Oo "Aptorelins, os
ovx av éo.wtra Hy AéyovTos Ta apie TOU
OemioroKdréous" vov & novxiay dyew ov ov
edvoltay Tov avopos, GAAA THY yvouNY érrawor.
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enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone. "© Themistocles," said he, "if we are wise, we shall at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and begin a salutary and honourable rivalry with one another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since at the very outset I learn that thou art the only one who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee; for the sea round about and behind us is already filled with hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed, no way of escape is left.'' To this Themistocles replied : "I should not have wished, O Aristides, to find thee superior to me here; but I shall try to emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in my actions." At the same time he told Aristides of the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian, and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly, inasmuch as he had the greater credit with that commander, that there was no safety except in a sea-fight. So it happened in the council of generals that Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to The- mistocles that Aristides also was opposed to his plan, since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides at once replied that he would not have held his peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best ; but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any good- will to the- man, but because he approved of his plan.

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IX. Ou pev ouv vavapyot TOV 'Ede Tavr
em parrov. 'Apia reténs. iy ope THY WVurrddeay,
4 To THS Larapivos év T@ Top Ket at VIO OS
ov peyann, TONE MLOY av pov fecTHy ovcar,
euBiBaoas eis DIN pETiKa, TOUS mpoOuporarous
Kal paxyoTdrous TOV. TOMTODV 'Tpooéuste TH

Wurtanreéa, xal paxny pos TOUS BapBapous
ocuvawas QTeKTELVE TavTas, yy door TOV em
daveav Caves irwoav. év 6€ TovTaLS Hoap
aderpijs Bacirews 6 évopa Lavdavans Tpets Traides,
ods evdus area TENE ™pos TOV BepioToKhéa:
Kat déyovTat Katd TL AOYyLov, TOU pdvTEWS
Evdgpavtidov xedevoavtos, opnoth Atovice xab-
vepevO vat. Thv de vncida Tots SirdOLG TavTa-
xobey O ‘Aproreténs mepiarewas epnopeve ° Tous
exh Epopevors 7 pos auTHY, @S are Tav dirwv
tiva SiadOaphvar pte TeV Toe wi@v Sabuyeiy.
0 yap TAELTTOS @OLa pos TOV veav Kal (THs
payns TO kapTepotatov éouxe Tept Tov TOTov
EXELVOV yever Gar 60 Kai tpoTratov éotnKev év
TH Vurraneia.
Mera éé thy payny O OewrroKAijs a am oTrerpa-
jeevos Tov “Aptoretoou | KaXov pev elvat Kal TO
TET parywevov avTots Epyov éXerye, Kpetr Tov dé
NetwecOat TO AaBeiv év TH Kvpary tnv Actav,
dvam\evoavras els “EXAoTovToy THY Taxtarny
kai ta Cevypara} dvaxorpavras. émel S ’Apt-
arelOns dvaxpayav TovToV pév éxéXeve Tov Aovyov
cataBaneiv, OKOT ELV be Kat Cnteiy, mas THY
TAaXLaT HY éxBddwot TOV Mijdov é« ths ‘EAdabos,
HI katakreoOels atropia puyis peTd TrooavTns
1 +a (ed-ypara Hercher and Blass with FaS: 7d (edypa,

3

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IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were
acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia,
a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis,
was full of the enemy. He therefore embarked
in small boats the most ardent and the most
warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia,
joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them
all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken
alive. Among these were three sons of the King’s
sister Sandaucé,! whom he straightway sent to
Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience
to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of

Euphrantides the seer, they were sacrificed to Dionysus Carnivorous. Then Aristides lined the islet all round with his hoplites, and lay in wait for any who should be cast up there, that no friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.

After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said that the deed they had now performed was a noble one, but a greater still remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe, by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could and cutting in twain the bridges there. But Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with all diligence how they might most speedily expel the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity

1 Cf. Themistocles, xiii. 2.

duvdpews Tpany pos dpuvay vn avarynns, ovTw Te mareL Tay "Apvdnny eovodxov O BeproroK rhs Ex TOV aly mahaorov xpudga, ppacat TP Baotnei Kedevoas, STU Teiv éml TAS yepipas Spur tovs "EAAnvas abtos atootpéwee satecbu Baovhéa Bovropevos.

X. 'Ex TOUTOU Fiépins pev mepipoBos yev0- pevos evOUs éml Tov 'EXAgjaomovrov aT ev yETO, Ma dovtos 5é€ Tov oTpaTOD TO Soxima@raroy * Exar mept TpLdKovTa pupidbas UmedeiTreTO, Kal 38 Bepos Hv am ioxupas THs Tepl To Twelov éXTI aTetAk@v Ttois "EXAnoe Kal ypadov Totaira' ef Nevixnxate Garaccioss Evhous Xepaaious av- Opwmous ov« ETLOTAPLEVOUS Kony ehavverv' ahd vov tratela pev 7 Bertarov yh, cadrov $e To Bowwtiov - Tredtov aryaBois immedot Kat omditais evayovicacba.." pos dé 'A@nvatous ear eprer idia ypdppara, Kal ovyous Tapa Bactréos, THY TE moh avTols avaoTno et emTaryyeARopevov Kat Xpnpara TOANG docev xatl tev 'EXAqvor Kuptous KATAOTHGELW EKTOOMY TOU TONEpLOU YEVO-

pévous.
Oi 8 Aaxedatpovro muOopevot tadta Kat
Seloavtes erreprpav ‘AOnvate mpéoBers, Seopevor
TOV "AOnvaiwr, dws maidas fev Kal yuvaixas
eis Lmdpryy anoarethoat, rots S¢ mpeaButépas
Tpopas Tap aura AapSdvacty’ toxupa yap
Hy drropia mepl Tov Sjjwov drohwhexora Kat
Thv? yopav Kal THY TOMY. OV pHY GAA TeV
mpéaBewv axovoavtes, “‘Apioteidou wWidiopa
1 Sukierares Blass with F4S : payiuéraroy.
2 «al chy Hercher and Blass with F4S: rh».
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he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive.
So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces,!
a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that
the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage
to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles,
had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to
save the King.
X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and.
hurried straight to the Hellespont; but Mardonius,
with the flower of the army, to the number of
three hundred thousand men, was left behind.
He was a formidable adversary, and because his
confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote
threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: “Ye have
conquered with your maritime timbers landsmen
who know not how to ply the oar; but now, broad
is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia
for brave horsemen and men-at-arms to contend
in.” But to the Athenians he sent separate letters
and proposals from the King, who promised to
rebuild their city, give them much money, and
make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they
would cease fighting against him.
When the Lacedaemonians learned this, they took fright, and sent an embassy to Athens, begging the Athenians to despatch their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from her a support for’ their aged and infirm; for great was the distress among the people, since it had so recently lost both land and city. However, after listening to the embassy, on motion of Aristides, they answered

1 Cf. Themistocles, xvi. 2 f.

ypanraytos, amexpivavto Oavpaotiy amoxpiow,
TOs pev TONELLOLS OUYyvauNY Exe PdoKorTes, Et
wavTa TovTov Kal ypnudtoav advia vopitorer,
2 a ON ” ? / N
@v Kpeitrov ovdev icacw, opyilerOas 5é Aaxedat-
poovioss, Ste THY Teviav Kalernv amropiay THY viv
tapovcav ‘AOnvaiors povov opact, THs & aperis
Kal THs hirotipias apvnpovovow éni atrios
trép tis ‘EAAdb0s dyovitecOar Trapaxadoovtes.
a / > / A 4
tavta ypayras “Apioteidns Kal rovs mpéoBets
eis THY éxkAnciavy Tapayayov, AaKedarpovios
pev éxérevoe ppdlev, ws ovK Eote Ypvaod
a A ¥ 7) e A a W¥f> ¢ \ a
TocovToy TAGs ovO rep ynv ovO’ vo yiv,
Sacov ‘AOnvain déEawrto dv mpd ths Tav “EA-
Anvwov édevOepias. Tois 5€ apa Mapdoviov rov
Hrwov deiEas, “"Aype av obras,” &pn, “ ravrny
mopeinrat Hv tTopeiav, "AOnvaioe toreunoovat
llépoa:s vrép ths Sednwpuévns yopas nal tov
noeBnpéevwv Kal KaTaKxexaupévov tepav.” ére 8€
apas Oéobat Tovs ‘tepets Eyparrev, ef Tus émiKn-
4 V4 Aa \ / > ,
puxevoaito Mnoas 4} THY cuppaxlav amoAitror
a e /
tav EAAnvov.
"EuBarovtos 5¢ Mapdoviov ro Sevrepov eis TH
"Arrixny, adOis eis Yarapiva Sierépacav. *Apt-
ateions 6€ meudpbels eis Aaxedaipova tis pev
Bpaduriros abtois évexdder nal ris ddvywpias,
mpocnévois adllis te BapBdpm tas *AOnvas,
n&iov && mpos Ta ett cwoloueva tHS “EAAdSos
ray A b) 7 e w” 9
Bonbeiv. taita axovaavtes ot “Edopou ped 394
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with an admirable answer, declaring that they
could be tolerant with their foes for supposing
that everthing was to be bought for wealth and
money, since their foes could conceive of nothing

higher than these things; but they were indignant
at the Lacedaemonians for having an eye only
to the penury and indigence that now reigned
at Athens, and for being so unmindful of the valour
and ambition of the Athenians as to exhort them
to contend for Hellas merely to win their rations.
When Aristides had made this motion and _ had
introduced the waiting embassies into the Assembly,
he bade the Lacedaemonians tell their people that
there was not bulk of gold above or below ground
so large that the Athenians would take it in
payment for the freedom of the Hellenes; and to
the messengers of Mardonius he said, pointing to
the sun: “As long as yonder sun journeys his
appointed journey, so long will the Athenians wage
war against the Persians in behalf of the land
which has been ravaged by them and of the
temples which they have defiled and consumed
with fire.” Still further, he made a motion that
the priests should solemnly curse all who came to
a parley with the Medes or forsook the alliance of
the Hellenes.
When Mardonius for the second time invaded
Attica, again the people crossed over to Salamis.
Then Aristides, who had been sent as envoy to
Lacedaemon, inveighed against their sluggishness
and indifference, in that they had once more
abandoned Athens to the Barbarian, and demanded
that they go to the aid of what was still left of
Hellas. On hearing this, the Ephors, as long as

Kaxov avtTov ‘Apsoteidns remroinxer, ‘ Ovdér,”
2 © ode , G00 15% 2
elmrev, “‘ ovde ytyvooKw Tov dvOpwrov, adr’ évo-
YANoDpaL TavTayod Tov Atkatoy dxovwv.” TadTa
dxovoavta Tov "Apiotetdny arroxpivacBar pév
ovoév, eyypayrat 5é€ Tovivoua TH OoTRdKw Kal
amodovvat. THS dé TONEWS ATraANATTOLEVOS HON,
Tas yelpas avateivas mpos Tov ovpavoy evb~aTo
A > , e . > \ A > a
Thy évavriav, ws douxev, edynvy TO ’AxLArE,
, ‘ b , A a b

pndeva Karpov AOnvaiovs xatadaBelv, 65 avay-
Kkdoet Tov Ojpov Aptoreioou pynoOjva. |
VIII. Tpirm 8 éres BépEov dia @ertarias
kal Bowwrtias éXNavvovtos emt rnv ’"Atrixynv, dv-
gavTes Tov vowov endicavto tots peOectact
xkdbodov, udrducta ghoBovpevor tov ’Aptoteidny,
\ / a / / \
Hn mpocbépwevos rots tmorepuios StadOeipn Kat
peTaoTHon ToAdovs THY ToOALTOY Tpos TOV
a 4 ce)

BapBapov, ov« opOas asroyalopuevos Tov avépos,
bs ye nal apo tod Sdyuaros tovTov Sierédex
/, \ Ul \ cf >
MpoTpeT@Vv Kat Trapofvvwy tous “EXAnvas errt
Thy édevOepiav, kal peta TO Soyua TovTo,
BeuwotoKréovs oatpatnyovvros avToxpdropos,
TavTa ouver parte kat ouveBovnevev, évd0£o-
TaTov eml ca@Tnpla KOUh TOL@y tov éxOto Tov.
‘Os yap arroNety THY Larapiva BovXevo-
péveov TOV wept KupuBeadnv at BapBapixat
Tpirpers VUKTOP avaxGeta ar Kal meptBarovoat
TOV Te TrOpoV év KUED Kal Tas YHoOUS Kateixon,
ovdevos T poetdoTos THY KUKAWOLY FKEV O "Apt-
oreidns am Aiyivns mapaBor\ws Sia Tap
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wrong Aristides had done him. ‘None whatever,”
was the answer, “I don’t even know the fellow, but
Iam tired of hearing him everywhere called ‘The
Just.’”’ On hearing this, Aristides made no answer,
but wrote his name on the ostrakon and handed it
back. Finally, as he was departing the city, he
lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed—a prayer
the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles
made !—that no crisis might overtake the Athenians
which should compel the people to remember
Aristides.
VIII. But in the third year thereafter,?, when
Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia
against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism,
and voted that those who had been sent away under
it might return. The chief reason for this was their

fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the Barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from Aegina, venturously sailing through the

1 Wiad i, 407-412, 2 480 B.C.

mokepiov veov Stexrrevoas' Kal vueros érAOwov émil rny oxnvny rod Geusotoxdréous xa Karéoas avrov é&wo HOvOV " "Hyeis," elev, "@ _ Gene-OTOKAELS, Eb cad povodper, non THY KEvnV xal perpaxrady oTacw ad evres apfdpeba cwTnplov Kat Karis prroverias POs adn ous apirAdrw-pevol THoaL id 'EAA dba, ov pevy apywv xal TT pATHYOY, éyo & DrroupyOv kat supBovrevor, emrel Kal vov o€ muvOavopas povov amrecbat TOV apioT@v hoya pov, KedevorTa. Stavavpaxeiv év Tois oTevois THY Taxlorny. Kai got TOV oup-pd wv dyrempatTovT@y oi Tohémiot ouvepyety éoixact' TO yap épv KUK@ Kal KaTOT LU non meéharyos cure hnoras VE@V Tonepuion, wore Kal TOUS pL) Oérovras avayKyn KxateiAndev aryadous dvSpas elvau Kal maxes Ba: ghuyis yap odds ov NeAELTTT AL." T pos Tatra O Geporondijs elvrey- "QOvn av éBovrounv, ® 'Aptoteidn, oé Kata TobT0 pov « elTTova yevecbar, mewpdoopar be Tm pos Kann epxny Gpiddaevos vmrepBarrcoOat Tots epyors. dua © avT@ ppacas THY vg' éavtod xatacKxevacbeicav ardrny ™pos Tov BapBa ov, TApeKanet meiBew TOV Evpupiadny kal ou doKew, Os aun avov éoTe owOivat pen vaupaxnoavras: elXe yap avTou paddov TloTeD. dOev év te gUAAGYp TAY oTpaTH yay elTrovTos

KXeoxpitov rob KoptvOtou T pos Tov GcwiotoKréa,
und ~Apsoreidn TI yveny dpéo Key avrob,
mapovra yap owmmay, ayteimev 0 "Apia reibns, as
oun dy eov@tra pt AéyovTos Ta, plore TOD
OewroroKdr£ous: vov & novxtav ayew ov ov
evvotay TOU aVvdpos, GNAA THY yrounv eTrawav.
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enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone. ‘©O Themistocles,” said he, “if we are wise, we shall at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and begin a salutary and honourable rivalry with one another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since at the very outset I learn that thou art the only one who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee; for the sea round about and behind us is already filled with hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed, no way of escape is left.” To this Themistocles replied: “I should not have wished, O Aristides, to find thee superior to me here; but I shall try to emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in my actions.” At the same time he told Aristides of the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian, and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly, inasmuch as he had the greater credit with that commander, that there was no safety except in a sea-fight. So it happened in the council of generals that Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to The- mistocles that Aristides also was opposed to his plan, since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides at once replied that he would not have held his peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best ; but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any good- will to the: man, but because he approved of his plan.

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IX. Of pev odv vadapyor tOv ‘EXAHVOV Tab
érpatrov. ‘Apioretdns & opav thy Vuttddeap,
) wpo THY Yarapivos ev to Top@ KelTat vAcos
ov peydrn, Torepiwy avdpov peaTHny ovoay,
éuBuBaoas ets vmnpetiKa Ttovs mpoOvpoTdtous
Kal payimwTdtovs TY TodMToY mpocéuke TH
Wurrareia, xal pwadxynv mpos tovs BapBdpovs
ouvawas dméxresve WavTas, WAnY Goo. TOY eTI-
gavev Cavres rwoav. év 5€ TovTas joav
aderapis Bactréws dvoua Yavdavens tpeis aides,
ods evOUs amécteXe Tpos Tov OEeywioToKréa:
Kal éyovTas KaTd TL AOYLOY, TOU paVTEws
Eid pavtidov KerXevoavtos, apnoth Avovicm Kad-
tepevOjvar. thv 5é€ vnoida Tots OTrdOLS TavTa-

xobev o ‘Apioteiins meptotéas éepydpeve Tots
expepopévors mpos avTynyv, ws unTe TaV dirwv
Tiva StapOaphvar pyre TOV TorEuiwv Siadvyetv.
O yap TAELTTOS @O 10 105 TOV vedy al TAS
baxyns TO Kaptepwratov éotxe Tepl TOV ToOTTOY
éxetvov yevéoGar 610 Kal tpoTaoy éxrnnev év
th Vurranreia.
Mera 5€ thy paxnv o BeworoKArNs atroTe:pa-
pevos Tod ’Aptoteioov Kadrov pev elvat nal To
Tem payuevov avTois Epyov éXeye, Kpelrtov é
NeitecOar TO AaBeiy év tH Evpa@rrn thv ’Aciap,
avatrevoavtas eis ‘EXAnoTovTOY THY TaxtoTny
kal ta Cevypata’ diaxowavras. émet d *Apt-
atelins dvaxpayov rodToy pev éxédXeve TOV NOvoV
kataBanreiv, oxoteiy Sé nal Cnteiv, bras THV
taxiotny éxBddrwot tov Midov ex rHs “EXAdébos,
en KatakreLoOels arropia guys peta TocavTns
1 a (edypara Hercher and Blass with F*S: 7d (edyya,

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IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were
acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia,
a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis,
was full of the enemy. He therefore embarked
in small boats the most ardent and the most
warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia,
joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them
all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken
alive. Among these were three sons of the King’s
sister Sandaucé,! whom he straightway sent to
Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience
to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of
Euphrantides the seer, they were sacrificed to
Dionysus Carnivorous. Then Aristides lined the
islet all round with his hoplites, and lay in wait
for any who should be cast up there, that no
friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the
greatest crowding of the ships, and the most
strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been
in this region. And for this reason a trophy was

erected on Psyttaleia.
After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding
Aristides, said that the deed they had now
performed was a noble one, but a greater still
remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe,
by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could
and cutting in twain the bridges there. But
Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade
him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with
all diligence how they might most speedily expel
the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and
unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity
1 Cf. Themistocles, xiii. 2.
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Suvd pews TpaTH mpos dpuvay vn' avaryens, oUTw
méurret Taw "Apydxny euvotxov O BepioroKA%s
éx TOV aly wadwreov xpoda, ppacar TP Baothet
Kedevoas, OTe rely emi TAS yepupas inl liar
tous "EAAnvas avtos amoctpépee cwlecOar
Baothea BovAopevos.
X. 'Ex ToUTOU Fiépins pév mepipoBos 'yevo-
pevos evOus érl rov 'EAAqoTovtov aymeuyero,
Ma dovtos dé Tov oTpaTOU TO Soxipararoy * éyor
Tmeph Tpedxovra pupidbas UeheiTeTO, Kat do-
Repos 7 nv ar loxupas THS mepl TO Tetov enmidos
amer@v tots "EAXnoe Kat ypadov TovavTa:
' Nevuencare aracciors Evhous xEpaatous ap-
Oparous OvK ET LO TAPEVOUS Kany édNavvety' ado
vov WraTEla pev 7 @errarav yh Kaov dé TO
Bowwtiov tredtov aryabois immedot Kal omriTais
evayovicaca.." ™ pos Sé "AOnvatous brrepapev
idta ypdppara Kal Aoyous mapa Bactréws, THY
TE mom avtTois avaotTnaew emaryryehropevov cat
Xpipara TONG decew Kal tev "EAAnvoy
Kuptous KatacTnoew é€xTod@y TOU TrOXemLOU yEVO-
févous.
Oi dé Aaxedatpovror muOopevoe Tavita Kal
deioavtes émeupav "AOnvale mpéo Bers, Seopevot
TOV "AOnvaiwn, é7ras maidas wey Kal yuvaixas
ets Lmapryy anoatethwat, tois 5€ mpeoBurépars
Tpopas Tap avrav AapBdvaciy ioxupa yap
mp dropia TeEpt TOV Ojwov dmodwdexora Kal
THhv? ywpav Kal THY TOMY. OU pHY GAAA TOV

mpécBewy axovcavtes, *Aptoteidou vipeopa
. 1 Sonsudraroy Blass with F4S : payiudrarov.
2 «al ch» Hercher and Blass with F*S: rh».
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he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive.
So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces,}
a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that
the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage
to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles,
had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to
save the King.
X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and
hurried straight to the Hellespont ; but Mardonius,
with the flower of the army, to the number of
three hundred thousand men, was left behind.
He was a formidable adversary, and because his
confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote
threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: “ Ye have
conquered with your maritime timbers. landsmen
who know not how to ply the oar; but now, broad
is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia
for brave horsemen and men-at-arms to contend
in.” But to the Athenians he sent separate letters
and proposals from the King, who promised to
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make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they
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1 Cf. Themistocles, xvi. 2 f.

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ypaypaytos, airexpivavto Oavpactny atoxpiow,
TOS pey TrOAELLOLS TUyyvapnNY éyev HdoxKoYTES, Et
mavtTa TAovTOU Kal ypnudtwv wvia vopiCocer,
Ov xpeitrov ovdev icacw, opyilecOar 8¢ Aaxedas-

poviots, OTe THY TWeviay KaleTHY aTopiay THY VOV
mapovoay "A@nvaios povoyv opact, ths 8 aperas
wal Ths pirotiplas auvnpovotow émi autioss
imép Tis “EXAdSos aywviterOar Trapaxanodvtes.
TavTa ypdypas “Aptoteidns nal tovs mpéoBets
eis THY exxAnoiavy Tapayayeov, Aaxedacpovioss
pev éexérXevoe ppalerv, ws ovK Eats Ypvaod
TosovToy TAROV0s ovO Lrép yiv ov8 bd yHp,
Scov "AOnvain. SéEawto dv mpo ths tev “EX-
Anvev édevdepias. Tots 5€ mapa Mapéoviov rov
Artov SetEas, “"Axype av ovtos,” én, “ tavrny
mopevntac tv Topetav, "AOnvaios troreunoovor
Ilépoais tmep tis dSednwpévns ywpas Kal Tov
noeBnuévwv Kal KaTaxexavpévov tepov. ett dé
apas Oécbat Tovs tepets eyparrev, et tis émixn-
puxevoatto Mydos h THY cuppayiay aToXiTot
tov ‘EXAnvop.
"EuBarovros 5é Mapdoviov ro Sevrepoy es tHv
’"Artixnv, avis eis Yarapiva Sietrépacav. *Api-
areions 5é meudbels eis Aaxedaipova thas pev
Bpadurijros avtois éevexdder Kal THs ddLyupias,
mpoewévors ailis te BapBdpw tas ‘AOnvas,
n&iov && mpos- ta étt cwlopeva tis “EXAdSos
BonOciv. tratta axovcavtes ot “Edopos pe”
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could be tolerant with their foes for supposing
that everthing was to be bought for wealth and
money, since their foes could conceive of nothing
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payment for the freedom of the Hellenes; and to

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e , A 250 la \ e A] a e ,
npépav pev edoxovv trailew xal pabvpeiv eoprd-
Covtess fv yap avtois ‘TaxivOia: vuntos 5é
/ A 2 / ?
TEVTAKLO'XLNLOUS Lrapriatev émuneEavTes, @v
Exactos émTa Tept avrov etdwtas elyev, cEérrep-
b QO 7 A b 4 > \ 4
av ovx eidotav tav AOnvaiwy. érel € waduw
9 a e 9: 4 A e \
éyxadkov o ‘Aptoteidns mpoondOev, ot b& avy
yéXwrTe Anpety avtov Epacxov Kai xabevdev, 757
yap év Opecteiw tov otparoy elvat tropevopevov
DJ \ , 4 \ > 4 \ la
éml tous Eévous (Eévous yap éxaXouv tous [lépaas),

> ‘ 4 / > \ e 9 A
ov KaTa Karpov pn traifey adtous o Apioteidns,
Gvtl T@v Todepiwy tors dirous éEatraTovTas.
af? e \ \ > VA >
trav” ot rept tov “ldopevéa Aéyovow. év Se
A / an ? / \ >
T® Wndiopare tod ‘Aptoteidov mpeaBevtns ovK
> / 9 / , \

avTos, GAA Kipowv cal BavOirros cat Mupo-
vidns pépovrar.
XI. Xesporovnbels Sé€ otpatrnyos avtoxpdtwp
érrl thv waxny, kal Tov AOnvaiwv onTaKicxtAlous
e V4 2 4 > 4 A
omritas avarkaBov, heev cis Unatads. éxet 5é
\ e A
kai Ilavcavias 0 Tod cuptravTos aAyouvpevos
‘EXAAnuixod couvéwwkev Eywv Tovs Yraptidtas,
a ¥ e V4 ? / \ “A

Kal rov arXNwv “EXdAnvev érréppes tO WAROOs.
tav d¢ BapBdpwy To pev OrXOv THS oTpaToTrEdeias
wapa tov ‘Acwrov Totapmoy mTapexteTapéerns
ovdels Av pos dua TO péyeOos, wept Sé Tas atro-
oxevas Kal Ta KUpLwoTata TEixos TepteppdEavToO
TETPGYWVOV, OU TAY TWAEUPA@Y ExadaTH MHKOS HY
déxa otadiov.
Ilavoavia pev ody Kal tots “EXXnot Kown
Ticapevos o ‘Hretos éuavtevoato, nal mpoeiie
vicny apvvouévots Kal py qTpoemiyecpodary:
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it was day, publicly disported themselves in easy-
going festival fashion ; for it was their festival of the
Hyacinthta. But in the night they selected five
thousand Spartans, each of whom had seven Helots
to attend upon him, and sent them forth without
the knowledge of the Athenians. So when Aristides
came befote them with renewed invectives, they
laughed and said he was but a sleepy babbler,
for that their army was already in Arcadia on
its march against the “strangers” (they called the
Persians strangers). But Aristides declared they
were jesting out of all season, forasmuch as they
were deceiving their friends instead of their enemies.
This is the way Idomeneus tell the story. But in
the decree which Aristides caused to be passed, he
himself is not named as envoy, but Cimon, Xanthippus,
and Myronides.
XI. Having been elected general with sole powers
in view of the expected-battle, he came to Plataea !
at the head of eight thousand Athenian hoplites.

There Pausanias also, the commander in chief of the whole Hellenic army, joined him with his Spartans, and the forces of the rest of the Hellenes kept streaming up. Now, generally speaking, there was no limit to the encampment of the Barbarians as it lay stretched out along the river Asopus, so vast was it; but round their baggage trains and chief headquarters they built a quadrangular wall, whereof each side was ten stadia in length. |

To Pausanias and all the Hellenes under him Tisamenus the Eleian made prophecy, and foretold victory for them if they acted on the defensive and

1 Spring of 479 B.c.

3 "Aptoteidou &€é mépuavtos eis Aeddovs aveidev o Oeos *"AOnvaiovs xaOureptépovs éoecOar Trav évavtiwy evyopuévous TO Act xal tH "Hpa tH KiOatpwvia xai avi cal vipdats Xhpayitior, kat Qvovras Rpwow Avdpoxparer, Aevxove, Tleccavdpw, Aapoxpdta, "Trriwr, "Axraioni, Tlovvide, cat tov xivduvoy év ya idia tovovpévous év TO Tebdip tas Adwatpos tas 'EXevaowias xai

4 tas Kopas. otros 6 ypnopmos dvevexyOels drropiay T@ 'Apioteidn mapetyev. of pev yap tpwes, ols éxéreve Ovew, apynyérat TIdatraséwv joav, cal To ToY Xdpayitidwy vupdav dvtpov év mia Kopudf tod KiOaipavos éeotiv, eis Svopas ALouv Oepias Tetpappévoy, ev @ Kal pavteioy jv MpoTepov, Ws pact, Kal ToNAOL KaTELYoVTO TAY értywpiov, os vupydorAnmrous mpoanydopevov.

5 To € Tihs "EXevaowias Anpuntpos rediov, cal rod THY paxynv év iia yopa Trotoupévols Tots 'AOnvaiows vintnv bidoc0at, madi eis thy "Arrixny avexanelto cal peOiorn TOP TONELOD.

"Ev@a TOV ITharacéwp o 0 TTpATHYOS "A piuynaros édoke Kara TOUS Umvous vTro TOU Atos TOU 2wrhpos eT EpwrT @LEVvOV avrov, 6 Te bn mparTew dédonrau TOUS "EAAgow, errety, "Avptov ets '"EXevoiva thy oTpaTLay arrafouer, a @ SéoTroTa, Kal Siapayovpeba, Tots BapBapors éxel KaTa TO mudoxpna tov."

6 Tov obv Oeov davar _ Olapapravey avTovs Tov mwavtTos auToht yap elvat Wept THY Ihataixny

Ta =mvboxpnata Kal Cnrobytas dveuphoety.
TOUTWY evapyas TO Apiuynote gavevtwy éEeypo-
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did not advance to the attack. But Aristides sent to Delphi and received from the god response that the Athenians would be superior to their foes if they made vows to Zeus, Cithaeronian Hera, Pan, and the Sphragitic nymphs; paid sacrifices to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisandrus, Damocrates, Hyp- sion, Actaeon, and Polyidus; and if they sustained the peril of battle on their own soil, in the plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. When this oracle was reported to Aristides, it perplexed him greatly. The heroes to whom he was to sacrifice were, it was true, ancient dignitaries of the Plataeans; and the cave of the Sphragitic nymphs was on one of the peaks of Cithaeron, facing the summer sunsets, and -in it there was also an oracle in former days, as they say, and many of the natives were possessed of the oracular power, and these were called nympholepis, or " nymph-possessed."" But the plain of Eleusinian Demeter, and the promise of victory to the Athenians if they fought the battle in their own territory, called them back, as it were, to Attica, and changed the seat of war.

At this time the general of the Plataeans, Arim- nestus, had a dream in which he thought he was accosted by Zeus the Saviour and asked what the Hellenes had decided to do, and replied: "On the morrow, my Lord, we are going to lead our army back to Eleusis, and fight out our issue with the Barbarians there, in accordance with the Pythian oracle." Then the god said they were entirely in error, for the Pythian oracle's places were there in the neighbourhood of Plataea, and if they sought them they would surely find them. All this was made so vivid to Arimnestus that as soon as he awoke

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mevos TayLoTa peTeTéupato Tos eutrelpoTaTous
Kal wpecButdtouvs Tov TodtuTav, pel' wv dia-
Neyopevos Kal cuvdsarropav evdpev, St. TOV 'Torov
TAnoiov Yro Tov KiOatpava vacs éotiv apyaios
mavu' Anuntpos "EXevowias cat Kopns mpoca-
yopevopevos. evO0s otv tmaparaBwv tov *Api-
oreiOnv Fryev éml tov tomov, evpvéatatov BvtTa
qmaparata: dadrayya webixny immoxpatoupévots,
dua Tas Urwpeias ToD KiOatp@vos adurma tot-
ovoas Ta KaTadnyovta Kal ovyKxupodyta Tov
qedtov mpos TO iepov. avtod 8 hv xa To Tov
"Avdpoxpatous np@ov éyyvs, adoet muKvav Kar
ovoxiwv dSévdpwv treptexopevov. Orras 5é undéev
éAdtrés Eyn mpos THv EXmiba THS viKNs Oo YpNnT LOS, °

éd0£e rots Tndarasetow, "Apipvnotov yvouny
elirovTos, avedety TA Tpos THY ATTLKHY Gpla THS

TIvaratidos cal thv yopav éridodvat tois ’AOn-
vaiouy umep ths ‘EXXdbos ey oixela Kata Tov
Xpnopov évaywvicacbau.
Tavrny peév obv thy pirotipiav Tov TIAataréwy
oitw auvéB8n mepiBontov yevécbar, wate Kal
"AréEavdpov 76n Bactrevovra tis’ Acias tatepov
TodNots Ereot Teryifovta tas TlNatards avertrety
"OrAupridow vo KnpuKos, Ott TavTHY 6 Bactreds
atrobdiowat IIdatatetot ths avdpayabias Kal Tis
peyarouyias yap, ered) tots "EXAnow év
T@ Mndix@ roreup thy xwpav érédwxay cai
Tapecyov avrovs mpoOupotarous.
XII. ’AOnvaiows 5é Teyedras tepl tiakews
éplaavres nklovv, domep del, Aaxedaipovioy ro
deEvov eyovtwy xépas, avtol To evwovupov éyerv,
1 wdyv omitted by Bekker, now found in S.
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3

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he summoned the oldest and most experienced of his fellow-citizens. By conference and _ investigation with these he discoverd that near Hysiae, at the foot of mount Cithaeron, there was a very ancient temple bearing the names of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. Straightway then he took Aristides and led him to the spot. They found that it was naturally very well suited to the array of infantry against a force that was superior in cavalry, since the spurs of Cithaeron made the edges of the plain adjoining the temple unfit for horsemen. There, too, was the shrine of the hero Androcrates hard by, enveloped in a grove of dense and shady trees. And besides, that the oracle might leave no rift in the hope of victory, the Plataeans voted, on motion of Arimnestus, to remove the boundaries of Plataea on the side toward Attica, and to give this territory to the Athenians, that so they might contend in defence of Hellas on their own soil, in accordance with the oracle.
This munificence of the Plataeans became so celebrated that Alexander, many years afterwards,

when he was now King of Asia,! built the walls of
Plataea, and had proclamation made by herald at the
Olympic games that the King bestowed this grace
upon the Plataeans in return for their bravery and
magnanimity in freely bestowing their territory upon
the Hellenes in the Median war, and so showing
themselves most zealous of all.

XII. Now with the Athenians the men of Tegea came to strife regarding their position in the line. They claimed that, as had always been the case, since the Lacedaemonians held the right wing, they

TOAAA TOUS AUT@V Mpoyovous éyxwpcalovTes.
ayavaxtouvtov Sé tav 'AOnvaiwy mapedOov
o 'Apiotetdns eltre: " Teyedtais pév avrectety
mept evyevelas Kal dvdpayabias 0 Tapwpv
Katpos ov didwat, rpos § buas, ®@ LBraptiatar,
Kal Tovs aANOUS"EAANvas éyomev, STL THY apeTnv
ovK abaipeitas ToTros ovdé Sidwarv: fv & av ipets
npiv taki amod@te metpacopeOa KoopovyTes
kal PYAATTOVTES 1) KATAITYUVELY TOUS Tponywvt-
2 apévous ayavas. Hromev yap ov Tois cuppayots
oTATLaGOVTES, GANA payxovpevoe Tots TrorEmLOLS,
ovd eTraLvEeropevot TOUS marépas, aXr' avTous
avdpas ayabous Th "EAAdOoe mapeEovres: ®S OUTOS
0 aryov Seifer Kal Tod Kat dpxovra kal idiarny
om7ogou Tous "EAAno ww aEvos dott. = TavT axov-
cates ot ctvedpot Kal TYYEMOvES amedeEavto Tovs
"AOnvaious Kal Garepov, avrtois Ke pas amédocav.

XTII. Ovens be PeETEwpou THs 'EdAaddos kal
padiota Tots "AOnvaios TOV Tpaypatov eT b-
aparés eXovTmr, avépes é& olxeoy emepavav Kal
XPNMET ov peyddov TEVTES uTO TOU TOAE Mou
yeryovores car wac av dua TO TROUT THY ev TH
TONEL Suva pev aur ay rat Sofav otYoméevny opav-
TES, ér€ wv TIpopeveoy Kal upyovTwv, cuvirOov
eis olKiay Tia TOV év MAaravais xpupa Kat
Tvv@LOTaYTO KatTadvcew Tov Onipov: et be yy
7 po poin, AupavetcOat TA Tpaypata Kal Tots
BasBuoois TPOOaely,
2 Iparropéevey 5é rovTwr év TO otpaTtoTredep Kat
auxvav on SiepOappevary, aia Bopevos o "Ape-
ateions Kal poBnOels tov Katpov, éyvw unt éay

themselves should hold the left, and in support of their claim they sounded loudly the praises of their ancestors. The Athenians were incensed, and Aristides came forward and made this speech: “ To argue with the men of Tegea about noble birth and bravery, there is surely no time now ; but we declare to you, O Spartans, and to the rest of the Hellenes, that valour is not taken away from a man, nor is it given him, by his position in the line. Whatsoever post ye shall assign to us, we will endeavour to main- tain and adorn it, and so bring no disgrace upon the contests we have made before. We are come, not to quarrel with our allies, but to do battle with our foes ; not to heap praises on our fathers, but to show ourselves brave men in the service of Hellas. It is this contest which will show how much any city or captain or, private soldier is worth to Hellas.” On hearing this, the councillors and leaders declared for the Athenians, and assigned to them the other wing.

XIII. While Hellas was thus in suspense and Athens especially in danger, certain men of that city who were of prominent families and large wealth, but had been impoverished by the war, saw that with their riches all their influence in the city and their reputation had departed, while other men now had the honours and offices. They therefore met together secretly at a certain house in Plataea, and conspired to overthrow the democracy; or, it their plans did not succeed, to injure the general cause and betray it to the Barbarians.
Such was the agitation in the camp, and many had already been corrupted, when Aristides got wind of the matter, and, fearful of the crisis that favoured the plot, determined not to leave the

b , \ a 4M? a > 4
dpeXovpevoy TO Tpayya uno’ array éxxarvrrev,
9 4 9 a 3 4 A e
aryvoovpevor eis Oaov exBnoetas TAOS o EXEYKOS
Tov Tov dixaiou Sntav Gpov avtl rod cuudépovtos.
oxtm@ 67 Tivas éx ToAN@Y auvédaBe Kal TOvTOV
80 4 A e / 4 \ \
vo pév, ols wrpw@ros 7 Kpiots Tpoeypadhn, oF Kat
mwrelaTny aitiay etyov, Aioxivns Aapmrpeds cal
"Aynoias “Ayapveds, @yovto hevyovtes éx Tod
/ ‘ » *9 A A
aotpatotédou, Tovs 8 addous adjKe, Oapojaat

did0vs Kal petayvavat tots ért AavOadverv oto-
pévots, UTrevrav ws péya SixacrnpLov Exovat TOV
/ 9 4 \ > / > a \
Toemov atoAvcacbat tas aitias opbas Kai
Sixaiws TH TaTpids BovAevopevot.
XIV. Mera radra Mapdomos, @ mr«ciorov
edoxes Stadéperv, trav “EXAnvaY arreTTElparo, THY
vf > 4 > a) 3 4 e A \
immov aOpoav avtois édels xabeCouévors bre Tov
mpotroda Tov KiBaipavos év ywpiots oxupois cal
metpwodect TANY Meyapéwv. obra 5é TproxiAror
TO TAOS Svtes ev Tois émrimrédots padXov
éstpatotredevovto. S10 Kal xax@s eracyxov bro
a / e ‘ 29 ’ \ \
Ths tmmov pueions em’ avrovs Kal mpoaBoAas
/
éyovons mavtayobev. émeurrov ovv ayyeXov
/ \ 4 A ,
Kata taxos mpos Ilavcaviay BonOety xeXevorTes,
ws ov duvduevor xa’ abtovs UrooThivat TO TeV
BapBapwv wAnB0s. tadrta Ilavoavias axovwv,
non 5€ Kal xaBopav atroxexpuppévoy akovTic pa-
twv Kai rokevpatwv mAnbes TO otTpaToTredoy TeV
Meyapéwv cal suvertarpévous avTous eis OdLyov,
auros pev aunyavos Hv mpos immotas apivew 32'

matter in neglect, nor yet to bring it wholly to the light, since it could not be known how many would be implicated by a test which was based on justice rather than expediency. Accordingly, he arrested some eight or so of the many conspirators. Two of these, against whom the charge was first formally brought, and who were really the most guilty ones, Aeschines of Lamptrae and Agesias of Acharnae, fled the camp. The rest he released, affording thus an opportunity. for encouragement and repentance to those who still thought they had escaped detection, and suggested to them that the war was a great tribunal for their acquittal from the charges made against them, provided they took sincere and righteous counsel in behalf of their country.

XIV. After this, Mardonius made trial of the Hellenes with that arm of his service in which he thought himself most superior. He despatched all his cavalry against them as they lay encamped at the foot of Cithaeron, in positions that were rugged and rocky—all except the Megarians. These, to the number of three thousand, were encamped the rather in open plain. For this reason they suffered severely at the hands of the cavalry, which poured in tides against them, and found access to them on every side. Accordingly, they sent a messenger in haste to Pausanias, bidding him come to their aid, since they were

unable of themselves to withstand the host of the Barbarians. Pausanias, on hearing this, and seeing at once that the camp of the Megarians was as good as hidden from view by the multitude of the enemy's javelins and arrows, and that its defenders were huddled together in narrow quarters, on his own part had no way of rendering

om Tixn pdrayy: kal Bapeia tH Lraptiatov,

3 tois & adAos otTpaTnyois Kal Aoyayois TAY 'EX-
AnVOY TEpt avTov ovat TpovBeTo EHrOV apeETis
Kal diroTiuias, ef dn tives ExovtTes avadé~awvTo
mpoaywvicacbat cai BonOinoar trois Meyapetat.
trav & ddXNwv oxvovvtav Aptatetdns avabeEduevos
umép tav 'AOnvaiwy ro épyov amootéAXeL Tov
™poOvporarov TOV doxaryav 'Oduprradwpor,
éyovTa TOUS Um' avT@ TETAYMEVOUS hoyddas
Tpraxoaious kal tokétas dvapepmeyuévous adv
avtots.
4 Todtrov 5é1 o€éws SiacKevacapevov Kal Wpoc-
Pepopevov pope, Masiotios 0 TeV BapBapov
im Tapxos, avnp aXKh} TE Oavpaaros peyéOer Te
Kal eadnet THUATOS TEPLTTOS, as Kwareider,
évavtiov eMLoT pe as TOV lIrTrov €is AVTOUS 'ipavve.
tov & dvacXopevarv Kat cup Barovtwy Tv arya
Kaptepos, os metpay éy TOUT@ Tov TAVTOS Aapm-
5 Bavovtar. émret é rokevels. O iarmos tov Ma-
oloTLov dm éppupe Kal weo@v vd Bapous TOV
6TNOv avr os TE SucKivytos % WV \dvag épew Kal Tots
"AOnvatous.€ ETTUKELMEVOUS Kal mTaiouat dvoperaxetpe-
aT0S, Ov povov orEpva Kal keparny, arra Kal Ta
quia Xpveg Kat Xareg Kab aLdnpe Katamepparv-
pévos, TovTov bev 7 TO Kpavos Uméparve TOV
opOarpov a aKovTiou oT UpAKt Tai@y Ts avetrer, ol
& adddov Tlépoat TT poéevou TOV vex pov Epevyov.
6 éyvacOn Sé Tou caTopOaparos TO péryebos TOS
"EdAqoww ovK amo TOV vexp@v Tod mAnOous,
Odiyot yap Ob TecOVTES oav, AXA TE TévOer TOV
1

wovtwy 5€ Hercher and Blass with F8S: rodtwy.

them aid against horsemen, since his phalanx of Spartans was full-armoured and slow of movement ; but to the rest of the generals and captains of the Hellenes who were about him he proposed, in order to stir up their valour and ambition, that' some of them should volunteer to make contention for the succour of the Megarians. The rest all hesitated, but Aristides, in behalf of the Athenians, undertook the task, and despatched his most zealous captain, Olympiodorus, with the three hundred picked men of his command, and archers mingled with them. These quickly arrayed themselves and advanced to the attack on the run. Masistius, the commander of the Barbarian cavalry,a man of wonderful prowess and of surpassing stature and beauty of person, saw them coming, and at once wheeled his horse to face them and charged down upon them. Then there was a mighty struggle between those who withstood and those who made the charge, since both regarded this as a test of the whole issue between them. Presently the horse of Masistius was hit with an arrow, and threw his rider, who lay where he fell, unable to raise himself, so heavy was his armour; and yet he was no easy prey to the Athenians, though they pressed upon him and smote him. For not only his chest and head, but also his limbs were encased in gold and bronze and iron. But at last, with the spike of a javelin, through the eye-hole of his helmet, he was smitten to the death, and the rest of the Persians abandoned his body and fled. The magnitude of their success was known to the Hellenes, not from the multitude of those they slew, for few

BapBapov. Kali yap éavtovs éExepay érl TH Maoutctio xal tamous Kal nptovous, oipwyns TE kat xkravOpov TO Trediov éveTrimracay, ws avipa jou tmp@tov apeTtn kal Suvdper peta ye Map-Soviov avtov amroBaXovtes.

XV. Mera Sé rHv immopaxlay audorepor paxns

ExYovTo Ypovoy ToNVY: apmUVOp_evots yap ob pdv-
Tels vinnv Tpovdaivoy ex TaV iep@v opotws Kal
tots Tlépaats nat rois"EXAnow, ef § éreyerpoiev,
ATtav. émrevta Mapoovos, ws avT@ péev jyepav
ordiywy Ta emitndeca trepinv, ot & “EXAnves adel
TiWaV éTLppEedvTMY TAEloVves éyivovTo, SUcavacye-
TOV éyvw pynKkéte péverv, AAXKA SvaBds aya ddev
tov Acwrov émibécbas tots" EXAnow atpocdoKn-
Tos' Kal Twapdyyedpa Tois nyemoow éomépas
EOWKE. |
Mecovons S€ waddsota THS vuKTOS avnp taimov
éywv arpéua mpoceniyvue T@ atpatoTédo Trav
‘EAAnvev: évtuyav 6é€ rais duraxais éxédevev
avT@ mpocedOciy ‘Apiotetdnv tov *AOnvaiov.
Umaxovaavtos 5&€ tayéws Edyoev' ‘ Kiul pev
"AréEavdpos 0 Maxedav, rw Sé xiwvduvwv Tov pé-
yloTov EvVvola TH TPOs Upas alpopeEvos, WS 7) TO
aipvidsoy éxmrAnFaev tas yelpov aywvicacbat.
payeltrar yap viv Mapdovigs aiptov, ody br’
érridos ypnaThs ovdé Odpaovs, Add’ atropias TOV
jTapovtwy, émel Kal pedvtTes éxetvoy atratciou
iepots Kal Aoyiots Ypnopav eipyovor puayns, Kai
TOV oTpaTov exeu ducdupia ToAAn Kal KatTaTdy-
us. GXX’ avayKy TOmaVvTa Teipacbar Ths TUYNS
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. had fallen, but from the grief of the Barbarians. For they shore their own hair in tribute to Masistius, and that of their horses and mules, and filled the plain with their wailing cries. They felt that they had lost a man who, after Mardonius himself, was by far the first in valour and authority.

XV. After this cavalry battle, both sides refrained from further fighting for a long time, since only as they acted on the defensive would victory be theirs—so the soothsayers interpreted the sacrifices alike for Persians and Hellenes,—but if they attacked, defeat. At last Mardonius, since he had supplies remaining for only a few days, and since the Hellenes were ever increasing in number as fresh bodies joined them, impatiently determined to wait no longer, but to cross the Asopus at day-break and attack the Athenians unexpectedly. During the evening he gave the watchword to his commanders.

But about midnight a solitary horseman quietly approached the camp of the Hellenes, and falling in with

the outposts, ordered that Amistides the Athenian come to him. He was speedily obeyed, and then said: “I am Alexander the Macedonian, and I am come at the greatest peril to myself, out of my good-will toward you, that no suddenness of attack may frighten you into inferior fighting. Mardonius will surely give battle on the morrow, not because he has substantial hope or even courage, but because he is destitute of provisions. His sooth- sayers, indeed, are trying ‘to keep him from battle by unpropitious sacrifices and oracular utterances, while his army is full of dejection and consternation ; but he must needs boldly try his fortune, or sit

A thy éoxdtny bropéverv arropiav xabeLopevov.
taita dpdcas o ’AréEavdpos édeito Tov ’Apiotet-
Snv avtov etdévat cal pynpoveverv, érépm 5é p17
KateTev. 0 8 ov Karas exe éfn tadta Mav-
caviav amoxpiwac0a, éxeivp yap avaxeicbat
THY Hyepoviav, Tpos 5é TOs aAXNOUS AppnTa mpo
THs payns edokev! écecOar, vixwaons Sé Tis
“ErAdb0s ovdéva tHv ’AreEdvipov mpobupiay Kat
apetny ayvoncev. RexOdvTwv 5é TovTwY 6 Te
Bacirers tav Maxedovwy amnravvev oricw
maduw, 6 te "Aptoteidns adadixdpevos él thy
oxnvnv Tod Ilavoaviou dinyetto Tovs Noyous Kar
peteTréutrovTo Tovs aAAOUS Hye“ovas Kal mapHy-
yedAov év KOom@ TOV oTpaTOY exe, WS payns
> 4
éoomevns. |
XVI. "Ev rovt@ 98, ws ‘Hpodoros icropeé,
Ilavoavias ’Aptoteiin mpocépepe Aoyov, akiav
tovs ‘AOnvaious émi ro SeErov petarafar xa?
kata tous Ilépcas avtitayOjvar, Bértiov yap
ayovetcOar THS TE wayns Eumetpovs yeyovotas
Kal T@ Tpovertennévat Oappodvras, avT@ dé wapa-
A > 7 4 A
Sodvat TO evwvupov, STrov Tav ‘“EAXnvev of
pn difovres emtBadrew &uweAXov.

Oi pev obv adXot atparnyol TOV "AOnvatov
aryvepova, Kal poprixov ayryobvTo Tov Havoaviay,
éb Thy adAnv dav rdf é€ ev X@pa povouvs dvw Kal
KaTO peTadhéper ofas waTrep elAwtas, Kata 7d

1 %8otey bracketed by Bekker, omitted by Blass.

2 werardta: «al MSS., Sintenis', Coraés, Bekker: peraya-

ybvra.
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still and endure extremest destitution." When he had told him this, Alexander begged Aristides to keep the knowledge to himself and bear it well in mind, but to tell it to none other. Aristides replied that it was not honourable to conceal this knowledge from Pausanias, since it was on him that the supreme command devolved, but that it should not be told the other leaders before the battle; though in case Hellas were victorious, no man should remain ignorant of Alexander's zeal and valour. After this conversation, the king of the Macedonians rode off back again, and Aristides went to the tent of Pausanias and told him all that had been said. Then they summoned the other leaders and gave them orders to keep the army in array, since there was to be a battle.

XVI. At this juncture, as Herodotus relates,! Pausanias sent word to Aristides, demanding that the Athenians change their position and array themselves on the right wing, over against the Persians, where they would contend better, he said, since they were versed already in the Persian style of fighting, and emboldened by a previous victory over them; the left wing, where the Medising Hellenes were going to attack, should be intrusted to himself and his Spartans.

The rest of the Athenian generals thought it inconsiderate and annoying in Pausanias to leave the rest of his line in the position assigned, while he moved them, and them only, back and forth like Helots, and put them forward where the

1 ix. 46,

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3 2
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4
paxtpworatov mpoBarrcpevos: o 8 ’Aptoreidns
a ,
Stapaptavey avtovs eépacxe tov TavtTos, et
mTpwnv wev brép Tov TO Eevwvupov Képas ExeL
Le) 4 \ VA J
Suehirotipodvto Teyedtats Kal mpoxpiWévtes éoe-
pvovovto, viv dé, AakeSatpoviwr Exovaiws avrois
? / A a \ / \ \
éEtcotapévwv tod Se€tod nat tpoToy twa THY
e / , ” \- , ’ a
nyepoviav TrapadioovTwy, ote THY Sofay ayaTo-
bd e le) A \ N e ,
aw ovTe Képdos HYyovvTat TO fun WpOS opodvAOUS
Kal ovyyevelts, aAAa BapBdpouvs Kal Pvoee trode-
pious aywrvicacOar. éx tovTov mdavu mpobvpws
ot “AOnvaios SunuetBovro tots Yraptiadtat tHv
takiy' Kal Aoyos éydpe 8 ad’Tav Todds ad-
AnArOLS TapeyyvovTwr, ws oUTEe SAA BerTio
AaBovres ovTE Wuyas apeivous Of ToAgwLOL TOV
év Mapada@v wpociacty, adrAa TavTapev éxeivots
, > \ 2 9 n Ve \ N
toka, tavta 8 écOyros trouiApata Kal ypvads
él cwpact parakols Kairpuyais avavdpots: nuiv
5 duowa pév OTrAa Kat oa@para, peitov Sé Tails
vinats TO Odpaos, 0 8 ayov ovy vmrép yopas Kal
s 4 e > 4 J b e A b]
TOAEWS pOVOY, w@S Exelvols, GAN Umép TaV év
Mapadau cal Zarapive tpotraiwr, ws pnd éxeiva
Marteadou Ooxg Kai TUyNs, adra ’AOnvaiwr.
Otitro. pév ovv omevddovtes ev apeirer TaV
tdEewv Hoav’ aicBopevor 5é OnBaioe rap’ adto-
porov Mapsdovip dpafovar. Kdxelvos evOus, etre
Sedums Tavs "AOnvaious, cite tois Aaxedatpovioss
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fighting was to be hottest. But Aristides declared
that they were utterly wrong; they had contended

emulously with the Tegeans, but a little while back, for the occupation of the left wing, and plumed themselves on being preferred before those rivals; but now, when the Lacedaemonians of their own accord vacated the right wing for them, and after a fashion proffered them the leadership among the Hellenes, they neither welcomed the reputation thus to be won, nor counted it gain that their contention would thus be, not with men of the same tribes and kindreds, but rather with Barbarians and natural enemies. Upon this the Athenians very willingly exchanged posts with the Spartans, and the word passed from lip to lip far through their ranks that their enemies would attack them with no better arms and with no braver spirits than at Marathon, nay, with the same kind of archery as then, and with the same variegated vesture and gold adornments to cover soft bodies and unmanly spirits; “while we have not only like arms and bodies with our brethren of that day, but that greater courage which is born of our victories; and our contest is not alone for land and city, as theirs was, but also for the trophies which they set up at Marathon and Salamis, in order that the world may think that not even those were due to Miltiades only, or to fortune, but to the Athenians.”

The Spartans and Athenians, then, were busily engaged in exchanging posts; but the Thebans heard of it from deserters and told Mardonius. He, at once, whether through fear of the Athenians or out of ambition to engage with the Lacedaemonians,

auptreceiy pidoTipmovpevos, avtitrapeEnye Tovs Ilépocas él ro Se€sov, rods 5¢ “EXXnvas éxéreue TOUs avy avT@ Kata Tovs AOnvaiovs loracba. 6 yevouévns 5é Ths peTaKocpnoews KaTadpavods 6 te Ilavoavias arorpatels avis emt tod Sekoi xatéarn, Kal Mapdovos, domep elyev éF apyis, avéraBe To evovupov Kata tovs Aaxedatpovious yevopuevos, 4 Te nuépa SieEnAev apyyn. Kal rois “EAAnot Bovrcvouévais e0ke tmoppwrépw peta-

otpatoTrededoat Kal KataraPelv edvdpov ywpior,
evel Ta wWAnoioy vapata KabvBpioto Kal Sdi€-
d0apto tav BapBdpwv immoxpatovver.
XVII. ’ExeXOovons S¢ vurros cal tov oTpatn-
yov ayovrov éml thy atrodederypévny otparo-
medeiav ov wavy wpd0vpov Av erecOat Kat
ocuppevety TO TAHOOS, GAN’ ws avéctncav ex ToYV
TpwoTwy épuudtov épépovto mpos THY TrOALY TOV
NaTaléwv ol ToAXol, Kal BopuBos Hv éxet Sia-
oxtdvapéver kal katacKnvotytav ataxtws. Aaxke-
Satpoviors Se cvvéBatvev! dxovat povois atronei-
2 meclar Tov GrAX\wv ‘Apouddpetos yap, avnp
Oupoedys wat dtroxivduvos, Extaday mpos TV
paynv omapyav xal Bapvyopevos tas todas
avaBonras Kal perrAnoes, TOTE 52 TavTaTacL THY
peTavaotadow duynyv atoxarov Kal amrodpacuy,
oun &bn rete thy taf, GAN avdToO. pévav
peTa TaV éavTOd NOXLT@Y UToaTHaETIat Mapédo-
3 vov. ws S€é Tlavoavias évedOov éreye tava
mpatrew eyndiopéva wal Sedoypéva tots "EXXD-
ow, apdpevos taiv yxepoty métpov péyav oO
1 guvéBavevy Blass, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis! ;
cuvéBn [nev].
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counterchanged his Persians to the right wing, and ordered the Hellenes with him to set themselves against the Athenians. When this change in his enemy's order of battle was manifest, Pausanias returned and occupied the right wing again, where- upon Mardonius also resumed his own left wing, just as he stood at the beginning, facing the Lacedae- monians. And thus the day came to an end without action. The Hellenes, on deliberation, decided to change their camp to a position farther on, and to secure a spot where there was plenty of good water, since the neighbouring springs were defiled and ruined by the Barbarians’ superior force of cavalry. XVII. Night came on, and the generals set out to lead their forces to the appointed encampment. The soldiers, however, showed no great eagerness to follow in close order, but when they had once abandoned their first defences, most of them hurried on toward the city of Plataea, and there tumult reigned as they scattered about and encamped in no order whatsover. But it chanced that the Lacedae- monians were left alone behind the others, and that too against their will. For Agjompharetus, a man of a fierce and venturesome spirit, who had long been mad for battle and distressed by the many post- ponements and delays, now at last lost all control of himself, denounced the change of position as a runaway flight, and declared that he would not abandon his post, but stay there with his company and await the onset of Mardonius. And when Pausanias came up and told him that their action had been formally voted by the Hellenes in council,

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"A pouddperos Kal cataBarov po THY Today Tod
Havoaviou tavrnv én Widov avros mepl ris
paxns TiWecOat, Ta 5é TAY GAXwv Seta Bovrev-
pata Kal Soypata yaipew éav. catropovmevos bé
Tlavoavias 7@ mapovte trpos pev Tovs “AOnvaious
éreuapey amiovras On, Teptyetvar Seopevos Kal
xownh Baditerv, adtos 5é tHv GdAXnv Sivapww Frye
ampos tas TWdataias @s dvactnowy Tov *Apop-
paperov.
"Ev tovt@ 5é xateddpBavev juépa, cat Map-
Somos (ov yap éXadov thy otpatoredetav éxrEXoL-
motes ot “EXAnves) Exov aovvtetaypévny ryv
Sivapu éredépeto Trois Aaxedatpovious Bon 4roAXNT
Kal watayp tov BapBapwv, ws od paxyns éco-
pévns, GAAA hevyovtas dvaptacopévwv Tovs
“EAAnvas. 6 puxpas pomis édénoe yevéoOar.
KaTio@v yap TO ywopuevov o Iavaavias éoxero
fev THs Topetas Kal thy él paxn Tak exérXevce
NapBdvev Exactov, Ed\aVe & avtov, tA vbr
THS Tpos Tov Apoudaperov opyins cite TO Tdyxet
GopyBnOévta taV Trodepiwv, cvvOnpa pH Sodvat
tois "EAdAnow. dOev ovt evOuvs obt dOpoor,
Kat oduyous bé€ Kal oropddny, Hdn THs payns
év xepaly ovons, mpoaeBonOouv.
Qs dé Ovdpevos ove éxarréper, mpocérake
tots Aaxedatpoviots Tas domidas wpd THY Troda@V
Oepévous atpéua xabélecOar Kai mpocéyev avTe,
pndéva TOV Trodeioy apvvomévous, avtros bé
maw éogayiavero. Kal mpooémimrtov ot immeis-
non 5é€ Kal RBéros é&txveito Kai Tus erémdnKTO
TOY Yraptiatay. év tovT@ dé Kai Kaddexparns,
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3:

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Amompharetus picked up a great stone and threw it
down at the feet of Pausanias, saying that was his
personal ballot for battle, and he cared not a whit
for the cowardly counsels and votes of the rest.
Pausanias, perplexed at the case, sent to the Athe-

nians, who were already moving off, begging them
to wait and make the march in company with him,
and then began to lead the rest of his troops
toward Plataea, with the idea that he would thus
force Amompharetus from his position.
At this point day overtook them, and Mardonius, who did not fail to notice that the Hellenes had abandoned their encampment, with his force in full array, bore down upon the Lacedaemonians, with great shouting and clamour on the part of the Barbarians, who felt that there would be no real battle, but that the Hellenes had only to be snatched off as they fled. And this lacked but little of coming to pass. For Pausanias, on seeing the situation, though he did check his march and order every man to take post for battle, forgot, either in his rage at Amom- pharetus or his confusion at the speed of the enemy, to give the signal for battle to the confederate Hellenes. For this reason they did not come to his aid at once, nor in a body, but in small detachments and straggling, after the battle was already joined.

When Pausanias got no favourable omens from his sacrifices, he ordered his Lacedaemonians to sit quiet with their shields planted in front of them, and to await his orders, making no attempt to repulse their enemies, while he himself went to sacrificing again. By this time the horsemen were charging upon them ; presently their missiles actually reached them, and many a Spartan was smitten. And then it was

dy idéa te xaddXdoTov 'EAAjvev Kal copatt
péytorov ev éxelva TO oTpaT@ yevérGat Aéyovar,
tokevOels xal OvncKwv ovx &pyn tov Odvartov
odvperGat, Kal yap érOeciv olxoBev wimEep Tis
'EAAdOos atroavovpevos, GAN Ste OvioKker TH
xerpl pn xpnodpuevos. jv otvy TO pev mados
Sevvov, 7 8 éyxpatea Oavpactn tev avipar.
ov yap nuvvovTO Tovs ToXEpious émBaivoytas,
GNA TOV Tapa Tov Beod Kal Tov oTpaTnyod
kacpov dvapevortes nvetyovto Badopevor Kat
WiMTOVTES EV TALS tafeow,
"Eviot 5é pace T® Ilavoavia pexpov éEw Tis
Taparagews Ovovtt "wa KATEUXOMEVY TOY Avdav
Twas adve TpooTEgovTas dpm dvew Kab Suappi-
MTEL Ta Tmepl THY Ovotar, tov 6€ Ilavoanav Kai
Tous Tept avrov ovK éxovras ba paBdous Kat
pao ree matey 616 Kal vov exelvns THS emdpopiis
popnpara Tas Tept TOV Bopov év adpty TwANYas
Tav épnBov cal tiv pera tadta tav Avdoy
Topmny avyrTenciaGat.
XVIII. Avo gopav ov o Navoavias ToOlS Tapov-
ow, adAa TOU | PaVTEWs én adro1s tepeia KaTa-

Barxdortos, TpemeTat T pos TO ‘Hpatov Th ove
SeSaxpupévos, Kal Tas xetpas dvacxov evEato
Kidarpwvia * ‘Hpg Kal Geots adovs, ot Tdataida
yay é ovat, él By TET PWT AL Tots “EAAnot viKay,
ara pdoavtas 7é Tt mwadety Kal deiEavtas ¢ epyp
Tos ToNEepLows, ws em” avipas ayabous Kal paxe-
cOa pepadnKotas éotpatevaay. Taita TOU
Ilavoaviov JeoxdutobvTos dua tais evyais epavy
TQ iepa Kai vienv o pavtis edpate. en S00 évros
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that Callicrates, said to be the fairest of the Hellenes to look upon, and the tallest man in their whole army, was shot, and, dying, said he did not grieve at death, since he had left his home to die for Hellas, but at dying without striking a single blow. Their experience was indeed a terrible one, but the restraint of the men was wonderful. They did not try to repel the enemy who were attacking them, but awaited from their god and their general the favourable instant, while they endured wounds and death at their posts.

Some say that as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying, a little to one side of his line of battle, some Lydians suddenly fell upon him and rudely hurled away the sacrificial offerings; and_ that Pausanias and his attendants, being without weapons, smote the intruders with the sacrificial staves and goads; wherefore, to this day, in imitation of this onslaught, the ceremonies of beating the young warriors round the altar at Sparta, and of the procession of the Lydians which follows this, are duly celebrated as rites.

XVIII. Then, in distress at this state of affairs, while the seer slew victim after victim, Pausanias turned his face, all tears, toward the Heraeum, and with hands uplifted prayed Cithaeronian Hera and the other gods of the Plataean land that, if it was not the lot of the Hellenes to be victorious, they might at least do great deeds before they fell, and show to a certainty that their enemies had marched out against men who were brave and who knew how to fight. While Pausanias was thus calling on the gods, right in the midst of his prayers, the sacrifices showed themselves propitious and the seer announced

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eis Amavras tod Tapayyédpatos caBiorac Bae
Tpos TOUS Toneplous, n Te ddrayé dypuy erxev
ai pridicos évos Swov Oupoedots mpos adany
TpeTropevov kar dpikavros, Tous TE BapBapors
TOTE TaperTy hoyio pos, @>s mpos avdpas o ayoy
EcouTo paxovpévous aypt Oavarov. 610 Kat
mpo0éuevou ToddG TOV YyEeppov érofevor els Tovs }
Aaxedatpovious. at dé THpovvTes apa TOV oUva-
oma pov éréBatvov, Kal T poo Tec ovTes éFea0ouv
Ta YEppa, kal toils Sopact tumtovTes Tpoowna,
Kal oTépva trav Llepoay TOAOUS xaTéBanrov,
ovK aT PAKT ws oveé a ipoos TiN TOVTAS. wal yap
dyriAapBavopevor tay Sopdtey tais Xepat yup-
vais cvvedpavor Ta TreloTa, kat pos Tas
Eupovrxias éx@pouv ovK apy as, GaNAa tals Te
KoTrios Kal Tots aKivdaKals XPwpevor Kal Tas
aonidas TapagTavTEs Kal cupTrrEKOpEVoL YpoyoV
qToNUY avretxov.
Oi S "AOnvaio téws pev NTE Mouv dvapevovres
TOUS Aaxedarpovious, émel 5é Kpavyy} Te mT poo é-
WiTTE TOANH paxopeveo ral Tmaphy, OS pacw,
deyryedos mapa Tavoaviov Ta yiwopeva ppatov,
Gpynoay Karta TAX OS Bon Beir. wal T poxepov-
ow aurois dua TOD medtou apos THY Bony érrepé-
povTo TaV ‘Ed vov ob pndifovtes, "Aptotetons
dé ™ partov per, @S €l0€, TONU mpoehOarv éBoa,
papTupopevos “EAAnvious Jeovs, améxer Oat pans
Kal pI odiow éutrodov elvar pnde xwdvev
eT apUuvovTas Tous mpoxwwduvevovow tiép Ths
‘EdAd60s, émrel & éwpa pn Tpoo éxovTas auT@
Kal ouvteraypévouvs érl Thy pdynv, otTw Ths
1 eis rots Hercher and Blass with S: robs.

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victory. Word was at once passed all along the line to set themselves in motion against the enemy, and the phalanx suddenly had the look of a fierce beast bristling up to defend itself. The Barbarians then got assurance that their contest was to be with men who would fight to the death. Therefore they made a rampart of their wicker targets and shot their arrows into the ranks of the Lacedaemonians. These, however, kept their shields closely locked together as they advanced, fell upon their foemen, tore away

their wicker targets, and then, smiting the Persians in face and breast with their long spears, they slew many, who nevertheless did great deeds of courage before they fell. For they grasped the long spears with their naked hands, fractured them for the most part, and then took to short-range fighting with a will, plying their daggers and scimetars, tear- ing away their enemies' shields, and locking them in close embrace ; and so they held out a long time. The Athenians, meanwhile, were quietly awaiting the Lacedaemonians. But when the shouts of those engaged in battle fell loud upon their ears, and there came, as they say,a messenger from Pausanias telling them what was happening, they set out with speed to aid him. However, as they were advancing through the plain to his aid, the Medising Hellenes bore down upon them. Then Aristides, to begin with, when he saw them, went far forward and shouted to them, invoking the gods of Hellas, that they refrain from battle, and oppose not nor hinder those who were bearing aid to men standing in the van of danger for the sake of Hellas. But as soon as he saw that they paid no heed to him, and were

éxel BonOeias drotpamopevos cuvéBare TovrTots
wep) tevtaxiopupiovs ovcw. Gddr\a TO meV
mreiotov evOds évédwxe Kal amexwpnoev, ate
89 «al trav BapBdpwv amndrdaypevov, 7 8é
payn déyerat paddota Kata OnBaiovs yevérOar,
mpoOupotata T&Y TpwTwY Kai dSuvaTwTdtwY TOTE
9 b a , \ Aa 3
nap avtois pndilovtwy Kal To wAHOos ov Kata
yvepunv, GAN' dduyapxovpevoy ayovTay.
XIX. Odtw 5é tod dyavos diya ovvertaTos
mpato. pev édoavto tovs Ilépoas ot Aaxedat-
porto: wal tov Mapdouov avnp Xmaptiatns
" ? / > , / \
Svowa "Apipynatos arroctivvuct, MO@ THY Ke-
garny wartdéas, dorep avTe Mpoeonpave TO
év Apdidpew poavtetov. emeprpe yap avdpa
Avddv évtad@a, Kapa 8 érepov eis Tpodwviou
6! MapSduos: Kal tobrov peév o rpopytns Kapixh
7
yrwocon mpoceimev, 6 5é Avdds év TO oNnk@ Tod
"Apdidpew Kxatevvacbels edokev vanpérny tid
Tod Oeod mapacthvat Kal KedeveLy avTOY aTLéval,
pty Bovropevou Sé ALGov eis THY Keparny éuBareiv
peyav, Oote SdEat TANyévTa TeOvdvat TOV avOpw-
mov' Kal TavTa pev o0TH yevérOat NEyeTaL. 'TOUS
Us a
58 devryovtas eis TA EvNwa teixn KabeipEav.
' 4 > oo 9 A '\ ,

Orly 8 dbarepov ’APnvaios tovs OnBatous
TpeTOVTAL, Tplaxocious Tous éemiupavertatous Kal
mpwrous StapOeipavtes ev avTn TH mayn. ye
yevnpevns 5& THs TpoTHs Hey avtois ayyedos
a \ \ >
modopKeto bat TO BapBaptxov eis Ta TEeLyN KaTA-
1 § bracketed in Sintenis?; Blass reads eis rd Mrgov 6 with S, after Hercher, thus agreeing with Herodotus viii. 135.

arrayed for battle, then he turned aside from rendering aid where he had proposed, and engaged with these, though they were about fifty thousand in number. But the greater part of them at once gave way and- withdrew, especially as the Barbarians had also retired, and the battle is said to have been fought chiefly with the Thebans, whose foremost and most influential men were at that time very eagerly Medising, and carried with them the multitude, not of choice, but at the bidding of the few.

XIX. The contest thus begun in two places, the Lacedaemonians were first to repulse the Persians. Mardonius was slain by a man of Sparta named Arimnestus, who crushed his head with a stone, even as was foretold him by the oracle in the shrine of Amphiaraiis. Thither he had sent a Lydian man, and a Carian besides to the oracle of Trophonius.! This latter the prophet actually addressed in the Carian tongue ; but the Lydian, on lying down in the precinct of Amphiaraiis, dreamed that an attendant of the god stood by his side and bade him be gone, and on his refusal, hurled a great stone upon his head, insomuch that he died from the blow (so ran the man’s dream). These things are so reported. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians shut the flying Persians up in their wooden stockade. |

Shortly after this it was that the Athenians routed the Thebans, after slaying three hundred, their most eminent leaders, in the actual battle. After the rout was effected, and more might have been slain, there came a messenger to the Athenians, telling them that the Barbarian force was shut up and besieged

1 According to Herodotus, viii. 135, Mys the Carian visited the shrine of the Ptoan Apollo, overlooking Lake Copais.

KeKNELTMEevov. oUTw 61 cwlecOat TOs “EAANVas
édcavtes éBondovy mpos ta Teiyn? Kal Tos
Aakedaipoviots Tavtdtaciw apy@s mWpos TEeLxXo-
paxiav Kai atreipws Exovow éemipavévTes atpovot

TO otpatotredoy hovp TOAXG TeV Trordepion.
4 Aéyovras yap amd Tav Tplaxovta pupiddov
mA aA A >] 4 nA >)
TeTpakiopuploe puyeiy avy ‘AptaBdalo, Trav §
e A e , Sf ty , 54 e
umép tas “Edddbo0s dywricapévwv etrecoy ot
mavtes éml yxurlos é—nKovTa Kal TpLaxdotot.
routwv "AOnvaio: pev hoav dvo0 nal twevtnKovTa,
4 ? io) ? lA A C4
mavres éx THs Alavridos duds, Os pynoe Krel-
5 dnuos, aywvcauévns dpiota: $10 Kal Tais
/ 4 20 9 (8 \ 86
Lppayitice vupgdars EOvov Atavtidar tHv tvOo-
Xpnorov Ovoiay wirép THs vinns, ex Snpociov Tod
avadkopa AapuBavovtes> Aaxedarmoro. 8 évt
anelous TaV évevyiKxovta, Teyeara: 8 éxnaidexa.
@avpacrov ovv to “Hpodctov, ras povovs
tovutous dyaoly eis yelpas éAOeiv Tois Trodepios,
tov & dddov ‘“EdXAjvov pyndéva. xal yap To
WAHV0s TOY TWecovTWY papTUpE Kal TA pYnLaTa
6 Kxowvov yevéoOat TO KaTopOwpa: Kal Tov Bopov
oux dv éréyparav obtTws, ef ovat Tpels woders
? / A A ? /
nyovicavTo, TOV GAdAwY atpéwa Kabelopéver:
Tovde 100" ExXnves vinas xparter, py “Apnos,*
Ilépaas eEeXacavtes éXevOépa “EXAdd: Kowvov
(Spvcavro Aros Bwopov érevBepiov.
1 Coraés and Bekker insert after this verse the pentameter :

ebrdAum Wuxas Afparit wetOduevoi, following the bold tmpulse o their spirit, found in the Palatine Anthology, vi. 50. 4

o 09 |
? vie ARISTIDES
‘ a . ;
in their/stockade. So they suffered the Hellenes in front of them to make good their escape, while they themselves marched to the stockade. They brought welcome aid to the Lacedaemonians, who were altogether inexperienced and helpless in storming walled places, and captured the camp with great slaughter of the enemy. Out of three hundred thousand, only forty thousand, it is said, made their

escape with Artabazus. Of those who contended in behalf of Hellas, there fell in all one thousand three hundred and sixty. Of these, fifty-two were Athenians, all of the Aeantid tribe, according to Cleidemus, which made the bravest contest (for which reason the Aeantids used to sacrifice regularly to the Sphragitic nymphs the sacrifice ordained by the Pythian oracle for the victory, receiving the expenses therefor from the public funds); ninety-one were Lacedaemonians, and sixteen were men of Tegea. Astonishing, therefore, is the statement of Herodotus,' where he says that these one hundred and fifty-nine represented the only Hellenes who engaged the enemy, and that not one of the rest did so. Surely the total number of those who fell, as well as the monuments erected over them, testifies that the success was a common one. Besides, had the men of three cities only made the contest, while the rest sat idly by, the altar would not have been inscribed as it was :—

"'Here did the Hellenes, flushed with a victory
granted by Ares
Over the routed Persians, together, for Hellas
delivered,
Build them an altar of Zeus, Zeus as Deliverer known."

1 ix. 85.

7 Tavdrnv rhv paynv éuaxeravro TH TETPAOL TOU Bon Spopueivos lorapévov cat' 'A@nvalous, kata dé Botwrous TeTpaoe Tov Tlavépou pOivovros, 7% 331 kal viv ére To "EXAnuixov év TXataiais aOpoi-Cerat ovvédpiov Kal Avovar T@ ehevOepiop Act TIAaraceis vmrép THs viens. Thy dé TOY NwEepev dvapariay ov Gavpacréor, Strov Kai viv Sinn pt-Bopever TeV év aatpohoyia MGAXov GAAHV AAXoOL NVvos apxny Kal TENET HY aryoucty.

XX. "Ex rovtov trav 'A@nvaiwy to aproretov ov mapadidovrev Tots Lraptidracs ouoe Tpo-Tavov iordvar cuyxwpovvTar éxeivows, Tap ovoev av mrOev evOus atrohéobar Ta mrpaypatra TOV "EAXAnvov év TOUS dmAoLs StarrdvTwy, el uy TONG mrapnyopav Kal "SiddoKxwv Tovs

cvoTpatiyous o A tarelons, pdrwoTa Oé Aew-
Kparn Kal Mvpontb oye Kal cuvéreice THY
2 xplovy epeivas Tots “KAAnow. évtai0a Bovievo-
even TOV Edge Qcoyeitwv per o 6 Meyapevs
elev, ws étépa! mode Soréov ein TO dptatetor,
el py Botrovrar ovvTapatac TONE LOV eupudeov
emt TOUT@ o dvacTas Krcoxperos O KopivO cos
bofav pev mapea xev OS Kopw tous aiTHTOV TO
torelov* Hv yap év afiopare peyote pera THY
eae maprny Kal tas "AOnvas 7 Kopw8os- eltre dé
Taow apéoavta Kal Pavpacrov Noryov UTrép
Traraséwr, Kal avveBovhevce THY puroverciav
aveNely exeivoLsS 70 dpva Télov atrodovtas, ols
3 ovdeTépous Tipe MEvOLS dx era. pnbevtar dé
ToUTwy mpaTos pev ‘Apioteidns cuveyopnoe
1 érépg Bekker has ob8erépg neither city, adopting a conjecture of Muretus.
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ARISTIDES

This battle was fought on the fourth of the month Boédromion, as the Athenians reckon time; but according to the Boeotian calendar, on the twenty-seventh of the month Panemus,! the day when, down to the present time, the Hellenic council assembles in Plataea, and the Plataeans sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer for the victory. We must not wonder at the apparent discrepancy between these dates, since, even now that astronomy is a more exact science, different peoples have different beginnings and endings for their months.

XX. After this, the Athenians would not grant the Spartans the highest meed of valour, nor allow them to erect a general trophy, and the cause of the Hellenes had certainly gone at once to destruction from their armed contention, had not Aristides, by abundant exhortation and admonition, checked his fellow-generals, especially Leocrates and Myronides, and persuaded them to submit the case to the Hellenes for decision. Thereupon, in the council of the Hellenes, Theogeiton the Megarian said that the meed of valour must be given to some third city, unless they desired the confusion of a civil war. At this point Cleogrjtus the Corinthian rose to speak. Every one thought he would demand the meed of valour for the Corinthians, since Corinth was held in greatest estimation after Sparta and Athens. But to the astonishment and delight of all, he made a proposition in behalf of the Plataeans, and counselled to take away contention by giving them the meed of valour, since at their honour neither claimant could take offence. To this proposal Aristides was first to

1 About August 1, 479 B.c.

imép tav “AOnvaiwv, erevta Tavoavias viép
tov Aaxedapoviwv. ottw 5é dsradrayévtes
é£eiXov oydojxovta tddavta trois Udaraccdow,
ad’ av to Ths “AOnvas av@xodopnoay tepov Kat
TO €005 éctncav Kai ypadais tov vewv duexo-
opnoav, al péxypt viv axpdfovoa Stapévovor,
gatnoav 5é tporraiov idia pev Aaxedarpdvios,
xapis 8 "A@nvaior.
Ilept 5é€ Ouoias épopevors avTois dvetbev oO
T1u6cos Auos édevbepiov Boopov iSpicacba., ica
5é pi) 7 pOoTepov i) TO KaTa THV xepav Tip aTro-
oBécavtas ws UT TOV BapBapor Hepiac Hevov
évavo ac Gat xaDapov ex Aedpav aTO THS KOLVHS
éorias. OL ev OY ApPYoVTES TOV ‘EAAgvey Trepe-
Loves evOus nvarynaSov arroa Bevvivat Ta Tupa
WavTa TOUS Xpapevous, ex 6€ IlAataréwy Kv-
xibas u UITrOT XOMEVOS WS evdéyeTat TUXLOTA Kopeely
TO Tapa Tov Geov wip HKEV els Acrdous. ary-
vioas 8€ 16 o@pa Kal ‘Teptppavdpevos eorepave-
oaTO Sadvn’ Kal haBeov amo TOU Bopod 70 mip
Spomep Tad es Tas ITAararas éX@per Kat m™ po
mato duo pov erravnrve, ‘THe —aLrns nuépas
Xtrious oTadious karavioas. domac duevos dé
Tous roditas «Kal TO mip mapadous ev0ds
émece Kal MET O, [ALK POV eFerrveuaer. drydpevor
8 avtov ot Udaracets eOayav év TO Lep@ Tis
Rvxvéias "Aptépsoos, émuypdvavres T00E TO
TET PA PET POV
Evyidas Tv0ad5e OpéEas HAM 745’ adOnpepov.

1 dvpxodéunoauvy Hercher and Blass, following Stephanus,
and favoured by FS: @xoddéunoay built.

agree on behalf of the Athenians, then Pausanias on behalf of the Lacedaemonians. Thus reconciled, they chose out eighty talents of the booty for the Plataeans, with which they rebuilt the sanctuary of Athena, and set up the shrine,and adorned the temple with frescoes, which continue in perfect condition to the present day; then the Lacedaemonians set up a trophy on their own account, and the Athenians also for

themselves. When they consulted the oracle regarding the sacrifice to be made, the Pythian god made answer that they were to erect an altar of -Zeus the Deliverer, but were not to sacrifice upon it until they had extinguished the fire throughout the land, which he said had been polluted by the Barbarians, and kindled it fresh and pure from the public hearth at Delphi. Accordingly the commanders of the Hellenes went about straightway and compelled all who were using fire to extinguish it, while Euchidas, who promised to bring the sacred fire with all conceivable speed, went from Plataea to Delphi. There he purified his person by sprinkling himself with the holy water, and crowned himself with laurel. Then he took from the altar the sacred fire and started to run back to Plataea. He reached the place before. the sun had set, accomplishing thus a thousand furlongs in one and the same day. He greeted his countrymen, handed them the sacred fire, and straightway fell down, and after a little expired. In admiration of him the Plataeans gave him burial in the sanctuary of Artemis Eucleia, and inscribed upon his tomb this tetrameter verse :—

« Euchidas, to Pytho running, came back here
the selfsame day.”
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6

2

3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tiy & Evereray of pév troddol Kal Kadrovor
kal vopitovow “Apreuy, évioc dé dacw ‘Hpa-
KXéous pev Ouryarépa kat Muprtods yevécOat, Tis
Mevortiov pév Ovyarpos, [arpoxrou & aberdijs,
TehevT io acay dé mapGevov é Exe Trapé te Boww-
tots Kat Aoxpois timds. Bopos yap avTH Kat
dya\pa Kata wacay ayopay idputat, Kal mpo-
Ovovcw at re yapovpevat Kal of yapobvres.
XXI ’Ex rovrov yevopévns éexxdXnolas Kons
TOV ‘EXAqvev eyparpev ‘Apioreiéns vat pa.
ouveevar pev eis Thataras xa” ExacTov éviauTov

amo THs “EXXdébos mpoBovdous Kab Gewpous,
dryer Oar be TEVTAETNpLK OD ayova TOV "Enev-
Depo. elvat dé ouvratw ‘EAAquicny Pupias pev
aomidas, xirtous dé tmaous, vats 8 éxarov émt
TOV pos BapBdpous mwonenov, IIdataceits &
aavnous Kat ltepovs adeicbar tH Oe@ Ovovtas
itép THs “EAXd6os.
Kupobévrev 58 rovrwv oi TAaraves vmedé-

Eavro roils jwecovat Kal _ Weupevors aura. TOV
“EdAjver évarylfew Kal’ Exagrov eviauTov. Kal
TOUTO méexpe VvOV Spact Tovee | TOV TpoToV: TOD
Matpaxrnpiavos pyres, 5s éote Tapa. Bowwrots
FP AdaAKopencos, TH extn éml béxa mepTrouat TOM

THY, nS mponyeir as peev ay npepg TaNTvyKTHS
ery KEN EVO[EVOS TO TOheMLKOD, Erovrat & Gpatac
puppivns peoral Kat orepavapaTov Kal pérXras
Tatpos Kal yoas oivou Kal ydNaxTos év appopedacy
éXaiov te Kal pupov Kpwocors veavioxot Kopi-
Covres édevOepou SovrAM yap ovdevos eFeaTe TOV
1 +év8e Hercher and Blass with FS : rovrov.
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2]

ARISTIDES

Now Eucleia is regarded by most as Artemis, and is so addressed; but some say she was a daughter ‘of Heracles and of that Myrto who was daughter of Menoetius and sister of Patroclus, and that, dying in virginity, she received divine honours among the Boeotians and Locrians. For she has an altar and an image built in every market place, and receives preliminary sacrifices from would-be brides and bridegrooms.

XXI. After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be cele- brated — the Eleutheria; also that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war against the Barbarian ; also that the Plataeans be set apart as inviolable and con- secrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.

These propositions were ratified, and the Plataeans undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Hellenes who had fallen in battle and lay buried there. And this they do yet unto this day, after the following manner. On the sixteenth of the month Maimacterion (which is the Boeotian Alalcomenius), they celebrate a procession. This is led forth at break of day by a trumpeter sounding the signal fcr battle ; waggons follow filled with myrtle-wreaths, then comes a black bull, then free-born youths carrying libations of wine and milk in jars, and pitchers of oil and myrrh (no slave may put hand to

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\ \ a b / UA \
Tept thy Staxoviav éxeivnv mpocdacbat Sia 70
Tovs avdpas amroPaveiv trrép édevOepias: él Tract
&¢ trav Tataséwy 6 dpyov, db. tov adXov x povov
ovUTEe oOnpou Ouyeiy ekeotiv 008 érépav écOfra
\ aA ? A 4 ral a
TwAnv evKnS avaraBely, ToTE yLT@VA PowtKodY
évdedux@s apapevos Te Udpiay dd ToD ypapLparo-
duraxiov Evpypns éri rots tddous mpodye da
, a 4 \ 4 J N ww
péons THS TodEws. elta AaBav Bdwp ad Tis
Kpnvns avTos aTrodover TE TAS OTHAAS Kal pIpYH
xpiet, kal Tov Tavpov eis THY Tupayv opakas Kad
xarevédpevos Aut nal ‘Epun yOovie trapararei
Tovs ayabovs advdpas tovs vrép tis “EAAASo5
amroBavovras él 76 Setrrvov Kal tiv aipoxoupiay.
éretta Kpathpa Kepacas olvouv Kal yedpevos é7re-
Aéyer: “TI porivw tots dvdpdot toils vrép ths
érevOepias tev ‘EXAnvwv amobavoict.” Tadta
pev ovp ert Kal viv StadvAdtrovew ot TIharaets.
XXII. "Evel & dvaywpyjoavtas eis TO dotu

\ >) , e 9 4 es roy
tovs ‘A@nvatovs o Apioretdns éwpa Cnrovyras
A , ’ a \ oo e /
Thy Onpoxpatiay arronaPeiv, dua pev dkvov Hyov-
pevos ba tHv avdpayabiay éemipercias Tov SHmov,
dpa 8 ov« étt paddvov ioyvovta trois Sots Kat
péya ppovotvta tais vinas éxBracOjnva, ypadee
loa Kowny elvat THY TodLTELaY Kal TovS
¥ 9g 9 / / e a
apxovras €€ A@nvaiwy mavtwv aipeic bar.
@eusotoxréovs Sé wpos tov Sipov eitrovtos, ws
éxet te Bovrcvpa nal yvounv amoppytov, wdé-
Atypov b€ TH TOKE Kal cwTHpLov, éxéNevoaD
"Aptoreionv povov dxovtca. xal cuvdoxipaca..
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any part of that ministration, because the men thus honoured died for freedom); and following all, the chief magistrate of Plataea, who may not at other times touch iron or put on any other raiment than white, at this time is robed in a purple tunic, carries on high a water-jar from the city’s archive chamber, and

proceeds, sword in hand, through the midst of the city to the graves; there he takes water from the sacred spring, washes off with his own hands the gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh; then he slaughters the bull at the funeral pyre, and, with prayers to Zeus and Hermes Terrestrial, summons the brave men who died for Hellas to come to the banquet and its copious draughts of blood; next he mixes a mixer of wine, drinks, and then pours a libation from it, saying these words: “I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Hellenes.” These rites, I say, are observed by’ the Plataeans down to this very day.

XXII. After the Athenians had returned to their own city, Aristides saw that they desired to receive the more popular form of government. He thought the people worthy of consideration because of its sturdy valour, and he saw also that it was no longer easy to be forced out of its desires, since it was powerful in arms, and greatly elated by its victories. So he introduced a decree that the administration of the city be the privilege of all classes, and that the archons be chosen from all the Athenians.

Themistocles once declared to the people that he had devised a certain measure ,which could not be revealed to them, though it would be helpful and salutary for the city, and they ordered that Aristides alone should hear what it was and pass judgment on

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ppacavtos dé 7@ "Aptotetdn tov Oewotordéovs,
Qs Sravociras TOV vavata@pov é ep pho ae TOV ‘ED-
ANVvov, oUTa yap ExecOat peyictous Kal Kupious
amdvTay TOUS ’AOnvaious, mrapehOov | et¢ TOD
o7jMov oO "Aptareions epn THs mpakews, 7 hv Oem-
TTOKAHS mparrev Svavoeirat, pre AvotTeeo -
Tépay addnv pnt daodicwrépav elvat. Tad
axovaavtes of “AOnvaiot mwavoacbar Tov em-
oTOKNEA mpoceratay. obtw per 0 SApwos. Hy
prrodixacos, odtw S€ Te Syuw motos oO avinp
Kal BéBanos. :
XXIII. Enret dé oTpatnyos éxmreud Gels peta
Kipeovos em Tov Toepov éwpa tov te Ilavoa-
viav Kal TOUS adXous a NovrTas TOV Lraptiat ay
emax ets Kal Xarerrous Trois TUMpaXoLS évTas,
avTos TE TPAWS wal pravOparas Omecov Kat
TOV Kipwva TAapeXov eUdppootov avTois Kat
KOLVOY éy tTais atpartetass érade TOV Aaxedat-
povieay ovx SirAoLs ~ovdée vavoly oud) imo,
edyvopoa ty dé Kal qodTela THV nryepoviay
Ta ehopevos. mpoodtrels yap 6 évtas tous *A@n-
vatous TOIS "EAAgoe bua. THY ApioretSou Suxato-
ovrny cal tHv Kipwvos émeetcecay étt wadrov F
TOU javoaviov wreovetia car Baputns mob ewous

emote. TOUS TE yap apYovct TOV TUMLAX OV aet
per opyhs éveruyxave kal Tpaxéws, Tous TE
Tovndous éxorale mryyais : n ocdnpay dyeupav
emit Bets nydryxater éotavas Os bANS TAS nuepas.
A sae S ovx ty raBetv ovdé Noprov ovde
Kenn m pooenOeiv b6pevopevor ovdéva Tpo TOV

TWaptiaTav, ANAa pdotuyas Exovtes bmippéTae

it. So Themistocles told Aristides that his purpose was to burn the naval station of the confederate Hellenes, for that in this way the Athenians would be greatest, and lords of all. Then Aristides came before the people and said of the deed which Themistocles purposed to do, that none other could be more advantageous, and none more unjust. On hearing this, the Athenians ordained that Themistocles cease from his purpose.!1 So fond of justice was the people, and so loyal and true to the people was Aristides.

XXIII. When he was sent out as general along with Cimon to prosecute the war,? and saw that Pausanias and the other Spartan commanders were offensive and severe to the allies, he made his own intercourse with them gentle and humane, and induced Cimon to be on easy terms with them and to take an actual part in their campaigns, so that, before the Lacedaemonians were aware, not by means of hoplites or ships or horsemen, but by tact and diplomacy he had stripped them of the leadership. For, well disposed as the Hellenes were toward the Athenians on account of the justice of Aristides and the reasonableness of Cimon, they were made to long for their supremacy still more by the rapacity of Pausanias and _ his severity. The commanders of the allies ever met with angry harshness at the hands of Pausanias, and the common men he punished with stripes, or by compelling them to stand all day long with an iron anchor on their shoulders. No one could get bedding or fodder or go down to a spring

for water before the Spartans, nay, their servants
1 Of. Themistocles, xx. 1-2. 2 478 B.C.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

TovS WpoolovTas amTndauvov. vrép wv TOD
'"Aptatetdouv moté BovrnOévros éyxaréoat xal
S:8aFat,) cvvayayov To mpdcwov o Tlavaavias
ovK pn cyordley ovd' HKoucer.
"Ex tovTouv MpoctovTes of vavapxot Kal oTpa-
tnyo. Tov 'EXAnvov, udrdtora 6€ Xioe cat Ydpeor
kal AéoB.ot, tov "Apioteidny éreiPov avadé—a-
cBat tHv Hyepoviay Kal wpocayayécOat Tovs
cuppayous mdrar Seopévovs atradrXaynvat tov
Lwraptiatav cal petard—acOa mpos tovs "AOn-
vaious. atroxpwapévov 8 éxeivou Tois pév Noyots
a) J A " N \ 4 :
avTow TO TE avayKatoy évopav Kal Td diKxaLov,
Epyou bé SeicOas THy miativ, 5 mpaxOév ovK édoes
madd petaBarécOat Tovs roAXOUs, ovTwS of
wept Tov Laptov OvrAddnv cal tov Xiov Avra-
yopay auvopoodpevot wept Bufdvtiov éuBar-
Novow els THY TpLnpN Tod Ilavaaviou, mpoexTré-
ovoav év pécw AaBovtes. ws bé caTidmv éxeivos
éEavéotn Kal pet' opyhs nretAnoey ody ypove
Tous avodpas eémdeiEew ovK eis THY avrTod vadv
éuSeBrnKoTas, Grr eis tas idlas sarTpidas,
éxéXevoy avTov amiévar Kal ayaray thy cvvayo-
vioapéevny tuyny év TIhataais: éxetyny yap ére
Tous "EAAnvas aioxyuvopévovs pn apBavew
akiav Sdixny map avtov: tédos 8 amroctavtes
@xovto mpos Tous "AOnvaious.
"EvOa 59 kal ro ppovnua ths Ladptns Suehavy

1 wore... SiSdgac Hercher and Blass with F488; wor' éyxa-
Adoat nal BiBd=ar BovrAopuévov.
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ARISTIDES

armed with - goads would drive away such as

approached. On these grounds Aristides once had it in mind to chide and admonish him, but Pausanias scowled, said he was busy, and would not listen.

Subsequently the captains and generals of the Hellenes, and especially the Chians, Samians, and Lesbians, came to Aristides and tried to persuade him to assume the leadership and bring over to his support the allies, who had long wanted to be rid of the Spartans and to range themselves anew on the side of the Athenians. He replied that he saw the urgency and the justice of what they proposed, but that to establish Athenian confidence in them some overt act was needed, the doing of which would make it impossible for the multitude to change their allegiance back again. So Uliades the Samian and Antagoras the Chian conspired together, and ran down the trireme of Pausanias off Byzantium, closing in on both sides of it as it was putting out before the line. When Pausanias saw what they had done, he sprang up and wrathfully threatened to show the world in a little while that these men had run down not so much his ship as their own native cities ; but they bade him be gone, and be grateful to that fortune which fought in his favour at Plataea ; it was because the Hellenes still stood in awe of this, they said, that they did not punish him as he deserved. And finally they went off and joined the Athenians. .

Then indeed was the lofty wisdom of the

Pavpacrov. as yap noOovro TO _heyeber THIS éEoucias dtapBerpopevous avTav TOUS apxovras, adphav Exovoiws THY nyewoviay Kai TE MTFOVTES emt TOV ToNEMOV eTAaVTAVTO oTpaTnyous, parXov aipovpevor cwppovodvras éxeuv Kal Tots edeow éppévovtas Tous ToAiTas H THs "EXAddos ape anTaons.

XXIV. Oi & "EdAnves éréXouv pév Tuva Kal Aaxedatpoviav Hryoupévov anopopav eis TOV

mohepuon, Tax Ohya 6é Bovdopevor Kata WoAw
éxda Tous TO per ptov HTHCaVTO Tapa TOV "AOn-
vatov “Aptoreidny, Kal mpooérafay auT@ x@pay
Te Kal mpoaabous emia keyydpevov Opicat TO Kat’
akiav éxdoT@ Kal Suva. 6 be THALKAUTNS
efouaias KUpLOS _Yevopevos Kal TpoTrov TWa THs
“EAAdSos5 én avT@ povm TA TpdypaTa mayta
Pepérns, mévns pev &&7n Ger, erraviOe 5é srevé-
OTEPOS, Ov povov kabapas Kal Sixaiws, aAAd Kal
Mporpras Tact Kab dppodics THY emeypapny
TOV Xpnparov TOLNG GWEVvos, as yap ot Tadaot
Tov él Kpovou Biov, oUTwS ob TULpAX OL TOY
“A Onvatoy Tov ém “Apuareibou Popov evTroTpiay
TWa THS ‘EdAd805 ovopdtovres duvovy, Kat
paNOTA PET OV TOY YpoVvoY durhactaa Gévros,
elt’ aves TpiTAactad Gevtos. dy pev yap "Apt-
areldns érafen, HV eis (einxovta Kat TeTpaxoo tov
Taddvrwv Royov' TOUT de Tlepuxdijs pev érré-
Onnev OAiryou Sey To TpiTov pépos: éEaxoowa ya
TaXavTa Oovevdisns pnoly dpxopevou Tov ene
pou mpootevar tots ‘A@nvaiows amo TOV cup-
paxov Ilepucréous 8 arrofavovtos émutetvovtes
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ARISTIDES

Spartans made manifest in a wonderful way. When
they saw that their commanders were corrupted
by the great powers entrusted to them, they volun-
tarily abandoned the leadership and ceased sending
out generals for the war, choosing rather ‘to have
their citizens discreet and true to their ancestral
customs than to have the sway over all Hellas.
XXIV. The Hellenes used to pay a sort of con-
tribution for the war even while the Lacedaemonians
had the leadership, but now they wished to be
assessed equably city by city. So they asked the
Athenians for Aristides, and commissioned him
to inspect their several territories and revenues,!
and then to fix the assessments according to each
member's worth and ability to pay. And yet,
though he became master of such power, and
though after a fashion Hellas put all her property
in his sole hands, poor as he was when he went.
forth on this mission, he came back from it poorer

still, and he made his assessments of money not
only with purity and justice, but also to the
grateful satisfaction and convenience of all concerned.
Indeed, as men of old hymned the praises of the
age of Cronus—the golden age, so did the allies
of the Athenians praise the tariff of. Aristides,
calling it a kind of blessed happening for Hellas,
especially as, after a short time, it was doubled
and then again trebled. For the tax which Aristides
laid amounted to four hundred and sixty talents
only; but Pericles must have added almost a
third to this, since Thucydides? says that when
the war began the Athenians had a revenue of
six hundred talents from their allies. And after
1 478-477 B.c. 2 ii, 13.

ot Snuaywyol Kata puxpoy eis yYiAiwy Kal Tpta-
Koolwy TaddvTwv Kepdrutov avynyayov, OVX ovTw
Tov Totéu“ou dia pijKxos Kal Tvxyas Satravnpov
yevouevou Kal ToduTEXOUS, @s TOY Sjpov ets ba-
vouas Kal Oewpixd xa natacKevas ayadpatov
Kal lepa@v Tpoayayovtes.
Méya 8 ovv dvopa tov Apiotetdou cal Bav-
pactov éyovtos éml rH SuatdEes THY popwv o
QcuiorokAhs Aéyetat KaTayerav, ws ovK avdpos
évTa Tov éraivov, adda OvAdKoV ypvcopvAaKos'
dvopoiws apuvopevos THY Apioteioou rrappyna lay'
exelv yap! eimovtos mote Tov BepioTondéous
apeTnv yyetcOar peyiotny oTpatnyov TO ywWo-
axew Kal mpoatcOdverOar ta Bovrevpata Tov
' moneutov, " Toto pév," eitrety, " dvayxaiov éotw,
® OewioroxrAes, carov b€ kat orparnytKoyv aXn-
Aas 1) wept Tas Yelpas éyxpaTea."
XXV.'O & 'Apioreiins apxice pev rovs
EAAnvas Kal @pooev Urrép tav 'AOnvaiwr, pv-
Spous éuBarwv ém) tais dpais ets tTHv Oadratrap,
baotepov Sé TOY TMpayyaTwv apyew éyKxpare-
otepov, ws Eoixev, exBiafopévwv exédeve TovS
"AOnvatous thy émiopkiay tpévravtas els éavroy?
4h ouppépes yphoOar tois mpdyyact. Kal' Srou
5 o Mcodpactés dnot tov avdpa Tovtov Tepi Ta
oikela Kal Tovs mroditas axpas dvta Sixacoy év
1 éxelvp yao Hercher and Blass with F*S: éweivos ydp. 2 éavrdy Hercher and Blass with F8S: abrdv.

the death of Pericles the demagogues enlarged
it little by little, and at last brought the sum
total up to thirteen hundred talents, not so much
because the war, by reason of its length and
vicissitudes, became extravagantly expensive, as
because they themselves led the people off into
the distribution of public moneys for spectacular
entertainments, and for the erection of images
and sanctuaries.
So then Aristides had a great and admirable
name for his adjustment of the revenues. But
Themistocles is said to have ridiculed him, claiming
that the praise he got therefor was not fit for
a man, but rather for a mere money-wallet. He came
off second best, however, in this retort upon the
plain speech of Aristides, who had remarked, when
Themistocles once declared to him the opinion
that the greatest excellence in a general was the
anticipation of the plans of his enemies: “That
is indeed needful, Themistocles, but the honourable
thing, and that which makes the real general, is
his mastery over his fingers.”
XXV. Aristides did, indeed, bind the Hellenes by an oath, and took oath himself for the Athenians, solemnly casting iron ingots from the very altars into the sea; but afterwards, when circumstances, forsooth, compelled a more strenuous sway, he bade the Athenians lay the perjury to his own’ charge, and turn events to their own advantage. And in general, as Theophrastus tells us, while the man was strictly just in his private relations to his fellow-citizens, in public matters he often

Tois Kowois ToAXd mpaEar mpos THY vToecw
Ths Tatpisos, as cuxvas Kal adixias Seopévnv.'
Kai yap Ta Xpnpata pnow éx Andou Bovrevopée-
vov "AOnvate xopicat twapa tas ouvOyjKas, Kat?
Lapiov eionyoupévwv, eimety éxeivov, @F Ov
3 Sixatov pév, avpdépov && todr’ éoti. Kat TédOS

eis TO apyew avOpaTwy Toco’TwY KaTacTHAAS
THY TOMW avTos évéyetve TH Tevia Kal THY ard
Tov mévns elvar do-av ovdév Artov ayarTav Tis
amo TOV TpoTraiwy SterérXeve. SHrov 8 éxeiOev.
Karras 0 Sadodyos Hv adT@ yéver TpoonKwr
tovtov of éyOpol Gavdtov sSu@xovtes, émel rept
@v éypawavtTo petpiws Katnyopnoay, citrov Tia
Aoyov eéEwOev TovodTov mpos Tous StxacTds:
4 “"Apioteidny,” épnoav, “tore tov Avoipayou
Gavpalomevov év tois“EAAnot Tovt@ Tas oleaOe
Ta Kat olxov éyew opavres avTov év TpiBove
TOLOUT@ TpoEpYopEvoy eis TO SnuooLoy; ap ovK
ELKOS EoTL TOV puyobvTa havepas Kal Treway oixoL
Kal Tov aAdAXAwY émiTndelwy otraviterv; TovTOP
pévtoe KadAlas, avewrioyv bvta, mAOvoLwTAaTOS OV
“AOnvaiwv mepropa peta téxvov Kal yuvaikds
évdeopevov, Todd Keypnuévos TH avdpl Kat
ToNraKs avTOD THS Tap viv Suvdpews arrore-
5 AauKes.” 0 6€ KadAlas copay éml route pddora
1 nal Gdiclas deouerny Blass, favoured by F*S: dd:clas
Seouévns. 2 «al bracketed by Sintenis?®.
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ARISTIDES

acted in accordance with the policy which his
~ country had adopted, feeling that this required
much actual injustice. For instance, he says that
when the question of removing the moneys of the
confederacy from Delos to Athens,’ contrary to
the compacts, was being debated, and even the
Samians proposed it, Aristides declared that it
was unjust, but advantageous. And yet, although
he at last established his city in its sway over so
many men, he himself abode by his poverty, and
continued to be no less content with the reputation
he got from being a poor man, than with that
based on his trophies of victory. This is clear
from the following story.
Callias the Torch-bearer was a kinsman of his.
This man was prosecuted by his enemies on a
capital charge, and after they had brought only
moderate accusations against him within the scope
of their indictment, they went outside of it and
appealed to the judges as follows: “You know
Aristides the son of Lysimachus,” they said, “how

he is admired in Hellas; what do you suppose
his domestic circumstances are when you see him
entering the public assembly in such a_ scanty
cloak as that? Is it not likely that a man who
shivers in public goes hungry at home, and _ is
straitened for the other necessaries of life? Callias,
however, who is the richest man of Athens (and
his cousin at that), allows him to suffer want with
his wife and children, though he has often had
service of the man, and many times reaped advantage
from his influence with you." But Callias, seeing
1 454 BO.
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u 2

{

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

BopuBobvras tovs Sixacras nai yaderdds mpds
avroy éyovtas éxdder tov "Aptoreldny, akiav
peaptupjoa. mpos Tovs Sucaotds, OTL ToANAaKLS
avtov TroAAd cal Seddvtos Kal Seopévov AaPety
ovx nOéAncEV aTroKpLvopEvos, @S PAaAAOY av'T@
dia treviay peya > poveiv i) Kadrig 51a. Avro
m poorer: wor pep yap éott mroddous idety
ev Te Kal KaKas Xpwpévous, meviay 88 dépovrs
yevvators ov padzsov évtuxeiv' aicxwverbat 5é
meviay TOUS dxovotas TTEVO[LEVOUG. Taba dé Too
"Aptareisov TS Kaddia TPO papTUPHTaYTOS Ov-
dels Hv TOY dxovévrev, Os ouK arg. TEVNS
paddov QS "Apiareiéns elvat Bovropevos * i) TAov-
rely ws KadAlas. taita pev ov! Alaxivys 6
LwKparrKeos avaryéypade. Iara dé Trav peya:
Awv SoxovyTwY Kal dvopacray "AOnunat povoy
aEvov Aoryou ToUTOY anopaives TOV dv8pa- @epe-
oroKhEea pev yap kat Kipwva xat Tlepuxcréa
TTOOV Kal Xpnwarov Kar prvapias TOANAS ép-
TAO a THY qodu, Apiatetonv 5é trodurevoac bas
pos apeTny.
Meydda 3 avTod Kal Ta qWpos Gewrroxrhéa
THS emueucetas, onpeia. Xpno dpevos yap avT@
mapa Tacav opod THY mohitelay Ex9P@ wal oe
éxetvov éLoatpaxia Beis, émel THY aUTnY AaBny
mapéaxev o avnp év aitia yevopavos T pos THY

TONAL, OUK euvnoicaxnoer, GAN' "AAKpatwvos Kat
Kipewyvos ral TOA ay adov éAauvovTey Kat
KaTIyOpoUvT@Y povos 'Aptaretdys ovr' Srpakev
ovr el7é te hadrov, ovd amédavoev ey Opod
1 yey ody Hercher and Blass with FS : pe».

that his judges .were very turbulent at this charge,
and bitterly disposed toward him, summoned Aristides
and demanded his testimony before the judges that
though often proffered aid from him and importuned
to accept it, he had refused it, with the answer
that it more became him to be proud of his
poverty than Callias of his wealth; for many were
to be seen who use wealth well or ill, but it
was not easy to find a man who endured poverty
with a noble spirit; and those only should be
ashamed of poverty who could not be otherwise
than poor. When Aristides had borne this witness
for Callias, there was no one of his hearers who
did not go home preferring to be poor with Aristides
rather than to be rich with Callias. This, at any
rate, is the story told by Aeschines the Socratic.
And Plato! maintains that of all those who had great
names and reputations at Athens, this man alone
was worthy of regard. Themistocles, he says, and
Cimon, and Pericles, filled the city with porches
and moneys and no end of nonsense; but Aristides
squared his politics with virtue.
There are also strong proofs of his reasonableness to be seen in his treatment of Themistocles. This man he had found to be his foe during almost all his public service, and it was through this man that he was ostracized; but when Themisto¢cles was in the same plight, and was under accusation before the city, Aristides remembered no evil; nay, though Alemeon and Cimon and many others denounced and persecuted the man, Aristides alone did and said no meanness, nor did he take any advantage of

1 Gorgias, pp. 518 f., 526.

Svatrvxobvtos, daoep ovd evnpepodvrs mpoTepov
épOovnce.
XXXVI. Tereutfcas dé "Aptoretdnv ot péev ev

Ilovr@m daciv éxtretcavta mpdfewr Evera Snpno-
aiwv, ot 8 AOnvyce yypa, tiwwpevov cai Oavpato-
pevov U1ro TOV ToALT@Y. Kpatepos 8 0 Maxedov
ToLaUTa TiWa TrEpl THs TEAEUTHS TOD aVvdpos ElpNKe.
peTa yap THY Beptoroxréovs guynv dynow worep
éEvBpicavra Tov Siuov dvadhtdaat mAROos cuKo-
havT@ay, of Tovs apiatovs Kal duvatwrdtous
avipas Ss@xovtes b1réBadrov TO HOdva TAY TOA-
AOY erratpopéver Ur' evtvXias Kal Suvdpews. ey
tovTots xal Aptotetonv adda@vat Swpodoxias, Aco-
gavrov Tov 'Apditpownbev KATNYOPOUYTOS, WS,
Ste Tovs Popous ératte, Tapa tov Lavery ypn-
pata NaBovros: éxticas & ov« Exovta Thy KaTa-
Sieny revtnkovta pvav ovoay éxtrrACdoas Kal Tept
THY "Imviay amofaveiy. tovtwv Se ovddy éy-
ypaghov o Kpatepos texpnpiov wapéoynnev, ode
dixny ovte Whdiopa, Kaitep eiwOas érrierKas
ypadew ta TovavTa xal TapatibecOat Tovs ioro-
poovtas. |
Oi & adAXoe awdvtes, os Eros eEltrety, Soo. TA
TAnpperAnOévta te SHww Tept Tos atpaTHyouUs
dteEiacl, THv yey Beptoroxréovs duynv Kal Ta
Martiddou Serpe nal tiv Ilepixréous Enpiav nat
Tov Iaynros év tO Sixactnpiom Oavatov, aveXov-
Tos autov él tov Bnyaros @s nNioKeTo, Kal
ToAAa ToLavTA suVayouvct Kai OpvAovaw, 'Apt-
oteidov dé tov pev éEootpaxiapov traparifevtac,
catradixns 5€ TrosavTns obapod povnpovevouat,
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ARISTIDES _

his enemy's misfortune, just as formerly he did not
dge him his prosperity.
XXVI. As touching the death of Aristides, some
say he died in Pontus, on an expedition in the
public service ; others at Athens, of old age, honoured
and admired by his countrymen. But Craterus the
Macedonian tells something like this about the death
of the man. After the exile of Themistocles, he
says, the people waxed wanton, as it were, and
produced a great crop of sycophants, who hounded
down the noblest and most influential men, and

subjected them to the malice of the multitude, now exalted with its prosperity and power. Among these he says that Aristides also was convicted of bribery, on prosecution of Diophantus of the deme Amphitropé, for having taken money from the Jonians when he was regulating the tributes; and, further, that being unable to pay the judgment, which was fifty minas, he sailed away and died somewhere in Ionia. But Craterus furnishes no documentary proof of this,—no judgment of the court, no degree of indictment,—although he is wont to record such things with all due fulness, and to adduce his authorities. =
All the rest, as I may venture to say,—all who rehearse the shortcomings of the people in dealing with their leaders,—compile and descant upon the exile of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine of Pericles, the death of Paches in the court room,—he slew himself on the rostrum when he saw that he was convicted,—and many such a case, and they put into the list the ostracism of Aristides, but of such a condemnation as this for bribery they make no mention whatsoever.
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XXVII. Kal pévrot Kal tapos early avrou Parnpot Serxvdpevos, 6 dy dace KaTacKevac at THY TOMY AUTE pnd évrdgua KaTahimovte. kal Tas pev Ouyarépas ioropovow éx Tov mpuTavetov Tous vuplors exdoO vas Snpocia, THS WoNews TOV ydpov éyyvoons xal mpotka TpLoyirtas Spaxpas éxaTépa pnpioaperns, Avowpaxe | 6é TO vid pvas pev éExatov apyupiou Kal yijs Tocabra TO pa. Tre-gutevpwévns eoxev) Ofuos, GArras &é Spaxpmas Téogapas els mpepav EXAOTHV aneratev, "AX«t-Biddov TO Whdic pa yparyravtos. ére Oe Avot-pedyou Ouyatépa Todvxpirny dTroNTOvTos, QS Kadrsodévns pot, Kal Tavry oiTgoy bonv Kai Tots ‘Orupriovixass o 0 Simos eyndgicaro. Anpy-TpLos 5’ o Dadnpevs cal ‘Tepavupos 6 ‘Pddios Kal "Apia rogevos o pouowKes, Kat "Apia roréhans (eb 57 To ye? Ilept evryevelas BiBrLov év Tots ryunatous ‘Aptotoreéhous Geréov) loTopotat Mupr@ Ouya-

TpLoqy "Apioreisou Lwxparer TP TOPO Tuvarehoat,
yuvaira pev érépay & EXOvTL, TAUTHY 3 avaraBovre
Xmpevovoar bia meviav Kat TOV avayKaiwy évdeo-
bevy. Tpos ev ovy ToUTOUS ixavds o Tlavaitvos
év Tots qepl Lwxpdrovs avreipnxen' o be Darnpevds
éy T@ Lwxparer pnat pynpoveve 'A ptotetbov
Ouyarpisoiy | ev para mevyyT a. Avoipaxor, os
éauTov pev? éx mrivaxiou TLvds dvepox ptt Lod mapa
TO larxetov Aeyomevov Kcabelopevos EBooKxe. TH
6¢ pntpl Kal TH TAUTNS abenpi; tome ypdrpas
érreroe TOV Sijpov Tpopny ovat Tpr@Bodov
éxdotns nuépas. avtos pévtos dyoty o Anprrptos
1 +é ye Hercher and Blass with FS : 72.
2 éayrdv new Hercher and Blass with FaS: éavrdv.
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ARISTIDES

XXVII. Moreover, his tomb is pointed out at Phalerum, and they say the city constructed it for. him, since he did not leave even enough to pay for his funeral. And they tell how his daughters were married from the prytaneium at the public cost, the city bestowing the dowry for the marriage and voting outright three thousand drachmas to each daughter, while to Lysimachus his son, the people gave one hundred minas in silver, as many acres of vineyard land, and besides this a pension of four drachmas per diem,—all in a bill which was brought in by Alcibiades. And further, Lysimachus left a daughter, Polycrité, according to Callisthenes, and the people voted for her a public maintenance, in the‘style of their Olympic victors. Again, Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus the Rhodian, Aristoxenus the Musician, and Aristotle (provided the book "On Nobility of Birth' is to be ranked among the genuine works of Aristotle) relate that Myrto, the granddaughter of Aristides, lived in wedlock with Socrates the Sage. He had another woman to wife, but took this one up because her poverty kept her a widow, and she lacked the necessaries of life. To these, however, Panaetius, in his work on Socrates, has made sufficient reply.

And the Phalerean says, in his "Socrates," that he remembers a grandson of Aristides, Lysimachus, a very poor man, who made his own living by means of a sort of dream-interpreting tablet, his seat being near the so-called Iaccheium. To this man's mother and to her sister, Demetrius persuaded the people to give, by formal decree, a pension of three obols per

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

vopober dav avril tpiwBorov Spaxpuny éxatépa Tafa
TOV ryuvaiedy,
Kai ovdév éore Oavpacrov obtw dpovticat Tav
év dotes tov Shpov, Sov Ovyarpidnv "Apictoyei-
tovos éy Anuvm mruOopevoe Tatrewa mpaTrew

’ \. 9 a \ , l ’ n
avépos amopovcay bia Treviay Kathyayov AOnvate,
Kal ouvotxicavtes avdpt tav ev yeyovoTwy TO
Ilotapot ywpiov ets hepyny érédwxav. Hs hidav-
Opwrias Kal xpnototntos étt moAAa Kal Ka”
€ A ¢€ / > / , 4
nas 1 Todts éxpépovoea deiypata Oavydlerar
xa &nrovra Stxatas.
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ARISTIDES

diem; though afterwards, in his capacity of sole legislator, he himself, as he says, assigned a drachma instead of three obols to each of the women.

It is not to be wondered at that the people took such thought for families in the city, since on learning that the granddaughter of Aristogeiton was living humbly in Lemnos, unmarried because of her poverty, they brought her back to Athens, consorted her with a well-born man, and gave her the estate in Potamus for her dowry. For such humanity and benevolence, of which the city still gives illustrious examples even in my own day, she is justly admired

and lauded.

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MARCUS CATO

MAPKO> KATON

\
I. Mdpr@ &¢ Kdtwvi dacw aro Tovoxrdou To
4 bd i 5 } / ¥ \ A 336
yévos elvat, diartay 5é nal Biov Eye mpo Trav
a) “ 4
oTpaTel@v Kal Tijs TroALTELAS Ev YwpLoLs TAT pPwots
mwept YaBivovs. tTav dé mpoyovwy TraytTdTracw
ayvootwv yeyovévat Soxovvtwmy avros 0 Kdtov
\ UA 4 e 9 ” }
kal tov tarépa Mdpxov ws dyabdv avdpa xa
oTpatiwtixoy étraivet, kal Kadrwva tov mporar-
Tov apiaTeiwy TorAdKLS TUXEly hnot Kal qévTE
TodewiaTas tmmous év udyais atoBadovra Ti
\ ’ a 2 a / > >
Tiny atrovaBeiy éx tod Snpooiov & avop-
2 ayabiav. eiwOotwv 8¢ Ttav “Pwpaiwyv tovs ao

4 > > f A
yévous pev Sdkav ovn eyovtas, apyopévous bé
yuwpilesOat 8° aitav Katvovs mpocaryopever
avOpwrovs, aotep cal tov Kdtewva mpoon-
, > \ \ ed \ bd) \
yopevoy, autos EdXeye Kalvos eElvat Tpos apynV
wal do€av, Epyors S& tmpoyovwv Kal dperais
4 > a A , A >
Tapmanalos. exareito 5é TH TPIT@ TOV GvO-
pedtwv mpotepov ov Kdtawrv, adrga Ilpicxos,
dotepoy 5é tov Kdtwva tis Suvdpews era@vupov
éxye ‘Pwyaior yap tov euretpov Kdtov dvopa- |
Sovow.
9 \
3 “Hy 8 76 pev eidos baomuppos Kal yNavuKos,

I. Tue family of Marcus Cato, it is said, was of Tuseulan origin, though he lived, previous to his career as soldier and statesman, on an _ inherited estate in the country of the Sabines. His ancestors commonly passed for men of no note whatever, but Cato himself extols his father, Marcus, as a brave man and good soldier. He also says that his grand- father, Cato, often won prizes for soldierly valour, and received from the state treasury, because of his bravery, the price of five horses which had been killed under him in battle. The Romans used to call men who had no family distinction, but were coming into public notice through their own achieve- - ments, “new men,’ and such they called Cato. But he himself used to say that as far as office and distinction went, he was indeed new, but having regard to ancestral deeds of valour, he was oldest of the old. His third name was not Cato at first, but Priscus. Afterwards he got the surname of Cato for his great abilities. The Romans call a man who is wise and prudent, catus.

As for his outward appearance, he had reddish hair, and keen grey eyes, as the author of the well-

@> 0 Tolnoas TO émrvypappatioy ovK evpeVvas
Tapeppaiver:
IIuppov, mravdaxérnyv, yNavKoppatov, ovdé
Aavovra
Tlopxcov eis aidnv Pepoepovn Séxerat.

Thy € Tob cwpatos &€w avtoupyia cal Suairy
awppou xal otpateiaus am apyns cuvtpodou
yeyovotos mwdavu ypnotixny elye, Kal mpos layer
Kal Tpos Uyiecay oparas auveotacav. Tov be

AOyor, Wamep SevTepovy Taya Kal TaVY Kardon,
ov povoy Tay avayxaiwy! dpyavov avdpl pn
taTrewas Buwcopévp pnd ampaxtas, é&nprveto
Kal twaperxevatey év Tais Teptotkion K@mats Kal
Tots Todtxvios éxdortoTe cuvdtx@y Tois Seomévoss
Kal Tp@Toy pev aywvicTys elvat Soxav wpodupos,
elra xal pytwp ixavos. éx &€ trovTov padXov
Tois Xpwpévors Katedhaivero Bdpos te Kal dpo-
ynua rept avtov nous mpayyaTwov peyadov xal
qoteias Sedpevoy ryepovixns. ov yap ovo,
ws €oixe, picOapvias KaBapov éavtov émi tas
Sixas nal tovs ayavas tapeiyev, adr ovde THY
Sofav ws péyiotov ayatrav épaiveto THY aro TOV
TOLOUTWY ay@vev, TOAY Se wadXov ev Tais payats
Tais pos Tovs oAEuious Kal Tails oTpaTetass
Bovdopevos evdoxipety Ere petpdxiov Ov Tpavya-
TWY TO CGpa perro évavtiov elye. hnol yap
avTos émtaxaideca yeyovmas ern THY TpwTnY
otpatevoacba. otpateiav rept bv *AvviBas
Xpovoy evtuyay erépreye THY Itadiapv.
1 trav dvayxalwy Hercher and Blass, with Bekker: dvay-

KaLOY.

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MARCUS CATO

known epigram ill-naturedly gives us to under-
stand :-—
Red-haired, snapper and biter, his grey eyes
flashing defiance,
Porcius, come to the shades, back will be
thrust by their Queen.
His bodily habit, since he was addicted from the
very first to labour with his own hands, a temperate
mode of life, and military duties, was very service-
able, and disposed alike to vigour and health. His
discourse,—a second body, as it were, and, for the
use of a man who would live neither obscurely nor
idly, an instrument with which to perform not only
necessary, but also high and noble services,—this
he developed and perfected in the villages and towns
about Rome, where he served as advocate for all who
needed him, and got the reputation of being, first a

zealous pleader, and then a capable orator. Thence-
forth the weight and dignity of his character
revealed themselves more and more to those who
had dealings with him; they saw that he was bound
to be a man of great affairs, and have a leading
place in the state. For he not only gave his services
in leyal contests without fee of any sort, as it would
seem, but did not appear to cherish even the repute
won in such contests as his chief ambition. - Nay, he
was far more desirous of high repute in battles and
campaigns against the enemy, and while he was yet
a mere stripling, had his breast covered with honour-
able wounds. He says himself that he made his
first campaign when he was seventeen years old, at
the time when Hannibal was consuming Italy with
the flames of his successes.!
1 217 B.c.
| 395
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|

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Tapeiye & avroy év tais paxars TH pe Xeupe
TANKT NY, TO O€ Tool povepov Kal BéBavor, yadpov
5é TO Tpocwne doyou 6° arreuhf Kar TpaxuTnTe
povis mpos TOUS TOAELLOUS expiiro, opFas Kat
Siavooupevos kat dwddoxwv, 6Tt ToANAKIS Ta
ToLavTa TOU Eidous badhov KATATAHTTETAL TOUS
évaytious. év 5€ tais wopeiats avros éBabibe
Speed Ta érrAa, Kal Oepamrev els eltrero Ta Tpds
iatrav avuT@ Kopivov, & réyerat pndérrore
Suoxohavat pdt péprpacBas mapabévre apuorov
i ©Selmvor, GAG Kal cuhdap Saver AUTOS Ta
WreloTa Kal oupmapadKxevatery amo TOV oTpa-
TLOTUROY ryevopevos epyor. vdwp & emiwev émt
oTpareas, may el rote dupjoas mepiprAeyas
6€os aitnaesev® H THY taxvos evdidovens émtNa Boe
piKpov otvapLov.
II. "Hv dé mAnaiov adrod TOY aypav 7% yéevo-
pevn Maviov Koupiou TOU Tpis OprapPevoavros
érrauXs. emt TAUTHY TUVEXaS Babifav Kal Jew-
pevos ToD TE xwptov THY puxpoTnTa Kal Ths
oixncEws TO MeTov, évvotay ehdpBave Tob avdpos,
bre 'Popatov peyiaros evopevos Kal Ta pax ped-

Tara Tov éOvev Draryaryopevos Kal Tluppov
eehdoas THS ‘Iradias TOUTO TO xepidiov autos
éxxamre Kal TavTHY THY émaudtv ret peTa Tpets
OprapBovs. évTavba T pos éoxapg _ kan wevov
aurov porta yoyyuridas ebpovtes of Lavver ay
mpéa Bews édidocav TOAD Xpuatov- o 8 aren -
pato pnoas ouder Xpuatou Sciy @ detrrvov apKet
Tovolrov, auT@ HEVTOL Tov Ypuciov exeuy KaAMOV
elvat TO viKdy Tovs Exovtas. tav™’ o Kdrwv
1 airhoeey Blass, with Bekker: #rnoev.

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MARCUS CATO

In battle, he showed himself effective of hand, sure and steadfast of foot, and of a fierce counten- ance. With threatening speech and harsh cries he wauld advance upon the foe, for he rightly thought, and tried to show others, that often-times such action terrifies the enemy more than the sword. On the march, he carried his own armour on foot, while a single attendant followed in charge of his camp utensils. With this man, it is said, he was never wroth, and never scolded him when he served up a meal, nay, he actually took hold himself and assisted in most of such preparations, provided he was free from his military duties. Water was what he drank on his campaigns, except that once in a while, in a raging thirst, he would call for vinegar, or, when his strength was.failing, would add a little wine.

II. Near his fields was the cottage which had once belonged to Manius Curius, a hero of three triumphs. To this he would often go, and the sight of the small farm and the mean dwelling led him to think of their former owner, who, though he had become the greatest of the Romans, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, nevertheless tilled this little patch of ground with his own hands and occupied this cottage, after three triumphs. Here it was that the ambassadors of the Samnites once found him seated at his hearth cooking turnips, and offered him much gold; but he dismissed them, saying that a man whom such a meal satisfied had no need of gold, and for his part he thought that a more honourable thing than the possession of gold was the conquest of its possessors. Cato would go away with his mind full of these

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x 2
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

évO upovpevos amnet, ral TOY avTov ma day olKov
épopav Kal Xepta Kai Geparovras Kal Siarray
éréTetve THY aUTOUpyiay Kal ‘TrepléxoTTEe TV
TOAUTENELAD.
Pafiov bé Mafiyou THY Tapaytivey mbduy
EXovTos éTuye pev 0 Kdrop OT PATEVOMEVOS oT
AUT@ Koptdyn pLetpaxcov av, Neapyw o€ Tit Tov

Tlvdaryopuccy Eévo Xpnodpevos é€omrovoace TOY
doyov petaraBeiv. dxovaas dé TavTa Siadeyo-
pévou Tov avdpos, ols KEXPNTAL Kal TAdrov, THY
peep nOovny amoxahay béyia Tov KaKod déXea
ouppopay dé TH ux TO cOpa TPOTHy, AVOUW as
ral cabappov ols bddorta x igen Kal adiornaty
aur ny TOV mept TO o Gp es par ov Aoyts pois,
ért “adXXov nyannoe TO ALTOV Kal THY éyKpareay.
GArws 6é ma. delas ‘EAAnuueiis dptpabys yever Oat
AeyeT as, Kal Toppe TavraTacw nruxias ednhaxas?
‘EAAnuina BuBria AaBow els Xetpas Bpayéa bev
amo Ooveviisou, Tretova © are Anpoaévous els
TO pyTopicoy apenOfvat. Ta pevTOL cuyypay-
para Kal ddypacw ‘EXAnuKois Kal iotopiats
ETLELKOS StarrerroiKehrae Kar peOnppnvevpéva
' ToNNa KATA éEw € év Tots amropOéypyact Kal tais
yrwporoyiats TETARTAL,
III. "Hv 6é res avnp ebmarpidns peév ev Tois parL-
ota ‘Pwpaiwv xal Suvatos, d aperny dé propeny pev
alcOdverOar Seuvos, evpevns Sé Kal Operas Kat
mpoaryaryety els Sofav, Ovarnréptos PrAdKKos.
ovTos elyev opopodvra xepta Tois Kdrwvos,
mudopevos 6é THY avtoupylav kat diattay avTod
Tapa Tov oiKeTav Kal Oavpdoas éEnyoupévar, Ort
1 HAuas €AnAaxws Hercher and Blass with S: HAcelas.

things, and on viewing again his own house and
lands and:servants and mode of life, would increase
the labours of his hands and lop off his extrava-
gancies.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum,! it chanced that Cato, who was then a mere stripling, served under him, and being lodged with a certain Nearchus, of the sect of the Pythagoreans, he was eager to know of his doctrines. When he heard this man holding forth as follows, in language which Plato also uses, condemning pleasure as “ the greatest incentive to evil,” and the body as “the chief detriment to the soul, from which she can release and purify herself only by such reasonings as most do wean and divorce her from bodily sensations,’ he fell still more in love with simplicity and restraint. Further than this, it is said, he did not learn Greek till late in life, and was quite well on in years when he took to reading Greek books; then he profited in oratory somewhat from Thucydides, but more from Demosthenes. However, his writings are moderately embellished with Greek sentiments and stories, and many literal translations from the Greek have found — a place among his maxims and proverbs.

III. There was at Rome a certain man of the highest birth and greatest influence, who had the power to discern excellence in the bud, and the grace to cultivate it and bring it into general esteem. This man was Valerius Flaccus. He had a farm next to that of Cato, and learned from Cato's servants

of their master's laborious and frugal way of living.
He was amazed to hear them tell how Cato, early in
1 209 B.o. ;
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put perv eis aryopay Badile: ai mapioctatat Tois
Seouévois, éravedOdy 8 eis TO xopiov, av pev i
xetpeov, Ewplda AaBav, Gépous dé yupuves épyaca-
pevos pera Tav olxeT@v éoOies Tov avTOY apToV
600 KaOypevos cat mlver Tov adrov olvov, aNAnv
re TOAAWD emietxeray alto Kal peTpLOTHTA Kal
Twas Kal Novyous arrodbeypaTixovs 81a pynpovevov-
Tov, exérevoe KANOHVaL pds TO Setrvov. ex Sé
ToUTov Ypwpmevos Kal KaTavody fpepov Kai
dortelov W005, damep puTov doxnaews Kal Ywpas
érupavods Sedpevov, mpoetpéyato Kal cuvérercey
GwracOar ris ev "Poun todtelas. KateOov
ody evOds Tods péev avTds éxTato Bavuactas
xa pirovs Sid Tav ouvyyopidv, moAdny 4é
tod Ovarrepiou tinny cal Sivauitvy abt@ mpoc-
riOévros XuALapxtas Ervxe mpGrtov, elra erapiev-
aev. é« Tovrou b& Aapmpos dv 7dn Kal Trepipaynys
aite te Ovadrrepio epi tas peyiotras ouvege-
Spapev apyds, Umards Te pet éxelvov Kal TAadW
TLUNTNS YEVOMEVOS.
Tap 8 mpecButépwv roriTav Makinw PaBio
T Pog EveLpev éautov, évdoEordt@ pev dvTe Kal
peylorny éxovTs Stvayiv, wadAdrov bé Tov TpoTroV
avtod xal Tov Biov ws Kcdd\NoTa TapadeiypaTa
mpoOenevos. S20 Kal Lenriwve TO peydr, vew 338
'wep évtt TOTE, TpOs 5é THV PaBlov Sdvapwv avrat-
povtt Kal POovetcOar Soxodvtt, trap' ovdéev érrotn-
caro yevécbat Sidpopos, GMAA Kal Tapas avT@
apos Tov ev AtBin modepov cuvextreuPOeis, ws
Aad

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the morning, went on foot to the market-place and pleaded the cases of all who wished his aid; then came back to his farm, where, clad in a working blouse if it was winter, and stripped to the waist if it was summer, he wrought with his servants, then sat down with them to eat of the same bread and drink of the same wine. They told Valerius many other instances of Cato's fairness and moderation, quoting also sundry pithy sayings of his, until at last Valerius gave command that Cato be invited to dine with him. After this, discovering by converse with him that his nature was gentle and polite, and — needed, like a growing tree, only cultivation and room to expand, Valerius urged and at last persuaded him to engage in public life at Rome. Accordingly, taking up his abode in the city, his own efforts as an advocate at once won him admiring friends, and the favour of Valerius brought him great honour and influence, so that he was made military tribune first, and then quaestor. After this, being now launched on an eminent and brilliant career, he shared the highest honours with Valerius, becoming consul with him, and afterwards censor.

Of the elder statesmen, he attached himself most closely to Fabius Maximus, who was of the highest reputation and had the greatest influence, but this was more by way of setting before himself the character and life of the man as the fairest examples he could follow. In the same spirit he did not hesitate to oppose the great Scipio, a youthful rival of Fabius, and thought to be envious of him. When he was sent out with Scipio as quaestor for the war in Africa,! he saw that the man indulged in

1 204 B.c.
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éwpa 7H ouvnOer TroAvTENcia Ypwpevoy Tov avdpa
Kal Kataxopnyobvta Tols oTpaTevpacw aedas
TOV XpnuaTwv, érappnotagvero Tpos avToV, Ov TO
Ths Satrdavns péytotov elvac dapevos, GAN Ste
StadOeiper Thv matpLoy EevTéNELaY TOV OTPATIWTOV
ép' 7dovas Kal Tpudds TH TepiovTe THS ypeias
TpeTopevoyv. eimovtTos 5¢ TOU Lanriwvos, ws. ov-
dév Séovro tapiov Aiav dxpiBovds MrnciatLos él
TOV ToNEpov Pepopevos, mpakewv yap, ov XV py pd-
TOV, TH TONEL hoyov adel hery, anijrOev 0 Kdrev
éx Sumedas, ead PETA TOD PaBiov cataBowy é ev To
cuvedpicp pOopav TE XPneareov apvdnrov t vm Tob
Lenmiovos Kal StarpiBas avTou perpaxiadess év
TaraiaTpars Kat Jedrpots, & @oTEp OV OTPATHYOUD-
she SM maynyupivovtos, éFerpyacato Treupon-
ous én avrov a€ovtas eéis 'Popny,
pas ake ets at Karnyoptae pavaciy. O pep oby
Lenn Lov a TH Tapackevf Tod mWodépov THY
vin émiderkdpevos, Kat davels dvs bev ert
TXOMIS guveivar pirors, ovdapot dé 7@ dirar-
Oparrep Ths Staitns eis Ta oTrovoaia K ae

paOupos, éEérdevcev ert tov Tohewov.
IV. T@ dé Kdrov TONM pev aro Tou AOyou
Svvapis vento, Kal ‘Peopaioy avTov oi ToAAXol
Anpoobevny Tpoan'yopevon, o Oe Bios. paddov
dvopacros hv avrov Kal mepiBonros. uy pep yap
ev TO eye Sewvorns mpovKesto Tols véors aya
vio pa Kowvov non cal TEplaTrOvbaTTOP, O o Oé€ THY
maT pov avroupyiay Dmropeveov cab Setirvov ahenes
kal a apiorov arupov Kal Merny éoOfra Kal Onpo-
TiKhY aoTratvouevos oixnow Kal To py SeicOat ToV
312

his wonted extravagance, and lavished money with- out stint upon his soldiery. He therefore made bold to tell him that the matter of expense was not the greatest evil to be complained of, but the fact that he was corrupting the native simplicity of his soldiers, who resorted to wanton pleasures when their pay exceeded their actual needs. Scipio replied that he had no use for a parsimonious quaestor when the winds were bearing him under full sail to the war ; he owed the city an account of his achievements, not of its moneys. Cato therefore left Sicily, and “joined Fabius in denouncing before the Senate Scipio's waste of enormous moneys, and his boyish addiction to palaestras and theatres, as though he were not commander of an army, but master of a festival. As a result of these attacks, tribunes were sent to bring Scipio back to Rome, if the charges against him should turn out to be true. Well then, Scipio convinced the tribunes that victory in war depended on the preparations made for it; showed that he could be agreeable in his intercourse with his friends when he had leisure for it, but was never led by his sociability to neglect matters of large and serious import ; and sailed off for his war in Africa.

IV. The influence which Cato’s oratory won for
him waxed great, and men called him a Roman .
Demosthenes; but his manner of life was even
more talked about and noised abroad. For his
oratorical ability only set before young men a goal
which many already were striving eagerly to attain ;
but a man who wrought with his own hands,
as his fathers did, and was contented with a cold
breakfast, a frugal dinner, simple .raiment, and a
humble dwelling,—one who thought more of not
: 313

TEPLTT@Y paAdNov H TO KEexTHaOar Baupdtov
TTAVLOS HV, dN TOTE THS TroALTELaS TO KABapoV
umd peyéBous od purarrovcns, GAAA TO Kpareiv
TpayudTov TOANoY Kal dvOparrev impos mroAN

puryvupevns €0n cal Biwv rapabelypata mravroda-
Tov uTrodexopéevns. eixdTas odv avpaloy Tov
Kdrwva, tovs ev adXovs bro TOY Trovev Opavo-
Hévous Kal paraccopévous bro! trav Adovav
opavtes, exetvoy Se bm' audoiy anrrnrov, ov povov
ws Ett véos cal PiroTLuOs hv, GAAA Kal yépovTa -
Kat trodLov 76n pel" drrateiav cal OpiayBov, darep
aOrXnTHhv vixndopor, éyxaptepobvra TH TdEEL THs
adoxnoews Kab Sopanrivovra péxype TIS TeNCUT HS.
"Ko Ojra pev yap ovdétroré not hopécat trodv-
Tedeotépay éxatov Spaxpar, mueiy 5€ Kal orpa-
THYyov Kal UiraTev@v Tov avTov olvoy Tois épyd-
tais, dvpov S¢ mapacKxevdlecOar mpos TO Setavov
é& dyopas accapiwy tpidxovta, Kal todto bia
THY Tod, STas icYvoL TO Taya Mpos Tas
otpateias. ériBdrnua Sé€ tav troitriov Bafv-
Awvioy éx KAnpovoylas KTnodpevos evVOLS arro-
S0c0a, tav dé érravrewv avtod pundepiay elva
xexoviapevny, ovdéva S@ wetrote mpiacba Sodrov
bmép tas xtAlas Spaypas xal mevtaxocias, ws
dv ov Tpudepav ovd wpaiwv, adr épyatixav xal
oTepe@y, olov immoxouwv xal Bondatov, Se0-
pevos' Kal trovrous 5é mwpexBurépous yevouévous
@eto dety atrodidoabat cal un Boone axpynatous.
GAws dé pndev edovoy elvar TOY TrEepLTTa@V, ANN'
ov tis ov Settat, Kav dooapiov mimpdoKnrat,
1 5nd Hercher and Blass with 8: xa) drd,
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wanting the superfluities of life than of possessing
them,—such a man was rare. The commonwealth
had now grown too large to keep its primitive
integrity ; the sway over many realms and peoples
had brought a large admixture of customs, and the
adoption of examples set in modes of life of every
sort. It was natural, therefore, that. men should
admire Cato, when they saw that, whereas other
men were broken down by toils and enervated by
pleasures, he was victor over both, and this too, not
only while he was still young and ambitious, but
even in his hoary age, after consulship and triumph.
Then, like some victorious athlete, he persisted in
the regimen of his training, and kept his mind

unaltered to the last.
He tells us that he never wore clothing worth more than a hundred drachmas; that he drank, even when he was praetor or consul, the same wine as his slaves; that as for fish and meats, he would buy thirty asses' worth! for his dinner from the public stalls, and even this for the city's sake, that he might not live on bread alone, but strengthen his body for military service ; that he once fell heir to an embroidered Babylonian robe, but sold it at once ; that not a single one of his cottages had plastered walls; that he never paid more than fifteen hundred drachmas for a slave, since he did not want them to be delicately beautiful, but sturdy workers, such as grooms and herdsmen, and these he thought it his duty to sell when they got oldish, instead of feeding them when they were useless ; and that in general, he thought nothing cheap that one could do without, but that what one did not need, even if it cost but a

1 The as corresponded nearly to the English penny.

ToAXOD vouibew KTaacOar Se TA oTrELpOpeva Kal
VeLopeva LaAXAoV 7H TA patvoueva Kal catpopeva.
V. Taidra & ot pév eis puxporoyiavériPevto Tod
avipos, ot & ws émt SsopPwce: cal cwhpovcp@
TaY dAdwy évdoTépw TUaTEANOVTOS EaUTOV aTrE-
Séyovto. mA Td TOs oiKérats ws UTrolvyiols
adtroxpnodpevoy éml ynpws édavvew Kal wimpa-
ake atevods ayav Oous éywye TiOeua, Kat
undév avOpwre mpos avO0pwirov olopévov Kowva-
ynua THs xXpelas WAéoy UTdpyew. KaiToL THY
NpnatroTntTa Ths Sicavoovvns WraTUTEpov Td-
Tov opa@pev emiiapBSdvovoay: vom pevy yap
kal T@ Sixai@m wpos avOpwrrovs povov ypncOas
mepuxapev, mpos evepyecias $é Kal yapitas
got OTe Kal péypt TOV aGroyov Loov doTep x
TNHYHS WNovotas atroppel THS HywepoTnros. Kal
yap inmrwy aeipnxotoy bd ypovov tpodal Kal
KUV@Y ov oKUAaKElaL MOVOY, AAAG Kal ynpoKopiat
TO XPNTTO TpoonKovaty. |
'O 8 trav "AOnvaiov Shwos olxodopav tov
"Exaropmredor, cas KxaTevonaey nurovous panorta
Tois Tovous eyKxaptepovaas, amérvoev édevbépas
vépecOar nal adérous, dy piay dacl xataBal-
vovoav ad éavrhs impos Ta Epya tois avdryouct
Tas audkas broluyios eis axpoTodw cupTapa-
Tpéxew Kal mponyeto0as xabatrep éyxedevopevny
cal auveEoppadcav, iv nal tpépecOar Snuocia
péxpe Terevtns erndicavto. tav S5é Kipwvos

irmov, als ‘Odvpmia tpls évienoe, cal tapal
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penny, was dear; also that he bought lands where crops were raised and cattle herded, not those where lawns were sprinkled and paths swept.
V. These things were ascribed by some to the man’s parsimony ; but others condoned them in the belief that he lived ‘in this contracted way only to correct and moderate the extravagance of others. However, for my part, I regard his treatment of his slaves like beasts of burden, using them to the uttermost, and then, when they were old, driving them off ‘and selling them, as the mark of a very mean nature, which recognizes no tie between man and man but that of necessity. And yet we know that kindness has a wider scope than justice. Law and justice we naturally apply to men alone; but when it comes to beneficence and charity, these often flow in streams from the gentle heart, like water from a copious spring, even down to dumb beasts. A kindly man will take good care of his horses even when they are worn out with age, and of his dogs, too, not only in their puppyhood, but when their old age needs nursing.
While the Athenians were building the Parthenon, they turned loose for free and unrestricted pasturage such mules as were seen to be most persistently laborious. One of these, they say, came back to the works of its own accord, trotted along by the side of its fellows under the yoke, which were dragging the waggons up to the Acropolis, and even led the way , for them, as though exhorting and inciting them on. The Athenians passed a decree that the animal be maintained at the public cost as long as it lived. Then there were the mares of Cimon, with which he won three victories at Olympia; their graves are

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adnotov eiot tev éxeltvou pynpudtov. Kvvas dé
auvTpégous yevopévous nal ovvibes adroL TE
Wo\Nol Kal RdvOurros 0 WadaLos TOV ets
Larapive TH Tpenpes mrapaynfdwevov, Ste TH
TOALV O Ofjpos eFehevrrev, € éml THs axpas éxndevoer,

Av Kuvos ofjpa péypt viv xadrodow.
Od yap as troéjpacw h oKeveot tois Wuyny
éyouol XpynaoTéov, KoTwrévta Kai KatarpiBévta Tats
Larnpeciaus drroppurrobvras, arn ef dia pndev
anno, penrérns évexa TOU GrravOperrov m™poeO-
oTeOv éauTov év TOUTOLS pov elvat Kab peidyov.
éy@ ev ovV ovde Booby dv epyarny bua ynpas
arrodoipny, pn th ye 1 ea Surepoy ay pewrrov,
ex Xopas cuvTpopou Kal dvairns curious @ domep
éx mat pidos peOorapevov avtt Kepuarov px poy,
axYpnotov ye robs @VOUPEVOLS domep Tow wimpd-
cKovat ryevna opevov. o be Karo domep veave-
EVO MEVOS éml rovrou Kat Tov iarmrop, @ Tapa
tas oTparelas brrarebov expHTo, pnoly ép
TPnpia KaTaneTrely, iva p41) TH Tone TO vavXov
avrov AoyionTau. TaUTa pév ov ele peyaro-
wuyxias elte puxporoylas Oeréov, eats TO Trei-
dovte xpijo Fas Aoyio up.
VI. Ths & ars éyxparelas Umeppuas Oavya-
oTOS 0 aynp: olov Ore OTpAaTnyay éAapBavev
EauT@ Kal Tots mepl avTov ov mdeov eis TOV
piva Tupav i TpEls "ATTUKOUS pedipuvous, ets
. 06 TH npépav Kp ov Tots vrrotuyious éXaTrov
T play Typtpedipveov. errapxiay dé AaBaov Lapsova,
TOV TPO avTod oTpaTHyav eiwOdTwv ypjcOat
-

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near the tombs of his family. Dogs also that have been close and constant companions of men, have often been buried with honour. Xanthippus, of olden time, gave the dog which swam along by the side of his trireme to Salamis, when the people were abandoning their city, honourable burial on the promontory which is called to this day Cynossema, or Dog’s Mound.!

We should not treat living creatures like shoes or pots and pans, casting them aside when they are bruised and worn out with service, but, if for no other reason, for the sake of practice in kindness to our fellow men, we should accustom ourselves to mildness and gentleness in our dealings with other creatures. I certainly would not sell even an ox that had worked for me, just because he was old, much less an elderly man, removing him from his habitual place and customary life, as it were from his native land, for a paltry price, useless as he is to those who sell him and as he will be to those who buy him. But Cato, exulting as it were in such things, says that he left in Spain even the horse which had carried him through his consular campaign, that he might not tax the city with the cost of its transportation. Whether, now, these things should be set down to greatness of spirit or littleness of mind, is an open question. |

Vl. But in ether matters, his self-restraint was beyond measure admirable. For instance, when he was in command of an army, he took for himself and his retinue not more than three Attic bushels of wheat a month, and for his beasts of burden, less than a bushel and a half of barley a day. He received Sar- dinia as his province,? and whereas his predecessors

1 Cf. Themistocles x. 6. 2 198 B.c.
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wr)

A)

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Kat oxnvopact Snpmocios Kal xrjLvais wal tpa-
tots, TONAH 5é Oeparreia Kal hirwv mAnOEL Kal
mept Seirva Satavais xal wapacKevais Bapuvor-
TwV, eKxelvos aAmiaTov émoince thy Svadhopay
Ths evTeretas. Samdvns pev yap eis ovdev ovde-
pias mpocedenOn Snuocias, éredoira Sé ais
Torker avrTos pev avev Levyous ropevopevos,
els 5€ nxorov0er Snudcatos éoOijra Kal orrovdeiov
aUT@® Mpos lepoupyiay Kouitwv. év Sé tovross
ovTws evKONOS Kal adeAns Tois UIrd yYeEelpa pa.vo-
fevos, av0us dvtamedidov thy cepvornra «al
To Badpos amapaitnros av ev te Sixaiw «al
Tois umep THS Hye“ovias mpootaypacw sSpOcos
kal avdéxacros, wore pe ie THY ‘Pwpaiwv
apxnv éexeivors pre hoRepwrépay pre mpoade-
Neorépav yevér Oa.
VII. Tovadrny Sé teva aiverar eal 0 Xoyos
Tov avopos idéav éyew edyapis yap apa kal
Seuvos Hv, HOS Kal KaTaTANKTLKOS, PLOT KOppOV
kal avotnpos, atop0eypatixes Kal aywioTtKos,
womep o lAarwv rov Lwxparny dno Ewlev
iduwTny Kal catupixoy Kal UBptatny Tots évTuy-
Xdvovet hatvopevoy évdo0ey otrovdys nal mpay-
BaTwy peoroyv elvac Saxpva Kiwotvtwy ois
axpowpévors Kal thy xapdiav aotpepovTwy. SOev
oux old Ott aemévOacw of T@ Avaoiov rAOy@
padiota dapevot mpoceoxévat tov Kadtwvos.
ov pny addAA Tadra pev ols parXov idéas Adyov
‘Pwpaixdy! aicOdverbar rpoonxer Svaxpivodow,
nyets bé TOY atropynuovevopévwv Bpaxéa ypd-
Wopev, of TH ANOYO TOAD pAaAXOV 7 TH poco,

1 “Pwuaicayv Blass with 8S: pyropicdy.
320
_.<

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were wont to charge the public treasury with their pavilions, couches, and apparel, while they oppressed the province with the cost of their large retinues of servants and friends, and of their lavish and elaborate banquets, his simple economy stood out in an in- credible contrast. He made no demands whatever upon the public treasury, and made his circuit of the cities on foot, followed by a single public officer, who carried his robe and chalice for sacrifices. And yet, though in such matters he showed himself mild and sparing to those under his authority, in other ways he displayed a dignity and severity which fully corresponded, for in the administration of justice he was inéxorable, and in carrying out the edicts of the government was direct and masterful, so that the Roman power never inspired its subjects with greater fear or affection.

VII. Much the same traits are revealed in the man’s oratory. It was at once graceful and powerful, pleasant arid compelling, facetious and severe, sen- tentious and belligerent. So Plato says of Socrates! that from the outside he impressed his associates as rude, uncouth, and wanton; but within he was full of earnestness, and of matters that moved his hearers to tears and wrung their hearts. Wherefore I know not what they can mean who say that Cato’s oratory most resembled that of Lysias. However, such questions must be decided by those who are more capable than I am of discerning the traits of Roman oratory, and I shall now record a few of his famous sayings, believing that men’s characters are revealed

1 Symposium, p. 215.
‘N o 3 2 I
VOL, II. Y

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xadarrep EVvLOL vopigovar, tov avOporav dapev
éppaived Bat To 700s.
VIII. MéAAwv Tore TOV ‘Popatar Sipov wpun-
pévov aKaipos émt otropetpias kat Stavopas
aTroT peTEL, npEato TaV horyor obTws" - Xaherov
peév coTL, @ monitat, Mpos yaoTépa eye OTA
OuUK éxouray.” Kkatnyopav oé THS. mohuTehetas
epn XareTrOv Elva coOivas TOMY, EV 1) WwretTaL
2 TeLovos ixdvs n Bods. eouevar Se mpoBdrots
épn TOUS ‘Pepaious: @s yap éxeiva xa’ ExaoTov
pév ov meiOerau, CULT AYTA o emer au per’ anr.7-
Mov TOL dyovaolr, “Otte xal ipeis,” eiqrev, * ols
ovK ap afiwoaite cupBovrors XpnoacOat Kat’

iditav, vo ToUTwWY «ts év auvenOovres aryerOe.”
dept O€ THS yuvarxoxparias diadeyopevos “ Tlap-
TES, elev, ‘ ‘dvOpwmo. TOV yuvarkav adpxova ww,
Timers dé TavToy avOpworer, 7 Hypa 5é at yuvaixes.’
3 TovTO ev ovv éoTw éx Tov Bepsoroxdéous
per evnvery Levov amopbeyparov. éxetvos yap érm-
TATTOVTOS aur WOAAa ToD viod Sia Tis ENT pos
“7K yuvat,” elmrev, “ "AOnvaiot pev apxover
TOV ‘EXdjvov, eyo dé “AOnvaiwy, éwod dé av,
cov be 0 vias, OOTE peidec Ow THS éfovoias,
du iv avontos av melorov ‘EXAqvev Suvarat.”
4 Tov & SHuov o Katov ébn trav ‘Pwpaiwy ov
pLovov tals Toph upas, GAG Kal tots emerndev-
pace Tas TLas emuypadery. Os yap. ot Badeis,”
épn, ef TAUTHY padiora Bdsrovewy,) YalpovTas
Op@cty, obras Ol véoe Taba, pavOdvover Kal
Enrovow, ols av 6 Trap bpov erratvos emnta..”
5 mapexddea 8 avtovs, elpev apetn nal awdpo-

much more by their speech than, as some think, by
their looks.

VIII. He once wished to dissuade the Roman people from insisting ,unseasonably upon a distribu- tion of corn, and began his speech with these words: “It is a hard matter, my fellow citizens, to argue with the belly, since it has no ears.” Again, in- veighing against the prevalent extravagance, he said: “It is a hard matter to save a city in which a fish sells for more than an ox.” Again, he said the Romans were like sheep ; for as these are not to be persuaded one by one, but all in a body blindly follow their leaders, “so ye,” he said, “though as individuals ye would not deign to follow the counsels of certain men, when ye are got together ye suffer yourselves to be led by them.” Discoursing on the power of women, he said: “ All other men rule their wives; we rule all other men, and our wives rule us.” This, however, is a translation from the sayings of Themistocles.! He, finding himself much under his son’s orders through the lad’s mother, said: “ Wife, the Athenians rule the Hellenes, I rule the Athenians, thou rulest me, and thy son thee. Therefore let him make sparing use of that authority which makes him, child though he is, the most powerful of the Hellenes.”

The Roman people, Cato said, fixed the market
value not only of dyes, but also of behaviour.
“For,” said he, “as dyers most affect that dye
which they see pleases you, so your young men
learn and practice that which wins your praise.”
And he exhorted them, in case it was through
virtue and temperance that they had become great, to

1 Themistocles, xviii. 4.

oun yeyovace peydnot, pnder’ petaBdrrcoOat
qpos TO Xeipov, él & dxpacia Kal Kaxig, peETQ-
BarrcoOat pos TO Bédrvov" ixavars yap dn
peyddous an éxeivov ryeyovevan. TOUS de ToANa-
Kus dpxetv orovddtovras épn Kabarrep ayvoovvras
THY odov del peta paBoovxev Cnteiv mopeverOan,
Bn TravnO@aw. érretia O€ Tois WonriTals TOUS
QUTOUS ,aipovpevors ToNNaKes dpxovras. _ Aokere
yap,” Eby, ‘ ‘pn ® TONAOV TO apyELY afvov 7, en
TOANOUS Tov apyew atious meta Ban.” mept dé
Tov éexOpav Tevos alaxpes wal adobws Booby
Soxobvros seo TOUTOU payrnp,” ep, ‘ ‘xaTdpay,
OvK edn, nryetras TO ToUTOY UTrép Ys amro-
derreiv.” tov 0é TeT paKora TOUS MaTp@ous
arypous jTapaXious évras em erxvpevos T poa'e-
TOLELTO Gavpatew @> ba YUpoTEpov TiS Gararrns
A yap éxeiyy ponus Exrulev, ovTos, én,
‘padiws Katarrémoxev.”

"Ered 82 Evpevois tov Bactréus éridnpnoavtTos
eis ‘Paynv i} TE TUYKANTOS UITEeppvas anedéEaro
Kal TOV TPOTwV Gptrra kal omovon meph avrov
éyiveTo, 87XOsS a O Kdrov Upopwpevos cal
age aurov. eltrovTos Oé Twos * "AANA
nV XpINTTOS éoTt Kal ptoppapasos, ” ‘"Korw,”
aay ‘adhe, puoes TodTo To pov o Baatrevs
capkopdryov éotiv.” ovdéva 5é Tav evdatpovito-
péveav épn Bacthewy® aEtvov elvac mapaddrew
pos "Errapewovday 7 i Tlepexhéa 7 y @ewiarondéa H n
Manov Kovpiov 7 ’Apirxav rov émindrnOévta
1 undeyv Hercher and Blass with FS: ph.
uy} Blass with Fas : 4 ud.
3 %pn BaciAéwy Hercher and Blass with F8S: BaosAréwy.

make no change for the worse ; but if it was through
intemperance and vice, to change for the better ;

these had already made them great enough. Of those who were eager to hold high office frequently, he said that like men who did not know the road, they sought to be ever attended on their way by lictors, lest they go astray. He censured his fellow citizens for choosing the same men over and over again to high office. ‘“ You will be thought,” said he, “not to deem your offices worth much, or else not to deem many men worthy of your offices.” Of one of his enemies who had the name of leading a disgraceful and disreputable life, he said: “This man’s mother holds the wish that he may survive her to be no pious prayer, but a malignant curse.” Pointing to a man who had sold his ancestral fields lying near the sea, he pretended to admire him, as stronger than the sea. “ This man,’ said he, “has drunk down with ease what the sea found it hard to wash away.”’

When King Eumenes paid a visit to Rome, the Senate received him with extravagant honours, and the chief men of the city strove who should be most about him. But Cato clearly looked upon him with suSpicion and alarm. “Surely,’ some one said to him, “he is an excellent man, and a friend of Rome.” “Granted,” said Cato, “but the animal known as king is by nature carnivorous.” He said further that not one of the kings whom men so lauded was worthy of comparison with Epaminondas, or Pericles, or Themistocles, or Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas. His.

9 Bapxav. auT@ 8 eheve Tous €xOpous pOoveiv, Ott Kal’ TIPE pay éx vuxtos! aviaratat Kai Tov idieov ape TOUS Snpoators ovxvonater. Bovreo Pau 6 édevye padrov ev mpatas amoarepnOhvat Xap 7) KAKOS pny Tuxely Kohdoews, Kal ovyyvapny edn dudovat Taat Tots dpaptdvovat WAV AUTO.
TX. Tav &€ ‘Popaioy ets BiOuviav T pels éXo- 34] péevov peo Bers, @V O sev TrOOaYPLKOS 7 7, o 6€ THY Keparqy é& avaTpHoews Kab TepiKoTrhs KoiAnv elyen, 0 6é Tpitos édoKet peopos elvat, KATAYEN@Y o Katov clare mpea Betay UTrO Popaiov amroaTén-

Neo Oat pare Todas panjTE Kehadiy [nTeE Kapoiav
2 éxoveay. umép b€ TaV ia "Ayalas puyddov ep.
Tevy Gels La TorvBiov t v6 Lanriw@vos, @S TOUS
év TH TVYKAHTYD Aoryos éyivero, TOY pev diSovT@y
xdOosov abrois, tov & eviT TAMEVOY, GVacTAaS 0
Katov ““Qorep ovK éXxovtes,. elrrev, “6 mpar-
Topev Kadnuca tHV mpépav ogy Teph ‘yepov Tio:
Tparcav Cnrovvtes, TOTEPOV UTrO TOV Tap Hutv 7)
3 tov év Ayaia vekpopopav exkopicd dat.” yng
obeions oe Tis xaBodov trois avopaotw, juépas
édiyas ot mept tov IloAvBiov Scarerrovtes aves
CTE elpouv | LS THY oUrYyKA TOV eloenbeiy, Omres as
7 pOTEpov elyov ev ‘Axaig Toa ot puyades ava-
Aa Borer, Kat Tov Kdravos aTrEeTELPOVTO THS qwo-
ps. 0 o 6é pevdudoas épn Tov TloAvBrov, & OaTEp TOV
’"Odvacéa, Bovr\coOau mad els TO TOU Kucdwrros
omnXatov eioedOeiv, TO TWiALoY exer Kal THY Corny
emiAeANo MEVOD.
4 Tous &€ ppovipous edeye pardov UTO TOV
appovev % Tovs Ahpovas vo TaV Ppovipwv
1 é« vuxrds Hercher and Blass with F8SD: vuxrds,

enemies hated him, he used to say, because he rose every day before it was light and, neglecting his. own private matters, devoted his time to the public interests. He also used to say that he preferred to do right and get no thanks, rather than to do ill and get no punishment; and that he had pardon for everybody's mistakes except his own.

IX. The Romans once chose three ambassadors to Bithynia, of whom one was gouty, another had had his head trepanned, and the third was deemed a fool. Cato made merry over this, and said that the Romans were sending out an embassy which had neither feet, nor head, nor heart. His aid was once solicited by Scipio, at the instance of Polybius, in behalf of the exiles from Achaia, and ater a 1 long debate upon the question in the Senate, where some favoured and some opposed their return home, Cato rose and said: “ Here we sit all day,

as if we had naught else to do, debating whether
some poor old Greeks shall be buried here or
in Achaia." The Senate voted that the men be
allowed to return, and a few days afterwards
Polybius tried to get admission to that body
- again, with a proposal that the exiles be restored
to their former honours in Achaia, and asked
Cato's opinion on the matter. Cato smiled and
said that Polybius, as if he were another Odysseus,
wanted to go back into the cave of the Cyclops
for a cap and belt which he had left there.
Wise men, he~said, profited more from _ fools
than fools from wise men; for the wise shun the
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apereio Bar TOUTOUS pev yap purdrrecBat TAS
éxelvav apaptias, éxelvous dé Tas TOUTOV pn pepe
bat katophacets. TOV 6 vewy py Xaipew ois
epub prdcr paddov i) TOU OX place, oT ariwTou dé
py Seto0ar Tas pev yetpas év r@ BadiCery, TODS 5é
rrébas ¢ év TO a oaiee KLVOUYTOS, petCov O€ p peyxov-
Tos % anaddlorTos. Tov dé UrépTaxuv KaxiCov
a [lob 8 av," épn, 'c@pa TOLOUTOY TH 'TONeL
yevouro XpHatpor, ov TO peTakv Aaspou Kal _Bov-
Bovev rav bro Ths yao Tpos KATEXETAL ; 5° TeV
dé prrnsovev TLWa BovAopevov aUuT@ cuveivar
TAparTrouperos, épn pn divac Oat Chv per avOpa-
Tou Tis xapoias THY Um ep@av evataOnroTépay
ExovTOS. Tod 5 épwvros édeye Thy ux é év
addor pip copati Civ. petapednOjvas é AUTOS
év javTt TO Bio Tpeis peTapenetas: pay bev
emt TO ryuvaurcl mMioTevoat Noryov arroppytop,
eTépay dé TrEvoas Orrov duvatov hv meleboat, THY
dé tpirny, OTe piav Tpépay adidberos € EMELvE. apos
d5é mpeaBurny TOVNPEVO[LEVOY "'AvOpere," eltre,
i TONG éxovrt 7 y7pq Ta aloxpa py) TpoaTiOer
THY a0 THS Kaxias aiaxvuny. T pos dé Snpapxov
év d:a Born pev pappaxeias YEvopevoy, patrov bé
vopLov eta pépovta Kat Bralopevov © "QO pec dKvov,
elev, . ovK olda, ToTEpoY xetpov éoTw 0 Kipyns
mely nO yeaders Kupaoas. Prac dnpovpevos
S tar avOparov ReBiwxoros ao eXyOs Kal KaKas
""Avicos," elTrev, "9 T pos o€ prot paxn err Kal

yap dxovers TA KAKA padias Kal deyens EX EPAS,
épol be Kat éyeuv ands és xal dover anes.’ 76
pev ody TOY aTropynpwoveupadTaV yévos TOLAVTOV
eoTLV.
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mistakes of fools, but fools do not imitate the successes of the wise. He said he liked to see blushes on a young man’s face rather than pallor, and that he had no use for a soldier who plied his hands on the march, and his feet in battle, and whose snore was louder than his war-cry. Railing at the fat knight, he said, “Where can such a body be of service to the state, when everything between its gullet and its groins is devoted to belly?”’ A certain epicure wished to enjoy his society, but he excused himself, saying that he could not live with a man whose palate was more sensitive than his heart. As for the lover, he said his soul dwelt in the body of another. And as for repentance, he said he had indulged in it himself but thrice in his whole life: once when he entrusted a secret to his wife; once when he paid ship's fare to a place instead of walking thither; and once when he remained intestate a whole day. To an old man who was steeped in iniquity he said: “ Man, old age has disgraces enough of its own; do not add to them the shame of vice.” To a tribune of the people who had been accused of using poison, and who was trying to force the passage of a useless bill, he said : “Young man, I know not which is worse, to drink your mixtures, or to enact your bills.” And when he was reviled by a man who led a life of shameless debauchery, he said: “I fight an unequal battle with you: you listen to abuse calmly, and utter it glibly; while for me it is unpleasant to utter it, and unusual to hear it.”’
Such, then, is the nature of his famous sayings.
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X. “Yaratos dé peta PrdxKKov Ovandepiou
TOU pidov Kab Tuvious atrodetyOeis éXaye
TOV eTapXLaV ny "Eyres Tomaviav “Pwpatot
Kadovow. évTavda 5 avuT@ Ta pev KaTACTPpE-
popeven tov eOvev, ra 8 oixeroupere Sia hoyor
TOA) oTparia tav BapBdapov émrémrece, Kal
Kivdvvos 7 nv aia xpas éxBracOjvar. 06 TOV éy-
yus KerriBjpov émrexaneiTo oUMpAXiay. aiTouv-
tov © éxelvov THis Bonbeias Siaxocta TadavTa
padov, ot pev GdXOL TavTes ovK avaoxeTov
€7rOLOUYTO ‘Pepaious BapBapos émuxouptas 0jL0-
Noyijoar pa Bor, 0 dé Kadzov ovdev bn Seevov
elvat, viK@VTas pev yap arro}waety Tapa } TOY
modem, ov Tap AUTO?, HTT Oo LEvOY de pyre
TOUS dm arToupevous ever Oa pre TOUS arravtobv-
Tas. Tautny de THY payny Kata Kpatos évixnae,
Kal Tana ™pou ape Aa [LT POS. TlovdBios pev
ye once TOV évTos Baitwos ToTapod TONEWY NEPA
pad Ta Teixn KEAEVTAVTOS avtov mreprarpeO jac:
TWALTOANAL & hoav avrat Kal yémoucat pay iptor
avopav. avTOS oe pnow o Katey mdrétovas
etn evar Tones ov Supryaryev 1) Hwepav év 'TBnpia:
Kal ToUTO KOwTOS OvK éoTw, elirep Os ddnO0S
TeTPAKOTLaL 70 TAOS 7, Hoa.
Tots pev ovv OT PATLOT ALS TOXNG Tapa THY
oTparelav adernGetow £&rt Kal ALTPAV apyupiou
KaT dvbpa T poo Siévet per, evra OS KpeiT Tov eln
ToANoUs ‘Popatoy apryuptov 7 xpuatov ddiryous
exovTas énavedOeciy. eis & avtov é eK TO amo Ko-
pevov ovdev é€AOety reyes ANY boa TéTwWKEV 7
BéBpwxe. “Kal ovx« aitidpat,” dyot, “ rovs
1 rapa Hercher and Blass with FS: awd

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X. Having been elected consul! with Valerius Flaccus, his intimate friend, the province which the Romans call Hither Spain was allotted to his charge. Here, while he was subduing some of the tribes, and winning over others by diplomacy, a great host of Barbarians fell upon him, and threatened. to drive him disgracefully out of the province. He therefore begged the neighbouring Celtiberians to become his allies. On their demanding two hundred talents pay for such assistance, all his officers, thought it intolerable that Romans should agree to pay Bar- barians for assistance. But Cato said there was nothing terrible in it;

should they be victorious, they could pay the price with the spoils taken from the enemy, and not out of their own purse; whereas, should they be vanquished, there would be nobody left either to pay or to ask the price. In this battle he was completely victorious, and the rest of his campaign was a brilliant success. Polybius indeed says that in a single day the walls of all the cities on this side the river Baetis—and they were very many, and full of warlike men—were torn down at his command. And Cato himself says that he took more cities than he spent days in Spain, nor is this a mere boast, since, in fact, there were four hundred of them.

His soldiers got large booty in this campaign, and he gave each one of them a pound of silver besides, saying that it was better to have many Romans go home with silver in their pockets than a few with gold. But in his own case, he says that no part of the booty fell to him, except what he ate and drank. “Not that I find fault,’ he says, “with those who

apereia Oar Cntodvtas éx TrovTwY, GAA BovrAopat
padXov tepl aperhs Tots apiotots } wept ypnua-
TMV TOls WAOVOLwWTAaTOLS AptAdNaCOaL Kal Tois
pitapyupwraros rept dirapyupias.” ov ovo
8 avtov, dAdrAa Kal tovs wept avroy épvrXatTe
xabapovs tavTos Anppatos. joav dé mWévTeE
Oepatrovtes él atpareias auv avT@. TovTwv els
ovopa Ilaxxtos jydpace TOV aixparwTwv Tpia
mavapia: tov dé Kdrwvos aicbopevou, mpiv eis
Oi édOciv, amnyEato. tos dé maidas 0 Kdtrov
aTOOOMEVOS eis TO Snwoavov aVIvEyKE THY ToD.
XI. “Ere 8 avtoo Stat piBovros ev ‘IBnpia
Lanmiov o peyas, éyOpos ov Kal Bovdopevos
évoThvat KatopOodyTe Kal Tas "TAnpuxas mpd LS
UrorkaBelv, Sterpatato THs érapyxias éxetvns
amodetxOjvar d:ddoxos. omevoas S as évay
Tdxtota Karémavoe THY apxny Tov Kdrwvos. 0
bé LaPov omelpas omhurav jwevtTe Kat TEVTAKO-
aious imrets T poTromrrous KaTeaTpeyato pev TO
Aaxeravav EOvos, éEaxoatous dé TOV NUTOMOANKO-
TOY KO pio dpLEVvos TrEKTELVED. éf’ ols oxeThedbovra
Tov LKnTriova KATELPWOVEVOMEVOS obTas Edn THY
‘Pouny éxec Oar peylaTny, TOV pev evdofov Kat
peydd.ov Ta Tis apeTas mpwreta 1) peOvevrav
TOLS aanworepors, Trav & domep auros eo
SnworiKay Gpuhd.oweveov APETH WPOs TOVS TO yévet
kal tH S0&n TponkovTas. ov pay GXNA THS
TUYKAHTOV yadicapevys mndev adharrew pn de

Kively TOV bepan weve v0 Kdrevos, 7 u pev apx7
TO UK Tiwve THs avTOU padov H THS Karevos
adedovoa SoEns év drpakia Kal TXOAR parny
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seek to profit by such a case, but I prefer to strive in bravery with the bravest, rather than in wealth with the richest, and in greed for money with the greediest." And he strove to keep not only himself, but also his associates, free from all taint of gain. He had five attendants with him in the field. One of these, whose name was Paccus, bought three boys for his own account from among the public prisoners, but finding that Cato was aware of the transaction, or ever he had come into his presence, went and hanged himself. Cato sold the boys, and restored the money to the public treasury.

XI. While Cato still tarried in Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wished to obstruct the current of his successes and take away from him the administration of affairs in Spain, got himself appointed his successor in command of that province. Then he set out with all the speed possible, and brought Cato's command to an end. But Cato took five cohorts of men-at-arms and five hundred horsemen as escort on his way home, and on the march subdued the tribe of the Lacetanians, and put to death six hundred deserters whom they delivered up to him. Scipio was enraged at this proceeding, but Cato, treating him with mock humility, said that only then would Rome be at her greatest, when her men of high birth refused to yield the palm of virtue to men of lower rank, and when plebeians like himself contended in virtue with their superiors in birth and reputation. However, in spite of Scipio's displeasure, the Senate voted that no change whatever be made in what Cato had ordered and arranged, and so the administration of Scipig was marked by inactivity and idleness, and detracted from his own, .

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3 drAAOev, o dé Kdtov OprapBevoas ovx, Gomep ol
WElo TOL TOV pn I pos dperny, anna _T pos d0fav
dpirdopeveor, 6 ray els TAS axpas TLUAS éFixwvras
Kal TUXwoLY Umareias Kal OprdpBov, Hn TO
Aovrrov els ndovny Kat oyodXnv cvoKevacdpevor
tov Biov éx TOY KOLV@V amvacty, oT Kal avTos
eFavixe Kat KATENUCE THY aperny, arr Gola
Tots 7 p@rov aT TOmevous monuTetas Kal bipaae
TEAS cai d0Ens ad' érépas apxis ourTeivas éav-
Tov éy péow qTaperye Kal pirors RoOar Kat
TohiTass, ovTEe TAS GUYNYopias OUTE TAS OTPaTEiasS
ATELTPAPLEVOS.
XII. TeBepin pev oly Leutpwvio ta epl
Opaxnv kal "lotpov UrrarevovTt mpecBevov ouy-
kaTeipyaaaro, Mavi & 'Anirio Xeuapyav en

"Avrioyov Tov péryav ouvebirOev eis THY ‘HAAdéba,
poBycavra ‘Papatous as ovdeva Erepov per
"AvviBav. Ty yap ‘Aciap, danv o Nixatwp
LéXevKos elyey, dALryou dety aracay ef UTAapY7S
avengers, un TE maprrodha Kal payee ap-
Bdpov vmnKoa [TET OLNMEVOS, emipto cupTrEceiy
‘Pwpators Os povors ert _T pos avTov afvoudyors
2 ovaw. evmpeTh dé Tov ToAg“ou Tolnodmevos
aiTiay TOUS "“EAAnvas ehevGepodv, oudev Seopuevous,
GAXa Kal €devépous Kal avTovopous VapeTe Th
‘Popatev amo Didiamov kat Maxedovwv veworti 343
yeyovoras, 5éBy pera duvapews. kal canrovevdvs
n "EdXas elye Kal _HETEWpOS hw éXtrioe SiapBerpo-
3 pevn Baowruxais vTr0 TOV Snpayoryar. ETE [LTT EV
ovv mpéa Bers 6 Mdmos eri tas modes. Kal ra
pev TreloTa THY vewteptlovTwy Titos Pra pevivos
V

rather than from Cato’s reputation. Cato, on the other hand, celebrated a triumph.!1 Most men who strive more for reputation than for virtue, when once they have attained the highest honours of consulship and triumphs, straightway adjust their future lives to the enjoyment of a pleasurable ease, and give up their public careers. But Cato did not thus remit and dismiss his virtue, nay, rather, like men _ first taking up the public service and all athirst for honour and reputation, he girt his loins anew, and held himself ever ready to serve his friends and fellow-citizens, either in the forum or in the field. XII. And so it was that he assisted Tiberius Sempronius the consul in subduing the regions in Thrace and on the Danube, acting as his ambassador ; and as legionary tribune under Manius Acilius, he marched into Greece against Antiochus the Great, who gave ‘the Romans more to fear than any man after Hannibal. For he won back almost all of * Seleucus Nicator’s former dominions in Asia, reduced to subjection many warlike nations of Barbarians, and was eager to engage the Romans, whom he deemed the only worthy foemen left for him. So he crossed into Greece with an army, making the freeing of the Greeks a specious ground for war. This they did not need at all, since they had recently been made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians by grace of the Romans. Greece was at once a stormy sea of hopes and fears, being corrupted by her demagogues with expectations of royal bounty. Accordingly, Manius sent envoys to the several cities. Most of those which were un- settled in their allegiance Titus Flamininus restrained

1 194 B.c.

Eryev avev Tapayis Kal KaTeTTpauvev, ws ev TOLS
wept éxcivou yéypatrrar, Kdtrwv 5é KopuvOtovs cat

flatpeis, ére & Alytets trapeotyncato.
[Iveta rov 8& ypovov év "AOnvass Siétpipe. Kat AéyeTar pév TLS avToD hépeabat AOdyos, dv “EA-Anviotl mpos Tov Shwov elev, @s Cnro@v TE Thy aperny TOV Tadraov AOnvaiwy Tis Te TONEWS Sia TO KdAXOS Kal TO péyeOos Hdéws yeyovas DeaTns 70 8 ovK adrnOés dori, adrd 80’ Eppnvéws evéruxe tows AOnvaiors, duvnbels dv avdtos eitreiv, éupéevov dé Tots martpiow Kal xatayeXov tov Ta ‘EA-Anuixa teOavpaxdtwov. Tloctovpsoy yoov *AX-Bivoy iotopiav ‘“EXAnuotl ypawWavta nal ovy-yvopunv aitovpevor érécxwrpev eitrwv, Sotéov elvat THY cuyyvepny, et tov ’Apdixtvovey Wwnhdica-pévov avayxacbels virépewve TO Epyov. Oavydoat dé dyot Tovs APnvaiovs TO TaXOs avTov Kab THY ofvTnTAa THs ppdcews: a yap auros éEedepe Bpaxéws, TOV epunvéa paxpas Kal bia TONN@V drraryyehevy" TO 5° bAov olecOar Ta p pnuata Tols pev “EdAnow aro xethéwr, Tois b€ “Pwpaiors aro xapdtas pépecBar.
XIII. “Ered & ‘Avtioxos euppatas Ta mept Geppor tras oreva 7 oTpaTon es, kat Tots avropuect TOV TOTMWY Epvpace 7 poo Badov apa-Kopara Kat Sratexiopata, xabijoro TOV (TONE LOv ex Ker etK evar vopiCwv, TO pev Kara, oTOLa Bud-Ceo dat TavTamacw ameyivad kov 06 ‘Popaior, THY Sé Tlepotxny éexeivny mepinrAvaow Kat KiKrwow o
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without ado, and quieted down, as I have written in his Life;! but Corinth, Patrae, and Aegium were brought over to Rome by Cato.
He also spent much time at Athens. And we are told that a certain speech of his is extant, which he addressed to the Athenian people in Greek, declaring that he admired the virtues of the ancient Athenians, and was glad to behold a city so beautiful and grand as theirs. But this isnot true. On the contrary, he dealt with the Athenians through an interpreter. He could have spoken to them directly, but he always clung to his native ways, and mocked at those who were lost in admiration of anything that was Greek. For instance, he poked fun at Postumius

Albinus, who wrote a history in Greek, and asked the indulgence of his readers. Cato said they might have shown him indulgence had he undertaken his task in consequence of a compulsory vote of the ‘Amphictyonic Assembly. Moreover, he says the Athenians were astonished at the speed and pungency of his discourse. For what he himself'set forth with brevity, the interpreter would repeat to them at great length and with many words; and on the whole he thought the words of the Greeks were born on their lips, but those of the Romans in their hearts.

XIII. Now Antiochus had blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylae with his army,? adding trenches and walls to the natural defences of the place, and sat there, thinking that he had locked the war out of Greece. And the Romans did indeed despair utterly of forcing a direct passage. But Cato, calling to mind the famous compass and circuit of the pass

1 Chapters xv-xvii. 2 191 B.C.

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a

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’ 4 > a 4 b] / ,
Katwv es voov Badopevos eEadevce VUKTWP,
2 avahaBov pépos Te TAS orpatias, émél S dve

cr

mpoerGovt ay o xabodnyav AX WAKwT OS ebérece
THS 0000 Kal TAAV@peEVvos ey TOTALS a7 opots Kat
Kpnpvadert Sewny abupiay | Kal PoBor € everpydcato
TOUS’ OTPATLOTALS, opéy) Katov Tov Kivdvvov
éxéhevae TOUS aNXous Atravras atpeuety Kat Tept-
péverv, autos bé Aevecov TL, Marnuop, avdpa
Sevvov opetBareiv, TraparaBav ex@per. TohUTrOvEDS
Kat Tapa Rohs ev doednve puetl xat Badeia,
Kotivows! Kal wayos dvaTteTapevous Saomdopara
TOAAA THS orpews Kal ao dpeav exovons, Ews
éuBanrovres ets ATPATPOV, WS @OVvTO, KaTO) Trepal-
vouaay émt 76 oTpaTomedoy TOV TOAK Loy éevto
onuela mWpos Twas evoKorrous Kepaias vmép TO
Kaarispopor dvexovoas. ore dé dd emav-

edovtes oTriaw THY oTpaTiay avédaBov, eal
7 pos Ta onpela, Tpoayoures IpavTo bev éxeivns
THS atparob Kal KaTEDTHCAYTO THY Topelay,
pixpov 6é mpoehfotary avTois érréhurre Paparyryos
vrorapBavovays. Kal wadw ay drropia Kat d€0s5
ovK emia Ta mevery ovodé TUVOPMVTOY OTL mWANoiov
eTbyXavov TOV Tohepiov ryeryovoTes. non 5é dé-
Aaprrev nuepa, Kat Pboyyis Tes edokev € emaxovoat,
Taya b€ Kal xadopav “EXAnvexov Xapaka al
mpopvraniy um0 70 Kpnuvades. obtws odp ére-
oTHTAS évtav0a THY TTPATLAY O o Katowy éxéhevoev
au7@ mpocedeiy avev tTav addAwV Tous Pippa-
vous, ols ael maTols éypnTo Kal Tm poOuposs.
sh aged dé Kal Twepictavtwy avtTov abpowy
1 xotlvois MSS.; xoAwvois (hills) Bekker, adopting the
correction of Coraés,
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which the Persians had once made, took a con- siderable force and set out under cover of darkness. They climbed the heights, but their guide, who was a prisoner of war, lost the way, and wandered about in impracticable and precipitous places until he had filled the soldiers with dreadful dejection and fear. Cato, seeing their peril, bade the rest remain quietly where they were, while he himself, with a certain Lucius Manlius, an expert mountain-climber, made his way along, with great toil and hazard, in the dense darkness of a moonless night, his vision much impeded and obscured by wild olive trees and rocky peaks, until at last they came upon a path. This, they thought, led down to the enemy’s camp. So they put marks and signs on some conspicuous cliffs which towered over Mount Callidromus, and then made their way back again to the main body. This too they conducted to the marks and signs, struck into the path indicated by these, and started forward. But when they had gone on a little way, the path failed them, and a ravine yawned to receive them. Once more dejection and fear were rife. They did not know and could not see that they were right upon the enemy whom they sought. But presently gleams of daylight came, here and there a man thought he heard voices, and svon they actually saw a Greek outpost entrenched at the foot of the cliffs. So then Cato halted his forces there, and summoned the men of Firmum to a private conference. These soldiers he had always found trusty and zealous in his service. When they had run up and stood grouped about him,

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elarey" © “Av6pa xpnseo AaBety Trav Tohepieov Covra Kat mud écOau, tives ot ™popudarrovtes OUTOL, T0- oop THOS aAUTOD, Tis 0 TOY dAdo Sidxoc pos ny Takis | Kal TapacKeun, pe HS UToOLévovT av 7pas.

Too € epyov dpraypa Set Tdyous yevéo Oat Kal TOA-

NS, 7) Kat N€ovTes dvorrhot Gappodrtes éml Ta
Seiad TOY Onpiwv Babdifoucr.” Tata elTrovTos Tod
Katevos aurodev opovaartes, aomep elyov, ot
Pippavot Kata TOV opav Eeov él tas mpopura-
Kds* Kal TpootrecovTes am poo Soxnrot mavTas pe
dverdpafay kal Svecxedacay, éva 8 avtois Grows
apwdacavres evexeipiay T@ Karon. Tapa Tov-
Tou pabay, ws 7 wev GdAn Sivapus é év Trois arevois
KdOnrat per’ avrob! tov Bactréws, ot Sé ppov-
pouves ovTOL Tas imepBoras AitwX\o@v eiow
éFaroovoe Aoydbes, kaTadpovycas THS GALYOTNT OS
dpa Kal Tis OMLywpias evs emrnryev ape oan
muyse cal draraype, 7 p@Tos THAT ApEVOS THY
paxacpay. ot & ws eidov arr6 TOV Kpnuverv émt-
pepopevous, dhevyovtes cis TO péya atparomedoy
KaTeTipTNacay Tapaxijs amavtas.”
XIV. "Ey TOUT® dé xal tod Maviou xdrwev
mpos Ta Stateryiopata Bralopevov Kal Tots
orevois mpos BdddovTos aOpoav THY Svvapuv, 6
pev ’Avtioxos eis TO oTOMA AO@ mAnyels ExTLva-
xOevT@y autod Tay dddvT@Y am éatpeye tov lar-
mov oTriaw, Teplahyns YEVOpEVOS, Tov € orpaTob
HEpOs ovdev Urrépeuve TOUS ‘Popaious, GAA Kai-
TEP drropous Kat dpnxavous Ths puyhs odous Kal
a NaneS éyovons, éxov Baléwv cal TET POV atro-

1 per’ abrod Blass with §: pera. 2 dxavras Sintenis? with C; Bekker reads &zayra, with Sintenis? and Coraés.

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he said: “I must take one of the enemy’s men alive, and learn from him who they are that form this advance guard, what their number is, and with what disposition and array their main body awaits us. But the task demands the swift and bold leap of lions fearlessly rushing all unarmed upon the timorous beasts on which they prey.” So spake Cato, and the Firmians instantly started, just as they were, rushed down the mountain-side, and ran upon the enemy’s sentinels. Falling upon them unexpectedly, they threw them all into confusion and scattered them in flight ; one of them they seized, arms and all, and delivered him over to Cato. From the captive Cato learned that the main force of the enemy was en- camped in the pass with the king himself, and that the detachment guarding the pass over the mountains was composed of six hundred picked Aetolians. Despising their small numbers and their carelessness, he led his troops against

them at once, with bray of trumpet and battle-cry, being himself first to draw his sword. But when the enemy saw his men pouring down upon them from the cliffs, they fled to the main army, and filled them all with confusion.

XIV. Meanwhile Manius also, down below, threw his whole force forward into the pass and stormed the enemy's fortifications. Antiochus, being hit in the mouth with a stone which knocked his teeth out, wheeled his horse about for very anguish. Then his army gave way everywhere before the Roman onset. Although flight for them meant impracticable roads and helpless wanderings, while deep marshes and steep cliffs threatened those who

TOMMY Ta TOMATO Kal Tas ona Ojoers Umobexo-
pevary, eis TavTa 61a T@V oTevaY Drrepxeopevor
kal acuvwlovrtes adAHdouS hoBw mArAnyhns Kat
adnpov TONE LOY atrous Sue Decpov.
'O bé- Kater del pév Tes my, 5 Eotke, TOV
idtev é jeyKapion adevdns Kal THY dyTuxpus peya-
hauyiav @S émakorovdnpa | TNS peyadoupyias OUK
Epevye, 1AEta Tov 5é Tais mpakeoe TAavTals byKov
qepiTeette, Kai por Tots: tSovow avTov TOTE
Su@KovtTa Kal qaiovta Tous Todepious Tapa-
oThvat pndev opetreuv Karwva TO One TO-
courov, doov Kdrow tov Shpov, attév te
Mdmov rov tratov Oeppov dro THS viKns Ere
Jepye TepiTAAKEVTA TONY xXpovov damdater Oat
Kal Boav wi7r6 xapas, @S our' adv avros ov0 o
TULTAS SApos éLicdaese Tas aporBas Tats Ka-
TWVOS evepyeciaus. peta dé THY paxny evOus eis
'Popny emré pm ero TOV nryoved Weverv auTdyyenos-
Kal duéqAevoe ev eis Bpevtéo tov EVTUXOS, Me 8°
nuepa Sterkdoas éxeiDev eis Tdpavra Kal téo-
capas addrAas obevaas mewTTatos els 'Papyny
aro Garacons adixero Kal T PwTOS amr nryryetne
THY vinnv. Kal THY wey TOALY éverrAnaev evppo-
ouvns Kat Ovove, ppovnpatos dé Tov Sipov ws
Tacns ys Kal Bardo ors Kpateiv duvapevov.
XV. Tov peV ouv TONE MLD mpatewv Tov
Kdtwvos avrar axedov elouy EMO YLMOTAT AL
THS dé TmohiTeias paiverat TO Tept Tas KaTn-

yopias Kal Tous éheyXous Tey Tovnpav: poptov
ov puxpas akvov orovdijs 7 NYNT apEvos. avTOS TE
yap ediwfe Todnovs Kal Sudxovow ETEpOLS oUD-
nywvicato Kal tapecxevacevy 6Aws StwKovTas,
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slipped and ‘fell, still, they poured along through
the pass into these, crowding one another on in
their fear of the enemy’s deadly weapons, and so
destroyed themselves.
Cato, whp was ever rather generous, it would
seem, in his own: praises, and did not hesitate
to follow up his great achievements with boastings
equally great, is very pompous in his account of
this exploit. He says that those who saw him
at that time pursuing the enemy and hewing them
down, felt convinced that Cato owed less to Rome
than Rome to Cato; also that the consul Manius
himself, flushed with victory, threw his arms about
him, still flushed with his own victory, and embraced
him a long time, crying out for joy that neither he
himself nor the whole Roman people could fittingly
requite Cato for his benefactions. Immediately after
the battle he was sent to Rome as the messenger
of his.own triumphs. He had a fair passage to
Brundisium, crossed the peninsula from there to
Tarentum in a single day, travelled thence four
days more, and on the fifth day after landing reached
Rome, where he was the first to announce the
victory. He filled the city full of joy and sacrifices,
and the people with the proud feeling that it was
able to master every land and sea.
XV. These are perhaps the most remarkable features of Cato’s military career. In political life, he seems to have regarded the impeachment and conviction of malefactors as a department worthy of his most zealous efforts. For he brought many prosecutions himself, assisted others in bringing theirs, and even instigated some to begin prosecutions, as

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2 ws emt Lanriwva tors wept Weriidcov. TovTov
pev ovv am’ olxov Te peyadov Kal dpovnipatos

arn Owoi jwotnodpevov wire jwodas Tas dia Boras
fn) aTroKTEtvaL dur Gels apie Aevxtov dé tov
aderpov aitod peta TeV KaTNYyOpwr ove Tas
KaTaoiKy mepie Bane Xenwaroov TONY | Tpos TO
Snpoctov, iv ovx Exwv éxeivos anohvcacbat Kat
Kivduvevov SeOhvat mors émikAnoe. Tov §Sn-
papyov aden.
3 Aéyerac 5€ Kal veaviox til reOvnKotos
matpos €xOpov nripwxots Kal tropevouévm Sv'
dyopas peta thy Sixny dmavtnoas 0 Kdtoy
SeEvwoacAat Kal eimeiv, Ste ravdtTa ypn Tots
A > / > wv PN > « > 3
yovedot évayie, ovK apvas ovd épidous, arr
> "A 4 ' / 9 \ 9 Q3 > \
éyOpav Saxpua kai Katadixas. ov pny ovd autos
9 A / a bd a > > @ \
éy Th TodtTeLa Tepiny ab@os, aXN Orrov TLVa
AaBnv wapdoyoe Tois éyOpois, Kpivopevos Kal
4 xwwQuvevmv Sieréret. RéyeTas yap oAlyoy azroXL-
movaas Tay tevTynKkovta guyeiv Sixas, pilav 5é
A , 1 4 " \ 3 5 / fe.
Thy Terxevtatav! && &rn cal dydonxovta yeyovws
éy 7) Kal TO pwynpovevopmevoy eltrev, WS YaXreETrOV
€otiy év ddXos BeBtwxora avOpwrrors év adXots 345
atroNoyeicOar. Kal rovto wépas ovK errotncato
a" 9 , 4 > # ? a
TaYV ayovwv, Tesodpwv § adrAXdwv éviavtav Ser-
Oovtwy Lepoviov TdrABa xarnyopyncev évevyxovta
5 yeyovws érn. xuvduvever yap ws o Néotwp eis
1 rhv reAevralay Hercher and Blass with F*S : reAevrafap.
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for instance Petillius against Scipio. That great man,
however, trampled the accusations against him under
foot, as the splendour of his house and his own
inherent loftiness of spirit prompted him to do,
and Cato, unable to secure his capital conviction,
dropped the case. But he so co-operated with the
accusers of Lucius, Scipio's brother, as to have
him condemned to pay a large fine to the state.
This debt Lucius was unable to meet, and was
therefore liable to imprisonment. Indeed, it was
only at the intercession of the tribunes that he was
at last set free.

We are also told that a certain young man, who had got a verdict of civil outlawry against an enemy of his dead father, was passing through the forum on the conclusion of the case, and met Cato, who greeted him and said: “These are the sacrifices we must bring to the spirits of our parents; not lambs and kids, but the condemnations and tears of their enemies.” However, he himself did not go unscathed, but wherever in his political career he gave his enemies the slightest handle, he was all the while suffering prosecutions and running risk of condemnation. It is said that he was defendant in nearly fifty cases, and in the last one when he was eighty-six years of age. It was in the course of this that he uttered the memorable saying: “It is hard for one who has lived among men of one generation, to make his defence before those of another.” And even with this case he did not put an end to his forensic contests, but four years later, at the age of ninety, he impeached Servius Galba. Indeed, he may be said, like Nestor,

Tptyoviay te Biw Kal tais wpaEeot KaredOeiv.
Lentriove yap, os AéAEKTAL, TH peyddr@ TroAAG
Stepioduevos ev tH Toduteia Svérewvev eis Len-
miwva Tov véov, ds Hv éxeltvov KaTa ‘Troinow
viwvos, vies dé IlavAov tod Tlepcéa wat Maxe-
Sovas KatatroN\EeunoavTos.
XVI. Tis & trratreias Katomw érect Sdéxa
Tuunrelav o Kdtwv tmapyyyenre. xopudy Sé
tis dott Tins amaons 7 apyYn Kal TpoTOY TWA
THS qoAtTelas émritedelwots, AAANY TE TOAAHY
éfovoiav éyovca Kal tTHy mept Ta 70n Kal Tovs
Bious ékéracwy. obte yap yduov ove Tatdotrottay
Tivos otte Siartay ovTe oupmroctov @ovTo Seip
axpitov Kal dvekétractov, ws Exactos émiOupias
2 éyou Kal mpoatpécews, adeioOat. rorv dé padrdov
éy rovtous vouilovtes 7 Tais vraiOpous Kal moX-
tixais mpakeoe tTpoTrov avdpos evopacba, duraxa
kal cwdpoviatny Kat KoXaoTny Tov pndéva Kal’
noovas éxtpémecOar kai tapexBaivew tov ért-
@ ptov wal ouvndn Biov npodvro TOY KadOvpEvOY
Tatpikiov éva Kal tav Snpotikay eva. Tintas
d€ TovTous mpoonyopevor, éEouciay Eyovtas ade-
AéoOas pev larwov, éxBareitvy 5€ avyKANTOU Tov
3 akoAdaoT@s Biovvta Kal ataxtws. ovrtot &€ Kal
Ta TLnpaTAa TOV ovolt@y AawRdvorres éerrEecKo-
qouy, Kal Tais amroypadais Ta yévN Kal TAS TTo-
AuTetas «= uexpivov; §=aAdAasS TE peyddas Exes
Suvapers apyn.
Ato nal t@ Karove mpos thy trapayyeriav

to have been vigorous and active among three generations. For after many political struggles with Scipio the Great, as told above, he lived to be contemporary with Scipio the Younger, who was the Elder's grandson by adoption, and the son of that Paulus Aemilius who subdued Perseus and the Macedonians.!

XVI. Ten years after his consulship,? Cato stood for the censorship. This office towered, as it were, above every other civic honour, and was, in a way, the culmination of a political career. The variety of its powers was great, including that of examining into the lives and manners of the citizens. Its creators thought that no one should be left to his own devices and desires, without inspection and review, either in his marrying, or in the begetting of his children, or in the ordering of his daily life, or in the entertainment of his friends. Nay, rather, thinking that these things revealed a man's real 'character more than did his public and _ political career, they set men in office to watch, admonish, and chastise, that no one should turn aside _ to wantonness and forsake his native and customary mode of life. They chose to this office one of the so-called patricians, and one of the plebeians. These officers were called censors, and they had authority to degrade a knight, or to expel a senator who led an unbridled and disorderly life. They also revised the assessments of property, and arranged the citizens in lists according to their social and political classes. There were other great powers also con- nected with the office.

Therefore, when Cato stood for it, nearly all

1 In the battle of Pydna, 168 B.c. 2 184 B.C.

aTnvrncay évicTapEevot. GYESOV OL YvwpPLL@TAToOL
a A "A \
Kal TWpOTOL TOV TUYKANTLK@V. TOUS pev Yap
> , € Paw , / > ,
evrratpioas 0 POovos eAUTrEL, TaYTaTracLY olopév-
4 \ > / > a
ous wpotnnraxilecOat tiv evyéverav avOporrav
3 > 9 n > U bd A " \ \ ,
am' apyis adoEwv eis thy axpav Tiny Kal dvva-
9 4 e be @ \ 60
piv avaBiBalopévev, ot dé poxOnpa auverdotes
a A 4 4
avrots émiTndevpata Kal TOY TaTpioV exdLaiTnoLW

A fo) “A ,
Gav éhoBobvto thy avotynpiay tov avdpos,
/
atrapaitnrov év é€ovala nal yarerny écopevny.
510 cupdhpovncavtTes Kal wapackevacavTes éTTa
aA 4 ol
Katiyyov émt thy tTapayyediay avtiTddouvs TO
/ a A
Kdtau, Oeparrevovtas éXrriot ypnotais TO TAH-
€ \ : an \ N e \ ¥
Bos, as 8 paraxas Kai mpos Hdovav apyerBar
Seopevov. tovvavtiov 8 o Kdtev ovédepiav évo.-
\ bf / b > 9 a a
Sous émeixerav, aAX’ avTiKpus amrEeLA@Y TE TOIS
Tovnpots amo Tov Bnuwatos Kal Kexpayws peyadXou
a“ 4 \ 4 9s A 4,
caBappod ypyfev Thy trod, nEiov Tovs TroAXOUS,
3 A \ ‘ isd > \ N
él cwppovotet, pn Tov fdtoTov, GAAA TOV oho-
Spotatoyv aipetoba: Tov tatpa@v: TovTov dé avToY
3 A / rd / >
elvat kal tov tratpixiwy &va PrAdKKxov Ovadr-
NEptoy: per’ éxeivou yap olecOaz povou THY Tpudiy
/
Kal THY paraxiay @otep Bdpav Téuvwv Kal atro-
4 na A
Kaiwy Tpovpyouv Te Toijoew, TaV 8 aAAwY opav
4 wv “A / 4 \ na
Exaotov apéat caxas Bialopevoy, tt Tovs Karas
¥ , e > ov / = e > “a
aptovras dédatxev. ot Tw 6 apa péyas hy ws adnOas
la) id a
Kai peydrov a&tos Snpayayav o “Pwpatov dijmos,
@aote un PoPyOjnvat thy dvatacw Kal Tov SyKov
le) > / > \ e@ nw“ 3 , \
Tov avdpos, AAAA TovS Hdeis exEivous Kal pos

the best known and most influential men of the
senatorial party united to oppose him. The men
of noble parentage among them were moved by
jealousy, thinking that nobility of birth would be
trampled in the mire if men of ignoble origin forced
their way up to the summits of honour and power ;

while those who were conscious of base practices
and of a departure from ancestral customs, feared
the severity of the man, which was sure to be
harsh and inexorable in the exercise of power.
Therefore, after due consultation and preparation,
they put up in opposition to Cato seven candidates
for the office, who sought the favour of the multitude
with promises of mild conduct in office, supposing,
forsooth, that it wanted to be ruled with a lax
and indulgent hand. Cato, on the contrary, showed
no complaisance whatever, but plainly threatened
wrong-doers in his speeches, and loudly cried that
the city had need of a great purification. He
adjured the people, if they were wise, not to choose
the most agreeable physician, but the one who ~
was most in earnest. He himself, he said, was
such a physician, and so was Valerius Flaccus, of
the patricians. With him as colleague, and him
alone, he thought he could cut and sear to some
purpose the hydra-like luxury and effeminacy of
the time. As for the rest of the candidates, he
saw that they were all trying to force their way
into the office in order to administer it badly,
since they feared those who would administer it
well. And so truly great was the Roman people,
and so worthy of great leaders, that they did not
fear Cato’s rigour and haughty independence, but
rejected rather those agreeable candidates who,
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wn 4
yapw amravta tomoeay Soxovvtas aroppivvas
lo . ad
éréa bar pera ToD Kadravos Tov PrdxKKoy, domep
OUK aALTOUVTOS apxny, arn apyovtos bn Kat
WT pPOoTATTOVTOS GK POW [EVOS.
id A
XVII. Ipodypawe pev odv 0 Katwv tis ovy-
a N , 4 4
KXNTOU TOY cuvapxYovTa Kat girov Aeveov
A \ n wn
Ovarr€ptov PrAdxxov, eEéBare bé Tis Bovdrjrs
»” \ \ V4 of, C4

AXXOovVS TE TUXVOUS KAL Aeve.ov Koivtiov, t1ratov
n , A 3
pev eta Tporepov eviauTois yeyevnwévov, 0 S Hv
> A N 60 e , n 10 \ Ti
avt@ mpos do£ay viratetas petlov, adedgov ‘Titov
4 n 4 4
Prapwvivov tod KataTovNennoavtos Pidz77op.
aitiav dé ths éxBorHs oye ToravTHV. jetpaxtov
wn “ a i¢ ra
éx THS Tradikhs Wpas ETarpovv avethndas o Aev-
Ktos del Tept avTo elye KaL GUVETTIYETO OTPATN-
a a v YA \
you él tiuns Kal duvdpews Tocavtys, bony ovdels
a“ ra 4
elye TOY TpwTwWY Trap aUT@ dirtwv Kal oiKeiwr.
nA ,
eTVYKXaVE Lev OY HryoUmEvOS UTAaTLKHS érapyias’
éy 6€ cuptroci - Til TO pEetpaKLov, WaTrEp cL@len,
4
GuyKaTaKeipevoy GAAHV TE KONaKElaY Exiver POS
” @ 1 3 wy e OL b , \ x A
avOpwrov' év olvm padiws ayopevov, Kai pideiv
> \ ad wv. 6c a >’ 99 sy 4 6c , #
avutTov ovTws Edeyev “WoT, én, “Oéas ovons
4
oikot povoudywv ov Teeapévos mpdtcpov éEwp-
pnoa wpos oé, Kaitrep émiOvpav ideiv avOpwroy
odattouevov. o dé Aevxtos dvtidtroppovot-
3
pevos “’AXAA ToUTOV ye xapLY,” elmre, “ wr) pot
\
KATAaKELTO AUTTOUpEVOS, eyo yap idoopua..” Kal
nw J
Kedevoas éva Tov ert Oavdtw KaTaKpita@v eis TO
cuptoctoy ayOnvar Kal tov wmnpérny éxovta
1 pbs tvOpwrov Blass with FaSC : apds roy &vOpwror.
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it was believed, would do every thing to please
them, and elected Flaccus to the office along with
Cato.! To Cato they gave ear, not as to one soliciting
office, but as to one already in office and issuing his

decrees.
XVII. As censor, then, Cato made Lucius Valerius Flaccus, his colleague and friend, chief senator.*~~ He also expelled many members of the Senate, including Lucius Quintius. This man had _ been consul seven years before, and, a thing which gave' him more reputation than the consulship even, was brother of the Titus Flamininus who conquered King Philip.2~ The reason for his expulsion was the following: There was a youth who, ever since his boyhood, had been the favourite of Lucius. This youth Lucius kept ever about him, and took with him on his campaigns in greater honour and power than any one of his nearest friends and kinsmen had. He was once administering the affairs of his consular province, and at a certain banquet this youth, as was his wont, reclined at his side, and began to pay his flatteries to a man who, in his cups, was too easily led about. “I love you so much,” he said, “that once, when there was a gladiatorial show at home, a thing which I had never seen, I rushed away from it to join you, although my heart was set on seeing a man slaughtered.” “ Well, for that matter,” said Lucius, “don’t lie there with any grudge against me, for I will cure it.” Thereupon he commanded that one of the men who were lying under sentence of death be brought to the banquet, and_ that a lictor with an axe stand by his side. Then he
1 184 B.C. 2 At Cynoscephalae, 198 B.c.
33°
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

MTENEKUY TAPATTHVAL, TAN NpwTnTE TOV épwpeE-
vov, et BovreTat TuTTopevov Oedoacbar. dyoav-
tos 5é€ BovrgecOat, wpocétakey arroxoyat Tov
avOpwrov tov TpaxXnXov.
Oi pév ody TrEioTOL TADTA ioTopodat, Kal 6 YE
Kixépwv avtov tov Kdtewva dunyovmevov év re
mwept ynpws Siaroyw memotnxev, o Sé AiBtos
_avroponror eivai pyot Taddrnv tov avaipeBévra,
Tov 5é Aevncov ov Ou banpérou KTElval TOV aul pay
Tov, GAX avToy idia yept, Kal tadTa év doy@?
yeypapGat Karevos.
"Ex Brn Ievtos ov TOU Aevetou THS Bounris v UITo

TOU Kdrwwvos, o adehpos avrTov Bapéws pépeov emt
TOV _Sijpov Karepuye Kal THY aitiay éxéXevev
eltreity TOV Kdrwva tijs éxBonijs. elTOvTos be Kat
Senynoapévou TO ouptroc.ov emexetpet pev oO
Aevxzos apveia Aan, TPOKANOUPEVOU 6é tov Kadto-
vos eS Optapov avedveTo. Kal TOTE pev aka
madeiy kateyvoaOn: béas & ovtons év Oedtpe Thy
vTAaTLKNY xopay mapehbav Kal ToppwTarw qou
cabecGeis olxTov éo € Tapa TO OLD, cai“ Boav-
‘TEs NVayKacay avTov perenbeiy, @sS Hv Suvatov
éravopOovpevoe Kat Oepatrevovtes TO yeyern-
peévov.
"AdAov bé Bours €FéBarev ttratevcoer érridoEov
évta, Mavirnsov, Sti THY avTod yuvaixa EO pé-
pay opwons THs OuyaTpos Karepidnoey. aure 5
én THY yuvaixa pndérote nv Bpovtijs weyadns
yevouevns TeptThaxhvat, Kal pera Tatouas eltreiv
aUTOV ws waKxdpLos éoTt TOU Atos BpovravtTos.
1 év Adyp Hercher and Blass with F8SC: év rg Adyg.
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MARCUS CATO

asked his beloved if he wished to see the man
smitten. The youth said he did, and Lucius ordered
the man’s head to be cut off.
This is the version which most writers give of
the affair, and so Cicero has represented Cato himself
as telling the story in his dialogue “On Old Age.” !
But Livy? says the victim was a Gallic deserter,
and that Lucius did not have the man slain by
a lictor, but smote him with his own hand, and
that this is the version of the story in a speech
of Cato’s.)
On the expulsion of Lucius from the Senate
by Cato, his brother was greatly indignant, and
appealed to the people, urging that Cato state his
reasons for the expulsion. Cato did so, narrating
the incident of the banquet. Lucius attempted
to make denial, but when Cato challenged him
to a formal trial of the case with a wager.of money
upon it, he declined. Then the justice of his
punishment was recognized. But once when a
spectacle was given in the theatre, he passed along
by the senatorial seats, and took his place as far
away from them as he could. Then the people

took pity upon him and shouted till they had forced
him to change his seat, thus rectifying, as far as was
possible, and alleviating the situation.
Cato expelled another senator who was thought to have good prospects for the consulship, namely, Manilius, because he embraced his wife in open day before the eyes of his daughter. For his own part, he said, he never embraced his wife unless it thundered loudly; and it was a pleasantry of his to remark that he was a happy man when it thundered.

1 Cato Manor, 12, 42. 2 xxxix, 42.

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XVIII. "Hveyxe 5€ twa tro Kdrow xal
Aevx.os 6 Lentriwvos aderdos éridOovov aitiar,
\ > A > e > b) a) ‘ a
OptapBixds avnp adatpeels iar’ avdtov Tov imrov:
3 A /
Soke yap olov épuBpilwv “Adpicave Yenriov
el n \ /
TeOvnkoTL TOUTO Trothoat. Tovs Sé TAEioTOUS
lo a /
nviagé paXLCTAa TH WepixoTwh THs ToAVTEAELAS,
a v \ ’ / @ 4 “Py
Nv avtixpus pev aderéoOat, vevoonxotwv on
la e 9 > lol n ae) > A
kat StepOappévov wr’ adtis TOV TONY, adv-
vatov Hv, KvKrA@ O€ Tepriov nvdyKxalev éeaOijTOs,
OXNMATOS, KODpOV YyUVaLKEloV, TKEVoY THY Tecl
, ’
Siattay, @y éxaorou TO Tivnua Spaxypas yLdLas
‘ “A \
Kat tmevtaxocias uTepéBadAey, atrotipacbar Thy
A
akiay eis TO SexaTAdo.ov, BovrAdpEvos amo péL-
a bd
Covwv Tiunpdtwv avtots peiCovas Kal Tas eiogo-
pas elvat. Kal mpooetivnoe Tpeis YadKovs Tpos
Tois yxwAlows, Srrws Bapuvopevo. taisériBorais
Kal TOUS evoTaNeis Kal ALTOUS Op@VTES aTrO TOV

iowy éXdTTOva TEXNODVTAS Els TO SnudCLOV aTra-
yopevwolv. joav odv avT@ YadeTrol pév Ol TAs
etogopas Sia THY Tpudyy UTopévovtes, Yarerrol
5 = iA € \ \ 6 4 \
av wddwv ot Thy TpudHv atrotiOéuevor Sia
\ 9 , , \ > / e \
Tas elopopas. amovtou yap adatpeciv ov ToAXNOL
J A na
vouiloval Thy KeAVoLWW avToU Tis émidetEews,
émudeixvucBat S€ tols mepitTois, ov Tolls avay-
xaiow. & bn Kal padiota hace Tov didocodoy
b /
Apiorwva Oavpdlev, Ste Tovs Ta TEepLTTA Ke-
KTNMEVOVS pAadrOV HyovUvTaL paKapious 7) ToUS
TOV avayKkaiwy Kal ypnoipwv evTropovvTas. {Ko~
be e ® N 3 / \ “ 4
mas 6€ 0 WertaXros attoupevou Tivos TaV dirwv
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XVIII. Cato was rather bitterly censured for his treatment of Lucius, the brother of Scipio, whom, though he had achieyed the honour of a triumphy he expelled from the equestrian order. He was thought to have done this as an insult to the memory of Scipio Africanus. But he was most obnoxious to the majority of his enemies because he lopped off extravagance in living. This could not be done away with outright, since most of the people were already infected and corrupted by it, and so he ' took a roundabout way. He had all apparel, equipages, jewellery, furniture and plate, the value of which in any case exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas, assessed at ten times its worth, wishing by means of larger assessments to make the owners’ taxes also larger. Then he laid a tax of three on every thousand asses thus assessed, in order that such property holders, burdened by their charges, and seeing that people of equal wealth who led modest and simple lives paid less into the public treasury, might desist from their extravagance. As a result, both classes were incensed against him, both those who endured the taxes for the sake of their luxury, and those no less who put away their luxury because of the taxes. For most men think themselves robbed of their wealth if they are prevented from displaying it, and that display of it is made in the superfluities, not in the necessaries of life. This, we are told, is what most astonished Ariston the philosopher, namely, that those possessed of the superfluities of life should be counted happy, rather than those well provided with life’s necessary and useful things. Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked for something of his which

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Tap avrod TL TOLOUTOY, O pn opodpa ty Xpno ywov 347
exeive, Kal NéyovTos, @s oudev airtel TOV avary-
Kaiwy Kat xpnoipou “Kal pv éye rovrots,”
eltrev, “ evdaimov Kat mrovotds elt, Tois aXypn-
otTows Kal wepittois.” ovTws Oo Tob mhouTou
fiXos ovdevt waber puaixe TUVTLMEVOS €x THS
dyAwSoUS Kal Oupaiov b0kns émetaddLos eae.
XIX. Ou pny ara TOV eyxadovvTav eAdXota
ppovtivoy o Katov étt paidrov em ETELVED, aqro-
KOTTWY [LEV OXETOUS, ols To Twapappéov Snpootov
ddwp VrokapBavovres aT hyov evs oixias tdtas
Kal KNTOVS, avar péT ov dé Kal xataBddXov
dca m pouBa.ver els TO Snpoovov olxodounuara,
avaTtéArwy 6é Tots pra Bois Tas épyovaBias, Ta
5é TEAM Tais mpaceow émt Tas é éaxdras ehavver
TLLas. ag’ @Y avT@ TOD ouvnyn pioos. OL
dé qTepl TOV Titov cvoTayres er avrov éy TE
Th Bova} TAS yeyevnpuevas éxdocets kat pradacers
TOV iepav Kai Snpoctov Epyov éXucay as Ye-
yeypnuévas advaolted@s, Kal tov Snudpyev tovs
Opacutatous wapwkvvay év Sym mpooKanre-
cacOat tov Kdtwva Kat onmiaoar dvol Taddv-
TOUS. TOANG dé xal ampos THY THS Bains
KATA KEUHY nvavreadnaay, ny éxeivos éx Xena
Tov Kolv@v wUTd TO BovArEUTHpLoOy TH ayopg
mapeBane cat Tlopxia BaciiKn T poanyopevOn.)
Paiverar 6é Bavpacras amrodeEdpevos avroo
THY TUM T ELLY 0 Ojpos. dyOpidvra youv avabels
éy T@ vam Ths “Tryselas érréypayev ov Tas
1 Topxia BaciAtkh mpoonyupevon Sintenis with the better
’ MSS., and now S. Cf. Livy 39, 44. Mopklay Baotrcwhy
xpoonydpevoev Bekker (and called).
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was of no great service to him, with the remark —
that he asked for nothing that was necessary and
useful, replied: “ And yet my wealth and happiness
are based on just such useless and superfluous
things.”” Thus the desire for wealth is no natural
adjunct of the soul, but is imposed upon it by the
false opinions of the outside world.
XIX. However, Cato paid not the slightest heed
to his accusers, but grew still more strict. He

cut off the pipes by which people conveyed part of the public water supply into their private houses and gardens ; he upset and demolished all buildings that enroached on public land; he reduced the cost of public works to the lowest, and forced the rent of public lands to the highest possible figure. All these thing brought much odium upon him. Titus Flamininus headed a party against him which induced the Senate to annul as useless the outlays and payments which he had authorised for temples and public works, and incited the boldest of the tribunes to call him to account before the people and fine him two talents. The Senate also strongly opposed the erection of the basilica which he built at the public cost below the council-house in the Forum, and which was called the Basilica Porcia.

Still, it appears that the people approved of his censorship to an amazing extent. At any rate, after erecting a statue to his honour in the temple of Health, they commemorated in the inscription

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oTpaTayias ovdé Tov OpiapBov Tob Katwvos,
arr’, ws av Tis petappacece THY erreypany,
“Or THY ‘Popaiwy ToNuTelay eye ypevny
kal pérovoay éml ro xelpov TiunTns YEVOPEVOS
Ypnotais aryaryais Kal aadpoow eOtc pois Kai
didacxahiaus els opGov atOus dmokaTéaTnae.
KaiTOL TpOTEpoY avTos KaTEyéXa TOV ayaTe@VYTOY
Ta TolavTa, Kal rAavOavev auTous EXevyev és)
XarKEwy Kal Swrypapov épryous peya ppovodvras,
autud de KadMaTas elxovas év Tais yuyais
Tepe épey Tovs qoAtTas: mpos bé€ tols Oaupd-
Covras, ort TOO adoEwy avdpidvras eXovTwv
EXELVOS OUK EyeEL “ MaAdov yap, " &n, . pone
CnteicOar, Sta ti prov avdptas ov KelT ae 7
Tb keitau’” To 8 Gdov obs eTraLLvovpLEevov h Elou
TOV aryalov Todt AY Umropevecy, El {Ln TOUTO X~PN-
oipos ryivotro TO Kole.
Kaitou! rela Ta mdvrov éautov eyKexm planer,
és ye Kal Tous dpaptdvovtds Tl Tept TOV Biov,
eit’ éhery xopevous eye ono, as OvK aEuov
eynanely avTots: ov 7p Kdraves elou Kat TOUS

évia ppeio Bac TOV UT avTovd TpaTTopévav ovK
EUMER@S emixeipoovTas emapisTepous xaneic bas
Karavas: apopay dé Thv BovaAny pos avrov év
Tois émiahadeotdTols Kalpojs waomrep ev TAO
pos xuBepyyray, Kal qodXAdKLS fL TApOVTOS
bmeptiOeaOar Ta Trelarns aa onovdis. & bn
mapa TOV GAN@Y auT@ paptupeirac péeya yap
éaxev év TH monet Kat &ta Tov Biov Kal da Tov
Noyov Kai 51a TO yHpas afiopa.
XX. Téyove 6€ kal watnp ayabos Kai Tepi

1 «alto: conjecture of Blass : al,

upon it, not the military commands nor the triumph of Cato, but, as the inscription may be translated, the fact " that when the Roman state was tottering to its fall, he was made censor, and by helpful guidance, wise restraints, and sound teachings, restored it again." And yet, before this time he used to laugh at those who delighted in such honours, saying that, although they knew it not, their pride was based simply on the work of statuaries and painters, whereas his own images, of the most exquisite workmanship, were borne about in the hearts of his fellow citizens. And to those who expressed their amazement that many men of no fame had statues, while he had none, he used to say: "I would much rather have men ask why I have no statue, than why I have one." In short, he thought a good citizen should not even allow himself to be praised, unless such praise was beneficial to the commonwealth.

And yet of all men he has heaped most praises "upon himself. He tells us that men of self-indulgent lives, when rebuked for it, used to say: " We ought not to be blamed; we are no Catos.'"' Also that those who imitated some of his practices and did _ it clumsily, were called "left-handed Catos." Also that the Senate looked to him in the most dangerous crises as seafarers to their helmsman, and often, if he was not present, postponed its most serious

business. These boasts of his are confirmed, it
is true, by other witnesses, for he had great authority
in the city, alike for his life, his eloquence, and
his age.
XX. He was also a good father, .a considerate

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yuvaika xpnotos avnp Kal ypnyatiotns ovK
evxatagppovntos ovS as TL pixpoy 4 hadrov év
Tapéepy@ peTuyerpioapevos THY ToLavTHY émt-
pérecav. GOev olowar Setv nal epi tovTwv dca
Karas Ever duehOeiyy = yuvaixa pev evyeverrépav
) WArovovwtépay eynpev, Hryovpevos opmoiws pep
aupotépas éxery Bdpos Kal dpovnua, tas Se
yevvaias aidoupévas Ta aiaxpa padXOV virnKoous
elvat mpos TA KaAa TOis yeyapnKdar. Tov Oé
TUTTOVTA YAMETHY 1) Tada ToIs dyLw@TaTols EXNeyev
lepots mpoopépey tas yeipas. ev érraivm Se
peibov. TiVecOar TO yapéerny ayadov h TO pméyay
elvat ouyxAntiKov' érel cal Ywxpatovs ovdev
GXo0 Oavpalerv tod taraod TAH STL yuvatKt
NareTH Kal mato arom iKToLW ypwpevos ére-
exas Kal mpaws drerérece. © yevouévou 88 Tov
Tatoos ovdeyv Hv Epyov otTws avayxailov, Ee wy TL
Snpoctov, @S yy Tapelvar TH yuvatKl Novotan TO
Bpépos Kai omapyavotcn. avtn yap étpedev
idiw ydXaxte TwoAAdKis Sé cal Ta Tov Sod
jTatoapia TO pacT@ T pOo te Lev Kateaxevatey
evvotay €x THS TUYTpodias Tpos TOV Viov. érrel
dé np~ato ouviévar, TaparaPov avros édidacxe
ypap para, KaiTot Xa,pievta, SodXov cixe ypappa-
tTioTnvy svona Xirwva, wodrdpovs did0doKovtTa
maidas. ovx nkiov 8 Tov vidv, a dyatv avtés,
uo SovAOU KAaKO@S aKoveWW TOU wWTOS avaTet-
verOar pavOdvovta Bpddiov, ovdé ye paOnparos
TnMLKOUTOV TH SovAW Yapiy Gdheiretv, AAN
aUTOS péev Hv ypaypatiatys, autos Se vomody-
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husband, and a household manager of no mean talent, nor did he give only a fitful attention to this, as a matter of little or no importance: Therefore I think I ought to give suitable instances of his conduct in these relations. He married a wife who was of gentler birth than she was rich, thinking that, although the rich and the high-born may be alike given to pride, still, women of high birth have such a horror of what is disgraceful that they are more obedient to their husbands in all that is honourahle. He used to say that the man who struck his wife or child, laid violent hands on the holiest of holy things. Also that he thought it more praiseworthy to be a good husband than a great senator, nay, there was nothing else to admire in Socrates of old except that he was always kind and gentle in his intercourse with a shrewish wife and stupid sons. After the birth of his son, no business could be so urgent, unless it had a public character, as to prevent him from _ being present when his wife bathed and swaddled the babe. For the mother nursed it herself, and often gave suck also to the infants of her slaves, that so they might come to cherish a brotherly affection for her son. As soon as the boy showed signs of understanding, his father took him under his own charge and taught him to read, although he had an accomplished slave, Chilo by name, who was a school-teacher, and taught many boys. Still, Cato thought it not right, as he tells us himself, that his son should be scolded by a slave, or have his ears tweaked when he was slow to learn, still less that he should be indebted to his slave for such a priceless thing as education. He was therefore

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4 > A \ 4 9 / 3 ,
duxtns, autos 5€ yusvacTns, ov povoy dxovTiley
sao ¢ A »>OQod ¢ 4 4 A «7
od’ oTAopayely ovd’ immevery SiddoKev Tov vior,
» N (ol A , A “A
Gra Kal TH yYelpl WE traiew Kai xadpa kal
yiyos avéyerOar cal ta divwdn Kal tpaxydvovta
Tov TroTamov dravnxYopevoy aToBiualecOar. Kai Tas
¢ / 4 \ > AN IN 7
iatopias 5é auyypdyrat gdnoiv avdtos idia yeepl
wal peyaros ypaupacw, Orrws olxoev UTrapyot
T® wad pos éutretpiav TOV TaXaLov Kal TaTpi-
’ a 9 > “A e 4 >

wv wpercicbar: ta 8 aloypa TOY pnudTwY ovx
Hrrov evrAaBeiobar rod tmaidos mapovtos 7 Tov
lepwv tapBéver, ds ‘Eotiddas xadodot svddov-
cacOar dé pndérote. xal tovto Kxowwov ore
e , £0 9 \ mY @ i a1

Pwpaiwrv e6os eivar: Kal yap trevOepol yauBpois
’ , 4 4 A
epurAutrovreo audrdoverOar, Svawrovpmevor THY
amoxdduyy Kal yopywow. elta pévTot wap
"KAAnVeY TO yupvovoba pabortes, avTOL mwadLV
Tov Kal pera YUVALK@Y TODTO Tpacoely avaTrenAN-
kao Tous” EXAnvas.
Odtw dé xarov epyov eis aperny to Katou
mAaTTOVTE Kal Snuvoupyobyre Tov vioV, érel Ta
a ,
Ths mpoOupias Av aueutrtra nal & evdvlav
imrnkovey 7 ux, To O€ copa paraxadTepov
épaiveTo Tov Tovey, VIraviKev aVT@ TO TUVTOVOV
“ ¢
dyav Kal Kexoracpévov THs Staitys. o Sé, Kaimrep
ovUTWs Exwr, avnp ayabos Rv ev Tais otpateias,
kat THY pos Lepoéa paxnv jywvicato AapTpas
4 fe ce)
IlavAov otparnyoivros. eita pévtoe Tov Eidous
exxpovabevtos vmro TAnyis 7) 8. UypoTnTa THS
1 wevBepol yauBpots Hercher and Blass, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis : wev@epots yauBpol, .
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himself not only the boy’s reading-teacher, but his tutor in law, and his athletic trainer, and he taught his son not merely to hurl the javelin and fight in armour and ride the horse,.but also to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim lustily through the eddies and billows of the Tiber. His History of Rome, as he tells us himself, he wrote . out with his own hand and in large characters, that his son might have in his own home an aid to acquaintance with his country’s ancient traditions. He declares that his son’s presence put him on his guard against indecencies of speech as much as that of the so-called Vestal Virgins, and that he never bathed with him. This, indeed, would seem to have been a general custom with the Romans, for even fathers-in-law avoided bathing with their sons-in-law, because they were ashamed to uncover their nakedness. Afterwards, however, when they had learned from the Greeks their freedom in going naked, they in their turn infected the Greeks with the practice even when women were present. So Cato wrought at the fair task of moulding and fashioning his son to virtue, finding his zeal blameless, and his spirit answering to his good natural parts. But since his body was rather too delicate to endure much hardship, he relaxed some- what in his favour the excessive rigidity and austerity of his own mode of life. But his son, although thus delicate, made a sturdy soldier, and fought brilliantly under Paulus Aemilius in the battle against Perseus.!. On that occasion his sword either was smitten from his hand or slipped frum his

} Pydna, 168 B.c.
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xeipos eEodcPovtos axOecbels tpéretas mMpos
Tivas tav auvvnibev, cal waparaBov éxelvous
avddis eis Tovs modeuious evéBare. Trordr@ 8
ayave cal Bia peyddrn Stabwricas tov Torrey
aveipe poyis év ToAdois oayuacw Srrwv Kal
owuact vexpav opod didrwv Te Kal TrodvEeuloy
KaTaceowpevpévov. ep @ Kal Tladdos 0 otpa-
Tnyos HyadaOn TO pepaxtov, Kal Kdtwvos avtov
dépetal tis emisToAN Mpos Tov viovy Umepduas
ératvouvTos tTHy wept TO Eihos Pidoripiayv avtod
Kai omuvony. vaTtepov dé xai LlavAov Ouyarépa
Teptiav éynpev o veavias, aderdny Lenriwvos,
ovy ATTov Hn Se avrov fH Tov TaTépa KaTAapeyvu-
pevos eis yévos THALKOUTOY. 7 pev ovV TrEpt TOV
viov éripércca Tov Katwvos &Evov éxyev TéXas.
XXI. Olxéras 5é moddovs extat0, TaY aix-
HareTwv wvovpevos pddoTa TOUS pLKpo’s Kal
Suvapévous ete tpopny Kxai taidevow @s oKv-
Aaxas h mwXous éveyxeitv. TovTwy ovdels eioHnA-
Bev eis oixiay érépav, ef py wéurpavros avtod
Karavos 4 tis yuvatcos. o 8 éepwrnbeis, ri
ampatto. Kdtwv, ovdev amexpiveto TANV aryvoety.
Gdec O€ 4 mpattey Te TOY dvayKaiwy olKxot Tov
Sovrov) xadevdev: nal opodpa Tots xotpwpévoes
o Kdtwy éyaipe, mpgotépous Te TaY éypyyopoTwy
ropicwv Kal pos otvody BeXTiovas ypnocOar Tav
Seouévwy Urvov Tos atroAeAauKoTas. olopeVvos
5é ra péytota padvoupyeiy adpodiciwy évexa rovs
dovrAous eEtakev @piopévou vopicpatos opsreiy
tats Oeparrarviory, érépa S€ yuvaixl pndéva. wr7-
ovale.
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moist grasp. Distressed at this mishap, he turned to some of his companions for aid, and supported by them rushed again into the thick of the enemy. After a long and furious struggle, he succeeded in clearing the place, and found the sword at last among the many heaps of arms and dead _ bodies where friends and foes alike lay piled upon one another. Paulus, his commander, admired the young man’s exploit, and there is still extant a letter written by Cato himself to his son, in which he heaps extravagant praise upon him for this honourable Zeal in recovering his sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, a daughter of Paulus and a sister of the younger Scipio, and his admission into such a family was due no less to himself

than to his father. Thus Cato’s careful attention to the education of his son bore worthy fruit.

XXI. He owned many domestics, and usually bought those prisoners of war who were young and still capable of being reared and_ trained like whelps or colts. Not one of his slaves ever entered another man’s house unless sent thither by Cato or his wife, and when such an one was asked what Cato was doing, he always answered that he did not know. A slave of his was expected either to be busy about the house, or to be asleep, and he was very partial to the sleepy ones. He thought ' these gentler than the wakeful ones, and that those who had enjoyed the gift of sleep were better for any kind of service than those who lacked it. In the belief that his slaves were led into most mischief by their sexual passions, he stipulated that the males should consort with the females at a fixed price, but should never approach any other woman.

ae

3 ‘Ey apxf pev ody ere mévns av cal oTpatevo-
HEvOs T POs ovodeyv EOUVTKOAaLVE TOV mept diavray,
arr aiayloTov arrépawve bua yaorépa T pos
otKéTny Cuyouayey. Darepov b¢ TOV Tparywarov
émdib0v Tov TOLOUJLEVOS eoridaers prov Kal
cuvapxXovT@y éxodater evd0s pera TO Seirvov
ipadvre TOUS dpedéa:repov Urroupyna av7as oT/00p 7
4 oxevdoavTas. ael 6é TWA oTdoLW EXELD Tovs dov-
ous eunXavaro Kat Sia opav TOS adAnrous,
ibe het THY omovotav avTayv Kal Sedocws. Tovs
& d&sov eipydoOar re Oavdrou dSokavtes édixaiou
xpiOévras év Tots oixétats Taow arodynoxeap,
EL Katayvoa bien.
5 ‘Amropevos dé TUYTOVUTEPOV Topia pow THY

pe yewpytav paXXdOv iryetto Saryoyny n ™poa-

odov, eis 8 aahanh mpaypara, kat BéBaa

KataTeBépevos Tas ddhopmas é€xTato ALuvas, beara

Oepud, TOTOUS xvadevoty ayetpeévous, épya.

Tico, x@pav? Exoucay avropuels vouas Kat

Dras, ag’ Ov auT@ Xprpara T pone TOAAG nd

v6 TOU Atos, as Pnow avros, BraBfvar duva-

6 péverv. expiaato dé «al TO SiaBeBAnperep
pdduora, TOY Saveouan € €ml vauTeKxois TOV TpoTrov
TovTov. éxéXeve TOUS SaverSouevous eri Kowevig
TOANOUS Tapaxanely, yevopevev be TevTHKOVTA
kal tAolwy TocovTwY avTos elxe piav pepida dia
Kovivtiwvos dsrehevdépov Tois yaar fra oUp-
TPAryWATEVOMEVOY Kab TULTAEOVTOS. jv & ovv
ovK eis dtrav 0 xivduvos, adr' eis Hépos petx pov
7 émt xépdect peydros. édidov é xai tTav oixeTav

1 Ipya alooia, xépav Blass with S: épyarnolay xépay, pro-
ductive land.
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At the outset, when he was. still poor and in military service, he found no fault at all with what was served up to him, declaring that it was shameful for a man to quarrel with a domestic over food and drink. But afterwards, when his circumstances were improved and he used to entertain his friends and colleagues at table, no sooner was the dinner over than he would flog those slaves who had been remiss at all in preparing or serving it. He was always contriving that his slaves should have feuds and dissensions among themselves ; harmony among them made him suspicious and fearful of them. He had those who were suspected of some capital offence brought to trial before all their fellow servants, and, if convicted, put to death.

However, as he applied himself more strenuously to money-getting, he came to regard agriculture as more entertaining than profitable, and invested his capital in business that was safe and sure. He bought ponds, hot springs, districts given over to -fullers, pitch factories, land with natural pasture and forest, all of which brought him in large profits, and "could not," to use his own phrase, " be ruined by Jupiter." He used to loan money also in the most disreputable of all ways, namely, on ships, and his method was as follows. He required his borrowers to form a large company, and when there were fifty partners and as many ships for his security, he took one share in the company himself, and was represented by Quintio, a freedman of his, who accompanied his clients in all their ventures. In this way his entire security was not imperilled, but only a small part of it, and his profits were large.

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"A ' 3 4 e > 3 lel
tots PBovropévots apytptov. ot 8 éwvodvTo
na 9 4 ? / 4
jwaioas, era tovTous adoxnaaytes Kab diddEartes

b) 4, A ,) > \ b) ,
avaropact tod Katrwvos pet’ éviavroyv aredi-
\ \ \ a Cowes ef
SovTo. wroAXovs b€ Kal KATELYEV O Kator, bony
€ / \ 9 a 4 e a
o wrelaTny Sid0vs éwvetto Tiny UTroNoyLCOpmevos.
ampotpémay dé roy viov él tadtad dyno ovK
> / > \ / N 9 \ A ,
avdpos, AAAG YXNpas yuvatKos Elvat TO pELdoai TE
Tov wrapyovterv. éxeivo 8 dn oodpotepov
A 4, ed ‘ Ww a
tov Kdrwyvos, dts Oavyactov avipa Kal Geto
> A > f \ 4 a ? / 4
elmety érodpnoe pos So€av, ds arroNetTret WAEOV
> a , aA 4 ka ,
év Tois NOYyots 5 mpocéOnKev ob mapéAaBev.
XXII. "Hén 6€ adtod yépovtos yeyovoros
mpéaBers “AOnvndev ArOov cis “Pwuny ot tepi
Kapvedinv tov ‘'Axadnpaixoy xal Asoyévn tov
Lrwixoy Pirocogoyv, xatadikny tia twapa:tnao-
pevo. too Syyov trav *AOnvaiwrv, iv épnunv
aprov ‘Opwriwy pev SiwEdvrov, Lixvaviorv Sé
Katayndicapévov, Tivnua TadravTwyv tevtTa-
/ ” > 4 ® e ,
Kociwy éyovoav. evOds ody of didoroywraTot
TeV veavicxwy érl tous dvdpas tevto, Kal cvvi-
cav axpowpevor cal Oavudlovtes aytovs. pa-
bd e 4 A K @ , ,
Mota & 1 Kapvedadouv yapis, hs Svvapis Te
, ‘ U aA 7 b 9 /
wreiatn Kat Sofa THs Suvapews ovK atrodéovaa,
lA 9 4 ‘ 4 9
peyarov emiiaBopéevn cat diravOpwrwv axpoa-
THpiwy ws veda THY TOALW HyHS evéTANCE.
\ / a“ € > A a 3 ”
kai Noyos KaTEeiver, ws avnp “EXXnv eis ExrrAHEcy
vreppuns wavTa Knrov Kal Yelpovpevos Epwra
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He used to lend money also to those of his slaves who wished it, and they would buy boys with it, and after training and teaching them for a year, at Cato’s expense, would sell them again. Many of these boys Cato would retain for himself, reckoning to the credit of the slave the highest price bid for his boy. He tried to incite his son also to such economies, by saying that it was not the part of a man, but of a widow

woman, to lessen his substance. But that surely was too vehement a speech of Cato's, when he went so far as to say that a man was to be admired and glorified like a god if the final inventory of his property showed that he had added to it more than he had inherited.

XXII. When he was now well on in_ years, there came as ambassadors from Athens to Rome,} Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic philosopher, to beg the reversal of a certain decision against the Athenian people, which imposed upon them a fine of five hundred talents. The people of Oropus had brought the suit, the Athenians had let the case go by default, and the Sicyonians had pronounced judgment against them. Upon the arrival of these philosophers, the most studious of the city's youth hastened to wait upon them, and became their devoted and admiring listeners. The charm of Carneades especially, which had boundless power, and a fame not inferior to its power, won large and sympathetic audiences, and filled the city, like a rushing mighty wind, with the noise of his praises. Report spread. far and wide that a Greek of amazing talent, who disarmed all opposition by the magic of his eloquence, had infused a tremen-

1 155 B.c.

Sevov éuBéSrnxe Tots véots, Vf' oF TOY ArAdOV
noovayv Kat diatpiBav éxmecovtes évOovoimor
Tept dirocohpiav. Tada Tois pév Gras HpecKe
'Pwpaiots yivoueva, cal Ta perpdxia traidetas
"EAAnviKAs perarapBdaveyvta cal cuvovta bavpa-
Copévors avdpdow déws éewpwv' o 5é Katov
é& apxiis te Tod SnrXov TaV Adyar Tapappeovros
eis THY TOALY HYOETO PoBovpevos, wn TO ptido-
Tusov évrad0a tpéravtes of véot THY ETL TO
Aéyery Sokav ayarnowot padrdXrov THS ato TOV
Epywv Kal THY oTpaTeL@y, érrel Sé mpovRaivev
n Sofa tav dtroccpav év. TH TWOAEL Kal TOvS
TPWTOUS AOYOUS AUT@V Tpos THY GUYKANTOV GV1)
émiupavns oamovddcas avtTos nal SenBels npyn-
vevoe, dios "Axirtos, éyym pet evmperreias
amodioTropnmncacbat Tovs pirocopous amavtas
€x THS ToAEwS. Kal TapeNOov eis THY TUYKAN-
Tov é€uéuaparo tols adpyovow, Ste mpecReva
xkdOnrat ToAvY ypovoyv atrpaKxtos avdpav, ot Tepi
mavTos ov BovrowrTo padiws reiPew Svvavtac:
Seiy ody Thy TaxloTHY yvavai Tt Kal YndicacBat
mept THS mperBeias, Grrws ovTOL pev emi Tas
axoras Tparropevo. Staréywvtar mato 'EX-
Anvev, of dé "Pwpaiwy véot TOV vopwv Kal TaV

apKovTwy ws TpoTépoy axovwat. '
XXIII. Taira & ovy, ws Got vopifovar,
Kapveddn duoyepavas empakev, ddr bdws pedo-
copia mpookexpovxas xal wacav ‘EXXAnviKny
podaoay Kal ns Sia bo tdoTiuias mpoTnAaxi-
Cov, bs ye eal Ywxpatn dnol Adrov Kal Blavov
rYEVOJLEVOV emuyerpeiy, @ tpoT@ Suvaros Tv, Tupav-
vety THS waTploos, KaTaXVoYTa Ta €On Kal pos
37°

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dous passion into the youth of the city, in conse- quence of which they forsook their other pleasures and pursuits and were “ possessed ”’ about philosophy. The other Romans were pleased at this, and glad to see their young men lay hold of Greek culture and consort with such admirable men. But Cato, at the very outset, when this zeal for discussion came pouring into the city, was distressed, fearing lest the young men, by giving this direction to their ambition, should come to love a reputation based on mere: words more than one achieved by martial deeds. And when the fame of the visiting philoso- phers rose yet higher in the city, and their first speeches before the Senate were interpreted, at his own instance and request, by so conspicuous a man as Gaius Acilius, Cato determined, on some decent pretext or other, to rid and purge the city of ~ them all. So he rose in the Senate and censured v the magistrates for keeping in such long suspense an embassy composed of men who could easily secure anything they wished, so persuasive were they. “ We ought,” he said, “to make up our minds one way or another, and vote on what the embassy proposes, in order that these men may return to their schools and lecture to the sons of Greece, while the youth of Rome give ear to their laws and magistrates, as heretofore.”

XXIII. This he did, not, as some think, out of personal hostility to Carneades, but because he was wholly averse to philosophy, and made mock of all Greek culture and training, out of patriotic zeal. He says, for instance, that Socrates was a mighty prattler, who attempted, as best he could, to be his country’s tyrant, by abolishing its customs,

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B B 2 >
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évavtias Tois vopots S0éas éAXxovra Kal peOrotavra
Tous qwoAditas. hv © "laoxpdtovs diatpiBny
émickwrtoy ynpav not tap avT@ Tovs pabnras
as év “Aidov rapa Mivg ypnoopévouvs rais
Téxvats Kal Sixas épodvtas. tov Sé traida d.a-
BdddXwv mpos ta “EXAnviKa hava Kxéxpnrac
Opacurépa tod ynpws, olov amobeoTilwv Kai
TpPOMaVvTEvov, WS aTroNOVGL Pwpato Ta TPaypLaTa

Ypappdroy “EAA quicay avarAnabevres. adrXra
TAUTNVY ev avrob THY Svodnpiav 0 ‘Xpovos
amrodeixvuct KEV, év @ Tots Te Tpaypact
) TONS npOn peyiarn Kad 7 pos ‘EXdnvind pabn-
para Kat masdela & amacav eaxev oixelws.
‘O & ov povov anny Gdvero Tois: pdocogovat
‘EXdqvev, andra Kal TOUS lat pevovtas év ‘Poeun
by’ browias eixe. Kal Tov _Inmoxpdtous, ws
GouKeVv, AKNKOWS ROYo?, ov elre TOU jmeyddou
Bacthéws xahobvros avroy éml qoAXois TLot
TANGYTOLS, ouK av Tote _BapBapors ‘EXAqvev
Torepiots éauTov mapaayeiy, EXeye KOLVOV GpKov
elvat ToDTOV tar pay amrrdvTer, Kal TapexeeveTo
purdrrecbat TO mavdl mayras: auT@ dé yey pay-
pévov Uropynua elvat, xal mpos Todo Jeparrevery
Kat Stattav tovs vocobvras oiKot, vijorev pev
oudétroTe Scatnpav ovdéva, TpEpav 5é Aaxavors i]
capxidious ynoons 7 pdcons 4 Naya Kal yap
TOUTO _Koupov elva Kal ™ poo popov aadevoriar,
wANY ore TONG oupBaiver trois hayodaty é évuTrvid-
Feadat- ToLaUTy de Oeparreia Kal Siairn xpe-
HEVOS _byvatvery pev abrés, ixytatvovtas 88 Tovs
éavtov dvahuratrey. .
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and by enticing his fellow citizens into opinions
contrary to the laws. He made fun of the school
of Isocrates, declaring that his pupils kept on
studying with him till they were old men, as if
they were to practise their arts and plead their
cases before Minos in Hades. And seeking to
prejudice his son against Greek culture, he indulges
in an utterance all too rash for his years, declaring,
in the tone of a prophet or a seer, that Rome
would lose her empire when she had become infected
with Greek letters. But time has certainly shown
the emptiness of this ill-boding speech of his, for
_ while the city was at the zenith of its empire,
she made every form of Greek learning and culture
her own.
It was not only Greek philosophers that he hated,
but he was also suspicious of Greeks who practised
medicine at Rome. He had heard, it would seem,

of Hippocrates' reply when the Great King of Persia consulted him, with the promise of a fee of many talents, namely, that he would never put his skill at the service of Barbarians, who were enemies of Greece. He said all Greek physicians had taken a similar oath, and urged his son to beware of them all. He himself, he said, had written a book of recipes, which he followed in the treatment and regimen of any who were sick in his family. He never required his patients to fast, but fed them on greens, or bits of duck, pigeon, or hare. Such a diet, he said, was light and good for sick people, except that it 'often causes dreams. By following such treatment and regimen he said he had good health himself, and kept his eee in good health. |
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XXIV. Kal crepi ye totro paivetas yeyoves ovK
avepéontos' Kal yap thy yuvaixa Kal Tov viov
' / > \ \ A , \ b /
amréBanrev. avtos b¢ T@ copatt mpos evekiav Kal
popunv dodaras twemrnyas él mreicTov avtetyer,
@oTe Kal yuvatcl mperBurns dv apodpa wAnotd-
Cerv Kal yhuat ydpov ov Kad" Hruciay ex TovavTns
mpopdcews. amroBadwv TrHv yuvaixa TO pev vi@
TlavAou Ouyarépa, Zanriovos dé adeApiy 7 nryaryero
Mpos yapov, avTos 5é yXnpevwv éeyphto tardtoKy
Kpupa porrwon ™pos avrov. wv ovv év oixia
poxpa vopepny exovon TOU IWpdypLaTos aicOnots:
Kal Tore TOU yuvaiouv Opacvrepov trapacoBhjoae
mapa TO dSwudtiov Sofavtos o veavias elie pev
+Q/ b] / . , \
ovdév, éuBrepas 5é ras wixpotepov Kal Satparrels
oun éabe Tov rperBuTny. ws ody &yvw TO Tpaypa
Svoyepavopevov br' adtav, ovdev éyxarécas ovdé
4, >? 4 LA 27
peurdapevos, adda xataBaivwv, @aorep etolet,
\ , > b A 4 a e
peta dirwy eis dyopav Yarwviov twa tov bT0-
yeypauparevKoTwoy avT@ tapovta Kal cupumpo-
TwéuTovTa peyaryn pwovn Tpocayopevaas npwrnaer,
ef To Quydrpiov acuvnppoxe vupdig. tod &

b 4 / e Q\ \ “
avOpw@rov djnoavtos, ws ovde wéArEL) TpPOTEpoV
éxeivy Kotvwcdpevos “ Kal pny éyw aot,” dnaty,
ce eo” PS) A 9 15 9 N ‘ Ad a
‘etpnxa Knoeotny éemitndevov, et pn vn Aia +
Ths Hrucias Svoyvepaivoito: TaANa yap ov pep-
, ? / } de / ” e * e
mTOS é€oTlt, apodpa dé mpecBuTns. ws ov o
Larovios exéreve tadra dpovrivew Kai Sdovat
THY KOpnY @ Wpoapeitar, merdTwW ovoav avTov
xa Seouevnv ris éexeivov xndeuovias, ovdeuiay 6
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XXIV. Such presumption on his,part seems not to have gone unpunished, for he lost his wife and his son. He himself was well confirmed in bodily health and vigour, and long withstood the assaults of age. Even when an old man he was prone to indulge his sexual appetite, and at last married a _ wife when he was long past the marrying age. This was the way it came about. After the death of his wife, he married his son to the daughter of Aemilius Paulus, the sister of Scipio, but he himself, in his widowhood, took solace with a slave girl who secretly visited his bed. Of: course, in a small house with a young married woman in it, the matter was discovered, and once, when the girl seemed to flaunt her way rather too boldly to his chamber, the old man could not help noticing that his son, although he said nothing, looked very sour, and turned away. Perceiving that the thing displeased his children, Cato did not upbraid or blame them at all, but as he was going down in his usual way to the forum with his clients, called out with a loud voice to a certain Salonius, who had been. one of his under-secretaries, and was now in his train, asking him if he had found a good husband for his young daughter. The man said he had not, and would not do so without first consulting his patron. ‘“ Well then,” said Cato, “I have found a suitable son-in-law for you, unless indeed his age should be displeasing ; in other ways no fault can be found with him, but he is a very old man.” Salonius at once bade him take the matter in charge and give the maid to the man of his choice, since she was a dependant of his and in need of his kind services. Then Cato, without any more

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Kdtov avaBodny TOLNTAMEVOS avros épn THY

4 mapO évov aiteiy EavT@. Kal TO weév mpdTor, as
eiKos,) AOyos éberAnke TOV avOpwmrov, Topp pev
ydpov TOV Kdrova, moppw 8 avtov otxias
UTATIKHS Kab Opa pBicay ndevpar av TiO épevov
omovon oé Xpwpevov opav do pevos ebéEato, Kal

karaBdvres evOus ets ayopav éro.odvTo THY
éyyiny.
Ipartopevov be Tou ydpou TaparaBov TOUS
émirndeious 0 vlos TOU Kdravos parnae Tov
TATEpA, fn Tt pepapopevos) AeAUTNWEVvOS UIT'
5 avuTov pntpucav emdyeTau. 0 be Karov ava.-
Bonoas Evpjpncoy," elev, 'Oo mai TwavTa
yap ayaotd pot Ta Tapa cov Kal peparrov ouder-
emOupe dé WAEtovas EpaUT@ TE maidas kat
TohiTas TH Tapio TOLOUTOUS amonureiv." TaUTHY
dé rH yopny 7 POTEpPOV elrrety pact Tletat-
oTpaTtov Tov "AOnvatev TUpavvoy erruynpavTa
Tots évnrtKots matat THY "Apyoriba Tipavaccar,
éE iis "Topavta kat @cocarov auT@ Aeyouat
6° ryevéo Bar. ynpavee 5é To Kdrove yiverat ais,
@ Tapwvupcov aro THs pnt pos éeto Yadwviov.
O 8e pea Birepos vios eredevTHTE TTPATHYOV.
Kal pepe fey avTov modduKes év tots Bu-
Brtous 0 Kdtov @S dv8pos aryaod Yeyoveros,
TPEOs dé Kal dirocopuws €yeTaL THY cunpopay
éveynely Kal pnodev apBrvrepos . du' avtnv eis
7 Ta TWortTika yevérOar. ov yap, ws Aevxtos
AovKxovAros Dorepov Kat Méreddros 0 [Iios,
eFéxapev bro yHpws Tpos Ta dnpoota, evtoup-
ylav TH TOALTELay MYOULEVOS, ovd ws ™ poTepov
Lentiov o 'Adpixavos Sia Tov avtTixpovcavTa
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ado, said that he asked the damsel to wife for
himself. At first, as was natural, the proposal amazed
the man, who counted Cato far past marriage, and
himself far beneath alliance with a house of consular
dignity and triumphal honours; but when he saw
that Cato was in earnest, he gladly accepted his
proposal, and as soon as they reached the forum
the banns were published.
While the marriage was in hand, Cato's son,
accompanied by his friends, asked his father if it
was because he had any complaint to make against
him that he was now foisting a step-mother upon
him. "Heaven forbid! my son," cried Cato, "all
your conduct towards me has been admirable, and
I have no fault to find with you; but I desire

to bless myself and my country with more such sons." However, they say that this sentiment was uttered long before by Peisistratus, the tyrant of Athens, who gave his grown up sons a step-mother in the person of Timonassa of Argolis, by whom he is said to have had Iophon and Thessalus. Of this second marriage a son was born to Cato,. who was named Salonius, after his mother's father. But his elder son died in the praetorship. Cato often speaks of him in his books as a brave and worthy man, and is said to have borne his loss with all the equanimity of a philosopher, remitting not a whit because of it his ardour in the public service. For he was not, like Lucius Lucullus and Metellus Pius in after times, too enfeebled by old age to serve the people, regarding the service of the state as a burdensome duty; nor did he, like Scipio Africanus before him, because of envious attacks
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mpos THY dokav avTod POovoy atroatpadels Tov Sjpov éx petaBorgrs erroirnoato Tov AotTrov Biou Téhos dmpayporvuny, arr', wae Atoviavor Tis émretce ~KaAALOTOV évraptov myetobar THY Tupavvida, «adda Tov avros eyynpapa THY T0- ALTELAV TOLNa dpEvos avaTatceow éxpiro Kat madiais, omore cxorator, 1 ouvrdrrerOas BiBXia Kai To yewpryety.
XXV. Luverarrero pev ov. Noryous TE TaVTo- Samrous «al ioropias: "yewpyia dé 1 7 pooeixe véos pev vy ere kal dua THY Xpetav (pyot yap dual Kexpijo Ba povoats Topta pots yewpyia Kal pevdot), TOTE be Sraryorytyy kat Oewptav avT@ Ta yeyvopeva KaT arypov Tapeixe. Kal cuvTétaxtai ye BiBALov ryewoprytKor, év @ Kal Tmepl TAAKOUYTOY oKevaclas Kal TNPNT EDS oTrwpas yéypadev, év mavri du- oT LpLoUpEVOS TEPLTTOS elvat kat idsos. jv Se Kal 76 Selrrvov éy ayp@ Sarpideatepoy exdret yap EXAOTOTE TOV arypoyertovav Kal TEPLX@POV Tovs aurnbes Kal cuvdsyyev idapa@s, ov Tois Kal" nrLKiavy povots HOUs Ov auyyevécBat Kal modewos, anra Kal tois véots, are 67 TOAN@Y pev EMTTELPOS Tparyparov yeyovas, ToNNoLsS be

ypaupac Kal aryous a€tors axons EVTETUXTIKDS.

THY 5é tpamelay épv Tots parirra pidorrovov
wyetro: Kal oAA pep evpnpta TOV Kar@v
Kal ayabav TodmsTav eTreLanyeTo, TOAAH O ay
dpynotia TOY axpnatov Kal TovnpaY, pyre
pore pyr éraivy wdpodov umrép avtav tod
Katwvos ets To oUmTOTLOV 5id0vTos.
XXVI. “Eoyarov de trav TrodtTevpuToY auto

upon his reputation, turn his back upon the people and make leisure his end and aim for the rest of his life; but rather, as someone persuaded Dionysius to regard his sovereignty as his fairest winding-sheet, so he held public service to be the fairest privilege of old age. For recreation and amusement, when he had leisure therefor, he resorted to the writing of books and to farming.

XXV. He composed speeches, then, on all sorts of subjects, and histories, and as for farming, he followed it in earnest when he was young and poor,—indeed, he says he then had only two ways of getting money, farming and frugality,—but in later life he was only a theoretical and fancy farmer. He also composed a book on farming,! in which he actually gave recipes for making cakes and preserving fruit, so ambitious was he to be superior and peculiar in everything. The dinners, too, which he gave in the country, were quite plentiful. He always asked in congenial country neighbours, and made merry with them, and not only did those of his own age find in him an agreeable and much desired companion, but also the young. For he was a man of large experience, who had read and heard much that was well worth repeating. He held the table to be the very best promoter of friendship, and at his own, the conversation turned much to the praise of honourable and worthy citizens, greatly to the neglect of those who were worthless and base. About such Cato suffered no table-talk, either by way of praise or blame.

XXVI. The last of his public services is supposed

1 De re rustica.

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3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

\ , » / w” a
thy Kapxduvos avdotacty olovtas yeyovévat, TD
pev Epyp tédos émiOévros Tov véov Lxnriwvos, 352

BovrAn dé cal yroun parsota TH Kdtavos apa-
pévwv tov wodrenov éE aitias toladcde. Karov
éréupOn mpos Kapyndovious nal Maccavdconv
tov Nowdda rrorenotvtas adAAos, éricKeyo~
pevos Tas THs Stapopas mpopacers. oO pev yap hv
“ , t] > 9 A e > 9 4 4
tov Siuouv piros am’ apyfs, ot & éyeyoveroav év-
omrovdot peTa THY UTO LKnTiwvos Artav, apac-
péoes Te THS apxis Kal Raped Saou Ypnudtov
xodovbévtes. ebpwv 5é THY Tod OY, @ Povro
‘Pwpaiot, cexaxwpevny Kal Tatrewda wpatTovcay,
GNA TOMAR pev evavdpoioay HruLKla, peyddoy
5€ wAovTwY yéuovcay, StTAwWY 5é TavTodaTeV
Kal TapacKeuns TodeutaTnplou perTHYy Kal uLKpOY
a>Q\ 4 a bf 4
ovdev él tovrots dpovotcay, ob ta Nopuddwr
@eto xal Macoavacoov mpaypata “Pwpaious
C4 ” 4 2 ” 9 bd > ‘
@pav éyew tiOecbar Kai d:artav, adr ae py
Katadmpovtat Tod advwOev éxyOpav nal Bapv-
Ouyov nuEnpéevny ariotws, Twadw éy Tois tools
4 ” 4 A e lA 2Q/
xivduvats EveaOat. taxyéws otv vroatpéras édi-
Sacxe tv BovAny, ws ai wpoTepov HrTat Kat
ouppopalt Kapyndoviwy ov tocodtov ths Suvdpews
6c0v THS avolas ataptaacal, Kivduvevouvcw
autous ovx dabeveotépous, épreiporépous dé
Tonepev amepyacacOa, on Sé xal ampoava-
xivetaOat Tots Nopadixois tovs pds “Pwpaious
ayavas, eipyvnv S€ Kat aorovdas dvopa Tov
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to have been the destruction of Carthage. It was c-

Scipio the Younger who actually brought the task to completion,! but it was largely in consequence of the advice and counsel of Cato that the Romans undertook the war. It was on this wise. Cato was sent? on an embassy to the Carthaginians and Masinissa the Numidian, who were at war with one another, to inquire into the grounds of their quarrel. Masinissa had been a friend of the Roman people from the first, and the Carthaginians had entered into treaty relations with Rome after the defeat which the elder Scipio had given them. The treaty de- prived them of their empire, and imposed a grievous money tribute upon them. Cato, however, found the city by no means in a poor and lowly state, as the Romans supposed, but rather teeming with vigorous fighting men, overflowing with enormous wealth, filled with arms of every sort and with military supplies, and not a little puffed up by all this. He therefore thought it no time for the Romans to be ordering and arranging the affairs of Masinissa and the Numidians, but that unless they should repress a city which had always been their malignant foe, now that its power was so incredibly grown, they would be in- volved again in dangers as great as before. Accord- ingly, he returned with speed to Rome, and advised the Senate that the former calainitous defeats of the Carthaginians had diminished not so much their power as their foolhardiness, and were likely to render them in the end not weaker, but more expert in war; their present contest with Numidia was but a prelude to a contest with Rome, while peace and treaty were mere names wherewith to

1 146 B.c. 2 150 B.c.

WoNe“ov TH péeAAHTEL KeloOaL KaLpoY ‘TrEpLpLe-
VOVTOS.
XXVII. IIpos tovtors ghaci tov Karwva Kat
ovKa TOV AtBunadyv érrirndes éxBaneiv év TH
Bovvrn, tiv tTHRevvov avaBaropevov: eira davpa-
odyrov TO péyeos Kal TO KaNNOS elrrely, WS
7 Tabra pépovca, wpa TpLay npEep@y aWAoUY
ameXet THS “Pons. ae 8 76n nar Bracorepor,
TO Tept tTavTos ov SHroTeE T parywaT0s yvaunv
arropaivopevoy TpooeT epwvety ovTas: “ Aoxet b€
joo Kat Kapyndova BN elvat.” tovvaytiov Sé
Tl omrAvos Lenmiov 0 Naowxas JET LKAOUPEVOS
del Svetédrer Aeyeov Kal am opawvopevos: “ Aoxei
pot Kapyndova elva.” TOAAa yap, ws Eouren,
bBpee TOV djjuov opé@y mn TANWMENOUYTA Kal
be’ evTuYiav Kal ppovnpa Th Bourn Svoxabexrov
é6vTa Kal THY modmy Sdnv vrs durdpews bn
perpece Tats oppais Bia TuvEepercouevor, éBovrerTo
TOUTOV youV TOV poBov & BoTEp Xarwvov emixetabar

cud povirTiipa Th Opacurnte TOV TOANOD, ENarrov
peep TYOUMEVOS ioxvey Ka ndovious TOU Tepurye-
véoOar “Popaiov, peifov a TOU catagpoveia ar.
To 6€ Kdtwve rodrt avto Sewov épaivero,
Baxyevoure TO nue Kal oparroperp Ta Toda
be efovciay TONY ael peyadny, pov 6& xal
vigdovoav wviro ouppopeov Ka KEKONA MEVnY
emuxpépac dae Kab pn WavTaTAaGt TOUS éfw0ev
aveneiy THS Hryepovias poBous, avapopas avrois
pos Tas olxoVev dyaptias dmommovras.
Ottw pev eepyacaabas Aéyeras Tov TplTov
Kal reXevtatiov o Kdtwy ért Kapyndovious mode-
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cover their postponement of war till a fit occasion offered.

XXVII. In addition to this, it is said that Cato contrived to drop a Libyan fig in the Senate, as he shook out the folds of his toga, and then, as the senators admired its size and beauty, said that the country where it grew was only three days’ sail from Rome. And in one thing he was even more savage, namely, in adding to his vote on any question whatsoever these words: “In my opinion, Carthage must be destroyed.” Publius Scipio Nasica, on the contrary, when called upon for his vote, always ended his speech with this declaration: “In my opinion, Carthage must be spared.” He saw, pro- bably, that the Roman people, in its wantonness, was already guilty of many excesses, and in the pride of its prosperity, spurned the control of the Senate, and forcibly dragged the whole state with it, whithersoever its mad desires inclined it. He wished, therefore, that the fear of Carthage should abide, to curb the boldness of the multitude like a bridle, believing her not strong enough to conquer — Rome, nor yet weak enough to be despised. But this was precisely what Cato dreaded, when the Roman people was inebriated and staggering with its power, to have a city which had always been great, and was now but sobered and chastened by its calamities, for ever threatening them. Such external threats to their sovereignty ought to be done away with altogether, he thought, that they might be free to devise a cure for their domestic failings.

In this way Cato is said to have brought to pass the third and last war against Carthage,! but it had

1 151-146 B.c.

pov, apkapévov Sé rorepeiv ereXeUTNGEV, aTrO-
Oeatricas ~ept tod pédXovTos émriOnoev TO
Tokéum TérAOS avdpos, Ss Hv TOTE ev veavias,
XeMapxos dé aorpatevopevos amedetxvuto rat
yvouns épya at rorAuns pos Tovs ayavas.
amayyedXopévov 5é tovTwy eis ‘Pomnv mvvOavo-

pevov Tov Kdrwva dacwy eitreiv:
olos TWémvuTal, TOL O€ GKLAL Aicaovet.
TaUTHnY wey OvY THY aTodacw Tax St Epywr
éBeBaiwcev 6 Xeynriwv: o $& Kdtov amédure
yeveay &va pev viov éx THs éemiyapnbecions, @
Tapwovdpiov epapev ever Bar Zahonor, eva dé
vimvov ex Tov TeNEUTHCTAYROS Viod. Kal LadXw@vios
uev éreXeuTnoE OTpaTHyav, o O é€& a'Tod yevo-
pevos Mapxos umdtevoev. qv b€ watros ovTos
tov girocogouv Kdtwvos, avdpos apetn nai do&n
TOV KaT avTov émipaveatdtou yevomevov.
[APISTEIAOY KAI KATONOX SYTKPI3I=]

I. Teypappévor 5é cai mept rovtwy trav akior

la 4 e lA la 4 A ,
pununs, 6Aos o TovTov Bios OAw Te Garépov
mapatelels ovx evOewpnrov eye THv Svadopay
b] / "a 4 e /
évahavilopévny trodXais Kal peyaras oporornay.
et O¢ Sef kata pépos TH ouyxpice Stadrafetv
@omep Eros 7} ypadny éxadrepov, TO pev €E ovy
UTapxovons ahopuns ets qodtelav cal So€av
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MARCUS CATO

no sooner begun than he died,! having first prophesied
of the man who was destined to end it. This man
was then young, but as tribune in the army, he was
giving proofs of judgment and daring in his engage-
ments with the enemy. Tidings of this came to
Rome, and Cato is said to have cried on hearing
them :—
" Only he has wits, but the rest are fluttering
shadows." 2
This utterance of Cato's, Scipio speedily confirmed
by his deeds. Cato left one son by his second wife,
whose surname, as we have already remarked, was
Salonius; and one grandson by the son who died
before him. Salonius died in the praetorship, but the
son whom he left, Marcus, came to be consul. This
Marcus was the grandfather of Cato the philosopher,

who was the best and most illustrious man of his time.

COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES WITH MARCUS CATO

Now that I have recorded the most noteworthy things in the careers of these men also, if one compare the entire life of the one with that of the other, it will not be easy to mark the difference between them, obscured as it is by many great resemblances. And even if, in our comparison, we analyse each life, as we would a poem or a picture, we shall find that the rise to political power and repute in consequence

1 149 B.c. 2 Odyssey, x. 495.

aperi kat Suvapet mpoedBeiv aphorépors Kowov éoTt. paiverar So pev "Aptoreidys obo TOTE peyddov ovcapy TOV "AOnvav cal tats ovcias ETL TUMPET POLS Kal opanrois émuBarov Snparye- yois Kal oTparnyous emupavns yevéa Iau: TO yap peyeorov nv Timnpa TOTE TEVvTaKOG Lov pedipveor TO O€ SevTEpov Tplakoa lov, éoyatoy dé Kal TptTov Siaxoctwy: o 0 oe Kdrov éx TOMXVNS TE pLKpas Kal Stains a drypoteov doxovens pépor adijcey €aUTOV dorep els TELAYOS axaves Thy év- Poun TOALTELaY, OUKETL Koupiwy Kal PaBpreiov Kal "ATOL@D Eoryov ovcay TyeHover, ove am' a.potpov Kab oKadetou TEVNTAS Kal avToupyous dvaBaivovtas emt TO Biya T pootewerny dpxovras Kal Snparyo- yous, AANA pos yévn peydra Kal mrovTOUS Kal vomas Kal orovdapxias amroBnerre eOtcperny, Kal du" OyKov dn Kal dvvapuy _evtpupaaay Tots adpyew akiovow. ovK Hp & Gjovoy avTLT aN xphobae OepioroKret pnT amo yévous AapTp@ Kal KEKTN MELD pet pea (wévre yap n Tpuay Tandv- TOV ovciay avT@ yevéacOas Aéyovary bre 7 p@rov iyrrero THS Tohreias) Kat ampos Lentiovas 'A dpixavous kat Yepovious PdAfas Kal Koivrious Prapuvivovs apurracBar Tepl TpWTELwr, pendev OppnTpLov éyovTa TANY hoviy tappynatalopévny virép Tay Suxaiwv.

II. "Ere S 'Apioreidns pev év Mapabdu Kal mad év Indaratais béxaTos my oTpAaTHyos, Karey b¢ Sevrepos pev braros npeOn TONN@Y avripetiovray, Sevtepos dé Tiuntyns érTa Tovs

émiupaveotdtous Kal TpwrTous Gp deopeevous
UTrepBadopuevos. Kal prv “Apiotetdns pev ev
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COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES AND CATO

of innate excellence and strength, rather than of inherited advantages, is common to both. But in the case of Aristides, Athens was not yet great when he rose to eminence, and the leaders and generals with whom he dealt were men of moderate and uniform fortunes. The highest assessment of pro- perty in those days was five hundred bushels of grain, the second three hundred, the third and last two hundred. Whereas Cato, coming from a little town and from ways of life deemed rustic, plunged headlong into the boundless sea of Roman politics when they were no longer conducted by such men as Curius, Fabricius, and Atilius, nor welcomed as magis- trates and leaders poor men who had mounted the rostrum after working with their own hands at the plough and the mattock, but were wont to have regard rather for great families and. their wealth, largesses, and solicitations, while those who sought office, such was now the power and arrogance of the people, were wantonly handled. It was not the same thing to have Themistocles for a rival, who was of no illustrious family and had only moderate possessions (he is said to have been worth three, or, at most, five talents when he entered public life), as it was to compete for pre-eminence with such men as Scipio Africanus, Salus Galba, and Quintius Flamininus, having no other advantage than a tongue which spoke boldly for the right.

II. Besides, at Marathon, and again at Plataea, Aristides was only one of ten generals, while Cato was elected one of two consuls out of many com- petitors,and one of two censors over the heads of seven of the foremost and most illustrious Romans, who stood for the office with him. Furthermore,

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cc 2
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

oddev! Tav KaTopOwudTwv yéyove TPATOS, GANA
MaaAtiadns éyet tov Mapadavos to mpwreiov,
@ecpictonrAys 5€ tis Larapivos, ev 5é Wraracais
dnow “Hpodotos avedéo0at xadrXiorny vinny
Tlavoaviav, ’Aptoteidn Sé xal tov Sevrepelwy
apis Bnroder Ywpavat cal’ Apewia cat KanrnxrIi-
payor cal Kuvaiyerpor Swamrperas apiotevoayrtes
év éxeivows Tois ayaou Kadrtwv & ov povoy avros
imatevwv éempwtevoe Kal Yerpl Kal yuopun Kata
tov “IBnpixov woremov, adrAA Kal yYiNapyav
wept @eppowvrAas viratevovtTos érépov tHv do-av
gaye THS vixens, peyaras én’ ’Avtrioyor ‘Pwpators
dvameTadoas KAeLotddas Kal Tpdaw povoy opavTt
T@ Bacirel mreptaotnacas KaTa vwTOU TOV TOAELOD.
éxeivn yap 7} vikn treptpaves épyov ovaa Karwvos
éEndace THs EXAdbos THY ’Aciay Kal trapécyxev
ériBatny avOis Dentiove.

Tlovepobvres ev ody antrnto. yeyovac.y
apporepot, wept dé THY TWoNLTElay Aptotetdns pev
érratcev éEootpaxicbels Kai Kxatacractac Gels
bro Oemoroxréovs, Kdtwv 8, olrep Foav év
“Popn Suvvat@tarot cal péytorot, Tact, ws eros
elTrety, ayTimddows Ypwpevos Kal péxpr ynpws
aaotep aOAnTHS aywvilopevos aTTaTA tenes
éauvtov. awrelotas 5é Kal duywv Snuoctas Sixas
cat SidEas moddas pév elrXe, macas 8 awépvye,
mpoBAnpa tov Biov Kal Spacrnpiovy dpryavov
éywv tov dNovyov, @ SucatoTepov av tis H TYXY
kal Saipove tov avdpos To pndev trabeiv rap
afiay dvariein. péya yap kal ’Aptototéde: TO 354
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COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES AND CATO

Aristides was not the foremost man in any one of his victories, but Miltiades has the chief honour of Marathon, Themistocles of Salamis, and at Plataea, Herodotus! says it was Pausanias who won that fairest of all victories, while even for second honours Aristides has such rivals as Sophanes, Ameinias, © Callimachus, and Cynaegeirus, who displayed the greatest valour in those actions. Cato, on the other hand, was not only chief in the plans and actions of the Spanish war during his own consulate, but also at Thermopylae, when he was but a tribune in the army and another was consul, he got the glory of the victory, opening up great mountain passes for the Romans to rush through upon Antiochus, and swinging the war round into the king’s rear, when he had eyes only for what was in front of him. That victory was manifestly the work of Cato, and it not only drove Asia out of Hellas, but made it afterwards accessible to Scipio. |

It is true that both were always victorious in war, but in politics Aristides got a fall, being driven into a minority and ostracised by Themistocles. Cato, on the contrary, though he had for his antagonists almost all the greatest and ablest men in Rome, and though he kept on wrestling with them up to his old age, never lost his footing. He was involved in countless civil processes, both as_ plaintiff and defendant; as plaintiff, he often won his case, as defendant, he never lost it, thanks to that bulwark and efficacious weapon of his life, his eloquence. To this, more justly than to fortune and the guardian genius of the man, we may ascribe the fact that he was never visited with disgrace. That was a great

1} ix. 64.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

dhiriocodw@ tTovlTo mpoceyaptipnoev ’Avtitratpos
ypaduwy rept avTod peta THY TEeAEUTHY, OTL TPOS
a. i @€ 9 A \ \ \ 2
Tois GAOLS O avNnp Kal TO TLOavov EtxeD.
IIT. “Ore pev 82 THs TWoALTiKhs avOpwriros aperis

A e ld ,
OU KTATAL TEAELOTEPAY, OMONOYOUpEVOY eoTL’ TAL-
€ A
Tns 5€ Trou LOpLoV OF TrAELoTOL THY OiKOVOpLKHY Ov
pxpov tiOevtary Kal yap 1) qWodts olKwv Tet
, \ 4 9 ev N XN
aovoTnpa Kal Kepdratov otca pwvyuTat mpos TA
a“ 4 a A
Snuoota tois idiots Biows TOV TodtTaY evOevovr-
tov, 6trouv Kal Auxotpryos éFotxicas péev apryupon,
bd 4 \ \ a f / \
2 éEouxicas 5& yxpucdv ths Lrdprns, voutopa 5é
SiehOappévou trupi ovdypov Oéuevos avtots olKovo-
pias ovK amnAXake TOUS ToAiTas, GANA TH TPU-
davra cal drrovAa Kal preypaivovta Tob mAOUTOU
TEepleNwVv, OTWS EVTTOPHTwWOL TOY avayKdiwy Kal
, 4 e 5A b \ /
Ypynotpwv Amavtes, WS aAdAos ovdels vopobéTns
Tpouvonae, TOV aTropoy Kal avéotioy Kal mévnTa
avvotkov emi Kotvwvia TodtTElas LaNOV TOD TAOV-
, Ve , 4 4 / e
3 ciov cal UTepoyKxou goPybeis. aiverar toivuy o
pev Kdtav ovdév te havrotepos olxov mpoorarns
) TONES Yyevomevos: Kal yap autos nvEncE Tov
attov Biov Kal xatéotn &8doKados oixovopias
wal yewpylas érépots, TOAAA Kal ypnorpa Trepl
/ lA m ? / \ a /
TOUTE ouvradwevos Apioreidys dé 17 mevig
e >
kal tnv Sixavoaovrny cuvdieBarev ws oixopOopov
Kal WTWXOTOLOY Kal TaGL aAAOY 7H TOLS KEKTN-
4 pévors @pédpov. Kaito. woddrAa pev “Heiodos
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COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES AND CATO

tribute which was paid Aristotle the philosopher by Antipater, when he wrote concerning him, after his death, that in addition to all his other gifts, the man had also the gift of persuasion.

III. Man has no higher capacity than that for conducting cities and states, as is generally ad- mitted. But the ability to conduct a household enters in no small degree into this higher political capacity, as most believe. For the city is but an or- ganised sum total of households, and has public vigour only as its citizens prosper in their private lives. When Lycurgus banished both silver and gold from Sparta, and introduced there a coinage of iron that had been ruined by fire, he did not set his fellow citizens free from

the duty of domestic economy. He merely removed the swollen and feverish wantonness of wealth, and so provided that all alike might have an abundance of the necessary and useful things of life. He did this because better than any other ancient legislator, he fore- saw that the helpless, homeless, and poverty-stricken citizen was a greater menace to the commonwealth than one who was rich and ostentatious. Cato, then, was no whit less efficient in the conduct of his household than in that of the city. He not only increased his own substance, but became a recog- nized teacher of domestic economy and agriculture for others, and compiled many useful precepts on these subjects. Aristides, on the other hand, was so poor as to bring even his righteousness into disrepute, as ruining a household, reducing a man to beggary, and profiting everybody rather than its possessor. And yet Hesiod! has much to say by

1 Works and Days, 309.

mpos Sixatoovrny dua cal oixovopiay Tapaxarov
nas elpnxe cal thy apyiay ws dadixias apyny
Aerordopynxer, ev 5€ kat 'Opnpo tetroinrac
Epyov Sé wot ov dirov Hev
LNG >? , 4 VA J \ 4
ovd oikwpenin, h Te Thépher ayAaa Téxva,
GANG poe aiel viajes Emnpetpoe pirat Hoav
Kal ToAeuot Kal dKovTes ebEeaTOL Kal dio Tot'
e ' b] \ > he. > 7 \ '
@$ TOUS avTOUS dpeXobdVTAS olKias Kal TropiCopev-
: ' n ? , e:) €9 ,
ous €€ adixias. ov yap, ws TovAaLOY ot taTpot
dace Tod cwparos elvat Tots ev EKTOS @HEALLO-
a > > \ , LA e
Tatov, Tois & evtds BrAaBepwrarov, ottws oO
Sixasos érépors poév Eote ypHnotpos, avTod Sé Kal
a %»9F7 ? / ' >" / A
Tov idiwy axndys, Ar' EotKe TAUTN TrEeMnpa@cBaL
a? / \ / " e e a
to Aptoteton TO-ToNLTLKOD, ElTrEp, WS Ob TAELOTOL
Néyouatv, ovde polka ois Ovyatpiou ovde
\ e_ha , > / 4 e
Tapiy avT@ KatadiTéecAa mpovvonoev. SOev o
pev Kdtwvos olxos &ypt yévous terdptov otpatn-
na ¢ "A
yous kal wiratovs TH Pon tapeiye Kai yap
viwvol kal touTwy étt Taides Hp~av apyas Tas
peyioras: THs 8 "Apiotetdov tov mpwtevaaytos
e / a e \ \ » / '\
EAAnVe@Y yeveas n TOAANH Kal ATrOpOs TEVIA TOUS
pey els @yuptiKods KaTéBare Tivaxas, Tous Sé by-

poaiw Tas yelpas épdv@ bu évderay brréyew Hvdy-
7.) \ de \ Oe 7. v ? 4
Kacev, ovdevi S€ Napmpov ovdev ovd’ aEvov éxeivov
Tov avdpos ppovacar Tapécyev.
a A 4 ” ,
IV. *H rovto mp@tov appidroyiay Eyer; mevia
\ 3 N ? “A \ b] e 4 ? >, &
yap aoxpov ovdapod péev Se’ avTHy, aX OTrov
Seiyua pabupias éotiv, axpacias, TodvTenetas,
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way of exhorting us to righteousness allied with
domestic economy, and abuses idleness as a source of
injustice ; Homer also says well :—
“ Labour I never liked,
Nor household thrift, which breeds good children.
But ships equipped with oars were ever my delight,
Battles and polished javelins and arrows,” !
implying that the men who neglect their households are the very ones to live by injustice. Oil, as physicians tell us, is very beneficial when externally applied, though very injurious when used internally. But the righteous is not so. He is not helpful to others, while heedless of himself and his family. Indeed, the poverty of Aristides would seem to have been a blemish on his political career, if, as most writers state, he had not foresight enough to leave his poor daughters a marriage portion,? or even the cost of his own burial. And so it fell out that the family of Cato furnished Rome with preetors and consuls down to the fourth generation, for his grand- sons, and their sons after them, filled the highest offices of state. Whereas, though Aristides was foremost of the Greeks, the abject poverty of his descendants forced some to ply a fortune-teller’s trade,’ and others, for very want, to solicit the public bounty, while it robbed them all of every ambition to excel, or even to be worthy of their great ancestor.

IV. Possibly this point invites discussion. Poverty is never dishonourable in itself, but only when it is a mark of sloth, intemperance, extravagance, or

1 Odyssey, xiv. 222 ff., Palmer’s translation.
2 Aristides, xxvii. 1, 3 Aristides, xxvii. 3.
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GroytaTtias, avdpt 8& cadpov kal dirovrov@ Kal
Sicaio cal avdpeim xal Snwootevovrt tais apetais
anrdcais cvvotoa peyarowuyias éoTi Kal peyano-
dpoauvns cnpelov. ov yap éote TpaTTew peyara
td “A Oe A ry ,

dpovTifovra puxpav, ovdé Troddrois Seopévots
wn an ‘ ‘ ra 9 >]
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n . >
mwonttelav épodioy ovXl mWAODTOS, ANN auTapKELa,
TO pndevos idta TOV TepitTaV SetaOae pos ov-
deptap aayontlav dyovca TOV Snpociwv. airpoc-
Sens wey yap awras 0 Oeds, avOpwrivns & aperijs,
ouvdyeTat pos TO EAGXLTTOV H ypEia, TOUTO
s lA “A \
TeXeLtoTaTov Kat Oeotatov. ws yap capa TO
KaN@S ITrpos eveEiav Kexpapévov oT’ eaOFTos OUTE
tpopys Setra mepittHs, obtw Kal Bios xa oiKxos
Uylaivov ato tav TuxXovT@v Stoixeitar. Set be
Th Xpela ovppetpov eye THY KTHoW: ws 6 YE
A 4 9 , \ 4 b] v
TOAAA TUVaYwV, GArtyos 5é YP@pevos OvK EaTLV
avTapKns, GAN elite wy Selrat, THs TapacKevys Ov
ovK opéyeTat patatos, elt’ opéyeTat, puxpodoyia
, \ +) , wv
KoAOVwY THY aTroXavotLY AOXALOS.
Avtod yé tot Kadtwvos déws av tudoipny:
El ev ATrOAAVaTOV O TAOUTOS éaTL, TL TE“LVOVN TO
TONG KEeKTHMEVOS apKeicOar peTpios; eb Sé
/ A“
AapTpov eat, WaoTrEp eaTiv, apT@ Te KEHGIaL
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T@ TpootvyovTe Kal tive olov épydtat i-
vovat Kal Oepdrrovtes olvoy Kal mopdvpas pr
SenOjvat pndé otKias Kexoviamévns, ovdev ov’
9 , ” 9 9 , ww o
Aptoreiéns ob7 ‘Erapetvavdas otte Manos
Kouptos obte Vdios PaBpixios évédurrov Tov Tpoa-
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thoughtlessness. When, on the other hand, it is the handmaid of a sober, industrious, righteous, and brave man, who devotes all his powers to the service of the people, it is the sign of a lofty-spirit that harbours no mean thoughts. It is impossible for a man to do great things when his thoughts are busy with little things ; nor can he aid the many who are in need when he himself is in need of many things. A great equipment for public service consists, not in wealth, but in contented independence, which requires no private‘ superfluities, and so puts no hindrance in the way of serving the commonwealth. God alone is absolutely

free from wants; but that is the most perfect and god-like quality in human excellence which reduces man’s wants to their lowest terms. For as a body which is well tempered and vigorous needs no superfluous food or raiment, so a healthy individual or family life can be con- ducted with the simplest outlays. A man should make his gains tally with his needs. He who heaps up much substance and uses little of it, is not con- tented and independent. If he does not need it, he is a fool for providing what he does not crave; and if he craves it, he makes himself wretched by parsi- moniously curtailing his enjoyment of it.

Indeed, I would fain ask Cato himself this question: “If wealth is a thing to be enjoyed, why do you plume yourself on being satisfied with little when possessed of much?” But if it be a fine thing, as indeed it is, to eat ordinary bread, and to drink such wine as labourers and servants drink, and not to want purple robes nor even plastered houses, then Aristides and Epaminondas and Manius Curius and Gaius Fabricius were perfectly right in turning

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a

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nKOVTOS, yalpey édoavrTes THY KTHOW OY THY
xpiow amedoxipalov. ov yap hv avayKxaioy av-
Opat@ yoyyvaAidas HOvotoy vpov meToinpev@ Kat
8.’ ab’tod tattas Aports, pattovons aya THs
yuvatcos aXpita, Torcavra mepl aocapiou Opureiy
Kal ypadev ad As av tis épyacias tdyicra
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avtapKes, OTe THs eriOupias dua Kal THs ppov-
Tidos amraAAdtTTEeL TOV TrepiTTaV. 810 Kal TovTO
pacww év th KadnXiou Sinn tov "Apioreloqy ecrreiy,
@S airxuver bat Tmeviay T pooner tois GKOUVTLWS
Tevopevots, Tois 8, @omep autos, éxovaiws, éyxan-
AwmiverBar. yedotov yap otec Oat pobupias elvat
THY "Apia teiSou Teviay, Taphy aloxpov eipya-
TMEV pndér, arr’ &va oxvrevoavts BapRapov 4
play cKnVaY KataraBovee Wrovaim yevérOar.
TAUTA pev ovv rept TOUT.
V. Ltpatnyiat dé at pev Kdravos ovdev OS
peydros mpaypwact péeya mpocéOnxar, év Sé tais
“Aptoreisov Ta Kaddiora Kal Aapmporara Kat
Tpara TOV ‘EAAnuKaY Epyov eatin, 0 Mapaéop,
» Darapis, ai TXaracat. «al ovx aktov Syrou
mapaBareiy TO Eép&n TOV “Avtioxov Kal Ta
meprarpeOevra, TOV "I8npredy TONEDY Tetyn Tais
Tuc avraus pev év yn, TOTAUTALS & év Sardoon

Teg ova als pupidowy éy ols ’Apsoretdns eoye
pep ovdevos édelreto, S0Ens dé «al orepdvenr,
damep apédret TAOUTOU wal Xpnuaron, vpyKaro
Tois parrov Seopévois, OTL Kal WdavT@Y TovTwY
drédeper,

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their backs on the gaining of what they scorned to use. Surely it was not worth while for a man who, like Cato, esteemed turnips a delectable dish and cooked them himself, while his wife was kneading bread, to babble so much about a paltry copper, and write on the occupation in which one might soonest get rich. Great is the simple life, and great its independence, but only because it frees a man from the anxious desire of superfluous things. Hence it was that Aristides, as we are told, remarked at the trial of Callias! that only those who were poor in spite of themselves should be ashamed of their poverty; those who, like himself, chose poverty, should glory in it. And surely it were ridiculous to suppose that the poverty of Aristides was due to his sloth, when, without doing anything disgraceful, but merely by stripping a single Barbarian, or seizing a single tent, he might have made himself rich. So much on this head.

V. The military campaigns of Cato made no great addition to the Roman empire, which was great already ; but those of Aristides include the fairest, most brilliant, and most important actions of the Greeks, namely, Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. And certainly Antiochus is not worthy to be compared with Xerxes, nor the demolition of the walls of the Spanish cities with the destruction of so many myriads of Barbarians both by land and sea. On these occasions Aristides was inferior to no one in actual service, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did wealth and substance, to those who wanted them more, because he was superior to all these things also.
1 Aristides, xxv. 5,

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Eyo 8 od péudopat pev Katovos to peyarv-
vey del Kat TpwToy éavTov amdvTav TiOccOat:
Kaito. dnoly &v Tut NOY TO éerratveiy aUTOY
@omwEep TO RoLoopeiy AToTroy eElvat: TEAELOTEPOS
5é pou Soxel mpos apetny To TWoANAKIS EaVTOV

éyxapualovtos o pnd étépwv TodTo ToLovyTwY
Seopevos. TO yap adiroTimov ov puiKpoY eis
TpaoTnTa ToduTixny épodiov, Kal Tovvavtiov
) piroTyia yaretroyv Kai POovov yovimwraror,
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wavy TWoAdAns petetyev. “Apioteidns pév ye
QcutototKrE TA péyioTa cuuTpaTTwV Kal TpoTroV
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puixpod pév avétpeve xal Sredupnvato thy eri
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Kapyndoviovs avtov otpatnyiav, év 4 Tov anr-
? 4 A la \ s
tntov “AvviBav Kabeire, TéedX\0s 5é€ pnyavepevos
det Twas vUtrovias Kat dta8ords avdtov pev
éEjiace THS Toews, Tov 5 adeAdhov aicyloty
KAOTHS KaTadixn wepréBanev.

VI. “Hy toivuy mrreictos 0 Katov xexoo une

ld by , > \ , b)
kal KadNoTos étaivous del cwhpocdyny ’Apt-
orelons pev aOixrov ws adnOes xal xabapar
“A fe) e
érnpnaev, avtovd dé tod Kdtwvos 6 trap daéiayv
dua Kal rap’ @pav ydpos ob puKpay ovdé havAnY
eis TodTo SiaBornv Katecxédace. mpecBvrnv
yap 78n tocodrTov éynrixm tradi Kal yvvairl
voppn tardos éruyjpwat Kopyny varnpérov kal
SnpootevovTos eri pucO@ watpos ovdapod Kandov,
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For my own part, I do not blame Cato fur his constant boasting, and for rating himself above everybody else, although he does say, in one of his speeches, that self-praise and self-depreciation are alike absurd. But I regard the man who is often lauding himself as less complete in excellence than one who does not even want others todoso. Freedom from ambition is no slight requisite for the gentleness which should mark a statesman; and, on the con- trary, ambition is harsh, and the greatest fomenter of envy. From this spirit Aristides was wholly free, whereas Cato was very full of it. For example, Aristides co-operated with

Themistocles in his greatest achievements, and as one might say, stood guard over him while he was in command, and thereby saved Athens; while Cato, by his opposition to Scipio, almost vitiated and ruined that wonderful campaign of his against the Carthaginians, in which he overthrew the invincible Hannibal,! and finally, by perpetually inventing all sorts of suspicions and calumnies against him, drove him out of Rome, and brought down on his brother's head a most shameful condemnation for embezzlement.

VI. Once more, that temperance which Cato always decked out with the fairest praises, Aristides maintained and practised in unsullied purity ; whereas Cato, by marrying unworthily and un- seasonably, fell under no slight or insignificant censure in this regard. It was surely quite indecent that a man of his years should bring home as step- mother to his grown-up son and that son's bride, a girl whose father was his assistant and served the public for hire. Whether he did this merely for

1 At Zama, 202 B.c.

avr ele Tpos noovny TavT érpatev elt opyn
bia THY ératpav dpuvopevos TOV vioD, _aoxuvny
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éxpnaato AOYo KQTELPWVEVOMEVOS TO MELpaKLoD,
ovK ay arn Ons. él yap éBovreTo Tatas ayabous
opotos Tekvoa at, yapov eeu AaBeiv ryevvatov
ef apyins oKeypdpevor, ovr, Eos ev eddvOavev
aveyyue ges Kal Kowwh ovyKoLmwpevos aya-
way, érel § epopaln 'roujoac Oat mwevOepov,
6v pdoTa Teicew, OVX @ KdAMGTA KYSEevcELY
EuwenAev.

his own pleasure, or in anger, to punish his son for objecting to his mistress, both what he did and what led him to do it were disgraceful. And the sar- castic reason for it which he gave his son was not a true one. For had he wished to beget more sons as good, he should have planned at the outset to marry a woman of family, instead of contenting himself, as long as he could do so secretly, with the society of a low concubine, and when he was discovered, making a man his father-in-law whom he could most easily persuade, rather than one whose alliance would bring him most honour.

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CIMON

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I. [leperovtas o pdvtis ex @ettarias eis Bovw-

, >? 4 \ / ‘\ e693 ? A
tiav ‘OdéXtav tov Bactrdéa Kal tovs ba avT@
Aaovs KaTayaywv yévos evdoxiunaay émt TroAKOUS
“povous KaTEATEV, OV TO TAELTTOY ev Xatpwveia
KAT@KYTEV, Hv TpaTny ToOdALY ~xyov éEeXdoayTeEs
tous BapBdpous. ot pev ovv mretoTOL TOY ard
Tov yévous hucer paytpor Kal avdpaders yevdmevor
Katavarw0noap ev tais Mydixats éridpopais Kat
tots Tanartixois ayaow adedynoavtes éavTov:
Neitreras O€ trais oppavos yovéwy, dvopa Adpor,
mapwvuptoy dé IlepevroAtas, wokv by Te Kar
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a € a
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Sv dpyns metrounpévos, éemeBovrAeve TH avdpt nab
cuvicTn TOV AALKLWT@Y TiVas ém avTOY, Ov
qoAXous évexa Tov Aaleiy, GAN of cUpTaVTES
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I. Perrpottas the seer, who conducted King
Opheltas with his subjects from Thessaly into
Boeotia, left a posterity there which was in high
repute for many generations. The greater part of
them settled in Chaeroneia, which was the first city
they won from the Barbarians. Now the most of
this posterity were naturally men of war and courage,
and so were consumed away in the Persian invasions
and the contests with the Gauls, because they did
not spare themselves. There remained, however, an
orphan boy, Damon by name, Peripoltas by surname,
who far surpassed his fellows in beauty of body and
in vigour of spirit, though otherwise he was un-
trained and of a harsh disposition.

With this Damon, just passed out of boy's estate, the Roman commander of a cohort that was winter- ing in Chaeroneia fell enamoured, and since he could not win him over by solicitations and presents, he was plainly bent on violence, seeing that our native city was at that time in sorry plight, and neglected because of her smallness and poverty. Violence was just what Damon feared, and since the solicitation itself had enraged him, he plotted against the man, and enlisted against him sundry companions,—a few only, that they might escape notice. There were

éxnaldera, yevopevor xplovra | pev aiddry ra
TpoowT a. YUKTOS, _ epATLOVTES 5é¢ dxpatov ap mpépa
mpoonimrova TO 'Papaip Kar aryopay Avovrt,
Kal cataPanrovres autTov te Kal Tov Tept avrov
ovK OAlyous éx THS TONEWS petéctycav. yevo-
pens O€ Tapaxhs m Tov Xarpovéov Bours
cuvefoica Oavarov avTav Karéyve" Kar TOUTO
ny Umép Ths 7 TONEWS am ohoyn pia. T pos tous 'Po-
pratovs. éaotrépas 5€ Tov apxovrov, domep Gos
éoti, Kows aes Ol wept Tov Adpova
TApELa Tred OvTES els TO apxetov aréopatay avTOUS
Kal 1d @YoVTO pevyovtes éx THS: TONEWS.
"Etuxe é Trept Tas Hpuépas éxeivas Acvxeos
AovKovdnos ert tiva mpakiw pera Suvdpews
TAPEPX OMEVOS. eTLoT HT AS dé TH sropelay Kal
TOY yeyoverav Tpoaparay & évTey eféracw Town

odpevos evpe THY WoMY ovdevos airlav, adda.
paddov ouyndienperny’ Kat TOUS oTpaTiaras
davaraBov a annyaye ueO” éavrod. Tov bé Adpova
Agatetacs Kal caradpopais mopOoivra THY Xepav
Kal TH monet T poo Kel Levov barnyaryovTo pea Bei-
ats Kal Wngicpace piravO parrots of ToNTat,
xkarenOovra 5é yupvactapxov Katéotnoay «iT
aderopevov ey TQ mupiarnple Sieg Oerpar. emt
moAuv O€ ypovoy ciOw@XaV Twa év TO TOT@ ™po-
parvouevey | Kal otevaypav éEaxovouévav, ws ob
TATEPES 1) Ov Aéyoust, Tas Gupas dvpxodounoay
Tov mupiaTnpiov™ Kal péypt viv ob TO TOTH
YELTVL@VTES OLOVTAL Tevas Abe cat pov $ Tapa-
w@des péperBau. TOUS & amd tov yevous avTod
(Siaodtovrat yap évol, padmtora THs Pwxidos
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sixteen of them in all, who smeared their faces with soot one night, heated themselves with wine, and at daybreak fell upon the Roman while he was sacri- ficing in the market-place, slew him, together with many of his followers, and departed the city. During the commotion which followed, the council of Chaeroneia met and condemned the murderers to death, and this was the defence which the city after- wards made to its Romanrulers. But in the evening, while the magistrates were dining together, as the custom is, Damon and his men burst into the town- hall, slew them, and again fled the city.

Now about that time! it chanced that Lucius Lucullus passed that way, on some errand, with an army. Halting on his march and _ investigating matters while they were still fresh in mind, he found that the city was in no wise to blame, but rather had itself also suffered wrong. So he took its garrison of soldiers and led them away with him. Then Damon, who was ravaging the country with predatory forays and threatening the city, was induced by embassies and conciliatory decrees of the citizens to return, and was appointed gymnasiarch. But soon, as he was anointing himself in the vapour-bath, he was slain. And because for a long while thereafter certain phantoms appeared in the place, and groans were heard there, as our Fathers tell us, the door of the vapour-bath was walled up, and to this present time the neighbours think it the source of alarming sights and sounds. Descendants of Damon’s family . (and some are still living, especially near Stiris in

1 74 Bc. (2)

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qept 2reipw, aionritovtes) ac Bohwpévous KaNovat
dua TO tov Adpwva mpos tov dhovov acBor(o

yvptodpevov éEerOetv.
II. "Evel & datuyeltoves OVTES Opxoperioe
Kat Sidopor Tots Xa:pwvedorv emia Owcarro
‘Popaixoy avxopdvrny, o 8 @omep EVOS avO parr ov
TO TAS ‘TONEWS évopa KATEVEYKOV ediwxe povou
Tov v6 TOU Adpavos aunpnuever, n O€ Kptaws
ay emt Tov aTpaTnyod THs Maxedovias (bare yap
els THY EnAdda ‘Popaior oTpATHYOUS SveTrép-
Tov70), ot Aéyortes vIrép THS TOAEWS ETTEKANODVTO
THY Aoveovdndou paptupiay, yparpavtos bé Tov
oTPATHYOV Tos AovKovddov EXELVOS éuapTupnae
Taryn, kab tHV Sienv adTws anépuyev iY modus
xudvvevouca mept TOV peyiara. éxelvo. pev
ouv ot TOTE cwbévres elkova Tou Aovnovdrov
ABivny € ép ayopa mapa tov Acovucov avertna ay,
Tuets 8, ef Kal wroAdXais Wauclaus AevrropeOa, THY
pev xapuv oloueBa dtateiver Kal 7 pos NAS TOUS
viv évTas, eixova dé TOAD Kadtova, vouitovtes
elvat TAS 70 cOpa Kal TO Tpoa wn ov aT 0 juuov-
pévns THY TO 7005 Kal Tov TpoTrov eupavifovaar,
avarypopeba Th ypapn TOV TAPAAANAWY Biov
Tas m pagers TOU avdpos, TarANOH SieEvovtes. dpxet
yap 7 THis prnpns xapus* adrnOois S€ paptuptas
ove dv avtos exeivos ngiwce pia Bov ANaBetv Wrevdh
Kab Temas pevny brrép avtTod Siynocv.
y Qorep yap Tous Ta Kana Kal TOAAHY eXovTa.
Xap elon Swypadodvtas, ay mpoon Te pix pov
avrots duaxepés, aktodpev pare mapanctreiy ToUTO
TENEOS pare eEaxprBoov TO pev yap aiaxpay, 70
5 avomotay twapéxerar tHv dip: odtas, érel
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Phocis, Aeolians in speech) are called “ Asbolomeni,’
or ‘ Besooted,” because Damon smeared himself
with soot before he went forth to do his deed of
murder.
II. But the Orchomenians, who were neighbours and, rivals of the Chaeroneians, hired a Roman informer to cite the city by name, as though it were an individual person, and prosecute it for the murder of the Roman soldiers who had been slain by Damon. The trial was held before the praetor of Macedonia (the Romans were not yet sending praetors to Greece), and the city’s advocates invoked the testimony of Lucullus. Lucullus, when the praetor wrote to him, testified to the truth of the matter, and so the city escaped capital condemna- tion. Accordingly, the people who at that time were saved by him erected a marble statue of Lucullus in the market-place beside that of Dionysus. And we, though many generations removed from him, think that his favour extends even down to us who are now living; and since we

believe that a portrait which reveals character and disposition is far more beautiful than one which merely copies form and feature, we shall incorporate this man's deeds into our parallel lives, und we shall rehearse them truly. The mere mention of them is sufficient favour to show him; and as a return for his truthful testimony he himself surely would not deign to accept a false and garbled narrative of his career.

We demand of those who would paint fair and graceful features that, in case of any slight imper- fection therein, they shall neither wholly omit it nor yet emphasise it, because the one course makes the portrait ugly and the other unlike its original. In

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yanrerov éatt, paAXov & icws auynxavov, apeudy
kai caBapov avbpos émidetEas Biov, év Tots KaXois
avarAnpwtéov @aowep oporoTnta THY adnOeav.
tas & é« mwaGouvs Tivos 4 TOALTEKHAS avayKNS
émitpexovoas Tails mpdkerw auaptias Kal Knpas
é\Nciupata paArXov apeTns Tivos Kakias
Tovnpevpata vopilovtras ov Set wdvu mpoOvpws
évatoonpaive TH tatopia Kal tepiTT@s, AND'
@aoTrep aidoupévous Umrép THs avOpwrivns Pvcews,
el Kadov ovdev eihuxpuves ovd avaudiaBynrntov
eis apetny 700s ryeyoves aTrodtéwotv.
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H piv TO Kipove mapaBrnTéos elvas. mohepuxol
yap dpddorepor ar ™ pos TOUS BapBapous Aap pol,
mpGor dé 7a, TohTeKa Kal padiora TOV eppudiov
oTdoewy avamrvony Tais Tat pior TapagxXovres,
exaaros 5€ Tis avTav OTHTAYTES TpOTraLa Kat
viKas GVENOMEVOL _meptBorrous. ovTE yap 'EX-
AHnVOV Kipevos OvTE 'Peopatov AovxovaAdou Trpo-
TEpos ovdels odTw paxpay Toheuav TporrOev,
éfeo Noryou TB epeverv Tav Kal ~Hpaxréa Kal
Avovucov, ef ré Tt Tlepa ews T pos: Ai@torras 7)
M7jdous Kar "Appevious 1 'Idcovos Epyov afvore-
oToV ée TOV TOTE Xpovesy punen pepopevov eis
TOUS VvoV apixras. Kowvov é Tos avrav Kal TO
GTEres yéyove THs oTparnyias, éxarépov pev
cuvtpixpavros, odderépoy be KaTahvaavtos TOV
aVvTayoVLcTHV. pdduara 6 n mepl Tas brodoxas
Kal Tas prravOpwrias TaUTAS Dyporns Kal Saypi-
Aeta Kal TO veapov Kal aver pevov ép Th Siaitn
TapamAnotov er apyhotépwv idely vrdpyet.
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like manner, since it is difficult, nay rather perhaps impossible, to represent a man's life as stainless and pure, in its fair chapters we must round out the truth into fullest semblance; but those transgres- sions and follies by which, owing to passion, perhaps, or political compulsion, a man's career is sullied, we must regard rather as shortcomings in some particu- lar excellence than as the vile products of positive baseness, and we must not all too zealously delineate them in our history, and superfluously too, but treat them as though we were tenderly defending human nature for producing no character which is absolutely " good and indisputably set towards virtue.

III. On looking about for some one to compare with Lucullus, we decided that it must be Cimon. Both were men of war, and of brilliant exploits against the Barbarians, and yet they were mild and beneficent statesmen, in that they gave their coun- tries unusual respite from civil strifes, though each one of them set up martial trophies and won victories that were famous. No Hellene before Cimon and no Roman before Lucullus carried his wars into such remote lands, if we leave out of our account the exploits of Heracles and Dionysus, and whatever credible deeds of Perseus against the Aethiopians or Medes and Armenians, or of Jason, have been brought down in the memory of man from those early times to our own. Common also in a way to both their careers was the incompleteness of their campaigns. Each crushed, but neither gave the death blow to his antagonist. But more than all else, the lavish ease which marked their entertainments and hospi- talities, as well as the ardour and laxity of their way of living, was conspicuous alike in both. Pos-

jTapanreitropev 5 tows nai ddAdas Twas opmolo-
TnTas, as ov yarerov ex THS Sinynoews avTis
ouvayaryetv.
IV. Kiwov o Mirriddou pntpos qv 'Heynot-
mvAns, yévos Opatrns, Ovyarpos 'OAdpov tod
/ 'e PJ a? , /

Bactréws, ws év toils Apyeddov cal Medav6iouv
Tompacty eis avtov Kipwva yeypappévors ioro-
pntar. 816 kat Bovxvdidsns 0 toropiKds Tots Tepl
Kipova xara yevos mpoonkwyv "Odopou Te Tratpos
hv, els TOY Tpoyovoy avadépovtos THY OpwvupLar,
Kal Ta Ypuceia Tept THY Opannv éxéxtyto. «al
TedeuTHoaL pev ev TH YkawTH UAy (TodTO Oo Eats
Ths Opaxns xwpiov) Réyerat qovevOeis exci,
puna & avtod Tav rAEnfpdvey eis tHv Atticny

xopicbévtwy év trois Kipwvetos Selavutat mapa
Tov "EArwinns ths Kipovos dderdis tddov.
aNAG Bovavdidyns pev “Arpovovos yéyove TaV
Sypuwv, ot dé wept tov Mertiddny Aaxidbat.
Mirriddns peév ovv wevtnKovra TaXdvTwv opA@v
Sixny kal wpos Thy Extra eipyOels éreNcUTyGeEV ev
7@ Secportnpio, Kivwv 88 pwepdxiov mavtdmaciy
atrovaplels pera tHS adeAPTs Ere KOPNS OvENS
Kal adydpou tov mpwrov nodokes ypovov év TH
TONE KAL KAKOS HKOVEY WS ATAKTOS Kal TrONV-
moTns Kal To Tanto Kipwv wpoceoikos TV
dicw, dy de evnbedv dacs Koddenov rpocayo-
pevOjvar. XrnaiuBpotos & 6 @dovos wept Tov
avrov opov Te xpovoy T@ Kipwve yeyovos hyow
avrTov oUTEe wovatKny oUTE GAO TL UAONLA TOV
édevdepiwy nal tois “EAAnow émvywpiatovtov
éxdidayxOyjvat, Seworntos te Kal orwpvdtas
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sibly we may omit still other resemblances, but it will not be hard to gather them directly from our story.

IV. Cimon was the son of Miltiades by Hegesipyle, a woman of Thracian stock, daughter of King Olorus, as it is stated in the poems of Archelaiis and Melanthius addressed to Cimon himself. That explains -how it was that the father of Thucydides the historian—and Thucydides was connected with the family of Cimon—was also an Olorus, who referred his name back to that of the common ancestor, and also how it was that Thucydides had gold mines in Thrace. And it is said that Thucydides died in Skapte Hylé, a place in Thrace, having been murdered there; but his remains were brought to Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon’s family, hard by the tomb of Elpinicé, Cimon’s sister. However, Thucydides belonged to the deme of Halimus, the family of Miltiades to that of Laciadae.

Now Miltiades, who had been condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents and confined till payment should be made, died in prison, and Cimon, thus left a mere stripling with his sister who was a young girl and unmarried, was of no account in the city at first. He had the bad name of being dissolute and bibulous, and of taking after his grandfather Cimon, who, they say, because of his simplicity, was dubbed

Coalemus, or Booby. And Stesimbrotus the Thasfan, who was of about Cimon’s time, says that he acquired no literary education, nor any other liberal and distinctively Hellenic accomplishment; that he lacked entirely the Attic cleverness and fluency

1 Thue. iv. 105.
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“AT TURAS | brs ammrrax as, Kat T® TPOT TOAV
70 yevvatov Kal arndes évuTdpxet, Kal paddov
elvat [leXotrovynotovy TO oxXHpa THS Wuyns Tov
avdpos,
para, dxopapov, Ta payor’ dryabdv,

Karta TOV Rupe iSecov “H axéa* Tadra yap | gore

Tois ord ToD UTnotpwSporou yeypappévoes Errec- |

qe.
"Ere 6é véos @y aitiay érye mrnordtew TH
aeroh. Kal yap oud GAdXws tay *“EXariwicnv
ebTaKrov Twa yeyovéva héyouow, Gra Kal
Tpos [odvyverov eEapaprety TOV Corypador-
kat dua Toro pace év TH Tesovavanreip TOTE
KaXoupévn, Tlovxiny 5é viv arog, ypadovta Tas
Tppdsas TO THs Aaodiens TOLnoat 7 poo wrrov
éy eixove THs "EAruvi«ns. 0 dé Tlodvyvertos OvK
iy TOV Bavatowy ov am épyokaBias eypade
THY orody, GANA TWpolka, prdorimovpevos Tm pos
THY TOALD, Qs ot Te cuyypageis tatopobat Kal
MerdvOtos 6 rrointns Aéyet TOV lad Tovrov’
Avtod yap Samdvaroe Oeav vaovs aryopay TE
pended Koouna piOéwov apeTais.
eiat & of THv Edarevieny ov pupa To Kipou,
pavepas dé YNaevny cuvotkhoas Aéyouaty,
akiov Ths evyevelas vuppiov dia THY qeviay
amopovcavy érel 8€ KadNias tev eviropwv Tes
"AO now épacbels ampoondOe rv barép Tob
WAT POS caradtany éxtlvev Erotwos dv Tpos TO
Snpwocrop, auTnY TE mea Ohya cal tov Kipova
7T@ Kaddla auvoixtoar tiv ’EXrrivieny.
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of speech; that in his outward bearing there
was much nobility and truthfulness ; that the fashion
of the man’s spirit was rather Peloponnesian,
‘ Plain, unadorned, in a great crisis brave and true,”

as Euripides says of Heracles,! a citation which we
may add to what Stesimbrotus wrote.
While he was still a youth he was accused of im- proper intercourse with his sister. And indeed in other cases too they say that Elpinicé was not very decorous, but that she had improper relations also with Polygnotus the painter, and that it was for this reason that, in the Peisianacteum, as it was then called, but now the Painted Colonnade, when he was painting the Trojan women, he made the features of Laodicé a portrait of Elpinicé. Now Polygnotus was not a mere artisan, and did not-paint the stoa for a contract price, but gratis, out of zeal for the welfare of the city, as the historians relate, and as Melanthius the poet testifies after this fashion :—

“ He at his own lavish outlay the gods’ great fanes,
and the market
Named Cecropia, adorned ; demigods’ valour his
theme.” :
Still, there are some who say that Elpinicé did not live with Cimon in secret intercourse, but openly rather, as his wedded wife, because, on account of her poverty, she could not get a husband worthy of her high lineage; but that when Callias, a wealthy Athenian, fell in love with her, and offered to pay into the state treasury the. fine which had been imposed upon her father, she consented herself, and Cimon freely gave Elpinicé to Callias to wife. 1 Nauck, J'rag. Graec. Frag., 473.

8 Ov pnv adda kal brAwWsS daivetat Tois trepl
Tas yuvaixas Epwtixois o Kipwv évoyos yevér Oar.
kal yap ‘Aotepias TO yéver Yarapuivias kal
warty Mynorpas tivos o mourns Meddv0cos
punpwoveves mrpos tov Kipeva rraitov 80 édeyelas,
9 a> orovdatoyevwv wn’ avrov. Syros 8 oth
kal ampos ‘Iaodixny thy Evpumtovéuou pev
Ouvyatépa tod Meyaxdéous, cata vopous § avrTe
cupBiwoacav o Kiwov eumabéotepov Statebels
wal dvodopncas atoPavovans, et tt Set texpat-
perBar tals yeypappévars él mapnyopia tod
mévOous édeyelats mpos avTov, ov Tlavattios
0 Pidoaopos oletrat TrountHy yeyovévat TOV dvat-
xov ‘ApyédXaov, ovK amd TpoTrov Tos Ypovots

eixalwv.
V. Ta & dAda wavta rob ous ayacrTa Kai
yevvaia Tov Kipwvos. obte yap ToApwy Merteaddou
NevTropevos ovTE cuvéce. BeytoTrowréovs, Sixaro-
TEepos appoiy oporoyetTar yevéoGat, cal ais
ToreuiKais ovde puKpov amrodewy apeTais éeKxeivev
apnyavov Saov év tais wonTiKais UTepBarécOat
2 véos @y étt Kal Todépov arreipos. Gre yap Tov
Sjyov ercovrway Mndwy BepmiotoxrAs érebe
Tpoépevoy THY TOW Kal THY YoOpay éKrALTIOVTA
Tpo THS Larapivos év tais vavol ta Gara GécOar
cat Staywvicacba xcata Odrattap, éxtreTANy Le-
YOV TOY TOAAOY TO TOALNLA TpwTOS Kipwv
@h0n Sia rod Kepaperxod daidpos aviwv eis THv
axpoTrody peta Tov étalpwy iirmou Tiva yadwwov
avabeivar TH Oe, did Yetpwv Kopilwv, ws ovdéy
immixkhns adKhs, ANNA vavypadywv avdpav év TO
3 wapovtTe THS ToAEws Seouevyns. avabels Sé Tov
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é

CIMON

However, it is perfectly apparent that Cimon was given to the love of women. Asteria, of a Salaminian family, and a certain Mnestra are mentioned by the poet Melanthius, in a sportive elegy addressed to Cimon, as wooed and won by him. And it is clear that he was even too passionately attached to his lawful wife, Isodicé, the daughter of Euryptolemus and grand-daughter of Megacles, and that he was too sorely afflicted at her death, if we may judge from the elegy addressed. to him for the mitigation of his grief. This was composed by the naturalist Archelaiis, as Panaetius the philosopher thinks, and his conjecture is chronologically possible.

V. All other traits of Cimon’s character were admirable and noble. Neither in daring was he inferior to Miltiades, nor in sagacity to Themistocles, and it is admitted that he was a juster man than either, and that while not one whit behind them in the good qualities of a soldier, he was inconceivably their superior in those of a statesman, even when he was still young and untried in war. When the Medes made their invasion, and Themis- tocles was trying to persuade the people to give up their city, abandon their country, make a stand with their fleet off Salamis, and fight the issue at sea, most men were terrified at the boldness of the scheme ; but lo! Cimon was first to act, and with a gay mien led a procession of his companions through the Cerameicus up to the Acropolis, to dedicate to the goddess there the horse's

bridle which he carried in his hands, signifying thus that what the city needed then was not knightly prowess but sea-fighters. After he had dedicated his bridle,

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Yadivov cal AaBwv é« Tov TreEpl TOV VadY KpEeLa-
pévov dotridwr, Kal mpocevEdpevos TH Oe@, xaré-
Batvev éri Oddaccay, ovK GAjryors apy TOD
Oappeiv ryevojeros.
Hv &€ xal rnv idéav ov pepmrtos, as "Iwv o
Tomntyns pyow, adArAa péyas, ovAn Kal ToAAR
Tpexl Komav Thy Keharv. davels dé wal cat'
aUTOV TOV dy@va Naputpos Kal dvdpwdys Tayvd S0-
gay évy 1 TOAEL eT Evvoias Eaxev, aOpolopevwy
TONAGY TPOS avTOV Kal TrapaKadovvTaY aka TOU
4 Mapadavos dn Siavoeicbar nal mpdocey. oppyn-
cavta & avtov él tv wodtTelay dopevos o
Sjyos ébéEato, Kal perros dv TOU MepmsotoKr€ovs
avaye pos! tas peyiotas ev TH ToNEL Timas Kal
apXas, evdppootov dvta Kal mpoogiAn Tois rod-
hots Sta mrpaotnta Kal i dle ovy HKiotra be
avtov nu—noev "Apioteions o Avotmdyou, tiv
evpulay évopav T@ 0, Kal mrocovpevos olov avTi-
manrov mpos THY Bemotoxréovs Sewvdtnta Kal
TOApaDV.
VI. 'Enel 66 Mydav duyovtay é« ths "EX-
rabos émeupOn oTpaTnyos, KaTa OdraTTay ovTew
Thy apxnvy A@nvaiwr éyovtav, ért Sé Havoavia
Te kat Aaxedatpovioss éeTropévwv, mrp@tov peév év
Tais oTpateiars del Tapeiye TOUS TodiTas KOT MY
te Oavpactovs Kal mpoOupia ToAv wdayrwy da-
2 hépovtas: érerta Ilavoaviov ois pev 'Bap- 482
Badpous S:areyopévov trepi mpodocias cal Baciret
ypapovtos émiatonds, Tots 5€ cvuppdyots tpaxéws
Kal av0adas mpocpepopévov ral tmorddrdjga &
1 wpds supplied by Stephanus, and confirmed by § ; Bekker supplied els.
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CIMON

he took one of the shields which were hung up about

the temple, addressed his prayers to the goddess, and
went down to the sea, whereat many were first made
to take heart.
He was also of no mean presence, as Ion the poet says, but tall and stately, with an abundant and curly head of hair. And since he displayed brilliant and heroic qualities in the actual struggle at Salamis,! he soon acquired reputation and good will in the city. | Many thronged to him and besought him to purpose and perform at once what would be worthy of Mara- thon. So when he entered politics the people gladly welcomed him, and promoted him, since they were full to surfeit of Themistocles, to the highest honours and offices in the city, for he was engaging and attractive to the common folk by reason of his gentleness and artlessness. But it was Aristides, son of Lysimachus, who more than any one else furthered his career, for he saw the fine features of his character, and made him, as it were, a foil to the cleverness and daring of Themistocles.

VI. After the flight of the Medes from Hellas, Cimon was sent out as a commander,' before the Athenians had obtained their empire of the sea, and while they were still under the leadership of Pausa- nias and the Lacedaemonians. During this campaign, the citizen-soldiers he furnished on expeditions were always admirably disciplined and far more zealous than any others; and again, while Pausanias was holding treasonable conference with the Barbarians, writing letters to the King, treating the allies with harsh arrogance, and displaying much wantonness of

1 480 B.o. 2 478-477 B.C.

éfouciay cal dyxov avonrov vBpitovros, vTodap-
Bdvwv rpaas Tovs adiveoupévous Kal diravOparras
éFouur@v Erabev ov 80 GtrrWY THY THS "EXAdSos
Hryepoviav, GAAB Adyw Kal HOE. TrapEedrcpevos.
mpocetiOevTo yap of wWAEioTOL TOY cUppdyoY
éxeivp te kai 'Apiotetdyn thy yareToTnTa Kal
virepopiav tov Llavoaviou py péporres. at Se
kal rovuTous awa wpoanyovto Kal Tois épdposs
méutrovtes eppatov, ws adokovons THs Brdptns
kal tapattopéevns THs "EAXdbos, avaxadely Tov
Iavoaviap,
Aéyerau 5é rrapOévov twa Bulavtiav émriupavav
yovéwy, dvoua Kneovixny, ér' aiayvvn tod Iav-
TAVLOUV METATELTOMEVOU, TOUS MEV YovEls UT' avay-
Kns Kat PoBov mpoécbat tHhv Taida, thy Sé Tov
mpo tov Swpatiou Senbeicay avedécOar To Pas,
51a oxoTous Kal cLwTrHS TH KALVN Tpoc.Lodcay Ady
tov Ilavaaviov xafevdortos, éutreceiv cal ava-
Tpéyrat TO AUXViov axovaay: Tov 8 bd Tod Wopou

tapaxdevta Kal omacdpuevov’ 7o Tmapaxelpevov
éyxerpidxon, @s Tivos em avtov éxOpod BabiCovtos,
watatat kal KataBarely thy TapOévor, éx Sé THs
TANnYyNS atobavvdcay avTny ovK éav Tov Ilavaa-
viay nouxater, GAG viKTwp eldwrov avTO dHot-
T@oav els Tov Umrvoy opyn Aéyetv TSE TO Hp@or'
Lretye Sinns doocovy pada Toe Kakov avdpdow

bBpus.
ép’ @ Kal pariota yareTas eveyKovtes ob
1 nal onagdpevoy with S: oxacduevor.

power and silly pretension, Cimon received with mildness those who brought their wrongs to him, treated them humanely, and so, before men were aware of it, secured the leadership of Hellas, not by force of arms, but by virtue of his address and character. For most of the allies, because they could not endure the severity and disdain of Pausanias, attached themselves to Cimon and Aristides, who had no sooner won this following than they sent also to the Ephors and told them, since Sparta had lost her prestige and Hellas was in confusion, to recall Pausanias.

It is said that a maiden of Byzantium, of excellent parentage, Cleonicé by name, was summoned by Pausanias for a purpose that would disgrace her. Her parents, influenced by constraint and fear, abandoned their daughter to her fate, and she, after requesting the attendants before his chamber to remove the light, in darkness and silence at length drew near the couch on which Pausanias was asleep, but accidentally stumbled against the lamp-holder and upset it. Bausanias, startled by the noise, drew the dagger which lay at his side, with the idea that some enemy was upon him, and smote and felled the maiden. After her death in consequence of the blow, she gave Pausanias no peace, but kept coming into his sleep by night in phantom form, wrathfully uttering this verse :—

“ Draw thou nigh to thy doom ; ’tis evil for men to be wanton.”

At this outrage the allies were beyond measure

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oUmpayor peta tod Kipwvos éFetouopxncav
avrov. o 8 éxmecwv tot Butavriov xal To
pdopatt tapatromevos, ws RAéyeTal, KaTépuye
pos TO vexvopavteiov eis "Hpdxrccav, cal rhv
puyny dvaxarovpevos ths KXeovians tapntetto
Thy opynv. 1 & es dy eModca taxéws Edn
TavoecOa TaV Kak@v avTov év Ywrdpty yevo-
HEVOV, alvirTomevn, ws EoLKE, THV MENNOVT AY AUTO
TENEUTHV. TAUTA pey OvVY UTO TOAAWY LoTOpyTAL.
VII. Kiporv 6é, trav cuppdywv dn Tpooke-
XOpHKOToV avTO, oTpaTHYyos' els Opaeny Errevee,
TuvOavopevos Ilepaay advipas évdokous wal ovy-
yevets Bactréws 'Hidva rody Tapa Te UrTpvpove
KELLEVND TOTAM@ KaTéxoVTAas evoxAEiv Tos rept
Tov Tomov éxeivoy "EAAnat. tmpaTov pev ody
autous pdyn tous Ilépcas évinnoe wal xatéxre-
cEey EIS THY TrOALY? ETELTA TOUS UTép UTpUpoVva
Opdaxas, Bev avtois époita citos, avactatous
Tomy Kal THY yoOpar TapadvrAaTTwY atracav eis
ToTaUTHY aTropiay Tovs TroALOpKOUpévOUS KaTéoTN-
cev, Bote Bovtny tov BactXtéws atpatnyov atro-
yvovta Ta Tpdyyata TH ToAE Top évetvar Kal
auvvdiagpbecipar peta Tov pirwov Kal TOY ypnpaTov
éavrov. ottw &¢ AaBwv THv word AAO pev
ovdev a€toAoyov wpernOn, Tav TrEioTwY Tots
BapBapos avyxataxadvrwv, thy 8€ yopav
evpvertatny ovaav Kal KadrgXjioTny olKnoaL
mapédwxe tots "AOnvaiow. Kal Tovds "Eppas
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CIMON

incensed, and joined Cimon in forcing Pausanias
to give up the city. Driven from Byzantium, and
still harassed by the phantom, as the story goes,
he had recourse to the ghost-oracle of Heracleia,
and summoning up the spirit of Cleonicé, besought
her to forgo her wrath. She came into his presence
and said that he would soon cease from his troubles

on coming to Sparta, thus darkly intimating, as
it seems, his impending death. At any rate, this
tale is told by many.

VII. But Cimon, now that the allies had attached themselves to him, took command of them and sailed to Thrace,! for he heard that men of rank among the Persians and kinsmen of the King held possession of Kion, a city on the banks of the Strymon, and were harassing the Hellenes in that vicinity. First he defeated the Persians themselves in battle and shut them up in the city; then he expelled from their homes above the Strymon the Thracians from whom the Persians had been getting provisions, put the whole country under guard, and brought the besieged to such straits that Butes, the King's general, gave up the struggle, set fire to the city, and destroyec with it his family, his treasures, and himself. And so it was that though Cimon took the city, he gained no other memorable advantage thereby, since most of its treasures had been burned up with the Barbarians ; but the surrounding territory was very fertile and fair, and this he turned over to the Athenians for occupation, Wherefore the people permitted him to

1 476-475 B.c,

"A "A ~ ,
avT@ Tovs AOivous o SHuos avabcivar cuvexo-
A ,
PYNTEV, MY eTTiYyeyPATTTAL TO Mev POT
4 "Hv dpa xaxeivos tadaxdpésot, ot tote Mydov
mato én' Hidm, Xtpupovos audi pods,
Apoy T alOwva Kpvepov T érayovTes "Apna
mpatot dvopevéwy evpov aunxavinv.
aA \ / "
T@ O€ SevTép@
>] a
"Hyepoveoar 5é pc Oov "AOnvaia rad' ESwxav
9 9 > V4 \ 4, ? A
avr' evepyecins Kal peydrov ayabov.
MaAXOv Tis TAD iOwv Kal érecaopéevwn eOeAnoet
appl rept Evvois mpdypace Sipe exerv.
5 +@ 6€ TpiT@:
"Ex mote thade modnos au 'Atpeidnot Meve-
abeus
nryetto CaVcov Tpwixdr és trediov:

bv 10? "Opunpos ébn Aavadv Trica Owpnntdov
Koopntnpa payns éEoxov dvra poneiv.
ovTws ovdev aeixes AOnvaioror xareicbat
KoopNTais Todéwov T audi Kal jvopéns,

dedicate the stone Hermae, on the first of which is the inscription :—

‘‘ Valorous-hearted as well were they who at Eion fighting,
Facing the sons of the Medes, Strymon’s current beside,
Fiery famine arrayed, and_ gore-flecked Ares, against them,
Thus first finding for foes that grim exit,—despair ;”’

and on the second :—

‘“ Unto their leaders reward by Athenians thus hath been given ;
Benefits won such return, valorous deeds of the brave. :
All the more strong at the sight will the men of the future be eager,
Fighting for commonwealth, war’s dread strife to maintain ;’’

and on the third :—

“With the Atridae of old, from this our city, Menestheus
Led his men to the plain Trojan called and divine. |
He, once Homer asserted, among well-armoured Achaeans,
Marshaller was of the fight, best of them all who had come.
Thus there is naught unseemly in giving that name to Athenians ;
Marshallers they both of war and of the vigour of men,”

VIII. Tadra sairep ovdapod +o Kipwvos
Y) n a e \ ” /
dvoua SynrobvTa Tins varepBorAnv éxew done

Tots Tote avOpwroas. ote yap BemotoKrs
TotovTov Tivos ovTe Mudrriadns eruyev, adda
4 a , ’ A , €
TouT@ ye Jarrod crépavov aitovvTs Lwpavns o
Aexedevs x pécov THs éxxAnoias dvactas avtT-
elrev, ovK evyvwpova pév, apécacav Sé Te Sym
rote gdovny ages: ““Orav ydp,” ep, “ povos
’ 4 ® 10 4 ‘
aryovicdpevos, & Mirriddn, vixnons tous Bap-
4 / A 4 9 g/ 99 \
2 Bapovs, rore nal tipaabar povos akiov.” dia
ti tolvuy 76 Kipuwvos tirepnyarnoav épyov; 4
Ste TOY pev ANAwY oTpAaTHYyOUYTwY UIrép TOD pI)
mwaGety nuvvovTo Tovs ToNemous, TovTov 5é Kal
Tonoas KaKas novynOnaay él Thy éxeitvov avTol
oTpAaTEVTAVTES, KAL TPOTEKTHTAVTO Ywpas aUTHV
\ > of ? 4 9
te THv Hiova nal thy "Apditrorw oixicavtes ;
3 “Otxroay 5é xal Xadpov éEXovros Kipovos é&
airias totavtns. Addrgotres @Kovy THY vijcov,
bd UA A ogi f \ 4
épyatat Kaxol ys AniLopevos Sé THY OdrNaccar .
€K Wanatov, TENEUT@VTES OVE TOV Elo AEOYTOV
Tap avrovs Kal Ypwpevwv arretyovto Eévav, adXa
@errarovs tivas éumopovs tepi to Kryacov
4 Opptcapévous ovrnoavtes elpEav. érei 5é¢ d:a-
Spavres ex tav Seapev of avOpwrrot Sixnv Kate-
PS 4 A / > 4 >
txaoavtTo THS TOAEWS ApdixtuoviKxny, ov Bovro-.
pévov TA YPHpaTa THY TOAAGY auvEKTiVvELY, GXAA
tous éxovtas Kal Sinptraxoras atodovvat Kedev-
ovrwy, Seicavres éxeivot wWéutTovot ypaypata
mpos Kipwva, xedevovtes rey peta TOV vEeav
Anouevoy tHy wok UT avTav Evdidopevny,
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ir,

CIMON

VIII. Although these inscriptions nowhere men- tioned Cimon by name, his contemporaries held them to be a surpassing honour for him. Neither Themistocles nor Miltiades achieved any such, nay, when the latter asked for a crown of olive merely, Sophanes the Deceleian rose up in the midst of the assembly and protested. His speech was ungracious, but it pleased the people of that day. “ When,” said he, “thou hast fought out alone a victory over the Barbarians, then demand to be honoured alone.” Why, then, were the people so excessively pleased with the achievement of Cimon? Perhaps it was because when the others

were their generals they were trying to repel their enemies and so avert disaster ; but when he led them they were enabled to ravage the land of their enemies with incursions of their own, and acquired fresh territories for settle- ment, not only Eion itself, but also Amphipolis.

They settled Scyros too, which Cimon seized for the following reason. Dolopians were living on the island, but they were poor tillers of the soil. So they practised piracy on the high sea from of old, and finally did not withhold their hands even from those who put into their ports and had dealings with them, but robbed some Thessalian merchants who had cast anchor at Ctesium, and threw them into prison. When these men had escaped from bondage and won their suit against the city at the Amphictyonic assembly, the people of Scyros were not willing to make restitution, but called on those who actually held the plunder to give it back. The robbers, in terror, sent a letter toj,Cimon, urging him to come with his fleet to seize the city, and they would give it up to him.
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5 maparafov 8 ottw THY vacov o Kipwv tovs pev Addrotras é&jAace nal tov Aiyaioy nrevOépwce, muvOavopevos b€ Tov Traralov Oncéa tov Aiyéws / \ ? 9 a > a. ? a“ ? guyovta pev €E “AOnvav eis Yxdpov, avtov § atroPavovta S0A@ dia PoBov vTd Aveopndovs tod 4 > , '\ 4 J a '

6 Bactréws, éorrovdace Tov tadov aveupeiv. Kat yap hy xpnopos "AOnvaias ra Onoéws Aeivava KeXevov dvaxopivery es dotu Kal Tiav ws hpwa TpEeTOVTWS, GAN Hyvoovy Sirov Keita, Lkupiov ovy oporoyouvTwYy ovd éewvtwv avatntely. TOTE 57) TOANT Piroripia Tod onxod poyts éEevpeBévros, évOéwevos 0 Kipewv eis Thy avrov Tpinpn Ta GoTa Kal TaANa KoopHoAaS peyadoTpETaS KaTHYayEV els THY auto bu' érav ayedov TeTpaxociwy. ed' w@ Kat Xr N > \ SOE € on v ¢ padoTta Tpos avToV ndéws Oo SHpos Eoyev. v ? ? a ? A \ \ a

7 “E@evto & eis pujunv avtod cal tiv TeV
TpPAywoo@V Kpioly GvopadTHY yevomevny. TmpwTny
yap Sidacxadiav rov Zodoxréovs ert véov
xabévros, "Awedhiov o apxeorv, pirovekias ovons
kat tapatakews Tov Ocatav, Kpitas pev ovK
b 4 ral 9 A e \ , \ A
éxAnpwae TOD ayavos, ws 5¢ Kipwov peta tov
ocvoTtpatnyev mpoerOev eis TO Oéarpov érrouncato
T@ Oe@ Tas vevopiopévas otrovdds, ovK adhKev
9 \ > a) xe , 9 4 ,
autovs amreNOeiv, AAX OpKwaas HvayKace KaBiaat
kai kptvat déxa dvtas, ato PuAijs pias Exacrov.
8 o pév ovv ayov cal dia TO THY KpiToY akiepa

\ , ¢ v4 J \ nw
Thv pirotyiav brepéBare. vixnoavtos $&€ Tov
428 |
-

~

re"

CIMON

In this manner Cimon got possession of the island,
drove out the Dolopians, and made the Aegean a
free sea.)
On learning that the ancient Theseus, son of
Aegeus, had fled in exile from Athens to Scyros,
but had been treacherously put to death there,
through fear, by Lycomedes the king, Cimon
eagerly sought to discover his grave. For the
Athenians had once received an oracle bidding them
bring back the bones of Theseus to the city and
honour him as became a hero, but they knew not
where he lay buried, since the Scyrians would not
admit the truth of the story, nor permit any search
to be made. Now, however, Cimon set to work
with great ardour, djscovered at last the hallowed
spot, had the bones bestowed in his own trireme,
and with general pomp and show brought them back
to the hero’s own country after an absence of about
four hundred years. This was the chief reason why
the people took kindly to him.

But they also cherished in kindly remembrance of him that decision of his in the tragic contests which became so famous. When Sophocles, still a young man, entered the lists with his first plays, Apsephion the Archon, seeing that the spirit of rivalry and partisanship ran high among the spectators, did not appoint the judges of the contest as usual by lot, but when Cimon and his fellow-generals advanced into the theatre and made the customary libation to the god, he would not suffer them to depart, but forced them to take the oath and sit as judges, being ten in all, one from each tribe. So, then, the contest, even because of the unusual dignity of the | judges, was more animated than ever before. But

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Lopowdéous Aéyerar tov Alayvrov *epiralh
ryevopevov Kal Bapéws éveyxovTa ypovov ov ToAvY
"AOnvnot Stayayeiv, eit’ olyecOas 8: opynv eis
Licediav, Omrov Kal tereuvtnoas mept T'édav
TtéOarrrat.
IX. Lwvdermvijo at dé T@ Kipeovi prow 6 o "lav
TavTadmace peipaxtoy AKwv els ‘AOnvas éx Xiov
mapa Aaopédovte: Kal Trav atrovday yevouévwv
maparhnGévros ' doa, kal. daavros! ovK andas
éqracvety Tous Tapovras @S Bekusrepov Oeptoto-
KAéous" éxelvoy yap ade pep ov pavas pabeiv
oudé KBapiveww, Tomy dé Tohoa peyadny ral
Tova tay éniatac bau TouvTgvev, olov eixos ev
TOT, Tov oyou puévos ent tas mpdges rob
Kipevos Kal pevnovevopéevav TOY peyiorop,
aurov éxeivov év Sue Bety oTpATHYN WA tov idiev
@S copwrarov. émrel yap éK 2noroo kal Bv-
Cavtiov TOAAOUS TOV oon ee “aly manarous
AaBovrTes ot oUppaxor Kipove Stavelpar
mpocérata, 0 0 5é yopls ne auTous, xeopis dé tov
mept Tots Topact kOopov avtav éOnxev, TLBYTO
TV Siavopny @s duicov. o 6é Tay pepidev éxé-
Aevoev avtrovs érécbar Thy érépay, jv & ay
éxelvos Katahimwaw, ayarna ey ’AOnvaious.
‘Hpogurov dé Tod Yapiou cupBovreva avros ai-
peta Bau Ta Tlepowy padrov 7 Ilépoas, TOV pep
KOG [Lov autol éhaBov, "AOnvaiors be TOUS aixparo-
TOUS am édetrov. Kal TOTe pev O Kipev ames
yeXotos evar Soxav Siavomevs, TOV pev cuppdyov
1 wapaxAnOérvros, doavros Bekker corrects, after Schiifer,
to wapaxAnévra, dcayra.
430

Sophocles came off victorious, and it is said that
Aeschylus, in great distress and indignation thereat,
lingered only a little while at Athens, and then
went off in anger to Sicily. There he died also,
and is buried near Gela.

IX. Ion says that, coming from Chios to Athens as a mere stripling, he was once a fellow-guest with Cimon at a dinner given by Laomedon, and that over the wine the hero was invited to sing, and did sing very agreeably, and was praised by the guests as a cleverer man than Themistocles. That hero, they said, declared that he had not learned to sing, nor even to play the lyre, but knew how to make a city great and rich.! Next, Ion says, as was natural over the cups, the conversation drifted to the ex- ploits of Cimon, and as his greatest deeds were being recounted, the hero himself dwelt at length on one particular stratagem which he thought his shrewdest. Once, he said, when the Athenians and their allies had taken many Barbarian prisoners at Sestos and Byzantium and turned them over to him for distribution, he put into one lot the persons of the captives, and into another the rich adornments of their bodies, and his distribution was blamed as unequal. But he bade the allies choose one of the lots, and the Athenians would be content with whichever one they left. So, on the advice of Hero- phytus the Samian to choose Persian wealth rather than Persians, the allies took the rich adornments for themselves, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. At the time Cimon came off with the reputation of being a ridiculous distributer, since

1 Cf. Themistociles, ii. 3.

édua ypucd Kal paviaxas Kal oTpemTovs Kal
xavovas Kat Tmoppupay Pepopeverr, tav o> "AOn-
vaiwy yuuVa copaATa KAKOS noenpeva pos
épyaciay tapadaBovtwrv. uixpoy 5é tarepov
ot TV EaAXwKOTwY Pidot Kal oiKetor KaTABaivovTEs
éx Dpvyias xal Avédias édutpodvTo peyddov
Xenuatoy Exactov, ooTe TH Kipou tecodpev
pnvav rpodpas eis Tas vaids bardpEat nal mpocére
Th TOL Xpvaiov ovK oALyov éx TeV AUTPOV
mepuyevéo Bar.

X. "H6y é evTropav 0 Kipor epodia THS
oTpaTnyias & Kadas aro Tov Trohepieny édofev
aperfia Gat KaNdLov aviAto KEV Els TOUS TONiTas.
TOY TE yap arypav TOUS pparyyous adeiner, iva
Kat Tobs Févous Kal TOY TokiTaY Tois Seopuévous
adeds w umdpxy hauPdverv Tis om@pas, kat Setrvov

olKoL Tap avT@ derov pen, dpxobv dé TrOAAots,
€TroletTo Kat nuepay, éf’ 6 TeV TEVA TOV O
Bovdopevos eloner Kal Siatpopny elyev amrpay-
pova, povors ToS Snwoators axonatwv. @S
5 ‘AptaroreAns pnotr, ovx, ATAVTW@V "AOnvator,
aXrAG TOV SnyoTav autod Aaxiadév Tape Kevd-
Cero t@ BovAopéve TO Setrrvov. auT@ 6é veavia kot
mapelTrovTo cuvjders dpTrex opevot Karas, Ov
Exaotos, el TUS TUVTUXOL T@ Kipou tév aorév
mpea Burepos Huap veo mevos évdeds, SinuelBeto 7 pos
aurov Ta tparia: Kal TO ryuvopevoy épaivero
ceuvov. ob 8 autot kal vopsopa Kouilovres
apOovov Tapa Tapevor Tots Koprpous TOY TEVATOV
évy dyopa ciwnry TaVv Keppatiov évéBadXov eis

the allies had their gold anklets and armlets and collars and jackets and purple robes to display, while the Athenians got only naked bodies ill-trained for labour. But a little while after, the friends and kinsmen of the captives came down from Phrygia and Lydia and ransomed every one of them at a great price, so that Cimon had four months’ pay and rations for his fleet, and besides that, much gold from the ransoms was left over for the city.

X. And since he was already wealthy, Cimon lavished the revenues from his campaign, which he was thought to have won with honour from the enemy, to his still greater honour, on his fellow- citizens. He took away the fences from his fields, that strangers and needy citizens might have it in their power to take fearlessly of the fruits of the land ; and every day he gave a dinner at his house, —simple, it is true, but sufficient for many, to which any poor man who wished came in, and so received a maintenance which cost him no effort and left him free to devote himself solely to public affairs. But Aristotle says ! that it was not for all Athenians, but only for his own demesmen, the Laciadae, that he provided a free dinner. He was constantly attended by young comrades in fine attire, each one of whom, whenever an elderly citizen in needy array came up, was ready to exchange raiment with him. The practice made a deep impression. These same fol- lowers also carried with them a generous sum of money, and going up to poor men of finer quality in the market-place, they would quietly thrust small change into their hands. To such generosity as this

1 Const. of Athens, xxvii. 3.

Tas xelpas. av &) nai Kparivos o K@pLKOS eV
Apyrexoise Goce pepvnoBas Sta TovTwv:
Kayo yap niyouy Mnrpoftos 0 ypappatevs

ov avdpl Deip Kal prrofevorary

Kal TavT apior@ TOV TlavedAjvey po TOU

Kipeove Mumapov ynpas eVaNXoUpevos

alova TavTa ouvdiarpivery. o de

Maroy BéBnxe mporeEpos.
ért Toivuy Popyias pev o Acovrivos dyno tov
Kipova ra xpnpata kraobat pev @S XPPTO,
xpiia Bat be OS TLUMTO, Kprtias dé tev TpLdKovTa
ryevomevos ev Tais éXeyelats evYeTAaL’
T]Aobrov péev Yeorradav, peyaroppocvvynv bé
_ Kipevos,
vinas & be cand TOU Naweadatpoviow:
Kaitou Aiyay ye Top Lrapridrny am’ ovdevds
adou yweadcoper €v TOOLS "EdAnaww ovoac Tov
ryevopevov n ort TOUS Févous é év Tas yupvorraSiars
eSeirrviter: n 6e Kipwvos apOovia Kal THV
Taratay tov ’AOnvaiwv trokeviay Kal pudav-
Opwriav uTrepéBadev. ob ev yap, oe ols 4
TOMS peya, ppovet Siuxaiws, TO TE oTéppa THs
Tpopijs el TOUS "Eddqvas eFeSooxay VddTwY TE
mynyaiov ..... Kal TupOS évavow pnSovary
dvOparrous edidatay,” o 5é€ THY pev oixtay Tois
momiTats mputavetoy arrodei Eas Kowvon, ey é
TH Xopa Kaprr a érolmwv atrapxyas Kai boa
@pat Kara pépovar XphoOas Kat Aap Bavery
atravra Tots Eévows Tapéyov, TpoTrov Twa THv él
1 The lacuna can only be conjecturally filled. 2 ¢3{3atay Bekker corrects, with Schifer, to Weitar.

Cratinus; seems to have referred in his Archilocht,
with the words :—
“ Yes, I too hoped, Metrobius, I, the public scribe, Along with man divine, the rarest host that lives, In

every way the best of all Hellenic men,

With Cimon, feasting out in joy a sleek old age,
To while away the remnant of my life. But he
Has gone before and left me."
And again, Georgias the Leontine says that Cimon made money that he might spend it, and spent it that he might be honoured for it. And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, prays in his elegies that he may have " the wealth of the Scopadae, the great-mindedness of Cimon, and the victories of Arcesilaus of Lacedaemon."' |
And yet we know that Lichas the Spartan became famous among the Hellenes for no other reason than that he entertained the strangers at the boys' gym- nastic festival; but the generosity of Cimon sur- passed even the hospitality and philanthropy of the Athenians of olden time. For they—and their city is justly very proud of it—spread abroad among the Hellenes the sowing of grain and the lustral uses of spring waters, and taught mankind who knew it not the art of kindling fire. But he made his home in the city a general public residence for his fellow citizens, and on his estates in the country allowed even the stranger to take and use the choicest of the ripened fruits, with all the fair things which the seasons bring. Thus, in a certain fashion, he

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F F 2
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Kpovov pu0oroyoupévny xowvwviav eis tov Btov
7 avis Katiyev. of 5€ Tradta Kodaxeiav dydov Kal
Snpaywyiay elvat dsaBaArXovtes bard THs aAANS
éEnréyxovTo Tov advdpos Tpoatpécews aptoToxpa-
Tuxhs Kal Aaxwrixns ovons, os ye Kal Qeysotonr.t
qépa tod Séovtos éerraipovte thy Snpoxpatiav
b) A > 9 , 'N > 4
avréBawe per 'Aptatetdov, cal mpos 'Ediadtny
dotepov yapire Tov Sypov Katadvovtra Thy éF
8 "Apeiou mayou BovAny dunvéyOn, Anppatov sé
poaiwy tovs adAXous TAnY 'Apioreidov xal
"EdidXrovu travtTas dvatipmAapévous opav, auTov
abéxactoy Kai dOixtov éx TH TodTEla SwpodoKias
Kal wdavtTa mpoixa Kat Kafapas mpattovTa Kat
Névyovra Sua TéNOvS Trapéecye.
Aéyerai yé rot 'Porcaxny tia BadpBapov azo-
era ¥ n pBap
orarny Baciréws éeciy pera ypnudtwv TONNOY
eis "AOnvas, cal orrapatrtopevoy vid THY cUKO-
gavtav Kxataduyeiy mpos Kipwva, cat Oeivar

Tapa THv avArAEov avTod didras dv0, THY peév
apyupetwy éumrnodpuevoy Aapexav, thy b€ ypu-
cav. idovtra bé tov Kipwva cal pedsacavta
9 wubécba Tod dvOpwTov, ToTEpoy aipetrar Kipwva
picOwrov } hirov eye: tod bé dyoavros didov
“ Ouxody,” davar, “tadr amiOe peta ceavrod
Koullov xprjoopat yap avrots Stray Séwpat piros
rYEVOLLEVOS.
XI. "Emel & of cuppayor rovs popous pep
érérXouv, avdpas bé Kal vais ws érayOnoay ov
Tapetxov, GNX atrayopevovtes On IMpos Tas
oTparelas, Kal ToNéwou wey ouvdev Sedpevor, yewp-
yey 6€ wal Cnv xa? jovyiay ériOupourtes,
aTn\XNaypevov tav BapBapwv cal pn Svoyrovr-
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restored to human life the fabled communism of the age of Cronus,—the golden age. Those who slanderously said that this was flattery of the rabble and demagogic art in him, were refuted by the man’s political policy, which was aristocratic and Laconian. He actually opposed Themistocles when he exalted the democracy unduly, as Aristides also did. _ Later on he took hostile issue with Ephialtes, who, to please the people, tried to dethrone the Council of the Areiopagus; and though he saw all the rest except Aristides and Ephialtes filling their purses with the gains from their public services, he remained unbought and unapproached by bribes, devoting all his powers to the state, without recom- pense and in all purity, through to the end.

It is told, indeed, that one Rhoesaces, a Barbarian
who had deserted from the King, came to Athens
with large moneys, and being set upon fiercely by
the public informers, fled for refuge to Cimon, and
deposited at his door two platters, one filled
with silver, the other with golden Darics. Cimon,
when he saw them, smiled, and asked the man
whether he preferred to have Cimon as his hireling
or his friend, and on his replying, “ As my friend,’
“ Well then,” said Cimon, take this money with thee
and go thy way, for I shall have the use of it when I
want it if I am thy friend.”
XI. The allies continued to pay their assessments, but did not furnish men and ships according to allotment, since they were soon weary of military service, and had no need of war, but a great desire to till their land and live at their ease. The Barbarians were gone and did not harass them, so they neither

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Y) a 4 » b 4

Twv, ovTe Tas vais émrAnpovy obt’ dvdpas aré-
e A wv ~ 9 ,
OTENAOY, OF eV AAAOL OTpaTHYyOL TAY 'AOnvaier
mpornvayxatoy avtovs taira toeiy Kal Tous
é\NeiTovtas Umrdyovtes Sixats Kxal Kordlovtes
éraxOn thy apyny Kal AvIrnpav éroiovy, Kiwor
5¢ tHv evavtiay odov ev rh otparnyla tropevo-
pevos Biay pev ovderi trav ‘EXAnvayv mpoonye,
ypnpata 5¢ AXauBavwy rapa tev ob BovrAopévwy
otpatevecbat Kal vais Kevds, éxelvous ela Serea-
Copévous 7H oxXoOAn Tept Ta oxeia SiatpiPey,
yewpyous cal xpnuatiotas arrodepous ex ToAe-
puK@y Ure Tpudjs xal avotas yivopévous, Tov 5
b) , ’ 4 ‘ 9 4
AOnvaiwy ava pépos rodXdovs éeuBiBalwov xat
Siarovay tais otpareiars ev odjLyYH Ypove Tots
Tapa TOV cuppaywr picbois Kal ypnuact Seorro-
tas avtav tov did0vray éerroince. mdéovras yap
avrous auveyas kal bia yerpos Byovras ael ra
S3AvAa Kal rpehopevovs nal aoKxovyTas ex THIS
YT@Y a las) éO.cé io d
auTav aotpateias! éGicbévtes oBeicbar xa
Koraxevery, EXabov avtl cuppdywv Uroredcis Kal
SoiAor ryeryovores.
XIT. Kal pay avrod ye rob peyddou Bactréws
ovdels érareivwoe Kal ovvéoterde TO Ppovnpua
adrov h Kipwv. ov yap avijcev éx tis ‘EX-
Adbos amnAAaypévov, GAX Wotep €x Todds
Sioxwv, mplv Svamvedoat nat orivar tous Bap-
Bdpous, Ta pev erropOer kai xateotpédeto, Ta Se
adiatn Kal mpoonyeto tots “EXAnow, date THY
> be] / 9 / ” / 4
at’ 'lwvias ’Aciav aypt Tlapdumas traytrdaract

1 dorpareias the correction of Reiske, adopted by Sintenis and Bekker. The MSS., including 8, have orparelas, which must be referred to the Athenians, So Coraés,

manned their ships nor sent out soldiers. The rest

of the Athenian generals tried to force them to do this, and by prosecuting the delinquents and punishing them, rendered their.empire burdensome and vexatious. But Cimon took just the opposite course when he was general, and brought no com- . pulsion to bear on a single Hellene, but accepted money from those who did not wish to go out on service, and ships without crews, and so suffered the allies, caught with the bait of their own ease, to stay at home and become tillers of the soil and unwarlike merchants in$tead of warriors, and all through their foolish love of comfort. On the other hand, he made great numbers of the Athenians man their ships, one crew relieving another, and imposed on them the toil of his expeditions, and so in a little while, by means of the very wages which they got from the allies, made them lords of their own paymasters. For those who did no military service became used to fearing and flattering those who were continually voyaging, and for ever under arms and training, and practising, and so, before they knew it, they were tributary subjects instead of allies.

XIJ. And surely there was no one who humbled the Great King himself, and reduced his haughty spirit, more than Cimon. For he did not let him go quietly away from Hellas, but followed right at his heels, as it were, and before the Barbarians had come to a halt and taken breath, he sacked and overthrew here, or subverted and annexed to the Hellenes there, until Asia from Ionia to Pamphylia was

[epouxayv Str wv épnpacat. muOopevos be TOUS Bactréws otparnyous peydrop oTpaT® Kal vavot moNNais epedpevery Tept Hapduatay, Kat Bovno- HEVOS aurois dr evy kal avéwBarov dAws U7rd poBov THY evTOS XerSoviwv Tonoarbas 6dXar- Tay, @punoev apas are Kvisov Kal 'Tpromiou Staxociats Tpinpect, Tpos pev TAXOS at' apx7s Kat Mepraryeory ny v0 Wepirroxhéous dpiora KATETKEVATHEVALS, éxetvos O€ ToTe Kal ThatuTépas érroincev avtas Kai didBacwv tots KatacTp@pact éwxev, @S Av UO TOAXOY OTALTOY paxlpwrepat por épowvTo TOLS TroAEpLous. emimAevaas dé Th TONEL TOV Paonhurav, "EAAHVOY pev OVTMY, OV

Seyouévwy 5é Tov oT ONY ovse Bovropevear arpi-
oracbat Bacrréws, THY TE Xwpav KAKOS €roiE
Kal mpooéBarne Tots TELXET LY. at b¢ Xiou oup-
WrEOVvTES AUTO, ™ pos dé TOUS Pacnrhitas éx
Taravod prrixds é Was dpa pev Tov Kipwva
Karen pavvov, Epa. dé To Eevovres vmrép Ta Tein
BiBrtb.a ™ poo Keipeva Tois GiaTois efaryyedAov
tois Pacnritats. Tédos 5é€ SinrArakev! adrous,
S7r ws béxa tddavra Sovres axorov0a@at Kal ov-
oTpaTevwoly emt Tous BapBapovs.
"Eg opos pev ovv TeOpaverny gnoi trav Bact-
NLKOY VvEewv dpxew Kal Tov melod Depevdarny,
‘KaddoGevns & Apioudvinv tov T'wPpvov KUpLo-
TaTov évTa THS duvdpews mapa TOV Evpupédorra
Tais vavol Tapoppeiy, oux évTa payer Oat Tois
EAAnet ™poOupor, adda mpogdexXopevov oydon-
Kovta vats Povicoas amo Kvuapov mpoomre-

1 3hAAatey Coraés and Bekker have &:4AAaéav, as does S, referring to the Chians as reconciling the two hostile parties.

entirely cleared of Persian arms. Learning that the generals of the King were lurking about Pamphylia with a great army and many ships, and wishing to make them afraid to enter at all the sea to the west of the Chelidonian isles, he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium! with two hundred triremes. These vessels had been from the beginning very well con- structed for speed and manoeuvring by Themistocles ; but Cimon now made them broader, and put bridges between their decks, in order that with their numer- ous hoplites they might be more effective in their onsets. Putting in at Phaselis, which was a Hellenic city, but refused to admit his armament or even to abandon the King’s cause, he ravaged its territory and assaulted its walls. But the Chians, who formed part of his fleet and were of old on friendly terms with the people of Phaselis, laboured to soften Cimon’s hostility, and at the same time, by shooting arrows over the walls with little documents attached, ; they conveyed messages of their success to the men of Phaselis. So finally Cimon made friends with them on condition that they should pay ten talents and join him in his expedition against the Bar- barians.

Now Ephorus says that Tithraustes was com- mander of the royal fleet, and Pherendates of the infantry ; but Callisthenes says that it was Ario- mandes, the son of Gobryas, who, as commander-in- chief of all the forces, lay at anchor with the fleet off the mouth of the Eurymedon, and that he was not at all eager to fight with the Hellenes, but was waiting for eighty Phoenician ships to sail up from

1 About 467 B.c.

ovoas. tavtas hOjvat Bovropevos 6 Kipov
avnxOn, BidlecOat twapecxevacpévos, dv éxovTes
Hn vavpay@ow. of Sé mpaTov pév, as BN
BiacGeiev, ets Tov Totamov elowpyicavTo, Tpoc-
depouévwv 5€ tav ‘AOnvaiwy avrekérdevacar,
ws tatope. Davodnuos, éExaociais vavaiv, ws
8S "Eqopos, mevtjxovra xal tpiaxociais. épyov
dé Kata yotv thy Oddratrav ovdev bn’ avdtrav
éempaxyOn ths Suvdpews akiov, adr’ evOds eis
Thv Yhv atrootpépovtes eEémimrov ot mpwroe
Kal Katéhevyov eis TO elev eyyvs TapaTeTaype-
voy, ot 5€ KaTrarapPavopevot SiehOeipovTo pera
tav veay. @& Kal Sirov dori, Ste wapytroAdXai
TiVES Al TrETTANPwpEVvaL Tols BapBdapo.s vijes Hoay,
STE TOAA@Y EV, WS ELKOS, ExPUYoUTaY, TOAN@Y
5¢ avytpiBevcav, Suws alyparwrous Staxocias
éXaBov ot 'AOnvaio..
XIII. Tév 8 refSav érixataBavrwv mpos tiv
Oaraccay plya pev Epyov éepaivero TH Kipove
TO BidfeOau THY ar oBaow Kat KEKMNKOTAS
apie Kat ToANaT AAT LOLs em dryewy TOUS "EdX7-
vas, Suws b¢ popn «al ppovipare Tov Kparety
pay emnppevovs xal TpoOupous opoce xepeiv
Tots BapBapass, GmneBiBate TOUS omhiTas ere
Beppovs a) KaTa THY vavpaxiay ayau pera
xpauyns Kat Spoov Tpoo pepopevous. broardy-
twv oé€ TOY Mepo ay ral beFapévov OUK ayEVVaIS
Kpatepa pdyn auveotn Kal Tov "A@nvaiwy
avdpes aryadot Kal Trois afiopace Tparot Kal
Statrperreis Emecov. TorAAD 8 ayave TpeYrapevos

Cyprus. Wishing to anticipate their arrival, Cimon
put out to sea, prepared to force the fighting if his
enemy should decline an engagement. At first the
enemy put into the river, that they might not be

forced to fight ; but when the Athenians bore down on them there, they sailed out to meet them. They had six hundred ships, according to Phanodemus ; three hundred and fifty, according to Ephorus. Whatever the number, nothing was achieved by them on the water which was worthy of such a force, but they straightway put about and made for shore, where the foremost of them abandoned their ships and fled for refuge to the infantry which was drawn up near by; those who were overtaken were destroyed with their ships. Whereby also it is plain that the Barbarian ships which went into action were very numerous indeed, since, though many, of course, made their escape and many were destroyed, still two hundred were captured by the Athenians.

XIII. When the enemy's land forces marched threateningly down to the sea, Cimon thought it a vast undertaking to force a landing and lead his weary Hellenes against an unwearied and many times more numerous foe. But he saw that his men were exalted by the impetus and pride of their victory, and eager to come to close quarters with the Barbarians, so he landed his hoplites still hot with the struggle of the sea-fight, and they advanced to the attack with shouts and on the run. The Persians stood firm and received the onset nobly, - and a mighty battle ensued, wherein there fell brave men of Athens who were foremost in public office and eminent. But after a long struggle the Athenians

Tovs BapBdpous éxtewov, elta Hpouvv avtovs
Te Kal oxnVvas mavTodaT av XpPnwaTwy yemovoas.
Kivov & domep adrnrns Sexvos Tyepe pg
Svo KaOnpnkas aywviopata, kal TO ev ep
Larapive meCouayia, TO & ev IWAatasais vav-
payia twapednrv0as tpdrratoy, ernywvicato tais
vixass, al tas-oySonxovta Dowicoas rpinpecs,
al Tis pdyns arereihOnaav," Tdpm mpocBeBAn-
xévat wvOduevos Sia Tayous émdeucev, ovdev
eldoTtwy BéBatov ovtrw mepl tis pelCovos . duva-
pews TOY oTpaTnyaV, adAAa SvaoTictws ETL Kal
METE@PWS EYOVTWY" 7 Kal MAGAXOV éxTAAaYErTES
am@\ecav tas vais atrdacas, kal Tov dvdpav
ot qWreioro. auvdiehOdpnaav. rovTo TO épryov
ovtws éTramelywoe THY yvounv tod Bactréas,
@ote suvOécIar THv TepiBonTov eipnvny éxeivnp,
immou pev Spopov del ths "EXAnvixts arréxeuv

Gardoons, évdov 5€ Kvavéwy xat Xersdoviwv
paxpa vni Kal XarucepBorep fn) WAEELY.
Kaitos Karryrcbévns od dnote tadra cvvbécbat
tov BdpRapov, épym Sé mwovety Sid hoBov tijs
ATTHS exelvys, Kal paxpav oUTwWs aTrooTHvat THs
‘EAAdbos, @ote wevTnxovta vaval Tlepixréa Kat
Tpidxovra povais “EdudArnyv éréxewa mmrevoat
Xersdovior cai pndev adtois vaurexov aravricat
mapa tov BapBdpworv. év bé trois Wdiopaocw,
& ouvynyaye Kpatepos, avtiypapa ovuvOnkayv ws
yevouévwv Katatétaxta. ghact dé Kat Bwwov
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routed the Barbarians with slaughter, and then captured them and their camp, which was full of all sorts of treasure.

But Cimon, though like a powerful athlete he had brought down two contests in one day, and though he had surpassed the victory of Salamis with an infantry battle, and that of Plataea with a naval battle, still went on competing with his own victories. Hearing that the eighty Phoenician triremes which were too late for the battle had put in at Hydrus,! he sailed thither with all speed, while their commanders as yet knew nothing definite about the major force, but were still in distrustful suspense. For this reason they were all the more panic-stricken at his attack, and lost all their ships. Most of their crews were destroyed with the ships. This exploit so humbled the purpose of the King that he made the terms of that notorious peace, by which he was to keep away from the Hellenic sea-coast as far as a horse could travel in a day, and was not to sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles with armoured ships of war.

And yet Callisthenes denies that the Barbarian made any such terms, but says he really acted as he did through the fear which that victory inspired, and kept so far aloof from Hellas that Pericles with fifty, and Ephialtes with only thirty, ships sailed beyond the Chelidonian isles without encountering any navy of the Barbarians. But in the decrees collected by Craterus there is a copy of the treaty in its due place, as though it had actually been made. And they say that the Athenians

1 Hydrus is the name in the MSS., but no such place is known. Syedra is the most probable correction.

elpins Sia taita tovs "AOnvaiovs iSpicacOat,
cal KadAlav tov mpeoBevoavta tijor Stade-
povrws.

IIpabévrwry Sé trav aiyparorav Aadvpwv ets
Te TA AdAXra YpHpacw Oo Shyos eppwcGn, Kal TH
dxpomoher TO voTiov Tetyos KaTeckevacey arr'
éxeiyns evTropnaas THS oTpareias. Aéyerat Sé Kal
TOV paxpav TEeLXav, & OKEAN KAaNODGL, OUVTEAE-
obhvat pev datepov THY oixodopiay, THY Oé TpwTHY
Gepediwow eis ToTrous ékw@das Kat StaBpoxous
Tov Epyov éeurecovrwy épecOjvat Sia Kipavos
Goparas, YaALKt TOAAR Kal ALGots Bapéot Tov
eho mieoGevtwr, exeivov ypnuata Tropifovtas Kal
d:dovtos. mpartos 5é tais Neyouevais eXevOepiors
kal yAadupais StatpeBais, al puixpov torepov
itreppuas nyatnOnoav, éxarrOrice TO doTU, THY
yey ayopav wWratdavos Katadutevoas, thy 8
"Anadnpecav €& avidpov Kal avyunpas KaTappuTov
amrobetEas Adaos Hnoxnuévoy vm' auTtov 'Spomots
xadapois Kal wvoKiois wepiTrarots.
XIV. 'Eqel 6¢ trav lepoay tives ovn éBov-
NovTo THY Keppovnoov exditrety, ddAa Kal Tovs
Opaxas avwlev érexarovvTo xatadpovodvtes Tod
Kipewvos per' odAcywv TwavTdtract tpinpwy *AOn-
ynev éxremdevKoTos, opunoas er' avtovs Téc-
capot pev vavol TpicKxaldexa Tas éxeivwy éEXaBer,
éferdoas 5€ tous Ilépous nal xpatioas Tov Opa-
KOY TacaY @KELwWoaTo TH TOAE THY XEppdvycor.
éx 5 rovTov @acious yey dtrootdvras 'AOnvaiwy
Karavavpaynoas Tpels xal tTprdxovta vads édaPe
Kal tiv wodw é€errodopKnce Kal Ta Ypvocia TA

also built the altar of Peace to commemorate this event, and paid distinguished honours to Callias as their ambassador.

By the sale of the captured spoils the people was enabled to meet various financial demands, and especially it constructed the southern wall of the Acropolis with the generous resources obtained from that expedition. And it is said that, though the building of the long walls, called "legs," was completed afterwards, yet their first foundations, where the work was obstructed by swamps and marshes, were stayed up securely by Cimon, who dumped vast quantities of rubble and heavy stones

into the swamps, meeting the expenses himself. He was the first to beautify the city with the so-called “liberal’’ and elegant resorts which were so excessively popular a little later, by planting the market-place with plane trees, and by converting the Academy from a waterless and arid spot into a well watered grove, which he provided with clear running-tracks and shady walks.

XIV. Now there were certain Persians who would not abandon the Chersonese, but called in Thracians from the North to help them, despising Cimon, who had sailed out from Athens with only a few triremes all told! But he sallied out against them with his four ships and captured their thirteen, drove out the Persians, overwhelmed the Thracians, and turned the whole Chersonese over to his city for settlement. And after this, when the Thasians were in revolt from Athens,? he defeated them in a sea- fight, captured thirty-three of their ships, besieged and took their city, acquired their gold mines

1 466 B.C. 2 465 BC.

répav ’AOnvaiors mpocextncato Kal yepav, iis émipyov @dovo, wapérXaBev.

"ExeiOev 5é padiws émiBivat Maxedovias Kai TOAAnY aTroTeuéoOat Trapacyov, ws edoKel, M7 Oernoas aitiay gaye Swpots varo Tod Bacthéws "AreFdvdpou cuptrerretcOar, cai Sixny epuye Tav éyOpav cvotdvrwy én avtov. atrodoyoupevos dé mpos tous Stxaotas ovK ‘lovwv edn mpokevety ove Beccadav, TAOVGiwY dvTwY, WoTrEp ETEpoUSs, iva Ocparrevwvrar Kal AapBavwow, adda Aa-Kedalpoviwy, pipovpevos Kal ayaTo@v THY Tap avrots evtéAecay Kal cwhpocurvny, hs ovdéva mpo-TuLay MAOUTOV, AANA TAOUTICWY ATO TOY TO-Aeulov THY ToAW ayarrecOar. pynaobels Sé THs Kptoews exeivns 6 YrnoiuBporos dynos thy ’EXte-vicny trép tod Kipwvos Seouevnv érbetv emt tas Oupas rob Ilepexréous (odtos yap hv Tov KaTn-yopwv 6 adodporatos), tov 6 peidiacavra “Tpats el,” davai, “ypais, ® “Edmuwixn, os tTnrikadra diampatrecOar mpdypata*” aWAnv év ye tH Sixn wpadtatov yeveoOar Te Kipove cat mpos THv KaTnyopiavy arak avacTivar povor, Womwep ahocrovpevoy.

XV. "Exetyny peév obv atrédhuye thy Sixny: év be TH AoLTH ToNTELa Tapwv pev Expater Kal cuvé-arene TOY Ojpov émtBaivoyvta Tols apioros Kal

TEeplomTavTa THY Tacav els EavToYV apyny Kal duva-
puv> ws O€ 1rdALv él otpateiay éFéerdevce, TEAEwS
aveBévres of ToAAOL Kal auyyéavTes TOV KaDECTO-
Ta THS TWONTELAS KOT MOY Ta TE TAaTpPLA VOpipma, ols
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on the opposite mainland for Athens, and took possession of the territory which the Thasians controlled there.

From this base he had a good opportunity, as it was thought, to invade Macedonia and cut off a great part of it, and because he would not consent to do it, he was accused of having been bribed to this position by King Alexander, and was actually prosecuted, his enemies forming a coalition against him.! In making his defence before his judges he said he was no proxenus of rich Ionians and Thessalians, as others were, to be courted and paid for their services, but rather of Lacedaemonians, whose temperate simplicity he lovingly imitated, counting no wealth above it, but embellishing the city with. the wealth which he got from the enemy. In mentioning this famous trial Stesimbrotus says that Elpinicé came with a plea for Cimon to the house of Pericles, since he was the most ardent accuser, and that he smiled and said, “Too old, too old, Elpinicé, to meddle with such business.” But at the trial he was very gentle with Cimon, and took the floor only once in accusation of him, as though it were a mere formality.

XV. Well then, Cimon was acquitted at this trial. And during the remainder of his political career, when he was at home, he mastered and constrained the people in its onsets upon the nobles, and in its efforts to wrest all office and power to itself; but when he sailed away again on military service,’ the populace got completely beyond control. They con- founded the established political order of things and the ancestral practices which they had formerly

1 463 B.C. 2 462 B.c. See chap. xvii

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2 éypavro mpotepov, "Ediddrov mpoeatartos adet-
AovTto Tis é& "Apetou mayou BovAs Tas Kpicets
TAnY ONlywy atTacas, Kat tav SiKaorTnpioy
Kuplous éavtovs Troimaavtes eis axpatov Snpo-
Kpatiav évéBarov-tHv mod, 46n Kat Llepixdréous
Suvapévov xal Ta TOY TOAABY ‘pPpovodyTos. S60
kal tov Kipwvos, os éravndOev, ayavaxrovvros
énl T@ mpomnrakiferOar 1d akiwpa Tod cuve-
Spiov, cal mepwuévov madd dvw tas Sixas
avaxaneicOat Kai tiv éml KreucBévous éyetpev
dpistoxpatiav, kateBowy cumotdpevos Kal Tov
3 Shyov eEnpeOclov, éxeiva te Ta pos THY adeXdny
avaveovpevor kal Aaxwviopov émixadovvtes. els
& xal ra Evtronséos StateOptrnras rept Kipwvos,
bre
Kaxos pév ovn Hv, peromorns 5é Kaperns

Kaviot dv amexotmat av év Aaxedaipou,

cay ’Exruvicny ryvde katadiTrev povny.
et & auedov cal peOvaoxopevos tooavTas moAEs
elke xal tocavtas vixas évixnoe, SHrov Tt
yypovtTos avtod Kal mpocéxovTos ovdels Av ovTE
TOV TpOTEpoVv OvTE TOY VaTEepov EXAjvar TapyrAGe
Tas mpakes.
XVI. "Hy pev ody ar’ apyis btAoAdcov: Kal ray
ye waidwv tav Sidvpwv tov érepov Aaxedatpov-
tov @vopace, Tov 8 Erepov Hreéiov, éx yuvateds
aita Kreropias yevopévous, ws YrnoipuSporos
iotopet: 520 rroAAaxus Tov Tlepuxréa To untpo@ov
avtois yévos ovedivev. Arodwpos 8 o Iepinyn-
THS Kal ToUTOUS Pyol Kal Tov TpiT Ov TeV Kipewvos
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observed, and under the lead of Ephialtes they robbed the Council of the Areiopagus of all but a few of the cases in its jurisdiction. They made them- selves masters of the courts of justice, and plunged the city into unmitigated democracy, Pericles being now a man of power and espousing the cause of the populace. And so when Cimon came back home, and in his indignation at the insults heaped upon the reverend council, tried to recall again its juris- diction and to revive the aristocracy of the times of Cleisthenes, they banded together to denounce him, and tried to inflame the people against him, renew- ing the old slanders about his sister and accusing him of being a Spartan sympathiser. It was to these calumnies that the famous and popular verses of Eupolis about Cimon had reference :—

“ He was not base, but fond of wine and full of sloth,
And oft he ‘ld sleep in Lacedaemon, far from home,
And leave his Elpinicé sleeping all alone.”
But if, though full of sloth and given to tippling, he yet took so many cities and won so many victories, it is clear that had he been sober and mindful of his business, no Hellene either before or after him would have surpassed his exploits.
XVI. It is true indeed that he was from the first a philo-Laconian. He actually named one of his twin sons Lacedaemonius, and the other Eleius,—the sons whom a woman of Cleitor bare him, as Stesimbrotus relates, wherefore Pericles often reproached them with their maternal lineage. But Diodorus the Topographer says that these, as well
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viavy @Beccarov e& “Icodixns yeyovevat tijs Evpumrodéuou Tow Meyaxnéous. nuEnOn & wo TOV Aaxedarpovier 78n 7 Bepiorowrel ™poonro-AewouvTov Kal ToUTOV édyvta véov ev "AOnvats panrrov toxver kal Kpatetv Bovropevev. ot Oy “AOnvaior TO 7 p@Tov ndéws EWpwV ov pixpa Tijs Tpos exéivov evvoias TOV Lraptiarév am ohavov-Tes" avEavopevors yap avtois Kar apxas kal Ta TUmpAXLKA mohuTpary wovobary ovK HYG ovtTo Tuy Kab Xapete ToD Kipwwvos. ta yap TheloTa bt! éxetvou TOY “EAAnuicav Stem parrero, TPAws pev Tots TUUpAXOLS, KeXapio pevers dé Tois Aaxedac-povioss oushodvos. éreita SuvaT@tepot ryevo-pevot Kat TOV Kipwva Tots Lrapridrats oux Tpepa. 7 poo Ketpevov op@vres nXIovro. Kal yap avros émt mavtt peyaduvev Ty AaxeSaipova pos "AGnvatous, Kai padiora dTe sixet peuo-pevos autots 7) mapokvver, as dnot UTnoipBporos, eiober every” “AN ov Aaxedatpovsot ye ToovTo.. d0ev pOovov éauT@ ouviyye Kal Suc péverdy Teva, mapa TOV TOMTOD.
‘H & ovv toxucaca paduora Kat avrov TOY S1aBor.ov airiav éoxe TotautTny. ‘Apysddpou Tod

ZevEwdpov TéTapTov * Eros év Rrdpty Baotrevov-
TOS vTrO cto pou peylorou 87 TOV pYNpovevopEveov
mpotepov 4 Te Yapa THY Aaxedaipoviny ydopa-
ow évoduabe roAXvis Kas Tov Taiyérev TIVaX—
Gévtwv Kxopudai tives ameppdarynoay, aut? o 7 ”
qos OAn ouvexuOn Thay OLKIDY TWEVTE, TAS S
Gras Hperpev 0 ceo pos.
1 séraprow Bekker adopted Niebuhr’s correction to reoca-
peexadéxarer fourteenth.
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as the third of Cimon’s sons, Thessalus, were born of Isodicé, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles. And he was looked upon with favour by the Lacedaemonians, who soon were at enmity with Themistocles, and therefore preferred that Cimon, young as he was, should have the more weight and power in Athens. The Athenians were glad to see this at first, since they reaped no slight advantage from the good will which the Spartans showed him. While their empire was first growing, and they were busy making alliances, they were not displeased that honour and favour should be shown to Cimon. He was the foremost Hellenic statesman, dealing gently with the allies and acceptably with the Lacedaemonians. But afterwards, when they became more powerful, and saw that Cimon was strongly attached to the Spartans, they were displeased thereat. For on every occasion he was prone to exalt Lacedaemon to the Athenians, especially when he had occasion to chide or incite them. Then, as Stesimbrotus tells us, he would say, “ But the Lace-daemonians are not of such a sort.” In this way he awakened the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens.

At any rate, the strongest charge against him arose as follows. When Archidamus, the son of Zeuxida-mus, was in the fourth year of his reign at Sparta,! a greater earthquake than any before reported rent the land of the Lacedaemonians into many chasms, shook Taygetus so that sundry peaks were torn away, and demolished the entire city with the exception of five houses. The rest were thrown down by the

earthquake,
1 464 B.C.

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"Ey &e wen 7 arog yumvalopevon opod TOY
epnBov cai Tov veavionwy déyeTat pute pov mo
TOU oeta pou ayo mapadavivas, kal Tous pep
veavioxous, WomTrEep Hoav ay tL HEvOL, META
Wacolas éxdpapeiy Kal Stax, (Tots 5 ep) Bors
vrorerpGetow € emumen ety TO ‘yupvacvov Kal mavTas
opov TEAEUTHO AL. tov 8€ tddov avtav étt viv
Seopatiav Tpocaryopevouat.
Taxv 67 cuvday amo TOU TapovTos TOV Hén-
ovTa xivduvov 0 "Apxidapos, Kai Tovs TrodiTas
op@ayv é€k Tov oiKLaY Ta TUMOT ATA, TméeLpw-
pévous ower, éxéhevae TH oadmuyyt onpai-
vELY, Os “qroNepioy emTLovTmY, Omws ort Taxiora
peta TOY Srhwv aOpoiSevrar mpos avtov. 6 87
Kal povoy évy T@ TOTE Kalp@ Ty Lmdprnv b:éow-
oev. ob yap elhoores dx TOV dry pay ouvédpapov
mavTaxolev ws dvapTrac opevor TOUS TETWOUEVOUS
TOV LraptiaTay. Omg WEvous b¢ Kal ouvTe-
TayWEvous evpovTes avexwpnaay em Tas ToneLs
Kal pavepas em oN LOuy, TOV TE TepLoixeov ava-
meloavrTes ovK OdLyous, Kal Mecaonviwy apa Tots
Ymapridrats ouven epeveov.
Tléumrovew ovVv ot Aaxedatpsvrot Tlepexrcioav
ets "AOnvas Seopevor Bondeiv, dv pyar Keoppday
"Aptarod duns abelouevov éml trols Bapois wXpov
ev howixids otpatiay érarteiv. "EqidAtou Se
KWAVOVTOS Kat Stapaptupopévov Pe Bon@etv pnd
aviaTavat Woy avritranov émt Tas “AOnvas, GXN’
éav xetoOat nal rarnOijvat To ppovnua THS
Lmdprns, Ktuovd gnot Kpetias THY THS TaTpibos
abtnow év totépw Géuevoy tod Aaxedatpovioy
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™~
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It is said that while the young men and youths were exercising together in the interior of the colon- nade, just a little before the earthquake, a hare made its appearance, and the youths, all anointed as they were, in sport dashed out and gave chase to it, but the young men remained behind, on whom the gym- nasium fell, and all perished together. Their tomb, even down to the present day, they call Setsmatias.

Archidamus at once comprehended from the danger at hand that which was sure to follow, and as he saw the citizens trying to save the choicest valuables out of their houses, ordered the trumpet to give the signal of an enemy's attack, in order that they might flock to him at once underarms. This was all that saved Sparta at that crisis. For the Helots hurriedly gathered from all the country round about with intent to despatch the surviving Spartans. But finding them arrayed in arms, they withdrew to their cities and waged open war, persuading many Perioeci also so to do. The Messenians besides joined in this attack upon the Spartans.

Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians sent Pericleidas to Athens with request for aid, and Aristophanes introduces him into a comedy as " sitting at the altars, pale of face, in purple cloak, soliciting an army."?} But Ephialtes opposed the project, and besought the Athenians not to succour nor restore a city which was their rival, but to let haughty Sparta lie to be trodden under foot of men. Whereupon, as Critias says, Cimon made his country's increase of less account than Sparta's interest, and persuaded the

1 Lysistrata, 1137 ff.

cuudépovros avatreicavtra tov Shpyov é&eNOeiv
BonOotvra peta TodrAOv oTduToY. Oo 8 "lwv
amopvnovever Kal Tov Adyov, & padtoTAa TOUS
"AOnvaiovs éxivnoe, Tapaxadrov pnte thy 'EX-
rdda Koray Byte THY Todw ETepolvya TrepLidety
yeyevnpevny.
XVII. "Enel &é Bondijoas Tois Aaxedatpoviors
amnet dia KopivOov thv orpatiav ayo, évexanet
Adyaptos avT@ mpiy évruxeiv Tots TromMTals
eloaryaryovre TO oTpateupa Kat yap Oupay Ko-
pavras aNXOT piav ovK elovevat 7 pOTEpoV i) TOV
KUPLOD xehevoat. Kat 9 Kipov "'AAN ovy upeis,"
elev, @ Adyapre, TAS Krcwvater Kal Meyapéwy
TUAAS KOWayTes, ada. KATACXITAYTES elo eBid
cacde pera TOY OTN@DV afvoivtes dvepyevas
mavra Tois peifov Suvapevors." ovTH pev eOpa-
ovvaTo 7 pos tov KopivOcov év Séovrt, cal peta
Ths oTpaTLas beEAOev.
Oi 6é Aaxedarpovior tous 'A@nvaious addts
éxdXouv émt tous ev 'lO@un Meconvious xat
elhwras, EXMGovtwy dé THY TOhpay Kal THY Aap

™poTnTa deicavres arreTrépapavTo povous TOY
CULUAXOY WS vewTepia Tas. at O€ mMpos Spyny
atreNOovtes nbn TOI Aaxwvifovet pavepas éxahe-
Tawov, kai tov Kineva puxpas émthaBopevor
Tpopdcews éEwotpaxicav ets érn Séxa> TocovTov
yap hv Xpovov TeTaypévov atract Tots eLootpaxt-
Copevots.
"Ev 6é TOUT TOV Aaxedatpovior, as emavnp-
yovto Aeddovs aro Paxéwy éXevOepwoartes, ép
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people to go forth to her aid with many hoplites. And Ion actually mentions the phrase by which, more than by anything else, Cimon prevailed upon the Athenians, exhorting them “not to suffer Hellas to be crippled, nor their city to be robbed of its yoke-fellow.”

XVII. After he had given aid to the Lacedaemonians, he was going back home with his forces through the Isthmus of Corinth, when Lachartus upbraided him for having introduced his army before he had conferred with the citizens. “People who knock at doors,” said he, “do not go in before the owner bids them”; to which Cimon replied,. “ And yet you Corinthians, O Lachartus, did not so much as knock at the gates of Cleonae and Megara, but hewed them down and forced your way in under arms, demanding that everything be opened up to the stronger.” Such was his boldness of speech to the Corinthian in an emergency, and he passed on through with his forces.

Once more the Lacedaemonians summoned the Athenians to come to their aid against the Messenians and Helots in Ithomé, and the Athenians went, but their dashing boldness awakened fear, and they were singled out from all the allies and sent off as dangerous conspirators. They came back home in a rage, and at once took open measures of hostility against the Laconizers, and above all against Cimon. Laying hold of a trifling pretext, they ostracised him for ten years.!. That was the period decreed in all cases of ostracism.

It was during this period that the Lacedaemonians, after freeing the Delphians from the Phocians,

1 461 B.c,
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4 V4 bf a \
Tavaypa xataotpatoredevodytwy 'A@Onvaior pev
b fe)
anmnvrwv Swapayovpevor, Kivwr 88 peta Tov
StA@Y Hey eis THY avUTOD dvAnyv Thy Oivnisa,
4 b 4 \ ,
mpoOumos dv auvverOat Tovs Aaxedatpovious peta
Tov ToMTaV. 7 5é BovdAn TOY TevTaKociwy TuO0-
pen xai doBnOciga, trav eyOpav avtod Kxata-
Bowvrev ws cuvtapd—ar tHhv ddrayya Bovdo-
pévov kal tH ToAct Aaxedampovious érayayeiv,
amnyopevoe Tois otpatnyois pn SéyerOat Tov
dvdpa. xKaxeivos pev wero SenBels Evdimarov
a 9 , \ ce) wv: @ , @
tov Avaddvotiov Kal ToV adrwWV ETALPwY, Boot
UA \ lo) , > - " > ,
padtoTta THY TOD AaKwvilew aitiay Eryxov, éppwpé-
vos aywvicacbas pos Tovs Trodeuious Kat de'
4 b] , \ > @& N \ lg
Epywv atrod\voac bat Thy atTiay Tpos TOUS TONTAS.
ot 8€ AaBovres avtod thy TavorAlay eis Tov AGKOV
éOevto: xat pet GdAnAWY aUaTavTeEs exOdpas
éxatov évtes Emecov, wodvv avTov ToOov Kat
petapéreay ed' ols nridOnoav adixws amrodtrov-
a 9? ld @ Pr A \ ,
tes tots "AOnvato. S0ev ovdé tH wpos Kipova
Oup@ Tord. ypovoy évéweway, Ta "EV, WS ELKOS,
? w @ V4 \ \ "A "
@y Era0ov ev pepvnpévot, Ta 5é TOU KaLpod auA- -
Xa o : '4 ' N 9 4

1p Pavopevov _vevexnpevor yap ev Tavayp¢
ayn peyadn Kat TpocdoxavTes Els @pav ETOUS
otpatiav TeXoTvovynciwy em' avrovs éxddouv ex
THs guys Tov Kipeva: cai catnre To Wydiopa
, > " 4 4 4

ypaxpavtos aut@ Ilepixreous. ovTw ToTE TroALTE-
Kai pev joav ai Stadopat, pérptos S ot Oupoi
458

encamped at Tanagra on their march back home.! Here the Athenians confronted them, bent on fight- ing their issue out, and here Cimon came in arms, to join his own Oeneid tribe, eager to share with his fellow-citizens in repelling the Lacedaemonians. But the Council of the Five Hundred learned of this and was filled with fear, since Cimon’s foes accused him of wishing to throw the ranks into confusion, and then lead the Lacedaemonians in an attack upon the city ; so they forbade the generals to receive the man. As he went away he besought Euthippus of Anaphlystus and his other comrades, all who, were specially charged with laconizing, to fight sturdily against the enemy, and by their deeds of valour to dissipate the charge which their countrymen laid at their door. They took his armour and set it in the midst of their company, supported one another . ardently in the fight, and fell, to the number of one hundred, leaving behind them among the Athenians a great and yearning sense of their loss, and sorrow for the unjust charges made against them. For this reason the Athenians did not long abide by their displeasure against Cimon, partly because, as was natural, they remembered his benefits, and partly because the turn of events favoured his cause. For they were defeated:at Tanagra in a great battle, and expected that in the following spring-time an armed force of Peloponnesians would come against them, and so they recatled Cimon from his exile. The . decree which provided for his return was formally proposed by Pericles. To such a degree in those days were dissensions based on _ political differ- ences of opinion, while personal feelings were

1 457 B,C.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

xat mpos TO Kowov evavdxrnTOL cuphépov, % 5é
diroriia wdavrwv émixpatovoa Tay Tabay Tois
THS TaTpioos UIreywpel KaLpois.
XVIII. Evdds pev odtv o Kipowv kxatenOov
EXvae Tov todenov Kal SundArdake Tas odes’
yevopévns § eipynvns opav rovs *A@nvaious
hovylay dye un Suvapévous, GAXA KivetoOat Kal
avfavecOar tais otpateiats Bovdopévous, iva
ayn tots “EXAnoe SioxA@or pnde rept Tas VHGOUS
9 [leXomrévvncov dvactpepopever vaval trodndais
aitias éupurAiwr Trodéweov Kal cuppayecav éykdn-
patwy dpyds émiomdowvtTas Kata THS TodEws,
émAnpou Siaxocias tpihpers ws er Alyurrov cat
Kvurpov avéis éxorpatevocpevos, apa pev éep-
MeXNETAY TOs mpos TOvs BapBapous ayaa Bovdo-
pevos tovs ’AOnvaious, dua § wperetoBar dixaiws
Tas amo Tov dicet Trodeulwy evrropias eis THY

‘EAAdba Kouilovtas.
"Hdn 8€ wapecxevacpévwv aravtwv Kai Tod
otpatob mapa tais vavaly dvros bvap cidev o
Kiuov. éd0xer xiva Ovpoupévnv brAaKTELY TpOS
avrov, éx b€ THs bKAAHS pemypéevoy adeioay
avOpwtrov POoyyov eitrety:
Lreive: hiros yap éon cal euol cat éepois

OKUAAKEDOLD.
ovtw dé Suaxpitov tis dypews ovans ‘AoTudidos
0 Tlocedaudrns, pavtixos dvnp Kal avvnOns TO
Kivu, ppdter Oavatov ait@ mpoonpaivery thy
oyu, otto Siatpov: xvav avOpwr@, mpos by
UAaxTel, Todewsos* Trodeuia 8 ovK adv Tis waddop
450

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CIMON

moderate, and easily recalled into conformity with the public weal. Even ambition, that master passion, paid deference to the country’s welfare.

XVIII. Well then, as soon as Cimon returned from exile he stopped the war and reconciled the rival cities. After peace was made,! since he saw that the Athenians were unable to keep quiet, but wished to be on the move and tmrwax great by means of military expeditions ; also because he wished that they should not exasperate the Hellenes generally, nor by hovering around the islands and the Peloponnesus with a large fleet bring down upon the city charges of intestine war, and initial complaints from the allies, he manned two hundred triremes. His design was to make another expedition with them against Egypt and Cyprus. He wished to keep the Athenians in constant training by their struggles with Barbarians, and to give them the legitimate benefits of importing into Hellas the wealth taken from their natural foes.

All things were now ready and the soldiery on the point of embarking, when Cimon had a dream. He thought an angry bitch was baying at him, and that mingled with its baying it uttered a human voice,

saying :—

“* Go thy way, for a friend shalt thou be both to me

and my puppies."'
The vision being hard of interpretation, Astyphilus ot

Posidonia, an 'inspired man and an intimate of

Cimon's, told him that it signified his death. He

analysed the vision thus: a dag is a foe of the man

at whom it bays; to a foe, one cannot be a friend
1 450-B.c.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

H Tereutncas diros yevo.To- TO O€ pirypa Tis
povns Mijsov amodnhoi TOV _eXOpov- 0 yap
Mybov OTPATOS 'EAAgow opod Kat BapBdpors
HE MLK TAL. peta Sé TAavTQY THY ory avrob ™]
Avoviow Oucartos o pev pdvris amérepe TO
lepeiov, Tod 8 aiuatos To Tyvupevor non
HUpENKes Tool AapBavovres Kara, pk pov Epepov
Wpos Tov Kipava Kat TOU 1050S mept TOV péyav
SaxTuXOv TEPLeTAATTOV, émt qoXuv Xpovoy av-
Odavovtes. Epa dé TOS 6 te Kipov to yivopeve
Tpoéo € wal Tapiy 6 Ourns émideravipevos avT@
TOV AoBov ovK eXovTa Keparny.
"AAX' ov 'yap HY avadvats THS oTpareias é&é-
Wrevoe, Kal tov veov EEnxovta pev atréoTetrev
els Aiyutrrop, tals & ddXais wddw ... err.
wear KATAVAVLAX IT AS Dowwcody veaVy Kal Kido-
oy, Bactdtxov OTONOY AVEKTATO TE TAS EV KUKAM
monet Kal Tots mepl Alyumrov épndpever, ovdev
pucpov, arr' SANs em voey THS Bacthéws nYyeLo-
vias KaTahuow, Kal padiora ort Tov Bena T0-
KAEOUS "erruvOdvero bo£ay elvat nai Svvayv év
tois BapBdpors peyadny, brrodedeypévov Bacirei

KwodvTt TOV ‘EdAnvicoy mohepov TTPATIYNHTELW.
@cpiotrokrARs pev ovv oux jeora Aéyerat TAS
‘EAAnuiKds mpagers aTroryvous, as ovK dp virep-
Baréopevos thv Kipevos ebruxiay Kal aperny,
EKWV TENEUTIIO AL, Kipov bé peyarov eT LPO MeVOS
apyas ayaa Kal Tmept Kumpov TUvEX@Y TO
vauTiKoy repre es “Appovos avdpas a7roppn-
TOV TWa pavTélay Totnoopévous Tapa TH Oe@:
1 wdaw...&rae either wdAw is a corruption (wep! May-
guAlay 2), or words have fallen out.
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any better than by dying; the mixture of speech
indicates that the enemy is the Mede, for the army
of the Medes is a mixture of Hellenes and Bar-
barians. After this vision, when Cimon had sacrificed
to Dionysus and the seer was cutting up the victim,
swarms of ants took the blood as it congealed,
brought it little by little to Cimon, and enveloped
his great toe therewith, he being unconscious of their
work for some time. Just about at the time when
he noticed what they were doing, the ministrant
came and showed him the liver of his victim without
a head.
But since he could not get out of the expedition, he set sail, and after detailing sixty of his ships to go to Egypt, with the rest he made again for Cyprus. After defeating at sea the royal armament of Phoeni- cian and Cilician ships, he won over the cities round . about, and then lay threatening the royal enterpuise in Egypt, and not in any trifling fashion,—nay, he had in mind the dissolution of the King’s entire supremacy, and all the more because he learned that the reputation and power of Themistocles were great among the Barbarians, who had promised the King that when the Hellenic war was set on foot he would take command of it. At any rate, it is said that it was most of all due to Themistocles’ despair of his Hellenic undertakings, since he could not eclipse the good fortune and valour of Cimon, that he took his own life.}

But Cimon, while he was projecting vast conflicts and holding his naval forces in the vicinity of Cyprus, sent men to the shrine of Ammon to get oracular answer from the god to some secret question.

1 Cf. Themistocles, xxxi. 4.
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7 ywooker yap oveeis uTép wv eméwpOnaar, ovoe
xpnapov avtois o beds efnveyxev, aAr’ dua TO
mpoaenbeip exéheva ev amévat TOUS Ocompérrous:
avrov yap 76 TOV Kipova Tap EAUT@ TUyyavely
évTa. tabra AKOUVTAYTES ot Jeomporrot Karté-
Bawvov éri Oddaccav: (yevopevor bé € ev TP aTpaTo-
Tedq TOV ‘EdAgjvov, O TOTE TEpL Alyutov WD,
émvdovTo TeOvavat TOV Kipova: Kat Tas npepas
mTpos TO pavreiov avayovres Eyvwo av nveypevny
THY TedevTHV Tov avdpos, ws dn Tapa Oeois
6vTOS.
XIX. ’AméOave 5é trodtopxav Kitiov, ws oi

a / / 4 / >
WAEta TOL Aeyoust, voonoas’ €vLot 5é pac éx
TPAVLATOS, o 7 pos TOUS BapBapous dryeovrlopevos
gaye. TedevTav dé Tous mepl avrov éxedevoer
evOvs amromhety aTroKpupapevous Tov Odvarov
avrov' Kal ovvéBn pnte TOV TodELioV pare
TOV cUppdyov aicOopevey aoparas avTous
dvaxopia iva TT PATHYOUHEVOUS vO Kipwvos,
as pot Pavodnpos, teOvynnotos ef Apépas
TpLaKovTa.
Mera 6¢ tHv éxeivov TeAEUTHY Tpos pev TOUS
BapBdpous ovdev ért Aap pov Um ovdEevos émpa-
xn otpatnyou tav “EXAnvwv, GNA Tpamevres
umd Snpayoyar Kal TONE MOTFOLOV er’ adAHAous,
ovdevos Tas xeipas ev péow Siacxov7os, cuveppa-
yqoay els TOV TONE LOD, avatvon pey Tots Bact-
News Wpadyyact yevouevot, pOopov 8 apvOnrov
TAS “EdAquiijs Suvd pens amepyacduevot. oye
& ot Tept tov "Aynoidaov eis thy “Actav éfevey-
Kipevor Ta OTAA Bpayéos FrYyavto ToNemou pos
464

49]

CIMON

No one knows what they were sent to ask, nor did» the god vouchsafe them any response, but as soon as the enquirers drew nigh, he bade them depart, saying that Cimon himself was already with him. On hearing this, the enquirers went down to the sea- coast, and when they reached the camp of the

Hellenes, which was at that time on the confines of
Egypt, they learned that Cimon was dead, and

on counting the days back to the utterance of the oracle, they found that it was their commander's death which had been darkly intimated, since he was already with the gods.

XIX. He died while besieging Citium, of sickness, as most say.! But some say it was of a wound which he got while fighting the Barbarians. As he was dying he bade those about him to sail away at once and to conceal his death. And so it came to pass that neither the enemy nor the allies understood what had happened, and the force was brought back in safety "under the command of Cimon,' as Phanodemus says, " who had been dead for thirty days."

'After his death no further brilliant exploit against the Barbarians was performed by any general of the Hellenes, who were swayed by demagogues and partisans of civil war, with none to hold a mediating hand between them, till they actually clashed to- gether in war. This afforded the cause of the King a respite, but brought to pass an indescribable destruction of Hellenic power. It was not until long afterwards? that Agesilaiis carried his arms into Asia and prosecuted a brief war against the King's

1 Thue. i. 112. 2 396-394 B.c.

tous éml Bardocon Baciréws orparnyots: Kat hapmrpov ovdey ovde Heya Spdoavtes, avOus dé Tats 'EdAnuicats oTATETL kal Tapaxais agp' éTépas apis UrrevexBévres, @XOvTO TOUS Tlepoay popodoyous éy péoaus Tais cuupayxos Kat pirass TONG ATONLTOYTES, ov ouoe ypapparopopos xatéBawev ovd barrros pos Garacon TeTpakoc- lwy oradiov é évros ap0n oTpaTnyoovTos Kipevos. "Ore pev oy els THY "ATToRnY arrexopiaOn Ta Netava avrTov, paptupel TaV penpatov Ta péexpe viv Kipovera 7 poo ayopevopeva: TLUOCTL dé kal Kurcets Tdgov Twa Kipwvos, o> Navot- Kparns Oo pytwp pnoty, év horus Kal is apopia | tov Geov mpoaTaeavTos avrots 1) cpereiy Ké- HOVOS, arn' OS xpelrrova o¢BeaGat Kat yepaipery. ToLovTos ev o 'EAANVLKOS tryELoV.

generals along the sea-coast. And even he could perform no great and brilliant deeds, but was overwhelmed in his turn by a flood of Hellenic disorders and seditions and swept away from a second empire. So he withdrew, leaving in the midst of allied and friendly cities the tax-gatherers of the Persians, not one of whose scribes, nay, nor so much as a horse, had been seen within four hundred furlongs of the sea, as long as Cimon was general. _

That his remains were brought home to Attica, there is testimony in the funeral monuments to this day called Cimonian. But the people of Citium also pay honours to a certain tomb of Cimon, as Nausicrates the rhetorician says, because in a time of pestilence and famine the god enjoined upon them not to neglect Cimon, but to revere and honour him as a superior being. Such was the Greek leader.
HH 2

LUCULLUS

AOYKOYAAO2

I. T@ dé AovKovAd@ WaTTOS [Lev Ty orariKes, Geios b& mpos pntpos Mere)Aos O Nopasdixds éruxAnOeis. tav Se yovewy O pev TaTnHp edo KroTrHAS, Kextrdia dé 7 eaTnp ndoknoev @S ov BeBroxvia cad poves. avTos 5 o AovKeovaAnros ére perpaKtov @V, Tpiv apxny Twa pereneiv kal TONTELAS axpacOar, 7 pa@Tov Epyov ETOLNTATO TOV Tov TaTpoS KaTHYyopoy Kpivat ZepoutAov airyoupa, raBov adixobvra Snuocig. Kal TO T pary ju. Naprrpov épdvy ‘Popaiors, Kal THD . Suny éxetynvy @omep apa reiay bia oTOMATOS éayov. edoxer be Kal adds avrTots dvev Tpopa-EWS OVK aryevves elvat TO Ths KaTnyopias épyov, GNXa Kal mdvu Tous veous éBovXovtTo Tots adixovaty em upvopevous opav daomep Onpioss evrye-Vets oKvhaxas. ov pnv adda peyarns arepl TID Sianv éxeivny per overklas yevoperns, aore Kat tpwOjvai twas xal receiv, awépvyev o Lepovt-Atos.
‘0 dé AovKoudros HoKxnTo Kal réyeuv icavas éxarépav yarray, dare Kat YwrAXras Tas avurTou mpakes avaypadov éxeiv Tpocepwvncer ¢ @S TUV-Tafouevp Ka Stab joovre THY toToptay dwewvov.

Hv yap ov él Thy ypelay povny éuperds avTod
479°

LUCULLUS

I. In the case of Lucullus, his grandfather was a man of consular rank, and his uncle on his mother’s side was Metellus, surnamed Numidicus. But as for his parents, his father was convicted of peculation, and his mother, Caecilia, had the bad name of a dissolute woman. Lucullus himself, while he was still a mere youth, before he had entered public life or stood for any office, made it his first business to impeach his father’s accuser, Servilius the Augur, whom he found wronging the commonwealth. The Romans thought this a brilliant stroke, and the case was in everybody's mouth, like a great deed of prowess. Indeed, they thought the business of impeachment, on general principles and without special provocation, no ignoble thing, but were very desirous to see their young men fastening themselves on malefactors like high-bred whelps on wild beasts. However, the case stirred up great animosity, so that sundry persons were actually wounded and slain, and Servilius was acquitted.

Lucullus was trained to speak fluently both Latin and Greek, so that Sulla, in writing his own memoirs, dedicated them to him, as a man who would set in order and duly arrange the history of the times better than himself. For the style of Lucullus was not only businesslike and ready; the same

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PLUTARCR’S LIVES

xal mpoxerpos o Novos, KaOaTrEp O TOV AAWY THY
fev ayopay
@vvvos Boraios rédayos Hs StearpoPen,
yevopevos 5€ THS ayopas éxTos avos, apovota
TeOvnkos, GAAA Kal Thy éupern tavrny Kat
, 4 9 \ ro) A a
Neyouevyny €rXevGéprov el TH KaAN@ WpoceroeiTo
qmatieiay éTe Kal petpdxioy av. yevouevos Sé
4 +4 4 @ 9 nA
mpeaBurepos 76n Tavratact @aoTrep éx TONY
ayovev abjnxe Thy Sidvotav év pirocodgia oYoNG-
few xal avarraverOat, TO Oewpntixov adrijs
bd , 4 9 93 A \ v4 N
éyelpas, Katadvaas & év xatp@ Kal KoXovaas TO
hirotipov éx THs pos Llopaniov S:apopas. repli
bev ovv THS PiroXoyias avTod pos Tots eipnuévots
Kal TadtTa NéyeTat véov 6yTa pos ‘Opryatov Tov
Sixodoyov Kal Loevvay tov iotopixov ex madias
Tivos Els OTTOVONY TpoENOOVaNS OworOYHaat, Tpo-

Oepévov troinua xat oyov ‘EXXnviKOY Te Kal
e oe sf >] @ A 4 yA XN
Pwpaixor, cis & te dv AdYN TOvTwY, TOY Map-
oLKOV évTEevely TOAEMOV. Kal Trws EoLKEV Eis AOryOV
‘EXANUKOY 6 KAHpOS adixécOar: Stacwlerar yap
“EAAnMUKH TLs iotopia TOD Mapotxod mrodépov.
Ths 5é rpos tov abderdov adrov Mapxov evvoias

A 4 VA € nw ry

TOANOY TeKuNpioy dyToY pdaddota Pwpaioe Tod
TpWTOUV pYnuovevovar. mMperBUTEepos yap wv
avtTov AaRely apxnv povos ovK nOédAncEV, adrAG
TOV éxeivou KaLpov avapelvas oUTwS éTNYydryeTO
472
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LUCULLUS

was true of many another man’s in the Forum.
There,
“ Like smitten tunny, through the billowy sea it
dashed,”
although outside of the Forum it was
« Withered, inelegant, and dead.”
But Lucullus, from his youth up, was devoted to
the genial and so-called “liberal’’ culture then in
vogue, wherein the Beautiful was sought. And
when he came to be well on in years, he suffered
his mind to find complete leisure and repose, as
it were after many struggles, in philosophy, en-
couraging the contemplative side of his nature, and
giving timely halt and check, after his difference
with Pompey, to the play of his ambition. Now,
as to his love of literature, this also is reported, in
addition to what has already been said: when he
was a young man, proceeding from jest to earnest
in a conversation with Hortensius, the orator, and
Sisenna, the historian, he agreed, on their suggestion
of a poem and a history, both in Greek and Latin,
that he would treat the Marsic war in whichever
of these forms the lot should prescribe. And it
would seem that the lot prescribed a Greek history,
for there is extant a Greek history of the Marsic
war.

Of his affection for his brother Marcus there
are many proofs,.but the Romans dwell most upon
the first. Although, namely, he was older than
his brother, he was unwilling to hold office alone,
but waited until his brother was of the proper
age, and thus gained the favour of the people
473

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Tov Ofjpov, BoTE oY éxEive@ 1) TapOV ayopavopLos
aipeOnvat.
II. Néos & dv ev r@ Mapoix@ troréu worra
pév Toruns Seiywata wapéoye nal ovvécens,
HaNXOv ye wnv avtor bv evoTabeav Kal TpadTnTa
LvAAas mpoonyayero, Kal ypwpuevos ar apyis
éml ta mwreiatns dEva orrovdns SteréXeoev? OV HV
'Kal Tept TO vopopa TpaypaTteia. Se' éxeivou
yap exon TO mAetoTov év IleXorrovvnoe@ wept Tov
MiOpidarixov aodepov, Kai AovxovrrELov aT'
éxeivou mpoonyopevOn, cal Sierédecev él mwrei-
TTOV, UTO TOV TTPATLWTLKOY YPELM@V EV TO TONE
AapBavov aporBnv raxyeiav. éx TovTOV THS pev
yins émixparov o LwAXas év tais "AOnvais, mwepe-
Komrropevos S€ THY ayopav éx THS OaXrdrrns bro
TOY TrOAELioY vavKpaTovyTwY, éFérepbev én'
Adyurrrov kat AiBuins tov AovxovrAXov akovra
pads éxeifev. qv pev ody axpn yeiuavos, éFé-
mrevoe b€ Tpioly 'EXANrEKOTS pvoTrdpoat kat
Sixpoross toasts 'Podvaxais pos péya TeAayos Kal
vais trodeuias, TavTayooe TH KpaTEly TrOAXNAS
Siadepopévas, tapaBadrropevos. ov pny adrdrja
kat Kpnrnv xatdpas @xewoato Kal Kupnvaious
xcataraBov éx tupavviday ovvexav kal trodépmov
TapaTropévous avédaBe, nal KateotncaTo THY
modteiav IIhatwunns rivos davis avauyncas
Thv TOA, Hv éxeivos aTeOéoTTLGE TpdS avTOUs.
Seopévwv yap, as Eoxev, Strws TE vopous yparrn
kal tov Shpov avtov eis TUTov TWA KaTaTTHAN
TonriTElas owh povos, pn YareTrov elvat Kupnvatars
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to such an extent that, although in absence from the city, he was elected aedile along with his brother. II.

Though he was but a young man in the Marsic war,! he gave many proofs of courage and under- standing. It was, however, more owing to his constancy and mildness that Sulla attached him to himself and employed him from first to last on business of the highest importance. Such, for instance, was the management of the mint. Most of the money used in Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war was coined by him, and was called Lucullean after him. It remained current for 4 long time, since the wants of the soldiery during the war gave it rapid circulation. Afterwards, at Athens, Sulla found himself master on land, but cut off from supplies by sea, owing to the superior naval force of the enemy. He therefore despatched Lucullus to Egypt and Libya,' with orders to fetch ships from there. Winter was then at its worst, but he sailed forth with three Greek brigantines and as many small Rhodian galleys, exposing himself not only to the high sea, but to numerous hostile ships which were cruising about everywhere in full mastery of it. However, he put in at Crete and won it over to his side. He also made Cyrené, and finding it in con- fusion in consequence of successive tyrannies and wars, he restored it to order, and fixed its constitution, reminding the city of a certain oracular utterance which the great Plato had once vouchsafed to them. They asked him, it would seem, to write laws for _ them, and to mould their people into some form of sound government, whereupon he said that it was hard to be a lawgiver for the Cyrenaeans when they

1 90-89 B.c. 2 87-86 B.o.

ovtws evTUyoicL vouobeTeiv. ovdev yap avOpw-
mov Svcapxtotepov ev mpaccew Soxovvtos,
ovd ad wddw Sextixwtepoyv émictacias cvoTa-
Avtos bd THs TUYns. 4 Kal ToTe Kupyvaious
vopoberodvrTs. AovxovAX@ mpgdous Tapécyxev.
"ExeiOev 8 avayOels én' Aiydrrou Ta TrEtoTa
Tov oKxaddav amréBare Trepatav émipavértor,
avros 5 StacwOels Karnyero Napmpas eis AXe-
Edvipesav. amrnvrnce yap avT@ ovptras 0 oTOXOS,
@omep eiw0e. Bacitel KaTamAéovTL, KEKooLy-
pévos éxrrperads' Kal To perpaxiov o Ilrodepaios
adAnv te Oavpacrhy émedeixvuto diroppoovvyny
mpos avtov, olknaly re cal Slarray év toils Baat-
Aelots ESewxev, ovdevos rw Eévou TpoTEpoY 1ryE"OVvOS
avToOe xataxOévtos. Samdvnv 6€ Kal ovvtakev
ovx Sonv édidov Tots adXOLs, AANA TeTpAaTTAHY
exeivp Trapeiyev, ov Tpoctenevm TV avayKaiwy
mréov ovdev ovde Sapov AaBdvre, Kalrrep drydon-
xovta Tardavrov afta wéupavros avT@. Néyerar
Sé nr eis Méudwy dvaBfvar pnt' adXo Tov
Oavpatopéver év Aiyiarte@ nab reptBontrwy taro-
pica axoralovtos yap elvat ratdra Bearod Kai
TpUPaVTOS, OVY, ws aUTos, év UralPpw Tov avTo-
Kpatopa oKknvodvTra mapa Tais émadfeot Tov

TONEMLWY ATTONENOLTFOTOS.
III. ’Evret & darédurre thy cuppaytlav o ItoXe-
patios mpos Tov ToNEmov atrodethtdaas, éxeivp Se
vads aypte Kimpou troptrovs Taptaxe, Kat rept
Tov éxirAouy avTov ucmalouevos Kai Oeparrevwv
éSwpeito ypuaévderov oudpaydov Tay TOAVTEADD,
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LUCULLUS

were having such good-fortune. In fact, nothing is more ungovernable than.:a man reputed to be prosperous; and, on the other hand, nothing is-more receptive of authority than a man who is humbled by misfortune. This was what made the Cyrenaeans at that time so submissive to Lucullus as their lawgiver.

From thence he set sail for Egypt, but was attacked by pirates, and lost most of his vessels. He himself, however, escaped in safety, and entered the port of Alexandria in splendid style. The entire Egyptian fleet came to meet him, as it was wont to do when a king put into port, in resplendent array, and the youthful Ptolemy, besides showing him other astonishing marks of kindness, gave him lodging and sustenance in the royal palace, whither no foreign commander had ever been brought before. The allowance which the king made for his expenses was not the same as others had received, but four times as much, and yet he accepted nothing beyond what was actually necessary, and took no gift, although he was offered the worth of eighty talents. It is also said that he neither went up to Memphis, nor sought out any other of the famous wonders of Egypt ; this he held to be the privilege of a leisurely and luxurious sight-seer, not of one who, like himself, had left his commander-in-chief encamped under the open sky alongside the battlements of the enemy.

III. Ptolemy abandoned his alliance with Rome, out of fear for the outcome of the war, but furnished Lucullus with ships to convoy him as far as Cyprus, embraced him graciously at parting, and offered him

a costly emerald set in gold. At first Lucullus

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TO pev mpatov o AovKovAXos tapnteito, dSetEav-
tos b€ THY yAUd HY TOD Bactréws elxova ovoav
idtav epoBnOn SiwcacOa, un Tavtdracw éyx-
Opos arromhety vopia eis émtBourevdein Kara
Odratrav. éret 5é wAROos ev TapaTr rg VE@V EK
TOV mapanteov jToXewv aOpoicas, mI boo Te-
paricay peTelyov adixnudtwv, ets THY Kumrpov
terrépacey, évraiba muvOavopevos TOUS ‘rONE-
pLlous vavroxobvTas emt ais axpais Tapapurar-
TEL QUTOD, eveahanoe Ta oKagn mdvra., Kal Tais
TONEoLY éyparfe meph Kermadteov Kab ayopas, as
avroOt Thy opav dvapevan. elta AOU pavértos
éEamrivns Kataordcas Tas vads avnxn, Kal ped
pépay pev vperpévors TEV Tots tarioss Kat
Tatrewvois, vuxcrwop & emaLpopevors ets ‘Podov
éooOn. “Podiwr S€ vats adT@ TpooTaparXovTov
Kg@ous érece xal Kuidious trav Baciucav aTran-
ayévras én Laplous TvaTpaTEvEly. éx 5é Xtou
tovs PBacidKxovs avros efnrace, Korogavious
5 mrevdépwoe avAd\aBov 'Esriyovoy tov tupavvov
avuTav.
"Eruyyave be KaT ékelvoy Tov ypovoy Hon
Mcbpidarns 70 Ilépyapov exdeouTr as kal ovve-
TTAApEVOS els Heravnv. éxel 5é Dip Bptov Kare.
YovTos avTov ex ys Kal TONOpKOUVTOS, eis THY
OdratTav adpopar ouvivye Kal sebeesighlis TOUS
mavtTayo0ev oroXouS Tpos avTov, avdpl TOAMNTH
Kal vEvEKNKOTL Te Diu pra cupmrexerOar Kat
TONEMELY ATrEYVOKES. o 6€ TadTa TUVvOpaY, vav-
TUR® de Aevrropevos apos AoveovAnrov érreptrev,
Hxew T@ TTOAW Sedpevos Kal cuvekeretv &yOtoTov
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declined to accept it, but when the king showed him that the engraving on it was a likeness of him- self, he was afraid to reject it, lest he be thought to have sailed away at utter enmity with the king, and so have

some plot laid against him on the voyage. As he sailed along, he collected a multitude of ships from the maritime cities, omitting all those engaged in piracy, and came at last to Cyprus. Learning there that the enemy lay at anchor off the headlands and were watching for his coming, he hauled all his vessels up on land, and wrote letters to the cities requesting winter quarters and provisions, as though he would await the fine season there. Then, when the wind served, he suddenly launched his ships and put out to sea, and by sailing in the day time with his sails reefed and low, but in the night time under full canvas, he came safely to Rhodes. The Rhodians furnished him with more ships, and he induced the people of Cos and Cnidus to forsake the royal cause and join him in an expedition against Samos, With- out any aid he also drove the royal forces out of Chios,! and set the Colophonians free from their tyrant, Epigonus, whom he arrested.

It happened about this time that Mithridates sbandoned' Pergamum and shut himself up in Pitané. Since Fimbria held him in close siege there by land, he looked to make his escape by sea, and collected and summoned his fleets from every quarter for this purpose, renouncing all engagements in the field with a man so bold and victorious as Fimbria. This design Fimbria perceived, and being without any fleet of his own, sent to Lucullus, beseeching him to come with his, and assist in capturing the

1 85 B.c.
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Kat TOAELO@TATOY Bacidéwy, @S un TO Méya Kal
51 TOAN@Y ayoverv Kai TOvwY Stwxopevov GOXov
exguyou 'Pwpaious, MiOpidarns eis ANaBas Hewv
Kal yeyovas évtos apxiav, ov AnPOevtos ovdéva
A , ¥ s A \ 9 \ a A
ths S6&ns olcecOas rEov 7 TOV éuTroday TH puyn
ordvta nai d:adidpdoxovtos émidaBopevovy vp
éavTod pev eFewopevoy THS yas, UT éxeivou dé
A 4 3 Ul > 4 3 4
Ths Oararrns elpryopevov duporépors amrobwa ew
TO Karopbopa, ras 6€ LWAXa ™ pos 'Opxouev®
Kal Treph Xatpoveray vuvovpévas dpirreias éy
ovdevl NOy@ OncecOat 'Pwpaiovs. Kal ovdév jv
> N 4 n f > \ \ a
ajo TpoTrou TWVY EYOMEVoV, ANAA TravTL d7HXov,
as, 6 DipBpia tore treiaGels 6 AovKovAdos ov
paxpay Ov Tepinyayev éxetoe TAS vads Kal ouvé-
dpake Tov ALpéva TH oTOrM, Tépas av elyev oO
ToAELOS Kal pupioy amrnrANayLEVvOL KAKOV ATAVTES
joav. adr' elite Ta pos YAray dixata TpEo-
Bevwv apo tayvros idiov te Kal Kxowod cupdé-
v \ l4 \ v ,
povros, elte rov DiuBpiav prapov évta Kal dhovéa
yeyevnuévov Evayyos avdpos dirou kal atparnyov

dua hirapyiay mpoBarrd.opevos, cite Kata Oeiav
by tia TUYNY TepipEeradpevos avTos TOU! MLA pr-
Sdrov kal durdfas avtayouatyy, ovy tirjKovaev,
Gr\rna MiOpidatn peév éxaredcat tapéoxe Kat
A , 4 > NX \
Katayerdoar THs DipBpiov Suvapews, avros Sé
mparov yey ert Aextod ths Tpwddos BaciduKxas
vads émrupaveicas Katevaupdxnoev, adOis 5é pos
Tevéd@ vavroxoovta peilove twapackevn xatiowv
1 gids rou Reiske, Coraés, Bekker: abrod.
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most hostile and warlike of kings, that the great prize which they had sought with so many toils and struggles might not escape the Romans, now that Mithridates was in their grip and fast in the meshes of their net. If he should be captured, Fimbria said, no one would get more of the glory than the man who stood in the way of his flight and seized him as he was running off. “ Driven from the land by me, and excluded from the sea by you, he will crown us both with success, and the much heralded exploits of Sulla at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia will cease to interest the Romans.” And there was nothing absurd in the proposition. It is clear to everyone that if Lucullus, who was close at hand, had then listened to Fimbria, brought his ships thither, and closed up the harbour with his fleet, the war would have been at an end, and the world freed from infinite mischief. But, whether he ranked the honourable treatment of Sulla above every consideration of private or public advantage, or whether he regarded Fimbria as a wretch whose ambition for command had recently led him to murder a man who was his friend and superior officer, or whether it was by some mysterious dispensation of fortune that he chose to spare Mithridates, and so reserved him for his own antagonist,—for whatever reason, he would not listen to the proposal, but suffered Mithridates to sail off and mock at Fimbria’s forces, while he himself, to begin with, defeated the king’s ships which showed themselves off Lectum in the Troad. And

again, catching sight of Neoptelemus lying in wait
for him at Tenedos with a still larger armament,
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NeorroAepov érrémiet po TOY ddAXwD, 'Poditaxijs
TEVTpOUs emiPeBnnas, nS évavapyet Aapayopas,
avinp edvous Te 'Papaiow Kai Oaracciwv a aryovev
éumespéraros. érreXavvovtos 5é€ poli tov Neo-
mrToNé"ou Kal KeXevaavTos eis éuBoAnVY aryaryeiv
Tov KkuBepyytny, Seicas o Aapayopas to Bapos
THs Baoiuens Kal thy tTpaxvTnTa TOD yad\Ko-
patos ovx éroApnoe cuptrecety avtimpmpos, GAN'
o£éws ex Teptaywyns amtoatpéwas éxéXevoev eri
mpopvay doacGau Kal muecOelons évtav0a TS
VEWS édé£aro THY TANYHV 4PraBi yevouerny, a are
57 Tots Gararrevovar THS VEDS pépert ™ poo mre-
govoav. év Trout 6€ Tay dirov mpoo pepopeveor,
ery Kehevoapevos o AoveovdXos emruaT pépery Kat
ToAXa Spdaas aga AOyou TpémeTas TOUS TrOAELLOUS
Kal Katadtoxet Tov Neowrorepov.
IV. 'ExeiOev d€ LrAXrG mept Xeppovycov : non
péAXOVTL SaBaiver oupBarov TOV TE Topov
aoparh trapetye kal THY oTpaTiay cuvd.eBiBater.
rel O€ ouvOnKav ryEVO[LEVOV McA pidarns pev
amémhevoev els Tov EvEewov rovrov, Sv0rAXas Se
THY 'Aciav Sia pupious TAahavToLs eCnuloce, po -
Taxev avT@ Td TE XP NEAT a, tabdra mpafat Kal
vopia La Korat, TapanvOrov Te doxet THIS. LvrAa
Kader ornT 9s yevéc Oar Tals Troheot, ov povoy
cabapov rat dixatov, GNA Kat TT pGov els. ovr Bapu
Kab oxvOpwm ov DarnpeT nia. wapacX@v éavTov.
MervrAnvaious 6 avTLKpUs aderTaTas éBovXeTo
pev eryvapovijoat Kal Sins TUxXelv petpias éd' ols
mept Mapiov | éEjuaptov, as 8 éwpa xaxodatmo-
1 Mdpiov with Sintenis! and Coraés : Mdvoy.
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LUCULLUS

he sailed out against him in advance of the rest,

on board of a Rhodian galley which was commanded by Damagoras, a man well disposed to the Romans, and of the largest experience as a_ sea-fighter. Neoptolemus dashed out to meet him, and ordered his steersman to ram the enemy. Damagoras, however, fearing the weight of the royal ship and her rugged bronze armour, did not venture to engage head on, but put swiftly about and ordered his men to back water, thus receiving his enemy astern, where his vessel was depressed. The blow was harmless, since it fell upon the submerged parts of the ship. At this point, his friends coming up, Lucullus gave orders to turn the ship about, and, after performing many praiseworthy feats, put the enemy to flight and gave close chase to Neoptolemus.

IV. From thence he joined Sulla at the Cher- sonesus, where he was about to cross the strait into Asia;! he rendered his passage safe, and assisted in transporting his troops. After peace had been made, Mithridates sailed away into the Euxine, and Sulla laid a contribution of twenty thousand talents upon Asia. Lucullus was commissioned to collect this money and re-coin it, and the cities of Asia felt it to be no slight assuagement of Sulla's severity when Lucullus showed himself not only honest and just, but even mild in the performance of a task so oppressive and disagreeable. The Mitylenaeans too, who had revolted outright, he wished to be reasonable, and to submit to a moderate penalty for having espoused the cause of Marius. But when he saw that they were possessed by an

1 84 B.C.

voovras, emimdevoas éxpdtnce padyn Kal xaté-
KrELo eV Eis TA TELYN, Kal TOMOpKiaY TVaTHOAMEVOS
ébérAevoe pev nuépas Kat havepas eis 'EXaiap,
vréotpere 58 ANEANOOTWS Kal Tepl THY ToALY
3 udels evédpay jovyatev. eel 8 araxtws Kal
pera Opdcous ws Epnuov aprracopmevot TO oTpaTO-
medov ot MurvaAnvaio: mponrOov, éretotmecov
avtots @\aBé te wapumodXous Covras nal tov
apuvopévwy TevTaxoctous aréxreivev, avdpaTrodav
dé yuruddas &&F xal rhv adAnv avaplOunrov
mAATATO AéLav.
4 Tov & wept thy "Itadlav xaxdv, & Torte
LvrAAas wal Mdpios adOova cal wavtodara trois
avOpwrrots tapelyov, ov mavu peréoxe Oeia teri
TUXn Tept Tas év 'Agia mpdfes Bpadvvas. ov
pay éXNaTTov TL Tapa YAra Tov adrAwv dirov

éoyev, GAA THY TE ypadny, ws elpnral, TOV
UTopynudtwov éxeive dt edvoray avéOnKe, Kat
TeXeUTOV ErritpotTrov Tov TraLbos eyparpev UTrEpBas
Tloparniov. xal Soxet tovto mparov avrtois
imdptat Siadopas aituov xal Enrotvtias véows
ovat Kal Starrvpois apos So€av. .
V. ’Oriy@ 8 dorepov YvArav arrodaveiv
wrdtevoe peta Mapxov Kotta rept thy éxrnv
kal éBdopunkoorTny mpos.tais éxaTov oXvpTridba.
ToN\\N@v ovv avis avakivovvtav Tov MiOpidatixov
morenov, pn Madpxos avrov ov tmemaidabat, arr’
dvatrerratobat. 510 Kai Aaywv ToY érapyYLoV oO
AovioudXros THY évtos "AXtrewy Varariav nyGero,
mpaktewv wmrolécers peyddwy ovK éxovcav.
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LUCULLUS

evil spirit, he sailed against them, conquered them in battle, and shut them up within their walls. After instituting a siege of their city, he sailed away in open day to Elaea, but returned by stealth, and lay quietly in ambush near the city. When the Mitylenaeans sallied forth in disorder and with the confident expectation of plundering his deserted camp, he fell upon them, took a great number of them alive, and slew five hundred of those who offered resistance. He also carried off six thousand slaves, besides countless other booty.

But in the boundless and manifold evils which
Sulla and Marius were bringing upon the people of
Italy: at that time, he had no share whatever, for, as
some kindly fortune would have it, he was detained
at his business in Asia.! However, Sulla accorded no
less favour to Lucullus than to his other friends.
His memoirs, as I have said, Sulla dedicated to
Lucullus in token of affection, and in his will
appointed him guardian of his son, thereby passing
Pompey by. And this seems to have been the first
ground for estrangement and jealousy between these
two men; both were young, and burning for
distinction.
V. Shortly after the death of Sulla, Lucullus was .

made consul along with Marcus Cetta, about the ©

hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad.2) Many were now trying to stir up anew the Mithridatic war, which

Marcus said had not come to an end, but merely to a pause. Therefore when the province of Cisalpine Gaul was allotted to Lucullus, he was displeased, since it offered no opportunity for great exploits. But what most of all embittered him was

1 84-80 B.c. 2 74 B.C.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

2 parttora 8 avrov evdoxipav Topmnios év I Snpla

mapweuvev, ws GAdos .ovdels erridofos wy, Et
cupBain tmavoacGar tov "TRnpixov modepor,
evOus aipeOncecOat otpatnyos éml MiOpidarnv.
S10 Kal ypnyata aitobytos avtod Kal ypadovtos,
as, ef un Téurrovev, adeis ITBnpiav cat Yeprwpwov
eis “ItaMav dmdfou tas Suvdpers, cuvérpatev o
Aovcoudros mpoPuporata reupOivar Ta Xpjwata
xa pnd ad otwocoiv mpoddcews éxeivov
éravenOeiy vratevovtos avTod’ mdavta yap av
én’ éxelvp yevnoecOar Ta Tis WoAEwWS TrapovTt
PETA TOTAUTHS OTpAaTLAS. Kal yap O KpaTav TOTE
THS TodTelas TO Wpos Yap atavTa Kal réyewv
Kal mpatrew KéOnyos éyOpav twa ampos Aov-
xovdXrov elye, BoeduTTOpevov adtod tdv Biov
aicypav épotav cal bBpews xal mrAnppmedelas
peorov dytTa. TovTOY pev ody AvTuKpus érrodémer’
Aevxtoy 5& Koivrov, ddXov Synpayoyov, érava-
otdvta Tois YvANa ToNTEvpPacL Kal TapaTTeLY
Ta Tpayuata Tetpwpevoy ex Tov KabectarTos,
isia te mWoANa TrapapvOovpevos Kal Snpocia
vovlerav atréctnoe THs Tweipas Kal KaTeaTOpere
THY diroTipav, ws évav padioTa ToOATUKAS Kal
coTnples apYnv voonpatos peyddou peTayerpl-
Oa peVvos.
VI. Ev rovre 8 o tiv Kirtxlay éxov
"Oxtaovios nyyéAOn TeOvnKeds. crrapywovtwv Se
TONN@Y pos THY éemapyiav Kal KéOnyov ws
Suvarwratov bvta SiatpakacOar Oepatrevovtwr,
aris wev o AovKovaAnos. Kiduxtas ov trodvv ele
Aoryov, olopevos 8, ef AABot TavTypy, éyyvs ovansS
Karrradoxias, ddXov ovdéva treupOnoecOat Trore-
486
“hk

the reputation which Pompey was winning in Spain. If the war in Spain should happen to come to an end, Pompey was more likely than anyone else to be at once chosen general against Mithridates. Therefore when Pompey wrote home requesting money, and declaring that if they did not send it, he would abandon Spain and Sertorius and bring his -forces back to Italy, Lucullus moved heaven and earth to have the money sent, and to prevent Pompey from coming back, on any pretext whatsoever, while he was consul. He knew that all Rome would be in Pompey's hands if he were there with so large an army. For the man who at that time controlled the course of political affairs by virtue of doing and saying everything to court the favour of the people, Cethegus, hated Lucullus, who loathed his manner of life, full as it was of disgraceful amours and wanton trespasses. Against this man Lucullus waged open war. But Lucius Quintus, another popular leader, who opposed the institutions of Sulla and sought to confound the established order of things, he turned from his purpose by much private remonstrance and public admonition, and allayed his ambition, thus treating in as wise and wholesome a manner as was possible the beginnings of a great distemper.

VI. At this time there came tidings of the death of Octavius, the governor_of Cilicia, There were many eager applicants for the province, and they paid court to Cethegus as the man best able to further their designs. Of Cilicia itself Lucullus made little account, but in the belief that, if he should get this province, which was near Cappadocia, no one else would be sent to conduet the war against

eyoovTa Mibpidéry, wacay eorpepe enxaviy
vrép Tov pn mpoéa Bat THY emapxiay Eve py. Kat
TeAevTaY Epyov ov ceuvov.ovd' erratvEeToV, ANNWS
§ dvtiopov mpos To TédOS Ex THS avayKns
Umépetve Tapa THY EavTOD hvac.
IIpakia tus hv dvopa Tay éf' Opa Kai Napupia
SiaBontrwy ev TH Tore, TA pev Ara KpEiTTOV
ovdevy avédnv étatpovons yuvaitos, ex Sé Tov
yphobar toils évtuyydvovew avth Kai diareyo-
pévos mpos tas vrép tTav dhirwv aotrovdas xal
TomMTE\Aas TpocdkaBovaa TH ROlTH YapiTL TO
Soxety gidétarpos tis elvav xat Spactnpios —
layuoe péytotov. ws &¢ xal KéOnyov avOodvra
th SoEn tore cal dépovta THY ToAW UINnyayeTo
kal auvnv épa@vtt, Tavtdtacw eis éxetynv
mepinrOev 4 THs Torews Svvapmis: ovde yap
émpatreto tt Snpocia KeOryou pwn omovddlovtos
ovdé IIpasxias pn xerevovans trapda Kebyye.
TavTny ovv wmreXOwv Sdpots o AovKovAXos Kal
xortixeiats (fv O€ mov Kal TQ AovKovrAXr.@
cuppirotipovperny opacbat péyas yuvaixl oo-
Bapa xal Tavnyuplry piabos), evOvs elye Tov
KéOnyov emraiverny kal 7 popveswevov aur@
Kiduxiav. éret 8 arak érvye ravtns, ovdev ere
Tpauciay ovde KeOnyov edeu Tapaxaneiv, ard
TAVTES OMANAS exeive pépovtes evexelpioay TOV
McOpidarixoy Torenov ws vd érépov pndevds
apevov ScatroreunOjvar Suvapevov, Toumntouv pev
ere Leptrapip TporTroreHovvTos, Meréddov 5
atretpnKotos 4&y dia. ynpas, obs eovous av Tis
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Mithridates, he strained every nerve to keep the province from being assigned to another. And finally, contrary to his natural bent, he was driven by the necessities of the case to adopt a course which was neither dignified nor praiseworthy, it is true, but conducive to his end.
There was a certain woman then in Rome, Praecia by name, whose fame for beauty and wit filled the city. In other respects she was no whit better than an ordinary courtesan, but she used her associates and companions to further the political ambitions of her friends, and so added to her other charms the reputation of being a true comrade, and one who could bring things to pass. She thus acquired the greatest influence. And when Cethe- gus also, then at the zenith of his fame and in control of the city, joined her

train and became her lover, political power passed entirely into her hands. | No public measure passed unless Cethegus favoured it, and Cethegus did nothing except with Praecia’s approval. This woman, then, Lucullus won over by gifts and flatteries, and it was doubtless a great boon for a woman so forward and ostentatious to be seen sharing the ambitions of Lucullus. Straightway he had Cethegus singing his praises and suing for Cilicia in his behalf. But as soon as he had obtained this province, there was no further need of his soliciting the aid of Praecia, or of Cethegus, for that matter, but all were unanimous and prompt in putting into his hands the Mithridatic war, assured that no one else could better bring it to a trium- phant close. Pompey was still engaged in his war with Sertorius, Metellus had now retired from active service by reason of his age, and these were the only

évapirrous érrotncato AovxovAdm rept tis
oTpatnyias audisBnrobvtas. ov pny adda
Kotras 0 cuvdpywv abrov ToANa ALTTAapHaAas THY
ovyKANTOV aTrecTadn peTa veov THY IIpoTovTida
gurAdéwv cai mpotorennowyv Bibuvias.
VIT. AoveovaAdos S€é tdypa pév aitobev Exov
cuytetaypévoyv um avrod duéBawev eis THY
"Actav: éxet 5é tHv AdXnv trapérdaBe Svvapmuy,
TavTov peyv waraL ti a tepOoporwv Kat
mreovetiaws, Tov d¢ DipSpravav Aeyopévov Kal
dia cuvnevay avapyias ducpetayxeipiotwy yeyo-
YOT@Y. OUTOL yap joav ot PAdKKoY TE eT
@iuBpiov tov brarov nal otparnyov avnpnKotes
avtov te tov DipBpiay ZwAra mpodedwxéres,
avddbes pev avOpwrot kal wapavopot, paxioe
dé xal tAnpoves per eptrerpias qoAdemov. ov
pv adrAa Bpaxel xpdvm Kal tovTwy To Opdaos
6 Aovxovrros éFéxoe nal tovs adXous - é7é-
oTpeye, TOTE MpaTOV, Ws EoLKE, TrELpwpévoUS
apyovtos adnOivod Kal jyepovos: GAXws 8 &dn-
paywyodvro mpos noovny €O.Copevor orpareverOat.
Ta &€ rev rodepiov odtas elye. Mibpiddarns,
@omwep ol TroAXol THY codioTav, KoumTM@dns €v
apy7n Kat aoBapos él ‘Pwpaiovs dvactas &a-
xévm Suvdpe, Naurpa b€ Kal TravnyupiKR THY
Oyu, elt extrecw@v KatayeAdotws Kal vovern-
Geis, Gre to Sevrepoy trodepety Epedrev, eis
arnOwiv Kal tTpayparixny cuvéoterXre Tas Suva-
pers TapacKkeunv. adedov yap ta mavtobaTra

mwAnOn Kxal Tas modvyA@ocous areas TOV
BapBdpwv, btrrwv Te! Siaypiowyv Kal Siadidov
1 re with S: 5¢.

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men who ceuld be regarded as rivals of Lucullus in any dispute about this command. Cotta, however, his colleague in the consulship, after fervent en- treaties to the Senate, was sent with some ships to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

VII. With a legion which he had raised himself in Italy, Lucullus crossed into Asia,! and there assumed command of the rest of the Roman forces. All these had long been spoiled by habits of luxury and greed, and the Fimbrians, as they were called, had become unmanageable, through long lack of discipline. These were the men who, in collusion with Fimbrius, had slain Flaccus, their consul and general, and had delivered Fimbrius himself: over to Sulla. They were self-willed and lawless, but good fighters, hardy, and experienced in war. However, in a short time Lucullus pruned off their insolent boldness, and reformed the rest. Then for the first time, as it would seem, they made the acquaintance of a genuine commander and leader, whereas before this they had always been cajoled into doing their duty, like crowds at the hustings.

On the enemy's side, matters stood as follows. 'Mithridates, boastful and pompous at the outset, like most of the Sophists, had first opposed the Romans with forces which were really unsubstantial, though brilliant and ostentatious to look upon. With these he had made a ridiculous fiasco and learned a salutary lesson. When therefore, he thought to go to war the second time, he organized his forces into a genuinely effective armament. He did away with Barbarous hordes from every clime, and all their discordant and threatening cries; he provided no

1748.0. Cf. Cemon, i. 5.

49%

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4 € 4 fe) 4 >
KaTacKevas, @s Adhupa TaY KpaTOvYTwWY, OK
adknv twa Tov KextTnévov syta, Eidn pev
nravveto 'Pwpaixa xal Oupeods éuBpebets émn-
yvuTo Kal yeyuuvacpévovs padAXov 7) KEKoopn-
pevous HOpocbev tmmous, met@v 5é pupiddas Sobexa
KaTeckevac pévon eis Pddayya "Pwpaixny, irreis
5é mpos pupious éEaxiaytrAious dvev TOV SpeTravn-

, , a > ® e / ” \
5 dopwov teOpitrev: tadta 5 Hv éxarov: ere 8é
vads ov ypvcopopors axnviow ovdé RovTpois
Tadraxidov Kal yuvatkwvitios Tpupwocats HoKN-
4, b b @ \ a 4
pévas, aX SrA@v cal Berov kal ypnuatov
ye“ovcas Tapaptvadpevos évéBarev cis BiOvviav,
TOV TrOAcwY avOis dopévws Urrodexouévwv ov
, a ? \ L \ > / 4 e
povoy TovTwY, dArAa Kal Thy ‘'Aciay 6Anv rro-
a /
TpoTn Tov éumpocbev voonudtav elyev, apopynta
macyovoay Tro “Pwyaixay Savectav Kal Tedw-
le) \
6 vav' ods DaTepov péev Wotrep ‘Aptruias THY Tpopny
A e
aprravovtas avTav o AovKeovAdos éEjXace, TOTE
dé peTpiwtépous emeparo vovlerav rrovetv, Kat
Tas aTrooTdcels KaTérrave TaV Snuwy, ovdevos,
@s Eros eitreiv, novyalovtos.
VIII. “Ov 5€ wept tadta Aoveovrros Hoxo-
AelTo ypovoy avTod Katpov ecivar vopilov o
Kortas wapecxevalero pdyeo8ar mpos Mibpr-
darnv. Kal TorAXN@Y atrayyeXXOvToV dn Aov-
kovAXov év Ppuyia atparotedevey érriovta,
povov ovK év Tais xepoiv éyew Tov QpiauBov
27 e \ 4 4 > “A
oLvopevos, WS pn peTANABn AovKovAXNOS avTOD,
2 cupBareiv Extrevoe. mAnyels & aua Kal xata
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more armour inlaid with gold and set with precious stones, for he saw that these made rich booty for the victors, but gave no strength whatever to their wearers ; instead, he had swords forged in the Roman fashion, and heavy shields welded; he collected horses that were well trained rather than richly caparisoned, and a hundred and twenty thousand footmen drilled in the Roman phalanx formation, and sixteen thousand horsemen, not counting the scythe-bearing, four-horse chariots, which were a hundred in number : and further, he put in readiness ships which were not tricked out with gilded canopies, or baths for concubines, and luxurious apartments for women, but which were rather loaded down with armour and missiles and munitions of war. Then he burst into Bithynia, and not only did the cities there receive him again with gladness, but all Asia suffered a relapse into its former distempered condition, afflicted, as it was, past bearing by Roman money-lenders and tax-gatherers. These were after- wards driven off by Lucullus,—harpies that they were, snatching the people’s food; but then he merely tried, by admonishing them, to make them more moderate in their demands, and laboured to stop the uprisings of the towns,

hardly one of which was in a quiet state.

VIII. While Lucullus was thus occupied, Cotta, thinking that his own golden opportunity had come, was getting ready to give battle to Mithridates. And when tidings came from many sources that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, thinking that a triumph was all but in his grasp, and desiring that Lucullus have no share in it, he hastened to engage the king. But
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a
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

yiqv cat cata OddXattav éEnxovta pev ar@decev avtavépa axadn, melovs dé TeTpaxtoxertous, autos &é& Kxatakreobeils eis Xarxndova xa ToXLopKkovpevos eis Tas AoveovAXou Yelpas aré-
Brerrev.
3 "Hoay pév ovv ot tov AovcovAXOV apeXnoayTa Kotta mpoow ywpeiv trapoppavres as epnuov aipnoovta tiv MiOpidatrov Bactreiav, nal pa-
META TOV OTPATLWTOV OUTOS Hv Oo NOYOS, ayava-
KTOUVTOD, el pn povoy avTov amore Kal Tous ov auT@ Bovrevodpevos KAKOS) Korras, ana Kal odhicw éutrodwy éorat pexdy apaxel duva-
4 pévors. Aovxovdnos dé T™pos pev TOUTOUS ényn-
yopav elTrey, oo éva Bovror' ay éx TONE MLD THCAL 'Popaiov 7) WavTa NaBelv Ta TOV TrOAEpLOV*
"Apxeddou dé Tob wept Bovoriay Mibpidary TT PATHYNTAVTOS, eit atroatavtos Kal "Pwpaiors TvaTpATEvOVTOS, 61a BeBacroupévov opOevra Aov-
KOVAXOV éV Tlovr TAVTOV opod KPATNHOELV, OUK ébn devAorepos elvat TOY KUN YOY, aoTe Ta Onpia mapeOov él KevOUS avT@v Tous dwrcovs Basdi-
5 Cau. Kal Tar elTr@y emt Mc6pidarny 7 potrye melous pev Eywv Tpia puptous, drmeis 5é duryeAtous TevTaKoaiovs. KaTacTas & es &rroyruy tTav Tohe-
piov Kal Oavpdoas TO TAOS éBovrero pep améexer Oat payns Kat TpiBew TOV xpavor, Mapiou &, ov Leptéptos é& 'I Bnpias areoTadxer MeO p-
Sérn pera duvdpews oTparnyor, ar aVvTnTavTos auTe Kal mpoxaoupevov KaTéoTH _pev eis Taku és duapa oupevos, 70n Sé Goov outa Tuppepo-

6 Goa an ovdemds émripavovs peraBorgrs, dAN’

he was defeated by sea and land, lost sixty vessels,
crews and all, and four thousand foot-soldiers,
while he himself was shut up in Chalcedon and
besieged there, looking for relief at the hands of
Lucullus.

Now there were some who urged Lucullus to ignore Cotta and march on into the kingdom of Mithridates, assured of capturing it in its defenceless condition. This was the reasoning of the soldiers especially, who were indignant that Cotta, by his evil counsels, should not only be the undoing of himself and‘his army, but also block their own way to a victory which they could have won without a battle. But Lucullus, in a harangue which he made them, said that he would rather save one Roman from the enemy than take all that enemy's possessions. And when Aychelaiis, who had held command for Mithridates in: Boeotia, and then had abandoned his cause, and was now in the Roman army, stoutly maintained that if Lucullus were once seen in Pontus, he would master everything at once, Lucullus declared that he was at least as courageous as the hunter; he would not give the wild beasts the slip and stalk their empty lairs. With these words, he led his army against Mithridates, having thirty thousand foot-soldiers, and twenty-five hundred horsemen. But when he had come within sight ot the enemy and seen with amazement their multitude, he desired to refrain from battle and draw out the time. But Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to Mithridates from Spain with an army, came out to meet him, and challenged him to combat, and so he put his forces in array to fight the issue out. But presently, as they were on the point of joining

éEaidyns tod dépos btroppayévtos! ahOn péya
ohpa droyedés eis pécov tav otpatoTédwy
Katadepopevov, TO pev oxnpa wim pdduoTa,
THv Sé Ypdav apyip@ SvaTvp@ TpoceoiKos, WaTe
Scicavtas apudotépovs To dopa SiaxprOjvas.
TovTo pev ovv dacw év Dpvyia mepl tas Neyo-
péevas Otpias cupBhvat To 1aGos.
‘O 8€ ‘AovKovAXos ovdeuias elvat vopilwv

avOpwirivns tmapacKevis ovdé mrovTov Opérat
pupiddas él roku ypovov avTicabnpévwv Trode-
piwv tocavtas, daas ceive MiOpiddarns, éxéXNevorev
ayOfjvar TOV aixpadworev Eva: Kal rpaTov avé-
Kplwe, meTa Tocwv Siait@To acvoKyvev, éreta
jwoaov év TH oKnvh KaTanéXNolTTE GiTOY. : aTro-

xpwvapévou b¢ tavOpwrov Tov pev éxéXevce peTa-
orhvat, Sevtepov bé€ Kai tpitov opotws avéxpivev.
elra auvOels TO THS- TapecKevacpevns Tpodhs
WAHGos mpos TO TaV TpEhomevwv, eyvw TPLOV
h tecodpwv nyepov emiretipovta atrov tovs
moNeuious. Kal TOoAU padAXov ElyeTO TOD Ypovou,
Kal ovvayev els TOV YadpaKka TrapTANOH airov, ws
év apOovois Sudywv avtos éfedpevor tais éxeivav
atroptats.
- IX. "Ev rovt@m &8& MiPpidarns érreBovreve
Kutitenvois werAnyoow év tH wept Xadrxndova
waxy Tpicxyiiiov yap avdpwov Kal déka veov
éotépnyvto. PBouddcpevos ovv Aabeiy tov Aov-
KovArAop, evOds ato Seirrvov vinta dvadavh rat
votepav éxov éxiver: xal POdve THS TOEWS
avTixpus ap' ypépa Trept TO THs 'Adpactedas Spos
1 Sroppayévros with S : amoppayévros.
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battle, with no apparent change of weather, but
all on a sudden, the sky burst asunder, and a huge,
flame-like body was seen to fall between the two
armies. In shape, it was -most like a wine-jar,
and in colour, like molten silver. Both sides were
astonished at the sight, and separated. This marvel,
as they say, occurred in Phrygia, at a place called
Otryae.
But Lucullus, feeling sure that no human provision
or wealth could maintain, for any length of time,
and in the face of an enemy, so many thousands
of men as Mithridates had, ordered one of the
captives to be brought to him, and asked him first, how
many men shared his mess, and ther, how much food
he had left in his tent. When the man had answered
these questions, he ordered him to be removed,
and questioned a second and a third in like manner.
Then, comparing the amount of food provided with
the number of men to be fed, he concluded that
within three or four days the enemy's provisions
would fail them. All the more, therefore, did he
trust to time, and collected into his camp a great
abundance of provisions, that so, himself in the

midst of plenty, he might watch for his enemy's
distress, |
IX. But in the meantime, Mithridates planned a blow at Cyzicus, which had suffered terribly in the battle near Chalcedon, having lost three thousand men and ten ships. Accordingly, wishing to evade the notice of Lucullus, he set out immediately after the evening meal, taking advantage of a dark and rainy night, and succeeded in planting his forces over against the city, on the slopes of the mountain range

2 idpvaas tHv Suva. 'O && AoveovrAros aicbo-
Hevos Kal biabEas myamnae fev ovK éumerov do vv-
TAKTOS els TOUS Tronepious, xabiver dé Tov oTparov
mepl Thy Opgxiay eyouevnv K@pny év Tom Kata
TOV OMY dpioTa TrepuKOTL Kal TaV Ywpiwr, ad'
ov kal &u' Oy avayxaioy hv Tots MiOpidarcKois Ta
emitnoera poutav. 516 Kal mepiraBov TH diavoia
TO ENDNOV OVK ATrEKPUWATO TOUS OTPATLWTAS, GAN'
dpa T@ Oécbar Td otparomedov xa awd TeV
epryov yever Oar owvaryayav avrous éueyadn-
yopnoev, ws OALYOD 7) HMEpOV avalwwTl TO ViKna
mapadwowv ayrois.
3 Kulcxnvods dé McOpidarns Séxa per € éx ys oTpa-
Tomedous TepthaBar, tais 5 vavolv éx aracons
TOV ATO THS HrElpou Sielpyovra THY TOMY etpurov
éuppatas, éxatepwber émroNLoprel, TA pev dda
Siaxetpevous T pos TOV kivdvvov evdapaas Kat way
évexa 'Popatov | éyvwKoras exdéexerOar duaxepés,
dryvootvras 5é darn AoveovaAnos etn xal TO pndev
4 qept avrod merrva Oat TAapaTTopevous. Kaitou
KaTaparis mV 1) oTpatomredeia Kal atromwTos, GNX'
bro THY Mibpisarixay efnrrat avro. Secxvurres
yap avTots TOUS 'Popaious a dvw TapeuBeBAnkoras
""Opare tovtous;" épacar, "'Appevlov oT paros
€oTe Kal Myjdov, Teypavov MiOpidarn KaTOTEp-
'ravtos émuxoupiay.' ob S éFerdjocovto ToTOU-
TOU TroNGLOU TEPLKEX ULEVOV pnd', ef Taparyevorro
AovKovrdos, yopay éTt edeipBar BonGeias édari-
Covtes.
5 Ov pny adra T pWTOS avrois etorreupOels vn
"Apxerdou Anpudvak édpace tiv tod AouvxovAXou

of Adrasteia, by day-break. Lucullus got wind of his departure and pursued him, but was well satisfied not to fall upon the enemy while his own troops were in disorder from their march, and stationed his army near the village called Thracia, in a spot best suited to command the roads and regions from which, and over which, the army of Mithridates must get its necessary supplies. Seeing clearly, therefore, what the issue must be, he did not conceal it from his soldiers, but as soon as-they had completed the labour of fortifying their camp, called them together, and boastfully told them that within a few days he would give them their victory, and that without any bloodshed.

Mithridates was besieging Cyzicus both by land and sea, having encompassed it with ten camps on the land side, and having blockaded with his ships by sea the narrow strait which parts the city from the mainland. Although the citizens viewed their peril with a high courage, and were resolved to sustain every hardship for the sake of the Romans, still, they knew not where Lucullus was, and were disturbed because they heard nothing of him. And yet his camp was in plain sight, only they were deceived by their enemies. These pointed the Romans out to them, lying encamped on the heights, and said: ‘Do you see those forces? It is an army of Armenians and Medes which Tigranes has sent to assist Mithridates.” They were therefore terrified to see such hosts encompassing them, and had no hopes that any way of succour remained, even if Lucullus should come.

However, in the first place, pace was sent in to them by Archelaiis, and told them that Lucullus

mapovaiay. Tovreay 8 amicrovuvrwy Kal vopulov-
TOV avToY TOV TapoVvTwD emi mapnyopig meTha-
opéva eye, HKE mavdaptov aixpadwrov ex TOV
TONE uo amr odedpaxos. Truvdavoueveav &° avrov,
woo Aéyou TOV AovxovAXov elvat, Kateyéra trallew
avTous olopevov. as 8 éwpa, orovddtovtas,

donunve TH Xerpl TOY Kapaxa TOV ‘Popaiwn, ot &
aveDapanaar. Tis dé Aackvvriti60s Aipvns TAE0-
pévns axariow érvena@s. evpeyeOeot, TO wéeyto TOV
avTav o AovKourros dvedxtoas Kat Stayayav
apdkn mpos thy Odratray bcous ex@per oTpaTLw-
ras éeveBlBacev. Erabov 8€ vucros Siarrepdoavres
Kat mapeonrOov eis THY TOAD.
X. "Kotxe 5@ xal rd Deion émOappivac TOUS
Kutixnvous, aryao ev auTay THY avdpayalian,
ardoug TE onpetos évapyéct, Kal THS TOV Pepedar-
Ti@V Eoptijs ever THONS OL pev Hy opouy Boos jLe-
Aaivns mpos THY Ovciav Kal oracrivny TrdoavTes
TO Bowe mapeoTnaay, 7 7 8 iepd cal rpepopevy TH
OQ vopny bev elev, domep TaN Bord TOV
Kubixnvav, éy Th mepaia, Kar’ éxelyny dé TH
nuepay drroxpweioa TAS “ayadns ovn Stevnfato
7 pos THY TOoNW Kal KATETTNO EV ért Thy Ouciav
avurny. évap 5 7 Oeds ‘Aptorayopa T@ Tob Sj pov
YpamparvaTh mapacraca, “Kal pay eryaorye,”
elrrev, “Kw TOV AiBuxov avrAntny érl TOV
Tlovrixoy TadruyKTHY émdyovca. dpdacov obv
Oappetv Tois moNrais.” OaupatovTov dé THY
havyy Tav Kubianvav dp’ jpépa odhov elyev 7
Odr\aoca KATLOVTOS aK pitou TvEevpLaTos, at Te
penyaval tod Bacthéws Tapectacat Tots TELXEo Ly,
Epya Oavpacta Nixwvidouv rot @cccanrod, poite
500

was arrived. They disbelieved him, and thought
he had invented his story merely to mitigate their
anxieties, but then a boy came to them, who had
escaped from his captivity with the enemy. On
their asking him where he thought Lucullus was, he
laughed at them, supposing them to be jesting. But
when he saw that they were in earnest, he pointed
out the Roman camp to them, and their courage was
revived. Again, Lucullus drew out on shore the
largest of the sizable craft which plied the lake
Dascylitis, carried it across to the sea on a waggon,
and embarked upon it as many soldiers as it would
hold, who crossed by night unobserved, and got safely

into the city.
X. It would seem also that Heaven, in admiration of their bravery, emboldened the men of Cyzicus by many manifest signs, and especially by the following. The festival of Persephone was at hand, and the people, in lack of a black heifer for the sacrifice, fashioned one of dough, and brought it to the altar. Now the sacred heifer reared for the goddess was pasturing, like the other herds of the Cyzicenes, on the opposite side of the strait, but on that day she left her herd, swam over alone to the city, and presented herself for the sacrifice. And again, the goddess appeared in a dream to Aristagoras, the town-clerk, saying : "' Lo, here am I, and I bring the Libyan fifer against the Pontic trumpeter. Bid the citizens therefore be of good cheer." While the Cyzicenes were lost in wonder at the saying, at day- break the sea began to toss under a boisterous wind, and the siege-engines of the king along the walls, the wonderful works of Niconides the Thessalian, by

3 nal maTady@ Tmpa@Tov aedyjrovy TO péAXOV' elTa
voros éxpayels amiatos TO péyeOos Ta 7 ara
ouvéeTpipe pnyavnpata wpas Bpayel popi¢, Kal
tov EvAWwov Trupyov éxaTov THxXaV Hfos SvTa
Stacelaas xatéBarev. icropetras dé rav ev "Thi
modrois Kal' Srvov opOjvar tiv "AOnvav idpare
TOAA® peopévyny cat Vropaivovady te tov méTNOVU
Tapeppwyos, Nyouvaay, ws apTiws hKxot BonOncaca
Kutixnvots. cal ornrny twa Soypata Kal ypap-
pata tept TrovTwy éyovaay edeixvvov 'INseis.
XI. MiOpsdarny 5é, dype wev bd TaV éavTod
oTpatnyav pevacilopevos Hyvoes Tov ev TO oTpa-
/ / > / 4 \
roTréi@ Aiwov, nviov Kubianvol dsaghevyovres tHv
, \ 3 a \ / 9 wn
modtopkiay. tayv & éEeppun To didoripov avTov
kal piroverxov ev aicOnoe yevoudvov TeV arro-
pi@v, als of otpati@tat ovvetyovTo, Kal TeV
> al @ A \ aA 2 9
avOpwrropaytav, ate dn wn Geatpixas pnd émidec-
xTix@s AouvxovrAXou TOAELODYTOS, GAAG, TOUTO 87
TO NEeyopevoy, els THY yaoTépa évarropévov Kal
é1rws Upaipnoe THY Tpodny ATavTa TpaypaTeEvo-
2 pévov. 510 Kal hpovprov Tt TroALopKobyTos avTod
™ Kaip@ xpjoacbat aorevdwv o MiOpiddrns
bs 4 > 4 A e a) \
éFérreurpev eis BiOuviay rods pev timeis oxedov
anavras pera Tay Urotuyiwv, Tov dé wefav Tous
bd Va , » ¢ 4

aypnatous. tmuOopuevos 8 o AovKovdnos Ett vuK-
TOS Kev eis TO aTpaTOrTeEdov, rpwl 5é Yevpw@vos
évtos dvadaBav areipas béxa nal thy toirov
997 , a C4 ‘
edLwKeE ViPOLevos kal KaxoTrabayv, @aTe TOAKOUS
umd Kpvous evdidovTas aroNeiTecOqy TaV oTpAa-
502

LUCULLUS

their creaking and cracking showed clearly what was about to happen; then a south wind burst forth with incredible fury, shattered the other engines in a short space of time, and threw down with a great shock the wooden tower a hundred cubits high. It is related, too, that.the goddess Athena appeared to many of the inhabitants of Ilium in their sleep, dripping with sweat, showing part of her peplus torn away, and saying that she was just come from assisting the Cyzicenes. And the people of [lium used to show a stelé which had on it certain decrees and inscriptions relating to this matter.

XI. Mithridates, as long as his generals deceived him into ignorance of the famine in his army, was vexed that the Cyzicenes should successfully with- stand his siege. But his eager ambition quickly ebbed away when he perceived the straits in which his soldiers were involved, and their actual canni- balism. For Lucullus was not carrying on the war in any theatrical way, nor for mere display, but, as the saying is, was “kicking in the belly,’ and de- vising every means for cutting off food. Accordingly, while Lucullus was laying siege to some outpost or other, Mithridates eagerly took advantage of the opportunity, and sent away into Bithynia almost all his horsemen, together with the beasts of burden, and those of his foot-soldiers who were disabled. On learning of this, Lucullus returned to his camp while it was still night, and early in the morning, in spite of a storm, took ten cohorts of infantry and his calvary, and started in pursuit, although snow was falling and his hardships were extreme. Many of his soldiers were overcome with the cold and had to be left behind, but with the rest he overtook the

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tiwtav, Tots 8 aAXNols Tept Tov ‘Puvdaxoy trorapov
KaTanaBwv Tovs Toreuious TOTavTHY TpoTHY
érroinoev, @aTe TAS yuvaixas éx THs AmrodX@vias
mpoepyopévas adaprrale ta hoptia Kal oxv-
Aeveww TOUS Hovevopévous. TroddAav 8, ws ELKOS,
amo0avovrav éddwoav taro pev éEaxioyiror
Kal wAnO0s avapiOuntov vroluyiwy, avdpes 5é
pUpioe TrevraKiaxiAoe’ Kal TOvTOUS aywY TdVTAS
mapetnes Tapa TO oTpaToTedoy TwY TOAELiOD.
Larovaotiou 5& Pavualtw rote mparov wpar

‘Pwpaiors Kapijrous AéyorTos, ef pte TpoTEpov
TOUS PETA VKNTiwvOS ViKHoaVvTas AVTLOXOY WeETO
pnte tovs evayyos mpos ‘Opxouer@ Kai rept
Xarpoveray “Apyedd@ peyaynpévovs éyvwxévae
KapLNAov.
"AAAA TO ye MiOpidarn hevyerv pev eyvworo
THv taxltoTny, avOorxKds 5é AovKovArA® kai dia-
TpiBas oTricw unyavepevos ExTENXE TOY Vavapyov
"Aptorovixoy érl thy EXAnuicnv Oaracoav Kat
Scov ovmw pédXovTos éxrrdeiv ex TWpodocias o
Aovxovarnros éxupievoe peTa ypvcav pupiwv, ods
éxopile StapOep@y te Tod “Pwpyaixod otpated-
patos. éx toutov MiOpidarns péev Edvyev érrt
Oaraccav, a S€ otpatnyol mefol Tov otpaTov
annyayov. émimecwmy dé AovKovrAros avrois
mept Tov I\pavixov Twotapov elXé TE TapmoddOUS
kal Siopupiovs arréxtewe. Réyovta. 8 é« Tov
TavTos akodovOwy Te Kal payipwv dydou pupE-
“4 \ A
-dées ov trodkv 87 TOY TplIdKoVTAa HeiTrovcas
SiahOaphvar.
XII. AoveovrAr0s 5€ mpeTov els Kuvbixov
mapedOay amédavoev Hdovns Kal pirodpoa uvns
504

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LUCULLUS

enemy at the river Rhyndacus and inflicted such a defeat upon them that the very women came forth from Apollonia and carried off their baggage and stripped their slain. Many fell in the battle, as it is natural to suppose. Six thousand horses and fifteen thousand men were captured, besides an untold number of beasts of burden. All these followed in the train of Lucullus as he marched back past the camp of the enemy. Sallust says, to my amazement, that camels were then seen by the Romans | for the first time. He must have thought that the soldiers of Scipio who conquered Antiochus before this, and those who had lately fought Archelaiis at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia, were unacquainted with the camel.

Mithridates was now resolved upon the speediest

possible flight, but with a view to drawing Lucullus away, and holding him back from pursuit, he dispatched his admiral, Aristonicus, to the Grecian sea. Aristonicus was just on the point of sailing when he was betrayed into the hands of Lucullus, together with ten thousand pieces of gold which he was carrying for the corruption of some portion of the Roman army. Upon this, Mithridates fled to the — sea, and his generals of infantry began to lead the army away. But Lucullus fell upon them at the river Granicus, captured a vast number of them, and slew twenty thousand. It is said that out of the whole horde of camp-followers and fighting men, not much less than three hundred thousand perished in the campaign.

XII. Lucullus, in the first place, entered Cyzicus in triumph, and enjoyed the pleasant welcome which

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mperovens: érretta vautixoy é—nprvero Tov 'EX-
AnoTovTov emuTopevopevos. eis dé Tpwdda xara-
VOels donqvace pev ev TH iep@ tis Adpodirns,
carakounOels Sé vintwp edoxer tHv Oedv opav
édeoracay avt@ xal Aéyoucay'
Ti nvwmoces, peydOupe ANéov; veBpor 5é
ToL eyryus.
éFavaoras Sé xal tovs plrovs xarécas Sinyeiro
thy oy ére vuxtos obons. kal tapnoav é&
"TAiov ties atrayyédrovtes @P0at wept tov
"Axatav Nupéva tptoxaidexa trevrynpers Tov Bace-
Axa érrl Ajuvov trEovcas. EvOUs ody avaybels
tovtous ey elXe nal Tov otpatnyoy avTay
"Iaidwpov amréxrevver, emt 5é tovs adAXous efrret
mpppéas. ot 5é érvxyoy oppodvres, cal Ta mola
wTavTa mpos TY Yyiv auvédKovTes ato TeV
katactpwpatrev Sueudyovto Kat manyas édldocav
tois mept tov AovxovAdov, ote mrepiTrAcioaL

Tov xwpiov Sidovtos ovte PBidcacOat vavo
MeETEWpPOLS TAS TOV ToArELiwY MpocEpnpEetcpévas
TH yn Kal BeBnkvias aodaras. ov pny adra
ors 4 mpoaRorAnv tia 7 vHyoos elyev atroBi-
Bales Trav oTpaTiwTa@V Tos apiaTousS, of KATOTLV
Crime ovTes TOiS TroAEpiors Tos pev SrépOetpov
auTav, tovs 8& nvdyxalov amoxomrrovtas Ta
mpuuyynata Tay veav kal devyovtas ex THs yas
GNANAOLS TE TUYKPOVELY TA THOLa Kal Tais éPo-
ais tais aepl tov AoveovAdrov wrromlarrep.
TodAol pev ovv duehpOdpnaay, év dé Trois ddodou
avnxOn Kal Mdptos 6 Tapa Yeptwploy otparnydos:
500
LUCULLUS

was his due ; then he proceeded to the Hellespont, and began to equip a fleet. On visiting the Troad, he pitched his tent in the sacred precinct of Aphrodite, and in the night, after he had fallen asleep, he thought he saw the goddess standing over him and saying :—

«Why dost thou sleep, great lion? the fawns
are near for thy taking."

Rising up from sleep and calling his friends, he narrated to them his vision, while it was yet night. And lo, there came certain men from Ilium, with tidings that thirteen of the king's galleys had been seen off the harbour of the Achaeans, making for Lemnos Accordingly, Lucullus put to sea at once, captured these, slew their commander, Isodorus, and then sailed in pursuit of the other captains, whom these were seeking to join. They chanced to be lying at anchor close to shore, and drawing their vessels all up on land, they fought from their decks, and sorely galled the crews of Lucullus. These had no chance to sail round their enemies, nor to make onset upon them, since their own ships were afloat, while those of their enemies were planted upon the land and securely fixed. However, Lucullus at last succeeded in disembarking the best of his soldiers where the island afforded some sort of access. These fell upon the enemy from the rear, slew some of them, and forced the rest to cut their stern cables and fly from the shore, their vessels thus falling foul of one another, and receiving the impact of the ships of Lucullus. Many of the enemy perished, of course, and among the captives there was brought in Marius, the general sent from

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

nv yap érepop0arpos, kal wapnyyerto Tots
otpatiotais evOus éemumdéovow bro AoveovddXou
pndéva xrelvew érepopOarpor, Stras éFoverdiaOels
cat eabuBpicbels aroOavor.
XIII. Tevopuevos § ard tovtwv nrrelyeto mpos
Thy avtod MiOpidarou Siwkiv. Arrive yap ere
wept BiOuviavy etpnoev avtov vireo Boxwviouv
hpovpovpevov, Sv avros evornoomevoy TH Hvyh
peta vey atrectddKet wpos Nixopndecav. adrAa
Borwvios pev ev LapoOpaxn pvovpevos Kat
mayvnyupitwyv xadvortépnoe: MiOpidarnv oé ava-
yOévra peta TOD aToXoU, omrevdovTa Tply émt-
otpépetv AovKovAndor ets Tov Uovrov etomrdedoaz,
KaTarkapBave. yeiuov torus, Ud ob Ta pev
agnprayn, Ta & éBuv0icOn trav cKxadadv, Taca
8 4 wapadia tev vavayiov exdepopévwv bird
TOU KAVOwvoS el TOAAAS Huépas HY TepitrAEws.
autos 5é, THs odxdbos, éf' Ho Eres, pte pos
THY Yyhv evmapakopictov bia péyeOos ev cdr@
peyar@ Kal KvpaTe TudrA@ tTaptotapévys Tots
xuBepynrats, rpos Te THY Odrdacaay Abn Bapeias
rat UmepdvTrov ryevomevns, petepBas eis AnOTPpL-
Ov pvoTrdpava Kal TO cOpa mretpatats ey yet pi-
gas aveArriatrws Kal tapaBorws eis tHY Hovtiany
"Hpdxrevav ekeowOn. AovnotrArA, 8 avepéontos
h Wpos THY avyKANnTOV aTéBn gHiroTimia. Wn-
difouerns yap avtis mpos Tov médreyov aro
TpioxiAiwy Ttardvtwv éEapriecOar vavutixor,
éx@rvoe Tréewpas ypdupata Kal peyarnyopycas,
508

LUCULLUS

Sertorius. He had but one eye, and the soldiers had received strict orders from Lucullus, as soon as they set sail, to kill no one-eyed man. Lucullus wished Marius to die under the most shameful insults.

XIII. These 'things done, Lucullus hastened in pursuit of Mithridates himself. For he expected to find him still in Bithynia under the watch and ward of Voconius, whom he had dispatched with a fleet to Nicomedeia that he might intercept the king's flight. But Voconius was behindhand, owing to his initiation into, and celebration of, the mysteries in Samothrace, and Mithridates put to sea with his armament, eager to reach Pontus before Lucullus turned and set upon him. He was over- ' taken, however, by a great storm, which destroyed some of his vessels and disabled others. The whole coast for many days was covered with the wrecks dashed upon it by the billows. As for the king himself, the merchantman on

which he was sailing was too large to be readily beached when the sea ran so high and the waves were so baffling, nor would it answer to its helm, and it was now too heavy and full of water to gain an offing ; accord- ingly, he abandoned it for a light brigantine belonging to some pirates, and, entrusting his person to their hands, contrary to expectation and after great hazard, got safely to Heracleia in Pontus.. And so it happened that the boastful speech of Lucullus to the Senate brought no divine retribution down upon him, When, namely, that body was ready to vote three thousand talents to provide a fleet for this war, Lucullus blocked the measure by writing a letter, in which he made the haughty boast that

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

a> dvev Sardvys xal tocavrns mapacKevis
tais Tov cuppayov vavol MiOpidarny exBaret
THs Oardrrns. kal TtovTo .bmnpEey avT@ Tod
Geod cuvaywvicapévov. réyerat yap 'Aprépsdos
xorw IIpiarrivns 6 yerpov éureceiv trois Tovre-
Kols auAjcacW avTis TO iepov nal Td Eoavoy
avacTrdaaact.
XIV. TloArAay 5é AoveovAr@ rapawovvrwy
avaBdrrecbat Tov modrepov, od dpovtiaas évé-
Bare dia Bidvvias cal Tandarias eis thy Baat-
ALKHnY, ev apy pev evdens TOV avayKaiwy, WoTeE
Tardras recOat tpicpupiovs Exacrov énl trav
@pov Kopifovta aitov pédupvov, mpoiway dé Kal
KpaTr@av amavrev eis tocavTnv nAOev evrroptay,
@ote tov pev Bodv év otpatorrédp Spaypis, TO
5¢ dvdpaodsov tetrdpwv a@viov elvat, thv &
GAAnv relay ev ovdevl Aye TOvs pev ATroAEiTELY,
tous Sé avaricxev. Sudbecis yap Fv ovdevos
mpos ovdéva TavTwv eviropovvTwV.
"ANN Goov POeipar Kal Kaxwoar THY yaopay
immacdpevot Kal Katadpapovtes aypt Geptond-
pas kal tov rept Bepuwdovta trediwy, 7ATL@VTO
tov AovKovAXdov, StL Wdoas Tpoodyerat Tas
Tones, KaTa Kpdtos bé ovdeuiay Honcev ovde
Taper xXnKEr avtots wpernOnvar Siaprdcacuv.
'Aa Kal vow," pacar, "'Amoov, rod evdat-
pova kat jhovatay, ov peya ov épyov, el, Tes
EVTELVAL THV TTONLOPKLAY, KATATXELY, ATOXNLTTOVTAS
Has ayer mept tv TiBapnyev nat Xadrdaiwv
510

500

without any such costly array, but only with the ships of the allies, he would drive Mithridates from the sea. And this success he gained with the assistance of Heaven. For it is said that it was owing to the wrath of Artemis of Priapus that the tempest fell upon the men of Pontus, who had plundered her shrine. and pulled down her image.

XIV. Though many now advised Lucullus to suspend the war, he paid no heed to them, but threw his army into the king's country by way of Bithynia and Galatia.! At first he lacked the necessary supplies, so that thirty thousand Galatians followed in his train, each carrying a bushel of grain upon his shoulders ; but as he advanced and mastered everything, he found himself in the midst of such plenty that an ox sold in his camp for a drachma, and a man-slave for four, while other booty had no value at all. Some abandoned it, and some destroyed it. There was no sale for anything to anybody when all had such abundance.

But when Lucullus merely wasted and ravaged the country with cavalry incursions, which penetrated to Themiscyra and the plains of the river Thermodon, his soldiers found fault with him because he brought all the cities over to him by peaceable measures ; he had not taken a single one by storm, they said, nor given them a chance to enrich themselves by plunder. " Nay," they said, "at this very moment we are leaving Amisus, a rich and prosperous city, which it would be no great matter to take, if its siege were pressed, and are following our general into the desert of the Tibareni and the Chaldaeans

1 73 B.C.

SIT

épnutav MiOpiddtn rodeunoovtas." adda
Tatdta pev ovx av o AovxovaAdos éArricas eis
TogoUTOV aTrovolas Tovs oTpaTLwTas Trapaya-
yelv, cov vaTepov éEépnvav, Urrepewpa Kal ovK
éppovretev, exeivors 8 atrenoyeiro paddov, of
Bpadurira xatynyopovy avrod SvatpiBovros év-
Tav0a rept Kopas Kal modes ov ToAXOD TLVOS
akias wodvv xpovon, éavtos 8 avbfecOat McOpida-
TY. "Adto yap," én, "TodTo Kal Bothopat

Kal KaOnpar TExvalon, péyay avis yevéoOat Tov
dvdpa wal cuvaryaryety avrov alopaxov Suvapep,
iva peivy Kab ra) puyn TpogtovTas nas. 4 ovx,
opare TOAMY Lev aur@ Kal aréxpaprov épnuav
oTricw Tapovcap; eyyus 62 0 Kavxacos xal dpy
TOANA Ka Badea Kal puptous Bactrels puyopa-
oovTas apxobvra katakpiyrat cat Tmepiayeiy-
Ody 5 Teepe 000s ets “A ppevian é x Kafelpwv,
Kal brrép “Appevias KaOnrar Tiypavns, Bagtrevs
Bacthéwr, exov Suvapuy, 7 Hdp0ous TE TEpt-
xomtes THS ‘Aalas Kal Toners ‘EdAnvioas es
Mnédiav avaxopiter . nal Yupias xparel Kad Tlanar-
orivys Kal TOUS aro Ledevcou Bacireis arroxtiv-
yuet, Ovyatéepas auToy ayer Kal yuvaixas
dvac mda Tous. ovTos oixetos éorte Mifpidarov
Kal yauRpos. ov mrepiowerat dé avrov tKETNV
uTrobeEdmevos, ANNA TroAEunoEL TPOS Huas* Kal
aomevoovtes exBaddXeELv McOpidarnv cuvOuveic omer
émomacacbar Teypdvny, mana pev aitias Sed-
pevov éb nas, evrrperrea Tépav 6é ovK av AaBovra
THS brép avdpos oixelou Kal Bactréos avaryKa.-
aOévra btrovpyeiy avT@. ti ovv Set Todd’ Has
512

LUCULLUS

to fight with Mithridates.’”’ But these grievances, not dreaming that they would bring the soldiers to such acts of madness as they afterwards performed, Lucullus overlooked and ignored. He was, however, more ready to defend himself against those who denounced ‘his slowness in lingering there a long while, subduing worthless little villages and cities, and allowing Mithridates to recruit himself. “That,” he said, “is the very thing I want, and I am sitting here to get it. I want the man to become powerful again, and to get together a force with which it is worth our while to fight, in order that he may stand his ground, and not fly when we approach. Do you not see that he has a vast and trackless desert behind him? The Caucasus, too, is near, with its many hills and dells, which are sufficient to hide away in safety ten thousand kings who decline to fight. And it is only a few days’ journey from Cabira into Armenia and over Armenia there sits enthroned Tigranes, King of Kings, with forces which enable him to cut the Parthians off from Asia, transplant Greek cities into Media, sway Syria and Palestine, put to death the successors of Seleucus, and carry off their wives and daughters into captivity. This king is a kinsman of Mithridates, his son-in-law. He will not be content ‘to receive him as a suppliant, but will make war against us. If we strive, therefore, to eject Mithri- dates from his kingdom, we shall run the _ risk of drawing Tigranes down upon us. He has long wanted an excuse for coming against us, and could not get a better one than that of being compelled to aid a man who is his kinsman and a king. Why, then, should we bring this to pass,

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éEepyacacbar nal SidaEar MtOpiddarnv ayvootvra,
pe? ov eoti avT@ pds Huds TrorEuNTéoy, Kat
pn Bovropevov, ddr ddokodvta cuvedavvey eis
Tas Tuypdvou xelpas, adX ovyi Sovtas avT@
xpovov é€x TOV oiKeilwy TapacKevdcacOat Kat
ava0appivat, Koryors xal TeBapnvois cat Karr-
madokiv, mv ToANdKis KEexpaTynKapev, paxerOae
padrrXov Mydocs cal "Appevioss;”
XV. ’Eml rotovTav RAoyiouav yevopevos o
AovxovaAnros Tepi te THY Apsoov SieTpie, para-
KOS TH TolopKia Ypwpevos, Kal peTa Yetwava
Moupyvay atrodkureayv émt THs wodLopKias éBadilev
él MiOptdarnv xaOnpevov év KaBeipos kat
Stavoovpevov Udiotacbat tovs ‘Pwpaious, 7Opor-
opévns avT@ dSuvdpews eis TEeTpaKicpupious Te-
Sous, immmeis S€ tetpaxtoyirLous, ols éOdpper
pddtota. Kai duaBas tov Avxov trotapmov eis TO
mediov mpovxaretto Tovs ‘Pwpaious. yevouévns
8 immopayias Epuyov ot “Pwpato Topmrmyos
8 avnp ovx ado€os éddw tTetTpwpmévos Kal pos
tov Mi@pidarny avnyOn xaxds bTd TpavpaTwr
Staxeipevos. wuOopéevov $é€ rot Bactrtéws, e€
owes vr’ avtov yevnoerat didos, “"Av ye ny,”
Ey, ‘“““Pwpators Starrayns: et 58 pu}, TOAEmWLOS.””
TovTov pev Oavpdoas 0 MiOpiddrns ove ndiknoe.
Tob dé AoveovaAXovu Ta peéev Tedia TOV TrONEMLOY
immoxpatouvtwy ded.0T0s, THY & Operviyy OxvOUVTOS
mpoiévat, pakpav Kal tr4wdn Kal dvcBaTov otcay,
ddickovtat Ties Kata toyny "EAAnves els Te
514

501

LUCULLUS

and teach Mithridates, when he dees not know it,
with what allies he must carry on war against us?
Why help to drive him, against his wish and as a last
resource, into the arms of Tigranes, instead of giving
him time to equip himself from his own resources and
get fresh courage? Then we shall fight with
Colchians and Tibareni and Cappadocians, whom we

have often overcome, rather than with Medes and
. Armenians.”
XV. Influenced by such considerations as these, Lucullus lingered about Amisus, without pushing the siege vigorously. When winter was over, he left Murena in charge of the siege, and marched against Mithridates,! who had taken his stand at Cabira, and intended to await the Roman onset there. A force of forty thousand footmen had been collected by him, and four thousand horsemen ; on the latter he placed his chief reliance. Crossing the river Lycus and advancing into the plain, he offered the Romans battle. A cavalry fight ensued, and the Romans | took to flight. Pomponius, a man of some note, having been wounded, was taken prisoner and led into the presence of Mithridates, suffering greatly from his wounds. When the king asked him if he would become his friend provided he spared his life, Pomponius answered : “ Yes, indeed, if you come to ‘terms with the Romans; otherwise I must remain your enemy.” Mithridates was struck with admir- ation for him, and did him no harm.

Lucullus was now afraid of the plains, since the enemy was superior in cavalry, and yet hesitated to go forward into the hill country, which was remote, woody, and impassable. But it chanced that certain

1 72 B.C.

omnXatov Katauyovtes, HY o mWpexBUTepos ‘Ap-
Tepidwpos vméayeto Tov AovKovAXov afew Kal
Katactdoew énl TOT@ aoharet TO oTpatoTréd~@
Kai ppovpioy éyovts Tots KaBelpacs érrixpepdpevov.
mustevoas 5 o AovKovAXos aya TH vuxtl mupa
Kavoas éxive: Kal Ta oteva TrapeNOwy daoparas
TO Xwpiov elye, Kal pe? Huépav vrepedpaiveto
TOV TOELIoY LOpvwY TOV oOTpaToV é€v ToOTrOLS,
of paxyecOat Bovropévp mpocaywyny édidocav
xal To py BiacOjvac trapetxyov navyalovti.
Tyv@pny pev ovv ovdérepos elyev ev ye TO
mapovtt Staxwduveverv: éXahov dé Néevyerar TAY
BacirtKkay Siwxdvtav brrotepvopévous atravtiaat
tous ‘Pwpalous, éx 8& tovTov cuptecovtas ayo-
viterOar wrELtovwv Exatépots del mpooywopéver.
téros 8 evixwv ot Bacidxot Kal thy huyny éx
Tov xdpaxos ot ‘Pwpaio: Kabopavres ijoxyaddov
Kal cuvétpexov mpos Tov AoviovaAdoy, aye ohas
Seopevor xal ovvOnpa mpos THY waxnv airodytes.
o &€ BovAdpevos avtovs pabeiy, nAiKov éoti év
ayave toréuov Kal Kivdvve tapovoia cal drpis
nryewovos Eudpovos, éxelvous pev novylay ayer
exéXevoev, avTOS 5 xaréBawvev els TO Tedtov Kal .

Tots WpwTols aTravTnaas TOV devyovTwy latacBat
mpooétake kat dvactpépey per’ avtov. tei bév-
tov 8é trovrwy Kal of Aosrol petaBaropevor Kal
TvaeTavTes OALy@ TrOV~@ TpéTOVTAL TOUS TroNELLOUS
Kal Katadiwxovel els TO oTpaTomedoy. émray-
eXOwv dé AovKovrros atipiay Teva Tols hEevyouce
vevopiauernv mpocéBare, KerXevoas ev yIToOLY
516

LUCULLUS

Greeks, who had taken refuge in a sort of cave, were captured, and the elder of them, Artemidorus, promised to serve Lucullus as a guide, and set him in a place which was safe for his camp, and which had a fortress overlooking.Cabira. Lucullus put confidence in this promise, and as soon as it was night, lit his camp fires and set out. He passed safely through the narrow defiles and took possession of the desired place, and at daybreak was seen above the enemy, stationing his men in positions which gave him access to the enemy if he wished to fight, and safety from their assaults if he wished to keep quiet.

Now neither commander had any intention of hazarding an engagement. at once. But we are told that while some of the king’s men were chasing a stag, the Romans cut them off and confronted them, whereupon a skirmish followed, with fresh accessions continually to either side. At last, the king’s men were victorious. Then the Romans in their camp, beholding the flight of their comrades, were in distress, and ran in throngs to Lucullus, begging him to lead them, and demanding the signal for battle. But he, wishing them to learn how im- portant, in a dangerous struggle with the enemy, the visible presence of a prudent general is, bade them _ keep quiet. Then he went down into the plain by himself, and confronting the foremost of the fugitives, bade them stop, and turn back with him. They obeyed, and the rest also wheeled about and formed in battle array, and in a short time routed the enemy and drove them to their camp. When he came back, however, Lucullus inflicted the customary disgrace upon the fugitives. He bade them dig a twelve-

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

alaatou opv—ar Swdexa trodav rdadpov, éperta-
Tov Kat Oewpévov TOV GAXOV TTPATLOTODV.
XVI. ’Hy 5é res ev T@ McOpiddtov otpatroréd@
Aavéapiwv Suvacrns ’ONMakéds (yévos 8 eiolv ot
Aavédpuor BapBapov tov mept thy Mawrev

oixovvTwv), avnp doa yYetpos Epya xal ToOAmNS ev
ToAéu@ cratrpenns amavra, Kal yvounv ixavos
éy Tois peyiatol, ete & éuperns omsrjoa cal
Oepatrevtixos. ovTos éExwv adel Tpos Tiva Tov
opopirAwy Suvactav apihrav wbrép mpwtewv
xal EnrotuTiay vréoyeto TO MiOpidatn péya
Epyov, atroxtevety AovxovAdov. érratvéoaytos 5é
tov Baciréws Kai twas adt@ mpooBaXdovTos
émitndes atipmias eis mpootroinow opyns adbermd~
aato mpos AoveovAXov: o 8 daopevos &dé€ato:
AOYOS yap WV avTOD TOAVs ev TH oTpatoTrédo:
cal Tax TrELPMMEVOS nomacero THY TE dyxivovay
avuTov Kal TO ALTTAapés, WaTE TpaTrétns Kal oUDvE-
Spiou tore troteta Oar Kowwwvov.
"Eel & éSdxer xarpov Eye o Aavddptos, Tov
pev tamov Ew Tov yapaxos éxéXevoe Tpoayaryety
Tous Traioas, avTos dé peonuBSpias otons Kal
TaY oTpatioTav éevdialovTwY Kal avaTravopevey
éBadsbev emi thy oTpatnyteny axnyny, ws ovdevos
KwAvVaoVTOS eicedOeiy avdpa auvyOn Kal doyous
Twas akiovs omovdns T@ oTparny®@ copitecy
doxovta. Kav clanjrOev adeds, et 1 0 TWOAAOVS
avnpnKkas otpatnyous brves AovKovAXov Ecwoer.
éruyyave yap nabeviwv: xal Mevédnpos, els Ta
KaTevvaoT@y, Tapa tais Ovpais éotas ovK ehy
Kata Katpov New tov OnrOaxoy, dpte AoveovAXOU
mpos avatravaw ex paxpas aypunvias Kal Tovar
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foot ditch, working in ungirt blouses, while the rest of the soldiers stood by and watched them.

XVI. In the camp of Mithridates there was a Dandarian prince named Olthacus (the Dandarians are a tribe of barbarians dwelling about Lake Maeotis), a man conspicuous as a soldier for qualities of strength and boldness, of a most excellent judgment, and withal affable in address and of insinuating manners. This man was always in emulous rivalry for the precedence with a fellow prince of his tribe, and so was led to undertake a great exploit for Mithridates, namely, the murder of Lucullus. The king approved of his design, and purposely inflicted upon him sundry marks of disgrace, whereupon, pretending to be enraged, he galloped off to Lucullus,

who gladly welcomed him, since there was much talk of him in the camp. After a short probation, Lucullus was so pleased with his shrewdness and zeal, that he made him a table companion, and at last a member of his council.

Now when the Dandarian thought his Spceieanity had come, he ordered his slaves to lead his horse outside the camp, while he himself, at mid-day, when the soldiers were lying around enjoying their rest, went to the general's tent. He thought no one would deny entrance to a man who was an intimate of the general, and said he brought him certain messages of great importance. And he would have entered without let or hindrance, had not sleep, the destroyer of many generals, saved Lucullus. For it chanced that he was asleep, and Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, who stood at the tent-door, told Olthacus that he had come at an inopportune time, since Lucullus had just betaken himself to rest after

5 tocovTwy Sedwxdtos éavtov. érel 8 ove arryet KeXevovTos, GAN é&dn Kal KwAVOVTOS EicerEd-cecOat mepi wpadynatos avayxaiov Kul peyddou diarexO7vat Bovropevos, dn mpos opynv o Mevédnpos elrr@av pndcv avayxaotepov Tob cw-GecOat AovKovArXov amewoato Tov avOpwirov dpporépas tais yepoiv. o bé deicas imeEnOe Tov Yapaxos, Kal AaBwv Tov immov dmnracev eis TO McOpiSdrou otpatomedov ampaxtos. otTwsS dpa xal Tois mpayywacw 0 Kalpos WamTep Tots pappdxots Kal thy awlovoay Kal THY avaipovoay pomny mpootiOnow.

XVII. 'Ex rovrov Swpvatios pev emt cirov xoptdny érréuhOn pera Séxa orreipav' Kal xaTa-SiwyOels bd Mevdvdpou, Trav MiOpiddrov otpa-THYyav évds, avTéoTn Kal cupBarwv ovo éerroinae qoAvwv Kal TpoTny THY TrodEniov. aves dé rrEeph-Gévros '"Adpiavod peta Svvdpews, Bras ex Teptov-alas éywou of otpati@tas citov, od meptetde Me-Optdatns, AAW amréoteire Mevépayov cal Mipova TOANOY pev iTTTéwV, TONA@Y Oé TEeCaV HYOUMEVOUS. OUTOL TavTEs, WS AéyeTal, TANY SvEly KaTEKOTN-gav bro tov 'Popaiwv. Kxal MiOpidatns peév éxpumTtTe THY TUuhopay ws ov Toca'THY ovcar, GAA juKpdyv, TMpOTKEKpOUKOTwWY aTreipia TOV oTparnyay, "Adptavos S€ Napspos TwapnpciBero TO oTpatoTredoy TodAds KuTaywv audtas aitou kal Aadipwv yeuovoas, wate Suvcbupiay pev

avtT@, Tapaxny dé xal poBov dpi}yavov éumecety
Tois aTpatiatalis. édé60xTo ey ovy pnKéTt
péverv: érrel Sé apockéteutrov of BaotdKol ta
opérepa ypnpata Kal’ yovyiav, tovs § dddous
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50:

his long watching and many hardships. Olthacus did not retire at the bidding of Menedemus, but declared that even in spite of him he would go in, since he wished to confer with the general on urgent business of great importance. Then Menedemus got angry, declared that nothing was more urgent than the preservation of Lucullus, and pushed the man away with both hands. Then Olthacus, in fear, left the camp, took horse, and rode off to the camp of Mithridates, without effecting his purpose. So true is it that in active life, as well as in sickness, it is the critical moment which gives the scales their saving or their fatal inclination.

XVII. After this, Sornatius was sent with ten cohorts to get supplies of grain. Being pursued by Menander, one of the generals of Mithridates, he faced about, joined battle, and routed the enemy with great slaughter. And again, when Adrian was sent out with a force to procure an abundance of grain for the soldiers, Mithridates did not look on idly, but dispatched Menemachus and Myron, at the head of a large body of cavalry and footmen., All these, it is said, except two, were cut to pieces by the Romans. Mithridates tried to conceal the ex- tent of the disaster, pretending that it was a slight matter, and due to the inexperience of his generals. But when Adrian marched pompously past his camp, convoying many waggons laden with grain and booty, a great despair fell upon the king, and confusion and helpless fear upon his soldiers. They decided, there- fore, to remain where they were no longer. But when the king’s servants tried to send away their own baggage first, and to hinder the rest from going, the soldiers at once got angry, pushed and forced

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éx@Avov, 76n Kal mpos dpyny él tas éEodous
oOovpevor kal Bralopevor TA ev YpnpaTa hpTra-
Cov, avtovs 8¢ amécdhattov. Sirov Kal Aopiraos
Oo aTpatnyos ovdey Erepoy Exar } THY Toppvpav
mept avtov ama@neto bia Tavtnv, ‘Eppaios Sé o
Ourns KaterratnOn wept Tas TUAas.
Avros 8 o MiOpiddrns, obte orradod twos
ote immokouov wapapeivavros avt@, auveké-
weocevy amd Tov oTparowédou Tois TrOANOIS ava-
peptyuévos, OVS tmmourtav BaciduKey evTropy-
gas, AXN oé rrov xatidwy avdtov év TH pevparte
THs Ttpomtns éxeiyns Stadhepopevov LItoXcpatos

o evvotyos tarmov éywy autos anenndnoe Kal
mapéoxyev. dn yap avrov ot ‘Pwpyaton xatetyov
érixe(pevot’ Kal Taye. pev ovK atreditrovTo ToD
ANaBeiv avtov, GX’ ArAOoy Eyytota TovTOU, dtdo-
maroutia dé Kal puxporoyia oTpatiwtiKn TO
ToAXols ayaot Kal peyarots Kevdvvors SuwKxopevov
éx paxpovd OApapa “Pwpaiovs ddeireto xal
AovcovArov amertépnoe vixovTa Tov emdbrXowv.
hv pev yap év éduxt@ tis Si@Fews o varexpépwv
Tov avdpa ‘ros, nutovov dé TaVv TO xXpucior
xoutlovrwy petatv tod Bactdéws lr arro TavTo-
patov Tapeorecovtos, eite TOU Bactréws érri-
Tndes éuBadrovros avTov eis Tods SiwKovrtas,
dpravovres kal cuddéyovtes TO Ypucioy Kal
Siapayopevor pos GAAyAOUS KaOvaTEpNCaY. Kai
ov TOUTO povoy avTaV aTréXavaE THS TWAEovEeFLAS
AovKcovaAros, adda Kal tov él Tay aToppHTav
tod Bacitéws dvta Kaddiotpatov o peéev aye
éxéXevoev, of & adyovtes aicOopevor tevtaxocious
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their way to the exits of the camp, and there
plundered the. baggage and slew the men in charge
of it.. There it was that Dorylaiis, the general, with
nothing else about him but his purple robe, lost his
life for that, and Hermaeus, the priest, was trampled
to death at the gates.

Mithridates himself, with no attendant or groom to assist him, fled away from the camp in the midst of the throng, not even provided with one of the royal horses ; but at last the eunuch Ptolemaeus, who was mounted, spied him as he was borne along in the torrent of the rout, leaped down from his horse, and gave it to the king. Presently the Romans, who were forcing the pursuit, were hard upon him, and it was for no lack of speed that they did not take him. Indeed, they were very near doing so, but greed, and petty soldier's avarice, snatched from them the quarry which they had so long pursued in many struggles and great dangers, and robbed Lucullus of the victor’s prize. For the horse which carried the king was just within reach of his pursuers, when one of the mules which carried the royal gold came between him and them, either of his own accord, or because the king purposely sent him into the path of pursuit. The soldiers fell to plundering and collecting the gold, fought with one another over it, and so were left behind in the chase. Nor was this the only fruit of their greed which Lucullus reaped. He had given orders that Callistratus, who was in charge of the king’s private papers, should be brought alive to him, but his conductors, finding that he had five hundred pieces of gold in his girdle, slew him.

Ypucobs UTEelwopévoy amréxTewayv. ov pny adda
TouTos pev errétpevre TOV YapaKka TropOfjoat.
XVIII. Ta 8¢ KdBetpa rAaBov nal tdv dd\rwv
ppoupiwy Ta wreloTa Onoavpous Te peydXous epee
Kat Seopmrnpia, ToAdK@y pev "EAXHVOY, TOANOY
5é auyyevav tod Bacrréws xaberpypévov, ols
madat téOvavar Soxotow ov awrnplav, adr
avaBiwow ai Sevrépav riva yévvnow % Aoveovn-
dou yYdpls trapéoyev. édrw Sé xal dderh7 Tod
McOpisarou Niooa owtnpioy ddwow: ai § aro-
TaTw Tov Kwdvyou Kal Kal” Hovytav arroKetcBat
Soxotcat rept Papvdxeav aderApal wal yuvaixes
oixtp@s amwXovto, MiOpiddtov wéuwavtos én’
abras é« tis duyis Baxxidny ebvodyov. Foav

dé peta TroAA@y aderddai te S00 Tod Ractréws,
‘Pwkdvn xal Yrarepa, wep! recoapdxovta ery
mwapOevevopevat, Kal yapetal Svo, yévos Twvides,
Bepevien péev éx Xtov, Movipn dé Mernaia.
, e A 4 9 a @ @
TAUTNS O WrEloTOS HY Noyos ev Tois” EAAHawDy, OTe
Tov Baciréws TreipavTos avTHy Kal puptious trev-
TAKLOXLALOUS Ypvaods Tpodréuapavros avrécyxe,

4 Aa 4 > 7 * A 4
MEXpt OD yauwv éyévorTo ouv0nxat kal Siddnua
méurpas avth Baciitocay avnyopevoev. adrn xal
jwapa Tov adrV Ypovoy aviap@s elye Kal arre-
Opnvet thy tod awpatos ede tws ws Seororny
A 9 > 9 \ > A \ \ , 9
pev avt avdpos auth, ppovpav oé BapBapov avrt
yauov Kal olxov mpokevncacav, toppw Sé mov
THs EAddS0s5 arrexicpévyn Tols éAmtaOeiow aya-
Gots dvap cuvertt, tov 8 adrdnOwov exeivwy
aMéa TEPNTAL,
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However, Lucullus allowed such soldiers as these to plunder the enemy's camp.
XVIII. In capturing Cabira and most of the other strongholds, he found great treasures, and many prisons, in which many Greeks and many kinsfolk of the king were confined. As they had long been given up for dead, it was not so much a rescue as it was a resurrection and a sort of second birth, for which they were indebted to the favour of Lucullus. Nyssa, a sister of Mithridates, was also © captured ; and her capture was her salvation. But the sisters and wives of the king who were thought to be at farthest remove from danger and quietly hidden away in Pharnacia, perished pitifully, since Mithridates paused long enough in his flight to send Bacchides, a eunuch, to compass their death. Among many other women, there were two sisters of the king, Roxana and Statira, about forty years old and unmarried ; and two of his wives, of Ionian families, Berenicé from Chios, and Monimé, a Milesian. The latter was most talked of among the Greeks, to the effect that though the king tempted her virtue and sent her fifteen thousand pieces of gold, she resisted his advances, until he entered into a marriage contract with her, sent her a diadem, and greeted her with the title of Queen. But her marriage had been an unhappy one, and she bewailed that beauty which had procured her a master instead of a husband, and a guard of Barbarians instead of home and family, dwelling as she did far, far away from Greece, where the blessings for which she had hoped existed only in her dreams, while she was bereft of the real blessings to which she had been wonted.
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Kat 8) rod Baxyidov mapayevopévov ral
mpoordgavtos avtais amroOvycKev, ws éexdorTn
Soxoin paotov elvas xal advToratov, Teptatra-
gaca THs Keharys TO Siddnua TO TpaxnrA®
mepipe kal avnptncey éavtTny. taxv § amrop-
payévtos “"O xarnpapévoy,” edn, “ paxos, ovdé
Wpos TOUTO pot ypynotywov ~on;” KadKElvo ev
anéppipe mpoomrvcaca, te 6& Baxyidn rhv
opayny tmapécyev. 7 5é Bepevirn xvdxa papud-
xov ANaBovca, THs pnTpos avTH Trapovans Kal
Seopévns, petédwxe. xal ouvetémov pev dudo-
Tépat, npKkeoe O€ TOU hapudxou Svuvayty ets TO
ao Gevérrepov capa, THY 5¢ Bepevixny ovxy scov
&dec mriodcay ov« amrnrdakev, adr bua bavarovca
Tov Baxyisov amevoovtTos atremviyn. Déyeras Se
Kal tov aydpwy dder\paov éexelvwv thy pev érra-
pwuévny modra Kal roidopodcav exmeiy To
ddppaxov, tiv d€ Yrarecpav obre Svodnpov tt
PbeyEapévnv ov7 ayevvés, ANN errawvovcay Tov
adergov, Ste mepl Tov cw@patos xivduvevov ove
NHEANTEV AVTAY, GAXA Tpovvonaev eXevOépas Kal
avuBpiorous amobavety. tadta pev ov dice
Xpnorov dvta Kal gdirdvOpwirrov jria tov Aov-
xouNNov.
XIX. ’Eddoas 8 dypt Taravpuv, bev ipépa
TEeTapTN ™ pOTEpop épOaxer McOpidarns eis ’Ap-
peviav mpos Trypavny tepevyws, atrorpémetat.
Kataotpewdpevos d¢ Xarédaiouvs xal TiBapnvors
xal thy pixpav Appeviay traparaBov Kai ppov-
pia xal TodEs TapacTnodpevos, “Arriiov pev
Gree pos Tuypavny éEarrav McOpidarny, abros
28 we mpos 'Apsodv re rrodsopxoupévynv. aitios

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And now Bacchides came and ordered them all
to die, in whatever manner each might deem easiest
and most painless. Monimé snatched the diadem

from her head, fastened it round her neck, and hanged herself. But her halter quickly broke in two. “O cursed bauble,” she cried, “ couldst thou not serve me even in this office?” Then she spat upon it, hurled it from her, and offered her throat to Bacchides. But Berenicé, taking a cup of poison, shared it with her mother, who stood at her side and begged for some. Together they drank it off, and the force of the poison sufficed for the weaker body, but it did not carry off Berenicé, who had not drunk enough. As she was long in dying, and Bacchides was in a hurry, she was strangled. It is said also that of the unmarried sisters, one drank off her poison with many abusive imprecations on her brother ; but that Statira did so without uttering a single reproachful or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother because, when his own life was at hazard, he had not neglected them, but had taken measures to have them die in freedom and under no insults. Of course these things gave pain to Lucullus, who was naturally of a gentle and humane disposition.

XIX. Lucullus pushed on in pursuit as far as Talaura, whence, four days before, Mithridates had succeeded in escaping to Tigranes, in Armenia ; then he turned aside. After subduing the Chaldaeans _and the Tibareni, he occupied Lesser Armenia, reducing its fortresses and cities, and then sent Appius to Tigranes with a demand for Mithridates. He himself, however, came to Amisus, which was still holding out against the siege. Its success in

> 4 , e \ ? ,
5S hv Kadndipaxos 0 otpatnyos cpmerpia. pnxyave-
fo) A 4
KS jTapacKkeuns Kal Sewdtnte tavoupyias, donv
f , a , e ,
moNlopKia SéxeTal, TAELTTA AUTTHGAS Pawpatous:
av vaTtepov éowxe Sixnyv. Tote 8 bre AovKovrAXOV
, e 4? ww 3 4 “~
xataotparnynbeis, up iv Eos elyev wpav THs
npepas amrdyew Kal dvaravey Tovs oTpaTiwTas,
3 ? 4 , > 4 4
év éxeivyn poaBarovros aidvidias Kal Katacxov-
TOS OU TOAV pépos TOV TElYoUS, avTOS éxNLTTOY

THY TodkWw Udy ev, elite POovdv awpernOjvar
e 4 v e , A e aA o
Pwpatos, ete pactavny huyis eavtT@ pnxava-
/ A U
3 pevos. ouvdels yap éeppovTele TeV éxdeovTwr,
GANA ws h PACE avabpapodaa trond TA Teiyn
MWEplegXEV, OL PeV OTPATLATAL TrapecKevdlorvTo
mpos aprrayny, o 6é AovKovAXos olxtetpwy atrod-
Aupevnv THY Tod eEEwOev éBonOer pds TO Tp
kal oBevvivat Twapexdre, pndevos avt@ mpocé-
9- > 3 , a / \
YovTOS, GAN éeEartoupévwy TA YpnuaTa Kal peTa
Bons drrra Kpovovtwr, Ews exBracbels érérpewer,
@S avuTHy ye THY TOL EEaLpNadpEvos TOU Tupds.
e \ > 4 ¥ 4 \ 9
4 ot S€ Tovvaytiov érpakav. mavta yap é&epeu-
vavtes UT AapTddwy Kal mavtayod das émt-
dépovtes avtol Ta TAEioTA THY OiKnudTeV Kabei-
Lov, wate Tov AovKovAXoY eciceNOovTa pel” Huée-
\ V4 \ \ f. > a e
pav kat daxpvoavta mpos Tovs dPidous eitretvy, ws 504A
TokvdKls On BAAav pakapicas pddota TH
onMEpOV Hepa THY Tavdpos EvTUXiay Davyaceter,
5 6Tt c@aat BovrAnGeis edurvHAOn Tas ‘"AOnvas. “Eye
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this was due to Callimachus, its commander, who, by his acquaintance with mechanical contrivances and his power to employ every resource which the siege of a city demands, had given the Romans the greatest annoyance. For this he afterwards paid the penalty. But at this time, he was simply out- generalled by Lucullus, who made a sudden attack at just that time of day when Callimachus was accustomed to draw his soldiers off from the ramparts and give them a rest. When the Romans had got possession of a small part of the wall, Callimachus abandoned the city, first setting fire to it with his own hands, either because he begrudged the visitors their booty, or because his own escape was thus facilitated. For no one paid any attention to those who were sailing away, but when the flames increased mightily and enveloped the walls, the soldiers made ready to plunder the houses. Lucullus, out of pity for the perishing city, tried to bring aid from out- side against the fire, and gave orders to extinguish the flames, but no one paid any heed to his commands. The soldiers all clamoured for the booty, and shouted, and clashed their shields and spears together, until he was forced to let them have their way, hoping that he could at least save the city itself from the flames. But the soldiers did just the opposite. Ransacking everything by torch-light and carrying lights about everywhere, they destroyed most of the houses themselves. When Lucullus entered the city at daybreak, he burst into tears, and said to his friends that he had often already deemed Sulla happy, and on that day more than ever he admired the man’s good fortune, in that when he wished to save Athens, he had the power to do so. “ But upon

8,” ébn, “tovrov Cnrwrny yevopevoy ets THY
Mopptou Sckav 6 Saipwv mrepréatycev.”
Od pny add’ ée Tov Tapéyvtwy avarapBave
érretpato THY TOMY. Kal TO pév TIP SuBpor KaTé-
aBecav &« tuwos Oeias TUYNS Tepit THY ArXwou
avTny cupmecortes, Ta 5é TELTTA TOV aTTOAW-
AOTwY avTos Ere Trapo@v dv@Kxobdopunoe, Kal Tous
devyovtas ’Amonvav édé€ato, Kal TaY adNwv
‘EAAnVaY KaTa@Kice Tos Bovropévous, elxoot Kal
éxaTov cTadiwy Ywpav tpocopicas. Hv & H ToAs
"AOnvaiwyr *atroixos, év éxeivors apa Tois Katpois,
év ols Hxpaley 7 Suvayis adtav Kal Kartetye THY
Garaccap, oixicGeioa. val dtd TovTO TrOAXOL TOV
Thv “Aptotiwvos tupavvlda Bovropévory hevryery
eloTAEVaAVTES AUTOD KaT@KOUY Kal peETElLYoY TIS
momTelas, ols cuvé8yn TA olKela Kaxa hevyovowy
aTrokavaal THY ANNOTPLWY. AANA TOUS ye TwOEv-
tas aut@av o AovKovrAdrgos dyhtéoas Karas Kal
Staxocias éxdotm Spaxpudas émidovs atréoretne.
Tote kal Tupavviav o ypappatixos éddw: Mov-
pnvas 8 avtav éEntncato cal AaBwv damnrevOé-
pwcev, avedevOépws TH Swped ypnodpevos. ov
yap n&iov AovxovAXos dvépa S10 Tradetav éatrov-
Sacpévov Sodrov yevéoOar mporepor, elt’ aredev-
Oepov. adaipesis yap Rv ths bTapyovans } THS
Soxovons édevOepias Sdaus. GAXa Movpyvas peév
oux évtad0a povov wpOn Torv Ths TOU oTpaTn-
you KaXoxayabias atrodéwv,
°

me,” he said, “who have been so eager to imitate
his example, Heaven has devolved the reputation of
Mummius.”’
However,. as far as circumstances allowed, he en- deavoured to restore the city. The fire, indeed, had been quenched by showers which fell providentially just as the city was captured, and most of what the soldiers had destroyed he rebuilt himself before his departure. He also received into the city those of the Amisenes who had fled, and settled there any other Greeks who so desired, and added to the city’s domain a tract of a hundred and twenty stadia. The city was a colony of Athens, founded in that period when her power was at its height and she controlled the sea. And this was the reason why many who

wished to escape the tyranny of Aristion! at Athens sailed to Amisus, settled there, and became citizens. In flying from evils at home, they got the benefit of greater evils abroad. But those of. them who survived were well clothed by Lucullus, and sent back home, with a present of two hundred drachmas apiece. Tyrannio the grammarian was also taken prisoner at this time. Murena asked to have him as his own prize, and on getting him, formally gave him his liberty, therein making an illiberal use of the gift which he had received. For Lucullus did not think it meet that a man so esteemed for his learning should first become a slavé, and then be set at liberty. To give him a nominal liberty was to rob him of the liberty to which he was born. But this was not the only case in which Murena was found to be far inferior to his commander in nobility of conduct.

1 Tyrant of Athens when the city was besieged by Sulla,
87 B.C.
53!

-PLUTARCH'S LIVES .

XX. AoveovrAros Sé rpéretar mpos Tas év
"Acla Tronres, OT WS, TOV TOAELLKOY Epyov ayoAGd-
Covtos autTov, Kat dinns TiWOs peTacyn Kat
Odeo pav, av eri Toduy Ypovov evden THY érapyiav
ovoav appnto Kal amiotot duatuyiat Katetyov,
UTO TOV TEAWYOY Kal TOV SavecaTtav TopOoupéevnv
kat avdpatrodiCopévyy, mumpdoKey idia peév viovs
eUmpetrets Ouyatépas te mapOévous, Snuosia &
avab pata, ypadas, tepous avdpidvras avayKa-
Copéeveny. avtois 6é Téhos pev i mpoabérors
yevopévors Sovrevew, ta 6é po TOUTOU Yare-
TOTEpA, oVoLwwLs pol kal Kuyerdes cal immo. Kar
ordo els DratOpot, KavMaTos pev éy pie, puxous
8 eis mnrov éuBiBalopévov 4 Jmayov, OOTE THY
SouXelav cevrdyDevav Soxely elvat Kal elpyyny.
TOLAUTA per KaKa Aovcovdros evpwv év tals
TorEeTLv OAlY@ YpoV@ WdvTwV amnrdXrAak~eE TovS
adixoupévous.
Iparov pep yap éxatoorny éxédXevoe Kal pr)
TAEOV Els TOUS TOKOUS Doyiker au: devTEpov dé
TOUS aK poTepous Tou dpxatou TOKOUS amréxowe:
To 5é TpiTov Kal peyLaTon, érafe TOV TOU \pEew-
hetdéTou Toa oScov THD TeTaptny poepioa Kap-
Tova Oat TOV davera Thy") be TOKOV Keparaicp
guvarpas ea TEPNTO TOD TAVT OS" Bor' ép éeAXATTOVE
Xpove TeTpaeTias SiarvOfvar Ta Xpéa Travta Kat
Tas KTNOELS éXevbépas amrobo0hvat Tois Seomorats.
qv dé TodTo KOLvov Savetov éx Tav Svc puplor
taravtov, ols tHv "Aciay é&ypiwoev 6 was:

Kal Surrobyv amredoOn Ttois Saveicacw, br éxelvov
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LUCULLUS :

XX. Lucullus now turned his attention to the cities in Asia,! in order that, while he was at leisure from military enterprises, he might do something for the furtherance of justice and law. Through long lack of these, unspeakable and incredible misfor- tunes were rife in the province. Its people were plun- dered and reduced to slavery by the tax-gatherers and money-lenders. Families were forced to sell their comely sons and virgin daughters, and cities their votive offerings, pictures, and sacred statues. At last men had to surrender to their creditors and ~ serve them as slaves, but what preceded this was far worse,—tortures of rope, barrier, and horse ; standing under the open sky in the blazing sun of summer, and in winter, being thrust into mud or ice. Slavery seemed, by comparison, to be disburdenment and peace. Such were the evils which Lucullus found in the cities, and in a short time he freed the oppressed from all of them.

In the first place, he ordered that the monthly rate of interest should be reckoned at one per cent., and no more; in the second place, he cut off all interest that exceeded the principal; third, and most important of all, he ordained that the lender should receive not more than the fourth part of his debtor’s income, and any lender who added interest to principal was deprived of the whole. Thus, in less than four years’ time, the debts were all paid, and the properties restored to their owners unen- cumbered. This public debt had its origin in the twenty thousand talents which Sulla had laid upon Asia as a contribution, and twice this amount had been paid back to the money-lenders. Yet now, by

1 71-70 B.c.

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- PLUTARCH’S LIVES

avnypévov 5n Tols ToKois eis Sodexa pupiddas
TANaVTOD. éxetvot pev ovv ws Sea mem ovd ores
év ‘Poyn TOU AovKovdXov cateBown, xkat xpn-
paw aviotacay €m avuTov évious TOY Snpayayav,
peya Suvapevor kal TONOUS UTroXpEws meTOUN-
pévor TOV TONLTEVOMEVOD. o 6€ Aovoudros ov
povov baé TOV Ev merrovOoT@y nyanato Snpeov,
add\Aa Kal Tats addaus erapxiars modeives 7; mY,
eddarpovilovcats TOUS NyE“wovos ToOLOvTOUV TU-
yovTas.
XXI. "Ammuos d€ KAwé.os, O mepupbels pos
Teypavny (nv 5€ 0 KrAadcos adedpos THiS TOTE
AovxovAXr. cvvoiKovens) TparTov pev UTo TOV
Baciixay odnyav KUKNOV Tia Kal TepiBoArny

éxovo av ovK dvaryKkatay Kab ToT} MEpOV odov bua
THIS avw Ywpas aryOpevos, pnvicavros auT@ THY
evOetay oOov amrehevBépou Zupou 70 yévos, éx-
TPETETAL THs paxpas exeivns Kat copiatixhs,
éppaabar ppacas TONNE Tots BapBapas & ayoryois,
Kal bu TLE pay Odvyov TOV Evdparny Tepacas
els “Avtioxetay nKE THY emt Aadyns. ETELTA
Teypavny avrov Kedeva Beis TEpLLevely (amrqy yap
évias étt Tov év Powixy TONEWY KaTaaTpepo-
pevos), Todos pev @OKELWTATO TOV vrovhws
dK pow pera TOU "Appeviov Suvactav, wv els Fv
Kab ZLapRinvos 0 THis Topdunvijs Bacrrevs,
qodnais Se pupa TOV Sedovdwpevev mOdewv
Siar epropevass 1 pos aurov wrécyeto thy Aov-
kovAdrov Bonfeav, évy TO TapovTe Kedevoas
navy ate.
"Hy yap ovK dvacyetos 7 Tov Appeviov dpyr

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LUCULLUS

e reckoning usurious interest, they had brought the
total debt up to a hundred and twenty thousand
talents. These men, accordingly, considered them-
selves outraged, and raised a clamour against Lucullus
at Rome. They also bribed some of the tribunes to
proceed against him, being men of great influence,
who had got many of the active politicians into their
debt. Lucullus, however, was not only beloved by
the peoples whom he had benefited, nay, other pro-
vinces also longed to have him set over them, and
felicitated those whose good fortune it was to have
such a governor. |
XXI. Appius Clodius, who had been sent to Ti-
granes (Clodius was a brother of her who was then
the wife of Lucullus), was at first conducted by the
royal guides through the upper country by a route
needlessly circuitous and long. But when a freedman
of his, who was a Syrian, told him of the direct
route, he left the long one which was being trickily
imposed upon him, bade his Barbarian guides a long
farewell, and within a few days crossed the Euphrates

and came to Antioch by Daphne.! Then, being ordered to await Tigranes there (the king was still engaged in subduing some cities of Phoenicia), he gained over many of the princes who paid but a hollow obedience to the Armenian. One of these was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. He also promised many of the enslaved cities, when they sent to confer with him secretly, the assistance of Lucullus, although for the present he bade them keep quiet.
Now the sway of the Armenians was intolerably

1 The great Antioch on the river Orontes. Daphne was the name of a grove near the city consecrated to Apollo.

at

Tous Edanow, GNA xareTry Kal pddara TOD »
Bacrrews avTov TO ppovnpa T parytKov Kal Umép-
oyKov év Tais peydhaes evTUxiass éryeyovet,
TavTov, 6 boa tnrovatv ot Todnol Kal Javpdtovow,
ov povov 6vTwY Tepl avToV, AAA wat bv QuTOoV
yeyovevar doKoUVTMY. dp&dpevos yap aro pLKpas
Kat KaTagppovoupéerns édmbos éOvn TOANA KATE-
aTpeparo, Kal THY Tdp0ov, QS ddXos ovoeis,
Sivapu éTAaTELVWOoED, 'Ever Ys THY Mego-
qoTtapiay EVETTANCE, ToXXous pev é€x Kuersxlas,
qTOANOUS o é€x Kamradoxias avactaatous KaTOL-
xitov. éxivnoe 8 && nOay cal "ApaBas TOUS
Lenviras peTayayov Kai mAnotov (dpvcas, O71rws
XPBTO bv éxeivov tails éurropiats. Bacireis dé
Toot yey hoa ol Oeparrevovtes aurov, TéeT TAPES
dé, ods ael mepl avrov elyev Gomrep oT ad0US
v) Sopupopous, immoTn bev éNavvovtt melous
mapaGéovras év XeT@via rows, KcaOnpevp dé Kal
xenpativovre TEPLETTATAS emndraypevars 80
adAH ov Tats XEpaty, Omrep édoxet waddtoTa TOV
TX NPAT OV eFoporoynacs elvat Sovdelas, olov a a7ro-
oneveoy THY édevOepiav Kal TO oO pa T@ Kupi—p
TAPEXOVTOY madeiv € ETOLULOTEPOV n Tovar.
Taurny pevTor THY Tparypoiav ovxX UroTpecas

ovo cx aryels o "Amos, ws éTUXE AOYOU 7 pa-
TOV, avTiK pus fev épn M.6p Sa amagov
opetropevoy Tots AovkovAaAov OpuapBors 7 h KaTay-
yeXov Teypavn TONELOD, dare TO Teypaynv,
Kaitep év Siaxvaet TOU Tpoo@rrov Kal pecdudpare
TET AAT LEV" TELp@LEVOY aKovery TOV Royor, wn
rAaGetv TOUS TapovTas HANOLWLEVOY TH mappnoig
TOU veavioxov, Pwvns ayedov érxevbépas a aKovovta
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ian.
Lar

grievous to the Greeks. Above all else, the spirit of the king himself had become pompous and haughty in the midst of his great prosperity. All the things which most men covet and admire, he not only had in his possession, but actually thought that they existed for his sake. For though he had started on his career with small and insignificant expectations, he had subdued many nations, humbled the Parthian power as no man before him had done, and filled Mesopotamia with Greeks whom he removed in great numbers from Cilicia and from Cappadocia, and ' settled anew. He also removed from their wonted haunts the nomadic Arabians, and brought them to an adjacent settlement, that he might employ them in trade and commerce. Many were the kings who waited upon him, and four, whom he always had about him like attendants or body-guards, would run on foot by their master's side when he rode out, clad in short blouses, and when he sat transacting busi- ness, would stand by with their arms crossed. This attitude was thought to be the plainest confession of servitude, as if they had sold their freedom and offered their persons to their master disposed for suffering rather than for service.

Appius, however, was not frightened or astonished at all this pomp and show, but as soon as he obtained an audience, told the king plainly that he was come to take back Mithridates, as an ornament due to the triumph of Lucullus, or else to declare war against Tigranes. Although Tigranes made every effort to listen to this speech with a cheerful countenance and a forced smile, he could not hide from the bystanders his discomfiture at the bold words of the young man. It must have been five and twenty

dua mévte Kal eixocw érav tocaita yap éBaci-
7 Nevoe, wadAXoV 5é VBpicev. arrexpivato pev ody
7® 'Anmip py mpojcecOat Mibpidatnv, Kat
'Pp / ") 70 A
Pwpatovs moAguov apyovtas apuvetOat. Aov-
KovAAw &° dpyrlouevos, Ott Bacthéa povov avror,
ov Baciréwv év TH emioToAnH Mpoanyopevoer,
ovd autos dvTvypddwv avtoKpdtopa mpoceitrev.

évreprpe S¢ S@pa TO Ami Aaptrpd, Kal wn AaBor-
TOs GNAa TrEiw TpoaeOnKev. €x TOUTwY oO” AmmrLOS
ovK eérwv Soxely ExOpa twi Siwbeicbar piddnv
SeEdpevos pilav amémeue ta Aowrd, Kal Sia
Tayéwy amndauve TPOS TOV avTOKpAToOpA.
XXII. Teypavns 5¢ MiOpidarny mporepov péev
9 \ 3 aA > gs > \ Cal >] A A
ovde idety nEiwoev ode mTpoceLTrety oiKetov avdpa
4 b , 4 > > > JS
Bacireias exten TwMKOTA THALKAUTNS, GAX ATLULWS
Kat UTepnpaves arwtdtw wepieidey avtov Tpo-
Tov Tiva ppoupovpevoy ev ywpiors éEXwdeot Kal
a / \ \ a A 4
vooepoiss tote 5é adv Tin Kal diroppocvvy
2 petevéurpato avutTov eis ta Bacideva. Kal 87
‘NOyov yevouévwv atoppntwv Tas mpos aAANXOUS 506
’ ; e , ? a A inv 3
EOepdmrevov vrrowias él Kkax@ Tov irr, Ets
éxeivous Tas aitias TpéTovTes. Ov HY Kal
Mntpodwpos o LKnos, dvnp eimety od andys
N VA b A \ , 4 4
Kat TroAupabns, axun S€ pirias TocavTn ypnad-
Mevos, MOTE TATIP TpocayopeverOat Tov Bact-
3 Adws. TovToV, ws Eotxev, o Tiypavns treupbevta
\ e \ “a 4 \ > A
mpeaRevtny vd tov Mudpiddtov mpos avtov
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LUCULLUS

years since he had listened to a free speech. That was the length of his reign, or rather, of his wanton tyranny. However, he replied to Appius that he would not surrender Mithridates, and that if the Romans began war, he would defend himself. He was vexed with Lucullus for addressing him in his letter with the title of King only, and not King of Kings, and accordingly, in his reply, would not address Lucullus as Imperator. But he sent splendid gifts to Appius, and when he would not take them, added more besides. Appius finally accepted a single bowl from among them, not wishing his rejection of the king’s offers to seem prompted by any personal enmity, but sent back the rest, and marched off with all speed to join the

Imperator.
XXII. Up to this time Tigranes had not deigned to see Mithridates, nor speak to him, though the man was allied to him by marriage, and had been expelled from such a great kingdom. Instead, he had kept him at the farthest remove possible, in disgrace and contumely, and had suffered him to be held a sort of prisoner in marshy and sickly regions. Now, however, he summoned him to his palace with marks of esteem and friendship. There, in secret conference, they strove to allay their mutual suspicions at the expense of their friends, by laying the blame upon them. One of these was Metrodorus of Scepsis, a man of agreeable speech and wide learning, who enjoyed the friendship of Mithridates in such a high degree that he was called the king's father. This man, as it seems, had once been sent as an ambassador from Mithridates to Tigranes, with a request for aid against the Romans. On this

Seouevou BonOeiv émt 'Papaious jpeto: "Xv Ss
aibtos, @ Mntpddwpe, ti wor rept tovTwv Trapat-
veis;" Kxakeivos elte mpos TO Tuypdvov cupépov
elte MiOpidatny cwlecBar pr BovdAopevos, ws ev
mpea Bevtns épn xerevew, ws 5é cvpBovros atra-
yopevev. tat éEnveyxev o Tiypdyys tO Me-
Opidatn Kal Kxateimev ws ovdév épyacopévm Tov
Mntpodwpov avnxectov. o & evOds aynpnto Kat
peravota Tov Trypavnv eiyer, od TravTéed@s bvTa
T® Mntpodape ths cuppopas aitcov, ddrAa powny
Tia T@ Tpos avTov ExGe Tod MiOpiddtov tmpoc-
. Oévra, wdras yap brovAas elye pos Tov avdpa,
Kal Tour épwpdOn TaV aToppHTwy avTod ypap-
pdtov arovrwv, év ols qv nab Mytpodwpov
amovécOat Svatetaypévov. Oarrev ovv o Te-
ypavns Aapmpas TO THpa, pndemtas TroAvTEAELAS
eto dpevos eis vexpov bv Cavra mpovdwxev.
"EreXevtnce 8 rapa te Tuypdvyn nal 'Apde-
Kpatns o pytap, e Set cal TovTov pynpny Tiva
yevéoOar Sua tas' AOnvas. RéyeTat yap puyety
bev avtov eis Lerevxccav tHv él Tiypids, deopé-
vov © avrobs cogictevew imepidety xataralo-
vevodpevov, WS ovde AExdvn Serpiva ywpoin,
peractavra &é mpos KXeoratpay thy MiOpidarov
Ouyatépa, Tuypavyn $€ cuvoixotcay év b:aBor7
yevéoOa taxyv, kal THs mpos Tods "EAAnvas
éripuEias eipyomwevovy atroxaptepjoat: Ttadyjvas
dé xal rodTov évtipws vo THS KyXeotrdtpas Kat

occasion Tigranes asked him: “But what is your own advice to me, Metrodorus, in this matter?” Whereupon Metrodorus, either with an eye to the interests of Tigranes, or because he did not wish Mithridates to be saved, said that as an ambassador he urged consent, but as an adviser he forbade it. Tigranes disclosed this to Mithridates, not supposing, when he told him, that he would punish Metrodorus past all healing. But Metrodorus was at once put out of the way. Then Tigranes repented of what he had done, although he was not entirely to blame for the death of Metrodorus. He merely gave an impulse, as it were, to the hatred which Mithridates already had for the man. For he had long been secretly hostile to him, as was seen from his private papers when they were captured, in which there were directions that Metrodorus, as well as others, be put to death. Accordingly, Tigranes gave the body of Metrodorus a splendid burial, sparing no expense upon the man when dead, although he had betrayed him when alive.

Amphicrates, the rhetorician, also lost his life at - the court of Tigranes, if, for the sake of Athens, we may make some mention of him too. It is said that when he was exiled from his native city, he went to Seleucia on the Tigris, and that when the citizens asked him to give lectures there, he treated their invitation with contempt, arrogantly remarking that a stewpan could not hold a dolphin. Removing thence, he attached himself to Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates and wife of Tigranes, but speedily fell into disfavour, and, being excluded from intercourse with Greeks, starved himself to death. . He also received honourable burial at the hands of

KetoOar trept Lapuv, éxet Te Ywpiov ovTw Kudovpevov.
XXITI. Aoveovrros 66 rHv ’Aciav rodXis ev evvopias, TOAAHS & eipnyns éumeTANKWS OVdE TAY Mpos noovny Kal Ydpiy NwéANoEV, GAXa TOMTAIS Kal wavyyvpeow éemivnios Kal dyaow aOrXnToOv Kal povonaywv év ’Edéow xabnpevos onuayaryer Tas ToAes, al & apetBopevac AoveovrAdeEta TE HYyov emi Tin Tod avdpos, Kal THs Tihs jdvova Thv arnOwny edvoray adt@ trapeiyov. érret “Ammlos TE KE Kal ToNeunTéov pos Trypavny

épaiveto, waphrGev avis cis Lovrov, nab rovs
oTpatTi@tas avaraBav érodsopxe: Yuwernv, par-
Nov dé TOUS KaTEXOVTAS avtnv BactdtKovs Kiru-
Kas, of ToANOUS pev avEeNOYTES TOV LYuvwTéwv, THY
Sé wok éumpnoavtes dua vuntos Epvyov. aiaOo-
peevos 8 0 AovxovAXos Kal rapedOev eis THY TOALD
OxTaKiayALovs avTaY Tos éyxaTtarepbévTas
amréxtewve, Tots 8 adrXols arédwKe TA oiKela Kal
THS Worews errewednOn partota Sia THY ToLAvTHY
du. doer TLVa KaTa Tos Brvovs eiTely Tapa-
otdvra: “ TIpoedOe, Aoveovrre, pixpdy HKer yap
Autoduxos évruyeiv aor Bovrcpevos.” éeFavactas
dé tHv pev drypev ove elye cupBareiv eis 6 re Pépor,
tiv 6€ modu etre KaT éxetyny THY jépav, cal
Tous éxmdéovtas TOV Kirixwv dtoxwv opad Tapa
TOV Aiyladov avopiavTa Keipevov, dv éxxopmivovTes
ot Kidtxes ove &fOnoav éuBarécbar- 7d 8 Epryov
hv LOévidos THY KardOv. paler odv Tis, ws Ad-
TOAVKOU TOD KTicaYTOS THY Ywvennv Oo avdpras
etn.
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LUCULLUS

Cleopatra, and his body lies at Sapha, as a place in’
those parts is called.
XXIII. Lucullus, after filling Asia full of law and order, and full of peace, did not neglect the things which minister to pleasure and win favour, but during his stay at Ephesus gratified the cities with pro- cessions and triumphal festivals and contests of athletes and gladiators. And the cities, in response, celebrated festivals which they called Lucullea, to do honour to the man, and bestowed upon him what is sweeter than honour, their genuine good-will. But when Appius came, and it was plain that war must be waged against Tigranes, he went back into ‘Pontus, put himself at the head of his soldiers, and laid siege to Sinopé, or rather, to the Cilicians who were occupying that city for the king. These slew many of the Sinopians, fired the city, and set out to fly by night. But Lucullus saw what was going on, made his way into the city, and slew eight thousand of the Cilicians who were still there. Then he restored to the citizens their private property, and ministered to the needs of the city, more especially on account of the following vision. He thought in his sleep that a form stood by his side and said: Go forward a little, Lucullus ; for Autolycus is come, and wishes to meet you.” On rising from sleep, he was unable to conjecture what the vision meant; but he took the city on that day, and as he pursued the Cilicians who were sailing away, he saw a statue lying on the beach, which the Cilicians had not succeeded in getting on board with them. It was the work of Sthenis, and one of his master- pieces. Well then, some one told Lucullus that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinopé.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Aéyeras 8 o AdvrorvKos yevécOat Tav ért Tas
"Apatovas é« @ertadrias “Hpaxret ovotparev-
cavrov, Anipdyou ais: éxeiOev 8 amromAéwv apa
Anporéovte nat Proyio thy pev vadv atrodécat
jTéepimecovcay THs Xeppovycov Kata To Kadov-
pevov IInddrsov, avros 5 cwbeis peta Tov OTrAwY
kal TOV éTalpwv pos THY Ywaemnv aderécbat
TOUS YUpous THY Tod Lpolyap avTHY KaTELYoV
amo Yvpov yeyovotes TOU AmoAAwvos, ws NEyETAL,
Kal Lwenns THs Acwrridos.
Tadr’ dxovwv o AovcovAXos aveumipmviocKeto THS
LvAXa taparvécews: Twaphver 56 dia TOV Yropvn-
patov éxetvos pndév otws aktomiotov Hryeic Oat
kat BéBatov, as 6 Te dv atroonuavOn dia Tav
evuTTViOD. .
IluvOavopevos 6¢ MiOpiddtny te nal Tiypavnu
ets Auxaoviav cal Kidtxiay doov ovrw biaRiBda-
Ce Suvapiv ws mpoTépovs éuBarodvras eis THv
‘Aciay, Oavpate Tov Appévior, ét wopny exo
émbéa Pat ‘Popaios, axpwalovte pev ovK expire
MiOpiddry pos Tov TOAEHOD, ove’ eppwpevors
tois éxewvou 7 Tap avrov ouvir rev, atro-
rec Bar & édcas Kar curt piBivas viv em puxpais
éXrriaty apyeTat Todéyou ToIs avacrivar Pe)
duvapévors cuyxataBadnrwv éavTov.
XXIV. ’Enrevdy 5é cal Maydpns o 0 McOpidarou

mais Eywv TOV Boo-ropov rreprrev auto arepavoy
aro Xpua dy Virion, dedpevos ‘Paopaiov ava-
yeaphvat piros Kal oUMpAXOS, 78 olopevos Ta
Tov TpoTépov trodéuouv mépas exe Lwpvdriov
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Now Autolvcus is said to have been one of those who made an expedition with Heracles from Thessaly against the Amazons, a son of Deimachus. On his voyage of return, in company with Demoleon and Phlogius, he lost his ship, which was wrecked at the place called Pedalium, in the Chersonesus; but he himself escaped, with his arms and his companions, and coming to Sinopé, took the city away from the Syrians. These Syrians who were in possession of the city were descended, as it is said, from Syrus, the son of Apollo, and Sinopé, the daughter of Asopis.

On hearing this, Lucullus called to mind the advice of Sulla, in his Memoirs, which was to think nothing so trustworthy and sure as that which is signified by dreams. —

Being informed now that Mithridates and Tigranes " were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia, with the purpose of invading Asia before war was actually declared, he was amazed that the Armenian, if he cherished the design of attacking the Romans, had not made use of Mithridates for this war when he was at the zenith of his power, nor joined forces with him when he was strong, but had allowed him to be crushed and ruined, and now began a war which offered only faint hopes of success, prostrating himself to the level of those who were unable to stand erect.

AXIV. But when Machares also, the son of Mithridates, who held the Bosporus, sent Lucullus a crown valued at a thousand pieces of gold, beg- ging to be included in the list of Rome’s friends and allies, Lucullus decided at once that the first war was finished. He therefore left Sornatius there

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pev avurTov puhaxa TOV Tovrixcev améetre pea,
2 oTpatiwt@v éEaxvoxedtov, autos 5é pupious pev
ayov Kat Stax tdious ° melous, immets dé Tpia xX idbeov
éXaTTOusS, ert TOV Sevrepop é ex opel TONE HOV, opLA
rive Sox@v TapaBor® Kal TwTHpLOV ovK exoven

oryto pov euBanreiv auTov els eOvn paxcpa, Kal
pupiddas (mT oy TOANAS Kat ayavn X@pay,
Babéce pep Torapois, ael dé KaTavipouevors épect
3 TEplexouerny, @OTE TOUS peY BTPATLWTAS Od
arAws dvTas eUTAKTOUS dxovtas €mecOar Kar
Cuyouayourtas, ev dé "'Papn KataBoay kal ba
paptuper Ba Tous Snpaywyouvs, ws TONE MOV ex
ToNéuou SiwKet AovKovrros ovoev TIS TONEWS
deopévns, GXN' Umép Tov aTpatnya@y pndérote
catabéa bas Ta éTha poe mavoacGat xpnparibo-
4 pevos ATO TOV Kowv@v Kwduver. OUTOL Mev OvV
éLeipydcavto xpovp Hv avTav brdbeciy: Aov-
KOUANOS be cuvTOvas odevaas él TOV Evdparny,
Kal KaTLOVTA jToXvv Kal Dodepov vm Xetpeovos
eipay, ijoxannev, @S oar puBiis aUT@ Kal mpary-
pareias Ecomevns ouvayovte mropO nei Kal ™ny-
vUpevep oxedias. apEdpevov & ad' éomépas
Uroxwpeiv TO pedpa Kal [ELOULEVOV bia THS VUKTOS
Gp TpEPS xoidov Tapeayev OPOhra TOV ToTa pov.
5 ot & ériy@pioe vncidas ev TO Tope puxpas Siaga-
veloas Geacdpevor Ka _ Tevayivovta Top poov ém'
avTais, Wpocekupyouv Tov AovxoudXop, & WS oALyaKLS
TOUTOU cupBeBnKoTos T poTepor, éxeivw 8 éxov-
clos Xe ponOn Ka Tm pgov aurov évdidévr05 ToD
Tmorawoo xal TapéxovTos ampdyyova Kal Tayxeiav
tHhv didBacw.
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LUCULLUS

as guardian of Pontus, with six thousand soldiers,
while he himself, with twelve thousand footmen and
less than three thousand horse, set out for the second
war.| He seemed to be making a reckless attack,
and one which admitted of no saving calculation,
upon warlike nations, countless thousands of horse
men, and a boundless region surrounded by deep rivers
and mountains covered with perpetual snow. His
soldiers, therefore, who were none too well disciplined
in any case, followed him reluctantly and rebelliously,
while the popular tribunes at Rome raised an outcry
against him, and accused him of seeking one war
after another, although the city had no need of
them, that he might be in perpetual command and
never lay down his arms or cease enriching himself

from the public dangers. And, in time, these men accomplished their purpose. But: Lucullus advanced by forced marches to the Euphrates. Here he found the stream swollen and turbid from the winter storms, and was vexed to think of the delay and trouble which it would cost him to collect boats and build rafts. But at evening the stream began to subside, went on diminishing through the night, and at day-break the river was running between lofty banks. The natives, observing that sundry small islands in the channel had become visible, and that the current near them was quiet, made obeisance to Lucullus, saying that this had seldom happened before, and that the river had voluntarily made itself tame and gentle for Lucullus, and offered him an easy and speedy passage.

* 69 B.C.

Xpnodpevos ody 7H xaip@ SeBiBale thy oTpatiay’ nal yiverat onpetov avT@ YpnaToy aya 7H SiaBace. Boes tepal véuovtar epaias 'Apré-pisos, iv udrtorra Oe@y of répay Kidputou Bap-Bapot tipaoe ypavra. &€ tais Bovaoi mpos Ouciay povov, addrAws S88 wrAdLovTaL Kata THY Yapav adetor, yapdypata pépovoar THs Oeov Aaprdsa, kal AaBelv €F avrov, dtav denOaory, ov wavu pabioy éotiv ovdé pixpas TpayyaTtecas. TovTwy pia, TOU oTpaTov S:aBavtos tov Evdpa-Tnv, €\Podca mpos twa trétpav tepav tis Oeod voutlopéevny er autTis éoTn, cal KataBandodoa THY Keparny, @orrep ai Seoum xatatevopevat, Odoat t@ AovkovAdryg@ Trapécyev avtnv. EOvce Sé Kai T@ Evdpatn tavpov d:aRatnpar. Kaxeivny pév avToU THY Huepayv NUALCaTO, TH 5 VaTepaia Kal tais éheEns mponye Sia THS Lodnvis, ovdev GSiK@v Tos avOpwtrous MpocXwpodvTas aUTP Kal Seyouévous Tv oTpatiav adopévous, aGAAA Kal TOV oTpATLWT@DY PpoupLoY TL SoKobv Exe XpHwaTa moda Boviopevov AaBetv “’Exetvo,” én, “ uar-Nov TO Ppovpiov nuiv éxxowréov oti,” SetEas Tov

Tadpov drwbev dvra, “tadtra 8 amoxetas Tots
WKooL. cuvTeivas dé THY Topelay Kal Tov Tiypwy
SiaBas évéBarev eis thv Appeviar.
XXV. Tuypavn 8, @ 5 0 MpaTos ayyeiras
jxovta AovxovAdov ovK éxaipnoev, GAN areté-
TUNTO THY Kepadny, ovdels Gros eppater, GAN’
ayvoay Kabinoto tepixasopevos Hon TH Trodepio
548
cd

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LUCULLUS

Accordingly, he took advantage of his opportunity and put his troops across, and a favourable sign accompanied his crossing. Heifers pasture there which are sacred to Persia Artemis, a goddess whom the Barbarians on the further side of the Euphrates hold in the highest honour. These heifers are used only for sacrifice, and at other times are left to roam about the country at large, with brands upon them in the shape of the torch of the goddess. Nor is it a slight or easy matter to catch any of them when they are wanted. One of these heifers, after the army had crossed the Euphrates, came to a certain rock which.is deemed sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it, and lowering its head without any compulsion from the usual rope, offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice. He also sacrificed a bull to the Euphrates, in acknowledgment of his safe passage. Then, after encamping there during that day, on the next and the succeeding days he advanced through Sophené. He wrought no harm to the inhabitants, who came to meet him and received his army gladly. Nay, when his soldiers wanted to take a certain fortress which was thought to contain much wealth, ‘“ Yonder lies the fortress which we must rather bring low,” said he, pointing to the Taurus in the distance ; “these nearer things are reserved for the victors.” Then he went on by forced marches, crossed the Tigris, and entered Armenia.

XXV. Since the first messenger who told Tigranes that Lucullus was coming had his head cut off for his pains, no one else would tell him anything, and so he sat in ignorance while the fires of war were already

blazing around him, giving ear only to those

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tupt, Noyous GkKoUVwWY Trpds Yap, OS péyay ovTAa
AoveovrX ov otpatnyov, et mpos ’Edéow Teyparnv
UTroctain Kal py devyov evOrs €& ’Acias olyorto
Tas TooavTas pupiddas idwv. oTwS ovTE THLA-
ToS WavtTos éoTt ToAUY AKpaTov éveyKeiy OUTE
Siavoias THs TUXOVaNs ev EvTUYNnpaATL peydNoLS
py exotivat TOV NOYLo MOV. TpaTos 8 avTO TOV
dirov erokunoe MO poBaplavns gpdcat TO
arndes. ovd ovtos b& ypnoTov nveyKaro yépas
Ths Trappnoias. éréudhOn yap evOus eri Tov
AovKovAXov avy irretot TPLOXIALOLS, mefois dé
TApTOAOLS, KeXeva Gels Tov pev oT parTnyov dryewv
Cavra, Tous & aAXovs KaTamaThoas.
AovkovrAXr@ Sé THS oTpaTLas 7 pev dn KaTeE-
Cevryvuev, 7 5é te Tpocnet. Tav dé cKoTO@Y avT@
ppacavtwv éredavvovta Tov BdpBapor, Edetoe ny
yopls dvtas Kai ovK ev takes TpooTEecwv Tapaen.
Kal autos pev Kadiotato ry otpatomedeiay,
LeErtiALov dé m peo Bevtny émeprpev immets éxovra,
YuALOUS éLaxociovs, omAitas O€ Kab. idous ou
TOAN@ TAetovas, Kedevoas éryyus Tm pocedOovta,
Tois Trohepiors peévewv, ws av wvOnrar Tovs per
avToo KAT EDT paTOTEOEVKOTAS. éBovrero pev
ovv 0 LeETiALOS TadTa ToLEtD, eBidoOn 5 bird Tob
MifpoBaptavov Opacéws ET ENAVVOVTOS els Yelpas
eMOeiv. Kal yevouerns paxns o pev M0 poBap-
Cduns é €mreo ev dryovilopevos, ot & ddro hevryovres
aT @XOVTO may OALY@V dravtes.
"Ex tTovrou Teypavns per exMT OY Teypavo-
KepTa, peyddnv rod ExTLO PEVNV um avrov,
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LUCULLUS

who flattered him and said that Lucullus would
be a great general if he ventured to withstand
Tigranes at Ephesus, and did not fly incontinently

from Asia at the mere sight of so many myriads of men. Which only proves that it is not every man who can bear much unmixed wine, nor is it any ordinary understanding that does not lose its reckoning in the midst of great prosperity. The first of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth was Mithrobarzanes, and he, too, got no very excellent reward for his boldness of speech. He. was sent at once against Lucullus with three thousand horsemen and a large force of infantry, under orders to bring the general alive, but to trample his men under foot.

Now, part of the army of. Lucullus was already preparing to go into camp, and the rest was still coming up, when his scouts told him that the Barbarian was advancing to the attack. Fearing lest the enemy attack his men when they were separated and in disorder, 4nd so throw them into confusion, he himself fell to arranging the encamp- ment, and Sextilius, the legate, was sent at the head of sixteen hundred horsemen and about as many light and heavy infantry, with orders to get near the enemy and wait there until he learned that the main body was safely encamped. Well then, this was what Sextilius wished to do, but he was forced into an engagement by Mithrobarzanes, who boldly charged upon him. A battle ensued, in which Mithrobarzanes fell fighting, and the rest of his forces took to flight and were cut to pieces, all except a few.

Upon this, Tigranes abandoned Tigranocerta, that great city which he had built, withdrew to the

mpos tov Tavpov aveywpnoe xal tas duvapers mavrayolev évtat0a suviyye, AovKovdXdos b€ TH mapacKevn ypovov ov d:d0vs Movpnvay ev éfémepev evoyAncovta xal mepixoorta Tovs abportopévous mpos tov Trypdvnv, YeEtinsov Se may ApaBov xeipa peyddny aveipEovra Bacthet mpoctovaav. opov dé LeErirs0s pev éemimecov aotpatorreboyv Trotoupévots Trois" Apayre Tous TrEi- atous d1épOerpe, Movpynvas & éropevos Tiypavy Tpaxuv avrova Kal oTevoTrOpoy oTpaT@ paKkp@ StexBdAXrovts Katpod tapacyovtos émitiOerat. cal ghevyer pév avtos Trypavns mpoéuevos TH arooKxeuny aracay, aroOvncxovat 5€ ToNNOl Kal WXeloves aAioxovtat TOV 'Appeviov.

XXVI. Obtw &¢ rovTwy TpoywpovvTwy apas o AovcovrAros érropevero apos Tuypavonepra, Kar TEplaTpATOTEOEVTAS ETTOALOPKEL THY TOALY. Hoav

& év avth tmoddol péev “EXAnVEs TOY quvactdtTev
éx Kudsxtas, roAXdol 5€ BapBapot trois “EXAnow
Sora tremovOdrtes, "AdtaBnvot xat’Aocipior Kad
Topéunvol xat Kamadoxes, Ov KatTaocxaWas Tas
matpioas, autovs S€ Kopuicas éxel xarowxely
nvayKkacev. hy dé Kal ypnudtwv 7 Tods pect?
kal avaOnpatwv, ravrTos idtwrov xal duvdorou
T@ Bactrel cupdirotimoupévou pos avEnow Kal
KaTacKeuny THS TOAEwWS. 516 Kal ouVYTOVWS érr0-
ALtopKes Oo AovKovAXdos avTny, ov avé-eoOar Tov
Tuypdvny otopevos, AXA Kal Tapa yrounv vr’
opyns KaTtaBnoecOar Stapayovpevov, o¢O@s> oio-
pevos. Todrda 5€ MiOpidarns aanyopevaer aryyé-
Nous méuTo@v Kal ypdppata wn suvaTTEeLY waynr,
andra Tols immedot TepixoTTe THY ayopay:
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™.;
LUCULLUS

Taurus, and there began collecting his forces from every quarter. Lucullus, however, gave him no time for preparation, but sent out Murena to harass and cut off the forces gathering to join Tigranes, and Sextilius again to hold in check a large body of Arabs which was drawing near the king. At one and the same time Sextilius fell upon the Arabs as they were going into camp, and slew most of them; and Murena, following hard upon Tigranes, seized his opportunity and attacked the king as he was passing through a rough and narrow defile with his army in long column. Tigranes himself fled, abandoning all his baggage, many of the Armenians were slain, and more were captured.

XXVI. Thus successful in his campaign, Lucullus struck camp and proceeded to Tigranocerta, which city he invested and began to besiege. There were in the city many Greeks who had been transplanted, like others, from Cilicia, and many Barbarians who had suffered the same fate as the Greeks,— Adiabeni, Assyrians, Gordyeni, and Cappadocians, whose native cities Tigranes had demolished, and brought their inhabitants to dwell there under compulsion. The city was also full of wealth and votive offerings, since

every private person and every prince vied with the king in contributing to its increase and adornment. Therefore Lucullus pressed the siege of the city with vigour, in the belief that Tigranes would not endure it, but contrary to his better judgment and in anger would descend into the plains to offer battle ; and vhis belief was justified. Mithridates, indeed, both by messengers and letters, strongly urged the king not to join battle, but to cut off the enemy’s supplies

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ToANa O€ Takirns fxwr map avrod xal:cvotpa- 509

Tevwy édeiro Tov Baothéws guddrtecOar Kal
dhevyey as duayov mpaypa Ta ‘Pwpaiwy SirXa.
Kal Td ye Tp@ta Tpaws HKove TovTwV. ézret dé
TavoTpaTiad pev avtT@ avvnrOov ‘Appyévior cal
Popdunvoi, TavaTparod bé Myjéous kat *AdiaBn-
vovs ayovtes ot Baatrels Taphoav, HKov 5é roAXOt
pev ao ths év BaBvAdu Oardoons “ApaBes,
TodAol 6€ aro THS Kaomias ’ArBavol Kal TBnpes
"AABavois TpocorKovvres, ovK OAbryot 5é Tov TeEpt
tov ‘Apa&nv VEwopeverv aBacirevto. yapert ral
Scdpors Teva Devtes arnvrncav, érridav dé Kal
Opdcous Kal BapBapicay ATELNOY perra ev my
Ta cuuTocia TOU Bactréws, pecta S€ TH oup-
Bouma, TapexwvSvvevoe yey oO Tagirns atro0aveip
VTEVAVTLOULEVOS TH YvOLN TAS HaXNS: édoxee Se
kal Midpiddrns POovav' aiorpérew peydhou
KcaTophaparos. bev ove ave wervev auTov 6
Tuypavns, py petdaxot tis So&ns, GYD eyoper
mayth TO orpaT@ opddpa dvagopav, OS Aéyerau,
qT pos TOUS pirous, 6 OTL pos AovkovdXov avT@ [L0-
vor, ov 77pos dmavras 0 ayo évouro tous ‘Pw-
paiwy oTpaTnyous ev TAVTO yEevopuévous.
at ov TavTdTacw iy TO Opacos avToo parades ovo aNorvyor, eOun TOT AaAUTA kal Barrels é ET
OMEVOUS Kai Padrayyas om uta Kal pupiddas (TITEWY ATrO- Brérovtos. tokoras bev yap Kal
apevdoviras d:0- peuptous mYEV, immets dé TevTaxta pu ptous Kal mev-

TAKLTXLALOUS, ov ETTAKLTXLALOL Kat upton Kara- :

ppaxror Hoav, WS AovKcoudnos éypanpe T pos THY
OVYKANTOY, OTALTOY Oé, TOV pev eis omeipas, TOV
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LUCULLUS

with his cavalry; Taxiles also, who came from Mithridates and joined the forces of Tigranes, earnestly begged the king to remain on the defensive ‘and avoid the invincible arms of the Romans. And at first Tigranes gave considerate hearing to this advice. But when the Armenians and Gordyeni joined him with

all their hosts, and the kings of the Medes and Adiabeni came up with all their hosts, and many Arabs arrived from the sea of Babylonia, and many Albanians from the Caspian sea, together with Iberians who were neighbours to the Albanians ; and when not a few of the peoples about the river Araxes, who are not subject to kings, had been induced by favours and gifts to come and join him; and when the banquets of the king, and his councils as well, were full of hopes and boldness and barbaric threats,—then Taxiles ran the risk of being put to death when he opposed the plan of fighting, and Mithridates was thought to be diverting the king from a great success out of mere envy. Wherefore Tigranes would not even wait for him, lest he share in the glory, but advanced with all his army, bitterly lamenting to his friends, as it is said, that he was going to contend with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals put together.

And his boldness was not altogether that of a mad man, nor without good reason, when he saw so many nations and kings in his following, with phalanxes of heavy infantry and myriads of horsemen. For he was in command of twenty thousand bowmen and slingers, and fifty-five thousand horsemen, of whom seventeen thousand were clad in mail, as Lucullus said in his letter to the Senate; also of one hundred: and fifty thousand heavy infantry,
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

8 eis bddayyas cuvretaypéevwv, trevrexaidexa
pupiddas, odorrotovs 8é nal yedpupwras nal Ka-
Oaptas wotapa@v Kal vAoTOmous Kal Tov adXOD.
Yperav Umrnpétas TpLa puplous Kal TwevTakic ytdLOUS,
of Tois payopuévos emitetaypévot KatoTy orruv
dua cal pony trapetxov.
XXVII. ‘Os & isrepBarav tov Tatpov aOpous
xkatepavn kal xareide pos Tois Teypavoxépross
err uxab yj pevov TO oTpdtevpa tTav “Pwpaiwv, o
pep ev TH Tone BapBapos 6 phos oNONUYT
Kat KpoT@ THY oy édéEato, Kal tois ‘Popators
amo TOV TELXODV amevouvTes edeixvucay Tos
"A pevious: Aoveovrr dé cKoTrovyTt Tepl THS
paxns ob pev dryew éml Teypavny édoavta THY
TmouopKlay auveBovrevor, ot dé pn KaTaderrety
oTriaw TONE LLOUS TomoUTous pend? aveivar THY
TroNopKiay. o © era ExaTEpOUS peep ovK op0as,
audotépous b€ Kadds Trapacveiv dietre THY (oT pa-
TLay. Kal Moupyvay pev éEaxraxedtous exovra
‘qreCous é7t THS. modopxias ameéNutrey, avTOoOsS be
Téoorapas Kat elxoae omeipas avaraBor, év
als ou TAELOVES joav puplwv omrditev, Kal Tous

immeis dmavras Kal aopevdovntas kal tokotas
Tepe xerLous, ex wper. :
Kat apa tov TOTAPOV év medi peydrp
KATATTpATOT EdEvE as TavTaTace _ Mee pos éepavn
Teypavy, cat Tots Kohaxevovaw auTov Siar pay
Tapeiyev. ot pep yap éoxwrrov, ot 8 wurrép
Trav aphvpwv eév aia bteBddXovTo xdnpov"
TOV 6 oT paThyay Kat Bactréwv & &xacros retro
Tpoowy avTovd povov yevégOar To épyov, éxeivoy
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some of whom were drawn up in cohorts, and some in phalanxes ; also of road-makers, bridge-builders, clearers of rivers, foresters, and ministers to the other needs of an army, to the number of thirty-five thousand. These latter, being drawn up in array behind the fighting men, increased the apparent strength of the army.

XXVII. When Tigranes had crossed the Taurus, deployed with all his forces, and looked down upon the Roman army investing Tigranocerta, the throng of Barbarians in the city greeted his appearance with shouts and din, and standing on the walls, threateningly pointed out the Armenians to the Romans. When Lucullus held a council of war, some of his officers advised him to give up the siege and lead his army against Tigranes; others urged him not to leave so many enemies in his rear, and not to remit the siege. Whereupon, remarking that each counsel by itself was bad, but both together were good, he divided his army. Murena, with six thousand footmen, he left behind in charge of the siege; while he himself, with twenty-four cohorts, comprising no more than ten thousand heavy infantry, and all the horsemen, slingers, and archers, to the number of about, a thousand, set out against the enemy.

When he had encamped along thie river in a great plain, he appeared utterly insignificant to Tigranes, and supplied the king’s flatterers with ground for amusement. Some mocked at the Romans, and others, in pleasantry, cast lots for their spoil, while each of the generals and kings came forward

and begged that the task of conquering them
might be entrusted to himself alone, and that the

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4 be xabélecOar Geatnv. Bovropevos 5é Te Kal
avros o Tuypavns yaptes elvat Kal oKwrTiKos
elre TO Opvrovpevov: "Ei pév ws mperRevtai,
jWodXrot mdpeow: e 8 ws oTpaTi@Tat, OALYyoL."
Kal TOTE wey OUTWS Elpwvevopevor Kal traiCovTes
SuetéXeoav. dua 8 nuépa AoveovAdos wird-
opévny thy Suvauy éFfye. xal mpos &w pev 510
qv tov totayov TO BapBaptxov otpatevpa: Tod
dé pevparos amoatpopiy hap Bdvovros émi Tas
duces, 7 padiora Tepdo twov HY, avrimapetdyov
THY Sayin Kal Oo TEvOWY édofev arrox@peiv
5 T@ Teypayn. al Kahéoas TOV Taginny apa
yerwre " Tovs audyous, "én, ""Pwpaiov omditas
oux opas pevyovras; " cat o Takirns " Bovioipny
av, elmren, 'Oo Bacired, yevér Dau Tl T@ o®
Saipove TaVY Taparoyar, Grr obit écbFTa Aap-
mpav ot avdpes AapBdavovow odorropoivtes obre
Oupeois éxxexabappévots Xp@vra. Kat Kpdvect
yuuvois, @oTep viv ta oKUTIWA TOY Or dwy
oxeTTUG pata TeploTacavres, adhe paxXoupevav
éorly a] Aap porns airy Kat Badilovrav Hn
6 pos TOUS Toheptous. TavTa vré OvTOS éTl TOU
Takinov KaTapavns iv mparos aeros émuatpé-
povros Tod AoveovAXov Kal Taku at omeipat
KaTa hoxous Aap Pdvovaae mpos THY SidBaow*
Kal pods WaTrEp én péOns TLvos avaepav 0
Tuypavns bis h tpis é&éxpayev: " E@' nas ot
dvipes;" @ote OopvBe TOAD TO TAROOS els
tabu kabiorad Gar, Baothéws pev avrav TO péoov
EXOVTOS, tav Sé xepatwv TO peév dpsarepov T
"AdtaBnve, To Se SeEvdv to Myjdq rrapadorras,

king would sit by as a spectator. Then Tigranes, not wishing to be left behind entirely in this play of wit and scoffing, uttered that famous saying: "'If they are come as ambassadors, they are too many ; if as soldiers, too few." And so for the while they continued their sarcasms and jests. But at daybreak Lucullus led out his forces under arms. Now, the Barbarian army lay to the east of the river. But as the stream takes

a turn to the west at the point where it was easiest to ford, and as Lucullus led his troops to the attack in that direction first, and with speed, he seemed to Tigranes to be retreating. So he called Taxiles and said, with a laugh, “ Don’t you see that the invincible Roman hoplites are taking to flight?’”’ “O King,” said Taxiles, “1 could wish that some marvellous thing might fall to your good fortune; but when. these men are merely on a march, they do not put on shining raiment, nor have they their shields polished and their helmets uncovered, as now that they have stripped the leathern coverings from their armour. Nay, this splendour means that they are going to fight, and are now advancing upon their enemies.’ While Taxiles was yet speaking, the first eagle came in sight, as Lucullus wheeled towards the river, and the cohorts were seen forming in maniples with a view to crossing. Then at last, as though coming out of a drunken stupor, Tigranes cried out two or three times, “ Are the men coming against us?’’ And so, with much tumult and con- fusion, his multitude formed in battle array, the king himself occupying the centre, and assigning the left wing to the king of the Adiabeni, the right to the king of the Medes. In front of this wing also

éf ot Kal Tov KaTtappdxtov év TpoTaypaTt TO
WELTTOV HY.
Aovcovhyp dé HEAAOVTE Sia Batvew Tov ToTa-
pov évtoe TOV WYEHOveoY Tapyvouv purarrecOat
THY jépav pay ovcay Tov drroppadwn, as
pedaivas Karovow’ ev éxeivy yap Th Npépa
pera Kaurriwvos arrwrero oTpatia cuuBarodoa
KipBpas.. o 8 dmrexpivato THY pynpovevoperny
povay “ "Ery yap, ep, ‘Kab Tavrny eUTUXT)
Tojow ‘Pepators THY nuépav. hv bé wpo pas
vovav 'OxtwBpiwv.
XXVIII. Taira & eitav Kal Oappetv Kehevoas
TOV TE TOTApoOv déBawve Kxat TPATOS ETL TOUS
qoNepious ayeitTo, Owpaxa ev EX@v ovdnpoodv
porrdwrov atrooTiN Bora, KpooawrTny dé epe-
arpiba, To b€ Eidos avToOev taropatveoy YULVOP, @S
evdus Els xelpas teoOau déov! éxnBorors savipdar
Kal cuvarpery * THY Stat obevotpov Xwpav TO
TaXeL THS eraryaryis. érret 6€ THY KaTappaxTov
immov, aS TAELTTOS my AOyos, kareive KATATETAY-
pévny wird dodo Til THY avo Xwpay érrimredov Kat
maTeiav eXOvTE, mpoa Baow dé TeTTapov oradioy
ov mavTaTact Xaremiy ovd aT oKeKoMpernY,
Opaxas pev immeis xat Taddras, ods elyer, € exé-
Nevoev éX Taryiou Tm poo epopevous Tapaxpove-
c0at Tais paxatpacs TOUS KovTOUS. pia yap ad«r
TOV KaTap paxt cov xovtos' aAdo & ovdev ovO

éavtois ote Tois TroAcwioLs YpjoOa: SuvavTat dead
1 $éov Coraés, Sintenis and Bekker, after Reiske; 3é:
MSS., including S.
2 guva:pety Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske ; cuvaiphoew
(S) and guvaphoes MSS. : cuvaiphowy, a suggestion of
Reiske's.
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the greater part of the mail-clad horsemen were
drawn up.
As Lucullus was about to cross the river, some of
his officers advised him to beware of the day, which
was one of the unlucky days—the Romans call
them "black days." For on that day Caepio and
his army perished in a battle with the Cimbri.!
But Lucullus answered with the memorable words :
" Verily, I will make this day, too, a lucky one for
the Romans." Now the day was the sixth of
October.
XXVIII. Saying this, and bidding his men be of good courage, he crossed the river, and led the way in person against the enemy. He wore a steel breastplate of glittering scales, and a tasselled cloak, and at once let his sword flash forth from its scabbard, indicating that they must forthwith come to close quarters with men who fought with long range missiles, and eliminate, by the rapidity of their onset, the space in which archery would be effective. But when he saw that the mail-clad horsemen, on whom the greatest reliance was placed, were stationed at the foot of a considerable hill which was crowned by a broad and level space, and that the approach to this was a matter of only four stadia, and neither rough nor steep, he ordered his Thracian and Gallic horsemen to attack the enemy in the flank, and to parry their long spears with their own short swords. (Now the sole resource of the mail-clad horsemen is their long spear, and they

1 p.c. 105. Cf. Camillua, xix. 7.
: 561
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/ \ a A A > » »
Bdpos nat oxrnpornta THS oKEVAS, GAN éyKaTo-
,
Kobounpévots éoixacww. autos dé dvo0 o7reipas
wn \ 4 ,
avaraBov iuthrAaTo mpos Tov Odor, éppwpevas
éTOLEVWY TOV TTPATLWTOV b1a TO KaKeEtvOY EV TOS
SwAols opav mpa@tov xaxotrabotvta melov Kal

> | \
mpooBialopevov. yevosevos 8 dvw Kat aotas év
A a A 4 4 4 lA
T@ TrEepipavel TOU Ywpiou peya Bonoas zo Nevirn-
J fal
Kapev, &pn, “ vevixnKkapev, ® oVoTpaTLoOTAL.
Kat ToUTO elT@v emiye Tois Katadpdxtois,
4 N Mw lel A e n 5] 2 9
Kerevoras pndev Ett yphjaba: tols baoaois, aAr’ éx
xetpos Exactov SiarkafRovta Taiew TOY TodEuiov
KUn“as TE KaL pnpous, & ova yupva TaV KaTa-
dpdxtov éoriv. ov pnv edénoé TL TavTNS THs
tA b) “\ 29Q/ \ € ‘4 > >
paxns: ov yap édéEavto Tovs “Pwpaious, adr
anarakavtes nal pevyovtes aicyiota mavTov
évéwoav éavtous TE Kal TOUS immous Bapeis dvtas
9 \ a a ccd \ ¥ 4
es Ta Tov melav Sia wpilv adp~acOai Tivos
, ,
EXELVOUS MAYNS, OTTE PLNTE TpAvpATOS YyevopLévou
un? aipatos 6pOévtos nrtacOat tas Tocav’tas
S e \ \ , 4 ,
pupiadas. o bé qorvs govos Abn hevyovtwv
, a
éyiveto, uadrov dé BovrAopevwy hevyev' ov yap
? 4 , ‘\ 4 fal 4 e 3
éduvavto muKvoTntt kal Baber trav takewv bp
avTav éurodifouevor. Tiypains & éberXdoas év
apy per orlywyv edevye Kal tov vidv opav
KowwVvovvTa THS aUTHS TUXNS TepteaTTdcaTo TO
P.) 15 fo lol > 4 é 4 2)
Ladnpa THS Kehadns Kakelv@ Oaxpvaas Trapedwxe,
cwlev éavtov, Stas Svvatat, xal’-érépas odovs
4 e \ l4 > / \ b
Kedevoas. o b€ veavias avadnoacbat pev ovK
> # A A , a , a
érodunoe, Tav 6€ Taldwv TO TiatoTaTP puAdT-
562
511

have-none other whatsoever, either in defending themselves or attacking their enemies, owing to the weight and rigidity of their armour; in this they are, as it were, immured.) Then he himself, with two cohorts, hastened eagerly towards the hill, his soldiers following with all their might, because they saw

him ahead of them in armour, enduring all the fatigue of a foot-soldier, and pressing his way along. Arrived at the top, and standing in the most conspicuous spot, he cried with a loud voice, “The day is ours, the day is ours; my fellow soldiers!” With these words, he led his men against the mail-clad horsemen, ordering them not to hur! their javelins yet, but taking each his own man, to smite the enemy’s legs and thighs, which are the only parts of these mail-clad horsemen left: exposed. However, there was no need of this mode of fighting, for the enemy did not await the Romans, but, with loud cries and in most disgraceful flight, they hurled themselves and their horses, with all their weight, upon the ranks of their own infantry, before it had so much as | begun to fight, and so all those tens of thousands were defeated without the infliction of a wound or the sight of blood. But the great slaughter began at once when they fled, or rather tried to fly, for they were prevented from really doing so by the eloseness and depth of their own ranks. Tigranes rode away at the very outset with a few attendants, and took to flight. Seeing his son also in the same plight, he took off the diadem from his head and, in tears, gave it to him, bidding him save himself as best he could by another route. The young man, however, did not venture to assume the diadem, but gave it to his most trusted slave for safe keeping.

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Tew eOwxev. obTos arous Kara TUX NY avnxOn
7 pos Aovxoudnor, @OTE peTa TOV AAAWY alypd-
AwTov Kal TO Siddnya yevérOar tov Tiypavov.
AéyeTar S€ TaV ev mela umép déxa pupiddas
SiapOapivar, Ttav & imrméov Odbyous TavTaTact
Siapuyeiv. ‘Pwpatoy 8 éxatov érpwOnaayr, émecov
5é qévre.
Tavrns tis payns Avtioyos o prr0ooogos € év TH
Hept Jeav ypad7 puna Geis ov dnow addy
epewpaxevar ToWaUT HY TOV HAov. LtpaBov 3’,
Erepos pirocogos, év TOUS ta TopiKois vropynwac wy
avTovs éyet TOUS ‘Papatous aiaxuver bar Kat
KaTaryehav éavT@v éir dvbparroba TowavTa den-
Oévras GtAwY. Acovios & etpnxer, as OUOETTOTE
‘Pwpator trovepiors amrobeovTes TOC OUT® mA et
mapetatavto: axedov yap ove elKoaTOp, GX’
éXarrov eyevovTo pEpos Ol ViK@VTES TOV noon-
pévav. ‘Popaiwv 8 of Servoraror orparnyol Kal
WNELTTA TOKE MLS @LUNNKOTES émnvouv panora
TOU AoveovdAov 70 dvo Bactnets TOUS emipaver-
TATOUS Kal peyiatous Svat Tois evavTLOTaToLs,
TAX EL Kat _Bpadurire, KATAOTPATHYHG AL, Mi6-
pibarnv pev yap axpdtovra Xpovp kat tpLBH
KaTAVawae, Teypdvyy dé T@ omedaat cuveTpirper,
€v orLryous TOV WWITOTE TYEHoveoy 7) PEAT SL
pev Epyp, TH ToAuy 8 wUméep aogpadelas xpn-

OG pEVOS.
XXIX. Acd nal MiOpidarns ov cuvérevey eri
THY paxyny, TH ouvnGer Tov Aovxouhdov evraBeta
Kal Tapayoyn Troheuna ety olopevos, aNAa Ka
houxvay eTrOpEevETo 7 pos Tov Teypavny. Kal
Tp@Tov pev oArAvyors TaY Appeviwy évtuyov nal”
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This slave happened to be captured, and was brought to Lucullus, and thus even the diadem of Tigranes became a part of the booty. It is said that more than a hundred thousand of the enemy’s infantry perished, while of the cavalry only a few, all told, made their escape. Of the Romans, on the other hand, only a hundred were wounded, and only five killed.

Antiochus the philosopher makes mentign of this battle in his treatise ‘Concerning Gods,” and says that the sun never looked down on such another. And Strabo, another philosopher, in his “ Historical Commentaries,” says that the Romans themselves were ashamed, and laughed one another to scorn for requiring arms against such slaves. Livy also has remarked that the Romans were never in such in- ferior numbers when they faced an enemy ; for the victors were hardly even a twentieth part of the vanquished, but less than this. The Roman generals who were most capable and most experienced in war, praised Lucullus especially for this, that he out- generalled two kings who were most distinguished and powerful by two most opposite tactics, speed and slowness. For he used up Mithridates, at the height of his power, by long delays; but crushed Tigranes by the speed of his operations, being one of the few generals of all time to use delay for greater achieve- ment, and boldness for greater safety.

XXIX. This was the reason why Mithridates made no haste to be at the battle. He thought Lucullus would carry on the war with his wonted caution and indirectness, and so marched slowly to join Tigranes. At first he met a few Armenians hurrying back over the road in panic fear, and conjectured what had

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odoy érrromnpévois Kat wepipoBors amovoty elnace
To Wa0os, eit’ HON WrELovaY YyULVaV Kal TeTPwW-
évov anavt@vtTwv tuOouevos THY ArTav éCnrer
Tov Teypdvny. etpwv bé wavtrav épnuov Kal
TATEWOY OUK avOvBpicer, GArxa KataBas xa
cudaxpicas Ta Kowa wdOn Oepameiav Te THY
érropévnv avT@ Baciueny ESwxe nal xateOdppuve
mWpos Tot wéAXov. oVTOL pev odv avOts Erépas

Suvapets ouvijyov.
"Ev 6€ TH mode ois Teypavoxéprots TOV
‘EXAnvev T pos TOUS BapBdpous oTATLAcaVTM@Y
Kal T@ Aovnovdr Thy modLy évdidovTav mpoo Ba-
Dov etre: Kal TOUS pev év TH Worer Onoavpovs
mapedauBave, THY O€ TOA Siaprdaat mapédwxe
Tots OTPATLOTALS, peta, TOV Gd\XNov ypnaTov
oxTaKLaxi da Tahavra Vopic paTos éxovaap. YO-
pls be TOUT@D éxtakoclas Spaxyas Kart’ dvdpa
Sceverpev amo TaYv Nadipwv. muvOavopevos 6é
qoAAous ev TH TONEL Kateripas TOV Tepl TOV
Atovucov TexveTa, ods o Tiypdvns ravraydbev
nOpoixes perv amoderkyuvar TO KaTEo Kevao pe-
vov vn avTov Jeatpov, expncaro TOUTOLS 7 pos
TOUS ayavas cal Tas Oéas THY émivixiov. tous &
"EXAnvas ets Tas avT@v Tatptiédas émeprpe ™poo-
Bels épodia, Kal Tov BapBapor opolws TOUS
HraryKac wevous KaToieiv, wate auveBn pats
TONEWS darubeions TONS avorkiver bar wrdduy
Komtapevas TOUS aUuTOY olenTopas, td’ Ov ws
evepy “rns 0 AovKoudXos Kat KTLO TNS NYATATO.
_Upovxepet dé xal Tada Kar afiav Tavdpl
Tav amo Sixatoovvns nal diravOpwrias éraivev
566
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happened ; then presently, when he had learned of the defeat from more unarmed and wounded fugitives whom he met, he sought to find Tigranes. And though he found him destitute of all things and humiliated, he did not return his insolent behaviour, but got down from his horse and wept with him over their common sufferings. Then he gave him his own royal equipage, and tried to fill him with courage for the future. And so these kings began again to assemble fresh forces.

But in the city of Tigranocerta, the Greeks had risen up against the Barbarians and were ready to hand the city over to Lucullus ; so he assaulted and took it. The royal treasures in the city he took into his own charge, but the city itself he turned over to his soldiers for plunder, and it contained eight thousand talents in money, together with the usual valuables. Besides this, he gave to each man eight hundred drachmas from the general spoils. On learning that many dramatic artists had been captured in the city, whom Tigranes had collected there from all quarters for the formal dedication of the theatre which he had built, Lucullus employed them for the-contests and spectacles with which he celebrated his victories. The

Greeks he sent to their native cities, giving them also the means wherewith to make the journey, and likewise the Barbarians who had been compelled to settle there. Thus it came to pass that the dissolution of one city was the restoration of many others, by reason of their recovering their own inhabitants, and they all loved Lucullus as their benefactor and founder.

And whatever else he did also prospered, in a way worthy of the man, who was ambitious of the
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opeyouévm parrov 7 Tov él Tois ToNEuLKOLS xatopOe@paciw. éxeivwv pey yap ovK drjLyov 7) arpatia Kal mrEioroy 7 TUYN peTEye, TAUTA O Fv nuépov uyhs nal qwemadevpévns éridertcs, ols o AovxovAros tote yopls StrAwY EeyeLpodTo tors BapBdpovs. xal yap "ApdBwyv Bacirets HKov pos avtov éyxerpilovres TA ohéerepa, Kal TO Lodnvav EOvos mpoceywpe to Sé Topdunverv odtw dteOnxev, date BovrACcOat Tas TONES EKAL-movras axorovleiy exeivp peta traidov Kar yuvatkay eOerovtas é& airias toracde. ZapBunvos yap o tav Topdunvev Bacirevs, domrep elpnrac, 5.' 'Agmiov xpida AovrovAr@ d:telrexTo srepr ocuppaylas thy Tuypdvov tupavvida Bapuvopevos: pnvvbels & arreadayn, cai traides avdrod Kal yur auvav@dovto mpw 'Pwpalous ets 'Appeviav éuBarety. TovTay ovx nuvnuovnoev o AovKovAXos, ara TapenOoy eis rv Topdunvav radas rpovbero tov ZLapBinvod, xat mupav écOjri nal ypvo@ Baoiin@ Kal toils amd Tiypavouv xooujoas Aadvpors adres wrapav Udi pe, nai Yoas émhveyxe peta hitwv Kal oixeiwy tod ahibe étaipov éavrod kat 'Pwpalov cvppayov dvaxadotpevos. éxéXevoe 5¢ eal pynpeiov aro YpnpdTov cvyvav att yevér Oar maprodra yap evpéOn, Kal ypuads Kal apyupos év tois tov ZapBinvot Bacirgclots, citou & aréxewto pupiddes Tplaxdotat median, @ore nal Tovs oTpatiwotas wperciobat cal Tov Aovxovrrov BavpatecOar, Ste Spayynv uiay éx
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praise that is consequent upon righteousness and humanity, rather than of that which follows military successes. For the latter, the army also was in no slight degree, and fortune in the highest degree, responsible ; but the former were the manifestations of a gentle and disciplined spirit, and in the exercise of these qualities Lucullus now, without appeal to arms, subdued the Barbarians. The kings of the Arabs came to him, with proffers of their possessions, and the Sopheni joined his cause. The Gordyeni were so affected by his kindness that they were ready to abandon their cities and follow him with their wives and children, in voluntary service. The reason for this was as follows." Zarbienus, the king of the Gordyeni, as has been said,! secretly stipulated with Lucullus, through Appius, for an alliance, being oppressed by the tyranny of Tigranes. He was informed against, however, and put to death, and his wife and children perished with him, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus was not un- mindful of all this, but on entering the country of the Gordyeni, appointed funeral rites in honour of Zarbienus, and after adorning a pyre with royal raiment and gold and with the spoils taken from Tigranes, set fire to it with his own hand, and joined the friends and kindred of the man in pouring ilbations upon it, calling him a comrade of his and an ally of the Romans. He also ordered that a monu- ment be erected to his memory at great cost; for many treasures were found in the palace of Zarbienus, including gold and silver, and three million bushels of grain were stored up there, so that the soldiers were plentifully supplied, and Lucullus was admired

1 xxi. 2,

Tou Snuogiou Tapueiov pn AaBov avtov éF avToU
Sixes TOV TONEHLOD.
XXX. 'Evtaia xa) Tapa Tob HapOar Bact-
NEws he mpea Reta map avrov ets pudtay 7 po-
Kahoupéevav Kal ovppayiav. iy 5 dopéve TavTa
TO AovKovrro Kal many ayremeurpe Tap éav-
Tou peo Betav pos TOV Idp6on, . ov catepwpacav
auTov émapporepivovra TH youn Kal putaodov
airobyra Kpupa Tov TULLAX ICAL TO 'Teypavn
mv Mecororapiav. ws obv 7av? o AovKovAXos
na0eTo, Teypavny pev éyvo cal MiOpidarny
mapenOeiy warrep avrarywvia Tas ametpnKoras,
arometpia Oat dé Ths Taphav Suvdpews Kat
oTparevelv én' avrous, Kkadov _myoupevos pa
pupn trodéuov tpeis épeEns doTep aOAnTHs
Bactreis KaTaTranaigas Kat oa T play TOV vmo
TOV HALOY peyioTwMY Nye"ovlay aNnTTNTOS Kal
VUK@D SueFed Beir.
"Exreprpev ovy ets [ovrov Tots mepl LwpvaTiov

HyEnoow emia teihas aryew THv éxet oTpaTiay
™ pos AUTOV, WS ex THs Dopdunvis avaBnaopevos.
ot 5é€ Kal ™ poTepov Narerots xpwpevor Kab
dua rreOéoe Tots TTPATLOTALS TOTe = TavTEehas
am exdhuway airy TV dxoactay, ovdevi TpoTr@
mevOous oud avayKns Eevpopevor mpooayayécbat
HapTUpopEvous Kal Boavras, @s ovd' avrob
pevovow, aX oiXnoovTar tov Ilovroy Epnuov
GTONTOVTES. TavTa pos AovxovAXov amary-
yerOévra nal TOUS éxet mpoab«éd Fetpe OTPAaTLO-
Tas, mon pe bo wrovTOU Kal Tpupijs Bapeis
yeyovoras Tpos Ty oTparetay Kat ayonrts beo-
pévous, ws 5@ THY exeivwy érvOovTo Tappycia»,
57°

for not taking a single drachma from the public
treasury, but making the war pay for itself.
XXX. Here he received an embassy from the
king of the Parthians also, inviting him into friendly
alliance. This was agreeable to Lucullus, and in
his turn he sent ambassadors to the Parthian, but
they discovered that he was playing a double game,
and secretly asking for Mesopotamia as reward
for an alliance with Tigranes. Accordingly, when
Lucullus was apprised of this, he determined to
ignore Tigranes and Mithridates as exhausted
antagonists, and to make trial of the Parthian power
by marching against them, thinking it a glorious
.thing, in a single -impetuous onset of war, to
throw, like an athlete, three kings in succession,
and to make his way, unvanquished and victorious,
through three of the greatest: empires under the
sun.
Accordingly he sent orders to Sornatius and his.
fellow commanders in Pontus to bring the army
there to him, as he intended to proceed eastward
from Gordyené. These officers had already found
their soldiers unmanageable and disobedient, but
now they discovered that they were utterly beyond
control, being unable to move them by any manner
of persuasion or compulsion. Nay, they roundly.
swore that they would not even stay where they
were, but would go off and leave Pontus undefended.

When news of this was brought to Lucullus, it demoralised his soldiers there also. Their wealth. and luxurious life had already made them averse to military service and desirous of leisure, and when they heard of the bold words of their comrades in Pontus, they called them brave men, and said
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dvdpas avrovs atrexddovy Kal pupntéov avTous épacav elvat' ToAAa yap avtois dia owrTnpias Kal avaTravoews KaTeipyiaba.
XX XI. Totodtav 5é cal rrovnpotépay ert AOyor aiaOopevos o AovKcovAros tHv éxt Tdp8ous otpatelav adjxev, avOis 8 eri tov Tiypavny éBabsle Oépovs axpalovtos. Kxai tov Tadpov vrepBarov nOvpnoe XXNwpOV ToV Trediwy éxhavévTwY? ToTodTov at @pat Sia THY WuypoTnTa tod dépos voTepitovawy. ov pny adda KataBas Kal Sis } Tpls avaToApnoavtas én' avTov Tous "Appevious Tpeyrapevos adews érrop0er Tas Kwpas, Kal TOV TapecKevacpévoy TO Tiypdvn citov éEaipwv tv autos éhoBetto Tots TroNeuiows Tepiéa Tyo eV atropiav. émel bé ™ poxadovpevos els ayn avTovs reperagpevov TOV xdpaxa Kat TropO av éy ove Thy x@pav OUK éxivet memdyyoras TONAGKLS, avactas éBddilev em' 'Aprdfata ro Tiypavou Bacinevov, Strov Kal qwaides avT@ vio Kal yapeTal yuvaixes Hoav, ovK av oidpevos apayel Tavira mponcecbar Tov Tiypavny.
Aéyerat 8 'AvviBav tov Kapyndomov, Avtioyou Kkatatrov\ennOévtos wTo "Pwpaiwv, petaBavra mpos 'Apra~ay rov 'Appévioy ddXwv Te ToANOY eionyntny Kxal diddoKxaroy ate yevécbar ypnaipov, Kal THS yopas Katapabovta Torey evpueoTatov Kai hdiotov apyovvra Kal Ttapop@pevoy oXRpA Toews ev avVT@ mpovToypdwacbat, Kai
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their example must be followed in Gordyené, for

their many achievements entitled them to respite from toil and freedom from danger.

XXXI. Such speeches, and even worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up his expedition against the Parthians, and marched once more against Tigranes,! it being now the height of summer. And yet, after crossing the Taurus, he was discouraged to find the plains still covered with unripe grain, so much later are the seasons there, owing to the coolness of the atmosphere. However, he descended from the mountains, routed the Armenians who twice or thrice ventured to attack him, and then plundered their villages without fear, and, by taking away the grain which had been stored up for Tigranes, reduced his enemy to the straits which he had been fearing for himself. Then he challenged them to battle by encompassing their camp with a moat, and by ravaging their territory before their eyes ; but this did not move them, so often had they been defeated. He therefore broke camp and marched against Artaxata, the royal residence of Tigranes, where were his wives and young children, thinking that Tigranes would not give these up without fighting.

It is said that Hannibal the Carthaginian, after Antiochus had been conquered by the Romans, left him and went to Artaxas the Armenian, to whom he gave many excellent suggestions and instructions. For instance, observing that a section of the country . which had the greatest natural advantages and — attractions was lying idle and neglected, he drew up a plan for a city there, and then brought Artaxas

1 68 B.C.

tov Apratay érayayovra beifat cat Tapopyjoas
mpos Tov oixicpov. nobévtos 5é Tod Bactréws
kal SenOérvtos, Strws adtos émtatatHan TOU Epyou,
péya Te Kal qayKaXdov ype Toews avacThvat,
Kal yevopérny érr@vupov tov Bactréws pentpoTroAcy
amrodexOnvas THs 'Appevias.
"Eml tavrny tod AovcovAXou Babilovros ovK
nvéoxeto Tuypavns, adra Thy Sivayy avaraBov
muepe TeTapry Tapes Tpatomédevoe tois "Pw-
paiots, év péow AaBov Tov 'Apoaviay ToTapoy,
dy é& avayKns diaBaréor 7; Tv ToL 'Papators THY em
"Aprafatov TOpEevopevors. Gicas dé Trois Bevis

AovKoudnos, Os év xepow ovens TIS viens, dteBi-
Bate TOV oT parov év dadexa orreipars TporeTay-
pévass, tats 8 aAXaus emriTeTarywevas Tpos TAS
KUKM@TELS TOV TWorepiwv. qTrodAXrOL yap hoay
imrmets kal Noyddes ayTiTapaTteTaypevol, 7 po
S avrav immoroforat Mapéoo Kat Loyxog opor
“T8npes, ols padicta TeV Eevev 0 Teypavns
érioTEevey WS paxipoTarors. ou pny émpaxOn
Te Nap pov am avutTav, poxpa é Tois immevot
TOY “Popaiwy SvamdnKTig dwevor TOUS melous
émuovTas ovX wUTrémetvav, arr Exatépwoe THIS
guyis me éreaTdoavto Tovs imeis
7 pos Sy ia wfw. dua 5€ TO ToVTOUS Siacmapivat
T@V Tepl Tov Teypayny efurmacapevav id@v Thy,
AapmpoTnrTa Kal 70 TANGos o AovcovaAnos édeice.
Kal TOUS pev imaets amo TIS dia@Eews avexaneiro,
TpwTOS & auTos avTéoTn Tots ‘ATporrarnvois Kar
QUTOV OvCL PETA TOV ApioTwY, Kal Tp els xyetpas
éNeciv hoBynoas étrpépato. tpiav & opod trapa-
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to the place and showed him its possibilities, and urged him to undertake the building. The king was delighted, and begged Hannibal to superintend the work himself, whereupon a very great and beautiful city arose there, which was named after the king, and proclaimed the capital of Armenia. When Lucullus marched against this city, Tigranes could not suffer it quietly, but put himself at the head of his fortes, and on the fourth day encamped over against the Romans, keeping the river Arsania between himself and them, which they must of necessity cross on their way to Artaxata. There- upon Lucullus sacrificed to the gods, in full assurance that the victory was already his, and then crossed the’ river with twelve cohorts in the van, and the rest disposed so as to prevent the enemy from closing in upon his flanks. For large bodies of horsemen and picked soldiers confronted him, and these were covered by Mardian mounted archers and Iberian lancers, on whom Tigranes relied beyond any other mercenaries, deeming them the most war-like. However, they did not shine in action, but after a slight skirmish with the Roman cavalry, gave way before the advancing infantry, scattered to right and left in flight, and drew after them the cavalry in pursuit. On the dispersion of these troops, Tigranes rode out at the head of his cavalry, and when Lucullus saw their splendour and their numbers he was afraid. He therefore recalled his cavalry from their pursuit of the flying enemy, and taking the lead of his troops in person, set upon the Atropateni, who were stationed opposite him with the magnates of the king’s following, and before coming to close quarters, sent them off in panic flight. Of three

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teraypévov Baciréwv aioyiota Soxet huyeiv o
Tlovtixos MiOpidarns, ov8é tHv Kpavyny Tav ‘Po-
paiwy avacyopevos. yevouévns 88 tas Su@kews
paxpas cal de drs vuKTos, ov movoy KTELvOYTES
avtous, GAXa Kal Cwypoivtes Kal Ypnuata Kat
Aetay dyovres Kab pépovres aqrelmrov ob ‘Popaior.
dnol dé o Acovios év pev TH _Tporépa Bax
mrevovas, ev Sé TAUTN yvwptmwTépovs Treceiy Kal
AnPOjvat Tay Torepiov.
XXXII. ’Ex rovrou Aovnovhros pep earnppevos
car Treappnkas a avo Wpodyew Stevoeiro Kal KaTa.-
otpéher Oar THY BapBapov dpa & lonpeptas
hOivoTwpi7s ovK av éXricavTe Xeuperves érré-
mecov Bapeis, Ta pev wheiora KatavipovTes,
éy 6€ Tails ai Ppiats maxyny _ emupépovres Kal
mayov, ud’ ot Yadetrol peév qoav ot morapol
Tois tarot miver Oar bua, puxporntos brrepBorgy,
Xarerral oe avTay at diaBacets exprryvupevou
TOU KpuoTaddou Kal Siaxomrovtos Ta veupa TOV
immov TH TeaXUTNTL. THs dé xepas 1 Toy
cuvnpedys ovaa ral OTEVOTOPOS Kar éeadns ael
xa vy parvev autos, Xeovos dvam (pT auevous €v
Tais odovmopiass Kal Kaxos év OTOL vorepois
VUKTEPEVOVTAS. OU TOAAaS OvY HMEepas aKONOV-
Onoavres TO AoveovAr@ peta Thy paxny nvav-
TLODVTO, Tparov Seduevor nad rods Xikudpyous
mpooméumovres, Emeta DopuBwdéarepov cUVLOTa-
pevor al KaTa oKnvas VUKTOS arardfovres,
Orrep elvat Boxel obpBorov AMTOCTATLKDS éxovans
OTPATLAs. KatTou TOAAG TpogeMTaper Aovnovn-
Nos akiav avtovs paxpoOvpiav éuBarécOar tais
576

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kings who together confronted the Romans, Mithri-
dates of Pontus seems to have fled most disgrace-
fully, for he could not endure even their shouting.
The pursuit was long and lasted through the whole
night, and the Romans were worn out, not only with
killing their enemies, but also with taking prisoners

and getting all sorts of booty. Livy says that in the former. battle a greater number of the enemy, but in this more men of high station were slain and taken prisoners.

XXXII. Elated and emboldened by this victory, Lucullus purposed to advance further into the interior and subdue the Barbarian realm utterly. But, con- trary to what mighf have been expected at the time of the autumnal equinox, severe winter weather was encountered, which generally covered the ground with snow, and even when the sky was clear pro- duced hoar frost and ice, owing to which the horses could not well drink of the rivers, so excessive was the cold, nor could they easily cross them, since the ice broke, and cut the horses' sinews with its jagged edges. Most of the country was thickly shaded, full of narrow defiles, and marshy, so that it kept the soldiers continually wet; they were covered with snow while they marched, and spent the nights uncomfortably in damp places. Accordingly, they had not followed Lucullus for many days after the battle when they began to object. At first they sent their tribunes to him with entreaties to desist, then they held more tunrultuous assemblies, and shouted in their tents at night, which seems to have been characteristic of a mutinous army. And yet Lu- cullus plied them with entreaties, calling upon them to possess their souls in patience until they had

puyais, axypt ov thy év 'A ppeviots Kapyndova
AaBovres avipos éxGiarou, Tov "AvviBay héeyou,
épyov dvaTpepacty. as &' ov« rreBev, atriyyev
avTous oTriaw Kat Kat addas wrepBoras SerOov
TOV Tadpov els THV Aeyouerny Mvydoneny KaTeé-
Bawve, xopav ma ppopov pal areewnv Kal TOALY
ev auth peyarny kat moAvdvO pwrrov Exoucar,
hy ot pev BdapBapo NioiAry, ot 8 "EdAgves
"Avtioxevay M vySovcny Tpoonyopevov. TavTny
elev afiopate pev aderdos Teypavou Toupas,
curretpig d€ kal dewornte pnXavenh Kandipaxos
0 Kal epi "Aueoov TrcioTa mpaypata Aov-
KONA jwapac ywov. Baropevos dé oTparomebov
Kal Tacav iSéav ToNLopKias emayayav OMY@
xpove Kata kpatos AapBaver THV TOMY. Kal
r oupa pev éauTov eyxXetpioarte prravO pores
expngaro, Karhipaye & Umiaxvoupevep Annas
" atroppryrous peyahov XPNMaT ov dvaxanrwnpe ov
mpocéayev, ANd exéhevoev ev médaus copter bau
diuxnv wdhéEovta Tov TUPOS; ao Tv 'Aponvev
Siadupnvdpevos Toy adeihero Pioriwlay auTov
Kat XEneToTNTos émiderEw pos Tous "EAAnvas.

XXXII. M expe Tovbe hain tis dv AouxovAdr@
THY TUYNY érropevny ovoTpaTnyeiv. évredbev
8 damep TVEULATOS €mthuTroVvT Os m poo Biabopevos
WavTa Kal TavTamaow avTiKpovoy GpeTny pev
émedetxvuto Kal pax poOupiay NYE HOVOS aryaBob,
bofav 6€ Kal Xa pov ovdepiay at mpages é Ex OV,
ara Kal THY mpovTapYoucav eyyus 7 re Svo-
Tparyav Kal Srapepopevos parny arroBaneiv.
trav 8 aiTay auTos ouxi THV ehaxiorny eis
TOUTO Trapécyev, oUK wv DepatrevTiKds TA1OoUsS
578

taken and destroyed the Armenian Carthage, the work of their most hated foe, meaning Hannibal. ‘But since he could not persuade them, he led them back, and crossing the Taurus by another pass, de- scended into the country called Mygdonia, which is fertile and open to the sun,.and contains a large and populous city, called Nisibis by the Barbarians, Antioch in Mygdonia by the Greeks. The nominal defender of this city, by virtue of his rank, was Gouras, a brother of Tigranes; but its actual de- fender, by virtue of his experience and skill as an engineer, was Callimachus, the man who gave Lucullus most trouble at Amisus also. But Lucullus established his camp before it, laid siege to it in every way, and in a short time took the city by storm. To Gouras, who surrendered himself into his hands, he gave kind treatment; but to Calli- machus, who promised to reveal secret stores of great treasure, he would not hearken. Instead, he ordered him to be brought in chains, that he might be punished for destroying Amisus by fire, and thereby robbing Lucullus of the object of his ambition, which was to show kindness to the Greeks.

XXXIII. Up to this point, one might say that fortune had followed Lucullus and fought on his side; but from now on, as though a favouring breeze had failed him, he had to force every issue, and met with obstacles everywhere. He still displayed the bravery and patience of a good leader, but his undertakings brought him no new fame or favour ; indeed, so ill-starred and devious was his course, that he came near losing that which he had already won. And he himself was not least to blame for this. He was not disposed to court the favour of the common

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pp 2

oTpaTLoTtKod, Kai may TO T pos ndovny Tou
apxouevov ywopevov apxis atipiav Kal Karddhuow
nyoupevos’ TO dé éytaoTov, ove Tots SuvaTots Kal
LoOTLOLS EVapLOTTOS Elvat TepUKwS, GANA Tdv-
Twyv Katappovav Kal pndevos a€iovs mpos abtov
Hryoupevos. Tadta yap vrapEar AovKovAXA@ Kaka

AN€youow €v Waot Tois adArots ayabois: Kal yap
péyas Kal Kadods Kal Sewvos etrrety cal povepos
omaras év ayopa Kal otpatoméd Soxet yevéoOar.
Larovatios pev ovv dno yaretras StateOjvac
TOUS GTpaTL@Tas TMpos avToOY EvOUS év apyH Tod
moXéuou mpos Kutix@ xal wadv mpos 'Apiog,
dv0 yemavas éEnS év Xapaxe Stayaryely dvayKa-
obévras. nviwv & avrous kal ot Aortroi yet waves.
h yap év tH worepia Stexeipalov 4 mapa ois
cuppay ous draiOpot oxnvoovres, eis Sé modw
“EAAnvida xal dirnv ovd arak eianOe pera
otpatotrédov AovKovaAros. obttw Sé diaxerpévors
avtots Tas peyiotas évédbwxay ato Ths ‘Pomns ot
Snpaywyol mpopdces, POovm tod AovKovdAXov
KaTnyopouvTes ws Ure dirapxias nab didowAov-
tias €XKovTos Tov ToNE“OV Kat povovod KaTé-
yovros év tavt@ Kidsxiav, ‘Aciav, BiOvviar,
Iladdayoviav, Taratiav, Lovrov, "Appeviay, ra
pexpr Pdardos, vuvi bé cai ta Trypavou Bacirea
memopOnxoTos, WaTep exdvaaL TOvs Bactnreis, ov
KaTaTroNepjoat weupOévtos. TodTo yap eitety
gacw &va trav otpatnyav Aevxiov Koivrov, bd’
ov padmota meicbérvtes Andicavto méptewy
S:addyous TH AovKovrAArA Tis Emrapyxias. epndt-
cavro b¢ xal Tov it’ avt@® oTpatevopévwn Trodr- 515
Novs adpetoOar oTpateias.
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LUCULLUS

soldier, and thought that everything that was done
to please one’s command only dishonoured and under-
mined one’s authority. Worst of all, not even with
men of power and of equal rank with himself could
he readily co-operate ; he despised them all, and
thought them of no account as compared with him-
self. These bad qualities Lucullus is said to have
had, but no more than these. He was tall and
handsome, a powerful speaker, and equally able in
the forum and the field.

Well, then, Sallust says that his soldiers were ill- disposed towards him at the very beginning of the war, before Cyzicus, and again before Amisus, because they were compelled to spend two successive winters in camp. The winters that followed also vexed them. They spent them either in the enemy’s country, or among the allies, encamped under the open sky. Not once did Lucullus take his army into a city that was Greek and friendly. In their disaffection, they received the greatest support from the popular tribunes at

Rome. These envied Lucullus and denounced him for protracting the war through love of power and love of wealth. They said he all but had in his own sole power Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and the regions extending to the Phasis, and that now he had actually plundered the palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been sent, not to subdue the kings, but to strip them. These were the words, they say, of Lucius Quintus, one of the praetors, to whom most of all the people listened when they passed a vote to send men who should succeed Lucullus in the command of his province. They voted also that many of the soldiers under him should be released from military service.

XXXIV. Tovtois' dé tHAtKovTots ovat Tpocyt-
\ 4 4 / \
vetat TO partota AovKovrAd® dte_pyacpévoy Tas
mpdkes, TlomAvos Kiwdios, avnp uBpiotns Kat
PecTOS OALYwpias dmrdans Kal OpacityTos. Hv Sé
ths AovxovAdrou yuvatxos 'ddeXgos, hy cal dca-
Pbeipery exyev aitiavy dKoracTtoTdTny ovcap.
, A 4 4 > cd
tote 5€ tH AovKovAA@ ovoTpaTevwy ovxy Bons
avtov nk€iov tisns éruyxaver' nkiov 5é mpa@tos
\ an 9 a \ \ ,
elvat, Kal TOAN@Y aTroNELTTOMEVoS Sia TOV TpoTrOV
UTrotkovper THY DipSpravnv orpatiay kal wape@-
Evve xata tov AouKovAXou, AGyous YpNnaToUs eis
ovux axovtas ovd anbers tod SypaywyeicOat
diadidovs. oToL yap toav, ods Kal mpdoTepov
4
avéerecce Pip Ppias atoxteivavtas tov trarov
PruxKov avtov ér€c8at otpatynyov. v0 Kal Tov
Krwbiov déms edéyovto Kal dtdooTpatiwTny
/ A
Mpoonyopevov, ayavaxtety mpootrotovpevoy UTrép
auTa@v, eb mépas ovdev EoTaL TOAELwWY TOTOUTwY
Kal TOVvwY, GAAG TravTl pev EOvE. payopmevor,
n " , , \ ,
macay 5é yhv TAaVw@pEVvot KaTAaTpifyovat Tov Biov
/
ovdev akiov ex THrALKaUTNS HEepopevot oTpateias,
adra tas AoveovAXov tapatréutovtes ayakas
Kal Kapnrous éxTopatov xpvcav Kal diadiOwv
yenovoas, of Sé Tlopurniov otpatia@tar dHpyos
GVTES ON Trou peTa yUValKan Kal Téxvav KaOrvTAL
n b 4 \ , 4 b) Q 5 /

yi evdaipova Kat modes Eyovtes, ov MtOpidarnv
kal Tuypdyny eis tas douxntous éuPBadovtes épn-
, ? ~ ? / ‘ 4 ,
pias, ovde THs "Agias Ta Bacitea KatappipavrTes,
’ \ , b , b > , \ a
adra huydow avOpwras év “TBnpiqa Kat dparre.-
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o

LUCULLUS

XXXIV. To these factors in the case, so un- favourable in themselves, there was added another, which most of all vitiated the undertakings of Lucullus. This was Publius Clodius,a man of wanton violence, and full of all arrogance and boldness. He was a brother of the wife of Lucullus, a woman of the most dissolute ways, whom he was actually accused of debauching. At this time he was in service with Lucullus, and did not get all the honour which he thought his due. He thought a foremost place his due, and when many were preferred before him because of his evil character, he worked secretly upon the soldiers who had been commanded by Fimbria, and tried to incite them against Lucullus, disseminating among them speeches well adapted to men who were neither unwilling nor unaccustomed to have their favour courted. These were the men whom Fimbria had once persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and choose himself for their general. They therefore gladly listened to Clodius also, and called him .the soldier’s friend. For he pretended to be incensed in their behalf, if there was to be no end of their countless wars and toils, but they were rather to wear out their lives in fighting with every nation and wandering over every land, receiving no suitable reward for such service, but convoying the waggons and camels of Lucullus laden with golden beakers set with precious stones, while the soldiers of Pompey, citizens now, were snugly ensconced with wives and children in the possession of fertile lands and prosperous cities,—not for having driven Mithri- dates and Tigranes into uninhabitable deserts, nor for having demolished the royal palaces of Asia, but for having fought with wretched exiles in Spain and

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tats év Irardig moteunoavtes. “ Ti ouy, et bet
undérore Travcacbat oTparevonevors, ov! ToLou-
TP TTPATHY® Kal c@pata Ta NouTra Kal puxas
puddo coper, 3 KaANLCTOS elvat Soxel xdapos o
TOV oTpaTevopeveny TOVTOS ; ;
Totavras airiaus To AovxovAXou oTpaTeupa
SiapOapev ovr emi Tiypayyy nrcorovOnaev our
ert McOpidarny avdis ef ‘Appevias els Tovrov
éuBarovta kal Thy apn avarapuSavorra, ™po-
gacw oé€ Tov XEepova ToLoupevor mept THY
Lopdunviv SueTpusor, dcov ovtw Iloprniov 7
Tw’ adrov TaV Hye“ovwv AovKovdAr® diddoxov

adpitecbat Tpoc Soxavres.
XXXV. ’Esrel 6€ MiOpidatns Ayyerto PaBrov
VEVLENK@S ert Lepvartov Kar Tped.prov Badtleuv,
aiaxuvdevres elrovTo TO Aovkovhr@. Tprdpuos
8 ws &roupov apndaat TO viKnpa, imply émehOeiv
AovxovAdov eyes évTa, prdoripovpevos HTTAT AL
waxy peydny. AéyovTas yap viép ETTAKLTXUALOUS
‘Pwpatov dmobaveiv, év ols éxaTovTapxot pep
éxaT ov TEVTHKOVTA, XeAtapxou 8 elxooe xat
Téccapes’ TO Se oTpaToT edov elhe Mibpidarns.
éreNOav 5é Aovxounrros OAL YaLS DoTepor népas
Tpedprov pev UO TOY oTPATLWTOY CnToupevov
Tpos opyny ebecrewe, MO pidarou dé pn GéXovtos
paxec Bat, anrra _ Tuypaeny TEPLLEVOVTOS non
cataBaivovra peTa TOANTS Suvdpews, & éyve mpi
apporépous ouvenGei Tad aTavTnoat Kal d1a-
yovicacBas pos TOV Teypavny. TopEevopEevep 8
auT@ Kal odov ot Dip Sprarot oTACLACAVTES
_aréderov tas Tdfes, ws aperpévor Soypate Ths
584

runaway slaves in Italy. “Why, then,” he would cry, “if our campaigns are never to come to an end, do we not reserve what is left of our bodies, and our lives, for a general in whose eyes the wealth of his soldiers is his fairest honour ?”’

For such red ns as these the army of Lucullus was demoralised, and refused to follow him -either against Tigranes, or against Mithridates, who had come back into Pontus from Armenia, and was trying to restore his power there. They made the winter their excuse for lingering in Gordyené, expecting every moment that Pompey, or some other commander, would be sent out to succeed Lucullus.

XXXV. But when tidings came that Mithridates had defeated Fabius,! and was on the march against Sornatius and Triarius, they were struck with shame and followed Lucullus. But Triarius, who was ambitious to snatch the victory, which he thought assured, before Lucullus, who was near, should come up, was defeated in a great battle. It is said that over seven thousand Romans fell, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes ; and their camp was captured by Mithridates. But Lucullus, coming up a few days afterward, hid Triarius from the search of his infuriated soldiers. Then, since Mithridates was unwilling to give fight, but lay waiting for Tigranes, who was coming down with a large force, he determined to anticipate the junction of their armies, and march back to meet Tigranes in

battle. But while he was on the way thither, the Fimbrian soldiers mutinied and left their. ranks, declaring that they were discharged from

| 67 B.c.
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otpatetas nal pnxéte TO AovxovAX@ tpoajKov
dpyew, érépois arrodederypévwv Tav érapxiav.
ION 9 3 4 aA > 3 gs e ,
ovdev ovv éotiv 6 TL TOY Trap akiay o AovKovAXOS
9 e , bd a > \ \
ovX vmépevev, avtiBorov Kal" eva Kal Kata
oxnvas teptiav taewos Kal SeBxpupuévos, &ore
5 -- \ A 1 , e 5 > ,
@v Kat yevpos' amropuevos. ot 6 amretptBovTo
\ 4 \ \ a lA
Tas SeEtwoets Kal Keva Tpoceppittovy Badavtta,
Kal povov paxecBat Tots trorepiows éexédevor,
b > S ? , a > ' 3 \
ap wv movos nTiaTaTo THouTEW. Ov nV adda
A ¥ a 4 ? /
TOV GAXwY oTpaTiwTayv Seopévov éxBracbévtes
e \ <Q a \ Oé
of DipBpravot cuvéPevto trapapeivar Td Oépos:
A /
dav 8é pndels ev TH Ypovwe TovT@ KaTin pos
? A 3 4 ? / a 3 v
avtovs aywviovupevos, amnrAdAdyOar. Tadt' eer
e., fe » Fs \ Y ,
otépyew €& avayxns tov AoveovAndor, } mpoéa Gar
a Uf \ , 3 4 "
tots BapBdpo.s THY ywpay atrorepOevta. auvei-
/ /
yev ov avTovs ovKeTL tpocBialopevos ovdé
4
Tpoaywv qmpos paxnv, GArN Ee Tapapévorev
ayarav, Kal mepiopav tropOovpévny bro Tod
Trypavou tnv Karaaboxiav cal wad vBpivovta
a A
McOpidatnv, bv abtos éreotdAKes TH TVYKANT@
4 a \ e 4
ypahwv KatareTroNepnobar: Kat ot mperBeus
Tapnoav avte mpos THv Sideowv tov év IlovT@
, e & / 9 4 \

mpayunatwv, as 8) BeBuiws éyouévwv. nal 87
3 a
mapovTes Ewpwv OVS avTod KUpLov, AAA Trapot-
/ A
youmevoyv Kal TpoTnaxtCopevov UO TOY OTPATLW-
TOV, Ols YE TOTOUTO TrEpLnY THs Els TOV OTPATHYOV
t] / Lf “a 4 4 > 4
agenyelas, WaoTE TOU Oépous AryovTos évduvTES
1 nal xeipds S; xerpas,
586
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service by decree of the people, and that Lucullus no longer had the right to command them, since the provinces had been assigned to others. Accordingly, there was no expedient, however much beneath his dignity, to which Lucullus did not force himself to resort,-—entreating the soldiers man by man, going about from tent to tent in humility and tears, and actually taking some of the men by the hand in supplication. But they rejected his advances, and threw their empty purses down before him, bidding him fight the enemy alone, since he alone knew how to get rich from them. However, at the request of the other soldiers, the Fimbrians were constrained to agree to remain during the summer; but if, in the meantime, no enemy should come down to fight them, they were to be dismissed. Lucullus was obliged to content himself with these terms, or else to be deserted and give up the country to the Barbarians. He therefore simply held his soldiers together, without forcing them any more, or leading them out to battle. Their remaining with him was all he could expect, and he looked on helplessly while Tigranes ravaged Cappadocia and Mithridates resumed his insolent ways,—a monarch whom he had reported by letter to the Senate as completely sub- dued. Besides, the commissioners were now with him, who had been sent out to regulate the affairs of Pontus, on the supposition that it was a secure Roman possession. And lo, when they came, they saw that Lueullus was not even his own master, but was mocked and insulted by his soldiers. These went so far in their outrageous treatment of their general, that, at the close of the summer, they donned their

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Ta OTAa Kal oTAagamEVOL TAS payYaipas mpoeKa-
AodvTO TOUS pndapod TapovTas, GAN amNpKOTAsS
4 4 b / \ ,
Hon Trodeuious. araddkavtes 5€ Kal cxiapayy-
cavrTes aTeywpnaay €K TOU Xapakos, éTipapTU-
pdpevot TeTANpw@d Oat Tov Ypovory, by @porAcynocav
T@® AovxovAX@ trapapéverv.
Tovs & dAdXous éxdre: da ypappatov Uopimrn-
ey A \ > J (o) \ s,

ios: 0n yap amrodébetxto Tod mpos MiOpiddrnv
kat Teypdynv wodéuov .otpatnyos yapite Tov

Snpwou Kat Kodaxeia TOV Snpaywyar, érel TH YE

BovrAn Kai tois dpictas adixa racyey édoxet

AovKovAXos ov trovdéuou Siadcyous, adAa Opidp-

4 2 QA A / ? s

Bov AapBavor, obbé THs ctpatnyias avayxalo-

? a ? A a , 2—-/

pevos, GAAA TeV éTdOr\wv THs ctpatryias é£t-
otac0a: Kai Tapaywpetv érépors.
XXXVI. “Ere b€ pardArAov ébavy TO yLvopevov
Tots €xel Trapovot veweonTov. ovTE yap Tihs O
AovxovrXdos ovTE Timwpias TOV ev TOAEWM KUPLOS
; e “A 999 ¥ fs ‘4 ‘A

umTnpxev, ovd ela twa Llopumanios Badifery mpos
avrov ovdé mpocéyew ols éxeivos eypade ral
diévepe peta tov Séxa mpéo Bewr, GAN’ éxodvev
ext LOeis Siaypappata Kal poBepos TA,pov amo
pecCovos duvdpews. Gums dé eof Tots pidous
ouvaryaryelv avrous® Kai auvidOov év Kon Tevi
THS Taratias Kal T™pooeimov aXA2) NOUS prod po-
vos Kat auvno Oncay emi Tois KaTopOwpevors
éxaTépy, mpeo BUTEpos ev Ov oO Aodtkovrros,
atiwpa © Av to Tlopmrniov peifov aro mreovey
atpatnyiav Kat dveiv OpiapBov. pdBdou 8

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LUCULLUS

armour, drew their swords, and challenged to battle
an enémy who was nowhere near, but had already
withdrawn. Then they shouted their war cries,
brandished their weapons in the air, and departed
from the camp, calling men to witness that the time
had expired during which they had agreed to remain
with Lucullus. ;

The rest of the soldiers Pompey summoned by letter, for he had already been appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates and Tigranes,! because he won the favour of the people and flattered their leaders. But the Senate and the nobility considered Lucullus a wronged man. He had been superseded, they said, not in a war, but in a triumph, and had been forced to relinquish and turn over to others, not his campaign, but the prizes of victory in his campaign.

XXXVI. But to those who were on the spot, what happened there seemed still greater matter for wrath and indignation. For Lucullus was not allowed to bestow rewards or punishments for what had been done in the war, nor would Pompey even suffer any one to visit him, or to pay any heed to the edicts and regulations which he made in concert with the ten commissioners, but prevented it by issuing counter-edicts, and by the terror which his presence with a larger force inspired. Nevertheless, their friends decided to bring the two men together, and so they met in a certain village of Galatia. They greeted one another amicably, and each congratulated the other on his victories. Lucullus was the elder man, but Pompey's prestige was the greater, because he had conducted more campaigns, and celebrated

1 66 B.C.

appotépwv rponyotvto Sadyvndopor bia Tas vixas. kal tov ye Ilowmniov paxpav odov bia Torwy avudpwv Kal avypunpav odevacavtos tas Sddvas Enpas mepixepévas tais pdBdous idovtes ot tod AovxovrAryov paBdodopos dirtodppovovpevor Tois éxeivov petédOwxay é€x TaV idiwv, Tpoc- gdtouvs Kal Oarepas Eyovtes. Kal TO ytvopevov eis olwvov éridevto ypnatov ot Ilopmrniou dpiror: TO yap évTe THY éxeivov otpaTnyiay ai TovToU 4 mpdkes éxoopyoav. éx &é TOY Noyov 7 pos ovdéy | CTTLELKES cuveBnoar, arn' ett padXov aNOT PLO Oévres Tos adANAOUS amnrOov: Kat Tas UTrO Tob AovxovAXov yevopevas Svar d£eus RKvpa@d er 0 Topsrnios, oT pAaTLWTas d€ TOUS aAXOUS amayayov povous auT@ YiALOUS éEaxoatous améXre ouv- OprapBevoovras, ovdé TOUTOUS para 7 poOvpeos ET OMEVOUS. oT Tes ay aguns q dvaruxns O Aovxovdros T pos TO TavTav év Wyepovig 7 pero Kal péyio Tov" @S, €b TOUTO peTa TOV awv vrinpeev avt@o, THALKOUTMY 6YTwWY Kal TOTOUTM)D, per avopeias, emiperetas, TUVETEWS, Otkacoovuns, ovK ay elyev " 'Pepaior Tyenovia TOV Eudparny

THS "Agias Gpov, adra Ta érxata Kat Thv ‘TpKa-
via Oararray, TOV pev arAdAwY eOvaOv Teypavy
TPONTTNMEVOY, THS 6€ NapOav Suvdpews ovx bon
Kata Kpaacov eLepavn TooavTns Kal Kata Aov-
xKovNXOvV ovans ovo omotws TUVETTHONS, GX’ vr
éuguriwy cal Tpocoikav TONELw@Y OVS A ppevious
vBpivovtas éppwwévns apvvec Oat.
Nov 6€ pou doxet Aovnovdros dy apehnoe de
avtov Thy Tatpida Brdvpas peilova b.’ érépwv.
590°

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LUCULLUS

two triumphs. Fasces wreathed with laurel were carried before both commanders in token of their victories, and since Pompey had made a long march through waterless and arid regions, the laure] which wreathed his fasces was withered. When the lictors of Lucullus noticed this, they considerately gave Pompey’s lictors some of their own Jaurel, which was fresh and green.” This circumstance was interpreted as a good omen by the friends of Pompey; for, in fact, the exploits of Lucullus did adorn the command of Pompey. However, their conference resulted in no equitable agreement, but they left it still more estranged from one another. Pompey also annulled the ordinances of Lucullus, and took away all but sixteen hundred of his soldiers. These he left to share his triumph, but even these did not follow him very cheerfully. To such a marvellous degree was Lucullus either unqualified or unfortunate as regards the first and highest of all requisites in a leader. Had this power of gaining the affection of his soldiers been added to his other gifts, which were so many and so great,— courage, diligence, wisdom, and justice, —the Roman empire would not have been bounded by the Euphrates, but by the outer confines of Asia, and the Hyrcanian sea ; for all the other nations had already been subdued by Tigranes, and in the time of Lucullus the Parthian power was not so great as it proved to be in the time of Crassus, nor was it so well united, nay rather, owing to intestine and neighbouring wars, it had not even strength enough to repel the wanton attacks of the Armenians.

Now my own opinion is that the harm Lucullus did his country through his influence upon others, was . greater than the good he did her himself. For his

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\ ? b , s / ,
7 Ta yap év Appevig TpoTrata, Hapbwv hao tov
ést@ta kat Teypavoxepta cai NiotBts cal mAov-
TOS €x TOUT@Y TOAUS eis ‘PwOunv Kopiabels Kal TO
Tuypavou duddnua troprevbéy aiyxpadwrov éripe
Kpdooov éri thv ’Aciav, a Addupa Kai delay

tovs BapBdpovs, addo 8 ovdey bvtas. tayv
, n / , 2" SS oneres
pevtot tots TidpOwv rokevpacw évrvyov aéderée
\ 7 > BJ 4 \ , fal
Tov AovkovdXrov ove adpoovvn kal padakia Tav
ToNepiwv, avVTOU dé TOAMN Kal SeLvOTNTL TrEpLryEvo-
pevov. adda TAaUTA pev DoTeEpov.
XXXVII. ‘O éd€ AoveovrAXos avaBas eis
‘Pounv mparov pev KxatéraBe Tov adeddov
Madpxop bro Taiov Meppiou xarnyopotpevov éd’
_ ” , / ,
ois émpake tapievwv Ara sampoctd~arTos.
éxeivou & dmopuyovtos éml rovTov avtTov o
Méppitos petaBaropevos tapw uve tov Shor, cal
e / / \ 4
@S TOAAG vevoo dic pévy Kal pnxvvavte TOV ToAe-
9 ” 2A \ 5 a r) , 8 06
pov erretceyv avT@ pn Sodvat OpiapBov. édAOovtos
> > A na , / e a
& eis aydva tod AovKovAdouv péyay of Tpatot
; _?f e a
Kat Suvat@tato. Katapi€aytes éauTovs Tails
a A / \ a f ”
gurais ToAAD Senoet Kal otrovdn pods Erreroay
tov Shuov émitpéyrar OprauBedoas, ovy, woTreEp
Evol, ponker Te Troumns Kal wAnOee TeV Kope-
Couévwy éexTAnKTiKov Kal oyAwdn OpiayBov,
? \ a \ ee a / =
ANNA TOLS MEV OTTAOLS TWY TrOAELLWY OVOL Trap-
ToAAOs Kat Tols BacidwKois pnYavnpace Tov
Prapiverov imrodpopuov Suexoopnoe Kal Oéa tis
9A z ¢ \ 9 > i 2 \
3 hv avtn Kad éavtny ovK Eevxatadpovntos: év &é
927

LUCULLUS

trophies in Armenia, standing on the borders of
Parthia, and Tigranocerta, and Nisibis, and the vast
wealth brought to Rome from these cities, and the
display in his triumph of the captured diadem of
Tigranes, incited Crassus to his attack upon Asia ;
he thought that the Barbarians were spoil and booty,
and nothing else. It was not long, however, before
he encountered the Parthian arrows, and proved

that Lucullus had won his victories, not through the folly and cowardice of his enemies, but through his own daring and ability. This, however, is later history.

XXXVII. Now when Lucullus had. returned to Rome, he found, in the first place, that his brother Marcus was under prosecution by Gaius Memmius for his acts as quaestor under the administration of Sulla. Marcus, indeed, was acquitted, but Memmius then turned his attack upon Lucullus, and strove to excite the people against him. He charged him with diverting much property to his own uses, and with needlessly protracting the war, and _ finally persuaded the people not to grant him a triumph. Lucullus strove mightily against this decision, and the foremost and most influential men mingled with the tribes, and by much entreaty and exertion at last persuaded the people to allow him to celebrate a triumph ;! not, however, like some, a triumph which was startling and tumultuous from the length of the procession and the multitude of objects displayed. Instead, he decorated the circus of Flaminius with the arms of the enemy, which were very numerous, and with the royal engines of war; and this was a great spectacle in itself, and far from contemptible.

1 66 B.C.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

A A _A / e / %, /
Th Tounh TaV Te KaTappaxtwy immewy OLyOL
cal rav Sperravndopwy apudtov déxa trapHrOor,
e / I N a A
éEnxovta 5é pirot Kai otpatnyol Tay BacidiKo,
\ 4 A e \ \ / ef
paxpal dé yarxéuBoros vies éxatov cai déxa dua
TapexouicOnaav, avtod te MiOpiddtou yxpuceos
e 4 / \ , 4 ‘
éEdtrovs KoNoceds, Kal Oupeds Tis dtaddLtOos, Kai
hopnuata eixoct ev apyupav oKxevav, Kpua@y 6’
éxtrmputov Kal OTAwY Kal vopiapatos dv0 Kal
TpidKovTa. TavTa pev ovv avdpes TrapexopCov
e / > 9 \ , A ¥ A \ ‘
nptovot & oxTw KrLvas xypuvaas Edepov, €E dé Kat
TWEVTHKOVTA KEeYwvEevpévoy apryvptov, adroL O°
éxaTov émTa& vopicpaTos apyupov, mKP@ TLVE
Seovoas éRdounKovta cal Staxocias pupiudas.
? \ / 9 fe) °# 4
év d¢ SéX Tots dvaypagal trav Ady Sedopéevwv ypn-
patov va avtod Tlopmrnig mpos Toy tmeipatixor
moAemov Kat Tots etl Tod Snuoctov Tapetov, Kat
xopis Ott otpatiwtns Exactos évaxocias Kal

/ bY 4 b>] ‘\ 4 a
mevryxovTa Spaxpas édaBev. ml TovTOLS THY TE
TOW é€laTiace AauTpPas Kal TAS TepLoKidas
Kwpas, as ovlxovs KaXovot.
XXXVIII. Tis dé Krwédias amnraypEevos,
ovans ageXyous Kai movnpas, Lepoviriav é eynpev,
aterpay Kdrevos, ovde TOUTOV evT UXT yapov.
ev yap ov mpoanv avT@ tov Krwoias Kxaxov
povor, 7 Tov adergary 6a Born" TaAXa b€ Bderv-
pav opoiws ovaayv Kal aKoAacToY jvaryKatero
pepe aidovpevos Katawva, Téhos dé amretmev.
‘Ed toas be Oavpacras Th Bourn TAPATXov,
as éyovan Tov avOpa TODTOY ayritaypa 7 pos THY
tod Lloumaniov tupavvida nai Ths aptatoKpatias
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But in the procession, a few of the mail-clad horse- men and ten of the scythe-bearing chariots moved along, together with sixty of the king’s friends and generals. A hundred and ten bronze-beaked ships of war were also carried along, a golden statue of Mithridates himself, six feet in height, a wonderful shield adorned with precious stones, twenty litters of silver vessels, and thirty-two litters of gold beakers, armour, and money. All this was carried by men. Then there were eight mules which bore golden couches, fifty-six bearing ingots “of silver, and a hundred and seven more bearing something less than two million seven hundred thousand pieces of silver coin. There were also tablets with records of the sums of money already” paid by Lucullus to Pompey for the war against the pirates, and to the keepers of the public treasury, as well as of the fact that each of his soldiers had received nine hundred and fifty drachmas. To crown all, Lucullus gave a magnificent feast to the city, and to the surrounding villages called Vicz.

XXXVIII. After his divorce from Clodia, who was a licentious and base woman, he married Servilia, a sister of Cato, but this, too, was an unfortunate marriage. For it lacked none of the evils which Clodia had brought in her train except one, namely, the scandal about her brothers. In all other respects Servilia was equally vile and abandoned, and yet Lucullus forced himself to tolerate her, out of regard for Cato. At last, however, he put her away.
The Senate had conceived wondrous hopes that in him it would find an opposer of the tyranny of Pompey and a champion of the aristocracy, with all
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ce
©
to
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

id > N / , e ,
mpopaxyov amo Sofns nal duvapews oppw@pevoy
peyaArns, éyxaTérLtTre Kal TpojKato TV TOALTELAY,
elite Suaxdbextov Hon Kal vocodaav opav el0’, ads
act évtor, weatos ov So—ns Kal mpos TO padorov
avatint@y tov Biov Kal padaxwratov éx TOAA@DY
adyoveav «al Tovey oun evtvyéotatoyv TéXoS
AaBovTwy. ot pev yap émawvovow avTod TtHVv
TocavTny petaBorjv, to Mapiov mdafos pn
maovros, ds mt tais KipSpixais vicars wal rots
Karo Kal peydrors EKELVOLS katoplapacw OvK
0 EAnoev QUTOV avetvaL Teh ToTauTy CnAwTov,
aX’ dmhnaotig d0fns Kat apxijs véous avipdot
yépav aVTUTohLTEvopEvos eis Epya Seva xal | wan
Sevorepa TaY épyov efwrerre Bértiov 8 av nai
Kixépova ee peta Karidivav trrootet\d-
evov Ka Zentiva Kapyndov T poo Gevra.
Newsies celta Tavoduevor™ elvat yap Tuva kal
TONTUKAS meptodou Kataddvotv TOV yap aOrn-
TLeeY GYOVOV TOUS TOALTLKOUS OUdEeY HTTOV dxpijs
Kal @pas emidurovans eneyxXeoOau. oi O€ mept TOV
Kpacooy Kat Tloparniov ex rcvafov TOV AovKoun-
ov eis HOovny adetxota Kal tmoAuTéAeLay aurov,
@aoTEP OV TOU TpYdaY parhov TOUS THALKOUTOLS
Tap aKtay ovTOS % TOU TortTeverOar Kal
oTpaTnyely. .
XXXIX. "Eore & ovv tov AoveovAXou Biov,
xadarrep apyaias Koupolas, dvayvavat 7a, pe
mpOTa TortTELas Kal otpatnyias, Ta © borepa
ToTOUs Kal Seimva ral povovovyt K@[LOUS Kal
Aaprdbas Kat maidvav adtracav. eis tratdiav yap
éyoye Tifeyat Kat oixodopas ToAduTEActs Kal
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the advantage of great glory and influence; but he quitted and abandoned public affairs, either because he saw that they were already beyond proper control and diseased, or, as some say, because he had his fill of

glory, and felt that the unfortunate issue of his many struggles and toils entitled him to fall back upon a life of ease and luxury. Some commend him for making such a change, and thereby escaping the unhappy lot of Marius, who, after his Cimbrian victories and the large and fair successes which were so famous, was unwilling to relax his efforts and enjoy the honours won, but with an insatiate desire for glory and power, old man that he was, fought with young men in the conduct of the state, and so drove headlong into terrible deeds, and sufferings more terrible still. Cicero, say these, would have had a better old age if he had taken in sail after the affair of Catiline, and Scipio, too, if he had given himself pause after adding Numantia to Carthage ; for a political cycle, too, has a sort of natural termination, and political no less than athletic contests are absurd, after the full vigor of life has departed. Crassus and Pompey, on the other hand, ridiculed Lucullus for giving himself up to pleasure and extravagance, as if a luxurious life were not even more unsuitable to men of his years than political and military activities.

XXXIX. And it is true that in the life of Lucullus, as in an ancient comedy, one reads in the first part of political measures and military commands, and in the latter part of drinking bouts, and banquets, and what might pass for revel-routs, and torch-races, and all manner of frivolity. For I must count as frivolity his costly edifices, his ambulatories

KaTacKevas qmepitmdtwv Kal ovTpa@v Kal Ere
HGdXov ypadas Kal avdpidvtas Kal THY Trepti
TavTas Tas Téxvas omrovdyny, as exeivos cuvAye
peyaros avarwpaciv, es Ta’Ta TO TOUT
pvdnv Kataypwpevos, dv HOpoixet Todw Kal
AaLTpPOV ato TOV GTpaTELwv, Strov Kal vov, éri-
Soci TotavTny THs Tpudhs éyovons, oc Aovxova-
Mavol Kho TaV BactdtKav év TOLS TOAUTEAECTTA-
Tos aptOmovvtar. ta d év Tois Taparios Kal
wept Néav mor épya, AOpous avaxpepavvuvTos
avTov meyaXols opvypace Kat TpoxXous Jardaons
Kab dad popas ixOvorpogpous Tos oixnTnpiors
WepteAlaaovTos Kal dtaitas évadious KTilovTos, 0
aTwixds TovBépwy Ocacdpevos ZépEnv avrov ex
Tn Bévvou Tpoonyopevaen. jnoav © avT@ Tmept
Todcdov eyxXapto Starrat Kal KaTacKkoTral
TEPLOTT OV xa KaTacKeval AVATEETT OL LEVOV
avdpwver Kal Tmepumarov, €&v als o Hoparnios
YEVO[MEVOS éuéueto Tov Aovcovhrov, ore 7 pos
Bépos apiota d:abeis THY emavuhev doixntov ev
ELL OVE TEeTPOLN/KE. yerdoas ovv exeivos *e Kira,”
ép7y, “ gol oxo éAd7 Tova, TOV yepave vouv eye

Kal TOV Tehapyar, aote Tals @pars pn cuppera-
Barrpev tas Siairas ; oTpaTayou 6é Tote
pido poupevov Tept Beas Kal Kopp Twe KOO LOV
ait oupévou moppupas Xdapvbas amexpivaro
TKEYpapEvos, av exn, Swoev, ELTA pe? nLepav
npernaev avtov, oroawy SéoiTo. Tov dé éxaT ov
dpxecew pncavTos éxédevoe AaBeiv dis TocauTas:
eis 6 Kab PrAaKKOS O TOLNTIS CHUTE POURED: QS
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and baths, and still more his paintings and statues (not to speak of his devotion to these arts), which he collected at enormous outlays, pouring out into such channels the vast and splendid wealth which he accumulated from his campaigns. Even now, when luxury has increased so much, the gardens of Lucullus are counted among the most costly of the imperial gardens. As for his works on the sea- shore and in the vicinity of Neapolis, where he sus- pended hills over vast tunnels, girdled his residences with zones of sea and with streams for the breeding of fish, and built dwellings in the sea,—when Tubero the Stoic saw them, he called him Xerxes in a toga. He had also country establishments near Tusculum, with observatories, and extensive open banqueting halls and cloisters. Pompey once visited these, and chided Lucullus because he had arranged his country seat in the best possible way for summer, but had made it uninhabitable in winter. Whereupon Lu- cullus burst out laughing and said : “ Do you suppose, then, that I have less sense than cranes and storks, and do not change residences according to the seasons?’’ A praetor was once making ambitious plans for a public spectacle, and asked of him some purple cloaks for the adornment of a chorus. Lucullus replied that he would investigate, and if he had any, would give them to him. The next day he asked the praetor how many he wanted, and on his replying that a hundred would suffice, bade him take twice that number. The poet Flaccus! alluded to this when 1 EHpiat. i. 6, 45 f.

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ov vouiles TAOUTOV, OV mn TA TApop@peva Kal
4 4 aA , > /
ANavodvovta treiova TOV Paivopévwny EoTi.
XL. NeorAovta §& Fv tod AoveovrAXoV Ta
Seirva Ta Kal’ nuépav, ov povov otpwpvais
adroupyéoe kat SiariOors extrapace kal yopots Kai
3 4 2 4 ? b v
axpodpacw éme:aodtos, AAN OYrwy TE TaVvTo-
a A 4
Satrav cal tmeppdtwv tmepitTa@s SiatreTovnpéevov
jmapacKevais bnrwTov averevOépoirs trovodvTos
¢€ A os A
éavtov. o yoov Tlopanios evdoxiunoe vooav:

A A 9 ~ , b] \ aA s
Tov yap LaTpov KityAnV auTov NaBelv KeXeveavTos,
“ : 3 a > e “a 3 Ld ,
Tov © olKeT@Y OUK av eipely adraKOOL papévov
4 ,

Gépous @pa KixdAnv % tapa AoveovAX cuTEvO-
peévnv, ovK eiace AaBeiv exciOev, GAN’ eitTaV Tpos
. 9 mer > a ? \ / ? ,
Tov tatpov ‘‘ Ouxovy, e« ny AovKovadAdros étpuda,
Tue ? A "4 2 /
Tlopmnios oun av efnoev;” addAo Tt TapacKevacat
“A , I “A
TOV evTropictwv éxédXevoe. Kadtov 8 qv atte
, \ ? a ef \ \ ld ? A \ 4 '
hiros Kal oixetos, oftw 5€ Tov Biov avTov Kal Thy
, n~
dtartav édvaoxépaivev, Bate, véov Tivos ev TH
a , fo
Bovnr7 Noyov éerrayOh Kal paxpov akaipws vtrép
,

evTedXelas Kat cwdpoouvns SseAOovros, éravactas
e wn
o Katowv “Ov raven,” ébn, “ov TAOUTaY péev S
Kpdaocos, Cav & ws AovKovaAdos, réywv b€ as
? “a ~
Kdtav;” évioe 8€ robto pnOjvar péev obtaws, UT6
Kdtewvos dé od Néyouaw.
e / /

XLI. “O pévrot AovxovrAdro0s oby 7dd0pmev0s

4 > Xa 4 A / 4
povov, add} Kal ceyvuvopevos TO Bi— TovTe
dnros HY eK TOY aTrO“VNnpovevopévwv. RéyeTat
a “BR 3 @ / 2 , >» ¢ ,
yap “EXXnvas avOpwirovs avaBavtas eis ‘Poynv
éotidy éml roAAds nuépas, Tors 8 éyvtas ‘EX-
, 4 a
AnviKOY TL TABOVTAS, aicyivedOat Kai SiwOeta Bas
600
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LUCULLUS

he said that he did not regard a house as wealthy in which the treasures that were overlooked and unobserved were not more than those which met the eye. XL. The daily repasts of Lucullus were such as the newly rich affect. Not only with his dyed coverlets, and beakers set with precious stones, and choruses and dramatic recitations, but also with his arrays of all sorts of meats and daintily prepared dishes, did he make himself the envy of the vulgar. A saying of Pompey's, when he was ill, was certainly very popular. His physicians had prescribed a thrush for him to eat, and his servants said that a thrush could not be found anywhere in the summer season except where Lucullus kept them fattening. Pompey, however, would not suffer them to get one from there, but bade them prepare something else that was easily to be had, remarking as he did so to his physician, "What ! must a Pompey have died if a Lucullus were not luxurious?'' And Cato, who was a friend of his, and a relation by marriage, was nevertheless much offended by his life and habits. Once when a youthful senator had delivered a tedious and lengthy discourse, all out of season, on frugality and tem- perance, Cato rose and said; "Stop there! you get wealth like Crassus, you live like Lucullus, but you talk like Cato.'' Some, however, while they say that these words were actually uttered, do not say that they were spoken by Cato.

XLI. Moreover, that Lucullus took not only pleasure but pride in this way of living, is clear from the anecdotes recorded of him. It is said, for instance, that he entertained for many successive days some Greeks who had come up to Rome, and that they, with genuinely Greek scruples, were at last ashamed to accept his invitation, on the ground

A e > > \ > e@ / ; 4
Thv KAHoW, ws be adtovs Kad' Huépavy TocovTwY
? / \ 3 4 > a
avantoKopevwy? Tov ovv AoveovAXov evirety pet-
,
Sidoavta mpos adtovs: "Tiverar pév te tobTwY
kal ov tpas, wo advdpes "EAAnves: Ta pévToe
mwreloTa yivetas Sta AovKovaAdov." érrel dé povou
dertrvovvTos avTov pia Tpdmeba Kal péeTpLov Trape-
oxevaoOn Setrvov, nyavadnte. Kadéoas Tov emt
TOUT® TeTaypEVOY OiKéTHV. TOD 5é€ dycavToOS, WS
OUK @ETO pNndEevOsS KEKANMEVOU TOAUTENODS TLVOS
aes a Bag oT ys " 4 Bee h
avTov SenoecOar "Ti réyets; " elmrev, " ovK "deus,
OTe anjpepov trapa AovKxovAd@ Servet Aovxovr-
> N \ 4 e > , ? A 4
dos; OvTos O€ Trepl TOUTOV, WS ELKOS, EV TH TOAEL
" ol A >
Aoyou wodXOdD, MpoonrAOoy avT@ Kat ayopav
oe e Y

ayxorny adyovtt Kixépwv cal Tlopmnios, o pev eév
”- Ul 7 A } 0 II oh 3
Tois pddota piros ov kal auv7AOns, Topmrnio
A / \
qv pev ex THs oTpatnyias Stahopa mpos avon,
a ,
elwbercay Sé ypnobat nal draréyerOas Trodraxts
n~ 3 ¢
ETLELK@S GAAHAOLS. aoTraTdpEvos OvY Oo Kixépwv
\ ro)
aQuTov npornaey, dmrws Exes mpos evtevEw: tod dé
pycavros, @S dpvara, Kal TapaKadodvros évtuy-
xavew : ‘Hyeis,” ep, - Bovropeda, deiTvo ar
Tapa col Thuepov ovTws, Srrws éaTi cor Ta.pe-
cKevac pera. Opumropévou dé Tod AovxovAdou
Kal petaraBeiv mpepav akvovvtos ovK épacay
emutpeyrety, OvO ElwY Siaréyer Oar TOUS olkérass,
iva pay Tt qWAé€ov Kehevon yevér Oat TOV QUT@
,
yovomervan, wy TocobTO povov aiToupeve ouve-
Xwopnoay el Tr ety 7 pos éva TOV olKeT@V évavTiov
éxeivey, ore 77} ME pov ey t@ AmoAXwvt Serrvicor:
TOUTO yap TLS Elye TOV TOAUTEAGY olKwY dvopa,
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that he was incurring so much expense every day on their account; whereupon Lucullus said to them with a smile, “Some of this expense, my Grecian friends, is indeed on your account; most of it, how- ever, is on account of Lucullus.” And once, when he was dining alone, and a modest repast of one course had been prepared for him, he was angry, and summoned the servant who had the matter in charge. The servant said that he did not suppose, since there were no guests, that he wanted anything very costly. ‘* What sayest thou?’’ said the master, “dost thou not know that to-day Lucullus dines with Lucullus ?” While this matter was much talked of in the city, as was natural, Cicero and Pompey came up to him as he was idling in the forum. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends, and although the matter of the command of the army had led to some coolness between him and Pompey, still they were accustomed to frequent and friendly intercourse and conversation with one another. Accordingly, Cicero saluted him, and asked how he was disposed towards receiving a petition. ‘Most excellently well,’ said Lucullus, and invited them to make their petition. ‘We desire,’ said Cicero, “ to dine with you to-day just as you would have dined by yourself.’’ Lucullus de- murred to this, and begged the privilege of selecting a later day, but they refused to allow it, nor would they suffer him to confer with his servants, that he might not order any thing more provided than what was provided for himself. Thus much, how- ever, and no more, they did allow him at his request, namely, to tell one of his servants in their presence that he would dine that day in the Apollo. Now this was the name of one of his costly apartments,

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gavtTas, 61rov Bovherau Sevmveiy, evdévat, Toamov
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and he thus outwitted the men without their knowing it. For each of his dining-rooms, as it seems, had a fixed allowance for the dinner served there, as well as its own special apparatus and equipment, so that his slaves, on hearing where he wished to dine, knew just how much the dinner was to cost, and what were to be its decorations and arrangements. Now the usual cost of a dinner in the Apollo was fifty thousand

drachmas, and that was the sum laid out on the present occasion. Pompey was amazed at the speed with which the banquet was prepared, notwithstanding it had cost somuch. In these ways, then, Lucullus used his wealth wantonly, as though it were in very truth a Barbarian prisoner-of-war. XLII. But what he did in the establishment of a library deserves warm praise. He got together many books, and they were well written, and his - use of them was more honourable to him than his acquisition of them. His libraries were thrown open to all, and the cloisters surrounding them, and the study-rooms, were accessible without restriction to the Greeks, who constantly repaired thither as to an hostelry of the Muses, and spent the day with one another, in glad escape from their other occupations. Lucullus himself also often spent his leisure hours there with them, walking about in the cloisters with their scholars, and he would assist their statesmen in whatever they desired. And in general his house was a home and prytaneium for the Greeks who came to Rome. He was fond of all philosophy, and well-disposed and friendly towards every school, but trom the first he cherished a particular and zealous love for the Academy, not

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oTpaTLM@Tals avTOD ypddovTos éx@Avae SoOHvaL
oupmpattovtos Katwvos, @ate Lloparniov eis thy
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the New Academy, so-called, although that school at the time had a vigorous representative of the doctrines of Carneades in Philo, but the Old Academy, which at that time was headed by a persuasive man and powerful speaker in the person of Antiochus of Asealon. This man Lucullus, hastened to make his friend and companion, and arrayed him against the disciples of Philo, of whom Cicero also was one. Indeed, Cicero wrote a noble treatise on the doctrines of this sect, in which he has put the argument in sup- port of “apprehension” into the mouth of Lucullus, and carried the opposing argument himself. The book is entitled “ Lucullus.”!

Lucullus and Cicero were, as I have said, ardent friends, and members of the same political party, for Lucullus had not withdrawn himself entirely from political life, although he lost no time in leaving to Crassus and Cato the ambitious struggle for the chief place and the greatest power, since he saw that it involved both peril and ignominy. For those who looked with suspicion upon the power of Pompey, made Crassus and Cato the champions of the senatorial party when Lucullus declined the leadership. But Lucullus would still go to the forum in support of his friends, and also to the Senate, whenever there was need of combating some ambitious scheme of Pompey’s. Thus, the dispositions which Pompey made after his conquest of the kings, Lucullus made null and void, and his proposal for a generous distribution of lands to his soldiers, Lucullus, with the co-operation of Cato, prevented from being granted. Pompey therefore

1 Academicorum Priorum, Liber Secundus, qui inscribitur Lucullus.
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Kpdooov nal Kaicapos didiav, padrov b€ auve-

poctav, xataduyely cal TANpocavTa THVY_TWONY
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"AyavaxrovvToy 88 tov Berxtiotwy éri tos
yevopévots mrporyov of Lloprniavol Bérriov tiva,
cuveitnpévar Aéyovres emtBovrevovta Toprnio.
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Oépwv Karruo8cvovs SvadOapévra: 7a 6€ bappaxa
Sof ijvau pev, @S ayaT @To HaAXov oO Karrrabévns
um avTov, ToLaUTHY Exeuv duxobvra THV Suvawy,
éxatnoat 6€ Kai xatakAvaat TOV OYLO MOV, WoT
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LUCULLUS

took refuge in an alliance, or rather a conspiracy,
with Crassus and Caesar, and by filling the city with
his armed soldiery and expelling from the forum
the partisans of Cato and Lucullus, got his measures
ratified.
As these proceedings were resented by the nobles,
the partisans of Pompey produced a certain Vettius,
whom, as they declared, they had caught plotting
against the life of Pompey. So the man was ex-
amined in the Senate, where he accused sundry
other persons, but before the people he named

Lucullus as the man who had engaged him to kill Pompey. However, no one believed his story, nay, it was at once clear that the fellow had been put forward by the: partisans of Pompey to make false and malicious charges, and the fraud was made all the plainer when, a few days afterwards, his dead body was cast out of the prison. It was said, indeed, that he had died a natural death, but he bore the marks of throttling and violence, and the opinion was that he had been taken off by the very men who had engaged his services.

XLIII. Of course this induced Lucullus to with- draw even more from public life. And when Cicero was banished from the city, and Cato was sent out to Cyprus, he retired altogether. Even before his death, it is said that his understanding was affected and gradually faded away. But Cornelius Nepos says that Lucullus lost his mind not from old age, nor yet from disease, but that he was disabled by drugs administered to him by one of his freedmen, Callisthenes; that the drugs were given him by Callisthenes in order to win more of his love, in the belief that they had such a power, but they drove him from his senses and overwhelmed his reason

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1 &4y supplied by Reiske.

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so that even while he was still alive, his brother managed his property. However, when he died,! the people grieved just as much as if his death had come at the culmination of his military and political services, and flocked together, and tried to compel the young nobles who had carried the body into the forum to bury it in the Campus Martius, where Sulla also had been buried. But no one had expected this, and preparations for it were not easy, and so his brother, by prayers and supplications, succeeded in persuading them to suffer the burial to take place on the estate at Tusculum, where preparations for it had been made. Nor did he himself long ‘survive Lucullus, but, as in age and reputation he came a little behind him, so did he also in the time of his death, having been a most affectionate brother.

COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

I. One might deem Lucullus especially happy in his end, from the fact that he died before that constitutional change had come, which fate was already contriving by means of the civil wars. His country was in a distempered state when he laid down his life, but still she was free. And in this respect, more than any other, he is like Cimon. For Cimon also died before Greece was confounded, and while she was at the acme of her power. He died, however, in the field, and at the head of an army, not exhausted or of a wandering mind, nor yet

1 About 57 B.c,

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

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Spam THY TOTEM, Kal TaTpariKhy. 7 bev
yap amo pupas Samdyns TOAAOUS Kal? 7)jLépav
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making feastings and revellings the crowning prize for arms and campaigns and trophies. Plato! ban- ters the followers of Orpheus for declaring that for those who have lived rightly, there is laid up in Hades a treasure of everlasting intoxication. Leisure, no doubt, and quiet, and the pursuit of pleasantly speculative learning, furnish a most fitting solace for a man of years who has retired from wars and politics. But to divert fair achievements to pleasure as their final end, and then to sport and wanton at the head of Aphrodite’s train, as a sequel to wars and fightings, was not worthy of the noble Academy, nor yet of one who would follow Xenocrates, but rather of one who leaned towards Epicurus. And this is the more astonishing, because, contrariwise, Cimon seems to have been of ill repute and un- restrained in his youth, while Lucullus was dis- ciplined and sober. Better, surely, is the man in whom the change is for the better; for it argues a more wholesome nature when its evil withers and its good ripens.

_ And further, though both alike were wealthy, they did not make a like use of their wealth. There is no comparing the south wall of the Acropolis, which was completed with the moneys brought home by Cimon, with the palaces and sea-washed Bel- videres at N eapolis, which Lucullus built out of the spoils of the Barbarians. Nor can the table of Cimon be likened to that of Lucullus; the one was democratic and charitable, the other sumptuous and oriental. The one, at slight outlay, gave daily sus- tenance to many; the other, at large cost, was prepared for a few luxurious livers. It may be said,

1 Republic, ii. p. 363.

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kal Tov Tuma ape Kal TOV Tohepteoy
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Oévras éxBivar tis Oaracons, AaxeSatpovious 3é
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indeed, that the difference in state was due to the difference in time. For it is at least possible that Cimon also, if he had retired after his active cam- paigns to an old age which knew neither war nor politics, might have led an even more ostentatious and pleasure-loving life. He was fond of wine and given to display, and his relations with women, as I have said before,! were scandalous. But success in strenuous achievement, affording as it does a higher pleasure, gives public-spirited and ambitious natures no time to indulge the baser appetites, which are forgotten. At any rate, if Lucullus also had ended his days in active military command, not even the most carping and censorious spirit, I think, could have brought accusation against him. Thus much concerning their manner of life.

II. In war, it is plain that both were good fighters, both on land and sea. But just as those athletes who win crowns in wrestling and the pancratium on a single day are called, by custom, “ Victors-extraordinary,’ so Cimon, who in a single day crowned Greece with the trophies of a land and sea victory, may justly have a certain pre-eminence among generals. And further, it was his country which conferred imperial power upon Lucullus, whereas Cimon conferred it upon his. The one added his foreign conquests to a country which already ruled her allies ; the other found his country obeying others, and gave her command over her allies and victory over her foreign foes, by defeating the Persians and driving them from the sea, and by persuading the Lacedaemonians voluntarily to

1 See Cimon, iv. 8.

3 meicas éxovtas éxoThvar. €% Tolvuy péytoTrov
Epyov Hryemovos evireiOerav épydaacbaz 8v’ evvoias,}
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dpovnOn, Kipov Oy br6 Tay ouppaxeov éBav-
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peTéaTycay. Kal o pev ov apxwv é&AOev, b7rd
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Tov iatpav Seopol, Kaitrep eis TA KaTa how
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COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON
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relinquish the command. Granted that it is the
most important task of a leader to secure prompt
obedience through good will, Lucullus was despised
by his own soldiers, while Cimon was admired by
the allies. His soldiers deserted the one; the allies
came over to the other. The one came back home
abandoned by those whom he commanded when he
set out ; the other was sent out with allies to do the

commands of others, but before he sailed home he himself gave commands to those allies, having successfully secured for his city three of the most difficult objects at once, namely, peace with the enemy, leadership of the allies, and concord with' the Lacedaemonians.

Again, both attempted to subvert great empires and to subdue all Asia, and both left their work unfinished: Cimon through ill fortune pure and simple, for he died at the head of his army and at the height of his success; but Lucullus one cannot altogether acquit of blame, whether he was ignorant of, or would not attend to the grievances and complaints among his soldiery, in consequence of which he became so bitterly hated. Or perhaps this has its counterpart in the life of Cimon, for he was brought to trial by his fellow citizens and finally ostracised, in order that for ten years, as Plato says,! they might not hear his voice. For aristocratic natures are little in accord with the multitude, and seldom please it, but by so often using force to rectify its aberrations, they vex and annoy it, just as physicians' bandages vex and annoy, although they bring the dislocated members into their natural

1 Gorgias, p. 516.

ayovres Tas TrapapOprhcets. TavTns pév ody laws
ATANNAKTEOV THS aitias ExaTEpoV.
III. IloAvd & o AoveovAros mwponAGe TO Tronée-
po Tov TE Tadpov drrepBaraov orparoméde
'Pwpaiwv TpaTOos, kal tov Tipu daBas Kal Ta
Bacirtera tis "Acias év Ove. trav Baciréwr,
Tiypavoxepta xat KdBepa cat Swern kal
Nici Biv, dav nat catadré£as, cal ta wev Bopera
péxpt Pactdos, tra 8 é@a péxpt Mrditas, ra dé
Mpos votov Kat THy épvOpav Odraccay oixetwod-
pevos O14 Tov "ApaRixdv Bacidéwv, curTpivpas
dé Tas Suvdyuers TOV Bacthewr, amonerpOeis be
povou TOU Ta oopara raBeir, Gamep Onpiwy eis
épnuias kal dras aaotiBets ral aBatous arrobe-
SpacKovreav. TeKunpLov Oé peya* Tlépaas pév yap
as ovdev péya merrovOores v6 Kipavos evOus
aVvTETATTOVTO Tots "EAAnot, Kal THY ye WoNAny
Svvaulv avTay év Alytrre KpaTncavres bie Oer-
pav, Teypavou bé Kal M0 piddrou pera Aovxova-
Ov oudev aXXo epyov eyeveTo, GaN' 0 pev aa bevins
70n Kal TUYKEKOUPEVOS vTO TOV T POT OV ayovev
ove anat eTohpnoe beiEar Hoparni THD Suva
é&w Tov Xapaxos, GAAa huyov eis Booropov
KcatéeBn Kaxel KatéaT pee, Teypavns 8' avtos éav-
TOV yupvov Kal avotrXov pépov Dméppiype Top

Tnio, Kal To Suddnpa THs Keparhs dehouevos
2Onxe mpd TOV Today, ou Tots éavTOU KOAaKEVWY
Tlourniov, adXa toils Ure AoveovAXov teOptap-
Bevpévots. nyatnoe yobv atroXapBavwv Ta ovp-
Bora tis Bacihetas ws adypnuévos mporepor.
618

COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

position. Perhaps, then, both come off about alike
on this count.
II. But Lucullus was much the greater in war. He was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army ; he passed the Tigris and captured and burned the royal cities of Asia, —Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinopé, and Nisibis, before the eyes of their kings ; he made his own the regions to the north as far as the Phasis, to the east as far as Media, and to the south as far as the Red Sea, through the assistance of the Arabian kings; he annihilated the forces of the hostile kings, and failed only in the capture of their persons, since like wild beasts they fled away into deserts and trackless and impenetrable forests. Strong proof of his superiority is seen in this, that the Persians, since they had suffered no great harm at the hands of Cimon, straightway arrayed them- selves against: the Greeks, and overwhelmed and destroyed that large force of theirs in Egypt;! whereas, after Lucullus, Tigranes and Mithridates availed nothing: the latter, already weak and disabled by his first struggles, did not once dare to show Pompey his forces outside their camp, but fled | away to the Bosporus, and there put an end to his | life; as for Tigranes, he hastened to throw himself, while unrobed and unarmed, at the feet of Pompey, and taking the diadem from off his head, laid it there upon the ground, flattering Pompey thus not with his own exploits, but with those for which Lucullus had celebrated a triumph. At any rate, he was as much delighted to get back the insignia of his royalty as though he had been robbed of them before. Greater therefore is the general, as is the

1 454 B.c. See Thucydides, i. 109 f.
619
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

,) fo > , 8 wn)
pellwv ovv otpatnyos, ®aTep AOANTHS, 0 TO peO
éavToy aoVevéctepov Trapacovs Tov avTiTanov.
“Ett toivuy Kipov per cuvtetpippéevnv tv
Bactréws Stugpw nai 76 Wepoav ppovnpa cuve-
oTadpévoy ATTais peydAais Kal atravaTos
duyais id @ewictoxrA€ovs nat Ilavoaviov Kat
Aewtuyidou xataraBov érevéBn xal brorerrto-
KOT@Y Kal TponTTnéevar Tais Wuyais TA TOpata
padios évienae, AovcovrArAw 5é Teypavns anrrntos 523
€x TONA@Y dyavev Kal péya Ppovav cuvéTece.
mANGe. & ovd adkov twapaBareiy ois emt Aov-
KovAXov cuveNOodar Tovs bro Kipwvos xparnbév-
Tas. Mote TdvTn peTarauBdvovte Svadiattntov

elvat THY Kpiow, eel Kal TO Satpoviov auporépots
oxen evpeves yever Oat, T@ pev & ypn KaTtopOoo»,
T® 0 & huddttecOar ypn Tpounviov, date Kal
THhv Tapa TaV Dewy w>Wihov avtois UTapyew ws
ayabois xal Oeious THY hvow apudorépors.
620

COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

athlete, who hands over his antagonist to his successor in a weaker plight.

Moreover, and still further, Cimon made his onsets when the power of the king had been broken, and the pride of the Persians humbled by great defeats and incessant routs at the hands of Themistocles, Pausanias, and Leotychides, and easily conquered the bodies of men whose spirits had been defeated beforehand and lay prone. But when Tigranes encountered Lucullus, he had known no defeat in many battles, and was in exultant mood. In point of numbers also, those who were overpowered by Cimon are not worthy of comparison with those who united against Lucullus. Therefore, one who takes everything into consideration finds it hard to reach a decision. Heaven seems to have been kindly disposed to both, directing the one as to what he must perform, and the other as to what he must avoid. Both, therefore, may be said to have received the vote of the gods as noble and god-like natures.

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A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acestodorus, possibly the Acestodorus of Megalopolis, of unknown date, wuthor of a work ** On Cities.''

Achaia, a province in the north of Peloponnesus, seat of the Achaean League (280-146 B.c.). In 167 B.c., the Komans deported 1000 Achaeans to ltaly, where they were held for seventeen years. Among them was the historian Polybius. The name Achaia was afterwards given to the whole of southern Greece as a Roman province.

Acharnae, the largest deme, or

township, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.
Adiabené, the western province of Assyria, lying along the Tigris river.
Aeolian Isles, a group of islands lying between Sicily and Italy (Lucania).
Aeschines the Socratic, a disciple of Socrates, and author of Socratic dialogues.
Agesilaiis, king of Sparta 398-361 B.0
Albania, a country lying between Armenia, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus mountains, to the east, of Iberia.
Allia, an _ insignificant stream, joining the Tiber about eleven miles above Rome, from the east.
Amisus, a city of Pontus (or Paphlagonia), on the southern shore of af

*

the Euxine Sea, some one hundred miles east of Sinopé.
Ammon, a Libyan divinity, identifled with Zeus and Jupiter. His most famous oracle was in an oasis of the Libyan desert.
Amphiaraiis, a mythical seer and prophet, king of Argos, who perished in the expedition of the Seven against ‘Thebes.
Anaxagoras, of Clazomenae, in Ionian Asia Minor, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.c., when the enemies of Pericles secured his banishment.
Andocides, an Athenian orator, prominent 415-290 B.c. He

betrayed the oligarchical party, incurring its hatred, and vainly tried to win the favour of the democratic party.
Andros, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, S.E. of Euboea.
Anio, a large river of Latium, rising in the Apennines, and joining the Tiber about three miles above Kome, from the east.
Antiochus the Great, king of Syria 223-187 B.c.
Antiochus the philosopher, of Ascalon, pupil of Philo in the school of the Academy, a friend of Lucullus, and a teacher of Cicero. He died in 68 B.c.
Antipater, regent of Macedonia after the death of Alexander ee B.C.), victor over the con- ederate Greeks at Crannon, in Thessaly, 322. He died in 319.
623

DICTIONARY OF

Araxes, a large -river rising in Armenia, and flowing east into the Caspian Sea.
Arbela, an Assyrian town near which (at the village of Gauga- mela) Darius suffered final de- feat at the hands of Alexander, in 331 B.c.
Archelaiis, of Miletus, the natural philcsopher, said to have been a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a teacher of Socrates.
Archidamus, king of Sparta from 361 to 338 B.c., when he went to the aid gf the Tarentines in Italy, and was killed in battle.
Archon Eponymous, the first of the board of nine archons at

Athens, so called, after the Roman conquest, because the year was registered in his name.
Aristogeiton, slayer, with Harmodius, of Hipparchus, the brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias, in 514 B.c. The two ‘* tyrannicides ” were afterwards honoured as patriots and martyrs.
Ariston of Ceos, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at ci about 225 B.c. (pp. 9, 7).

Ariston the philosopher (p. 355), of Chios, a Stoic, pupil of Zeno. in his later life he taught doctrines of the Cynic school. He flourished about 260 B.c., and is often confounded with Ariston of Ccos.
Aristoxenus the musician, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic s:hool.
Armenia, a country lying north of Mesopotamia and _ Assyria, between the upper Euphrates and Media. ;
Artaxata, the ancient capital of Armenia, on the river Araxes. See T'igranocerta,
Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, vassal of Xerxes, who distinguished herself in the battle of Salamis.
Asopis, a mythical personage, mother of Mentor by Heracics.
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Atilius, M. Atilius Regulus, consul for the second time in 256 B.c., when he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians.

Atropatené, a province of Media, to the east of Armenia.
Attalus, the name of three kings of Pergamum, in Asia Minor.
B

Bithynia, a country of N.W. Asia Minor, lying east of the Propontis, and along the coast of the Euxine Sea.
Boédromion, the third month in the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our September.
Brundisium, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy tothe East, aud was the chief nayal station o the Romans in the Adriatic a.

Cc

Cabeira (or Cabira),a city of Pontus, in the northern part of Asia Minor.
Caepio, Q. Servilius, consul in 106 B.c., receiving the province of Gallia Narbonensis, where, in the following year, on the 6th of October, his army was utterly annihilated by the Cimbri.
Callisthenes, of Olynthus, a relative and pupil of Aristotle, author of a Hellenica, or History of Greece, from 387 to 357 B.c. He accompanied Alexander the Great as historian of the expedition, the end of which he cid not live to see.
Cappadocia, a district in eastern Asia Minor, south of Pontus, and north of Cilicia.
Carneades, of Cyrené, head of the Academy at Athens in 156 B.c,

(when he was one of an embassy of philosophers to Rome) and unti] his death in 129 B.c. He was famous for the persuasive force of his eloquence.
DICTIONARY OF

Chaeroneia, a town commanding the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, celebrated for the battles fought in its neighbourhood. Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 838 B.O.
Chalcedon, a city of Bithynia, at the entrance of the Euxine Sea, opposite Byzantium.
Chaldaeans, a general name for the inhabitants of Babylonia. -
Charon of Lampsacus, a " logographer," a predecessor of Herodotus, who wrote a history of Persia in annalistic form.
Chelidonian Isles, a group of islands off. the coast of Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor.
Chersonese (i.e. peninsula), here (p. 447) of the Thracian Chersonese, extending in a S.W. direction into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.
Cilicia, a country in southern Asia Minor, extending along' the Mediterranean between Pamphylia and Syria.
Cimbri, a northern tribe which, joining with the Teutones, invaded southern Europe. They were at last annihilated by Marius in 101 B.c.
Citium, a town on the southern coast of Cyprus.
Cleidemus, the oldest annalist of Athens, who flourished during the closing years of the fifth and

the. first half of the fourth century B.C.
Cleisthenes, the Athenian aristocrat who introduced the democratic reforms which followed the expulsion of the tyrants in 510 B.c.
Cieitarchus (Clitarchus), a historian who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the Fast, and wrote a rhetorical history of it. He was the son of Deinon.
Cleonae, a city nearly midway between Argos and Corinth in Peloponnesus. ‘The Nemean games were celebrated in its territory.
Vou. II.

PROPER NAMES

Cnidus, a Dorian city in the S.W. of Caria, in south-western Asia Minor.
Colchis, a district at the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea, north of Armenia.
Colophon, one of the cities of Ionian Asia Minor.
Corcyra, an island in the Ionian Sea, opposite Epeirus, the modern Cortt.
Cos, an island off the S.W. coast of Caria, opposite Cnidus.
Crannon, a town in cen Thessaly, the seat of the wealt” family of the Scopadae.
Craterus the Macedonian, a_ half-brother of Antigonus Gonatas, the king of Macedonia (0b. 239 B.0.), who compiled historical documents, such as decrees and other published inscriptions, bearing on the history of Athens.
Critias, one of the ‘‘ thirty tyrants ”’

(404-403 B.O.), like Alcibiades a
follower of Socrates, author of
tragedies, and elegiac poems on
political subjects.
Cronus, the father of Zeus, identi-
tied with the Roman Saturnus.
Curius, Manius Curius Dentatus,
consul in 290 B.c., in which year
he brought the long war with
the Samnites to a close and
reduced the revolted Sabines.
In 275 B.c., he defeated Pyrrhus
at Beneventum. He celebrated
two triumphs in 290, and one“a
afd. /
Cyanean Isles, two islands at
niouth of the Bosporus, ?
entrance into the Euxine
the clashing isles of mythe
Cymé, an Aeo ian city on tb
of Asia Minor, S.E. of Les
Cyrené, a Greek city ¢
northern | ace of . ith.
commercia! relations with= 9 .f
age, Greece, and Egypt. ° itra,
Cyzicus, a city on the sou ry fter
shore of the Propontis, in My "Vere
strongly situated on the neck ¢2-
a peninsula,
$9 625

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DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

D

Damastes, of Sigeium in the Troad,
a historian contemporary with

Herodotus, and author, besides nen other works, of a genealogy oS e Greeks who fought at ‘roy

Deceleia, a mountain citadel of Attica, about fourteen miles from Athens towards Boeotia.

Deinon (Dinon), of Colophon, author of a History of Persia, father of Cleitarchus the _historian of Alexander’s expedition.

+ Demetrius of Phalerum, regent at Athens for Cassander 317-307 B.O., & voluminous writer on history, politics, poetry, and philosophy.

Diodorus the Topographer (Periegetes), of Athens (probably), a contemporary of Alexander the Great, wrote on the demes and monuments of Attica.

Dion, of Syracuse, an ardent disciple of Plato, master of Syracuse after the expulsion of Dionysius II, assassinated in 353 B.C.

Dodona, a town in Epeirus, seat of the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

E

Elaex, an Aeolic city of Asia Minor, the port for Pergamum.

Epaminondas, Theban general and ‘gtatesman, friend of Pelopidas, fell in the battle of Mantineia, 362 B.C

iphesus one of the twelve Ionian cities, in Lydia, Asia Minor, at the mouth of the river Cayster.

Ephors, five chief magistrates at. Sparta elected annually. The first Ephor gave his name to the ear, like the Athenian Archon mA ponymous.

vahorus, of Cymé, pupil of Isoeee author of a highly rhetori-

history of Greece from the
down to
in which year he died.
founder of the philo-
a Dorian Invasion ”’
Ase 340 B.C.,
Epicurus,
626

sophical school named from him,
born in Samos, 342 B.c., died at
Athens, 270 B.c.
Eratosthenes, of Cyrené, librarian
at Alexandria, most distin-
guished as geographer and
chronologist, a writer also on
philosophy and ethics, 275-194
aanenies: king of Pergamum in
Asia Minor from 197 to 159 B.c.,
and like his father (Attalus I), a
persistent friend of Rome.
Eurymedon, a river flowing through
Pamphylia, in southern Asia
Minor, into the Mediterranean.
F

Fabricius, C. Fabricius Luscinus,
like Curius and Atilius a repre-
sentative of the sterling ‘virtues
of the more ancient times, am-
bassador to Pyrrhus at Tarentum
after the disastrous battle of
Heracleia, 280 B.C., consul in
278 B.C., censor in 275, with the
- severity of a Cato.
G

Gabinian way, Via Gabina (earlier

called Via Tiburtina), leading
eastwards from Rome to Tibur
(Tivoli).
Galatia, a district in central Asia
finor.
Gordyené, a district of southern

Armenia, lying east of the river Tigris.
Gorgias, of Leontini in Sicily, famous for his eloquence, came on an embassy to Athens iv 427 B.C., when sixty years of age, and spent the rest of his life in that and neighbouring cities, amassing great wealth as a paid teacher of rhetoric.
Granicus, a river of Troas, flowing

- north into the Propontis.

H

Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, implacable enemy of the Romans,

father of Hannibal, and founder of the Carthaginian empire in Spain, died in 229 B.c.
Hecatombaeon, the first month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our July.
Helots, a name given to the original inhabitants of Laconia who had lost both land and freedom. They were state slaves. See Perioeci.

Heracleia (p. 423), called Pontica, to distinguish it from the many other cities of the same name, a city of Bithynia (or Phrygia Minor) on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea.
Heracleides, called Ponticus from his birth in Heracleia Pontica, a pupil of Plato and ‘ristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects. Cicero thought him superstitious and uncritical.

Hieronymus the Rhodian, a disciple of Aristotle. flourishing about 800 B.c. Little is known about him, though he is often quoted by Cicero.

Hippocrates, the second of that name, and the most famous physician of ancient times, 460—357 B.C.

Hyrcanian Sea, another name for the Caspian Sea, from the Province of Hyrcania to the 8.E. of it.

I

Iberia, a country east of Colchis, Devween the Euxine and Caspian as.

Ides, the fifteenth day of the Roman month in March, May, July, and October; the thirteenth in the other months.

Idomeneus, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342-270 B.C.), author of biographical works on "' The Socratics," and "The Demagogues."

Ino, daughter of Cadmus, and wife of Athamas, the king of Orchomenus in Boeotia. After her death she was worshipped as Leuocthea, a sea goddess. According to one of the many myths connected with her name, she became mad with jealousy of a female slave, and slew her own son. See Plutarch, Roman Questions, 16.

Ton, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.Cc., also author of a prose work entitled '* Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

Isocrates, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436-338 B.O.

J

Jason, the great hero of the Argonautic expedition, husband of Medeia.

L

Lamptrae, name of two demes, or townships, in S.E. Attica.

Lemnos, a large island in the oe part of the Aegean ea.

Leucothea. See Ino.

Lycaonia, a district in central Asia Minor, between Galatia and Cilicia.

Lycurgus, the semi-historical law-iver of Sparta, where he was onoured as a god.

Lysias, the Attic orator, 458-378 B.O.

M

Maeotis, Lake, the modern Sea of Azov, N.E. of the Euxine Sea.

Maimacterion, the fifth month of the Attic year, corresponding nearly to our November.

Mardians, a tribe on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.

Marsi, an ancient people of centra. Italy, akin to the Sabines. After their defeat in 89 B.c., they were admitted to the Roman citizen-ship, with the other Italians.

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DICTIONARY OF

Melanthius, an author of tragedies and elegiac poems, contemporary with Cimon at Athens.
Melissus, Samos, a famous natural philosopher, a disciple of Parmenides, who led the mians successfully against ricles.
Mesopotamia, the region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers above Babylonia.
Metageitnion, the second month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our August.
Metellus Pius, Q. Caecilius, ob-

. tained the surname of Pius for persuading the people to recall his father, Metellus Numidicus, from banishment. He was a successful general under Sulla, and consul with him in 80 B.o. He died about 63 B.c.
Mithridates, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly known as Mithridates the Great, 120-63 B.c., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.
Mitylené the largest city of Lesbos, off the N.W. coast of Asia Minor.
Mygdonia, a district in the N.E. of Mesopotamia.
N

Nausicrates (or Naucrates), the

- rhetorician, a pupil of Isocrates. He composed models of funeral orations for men of note.
Neanthes, of Cyzicus, a voluminous

writer of history, who flourished about 240 B.c. He belonged to the school of Isocrates.
Nepos, Cornelius, Roman _biographer and historian, a cortemporary and friend of Cicero.
Nicomedeia, capital of Bithynia, at the N.E. corner of the Propontis.

ee the chief city of Mygdonia g.v.).
Nones, the ninth day hefore the

Tdes of the Roman month, falling therefore on the seventh day of

the month in March, May, July, and October, and on the ffth day of the other months.
Numantia, a city in the northern part of Spain, taken after a memorable siege by Scipio Africanus, in 134 B.c.
O

Oropus, a town and district on the northern and eastern borders respectively) of Attica and otia, much in dispute between Athenians and Thebans.
Orpheus, the mythical singer of Thrace, and one of the Argonauts.
P

Tagasae, a city in S.E. Thessaly, at the head of a gulf of the same naine, famed in story as the port from which Jason set sail with the Argonauts.
Palatium, the Palatine hill of

P raphy ia the
amphylia, a co on south
coast of Mea Manse between
Lycia and Cilicia.
Panaetius, of Rhodes, the Stoic
phibosopiier, chief founder of the
Stoic school at Rome, flourishing
between 150 and 110 B.o.
Parthia, in the time of Lucullus, a
vast realm to the east of Armenia,
A ia, and Mesopotamia.
Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens in
560 B.c , and during seventeen of
the thirty-three years thereafter.
Pelopidas, Theban general and
statesman, bosom friend of
Pperniioncs: killed in battle

364 B.C

Pergamum (or Pergamus), an
ancient city of Mysia, in Asia
Minor, on the river Calcus.
After 283 B.c., it was the seat of
the Attalid dynasty.
Perioeci, the name of those in-
habitants of Sparta who kept
their lands and personal Llibert
unlike the Helots, but who did
ane exercise the rights of citizen-
ship.
DICTIONARY OF

lerseus (pp. 347, 363), the last king
of Macedonia, son of Philip V.
He graced the triumph of Aemi-
lius Paulus in 167 B.c., and died
at Rome several years later.
Perseus (p. 411), the famous Argive
hero, son of Zeus and Danag,
slayer of the Gorgon Medusa.
Phalerum, the ancient harbour of
Athens, before Themistocles forti-
fied the Peiraeus.
Phanias, the Lesbian, of Eresos,

the most distinguished pupil of Aristotle after Theophrastus, a prolific writer on philosophy and history,—a historical romancer.
Phanodemus, a writer of Attic annals, after the manner of Cleidemus (q.2.).
harnacia, a city of Pontus, on the southern shore of the Euxine, N.E. of Cabeira.
Phasis, a river of Colchis, flowing ne the Euxine at its eastern
Philip (p. 139), of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, secured the leadership of Greece in the battle at Chaeroneia, 338 B.c.
Philip (p.335), Philip V of Macedon, father of Perseus, from 216 B.0. till his death in 179 a formidable enemy of Rome.
Philo (p. 607), the Academic, of Larissa, removed from Athens to Rome about 88 B.c., where he was teacher of Cicero, and where he died about 80 B.c.
Phlya, a deme, or township, somewhere in the N.K. of Attica.
Phrygia, a large province in western and north-western Asia Minor.
Phylarchus, of Naucratis and

thens, a Greek historian who dourisiod about 220 B.C., to whom Plutarch is much indebted in his Agis and Cleomenes.
Pitané, au ancient Aeolian city on the N.W. coast of Asia Minar.
Polybius, the Greek historian of the Punic Wars, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, born about 204 B.c., one of the Achaeen exiles (see Achaia) in 167. In Rome, he reekled in
PROPER NAMES

the house of Aemilius Paulus, and

became the intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.c.

Pontus, a large district in N.E. Asia "Minor, stretching along the southern shore of the Euxine.

Potamus, name of a deme, or township, in eastern Attica.

Propontis, the intermediate sea between the Aegean and the Kiuxine, connected with the former by the Hellespont, with the latter by the Thracian Bosporus

Pydna, a town on the Thermatc gulf, S.E. of Macedonia.

Pyrrhus, king of Epeirus from 295 till his death in 272 B.o. From 280 till 274 he was camipaigning in Itely and Sicily.

S

Sabines, a people occupying the western slopes of the central Apennines, in Italy. They were finally subdued by Curius Dentatus in 290 B.c., and in 268 became Roman citizens.

Sallust, C. Sallustius 5 Crispus, 86—34 B.c. He was a partisan of Caesar, who made him governor of Numidia, where he amassed great wealth. He afterwards wrote histories of the conspiracy of Catiline and of the Jugurthine war.

Samnites, inhabitants of Samnium, the mountainous district of central Italy lying between Latium and Apulia. In 200 B.o. Curius Dentatus won the honour of putting an end to the Samnite wars after they had lasted fifty years.

Sarpothrade: an island in the moetner part of the Aegean
Scepsis, an ancient town east of t road, which in later times became subject to Pergamum, and a seat of learning.
629

Scopas, the Thessalian. See Crannon.
Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, founder of the Syrian monarchy, 353-280 B.C.
Seriphus, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica, proverbial for poverty and insignificance.
Sertorius, one of the greatest soldiers bred by the Roman civil wars, who successfully opposed the best generals of the aristocratic party in Spain from 82 Ae till his assassination in
Sicyon, an important city in N.E. eloponnesus, about two miles south of the Corinthian gulf.
Simonides of Ceos, one of the greatest lyric poets of Greece, 556—467 B.O.
Sinopé, an important Greek city on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea, in N.E. Paphlagonia.
Sophené, a district of S.W. Armenia.
Sophists, a general name for paid teachers of rhetoric and philosopy, like Gorgias.
Stesimbrotus, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note in Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.
Sthenis, of Olynthus, a famous statuary at Athens, who flourished about 350 B.o. ;

Strabo, the geographer . (philosopher, p. 565), lived during the times of Augustus.
T

Talaura, a stronghold in Pontus.

Tanagra, a town and district in S.E. Boeotia.
Tarentum, a Greek city in 8.E.

‘ Italy. It surrendered to the Romans in 272 B.C., was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal in 212, and recovered by Fabius in 209.
Taurus, a general name for the lofty range of mountains extending from Lycia in Asia
630

Minor through Cilicia and south of Armenia into Media.
Tegea, an ancient city in 8.E. Arcadia, of Peloponnesus.
Tempé, a famous valley in N.E. Thessaly.
Tenedos, an island about five miles west of the Troad, in the N.E. Aegean.
Tenos, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica.
Thargelion, the eleventh month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our May.
Themiscyra, a plain and city in Pontus, near the mouth of the river Thermodon.
Theophrastus, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.c., at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, of Chios, a fellow-
pupil of Isocrates with Ephoruss
historian of Greece from 411 to
394 B.c., and of Philip of Macedon
(360~—336 B.O.).
Tibareni, a tribe on the northern
coast of Pontus.
Tigranocerta, the city of Tigranes.
later capital of Armenia, in My.
donia, west of Nisibis, just south
of the Taurus.
Tigris, the great river rising in
Armenia and flowing between
Mesopotamia and Assyria.
Timocreon, of Rhodes, a lyric poet,
now known chiefly for his hatred
of Themistocles and Simonides of
08.

Timoleon, of Corinth, rescued
Syracuse from its tyrant (Diony-
sius IJ) and the Carthaginians in
- 343 B.c., and became virtual
master of Sicily, though without
Office. He died in Syracuse,
337 B.O.
Troezen, a city in S.E. Argolis, o:
Peloponnesus.
Trophonius, received worship and
had an oracle in a cave near
Lebadeia in Boeotia.
8

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Tubero the Stoic p- 599),
Aelius, a pupil o pavestiun
flourished in the century before
Lucullus, and could not have
seen him playing Xerxes. The
jest may have come from Lucius
Tubero, the relative and intimate
friend of Cicero, who cultivated
literature and philosophy.
Tusculum, an ancient city of

Latium, fifteen miles S.E. of
Rome, in the Alban mountains.
It became a favourite resort of
wealthy Romans.
Tyrannio the Grammarian, of
Amisus in Pontus. He was
taken to Rome ~ RY Lucullus,
where he became a teacher, was
patronised and praised by Cicéro,
and amassed wealth.
Vv

Vesta, an ancient Roman divinity,
identical with the Greek Hest
as goddess of the hearth and fire- ~
side. The Vestals were her
virgin priestesses.
xX

XNenocrates, of Chalcedon, 396-
314 B.c., a pupil and disciple of
Plato, became head of the
Academy in 339 B.o.
—

=-_~

~

PIST. Ploranch. Vito z aera ee
re axes
LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATIGN BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN TEN VOLUMES
iil
PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS
NICIAS AND CRASSUS
LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM’S SONS
First printed 1916
Reprinted 1932
Printed
in Great Britain at
The Windmill Press, Kingswood, Surrey

PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agree- ment between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) texts of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of the one to the other, where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indi- cated in the critical notes. The more important ameliorations of the text which have been secured by collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F") and Codex Seitenstettensis (S), have been introduced. The relative importance of these MSS. is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. The text- tradition of the chapters of the Crassus (xv.- xxxiii.) which appear in the Parthian War attri- buted to Appian (Fseudo-Appian), is seldom, if ever, superior to that of the same chapters in Plutarch. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also,

unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz
Bekker.
PREFATORY NOTE

Among editions of special Lives included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, ZV'hemistokles und Perikles, Berlin, 1880, in the Hanpt-Sauppe series of annotated texts; and that of Blass, Themi- stokles und Perikles, Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts. These editions bring F* and S into rightful prominence as a basis for the text. Holden’s edition of the Nictas, in the Pitt Press series, Cambridge, 1887, has also been found useful. A brief bibliography for the study of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume.

The translations of the Pericles and of the Nicias have already appeared in my Plutarch’s Cimon and Pericles (New York, 1910), and Plutarch’s Nictas and Alcibiades (New York, 1912), and are re- produeed here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Seribner’s Sons. The translations of the Fabius Maximus and of the Crassus appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the Lives have been earefully eompared and_ utilized, including that of the Crassus by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN,
New Haven, Coxwecticot, U.S.A.
June, 1915.
Vv)

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(23) Artaxerxes,
(24) Aratus,
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.

PERICLES

VOL. WI.

ITEPJIKAHS

I. Zévous tivas év ‘Pwpn wrovalovs xuvav

Téxva Kai TLOnKwY év TOUS KOATCOLS mepipepovTas
Kal dyaTr aver as id@v o Kaicap, QS corer, 7) npe-
Tnoev eb Taidta Tap avTots ov TiKTOVoW at
yUvaiKes, nyE“ovix@s ahodpa vovleTHaas TOUS
To phicer Piryntixoy év nuiv cal dedoatopyor eis
Onpia Katavaricxovtas avOpwrots oecdopevoy.
dp ovv, émet piropabés te KéxtNTaL Kal tdo-
Béapov nuav 7 Wweyn dioet, Adyov Eyer réeyeev
TOUS KATAYpwpevous TOVT@ TpOS TA pNdEmlas
adkia otrovéis axovopata Kai Oeduata, Tay oé
KaAX@V Kai wheripwv TapapedrodvTas; TH pev yap
aicOnce Kata Ta0os THS TANS avtthapBavo-
evn TOY TpocTvyyavorvTwy icws avayKn Trav
TO Paivopevov, dv TE Ypijoluov av T aypynaTov FH,
Dewpetv, TH v@e 8 Exaotos a BovrotTe xphoOat,
Kat TpéTety éavTov adel kal petaBaddrew pacta
mpos TO Soxody TédpuKev, WaTEe YXpH SiwKery TO
Bérxrictov, va py Oewph povov, adda Kal tpé-
dytatt@ Oewpeiv. ws yap opParp@ ypoa tpoc-
opos 7s TO avOnpov Gua Kal teptvov avalwrupet
Paris
Edition,
a. 1624,
p-
152

PERICLES

I. On sceing certain wealthy foreigners in Rome carrying puppies and young monkeys about in their bosoms and fondling them, Caesar! asked, we are told, if the women in their country did not bear children, thus in right princely fashion rebuking those who squander on animals that proneness to love and loving affection which is ours by nature, and which is due only to our fellow-men. Since, then, our souls are by nature possessed of great fondness for learning and fondness for seeing, it is surely reasonable to chide those who abuse this fondness on objects all unworthy either of their eyes or ears, to the neglect of those which are good and serviceable. Our outward sense, since it apprehends the objects which encounter it by virtue of their mere impact upon it, must needs, perhaps, regard everything that presents itself, be it useful or uscless ; but in the exercise of his mind every man, if he pleases, has the natural power to turn himself away in every case, and to change, without the least difficulty, to that object upon which he liimself determines. It is meet, therefore, that he pursue what is best, to the end that he may not merely regard it, but also be edified by regarding it. A colour is suited to the eye if its freshness, and its pleasantness as well, stimulates and

1 Caesar Augustus.

wt

Kal tpéper Thy Oey, oUtw TH Sidvotay ed pew
Set Oedpaciw & TO yYaipeww pds TO oiKetov avTipy
ayadov éxxanel.
Taira d¢ éotw ev tots am’ aperijs Epyots, & Kal
Chrov tiva Kal mpoOupiavy aywyov eis pinot
emotes Tots iatopijcacw érel Tav yf adAwV
ovK evOus axohovdel 7 Oavypdacat TO wpaxOev
oppay ™ pos TO m pata: ToAAaKis b6€ Kal Tov-
vavtiov Xaipovres TO && "Ye TOU Snpoupyou KaTA-
ppovoiper, @s éml TOV pUpeov Kal TOV doupyov
TovTols pev nOoopeOa, Tous be Badets Kal jupe-
ous avehevdépous Hyovpeda kai Bavavaovus.
610 KAXS pev ‘Avriaevns a axovaas vt oTTOVbAIOS
cow QUANTNS ‘Topnvias, TAX: avO pwros,” Eby,
« woxOnpos: ov yap av otTe omavbuios 7] Vv avrn-
THs" 0 b6€ Pidirmos ™ pos Tov viov eT LTEPT GS £v
Tie TOT@ Yrravra Kal TEXVEKOS eltrev: “ Our
aiaxuvy KAAS OvTH Warrov ; ” apKet yap, ay
Bactrevs axpodabat Warnovtov oxoraSn, qu
TON ve jel Tats Moveats éTépwv aywvilopevar
Ta ToLtavTa GeaT7s yeryVOpevas.
II. ‘H & abtoupyia TOV TaTEvar THs els Ta
Kane, padupias paptupa TOV év Tots aXpHaToLs
TOvOV | TapexeTat Ka’ abtis: Kat ovdels evduns
véos 7 Tov év Ilian Gear apevos Aia yevéo Bar
Peidias erreO ipnycev nH TI “Hpav THD ev “Apyet
TlorAveXertos, ove: ‘Avaxpewv 3}) Diryras 7 1 "A pxi-
Aoxos jadeis avr ev Tots TOL LAT LY. ov yap
get aoe el TépTEL TO Epyov ws yapev, aktov
! isropjcacw Bekker, Fuhr, and Blass, with Reiske, after
Amyot: iorophuacw (researches).
4

nourishes the vision; and so our intellectual vision must be applied to such objects as, by their very charm, invite it onward to its own proper good.

Such objects are to be found in virtuous deeds ; these implant in those who search them out a great and zealous eagerness which leads to imitation. In other cases, admiration of the deed is not immedi- ately accompanied by an impulse to do it. Nay, many times, on the contrary, while we delight in the work, we despise the workman, as, for instance, in the case of perfumes and dyes; we take a delight in them, but

dyers and perfumers we regard as illiberal and vulgar folk. Therefore it was a fine saying of Antisthenes, when he heard that Ismenias was an excellent piper: “ But he’s a worthless man,” said he, “otherwise he wouldn’t be so good a piper.” And so Philip! once said to his son, who, as the wine went round, plucked the strings charmingly and skilfully, “ Art not ashamed to pluck the strings so well?” It is enough, surcly, if a king have leisure to hear others pluck the strings, and he pays great deference to the Muses if he be but a spcctator of such contests.

II. Labour with one’s own hands on lowly tasks’ gives witness, in the toil thus expended on useless things, to one’s own indifference te higher things. No generous youth, from seeing the Zeus at Pisa,? or the Hera at Argos, longs to be Pheidias or Polyclei- tus; nor to be Anacreon or Philetas or Archilochus out of pleasure in their poems. For it does not of necessity follow that, if the work delights you with its grace, the one who wrought it is worthy of your

1 Philip of Macedon, to Alexander.
2 That is, Olympia.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

oTouoNs Elvat Tov eipyagpévov. Oey ovd’ wherei
Ta ToLtavTAa TOUS DOewmevous, TpOS A miuNTLKOS Ov
yivetar Cros ovde avddoats Kiwovca mpoOvpiav
\ 2& \ 1 tN ‘\ 3 s ,] .w 9 \
Kat oppnv) emt tiv eEopotwov. add 7 ye GpeET)
tais mpakeaow evOus ottw dtatiOnow wote apa
Oavpalecbar ta Epya Kal CnrovaGat Tous eipya-
apevous. TOV pev yap ex THs TUXNS ayabav
TAS KTHOES Kal aToAavcEs, TOV O an’ apeETis
Tas mpdakes ayaTo@pev, Kal Ta pev Huly Tap
étépwv, Ta € warXov Erépots Tap’ hyewv VITdpyeww
BovAopeOa. To yap Kadov ef avTo TpaKTiKas
Kwel Kal mpaxtikny evOus opunv évtiOnow, 700-
Tovwouv ov TH ptprjoee tov Beaty, adArAa TH
iaTopia Tov épyou THY TMpoaiperiv TapEeyopevor.
wv é . @ Y e ww 9 } nw nm 2 ‘
Kookev ovv cat nuiv evdratpiiyat TH Tept TOUS
, 3 “a \ a“ XN / A
Biovs araypadn, Kal todto to BiBrtov béxaTov
Ul \ , , \ N
cuvtetaxapev Tov Lepixréous Biov nal tov Pa-
/ s a , \ > U
Biov Makipou TOU ScaToAEUNC aVTOS ™ pos | Avvi-
Bav TEplexov, avd pov Kara, TE Tas arras apeTas
Opotwv, partota O€ mpaoTnTa Kat Sixatoouvny,

Kal T@ duvacbat peperv Opa Kal cuvapxovTwy

s
dyvepod ivas MOPEALLWTUATWY TALS TAT plot yEevo-
bev. el 8 opFas otoxalopeba, tov d€ovtos,
éFeate xpivew ék Tov ypapopeven.
III. Hepexars yap nv TeV: pev pud2v ‘Aka-
pavtidns, Tav O€ Orjuwyv Norapyeus, oixov b€ Kat
ryevous Tob ™pwTtov Kat dudotépous. Favbinmos
yap 0 veKyoas éy Muxandn tous Bacrrews oTpatn-
yous éynuev ‘Ayapiotnvy KrecaGevous éyyovov, os
1 $puhy Fuhr and Blass, after Reiske: a&goputy.

esteem. Wherefore the spectator is not advantaged by those things at sight of which no ardour for imitation arises in the breast, nor any uplift of the soul arousing zealous impulses to do the like. But virtuous action straightway so disposes a man that he no sooner admires the works of virtue than he strives to emulate those who wrought them. The good things of Fortune we love to possess and enjoy ; those of Virtue we love to perform. The former we are willing should be ours at the hands of others ; the latter we wish that others rather should have at our hands. The Good creates a stir of activity towards itself, and implants at once in the spectator an active impulse ; it does not form his character by ideai representation alone, but through the investiga-tion of its work it furnishes him with a dominant purpose.

For such reasons | have decided to persevere in my writing of Lives, and so have composed this tenth book, containing the life of Perictes, and that of Fabius Maximus, who waged such lengthy war with Hannibal. The men were alike in their virtues, and more especially in their gentleness and rectitude, and by their ability to endure the follies of their peoples and of their colleagues in office, they proved of the greatest service to their countries. But whether I aim correctly at the proper mark must be decided from what I have written.

III. Pericles was of the tribe Acamantis, of the deme Cholargus, and of the foremost family and lineage on both sides. His father, Xanthippus, who conquered the generals of the King at Mycale,! married Agariste, granddaughter ? of that Cleisthenes

1 479 B.c. 2 His niece, ratker.

éEnrace Ilevotatpatidbas nal KatédXvoe THY TUpav-
vida yevvaiws Kat vopous Eero xal woXdtTEiav
dplota Kexpapevny mpos omovotay Kal owrnpiav
KaTéotTyaev. avltn cava Tous Umvous Edboke TExeElv
AéovTa, Kal pel’ wuepas drAlyas Erexe Iepixréa,
‘ \ 4 v \ 98 Ff n s w
Ta pev aAdAa THY iOéavy TOD CMpATOS ApeuTTTOY,
Tpounkn O€ TH Keparyn! Kal adovppetpov. dev
ai pev eixoves avTov axedov atacat Kpaveot
TEpteXovTal, 47) BOvAOLEVwWY, WS EOLKE, TOV TEXVE-
tov é€ovediveav. ot & ’Artixol troinrat oywo-
xéparov avrov éxddouv: THY yap aKidday Eat
été Kal oxivov dvopavovar. Tov b€ KwptKav O
pev Kpartivos év Xeipwou “ Xtdows b€” (dno)
“Kal mpecBuyevns Kpovos adAnAotoe puyévte
peytotoy TixteTov TUpavvoy, dv bn Keparnyepérav
Geol xadéovot” Kal maddy év Nepécer ‘“ Mon’,
© Zed Eevie xai xapaé.” Tyrexreldns 5€ wore peév
bTd TOV TpayLaTwv nropnpevoy KaAOjaOai pyow
avrov év TH mode “KapnBapovvta, wore 6é
povoyv éx Keparis évdexaxdivov OdpuvBov moddw
éfavatéaAnew” o 8 Kvzodis ev tois Anpors
muvOavomevos Tept Exdotov Tov avaBeBnKorwr
é& adov Snpaywyov, ws o Tepixrijs wvopacbn
TeAEUTALOS’
“O vt wep Keparatov Tav KaTwOev nyayes.

IV. Acéddoxadov 8 avtov rm@v povolxov ot
mrecoto. Aduwva yeveoPar Aéyovaw, ob} pact
1 79 xepadg Fuhr and Blass with F8S ; rhv xepadrgy,

who, in such noble fashion, expelled the Peisistratidac and destroyed their tyranny, instituted laws, and established a constitution best attempered for the promotion of harmony and safety. She, in her dreams, once fancied that she had given birth to a lion, and a few days thereafter bore Pericles! His personal appearance was unimpeachable, except that his head was rather long and out of due proportion. For this reason the images of him, almost all of them, wear helmets, because the artists, as it would seem, were not willing to reproach him with de- formity. The comic poets of Attica used to call him “‘Schinocephalus,” or Squill-head (the squill is some- times called “schinus’’). So the comic poet Cra- tinus, in his “ Cheirons,” says: “ Faction and Saturn, that ancient of days, were united in wedlock ; their offspring was of all tyrants the greatest, and lo! he is called by the gods the head-compeller.’? And again in his “ Nemesis”: “Come, Zeus! of guests and heads the Lord!” 2 And Telecleides speaks of him as sitting on the acropolis in the greatest perplex- ity, “now heavy of head, and now alone, from the eleven-couched chamber of his head, causing vast uproar to arise.” 2 And Eupolis, in his “ Demes,” having inquiries made

about each one of the demagogues as they come up from Hades, says, when Pericles is called out last :-—

“The very head of those below hast thou now
brought.” 2
IY. His teacher in music, most writers state, was Damon (whose name, they say, should be pronounced

1 Cf. Herodotus, vi. 13].
* Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 86; p. 49; p. 220; p. 280.
9

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

deity Tovvopa Bpayvvovtas Tv Tpotépay ovAda-
Biv éexdéperv: "Aptaotorérns O€ rapa Iv0oxrcidy
povotxny StarrovnOnvat tov avdpa dnaiv. o &é
Adpwv éoixev axpos wv codtotns KxatadvecBat
bev els TO THS MOVOLKIS GVO"A TPOS TOUS TOAXOUS
emixpuTTopevos THY SevoTnTa, TH Sé Tleptxret
cuviy cabarep abAnTH TOY TOALTIK@Y arEiTTNS
cai diddoKanros. ov pv Edabev o Aduwv TH AUpa
TAPAKANVMMATL KpWpEVvos, UX WS pEeyadoT pay-
pov kal dirotvpavvos éEwotpaxiaOn Kat Tapécyxe
Tos Kwptxois dtatpiByv. o ryoov Ildkatwv Kat
muvOavopevoy avTOv TWA TETTOiNKEY OUTW*
IIp@rov pev ovv por A€Eov, avTtBorw av yap,
ws hac, o Netpwov eEeOpewras Tepexréa.
Sinxouce dé Hepixarts xai Zijvwvos tod ’EXedtou
/
Tpaypwatevopévov mept dvaiv, ws Tlappevidys,
\ f \ > » ‘4 4
eXeyerexny S€ Teva cai du’ avrtNoyias KaTAKAELOU-
cav els atropiav é€ackioavtos Ew, WoTEp Kal
rye e 4 v Py \ 4
Tipewr o PrALaotos eipynxe 01a TOUTwWY
"ApdotepoyAwacou Te peya oOévos ovK ada-
Taovov
, id > ¢
Z1vOvos, TAVTWV ETLANTTOPOS.
‘O 8 wretaota Tlepixre? aovyyevopuevos xal
pddiata wepiOeis Gykov avT@ Kal Ppcynpa dnpa-
yoryias éuBpiOécTtepov, Odws TE peTEWpiaas Kal
4 ‘Q > f “ bd b J t
owveEdpas TO akiwpa Tov 7)0ous, ’Avakayopas hv
6 Kralopenos, dv of tot’ advOpwrot Novv tpoo-
10

with the first syllable short); but Aristotle! says he had a thorough musical training at the hands of Pythocleides. Now Damon seems to have been a consummate sophist, but to have taken refuge behind the name of music in order to conceal from the mul- titude his real power, and he associated with Pericles, that political athlete, as it were, in the capacity of rubber and trainer. However, Damon was not left unmolested in this use of his lyre as a screen, but was ostracized for being a great schemer and a friend of tyranny, and became a butt of the comic poets. At all events, Plato? represented some one as inquiring of him thus :—

“In the first place tell me then, I beseech thee,

thou who art

The Cheiron, as they say, who to Pericles gave his craft.”

Pericles was also a pupil of Zeno the Eleatic, who discoursed on the natural world, like Parmenides, and perfected a species of refutative catch which was sure to bring an opponent to grief; as Timon of Phlius expressed it :—

“ His was a tongue that could argue both ways with a fury resistless,
Zeno’s; assailer of all things.”

But the man who most vconsorted with Pericles, and did most to clothe him with a majestic demeanour that had more weight than any demagogue’s appeals, yes, and who lifted on high and exalted the dignity of his character, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, whom men of that day used to call

1 Plato, rather, Alcihiades I. 118 c.

2 Plato the comic poet. Kock Com. Att. Frag, i. p. 655.

/ \ a“
nyopevov, ELTE THY GUVvEedW avTOU peyadny Els gpuotoroyiay Kat wepittny Stadaveicav Oavpa-
w/)> “ fad “A 9 F bad)

gavtes, E10’ OTL TOls GAOLS TPATOS ov TUYNY ovd

$ 4 PS 4 > / 3 \ “~ b a
avayKny OLrakoopnoews apynv, adrAa vou eTeE-
oTnae KaGapov kai dxpartov év pemtypéevots Tact
Tots adXoOLS, ATTOKpivovTA TAS OpoLopeEpeias.
V. Tottov vaeppuas tov dvdpa Oavydoas o
Ilepixrs Kat THs eyomevns peTewporoyias Kai
/
peTapoloNeaxXias UToTuTAGMEVOS, OV MOVOY, WS
,
Eouxe, TO Ppovnua coBapov Kat Tov Aoyor bynrov
9 ‘ 3 a
elye Kal xalapov oyAtKhs Kal tavovpyouv Bwo-
Aoxias, GANA Kal Tpodwmov avaTacts AOpuTToOS
,
eis yeAwTa Kal mpaoTns Topeias Kal KaTaoToA
a ‘ ION b 4 a b a
meptBorns pos ovdev ExtapaTtTomevn TaOos ev TE
Neyety Kal TAdcpa dwvis aOopvBov, cai boa
wn 4 na 9 4
Totavta wavtas Oavpaotas éEerAyTTe. Rotdo-
povpevos Yoo TOTE Kal KAKWS aKOVWY UTE TLVOS
= wn \ > f lad ¢ , ¢e ,
tav Bdedupov cal axo\daoTwv drAnV HnuEepav UTE-
HELE TLWITH KAT Gyopay, apa Te TOV erreryovTwy
KaTampaTtTopevos’ éotrépas & amnes Koopiws
olxabde Tapaxorovbodrvtos Tov avOpwrou Kai Tdon
Ld / N ted e > Mw

xpwpevou BrAachynpia mpos avtov. ws 8 euedrev
elaltevat aKOTOUS OYTOS Sn, TpocéTAaké TL TAV
oixeTav d@s NaBovTt TapaTémat Kal KatacTH-
gat Tpos THY oixiay Tov avOpwrov.
‘O 8€ rrownThns “Iwy poOwvixyy dnote Thy optrdtav
Kal vrotupov eivat tod IeptxXéous, Kat tais
I2

“Nous,” either because they admired that com-
prehension of his, which proved of such surpassing
_ greatness in the investigation of nature ; or because
he was the first to enthrone in the universe, not
Chance, nor yet Necessity, as the source of its
orderly arrangement;~but Mind (Nous) pure and
simple, which csinushes and sets apart, in the

midst of an otherwise-chaotic mass, the substances which have like elements.

V. This man Pericles extravagantly admired, and being gradually filled full of the so-called higher philosophy and elevated speculation, he not only had, as it seems, a spirit that was solemn and a discourse that was lofty and free from plebeian and reckless effrontery, but also a composure of countenance that never relaxed into laughter, a gentleness of carriage and cast of attire that suffered no emotion to disturb it while he was speaking, a modulation of voice that was far from boisterous, and many similar characteristics which struck all his hearers with wondering amazcment. It is, at any rate, a fact that, once on a time when he had been abused and insulted all day long by a certain lewd fellow of the baser sort, he endured it all quietly, though it was in the market-place, where he kad urgent business to transact, and towards evening went away homewards unruffled, the fellow following along and heaping all manner of contumely upon him. When he was about to go in doors, it being now dark, he ordered a servant to take a torch and escort the fellow in safety back to his own home.

The poet Ion, however, says that Pericles had a presumptuous and somewhat arrogant manner of

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

peyaravylas avtu’ TOA UTEpoiay dvape-
pixyOae cai wepippovnolv TOV drAdwv> éErratvel bé
. / b \ \ ¢ \ ‘ 4
To Kipwvos €uperes Kat Uypov Kal pe“ovowpevon -
> A “ 9 +” 4 ef
ev Tais jepipopais. adr Iwva pév, WoTTEp Tpayt-
\ 4 oJ nw N +] XN #
yy didacKariay, akiodvta tiv apeTny exew Te
4 a“ a
TWdVvTwWS Kal GATUPLKOY pépos E@pEev' TOUS b€ TOD
II , N s 5 , \
epixdéous THY ceuvoTnta Sokoxoriav te Kal

fa] n e 4 /
TOpov atoxaXovrtas 0 ZAnvwv tapexade kal
avtous Te ToLodTO CokoKoTEly, WS THS TpogTroLn-
GEews AUTHS TOV KaXwV UVToTOLOvaNns Twa AEAN-
Jotws CfhrXov cat auvnGerav.
f a a 9 ,
VI. Od povov b€ taita THs “AvaEayopou
auvovatas amédavae Ilepixdrjs, dAAa Kal Eeot-
Catpovias doxet yevéoOar xabumeéptepos, banv To}
mpos Ta peTewpa OapBos evepyaleTat Tois avTav
'T€ TOUTWY TAS alTias ayvoodar Kal Tepi Ta Oeia
Saimovadt Kat TapaTTopevols du aTretpiav avTav,
iv 0 huatKkos NoOyos aTaAXaTTwWY avTl THS PhoBe-
wn N 4 O 5 4 \ 3
pas Kal hPreypaivovons deadatpovias THv adoga-
nw ’ , > wn +] , > ,
AH pet €rAmidwy ayabav evaéBerav epyaletat.
nw /
Aéyetat 5€ Tote Kplov povoxepw Keharry éF
aypov TO Iepixret xopto@ vat, cat Adurwva pev
‘ 4
TOV pavTLV, ws ELOE TO KEpas LaXUpOY Kal oTEpEoY
~ f , wn w~
€x pégou TOU pEeTwTOV TEhuKOS, Elmreiv Ott SveEtv
fa) “ t a A
ova@y ev TH TrodEL SuVacTE@V, THS CouKvdidou
Kat Lepixréous, ets Eva Teptatnoetat TO KpaToS
l Sonv 7d older edd., Coraés, Fuhr and Blass; Bekker 8en
with the MSS.: don».
14
ct

address, and that into his haughtiness there entered a good deal of disdain and contempt for others; he praises, on the other hand, the tact, complaisance, and elegant address which Cimon showed in his social intercourse.! But we must ignore Ion, with his demand that virtue, like a dramatic tetralogy, have some sort of a farcical appendage. Zeno, when men called the austerity of Pericles a mere thirst for reputation, and swollen conceit, urged them to have some such thirst for reputation themselves, with the idea that the very assumption of nobility might in time produce, all unconsciously, something like an eager and habitual practice of it.

VI. These were not the only advantages Pericles had of his association with Anaxagoras. It appears that he was also lifted by him. above superstition, that feeling which is produced by amazement at what happens in regions above us. It affects those who are ignorant of the causes of such things, and are crazed

about divine intervention, and confounded through their inexperience in this domain; whereas the doctrines of natural philosophy remove such ignorance and inexperience, and substitute for ti- morous and inflamed superstition that unshaken reverence which is attended by a good hope.

A story is told that once on a time the head of a one-horned ram was brought to Pericles from his country-place, and that Lampon the seer, when he saw how the horn grew strong and solid from the middle of the forehead, declared that, whereas there were two powerful parties in the city, that of Thucydides and that of Pericles, the mastery would finally devolve upon one man,—the man to

1 Cf. Comon, ix.

Is

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

> © , \ a \ :9 '
Tap ® yévorto TO onpelov: tov & 'Avakayopar
nw 4 ~
Tuv xpaviou Staxorévtos 'aidetEat tov éyxépadov
3 f N 4 bf > 3 \ @
ov meTANPwWKOTA THY Baow, adr ofvy wWaTEP
\ ~
@ov €k TOU TaVTOS ayyelou cuvwrALGONnKOTA KATA
Tov Tomov éxelvoy dOev 4 pita Tod Képatos etxeE
/ fo
THY apxnv. Kal tote pev OavpacOfvar Tov
'Avakayopay Ud TOV TapovTaV, OrALyo 8 DaTeEpor
0p PovT@V, OALYG po
\ / nm . LAN th
tov Adptwva, tov péev Qovxvdidou xcatadvGertos,
Tav S€ TOU Syov TpayudTwY OMarAwS aTravT@V
uTO TO Llepixre' yevopévwv.
' N N
"Exwrve 8 ovdév, olpat, cai tov puatxov
nn /
émeTuyxXavery Kal TOY wavTLY, TOU pev THY atTiay,
" ' , n~ b] , e ,
tov b€ TO TEAOS KAAMS ExAapBadvorTOS: UTTEKELTO
yap TO pév, ex Tivwy yéyove Kal Tas mépuKe,
aA A s f /,

Gewphoat, TO S€é, Tpos TL yeyove Kat Ti Onpaivel,
“a “ ~ /
mMpoeurreiy. ot S€ TIS atlas TV EUpEeotY avaipeoty
elvat AeyovTes TOU onpEiov OUK ETTLVOOVOLY apa
n s \ N \ “ /
trois Geiois Kal Ta TexvnTa TOV oupBorwy
n f n nw
abetodrzes, ropous te Sickwv Kal POTa Tupray
> /
Kab YVWOLovwy aTrogKiacpoUs: @Y ExagTOV alTia
ral ~ /
Tivl Kal KATAG KEV) ONpMELOV Elvai TLVOS TETOLNTAL.
nw e ,
TabvTa pev ov laws ETépas €oTi TpayuaTEias.
aA ,
VII. ‘O && Tlepexrijs véos pév adv oodpa
tov Sipov evaafeiro. nal yap édoxe Iletor-
, a , \ ? b ‘ >
oTpdt@ Te Tupdvywm To Eidos euhepys etvat,
thy Te dwviy ndetay ovcay avTod Kal Tip
yAaTttTav eUTpoxor ev TH SiareyerGar Kai Taxetav
e \ \
oi ahodpa yépovtes eferAnTTovTo mpos THY
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PERICLES

whom this sign had been given. Anaxagoras, however, had the skull cut in two, and showed that the brain had not filled out its position, but had drawn together to a point, like an egg, at that particular spot in the entire cavity where the root of the horn began. At that time, the story says, it was Anaxagoras who won the plaudits of the bystanders; but a little while after it was Lampon, for Thucydides was overthrown, and Pericles was entrusted with the entire control of all the interests of the people.

Now there was nothing, in my opinion, to prevent both of them, the naturalist and the seer, from being in the right of the matter; the one correctly divined the cause, the other the object or purpose. It was the proper province of the one to observe why anything happens, and how it comes to be what it is; of the other to declare for what purpose anything happens, and what it means. And _ those who declare that the discovery of the cause, in any phenomenon, does away with the meaning, do not perceive that they are doing away not only with divine portents, but also with artificial tokens, such as the ringing of gongs, the language of fire- signals, and the shadows of the pointers on sun- dials. Each of these has been made, through some causal adaptation, to have some meaning. However, perhaps this is matter for a different

treatise.

VII. As a young man, Pericles was exceedingly reluctant to face the people, since it was thought that in feature he was like the tyrant Peisistratus ; and when men well on in years remarked also that his voice was sweet, and his tongue glib and speedy in discourse, they were struck with amazement at

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e , 7 \ \ f y
OmoloTnTa. mAovTov bé€ Kal yévous TpocoVTOS
avT® Aaptrpod Kai Pirwy of TrEioTOV HdvVaYTO,
foBovpevos eEootpaxicOivat, TOV mev TOAMTIKOY
ovdey émpartey, ev b€ Tails oTpatetats avnp
ayalos Hv Kal diroxivdvvos. émet & 'Apirteidys
\ 3 , \ A > ,
pev amroteOyijxee Kat OepiotokrAns éEerenmtTwxel,
Kipuwva §' ai orpatetat Ta Toda Tis 'EAAdSbos
é&w xateixyov, odtw 87 hépwr o IlepexrHs To
, "~ , *
Snuw mpocéverpev EavTOV, avTL TOY TROUCiwY Kai
"a a" ,
OMywv Ta TOY TOAA@Y Kal TeVnTwWY EOpMEVOS
\ \ ¢€ ~ td ccd \ 2
Tapa THhv avtou dvatv ijxiata Snuotixny ovcav.
arr', ws Eotxe, Sediws pev UTrowia TEpuTrecetv
, eon bd ? ' A id
Tupavvidos, opav & apiotoxpatixoy tov Kipwva
cal diahepovTws vTo TOY KaX@V Kayabav avdpav
ayaTrwpevov, UTHAVE TOUS TOANOUS, doddrelav pev
nw > | f ,
éauT@, dvvapwy O€ KaT éxetvov TapacKevalopevos.
EvOds b€ cal tots wept thy Siartay étépav tTaEw
? , ener \ ? 4 Zz e A"

éréOnxev. odvv Te yap €v aoTet play éwpaTo
Thy én ayopav Kal To BovNevTnpLov Topevopevos,
KAnoes te Seitvwy Kal TY ToLavTNnY aTacav
diroppoavvny kat cuvnerav éféderrev, ws év ols
€TOALTEVTATO Ypovorts pakpols yEvopevots ITpos
pndéva tav dirtwv emt Setrvov €dOeiv, mr
Evpurtonéuov Tod aveyiod yapobytos axpt TOV

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the resemblance. Besides, since he was rich, of brilliant lineage, and had friends of the greatest influence, he feared that he might be ostracized, and so at first had naught to do with politics, but devoted himself rather to a military career, where he was brave and enterprising. However, when Aristides was dead,! and Themistocles in banishment,2 and Cimon was kept by his campaigns for the most part abroad, then at last Pericles decided to devote himself to the people, espousing the cause of the poor and the many instead cf the tew and the rich, contrary to his own nature, which was anything but popular. But he feared, as it would seem, to encounter a suspicion of aiming at tyranny, and when he saw that Cimon was very aristocratic in his sympathies, and was held in extraordinary affection by the party of the "Good and Truc,' he began to court the favour of the multitude, thereby securing safety for himself, and power to wield against his rival.

Straightway, too, he made a different ordering in his way of life. On one street only in the city was he to be seen walking,—the one which took him to the market-place and the _ council-chamber. Invitations to dinner, and all such friendly and familiar intercourse, he declined, so that during the long period that elapsed while he was at the head of the state, there was not a single friend to whose house he went to dine, exeept that when his kinsman Euryptolemus gave a wedding feast, he attended until the libations were made,? and then

? Soon after 468 B.c. 2 After 472) Bc:
3 That is, until the wine for the symposium was krought in, and drinking began.

"~ / ' 4 > U

aTroveay tmapuyevouevos evOds eEavéotn. Serval

BS e ? N v U
yap al diroppoctvat wavtos Gyxou TepuyevecOat,
cat Svopvraxtov év auvyOeia to mpos dogav
, > a b) “~ eee fel 4

ceuvov éote: THS GAnOvIAs 8 apeTtis KaAMOTA
paivetat Ta pdrttoTa patvopeva, xai Tov ayabavr
b “A XSAN e , “~ b] N ° e ’
avdpav obdév oTw Oavpdotov Tois ExTOS ws 0 KAO
npépav Bios Tois cuvovoy.
‘O 8€ nai 76 Sipw! rd avvexés hevywv Kat
\ / > , DJ 4 >
Tov Kopov olov éx dradeupatwy émrAnoialer, OvK
> ae,’ % ? , >QOds + A ‘ > N
éml wavtl mpdypc.tt N€ywv, ov adel TAPLWY ELS TO
mrHO0S, GAN éauTov woTEep THY Ladapiviav
f , ‘ \ Ud

tpinpn, pnot Kpitodraos, mpos tas peyadas
ypetas éemdidovs, Tadra 6é didrous Kal pHyTopas
e ¢ \ ” ? ef \ U
étépous xabiels Erpattev. av &va haci yeverGar
\ 3 ? “a f \ , A b]
tov “E@iddtnv, os KaTéAvoe TO Kpatos THs €&
’"Apelov mayou BovAjs, woAAv, kata tov IIda-

4 wv a a ‘4
Twva, Kal dakpatov Tois moXiTais édevOepiav
>] “ e >] ee es] , Ms
oivoxoar, Up’ Is, @aTep immov, eEvRpicavta Tov
Siuov of Kwpwdorotol eéyouos ‘ Teapyeiv
ovKEeTL TOAMAaY, ad\rAa daxvery THY EVBo.ay Kai
Tais vnools enimnoav.
VIII. TH pévroe wept tov Biov cxtaoKevy Kal
T@ peyeOer ToD Ppovijpatos appolovta Royor,
eomep opyavov, éEaptudpevos Tapevetetve TOd-
“a ‘ a / ‘\ ~ @ “~
Aayod tov 'Avakayopar, olov Badyny TH pytoptkh
e \ e
Thy puatoroytay viroxYeopevos. TO yap “uYn-
1 og S4uy Fubr and Blass, atter Sauppe : 100 dhpov.
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PERICLES

straightway rose up and departed. Conviviality is

prone to break down and overpower the haughtiest reserve, and in familiar intercourse the dignity which is assumed for appearance's sake is very hard to maintain. Whereas, in the case of true and genuine virtue, "fairest appears what most appears," and nothing in the conduct of good men is so admirable in the eyes of strangers, as their daily walk and conversation is in the eyes of those who share it.

And so it was that Pericles, seeking to avoid the satiety which springs from continual intercourse, made his approaches to the people by intervals, as it were, not speaking on every question, nor addressing the people on every occasion, but offering himself like the Salaminian trireme, as Critolaiis says, for great emergencies. The rest of his policy he carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers. One of these, as they say, was Ephialtes, who broke down the power of the Council of the Areiopagus, and so poured out for the citizens, to use the words of Plato,! too much "undiluted freedom," by which the people was rendered unruly, just like a horse, and, as_ the comic poets say, "no longer had the patience to obey the rein, but nabbed Fuboea and trampled on the islands."'

VIII. Moreover, by way of providing himself with a style of discourse which was adapted, like a musical instrument, to his mode of life and the grandeur of his sentiments, he often made an auxiliary string of Anaxagoras, subtly mingling, as it were, with his rhetoric the dye of natural science.

1 Republic, viii. p. 562 c.

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AOvouy TOVTO Kal TUVYTN TEAETLOUPYOV, WS 0 DeEtos
, \ a
WAdrov gdnot, "mpos 7H evhuns elvac xrynoa-
93 5 '4 \ \ , ¢
peevos =€K valoAoyias, Kal TO TMpoodopov éd-
KUGasS ETL THY TOV OY TEXVYNY, TOAY TaVvTwY
Sunveyxe. S10 Kab tTHv EemixrAna avT@ yevecOar
NEyoucL KAaiTOL TLves ATO TOV ols exoouNoE THY
TOAW, ot & amo THS év TH Tortela Kal tats

b
oTpatnylats duvapews ‘OdvpTiov avdtov olovTat
mpocayopevOnvar' Kat cvvdpapeiy ovdév amréotxev
> + “a / cal ’ \ N f
a7T0 TO\A@Y TpocOVTwY Tw avdpi THY Sokav.
wn s v. a“
ai pevtor Kwopodiae TOY TOTE bibagKdAwY aTrOVOT
\ \ \ , ’ / \
Te WOAAaS Kal peTa yeXwTOS adeixoTwY hwvas
els avTov, emt TO NOYH waAIOTA THY TpoTwVLpiaV
, ra “cc al > A > \ \
yeverOat dSnrodo., ‘Bpovtav” pev avtov Kat
‘“dotpamTew, ote Onunyopoin, “ Servov b€ KEpav-
\ 9 , f + bl) ,
vov €v yAwoon pepelvy REyovTw?.
Atapynpovevetar 6€ Tes Kai Oovxvdidsv Tod
\ fa)
MeAnciov Avyos ets thy Sevornta tov Tlepr-
\ ~ /
KNEOUS peTa Taldias Eipruévos. Rv pev yap o
Qovevdidns TaV Kadov Kal ayabdv dvdpav, Kai
~ 3 ? “~ ~ e
Tr€ioTOV avteToALTevoato T@ Ilepixret ypovor:
"Apxi6apov b€ tod Aaxedaipoviwy Baciréws
auvOavopévou Totepov avros 1) TlepixdAHs manatet
Bérxriov, “Otay,” eimev, “éyw xataBadrw ma-
Aalwy, éxeivos avTihéywv ws ov TéTTwOKE, IKE
¢ ~~ 93
Ka petaretOer ToUs opavTas.
¢ nw
Ov piv adda Kai adtos o Wepixrns trepi tov
Adyov evdafys Hv, Wor ael mpos to Brpa
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PERICLES

It was from natural science, as the divine Plato says,! that he “ acquired his loftiness of thought and perfectness of execution, in addition to his natural gifts,’ and by applying what he learned to the art of speaking, he far excelled all other speakers. It was thus, they say, that he got his surname ; though some suppose it was from the structures with which he adorned the city, and others from his ability asy a statesman and a general, that he was called Olympian. It is not at all unlikely that his re- putation was the result of the blending in him of |

many high qualities. But the comic poets of that ~—

day, who let fly, both in earnest and in jest, many shafts of speech against him, make it plain that he got this surname chiefly because of his diction ; they spoke of him as “thundering” and “lightening ’’ when he harangued his audience,? and as “wielding a dread thunderbolt in his tongue.”

There is on record also a certain saying of Thucydides, the son of Melesias, touching the clever persuasiveness of Pericles, a saying uttered in jest. Thucydides belonged to the party of the “ Good and / True,’ and was for a very long time a political antagonist of Pericles. When Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, asked him whether he or Pericles was the better wrestler, he replied : “‘ Whenever I throw him in wrestling, he disputes the fall, and carries his point, and persuades the very men who saw him fall.”

The truth is, however, that even Pericles, with all his gifts, was cautious in his discourse, so that when-

1 Phaedrus, p. 270 a.

* Cf. Aristophanes, Acharnians, 528-531,

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ba |

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Badifwy evyeto Tois Oeois pyndé phua pndev
EKTETELY AKOVTOS AUTOU TpOs THY TpoKEtpevny
Xpetay avdppooTov. éyypadov pev ovv ovdev
, f \ “ , 3
atroXeXorTe TANV TwVv wWhdicpaTwY arTo-
pvnpovevetar © Odtya Tavtadracw* oloy To THY
Alyiwav @> Anpnv tod Llepaids adereiv Ke-
“a ‘ N ‘ , wv ¢ “a
Nedoal, Kal TO TOV TOrAELOV 7dn Pavar Kabopav
amo Uerorovyvycov mpoogepopevov. Kai tote
a“ yy 4 of a be A
ToD LodoxAéous, OTE TvaTpatnyav Ek&erdevce
pet avtov, taiéa Kadrov ératvécavtos, “Ov
povoy,” edn, “tas Yelpas, @ Lopoxres, Sei
v \ is / ’ \ \ ‘
caBapas Exetvy Tov otpatnyov, aAdka Kal Tas
v > e be y Ld , lad A >

owes. o d€ XrnotuBporos dyno OTL Touvs év
v f ig > 4 > A 4,
Lauo TeOvynxotas éeyxomalwy er tod Brnyatos
aBavatous Ereye yeyovévat xabatTep tovs Oeous:
ov yap éxeivous avTOUS Opa@pev, GAAG Tais Tipais
as €xovot, Kai tois ayabois & mapéyovouw,
a >
aBavatous elvar texpatpoueba: TadT ovv UTapyeww
Kal Tois UmTép THS TaTpioos aTroPavovaty.
IX. ’Ezel 5€ Qouxudidns peéev apiotoxpatenny
\ a , e / ,
tiva THY ToD Ilepixréous Uroypader trodtTELay,
‘“Xoywo pev ovaav Snuoxpatiav, Epyw 8 vro tov
, > \ ’ , ” ” be ”~
TpwTov avdpos apynv, GAXot dé ToNAOL TPwTOV
vm éxeivov hact tiv Siov él KAnpovytas cal
Oewpixa kal ptcOav Siavoyas mrpoayxPivar, KaK@s
b /, , a > 4
eGusGévta Kal yevopevoy todvTEAn Kal axo-
NaCTOVY UTO THY TOTE TOALTEVLUTWY AVTL Tw-
24

PERICLES

ever he came forward to speak he prayed the gods that there might not escape him unawares a single word which was unsuited to the matter under discussion. In writing he left nothing behind him except the decrees which he proposed, and only a few in all of his memorable sayings are preserved, as, for instance, his urging the removal of gina as the “ eye-sore of the Pirewus,” and his declaring that he “already beheld war swooping down upon them from Peloponnesus.” Once also when Sophocles, who was general with him on a ccrtain naval expedition,! praised a lovely boy, he said: “It is not his hands only, Sophocles, that a general must keep clean, but his eyes as well.” Again, Stesimbrotus says that, in his funeral oration over those who had fallen in the Samian War, he declared that they had become immortal, like the gods; “the gods themselves,” he said, “we cannot see, but from the honours which they receive, and the blessings which they bestow, we conclude that they are immortal.” So it was, he said, with those who had given their lives for their

country.
IX. Thucydides describes? the administration of Pericles as rather aristocratic,—“in name a democ- racy, but in fact a government by the greatest citizen.” But many others say that the people was first led on by him into allotments of public lands, festival-grants, and distributions of fees for public services, thereby falling into bad habits, and becom- ing luxurious and wanton under the influence of his public measures, instead of frugal and self-sufficing.

1 Against Samos, 440-439 B.c.
2 In the encomium on Pericles, ii. 65, 9.
25

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ppovos nai av’toupyod, OewpetcOw dia ToV Tpay-
HaTw@V avTe@Y % aitia Tis weTaBoATs. - -—
"Ey adpxn pev yap, @oTep elpntat, mpos THY
Kiuwvos dofav avretattopevos tremoeito Tov
Sipov: éXattovpevos b€ TAOVTM Kal ypiHpacty,
J > b] a 3 f \ 4 “ f
agp av éxetvos dvenduBave tovs tévyntas, deimvov
te Kal’ nue D O€OMEVW TAPE "AOnvat
nuepav To Seopev@ Tapéxwv 'AOnvaiwr,
Kal tous mpecBvtépous apdievyvwy, Tov TE Yo-
piwy tovs Ppaypnovs adatpav 6rws oTwpifwaty ot
Bovaropevar, TovTots Oo TepixrAns catadnpaywyov-
HEVOS TPETTETAL TPOS THY THY OSnpociwy Savouny,
auuBovrevtcavtos avt@ Aapwvidouv tov “Oabev,
ws “AptototéAns totopnKe. Kal tayv Oewptxois
‘ Cal i w ww
Kat Sexactixots Ajppaciv adrAas Te picbodpopais
Kat xYopnyiats auvdexdcas to TAHOos, expiro
A fel 3 > , 4 “ La 3 \ ?
kata Ths é€£ Apelou mayou BovArns, is avtos ov
petetxe Sia TO pert adpxwv prjte Oecpobérns pyre
Bacireds pte Trodguapyos Aayeiy. avtar yap
ai apxal KAnpwtai te thoay éx mwadatod, cat bi
) A id f 3 , > ”
avt@v of Soxtpacbevtes avéBavov eis “Apecor
mayov. 610 Kal pardroyv icyvoas o TlepexrArs ev
TO Spm Katectaciace tiv Bovdgrjv, @oTE THY
pev adaipebfvar tas mAciotas Kpices Ov “Edi-
drtov, Kipwva 0 ws diroAdKwva Kal uioodnpov
éFoatpaxiaOivat, wAOUTM pev Kal yéves pndevos
aToNELTrOmEevov, vikxas b€ KaANoTAaS vEertKnKOTA
26

Let us therefore examine in detail the reason for this
change in him.
In the beginning, as has been said, pitted as he was against the reputation of Cimon, he tried to ingratiate himself with the people. And since he was the inferior in wealth and property, by means of which Cimon would win over the poor,—furnish- ing a dinner every day to any Athenian who wanted . it, bestowing raiment on the elderly men, and remov- ing the fences from his estates that whosoever wished ‘might pluck the fruit—Pericles, outdone in popular arts of this sort, had recourse to the distribution of the people’ s own wealth. This was on the advice of Damonides, of the deme Oa, as Aristotle has stated. And soon, what with festival-grants and jurors’ wages and other fees and largesses, he bribed the multi- tude by the wholesale, and used them in opposition to_the Council of the Areiopagus. Of this body he himself was not a member, since the lot had not made him either First Archon, or Archon Thes- mothete, or King Archon, or Archon Polemarch. These offices were in ancient times filled by lot, and through them those who properly acquitted themselves were promoted into the Areiopagus. For this reason all the more did Pericles, strong in the affections of the people, lead a successful party against the Council of the Areiopagus. Not only was the Council robbed of most of its jurisdic- tion by Ephialtes, but Cimon also, on the charge of being a lover of Sparta and a hater of the people, was ostracized,3—a man who yielded to none in wealth

1 The discussion of this change in Pericles from the methods of a demagogue to the leadership described by Thucydides,

continues through chapter xv. ? Const. of Athens, xxvii. 4.
* 461 Bo. Cf. Cimon, xvii. 2.
27s

tous PBapBSdpovs Kat xpnuatwv ToAdk@V Kal
Aadipwv euTeTANKOTA THY TOALY, WS eV TOFS
Tepl éxeivou yéypartat. Tooottoyv jv To Kpatos
év T@ num tov Tlepixr€ovs.
X. ‘O pév otv é£ootpaxiapos wpiopévny eixe
vopw Sexaetiav Tois pevyouvow: ev d€ TO ta
pecov Aaxedaipoviwy otpaT@ peydr@ éuBanrov-
TOV ets THY Tavarypueny Kal TOV "AOnvaiwv evdus
OpynoavTay em’ aUvTOUs, oO pev Kipov éXNawv ex
THs puyijs éJeTo PETA TOV pureTar eis AOYov Ta
oma Kal & Epywv atoAverOat Tov Aaxwvic pov
éBownero, ouyKivouvevaas Tois TONLTALS, ot b€
piror TOU Tlepexdeous TUCTAYTES UT AATAV AUTOV

ws puydéa. 510 Kal Soxet Tlepixrajs éppwpevé-
otata } THY paxny éxelyyy aywvicacGa Kai
yevéo Bar mavTov emipaverTatos apedijoas TOU
TWUATOS. ET ETOV 6e Kat tov Kipwvos of piror
waves oparas, ods epixrAns cuverrntiato Tov
ANaxavic pov: Kat peTavota Sewn TOUS A Onvatous
Kal moos € axe TOU Kipewvos, yrtnpévous ev érri
TOV (Spey THS ATTUKIS, Tpoo Soxavras de Bapuv
els éTous apav TOAE MOV. aia Bopevos ouv Oo Ilepe-
Kris OUK WKUNTE xapicacbat TOUS TodAols, anra
70 ideo pa yparras QUT OS exdnet TOV av6pa,
KAKELVOS Katenarv® elpyyny eTOLNTE TALS TONEY.
oiKetos yap €bxoV ot Aaxedaipovioe ™ pos auto
aotep amnyGovTo 7@ Ilepixret Kal tois adrots
énpaywryots.
1 dopwpeveorara Cobet, Sintenis®, Fuhr, Blass; éppwpere-
ordrnv Bekker, with the MSS.
2 xareAOayv Sintenis', Fuhr, Blass; aweA@av Bekker, with
the MSS.
3&8

PERICLES

and lineage, who had won most glorious victories over the Barbarians, and had filled the city full of money and spoils, as is written in his Life. Such was the power of Pericles among the people.

X. Now ostracism involved legally a period of ten years' banishment. But in the meanwhile? the Lacedzmonians invaded the district of Tanagra with a great army, and the Athenians straightway sallied out against them. So Cimon came back from his banishment and stationed himself with his tribesmen in line of battle, and determined by his deeds to rid himself of the charge of too great love for Sparta, in that he shared the perils of his fellow-citizens. But the friends of Pericles banded together and drove him from the ranks, on the ground that he was under sen- tence of banishment. For which reason, it is thought, Pericles fought most sturdily in that battle, and was the most conspicuous of all in exposing himself to danger. And there fell in this battle all the friends of Cimon to a man, whom Pericles had accused with him of too great love for Sparta. Wherefore sore repentance fell upon the Athenians, and a longing desire for Cimon, defeated as they were on the confines of Attica, and expecting as they did a grievous war with the coming of spring. So then Pericles, perceiving this, hesitated not to gratify the désires of the multitude, but wrote with his own hand the decree which recalled the man. Whereupon Cimon came back from banishment and made peace * between the cities. For the Lacedw#monians were as kindly disposed towards him as they were full of hatred towards Pericles and the other popular leaders.

1 457 B.c. 2 450 B.c.
29 ¢
4

~]

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

"Evioe 5€ dhaciv ov mpoTepoy ypadnvar Te
Kivou tiv xa0odov Ure tod TleatxrX€ous 9 ouv-
Onxas avtots amoppntous yeréoOar Ov EXrivixns,
THs Kipwvos aberdis, @ate Kiwwva pév éxrred-
cat AaPovta vads dtaxocias Kai tav éEw otpa-
THYyEV, KaTactpepouevoy THY Bacthéws yopay,
Ilepexret Sé tHv ev aoter Svvamw imdpyev.
eédoxer 5€ Kai mpoTepov 7» EXdmivicn to Kip
tov Ilepexréa mpadtepov tapacyeiv, OTe THY
Pavarixiy Sixny epevryer. my pev yap els tev
KATH YyOpOV 0 Tlepuxris v Um0 TOD On fou mpoBeBrn-
pévos, €AXOovans Sé 7 pos autor Tis ‘Edmevixns Kal
Seonévys pecdtacas eivev? “QO. EXreivixn, ypais
el, ypaus el, ws TWpayp“aTa THALKAUTA Wpdocey.”
ov pny adrAa Kal 7 pos TOV Aoryov mag avégTn,
THY mpoBorny aoatouperos, Kat TOV kaTnyopov
eddxiata TOV Kipaova AuTyTas aTEXwpNcE.
Ilas dv ovv tis ‘Téopevel TLaTEVT ELE KaTIYyO-
podvre tod Ilepexr€ous « os TOV Onparywryov ‘Eguda-
THY pirov yevouevov Kal KOtvwvoy bvTAa THS ev TH
moduTeia T poatper ews Sorodpovycavtos bia ondo-
tuTriav Kal Favor THS SoEns; Tatra yap ovx
01d ober cuvayaryov @OTEP XoANY Tavept ™ poa-
BéBr Ke, TavTn pev LtWS OUK AVET AIT TD, ppo-
vnpa & evryeves EvovTe Kal yoy gr (AOTL OV, ols
ovdev eupuerat Tdbos @pOv ovUTw Kal Onpuddes.
‘Ediadryy pev ovy poBepor 6 ovrTa Tots oduyap tKots
Kal Tept TAs ev0 uvas Kat dtwers TeV TOV $5 nov
aStKOUVTWY aTrapaitntoy eémiBovAEevcavTes at
? ‘ 73 , arn a ,
éyOpot bi’ "Apiotodixou rod Tavaypixou xpugaiws
39

PERICLES

Some, however, say that the decree for the restora- tion of Cimon was not drafted by Pericles until a secret compact had been made between them, through the agency of Elpinicé, Cimon’s sister, to the effect that Cimon should sail out with a fleet of two hundred ships and have command in foreign parts, attempting to subdue the territory of the King, while Pericles should have supreme power in the city. And it was thought that before this, too, Elpinice had rendered Pericles more lenient towards Cimon, when he stood his trial on the capital charge of treason.! Pericles was at that time one of the committee of

prosecution appointed by the people, and on Elpinice's coming to him and supplicating him, said to her with a smile: " Elpinice, thou art an old woman, thou art an old woman, to attempt such tasks." However, he made only one speech, by way of formally executing his commission, and in the end did the least harm to Cimon of all his accusers.

How, then, can one put trust in Idomeneus, who accuses Pericles of assassinating the popular leader Ephialtes, though he was his friend and a partner in his political program, out of mere jealousy and envy of his reputation? These charges he has raked up from some source or other and hurled them, as if so much venom, against one who was perhaps not in all points irreproachable, but who had a noble disposition and an ambitious spirit, wherein no such sav- age and bestial feelings can have their abode. As for Ephialtes, who was a terror to the oligarchs and inexorable in exacting accounts from those who wronged the people, and in prosecuting them, his enemies laid plots against him, and had him slain

1463 B.c. Cf. Cimon, xiv. 2-4.

avetdov, ws Aptototérns elpnxev. érerevtnoe Sé
Kipwv ev Kup otpatnyov.
XI. Ot & apioroxpatixol péyiotov pev dn

tov Ilepixréa xal mpocGev opavtes yeyovoTa TaV

fal " > #7 ? 4 N Q
ToAtt@v, BovrAopevot 6 Suws Elvai TLvVa TOV TpOS
avTov avTiTacaopevoy ev TH ToAEL Kal THY duva-
piv auPdovorta, woTe wy Kod povapyiay eivat,
Oouxvéidny tov "Adwrexjdev, avdpa cwdpova kai
Kndeatnv Kipwvos, avréotycay évavTiwodpevor,
Os WTTOV ev Ov TrorAEuLKOS TOV Kipwvos, ayopaios
dé Kal qoXLTLKOS paAXOD, Olxovpav év acTE Kal
wept To Biya TO Ilepexrel ouprrexopevos, TAX
THY TOALTELAD Els aYTiTaXoY KAaTETTNGEV.
Ov yap elace tovs Kadovs Kayabovs Kadov-
pévous avdpas évodtecrrapOar nal cuppeptyGar
mpos Tov Sihpov, ws TpoTEpov, UTO WANGovS jyav-
pwpévous TO aEiwua, xwpis b€ Swaxpivas Kat
cuvayayov eis TaVTO THY TWavTwY Svvaptv EuBpLOn
yevopevny @aTrep emt Cvyod pony emoinoev. av
\ X 3 ' al } , of v 3
pev yap €& apyns otTAON TLS UTovAOS, WaTrEp EV
cidnpw, Siapopay vrocnpaivovaa Snpotixhs Kal
apiaToKpaTtxijs mpoatperews, 1) & €xelvwy apidra
\ , nw 3 5 wn @ , \
kal dirotiysia TeV avdpav Babvtatny Topnv

“a nA nA 4
TEpovaa THS TOAEWS TO ev SHuov, TOO OdLYOUS
; , a f) § 4 \ , , A § ’
eTroinge KarElalat. O10 Kat TOTE PANTTA TH ONPO
\ e , >] ‘ e fol 9 , ‘ ,
Tas nvias avels o [leptxdijs €vroALTEvETO TpOs Xapty,
> 4
del pev twa Oday Tavnyupixny 7} EaTiacwW 1 Trop-
32

secretly by Aristodicus of Tanagra, as Aristotle says.1 As for Cimon, he died on his campaign in Cyprus.?

-XI. Then-the aristocrats, aware even some tiie before this that Pericles was already become the greatest citizen, but wishing nevertheless to have some oné in the city who should stand up against him and blunt the edge of his power, that it might not be an out and out monarchy, put forward Thucydides of Alopecé, a discreet man and a relative of Cimon, to oppose him. He, being less of a war- rior than Cimon, and more of a forensic speaker aud statesman, by keeping watch and ward in the city, and by wrestling bouts with Pericles on the bema, soon bought the administration into even poise.

He would not suffer the party of the “Good and True,” as they called themselves, to be scattered up and down and blended with the populace, as heretofore, the weight of their character being thus obscured by numbers, but by culling them out and assembling them into one body, he made their collective influence, thus become weighty, as it were a counterpoise in the balance. Now there had been from the beginning a sort of seam hidden beneath the surface of affairs, as in a piece of iron, which faintly indicated a divergence between the popular and the aristocratic progranumme; but the emulous ambition of these two men cut a deep gash in the state, and caused one section of it to be called the ‘¢ Demos,” or the People, and the other the “ Oligoi,”’ or the Few. At this time, therefore, particularly, Pericles gave the reins to the people, and made his policy one of pleasing them, ever devising some

1 Const. of Athens, xxv. 4.
3449 p.c. Cf. Cimon, xviii., xix.

Ti evar pynyavwopevos ev acte. Kat ‘ draTratéa-
YWYOU OUK Apovaots HOovais” THY Tod, EEnKovTA
Sé tpinpets xa” Exactov éviautov exTépTov, ev als
TOAKOL TOV TOALT@V ETAEOY OKTM pnvas EuptaOot,
pereravtes Gua xal pavOdvovtes THY vauTLKHD
éumetpiav. mpos d€ TovToIs yiAtous pev EoTether
eis Neppovncov KrAnpovyxous, eis 6€ Nakov szevra-
xoatous, eis 5€ “Avdpov tous npioes! TovTwY, Ets

5é Opaxcnv yxirAtovs Bioddrrats ovvotxynaovtas,
drrous 8 ets “Iradlav oixtlopévns SuBapews, iv
@ovpiovs mpoonyopevoav. Kai TavT’ émpartev
dmoxoupitov pev apyou kat 1a GXOANVY ToAv-
T parypovos bxAou Thy TOALY, eTravopOoupevos Se
TAS amoptas Tod Snpov, PoBov sé Kat ppoupav
Tou pn vewTepiley Te TapaKatotKif@y Tots cup-
paxots.
XII. “O 6éé retary ev noovay tais "A@nvats
Kal KOG OV TVEYKE, peylorny dé Tois aNXOLS exmy)-
Ew dvOpwrro.s, peovov O€ TH EAAdSt paptuper Th)
pevdeaPar THY heyowevnv Suvapey avuTins éxetyny
Kal TOV TadaLov OABov, 7) TaV avaOnpdTwV KaTa-
OKEV?), TOUTO PadLGTA TOV TodtTevLaTwY TOU
Ierxréous éSacKarvov ot €yOpoi Kai ovéBaddov
ev Tais exehaotars, Bodvres @S 0 pev ojos ado-
Fei xat KaKas GKOVEL TA KOWA TOV Ed yver
XPyaTa 7 pos avutov éx Andou peTayayor,) é
EVETTLY AUTO T POS TOUS éycadobytas EUT PETETTATN
TOV mrpopdacwr, Setcavta tous BapBdpous éxetBer
1 sobs fuloess Fuhr and Blass, after Cobet: nuloes.

PERICLES °

sort of a pageant in the town for the masses, or a
feast, or a procession, “amusing them like children ¥
with not uncouth delights,’ ! and sending out sixty /
triremes annually, on which large numbers of the
citizens sailed about for eight months under pay,
practising at the same time and acquiring the art
of seamanship. In addition to this, he despatched
a thousand settlers to the Chersonesus,? and five
hundred to Naxos, and to Andros half that number,
and a thousand to Thrace to settle with the Bisaltae,
and others to Italy, when the site of Sybaris was
settled? which they named Thurii. All this he
did by way of lightening the city of its mob of
lazy and idle busybodies, rectifying the embarrass
ments of the poorer people, and giving the allie:
for neighbours an imposing garrison which should
prevent rebellion.
XII. But that which brought most delightful adornment to Athens, and the greatest amazement to the rest of mankind; that which alone now testifies for Hellas that her ancient power and splendour, of which so much is told, was no idle fiction,—I mean his construction of sacred edifices, —this, more than all the public measures of Pericles, — his enemies maligned and slandered. They cried out in the assemblies:

“The people has lost its fair fame and is in ill repute because it has removed the public moneys of the Hellenes from Delos into its own keeping, and that seemliest of all excuses which it had to urge against its aceusers, to wit, that out of fear of the Barbarians it took the public funds

1 An iambic trimeter from an unknown source.
2447 B.c. Cf. chapter xix. 1-2.
® 444 B.o. Sybaris had been destroyed in 510 u.c,
35

p 2

ao

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

? 4 f ? 3 A \ ld ,
avenéaGar nal duratrew ev OYUP@ Ta KoLVa, TAV-
3 , el \ “ \ e ¢
thy avnpyke IlepexrArs: Kat doxet Seevnv Bpw 7
¢€ \ ~ cos
EAAds v8pivecOar xal tupavveicbar tepipavas,
“ A A rd
opaaa Tos eiahepouevars UT avTHs avayKaiws
TPOS TOV TOAELOV Has THY TOW KATAYpUCOUD-
\ f (a4 > / “A
Tas Kal KadXAwTiCovTas WaTEp Gdafeva yuvaixa,
s f aA > ,
mepiaTrTomevny AiLJous TroAvTEAELS Kul ayadpaTta
Kat vaous YtALoTAaNAdVTOUS.
"Edidacxey ody o Tepuxrns tov dipov ote ypn-
f “A
Hatwv pmev ovK ohetrAovar Tols ouppdyors AOyov
jTpoToreuouvTes auT@v Kal tovs BapBapous
“A ¢ rd
aveipyovtes, ovx immo, ov vadv, oy oTdiTHY,
? \ / / , A aA ,
dGAAG YpHpaTa povoy TeXoUvTwY, 2 TeV SidovTwY
? * > \ “ f A f
ovK €oTw, adr TOV AaLBavorTwr, av TapexwoLy
+] “A cal ,
av? ov AapBavovar bel bé tis Toews KaTE-
f e A A .
OKEVATMEVNS iKAV@S TOiS avayKatolts Tpos TOV
ToOAELOY, Els TAUTA THY EvTOpiaY TpéTTELY AUTIS
73> @ , \ , 7s 3 / \

ap’ av dofa pév yevouévwy adidios, evaropia &é
s ’ “A ‘4
yivopevoy ETOlun Tapes Tat, TavTodaTAs Epyacias
/ A ' A
gdaveions Kal Twokikwyv ype@v, al twacayv pev
Téxvny éyeipovoal, macav b€ xXeipa Kiwovoat,
\ cad “A ” \ / 9
axedov Odny totoval EupiocOov thy mor, €F
aAUTHS Gua Koopoupevny Kal Tpepopévny.
a \ ’
Tots pev yap nAriKiay Eyovoe Kai pwpunv ai
A re \ “ a“ “A
OTPATEIAaL TAS ATO THY KOLV@V EVTTOpLas TapEtxov,
X ? b] , \ , ad wv %
tov & aauvtaxtoy xal Bavavaoov dyXov QuT
” ef A 4 w” f
apotpov eivat Anupatwv BovrAopeEvos ovTE AapBa-
vey apyov Kai cyondlovta, peydras KaTacKev-
36
159

from that sacred isle and was now guarding them in a stronghold, of this Pericles has robbed it. And surely Hellas is insulted with a dire insult and manifestly subjected to tyranny when she sees that, with her own enforced contributions for the war, we are gilding and bedizening our city, which, for all the world like a wanton woman, adds to her wardrobe precious stones and costly statues and temples worth their millions.”

For his part, Pericles would instruct the people that it owed no account of their moneys to the allies provided it carried on the war for them and kept off the Barbarians; “not a horse do they furnish,” said he, “not a ship, not a hoplite, but money simply ; and this belongs, not to those who give it, but to those who take it, if only they furnish that for which they take it in pay. And it is but meet that the city, when once she is sufficiently equipped with all that is necessary for prosecuting the war, should apply her abundance to such works as, by their completion, will bring her everlasting glory, and while in process of completion will bring

that abundance into actual service, in that all sorts
of activity and diversified demands arise, which
rouse every art and stir every hand, and bring, as it
were, the whole city under pay, so that she not
only adorns, but supports herself as well from her
own resources."

And it was true that his military expeditions supplied those who were in the full vigour of man- hood with abundant resources from the common funds, and in his desire that the unwarlike throng of common labourers should ncither have no share at all in the public receipts, nor yet get fees for

, > \ 4 ¢ ,
Ad LAaTwWV eruBoras Kal TONUTEVVOUS urrobéaets
w \ b] , b 7 , > N
Epywv dsatpiBnv éxovtwv évéSare hépwv eis Tov
Siuov, iva pndev hrtov Tav wAEOVTwWY Kai Ppov-
povvTwy Kal oTpatTevopévwy TO oiKovpowy exn
, b \ a" , b a \
mpopacw ato tav Snuociwy wheretoOar xai
peTarapBaverv. Orrov yap BAN pev Hv Bos,
, ~ / Ul 5nd , e
yarxKos, eAéhas, ypuaos, EBevos, kuTaptacos, ai
" ,
5é TavTHy exTrovovcas Kai Ki T:ipyalouevar TExVat,
, 4 , é
TEKTOVES, WAdOTAL, YadKoTUTAL, ALGoupyot, Ba-
deis, yputod paraxtijpes kai érehavtos, Cwypa-
ot, TorKtATAai, TOpevTat, TouTOL S€ TovTwY Kai
Koma Tippes, EuTropor Kal vabtat Kal KxuBepyara
Kata Garattayv, oi 6€ Kata yhv apakornyol Kai
Cevyotpopor Kal jvioxot Kat Kadwotpoda rat
AWwoupyol Kal cKUTOTOLOL Kai OdoTrOLOl Kal peTAaA-
A '
Neis, Exdotn b€ Téyvy, Kabarep atpatnyos idiov
b ;
oTpatevpa, Tov Ontixoy dyYAov Kat LOrwrTny ouD-
TeTAypEeVOY Eiyev, Opyavoy Kat Gupa THS vITNpeE-
a e v > a ,
cias yivopevor, els TaTAY, WS ETrOS El TELY, NALKLAV
kal dvaw ai xpeiar Scévepov Kai Steorretpov TH
evTropiay.

XIII. 'AvaBatvovtwy 5€ THY Epywv UTEpn-

a % b /
davev pev peyéBe, poppy O° apipytev Kat
s “a wn e 4 ¢ tA
KapiTt, TOY Snptoupyov upirAwpevov vUTEpBad-
‘ , “ , ta
Nec Gat tiv Snpovpytav TH KadAALTEXVIG, pardora
‘ XN Cd
Pavpdo.ov hv To TUYOS. WY yap ExaaTOV woVTO
n nn ‘ ¢€ 4 ld b N ,
morarais dicdoyais Kat nAiKials moALS ETL TEOS
adifec@at, TavTa wWavTa pias ukpi) TWodLTELAS
38

laziness and idleness, he boldly suggested to the people projects for great constructions, and designs for works which wouid call many arts into play and involve long periods of time, in order that the stay-at-homes, no whit less than the sailors and sentinels and soldiers, might have a pretext for getting a beneficial share the public wealth.
The materials to be used were stone, bronze, ivory,” gold, ebony, and cypress-wood; the arts which should elaborate and work up these materials were those of carpenter, moulder, bronze-smith, stone-cutter, dyer, worker in gold and ivory, painter, embroiderer, embosser, to say nothing of the forwarders and furnishers of the material, such as factors, sailors and pilots by sea, and, by |: and, wagon-makers, trainers of yoked beasts, and drivers. There were also rope-makers, weavers, leathcr-workers, road-builders, and miners. And since each par-ticular art, like a general with the army under his separate command, kept its own throng of unskilled and untrained labourers in compact array, to be as instrument unto player and as body unto soul in subordinate service, it came to pass that for every age, almost, and every capacity the city’s great abundance was distributed and scattered abroad by such demands.
XIII. So then the works arose, no less towering in their grandeur than inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the workmen eagerly strove to surpass themselves in the beauty of their handicraft. And yet the most wonderful thing about them was the speed with whicli they rose. Each one of them, men thought, would require many successive generations to complete it, but all of them were

2 €dkapBave tTHv ouvTédctav. KatTot ToTé h4ucww
oy , a , s a
Ayadapyou tod Cwypadou péya hpovodvtos emt
n~ ‘4 \ nA wn

T® TAY Kai padiws Ta CHa Toleiy axovoavTa

tov Levéiy etrrety: “yw 8 év worrd@ ypove.”

) yap €v TO Totely evyéperca Kal TayvTYHS ovK

b f f 4 s +O\ f ¥ 4

evttOnat Bapos Epywo povipoy ovdé KadXoOvS axpt-

Betav o & eis THY yéveriy TO TOVW Tpobaveta Gels

NPOVvOS EV TH TwTHpPLa TOU yevouevou THY LaxoY
3 atrodiéwotv. GOev nal parrov Oavpatetar ta
, 4 N A , > 3 if
IlepixXeovs Epya mpos ToAvy xXpovoy Ev orLYD
‘ 4 \ \ 4 > ‘
yevomeva. KddArEL per yap ExaaTov EvOds Hy
a an A /
TOTE apyaioy, axpn Oé pexpe viv TpoadhaTov éoTt
nw U /
Kal veoupyov' ovTws emravOet Katvotns aet tts}

aOietov Vro Tov xXpovov S:atnpodaa THY BY»,

@omep aelOares Trvedya Kai Wuyny aynpw Kata-

[Lemley EevnY TOV Epywr EYOvTMY.

4 \ ” \ f bd / @
4 Ildvta 6€ duetrre nal Tdavtwy éticKxotos Hv
A 4
avt@ Pedtas, Kaito. peyddrous apyitéxtovas
id al
éyovTwy Kal Teyvitas TOY Epywy. Tov pev yap

éxatoutredov Tlapbevava Kaddxparns eipyaveto
‘ b] nw ‘ b] ’ be im! al ,
kat ‘Ixtivos, to & év “EXevotve rterXeotHpLov
” \ aed > 5 a \ \ ao?
npEato peéev KopotBos oixodopetvy, Kat Tovs ém
99 / / yw v \ a 3 4
éSadhous xiovas EOnxev odTos Kal Tols éTLaTUALOLS
b / b , \ f 4
éméCevEev: amoOavovtos &8€ tovtov Metayévns
0 Eumétios to dtalwpa Kal Tovs avw Kiovas
A , —
5 éréatnoe TOO Omatov emi TOU araxTopov Zevo-
crs 0 Nodrapyevs exopvpwoe to Sé paxpov 160
xawdTys del ris Fuhr and Blass with F8S: xawdérns ras.

qc

fully completed in the heyday of a single adininis- tration. And yet they say that once on a time when Agatharchus the painter was boasting loudly of the speed and ease with which he made his figures, Zeuxis heard him, and said, “ Mine take, and last, a long time.” And it is true that deftness and speed in working do not impart to the work an abiding weight of influence nor an exactness of beauty ; whereas the time which is put out to loan in laboriously creating, pays a large and generous interest in the preservation of the creation. For this reason are the works of Pericles all the more to be wondered at; they were created in a short time for all time. Each one of them, in its beauty, was even then and at once antique; but in the freshness of its vigour it is, even to the present day, recent and newly wrought. Such is the bloom of perpetual newness, as it were, upon these works of his, which makes them ever to look untouched by time, as though the unfaltering breath of an ageiess spirit had been infused into them.

His general manager and general overseer was | Pheidias, although the several works had great architects and artists besides. Of the Parthenon, for instance, with its cella of a hundred fect in length, Callicrates and Ictinus were the architects ; it was Coroebus who began to build the sanctuary of the mysteries at Eleusis, and he planted the columns on the floor and yoked their capitals together with architraves; but en his death Metagenes, of the deme Xypete, carried up the frieze and the upper tier of columns; while Xenocles, of the deme ‘| Cholargus, set on high the lantern over the shrine.

41

~]

“~ \ g t b “ f Sy &
Telyos, TEpt ov LwKpaTys axovaal dnaw adtos

elonyoupnevou yvwpny Tepexréous, npyoraRyce
, a \ ‘ v a
Kaddx paras. Keouepoet dé 7o Epyov Kparivos
ws Bpadéws mepatvopevov'
HdaXae yap auto, dyot,
NOyorae mpoayee Llepexréns, epyorot 8 ovde
KLVEt.
To & ’Ordetov, rH pev evtos Siadécee rrorvedpoy
xal wodvatuAov, TH O epee mepixrAives Kal
KaTarTCS €k plas Kopud ys Temroinpévov, eixava
Néyovat yevéoOat Kai pipnua TH Bactréws
oKynvis, emtatatobvtos Kat tovutm Teptxréous.
510 Kai wad Kpativos év Opattais taifee mpos
avTov"
‘O aytvoneparos ZLevs 6b¢
mpocépyevar' tadetov eri TOU Kpaviou
exw, ered TovaTpAaKOY TapolyeETat.
pirotewovpevos O o Llepixdtjs tote mp@tov éyrn-
dicato povaixhs aywva tots Tava0nvaios
ayecOat, kal détakev adtos abroerns aipedels
xa0ote Xph Tous aywvilopevous avdrciy H adery
xBapiev. eBeavro dé Kai TOTE Kai TOV GAXoOv
xnav? év ’Odeiw tovs _HovarKous ayavas.
a o€ Mportiaa THIS dK poTrohews efepyaa On
pis év wevtaetia Mvnaotxd€ous APXLTERTCVOUPTOS”
TUX bé davpaariy cupBaca mepl THY o.KOCO-
ae éunvuce thy Ocov ovK atroctatTovcay, adra
1 63¢ | rpoaépxetac Fuhr and Blass, after Cobst: apooép-
xeT a | TlepinAens.
“2

PERICLES

For the long wall, concerning which Socrates says!
he himself heard Pericles introduce a measure,
Callicrates was the contractor. Cratinus pokes fun
at this work for its slow progress, and in these
words :—
« Since ever so long now
In word has Pericles pushed the thing; in fact he
does not budge it.” ”
The Odeum, which was arranged internally with many tiers of seats and many pillars, and which had a roof made with a circular slope from a single peak, they say was an exact reproduction of the Great King’s pavilion, and this too was built under the superintendence of Pericles. Wherefore Cratinus, in his “Thracian Women,” rails at him again :—

“The squill-head Zeus! lo! here he comes,
The Odeum like a cap upon his cranium,
Now that for good and all the ostracism is o’er.” ®
Then first did Pericles, so fond of honour was he,
get a decree passed that a musical coptest be held as
part of the Panathenaic festival. He himself was
elected manager, and prescribed how the contestants
must blow the flute, or sing, or pluck the zither.
These musical contests were witnessed, both then
and thereafter, in the Odeum.
The Propylaea of the acropolis were brought to completion in the space of five years, Mnesicles being their architect. A wonderful thing happened in the course of their building, which indicated that the goddess was not holding herself aloof, but was a

1 Plato, Gorgias, p.455 e.

2 From a play of unknown name. Kock, Com. Alt. Frag.
i. p. 100. 3 Kock, op. cit.1. p. 30.
43

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

aguvehamtopmevny Tov Epyouv Kal ouvemtTEdovVaaD.
0 yap évepyotatos Kal mpoOvpotatos Tay TeX-
“A b] \ b ad id ,
vitav atocdhanels €& typous Erece Kal SréKxerto
LoxXOnpas, UTd TOV iaTpav ameyvwcpevos. abu-
a y “ , e ~ w “
povuvtos 5 tov Llepixr€ous 7 Geos dvap paveioa
e fod
cuvétake Ocpareiav, } xpwpevos o Hepixrs tay
kal padiws idcato Tov avOpwrov. él tovT®
“ a ¢ , ? a
S¢ kal TO YaAKxovv ayadpa THs Tytetas “A@nvas
\
dvéotnoev év axpoTrodXet Tapa Tov Bwfiov ds Kal
TPOTEPOV HV, WS NEYOUG LV.
‘O 3€ Derdias eipyafeto pev tis Geod Td ypv-
cow &d05, Kal tovTov Synuioupyos év TH oTHAN
3 ‘ “A
avayéypartat,’ rdvta & hv oxedov én avr,
Kal TGoLv, ws elpiKapev, emEgTATEL TOIS TEyVI-
XN / s \ “ A S
tats oun didiav Ilepixdeovs. Kal ToUTO TO pev

hOovay, Td S€ Brachnpiav iveyxev, ws edevOepas
A “ a ‘
7@ [lepuxdet yuvaixas ets Ta Epya pottwoas vTo-
10 Seyouévov Tod Padiov. SeEdpevor S€ tov Noyov

1]

@ ‘ A J] , b] “ ,
OL K@pLKOL TOAANN AGEAYELAVY AYTOU KATECKE-
Ww \ , “a f
Sacav, eis te THY Mevintouv yvvaixa diaBad-
AovTes, avdpos hiouv Kal UToaTpaTnyoUVTOS, EIS
9 4 A
te Tas [luptdaptrous opriOotpodgias, ds ETatpos av
Tlepexr€ous aitiav elye ta@vas vdtévat tas
A ,
guvarkiv als o Lepixrrs éewAnaia€e.
4 A a“
Kat tt av tis avOpwrous catuptKous tots Biots
\ s b! a id / Cd
Kat TaS KATA TOV KpeLTTOVWY BrachnwWas WaTrEP
Saipovr Kak@ TO POdVO TOV TOAXOY aTroOvoYTas
ad \ 2 4 e
éxdotote Gaupdcetev, OTOU Kal XUTynotwBpotos o
1 dsayeypartas Cobet: elvat yéyparras.
44

PERICLES

helper both in the inception and in the completion
of the work. One of its artificers, the most active
and zealous of them all, lost his footing and fell
from a great height, and lay in a sorry plight,
despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was much
cast down at this, but the goddess appeared to him
in a dream and prescribed a course of treatment for
him to use, so that he speedily and easily healed
the man. It was in commemoration of this that he
set up the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia on the
acropolis near the altar of that goddess, which was
there before, as they say.
But it was Pheidias who produced the great golden
image of the goddess, and he is duly inscribed on the
tablet as the workman who made it. Everything,
almost, was under his charge, and all the artists and

artisans, as I have said, were under his superintendence, owing to his friendship with Pericles. This brought envy upon the one, and contumely on the other, to the effect that Pheidias made assignations for Pericles with free-born women who would come ostensibly to see the works of art. The comic poets took up this story and bespattered Pericles with charges of abounding wantonness, connecting their slanders with the wife of Menippus, a man who was his friend, and a colleague in the generalship, and with the bird-culture of Pyrilampes, who, since he was the comrade of Pericles, was accused of using his peacocks to bribe the women with whom Pericles consorted.

And why should any one be astonished that men of wanton life lose no occasion for offering up sacrifices, as it were, of contumelious abuse of their superiors, to the evil deity of popular envy, when

no

‘wt

@dacros Sewov acéenua cat pvOawces eEeveynxeiv eTOALNOEV Els TIY yuvatxa Tov Vvi0v KaTa TOU lepuxréous; o0Tws Eotxe TavTyN YaXeTrov Elva Kai dua 8 npatov iatopia TarnOés, Gtav ot pev VoTEpov yeyovotes TOV ypovoyv EXwav értmpoobovvTa TH yuwoe TOY TpayyudTwv, 7) 6€ Tov mpakewy Kat Tov Biwy HAtKi@Tis iatopia ta pev POovors Kai dSuopevelais, Ta b€ yaptlopévn Kal KoXaKEevovaa AvpaivyTat Kai d:acTpéhy THY adjOeav.

XIV. Tov b€ epi tov Oovxvdidny pntoper xataBowvtwy Tov ilepixréous ws atradavtos Ta Xphuata Kal Tas Tpododovs aToAALYTOS, Npo-Thoev év éxkrAnaia Tov Sipov e woddAa oxet ScSavravicbar dnadvtwv b€ maptodda: “Mn Toivuy, eiTev, “uUpiv, GAN enol bedatravijcbw, Kal tov avadynpatwy idiay éuavtov trotncopat THY éemiypadiy. eiTovTos otv Tavta tov Ilepr-KEOUS, ELTE THY peyarohpocvvyny avTod Baupd-gavres cite mpos THY b0€av avTibiAroTipoupevot TeV épywv, avéxpayov KedevovTes ex THV SnpLoulwr

dvadicxey Kal yopnyeiv pnodevos ecdopevov.
TéXos S€ Tpas Tov Mouxvéidny eis ayava TeEpi TOD
datpaxov Kxataotas Kai Siaxiwduvevoas éxeivov
pev e€éBadre, xatédvoe b€ THY avTiTEeTaypEevnY
ETALpelav.
XV. ‘Os obv ravtatact AvGeians THs Stado-
pas Kal THS ToAEwS Olov Ouadrijs Kai puas yevo-
pevns Kopidy, Tepijveyxev ets Eautov Tas "AOnras
46

16]

PERICLES

even Stesimbrctus of Thasos has ventured to make
public charge against Pericles of a dreadful and
fabulous impiety with his son's wife? To such
degree, it seems, is truth hedged about with difficulty
and hard to capture by research, since those who
come after the events in question find that lapse of
time is an obstacle to their proper perception of
them; while the research of their contemporaries
into men’s deeds and lives, partly through envious
hatred and partly through fawning flattery, defiles
and distorts the truth.
XIV. Thucydides _and his party kept denouncing

Pericles for playing “fast and loose with the. public

moitye-and annihilating th ues. Pericles therefore asked the people in assembly whether they thought he had expended too much, and on their declaring that it was altogether too much, “ Well then,” said he, “let it not have been spent on your account, but mine, and I will make the inscrip- tions of dedication in my own name.” When Pericles had said this, whether it was that they admired his magnanimity or vied with his ambition to get the glory of his works, they cried out with a loud voice and bade him take freely from the public aes for his outlays, and to spare naught whatsoever. “And finally he ventured to undergo with Thucydides the contest of the ostracism, wherein he secured his rival’s banish- ment,! and the dissolution of the faction which had been arrayed against hin/

XV. Thus, then, seeing that political differences were entirely remitted and the citv had become a smooth surface, as it were, and altogether united, he brought under his own control Athens and all ‘the

1 442 B.o.
47}
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kal ta tov "AOnvaiwov éEnptnpéva mpaypata,
dopous Kal otpatevpata Kai Tpinpers Kal vycous
kat Odraccav, Kal toddAnv pev de “EAAnvor,
ToAAny 5¢ Kal da BapBapwv Koveay ioxvy, Kal
Hyemoviav UTNKoos Overt Kat Pircais Baothewv
Kal cvppayias teppaypevny Svvactav, ovKed o
adtos tv ovd opoiws yecponOns Te Sym Kai
padios vireiKely KaL Guvevdidoval Tats emi upiaes
aoTep mvoais TOV TOAABY, GAR ex THS avetpevns
exeivns Kal brod pur topevns eva Snpayoryias,
domep avOnpas Kal paraxijs appmovias, dpiaToKpa~
To Kal Baciduxny EVTELILEVOS TOALTELAY, Kal
Xpopevos auth mpos to BéXTLOTOV pon Kal
dveyKrito, Ta pev TOAAG Rovicpevov ») mye neiOwy
Kal didaoKwv TOV OFjmov, my 5’ é7e Kal pada
dua xepaivovta KATATELVOY Kal m poo: Bato é éxet-
potto TO cup épovTe, pupoupevos dTeXvaas lar pov
TOLKIAW Voo}paTe Kal paxp@ KATA KaLpov pev
yOovas aBXaBeis, kata Katpov bé Syypous Kat
ddppaxa mpoodpépovTa cwtijpia. tTavtodaTav
yap, @sS eK 0s, mabav év oy Too aurTny TO peéye-
Dos apxnv éxovTe Pvopevwv, povos é€upedrors
ExaoTa Siaxetpicacbar Tmepuxws, paruucta &
érxmiot Kai poBos Hotep olaks mpocatéAdwv! TO
Opacuvopevov avtov Kat To dvcOvpov aneis Kal
rrapapv0ovpevos, cdecke THY pyTopiKny Kata IIha-
Tava Wuyaywyiav otcav Kai péytotov épyov
1 wpooorédAwy Fuhr and Blass with 8 (xpooréAAwy BCF*) ;
mpoavagTéAAwy.
48

PERICLES

issues dependent on the Athenians,—. tributes, armies, triremes, the islands, the sea, the vast_power derived.

from_Hellenes, vast_also from Barbarians, and_a supremacy that was securely hedged about with ances. But then he was no longer the same man as before, nor alike submissive to the people and ready to yield and give in to the desires of the multitude as a steersman to the breezes. Nay rather, forsaking his former lax and sometimes rather effeminate management of the people, as it were a flowery and soft melody, he struck the high and clear note of an aristocratic and ki anship, and employing it for the best interests of all in a direct and

undeviating fashion, heled the people, for the most r [=

part willingly, by his_persuasions and instructions. And yet there were times when they were sorely vexed with him, and then he tightened the reins and forced them into the way of their advantage with a master's hand, for all_the world like a wise phy- sician, who treats a complicated discase of long Standing occasionally with harmless indulgences to please his patient, and occasionally, too, with caustics and bitter drugs which work salvation. For whereas all sorts of distempers, as was to be expected, were rife in a rabble which possessed such vast empire, he alone _was so endowed by nature that he could manage each one of these cases suitably, and more than anything else he used the people's hopes and fears, like rudders, so to speak, giving timely check to their arrogance, and allaying and comforting their despair. Thus he proved that rhetoric, or the art of speaking, is, to use Plato's words,! "an enchantment 1 Phaedrus, p 271 ¢.

49)

VOL. ITI. gc

on

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

aur hs THY TEpL Ta On Kat 7waOn pedodoy, OOTEP
TLVAS Tovous Kal hboyyous yuxis pan' eu perois
apis Kab Kpovaens Seopevous. aitia 8 ovy % Tod
Aaovyou pros duvapus, arn', ws Oovkvdi6ns dnoiv,
» mept tov Biov deka xa TiaTes Tob avd pos,
adwpotdatou Tepipavas yevomerou Kal XPnear ay
KpeLTTOVOS" Os Kal THY modu € éx peyadns peyioTny
Kal mAovatwtaray TOUjTas, Kal *YEVOHEVOS duva-
pee! TOO Bactréwv Kal TUpaYvoY UTTEPTEPOS,
@v évioe Kal eTLTpPOTOD | Tots vier breDevto exeivov,"
pa pax ut petCova TI) ovaiay OvK éroingeDV 1S 6
TATHP AUTO KaTeheme.
XVI. Kadror Thy Suvauiy avTou capes pev O
Bovevdidys dinyetrat, eaxonOws d€ Tmapeupaivou-
oly ot Ko pKol, Meworotpatibas pep vEoUS TOUS
Tept auTov éraipous Karodvtes, auTov 8 " dTropogae
py TUPaVYNnoEY KeAEVOVTES, @S aouUppeT pou ™ pos
Snpoxpatiav kal Baputrépas wept avtov ovens
UmrEpox js. o bé Tnrexredns rapadedwoxévar Onoiv
avT@ Tous "APnvaious
IloAewv te hopous avtds Te odes, Tas pev
deity, Tas & avandvepv,
Adiva Teiyn, TA pév oixodopety, TA 8 Errerta®
Twarw KataBarxreUp,
oroveds, Suvapw, Kpatos, eipyvnv, mAOUTOY T
evdarpoviap TE.

Kat tadTa Kalpos otx hv ovd axpuyn Kal xapts
1 $yyduer also Fuhr and Blass with S; Bekker has xa}
Suvipet.

2 éwlrporov.... exeivoy Madvig' s restoration, adopted b Fuhr and Blass: émi rots viéor 5:éBevro, éxewvos (willed thetr property to their sons). 3748' éwerra Fuhr: ra dé adrd.

5°

PERICLES

of the soul," and that hez chiefest business is a careful study of the affections and passions, which are, so to speak, strings and steps of the soul, requiring a very judicious fingering and striking. The reason fer his success was not his power as a speaker merely, but, as Thucydides says, the reputation of his life and the" confidence reposed in him as one who was manifestly proven tp be utterly disinterested and superior to bribes. "He made the eity, great as it was when he took it, the greatest and riehest of all cities, and grew to be superior in power to kings and tyrants.) Some of these actually appointed him guardian of their sons, but he did not make his estate a single drachma greater than it was when his father left it to him.

XVI. Of his power there can be no doubt, since Thucydides gives so clear an exposition of it, and the comic poets unwittingly reveal it even in their mali- cious gibes, calling him and his associates "new Peisis- tratidae," and urging him to take solemn oath not to make himself a tyrant, on the plea, forsooth, that his preéminence was incommensurate with a demoeracy and too oppressive. Telecleides says? that the Athenians had handed over to him

"With the cities' assessments the cities themselves.
to bind or release as he pleases,
Their ramparts of stone to build up if he likes, and
then to pull down again straightway,
Their treatics, their forces, their might, peace, and riches, and all the fair gifts of good fortune." /

(RoceErs.)
And this was not the fruit of a golden moment, nor
1 11. 65, 8.
2 Ina play of unknown name. Kock, op. cit. i. p. 220.

avOovans ep dpa TortTElas, dAXa TecoapdKovTa
\ ¥ , > ' , \ if
pev érn TpwTevwy ev Ediddrtats cai Aewxpatats
cal Mupwvidas cal Kipwor xai Torpidars ai
Oouvxvdidars, peta 5€ thy Oovevdidov xatddAvoww
Kal Tov GoTpaKta Lov OvK EAdTTW TOY TEVTEKALOEKA

éray Sinvext) kal piav ovoav év tais évavaiors
?
otTpatnylas apynv Kat duvactelay KTnodpeEvos,
] ¢ et A 3 4 e N # /
epvrakey éavTov avadwtov vT0 XpnpaTwv, Kat-
Tep OU TayvTaTaciw apyas EYwv wpos YKpnuati-
opov, GAAa Tov TaTp@ov Kai Sixatoy TAODTOD, ws
| ee ee) 4 > , , 4
unr aperovpevos expuyot pnTe TOARR TpaypaTa
kal duatpiBas daxodoupevep Tapeyot, cvvétakey
els olxovopiapv ty mevo paotny Kal axptBeotaTny
civat. TOUS yap éeTelous KaptroUs amavtTas
GO poous érimpac ker, ita THY dvayKaiwy ExacToV
A ;
é& dyopas wvovpevos Stier tov Biov Kai ta Trepl
Thy dtattay. Obev ovY HOUS Fv évyrALKots Tratolv
3 Q\ X, \ , b > > ,
ovde yuvarkl dawirns yopnyos, aAX eueudhovto
Thy édypepoy tavTny Kal ouvynyuévny ets FO
?
axpiBéotatov Samdvny, ovdevos, olov év otxia
,
peyarn Kal mpdaypactv adOovors, meptppéovTos,
, N
GAAG TavTos péey avadwpatos, TavTos dé€ Arp-
> 9» “A \ , 4 e \
patos 80 aptOpod Kal pétpov BadiGovtos. o Se
a a /
Tacay avTovd THY ToLavTHY cuvéywr axpiBetav Eels
Av otxétys, Evayyeros, ws Etepos ovdeis ed Eepu-
a N
Kas 1) KaTecKevacpévos U0 TOD IleptxdAéous mpos
oikovopiay.
"Amadovta) péev ody tadta tis ’Avatayopou
? A
codpias, eye kal THY oixiay éxeivos éEédrTe Kal
1 'AngSovra Valckenaer’s restoration of the MS. axayza ;
Bekker changes to amdde
52

the culminating popularity of an administration that bloomed but for a season ; nay rather he stood first

for fortyyearslL among such men as_ Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides, and after the deposition of Thucydides and his ostracism, for no less than fifteen of these years did he secure an imperial sway that was continuous and unbroken, by. means_of his annual tenure of the office of general. During all these years he kept himself ufitainted by corruption, although he was not altogether indifferent to money-making ; indeed, the wealth which was legally his by inheritance from his father, that it might not from sheer neglect take to itself wings and fly away, nor yet cause him much trouble and loss of time when he was busy with higher things, he set into such orderly dispensation as he thought was easiest and most exact. This was to sell his annual products all together in the lump, and then to buy in the market each article as it was needed, and so provide the ways and means of daily life. For this reason he was not liked by his sons when they grew up, nor did their wives find in him a liberal purveyor, but they murmured at his expendi- ture for the day merely and under the most exact restrictions, there being no surplus of supplies at all, as in a great house and under generous circum- stances, but every outlay and every intake proceeding by count and measure. His agent in securing all this great exactitude was a single servant, Evangelus, who was either gifted by nature or trained by Pericles so as to surpass everybody else in domestic economy.

It is true that this conduct was not in accord with the wisdom of Anaxagoras, since that philosopher

1 Reckoning roundly from 469 to 429 B.c.

+ , ’ “ 9 \ \ / e.h63
THY XYwOpay adjxev apynv Kai pndroBotov ur
“~ , \
évOovotacpov Kat peyarodpoovrns, od TavToy
5 €otiv, oipat, Oewpntixod dirocodov Kal Trod-
“ , 9 6] e ‘ ’ , \ > fo
tixovd Bios, GAN oO peyv avopyavov Kal ampoaben
THs exTOS DANS Ertl Tots KaXOIS KiVEL THY SlavoLay,
fal ,
7@ © els dvOpwreias yxpeias dvapeyvurrTe thy
n r
apetiy €ativ ov yévolt av ov TOY dvayKaiwv
povov, dAda Kal TOV KaA@Y O TAODTOS, BaoTrEP
hy Kal Tepixret Bonfovvtt toddots TOV TEVAT@V.
‘ ? ,
Kal pevto. ye Tov “Avakayopay avrov deyouow
9 / , 3 f ~
acyoroupevou Tlepixreous apedovpevov Ketobar
guyKexaruppevoy HO ynpaloy anoxapTepodyta:

mpoatecovtos S€ 7H Tlepixret tod mpdypatos
éxmrayevta Oeiv evOvs ert tov avdpa nal deicbat
se, , 9 / > 9 a 9 3
macav Sénow, oAodupopevoy ovK éxelvov, aAX
éavtov, €f TOLODTOY amroXEl 7HS ToALTELaS oUp-
Bovrov. éxxadrurdapevov ody tov 'Avatayopav
a , ? “a
elmrety mpos autov: "QD Tlepixres, nab ot rod
, , M” wv ? / 33
AvYyvoU YXpElav EvovTeEs EdaLtov éETLYXEovOLD.
XVII. ’Apyopévwy 6€ Aaxedatpoviwy dyPec0at
Pa > , ~ > | , 9 , e ~
Th avéjoe tov A@nvaiwv, éraipwv o Tepexris
tov Shpov ett parrov péya dpoveiv nal peyarov
e XN b “a , if a, v
avutov aklovy Tpaypatwv, ypadet Wndiopa, tav-
tas “EAAnvas Tovs omjroTe KaTotKobyTas Evpo-
ans 4) THs “Acias jTapaxaneiv, Kal pixpayv mordw
3 ,
al peyddnv, els avAXoyor wéeutrev ‘ABrvate
A f \ “ Lae i “a e “
tous BovAevoopevous Trept Tov EAAnViK@Y Leper,
54

PERICLES

actually abandoned his house and left his land to lie fallow for sheep-grazing, owing to the lofty thoughts with which he was inspired. But the life of a specu- lative philosopher is not the same thing, I think, as that of a statesman. The one exercises his intellect without the aid of instruments and independent of external matters for noble ends; whereas the other, inasmuch as he brings his superior excellence into close contact with the common needs of mankind, must sometimes find wealth not merely one of the necessities of life, but also one of its noble things, as was actually the case with Pericles, who gave aid to many poor men. And, besides, they say that Anaxa- goras himself, at a time when Pericles was absorbed in business, lay on his couch all neglected, in his old age, starving himself to death, his head already muffled for departure, and that when the matter came to the ears of Pericles, he was struck with dismay, and ran at once to the poor man, and be- sought him most fervently to live, bewailing not so much that great teacher's lot as his own, were he now to be bereft of such a counsellor in the conduct of the state. Then Anaxagoras—so the story goes —unmuffed his head and said to him, “ Pericles, even those who need a lamp pour oil therein.”

~ XVII. When the Lacedaemonians began to be annoyed by the increasing power of the Athenians, Pericles, by way of inciting the people to cherish yet loftier thoughts and to deem itself worthy of great achievements, introduced a bill to the effect

that all_Hellenes wheresoever resident in Europe or

in Asia, small and la ities ali invited
w

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

& xatémpycav ot BdpBapot, Kal t¢v Ovarav as
oheidovaw wep HS “EXXddos eEvEdpevoe Tots
Geois Ste mpos tovs BapBdpovs éudyovto, Kal
ths OaratTtys, OTws WAéwot TavTes adews Kal
Thy eipnyny aywow. emi tadta & avdpes eixoce
TOV UTED TEVTNKOVTA ETN yEeyovoTaV éméUPOnaar,
av mévte pev “Iwvas nal Awpteis tovs év ’Acia
Kal vnotwtas aypt AéaBouv xat ‘Pddov mapexa-
douy, wévte S€ Tous év‘EXAnorovtT@ xal Opaxn
péxpt Bufavtiov tomovs émnecav, xal wévte emi
toutots eis Botwtiav cal Dwxida nai Tedorov-
vngov, éx 6€ TAUTNS dta Aoxpav én THY T poaot-
KOV i) €Lpov Ews ‘Axapvavias Kal “ApBpaxias
amestuAnaav: of &€ Aotol &’ EvBotas én’
Oitaiovs xat tov Martéa xorXrov Kal POiwras
"Axarors cal Oeaaarovs émopevorTo, ouprrel-
Govtes t teva Kal peTexew tov Bovrevpatov én’
eipivn Kal KowoTpayia TIS “EXAdéos. émpaxOn
d€ ovdév, ovde owviOov ai TONELS, Aaxedatpoviov
UTEVAVTLWOEVTWV, WS AeyeTat, Kal TO TpP@TOY ev
Ilehkorowyay THS Telpas éreyxJeians. TOUTO
fev ovv TrapeDépny evOeLKYULEVOS avtov To dpo-
ynya Kal THY peyaroppoovyny.
XVIII. "Ev 6€ ais oTparnyiats evdoxipel
pardoTa. Sta THY aopaneay, OUTE Haxns éexovans
TOAANY aonroTnT a Kal Kivduvoyv Exovciws aTTO-
HEvos, ove Tous éKx TOU Tapa BarheoGar Xpnca-
péevous TVY'N apn pa Kal Oavpasbevtas WS peya-
Aous CnA@V Kal PL LOUPLEVOS OTpATHYOUS, det TE
Acywv Tpos Tous TONLTAS OS bcov é% auvT@
Hsvovow adavatot TavTa TOV Ypovoy.
56

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PERICLES

the Barbarians had burned down, concerning the sacrifices which were due to the gods in the name of Hellas in fulfilment of vows made when they were fighting with the Barbarians, and concerning the sea, that all might sail it fearlessly and keep the peace. To extend this invitation, twenty men, of such as were

above fifty years of age, were sent out, five of whom invited the Ionians and Dorians in Asia and on the islands between Lesbos and Rhodes ; five visited the regions on the Hellespont and in Thrace as far as Byzantium; five others were sent into Boeotia and Phocis and Peloponnesus, and from here by way of the Ozolian Locrians into the neighbouring continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia; while the rest proceeded through Euboea to the Oetaeans and the Maliac Gulf and the Phthiotic Achaeans and the Thessalians, urging them all to come and take part in the deliberations for the peace and common welfare of Hellas. /But nothing was accom- plished, nor did the cities come together by deputy, owing to the opposition of the Lacedaemonians, as it is said, since the effort met with its first check in Peloponnesus. I have cited this incident, however, to show forth the man's disposition and the greatness of his thoughts. /

XVIII. In his capacity as general, he was famous above all things for his saving caution; he neither undertook of his own accord a battle involving much uncertainty and peril, nor did he envy and imitate those who took great risks, enjoyed brilliant good-fortune, and so were admired as great generals; and he was for ever saying to his fellow-citizens that, so far as lay in his power, they would remain alive forever and be immortals.
5U/

e fa r \ \
Opov b€ Torpidny tov Torpaiov dia tas
TpoTepov evtvyias Kal dra TO TipadOar Stade-
povtas éx TOV TOAEuIKOY auY ovdevi KaLp®
TapacKxevalopevoy eis Botwtiay éuBaretv, Kat
~ N
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, y \ f /
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yevopeévous aveu THS aAAnS Suvdpews, KAaTEVELV
emetpato Kal Tapaxanrely ev TO SrHpw, TO py7-
HOVEVOMEVOY ElTTwY, ws eb 1p TELGOLTO TleptKrel,
TOV ye gopwratov ovy apapTicetat cipPBovrov
avapeivas Xpovov. TOTE Ev OdY peETpPiws EvOoKI-
noe TOUT EiTTw@Y OrIyats 8 BaTEpoy nuépats, WS
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avnyyerbn teOveas pv attos Torpidns mepl
Kopwveray nt Gels paxn, TeOvewtes Sé TroAXol
Kkayabot TAY ToALT@Y, peydAny TodTo T@ Tlepr-
ray ' > , 60 ww ig > \ f

KAet pet evvotas doEay iveyxev, ws avdpl dpovip@
Kal pidowoXrTn.
XIX . Tav 6€ otpatnyav nyannOn pév 1) rept
bd ”~ f ,
Xeppovncoy avtod partata, swTnptos yevopévn
Tots avToOt Katotkovat Tav ‘“EXAnvov: ob yap
povov éerroixous “AOnvaiwy yiriovs Kopicas Eppw-
’ , \ , y \ \ ‘] 4
cev evavopia Tas TONES, GNAG Kal Tov adbyéva
dialwoas épvpact cal mpoBAnpacw éx Caratrns
els OddatTav ameteiyice TAS KaTadpoyas TOV
Opaxav Twepixexvpéevwv TH Neppovnc@, Kal Tore-
’ mt \ \ Ips e ,

pov évderex} xat Bapuv éexreroev, © ovvelyeto
Tavta TOV yYpovoy 7) ywopa BapBapixais avape-
piypevn yerTVidoeot Kal YCporga AHoTNpLOV
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PERICLES

So when he saw that Tolmides, son of Tolmaeus, all-on account of his previous good-fortune and of the exceeding great honour bestowed upon him for his wars, was getting ready, quite inopportunely, to make an incursion into Boeotia, and that he had persuaded the bravest and most ambitious men of military age to volunteer for the campaign,—as many as a thousand of them, aside from the rest of his forces,—he tried to restrain and dissuade him in the popular assembly, uttering then that well remem- bered saying, to wit, that if he would not listen to Pericles, he would yet do full well to wait for that wisest of all counsellors, Time. This saying brought him only moderate repute at the time; but a few days afterwards, when word was brought that Tol- inides himself was dead after defeat in battle near Coroneia,! and thet many brave citizens were dead likewise, then it brought Pericles great repute as well as goodwill, for that he was a man of discretion and patriotism. ee

XIX. Of all his expeditions, that to the Cherso-__ nesus? was held in most loving remembrance, since it proved the salvation of the Hellenes who dwelt there. Not only did he bring thither a thousand Athenian colonists and stock the cities anew with vigorous manhood, but he also belted the neck of the isthmus with defensive bulwarks from sea to sea, and so intercepted the incursions of the Dhracians who swarmed about the Chersonesus, and shut dut the perpetual and grievous war in which the country was all the time involved, in close touch as it was with neighbouring communities of Barbarians, and full to overflowing of robber bands whose haunts were on or

1 447 B.c. 2 447 B.C.
Y
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

id

opopwv Kal auvoixwy: éGavpaabn 5é Kal &e-
4
Bonn mpos tovs éxtdos avOpwrous mepiTAEVoas

Iledorovvnoov, éx Inyav tis Meyapixfs ava-

Geis ExaTov Tpinpecty. ov yap povoy émopOnae

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> X ‘ , ; \ “ ? x
adda Kai TOoppw OaratTns mpoehOav Tots atro
T@V VE@Y OTAITALS TOUS eV aAXOUS Eis TA TEL
4 , > ce) \ ww > \
guvéotetre Seicavtas avtod thy Epodov, év &é
Nepéa Lixvwviovs broatavtas Kal avvayavtas
payny KATA KpaToS TpEYrdpeEvos EaTHTE TpOTaLoD.
3 3 3 fh 4 od ’ > A
éx 6 “Ayaias dirns ovons otpatiotas avadaBov
as Tas Tpiypes emi THY ayTiTépas HrEtpov
3 , “ , \ 7 XN ?
exopicOn Ta oTOAM, Kal TapaTrEevoas Tov Aye-
A@oy “Axapvaviav Katédpaye, Kal Karéxrecev
Oivmadas eis TO Tetyos, Kal Tep@v THY yhv Kal
a“ \
Kakwoas atrhpev em’ olxov, poBepos perv davets
A , b \ \ \ , “a
Tots TroAEmlows, aahardns Se Kai Spactyptos tots
TodiTais. ovdey yap ovd’ ano tUYNS WpoaKpov-
apa cuvéBn Tept TOUS oTPATEVOpMEVOUS.
XX. Eis 6€ rov Ilovrov eomrevcas otdrA@
peydrw Kal Kexoopnpévm AauTpas Tails pev
‘EAAnviot troAcow wv éd€ovto dtempatato xai
Fd “~ “~~
mpoonvexyOn dirtavOpwrws, tots dé Teptotxovart
BapBdpos éOveot nai Bactrhedow aizav kal
Suvactais éredeiEato péev THs Suvapews TO pe-
\ N 10 l \ Q , ? ,
yeOos Kai THY adetav Kal TO Odpaos 4 BovdoWwTO
A e 3 A ‘
TrEOVTWY Kal Tacay Up auUTois TETOLnMEVwY THY
Odraccapv, Xwortretdat 6€ Tpicxaidexa vads arré-
\ f N , > N ¢
AuTe peta Aapa,ov Kal otpatiwtas eri Tipnai-

within its borders. But he was admired and cele- brated even amongst foreigners for his circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus,! when he put to sea from Pegae in the Megarid with a hundred triremes. He not only ravaged a great strip of seashore, as Tolmides had done before him, but also advanced far into the interior with the hoplites from his ships, and drove all his enemies inside their walls in terror at his approach, excepting only the Sicyonians, who made a stand against him in Nemea, and_ joined battle with him; these he routed by main force and set up a trophy for his victory. ‘Then from Achaia, which was friendly to him, he took soldiers on board his triremes, and proceeded with his armament to the opposite mainland, where he sailed up the Acheloiis, overran Acarnania, shut up the people of Oeniadae behind their walls, and after ravaging and devastating their territory, went off homewards, having shown himself formidable to his enemies, but a safe and efficient leader for his fellow-citizens. For nothing untoward befell, even as result of chance, those who took part in the expedition.

XX. He also sailed into the Euxine Sea? with a large and splendidly equipped armament. There he effected what the Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighbouring nations of Barbarians with their kings and dynasts he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed whithersoever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their own control. He also left with the banished Sinop- ians thirteen ships of war and soldiers under command of Lamachus to aid them against Timesi-

} 453 BO. 2 Probably about 436 B.c.
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61
2

Aewy TUParvoy. é€xTrecovTos b& TOUVTOU Kal TOV
, “a / 4
éraipay éeyndicato waAciv eis Luvwrny *AOnvaiwr
.Y “ “
eOcXovras éEaxociovs Kal ovyKatotxeiy XwwTevat,
s
velm“apevous oiKias Kal ywpav ijy TpoTEpov ot
TUpavvoL KATELYOV.
@ > a e “ n
Tarra & ov auveywpet tais oppais ta@v Tondt-
TOV, OvdE GuvEeEeTITMTED UTE PwUNS Kal TYYNS
TocauTnsS €Tatponéevwy AiyuTTou Te TaALW avTe-
AapBaverOat cal xiveiv THs Bacirtéws dpyns Ta
e
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e 7 % be \ T / \ ba
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évtois avetpos ovK amr é€Amidos bta TO péeyeBos THs
\ A
UITOKELMEVNS rYyENOVias KaL THY EvUpolav TaY
T PAYLATOV.
ead > 3 e “A wn
XXI. 'AXN o Tleptarrs xatetye thy éexdpopny
TAUTNVY KAL TEPLEKOTTE THY TOhUTIPAYLOaVYND,
\ \ “ ~ é ” > A
Kal Ta TAELoTA TS buvdpews ETpEeTrEV ELs HUAAKIY
, A
kat BeBatotnta Tov vTapyovTwy, péya Epyov
wyovpercs avelpyzsy Aaxedatpovovs Kai drs
e A b , e ww an
UTPEVAVTLOUHEVOS EKELVOLS, WS AAXAOLS TE TOAXOLS
wv \ / “ 4 \ e \ nA
ederEe Kal pariaTa Tos TEept TOY Lepov mpayGeict
4 v4
qwoAe“ov. etme yap ot Aaxedaipoviot otparev-
3 \ s 9 , A e \
cavtes eis Aedghovs Dwxéwy éeyovtwv TO tepov
a , f
Acrdois arédwxay, evOus exetvay aTaddayevT@v
62

leos. When the tyrant and his adherents had been driven from the city, Pericles got a bill passed providing that six hundred volunteers of the Athenians should sail to Sinope and settle down there with the Sinopians, dividing up among themselves the houses and lands which the tyrant and his followers had formerly occupied.

But in other matters he did not accede to the vain impulses of the citizens, nor was he swept along with the tide wien they were eager, from a sense of their great power ant goaRortime, to lay hands

again upon Egypt and molest the realms of the King which lay along the sea. Many also were possessed already with that inordinate and inauspicious passion for Sicily which was afterwards kindled into flame by such orators as Alcibiades. And some there were who actually dreamed of Tuscany and Carthage, and that not without a measure of hope, in view of the magnitude of their present supremacy and the full-flowing tide of success in their undertakings.

XXI. But Pericles was ever trying to restrain this extravagance of theirs, to lop off their expansive meddlesomeness, and to divert the greatest part of their forces to the guarding and securing of what they had already won. He considered it a great achievement to hold the Lacedaemonians in check, and set himself in opposition to these in every way, as he showed, above all other things, by what he did in the Sacred War.) The Lacedaemonians made an expedition to Delphi while the Phocians had possession of the sanctuary there, and restored it to the Delphians ; but no so ner had the Lacedaemo-

2 About 448 B.c.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

e A ? / '4 3 , A
o IlepexrAns emistpatevoas madd etonyaye TOUS
Pwxéas. Kkal tov Aaxedatnoviov hy &dwxav
avtois Aeddol ampopavreiay eis TO pétwrrop
éykoNauvtTwy Tod yadKod AvVKOV, AaBwv Kal
autos Tpopavteiav tois "AOnvaiots eis TOV aUvTov
NUKo Kata THY dSeEtav revpav eveyapakev.
XXII. "Ore & 6p0as ev tH "ENXAGSe Thy S¥vapev
tov "AOnvaimy avveixyev, éuaptupnoev avT@ Ta
yevopeva. Tpatov pev yap EvBoeis améatnaar,
> 93 a , \ A > 3 bd ' >
ed' ods bé8y peta Suvdpews. elt' evOds arny-
A a b] , 4 a
yeArovto Meyapets exmreTroNepwpevotr Kal OTpAaTL
Tmodepiowv él tois Spots THs "AtTiKHs ovoa,
TIXevotw@vaxtos youpévov, Bactréws Aaxedat-
poviov. mary ow o Ilepixrns Kata tayos ékx
A +] 4, >] , \ \ 9 a 9 ~
THs EvBotas avexopifero wpos Tov ev TH ATTLKT
TONEMOV: Kal cuVdrpar pev eis Yetpas ovK eOap-
"~ 4 9 "~ ¢ s
onae Tonos Kal ayabois omditats mpoKanov-
, e " Q \ / , Ww
pévots, opov & rav Ideotwvaxta véov avta

Kooy, Xpwpevoy b€ parrota Krcavdpidyn tav
cupBovrwv, dv of Efpopo duvrAaxa Kal mapedpov
avT@ Sa tHv HjrAKiav cuvéTweprav, éTEtpato
toutov xpuda: xal tayv SiapOeipas ypnuacw
avroy émecev ex THS "ATTLKIS aTayayew Tous
TeXorrovvnctous.
‘Ns & aweywopnoen 4 otpatia Kal SvedvOn kata
e \
mores, Bapéws dépovtes ot Aaxedatpovioe Tov
pev Baciréa xpijpacw enpiwoay, oy To WAGs
64

PERICLES

nians departed than Pericles made a counter expedition and reinstated the Phocians. And whereas the Lacedaemonians had had the “ promanteia,” or right of consulting the oracle in behalf of others also, which the Delphians had bestowed upon them, carved upon the forehead of the bronze wolf in the sanctuary, he secured from the Phocians this high privilege for the Athenians, and had it chiselled along the right side of the same wolf.

XXII. That he was right in seeking to confine the power of the Athenians within lesser Greece, was amply proved by what came to passy To begin with, the Euboeans revolted,! and he crossed over to the island with a hostile force. Then straightway word was brought to him that the Megarians had gone over to the eneiny, and that an army of the enemy was on the confines of Attica under the leadership of Pleistoanax, the king of the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly, Pericles brought his forces back with speed from Euboea for the war in Attica. He did not venture to join battle with hoplites who were so many, so brave, and so eager for battle, but seeing that Pleistoanax was a very young man, and that out of all his advisers he set most store by Cleandridas, whom the ephors had sent along with him, by reason of his youth, to be a guardian and an assistant to him, he secretly made trial of this man’s integrity, speedily corrupted him with bribes, and persuaded him to lead the Peloponnesians back out of Attica. :

When the army had withdrawn and had been disbanded to their several cities, the Lacedaemonians, in

indignation, laid a heavy fine upon their king,

1 446 B.C.
65
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ovK yop éxticar petéatycev cavtov ex Naxedat-
povos, TOU dé Krcavdpidou pevyovTos Gavatoy Ka-
Téyvwaav. avTtos & hv waztnp Vudinmov Tov mept
Sixeriav "AOnvaiovs cataTorepijaavtos. éoixe O
aomEep suyyevixov avtT@ Tpootpivacbat voonpa
\ 4 e cd e > @ \ > NX 3 "a
THv pirapyupiav 7 hvals, uP 1)$ KAL AVTOS ALAXPOS
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TavTa pev ovv év trois wept Avadvépou dednrw-
KG [eDv.
XXII. Tot & Teptxréous ev tO tHS oTpaTn-
ylas amodoyiopo céxa TadradvTwy davddwpa
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Ocodpactos o dirocogos, ott Kal' Exaorovr ,

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mapa tov Ilepixdéous, ols tous év Tédet TravTas
GepaTedwv TAPNTELTO TOY TOAELOY, OV THY ELpHYNV
@VvoUpEevos, ANAG TOY Ypovoy, év @ TapacKkevaca-
yo ¢ 4 v 4 f
pevos Kal' aJovxiav Eperrde Toreunoerw BEXTLOD.
avOis) obv él tors adecta@tas Tpamopevos Kab
diaBas eis EvBotay wevtiKxovta vavot Kal wevta-
, e f , '
KigXtAioLS OTALTAIS KaTETTpEWaTO TAS TONECS.
Q r 4 \ LY e ul s
kal Nadxtdéwy pev tous immoBotas eyouevous
e ral
trout xal Son d:adépovtas é€éBarev, Eotueis
6€ Tavtas avactiaas éx THS Ywpas 'AOnvaious
f c
KATOWKIOE, MOVOLS TOUVTOLS aTapalTHTwWS Ypnoa-
ef a ' \ ? 4 4

pevos Otte vady ’AtTiKny aixudrwtov ANaBorTes
amTéXTELVAY TOUS avopas.
1 giéis Fuhr and Llass, after Sauppe: ev6us (at once).

the full amount of which he was unable to pay, and so’ betook himself out of Lacedaemon, while Cleandridas, who had gone into voluntary exile, was condemned to death. He was the father of that Gylippus who overcame the Athenians in Sicily. And nature seems to have imparted covetousness to the son, as it were a congenital disease, owing to which he too, after noble achievements, was caught in base practices and banished from Sparta in disgrace. This story, however, I have told at length in my life of Lysander.!

XXIII. When Pericles, in rendering his accounts for this campaign, recorded an expenditure of ten talents as “for sundry needs,” the people approved it without officious meddling and without even in- vestigating the mystery. But some writers, among whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, have stated that every year ten talents found their way to Sparta from Pericles, and that with these he conciliated all the officials there, and so staved off the war, not purchasing peace, but time, in which he could make preparations at his Icisure and then carry on war all the better. However that may be, he again turned his attention to the rebels, and after crossing to Euboea with fifty ships of war and five thousand hoplites, he subdued the cities there. Those of the Chalcidians who were styled Hippobotae, or Knights, and who were preéminent for wealth and reputation, he banished their city, and all the Hestiaeans he removed from the country and settled Athenians in their places, treating them, and them only, thus inexorably, because they had taken an Attic ship |

captive and slain its crew.

1 Chapters xvi. f.

XXIV. ?Ex tovtovu yevopévwr atrovdav "AOnvat-
,
os Kal Aaxedatpoviots eis ETN Tpidxovta Whdite-
Tat Tov €i¢ Lapov TAODY, aAiTiav ToLnodpevos
? 9 “a e ‘ \ ; f ,
KaT avT@v OTL Tov TpOs Mudnotovs KedXevopeEvot
Stadvcacbat 1odEpoy OvY UT1)KoVOY.

’Eaet & “Acacia yapiCopevos Soxet mpakat Ta
= , a Xap Cop P
> “ A w A
mTpos Xapious, évtavba av ein xatpos Starropicat
padtota Tept THs dvOpwrov, Tiva Téeyynv 1
? a a \
SuvapLLy TOCAUTHY EXOVTA THY TE TOALTLK@Y TOUS
mMpwrevovTas évetpwaato Kai Tois pirocopors ov
“A bi wed 3 / e \ e a A ¢
havdAov ovd oOXrtLyoY UTEP aUTHS TapésyXe Noyov.
, b
OTe pev yap hv Midnaia yévos, A€toyou Buyarnp,
ft “A \ ? 3 ‘ 4 \ wn
oporoyettar’ dact & avtnv Oapynday tia TeV
maratov ladwyv (yrwoacav ér:Oéc0at tots Suva-
- > / \ \ € 4 , b
TwTaTOLN avopaot. Kat yap 7 Oapyndla To T
eloos evirpeTTs yevouern Kal ydpty Eyovca peta
t , \ em r f
SevvoTntos mAetoTo pev EXAnvwy cuvwKnoev
, “ / a
avdpact, wavtas 5é€ mpocetoince Bactret ToUs
TArAnoticavTas avTHn, Kal Tais TéAEos pndiopod
bv éxeivwy brréotretpev apyas SuvaTtwTatwv ovtTwy
Kai peyiotwov. tiv 8 “Aoractay oi pev as copiy
Tiva Kal ToXcTEKHY UO TOU IlepixX€ous oTrovoa-
A é \ \ + f v ad
cOjnvat Néyovor’ Kat yap Lwxpatns Eotiv Gre
peTa TOY yvwpipwr éepoita, Kal Tas yuvaiKxas
axpoatopevas oi cuviPers iyov ws) avTHY, Kat-
“a ,
Tep OU Koopuiov mpoeaT@oayv Eepyacias ovdé
ra \
cepvns, dra watdioxas ETalpovaas Tpépoveav
2 ©s Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: eis.
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PERICLES

XXIV. Afterthis—when peace had been made for thirty years between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, he got a decree passed for™ his expedition to Samos,! alleging against its people that, though they were ordered to break off their war against the Milesians, they were not complying.

Now, since it is thought that he proceeded thus against the Samians to gratify Aspasia, this may be a fitting place to raise the query what great art or power this woman had, that she managed as she pleased the foremost men of the state, and afforded the philosophers occasion to discuss her in exalted terms and at great length. That she was a Milesian by birth, daughter of one Axiochus, is generally agreed; and they say that it was in emulation of Thargelia, an Ionian woman of ancient times, that she made her onslaughts upon the most influential men. This Thargelia came to be a great beauty and was endowed with grace of manners as well as clever wits. Inasmuch as she lived on terms of intimacy with numberless Greeks, and attached all her consorts to the king of Persia, she stealthily sowed the seeds of Persian sympathy in the cities of Greece by means of these lovers of hers, who were men of the greatest power and influence. And so Aspasia, as some say, was held in high favour by Pericles because of her rare political wisdom. Socrates sometimes caine to see her with his disciples, and his intimate friends brought their wives to her to hear her discourse, although she presided over a business that was any- thing but honest or even reputable, since she kept a house of young courtesans. And Aeschines* says

1 440 B.c.
2 Aeschines the Socratic, in a dialogue entitled ‘‘Aspasia,”
not extant.
by,
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

4 Ataoytvns b€ onee Kat Avotkréa Tov mpoBatoxa-
mov €& wyevvovs Kat TaTevov THY dvaoww ‘AGn-
vatov yevéo Oat rpatov, Aoracia cuvovta peta
THY Tlepixr€ovs TENEUT IV. | év bé TO MeveEéve
To IlAXatwvos, é Kal pera madias: Ta ™poTa
YEYPATTAL, Toa obTOv y ioTopias ever TL, TL
do€av eixe To yuvatov éml pytopix TOANOLS
5 ‘AOnvatov opereiy, paiverat peVTOL padrov
€pwrens) TLS 17) TOD [lepexdeous dyaT nats yevouern
™pos ‘Agmaciay. VY MeV Yap AUTO yuvy 7 poo -
jKouaa. pev Kara ryevos, TUVOKIKVIG. S ‘Inmovirw
™ pOTEpov, ef ou Kaaniav érexe TOY TAOVCLOY™
Erexe dé Kal mapa TO lepixret RavOinmov Kat
Idparov, eita THs oupBiocens ovkK avons aUTOLS
apPETT HS, exetynyy pev ETEPO Bovdopevny ovve§-
édwxev, aVTOS O€ THY ‘Aoraciav AaBov eotepte
6 SeapepovTws. Kat yap efron, Os pact, Kal Eloy
an ayopas natateto Kal’ Huépay avtTny peta TOD
KATAPLNELY.
"Ev 6€ Tais Kopepoiats ‘Opgary te véa cat Ani-
dveupa Kal wart * ‘Hoa T poo ayopeveTat, Kpativos
8 aUTEEp YS TAAAAKY AUTIY ElpNnKEV ev TOUTOLS*
"Hpav té of "Aorwaciapy tixtes Kataruyoourn
TadAaKiyy KUvwTrLoa.
~ \ \ \ , ? , aA \

doxet 6€ kal Tov voloy €x TavTns TEKVOCAL, TrEpL
5 id aid b] 4 > ‘ N fod
ov wetroinkev Evrodis év Arows avTov pev ovTWS
EPWTOVTA'
¢ , / “a
O vobos dé pot Sn;
\ \ ‘ ‘ ’ ,
Tov d€ Mupwridny atroxpivopevov’
Kat wadar y av Hv avnp,
el jt) TO THS TOprns UTwppwder KAaKOV.
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PERICLES

that Lysicles the sheep-dealer, a man of low birth and nature, cate to be the first man at Athens by living with Aspasia after the death of Pericles. And in the “ Menexenus ” of Plato, even though the first part of it be written in a sportive vein, there is, at any rate, thus imueh of fact, that the woman had the reputation of associating with many Athenians as a teaeher of rhetoric. However, the affection which Pericles had for Aspasia seems to have been rather of an amatory sort. For his own wife was near of kin to hin, and had been wedded first to Hipponicus, to whom she bore Callias, surnamed the Rick; she bore also, as the wife of Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus. Afterwards, since their married life was not agreeable, he legally bestowed her upon another man, with her own consent, and himself took Aspasia, and loved her exceedingly. Twice a day, as they say, on going out and on coming in from the market-place, he would salute her with a loving kiss.

But in the comedies she is styled now the New
Omphale, new Deianeira, and now Hera. Cratinus !
flatly called her a prostitute in these lines :-—
““As his Hera, Aspasia was born, the child of Un-
natural Lust,

A prostitute past shaming.”
And it appears also that he begat from her that
bastard son about whoin Eupolis, in-dns-Demes,:
represented him as inquiring with these words :-—
«And my bastard, doth he live?”
to which Myroniides replies :—
“Yea, and long had been a man,
Had he not feared the misehief of his harlot-birth.”’ *
1 In his ‘‘ Cheirons ’ (sce chapter iii. 3).
2 Kock, op. cat. i. p. 282. 71
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x \
Oita & tv ‘Acraciav ovopactny Kat KNEwWnY
/ / ov A a .
yeveaOat Néyouow wate Kat Kupov Tov Todepn-
cavta Baotrel epi THs TeV Ilepcay Hyepovias
Thy ayaTw@perny UT’ avToU padioTa TOY TAad-
Aaxidwv ‘Acrractay dvopdaat, KaXoupéevny MirAT@
, 2 be cp ‘ ‘\ / La a) ?
mpotepov. av o€ Pwxats To yevos, Hppotipou
Ouyatnp: év O€ TH maxyn Kupov TETOVTOS aTa-
xOcica tpos Baoiréa meiarov t ioxuce. TAUTA wey
émedBavra TH pvnen KaTa THY ypapny anTedca-
cOat Kai TraperOely icws avavOpwrov jv.
XXV. Tov 6é pos Napuious wodepov aitiovtTat
padiora Tov Ilepixréa Wndicacba da Mtan-
gious “Aotacias Senbeians. ai yap monets
errovéuouv tov mept Ipijvns modewov, Kat Kpa-
roovres of Xdtptor, wavcacbar tav ’AOnvaiwv
, \ s a Q A ¥

xerevovTwy Kal dixas AaBeivy Kat Sovvat map

> nw 3 q , ia e ¢e lol

avTots, ovx eweiOovto. mrevaoas ovv o Llepexrijs
“4
Tip pev ovcav ortyapyiay €v Ladpw Katédvoer,

“~ , e
tev S& mpwtwy AaRwY opajpous TevT)}KovTa Kal
matoas iaous ets Ajjuvov GATETTELNE. KQLTOL
daciv éxacTov pev avT@ TOV opipwv didovat
TaNAVTOV uTep avtod, ToAAG 8 GAXa Tods pn
Oéxovtas év tH wore yevécOat Snpoxpatiar.
” \ 7 e / ” x \
ere 5€ Hltccovdvns o Tlépons éxwv tiva mpos
Sapious ebvoray améatethev avT@ puplous xpv-
gous, Tapattoupevos THY TOA. oU pHYv Eafe
, 3 \ e “~ 3 \ td
TovTrwy ovdev o Ilepixdrys, adda yxpnoapevos
@oTEp EyVWKEL TOIS Lapiors Kal KATAOTICAS
Snuoxpatiay arémrevoev eis Tas AOrvas. of &
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So renowned and celebrated did Aspasia become, they say, that even Cyrus, the one who went to war with the Great King for the sovereignty of the Per- sians, gave the name of Aspasia to that one of his concubines whom he loved best, who before was called Milto. She was a Phocaean by birth, daugh- ter of one Hermotimus, and, after Cyrus had fallen in battle, was carried captive to the King,! and ac- quired the greatest influence with him. These things coming to my recollection as | write, it were perhaps unnatural to reject and pass them by.

XXV. But to return to the war against the Sa:

mians, they accuse Pericles of getting the decree for this passed at “thé re request_of Aspasia and in_the special behalf of the Milestans. were waging their war for thé possession of Prieng, and the Samians were getting the better of it, and when the Athenians ordered them to stop the contest and submit the case to arbitration at Athens, they would not obey. So Pericles set sail and broke up the oligarchical government which Samos had, and then took fifty of the foremost men of the state, with as many of their children, as hostages, and sent them off to Lemnos. And yet they say that every one of these hostages offered him a talent on his own account, and that the opponents of de- mocracy in the city offered him many talents besides. And still further, Pissouthnes, the Persian satrap, who had much good-will towards the Samians, sent him ten thousand gold staters and interceded for the city. However, Pericles took none of these bribes, but treated the Samians just as he had determined, | set up a demecracy and sailed back to Athens. Then/

1 Cf. Xenophon, Anabasis, i. 10, 2.

to

evdus améatnaay, exKkrXEWavtos avTOIS TOUS d41)-
pous IItacovOvov Kai tadAXa TapacKevacaytos
mWpos Tov Tordepov. avOrs odv o llepirAts eEerrev-
aev € autovs ovy nouvxdbovtas ovdé Katemrn-
xotas, dAAa Kal mdvu mpobvpws éeyvwxoras
avtthapSavecbar tis Gardttys. yevouevns Se
KapTepas vavpayias mepl vijcov jy Tparyias
KaXdoval, AauTpes o LlepexrAts evixa, Teaoapat
Kat Teccapakovta vavow éBdopnKxovta Katavav-
HAXTas, OY ElKoct oTpatiwribes noay.
XXAVI, “Apa 5é TH vikn Kal TH Suber TOU
ALEVOS KPATHOAS ETOALOPKEL TOS Lapious, apas
yé Tos ETL TOAMOVTAS éreELevat Kal drapayeaOat

m™po Tov Tetyous. érel b€ petfwy Erepos oTddOS
mrOev ex tav’AOnvav xai tavtedos KaTEKXel-
cOnaav ot Xapuot, AaBwv o Wepexrijs éEEnxovta
Tpiypers EmAEVTEY Ets TOV EEW TWOVTOY, WS MeV OL
mreicTor A€youct, Powwicaa@y veov émixovpwv
Tots Lapiots mpordepopevwy atravtioat Kai d1a--
yovicacbat Toppwratw Bovropevos, ws S€ Yrn-
cipBpotos, emt Kumpov oredAopevos: omep ov
Soxet miOavov eivat. omrotépm 8 ovdv éxpncato
TOV NOYLT LOY, apapteiy Edoke. TAEVTAaVTOS yap
auTov Médoaos o Aga yevous: avnp Piroa opos
TTpATH YOY TOTE TIS Sapov, Kkatappovicas Tis
OALYOTHTOS TOV VvEMY 7) THS aTeipias Tay
oTpaTynyav, Ewece TOvS TOAITAaS émiMéabat Tots
3 , \ ? f ,
AOnvaios. Kat yevomerns payns vixnoayTes
e ‘ “ bad ,
ot Sapiol, KAL TOAACUS EV AUTOY avépas éXoOVTES,
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the Samians at once revolted, after Pissouthnes had stolen away their hostages from Lemnos for them,

and in other ways equipped them for the war. Once more, therefore, Pericles set sail against them. They

were not victims of sloth, nor yet of abject terror,

but full of exceeding zeal in their determination to
contest the supremacy of the sea. In a fierce sea- |
fight which came off near an island called Tragia, | 3
Pericles won a brilliant victory, with four and forty NZ
ships outfighting seventy, twenty of which were
infantry transports.

XXVI. Close on the heels of his victorious pur- suit came his seizure of the harbour, and then he laid formal siege to the Samians, who, somehow or other, still had the daring to sally forth and fight with him before their walls. But soon a second and a larger armament came from Athens, and the Samians were completely beleaguered and shut in. Then Pericles took sixty triremes and sailed out into the main sea, as most authorities say, because he wished to meet a fleet of Phoenician ships which was coming to the aid of the Samians, and fight it at as great a distance from Samos as possible ; but accord- ing to Stesimbrotus, because he had designs on Cyprus, which seems incredible. But in any case, whichever design he cherished, he seems to have made a mistake. For no sooner had he sailed off than Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a philosopher who was then acting as general at Samos, despising either the small number of ships that were left, or the inexperience of the generals in charge of them, persuaded his fellow-citizens to make an attack upon the Athenians. In the battle that ensued the Samians were

victorious, taking many of their enemy

Ly

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Twoddas 6€ vais diapGeipartes, éyp@vTo TH
@adacaon Kat tapetifevto Tav dvayKaiwy mpos
TOV TOAELOV boa p47) TPOTEpOV Elyov. Ud dé TOD
Medtocou nai Ilepexrda dynoiv avtov 'Aptoto-
TEANS NTTNO AVAL vaupLAayodVTa TPOTEpOV.
Ot 5€ Xcpioe tods aiyparwtous Tav'AOnvaiwv
avOuBpivovres Extifov eis TO péTwrov yAavKas:
kat yap exetvous ot 'A@nvaion capawvav. 7 8é
odpawa vads é€oTiy voTpwpos péev TO ciuwpa,
xotAotépa b€ Kal yaoTpoeidys, OTE Kal TOVTOTTO-
petv! Kai TaxuvauTeiv. ovtw & wvopadbn da 76
mpa@tov ev Sduw pavivat, LloXucpdtovs Tupavvov
KaTagKevdoavtTos. Tpos Tav'Ta Ta atiypata Ne-
yovot Kal To Apictodpdveioy nriyOar:
y , e Sh , b) ° A
LAULWY O ONLOS EGTLY WS TWOAVY; UL MATOS.
XXVII. Wu@dpevos & obv o Wepexras tiv eri
atpatoTésov cupdopav é€Bonfer Kata Taxos.
kat tov Medtcoov mpos adtov avtitat~apévou
Kpatynaas Kal Tpevrduevos TOUS ToXEpLous EvOUS
mepieTeryile, datrdvn Kai Ypovm padrov 7 Tpav-
pace Kal xuvdvvois TOV TOoALT@Y TeEpiyevéecBat
Kal auverety Ty mort PBovdopevos. érel 5é
ducyepaivovtas TH TtptBH Tovs 'AOnvaious kai
padyecOat mpoOupoupévous Epyov iv Katacyeiv,
OKTm@ peppy dtekwv TO TaV TAOS aTrexANpou, Kal
T® NaBovtt Tov AEUKOY KYapov EiwxetcOat Kal
1 xovromopeiv MSS. and Blass: gopropopeiy (a conjecture of
Coraés, to carry freight).
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captive, and destroying many of their ships, so that
they commanded the sea and laid in large store of
such necessaries for the war as they did not have
before. And Aristotle says that Pericles was himself
also defeated by Melissus in the sea-fight which pre-
ceded this.

The Samians retaliated upon the Athenians by branding their prisoners in the forehead with owls ; for the Athenians had once branded some of them with the samaena. Now the samaena is a ship of war with a boar’s head design for prow and ram, but more capacious than usual and paunchlike, so that it is a good deep-sea traveller and a swift sailer too. It got this name because it made its first appearance in Samos, where Polycrates the tyrant had some built. To these brand-marks, they say, the verse of Aristophanes ! made riddling reference :-—

‘ For oh! how lettered is the folk of the Samians!”’

XXVII. Be that true or not, when Pericles learned of the disaster which had befallen his fleet, he came speedily to its aid. And though Melissus arrayed his forces against him, he conquered and routed the enemy and at once walled their city in, preferring to get the upper hand and capture it at the price of money and time, rather than of the wounds and deadly perils of his fellow-citizens. And since it was a hard task for him to restrain the Athenians in their im- patience of delay and eagerness to fight, he separated his whole force into eight divisions, had them draw lots, and allowed the division which got the white bean to feast and take their ease, while the others

1 From his Babylonians, not extant. Kock, op. cit. i. p. 408.

oxXokuley TapetXe TOV AAAwY paXopeveny. 610
Kal gace Tous ev evrradetats Tiai yevopevous
Neva HDY HEpav éxelvynv aT%0 TOU AEUKOU KUapOU
T poo ayopeverv.
3 “Edopos bé Kal Enxavais xpncacbar TOV
ITeptxrea, THY KAWOTNTA _Savpacarta, "Apteé-
woVvOs TOU pnxXavicou TapovTos, ov KOrOv OvTa
Kal popeip mpos Ta KaTemelyovTa TOV Eprycov
™ poo kop Copevov o ovopacd ijvat TEptpopytov. TOUT)
pev oup ‘Hpaxretons O Hovtexos eheyxet Tols
‘AvaxpEeovTos Toupaciw, ev ols oO aepipopnTos
‘Aprépov ovopatercu TONAALS eum poo bev mructats
TOU Tept Ldpov Torkéuou Kal Tov TpaypwaTov
4 éxelvov: Top é ‘Aprépovd dyat Tpuepov TWA
T® Biw xal ™ pos TOUS poSous paraxov ovTa Kat
KaTaT\ya Ta TONKA peev olor xabelec Oar,
Karki donida Tis Keparijs avtoo dvety oixeTov
UmEpEXOVTE@V, @oTe pndev epTrec ely TOV avoer,
EL bé BracBein 7 poehOeiv, ev KALWLOL@ KpepaoT@
mapa THY yh avTHY TE pLpEpopevov “‘Kopitec Oa,
Kat dta TOUTO KANOHVaL TeptpopyTov.
XXVIII. ’Evate b€ pnvi trav Lapiwy wapa-

OTAVTWY O Tlepexdijs ra TeLyn KaGeire Kal Tas
vans mapedraBe Kal Xpypact Todos eSnpicocer,
OV Ta pev evd us ela ijveyKay * ot Zapuot, Ta & ev
Xpove pute TAEUpEVOL KaToLoel Ounpovs EdwKay.
Aoupts 8 0 Dapios TOUTOLS emit parywoet TOANHY
OMOTNTA TOV "AOnvatov Kal Tou Tlepixdéous
KaTNYyopav, iy ouTE Oouxvdidns ioTropyKer our
2 “Eopos our’ ‘A plo TOTEANS: aAr’ ovd arnbevew
EOLKEV, WS Apa TOUS TpLNpapyYoUSs Kal ToUS emI-
) elojveyxay Fuhrand Blass, with 4S: freyxav.

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did the fighting. And this is the reason, as they
say, why those who have had a gay and festive lime
eall it a “ white day,’—from the white bean.
Ephorus says that Pericles actually erployed
siege-engincs, in his adniiration of their novelty, and
that Artemon the engineer was with him there, who,
since he was lame, and so had to be brought on a
stretcher to the works which demanded his instant
attention, was dubbed Periphoretus. Heracleides
Ponticus, however, refutes this story out of the
poems of Anacreon, in which Artemon Periphoretus
is mentioncd many gencrations before the Samian
War and its events. And he says that Artemon was
very luxurious in his life, as well as weak and _ panic-
stricken in the presence of his fears, and therefore
for the most part sat still at home, while two servants
held a bronze shield over his head to keep anything
from falling down upon it. Whenever he was forced
to go abroad, he had himself earried in a little
hammock which was berne along just above thie
surface of the ground. On this account he was
called Periphoretus.

XXVIII. After eight months the Samians surren- \ dered, and Pericles tore down their walls, took away their ships of war, and laid a heavy fine upon them, part of which they paid at once, and part they agreed to pay at a fixed time, giving hostages therefor. To these details Duris the Samian adds stuff for tragedy, accusing the Athenians and Pericles of great brutality, which is recorded neither by Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle. But he appears not to speak the truth when he says, forsooth, that Pericles had the Samian trierarchs and marines brought into

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, “ Ny , >? \ , bp] \
Batas tTav Lapiwy eis THY Midynoiwy dyopar
Katayaywv! nat aaviot mpocdncas éf’ uépas
déxa Karas On Staxetmévovs tpocétakev aveneiv,
f \ \ f 2
EvAos tas Keparas avyKxovavtas, eita mpoBa-
a b , 4 s ~ \ S bt >]
Nety axyndevta Ta cwpata. Aovpis pev ovv ovd
Cd \ J oA 4 wv , ’ \
OTrov undev avtT@® Tpocedtiy idtov Taos ciwhws
a \ , b] a“ 3 4 al
Kpateiy Thy Oinynuty él THs ad nOelas, wadXov
Goxey evtavdéa Senveocar tas THS TaTpidos oup-
ghopas emt dia Born tav ‘AOnvaiwv.
e “A

O 6€ Tlepixrrs natactpeapevos thy Napov
e 9 “A ’ \ bf , , a
ws emavnrdOev eis tas AOnvas, tapds te Tov
atolavovtwy Kata Tov TOdEMOY evdokous éroina€
Kal Tov AoOyov EiTa@V, BaTTEP EBoS éaTiv, emt TAY
onuatwv CavpactwOn. xataB8aivovta § avtov
? ‘ a f e \ wv a“ 9 lal
amo Tov Brpatos at pev aAdXrat yuvaixes edeErovvro
Kal oTepavols avédovy Kai Tawviats Bamep aOdn-
Ty vixndopov, 7 & °EAmwixn mpocedOovaa
mwrAyjciov: “Tait,” &bn, “ Oavpucta, MWepixrers,
\ , A eon N , 3 ‘
Kat afta atehuvey, 05 piv moAXovs Kal uyabous
? , , ? ap) f t “ OE
aTwrEecas TWoAtTas ov PoiviEt Trodkeu~@y avee
M7ydos, womep ovpos adeddos Kivwv, adra
nw ’
TUppayov Kal ouyyevi) TOA KaTaaTpEPopEVos.”
“A a 3 , + e “a
tavta HS “EAmivixns Aeyonons o Tlepexrrs
pecdidaas aTpéua ReyeTat TO Tod "ApytrAoxou
Tpos auiny eiwetv
Ov« av pvpoict ypavs €ova’ nrEideo.
Oavpaotov d€ tt Kal péya dpovicat Katato-
, N vv 4 . ‘ b] . ev @
AenNoavTa TovVs Lapiovs dyow avtovo lwy, ws

1 xatayayey Fuhr and Blass, with F8S : ayaydy,
So

the market-place of Miletus and crucified there, and that then, when they had already suffered grievously for ten days, he gave orders to break their heads in with clubs and make an end of them, and then cast ‘their bodies forth without burial rites. Atall events, since it is not the wont of Duris, even in cases where he has no private and personal interest, to hold his narrative down to the fundamental truth, it is all the more likely that here, in this instance, he has given a dreadful portrayal of the calamities of his country, that he might calumniate the Athenians.

When Pericles, after his subjection of Samos, had returned to Athens, he gave honourable burial to those who had fallen in the war, and for the oration which he made, according to the custom, over_their_ tombs he son the greatest admiration. But as he came down from the bema, while the rest of the women clasped his hand and fastened wreaths and fillets on his head, as though he were some victorious athlete, Elpinice drew nigh and _ said: “ This is admirable in thee, Pericles, and deserving of wreaths, in that thou hast lost us many brave citizens, not in a war with Phoenicians or Medes, like my brother Cimon, but in the subversion of an allied and kindred city.’ On Elpinice’s saying this, Pericles, with a quiet smile, it is said, quoted to her the verse of Archilochus :-—
“Thou hadst not else, in spite of years, perfumed thyself.” +
fon says that he had the most astonishingly great thoughts of himself for having subjected the
1 That is, ‘‘thou art too old to meddle in affairs.” Cf. chapter x. 5.
SI
VOL. III. G
wo

A \ b , ¥ / ,
tov pev “Ayapéuvovos étect Séxa BdpBapoy
, a A ,

ToAw, avtov S€ pnolv évvéa Tovs TpwToUs Kal

Suvatwtutous lwvwy €XOvTOS. Kal ot1K HY AdLKOS
4) a&lwots, GAN bvtws TOAAHY adnroTHTA Kal
péeyav éoxe xivduvov 0 TrodELOS, El7rEp, WS
Bovervsidns dyoi, wap’ éXaxraTov AGE Lapiov 7
a A
mods adberécba. tis OaratTys TO KpaTos
"A @nvatous.
XXIX. Mera tadta xvpaivovtos dn Tov
TleXorovynotaxot ToXéuov, Kepxupators trode uou-
pévors wTd Kopiw6iwv érece Tov Sijov atro-
otetAa. BonGeiav xat mpocraBeiv éppwpévynv
vauTicn Suvaper vijcov, ws dgov ovdérw IleXo-
/ b] id ‘ b) oA
TOVVNTLOV EKTTETONELWLEVWY TPOS AUTOUS. Whgt-
, \ la , A / > ,
capévov S€ Tod dnpov tiv Bonfeay atécrenre
Séxa vais povas éyovta Aaxedaipoucy, Tov
Kipwvos viov, oicy épv8pifwrv todd yap hy
w ‘ , a we w A
eivota Kai diria Te Kipwvos oixw mpos Aaxe-
Saiovious. os av ovv, ae pndev Epyov
4 b bs! el “a
peya pnd exmpenes €v TH aotpatnyia Tov
Aaxedatpoviov yévorro, mpocd:aBAnOetn pardov
els TOV AakwriaLGY, OALyas ALT@ vads Edwxe Kal
pn =Bovropevoy é€étreprpe. Kal drAws dceTére
KOAOVeY WS pNOE TOS GVOpace yYnolovs, adr’
oOveious Kal E€vous, 6Tt TOY Kipwvos viev TO pev
vy Aaxedatpovios dvopa, T® b€ Oeccards, TO bE
-H a awed oe / ’ Q 9
Aelos. edoxouy b€ raves €x yuvatKos 'Aprabe-
KS yeryovevat.
82

Samians; whereas Agamemnon was al] of ten years in taking a barbarian city, he had im nine months time reduced the foremost and most powerful people of Ionia. And indeed his estimate of himself was not unjust, nay, the war actually brought with it much uncertainty and great peril, if indeed, as Thucydides says,! the city of Samos came within a very little of stripping from Athens her power on the sea.

~ XXIX. After this, when the billows of the Pelo- ponnesian War were already rising and swelling, he persuaded the people to send aid and succour to the Corcyraeans 2 in their war with the Corinthians, and

so to attach to themselves an island with a vigorous naval power at a time when the Peloponnesians were as good as actually at war with them. But when the \ people had voted to send the aid and succour, he — despatched Lacedaemonius, the son of Cimon, with , only ten ships, as it were in mockery of him. Now/ there was much good-will and friendship on the part of the house of Cimon towards the Lacedaemonians. In order, therefore, that in case no great or con- spicuous achievement should be performed under the generalship of Lacedaemonius, he might so be all the more caluminated for his laconism, or sympathy with Sparta, Pericles gave him only a few ships, and sent him forth against his will. And in general he was prone to thwart and check the sons of Cimon, on the plea that not even in their names were they genuinely native, but rather aliens and strangers, since one of them bore the name of Lacedaemonius, another that of Thessalus, and a third that of Eleius. And they were all held to be the sons of a woman of Arcadia.*

1 viii. 76, 4. 2 433 B.c. 3 Cf. Cimon, xvi. 1.

Kaxas obv o Tlepixdrs dxovwy 62a tas béxa

TAaVTAS Tplnpets, wS pixpav pev BorMeay Tots

“A 4 \ s ” ? “
denOetot, peyadrnv S€ rpohacw Tots éyxaXodat
Tapesynkws, ETEepas avOis Eateie aWrEtovas Eis
tHv Képxupav, at peta thy paxyny adixovto.
Xarevatvovar Cé tots KopirOicis xat xatn-

aA a %
yopovot Tav ‘“AOnvaiwy ev Aaxedaipov mpoce-
nw , “
yévovto Meyapets, aitiwpevor Taans pev ayopas,
mavtTwy de Awevwv, wv ‘AOnvaiot Kpatovowr,
¥ X b / \ \
elpyecOat Kat atmeAauvecbat Tapa Ta Kowa
¢ A nw
Sixaca Kal Tovs yeyernpevous GpKovs Tois
"EdXAnow: Alyevytat 6€ kaxova0at Soxodbvtes Kal
Biata Tacyew érotui@vtTo Kpuda mpos Tovs
Aaxedatpovious, havep@s éykareivy tois ’AOn-
f b) le) b] \ a \ ,
vaiots ov Oappovrtes. év S€ tovtw Kat Tlotidaa,
mors vanxoos AOnvaiwy, atoatxos 6€ KopivOiwr,
atTooTaca «al ToNlopKovpLévyn LaddOv eTrETAYUVE

TOV TOAELOD.
Ov piv addd\a mpecBemv te TeuTOmevwy
"AOnvale, nat tod Bactrtéws tov Aaxedatpoviwr
"Apyiddpou Ta ToAAa TOY eyKAnLaTMY Es
4 of,
dtarvaes ayorrTos Kal TOvS cTuppayous Tpavvor-
TOS, OUK GV COKEL GUUTEGELY UTO YE TOV adAWY
> nw € / an ts % X 4

aitt@v o ToAEpos Tots ‘AOnvaitots, et TO Yrijdiopa
wn ,
xaGerety tO Meyaptxov éreccOncay Kai diad-

Aayivat mpos avtouvs. O10 Kal padiota pos

al w : , ,
tovto llepixAts evavtiwbets, xal wapoEuvas Tov
84

PERICLES

Accordingly, being harshly criticised because of \
these paltry ten ships, on the ground that he had
furnished scanty aid and succour to the needy
friends of Athens, but a great pretext for war to
her accusing enemies, he afterwards sent out other
ships, and more of them, to Corcyra,—the ones |
which got there after the battle.t
The Caxinthjans were incensed at this procedure,
and denounced the Athenians at Sparta, and were
joined by the Megarians, who brought their com-
plaint that from every market-pJace and from all
the harbours over which the Athenians had control,
they were excluded and driven away, contrary to the
common law and the formal oaths of the Greeks ;
the Aeginetans also, deeming themselves wronged
and outraged, kept up a secret wailing in the ears of
the Lacedaemonians, since they had not the courage
to accuse the Athenians openly. At this juncture
Potidaea, too, a city that was subject to Athens,
although a colony of Corinth, revolted, and the
siege laid to her hastened on the war all the
more.
/Notwithstanding all, since embassies were repeat- edly sent to Athens, and since Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, tried to bring to a peaceful settlemeat most of the accusations of his allies and to

soften their anger, it does not seem probable that the war would have come upon the Athenians for any remaining reasons, if only they \ could have been persuaded to rescind their decree | against the Megarians and be reconciled with them. | And therefore, since it was Pericles who was most of all opposed to this, and who incited the people t

1 Cf. Thucydides, i. 50, 5.

Ojjmov enpelvar TH Tos tous} Meyapeis tdo-
VELKLA, MOVOS EXXE TOU TONE LOU THY ALTLADY.
XXX. Aéyouas dé mpecBeias 'AOwwate mept
tovrwy é€x Aaxedaipovos adiypévns, Kai Tov
Ilepixdéous vopov Tuva mpoBarropévov KwdvovTa
Kaberely TO TIVaKLoY ev @ TO Wipiopa yey pa p-
pevov eT UY XAVEY, cireiy Wodvdd xn TOV m peo Bewv
tivas Xv 6é p43) Kaberns, anna oTpeyrov elow 70
TiVAKLOV* OU yap Este vopos 0 TOUTO KwAvaD."
xoprrou dé Tov Noryou pavevTos ovdey TE paddov)
Tlepuxdijs EVEOMKED. UT iy HEV OUY TLS, WS EOLKED,
avT® Kal idia mpos ToUs Meyapeis amex Gera
Keown 5é kal darepav Trova d pEvOs aitiay Kat
avtay atotéuvecOat THY tepay opyaba, ypadber
Widiopa xijpuvea renpOjvar mpos avtovs Kat
mpos Makedaipoviovs Tov auTov KaTyyopouvTa
TOV Meyapewv. TovTO psy ov To Wihdicpa
[lepixrX€ous €otiv €EUryYV@o MOVs Kal diravOpwrov
Sixaoroyias eX opevor" erret O 0 TreppOeis KApvE
"AvOepoxpitos aitia TeV Meyapéwv atroBaveiy
edo€ke, ypager Vrigeo pa KAT QUTOY Xapivos,
domrovoov pev elvat Kal axnpuxtov &xOpay, ds &
dv émiBh tis "Artinns Meyapéwy Gavat@ Snpuov-
aBar, tous 6é€ oTpATHYOUS, OTav ouviwot TOV
™aTpLOV opKoy, érroppuery Ott Kat dis ava wav
Eros els THY Meyapexny éuBarovor tapfva §
'"AvOewoxpitov mapa tas Optacias «rvAas, at
voy Aivurov ovopafovtat.
1 wpds vous Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: mpds.

abide by their eontention with the Megarians, he
alone was held responsible for the war./
XXX. They say that when an embassy had come from Laeedaemon to Athens to treat of these matters, and Pericles was shielding himself behind the plea that a eertain law prevented his taking down the tablet on whieh the deeree was inscribed, Polyalces, one of the ambassadors, cried : "‘ Well then, don’t take it down, but turn the tablet to the wall ; surely there’s no law preventing that." Clever as the proposal was, however, not one whit the more did Pericles give in. He must have secretly cherished, then, as it seems, some private grudge against the Megarians ; but by way of public and open charge he aecused them of appropriating to their own profane uses_the sacred territory of Eleusis, and proposed a decree that a herald be sent to them, the same to go also to the Lacedaemonians with a denunciation of the Megarians. This decree, at any rate, is the work of Pericles, and aims at a reasonable and humane justification of his course. But after the herald who was sent, Anthemocritus, had been put to death through the agency of the Megarians, as it was believed, Charinus proposed a deerec against them, to the effect that there be irrecon- eilable and implacable enmity on the part of Athens towards them, and that whosoever of the Megarians should set foot on the soil of Attiea be punished with death; and that the generals, whenever they should take their ancestral oath of office, add to their oath this clause, that they would invade the Megarid twice during each succeeding vear; and that Anthemocritus be buried honourably at the Thriasian gates, which are now called the Dipylum.

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4

to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Meyapeis 5¢ tov AvOepoxpitov hovoy atapvov-

\ > 7 bd > Ld \ ,

pevor tas aitias eis “Aoctaciayv Kal [leprxdea

Tpémoval, xpwpevor Tots meptBontos Kal 6n-
uodseat TovTas éx Tov Ayapvéwy ortyidiots:
Tlopyny dé Xtpaibay iovtes Meyapade
veaviat KrNemTouace peOvaoKoTTaBou’
*#y e a b f ,
Kad’ oi Meyapeis odvvais mepvoryywpevoe
avreEéxrerav “Aatracias tropvas dvo.
XXXI. Ti pév ody apynyv ows Eecyev ov 169

e “A ~ Col 3
passov yv@vat, Tod b€ py AVOHvaL TO Whdicpa
TAVTES WTAUTWS THY altiay émipepovat T@ Ilepe-

a ‘ ¢ \ ] f , \
KNel. ANY ol pev Ex PpovnuaTos peyaXdou peTa
yreuns Kata To PBéATIGTOY aTiacxvpicacbai
dacw avtor, Teipay évOocews TO TpoTTAypa Kal
Tv cuyx@pnow éEoporoynow acbeveias ryov-
pevov oi bé parrov avOadeia Tivi Kal Piroverxia
X Ww > , A
mpos évdektv iaxvos tmepippovncar Aaxedat-
povioy.
¢ be , ‘\ > Ff a 4 \
H 6€ yepiotn pév aitia tracwy, Exyovca 6é
4 iA ef / /
TrELaTOUS papTUpAs, OUTW TwS A€yeTal. Decdias
e i“ 9 4 ‘ @ a bf ?
o wAdaoTns epyoAdBos pev hv Tod ayddpaTos,
oe v \ a“ a f
@omep elpntat, piros é TO Ilepixret yevouevos
Kal péeytotov map atvt@ duvyfeis rovs pev bv
¢ \ 4 3 \ 4 e \ ~
auvtov éayev exOpors POovovpevos, ot Sé Tov
SHuov Trowovpevot qetpav e€v exeiv@, Totos TIS
w a al , S / “~
éecotto T@ Ilepixret' xpitns, Mevwva twa tav
1 rg MepikAet Fuhr and Blass, with FaS : Mepiwaei.
8&
PERICLES

But the Megarians denied the murder of Anthe- mocritus, and threw the blame for Athenian hate on Aspasia and Pericles, appealing to those far-famed and hackneycd versicles of the “ Acharnians "’ :—

« Simaetha, harlot, one of Megara’s womankind,
Was stolen by gilded youths more drunk than
otherwise ;
And so the Megarians, pangs of wrath all reeking
hot,
Paid back the theft and raped of Aspasia’s
harlots two.” !

XXXI. AV ell, then, whatever the original ground for enacting the decree,—and it is no easy matter to determine this,—the fact that it was not rescinded all men alike lay to the charge of Pericles. Only, some say that he persisted in his refusal in a lofty spirit and with a clear perception of the best interests of the city, regarding the injunction laid upon it as a test of its submissiveness, and _ its compliance as a confession of weakness; while others hold that it was rather with a sort of arrogance and love of strife, as well as for the display of his power, that he scornfully defied the Lacedaemonians.

But the worst charge of all, and yet the oné’which has the most vouchers, runs something like this.

Pheidias the sculptor was contractor for the great statue, as I have said, and being admitted to the friendship of Pericles, and acquiring the greatest influence with him, made some enemies through the jealousy which he excited; others also made use of him to test the people and see what sort of a judge it would be in a case where Pericles was involved.

1 Verses 524 fff.

Pediov cuvepyav weioavtes ikétny év ayopa xkabilovoty, aitovmevov aderav emi pnvioer kal xatnyopia Tov Pediov. mpoadeEapévou bé tod Siyov tov avOpwrov Kai yevoperns év éxxrnola SimEews, KAOTTaL pev ovK r)dEYYOVTO: TO yap ypuciov ovtws evOus &€& apyfis TO ayadpate Tpoceipydcato Kat TrepteOnxev 0 Pedias yroun tov Ilepuxréovs wote wav duvatov eivar Tepi- edovow atrobetEar Tov ctaOuov, 6 Kal TOTE TOUS KaTnyopous éxéXevoe Troveiy o epixrgs.
'H é€ b0€a trav Epywv ériefe POdve tov Pediav, Kat partic ote tHv pos 'Apalovas payny év TH adomlide Tow avTod Tiva poppny évetuTMoe TpecBuTov padraxpov Tétpov émrnp- pevov be apdotépwv Tav yerpav, Kal tod Iepr- KA€ous eixora TayKadny évéOnKke paxopuévou pos "Apafova. to 6€ cya THs yELpos, avaTewovons Sopu mpo Tis Oyrews Tod Ilepixréovs, memoin- pévov evpnyadves olov émixpiTTey BovreTar THY OuoleTnta Tapadatvopevnv Exatépwbev.
'O pev otv Dedias eis tO Seopwrnpiovy ama- Geis ETEXEUTNTE vooraas, ws 5€ dhacw enor, dappaxos, émt dsaBorn tov IlepixrXéous tev éyOpav wapacxevacavtoy. To Oé unvuTH Méverr ypawavtos LTAvKwvos atéXciar o Sipos edwxe, Kat tpocetake Tois otTpatiyois émiperctabar Tis aoparelas Tov avOpwrrov.

These latter persuaded one Menon, an assistant ot Pheidias, to take a suppliant's scat in the market- place and demand immunity from punishment in case he should bring information and accusation against Pheidias. The people accepted the man's

proposal, and formal prosecution of Pheidias was made in the asseinbly. Embezzlement, indecd, was not proven, for the gold of the statue, from the very start, had been so wrought upon and cast about it by Pheidias, at the wise suggestion of Pericles, that 1t could all be taken off and weighed,! and this is what Pericles actually ordered the accusers of Pheidias to do at this time.

But the reputation of his works nevertheless brought a burden of jealous hatred upon Pheidias, and especially the fact that when he wrought the battle of the Amazons on the shield of the goddess, he carved out a figure that suggested himself as a bald old man lifting on high a stone with both hands, and also inserted a very fine likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. And the attitude of the hand, which holds out a spear in front of the face of Pericles, is cunningly contrived as it were with a desire to conceal the resemblance, which is, however, plain to be seen from either side.

Pheidias, accordingly, was led away to prison, and died there of sickness; but some say of poison which the enemies of Pericles provided, that they might bring calumny upon him. And to Menon the informer, on motion of Glycon, the people gave immunity from taxation, and enjoined upon the generals to make provision for the man’s safety.

1 Cf, Thucydides, ii. 13, 5.

to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XXXII. Ilept 6€ todtov tov ypovov "Acrracia
ot wv b , em , n
ixny épevyev aceBetas, ‘Eppimimou tov cwpwoo-
Totov SOtwKxovTosS Kal WpooxaTynyopovvTos ws
Tlepuxret yuvaixas édevbépas eis TO avto hottw-
gas UmTobéyotto. Kal Wydicpa AroretOns &ypa-
> Ul \ \ “ \ /
ev eiaayyédrNeoGat Tous Ta Oeia pn vouifortas
f “
} XOyous wept Tov petapciwy diddcxortas,
? f >] 4 > ? é \
atreperOopevos eis Ilepixréa d¢ “Avakayopov rny
uTovotay. Seyopuevou 5€ Tod dynpov Kal mpoate-
/ X s ee v , a
pévov tas b:aBoXds, ottws On Whdiocpa Kupov-
zat, Apaxovtidov ypawyavtos, 67ws of AOYOL TAY

ypnpatwy wo Ilepixdréous eis tovs Iputavers
5] ~ e \ \ ‘ n 3 \ n
amroTeetev, of 5€ Stxactal tTHy Whdov amo Tov
a ra , 4
Bwpod dépovtes ev TH odet Kpivoteyv. “Ayvor bé
“A na ,
ToUTO pev adeire Tov Whdicpatos, KpiverOar bé
THy Sixny éypavev év Stxactais yrios Kal
TevTaKogiots, eite KAOTTHS Kal Swpwy elt’ ddexiov
w: , 3 , \ ,
BovrorT0 Tes Ovopad lew Thy Siwkev.
A
"Aonaciay pev otv é&ntycatTo, TOoANa Travu
\ \ , e 3 / , b \ ig \
mapa tHv dixny, os Atayivns pyatv, adels virép
aitns Saxpuva xa Senbeis tov dixactov ‘Avata-
(a f
yopay 6€ PaSnbeis eFémeuev €x Tis Toews.
e \ ‘ , A a ,
as 6€ &:a Decdlov mpocéntaice TO Orjpw, PoBy-
Geis to StxactyHpiov péXAoVTA Tov TOdELOV Kal
e , Igo / , 4
vroTupopevoy éekéexaucer, edTrifwv Stacxedacerv
Ta éyKA}paTa Kal TaTewocev tov POovov ev
ro ,
mpdyuact peyddo Kal Kivdvvois TiS TOAEWS
3 , U \ X 3 , \ ‘ ,
exelLv@ poVve@ oud TO ebvopa Kab THY Svvapuy
avabeions éavTyny. ai pev odv aitias dt as ovK
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PERICLES

XXXII. About this time also Aspasia was put on trial for impiety, Hermippus the comic pcet being her prosecutor, who alleged further against her that she received free-born women into a place of assign- ation for Pericles. And Diopeithes brought in a bill providing for the public impeachment of such as did not believe in gods, or who taught doctrines regard- ing the heavens, directing suspicion against Pericles by means of Anaxagoras. The people accepted with delight these slanders, and so, while they were in this mood, a bill was passed, on motion of Dracontides, that Pericles should deposit his accounts of public moneys with the prytanes, and that the jurors should decide upon his case with ballots which had lain upon the altar of the goddess on the acropolis. But Hagnon amended this clause of the bill with the motion that the case be tried before fifteen hundred jurors in the ordinary way, whether one wanted to call it a prosecution for embezzlement and bribery, or malversation.

(Well, then, Aspasia he begged off, by shedding copious tears at the trial, as Aeschines says, and by entreating the jurors; and he feared for Anax- agoras so much that he sent him away from the city. And since in the case of Pheidias he had come into collision with the people, he feared a jury in his own case, and so kindled into flame the threatening and smouldering war, hoping thereby to dissipate the charges made against him and allay the people's jealousy, inasmuch as when great under- takings were on foot, and great perils threatened, the city entrusted herself to him and to him alone, by reason of his worth and power, Such, then, are the reasons which are alleged for his not suffering

"J

clacev évdovvat Aaxedatpoviows tov dSipov, avrat
NEévyorTat, TOS adrnOes adnrov.
XXXIII. Oi dé ANaxedarporior 'yev@da KovTEs @s
éxetvou Katadvbcvtos eis qavTa paraKwrépots
Xpicovrat tois 'AGnvaioss, éx€ evov avuTovs TO
aryos éXavvey TO Kudovecor,! @ TO pntpobev
yévos TOU Tleptxdéous évoxor WV, @S Oovevdisys
iatopnxev." " be meipa TEPLETTH Tols Trépyacw
els TOUVAYTLOV" avTt yap Urrowias kat draBorijs
0 Tlepuxrijs ETL pet Cova TloTW EXE Kal TEV
Tapa Tois TohiTars, OS padiora ploouvToy Kal
poBoupever éxeivov TOV TONE LLOOD. 610 Kal mplv
euBareiv eis THY ATTLKHY TOV 'Apxidapor € exovTa
TOUS lledorrorvyaiovs T PUElTre Tous 'AOnvators,
ay dpa Tanda dn@r Oo "Apxibapos dméxnrar TOV
éxeivou Sia tTHv Eeviay tHv ovoav avtois, h da-
Boris Tots éxOpots evordous. adoppds, bre Ti
moder kal Thy ydpav Kal ras émavres emedt-
dwour,
"EpBdadrdrovew obv ets thy 'AtTTiKNnY oTpaT@
peyare Aaxedatpoviot pera, TOV TULMEX OY,
"Apxeddpov TOU Baairéws 7, Hyyoupéevov. Kal dnobv-
Tes THY Ywpav Tm pon rOov els 'AXapvas Kat
KateotpatoTésevoayv, ws Ttav 'AOnraiwy ovK
aveEopévwv, GAN vr' opyiis Kal Ppovrjparos
Stapaxoupever T pos avTous. TO 5é Llepexret
Seevov épaivero MPOS TOUS é£axic pupious Ileho-
movvnaiwy Kat Botwrav omditas (TocovToL yap
1 2vaatvew 7d KuAdverovy Fuhr and Blass, with BCFas:

dAatvey @.
2 fordpyxev Fuhr and Blass, with BCES: efpynxer.

the people to yield to the Lacedaemonians ; but the
truth about it is not clear.
XXXIII. The Lacedaemonians, perceiving that if he were deposed they would find the Athenians more pliant in their hands, ordered them to drive out the Cylonian pollution,! in which the family of Pericles on his mother's side was involved, as Thucydides states.2 But the attempt brought a result the opposite of what its makers designed, for in place of suspicion and slander, Pericles won even greater confidence and honour among the citizens than before, because they saw that their enemies hated and feared him above all other men. There- fore also, before Archidamus invaded Attica with the Peloponnesians, Pericles made public proclama- tion to the Athenians, that in case Archidamus, while ravaging everything else, should spare his estates, either out of regard for the friendly tie that existed between them, or with an eye to affording his enemies grounds for sjander, he would make over to the city his lands and the homesteads thereon.

Accordiugly, the Lacedaemonians and their allies invaded Attica with a great host under the leader- ship of Archidamus the king. And they advanced, ravaging the country as they went, as far as Acharnae, where they encamped, supposing that the Athenians would not tolerate it, but would fight with them out of angry pride. (Pericles, however, looked upon it as a terrible thing to join battle with sixty thousand Peloponnesian and Boeotian hoplites

1 That is, members of the Alemaeonid family, which was involved in the stain of bloodguiltiness when the archon Megacles, about 636 B.c., sacrilegiously slew the followers of Cylon. See Plutarch, Solon, xii. 1-3; Thucydides, i. 126.

£1,127, 4.

Hoav ol TO TP@ToV éuSanrovres) UTrEp auTns THS
Todkews payyy cuvdyat Tous bé Bovdopévous
paxeo bar Kal va rafowvtas ™ pos Ta yevopeva
KaTempaure, Néyov as dévdpa pev tunBévta Kai
KoTrévta puerar TAXEDS, avdpav 6¢ Sap Bapévrav
5 avbis TUXELY ov padcov €ott. Tov d€ S7pov els
exe natav ou ouvijye dedtas Brac hvat Tapa
youn, ann' GoTep VEWS xuBepyyrns avésLov
KATLOVTOS év TEAGYEL Dépevos ev TavTa Kal Kara
telvas Ta Oma ypira TH TEXYD, Saxpuva Kai
Sexjoers emtBatav VAUTLOVTOY Kal poBovpévay
édoas, oUTWS exelvos, TO TE AoTU cuyKreaas Kal

KatarkaBwv mavta pudaxais mpos aopanrevay,
expire tots auvTou Aoyio pois, Spaxeéa ppovtilov
6 TOV cataBowytav Kal dua xepawovTwr. Kaitou
ToAAol pev aitov Tav dirwy Seopevot mmpoce-
KELWTO, TOAAOL Oe TOY eyOpwY aTretdouVTES Kal
KaTnyopoovTes, xopol' & 7d0v acpata Kat TK pL
pata 7 pos ais xurny, éfuBpitovres avtob THY
oTpatyyiay as avav6pov kal Tmpolenevny Ta
Tpayuata Tots monepiors. emep vero dé Kat
Kr\éov 78n, bua TIS T pos éxetvov opyiis TOV
7 wo\uTe@y TOpeVopLEvos emt THY Snpayoyiar, Qs
TavaTaiata TadTa Snot ToincavTos 'Eppuittou:
Bacirev caTUpor, TL WOT OUK ederets
Copy Baorale, GXXA NOYouS pev
Wept TOU TONEMOU deLvous Tmapexets,"
wuyx7 5é Tédntos vrectw; *
pkore Fuhr and Blass, with FS; wool.
2 wapexeis Fuhr, with S: wapexn.
3 duxh . . . Sreorw Fuhr and Blass, after Emperius :
Wuxhv... sa tomni

(those who made the first invasion were as numerous as that), and stake the city itself upon the issue. So he tried to calm down those who were eager to fight, and who were in distress at what the enemy was doing, by saying that trees, though cut and lopped, grew quickly, but if men were destroyed it was not easy to get them again. And he would not call the people together into an assembly, fearing that he would be constrained against his better judgement, but, like the helmsman of a ship, who, when a stormy wind swoops down upon it in the open sea, makes all fast, takes in sail, and exercises his skill, disregarding the tears and entreaties of the sea-sick and timorous passengers, so he shut the city up tight, put all parts of it under safe garrison, and exercised his own judgement, little heeding the brawlers and malcontents. And yet many of his friends beset him with entreatics, and many of his enemies with threats and denunciations, and choruses sang songs of scurrilous mockery, railing at his generalship for its cowardice, and its abandonment of everything to

the enemy. Cleon, too, was already harassing him, taking advantage of the wrath with which the citizens regarded him to make his own way toward the leadership of the people, as these anapaestic verses of Hermippus! show :—

“Thou king of the Satyrs, why pray wilt thou not
Take the spear for thy weapon, and stop the dire talk
With the which, until now, thou conductest the war,
While the soul of a Teles is in thee?

1 From his ‘‘ Moirai,” or Fates. Kock, Com, Att. Frag., i. pp. 236 f.

eayyerptdiou o dxovntakdypa
Trapabnyopuéevns Bpvyets xomidos,*
bnyGeis alOwv Kr€Ewre.

XXXIV. IDAnv tr’ otdevos éxtvyOn tev ToLov-
tov 6 IlepexdjHs, GAXa Tpadws Kal oLtwHrH THY
adokiay kal THy aTéx Peay UptoTtapevos, Kal vedv
éxatov emt tay LeXorovvnaov otodXov exTréuTrOv
avTos ou ouvetérAevcev, AX Epetvey olKoupav
cal dua xElpos Exwv THY TWOALY, EWS aTNAXAYNTAY
of IleXorrovvyctot. Oeparrevwv S€ Tovs mrodXOUS
Opus doxddXovtas eri TH TOAEUM, Stavopais TE
Xpnudtwv averduBave Kat KAnpovyxias eypadev:
Aiyeviras yap é&eXdcas amavtas Scévetye THY
vicov “AOnvaiwy ois RAayovow. Hv O€ TIS
Tmapyyopia Kal ad wv éracyov ci modemtot. Kal
yap ol mepurreovtes THY IleXoTOvInaov ywpav
TE TOAAIY K@pas Te Kal TONES puKpas SveTropOn-
gav, Kat Kata yi aitos éuBadrov els THY
Meyapixny pape wacav. % Kal dhrov Hv Ore
rogiie ucv Spavtes cata yi xaxa® tous 'A@-
vaioUs, TodAa S€ MaaxovTes Um’ exetvwv éx
OaddtTns, OK av Els pKIS TONE“OU TOTOUTOY
mpousnaav, adda TaYews aTetTop, wamep €&
apxis oO Tepixdtjs mponyopevoer, €t pay Te datpo-
viov UTnvavTtwOn Tots avOpwririvols oyiapoLs.
Nov 88 rporov pév 1) Aotpwodns evérece POopa
kal KateveuyjOn Tip axpafoveay ArIKiay Kal
Sivayu: id Hs Kat Ta GOpaTa KaKovpevot Kal

1 xeyxeiptilov . . . xowlSos Coraés’ restoration of these

corrupt verses, adopted by Fuhr.
2 xara yyy xaxd Fuhr and Blass, with F*5: «and,
98

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PERICLES

If the tiniest knife is but laid on the stone
To give it an edge, thou gnashest thy teeth,
As if bitten by fiery Cleon."
XXXIV. However, Pericles was moved by no such things, but gently and silently underwent the ignominy and the hatred, and, sending out an armament of a hundred ships against the Peloponnesus, did not himself sail with it, but remained behind, keeping the eity under watch and ward and well in hand, until the Peloponnesians withdrew. Then, by way of soothing the multitude, who, in spite of their enemies' departure, were distressed over the war, he won their favour by distributions of moneys and proposed allotments of conquered lands; the Aeginetans, for instance, he drove out entirely, and parcelled out their island among the Athenians by lot. And some consolation was to be had from what their enemies suffered. For the expedition around the Peloponnesus ravaged much territory and sacked villages and small cities, while Pericles himself, by land, invaded the Megarid and razed it all. Wherein also it was evident that though their enemies did the Athenians much harm by land, they suffered mueh too at their hands by sea, and therefore would not have protracted the war to such a length, but would have speedily given up, just as Pericles prophesied in the beginning, had not a_ terrible visitation from heaven thwarted human ealeulations.
As it was, in the first place, a_ pestilentia! destruction fell upon them! and devoured clean the prime of their youth and power. It weakened
1 4308.0. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 47--54.

4 4 n 2 a,

\ \ , +] , ‘\ ‘\
Tas Yuxas wavtaracw nyptwOncay mpos Tov
Mepixréa, nal Kabarep tatpov 1) Tatépa TH voow
mapadpovincavtes adtKely érrexeipnoav, avaTret-
aBivtes vd TOV exOpav ws THY pév VOTO 7) TOU
“ ‘ 4
yupitixod mwAjOous els TO aaty cupdopnots
3 f 1 Ge ef A @ “ 7
amepyaterat,' Gepovs wpa modX@Y opou xveny
éy olkypace pixpois Kal oxnv@pact Tveynpots
nvayKacpevwv SrartacOat Siattav oixovpoy Kal
apyny avtt xa0apas Kal davarertapévns Tis
mpotepov, tovTov & aitios 6 Tw WodEUM TOV
,
GTO THS YMOpas GxYAOY Els Ta TELYN KaTAXEd-
pevos Kat mpos ovdey avOparTrots ToToUTOLS Xpw-
pevos, GAN éov watrep Bookypata Kadetpypevous
dvatipmracba. dOcpas am’ addAnrAwr, Kal pN-
/ ‘ 9 b A 9 /
Sepiav petaBornv pnd avauyny éxtropilov.
XXXV. Tadra Bovrcpevos idcbat Kat Tt Tapa-
AUTrELY TOUS ToAELOUS, EXaTOV Kal TreVTNKOVTA
“a b , \ \ ‘ bd) \ e /
vais émdrjpou, Kal moAXous Kat ayabous omAtTas
4 i 4 4 > ‘ 5d ’ Ud
Kal imméas avaBuBacdpevos épedrev avayer Oat,
peyaanv érmida Tots ToniTass Kal PoBov ovK édar-
TW TOLS TOAELLOLS ATO TOTAUTNS LaXVOS Tapacyov.
dn Sé wemTAnpwpevar Tav vewv Kai Tov Ilept-
/ 9 / 9 ‘ ¢ a , \
Kr€ovs avaBeBnKoros éml tHv éEavtcd Tpinpyn TOY
\ ef b nw“ 4 A tA ‘
pev prLov éexArttrety auvéBy Kai yevéaBat oKoTOs,
exr7Aaynvar S€ TavTAaS WS pos méya onpetor.
¢ nA @ ¢ A a \ tf
épav obvo Ilepixrts mepipoBov tov cuBepyynrny
? a
nai Scnmropnpévov, avéoxe THY YAapvda TPd TOV
l awepyacerat Fuhr and Blass, with FS : épyd(era:.
100
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|!
PERICLES

them in body and in spirit, and made them altogether wild against Pericles, so that, for all the world as the mad will attack a physician or a father, so they, in the delirium of the plague, attempted to do him harm, persuaded thereto by his enemies. These urged that the plague was caused by the crowding of the rustic multitudes together into the city, where, in the summer season, many were huddled together in small dwellings and stifling barracks, and compelled to lead a stay-at-home and inactive life, instead of being in the pure and open air of heaven as they were wont. They said that Pericles was responsible for this, who, because of the war, had poured the rabble from the country into the walled city, and then gave that mass of men no employment whatever, but suffered them, thus penned up like cattle, to fill one another full of corruption, and provided them no change or respite.

m XXXYV. Desiring to heal these evils, and at the same time to inflict some annoyance upon the enemy, he manned_a hundred and fifty ships of war, and, after embarking many brave hoplites and horsemen, was on the point of putting out to sea, affording great hope to the citizens, and no less fear to the enemy in consequence of so great a force. But when the ships were already manned, and Pericles had gone aboard his own trireme, it chanced that the sun was eclipsed and darkness came on, and all were thoroughly frightened, looking upon it as a great portent. Accordingly, seeing that his stecrsman was timorous and utterly perplexed, Pericles held up his cloak before the Io]

dew! auTov, Kal TapaKxaduYas 7pwTNGE yn TE decvov 7) Secvod tives oletat onpetiovy ws 8 ovK épn, ‘Ti obv,” elmev, “éxeivo tovtov dsadpéper, TAY OTL peiCoy TL THS XAaLVOOS oT TO TrETTOLN-KOS THY €mliaKoTnoW;” TavTa pev ovv év Tais axonais AéyeTar Tav dirocdgdwv.

"ExmrAevaas & ovvo Tlepixdijs ov7’ Addo Te Soxet

THS TapacKevns akiov Spadcat, TwodtopKiaas TE
THY lepav ‘EmriSavpov éanioa Tapacxovoay os
doo open ameéTuxe dea THY voor. emuyevopevn
yap ovK auTovs povoy, AAA Kal TOUS OTWCODY TH
oTpaTia ouppitavtas mpocdiepOerpev. ex TovTou
yareTras Siaxetpévous tous A@nvatovs mpos avrov
émelpato Tapnyopely Kal avafappuvery. ov unr
mapéAuce THY Opyny ovde peTETELTE TPOTEPOY 4)
Tas wWwndous AaBovtas én’ adtov eis TAS Yelpas Kal
ryevojievous Kupious adedéo Oat THY oTpaTiylay Kat
tnptdcat Xpypaciv, oy apiOpov ot Tov éAaytoTOV
mevrexaioexa TdAdavta, TevtnKovta 8 of Tov
qaAetaTtov ypapovatv. émeypady bé TH dixn KaTn-
yopos, ws pev ‘TSopuevets Aéyet, Kréwv, ws 8
@codpactos, Lippias: o Sé Uovtexos ‘Hpakretdns
Aaxpatiséap elpnte.
XXXVI. Ta pév obv Snpocia taykws Ewerre
mavoecOat,? KaOamep Kévtpov es TovTov apa
TAnyH Tov Oupov adexotwy Tav Toray Ta &
oixeta moxOnpas eiyev avT@ KaTd TE TOV NoLMLOY
1 ray GYewy Fuhr and Blass, with F8S: rijs dWews.

2 ratceoOa: Fuhr and Blass, with FS, and after Reiske: wave Gal.

man’s eyes, and, thus covering them, asked him if he thought it anything dreadful, or portentous of anything dreadful. “No,” said the steersman. “How then,” said Pericles, “is yonder event different from this, except that it is something rather larger than my cloak which has caused the obscurity?” At any rate, this tale is told in the schools of philosophy.

Well, then, on sailing forth, Pericles seems to have accomplished nothing worthy of his preparations, but atter laying siege to sacred Epidaurus, which awakened a hope that it might be captured he had no such good fortune, because of the plague. Its fierce onset destroyed not only the Athenians themselves, but also those who, in any manner soever, had dealings with their ‘forces. The Athenians being exasperated against him on this

account, he tried to appease and encourage them. He did not, however, succeed in allaying their wrath, nor yet in changing their purposes, before they got their hostile ballots into their hands, became masters of his fate, stripped him of his command, and punished him with a fine.) The amount of this was fifteen talents, according to those who give the lowest, and fifty, according to those who give the highest figures. The public prosecutor mentioned in the records of the case was Cleon, as Idomeneus says, but according to Theophrastus it was Simmias, and Heracleides Ponticus mentions Lacratides.

XXXVI. So much, then, for his public troubles ; they were likely soon to cease, now that the multi- tude had stung him, as it were, and left their passion with their sting ; but his domestic affairs were in a

ovK OALyous amoBaXovtTt TtaV emutndeiwy Kal oTAEL Statetapaypeva | moppwber. 0 yap Tpec- Butatos auTov TeV ynoiov via ElavOvrtos puaer TE Sarravypos & @v Kai yuvatkl véa Kal Trodv- TENEL TUVOLKODY, Teo dv8pou Guyarpi Tov "Emtdvxou, XareT as epepe THY Tob TAT POs axpiBeav yX- oxXpa Kal Kata px pov avT@ Xopnyovytos. meuyas oUV TPOS TiVa TOY hirwv éraBev a dpyvptov Qs TOU Tepixd€ous KeNEVT ALTOS. éxeivou oo UoTepov aT at- TOUVTOS, 6 peep Tlepixdijs Kat dixny auT@ 7 pog- é\axe, TO O€ petpaKiov oO EavOinmos emi TOUT@ Narer as Siatedeis ehowdoper Tov Tatépa, 1 p@TOV pev expepov émrl YeMOTe Tas otou Siar pias avTov Kal TOUS AoOyouUS obs émroceito * pera TOV copiaTay. mevtaO dou yap Tlvos aicov Tip Tata Eavtos *Eaittpov TOV Papaariov aKOUALWS Kal KATAKTEWAYTOS, 1Lépav oAny avarwaar pera Upwrayopou Siatropotvra, TOTEPOV TO aKovTtov a TOV Badovta padrov 7 u) TOUS aryovob eras KaTQ TOV opboratov Aoryou aitious Vpn TOU Tabous wyeta Bar, 7 pos dé ToUTOLS Kal THY Tepl THs yuvackos dva- Bomay UO Tob Ravbinirov dnoiv o LrnaipSpo- TOS els TOUS TOAXOUS dvaorrapivat, Kal Odws AVIKETTOV AXPL THS TEAEUTHS TO veavioxw Tpos TOY TaTépa Tapapeivat tiv Stapopav: améOave

yap 0 BavOirmos ev 7@ AotLD vornaas.
‘AmeBanre b€ xal THY abeAPHY 6 O Tepexrijs TOTE
Kal Tay KndecTa Kal didwy Tos TAELTTOUS Kal
1 d:aterapayyeva Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe : d:arerapay-
pevye.
2 éroeito Fuhr and Blass, with FaS, and after Sauppe:
ewolei.

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PERICLES

sorry plight, since he had lost not a few of his intimate friends during the pestilence, and had for some time been rent and torn by a family feud. The eldest of his legitimate sons, Xanthippus, who was naturally prodigal, and had married a young and extravagant wife, the daughter of Tisander, the son of Epilycus, was much displeased at his father’s exactitude in making him but a meagre allowance, and that a little at a time. Accordingly, he sent to one of his father’s friends and got money, pre- tending that Pericles bade him do it. When the friend afterwards demanded repayment of the loan, Pericles not only refused it, but brought suit against him to boot. So the young fellow, Xanthippus, incensed at this, fell to abusing his father, publishing abroad, to make men laugh, his conduct of affairs at home, and the discourses which he held with the sophists. For instance, a certain athlete had hit Epitimus the Pharsalian with a javelin, accidentally, and killed him, and Pericles, Xanthippus said, squandered an entire day discussing with Protagoras whether it was the javelin, or rather the one who hurled it, or the judges of the contests, that “in the strictest sense” ought to be held responsible for the disaster. Besides all this, the slanderous charge concerning his own wife Stesimbrotus says was sown abroad in public by Xanthippus himself, and also that the quarre) which the young man had with his father remained utterly incurable up to the time of his death,—for Xanthippus fell sick and died during the plague. Pericles Jost his sister also at that time, and of his relatives and friends the largest part, and those

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XPHCtLwWTATOVS TPOS THV TWoArtTeElav. ov myD
’ “A +QN wv \ f \ \ a
AMELTEY OVOE TPOVOWKE TO Ppovnpa Kal TO péyEOos
THS Wuxs vro TOV cvugopOv, AAW ovde Kraiwy

ovde Knoevwy ode Tpos Tadd TLVds PON TeV
” pos rade n

t , ‘ , a
dvaykatov, Tpty ye 57 Kal Tov TepiroeTroy avToOU
Tav yunotoy viov! amoBaxreiv Ilapadov. émt rov-
To O€ KapudUels evreipaTto pev éeyxapTepely TO
y0ee Kat duapvAddtreay TO peyadouyor, ért-
el “ f f fal

hépwov 5€ TO vexp@ atéhavoy ntTHOn Tov waOous
Tpos THY OYriv, WaTE KAaVO pov Te PHEaL Kal TrI-
Bos éxxéat dSaxpvwv, odéTuTE ToLodToOV ovdéY év
TO OLTO Pio TEeTOINKAS.
XXXVITI. Tis 6€ vorews Tepwpévns TeV ad-
AWY TTPATHYOV ELS TOY TOAEMOV Kal PNTOPwY, WS
b > \ 4 w % , o> 3 , \
5 ovdeis Bapos Exywv tooppotroyv ovd akiwpa mpos
TOTAUTNY EXEyyVOY HyeLoviay épaiveto, TOOovaNS
nw aA N
éxetvoy Kal KaXovans evi To Biya Kai TO oTpa-
a /
THytov, GOupov Kai Keipevos olkot dia TO TéVOOs
a ,
im "ArKiBiddouv Kat Tav adrwv éreiaOn phirov
a > / N “A ? \
mpoedOeiv. amoroynoapéevov b€ Tod Sryov THY
ayvepocuvny awpos avtov, UirobeEdpevos avOus
Ta Tpuypata Kal atpatnyos aipebels 7THTATO
AVOivat Tov Tept TOY voPwY vopmory, bY avTos
e ?
ELTEVNVOXEL TPOTEPOY, WS LN TavTaTacw épnpia
dradoyijs Tov oikoy €xdiTrot ToVVOUA Kal TO YévOS.
siye & OUT Ta Tept Tov vopov. akudlwy o
1 synalav viey Fuhr and Blass, with F8S: yvnolwy.
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who were most serviceable to hin. in his administra-
tion of the city. He did not, however, give up,
nor yet abandon his loftiness and grandeur of spirit)
because of his calamities, nay, he was not even seen
to weep, either at the funeral rites, or at the grave
of any of his connections, until indeed he lost the

very last remaining one of his own legitimate sons, Paralus. Even though he was bowed down at this stroke, he nevertheless tried to persevere in his _ habit and maintain his spiritual greatness, but as he laid a wreath upon the dead, he was vanquished by his anguish at the sight, so that he broke out into wailing, and shed a multitude of tears, although he had never done any such thmg in all his life before.

XXXVII. The city made trial of its other generals and counsellors for the conduct of the war, but since no one appeared to have weight that was adequate or authority that was competent for such leadership, ifeucarmed for Pericles,—and summoned a rar-otbce.!

He was lying dejectedly at home because cf his sorrow, but was persuaded by Alcibiades and _ his other friends to resume his public life. When the people had apologized for their thankless treatment of him, and he had undertaken again the conduct of the state, and been elected general, he asked for a suspension of the law concerning children born out of wedlock,—a law which he himself had formerly introduced,—in order that the name and lineage of his house might not altogether expire through lack of succession.

The circumstances of this law were as follows.

1 429 B.c.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Ilepixrns €v rH TodtTela mpo mdvu odd Xpovwv, Kat Taidas Exwv, WoTEP ElpyTtat, yvn-
, b]
gious, vouoy éypawe povous AOnvaious elvar Tous
bd " 9 / , > \ "a
éx Svetv AOnvaiwy yeyovoras. émet b¢ Tov Bact-
Aéws TaV AlyuTTiov dwpeav TO SHnuw TéurravTos
/ "A
TETPAKLo pLupLous TUpaY wedipvous Eder Sravéper Oat
4 f \ \ ? Ed s A
TOUS ToAiTas, ToANal pev avedvovto Sdixas Tots
Ld 9 " , 9 / , ?
voOous éx TOD ypaupatos Exeivouv Téws SraravOd-

vovat Kal wapopwpévois,' troddol b€ Kal cuKo-
davtnpact tepiémimrov. émpabncav §& ovv?
e , 9, / 4 Ld e \
addovtTes GALYM TWevTaKicxXirLwy €AaTTOUS, OL SE
9 a , , 3 “a
peivavtes ev TH TrodtTEla Kal KptOévtes ‘AOnvaior
f
puptoe Kal TeTpaxicyinot Kal TEecoapdKovTa TO
a 5] ‘di # gq ~ ‘ Q
TAHOS eEntucOnaav. dvtos ody Sewvov Tov Kata
TosoUTwy loytoavTa vo“ov UT auTOD madLD
“a a fe) ,
AvOjvat TOU ypaavTos, 7) Tapotoa SvaTvyia
“a “a \ ? s
t@ Tlepuxret mepi tov oixov, ws dixnv tiva
“a / “a ?
Sebwxott Tis Umepoiias Kal THs peyaravyias
9 a 3 / \ 9 / l 50
éxeivns, éméxrace Tovs “AOnvaious, cal dd€avtes
a ? “
avTov veyeontd Te TaGeiv avOpwriverv® te dei-
,
cAat cuveyxwpnaay atoypavacbat tov vobor es
s ‘ ~
Tous patopas, dvoya Oépevov to avTov. Kat
tovtov pev batepoy ev “Apyivoveats Katavavpa-
, e a“
ynoavta IleXomovyncious améxtervey 0 Siuos
META TOV TVTTPATHYOV.

1 SadarOdvovc., rapopwuevurs Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe : SitardavOavovoa, mapopwueva: (referring to the prosecutions).

2 8 ofy Fuhrand Blass, with F8S: ody.

3 gv6pwrivewy Fubr and Blass, with F8&S + avépwrlves.

PERICLES

Many years before this,1 when Pericles was at the height of his political career and had sons born in wedlock, as I have said, he proposed a law that only those should be reckoned Athenians whose parents on both sides were Athenians. And so when the king of Egypt sent a present to the people of forty thousand measures of grain, and this had to be divided up among the citizens, there was a great crop of prosecutions against citizens of illegal birth by the law of Pericles, who had up to that time escaped notice

and been overlooked, and many of them also suffered at the hands of informers. As a result, a little less than five thousand were convicted and sold into slavery, and those who retained their citizenship and were adjudged to be Athenians were found, as a result of this scrutiny, to be fourteen thousand and fortyin number. It was, accordingly, 7 prave matter, that the law which had been rigorously enforced against so many should now be suspended by the very man who _ had introduced it, and yet the calamities which Pericles was-then suffering in his family life, regarded as a kind of penalty which he had paid for his arrogance and haughtiness of old, broke down the objections of the Athenians. They thought that what he suffered was by way of retribution, and that what he asked became a man to ask and men to grant, and so they suffered him to enroll his illegitimate son in the phratry-lists and to give him his own name. This was the son who afterwards conquered the Peloponnesians in a naval battle at the Arginusae islands,? and was put to death by the people along with his fellow-generals.

1451-450 B.o. 2 406 B.o.
109
0 2 ee ee

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XXXVIII. Tote 5€ tod Tlepexréous Eorxev 0 178

Nouwos AaBEoOat AaBnv ove okeiav, WoTrEp GAXrXWY,
Oe , rrAXa Br “A td \ a
ovde gUVYTOVOY, AAAG BANXpa TLVt VOW Kal pHKOS
> 4 5 , na fa
év moixitats éyovon petaBorais dtaypwpevnv
al , e tA ‘ é
TO GOUA TXOAGiwWS Kal UTEpEeiTTOVcaY TO Ppovnpa
al “A e “A , > “~ > al
Tis uxs. 0 your Oecoppactos év trois H@txois
\ \ , 4 \
SiaTwropiaas eb Tpos Tas TYUYas TpéTTETAL Ta ON
Kal Kivovpeva Tois TOY GwyLaTwv TdBeaw €ekt-
“ “ n e
oTaTaAL THs dpeThs, tatopnKey OTL voowy o Ile-
al b / \ “a f c
puehijs EMLTKOTOULEVD TEL THY dirtwv deEee
Tepiam TOV UTO TOV yuvaiKoy TW TpAXne ree
MPTNBEVOY, as opodpa KAKOS EXWVY OTTOTE Kal
TavTy vTOLEVOL THY aBEXTEpiaV.
Mv \ N a a ¥ ? a
Hén S€ wpos TO TerXEUTAY OVTOS avTOU, TEpI-
a “ e , \ a
KaOipevo. Tov TodT@ of BéATLITTOL KaL TOV
e , , nm “ A
pitwy ol TeplovTes AUYOY ETALODVTO THs UapETHS

A A \ 4
Kal THs Suvapews, Gan yévoito, Kal Tas mpatets
a a a ,
GVEMETPOUYTO Kal TOV TpOTAaLwY TO TAOS evvea
al \ A \
yap Hv &@ oTpaTnyov Kal vik@v EaTnoEVv UTEP
A a e , 4 A
THS TONWS. TAUTA, WS OUKETL TUMLEVTOS, GAA
xaOnpnpevov thy alaOyaw avtov, diedéyovto
4 e nm '\ ~
Tpos adrXrjANous' oO S€ Taal eTUYYaVE TOV VvoOvD
' , ' , ¥
mpoceacynkws, Kai PbeyEauevos eis péecov edn
Oavpalew OTe TavTA pev eTTaLvovoW auTOD Kal
N , \ \
pVNmovevovoly, A Kal Tpos TUXNY €oTl KoLVa Kal
A ~ \ A
yéryovev 7)0n TOANOIS GTpaTHYOIS, TO 6€ KAXALT TOV
\ , 5] , ra; O i) ' , " yy
Kal MeyicTOV Ov AEYOVaLD. voeis yap, &py,
' % } \ "~ wv b] , t ¢ ,
du ewe Tay CvT@y AUnvatwy pédXav (pattoy
TepleBareTo.
IIo

PERICLES

XXXVIII. At this time, it would seein, the plague laid hold of Pericles, not with a violent attack, as in the case of others, nor acute, but one which, with a kind of sluggish distemper that prolonged itself through varying ehanges, used up his body slowly and undermined the loftiness of his spirit. Certain it is that Theophrastus, in his " Ethies," querying whether one's character follows the bent of one's fortunes and is forced by bodily sufferings to abandon its high excellenee, records this fact, that Pericles, as he lay sick, showed one of his friends who was come to see him an amulet that the women had hung round his neck, as much as to say that he was very badly off to put up with such folly as that.

Being now near his end,! the best of the citizens and those of his friends who survived were sitting around him holding discourse of his excellence and power, how great they had been, and estimating all his achievements and the number of his trophies,— there were nine of these which he had set up as the city's

vietorious general. This discourse they were holding with one another, supposing that he no longer understood them but had lost consciouness.

He had been attending to it all, however, and |

speaking out among them said he was amazed
at their praising and commemorating that in
him which was due as much to fortune as to
himself, and which had fallen to the lot of many
generals besides, instead of mentioning his fairest
and greatest title to their admiration ; “for,” said
he, “no living Athenian ever put on mourning

because of mie.’

1 He died in the autumn of 429 b.c,

————n

ea

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XXXIX, Oavpacros ouv 0 avip OU povoY THIS
emerkelas Kal MpaoTNTOs, AV Ev mpdypact ToANois
Kal peyaras dmexGeias Suet pyoer, ara Kal
TOU ppovnpatos, | el TOY avTov Kad@v mryeto
BéXtLoTOv Eirat TO pire hbovw pte Pup xapi-
cacOat pydév aro THALKAUTNS duvdpews, pnoe
2 xpycacbai Tit Tar exOpav os dvnKéaTy. Kat
pot Ooxel THY peipaxcwdy kat coBapav éxeivny
mposwvupiav éy tovTo Tote averipOovov Kal
TpeTovaay, ovTws EUMEVES 70 05 cat Btov év é€ov-
cia kaBapov Kai dpiavrov ‘Odvprtov TT pocayo-
peveoOar, xabarep 70 Tov Oey yevos a&tovper
aitcov pev ayab@v, avattiov oe KAK@V TEPUKOS
apxew Kal Bactrevew TOV dvTw, OVX WaTrEp
ot TounTat TUVTAPETTOVTES nas apabertatats
3 doFaus ddaKovTat ois aUuTOV pvdevpace,» TOV fLev
TOTOV, €v @ TOUS Geovs KarTotxety Aéyouaw,
daa panrés é5os Kal aaddevTov KaXovvTEs, ov
Tvevpactyv, ov vepert Ypaj.evor, arn aibpa®
parakn Kai dwt Kabapwraty TOV amavra
Xpovov opars mepthapTopevoy, OS TOLAUTNS
tivos* TO paxapicp Kal aavate diayoyns ped

duora TpeTTovgnNs, auTous dé Tovs Oeous Tapaxijs
Kal dua pevetas Kal opyiis aX\rAwv TE ETTOUS
rabov dam opatvovT es ovo dvO pwr ots vouv €xovat
T POT NKOVTOD. andra TavrTa pev tows tee
Mpaypareas Elvat.
4 Tod &€ Ilepixréous tayeiav aicOnalv Kal cadi)

1 uv@eduaos Fuhr and Blass with S (u@edpaor FF):
Kona.
2 atépa Fuhr and Blass with FS: ai6pfa.
> cabapwrdry Fuhr and Blass with F8S: xa@ap¢.
+ roradens tTuvds Fuhr and Blass with F8S: roiavrns.
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PERICLES

XXXIX. So, then, the man is to be admired not only for his reasonableness and the gentleness which he maintained in the midst of many responsibilities and great enmities, but also for his loftiness of spirit, seeing that he regarded it as the noblest—of all his titles to honour-that he—had_never_gratified _his-envy or his passion in the exercise of his vast power, nox treated _any one of his foes as a foe incurable. And it seems to me that his otherwise puerile and pompous surname is rendered unobjectionable and becoming by this one circumstance, that it was so gracious a nature and a life so pure and undefiled in the exercise of sovereign power which were called Olympian, inasmuch as we do firmly hold that the divine rulers and kings of the universe are capable only of good, and incapable of evil. In this we are not like the poets, who confuse us with their ignorant fancies, and are convicted of inconsistency by their own stories, since they declare that the place where they say the gods dwell is a secure abode and tran- quil, without experience of winds and clouds, but gleaming through all the unbroken time with the soft radiance of purest light,!—implying that some such a manner of existence is most becoming to the blessed immortal; and yet they represent the gods themselves as full of malice and hatred and wrath and other passions which ill become even men of any sense. But this, perhaps, will be thought matter for discussion elsewhere.

The progress of events wrought in the Athenians

1 Cf. Odyssey, vi. 42 ff.

wo0ov AOnvaios éveipyateTto Ta TpayyaTa. Kal
yap of Cavtos PBapuvopevor thy Evvapiv ws
dpavupotcay avtovs, evOus é€x modmy yevopevov
TELPWLEVOL PNTOPHY Kal Onpaywyav ETEepwV avwpO-
NoyouvTo peTpLwTEpon ev GyKw@ Kal cEpvoTEpoY é1

TpaoTnte pi povat Tporroy 4 8 émipOovos ioxus
éxeivn, povapyia Neyouevn Kal Tupavyis TpoTEpor,
éhavn TOTE cwTNHplovy Epupa TiS TodtTELAS YyEvo-
bevy? TocavTn POopa Kal wANOos éwéxerto KaKias
Tos Wpaypacty, ty éxeivos acbevh} Kai TaTewny
TOLMY aTEXPUTTE KAL KATEKWAVEY avyKETTOV eV
éfovota' yevéeoOa.
1 éy efovola Fuhr and Blass with F4SC: éfouglg.

1I4

PERICLES

a swift appreciation of Pericles and a keen sense of
his loss. For those who, while he lived, were
oppressed by a sense of his power and felt that it
kept them in obscurity, straightway on his removal
made trial of other orators and popular leaders, only
to be led to the confession that a character more
moderate than his in its solemn dignity, and more
august in its gentleness, had not becn created.
That objectionable power of his, which they had
used to call monarchy and tyranny, seemed to them
now to have been a saving bulwark of the consti-
tution, so greatly was the state afflicted by the
corruption and manifold baseness which he had kept
weak and grovelling, thereby covering it out of
sight and preventing it from becoming incurably
powerful.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

®ABIOZ MAEIMOZ

I. Towovtou 6é Tob Tlepexdéous ev Tots afious
MV HLLNS yeyoveTos, WS Taperrnpaper, €mi Tov
ba Brov THY (oTopiav peTaryaryoper. VULPOY pds
Aéyouaty, ot 6€ YUVALKOS emixwpias, "Hpaxret
puyelons wept Tov OvpBpw TmoTapop yeverOar
PaBrov, avdpa TORU Kal Soxtpov év ‘Popn TO
aBiov yévos ad avTou Tapag yovTa. TLVES dé
TOUS amo TOU yevous TOUTOU Tpwrovs TH Ov’ opu-
YMATOV NPNTAapEvous aypa Podious Laropoboww
ovopaleaGat TO TWadatov’ ovT@ yap aypt viv at
duwmpuxes pocoat Kal podepe TO oKdWat KadetTat:
ypovw dé Tav duveiy POoyywv peTatred ovTo@V

Dafoe mpoonyopevOnaay. ToNAOUS be Kal perya-
Aous THS oixtas eFeveyxaperns avopas, avo ‘Povn-
dou Tov peylatov Kai da TOUTO Ma£ipou mapa
‘Pwpatots émovopac Hevros tétaptos jv DaBros
Ma&tpos, wept ob TUE ypapoper.
"Hy 8 avro CW MATLKOY ev TapwvupLoy oO
Bepovxwaos: eixe yap axpoxopsova pixpav
€TaVW TOV eihous ememep uKviay" o 6¢€ ‘Oour-
Kovdas onpwaiver a To mpoSariov, éTeOn d¢ 7 pos
THY TpqoTnTa Ka l Bapitnra! Tou 7Gous € éTt Tmatdos
évTos. TO yap HovYLOY avTOU Kal aiwmnroy Kat
1 Bapirnra MSS., Sint.!, Coraés, and Bekker: Bpadvrira
slowness.
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FABIUS MAXIMUS

I, Sucu were the memorable things in the career of Pericles, as we have received them, and now let us change the course of our narrative and tell of Fabius. It was a nymph, they say, or a woman native to the country, according to others, who consorted with Hercules by the river Tiber, and became by him the mother of Fabius, the founder of the family of the Fabii, which was a large one, and of high repute in Rome. But some writers state that the first members of the family were called Fodii in ancient times, from their practice of taking wild beasts in pitfalls. For down to the present time “ fossae’”’ is the Latin for ditches, and “ fodere”’ for to dig. In course of time, by a change of two letters, they were called Fabii. This family produced many great men, and froin Rullus, the greatest of them, and on this account ealled Maximus by the Romans, the Fabius Maximus of whom we now write was fourth in descent. .

He had the surname of Verrucosus from a physical peculiarity, namely, a small wart growing above his lip; and that of Ovicula, which signifies Lambkin, was given him because of the gentleness and gravity of his nature when he was yet a child. Indeed, the calmness and silence of his demeanour,

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

META TrOANHS EVAABELaS TOV TaALdLKOV arToOpEVOV
nOovav, Bpaséws Sé kal S:atrovws Seyopevov Tas
padiaes, evxorov b€ mpos tots cuvyibes Kai
KatnKooy aBerTEpias Tivos Kal vwOporntos b7d-
voiay eiye Tapa Tos exTOs: OArLyot & Faav oi TO
duvoxivytov vireo Babous Kai To peyadouyor Kal
heovT@des ev TH Pvce Kabopwrtes adtod. Tayv
dé tov ypovov Tpoiovtos bd TaY TpaypdTwv
éyerpoevos Stecnpatve Kal Tols ToANNois arra-
Geav péev otcav tHv doxovcayv ampayiay, ev-
Bovdiav 6€ tHv edrAaBerav, Td 5é mpds pydev d€v
und evxivntoy év race povimov Kal BéRatov.
opav b€ Kal THs moAtTElas TO péyeOos Kal TaY
TONELWY TO TAHOOS, HOKEL TO MEV TULA TPOS TOUS
TOXNELOUS, WoTEP OTAOY GUpdhuUTOY, Tov dé Aovov
dpyavov meOods mpos Tov Stpov, ed para Tpe-
TovTws TH Bi@ KaTaKEKoopNMEvoY. Ov yap érhy
dpaicpos ovdé Kev Kal ayopatos yapts, adda
vous idvov Kat TEplT TOV év Vo Loroyiats oxXnpa
Kal Babes Exo, as padtota Tais Oovevdidov
MpoceoKevat éeyouot. stacwletar yap avtod
hoyos, ov elzrev Ev T@ Srjpuw, TOV Tatdds avTod pel'
UTaTelav uToOavovrTos eyKwuLoV.
IT. llevte 8 vrataay as vrdtevoer, 4} rpwrn
tov amo Awyiwv OpiauBov écyev. ntrnOévres
yap Um avtov payyn Kal ToAAOUS arroBadovtes
ets Tas "AXTELS avEecTadANCay, Kal THY TpocoLKoV
éravaavto THs 'ITadias Anifopwevor Kal KaKd>
motouvres. emrel 6 'AvuiBas éuBadrov eis 'lraXiav
120

the great caution with which he indulged in childish
pleasures, the slowness and difficulty with which he
learned his lessons, and his contented submissiveness
in dealing with his comrades, led those who knew
him superficially to suspect him of something like
foolishness and stupidity. Only a few discerned
the inexorable firmness in the depth of his soul,
and the magnanimous and leonine qualities of his
nature. But soon, as time went on and he was
roused by the demands of active life, he made it
clear even to the multitude that his seeming lack of

energy was only lack of passion, that his caution was prudence, and that his never being quick nor even easy to move made him always steadfast and sure. He saw that the conduct of the state was a great task, and that wars must be many; he therefore trained his body for the wars (nature's own armour, as it were), and his speech as an instrument of persuasion with the people, giving it a form right well befitting his manner of life. For it had no affectation, nor any empty, forensic grace, but an import of peculiar dignity, rendered weighty by an abundance of maxims. These, they say, most resembled those which Thueydides employs. And a speech of his is actually preserved, which was pronounced by him before the people in eulogy of his son,! who died consul.

II. The first? of the five consulships in which he served brought him the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. These were defeated by him in battle, with heavy loss, and retired into the Alps, where they ceased plundering and harrying the parts of Italy next to them. But Hannibal now

1 Cf. Cicero, Cato Maior, 4. 2 233 B.C.

Gre |

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Kat payn mpatov wept tov TpeSiay motapev émixpatyaous avtos pev mArAavve dia Tuppnrias rop0av thy xwpay, ExTAntiv Sé Servnv Kat poBov ets THV 'Pwomny évéBare, onpeia 6€ Ta pev cuvijOn 'Pwpatots amo Kepauvav, 7a 8 dAws eEnrAXNaypeva Kal TodXiy aToTiay €xyovta Tpoaémin Te (Gupeous Te yap ad avutav aipate yevésOar dtaBpoyxous éréyOn, kal Opn otayvwv mepi "Avtiov évatpa xelipecOat, Kal AiGous pev Ex TOU aépos dtaTrupous Kat dreyopévous hépesCat, tov & v7Eep Parepious ovpavod payivat b0€avtos éxnimtev xalt d:a-ometpecOat TOAAA YypappaTeia, Kal TOUTWY EV EVI yeypaupevov davivar xata rE ""Apns Ta éavtov Oma oareve'), Tov pev Uratov Taiov Prapiviov ovdev iuSrvve Tovtwr, avdpa pos TO pioet Oupoetdet Kal hirotipm peyadas érrapo-pevov evtuxias, as mpooGev evtuxnae Tapano-yos, THS Te Bovrns atabsovans) Kai ToD cuv-

, ? , , \ a ,

apxovTos eviatapévov Bia cvpBarov Tois Vada-
Tals Kat Kpatiaas, PdBiov b€ ta pév onpeta,
xaimep artopeva ToA@Y, HrToV UTéOpatte Sia
Thy addoyiav: tiv S odvyoTnTa TOY TOdEWOY Kal
THY axXpypatiay muvOavoyevos KapTEpey Trape-
Kader Tors “Pwpuatovs Kal pH payecOat mpos
avOpwrov er avtad TovT@ bia TOMAOV ayovwr
HoKNMEVN TTPATLA YXpwpevov, GAA TOS oUp-
payors emireutovtas BonBelas Kai Tas TTOXets
Sud yetpos Exovtas avtyny eav Tepl avTH papaive-
obat THY dxpnv tov "AvviBov, Kabdrep prova
Ndpracay a7 piKpas Kal Kovdns Suvapeas.
2 aradovons with CS: dwoxadovons.
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~T

FABIUS MAXIMUS

burst into Italy,! and was at first victorious in battle at the river Trebia. Then he marched through Tuscany, ravaging the country, and smote Rome with dire consternation and fear. Signs and portents occurred, some familiar to the Romans, like peals of thunder, others wholly strange and quite extraordinary. For instance, it was said that shields sweated blood, that ears of corn were cut at Antium with blood upon them, that blazing, fiery stones fell from on high, and that the people of Falerii saw the heavens open and many tablets fall down and scatter themselves abroad, and that on one of these was written in letters plain to sec, “Mars now brandisheth his weapons.”? The consul, Gaius Flaminius, was daunted by none of these things, for he was a man of a fiery and ambitious nature, and besides, he was elated by great successes which he had won before this, in a manner contrary to all expectation. He had, namely, although the senate dissented from his plan, and his colleague violently opposed it, joined battle with the Gauls and defeated them. Fabius also was less disturbed by the signs and portents, because he thought it would be absurd, although they had great effect upon many. But when he learned how few in number the enemy were, and how great was their lack of resources, he exhortcd the Romans to bide their time, and not to give battle to a man who wielded an army trained by many contests for this very issue, but to send aid to their allies, to keep their subject cities well in hand, and to suffer the culminating vigour of Hannibal to sink and expire of itself, like a flame that flares up from scant and slight material.

1 2183.0, 7? Manors telum suum concutit (Livy, xxii. 1).
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4

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TIT. Ov pny érecce tov Prapivioy, adrAa dijoas
ovx avéEecOat mpoctovta TH ‘Popmn Tov ToOdEMOY
oud, W@OTTEP O TANALOS Kaporros, ev TH TONE
StayayetoOat mepl avtTns, Tov pev oT patov

efayew exéAEUTE TOUS XeALapxous, av7os
& él tov immov aNAGLEVOS e& ovdevos aitiouv
7 podnXou Taparoyws € TPO/LOV rob (mT TTo0v yevo-
peévou al MTUPEVTOS eemece Kat Karevexels € émrt
Keparny 6 0ms ovder etpewe THS youn, AX’ ws.
Opynoev e& apxijs amavtijcat 7 ‘AvviBa, Tept
THY Karoupevnvy Opacuperny } ALuyny 7s Tup-
pyvias twapetakato.
Tov 6€ oT pariorév cuuBarovtTwy eis xetpas
dpa TO Kalp@ THS payys auvérrece TELopOS,
vp ov Kal trodes dveT pam aay Kal pevpara
TOTO MOV e& edpas peETETTN Kal Kpnuve@v UTM@pEerat
Teprepparynoar.. ard, KaiTrep obTw yevopevov
watov Tov 7 aBous,° ovdels TO TapaTrav naOero
TOV paxopeveoy. avTOS pev ouv o Prapinos
TONG Kal TOUTS Epya Kal popns ET LOELKVULEVOS
emECe, Kal Tept aurov ol K patio TOU tav & adrAov
TpaTrevT@v TOAUS my ovos, Kal TEVTAKLOXLALOL
POs _Buplows KATEKOTNOAY, Kal Eddwoav ere poe
TodOUTOL. TO dé Prapuviov Tapa pioTipoupevos
Bayar Kal Koo pias bc apeTny 0 ‘AvviBas oux
evpev éy Tois vexpots, aAr rHyvoETO TO TapaTraV
OT WS npaviaOn.
Thv pev ovv ért tov TpeBtiou yevopévny Htrav

1 Opacunevny an early anonymous correction, adopted by Coraés and Bekker: Opacuvfay.
2 wepieppaynoay Bekker’s wapeppdynoav is now found in §, 3 rou wadovs Coraés and Bekker after Reiske: wd@ous.

Wea

FABIUS MAXIMUS

III. Flaminius, however, was not persuaded, but declared that he would not suffer the war to be brought near Rome, and that he would not, like Camillus of old, fight in the city for the city’s defence. Accordingly, he ordered the tribunes to lead the army forth. But as Flaminius himself sprang upon his horse, for no apparent reason, and unaccountably, the animal was seized with quivering fright, and he was thrown and fell head foremost to the ground. Nevertheless, he in no wise desisted from his purpose, but since he had set out at the

beginning to face Hannibal, drew up his forces near the lake called Thrasymené,! in ‘Tuscany. When the soldiers of both armies had engaged. at the very crisis of the battle, an earthquake occurred, by which cities were overthrown, rivers diverted from their channels, and fragments of cliffs torn away. And yet, although the disaster was so violent, no one of the combatants noticed it at all. Flaminius himself, then, while displaying many deeds of daring and prowess, fell, and round about him the flower of his army. The rest were routed with much slaughter. Fifteen thousand were cut to pieces, and as many more taken prisoners. The body of Flaminius, to which Hannibal was eager to give honourable burial because of his valour, could not be found among the dead, but disappeared, no one ever knowing how.

Now of the defeat sustained at the Trebia,? neither

1 Tarsimene, Polybius, iii. 82; Trasimenus, Livy, xxii. 4.
3 Cf. chapter ii. 2.

«
—
fone)

ov? o ypapas ctpatnyos ov8 o Trepp beis ayyedos
3 ’ + , # b] 3 3 id 4 ,
an evOcias Eppacev, arr evevoato tHv vixen
> 2 ’ a . 9 f , \ “
€midixov autos Kat apdidoEov yevérOat epi dé
TAVTNS OS TP@TOV HKoVaeEV Oo aTpaTHyos TloutTre-
yios, auvayaywv eis éxxAnoiav tov Sihpov ov
as! bp] \ \ > , ” nd
TepiTAOKas Ovde TAapaywyas GA’ avtixpus Edn
mpocehOwv: ‘“ NevixnpeOa, wo avdpes “Pwpaior,
- / \ f \ , ‘Y
peyarn payn, Kal OvePOaptat To otpatoredov, kal
Prapivos bratos aToAwAev. adda Bovreverbe
f a ,
Tepl owTnpias avT@V Kal dogadretas.” ovdTOS pév
ovv waoTEp Treva TOV oyov éuBarwv eis

TéXayos ToaovTou Snuou auvetapake tTHhv Tory,
ovd éoTtdvat Tpos tocauTHy ExTANELW OL AO-yLopO!
kat Sapeveey edvvavto. mavtes 8 eis plan
yvounv auvnyOnoav avuTevOivov SeicOar ta
? , 4 “
TpaypuTa povapyxias, iv ouctatopiay KaXdovot,
kat Tov peTayeploupevoy TavTnv abpurtas Kal
9 “ b] / ? “~ id ?
ademas avdpos: eivat 5€ Tottroy é&va PaBrov
MdE:popv, toopporov Exovta TH peyeOe THS apys
, N , a ,
To Ppovnua xai To akiwpa Tov HOovs, ArALKias TE
KATA TOUTO yeyevnuevoy ev @ TUVETTHKEY ETL TPOS
Ta THS Wuyins BovrAetpata TO copa TH Ppwpyn Kai
guyKxéxpatat T@ Ppoviw To Oappanéov.
IV. ‘Os odv tradr’ &okev, aroderyGeis Suxtarap
, \ b] / >A “r ,
Pais, cat amrodeiEas autos irmapyov Mapxor
Muvovciov, wpw@tov pev ATiCAaTO Tiv TUyKANTOY
imm@ xpic8ar rapa tas otpatetas. ov yap
Sha b >] > ‘ \ , f
éERv, ad amnyopevto xata $1 Tiva vopov
WAN4LOV, ELITE THS AXKNS TO TWrEioTOY EV TH
1260

FABIUS MAXIMUS

the general who wrote nor the messenger who was sent with the tidings gave a straightforward account, ‘tthe victory being falsely declared uncertain and doubtful ; but as soon as Pomponius the praetor heard of this second defeat, he called an assembly of the people, faced it, and without roundabout or deceptive phrases, but in downright fashion, said : «Men of Rome, we have been beaten in a great battle ; our army has been cut to pieces; our consul, Flaminius, is dead. Take ye therefore counsel for your own salvation and safety.” This speech of his fell like a tempest upon the great sea of pcople before him, and threw the city into commotion, nor could deliberate reasoning hold its own and stay the general consternation. But all were brought at last to be of one mind, namely, that the situation demanded a sole and absolute authority, which they call a dictatorship, and a man who would wield this authority with energy and without fear; that Fabius Maximus, and he alone, was such a man, having a spirit.and a dignity of character that fully matched the greatness of the office, and being moreover at the time of life when bodily vigour still suffices to carry out the counsels of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

IV. Accordingly, this course was adopted, and Fabius was appointed dictator. He himsclt ap- pointed Marcus Minucius to be his Master of Horse, and then at once asked permission of the senate to use a horse himself when in the field. For this was not his right, but was forbidden by an ancient law, either because the Romans placed their greatest

1 In the absence of a consul, who alone could appoint a dictator, the people made Fabius pro-dictator (Livy, xxi. 8).

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mel@ TiUWenévwv Kai 1a TOUTO TOV 7 pa7Nyov
olopeveay dety Ta papeve Th parayyt Kat pn
mponeitrer, el0', ort TUPAVULKOV ets aravra Tara
Kal péeya TO TIS apxyns Kparos €oTiv, &Y Ye TOUT@
Bovropévor TOV ouxtatopa Tob Onpou aivec Oat
Seouevov. ov pry adda xal avTOS 0 Pa Bros
e005 evdeifac Gar béXwv TiS apxijs TO béyeBos
Kab TOV OyKov, @S paAXAOV UIHKOOES XPPTO Kal
mevOnviors Tots ToAiTats, 7 pone TUVEVEYKGMEVOS
els TAUTO padouxias etkootTeaoapas" Kal Tob
évépou Tav UTaTwV AT AVT@YTOS avuT@ Tov Umnpe-
TV meurpas éxéhevae TOUS paBSovxous aTan-
NaEat nal Ta Tapdonya Ths apyis amo0épevov
iStwTnyv atTavTav.
Mera 6€ Taira Karnior ry dpXOpEvos éx Jedy
apxny, Kat didacKxwv Tov Ojjpov os oduyapia cat
Tepippovicet TOU otpatnyob pos TO Satpovior,
ov pox Onpia TOV dyovic awevov oparerra, 7 ou-
TPETTE [LN Sediévar Tods éxOpous, aXXA TOUS /eous
eFevpevilec Gar Kal TLuav, ov SeroSaipoviay € EvEp-
yasopevos,) andra Oappiver evoeBeig THY apeTny
Kal Tais Tapa tav Ocov eXTrion Tov amo Tov
Torepiov doBov apatpar Kal Trapapvbovperos.
exevO naar d€ TOTE jodAal Kal TeV aTOppHTwV
kal xpynoimwv avtois BiBrwv, is XeBvdrreiovs
Kadovat Kal eyerat cuvdpapetv evia TOV amo-
KEL eva" év avurais Lovie 'Tpos Tas TUXaS Kal
TAS mpakes €xeitvas. Kal TO pev yvoa bev ovK ay
érépw trvbécOat: mpoedOwv 6€ o diktatwp ets TOV
1 dvepyaCduevos Coraés and Bekker after Bryan, now with
S: epya(duevos.
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strength in their infantry, and for this reason thought

that their commander ought to be with the phalanx and not leave it; or because they wished, since the power of the office in all other respects is as great as that of a tyrant, that in this point at least the dictator should be plainly dependent on the people. However, Fabius himself was minded to show forth at once the magnitude and grandeur of his office, that the citizens might be more submissive and obedient to his commands. He therefore appeared in public attended by a united band of twenty-four lictors with their fasces,) and when the remaining consul was coming to meet him, sent his adjutant to him with orders to disiniss his lictors, lay aside the insignia of his office, and meet him as a private person.

After this, he began with the gods, which is the fairest of all beginnings, and showed the people that the recent disaster was due to the neglect and scorn with which the?r general had treated “religious tes, and not to the cowardice of those who fought under him. He thus induced them, instead of fearing their enemies, to propitiate and ‘honour the gods. It was not that he filled them with superstition, but rather that he emboldened their valour with piety, allaying and removing the fear which their enemies inspired, with hopes of aid from the gods. At this time, moreover, many of the so-called Sibylline books, containing secrets of service to the state, were con- sulted, and it is said that some of the oracular sayings therein preserved corresponded with the fortunes and events of the time. What was thus ascertained, however, could not be made public, but

I Kach consul was allowed twelve.

byrov evkato Tois Geois éviavtod pev aiyev Kal
avav Kal tpo8dtwv xal PBowv emiyovny, danv
"IraXlas Gpn Kal media Kai trotapol Kal AEtpaves
els @pav écouévyny Opérovart, xatabvoew atravta,
; \ \ \ \ bd ‘
Qéas 8€ povarxas Kai Oupedixas ake aro
anoteptiwy Tptakociwy TpidxovTa Tpiav Kal
Oyvaptwy Tplakociwy TpldKoVvTAa TPL@V ETL TPLTN-
, n
popiov mpocovtos. TodTo TO Kepddraov éativ
oxTa pupiddes Spaxpov cai Spaypai tpicxirdat
s a
mevtakoclat oyoojKovta Tpeis Kal duo dPodoi.
f A “ b] A nw / b) ,

Aoyoyv Sé TIS Els TOUTO TOU TANOoUS axpiBetas
Kal Stavopis yareTrov éotiy eiTvety, eb 7 TLS Apa
Bovroito THS TpLados Upvety THY dUvapw, OTL Kal
puget TéMELOS Kal TP@TOS TOY TEPLTTaY apy?)
¢ a \
te TWANOouS év AUTO Tas Te Tpwras Siahopas Kai
aA wn ,
Ta TavtTos apiOpnod ototyeta pi~as Kal cuvappo-
‘
cas els TAUTOV avEeiAngpev.
V. Tay peév ody ToAd@v 0 DaBtos THY yvouny
b] , > A “a e / \ A ‘4
amraptnaas els TO Geitov ndiw mpos TO pédroV
émoinaev’ autos 6€ macas Béuevos ev ait@ Tas
nw fa n 7
Tis vikns éAmibas, ws Kal ToD Jeod Tas evtrpakias
dc apetis Kal ppovncews wapad.oovtos, TpéTeT aL
‘ ? , 3 e if ’ \
mpos ‘AvviBav, ovy ws Stapayoupevos, adda
Ypov@ Tiy akpnv avToD Kal Xpijpact THY aTropiay
‘ / \ ’ U / 4
kat TmodvavOpwria thy odyoTnTa TpiBELY Kat
e 4 4 bad aN ,
uTavariaxev BeBovrevpeévos. bev acl peTewpos
amTO THS immov TOV TOAELioY ev TOTOLS GpELVoOis
oTpatoTedevwy emnwpetto, KaOnpévouv péey jaovyd-
Cw, kivoupévou b€ KaTAa TOY AKpwY KUKA® TrEpLi@V
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the dictater, in the presence of all the people, vowed to sacrifice to the gods an entire year's inercase in goats, swine, sheep, and cattle, that is, all that Italy’s mountains, plains, rivers, and meadows should breed in the coming spring.! He likewise vowed to celebrate a musical and dramatic festival in honour of the gods, which should cost three hundred and thirty-three sestertia, plus three hundred and thirty- three denarii, plus one third of a denarius. This sum, in Greek money, amounts to ecighty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-thrce drachmas, plus two obols. Now the reason for the exact prescription of this particular number is hard to give, unless it was thereby desired to laud the power of the number three, as being a perfect number by nature, the first of odd numbers, the beginning of quantity, and as containing in itself the first differences and the elements of every number mingled and blended together.

V. By thus fixing the thoughts of the people upon their relations with Heaven, Fabius made them more cheerful regarding the future. But he himself put all his hopes of victory in himsclf, believing that Heaven bestowed success by reason of wisdom and valour, and turned his attentions to Hannibal. He did not purpose to fight out. the issue with him, but wished, having plenty of tiine, money, and men, to wear out

and consume gradually his culminating vigour, his scanty resources, and his small army. Therefore, always pitching his camp in hilly regions so as to be out of reach of the enemy's cavalry, he hung threateningly over them. If they sat still, he too kept quiet; but if they moved, he would fetch a

1 Ver sacrum (Livy xxii. 10).

Let
K 2
3

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Kal Tepipaivopevos é€x StagTipaTos OaoY aKovit
pr) BiacOivar payecOar Kai poBov ws paxynao-
pevos TOS ToNEmlOLS ATO THS pEeXANoEWS AUTIS
TapéexXelv. ovTW Oé Tapuaywy TOY 'Ypovoy Umoe
TuvtTwy Katedpovelto, Kal KAKGS peVv aKOUEV EV
TO oTpaToTPédy, KouLoy O€ TOiS TOAEULOLS TOAPLOS
cdoxet Kal TO pndév eivat mrANY évos avodpos
"AvviBov, povos & éxeivos avtod thy dewvornta,
Kab TOV TPOTOY @ ToAcuEly eyvMKEL, TUYLOMV, Kab
Stavonbels ws mdon Téxy Kat Bia Kwntéos eorit
els paynv o avnp 1) dvaTémpaxtat Ta Kapynbdoviwy,
ols pév etou Kpeittous OToLs yYpicacBar pr
Suvapévwv, ols Sé AEelwovtTar cwyact Kal ypr-
pacity éNaTTovpevwy Kai Saravwpévar Eis TO
pnodev, emt tracay idéav otpatnytxov ceodicmatov
Kal TadatopdTwy TpETOMEVOS, Kal TELPwWLEVOS
watep Servos GOANTIS AaBny CnTaV, TpocéBarre
Kal dueTapatte Kal peTHyye TMOANAYOTE TOV PaBioy,
€KOTHOAL THY UTEp THS aaphareias Noytopav Lov-
NOMEVOS.
Ta 8 » pev yvoun! mioti Exovca Tod
oupdhépovtos ev éavtn PéBatos eiotynKe Kat
dpetartw@tos' nuwyre & avutov o tarmapyxos
Muvovxtos diropayav axaipws Kat Opacvvoperos
kal Snpaywyov 70 uTpaTevwa pavixhs gdopas Kai
Kevov érTridwy UT avTov TeTANPwWLEVOY' OL TOY
pev PaBiov cKwmtovtes Kai Katadpovodvtes
'AvviSou tmaidaywyo:' amexddouy, Tov dé Muvov-
1T? 8 7 wey yroun with Bekker: Tg 3 4 yvopn.
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=T
~T
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circuit down from the heights and show himself just far enough away to avoid being forced to fight against his will, and yet near enough to make his very delays inspire the enemy with the fear that he was going to give battle at last. But for merely consuming time in this way he was generally dcs- pised by his countrymen, and roundly abused even in his own camp. Much more did his enemies think him a man of no courage and a mere nobody,—all except Hannibal. He, and he alone, eomprehended the cleverness of his antagonist, and the style of warfare which he had adopted. He therefore made up his mind that by every possible deviee and constraint his foe must be induced 10 fight, or else the Cartha- ginians were undone, since they were unable to use their weapons, in which they were superior, but were slowly losing and expending to no purpose their men and moneys, in which they were inferior. He there- fore resorted to every species of strategie trick and artifice, and tried them all, seeking, like a clever athlete, to get a hold upon his adversary. Now he would attack Fabius directly, now he would seek to throw his forces into confusion, and now he would try to lead him off every whither, in his desire to divorce him from his safe, defensive plans.

But the purpose of Fabius, confident of a favourable issue, remained consistent and unchangeable. He was annoyed, however, by his Master of Horse, Minucius, who was eager to fight all out of season, and over bold, and who sought to win a following in the army, which he filled with mad impetuosity and empty hopes. The soldiers railed at Fabius and scornfully ealled him Hannibal’s pedagogue; but

KLOV peyav avopa Kat THs “Popns aEvov nryouvTo
oT paryyov" o 0€ HaXXov Els ppovnpa Kat Opacos
AVEL[.€VOS exrevace bev Tas él TOV aKpav oT pa-
ToTedeias, @5 KaXa Oéatpa Tov SixTaTOpos ael
mapackevatopevov Jew pijaovar mopOouperny Kal
preyouerny THY ‘TraXiay, pora 6€ TOUS pirous
TOU ‘Pa Biou TOTEPOV els TOV ovpavoy apas ava-
péper TOV OTPATOY WS TIS YS aTEYVWKOS, 7 vedn
Kat opixras Tm poPardopevos drobubpua Ker TOUS
Troepious. TavTa Tav dirwy T pos tov DaBiov
aTayyersdXovtwy Kai tiv adcEiay TO Kivdvve
Ado aL TApaLvouvTmy, “OvTw pevTay,” Epr, “« det-
OT TEpos vov eivat SoK@ yevoinny, et TkKOppaTa
Kal AoLbopias PoBnOcis exmécetpe Tov EwavTov
oye Lay. KQLTOL TO pev UmTép TaTpLoos ov
alaxpov bé0s, » 6b€ pos dofav avO parrav Kal
SiaBoras Kal yroyous extern Ecs OUK a€tov TNAL-
KaUTNS apxijs avopos, dAXa SovrevovTos OV Kpa-
Tew ayToy cal deaTrolew xaxws hopovovvtwy Tpoc-
KEL.
VI. Meta tatra yiveras Srapeptia tov Avvi-

Bov. Povropevos yap ancaTucat Tov DaBiov
TOppwTépw TO oTpdteupa Kal TeStwy émeda-
Bea Oa. Tpovopas é€YovT@r, ex€hevoe TOUS OONYOUS
pera, dettrvov evOvs rryetoOat Tpos TO Kaotvarov.
ot b€ Tis davis dea Bap8a pio pov ovK éEaxou-
OAVTES axptBos, euBarrovatv avTov TnV Suva pu
pepovres els Ta KaTaXiyovTa THS Kayravias élS
TONY Kaorivor, ¥ iv TELVEL péwv d1a péons Trota-
j208, OV Ovovrrobpvov ot “Pwpatoe Kadoveey.
2 gaz. & 4) ywpa Ta pév Gdra TrEptaTepys Opectr

Minucius they considered a great man, and a general worthy of Rome. All the more therefore did he indulge his arrogance and boldness, and scoffed at their encampments on the heights, where, as he said, the dictator was always arranging beautiful theatres for their spectacle of Italy laid waste with fire and sword. And he would ask the friends of Fabius whether he was taking his army up into heaven, having lost all hope of earth, or whether he wrapped himself in clouds and mists merely to run away from the enemy. When his friends reported this to Fabius, and advised him to do away with the opprobrium by risking battle, “In that case, surely,’ said he, “I should be a greater coward than I am now held to be, if through fear of abusive jests I should abandon my fixed plans. And verily the fear which one exer- cises in behalf of his country is not shameful; but to be frightened from one’s course by the opinions of men, and by their slanderous censures, that marks a man unworthy of so high an office as this, who makes himself the slave of the fools over whom he is in duty bound to be lord and master.”

VI. After this, Hannibal fell into a grievous error. He wished to draw his army off some distance beyond Fabius, and occupy plains affording pasturagce. He therefore ordered his native guides to conduct him, immediately after supper, into the district of Casinum. But they did not hear the name correctly, owing to his foreign way of pronouncing it, and promptly hurried lis forees to the edge of Campania, into the city and district of Casilinum, through the midst of which flows a dividing river, called Vul- turnus by the Romans. The region is otherwise encompassed by mountains, but a narrow defile opens

? X , ‘
aviov 6 avarémrtatat mpos thy Gddatrtay, év0a
x ey. Qs “~ “
Ta €An KaTabldwat TOU TOTapLov TEpIYeopmevon,
\ a“ f f “~
kat Sivas adupov Baeias Eyer, Kai TEeXEUTa TPOS
A ? ~

atytaXov KupaTwon Kai ducoppov. é€vtadla Kata-
4 a “
Batvovtos tod ’AvviBouv TepiedhOay eurretpia TOV
id A“ ¢ i
odav o PaBios Thy péev btéEoSov oTAlTas TETpA-
/ ,
KigXtALous eTLaTIHGAas eveppake, Tov 8 adrXov
‘ \ a “ ’ a
OTPATOV UTEP TOV ArAWDV AKpwY eV KAA® Kaliaas
\ “” ? - XN 4 tee
dia TOY EhahpoTuTwY Kal TpoYetpoTatwv évéBare
“a 4 ~ 4
Tols €TYATOWS TOY ToAELLwWY, Kat auUvEeTapakev
fad \ , 3
amav TO otTpatevya, CrépPOepe Sé Tepl oKTAKO-
/ ? “a
gious. éx tovrou BovAopevos ‘AvuBas atrayayety
‘ iA f ~ ,
TO oTpatevga, Kat tHv diayaptiay Tov ToTOV
\
vonoas Kal Tov Kivduvoy, dvertavpwoe pév TOUS
e / +) 4 \ 4 , A
odnyous, ex BualecOar b€ TOUS ToAELIOUS Kal Tpod-
a cal al ,
pdyeo Oat Tov UTEepBorav éyxpaTets dvTas amreyi-
vwore. Ovabvpws b€ Kat TmepipoBws dtaxetpmévwv
a“ tf
aTaVTOY, Kal TeEpleatava, agas TavTayolev
, a f
APUKTOUS 1youpevay aTropias, Eyvw dood aTaTH
A 4 f
TOUS ToOAELOUS. Hv dé ToLOvec.
Bots dcov ducyirtas €x TOV aly padwTov Exé-
, b] ~ an A e
Aevoe TvAAABovTas avadjaa data mpos ExacTov
f a , a s v f @
KEepas 7 AvywI' 7) Ppvyavov avwv paxedov: Elta
vUKTOS, OTaV apOh onpelov, avawavtas éXavveuy
ees, ae ea? \ \ N ae ees
éml Tas vrepBoras Tapa Ta oTEeva Kat Tas duAa-
“ S “a 7
KaS TOV TOXCKiov. dpa b€ TadTa TapecKkevaloy
\ ‘
ols mwpogetétaKT0, Kal TOY aXXOV AUTOS dvacT?)-
Gas oTpATOY 16N TKOTOUS SYTOS iyye TKXOAaIWS.

ai 6€ Bues, aype pev TO TU ONLYOV HY Kal TeEpté-
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out towards the sea, in the vicinity of which it
Leeomes marshy, from the overflow of the river, has
high sand-heaps, and terminates in a beach where
there is no anchorage beeause of the dashing waves.
While Hannibal was descending into this valley,
Fabius, taking advantage of his acquaintance with
. the weys, marched round him, and blocked up the
narrow outlet with a detachment of four thousand
heavy infantry. The rest of his army he posted to
advantage on the remaining heights, while with the
lightest and readiest of his troops he fell upon the
enemy's rear-guard, threw their whole army into
confusion, and slew about eight hundred of them.
Hannibal now perceived the mistake in his position,
and its peril, and crucified the native guides who
were responsible for it. He wished to effect a
retreat, but despaired of dislodging his enemies by
direct attack from the passes of which they were
masters. All his men, moreover, were disheartened
and fearful, thinking that they were surrounded on
all sides by difficulties from which there was no
escape. He therefore determined to cheat his
enemies by a triek, the nature of which was as
follows.
He gave orders to take about two thousand of the cattle which they had captured, fasten to each of their horns a torch consisting of a bundle of withes or faggots, and then, in the night, at a given signal, to light the torches and drive the eattle towards the passes, along the defiles guarded by the enemy. As soon as his orders had been obeyed, he decamped with the rest of his army,in the darkness which had now eome, and led it slowly along. The cattle, as long as the fire was slight, and consumed only the

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Kale THY Urq, aT péwa TpoeXwpouv €Xauvopevat
7 pos THY UT@pear, Kat Gatpa TOUS kadopocr
vouevauv amo TOV axpov Kal Bovxorors HOav at
droves axpots emiAdpTroVealL TOS KEpactY, ws
aotpatoTmédou Kal" éva Koo pov bro hapmadov
TONG Babdifoutos. énel dé Tupoupevov TO Képas

ax pe pins diédwxe TH TapKi THY aicOyow, Kal
mpos Tov Tévov diadépovaat Kat Twdoooveal Tas
keparas dvertipT arto TOAAHS ATT Gd OY pro-
os, OUK évépelvav TH Tage THS Topelas, GNA:
Ex ofSot Kal Tepraryets ovcat Spopep Kara TOV
op@v épeporTo, AapTopevat ev ovpas axpas Kat
peTOTA, ToAAnv o€ Tis wAns, de As epevyov,
dvam Tove at. decvov ovv nv Oéaua Tous Tapapurdt-
Tovat Tas UmepBoras ‘Pwpaios: Kal yap ai pro-
yes €@xerav UT avOpwrwv Oeovtwy d:apepopévats
AauTacl, Kal OopuBos Hy ev avtors TONS Kal
poBos, drax obev anXous eriubépec Oat TOV ToeE-
piwy adiot Kal cucrove bar Tmavtax obey wyyou-
pévwv. 810 pévety ovK érodXpwv, adda T™ pos TO
petfov a dvex@pouv oTpatomedov T POE MEVOL TA OTEVI.
kai! Kata TOUTO 6€ Kaipot mpoowiEavres ol Yrrot
tov AvviBou tas trrepBoras KATETYXOD, 7d arrH
Suvapmts 107 mpoceBawey aoeas TOAAnY Kal
Bapetav eperxopévyn recav.
VII. Te Ge DPaBio cuvéBy pev ére VUKTOS
aicQécOat tov Sddov (pevyourar yap éviat Tov
Bowv amopades 7} Hcov avT@Y €ls xelpas), évédpas dé
dedias oKoTalous aT pepa THY Suvayuv év tos
OTAOLS eLyev. as © wv nuépa, Ouwxwv €EnmtETo
1 «at bracketed by Coraés and Bekker.

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wood, went on quietly, as they were driven, towards the slopes of the mountains, and the shepherds and herdsmen who looked down from the heights were amazed at the flames gleaming on the tips of their horns. They thought an army was marching in close array by the light of many torches. But when the horns had been burned down to the roots, and the live flesh felt the flames, and the cattle, at the pain, shook and tossed their heads, and so covered one an- other with quantities of fire, then they kept no order in their going, but, in terror and anguish, went dash- ing down the mountains, their foreheads and tails ablaze, and setting fire also to much of the forest through which they fled. It was, of course, a fearful spectacle to the Romans guarding the passes. For the flames seemed to come from torches in the hands of men who were running hither and thither with them. They were therefore in great commotion and fear, believing that the enemy were advancing upon them from all quarters and surrounding them on every side. Therefore they had not the courage to hold their posts, but withdrew to the main body of their army on the heights, and abandoned the defiles. Instantly the light-armed troops of Hannibal came up and took possession of the passes, and the rest of his forces presently joined them without any fear, although

heavily encumbered with much spoil. VII. It was still night when Fabius became aware of the ruse, for some of the cattle, in their random flight, were captured by his men; but he was afraid of ambushes in the darkness, and so kept still, with his forces under arms. When ‘i was day, however, he pursued the enemy, and nung upon their rear-guard,

TOV ETYUTWY, KAL TUUTAOKAL TEpl Tas SVaYwpLAS
> ee 2 \ f >? , ed be ,
éyivovto Kai OopuBos Hv ToAdus, €ws tap ’AvviBou
a 3 a a
tov opetBateiy Sevvav “IBnpwv davdipes éAadpor
Kat TobwKELS TEUPOEVTES uTO TOU GTOMATOS ES
“A ¢ , Q ¢ > , >| ,
Papelts omditas Ttovs “Pwpaiovs évé8arov, Kat
, f
dradGeipavres ovK OXrLyoUs dméatpeWay Tov Da-
Biov. tore 67 partaTa Kax@s axovaat Kal Kata-
n , \ , a A > “
ppovnOnvar avveByn Tov PaBrov. Tihs yap év Tots
e t r , e ’ \ ,
Ordos TOALNS Upiepevos, WS YyYvop"un Kal Tpovola
, >] f 3 \ a,
KaTaTovgunowy tov ‘AvviBav, avtos TTNpEvOS
TOUTOL Kal KATETTPATNHYHMEVOS Ehaiveto.
U nn n
Bovdopevos b€ parXov éxxavaa Thy Tpos avToV
9 N a ¢ , eo, , e ¢ > 4
opyny tov Pwpuatwv o AvviBas, ws HAGEv eri
Tous uypous avTov, Ta pev adAdka TavTa
, \ , 9. Ff 3 , > 3 a
xatew Kat dsadOeipay éxédXeucer, exeivwv 5 atret-
Tev antecOar povwy, Kal TapaKxatéatnce pvaa-
A) 3+ QA IA 3 “ ON / > a
Kijv ovdev E@oav adikety ovde AapBaverv éxetOer.
TavTa mpoadtéBare tov DPuBiov ets “Popny
’ 4 \ \ \ 3 ”~ \ ‘
ayyer@evta: Kai woAXa pev avTOv pos Tov
w ,
GyAov of Sipapyot KaTeBowy, éTayovTOS padtoTa
, 14 ‘
MeriAtov xal mapokvvovtos, od Kata THY pds
PaBiov €yPpav, arr’ oixetos @v Muvoveiov tov

immapyxov teurny weto Kai ddokav exeive hépery Tas
tovtou diaBorgds: éyeryover d€ Kal tH Bovr7 de
“a ‘\ a
opyns ovy ixtota peuhouevyn tas Twept TeV
? c . ? f e , ¢ ,
atyparwtwv tpos AvviBav oporoyias. wporoyn-
Kelaay yap avTois avopa pev wvdpi AvEerOat Tov
“iAtoKopmevwy, EL O€ TWAELOUS Ol ETEPOL yévoLYTO,
C:dovar dpayplas umTép éxdaTtou Tov KoptCopmevon
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and there wa3 hand-to-hand fighting over difficult ground,‘and much tumult and confusion. At last Hannibal sent back from his van a body of Spaniards, —nimble, light-footed men, and good mountaineers, who fell upon the heavy-armed Roman infantry, cut many of them to pieces,! and forced Fabius to turn back. And now more than ever was Fabius the mark for scorn and abuse. He had renounced all bold and open fighting, with the idea of conquering Hannibal by the exercise of superior judgment and foresight, and now he was clearly vanquished himself by these very qualities in his foe, and out-generalled.

Hannibal, moreover, wishing to inflame still more the wrath of the Romans against Fabius, on coming to his fielas, gave orders to burn and destroy every- thing else, but had these spared, and these alone.? He also set a guard over them, which suffered no harm to be done them, and nothing to be taken from them. When this was reported at Rome, it brought more odium upon Fabius. The tribunes of the people also kept up a constant denunciation of him, chiefly at the instigation and behest of Metilius ; not that Metilius hated Fabius, but he was a kinsman of Minucius, the Master of Horse, and thought that slander of the one meant honour and fame for the other. The senate also was in an angry mood, and found particular fault with Fabius for the terms he had made with Hannibal concerning the prisoners of war. They had agreed between them to exchange the captives man for man, and if either party had more than the other, the one who recovered these

1 One thousand, according to Polybius, iii. 94.
2 Cf. Pericles, xxxiii. 2,
141

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iy]

TEVTIKOVTA Kal Olakogias. Ws ov yevoperns THS
KAT avdpa Srapetyfrecss eupeOna uv Umrodovrroe
‘Popatwv 7 Tap "AvviBa TecoapaKovTa Kal diaxo-
TLdl, TOUTWY 1) atryxdyT0s Ey TA AUT pA bn
TE [LTELY, Kat T pod yjTLATO TOV PaBrov @S OU Tpe-
TOVTOS: ovee AvaLTEhas avépas ume dethias TONE-
picoy arypav yevopevous dvaxopibopevor. TAT
aKOUT.aS 0 Davos THY ev opy ny Epepe T paws
TOV TONTOY, Xpnpara é OUK Eywr, dtapevoa-
cba 6 6é TOV "AvviBav Kat mpoea Bat TOUS ToALTAS
oUxX UTOMEVW?, erreuye TOV vi ov ets ‘Popny KENEV-
oas amoboc Gat TOUS arypous Kal TO dpyuptov evOus
as avTov €ml TO oT paTomecoy Kopiter, d7ro6o-
pévov b€ Tod veavioxou 7a Xeopta Kal TAX EWS
émuvedovtos aT eT EUNE Ta AUTpa TH ’AvviBa
Kal TOUS aixuarwtous aTréhape kal jwoAN@v
amrodisovtwy vaTepov Tap ovdevos Erafev, dAr
apnxe Tact.
Vill. Meta 6€ Taba Tov (epéwy KadovvTwy
avTov Eis ‘Pouny € emi rivas Gucias TapeowKe TO
Mivoukio tv Svvapmuy, Umép Tov pn paxyerBar
poe oupmrecco Oat ToIsS Tore piots ov povov OS
avToKpaTwp dsayopevoas, arrxa Kal Tapaivécets
Kal Sejoers TOAAGS avToU TOLNT a pEVOS® Ov
EKELVOS eAGXITTA dpovticas evdus EVEKELTO TOUS
ToAe plots. Kai Tote trapapvadtas Tov ‘Av-
viBav TO ToAv TIS oTpAaTLas emt giToroyiay
adetxoTa, Kal poo Bakov T@ v7ToAELTOLEVO,
Katnpage els Tov xdpaxa xal dvepOetpev
ovK OALyYOUS Kal poPov Teper TNE Taw ws
To\lopKncopevas UT avTod. Kal cvdAdrEyOMEVNS
142

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9

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was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas per man. Aecordingly, after the exchange of man for man was made, it was found that Hannibal still] had two hundred and forty Romans left. The senate decided not to send the ransom money for these, and found fault with Fabius for trying, in a manner unbecoming and unprofitable to the state, to reeover men whose eowardice had made thein a prey to the enemy. When Fabius heard of this, he bore the resentment of his fellow-citizens with equanimity, but since he had no money, and could not harbour the thought of cheating Hannibal and abandoning his country- men to their fate, he sent his son to Rome with orders to sell his fields! and bring the money to him at once, at camp. The young man sold the estates and quickly made his return, whereupon Fabius sent the ransom money to Hanrnibat and got back the prisoners of war. Many of these afterwards offered to pay him the price of their ransom, but in no case did he take it, remitting it rather for all.

VIII. After this he was summoned to Rome by the priests to assist in sundry sacrifices, and put his forces in charge of Minucius, who was not to give battle, nor engage the enemy in any way. Such were not only the commands of Fabius as dictator, but also his reiterated counsels and requests. To all these Minueius gave little heed, and straightway began to threaten the enemy. One day he noticed that Hannibal had sent the larger part of his army -off to forage, whereupon he attacked the residue, drove them headlong inside their trenches, slew many of them, and inspired them all with the fear of being held in siege by him. When Hannibal's

' Cf. chapter vii. 2.

adfis eis TO atTpaToTEdoy TH AvviBa THs bduva-
pews aoharas aveywpnoev, avTOY Te peyadau-
\
yias pet pov kat O@pdcovs TO atpatiwTtKoV
éumeTAnnws. Ttayv 5€ Tod Epyov Aoyos pelSwv
duehoitnaey eis ‘Pwunv. Kat Paros pév axovoas
thn padrov tov Muvoveiov poBeicbar tHv edtv-
yiav } tiv atvyiav, o Sé dypyos Hpto Kal pera
yapas eis ayopav ouvetpexye, Kal Meridtos o
dnpapxKos ert Tov Biyyatos Katactas édnunyope
peyaduvey tov Mivovecov, rob d€ PaBiov Kxatn-
nm 3 f 3 ? >] / 3 b Ww
yop@v ov padraxiay ovd dvavdpiav, adr 76n
Tpodociav, guvatTi@pevos aua Kal TOV adrwv
la ?
avopav Tous SuvaTwTdTOUS Kal MpwTous éTAyaye-
oOat tov morepmov €€ apyns emi Katadvoe ToD
Sypou, THY Te TrOALY EuBarety EvOds Eis wovapyiay
avurrevOuvor, 4) StatpiBovaea tas mpakes idpvou
> f , XN S ° > 7
AvviBa tmapéEer Kat xpovov avéis ex ArBuns
érépav Svvauiy tmpooyevécPat ws KpaTtovvTL TIS

"ItaXias.
IX. ’Evet & 0 PaBos mpocedOwv arroroyes-
\ >] >] 3 f ‘ ‘ c Ww
ofa pev ovd epérXANTE TPOS TOV Sijpapyxor, Edn
AY \ e
dé TaxloTa Tas Ouaias Kai Tas lepoupyias ‘yeve-
cOat, wor émt.to otpatevpa Badteicbar tw
Muivouxiw dixny émiOnowr, 6Tt KwAUVTAYTOS aUTOD
nw ‘ , , f “ - ,
Tots Trodenios cuvéBare, OopuBos dinke tod drjpov
TOAVS, ws KLvVdUVEVCOVTOS TOU Muvouvtou. Kal yap
elpFar to Sixtatope Kal Oavatwaoat wpo diKns
4 \ A , ‘ ‘ b fal
éFeate: Kat tov DaBiov tov Ovpov €x odds
TpaoTntTos Kexwnpévov wovto PBapvy eivat Kal
1 4 rhv aruxlay supplied by Sintenis, followed by Bekker.
Cf. Morale, p. 195d. Secunda se magis quam adversa
timere, Livy, xxii. 25,
aha

forces were reunited in their camp, Minueius effected a safe retreat, thereby filling himself with measureless boastfulness and his soldiery with boldness. An exaggerated version of the affair speedily made its way to Rome, and Fabius, when he heard it, said he was more afraid of the sueeess of Minucius than he would be of his failure. But the people were exalted in spirit and joyfully ran to a meeting in the forum. There Metilius their tribune mounted the rostra and harangued them, extolling Minucius, but denouncing Fabius, not as a weakling merely, nor yet as a coward, but actually as a traitor. He also ineluded in his accusations the ablest and foremost men of the state besides. They had brought on the war at the outset, he said, in order to crush the people, and had at once flung the city into the hands of a man with sole and absolute authority, that he might, by his dilatory work, give Hannibal an assured position and time to reinforce himself with another army from Libya, on the plea that he had Italy in his power.

IX. Then Fabius came forward to speak, but wasted no time on a defence of himself against the ‘ptribune. He simply said that the sacrifices and sacred rites must be performed as quickly as possible, so that he might proceed to the army and punish Minucius for engaging the enemy contrary to his orders. Thereupon a great commotion spread swiftly through the people; they realized the peril that threatened Minucius. For the dietator has the power to imprison and put to death without trial, and they thought that the wrath of Fabius, provoked ina man of his great gentleness, would be severe

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2 Ovo mar art y7OV. oGev ot pev ar2rot KaTaceiaavrTes
Novyiav nryov: a Oe Metintos eXov THY ATO THS
dnuapxias adeav (nowy yep arn SuxTaTopos
ai peBevtos 1) epxy TO KPUaTOS OUK drodduaw,
GNAG pévet TOV GAAwWY KaTadvbeLcar), évéKELTO
TO SrHpow TOUS, LY mpoea ar Seopevos Tov
Mwwovxtov pnd edoae maGew a a Maddog Toup-
KOUQGTOS edpace Tov vLoP, dplaTeva avTos Kal
otepavwlévtos amoxoyas TENEKEL TOV TPaxn roy,
aderhéaGar Oe tod PaPiov thy Tupavvida Kab T@
duvapev kat Povropevm cwlev ewitpéyar ta
Tpadypara.
Totovtos Aoyots KivnOévtes of avOpwrot Tov
pev PaBrov OUK eTOApnaay avayKacat catabe-
aOat tHVv povapxiar, Kaimep acofovvra, TOV dé
Muvov«.ov eynpicavro TS oTpaTyyias o OMOTL LOD
Ovta dréTrety Tov TONE HOV amo Tis avThs efoucias
T@ Sixtaropt, Tpaypa pn) 7 pOTEpOV év ‘Popn
yEvyovOs, OALY@ é boTepov avdus ‘yevopevoy pera
thy év Kavvais atuxiay. Kal yap tot’ é7t TOV
oTpaToTeéay Mdpxos iv “lovmos Sixtatwp, Kat
Kata TONY TO BovreutiKov avaTAnpodcat Oefaay,
are bn) TOAAOY €y TH payN TVYKANTIKOY aTro-
AwWroTwD, erepov elhovto OixTaTopa DaB:ov Bov-
TE@va. Tay oUTos ev, érrel 7 porprOe Kai
xatéreEe Tovs avd pas Kal TuveTTrrjpoce THY
Bovrny, avOnpepov adeis TOUS paRsovxous Kab
uapuyor TOUS TpodyovTas, €i¢ TOV OX AOV eu Sa-
Nov Kal xatapifas EavTou 7160 TL TOV eauTov
Stowk av Kal TPAYPATEVOMEVOS @amep lowwtys émi
THS ayopas avertpedero.
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and implacable. Wherefore they were all terrified
and held their peace, excepting only Metilius. He
enjoyed immunity of person as tribune of the people
(for this is the only magistracy which is not robbed
of its power by the election of a dictator ; it abides
when the rest are abolished!), and vehemently
charged and prayed the people not to abandon
Minucius, nor permit him to suffer the fate which
Manlius Torquatus inflicted upon his son, whom he
beheaded although crowned with laurel for the

greatest prowess," but to strip Fabius of his tyrant's power and entrust the state to one who was able and willing to save it.

The rabble were moved by such utterances. They did not dare to force Fabius to resign his sovereignty, unpopular as he was, but they voted that Minucius should have an equal share in the command, and should conduct the war with the same powers as the dictator,—a thing which had not happened before in Rome. A little while afterwards, it is true, it hap- pened again, namely, after the disaster at Cannae.® At that time Marcus Junius the dictator was in the field, and at home it became necessary that the senate should be filled up, since many senators had perished in the battle. They therefore elected Fabius Buteo a second dictator. But he, after acting in that capacity and choosing the men to fill up the senate, at once dismissed his lictors, eluded his escort, plunged into the crowd, and straightway went up and down the forum arranging some business matter of his own and engaging in affairs like a private citizen.

1 See Polybius, iii. 87.

2 The son had disobeyed consular orders and engaged in

single combat with a Latin, in the great battle at the foot of Vesuvius, 340 B.c. 3 Cf. chapter xvi.

. Tov d€ Muvov«ctoy eri Tas auTas TO Stn Td-
ae apres am obetEavtes WOVTO Kexorova0ar Kab
yeyovevar TaTewov Tavtuimacw exeivon, OvK
opbas aroxalopevor TOU avd pos. ov yap avtou
gupnpopay Helo Ty €ELVOD ayvotay, aXr' Go mep
Atoyévns 0 aodos, el OvTOS TIvOs Tpos auToV"
"Odto cod xatayedoay, "AX eyo," eizren,
"ov KATAYEA@pAL, pLovous fee KATAYEAG-
oOat TOUS evd.dovTas Kal Tpos Ta ToLavTA bta-
TA paTTOMEVvous, obT@ buBios epepev aTradas Kat
pastes 6c0ov é7 avT@ Ta yevopeva, oupBar-
operas amobeEty TOV dirocoduy Tots akovat
pyte uBpilecOat pte at:povabar Tov dayabov
avopa Kat omovoaiov. jvia §& avtov1) TOY TOX-
NOV aBourta dua Ta Kod, SedwKoTov apoppas
avdpos ovxX Uyltatvovan prroripia 7 pos TOV TOe-
pov. Kal dedorxas Ln TavTaTaaL exparels UTO
Kevs d0&ns Kat Gyxov ddan Te Kaxov amepya-
guipevos, AaAPwv atavtas €EnAPe Kal Tapayevo-
fevos €ls TO OTpaTOTECOY Kal KaTardaBoy Tov

Muvovx.ov ovKeTL xabextov, dra Sapuv Kat
TeT Up LEvOY Kat Tapa Hépos apxye «a&ouvta,
TODTO pe ov TUvEXWPNTE, THY dé duvapuy drevei-
Haro Tpos avTov, WS [LEPOUS jovos aptov Beédttov
my) Tayro Tapa pépos. Kal TO pev TP@TOV TOV
TaypaTwy Kai TéTapToy autos éXaGe, TO Sé Sev-
TEpov Kab TpiTov éxelvm TapéowKey, emians Kat
TOV TUMMAXLKOD | ScavepnOértan. oe LVUVOMEVOV dé
ob Mevovxtou Kal Xaipovros emt T@ TO T pos Xn ja.
THS UKPOTUTNS Kal peytaTns dpx is upeiaOar Kal
mporrennraxiabat be avror, Drei pyna Kev O
PaBios ws ovK dvtos wevavT@ pos PuBroyv, ard',
14S

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X. Now that they had invested Minucius with the same powers as the dictator, the people supposed that the latter would feel shorn of strength and altogether humble, but they did not estimate the man aright. For he did not regard their mistake as / his own calamity, but was like Diogenes the wise man, who, when some one said to him, "These folk are ridiculing you," said, " But [am not ridiculed." He held that only those are ridiculed who are con- founded by such treatment and yield their ground. So Fabius endured the situation calmly and easily, so far as it affected himself, thereby confirming the axiom of philosophy that a sincerely good man can neither be insulted nor dishonoured. But because it affected the state, he was distressed by the folly of the multitude. They had given opportunities to a man with a diseased military ambition, and fearful lest this man, utterly crazed by his empty glory and prestige, should bring about some great disaster before he could be checked, he set out in all secrecy from the city. When he reached the camp, he found that Minucius was no longer to be endured. He was harsh in his manner, puffed up with conceit, and demanded the sole command in his due turn. This Fabius would not grant, feeling that the sole command of a part of the army was better than the command of the whole in his turn. The first and fourth legions he therefore took himself, and gave the second and third to Minucius, the allied forces also being equally divided between them. When Minucius put on lofty airs and exulted because the majesty of the highest and greatest office in the state had been lowered and insulted on his account, Fabius reminded him that his contention was not

A 3 ~ a" A
5 el awhpovel, mpos AvviBav Tov aywvos: a 6 Kal
\ nw" a
mpos Tov auvapyovTa didovekel, oKoTrEly OWS
a f \ ""~
Tov vevixnuevov Kat Kabv8piopévov mapa Tois
4 ~

MOALTALS O TETLUNMEVOS KAL VEVLKNKwS OV havetrat
a a o~ 4 a
paGAXAov oALywpaYv THs GwTnpias avToY Kal
ag panetas.
e a 4 “~
XI. ‘O 6€ tatra pep eipwveiay nyeito yepov-
4 ‘ \ \ b) am
TiKny = maparkaBwv o€ Thy atrokAnpwleicay
Sivapw dia Kal ywpis éotpatorrédevcev, ovdéev
ayvoouvtos tov ‘AvviBou tav yivopevwyv, adda
a 3 , = ‘ /, A 4
maaw éhedpevovtos. tv d€ AOdhos KaTa pécov
~ A ’ s >] Q \
KkatarnhOivar pév ov Yadertros, oxupos O€ KaTa-
\ 4 ‘ \ > ¢ \
AnPHGeis otpatomrédw Kai StapKys eis Awavta. TO
Sé wépcE mrediov odOjvat péy arwOev oparov bia
f A a id 4 3 4
yiroTnta Kal Aelov, Exov SE Tivas ov psyddas
, b e A \ ’ id \ A
Tappous ev AUT@ Kal KosoTNTas adras. 610 Kal
Tov Nopov Ex TOD paatou Kpida KatTacyxeiv wTapov
e-9 , ?
ovx nOéd\noev o AvyiBas, GAN aréduTre payns
f . >
ép péow wpopaciv. ws 8 elde Keywpiopévov
(a) , . 4 \ \ ? \
tov PaBiov tov Muvove.oyv, vuxtos peyv els Tas
Tudpovs Kat Tas KolhkoTNTaS KaTéoTEIpE THY
oTpaTLWTa@Y Tivas, dua b€ TH Huépa havepws
, ,
émeuev ov Todos KaTAaANYoLmevous TOV AOor,
@S émaydyo.To oupTecety Tepl Tov TomoV TOV
Mivovxcov.
“O 8 Kal curé8n. TpOtov pév yap améctere
THY KOUPHY OTpATLADY, ETrELTA TOUS LTrITeEts, TEAOS
15°

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with Fabius, but rather, were he wise, with Hannibal.
If, however, he was bent on rivalry with his colleague
in office, he must see to it that the man who had
been triumphantly honoured by his fellow-citizens
should not be proved more careless of their salvation

and safety than the man who had been ingloriously
outraged by them.
XI. But Minucius regarded all this as an old man’s dissimulation, and taking the forces allotted to him, went into camp apart by himself,! while Hannibal. not unaware of what was going on, kept a watchful eye on everything. Now there was a hill between him and the Romans which could be occupied with no difficulty, and which, if occupied, would be a strong site for a camp and in every way sufficient. The plain round about, when viewed from a distance, was perfectly smooth and level, but really had sundry small ditches and other hollow places in it. For this reason, though it would have been very easy for him to get possession of the hill by stealth, Hannibal had not cared to do so, but had left it standing between the two armies in the hope that it might bring on a battle. But when he saw Minucius separated from Fabius, in the night he scattered bodies of his soldiers among the ditches and hollows,” and at break of day, with no attempt at concealment, sent a few to occupy the hill, that he might seduce Minucius into an engagement for it.

And this actually came to pass. First Minucius sent out his light-armed troops, then his horsemen,

> 7‘ ue anda half from Fabius, according to Polybius,
iii, 103.
* Five thousand horsemen and footmen, according to Livy,

xxii, 28; five thousand light-armed and other infantry, and five hundred cavalry, according to Polybins, iii. 104.

w

9 e nn x >, , ~ ~ ? . ~
5’ opov tov AvviBav rapaSonOovvta trois emi tod
Aopou Tacyn KatéBaive TH duvaper cvytTEeTaypErcs.
‘ ‘
Kat payny Kaptepav Oéuevos nuvveto TOUS amo
Tov Aodou Bardovvas, CULT EX OLEVOS Kal iva
PEepoueros, ax ov KaXQS TAT) LEVOV op@v o
"AvviBas cai yupva tapéyovta Tois évedpevovci
Ta VOTA TO ONpeloy aipet. wpos 5€ TOUTO TON-
Aayobey éeEaviotapévay apa Kal peta Kpavyis
Tpoopepouevwy Kai TOUS eayaToUS aToKTIVVUD-
TwY adLjYyNTOS KaTELye Tapayn Kal TToia TOUS
“ “A A
‘Pwpaious, avtov te tov Muvoveiov to Opdaos
f \ ‘N 4 Ww “a @
KATAKEKNAOTO, Kal THOS addOY AAXOTE TWP NYE-

povev Sremamraiver, ovdevos ev Yopa pévetveToA-
H@UTOS, GANA TPds Pvynv wPovpevwnv Ov GwTpLOV.
oi yap Nopuddes 7)8n xpatadytes KUKAW TEPINAQUVOV
TO TEOLOV KAL TOUS ATOTKLOVALEVOUS EKTELVOY.
XII. "Ev tocovtm Sé€ xaxo tov ‘Pwpaiov
é6vtTwy ove édXabev 6 Kivdvves tov PaBtov, adra
A X id ° ’ w \ ?
Kat TO wéXOV, WS EotKEV, HON TpoELAnhws THY TE
Svrayiy cuvtetaypévny elyev emt TOV OTAwV Kal
f 3
Ta TpaTTopeva yiwwaKxe eppovtTitey ov & ay-
yédkwy, arr’ avtos EYwv KaTacKoTy Tpo Tov
YUapaKkos. ws ovv KaTeide KUKAOUPEVOY Kal TapaT-
TOMEVOV TO OTPaTEVHA, Kal Kpavyn TpocémiMTEV
b] 4 > + Ww 4 ‘
ov pevovTwy, add’ nbn TrepoBnpévwy Kat TpeETrO-
Hévav, pnpov te TANEdpEVOS Kal oteva~as péya
\ \ A s 2 cc? ¢ ,
TPoS fev TOUS TrapoVTas ElTrev: Q “Hpdxrets,
e ‘ \ A > A / , > A
ws TaxLtoy pev 1) eyw Tpocedoxwy, Bpadiov 8 7
’ . w s ¢ \ ’ c 33 “
autos éomevde Mivuvxros EautTov aTOX.WAEKE, TAS
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and finally, when he saw Hannibal coming to the support of is troops on the hill, he descended into the plain with all his forces in battle array. In a fierce battle he sustained the discharge of missiles from the hill, coming to close quarters with the enemy there and holding his advantage, until Hannibal, seeing that his enemy was happily deceived and was exposing the rear of his line of battle to the troops who had been placed in ambush, raised the signal. At this his men rose up on all sides, attacked with loud cries, and slew their foes who were in the rear ranks. Then indescribable confusion and fright took possession of the Romans. Minueius himself felt all his courage shattered, and looked anxiously now to one and now to another of his commanders, no one of whom dared to hold his ground, nay, all urged their men to flight, and a fatal flight too. For the Numidians, now masters of the situation, galloped round the plain and slew them as they seattered themselves about.

XII. Now that the Romans were in such an evil pass, Fabius was not unaware of their peril. He had anticipated the result, as it would seem, and had his forces drawn up under arms, wisely learning the progress of events not from messengers, but by his own observations in front of his camp. Aceordingly, when he saw the army of Minucius surrounded and confounded, and when their cries, as they fell upon his ears, showed him that they no longer stood their ground, but were already panic-stricken and routed,

he smote his thigh, and with a deep groan said to the bystanders ; “ Hercules! how much sooner than I expected, but later than his own rash eagerness demanded, has Minucius destroyed himself!” Then

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PEUTARCH’’S. -LINMES

d€ ONPALLS expepely KATA TUYOS KAL TOV oTpaTov
emea0at kedevaas aveBonce ‘‘ Nov tls, @ oTpa-
TLOTAL, | Mapxov Muvouxiov HELV LEvOS émevyea Ow:
AapT pos yap avn. Kal prrovratpts. el O€ TL omrev-
wy eEeddcat Tous Todeptous Huaptev, aves
QT Lac opeba.”
Ilpazov pev ouv eT LPavers TpéTeTas Kai Sta-
oKxidvnct TOUS év TO edie TEpPlLEAAUYOVTAS
Nopdéus: eita T pos TOUS pax opévous Kal Kara
VW@TOU TOV ‘Pewpatov ovTas Eximpet Kat TOUS
en TOOWY ExTetvev, ol O€ Aowrroi,| piv aTrornpon-
val Kal yevea Ba Te piTreTets ols auTot Tous
Ze @ {LALOUS éroinaay, eycdivavTes Epuyor. opav é
o ‘AvviBas thv petaBornv cai tov DaBiov evpo-
OT WS Tap ny ALKLaY Ola TOV paxXoueveov oPovpevov
ave mpos Tov Muvovevoy eis TOV ogov, emea XE
THY pany, Kal TH TANT Lye onpnvas avakXnow
cr Tyyev els Tov _xXapaka TOUS Kapxndovious,
Uo LEVWS Kal TOV ‘Popaior LTOT PET OMEV WD.
eyeTat 6 avTov QTLOVTA Tept TOU PaBiov T POs
TOUS pirovs | el7rely TL TowobTov peta marduas”
‘ ovK eyo PEVTOL 7 povheyov ULV TOAAGKES THY
énl trav axpwyv TavTnv KaOnpévny vepérny, Ott
usta Curns wore Kal xatatyidwy Su8pov éx-
oikess"
XIII. Meta 6é THY payn Pa Bros pev daous
EXTELVE TOV TTONEMLWD oKUAEVTAS AVEX@PNTED,
ovdéev vIrepndavov ovd’ eTrax des el TOV WeEpt Tob
TuvapXovTos: Muvoveios dé Tv avrov oTpateay
dO poicas, ‘ “Avépes,” Eby, “ guaTpati@ral, TO pev
Gpapteiy pndey ev mpaypace peydrots perfor 9
1 rorrol MSS., Sintenis!, Coraés, Bekker: wAetorou.

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ordering the standards to be swiftly advanced and

the army to follow, he called out with a loud voice: “Now, my soldiers, let every man be mindful of Marcus Minucius and press on to his aid; for he is a brilliant man, and a lover of his country. And if his ardent desire to drive away the enemy has led him into any error, we will charge him with it later.”

Well then, as soon as he appeared upon the scene, he routed and dispersed the Numidians who were galloping about in the plain. Then he made against those who were attacking the rear of the Romans under Minucius, and slew those whom he encountered. But the rest of thein, ere they were cut off and surrounded in their own turn, as the Romans had been by them, gave way and fled. Then Hannibal, secing the turn atfairs had taken, and Fabius, with a vigour beyond his years, ploughing his way through the eombatants up to Minucius on the hill, put an end to the battle, signalled a retreat, and led_ his Carthaginians back to their camp, the Romans also being glad of a respite. It is said that as Hannibal withdrew, he addressed to his friends some such pleasantry as this about Fabius: “ Verily, did I not often prophesy to you that the cloud which we saw hovering above the heights would one day burst upon us in a drenching and furious storm ?”’ —"

XIII. After the battle, Fabius despoiled all of the enemy whom he had slain, and withdrew to his camp, without indulging in a single haughty or invidious word about his eolleague. And Minucius, assem- bling his own army, said to them: “ Fellow-soldiers, to avoid all mistakes in the conduct of great enter-

kat avOpwrov eazt, To 8 apapzovta xpicacba
Tols TWraiopact Sidaypact 7 pos TO Aovtrov avdpos
2 ayaboo Kat vouv EXOVTOS. eyo pev ovv opohoya
pixpa peppopevos THD TUN Tepl pecSoven € emat-
vetv. & yap ovK noPouny ypovov tocovTor, npépas
pépet LK memraidsevpat, yous €wavrov ovK
cipyelv érépov duvdpevor, GAX’ dpXovtos ET Epov
deopevov Kal prdotipovpevoy : vex av vp" av
nTrTacGar KddAALOY. piv d€ TOY pev AAr(V éoTiV
adpxewv o ductatwp, THs Se wpos éxetvov eUXapt-
oTias aT os YE HOV Egopat, 'T parTov euaUTOV
evrerOi) Kal TowobvTa TO KeXEvOpEVOY UT’ éxelvou
TAPEXOMEVOS..
3 Tar’ elTrwVv KAL TOUS deTous apaa 0a Kehevoas
KL TAVTAS axonoubety, 7YVE 7 pos TOV Xuepaka
tov Pafiouv. Kal TmapehOov evtos éBadsbev emt
THY oTpaTnyiKny axnyjy, wote Oavyatery Kai
Statropety Tavtas. mpoedOovtos bé€ tod DaBiov
Gépevos eT poabey 7 TAS cnpatas QUTOS pev exetvov

TaTepa peyary gwvn, oi é oTpaTLerat TOUS
TT paTLwTas TAT PWVAS nomalovro. TOUTO Cy Eo
Tol, arerevOépots Tpoapwvn pa Tm pos TOUS aTre-
4 AevPepwoavras. nouxias d€ yevoperns O Muvov-
KLOS eime: ‘‘ Avo vixas, @ OixtaTop, TH o1) wepov
HEPA vevienKas, avdpeta pev “AvviBay, evBovrta
dé Kai XpNgToTNT! Tov guvapyovta> Kai bt ms ev
céowKas MGS, be’ Hs be TeTALOEUKAS, NTT@ MEVOUS
aicxXpay pev ytrav uv exeivou, Karnv 6€ Kat
5 gwWTHpioy vO Gov. Tatépa 8) ce YpHoToV’

1 pirorimovuevoy the MSS. have uh pirAotimovmevory, which Coraés defends.
2 xpnordy bracketed by Bekker.

prises is beyond man’s powers ; but when a mistake has once been inade, to use his reverses as lessons for the future is the part of a brave and sensible man. | therefore confess that while I have some slight cause of complaint against fortune, I have larger grounds for praising her. For what I could not learn in all the time that preceded it, I have been taught in the brief space of a single day, and I now perceive that I am not able to command others myself, but need to be under the command of another, and that I have all the while been ambitious to prevail over men of whom to be outdone were better. Now in all other matters the dictator is your leader, but in the rendering of thanks to him I myself will take the lead, and will show myself first in following his advice and doing his bidding.”

After these words, he ordered the eagles to be raised and all to follow them, and led the way to the camp of Fabius. When he had entered this, he proceeded to the general’s tent, while all were lost in wonder. When Fabius came forth, Minucius had the standards planted in front of him, and ad- dressed him with a loud voice as Father, while his soldiers greeted the soldiers of Fabius as Patrons, the name by which frecdmen address those who have set them free. When quiet prevailed, Minucius said: “Dictator, you have on this day won two victories, one over Hannibal through your valour, and one over your colleague through your wisdom and kindness. By the first you saved our lives, and by the second you taught us a great lesson, van- quished as we were by our enemy to our shame, and by you to our honour and safety. I call you by the

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bo

Tpotayopevw, TLLLOT Epay ouK EYwu Tpoanyopiay,
eTrel THs “é TOb TEKOVTOS Kuper os peileov) Tapa

cob Yaps avrn. every Oy pev yap UT éxewvou
povos, cwtopat dé uo cov ETS. TOTOUTMY..
TavT’ el TV Kal Tept Baroy TOV aBrov nord
Gero. TO © aUuTO Kal TOUS TTpPATLOTas WY opav
T paTTOVvTas” eve VOVTO 4p ddAHRoLS Kat Kate-
pidoup, @oTE pleaTov eivar yapas Kai dSaxpvwy
nOLTTWY TO aT par TOT EOOV.
XIV. "Ex tovtov PuBtos pev anébero (THY
apXyy, UTator 0 aves GT EOELKVYUVTO. Kal TovTMY
ol pev TPOTOL Seepurakav jv exeivos idéav Tov
TONE MOU KATETTNGE, payer Oat pev éK mapatatens
evyovTes pos ‘AvviBay, Tots o€ TUMMAX OLS
entBonOovvTes Kat Tas dTrog Tada Ets KWAVOVTES"
Tepévttos d€ Bdppwy eis tiv bTateiav Tpoaxeis
ato ryevous donpou, Biov 6é ota OnpoxoTiay Kal
T poTreretay eTLT MOV, d7AOS 7 AW evOus aTretpia Kat
Opacutnte TOV wept TOV OAWY avappinpov KvBov.
éPoa Yap év Tals exkhyotats pevety * TOV Tohe Lov
axpe ov Pa Bios Xpirast atparnyo: iS a TONS, avr os
d€ THS auras 7 LEpas dyer Bat Te Kal viK ATELY TOUS
Tonepious. apa 6€ TovtTals Tots ovyats ouvirye
Kal KaTeypage Svvapuy THAMLKAUT NY, nALKY 7 pos
ovdeva TOTOTE TOV Toveutwy eypicavTo Pwpaior.
pupiades yap évvea Stax idtov avdpav déoveat
guveTax Oy say els Thy pany, peya b€0s PaPiw
Kal TOS vouY exouoe ‘Popaior ou yap Ameo
eFeuv avahopav Ty ToAY ev TocavTn ohadeloav
aes
1 weveiy Sintenis®, after Coraés; MSS., Sintenis!, and
Bekker, peverw.
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excellent name of Father, because there is no more
honourable name which I can use; and yet a father’s
kindness is not so great as this kindness bestowed
by you. My father did but beget me, while to you
I owe not only my own salvation, but also that cf
all these men of minc.’’ So saying, he embraced
Fabius and kissed him, and the soldiers on both
sides in like manner embraced and kissed each
other, so that the camp was filled with joy and
tears of rejoicing.
XIV. After this, Fabius laid down his office, and consuls were again appointed. The first of these

maintained the style of warfare which Fabius had ordsined. They avoided a pitched battle with Han- nibal, but gave aid and succour to their allies, and prevented their falling away. But when Terentius Varro was elevated to the consulship, a man whose birth was obscure and whose life was conspicuous for servile flattery of the people and for rashness, it was clear that in his i inexperience and temerity he would stake the entire issue upon the hazard of a single throw. For he used to shout in the assemblies ‘that the war would continue as long as the city employed men like Fabius as its generals ; but that he himself would conquer the enemy the very day he saw them. And not only did he make such speeches, but he also assembled and enrolled a larger force than the Romans had ever employed against any enemy. Eighty-eight thousand men were arrayed for battle, to the great terror of Fabius and _ all sensible Romans. For they thought their city could not recover if she lost so many men in the prime

of life.

Avo Kai Tov cuvapxovta tov Vepevtiou IlatAov
Alpintoy, avdpa TodkX@Y TONELOV EuTrELpOr, OVK
apectov 5€ TO SHnuw Kai KataTARya EK TLVOS
KaTaciKns 7 pos TO Snpogiov avrT@ YEVEV| MENS,
dviaTn Kal _ Ta peBdppuvev éridauBdver bat THS
exeivou pavias, diddcKwv @S ov Tpos ‘AvviBav
auT@ parrAov 4 mpos Tepévteov UTEp THS Tat pi-
bos o 0 ayo ETOLTO' GTEVOELY yap payny yevec Oar
TOV pev OUK aiaGavopevov THs Suvapews, Tov 5
aicJavopevov THs Tept avToV acbeveias. “'Eyaw
8,” eizev, “a@ Laide, Tepevtiou oie
Sixacorepos ete wept Tay ’Avri2ov mpayydaTwr
S:a8_Barovpevos OS EL pLncels auT@ paxeiTar
TOUTOV TOV evLauTon, damroneiTat peveov 0 aynp 4)
pera aTrELOLY, @ ye Kal viv viKay Kal Kparteiy
oxodvTe TOY pev TodELLoV ovdels T POT KEXWPNKE,
TIS 8 oixodev Suvapews ove ” TpiTn poipa Tavu
TEPlETTL. T™ pos tabta AEyeTat tov IladAov
eimety: ‘ “Eyot per, @ Da Bre, Ta €“avToU oKo-
TOUVvTL Kpeit Tov éoTt TOs THY Tonepleov UTOTE-
cet Sopacey 7) a mare Tais Wijpous TOY TOALT@Y
et & ovtws exer Ta Snpooia mT purypara, metpa-
comer parrov gol Soxeiy dyaBos elval aT patnyos
7 Tao Tots arots él TavavTia, Bialopévots.”
TAUT ID EX@v THhv mpoatpesty o IlavAos €&n\Oev
émi TOV Trohe pov.
XV. ‘AAN 0 Tepevteos éuBarov auTOV Es TO
Tap nuépav pXey, cat to “AvwBa TapacTpa-

ToTebevaas TreEpt TOV Aigisvor TroTapoy Kal Tas
Leyopevas Kavyas, Gp nMEpG TO THS paxns on-
jeecov eEeOnnev (€ore b€ YIT@Y KOKKIVOS Unep Tips
atpatnyixns axynvys Scatevomeros), Cote Kal
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Lert .

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. Now, Paulus Aemilius was the colleague of Terentius, a man of experience in many wars, but, not acceptable tothe people, and crashed.in-spirit-by a/fing which they had imposed upon him. Therefore Fabius tried to rouse and encourage him to restrain the madness of his colleague, showing him that he must struggle to save his country not so much from Hannibal as from Terentius. The latter, he said, was eager to fight because he did not see where his strength lay; the former, because he saw his own weakness. “ But,” said he, “it is to me, O Paulus, that more credence should be given in regard to Hannibal’s affairs, and I solemnly assure you that, if no one shall give him battle this year, the man will remain in Italy only to perish, or will leave it in flight, since even now, when he is thought to be victorious and to be master of the country, not one of his enemies has come over to his side, and not even so much as the third part of the force which he brought from home is still left.” To this Paulus is said to have answered: “If I consult my own interests, O Fabius, it is better for me to encounter the spears of the enemy than to face again the votes of my fellow-citizens. But if the state is in sucha pass, I will try to be a good general in your opinion, rather than in that of all the rest who so forcibly oppose you.” With this determination, Paulus went forth to the war.

XV. But Terentius, insisting on his.right-to com- mand a day in turn, and then encamping over against Hannibal by the river Aufidus and the town called Cannae, at break of day put out the signal for battle,—a scarlet tunic displayed above the general's tent. At this even the Carthaginians were con-

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TOUS Kapyxovious é£ apy hs dratapaxOhvat, THY
Té TOApaY TOU oTpaTnyou Kal TO TOU oT paro-
TEéCOU TrI/O05 OpavTas, avTovs OVS Fyiou pépos
ovtas. ‘AvviBas 6é tHv dvvamy éeEorrtilecOat
KENEVTAS, AVTOS ITTOTHS MET OALYWY UTEP AOdoU
TLvOS padakoU KaTEaKOTEL TOUS ToAEpLoUS HON
Kabiatapevous ELS Tae. ELT OVTOS 6€ TLvOS TOV
mept avrov avdpos ioo7tpou, ToUvopA. Ticxwvos,
WS Oavpacrov avT@ paivetac TO Tri}0S TOV
TOAELLWY, TUVAayayoY 70 TpocwTov Oo ’AvyiBas,
“"Erepov,” eitev, @ Ticxwv, AEANPE GE TOUTOV
Gavpaciwrepov.” épopévov b€ tod Tiaxwvos, TO

motov; “Or,” én, ‘TovTwy dvtTwy TocOvTwV
ovdels év avtois Vicxwy Kxadreitas.” yevopevou
dé rapa bokay adtois Tov cKkwppatos éurimnter
YEAWS Wacol, Kal KaTéBaivov ato Tov AOdou Tots
QnTavT@GLY Gel TO TETAaLYpEéeVOY aTayyédAOVTES,
WaTE Sta TOAA@Y ToXrvY elvat! Tov yéXwTa Kal
und avaraBely éavtous dvvacBat tous wept Tov
‘AvviBar. TOUVTO TOS Kap NOOVLOLS téovar Gapcos
TapiaTn, oye fopévors “70 TOAAOUV Kal _taxupod
ToU Kata povodyTos emeva yeAav ovT@S Kal
mailer TO oTpATHY@ Tapa TOV xivOvvov.
XVI, "Ep d€ TH Bayn OT PATI} LATLV eX pr)-
oato, TPOTO wey TO amo TOU TOTOU, Toinod-
pEvos KATA VWTOU TOV avepov: TpneThpe yap
EOLK@S preyortt KATEPPIYVUTO, Kal Tpaxv éx
mediov Updpwpov cal AVATETT A LEVOV aipwv Ko-
ylopTov umEp thy darayya tov Kapynéoviwy eri
TOUS ‘Popatous éwOet, Kal mpoaeBarre Tots
Tpocwmos aroatpepopevots Kai ouvtapatto-
1 elya: Bekker corrects, after Schaefer, to i€va:, spread.

founded at first, seeing the boldness of the Roman general and the number of his army, which was more than double their own. But Hannibal ordered his forees to arm for battle, while he himself, with a few companions, rode to the top of a gently sloping ridge, from which he watehed his enemies as they formed in battle array. When one of his companions, named Gisco, a man of his own rank, remarked that the number of the enemy amazed him, Hannibal pnt on a serious look and said: “Gisco, another thing has eseaped your notice which is more amazing still.” And when Giseo asked what it was, “It is the fact,” said he, “that in all this multitude there is no one who is called Gisco.” The jest took them all by surprise and set them laughing, and as they made their way down from the ridge, they reported the pleasantry to all who met them, so that great numbers were laughing heartily, and Hannibal’s eseort could not even recover themselves. The sight of this infused courage into the Carthaginians. They reasoned that their general must have a mighty contempt for the enemy if he laughed and jested so in the presence of danger.

XVI. In the battle Hannibal practiced a double strategy. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground to put the wind at his back. This wind came down like a fiery hurricane, and raised a huge cloud of dust from the exposed and sandy plains and drove it over the Carthaginian lines hard

into the faeces of the Romans, who turned away
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pervious. deutépy b€ TO TEPL THY taki: 6 yap Hy
io Xuporatoy auT@ Kal HaXtworarov Tis duvd-
PEWS ExaTEpwre Tou pégou TUEAS, TO pecov auro
cureThijpwoer EK TOV aXpELoTaTOD, euBorp TOUT®
T poeXovTe TON THS arkns parayyos XPNTOpevos:
elpnto b€ Tois Kpatiaras, OTav TOUTOUS Siaxo-
wavtes of Pwpatoe cai hepouevot pos TO elxov
ex pepopevou TOU péoou Kal KoATIOV Nap Gavovtos
EVTOS yévovrat THs Parayyos, o&éws exatépwbev
emia Tt pewpartas eParely Te TrAYLOLS Kal TrEPI-
MTVGTELY omiaGev cuyxAeiovtas. 0 bn Kal boxet
TOV TrELT TOV antpyacaaBat gduvov. ws yap
évédwKe TO péoov Kat TOUS ‘Papatous édéEavto
SiwKxovTas, n 6€ ddrayE rod ‘Avvi3ou peta Ba-
AovacAa TO oXTwa pnvoerdis evyeyores Kal TOV
ETLAERTOY ot takiapxot TAX TOUS pep er domida,
TOUS é emt Sopu_ KAivavTeEs 7 poo TET Ov KaTa TA
yupvd, TavTas, Goo 1) THY KUKAWOLY UTEKKAL-
vavtes é€pOacay, év péow KatEelpyucayvTo Kal
d:€fOetpav.
Aéyerat 6€ Kat toils immedor tov ‘“Pwpaior
cUUTTMOpA Tapdroyov yevéoOat. Tov yap Iad-
Aov, ws oie, TOWELS O im7ToS aTrEedEicaToO, Kal
TaY TEpl avTOV adXrOS Kal AAOS aATOALTOY TOD
inmov metos TH UratTw TpogrHuvvEe. ToiTo S ot
immets (Oovres, ws TapayyéApatos Koivod dedopé-
vou, TavTes aTomndnaavtes melol cuveTrAEKOVTO
obs Toremiots. isav & 0 "AvviBas, “ Todt’, é Ep,
paddov HBovropny F 7 el dedepévous mapédaBov.”
dda Tavita pe of tas dteEodixas ypawavtes
taTopias amnyyéAKact.
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to avoid it, and so fell into confusion. In the seeond plaee, he formed his troops as follows: the sturdiest and most warlike part of his force he stationed on either side of the centre, and manned the centre itself with his poorest soldiers, intending to use this as a wedge jutting out far in advance of the rest of his line.

But orders were given to the picked troops, when the Romans should have cut the troops in the centre to pieces, pursued them hotly as they retreated and formed a deep hollow, and so got within their enemy's line of battle,—then to turn sharply from either side, smite them on the flanks, and envelop them by closing in upon their rear. And it was this which seems to have produced the greatest slaughter. For the centre gave way and was followed "by the Romans in pursuit, Hannibal's line of battle thus ehanging its shape into that of a ereseent ; and the commanders of the picked troops on his wings wheeled them swiftly to left and right and fell upon the exposed sides of their enemy, all of whom, except those who retired before they were surrounded, were then overwhelmed and destroyed. It is said, further, that a strange calamity befell the Roman cavalry also. The horse of Paulus, as it appears, was woundec and threw his rider off, aud one after another of his attendants dismounted and sought to defend the consul on foot. When the horse- men saw this, supposing that a general order had been given, they all dismounted and engaged the enemy on foot. On seeing this, Hannibal said: "This is more to my wish than if they had been handed over to me in fetters."} But sueh particulars as these may be found in the detailed histories of the war.

2 Quam mallem vinctos mihi traderet. Livy, xxii. 49.

Tov o uratwv o pev Bappwy odLyooTOS ain
TEVOEV eis Ovevovciay Tonw, o oe Tlabnros € év TO
Bv06 Kai Krvowut THS pvyis exelvns Berov te
TOO ert Tots Tpavpaow ery KELLEVOY AVATTAEWS,
TO c@pa Kal THv yuxny mevbet TOTOUTH Bapuvo-
HEVOS, ™ pos Tet AiO Kabijoro, Tov émiapdfovra
TOY TONELLOV avapevoov. Hy b€ ov aipatos THIGOS,
o TuvEeTEPUPTO THY Keparny Kal 70 TpdowTov,
ov Todnots _duddnros, anna Kat pirot Kat Oepa-
WovTes avtov vm' dryvotas mapijrBov. pLovos be
KopvijAcos Aévt os, eva plons VEOS, ev Kat
7 povonaas amem 670° Tou (TOV, Kal 7 pooa-
yarn Ta pexdrel vpnaba Kab outer auto Tots
TOTALS apxovtos aryabod TOTE padiora YpN-
Covey. 0 b¢ TAVTNY pev ames piyrato THY dénow,
Kal TO petpaKeov avbus nuayeacev él Tov immov
avaBivat Saxpvov, eita &€ thv deErav éuSarwv
kal auve~avaotas, "'AmayyeAre," eitev, "Oo
Aévrre, PaBio Makipo nai yevod paptus avtos,
OTL Ilabros Atpirtos EVE HELVED avtov® Tois hoyt-
o pots dypt Tédovs Kal Tov oporoyn beri wy 7 pos
EXELVOV OUCEV E\ vo, GN evi nOn ™ pot epov vio
Bappovos, ei?' ume 'AvviBov." ToaaT' eTLOTEL-
Aas TOV Bev AévtAov am éTre ser, autos 6€ pitas

EaUTOV ELS TOUS Povevopevous améOave. €yovtat
5é meceiy pev ev TH wadyn Pwpaiwy Trevtaxiopv-
ptot, Cavres 6’ adovat TET PAKIG XLALOL, Kal peta
Thy paynv ot Anpevres ér aphotepots Tois
oTpaToTredots pupiwy ovK éXdTTOUS.
1 atrot Coraés and Bekker, nuw with S: aérod Ats own convictions, Cf, praeceptorum eius memorem, Livy, xxii. 49.

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As for the consuls, Varro galloped off with a few followers to the city of Venusia, but Paulus, caught in the deep surges of that panic flight and covered with many missiles which hung in his wounds, weighed down in body and spirit by so vast a misfortune, sat down, leaning against a stone, and waiting for an enemy to dispatch him. His head and face were so profusely smeared with blood that few could recognize him; even his friends and re- tainers passed him by without knowing him. Only Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of the patrician order, saw who he was, and leaping from his horse, led him to Paulus and besought the consul to take’ him and save himself for the sake of his fellow- citizens, who now more than ever needed a brave commander. But Paulus rejected this prayer, and forced the youth, all tears, to mount his horse again, and then rose up and elasped his hand and said: “ Lentulus, tell Fabius Maximus, and be thyself a witness to what thou tellest, that Paulus Aemilius was true to his precepts up to the end, and broke not one of the agreements made with him, but was vanquished first by Varro, and then by Hannibal.” With such injunctions, he sent Lentulus away, then threw himself into the midst of the slaughter and perished. And it is said that fifty thousand Romans fell in that battle, that four thousand were taken alive, and that after the battle there were captured in both consular camps no less than ten thousand.

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XVII. Tov & ’AvviBav ETL THALKOUTH KaTop-
Oopare TOV pirwv TApoppovTav ap’ érecBat TH
TUX” Kal TVET ELT TET ELD dua 77 huy7 Tw TroXe-
ploy es THY TONY, mepTTatov yap amo TIS viKns
ev KamitwAto GevTyjoew, ov pad.op eimrelp, bors
am eT pewe over p0s, drra parov Satpoves 7 h Geod
TLVOS euTooay oT dVvTOS EoLKEY Epyov 1) pos TovTO
PEARNTLS avrou Kal dethiaaes ryever Oar. 520 Kal
Bapxav TOV Kapyy6oreov eLTrety per Opyns pos
avTov NEyouae: oy vecav oidas, vixn 5é xpiodae
OUK oitas.” KaiToe TOTAUT HY peTaBorny 1) viKn
Tmept avTov eToing er, @S TPpo TIS HaXNS ov TroALD,
OVK €pTropLor, ov Atueva THS ‘Iradias éxovTa,

NareT@s 6€ Kal poris Ta emuTOela TH oTpareg
be aprayhs KopcCopevov, Opa evov am ovdevos
BeButov T pos TOV TONELOY, GAN WaTEP AnoTnpio
peyido 7@ oTpaToTrEdy TAAVWMEVOV Kal Trepipe-
popmevor, TOTE Tacav ORryOU deity ud QUT D _Touy-
cacbat thy ‘TraXiav. Ta yap TAEtoTA Kat peylota
TOV eOvav auT@ T pogexXwopnaev éxovota, Kal
Kamu uny,) péyiotov exer peta ‘Pwpyy akiopa
TOV TOAEWD, m™poa Gepevny KaTEG XE.
Ov povov & ay apa TO pirov Teipav AaBeiv, « as
vpercéns pyaiv,' ov TpeKpov KAKOY, dAAG Kal TO
ppovipav oTpaTIYyOv. y yap 7 po TNS paxns
baBiov derdia Kal Wuypotns Aeyouévn peta TH
payny evOus ovd avOperivos ébdoxet AoytapOs,
arAa Oetov te ypnua Stavoias nat datmovtov éx
TOTOUTOU Ta péAXOVTA Tpoopwmevns, A pores Hv
1 plrwy Aadetv yap wetpay ov opixpdy xaxdy. Nauck, Trag.
Graec, Frag.?, p. 679.
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FABIUS MAXIMUS

XVII. In view of such a complete success, Hanni- bal’s friends urged him to follow up his good fortune and dash into their city on the heels of the flying enemy, assuring him in that case that on the fifth day after his victory he would sup on the Capitol. It is not easy to say what consideration turned him from this course, nay, it would rather seem t hat_his_evil genius,or some divinity, interposed to inspire him with the hesitation and timidity which he now showed. Wherefore, as they say, Barca, the Cartha- ginian, said to him angrily: “Thou canst win a victory, but thy victory thou canst not use.’”’} And yet his victory wrought a great change in his circum- stances. Before the battle, he had not a city, not a trading-place, not a sea-port in Italy, and could with difficulty barely supply his army with provisions by foraging, since he had no secure base of supplies for the war, but wandered hither and thither with his army as if it were a great horde of robbers. After the battle, however, he brought almost all Italy under his sway. Most of its peoples, and the largest of them too, came over to him of their own accord, and Capua, which is the most considerable city after Rome, attached herself firmly to his cause.

Not only, then, does it work great mischief, as Euripides says, to put friends to the test, but also prudent generals. For that which was called cowardice and sluggishness in Fabius before the battle, immediately after the battle was thought to be no mere human calculation, nay, rather, a divine and marvellous intelligence, since it looked ‘so_far into the future and foretold a_ disaster which _could

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1 Tum Maharbal: **Non omnia nimirum eidem di dedere : vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis.”

Livy, xxii. 51.

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WieTa Tarxoucl. 6Oev evOus eis Exetvov 7 “Pwr
ovreveyKxoiaa TAS Aourras ermioas, rat mpoo u-
youra TH won TOU dvdpos @ OOTEp lep@ Kal Bop,
TpwTny Kal peyioTyy aitiav €oxe Tov petvar Kal pn
dcarvOjvat TH exelvov ppovnaw, Kxadanep év Tots
Kedrixois mwadectv. oO yap é€v ols ovder edo.cet deu-
vov elvat Katpots evrafns Parvopevos Kal ducéh-
To TOS TOTE TaVT@V xataBeBrKoTwv € EauTovs els
amépavTa mevOn Kal Tapaxas AT PAK TOUS, pLOvos
epoita bta THS TOAEWS Tpaw Badicpate Kral ™poo-
OT @ KaGeaT@rt Kal prravO pare Tpocaryopev-
Tel, KoTreTOUS TE yuvarketous aparpov Kal guoTa-
OES elpyov TOV Eis TO Onuootoy emi Kotvois
oduppois exh epopevon, Boudry TE suverdev € ETELTE
Kat Tapebapa uve Tas apxas, autos @y Kal pon
Kal Suvams d apXTIS amaons mpos éxetvov aTroBre-
TNOUONS.
XVIIT. Tats pev ovy muAaLS emer TNE TOUS
TOV EXTiTTOVTA Kal TpodeiTmovTa THY mod 6xAov
ametpEovtas, trévOous 6é Kat ToTov Kal ovov
MPLe, Kar oixtay amroO pyvety Kedevoas ed pe
pas TplaKovTa Tov Bovropuevov' eta O€ TaUTas
ede av mévOos AvecIar Kal cadapevery TOV
TOLOUTOY TY TOALW. €OPTIS TE Anpntpos els Tas
npepas exeivas kaOnkovens Bért1ov ebavn mapa-
AuTrety OAws Tas Te Ouacias Kal THY TOMT TY TO
péryeBos THS cuppopas oNLyOTNTL Kab KaTnpeig
TOV TUVEPXOMEVOY edeyxer Oar: kal yap TO Belov
joer Pat TL pL MEVOV UTO TOV eUTUXOUYT wv. boa
MévToL Tpos ‘hac pous Oeoy 7 y) TEPATOV aTroTpoTas
TUVNYOPEVOV OL LaVTELS ETpaTTETO. Kal yap els
Aerdous éréudOn Oeorpomros Iixtwp, svyyevns
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hardly be believed by those who experienced it. In him, therefcre, Ronie at once placed her last hopes ; to his wisdom she fled for refuge as to temple and altar, believing that it was first and chiefly due to his prudence that she still remained a city, and was not utterly broken up, as in the troublous times of the Gallic invasion. For he who, in times of apparent security, appeared cautious and irresolute, then, when all were plunged in boundless grief and helpless con- fusion, was the only man to walk the city with calm step, composed countenance, and gracious address, checking effeminate lamentation, and preventing those from assembling together who were eager to make public their common complaints. He persuaded the senate to convene, heartened up the magistrates, and was himself the strength and power of every magistracy, since all looked to him for guidance. XVIII. Accordingly, he put guards at the gates, in order to keep the frightened throng from abandon- ing the city, and set limits of time and place to the mourning for the dead, ordering any who wished to indulge in lamentation, to do so at home for a period of thirty days ; after that, all mourning must cease and the city be purified of such rites. And since the festival of Ceres fell within these days, it was deemed better to remit entirely the sacrifices and the procession, rather than to emphasize the magnitude of their calamity by the small number and the dejection of the participants. For the gods' delight is in honours paid them by the fortunate. However, all the rites which the augurs advocated for the propitiation of the gods, or to avert in- auspicious omens, were duly performed. And besides, Pictor, a kinsman of Fabius, was sent to

DaBiov, car Trav 'Eareddov mapbévev duo dte-
dbappévas evpovTes, THY HEV, Gon Ep éativ eos,
Cocay catwpvtar, 7} 7 oO Ug' EQUTAS atrédave.
Madora & ay tes aryaaatto TO ppovnpa kal
TY TpaocTnTa TiS TOAEWS, 6 OTE Tov UT aTOU Bap-
peovos Gq) Tips huyis émaviov7es, ws ap THs
aisXioTa Kal dvarotpoTata TET PAX WS emaviot,
TATPELVOU Kal KaTnpous, AT HVTNTEV auT@ Tept TAS
TUAQS 7 TE Bovnz) Kal 70 TIO OS anav aamato-
HEvOL. | ot & ep TENE Kat TpaToe THS Yyepovaias,
OV Kat Davos 7, novyias ryevoEeVvNS enjvecay,
OTL THY TOALY ouK aT ej VO pera dvoTUXLay
THALKAUTHY, adda Tapertty upEwv € emt Ta mpay-
pata Kal XPNTOpEVOS TOiS VOUOLS KAL TOUS TOALTALS
ws cwlecbat duvaperats.
XIX. 'Evei 8" AvutBav érvovt0 peta Thy hayny
aroretpagpbar mpos THY GAANV 'Irantar, avadap-
pycavres ef erreur ov nryeu"ovas Kal oTpatevpata.
TouTwy © émipare eo Tatou DaBvs Te Ma§ipos Kar
Kravétos Muapxedros joay, avo THiS évavtias
axedov 7 T poatpEerews Bavpatiperor Tapar Ano tws.
O per yap, oaTEp €v Tots Tepl aUTOU Yeypappevors

elpnTat, TEPthapLTES TO Spaatijptov € EYOV Kat yav-
pov, QTE én Kal Kara Xetpa TANKTNS AVP Kal.

poe TOLOUTOS Ov o1ous “Opnpos pariara Kanet

tNOT TONE MOUS © Kat ‘ ayep ous, €v TO Tapa-
Bore Kai tTa@ Kal TOs avopa Tod wn pov TOV
‘AvviBav aVTLTOABOVTE TPOT@ TONELOU | GuUVvidTATO
TOUS 1 PWTOUS aryavas: PaBios 6€ TOY TPeTwWY
éXopevos oye Loy éxelveoy naAamele pndevos paxo-
pevou pnd épeOifovtos tov ’AvvtBav avtov érn-
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consult the oracle at Delphi; and when two of the
vestal virgins were found to have been corrupted,
one of them was buried alive, according to the
custom,! and the other slew herself.
But most of all was the gentle dignity of the city to be admired in this, that when Varro, the consul, came back from his flight, as one would come back from a most ill-starred and disgraceful experience, in humility and dejection, the scnate and the whole people met him at the gates with a welcome. The magistrates and the chief men of the senate, of whom Fabius was one, praised him, as soon as quiet was restored, because he had not despaired of the city after so great a misfortune, but was at hand to assume the reins of government, and to employ the jaws and his fellow-citizens in accomplishing the salvation which lay within their power.

XIX. When they learned that Hannibal, atter the battle, had turned aside into the other parts of Italy, they plucked up courage and sent out com- manders with armies. The most illustrious of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men who were similarly admired for directly opposite characters. The latter, as has been stated in his Life,? was a man of splendid and impetuous actions, with an arm of ready vigour, and by nature like the men whom Homer is wont to call “fond of battle,” and “eager for the fray.’’ He therefore conducted his first engagements in the venturesome and reck- less style of warfare which met the daring of such a man as Hannibal with an equal daring. Fabius, on the contrary, clung to his first and famous con- victions, and looked to see Hannibal, if only no one

1 Cf. Numa, x. 4 ff. 2 Chapter i.
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peace cauT@ Kal Katatpy3noeabat Tmepl TOV

T OAELOV, OOTEP aOdAnTeKod T@LATOS TIS Suvd-
[EWS Umeptovou yevouerns Kal KaTaTrovou, TAXU-
TaTa THY aKpny anToBaXovta. 610 TOUTOY péVv O
Hocesdereos nat Oupeov, tov 6é MdpxedXov
Eidos vro Tay ‘Pwpaiwv Kaneia bat, Kipvaperny
dé THY WDaBiov BeBatotnta cal aapareay
Th Mapxeéddov cuvnbera* TMT PLOY” ryeveo Gar
tois “Pwpaias. o & ?AmiBas to pev aS
peovTe opddpa TOTApL@ ToARAKLS aTravT ay
éoeleTO Kal TapEppr'yvuTo THv dvuvapey, vg’ ob
dé Kal Kata pik pov UTOpPpEOVTOS avpopntt Kal
TAPE LTLTTOVTOS evCeheX@s UTE peLTropEvos Kat
daTrav@pevos €ddvOave: Kal TEAEUT@Y ELS UTTOplaY
KaTEGT)) ToTavTnY wate MapKédArAwW pEV UTO-
Kapety payouevov, PaBiov Se gokeicbat py
payopevor.
To yap TELaTOV, WS evrrely, TOU Ypovov TOUTOLS
SueTroreunaev 1) oTpaTHnyos 7) avOuTratos VIrd-
TOUS UTOCESELYMEVOLS’ EKATEPOS Yap aUT@Y TeEV-
TAKS UmTuTEVoEV. UAAA Madpxedrov plev UTTATEVOVTA
TO TET TOV evedpa TeptBarwr € EXTELVE, PaBio sé
TATA araTyy Ka SuiTreipav eTUyOr ToNhaKes
ovdev emépaive, TAY aTak odtyov Tu paxpovad-
pevos Ea frre Tov avopa. avvbeis yap eTLITONAS
Tapa TOV €v Metarovtiw Suvat@v Kat TpwTwr
éreprbe mpos Tov Da Brov, @S TIS ToAEWS EVOO-
Oncoperns et Taparyevoito, Kal THY TOUTO TpaT-
TovTwy éxeivoy éAOciy Kat davivat mAnaoiov
1 guynbelx Bekker adopts ovuvrovia (vehemence), the sug-
gestion of Coraés, based on Amyot.
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FABIUS MAXIMUS

fought with him or harassed him, become his own
worst enemy, wear himself out in the war, and
speedily lose his high efficiency, like an athlete
whose bodily powers have been overtaxed and
exhausted. It was for these reasons,(as) Poseidonius
says, that the Romans called Fabius their buckler,
and Marcellus their sword, and that the mingling
of the firm steadfastness of the one with the versa-
tility of the other proved the salvation of Rome.
By his frequent encounters with Marcellus, whose
course was like that of a swiftly-flowing river,

Hannibal saw his forces shaken and swept away ;
while by Fabius, whose course was slow, noiseless,
and unceasing in its stealthy hostility, they were
imperceptibly worn away and consumed. And
finally he was brought to such a pass that he was
worn out with fighting Marcellus, and afraid of
Fabius when not fighting.

For it was with these two men that he fought almost all the time, as they held the offices of praetor, pro-consul, or consul; and each of them was consul five times. However, when Marcellus was serving as consul for the fifth time, Hannibal led him into an ambush and slew him!; but he had no success against Fabius, although he frequently brought all sorts of deceitful tests to bear upon him. Once, it is true, le did deceive the man, and came near giving him a disastrous overthrow. He com- posed and sent to Fabius letters purporting to come from the chief men of Metapontum, assuring him that their city would be surrendered to him if he should come there, and that those who were contriving the surrender only waited for him to come and show

4 In Lucania, 208 B.c. Cf. the Marcellus, xxix.

dvapevovta. TAUT exivnoe Tov PaBrov Ta
ypampara, Kat AaBov HEpos Te THs oTpaTtas
ewerdev Opmaoen bua VUKTOS elTa XPNTaKEVvOS
opyioty OUK aiotors ameTpaTn, Kal pera "bux pov
emeyvadOn Ta ypaupata 7 pos aQuTov UT' 'Avvi-
Bov S0d@ ouvTeGevTa KaKELVOS évedpevov auTov
tnd THY TOA. GAAA TadTAa pév av TLS Evvoia
Gedy avabein.

XX. Tas 8 dmootdces THv TONEWY Kab Ta
KLVnLaTa TOV TUMPAXOY O Dares HGXXov ETO
deiy HTiws omthod: ta Kal TPaos aveipyew Kal
dvowmTety, jn) Tao av Umovoray edey XovTa Kal
Xaherov ovtTa TAVTET ATE Tois UTOTTOLS. A€yeTaL
yap OTL oT parearny avopa Mapaop, avdpeia Kal
ryever TOV TUL MAX OV T parton, air bopevos Suetdey-
pévov tial TOV év TO TT PATOT Ed¢ Tepl aTooTa-
Tews ov dinpeOtcev, GAN oporor/7jras nperijo Gat
map a€iav auTov, vov pev edn TOUS Tyyewovas
aiteaa Ga 7 pos Xa pw warrov 7} Tpos apeTHy Tas
TLLAS Vé"ovTAas, VOT epov 8 éxetvov aitidcer@at Ty)
ppavovra pnd evTuyXivovTa Tpos avrov, et Tov
déolTo. Kal Tab eiT@Yy imo Té Tohewea THY
éSwpnaato Kal TOUS arrows dpeoretoes éxOT LNG ED,

@are TLOTOTATOY é& éxelvou Kat mpoOuporatov
elva TOV avdpa. dewvov yap ayyeito TOUS peDv
immeKous Kal KUVTYETLKOUS émrtpedeta Kat cvvnbea
Kal Tpop7 MadXov 1) paorege Kal KXoLOts THY
yareToTnTa TaY Sowv Kal TO Oupouvpevov Kal To
dvoKoAaivov éEarpety, TOY 6 dv0 pwreov dpxovra
uy TO WAEloTOv ev YaplTL Kal TpaoTnTe THS
éravopbwoews TiOerPar, oxAnpotepov bé Tmpoc-
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himself in the neighbourhood. These letters moved Fabius to action, and he proposed to take a part of his force and set out by night. Then he got unfavourable auspices and was turned from his purpose by them, and in a little while it was discovered that the letters which had come to him were cunning forgeries by Hannibal, who had laid an ambush for him near the city. This escape, however, may be laid to the favour of the gods.

XX. Fabius thought that the revolts of the cities and the agitations of the allies ought to be restrained and discountenanced rather by mild and gentle measures, without testing every suspicion and show- ing harshness in every case to the suspected. It is said, for instance, that when he learned about a Marsian soldier, eminent among the allies for valour and high birth, who had been talking with some of the soldiers in the camp about deserting to the enemy, he was not incensed with him, but admitted frankly that he had been unduly neglected ; so far, he said, this was the fault of the commanders, who distributed their honours by favour rather than for valour, but in the future it would be the man’s own fault if he did not come to him and tell him when he wanted anything. These words were followed by the gift of a warhorse and by other signal rewards for bravery, and from that time on there was no more faithful and zealous man in the service. Fabius thought it hard that, whereas the trainers of horses and dogs relied upon care and intimacy and feeding rather than on goads and heavy collars for the removal of the animal’s obstinacy, anger, and dis- content, the commander of men should not base the most of his discipline on kindness and gentleness, but

péper Oat Kal Srarorepov wep ol yew pryovyTes
Eptveois Kat a pace Kal KOTiVvoLS T poo $épovTat,
TH [eV ELS éhalas, Ta 6 eis atious, Ta & eis cuKas
éEnpepovvtes Kal trOacevovtes.
i Etepov Tolvuy 7@ yéver Aevxavov avopa
Tooonyyeldav ou oyxaryol pepBopevav amo TOU
otparorébou Kal THY Takey exdelTovTa TOAXLKLS.
o & npwrnce, TaAAA Tolov Tiva Tov avOpwTov
evdetev OVTA. papTupouvtm@y 6€ mdvtwy Ort
padios ETE POS OUK Ein OTPATLWTHS TOLOUTOS,
dpa T avtov Tivas dvopayabias éemepavers Kat
m pafers AeyOvTw@Y, aiTiav TiS arakias nT av
evUpEev EpwTt TacclaKns KATEXOMEVOV Tov avopa Kat
xevOuvevovTa aK pas od0US EKUOTOTE povravra
pos éxelyny a0 TOU oTpatomébou. meprpas ovv
TLVAS ayvoovvT0s auTou Kal cvAaSov 70 yuvatov
expuyev év TH Kvn, Kal Kadéoas TOV Aeveavor
iota 7 pos avron, is O% AEANBas,) " €bn, “Tapa Ta
oP wpaiwv TUTpla Kal TOUS VOPOUS \ETOVUKT E pe DOV
TOU oTpAaTOTECOV TONAAKLS" GdY ovoe xpne Tos
av ™ poTepov érer7/0ers. Ta per ouv papTnpeva
cot AeAva eo Tois jvdpayanpevors, TO 6€ NOLTTOV
ep érepe Towjoopat TV ppovpav. ” @aupalovtos
de Tov TTPATLWTOV 7 poaryayov thv avd w Troy
éveXelpioev auT@ Kal eivev “ AvTn wey ey-
yuaral ce pevely év TO TTpAaToT ed pel” nev:
ou 6 Epy? delEcts, el 3) be aAAnv Twa,
poxOnpiav ATrENELTES, o & épws Kal abrn 7 p0-
paces ay NeyouEern.” TavTa pev wept TOUTW@V
taTopovat.
XXII. Tih & Tapavrivev TOALY ecyev €arw-
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show more harshness and violence in his treatment of them than farmers in their treatment of wild fig-trees, wild pear-trees, and wild olive-trees, which they reclaim and domesticate till they bear luscious olives, pears, and figs.

Accordingly, when another soldier, a Lucanian, was reported by his officers as frequently quitting his post and roaming away from the camp, Fabius asked them what kind of a man they knew him to be in other respects. All testified that such another soldier could not easily be found, and rehearsed sundry exploits of his wherein he had shown con- spicuous bravery. Fabius therefore inquired into the cause of the man’s irregularity, and discovered that he was deeply in love with a maid, and risked his life in long journeys

from the camp every time he visited her. Accordingly, without the man’s knowledge, Fabius sent and arrested the girl and hid her in his own tent. Then he called the Lucanian to him privately and said: “It is well known that, contrary to Roman custom and law, you often pass the night away from camp; but it is also well known that you have done good service in the past. Your trans- gressions shall therefore be atoned for by your deeds of valour, but for the future I shall put another person in charge over you.” Then, to the soldier’s amazement, he led the girl forth and put her in his hands, saying: “ This person pledges herself that you will hereafter remain in camp with us, and you will now show plainly whether or not you left us for some other and base purpose, making this maid and your love for her a mere pretext.”” Such is the story which is told about this matter.

XXI. The city of Tarentum, which had been lost

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

xviay €k Tpodocias TOY TpOTOV ToOvTOY. éaTpa-
TeveTo Tap avtT@ veavias Tapavtivos eéxwv
aderpiy TicTas wavy Kal hiroctopyws StaKe-
,
pévnv pos avTov. Hoa oe TauTns avinp Bpétttos
in , ¢ 399 , 4 t a
Tay TeTaypevoy ur AvviBou Thy Tod hpoupetv
> 4? e f “ , / “A
eh ayemovias. todtTo mpakews éeXrida 7 Ta-
“~ ,
pavtivw mapéoye, Kal ToD PaBtov auverdotos es
? s
THv Todt aelOn, Aoyw & amrocedpaxer TpLs THY
3 A 9 , e \ 2 : “~ col
ddeadyy ets Tadpavta. al pev ovvy mpwtar tev
nw 3 . ¢
nuepav yoav, Kal nal’ éavtov o Bpérrios
‘
aveTraveto, AavOdvery tov dbedXdov olopévys
4 e ta
éxelvns. €metta Réyet TMPOS avTHY O veavias:
“Kal pny éxel Aoyos ehoita ToAUs avdpt ce TeV
“ ral ‘4
duvaTtav Kal peydAwy ouveivat. Tis OvTOS éoTIV;
>] \ b U , bad 9 “A \
el yap evdoxios Tis, WS acl, apeTH Kal
NapTpos, ehdylota ppovTifer yévous oO Tavta

‘ , ‘ ‘
Tuppiyvus Todeuos: aioypov O€ peT avayKns
b] 4 b] 9] , bd “~ ‘ f
ovdev, dAXN eEvTUXIa Tis ev Kalpm® TO SiKatov
acOevées EXovTL TpaoTUT@ Xpncacbat To Btafo-
A ‘
Hévo.” eX TOUTOU LETATELTETAL LEV 2) UV?) TOV
Bpértiov Kal yuwpife: tov adeddov avuT@ Tayu
Sé¢ cuuTpattwy THy émiOvpiav éxetvos Kal waddov
wpotepov evvouy Kal yeipo:On 7o BapBapw
“a “ Cad
Tapéxelv Soxay Ty adeddip, ETXE TLOT@S, WoTE
“ “~ ,
By = xareTas ép@vtos avOpwrov yucbodopou
“~ b 4 ral
petacTioar Otavoray em édrrist Swpeow peyarwv,
¢ a ‘ ,
ds émnyyéAreto TrapéEetv avt@ Tov PaBrov.
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FABIUS MAXIMUS

to the Romans by treachery,! Fabius recovered in the following manner.?, There was a young man of Tarentum in his army, and he had a sister who was very faithfully and affectionately disposed towards him. With this woman the commander of the forces set by Hannibal to guard the city, a Bruttian, was deeply enamoured, and the circumstanee led her brother to hope that he could accomplish something by means of it. He therefore joined his sister in Tarentum, ostensibly as a deserter from the Romans, though he was really sent into the city by Fabius, who was privy te his scheme. Some days passed, accordingly, during which the Bruttian remained at home, since the woman thought that her amour was unknown to her brother. Then her brother had the following words with her: “I would have you know that a story was very current out there in the Roman camp that yon have interviews with a man high in authority. Whois this man? For if he is, as they say, aman of repute, and illustrious for his valour, war, that confounder of all things, makes very little account of race. Nothing is disgraceful if it is done under compulsion, nay, we may count it rare good for- tune, at a time when right is weak, to find might very gentle with us.” Thereupon the woman sent for her Bruttian and made her brother acquainted with him. The Barbarian's confidence was soon gained, since the brother fostered his passion and plainly indueed the sister to be more complacent and submissive to him than before, so that it was not difficult, the man being a lover and a mercenary as well, to change his allegiance, in anticipation of the large gifts which it was promised that he should receive from Fabius.

PZ12 BIC. 2 209 B.C.

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PLOUTARCH’S: LIVES

Vaura fev ovv ol TAELoTOL ypadovar TEpt
TouTMY? EvLoL OE THY av pwrov up 7 As oO Bpeértt0s
pet On, paciv ou Tapavtivyy, adrXra Bpertiav
TO yevos ovacav, TO be DaBir TadraKevouerny,
ss noOeto TodiTny Kal yvwpimov dvta Tov Tor
Boertioy dpXovTa, TO TE Pasi ppicat Kal
cuvedOovaar Els ddyous UTO TO TELyos exrreicat
Kal Katepyacac@at Tov avO pwrov.
XXII. Hparropévwv b€ rovtwr, 0 PaBros Twept-
oTUucal TOV ’AvviBay Texva tov €méaTetNe TOLS ev
‘Payivo OTPATLWTALS THD Bpettiap Katadpapety
cal KavrAwriav é€edeiy Kata KpaTos oTpato-
medevoavTas, Oa eee OvTas, avTouoXoUS
d€ TOUS TOAXOUS Kal TAY éK LuKedas vmo Map-
KéXdov KEKOMLE HEVOV aT ipey TOUS axXpnato-
TATOUS Kal eT eXaXtaTns TH) TWOAEL hums Kal
BraBys ATONOUHEVOUS. rT ee yap TovTous
7 poe pevos To ‘AvviBa Kal dekeacas amagtew
avTov aT0 TOU Tépavros" 0 Kal cuveBaivev. evOus
yap exet Sta@Kxay O ‘AvviBas Eppin peTa TIS
duvdpews. nuépa & ExTN TOUS Tapavtivous
TOU Pa Siov meptaTpatoredevoavtos,) mpobuet-
AeywEros a0) Bperri peta THS dOEAP 7s vEaVvia KOS
Ke VUKTOP 7 pos autor, eldws axpBas Kal
cafewpaxws Tov ToTov ep ov TapapuraTTov)
Bpértios épedrev evd@aetv Kal Tapnoew Tots
mpoaBurdAovolv. ov pny aT Ors ye THIS ™ po-
Soctas efptncer 0 PaBtos Ty mpakw, arr’
aUuTOS pev exeioe maperO ov Houxtav YE, 4 8
adr oTparia mpooéBarre TOUS TeiXeoty eK Te
ys Kal OaratTTNS Gua, ToLovca TOAAHY Kpavyny
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This is the way the story is usually told.) But
some writers say that the woman by whom the
Bruttian was won over, was not a Tarentine, but a

Bruttian, and a concubine of Fabius, and that when she learned that the commander of the Bruttian garrison was a fellow-countryman and an acquaintance of hers, she told Fabius, held a conference with the man beneath the walls of the city, and won him completely over.

XXII. While this plot was under way, Fabius schemed to draw Hannibal away from the neighbour- hood, and therefore gave orders to the garrison at Rhegium to overrun Bruttium and take Caulonia by storm. This garrison numbered cight thousand, most of them deserters, and the refuse of the soldiers sent home from Sicily in disgrace by Marcellus, men whose loss would least afflict and injure Rome. Fabius expected that by casting these forces, like a bait, in front of Hannibal, he would draw him away from Tarentum. And this was what actually happened. For Hannibal immediately swept thither in pursuit with his army. But five days after Fabius had laid siege to Tarentum, the youth who, with his sister, had come to an understanding with the Bruttian commander in the city, came to him by night. He had seen and knew precisely the spot at which the Bruttian was watching with the purpose of handing the city over to its assailants. Fabius, however, would not suffer his enterprise to depend wholly upon the betrayal of the city. While, there- fore, he himself led a detachment quietly to the appointed spot, the rest of his army attacked the walls by land and sea, with great shouting and

1 So, substantially, by Livy, xxvii. 15.

\ / bd e “a , r sf
xat OopuBov, axpt ob} Tov TrAELaoTWY TaparyTivwr
éxet BonOovvtwy Kal cupdhepopévwy tots Tetxyo-
~ , a“ e
paxovaw éeoijpnve tw PaBiw tov xatpov o Bpér-
\ ’ “
TOS, Kat dia KALdKwY dvaBas expatTnoe TIS
TOANEWS.
wn ‘4 “
"Evravéa peévro. doxet hirotipias ATTwv yeve-
\
cOat- Tovs yap Bpettiovs mpwtovs amocpattew
\
ExX€XEVTEV, WS p47) Tpododia THY Todw EXoV
pavepos yévorto. Kai tavtTns te Sujpapte Tis
,
d0—ns kat dsaBornv amiatias mpocédaBe kai
’ b / \ \ \ a
@poTnTos. améBavoy O€ ToAXGL Kal TOV Tapar-
, iA A
Tivo: ot d€ mpabévtes eyévovto Tpiapuptot, Kal
, 9

THY TOAW 7 OTpaTLAa SinpTracev’ avnvéxOn 4
\ 4
els TO Onuootoy Tpiaxidia TaddAaVTa. TavtTwy dé
a ” b) / \ , / \
TOV AAWV ayopnEVWY Kal hepopevwy NEYETAL TOY
, a ral a
ypappatéa mulécGat tod PaBiov wepi tav Ocwv
, 4 \ f
Ti KedEvEel, TAS ypadas ovTW TpocayopevcavTa
Kal Tovs avopiavtas: tov otv PaBiov eimeiv:
\
‘’Amorettwpev Tovs Ocovs Tapartivots reyorw-
/ 99 3 A b] A X \ ame
feevous. ov pny adda TOV KOoNocGOV TOU Hpa-
,
Kréous petaxopicas é« Tdpavtos éatnoev év
y , \ ‘4 ¥ ? , ~ a
RamiTwAto, Kal TANGLOV EdiTTroV ELxOVva YadKHv
¢ cal \ , A ’ ?
€avtov, ToAv MapxédrXAov davets atot@TEpos
\ fa a > fad b a wv
mept tadta, paddrgov & drws Exeivor avdpa
aoTnTt Kai diravOpwria Oavyactov amodeiEa
es 7 : ar p ms a 7
@s év Tols Tept éxetvou yéypamTTal.
XXIII. ’AvviBav 6€ Aéyetat Siwxovra Tea-
gapdxovta povots atrodethOjvar atadios, Kal
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‘tumult, until most of the Tarentines had run to the aid of those who were defending them. Then the Bruttian gave Fabius the signal, and he scaled the walls and got the mastery of the city.

At this point, however, Fabius seems to have been overcome by his ambition, for he ordered his men to put the Bruttians first of all to the sword, that his possession of the city might not be known to be duc to treachery. He not only failed to prevent this knowledge, but incurred also the reproach of perfidy and cruelty. Many of the Tarentines also were slain, thirty thousand of them were sold into slavery, their city was plundered by the Romau army, and three thousand talents were thereby brought into the public treasury. While everything else was carried off as plunder, it is said that the accountant asked Fabius what his orders were concerning the gods, for so he called their pictures and statues; and that Fabius answered: “ Let us leave their angered gods for the Tarentines.’’ However, he removed the colossal statue of Heracles from T'arentuim, and set it up on the Capitol, and near it an equestrian statue of himself, in bronze. He thus appeared far more eccentric in these matters than Marcellus, nay rather, the mild and

humane conduct of Marcellus ‘ was thus made to seem altogether admirable by contrast, as has been written in his Life.!

XXIII. It is said that Hannibal had got within five miles of Tarentum when it fell, and that openly

1 Chapter xxi. Marcellus had enriched Rome with works of Greek art taken from Syracuse in 212 B.c. Livy’s opinion is rather different from Plutarch’s: sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus, xxvii. 16. Fabius killed the people but spared their gods; Marcellus spared the people but took their gods.

havepas wey eitetv: “"Hy apa xat ‘Pwpatots ’Av-
viBas tis Ereposs ameRidopev yap THv Tapav-
Tivay TOW waTEp eAdBoper,” idia bé TOTE Tpo-
Tov aUT@ TapaaTivar ™ pos TOUS pidous ELTTELV, WS
Taral pev Ewpa Xarerov avrois, viv & advvatov
Kpateiy avo TaY UTapyovtwy "ITaXias. TodToV
Sevtepoy OpiauBov eOpidpBevoe AapTrpoTepov
TOU 7 potépov ba Bros, OoTrep aOANTIS ayabos
eTrayortCopEvos | to “AvviBa Kal padics aTonvo-
HEVCS avrov Tas mpdkers, OoTEp dupara Kat
ha Bas OUKETL TOV AUTO éxovoas Tovov. 7) pev
yap aveito THs Suvdpews alto dia tpudny Kal
TAOUTOD, 4 6 OoTEp ébjpBdvvo Kal KaTate-
TpLTTO TOLS dropnrots AYO. |
*Hy be Mapxos AiBtos, ov TOV Tdpavta ppov-
pobyros 0 "A vias aT ecTnTEY Guus S€ THY ak pay
KATE XOV ouK _€EexpovaGn, Kal duepvdafev ax pe
TOU TaXLVY UTO ‘Popaious ryevér Oar TOUS Tapavti-
vous. ToUTOY nvia Pa Bros TLM@PEVOS, Kal ToTe
Tpos THY oUyKANTOV um POovov Kai prroripias
eevex Geis elev ws ov PaBios, ddr’ adtos altos
YEvOLTO TOU THY Tapavtivey ar@vat. yeXaoas
obv O Pdfr0s, “"AAnO} éyets, elev, “et BN
yap ov THv ToAw améBares, ovK av éyw Tapé-
AaBov.”
XXIV. Oc 8 “Pwpaior Td a andra ™@ Pain
mpoaepépovTo AauT pas, Kal Tov vioy avuTov Da-
Buov dveberFav Uratov. Ta ahaBovtos bé THY
apxny avTov Kal StoixobvTos Tl TOV TWpos TOV
moNenov o Tatip, eite Sa yhpas Kal acbéverav

he merely remarked: “It appears, then, that the Romans have another Hannibal, for we have lost Tarentum even as we took it”; but that in private he was then for the first time led to confess to his friends that he had long seen the difficulty, and now saw the impossibility of their mastering Italy with their present forces. For this success, Fabius cele- brated a second triumph more splendid than his first, since he was contending with Hannibal like a clever athlete, and easily baffling all his undertakings, now that his hugs and grips no longer had their old time vigour. For his forees were partly enervated by luxury and wealth,! and partly blunted, as it were, and worn out by their unremitting struggles.

Now there was a certain Marcus Livius, who commanded the garrison of Tarentum when Hannibal got the city to revolt. He occupied the citadel, however, and was not dislodged from this position, but held it until the Romans again got the upper hand of the Tarentines. This man was vexed by the honours paid to Fabius, and once, carried away by his jealousy and ambition, said to the senate that it was not Fabius, but himself, who should be credited with the capture of Tarentum. At this Fabius laughed, and said: “ You are right; had you not lost the city, I had not taken it.”

XXIV. Among the other marks of high favour which the Romans conferred upon Fabius, they made his son Fabius consul.2 When this son had entered upon his office and was arranging some matter pertaining to the war, his father, either by reason of his age and weakness, or because he was

1 In 216-215 3.c. Hannibal made the opulent city of Capua his winter quarters. * 213 B.C,

v7 , ~ 4 b \ 9439
elite Stavretpwpevos Tov Tatdos, avaBas ef’ tao
\ a 4 :
TpoTyel Sia TOV EVTVYXAVOVTWY KAL TEPLETTWTWY.
e rY / /
o 6€ veavias xatidwy TroppwHev ovK nvéoxeTo,
/ b ¢ / > # “a X
méuas 8 vumnpétny éxédevoe xataBivat Tov

% nw ™
matépa Kal dt avtov mpocedOeiv, e bn Te TUYXA-
a a ¥
ver THS apxns Sedpuevos. Kal Tovs péey adXouS
, \ / \ a” ‘
Hviace TO emitaypa, Kal ciwmh mpos Tov PaPBtov
“~ ,
ws avakia Tacyovta tHS Sons améPAXeEYrav:
\ a \ ~
autos § éxeivos atomndynaas Kata Taxos, OatTov
A , ‘ \ eX 9 , \ \
1 Badnv wpos tov viov érexGeis, Kai TeptBarwv
A b] , “cc i 33 % ‘ec @ ~
Kal dowacapevos, “kv ye, elev, ‘“@ mal, dpo-
“A 4
veils Kat mpatrets, aigPouevos Tivwy apyels Kat
, sf 9 f b A fod Q
mnarixns peyeOos aveinhas apyijs. ovTw Kal
~ s \ ¢€ 4 ,
nmets Kal of mpoyovor THY “Pwpny nuEnoapev, év
~ “A \ ~ ~ ,
Sevtépw xal yoveis xal mwaidas det TOY THS TaTpI-
a >]
dos Kar@y TUOépevor.
“ “A g A
Adyerat & ws adnOas tov PaBiov tov mpo-
4 € ,
mantov év d0€n kai duvape peyiatn Popaiwy
\ “A
yevoMEVOY TEVTAKLS pev avTOY UTaTEevoaL Kal
OpidpBous ex Twodéuwv peyiotwy émipaverTatous
“ > eA Q
Katayayeiv, vmatevovte 6 vie mpecReuTHY avpy-
eEeAOeiv emt tov morepov, ev d€ 7H OptapBo
\ \ bd / SN , N 2 of
Tov pev elcedauvey emt tO pire, Tov 6 imtov
w \ a v] é a 9
€xyovTa peTa TOV aAAWY eTAKOAOUEELY, ayan-
~ 8 “ , nw“ Q ~
Adpuevov STL TOD pev viod KUpLos, TMV Se TOALTOY
s
péytatos Kal oy Kal mpocayopevopevos, VaTEpor
fo “A Ld /
aitov Tod vomov Kat Tod apxovTos TLAnory.
“A X , ,

GAG yap exElvos ovK amo ToUTwY povoy Aav-
actos Hv.
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putting his son to the test, mounted his horse and rode towards him through the throng of bystanders. The young man caught sight of his father at a distance and would not suffer what he did, but sent a lictor with orders for him to dismount and come to the eonsul on foot if he had any need of his offices. All the rest were offended at this command, and implied: by their silent gaze at Fabius that this treatment of him was unworthy of his high position. But Fabius himself sprang quickly from his horse, almost ran to his son, and embraced him affection- ately. “Myson,” he said, “ you are right in thought and act. You understand what a people has made you its officer, and what a high office you have received from them. It wasin this spirit that our fathers and we ourselves have exalted Rome, a spirit which makes parents and children ever second- ary to our country’s good.”

And of a truth it is reported of the great-grand- father of our Fabius, that though he had the greatest reputation and influence in Rome, and though he had himself been consul five times and had celebrated the most splendid triumphs for the greatest wars, he nevertheless, when his son was consul, went forth to war with him as his lieutenant,” and in the triumph that followed, while the son entered the city on a four-horse chariot, the father followed on horseback , with the rest of the train, exulting in the fact that,. though he was master of his son, and was the greatest: of the citizens both in name and in fact, he yet put himself beneath the law and its official. However, this was not the only admirable thing about him.

. 4 Experiri volui, fili, satin scires consulem te esse.”
Livy, xxiv. 44 * 292 B.C.
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Tod 5€ DaBiov tov viov atubaveiv oven’
Kal THY pev cuppopav WS aviip TE Ppovepos Kal
TaThp XpnaT0s TIVE KE peTpLoTarTa, To 8 éyxo-
pov, 0 Tais éxxoptdais TMV éerihavav ot Tpoc-
NKOVTES EMLTEAOVTLY, AUTOS Ele KaTAGTAaS €v
> “a \ , \ /, b] £5
ayopa, Kal ypayras tov doyov éEeowxev.
XXV. ’Ezrel dé LenTiov KopyjAtos ets TBrpiav
menus Kapyndovious pev €€nNaCE paxats ToOK-
rats Kparioas, Gun dé maprodva xal TONELs
peyanas Kal Tpaypata Aaptpa ‘Pwpaiots Ktnod-
pevos euvorav elye kat Sofav éravehOov bony
” by , ccd 4 \
anros ovdeis, Urratos 5€ Katactafels wal Tor

dHuov aicGopuevos peyadny atraitodyta Kal Tpoc-
Seyouevoyv mpativ abtod,’ To péev avToOs oup-
, \ 5 , 9 al e “ /
mréxecGat mpos AvviBav apyaioy nyetto Nav
\ / Nae, \ ¥ U ‘

Kal wpecButixov, adtny 5€ Kapyndova cat At-
Bony ev0ds éuarnoas OTAWY Kal oTpaTeUvpLdToV
Stevoetto TropGetv Kal Tov ToAEMOY Ex THS Itadias
éxel peOrotavat, cal mpos TovTO TavTt TS Oup@
, ‘ A) fe) \ / b] “
cuveEwppya tov Shpov, evtavd0a 87 DaBros emi wav
Séous aywv THY TONY, @s UT avdpos avontou Kal
véou hepopeévny eis Tov ExyaTtov Kal péytaTov Kivdv-
vov, oUTE AGYoU Hetdopevos out Epyou SoKxobvTos
’ f \ , \ \ \ y
GTOT peWely TOUS TOALTAS THY pev BovANV ETTELCE,

» bé 82m dia HOdvov eSoxer TOD TnTiwvos evnpe-
TE 1P4 : ped : ae
“ >
poovros émiAauBavecBat cal Sedrévat, pn Te peya
xal Napmmpov eEepyacapévov Kal Tov TodEpoV 7)
4 ’ , “a al b] , b /
TavTaTact averovtTos 7 TIS Itadtas éxBaXrovTos
2 avrov Bekker corrects to wap’ abrod.
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But the son of our Fabius, as it happened, died,
and this affliction he bore with equanimity, like a
wise man and a good father. The funeral oration,
which is pronounced at the obsequies of illustrious
men by some kinsman, he delivered himself from his
place in the forum, and then wrote out the speech
and published it.?
XXV. But now Cornelius Scipio was sent into Spain, where be not only conquered the Carthaginians in many battles, and drove thein out of the country, but also won over a multitude of nations, and took great cities with splendid spoils, so that, on his return to Rome, he enjoyed an incomparable favour and fame, and was made consul.? Perceiving that the people demanded and expected a great achieve- ment from him, he regarded the hand to hand struggle with Hannibal there in Italy as very antiquated and senile policy, and purposed to fill Libya at once, and the territory of Carthage itself, with Roman arms and soldiery, and ravage them, and thus to transfer the war from Italy thither. To this policy he urged the people with all his soul. But just at this point Fabius tried to fill the city with all sorts of fear. They were

hurrying, he said, under the guidance of a foolhardy young man, into the remotest and greatest peril, and he spared neither word nor deed which he thought might deter the citizens from this course. He brought the senate over to his views; but the people thought that he attacked Scipio through jealousy of his success, and that he was afraid lest, if Scipio performed some great and glorious exploit and either put an end to the war entirely or removed it out of Italy, his own

1 Cf. chapter i. 5. 2 205 B.C.

avTos apyos pavyn Kai wardaxds ev TosovT® ypor@

»} Cramer ohen Kans.

aie 8 oppijoas pev €& apxijs o PaBros 7 pos
TO avriheyery UI TOhAHS dopareias Kat wWpo-
voias, méyay ovTa. Sedtas TOV Kivovvoy, € évreivat b€
THWS parrov eavTov Kal Toppwtépe ™ poaxdijvat
pirorepig Tivi Kal pirovernia, KWAUVWY TOD XKN-
miwvos THY avfnowy, 65 ye Kal Kpdocor érrerBe,
TOV cuvuTaTevovTa TB Lar iove, pen 7 apeivat
THY oTparnyiay pnd wmeixery, aX auto, et
do€etev, em Kapyndovious Tepa.ova Gat, Kal xp
pata S08 hvac pos TOV TONEHOD oUK €lace. Yp2)-
para pev ov LanTiov EaUT@ mopiterv avayKa-
Copevos 7} HYELpE mapa TOV ey Tuppnvig TovEwY idia
™ pos QuTov oixelos Sraxerpevey Kal xapelopevov:
Kpdocov 6é Ta pev 4 pvars ovK ovTa pirovetKov,
Gdra 7 paov, olxot Karteixe, Ta O€ Kal vopos Betos
lepwavrny EyovTa THY wEeyiaTny.
XXVI. Atvéts obtv cal’ éErépav obdv avavtayr o
baBtos TO XKNTIWOVE KATEKWAVE TOUS Oppepevous
aUT@ ovotparever Oar TOY réwov Kal KaTetxen,
év TE Tais Bovnais Kal TALS exKAna tals Rom GS
oux avtos ’AvviBav amodidpacKot povos 0 LKn-
TiwVv, GAAA Kal THY UToAOLTTOY éxTrACOL AAB@vV
Stvauiv éx THs Iradtas, dnpaywyav éATiat TOUS
véeous Kal avaTrelOwy amroALTEiy youtas Kal yuvat-
Kas Kal TrodLy, Hs ev Oupars émixpato@v Kal anr-
THTOS 0 TONE|LLOS KdOnrar. Ka HEVTOL Taira
Aéyou éhoBnae Tous ‘Pwpaious, Kal £ovols avTov
epndicavto ypncOat tots év Yexedia oTpatevpact

1 uh supplied by Sintenis? and Bekker.

failure to end the war after all these years would be attributed to sloth and cowardice.
Now it is likely that Fabius began this opposition out of his great caution and prudence, in fear of the danger, which was great; but that he grew more violent and went to greater lengths in his opposition out of ambition and rivalry, in an attempt to check the rising influence of Scipio. For he even tried to persuade Crassus, Scipio's colleague in the consulship, not to surrender the command of the army and not to yield to Scipio, but to proceed in person against Carthage, if that policy were adopted. He also prevented the granting of moneys for the war. As for moneys, since he was obliged to provide them for himself, Scipio collected them on his private account from the cities of Etruria, which were devotedly attached to him; and as for Crassus, it was partly his nature, which was not contentious, but gentle, that kept him at home, and partly also a religious custom, for he was pontifex maximus, or High Priest.

XXVI. Accordingly, Fabius took another way to oppose Scipio, and tried to hinder and restrain the young men who were eager to serve under him, crying out in sessions of the senate and the assembly that it was not Scipio himself only who was running away from Hannibal, but that he was sailing off from Italy with her reserve forces, playing upon the hopes of her young men, and persuading them to abandon their parents, their wives, and their city, although the enemy still sat at her gates, masterful and undefeated. And verily he frightened the Romans with these speeches, and they decreed that Scipio should employ only the forces which were then in Sicily, and take with him only three hundred of the

kal tov év "lBnpia yeyovotwy per avtod tpta-
Koglous aye, ois éxpito wioTois. TavTa pe
otv éddxer TrodtTEevedOat mpos THY EavTOd dvoL
o DaBros.
"Ewet 6¢ Lan iovos els AtBunv diaBadvros evd Us
epya Oavpaora Kal Tm pacers UTEpnpavot TO peye-
0S Kal TO KAXXOS ELS 'Popyy aTNnyyéXXovTO, Kai
papTupovyTa Tals dijpuats eimeTo Addupa TONNG,
kat Baoirevs o Nopdbwr aixpardwros, Kal dvo
oT paToTEow@y ud' va Karpov EMT pro els Kai pOopa
TOARGY pev avOpwrov, Todav o Om Kai
immw@v €v AVTOLS TUYKATAKEKAULEVWY, Kal TPEC-
Betas wpos 'AvviBav éréurovto mapa Kapyn-
Soviwy KadovwTwv Kal Seopevwy é€acavta Tas
GUTENELS exelvas edrridas oixade BonGety, év be
'Popn TUvTOV eXovT@Y tov Xxntriwva bia oto-

patos eT ors katopbw@pact, Da Bros ngiou
mepTrea Gat Leymiove d:adoxov, anhnv pev ouK
EYwv mpopacty, cir@y dé To pUnpovevopevor, ws
emia pares ECTL TLOTEVELY dvdpos € E08 TUX THAL-
KavTa Tpaypara, YareTov yap del evTUyely TOV
autor, oUTw@ 7 poo expovaev 778n Todois, ws bu-
gKoXOS avnp Kal BacKavos i) TuTAY UTO YyIPwsS
ATOR LOS yeyovms Kal ducerms, TEpaLTEpw TE TOD
petptou catateBa p37 LEVos TOV ‘AvriBay. ovoé
yap ext hevoavTos avTou peTa Tov duvapewy eg
"Itadias elace TO xatpov Kal TeJappnKos TOV
TONLTOV aopuBov Kal BéBaroy, GNAA TOTE én
padiata Ta Wpdy“aTa TH TWOAE Jeoven Tapa
Tov €axatov Kxivduvoy émiaparas Eye edeye:
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men who had been with him in Spain,—men who had served him faithfully. In this course, at any rate, Fabius seems to have been influenced by his own cautious temper.

But as soon as Scipio had crossed into Africa, tidings were brought} to Rome of wonderful achievements and of exploits transcendent in magnitude and splendour. These reports were confirmed by abundant spoils which followed them; the king of Numidia was taken captive; two of the enemy’s camps were at once destroyed by fire, and in them a great number of men, arms, and horses; embassies were sent from Carthage to Hannibal urgently calling upon him to give up his fruitless hopes in Italy and come to the aid of his native rity ;? and when every tongue in Rome was dwelling on the theme of Scipio's successes, then Fabius demanded that a - successor should be sent out to replace him. He gave no other reason, but urged the well remembered maxim that it was dangerous to entrust such vast interests to the fortune of a single man, since it was difficult for the same man to have good fortune always. By this course he gave cifence now to many, who thought him a captious and malicious man, or one whose old age had robbed him utterly of courage and confidence, so that he was immoderately in awe of Hannibal. For not even after Hannibal and his army had sailed away from Italy? would he suffer the rejoicing and fresh courage of the citizens to be un- disturbed and assured, but then even more than ever he insisted that the city was running into extremest peril and that her affairs were in a dangerous plight.

1 204 B.C. Cte Livy, xxxi.19,
3 203 B.C.
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o 2
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Bapuregov yap év AcBun 7 po Kapx doves avtots
"AvpviBav éuneceicbat, Kal otpatov aT AVT TEL

Lanmiave TOAN@Y ETL Oeppov avToxpaTtopwv
aipare Kal SixTaTopav Kal UT ato" @aTe THY
TOMY avds UTd TOV NOYwY TOVTwWY avatapat-
recOal, Kai TOU TroNémou pEeOeaTwTOS eis AtBunv
eyyutéepw Tis “Pwuns olecOar yeyovévar tor
doBov.
XXVII. ‘AXXG LKnT Lov fev ov peTa TrOAUY
x povov avTov TE VLKYOAS waxy KaTa patos
‘AvviBav Kal kataBarwpy TO ppovnpa Kal KaTa-
TATHCAS THS Kapxnéovos UToTETOVeNS, aT éOWKE
peifova Xapav amdans érmidus Tots TodiTass,
KaL THY NWyepoviay ws arnbars ‘TOAAG Taro
cevadcioay apdwoe mad” : PaBros dé Ma£tpos
ov Ounpece TO Bio 7 pos TO rob TONE LOU TEROS,
ove” Kovoey "AvviBav HT TH LEVOY, ovoé THY peya-
qv Kal BeBacov evTuxiav TAS. marTptoos émeldev,
GNAG mept ov x povoy ‘AvviBas amhpev €& ‘Iranias
voow KapLwv eTENEUTNTED. ‘Erapevavoay pev obp
@nBaior Snpocta, dia Teviay, iv aTédTTEV O avnp,
edayray. ovdey yap oiKoL TENEUTI}TAVTOS evpeO hvat
mANy OPE oKov ardnpoby Aéyovot' PaBiov 4é
‘Popaitor Sypooia HEV OUK éxrjdevear, idia 8
ExaaToU TO o JuKPOTATOV avT@ T@DV VOpLg WATOY
ETEVEYKOVTOS, ovy ws ov evSevav TpoaapKovvTwn,
GNX’ OS TATEPA TOD Syjpov Garrovtos, € eoxe Tin
nat do£av 6 Oavatos avtod T@ Biw mpéToveap.
> WORAG . ..mddav with Bekker, as adapted from (6eel) ToAAG oadw aelaavtes &p9warav wad, Sophocles, Antigone, 163. Sintenis corrected Gpdwae to HpOwoey, after Coraés, and printed the whole as an iambic trimeter verse.

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1 9(

FABIUS MAXIMUS

For Hannibal, he said, would fall upon them with all the greater effect in Africa at the gates of Carthage, and Scipio would be confronted with an army yet warm with the blood of many imperators, dictators, and consuls. Consequently, the city was once more confounded by these speeches, and although the war had been removed to Africa, they thought its terrors were nearer Rome.
XXVII. But shortly afterward Scipio utterly de- feated Hannibal himself in battle, humbled and trod under

foot the pride of fallen Carthage, restored to his fellow-citizens a joy that surpassed all their hopes, and in very truth “righted once more”’ the ship of their supremacy, which had been “shaken in a heavy surge.” Fabius Maximus, however, did not live to see the end of the war, nor did he even hear of Hannibal's defeat, nor behold the great and assured prosperity of the country, but at about the time when Hannibal set sail from Italy, he fell sick and died.! Epaminondas, it is true, was buried by the Thebans at the public cost, because of the poverty in which he died, for it is said that nothing was found in his house after his death except a piece of iron money. Fabius, however, was not buried by the Romans at the public charge, but each private citizen contributed the smallest coin in his posses- sion, not because his poverty called for their aid, but because the people felt that it was burying a father, whose death thus received honour and regard befitting his life.

2203 uc. Cf. Livy, xxx. 26.
197
°

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ee
vot
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

NEPIKAEOYS KAI ®ABIOY MAZIMOY
SYPKPISIS
I. Oc péev ody Biot tev dvdpmv totavTny
éyovow iotopiav. émet b& Kal TodtTiKAs Kal
TONEMIKHS APETHS TOAAG Kal Kaa Tapadelypata
KaTaneroiTacw auhotepol, Pepe THY TOAEMLKOY
éxeivo Tpwtov AdBwper, OTe IlepexAHs pev aptota
TpaTtovTe TO Onuw Kal peyiotw Kal’ avrov ovTt
Kal paddicta mpos Sivapw daxpdalovte ypapevos
bro Kons av Soketev evtuxias Kal pons mpaypa-
tTav acdarys Siayevécba nal amtatotos, at bé
DaBiov mpakes ev aicytotos Kal duvomotpo-
Tato Katpois avabeEapevov THY TONY, OVK eT
ayabots dopary Sretnpnoav, adr’ €x Kakay Ets
Bertiw petéotnoav. Kal Ileprrret pev at
Kiuwvos evrpakiar cat ta Mupwridov cal tra
Aewxpatous tTpoTwaia Kat moka Kal peydda
Torpidys xatopOav éveoptdcat paddgqov xal
eumavnyupioa, oTpatnyoovte Thy TOA 7) KTHTA-
cOat Tovéuw Kat durdEa wapébwxav: PaBros &
6pav Todkdas pev guyas Kal HTTas, Toddovs de
Gavdtovs Kat ahayas avtoxpatopwy Kal otpa-
Tnyov, Atuvas Sé Kal media Kai dpvpous vexpov
stpatorédwy TAiOovtas, aipate d€ Kal dovw

mwotapols a\se ®ardttns péovtas, év Te Kal?
Eavtov dppope w' Kat BeBnxote Thy wOdW avTi-
AapBardperos xat vrrepeidwv, ovK elace Tots
1 dpuwpérm Bekker corrects to ipyoruevy (attempered),
after Coraés.
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CUMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS

COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS
MAXIMUS

I. Suc is the story of these men’s lives, and since both left behind them many examples of civil as well as military excellence, let us consider, in the first place, the matter of their military achievements. Pericles was at the head of his people when its pros- perity was greatest, when its own strength was at the full, and its imperial power culminating. Apparently, therefore, it was the general good fortune and vigour that kept him free from stumbling and _ falling, whereas the achievements of Fabius, who took charge of his city at times of the greatest disgrace and misfortune, did not maintain her safely in her prosperity, but rather lifted her out of disaster into a better state. And besides, the victories of Cimon, and the trophies of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great successes of Tolmides, made it the privilege of Pericles, during his administration, to enrich the city with holidays and public festivals, rather than to enlarge and protect her dominion by war. Fabius, on the contrary, whose eyes beheld many disgraceful defeats, many cruel deaths of imperators and generals, lakes and plains and forests filled with slain armies, and rivers flowing with blood and slaughter to the sea, put helping and supporting hands to his city, and by his firm and independent course, prevented her from utte1

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

EXELYMY um opeponerny Tras pact TEAEWS exXu-
Chas. Kattot Oogerev Gv ovy ovTW YadeTrOV elvar
TONY év ouppopais peraxerpicac bas TATELYNY
Kal TOU _ppovodv7os UT avayKys KATNKOOV ryevo-
pevnvy, ws Oe evTUXiay eTnpwEv@ Kal onapyavre
TO One aXtvov ep Bareiv DBpews Kat Opacurn-
Tos" 3 8 partora paiverat TpOTp Hepixdas
'ABnvalov TE PUryEVO[EVOS. anna, TOV ‘Papaiors
CULT ET OVT@Y TOTE KaK@v To péyebos Kal TO
TAHOOS loxupov Tia Thy yvoprv' Kat péyav
ederEev avépa TOV mu) auyxvlévta pndé mpoéuevoy
TOUS AUTOU NO TEENS,
ih Kar > Lape pev vmo LepixdXéous drotan
THY Tapavros é éore Katahnye avtiOetvat, Kat vn
Av’? EvBoa tas Tmept Kayraviay TOXeLs" €7reL
aur ye Karin ol mept PovaABiov Kat “Ammtov

UTaTot KATETXOV. eK € TapatTagews DaBros ov
paivetat ayn vevixnxas TAHV ad As Tov m™po-
TEepov elanraceE piapBov, _Tlepexrijs o évvéa
TpoTata Kata yhv Kal Kata Oaratray éstycev
GTO TOY ToAELiOV. Ov pV A€yeTAaL TOLAUTY
mpakts Llepixd€ous, olay empage PaBtos Mwvoveroy
efapracas "AvviBouv Kai Siacwoas EVTEAES oTpa-
ToTEOoY ‘Popaiwv: KaXov yap TO épyov Kal towvov
avopelas o“0v Kal ppovijcews Kab XPNTTOTHTOS®
OoTrEp av TdadLVv OvbE opadpa ANéyerat Tlepexréous
olov éopdry Paros da tHOv Body KaTaotpatn-
Gels UT’ "AvviBov, AaBov ev avTOMATOS Kal
Kara TUX NY men Oovta TOS oTEVOLS TOV TohepLop,
Tpoeuevos o€ vuKTOs Aadovta Kal pe” 7pépay
Biacdpevov cai 6Odcavta pédXXovTOs Kal Kpati-
1 thy yvauny Coraés: yrouny.

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COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS

exhaustion through the disasters brought upon her by others. And yet it would appear to be not so dificult a task to manage a city when she is humbled by adversity and rendered obedient to wisdom by necessity, as it is to bridle a people which is exalted by prosperity and swollen with insolence and bold- ness, which is precisely the way in which Pericles governed Athens. Still, the magnitude and multi- tude of evils which afflicted the Romans revealed the steadfast purpose and the greatness of the man who .was not confounded by them, and would not abandon his own principles of action.

II. Over against the capture of Samos by Pericles, it is fair to set the taking of Tarentum by Fabius, and against Euboea, the cities of Campania (Capua itself was reduced by the consuls Fulvius and Appius). In open and regular battle, Fabius seems to have won no victory except that for which he

celebrated his first triumph!; whereas Pericles set up_nine trophies —tor—his—awars on_land_and_sea.

owever, no such exploit is recorded of Pericles as that by which Fabius snatched Minucius from the hands of Hannibal, and preserved an entire Roman army; the deed was certainly a noble one, and showed a combination of valour, wisdom, and kind- ness alike. So, on the other hand, no such defeat_is recorded of Fericles. as that which Fabius suffered when he was outwitted by Hannibal’s stratagem of the oxen; he had his enemy imprisoned in the narrow defile which be had entered of his own accord and accidentally, but let him slip away unnoticed in the night, force his way out when day came, take advantage of his adversary’s delays, and

1 Cf. chapter ii. 1.

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/ ~ ~
3 cavta avddaPovtos. et dé det wn povov xpnoOas
a A A lal
Tols Tapodaww, adda Kal TexpaiperOat rept Tod
péAXOVTOS OpOas tov ayabov otpatnyov, 'AOn-
vaio pev ws TepixAns mpoéyvw cal mpoetrev
eTENEVTNTEV O TONEMOS* TOAUTTPAYLOVOUYTES yap
? , ' ? e€ "A \ \ \
atwrecav thy Suvapiv: "Pwyator 5€ mapa tous
Pafiov Aoyta pous exTréwrpavtes et Kapynbovious
Lentiova Tavtwy éexpatncav, ov TvXn, copia
A a "A \ > , /
6é tod atpatnyod Kat advdpeia Kata Kpatos
, \ , Cd ~

4 vixycaVvTOS TOUS ToAEuiOUS. WOTE TH pev

Ta TWralopata HS Tatpioos paptupet Ste
Karos éyvw, tov 6€ vTo Tav Katophwpatov
~ / a" ' > ; wv >
éMéyxecOa: tod mavtos écdadrpévov. ian 6
dpaptia oTpaTnyov KaK® Tepimeceiy py TpoT-
Soxnoavta Kal xatopOmpatos Katpoy amotia
mpoécGat. pia yap, ws €olkey, ametpia Kai
/ a \ 7? ? ~ la
Opdicos yevva xat Bdpoos adaipettar. tadta
TEpi TMV TOEMLKWY.
III. Tis 6€ woditeias péya pev EyxAnpa Tov
TlepexXéous 0 1oAepos. A€yeTaL yap éTraKTOs UT
,

éxeivou yevécOat Aaxedaipoviots épicavtos py
évdovvat. s0xm && pnd av DaBiov Makipov
> "A , A > ? > "a e
évdodvat te Kapynéoviouw, arr evyev@s v7t0-
A nm ,
OTHVAL TOY UTEP THS HyEpoVvias KiVOUVOV. 7 MEVTOL
' , ' , n , \
mpos Miuvovcvuov émieixetca tod DaBiov Kai
, ? é N ' ry?
mpaoTns €déyyet Tov mpos Kipwva nal Oov-
Kvélonv otaciac pov, avdpas ayabous xal aptato-

so conquer his captor. And if it is the part of a good general not only to improve the present, bat \ also to judge correctly of the future, then Pericles was such a general, for the war which the Athenians were waging came to an end as he had foreknown , and foretold ; for they undertook too much and lost: their empire. But it was contrary to the principles of Fabius that the Romans sent Scipio against Carthage and were completely victorious, not through the favour of fortune, but through the wisdom and valour of the general who utterly conquered their enemies. Therefore the very disasters of his country bear witness to the sioacie of Peecless while the successes of the Romans proved that Fabius was completely in the wrong. And it is Just as great a failing in a general to involve himself in disaster from want of foresight, as it is to throw away an opportunity for success from want of confidence. Inexperience, it would seem, is to blame in each ease, which both engenders rashness in a man, and robs a man of courage. So much for their military abilities,

II. As for their statesmanship, the Peloponnesian war was a ground of great complaint against Pericles. For it is said to have been brought on by his con- tention that no concession should be made to Sparta. I think, however, that not even Fabius Maximus would have made any concessions to Carthage, but would have nobly undergone the peril needful to maintain the Roman supremacy. Nevertheless, the courteous and gentle conduct of Fabius towards Minucius contrasts forcibly with the factious opposi- tion of Pericles to Cimon and Thucydides, who were both good and true men and of the highest birth,

KPQTLKOUS EUS puyny um avutTod Kal TovaTpaKov EXT ET OVTAS. GNX 4 ye Suvawis pelfwov y] TOU Tlepuxdéous Kal TO Kpdtos. OGev ovd addov ela ev evova TUXATAL TH Tone KaK@S Bovdev- OL pLEvOV aT parn yor, avn’ 4 povos auTov exhuyov fb or pons Kat diwadpevos Bia T pooenTaige Botw- Tous: Ol é aor mposeribevto Kat KATEKOG MOVYTO mates els THY exetvoU ye pny UTO peyebous auTov Tis Suva pens. Paros 6é TO Kal?’ avrov aagaris

@y Kal avapd pTNTOS TO 7 pos TO Kove éTepous
aduvaT@ patrveTat Aeumdpevos. ov yap av To-
cavTals cuppopais éypynoavtTo ‘Pwpato. PaBiou
map avtois dcov *A@nvynot Tepixréous Suvn-
Oévtos.
Kat pany THY YE TPOS Xpnwata peyaroppoa vyny
) pe 70 pon dev haBeiv Tapa Tov didoovtav, o b€
TO mpoéabar TOANG Tots Orop.evors évredeiEaTo,
Auodpevos TOU iStoes Xpnpace TOUS aixXparwrous.
TAY TOUTWY [Lev OU TOAUS mY dptO 10s, arn’ ogo
e& tdXavta: Iepixrys & ovx av tows eitoe tis
ga Kal Tapa ouppayov Kal Baotd€éwv Mpenec-
aba Kal Jeparreverdat Tapov, THs Suvdpews
didovens, abwpotaTov éavtov Kai Kadapwratov
epudater.
“Epyov ye pny peyébect Kat vaay Kal KaTa-
oKevals otxobopnwator, é& ov exoopnoer O
TlepucdAs tas ‘A@nvas, ovK akvov o onov TavTa Ta
TpoO TOV Katcapav hiroTiunpuata THs ‘Peopns
TapaBanreiv, GX’ _eEoxov Tt mpos éxelva Kat
davyK pLTOV 7) TOVTwY Exye peyadoupyia Kat
pmeyaXoTpeTELaA TO TPWTELOV.
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COMPARISON OF FERICLES AND FABIUS

and yet were subjected by him to ostracism and banishment. But Pericles had greater influence and power than Fabius. For this reason he did not suffer any other general to bring misfortune upon the city by his evil counsels, except that Tolmides broke away from his guidance, carried through by main force a plan for attacking Boeotia, and met with disaster ; but the rest all attached themselves submissively to his opinion, owing to the greatness of his influence. Fabius, on the other hand, though sure and unerring in his own conduct of affairs, seems to have fallen short through his inability to restrain others. Surely the Romans would uot have suffered so many disasters if Fabius had been as influential with them as Pericles was at Athens.

And further, as regards their freedom from
mercenary views, Pericles displayed it by never
taking any gifts at all; Fabius by his liberality to
the needy, when he ransomed at his own costs his
captured soldiers. Albeit the amount of his property
was not great, but about six talents. And Peri
though ps_had opportunities, own ig to. his. authority
an mage nce, le enrich himself from obsequious
allies and kings beyond all possible estimates, never-
theless kept himself pre-eminently superior to bribes

and free from corruption.
By the side of the great public works, the temples, and the stately edifices, with which Pericles adorned Athens, all Rome's attempts at splendour down to the times of the Caesars, taken together, are not worthy to be considered, nay, the one had a towering pre-eminence above the other, both in grandeur of design, and grandeur of execution, which precludes comparison.
205

NIKITA

I. 'Ezet doxodpev ovx ATOTOS 7@ Nixia tov
K paacov TapaBarrey, Kat ra TMap0uxa 7ra8}-
HaTa TOS Luxeducois, apa mapatteia Bar Kal
Tapaxanrety vTep euod TOUS evtTuyXavovTas Tots
cuyypappace TOUTOLS, oT ws emt Tals Sunynoeccy
ais Souxvdidns, avTos auTou mepl TavTa madn-
TLKOTATOS, évapyéctatos, TOLKLATATOS YEVOLEVOS,
CL Llf{LTWS efevnvoxe, pn dev meas vToAaBwor
metrovoevar Tcpatw dos Gpotov, os edmrigas TOV
pep Qovevdidnv UmepBaneta Bar SeuvoTnte, TOV be
Pirtarov an odeiberv TavTaTadt poptixoy Kal
istoTnv, bia pécwv @betrar TH faropig TOY
padora. KkaTopOmpevov € exeivous ayovev Kal vav-
paxylav cat Snunyopiav, ov pa Ata
mapa Avéov appa mefos olyvevwy

as dnae Iivdapos, GN' dhs TUS oyriuadns Kai
[ELPAKLOOTS aivopevos év TovrTots, Kal KATA TOV
Aidirov
mays, ovOurevpevos aTéaTe VLKENKG,
TOAAXOU 5 Dmoppéwy els TOV Eevapyor, OoTEP
oTay reyn TOUS 'A@nvators oL@ovov nyncaaGat
yeyovévat Tov amo THs vikns ExovTAa TovVVvo"a
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NICIAS

I. I tuink that Nicias is a suitable parallel to Crassus, and the Sicilian to the Parthian disaster. I must therefore at once, and in all modesty, entreat my readers not to imagine for an instant that, in my narration of what Thucydides has inimitably set forth, surpassing even himself in pathos, vividness, and variety, I am so disposed as was Timaeus. He, confidently hoping to excel Thucydides in skill, and to make Philistus seem altogether tedious and clumsy, pushes his history along through the conflicts and sea-fights

and harangues which those writers had already handled with the greatest success, showing himself, in rivalry with them, not even so much as

“‘ By Lydian car a footman slowly plodding,’

to use Pindar’s comparison,! nay rather, a perfect example of senile learning and youthful conceit, and, in the words of Diphilus,
“ Obese, stuffed to the full with Sicilian grease.” ?

Indeed, he often lapses unawares into the manner of Xenarchus, as, for instance, when he says he thinks it was a bad omen for the Athenians that Nicias, whose namc was derived from victory, declined at

1 One of the Fragmenta Incerta (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graect, i‘, p. 450). 2 Kock, Cum. Att. Frag. ii. p. 576.

oTparnyov QVYTELTOVTA TPOS THY oTparnyiay, Ka TH TEepiKon 7 TOV “Eppav T poo npaiverv avTois TO Satmoviov, ws UvTd ‘Eppoxparovs TOU "Eppovos TAELTTA TELTOVTAL TAPA TOV TOAEMOY’ ETL O ELKOS civat Tov ‘Hpaxréa trois pev Xuvpaxovoiots Bon-
Oeiv d1a tHv Kopny, wap’ is EXaBe tov KépBepov,
? / 4 a Ld iad 4 9 4
opyitec Baz b€ Tots AOnvatots, 6te Tos Atyeotéas, atoyovous dvras Tpwwrv, écwkov, avtos 8 vir Aaouédovros adixnOeis advictatov émoinoe THY TOALW.
> \ f \ ¥ ? \ a Joa 3 /
AXXG TOUT@ [LEV LoWS ATO THS AUTHS EpperElas
“~ 4 , > , \ \ 4 4
TAaUTa Te ypadherv emer Kal THY Piriarov SudreEx-
La BA \ ~ \ , N22
tov evOuvery, kat Tols wept WAXdtwva Kai’ Aptoto-
TéeAnv Roldopetcbat: éeuot 5 GAws pev 1 Trepl NEEW apthrAa Kal EnroTuTia Tpos ETEPoUS pLKpO-
mpeTrées haivetat cal aofiatixoy, av d€ pos Ta aulunta yiyvntal, Kal Tedéws avaicOntov. as your Qouxvodidns eEjveyxe mpabeas nal Dirsotos,
ry al > v ld 4 N \
émel wapedOeivy ovK att, pardtotd ye On TOV
/ \ ‘ 4 a .' e N “~

spomov Kai THY Siadbeoty Tod avdpos WTO TOAA@Y
Kal peyddwv TAaQ@Y KaXUTTOMEVHY TrEpLEexovaas,
éridpapwy Bpayéws kal ua TOY avayxaiwr,
iva pn Tavtdtacw daperns dox@® Kal apyos
a \ ? ‘ , e > e@ ¢
elvat, Ta dtadevyovTa Tous ToNNous, vp ETEPwY
§ elpnuéva oopadnv) mpos avaOjpacw 7h
wndicpacty evpnpéva waraois Temetpapat
cuvayayety, ov Ty axpnatov abpoifwr ioTopiay,
GANG THY TWpos KaTavonow nOovs Kal Tpotrov
Tmapac.oous.
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NICIAS

first to head tl.eir expedition ; also that, by the muti- lation of the “ Hermae,”’ ! Heaven indicated to them in advance that by the hands of Hermocrates the son of Hermon they were to suffer most of their reverses during the war; and, further, that it was fitting that Heracles should aid the Syracusans, for the sake of their goddess Cora, who delivered Cerberus into his hands, but should be angry with the Athenians, because they were trying to succour the Egestaeans, although they were descendants of the Trojans, whose city he had once destroyed because of the wrong done him by Laomedon their king.

As for Timacus, he may possibly have been moved to write thus in the exercise of the same critical taste which led him to correct the language of Philistus and abuse Plato and Aristotle; but as for me, I feel that jealous rivalry with other writers in matters of diction is altogether undignified and pedantic, and if it be practised toward what is beyond all imitation, utterly silly. At all events, those deeds which Thucydides and Philistus have set forth,— since I cannot entirely pass them by, indicating as they do the nature of my hero and the disposition which lay hidden beneath his many great sufferings,— I have run over briefly, and with no unnecessary detail, in order to escape the reputation of utter carelessness and sloth ; but those details which have escaped most writers, and which others have mentioned casually, or which are found on ancient votive offerings or in public decrees, these I have tried to collect, not massing together useless material of research, but handing on such as furthers the appreciation of character and temperament.

1 See chapter xiii. 2.

2m1
p 2
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Il. “Eveotiv otv wepi Nixiov mpa@tov eitreiy 6
4 J , ad A > & s
yeypadev Apiatozéedns, OTL TpEts EyevovTo BedTL-
a a \

OTOL TOV TONT@Y KAL TaTpLKNY ExoVTES EvVOLAY
kat dirtay pos tov SHpov, Nixias o Nexnpartou
,
cat Oovevdidns o Medrnaiov nal Onpapévns o
ita ¢ dé @ a ? “~ NA \ >
Ayvewvos, }TTov S€ oUTOS f ExEivatr Kal yap eis
dvayévetav ws Eévos ex Kéw AeAotSopytat, Kai ba
‘ N , +] 9 b , > eA A
TO pn ovipov, AX erapdoteptCov aei TH Tpo-
f “ , b] s re > ,
aipéoes THS TrOALTELAS ETTEKAI/On KoOopvos. éxei-
vov S€ mpeaButTepos pev o Bouvxvdidys Hv, Kai
moAAva kal Ilepixret SnpaywyotvTt tov Kadov
Kal aya0@yv mpoiotapevos avTeTOALTEVC ATO, VEew-
be J, , , = \ »¥ 4 \
tepos b€ Nixias yevopevos iv pev ev Tit NOY Kai
A “ A
Tlepixréous C@vtos, @aTE KaKELY BUATPATHYHCAaL
kat xaQ’ avtov ap&at mroddakts, Hepixréovs 8
amoBavovtos evOus ets TO Tpwrevelvy TponyOn,
4 a“ /
padiocTa pey WTO TOV TrOVTiwY Kal yYwpiponr,
avTitaypa Trolovpéevwy avtTov zpos thy Krévvoc
‘\ \ \ A
Bserupiav cal TorApay, ov pV GdAa Kal Tov SAuor
elyev ebvouy Kal cupdidroTipovpevor.
+ N 4 € ha 4 , ce “A
Joyve pév yap 0 KrXéwv péya “ yepovtaywyav
3 a ee bed \ N ‘\
xavaptabapveiv &id0vs,” duws S€ cal THY TeEOVE-
Elavy avtod cal tiv itayotyta Kal TO Apacos}
oA e
op@vres avTol ols mMpos Xap EwpaTtTev, ot TOAXOL
\
tov Nixiav émrnyovto. Kati yap ovK hv aveTnpoy
1 +d Opdacos Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske: O@pdvos.

IJ, Accordingly, | may say of Nicias, in the first place, what Aristotle wrote,! namely, that the three best citizens of Athens,—men of hereditary good will and friendship for the people,—were Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Melesias, and Theramenes the son of Hagnon. However, this was true of the last in lesser degree than of the other two, because he has been flouted for inferior parentage as an alien from Ceos; and on account of his not being steadfast, but ever trying to court both sides in his’ political career, was nicknamed “ Cothurnus.”’ ? Of the other two, Thucydides was the older man, and as

head of the aristocratic party,—the party of the “Good and True,’—often opposed Pericles in his efforts to win the favour of the people. Nicias was a younger man. He was held in some repute even while Pericles was still living, so that he was not only associated with him as general, but frequently had independent command himself; after Pericles was dead,’? Nicias was at once put forward into the position of leader, especially by the party of the rich and notable. These made him their champion to face the disgusting boldness of Cleon.

And yet, for that matter, the common people also held him in favour and aided his ambitions. For although Cleon had great influence with them, “by coddling them, and giving frequent jobs for pay,” 4 yet the very men whose favour he thus sought to gain were aware of his rapacity and fierce effrontery, and for the most part preferred Nicias as their champion.

1 Constitution of Athens, xxviii. 5.

2 The high boot of tragic actors, which cuuld be worn on either foot. 3 429 B.C.
* An iambic trimeter from an unknown comic poet (Kock, Com. Att. Frau., iii. p. 400).
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to

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ovd éraybés ayav avtov TO aepvoy, ddd’ EL \a-
4 4 A + | “ a , ~
Bela Tiwi pepeypévov ait@ TH Sedséevat SoxoivTi
cy \ a a , \ a
Tous ToAAous bypaywyobv. TH dvaer yap wy
9 N \ ? 9 4 ~ nw
aBapans Kai SvoedmIs, €v ev Tots TodE-tKoIs
’ ; 3 , \ , , \
améxpumtev evTuyia Thy Sethiav: Katwpdov yap
€ “ a \ s 3 “~ f,
oparas otpatyyav: to 8 év TH woNLTELa Wodo-
Sets Kal mpos tovs auKopuvtas evOopvRnrov
avTov kai Snpotixoy éboxet, Kal OvVapty OU pukK-
‘ ~ , ral ~ °
pav aw evvotas Tod Oipou mapeiye TH Sedterar
Tous Umrepopavras, av&eww O€ Tovs SedioTas. ois
“a N , \ ray
yap TOAXOIS TYLN pEeyioTn Tapa THY peLCovwH TO
pn KatappovetoOar.
” A z b] , +) ~ 9 nm
TIT. [epexdrtjs pév ody amo te apetis adnuvijs

a , ? \ , v > ‘ b] a
Kal Noyou Suvapews THY TOALY aywv OvdEVvOS EdEtTO
oynpatiaod Tpos Tov dyXov ovdEe TiAavoTHTOS,
Nuxtas 5€ TovTols peév AELTTOpEVOS, ovaia Sé apoE-
9 b 9 “a b] , A “~ a
yov, aw avtis édnpaywye. kal TH Kr€wros
‘ e
evyepela kal Bwporoxta pos nOovnv peTayxerpt-
b a“ e
topévn tovs AOnvaiovs S14 TOV Opmoiwy avTiTrap-
, 3 4s wv , b] # XN
eure aviPavos ov, Yopyyiais avedkauBave Kat
yunvaclapyiars ETEpais TE ToLavTals PidoTipiats
Tov Onpov, UTEPBANAOMEVOS TOAUTEAELA KAL YapeTe
np ? ‘ P ad : ee ‘ ‘ xX Pp
4 e “ 4 9 e ‘|
Tous mpo éavtov Kat xa éavtov amaytas.
e , \ \ na ’ , ? “” 7 ¢ al
elaTnKeL O€ Kal TOY avaObnpaTwY auTod Kab Has
To te [laddadiov év axpoTorel, THY YpvowaLY
aToBeBAnKOs, Kal oO TOls YopHytKols TplTrocL
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NICIAS

‘Lhe dignity of Nicias was not of the harsh, offensive sort, but was blended with much circumspection, and won control of the people from the very fact that he was thought to be afraid of them. Timid as he was by nature, and distrustful of success, in war he managed to succeed in hiding his cowardice under a cloak of good fortune, for he was uniformly successful as a general; while in political life his nervousness, and the ease with which he could be put to confusion by accusers, actually tended to make him popular, and gave him in high degree that power which comes from the favour of the people, because they fear men who scorn them, but exalt nen who fear them. The multitude can have no greater honour shown them by their superiors than not to be despised.

III. Now Pericles led the city by virtue of his native excellence and powerful eloquence, aud had no need to assume any persuasive mannerisms with the multitude; but Nicias, since he lacked such powers, but had excessive wealth, sought by means of this to win the leadership of the people’ And since he despaired of his ability to vie successfully with the versatile buffoonery by which Cleon catered to the pleasure of

the Athenians, he tried to captivate the people by choral and gymnastic exhibitions, and other like prodigalities, outdoing in the costliness and elegance of these all his predecessors and con- temporaries. Of his dcdicatory offerings there remain standing in my day not only the Palladium on the acropolis,—the one which has lost its gilding,—but also the temple surmounted by choregic tripods,! in

1 e ~\ s La e
Bronze oP were awarded as prizes to the vivtorious choregi in the dithyrambic choral contests,
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

UToxelmevos ev Avovucou vews evixnoe yap Tod-
AdKLs yopnyjaas, eeihOn Se oddérrote. RAéyeTar
S év Tit Yopnyta TwapedOeiv oiKéTNs AVTOD KEKoo-
9 an 5] A
npevos ets axHua Atovicov, eaddXAaTOS GhOfvat
Kal péeytotos, ouTw yeverdov' nobévtwv 8€ TaVv
> f an OM \ rd Jaa \ '\
A@nvaiwy TH dyer Kai KpotovyTwy él todvv
xXpovov, avactas o Nixias eimev ws ovK Sotov
nyotto SovAevery Katarednutcudvoy Oe copa,
cal TOV veavioxov amnrevbépwoe.
Mvnpoveverat 8 abtoS cal ra mwept Anrov ws
Nappa Kat OcompeTHn PiroTimnwata. TeV yap
A ¢ s "A A
Yopav, ods at odes ETETTOV acopevous TO Ded,
; \ ¢ w > \ >] Ld
TpOTTWAEOVTMWY pev ws ETVYEV, EvOLS 8 Gyro
Tpos THY vabv amavT@vtos ade KédEevopevav
3 > 4 , > > ¢ . A > 4
Kat ovoéra Koopov, GAN' Vr oTroVdis acuVvTaK-
Tws aTvoPawovTwy dua Kai atedavoupévwr kai
rs /
peTapdievvupevon, exeivos, OTE THY Oewpiay Fryer,
autos pev ets 'Prverav uméBn Tov yopov éywv Kat
Via ce A
Ta lepeia Kal THY AXANHV TapacKeuyp, Cedypa be
mevroinpevoy AOnvnot wpos Ta péTpa Kal KEKGO-
pnpévoy exTpEeTT@S Xpvcwoeodt cal Badais kat
\
aoTehavos Kal avrAatalts Kopitwr, dia vuKTos éye-
, N , ¢ >) f \ f 4 3
dupwae tov petaEv Pnveias eat Andou ropov ovK
OvTa péyav: 610' dpa ipépa tiv Te TopTHY TO

aA \ ‘ wv f a
Gem kat TOV Yopov aywr KEXOTUNMEVO! TOAUTENOS
cat adovta d:a Tis yepupas aTeBiBale. peta Sé
a /
Thy Ovaiay Kai Tov ayava Kal Tas éotidgets Tov
f \ a ” > s A
Te otwixa Tov XarKoby EatHoEV avaOnya TO
Ge@, Kai ywpiov puptwv dpaxpav mpidpevos
216
525

NICIAS

the precinct of Dionysus. For he was often victorious with choruses, and was never defeated. A story is told how, in one of his choral exhibitions, a house servant of his appeared in the costume of Dionysus, very fair to see, and very tall, the down of youth still upon his face. The Athenians were delighted atthe sight, and applauded for a long time. At last Nicias rose and said he deemed it an unholy thing that one who had been acclaimed as a god should be a slave, and gave the youth his freedom.

It is matter of record also how splendid and worthy of the god his lavish outlays at Delos were. The choirs which cities used to send thither to sing the praises of the god were wont to put in at the island in haphazard fashion. The throng of worshippers would meet them at the ship and bid them sing, not with the decorum due, but as they were hastily and tumultuously disembarking, and while they were actually donning their chaplcts and vestments. But when Nicias conducted the festa] embassy, he landed first on the neighbouring island of Rheneia, with his choir, sacrificial victis, and other equipment. Then, with the bridge of boats which he had brought along with him from Athens, where it had been made to measure and signally adorned with gildings and dyed stuffs and garlands and tapestries, he spanned during the night the strait between Rheneia and Delos, which is not wide. At break of day he led his festal procession in honour of the god, and his choir arrayed in lavish splendour and singing as it marched, across the bridge to Jand. After the sacrifices and the choral contests and the banquets were over, he erected the famous bronze palm-tree as a thank offering to the god, and consecrated to his service a tract of

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tw

PLUTARCH’’S LIVES

f ? \ ‘ v ,
Kabépwacv, ob Tas TMpogodous Edee AndLous KaTa-
, - ‘4
Qvovras éatiada Gat, Tora Kai ayaba Nixia mapa
Tov Oewy aitovpéevous’ Kal yap tTovTO TH oTHAN
evéyparpev, iv woTrep hvAaka THs Swpeas ev Anrw
, Lf \ “ b a“ e X A ,

KkatériTrev. 0 5€ hoink éxeivos Ud TOV TVvEUpLA-
’ ‘ > # la’ bd , ’ td
Tov amoxracbeis evérrece TO Nakiwv avdpiavte

a , Lee f
TW MEYAXM Kal avEeTpewe.
\

IV. Tovrors 8 ott pev 7oAv to mpos So€av Kat
pirotipiay tavyyupixov! kat ayopaioy évectiy,
ovK adnroVv, AANA TH OLT@ TpOT@ TOD avdpos
Kai Ue TraTevoeev av Tis EvaeBEias emaKOXOU-
Ona thy ToravTny yap Kal Snpaywyiay yevé-
é ‘ ® a“ ? 4 \
alar shodpa yap Ww tev éexteTANyLévwY Ta
Saipovia Kai “ Oeacu@ mpocKeipevos,” o> dnat
Oovxvdidns. ev 6€ Tit THY Macipavtos S:aroywv
9 , a &
yéypamtat Ott Kal’ nuépav EOve ois Oeois, Kai
HavTLL Eywv ET THS OlKiaS TpoTeETTOLEiTO pev aél
q a ‘ a
oxemrtecOar rept Tav Snpociwv, Ta b€ TrEioTA
TEpl TOV LOlwy KaL parista TeEpl TaV apyupEiwv
\ boa a
HeTdAXwY’ EKEKTHTO yap év TH NaUpEewTLKH TOA-
Ad, peyara pev Els TPdTOdOY, OK aKLVvdUVoUS Sé
Tas €pyacias éxovta’ Kai TAOS avdpatroéav
ad fo ,
itpepev avTohi, Kai tis ovoias év apyupio ro
a > ad bd % 7 ‘ Peek
TA€laTOY Elyev. OUEv ovK OrLYOL TeEpL avTOV
@ ’ A ‘ / Wwe. ‘ ’
joav avtovvTes Kat KapBavovtes. edtdou yap ovy
1 wavnyupixdy Madvig’s conjecture : wavnyupixhy.

land which he bought at the price of ten thousand
drachmas,! the revenues from which the Delians were
to expend in sacrificial banquets, at which many
blessings should be invoked upon Nicias from the
gods. This stipulation he actually had graven on the

stone which he left in Delos to be as it were the sentry over his benefaction. The palm-tree, however, was torn away by the wind and fell against the colossal statue of the god which the Naxians erected, and overturned it.

IV. In this course it is clear that there was much ostentatious publicity, Jooking towards increase of reputation and gratification of ambition ; and yet, to judge from the rest of the man's bent and character, one might feel sure that such means of winning the favour and control of the people were rather a corollary to his reverent piety. I'or he was one of those who are excessively terrified at heavenly portents, and was " addicted to divination," as Thucydides says.2. And in one of the dialogues of Pasiphon® it is recorded that he sacrificed every day to the gods, and that he kept a diviner at his house, ostensibly for the con- stant enquiries which he made about public affairs, whereas most of his enquiries were really made about his own private matters, and especially about his silver mines; for he had large interests in the mining district of Laurium, and they were exceedingly profitable, although worked at great risks. He maintained a multitude of slaves in these mines, and the most of his substance was in silver. For this reason he had a large retinue of people who wanted

1 About £400, or $2000, with four or five times the present purchasing power of money.
2 vii. 50, 4. 3 Not extant.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

HTTOV Tas KaKas TroLety Suvapéevots 4 Tots ED rU-
9 , XN of s 2 ? a nn
axe akiows, Kai OXwWs Tpagodos Hv adTov Tos TE
~ rd , \ " aA ¢
Tovnpois 7) Setkta Kal Tois xYpnoTois 7 dtrav-
Opwrria.
AaBeiv d€ wept tovTwy paptupiay Kal mapa
"~ " ¥ 4 é N \ v
4 TOV Kopikov Eott. Tyrexreidns pev yap eis Teva
TOV TUKOPAVTOY TAUTL TETOLNKE

Napixr<yns pev ovv édwxe pvav, iy avdtov pi)
rEYN
ws pu TH UNTPL Waldwy mpa@rus €x BadXavtiov'
tTésoapas O€ pas EdwKxe Nixias Nixnpatou'
® + @ a > s ? +O \ > A
ov & éxate TodT ebwxe, Kaitrep ed eidws eyo
a ° n ,
oux é€po, diros yap avinp, cwdhpovely Sé pot
Soxel.
, s ~ a

5 6 6 um’ Kvmurtdos Kwpwdovpevos ev TH Mapixa
a f c
Tapdyov Twa TOV aTpaypnovey Kal TevnTwY

réyer:

A. Ilocov ypovou yap ovyyeyevnoat Nixia;

29) 3 9 \ ow e “~ > +» b] “7
B. ovd eidov, et pn “vayxos éotat’ €v wyopa.
A. avip oporoyet Nixiav éopaxévat.
, , \ j a io > \ FOL
Katto Tt pabwy' av elder, Ec on TMpovdidcu;
1 paday MSS. and edd., including Sintenis!; waésy, an anonymous correction.
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NICIAS

his money, and who got it too; for he gave to those who could work him harm no less than to those who deserved his favours, and in general his cowardice was a source of revenue to the base, as his liberality was to the good.
Witness to this can be had from the comic poets. Telecleides composed the following verses ona certain public informer :—
“So then Charicles gave a mina that he might not tell of him
How he was his mother’s first-born,—and her purse-born child at that.
- Minas four he got from Nicias, son of rich Niceratus ;

But the reason why he gave them, though I know it very well,
Pl not tell; the man’s my friend, and I think him wise and true.” }
And the personage who is held up to ridicule by Kupolis, in his “ Maricas,’”’? fetches in a sort of lazy pauper, and says :—
(Maricas) “ How long a time now since you were with Nicias ? ”’
(Pauper) “1 have not seen him,—saving just now on the Square.”

(Maricas) “The man admits he actually did see
Nicias !
Yet what possessed him thus to see him
if he was not treacherous?”
1 From a play of unknown name. Kock, Com. Att. Frag.
ipe2td,
* A caricature of the demagogue Hyperbolus. Kock, op.
cit, i. p. 308.
221

6

te

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

I. jxovaat’, @ EvyyrLKes,
ér’ avtoduwpeo Nexiav eirnppévov.
B. vpets yap, @ ppevoBraBeis,
AdBor’ av avdp’ aptatov €v Kako TLL};
o 8 ’Aptatodpavouvs KrXéwv avetdaov deyer’
Aapuyyi@ Tovs pitopas Kal Nixiay tapakw.
UTodnAot 6& Kal Ppvyvryos 76 aGapaes avrov Kal
KATATETANYLEVOY EV TOUTOLS"
, 9
"Hv yap tronditns ayabos, ws ed 01d eyo,
> e \ -DWe ? wes
KovX vTotayes EBdbilev, Waomep Nixias.

V. Ovdtw 8) Staxeipevos evrAa8as mpos Tors
guxopavtas ovTe ovvedeiTvel TIL THY TOALTOV
ovTEe KoLvoAOyials OTE GuUVdInMEpEevoEaW eve-
Barrev éavtov, od’ drws eayorale tTais tToLrav-
tas duatpiBais, AAN apywv pev év TO OTpATNYiO
4 4

la , , b) . ~ Cd

SreTéAer péexpt vuxtos, ex b€ BovAtjs votatos

amnet mpatos adixvovpevos. ef O€ pndev év

KoLV@ TpaTTew éxot, dvaTrpocobos Hv Kal ducév-

TEUKTOS OlKOUp@Y Kal KaTaKexrELTpEvoS. ot b€

dhirot tois ert tais Ovpats hottwaty éveTvyyavon,

nal TapyntovvtTo auyyvopny eyetv, ws Kal TOTE

td \

Nexiov mpos Snpocias xpetas Tivas Kal aaxoMas
OVTOS.
Kat 6 padtota tTaitTa avytTpaywdar Kal oup-

. wv >] ~ \ ‘ ¢ , q ’ a

meptTiOets Gyxov avT@ Kal dokav ‘lépwv iv, avnp

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(Chorus ?) “ Ye heard, ye heard, my comrades, O!
Our Nicias was taken in the very act!”
(Pauper) “What! you? O crazy-witted folk !
You catch a man so good in sin of any
sort ?”’
And the Cleon of Aristophanes! blusteringly says :— “}'ll bellow down the orators, and Nicias I]! rattle.”

And Phrynichus plainly hints at his lack of courage and his panic-stricken air in these verses :-—

‘¢ He was a right good citizen, and I know it well ;
He wouldn't cringe and creep as Nicias always
does.’’?
V. Since he was disposed to be thus cautious of public informers, he would neither dine with a fellow citizen, nor indulge in general interchange of views or familiar social intercourse ; indeed, he had no leisure for such pastimes, but when he was general, he remained at the War Department till night, and when he was councillor, he was first to reach and last to leave the council. And even if he had no public business to transact, he was inaccessible and hard to come at, keeping close at home with his doors bolted. His friends used to accost those who were in waiting at his door and beg them to be indulgent with Nicias, for he was even then engaged upon sundry urgent matters of public business.

The man who most aided him in playing this réle,
and helped him to assume his costume of pompous
1 Knights, 358. It is not Cleon, but his adversary, the rampant sausage-seller, who utters the verse.

2 From a play of unknown name. Kock, Com. Ait. Frag. i.
p. 385.
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e
we
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

/ ’ A w~ > , fa! , . ,
TEP pappevos Et THS olxias tov Nexiouv, rept Te
ypappata kat povotxny éEnoxnpuévos ut’ avrod,
TpooTowovpevos 8 vios evar Atovuaiov tod
’ a ld
Nadxod mpocayopevOevtos, ob Kal troilnpata
ww ’ /
awtetat, Kal tHS cis “Iradiav atrotkias ayeuwov
, CU¢
yevomevos Extiae Qoupiovs. ovtos odv o ‘lépwy
Ta TE Tpos TOUS pavTers aTOppHTa SrempaTTETO
TO N , ‘ XO EE > \ bn e
® Nexia, cat Noyous eFéhepev eis tov Sjpov ws
> , é , Q N ?
€miTovov TLvVa Kal Tadaitwpov dia THY OAL
a“ > “ 4 e > \ S
Cavros avtov Biov' w y edn Kal Tepl NouTpoY
% aA , ,
ovTt kal rept Seimvov det Te TpooTintev Snud-
es a \ n 97 Pee X a ae’
ciov: “aperav 6€ Tav idiwy vo Tov Ta KoLVa,
gppovtivery ports apyetat xabevdew Tept mpwtov
imvov. d0ev avT@ kal TO c@pa dtaKertat KaKG's,
A “a 4 > ‘ 3 A ¢ ¢ bi
Kat Tois pidots ov Tpoanvns ode dus eaTLD,
’ \ \ , f a ,
aNXrG Kal ToVTOUS TpocaTOBEBANKE TOS yYpNpact
S e > Mw 4 S ,
ToOALTEVOpMEVOS. OL © AAAOL KAL dirous KT@pEvoL
Kai TAouTifovTes avTOvs amo TOU BnyaTos evTra-
wn “ , “a
Govor cat mpoomaifovcr tH TodtTELa.” TO S
ovTL ToLoUTOS Vv Oo Nuixiov Bios wot avTov él7eEiV
Ta ToD Ayapéuvovos eis avToV
IIpoozatny ye tov Biou
N Vv ¥ “” > é 4 l
TOV OYKOV EXOMEV, TW T OVAW COUAEVOLED.

VI. ‘Op@v b€ tav ev Aoyw dvvatav 4 TO
ppovety dtahepovtwy atoypwpevoy eis Evra Tais
éumetpiats Tov Sijpov, vpopwyevov & adel xal
1 Euripides, Iphigencia at Aulis, 445 f. (Kirchhoff), where

the MSS. have xpoorarny ye, roy Shuov, TE 7’ BxAy. The MSS. of Plutarch have mpograrny 3é, tov dyKxov, TE BF CAG.

dignity, was Hiero. He had been reared in the household of Nicias, and thoroughly instructed by him in letters and literature. He pretended to be the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalcus, whose poems? are indeed extant, and who, as leader of the colonizing expedition to Italy, founded Thurii.? This Hiero it was who managed for Nicias his secret dealings with the seers, and who was forever putting forth among the people moving tales about the life of severe hardships which his patron led for the sake of the city. “Why!” said he, “even when he takes his bath and when he eats his dinner, some public business or other is sure to confront him ; he neglects his private interests in his anxiety for the common good, and scarcely gets to sleep till others wake. That’s the reason why he is physically all run down, and is not affable or pleasant to his friends, nay, he has actually lost these too, in addition to his sub- stance, and all in the service of the city. Other public men not only win friends but enrich them- selves through their influence as public speakers, and then fare sumptuously, and make a plaything of the service of the city.” In point of fact, such was the life of Nicias that he could say of himself what Agamemnon did :—

“‘Sooth, as master of my life
My pomp I have, and to the populace I’m a slave.”

VI. He saw that the people, upon occasion, served their own turn with experienced men of eloquence or surpassing ability, but ever looked with suspicious and cautious eyes upon such powers, and tried to

1 Seven fragments appear in Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, iit. pp. 262 ff. 2 Cf. Pericles, xi. 5.

/ \ , 4 , \
@vAaTTOMEvoy THY SELvOTNTAa Kai KOAOVOYTA TO
dpovnua xai tHv do€av, ws Sijrov Ww tH Uepre-
/ / \ ~ f ’ n“
KNéous KaTadixn Kai TO Adpovos éEootpaxtope
\ al \ ’ “ X e , bf ,
Kat TH mpos ’Avtipavta Tov ‘Payvovatoy amiatia
TOV TOMY, KaL padtota by Tots wept Haynra
tov édovta AéoBoy, ds evOvvas Sid0vs TAS oTpa-

THYLAS Ev ALTO TO StxacTnpiw cracdpevos Eidos
avethey EQUTOV, TAS pEV Epywoes TaVU Kal waKpas
éreipato dtaxpovecOar otpatnyias, mou & avtos
3, wn 9 4 ¥ s 4
oTpatevotto THs dodadeias éxopevos Kal Ta
ca cal , e a“
TrEioTAa KaTOpOMDV, WS EiKOS, Els OVdELLaY avTOd
, a 7 a ? \ ? 4 \ ld
copiay 7 Sivapty 7 apetny avépepe tas mpakets,
J \ 4 “ s \ J > \
UXNAG TAPEXWPEL TH TUXN Kal KaTehevyev ELS TO
Geiov, TO POove THs SoENs Udtéwevos.
b id \ ‘ \ ¢ al
Emepaptupe b€ Kal Ta Tpdypata’ ToNk@v
Yap TOTE TPOTKPOVTPUTwWY TH TOAEL Kal peyadwv
4 ’ \ e “ > w“ ? ’ \
YEvopLeveav, OVSEVOS UTABS ExXEiVOS METET EV, GAAA
mwept Opaxny pev yrtiOncav vro Xadx«ibdéwv
Kadrtddou te cai EZevodovros otpatnyouvtrwr,
to & AitwAtcov mraiopa cuvé8n Anpocbevous
apyovtos, ev 86 AnrXip xtALous avTa@v améBadov
‘Immoxpdtous ayouuevov, tov b€ Rowwovi TH
Treo TV attiay EXafe IlepexrAs d1a Tov woAEmOY
? . bd 4 \ b] N aA ,
élS TO aoTU KaTaKNELcas TOV aTrO TIS \Kwpas
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NICIAS

abate the pride and reputation to which they gave rise. This was manifest in their fining Pericles,! and ostracising Damon,? and discrediting, as most of them did, Antiphon the Rhamnusian,? and finally, above all, in the fate of Paches, the captor of Lesbos,* who, while he was giving the official account of his generalship, drew his sword in the very court-room and slew himself. Nicias therefore tried to evade commands which were likely to be laborious and long, and whenever he did serve as general made safety his chief aim, and so was successful for the most part, as was natural. He did not, however, ascribe his achievements to any wisdom or ability or valour of his own, but rather credited them to fortune, and took modest refuge in the divine ordering of events, relinquishing thereby part of his reputation through fear of envy.

Events bore witness to his wisdom, for in the many great reverses which the city suffered at that period he had absolutely no share. It was under the leader- ship of Calliades® and Xenophon that his country- men met defeat at the hands of the Chalcidians in Thrace; the Aetolian disaster occurred when Demos- thenes was in command ®; Hippocrates was general when a thousand citizens were sacrificed at Delium? ; and for the plague Pericles incurred the most blame, because he shut up the throng from the country in

1 Pericles, xxxv. 4, 2 Cf. Pericles, iv. 1-2

3 He was tried and executed for participation in the revolution of the Four Hundred (411 B.c.).
4 In 427 B.c. (Thue. iii. 28).

5 An error for Callias, who lost his life before Potidaea in 432 b.c.(Thuce. i. 63). In 429, Xenophon was defeated and killed, with his two colleagues (Thue. ii. 79).

6 In 426 B.c. (Thue. iii. 91- 98).
7 In 424 B.c. (Thue. iv. 89-101).
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Q 2
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4 9 a rad ~ , \ A
OyXOY, EX THS peTAaABOATS TOV TOTwWY Kal bLaitTNS
' 10 , \T id be , Ld ,
anfous yevopévov. Nixtas b€ tovtTwy atavtwv
> , 4 \ a \ an A
avaiTtos Euetve' Kal oTpaTynyav elre pev KvOnpa,
a" \ nw a" a
vncov ev kata THs Aakavixns teduxviay kal
¢
Aaxedaipovious Exovaay oixntopas, édaBe Sé cal
\ a > f b) ,
ToANa TOV éTl Opdxns ageotwtav Kal mpoon-
/ / A " b A a
yayeTo, Katakretaas b€ Meyapets ets THY Todt
. \ \ Mv é A ~ 3 4 3
evOus pev Excye Mivwav tv vijcov, oriyw 6
Datepov éx TaUTHS Opuwpevos Nicaias éxpatnoer,
,
ets 6€ tHv KopivOiav amoBas évixnoe pdxyn Kal
d2éfOerpe KopivOiwy todXovs kal Avxddpova tov
,
aTpaTnyov.
a a ,
"Ev0a & atta cuvéByn TOY olxEiwy dvo vEexpors
9 a , '\ \ 3 , e
atroduTely StaraOovtas TEpi THY avaiperty. ws
ovv TOUT Eyvw, TUXLOTA TOY OTOAOY eTLTTHGAS
54 4 \ N s A 3
emTeue KNPUKA TPOS TOUS ToAEMLOUS TeEpl avat-
, \ , \

pécews. KaiTol KaTa vopov Tiva Kal avv7Geary
a? e a e ’ , ’ ,
éSoxouv of vexp@v vTroctrovéwy AaBovtTes avai-
3 , A , \ , e ,
pect atroreyeo Oat Thy vixny, Kal TpoTaLoy ioTa-
, f ~
val TOUS TOVTOU TUYOVTAS OVK EVOET MOV HY" YiKaY
yap ToUs KpaTovvTas, “un Kpatety O€ TOUS aiTovD-
a , bd
tas, ws raBety pn Suvapévovs. arr GpOs

> a e , ral , X ,
éxelvos Uméuetve padrov tmpoecbat TO viknpa
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the city on account of the war, and the plague was the result of their change of abode and their un- wonted manner of living.! For all these things Nicias was free from blame, while as general he captured Cythera,? an island favourably situated for the com- mand of Laconia and inhabited by Lacedaemonians ; he captured also many places in Thrace * which had revolted, and brought them back to their allegiance ; having shut up the Megarians in their city he straightway seized the island of Minoa,* and shortly after, from this base of operations, got possession of _ Nisaea5; he also made a descent upon the territory of Corinth,® defeated the Corinthians in battle and slew many of them, including Lycophron their general. Here it befell him, when his dead were taken up for burial, that two of his men were left unnoticed on the field. As soon as he was made aware of this, he halted his armament and sent a herald back to the enemy asking leave to take up his dead. And yet by usage and unwritten law the side which secured the right to take up its dead by a truce, was thought to renounce all claims to victory, and for those who so obtained this right, the erection of i trophy of victory was unlawful, since they are victors who possess the field; but petitioners do not possess the field, since they cannot take what they want. Notwithstanding this, Nicias endured rather to abeudon the honour and reputation of his

1 Cf. Pericles, xxxiv. 3 f.

2 In 424 B.c. (Thue. iv. 53-55).

3 In 423 z.c. (Thue. iv. 129-133).

* In 427 w.c. (Thue. iii. 51).

5 This, on the contrary, was the exploit of Demosthenes in 424 B.c. (Thue. iv. 66-69).
6 In 425 B.c. (Thue. iv. 42, 1, and 44),

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cat thv S0fav %) KatadtTeivy atadous b00 tev
TOALTOV.
lop@noas $€ thy Tapadiav Tis Aaxwvkis Kat
Tous avtiotavtas Aaxedatpovioy Ttperdpevos,
elke Ovpéav Aliywwyntav éyovtwy, Kal tovs aipe-
Oévras amyjyaye Cavras ets “AOnvas.
VII. “Ever d€ Anpoodévovs IIvAov reryt-
gavTos €meotpatevoay dua melo Kal vavol
Tlerorovencior, Kai paxyns yevouévns amern-
POncav év tH Xhaxtnpia vyow Xmraptiatov
avdpes audi Tovs TEeTpakoatous, péya pév, OoTEP
WV, Hyoupevot TO NaBeivy avtovs ’AOnraio, ya-
AeTHAS b€ Kal Sucépyou THs ToALopKias ovens ev
ywplors davvdpos, kat Oépovs pev paxpav Kal
TONUTEAT THY TWepiaywynv TOV éemiTNdELWY exXOU-
ans, oparepay O€ yEL“La@vos Kat TaVTEAwS ATropor,
HYOGovTo Kat peteédXovto mpecBetav Aaxedat-
ovioy anwodpevoe mept otovdav Kal eipnvns
adixopevny mpos avtTous. amewaavTo b€ Kréwvos
évavtiwbévtos ovx xicta bia Nixiav: éy@pos
yap @v a’tod, Kal mpoOupws opav cuuTpaTtovTa
tots Aaxedatpovios, Emerce tov Siuov atown-
dicac@at Tas arrovdds. ws odv 7} TE TOALOpKia
nm , \ \ 3 / ? ,
unKos edapBave Kai devas arropias étuv@avovto
qepteatavar TO atpatorresoy, ds opyis elyov Tov
KAéwva.
Tov 8 els tov Nexiay éxtpémovtos THv aitiay,
Kal KatnyopodvTos OTe Seidta Kal warakia mpole-
Tat TOUS avdpas, WS AUTO ye TTpAaTHYOUVTOS OvK
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victory than to leave unburied two of his fellow
citizens.
He also ravaged the coasts of Laconia,! routed the
Lacedaemonians who opposed him, captured Thyrea,
which the Aeginetans held, and took his prisoners
off alive to Athens.
VII. After Demosthenes had fortified Pylos,? the Peloponnesians came up against it by land and sea, a battle was fought, and about four hundred Spartans were shut off on the island of Sphacteria. Then the

Athenians considered that their capture would be a great achievement, as was true. But the siege was difficult and toilsome, since the region afforded little fresh water. Even in summer the shipping of the necessary supplies round Peloponnesus was a long and expensive process, while in winter it was sure to be perilous if not altogether impossible. The Athenians were therefore in bad humour, and repented them of having repulsed an embassy of the Lacedaemonians which had come to treat with them for a truce and peace. They had repulsed it because Cleon, chiefly on account of Nicias, was opposed to it. For he hated Nicias, and when he saw him zealously codperating with the Lacedaemonians, persuaded the people to reject the truce. So when the siege grew longer and longer, and they learned that their forces were in terrible straits, they were angry with Cleon.

He, however, laid all the blame on Nicias, and denounced him, saying that it was through cowardice and weakness that he was letting the men on the island slip through his hands, whereas, had he

1 In 424 B.c. (Thue. iv. 54).
2In 425 n.c. The Pylos episode is narrated at great length by Thucydides (iv. 2-41).

, A “ /
av TEpuyevopevous Ypovov tocovroy, Tots ’AOnvat-
n , ’ n
os evtrety Trapéatn “Ti & ovyl cal viv adtos ov
~ > 4 ‘ bod 99 Cad , b] N
Tres emt Tous avodpas;” 6 te Nexias avactas
3-7 n ? \ , ld 9 a \
eEiotato tis émt IlvAov otpatnyias ab’t@, Kal
AapPaverv oroanv BovreTat Svvapuy exérevoe, Kai
\ , / , , ? >
py BpacuverBat Aoyots axivdvvots, AXN’ Epyov Te
a , a bed n e \ A \
TH Toke Tapacyely akiov atrovdrys. o S€ TO per
TP@TOV avEedvETO, TH 7) TpotdoxHoate TovTO
OopuBovpevos: éyxedevopéevoy Cé Tav’Ta TOY
, a , n
"A@nvaiwy cat tod Nixiov xataBoovtos, éEapbeis
‘ ,
Kai avadprexGets To hirotipov wreséEato Te THY
, ?
oTpaTnyiav, Kat tpocbiwpicato TAEvaas €VvTOS
NLEPOV ELKOTLY 1) KATAKTEVELV EXEL TOUS aVdpas 1)
a “ , “
Cavras ake AOnvake. tots & “A@nvators érnrde

? , ”“ a “a N \ Ld
yeAuoal pméeya pardov n TigTevVoal’ Kat yap ar-
, a ,
Aws elwHecay avTOU THY KovpoTHTa Kal paviay
dhépe peta macdias ovx andas.
, A bd , A A \ A
Aeyetat yap exxkAnolas WoTe ovans Tov pev
Sijuov KaOnuevoy avw Tepieverv TodUY XpOvoY,
bf \ bf 3 a ? “ 9 , \
ore 5 etoedOeiv éxetvov eotepavwpévov Kal Tapa-
a e \ ’ , Y v
Kade vmepbécba. tiv éxkAnoiav eis avptov
‘“““Aayorotuat yap, Edn, “ ornpepov, éotiav mér-
/ \ A “ ~ \ %
Awy E€vous xal teBuxws Tots Oeois.” Tors §
b] , , 9 a Q 5 A
A@nvaious yeXacavras advactivat Kal dsadrioat
Ti exxANoLaD.
e
VIII. Ov pny adda Kal Tote TUX YPNOApEVOS
Col , \
ayabyn Kal otpatnynoas apiota peta Anuo-
alévous, evtos ov Tpoetre ypovov TaY Xtaptia- 528
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himself been general instead of Nicias, they would not have held out so long. Thereupon it occurred to the Athenians to say: “ It’s not too late! Why don’t you sail yourself and fetch the men?” Nicias - too rose in the assembly and resigned his command of the expedition to Pylos in favour of Cleon, bidding him take as large a force as he wished, and not to vent his boldness in mere words which brought no peril with them, but to perform some deed for the city which would be worth its notice. At first Cleon tried to draw back, confused by the unexpectedness of this offer; but the Athenians kept up the same cries of encouragement, and Nicias kept taunting him, until, his ambition incited and on fire, he undertook the command, and, besides, declared in so many words that within twenty days after sailing he would either slay the men on the island or bring them alive to Athens. The Athenians were moved to hearty laughter at this

rather than to belief in it, for they were already in
the way of treating his mad vanity as a joke, anda
pleasant one too.
It is said, for instance, that once when the assembly was in session, the people sat out on the Pnyx a long while waiting for him to address them, and that late in the day he came in all garlanded for dinner and asked them to adjourn the assembly to the morrow. “I’m busy to-day,’ he said, “I’m going to entertain some guests, and have already sacrificed to the gods.” The Athenians burst out laughing, then rese up and dissolved the assembly.

VIIL. However, this time he had good fortune,
served as general most successfully along with De-
mosthenes, and within the time which he had
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ie)

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

~ @ A \ ce Ww \ ad
Tov Sool pn KaTa paynv Emecov Ta Oma
4, ~ “A
wapadovTas NyayEev aixparwrous. Kal TodTO TH
, > , +
Nuixia peyddny iveyxev adokiav. ov yap aomiéos
pivris, GAN alaysov te Kal yeipov édoxet TO Setria
THY oTpaTnylavy amoBaXeiv Exovciws, Kal mpoé-
ala To e€xOp@ TNALKOUTOU KaTOpOw"LATOS adop-
pds, avuTov amoxeipotovncavTa THs apyxijs.
, b) b XN b ral , 3 4
oKxwTrTes & auToy eis TavTa Twadwv Aptotopavns
> Q Ww oe 4,
év wev Opa ovtTw Tas AEyov'
bad QM \ A XN nf b] \ , > w
Kai pnv pa tov Av ovyi vuotatesw y ett
e ’ Q e “a 5) 4 A
@pa oTiv nut, OUdE EAAOVLKLAD.
év 6€ Tewpyois tavta ypagwv'
A. ’EOéXw yewpyeiv. B. eita tis ce KwAVEL;
A. tpeis: eet Sidwpms yidas dpaypas,
97 ”~ ’ “~ 6 a ,

édy pe Tav apyav agnte. B. dexopueda:
Stoyiduar yap eloe ovv tais Nexiov.
XQ

Kal pévroe kal tiv modu EBrayev ov ptxpa

7H KrXéwm tocodtov mpoayevéobar Sofns eaoas

a , ¢ > 9 4 f A @ s

cat Svvapews, Ud Hs ets Bapv Ppovnua Kat Cpa-
9 Q b) , Ww ~ 4,
cos éuTet@y axadextov addas TE TH TWOXEL TPOG-

, é ? b] Cod A b 2)

etpiiyato ovpdopds, ®Y OVX HKLoTAa Kal AUTOS

amé\avae, Kal Tov ert Tod Bnuatos Koopov ave-

AMY KAL TPWTOS EV TH Snunyopeiy advaxpaywv Kat
XN Q
TEplaTucas TO (waTtiov Kal TOV pnpov matakas

specified brought home as prisoners of war, their arms surrendered, all the Spartans on Sphacteria who had not fallen in battle. This success of Cleon's brought great discredit on Nicias. He was thought not merely to have cast away his shield, but to have done something far more disgraceful and base in voluntarily throwing up his command ont of cowardice, and in abandoning to his enemy the opportunity for so great a success,—actually voting himself out of office. For this, Aristophanes again scoffs at him in his " Birds," in words like these :—

«And lo! by Zeus! we can no longer doze about,— We have no time,—nor shilly-shally-niciasize ;"" }

and in his " Farmers," where he writes :—

"T want to go a-farming."'
" Pray who hinders you ?"'
"You people do, Come! Let me give a thousand
drachms
If you'll release me from my offices."
"Tis done !
Yours make two thousand, counting those that
Nicias gave." ?

And besides, he wrought no little harm to the city in allowing Cleon to have such an access of reputation and influence that he launched out into offensive pride and ungovernable boldness and _ in- flicted many

mischiefs on the city, the bitter fruits of which he himself reaped most abundantly. Worst of all, Cleon stripped the bema of its decorum, setting the fashion of yelling when he harangued the people, of throwing back his robe, slapping his

1 Verses 638 f.
3 This play is not extant. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 416.
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cai Spopm peta TOD EyELY Apa Ypnoapevos, THP
OMyov batepov ATavTa Ta TpaypaTa avyxéacay
evYeperav Kal OALyYwpiav TOD TpéTrOVTOS EvEeTrOLNGE
TOis TOALTEVOMEVOLS.
IX. "Hén 8€ mov xai "AAKiBiadns évedueto
tTnvikavta Tots "A@nvaiow Enuaywyos ovX opmoiws
tod 3 b] e id 9 , , f 9
axpatos, aX' olov 1) AiyuTtiwy xwpa réyeTat Ou
e "A
apetny expepev opov
Ddippaxa TodAa pev €cOrAa peprypéva, TOAAA

d€ Avypa,

ovtws 7) 'AdxtBiddou dvats em' dupotepa ToAX?
puetca Kal Aapmpd, peydrov évédwKeey apyxas
vewTepiapav. O0ev ovd avarAayels ToD Krέw-
vos 6 Nixias xalpov éoye TavtdTacw ava-
Tavcat Kal Katactopécac THY Tod, AAR Eis
obov Ta TAdypaTa TwTHpLov KaTaaTHOAsS EEETETE,
pvpn kat opodpornte ths "AdKtBudidou didotipias
avdis eEwabets els TOY TOAELOV.
"EmpdyO@n S€ obtms. of padiata mpooTone-
poovtes TH Elpnvn THs "EXXabos KrX€wv xai Bpa-
gidas }oav, OY 6 TOAELOS TOU eV ATEXPUTTE THY
xaxiav, Too S€ THy apeTiv ExooTpEl. TO pev yap
aOlKnpLaTwV peyarov, TO b€ KaTopOwuaTtwv adop-
LAS TAPELYE. TOUTWY OVY Gua TETOVTWY EV "AYN
pa wept Apdizroruy, evOvs o Nixias trapadkaBov
Tous pev Xtraptiatas Extradac Tis Eiprvns opeyo-
4 ' 293 ? b , a ,
peevous, Tous & AOnvaious ovKEeTt TH TOAELM Bap-
a >] 4 3 ¢ 3 , \

potvtas, apotépous 6 olov éxAeAupevous Kal

thigh, and running about while speaking. He thus imbued the managers of the city's policies with that levity and contempt for propriety which soon after confounded the whole state.

IX. Just about that time Alcibiades was beginning to be a power at Athens. For a popular leader he was not so unmixed an evil as Cleon. The soil of Egypt, it is said, by reason of its very excellence, produces alike

" Drugs of which many are good, intermixed, but many are deadly." !

In like manner the nature of Alcibiades, setting as it did with full and strong currents towards both good and evil, furnished cause and beginning for serious innovations. And so it came to pass that even after Nicias was rid of Cleon, he did not get opportunity to lull the city into perfect rest and calm, but, when he had actually set the state fairly in the path of safety, was hurled from it by an impetuous onset of Alcibiades' ambition, and plunged again into war.

This was the way it came about. The men most hostile to the peace of Hellas were Cleon and Brasidas. Of these, war covered up the baseness of the one and adorned the excellence of the other ; that is to say, it gave the one opportunities for great iniquitics, the other for great achievements. After these men had both fallen in one and the same battle before Amphipolis,? Nicias found at once that the Spartans had long been eager for peace, and that the Athenians were no longer in good heart for the war ; that both were, so to speak, unstrung,and glad to let

1 Odyssey, iv. 230.
2 In the antumn of 422 B.c, Cf. Thuc. v. 8-11.

, \ " Ww
mapaxadtevtas éxovolws Tas Yelpas, empaTTerv
, \
éTws eis hidiav Tas TOAELS TUVAYaYywY Kal TOUS
adXous" EAAnvas avaddakas Kak@v Kat avatrav-
\ a a
aupevos, BéBatov ovTw TO THS EVTUXLAS Ovopa
, " ' \

mpos Tov avis xXpovoyv ToLtoito. Tous pev ovv
s \ A “A ‘
evTropous Kai TMpeaBuTépous Kat THY yewpya@v TO
TrAHOos avrobev etpyvixov elyev> émet b€ Kal TOY
GdrAwY ToAOIs evruyydverv idia Kat dibacKkwy
\ ,
apBruTEépous eroinae Tpos TOV TrOELOY, OUTS
bd “ os , > 6 ’ & DS 4
nOn Tols Lmaptiatats €Amidas €vdidouvs Tpo-
nw fol ,
exanreito Kal mpov7perrer EveoOar THs etpnvns. of &
émiatevoy avt@ Sid Te THY GAAnY erteixeay, Kal
er ‘AME , N , \ , >
OTL Tots AwWKOGL Tept IIUAOY Kat Sedeneroes rrt-
,
peAopevos Kal TepléTrwy dirtavOpwrws eXadpo-
,
Tépayv émrolet TY aTUXiav. Aoav ovv TpoTEpov
TeETOLNMEVOL TLVa TPOS adAANAOUS eKEXELpIAY
,
EVLAVTLOV, EV 7) TUVLOVTES Els TAVTO Kal yEevomeEVoL
4 ? f 4 ” \ ‘\ , \
madw abeias Kal axordns Kal mpos Eévous Kal
, , ‘ ,
oixelous émipttas, é7o0ouy Tov apiaytor Kal atro-
e ? “ n
Aexov Biov, ndéws pev GdovTwWY TA TOLAUTA YopaY
(LKOUOVTES*
KeicOw Sdpu pos pitov dpdimréxe apayvais

noéws Sé€ pepvnpévor TOU ELTOVTOS OTL TOvS év
> f , > 4 by 9 9
eipnvn Kabevdovtas ov aadmuyyes, GAN’ aex-
Tpvoves aduTrvitovet. Rordopodvtes ovv Kal Tpo-
Bardropevot tTovs A€yovTas ws TPis Evvea ETN
StatroneunO var TwémpwTat Tov moArEmov, Errec”
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Led |

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their arms drop to their sides. He therefore strove to unite the two cities in friendship, and to free the rest of the Hellenes from ills, as well as to give him- self a season of rest, and so to make secure for all coming time the name which he had for success. The men who were well-to-do, and the elderly men, and

most of the farmers, he found inclined to peace from the first; and after he had talked privately with many of the rest, taught them his views, and blunted the edge of their desire for war, then he at once held out hopes to the Spartans, and urgently invited them to seek for peace. They had confidence in him, not only because of his usual fairness towards them, but especially because he had shown kind attentions to those of thcir men who had_ been captured at Pylos and kept in prison at Athens, had treated them humanely, and so eased their mis- fortune. The two parties had before this made a sort of stay of mutual hostilitics for a year, and during this time they had held conferences with one another, and tasted again the sweets of security and leisure and intercourse with friends at home and abroad, so that they yearned for that old life which was undefiled by war, and listened gladly when choirs sang such strains as

“Let my spear lie unused for the spider to
cover with webs” !

and gladly called to mind the saying, “In peace the sleeper is waked not by the trumpet, but by the cock.” Accordingly, they heaped abuse on those who said that the war was fated to last thrice nine

1 The first verse of a beautiful fragment of the Hrechtheus of Euripides (Nauck, 7'rag. Graec. Frag.” p. 474).

~

a \ \ > , , ’ : s
OUTW TrEpt TravTOS Els NOyous cuuBatvovTeES Errotn-
\ , a /
cavto THY eipyynv, do€a Te TapéoTn Tols TWAE-
oTols aTaAXayHy Kak@v capi yeyovévat, Kal TOY
v , e
Nextav 61a otopatos elxov, as avnp ein Oeopirns
a) ?
Kal To Satpovioy avT@ dt evoéBeray éerrwvipo
yevéer Oar Tov peyiatov Kai KadXioToU TOY aya-
nm nm wv ,
dav dédwxe* TO yap Ovte Nixtov THY Elpyyny
ead e f \ , e \
évoputlov Epyov, ws LepixXéous Tov ToAELOY. O pev
yap é7 aitiats puxpais els cupdhopas peyadas
éuBanrety édoxer Tous” EdXAnvas, o b€ TOV peyioTwV
n ,
Kaxov eémrecev éxrabécGar dirous yevopmévous.
, v “~ 4
616 Kal TH elpnvnv éxeivny aypte viv Nextecov
KaXovelt.

r 4 \ “ ad \ / ‘
X. Tevopévwr &€ cuvOnxay ows Ta ywpia Kat
\ / A % > , \ \ ?
TAS TOAELS, AS ELXOV UAANAWY, KAL TOVS aLypa-
, “ , nm
AwWTOUS aTrodbacl, TpoTépwv aTrodidorvTMY TAY
X n ¢ 4
KApwW AAXOYTWY, @YNTAaTO TOV KAjpov o Nekias
xpida Xpnpaciy, @oTE TpoTepous aTodLdovat TOUS
Aaxedaipovious. Kal tovTo pév tatopet Oeddpa-
> \ \ , \ A X 4
aotos. eet b€ KoptvO.0 cai Borwroi mpos Ta Tpat-
, 4 /
Tomeva SuaKkodaivovTes altiais Kal péurreoty
LJ 5] , 3 n \ , vy
avOis éSoxouv avaxareliaPat Tov TorELOV, ETrEL-
e~xyr oS one. , \ ,
cev 6 Nixtas tovs ’A@nvaious cai Aaxedatporvious
“ id 4 ,
TH elpyvn THY TUupaxXtay BaTrEp KpaTos 1) dea pov
n 4
én Oevtas, PoBEepwrepous TE TOS apiaTaperols Kal
f ? , /
BeBatorépovs aAAnAOLS yever Pat.
IIpattopévwy 6€ tovtwy o ’AdKiBiadyns ovteE
Tpos Hnavyiay ev TrEepuKws, kat trois Aaxedat-
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years,! and then, in this spirit, debated the whole issue, and made peace.* Most men held it to be a manifest release from ills, and Nicias was in every mouth. They said he was a man beloved of God, and that Heaven had bestowed on him, for his reverent piety, the privilege of giving his name to the greatest and fairest of blessings. They really thought that the peace was the work of Nicias, as the war had been that of Pericles. The one, on slight occasion, was thought to have plunged the Hellenes into great calamities; the otner had _per-suaded them to forget the greatest injuries and become friends. Therefore, to this day, men call that peace “ The Peace of Nicias.”’

X. The articles of peace? required that the strong- holds and cities and prisoners of war which each party

had taken from the other should be restored. and since that party was to make restoration first on whom the lot fell, the tot was secretly bought up by Nicias, so that the Lacedaemonians were thie first to make restoration. This is the testimony of Theo- phrastus. But when the Corinthians and Boeotians, who were vexed at the course things were taking, seemed likely, by their accusations and complaints, to revive the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedaemonians to make the general peace se- cure by the mighty bond of a mutual alliance, whereby they should become more formidable to all seceders and better assured of each other.

Such being the course of events, Alcibiades, who was naturally indisposed to be quiet, and who was incensed at the Lacedaemonians because they scorn-

1 Cf. Thue. v. 26, 4. 2 Signed in the spring of 421 B.c.

4 3 , ad "A Bf f , \
peoviows ay Oopevos Ott TH Nixta tpooéxewto Kat
rad \ > ,
mpoaetxov, avtov & Urepewpar Kai xateppavovp,
a \ > \ a
év apyn pev evOus vrevavtiwmbets TH Elpyvyn Kat
3 \ PN! 3 4 ? , ,@# e Cod
avttatas ovbev érrépatvev, dry 8° DaTEpov opav
> a 9 , ¢ ,
oux €tt Tots '"A@nvatots opoiws apéoKovtas Tous
, "~ wn
Aaxedatpovious, adr' adixety Soxovvtas Ott Bow-
a , "~
tois €Gevto cuppayiav Kai Udvaxtovést@cav
, a
ov Tapédwxay ovd' 'Audimoriv, émepveto tais
> @# ' , ' a >4.? id la
aitiats Kat wapwEvve tov dhjuov ep exaorn.
f
térxos S& mpecBelav petatrenapevos 'Apyewv
/ ,
empatTe cuppaxiav mpos tous A@nvaiovs. eret
Sé mpéaBes édXOovtes ex Aaxedatpovos avto-
, \ " " , "
Kpadtopes Kal TH BovrAn TpoevTvyxXdvortes EdoEav
Le n cad "~ £ Cr9
émt maow tjKev Tots dtxatos, deicas o "AXKt-
, \ | ' a bf \ "a ' " s

Bradys py Kal tov Sipov avo Tav avTav Noywv
3 , “ ’ ‘\ Y 3 £ \
erayayovtat, TepijrAOev avtous du amraTns Kat
a e Pv) , a \ a .
Opkwv ws aravta aupmpdatwr, dv wn Pact pd
GmodoyHTWOLY HKELY AUTOKPAaTOpES’ pwadtoTa yap
ottws & BovrNovtat yevrijcecOar. meiobévtwy Sé
A af \ A
Kal peTactavT@V amo TOD Nixiov mpos éxeivoy,
b \ b ‘ bf A “A 3 , “~ 9
éuBadwv avtous eis TOV Siwov NpwTAa TpP@ToV et
Tepl wavtTwv ijKovolv avtoxpatopess ws 8
% a ’ b , , ,
npvouvto, Tap €Amidas peTaRaropevos THY TE
\ 3 A , a s \ \
Boudry é€mexanretTO wapTupa TwWY NOYwY, Kal TOV
242

fully ignored him in their fond attachment to Nicias, promptly opposed and obstructed the general peace. At the outset he made no headway; but a little while after, seeing that the Athenians were not so well pleased as before with the Lacedaemonians, but thought they had wronged them in making a separate alliance with the Boeotians, and in not re- storing Panactum with its walls intact, nor Amphi- polis at all, he laid great stress on these grounds of complaint, and tried to incense the people over each one of them. Finally he managed to have an em- bassy sent from Argos to Athens, and tried to effect a separate alliance between these two cities. Am- bassadors came at once from Sparta with full powers to treat all issues, and at their preliminary audience with the council were declared by that body to come with nothing but just proposals. But Alcibiades was afraid they would bring the assembly over to their views with the same arguments which had won the council. He therefore circumvented them by deceit- fully swearing that he would codperate with them fully in the assembly if they would only not claim nor even admit that they had come with full powers to treat all issues; for thus, he declared, they would most surely attain their desires. After they were persuaded by him, and had put themselves out of the guiding hands of Nicias and into his, he introduced them to the assembly, and asked them first whether they had come with full powers to treat all issues. On their saying “No” to this, he surprised them by changing front and calling on the members of the council who were present to bear witness to what

they had said before that body. He then urged the
1 In the spring of 419 B.c.
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r 2
~I

5,

a / f rd
Ojuov éxédeve wy TpoTeyey pNde TiaTEvEly OVTW
Tepipavas evoopévors Kal viv pev Tadta, viv be
, a an
Tavavtia Tepi TOY avT@Y REyouvat. OopuvBou-
pévwv 8’, ws elKos, avT@Y, Kal ToD Nextov pndév
4 ? “a 9 9 w \ 4
éyovTos eimety, GAN ayer Kat Cavpate tTemrdn-
f e N a“ bf] ‘ oe A ? ,

yoTos, 0 pev Onuos evdus wpunto Tous Apyetous
a N a , > / \
Karey Kal Trotetcbat cuppaxous, €BonOnce Sé
~ Y - ‘ \ , ¢
7@ Nixia cevcpos tis Sia pécou yevopevos Kal
tf \ , a 2 aa , ,
Siuadvaas THY éexxdnoiar. TH O vaoTEepaia Tad
an , i N , \ ? A
Tov dnuou cuveNOovtos TONAa TrOLNTAS KAL ELTTWY
f A 4 \
émerte pods emia yey Ta Tpos “Apyetous, avTov
/
dé wéuwae mpos Aakedatpoviovs, ws TavtTwy
KANOS YEVNTOMEvWD.
? A e
FAGmv & eis Nadptny Tada pev ws avnp
’ \ \ ‘ J ? \ ] ¢ f
ayabos Kat mpobupos els avtous eTijOn, Tpakas
“ 4
5 ovd€év, dAXa KpaTnGels VO THY BowwtialovTwv
bd fel ? / ? ~ N “ 6 ¢
érravnrOev, ov povoy adofay Kai KaK@s aKovw),
adra Kat Sedims tovs "AOnvaiovs AvTOUpEevOUS
a >
Kal ayavaxtouvtas OTe TetaDévTes UT éxElvoU
/ \
Tocovtous Kal ToLOvTOUS avopas aTedWKAY Ot Yap
’ ’ , * ’ ” ’
éx IIvAouv xopicBévres Hoav €& oixwy TE TPWTWY
Ths Smaptns, Kal girovs xal avyyeveis Tous
\
Svvatwritovs e€yovtTes. ov pny émpagtav Te
f * ”~ \ 7 cal y N \ +

TPAXVTEPOVY Opyn Wpos exelvoy, adra Tov Ad-
, ‘ vi A “a
KiBtadnvy otpatynyor eirovTo, Kat Mavtuvets cal
3 , 4 ’ 4] ,

Hrelvous Aaxedatpoviwy atootavtas émTotnaavtTo

é >? , ‘ \ b] f
guppdayovs pet Apyerwv, kat AnoTaS evs IlvAGY
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NICIAS

people ‘not to follow, much less trust, men who were so manifestly liars, and who said now “ Yes” and now “No” to the same question. The ambassadors were overwhelmed with confusion, naturally, and Nicias was unable to say a word,—struck dumb with amazement and anguish. Therefore the people were at once eager to call in the Argive embassy and make the alliance it desired, but there came a slight earthquake shock just then, luckily for Nicias, and the assembly was dissolved. On the following day, when the people had assembled again, by dint of great effort and much talking Nicias succeeded, with difficulty, in persuading them to refrain from the proposed arrangement with Argos, and to send him on an embassy to the Lacedacmonians, assuring them that everything would thus turn out well.

But when he came to Sparta, though in other ways he was honoured by them as a true man and one who had been zealous in their behalf, still, he ac- complished nothing that he purposed, but was beaten by the party there which had Boeotian sympathies, and so came back home, not merely with loss of reputation and under harsh abuse, but actually in bodily fear of the Athenians. They were vexed and indignant because they had been persuaded by him to restore so many eminent prisoners of war; for the men who had been brought to the city from Pylos belonged to the leading families of Sparta, and the most influential men there were their friends and kinsmen. However, the Athenians took no very harsh measures in their anger against Nicias, but elected Alcibiades general, made an alliance with the Mantineans and Eleans, who had seceded from the Lacedaemonians, as well as with the Argives, sent

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PLUTARGES. LIMES

” “ \ 4 b ‘A
treurvay xaxoupyeiy tv Aaxwvexnys €& ov
,
avOes els TOAELOV KATéETTHAAD.
XI. "Axpalovons b€ tis mpos tov Nixiav tov
"AX«tBiadou S:adopas, cat yuyvopévns ootpaxo-
‘4 A 27? ‘ , x ¢ “ “
hopias, ijv etwOer dia xpovou Tivos o dios Trovet-

“ y
cbat, €va tTav vToTTwv dia Sofav adrAWS 4)
a 3 ’ ’ a a? , ‘
TrovUTOY ertdbOoverv avdpav TO ooTpaKw peOtaTas
\ , /
eis Séxa ETn, ToALS BopuBos audotépovs Trept-
« , e
istato Kal xivduvos, ws Oatépov TavtTws vTo-
Tecoupevov TH e€ooTpaKicHa@. TOU pey yap
"AX Siddov cat tov Biov éBdeXuTTOvTO Kal TO
, > , e “ 9 “” \ 3 ,
Ppacos mppwdovv, ws “aNdov ev TOS TEpt ExELvOV
~ v , “
ypadopuevas SnrovTat, Tov d€ Nexiav 0 TE TAOVTOS
b , 5 , \ / “a / ‘
éxipOovov erotics Kat pddtota THs StaiTns TO py
,
diravOpwrov unde SnpoteKov, arr’ apixtov Kat
s , a
OduyapyiKov GAXOKoTOV edoKEL, TOAAG 8 Hdn Tats
~ ?
emiOupiats avT@v avtiteivwr, Tapa yveuny Bra-
, N N / 9 ‘ ¢ td ’
Comevos Tpos TO supdépov, errayxd7s Hv. as 9
¢ na > ~ / @ \ “~ Cad
ATAWS ELTELV, VEWY NV Kal TWOoNELOTIOLWY AmihrAa
/ “ ‘
mpos elpnvoTrotovs Kal mpecBuTépous, TOY eV ELS
~ ~ nn +
TOUTOY, TOY © Els ExEivOY TO OOTPAKOV TPETOVTD.
aN \ / Nf , v aA
Ev 8€ Sexoctacin Kal 0 TayKaKos EMpope TLLAS
id \ , \ e na , c
ws mou Kal tote Stactas o Sipos Stya ywpav
A“ \ A
ESwKEe TOS (TAa“WTATOLS Kal TavoupyoTaTols, wv
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NICIAS

freebooters to Pylos to ravage Laconia, and thus
plunged again into war.
XI. At last the feud between Nicias and Alcibi-
ades became so intense that recourse was had to the
process of ostracism. This the people used to

institute from time to time when they wished to remove for ten years, by the ostrakon ballot, any one man who was an object of suspicion generally because of his great reputation, or of jealousy because of his great wealth. Both the rivals were thus involved in much confusion and peril, since one or the other must in any event succumb to the ostracism. In the case of Alcibiades, men loathed his manner of life and dreaded his boldness, as_ will be shown more at length in his biography; and in the case of Nicias, his wealth made him an object of jealousy. Above all else, his way of life, which was not genial nor popular but unsocial and aristocratic, seemed alien and foreign: and since he often opposed the people's desires and tried to force them againt their wishes into the way of their advantage, he was burdensome to them. 'To tell the simple truth, it was a struggle between the young men who wanted war and the elderly men who wanted peace ; one party proposed to ostracise Nicias, the other Alcibiades.

" But ina time of sedition, the base man too is in honour," !

and so in this case also the people divided into two factions, and thereby made room for the most aggressive and mischievous men. Among these was

1 A proverb in hexameter verse, attributed to Callimachus, the Alexandrian poet and scholar (310-235 B.c.).

a

hw Kat 'TépBoros o WeptOoténs, avOpwros am ovdemeas TOAMO@V duvd pews, GX' a0 TOD Tokmav els Obvapuy mpocAdwv, Kat YEVOPEVOS bc yy elev év TH TOXEL okay adokia THS TOAEWS. OUTOS év TO TOTE Xpove TOU pep oa TpuKou Toppw TGeé-feevos éavtov, ate 57) TO KUPwve padAXov Tpoc-yeov, érmitwy Se Gatépov tev avipwv éxtec-OVTOS AUTOS avTiT anos TO AevTropevep yever@at, Katapayns my 700 pL€V0s Te 1H Stapopa kal Tapofuvev Tov Ofpov é€ em dpuporépous. ouvidevres

ovv THV pox Onpiav oi wept tov Nixiav Kal tov
‘ArxeBradyy, Kal Noyov dovtes GdANAOLS Kpuga,
Kal Tas otucels ovvayayovTes ets ev dpporépas
Kat dvayitavtes, éxpatnaav @OTE pend€éTEpoy
UT OY, GXXG TOV ‘TrrépBorov eLootpaxta Ohvar.
Kal mapautixa pev HOOVNY TOUTO al yehwra, TO
Sw Tapes Xev, vaTepov dé 9) YYAVaKTOUY aos Kabv-
Bato péevov TO mpaypa TOUTO pos avOporov
ava§tov yeryovevat vouitovTes, Elvar yap Tt Kal
KOAGTEWS afiopua, waAXov Se KOdAacW TOV éE-
ooTpaxta pov i YOULEVOL Povevdidn xat "Apia telioy
Kal Tous opotots, "TrepBor dé Toppy Kal
TpoaToinaty draloveias, el Ota pox Onpiay evade
TauTa Tous aptaTos, @s tov «at IIdatwv o
KW@LLKOS ELDNKE TEPL AVTOD*
aA w
Kaitou wémpaye Tay mpotépwr) pév akta,
autov O€ Kal TwoY oTiypaT@v avakia:
\ a, Ul 3 3 > ,
ov yap ToLovTwY eivex CaoTpay evpéOn.

1 rev mporépwy a correction suggested by Kock, Com. Att, Frag. i. p. 654 : rev rpéxwv (a fate worthy of his ways).

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Hyperbolus of the deme Perithoedae, a man whose boldness was not due to any influence that he possessed, but who came to influence by virtue of his boldness, and became, by reason of the very credit which he had in the city, a discredit to the city. This fellow at that time thought himself beyond the reach of ostracism, since, indecd, he was a likelier candidate for the stocks; but he expected that when one of the rivals had been banished he might himself become a match for the one who was left, and so it was plain that he was pleased at their feud, and that he was inciting the people against both of them. Accordingly, when Nicias and Alcibiades became aware of his baseness, they took secret counsel with one another, united and harmonized their factions, and carried the day, so that neither of them was ostracised, but Hyperbolus instead.!

For the time being this delighted and amused the people, but afterwards they were vexed to think that the ordinance of ostracism had been degraded by its application to so unworthy a man. They thought that even chastisement had its dignity, or rather, they regarded the ostracism as a chastisement in the cases of Thucydides and Aristides and such men, but in the case of Hyperbolus as an honour, and as good

ground for boasting on his part, since for his baseness
he had met with the same fate as the best men.
And so Plato the comic poet somewhere said of
him :—
‘Indeed he suffered worthy fate for men of old Albeit a fate too good for him and for his brands. For such as him the ostrakon was ne’er devised.”

1 Probably in 417 B.o

Kal TO mépas: ovoeis ETL TO mapaTav éEwo Tpa-
KioOn peta “TrrépSorov, arr’ EXATOS EXELVOS,
T OTOS é “Inmapxos o Norapyevs avyyerns
TLS WY TOU TUpayvoU.
“Axpetov & 1 TUXN TMpaypa. Kal GAnTTOV
Noyio wa. Niklae Yap, el TOV Tept Oa TpaKou
xivOuvoy avéppipe T pos "ArKtBuadny, 7) Kpatnoas
ay doparas pre Thy TONY €xelvOV efeddoas,
Y| KpatrOeis autos epee Tpo TMV eaXaTOV
aTuXi@v, TO SoKeiy apiotos eivat oTpaTnyos
dsadvaAdkas.
Ove dyvoe & ore Oeoppactos efoo tpaxiaOjvai
pyar TOV ‘TrrépBorov Daiaxos, ov Nuxiov, 7 pos
"ArkiBiadnv épicavtos. aAX ot mrElioves obTw
yeypadacw.
XII. ‘O & odv Nexias, TOV Atryer técv Tpéo-
Bewv xai Acovtivwyv rapayevopévor kal treOovrwy
tovs ’"A@nvaiovs otpatevew éri Stxediav, avO-
TTAPEVOS NTTATO TIS Bouniis "ArKiBiadov Kai
prrotipias, piv AWS EXKANCLADY yeveo Bar, KaTa-
gxovTOS On TAIGos eArrioe Kal ovyors 7 po-
SuePOappevor, @oTe Kal VEOUS €V TadalaTpars
Kal yépovtas épv épyaatnpiots Kal 7 PLKUKALOLS
ourynabelopevous Umoypadety To TXILA THs De-
KeAlas, Kal THY hvaw THs Tept auTnVv Baracons,
Kat Amévas Kal TOTOUS ols TETPATrTAL 7 pos
AtBunv u) vijoos. ov yap aOrov €TOLOUVTO TOU
TOAELOU LiKediay, GAN oppntnpiop, os aT avtTns
Siaywrig opevor Tpos Kapx7dovious Kal TXHTOVTES
dpa ArSunv nat thy évtos ‘Uparreiwy ornrov
Odraccap.

And in the end no one was ever ostracised after
Hyperbolus, but he was the last, as Hipparchus of
Cholargus, a kinsman of the famous tyrant Peisistra-
tus, was the first to be so banished.!
Verily fortune is an uncertain thing, and incalcu- lable. Had Nicias run the risk with Alcibiades of being ostracised, he had either carried the day, expelled his rival, and then dwelt safely in the city ; or, defeated, he had himself gone forth from the city before his last misfortunes, and had preserved the reputation of being a most excellent general.

[am well aware that Theophrastus says that
Hyperbolus was ostracised when Phaeax, and not
Nicias, was striving against Alcibiades, but most
writers state the case as I have done.
XII. It was Nicias, then, who, when an embassy came from Egesta and Leontini? seeking to persuade the Athenians to undertake an expedition against Sicily, opposed the measure, only to be defeated by the ambitious purposes of Alcibiades. Before the assembly had met at all, Alcibiades had already cor- rupted the multitude and got them into his power by means of his sanguine promises, so that the youth in their training-schools and the old men in their work-shops and lounging-places would sit in clusters drawing maps of Sicily, charts of the sea about it, and plans of the harbours and districts of the island which look towards Libya. For they did not regard Sicily itself as the prize of the war, but rather as a mere base of operations, purposing therefrom to wage a contest with the Carthaginians and get pos- session of both Libya and of all the sea this side the Pillars of Heracles.

1 488-487 B.C. 2 In the spring of 415 B.o,
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3

e < Ld ‘ “~ ¢ ld >

Qs ovv wpunvto mpos tavta, o Nextas évav-
TLoOUMEVOS OUTE TrOAXOYS OTE SuvVaTOUS Ele
cuvaywvicTds. ol yap evmopor Sedtotes py
Sox@at Tas AELTOUpyias Kal Tplnpapyias arro-
SibpacKev, Tapa yvopunv yovyavov. o 8 ovK
Exapvev ovd amnyopevev, GAAa Kal peTa TO
? \ , > “4 \
wWwndicacbat tov rorepov "ABnvaiovs nai orpa-
‘ e / ~ > a“ > » Lf
tTnyov édécOar wpwtov éexeivov pet “AdXneBiadov
cai \apayov, TaXrLv EXKAHTLAS YEVOPEVNS, AVATTAS

amétpevre kal Stepaptupeto, Kal TeAeuvT@YV bténBare
tov "Ad Biddnv idiwv Evexa xepdov Kai ptrote-
? ‘ , > ‘ b 6 ” AN 8 ,
julas THY TOALY Els YaXreTrov eEwHeiv Kat datrov-
tiov Kivduvov. émrpake 8 ovdéy paddov, arr
umo éuepias SoFas eémetndecotepos eivat, Kal
MOAN dopdrevav éFev mpos Tv Adega
TOApapy Kal THY Aapaxou tpayvtnta) ris exelvou
oUryKEpavvupevns evafeias, AeBarorépav € eroinge
THY XElpoToVviav. avacTas yap oO padtoTAa Ta
Snpaywyav énat rov woAenor mapokvvwy tovs
’ 4 / ¥ ‘ 7 f
A@nvaiovs, Anpootpatos, pn tov Nixiav mpo-
, / 4 \ 4 ,
pacers AeyovTa TAavGEl Kal yigicpa ypavyras
OTWS AUTOKPATOPES WALV Ot oTpariyou xavrav0a
xaxel Bovrevopevoe Kal mWpaTtTovTEs, ETELTE TOV
djpov Wwndicacbat.
XIII. Kairot Aéyeras wodAAa Kal mapa trav
lepéwy évavtiodcbat mpos THY oTpatelav’ adr’
ef 54 , ¢ 3 4 ? ,
érépous éxwv pavtes o 'AdkiBiadns é« 61 Tiwev
1 rpaxttnta Reiske’s correction: x«padrnra (mildness);
cf. chapter xv. 1.

_’ Since, therefore, their hearts were fixed on this, Nicias, in his opposition to them, had few men, and these of no influence, to contend on his side. For the well-to-do citizens feared accusations of trying to escape their contributions for the support of the navy, and so, despite their better judgement, held their peace. But Nicias did not faint nor grow weary. Even after the Athenians had actually voted for the war and elected him general first, and after him Alci- biades and Lamachus, in a second session of the assembly he rose and tried to divert them from their purpose by the most solemn adjurations, and at last accused Alcibiades of satisfying his own private greed and ambition in thus forcing the city into grievous perils beyond the seas. Still, he made no headway, nay, he was held all the more essential to the enter- prise because of the experience from which he spoke. There would be great security, his hearers thought, against the daring of Alcibiades and the roughness of Lamachus, if his well known caution were blended with their qualities. And so he succeeded only in confirming the previous vote. For Demostratus, the popular leader who was most active in spurring the Athenians on to the war, rose and declared that he would stop the mouth of Nicias from uttering vain excuses; so he introduced a decree to the effect that the generals have full and independent powers in counsel and in action, both at home and at the seat of war, and persuaded the people to vote it. -

XIII. And yet the priesthood also is said to have offered much opposition to the expedition. But

Alcibiades had other diviners in his private service,

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Gr

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

4 “ “a 4 4 “
Aoyiwy Wpovpepe Tararwy peya KEosS ToD
b] \@ , ’ \ vy XL w @ ‘ @ s
A@nvaiwy amo XtKertas EcecBar. Kat Georpotrot
~ > ww 4 a
Ties auT@ map “Appwvos adixovta xpnopov
4 ‘ ,
xopitovtes ws ANYovtat Supaxovatovs atravTas
a t A
"AOnvaioe ta 8 éevavtia poPovpevoe dSvodnpeiv
‘ “
expuTTov. ovdé yap Ta TpovTTa Kal Katagavi
a 4 a“ € “
TOV Onpelwv AT ET pETEV, 1) TE TOV Eppa@v TeptKo7),
a \
ula vuKTL TavTwY axpwTnpiacbévTwy TAHV EVvOs,
A “ : , ~ 5 , x a 9 a
ov Avdoxidov xaXroval, avdbnpa pev THs Avyni-
wn , N \ ~ , Ww 9
Sos hunijs, Kelpevoy b€ po THs TATE OvaNS ’Avdo-
‘ , \ “~
xiOov oiKias, Kal TO TpayGev Trepi TOY Bapov TOY
, o~ ¥ /
Swhexa Gedv. avOpwros yap Tis éEaipyns ava-
, ? ’ >] * \ b / e nw
mTnonagas eT auToV, eita TepiBas aTéKoWev auTOU
ALA@ TO aidoiov.
"Ev b€ Aerdois HWaddaddiov éornxe ypuvacovy
> \ , a“ , b) , a
él doimKkos yarxov BeBnxos, avaOnpa Tijs
wovkews ato tav Myoicav adaptotetwv TovT’
td ‘ /
Exomtov eb)pépas ToANAS TpogTrETOpEVvoL KOpa-
N ~ ~
KES, Kal TOV KapToY OVTAa ypvaoUY Tov PoiviKos
? 4 \ f i 4 A nw“ &
dmézpwyov Kal xatéBaddov. ot 6€ Ta’Ta pev

wv ? “~ , ,
épacav civat Aeddhav TAGTHATA TET ELT LEVwWY
id Re , a
vo Xvpaxovatwv' ypyopov S€ Tivos KEAEVOVTOS
? 2 9 r a 4 oF nn 3 a
avtrous ex Kralopevav thy tépecav ths “A@nvas
4 yw ~
dye, peteTépavto thy avOpwror éxadeito
~ qe e
Sé‘Hovyia. Kat tovTo Hv, ws Eotxev, 0 TAapHVvEL
“ , a ,
TH TOAEL TO Salpovioy EV T@ Tapovtt, THY HovxXLav
ayeELV.
. ~ / a
Kite 617 tTavta Setoas eit avo pwrive Aoyiopo@
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and from sundry oracles reputed ancient he cited one saying that great fame would be won by the Athenians in Sicily. To his delight also certain envoys who had been se#:t to the shrine of Ammon! came back with an oracle declaring that the Athenians would capture all the Syracusans; but utterances of opposite import the envoys concealed, for fear of using words of ill omen. For no signs could deter the people from the expedition, were they never so obvious and clear, such as, for instance, the mutilation of the “Hermae.” These statues were all disfigured in a single night, except one, called the Hermes of Andocides, a dedi- cation of the Aegeid tribe, standing in front of what was at that time the house of Andocides. Then there was the affair of the altar of the Twelve Gods. An unknown man leaped upon it all of a sudden, bestrode it, and then mutilated himself with a stone.

At Delphi, moreover, there stood a Palladium, made of gold and set upon a bronze palm tree, a ded- ication of the city of Athens from the spoils of her valour in the Persian wars. Ravens alighted on this image and pecked it for many days together; they also bit off the fruit of the palm-tree, which was of gold, and cast it down to the ground. The Atheni- ans, it is true, said that this whole story was an invention of the Delphians, at the instigation of the Syracusans ; but at any rate when a certain oracle bade them bring the priestess of Athena from Clazomenae, they sent and fetched the woman, and lo! her name was Peace. And this, as it seemed, was the advice which the divinity would give the city at that time, namely, to kcep the peace.

It was either because he feared such signs as these,

' In an oasis of the Libyan desert. Cf. Cimon, xviii. 6 f.

, 4 e ,
Thv otpateiay ghoBnbeis, 0 aatporoyos Métwv
, \ ,
(vy yap édp’ yepovias Tivos TETaypLEVOS) Tpoc-
La ‘ , ¢
ETOLELTO THY Oiktay UPuTTTELY wS pEuNvas. ob dé
faci ov paviay oxndapevoy, adda voKTwp
\ - A
€umpnoavTa THv oikiay TpoedOeiv els THY ayo-
/ al “ a
pav tarevov, kai Setc0at ToY TOXLTOV GTrwS eT
& TooavtTn Tov viov avTOU médAXOVTA TEL
oupdopa UT] TOU, VLOvay a VTa TEL
, 3 ia a ,
Tpiipapyov eis NikerXiav adwat THs otpatetas.
be ¢ de a al XN 5 , t > 50
Mwxpate. b€ TH cop@ TO dapoviov ols elwoOer
X
cuuBoros xXpnodpevov mpos avTov épivuce
3 al XN ¥ > 3 bd , “a é
Kakelva, Tov ExmAouv ém OdeO pw THS TrOdAEWS
e ~
mpaTtTopevoyv. oO S€ Tois cuvibect at irors
“~ id
eppace, Kat duArOev ets TOAAOUS O AOYoS.
\ fa) a
Ovx ortyous b€ xal Ta TOV Huepav ev als Tov
, Igeo/ e , > , \
atokov e&émeptrov umélpattev. ‘Adwvia yap
~ ? 4s
elyov al yuvaixes TOTE, Kal TPOvKELTO TOAAAXOOL
“a , we ‘ ‘ \ 3 ‘ ‘
THS TroNEwWS ElCwAQa, Kal Tahal TEepl avTa Kal
KOTETOL YUVALK@Y NTAY, WATE TOUS Er ACY TroLou-
~ , 4
pvovs TW Ta ToLadTa Svoxepaiverv Kai Sedvévar
a a“ 4 , \
Tept Tis TWapacKkeuys exetvns Kai Svvapews, p22)
NapTpuTNTAa Kai akpnyv éenmLpaveotaTnV cyovca
Tayéws papavOy.
hd ~ , ~
XIV. To pev oty evavtimOivar WwydiCouévn tH

, ‘ \’ , Y "fy? e 3 b iS
otpateia Tov Nixtav, Kat pi? vr édmidov
‘ ‘ al 3 “ ,
énap0évta pete Tpos TO THS apyAs peyebos
‘ , ‘ of
éxTrAayevta petabéacOar tHy yvopuny, avdpos hv
fal , ? a 4
yYpnatov kal owppovos: erel & ove Tob TodEpLoU
256

or because, from mere human calculation, he was alarmed about the expedition, that the astrologer Meton, who had been given a certain station of command, pretended to be mad and set his house on fire. Some, however, tell the story in this way: Meton made no pretence of madness, but burned his house down in the night, and then came forward publicly in great dejection and begged his fellow citizens, in view of the great calamity which had befallen him, to release from the expedition his son, who was about to sail for Sicily in command of a trireme. ‘To Socrates the wise man also, his divine guide, making use of the customary tokens for his enlightenment, indicated plainly that the expedition would make for the ruin of the city. Socrates let this be known to his intimate friends, and the story had a_ wide circulation.

Not a few also were somewhat disconcerted by the character of the days in the midst of which they dispatched their armament. The women were celebrating at that time the festival of Adonis, and in many places throughout the city little images of the god were laid out for burial, and funeral rites were held about them, with wailing cries of women, so that those who cared anything for such matters were distressed, and feared lest that powerful armament, with all the splendour and vigour which were so manifest in it, should speedily wither away and come to naught.

XIV. Now, that Nicias should oppose the voting of the expedition, and should not be so buoyed up by vain hopes nor so crazed by the magnitude of his command as to change his real opinion,—this marked him as a man of honesty and discretion. But when

tov Shpov amotpéeyat TELPWLEVOS ov8 avtov
eererOau THs oTparnyias Seopevos ¢ iayuoev, arr’
@OTEP apapevos Kal pepo aur ov O Ojos émeOnxe
TH Suvaper oTparnyoy, ovodeis ETL Katpos HY THS
ToAANS evrAaPeias Kal pmeAArTEWS, WaTE Tatoos
Sixny ato THs vews OTIicw BréTOvTa Kal TO py
KpatnOijvat Tois Aoyiopois avadayBavovta Kai
at pepovra TOAAKES evap Brdvac Kal TOUS ouvap-
Yovras avT@ Kal THY aK pay SrapGeipac TOV
mpage, an evOus édet ToOIs ToAE wLOLS éupuvra
Kal ™ poo Kel LeVvOY eXEyKELV Thy TuXny éml tev
arycovev. o 6é, Aawayou pev GVT Ux pus akvobvros
rely eri Lupaxovaas Kal paxny eyyrora THS
TOAEWS TriOévat, “ArXrKxiBiadov G¢ TAs monets ag-
loTavat Lupaxoucior, EO" odT ws er avTous
Badigery, Ta évavTia réywy Kai Kehevav aT péua
mapa Thv LtKkediav Kopelopevous Kal Tept-
TEOvTAS émideifacOat Ta oT ha Kal Tas Tpenpers,
elT arom EL ‘ADijvate peiK pov THS dupapews
Atyeorevowy anapEapevous, autiKa TE THD yo-
unv wumekéXuce nal xatéBadre TO hpovnua Tov
avepov.
Kai per odtyov Xpovov ‘ArKeBeadyy ” A@nvaiwv
peTarreprpapevoy els KpLaLy, oye pey drroberx Gels
SevTepos rryemov, Ouvaper d€ povos @V, OUK eTTAU-
gaTO Kad npevos) TEpUTT EY 1) Bovdevopevos,
m™ ply eyynpacas pev auto? THY dk pV THS eX-
71605, expufvas be TOV modeniov TO GapBos Kal
tov dofov by » mpatn TapéOnKev avtois dyes
Toy duvapewr.
1 aire MSS., Coraés, and Bekker: abrayp.

he availed naught either in his efforts to divert the
people from the war or in his desire to be relieved of
his command,—the people as it were picking him up
bodily and setting him over their forces as general,—
then it was no longer a time for the exceeding

caution and hesitation which he displayed, gazing back homewards from his ship like a child, and many times resuming and dwelling on the thought that the people had not yielded to his reasonings, till he took the edge from the zeal of his colleagues in command and lost the fittest time for action. He ought rather at once to have engaged the enemy at close quarters and put fortune to the test in struggles for the mastery. Instead of this, while Lamachus urged that they sail direct to Syracuse and give battle close to the city, and Alcibiades that they rob the Syracusans of their allied cities first and then proceed against them, Nicias proposed aud urged in opposition that they make their way quietly by sea along the coasts of Sicily, circumnavigate the island, make a display of their troops and triremes, and then sail back to Athens, after having first culled out a small part of their force to give the Egestaeans a taste of succor. In this way he soon relaxed the resolution and depressed the spirits of his men. After a little while the Athenians summoned Alcibiades home to stand his trial, and then Nicias, who nominally had still a colleague in the command, but really wielded sole power, made no end of sitting idle, or cruising aimlessly about, or taking deliberate counsel, until the vigorous hopes of his men grew old and feeble, and the consternation and fear with which the first sight of his forces had filled his enemies slowly subsided.
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s 2
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

aA ,
"Ere 6€ tod "AAKiBiddov wapovtos é€jKovTa
\ 4 b] \ ys , \ \ Ww
Vaval TAEVOAVTES ETL LUPAKOUTAS, TAS MEV AAAS
avelxov vrép Tod Atpévos EEw Trapatutartes,
Séxa 5 KaTnAavvoy claw KaTaTKOTAS elvexa> Kal
Acovtivovs émi tnv olxetay atroxadovoa ba
/ kd , a / ,
KNPUKOS, avTat KauBarovet vavy TovEmLaY Gavi-
Sas Kopivovaay, eis &s ameypapovto Kata dudads

attovs ol Yupakovoroe xeipevar 8 arrwbev THs
, 9 e A N ¥ / 4 N dge/
morews ev tep@ Atos ‘OdvpTiov tote mpos e&e-
Tac Kal KaTdAoyov TOV év NALKiA pEeTETEUhOn-
gav. ws ovv vio tav "AOnvaiwy adotcoat pos
‘ \ col
Tovs atpatnyous éxopicOncav Kai to mdrOos
v A >] r b | / e 7 rd
OPOn THY ovopdtwv, nXOécOnaay ol pavTEs pH
Tote Apa TO Xpewy évtadba tov Ypnopod TreEpaivot,
ANéyovtos ws "AOnvatoe Ap povtat Lupaxovaious
adtavras. ov pnv arr étépw! dhaaty Epyw TovTo
a» , / bd \ > a /
tots "A@nvaios yevécOar éemiteres Kall Ov ypovov
e a
amoxteivas Aiwva Kaddutrros 0 ‘A@nvaios éaxe
Lupaxovaas.
XV. ’AromAevoavtos 5€ Tod 'AdXKiBiddou per’
bd , b] vv s N a 0 / e N 4
oNLyov eK XtKENLAS, TO TAY 1107) KpaTOS Oo NiKtas
v e \ / ? N b é \ f
éayev. 0 d€ Adpayos tv pev avdpwdns Kat dixatos
avnp Kal TH xepl Ypawpevos aperdas Kata Tas
a \
payas, mévns 5€ TooodTov Kai dLTOS wote Kal
e 4 a] a a“ %
éxadotny atpatnylav amodoyiferOar tois ’A@n-
valots pixpov apyuptov eis éoOAta Kal xpnrridas
éaut@. tov dé Nuixiov cal dia Tarra péyas Hv
1 érépw MSS., Coraés, and Bekker : repo (others say that
the prophesy was really fulfilled, etc.).
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033

NICIAS

While Alcibiades was yet with the fleet, sixty ships sailed for Syracuse, of which fifty lay out in the offing, drawn up so as to command the harbour, while ten rowed in to reconnoitre. These made formal proclamation by voice of herald that the people of Leontini should return to their homes. They also captured a ship of the enemy with tablets on board in which the Syracusans had recorded lists of their citizens by tribes. These lists had been deposited at some distance from the city, in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, but had been sent for at that time with a view to determining and enrolling those who had come to military age. Now when these had been captured by the Athenians and brought to their generals, and the number of names was seen, the soothsayers were in distress lest in this cireum- stance lie the fulfilment of what was predicted by the oracle which said: “The Athenians shall take all the

Syracusans.’”’ However, they say that it was in another circumstance altogether that this prophecy was fulfilled for the Athenians, namely, at the time when Callippus the Athenian slew Dion and got possession of Syracuse.!

XV. A little while after this Alcibiades sailed away from Sicily,? and then Nicias took the entire command, Lamachus was, it is true, a sturdy and honourable man, one who put forth his might without stint in battle, but so poor and petty that in every campaign where he served as general he would charge up to the Athenian people certain trifling moneys for his own clothes and boots. Nicias, on the contrary, was a man of great dignity and im-

1 Tn 353 B.c. See Plutarch, Dion, liv.—lvii.
2 See the Alcibiades, xxi. 1.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

\ \ \ “ Ae N \ , eo
kai ta Tov wrodTOY Kal dca thy do-ay Oo OyKOS.
Aéevyetar & é€v T@ OTPATNYiw TroTe BovAEvopEe
Y @ otparnyic opéveay
~ wn , ~
TL KOWH TOY cUvapYoVTwY, Kedevabels UT avTOU
~ ’ “ ‘ ~ e
Tp@Tos eimety yvwpny LopoxAHs o wontys ws
mpecBvTatos wy THY avaTpatiywy, “Eye,”
, “ f DF. \ de f 29
havat, “ TaNatoTaTos etpt, ov 6€ mpecBvTaTos.
ev \ \ , Q , ” ¢ 3?
3 Odtw 8) nat tote Tov Adpayov aywr td
EAUT@ TTPATNYIKWTEPOY OVTA, KAL YPw@pmeEvos EvrQ-
Bas cat d:a perrijocews ael TH Suvapet, TpeTOV
~ 4
fev ATWTAUTW THY TrorEpioy éexTTEpiTAEwY LiKeE-
Nav Bdpoos Edwkev avtois, Ereta mpocBadwv
"TAX, Todyviw mixpe, Kai mply édXety arrostas,
~ /
4 xoutdn Kateppovndn. xal tédos eis Katavny
amnrOe mpakas ovdev 7) Katactpeyrdpevos “T-
‘ f ¢ f \
xapa, PapBapixov ywptov, fev Aéyerar kal
, “~ ?
Aaida thy éraipav éte Kopny év Tols alyparwrors
“~ i a
mpabeiaay eis edXotrovynooy KopiaOjvat.
XVI. Tod b€ Oépous SeeAPovtos, eet tovs

Lupaxovoious émuvOaveto mpotépous ém avtous
, e e ra
api~ecOar tePappyxotas, ot & immets DBpet mpoc-
N
eAauvortes 5 TPOS TO TTPATOTEdOY 1)pwTwY EL
Katavaiows cuvotxyjaovtes 7) Aeovtivovs Kxatot-
ra ¢. ? 4 “~
KLtouvTes HKovat, woAts oO Nixias Wpynoe wreiv eri
— , \ XO 10 ~ \ Q’
2 Supaxovoas. xal Bovropevos adeds Kat Ka
wn s é e ,
yovyiav LOptcat Tov oTpatoy, uTéTEn ev avOpo-
La \
mov €x Katavns Kxedevovta tovs Lvpaxovaious,
>) , ~ ww > n~ A t
ef Bovrovtat AaBeiv Epnuov avdpav zo oTpaTo-
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portance, especially because of his wealth and reputation. It is said that once at the War Department, when his fellow commanders were deliberating on some matter of gencral moment, he bade Sophocles the poet state his opinion first, as being the senior general on the Board. Thereupon Sophocles said: “T am the oldest man, but you are the senior general.”

So also in the present case he brought Lamachus under his orders, although more of a general than himself, and, always using his forces in a cautious and hesitating manner, he first gave the enemy courage by cruising around Sicily as far as possible from them, and then, by attacking the diminutive little city of Hybla, and going off without taking it, he won their utter contempt. Finally, he went back to Catana without effecting anything at all except the overthrow of Hyccara, a barbarian fastness. From this place it is said that Lais the courtesan was sold as a prisoner of war, being still a girl, and brought into Peloponnesus.

XVI. The summer was now spent when Nicias learned that the Syracusans had plucked up courage and were going to take the initiative and come out against him. Their horsemen already had the in- solence to ride up to the Athenian camp and ask its occupants whether they had come to share the homes of the Catanians or to restore the Leontines to their old homes. At last, therefore, and reluctantly, Nicias set out to sail against Syracuse. Wishing to establish his forces there deliberately and without fear of interruption from the enemy, he secretly sent on a man of Catana with a message for the Syracusans: if they wished to find the camp and

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

medov Kat Ta OTAa TOV AOnvaiwr, év nuépa pnTA

‘ / oe! : f y Pe p a
mpos Katdvnv mavotpatia mapayevécOa, tov 6
"A@nvatov év Th Tove Ta TACcloTA StaTpiBovTwy
éyvwxévat Tovs Supaovaiwy idous, oTav éxel-
tf wv
vous Tpoatovtas aicOwvrat, Tas TE TWUAAS KaTA-
AapBave Gua cal tov vavotabpov vromiumTpa-
vat' Todos € Elvat TOUS cUVEerT@TAS HON Kal
Thy éxelvav Tepipevovtas ade.
Toit’ aptota Nexias EoTpaTiyygE mept XKe-
Atav. TavoTpatid yap eEayayov TOUS TOoNEMOUS
Kal THY TOALV OMOU TL ToLnoas Epnuov avopar,
autos éx« Katdvns avayGeis Tar Te ALtpévwv expa-
Tno€ KaLT@® oTpatoTédw KaTéAaBe ywpar, dev
ed , , nn ,
nKiota BraTTOMEVOS ols EAELTTETO TOV TroAEMO?,
ww 3 ? 3 / f bf tA
nramitev €& wv eOapper TorEpnoev akwXrUTODS.
? \ >» / 3 , ¢ 4
érel 5 avaatpéwavtes ex Katavns ot Supaxovacot
mapetagavto Tpo THS TOAEWS, ETAYAYy@V TayU
\ 3 / 3 / \ ‘ \ 3
tovs A@nvatous éxpatnoe. Kal TOANOUS MEV OUK
“ / a *
ATEKTELVE TOV TOAEMLMY* Ol yap (TTELs EuTrOOwY
éyévovto 7H Siwker tov dé Totapov diadetpwv
\
Kal admwoKkoTTwy Tas yepupas, Trapéerxev “Eppo-
Kpatet Néyev tapabappivorte Tous LupaKxovaious
af e nw
6te yedXolas eotw o Nixias, Omws ov payeitat
oTpATHY OY, @OTEP OVK ETL AYN TWETAEUKWS. OV
py arra poBov ae Kal Karam dn Ew loxupay
éverprydoaro Tois SXvupakovotos, Bot avTl TaV
OVTWY TOTE WevTexaivexa otpatyyav éEtépous
édécOar tpels, ols miati édwKer o Sppos 5: Gpxov, 534
Un edoey ApKElv AVTOKPATOpAs.
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equipment of the Athenians abandoned of defenders, they must come in full force to Catana on a given day, for that the friends of the Syracusans in the city, where the Athenians spent most of their time, had determined, on perceiving their approach, to seize the gates and set fire to the Athenian fleet; the conspirators were already many and awaited their coming.

This was the best generalship that Nicias displayed in Sicily. He brought his enemy out of their city in full force, thereby almost emptying it of defend- ers, while he himself put out to sea from Catana, got control of the enemy's harbours, and seized a spot for his camp where he was confident that he would suffer least injury from that arm of the service in which he was inferior, the cavalry, and meet no hindrance in fighting with that arm whereon he most relied. When the Syracusans hurried back from Catana and drew up in order of battle before their own city, Nicias led his Athenians swiftly against them and carried the day. He did not slay many of the enemy, it is true, for their horsemen prevented his pursuit ; he had to content himself with cutting to pieces and destroying the bridges over the river, and thus gave Hermocrates occasion to say, as he sought to encourage the Syracusans, that Nicias was ridiculous in manceuvring so as not to give battle, as though it was not for battle that he had crossed the seas. However, he did infuse fear and mighty consternation into the Syracusans, so that in place of their fifteen generals then in office they elected three others, to whom the people pledged themselves under oath that they would surely suffer them to command with full and independent powers.

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r a ? °
Tod & 'Odvpriciov trANG/lov Gvtos wppynoay oi
"AOnvaiot KatadaBeiv, TodAdA@V GvT@Y ev AUTO
Ypvcay Kat apyupav avabnudtwv. o dé Nixias
> , 3 , e , \ A
éritnoes avaBarropevos vaoTépnoe Kal meptetde
dpoupay eiceNOovcav Tapa tav Lvpaxovoiwr,
Hryoupevos, €av Ta yYpnpata Siaptdcwow oi
OTPAaTL@TAal, TO ev KOLVOY OvK wpPEANOHcEDOaL,
\ ? > @ ? ' oad ~ 3 , n \
Thy & aitiay avtos e€ewv Tod aceBipatos. TH dé
vinn treptBont@ yevouervn xpnodpevos eis ovdér,

OAiyouv apepav Scayevouevmy avis avexwpnoev
eis Nakov, xaxei Stexeiuace, ToAda pév avani-
A ? , X \ x
okwY oTpaTla TocavTn, TpdtTwY Sé pLKPa Tpds
\ / 4
Duxedovs Twas adistapévous mpos avTov, WaTE
A v 4 5@ >] A / >’ > 4
Tous Lupaxouaious ad&is avaappijcavtas éfeda-
gat mpos Karaynv xal tv te Ywpay Tepeiv Kai
“ “A 3
TO oTpaToTredoy Kataxatoa: Tov A@nvatwv.
A 4 e nw
“A 87 wavtes nTL@VTO TOV Nixtav, ws ev TO
SiaroyilerOar Kai péddAewY Kal PuddtTecIat Tov
Tov mpdkewy atoAdwTa Katpovy émel Tas Ye
4 10 \ a bane a ?% bY Pace e ie
mpakes ovoeis av eueuryato Tov avopos’ opynaas
yap wv évepyos Kat Spactiptos, TorApjoar é
N \ MW
HEAANTHS KAL ATOAMLOS.
XVII. ‘Os & otv éxivnoe thy otpatiay madi
éri tas Yvpaxovaas, oitws éatpatiyynoe Kal
,
pweTa TocavTns ofvTHTOS aya Kal acdanreias
3 a Lad Q@ a ‘ Lome 3) , f = \
émnrdev, mote Aadeiv pev es Oarvov tais vavot
, \ 9 \
mpoopitas Kal amroBds, PUacat de tas 'Emitonas
266

NICIAS

The Olympieum was hard by, and the Athenians set out to seize it, inasmuch as it contained many offerings of gold and silver. But Nicias purposely delayed operations until it was too late, and allowed a garrison from Syracuse to enter in, because he thought that if his soldiers plundered the temple’s treasures the commonwealth would get no advantage from it, and he himself would incur the blame for the sacrilege. Of his victory, which was so noised about, he made no use whatever, but after a few days had elapsed withdrew again to Naxos, and there spent the winter, making large outlays on his vast armament, but effecting little in his negotiations with the few Sicels who thought of coming over to his side. The Syracusans therefore plucked up courage again, marched out to Catana, ravaged the fields, and burnt what had been the Athenian camp.

These things all men laid to the charge of Nicias, since, as they said, by his excessive calculation and hesitation and caution he let the proper time for

action go by for ever. When he was once in action no one could find fault with the man, for after he had set out to do a thing he was vigorous and effective; but in venturing out to do it he was hesitating and timid.

XVII. At any rate, when he moved his armament back to Syracuse,! he showed such generalship, and made his approach with such speed and safety, that he put in at Thapsus with his fleet and landed his men unobserved, seized Epipolae? before the

1 In the spring of 414 n.c., as described by Thucydides in vi. °

2A triangular plateau, rising gradually to the westwards of Syracuse, visible from the interior of the city, and surrounded by precipitous cliffs.

‘ “~ \ , ,
catacyor, tov 8 mpocBonfovvtwv doyddwv
Kpatnoas édeiv pev tplaxoatcus, tpévacbar 8¢
~ ,
Kat vv immov TOV TodELioy dpyayov eivar
Soxovceay.
“O &€ wavtwyv paddtota Kal Yredtiwtas éFe-
‘ ral cs ax 9 , ,
mange kat Tots “ltAAnoW antotiay TapEerxer,
, a)
Odiywm Xpovw TepleTelyice Lupaxovoas, Todt
"AOnvav ove éAd) toav oé j
wav ove édattova, ducepyotépay S€ Ywptwy
avopariats kai Oardoon yEerTVuiwon KAL TapaKel-
an \ ~
pévots EXEoL TELXYOS KUKAW TEPL AUTHY TOTOUTOY
ayayelv. Gdra ToT eEepydcacbat puxpov ébénoe
n b e ,
Tov TavTos avOpwros obS vylatvorTL KpwpmEvos
éavT@® mpos tocavtas gdpovtidas, adda vocor
n a ‘ “a
vooay vedpitiv, Hs TO pn TWpocexrrovynGer Aetupa
moviabar Sixarov éott. Cavydatw bé tov otpatn-
a \ a =

you THy émtpédkeray Kal THY TOY OTPATLWTOY
’ , ? ‘ t \ \ ’
avdpayabiay év ols katwpGovv. o pev yap Evpr-
a \ \
TtOnS META THY TTAV AVT@Y Kal TOV OEE pov ypa-
hwy emixryoevoy érroinoey’
», , hd
OiSe Supaxocious oxT@ vinas expatnaay
¥ vw + @ \ “ > wv bd ,
Avoces, 67 hv Ta. Oedv €& icov audorépos:
ovK OKTM@ 6€ vikas, GAA TAElovas av TLS EBpoL
Supaxovaiovs verixnuévous UT’ avTayv, mply éx
a ’ , a
Oeay ovTws h TUYNS dvTtoTaaiy Tiva yeveaIat Tots
al bd 4
"AOnvaiow emt mrEloTOV atpopéevots SuvapeEews.
XVIIL Tais pév odv mrevatas mpakeot Bia-
nw a ¢ \ ,
Cépmevos TO capa tapi o Nixias: axpny 6€ rote
a , 4 e ‘ > , Sy
THs appwatias AaBovons oO pev Ev TENETL peET
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NICIAS

enemy could prevent, defeated the picked companies
which came to its rescue, killing three hundred
men, and even routed the cavalry of the enemy,
which was thought to be invincible.
But what most of all filled the Sicilians with terror and the Hellenes with incredulity was the fact that in a short time he carried a wall around Syracuse, a city fully as large as Athens, although the uneven- ness of the territory about it, its proximity to the sea and its adjacent marshes, made the task of surrounding it with such a wall very difficult. But he came within an ace of bringing this great task to completion,—a man who had not even sound health for such concerns, but was sick of a disease in the kidneys. To this it is only fair to ascribe the fact that part of the work was unfinished. I can but admire the watchful care of the general and the noble valour of his soldiers in what they did accom- plish. Euripides, after their defeat and destruction, composed an epitaph for them, in which he said :—

“ These men at Syracuse eight times were triumphant
as victors ;
Heroes they were while the gods favoured both
causes alike.” !
And not eight times only, nay, more than that you
will find that the Syracusans were beaten by them,
until the gods, as the poet says, or fortune, became

hostile to the Athenians at the very pinnacle of their ower.
XVIII. Now in most actions Nicias took part, despite his bodily infirmity. But once, when his weakness was extreme, he was lying in bed within
1 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, ii.4 p. 265.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

odiyov UTNPETOV KATEKELTO, THY dé oTpaTiav EXOv 0 Aapuaxos T Poo e MaXETO TOLS Lupaxovaiors éx THS TOWS TELXOS avayouct ™ pos 70 TOV "AO aio, a O KWAVCGELD EHEAAE 61a péoov TOV amro-TEeLyiapov. TM O€ Kparely TOV "A@nvaiwy ataxto-TEpov pepopeveov Tpos Tas drafters, arropovwets 0 Ndpaxos Uméorn TOV Supaxovotiwy TOUS LITTELS emupeponevors. nV be TPOTOS AUTOV Kaddxparns, avnp TONEMLKOS Kal Oupoetoys. Tpos TOUTOV ék TpoKhyo Ews KaTAgTAS 0 Adpaxos €HOVOHAXNGE, Kai aBov TANYHY T POTEPOS, elta Sous Kal TeT@Y opod cuvaTméGave TO Kaddxparet. Kal TO ev capa KPATHTAVTES AVTOD LETA TOY om hop efhpav ot |X upaxove tot, Spopep 8 epépovto 7 pos Ta TeLX7) TOY 'AOnvaiwv, év ols o Nixias mp OUK EXWY TOUS BonOoivras. auws & U70 THs avayKyns éEavactas Kal KaTioav TOV xivouvov €x EXNEUTE TOUS Kal' eav-TOV, doa EUha Tpo TOV TELNOV eTUYXaVED els HNXavas mapaBePrAnpEéva, Kal Tas pnxavas avTas ™Up KopicavTas aya. TOUTO TOUS Supaxovatous eTET XE Kal TOV Nexiav €owoe kal Ta TeLXN Kal Ta XPHpata TOV 'AOnvaior: proya yap ap0etcay bea. pécov TOAAY (OovTEes UTETPATNGAaY ot Lupa-KOUCLOL.
Tovtwy b¢ ™paxdevtov ATONEAELTTO év o Nuxias pOvos Tov atpatnyov, nv Oo €Amibos peyanrys. Kal yap modes pe@iaTavto Kat mhoia perta oitov ToAdaxober 7)AGev Ets 70.7 Tpato-medov,' Tots mpaypacty ev pepopevors TaVT@V TpoaTiOepéevwv. Kal Oyo. TLVés ON Tapa TOV lels 1d orpardxedov MSS. and edd.; 4A@ew added by Sintenis.
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the walls, attended by a few servants, while Lama- chus with the soldiery was fighting the Syracusans. These were trying to run a wall from their city out to that which the Athenians were building, to inter- sect it and prevent its completion. The Athenians prevailed, and hurried off in pursuit with more or less disorder, so that Lamachus was isolated, and then had to face some Syracusan horsemen who made an onset upon him. Foremost of these was Calli- crates, a man skilled in war and of a high courage. Lamachus accepted his challenge to single combat, fought him, got a mortal blow from him, but gave him back the like, and fell and died along with him. The Syracusans got possession of the body of Lam- achus, with its armour, and carried it off. Then they made a dash upon the Athenian walls where Nicias was, with none to succour him. He _ nevertheless, necessity compelling him, rose from his bed, saw his peril, and ordered his attendants to bring fire and set it to all the timbers that lay scattered in front of the walls for the construction of siege- engines, and to the engines themselves, This brought the Syracusans to a halt, and saved Nicias as well as the walls and stores of the Athenians. For when the Syracusans saw a great flame rising between them and the walls, they withdrew.

Thus it came to pass that Nicias was left sole gen- eral; but he was in great hopes. Cities were inclin- ing to take his side, and ships full of grain came to his camp from every quarter. Everybody hastens to join a successful cause. Besides, sundry proposals for a treaty were already coming to him from those

Supaxovaiwy éyivovto wept aupBacews pos
avTov, aTrEeyvoKOTwV THY ToAW. STrov Kal T'vET-
mos €x Aaxedaipovos tAéwv BonBos avTois, ws
iKovoe KaTa TAODY TOV dToTELYtopoy Kal TAS
amropias, oUTWs Erhet TO NOLTOY WS EYo"EevNS pev
Hdn THs Suxerias, Iradkiwrats 6 tas wore dta-
purdkwv, ef Kal ToT Tes éyyévotto. peyady yap
» b0£a Siepoita tod Kpateiv mdvta Tovs ’ABOn-
vaious Kal atpatnyov éxew apayov ot evtuxiav
Kal ppovnow.
‘O 8 Nuxtas evOds! attos cal rapa piow
bro THS €v TO TWapovTe pwuns Kal TUXNS avaTe-
Pappnkas, padtota 8€ Tots éx Lvpakovooy bia-
Aeyouévots Kpipa Kal méuTrovat pos avTOV OcoV
olmw THy ToAW evdidoc8a Kata oupBaces
vouitwv, ovdéva tov T'vAtmaov Aoyov Eaxe TpOT-
TA€OVTOS, Ovde gvAaKnY erotjcato Kabapav,
GNAG TO TavTera@s Umepopaa Oat Kat KaTadpovet-
cbat AaOwv abtov 6 avnp eicémrAcvoe Sta TrOpO-
yod, Kal TpocKopiabels ATWTATW TOY LUpaKov av
oTpaTiay cuynyayeTo Todd}, ovd e TapEeoTe

tov Svpaxovaiwy éristapévav ovbe mpocdboKwv-
Tov. 810 Kal wapyyyeATo pév avtois éexxAnota
mept tTav mpos tov Nixiay oporoyav, Kal Teves
éBdbifov Hon, piv 4 mavteras atrotexea Ojvat
Thy qTodww olopevoe Seiv yevécOar Tas dtadvaers'
Bpaxv yap iv Kouid) TO atroderT Opevov TOU Epyou,
Kal TrovTo TmapaBheAXnpéevny Elye THY TapacKeuTY
THs TEyooomlas TUpTAacaD.
XIX. 'Ev rovtw 8€ Kaipod rapovtos Tov Kw-
Sivouv adixvetrac LToyytdos é« KopivOov pid
1 ¢60s deleted by Corats and Bekker.
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Syracusans who despaired of their city. At this time, too, Gylippus, who was sailing from Sparta to their aid, when he heard on his voyage how they were walled up and in sore distress, held on his way, it is true, but with the belief that Sicily was as good as taken, and that he could only save the cities of the Italian Greeks, if haply even that. For the opinion gained ground and strength that the Athenians were all powerful, and had a general who was invincible by reason of his judgement and good fortune.

And Nicias himself, contrary to his nature, was straightway so emboldened by the present momen- tum of his good fortune, and, most of all, by the secret messengers sent to him from the Syracusans was so fixed in his belief that the city was just on the point of surrendering conditionally, that he made no sort of account of Gylippus at his approach. He did not even set an adequate watch against him. Whcere- fore, finding himself completely overlooked and despised, the man sailed stealthily through the straits, made a landing at the farthest point from Syracuse, and collected a large force, the Syracusans being not so much as aware of his presence, nor even expect- ing him. On the contrary, they had actually called an assembly to discuss the agreements to be made with Nicias, and some were already on their way to it, thinking that the terms of peace should be made before their city was completely walled up. For that part of the work which remained to be done was quite small, and all the material required for it lay strewn along the line.

XIX. But in this nick of time and crisis of their peril Gongylus came to them from Corinth with a

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be

Tptnper' Kal svvdpapovTwy Tpds aVTOV, WS ELKOS,
mavtwv eppatev Ste Vvrutros adi€etat dua
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Tayéwv Kal vines arAdAat BonOoi mpoamréovorr.
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evOus o Tvdurmos é& od0v0 mapatetaypevos eri
A > , ¢ \ > a ? é e
tous ‘A@nvatovs. ws b€ Kaxetvous avTétakev o
Nexias, Oéuevos él tous AOnvaious o T'vAtmaos
Ta OTAa Kal KypuKa Téurpas EXeye didovat TOIS
"A@ v LO 3 “a 3 > /
NVALOLS AOELAV UTTLOVGLY EK LtKENAS.
‘O N q N / A ¢ > ges ? /
pev ovv Nexias ovev nEtwoev arroxpiva-
cOar' tov S€ otTpatiwt@v tives KaTayedovTeEs
npwTwov ef Ola Trapovaiav évos TpiSwvos Kat
Baxtyptas Aaxwvixijs obtws icyupa Ta Lupaxov-
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Sedepévous arvédwxav Aaxedatpoviows. Tipacros dé
4 n
Kat Tous Luxedtw@tas Hyciv év pyndevt NOyw TotEl-
acGat tov Tvrurmov, totepov pév aiayporépdecav
avTOU KaL pLkpoAoylay KaTayvorTas, ws O€ TPA-
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Kopny. eta péevto. dynaiv avtos OTe TH T'vdITIT}
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davévte xabarep yRavKi TOOL TpoTEeTTHAAY
ETOLLwWS TTPaTEVOMEVOL. Kal TavVTA TOY TPwWTwWY
adnbéatepa cicw: ev yap 7H Baxtnpia Kai T@
/ AY , x 93 , a vv 4
tToiBwrte To cvpSorov Kal TO akiwpa THs STapTys
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single trireme. All flocking to meet him, as was natural, he toi'd them that Gylippus would come speedily, and that other ships of war were sailing to their aid. Ere yet they could put implicit faith in what Gongylus told them, there came a messen- ger from Gylippus bidding them come out to meet him. Then they

plucked up heart and donned their arms. No sooner had Gylippus come up than he led his men in battle array against the Athenians. But when Nicias arrayed his men too over against him, Gylippus halted under arms, and sent a herald with the message that he offered the Athenians safe con- duet if they would depart from Sieily.

Nicias deigned no answer to this; but some of his soldiers mocked, and asked the herald if the pres- ence of a single Spartan cloak and staff had made the prospects of the Syracusans on a sudden so secure that they could afford to deridg the Athenians, who had restored to the Lacedaemonians, out of prison and fetters, three hundred men? far sturdier than Gylippus, and longer haired. Timaeus says that the Sicilians also made no account of Gylippus, later on, indeed, because they learned to know his base greed and penuriousness:; but as soon as they set eyes upon him they jeered at his cloak and his long hair. Then, however, Timaeus himself says that as soon as Gylippus showed himself, for all the world like an owl among birds, many flocked to him, with ready offers of military service. This latter statement has more truth in it than his first, for in the staff and cloak of Gylippus men beheld the symbols of the majesty of Sparta, and rallied round

1 The captives of Sphacteria (chapter viii. 1), two hundred and ninety-two in nuinber (Thue. iv. 38, 5).

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kal TovUTOV amTayayely é€x Xixedias, auT@ 6é
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TAVTWS alTOVMEVOY THS oTpaTHnyias afer ota
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TIH)V VOTOV.
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them. Moreover, that the whole achievement of de- liverance was his, is the testimony not only of ‘Thucyd- ides, but also of Philistus, who was a Syracusan, and an eye-witness of the events thereof.

Well, then, in the first battle the Athenians werc victors and slew some few of the Syracusans, and also Gongylus the Corinthian; but on the day following Gylippus showed what a great thing experience is. Although he had the same infantry and the same cavalry and the same localities to deal with, he did not do it in the same way as before, but changed his tactics, and thereby conquered the Athenians.

And as they fled to their camp, he halted his Syracusans in their pursuit, and with the very stones and timbers which his enemies had brought up for their own use, he carried on the cross wall until it intersected the besiegers' wall of enclosure, so that their superior strength in the field really availed them naught.

After this the Syracusans plucked up heart and went to manning their ships, while their own horse- men and those of their allies would ride about and cut off many of their besiegers. Gylippus also went out in person to the cities of Sicily and roused up and united them all into vigorous and obedient concert with him. Nicias therefore fell back again upon those views of the undertaking which he had held at the outset, and, fully aware of the reversal which it had suffered, became dejected, and wrote a dis- patch ! to the Athenians urging them to send out an- other armament, or else to recall the one already in Sicily, begging them also in any case to relieve him of his command because of his disease.

2 Cf. Thue. vii. 11-15.

to

XX. OF 8 'A@nvaior xal wpotepov péev OpunvTo
méuTev étépav Svvaputv eis Lexediav, Plove 6é
TOV TPOTOV TpaTTOMEVvwY TpOS EvTUXLAY TO
Nixiov tocavtny moddas dtatpiBas éuBarovtov
TOTe your éatrevdov BornOeiv. Kat Anpoobévns
pev EpeArE MEYAAM TOW WHEY EK YELL@VOS,
Etpupédur dé bea yetpavos mpockémevoe Ypnpata
Kopivwv Kal cvoTpaTHyous aTropaivev npnévous
7@ Nexia tav abToOt otpatevopévwv EvOvdnpov
xat Mévavdpov.
"Ev tovT@ O€¢ kal Kata yhv Kal kata OadaTTav
éEaiduns émiyetpovpevos 6 Nexias tals pev vavolv
NTTOMEVOS TO TPA@TOV Gpuws ELEwoe Kal KaTEdUGE
TOAAAS TOV TOAELLWY, pos 5é TO TWECOV OK E~OaceE
BonOav, GAN adyvw tpooterav o l'vdeTos etre
To T1Anppuptor, €v & oxevav TpinpiKay Kal xpN-
LATWV TOAAOY ATOKELMLEVOV EKPATNTE TAVTOV Kab
SuepOerpev avdpas ov« orUWyous Kal Covtas edaBe:
TO S€ péytaTtor, adeineTo ToD Nexiov THs ayopas
Thy evTéterav. mv yap } Koutdy Tapa 70 Tdnp-
pvpwov acdadis xal taxeia tov 'AOnvaiov
Kpatovvtwr, exmecovtwy S€ Yarden Kal peTa
pays eyiveTo Tpos TOUS TOAELLOUS Exel VaVAOXOUD-
vas. tt b€ Kal TO vaUTLKOV Tois NupaKovaiots

obk amo KpdTous eépaiveto vevixnuévov, add’
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XX. Even before this the Athenians had made preparations to send another force to Sicily, but the leading men among them felt some jealousy of the preliminary good fortune of Nicias, and so had induced many delays. Now, however, they were all eagerness to send aid. It was therefore determined that Demosthenes should sail with a large armament in the spring, and while it was yet winter Eurymedon preceded him with a smaller fleet, bringing money, and announcing the selection of colleagues for Nicias from among the members of the expedition there,—to wit, Euthydemus and Menander.

But in the meantime Nicias was suddenly attacked by land and sea. With his fleet, though vanquished at first, he yet succeeded in repulsing the enemy, and sank many of their ships; but he was not prompt enough in sending aid to his garrison at Plemmyrium,! and so Gylippus, who had fallen upon it suddenly, cap- tured it. Large naval stores and moneys were in deposit there, all of which Gylippus secured, besides killing many men and taking many prisoners. What was most important of all, he robbed Nicias of his easy importation of supplies. These had been safely and speedily brought in past Plemmyrium as long as the Athenians held that post; but now that they had been driven from it, the process was a difficult one, and involved fighting with the enemy who lay at anchor there. And besides all this, the Syracusans felt that their fleet had been defeated, not through any superior strength in their enemy,

1 A promontory which runs out opposite the city of Syracuse, and narrows the entrance into the great harbour.

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atakia wepl tiv diwktv. avtOus ody émeyelpouv
é P ; : ; # P
TapacKevaCopevot AAT pOTEpov.
‘O d€ Nexias odn éBovreTo vavpayeiv, adr
TOAAHY aBerTEpiay EdevyeV Elval, TTOAOU TOTOUTOU
TpoomAé€ovtos avtois xal duvdyews axpahvois,
A Ra , 4 3 9 , N
hy nye AnpooBévns orevdwr, at’ éhattovev Kal
Yopnyoupévwy davrws Staywvicacbar. tots &é
\ \ a? N \ 9/7 bd ‘4
mept tov Mévavdpov nai tov EvOvénpov aptiws

\ a
els THY apxnY KaNioTapévots hirotipia Kal CAros
nv Tpos auotépovs Tovs oTpaTHyouUs, TOV peEV
4 a ’

AnpooGevny POjvat mpdkavras te Rapmpor,
uTepBaréaOar b€ tov Nixiav. mporynpa 8 Hv
e , a , A ’ f \
9» Sofa Tis TWoAews, Hv awoAAvaPat Kal KaTa-
Aver Oat TavTdtract hackovtes ef hoBnOncovrat
Supaxovelous émimdéovtas, é€eBidcavto vav-
payijoa. Kaixatactpatnynbértes UT A pictwvos
tod KopivOiwv xuBepyyntou tots wept To aptotov,
ws elpnxe Oouxvdibys, kata Kpatos HTTiOncav
nal jodXovs aTéBarov: Kal aOuuia TodAN TWept-
eoTtnxet TOV Nixtav TH Te povapyia KaxoTmrabodrta
Kal sparropevoy avlis tro THY cUVapYoVTMD.
XXI. "Ev rovtm 5é€ Anpocbévns trép trav
Aupévwy emredhaiveto NapTpOTATOS TH} TapacKeuy
Kat detvotatos Tots Todeuios, é7l veoy éBSdomun-
a ,
KOVTA KAL TPLOY AywY oTALTAS TEeVTAKLaXLALOUS,
axovriatas 6€ Kat tofotas Kal odevdovnras
, b 4 w és
TplaXLALWY OUK EATTOUS, OTAWY b€ KOTL@ Kal
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but by reason of their own disorderly pursuit
of that enemy. Accordingly, they were making
more vigorous preparations to try the issue again.
But Nicias did not want a sea fight. He said it
would be great folly, when so large an armament
was sailing to their aid and hurrying up fresh troops
under Demosthenes, to fight the issue out with
inferior forces, and those wretchedly supplied.
Menander and Euthydemus, however, who had just
been appointed to their offices, were moved by an
ambitious rivalry with both the other generals; they
longed to anticipate Demosthenes in some brilliant
exploit, and to eclipse Nicias. They therefore made
much of their city’s reputation. This, they declared

again and again, would be altogether ruined and dissipated if they should show fear when the Syracusans sailed out to attack them; and so they forced a decision to give battle by sea. But they were simply out-manceuvred by Ariston, the Corinthian captain, in the matter of the noon-day meal, as Thucydides relates, and then worsted in action, with the loss of many men. And so a great despair encompassed Nicias ; he had met with disaster while in sole command, and was now again brought to grief by his colleagues.

XXI. But at this juncture Demosthenes hove in sight off the harbours,? most resplendent in his array, and most terrifying to the enemy. He brought five thousand hoplites on seventy-three ships of war, besides javelineers and archers and slingers to no less a number than three thousand. What with the gleam

1 vii. 36-41.“ The Syracusan crews took their meal close by their ships, and then suddenly re-embarked and attacked the Athenians, who supposed there would be no more fighting that day, and were taken unawares.

2 About mid-summer, 413 B.c.

Tapacnpols Tpinpav Kat TANOEL KEAEVOTOY Kai avANnToV Oeatpixas rat T pos exTrAnke TONE Liev cEnoKnpevos. VY OUV, WS elKOS, avbes év poBw peyarm Ta <upaxovatov Els ovdey mépas ovde dmrarrayny, irra TovouvTas adrAwWs Kal POErpopévous avTous parny opwrrmy.

Tov be Nixiay ov toXup Xpovoy evppavev 7 Tapovata TIS duvapews, GaXr dua TH T™ PWTOV ev orvyous yevérOat, Tov Anpocbevous evdds emXelpet Tots ToNEpLIOLS KENEVOVT OS Kat TO TAXLITD TOV KLVOUYwV mept TOU TAVTOS Svayavicapévous €Xeiy Lupaxovcas 7 n amon help olxade, deiaas Kal Gavpacas THY oguTHTA Kat TONMAY €d€iTO pndev dmreyvig LEVOS ™ par rely pnde dvonTos. THY yap tpiBny elvaz Kara 7 ov TONELLOY oure xpnwata KEKTNMEVOY ETL, pLNTE TOV TUP BX OV avTots TmoNvv Xpovov TapapevouvTmy, EL be Ori Bowvto Tais atropiats, Tayv madw én’ adtov én cup Baceis TPAT NT OMEVOD, QS T poTepov. Kal yap noay avopes ovK OALyoL TOY ey Lupaxoveass dia-

eyouevor Ta Nixia Kpuga Kat péverv KedEvOVTES,
@s Kab viv UrrEpTOvouvyTsov TO TONED Kal Tov
Tuderrov Bapuvopevev, dap 8é pcx pov émiTelver-
ou at avayKat, TavraTacw dm ayopEevtorT@v.
toutwy o Nixias Ta pev aiveTTOMEVOS, 7a. 5° ov
Oédwv ev parepe@ devyety, dtorpias TApeTXE | Tots
oT parnyous bo£ar, Kat TadT exeiva Twadw Hew
pacKovTes avTou, HENAN HATA Kau diatpiBas Kat
axptBoroyias, ais am@Xeoe THY aK ovK evdus
EmLyelpw@v TOS TOAEMLOLS, GAN' EWAOS K@L KaTA-
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of his arms and the insignia of his triremes and the multitude of his coxwains and pipers, he made a spectacular display, and one which smote the enemy with dismay. Again, then, as was natural, fear reigned among the Syracusans. They saw before them no final release from their perils, but only useless toils and vain self-destruction.

But the joy of Nicias at the presence of this fresh force was not long lived. Nay, at the very first council of war, when Demosthenes urged an imme- diate attack upon the enemy, a settlement of the whole struggle by the speediest hazard, and either the capture of Syracuse or else a return home, he was in fearful amaze at such aggressive daring, and begged that nothing be done rashly or foolishly. Delay, he said, was sure to work against the enemy ; they no longer had money to spend, and their allies would not longer stand by them ; let them only be really distressed by the straits they were in, and they would soon come to him again for terms, as they had done before. For not a few of the men of Syracuse were in secret communication with Nicias. They urged him to bide his time, on the ground that even now they were worn out by the war and weary of Gylippus, and that if their necessities should but increase a little, they would give over altogether. At some of these matters Nicias could only hint darkly, of others he was unwilling to speak in public, and so he made the generals think him cowardly. It was the same old story over again with him, they would say,—delays, postponements, and _hairsplitting distinctions; he had already for- feited the golden moment by not attacking the enemy at once, but rather going stale and winning

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6

hpovovpevos, TH AnpooOéver mpocetiOevto. Kato
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Nexias porrs suvexopynoev éxBiacGeis.

ad N \ \ \ ? \ e
Ottw 6) Tv wetnv ctpatiav davaraBov o
Anpocbévns vuxtos érexeipet tais “EarimoXats:
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piwmy amékteve, Tovs 6 dpvvopevous étpévyato.
“ ? /
Kal KpAT@Y OvK EpErev, UXN EYwpPEL TPoTwTépw,
pexpt ov tois Botwtots evétvye. mpator yap
\ ,
ovToL cuaTpeayTes EavTovs Kat ovvdpapovTes
/ a /
eis tovs "A@nraiovs évavtiots Tots Sopact peta
a 97 \ \ ? “ 4
Bons éwoavto Kat ToAXXNovsS auTov KaTéBanrov.
> + ‘ a , Mi. @ , \
dc: ddXov b€ TOD oTpaTevpaTos EvOUS HY Tr0la Kal
Tapay), Kat ToD hevyovTos On KaTAT UT Ad pEvoY
~ ~ Q
TO ETL VIKOY, KAL TO ewLBaivoy Kat Tpoc hEepopevov
bro Tav mrehoSnuévwy avaxoTToOuEevoy €avT@
‘ sf 97
MEPLEWLTTE, TOUS mEev HevyovTas olopevoy Si@xKey,
an Ld f \
trois 5é€ pirors ws TorELLOLS YPwpEvov. 1 ‘yap
a“ \ 4
ataxtos avamkis év tTavtT@® peta gdoBov Kai
ayvoias, Kal TO THS OWews aTtaTOV Ev VUKTL [1/TE
/ v 4 “ > 4 , ? 3
oKOTOS aKpaTtov pve Pas eyovan BEeSarov, arr
/ / \
olay €iKos On KaTadepowéevns cernYNsS Kal Trept-
oxiatomerns OmAOLS TOAXOIS KAL TWpact KLvOUME-
nw “ \ ,
vous Sta TOV Hwtos p17) h:acagovaav Ta eidn PoBo
Tov ToAEuiov Kal TO oiKEtov ToLEty UVTOTTOD, Ets
’ , \
Servas amopias Kal wepimetetas Kabiatn Tovs
’ f ad f \ \ t
A@nvaiovs. Ervyov b€ ws Kai THY ceErAVNY
% a“ \
éxyovtes Oma Bev" d0ev avTol pev avTots Tas cKIAS
\ A ~
émiBurdrovtes aTéxpuTTov TO TAOS TOV OTrAWY
, \ ’ e Y

Kal THY NapTpoTyTa, Tous 8 évavtiouvs o Tpos THY
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NICIAS

their contempt. So they sided with Demcsthenes,
and Nicias, with great reluctance, was forced to
yield.
Therefore, Demosthenes, with the infantry, made a night attack upon Epipolae. He took some of the enemy by surprise, and slew them; others, who tried to make a stand, he routed. Victorious, he did not halt, but pressed on farther, until he fell in with the Boeotians. These were the first of the enemy to form in battle array, and dashing upon the Athenians with spears at rest and with loud shouts, they repulsed them and slew many of them there. Through the whole army of attack there was at once panie and confusion. The part that was still pressing on victoriously was presently choked up with the part that fled, and the part that was yet eoming up to the attack was beaten back by the panie-stricken and fell foul of itself, supposing that the fugitives were pursuers, and treating friends as foes. Their huddling together in fear and ignorance, and the deecitfulness of their vision, plunged the Athenians into terrible perplexities and disasters. For the night was one which afforded neither absolute darkness nor a steady light. The moon was low on the horizon, and was partially obscured by the numeious armed figures moving to and fro in her light, and so she naturally made even friends mutually suspicious through fear of foes, by not distinguishing their forms clearly. Besides, it somehow happened that the Athenians had the moon at their backs, so that they cast their shadows on their own men in front of them, and thus obscured their number and the brilliancy of their weapons ; while in the case of the enemy, the reflection of the moon upon their

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a ‘\ ?
cEeAnVNY TOY doTOwY aVvTLpwTLT MOS TOAV TAELO-
ra 4
vas opacOat cal Aautporépous érrotec.
Ty * \ 40 9 a e 9 ‘6

Téros 6€ mavrayobev avtois, ws évédocar,
T POTKELMEVOV TOV TOAELLMY HEeVyovTeEs ol MEY UT’
3 f e >] e b 3 / > / e \
Exetvwv, ol & UT GAAnAWY aTréOvncKoY, ol 5é
KaTa TOY Kpnpvav ortcOaivoytes: Tos 8 atrocKe-
dacbévtas Kal mAavwpEévoUS IMépas erUyEevomEerNs
€ ¢ a , / 9 /
ol immeis KaTarapBavovtes duepOecpov. éryévovTo
dé vexpot SitytrLol, Kal TMV TrEpLyevopéeveay OALYoL
ETA TOV OTAWY ATETWONGAY.
XXII. ‘O pév ody Nixias wAnyels ovK atpoo-

SoxnTws 7TtaTo TOU Anpoabévous Thy TpoTéTElay:
éxetvos 6€ Trept TOUTwWY aTOAOYNnodpeEvos exéXevoEV
b) a ‘ / ed \ ¥ > f
aTroTTNELY THY TAXLTTHY’ OUTE yap ardAnV adik-
A \ a “A
eoOat Suva avtois, oT’ amo Tis Tapovans TaV
/ a tad a
TOMEpLLWY KpaTely, OToV ye Kal KpaTovVTas éxel-
vov éoe. peTactivar Kal puyety 7d ywpiov, dei
peév, ws TuvOdvortat, Bapv Kai voow@des by atpa-
, a 3 ¢ f \ \ \ Lad
ToTéOw, vv 6, ws Br€rrovat, Kal dia THY Bpav
? 4 f \ nd e 3 4 \ \
OEP ptovy. peTOTMpoU yap iy) apy Kal TOAXOL
\ 5 /, bd , ‘3 4
pev noGévovuy Hen, waves b€ jOvmouv.
a F: aA
‘O b€ Nexias yareras ijxove thy puynv Kat
Tov amroTNouY, ov TO wy Sediévat Tos Xuvpaxov-
gious, dAXAa TO padAOv Tovs "APnralouvs Kal Tas
éxetvwy dixas Kai cuxopavtias hoBetabar. Servov
\ @ > \ 3 s a ww 9
Hey ovy ovdey avtTole wpocboxay épacker, ei &e
, A e a Q ¢ X “A 4
sup Bain, padrov atpetabat Tov LTO TOV TOAELLOV
Gavatov 1) Tov UTO THY ToALT@Y, OvY SpoLa

shields made them seem far more numerous than they really were, and more resplendent to the eye.
Finally, when the Athenians gave ground, the enemy attacked them on all sides and put them to flight. Some of them died at the hands of their pursuers, others by one another’s hands, and others still by plunging down the cliffs. The scattered and wandering fugitives, when day came, were overtaken and cut to pieces by the enemy’s horsemen. The dead amounted in all to two thousand; and of the survivors, few saved their armour with their lives.

XXII. Nicias, accordingly, was overcome by this disaster, though it did not take him wholly by surprise, and he accused Demosthenes of rashness. Demosthenes defended himself on this score, and then urged that they sail away as soon as they could. No other force would come to their aid, he declared, and with the one they had they could not finally master the enemy, since, even if they were victorious in battle, they would be forced to change their base and abandon their present position ; this was always, as they heard, a grievous and unwholesome spot for encampment, and now particularly, as they saw, it was actually deadly on account of the season of the year. For it was the beginning of autumn; many were sick already, and all were in low spirits.

But Nicias could not bear to hear of sailing off in flight, not because he had no fear of the Syracusans, but because he was more afraid of the Athenians with their prosecutions and denunciations. Nothing dreadful, he would say, was to be expected where they were, and even if the worst should come, he chose rather to die at the hands of his enemies than at the hands of his fellow citizens. In this he was

aA ed e A 4 9 \
ppovav ols vatepov o Bulavtios Aéwv ele mpos
A e a , '6c a \ > ww
TOUS €QUTOU TOALTAS' BovrAopat yap, épn,
Aa b] aA ¢ A "a
"wardrov vd vyov H pel' buoy amobarveiy'
TWepl wévToL TOTOV Kal ywpas eis Iv petatadEovar
' ' ? ' e ,
TO otpatoredov, BovrevoecOar nal hovyiay.
A ? 3 A 4 e \ / 3 '
tavta 5 avtov A€yovTos o pev AnpooBévns ovdé
Th TpoTépa yvwpy Katevtvynoas eravaato
, : "A > A , XN 4,
Bialopevos, tots 8 adrows Tapéoye Tov Nixiav
TpocooKOVvTa Kal TiaTEvoVTAa Tois Erdov OUTS
éppoméevws avapdyerOas trepl THs aTroBdcews: S10
Kal cuvexwpnoav. ws pévtot oTpatTia Lupaxov-
aiois énmAOev GAXAN KAaL pLadrXOY HrteTO TAV
bf , e 4 4 \ a 7 , ,
AOnvaiwv 7 vocos, 6n Kal T@ Nixia ovvedoxe
peSiactacbat, Kai mapnyyere TOs oTpaTLWTALS
a ,
EVTpETrEls Elva TPOS aTOTAOUY.
XXNIIT. SOs & Fy Eronpa tadta wavra Kal ToD
' > ' ' ef \ '
modepioy ovdcis trapepurattev, te 1) 1
apoadoxwvtwy, éEedeTTEv 1) GEXTVN THS VvUKTOS,
'4 td " Df 4 \ "A v nn e Q
péya Séos tH Nikia nat Tov adAdAwWY ToOiS VITO
atretpias 7) Seotdaitovias eéxtreT@ANypEvolts TA
a A /
ToLauTa. TOU pevy yap Alov THY Trepl Tas
TPLAKAOAS ETLTKOTHOL ALBS ye Tws Ndn cuvEedpo-
e ' "A '
vouv Kal ol TOAXOL yevouévny UTO THS TErVNS

auTay dé THY TEANnVHY, OTiVt DUVTUYYaVoVCa Kai
A > , ? cA ‘\ a ? ’
TOS aipvidsoy €x TavaEeAnvouv TO PWS auTOrAAVCEL
Kal ypoas inot mavtodatds, ov padiov Av
KataraBeiv, adr dAXOKoTOY <yodVvTO Kal mWpO
nw “A ‘
Guudopo@v Tivwy peydrwy &x Geod yivopevor
US [LELOV.
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not like-minded with Leon of Byzantium, who, at a later time,! said to his fellow citizens: “I would rather be put to death by you than with you.” However, regarding the exact spot to which they should remove their camp, Nicias said they would deliberate at their leisure. Thereupon Demosthenes, who had not’ been successful in_ his previous plan, ceased trying to carry his point, and so led the rest of the generals to believe that Nicias must have confident expectations from his correspondents in the city in making such a sturdy fight against the proposed retreat; they therefore sided with him. However, a fresh army came to the aid of the Syracusans, and sickness kept spreading among the Athenians, so that at last Nicias also decided in favour of a change of base, and ordered the soldiers to hold themselves in readiness to sail away.

XXIII. But just as everything was prepared for this and none of the enemy were on the watch, since they did not expect the move at all, there came an eclipse of the moon by night. This was a great terror to Nicias and all those who were ignorant or superstitious enough to quake at sucha sight. The obscuration of the sun towards the end of the month was already understood, even by the common folk, as caused somehow or other by the moon ; but what it was that the moon encountered, and how, being at the full, she should on a sudden lose her light and emit all sorts of colours, this was no easy thing to comprehend. Men thought it uncanny,—a sign sent from God in advance of divers great calamities.

1 Perhaps in 340 B.c., when Philip of Macedon was besieging Byzantium, Leon was a rhetorician and historian.
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¢ ‘ “a / , tA A
O yap mpatos cadéotatoy te Tavtwy Kal
Oapparewtatov rept ceAnYNS KaTaAVYaoMeY Kal
a , > \ 4 ? ,
TKLaS AOYoV Els ypadyny catabépevos ’AvaEayopas
oT’ avTOs WY TradaLos OUTE O XOYOS évdoEos, ANN’
? , wv ‘ Py > 3 4 \ 3 b 4
amoppntos Ett Kal oe OALywv Kal pet evrAaBeEias
A a , , > \ bf 4
Tivos 4 tmiatews Badifwv. ov yap nvetyovTo
\ \ 4 U
TOUS duaixovs Kal peTewpodéo yas TOTE KaNov-
pévous, ws els aitias addoyous Kal Ssuvdpers
aTpovontovs Kal Katnvayxacpéva maby b1a-
TpiBovtas To Oeiov, adda Kal IIpwrayopas épuye,
xat Avakayopav eipxPévta poris TepieTrolncaro
Ilepixrtjs, xal Lwxpatns, ovdéy ad’t@ TaV YE
TOLOUTWY ToT ijKoV, Guws amwrcto dia Pirocodiav.
owe & 4 Wddtavos éxrdpyaca Sofa bia tov
Biov rod avdpos, kal Ott tais Oeiats Kal Kuplo-
tépais apxais vrérake tas guotxas avayKas, 539

a ~ , “a
adeire THY TOV NO'YWV tovtwy diaBornv, Kal Tois
pabrnpaciw eis atavtas odov évédwxev. oO yodv
e “a] “a ‘4 x A U v bd
ETaipos avtov Aiwy, cad ov ypovov ewedrev apas
éx ZaxvvGouv mrciv emt Arovuciov, éxdAttovans
a ,] \ A ? 4 \
Ths «aEeAnvns, ovdey StatapayOeis avnxOn, Kal
\ 3 f 9g / \ 4
Katacyov év Lupaxovaas eEeBare tov tTupav-
vov.
a , , , , . ,

To pevtot Nixig ouynvéxOn tote pnde pavrey
ww ww e , 9 nm
Exe Eutrepov: o yap svv7iO8ns avTov Kal TO TOND
Tis Secordatpovias adaipav XTiABidyns ereOvyKe
2G0

—

NICIAS

The first man to put in writing the clearest and boldest of all doctrines about the changing phases of the moon was Anaxagoras. But he was no ancient authority, nor was his doctrine in high repute. It was still under seal of secrecy, and made its way slowly among a few only, who received it with a certain caution rather than with implicit confidence. Men could not abide the natural philosophers and ‘visionaries,’ as they were then called, for that they reduced the divine agency down to irrational causes, blind forces, and necessary incidents. Even Protagoras had to go into exile,! Anaxagoras was with difficulty rescued from imprisonment by Pericles,? and Socrates, though he had nothing whatever to do with such matters, nevertheless lost his life ? because of philosophy. It was not until later times that the radiant repute of Plato, because of the life the man led, and because he subjected the compulsions of the physical world to divine and more sovereign principles, took away the obloquy of such doctrines as these, and gave their science free course among all men. At any rate, his friend Dion, although the moon suffered an eclipse at the time when he was about to set out from Zacynthus on_ his voyage against Dionysius, was in no wise disturbed, but put to sea, landed at Syracuse, and drove out the tyrant.*

However, it was the lot of Nicias at this time to be without even a soothsayer who was expert. The one who had been his associate, and who used to set him free from most of his superstition, Stilbides, had

1 Not far from 411 B.c.
2 About 432 B.c. See the Pericles, xxxii. 3.
3 In the spring of 399 B.c.
* In 357 B.c. See the Dion, xxiv.

to

‘ 4 > . \ A o U
pixpov Eutrpoobev, érel to onjtetov, Os dyot Pirc-
xyopos, hevyovaty ov av Tovnpoy, adda Kal Taye
* 3 , ‘ e 8 ‘O /
Vpyotuv' emtixpuews yap at cuv hoSw mpakers
, ‘ \ “ , Ul 3 b ~ »”
déovTat, TO 6é POS TOAEuLOY eoTLY avTAais. aAWS
TE KAL TOY TEpPL HALOV Kal GEA}VHV ETL TpEIS MEepas
émototvta guraxkyny, ws Avtoxreldns dtéypawer
> “ b a“ e \ 7. / LA 4
éy tois eEnyntixots: o b€ Nexias addAnv érretce
oednUns davapévery Tepiodov, waTrep ovK eEvOus
A ene
Oeacdpevos autnvy adamoxabapOeicav, ste Tor
, “~ “~
OKLEPOY TOTOY Kal UTO THS ys avTieppaTTopMevor
mapnrde.

XXIV. Mexpod &€ ravrwy apéuevos Tav GXNwV

w , \ 4 , fed ? a
EOvé Te nal Stepavtevero Kabnpevos, Ews ér7AGov
altois ot ToNéulol, TO pev WEl@ Ta TELyYN Kal TO
4 a“ ~ ~

atTpatoTesoy avtayv tjodtopKovrtes, Tais b€ vavat
? ‘ , f ? 3 N
KUKN@ TOV ALtweva TEptdauPdvovTes, OK avTol
povov Tais Tptnpeciv, adda Kal Ta Traddpia
, “a e a
maviaxyobev ériBaivovta tav adrtadwv Kal tails
, 4 > a A 3
oxadats mpoomdéovta mpovKareito tovs 'AOn-
vaious Kal mpovTnrakiley, ov éva, Taida yvupl-
pov yovéwy, “Hpaxreidnv, mpoeteXucavta To
, “ > \ 7 ,
Troiw vars “Artixn dwwKovca KatedupPave.
Seiaas 8€ rept att@ IlodXtyos o Oeios avteXavve
déxa Tpliypecty wv npxyev- of & arrot TeEpt Tov
IlovAtyou PofnGévtes waavtws avyyorto. Kat
vavpaytas inyupas yevopévns évixnoav oi Lupce
? A * ’ , a“ >
Kovatol, Kat Toy Evpupédovta modA@y pet adAwv
dep Getpav.
"IIy obv otxéte pévery avacyera 'AOnvaiots,

died a short time before. For indeed the sign from Heaven, as Philochorus observed, was not an obnoxious one to fugitives, but rather very propitious ; concealment is just what deeds of fear need, whereas light is an enemy to them. And besides, men were wont to be on their guard against portents of sun and moon for three days only, as Autocleides has remarked in his “ Exegetics’’; but Nicias persuaded the Athenians to wait for another full period of the moon, as if, forsooth, he did not see that the planet was restored to purity and splendour just as soon as she had passed beyond the region which was dark- ened and obscured by the earth.

XXIV. Abandoning almost everything else, Nicias lay there sacrificing and divining until the enemy came up against him. With their land forces they laid siege to his walls and camp, and with their fleet they took possession of the harbour round about. Not only the men of Syracuse in their triremes, but even the striplings, on board of fishing smacks and skiffs, sailed up from every side with challenges and insults for the Athenians. To one of these, a boy of noble parentage, Heracleides by name, who had driven his boat

well on before the rest, an Attic ship gave chase, and was like to capture him. But the boy’s uncle, Pollichus, concerned for his safety, rowed out to his defence with the ten triremes which were under his orders, and then the other commanders, fearing in turn for the safety of Pollichus, likewise put out for the scene of action. A fierce sea fight was thus brought on, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and slew Eurymedon along with many others.

Accordingly the Athenians could no longer endure

~~

GANG TOV TpaTHYaY KaTeBowy TelH KEeNEVOVTES
nA \
dvaywpely. Kal yap of Lvpaxova.ot vixnoavtes
evOus évédpakav nal diéxdNercoav tov Sréxtrdovv
A , a)
TOU Aiuévos. ot b€ tept Tov Nixiav TovtTo pev
’ > , ‘ \ ® ’ A e ,
ovx émeiovro: detvov yap nv amoAtTety OAKadaS
\ \ 4 3 7 ? “A /
TE TOAAAS Kal TPLNpELG OALYOV apLEU@ Staxociov
»] 4 > a, \ nw La) ‘
atrodeovaas’ éuBiSdcavtes 5€ Tav TelaVv Tors
aplaoTOUS Kal TOV AKOVTLATa@V TOUS GAKLMwWTATOUS
émAnpwoayv éxatov Kal Séxa Tpinpetss al yap
a a“ \
dda Tapoay evdects Hoav. tov dé Novrov dyAov
v \ , ¢ eg ’ \ \
Eatnae Tapa Odracaayv o Nixtas, éxAtTr@v TO
\
péya otpatoresov Kai Ta TELyYn Ta GUVaTTOVTA
mpos To HpaxXeov, aote pty TeEOvKOTM@Y THY
? / f a ¢ na ral ,
elOrapévny Ouciav T@ Hpakdet tov Xvpaxoveiwr,
Pica. TOTE TOUS Lepeis Kal aTpaTnyoUs avaBavTas
HON TANPOULEVWY TOV TPLIPwD.
XXV. "Ewet & of padvrets tots LZupaxovatots
annyyerav éx TOY lep@v NauTpOTHTA Kal viKny
?
pn KaTapyopevols payns, GX dapvvopévots (xai
a 4
yap tov ‘Hpaxdéa wavtwy xpateiy apuvopevov

tf
Kal TpoeTtyetpovpevor), avnxOnoayv.
s
‘H 6é vaupayia ToAD peyioTn Kal KapTepw-
TaTN yevouevn, Kat pndev éXaTTOva TdOn Kal
OopvBouvs trapacxyovoa tots Pewpévois % Tots
? , \ ‘ \ ? , a“
aywovtonevors Oia TtHv Tavtos é7i Brew Tov
Epyou Totxitas petaBoras Kal atpoaSoxiyrous év
bd f , wv a“ ? al
odty@~ AauBavovTos, EBAaTTE Tals avT@Y Tapa-
a “~ s
oKxevals ovy TTOY TMY TOAELiWY TOUS "APnvatous.
“ ‘4
aOpoats yap éuaxovto Tais vavot nat Bapetats

to remain there, but cried out loudly upon their generals and bade them withdraw by land; for the Syracusans, immediately after their victory, had blocked up and shut off the mouth of the harbour. But Nicias could not consent to this. He said it would be a terrible thing to abandon so many trans-
_ ports, and triremes almost two hundred in number. So he embarked the best of his infantry and the most efficient of his javelineers to man a hundred and ten triremes; the rest lacked oars. Then he stationed the remainder of his army along the shore of the harbour, abandoning his main camp and the walls which connected it with the Heracleum. And so it was that the Syracusans, who had so long been unable to offer their customary sacrifice to Heracles, offered it then, priests and generals going up to the temple for this purpose while their triremes were a-manning.

XXV. Presently their diviners announced to the Syracusans that the sacrifices indicated a splendid victory for them if only they did not begin the fight- ing, but acted on the defensive. Heracles also, they said, always won the day because he acted on the defensive and suffered himself to be attacked first. Thus encouraged, they put out from shore.

This proved the greatest and hottest sea fight they had yet made, and roused as many tumultuous emotions in those who were mere spectators as in those who did the fighting, because the whole action was in plain sight, and took on shifts and turns which were varied, unexpected, and sudden. Their own equipment wrought the Athenians no less harm than did that of their enemy; for they fought against light

and nimble ships, which bore down upon them

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Tpos Koudas adrayoev arAXrasS emihepopueévas, Kal
f , e , Ww A A
BadXdopevor riBots opoiay Exovot THY TWANYHY
U 9 , b Ud \ ?
mavray obey avtéBarhov aKovTtots Kal Tofevpacw,
@V 0 TuXO0S THY evOuBoriay StéaTpepev, MOTE pn
TadvTa Kat alypny mpoodépecbat. raita
“Apiatwv o KopivOcas xuBepyntns ébidake rots
Lupaxovaious, cal Tapa THY paxnv avTHY aywu-
Comevos mpoOupws erecevy bn KpatovytTav Tay
Lupakovatwv.
Tevopuérvns € peyddns tpor7ns Kal POopas,

\ 4 , Q a b , »
pev Kata Odraacav gduyn trois "AOnvaios aro-
KéxoTTTo yaremny b€ Kal dia yRs THY cwTnpiay
OpavTes ore vads adéAKovtas éyyvOev ETL TOS
ToNELioUS EXWAVOV OUTE VEKPHY TNTAY dvalpeaw,
ate 69 Tihs éxeivwy atadgias Tiyv TeV .vocobvTwY
Kal .TETPwWLEévWY aTrOAELLY OixTpoTépay ovaaV
wv ‘\ 3 “a WwW e A . 3 ,
non po opParpav Eyovtes, avtous b€ Kaxelvwv
, a
ETLTOVWTEPOUS NYOUMEVOL, PETA TAELOVWY KAK@V
émi TaUTO TavTws adiEopévous TENS.
XXXVI. ‘Oppynpévoy 8 attav amaipav ba

dé e “A
VUKTOS ot pevy epi tov T'vAiTTov, opwvtes ev
Ovaiats xal toto Tovs Supaxovatous dra re THY
vixny Kal Thy éoptiyv dvTas, OUTE TeicEV OvTE
Biacecbat tpocedoxwy avactavtas 16n mpordé-
pecOat tots Todeuions atiodawy, “Eppoxparns 8&
autos ag’ éavtod aurbels ert rov Nixiav avarnp,
eTeuye Tivas TMV ETAIpwY TpOS avTOY, aT éxei-
VwV peEV Kev TOV avdpwv dagKovTas, ol Kal mpd-
>? ¢ a ba , ,
tepov eiwbecav xpupa 7T@ Nexia drareyeoOat,
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from different directions at once, while their own were heavy and clumsy and all] crowded together. Besides, they were bombarded with stones, whose blow is just as effective however they light ; whereas they could only reply with javelins and arrows, whose proper cast was disturbed by the tossing water, so that they did not all fly head on to their mark. This method of fighting was taught the Syracusans by Ariston the Corinthian captain, who fought zealously while the battle lasted, only to fall just as the Syracusans were victorious.

The Athenians suffered such great rout and loss that they were cut off from flight by sea. Even by land they saw that their salvation was a difficult matter, so that they neither tried to hinder the enemy from towing away their ships under their very eyes, nor did they ask the privilege of taking up their dead. These, forsooth, could go unburied ; the survivors were confronted with a more pitiful sight in the abandonment of their sick and wounded, and thought themselves more wretched still than their dead, since they were sure to come with more sorrows than they to the same end after all.

XXVI. They purposed to set out during the night, and Gylippus, who saw that the Syracusans were given over to sacrificial revels because of their victory and their festival of Heracles, despaired of persuad- ing or compelling them to rise up from their pleasures at once and attack their enemy as he departed. But Hermocrates, all on his own account, concocted a trick to put upon Nicias, and sent certain com- panions to him with assurances that they were come from those men who before this had often held secret conferences with him. They advised Nicias not to

TapaivovvTas dé yn TwopeverOae dra THs VUKTOS,
os Tov Lupakoucion évédpas TEeToLnLévarv avTois
Kat T POKATEXOVTOY TAS Tapdcous. TOUT@ dé
Kataatpatnyniels o Nixias vméuevev a srevdes
édercev UTTO TOV ToRepwieoy arnbas waleiv.
mpoerBovres yap ay TPEPD TAS dvaxwpias TOV
obay xaTéraBov kai tas SuaBdoers TOY TOTA Bay
ameTelxioay Tas Te yehupas améxoway, évp &€
Tois oparois Kal Tedivois Tovs tttreis érafay,
OOTE pndéva AeretpOat Tois ‘AOPnvators tomov
dpayel poe Geiv.
Ou b¢ Kal THY pe pa exelyny Kal THY vUKTA
THY éTépav émepelvavTes em opevovTo Kravd ug
Kal odopuppa, kabaTep ex maTpoos, ov TONEMLAS,
ayia TAPEVOL, dia Tas amopias TOV avaryeatoy

kal Tas aTodeies Tov advvadtov dirwv kal
cuviOwv, Gums Ta mapovTa Kaka KOUPOTEpa TAY
T po doxwpevev vouitovTes elvat. TOAK@Y b€
eva év TO TTPATOT Ede haivopévav, ovdey tv
ole poTepov avtov Nixiov @Oéapa, KEKAKWMEVOU
pev bro THIS dabeveias, cuvEerTarpevov dé map'
akiav Els dvayKaiav Siavtav nat ta pexporata
Tav épodtwv ets TO Cpa TONY dua THY vooov
Seopevov, T paTTovTos dé per' dppwotias Kat
KAPTEPOUVTOS & mTodXOl TOY Eppopevay Hors
UmewEvor, Katahavous é maou ovTos ov dt' avrov
ovee T@ prrowuxew TOLS Trovats EUPEVOVTOS, andra
be' éxelvous THY €ATiCa py Tpoiepevov. kal yap
ets. daxpua Kal dduppovs TOV adov vo hofou
Kal AuTeNS TpETrOMEveon, € exetvos, el TOTE Brac bein
TOUTO Totiaal, SHrOS Hv TO aLaxXpov Kal TO aKreEés
298

set out during the night, inasmuch as the Syracusans had laid snares for him and preoccupied the ways of escape. Nicias was completely outgeneralled by this trick, and so ended by suffering in very truth at the hands of his enemies what their lies had made him fear. For the Syracusans set forth at break of day, occupied the difficult points in the roads, fortified the river fords, cut away the bridges, and posted their cavalry in the smooth open spaces, so that no spot was left where the Athenians could go forward without fighting.

They waited therefore all that day and the follow- ing night, and then set out, for all the world as though they were quitting thcir native city and not an enemy's country, with wailings and lamentations at their lack of the necessaries of life and their enforced abandonment of helpless friends and com- rades. And yet they regarded these present sorrows as lighter than those which they must expect to come. Many were the fearful scenes in the camp, but the most pitiful sight of all was Nicias himself, undone by his sickness, and reduced, as he little deserved, to a scanty diet, and to the smallest supply of those personal comforts whereof he stood so much in need because of his disease. And yet, for all his weakness, he persisted in doing what many of the strong could barely endure, and all saw plainly that it was not for his own sake or for any mere love of life that he was faithful to his tasks, but that for their sakes he would not give up hope. The rest, for very fear and distress, had recourse to lamenta- tions and tears; but whenever he was driven to this pass, it was plainly because he was contrasting the shameful dishonour to which his expedition had now

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THS oTpatelas avaroyilopevos mpos TO péeyeOos

\ ‘\ U ? ” v4
cal Thy do-av wv HATE KaTOpOwcetv.
Od povoyv & avtod thy ovev opwvtes, ddA Kab
TOV AOYwV pYnuovevovTEs Kal THY Trapatvéoewn
a b] , f ‘ wv v ~
as €TolnaaTo KwWAUwWY TOV ExTrAOUY, ETL paddov
évopitov dvatiws TtaXaiTwpeiv: Kal mpos Tas éx«
Oeav érmidas advpws eiyov, évvoodytes ws avnp
‘ \ ‘ ‘ 4 ,
Ocodirns Kal ToAXAa Kai peydda AapTpUVapEVvOS
\ \ ” 3 ‘ 3 ? if nw
Tpos TO Geiov ovderos ErielKegTEpa TUYN KpHTat
~ 9 ”~ , \

TOV KaKioTwWY év TO OTPATEvpAaTL Kal TaTrELVO-
TATOWV.
XXVIT. OF pny GAN 6 ye Nixias érrecpato
Kal dwvn Kal Tpocwmw Kai SeEiwoe xpeitTwv
opacbat Tov Savav. Kai mapa wacav ye THv
, 9s? ¢ , 3 \ ,
Topetav ef iyuépas oxt@ Baddopevos Kal Tpav-
patelopevos UTO TOV TOAELLWY AATTNTOV EPUAATTE
‘ A 3 wn“ iA td ? 4 os
THY avy avT@ Ovvamty, aypt ov Anpocbévns éEarw
Kal TO pet éxeivou otpatevpa, mept tHv ToAv-
4 3 N ? ~ f A. he 4,

CyAeov avrAny ev To StapayeoOat Kai UroXeire-
f 3 ‘ \ f ,
cba xuerwbév. avros &€ Anyoolévns craca-
N 4 wv \ e , 9 ‘ 3 ,
peevos TO Eidos ErAnEe pév eautov, ov pny aré-
“ s
Oave, Taxv Tav TodEuiwy TeptayovTwy Kal
aurraBovtwr avTov.
‘Os 6€ 7@ Nixta tpoceddocavtes efpalor oi
Supaxovetot Kal wéuas imméas Eyvw Thy éxeivov
Tov oTpaTevuaTos adwou, nEtov amE.cacGat pos
Q "n , wv 9 fa N >] , 9
Tov Tvrummov, ows ada@at tors ’APnvaious éx
“” ¢ ¢ wn
RuxeAias dunpa RAaBovTes vTEP TaY Xpnuatov
6ca Xvpaxovaios aGvdAwTo wpos TOV ToAEpLOV.
300

come with the great and giorious successes which he had hoped to achieve.
Besides, it was not merely the sight of him now, but also the memor y of the arguments and exhortations with which he had once tried to prevent the sailing of the expedition, that led men to think him all the more unworthy to suffer such hardships now ; and they had no courage to hope for aid from the gods when they reflected that a man so devout as he, and one who had performed so many great and splendid religious services, now met with no seemlier fortune than the basest and most obscure man in his army.
XXVII. However, it was this very Nicias who tried, both by words and looks and kindly manner, to show himself superior to his dreadful lot. And during all the march which he conducted for eight successive days,! though suffering from the missiles of the enemy, he yet succeeded in keeping his own forces from defeat, until Demosthenes and his detachment of the army were captured. These fell behind as they fought their way along, and were surrounded on the homestead of Polyzelus. Demosthenes himself drew his sword and gave himself a thrust; he did not, however, succeed in killing himself, since the enemy quickly closed in upon him and seized him.
When the Syracusans rode up and told Nicias of this disaster, he first sent horsemen to make certain that the force of Demosthenes was really taken, and then proposed to Gylippus a truce permitting the Athenians to depart from Sicily after giving hostages to the Syracusans for all the moneys which they had

4 Minutely described, day by day, in Thue. vii. 78-85.
301
3

a

oi & ov mpoceixov, d\Aa pos UBpw Kal pet

opyns atrethobyTes Kal Aowdopovvtes EBadXov Hdy
mivrwy évde@s EXOVTA TOV avayKaiwy. ov pHv
anra Kal THY VUKTA dtexaptepyce Kal THY eT L-
ovaay uépav T pojet Bardopevos T pos TOV
‘Agivapov TOT apov. éxel S€ TOUS MeV OL TONE MLOL
TUVEVEYKOVTES evécettay els TO petOpov, ot be
pOdvovtes wb7r0 dixfous eppim Tov EQuTOUS* Kai
TrELTTOS EvTAava Hopos mv Kal a @LOTaTOS év TH
TOTAP@ mivovTwv aya cal aparTouevwn, ay pt
Nixias Pvvirarw T poor ET wY elTrey" ‘"EXe0s
vpas, a Tudenme, AaBETw viKwrTas, epOU pev
pnoeis, 6 os emt THALKAUTALS evTuxiacs ovopa Kal
dofav EaXOn, TOY 8 adhov ‘AOnvaten, évvon-
evtas OTL Kotval pev at TUXaL Tob TONE HOU,
pet pias 6 avrais Kal T paws expncavto ép ols
EVTUYOUV "AOnvator 7 pos vpas.”
Tovadra TOU Nextov AéyovTos émade pev TL Ka
mpos THv Owen avrov Kal mpos TOUS ovyous O
Torxurros: moee yap TOUS Aaxedaipovious €U TTé-
mordoras v UT avToU wept TAs yevopevas draduoets:
péya S Hyetto mpos So€ay et Caras arayayot
TOUS GVTLOTPATI}YOUS. 5:0 tov te Nextay avada-
Bav éOdppuve nal tovs adrovs Swrypetv Tapny-
yetre. Bpadéws 8€ Tod TapayyEAwaTos dtixvov-
pévou TOAD Tov ghovevPévTwY EAATTOVES oO
Stacwhévtes eyévovTo: Kaitot TOAKOL StexAaTNG av
UTO TOY OTPATLWTOD.
Tovs 6€ davepas éarwxotas aOpoicavtes Ta
bev KdAXOoTA Kai péeytota Sévdpa TaY Tept Tov
302

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expended on the war. But they would not entertain the proposal. Nay, with insolent rage they reviled and insulted him, and kept pelting him with missiles, destitute as he was of all the necessaries of life. However, through that night and the following day he managed to hold out, and finally came, under constant fire, to the river Asinarus. There some of his men were crowded along by the enemy and thrust into the stream, while others, in advance of pursuit, were impelled by their thirst to cast them- selves in, and an exceeding great and savage carnage raged in the river itself, men being butchered as they drank. At last Nicias fell down at the feet of Gylippus and cried: “ Have pity, Gylippus, now that you are victorious, not on me at all, though my great successes have brought me name and fame, but on the rest of these Athenians. Remember that the fortunes of war are common to all, and that the Athenians, when they were in good fortune, used it with moderation and gentleness toward you.”

So spake Nicias, and Gylippus felt some compunc-

tion, both at the sight of him, and at what he said. For he knew that the Lacedaemonians had been well treated by him when the peace was made, and, besides, he thought it would increase his own fame if he should bring home alive the generals who had opposed him. Therefore he raised Nicias up, gave him words of cheer, and issued command to take the rest of his men alive. But the command made its way slowly along, so that the spared were far fewer than the slain. And yet many were stolen and hidden away by the soldiery.

The public prisoners were collected together, the fairest and tallest trees along the river bank were

‘ 9 4 ’ 4 ,
ToTapov avédnoay aixypyadrwtos mavoTrias,
éotehavapévor 5€ avtol Kal Koopnoayvtes tous!
immous dtatrpeT@s, Keipavtes S€ TOUS TAY ToONE-
piwy elanAavvoy eis THY TOALY, AyOva NauTpoTa-
tov ay’ EXXnves awpos”EXAnvas HywvicayTo Kai
viKnv TeEMEWTaTHY KpaTer TAELaT@ Kal pwn
peyiotn mpobupias Kai adpetis KaTwpOwsores.
XXVIII. ExxrAnoias 6€ ravéypyou Svpaxov-
Giwy Kal TOV oUppaywy yevopérns, Evpuxrjis o
Snpaywyos éypawe Tpwtov pev THY uépav ev 7)
\ ‘4 ¥ e A Ww , 4
tov Nextav édrxaBov, iepav éyev, Ovovtas xa
4 WwW b ‘4 \ e ‘ 3 \
cyoralovtas Epywy, Acivapiav thy éoprny aro
Tov ToTapov KadovyTas’ nuépa 8 Hy rerpas
Pbivovtos tod Kapveiov pnvos, Sv ’A@nvaio
MeraysTvi@va mpocayopevovar' tav & ’A@n-
4 A A > 4 > , \ v
vaiwy Tovs péy oixétas atrodcc Oat Kal Tovs ANNOUS
guppaxous, autous be Kal tots amo LiKerlas
Gpoupeiv éuBSarovtas eis TAS AaTOMIAS, TAY TOV
oTpaTnyor, éxeivous 6é atroxreivat.
Tadta mpocdeyopévwy tTav Lupuxovaiwyr,
‘Eppoxpatns pév eitr@y ott tov wiKay Kpeittov
éoTt TO Kad@s ypnocOar TH vin, ov peTpiws

9 4 , A ‘ 4 “a
€OopvByiOn, TvrAummov 6€ Tovs otpatnyovs tav
9 , b / wn ? “a
A@nvaiwy éEactovpevov Cavras ayayeiy Aaxedat-
poviots UBpilovtes 1)5n Tos evTUYnpacW ot
Lupaxovatot Kxaxe@s Edeyov, adrws TE Kal Tapa
TOY TO\ELOY AUTOD THY TpaxUTNTAa Kal 76 Aaxw-
VUKOY THS ETL TATLAS OD Sadiws evnvoxoTes, ws Se
1 rovs supplied by Coraés and Bekker.

hung with the captured suits of armour, and then the victors crowned themselves with wreaths, adorned their own horses splendidly while they sheared and cropped the horses of their conquered foes, and so marched into the city. They had brought to suc- cessful end a struggle which was the most brilliant ever made by Hellenes against Hellenes, and had won the completest of victories by the most over- whelming and impetuous display of zeal and valour. XXVIII. Ata general assembly of the Syracusans and their allies, Eurycles, the popular leader, brought in a motion, first, that the day on which they had taken Nicias be made a holy day, with sacrifices and abstention from labour, and that the festival be called Asinaria, from the river Asinarus (the day was the twenty-sixth of the month Carneius, which the Athenians call Metageitnion) ; and second, that the serving men of the Athenians and their imme- diate allies be sold into slavery, while the freemen and the Sicilian Hellenes who had joined them be cast into the stone quarries for watch and ward,—all except the generals, who should be put to death. These propositions were adopted by the Syracusans. When Hermocrates protested that there was soime- thing better than victory, to wit, a noble use of victory, he was met with a tumult of disapproval ; and when Gylippus demanded the Athenian generals as his prize, that he might take them alive to the Lacedaemonians, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with their good fortune, abused him roundly. They were the more ready to do this because, all through the war, they had found it hard to put up with his harshness and the Laconian style with which he

Tipatds dna, Kai pixporoyiay tiva Kai mreor- 542

eEiav KaTeyvwKoTEs, appwoTnua TaTpaoV, ep’ ®
N , e ‘ 9 a“ ? e ‘N
cat Knreavdpidns o matnp avtod dwpwyv adous
4 \ ? > , 3 ‘ “ - Ld
Epuye, Kal oUTOS AUTOS, ATO THY YLALwY TaAdYTwY
” b s
& Avcavdpos érepev eis Ladprny vpedropevos
Tpiaxovta Kal xpi was Ud Tov dpodoy TS OiKias,
? , bd , 3 4 bs

eta unvubeis, aioyicta Tavtwy é€émecev. adda
a! A b] A 4 , ” ,
Tadta pev ev T@ Avaodvépov Bim parrAov Eunxpt-
Borat.
AnpocBévny 5& kai Nixiav amroOaveiy Tipacos
bad ¢ \ , ¢
ob dnow tro Xvpaxovoiwy Kerevabévtas, ws
Pidiotos éypawe kat Oovxudidns, add’ ‘Eppoxpa-
Tous Téuwavtos, TL THS EXKANTLAS TUVETTHENS,
\ > e oN a / 4 > A ?
kat d¢ évos tov duvddKwyv Trapévtwy avtous Ot
a a ‘ “
auTayv amoGavelty' Ta pevTOL GWHATA Tpos Tals
munas exBrnbévta xeicGat havepa Tots Seopeérors
tod Oedpatos. muvOavopar Sé péypt viv eév
\ e “a
Svpaxovoats acrida Ketpéevnv mpos tep@ Seixvu-
, A , n 4
aOat, Nixiov pév rAeyouernv, ypuvcod S€é Kal
, > b wv , >
Toppupas ev TwWS Tpos GhAnAa pELlypEvwY de
Ups cvyKexpoTnmevny.
XXIX. Tav 8 ’A@nvaiwy ot pév rAeiotot
v4 “a ,
StepOdpnoay év tais AaTopuiats UO vogov Kal
Siaitns Twovypas, eis Nuépav ExadaTnv KOTUAAS dvO
fa’ ¢ , of > 9 ,
xploav NapBavovtes kal piav bdatos, ovK oréLyot
+ 93 f f a N i e
5 érpadncav d:axXarreévtes 7 Kai duaradovtes ws
oixétat. Kal TOUTOUS ws OiKéTAas ETwAOUY, oTifov-
Tes immo els TO MeTWTOV? GAN Hoav ol Kat TOUTO
Tpos TO SovrEvELY UTOpevovTes.
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NICIAS

exercised his authority. Timaeus says, moreover,
that they denounced his exceeding penuriousness
and avarice,—an inherited infirmity, it would seem,
since his father, Cleandridas, was convicted of taking
bribes and had to flee his country. And Gylippus
himself, for abstracting thirty talents from the
thousand which Lysander had sent to Sparta, and
hiding them in the roof of his house,—as an informer

was prompt to show,—was banished in the deepest
disgrace. But this has been told with more detail
in my Life of Lysander.!
Timaeus denies that Demosthenes and Nicias were put to death by the orders of the Syracusans, as Philistus and Thucydides? state ; but rather, Hermo- crates sent word to them of the decision of the assembly while it was yet in session, and with the connivance of one of their guards they took their own lives. Their bodies, however, he says, were cast out at the prison door, and lay there in plain sight of all who craved the spectacle. And I learn that down to this day there is shown among the treasures of a temple in Syracuse a shield which is said to have been the shield of Nicias. It is a welded mosaic of gold and purple interwoven with rare skill.

XXIX. Most of the Athenians perished in the stone quarries of disease and evil fare, their daily rations being a pint of barley meal and a half-pint of water; but not a few were stolen away and sold into slavery, or succeeded in passing themselves off for serving men. These, when they were sold, were branded in the forehead with the mark of a horse,— yes, there were some freemen who actually suffered this indignity in addition to their servitude.

1 Chapters xvi. f. VIL OU, 2:

3°97
x 2
2

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ee
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

"EBonbec 5€ wal tovtows 4% 7 aide Kal rod
, a \ a ¢
Koopov? 7 yap NrevOEpodvTo TaXéwS F TLLwpeEvot
Tapemevoy Tos KexTnpéevois. Evioe Se nal be
4 ms
Evpimidnv éowOnoav. pdirtata ydp, ws EoLKe, TOV
9 \ ¢€ 4 9 id ; nw Q ~ e
extos EAAnvwy éroOnoav avtov THY povcay ol
S , \ A “ ’ , 4 -
crept LixeNtav> Kal pixpa ToV adixvoupéven éxd-
otrote Seiypata Kal yevpata Koulovtwr éxpay-
OdvovTes GyaTNT@S peTEdiOocav GAANAOLS. TOTE
your dact Tav cwOevTwy oixade avyvols domd-
aacbat tov Evpiridnv dirodpovas, nat Sin-
a 4 4 cd id + , b]
yetaOat Tous pév, Ott Sovrevovtes aheiOnaav exbe-
dafavtes 60a TeV éxeivov ToLnpaTwy éuéuynyTo,
tous 8, OTe WAavwpevoe peta THY payny Tpodhs

oe 4 “a “~ Ld ’ a
xal datos peTéAaBov TaV peXov doavtes. ov Set
57 Oavyatew Ste tovs Kavviovs pact mroiov
, “~ 4 ig \ ,
mpoahepopevou Tols ALpeow VTO AnaoTplowy diw-
4 ‘ , Q a 9 > » ?
Kopévov pn O€xecCat TO TPA@ToV, GAN’ atreipryety,
elta peevtoe StatruvOavopévous ef ytvwoKxovow
a ,
aspata tov Evpuridov, dnodvtwy éxeivwv, ote
Tapeivat Kal Katayayely TO TWAOtOV.
XXX. ’AOnvaiows S€ pact THY cupdhopav ody
4 XN ww ww , s
HKiota ba tov ayyeXov amtatov yevécOatr. Eévos
A e + > \ > al d ,
yap Ts, ws éorxev, atroBas ets Ilecpara nat xali-
> a e ? , w ~ ?
cas ém Koupelorv, ws éyvwxotwyv 6n TOV ’ABn-
vatwy NOyous éroteito Trept TOY yeyovoTwr. o Se
\ ? , \ wv ld Q PS S
xoupevds axovaas, Tp adXous truvOaved Bat, dpoum
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NICIAS

But even these were helped by their restrained
and. decorous bearing; some were speedily set free,
and some remained with their masters in positions of
honour. Some also were saved for the sake of
Euripides. For the Sicilians, it would seem, more
than any other Hellenes outside the home land, had
a yearning fondness for his poetry. They were
forever learning by heart the little specimens and
morsels of it which visitors brought them from time
to time, and imparting them to one another with
fond delight. In the present case, at any rate, they
say that many Athenians who reached home in safety
greeted Euripides with affectionate hearts, and
recounted to him, some that they had been set free
from slavery for rehearsing what they remembered
of his works; and some that when they were roam-
ing about after the final battle they had received
food and drink for singing some of his choral hymns.
Surely, then, one need not wonder at the story that
the Caunians, when a vessel of theirs would have put

in at the harbour of Syracuse to escape pursuit by pirates, were not admitted at first, but kept outside, until, on being asked if they knew any songs of Euripides, they declared that they did indeed, and were for this reason suffered to bring their vessel safely in.

XXX. The Athenians, they say, put no faith in the first tidings of the calamity, most of all because of the messenger who brought them. A certain stranger, as it would seem, landed at the Piraeus, took a seat in a barber's shop, and began to discourse of what had happened as if the Athenians already knew all about it. The barber, on hearing this, before others learned of it, ran at the top of his

, 3 \ ¥ \ \ ~
guvTeivas €l¢ TO aoTU Kat mporBadrewv Tots
w b) \ * F \ > # N s
apyovow evdus Kat ayopay évéBadXe Tov AOyor.
ext@rFews b€ cal Tapayis, ws ElKos, yevouévns, ot
pev apxovTes exKdXHolav cuvayayovTes ela nyayou
Tov avOpwrov: ws & épwrwpevos tap' ob mvbato
cages ovdév elye ppdverv, 50Eas Noyorrotos elvat
Kal TapdTTey THY TOALY, Els TOV TPOXCY KaTADde-
\ 3 nw 4 ' ad bd a e
Geis éotpeBXovTO modXvy yYXpovov, Ews éTHAPOv oi
TO Wav KakOV, ws Elyev, aTayyérXOVTES. ODTH
ports o Nexias émictevOn madwov & moddaKs
AUTOLS WPOELTTEY.
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speed to the upper city, accosted the archons, and at once set the story going in the market place. Consternation and confusion reigned, naturally, and the archons convened an assembly and brought the man before it. But, on being asked from whom he had learned the matter, he was unable to give any clear answer, and so it was decided that he was a story-maker, and was trying to throw the city into an uproar. He was therefore fastened to the wheel and racked a long time, until messengers came with the actual facts of the whole disaster. So hard was it for the Athenians to believe that Nicias had

suffered the fate which he had often foretold to
them.
3rt

CRASSUS

KPA22O2

I. Madpxos 6e Kpdacos tv Tepntexod Kal Sprap- 54
B.ixod Tartpos, erpdgn & év oixia pox pd pera
dvoiv adeAdav. Kal tois dbeXgois avTodD yuvaixes
wn \
Naa €Tt TOV yovéwy CovTwVv, Kal TdvTEs ETL THY
3 \ 3 4 la ad > ° aA
aurny éhoitwy tpatrelay, d0ev ovy ijxiota Soxet
A , \
Kal d.a TOUTO Gwdpwv Kal péTpLos yevérBar TreEpt
thy Statrav. admoOavovros Sé€ Tov éTépov TaD
3 “ “A \ / \ ‘ “ 3
aderhaov TH yuvatxl cuv@Knae Kal Tovs tatédas é&
éxelvns EaXVev, ovdevos TTOV Kal wept tTavTa
‘Popaiwy evtaKTos yevopevos. Kaitot Tpoiwy Kal
HAtKLay aitiay éoye Atxtvvia aovvévat Tar
‘Kotiddwv pid mapbévwv nai dixny epuyev 7
: , E “ P ‘ , 7 ® er 7
Axia Wdewtiov tivas St@xovtos. jv dé mpo-
adateioyv avtTn Karov, 0 BovrAopevos AaBety orLyNS
a ¢ a
Tins o Kpdaaos xal d1a todTo TpocKeipevos ael
a ?
TH yvvatkl Kai Oeparrevwn, els THY UTOWiav éxeiyny
évérrece’ kal TpoTov tTiva TH dioTAoUTia THY
aittay Ths POopas aToAvadpevos UTO Tay diKac-
tay adeiOn. tiv dé Acxwviay ovK avijxe Tpote-
pov) TOU KTMATOS KpaTHoat.
II. ‘Pwpator pév ody A€yovat ToAXdais dpetais
tod Kpdacov xakiav povny émtaxoticat THY
, al
gtrorAovTiav’ EolKe O€ pia Taca@v éppwpevertéepa
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CRASSUS

I. Marcus Crassus was the son of a man who had been censor and had enjoyed a triumph ; but he was reared in a small house with two brothers. His brothers were married while their parents were stil] alive, and all shared the same table, which seems to have been the chief reason why Crassus was temper- ate

and moderate in his manner of life. When one of his brothers died, Crassus took the widow to wife, and had his children by her, and in these relations also he lived as well-ordered a life as any Roman. And yet when he was further on in years, he was accused of criminal intimacy with Licinia, one of the vestal virgins, and Licinia was formally prosecuted by a certain Plotius. Now Licinia was the owner of a pleasant villa in the suburbs which Crassus wished to get at a low price, and it was for this reason that he was forever hovering about the woman and paying his court to her, until he fell under the abominable suspicion. And in a way it was his avarice that absolved him from the charge of corrupting the vestal, and he was acquitted by the judges. But he did not let Licinia go until he had acquired her property.

II. The Romans, it is true, say that the many virtues of Crassus were obscured by his sole vice of avarice; and it is likely that the one vice which

TOV EV AVT@ KAKLMV yevomern Tas GAXaS apaupo-
gat. Texpnpia de THs PtAoTAOUTIas avTOU péeyioTa
TovobvTat TOY Te TpOTOY TOU Toptcpod Kal Tis
ovcias To péyebos. Tplaxociwy yap ov mrelw
KEXTNMEVOS EV APY TadadvTwy, Elita Tapa THY
vTateiav aToOvaas péev TO Hpakrel tiv dexarny
Kat Tov dipov éeaotidcas, Tpeis dé pivas éExdoTw
'Pwpaiwy ovrnpécioy éx Tov alToU Tapacxer,
Sums mpo THS emt LlapGovs otpateias avtos abT@
Géwevos exroytopov Ths ovaias evpev éxaTor
TaddvTwY Tipnua pos EwTakioyxtrlos. TA &é
TA€loTa ToUTwY, Et Set peta BrAacdypias eitreiv
TO adnbés, ex Tupos cuvHyaye Kal Trodé"ov, Tais
Kowais atuxiats mpocddm TH peyiotn xpn-
oApLEVvOS.
"Ote yap SvAras éX@v THY TOALY ew@XEL TAS
ovolas TY aynpnuevwy UT avTov, Aadupa Kai
vouitwv Kal dvopdtwv, cal Bovdopevos Ott met-
oToOWS Kal Kpatiatots Tpocopop~acOat TO ayos,
oUTe AauBavay oT wvovpevos aTreime. pos &é
TOUTOLS Op@Y Tas auyyeEevEets Kal TuVOiKOUS Tis
'Pans Kipas éumpnopovs kat aoumtnoes da
Bdpos cal TAGs oixodopnpatwy, ewvetto SovrAOUS
apyitéxtovas Kal oixoddpmous. elt' Eywy TovTovs
Um@ép mevtaxocious ovtas, eEnyopave Ta Katopeva
Kal yerTvi@vTa Tois Katopévors, da PoBov Kat
adnroTyTa tav Secrotayv am Oorlyns Tits
Tpoicwevwv, @aTe THS Pwuns TO TAEiaTOY Mépos
ir' avT@ yevéoOat. tocovtovs 8 Kextnpévos

became stronger than all the others in him, weakened the rest. The chief proofs of his avarice are found in the way he got his property and in the amount of it. For at the outset he was possessed of not more than three hundred talents ;1 then during his consul- ship he sacrificed the tenth of his goods to Hercules, feasted the people, gave every Roman out of his own

.= means enough to live on for three months, and still,

when he made a private inventory of his property before his Parthian expedition, he found that it had a value of seventy-one hundred talents. The great est part of this, if one must tell the scandalous truth, he got together out of fire and war, making the public calamities his greatest source of revenue. For when Sulla took the city and sold the property of those whom he had put to death, considering it and calling it spoil of war, and wishing to defile with. his crime as many and as influential men as he could, Crassus was never tired of accepting or of buying it.2- And besides this, observing how natural and familiar at Rome were such fatalities as the conflagration and collapse of buildings, owing to their being too massive and close together, he proceeded to buy slaves who were architects and builders. Then, when he had over five hundred of these, he would buy houses that were afire, and houses which adjoined those that were afire, and these their owners would let go at a trifling price owing to their fear and uncertainty. In this way the largest part of Rome came into his possession. But though he owned so many artisans, he built

1 Plutarch gives Greek values. The talent was a sum of money nearly equivalent to £240, or $1200, with many times the purchasing power of money to-day ? Cf. chapter vi. 6.

Teyvitas ovdey wKodouncev autos 7 THY Ldtav
oixiay, ANd’ Edeye Tous Piroixodopovs avtovs vd’
éauTov KaTtadvec Oat ywpls dvTayovicT@v. dvT@Y
S avT@ TapyToAAwy apyupéiwy, ToAVTINTOU bé
Yopas kal Tov épyalopévwn ev adTH, Guws av Tis
nyYnTAaLTO wNdev elvat TAUTA TayTa Tpos THY TOV
OLKET@V TLULNY' TOTOUTOUS EXEKTNTO Kal TOLOUTOUS,
evayvwoTas, UTOYpagels, apyupoyvapovas, doLKn-
Tas, TPaTECOKOMOVS, AUTOS ETLTTATOY pavOdvovat
kal mpocéyav Kal didackwy Kai Ordos vouifov TO
SeaTvToTn TpoagrjKey pdrALoTA THY TWEplL TOUS OiKETAS
ET LpéAELAY WS Spyava Eprpuya THS olKovomKys.
Kai tovto peéev opbas o Kpdacos, etzep, ws
EXEYEY, I'YELTO TA ev GAAM Sia THY OiKETOY YpPij-
vat, Tous dé onétas bi’ avrod KuBepvav: thy yap

OLKovopuiKny ev avyols YpnatiaTiKny ovaar, ev
dvOpwros TONLTLKHY yLyvomEevny opa@pev’ éxeivo bé
OUK €v, TO pndéva vouilery pnde ddcKew elvar
TAovatopy, os ov Svvatat Tpéhery ATO THS Ovaias
otpatomeboy (6 yap TOAELOS Ov TeTAYpEVA CITE;-
Tat, Kata Tov Apyidapov, dof o mpos TOAELOV
TAOUTOS doplaTos), Kal ToAV TIS Mapiov yvapns
aTNPTHMEVWS. ExElvOS yap, evel KaT avopa vEipas
éexdat@ Séka Kal téscapa mrA€Opa yijs Ey vo
wréov éemifntodytas, “M*yéeis,” &dhn, ‘yevotto
‘Pwpatwy orlynv nryovpevos tiv Tpépew ap-
Kovcav.
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CRASSUS

no house for himself other than the one in which he lived; indeed, he used to say that men who were fond of building were their own undoers, and needed no other foes. And though he owned numberless silver mincs, and highly valuable tracts of land with the labourers upon them, nevertheless one might regard all this as nothing compared with the value of his slaves; so many and so capable were the slaves he possessed,—readers, amanuenses, silver- smiths, stewards, table-servants; and he _ himself directed their education, and took part in it himself as a teacher, and, in a word, he thought that the chief duty of the master was to care for his slaves as the living implements of household management.

And in this Crassus was right, if, as he used to say, he held that anything else was to be done for him by his slaves, but his slaves were to be governed by their master. For household management, as we see, is a branch of finance in so far as it deals with lifeless things; but a branch of politics when it deals with men.’ He was not right, however, in thinking, and in saying too, that no one was rich who could not support an army out of his substance; for “ war has no fixed rations,’ as King Achidamus said,? and therefore the wealth requisite for war cannot be determined. Far different was the opinion of Marius, who said, after distributing to each of his veterans fourteen acres of land and discovering that they desired more, “ May no Roman ever think that land too small which suffices to maintain him.”

1 Cf. Aristotle, Pol. i. 1253 b, 32.

2 Cf. Cleomenes xxvii. 1; Morals, 190 a ; 219 a. In Demos- thenes, xvii. 3, the saying ia put in the mouth of ‘‘ Crobylus,” as Hegesippus the Athenian orator was familiarly called.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

IIT. Ov pny adda nai epi Eévous hy piroTt pos

€ “~ re
oKpaccos: avéwxto yap 1) olKia Tact, Kai Tots
/ 20 7 vw , ’ , > > ,
diros éddverfev dvev TOKwWY, aTHTEL O ATOTOLWS
ToU ypovouv tapedOovtos eis ov eddvetce, Kal TO
Mpoika TOAAMY eyiveTo TOKwY eTayYDéaTEpoV. Vv
de a 5 , e \ a“ = e \ \
€ TOLS OELTVOLS Nn pEVY KANCLS 7V ws Ta TONAa
\ \ , 4 3 ® f \ é
dyn potixy Kat Aawdns, 7 O EedTéX\ELa THY Kabapto-
\ 4 4 eg? a
THTa Kal THY hirodpoavynv ndtova Tov Trodv-

TENOUS ELXE.

Ilasdecas 6€ THs wepl Aoyov partoTa peév TO

pNTOptKoy Kai xpe@des eis TONAOUS HoKCE, Kal
a a ¢
ryevouevos Sewvos eitrety év Tois uddtoTa Pwpaiwr
émipedeta Kal Tov@ TOvS evhuvEerTaToUs UTEpE-
’ / ‘ cad f \ \ +99
Banrev. ovdepiav yap obtw dinny dact prxpav ov
euxatagpovntoy yevéoOat pos tv atapdoKevos
nrAGev, adda Kai Tlourniov morAdXaKis OKVOdVTOS
Kat Kaicapos éEavactivat cal Kexépwvos, éxeivos
aveTAypou THY cuvyyopiav. Kat dia TOUTO LadXOV
” e b ‘ \ f w >
Hpeckey ws erriperrns Kal BonOntixos. hpecxe bé
Kal To mept tas SeFtwoets Kal tpocayopevcets
A > “~ ‘ , > \ A

diradvOpwrov avtov nal Synpuotixov. ovdevi yap
ovTws amnvTnce ‘Pwpaiwy adoEw xal tarewa
Kpdocos oy doTacipmevov OvK avTLT poanryopevaeEV
7 ? , , N \ ‘)
€€ ovopatos. rAéyeTar b6€ Kal Troduvpadys Kad
istopiav yevécOat, nai tt Kat dirocodicat Tots
"AptototéXous AGyots Tpod Oépevos, Ov diddoKador
? > , ¥ ? , .Y ,
eiyev AdéEavdpov, avOpwrov evKorias Kal mpao-
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Ill. However, Crassus was generous with strangers, for his house was open to all; and he used to lend money to his friends without interest, but he would demand it back from the borrower relentlessly when the time had expired, and so the gratuity of the loan was more burdensome than heavy interest. When he entertained at table, his invited guests were for the most part plebeians and men of the people, and the simplicity of the repast was combined with a neatness and good cheer which gave more pleasure than lavish expenditure.

As for his literary pursuits, he cultivated chiefly the art of speaking which was of general service, and after making himself one of the most powerful speakers at Rome, his care and application enabled him to surpass those who were most gifted by nature. For there was no case, they say, however trifling and even contemptible it might be, which he undertook without preparation, but often, when Pompey and Caesar and Cicero were unwilling to plead, he would perferm all the duties of an advocate. And on this account he became more popular than they, being esteemed a careful man, and one who was ready with his help. He pleased people also by the kindly and unaffected manner with which he clasped their hands and addressed them. For he never met a Roman so obscure and lowly that he did not return his greeting and call him by name. It is said also that he was well versed in history, and was some- thing of a philosopher withal, attaching himself to the doctrines of Aristotle, in which he had Alex- ander! as a teacher. This man gave proof of

1 Perhaps Alexander Cornelius, surnamed Polyhistor, a contemporary of Sulla.

TNTOS amobeEw did0vTa THY Tpos Kpacaor ouvi-
Qetav. ov yap ay aropivac Gat padtws mOTEpoV
7 pooirGev avT@ TEVETTEPOS 7 mpoaenbiby é eryEVETO.
povos youv dei Tov ditwy av’T@® ouvaTrodnpav
atéyactpov édapBavev ets iid odo Kal TOUT
éravenOwov amnretto. arna! TavTa peév Dorepov.
IV. Exel 5¢ Kivvas Kal Madptos KPATHTAVTES
evOus Haav évdnrot KATLOVTES ouK émr ayad@ THs
mar pibos, én dvaupeces 5 avTiKpus Kat érdOpy
T@Y dpiaren, ot wey eyxatarnGevres am Ovn-
gKOV, @V Wy ral y TATIP Kpdocou Kal 6
adergos, autos Sé véos ov TavTdTact TO pev
aurixa decvov e&eduye, mavTn 6é meptBarnopevov
éauTov aicOavopevos Kat KUVTYETOULEVOD vrO TOV

TUpavvery diy pidous avaraBov Kal Geparrovras
déxa, Taxer 6 UmrepBarrovte XPNT apEvos eis ‘TBn-
piav épuye, YEYOVOS TANAL oTpatnyoovros Tob
TAT pos abtToO: Kal pirous TET OLN HEVOS. eupav dé
jmuvTas meptoecis Kal THY @LOTNT A tiv Mapiov
xabanep ehect@Tos avTois Tpéwovtas, ovderi
yeveoOat davepos eOdppnoev, ard eis aypovs
éuBarev Tmaparious OviSiov Haxtanod om) Aavov
EXOvTAS evpeyebes, Expuwev éauTov. 7 POs dé tov
OviBrov emepev € éva do00Xov a ATFOTELPH[LEVOS, non
Kal Tav épodtor eT LNLTOVTMD. o b€ OviBios a akou-
cas aOn Té owlopere Kal mud opevos TO wAHO OS
TOV TU ALT@O Kal TOY TOTTOV AUTOS pev OVK HAGE
1 4aAd. Before this sentence the words ged ris trouevis, ovdé thy mweviay 56 TAhuwy abiadupoy Hyovuperos were early stricken from the text as a gloss (oh, the patience of the poor fellow! for his philosophy did not reyard poverty as a thing andifferent).

contentedness and meekness by his intimacy with Crassus; for it is not easy to say whether he was poorer before or after his relations with his pupil. At any rate he was the only one of the friends of Crassus who always accompanied him when he went abroad, and then he would receive a cloak for the journey, which would be reclaimed on his return. But this was later on.

IV. When Cinna and Marius got the upper hand,! it was at once apparent that they would re-enter the city not for the good of their country, but for the downright destruction and ruin of the nobles ; those who were caught were slain, and among them were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, being very young, escaped the immediate peril, but perceiving that he was surrounded on all sides by the huntsmen of the tyrants, he took with him three friends and ten servants and fled with exceeding speed into Spain, where he had been before, while his father was praetor there, and had made friends. But finding all men filled with fear and trembling at the cruelty of Marius as though he were close upon them, he had not the courage to present himself to any one. Instead, he plunged into some fields along the sea-shore belonging to Vibius Paciacus. In these there was a spacious cave, where he hid himself. However, since his provisions were now running low, and wishing to sound the man, he sent a slave to Vibius. But Vibius, on hearing the message, was delighted that Crassus had escaped, and after learning the number of his party and the place of their concealment, did not indeed

1 In 87 B.c. Crassus was then not quite twenty years of age.

ELS oxen, TOV 6€ TOV Xe picov éritTpoTev m%pocu-
yayov eyyus exéeuoe Kal nuépav Seimvov mem oun-
pévov Kopitar, Kat TB evTa ‘Tapa THY WéTpaV
amépxerbar clwwith Kal pn TroduTpaypovely
pnd éFeralerv, mpoertov ToUT pay LOvOdVTL
dvatov, cupmpattorvt: b€ TovTO TWLaTa@s éAEv-
Jepiar.
To be oT AALOV ouK anrwlev pev éoTe dardcons,
Kpnpvot dé Tepl avToO suppEepopevor AewTHY Kal
dcaph mapatéumova, Aavpav ayoucay clo,
TaperOov7t 5 Dyas te Oavpactov dvanenTarar,
Kal Kat eUpos Eyer KoATrOUS Oe Gddapov avouyopue-
vous peyddass Tepipepetars. dpotpet 8 oute Déatos
ouTe Poros, | GXra ™yn ev HOlLaTOU vaLaToS
vmoppet mapa TOV KpnLVOY, avropuels dé poxpor
THS TETPAS 7) UadLoTA TepLTiT TEL TO Pas éfwbev
vToAauPavovat, Kab KaTahdpTerat nuépas TO
Xwptov. of eVTOS anp GoTaaKxTos Kal cadapos,
MUKVOTHTL THS TET PAs 70 voTEpov Kal amroTnkope-
Vov Els THY THYHY exTLESOVTNS.
NG ‘Evravda SsatpiBovre 7@ Kpacow 7a émT7}-
deca Kal? Tpepay époita Kouifwov o avO pores,
avTOS pev avy opwv exetvous ovde YvacKan, UT
exelveov dé Kadopapevos elSoT@v Kal trapaduhat-
TOVTWY TOV KaLpov. mv 5 adbova Kal ‘Tpos
HOOVHV, OV Hovey Xpevav, TOLOULEVA 7a Wpos TO
delmvov. éyvwxet yap 0 OvlBros amraon piro-
pporuvy Geparevev TOV Kpdcoor, oO Ye Kal TO
THS dpas ev VO Aa Petv em Her, OS TAaVTaTACL
veavias eln kal Tl Kal Tais Kad WrKiay néovais
avTOU YaploTéuvy, ETEL THY ‘YE YfelaVv uvayKaiws
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come in person tosee them, but brought the overseer of the property near the place, and ordered him to bring a complete meal there every day, put it near the cliff, and then go away without a word; he was not to meddle in the matter nor investigate it, and was threatened with death if he did meddle, and promised his freedom if he co-operated faithfully.

The cave is not far away from the sea, and the
cliffs which enclose it leave a small and indistinct

path leading inside; but when one has entered, it opens out to a wonderful height, and at the sides has recesses of great circumference opening into one another. There is no lack of water or of light, but a spring of purest flow issues from the base of the cliff, and natural] fissures in the rock, where its edges join, admit the light from outside, so that in the day-time the place is bright. The air inside is dry and pure, owing to the thickness of the rock, which deflects all moisture and dripping water into the spring.

V. Here Crassus lived, and day by day the man came with the provisions. He himself did not see the party of the cave, nor even know who they were, but he was seen by them, since they knew and were on the watch for the time of his coming. Now, the meals were abundant, and so prepared as to gratify the taste and not merely satisfy hunger. For Vibius had made up his mind to pay Crassus every sort of friendly attention, and it even occurred to him to consider the youth of his guest, that he was quite a young man, and that some provision must be made for the enjoyments appropriate to his years; the mere supply of his wants he regarded as the work of one who rendered help under compulsion rather

paXNov F mpob vps vToupyobvtos elvat. duo 7
OcpaTraivioas evTperrets dvaraBov eBabsSev én
THY Jadaccay. os & mprOev éml Tov ToTFov,
deiEas THY dvosov éxehevev claw tropeverOar Kai
Gappeiv. ot b€ mepl tov K paaaov idovtes T™ pooepXo-
pévas ebe.oay py KaTapaves | Kal yveptwov ein 70
Xeopiov: avexpivov ovv autas Ti BovrAovtar Kai
tives elciv. ws & arzexpivavto Sedbaypevat
deo Tm oTHV Ontety évravla _KPUTTOMEVO, padeoyv o
Kpdeoos tod OviBiou thy T pos auToV mardeay
Kal prroppoovyyy avédaBe Tas mardioKas Kat
cwicay av7@ Tov NovTrov xpovor, ov ébdeito
ppavovoa Kal Siary yéAA ovoar pos TOV OuviBrov.
TovtTwy dnat THv eTépay 76 mpeoBiTw odcav O
DaweorérAXas (Oety AUTOS, Kul TOAAGKLS aAKovoak
pepunperns TavTa Kal OreEcovens mpobupms.

VI. "O & Kpaccos ¢ OKTW [LAVvas OUTW Siayayor
kal dvaxrareis, Gua ta trvbécOar tH Kivva
TeheuT HY pavepos YEVOMEVOS, TUVSPALOVTWY TPOS
auTov ovK oALy@V avOpwTov, eT LAE Ea MEVvOS Sra Xe-
ALous Kal wevrakocious eT /PXETO TAS TWORELS* Kat
pilav ye Sunprace Madadxknv, as todXol yeypa-

daciy, aQuTov bé pacw apvetaQat kal drapd-
xeoba pos TOUS AéyovTas. ek TOUTOU cuvaya-
you Tota Kal OvaTrepagas eis AtBunv apixero
Tos MéredAov Iliov, evdofov avépa, cuverhoxora,
oTpatiay OUK evKaTappovntov. ov ToNUY bé
ypovoy evraiba Tapeperver, QAAG oTagiicas TO
MezéAXro 7 pos NvAXaV amijce, Kal cu év ToIs
pimora TUL MEVOS. émet O€ biaBas els ‘Tradiav
o X“Ud\X\as awdvras éBovreTO Tos cu auUT@
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than with ready zeal. So he took with him two comely female slaves and went down towards the sea. When he came to the place of the cave, he showed them the path up to it, and bade them go inside and fear nothing. When Crassus saw them approaching, he was afraid that the place had been discovered and was now known. He asked them, accordingly, who they were and what they wanted. They answered, as instructed, that they were in search of a master who was hidden there. Then Crassus understood the kindly joke which Vibius was playing upon him, and received the girls; and they lived with him the rest of the time, carrying the necessary messages to Vibius. Fenestella! says that he saw one of these slaves himself, when she was now an old woman, and often heard her mention this episode and rehearse its details with zest.

VI. Thus Crassus passed eight months in conceal- ment; but as soon as he heard of Cinna’s death, he disclosed himself. Many flocked to his standard, out of whom he selected twenty-five hundred men, and went about visiting the cities. One of these, Malaca, he plundered, as many writers testify, but they say that he himself denied the charge and quarrelled with those who affirmed it. After this he collected sailing vessels, crossed into Africa, and joined Metellus Pius, an illustrious man, who had got together a considerable army. However, he remained there no long time, but after dissension with Metellus set out and joined Sulla, with whom he stood in a position of special honour. But when Sulla eressed into Italy, he wished all the young men with him to take active part in the campaign,

1 A Roinan historian who flourished under Augustus.

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véous exe évepyous Kal T™pos adrnv dddov
ETATTE Tm pak, ATOTTEANOMEVOS els Mapoous emt
oTpatiav 0 Kpdacos Te puraxas n yap
Td podos ay mapa TOUS Tohepious. €lTOvTOS
5€ ToD LvAAa ou opyn Kal apodpa ™pos autov,
‘ Aidwpi col puraxas TOV TaTéoa, TOV aden gov,
Tous irous, TOUS ouryyevets, @v Tapavopws eeu
adiKws dvatpeDévtov ey } HETEpXopar TOUS
poveis,’ ottw madav te Kal mapofurbeis o
Kpdeoos evOus éEnOe, kai Sta TOV TrONEpLioV
wot PEvOS EVP OATHS Suvapiv Te oUxyyY HBporge
Kat 7 poOvpov avtov €y Tris ayaot TO YrXr|
TapeixXer.
"An’ éxetvoy b¢€ TOV mT pakewy Aéyouow avuT@
7 P@TOV eyyevér Oar THY 7 pos Top niov bmép Sons
apirrav Kal prdotipiay. O yap Topanios ee
TE AeuTrouEvOs auTou Kal TATPOS yeyouas a Sof;}-
cavtos év “Poun Kai puranbévros ea XaTov pioos
UTO TOV TOALTOY, év éxelvors Tois mpaypacey
efedapwpe Kal Sepavy Meyas, wate LvAAav, a
mpea SuTépors Kat iootipoy ov mavu TOANAKLS
Tu pelNev, uUTeEavicotacOat TpoctovTos avTov Kat
xeparny avoxakuT Tec Oat Kal T pocerTrey avTo-
Kpdtopa. Taira dtexate al mapwtuve tov Kpac-
cov ovK adoyws Lago oupevov.
"Epretpias Te yap évdens }; Hy Kab TOV mpagewy
a’'Tov Ty yap adnpovy ai guyyevels Ki}pes
emepepopera, prronépdera Kat puxporoyia. Kar
yap todw ‘OpSpixnv Tovdeptiav frwv édoke
1 éy the conjecture of Bryan, mentioned by many editors with approval, and found in codex Matritersis by

Graux: &pyp actually,
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and assigned different ones to different undertakings. Crassus, being sent out to raise a force among the Marsi, asked for an escort, since his road would take him past the enemy. But Sulla was wroth, and said to him vehemently: “I give thee as an escort thy father, thy brother, thy friends, and thy kinsmen, who were illegally and unjustly put to death, and whose murderers I am pursuing.” Thus rebuked and incited, Crassus set out at once, and forcing his way vigorously through the enemy, raised a con- siderable force, and showed himself an eager partisan ' of Sulla in his struggles.

Out of these activities first arose, as they say, his ambitious rivalry with Pompey for distinction. For although Pompey was the younger man, and the son of a father who had been in ill repute at Rome and hated most bitterly by his fellow-citizens, still, in the events of this time his talents shone forth conspicuously, and he was secn to be great, so that Sulla paid him honours not very often accorded to men who were older and of equa] rank with himself, rising at his approach, uncovering his head, and saluting him as Imperator. All this inflamed and goaded Crassus, although it was not without good reason that Sulla thus made less of him.

For he was lacking in experience, and his achieve- ments were robbed of their favour by the innate curses of avarice and meanness which beset him. For instance, when he captured the Umbrian city of Tuder, it was believed that he appropriated to him-

TrELCTA TOV YPHUATOV odetepicacbat, Kal bte-
Br2jOy 7 pos <UAXa». arr & ye TO Tept Thy
'Pon ay Ove TavTOV yevopevep HEYLOTO « Kal
TENEVTALW Lvrras bev nTTiOn, TOV KaT' aurov
ba bévtav Kal ouvTpiBevron, Kpacoos dé TO
deEvov KEpAs EXeov eviknoe Kat _HEXpL vUKTOS
dia@Eas Tous TOAELLOUS évrepape 7 p0s XuAday, dei-
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Tos. id.ov 6é KaKelvo TWEpl avTOU eyerat, ptro-
KepdeaTaton 6 OvTa pardiota puoely Kat AoLdopeiv
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VII. "Hvia &é Top nios ayTov evnpepav ét
nyEpoviaus Kal Wply 1) _Bovrijs peTaraBeiv Opiap-
Bevwv cat Mavyvos, dtep éott peyas, UTO TOY
TONTOY avayopevbeis. Kai ToTE Kal PyoavTos
TLVOS OS Toprrijios Madyvos _Mpooelc:, ryeNaoas
porno Er Om) ALKOS. amoyrous dé ToIs TodepiKots éEiawaacbat 7 pos eKE ivov, UmedveTo
THVTONTELAY, omovoais Kal ovbryopiass Kal Cavera pots Kal TW TUPTApAyyYENAELY Kai
ouveleta ler Bat Tots dEope- vols TL TOU Onuwov KTw@pEVvOS SUVapLY dvTiTAaXoDV

selt most of the spoil, and charges to this effect were laid before Sulla. But in the struggle near Rome, which was the last and greatest of all, while Sulla was defeated and his army repulsed and shattered, Crassus was victorious with the right wing,! pursued the enemy till nightfall, and then sent to Sulla informing him of his success and asking supper for his soldiers. However, during the proscriptions and public confiscations which ensued, he got a bad name again, by purchasing great estates at a low price, and asking donations. It is said that in Bruttium he actually proscribed a man without Sulla's orders, merely to get his property, and that for this reason Sulla, who disapproved of his conduct, never employed him again on public business. And yet Crassus was most expert in winning over all men by his flatteries; on the other hand, he himself was an easy prey to flattery from anybody. And this too is said to have been a peculiarity of his, that, most avaricious as he was himself, he particularly hated and abused those who were like him.

VII. Now it vexed him that Pompey was successful in his campaigns, and celebrated a triumph before becoming a senator, and was called Magnus (that is, Great) by his fellow-citizens. Aud once when some one said: " Pompey the Great is coming," Crassus fell to laughing and asked: " How great is he?"' Renouncing, therefore, all efforts to equal Pompey in military achievements, he plunged into politics, and by his zealous labours, his favours as advocate and money-lender, and his co-operation in all the solicitations and examinations which candi- dates for office had to make and undergo, he acquired

1 Cf. Plutarch's Sulla, xxix. 5.

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a a /
HeyadrX@v oTpaTel@v. Kat Tpaypa auveBawvev
avtois iétov. eifov yap iv amovtos dvoua Tov
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gov, &a tov byxov Kal TO Tpdcxnpa Tod Biov
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Tov Seopevoy orlyats Kai pn Tavu Tpodvpws
a 4
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THY®O, xpnuata & ov EeExovte THY davetoTav
€TimTegovT@Y Kal TIS Tapacxeuns émiAauBavo-
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CRASSUS

an influence and a repute equal to that which Pompey possessed from his many and great expeditions. And the experience of each man was peculiar. For Pom- pey’s name and power were greater in the city when he was away from it, owing to his campaigns; but when he was at home, he was often less powerful than Crassus, because the pomp and circumstance of his life led him to shun crowds, retire from the forum, and render aid to a few only of those who asked it of him, end then with no great zest, that he might keep his influence the more unimpaired for use in his own behalf. But Crassus was continually ready with his services, was ever at hand and easy of access, and always took an active part in the enter- prises of the hour, and so by the universal kindness of his behaviour won the day over his rival’s haughty bearing. But in dignity of person, persuasiveness of speech, and winning grace of feature, both were said to be alike gifted.

However, this eager rivalry did not carry Crassus away into anything like hatred or malice; he was merely vexed that Pompey and Caesar should be honoured above himself, but he did not associate this ambition of his with enmity or malevolence, It is true that once when Caesar had been captured by pirates in Asia

and was held a close prisoner by them,! he exclaimed: “O Crassus, how great a pleasure wilt thou taste when thou hearest of my capture!’ But afterwards, at least, they were on friendly terms with one another, and once wher Caesar was on the point of setting out for Spain as praetor, and had no money, and his creditors des- cended upon him and began to attach his outfit,

1 See Plutarch’s Caesar, chapter ii.

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pévwv o Kpdaaos ov mepieidev, AN amnrdrakev
uToBeEls auTov éyyvoy TplaKovTa Kal OKTAaKOCi@P
- ’ \ n ¢ Ss > nw
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4 J
veveunpevns duvapers, THV Iloumrniov, thy Kaica-
‘ , 4 \ ¢€ ’ ,
pos, Tnv Kpacaov (Kata@vos yap 7 Soka petlor
nv THS Suvayews, Kal TO Oavpalopevoy mréov
iayuev), 7) pev Eudpwv Kal cabeotaca pepis év TH
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modet loparniov ebepatreve, TO 8 OF Kai pepope-
vov pet’ evyepeias tais Kaicapos édricwy érnko-
, a
ovder, Kpdaaos dé pécos dv dpotépars expiro,
Kal TAEioTas peTaBoras év TH TroALTELa pweTaBar-
, ¥ aie > , a wv ; fe ,
Nopevos ovTE diros HY BéBatos ovTE avyKEaTOS
> , 9 \ ¢ , \ s 5] al
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uev avOpoTar, modradxis b€ vopwwr ev ddbyo
davnvat Tov avT@v auvnyopos Kat davTidtxos.
iayve 6€ Kat yapitr xat go8o, pgo8w & ovx
EXaTTov. o-youv wAEloTa TpdyyaTa Tapacyoy
Tots KaP’ avroy apxyovar cal dnuaywryots, Lixirv10s,
s i
Mpos Tov eitovTa Ti 57 pLovoy ov aomapuTTeL TOV
,
Kpacoov, adda tapinat, xoptov adrov éyew
Ebnoev emt TOV Képatos. ei@Oacar bé “Pwpaior
Tov Kupittovta TOV Bowv vrép tod dvdraTttecOat

, XN
TOUS EVTVYKAVOYTAS YOPT@ TEpLeAiaaeELY TO KEpas.
VII. “H 6é tay povopaywr éravdotacts Kai
AenAacta THS 'ITadias, Hv ot TOAAOL Saraptdxecoy
c 9 ,) \ ¥ ? ,
moXenov ovopdafovaty, apynv €XaBev éx TolavTNs
aitias. AévtXov Tivos Batidtov povopdyous év
Karin tpépovtos, ov ot wordot Vadarat Kai
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Crassus did not leave him in the lurch, but freed him from embarrassment by making himself his surety for eight hundred and thirty talents. And when all Rome was divided into three powerful parties, that of Pompey, that of Caesar, and that of Crassus (for Cato’s reputation was greater than his

wer, and men admired him more than they followed him), it was the thoughtful and con- servative part of the city which attached itself to Pompey, the violent and volatile part which supported the hopes of Caesar, while Crassus took a middle ground and drew from both. He made very many changes in his political views, and was neither a steadfast friend nor an implacable enemy, but readily abandoned both his favours and his resentments at the dictates of his interests, so that, frequently, within a short space of time, the same men and the same measures found in him both an advocate and an opponent. And he had great influence, both from the favours which he bestowed and the fear which he inspired, but more from the fear. At any rate, Sicinnius, who gave the greatest annoyance to the magistrates and popular leaders of his day, when asked why Crassus was the only one whom he let alone and did not worry, said that the man had hay on his horn. Now the Romans used to coil hay about the horn of an ox that gored, so that those who encountered it might be on their guard.}

VIN. The insurrection of the gladiators and their devastation of Italy, which is generally called the war of Spartacus,? had its origin as follows. A certain Lentulus Batiatus had a school of gladiators at Capua, most of whom were Gauls and Thracians.

2 Cf. foenum habet in cornu. Hor. Saé. i. 4,34. 2 73-71 B.c.

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Opaxes Hoar, €& aiti@v ov Tovnpav, adr’ adixia
TOU Tpiapevou ouverpyevtes U in’ avayKns érl to
povopaxeir, éBovhevoavto pev d1aKoctot pevyery,
yevouevns S€ pnvutews ot Tpoata Bopevor Kal
Gacavtes oydonxovta Svety Séovres EK TLVOS

OT TAVELOU xorribas apd pevoe Kal OBedaKous é&e-
mono av, EVTUNOVTES 6€ KATA THY o6ov apakars
dtrAa Koptlovoats Povopmixeoy els éTépav mohuv
apipracay Kat wmAlcavto’ Kal TOTOV TIVE
KapTEepov nataraBovres nryEHOvAs €l NOVTO Tpeis,
Oy T PGTOS 7 LmdpTaxos, avnp Opak TOU No-
padsxod YEVOUS, ov povov ppovnpa peya Kal p poyny
EXOD, adrrAa Kal guvécer Kal T paoTnte TNS TUXNS
dperveov Kal TOD yévous ‘EAAnixwrtepos. TOUT@
dé Aéyoucey, OTE 7 p@Tov eis ‘Popny @VLOS AxOn,
Spaxovta KOLMCO LEV®D TepeTreT hey LEVOV davivar
Tept TO TpOoTwTor, 1) yun 8 " opopuros ovca TOD
TApTakov, wavTiKn é Kal KaTOXOS ToiS mept
TOV Atovucor 0 opytac pois, eppate TO onpetov elvat
peyadns Kal doBepas mpl avTOV Els eUTUXES
TEAOS eg operns Suvapews’ 4) Kal TOTE GuVAV avTo
Kal auvegevye.
TX. Kai rpa@tov pév tous éx Karuns édOovtas
Oo dPEVOL Kal TOM@Y OTA emiAaBopevor TONE-
peoTnpteov do pevor TavTa peTeAduBavor, d-Troppi-
partes @s atiywa Kat BapBapa Ta TeV povopa-
Xov: ETreLTA Krwéiou aTpariyoo peTa Tptoyxe-
Alewov TeupOEvTos ex ‘Popns Kar ToALopKodvTOS
autovs €y dpe plav €yovTe Kal yadremny Kal
1 ebruXes MSS. (including S), Coraés, and Sintenis!;
Sintenis? and Bekker adopt aruxés, Reiske’s correction
(an unfortunate tssuc).
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CRASSUS

| Through no misconduct ot theirs, but owing to the injustice of their owner, they were kept in close confinement and reserved for gladiatorial combats, Two hundred of these planned to make their escape, and when information was laid against them, those who got wind of it and succeeded in getting away, seventy-eight in number, seized cleavers and spits from some kitchen and sallied out. On the road they fell in with waggons conveying gladiators’ weapons to another city; these they plundered and armed themselves. Then they took up a strong position and elected three leaders. The first of these was Spartacus, a Thracian of Nomadic stock, possessed not only of great courage and strength, but also in sagacity and culture superior to his fortune, and more Hellenic than Thracian. It is said that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen coiled about his face as he slept, and his wife, who was of the same tribe as Spartacus, a prophetess, and subject to visitations of the Dionysiac frenzy, declared it the sign of a great and formidable power which would attend him to a fortunate issue. This woman shared in his escape and was then living with him.

IX. To begin with, the gladiators repulsed the soldiers who came against them from Capua, and getting

hold of many arms of real warfare, they gladly took these in exchange for their own, casting away their gladiatorial weapons as dishonourable and barbarous. Then Clodius the praetor was sent out from Rome against them with three thousand soldiers, and laid siege to them on a hill which had but one ascent, and that a narrow and difficult one,

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TOAANY aypiay emiToAns TwepuKviay, ETEMVOY TOV
\
KANMaTWY Ta xXpPHoLpa, Kal oupmr€éKovTes eF
3 A f 3 t \ ld ef b]
avT@Vv KAtwaKidas evtovous Kai Babeias, wor

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avwbev avnptnpévas Tapa TO Kpnpva@des AmrtecOat

Tav éemimédwv, xatéBaivov agdaras & avrav

\ « # Ad \ a 4 oe '4

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evel katéBnoav, nhiee KdTw Ta OTAAa Kal Barov

3 dtavta Terevtatos atmecwteto Kal autos. tair |

s aA \ |

nyvoouv of 'Pwyaior 816 Kal mrepcerOovTes avTous

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éEérAntav tH aidvidiw, Kat guyhs yevouevns
N ,

EXaBov To otpatoredsov. Kal mpoceyivovtTo Trod-
Aol Tov avToh. Borijpwv Kal Toipévwy avrois,
WAHKTAL Kal TOOWKELS dvdpes, @v Tous pev WIT rL-
Cov, Tois 6é ™podpopors Kal porois EXPOVTO.

4 Aevtepas éxvréuretas ™ pos avTOUS oTparnyos
Ilovwdtos Bapivos, ob mpa@ta pév Urootpatnyov
ziwa Dovpioy cyovta Sia ythious oTpatiwtas éTpé-
wravto aupBarovtes: erecta auuBovroyv avt@
Kal auvapyovta Koacinov amootadévta peta
TOARHS Suvapews eritTnpijacas Oo XmdptaKos Aovo-
pevoy Tept Larivas, mixpov edénae cvvaptacat.
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5 yareTa@s dé cal poris expuyovtos evdus pev

expaTnae THs aToaKevijs, ex Todos Sé Katéxwv
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Kal Stoxav hovw TOAXM TO otpatoTredov eidev.

€mece 5¢€ Kai Kooaivios. adzov dé tov oTpatnyov

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ahrAats paxais ToAdNalS KaTAywVLTAapEVvOS, TEAOS

dé Tove te paBdovyous Kai tov immov avtou

which Clodius closely watched; everywhere else there were smooth and precipitous cliffs. But the top of the hill was covered with a wild vine of abundant growth, from which the besieged cut off the serviceable branches, and wove these into strong ladders of such strength and length that when they were fastened at the top they reached along the face of the cliff to the plain below. On these they descended safely, all but one man, who remained above to attend to the arms. When the rest had got down, he began to drop the arms, and after he had thrown them all down, got away himself also last of all in safety. Of all this the Romans were ignorant, and therefore their enemy surrounded them, threw them into consternation by the sudden- ness of the attack, put them to flight, and took their camp. They were also joined by many of the herds- men and shepherds of the region, sturdy men and swift of foot, some of whom they armed fully, and employed others as scouts and light infantry.

In the second place, Publius Varinus, the praetor, was sent out against them, whose lieutenant, a certain Furius, with two thousand soldiers, they first engaged and routed; then Spartacus narrowly watched the movements of Cossinius, who had been sent out with a large force to advise and assist Varinus in the command, and came near seizing him as he was bathing near Salinae. Cossinius barely escaped with much difficulty, and Spartacus at once seized his baggage, pressed hard upon him in pursuit, and took his camp with great slaughter. Cossinius also fell. By defeating the praetor himself in many battles, and finally capturing his lictors and the very horse he rode, Spartacus was soon great and

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

AaBwv, 7dn pev péyas Kal PoBepos Fv, éppovec
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A e 4
oTpaTov, olopevos deity UmepBarovtas avtas étl
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9 , ° \ é ? > \
ets Tadatiav. ot 6€ wrOec te ovtes ioyupol Kai
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peya ppovovvtes ovy vTyKovoy, arr ézropGouvy
émumopevopevot THY Itadiav.
Ovxér’ odv To wap’ a€iav Kal To aicypov jrw-
n > , \ 4 ’ ‘ ‘
YrAee THS atmoctdcews THY avyKANTOV, GdAa by
, ‘ a
dua hoBfov te Kal Kivduvov ws pos Eva Tav SucKo-
AWTATOV TOAEUOV Kal pEeyiaTwY audotépous éeFE-
‘ e , ? , \ \
mépuitov Tovs viatous. wy Terddros pev to Tep-
pavixoy UBpe Kai Ppovnpat. tov Nraptaxeiwv
> ‘ bd a b ‘ fed /
aroayicbev eEaiduns eumecwv arav SépOerpe,
AévtXov b€ tov Xmaptaxoy peydros atpato-
€ i 4 ‘
Tédols TeptAaBovTos opynaas opmode Kai paynv
guvawas é€xpatnoe pev Tov TpeaRevTa@v, EXaBe
dé tv adtogKkevny amacav. wloupévw 8 avte
mpos tas “Adres Kadaowos 0 ths wept Wado
c
Taratias otpatyyos éxwv puplovs amnvrnce:
\ \
Kal yevouévns payns KpaTnOeis Kal TonrXovs
amroBarwv mors avros eFépuye.

X. Fav@’ 7) Boudtn ruGopévy tovs pév vratous
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mpos opyny éxéXevoev tovyxiay aye, Kpaccoy
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havav. avtos pev ody brépeive po TIS Texnvidos
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ws Tov Sraptaxov éxet hepopevoy deFopevos, Mop-
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formidable ; but he took a proper view of the situation, and since he could not expect to overcome the Roman power, began to lead his army toward the Alps, thinking it necessary for them to cross the mountains and go to their respective homes, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But his men werc now strong in numbers and full of confidence, and would not listen to him, but went ravaging over Italy.

It was now no longer the indignity and disgrace of the revolt that harassed the senate, but they were constrained by their fear and peril to send both consuls into the field, as they would to a war of the utmost difficulty and magnitude. Gellius, one of the consuls, fell suddenly upon the Germans, who were so insolent and bold as to separate themselves from the main body of Spartacus, and cut them all to pieces ; but when Lentulus, the other consul, had surrounded the enemy with large forces, Spartacus rushed upon them, joined battle, defeated the legates of Lentulus, and seized all their baggage. Then, as he was forcing his way towards the Alps, he was met by Cassius, the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, with an army of ten thousand men, and in the battle that ensued, Cassius was defeated, lost many men, and escaped himself with difficulty.

X. On learning of this, the Senate angrily ordered the consuls to keep quiet, and chose Crassus to conduct the war, and many of the nobles were induced by his reputation and their friendship for him to serve under him. Crassus himself, accord-ingly, took position on the borders of Picenum, expecting to receive the attack of Spartacus, who was hastening thither; and he sent Mummius, his
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pov O€ mpeaBevTiHV ayovta dv0 Taypara, KUKAW

TEpPLeTrEULWED, érea Bat KeAXEvaas TOES Toeuiors,
cupTrexecOat dé wn unde anpipaxeiy. o & dpa
TO TP@TOv eT EATLOOS yever bar paxny Déwevos
77 }On: Kat TOAAOL jeev ETreT OD, Todnol d€ avev
TOY OTrOY HevyorTES ErwWOnTAV. 0 be Kpdocos
avurTov TE TOV M opprov edéEato TPAXEDS, | Kal TOUS
oTpaTLOTAs oT Aifoy avdis ey yuntas NTEL TOV
oThov, OTL gurd£ovot, TEVTAKOGLOUS é6€ TOUS
TPOTOVS, Kat purALoTa TOUS Tpécavtas, els
TEVTKOVTA Svavelpas dexadas af’ EKGTTNS amré-
KTELVEV EVA TOV KAI} pep Aaxovta, TT pLoV Te TOUTO
bua Toh@y Xpoviov Kodac pa ToiS OTPATLATALS
eTAYAYOV. Kal yap aiaxvyn tov Oavdtou To
TpoTe TpOcEaTt, Kal Sparat TOANG ppucsdy
Kal oKxvOpara mTepl THY KOAaCLY aTavTwD
Oewpévev.
Oirw & ema TpEeyas Tous avdpas iyyev emt Tous
TOAEp"LOUS. o be Sadptaxos umele w@per dia
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Lixedias kat Siaxtrtovs avdpas éuBarov els
THY vijcov aves exC@muphaar Tov douNLKOV exet
TONELOY, ovTrw) Tohvy Xpovov area BnKoTa Kal
pixpay Tad UTEKKAULATOY Seopevov. opL0-
Aoynaavtes Sé of Kiduwes auto Kal bapa Aa-
Bovtes eEnmatncay Kal drémdevcav. ovTw 57
Tar amo Jariaans avalevEas exdOice Tov
oTpatoy ets THY ‘Pn nyivery XEppoa ov. ere oy
So Kpdccos, Kal Tov ToTOV THD puow ope
upyyouuevny to Séov, Wpunoev atroTetyicat Tov
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CRASSUS

legate, with two legions, by a circuitous route, with orders to follow the enemy, but not to join battle nor even skirmish with them. Mummius, however, at the first promising opportunity, gave battle and was defeated; many of his men were slain, and many of them threw away their arms and fled for their lives. Crassus gave Muimmius himself a rough reception, and when he armed his soldiers anew, made them give pledges that they would keep their

arms. Five hundred of them, moreover, who had shown the greatest cowardice and been first to fly, he divided into fifty decades, and put to death one from each deeade, on whom the lot fell, thus reviving, after the lapse of many years, an ancient mode of punishing the soldiers. For disgrace also attaches to this manner of death, and many horrible and repulsive features attend the punishment, which the whole army witnesses.

When he had thus disciplined his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus avoided him, and retired through Lucania to the sea. At the Straits, he chanced upon some Cilician pirate eraft, and determined to seize Sicily. By throwing two thousand men into the island, he thought to kindle anew the servile war there,! which had not long been extinguished, and needed only a little additional fuel. But the Cilicians, after coming to terms with him and receiving his gifts, deceived him and sailed away. So Spartacus marched back again from the sea and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium. Crassus now came up, aud observing that the nature of the place suggested what must be done, he determined to build a wall

1 102-99 B.O.

icOpov, Gua Kat THY GYOANY TAY oTpPaTLWTaY Udatpav Kai THY EevTopiay TOY TOAGWOY. péya ee, @ ? \ \ . ” \ \ ev ovv VY Kal YaXeETTOV TO Epyov, Hvuce SE Kal 4 ‘ , bd 9 , , a, KaTeipyacato Tapa do€av év OALyw Xpov@, Tappov éuBarav éx Oardcaons els Oaddraocav da Tov bY 4 , , > \ , avxévos stadiwmy Tpiaxoaiwy, evpos b€ cal Bdabos icov mevtexatiexa Today: Umép dé THs Tappov Tetyos EoTnoev Der Kal pwn Oavpacrov. ay oO LwdapTaKos nuérer Kal KaTEppOvEs TO WPOTOV* WS dé THs AElas EmtAectrovans wWpoiévat BovAdpeEvos r \ b} \ > , ION guveive TOY aTroTELYiopoY Kai AapBadvey ovdéev WY é€k& THS YEppovycov, vinta wihetodn «Kal mvevpa Te YEelpéptov trapapvadtas éywoe TIS

é , >] \ “a \ ef \ ,
Tagppou pépos ov ToAv yn Kal VAN Kai KAdboLs
Sévdpwv, GoTE THS TTpAaTLAS TEepat@aat TO TpiToV.
XT. ’EdoBijOn pev odv o Kpacaos py AdBa
¢ A \ ys A > . A ¢€ , ,
TLS Open Tov waptaxov eri thy “‘Papny éAavvery,
3 4 \ a“ 3 “ ’ LA
eOapeyoe Cé TrodA@v ex dvahopas atroctavTwv
avrov Kat otpatoTredevaapevwv Kal avtovs éml
Aevxavidos Aipvns, Iv pace tpémecOar bia Ypovou
ylvowevnv yAuvKeiay Kal avOis ddpupav Kat
Ld 9 ‘ e La c Iges \
amrotov. Tovtos éredOwv o Kpdaaos éFéwoe prev
9 \ n , b / \ N , \ \
amo THS Aipvyns, adnpéOn S€ Tov hovov Kat thy
SimEcy adtav éripavévtos oféws Tod Yaraptaxov
Kal THY huyny éwieTHTALTOS.
Teypadws b€ 1H BovrAn wpotepov ws xpn Kat
Aoveovdnrov éx Oparns careiv cal oprrnjiov é&
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across the isthmus, thereby at once keeping his soldiers from idleness, and his enemies from provisions. Now the task was a huge one and difficult,’ but he accomplished and finished it, contrary to all expectation, in a short time, running a ditch from sea to sea through the neck of land three hundred furlongs in length and fifteen feet in width and depth alike. Above the ditch he also built a wall of astonishing height and strength. All this work Spartacus neglected and despised at first; but soon his provisions began to fail, and when he wanted to sally forth from the peninsula, he saw that he was walled in, and that there was nothing more to be had there. He therefore waited for a snowy night and a wintry storm, when he filled up a_ small portion of the ditch with earth and timber and the boughs of trees, and so threw a third part of his force across.

XI. Crassus was now in fear lest some impulse to march upon Rome should seize Spartacus, but took heart when he saw that many of the gladiator’s men had seceded after a quarrel with him, and were en-

camped by themselves on a Lucanian lake. This lake, they say, changes from time to time in the character of its water, becoming sweet, and then again bitter and undrinkable. Upon this detachment Crassus fell, and drove them away from the lake, but he was robbed of the slaughter and pursuit of the fugitives by the sudden appearance of Spartacus, who checked their flight.
Before this Crassus had written to the senate that they must summon Lucullus! from Thrace and Pompey from Spain, but he was sorry now that he Marcus Lucullus, brother of Lucius.

y , , A A 4 y / 4
[8nptas, pstevoet, Kat piv NKewv exeivous Ea Trevde
Scatpakacbat Tov ToAELOV, ELOws OTL TOD Tpoc-
yevoueévou kat BonOijcavios, ovK ad'Ttod TO KaTOp-
Owya Soke. mpatov pev otv stayvovs tots
apecT@at Kai Kat Otay atpatevopévats, ov adn-
an N fe , Q f b /
youvto Laing Karvvixtos cai Kadatos, émibéa@at,
f Y , bd e
Aopov Tiva TpoxataryWopevous avdpas éEaxtayt-
, b f f a" f
ALous amréoTELre, AavOdvery TEtpacbaL KEdEVCAS.
o. & emetpwvto pev THY aicOnow aroxpimTew TA
Kpavn Kataptréxyovtes, obOévtes 8 wre Svety
ra "a 4
yuvatxav mpoOvopévwy Tois Todemlois extvdouvev-
' f \
aav, eb yn Kpaacos of€ws éripaveis payny
" ? ,
€OeTo Tag@y KapTepwTdTny, €v 4 TpLAKOGiouS ert
Siayidiows Kal pupiots xataBarwv Svo pdvous
eDpe KATA vwTOV TETPWpLEVoUS, Of & ANXoOL TaVTES
" , " /
éotates ev Tukes Kal payopevor Tots 'Pwpaiors
anéBavov.
sy , N XN \ / ? b]
LSraptacw S€ meTa THY TOVTWY TTAY ava-
"A % "a Pao a

Ywpouvte mpos ta pn ta UernrAwa, Koivros tov
5 ¢ cd
mept Kpdocov nyepovwy xai Xxpoddas taplas
,
éEamtopevot TtapynKxorovlovy. émiatpévavtos &€
~ id ,
yivetae huyn peyddn tov “Pwpaiwr, cal por
tpwhévTa Tov Tapliay aprdcavtes aTecwOnaav.
“~ 4 f ,
TovTo Tov Lwdptaxov amwrece TO KaTopOwna,
a) ,
hpovniuatos eriyevouevou tots Spatrétats. ovKére
yap nkiovy duyouayeity od éreiBovto tots
WwW 3 3 ww ¥ ¢ XN Ad 3 a) 4
apxovaow, Grr’ dn Ka@’ odov ovtas ev Tots SrrXots
, , al
TepiaxovTes yvuykacav aibis omicw bia Tijs
, ‘ a
Aevxavias aye émi Tous Pwpatous, eg TavTO TO
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had done so, and was eager to bring the war to an end before those generals came. He knew that the success would be ascribed to the one who came up with assistance, and not to himself. Accordingly, in the first place, he determined to attack those of the enemy who had seceded from the rest and were campaigning on their own account (they were commanded by Caius Canicius and Castus), and with this in view, sent out six thousand men to preoccupy a certain eminence, bidding them keep their attempt asecret. And they did try to elude observation by covering up their helmets, but they were seen by two woinen who were sacrificing for the enemy, and would have been in peril of their lives had not Crassus quickly made his appearance and given battle, the most stubbornly contested of all; for although he slew twelve thousand three hundred men it it, he found only two who were wounded in the back. The rest all died standing in the ranks and fighting the Romans.

After the defeat of this detachment, Spartacus retired to the mountains of Petelia, followed closely by Quintus, one of the officers of Crassus, and by Scrophas, the quaestor, who hung upon the enemy’s rear.

But when Spartacus faced about, there was a great rout of the Romans, and they barely managed to drag the quaestor, who had been wounded, away into safety. This success was the ruin of Spartacus, for it filled his slaves with over-confidence. They would no longer consent to avoid battle, and would not even obey their leaders, but surrounded them as soon as they began to march, with' arms in their hands, and forced them to lead back through Lucania against the Romans, the very thing which Crassus

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Kpacap OT EVOOVTES. Hon yap o Top7nios 550

T pogvwy amnyyedderTo" kat 61) apxatpearatovres
Hoa ovK oAtyou THY vinny Exelv@ TOU TohepLov
T poarjKety' édOovta, yap. evdus paxeiobar Kal
KaTardvoely TOV TOAEMOV. ET ELYOMEVOS OUV Sraryovi-
cacbat Kal Tapas TpaToTedevaas Tots TonELLOLS
W@puTTE Tadpov, pos hy ExT OGVTES ot d0bA0t
7 pogeLaxovro Tois EpyaCopevors. del b¢ TeLovery
éxatépwOev éexBonfovvtwy opwy thy avayKnv o
Td pTaKos amTrav TapeTage TO oTpdTevpa.
Kat (Tm p@rov pev TOU imTOu | mpooaxdevros auT@
oT Aa dpEvos 70 Ethos Kal ELTOV OTL VUK@V [LEV eXce
TOROS immous Kal Karovs Tev TONEMLOY,
NTT wMEVvOS 6é ov o€tTrat, Kateapate TOV tirTov
ewElTA 7 pos Kpaocor aurov aBoupevos bua
TOMO O7TAwWY Kal TpavLUaTwY éxelvou pev OUK
ETUXED, ExaTovTapxas 5é dv0 TULTETOVTAS aveine.
TENOS dé guy ovTev TOV mept aQUuTOr, AUTOS ET OS
Kal KuxrAwlels & v6 TOAAWY GPUVOHEVOS KATEKITN.
Kpdaaou 5€ TH TUXN \pygapevou Kat oT patny)-
TAVTOS apiara. Kal TO TOMA TO KLvOUVO Tapacxov-
TOS, OUWS ov duepuye TO catopbopa THY Topaniou
do€av. of yap Siaduryovtes eumecovres * auT@
diefpOdpycay, Gore Kat yparvrat Tpos THY TUYyKAN-
Tov OTL waxy ev TOUS paréras pavepa Kpaaaos
vevixnKev, autos 6é ToD _Toewou tTHy pifav
avnpnxe. Tloprnios pev obv amd Xeptwpiov xal
1 S:aguydyres Cumersyres Coraés' correction of the MSS.
Siamecdyres. Cf. Pompey, xxi 2, from which Graux would
correct S:a<mecdvtes ex THS "axns wevraxtoxlAin wipt> Tee
advTes.
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also most desired. For Pompey’s approach was already announced, and there were not a few who publicly proclaimed that the victory in this war belonged to him; he had only to come and fight and put an end to the war. Crassus, therefore, pressed on to finish the struggle himself, and having encamped near the enemy, began to dig a trench. Into this the slaves leaped and began to fight with those who were working there, and since fresh men from both sides kept coming up to help their comrades, Spartacus saw the necessity that was upon him, and drew up his whole army in order of battle.

In the first place, when his horse was brought to him, he drew his sword, and saying that if he won the day he would have many fine horses of the enemy’s, but if he lost it he did not want any, he slew his horse. Then pushing his way towards Crassus himself through many flying weapons and wounded men, he did not indeed reach him, but slew two centurions who fell upon him together. Finally, after his companions had taken to flight, he stood alone, surrounded by a multitude of foes, and was still defending himself when he was cut down. But although Crassus had been fortunate, had shown most excellent generalship, and had exposed his person to danger, nevertheless, his success did not fail to enhance the reputation of Pompey. For the fugitives from the battle! encountered that general and were cut to pieces, so that he could write to the senate that in open battle, indecd, Crassus had conquered the slaves, but that he himself had extirpated the war. Pompey, accordingly, for his

1 Their number is given as five thousand in Pompey, xxi. 2.

‘| Rnpias emipaves eOpiapBevae, Kpdacos 6é Tov pev péyav PpiauBov ovo avTos aiTew emexeipnaen, edoxel dé xal tov trefor, oovay dé Kadoupevon, ayevvas Kat Tap afiav én _Sovhie@ TOA Ep OptapPeboat. ti & ovtos éxeivov dtageper, Kat TeEpl THS KAHNTEwWS, ev TH MapKérXrou Bio yéypa-TTAL.

XII. Mera b¢ tavta tov Ilopumniov avrobev €mi THY UTaTelav KQNOULEVOD, érmidas EX@v O Kpdocos cuvaptewv Guws ovK axvnoe TOU Top-miov SenOivar. deEdpevos b¢ THY xXpetav da pevors EKELYOS (emreOuper yap apbas yé THs del YapiTos Tivos oetdétyv daBetv TOV Kpaacor) eamrovdace Tpod ups, Kal TEAOS elmey éKKXN-ovatov WS oux eXaT Tova wept TOU cuvdpxovTos eFet Xa piv } Teplt THs apxis. ov pay ewewvav etl TAVTNS THS prrogpocuvys Els THY apynv KaTa-OTAVTES, adh Odiryou Seiy trept TavTwv Stage po-pevot Kal tTavtTa dua Kohaivorres GXAnroLS Kat ptroverxovvTes amrohiTeuTov Kal dm paxTov QUTOLS

TI uTaTélav éroincav, TANVY OTL Kpdacos
“Hpaxret peyarny Ovalav trotnodapevos eloTiage
TOV Ojuov ato pupiwv TpaTrel@v Kal oiTov
eweT pnoev els Tpiunvov. 76n dé THS apxis avrois
TENEVTOT)S ETUYOV pev exKAnaralovtes, avnp dé
TLS OU TOV em Pavan, LTITEUS ‘Popatov, arypoiKos
dé TO Bip Kal idewrns, ‘Ovatios! Adpnruos,
dvaBas ¢ err TO Biya Kal ™ poehOwp * Oxpev Senryetto
Kata tous Omvous ad’Tw yevouéernv. “‘O yap
1?Ovarios in Pompey, xxiti. 1, [dios Graux would
therefore read here avéuari Paios.
2 xpoeAOav with Stepi Coraés, and S: Ow
poeAOay with Stephanus, Coraés, and S: xpocer bay.
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victories over Sertorius and in Spain, celebrated a splendid triumph; but Crassus, for all his self- approval, did not venture to ask for the major triumph, and it was thought ignoble and mean in him to celebrate even the minor triumph on foot, called the ovation, for a servile war. How the minor triumph differs from the major, and why it is named as it is, has been told in my life of Marcellus.!

XII. After this, Pompey was at once asked to stand for the consulship, and Crassus, although he had hopes of becoming his colleague, did not hesitate to ask Pompey’s assistance. Pompey received his request gladly (for he was desirous of having Crassus, in some way or other, always in debt to him for some favour), and eagerly promoted his candidature, and finally said in a speech to the assembly that he should be no less grateful to them for the colleague than for the office which he desired. However, when once they had assumed office,” they did not remain on this friendly basis, but differed on almost every measure, quarrelled with one another about everything, and by their contentiousness rendered their consulship barren politically and without achievement, except that Crassus made a great sacrifice in honour of Hercules, feasted the people at ten thousand tables, and made them an allowance of grain for three months. And when at last their term of office was closing, and they were addressing the assembly, a certain man, net a noble, but a Roman knight, rustic and rude in his way of life, Onatius Aurelius, mounted the rostra and recounted to the audience a vision that had come to him in his sleep. “Jupiter,” he said, “appeared to me

1 Chapter xxii. 270" £.C;

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Z, EUS,” eon, poe pavels TpooeTater els KoLvov
elmely OTWS fy) mm porepov meptidnte TOUS UmaTOUS
arobéacbat THY apxny n pirous yeveo Bar.” TavTa

A€yovTos Tov avOpar-ov Kal TOU Onpov diadrar-
tea Oa KehevovTos, O pev opmijios 7 novytav Hyyev
ET@s, o éé Kpdaaos éuBadov THY befvav avT@
TpOoTeEpos, “ Ovdér,” elTrev, “ @ avopes, olpa, mont-
Tal, Tamelvov TpaTTELy ovo dvaEvov eHavTov
KATAaPXOMEVOS EvVOLas Kai Pirias pos Tlopm pion,
Ov Upels pijmtw yeveeavta Méyav avyyopevoate
Kal pare peetéyovte Bovrns epndicacbe
OpiapBov.”
XIII. ‘H per ovv virateta TOU Kpdooov 1aoT
éaxev fia pynns, 7 bé Topnreta mavTaTragw
aTedAns Kal aT paxtos avT@ ouprlen, ouTE yap
Bovrjs éFétacw otf immévv érioxelry ovT
arroripna ty TORT OY emoncato, KatTou oup-
ap xovTa ‘Popaiwy EXOVTE TOV Tpaoraroy Aov-
Tatiov KatAov. adda dacwy emi Seuvov opunoavtt
TO Kpacow TON TELL, Kat Ptatop, Alyumroy
ToLew brrorent} ‘Paopaios, ati Siva tov Kardov
éppwuéevws’ €x 5€ rovTou ryevouévns Siapopas
éxovtas atobéa Bat THY apyny.
"Ey &€ tois wept Katedivay Tpaypact peyarous
Kal piKpod Sejcaow dvatpéeyar tiv “Popny,
rato pév TLS vToVvoIa TOU Kpagoou Kal mpoo-
nrOev vO pw7ros ovopa Sev amo TAS curapocias,
ovdels b€ eiotevaev. Ouws &°) Kixépav év Tit
55]

Oyo pavepos mV Kpacow Kal Kaicape THY aitiay

TpoatptBopevos. arr’ ovTcs bev O Aaryos eFeb00n meTa THY audoiv TerevTyy, ev b€ TH Llepi Umateias

and bade me declare in public that you should not suffer your consuls to lay down their office until they become friends.” When the man said _ this and the people urged a reconciliation, Pompey, for his part, stood motionless, but Crassus took the initiative, clasped him by the hand, and said: “ Fellow-citizens, I think there is nothing humiliat- ing or unworthy in my taking the first step towards good-will and friendship with Pompey, to whom you gave the title of ‘Great’ before he had grown a beard, and voted him a triumph before he was a senator.”

XIII. Such, then, were the memorable things in the consulship of Crassus, but his censorship! passed without any results or achievements whatever. He neither made a revision of the senate, nor a scrutiny of

the kuights, nor a census of the people, although he had Lutatius Catulus, the gentlest of the Romans, for his colleague. But they say that when Crassus embarked upon the dangerous and violent policy of making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus opposed him vigorously, whereupon, being at variance, both voluntarily laid down their office.

In the affair of Catiline,? which was very serious, and almost subversive of Rome, some suspicion attached itself to Crassus, and a man publicly named him as one of the conspirators, but nobody believed him. Nevertheless, Cicero, in one of his orations,* plainly inculpated Crassus and Caesar. This oration, it is true, was not published until after both were dead; but in the treatise upon his consulship,®

1 65 B.C. 2 63-62 B.c. 3 Not extant.

) Kixépov vUKTMP dyoi tov Kpdocov age-
Kéa0at 7 pos avTov emia TONY coptCovta * Ta Tept
TOV Kartedivay eEnyouperny,) @S 70n BeBaobvta
THY cuvepociar. o 8 ovp Kpdaaos del ev
épiaes Tov Kixépwva ba touto, Tov dé Bramrev
dvapavdov euTOO@Y ele Tov viov. oO yap
IIovAtos wv pidororyos Kat diropal ns eEnptnTo
Tov Kixépwvos, @oTe Kai cup peta Bareiy avT@
THY eo Oita Kptvopéev@ Kal TOUS addous veous
TavTa movobyTas Tapacxelv. TéXos O€ TOY TATEPA
TEeicas pirov eToinoen.
XIV. 'O 6€ Kaicap as emaviprOev ato Tis
eTapXias, TapacKevalopevos UTaTelay peTeévas
Kat K paccor opov Kal Topaniov avOis ev
Stapopais mpos aXAXAOus Svtas, ove Oarépov
denGeis éBovreto AaBeiv éyOpov tov ErEpov, ovTE
pndeTépov cuvepyouvTos nrmete catopbwa eww.
em pattev ovv diadrayas AUTOS TMpPOTKELMEVOS
Kal d0adoKwv as KATANVOYTES GARHAOVS avfouct
Kixépevas kat KatXous Kal Kdtovas, ov ovdels
hovyos, dy éxeivor TUVEVEYKOVTES €lS TAUTO TAS
pidias Kat Tas éTaLpeias évl Kparet Kal pea yvopn
THY TON dywoty. melas dé Kal SiadddEas
cunyarye Kal cuvertnoer éK TOY TPLOV tox ov
dpa ov, 7 KaTENUTE 'Pew pator THY SovrAnv Kai
Tov Onpov, ovx éxelvous dv adrAnArAoV peEiCovas,
GANG Ov exeivwr EauTOV péytaToOV aTrEepyacdpeVvos.
evOds yap apOeis tr' dudotépwy Urratos amedet-
1 xoul(ovTa . . . e&nyounérny Sintenis' correction of the

MSS. kxoulCovra wept rod Karidlya xal (nrovpévny, which Coratés and Bekker retain.

Cicero says that Crassus came to him by night with a letter which gave details of the affair of Catiline,[1] and felt that he was at last establishing the fact of a conspiracy. And Crassus, accordingly, always hated Cicero for this, but was kept from doing him any open injury by his son. For Publius Crassus, being given to literature and learning, was attached to Cicero, so much so that he put on mourning when Cicero did at the time of his trial, and prevailed upon the other young men to do the same. And finally he persuaded his father to become Cicero's friend.

XIV. Now when Caesar came back from his province and prepared to seek the consulship, he saw that Pompey and Crassus were once more at odds with each other. He therefore did not wish to make one of them an enemy by asking the aid of the other, nor did he have any hope of success if neither of them helped him. Accordingly, he tried to reconcile them by persistently showing them that their mutual ruin would only increase the power of such men as Cicero, Catulus, and Cato, men whose influence would be nothing if Crassus and Pompey . would only unite their friends and adherents, and with one might and one purpose direct the affairs of the city. He persuaded them, reconciled them, and won them both to his support, and constituted with that triumvirate an irresistible power, with which he overthrew the senate and the people, not by making his partners greater, the one through the other, but by making himself greatest of all through them. For owing to the support of both he was

1 Cf. Plutarch's Cicero, xv.

¥9n Aaputpas. vmatevorvt. 8 alto! Whdi-
, /
TUupEevol oTpaTEvpaTwY Hyepoviay Kat Vanda-
,
tiay eyxetpicavTes WaTEP Eis AKpoTroALW KaTé-
aTnaay, oloueror Kal' ijovyiav veunoecOar ta
\ ' ? , ' f a a
ova Tpos adrAnAOUs Eexelv@m PeBavovvTes Hr
eAayev apyXny.
Iloparnios peéev ody Umo dirtapxias apétpov

tabr émpatte tav d€ Kpdocov voonpatwv to
“ ,
apyaiov 7 didoT\ouvTia Katvov Epwta wpocda-
“~ a “ 4
Bodoa nai Snrov eri tais Kaioapos aowwretacs
é
Tpotaiwy Kat @piapBwv, ois ye povois édart-
tovabat mwpovyovtTa Tots addots, avTOY OUK
3 “ > 9 L4 \ > ww 3 ~ \
avixev ovd éhwdnoe mpiv ets ON\Opov akre7 Kal
dnpocias suudopas TedkevTjoat. Kaicapos yap
a , ”
ets Aovxav 7oduv ex Vadatias cataBavtos dAdo
Ve , > 7 \ ha \
Te TOAAOL Papatwv adpixovto, Kai Iloparnios cat
r f O27 , \ >] \ bd
Kpdooos iota TVYYEVOLEVOL TPOS AYTOV EyvOTar
éyxpatéaTtepov ExecOat TOV TPAYpLUTwY KAL Tacar
a “ , ?
ud’ éavtois TwoeioOar THv ryepoviav, Katoapos
\ 9 a ad , bed A> /
ev év Tois OmrAOLS pévovTos, adXas be eTTAPYias
, f \ / ,
kal otpatevpata lloumniov Kat Kpacoov XaBov-
“~ / , 6 ,
twv. évtav0a & od0s Fw pa dSevtépas vratetas
, 4
aiTnots’ Hv peTLOVT@Y exEelvwy Edel TULTPATTELY
Y ~ N “~
Kaicapa, Trois te didos ypadovra Kat TOY oTpa-
“ é
TLWTOV TELTOVTA TOAAOLS APYatpEectaaovTas.
¢
XV. Ent rovrocs of epi Kpaocor ets ‘Popny
> Ud 3 \ = iad ‘
érravenOovtes evOus Jjoav vromtoa, Kal Torus
éywpe: da mdvtwv NOyos ovK ém ayad@ yezo-
1 airg after this word xadds is bracketed by Sintenis and Bekker.

at once triumphantly elected consul!) And during his consulship they voted him armies to command,

and put Gaul into his hands, and so, as it were, established him in an acropolis, thinking to share the rest with one another at their leisure if they secured to him his allotted province.

Now Pompey did all this from an unbounded love of power; but to that ancient infirmity of Crassus, his avarice, there was now added a fresh and ardent passion, in view of the glorious exploits of Caesar, for trophies and triumphs. In these alone he thought himself inferior to Caesar, but superior in everything else. And his passion gave him no rest nor peace until it ended in an ingltorious death and public calamities. For when Caesar came down to the city of Luca? from Gaul, many Romans came thither to meet him, and among them Pompey and Crassus. These held private conferences with Caesar, and the three determined to carry inatters with a higher hand, and to make themselves sole masters of the state. Caesar was to remain in his command, while Pompey and Crassus were to take other provinces and armies. But the only way to secure this end was by soliciting a second consulship. Since Pompey and Crassus were candidates for this, Caesar was to co-operate with them by writing letters to his friends and by sending many of his soldiers home to support them at the elections.

XV. With this understanding, Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, and were at once objects of suspicion ; report was rife through the whole city that their meeting with Caesar had been for no good

1 59 Bo. 2 56 B.c.

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tw

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4, \ 4 b] “~ 9 A “A “~
vévat tnv avvodov avtav. év 5€ TH Bovary
4 -
MapxerXivou cat Aopetiov Houtniov épwtravtav
El péTELoLY UTraTElaVv, amexpivatTo TuyoV pev
\
peTiévat, Tuyov bé pn peTiévar’ Kal Tad épwra-

pevos Edy petsévar tots Stxatows ToriTats, p71
peteevat S€ Tois adixots. Tovtov be do0€avtos
uTEepnpavous atroxptaas Kat TeTUpwpévas Trotel-
e a
afar petpiwtepov o Kpdaoaos eizrev, et TH TWOAE
/ ,
sumpepel, meTéevat THY apyny, et SE 7, TeTavceE-
aba. 80 Kai tives COdppnocav Urateiay peters
A , “a
Oetv, wv Fw Kal Aopitios. yevouevor 8€ davepav
nw 4
éxetvoy év Tats mapayyeAtats ol péev addat
, es
deloavtes atréatynoay, Aopitiov 6€ Katwy oixetov
wv \ 4 b] , 3 4
ovta Kal dirov é€Odppuvey éyxedevopevos Kal
Tapoppav eExecOat THs EXTrLOOS WS UTEPHAYOUVTA
nn val ta . °
THS Kowns érevOepias: ov yap vmateias Lop-
« A \ 4
ariov Setcbat cat Kpdooov, adda tupavvidos,
ovd apyis aitnotw, adr’ aprayny érapyiav Kat
otpatomédwy elvat Ta TpaTTOpeEva.
r a \ \ / fad \ “ e rf
lavta b€ cai A€éywv odTw Kal dpovav o Katwv
al ‘
povovoy Bia mpoiyev eis ayopay tov Aopuitiop,
Kal auviaotavto ToAXOL pos avtovs. Kal TO
bf 4
Oavpalov ovx ortyov Hv, “Ti $1 devtépas obtor
oo e t ‘ , be 4 > irXX vi 4
Vpnfovaty vTrateias; TL O€ TANLY ET AAADNXWD;
, > 3 9. CF ‘ +) > NX ww e a
TiS ov pe Erépwv; wodrol 8 eiaiv avdpes nyity
b] , f é 4 \ wf
ovx avakioe Oi)j7ov Kpaoow xat Iloprniw oupr-
apye.” ék tovtov detcavres ot tept Topmanioy
ovdevos ieiyovTo T@Y axoapoTaTwy Kal Biatota-
A a , e ld
TwY, GANA Tpos WaaL Tois AAXrOLS AOYOV UPevTeEs
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€

purpose. In the senate, also, when Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompey if he was going to be a candidate for the consulship, he replied that perhaps he was, and perhaps he was not; and when asked the question again, he said he should solicit the votes of the good citizens, but not those of the bad. Since lis answers were thought to have been made in pride and arrogance, Crassus said, more modestly, when the question was put to him, that if it was for the interest of the city, he would be a candidate for the office, but otherwise he would desist. For this reason divers persons were emboldened to sue for the consulship, one of whom was Domitius. When, how- ever, Pompey and Crassus openly announced their candidature, the rest took fright and withdrew from the contest; but Cato encouraged Domitius, who was a kinsman and friend of his, to proceed, urging and inciting him to cling to his hopes, assured that he would do battle for the common freedom. For it was not the consulate, he said, which Crassus and Pompey wanted, but a tyranny, nor did their course of action mean simply a canvass for office, but rather a seizure of provinces and armies.

With such words and such sentiments Cato all but forced Domitius to go down tu the forum as a candidate, and many joined their party. Many, too, voiced their amazement thus: ‘ Why, pray, should these men want a second consulship? And why once more together? Why not have other colleagues? Surely there are many mtt: among us who are not unworthy to be colleagues of Pompey and Crassus ! ”’ Alarmed at this, the partizans of Crassus and Pompey abstained from no aisorder or violence, however extreme, and capped the climax by way-

TO Aoputi VUKTOS ere pera TOY adda KaT-
EpKoperey KTELVOUTL LEY TOV dvéXovTa 70 POS
TpO avTod, TUVTLTP@KOUaL be TOAANOUS, OV HY Kal
Katwv. tpewdapevoe 5€ xal xatakdeicavtes els
THY olxiay éxeivous avnyopevOnaay Urratot Kal
pet OU ToAUY ypovoyv avOis GrroLs TEpLaKXOVTES
To Biya Kat tov Natwva Tis ayopas éxBaXdovtes!
Kab Tivas UTooTaVTas ATOKTELVAVTES, Kaicap:
pev aXXND emedogay TevTaeTLav THs apxis,
abrots d6€ Tav érapyiov eyndicavto Xvupiav
Kal "TBnpias cuvapporepas. KAnpovpeveoy Oé
Supiav éXaye Kpdoaos, ta 0° “IPnpixa Top-
an

XVI. "Hp 6€ ov« dikova Los. O KX7}pos amaou.
of Te yap ToAXOL Hopmyiov Thy paxpav elvat Tis
TOAEWS éBovnorTo, Kal TToparjios Ep@V TIS yuvat-
KOS avrooe Ta TOANQ drat piBerv Euednre, Kpaoaos
dé Ud Xapas evdvs EX TETOVTL TO KANPD Kara-
pavns nv oveer eUTUX TMA ha pr porepov EauT@
yeyovevat TOU TApPOVTOS NYOUPLEVOS, WS pores éy
addoTpiows Kal Toots nov iav aye, 7 pos d€
TOUS cuvnders TONG Keva Kal perpakrwoy eye
Tap WrLKiaY Tv €avTOU Kal puow, Kora.
KOLTAGTHS 1) coBapos TO Bio yeyouas. Tove ©
eT NpPEVOS KopLon Kal SrepOappévos ov Lupiav
ovde IIdp@ous 6 opov eTOLELTO THS eum patias, aX'
@s matéitavy arodavev ta AovxovrAXov 7 Pos
Teypavny Kal Toprntou 7 pos McOpidarny, axpt
Baxrptov kai Ivddv cal ths EEw Oaddacans avipyev
éavtov Tais €XTioL.
1 In codex Matritensis Graux found after this word pera
ray olawy (together with his friends).

laying Domitius, as he was coming down into the forum before day-break with his followers, killing his torch-bearer, and wounding many, among whom was Cato. After routing their opponents and shutting them up at home, they had themselves proclaimed consuls! and a short time afterwards they once more surrounded the rostra with armed men, cast Cato out of the forum, slew several who made resistance, and then had another five years added to the proconsulship of Caesar in Gaul, and the provinces of Syria and both Spains voted to themselves. When the lot was cast, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

XVI. Now the lot fell out to the satisfaction of everybody. For most of the people wished Pompey to be not far away from the city; Pompcy, who was passionately fond of his wife,' intended to spend most of his time there; and as for Crassus, as soon as the lot fell out, he showed by his joy that he regarded no piece of good fortune in his whole life as more radiant than the one which had now come to him. Among strangers and in public he could scarcely hold his peace, while to his intimates he made many empty and youthful boasts which ill became his years and his disposition, for he had been anything but boastful or bombastic before this. But now, being altogether exalted and out of his senses, he would not consider Syria nor even Parthia as the boundaries of his success, but thought to make the campaigns of Lucullus against Tigranes and those of Pompey against Mithridates seem mere child's play, and flew on the wings

of his hopes as far as Bactria and India and the Outer Sea.

155 3B.c. ? Julia, Caesar’s daughter, who died in 54 B.c.

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5)

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kaito To ypagevre _TEpi TOUTWY vopep I] apOt-
KOS Tore LoS Ov 7 poo iv. oer av b¢ TaVTES OTe
mpos tovtTo! Kpdaaos émtontrat cai Kaicap ¢x
Tanratias eypadev QUT@ THY oppny éTawa@v Kal
mapobivey ert Tov TOKE BOD. éret O€ dnuapyav
"Arrfios Emedre pos TY é£€odov evavTiwa er Gat,
kal auviotavTo oAXol Nareraivortes el TLS
avO parrots ovdev adixodaw, avr éveTrevoots,
Torenjowy amet, Seiaas o Kpaaaos édenOn
Tlourniou mapayevéobat Kai TUT poTrenyar
peya yap Hv éxetvou TO Tpos Tor oxdov akiwpa:
Kal TOTE TAPETKEVAT HEVOUS Todous éviatacbat
Kat xataBoav o Opmpevos ™po avTou parop@ Brep-
pate Kat Tporon Karem pavver 0 Tloparnios,
act vmretKey ow hy de avrav mpoiovaty. 0 8
"Arnios amavtijaas mpatoy pev ato dwvijs
exw@rue Kal SvepapT upero Ty Badilew, €mretta TOV
barnpeTny exéXevey arvrdpevov TOU TOLATUS KaTe-
Kee. arrwv oe One pov ouK eWUTOY, oO pev
UT NPETNS adie tov Kpaaaov, o & ’Arnios Tpo-
Spapov € émt THY TUANY EOnxev eoxapioa KQLCLEVNDY,
Kal tou Kpaacou "1Ev0pEVOU KaT avTny em upeay
Kal KaTaaTEéevowy apas eTnpato Seas pev auras
Kal pprxwoers, Seevous 6€ Twas Jeous Kal addoxo-
Tous ém autTais Karo Kal ovo md Sev TAUTAS
pact ‘Popaior Tas apas amoOétous Kai Tadavas
TOLAUTHY EXEL Suvapuy @S Tepepuryety pndéeva TOV
eva xeDevtav aurais, KAKOS d€ Tpdaoe Kal TOY
XprjTapevon, oGev ovK emt Tots TUX’ Vatv avTas ove”
UmTo TOAAGY apacGal. Kai TOT ovY E“éupovTo Tov
1 rotto Bekker adopts rovroy from Reiske,

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And yet in the decree which was passed regarding his mission there was no mention of a Parthian war. But everybody knew that Crassus was all eagerness for this, and Caesar wrote to him from Gaul approving of his project, and inciting him on to the war. And when Ateius, one of the tribunes of the people, threatened to oppose his leaving the city, and a large party arose which was displeased that anyone should go out to wage war on men who had done the state no wrong, but were in treaty relations with it, then Crassus, in fear, begged Pompey to come to his aid and join in escorting him out of the city. For great was Pompey’s reputation with the crowd. And now, when the multitude drawn up to resist the passage of Crassus, and to abuse him, saw Pompey’s beaming countenance in front of him, they were mollified, and gave way before them in silence. But Ateius, on meeting Crassus, at first tried to stop him with words, and protested against his advance; then he bade his attendant seize the person of Crassus and detain him. And when the other tribunes would not permit this, the attendant released Crassus, but Ateius ran on ahead to the city gate, placed there a blazing brazier, and when Crassus came up, cast incense and libations upon it, and invoked curses which were dreadful and terrifying in themselves, and were reinforced by sundry strange and dreadful gods whom he summoned and called by name. The Romans say that these mysterious and ancient curses have such power that no one involved in them ever escapes, and misfortune falls also upon the one who utters them, wherefore they are not emptoyed at random nor by many. And accordingly at this time they found

"Arniov, et du iv éyadérawe T@ Kpdoow mony,
els avTHV apas adixe Kal decodatpoviay TocauTny.
XVII. “O 8€ Kpdooos eis Bpevréctoy HrOev.
étt 8° aotatovons yeta@or THs Oardoans ov
4 > > 3 , a ‘ n~ ,
TEplepervev, GAN avryxOn Kal GuXva TAY TOLwY
amvéBare, tv 8 addnv dvaraBov Stvapiv
2 , “ ‘ , e XN XN XN
nmevyero meth Oia Varatias. evpwv 8 Top
Baocttéa Aniotapov ruvu peév dvta ynpatov Hn,
xtifov7a b€ véay Tod, erécxwev eirav: “7D
Baaired, Swoexatns @pas oikodopety apxn.”
¢ f
yeruaas 8 0 Ladatis: ‘’AXX’ ovd autos,” eiver,
“@ avToKpatop, Ws Op@, Tpwt ALay émt LapGous
f 39 q b] e , ‘ £ f ‘ v

éxauvets.” vd o Kpuacos éEnxovta péev ern
qTaparrdtTwv, TpeaBuvtepos S€ tTHv Ow 4} Kal
e , > , > 3. ON vs \ f
Hrtkiav. adtixopevov 6 avtov edé€ato Ta mpdy-
pata Tis edTidos afiws TO TpwTov. Kal yap
éCevEe padiws tov Kvdpatny xat diunyaye tov
4 P : 3 “ ‘ p f My uh
aoTpaTov acgarws, Kat Todes Todas Ev TH
Mecomotapia xatéoyev éxovoiws mpocbepévas.
éy uta &, 5 “AToAAWVLOS ETUPaYVEl, OTPATLWTOY
éxatoy avaipeGévtwy émayayov thy duvayuy
avtois Kai Kpatnoas Siujprace Ta yphpata Kal
tous avOpwrous atédoto: Znvodotiay éxaXouv
Thy Todt ot” EAAnves. eit TavTns adrovans beEd-
MEvOS aAUTOKPATWP LTO THS TTpaTLas dvaryopevOij-
\ ? 3 ? \ ‘ ? s
vat ToAAHnY whrEv AiaYuYNnV, Kal TaTTELVOS Ehavy
Kal Tepl Ta petfova SvcEATIS OVTW TAEOVEKTNMA
X ? 4 > A de b) Cal
HLKPOV NYATNKWS. éuBarov dpovpas Tats
TpocKexwpyxkuiats Torey, wy aptOpos Hy
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(

CRASSUS

fault with Ateius because it was for the city’s sake
that he was angered at Crassus, and yet he had in-
involved the city in curses which awakened much
superstitious terror.

XVII. But Crassus came to Brundisium.! And though the sea was still rough with wintry storms, he would not wait, but put out, and so lost a great number of his vessels. With what was left of his forces, however, he hurried on by land through Galatia. And finding that King Deiotarus, who was now a very old man, was founding a new city, he rallied him, saying: “ O King, you are beginning to build at the twelfth hour.” The Galatian laughed and said: “ But you yourself, Imperator, as I see, are not marching very early in the day against the Parthians.” Now Crassus was sixty years old and over, and looked older than his years. On_ his arrival, things went at first as he had hoped, for he easily bridged the Euphrates and led his army across in safety, and took possession of many cities in Mesopotamia which came over to him of their own accord. But at one of them, of which Apollonius was tyrant, a hundred of his soldiers were slain,” whereupon he led up his forces against it, mastered it, plundered its property, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. The city was called Zenodotia by the Greeks. For its capture he allowed his soldiers to salute him as Imperator, thereby incurring much disgrace and showing himself of a paltry spirit and without good hope for the greater struggles that lay vefore him, since he was so delighted with a trifling acquisition. After furnishing the cities which had come over to his side with garrisons, which amounted

' 54 Bc. 2 Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 13.

¢ , \ , 32 Le a 3 +
émraktoxtrtot TreCot yirstos O° lrmels, aveywpnoerv
3 \ > Ry , Ul \ , > ,
autos év Lupia d:axetpacwy Kai deEopevos avrobe
\ €\ a . A f ' /
Tov viov HKovTa trapa Kaioapos é€« Tadatias
auTov Te KEexoounpévovy aptoTetots Kal xXLALoVs
(wets €mtN€KTOUS ayovTa.

Todrto mpa@tov dpaptet edokev 0 Kpaaaos peta
ye Thy OTpaTElaV aUTHY péytoTOY apapTnua THY
yevouevwv, OTL Tpoow xwpelv déov ExecOai Te
BaBvr@vos cai Yerevxeias, dua peveav aet WadpGors
ToAEewY, Ypovov évédwKEe Tos TroAEpiols Trapa-
nw " \ , \ 3 ~
oKevis. emevTa Tas év Xupia SiatpiBas nTi@vTo
"~ Ld a U Y
YXpnuatiotixas paAdov ovoas 7} oTpatTynyiKds* ov
\ ev > \ 3 , > ' nn
yap OrAwy apiOuov éFeTalwv ovde yupvaciay
Totovpevos apiddas, aAAa Tpocodous ToAEwY
exroyllomevos Kal Ta ypnpata THs ev 'leparvrove
Geod otabpots Kai TpvTavais peTtayerptComevos
> \ ' e , 3 f ' \ , Q
emi woAAas nuépas, Eriypapwv S€ Kai dnuots kal
Suvdetats oTpaTlwTO@Vv KaTaXdoyous, elt avieis ap-
yuptov didovtas, 7d0€er Kal Kateppovetto TovTois.
yiverar 5€ Tp@TOVY aL'T@ onpetov ato THs Oeod
s A e \ sf , © . € .
TavtTns, iv of pev Adpoditny, ot d€"Hpav, a bé
THY apYas Kal oméppata Tao. €& vypav Tapa-
gyYovcayv aitiay Kat vow vopifovor, Kat Try
mavtwv els avOpwrous apyny ayabav xatabeit~a-
cav. é€tovtwy yap €x Tov tepod TpwTOS €aparr
Kata Tas TUAAaS oO veavias Kpéazos, elt' ér' alto
TEepiTec@v Oo WpEec BUTEPOS.
XVIII. "Hdn S€ tas duvapers éx TOV Yetpadior
auvabpoitovtos avtov mpécBets adixovto wap
'Apoaxou Bpayvy tiva Noyor Kopifovtes. Epacav

in all to seven thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen, he himself withdrew to take up winter quarters in Syria, and to await there his son, who was coming from Caesar in Gaul, decorated with the insignia of his deeds of valour, and leading a thousand picked horsemen.

This was thought to be the first blunder which Crassus committed,—after the expedition itself, which was the greatest of all his blunders,—because, when he should have advanced and come into touch with Babylon and Seleucia, cities always hostile to the Parthians, he gave his enemies time for preparation. Then, again, fault was found with him because his sojourn in Syria was devoted to mercenary rather than military purposes. For he made no estimate of the number of his troops, and instituted no athletic contests for them, but reckoned up the revenues of cities, and spent many days weighing exactly the treasures of the goddess in Hierapolis, and prescribed quotas of soldiers for districts and dynasts to turnish, only to remit the prescription when money was offered him, thereby losing their respect and winning their contempt. And the first warning sign came to him from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, others Juno, while others still regard her as the natural cause which supplies from moisture the beginnings and seeds of everything, and points out to mankind the source of all blessings. For as they were leaving her temple, first the youthful Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and then his father fell over him.

XVIII. No sooner had he begun to assemble his forces from their winter quarters than envoys came to him from Arsaces! with a wonderfully brief

1 In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.

tw

“~

, 3 \ e , ¢ 4, e ‘ > /
yup, ev pev v0 Pwpaiwy o otpatos amréotadtat,
TOAELOV AoTroVvdoY elvat Kal adtddAdraKTOD, Et SE
Ths TaTpioos axovans, ws muvOavovtar, Kpdaoos
Ines fod nw ad iA 9 4 ‘
idiwy evexa Kepdav SrrrAa TdapOors érevyvoye Kat
Yopav kateiAnde, petpiavery "Apoaxny cal TO pev
Kpdacoou yijpas oixteipev, adiévat 5€ “Pwpaiors
\ Ww a ” , aA a
Tous avdpas, ods Eyer Ppevpovpévovs parAXov 7
@povpovvtas. mpos tavta Kpadooou Koptracar-

¢ bd NS U } , \ 3 , ,
TOS WS EV REANEUVKELA OWTEL TAS aTrOKpiCEls, yerAa-
cas 0 wmpeaRuratos Tav mpésBewv Ovayions Kai
n Le , , \ t «wD a ”
THS Yetpos vTtias SecEas TO pécov: “'Evrevoen,
> « * , , , , a
elvev, “a Kpacoe, pucovtat Tpiyes TpoTEpoy 7)
\ , ”
av Over Ledeveecar.
Ovrtor peév ovv amndAavvov ws Baciréa ‘Tpwdnv
? / 3 \ a , a
morkeuntéa ppdcovtes, é€x S€ TOY TOEwWY aS
3 f € “ “a ; , ,
eppovpovy Pwpato ths Mecotrotapias, tapaBo-
Aws tives SuexTrecavtes atta Ppovtidwy aviyyenr-
AO, AVTOTTAL peEVv YyeyovoTEes TOU TE TANOGOUS THY
Todkepiwv Kal TOV aywrworv OY Hywvicavto Tpoc-
paxopmevot Tails TroAcow, ola Sé hirel Tuvta pos
a U ’ , ¢ ww X e
TO Sewvotepov eEayyéXXovTeEs, &S AduKTOL per ot
avopes Si@xovtes, GAntto Sé pevyovtes, BEAN SE
A55 6 Oé wn ¥ \ } > On \
Kaiva’ TpolEovTa TIS OWrews Kai Trp OPO nvat Tov
BadXovta Ywpobvta dia Tod TpoatuyovTos, TOY
d€ Katappdxtwy 6TAa Ta perv Oia TavTos alet-
aOat, Ta 5é€ mpos pndev évdiSovat metrompéva.
1 xawa MSS., Coraés, Sintenis,!) and Bekker; xzrnva
(winged) from Pseudo-Appian.

message. ‘They said that if the army had been sent
out by the Roman people, it meant war without truce
and without treaty; but if it was against the wishes
of his country, as they were informed, and for his
own private gain that Crassus had come up in arms
against the Parthians and occupied their territory,
then Arsaces! would act with moderation, would
take pity on the old age of Crassus, and release to
the Romans the men whom he had under watch and
ward rather than watching over him. To this
Crassus boastfully replied that he would give his
answer in Seleucia, whereupon the eldest of the
envoys, Vagises, burst out laughing and said, point-
ing to the palm of his upturned hand: “O

Crassus, hair will grow there before thou shalt see
Seleucia.” ?
The embassy, accordingly, rode away to King Hyrodes, to tell him there must be war. But from the cities of Mesopotamia in which the Romans had garrisons, certain men made their escape at great hazard and brought tidings of serious import. They had been eyewitnesses both of the numbers of the enemy and of their mode of warfare when they attacked their cities, and, as is usual, they ex- aggerated all the terrors of their report. “When the men pursued,” they declared, “there was no escaping them, and when they fled, there was no taking them; and strange missiles are the precursors of their appearance, which pierce through every obstacle before one sees who sent them; and as for the armour of their mail-clad horsemen, some of it is made to force its way through everything, and some

1 In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.
2 Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 16.

rat “A , \
4 TadTa TOV aGTpaTLwT@Y aKovovTwy TO Opacos
cr

e / ‘ + Q\ b tA

UMeMINTEV. WeTElapevot yap ovdéy “Appeviwy
, 3 r A
Stadhépery IldpOous ovde Karaéoxoy, obs aywv

cal pépwv AovKovaAdros ateime, cal tod ToAépov

TO YaXETO@TATOY Hyovpevot paxpav odov EcecOat

‘ / by , . A ? > /

Kai dtwkiv avOpwrwyv eis yeipas ove adgtEopevwr,
/ A
wap é\Tidas ayava Kal Kivduvoyv péyay mpocedo-

KWV, WOTE Kal TOV év TéAEL Tivas olecbat Set

> , ‘ , 3 ig ‘ A ad

emiayovta Tov Kpagocov aifis vrép tay bdXwv

, r e 4
yvopnv tpobécbat. Tovtwy iv Kdaaios o Tapas.

¢ al \ i \ @ 4 ¢ > \
navyn 6€ mapedijXouvy Kal ol pavTets ws aeél
\ ra) \ / , ~
jTovnpa onpeta Kat dvaéxOvta tpodhaivorto TO
\ A ¢ A ’ > 4
Kpdcow 61a tov iep@v. add’ ovTE TOVTOLS Trpoc-
etyev ovte Tois Erepoy Te ANY errEtyecOat
Tapatvovaty.
XIX. Otvx tHeecta 8 adtov ’ApraBafns o
> f A bd f 3 ‘ 3 ‘\
Appeviov Bactrevs éréppwoev: 1G yap eis TO
atpatoTesov pe” é€axicyidiwy immévy. Kai
e \ ~~ ? A N \
ovToL pev édeyovTO guAaKes Kal mTpOTOp_ Tol
Baciréws: érépous 5€ pupiovs Umicyveito Kata-
@paxtouvs Kal Tpiapupiovs mefovs oixoaitous.
emetOe 5€ Kpaagoy éuBareiv &: ’Appevias evs THY
Ilap@iav: ov yap povoy év apOovos dSeadkev thy
A a
OTPATLAV AVTOV TApeXOVTOS, GANA Kal TrOpEvCE-
aba. 8° dadareias, dpyn wodrdAa Kal Aodous
an , ied
Guveyets Kal ywpia Svairma mpos Tv immroy, })
37°

CRASSUS

of it to give way to nothing.” When the soldiers heard this, their courage ebbed away. For they had been fully persuaded that the Parthians were not different at all from the Armenians or even the Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had robbed and plundered till he was weary of it, and they had thought that the most difficult part of the war would be the long journey and the pursuit of men who would not come to close quarters; but now, contrary to their hopes, they were led to expect a struggle and great peril. Therefore some of the officers thought that Crassus ought to call a halt and reconsider the whole undertaking. Among these was Cassius,! the quaestor. The seers, also, quietly let it become known that the omens for Crassus which came from their sacrifices were always bad and inauspicious. But Crassus paid no heed to them, nor to those who advised anything else except to press

forward.
XIX. And most of all, Artabazes the king of Armenia gave him courage, for he came to his camp with six thousand horsemen. These were said to be the king's guards and couriers ; but he promised ten thousand mail-clad horsemen besides, and_ thirty thousand footmen, to be maintained at his cwn cost. And he tried to persuade Crassus to invade Parthia by way of Armenia, for thus he would not only lead his forces along in the midst of plenty, which the king himself would provide, but would also proceed with safety, confronting the cavalry of the Parthians, in which lay their sole strength, with many mountains, and continuons crests, and regions where the horse

1 Caius Cassius Longinus, afterwards one of the assassins of Caesar.
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1+ =}
bo
ma |

6

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

povn WapOwy ddrxn, mpoBadrropuevov. o dé THY
vA a a"
mpoOvpiay avtovd Kal tiv AauTpoTHTa THs Bon-
~ 3
Oeias petpiws nyamnaoe, BadvetcBar 5 &dn dua
' e
Mevo7rotapias, 67rov ToAXovs Kat ayabous Po-
7 " ? / e \ 2 3 / =
paiwy avdpas amédeTev. o pev otv Appévios ért
TOUTOLS ATHAQaUVED:
A ' , / \ \
To be Kpacow SraiBalovre THY oTpaTLaV
' "a "
kata To Levypa Toddat pev vTepphueis Bpovtat
TepreppynyvurTo, ToAXAA O€ Kal HoTpamTev! évavTia
TO OTpaTo, Tvedpa bé véhet Kal MpNnaTHpe pmepery-
a a \ A / /
Hévoy épeicay avtov Kata Tis oyedias avéppnke
TOANA Kal cuvetpier' &€BANOn bé Kai Kepavvois
Sualv 0 Y@pos ov oTpatomredevery Euedrrev. (ros
dé trav oTpaTnyixay éeripavas Kexoounpevos Bia
cuveTiom@Uuaas Tov nvioxoy eis TO petOpov vTo-
Bpvxwos nhavicOn. Aéyeva O€ Kal TOV dETaY O

mpatos aplels amo TavTosaTou peTacTpadjvat.
mpos 8€ tTovToLs cuvérrece preva THY SiaBactv
METPOULEVOLS TA ETLTNOELA TOLS OTPATLWTALS TPO-
, A \ No te8 “a id
ta wavtav dofjnvat haxovs Kat adas, & voutfover
la , ad
‘Pwpatot wévOtpa Kal mpotidevtat Tois véxvoey,
autov te Kpdaoaou énunyopodvtos éFémece havn
a U “~
devas avyXéaca Tov oTpatov. Ep yap TO Fedypa
TOU ToTapov Siarvew Oras pnoels avTav erav-
° wv a
On. Kai déov, ws nadeto Tod pPnyatos THY
atotiayv, avadaBely cat dtacadijaat mpos tovs
ATOOELALOVTAS TO ELPNMEVOY, HMEANTEV VITO avda-
s , . ‘ > , ‘ > ,
deltas. TéXOS b€ TOV ELOtopevov KaBappov eo hayia-
1 nal Horpaxtev MSS., Coraés, and Bekker: xarhorpaxrey
with Pseudo-Appian.
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CRASSUS

could not well serve. Crassus was tolerably well
pleased with the king’s zeal and with the splendid
reinforrcements which he offered, but said he should
march through Mesopotamia, where he had left
many brave Romans. Upon this, the Armenian rode
away.

Now, as Crassus was taking his army across the Euphrates at Zeugma,! many extraordinary peals of thunder crashed about them, and many flashes of lightning also darted in their faces, and a wind, half mist and half hurricane, fell upon their raft, breaking it up and shattering it in many places. The place where he was intending to encamp was also smitten by two thunderbolts. And one of the general’s horses, richly caparisoned, violently dragged its groom along with it into the river and disappearcd beneath the waves. It is said also that the first eagle which was raised aloft, faced about of its own accord.” __ Besides all this, it happened that when their rations were distributed to the soldiers after the crossing of the river, lentils and salt came first, which are held by the Romans to be tokens of mourning, and are set out as offerings to the dead. Moreover, Crassus himself, while haranguing his men, let fall a phrase which terribly confounded them. He said, namely, that he should destroy the bridge over the river, that not one of them might return. And although he ought, as soon as he perceived the strangeness of his expression, to have recalled it and made his meaning clear to his timorous hearers, he was too obstinate to do so. And finally, when he

1 A town in Syria, on the right bank of the Euphrates, deriving its name from a bridge of boats there made across the river. 2 Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 18.

CeTo, Kal Ta oThayxva TOU _bavTews aire
mpoabovros €&éBare Tav yeipavr é¢' @ Kai
pardicta dua xepaivortas Lowy ToUs Tapovtas
epevdlace kat ''Tovdrov," én, "7d yhpas:
anra Tay ye STrwY ovdev dv éxpiyor Tas
yelpas.'
XX. Bi TOUTOV Tapa Tov TOTALOY €€nXauver
émTa pev eX OV OTALTOV Tdywata Kal TETPAKLC-
Xerceov OALyou amobéovTas inmets, Yrrous dé Tots
immevor TapaTAncious. TeV dé Tpodpomwy TivEs
Tro oxomias emraveGovres Hy yedAov avO payray
pev Epnuov elvar THv xwpar, ixnov & évTeTUXn-
KEVAL TOAADY ixvertv olov € éx petaBorijs oTiow
Sewxopmevory. a0ev AUTOS TE Kpdoaos ere padrov
EVEATILS PY, Kal Tots oTpariorars TavTaTact TOV
TlapOev Tapéatn Kata poveiv, ws oux adiEopevorv
els xelpas. Gums & ot repl Kdootov aifus due-
AéyovTo TO Kpdocg, Kat Tapyvowv parduota wey
€y TTOAEL Tul TOV Ppoupoupevov dvaraBeiv THY
dvvapty, a axpr ov Tt muOnrat Tepl TOV TONE whey
BéBaror, el dé p1), Xeopew emt DedevKeias mapa
TOV TOTAaLOV' EvTOpiaYy yap Ta otTNya THS ayo-
pas mapéEew a apa cuyKaTaipovta pos TO oTpa-
ToTmesov, Kal puraxa. Tov py cuxhoOivat Tov
ToTapov €xXovtas am loans del mpos évaytious
payetsOar Tous TrodEmIOUS.
XXT. Tatra tov Kpaocov dtackoroivtos étt
Kat Bovdevopévov TapayiveTal purapxos "Apa-
Bov, 'A pud wvns évopa, Sodepos Kal Tan ipBoros
dvnp xal TavT@V dca TUviveyKev ets oO pov 7]
TUY1) KAKG, peylarov auTots Kal TerXELOTATOY

was making the customary sacrifice of purification for
the army, and the seer placed the viscera in his
hands, he let them fall to the ground; then, seeing
that the bystanders were beyond measure distressed
at the occurrence, be smiled and said: " Such is old

age ; but no weapon, you may be sure,.shall fall from
its hands.”
XX. After this, he marched along the river with seven legions of men-at-arms, nearly four thousand horsemen, and about as many light-armed_ troops. Some of his scouts now came back from their explorations, and reported that the country was destitute of men, but that they had come upon the tracks of many horses which had apparently wheeled about and fled from pursuit. Wherefore Crassus himself was all the more confident, and his soldiers went so far as to despise the Parthians utterly, believing that they would not come to close quarters. But, never- theless, Cassius once more had a conference with Crassus, and advised him above all things to re- cuperate his forces in one of the garrisoned cities, until he should get some sure information about the enemy; but if not this, then to advance against Seleucia along the river. For in this way the trans- ports would keep them abundantly supplied with provisions by putting in at their successive encamp- ments, and, by having the river to prevent their being surrounded, they would always fight their enemies on even terms and face to face.

XXI. While Crassus was still investigating and considering these matters, there came an Arab chief- tain, Ariamnes by naine, a crafty and treacherous man, and one who proved to be, of all the mischiefs which fortune combined for the destruction of the

9)
~”~
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

td “~ ¥ wv wv ”~
yevouevov’ tovtov & noecav evior tav Lloumnip
ouverTpatevpévayv atoAavcavTa Tt Tis eKEivov
, AN f , @
diravOpwrias kai d0Favta diroppwparov eivat:
tote & Udeito TH Kpacow peta yvouns tev
Baciréws atpatnyov, et Suvatro tapatpévas
avTov dmwTdTw TOD ToTayod Kal TOV UTwWpEL@Y
9 ta b] nn b] \ \ 4
eis medtov éxBadeiy ayaves Kat TepteNavvopevon.
wavta yap Ssevoovyto paddov 7 KaTa oTopa
4 ¢ , AN 9 A \
mpoohépecOar “Pwpaiors. €AOwv ovv mpos Tov
Kpdocov o BapBapos (av 5€ Kal miBavos eitretv)
Tloparniov péev ws evepyéetnv émrnvet, Kpaoooy
dé THs Surdpews paxapicas éeuéudeto THs Sta-
TpiBAS péAXOVTA Kal TapacKevalopevor, @OTEp
OTAwY aUT@ SEencov, ov yetpav ovdé Today TaV
Taxiatov ér avOpwrous ot maXrat Cntovdaw aptra-
GAaVTES TA TLULWTATA TOV XPNMaATOV Kal cwuatov
eis XxvOas 7 ‘Tpxavois avartécOa. “ Kaitou

paxecbat mérrovtas,” &bn, “ orevdew Eder, mpiv
advacav €v TavT@ yevéo Par thy dvvayuv avadapan-
gavtos Bacthéws’ érel viv ye Lovpnvas vypiv
mTpoBéBrntar kai Swrraknns éf avtovs avabde£a-
\ , e b] 9 “~ 4 3 33
pevoe THY diwkiw, 0 & ovdayhH pavepds éoTiv.

Tadra &€ hv weubdh wdvta. by yap evdus
4 , \ N 4 9 . . >] f
Tpwdns d:e\@v thy Suvayty avtos pev "Appeviav
b] , 4 > a é ys 4 5 |
émopOe. tivvupevos ‘Aptaovdadny, Lovpyvay §
5 ry 3 AN £ 4 9 ¢ a 4
agpixev él Pwpatous, ovx vTepppocvvn xXpw-
Hevos, ws Evtot pac. ov yap hv Tov avToU
Kpaocoov uev anrakiovv avtaywvoty, avdpa
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CRASSUS

Romans, the greatest and most consummate. Some of the soldiers who had served under Pompey in these parts knew that the fellow had profited by the kindness of that commander and was thought to be a friend of Rome; but now, with the knowledge of the royal generals, he tried to work his way into the confidence of Crassus, to see if he could turn him aside as far as possible from the river and the foot-hills, and bring him down into a boundless plain where he coyld be surrounded. For nothing was farther from the thoughts of the Parthians than to attack the Romans in front. Accordingly, coming to Crassus, the Barbarian (and he was a plausible talker, too) lauded Pompey as his benefactor, and complimented Crassus on his forces. But then he criticised him for wasting time in delays and pre-parations, as if it was arms that he needed, and not hands and the swiftest of feet to follow after men who had for some time been trying to snatch up their most valuable goods and slaves and fly with them into Scythia or Hyrcania. “ And yet,’ said he, “if you intend to fight, you ought to hasten on before all the king’s forces are concentrated and he has regained his courage ; since, for the time being, Surena and Sillaces have been thrown forward to

sustain your pursuit, but the king is nowhere to be seen.
Now this was all false. For Hyrodes had promptly divided his forces into two parts and was himself devastating Armenia to punish Artavasdes, while he despatched Surena to meet the Romans. And this was not because he despised them, as some say, for he could not consistently disdain Crassus as an antagonist, a man who was foremost of the Re |

€ tA ~ r
Pwpaiwy mpwtov, Aptaovacdn b€ mpoctoAepeiv 556
“a > 4 “
Kat tais “Appeviwy émuovta Kxwpaws éFarpeiv,
> % \ , a 4 N 4
ania Kat twavu doxet Katadeicas Tov Kivduvov
> ‘ N > A A ” ‘ 4
QUTOS pev ehedpeverv Kal Kapadoxety TO pédAOP,
“4 ~
Loupyvav 6€ mpoxabeivar TEtpacopevoy wayns Kal
, \ , a> AA \ 9 a
6 weptéer€ovta tous ToXrepuiovs. ovb€ yap HY TeV
4 e
TuyovTwy o Noupyvas, adda TAOUT@ pev Kal
/ \ , 4 4
yévet kat Oo€n peta Baciréa SevTepos, avdpeta be
kal decvotnte Tov Kal’ avtov ev lapOows mpatos;
yd \ U ‘ A , ¢ 3 ‘
ere d€ peyéBer Kal KadAXrEL THpaToS ws ovOEls
ef + 4 be 6] e S b i , %
ETepos. é€Endkauve O€ Kal’ eavtov ae xtdALats
, la
aKevodopovpevos KapnaArots, Kai &taxoaias amnvas
b , 4 e al \ 4
émnyeTo madAakidwy, immeis 5€ Katappaxrot
a“ 4
yirAtot, wAeioves S€ TOY KOovdwY TapéeTELTOY,
elye 6€ TOUS TUuTaVTas iTTEls Gwod TEAdTAS TE
tf
Kat dovAOUS pUpiwy OUK aTrOdéoVTAaS. KATA YEVOS
\ a > > ~ > , “ 4
pev ovv €& apxns éxéxtyto Bacidel yevopévp

a € ,
llapOwv éritiBévat to btabnya tpa@tos, Tpwdny
\ “A 3 ‘ b 4 > II Ud Qg 4
5€ rovTov avtov é€eAnAapévov ets lapGous xatn-
Nein , > a \ , Tre
yaye, Kal LEedevKELAY AUT@ THY pEeyadny €
“~ “~ \ , 9 A
Tpatas émiBas TOU Teiyous Kal TpEYrdpevos Lota
\ ‘ 4
Yyelpl TOS avTioTavTas. ovTW SE yEeyovws ETN
“ , % ,
TpladkovTa KaT €Kxéivoy TOV Ypovoy evRovadrtas
4
Kal auvécews Sofav elye peytatnv, ols ovyx
\ A
Hxtota Kat tov Kpacaov éaodn re, d1a Bapoos Kat
a ‘\ / \ “~
dpovnua TpwTov, eita vO Séovs xal cuppopay
a 4
TALS ATUTALS EVYELPWTOV YEVOLMEVOD.
La te 4 e w 3 ,
XXII. Tor’ odv o BapBapos, ws Ereioev autor,
=~]

Romans, and wage war on Artavasdes, attacking and taking the villages of Armenia; on the contrary, it seems that he was in great fear of the danger which threatened, and therefore held himself in reserve and watched closely the coming event, while he sent Surena forward to make trial of the enemy in battle and to distract them. Nor was Surena an ordinary man at all, but in wealth, birth, and consideration, he stood next the king, while in valour and ability he was the foremost Parthian of his time, besides having no equal in stature and personal beauty. He used to travel on private business with a baggage train of a thousand camels, and was followed by two hundred waggons for his concubines, while a thousand mail-clad horsemen and a still greater number of light-armed cavalry served as his escort ; and he had altogether, as horsemen, vassals, and slaves, no fewer than ten thousand men. More- over, he enjoyed the ancient and hereditary privilege of being first to set the crown upon the head of the Parthian king; and when this very Hyrodes was driven cut of Parthia, he restored him to _ his throne, and captured for him Seleucia the Great,! having been the first to mount its walls, and having routed with his own hand his opponents. And though at this time he was not yet thirty years of age, he had the highest reputation for prudence and sagacity, and it was especially by means of these qualities that he also brought Crassus to ruin, who, at first by reason of his boldness and conceit, and then in consequence of his fears end calamities, was an easy victim of deceits.

XXII. At this time, accordingly, after the Bar-

1 Seleucia on the Tigris, built by Seleucus Nicator.

aToomdaas Tov ToTapov Oia péowy rye TeV
Tediwy odov émleKh Kal KoUdNY TO TPBTO?, Elita
poxOnpav, dppov Badeias wrodexouévns Kai
Tediwy adevdpwov kal avidpwv Kai wpds ovdév
ovdapn mépas épixtov atcOnce: Tavopévov, OTE
pn povov Sires Kat yadreroTnTt THs tropelas
amrayopeverv, dAXa Kal TO THs OpewsaTrapapu-
Onrov adupiay trapéyery ov utov apoaww, ov
petOpov, ov wpoBorAny dpovs KaOcévtos, ov Troav
SiaBdacrdvovaav, ard ateyvas Tedayiov Te
xedpa Owe TLVOY epnpcov TEPLEX OVT@V TOV oTpa-
TOV. 7v pev ovv Kal ato TOUTWY oO Boros HroTTOS:
érel 6€ xai tapa 'Aptaovacdov tov 'Appeviou
Taphnaav ayyero: Ppalovtes WS TOAAW cuvéyotto
Toh wW puevtos eT avTov Tpwdov, kai réurrew
pev éxeiv@ Bornferav ov duvatat, Tapavet 6¢€
Kpdoow pddtota pév éxet tparécOat Kal yevo-
pevov pet *Appeviwy opod dtaywvicacbat pods
tov 'Tpwdnv, et d€ un, TopeverPat Kai orpato-
medevery del Ta imTactpa hevyovTa Kal TpocYw-
poovta tots opevots, Kpaaaos pev oddéy avtt-
ypawas tm' opyns Kal oKatoTyTOs aTrexpivato
vov pev 'Appevious un ayoralev, adilis &
api—ecbar dixnv éemiOijcwv *Aptaovacdn tis
Tpocoaias. —— : ae
Oi 8é€ wept Kaactov adbOis nyavaxtouy, Kai
Kpasoov pév axOopevov avtots émavcayvto voule-
Toovres, dia Se tov BdpBapov édordopovy " Tis
ce Saipwv Tovnpos, ®@ KdKiate avOpwrar, nyaye
mpos nas; tiae S€ dapyaKots Kal ryonTeiats
éreccas Kpdacov eis épnuiav axary xai Budov
éxyéavta Tv otpat.av odov odevery Nopdds ry-
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—

barian had persuaded Crassus, he drew him away from the river and led him through the midst of the plains, by a way that was suitable and easy at first, but soon became troublesome when deep sand succeeded, and plains which had no trees, no water, and no limit anywhere which the eye could reach, so that not only did thirst and the difficulties of the march exhaust the men, but also whatever met their gaze filled them with an obstinate dejection. For they saw no plant, no stream, no projection of sloping hill, and no growing grass, but only sea-like billows of innumerable desert sand-heaps enveloping the army. This of itself was enough to induce suspicion of treachery, and soon messengers came from Artavasdes the Armenian declaring that he was involved in a great war with Hyrodes, who had attacked him with an overwhelming force, and could not therefore send Crassus aid, but advised him above all things to turn his course thither, join the Armenians, and fight the issue out with Hyrodes ; but if not this, then to march and encamp always where mountains were near and cavalry could not operate. Crassus sent no reply in writing, but answered at once in rage and perversity that for the present he had no time to waste on the Armenians, but that at another time he would come and punish Artavasdes for his treachery.

But Cassius was once more greatly displeased, and though he stopped advising Crassus, who was angry with him, he did privately abuse the Barbarian. “‘ Basest of men,” he said, “ what evil spirit brought you tous? With what drugs and jugglery did you persuade Crassus to pour his army into a yawning and abysmal desert and follow a route more fit for

, a ¢ M4 » /
oTapyYyn p.rrov 7 Pwpatwy avtoKpatopt tpoc-
, 39 e \ 4 > ‘ A ,
ykovoav;” o b€ BdpBapos avynp av Troikiros
éxeivous pev vronmintwy eOappurve Kal Tapexaret
puixpov étt Kaptepnoat, Tors dé oTpatiwTas apa
“ /
auptrapabéwy Kal wapaBonbav érécKxwrre peta
, ‘“e a fy “A oe & \ K / 50 4
YEAWTOS pets O€ O1A NKaptavias odevety
oleaGe xpnvas Kal vapata Kal oxias Kal AovTpAa
dyad) Kal ravdoxeia trobobytes; ov péuvnabe
S¢ tiv “ApaBwy SveErovtes kai "Acavpioy peBo-
f 99 ef \ e c ,
ptav;” ottw péev o BapBapos s:eravdaywynoe
A
tous ‘“Pwpuaiovs, cal mpi 7) yevéoOat havepos
> “a 3 / 9 \ ‘ ,
éfaratov adinmevoey, ov XaG@v tov Kpaaaor,
ara Kxal TodTo Teicas, ws Umepydcetat Kal
dStatapake: Ta TeV TOdEpIOV.

XXIII. Adyetar &€ THs huépas éxeivns Tov
Kpdaooy ovy warep €005 eati Pwpaiwy otparn-
oe 9 , a) > 9 e ,
yois év gotvtxid. mpoedGeiy, add ev ipatio
, 4 a \ 9. ’ , ,
pera, Kal toto peéev evdus adddfae spovon-
a a ,
cavta, Tav S€ onpa:av évias pods wWoTEp TET N-
, \ , b) ‘ 4
yulas joAAa Tabovtas avedéa Bat Tors pépovtas.
av o Kpdocos catayen@v €meTaXvvEe THY Topetar,
f b “a \ ? ”
mpocBialopevos axodovOety thy pPdrayya Tois
immevot, Tpiv ye 67 TOV éml KaTaoKOTHY atro-
aotarévTwy oAlyo. TpooTeNacavTes aTnyyeray
2 ‘ w 9 \ a é
aToA\wA€vat TOvS aAXNOVS UTO TV TONELLWD,
autous 5€ ports éexduyeiv, emievar b€ payoupévous
f ”~ \ , \ w e¢
wArAnOEt TOAK@ Kai Oapaet Tos avdpas. amrayvTes
e bal
pev ovy eOopvBnOnaav, o S€ Kpacaos éEerdayn
mavtdtTact Kat da oTrovdijs ov Tavu KaVEecTNK@S
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D5

CRASSUS

a robber chief of Nomads then for a Roman im- perator?”’ But the Barbarian, who was a subtle fellow, tried to encourage them with all servility, and exhorted them to endure yet a little while, and as he ran along by the side of the soldiers and gave them his help, he would laughingly banter them and say: “Is it through Campania that you think you are marching, yearning for its fountains and streams and shades and baths (to be sure !) and taverns? But remember that you are traversing the border land between Assyria and Arabia.’ Thus the Barbarian played the tutor with the Romans, and rode away before his deceit had become manifest, not, however, without the knowledge of Crassus, nay, he actually persuaded him that he was going to work in his interests and confound the counsels of his enemies. XXIII. It is said that on that day Crassus did not make his appearance in a purple robe, as is the custom with Roman generals, but in a black one, and that he changed it as soon as he noticed his mistake; also that some of the standard-bearers had great difficulty in raising their standards, which seemed to be imbedded, as it were, in the earth. Crassus made light of these things and hurried on the march, compelling the men-at-arms to keep up with the cavalry, until a few of those who had been sent out as scouts came riding up and announced that the rest of their number had been slain by the enemy, that they themselves had with difficulty escaped, and that their foes were coming up to fight them with a large force and great confidence. All were greatly disturbed, of course, but Crassus was altogether frightened out of his senses, and began to draw up his

forces in haste and with no great consistency.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TAPETATTE, TP@TOY wey, ws ot mept Kdaarov n£Eioup,
: \ “A e a “A
apatay Thy darayya Tov oTALTa@V él mrElaTOY
3 4 “A 4 ‘
avdywv Tov wediov mpos Tas KuKAwWaELS, TOUS 8
€ ~ 4 a ‘
immets Stavéuwv Tots Képaciy: émerta pet éboke, Kal
,
guvayayov audictopoy éroinae kal Bald mrw-
Giov év dwdexa o7reipais Tpoepyouévns TOY TAEUPAY
, \ a °
ExdoTns. Tapa € oreipay iAny imréwp ETakev, ws
\ ¥ A b] \ e a , 3 Mt
pndev Exor pwépos évdeés immixns Bonbeias, adra
4 a
TavTayoGev oparas mpocdéporto Teppaypévos.
a Ss: , A
Tay 6€ Kepatwy ta pev Kaacie, To b€ TO véw
Kpdoo trapébwxev, avdros & ets péoov KatéoTn.
s ee ¢ oA
Kat mpodyovres ovtws él petOpov 7rAGov 6
xarettrat Baditocos, ov ToAvD pev adAwWS oOVdE
apOovoy, aopevors S€ TOTE TOS TTpAaTIMTaLS
pavev év adyp@ Kal Kavpatt Kal Tapa THY adAAnY
émritrovoy Kai dvudpov Topeiav. ot pev ovv TAEt-
oTOL TOY HYyELOVwY wWovto deiv évTavla KaTauNr-
capévous Kal vuxtepevoavtas cal muopévous,
? > , “~ LA “ a
éfp’ dcov olov Te, TANGOS Kal Tak TOV Todepiwr,
ve °° e aA 5 ? 6] , ? de “
au npépa ywpeitv ém avtouvs: Kpagaos 6€ TO
mail Kal Tois wept avTov immedaw éyKkerevo-
pévars ayery Kal ovvarrrew érrapGeis exéXevoev
éatatas év Taker hayeiy nat TLety TOUS Seopevous.
Kai mply » TovTO Sia TavtTwy yevécBat Kados,
Hyev ov axédnv odd ws eri payny diavatravor,
, A ,

GXN d€eia Kal curtovm xpwpevos TH Topela
4 v . , e A \ 60
péxpt 00 KaTwopOnaar oi Trodeutor, Tapa dokav
bad , wv +. “A e
ovTe ToAAol davévres ovTE coRapoi Tots “Po-
pain. To pev yap TAHGos vTéeaTEtde TOis Tpo-
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At first, as Cassius recommended, he extended the line of his men-at-arms as far as possible along the plain, with little depth, to prevent the enemy from surrounding them, and divided all his cavalry between the two wings. Then he changed his mind and concentrated his men, forming them in a holiow square of four fronts, with twelve cohorts on each side. With each cohort he placed a squadron of horse, that no part of the line might lack cavalry support, but that the whole body might advance to the ‘attack with equal protection everywhere. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, and one to the young Crassus, and took his own position in the centre.

Advancing in this formation, they came to a stream called Balissus, which was not large, to be sure, nor plentiful, but by this time the soldiers were delighted to see it in the midst of the drought and heat and after their previous toilsome march without water. Most of the officers, accordingly, thought they ought to bivouac and spend the night there, and after learning as much as they could of the number and disposition of the enemy, to advance against them at day-break. But Crassus was carried away by the eagerness of his son and the cavalry with him, who urged him to advance and give battle, and he therefore ordered that the men who needed it should eat and drink as they stood in the ranks. And before they were all well done with this, he led them on, not slowly, nor halting from time to time, as is usual on the way to battle, but with a quick and sustained pace until the enemy came in sight, who, to the surprise of the Romans, appeared to be neither numerous nor formidable. For Surena had

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TaxTos Loupyvas, tiv Sé Aaumpornta KatéxpuBe
TOV OTAMY ipatia Kal SipOépas mpoicyecbat
Kedevoas. ws 8 éyyus éyévovto nai onpeiov
npOn wapa Tov otpatnyod, Tpa@Tov pev errip-

Travto Pboyyijs Bapelas kat Bpopou dpixwdous
to tedtov. IldpOot yap ov népagw ovdé odd-
meyEw émotpivovaww éavTods eis payny, adr
pomtpa Bupaorayi Kat Koita wepiteivavtes
NXELOLS YadKois Gua Tordrayoev émidovTovan,
Ta O€ POéyyetat BvOiov te Kal Sewov, wpvyn
Onpiwder kat tpayvtTynte Bpovtis peutypévov, ev
TWS GuUvEewpaKoTEs STL TOV aicOnTNpiwy axon
TAPAKTLKWTATOV eoTL THS Wuxs Kal Ta Tepl
zavTny TaOn TAXLOTA KiVEl Kai padtoTa ekioTyCt
Thy Sedvoav.
XXIV. 'ExrerAnypévor b€ taHv ‘Pwpaiwov bia
Tov HKoV, eEaiduns Ta TpoKadvupaTta TeV STAwWY
xataBadovres @pOncav adtoi te droyoerdeis
xpaveot kal Owpak, tod Mapyiavod atdijpov
attABovtos of Kal mepiraputrés, of O immo.
KaTaTeppaypévot YaAKols Kal otdnpois oKeTa-
cpacw, o d€ Loupyvas péytatos Kat KddNdMOTOS
autos, 7H 6€ Kat’ avdpeiavy do€n thy OnrtrnTa
Tov KadAOUS OUK €oLKws, GAA MydiawTEpov
€EOKEVATHEVOS EVTPippact TpoTwTOV Kal KOuNS
Suaxpicet, Tov adAwY LlapOwy Ett XxvOiKas emt
TO PoBepov TO avacirrAw! KopwvTwY. Kal TPa@TOV
pev dSievoovvto Tois KovTOis EiaeXavvovTEs WHEY
nat PuifecOar tovs mpotaxtovs: ws 8 éwpwv TO
1 +g avaclAdAw the correction of Schaefer (avagiAAw Coraés) :
Tay avacidAwy,
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veiled his main force behind his advance guard, and concealed the gleam of their armour by ordering them to cover themselves with robes and skins. But when they were near the Romans and the signal was raised by their commander, first of all they filled the plain with the sound of a deep and terrifying roar. For the Parthians do not incite themselves to battle with horns or trumpets, but they have hollow drums of distended hide, covered with bronze bells, and on these they beat all at once in many quarters, and the instruments give forth a low and dismal tone, a blend of wild beast’s roar and harsh thunder peal. They had rightly judged that, of all the senses, hearing is the one most apt to confound the soul, soonest rouses its emotions, and most effectively unseats the judgment.

XXIV. While the Romans were in consternation at this din, suddenly their cnemies dropped the coverings of their armour, and were seen to be themselves blazing in helmets and breastplates, their Margianian steel glittering keen and bright, and their horses clad in plates of bronze and _ steel. Surena himself, however, was the tallest and fairest of them all, although his effeminate beauty did not well correspond to his reputation for valour, but he was dressed more in the Median fashion, with painted face and parted

hair, while the rest of the Parthians still wore their hair long and bunched over their foreheads, in Scythian fashion, to make themselves look formidable. And at first they purposed to charge npon the Romans with their long spears, and throw their front ranks into confusion; but when they saw the depth of their formation, where shield

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te Bubos tod cuvacmicpod Kai Tov avdpev TO
pcvipoy Kal TapeoTnKos, aviyyov omicw Kal
axidvacBar doxobvtes dpa Kai dradvew tHv take
éXavdavov év xuxcrw TeptBarrovtes TO TALWOiov
aut@v. Kpdocov 6€ Tovs wWirovs éxdpapetv
KENEVTAVTOS, OVTOL ev OV OAV TPOHADOY, AAG
ToANO's Tokevpaciv évTvyovTes TayD Kal oup-
Tapevtes avdis évedvovto Tols omdéitats, Kal
Tapetxov adkoopas apyiy Kal d€ovs, op@ct Tov
TOVOY TOV dioTaY Kal THY pony TAA TE pyyvor-
Tov Kal dia TavTos hepouéevwv opoiws avTiTUTrOV
Kat paraKkovd oTeyao patos.
Ot 6€ TlapGor stactavtes ex pnnous tpEavto
tofevery dua TravTaxobev, ov THY axpiBy Tokelay
(1) yap cuvéxera Kal tuKvotns TOV 'Pwpyalwy ovdé
T@ Bovroperm Stapaptavey avdpos tapetyev),
evTovous Oé Tas TAHYyAas Kal BLaious Sid0vTeEs ato
ToEwY KpaTaim@y Kal peyddrov Kai TH TKONLOTNTL
THS Kap nvayxacpévov TO BéXos aTogTEAXOV-
Tov. Wvovv avTodev 75n poyOnpa Ta 'Pwpaiwv'
cal yap pévovtes ev Taker cuveTitpwoKovTo, Kal
Yopely omoce TEelpwpmevol TOD pev Troteiy ioov
ametyov, opoiws & Eracyov. uTédevyov yap apa
Banrdovrtes ot Wdp8ot, cal rovtTo Kpatiaota ToLodvaL
peta XKvOas: nai aopwratov ¢aotiv apuvopévous
ere cwlecOar xal THs puyhs adatpeiv TO aicypov.
XXV. "Aype pev otv rmifov avtovs éxyea-
pévous Ta Leryn oxy cecIar payns 7 ovvarev Ets
yelpas, exaptépavy: ws & éyvwoav btt TodXdai
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was locked with shield, and the firmness and eom-

posure of the men, they drew back, and while seeming to break their ranks and disperse, they surrounded the hollow square in which their enemy stood before he was aware of the manceuvre. And when Crassus ordered his light-armed troops to make a charge, they did not advance far, but encountering a multitude of arrows, abandoned their undertaking and ran back for shelter among the men-at-arms, among whom they caused the beginning of disorder and fear, for these now saw the velocity and force of the arrows, which fractured armour, and tore their way through every covering alike, whether hard or soft.

But the Parthians now stood at long intervals from one another and began to shoot their arrows from all sides at once, not with any accurate aim (for the dense formation of the Romans would not suffer an archer to miss his man even if he wished it), but making vigorous and powerful shots from bows which were large and mighty and curved so as to discharge their missiles with great force. At once, then, the plight of the Romans was a grievous one; for if they kept their ranks, they were wounded in great numbers, and if they tried to come to close quarters with the enemy, they were just as far from effecting anything and suffered just as much. For the Par- thians shot as they fled; and next to the Scythians, they do this most effectively ; and it is a very clever thing to seek safety while still fighting, and to take away the shame of flight.

XXV. Now as long as they had hopes that the enemy would exhaust their missiles and desist from battle or fight at close quarters, the Romans held

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Kapnrol Tapectact Tokevpatwv mrnpEls, ap wy
? e a la 3 ."
MEPLENAUVOVTES OL TWPWTOL AapBavoverr, oudev
f e “ e hal a
mTépas op@v o Kpdagos 7Ovper, Kat oKortrety
3 # b) i / \ ‘ ef a
éxéXevev, ayyérous Téurpas TmpOS TOY UVLOV, OTWS
Tpocpitar Bidoetat Tois évaytios Tmpiy H KUKNW-
Ojvat. pdrtota yap éxelvw mpocémimtoy Kat
TeplinTEevov TO KEpas WS KATA VOTOU YyevnaoLEvoL.
AaBwv ovy o veavias immeis TE yiALovs TplLaKo-
S t e f \ / 9 ‘

gious, @Y ol XtALoL Tapa Katoapos ynoav, Kat
tokotas mevtaxocious Kai Tav éyytata Oupeo-
\ a
dopwr oxTH oTetpas suvnyayev els EuBornv. TOV
Sé TldpOwyv of mepteAavvovtes, elite TédMacw
b 4 e wv , vw “a ‘
évruyovtes, ws Evioi dao, cite AaBety Tov
Kpdooov arwtatw tod Tatpos atpatynyovrtes,
3 4 f O27 e N 4 e 3
oTtiaw otpewartes ediwxov. o 6€ Bonaas ws ov
/ e ww wv . \ 3 “a
pévovat of avodpes, HrAauve, Kal auv avT@ Knv-
a ¢ \ 4 e \ /3 , ‘
agwpivos te Kat MeyaBaxxos, 0 pev eviruyia Kat
popn Siapépwv, Knvowpivos 5¢ Bovreutixoy exov
9 gel \ ‘ 9 a e a \ ,
akliwpa Kab Seivos eitety, éraipor 6 Kpdooou kat
/ > ¢ 4 b] f \ “
mapaTAnato KaP nrLxiay. €miatropéevon b€ TOV
e / 9 \ ‘ \ 9 / , \
inméwy ovd€ To Telov aTredeiteTO TpobUmia Kal
yapa THs eXmidos* wiKav yap wovTo Kat dioxKeLy,
Ld ? 4 , bad N > 4
dyp. ot mov mpoedOovtes naOovto THY aTaTny,
4 ful a“ 4 , ‘
peTaBadrAopévoyv Apa Tov devyey SoxovvTwv Kat
, w ? ld b) “ w
TrELOVWY GAXwY eTIdepopevarv. évtavdla EaTnaay,
olopevor auvaery avTois Els YElpas oALyots Ode
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out; but when they perceived that many camels
laden with arrows were at hand, from which the
Parthians who first encircled them took a fresh
supply, then Crassus, seeing no end to this, began to
lose heart, and sent messengers to his son with
orders to rorce an engagement with the enemy
before he was surrounded; for it was his wing
especially which the enemy were attacking and
surrounding with their cavalry, in the hope of
getting in his rear. Accordingly, the young man

took thirteen hundred horsemen, of whom a thousand had come from Caesar, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of the men-at-arms who were nearest him, and led them all to the charge. But the Parthians who were trying to envelop him, either because, as some say, they encountered marshes, or because they were manceuvring to attack Publius as far as possible from his father, wheeled about and made off. Then Publius, shouting that the men did not stand their ground, rode after them, and with him Censorinus and Megabacchus, the latter distinguished for his courage and strength, Censorinus a man of senatorial dignity and a powerful speaker, and both of them comrades of Publius and nearly of the same age. The cavalry followed after Publius, and even the infantry kept pace with them in the zeal and joy which their hopes inspired ; for they thought they were victorious and in pursuit of the enemy, until, after they had gone forward a long distance, they perceived the ruse. For the seeming fugitives wheeled about and were joined at the same time by others more numerous still. Them the Romans halted, supposing that the enemy would come to close quarters with them,
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4 , @ \ A , a
TOUS TrONEMLOUS. OL OE TOLS KAaTAppPUaKTOUS TpoTa-
3 , “ ‘Pp , x é ww of
Eavtes évavtious Tots Pwpaiots, Tv 8 adAnv immov
ATAKTOV TEpl AUTOUS EXaUVOVTES, Kal TUYTAPATTOV-
TES TO Tediov, aviotaaay éx BvOod Oivas appov Ko-
VLOPTOV ETAYOVTAS ATAETOY, O pHTE Sropay padiws
/ , \ e , e. ,
pyre HbéyyecOat Tovs ‘Pwpaiovs, eihoupévous e
év OAlyw Kal cupTintovTas GAAnAOLS BadrecOnt
\ 3 ; > e 7 +399 9 N , bd ?
Kat aToOvnaKev ov padiov ovd o€uv Odvatov, aX
Umo oTagpov Kal oduvns dvcavacyetobvtTas Kal
Kudvdoupevous TreEpt TOls Oia TOLS €vaT oO pavetV TOI
tTpavpaact, Bia Te TEtpwpévous EEEAKELY NYKLOTPO-

q aA
prevas axidas cal deduxvias da hreBav cal vevpov
, a
Tpodavappnyvuvat Kal AvpaiverOar odas a’tovs.
aA ,
Oitw &€ ToAAGY aATOOYNTKOVTwY aTpaKToOL Kal
e a 2 \ ’ , ~ ,
ot Ca@vtes joav mpos adxynv: Kxal tod Tlordiou
a a \ ,
mapaxanrovvTos éuSarelv els THv Katddpaxrov,
a “ , “
émedeixvucay éavT@v Yeipas te Oupeois cup-
/ \ Ud \
meTepovnuévas Kai Todas Siapmraké mpoceAnda-
e ‘ N
pévous mpos Tovdagos, wate Kai Tpos puyny
‘
aunydvovs elvat Kat Tmpos auvvav. adros ovbv
¢ a , ‘
Tous inmmeis Tapopyncas mpocéBare pev éppo-
pévas Kal ovvy ve Tols avdpacw, Hv bé avucos év
a “a “a ,
Te Tais TWAnyais Kal TH pvrattecOal, Taiwy pev
al 4
doOevéot Kai puxpois Sopations Awpaxas @mpo-
Buipoovs xal otdnpods, Tmatopevos bé Kovtois els
evaTaAy Kal yupva copata Tov Tadatav: Tov-
Tos yap €Oupper purtota, Kal peta ToUTwY Epya
Oavpaota duemputteto. TOY TE Yap KoYTOY
émerapBuvovto, Kal cupmAexopevoe TOvS avdpas
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since they were so few in number. But the Parthians stationed their mail-clad horsemen in front of the Romans, and then with the rest of their cavalry in loose array rode round them, tearing up the surface of the ground, and raising from the depths great heaps of sand which fell in limitless showers of dust, so that the Romans could neither see clearly nor speak plainly, but, being crowded into a narrow compass and falling one upon another, were shot,

and died no easy nor even speedy death. For, in the agonies of convulsive pain, and writhing about the arrows, they would break them off in their wounds, and then in trying to pull out by force the barbed heads which had pierced their veins and sinews, they tore and disfigured themselves the more.

Thus many died, and the survivors also were incapa- citated for fighting. And when Publius urged them to charge the enemy's mail clad horsemen, they showed him that their hands were riveted to their shields and their feet nailed through and through to the ground, so that they were helpless either for flight or for self defence. Publius himself, accordingly, cheered on his cavalry, made a vigorous charge with them, and closed with the enemy. But his struggle was an unequal one both offensively and defensively, for his thrusting was done with small and feeble spears against breastplates of raw hide and steel, whereas the thrusts of the enemy were made with pikes against the lightly equipped and unprotected bodies of the Gauls, since it was upon these that Publius chiefly relied, and with these he did indeed work wonders. For they laid hold of the long spears of the Parthians, and grappling with the men, pushed them from

aTrO TOV imareoy éwOouv TH Bapurnte Tov omrAto pod
SvaKwyrtous 6vTas, TOOL dé TOUS éauTav aTro-
AeiTovTeEs immous Kal brobudpevot Tots éxeivav
ETUTTTOV els TAS yaorepas: a & dvecKiptov vn
oduuns, Kal cupnatowTes €v TAUT@ Tous émtBatas
Kat TOUS mohepious dvaT ed uppevous am vnaKov.
emiete dé tous Taddras padtota 70 Te Garros
cal 70 bixvos, audotépwv andes ovtas: Kal TaV
iTTWV ATONWAELTAV OL TAELTTOL TPOS évaVTiOUS
eLavvopevot TOUS KovToUvs. éBidcOnoav ovv ava-
Xwpiaa ™ pos TOUS oTrALTaS, € EXOVTES tov Ilomdsov
UTO Tpavu"aTwDY On KAKOS bcaxelpevov. dovres
dé Jiva Bouvvwetn wrAnciov éxwpovy én' adtip,
Kal TOUS pev immous ev péo@ Karédnaay, eEwOev
b€é Tots Oupevis TVYKNELTAVTES WOVTO Gov apuvet-
aOat Tous SapBapovs. dnéBarve d€ Touvavtiov.
ev pev yap 7 Oar Tots OmtaOev a Aus ve TOS
Ta pe xovaow ot TPOTAKTOL paaravny, éxel 5 addov
UTEP adXov Cia Thy dvwpariay dVEXOVTOS TOU
Xeptov: Kal paddXov «el TOV KATOTLDY éEatpovros,

ovdev VY TO Ceapevyov, arn éBadrovT0 WUaVTeEs
Oparas, odupopevor THY ake Kal aTpaKToy
AUT@VY TENEUTID.
"Hoav dé wept Tov TomAtov avdpes ‘EdAnves
dv0 TOV avToOe KATOLKOUVT OY ev K dppais, Jepeowy-
jLos Kal Nuxopaxos, ot ouveTreGor autov uTeten-
Geiv per avT ov KAL Srapevryer eis “lyvas, mov
npnpevny Ta ‘Pwpaiwv Kal ov paxpav ovcav. oO 6€
dycas ovdéva Setrov ovTws Evea Oat Oavatov ov
poAnbets Toros dTronetyet TOUS drrohAupévous
Se autév, éxelvous pev éexédevae awlecOar xa
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their horses, hard as it was to move them owing to the weight of their armour ; and many of the Gauls forsook their own horses, and crawling under those of the enemy, stabbed them in the belly. These would rear up in their anguish, and die trampling on riders and foemen indiscriminately mingled. But the Gauls were distressed above all things by the heat and their thirst, to both of which they were unused ; and most of their horses had perished by being driven against the long spears. They were therefore compelled to retire upon the men at-arms, taking with them Publius, who was severely wounded. And seeing a sandy hillock near by, they all retired to it, and fastened their horses in the centre ; then locking their shields together on the outside, they thought they could more easily defend themselves against the Barbarians. But it turned out just the other way. For on level ground, the front ranks do, to some extent, afford relief to those who are behind them. But here, where the inequality of the ground raised one man above another, and lifted every man who was behind another into greater prominence, there was no such thing as escape, but they were all alike hit with arrows, bewailing their inglorious and ineffectual death.

Now there were with Publius two Greeks, of those who dwelt near by in Carrhae, Hieronymus and Nicomachus. These joined in trying to persuade him to slip away with them and make their escape to Ichnae,a city which had espoused the Roman cause and was not far off. But Publius, declaring that no death could have such terrors for him as to make him desert those who were perishing on his account, ordered them to save their own lives, bade them farewell, and

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deEtwaupevos avédvoev, adtos bé TH yEtpt Xpnaa-
\ \
Oat pn ovvdpevos (Sted AaTo yap Bédet), Tov
\ a
uTacTLaTHy éxédevoe TratdEa TO Eiger, Tapa-

U ¢ a
TXoV TO TAEUPOV. opoiws 6€ Kal Kyvowpivor
3 a / : s > IaN CaN
aTro@arety N€yovaw: MeyaBaxyos & adtos avtov
dueypycato, Kai Tov GAXwY Ol SoKLLwTATOL. TOS
> + ¢ V4 ’ 4 e td ~
0 vuToAcAELppévovs avaBaivovtes ot dapat tots
xovtois SinrAavvov paxopévous: Cavtas 8 od
TAElovas aA@vai gdact Tevtaxociwy. tas be
a \ /
Keparas Tov Tept tov IlémAcov aroKxoWavtes
¥ 3 \ ’ ‘ \ /
nravvov EvOus eri TOY Kpdoaov.
XXXVI. Elye 6€ 7a kat’ adtov obtws. ws éxe-
‘ eX 5] a a * 4
Aevoe Tov vioy euBarety trois TlapOows Kat tis
Hyyetkev AUT@ paxpav tpotny elvae Kai diwkev
a fa a,
itXupav TOV ToAEuioV, Ewpa bé Kal Tovs Kal?
e e / aA
QUTOV OUKETL TpocKEpévous opolws (éxel yap
éppuncav ol TAeioTto), pixpov aveOappnae, Kal
e A
cuvayayav UTeaTENEV Ev YwWplols TPOTAVTEGL TOV
OTpPAaTOV, avTixa TpocdoKa@v Tov viov émajEew
3 % a , a \ , e % a
avo THS SiwEews. Tov dé tephbévTwY UO TOD
IlomwAtou wpos aitov, ws éxivduvevev, of pev rpo-
f 3 f >] \ ,
tot duepOapyaav e€urrecovtes els tous BapBapous,
e 3 e f 4 3 4
of & vaTtepor poyis Stadvyovtes amiyyyedXov
Vv ‘ , > \ a \ \
oiyea@at tov Tlomduov, et uy Tayeia Kal oA
Bo Gera jap éxeivov yévorto. Tov 6 Kpdaoov dpa
\ lA f ‘ a 4 +O\ Ww
ToAXa TAaOn KaTéETYE Kai AOYLT UO peEv OvdEeV ETL
TOV TpaypLaTw éwpa, Pohw Oé Tepl TOD cUETAYTOS
dua Kai T0Ow Tov tatdos EXxopevos BonOeiy Kai
pn BonGetv, TEeROS W@puryoe mpoayey THy Sivapuy.
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dismissed them. Then he himself, being unable to use his hand, which had been pierced through with an arrow, presented his side to his shield-bearer and ordered him to strike home with his sword. In like manner also Censorinus is said to have died ; but Megabacchus took his own life, and so did the other most notable men. The survivors fought on until the Parthians mounted the hill and transfixed them with their long spears, and they say that not more than five hundred were taken alive. Then the Parthians cut off the head of Publius, and rode off at once to attack Crassus.

XXVI. His situation was as follows. After ordering his son to charge the Parthians and receiving tidings that the enemy were routed toa great distance and hotly pursued, and after noticing also that his own immediate opponents were no longer pressing him so hard (since most of them had streamed away to where Publius was), he recovered a little courage, and drawing his troops together, posted them for safety on sloping ground, in immediate expectation that his son would return from the pursuit. Of the messengers sent by Publius to his father, when he began to be in danger, the first fell in with the Barbarians and were Slain; the next made their way through with difficulty and reported that Publius was lost unless he received speedy and abundant aid from his father. And now Crassus was a prey to many conflicting emotions, and no longer looked at anything with calm judgement. His fear for the whole army drove him to refuse, and at the same time his yearning love for his son impelled him to grant assistance ; but at last he began to move his forces forward.

"Ev tout 8° of woAéuioe Tpoced épovTo Kray Kal mata goBepwrepor, Kal TOAAA TOV TULTG- vov avis meptepuxato Tovs “Pwpyaiovs étépas eaxns apynv tpocdoxa@vtas. ot 5€ THY KEeharnv tov IlowAiov Kopifovtes vrép alyuns dvatenn- yuiav éyyus mpoceddcavtes avéberEav, UBpet muv-

Oavopevot ToKéas avTov Kai yévos: ov yap 87
mpeéerety ye Kpdaocov watpos dvavépotatov Kai
KakiaTou yevvatoy ottw maida Kal dAapmpov
apethn yeverPar. tovto To Oéapa ‘Pwpaiwy irép
dtavta tadara Sea tas wuyas KatéxAace Kal
TapéAvaev, ov Oupob Tpos dpuvav, domep Wy
Etkos, aXAG Ppixns Kal Tpopov TACW eryyevopevov.
Katto. tov ye Kpdocor avtou hair potarov € év TO
tote TAO havnvat Aéyovo.w. é€Boa yap émiwv
tas Takes: “’Kyov, ® “Pwpatot, tovTO TO TévOos
idtov é€otiy: 1 6&6 peyaddn Ttvyn Kal Soka Tijs
‘Popns ev byiv Estnxe cwlopévors AOpavotos Kal
GNTTHTOS. El O€ Kal €“ov TLS OiKTOS adnpNuéevou
maiba wdavtwv aptatov, emieiEacGe tovTo opyy
Mpos TOUS TOAELLOUS. apédecbe THY yapav avTor,
Tinwpnaacbe THY WLOTNTA, £1) KATATAaYHTE TOS
ryeyevnptevows, ec Set Te Kal Tabeiv peyddwv edie-
pévous. ovdé AovKovrAd0s Tiypavny avaipwrt
Kabetrev, ovoe LanTioy ‘Avtioxoy, xeAias dé vaus
ot TWaXatot mepl Sueehav amwecay, év 6” Itaria
TONNOUS avTOKpaTopas Kab oTparTnyous, dv oddels
mponttneis e€xwAucEV avUTOUS KpaTi}cat TeV
VEVLKNKOTMOY. Gv yap evTLyia TA Pwuaiwy, cddAa
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At this point, however, the enemy came up with clamour and battle cries which made them more fearful than ever, and again many of their drums began bellowing about the Romans, who awaited the beginning of a second battle. Besides, those of the enemy who carried the head of Publius fixed high upon a spear, rode close up and displayed it, scornfully asking after his parents and family, for surely, they said, it was not meet that Crassus, most base and cowardly of men, should be the father of a son so noble and of such splendid valour. This spectacle shattered and unstrung the spirits of the Romans more than all the rest of their terrible experiences, and they were all filled, not with a passion for revenge, as was to have been expected, but with shuddering and trembling. And yet Crassus, as they say, showed more brilliant qualities in that awful hour than ever before, for he went up and down the ranks crying: ‘“ Mine, O Romans, is this sorrow, and mine alone ; but the great fortune and glory of Rome abide unbroken and unconquered in you, who are alive and safe. And now if ye have any pity for me, thus bereft of the noblest of sons, show it by your wrath against the enemy. Rob them of their joy; avenge their cruelty ; be not cast down at what has happened, for it must needs be that those who aim at great deeds should also suffer greatly. It was not without bloody losses that even Lucullus overthrew Tigranes, or Scipio Antiochus; and our fathers of old lost a thousand ships off Sicily, and in Italy many im- perators and generals, not one of whom, by his defeat, prevented them from afterwards mastering his conquerors. For it was not by good fortune merely that the Roman state reached its present

Tha pog vvy KLL GpeTH Weos Ta Seva YwpovvTwy
eis ToUTO TponAbe Suvapews.”
XXVII. To:aita réyov cal twapabapovver o
Kpdaocos ov rodXovs Ewpa TpoOvpws UTaxovor-
Tas, GANG Kal cuvararukat Kedevaas THrEyEE TOD
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Kai avoparov Kpavynv er0u1}oavTo" " 66 mapa
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TES, o€éws dé Ouijoxovtes UTO Tpavpatov peyarov
Kal KaLplov, TaXuy éermPovvtTmy TO oe nP@ TOP
KOVTOV els Tous LITITOUS, TOAAGKLS 6€ Kat é.a duet
avdpav UTO popns Siatropevopevov. ovTw 6€ d ayo-
vio cpevor VUKTOS eT Love NS amy yNTaY, ELTTOVTES
ort Kpdcow Xapivovrac VUKTA plav aroOpnvija a
TOV ViOV, HY apa jn BEXTLOV UTEP eau Tou oKeypd-
pevos €AOciy padrrov €Oerxan pos "Apadeny 7
Koma Oivat.
Otro. pev ovv ETAVALO AMEVOL TANGtov € év éAtriat
peyaras Hoay: vot d€ Xarerr) TOUS ‘Pwpaious
KaTérapBavey, OvTE Tapns TOV KELLEVWY OUTE
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TOLovpevous Aoyov, exaatou } éautTov amoxhatov-
TOS. apuxta yap epaiveto THD TE 7) mepav auToU
Tpoopeivact Kal vUKTwp eis Tredtoy ayaves éuBa-
1 ixwdra: with the MSS. (including 8) : olxéras al readras
(slaves and vassals).

plenitude of power, but by the patient endurance and valour of those who faced dangers in its behalf.”

XXVII. Even as he spoke such words of encourage-

ment, Crassus saw that not many of his men listened with any eagerness, but when he also bade them raise the battle cry, he discovered how despondent his army was, so weak, feeble, and uneven was the shout they made, while that which came from the Barbarians was clear and bold. Then, as the enemy got to work, their light cavalry rode round on the flanks of the Romans and shot them with arrows, while the mail-clad horsemen in front, plying their long spears, kept driving them together into a narrow space, except those who, to escape death from the arrows, made bold to rush desperately upon their foes. These did little damage, but met with a speedy death from great and fatal wounds, since the spear which the Parthians thrust into the horses was heavy with steel, and often had impetus enough to pierce through two men at once. After fighting in this manner till night came on, the Parthians withdrew, saying that they would grant Crassus one night in which to bewail his son, unless, with a better regard for his own interests, he should consent to go to Arsaces instead of being carried there.

The Parthians, then, bivouacked near by, and were in high hopes; but it was a grievous night for the Romans. They took no steps to bury their dead nor to care for their wounded and dying, but every man was lamenting his own fate. Escape seemed impossible, whether they waited there for day to come, or plunged by night into a limitless plain.

je |

ovo: of TE TpavpaTiat TOANNY arropiay Trapel-
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Kal THY dwvnv. o dé Kal éavtov éyKexaduppmevos
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Seva) Kal auyxvols pet oiuwyis kat Bons tod
oTpatomedoy KaTetyev. éx ToUToV dé Tapay? Kal
mrola mpoiovtas avtous UTENaUBavev, ws émide-
POMEVOY THY TOAELIWY. Kal TOANAKIS peV EXTPE-
TOmevol, TOANAKLS O€ eis TAEW KAOLOTA EVOL, TOV
Sé Tpavpatiav 6004 mapnKorovOovy Tovs pev
avarapBavovtes, tous b€ dtotiBépevot, Stat piBnv
elyov, TARY Tplaxociwy immévyv, ods "Iyvartios
éywy mpocéuke tais Kappars wept mécas vuxtas.
PbeyEdpevos Sé "Pwpaicti tots TeryopuAaxovcy,
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CRASSUS

And their wounded caused them much perplexity : they were sure to impede flight if they were carried away, and if they were left behind, their cries would herald to the enemy the retreat of their companions. Although the soldiers held Crassus to blame for all their ills, still they yearned to see his face and hear his voice. But he was lying on the ground by himseif, enveloped in darkness, to the multitude an illustration of the ways of fortune, but to the wise an example of foolish ambition, which would not let him rest satisfied to be first and greatest among many myriads of men, but made him think, because he was judged inferior to two men only, that he lacked everything,

At this time, then, Octavius the legate and Cassius tried to rouse him up and encourage him. But since he was in utter despair, they called together on their own authority the centurions and captains, and wnen they had decided, upon deliberation, not to remain where they were, they put the army in motion without trumpet signal, and in silence at first. Then the sick and wounded perceived that their comrades were abandoning them, and dreadful disorder and confusion, accompanied by groans and shouts, filled the camp. And after this, as they tried to advance, disorder and panic seized upon them, for they felt sure that the enemy was coming against them. Frequently they would change their course, fre- quently they would

form in order of battle, some of the wounded who followed them had to be taken up, and others: to be laid down, and so all were delayed, except three hundred horsemen under Ignatius, who reached Carrhae about midnight. Ignatius hailed the sentinels on the walls in the Roman tongue, and

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

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404

when they answered, ordered them to tell Coponius, their commander, that there had been a great battle between Crassus and the Parthians. Then, without another word, and without even telling who he was, he rode off to Zeugma. He saved himself and his men, but got a bad name for deserting his general. However, the message shouted to Coponius at that time was of some advantage to Crassus. For Coponius, concluding that the haste and brevity of the message argued a bearer of no good news, ordered his men to arm forthwith, and as soon as he learned that Crassus was on the march, he went out to meet him, relieved him, and escorted his army into the city.

XXVIII. During the night the Parthians, although they were aware of the flight of the Romans, did not pursue; but as soon as day came, they attacked and slaughtered those who had been left behind in the Roman camp, to the number of four thousand, and then rode about and seized many who were wandering in the plain. Four cohorts together, also, which Vargontinus the legate had suffered to get detached from the main body while it was still dark, and which had lost their way, were surrounded on a sort of hill, and cut to pieces as they fought, all except twenty men. The Parthians, admiring these men, who tried to push their way through them with drawn swords, made way for them and _ suffered them to pass through and march deliberately to Carrhae.

A false report now reached Surena that Crassus, along with the men of highest rank, had made his escape, and that the fugitives who had streained into Carrhae were a mixed rabble unworthy of his notice.

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am 1avvov.
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4060

Supposing, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory, but being still in doubt and wishing to learn the truth, in order that he might either wait there and lay siege to Crassus in the city, or else let Carrhae alone and pursue him, he sent one of his attendants who could speak both languages up to the walls, with orders to call out in the Roman tongue for Crassus himself or Cassius, saying that Surena wished to have

a conference with them. The interpreter gave this message, and when it was reported to Crassus, he accepted the invitation. A little while afterwards there came from the Barbarians some Arabs, who knew Crassus and Cassius well by sight, having been in their camp before the battle. When these men saw Cassius on the wall, they said that Surena proposed a truce, and offered them safe conduct if they would be friends of the king and leave Mesopotamia ; for this he saw was more advan- tageous to both parties than any resort to extreme measures. Cassius accepted the proposal, and asked that time and place be fixed for a conference between Surena and Crassus. The men said that this should be done, and rode away.

XXIX. Now Surena was delighted that the men were where he could besiege them, and when day came, he led his Parthians up against the city. With many insults they ordered the Romans, if they wished to obtain a truce, to deliver Crassus and Cassius into their hands in fetters. The Romans were distressed to find themselves deceived, and telling Crassus to abandon his distant and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, prepared for flight, of which none of the men of Carrhae were to know beforehand. But Andromachus, the most faithless of men, learned of

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eEaryyéddovtos Tow 'Avdpopdxou Ka” Exactov.
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pacsov, €Ener dé VUKTWP o Kpaagos, Omrws Thy
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ot pn dev uyees Tov 'Avdpopaxov otpépev Kat
Te plediT TELY ELKATAVTES ovK nKorovOnaar, adra
Kaacios péev émavndOev eis Kadppas maddy, Kai
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poBodpar TOV ToEoT Ny,” aT AaUVEV Ets Lupiav
pe inréwr TevtTaxociwy: aXXot dé XPNo dpevor
TiaTots o€nyors eda Bovro Yo pioy opewwan, a
KanetTar Livvaka, Kal KaTéaTn aay év ao panei
7 po HLEPQs. ovrot WeEpt TEVTAKLTXLALOUS noav
yyetro 6 avTa@y avnp ayabos 'Oxtaavios.
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ouppitae tots wept tov "Oxtaovioy ém’ adXov
1 em:BovAevduevov Bekker reads &11 dyduevor (still led), with
Psendo-Appian.

it, for Crassus not only confided the secret to him, but made him the guide for the journey. Accordingly, everything was known to the Parthians, for Andro- machus reported to them all the details. But since it is not the custom, and so not easy, for the Parthians to fight by night, and since Crassus set out by night, Andromachus, by leading the fugitives now by one route and now by another, contrived that the pursuers should not be left far behind, and finally he diverted the march into deep marshes and regions full of ditches, thus making it difheult and circuitous for those who still followed him. For there were some who conjectured that the twisting and turning of Andromachus boded uo good, and therefore did not follow him. Cassius, indeed, went pack again to Carrhae, and when his guides, who were Arabs, urged him to wait there until the moon had passed the Scorpion, he said that he feared the Archer! even more than the Scorpion, and rode off into Syria with five hundred horsemen. And others, too, employing trusty guides, reached a hill country called Sinnaca, and established themselves in safety before day came. These were about five thousand men, and they were led by Octavius, a brave man.

But day found Crassus a prey to the wiles of Andromachus in the difficult places and the marsh. There were with him four cohorts of men-at-arms, a few horsemen all told, and five lictors. With these he got back into the road, with great difficulty, when the enemy at once pressed upon him, and since he was about twelve furlongs short of a junction with Octavius, he took refuge on another hill, not so

1 Sagittarius, the sign of the zodiac following Scorpio.

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cupSacers, elTr@v OTL TIS pev avdpevas Kal
SUVA LEWS GKOVTOS TeTrelparat Bacrrews, ™pao-
Ta 8 avtois xat prrogppos vyny EXD eme-
Seixvutat amevdouevos amtovet Kat Trapéywv
awlecbat.
410

CRASSUS

difficult for cavalry nor yet so strong a position, but
one that lay below Sinnaca and was connected with
it by a long ridge running through the midst of the
plain. His danger was thercfore to be seen by
Octavius. And Octavius ran first with a few men to
bring him aid from the higher ground; then the
rest of his men, reproaching themselves with cowardice,
plunged forward, and falling upon the enemy
and sweeping them from the _ hill, enveloped
Crassus round about, ard covered him with their
shields, boldly declaring that no Parthian missile
should smite their imperator until they had all died
fighting in his defence.
XXX. And now Surena, observing that his Parth- ians were already less impetuous in their attacks, and that if night should come on and ihe Romans should reach the hills, it would be altogether impossible to capture them, brought a stratagem to bear on Crassus. Some of his Roman captives were first released, who, while in his camp, had heard the Barbarians saying to one another, as they had been ordered to do, that the king did not wish the war between him and the Romans to be waged relentlessly, but preferred: to regain their friendship by doing them the favour of treating Crassus kindly. Then the Barbarians ceased

fighting, and Surena with his chief officers rode quietly up to the hill, unstrung his bow, held out his right hand, and invited Crassus to come to terms, saying: “I have put your valour and power to the test against the wishes of the king, who now of his own accord shows you the mildness and friendliness of his feelings by offering to make a truce with you if you will withdraw, and by affording you the means of safety.”

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

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CRASSUS

When Surena gaid this, the rest of the Romans eagerly accepted his proposal and were full of joy, but Crassus, whose every discomfiture at the hands of the Barbarians had been duc to fraud, and who thought the suddenness of their change a strange thing, would not reply, but took the matter into consideration. His soldiers, however, cried out and urged him to accept, then fell to abusing and reviling him for putting them forward to fight men with whom he himself had not the courage to confer even when they came unarmed. At first he tried entreaties and arguments. If they would hold out for what was left of the day, during the night they could reach the mountains and rough country; and he showed them the roed thither, and exhorted them not to abandon hope when safety was so near. But when they grew angry with him, and clashed their arms together, and threatened him, then he was terrified and began to go towards Surena. As he went, however, he turned and said : “ Octavius and Petronius and ye other Roman commanders here present, ye see that I go because [must, and ye are eyewitnesses of the shameful violence I suffer; but tell the world, if ye get safely home, that Crassus perished because he was deceived by his enemies, and not because he was delivered up to them by his countrymen.”

XXXII. Octavius, however, and those about him, did not remain, but went down from the hill with Crassus; the lictors, who were following him, Crassus drove back. The first of the Barbarians to meet him were two half-breed Greeks, who leaped from their horses and made obeisance to him; then addressing him in the Greek tongue, they urged him to send a party forward to assure themselves that Surena and

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

emiderEerar Lovpivas éavtov Kal Tous i mepl autov
avoTrAous Kal aatdnpous ™ poo ep omevous. o 6é

Kpdacos aTEKpPLVATO pev Os, el K eae éAaXLoTOV
elxe tov Chy Aoyoo, oux ay eis yelpas avrots
nrGev, 6 pms be duo ‘Pwo xtous adehpovs éreue
Tevoopevous emt Tice Kal TocoL cuviacty. obs
evdus ovrdaBov 0 Loupyvas KaTETXED, auros
dé peta TOV aploTwV im TOTNS 7 poanet kar “Tt
ToUT , Eby, “ mrelos 0 “Powpaiwv avToKpdtwp,
n pets dé oxovpeda 5” ;’ Kal Tpocayayety exéheuoev
im mov avT®@. Tob oe Kpdacou picavros oure
AUTOV GpapTaVveEely OUT EXELVOY, WS cKaT EP WaT plov
€OTL TOLOULEVOUS THY arvooor, elvat pev auTodev
edn omoveas Kal elp yn 6 Loupyvas ‘Tpwdn Te
Baotret Kal ‘Pe pators, ceiy 6é ypdwacbar Tas
cuvOjKas emt TOV TOT POV mpoaedOovras: _ Ov
yap Upels ye, eb, “‘ aravu HV LOvES opoAoyLav oi
wpator,” Kal T pouTeive THY oeftav aUT@. péeTa-
TEUTOMEVOV & immov ovdev epn Oeiv- « Baordevs
yap col didwat TouToVv. dua © iwros te TO
Kpaco@ TapEerTn XpvToxyaartvos, ot te avaBonrets
QUuTOV a papevot mepteSiBaoav Kal TapelTovTo
TANYT TOV immov eT LTAXUVOVTES. ’"Oxraovios be
mpatos dvtthauBavetar TOY Yahwvar, Kal per
exetvov els TOV NeALapyeov Hetparos, cia ot
ovrrot TepliaTavTo Tov te inmov avaxomrety
TrELpwpLEvor ral tovs melovvtas tov Kpacaov é€
ExATEPOU bépous _Gperxov Tes. ota pob dé yevo-
pevov Kal Tapas, elra TAN OY, ‘Oxtaovios pev
dvagTaaas TO Eidos EVOS TOV BapBapwv KTetvet
Tov immoxopoy, étepos b€ tov ‘Oxtaoviov éx TaD
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CRASSUS

those about him were advancing to the conference without armour and without weapons. Crassus replied that if he had the least concern for his life, he would not have come into their hands; but neverthe- less he sent two Roscii, brothers, to enquire on what terms and in what numbers they should hold their meeting. These men were promptly seized and detained by Surena, while he himself with his chief officers advanced on horseback, saying: “ What is this? the Roman imperator on foot, while we are mounted ?”’ Then he ordered a horse to be brought for Crassus. And when Crassus answered that neither of them was at fault, since each was following the custom of his country in this meeting, Surena said that from that moment there was a truce and peace between King Hyrodes and the Romans, but it was necessary to go forward to the river Euphrates and there have the contracts put in writing; “for you Romans at least,” said he, ‘‘are not very mindful of agreements,” and he held out his right hand to Crassus. Then when Crassus proposed to send for a horse, Surena said there was no need of it, “ for the king offers you this one.” At the same time a horse with gold-studded bridle stood at Crassus’s side, and the grooms lifted Crassus up

and mounted him, and then ran along by him, quickening his horse's pace with blows. Octavius was first to seize the bridle, and after him Petronius, one of the legionary tribunes ; then the rest of the Romans in the party surrounded the horse, trying to stop him, and dragging away those who crowded in upon Crassus on either side. Scuftling followed, and a tumult, then blows. Octavius drew his sword and slew the groom of one of the Barbarians, but another smote Octavius down from

~I

omaGev Tatukas. Lletpwrvios 5€ GtrrXov peév ovK
evtropnaev, eis S€ Tov Owpaxa TANYELS aTrETION-
gev aTpwtos' Tov 6€ Kpdoaov dvopa opakubpns
Hdap0os avéxtewvev.
Oi & ob hacwv, adn' Er Epov per elvat TOV aT 0-
KTelvavTa, TOUTOV d€ Ketévou THY Keparyy amro-
Kora Kat THY beEtav. etxaleTae dé TabTa pan-
Nov 7) yivw@oKEeTaL TaV yap TapovTwY ot pev exer
payopevor trept Tov Kpaaocov avnpébnaar, ao &
evdus averrndynaav éri Tov Aogdov. émedAPovtTwy be
tov UdapOwv xat rAeyorvTwyv ott Kpdocos pev
Steny dédwxe, Tors & dddous Kehevel Loupijvas
Kattévat GappovyTas, ot pev evexelpioay auToUS
cataBavres, ot 6é Tis VUKTOS é€oTupnoaD, Kal
ToVTwWY OAlyo. TavTaTace StecwOnaav: Tovs
S' ddXovs éxOnpevovtes ot "ApaBes ouverap-
Bavov xal dépOeipov. Réyovtae 8 ot wavtes
Siopvptoe pev atrolaveiv, pupto dé arovat
CaVTES.
XXXII. '0 be Louprjvas. THY ceharny Tod
Kpdocou Kal THY Xelpa TWpos 'Tpodyy émrepapev
ets A pyeviay, airs diadous Aovyov UT ayyéXov
eis Dedevaeray & ws CovrTa Kpaccov a ayol, Taped Kev-
aleTo TOLT IY Teva yeAoiav bBper mpocaryopevov
OpiauBov. O pev yap eupepea TAaTos Kpacow Tov
LX MART OV Ddios Ilaxxiavos, ¢cO7Ta Bacidexny
yuvarKos evdus Kat ovday Geis Kpdaaaos UTAKOVELY
Kal AVTOKPAaTWP TOLS Kadovow, ép' imtrov cad y-
pevos AryeTO* po avrou dé carnuyeral Kat
pasdsodyot tives OV OU[LEVOL KAapLyrOLS 7) \auvov"
cEnptyt0 6¢ Tay paBdwv Baddvtia Kai Tapa Tous
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behind. Petronius had no offensive weapons, but when he was struck on the breastplate, leaped down from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxathres.

Some, however, say that it was not this man, but another, who killed Crassus, and that this man cut off the head and right hand of Crassus as he lay upon the ground. These details, however, are matters of conjecture rather than of knowledge. For of the Romans who were present there and fighting about Crassus, some were slain, and others fled back to the hill. Thither the Parthians came and said that as for Crassus, he had met with his deserts, but that Surena ordered the rest of the Romans to come down without fear. Thereupon some of them went down and delivered themselves up, but the rest scattered during the night, and of these a very few made their escape; the rest of them were hunted downby the Arabs, captured, and cut to pieces. In the whole campaign, twenty thousand are said to have been killed, and ten thousand to have been taken alive.

XXXII. Surena now took the head and hand of Crassus and sent them to Hyrodes in Armenia, but he himself sent word by messengers to Seleucia that he was bringing Crassus there alive, and prepared a laughable sort of procession which he insultingly called a triumph. That one of his captives who bore the greatest likeness to Crassus, Caius Paccianus, put on a woman’s royal robe, and under instructions to answer to the name of Crassus and the title of Imperator when so addressed, was conducted along on horseback. Before him rode trumpeters and a few lictors borne on camels; from the fasces of the

TeAEKELS Tpdapatot kepada’ ‘Pwpyaiwy aroreTpy-
pévat, xatorey 8 ettrovto Ledeuxides Eraipat pouc-
oupyo., ToAAa Bwworoya Kal yedoia 8 dopdrev
eis OndvTHTA Kai dvavdpiav tod Kpaaaou déyov-
gat. TavTa pev ov TavTes eOewrTo.
Thv 6€ yepovoiay tav Nedreveéwy aOpotcas

elonveyxey axohacta BiBdia Tov "Apioteidou
Manotaxov, ott tTat’Tad ye Kxatavrevodpevos:
evpéOn yap év tois ‘Pwoxiov oxevoddpas, Kat
mapéoye 7 Lovpyjva xabvBpicar wodrddad Kat
KaTacKaryat Tous ‘Pwpaious, ef undé morepodrTes
améyecOat Tpaypatwy xal ypaypatov Sivavtat
TOLOUTWY. Tots WévTOL LEdevKEdoL edoxEr Topas
avnp Aicwtos elvat, Tov Loupyvay opw@at Thy TeV
MirAnolaxk@y dxortactnpaTwv mypay éEnptnpévov
mpooGer, dmiabev b€ HapOixny SUBapw éperxo-
pevoy €v ToTauTals TrAaAXAAaKOwY apatats, TPOTOV
Tia Tais REeyouévats éyidvats nal oxvtadats
dvtTiyoppws Ta pev eudarh nal mpocbia pépy
poBepa kai Onpiwdn dSopaci Kat to£os Kal ixrmas
mpoBarropévny, Kat ovpay O€ THs Pararyyos els
Yopelas Kal KpoTada Kal Yadpous Kai Tavvvxidas
GKONATTOUS META YUVALKOY TEXEUT@OAaY. WeKTOS
pev yap 0 ‘Pwaxtos, avaidets 5é WapOoe ta MiAn-
giaxa wWeéyovtes, wv toddo. BeBacirevKacw éx

1 Probably a collection of love stories,the scenes of which were laid in Miletus. Of its author, who flourished perhaps in the second century B.c., almost nothing is known,

lictors purses were suspended, and to their axes were
fastened Roman heads newly cut off; behind these
followed courtezans of Seleucia, niusicians, who sang
many scurrilous and ridiculous songs about the
effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus ; and these
things were for all to see.

But before the assembled senate of Seleucia, Surena brought licentious books of the “ Milesiaca ””! of Aristides, and in this matter, at least, there was no falsehood on his part, for the books were found in the baggage of Roscius, and gave Surena occasion to heap much insulting ridicule upon the Romans, since they could not, even when going to war, let such subjects and writings alone. The people of Seleucia, however, appreciated the wisdom of Aesop? when they saw Surena with a wallet of obscenities from the “ Milesiaca” in front of him, but trailing behind him a Parthian Sybaris in so many waggon-loads of concubines.? After a fashion his train was a counter- part to the fabled echidnae and scytalae among serpents, by showing its conspicuous and forward portions fearful and savage, with spears, archery, and horse, but trailing off in the rear of the line into dances, cymbals, lutes, and nocturnal revels with women. Roscius was certainly culpable, but it was shameless in the Parthians to find fault with the ‘‘Milesiaca,’ when many of the royal line of their

2 In the fable of the two wallets, which everyone carries, one in front containing his neighbour’s faults,

which are therefore always before his eyes; and one behind containing his own faults, which he therefore never sces.

8 Cf. chapter xxi. 6.

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i)
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Miadrynoiwov xai "Iwvidwy éraipav yeyovores
"Apoaxioat.
XXXIII. Tovtwy 8 ampartopévav 'Tpadns
eruyxavev 78m Sup Aarypevos 'Aptaovdady 7
"A ppevicn Kal thy adeXnv avtod 'yuvaixa I] axopy
T@ Tratol Kalaporoynpevos, éatedcers Te Kal
motot ot' GAX}AWY Hoav avTois, Kat ToAXA
TapeLaonyeTo TOV aTo THS EEXAdbos axovcpdTov.
hv yap ovte hovis ovte ypappatwv "Tpedns
EXAquicey aTELpOS, 0 & 'Apraovdadns xal Tpa-
ypdias emoler Kal oyous éypade Kal ioTopias,
av eviat dtracwfovta. ths 6€ Keharis tod Kpac-
gov Kopicbeions eri Oipas annpyévar pev Roav
at tpdtela, tpaywoiav b€ vmoxpityns "laowv
évopa Tpadrrdavos ndev Eipiridou Baxyav ta
Tepl thy Ayavnv. evdoxipuorvtos & adtod Sed-
AdKNS ETLTTAS TO avOpOvt Kai TpogKuVIGas Tpov-
Badev ets pécov Tov Kpdacou thy xeparyy. KpoTt@
5é trav Hdpdwy peta xpavyis Kal yapas dpapevor,
Tov pev NtArAaKyY KaTEKALVAY Ot UTNpETAL Bac ihéws
KerXevoavtos, 0 © 'lacwy ta pév tod TlevOéws
TKEVOTOLHATA TAPEOWKE TLL TOV YOPEVTOVY, THS
dé TOD Kpaocov Keparis NaBopevos Kal avaBax-
xevoas em épaivey éxetva TA béAN peT' évdovara-
Tov Kat WOnS
bépopev €& opens
EXtKa VEOTO MOV émt wédabpa,
paxaptav Onpav.
1 Euripides, Bacchue, 1170-72 (Kirchhoff paxdpioy).
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CRASSUS

Arsacidae were sprung from Milesian and Ionian

courtezans.
XXXII. While this was going on, it happened that Hyrodes was at last reconciled with Artavasdcs the Armenian, and agreed to receive the latter’s sister as wife for his son Pacorus, and there were reciprocal banquets and drinking bouts, at which many Greek compositions were introduced. For Hyrodes was well acquainted both with the Greek language and literature, and Artavasdes actually composed tragedies, and wrote orations and histories, some of which are preserved. Now when the head of Crassus was brought to the king’s door, the tables had been removed, and a tragic actor, Jason by name, of Tralles, was singing that part of the “ Bacchae”’ of Euripides where Agave is about to appear.! While he was receiving his applause, Sillaces stood at the door of the banqueting-hall, and after a low obeisance, cast the head of Crassus into the centre of the company. The Parthians lifted it up with clapping of hands and shouts of joy, and at the king’s bidding his servants gave Sillaces a seat at the banquet. Then Jason handed his costume of Pentheus to one of the chorus, seized the head of Crassus, and assuming the role of the frenzied Agave, sang these verses through as if inspired :

‘We bring from the mountain
A tendril fresh-cut to the palace,
A wonderful prey.”

1 Pentheus, king of Thebes, the son of Agave, refused to recognize the divinity of Dionysus, whereupon the god infuriated the women, and Agave killed her own son. She appears in the Bacchae with his head in her hand, exulting over the death of the supposed wild beast.

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AT. éuov 76 yépas”

y ‘ w~
avarnojaas o Hopakddpns (ériyyave 5€ Seervdv)
9 fg \ ~ ¢ ¢t ~ a
avTehapBaveto TNS KEeparijs, @s éauT@ Aéyeuv
~ ~ A 5 s “~ e . > e€
TavTa paNrdov 1) Exetv—@ TpoaHKov. HaOeis & oO
,
Bactrevs tov pev ols matpiov éotw edwpncarto,
~ 9 3 , , ¥ 9 r 4
t@ & “ldcovt tdXavtov EbwKev. els ToLotro dacw
, ,
é€odvov thy Kpdocey atpatnyiay doTep Tpaywotay
TENEVTIGAL.
? / \ ~ 9 4 e , w~
5 Aikn péevtot kat TIS @poTHTOS ‘Tpwdny cal THs
5 , > , 4 , a“ @ 2s , A
émtopkias Louvpivay akia peti rev. Lovpyvav pev
\ 3 \ \ , € , ‘ w~
yap ov peta TodUY xpovoy Tpwdns PBovm tis
f , 4

dofns ameéxterver, ‘Tpady d¢ aroBarovte laxopov
TO Pwpatwv payn xpatnOévta, Kal voorjcavtt
pooov ets UVdpwra tpateicav, Ppadrns oO vids
b] , b] 4 4 b] 4 A
emt Bovrdevwy axovitov edwKev. cavabeEapevns b€
Tis vooouv TO huppaxoy els EauT1V, MOTE TUvEK-
~ ~ , ‘\
KptOnvat, Kat TOU cwpaTos Koudiabévtos, emt THY
Tayiatny TeV obay €wv 6 Ppaitns anérmtev
auTOoV.
1 Euripides, Bacchue, 1179 (Kirchhotf, XO. 2fs a@ Badovca
mpwra;).
PLUTARCH’S LIVES
4 Kal TavTa pev Tavtas ETEepTrev: ddopévwn Sé€ TeV 5
epeEns apotBaiwy mpos Tov yopor,
XO. tis éhovevcen ;
|
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CRASSUS
This delighted everybody ; but when the following
dialogue with the chorus was ehanted :
(Chorus) “Who slew him?”
(Agave) “ Mine is the honour,”
Pomaxathres, who happened to be one of the
banqueters, sprang up and laid hold of the head,
feeling that it was more appropriate for him to say
this than for Jason. The king was delighted, and
bestowed on Pomaxathres the customary gifts, while
to Jason he gave a talent. With such a farce as this
the expedition of Crassus is said to have closed, just
like a tragedy.
However, worthy punishment overtook both Hy-
rodes for his cruelty and Surena for his treachery.
For not long after this Hyrodes became jealous of
the reputation of Surena, and put him to death; and
after Hyrodes had lost his son Paeorus, who was
defeated in battle by the Romans,? and had fallen
into a disease which resulted in dropsy, his son
Phraates plotted against his life and gave him
aconite. And when the disease absorbed the poison
so that it was thrown off with it and the patient
thereby relieved, Phraates took the shortest path and
strangled his father.
1 A poet competing at the Athenian City Dionysia

exhibited three tragedies and a satyric drama, ‘‘ the four
Spey being performed in succession in the course of the same
day.
2 38 B.c. Cf. Plutarch’s Antony, xxxiv. 1. According to Dio Cassius, xlix, 21, Pacorus fell on thesame day on which Crassus had been slain fifteen years before.

NIKIOY KAI KPAZSZOY ZYPKPISIS

I. Ky 6€ tH ouyxpices mpw@tov o Nexiou
a ral Yr a 4 3
mAovTOsS TH Kpaccov mapaBadXopevos apeptTro-
Tépav EXEL THY KTHTW. ArAAWS LEV Yap OUK avy TIES
Soxtpacere THY ATO peTddArA.wWY epyaciay, HS Ta
~ N 7
mTrEloTa Tepaivetat Sta KaKoUpywy 7) BapBdpwr,
eviwy Sedeyévay kal Pbetpopevwy év ToTTOLS UrOv-
ows Kal vocepois’ tapaBadAopévn b€ mpos Ta
y 4 4 \ \ N \ a 3
XVArAa SnuloTpata Kal Tas EPL TO TUP EpyoAa-
Bias, €mlerxestépa gaveitar. Tavrais yap o
a a A \
Kpdcaos avadavdov ws T@ yewpyety expiro Kat
A f a ‘ ha , Smet
7@ SaveiCew: & S€ CEapvos Hy EdAeyXopmEvos, emt
xépdecty ev Bovrn réeyery Kal Tovs cUppdyous
Gduxely Kal yuUvata Teptiwy KoraKevev Kal
CUVETLKPUTTELY TOUS TOVNpOUS, TOUTwWY aiTiav
ovde yevdh TOTE Nuxias ehafev, arArAws b€ ded0vs
KAL TPOiEMEVOS apyvptoy UTO OetALias TOIS ouKopay-
Tats éyAevalero, mpaypa mormv Llepixret pev
, A bd a
icws kal Apicreidn un mpetrov, avT@O avayKaior
ovK ev TepuKOTL pos TO Bappetv. @ Kai AuKodp-
yos UaTEpoY Oo pNTwWP eTappHoldcaTO Tpos TOV
Sipuov, altiavy éxywv eEwvncacbat tiva TOY oUKO-
gavrav: “"Héouat yap,” elmev, “ei tooodtov
ypovov TemorTevpevos Tap Lpiv didovs Tepwpa-
pat Tpatepov 7) AanBavwv.”
¢ \ a é Ud , \ €
Hy 6€ tais damavats qodtTiKwWTEpos pev o
Nexias ava@yjpact cat yupvaciapxiats Kat bida-

COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

I. In comparing the men, first, the wealth of Nicias was acquired in a more blameless manner than that of Crassus. For although it is true that the working of mines cannot be highly regarded, since most of it is carried on by employing malefactors or Barbarians, some of whom are kept in chains and done to death in damp and unwholesome places, still, when compared with the public confiscations of Sulla and the making of contracts where fire is raging, it will appear in the more favourable light. For Crassus openly utilized these opportunities as men do agriculture and money-lending. And as for the practices which he denied when on trial, namely, taking bribes for his voice in the senate, wronging the allies, circumventing weak women with his flatteries, and aiding base men to cloak their iniquities, no such charges, even though false, were ever made against Nicias; nay, he was rather laughed at for spending his money lavishly on informers out of cowardice, a practice unbecoming, perhaps, in a Pericles and an Aristides, but necessary for him, since he was not well stocked with courage. And for this practice Lycurgus the orator, in later times, boldly took to himself credit before the people, when accused of buying up one of these informers; “J am glad indeed,” he said, “ that after such a long political career among you, I have been detected in giving rather than receiving money.”

As for their outlays of money, Nicias was more public spirited in his noble ambition to make offerings

oxariats yopwv Pirotipovpevos, wy & o Kpacaos
» ,
dvaddwoev éeotidoas apa Tocavtas pupiadas
’ , ¢ 4 , LNB ° a é
avOputav, eta Opéwas radu, ovdev jv pépos &
’ od
Nexias éxéxtnTo cvv ols avadwoev, wate Oavya-
w , A \ 4 b] 4
Cecr, ef Teva AEANOE TO THY KAKLaY avwpariay
elval Tiva TpoTroV Kai dvoporoyiav, dpavTa TOUS
alsxpa@s sudAdéyovTas ET aXpHoTwS ExXéorTas.
II. Ilept pév rod mAovTov tocavta: tots be
f “~ \ , “ ’ X xed
ToAtTevpace Tou pev Nixiov tavovpyov ovdéy ovbe
ww 5] \ , , tb] \ 4,
adixov avdée Biawv wpocectiw ovdée Opacurns,
a aA , bd a
GAn’ éEnwarato wadXov vTd AdKiBrasou Kal TO

, ¢ 3 bf , “ \ r ,
Onuw Tpogyer per evraBeias. tov dé Kpdaaaov
\ \ b] ~ ‘ ¥ A 4
TOAAHY pev ev Tais mpos ExOpay Kat didrcav peta-
Borais dmiatiav cal averevOepiav Kxatnyopovat,
Bia 8 ovS avdtos ijpvetro thy Umarzeiay pettévat,
: , wv A , ,
picOwoapmevos avopas tovs Katou cal Aopitio
Tas yelpas Tposoiccvtas. ev S€ TH Tepl TaV
érapyiav Wn podopia tod Syyov modAol pepy
frpwOnaav, émecov b€ Téacapes, autos 8’, Grrep
e “ ’ a , ,
nas ev TH Sinyrjoe Tapednrvde, Acvxcov *Avva-
4
Nov, avdpa Bovreutyy, avTtrAéyovta VE watakas
els TO TpoowTrov e&éBarer nuaypLevov.
‘Os &€ wept tadta Biatos o Kpacaoos xal
, Cad a J , bd , N \
TUPAVULKOS, OUTWS av TddLY exeivou TO Wopodeés
ey TH ONLTELA Kal ATOAMOV Kat TOS KAKioTOLS
e / ~ , b , wv e ‘
vderpévoy TOV peytotwy eTiAXnWewv akov. o be
Kpadaaos tyyndos tepi ye Tadta Kal peyadd por,
5 ¢ ry
ov mpos Kréwras etd “TarepBorous, wa Ala, rod
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COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

to the gods and provide the people with gymnastic exhibitions and trained choruses; and yet his whole estate, together with his expenditures, was not a tithe of what Crassus expended when he feasted so many myriads of men at once, and then furnished them with food afterwards. I am therefore amazed that anyone should fail to pereeive that viee is a sort of inequality and incongruity of eharaeter, when he sees men amassing money shamefully and squandering it uselessly.

I]. So much regarding their wealth. And now in their political eareers, no ehieanery nor injustice, no violence nor harshness attaehes to Nicias, but he was deceived the rather by Aleibiades, and made his appeals to the people with too much caution.

Whereas Crassus is aceused of much ungenerous faithlessness in his vacillations between friends and enemies; and as for violenee, he himself could not deny that when he stood for the consulship, he hired men to lay hands on Cato and Domitius. And in the assembly whieh voted on the allotment of the provinees, many were wounded and four killed ; and Crassus himself (a faet which escaped us in the narrative of his life), when Lueius Annalius, a senator, was speaking in opposition, smote him in the face with his fist and drove him bleeding from the forum.

But if Crassus was violent and tyrannieal in these matters, Nicias went tothe other extreme. His timid- ity and cowardice in the public serviee, and his sub- servienee to the basest mer, deserve the severest eensure. Crassus, indeed, showed a certain loftiness and largeness of spirit in this regard, for he con- tended not with men like Cleon and Hyperbolus,

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ay@vos Gvtos, aAXNa Tpos THY Kaicapos AapTpo-
TynTa Kal tpets tov Tloumniov AptapBovus, ovy
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aktwpate b€ THs TiyuNntiKhs apxns wat Lopmiiov
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els TO OTpaTHyEly KaTacTICAaS. OUK éTAtYa pev
yap) éya tov Kpacaov év toig Xtraptaxetous €7e!-
1 yey yap Stephanus, Bekker, and S: pér.
425
COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

far from it, but against the brilliant Caesar, and against Pompey with his three triumphs; and he did not shrink from their path, but made himself a match for each in power, and in the dignity of his censorial office actually surpassed Pompey. For in the supreme struggles of a political career one must not adopt a course which awakens no envy, but one which dazzles men, throwing envy into the shade by the greatness of one’s power. But if, like Nicias, you set your heart above all else on security and quiet, and fear Alcibiades on the bema, and the Lacedaemonians at Pylos, and Perdiccas in Thrace, then there is ample room in the city where you can sit at leisure, removed from all activity, and “ weaving for yourself,” as sundry Sophists say, “a crown of tran- quillity.” His love of peace, indeed, had something godlike about it, and his putting a stop to the war was a political achievement most truly Hellenic in its scope. And because Nicias did this, Crassus is not worthy of comparison with him, nor would he have been even though in his ardour he had made the Caspian Sea or the Indian Ocean a boundary of the Roman empire.

III. When, however, a man wields superior power in a city which is open to the appeals of virtue, he should not give a footing to the base, nor command to those who are no commanders at all, nor confidence to those who deserve no confidence. But this is just what Nicias did when, of his own motion, he set Cleon in command of the army, a man who was nothing more to the city than a shameless brawler from the bema. I do _ not, indeed, commend Crassus, in the war with Spartacus,
429

xGevra dacoov 7 do paréatepov Stayovicacbar,
KALTOL prrorimias ay To betoar a) Tlouarnios
ehOwy apertat THY bofay | auTov, cabamep
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yap éAmidas ovde paotayny exovons ebécrn TO
eX9p@ prrorepias Kal APXAS, adda xivduvov
Up opwpevos ev TH oTpaTynyla péyay nyarnee, TO
Kal auTov éy _aopanel Bépevos, mpoeo Oat TO
KOLVOV. KalTOL Oo YE Oemrotondis, 1 iva wn padros
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aT éaTN TEV auror, Kal Karov, 6 ore parLoTa, wpa,
mTpaypata Kai xivduvous & exougapy vTEp THS Toews
Tn Snpapxiay, peri Oev- o 8 avTov éml ray
Mivwav cai KvOnpa Kai MyAtous TOUS TadalTo-
pous pvAatrmy oT PAT nyo, Eb be 1 Séoe payer bat
Aaxedatpoviors, dr oOudmEvos THD Nrapvda. Kal TH
Kr€wvos arretpig Kal Opacurnre vaus Kal dvdpas
kal omda Kal oTpaTnyiay eurretpias axpas
Seouéevnv mapadibous, ov THYv éavTov mpoleTat
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awrnpiav. 60ev batepov oby Exwv ovdé Bovdo-
HEvos Lupaxovaias Tone ety nvayxatero, Sox dy
ov Aoyig pe TOU cupepovTos, aAXG paatavy Kat
pararia, TO Tap avuTov atootepeiy Stxedlas THY
TONY.
"Exetvo pévtor peyadrs émtetkeias onpetov, Ste
Sucyepaivovta TO Todepety ael Kal pevyovta TO
ef 8 Coraés and Rekker, after Bryan:
2 +}v ris Stephanus, Bekker, and S: ris.

for pressing forward into action with greater speed than safety, although it was natural for a man of his ambition to fear that Pompey would come and rob him of his glory, just as Mummius had robbed Metellus of Corinth; but the conduct of Nicias was altogether strange and terrible. For it was not while it afforded him good hopes of success, or even of ease, that he renounced his ambition to hold the command in favour of his enemy, but when he saw that his generalship involved him in great peril, then he was content to betray the common good at the price of his own safety. And yet Themistocles, during the Persian wars, to prevent a worthless and senseless man from ruining the city as one of its generals, bought

him off from the oflice ; and Cato stood for the tribuneship when he saw that it would involve him in the greatest toil and danger in behalf of the city. Nicias, on the other hand, kept himself in the command against Minoa, and Cythera, and the wretched Melians, but when it was necessary to fight the Lacedaemonians, stripped off his gencral's cloak, handed over to the inexperience and _ rashness of Cleon ships, men, arms, and a command re- quiring the utmost experience, and so betrayed not only his own reputation, but the security and safety of his own country. Wherefore he was afterwards forced, against his wish and inclination, to wage war on Syracuse, for it was thought to be no calculation of what was expedient, but merely his love of ease and lack of spirit which made him use all his efforts to rob the city of Sicily.

There is, however, this proof of his great reasonable- ness, namely, that although he was always averse to war

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avayens, Loprniov cai MetérXou cal AovxovAA wv
appotépwv ATOVTWY, KALTOL TOTE TLULMpEV@ [GXL-
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dirotipias. "AOnvaios pev yap axovta Nixiav
éFérepwav eri tov worepov, 'Pwpaious 6é Kpdo-
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éxeivos S€ dia THY TOALY NTVYNGED.
IV. Ov pny adda padrov Eotw év TovTaLs TOV
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GQXN anette kal améyvo An Wvea Oat XixeXiav o &

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Hov juaptev. wpéexOn dé peyadwv, Katoapos ta
éomrépia kat Kertovs cal L'eppavovs xatactpe-
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432

COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

and avoided military command, the Athenians ceased not to elect him to it, believing him to be their most experienced and best general, Whereas Crassus, though he was all the while eager for military command, did not succeed in getting it except in the servile war, and then of necessity, because Pompey and Metellus and both the Luculli were away. And yet by that time he had acquired the greatest honour and influence in the city. But it would seem that even his best friends thought him, in the words of the comic poet, “The bravest warrior everywhere but in the field.” 1 And yet this did not prevent the Romans from being overwhelmed by his ambitious love of command. For the Athenians sent Nicias out to the war against his will ; but the Romans were led out by Crassus against theirs. It was owing to Crassus that his city, but to his city that Nicias, suffered misfortune.

IV. However, in this there is more ground for praising Nicias than for blaming Crassus. The former brought into play the experience and calculation of a wise leader, and did not share the deceitful hopes of his fellow-citizens, but insisted that it was beyond his power to take Sicily ; whereas Crassus made the mistake of entering upon the Parthian war as a very easy undertaking. And yet his aims were high ; while Caesar was subduing the West,—Gaul and Germany and Britain,—he insisted on marching against the East and India, and on com- pleting the reduction of Asia which had been begun by Pompey and Lucullus. Now these were men of good intentions and honourably disposed towards all, and yet they elected the same course as Crassus, and

? An iambic triimeter of unknown authorship (Kock, Com. Ait. Frag. iii. p. 493).
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Kpdcow kai tas avtas UToGécets NaBovtes, éret
kat loprnio tis apyis Sidopevns 7 cuyKAnTOS
nvavttoiTo, Kat Kaisapa pupiabas tptdnovta
Teppavev tpeydupevoy cuveBovrevev o Katov
éxdodvat Tois yTTNMEvOLS KaL TPéYrat TO pHMLMA
TOU TapacTovOnpatos ets exetvov: o be SHpos
éeppocBbat dpdcas Katwvi, rervtexaidexa tpépas
GOvev eTIWikKia Kat Tep:yapNs av. Tas odV aY
dieveOn Kal wocas éOuaev Hpépas, eb Kpaaaos éx
Bafuroros éypawe wav, cit eredOwav Myéiapr,
Hlepciéa, ‘Tpxavovs, Nodca, Baxtpa, ‘Pwpaiwv
évTapxias amébecEev ; citep yap adixely ypy, Kata
tov Kipiridny,’ aovyiar ayew pn duvapévous
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Sxavbdeav, ov Mévénv éxxomtéov, ovdé devyovtas
Adyiunjtas amoXeXouToTas THY EavT@Y, WoTEP
dpvidas eis E1épav YoOpay aTroKexpuppévous, EKO 7-
patéov, adda TOAAOD TINTEOY TO UO.KELVY, fi)
pasiws pd eri trois TUYOaLW, Bs Te Padr(Gv 4H
pLLKpOoV, Tpoieuevous TO OiKxatov. ol Se THY pEV TIS
’AreEuvdpov otpateias opuny éemaivodrtes, thy b€
Kpdcoov wWéyovtes, ovk ed TA TPOTA KpLvoVaLY
ed TOV TEAEVTALWD.
"Ep 6€ Tais aTparnyials avtais Nexdov pev
OUK rye yevyaia: Kal yap payais Todas
évixnae TOUS TOAEpOUS, Kal TOU AaBeiv VYvpaxov-
aas OAlyov édénae, kal Tavta 8 avrov ovK Errat-

1 Eteocles in the Phoenissae, 524 f. (Kirchhoff) :

elnep yap adixetvy xpn, Tupavsl5os wept
KdAAtorov adbixerv: ThAAG 8° evoeBelvy Xpewy.

adopted the same principles. For Pompey met with opposition from the senate when his province was allotted to him, and when Caesar routed three hundred thousand Germans, Cato moved in the senate that he should be delivered up to those whom he had vanquished, and so bring upon his own head the

punishment for his breach of faith; but the people turned contemptuously from Cato, sacrificed to the gods for fifteen days in honour of Caesar’s victory, and wete full of joy. What, then, would have becn their feelings, and for how many days would they have sacrificed to the gods, if Crassus had written to them from Babylon that he was victorious, and had then overrun Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and declared them Roman provinces ? “For if wrong must be done,” as Euripides says, when men cannot keep quiet, and know not how to enjoy contentedly the blessings which they already have, then let it not bein raiding Scandeia or Mende, nor in beating up fugitive Aeginetans, who have forsaken their own, and hidden themselves away like birds in another territory, but let a high price be demanded for the wrongdoing, and let not justice be thrown to the winds lightly, nor on the first best terms, as if it were some trifling or insignificant thing. Those who have praise for Alexander's expedition, but blame for that of Crassus, unfairly judge of a beginning by its end.

V. As to the actual conduct of their expeditions, Nieias has not a little to his credit, for he con- quered his enemies in many battles, and barely missed taking Syracuse, and not all his failures were due to himself, but they might be ascribed to his

aev, WAX Kal voTOY av TIS aitidaaLto Kai POdvov
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apapTnpatwy ovdév TH TUYN YpnoTov aTrobei-
EacGar mapixev. wate Oavpdtew avtod tip
aBertepiav ov THs WdpOwv dvvapews nrtnbeicay,
ANAG THS “Pwpaiwv edtuyias Trepiyevomevyy.
"Eret & 0 pev pndevos TOV ATO pavTLKAS KaTA-
poverv, o d€ TavTa UTEpop@Y Opmoiws atTrwXovTO,
Yarern pév év TovTots 7) acparea cai dvoxpitos,
émLetKéa TEpov 6€! TOU Tapavopou Kal avdasous TO
peta Sofns twaraas «cal cuijGous 8 evraBeav
GPLAPTAVOMEVOD.
Epi wévTOL THY TEAEUTHY CpuETTOTEPOS oO
Kpacoos o¥ tapasous éautov avdée Sebeis ovdé
pevaxiabeis, arr’ eiEas Tois Piros Seopévors Kal
mapaotrovonGels vo TwY TrorAcuiov: o dé Nixias
aia \ypas Kai axreEovs éATrIOL GwTHpias UTOTETHY
Tols TroAeulols aioxiova éavt@® Tov Oavatov
erroinaev.
1 énsecxeotepoy Se a following abrjs of the MSS. is suspected

by Corats, lamely defended by Sintenis, and bracketed by
Bekker.
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disease and to the jealousy of his fellow-citizens at home ; but Crassus made so many blunders that he gave fortune no chance to favour him. We may not therefore wonder that his imbecility succumbed to the power of the Parthians, but rather that it prevailed over the usual good fortune of the Romans.

Since one of them was wholly given to divination, and the other wholly neglected it, and both alike perished, it is hard to draw a safe corclusicn from the premises ; but failure from caution, going hand in hand with ancient and prevalent opinion, is more reasonable than lawlessness and obstinacy.

In his end, however, Crassus was the less worthy of reproach. He did not surrender himself, nor was he bound, nor yet beguiled, but yielded to the entreaties of his friends, and fell a prey to the perfidy of his enemies; whereas Nicias was led by the hope of a shameful and inglorious safety to put himself into the hands of his enemies, thereby making his death a greater disgrace for him.
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A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acharnae, 95, the largest deme, or townshlp, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.

Aesop, 419, a Greek writer of fables, who flourished in the first half of the sixth century B.O. Fables bearing his name were popular at Athens in the tlme of Aristophanes.

Agatharchus, 41, of Samos, proml-nent at Athens as a theatrical scene-painter 460-420 B.c. Cf, the Alcibiades, xvi. 4.

oa 33, a deme, or township, of Attica, some two or three miles east of Athens.

Anacreon, 5, of Teos, a popular yric poet honoured at the courts of Polycrates of Samos and Hipparchus of Athens,

llved circa 563-478 B.O.
Anaxagoras, 11, 21, 53 f., 291, of Clazomenae, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.c.
Andros, 35, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, to the S.E. of Euboea.
Antisthenes, 5, the Socratic, a pupil of Gorgias and friend of ocrates, circa 450-366 B.c.

Archilochus, 5, of Paros, a roving soldier-poet of the earlier part of the seventh century B.C., famous for his satyric lamblcs.
Arginusae islands, 109, three small islands lying between Lesbos and the malnland of Asia Minor.
PLUT. III.

Autocleides, 293, an Athenian, of unknown da author of & work on sacrificial ritual and tradition.
B

Balissus, 385, a small tributary of the Euphrates, south of Carrhae.
Brasidas, 237, the ablest and noblest Spartan leader during the first decade of the Peloponnesian war. He attempted to rob Athens of her allied cities in the north.
Brundisium, 365, an Important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and the chief naval station of the Romans on the Adriatile Sea.
C

Carrhae, 395, 403-409, a town in

the northern part of Mesopotamia.
Casinum, 135, the last city of Latlum towards Campania on the Vila Latina.
Catana, 263-267, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Tauromenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.
Caunians, 309, Caunus was a clty of Caria, In Asia Minor, belonging to the Rhodians.

Chersonesus, 35, 59, the Thracian Chersonesus (peninsula), extending southwards into the Aegean Sea west cf the Hellespont.
Cholargus, 4¥, an Attic deme, or township, of uncertain site.
Clazomenae, 255, an Ionlan city situated on the southern shore of the hay of Smyrna.
Critolaiis, 21, of Phaselis in Lycia head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens, orator and statesman, eigiity-two years of age when, in 156 B.c., he was sent on an embassy to Rome (see the Cato Major, xxii.).
D
Damon, 11, probably the same person as Damonides of Oea (pn. 22):

Damonides, 27, of Oea, probably the same person as Damon {p. 13).

Delos, 35, 217, the central island of the Cyclades group, east of Attica.

Diphilus, 209, a prominent poet of the New Comedy, 336-250 H.c,
Duris, 79, the Samian, a pnyil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, circa 350-280 B.C.
E

Egesta, 251, or Segesta, an anelent city in the N.W. of Sicliy, neither Greek nor native Sicilian, sald to have been founded by Trojans.
Kieusis, 41, the sacred city of the Mysteries, some twelve miles west of Athens.
Ephorus, 79, of Cymé in N.W, Asia Minor, a pupil of Isocrates, author of a highly rhetoricaf Plead of Greece from the ‘“‘“Porian Invasion"? down to 340 B.c., in which year he died. 440

Epidaurnus, 103, a city on tlic north-eastern coast of Peloponnesus, noted for its cult of Aesculapius.
G

Galatia, 365, the central province of Asia Minor, occupied by Gallic tribes from Europe ijate in the third century B.C.
H

lieracleides, 79, 103, calied Pontieus from his birth In Heracleia of Pontus, a pupil of Plato nnd Aristotle, and a learned and voluminons writer on almost all possible subjects.
Iiyreania, 377, 435, a district of eentral Asia lying immediately south of the Caspian Sea,

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Tdomenens, 31, 103, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epieurny (342-270 B.C.), author of bio graphical works entitled ‘* The Socratics "and “*The Dema- gogues.

Ion, 13, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 h.c., and anthor of a prose work entitled ‘ Sojourns,”” in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time, 1,

Lampon, 15, the most famous seer of his time, apparently trusted by Pericles. He played a prom- inent part in the colonization of Thurii, 444 B.c.
Leocrates, 53, commander in the final trlumph of Athens over Aegina (456 B.C.).
Leontini, 251, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, lying between Syracuse and Catana, about eight miles inland
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Luca, 357, the southermost city in Caesar’s province of Cisalpine Gaul, afterwards included in Etruria.
Lyéurgus, 425, Athenian orator and statesman, 396-323 B.«¢.
M

Margiana, 387, a district in central Asia lying south of Scythia and west of Bactria.
Melissus, 75, a native of Samos, and a disciple of Parmenides. Malic- ious report made him a teacher

of Themistocles (Themistocles, hi. 3).

Metellus, 431, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Macedonicus, won victories over Macedonian and Achaean armies in Greece, but could not bring the war to a close before he was superseded by Mummius (146 B.©.).
Mummius, 431, Lucius, superseded Metellus in 146 B.c., and completed the subjugation of Greece by the capture of Corinth.
Myronides, 53, leader of the “ reserves’ in the Athenian victory over Corinth in 458 B.c., and in the following year victor over the Boeotians at Oenophyta.
N

Naxos, 35, 219 (Nuxians), the largest island of tke Cyclades group, lying half-way between Attica and Asia Minor.
Naxos, 267, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, on the N.E. coast, just south of Tauromenium.
P

Parmenides, 11, of Elea in Italy, founder of a school of idealistic philosophy (see Zeno the Eleatic).
Pasiphon, 219, of Eretria, a notorious imitator of the Socratic disciples, to whom he attributed his own

compositions, circa 300-250 B.C.
Petelia, 347, an ancient city and district of Bruttium.
Pheidias, 5, 89 f., of Athens, the greatest sculptor and statuary of Greece, ob. 432 B.C.

Philetas, 5, of Cos, a poet and critic of the earlicr Alexandrian school, who flourished under the first Ptolemy (circa 318-275 B.C.).

Philistus, 209, 277, 307, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.
Philochorus, 293, the most celebrated writer on the antjquities of Athens, 306-260 B.c.
Polycleitus, 5, of Argos, a famous sculptor, statuary, and architect, who flourished cirea 452-412 B.C.

Polycrates, 77, tyrant of Samos from about 530 till his death in 522 B.c. His career forms one of the great features of the third book of Herodotus.
Poseidonius, 175, of Apameia in Syria, a distinguished Stoic ior a resident in Athens, hodes, and Rome, contemporary with Cicero.
Protagoras, 291, of Abdera in Thrace, the first to call himself a ‘‘sophist,”” and to teach for pay. Ona third visit to Athens, about 411 B.c., he was accused of impiety and fled, but only to perish at sea.
Pylos, 231, 245, 247, an ancient city on the west coast of Messenia, in Peloponnesus, On a promontory commanding the north entrance to the great bay of Pylos (the modern Navarino).
S
Seleucia, 367 f., 369, 379, 417 f.,

the Seleucia which was built by Seleucus Nicator, on the right
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bank of the Tigris, about forty miles N.E. of Babylon.
Sphacteria, 231, an island lying in front of the great bay of Pyios.
StesimErotus, 25, 47, 75, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note at Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.
T

Tanagra, 33, a town in eastern Boeotla, between Thebes and Attica.
Thapsus, 267, a peninsula just to the north of Syracuse.
Theophrastus, 67, 103, 111, 241, the most famous pupil of -Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was a native of Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens In 287 B.c., at the age of eighty-five.
Timaeus, 209, 275, 307, of Tanromenium in Sicily, whose life fails between the years 350-250 B.C., during a long exile in Athens wrote a voluminous history of his native island from earliest times down to 264 B.c.
Timon, 11, of Phiins, a composer of satiric poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy, 320-230 II.C.
442

Tolmides, 53, 59, 61, leader of an

Athenian naval expedition round
Peloponnesus in 455 B.c., and
of ocher expeditions by sea.
Tralles, 421, a large and flourishing
city of Caria, in Asla Minor.
x

Xenarchus, 209, mp parents cited
by Plutarch as an historian ; but
no historlan of this name
known.
Xypeté, 41, an Attic deme, or
township,. near Phalerum or
Piraeus.
Z

Zacynthns, 291, an island off the
N.W. coast of Peloponnesus, the
moderu Zante.
Zeno, 11, the Eleatic, a disctple of
Parmenides, with whom he
visited Athens when Socrates
was a very young man (Plato,
Parmenides, p. 127 a).
Zeuxis, 41, of Heraclea in Magna
Graecia, the most celebrated
pare of antiquity, who flour-
shed in the fatter part of the
fifth aud the earlier part of the
fourth centuries B.c
OO OE

TT Oe

PLUTARCH'S
LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN TEN VOLUMES
IV
ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS
LYSANDER AND SULLA
LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN

NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) texts of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. None of the Lives presented in this volume is contained in the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), the relative value of which is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. A few superior readings have been adopted from the Codex Matritensis (M*), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux, as published in Burstans Jahresbericht (1884). No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or.a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.
Some use has been made of the edition of the

Sulla by the Rev. Hubert A. Holden, Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1886.
The translation of the Alcibiades has already appeared in my “ Plutarch’s Nicias and Alcibiades” (New York, 1912), and is reproduced here (with

only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner’s Sons. The translations of the Cortolanus, Lysander, and Sulla appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the Sulla by Professor Long.
B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
April, 1916.
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ALCIBIADES

VOL, IV.

AAKIBIAAH2

I. To "AdKiBiddou yévos avwbev Evpucaxny tov Alavros apynyov éxew Soxel, mpos 5& wntpos
? 4 = ? , \ a
Adxpatwvidns iv, éx Aewvouayns yeyovos tis Meyaxdéous. 06 S€ matnp adtov Knreuvias td.0-aoToA@ Tpinpe rept "Aprepuiovoy évdo~ws évav-paxnoe, batepov Sé Bowwrois payopevos epl Kopwveray améOave. tod dé "ArxiBiddou Iepr-Krys kal “Apidpwv of HavOirmov, tpoonxovtes KaTa yévos, émeTpoTrevoy.
Aéyerat 8 ov xaxas Ste THS Ywxpatovs mpos
> NA > / , 9 \ \
avtov evvoias Kal diravOpwirias ov pixpa Tpos Sokayv arédauaev, el'ye Nexiov pev cat Anpoabé-vous Kal Aaudxouv xat Poppiwvos OpacuBovrAov Te kal Onpapévovs, émipavay dvdpav yevopévov KaT avTov, ovdevds ovd 4 uNTNP dvopaTtos TETU-xncev, ArxiBiadov 5é kai titOny, yévos Adxawvay,
? 4 ” , \ yw
Apverav dvopa, cal Zotvupov madaywyov io per, av To pev "AvricBévns, To 6¢ WAdtav iotdpnke.
2

Paris

Editior
a. 1624,
192

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ALCIBIADES

I. Tue family of Alcibiades, it is thought, may be traced back to Eurysaces,! the son of Aias, as its founder; and on his mother’s side: he was an Alcmaeonid, being the son of Deinomache, the daughter of Megacles. His father, Cleinias, fitted out a trireme at his own cost and fought it glori- ously at Artemisium.2, He was afterwards .+slain at Coroneia, fighting the Boeotians, and Alcibiades was therefore reared as the ward of Pericles and Ariphron, the sons of Xanthippus, his near kinsmen.*‘

It is said, and with good reason, that the favour and affection which Socrates showed him contri- buted not a little to his reputation. Certain it is that Nicias, Demosthenes, Lamachus, Phormio, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes were prominent men, and his contemporaries, and yet we cannot so much as name the mother of any one of them; whereas, in the case of Alcibiades, we even know that his nurse, who was a Spartan woman, was called Amycla, and his tutor Zopyrus. The one fact is mentioned by Antisthenes, the other by Plato.®

1 Plato, Alcibiades I. p. 121. 2 480 B.C.

3 447 B.C. 4 They were first cousins, once removed.
5 Alcibiades I. p. 122.
we
Xs)
3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

{

Tlept pév otv tod KddXovus ’AAKiBidbou ovdev lows Set réyerv, TWAHY STL Kal Tratda Kal pEeLpaKLoV kal avipa mdon ovvavOijoay TH .ndicia Kai apa TOU cw@paTtos épdoptov Kal Hdvr Tapéoyev. ov yap, os Evperidns éreyé, wWavrov TOV KaNO@V Kal Loe nee ; fa 9

TO peToT@poyv Kadov éoTW, adArNa TovTO ‘AX-
KiBiadn pet oriyov. aXAwv oi’ eddpviay Kal
b \ , e a 5 . ae A \ A \
apethv cwpatos UTFnpke. TH Oé pov Kal THv
TpavroTntTa éumpeycat Aéyovot kal T@ AAAM
6 A a ,
mudavoTnta Tapagyely yapw émitedovoay, mép-
\ Vlas a , 9 a a /

pntas 5€ Kat ‘Apiorodavns avtov Tis TpavAOTNTOS
év ols émigrantes Oéwpor:
Kir “AdxtBiadns elare mpos pe TpavAicas:

“OrnGs Odwrov ; tHv Keparnv Kodraxos Exel.”

opas ye todr “ArxiBiddys érpavrcev.

kal "Apyitmos tov vidv Tod "AAKiBidbov cxor-
tov “Babiler,” dyai, “ dcaxexrt6@s, Ootparcvov
Edxov, OTrws éudhepyns padtota TH watpl do€evev
Elva,
Kracavyeveverat te nal tpavariberat.”

II. To & 400s abrod moddas pév Dotepov, ws
elxos é€v Tpdyuact peyddols Kal TYYaLs ToAU-
TPOTOLS, aVOLoLOTHTAS pos aUTO Kal peTaRoras
émedeiEato. guoer 5& ToAA@Y dvTwY Kal peE-
, a > 9 ol \ 4 ? /
yaXov Taday év avt@, TO diAoverKoy toyupoTaToV
4

ALCIBIADES

As regards the beauty of Alcibiades, it is perhaps unnecessary to say aught, except that it flowered out with each successive season of his bodily growth, and made him, alike in boyhood, youth and man- hood, lovely and pleasant. The saying of Euripi- des,! that “beauty’s autumn, too, is beautiful,” is not always true. But it was certainly the case with Alcibiades, as with few besides, because of his excel- lent natura] parts. Even the lisp that he had became his speech, they say, and made his talk persuasive and full of charm. Aristophanes notices this lisp of his in the verses wherein he ridicules Theorus : 2—

(Sostas) “Then Alcibiades said to me with a lisp,
said he,
‘Cwemahk Theocwus? What a cwaven’s
head he has!’ ”’
(Xanthias) “That lisp of Alcibiades hit the mark for

1»
once.
And Archippus, ridiculing the son of Alcibiades, says :
“ He walks with utter wantonness, trailing his long
robe behind him, that he may be thought the very
picture of his father, yes,
He slants his neck awry, and overworks the lisp.” 3

Il. His character, in later life, displayed many in- consistencies and marked changes, as was natural amid his vast undertakings and varied fortunes. He was naturally a man of many strong passions, the mightiest of which were the love of rivalry and the love

1 Cf. Aelian, Var. Hist. xiii. 4.

2 Wasps, 44 ff. The ‘‘lisp” of Alcibiades turned his r’s into l’s, and the play is on the Greek words xépat, raven, and

KéAak, flatterer or craven.
3 Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 688.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

jv Kal To gdtdompwrov, ws SHrov éate ois
masbucois am opynpovevpacy.
"Evy pev yap TO Tadaiew meloupevos, U vmép TOU
pn Teceiv avayayov T pos TO oTOpa Ta dppara
TOU mueloovTos, olos 7 ba ayetv Tas Xéipas.
apevTos 6 THY AaPny Exeivov Kal elTrovTos:
* Adxvets, @ Aree Biddn, cad dmep at yuvaixes,”
* Our ae ele, “ aX’ @S ot A€ovTEs.”
"Ere dé pix pos @y émavev dat parydnrous ev T@
CTEVOTO, Tis bé Boras KaOnnovans els auTov
Gpaka poptiov ernet. mp@rov pev oop éxéheve
meptpetvar TOV ayovTa TO fedyos: UTETLTTE yap
7 Born Th Tapoo@ This apakns: a metOouévou be
be ary potKiay, GAN €mrayovTos, of ev aot maides
bérXov, o 08 "Ad«eBeddys KaTaBarov emt Toma
™ po TOU Cevryous Kal Tapateivas éauTon, éxéhewev
OUTWS, EL Aovherau, SueEenGeiy, Gare Tov ev
avOpwrov d avaxpovoat To Cedryos ériow deicavta,
tous 3 iSovras ext Nayfvat kal peta Bons ovp-
Spapetv T pos auTov.
"Ezrel S€ eis TO pavd dvew He, Tots pev aAXOLS
UmnKove Sidackarors EmLeLKeas, To 8 avanety
epevyev WS _ayevves Kat avedevde pov: TAHT pov
pev yap kal AUpas xXphoww ovdey OUTE TY MATOS

ovTe popdns édAEev0épw mpeTovans SuapGeiperv,
avrous bé puoavros avOp@trou oropare Kal TOUS
cubes a ay mavy pores Sraryvevat TO TpoTwroD,
Ere O€ THY pev Avpay TO Xpopevep ouppdeyye-
cBat Kat ouvacety, Tov avnov emia ropicery Kal
amropparrety éxactov THY Te hwvny Kal TOV
Norvyov aarpovpevov. - Atheitwoap ov, én,
“@nBaiwv taides: ov yap ioact dtaréyecOar:
6

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' ALCIBIADES

of preéminence. This is clearfrom the stories recorded of his boyhood.

He was once hard pressed in wrestling, and to save himself from getting a fall, set his teeth in his opponent’s arms, where they clutched him, and was like to have bitten through them. His adversary, letting go his hold, cried : “You bite, Alcibiades, as women do!” “Not I,” said Alcibiades, “ but as lions do. ”’

While still a small boy, he was playing knuckle-bones in the narrow street, and just as it was his turn to throw, a heavy-laden waggon came along. In the first place, he bade the driver halt, since his cast lay right in the path of the waggon. The driver, however, was a boorish fellow, and paid no heed to him, but drove his team along. Whereupon, while the other boys scattered out of the way, Alcibiades threw himself flat on his face in front of the team, stretched himself out at full length, and bade the driver go on if he pleased. At this the fellow pulled up his beasts sharply, in terror; the spectators, too, were affrighted, and ran with shouts to help the boy.

At school, he usually paid due heed to his teachers, but he refused to play the flute, holding it to be an ignoble and illiberal thing. The use of the plectrum and the lyre, he argued, wrought no havoc with the bearing and appearance which were becoming to a gentleman ; but let a man go to blowing on a flute, and even his own kinsmen could scarcely recognize his features. Moreover, the lyre blended its tones with the voice or song of its master; whereas the flute closed and barricaded the mouth, robbing its master both of voice and speech. “ Flutes, then,”’ said he, “for the sons of Thebes; they know not

7

nyt dé Tots "AOnvaiots, @s of watépes Aé€yovety,
A A ,
apynyéres ’“AOnvad kal matp@os "AToANY EaTiv,
@v % pev épptre Tov avrov, o 6 Kal Tov avANTHVY
ey 4 ” a , 4 \ /
éEéderpev.” totadta Tmraifov dua Kat otrovdalov
e 3 U e , a , 9 /
o ’AXxtBiadys avrov re Tod pabnpatos atréaTyGE
kal tous aAXovs. Taxv yap buArOe RAoyos Eis
TovSs Tatas ws ev Toray Oo "AdXKiBiaddys BdedUT-
TOLTO THY AVANTLKHY Kal yAEvdlor TOs pavOar-
ovras. SO0ev éFérece xopidn Tov edevdepwv
Star piPav Kal mpoernrakiadn TavTaTacw oO
aunos.
III. *Ev 8 tats 'Avrupavros Aowbopiars yeyparr-
tat 6Tt Tais av, eK THS oixias amédpa pos
Anpoxpatn tia tov épactav: Bovropévov 8
2 \ 3 / 9 , A ?
auTov amroxnpuTtev Apidpovos, IlepixrHs ovn
? , ? \ / e / a A \
elacen, ebmmy: et pev TeOvnen, MERE mig ova TO
Knpuypa pavetovar mpotepov, et 5é aa@s éoTty,
” b) fo! A N 7 # ¢
&owotov avt@ tov Aowtrov Biov écecOar nal Gre
TOV akoNovOovvTay Tia KTeiverey ev TH YPup-
/ / 4 , 5 A ,
tlov maNaliotpa EvAw mata~as. adXA TovTOLS
pev ov akiov iaws mioreverv, & ye AoLtdopeta Oat
Tis avT@ du’ &yOpav oporoyar elzrev.
IV. "Hdn 8€ rodd@v Kal yevvaiwy daOpo.to-
pévov Kal mepteTovTwy, ot ev AAdAoL KaTadaveis
qoav THY AapTpOTHTA Ths @pas éxmewANypévor
xal Oepatrevovtes, 6 5é Ywxpdtovs épws péya

* Athene threw away the flute because she saw her puffed and swollen cheeks reflected in the water of a spring.

Marsyas the satyr was vanquished by Apollo in a musical contest, and was flayed alive.

8

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ALCIBIADES

how to converse. But we Athenians, as our fathers say, have Athene for foundress and Apollo for patron, one of whom cast the flute away in disgust, and the other flayed the presumptuous flute-player.’’! Thus, half in jest and half in earnest, Alcibiades emanci- pated himself from this discipline, and the rest of the boys as well. For word soon made its way to them that Alcibiades loathed the art of flute-playing and scoffed at its disciples, and rightly, too. Wherefore the flute was dropped entirely from the programme of a liberal education and was altogether despised.

III. Among the calumnies which Antiphon ? heaps upon him it is recorded that, when he was a boy, he ran away from home to Democrates, one of his lovers, and that Ariphron was all for having him proclaimed by town crier as a castaway. But Pericles would not suffer it. ‘If he is dead,’’ said he, “we shall know it only a day the sooner for the proclamation ; whereas, if he is alive, he will, in consequence of it, be as good as dead for the rest of his life.” Antiphon says also that with a blow of his stick he slew one of his attendants in the palaestra of Sibyrtius. But these things are perhaps unworthy of belief, coming as they do from one who admits that he hated Alcibiades, and abused him accordingly.

IV. It was not long before many men of high birth clustered about him and paid him their atten- tions. Most of them were plainly smitten with his brilliant youthful beauty and fondly courted him. But it was the love which Socrates had for him that

2 An abusive oration of Antiphon the Rhamnusian against

Alcibiades, cited in Athenaeus, p. 525b, was probably a fabrication and falsely attributed to him. It is not extant.

papTuplov HY THs aperns Kal edpulas Tod tratdos,
hv éudawopéevny TO eldee kai Stadraprroveav
? a 4 \ \ a \ 3 gs
évopav, poBovpevos b€é Tov TODTOY Kal TO akiwpma
Kal Tov TpoKaTadapBdvovta Koraxkelats Kal xXa-
prow aortav Kal Eévwv Kal cuppdyov dydov, olos
Vv apvverv Kal i) Teptopay ws huTov év avOet Tov
oixelov Kaptrov atroBdadXov Kal dtadOeipov. ov-
déva yap 7 TUYN Teptécyev EEWOeY Kal Trepréppake

Tois Aeyouévors ayabots TocovTov wat’ ATpwToV
e ‘ , / , ? /
bo dirocodias yevéoOat, Kal Adyots aTpoaLTOV
, N 4 e > 4
jwappynotav Kal dnypov éxovow: ws “ArdxiBiddys
evOds €& dpyfs Oputropevos cal atroxderdpevos
To THY TMpos yapw e€outdovyTwWY EicaKodaaL
Tov vouletobvTos Kal wadevoytos, Guws Um ev-
4 \
duias éyvapice LwKpatn Kal TpocjKato, Svacyov
\ , 9 50 3 , \ de
Tovs TAovatous Kal évdoEous epactds. Tayu de
4
Tmounodpevos auvyiOn, Kal rOywV aKoVaas OvY
7) A v 5 ? a Q 4 Oe Xx
noovny avavdpov épactov Onpevoytos, ovde pidy-
/ , a“ bd > 3% 27
patwyv Kal yravoews TpocattovvTos, GNX €dey-
yovTos TO cabpov Ths uxis abrov Kal mrelodvros
TOV KEVvOV Kal avontoy Tidgor,
“a 4 f

"Extn aréxtwp Sovdos ws KALvas TTEpov.

\ \ \ lA e 4 a a
kal TO péev Yoxpdtovs Hyjoato wpaypa T@ ovte
Gedy smrnpeciav eis véwy émipéderay eivat Kal
: a 3 \ e “A 4
cwrnpiay Katappovav & avtos éavtod, Javpalov
a n A J, 9 ,
& éxelvov, ayarrav 5é thv diroppocvryy, aia xuvo-
v
pevos Se thy apetnv, éhdvOavev eidwrov Epwros,
190

ALCIBIADES

bore strong testimony to the boy’s native excellence and good parts. These Socrates saw radiantly manifest in his outward person, and, fearful of the influence upon him of wealth and rank and the throng of citizens, foreigners and allies who sought to preémpt his affections by flattery and favour, he was fain to protect him, and not suffer such a fair flowering plant to cast its native fruit to perdition.

For there is no man whom Fortune so envelops and compasses about with the so-called good things of life that he cannot be reached by the bold and caustic reasonings of philosophy, and pierced to the heart. And so it was that Alcibiades, although he was pampered from the very first, and was prevented by the companions who sought only to please him from giving ear to one who would instruct and train him, nevertheless, through the goodness of his parts, at last saw all that was in Socrates, and clave to him, putting away his rich and famous lovers. And speedily, from choosing such an associate, and giving ear to the words of a lover who was in the chase for no unmanly pleasures, and begged no kisses and embraces, but sought to expose the weakness of his soul and rebuke his vain and foolish pride,

“He crouched, though warrior bird, like slave, with

drooping wings.” !

And he came to think that the work of Socrates was really a kind of provision of the gods for the care and salvation of youth. Thus, by despising himself, admiring his friend, loving that friend’s kindly solicitude and revering his excellence, he

1 The iambic trimeter is of unknown authorship.

OS gnaw 0 TAdrov, aytépwra KT@UEVOS, adore Oavpatew & dmavras OpavrTras avTov Loxparer pev cuvoeitrvodvTa Kal cupmadaiovra Kal cvoKnvouvTa, tois & adows épactais Xaderov ovTa kal Suvoxeipwrov, evioiws b€ Kal mavtdTace coBapas mpocpepopevov, damep "AviT@ TO "AvOepiavos.
"Eruyyave ev yap Epa TOU “Adi Buddov, Eévous 6¢€ Twas eat ea éxdnet KaKeivov éml TO Setrrvov. o O€ THY pev KAHOLW aTreiTaTo, peOvaOeis 8° olxoe pera Tov Etaipwv éexopace Tpos TOV “Avutop, Kal tais Ovpais emaTas Tov avdpavos Kal Jeac dpevos dpyupep exTr@MaT ov Kat VpucaY TANPELS Tas tpamévas, éxéXevoe TOUS maidas TA Huon AaBavras olxade Kopitery ™ pos avrov, eioedOciv & ovK néimoev, AANA TAVTA

mpdfas aminroe. TOV OUV Feveov Suvaxeparvortav
Kal AeyovTav OS UBproriKds Kat UTEPNHAVOS eln
7™@ "AvuT@ KEXPNEVOS 0 “AdciBiddns, ee “Errvereaos
pev ody,” 6 “Avutos épn, “wal piravO pdmras: a
yap é&fv avTe AaBeiv aWavTa, TOUTMOY Huiy Ta
pépn KaTahéhouTev.”
V. Obra dé xal Tois GANOLS Epartais &xpyTo’
TrAnV eva PETOLKLKOV avO pwror, Os pact, ov
TONAG KEKTN MEVOD, arroSopevov d5é mdvta Kal TO
cuvax ev els ExaTOV oTAaTHpAasS TO "Ad«iBiddy
poo pépovra Kal Seopevov haBeiv, yehacas eal
nabels exahecev ért Seinvov. éoridoas: dé Kal
prod pornGets 76 TE xpuatov amédwxev auT@, kal
mpocétake TH vaTepaig TOUVS WVOULEVOUS Ta Ten
ta Snpoota tais Timats uTepBadrew AVTW@VOU-
12

ALCIBIADES

insensibly acquired an “image of love,’ as Plato
says,! “to match love,” and all were amazed to see
him eating, exercising, and tenting with Socrates,?
while he was harsh and stubborn with the rest of
his lovers. Some of these he actually treated with
the greatest insolence, as, for example, Anytus, the
son of Anthemion. =e
This man was a lover of his, who, entertain-
ing some friends, asked Alcibiades also to the
dinner. Alcibiades declined the invitation, but
after having drunk deep at home with some friends,
went in revel rout to the house of Anytus, took his
stand at the door of the men’s chamber, and,
observing the tables full of gold and silver beakers,
ordered his slaves to take half of them and carry
them home for him. He did not deign to go in, but
played this prank and was off. The guests were
naturally indignant, and declared that Alcibiades
had treated Anytus with gross and overweening
insolence. “Not so,’ said Anytus, “but with
moderation and kindness; he might have taken all
there were: he has left us half.”
V. He treated the rest of his lovers also
after this fashion. There was one man, however,
a resident alien, as they say, and not possessed of
much, who sold all that he had, and brought the

hundred staters which he got for it to Alcibiades, begging him to accept them. Alcibiades burst out laughing with delight at this, and invited the man to dinner. After feasting him and showing him every kindness, he gave him back his gold, and charged him on the morrow to compete with the farmers of the public revenues and outbid them all.

1 Phaedrus, p. 255. 2 Cf. Plato, Symposium, p. 219 e.

Vg , \ a »? , \ \
Q pevov. tapactoupévov S€ tov avOpmrov da TO
A , a A b] A > }
TONAWY TANAVTWY ElvaL THY wVHY, NITrEeiAnTE |
pactiyooev e pn tTadta mparto Kat yap 194
eruyyavev éyKarav Te Tois TeAN@vals idiov. EwOev
ovv mpocAOav'! o pétotxos eis ayopay éréOnKxe TH
a a ,

@vy tdravtov. érrel & of reA@vat cvaTpEepopevot

Kal ayavaxtobvres éxéXevoyv avoudatew éyyunryy,
fe) ,
@s ovK dv evpovtos, OopuBoupévou Tod avOpwrrou

\ b] fe) e \ e 69 A LA
Kal avaxwpobvros, EoT@s o AnxeBiddys atwOev
‘
™pos TOUS apxovras, : "Eye yparpar ,” eby, ““ €uos
3 didos éotiv, éyyuopa. radr dxovoavres OL
Teravar €EntropnOncav. eiwOores yap del Tats
Sevrépars @vais ypewdruteiy Tas mpwras, ovxX
EwWpov aTadraynv autos ovcay Tov mpadypaTos.
207 \ a > , > , 4 e
éSéovro 87 Tov avOpwemov apyuvpiov Sdedovres: oO
3 ral
& AdrxrBiddns ove ela NaBeiv EXaTTOv TaNavTou.
dsd0vT@v 5€ TO TdadAavTOv éxéXEVoEV aTOCTHVAaL
, a
AaBovtra. Kaxeivoy pév odTaS @héANCED.
VI. ‘O 88 Swxpartous pws moddods Exar Kat
peydrous dvTtaywuoTas TH pev expatet Tov
"ArnBiddov, de evpviay amropévwv TaY AoYyov -
avtod Kal thy Kapdiav otpedovtwv Kai Saxpva

> 4 wv x @ \ “ ,
éxyeovtwy, éote & Gre Kal toils KodAake moAAas
ndovas wToRddXovaew évdidors éavTov, aTwri-
acBaive Tod Ywxpatouvs Kal Sparetevov aTEexXvas
exurnyelto, Tpos Lovoy éxeivoy éxwv TO aideiabar
\ ‘\ a A > e “A
Kat To poPetcOar, Trav & addNwY UTrEpopav.
¢

2 ‘O pev ody KredvOns reve tov éEpw@pevov vd’
1 wpoeA@dy Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske: xpoceA@dy

The man protested, because the purchase demanded a capital of many talents ; but Alcibiades threatened to have him scourged if he did not do it, because he cherished some private grudge against the ordinary contractors. In the morning, accordingly, the alien went into the market place and increased the usual bid for the public lands by a talent. The contractors clustered angrily about him and bade him name his surety, supposing that he could find none. The man was confounded and began to draw back, when Alcibiades, standing afar off, cried to the magistrates : « Put my name down; he is a friend of mine; I will be his surety.” When the contractors heard this, they were at their wit’s end, for they were in the habit of paying what they owed on a first purchase with the profits of a second, and saw no way out of their difficulty. Accordingly, they besought the man to withdraw his bid, and offered him money so to do; but Alcibiades would not suffer him to take less than a talent. On their offering the man the talent, he bade him take it and withdraw. To this lover he was of service in such a way.

VI. But the love of Socrates, though it had many powerful rivals, somehow mastered Alcibiades. For he was of good natural parts, and the words of his teacher took hold of him and wrung his heart and brought tears to his eyes. But sometimes he would surrender himself to the flatterers who tempted him with many pleasures, and slip away from Socrates, and suffer himself to be actually hunted down by him like a runaway slave. And yet he feared and reverenced Socrates alone, and despised the rest of his lovers.

f It was Cleanthes who said that any one béloved of

éauTod pev éx TOV OTA xpareta Gan, tois &
avtepacrais TONNAS daBas mapexely abixrous

eauT@, THY yaoTépa héyou Kal Ta aidoia cal TOV
Aarpov" "ArxBradys 6 i per apéret Kal pos
ndovas aryary tos” v) yap wd Bov«vdidou Neyo-
pévn mapavouia eis TO copa TIS Siairns brrowiav
TOLAUTHY Sidwowv. ov pny adda paddov avTov
TIS prdoripias émNapBavomevot Kal THS Piro-
dofias ot diapGeipovres évéBarrov ov Kal? apav
Els peyaror paypoovyny, avarreil ovtes QS, érav
T p@Tov apEnrar Ta Onpoota pare, ov {LOvov
apavpacorra, TOUS adddous oTparnyous Kal onpa-
yoryous evOus, adda Kal THv Ilepixdréous Svvapuy
év TOLS SENAnoe Kal dofav vrepBarovpevov.
WOTrEp ov 0 aidnpos év TO Tupl pahaca opevos
avbis varo Tob ux pod TUKVOUTAL Kal ovUvELCL
Tois popiors els avo, obtas éxeivoy o Loxparns
Opirpews diaTAewy Kal Navvorntos Oo dKts av
AdBou, mélov TO AOYO Kal cvaTEAAWY Tametvov
émrotet Kal droApov, nrixwv évdens éote Kal
GTEANS TOS AapEeTHY pavOavorta.
VII. Thy 5é madixny nrtKiav Tapahhacawv
meaty ypapparodivacKkady Kat BiBdiov 7TH Ev
‘Opnpixor. elrovTos Oé TOU biSacKddou pndev
Exeuv ‘Opnpou, Kovdino KabiKopevos avrov map-
jrOev. érépou Oé€ PyTavros exetv “Opnpov id’
aurTov Simpl wpevor, “Bir,” epn, a ypappata
biddoxes, * ‘Opunpov émravopOoby ixavos av; ovxt
TOUS VvéoUS TraLdevers ;”
Tlepuxre? 5€ Bovropevos évtuxeiv émt Oupas

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him must be “downed,” as wrestlers say, by the - ears alone, though offering to rival lovers many other “holds” which he himself would scorn to take,— meaning the various lusts of the body. And Alcibiades was certainly prone to be led away into pleasure. That “lawless self-indulgence ” of his, of which Thucydides speaks,! leads one to suspect this. However, it was rather his love of distinction and love of fame to which his corrupters appealed, and thereby plunged him all too soon into ways of pre- sumptuous scheming, persuading him that he had only to enter public life, and he would straightway cast into total eclipse the ordinary generals and public leaders, and not only that, he would even surpass Pericles in power and reputation among the Hellenes. Accordingly, just as iron, which has been - softened in the fire, is hardened again by cold water, and has its particles compacted together, so

Alcibiades, whenever Socrates found him filled with

vanity and wantonness, was reduced to shape by the

Master’s discourse, and rendered humble and cautious.

He learned how great were his deficiencies and how

incomplete his excellence.

< VII. Once, as he was getting on past boyhood, he accosted a school-teacher, and asked him for a book

of Homer. The teacher replied that h¢@ had nothing

of Homer’s, whereupon Alcibiades fetched him a

blow with his fist, and went his way. Another

teacher said he had a Homer which he had corrected

himself. ‘ What!” said Alcibiades, “are you teach-

ing boys to read’ when you are competent to edit

Homer? You should be training young men.”
He once wished to see Pericles, and went to his
1 vi. 15, 4.
17
vo LL. IV. C

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MrAGev avtod. uvOdpmevos S€ wn cyorakew, ara
wn b
oxoTew Kal’ éavtov Srws atroda@cet AOyov AOn-
vaio, amiov o ArKiBiddns, “ Eira,” &pn, “ Bér-
TLOY OUK HY aKOTELY avTOY STrwsS OUK aTrobacEL
4
Noyov ’APnvaiots ;”
“E de 4 A bd 4 \ 9

Te 5é petpdxiov wv éotpatevaato THY «es

Tlotidacav otpateiav, nai Ywxpdtn avoKnvov
elye Kal Tapaotdatny év Tos ay@ow. ‘toxupas
dé yevouéevns pmaxyns npiotevoay pev apporepot,
tov & ’AdxiBidbov tpavpate wepitecovTos oO

Lwxpatns mpoéotyn Kal juuve kal padrdsota 67
TpodijArAws Ecwoeyv AUTOV META TOY OTAWV. éyiveToO
pev ovv TH SixatoTdt@ Ady@ Dwxpatous TO apt-
otetov’ émel & of otpatnyol dia TO akiwpa TO
"ArKiBiadyn orovddfovtes éfaivovto repiOeivar
\ , € A / ” \
THhv So-av, 0 Lwxpdtns Bovropevos avkecOar TO
diAoTipoy év Tols KaNois aVTOD TP@TOS epwapTUpEL
Kal mapexdrer otehavody éxeivov nal diddvat THY
WavoT Aap.
"RE de “A > \ A , , / ‘\

TL O€ THS Ert AnALM paynNsS yEevomeEevnsS Kat

gpevyovtav AOnvaiwyr, éxywv tamov o AAKuBiddys,

Tov O€ XwKpdtous telh pet OrAiywv aTroYwpodr-
TOS, OV TapyAacev tOwv, GAAA Tapétep we Kal
TEpLNMLUVEV, ETTLKELLEVOV TOV TrOAEuL@Y Kal TroA-
Aovs avatpotvTwv. «Kal tadta pev otepov
émrpaxOn.
VIII. “Imaovixm 5¢ t@ KadXiov matpi, nat
Sofay éxovts peydAnv cai Svvapiv avd AUTO
Kal yévous, évétpipe xovdvaAor, ovx um’ opyns 7
Siagopas tivos mpoaxOeis, adr eri yérdwTL,
18

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house. But he was told that Pericles could not see him; he was studying how to render his accounts to the Athenians. ‘“ Were it not better for him,” said Alcibiades, as he went away, “to study how not to render his accounts to the Athenians? ”’

While still a stripling, he served as a soldier in the campaign of Potidaea,} and had Socrates for his tent- | mate and comrade in action. A fierce battle took place, wherein both of them distinguished them- selves; but when Alcibiades fell wounded, it was Socrates who stood over him and defended him, and with the most conspicuous bravery saved him, armour and all. The prize of valour fell to Socrates, of course, on the justest calculation ; but the generals, owing to the high position of Alcibiades, were manifestly anxious to give him the glory of it. Socrates, therefore, wishing to increase his pupil’s honourable ambitions, led all the rest in bearing witness to his bravery, and in begging that the crown and the suit of armour be given to him.

On another occasion, in the rout of the Athenians

which followed the battle of Delium,? Alcibiades, on horseback, saw Socrates retreating on foot with a small company, and would not pass him by, but rode by his side and defended him, though the enemy were pressing them hard and slaying many. This, however, was a later incident.

VIII. He once gave Hipponicus a blow with his fist —Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man of great reputation and influence owing to his wealth and family—not that he had any quarrel with him, or was a prey to anger, but simply for the joke of the

1 482-431 B.c. Cf. chapter iv. 4.
® 424 B.c. Cf. Plato, Symposium, p. 221 a.

cuvdépwevos pos TOUS éTatpous. meptBontov dé THS acedyelas év TH monet ryevoperns cal ouv-aryavaKTOUVT@Y, Oorep eixos, aNTAVTOD, ap' nuepa mapiy O "AdKtBiddys éml tTHhv oiKiav Tob 'Tarrro-vixou, Kal THY Oupav Kowpas eta fiOe _T pos aurov kat Gels TO iudtiov mapedidov TO copa, pacti-'yoop Kal _eondbeu KedEvOV. o 6é cuveyva Kat THY opyny adiner, Dartepov 5é ths Ovyatpos 'Inmaperns € eTrolng aro vupptov.

"Evtot dé pac, oux 'Inmovixor, anra KaAviav, TOV viov avtod, Sodvat TO "ArxiBiady TH 'Inra-péeTny éml déxa TaXrdvros* eita pevror TEKOUTNS adda TWarw déxa mpoceran patar TOV "AdxiBrddyy, @S TOUTO ovvépevov eb yévowvTo Taides. oO O€ Kahdas érrtBoudny dedorxas mpoanrde TO nue Ta Xpnpara d:d00s Kal Tov oixov, dvrep avT@ ouptréon [7 KaTadeT ove ryeveay an oBaveiv. Evtaxtos § ovoa Kal pirav6pos 7 'Innapern, AvToupern 8 on' avtou mepl TOV ya pov éraipats févats Kal a dorats TUVOVTOS, ék _THS oixias anwotca ™ pos TOV adeho ov @XeTo. Tov o> "AdKiBiddou T) ppovrisorros, GANA T upavTos, ees TO THS amo-Aeiypews yedupa Tapa TP Gpxovee Jecba, py Se ET Epoor, GA abryy Tmapovoay. @S ovp mapyy TouTo wpdtovoa Kata TOV vopoy, érreNO@v oO "Ad«rBradys Kal auvaprdacas auTny annrde ov ayopas olKxade Kopiveor, pndevos evavtiab vat pnd adedeabar TOAMHTAVTOS. cpetve pévTOL map auT@e HEXpL TehevTis, eTEAEUTITE dé per ov Tou xpovov eis "Edecov Tob A nt BtdBov TEVTAVTOS.

_ thing, on a wager with some companions. The wanton deed was soon noised about the city, and everybody was indignant, as was natural. Early the next morning Alcibiades went to the house of Hipponicus, knocked at his door, and on being shown into his presence, laid off the cloak he wore and bade Hipponicus scourge and chastise him as he would. But Hipponicus put away his wrath and forgave him, and afterwards gave him his daughter Hipparete to wife.

Some say, however, that it was not Hipponicus, but Callias, his son, who gave Hipparete to Alcibiades, with a dowry of ten talents; and that afterwards, when she became a mother, Alcibiades exacted other ten talents besides, on the plea that this was the agreement, should children be born. And Callias was so afraid of the scheming of Alcibiades to get his wealth, that he made public proffer to the people of his property and house in case it should befall him to die without lineal heirs.

Hipparete was a decorous and affectionate wife, but being distressed because her husband would consort with courtezans, native and foreign, she left his house and went to live with her brother. Alcibiades did not mind this, but continued his wanton ways, and so she had to put in her plea for divorce to the magistrate, and that not by proxy,

\put in her own person. On her appearing publicly

o do this, as the law required, Alcibiades came up and seized her and carried her off home with him through the market place, no man daring to oppose him or take her from him. She lived with him, moreover, until her death, but she died shortly after this, when Alcibiades was on a voyage to Ephesus.

Aitn péev ody od Travterds ebokev 7 Bia trapa-
vouos ovd amdvOpwros elvat’ Kal yap 0 vomos
Soxel Sta TodTO Tpodyew THY amoXEiTrovaaY Ets
TO Snpociov avTyny, Gras éyyéevntas TO avdpl
oupSivat Kal KaTaoyxelv.
IX. "Ovros 5¢ xvvds ait@ Oavpactod 76 péye-
Qos Kat 76 eldos, bv EBSounKovTa pyvav éwynpévos
éruyxavev, améxowe THY ovpay TayKaXov ovcav.

éritimavtTwv dé Trav cuvndwov Kat AeyovTwv StL
mavres émt TO Kvvi Sdxvovtar Kai NoLdopodoty
avrov, émiyerdoas, “ Tiverat toivur,” eiirev, “5
Bovropat: BovrAopas yap’ AOnvaiovs tobro Nanely,
iva pn TL xetpov Tepl éwod Néeywou.”
X. Tperny & aitd wdpodov eis 76 Sypdorov
yevéo Oat A€youas peta Ypnpdtov émiddcEws, OVK
éx TapacKkevns, adAa Traptovta OopvBovvTwv
"AOnvaiwy épécOat THY aitiav Tod BopuBov, wvb0-
pevov 6€ Ypnpudtov eridocty yivesOar wapedOeiv
kat émidovvary tod 8é Syuou Kpotodvtos Kal
Bodvtos td’ ndovis, émirabécOat Tod dptuyos Sv

éruyyavev éxywv év TO ipatio: mronOévtos ovv
, oY] a bd A \
kal Staduyovtos ete parrov éexBojoat Tovs
"AOnvaiovs, moAXods S€ cuvOnpavy avactavtas,,
raBeiv & adtov ’Avtioyoy tov KuvBepyytny Kat
atrodotvary 86 mpocdiréotatov Te ‘AdAKiBiady
yevéoOar.
Meydaas 8 ait@ KrNevotddas él Thy ToAtTEetay

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Such violence as this was not thought lawless or
cruel at all. Indeed, the law prescribes that the
wife who would separate from her husband shall go
to court in person, to this very end, it would seem,
that the husband may have a chance to meet and
gain possession of her.
IX. Possessing a dog of wonderful size and beauty, which had cost him seventy minas,} he had its tail cut off, and a beautiful tail it was, too. His comrades chid him for this, and declared that everybody was furious about the dog and abusive of its owner. But Alcibiades burst out laughing and said: “That’s just what I want; I want Athens to talk about this, that it may say nothing worse about me.”

X. His first entrance into public life, they say,
was connected with a contribution of money to the
state, and was not of design. He was passing by
when the Athenians were applauding in their
assembly, and asked the reason for the applause.
On being told that a contribution of money to the
state was going on, he went forward to the bema and
made a contribution himself. The crowd clapped

their hands and shouted for joy—so much so that Alcibiades forgot all about the quail which he was carrying in his cloak, and the bird flew away in a fright. Thereupon the Athenians shouted all] the more, and many of them sprang to help him hunt the bird. The one who caught it and gave it back to him was Antiochus, the sea captain, who became in consequence a great favourite with Alcibiades.? |
Though great doors to public service were opened

1 J.e. 7000 drachmas, or francs.
2 Cf. chapter xxxv, 4-6.
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A a , a
avoiryovtos Tov Te yévous Kal TOD TWAOUTOU THs TE
mept Tas paxas avdpayalias, diiwv Te TOAN@Y
, A
Kal oixelwy vrapyovTwr, at ovdevds nEiov par-
a A , a
Nov THS TOD ANOyou yapiTtos ioxvelv ev Tots
Pe \ oy \ a, See ee Y
moos. Kal Ste pwev Suvatos Hv eltety, of Te
fe A ,
KMpLLKOL papTupodaL Kal TOV pNnTOpwY o duvaTa-
Tatos év To Kata Me.diou, Néywv Tov "AdXaBiddny
kal Sewvoratov etmeiv yevéoOar mpos Tots adXots.
eb 5€ Oeodpdotm mictevouev, avdpt didrnxow
Kal toToptK@® map ovtwodv TeV dtrdocddwr,
eUpety pev nv ta SdovtTa Kal vonoat mdvTwv
e "A
ixavoratos o AdNKiBiddns, Cyra@v dé ph povov &
A , > \ \ ¢ a a) > S \ al
dei Néyew, GANA Kal ws Sef Tois dvouace Kal TOIS
/ a
pypwactvy, ove evtropav Sé, woAAdKis éopdAXreTo
Kal petakv Néywr arreovwtra Kal SréderTre, NéEEws
4 b] , > / \
Siadvyovens aitov, dvarkauBdavev cal d:acko-
TOUMEVOS.
e > ¢
XI. At & triortpodiat wepiBontot ev éyévovto

\ A le)
Kab TO wANBEL TOY apudtov: érta yap aAXos
ovdeits Kabnxev ’Odvpriacw idsiarns ovdé Ba-
/ 4 a fel
atheus, povos 6€ éxeivos. Kal TO vixnoas Sé Kad
ded to 0 b ré : f
evtepov yeveoOar xal tétaptov, ws Bov«vdidys
° e +] /
dnow, o & Evpimidns tpitov, tmepBdddrer Nap-
, \ 4 a
mpoTnte Kat Oofn maoav tiv ev Ttovtos gu-
4 4 >» ©¢ > / 9 A Vv
horipiay. Aeyet 8 o Eupumidns év tO aopare
TavTa:
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to him by his birth, his wealth, and his personal bravery in battle; and though he had many friends and followers, he thought that nothing should give him more influence with the people than the charm of his discourse. And that he was a powerful speaker, not only do the comic poets testify, but also the most powerful of orators himself,! who says, in his speech “ Against Meidias,” that Alcibiades was a most able speaker in addition to his other gifts. And if we are to trust Theophrastus, the most versatile and learned of the philosophers, Alcibiades was of all men the most capable of discovering and understanding what was required in a given case. But since he strove to find not only the proper thing to say, but also the proper words and phrases in which to say it; and since in this last regard he was not a man of large resources, he would often stumble in the midst of his speech, come to a stop, and pause a while, a particular phrase eluding him. Then he would resume, and proceed with all the caution in the world.

XI. His breeds of horses were famous the world over, and so was the number of his racing-chariots. No one else ever entered seven of these at the Olympic games—neither commoner nor king—but he alone. And his coming off first, second, and fourth victor (as Thucydides says?; third, according to Euripides), transcends in the splendour of its renown all that ambition can aspire to in this field. The ode of Euripides? to which I refer runs thus :—-

1 Demosthenes, Ayainst Meidias, § 145.

2 In a speech of Alcibiades, vi. 16. 2.

$ An Epinikion, or hymn of victory, like the extant odes
of Pindar,
25

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dé 8 detcopat, ® Krewviou rai.

KaXov a vikat Kadrd\uoTov 8, 6 pndels AAXOS
‘EAA avor,
apmate T para Spapety Kab Selnepa wal TpiTa,

Bival 7’ arrovnti, Avs otepOévta 7 éXaia

Kkapuxt Body trapadodvar:

XII. Todro pévrot TO Naptrpov emidhavéctepov
érroinoev 4 TOV TOAEwY diroTiMia, TKNVAV pev
yap auto Kexoounpéevny SiampeTras eotnoav
b , A \ @ a e ,
Edéorot, tpodas 5€ taro cal wAnOos lepetwv
a e , 4 9 ‘ / \ \
Taperyev 4 Xiwv ors, olvov b€ AéoBiot Kat Thv
arAnv vrosoxnv agedas éEoTi@vtTL ToAXOVs. Ov
pny adr Kal SiaBor.y Tis } KaxonOera yevopevyn
mept THv gidotipiay éxetynv amdéelova Royo
TApeaxe.
Aéyerat yap ws hv “AOnvnot Aropndns, avyp
ov tovynpos, “ArAKiBiadov diros, ériOvpdov &é
vicny ‘Odrvprixny avT@ yevécOar Kal wvvOavo-
a / > / 3 \ >
pevos apya Snuootoy “Apyeious elvat, tov ’AX«Kt-
4 29 A > ww , if \ 4
Budénv eidas év"Apye: péya Suvdpevov cal didrous
éyovTa ToNXoUs, ETecev aT mpiacOa Td appa.
™ pu wevos dé 0 “AraBeadys idtov ameypdayvato,
Tov 6é Avopydn Naipew elace yareTTas hépovta
Kal paptupopevov Oeovs Kal avOpwrous. _paive-
Tat dé Kal Sinn ovoTaca epi TOUTOU, Kal Aoyos
"Tooxpatet yéypatras Trept ToD Levryous warép tov
1 Aids orepbévta 7 édrala kdpuxt Boay with Hermann and

Bergk (Poet. Lyr. Gr. ii. 4p. 266) : Bis orepOevr’ érala «dpune
Body (Bekker, Boar).
26

“ Thee will I sing, O child of Cleinias ;

A fair thing is victory, but fairest is what no other
Hellene has achieved,
To run first, and second, and third in the contest
of racing-chariots,
And to come off unwearied, and, wreathed with
the olive of Zeus,
To furnish theme for herald’s proclamation.”

XII. Moreover, this splendour of his at Olympia was made even more conspicuous by the emulous rivalry of the cities in his behalf. The Ephesians equipped him with a tent of magnificent adornment ; the Chians furnished him with provender for his horses and with innumerable animals for sacrifice ; the Lesbians with wine and other provisions for his unstinted entertainment of the multitude. However, a grave calumny—or malpractice on his part—connected with this rivalry was even more in the mouths of men.

It is said, namely, that there was at Athens one Diomedes, a reputable man, a friend of Alcibiades, and eagerly desirous of winning a victory at Olympia. He learned that there was a racing-chariot at Argos which was the property of that city, and knowing that Alcibiades had many friends and was very influential there, got him to buy the chariot. Alcibiades bought it for his friend, and then entered it in the racing lists as his own, bidding Diomedes go hang. Diomedes was full of indignation, and called on gods and men to witness his wrongs. It appears also that a law-suit arose over this matter, and a speech was written by Isocrates! for the son of

1 Oration xvi., De bigia.

"ArcrBiadouv maidos, ev @ Tisias éotiv, ov
Aropndns, o dixacdpevos.
a ,
XIII. "Evel & adjxev abrov eis Thy Twodttevav
v 4 v ‘ ” > \ b
éTL petpaKioy wy, Tovs pev AANous evOus éra-
A 4

meivwoe Snuaywyots, ayava 8 elxe mpos Te
Paiaxa tov Epactotpdtov cal Nexiav tov Nixn-
4 \ \ 4 b) e , ,
patou, Tov pev 70 Kal HrALKiav MpojKovTa Kal
A A 9
oTpatnyov apiotov elvar Soxobyta, Paiaxa §
apYouevov, womep avtos, av&dvecOar Tore Kal
yvopiwov dvTa tatépwv, édatTovpevoy bé Tos TE
LA \ \ \ 4 3 \ A 9Q7
ddnows Kal trept Tov NOyov. evTevKTLKdS yap Loia
\ N 907 a“ a , 9 a“ ?
kal wiBavos édoxes warrov 7 hépey ayavas év
, 4 9 4 e ww /
Sn Suvatos. Hv yap, os Eimonis dnet,
Aanreiv dptotos, advvat@tatos Aéyev.

déperar Sé Kal Noyos Tis Kat ’"Ad«uBiddov bro}
@aiaros yeypappévos, dv & pera TaY adroD
yéyparras Kal StL THS TWoAEWS WOAAG TWoprTreta
Npucd Kal apyupa Kextnpévyns AdXKLBiddns ex prro
Taow avtois @atrep idStots mpos THY Kad” nuépay
Siartav.
"Hy 8€ tes “TarépBoros TepiPoidns, ob péuvntar
péev @s avOpa@rrouv tovnpod Kal @oveuvdidns, Trois
5é Kwptxois ood Te Tact SiatpiBny ae oxwmrTo-
pevos év tois Oedtpos mapetyev. atpemrTos Se
TpOS TO KAK@S akovelv Kal aTraOns ov ddtywpia
1 $9d with Coraés: kal,

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Alcibiades “Concerning the Team of Horses.” In this speech, however, it is Tisias, not Diomedes, who is the plaintiff.

XIII. On entering public life, though still a mere stripling, he immediately humbled all the other popular leaders except Phaeax, the son of Erasi- stratus, and Nicias, the son of Niceratus, These men made him fight hard for what-he won. Nicias was already of mature years, and had the reputation of being a most excellent general; but Phaeax, like himself, was just beginning his career, and, though of illustrious parentage, was inferior to him in other ways, and particularly as a public speaker. He seemed affable and winning in private conversation rather than capable of conducting public debates. In fact, he was, as Eupolis says,}

“A prince of talkers, but in speaking most in-

capable.”
And there is extant a certain speech written by Phaeax? “ Against Alcibiades,’ wherein, among other things, it is written that the city’s numerous ceremonial utensils of gold and silver were all used by Alcibiades at his regular table as though they were his own.
Now there was a certain Hyperbolus, of the deme Perithoedae, whom Thucydides mentions ® as a base fellow, and who afforded all the comic poets, without any exception, constant material for jokes in their plays. But he was unmoved by abuse, and insensible

1 In his Demes (Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 281).

2 This has come down to us among the orations of Andocides (Or. iv.). It is clearly a fictitious a ee » put by its unknown author into the mouth of Phaeax (cf. §§ 2 and 41).

3 viii. 73, 3.

doEns, jv dvatcyuvtiav Kal daovotavy otoav 197
evToApiay vor Kal avdpeiav Karodaorv, ovdevi peév
ipecxev, expnto 8 avt@ todAdkts 0 SHpyos ére-
Oupav mpotnraxilew Tous év a€twpats Kal cvKo-
gdavtety. avareabels otv bm avtod tore TO
SaTpaxov emipépey Euerrcv, © KoAoVovTES aél TOV
mpovyovta S0&n kal Suvdwer TOV ToMToY édav-
vovot, TapapvOovpevor Tov POovoy padrov % TOV
poBov. érrel S€ SHrov nv Ott évl TOY TpLdV TO
doTpaxoy éoicovel, cuvyyaye TAS oOTaceELS Ets
tavtov o AdxiBiddys, cat Starex Gels mpos Tov
Nexiav cata rod ‘TrepBorou tHv dctpaxodpopiayv
er pewrev.
‘Os & Evtoi hacw, od mpos Nixiav, adrAa pds
Daiara SvareyGeis nal tiv éxeivov mpooraBov
érarpiav é&ndXace tov “TrépBorov ovd adv mpoc-
Soxnoavta. avros yap ovdels evéruntev ets
ToUTov Tov KoAacpov ovd adokos, Os Tov Kal
TlAdtav 6 Kxwpixds elpnxe Tod ‘TrepBorov pvno-
Geis,
Kaitos rémpaye Tov mpotépwy' pév aéta,
autov 6€ Kal ToY oTtypdaTwDv dvatta.
ov yap ToLovTwy ceiver datpay’ ctipébn.

Wepl wey Ov TOUTwWY Ev ETEPOLS LAAXoOV ElpnTat TA
io TOpoUpeva.
XIV. Tov & “ArxiBiddnv o Nexias ody Frrov
nvia Oavpalopevos bid TeV ToAeniov 4} Tie-
1 gporépwy with Kock (Com. Att, Frag. i. p. 654): rpdwrwy
(worthy of his ways).

to it, owing to his contempt of public opinion. This feeling some call courage and valour, but it is really mere shamelessness and folly. No one liked him, but the people often made use of him when they were eager to besmirch and calumniate men of rank and station. Accordingly, at the time of which I speak, persuaded by this man, they were about to exercise the vote of ostracism, by which they cripple and banish whatever man from time to time may have too much reputation and influence in the city to please them, assuaging thus their envy rather than their fear. When it was clear that the ostracism would fall on one of three men—Phaeax, Alcibiades, or Nicias—Alcibiades had a conference with Nicias, united their two parties into one and turned the vote of ostracism upon Hyperbolus.

Some say, however, that it was not Nicias, but Phaeax, with whom Alcibiades had the conference which resulted in winning over that leader's party and banishing Hyperbolus, who could have had no inkling of his fate. For no worthless or disreputable fellow had ever before fallen under this condemnation of ostracism. As Plato, the comic poet, has somewhere said, in speaking of Hyperbolus,

‘“‘ And yet he suffered worthy fate for men of old ; A fate unworthy though of him and of his brands. For such as he the ostrakon was ne’er devised.”’

However, the facts which have been ascertained about this case have been stated more at length elsewhere.!

XIV. Alcibiades was sore distressed to see Nicias no less admired by his enemies than honoured by
1 Cf. Nicias, xi.

eo a a , \ @ e
pevos UTO TOV TOALT@Y. mMpokevos pev yap HY Oo
"ArxKiBiddyns trav AaxeSatpoviwv, Kal Tovs arov-
> “ ‘ 4 ” b] 4
Tas avtav mept IvAov advdpas eOepdamrevoer:
> > 9 “ / \ / 4 A >. /

émel 5 éexetivoi te dua Nixiov pddtota THs etpHvns
TuyovTes Kal tovs avdpas atoraBovtes UrreEp-
nyatrov avtov, év te Tois "EXANot NOYos FV ws
Tlepexréous pev cuvarravrzos avtois, Nixiov dé
AUaGaVTOS TOV TrOAEMOV, Of TE TAELOTOL THY Eipn-
ynv Nexiecov wvopafov, ov petpiws avi@pmevos
o ’AAKiBiddns cat POovav éBovreve cUvYvELW
opxiwv. Kal mpatov pev "Apyetous aicBavopevos
pice xal poB@e tav Xtaptiatav CnrodvTas
atrootpopynv, érmidas avtois évedidov xpida
77s "AOnvaiwy cvuppayias, xal mapelappuve
TeuTov Kal Stadreyopevos Tols MpoecTaau Tov
Syuov py Sedrévar pnd dtretxey Aaxedarpovioss,
> \ \ > / / ,
GAG pos AOnvaiovs tpémecOat Kal Treptpmeverv
Scov ovdémm peTapeNdopévous Kal THY EeLpHYNny
aguevtas.
’Ezet 5¢ Aaxedarpovios mpos te Tovs Botwtovs
émromnoavTo cuppaxtav nal Ildvaxtov ovy éoros,
@omep eet, tois "AOnvaiors tmapédwxav, adda
KatTarvaavtes, opyttouévous AaBwv tors *AOn-
4 4 ” b] 4 \ ,
vaious ére parroy é€etpaxuve, cal tov Nexiav
COopvBer nat SiéBarrev eixota Kxatnyopav, Ste
Tovs €v Shaxtypia TOV Trodeuiwy arrohndOevtas
avtos pev éFedreltvy ovx nOéAncEV oTpaTHnYyO”,
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his fellow-citizens. For although Alcibiades was resident consul for the Lacedaemonians at Athens, | and had ministered to their men who had been taken prisoners at Pylos,! still, they felt that it was chiefly due to Nicias that they had obtained peace and the final surrender of those men, and so they lavished their regard upon him. And Hellenes everywhere said that it was Pericles who had plunged them into war, but Nicias who had delivered them out of it, and most men called the peace the “* Peace of Nicias.”’2 Alcibiades was therefore distressed beyond measure, and in his envy planned a violation of the solemn treaty. To begin with, he saw that the Argives hated and feared the Spartans and sought to be rid of them. So he secretly held

out hopes to them of an alliance with Athens, and encouraged them, by conferences with the chief men of their popular party, not to fear nor yield to the Lacedaemonians, but to look to Athens and await her action, since she was now all but repentant, and desirous of abandoning the peace which she had made with Sparta.

And again, when the Lacedaemonians made a separate alliance with the Boeotians, and delivered up Panactum to the Athenians not intact, as they were bound to do by the treaty, but dismantled, he took advantage of the Athenians' wrath at this to embitter them yet more. He raised a tumult in the as y against Nittas, and slandered him with accusations all too plausible. Nicias himself, he said, when he was general, had refused to capture the enemys men who were cut off on the island of

1 In 425 p.c. Cf. Nicias, vii-viii.

2 Ratified in 421 B.c. Cf. Nicias, ix.

érépov & é&edovtay adijxe xat amédmxe yaptlo-
pevos Aaxedatpovioss: eit' éxeivous wey ovK Erretce
diros av Bowwtois uy cvvopvvo'Pas pndé Kopuy-
4
Biow, "AOnvaiows: dé Kcwrver? tov Bovddpevov
tav 'EAAjvev dirov eivar kal cUppayor, eb pi
/ ,
Sofere Aaxedatpoviots.
ay de , A / A ,
x 6€ TovUTOV KaKas phepouévw TO Nexia trap-
joay @oTEp KaTA TUYNY TpéaBes amo THS Aaxe-
Saisovos, avtofev te Aoyous emteKets ExoVTES
kal mpos Tay TO cupBiBactixoy Kat Sixacov
avroxpdtopes 'Kev aaKovtes. arodc~apévns
be A A A \ / na e / /
é THs BovAns, tod bé Snpov TH totepaia pér-
Novtos exxAnoidlerv, Seicas o "AAKiBrddns
/ \ / ? , /
SierpadEato tous mpéaBes ev Adyos yeverOar
mpos avtov. ws dé cuvmrOov Ereye: 'Ti temov-
A A a oN ec nN ef
Bate, dvdpes Yrapriatar; mas érabev wpas Gre

Ta THs BovrAns ael pérpia kal dirdvOpwra mpos
TOUS evTUyxXdvovTds é€aTiv, o 5é SHwos péya hpovet
Kal peyddov opéeyetar; Kav ddoxnte KUptot
wavtwov adgiy$a, mpootattrwv Kat Biatoperos 198
ayvwpovnoe. pepe 64, THY evnOeav TavTny
adévres, et BovrecOe ypnoacOar petpious ’AOn-
vaio Kat pnoev éexBiacOivar Tapa yvouny, ovTw
dtaréyeoOe trepl Tay Sikaiwy @s OvK dVTES AUTO-
1 *A@nvafors Coraés and Bekker, with C: ’A@nvatous.
2 «waves Coracs, after Reiske : xcwAvevy.
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Sphacteria, and when others had captured them, he had released and given them back to the Lacedaemonians, whose fayeur he sought; and then he did not persuade thoseSsame Lacedaemonians, tried friend of theirs as he was, not to make separate alliance with the Boeotians or even with the Corinthians, and yet whenever any Hellenes wished to be friends and allies of Athens, he tried to prevent it, unless it were the good pleasure of the Lacedaemonians. Nicias was reduced to great straits by all this, but just then, by rare good fortune as it were, an embassy came from Sparta, with reasonable proposals to begin on, and with assurances that they came with full powers to adopt any additional terms that were conciliatory and just. The council received them favourably, and the people were to hold an assembly on the following day for their reception. But Alcibiades feared a peaceful outcome, and managed to secure a private conference with the embassy. When they were convened he said to them: “What is the matter with you, men of Sparta? Why are you blind to the fact that the council is always moderate and courteous towards those who have dealings with it, while the people’s assembly is haughty and has great ambitions? If you say to them that you are come with un- limited powers, they will lay their commands and compulsions upon you without any feeling. Come now, put away such simplicity as this, and if you wish to get moderate terms from the Athenians, and to suffer no compulsion at their hands which you cannot yourselves approve, then discuss with them what would be a just settlement of your case, assuring them that you have not full powers to act.

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Dp 2
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V4 4 5 e A 4
Kpatopes. ouptrpatopev O npueis Aaxedatpoviors
yapifopevot. tatta & eimav Spxous édwxev
avtoits Kal petéatncev amo Tod Nikiov, waytda-
Tact mioTevovtas avT@ Kal Oavydlovras aya
Thy detvoTnTa Kal atveowv, ws ov TOD TUXOVTOS
avdpos ovcav.
TH Oo torepaia cuvnyOn pev o Shuos, eiaonrOov
5 ot mpécBes. épwrapevoe & wird tod *AAxKt-

Bidéov mdvu diravOpores éf’ ols aduypévor
TvyYdvouvow, ovK epacav Kew avToKparopes.
> \ @ e 9 lA > 7s A “A
evOvs ody o ‘AAKtBiddns évéxerto peta Kpavyns
? n eo >) a > > 9 ,
Kal Opyis, @orep ovK AOLKOV, GAN doLKovpeEvos,
b) , ‘ 9 A \ N
aTioTous Kal TadtBorous atroKadov Kal pndev
Uylées ponte mpakat pyr elev Heovtas, érn-
/ >] e / e A b ,
yavaxtes & 4 Bovdn, Kal o Shpos éyarérauve,
/ A
tov d€ Nixiav éxmAnkis elye xal xatnpeca Tov
avipov tis petaBorts, ayvootvTa thy atatny
Kal Tov dorov.
XV. Odtw 8 Trav AaxeSatpovioy éxtrecovrar,
\
atTpatnyos amrodeaxyOels o 'AdKiBiddns evOds
b / \ “ 9 , 4
Apyetous cat Mavrtwvets cat "Hrevovs cuppayous
éroinae tois “AOnvaiow. Kal tov pev Tpotrov
ovdels THS Tpakews ernver, péya 8 Hv TO TeTpay-
pévov um’ avtod, diactijcas Kal Kpaddvat IleXo-
jTovyvnoov oriyou Seiy aracav, Kal TocavTas
/ A
aomidas év nuépa pd mept Mavriveav avtitdEat
, 4 A b A

Aaxedatpoviow, Kal toppwtatw tav *AOnvav
ayava KatacKevdcat Kal Kivduvoy avtois, ev &
péya pev ovdev 7 vixn tpocéOnxe KpaTHnoacwy, Eb
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I will codperate with you, out of my regard for the
Lacedaemonians.” After this speech he gave them
his oath, and so seduced them wholly away from the
influence of Nicias. They trusted him implicitly,
admired his cleverness and sagacity, and thought
him no ordinary man.
On the following day the people convened in —
assembly, and the embassy was introduced to
them. On being asked by Alcibiades, in the most
courteous tone, with what powers they had come,

_ they replied that they were not come with full and independent powers. At once, then, Alcibiades assailed them with angry shouts, as though he were the injured party, not they, calling them faithless and fickle men, who were come on no sound errand whatever. The council was indignant, the assembly was enraged, and Nicias was filled with consternation and shame at the men’s change of front. He was unaware of the deceitful trick which had been played upon him.!

XV. After this fiasco on the part of the Lacedaemonians, Alcibiades was appointed general, and straightway brought the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans into alliance with Athens.2 The manner of this achievement of his no one approved, but the effect of it was great. It divided and agitated almost all Peloponnesus; it arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Mantinea® so many warlike shields upon a single day; it set at farthest remove from Athens the struggle, with all its risks, in which, when the Lacedaemonians conquered, their victory brought them no great advantage,

1 This parliamentary trick of Alcibiades is related also in Nicias, chapter x. 2 420 B.c. 3 418 B.C.

& éadddrncay, épyov nv thy Aaxedaipova trept-
ryeveo au.
Mera dé THY paynv ev0 ds éméOevTo KaTaNvELY
év “Apyet Tov Ojpov ot xideot Kab THD TOMY
Drrijoov Tovey" AaxeSatpoviot &é Ta, paryevoMevoL
KaTéAvoay THY Onpoxpariav. avbis de TOY
TONAQY éfeveyKapevov Ta Omha Kal Kparno dv-
Twv, émeNov o “AdKiBudons THY TE viknv é€Be-
Baiwoe To SH, Kal Ta paxpa reixn TUVETTELTE
kadelvar Kak Tpoopigavtas tT Oardoon THY
mokw é&arras TAvTaT act THS "AOnvaiov duva-
pews. Kal TEKTOVAS Kat ALBoupyous EK TOV
"A@nvav exomae Kal Tacay évedeixvuto 7 po-

Oupiay, oux, HT TOV EauT@ KT@LEVOS 4 TH TOneL
Xapu Kat tox vv. érretoe 5€ Kal Ilarpeis opoiws
Telyert paKpois cuvara Th daracon THV TOAD.
elTOvTos b¢ TLWOS TOUS Tarpedow ome “ KaTa-
TiovuvTa. wupas "AOnvaior is "lows," elev oO
"ArKiBiddns, “Kata peux pov Kal Kata TOUS Todas,
Aaxedatporiot d€ Kara THY Keparny Kal ab pows.”
Ov pny adda Kal THs vis cuveBovrevev avT-
éyeoOat Tots "APnvaioss, Kal Tov épv ’Aypavhov
mpoBarrouevov ael Tots edn Bors dpKov epyy
BeBasodv. opvvouar yap Spots Xprcac Gas THS
"Arrinhs Tupots, Kpiais, apréedos, édaiass,
oixetay troteicOat SidacKkopevoe THY Twepov Kat
Kapmopopov.
XVI. "Ev 6€ ToLovTous mohiTed pact xa oryous
Kal ppovnpare Kal Oewvornte TOANY aw madev
Thv Ttpudny HS Ssaitns Kal wept moTovs Kal
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whereas, had they been defeated, the very existence of Sparta would have been at stake.

After this battle of Mantinea, the oligarchs of Argos, “The Thousand,” set out at once to depose the popular party and make the city subject to themselves; and the Lacedaemonians came and deposed the democracy. But the populace took up arms again and got the upper hand. Then Alcibiades came and made the people’s victory secure. He also persuaded them to run long walls down to the sea, and so to attach their city completely to the naval dominion of Athens. He actually brought carpenters and masons from Athens, and displayed all manner of zeal, thus winning favour and power for himself no less than for his city. In like manner he persuaded the people of Patrae to attach their city to the sea by long walls.2, There-— upon some one said to the Patrensians: “ Athens will swallow you up!” “Perhaps so,’ said Alcibiades, “ but you will go slowly, and feet first; whereas Sparta will swallow you head first, and at one gulp.”

However, he counselled the Athenians to assert dominion on land also, and to maintain in very deed

the oath regularly propounded to their young warriors in the sanctuary of Agraulus. They take oath that they will regard wheat, barley, the vine, and the olive as the natural boundaries of Attica, and they are thus trained to consider as their own all the habitable and fruitful earth.

XVI. But all this statecraft and eloquence and lofty purpose and cleverness was attended with great luxuriousness of life, with wanton drunken-

1 417 B.c. 2 419 Bc.

Epwtas vBpicpatra, Kat OnrUrntas écOntov
€ A e > 9 a \ ,
aNovpyav EXKopévey St ayopas, Kal TroAvTéXELaY
UTEpHphavoy, EXTOUAaS TE KATATTPwLaTwY ev TAis
Tpinpecw, GTrws padraKkwrepov éeyxabevdor, Ket-
\ re)
piats, GANA py) caviot, TOY oTpwLaTwY émI-
/ > , , / IQA
Baddopévwv, aomidos te Suaxpvoou Toinaw ovdév
ld lel
émionpwov TaY TaTtpiwy éxovoay, adr ~"Epora
4 a
Kepavvopopov, dep! opavTes ot pev evdokor peta
tov BoeduvTTecBat nai Svaxepaivey époBodvto
\ a '
THY OALywpiay avTOD Kal Tapavopiav, ws TUpaV-
\ \ ? / "A \ / \ , S
yika Kal adXOoKoTa, Tod bé Sypwov to maOos TO
mpos avToy ov Kaxas é&nyovpevos o *'Apioto-
davns tadt' elpne:
Tlodet pév, éyOaipes S€é, Bovrerar 8 eye,
ere S€ paAXov TH vTrovoia muélwv
MdXiota peév déovta pn 'v rode Tpéderv
nv © éxtpédy Tis, TOLS TpOTrOLS VarNpeETeEtD.
9 A / ,
émidocers yap Kal yopnyiar Kal pidrotipnpata
\ \ / e \ A > / \
Mpos THY ToL vIrepBoAnV Nn aTrOELTTOVTA Kal
Sofa mpoyovey kal Adyou Svvayis Kal ow@paros
evTrpémera Kal pwn pet EuTretpias TOY TodEm-
K@V Kal GAKs TdvTa TaANA cUYyYXwpeElV éroieL
\ / , \ b / 9 AN \ /

Kal pépey petpiws tors ‘APnvaious, del Ta mpao-
TATA TOV OvOUaTwY Tols apapTynmact TLOEmEévOUS,
mavolas Kal dirotipias.
1 Gwep. Either some verb is to be supplied from the context for the preceding accusatives (so Coraés), or @wep is to be deleted (so Bekker and Sintenis?).

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ness and lewdness, with effeminacy in dress,—he would trail long purple robes through the market place,—and with prodigal expenditures. He would have the decks of his triremes cut away that he might sleep more softly, his bedding being slung on cords rather than spread on the hard planks. He had a golden shield made for himself, bearing no an- cestral device, but an Eros armed with a thunderbolt. The reputable men of the city looked on all these things with loathing and indignation, and feared his contemptuous and lawless spirit. They thought such conduct as his tyrant-like and monstrous. How the common folk felt towards him has been well set forth by Aristophanes! in these words :—

“ It yearns for him, and hates him too, but wants him

back ;”’

and again, veiling a yet greater severity in his metaphor :—
‘¢ A lion is not to be reared within the state ;
But, once you've reared him up, consult his every mood.”
And indeed, his voluntary contributions of money, his support of public exhibitions, his unsurpassed munificence towards the city, the glory of his ancestry, the power of his eloquence, the comeliness and vigor of his person, together with his experience and prowess in war, made the Athenians lenient and tolerant towards everything else; they were forever giving the mildest of names to his transgressions, calling them the product of youthful spirits and ambition.
1 Frogs, 1425; 1431-1432.
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Olov jy nal 1d ’AydOapyov elpEar tov Cwypa-

gov, elta ypayravta Thy oixiay adelvat Swpn-
cdpevov: kal Tavpéav dvtixopnyotvTa paticat
, e \ fo} , N \ /
diXoTLwOvpEVvOY UITép THS vikyns’ Kal TO MydrLav
yuvaixa ék TOV aixparotwv é£edopmevoy Kat
, , / 3 2 A \ \
cuvovta Opéras traiddpiov é€E avtis. Kal yap
tovTo ptAdvOpwroyv éxddovy: mAnv Ste Tovs
MyAriovs Bndov arocdhayivat tyv mAcioTnv
aitiav écye, TO Whicpate cuverTTrOD.
"Apictopavtos 5¢ Newéay ypdwpavtos év rais
ayxanas avras KaOnuevoy "AdxiBiadnv éyovcar,
éOedvto Kal auvérpeyov yaipovtes. ot 5é mpeo-
Burepot Kat TovTois ebvcyépawvov @s TUpavUiKots
, 290 / \ b] Va >
kat Trapavopos. édoxe Sé cal "Apyéotpatos ovK
,
amo Tpotrov Aéyery ws 7) ‘EAAaS ovK av TveyKe
dvo0 ’AdKtBiddas.
Ee \ be Ti € 4 @ b] /

: met O€ Tinwv o picdvOpwos evnuepnoavtTa
N d 4 / 3 N fo!
Tov 'AdKiBiddnv Kal mpoteptTopevoy amo THs
éxxrnaias eripavas ob waphdOev ovd éFéxrAuwev,
@otep ei@ber Tos AAXOUS, GAN amavtTycas Kal
deEcwodpevos, “Kd y’,” edn, “oets adEopevos,
® wait péya yap avln Kaxov arace TovTats,” ob
pev éyérwr, ot 8 éBrAacdypovur, évious 5é Kal mavu
TO AeVOey érréotpepev. odTws axpiTos Hv 7H Soka
Tept auTod bua THY THS PiTEws avopadiay.

XVII. Sexertas 5€ wal epexréovs eri Covros

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For instance, he once imprisoned the painter
Agatharchus in his house until he had adorned it
with paintings for him, and then dismissed his captive
with a handsome present. And when Taureas was
supporting a rival exhibition, he gave him a box
on the ear, so eager was he for the victory. And he
picked out a woman from among the prisoners ot

Melos to be his mistress, and reared a son she bore him. This was an instance of what they called his kindness of heart, but the execution of all the grown men of Melos! was chiefly due to him, since he supported the decree therefor.
Aristophon painted Nemea? with Alcibiades seated

in her arms; whereat the people were delighted, and ran in crowds to see the picture. But the elders were indignant at this too; they said it smacked of tyranny and lawlessness. And it would seem that Archestratus, in his verdict on the painting, did not go wide of the mark when he said that Hellas couldnot endure more than one Alcibiades.
/ Timon the misanthrope once saw Alcibiades, after a successful day, being publicly escorted home from the assembly. He did not pass him by nor avoid him, as his custom was with others, but met him and greeted him, saying: “It’s well you're growing so, my child; you'll grow big enough to ruin all this rabble.” At this some laughed, and some railed, and some gave much heed to the saying. So undecided was public opinion about Alcibiades, by reason of the unevenness of his nature.
XVII. On Sicily the Athenians had cast longing

1 In the summer of 416. Cf. Thue. v. 116, 2-4.

2 A personification of the district of Nemea, in the games

of which Alcibiades had been victorious. Cf. Pausanias, i. 22, 7, with Frazer’s notes.

érreOvpouv "AOnvaior, cal TeXeuTHCAaYTOS HIrToVTO, Kat Tas RAeyouevas PBonfeias Kal cuppayias erepmov éxaaToTe ToS adiKoupévols WTO Yupa- xovotov émiBdOpas THs pelSovos otpateias Ti- € “
Oévtes. 0 8€ Tavtdmact Tov épwra TodTov
? , 7 An \ / \ a /
avapréEas avTav, Kal meicas pn KaTa pépos pndé Kata puxpov, GAA peyddw oTOAW TAEv-

cavras émixerpely Kal KatactpépecOar THY VAooY,
"AnrxtBsabdys Hv, tov te Shpov peyada tetocas
érmile, adtos te pelovwy dpeyouevos. apynv
yap elvat, Tpos & NATIKEL, SLevoetTo THS oTpaTeias,
ov Tédos, WaoTEp Of NoLTTOL, YuKerAtav. Kal Nixias
fev @S YaXreTrov Epyov by Tas Yupaxovcas édetv
amétpeme Tov Onpov, ’AAKiBrddns 5€ Kapyndova
kat AtBunv overpotroX@v, éx b€ TovTwY Tpoc-
4 +] / } TI 4 ro
yevonevwv Itadiav cat lleXotovynaov non Trept-
Barropevos, drlyou Setv épodia tod modéuou
DiceAlav éroveito. Kal Tovs pev véous avTobev
elyev 67 Tais éXtricwv émnppévovs, TOY dé TpEeo-
Butépwv nxpo@vtTo moka Oavydoia Tepl Tis
oTpaTelas Tepawovtwv, @oTEe TOAXOUS ev Tats
Tanraiotpats Kal Tois HutkuKAlors KabélecOar
THS TE VHTOV TO axa Kal Oéow AtBdns rat
Kapyndovos trroypddovras.
U VA N / ,
Lwxpatn pévtos tov gdirocopoy xal Mérova
\ > / QA / A 4 \
TOV aoTpoNoyoy ovdey eATricaL TH WoNEL YONTTOV
\ n”
amo THS oTpatelas éxeivns Aéyovoty, O pév, WS
Gotxe, TOD cuvnOovs Satpoviov yevopévov Kar
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eyes even while Pericles was living ; and after his death they actually tried to lay hands upon it. The lesser expeditions which they sent thither from time to time, ostensibly for the aid and comfort of their allies on the island who were being wronged by the Syracusans, they regarded merely as stepping stones to the greater expedition of conquest. But the man who finally fanned this desire of theirs into flame, and persuaded them not to attempt the island any more in part and little by little, but to sail thither with a great armament and subdue it utterly, was Alcibiades; he persuaded the people to have great hopes, and he himself had greater aspirations still. Such were his hopes that he regarded Sicily as a mere beginning, and not, like the rest, as an end of the expedition. Sowhile Nicias was trying to divert the people from the capture of Syracuse as an undertaking too difficult for them, Alcibiades was dreaming of Carthage and Libya, and, after winning these, of at once encompassing Italy and Pelopon- nesus. He almost regarded Sicily as the ways and means provided for his greater war. The young men were at once carried away on the wings of such hopes, and their elders kept recounting in their ears many wonderful things about the projected ex- pedition. Many were they who sat in the palaestras and lounging-places mapping out in the sand the shape of Sicily and the position of Libya and Carthage.!

Socrates the philosopher, however, and Meton the astrologer, are said to have had no hopes that any good

would come to the city from this expedition ; Socrates, as it is likely, because he got an inkling of

1 Cf. Nictas, xii. 1-2.

mpoonpuatvovtos, o b¢ Mérwyeite Seioas x Noyto-
pod TO péeANOV ETE MAVTLKTS TLL TpOT@ YpPN-
, b] , 4 \ \ lel
gdpevos eoxiato peunvévat, Kal AaBov dada
Katopevny olos Hv avtov THy oixiay vpaTTerp.
éviot S€ gact mpoomoinna pev pavias pndev
ésxevdcba. tov Métwva, xatampnoa 6é Thy
> / , x @& , A A
oixiay vuxtwp, el EwOev mpoerOovta SeicOar Kat
avTiBonreivy ert cupdopa tyrKavTn Tov viov
b] B PS mm b] a . =
avT@ TapeOjvas THS oTpaTelas. Exelvos pev odV
éruxev av nklov, wapaxpovadpevos TOS ToAtTaS.
XVIII. "O dé Nexias deov pév npé0n otpatn-
yos, OVX HKiotTa THv apxynv Kal dia TOV ovVdp-
Ul » 2 , a a "AG , \

xovtTa dhevywv: éepaiveto yap Tots nvaios Ta

A 4
ToD woAéuou BéATLov E€erv pu) wWpoepevors TOV
"ArKiBiddnv axpatov, dd\rA& py Oeions mpos THY
ToApav avtod Tis Nuxiov mpovoiass Kal yap o
, \ 4 e / 4 7
Tpitos oTpaTnyos Adpayos nALKLa TPONK@V OWS
dig a pn pon a
édoxes pndev ArTov eivat tou "AdXntBiddov &a-
\ , > a b) A
Wupos Kat diroxivduvos év Tols ayw@ou Bovdevo-
pévav b€ mept mAnOovs Kal TpdTrov TapacKeuis
érreyeipnoev adOts o Nuxtas évioracba xa nata-
4 \ , > " \ "~
qmavely Tov TONEMOV. avTertrovTos bé Tov '"AXAKI-
Biadov Kal Kpatynoavtos, éypawe TOV pPNnTopwv
Anpootpatos kal eirev @S Ypt) TOUS TTpaTHYOUS
avToxpatopas élvat Kal THs TapacKeuns Kal Tod
MONELOUV TAVTOS.
4 A
"Esipndicapévou S€ tod Syuou Kab yevouéevav

éTOiMwY TaVTwWY TpOS TOV Ex7oUY, Ov YpNCTA

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the future from the divine guide who was his familiar. Meton—whether his fear of the future arose from mere calculation or from his use of some sort of divination—feigned madness, and seizing a blazing torch, was like to have set fire to his own house. Some say, however, that Meton made no pretence of madness, but actually did burn his house down in the night, and then, in the morning, came before the people begging and praying that, in view of his great calamity, his son might be released from the expedition. At any rate, he succeeded in cheating his fellow citizens, and obtained his desire.!

XVIII. Nicias was elected general against his will, and he was anxious to avoid the command most of all because of his fellow commander. For it had seemed to the Athenians that the war would go on better if they did not send out Alcibiades unblended, but rather tempered his rash daring with the prudent forethought of Nicias. As for the third general, Lamachus, though advanced in years, he was thought, age notwithstanding, to be no less fiery than Alcibiades, and quite as fond of taking risks in battle. During the deliberations of the people on the extent. and character of the armament, Nicias again tried to oppose their wishes and put a stop to the war. But Alcibiades answered all his arguments and carried the day, and then Demostratus, the orator, formally moved that the generals have full and independent powers in the matter of the armament and of the whole war.?

After the people had adopted this motion and all things were made ready for the departure of the fleet, there were some unpropitious signs and portents,

1 Cf. Nicias, xiii. 5-6. 2 Cf. Nicius, xii. 3-4.

3 maphy ovde Ta THs EopTns. “Adwviwy yap eis Tas
e / bd / @ 4 16 n
nuepas exetvas KalynKovtTwy eldwrXa TrOoANAYOU
vexpots exxoptlopévors Guota mWpovKevTo Tais

yuvacki, cal tadds éeuipodvto KomTopeval, Kal
Opnvous noov. pevtot Tov ‘Eppav meptxorn,
pd vuetl Tov mreloTwv axpwTnpiacOevTwv TA
, A w 4
Tpocwma, ToANOVS Kal THY TEpippovovYTaY TA
to.avra Suetdpakev. ér€xOn pev ody Ste Kopiv-
Oiot Sta tTovs Yuvpaxovaious aotxous dvtas, ws
emisYétews Eoomevns WPOS TOV OiwVaV H peTa-
4 yv@oews TOU TONEuOU, TadTa Spdcetay. ov pny
@ , A A Wf)? e e 4 wf? ¢
HITTETO Ye TOV WOAA@Y OVO’ ovTOS Oo AoYos OVO oO
A A \ » \ > / b ?
TaY onpetov Sewvov elvar pndev oiouévav, Addr ola
“ / ¥ 9 4 4 > e
dire pépey axpatos akdrAactwv véwv eis Bp
3 “A e VA 9 A > @ /

éx Travduas bTopepouevwv’ opyn 8 aya Kal poBo
TO yeyovds AauBavortes WS ao cuvwpocias él
Tpaypact pmeyddos TeTOApNpevov, Aatracay é&n-
talov wrrovotay TiKpas 7 Te BovAN cuvLodca Tepl
4 € A 9 > i e lA Ul
tovTwy Kal o Shuos ev oriyats Huépars ToAAaKis.
XIX. ’Ev &€ rovt@ SovAous tivas al peToixous

, b] A e \ ”
mponyayey “Avdpoxrns o Snuaywyos addNwv TE
ayadpdtov tepixoTas Kal puaTnpiwy tap’ olvov
avopupnoers tod "ArdxtBiddov cal trav didrwv
KaTnyopodyras. €édeyov b€ Beddwpov pév tiva
Spav ta tod xnpuxos, LlovAutiova b€ Ta Tod
Sadovyxou, Ta Sé Tod tepopavtou tov ’AdXKtBiddny,
tous & addXous étaipovs mapeivas Kal pveicbar
2 wvoTas Wpodayopevopevous. TadtTa yap &v TH
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especially in connection with the festival, namely, the Adonia. This fell at that time, and little images like dead folk carried forth to burial were in many places exposed to view by the women, who mimicked burial rites, beat their breasts, and sang dirges.! More- over, the mutilation of the Hermae, most of which, in a single night, had their faces and forms disfigured, confounded the hearts of many, even among those who usually set small store by such things.1 It was said, it is true, that Corinthians had done the deed, Syracuse being a colony of theirs, in the hope that such portents would check or stop the war. The multitude, however, were not moved by this reasoning, nor by that of those who thought the affair no

terrible sign at all, but rather one of the common effects of strong wine, when dissolute youth, in mere sport, are carried away into wanton acts. They looked on the occurrence with wrath and fear, thinking it the sign of a bold and dangerous con- spiracy. They therefore scrutinized keenly every suspicious circumstance, the council and the assembly convening for this purpose many times within a few days.

XIX. During this time Androcles, the popular leader, produced sundry aliens and slaves who accused Alcibiades and his friends of mutilating other sacred images, and of making a parody of the mysteries of Eleusis in a drunken revel. They said that one Theodorus played the part of the Herald, Pulytion that of the Torch-bearer, and Alcibiades that of the High Priest, and that the rest of his companions were there in the réle of initiates, and were dubbed Mystae. Such indeed was the purport

1 Cf. Nicias, xiii. 2, 7.

elaaryyedig yeypamTat @eccarov Tov Kipevos
elaayyeltNavTos "Ada Beddqy aaeBetv Tepl TO
Gea. T pax vvOMEVOV dé Tov Snpov Kal TiKpas
pos "AdeiBiddnv € EXOVTOS, Kal Tov 'AvOpok)eous
(ny yap ovTos expos év Tous padiora Tov
"Ad«iBuddou) mapoEvvorTos, éy apxn pev éra-
paxOnoav ot mepl TOV "AdKtBuddny. aia Popevor
dé tous Te vavTas, Gor Tet euedRov els
Linea, evvous dvTas avtois Kal TO oTpaTiw-
TLKOD, "Apyetov dé xal Mavtivéwy yiriov évrwv
OTALT@Y GKOVOVTES avadaveov AeyovTwv OS bs!
"Ar«eBiadnv TT PATEVOWTO SuatrovTtov Kal paxpay
orpareiay, cay O€ Tis dyvwmovh mepl TovTor,
evdvs aroatnces au, aveOdppovv Kab Tapio Tato
T@ Katp@ Wpos THY aTroNoyiar, dare TOUS eXOpovs
marty aOupeiv Kal poPetabas [T) mrepl THY Kptoty
) Of 0s apBrvTEpos avT@ yévntar Sia THY
Xpelav.
_Ipos TavT ovv Texvatovar TOY pyTopov TOUS
ov Soxobvras éyOpovs Tod "ArdciBidbov, pucobvTas
6€ avrov OuUX HTTOV TOY OpohoyoUvTOY, avigra-
pévous ey TO Spo ervey @S aToToOv éoTtV
avToKparopt oTpAaTHY@ THALKAUTNS arrobedeuy-
pév@ Suvdpews, 70 pora pevns oTpaTias Kal TOV
ouppaywv, peTakv KAnpobvras Sikactnpioy Kal
vdwp OrapetpobvTas aTrohhuvas TOV Katpov"
"'AdrAa viv pev ayaby TUXN mheéTo, Tou dé
TONELOV diam pax Oevros én Tois avTois vopors

amonroyeia Bu Tapov. ovK erdvOave pev ovp
v) Kaxondeva Tis avaBoris TOV “ArKuBiddny,
GNX édeye Twaptov ws Sevov dati aitias arro-
5°

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of the impeachment which Thessalus, the son of Cimon, brought in to the assembly, impeaching Alcibiades for impiety towards the Eleusinian goddesses. The people were exasperated, and felt bitterly towards Alcibiades, and Androcles, who was his mortal enemy, eggedthemon. At first Alcibiades was confounded, But perceiving that all the seamen and soldiers who were going to sail for Sicily were friendly to him, and hearing that the Argive and Mantinean men-at-arms, a thousand in number, declared plainly that it was all because of Alcibiades that they were making their long expedition across the seas, and that if any wrong should be done him they would at once abandon it, he took courage, and insisted on an immediate opportunity to defend himself before the people. His enemies were now in their turn dejected; they feared lest the people should be too lenient in their judgement of him because they needed him so much.
Accordingly, they devised that certain orators who were not looked upon as enemies of Alcibiades, but who really hated him no less than his avowed foes, should rise in the assembly and say that it was absurd, when a general had been appointed, with full powers, over such a vast force, and when his armament and allies were all assembled, to destroy his beckoning opportunity by casting lots for jurors and measuring out time for the case. ‘Nay,’ they said, “let him sail now, and Heaven be with him! But when the war is over, then let him come and make his defence. The laws will be the same then as now.” Of course the malice in this postponement did not escape Alcibiades. He declared in the assembly that it was a terrible misfortune to be sent off at the

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AuTovTa KAO éavTod Kal dtaBorads éxmréptrecOar
petéwpov em) tocauTns Suvapews: arobavety yap
TpoonKEly p17) NUTAYTL TAS KATH YOpias, AVCaVTL
5é xal gavévte xabap@ tpérecOae mpos Tovs

WoAEplous un SedoLKOTL TOUS ouKopdvras.
XX. ’Eel & ove ereBev, anda, TWAciv éxedevov
adron, avnxen HETR TOV cvoTpariyev exo ;
TpLnpELS MEY OV TOAA@ THV TecoapdKovta Kal
éxaTov amrodeovaas, omAitas 5€ mevTaKiaxiAlous
Kat éxatov, tofotas Sé nal adevdovytas Kat
yedovs mepl tptakociovs Kal ytdious, Kal Thy
adAnv Tapackeuny akioroyov. tmporBarov 8
‘Iraria Kai ‘Phyov érav, elanynoato youn oto
, : / 9 ; \ / \ bd ;
TpoT@ Tokeuntéoy éoti. Kat Nexiou pév avtiré-
yovtos, Aapdyou Sé mpocbepévov, wrevoas «es
Ltuxerdtay mpoonyayeto Kardvynv, addrdro Sé oddév
erpake petamepmros U1 Tov AOnvaiwv émi thy
Kpiawv evOds yevopevos.
— TIparov pév yap, otrep elpntat, uypai tives
wrovriat cat SiaBoral xara tod “AdnBiddou
mpocénimtov amo SovAwY Kal peToixwv erecta
Tov éxOpav amovtos avtod KaBartopévav odo-
Spotepov, nal toils mept tovs ‘Epuads bBpicpact
Kab T& pvoTixd cupTAEKOYTMOV, WS ATO plas
éml vewTEepiap@ Tuvwpocias weTpayyéva, Tors
fev omwaovv éraitiabévtas évéBadXov axpitous
eis TO Seapwrnptov, HYOovTo b& Tov “AXKuBiddyv
Ln AaBovtes bro Tas Wgdovs ToTe unde Kpivav-
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head of such a vast force with his case still in sus- pense, leaving behind him vague accusations and slanders ; he ought to be put to death if he did not refute them; but if he did refute them and prove his innocence, he ought to proceed against the enemy without any fear of the public informers at

\ home.

\S XX. He could not carry his point, however, but was ordered to set sail. So he put to sea? along with his fellow generals, having not much fewer than one hundred and forty triremes; fifty-one hundred men-at-arms; about thirteen hundred archers, slingers, and light-armed folk ; and the rest of his equipment to correspond. On reaching Italy and taking Rhegium, he proposed a plan for the conduct of the war.? Nicias opposed it, but Lamachus approved it, and so he sailed to Sicily. He secured the allegiance of

Catana, but accomplished nothing further, since he was presently summoned home by the Athenians to stand his trial.

At first, as I have said, sundry vague suspicions and calumnies against Alcibiades were advanced by aliens and slaves. Afterwards, during his absence, his enemies went to work more vigorously. They brought the outrage upon the Hermae and upon the Eleusinian mysteries under one and the same design ; both, they said, were fruits of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and so all who were accused of any complicity whatsoever therein were cast into prison without trial. The people were pro- voked with themselves for not bringing Alcibiades to trial and judgment at the time on such grave charges,

1 About the middle of the siunmier of 415 B.c.
2 Cf, Nicias, xiv. 3. 3 Chapter xix. 1.
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4 Tes, ém airiass THMKAUTALS. O be TH ™ pos éxetvov opyn TapaTer@v oixetos q piros q curyiOns Xarerwrépors avtois exXpncaro. TOUS 5é pqvicavras 0 pev Bov«vdidys dvopaa at TAapHKey, addot S évouatouat AvorretSav Kal Tevxpov, ov cal Dpvvryos éotw 0 KaptKos TavTi WETTOLNKWS*
"0. pirral! 'Epph, Kal purdacou, pn) TET OV aurov TapaKkpoven Kal mapacxns da Bornv suche Avoxnretda BovrAopévp Kaxov Te dpav. Kat'

PvrAdfopar Tevxpo yap ovxt Bovropar pnvutpa Sodvat, TO Tadrapvaig Eéve.
Kairos BéBasov ovdev ovo laxupov ou pqvuovtes edeixvucay. els & avrav EPWT@{LEVOS ST WS Ta Tpocwma TOV 'Eppoxom dav yopicere, Kat ATTOK PLY [LEV0S OTe T pos THY cehvny, éopany Tob TavTos, evs Kal véas ovans or€ Tabr' ed paro- 01 OopuBov pev Taper xe Tois voov éxouat, Tov Sjyov 8 ovdé tovTo badaxesrepov emoinoe ™ pos Tas d:aBoras, arn' dorep Bpynaev €& a APXTS, OVK eravcaro pépeov ral éuBarrov eis 76 Seo ppwTnplov ov TIS Karem ol.
XX. Taw ovv dcebevtwv Kal purarromevav emt Kpic et ToTe Kar "Avdoxtons Hv 0 Put@p, Ov 'ENA dviKos ce ouyypageds els TOUS 'Odvecéws dmoyoveus avaryaryev. edoxes de ptaodnpos Kal Oduyapxtxos 6 "Avdoxidns, dmomrov be ovyx

1 § supplied by Coraés and Sint.?; Bekker supplies xa},
after Bryan.
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and any kinsman or friend or comrade of his who fell foul of their wrath against him, found them exceedingly severe. Thucydides neglected to men- tion! the informers by name, but others give their names as Diocleides and Teucer. For instance, Phrynichus the comic poet ? referred to them thus :-—

“ Look out too, dearest Hermes, not to get a fall,
And mar your looks, and so equip with calumny
Another Diocleides bent on wreaking harm.”
And the Hermes replies :—

“I’m on the watch; there’s Teucer, too; I would
not give
A prize for tattling to an alien of his guilt.”
And yet there was nothing sure or steadfast in the statements of the informers. One of them, indeed, was asked how he recognized the faces of the Hermae-defacers, and replied, “ By the light of the moon.” This vitiated his whole story, since there was no moon at all when the deed was done. Sensible men were troubled thereat, but even this did not soften the people’s feeling towards the slanderous stories. As they had set out to do in the beginning, so they continued, haling and casting into prison any one who was denounced.
XXI. Among those thus held in bonds and imprisonment for trial was Andocides the orator, whom Hellanicus the historian included among the descendants of Odysseus. He was held to be a foe to popular government, and an oligarch, but what most made him suspected of the mutilation of the
1 Tn vi. 53, 2 2 Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 385.
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Heicta THS Tov ‘“Epuav epixomHs eroinoey oO
péyas “Epps, 6 mwAnoiov avtod tis oixias
avdOnua tis Aiynidos durjs Spupévos: ev yap
Odiyots Wavy Tov emipavav povos ayedov
axépatos Epewve: 516 Kal viv ’Avdoxidov xareitat,
Kal mavtes ovTws dovoudlovar THs émvypapis

avTLapTupovens.
LuwéBn 5é 1T@ 'Avdoxidn pddtotTa TeV THY
auTny aitiav éyovtTav év TO Seapwrnpio yevérOar
auvnOn Kal dirov évdoEov pév ovy opotws éxeive,
cuvéces 5é Kal TOAUN TeEpiTTOV, dvopa Tipacov.
ovTos avaTreiOe. Tov “Avdoxidny éavtod ratnyopov
Kat Twowv adrAdrdwv yevécOat pH ToOAN@Y: Opo0XO-
yyoavTt yap aoerav elvat cata wWhdtopa Tov
dnpov, TA be THS Kpicews AdnrAa Tact, Tols 5é
duvatois hoBepwrata: Bértiov 6 cwOjvat Wevd0-
HEVOY 1) ETA THS aUTHS aitias aroVaveiv addofws,
Kal TO Kown oKoTrobyT. cupdhépov vardpyetv,
Odiryous Kal apdiBdrous mpoéuevoy, modNoOvUS
kat ayabovs é€eXeoOar tis dpyhs. tadta Tov
Tipaiov Aéyovtos nab d:ddcxKovtos o *Avdoxidns
éreia On, Kal yevowevos pnvutns Ka@ abtod nat
Kal étrépwy éxye THhv ex TOD Wndiopatos aderav
autos ods S @vomace mavTes TAnY TaV huyov-
Tov aT@AovTO. Kal wictews Evexa mpooéOnKxev
avrois oixétas idtous 0 Avédoxidns.
Ou pry 6 ye Simos THY Opynv aracay apjrev

Hermae, was the tall Hermes which stood near his house, a dedication of the Aegeid tribe. This was almost the only one among the very few statues of like prominence to remain unharmed. For this reason it is called to this day the Hermes of Andocides. Everybody gives it that name, in spite of the adverse testimony of its inscription.

Now it happened that, of all those lying in prison with him under the same charge, Andocides became most intimate and friendly with a man named Timaeus, of less repute than himself, it is true, but of great sagacity and daring. This man persuaded Andocides to turn state’s evidence against himself and a few others. If he confessed,—so the man argued,—he would have immunity from punishment by decree of the people; whereas the result of the trial, while uncertain in all cases, was most to be dreaded in that of influential men like himself. It was better to save his life by a false confession of

crime, than to die a shameful death under a false charge of that crime. One who had an eye to the general welfare of the community might well abandon to their fate a few dubious characters, if he could thereby save a multitude of good men from the wrath of the people. By such arguments of Timaeus, Andocides was at last persuaded to bear witness against himself and others. He himself received the immunity from punishment which had been decreed ; but all those whom he named, excepting such as took to flight, were put to death, and Andocides added to their number some of his own household servants, that he might the better be believed. |

Still, the people did not lay aside all their wrath

évraida, AAXNd pAaAXov aradXayels TOV 'Epyoxo-
midayv watep cxordlovtTs TH Ovo mpos Tov
"ArxiBiddnv Gros eppuyn, nal TéXos amrécTethe THV
/ > 9% b) , 1 b 4 b) , le)
Larapwiav én' avtov,! ov pavrws avo ye TovTO
mpootdtas, pr BiavecOar pnd amtecOar Tod
, 9 \ A VA , "A 4
TWUATOS, GNAA TH peTpip Ayo ypHoGar Kerev-
ovras axonrovbeiy émlt xpiow Kal meiOev Tov
Sipov. époBodvto yap tapayas tod otpatev-
patos év Toreuia yR Kal ordow, 5 padiws dv
éEeipyacato BovAnbeis o '"ArxiBiddns. Kal yap
>] , b) , > A \ \ A
nOvpovv amiovTos avTov, Kal ToAAny TpLBHV
mpocedokwv Kab phxos apyov év tO Nexia tov
, 4 / , 9 4 Lo
Todepov EF, kaSaTrep puwTos adnpnpévou TOY
mpagewv. o yap Adpayos tv péev TodeutKos Kal
b] , 9 gs 9 ? fo! 909 9 A
avipwdns, akiwpa 8 ov mpoohy ovd dyKxos avT@
dca reviav.

XXII. Evdds pév ody arrotrAéwv o 'AdKiBiddys
adeiketro Meconvny 'A@nvaiovs. taoav yap oi
péAXOVTES evdsbovae THY TrOALY, Ods exeivos ELdas
lA a / / > 2

cadbéotata Tois Yvpaxovoiwy pirors éunvuce kal
S:épOerpe thy mpakEw. év 5é @oupiors yevopuevos
Kal amoBas THs Tpinpous Expurev éavTov Kal
diépuye tovs Entodvras. émuyvovtos Sé Tivos Kal
eimovtos: “Ov mortevers, @ 'ArdkiBiddn, TH
matpior;” “Ta péev Ar,” hy, “mavra mept dé
THS Wuxhs THs éuis odd TH pntpi, wnTws ayvoy-
caca Thy péNalvay avti THS AevKTS émeEvéyey
1 én’ abroy with M and Cobet: xpds airév.

at this point, but rather, now that they were done with the Hermae-defacers, as if their passion had all the more opportunity to vent itself, they dashed like a torrent against Alcibiades, and finally dispatched the Salaminian state-galley to fetch him home. They shrewdly gave its officers explicit command not to use violence, nor to seize his person, but with all moderation of speech to bid him accompany them home to stand his trial and satisfy the people. For they were afraid that their army, in an enemy's land, would be full of tumult and mutiny at the summons. And Alcibiades might easily have effected this had he wished. For the men‘ were cast down at his departure, and expected that the war, under the conduct of Nicias, would be drawn out to a great length by delays and inactivity, now that their goad to action had been taken away. Lamachus, it is true, was a good soldier and a brave man ; but he lacked authority and prestige because he was poor.

XXII. Alcibiades had no sooner sailed away than he robbed the Athenians of Messana.! There was a party there who were on the point of surrendering the city to the Athenians, but Alcibiades knew them, and gave the clearest information of their design to the friends of Syracuse in the city, and so brought the thing to naught. Arrived at Thurii, he left his trireme and hid himself so as to escape all quest. When some one recognised him and asked, “Can you not trust your country, Alcibiades?” “In all else,” he said, “ but in the matter of life I wouldn’t trust even my own mother not to mistake a black for a white ballot when she cast her vote.” And

1 In September, 415 B.c.

”~ ” a > 3 a Cd 7 3 w“

wWidov.” wtotepov & axovoas 6tt Oavatov avtov
J @e ld cc? 3 3 7) 9 ce 5 4
KaTeyvwxev 4 Troduss “"AXN eyo, etre, “ detEw
avrois Ott fo.”
Tay pev ov eicayyeAtay otTws Eyovoay ava-
ypadovat “@eccaros Kipwvos Aaxiddns *AXd«Kt-
4 La 4 > , >] la)
Buddnv Kreviou SxapPovidny eionyyerrev adixety
A ‘\ ,
mept to Oew, thy Anpuntpav xat tnv Kopnp,
aTOppovpevoy Ta pvotnpia Kat SerxvuovtTa Tots
avTov étaipois év TH oixia TH éavTov, EyovTa
4 \
OTOANY olavrrep oO tepopavTns! Exwv Serxvuer TA
iepd, xal ovopatovtra avrov pev tepodavTnr,
, Q “ 4 A U
TlovAvtiova Sé Sadobyov, xnpuxa 5é @eodwpov
Pynyaia, tous 8 AAXous Etaipovs pvoTas Tpoc-
\
ayopevovta kal émomtTas Tapa Ta vomtpa Kal Ta
xabeotynKxoTa UTo te Evporridav cat Knpixav
an A A bd) / 9
cal tay lepéewy Tov é& ’EXevaivos.” épnynv
avtTov KatayvovTes Kal Ta Xpnpata. SnpevoavtTes
éTt KatapaoOar mpocelndhicavto mdvtas tepets
e J
Kal iepeias, ov pwovny hact Beavw tHhv Mévwvos
7A. nO ? a \ \ , ,
ypavrnvey avtreteiy mpos To Wndtopa, pac-
fa) a“ e
KOVOAV EVYOV, OU KaTAPMV lépelay yEeyoveval.
XXIII. Tocotvrwrv b€ cateyyndicpévav *AXKi-
Bidéov Kal xKateyvacpévwv, éTUyyave pév ev
, \ a) ,
Apyet dvatpiBwv, @s To mpatov éx Bovpiwov
? . 4 ,
amroépas eis IenXorovyncov SdiexopicOn, poBov-
pevos 5é Tous éyOpovs Kal Tavtatact THS Tartpi-
Sos dmreyvaxms e@reprpev eis Xmdptnv, abtov
doetav avTe® yevecoOat wal miotw él peifoce
xpeiais Kal @edelars Ov TpoTEpov avTOVS auvVO-
pevos EBNawve. Sovtov && Tov Xraptiatav Kal
' 6 lepopdvrns with CM@: iepopdyrns.

when he afterwards heard that the city had condemned him to death, “I'll show them,” he said, ‘that I’m alive.”

His impeachment is on record, and runs as follows : « Thessalus, son of Cimon, of the deme Laciadae, impeaches Alcibiades, son of Cleinias, of the deme Scambonidae, for committing crime against the goddesses of Eleusis, Demeter and Cora, by mimicking the mysteries and showing them forth to his companions in his own house, wearing a robe such as the High Priest wears when he shows forth the sacred secrets to the initiates, and calling himself High Priest, Pulytion Torch-bearer, and Theodorus, of the deme Phegaea, Herald, and hailing the rest of his companions as Mystae and Epoptae, contrary to the laws and institutions of the Eumolpidae, Heralds, and Priests of Eleusis.” His case went by default, his property was confiscated, and besides that, it was also decreed that his name should be publicly cursed by all priests and priestesses. Theano, the daughter of Menon, of the deme Agraule, they say, was the only one who refused to obey this decree. She declared that she was a praying, not a cursing priestess.

XXIII. When these great judgments and condemnations were passed upon Alcibiades, he was tarrying in Argos, for as soon as he had made his escape from Thurii, he passed over into Peloponnesus. But fearing his foes there, and renouncing his country altogether, he sent to the Spartans, demanding immunity and confidence, and promising to render them aid and service greater than all the harm he had previously done them as an enemy. The Spartans granted this request and received him

deEapévev, Tapayevopuevos mpoOvpws ev pev evOvs >] , la \ > ,

éEepydoato, pédAAovtas Kal avaBaddopévous
Bonbeitv Xvpaxovoiors éyeipas Kat mapo€vvas
, 4 wv \ la) A 9 f)
mépat Cvrurmov apyovta kal Opaioat tH éxei
tov “A@nvaiwy Sivayw: Eérepov 5é, Kevely tov
> , 4 > ae \ \ bd , N A
avtodev trodenov émrt tovs ’AOnvaiouvs: to dé
Tpitov Kal péytotov, émiteryicat Aexédetav, 08
a Qn 4 \ ,
Parrov ovdev Stespydcato Kai Kxatoxopbopyce
THY TOMY.
bd “A N , , bp)
3 Evdoxipdy o¢ Snuooig Kal Gavpabopevos ovx
HTTOV LoLa TOUS TrOAAOUS KATEONUaAywyEL Kal KaT-
eyonteve TH Siaitn Aaxwvitwv, aoO opavTas év
Xp@ KoupiavTra Kal WuypodovTodyTa Kal paln
cuvovta Kal Cou@ pédave Xpw@pevov atriateiv Kat
Statropety, eb wrote payerpov emt THs oiKxias ovTOS
avnp éoxev 7 mpocéBre We pupeyrov 4 MiAnoias
4 nvécxeto Oryeiv yAavidos. Hy yap, Os pact, pia
Sevotns aitn TOV TOoAN@Y ey avT@ Kal pnxYavn
Onpas avOporwv, cvveEopowtcba Kal cvvopo-
qwaQeiy tois eémitndevpace kat tais dvairass,
o€uTépas TpeTOu“evm TpoTasS TOU YapatNéovTos.
TAY exeivos pév, WS NéyeTaL, Tpos ev éEaduvaTet
YpGua TO AEvKOY adopotody éavTov’ ’AAKLBLASN
dé d:a yYpnota@y iovtt kal movnpwy opoiws ovdev
* > la 27Q> 9 ? 3 9 > ,
5 fv apipntov ovd aventitndSevtov, dXN évy Lwdpry
yupvactiKos, evtedns, cKVOpwrros, év "lwvia y~d-

‘ A mountain citadel of Attica, about fourteen miles from Athens towards Boectia, commanding the Athenian plain

among them. No sooner was he come than he zealously brought one thing to pass: they had been delaying and postponing assistance to Syracuse ; he roused and incited them to send Gylippus thither for a commander, and to crush the force which Athens had there. A second thing he did was to get them to stir up the war against Athens at home; and the third, and most important of all, to induce them to fortify Deceleia.1 This more than anything else wrought ruin and destruction to his native city.

At Sparta, he was held in high repute publicly, and privately was no less admired. The multitude was brought under his influence, and was actually bewitched, by his assumption of the Spartan mode of life.

When they saw him with his hair untrimmed, taking cold baths, on terms of intimacy with their coarse bread, and supping black porridge, they could scarcely trust their eyes, and doubted whether such a man as he now was had ever had a cook in his own house, had even so much as looked upon a per- fumer, or endured the touch of Milesian wool. He had, as they say, one power which transcended all others, and proved an implement of his chase for men: that of assimilating and adapting himself to the pursuits and lives of others, thereby assuming more violent changes than the chameleon. That animal, however, as it is said, is utterly unable to assume one colour, namely, white; but Alcibiades could associate with good and bad alike, and found naught that he could not imitate and practice. In Sparta, he was all for bodily training, simplicity of life, and severity of countenance; in lonia, for

and the shortest routes to Euboa and Beotia. It was occupied by the Spartans in the spring of 413 B.c.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

} , > / e 1 ? ® 4 @ ,
avos, emitepT ns, pabupuos, év Opdxyn peOvotixos,
? a e , / ”
évy @ertadots tmmactixos, Ticadépyn 8€ Te
4 '\ e , ” \ ,
cAaTpaTyn TvveV vTEpEeBarev OYK@ Kal TONVTEAELG
Thy Ileporxny peyarorpémetay, ovy avrov éEtaTas
otTw padiws eis Erepov é& érépov Tpdrrov, ovde
a , an / 3 7” A
macay Seyopevos T@ HOer petaBornv, GAN Sti TH
voc ypwpevos Euerdre Avtreiv Tovs evTvyydvov-
A 4 a
Tas, els Tay ael TO TPOTHopon EexEivoLs OXHpA Kat
6 wAdopa KaTedveTO Kal Katépevyev. ev yoy TH
Aaxedaipou mpos Ta &EwOer Hv eirety “'Ov mais
a 9
"AYLANEWS, GAN exeivos' ein Av 'avdTos,' olov Av-
“A 9 , 99 a + 9 A a >
Kouvpyos émraidevoe'” Tots 8 adnOivois adv Tis ée-
gavncey avtod wdbeot Kal mpaypacw: “Koti
”) WANQAL yun.”
\ a)
7 Tepatav yap thy “Aytéos yuvaixa Tod Bacthéws
, a
OTPATEVOLEVOU Kai ATrOOnMOUYTOS OUTW StéhOELpev
@ote kai ve €€ "AdXKiBiddouv cal pn apvetabat,
Kal Texovons traiddpiov adppev Ew pev Aewtvyi-
a \ > 9 \ ? A /
Snyv xareicbat, to 8 évtos avtov Wibupifopevov

dvoya pos Tas didas Kal Tas dmabdovs bo THs
pntpos AAKiBiddnv elvat: TocodTos épws KaTelxXe
THhv avOpwrov. o 6 évtpudav ereyev ovy BBpet
TovTO TpaTTEy ovdSé KpaTovpevos Ud Hdovijs,
arr Gras AaxeSatpoviwvy Bacirtevowow ot &é&
8 avToU yeyovoTes. oUTW TpaTTO“EVa TAUTA TrOA-
Aol KaTnyopovy mpos Tov "Ayw. éiotevoe Sé

1 The first part of the passage in quotation marks is an adaptation of an iambic trimeter by some unknown poet,

luxurious ease and pleasure ; in Thrace, for drinking deep; in Thessaly, for riding hard; and when he was thrown with Tissaphernes the satrap, he outdid even Persian magnificence in his pomp and lavishness. It was not that he could so easily pass entirely from. one manner of man to another, nor that he actually underwent in every case a change in his real character ; but when he saw that his natural manners were likely to be annoying to his associates, he was quick to assume any counterfeit exterior which might in each case be suitable for them. At all events, in Sparta, so far as the outside was concerned, it was possible to say of him, “‘ No child of Achilles he, but Achilles himself,’! such a man as Lycurgus trained”; but judging by what he actually felt and did, one might have cried with the poet, “Tis the selfsame woman still 2!”

For while Agis the king was away on his campaigns, Alcibiades corrupted Timaea his wife, so that she was with child by him and made no denial of it. When she had given birth to a male child, it was called Leotychides in public, but in private the name which the boy’s mother whispered to her friends and attendants was Alcibiades. Such was the passion that possessed the woman. But he, in his mocking way, said he had not done this thing for a wanton insult, nor at the behest of mere pleasure, but in order that descendants of his might be kings of the Lacedaemonians. Such being the state of things, there were many to tell the tale to Agis, and he be- lieved it, more especially owing to the lapse of time.

which Plutarch uses entire in Morals, p. 51ce. Cf. Nauck,
Trag. Graec. Frag.” p. 907.
2 Electra, of Helen, in Kuripides, Orestes, 129.

TO Ypov@ padrdioTa, STL TELa MOD yevopévou hoBn-
Deis eFédpaye Tov Oadrdpov mapa THs yuvatKxos,
elta Séxa pnvaev ovxéti cuvnrOev avtn, pe’ ods
yevouevov tov Acwtuxidny arépnoev €€ avTov py
yeyovévat. Kal d:a TovTO THs Bacidetas é£étrecev
votepoy o Aewrvyidns.

XXIV. Mera o€ thy év BKerdia Tov AOnvaiwy
dvotuxiay émpécBevoay eis Yaraptnv aya Xior
kat AéoBiot nal Kufixnvol mept amootdcews.
mpatrovtav o¢ Bowwrav péev AeoBiots, Papva-
Balov 8& Kubixnvots, "ArxiBiddn ecobevtes
etXovto Xiows mpo mavtwv BonOeiv. éxmdevoas
dé xal altos améotrnoev ortyou Seiy amracay
"lwviav, cat moka auvev tois Tav Aaxedai-
viwy otpatnyois éBAartTe Tovs ‘AOnvaious.
o & "Ayis éxOpds pev taipyev avt@ Sia tip
yuvaixa kaxas TeTTovOas, nYOeTo Sé Kat TH S0En-
Ta yap mrelotTa yiverOar nal mpoywpeiv ov
"ArKBiddny Aoxyos Fv: Tov 8 AAV Yrapriatav
ot Suvatw@tatos Kal didotipotatoe Tov *AAKLBia-
dnv dn éBapivovto ba POovov. icyvoay otv
kat SuerpdEavto tovs olxobev apxovras éri-
oteitNat TOS “Iwviay Strws atroKTEeivwoty avTOD.
‘O & jovyh apoyvods nal doBnbeis Tav pév
mpatewy tracev éxowever Tots Aaxedatpoviors, TO
8 eis yeipas iévar ravraracww épevye, Ticadépyn
dé, T@ Bactrtéws catpdry, Sods éavrov tarép
acharcias evOds tv trap avt@® tmpaTos Kal
péytotos. TO pev yap ToAUTpoTOY Kal TepLTTOV

1 Cf. Lysander, xxii. 4-6. 2 With these words the two years which had elapsed since the flight of Alcibiades (xxii. 1) are passed over, so far as the

There had been an earthquake, and he had run in terror out of his chamber and the arms of his wife, and then for ten months had had no further inter- course with her. And since Leotychides had been born at the end of this period, Agis declared that he was no child of his. For this reason Leotychides was afterwards refused the réyal succession.!

XXIV. After the Athenian disaster in Sicily,? the Chians, Lesbians, and Cyzicenes sent embassies at the same time to Sparta, to discuss a revolt from Athens. But though the Boeotians supported the appeal of the Lesbians, and Pharnabazus that of the Cyzicenes, the Spartans, under the persuasion of Alcibiades/ elected to help the Chians first of all. Alcibiades actually set sail in person and brought almost all Ionia to revolt, and, in constant association with the Lacedaemonian generals, wrought injury to the Athenians. But Agis was hostile to him because of the wrong he had suffered as a husband, and he was also vexed at the repute in which Alcibiades stood; for most of the successes won were due to him, as report had it. The most influential and ambitious of the other Spartans also were already envious and tired of him, and soon grew strong enough to induce the magistrates at home to send out orders to Ionia that he be put to death.

His stealthy discovery of this put him on his guard, and while in all their undertakings he took part with the Lacedaemonians, he sedulously avoided coming into their hands. Then, resorting to Tissaphernes, the King's satrap, for safety, he was soon first and foremost in that grandee's favour. For his versatility

Sicilian expedition is concerned. They are covered by the narrative of the Nicias (xv.-xxx.).

avuTov THs _Sewornros ovK Ov am ods, andra caxonOns Kal pidomrovnpos, eOavpatev o SapBapos: tais 8é cal' pepay év TO avaxordter Kal oup- Starracbar Napiouy obdey F nv areyKTOV nOos ovde puaus avdhwros, anXa Kal dedtoct Kal povoidaw Opcos To auyyevéoOar xal mpooveip éxetvov 7)60- vav Twa Kal peroppoa yyy mapeiye. TANK OdY @y Kal pony év toils pddiota Ilepowy 0 Teoadépvns, odtas évedioou T@ "ArKBiddy KoAa- KEVOMEVOS bo8 | UrrepBadrewy avTov GVTiKONAKEVOY éxetvos. ov yap eKEKTITO Tapaceicwy TOV Kan- ALoOTOY Kal poate Kal AeLpavev Drycervaov evexev, Siat puBas EXovTa, Kal KaTapuyas NOKNLEVAS Backes Kal TEplLTTOS, 'AdKeBeddyy KaNELv éBero- Kal TWavTes OUTW KadodVTES Kal Tpoca- yopevovTes dteTéXovp.

XXV. 'Amoyvous otv o 'AXKiBiddns Ta TOV 2rapriaréy Os anicTa, Kal poBovpevos TOV "Ay, éxaxovu Kal 61éBarre Tpos TOV Tioapeprny, ovK éav BonOety avtois mpodvpos ovde KaTadveL TOUS 'AOnvaious, adda YMox pws Xopnyouvta Ori Bevv Kal amoxvatie atpéua Kal mouelv appo- TEpous Bactret xetponders kal KaTamovous vn aGdrAnrwv. o & émeiOero padiws Kxai dfros mv ayarav Kat Gavpdlov, jor atroBverecOar Tov "ArKiBiddnv éxatépobev vd TaV "EXAnvwYr, TOS S , Adnvaious peTapedeo Gar Tots yoodeiar mepl avTov KAKOS mao XovTas, ax GecOas dé xaxetvov Hon Kal poPeiaar py Twavrdtace THS TOAEWS avatpeBeians Ure Aaxedatpoviows yévntat picov- PEVOS.

and surpassing cleverness were the admiration of the Barbarian, who was no straightforward man himself, but malicious and fond of evil company. And indeed no disposition could resist and no nature escape Alcibiades, so full of grace was his daily life and conversation. Even those who feared and hated him felt a rare and winning charm in his society and presence. And thus it was that Tissaphernes, though otherwise the most ardent of the Persians in his hatred of the Hellenes, so completely surrendered to the flatteries of Alcibiades as to outdo him in reciprocal flatteries. Indeed, the most beautiful park he had, both for its refreshing waters and grateful lawns, with resorts and retreats decked out in regal and extravagant fashion, he named Alcibiades ; everyone always called it by that name.

XXV. Alcibiades now abandoned the cause of the Spartans, since he distrusted them and feared Agis, and began to malign and slander them to Tissaphernes. He advised him not to aid them very generously, and yet not to put down the Athenians completely, but rather by niggardly assistance to straiten and gradually wear out both, and so make them easy victims for the King when they had weakened and exhausted each other. Tissaphernes was easily persuaded, and all men saw that he loved and admired his new adviser, so that Alcibiades was looked up to by the Hellenes on both sides, and the Athenians repented themselves of the sentence they had passed upon him, now that they were suffering forit. Alcibiades himself also was presently burdened with the fear that if his native city were altogether destroyed, he might come into the power of the Lacedaemonians, who hated him.
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3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Ev 6¢ 7H Sau Tore TavrTa Ta Tpdypata Tots
"AOnvaiors oxedov bripye Kaxeiev oppopevot TH
vauTikh Suvaper Ta pev avexT@vTo TaV ade-
4 \ 9 D1 , e “ 4 4 la)
oToOTMV, TA O éfvAATTOY apaws YE TwS ETL TOUS
modelos Kata Odrattray dvTes aktopayo, Tt-
/ 4, \ \ 4 ¢
cadépyny S¢ poBovpevor Kal Tas Neyouevas doov
ovTw Trapetivar Powiooas Tpinpets TEevTHKOVTA
Ve \ ” bd > f > ,

Kal éxaTov ovoas, @v adixopévoy ovbeyia co-
, \ e 4 fo s a >
tnpias éAmis wiredeireTo TH Toda. Tavita §
elms "ArAKiBiddns éreputre Kpvpa mpos Tovs év
Sau Svvatots trav "AOnvaiwr, érridas évdid0vs
mapé-e tov Trcadhépynv dirov, ov Tois TrodXois
, > N 4 b] , ed \ “~
yapetopevos ovdé TloTEvwY ExEivoIs, GANA TOS
aptoTos, eb TOALHoELaY avdpes ayalol yevopevor
kal mavoavtes UBpivovra tov Shuov avrot &i
éavTav cate Ta Tpdypata Kal THY TOALY. |
e \ 9 wv ‘ “A “A
Ou pev ovv addot ododpa mpooeixov To
9 , le) A la)
AdxtBiady trav b€ otpatnyav els, Ppvvryos
e , e Y ef ® \ 9
o Acpadvarns, bromtetaas, Step Hv, Tov ’Ad«Kt-
, 2Q/ a bd / A
Buadnv ovdey te padrov odyapyias 7) SnpoxKpa-
tias Seopuevov, Cntodvta 5é€ mdavtws Katedbein,
9 a “A / / \ 2
éx StaBoAns Tod Snuov mpoBeparevery Kai wro-
SvecIat tovs Suvatovs, avOiotato. KpaTovpmevos
5é TH yvopn kal davepads dn Tod "AdKtBuddou
\ > , > , iA ‘ 9 ,
yeyovws éxOpos, eEnyyetre xpvda pos ‘Aatvoxov
TOV TOV TodrEpwy vavapyov, éyKENEVOpLEVOS
guratrecOat kal avdAdNapBavew ws éraudorept-
6 Covra tov ArxiBiadnv. érernber 5 apa mpodo-

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At this time! almost all the forces of Athens were at Samos. From this island as their naval base of operations they were trying to win back some of their Tonian allies who had revolted, and were watching others who were disaffected. After a fashion they still managed to cope with their enemies on the sea, but they were afraid of Tissaphernes and of the fleet of one hundred and fifty Phoenician triremes which was said to be all but at hand; if this once came up, no hope of safety was left for their city. Alcibiades was aware of this, and sent secret mes- sages to the influential Athenians at Samos, in which he held out the hope that he might bring Tissaphernes over to be their friend. He did not seek, he said, the favour of the multitude, nor trust them, but rather that of the aristocrats, in case they would venture to show themselves men, put a stop to the insolence of the people, take the direction of affairs into their own hands, and save

their cause and city.

Now the rest of the aristocrats were much inclined to Alcibiades. But one of the generals, Phrynichus, of the deme Deirades, suspected (what was really the case) that Alcibiades had no more use for an oligarchy than for a democracy, but merely sought in one way or another a recall from exile, and therefore inveighed against the people merely to court betimes the favour of the aristocrats, and ingratiate himself with them. He therefore opposed him. When his opinion had been overborne and he was now become an open enemy of Alcibiades, he sent a secret mes- sage to Astyochus, the enemy's naval commander, bidding him beware of Alcibiades and arrest him, for that he was playing a double game. But without his

1 During the winter of 412-411 B.c.

TNs MpodoTn Siareyopevos. Tov yap Trcadepynv
éxtreTT@Anypevos 0 "Actvoxos, cal Tov '"Ad«tBiadnv
Opav map avT@ péeyay dvtTa, KaTeunvuce TA
Tov Dpuvvixou mpos avtovs. o & 'Ad«iBiddns
evOvs eis Xdpov Emeue tovs tov PDpuvixou
KaTNyOpycovTas. ayavaxtotytwy Sé Tavtwv Kat
cuvictapevav émt tov Ppiviyov, ody spav
évrépay Stapuyhy éx tav TapovTwy émexeipnoev
7 idcacOat peilour Kax@ TO KaKkov. avOis yap
éreprve mpos tov "Actvoxov, éyxadov pev vTéep
THS pNvdcews, erayyeNromevos 5é Tas vais Kal
TO oTpatomedov TOV "AOnvaiwy broxeiptoy avT@
mapetewy.
Ov pv EBrawé ye tovs *AOnvaiovs 7 Tod
@pvvixouv mpodocia dia trav "Aotvoyouv Tanip-
mpodociav. Kal yap Taita Kateite Tov Ppvvixou
8 mpos Tous wept Tov "ArKiBiddnyv. o Sé Ppvvryos
mpoaabopevos Kal mpoadeyopuevos Sevtépay xaTn-
yoptav mapa tod 'AAKtBiddov, pbdcas avtos
mpoeime Tois "AOnvaiors Ste pédArXovow émimrey
ot TroNeutot, Kal Tapnvece mpos Tais vavolv
9 elvat Kal meptteryicat TO oTpatoTredov. érret
5é mpatrovtwyv tadta tay AOnvaiwy Ke ypap-
pata rdw Tapa Tov AdKiBiadov, durdtrecBat
KeNevovtos tov Dpiwxov ws mpodidovTa Tots
ToXeEpios Toy vavaTabuov, nriatTnaaV oldpevot
Tov 'AndxiBiddyy eidota cadas THY TOV ToAEuLOV
Tapackeuny Kal Sidvoray droyphoOat mpos THY
10 tod Ppuvixou StaBoryw ovx adyOas. Torepov

knowing it, it was a case of traitor dealing with traitor. For Astyochus was much in awe of Tissaphernes, and seeing that Alcibiades had great power with the satrap, he disclosed the message of Phrynichus to them both. Alcibiades at once sent men to Samos to denounce Phrynichus. All the Athenians there were incensed and banded themselves together against Phrynichus, who, seeing no other escape from his predicament, attempted to cure one evil by another and a greater. He sent again to Astyochus, chiding him indeed for his disclosure of the former message, but announcing that he stood ready to deliver into his hands the fleet and army of the Athenians.

However, this treachery of Phrynichus did not harm the Athenians at all, because of the fresh treachery of Astyochus. This second message of Phrynichus also he delivered to Alcibiades. But Phrynichus knew all the while that he would do so, and expected a second denunciation from Alcibiades. So he got the start of him by telling the Athenians himself that the enemy were going to attack them, and advising them to have their ships manned and their camp fortified. The Athenians were busy doing this when again a letter came trom Alcibiades bidding them beware of Phrynichus, since he had offered to betray their fleet to the enemy. This letter they disbelieved at the time, supposing that Alcibiades, who must know perfectly the equipment and purposes of the enemy, had used his knowledge in order to calumniate Phrynichus falsely, Afterwards, !

1 In the summer of 411 B.c., Phrynichus having been deposed from his conimand at Samos, and showing himself

an ardent supporter of the revolutionary Four Hundred at Athens.

peévtoe Tov Ppvuyov évos TOY TrepiTroA@v” Eppewvos
év ayopa watdtavtos éyyepidiw xal d.adbei-
pavtos, ot ’AOnvato. dinns yevopévns tod peév
Ppuvixou mpodociay Katewndiaavto tebvynKortos,
tov & “Eppova cai tovs pet avtod avotavtTas
éaTrepavwcay.

XXVI. ’Ev 8€ 1H Xdpm toTe Kpatjoavtes ot "AriBiddov dirot tréumovot Tletcavdpov eis doTv KivnoovTa Thy TodtTEelav Kal wapalap-

puvoovta Tovs Suvatous TOY TWpaypLaTa@V ayTiAap-
BaveoOat Kxai Kxatadrvew tov Shuov, ws ért
tovtos Tod “AAKtBiddov Tiscadépynv avtois
irxov Kal ovppayov mapéEovtos. aitn yap
HY mpopacis Kal TovTO TpdaoxKnpa ToOIs KAaMLoTaCE
Thv odLyapytav. eel 8 loxyvoav Kat Tapédafov |
Ta WpdypatTa ol TevTaKicyidtot Reyomevot,
tetpaxootot € bytes, EAdyioTa TH ’AdKiBiddy
mpocetyov On Kal paraxwTepov Hrtovto Tov
ToAé“ov, Ta pev amiorovvTes Ett wWpos THY
petaBornv Fevorra0ovc. Tots moditats, Ta 8
oi0pevoL AAXAOv évdwcev avTois Aaxedatpovious
del mpos odyapyiav émitndciws Eyovtas. 6
pev ovv KaTa THY TOdLW SHwos axkwv bro Séous
nouxiay nye’ Kal yap amerparynaay OUK odLryoU
TOV évavTloupévwv davep@s Tois TeTPaKocioLs’
of 8 év Yayo tadta TuvOavopevos Kal ayavax-
TouvTes WppynvtTo marci evOds él tov Tlepaca,
Kal petarreurpdapevor Tov “AdxiBiadny Kai oTpatn-
yov atrobetEavtes éxéXevov nyetaOar Kal KaTadveL
TOUS TUpayvouSs.
€ 9 > ” bd f 4 A

O & ovy olov av tis é€aidvns yapeTt Tav

however, when Hermon,! one of the frontier guard, had smitten. Phrynichus with a dagger and slain him in the open. market-place, the Athenians tried the case of the dead man, found him guilty of treachery, and awarded crowns to Hermon and his accomplices, XXVI. But at Samos the friends of Alcibiades soon got the upper hand, and sent Peisander to Athens to change the form of government. He was to encourage the leading men to overthrow the de- mocracy and take control of affairs, with the plea that on these terms alone would Alcibiades make Tissaphernes their friend and ally. This was the pretence and this the pretext of those who estab- lished the oligarchy at Athens. But as soon as the so-called Five Thousand (they were really only four hundred) got the power and took control of affairs, they at once neglected Alcibiades entirely, and waged the war with less vigour, partly because they distrusted the citizens, who still looked askance at the new form of government, and partly because they thought that the Lacedaemonians, who always looked with favour on an oligarchy, would be more lenient towards them. The popular party in the city was constrained by fear to keep quiet, because many of those who openly opposed the Four Hundred had been slain. But when the army in Samos learned what had been done at home, they were enraged, and were eager to sail forthwith to the Piraeus, and sending for Alcibiades, they appointed him general, and bade him lead them in putting down the tyrants. An ordinary man, thus suddenly raised to great

1 The name is wrong, and has crept into the story by an error which can be traced. Hermon was ‘‘ commander of the frontier guard stationed at Munychia ” (Thue. viii. 92, 5).

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TOMO péyas yeyovas érraQe xa nyatneoe,
mavta Seiy evdus olopevos xapiver Bar Kar pndev
avTUAeyeLy Tots éx mAayntos Kal puydsos avurTov
veQY TOTOVTwWY Kal oTpatomeésou Kal Suvapews
THMKAUT AS amodeiEacw Tyyepova, Kal TTPATHYOV;
aX’ OrrEep iy dpxovre peydrp TpoanKoy, av0icta-
cbat pepopevors un’ opyns, KwAvaas éFapapteiy,
ToTE you Ta mpaypata Th TodEL TEpLpaVves
érwoev. él yap dpavres anérhevoap oixace,
Tots pe Tmohepiors evOus exe UTApKEv "Teviay
dmacay, kal Tov ‘EXAjoTovTov * apaxel, Kat
TAS vnTOUS, "AOnvaiors be 7 p0s ’A@nvaious
paxec Bar TOV TONEMLOV els THY TONY euBadovtas:
OV pLovos pada ra [T) yevérbar | Suex@AvC eV 0
"ArxBuadns, ov povov TeOav Kai biddoxwv Td
TAHOs, GAXNa Kal Kad’ eva TOUS ev avriBorav,
tav © ema Bavopevos. TUVET PATTE 8 avT@
kal @pacvBovros 0 2Terpreds aa TApov Kal
KeKparyas nV yap, @s NéyeTal, peyaropwvoratos
"A@nvaiwv.
"Exeivo Te on Kadov Tob "ArKtBiadou Kat
Sevtepov, 6 Ott vrocxopevos TAS Powiocas vais,
as TpoaEeseXov7o Aaxedarpovior Baciréws Té [-
spavtos, 1) HETATTHTELY TOS avrovs 7) Svan pdge-
aOat wndé pos éxeivous Kop Ohvar, Sia Tayéwy
éfémrevce. Kal Tas pev vais expaveicas mepl
“Aotreviov ovK Hnyayev oo Troadéprns, arn’
exrevoato TOUS Aaxedatpovious, THY S aitiav
Tov arotpéWwat tap apdorépors o ‘AdKeBiddns
1 nal roy EAAhororvrov Bekker: ‘EAAhomovtov.
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power by the favour of the multitude, would have been full of complaisance, thinking that he must at once gratify them in all things and oppose them in nothing, since they had made him, instead of a wandering

exile, leader and general of such a fleet and of so large an armed force. But Alcibiades, as became a great leader, felt that he must oppose them in their career of blind fury, and prevented them from making a fatal mistake. Therefore in this instance, at least, he was the manifest salvation of the city. For had they sailed off home, their enemies might at once have occupied all Ionia, the Hellespont without a battle, and the islands, while Athenians were fighting Athenians and making their own city the seat of war. Such a war Alcibiades, more than any other one man, prevented, not only persuading and instructing the multitude together, but also, taking them man by man, supplicating some and constraining others. He had a helper, too, in Thrasybulus of Steiris| who went along with him and did the shouting ; for he had, it is said, the biggest voice of all the Athenians.

A second honourable proceeding of Alcibiades was his promising to bring over to their side the Phoenician ships which the King had sent out and the Lacedaemonians were expecting,—or at least to see that those expectations were not realized,—and his sailing off swiftly on this errand. The ships were actually seen off Aspendus, but Tissaphernes did not bring them up, and thereby played the Lacedaemonians false. Alcibiades, however, was

1 This illustrious commander, the son of Lycus, is to be distinguished from Thrasybulus, the son of Thraso (chapter xxxvi. 1).

elye, kal parXov éte Tapa Tots Aaxedatpoviors, as Siddoxwov tov BdpBapoy avrovs id’ atTav qjeptopayv amroAAupévous tovs “EAAnvas. ov yap jv ddnrov Ott Tois érépors Svvayis TocavTn Mpoayevouevn Tous érépovs adnpetto Kody TO Kpadtos THs OaXatTN.

XXVII. ’Ex tovtov catervOnoay peév ot teTpa-kootot, Tov "AdXKtBiddov dirov mpodvpws cur-AapBavouévwy trois ta SHyov dpovoict: Bovdo-pévov dé TaV év doter Kal KeNEVOVTMY KaTLEVAL tov "ArKiBiddnv avdtos Peto Setv py Kevais yepot pndé ampaxros, oixt@m Kab YdpiTL TOY TOANOD, GX’ évdoEws KaterGetv. 510 rpwTov pév orIiyats vavoly é« Yadpou weptémrer THY Kyidieov cat Kear Oaraccav: éxei 8 axovoas Mivéapov tov SZrap-Teatnv eis “EXAnoTovTOV dvaTEiv TO TTOA® mavtt Kat Tovs A@nvatous éraxoXovbely, nireiyeTo BonOjoat tots otpatnyots. Kal Kata TUyND Ets TOUTO KaLpod auVnvUcE TAéwV OKTwKaldeKa Tpl-

pec, év @ Tao aes oov Tais vavot TUpTET OVTES
eis TO avTO Kal dravavpayodvTes trept “ABvdov
dppotepoe Tois pev HnrT@pevor pépect, Tow Sé
vix@vres aype SeiAns adyau peydd@ auvelyovTo.
Kal mapecxe pev evartiav dofav apotéposs
émipavels, Bote Oappeivy pév Tovs TrodEmious,
OopuBetabat Sé tovs ’AOnvaiovs. tayd dé on-
petov dpas ato THs vavapyidos didstov Opuncev
evOus él rods Kpatodvtas Kal Sidxovtas TeV
IleXovrovynciwv. tpeyrapevos 8 avtovs ébéwoer
eis THY Yhv, Kal wpooKelpevos ExoTTTE Tas vas
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credited with this diversion of the ships by both parties, and especially by the Lacedaemonians. The charge was that he instructed the Barbarian to suffer the Hellenes to destroy one another. For it was perfectly clear that the side to which such a naval force attached itself would rob the other altogether of the control of the sea.

XXVII. After this the Four Hundred were over- thrown,! the friends of Alcibiades now zealously assisting the party of the people. Then the city willingly ordered Alcibiades to come back home. But he thought he must not return with empty hands and without achievement, through the pity and favour of the multitude, but rather in a blaze of glory. So, to begin with, he set sail with a small fleet from Samos and cruised off Cnidus and Cos. There he heard that Mindarus the Spartan admiral had sailed off to the Hellespont with his entire fleet, followed by the Athenians, and so he hastened to the assistance of their generals. By chance he came up, with his eighteen triremes, at just that critical point when both parties, having joined battle with all their ships off Abydos, and sharing almost equally in victory and defeat until evening, were locked ina great struggle. The appearance of Alcibiades inspired both sides with a false opinion of his coming : the enemy were emboldened and the Athenians were confounded. But he quickly hoisted Athenian colours on his flagship and darted straight upon the victorious and pursuing Peloponnesians. Routing them, he drove them to land, and following hard after them, rammed and shattered their ships.

1 They usurped the power in June, of 411 B.c.; they fell in September of the same year.
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Kal cuvetitpwoKxe, Tov avdpav éxveovtwv Kal
WapvaBalov weln mwpoaBonOodvTos avtois Kat
paxyopévov tapa tHv OdraTTay UTEP TOY vEwv.
téXos b€ THY ev ToAELioV TpLaKOoYTAa AaPovTEs,

avacwaartes b€ Tas aAUTOY, TpoTaLoY EcTNCAV.
4 \ A , 9 / \

Otte be apap Xpyocapevos evTuyia, Kat
piroTtmovpevos evlus éyxadrAwTicacBar TO
Ticadépvn, Eévia nal dopa TapacKevacdpevos Kal
Oepatreiay Exywy Hyewovixny emopeveTo pos
> “ b] \ ” hd , > \
avTov. ov pny étvxXev w@VY TpocEeboKnoEV, GAAG
Tada. KaKxos axovwv o Ticadépyns tro tov
Aaxedaipoviov, cai poBovpmevos aitiav ANaBeiy éx
, ” 3 A \ 9 UO
Bactréws, edokev ev xaip@ tov "*ArdxiBiddny
agpiyOat, Kal cvrAdaBav adtov elpEev év Ydp-
e 4 9 / A A \ b ,
Seow ws Avow éxeivns THS StaBorRs tTHv abdiiav
TAaUTHY Ecopernv.
XXVIII. Tpaxovra S pepav S:ayevopévov
e 9 4 Vg \ 3 4 \
o “AdKiBiddns tarmou mobév evropnoas «al
atroépas Tous dvAakas eis Kralopevas Srépurye.
kal tov pev Ticadépvnv mpociséBarrAev ws br’
éxeivou pcOepévos, avtos dé TAEvVcas eis TO
atpatovedov tav “A@nvaiwy xal sruOdpevos
Mivédapov opod cai PapvdBatov év Kubixw ye-
yovévat, TOUS pev OTPATLOTAS Trapwp_NCEV, WS
avayKnv ovoav avtois Kal vavyayety Kal arelo-
a , a
paxeiv cal vy Ata reryopayeiy mpos Tovs ToAe-
, fo)
pulous: Ypnwata yap ov« elvas 1) TavTn Kpatovat:
TrANpwaas Sé TAS va’s Kal KaTdpas eis TpotKov-
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Their crews swam ashore, and here Pharnabazus
came to their aid with his infantry and fought along
the beach in defence of their ships. But finally the
Athenians captured thirty of them, rescued their
own, and erected a trophy of victory.
Taking advantage of a success so brilliant as this,
and ambitious to display himself at once before

Tissaphernes, Alcibiades supplied himself with gifts of hospitality and friendship and proceeded, at the head of an imperial retinue, to visit the satrap. His reception, however, was not what he expected. Tissaphernes had for a long time been accused by the Lacedaemonians to the King, and being in fear of the King's condemnation, it seemed to him that Alcibiades had come in the nick of time. So he arrested him and shut him up in Sardis, hoping that such an outrage upon him as this would dispel the calumnies of the Spartans.

XXVIII. After the lapse of thirty days Alcibiades ran away from his guards, got a horse from some one or other, and made his escape to Clazomenae. To repay Tissaphernes, he alleged that he had escaped with that satrap's connivance, and so brought ad- ditional calumny upon him. He himself sailed to the camp of the Athenians,! where he learned that Mindarus, along with Pharnabazus, was in Cyzicus. Thereupon he roused the spirits of the soldiers, declaring that they must now do sea-fighting and land-fighting and even siege-fighting, too, against their enemies, for poverty stared them in the face unless they were victorious in every way. He then manned his ships and made his way to Proconnesus,

1 Karly in the spring of 410 B.c. The Athenians were at Cardia, a city of the Thracian Chersonese.

ynoov éxédevoev évTdos mepiBddrdguy Ta eTTA wroia Kal wapadvAdocev, Srws pndepia ois ToAeplows eriTNEOVTOS aUTOD yévotTo pwndamobev mpoaicOnats.

"Ervye 5€ nab wodvv duBpov eEaiduns émi- mecovta Kal Bpovras Kal Copov cuvepyjcat cal cuveTixpira THY TapacKkeuny. ov yap povov TOUS ToAEpious éXabev, AAA Kal Tovs 'AOPnvaious ateyywkotas Hon éuBhvar Keretoas avynxOn. kal peta puxpov & te Copos SteAVOn Kal KaTo- POncav ai trav TleAotrovynciov vies aiwpovpevat ™po Tod ALwévoS TaV Kutixnvav. Seicas ovv o "ArKiBiddns pn Sia to wAROOS avTov mpoidovtes els THY YRV KaTapvywot, ToOvS pev STPATHYOUS éxéNevcey Hovyyn wAéovtas wtroAeiTedOat, avTOS dé tettapdxovra vavs éxov épaiveto Kal mpov- kaneito Tous troAeuious. érel 8 é&nrrarnyto Kal Katadpovncavtes ws él tocavtas avteen- Aacay, avtol pev evOds éEnmtovto Kal ouveTrré- xovTo, Tov & addAAwv Hon paxyopévors émipepo-

‘pévov éxTrayéevtes Epevyov.
‘0 8’ ’AAKtBiddns elxoat tails dpiatats SvextrAev-
cas kal mpocBarov tH yn Kal amoBds, évéxerto
Tots gevyouowy éx TOV vedv Kal Todds epOeErpe-
Muvddpouv dé cat PapvaBatou wpoaBonbovvtwr
Kpatncas, Tov pev Mivdapov dveirev éppwpévos
ayovilopevov, o 5é PapvadBalos Epuye. mrodrA@v
dé Kal vexp@v Kai StrAwY KpatnoavTes Tds TE
vas atracas éhaBor, yetpwodpevor Oé Kai Kvfixor,
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giving orders at once to seize all small trading craft and keep them under guard, that the enemy might get no warning of his approach from any source so ever.

Now it chanced that copious rain fell all of a sud- den, and thunder-peals and darkness coéperated with him in concealing his design. Indeed, not only did he elude the enemy, but even the Athenians themselves had already given up all expectation of fighting, when he suddenly ordered them aboard ship and put out to sea. After a little the darkness cleared away, and the Peloponnesian ships were seen hovering off the harbour of Cyzicus. Fearing then lest they catch sight of the full extent of his array and take refuge ashore, he ordered his fellow-commanders to sail slowly and so remain in the rear, while he himself, with only forty ships, hove in sight and challenged the foe to battle. The Peloponnesians were utterly deceived, and scorning what they deemed the small numbers of their enemy, put out to meet them, and closed at once with them in a grappling fight. Presently, while the battle was raging, the Athenian reserves bore down upon their foe, who were panic stricken and took to flight.

Then Alcibiades with twenty of his best ships broke though their line, put to shore, and disem- barking his crews, attacked his enemy as they fled from their ships, and slew many of them. Mindarus and Pharnabazus, who came to their aid, he over- whelmed ; Mindarus was slain fighting sturdily, but Pharnabazus made his escape. Many were the dead bodies and the arms of which the Athenians became masters, and they captured all their enemy’s ships. Then they also stormed Cyzicus, which Pharnabazus

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a 2
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exALTOVTOS TOU PapvaSdtou Kal tay IleXorov-
vnoiav SvapGapevrwr, ov povov tov ‘EXXnoTovTOV
elyov BeBaiws, adra, Kal TAS GdrAns Oararrns
efnhac av Kara KpaTos TOUS Aaxedatpoviors.
Eddw O€ Kal Ypappara Lakwvicas ppavovra Tots
"Eq@opots tv ryeyevnmervny aruxiay: "Eppet Ta
Kaha: Mivdapos ametaova: TEewevTt Ta@Vvopes*

atropiomes Ti xen Spav.”
XXIX. Otro é pan vere ol peta tov ‘AXkKt-
Buddov oTpatevaduevor kal TocovTov eppornoay
OoT ana€ ody eve TOUS ardous KaTApLyVovaL
TTPATLWOTALS EAUTOUS TrOAAGKLS NTTHMEVOLS aNT-
THTOUS évTas. Kal Yap ov TOAAG mpoTepov ouve-
BeBnnes TTaigavTos mepl” Egecor TOU @pacvAdov
70 XaArKobv averTavar TpoTraLov bao TOY "Edectov
én aicxuvy TOV "AOnvatov. TadT ovy wmvetd.fov
ot pera TOU “AdeiBiddov Tous META TOU Opacvrrov,
peyaduvvovtes avTtovs Kal TOV oTpAaTHyor, éxeivots
66 pnre yupvaciov pnre a@pas év TTPATOTED ED
Kolvavelv eédovtes. emrel é PapvaBatos i iarméas
TE ToAAOUS EXov Kat rs emf} poev avtois
euSeBrnxoow els THY "ABuénvar, o 0 3 AdurBrddys
éxBonO na as én’ aurov _eTpeWaro kal KaTediw tev
ay pt oKOTOUS pera TOU Opacvarov, Kal avepiry-
vUVTO Kal Koy) dpiroppovovmevor Kal yaipovres
émavjeray els TO oTpaToTedov.
T7 8 vaTepaig oTHoAS TpOTTAaLOY eAENAaTEL THY
DapvaBdtou Xe@pay ovdevos apiver as TONMAVTOS.
tepels pEVTOL kal tepetas éraBe pév, adr’ adiicev
dvev AUTpwv. Xarknoovioits & aghectace Kat
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abandoned to its fate, and the Peloponnesians in it were annihilated. Thus the Athenians not only had the Hellespont under their sure control, but even drove the Lacedaemonians at a stroke from the rest of the sea. A dispatch was captured announcing the disaster to the ephors in true laconic style: “Our ships are lost ; Mindarus is gone; our men are starving ; we know not what to do.”
XXIX. But the soldiers of Alcibiades were now so elated and filled with pride that they disdained longer to mingle with the rest of the army, since it had often been conquered, while they were unconquered. For not long before this,! Thrasyllus had suffered a reverse at Ephesus, and the Ephesians had erected their bronze trophy of victory, to the disgrace of the Athenians. This was what the soldiers of Alcibiades cast in the teeth of Thrasyllus’ men, vaunting themselves and their general, and

refusing to share either training or quarters in camp with them. But when Pharnabazus with much cavalry and infantry attacked the forces of Thrasyllus, who had made a raid into the territory of Abydos, Alcibiades sallied out to their aid, routed Pharnabazus, and pursued him till nightfall, along with Thrasyllus. Thus the two factions were blended, and returned to their camp with mutual friendliness and delight.

On the following day Alcibiades set up a trophy of victory and plundered the territory of Pharnabazus, no one venturing to defend it. He even captured some priests and priestesses, but let them go without ransom. On setting out to attack Chalcedon, which

1 During the summer of 410 B.c., after the victory of Cyzicus.

dedeyyevors dpoupav Kal appoo thy AaxeSatpoviov cpunpevos ToNEpElD, axovaas oe OTL THY AeElav TATAY EK THS Xwpas cuvayayoutes eis Biuvovs DmextiOevta * pirous 6 ovTas, Hycev €mt TOUS Gpous diya TO oTpaTeupa, Kal KnpuKa mpoTréunpas EVEKAGAEL TOLS Bivvois. ot 6€ Setcavtes THY TE Aelav amrédocay avT@ Kal didiav @pohoynoav.

XXX. "Arrotery Comers be ths Xadkndovos ex Jararrns els OaXNatTTav, oO PapvaBafos HKev as Aveo THY ToAopKiay, Kal "Inmoxpatns 0 dppoarns éK TAS TOAEWS Eayayov THY ouv 208

auT@ Suvapuv emexetpet tois "A@nvaiots. o é Ader buddys cpa Tpos apporépous avriTagas TO oT PATEUHA; Tov pev PapydBatlov abox pas pevyerv jvaryKace, TOV 8 Inmoxpary SréPOerpe kal cvyvovs TOV meph | aT ov arrnbevtas.

El?' avtos pe éxtrAevoas els TOV EAAHoTOVTOV npyupororyer Kal 2mruBpiav elhev, aetdycas EavTOU mapa TOV Karpov. ou yap évd.dovres THY ToOALy gvvebevro pev avacynoey mupa ov avT@ perovons VUKTOS, nvaykacOnaay 5€ ToUTO Troha at ™po TOU KaLpov, TOV TUYwpMOTaY TLVA poBnbevres eLaipyns petaBadopevov. apbévros ouv Tov Trup-gov pn dere Ths oTparlas ovons éToiuns, avana-Rov dcop TpidKovTa Tept auTOV érreiryEeToO Spo

Tpos TA TEe’VYN, TOVS AANOUS ExreaOau Kata TAXOS
KeAevaas. avorxGeians dé tHs mvANS avT@ kat
Tpoaryevopweveov Tols TpLaKovTa TENTATT OD elxoot
Tapela Teg wv ed8ds ja 0er0 TOUS 2nruApravors
é& évavtias peta TOV OTAwY ETTUpEepomévous. erret
1 jrexrideyvrar with M® and Cobet: é«rl@evra:.

had revolted from Athens and received a Lacedae- monian garrison and governor, he heard that its citizens had collected all their goods and chattels out of the country and committed them for safe keeping to the Bithynians, who were their friends. So he marched to the confines of Bithynia with his army, and sent on a herald with accusations and demands. The Bithynians, in terror, gave up the booty to him, and made a treaty of friendship.

XXX. While Chalcedon was being walled in from sea to sea,! Pharnabazus came to raise the siege, and at the same time Hippocrates, the Spartan governor, led his forces out of the city and attacked the Athenians. But Alcibiades arrayed his army so as to face both enemies at once, put Pharnabazus to shameful flight, and slew Hippocrates together with many of his vanquished men.

Then he sailed in person into the Hellespont and levied moneys there. He also captured Selymbria, where he exposed himself beyond all bounds. For there was a party in the city which offered to sur- render it to him, and they had agreed with him upon the signal of a lighted torch displayed at midnight. But they were forced to give this signal before the appointed time, through fear of one of the con- spirators, who suddenly changed his mind. So the torch was displayed before his army was ready; but Alcibiades took about thirty men and ran to the walls, bidding the rest of his force follow with all speed. The gate was thrown open for him and he rushed into the city, his thirty men-at-arms reinforced by twenty targeteers, but he saw at once that the Selymbrians were advancing in battle array to attack

1 In the spring of 409 B.c.

§ trrocravtt pev ov éhaivero owtnpia, mpos é
TO ghuyely, aNTTNTOS Ape THs Hyépas exetvys ev
Tais otpatnylais yeyovas, piroverkorepov Elxe,
Th oddrruyylt oOnunvas cloTny éxédXevoey Eva TOV
TapovTwy avetrety [nrAvBptavois "AOnvaious évav-
tia bTAa pn tiOecOar. TovTO TO KNpUyua TOUS
pev apPruTépous érroince mpos THY paynY, OS

TOV TrONELioY évdov dvTMV aTravTwY, oi 5é TAais
, eQ/ > / \ \ 4 ?
éXrriaty notous éyévovTo mpos tas Ssadvaoes. €V
© 5€ svotavtes adAHAOLs Cdidocay Noxon, érHrAGEv
h oTpaTia TO’ AXKt Biddy, Kal Texpwatpopevos, OTrEp
@ > \ a \ 4 ”
WV, elpnvuixa dpovety tors YnrvBp.avots, ero
\ \ / e a lA 9
py THY TOdW ot Opaxes Staprdcwow. oav Se
modnrol, Ydpete TOV "AdKiBiddou xal &’ evvorav
oTpatevopevot mpoOvpws. arrémeprev odv Tov-
e 3 a 4 \ \
Tous dtravtas é€k THs ToAEws, Tous dé YnAvBpia-
vous SenGévtas ovdév ndixnoev, GAAA YpnuaTa
NaBaov cal dpovpav éycatactycas annrbev.
XXXI. Ot b€ aodopKobytes tTHy Xadrkndova
oTpatyyol amovoas éroincavto mpos PapvaBalov
emi t@ Xphpata AaBeiv kal Xarxndoviovs vrarn-
xoous madw 'A@nvaios elvat, tnv 5¢ PapvaBalou
, \ bd a , \ ,
yapav pn adiceiv, DapvaBaloy 5é mpéoBeow
"A@nvaiwy mpos Bactrdéa tropmiy pet’ aoparetas
Tapacyeiv. ws ovv émaveNOovta tov *AXxKt-
10 € @ Ul > gos \ 9 N bd ‘4 \
Biddnv o DapydBalos nkiov cai avrov opocas tept
TOV BMONYHMEVwY, OVK Edn TpOTEpoV 7 exeivov
QaUTOLS Gmocat.
Tevopévwv b€ trav Spxwv ért Bulavtious ade-

him. In resistance he saw no safety, and for flight, undefeated as he was in all his campaigns down to that day, he had too much spirit. He therefore bade the trumpet signal silence, and then ordered formal proclamation to be made that Selymbria must not bear arms against Athens. This proclamation made some of the Selymbrians less eager for battle, if, as they supposed, their enemies were all inside the walls; and others were mollified by hopes of a peaceful settlement. While they were thus parleying with one another, up came the army of Alcibiades. Judging now, as was really the case, that the Selymbrians were disposed for peace, he was afraid that his Thracian soldiers might plunder the city. There were many of these,

and they were zealous in their service, through the favour and good will they bore Alcibiades. Accordingly, he sent them all out of the city, and then, at the plea of the Selymbrians, did their city no injury whatever, but merely took a sum of money from it, set a garrison in it, and went his way.

XXXII. Meanwhile the Athenian generals who were besieging Chalcedon made peace with Pharnabazus on condition that they receive a sum of money, that Chalcedon be subject again to Athens, that the territories of Pharnabazus be not ravaged, and that the said Pharnabazus furnish safe escort for an Athenian embassy to the King. Accordingly, when Alcibiades came back from Selymbria, Pharnabazus demanded that he too take oath to the treaty; but Alcibiades refused to do so until Pharnabazus had taken his oath to it.

After the oaths had been taken, he went up against Byzantium, which was in revolt against

atatas mMOe Kal wepreteiyile THY Tod. 'Ava-
Ethaou 5€ cal Avxovpyou Kai tTivwy GANwY ouD-
Gepévov emt cwtnpia trapadacery THY Tom»,
dsadovs AOyov ws aviotnoW avTovs mpdypaTa
vewoTEepa ouvvucrdueva Trept THY "lwviav, jyépas
atrémve tais vavol macais, vuctos © broctpéeas
avros pev aréBn peta TOV oTAMTHY Kal mMpoceEd-
Gav tots telyeow jnovyiay hyev, ai 5é vies emt
TOV ALpéva TrAEVTACAL Kal Bralopevar Kpavyh Te
ToOAAH Kat OopvBas kat odors aya pev é&é-
TANTTOV TH ampoadoxyntm Tovs Bulavtious, dua
5é ois atrixifovor mapetyov én' abdeias Tov
"Arn Biddnv SéxecOa, mavrwv éml Tov ALpéva Kal
Tas vais BonOovvrwv. od pny apayer mwpoc-
eXwpnoav: ot yap Tapovtes év To Bufavtip HeXo-
movynotot Kat Botwrot cal Meyapeis tovs pév aro
TOV vewv éTpépavTo Kal KabeipEay eis Tas vads
madw, tovs & "AOnvaious évdov évtas aicbopevor
Kat cuvtdEavtes éavtovs éx@povv opoce. Kap-
tepas 6€ payns yevopevns évicnoevy "AdneBiddns
To deELov Képas Exwv, Onpapévys 6& To evwvupor,

Kat TOY TodELiwv TOvS TrEpiyevomévous OGaoV
Tptaxootous Cavras éXafe.
Bufavtiov 58 peta thy paynv ovdels areé-
Gavev ovd epuyev. emt tovTos yap ot avdpes
mapédocav Tv TotW Kat TavtTa auvélevTo,
pendev avtois tdsov breEeNopevor. 810 kal Sixny
mpodoaias év Aaxedaiuavs petrywv o ‘Avakinaos
go

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Athens, and compassed the city with a wall.1 But after Anaxilaiis, Lycurgus, and certain men besides had agreed to surrender the city to him on condition that it be not plundered, he spread abroad the story that threatening complications in [Ionia called him away. Then he sailed off in broad daylight with all his ships; but in the night time stealthily returned. He disembarked with the men-at-arms under his own command, and stationed himself quietly within reach of the city’s walls. His fleet, meanwhile, sailed to the harbour, and forcing its way in with much shouting and tumult and din, terrified the Byzantians by the unexpectedness of its attack, while it gave the party of Athens in the city a chance to admit Alcibiades in all security, since everybody had hurried off to the harbour and the fleet. However, the day was not won without a battle. The Peloponnesians, Boeotians and Megarians who were in garrison at Byzantium routed the ships’ crews and drove them back on board again. Then, per- ceiving that the Athenians were inside the city, they formed in battle array and advanced to attack them. A fierce battle followed, but Alcibiades was vic- torious with the right wing, as well as Theramenes with the left, and they took prisoners no less than three hundred of the enemy who survived.

Not a man of the Byzantians was put to death or sent into exile after the battle, for it was on these conditions that the men who surrendered the city had acted, and this was the agreement with them; they exacted no special grace for themselves. Therefore it was that when Anaxilaiis was prosecuted at Sparta for treachery, his words showed clearly

1 During the winter of 409-408 B.c.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

> 4 A / \ > ? 4 A
epavn TH NOY TO Epyov ovK aicyivarv. &dby yap
ovx dv Aaxedarpovios, GAXa Bulavtios, ovdé THY
Lawaptnv xivduvevovcav, adda 70 Buldytiov
e le) A
Opav, THs pev TOAEWS ATrOTETELY LA MEVNS, NSEVOS
5 etcayopévov, tov 8 dvta citov év tH wonder
IleXorovynciwv nat Bowwrdv écOcovtav, Bufav-
tiay b€ rewoevtTav civ Ttéxvors Kal yuvarkiv, od

a a / b \ ; \
Mpooovvat Tols modelos, GAAA TroAgu@v Kal
a 9 , 4 4 \
KaK@y atraddAdEat Tv TOALY, pLpwovpLEVOS TOUS
> / 4 A \ e “a
aptatous Aaxedatpoviwr, ols év KaXov amr@s Kal
Sixatoy éots TO THS Tatpidos cupdépoyv. ot pev
ovv Aaxedaimovot tadt adxovoavtes nbécOnoay
Kal atréXvaay tous avdpas.
XXXII. ‘O & ’ArKiBiddng, idetv te TOPGY Ady
Ta olxot, cal ére parrov odOjvat Bovropevos
Tois TOALTALS VEVIKNKwS TOUS ToAELLOUS TOTAU-
Taxis, avnyOn, ToAAAIs péev dotiot Kal Aadvpots
a Ss A b wn 4
KUKX@ KEekoopunpévwvy Ttav ‘ATTiKaY TPLNPwD,
b) , W /
ToANAS & ehernopevos aiyuarwrous, ett 5é wrELw
/ 9 / a / ee. 3 9 aA
Kopilwy axpootoda tav duehbOappéevov Ur avTod
Kal Kexpatnuévov. haoav yap ovK éAdTTOVs ovp-
audotepar Staxociov.
“A && Aodpis o Sdpuos “AAntBiddov dackcov

/ a
atroyovos elvar mpoatiOnat TovToLs, avr€ciy pev
a N
eipeciay Tois éXavvovct Xpvadyovoyv tov mrvOt0-
vixnv, Kerevey 5¢ Kadrrurmidnv tov Tov tTpaye-
a , ‘ \
Sia@v viroxpirnv, starovs Kal Evotidas Kat Tov
Q2

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that his deeds had not been disgraceful. He said that he was not a Lacedaemonian, but a Byzantian, and it was not Sparta that wasin peril. Considering therefore the case of Byzantium, he saw that the city was walled up, that no help could make its way in, and that the provisions already in the city were being consumed by Peloponnesians and Boeotians, while the Byzantians were starving, together with their wives and children. He had, therefore, not betrayed the city to its enemies, but set it free from war and its horrors, therein imitating the noblest Lacedaemonians, in whose eyes the one unqualifiedly honourable and righteous thing is their country’s good. The Lacedaemonians, on hearing this, were moved with sincere respect, and acquitted the men.

XXXII. But Alcibiades, yearning at last to see
his home, and still more desirous of being seen by

his fellow citizens, noW that he had conquered their enemies so many times, set sail.1 His Attic triremes were adorned all round with many shields and spoils of war; many that he had captured in battle were towed along in his wake; and still more numerous were the figure-heads he carried of triremes which had been overwhelmed and destroyed by him. There were not less than two hundred of these all together.

Duris the Samian, who claims that he was a descendant of Alcibiades, gives some additional details. He says that the oarsmen of Alcibiades rowed to the music of a flute blown by Chrysogonus the Pythian victor; that they kept time to a rhythmic call from the lips of Callipides the tragic actor; that both these artists were arrayed in the

1 From Samos, in the spring of 408 B.c.

a&XXov evaryavtov apmrexopevous Koc pov, tati@ © aroupy@ THY vavapyisa mpoapepe Gat Tois rape-ow, GoTwep ek péOns emixwpacovtos, ovte co-TO{LTOS our' "Edopos. ouTe Eevopav yeypader, OUT etKoS HY odT as €vT upfjcat ois "AOnvaious peTa puyny Kal cupdo TooauTas KaTEpXope-voy, arr éxeivos Kat Bebuds KATIPYETO, Kat KaTax-Gets ou _TpoTepov amréBn THs Tplnpous, mpl oTas emt TOU KATAS TP@LATOS Loety EdpumroAepov Te TOV dveyptov TapovTa Kal TOV addov dirov Kat alKelwy suxvors exdexopévovs Kal tTapakarodv-Tas.

'Ere! S areBn, TOUS pev addous TTPATHYOUS ovo opay edoxouv atmavravres ot avOpwrrot, mpos & éxetvov TUYTPEXOVTES éBowy, nomalovro, Tapé-TELTOV, ETTEPAVOVY TPOTLOVTES, Ob be pn duva-pevot TpocenGeiv amrwlev éeavro, cai trois vEeous édeixvucav oi mpea Bure por. TOAU be Kal bd-Kpvov T@ xaipovre THS TONES GVEKEK PATO, Kat pynen Tpos THY Tapovoay euTUXiay TOY poo Oev ATUXTNLATOY, _oryebopevors @s ovT' av Suerias Su7jpa prov our' ao Tl TOV poo doxnevrav éEepuyev auTous edoavtas "AdceBiddny éml TOV

TOTE T pany WaT ov Kat TAS Ouvdpews éxeivns, él vov
THY TOMY TaparaBav OAlryou déovoay éxTTenTTMW-
KEVAL THs Gararrys, Kara viv 5é pores T ev
Tpoao Telwy Kpatodcay, avr HY dé mpos éavrTny
crac talovaay, € ex Ava pay é ETL Nenpavev Kal TaTeL-
vov avacTnaas ov povov! tis OaXarrns TO KpaTOS
1 udvoy with M® and Cobet : pdvov ye.
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long tunics, flowing robes, and other adornment of their profession; and that the commander's ship put into harbours with a sail of purple hue, as though, after a drinking bout, he were off on a revel. But neither Theopompus, nor Ephorus, nor Xenophon mentions these things, nor is it likely that Alcibiades put on such airs for the Athenians, to whom he was returning after he had suffered exile and many great adversities. Nay, he was in actual fear as he put into the harbour, and once in, he did not leave his trireme until, as he stood on deck, he caught sight of his cousin Euryptolemus on shore, with many other friends and kinsmen, and heard their cries of welcome.

When he landed, however, people did not deign so much as to look at the other generals whom they met, but ran in throngs to Alcibiades with shouts of welcome, escorting him on his way, and putting wreaths on his head as they could get to him, while those who could not come to him for the throng, gazed at him from afar, the elderly men pointing him out to the young. Much sorrow, too, was mingled with the city's joy, as men called to mind their former misfortunes and compared them with their present good fortune, counting it certain that they had neither lost Sicily, nor had any other great expectation of theirs miscarried if they had only left Alcibiades at the head of that enterprise and the armament therefor. For now he had taken the city when she was almost banished from the sea, when on land she was hardly mistress of her own suburbs, and when factions raged within her walls, and had raised her up from this wretched and lowly plight, not only restoring her dominion over the sea,

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aTrobédwxev, AAA Kal welH VixOoay arodeixvuce
TavTaxod Tovs ToAEpLOUS.
XXXII. To pev ody Wydiopa tis Kxadodov
mpotepoy éxexvpwto, Kpsetiou tov Kaddatoypou
ypayravtos, ws autos év tais édXeyelats Teoln-
kev, UTromtuvnoKewy tov ArXxiBiddny THs "apLTos

éy TOUTOLS"
Tyapn & 9 oe xarnyay’, éyo tavtny év ataciw
eltrov, Kal ypayras Tovpyov edpaca TOE.
ofpayis & nuetépns yrAottns él totacdece
KetTaL’
Tote 6€ Tov Snpwou acuverOovtos eis THY éxxANoiav
maperOov o ArxiBiddns, cal ta ev avtod wdOn
4 \ 3? , bd 4 \ b
KNavaoas Kal oAopupdpevos, eyxadéeoas 5é piKpa
, A “
kat pétpia TO Shue, TO 5é cuptrav avabels abTtod
4 A a a
Tive TUX ToVNPaG Kal POovep@ Saipuou, mrEiora
5 > 4 a / \ \ \ a
els EATLOAS TOV TOAEHLiOV KAL mpos TO BappeEiv
diarexGeis cal rapopunoas, orepdvors pev éoe-
gavabn xpuvcois, 1péOn S dua Kal nata yy Kal
Kata OdrNacoayv avtoKpdtwp stpatrnyos. éyrn-
dicavto o€ THY ovaiay arrobovvat avT@, Kal Tas
apas adooiwmcacBat mad Evporridas Kal Knpv-
Kas, as érotyoavtTo tov Snyouv wpooratavtos.
9 / \ a EA , e ¢
apoctoupévwv Sé THY adXNwWY, BMcodwpos oO tEpo-
davrns “’AXXN’ eyo,” elarev, “ ovdé Katnpacd-
nv avt@ Kxaxov ovdév, ef pndev adixet THY
TOMY.”
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but actually rendering her victorious over her enemies
everywhere on land.
XXXII. Now the decree for his recall had been
passed before this,} on motion of Critias, the son of
Callaeschrus, as Critias himself has written in his
elegies, where he reminds Alcibiades of the favour
in these words :—
““ Mine was the motion that brought thee back; I
made it in public ;
Words and writing were mine; this the task I
performed ; |
Signet and seal of words that were mine give
warrant as follows.” 2

At this time,’ therefore, the people had only to meet in assembly, and Alcibiades addressed them. He lamented and bewailed his own lot, but had only little and moderate blame to lay upon the people. The entire mischief he ascribed to a certain evil fortune and envious genius of his own. Then he descanted at great length upon the vain hopes which their enemies were cherishing, and wrought his hearers up to courage. At last they crowned him with crowns of gold, and elected him general with sole powers by land and sea. They voted also that his property be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidae and Heralds revoke the curses wherewith they had cursed him at the command of the people. The others revoked their curses, but Theodorus the High Priest said: “ Nay, I invoked no evil upon him if he does no wrong to the city.”

1 Nearly three years before, in the late autumn of 41] B.c., after the overthrow of the Four Hundred.

2 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, ii.4 pp. 279 ff.

3 In the early summer of 408 B.c.

XXXIV. Otrw dé Tod "ArKiBiddov AauTpas evnpepouvTos vréOpatrev éeviovs duws o THS KaBo-Sov KaLpos. q yap muEpa KATETNEVTED, eSparo Ta Wduvtnpia tH Oecd. Spaot 5é Ta dpyta IIpaktepyidas @apynrtavos Extn POivovtos a7rop-pnta, Tov te Koopov KabeXovtes xalt TO &dos Kataxaduaytes. GOev é€v tais padoTa TeV atoppddov tiv nuépay TavTny ampaxtov 'AOn-vaiot vopifovow. ov dtrodpdvas ody ovd ev-pevas eSoxes mpocdeyouévn tov “AdKiBiddnv % Oeds wapaxarvrrecOat nal amreratvew éavriis. ov pny adr TraVvTwWY yeyovoTov T@ 'AdKtBiddy Kata yvouny, Kal wrANnpoupévev ExaTov TpLnpwv als avOus éxmdelv Euerre, gdiroTipia Tis ovK ayevyns Mpoomecovca KatTéoxyev avTov ayxpL puoTnpiov.

"Ad’ ob yap érreteryicOn Acxédeta xal tov eis "EXevotva mapodwv éexpdtovy of modéuot qTapovres, ovdéva KOopOV Elev 1) TEETH TrEpTrO-pévn Kata OddratTavy, adda Kal Ouciar Kal

Nopetat kal mwoAAd TeV Spwpévwov Kal’ odov
tepav, Otay éEeXavvwor Tov laxyov, Um’ avayens
é€eXeimreto. Kadov ovv épaiveto TO “ArdKiBiddy
kal mpos Oe@v oototnta Kal mpos avOporwr
SoEav amododvat TO TaTpLov aya ToisS ‘Epos,
mapatéwpavta meln THY TerETHY Kal Sopvdopn-
TAVTA TAPA TOUS TOAELLOUS' yap aTpEe“noaVTA
Kouion KoAovcEW Kal TaTretvocey Tov “Ay, 7
paxnyv tepav Kal OeodtrAH mepi TaV aytwrdtov
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XXXIV. But while Alcibiades was thus prospering brilliantly, some were nevertheless disturbed at the particular season of his return. For he had put into harbour on the very day when the Plynteria of the goddess Athene were being celebrated. The Praxier- gidae celebrate these rites on the twenty-fifth day of Thargelion, in strict secrecy, removing the robes of the goddess and covering up her image. Where- fore the Athenians regard this day as the unluckiest of all days for business of any sort. The goddess, therefore, did not appear to welcome Alcibiades with kindly favour and good will, but rather to veil herself from him and repelhim. However, all things fell out as he wished, and one hundred triremes were manned for service, with which he was minded to sail off again; but a great and laudable ambition took possession of him and detained him there until the Eleusinian mysteries.

Ever since Deceleia had been fortified, and the enemy, by their presence there, commanded the approaches to Eleusis, the festal rite had been cele- brated with no splendour at all, being conducted by sea. Sacrifices, choral dances, and many of the sacred ceremonies usually held on the road, when Iacchus is conducted forth from Athens to Eleusis, had of necessity been omitted. Accordingly, it seemed to Alcibiades that it would be a fine thing, enhancing his holiness in the eyes of the gods and his good repute in the minds of men, to restore its traditional fashion to the sacred festival by escorting the rite with his infantry along past the enemy by land. He would thus either thwart and humble Agis, if the king kept entirely quiet, or would fight a fight that was sacred and approved by the

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

\ , 9 ” fo) *>) ” @

Kal peyiotav év dee THs Tatpidos payxeicbar,
, fol
Kat mavtas é€ev pdptupas tovs modTas THS
avipayabias.
A a ,

‘Os 6¢ Tad? éyvw cal mpocirev Evpodridars
kal Knpvkt, oxorovs péev ert tay axpwov éxdbice
Kal mpodpopous tivas am’ nuépa mpockérreprper,
iepets 6€ Kal pvotas Kal puoTtaywyous avada-
\ a v4 9 ,
Bav rat rots dross Treptxarvpas Hyev ev KOTLm@
Kal peta orwmras, Oéapa ceuvov cal Oeomperres
THY oTpaTnyiay éxelyny émiderKvupevos, UTO TOV
un =PO0ovoivtwyv ‘tepodavtiavy Kal pvaotaywyiav
Tpocayopevouernv. pndevos O€ THY TrodEpion
émiPécOat TorApnoavtos acdharas éravayayov
els THY ToAL, HpOn pev avTos TO hpovnpate
Kal THY oTpatiav émhpev ws apayov Kal
GHTTHTOV ovaav exeivou oTpaTHyoUVTOS, Tovs 4é
doptixovs Kal wévntas odtws ednpaywynoey WoT’
épav Epwta Oaupacroy im’ éxeivov tupavveicOat,
Kal réyeuv évious Kal mpootévat TapaKeArEvopéevous
Sirws Tov POovov KpeitT@Y yevouevos Kal KaTa-
Bareov Wndicpata Kal vopuous nal ddvdpovs
? , \ ; , e A 4 \ ,
aToXNuyTas THY TodLVY ws av mpakn Kat xXpN-
ontat Tois mpaypact, py Sedias TOvS auKO-
davtas.
XXXV. Avros pév ody éxeivos iv elye Suavoray

“ l4 ” 4 ? ig ,
wept THS Tupavvidos adynrov €or: ot Se dvvaTo-
aA a / > , > AN
TAaTOL TOV TrONLT@Y HoPyOévres EcTrovdacay avToV
éxtrevoa THY TaxioTny, Tad T adrAa WHdicd-
pevol Kal ouvdpxovtas obs éxelvos OédXnoEv.
Too

ALCIBIADES

gods, in behalf of the greatest and holiest interests, in full sight of his native city, and with all his fellow citizens eye-witnesses of his valour.

When he had.determined upon this course and made known his design to the Eumolpidae and Heralds, he stationec sentries on the heights, sent out an advance-guard ab Wréak of day, and then took the priests, mystae, and mystagogues, encompassed them with his men-at-arms, and led them over the road to Eleusis in decorous ‘end silent array. So august and devout was thé ‘spectacle which, as general, he thus displayed, that he was hailed by those who were not unfriendly to him as High Priest, rather, and Mystagogue. No enemy dared to attack him, and he conducted the procession safely back to the city. At this he was exalted in spirit’ himself, and exalted his army with the feeling that it: was irresistible and

invincible under his comynand. People of the humbler and poorer sort he so captivated’ by his leadership that they were filled with an amazing passion to have him for their tyrant, and some proposed it, and actually came to him in solicitation of it. He was to rise superior to envy, abolish decrees and laws, and stop the mouths of the babblers who were so fatal to the life of the city, that he might bear an absolute sway and act without fear of the public informer.

XXXV. What thoughts he himself had about a tyranny, is uncertain. But the most influential citizens were afraid of it, and therefore anxious that he should sail away as soon as he could. They even voted him, besides everything else, the colleagues of his own choosing. Setting sail,! there-

1 Towards the end of October, 408 B.0o.

éxmrrevoas bé Tais éxatov vavol Kal mpoo Bade
“Avopo, pax pep exparne ev avr@v Kat Aake-
Saspovice 6 daot Taphoay, ovy elae S& THY TodLD,
dvXXA TodTO TOV Kaav! éyeXnLaTWY mMpwTOV
wnnpee KAT avTod ToS exh pois.
"Eotxe 8, Tus GANS, Lo THS avTod bofns
KatadvOnvar Kal "AdaeBiddns. peyaAn yap
ovoa Kal TONS Kale cuvec ews yénouca ap’ Ov
catap0wcer, brotrov avtod TO €ANElTrOV, @s Ov
omovoacayTos, dmortig Tov un SuvnO Hvar Traperxe’
onovidcavra yap obdey av Staduyetv. imefov
dé Kat Xipus: éaX@KkoTas dxovoer bat kat Thy
adrnv. Lopiav. dOev HyavaKtouy py TAY TATA
pnd e045, as éBovAovTo, muvPavopevor é:a-
TET pay HEVOD, ovyx Urroroyebopevor THY axXpn-
-parriay, ap’ is Tone HEV mpos avOpwrrous Bacihéa
“méyav xopnyov éxovtas nvayxaleto mToddd«ts

éxT@Aéwy Kal atroreitwv TO oTpaToTeEdoy pLoOovs
kal tpodas mopitev. Kal yap TO TedEVTAILOV
éyxAnua Sia tavTny éraBe THV aitiav.
Avadvdpov yap él tHv vavapyiay amoota-
Nevtos vTG AaxKedatpoviwy, Kal TeTp@Borov avi
4 A ? / 3 e ” \
TpiwBorov T@ vavTyn dudovtos €& wy EXaBe Tapa
Kupouv xpnpatov, avtos 7on yAioxpas yopnyav
kal TO Tpt@Borov amApev apyuporoynowy él
Kapias. 6 & amoradets eri tav veav ém-
\ 9 , J ‘ \ 4 /

perntns “Avtioxos ayabos pev fv xuBepv7yrns,
avontos S€ TaAXa Kal hoptixos: éywv 5é mpoo-
1 «awov with Bekker, M® and Cobet: rowdy (public).
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11

ALCIBIADES

fore, with his one hundred ships, and assaulting Andros, he conquered the islanders in battle, as well as the Lacedaemonians who were there, but he did not capture the city. This was the first of the fresh charges brought against him by his enemies.

And it would seem that if ever a man was ruined by his own exalted reputation, that man was Alcibiades. His continuous successes gave him such repute for unbounded daring and sagacity, that when he failed in anything, men suspected his inclination; they would not believe in his inability. Were he only inclined to do a thing, they thought, naught could escape him. So they expected to hear that the Chians also had been taken, along with the rest of Ionia. They were therefore incensed to hear that he had not accomplished everything at once and speedily, to meet their wishes. They did not stop to consider his lack of money. This compelled him, since he was fighting men who had an almoner of bounty in the Great King, to leave his camp frequently and sail off in quest of money for rations and wages. The final and prevailing charge against him was due to this necessity.

Lysander, who had been sent out as admiral by the Lacedaemonians, paid his sailors four obols a day instead of three, out of the moneys he received from Cyrus; while Alcibiades, already hard put to it to pay even his three obols, was forced to sail for Caria to levy money. The man whom he left in charge of his fleet, Antiochus,! was a brave captain, but otherwise a foolish and low-lived fellow.

1 Cf. chapter x. 1.
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Taya mapa Tod ’AdBiddou pnd dv émimréo-
ow ol Trodéutoe Stavavpayeiv, odtws &eEvBpice
Kal Katedpovncey Wate THY AUTO TANPWadpEVOS

Tpinpn Kal Tov GA\wvy piay émimredoa TH
"Edéow xail Tapa tas mpepas TY ToAEpioV
veov TONKA Kal mpaTTov Kal POeyyopmevos
axodacTa kat Bwoporoya wapeFedavvery. TO pev
ovv TpaTov Avoavbpos oriyats vavoly émravayGeis
édiwoxey avtov, tav & ’AOnvaiwv émruBonbovvtwv
wacats avaylels Kal kpatnoas avtov Te diépOetpe
tov Avtioyov cal vads é\aBe wodXas Kal avOpo-
TOUS Kal TpoTaLoy EoTnoev. ws b€ TADT HKoVcEV
o ’AdxiBiddns éraverOav eis Sadpov, avyyOn
TAVTL TO OTOAM Kal TpovKarelTo Tov Avaavdpov.
o 8 nydatTa veviknkws Kal ovK avTaVHyeTo.
XXXVI. Tav 5é picovvtwv Tov "ArKiBiadnv
év T® otpatoTréde OpacvBovros 0 Opdowvos
éyOpos dv amijpev cis "AOnvas xatnyopyjcwv. Kal
Tous éxel trapokivas éXeye pos Tov SHpwov ws
"ArkiBiddns SiépOapxe Ta mpdyyata Kal Tas
vads amorwrexev, evTpupav TH apxXy Kal Tapa-
d:d00s THY oTpaTnyiay avOpwros éx ToTwY Kal
vauvTikns omeppodoyias Suvayévois Tap avT@
péytotov, Orws avtos én’ dbelas yYpnpatilnras
TepiTAéwy Kal axoractaivy peOvoKxopevos Kat
cuvev étaipas "ABudnvais nal "lwviow, épop-
povvtwy dt Odéiyou TaY TroAEov. évexddrouv
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Although he had received explicit commands from
Alcibiades not to hazard a general engagement even
though the enemy sailed out to meet him, he showed
such wanton contempt of them as to man his own
trireme and one other and stand for Ephesus,
indulging in many shamelessly insulting gestures
and cries as he cruised past the prows of the
enemy's ships. At first Lysander put out with a
few ships only, and gave him chase. Then, when
the Athenians came to the aid of Antiochus,
Lysander put out with his whole fleet, won the day,
slew Antiochus himself, captured many ships and
men, and set up a trophy of victory. As soon as
Alcibiades heard of this, he came back to Samos, put
out to sea-with his whole armament, and challenged
Lysander to battle. But Lysander was satisfied
with his victory, and would not put out to meet

him.
XXXVI. There were those who hated Alcibiades in the camp, and of these Thrasybulus,! the son of Thraso, his particular enemy, set sail for Athens to denounce him. He stirred up the city against him by declaring to the people that it was Alcibiades who had ruined their cause and lost their ships by his wanton conduct in office. He had handed over—so Thrasybulus said—the duties of commander to men who won his confidence merely by drinking deep and reeling off sailors' yarns, in order that he himself might be free to cruise about collecting moneys and committing excesses of drunkenness and revelry with courtezans of Abydos and Ionia, and this while the enemy's fleet lay close to him. His enemies

1 Not the illustrious commander (chapter xxvi. 6), who was the son of Lycus.

S avt@ xal Thy TOV TELXOY KaTacKEUNDY, & KaTE-
oxevacev év @paxyn tept BiodvOnv abta xata-
huyny as év TH watpids py Suvdpevos Brody 7h
> a
pn Bovropevos. of & "AOnvaio: metobévtes
étépous elAOVvTO oTpaTnyous, évdexvipevor THY
a /
Tpos éxeivov opynv kal Kaxovorav. & bn muvOavo-
e 3 Ul A 9 a b a
pevos o AdxiBiadns Kal dedotxas arrnrbev éx Tod
\
oTpatoTéoou TavTatracl, Kai suvayaywy Eévous
? / a ? 4 \ 207 '
émrodéuet toils aBacirevtors Opativ idia, Kat
TONAG YPHMATA TuUVHyaryev ATO TOV GALT KOMEVOY,
A f al fal
kat tois "EAAnow aya Tois mpocotkovow ddeav
aro Tav BapBdpwy Tapetyev.
+) \ 9 e 4 / / \
Emel & ot rept Tudéa xat Mévavdpov xa
ld e "A
"Adcipavtoy otparnyol, Tacas opovd tas bmap-
Ul A ; A 9 /
Yovoas tote vats tois 'AOnvaios Eyovtes év
A , a) A
Alyos trotapots, eiwbecav érimrety T@ Avodvipe
A > ,
vavNoxoovte Tept Aduryaxov au' nuépa mpoxa-
,
Novpevo. Kal mddw dvaotpépery oTricw Kal

A cid \
Sunpepevery ataxtas Kal dpedos, ate 6n KaTa-
A e 3 aA
hpovodvtes, éyyds By o Adi Biddns ov trepetdev
10 b] J > @& 4 2510
oud nuéANoEV, GAN imT@ TpOTEAdcas EdLOacKE
fa) e fo)
TOUS OTPATHYOUVS STL KAKHS OppovaL év xXeoptoes
b] , , b) 4 > \
aALpévols Kal TOA OUK EYOUGLY, AANA TrOppwOeEV
a \
éx Ynotod ta émuTHdELa AapPdvovTeEs, Kal TreEpE-
op@vTes TO vauTLKOY, Otay emi THS YHS yévntat,
,
TAavapevov Strot Tis Oérdor Kal Stacrretpopevor,
avrepoppobvtos avTois atéXou mpos émitaypa
povapytxov eiOiopévov olwnh TavTa Toteiv.
1 With these words Plutarch's story leaps over the events
'ne and a half years, from the spring of 407 to the autumn
fe) B.C.
106

also found ground for accusation against him in the fortress which he had constructed in Thrace, near Bisanthe. It was to serve, they said, as a refuge for him in case he either could not or would not live at home. The Athenians were persuaded, and chose other generals in his place, thus displaying their anger and ill-will towards him. On learning this, Alcibiades was afraid, and departed from the camp altogether, and assembling mercenary troops made war on his own account against the Thracians who acknowledge no king. He got together much money from his captives, and at the same time afforded security from barbarian inroads to the Hellenes on the neighbouring frontier.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adeimantus, the generals, who had all the ships which the Athenians could finally muster in station at Aegospotami,! were wont to sail out at daybreak against Lysander, who lay with his fleet at Lampsacus, and challenge him to

battle. Then they would sail back again, to spend the rest of the day in disorder and unconcern, since, forsooth, they despised their enemy. Alcibiades, who was near at hand,? could not see such conduct with calmness or indifference, but rode up on horseback and read the generals a lesson. He said their anchorage was a bad one; the place had no harbour and no city, but they had to get their supplies from Sestos, a long way off; and they permitted their crews, whenever they were on land, to wander and scatter about at their own sweet wills, while there lay at anchor over against them an armament which was trained to do everything silently at a word of absolute command.

2 In his stronghold.near Pactye (Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 25).

XXXVII. Tatra 6e AéyovTos Tov "AAKiBiddov, Kab TapaLvoovTos Els Snorov peOoppicat Tov TTONOV, ov mpoceixov ot orpaTayot Tudeds 6é kal Tpos UBprv éxéXeve ev amtoxwpelv, ov yap éxeivov, GAN éTEpous otpatnyev. oO "ANKE Biddns Urovojoas TU Kal mpodocias €y avutots anne, Kab Tots TpoTe"Trovat TOV amo TOD OTpaTO-médou yvepi pov éXevyev OTL pn mpoTnraxta Gels obras UTO TOV OTpPATHYa@V OALryals av Hpépas nvaycace Aaxedatpoviovs dvavavpayeiy avrois aKovtas 7) Tas vais aTroNTelv. édoKer 5é TOIS peer dnalovever Gas, Tois & elxota Aéeyety, el Opaxas ex yijs emayaryav Tohous aKovTia Tas kal inmeis oo waxouTo kat Statapatto To oTpatomedov aura.

"Orn pevToL Tas Gpaptias TOV "AOnvaiey op0as cuveide, TAaXD TO épyov évapTupycer. addvw yap avrois Kat am poo doKyTos TOU Avoavépov ™ poo-TEC OVTOS, OKT e povat T ply} pes eEepuyov peTa Kovevos, at & addat ptxpov dmonelmoue at dtaxootwv annxOncav ax padeorot. Tov © ap-Opworav Tpioxihious éXov _bavras anéopagtev o Avaavépos. érhaBe dé Kal Tas "AOnvas Ody Xpove kal tas vais évérpynce xal Ta paxpa TetXn caetnrev.

"Ex é&é TOUTOV hoBnOeis o "AdusBiddys dpxov-Tas non Kal yns Kal Jardrrns TOUS Aaxedatpovious

eis BiOuviav peTéaTn, TOANG pev ayo Xpnpata,
TOANG dé Kopilov, ere dé meio KaTadiTov év
ols @KeL Tetxeow. éy Oé Biduvig madi ovK
odbya TOV LOL@OV atrohéras Kal mepixoTels bao
TOV ékel Opaxdv, eyvw pev dvaRaivew mpos
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XXXVII. In spite of what Alcibiades said, and in spite of his advice to change their station to Sestos, the generals paid no heed. Tydeus actually insulted him by bidding him begone: he was not general now, but others. So Alcibiades departed, suspecting that some treachery was on foot among them. He told his acquaintances who were escorting him out of the camp that, had he not been so grievously insulted by the generals, within a few days he would have forced the Lacedaemonians to engage them whether they wished to do so or not, or else lose their ships. Some thought that what he said was arrant boasting ; but others that it was likely, since he had merely to bring up his numerous Thracian javelineers and horsemen to assault by land and confound the enemy's camp.

However, that he saw only too well the errors of the Athenians the event soon testified. Lysander suddenly and unexpectedly fell upon them, and only eight of their triremes escaped with Conon; the rest, something less than two hundred, were captured and taken away. Three thousand of their crews were taken alive and executed by Lysander. In a short time! he also captured Athens, burned her ships, and tore down her long walls.

Alcibiades now feared the Lacedaemonians, who were supreme on land and sea, and betook himself into Bithynia, taking booty of every sort with him, but leaving even more behind him in the fortress where he had been living. In Bithynia he again lost much of his substance, being plundered by the Thracians there, and so he determined to go up to the court of |

1 In the spring of 404 B.c., some eight months later.

10g

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

‘ApraképEny, éauTov TE pn Xelpova Oepscro-
Khéous Teta MEV Batre: paveicbar vopi tov,
Kal pelt Tova, Tip mpopacty’ ov yap él Tovs
TodiTas, @S éxeivov, GX dep Tis TAT pioos
éml tous Toheuous Umoupynaew Kal denoecIas
THS Baciréws Suvdpews” evTropiay O€ THs dvodou
peTa acpaneias padioTa DapvaBalor ol opevos
mapécev, wyETO Tm pos auTov els Dpvyiav, Kat
ouvolinye Geparrevo & apa Kat TLMOMEVOS.
XX XVIII. “AOnvaior dé Xareras pev & epov
xal THS mryepovias arroarepnOevres’ émrel 6€ Kat
THY éhevdepiav aehopevos aura O Avoav8pos
avdpdat TpladkovTa TapédwKe THY Tod, ols ovK
eXpr}TavTo cwlerOau Suvdpevor Loyeo pois, amro-
AWAOT@V Hn TOV TpaypLaTwv, cuviecay, oropupo-
pevot Kat _ ueEvovres Tas aGpaptias auTaVv Kat
aryvoias, av peylorny émoLovvTo THD SevTépay
pos “Adc Bedony opyny. amreppion yap ovdév
adik@v avTos, GAN UTNPETH Karen nvartes on
yas dmoBadovre vans aax pas, aiaytov avtot
TOV KpaTLoTOV Kab TOKE LL OT TOV dspethovro THS
TOAEWS TT PATHYOD. ért & ovp Sues eK TOV
TApovTwv avépepe TES érTris _Gpvdpa pay TavTa-
Tacw éppew 7a, T pdry ara, TOV "A Onvatoy *AdKe-
Buaédou TEpLovTos” ouTE yap ™ pOTEpov nyannce
pevryor aT paywoves ci Kal pel? nouxias, OUTE
pov, e&& ta Kal éavTov ixavas eXel, Tepiowerat
Aaxedarpovious UBpifovtas Kal tovs TpLdKxovTa
qapovoovTas.
Tadta 8 ovK fv aroyov otTws ovetpotroNety

(

IIo

ALCIBIADES

Artaxerxes. He thought to show himself not
inferior to Themistocles if the King made trial of
his services, and superior in his pretext for offering
them. For it was not to be against his fellow
countrymen, as in the case of that great man, but in
behalf of his country that he would assist the King
and beg him to furnish forces against a common
enemy. Thinking that Pharnabazus could best give

him facilities for safely making this journey up to the King, he went to him in Phrygia, and continued there with him, paying him court and receiving marks ot honour from him.

XXXVIII. The Athenians were greatly depressed at the loss of their supremacy. But when Lysander robbed them of their freedom too, and handed the city over to thirty men, then, their cause being lost, their eyes were opened to the course they would not take when salvation was yet in their power. They sorrowfully rehearsed all their mistakes and follies, the greatest of which they considered to be their second outburst of wrath against Alcibiades. He had been cast aside for no fault of his own; but they got angry because a subordinate of his lost a few ships disgracefully, and then they themselves, more disgracefully still, robbed the city of its ablest and most experienced general. And yet, in spite of their present plight, a vague hope still prevailed that the cause of Athens was not wholly lost so long as Alcibiades was alive. He had not, in times past, been satisfied to live his,exile’s life in idleness and quiet ; nor now, if his means allowed, would he toler- ate the insolence of the Lacedaemonians and the madness of the Thirty.

It was not strange that the multitude indulged in

TOUS TOUS, omoTe Kal Tots TpudKovTa ppovri-
Cew émrnet Kal diarruvOdver Gan Kal Aoyov every
jWNeloTov wv éxetvos émpatte Kal dievoetro.
TéhOS bé Kputias édidacKe Avoavdpov @S “AOn-
vaiwy ovK ote Snpoxpatoupevov do paras dipxewv
Aaxedatpoviors THS EAA dbos" "AOnvaious dé,
Kay T pews mavy Kal Kad@s TTpos dduyapyiav
éywouv, ovx édoe Cav “AdKLBeddys aT pepety
émt tav KadectwTav. ov pay érreia On ye 7 po-
Tepov tovtTos 0 Avoavdpos 7) Tapa. Tav oiKot
TEN@Y oKUTadAnY éAOciv KENEVOUTAY éx TrOO@V
momnoacbat TO “AdutBiddny, ere KaKelvov
poBnGevrov THY ofbrnta Kat peyadom paypoov-
ynV TOD avopos, eiTe T@ "Ayo: xaptlopevery.
XXXIX. ‘Os ody o Avaavdpos érrepnyre 7 pOs
TOV PapraBalov TavTAa TpdTTEew KENevO, o Sé
Maryaiw te @ ASEAPD wal LovapiOpn 78 Deiep
mpoaéTate TO epyov, éruxe pev €v Kon Tei
THS Dpvyias o "ArreBiadys TOTE StarT@pevos,
Eyov TipavSpav pe? avtod THY éTat ay, Or
é KaTa Tous b Dmvous el6e TOLAaUTHY’ € oKel Tept-
keia Bar per autos THY éoOjra Tijs éraipas,
exelyny dé THv Kepamyy ev tals aryKdhaus éxov-

CAV AUTOU KOG LEY TO TPOTWTTOV domep YUVALKOS
Droypagovaay Kal apipvdrodcav. Erepot 6é pacw
ietv THY Kepadny GTOTEMVOVTAS avrou ToOvS mept
TOV Mayaiov év Tols Umvots Kal TO copa Kato-
pevov. adra THY pev Grip od mod yevér Oat
Néyouet TPO THS TEEUTHS.
Oi dé meupdevres Tos avTov OUK eTohunoay
eicebein, GANG KUKAM THD oixiay TEPLOTAVTES
évetriTpacav. aicOdpevos 8 6'AdKBiddns TOY
I12
to

ALCIBIADES

such dreams, when even the Thirty were moved to anxious thought and inquiry, and made the greatest account of what Alcibiades was planning and doing. Finally, Critias tried to make it clear to Lysander that as long as Athens was a democracy the Lacedaemonians could not have safe rule over Hellas; and that Athens, even though she were very peacefully and well disposed towards oligarchy, would not be suffered, while Alcibiades was alive, to remain undisturbed in her present condition. However, Lysander was not persuaded by these arguments until a dispatch-roll came from the authorities at home bidding him put Alcibiades out of the way ; either " because they too were alarmed at the vigour and enterprise of the man, or because they were trying to gratify Agis.

XXXIX. Read, Lysander sent to Pharnabazus and bade him do this thing, and Pharnabazus commissioned Magaeus, his brother, and Sousamithras, his uncle, to perform the deed. At that time Alcibiades was living in a certain village of Phrygia, where he had Timandra the courtezan with him, and in his sleep he had the following vision. He thought he had the courtezan's garments upon him, and that she was holding his head in her arms while she adorned his face like a woman's with paints and pigments. Others say that in his sleep he saw Magaeus' followers cutting off his head and his body burning. All agree in saying that he had the vision not long before his death.

The party sent to kill him did not dare to enter his house, but surrounded it and set it on fire. When

Alcibiades was aware of this, he gathered together

pev ipa ieov Ta WrEloTa Kai TOV oT TPOLATOY
cuvayayov emréppipe ™@ Tupi, TH 8 apiotepa
vetpl THY éavTou Xrapisa qreptertéas, T) Sefua
TTATALEVOS 70 eyxerpidiov éFérrecev amabiys imo
Tob mupos Tplv » SvabréyeoOar Ta ipatia, Kat
TOUS BapBapous opOels Stecxédacer. ovoeis yap
Drréwewvev auTov ovd els xelpas ouvirber, aXr
aoa Tay tes éBadndov aK ov TiO Kal rokevpacw.
ottw & avtod TETOVTOS kal TOY BapBapwv
amen ovtov, " Tepdvdpa TOD vexpoyv aveideTo, Kal
Tots airrijs meptBarovca Kal Tepicadupaca XiTw-
vioKols, €x TOV TapovTwY éxndevoe AaLTIPAS Kal
prdoripas.
Tavtns Aéyouat Ouyatépa yeve Oar Aaitéa thv
Kopiv0iav pev m poo aryopevdeicay, € éx 5¢ ‘Txxdpwv,
LeKedKcoo TOG HATOS, aixuddwTov yeVvOpEVnv.
€or 5€ Ta ev ara mepl Tis “Adar Biddov
TENEUTHS OpmoroyovaL TovTats, aitiav dé pacw ov
DapvaBalov ovde Avcavépov oude Aaxedatpovious
mapacxeiv, autov 6é Tov “Adu Biddyy ye pipav
TLUOY dvepDapkora yuvatov exe ouv aur@, TOUS
o adehpovs TOU yuvaiou THY. bBpw jou peTpiws
aden eum phoat TE THY oixiay vuKTwWp, ev 7
LALTOMEVOS eroyyavev o ’AXKiBiadns, Kar Kara-
Bareiy avtov, domep elpnrat, dua Tov mupos
€£arXopevov.

most of the garments and bedding in the house and cast them on the fire. Then, wrapping his cloak about his left arm, and drawing his sword with his right, he dashed out, unscathed by the fire, before the garments were in flames, and scattered the Barbarians, who ran at the mere sight of him. Not a man stood ground against him, or came to close quarters with him, but all held aloof and shot him with javelins and arrows. Thus he fell, and when

the Barbarians were gone, Timandra took up his dead body, covered and wrapped it in her own garments, and gave it such brilliant and honourable burial as she could provide.
This Timandra, they say, was the mother of that Lais who was called the Corinthian, although she was a prisoner of war from Hyccara, a small city of Sicily.1_ But some, while agreeing in all other details of the death of Alcibiades with what I have written, say that it was not Pharnabazus who was the cause of it, nor Lysander, nor the Lacedaemonians, but Alcibiades himself. He had corrupted a girl belonging to a certain well known family, and had her with bim; and it was the brothers of this girl who, taking his wanton insolence much to heart, set fire by night to the house where he was living, and shot him down, as has been described, when he dashed out through the fire.
1 See the Nicias, xv. 4.

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CAIUS MARCIUS
CORIOLANUS
O3

TAIOZ MAPKIO2Z

I. ‘O Mapkiwv oixos év ‘Pon Tov tratpiKion moAANovs Taperxev évdoEovs avdpas, @v Kal Mdpxios fw “Ayxos, 0 Nowa Ouvyarpidois Kal peta TurAdNov ‘Ootidtov Bactreds yevopevos. Mdpxioe 8 Foav cat Toros xal Koivtos ot

TrElaTov owp Kal KaANCTOY ev ‘Papyn KaTayay-évtes, Kat Kyvowpivos, bv Sis améderke Tiyunt ny 6 Pwpaiwy Sijyos, elta tn’ avtod meaOeis éxetvou vopov eto Kal éendicato pnderi thy apxnv dis éEeivar peter Ociv. T'dios 6¢ Mapxcos, uTép ov TAade yéypaTrTaL, Tpadels UTS pNTpL XNpA Tatpos 6ppaves, améderke THY Ophaviay addXa [ev éyoucayv Kaka, mpos Sé To yevéoOat omovdatoy dvépa xat dtahépovta tay ToAXNOY Ovdey EuTrOd@Y ovcay, dAXraws S€ Tots havroLs aiTiacOat Kai Yréyerv Tapéxovcay avTny ws apereia dtapOeipovoar.

6 8 avtos avnp éuaptipynce Kal tois Thy hvac
iyyoupevors, éav ovca yewvaia Kat aryadh; qadetas
évdens yevynT au, TOANG TOES Xpnarois opod patra
TVVATIOTINTELY, domep edyevh xepav év yewpryia
Oepameias py TUXOdcaV. TO yap LaxupoV avTod
pos aTavtTa THs yvouns Kal Kaptepov opyas Te
peyadas Kal tehectoupyous Tav Karov é&épepe,
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CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS

I. Tue patrician house of the Marcii at Rome furnished many men of distinction. One of them was Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa by his daughter, and the successor of Tullus Hostilius in the kingship. To this family belonged also Publius and Quintus Marcius, the men who brought into Rome its best and most abundant supply of water. So likewise did Censorinus, whom the Roman people twice appointed censor, and then, at his own instance, made a law by which it was decreed that no one should hold that office twice. Caius Marcius, whose life I now write, lost his father at an early age, and was reared by his widowed mother. He showed, however, that such loss of a father, although other- wise bad for a boy, need not prevent him from becoming a worthy and excellent man, and that it is wrong for worthless men to lay upon it the blame for their perverted natures, which are due, as they say, to early neglect. On the other hand, the same Marcius bore witness for those who hold that a generous and noble nature, if it lack discipline, is apt to produce much that is worthless along with its better fruits, like a rich soil deprived of the husband- man’s culture. For while the force and vigour of his intelligence, which knew no limitations, led him into great undertakings, and such as were productive of the highest results, still, on the other hand, since he

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

| Oupois TE av TaN Xpepevov aK PATOL Kal ptno-
VELKLALs aT pen ToLs ov padzov avd evdppoarov
avO parrots cuveivar Tapetxen, GNNA THY ev 7dovais
kal Tovols Kal bro yYpnudtov an dbevav avrou
Gavpuatovres wal ovoudtovres _eyeparevay Kal
Sicacoa vyny Kai dvOpeiay, € éy Tais ToheTucats au
TaANLD opudtass as eéemax0H Kal aXapw Kat
oduyapxKLKny eva yépatvov. ovdéy yap ado
Movowy evjevetas amoXavove ty avOpemot Tocob-
Tov Gaov eEnpepaaas TV puow be hoyou Kal
matdeas, T® NOYO SeEapevny TO Ber plop Kal 70
aryav amroBadovoay. drXwS pev obv év Tous TOTE
Xpovors » ‘Poun padiora Tis GpeTHS TO TEPL
TAS TONE MLKAS Kal oTpaTimTiKas exudate mpagecs,
kat paptupel TO THY apeTHVy UT avToV évl TO THs
dvSpeias OVOMATL Tpocaryopever Oar, Kal TOUTO TOU

yévous Ovoua Kowov woTapxyew & THY avdpeiav
idia Kadovow.
II. O be Mdpxuos eTépev padrov eur ans
yeyovas 7 pos TOUS TONE[LKOUS ayavas, evOus €x
mat60s Ta Ora, 1a expos ele, Kat TOV éme-
KTNTWVY OUOEY epryov olopevos elvat Tots fa TO
ovppuTov SarAov Kal ouryyeves éEnptupévov & éxouce
Kab Taper Kevac UEVOP, obras oxnoe 70 COLA
pos dmacav idéav payns dare kal Deity eda-
oo elvat kal Bapos exetv év AaBais Kal év
ram adats TONE MOU bucexBiacrov. ot yoov épuv
EXOVTES etpuxias del Kal apeThs 7 pos airo, év
ols édelrovTo, THY Tob THMLATOS HTLBVTO pounv
dtpentov odcav Kal mpos pndéva Tévov amay-
opevovaav.
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indulged a vehement temper and displayed an un- swerving pertinacity, it made him a difficult and unsuitable associate for others. They did indeed look with admiration upon his insensibility to pleasures, toils, and mercenary gains, to which they gave the names of self-control, fortitude, and justice ; but in their intercourse with him as a fellow-citizen they were offended by it as ungracious, burdensome, and arrogant. Verily, among all the benefits which men derive from the favour of the Muses, none other is so great as that softening of the nature which is produced by culture and discipline, the nature being induced by culture to take on moderation and cast off excess. It is perfectly true, however, that in those days Rome held in highest honour that phase of virtue which concerns itself with warlike and military achievements, and evidence of this may be found in the only Latin word for virtue, which signifies really manly valour; they made valour, a specific form o virtue, stand for virtue in general.

II. And so Marcius, who was by nature exceedingly fond of warlike feats, began at once, from his very boyhood, to handle arms. And since he thought that adventitious weapons were of little avail to such as did not have their natural and native armour developed and prepared for service, he so practised himself in every sort of combat that he was not only nimble of foot, but had also such a weight in grapplings and wrestlings that an enemy found it hard to extricate himself. At any rate, those who from time to time contended with him in feats of courage and valour, laid the blame for their in- feriority upon his strength of body, which was inflexible and shrank from no hardship.

9 4 \ , / v
III. 'Eotpatevoato 5é mpwtny otpatetay ere
petpdxtov, 6te Tapxuvip t@ Bactrevoarvte THIS

e ,
Pons, celta éxtrecovtt, weTa ToAAaS pdayas Kal
HTTaS woTEep Exyatov KUBov adiévTe TrELOTOL
pev Aativarv, toddol dé cal tov adXwv "I tadww-
a A ‘
TOV aouvedapBavov Kal cuyxatHyov él thy
€ , b b / U a A 4
Pony, ovx exelv@ yapiComevoe padrov 7 poB@
4 b) 4 , 4
Ta Popaiwr avfopeva cai P0ov@ xataBdarndovtes.
bd 4 A 4 AXA A > 9 3 ,
EV TAUTN TH an TOANAAS TpoTras eT appoTepa
4 , > , b] , 3
AapBavovon Mapxios aywvilopevos evipwotes év
bd “A , ” e al 4
Over TOD Sextatopos, dvipa ‘Pwpatov wecovra
TAnoiov iOwy ovK nUéeANGEV, GAN ETH TPO AUTO
\ U lo) 4
kal Tov émibepopevovy TOV ToAELiwV aLUVYOMEVOS
/
ATEKTELVEY. WS OV ExpaTnoEY O oTPATHYOS, év
TpwTOLS Exeivov EaTepavace Spvos cTepavy.
Todrov yap 0 vopfos TO TWoAditny vTEpacti-
\ VA > , v \ ,
cavtTt TOY oTépavov amodébaxer, elite 69 padtoTa
4 n
tusnoas 8¢ “Apxddas thy Spiv Baravndayous
ume TOU Geod Ypnou@ mpocayopevOévtas, eiTe ws
le) ,
TAaXD Kal travtaxod Spuds ovcay evTropiay oTpa-
Tevopévots, elite Aros TroAtéws (epov dvTa TOV THS
\
Spvos otépavov oidpevos él cwrnpia toritouv
didoc0ar mpetovtas. éott Sé % Spis TeV pev
aypiwv KaddKapTotatov, Tov é TWacav iaxu-
, @ \ 4 >» 9 a A e 4
poratov. nv dé Kal aitiov am’ avTns 7 BddXavos
\ N N , ” oe A AY
Kal TOTOV TO pedLTELOV, OYroy CE TapEetye Ta
1 By Lake Regillus, 498 (?) B.c.
2 Karly colonists of Rome, under Evander.

Ill. He made his first campaign while yet a stripling, when Tarquin,.who had been king of Rome, and then had been expelled, after many unsuccessful battles, staked his all, as it were, upon a final throw. Most of the people of Latium and many also of the other peoples of Italy were assisting him and marching with him upon Rome, to reinstate him there, not so much from a desire to gratify him, as because fear and envy led them to try to overthrow the growing power of the Romans. In the ensuing battle,! which long favoured now this side and now that, Marcius, who was fighting sturdily under the eyes of the dictator, saw a Roman soldier struck down near by. He ran to him at once, stood in front of him, defended him, and slew his assailant. Accordingly, after the Roman general had won the day, he crowned Marcius, among the first,. with a garland of oak leaves.

This is the civic crown which the law bestows upon one who has saved the life of a fellow-citizen in battle, either because the oak was held in special honour for the sake of the Arcadians,? who were called acorn-eaters in an oracle of Apollo®; or because they could speedily find an abundance of oak wherever they fought ; or because it was thought that the garland of oak leaves, being sacred to Jupiter, the city's guardian, was fittingly bestowed upon one who saved the life of a citizen. The oak, moreover, has the most beautiful fruit of all wild trees, and is the sturdiest of all trees under culti- vation. Its acorn used to be food, and the honey found in it used to be drink‘ for men, and it furnished them with the flesh of most grazing

3.Cf. Herodotus, i. 66. ‘ In the shape of mead.

rei Ta, TOV VE WopEveov Te Kal TITNVOV, Onpas Opyavov pépovaa Tov iEov.
"Ev éxeivyn dé TH paxn Kal TOUS Atockovpous emupavivar Neyouar, Kal pera, THY payny evOds 0 Ofvat peopevors idp@rte Tots iarmroes ev aryopa THY pieny dmraryeNNovTas, ov vuv Tapa THY Kpn- vn VEDS éorw avrois iSpupevos. b0ev Kal THY MEPaY eTTLvixLov ovcar, év T® "lovAiw pyri ras eldous, Avocxoupors avLEpOKAct.
IV. Néwy 5é, as Eouxer, “avdpaiv émrupavera Kat

TLLN TAS [eV ehagpas pedoripous puces mpwiai- TEpov aA sa o Bévvuat, Kal arrorivmhyot TAXU TO Supades avTav Kal aapixopov" Ta é

éuBpidn Kat Beara ppovnpata, avlovow ai
Tial Kal Aap pivovoty doTep bro TVEULATOS
éryerpopeva 7 pos TO parvopevov KaNov. ov
yap ws poo Bov arrorapBavovtes, GAN ws évéx-
upov didovTes alaxvvovrat hv Sdofav Kata-
Memely Kad pt) Tos avTots épryors bmepBarecOas.
TovTo Taba Kal o Mapxos avTos auT@ Chop
avdpayabias mpovOnke, KALVOS Te ael Bovdopevos
elvat TALS mpafeow d dproretats dpia tetas ouviyrre
Kal Aapupa hapvpous emépepe, Kal tots mporépos
del TOUS aTepous nryeLovas eixe wept THS exeivou
TLLAS épilovas, Kat paptupias brepBareoGau."
TOANGV YE Tot ToTE Pwpaioss ary over Kat TONE-
pov rYEvopEvOY, é& ovdevds aotepdvwtos iAGev
ovd aryépac Tos.
"Hy d€ Tots pwev adXots n 60fa THS aperijs TENOS,
éxeivp Sé tas SoEns) THS wnTpos evppoovvn. TO
1 nad papruplas brepBaréoba: bracketed by Bekker.
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creatures and birds, since it bore the mistletoe, from which they made bird-lime for snares.
In the battle of which I was speaking, it is said that Castor and Pollux appeared, and that immediately after the battle they were seen, their horses all a-drip with sweat, in the forum, announcing the victory, by the fountain where their temple now stands. Therefore the day on which this victory was won, the Ides of July, was consecrated to the Dioscuri.

IV. It would seem that when a young man’s ambition is no integral part of his nature, it is apt to be quenched by an honourable distinction which is attained too early in life; his thirst and fastidious appetite are speedily satisfied. But serious and firm spirits are stimulated by the honours they receive, and glow brightly, as if roused by a mighty wind to achieve the manifest good. They do not feel that they are receiving a reward for what they have done, but rather that they are giving pledges of what they will do, and they are ashamed to fall behind their reputation instead of surpassing it by their actual exploits. It was in this spirit that Marcius vied with himself in manly valour, and being ever desirous ot fresh achievement, he followed one exploit with another, and heaped spoils upon spoils, so that his later commanders were always striving with their predecessors in their efforts to do him honour, and to surpass in their testimonials to his prowess. Many indeed were the wars and conflicts which the Romans waged in those days, and from none did he return without laurels and rewards of valour.

But whereas other men found in glory the chief end of valour, he found the chief end of glory in his mother’s gladness. That she should hear him praised

yap éxeivnv érraivovpevov axodaas Kal oTepavov-
pevov deity Kat _TmepiBanretv daxpvovcav up' 700v7s
evTtoTraTov aurov évomile Troely Kal paKapta-
TaTov. TovTo & apénret Kal TOV "Errapewovdar
gaciv eFoporoyjcacbar TO mdBos, evTuxiay
TOLOUMLEVOV aurod beyioray ort THY év AeveT pots
oTparnyiay QaUTOU Kal vixny 6) TAaTHp Kal 7) enTNP
Ett Caves érreidov. GAN éxetvos pev apporépov
iméhavoe TOV yovewv ouvndopeveoy Kal cuvevn-
pepovyTon, Mdpxtos 6é 77 patel Kal TAs Tod
TAT pos odetrety Xaperas olowevos OUK éveTrip-
TNATO THY Ovorovupriar evppaivor Kal Timo,
adda Kat yuvaixa Bovropevns Kal Seoperns
Exelvns,? eynpe Kal THY oixiay @KEL ryEevopevav
TWALSWY OOD META THS PNT POS.
Vv. "Héy be Kar dofay avuTov Kal Svvapuy aTro
THS apeTHns év TH TONEL peyarny EXOVTOS, 7 Bourn
Tois TAOvotoLS apivovca T pos TOV Sijpov €aTa-
ciace TOAAG Kal dewva mwaoxew v7r0 TaY daveto-
TOV SoxovvtTa. Tovs pev yep KEKTNLEVOUS MET pLO
TavTwVY apynpodvTo TaV dvTwY évexUpacpols Kal
Tpacest, Tovs 6€ WaVTEAMS aTrOpOUS avTous
am iyov Kal Ta coLaTa, cabeipyvucay auTov,
@TELAAS éxovra TETPOLEVOY jokNas Kal Tem ovn-
KOT@D év Tals vTrép THS maT pibos oTpareLass, av
THY TedevTalay edeEavro 7 pos LaBivous, TOV Te
TNOVOLWTATOV _ emaryyethapeverv peTpiacew Kat
THs Bovdns Tov dpxovra Madpxov Ovarnéprov
eyyuicadbas wypioaperns. émrel 6é KaKelvny
aywovcapmevors THY paynv TmpoOdvmws Kal KpaTy-
1 Seouévns exelyns with M®: Seouéyns.

and see him crowned and embrace him with tears of joy, this was what gave him, as he thought, the highest honour and felicity. And it was doubtless this feeling which Epaminondas also is said to have confessed, in considering it his greatest good fortune that his father and mother lived to know of his generalship and victory at Leuctra. But he was su blessed as to have both his parents share in his pleasure and success, whereas Marcius, who thought he owed his mother the filial gratitude also which would have been.due to his father, could not get his fill of gladdening and honouring Volumnia, nay, he even married according to her wish and request, and continued to live in the same house with his mother after children

were born to him.

V. The reputation and influence procured by his valour were already great in the city, when the senate, taking the part of the wealthy citizens, began to be at variance with the common people, who thought they suffered many grievous ills at the hands of the money-lenders. For those of them that were possessed of moderate means were stripped of all they had by means of pledges and sales, while those who were altogether without resources were led away in person and put in prison, although their bodies bore many marks of wounds received and hardships undergone in campaigns for the defence of their country. The last of these had been against the Sabines, and they had undertaken it upon a promise of their wealthiest creditors to deal moder- ately with them, and after a vote of the senate that Marcus Valerius, the consul, should guarantee the promise. But after they had fought zealously in that battle also, and had conquered the enemy, no

cact TOV ToAEuiov ovdev eyiveTo Tapa Tov
SavetoTav emreelKes, ove J Bovry ™ poem oveiTo
penvncat TOV Gpwodoynpevenv, GAN' ayopmévous
wade Teple@pa kat pvaoralopevous, OopuBor b¢
Kal TVTTACELS jnoav éy TH TONE movnpat, Kat
TOUS TONE ULOUS oix arabe Tapaxwdes eXov O
Ojos, Gr éuBarovtes emupTrONOUY Thy Xapav,
Tav & apxYovTwv eis Ta Oma Tous éV nALKla.
KadovvTwy ovdels varnovey, obTe deat no ay aL
yvouas rad Tov év TENEL. Kal TIVES jeEv PovTo
deity idier Bar ois mevyoe Kal Naraoas TO oup-
TOVOV ayav Kat VO-LMOV, éviot © ayTeTELvon, ay Hy
Kal Mapetos, ov TO TOV Xpnwarov péyeorov
HYOUpEvos, apxny dé cal Tetpav UBpews bx Aov
cat OpacuvrTnros eTavigTapevou Tois vopols, Et
cwdpovovc, tmavew kal oBevvvery TapaKxedevo-
Hevos.
VI. Luviovens dé rept TOUTE TOANGKLS eV
ory x pore THs Bovdajs Kat. pndev TéEhos éx-
pepovens, TVETAVTES OF TEVTES advo Kal mapa-
Kaeo aves aNAHAOUS arréNT OV THV TTOALY, eat
katara Bovres Gpos O vov tepov KanelTat, Tapa
tov "Aviwva troTapov exadeCorto, TpaTTovTEs prev
ovdev Biarov ovdé otactactiKkoy, éxtremTwxevat Se
THS TOMS LTO TOY TAOVGiWY TadaL cade
dépa 8€ Kat Udwp Kat torov evrapivar TavTa:
THY Iradiav AUTOS mapéefey, ov TAEOY OV
oixovat THY 'Peopnv om dpxel avrois, aXn' 4

TiTpwoKer Oat cat aTroOvicKety Virép TOV TAOVALwY
OTPATEVOMEVOLS.
Tair’ &éescev 4» Bovdrn, Kat tors émrieckets

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consideration was shown them by their creditors, and the senate did not even pretend to remember its agreements, but again suffered them to be seized in pledge of payments and haled away to prison. Then there were tumults and disorderly gatherings in the city, and the enemy, not unaware of the popular confusion, burst in and ravaged the country, and when the consuls summoned those of military age to arms, no one responded. In this crisis, the opinions of those in authority were again at variance. Some thought that concessions should be made to the plebeians, and the excessive rigor of the law relaxed ; but others opposed this, and among them was Marcius. He did not regard the financial difficulties as the main point at issue, and exhorted the magistrates to be wise enough to check and quell this incipient attempt at bold outrage on the part of a populace in revolt against the laws.

VI. The senate met to debate this question many times within the space of a few days, but came to no definite conclusion. The plebeians therefore banded together on a sudden, and after mutual exhortations forsook the city, and taking possession of what is now called the Sacred Mount, established themselves beside the river Anio.1 They committed no acts of violence or sedition, but only cried aloud that they had for a long time been banished from éhe city by the rich, and that Italy would everywhere afford them air, water, and a place of burial, which was all they had if they dwelt in Rome, except for the privilege of wounds and death in campaigns for the defence of the rich.
These proceedings alarmed the senate, and it sent

1 Three miles from the city (Livy, ii. 32, 2).

paddiota Kal Snpotixovs Tov mpeaBuTépwr eEarr-
éotetke. mponyopes Sé Mevnyos *Aypimras-
Kal TOANG ev Tod Sypou Seopevos, TOAAG O UITrep
THs BovAts tappnotalopevos TENEUTOVTL TO ADV

TepinrGev eis oxjua pvOov Stapynuovevopuevov.
épn yap Tov avOpwrrov Ta péXn TWavTa TMpos THY
yaotépa otacidoat, Kal KaTnyopeiv avTis ws
pons adpyov cat adovpBorov Kxabelouévns ev To
cwopatt, Tov 5 adrNowv els Tas éxeivns opé£ets
TOvouS TE phEyaNOUS Kal NeLTOUpYias HTropEevovTwY:
THVv S€ yaoTépa THs evNOcias avTaV KaTayenray,
ayvoovvtewy GTi THY Tpod>nY UTToAapBdver pev Ets
éauTny atracay, avatéures § aves éE avtis Kal
Stavéyet toils aAXNots. ‘ Odtws ody,” Edn, “ Kal
ThS oUYyKAnTOU AOYos eoTiv, @ WodrtTal, Tpos
Upas Ta yap éxel TUYYdvOYTA TIS TpoanKovons
émipedcias Kal olxovouias Bovrevpata Kal mpay-
para waow viv emipéper cal Stavéuer TO Ypn-
olpov Kat wpérXspov.”
VII. "Ex tovrov Sdinddaynoav, aitnodpevor
Tapa THs BovAns Kat TuxovTEes avdpas aipeioOar
mévte TpooTatas TaY Seopévwv BonOeias, Tovs
vov dnuapyous Kadovupévous. elNovTo 5é TWpwToLs,
ols éypjoavto Kal Ths dtTOcTAaTEWSs HyELOCL, TOUS
mept Bpotrov ‘lovviov nat 2xivviov BérXovtov.
émel O 7 TOA Els ev HADEV, EOS ev TOis OTAOLS
Hoav ot TodAoi, kal Tapelyov avToUs Tois dpyouct
XpijoGat mpoOvpws ert Tov ToAEpLOV.
‘O 6€ Mdpxtios ob’ adtés 4Sopevos ols 6 Shpuo

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out those of its older members who were most reasonably disposed towards the people to treat with them. The chief spokesman was Menenius Agrippa, and after much entreaty of the people and much _ plain speaking in behalf of the senate, he concluded his discourse with a celebrated fable. He said, namely, that all the other members of man’s body once revolted against the belly, and accused it of being the only member to sit idly down in its place and make no contribution to the common welfare, while the rest underwent great hardships and per- formed great public services only to minister to its appetites ; but that the belly laughed at their simplicity in not knowing that it received into itself all the body’s nourishment only to send it back again and duly distribute it among the other members. “‘ Such, then,” said Agrippa, “is the relation of the senate, my fellow-citizens, to you; the matters for deliberation which there receive the necessary attention and disposition bring to you all and severally what is useful and helpful.” !

VII. A reconciliation followed, after the people had asked and obtained from the senate the privilege of electing five men as protectors of those who needed succour, the officers now called tribunes of the people. And the first whom they chose to this office were Junius Brutus and Sicinius Vellutus, who had been their leaders in the secession.2, When the city was thus united, the common people at once offered

themselves as soldiers, and the consuls found them ready and eager for service in the war.

As for Marcius, though he was displeased himself

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 32, 9-11; Dionysius Hal., Antig. Rom. vi. 86.
2 Cf. Livy, ii. 33, 1-3.

love evdovans THS dpioToKpaTias, Kat TOV
aAXNov TAT piKiwv TONNOUS opay TO avTo TeTop-
Ooras, buws Tapexdnet pn arroneitrea Oat TOV
Onporixay éy Tots rept TIS TaTpios aywou,
GNNA TH aperi paddov 4 7H Suvaper paiverOar
Siapépovras avTODV.
VIII. "Ep 5é tT Ovorovoxwr eOver, T pos ods
emohepour, n Kopiohavav TOMES akiopa péeyloTov
eixe. TauvTyY oY Tod UTaToU Kopuviov TEpL-
oTpatoTedevaavros, oi Aowtrot Ovorovdona det-
cates él TOUS 'Pepaious cuveBonBovy mavTa-
xobev, ws 7 pos Th TOAEL ToLnaopevor pany Kat
2 duvobev é emexXetpnoovTes aurois. émrel & 0 Kowi-
VLOS dehov THY Suvapuy QUTOS pév AaTHVTA TOTS
éEwbev ETLovcL TOV Ovorovoxor, Adpxwov dé
Titov, avd pa 'Popator év Tots aplorors, emt THs
TodopKias amenure, KaTappov7c avres ot Kopio-
ANavoL TOV TapovT oy emelirbov, Kab T poo paxo-
pevor TO mpaTov expatouv Kat Katediwxov eis
3 TOY YapaKa TOUS 'Pepaious. év0a on Mapeos
éxSpapov ou orLyors Kat cataBarov TOUS
mpoopifavras auTe paktora, tovs & dAXous
oTnoas Emupepopevors, dvexaretro peyary Bon
TOUS 'Papatous. Kal yap HY, domep n&iov TOV
TT PATLOTHY o Karo, ov xerpt Kat TwANYT povor,
aXe Kal TOV porns Kat dyes ™ poowTrou
hoBepos evtuxel TONELIO Kal dvouToaTaros.
ab porbopeveoy dé TONNGY Kal cuvioTapevey Trept
4 aur ov aT eX @povv Ot ToNemLoL Seioavtes. o &
ovK nYaTNOEV, GAN érnKorAoWWEr Kal cuVHAAaUVEV
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' a

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to have the people increase in power at the expense of the aristocracy, and though he saw that many of the other patricians were of the same mind, he never- theless exhorted them not to fall behind the common people in contending for their country's welfare, but to show that they were superior to them in valour rather than in political power.

VIII. Among the Volscians, with whom _ the Romans were at war, the city of Corioli took highest rank. When, therefore, Cominius the consul had invested this place,! the rest of the Volscians, fearing for its safety, came to its aid against the Romans from all parts, designing to give them battle in front of the city and to attack them on both sides. Thereupon Cominius divided his forces, going forth himself to meet the Volscians who were coming up outside, and leaving Titus Lartius, one of the bravest Romans of his day, in charge of the siege. Then the men of Corioli, despising the forces that were left, sallied out against them, overcame them in battle at first, and pursued the Romans to their camp. At this point Marcius darted out with a small band, and after slaying those who came to close quarters and bringing the rest of the assailants to a halt, called the Romans back to the fight with loud cries. For he had, as Cato thought a soldier should have,? not only a vigour of stroke, but a voice and look which made him a fearful man for a foe to encounter, and hard to withstand. Many of his men rallied to support him, and the enemy withdrew in terror. With this, however, he was not satisfied, but followed

1 It is in connection with the attack on Corioli that Livy first mentions Marcius (ii. 33, 5-9); also Dionysius Hal. (vi. 92). | 2 Cf. Cato the Elder, i. 6.

cr

non TpoT pom doqv pebyovtas axpe Tov TUB.
éxet 8 opav TOT PeTOLEVOUS TOU Sune TOUS
"Pwpaiovs, TONAOY bev aro TOU Tel yous Berov
T pos pepopevery, to 6€ cvveoTeceiy Tous petryou-
ow eis mod avopov TOE LL GY 'yépoveay éy
Tots Sido ovrav ovdevos els voov éuBarécbar
TOAPL@VTOS, Guws emriaTas Tapendret Kat Trape-
Odppuver, ave@XOau Boay vTO THS TUXNS TOUS
Si@xovot padrov 7 Tois evyovot THY TOM.
ov today é Bovropévov émaxonoubely, ao d-
pEvOS bia TOV TONE LLCOY évijNato Tais TvAaLS Kab
cuvEerceTede, pendevos TO Tp@ToV aria xeiv no
UToo THvat TONMITAVTOS, emeita dé, @s KaTetdov
dAdyous TavTamacww évOov dvras, oupBonOovvrwr
Kal T POG MAXO Meron, ava pepiyLEVvOS opod pirous
Kal Troheptous daria Tov ayava heyeTat kal Yetpos
Epyots Kal Today Taxet Kal TONMM LATE puxiis

drycovelowevos év TH monet, Kal KpaTav andvTay
™pos ods Opotcere, TOUS pev eFaoat T pos Ta
éoxata pépn, Ttav 8 QT ELTA LEVOY Kal Kxata-
Barovrov Ta oma TONNY ddevav T@ Aapxio
mapacxely éEwler é émdyovte TOUS ‘Peopatous.
IX. Otte bé THs Toews drovons kal Tov
ThetoT@v ev apmayais évT@V kal duadopnoect
Xpnpatov, 0 Mdpxuos nyavaxrer Kal Boa, deuvov
WYOUpEvos, Tov umdtov Kal TOY avy éxeiv@ ToAL-
TOV TAXA TOU CUMTET TOKOT OV TOUS mroNepiors
Kal Srapaxopevor, avTous xpnmariverbar TEpt-
tovtas 7) Tpopdcer Xpnpatic pod Tov xivduvoy
amodipdcxew. emer 8 ov moddol mpooeixov
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hard upon them, and drove them at last in headlong flight, up to the gate of their city. There, although he saw the Romans turning back from the pursuit, now that many missiles from the walls were reaching them, and although not a man of them dared to think of bursting into the city along with the fugitives, full as it was of enemies in arms, he nevertheless took his stand, and exhorted and encouraged them to the exploit, crying out that fortune had opened the city for the pursuers rather than forthe pursued. Only a few were willing to follow him, but he pushed his way through the enemy, leaped against the gate, and burst in along with them, no man daring to oppose him at first or resist him. Then, however, when the citizens saw that few of the enemy all told were inside, they rallied and attacked them. Enveloped thus by friends and foes alike, Marcius is said to have waged a combat in the city which, for prowess of arm, speed of foot, and daring of soul, passes all belief; he overwhelmed all whom he assailed, driving some to the remotest parts of the city, while others gave up the struggle and threw down their arms. Thus he made it abundantly safe for Lartius to lead up the Romans who were

outside.
IX. The city having been captured in this manner, most of the soldiers fell to plundering and pillaging it. At this Marcius was indignant, and cried out that he thought it a shame, when their consul and their fellow citizens who were with him had perhaps fallen in with the enemy and were fighting a battle with them, that they on their part should be going about after booty, or, under pretext of getting booty, should run away from the danger. Only a few paid

aure, TOUS Bovdopevous avaraBov éBadsfe TV
odov 7 TO orpateupa T POKEXWPNKOS nadero,
TOANGKLS pev émroT puvev Tous ovV auT@ Kat
Tapaxanev Ln évd.dovat, TOMAGKLS dé rols Deots
EUXO[EV0S Ty) amronepOjvac TAS HaXns, GX' eis
katpov éAGeivy év @ avvaywuettar Kal ovyKiv-
duvevoet Tois moALTaLs.
"Hy 6€ rote rots "Pwpyaiors e005 eis tak
Kabiotapevors Kal péXAovat Tovs Oupeovs ava-
Aap Baver Kat mepilavrvadat THY TH Bevvov aya
Kat dad jKas arypaous yiver Oat, Tplav) TETTA-
pov éma.xovovTor ovopyatovtTas TOV KANpovopov.
tatbta 467 mparrovTas HON TOUS JT TPATLOTAS
Mapxtos év oper TOY Tone piov 6VTWY KaTE-
AapBave. Kal TO pep 7 Pa@Tov évious dverdpafev
obbeis per CAlywv, aiparos TmepiTrhews Kal
iSpéiros: emel dé mpoa 6 pa,poov TO UTare Tept-
xapns THY beftay évéBare Kal THs TOAEWS
amnyyetre THY doar, 0 be Kopivtos TEpLeTTT U-
faro avrov Kab kaTnomdcato, TOLS pev mu8o-
pévots TO ryeyevn evov cat opOwpa, tois & elkagact
Oapaos mapéoTn, Kat Bon Tapexdrouy Gryew
Kai ouvanrew. o 6€ Mapetos porns € TOV
Kopinov TOS Staxexoo pntat Ta TOV ToAEpieov
Stra Kal Tov TéTAaKTat TO PAX MwTATOD. éxelvou
de Pjoavtos | olecPat Tas KaTa péoov oTetpas
'Avtiat@v eivat, TOA KOT ATO Kal poevi
hpovnwatos Uprepevor, "AE ce Tow, 0
Mdpkcos ehn, " Kal aiTovpat, Kar TOUTOUS Taktov
n mas ToOvs dv pas." éom@KeV ovv oO UmarTos, Pav-
pacas avrod TO 7e0Ovpmor.
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any heed to his words, whereupon he took those who were willing to follow, and set out on the road by

which, as he learned, the consul's army had marched before him, often urging his companions on and beseeching them not to slacken their efforts, and often praying the gods that he might not be too late for the battle, but might come up in season to share in the struggles and perils of his fellow-citizens.

It was a custom with the Romans of that time,
when they were going into action, and were about to
gird up their cloaks and take up their bucklers, to
make at the same time an unwritten will, naming
their heirs in the hearing of three or four witnesses.
This was just what the soldiers were doing when
Marcius overtook them, the enemy being now in sight.
At first some of them were confounded when they
saw that he had a small following and was covered
with blood and sweat; but when he ran to the
consul with a glad countenance, gave him his hand,
and announced the capture of the city, and when
Cominius embraced and kissed him, then they were
encouraged, some hearing of the success which had
been gained, and some but guessing at it, and all
called loudly upon the consul to lead them into
battle. But Marcius asked Cominius how the enemy
were arrayed, and where their best fighting men
were placed. And when the consul told him he
thought the troops in the centre were those of the
Antiates, who were the most warlike of all and
yielded to none in bravery, "I ask and demand
of you, then," said Marcius, " post us opposite these
men." The consul, accordingly, granted his request,
astonished at his ardour.
As soon as spears began to fly, Marcius darted out

T POEKOPALLOVTOS OUK avTéaXov of KATA CTOMa TOV
OvorotcKwv, arr @ mpooeputte pepe. THS
dadrayyos evOus SiexéxotrT0, tav & éxaTepwbev
émistpepovtTwy Kal meptrapBavovtwy Tois ToS
Tov avopa, deicas 6 Umatos Tovs KpatioToUs TOY
mwep. abrov é&éreutrev. ioxupas dé mept Tov
Mapt.ov payns yevouévns cal trodd@v év OdLYH
VEKpQ@V TrecToVvTwY, éyKeipevor Kal KataBralopevot
TOUS ToAELloUsS EWOAYTO, Kal TpETTOMEVOL THPOS
diwkw avtav tov Madpxuov nkiouv bro Te Kapatou

Bapvv évra Kal tpavpdtev dvaywpeiv émi ro
oTpatotedov. ettav & éxeivos STL vix@VvTwV ovK
Erte TO Kdpvew, ehetteTo Tois hevyovaw. HTTHON
5é€ kal TO NoLTOY oOTpPdTEeUpA, TOAA@Y pev SLa-
POapévtwy, ToAAY 5é adSVTMDV.
X. T7 8 torepaia rob Aapxiov mapayevopévou
Kal TOV GdAXov GOpotlopévwyvy mpos Tov Urarov,
avaBas éri to Biya, Kal trois Oeois tHv mpérrov-
gav amodovs éml tnrLKovTOLs KaTopOmpactY
evdnuiav, mpos tov Mdpxiov tpéretat. Kat
Tp@Tov pev avTov Gavpactov ératvoy elie, TOV
bev autos év TH waxy yeyovas OcaTns, TA Sé TOD
Aapkiou paptupobvTos. Greta, TOAA@Y xen
patov Kal imrov ‘yeyoverey aixparetov Kai
avOpwrov, éxéXevoev autov é€eréoOar Séxa
TAaVTa TPO TOD véuelv Tos AAAos. avev Sé
exelvwv aploTeloy avT@ Kexoopunpéevov arrov
édwpnoato. tav bé ‘Pwpyaiwy éraivecavtwv 6
Mdpxios mpoekOav tov pev trrov edn déyecOar
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before the line, and the Volscians who faced him could not withstand his charge, but where he fell upon their ranks they were speedily cut asunder. Those on either side, however, wheeled about and encompassed him with their weapons, so that the consul, fearing for his safety, sent to his aid the choicest men he had about his person. Then a fierce battle raged around Marcius, and many were slain in short space of time ; but the Romans pressed hard upon their enemies and put them to rout, and as they set out in pursuit of them, they insisted that Marcius, who was weighed down with fatigue and wounds, should retire to the camp. He answered, however, that weariness was not for victors, and took after the flying foe. The rest of their army also was defeated, many were slain, and many taken captive.!

X. On the following day, when Lartius had come up, and the rest of the army was assembled before the consul, Cominius mounted the rostra, and after rendering to the gods the praise that was their due for such great successes, addressed himself to Marcius. In the first place, he rehearsed with praise his astonishing exploits, some of which he had himself beheld in the battle, while to others Lartius bore witness. Then, out of the abundant treasures and the many horses and prisoners that had been taken, he ordered him to

choose out a tenth, before any distribution to the rest of the army ; and besides all this, he presented him with a horse, duly caparisoned, as a prize of valour. After the Romans had applauded this speech, Marcius came forward and said that he accepted the horse, and was de-

1 Cf. Dionysius Hal. vi. 94.

a A \
Kal Yaipew Tots émraivors Tov apyovtos, Ta dé
f \ a \
GrArAa ptabov, ov Tiny ynyovmevos éav, Kal aya-
4 e z ee A , ce is 0 '4
THoev ws els Exactos THY veunoeD. Eat-
A l4 J A 4 9" 66 N hy
petov 5€ puiav airoduar yapwv," épn, "Kal déoprac
a /
rAaBeiv. Hv poe Eévos ev Ovorovonors Kal diros,
avnp émeikns Kal pérptos' ovTos édAwKe vov
Kal yéyovey éx wAovciov Kal paxapiov Soddos.
TONA@Y OUV AUTO KAKOY TrapovTwY ev adedreiy
apKel, THY TpacW."
' \ 4 a , f ' f
Emi rovtors AexGeior Bon te peiCwov arnvrnoe
a ,
TO Mapxio, cal mretoves ot Oavpalovres éyévovTo
\ A)
TO LN) KPATOUMEVOY U1rO YpnuaTwv Tavdpos h THV
a , 3
éy Tois wodéuots avdpayabiay. Kai yap ols
dOovou te Kail SnjrXov mpos avTov UrréKetTo TiLw-
A / LU " a
Héevov eKxTTpETT@S, KaKElvols ToTEe TOV RaPetv
a A " 4 \ a
peydra TH wt AaBeiv akvos edoke, nal wadrov
a" ' ,
avTod THY apeTny HyaTnoaV, ab hs KaTedpoves
a \ \ \
TnALKOUTMY, 4 Ov wv nkiodTO. TO pev yap Ev
fp) / 4 , >] A a" Q
yphabar Xpnuact KdAXov eat H SrroLs, ToD Oé
xpHcbat TO un SetoOar Ypnudtwy cEuvorTeEpor.
XI. 'Evei 6€ émavcato Bons nat OopvBov to
A ,
mwAnGos, vrotaBov o Kopiveos, "'AXN éxeivas

> @ la)
pév, elmev, “® ovotpati@tat, Tas Swpeads ov
Sivacbe BidfecOar wy Sexopuevov tov avdpa pndé
/ a Ud ,
BovrAdpevoy XaBeiv: hy bé od Extiv ert TovT@ b80-
/ ? , A > A \ ,
pernyv anacacba, Sapev avT@ Kal Whndiowpcba
xareicbat Koptoravov, e¢ pn xal mpo nuov 7
a a > :
mpakts avtn TovTo bédwxev.” €x TovUTOV TpiTOV
54 ¥ \ 4
€oxev Ovoya Tov KoptoXavov.
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lighted with the praises of the consul, but that he declined the rest, holding it to be pay, not honour, and would be content with his single share of the booty. “ But I do ask one special favour,” he said, “and beg that I may receive it. I had a guest-friend among the Volscians, a man of kindliness and probity. This man is now a prisoner, and from wealth and happiness is reduced to subjection. Since, then, many evils have befallen him, let me at least free him from one, that of being sold into bondage.”

At such words as these still louder shouts greeted Marcius, and he found more admirers of his superiority to gain than of the bravery he had shown in war. For the very ones who secretly felt a certain jealous envy of him for his conspicuous honours, now thought him worthy of great rewards because he would not take them; and they were more delighted with the virtue which led him to despise such great rewards, than with the exploits which made him worthy of them. For the right use of wealth is a fairer trait than excellence in arms; but not to need wealth is loftier than to use it.

XI. When the multitude had ceased shouting their applause, Cominius took up the word again and said: “Ye cannot, indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon the man, when he does not accept them and is unwilling to take them; but there is a gift which he cannot refuse when it is offered. Let us give him this gift, and pass a vote that he be surnamed Coriolanus, unless, indeed, before such act of ours, his exploit has itself given him this name.” Thence came his third name of Coriolanus.!

1 Cf. Dionysius Hal, vi. 94.
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"Qu cal parsota SFrov eotiy 6Tt TOV GvopaTtar
idvov jv o Tdios, to 8é Sevtepov oixias yévous
xowvov 0 Mdpxuos, To 6€ tpitw datepov EypnoavTo
mpakews Tivos 4 TUYNS 7 Ldéas apeTAns émOéTO,
xabarep “EdXAnves éridevto mpdkews pev err@ve-
pov Tov Ywrhpa cal tov Kadrrivixov, ideas dé Tov
Dicxwva Kai tov Tpurov, apetns 5é tov Evep-
yérnvy Kat tov PDirdderAgpov, evtuxias 6 Tov
Evdaipova t@ Sevtépw tov Bdttwv. éviow Sé
Tav Baciiéwy Kai cKoppata Ttapéoyey éri-
KAnoes, as Avtuyova tov Adcava xa Irone-
pai~ tov AdOupov. emi mréov 58 TO yéver TOVT@
kat “Pwpaios xéypnvtat, Acadnpatov tiva tev
MeréArAwy Karécavres, OTL ToALY ypovoy EXKosS
éywv qmeptevoote: Siadedepévos! to pétwtrov,
Erepov 5é Kédepa orrevcavta pe? apépas odtyas
THS TOD TaTpos TeXEeUTHS eTuTadious povoyaywDy
ayavas Tapacyelv, To TaXOS Kal THY okUTNTA THS
TmapacKeuns Oavydoartes. eviovs 5é auvtvyxia
yevérews péxpte viv xarovot, IIpoxdov pév, éav
amoénpobvtos Tmatpos yévnrat, wat Ioorovupor,
dv reOvnxotos: & 8 av Sidvp@ yevopévp cupBH
meptBidvar, Oatépov TedeuvTHoavTos, Ovoricxop.
Tov dé cwpaTLKaY Ov povov LvAXas ovdé Niypovs
1 S:adedeuévos with M@: wepidedenevos.

1 Soter, Saviour; Callinicus, Of noble victory; Physcon, Fat-paunch ; Grypus, Hook-nosed; Euergetes, Benefactor ; Philadelphus, Sister- or Brother-lover; Eudaemon, Prosperous ;

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From this it is perfectly clear that Caius was the proper name; that the second name, in this case Marcius, was the common name of family or clan; and that the third name was adopted subsequently, and bestowed because of some exploit, or fortune, or bodily feature, or special excellence in a man. So the Greeks used to give surnames from an exploit, as for instance, Soter! and Callinicus; or from a bodily feature, as Physcon and Grypus; or from a special excellence, as Euergetes and Philadephus ; or from some good fortune. as Eudaemon, the surname of the second Battus. And some of their kings have actually had

surnames given them in mockery, as Antigonus Doson and Ptolemy Lathyrus. Surnames of this sort were even more common among the Romans. For instance, one of the Metelli was called Diadematus, because for a long time he suffered from a running sore and went about with a bandage on his forehead ; another member of this family was called Celer, because he exerted himself to give the people funeral games of gladiators within a few days of his father's death, and the speed and swiftness of his preparations excited astonishment.2. And at the present day some of them are named from casual incidents at their birth, Proculus, for instance, if a child is born when his father is away from home ; or Postumus, if after his death; and when one of twin children survives, while the other dies, he is called Vopiscus. Moreover, from bodily features they not only bestow such surnames as Sulla, Niger, and Rufus, but also

Doson, Always-promising; Lathyrus, Vetchling; Sulla,
Blotches (2); Niger, Black; Rufus, Red; Caecus, Blind ;
Claudius, Lame. 2 Cf. Romulus, x. 2.
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ouode 'Pougous, adAXa Kat Kaixouvs cat Krwdious
eTovupias TiOevrat, Kaas eOifovTes MaTE Tupro-
TTA LNT ANAHV Tia cMpaTiKnD aruxlay évet-
bos nyeta ae pnde Aoopiay, GXn' Os oixelous
Urraxovew ovopacwy. G\vAa tadTra pev étépw
yever ypapns T poo nkee.
XII. Navoapevp dé TO TON MY THY oTdow
em ryetpov avOes ot nparyeryot, KQLVHY [ev ovdepiay
aitiay EXOVTES ovd éyKAnua Sixatop, & d€ Tais
™ poTepaes avtay Ssadpopais Kat Tapaxais avary-
Kaiws emncorovnae - KaKd, tara TOLoUpevoL
mpodac tv emi TOUS TAT PLKLOUS. dor opos yap 1
meaty Kal aryewprynTos dreheipOn THS X@pas,
aryopas S émera dxrou TapacKeuny bua TOV TONE-
pov o feaupos OuK edwxev. iaxupas ou aroptas
yevouernns, op@vres ot Snparywryol pyr" aryopay
exovra par', el Taphv ayopa, XpnwaTov ev-
WopouvTa Tov Ojon, évéBadrov Aoyous Kal
StaBoXas KaTa TOV TOVOiwWY, WS ExEiVvOL TOV
ALmov eTayotey avToOts UTO wyNoLKaKias.
"Ex 6é€ tev OvedtTtpavav Fre mpeoBeia THY
TOALV mapadioovrav Kal deopevay G@TOLKOUS amro-
oTéANELy. voros yap eumerovoa, Aowp@dys autots
Tog oUTOV 6X8 pov Kat pOopav aTreipyaoaro TOV
avOpoTrav ooTeE pores TO Séxatov Too TAVTOS
drone Gijvar pépos. ebokev ovv ois voov
éxovow els Séov yeyovévat xal Kara, Katpov v7)
Ypela TOV OverTpavav bid Te THY _arropiav

Kougia nod Seopevors, Kal THY oTaow aya oKe-
ddoev rmifov, et TO OopvBoty padtoTa Kai
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such as Caecus and Claudius. And they do well thus to accustom men to regard neither blindness nor any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or a disgrace, but to answer to such names as though their own. This topic, however, would be more fittingly discussed elsewhere.

XII. The war was no sooner over than the popular leaders revived the internal dissensions, without any new cause of complaint, or just accusations, but making the very evils which had necessarily followed in the wake of their previous quarrels and dis- turbances a pretext for opposing the patricians. For the greater part of the land had been left unsown and untilled, and the war left no opportunity to arrange an importation of market supplies. There was, therefore, a great scarcity of food, and when the popular leaders saw that there were no market supplies, and that if there were, the people had no money to buy them, they assailed the rich with slanderous accusations of purposely arraying the famine against them, in a spirit of revenge.

Moreover, there came an embassy from the people of Velitrae, who offered to hand their city over to the Romans, and begged them to send out colonists for it. For a pestilential disease had assailed them, and wrought such death and destruction among their citizens that hardly the tenth part of the whole number was left. Accordingly, such of the Romans as were sensible thought that this request of the people of Velitrae had come at an advantageous and opportune time, since the scarcity of food made it needful to ease the city of its burdensome numbers; at the same time they also hoped to dissipate its sedition, if the most turbulent elements

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ouvetrnpevov Tots Onuaywyois @oTEep TepiTTMpLA
THS TOAEWS VOTEpoV Kal Tapaya@des atroxabapein.
TOUTOUS TE 61) KATAXEYOVTES Eis THY aTroiKiay é€é-
mweutrov ot brato, Kal aotpateiay émiyyedXov
eh b \ > , 3 / a
eTépots él Tovs Ovorovoxous, aayoAiav Te TOV
9 , , 4 \ ,
eugvriov pnyavepevor OopiBwv, nat vopilovtes
éy Ordos Kal otpatoTrédm Kal Kowvols ayeou
avOis yevopévous wAovciovs ofovd Kal mévynTtas

kat Snpuotixovs Kal tatpixious, Huepwtepov av
dtateOjvat mpos ANAHAOUS Kal HoLov.
XIII. ’Eviotavto dé Nowrrov of Tept Bxivvrov
kat Bpotdtov Snpaywyoi, Bodvtes épryov @poTaTov
avToUS TH MWpaoTtaTw THY dvouaTwY aTroLKiay
mpocayopevaavtas avOpwrovs mévntas @oTEp
b , 3 a > A > t 97
eis Bapabpov @éeiv, éxtréutrovras eis TOALY aépos
TE vooEpod Kal vexp@v aTddwy yésovcay, ad-
AoTpio daiou Kal Trarapvaim cvvotxitopévous:
eitTa WaTrEp OUK apKoupéevous TOUS pey UT ALpLOD
StoAAVvat TOV TOALTOY, TOUS 5€ ALM TpoagBar-
Aew, Ett Kal woAEwov avaiperor emdyev, STS
\ \ b a “A Ul a 5 LA
pndey Kaxoy arn THs Todews, STL Sovdevovca
Tois WAovoiots atreime. ToLtovTwY avaTrLmTXa-
pEvos Aoywv Oo SHpos oUTE TO KaTadOyw TpocTeE
TOV UTaTwWY pos Te THY atrotKiay SuEBERANTO.
Tis 6é Bovrjs Statropoupévns 0 Mapxctos, 76n
pectos oy dyKou Kal péyas yeyovas Te Ppovn-
pare kal Oavpalopuevos bd TOV KpaTtioTwY, pave-
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in it, and those which made most response to the exciting appeals of the popular leaders, should be purged away, like unhealthy and disturbing refuse from the body. Such citizens, therefore, the consuls selected as colonists and ordered them forth to Velitrae. They also enlisted others in a campaign against the Volscians, contriving thus that there should be no leisure for intestine tumults, and believing that when rich and poor alike, plebeians as well as patricians, were once more united in military service and in common struggles for the public good, they would be more gently and pleasantly disposed towards one another.

XIII. But the popular leaders, Sicinius and Brutus, with their following, at once rose up in opposition, crying out that the consuls were dis- guising a most crue] deed under that most inoffensive name, a colony, and were really pushing poor men into a pit of death, as it were, by sending them forth into a city which was full of deadly air and unburied corpses, to be associated with a strange and abominable deity ; and then, as if not satisfied with destroying some of their fellow-citizens by famine, and exposing others to pestilence, they proceeded further to bring on a war of their own choosing, that no evil might spare the city, which had but refused to continue in servitude to the rich. With their ears full of such speeches as

these, the people would neither answer the consular summons for enlistment, nor look with any favour on the colony.

The senate was in perplexity. But Marcius, who was now full of importance, and had grown lofty in spirit, and was looked upon with admiration by the

1 Cf. Dionysius Hal. vii. 13.

pos my pada Ta, Tots dnpwayayois avO.aTdpevos.
Kal THV pep arrotkiay améarethay, emer epLoLs
peyarous Tous Aaxovras éFeNOeiv avayKaaavTes"
pos be THY, oTparelap TAVTAT ACW amrayopevov-
TOD, auTos 6 Mapxcos TOUS Te TWENATAS avahaBev
Kal Tov addov daous TEL, Karébpape THY
"AyTLaTov X@pav. Kal TwoXuUy pév oiTov evpwr,
TOAAT 6é Aetg Opeppator Kat avdparrodwv
TEPLTUX OV, auT@ poev ovdev efetreTo, TOUS dé
oTpaTEevaapevous TONAG ev dryovTas EXOD,
TOANG be épovtas, emavijbev és Thy 'Pouny,
OOTE TOUS addous peTAameNOpMEéevous Kal pO ovycav-
Tas TOS evmopycacty ax Ger bas 7? Mapxio xai
Baptverbar tyv Sofav avtod Kal THY d¥vapmtY, @sS
€ml TOV Ofjpov avfouevny.
XIV. "Odiryou 66 xpavov per nee bev braretap
0 Mapxtos, exaUTTOVTO dé of Toro, Kal TOV
Ofjov aldas TLs elyev avépa Kat ryever Kal dper i
mpa@Tov aT ipaoas Kal cataBaneiv éml ToToUToLS
Kal THALKOUTOLS EVEPYETN MATT. Kal yap EOos av
Tots meTLodar THY a apyny jTapakaneiv Kai be£tob-
cba TOUS ToXlTas év patio KATLOVTAS eis THD
ayopav avev XuTaVvOS, eire Hadov exTamevouvTas
éavTous T@ oXNMATL 7 pos THY dénow, elTe Setk-
vbvtas ols joav arethat mpopavi, Ta ovpBora
Tis avdpeias. ov yap browig dntrov diavouns
dpyupiov Kal dexac wav atwotou éBovdovro 7 poo -
"evat Kal aXiTwva ToOis TroAtTaLs TOV SedopeEvoV
Cf. Dionysius Hal. vii. 19.

2 There is nothing of this candidacy for the consulship in Livy (ii. 34, 7-35). Marcius urges the senate to take advan- tage of the famine and exact from the plebeians a surrender

most powerful men of the city, openly took the lead in resisting the popular leaders. The colony was sent out, those that were chosen for it by lot being compelled to go forth under severe penalties; and when the people utterly refused military service, Marcius himself mustered his clients and as many others as he could persuade, and made an incursion into the territory of Antium. There he found much corn, and secured large booty in cattle and captives, no part of which did he take out for himself, but brought his followers back to Rome laden with large spoils of every sort. The rest of the citizens therefore repented themselves, envied their more fortunate fellows, and were filled with hostility to Marcius, not being able to endure the reputation and power of the man, which was growing, as they thought, to be detrimental to the people.!

XIV. But not long after, when Marcius stood for the consulship,? the multitude relented, and the people felt somewhat ashamed to slight and humble a man who was foremost in birth and valour and had performed so many and such great services. Now it was the custom with those who stood for the office to greet their fellow-citizens and solicit their votes, descending into the forum in their toga, without a tunic under it. This was either because they wished the greater humility of their garb to favour their solicitations, or because they wished to display the tokens of their bravery, in case they bore wounds. It was certainly not owing to a suspicion of the dispensing of money in bribery that the candidate for the votes of their tribunate. This so exasperates the people that they try Marcius in absentia and banish him, whereupon he goes

over to the Volsci. Plutarch’s story (xiv.—xx.) agrees closely with Dionysius Hal. vii. 21-64.

9 ~ 3 \ A , 9 \ \
auTa@v' ove yap meTa TOAVY XpovoY wYN Kal:
mpaats emevanrGe, Kal cuvepiyn Tais exxrAnoLac-
TiKais Whois apyvptov. éx 6é€ tovToU Kat dixac-
Tov Oiyodca Kat aotpatorédwv 1 Swpodoxia
TEepleaoTnaEV eis povapyiav THY Wort, eEavdpa-
qwoolcapmevn Ta OmrAa TOS ypnuacWW. ov yap
Kax@s EovKev eiTrety Oo eltrav STL Tp@TOS KaTéNUTE
Tov Shuov 6 mwp@tos éotiadoas Kat Sexaoas. .
\
dhaivetas 6 Kpuha Kat KaTa pLKpov Urroppéov ovK
nN ” > ¢ , la \ / >
evOus Exdnrov év Paoyn yevéoOar TO KaKov. ov
e a e
yap topev Gotis Av o Sexadcas mpatos évy Popun

oF A } 4 b @ , oe , “A
huov 7) Stxactnpov: "AOnvynas Sé A€yeTat TpPe-
> Y 7 a a_ > e 9
Tos apyuptov Sodvat dixactais “Avutos o ’AvGe-
U “
piwvos, mpodocias wept IlvAou Kpevopevos, ev Tots
a “A e ,
TleAorovynotakois 46n tTerXevT@OLY, OTNViKA TO
4 € , \
“puaoby ete yevos Kal axnpatov év ‘Pan tH
dyopayv KaTetyev.
XV. ’AAAA tod ye Mapkiov roddds wrro-

, ? \ 3 N “~ b) 4 2 e
datvovtTos wtTetkas amo TONN@Y aywovwY, EV OtS
émpa@tevoev ertaxaideca ETN TUVEYHS TTPATEVO-
MEVvOS, eOvewTOUVTO THY apeTHV, Kal AOYOY GANH-
4 a
ots edidocav ws éxeivov atrodetEovTes. érrel Oé,
fo e / 3 e \ fol ES é > 4
THS Huéepas ev 7 THY YHpov eer hépey evaTacns,
e 4 ? bd \ > / A e \ ol
o Mapxios es ayopay éveBare coBapas vireo Tis
BovAins mporeptropevos, Kai mavTEes Ob TraTpixcot
Tept avTov éyévovto davepot mpos pndey ovT@
pndérrote ctrovddoartes, éEérecov avOis of Tod-
\ a \ \ , n
Nol THS Mmpos avTOY Evvolas, Eis TO VEe“EeTay Kal
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of the citizens was required to present himself before them without a tunic and ungirt. For it was long after this time that the buying and selling of votes crept in and money became a feature of the elections. But afterwards, bribery affected even courts and camps, and converted the city into a monarchy, by making armies the utter slaves of money. For it has been well said that he first breaks down the power of the people who first feasts and bribes them. But at Rome the mischief seems to have crept in stealthily and gradually, and not to have been noticed at once. For we do not know who was the first man to bribe her people or her courts of law; whereas at Athens, Anytus, the son of Anthemion, is said to have been the first man to give money to jurors, when he was on trial for the treacherous failure to relieve Pylos,} toward the close of the Peloponnesian war ; a time when the pure race of the golden age still possessed the Roman forum.

XV. So when Marcius disclosed his many scars from many contests, wherein he had been a foremost soldier for seventeen years together, the people were put out of countenance by his valour, and agreed

with one another to elect him. But when the day for casting their votes came, and Marcius made a pompous entry into the forum escorted by the senate, and all the patricians about him were clearly more bent on success than ever before, the multitude fell away again from their good will towards him, and

1 A stronghold on the western coast of Messenia, in Peloponnesus.- It was occupied and successfully defended by the Athenians in 425 B.c. (Thuc. iv. 2-41). In 410, the Lacedaemonians laid siege to its Messenian garrison, which surrendered after an Athenian fleet had failed to relieve it (Diodorus, xiii. 64, 5 f.).

pO oveiv Um opepopevot. 7 poony dé To mabet
TOUT Kal déos, ei 'yévouro THS apXis KUpLOS aynp
cpio TOK paTtKOS kal Too obTov éXov év Tois TwaTpe-
Ktous dkiwpa, pn TavTatacw adédrotTo Tov Onpwou
Thy érevOepiav.
; =Odrw 87 hpovicavTes ameynpicavto TOV
Mapecov. as 8 avnyopevOnoav Erepor, Bapéws
pev TveryKev y] Bovhn doxovca mpomenmraKiabat
padQov éauTay TOV Mdpeiov, AUTOS e €KELVOS
ov per pies eoxev ovd émrtetx@s mpos TO cupBe-
Bnxos, are 67) WrEloTA TO Ovpoedet Kat puro-
veik@ péper TIS Wuxi. @s ExXovTE peyeFos Kal
Ppovnpa, KEXPNLEVOS, To 6 éuBpbes cal TO
mpGov, ob TO Trela Tov aperh TONITE METECTLY,
érykex papevov ovK EXov vTdO Aovyou kal qratdetas,
oude THY épnyuta Evvoixov, @ os [Idtov édeyer,
aiddserav eid@s Str Sel padcTa Stadhevyey
emixerpobvTa mpaypace Kowois Kal avO parrots
ouerein, Kal yever Bas THS TOAAG yedoperns UT
éviov dveEixaxias épaatyy. Grn am ovs Tes Ov
del Kal atevns, Kal TO VUKaY Kal KpaTeiy aTravT@V
wavtTws avopeias epyov nryovpevos, ovK acdevetas
Kat paraxias, éx TOU TovovvTas kai meTrovOortos
pardioTa THS puyis, Gonep oldnpa, TOV Oupov
avadibovens, anne. Tapaxijs HEaTos @v Kat
miKpias qwpos Tov Ofjuov. of & év HAtkia TOV
TATpLKLOD, 6 TL Te wy ev TH monet part.oTa
yaupovpevov evyeveta Kal dvGoby, det TE Gav-
pacras éomovddKecay mepl TOV avdpa, Kat TOTE
mporKelmevor Kal TwapovTes ovK eT ayab@ Tov
Oupor éEeppimifoy avtov T@ cuvayavaxteiy Kat

drifted into feelings of resentment and envy. These feelings were reinforced by their fear that if an aristocrat, who had such weight with the patricians, should become supreme in the government, he might altogether deprive the people of their liberties.

So, being in such a state of mind, they rejected Marcius and others were proclaimed elected. The senators were indignant, thinking the insult directed rather at them than at Marcius, and he himself could not treat the occurrence with restraint or forbearance. He had indulged the passionate and contentious side of his nature, with the idea that there was something great and exalted in this, and had not been imbued, under the influence of reason and discipline, with that gravity and mildness which are the chief virtues of a statesman. Nor did he know that one who undertakes public business must avoid above all things that self-will which, as Plato says,! is the “companion of solitude’ ; must mingle with men, and be a lover of that submissiveness to injury which some people ridicule so much. But since he was ever a straightforward man and obstin- ate, and since he thought that conquest and mastery in all things and at all times was the prerogative of bravery, rather than of effeminate weakness (which breaks out in anger, like a swelling sore, from the troubled and wounded spirit), he went away full of indignation and bitterness towards the people. The younger patricians, too, that element in the city which made most vaunt of noble birth and was most showy, had always been amazingly devoted to the man, and, adhering to him now, when their presence did him no good, fanned his anger by their sympa-

1 In a letter to Dio (Hpist. iv. ud fin.).

cuvaryelv. hv yap nye“ov avtois Kal diddoKaros

EDLEVIS TOV TrOAELLKOV ev Tals TTpaTElats, Kat
as ? a / \ ? /
Chrov apetns avev POovov mpos aAANHAOVS yav-

p@cat Tovs KatopOovvTas.

XVI. ’Ev rovt@ Sé citos feev ets “Poyunr,
mous pev wvyntos é& “Itadias, ovx éAdtTav Sé
Swpntos €x Yupaxovaadv, Térwvos tod Tupavvov
méppavros' Wate Tos TAEiaTous ev Edict
yevéoOat xpnotais, dua HS aropias Kal THs
S:apopas tTHv Tod amadXayncecOat tpocsbo-
a b] A 9 “~ b] ,
k@vras. evlus ovv Bovajns abpotcGetons mept-
@ \ e on »” @ 9 60 \ A
xubeis o Sios FEwOev exapadoxet To TEéXos,
éxrrifwv ayopa te ypnoecOar prravOpwr@p Kat

mpoika tas Swpeas veunoecOar. Kal yap évdov
Hoav ot TravTa thy BovAny tetOovtes. 0 péevTOL
Mdpxios dvacras opddpa xabmpato trav yape-
Copévwv Tois TroAXois, Snpaywyovs Kal mpodoTas
aTOKAA@Y THS apioTtoKpatias Kal o7éppata
movnpa Opacvtntos Kat Bpews eis Gyrov
3 / / > | e A A “A \
apetpéva tpépovtas nal’ abtav, & Kad@s pev
ele pin TWeptideiy ev apyh pvopeva pnd ioxupov
apxXn THrALKaUTy Totnoa, Tov Shpov, Hon Se Kat
goBepov elvat t@ tavra Bovropévots avtois
e UA \ \ bd , \
UmTdpyev Kal pndév axovtas BidtecOar, pode
mweiBecOat Tots wmdtow, GN avapxtas éyovtas
nyepovas idtovs apxYovtas mpocaryopevev. émt-
Socers pev ovv cal Savopds, datrep “EXAjvov ot
Kpaticta Snuoxparovpevot, KabélecOas >Wndito-
peévovs &bn travTeda@s eis Kowdov GrAOpov tHV
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bo

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thetic vexation and sorrow. For he was their leader and willing teacher of the art of war in their campaigns, and inspired them in their victories with a zeal for valour, which had no tinge of mutual jealousy.

XVI. In the meantime grain came to Rome, a great part of it bought in Italy, but an equal amount sent as a present from Syracuse, where Gelo was tyrant. Most of the people were consequently in great hope, expecting that the city would be delivered both from its scarcity and its discord. The senate, accordingly, was convened at once, and the people, flocking about the senate-house, awaited the result of its deliberations. They expected that the market-price for grain would now be moderate, and that what had been sent as a present would be distributed gratis. For there were some in the senate who so advised that body. But Marcius rose in his place and vehemently attacked those who favoured the multitude, calling them dem- agogues and betrayers of the aristocracy, and declar- ing that they were nourishing, to their own harm, the evil seeds of boldness and insolence which had been sown among the rabble; these they should have choked when they first sprang up, and not have strengthened the people by such a powerful magis- tracy as the tribunate. But now their body was for- midable, because it got everything that it desired, allowed no constraint upon its will, and refused to obey the consuls, but had their own leaders in anarchy, whom they styled their rulers. To sit there, more- over, voting such a people largesses and supplies, like those Greeks where democracy is most extreme, he said was nothing more nor less than maintaining them in their disobedience, to the common destruc-

atreiOevay avTav epodiate. "Ou yap Xa pry ye
Sntrov dycovaw arrovap Savery TOV TTPATELOY as
eyKaTtéhitrov, Kal TOV aToaotacewy als T pOnKAVTO
THY jTwatpioa, Kal Tov bia Boror a as édefavro Kara
THS Bovrjs: GXn Upepevous dia oBov Kat
KoNaKevovTas buds TadTA d:dovar Kal ovyxwpety
eMmicavres, ovdev &€ovar mépas areeias, oude
Tava ovTat Staepopevor Kat oractatovres. OOTE
TovTO pév éott Kody pavixov: eb O€ coppovod-
pep, adarpnoopela, THY onpapxiay avTev, avai-
peow ovcap bratetas Kal idoracw Tis TOAEWS,
ovKert [uLas, WS TrPOTEpor, ovens, GNra Sedeypéevns
Tony wndérrote cunpivar pnd opoppovirat pdé
mavoac bas VocoUVTAs Nas Kal TApATTOMEVOUS var'
G\AnAwY édcovear."
XVII. Tova Toabra, Neyo oO Mapxuos vTep-
puars elye Tous véous cuvevPovaravTas avT@ Kat
TOUS qroucious odiryou deiy dravras, povor
éxetvov avipa tiv money exer anTTnTOV Kat
dKONGKEUTOV Bo@vtas. évot be TOV m pea Bute-
pov NVAVTLOVYTO, Upopwpevor TO drroRnoopevov.
anéBn 6é Xpnerov oveev. of yap Srpapxor
mapovtes, ws ja00o0vT0 Th youn kpatobvra TOV
Mdpxuop, eféSpapov els TOV Bxdov peTa Bors
Tapakehevopevor ouvictacba Kai BonOety avrois
TOUS moddous. exednotas dé JopvBwsous ryevo-
pévns, Kal TOV oryoov ods oO Mapxios elrrev avaryo-
pevdévrer, Onion édenaev eurrecely UT opyns
pepoperos els THD Bovdyy o 0 Ofjpos: ot Oé Snpapxot
tov Mapxiov tHv atitiay érotobvto, Kal wéurov-

tion of all. "For they surely will not say that they are getting these as a grateful return for the military services which they omitted, and the secessions by which they renounced their country, and the calumnies against the senate which they have counten- anced. They will rather be confident that your fears drive you to subserviency and flattery when you make them these gifts and concessions, and will set no limit to their disobedience, nor cease from their quarrels and seditions. Such action on our part would there- fore be sheer madness; but if we are wise, we shall take their tribunate away from them, for it makes the consulship null and void, and divides the city. This is no longer one, as before, but has been cut

in two, so that we can never grow together again, or be of one mind, or cease afflicting and confounding one another.”

XVII. With many such words as these Marcius was beyond measure successful in filling the younger senators, and almost all the wealthy ones, with his own fierce enthusiasm, and they cried out that he was the only man in the city who disdained submis- sion and flattery. But some of the older senators opposed him, suspecting the outcome. And the outcome was wholly bad. For the tribunes were present, and when they saw that the proposal of Marcius was likely to prevail, they ran out among the crowd with loud cries, calling upon the plebeians to rally to their help. Then there was a stormy session of the as- sembly, and when the speech of Marcius was reported to it, the people were carried away with fury and almost burst in upon the senate. But the tribunes made their formal denunciation of Marcius, and sum- moned him by messenger to come before them and

b] 4 > \ > , e XN
Tes €xdXouvv avTovy atroNoynaopevov. as Oe
y ¢ ‘\ / A e 4,

mpos UBpw tous meupOévras éEjracev vrnpéras,

“ /
avtol peTa TOV ayopavopwv Koy ak€ovtes Bia
Tov avodpa, Kat Tov cwpatos émedapBdvovTo.
acvotavres & of tarpixio. tovs pév Snuapyous
atretpiiyavto, tots 8 ayopavopuors Kai mAnyas
évéBanov.
Tore pév otv éotrépa xataraBotoa thy Tapa-

\ / ¢ > e 4 \ an b]
xnv otédXucev: aya & apépa tov Shor éeEnypiw-
pévov op@vTes ot Urata. Kal auvtTpéyovta trav-
Taxobev eis THY ayopay Eacav UTrép TIS TOAEWS,
\ \ b) f > / a
kat tHv BovAnv dOpoicavtes éxéNevov oKorTrety
Straws émriexéoe Oyous Kal Soypace ypnotois
Tpaivwct Kal KataoTyTwot TOUS TOAAOUS, WS Ov
4 @ C4 x9 C¢ N , bud

dtrotipias ovcav mpav, ovd brép doEns Gysdrav,
J “A 3 \ \ b] a \ 5] ,
El whpovovetv, aAAA Katpov eTrLadhary Kat o€vp,
evyv@povos ToNtTelas Kal diravOpwrrov Seopevov.

eiEdvrwy S€ TOV TrEicTwY TpoEdOovTEs WS EeVTV
partota TO Snum Stedéyovto Kal KateTpdivor,
atroAvopevot te Tas SiaBoras emiexas Kal TO
vovOetourts kai SdxvovtTs. petpiws ypwpevot, Trept
5é tipHs w@viwy nal ayopas ovdév SvoicerOat mpos
avtovs pacKoytes.
XVIII. ‘Os obdv éevedidou to rovAvd tod Sypyou
Kat gavepov hv T@ Koopiws Kal cadpovas
akovew ayouevov Kal KnNOvpEVvoV, avéoTnaay ot
Snpapyor, TH pev BovrAy swdpovoian tov Shpov
b / isd ” 4 / \ \
avOureiEew Goa Karas exer pdoxovtes, Tov 5é
Mapxvoy atroroyeicGar Kedevovtes, eb un dyno
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make his defence. And when he insolently drove away the officers who brought their message, they went themselves, attended by the aediles, to bring him by force, and tried to lay hands upon his person. But the patricians, banding together, drove the tri- bunes away, and actually beat the aediles.

By this time, then, evening had fallen, which put an end to the tumult; but as soon as it was day, the exasperated people came running together from all quarters into the forum. When the consuls saw this, they were alarmed for the city, and convening the senate, urged them to consider how, by reasonable proposals and suitable resolutions, they might soothe and pacify the multitude, since it was not a time for ambitious rivalry, nor would they be wise in contend- ing for their dignity, but the crisis was severe and critical, and demanded measures that were considerate and humane. The majority of the senate acceding to these views, the consuls went out and reasoned with the people as well as they could, and tried to mollify them, answering their accusations in a reason- able manner, and making only a moderate use of admonition and tebuke; as regarded the price of provisions and market supplies, they declared there should be no difference between them.

XVIII. Accordingly, the greater part of the people showed signs of relenting, and it was evident, from their decorous and sober attention, that they were on the way to be controlled and won over. Then the tribunes rose and declared that since the senate was now acting soberly, the people in their turn would make such concessions as were fair and honourable. They insisted, however, that Marcius should make answer to the following charges: Could he deny that

emit auyxvoe: THS ToNtTElas Kal KaTadUoEL TOD

Sywou thy Te BovAny trapokvvey Kal Kadovpevos
tn avtav areOjoat, TéX0s bé TOUS ayopavopLous
TUTTOV év ayopa Kal mpoTnAraki~wov éudvrXor,
Gaov én avT@, TOAeLov eEepyacacbat Kal mTpo-
ayaryeiv eis O7Aa TOUS TOAiTas. Edeyor 5é TadTa
Bovropevos tov Madpxioy 7 tarevov atrodetEa,
Tapa duo upévta To Ppovnpa Kal OcpatrevovtTa
Tov Onpov, TH ioe. Ypw@pevov aviKeaTov
amtepyadcacOat thy mpds avTov opynv: 6 wadXoV
HAmlov, op0as croyalopevot Tod avdpos.
"Eotn bev yap ws atoAoynodpmevos, Kal mapeé-
cXEY AUTO ciwTnv Kal Hovyiav o Shpos: as 8
nptato Tpos Tous avOpwrrous SentiKov Tiva NOYOV
mpoadexXopevous ov povov éTraxGet rappycia xpi-
oOat nai meio KaTnyopia THs Tappyatas, dAdNa
Kal Tovw hovyas kal dsabéoes mpoowtou Thy éyyus
tmepowias Kal dduywpias dpoBiay émberxvipevos,
o pev Snpos éEetpaxvvOn Kal pavepos hw dvcava-
aoxeTav kat Bapvvopevos Tots Aeyouéevots, Tav é
Snuapxyov o Opacitatos Xxivvros puxpa Tots
auvapxouat diarex Geis, elt' eis pwécov avayopevoas
wos Odvatos to tov Snudpywy tov Mapkiou
KaTéyvwoTatl, TpocéTake Tols ayopavopmols avaya-
yovras avrov él thv dxpav evs @oat Kata
THs UTroxerpéevns hapayyos. damtouevoy bé TaV
ayopavouwy tov awpatos édofe péy Kal ToY
ONMOT@Y Tors HptxTov Elvas TO ryeyvomevov Kal
UTepnpavor, ol O€ TATPLKLOL TAVTAaTAGLY EXTTAVTES
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he had instigated the senate to violate the constitu-
tion and abrogate the powers of the people? When
summoned to appear before them, had he not refused ?
And finally, by insulting and beating the aediles in
the forum, had he not done all in his power to incite
the citizens to arms and bring about a civil war?
They made this demand with a desire either that
Marcius should be publicly humiliated, if, contrary to
his nature, he curbed his haughty spirit and sued for
the favour of the people; or, if he yielded to his
natural promptings, that he should do something
which would justify their wrath against him and
make it implacable. The latter was what they the

rather expected, and they rightly estimated the man's character.

For he came and stood before them as one who would defend himself, and the people were quiet and silent in his presence. But when, instead of the more or less deprecatory language expected by his audience, he began not only to employ an offensive boldness of speech, which at last became actual denunciation, but also to show, by the tone of his voice and the cast of his countenance, that his fearlessness was not far re- moved from disdain and contempt, then the people was exasperated, and gave evident signs that his words roused their impatience and indignation. Upon this, Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after a brief conference with his colleagues, made formal proclamation that Marcius was condemned 'to death by the tribunes of the people, and ordered the aediles to take him up to the Tarpeian rock at once, and cast him down the cliff below. But when the aediles laid hold of his person, it seemed, even to many of the plebeians, a horrible and monstrous act; the patricians,

xa Tepirabyoavres Opyunoay amd xpavyns Bon-
Getv, ot Sé Kal xepol rods émridayBavopévous
aveipyovres kal Katapuyvivtes éavtois tov Mdp-
xcov' éviot 5€ Kal tas yelpas dpéyovtes édéovTo
TOV TOANOY, erreLdy) AOYOU Te Kal Puvis ovdéy
pov hv év axocpia tocavTy Kal OopiBous, axpe
oo cupdpovncavtes ot iror Kai oixeion TOV
Snudpywv as dvev dovov ToAdod TaY TaTpiKior
ovx éotw éEayayeiy ovde kod\adoa, Tov Mdpxuop,
Erercay avTous aperety THs Tywpias TO GANOKOTOV
cat Bapv, pn Bia pnd axpitov atroxriyivtas,
Gra TH SHuw wWihov éemeveyxeiy arrodovtas.
éx TovTOU KaTacTas Oo YKivylos NpwTa Tovs
matpixious Tt BovAduevor TOY Madpxiov aparpodr-
Tat Tov Snuov Bovropévov xoralew. éxeivov dé
Tdadw avtepwravroyv “Ti pev ov diavociobe
kal ti BovrcoOe vets, avdpa “Pwpaiwv év rots
Gpiotos avev Kpicews ra Tipwpiay @pnv Kat
mapavopov ovTws ayovtes;” “’ANAA TavTHp pév,”
elev 6 Yexivvtos, “ buets py toteicbe mpddhacuy
Siapopds cal ordcews mpos Tov Shor 6 yap
afvodte, Sidwow vpiv, KpOjvar tov avdpa. aot
dé, Mdpxte, mpoayopevopev eis tpitny ayopav
Tmapeivat Kad TreiOerv TOvS TOALTAS, Eb ndev aduKels,
as Wnd@ Kpivodvtas.” |
XIX. Tore péev ody nydaynoav of TaTtpixtot
Thv Siddvow, kat tov Madpxiov aopévws eyovres
am7jrdov. év 5€ To perakd ypovm THs TpiTNS

aryopas (ayopas S€ trotovot “Pwpaios oe Hpépas
arns, vouvdivas Kadobvtes) érrrida péev avrots
mapéoxe Suaxpovoews otpateia yevouévn mpos
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moreover, utterly beside themselves, distressed and horror stricken, rushed with loud cries to his aid. Some of them actually pushed away the officers making the arrest, and got Marcius among them- selves; some stretched out their hands in supplica- tion of the multitude, since words and cries were of no avail amid such disorder and confusion. At last the friends and kindred of the tribunes, perceiving that it was impossible, without slaying many pa- tricians, to lead Marcius away and punish him, per- suaded them to remit what was unusual and oppressive in his sentence, not to use violence and put him to death without a trial, but to surrender him and refer his case to the people. Then Sicinius, becoming calm, asked the patricians what they meant by taking Marcius away from the people when it wished to punish him. But the patricians asked in their turn: «* What then is your purpose, and what do ye mean, by thus dragging one of the foremost men of Rome, without a trial, to a savage and illegal punishment ?”’ “‘ Well then,” said Sicinius, “ye shall not have any such excuse for factious quarrel with the people; for they grant your demand that the man have a trial. And we cite thee, Marcius, to appear before the citizens on the third market-day ensuing, and con- vince them, if you can, of your innocence, assured that they will decide your case by vote.”

XIX. For the time being, then, the patricians were satisfied with this truce, and went away in glad poss- ession of Marcius. But in the time which inter- vened before the third market-day (for the Romans hold their markets every ninth day, calling them, therefore, “nundinae”’), a campaign was undertaken against the city of Antium, which led them to hope

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M 2

"Avtidtas, > pKkos EEovca Kat xpovov év @®
vesponOns o Shyos Eotat, THS Opyhs amopapav-
Ocions } TavTeras éxtrecovans 5° aoxyodiav Kat
ToAeuov éreta Oé, oS TaxyY SiadrvodpeEvot TPOS
tous Avtiatas émavirOor, éyivovto sivoboe TOV
qTaTpexiwy wodAdkKis, dedidTav Kal. oxoTrovYTwY
Sirws tov te Mdpxiov ov mponcovtas Tov Te Sipov
avOus ov tmapéEovow éxtapatrew tots Snpa-
yoryots. “Amos pev ody Kdravéuos aitiay éxov
éy Tois partcta pucodnpos elvar Svepaptupero,
Aeywv tHv te BovAny avTov’s avaipyoew Kal
TponcecOar Tavtdmact THY ToNTELay, eb KUPLOV
HS Whnpov Kata tev Tratpixiwy déEovTat yevo-
pevov Tov SHuov: ot S€ mpecRuTatro Kat Snporti-

K@tTatot Ttovvavtiov nkiovy ov yarerov ovde
Bapiv, adda mpdov cal piradvOpwrov bro Ths
éEovaias évecOar tov Siuov' ov yap Kxatadpo-
voovte THs Bours, GAN olopéve Katadpoveic bat
Tusny Kal trapapvOiav yevnoecOar THY Kpiow,
ao8 dpa Thy iidhov \aBovras arroOncecOas THY
opyny.
XX. ‘Opev obv o Madpxtos edvoia pev avrod,
Poh Sé tov SHuov thy ciyKANTOY aTropoUperny,
npwrTynoe TOUS Onudpyous ti KaTNYyoOpovaLY avTov
kal qept tivos xptOnodpevov ert tov Shpov é&-
dyovow. etltrovtwv 5 éxeivev Ott Tupavvis éote TO
éykAnua Kail tupavveiv Siavoovpevov arrodet-
Eovow avrov, ottws éEavacras avros én mpos

that the issue might be avoided altogether. The campaign would last long enough, they thought, for the people to become tractable, after their rage had languished or altogether disappeared by reason of their occupation with the war. But presently, when the citizens returned home after a speedy settlement of their dispute with Antium, the patricians were in frequent conclave, being full of fear, and deliberating how they might not surrender Marcius, and yet pre- vent the popular leaders from throwing the people again into tumult and disorder. Appius Claudius, indeed, who was counted among those most hostile to the claims of the people, said with all solemnity that the senate would destroy itself and utterly betray the government of the city, if it should suffer the people to wield their vote in judgement on the patricians. But the oldest senators, and those most inclined to favour the people, maintained on the con- trary that it would not be rendered harsh or severe by its exercise of this power, but mild and humane ; for since it did not despise the senate, but rather thought itself despised by that body, the prerogative of trying a senator would be a solace to its feelings and a mark of honour, so that as soon as it proceeded to vote it would lay aside its wrath.

XX. Marcius, therefore, seeing that the senate was in suspense between its kindly feelings towards him and its fear of the people, asked the tribunes what the accusations against him were, and on what charge he would be tried if they led him before the people. They replied that the charge against him was usurpation, and that they would prove him guilty of planning a usurpation of the government. There- upon he rose of his own accord and said he was going

tov Sipov dn Badifeww arrodoynoopevos Kal
pndéva tpotoyv Kpicews pndé, av ad@, Ko-

Adoews tTrapaiteicOar: ‘‘Movoy Sras,” én,
a \
“roto KaTnyopyonte Kal pn revoncbe THV
4
Bovrw.” os 8 w@poroynoav, émrt rovTos 7
xplaw éyivero.
> , \ fe) / a \ b \
vveGovtos 5é Tod Snuou mpeTov pév ov KaTa
AOyous, GAAA Kata guards éBidlovto yiverOat
\ , a ? , \ ,
thy ~Wndodopiav, TaY eVvTOpwY Kal Yyvwpi_wv
Kal OTPATEVOMEVwY TOV ATropoV Kal TTOAUTT Pay jLova
Q a le , \ Vv > a
Kal Tov Kadov dpovtifovta pndev dyAov émi-
a / te) ¥ \
mpocGev tais ~rydois qotodytes. emetra TH
Tupavvides adévtes aitiay dvamobextoy ovcar,
b , lA > 7 a / A ¢ lA
éxelvwv Tad e€pué“ynvtTo TOV AGywV ods o Mdpxuos
, 9 3 A a , \ b
mporepov elev ev TH BovrAH, KwXVOV pEeV eTreVw-
vioat Thv ayopay, aderécbar Sé tHv Snuapxiav
Tov Onpou KerEevov. Kawov Sé KaTnyopnoav
3 A , \ \ “A v4 ray
avtov KaTnyopnua THY Stavouny TOV Aadvpar, &
AaBav éx rHs AvTiata@v yopas ovK avnveyKev Ets
TO Snpoctov, GAAA Siéverpe Tots pe’ avTOv oTpa-
Tevopevois’ wud ov o) Kal pddoTa éyeTas
a \ 4 b ‘
SiatapayOjvat tov Mdpeiov. od yap mpocedo-
Knoev ovd evtropnoe mpos Tov OYAOV €xK TOD
, / a ? > 9» A \
TapavTika AOyov TWWAaVaY, GAN émaivodyTL TOUS
oTpatevaapévous OopvBnaav avT@ TrEioves GvTES
¢ N 4 / > A “ a
Ol pi) oOTpaTevodpevot. TédOS 8 ovY Tals duvrais
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at once before the people to make his defence, and
would deprecate no manner of trial, nor, should he
be found guilty, any form of punishment; “ Only,”
said he, “see that ye confine yourselves to the charge
mentioned, and do not play false with the senate.”

The tribunes agreed to this, and on these terms the
trial was held.
But when the people were come together, in the first place, the tribunes insisted that the votes be cast not by centuries,! but by tribes, thus making the indigent and officious rabble, which had no thought of honour, superior in voting power to the wealthy and well known citizens of the military class. In the second place, abandoning the charge of usurpation, which could not be proven, they dwelt again upon the speech which Marcius had previously made in the senate, when he protested against the lowering of the market-price of grain, and urged them to take the tribunate away from the people. They also added a fresh charge against him, namely, his distribution of the spoils which he had taken from the country of Antium; these, they said, he had not turned into the public treasury, but had dis- tributed them among those who made the campaign with him. By this accusation Marcius is said to have been more disturbed than by all the rest. For he had not expected it, and was not ready at once with an answer which would satisfy the people, but began to praise those who had made the campaign, whereupon he was clamorously interrupted by those who had not made it, and they were the more numerous. In the end, therefore, the vote was taken

4 Out of the 193 centuries, the richest class alone had 98, against 95 of all the other five classes put together.

a Va / e a . a > Vv
Ths Whdouv Sofeions at xabatpovoat Ttpeis éryé-
vovto. wy dé tiunua Ths caradixns adios Puy.
peta Sé THY avayopevawy o pev Shuos ovdérroTe
viKnoas paxn Toreulovs Tocov'Toy éppovnaev
Scov Tote dpovav Kai yeynOas anne, THY 8é
BovaAny axos ove kai xathnpera Sewn, metapedo-
pévnv Kai dvogopodcay ert TO py TavTAa ToLhoaL
kal traQeivy mpotepovy 4 Teptideiy UBpicavta Kat
xXpnodpevov é€oucia TocavTn Tov Sjpov. ovder O
édeu TOTE Trpos Sidyvwow écOATos 7 Tapacnpev
e bd > 3 \ Ly a @ , e ,
ETEpwY, GAA EvOUS Fv SHAOS OTL SNnuOTNS O Kai-
poy cat o duadopav Stet watpixtos.
XXII. TIAny adtos 0 Mdpxuos, avéxmdnxtos Kal
arateivwros, Kal oynuatt cal Badiopatt cal
mpocanr@ KkabeortnKkws, év Tact ToOis GAOL Epat-
vero TemovOocw aovptabns éavT@ povos, ovy
UT ANoyiopod Kal mpaoTyntos, ovdée TE Hépecv
'4 N , > b 3 \ A e b
peTpias TO cupBeBnKos, GAN eurabyns dv or
opyjs Kal Bapudpocivns, Sep ayvoovety ot

ToAAol AVInV ovoav. Stray yap eis Oupov pera-
Bary, xaOdmwep éexrupwOcica TO TaTretvov atro-
4 \ 9 , e \ a \ e
Barre Kal dpyov: 4 Kai Soxet Spactixds o
Oupovpmevos ws Oepuds o mupéttav, olov év
oduyp@ Kat dvataces Kal Gyx@m yevouévns THS
lp) b] / \ “ 4 > / lA A)
spuxjs. édyrwoe O€ Tois Epyos avtixa pada THY
d:.d0eowv tavtnv o Madpxcos.
KicedOav yap olxade, nal thy pntépa Kal THv
yuvaixa peta KrXavOuod Kal Bons crodupopévas
domacdapevos Kal Kerevoas peTtpiws pépew Td
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by tribes, and a majority of three condemned him.! The penalty assigned was perpetual banishment. After the result was announced, the people went off in greater elation and delight than they had ever shown for any victory in battle over their enemies ; : but the senate was in distress and dire dejection, repenting now and vexed to the soul that they had not done and suffered all things rather than allow the people to insult them in the exercise of such great powers. And there was no need. now of dress or other marks of distinction in telling one class from another, but it was clear at once that he who rejoiced was a plebeian, and he who was vexed, a patrician.

XXII. Albeit Marcius himself, who was neither daunted nor humbled, but in mien, port, and count- enance fully composed, seemed the only man among all the distressed patricians who was not touched by his evil plight. And this was not due to calculation, or gentleness, or to a calm endurance of his fate, but he was stirred by rage and deep resentment, and this, although the many know it not, is pain. For when pain is transmuted into anger, it is consumed, as it were, by its flames, and casts off its own humility and sloth. Wherefore the angry man makes a show of activity, as he who has a fever is hot, his spirit being, so to speak, afflicted with throbbing, disten- tion, and inflation. And that such was his condition, Marcius showed right quickly by his conduct.

He went home, where his mother and his wife met
him with wailings and loud lamentations, and after
embracing them and bidding them to bear with
equanimity the fate that had come upon them, he
1 Dionysius Hal. (vii. 64) says that nine of the twenty-one
tribes voted to acquit Marcius.
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cupBeBnkos, evOvs amiav éBad.lev ert Tas Tvdas.

éxel O€ TOV TaTptKimy ouod TavTwY TpoTrEL-
4 o A Ld \ y \

TOVTWVY AUTOV OUTE TL AaBwY OUTE TLVdS SenOets
> VA a A 4, - v
GNnANATTETO, TpEels 7 TETTAPAS TeAAaTAS EXwV
wept avrov. nuépas 8 oGriyas & Tiow aypots
avTos Kal’ éautoyv UT TOAwY StevexOels Siaro-
(ol if e \ e lA oe b w 9? >
ylopuav, otous o Oupos UTéBadrrXev, Oor OUT Ets
Kadov ote cupépov ovdév, dAr’ 7H TO ‘Pwpaious
“ > ?- , , \ N
peTenOeiv, éyivwonxe Todenov Tia Bapvy Kat
Spopov dvactioas én’ avtovs. a@puncev ovv dia-
metpacbat mo@tov OvorovoKxwr, axpalovras pév
eldws Ett Kal capact nal xpnyact, tails dé ye-
yevnpévais evayyos Frtais ov TocodToy arro-
Awr€va, THS Suvdpews Goov éyyeyovévar didXo-
vetxias avtots Kal apyhs oldpevos.
XXII. "Hy 5€ tus avnp e& ‘Avtiov modews Sta
Te WAovTOY Kal avdpeiav cal yévous émipdverav
9 gos A ”] a“ > ,
akiopa Baoiuxoy éywv év waow Ovorovoxots,
4 4 ? / e \ , 4
dvoua TurAXos 'Apudidios. 87rd TovTOV picovpevovy
e A e A e 2Q/ e , ,
0 Mapxios éavtov ws ovdéva ‘Papaiwy éyivwcke:
Ul b LJ “A ,
TONAGKLS yap ev atretNais Kal TpoKAncect KaTAa
Tas paxas yevopevor, Kal Koumrdcavtes Sia TO
> 7 a a ,
évdpudXov ola veaviay troheutkav dirotipias Kat
Ciro. pépovary, locov mpoceKTHTAVTO TH KOLVa TO
Kat GdXjrAwv EyOos. ov pny adda péyeOds Te
, 54 \ 4 ci a 4
ppovnpatos Exovta Tov TudXov opay, Kal padota
57 Ovorovcoxarv éribupobvra “Pwpaious AaBnv
wapacyovtas év pépet Kodovaat, waptupiay aré-
Aue TH elrrovTs “Ovp@ paxecOar yareTrov: &
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straightway departed and went to the city gate. Thither all the patricians in a body escorted him, but without taking anything or asking for anything he departed, having only three or four of his clients with

him. For a few days he remained by himself at some country place, torn by many conflicting coun- sels, such as his anger suggested to him, purposing no good or helpful thing at all, but only how he might take vengeance on the Romans, At last he determined to incite some neighbouring nation to a formidable war against them. Accordingly, he set out to make trial of the Volscians first, knowing that they were still abundantly supplied with men and money, and thinking that they had been not so much crippled in power by their recent defeats as filled with contentious wrath against the Romans. XXII. Now there was a certain man of Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name, who, by reason of his wealth and bravery and conspicuous lineage, had the standing of a king among all the Volscians. By this man Marcius knew himself to be hated as no other Roman was ; for they had often exchanged threats and chal- lenges in the battles which they had fought, and such emulous boastings as the ambitious ardour of youthful warriors prompts had given rise to a mutual hatred of their own, in addition to that of their peoples. However, since he saw that Tullus had a certain grandeur of spirit, and that he, more than all other Volscians, was eager to retaliate upon the Romans, if they gave him any opportunity, Marcius bore witness to the truth of him who said!: “ With anger it is hard to fight; for whatsoe’er it wishes,

1 Heracleitus, Fragment 105 (Bywater, Heraclits Ephesti relequiae, p. 41).

Yap av bern, Wuxiis ovelran. c AaBov yep éabijra
Kal oKEUNY év 7} padtara pay Soke bs hv Ewedrev
opwpevos, oaTrep ‘Oduaceds,
"Avdpav duvopevéwy xatédu trod.

XXIII. "Hy & éomépa, Kal ToAXol pev avr TpooeTvyXavor, eyvapite & ovdeis. éBadslev odv emt THY olxiay TOU TvAXov, Kat TaperaedOov adve m™pos THY éxTtiav éxdbice ow}, Kal THY Keparny eycadurpdpevos ouxiay 3 Hryev. ot de KaTa THY olKiay Javpdoartes avactija at pev ovK eroApunoay (Hy yap Tl Kal Tept avToy akioua Kat Tov oyYnpaTtos Kal Ths cLwmns), eppacay dé T@ TuAAw mepl Setarvoy ovtt THhv aromtay Tob mpay- patos. 0 é eEavacras KE Tpos avrov, Kat avEK pLVE Tis Ov adinras kal rivwv Sedpevos. ovTas ovy O Mapxtos arokadvyrapevos Kai pe- Kpov avarXov, “Ee PIT O pe ylvwokes, w Tvrnre,” elrrev, “GX opav amiorets, avaryKn pe KaTHYOpOV épauTOv yevec Bau. Ddios Ef pub Map- KLOS,) wreiora ge Kal Ovorovaxous é epyacapevos KaKG, Kal THhv ovK éaoay apveta Bat TAUTA Tept- pépov m poo nyopiay TOV Koptodavov. ovdev yap adXo TOV TOAK@V TOvOV Kal cwyOvvev éxeivav

exT No dunv ErabXov 7) TO Tapadonpov Gvopa THS
T pos Upas éxOpas. kal robo pou mepteatev
avadaiperov: ta & adAAa opod tdvta pov
Snpou Kal UBpet, paraxia dé nal mpodocia TOV
év téder xal tooripey Grea TEpNLae, Kal guyas
edj apa, Kal yeyova THS éoTias THS ons ixéTns,
ovxX umép adetas Kal catnpias (Ti yap ede pe
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that it buys, even at the cost of life." For, putting
on such clothing and attire as would make him seem,
to any one who saw him, least like the man he was,
like Odysseus,
" He went into the city of his deadly foes." }

XXIII. It was evening, and many met him, but no man knew him. He proceeded, therefore, to the house of Tullus, and slipping in unawares, took his © seat at the hearth? in silence, covered his head, and remained there motionless. The people of the house were amazed, and did not venture to raise him up, for his mien and his silence gave him a certain dig- nity ; but they told Tullus, who was at supper, what a strange thing had happened. Tullus rose from table and came to him, and asked him who he was, and why he was come. At this, then, Marcius uncovered his head, and after a slight pause, said: "If thou dost not yet recognize me, Tullus, but disbelievest thine eyes, I must be my own accuser. I am Caius Marcius, he who has wrought thee and the Volscians most harm, and the surname of Coriolanus which I bear permits no denial of this. I have won no other prize for all the toils and perils which I have undergone than the name which is a badge of my enmity to your people. This, indeed, cannot be taken away from me; but of everything else I have been stripped, through the envy and insolence of the Roman people, and the cowardly treachery of the magistrates and those of my own order. I have been driven into exile, too, and am become a suppliant at thy hearth, not for the sake of security and safety,—

1 Odyssey, iv. 246.

we Tae place of refuge for the suppliant. Cf. Odyssey,
vii. .
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4-

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Setpo Ree poRovpevov amrobaveiv;) ddr Sixas

AaBeiv yontwv, cai rAapRavov 75n Tapa Taev
éxBarXovtwy 7@ oé Toteiy esavTod KUpLov. et

pev odv éoti cor Oupos émiyetpety Tots TroAcpioss,
(Ot, Tais waits cuppopais, w yevvaie, yYptoat, Kal
KoLVvoY evTuynpa moincov OQvorovcKav THY éunv
aTuxXiav, TocovT@m BéATLOY UTEP UuowW TrONELy-
covTos 7 Wpos Luas, bo@ Torepodotr BéATLOY OF
yiv@okovTes TA Tapa TOS TOAELLOLS TOV aryVO-
ovvrwv. et & areipnkas, oT éym BovrAopar Chv
ovTe aol Karas yes colew madras pev eyOpov
avd pa, cab tovéuov, viv & dvadedr nal aypn-
oTOD.
‘Os otv tadtra 6 TuAXos Heoucer, Hon Te
Oavpacras kai thy SeEtavy éuBarov, “’Avi-
ataco, elmev, “@ Mapxie, cal Odppe. péya yap
nuty ayabov tKeus b Sots aeautov, érmte dé
peiCova Tapa OvorovcKxov.” Kal Torte pev eiotia
diroppovovpevos tov Mdpxuov, ev 8& tats émov-
cats nuépats EBovAevovto Trept TOU ToAguou Kal”
éauTous.
XXIV. Thv dé ‘Pouny 7 te Tov TAT pLKLoV
Suopévera Tmpos TOV OHpmov, OvY HeioTa THY TOD
Mapkiov xatadixny airiay éyovtav, érdpatte,
kal Toa Satmovia pavrets Kat Lepets Kal idco@ras
mpoanyyesrov akia ppovtidos. ey dé rAéyerat
ToLovTO TL yevéc Oat. ‘Titos Hv Aativos, avnp otk
ayay émipayns, ampaynov O€ Kal pétptos GAXwS
1 Livy simply says that Marcius was kindly received by the Volscians, and that he lodged with Tullus (ii. 35, 6). eae er a agree closely with Dionysius Hal. vii. 67 and viii, 1.

for why should I come hither if I were afraid of death ?>—but with a desire to take vengeance on those who have driven me forth, which I take at once when I put myself in thy power. If, then, thou art eager to assail thine enemies, come, good Sir, take advantage of my calamities, and make my individual misfortune the good fortune of all the Volscians ; I shall fight better for you than I have against you, in just so far as those who know the secrets of their enemies fight better than those who

do not. But if thou hast given up hope, neither do I wish to live, nor is it for thine advantage to spare one who has long been an enemy and a foe, and now is unprofitable and useless."
When Tullus heard this, he was wonderfully pleased, and giving him his right hand, said: " Rise up, Marcius, and be of good courage. In giving thyself to us, thou bringest us a great good, and thou mayest expect a greater one still from the Volscians." Then he entertained Marcius at table with every mark of kindness, and during the ensuing days they took counsel together concerning the war.!

XXIV. But at Rome, owing to the hatred of the people by the patricians, who were especially em- bittered by the condemnation of Marcius, there were great commotions, and many signs from heaven were reported by seers, priests, and private persons, which could not be ignored. One of these is said to have been as follows. There was one Titus Latinus,? a man of no great prominence, but of quiet and modest life in general, and free from superstitious fears, as

* The story is found in Livy, ii. 36, and in Valerius Maximus, i. 7, 4.

cat xaBapos Serordaipovias, éte 8 wadAdov ara- Covelas. ovtos dvap eldev ws tod Atos eis Syruv HKovTos avT@ Kal KeAevovTos eimely Tpos THY avyknTtov STL KaKOv TOY opynoTHY eEcTELdaY avT@® Tpo THS TouTHS Kal atepTéoctaToy. Lowv dé thy dypev éXeye un Wavy ppovticar TO TpwToV as 6é xal Sevtepov ide@v Kal tpitov nuédyoe, qmatdsos Te xXpnotov Oavatov eémideiv kal Tov capatos advw mapelévtos axparys yevérOar. tavtTa & év krwidim dhopddnv xopicBels eis TIHV TUYKANTOY aTrnyyerev. arrayyetrAas 5, OS hacty, evOds obeTo pavvipevov attrod TO capa, Kat dvactas anne Ov avtod Badifwv. Oavyaocavtes ovv ot Bovrevtal woAdnY érroL_noavTo Tod Tpay- patos Enrnov.
"Hy 68 tosodtov: oixérny tis attotd tapadovs olKérats éTépots _ exedevgEV eEdryetv ov aryopas pacruyobytas, elt amoxreivat. tadTa mpat- Tovow avtois Kal tov avOpwrov aixiSopévacs, otpopas Te TavTodatras Um' Gduvns oTpepopmevon

kal Kiwwnoers adAXas atepreis TH Trepitradecy
KLVOUPMEVOY, 1 TOT) KATA TYUYNY HKOAOVONKEL.
Kat ToAXOl pev eva yVepavoy TAY TAapOYTwY, OUT
dypuy thapav opa@vres ovTE KivnoELS TpETTOVEAS,
ovdels 8 érreEnADev, GANA DRotdopiar povoy
éyévovTo Kal KaTapal TO TWeKPAS oUTWS KoAaCorTE.
Kal yap expavro TOAAH Wpos TovS olKéTAs
€metxeia ToTe, Ota adtoupyiay Kal TO Kowvwvety
Siaitns juepwrepov Exovtes mpos avtTovs Kat
auvnbéctepov. hv Sé peyddn Kodacts oiKéTou
TAnUpEeAncayTos, ef EdAov audéns, @ TOV pusov
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he was also, and yet more, from vain pretensions. This man dreamed that Jupiter appeared to him, and bade him tell the senate that the dancer, whom they had appointed to head his procession, was a bad one, and gave him the greatest displeasure. After having this vision, Titus said, he gave it no thought at all at first, but after he had seen it a second and a third time, and still neglected it, he had suffered the loss of an excellent son by death, and had himself be- come suddenly palsied. This story he told after having been brought into the senate on a litter, and no sooner had he told it, they say, than he at at once felt the strength return to his body, and rose up, and went away, walking without aid. In amazement, then, the senators made a careful in- vestigation of the matter.

Now, what had happened was this. A certain man had handed over one of his slaves to other slaves, with orders to scourge him through the forum, and then put him to death. While they were executing this commission and tormenting the poor wretch, whose pain and suffering made him writhe and twist himself horribly, the sacred procession in honour of Jupiter chanced to come up behind. Many of those who took part in it were, indeed, scandalized at the joyless sight and the unseemly contortions of. the victim, but no one made any protest; they merely heaped abuse and curses on the head of the master who was inflicting such a cruel punishment. For in those days the Romans treated their slaves with great kindness, because they worked and even ate with them themselves, and were therefore more familiar and gentle with them. And it was a severe punish- ment for a slave who had committed a fault, if he

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3

brepelSovaty, apapevos SveEEAOo Tapa THY yetT-
, e A \ \, ? A ~
viacw. 06 yap TovTO TrAaGap Kal odOeis Tapa TAY

cuvoiKwv Kal yertovey ovKxéTL TriotW Elyev.
éxadeito 5é hovpxupep’ 6 yap ot “EXANvEs vr0-
le) e “ A
oTaTHv Kal oTnpiypa, ToUTO Pwyatoe povprav
ovop.afovarv.
XXV. ‘Os obv o Aativos amnyyere thy orev

n e a nA Ld
avrois Kat Suntopouv Goris hv o THS TouTHS TOTE
mponyovpevos atepmTyns Kal Kaxds opxnoTns,
aveuyvnoOnoav évior dia THY aroTiay Ths Tibw-
plas éxelvou tod Oepdmovros, by pactiyourTes
> , > > a“ 999 ,
éEnyayov Ov ayopas, eit COavatwoav. ouppovn-
oavTwv ody TOV iepéwv & Te SeaTroTys Sixny Gdwxe,
\ A ry LY A \ / = >
kal TO Oe@ THY TouTnY Kal Tas Oéas adbts &&
apxns éméreXour.
"Eotxey oov 0 Nopas td 7 ad\dNa TOY Lepav
copwtatos eEnyntis yeyovevat, kal TovTO TrayKd-
Aws ye vouoPeTHaat pos evAaBeLay avTois. OTA
~ ol e

yap apyovTes 7) iepets mpdttaci Te TaV Oeiwr, oO
a A >
KhpvE mpoeict peyarn povy Boar, “Ox aye.”
onpaiver © hwvyn, todito mpatte, mpocéeyew
a 7 A e A N cy) bd] a)
KeXevovaa Tois Lepois Kal pndév Epyov éuRanelpy
\ \ , 2 / e a ce)
petakd pndé ypeiav adoyxodias, ws TA ThEicTAa TOY
avOpwrivav avayxaim rivi tpot@ Kai dca Blas
Tepawopeva. Ovaoias 5é cal Topas Kal Oéas

? According to Livy (ii. 36 and 37), it was at the hy nea of the great games, which was made necessary by the

was obliged to take the piece of wood with which they prop up the pole of a waggon, and carry it around through the neighbourhood. For he who had been seen undergoing this punishment no longer had any credit in his own or neighbouring house-

holds. And he was called “ furcifer’’; for what the Greeks call a prop, or support, is called “furca”’ by the Romans.

XXV. When, therefore, Latinus had reported his vision to the senators, and they were at a loss to know who the unpleasant and bad dancer was who had headed the procession referred to, some of them were led, owing to the extraordinary nature of his punishment, to think of the slave who had been scourged through the forum and then put to death. Accordingly, with the concurrence of the priests, the master of the slave was punished, and the procession and spectacles in honour of the god were exhibited anew.!

Now it would seem that Numa, who in other respects also was a very wise director of sacred rites, had very properly sought to secure the people's reverent attention by means of the following ordin- ance. When, namely, magistrates or priests perform any religious function, a herald goes before, crying with a loud voice, “ Hoc age.” The meaning of the cry is, Mind this! and it warns the people to give heed to the sacred rites, and suffer no task or demand of business to intervene,? implying that men per- form most of their duties under some sort of com- pulsion and by constraint. And it is customary for

ee made known by the dream of Latinus, that the olscians were sent out of the city, as described by Plutarch in chapter xxvi. 1. Cf. Numa, xiv. 2.

ov povoy é& aitias TnALKavTNS, aGAXAa Kal d1a puixpas ‘Pepaious eos early dvarapBavery. dar- Tou Te yep évos TOV ayovT@v Tas Kadovpevas Onacas arovicavos, Kal Tarw Tov mvLoxou: 7] api Tepa, xeupl TAS jvias cvhrafovTos, aids epngicavro THY TOUTHY emiTeneiv. év b¢ Tots Karo Npovats pilav Puaiav TplaKovTaKes émoinoay, dei TWOS eArelpLaros 7 T POoKpOVTLATOS yiver Oar Soxobvros. ToLavuTn péev evAaBeLa pos TO Oetov ‘Pwpaiov.

XXVI. ‘O &e Mdpxtos kat TuAXos év “Avtio Tots duvatwrdrors pupa SuehéyorTo, Kal Tape- KdXouy, ws oracavovew ot “Pwpaio. mpos aXAHXOUS, TOV _ Tone Wov eFeveryneiv. trav oe dvowmoupever, btt joroveat duéTers 7 Hoav avrots Kal avoxal yeyernpeévat, mpopact avTot ‘Popator maperxov, EK TLVOS browias i n dia Boris év Beats

Kai ayoot anpvgavres aTrLevat Ovorovexous po
Hrtou SuvovTos ek THS TONEDS. évioe O€ paw
anary Tov Mapxiov Kal dor wyevéc Dau TOUTO,
TEL WavTos eis ‘Popnv Wpos TOUS apxovras OUK
anrnO7 KATHYOpOV TOV Ovodovoxwnr, @s év Tats
Jéars Stavoovpever emBéa Bar TOUS ‘Peopators Kal
THY TOA europa. mayTas fev yap avtovs TO
enpuy a TOUTO Vo MEVETTEPOUS eroinge Tots
‘Popaiors: o 6é€ TUAXos emt petCov aipeov To
maya Kal ma o€vvev TEAOS émetae méupavras
els ‘Peynv THY TE Yopay atrattely Kal Tas
Tones, Ooas adypnvTat Todkéum TaV Ovorov-
1 See the following Comparison, ii. 2.
* According to Livy (ii. 37, 1-7), it was Tullus himself

the Romans to renew sacrifices and processions and spectacles, not only for such a reason as the above, but also for trivial reasons. For instance, if one of the horses drawing the sacred chariots called Tensae gives out; or again, if the charioteer takes hold of the reins with his left hand, they decree that the procession be renewed. And in later ages, a single sacrifice has been performed thirty times, because again and again some failure or offence was thought to occur. Such is the reverent care of the Romans in religious matters.

XXVI. But Marcius and Tullus were secretly con- ferring at Antium with the chief men, and were urging them to begin the war while the Romans were torn by internal dissensions. And when shame restrained them from this course, because they had agreed to a truce and cessation of hostilities for two years, the Romans themselves furnished them with a pretext, by making proclamation at the spectacles and games, because of some suspicion or slanderous report, that the visiting Volscians must leave the city before sunset. Some say! that this was due to a deceitful stratagem of Marcius, who sent a man to the consuls in Rome, bearing the false charge that the Volscians purposed to fall upon the Romans at the spectacles, and set the city on fire.2. This pro- clamation made all the Volscians more embittered against the Romans; and Tullus, magnifying the incident, and goading them on, at last persuaded them to send ambassadors to Rome? and demand back the territory and the cities which had been who came to the consuls, as had been planned with Marcius. Plutarch agrees rather with Dionysius Hal. viii. 3.

3 Livy speaks only of a revolt (ii. 38, jin.). Plutarch
agrees with Dionysius Hal. viii. 4-10.

3 oxwv. ot dé ‘Pwpaio: Tov mpécBewv axovaarTes

bo

nyavaxTnoav, Kat amexpivavto mpotépouvs pev
avarippecOat Ta Stra TOvs OvorovcKovs, taTé-
pous 6€ xataOnoecOat ‘Pwpaiovs. ék Tovrou
\ 3 / Ul e UA 3
cuvayayov éxxrAnotav tavdnuov o TuAXaos, ézret
Tov ToAEuOV eyndicavro, cuveBovrAEvEe TOY Map-
Ktov Kadéoat, pndevy AVT@ pvnotkaKodvTas, GANA
TWLITTEVTAVTAS OTL GUppAYaY apEernoEL Ooa TOAE-
A > 4
pov ove EBrarpev.
XXVIII. ’Esret dé crAnOels o Mdpxios xai d1a-
\ \ A a
AexGels mapos TO TAHOOS ody Arrov amo TeV
, a a 4 > AN \ 2 4 \
NOoyav % TOV Grrwy dvnp Sewos épdvn kat
a a 4
Tonemtcos Kal TO ppovety nal ToApav TrepLTTos,
> , \ , N >
amodetxvuTat peta TuAXOV aoTpaTnyos avTo-
“a \ \
Kpadtwp Tov modéuov. Sedtas S€ TOY YpovoY
> 4 \ > , v
év ® TTapackevacacbat rovs Qvorovorous et,
HN Words yevouevos Tov KaLtpov adéAnTar THS
4 \ \ wv \ A , A
mpakews, TA wey ANNA TOUS KATA TrOkLY SuvATOUS
Kal adpxovras éxédeve ouvayev Kal tropitery,
avtos 5€ tovs mpoOupyotadrous dvev Katadoyou
, e 4 > “ a > # ?
metoas éxovtas avT@ avvekeAOeciv, evéBarev eis
THVv TOV ‘Popaiwy addvw cal undevos mpocdoxav-
/
Tos. OOev numopnae Actas ToTavTNS bony ayovTas
Kat pdépovtas Kal ypwpévous ev TH oTpatoTrédp
tovs OvdorovoKovs arertrety. fv bé ptxpotatov
A a , , 4
Epyov avt@ THs oTpaTelas Exelvyns 1) EvTropia Kal
TO TOANA BAdApat Kal KaK@oat THY Ya@paV: ov
. a \ \
8 &vexa tat érpatte, péya, TO rovs Tarpixious

taken from the Volscians in war. But the Romans, after hearing the ambassadors, were full of indigna-

tion, and replied that the Volscians might be first to take up arms, but the Romans would be last to lay them down. Upon receiving this answer, Tullus called a general assembly of his people, and after they had voted for the war, advised them to call in Marcius, cherishing no resentment against him, but firmly convinced that he would be more helpful as an ally than he had been injurious as a foe.

XXVII. Marcius was therefore called in, and held a conference with the assembly; they saw from his speech that he was as eloquent as his exploits in arms had taught them that he was warlike, and were convinced of his surpassing intelligence and daring; so they appointed him general with Tullus, and gave him full powers to conduct the war. Fearing, then, that the time needed to equip and marshal the Volscians would be so long as to rob him of his best opportunity for action, he left orders with the magistrates and chief men of the city to assemble and provide the remaining forces and supplies that were requisite, while he himself, after persuading the most ardent spirits to march forth as volunteers with him and not stop for formal enrolment, burst into the Roman territory of a sudden, when no one expected it. Consequently he secured such abundance of booty that the Volscians had more than they could possibly do to use it in their camp or carry it off home. But the abundant supplies secured, and the great injury and damage done to the enemy's country, were, in his eyes, the most insignificant result of that expedition ; its chief result, and his main object in making it, was to furnish the people of Rome with

mpocdiaBanrely To Onuw. Tayap ada TavTa dv-
/
pawvopevos Kat diadOeipwv, Tovs exelvwy aypous
isyupas épvrarte, nal ov ela Kaxovpyely ovdé
4 NapBavew é& exetywy ovdév. dOev év d:aBorais
” a > / \ a \ ? A
ETL UANXOV EVEVOYTO Kal TAPAYats POS AAANAOUS,
of pev marpixuo. Tos ToAXOls eyKaXovYTES WS
dvipa Suvatov adixws éxBarovdow, o dé Shpos
éxeivous yTiatTo Sia pvnotxaxiav émayew Tov
Mdpxiov, eita rodepoupevwv étépwv Oeatas
Kabncbat, pvraxa rod wroVTOU Kal TaV xpN-
parov éw Tov wodewoy avtov éxovtas. TadTa
dtatrpatapevos o Mapxios, cal peydda mpos To
Oappeity nal Kxatadpovely Ta&Y TodEuiwy Tovs
OvorovcxKous wpernoas, annyayey aoparas.
XXVIII. ’Evel 66 taca tayv xal tpo8ipws
9 tTav Ovorovoxov Suvayis 7OpeicOn TroAAy
daveica, pépos pev eyywoay vote tails
4 e \ > , / ‘ 4 > \
ToNEoLY UTEP aodanrelas, mépet be oTpaTevery ert
‘\ e 4 ey / \ a e A e
tovs ‘Pwpaious: édéc0ar 5€ TeV Hyemouav o

Mdpxios ewxe TO TUAW THY érépav. o SE
TvAAos, etrav ws ovdév apeTh NevTOMEvoV abTod
oy Ma Opa, TUX Sé Berti Evov €
Tov Madpxuop opa, tuxn 5é Bertiove xexpnpévov év
a e , , A A
Tais payats amacais, éexéNevoev Hyeicbar tav 227
éEovrwmyv, avtos 6é tds Te ores ropévwv
gurakev Kxal Tols orpatrevopévots wtroupynoew
27a mpocpopa. paddov ody érippwobels o Mdp-
Klos Exw@per Tpatov él Kipxacov, Tod arrotKioa
1 There is nothing of this preliminary foray in Livy. It is on the main expedition (chap. xxviii.) that the patrician lands

fresh charges against the patricians. For while he maltreated and destroyed everything else, he kept a. vigorous watch over the lands of the patricians, and would not suffer anyone to hurt them or take anything from them. This led to still further accusa- tions and broils between the parties in the city; the patricians accused the people of unjustly driving out an influential man, and the people charged the patricians with bringing Marcius up against them in a spirit of revenge, and then enjoying the spectacle of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself protected their own wealth and property outside the city. After Marcius had accomplished his purposes, and greatly helped the Volscians towards courage and scorn of their enemies, he led his forces back in safety.!

XXVIII. The entire force of the Volscians was assembled with speed and alacrity, and was then seen to be so large that they determined to leave a part of it behind for the security of their cities, and with the other part to march against the Romans. Moreover, Marcius left it to the choice of Tullus which of the two divisions he would command. Then Tullus, remarking that Marcius was clearly in no wise inferior to himself in valour, and had enjoyed a better fortune in all his battles, bade him lead the division that was to take the field, and he himself would remain behind to guard the cities and provide what was requisite for the army abroad.? With a stronger force than before, then, Marcius set out first against Circeii, a city which was a colony of Rome; are spared (ii. 39). According to Dionysius (viii. 12), Tullus led one division into the territory of the Latins, Marcius the other into that of Rome, and both brought back enormous booty. 2 Cf. Dionysius, viii. 13.

'Pwpaiwv, Kal tavtny évdodcav éxovciws ovdéev
NOLKNTE. peTa O€ TaUTHY éerropOer THY AaTivav
xapay, evraiba mpocpayeta Oar mpoa dex opevos
QUT TOUS Pwpatous vIrep TOV Aativay oUp-

paxXov dvTwmy kal roAddKis avdTovs émtKaXov-
pévov. érret 5€ Kal To TAOS amrpoOupov eyéveto
Kal tots brdrois oddyos Ere Tepiny THs apyns
xpovos, ev xuvSuveverw ovK éSovdovto, Kal oud
tavra tous Aativous atrémeupav, obTws 0 Map-
Klos mr aUTas TAS TrOAELS Hye, Kal TorEpivous Kal
Aaovixavovs xat TleSavous, ére 5&€ Bwravods
avTioTavTas aUT@ KaTa& Kpdtos éA@V, TA TE
cMpata relay éeToncato Kal Ta xpnpata &-
npTace. Ttav S€ mpooTiWenévwy émipédecav
érrovetTo ~TOAAHY, OTrwas pnd aKkovTos avToD
Brarrowto, Toppwratw stpatomedevorv Kal THs
yapas aTreXOMEVOS.
XXIX. ‘Evel 8 cat Borras word ov TAéious
aradious éxatov atéyovoay tis “Pduns érov
Xpnuatwv TWorArXOyv éxpatnoe nal mavras OdLYOU
dely Tovs év nrsxia SvépOerpe, THv 8€ Ovorovonwy
ovd of pevew ev tals modeor TaxOévres éxap-
Tépouv, GAN eépovto avy Tois SAWS Tpos Tov
Mapxuov, éva oT PATH YOY Kal povov apxovra éav-
TOV ylyM@oKeEW ExeivoY elvat AEyorTES, HY dvoya
Kata nacay avtov thy ‘ItaXiay péya Kat Soka
Oavpactn, THS apeTis évds cwopatos petabécer
ToTOUTOV aTEepyacapévns TO TrapdaAoyov év Tos
T pay wad.
Ta && tav ‘Popaiwv otdéva Koopov eixe,
paxyecOar pev atreyvaxoray, év 6¢ cvcTacect Kat
NOYOLS oTaclacTLKOiS ConuépaL Mpds AGAANHNOUS
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CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS

this surrendered to him of its own accord, and he did it no harm. Next, he laid waste the country of the Latins, where he expected that the Romans would engage him in defence of the Latins, who were their allies and by frequent messengers were calling upon them for help. But the commons were indifferent to the appeal, the consuls were unwilling to risk a campaign during the short time left of their term of office, and therefore the Latin envoys were dismissed. Under these circumstances Marcius led his forces against their cities, and taking by assault those which offered resistance to him, namely, To- lerium, Lavicum, Pedum, and later Bola, he made slaves of the inhabitants and plundered their property. But for those who came over to him of their own accord he showed much concern, and that they might suffer no harm, even against his wishes, he encamped as far as he could from them, and held aloof from their territory.

XXIX. But after he had taken Bola, a city not
more than twelve miles away from Rome, where he
got much treasure and put almost all the adults to

the sword; and after the Volscians even who had been ordered to remain in their cites grew impatient, and came trooping in arms to Marcius, declaring that he was the sole and only general whom they would recognize as their leader, then his name was great throughout all Italy, and men thought with amazement how the valour of a single man, upon his changing sides, had effected such a marvellous turn in affairs.

At Rome, however, all was disorder; its citizens refused to fight, and spent their whole time in cabals and factious disputes with one another, until tidings

évTwv, axpt ov Aaovivov darnyyénOn TEpuTErye-
Somevoy UTO TOV mrohepiov, Strov «al Jeav lepa
'Popators TaTp@oV améKeLTo, Kal Tov yyévous
joav avrots ap ai, Ore a) T POT ny TOMY exelyny
KTioa rov Aivetav. éx de TOUTOU Oavpacrn perv"
éoxe kat aOpoa petaBorn yayns TOV Ojpov,
dros 6e Kopoy | Kat Tapddoyos Tous TATPLKLOUS.
Oo mev yap Shpos Gpynoe Avew THY Tou Mapxiou
Karadicny kal Kanrely avtov eis THY Tony, n Oe
Bova cwaxGeica kal oKxoTrovca Tepl TOU
BovrXevpatos aréyyw Kral dtexwducer, cite Twav-
TOS évic rad bat prrovexobca mraaw ols o Ojos
eorrovbater, elt' adAwS YapLTL Tob Sypou TOV
dy8pa Th) Bovropévn eareneir, ele Kaneivov
auToV 780 TeTroLnpern du" opyhs, StL wavras éroiet
KAKOS ovx, bro TAVTWV aryvapovnbets, Kal THS
mar pioos aurov ederEev exOpor, € év 7 TO KUpLWOTAaTOV
Kat Kpdtia Tov bépos éeyivwone cupraboby aur®
Kal Tuvadixovpevor. | eFevexDeions dé Ths yaduns
els TOUS ToNoUs, O pev Ofjpos axupos iv ToD
vibe Kal vowe TL Trovety avev mpoBovreupuaros.
XXX.~O Mapxuos axovoas éTt paiddov
eFetpa ivdy, Kal THY momopKiav amoTrav ért
THY TOA UT' opyiis exwpet, Kal wept tas Neyo-
pévas Knorhias Tapous KATEOTPATOT édeuceE
TETTapaKovTAa THS TOAEWS oTadious apertas.
apbeis dé poBepos Kal 'Tok OopuBov TAPATYOv,
Gmws ev TO mapovte THY OTAOLV émavaev" ovdels
yp ere Tots Todos érohunoer avrectreiy our

apxov OuTE Bovrevtns mept roo tov Madpx.iov
kaTayev, adr opavres ev TH wore Stadpopas
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came that the enemy had laid close siege to Lavinium, where the sacred symbols of the ancestral gods of the Romans were stored up, and from which their nation took its origin, since- that was the first city which Aeneas founded. This produced an astonishing and universal change of opinion in the commons, as well as one which was altogether strange and unex- pected in the patricians. For the commons were eager to repeal the sentence against Marcius and invite him back to the city; whereas the senate, on assembling and considering the proposition, rejected and vetoed it; either because they were angrily bent on opposing all the people's desires ; or else because they were unwilling that Marcius should owe his restoration to the kindness of the people; or because they were now angry at Marcius himself, seeing that he was injur- ing all alike, although he had not been ill-treated by all, and showed himself an enemy of his whole country, although he knew that the most influential and powerful men in it sympathised with him and shared in his wrongs. When this decision of the senate was made public, the people was powerless ; ; it could not by its vote enact a law, without a previous decree of the senate.

XXX. But Marcius, when he heard of it, was yet more exasperated, and raising the siege of Lavinium, marched against Rome in wrath, and encamped at the so-called Fossae Cluiliae, only five miles distant from the city. Although the sight of him produced terror and great confusion there, still, it put a stop for the present to their dissensions ; for no one longer, whether consul or senator, dared to oppose the people in the matter of restoring Marcius. On the contrary, when they saw the women running frantic in the

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yuvaik@v Kal mpos tepois ixecias cal daxpva
a \ 4 4 + ae | a ,
mpeaButav Kal Senoes, mavtTa & évdoed TOAMNS
/ A "a \
Kal CWTNpiwY AOyioMaV, cUvéyvwcay opOas TOY
a 2 oN \ \ a , ,
Sjuov éml tas dsadXayas to' Mapkiouv tparré-
\ \ \ "a \ e 4 ed
cba, rnv 5& BovAny tod mavtos apaptavery, STE
mavoacbat Karas eiyev opyfis Kal prnovkaxias,
apxyopévnv. edokev otv maot mpécBeus atro-
otTetAa mpos Tov Mapxiov éxeitve te xad0odov
, > A / \ U > A
didovtas ets THY TaTpioa Kal TOY TOAELOY avTots
Adoas Seouévous. ot Sé weupbévres dtd BovArj's
Hoav pev émitHndevot TO Mapkie, mpocedéxovto

5é modAnv epi ye TAS MpwTas atTravTHcEs
lA > 3 \ > 4 \ ,
hiroppoovvnv tap avdpos oixeiou Kai avynOous.
> / \ a > bé ? \ \ a
éyiveto 5€ ToLtovToY ovdev, GAA bia TOD oTpaTO-
médouv TOY TroAchio aXOérTes eveTUYXavOY avT@
/
pet Oyxou Kabefouévw Kat Bapityntos ovK avex-
Ths. exwv b€ Tovs mpwtovs TaY Ovorovorwv
e a > # 4 ® , A
Twept avrov, éxéreve Aéyery Ov Seopevor TUyyd-
/ a
vovol. eLTovtwy dé AOyous émteKets Kal dirav-
A 4
Opwmous év 70a. Te mpéTovTs Kal Travoapévon,
\ “ A
GTTeKpLVaTO TA pev TLKP@S UITép avTOD Kal pos
b] \ ba 54 @ \ ® e \ “A O 9 ? e
opynv ov érabe, ra S bTép Ta OvorovcKav ws
a“ \
oTpaTnyos, amrododvat Tas TONES Kal THY Ywpar,
ev ’ , t y \ ,
Sonv amreTe“ovTo Trodeu@, KEerXevwv, Kal Whdt-
? 4 bd / @ ,
cacbat Quorovokos toorronritevay HvTrep Aartt-
” \ ’ 3 A A \ >? N a
vous’ adANV yap ove elvar BeBatov 7H THv emt Tots
v 4 b A “
icots kal Sexatoits amradrXaynv tod Trodéuou.
/ de B a r+ > a“ e / A
xpovoy dé Bours edwxev avrois Huépas Tptid-

city, and the aged men resorting to the sacred shrines with suppliant tears and prayers, and everywhere an utter lack of courage and saving counsels, then all agreed that the people had done well to seek a reconciliation with Marcius, but that the senate had made a total mistake in beginning then to indulge its wrath and revengeful spirit, when it had been well to lay such feelings aside. It was, therefore, unanimously decided to send ambassadors to Marcius, offering him the privilege of returning to his country, and begging him to stop his war upon them. More- over, the messengers from the senate were kinsmen and friends of Marcius, and expected to be treated with great friendliness in their first interview with a man who was a relative and associate of theirs. But matters turned out quite otherwise; for after being led through the camp of the enemy, they found him seated in great state, and looking insuf- ferably stern. Surrounded by the chief men of the Volscians, he bade the Romans declare their wishes. They did so, in reasonable and considerate language, and with a manner suitable to their position, and when they

had ceased, he made an answer which, so far as it concerned himself, was full of bitterness and anger at their treatment of him, and in behalf of the Volscians, as their general, he ordered the restitution of the cities and territory which had been torn from them in war, and the passage of a decree granting the Volscians, as allies, equal civic rights, as had been done for the Latins. For no respite from the war would be secure and lasting, he said, except it be based on just and equal rights. Moreover, he gave them thirty days for deliberation, and when the ambassadors were

IgI

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

KovTa' kat Tav mpécBewv aedMovrav evOds
avétevEev éx THs ywpas.
XXXI. Tobro 6) mparov aitiaypa trav Ovo-

v4 ~
NovoKwv ob Warat Bapuvopevos THv Sivapt avTod
kat POovoivtes éAdpBavov: av Hv Kal o TUAXos,
ota \ e \ A M , be LO 4, bJ
idia péev bro ToD Mapkiou pndev adicovpevos, év
$ 9 , 4 4
& avOpwrive wae yeyoves. HyOGeTo yap juav-
pwpévos tavtdmact th S0&n Kal trapopwpevos
vmod TaV OvorovoKwV, wavTAa povoyv HyouLévwv
? la! s N 4 A N ¥ > 4
avtois eivas tov Mdpxuoy, tos 66 adXous akEtovv-
Twv, Soov exeivos avTois petadacer Suvduews Kal
apxXns, ayatay éyovras. ev at mpatar KaTn-
yopias xpudha Steotre(povto, Kal cvvicTamEVvoL TOS
DJ 4 > A , 3 A
GAAHAOUS NHyavaKtovy, Kal mpodociay éxdXouy
Tv avatevéw, ov Teryav ovd Srrwv, adrArAG
Katpov, ols cal TaAXa mdvta cwlecOut Kal wddLV
amoAAvobar wépuKev, HpEepav TpidKovTa TO
Toréu@ Sedouevor, ob peiCovas ovdév ev éAadtrovt
Npove AauRdvew petaBoras.
"A € \

Kairos tov ypovoy tovtov o Mdpxuos ove apyov
Sufyev, GAAA Tors cumpdyous TOV TrodEpLoV
EpOerpev émta@v Kat wepiéxom@Te Kat TOAES éTTA
peyanas Kal modvavOpwrrovs édaBev. ot Sé
e a al \ b 9 / 3 > +
Pwpaio: BonOeiv pev ove éroApwv, aX Sxevov
TANHpELS Hoav avTaV ai Yuyai, Kal Tots éxvevap-

Knkoot Kody Kal maparerdupévots capaci
opoiws SiéxevTo mpos Tov wodeyov. eel 8 o
: a is nothing of this withdrawal of forces in Livy
(ii, 39).
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gone, he immediately withdrew his forces from the country.! :

XXXI. This was the first ground of complaint against him which was laid hold of by those of the Volscians who had long been jealous of him, and uneasy at the influence which he had acquired. Among these was Tullus also, not because he had been personally wronged at all by Marcius, but because he was only too human. For he was vexed to find his reputation wholly obscured and himself neglected by the Volscians, who thought that Marcius alone was everything to them, and that their other leaders should be content with whatever share of influence and authority he might bestow upon them. This was the reason why the first seeds of denunciation were sown in secret, and now, banding together, the malcontents shared their resentment with one another, and called the withdrawal of Marcius a betrayal, not so much of cities and armies, as of golden opportunities, which prove the salvation or the loss of these as well as of everything else; for he had granted a respite of thirty days from war, although in war the greatest changes might occur in much less time than this.

And yet Marcius did not spend this time in idle- ness, but fell upon the enemy's allies, harassed and ravaged their territories, and captured seven of their large and populous cities.2) And the Romans did not venture to come to their aid, but their spirits were full of hesitation, and their attitude toward the war was that of men who are completely benumbed and

paralyzed. And when the time had passed, and

2 Cf. Dionysius, viii. 36. Chapters xxviii.-xxx. in Plutarch agree closely with Dionysius viii. 14-35.

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VOL. TV. O

A an e \
ypovos 5:90€ kal raphy avOis o Mapxios pera
wn la
Tht Suvapews amdons, éxtéurrovor mpeoRerav
4 A 4 4 e y ~
madwv tov Mapkxiov Senoopérvnv vdécbar tis
fo! A 4
opyis Kal Tous OvoArovanous €x THs Kwpas aTraya-
/ ,
yovTa WpaTtTev Kat réyey & TL av apdorepots
oinrat Bédttov elvar: PoRo pev yap ovdev evdwcety
e , ov 4 fe) 4 ”
Pwpatous, éav 5€ Tevos TOY hiravOpwrrwv oinTat
Sely tuxeiv tovs Ovdorovaoxous, amrav avurtois
\ af?
yevnoecOa Ta GTrAa KaTAaBepévors. Tpos TAavO
e ,
0 Mapxcos épn pndev as Ovorovcrwr arroxpiver Bat
/ a
otpatnyos, as 5é ‘Pwpyaiwv Ere ToAiTns Tapatvely
Kal Tapaxanreiy petpiotrepa ppovicavtas émi
tots Sixalots heey mpos avTov ey nuépats TpLowy,
a /
& wpoxareirar Wndicapévous: ei & Erepa So€cte,
4 a
ylyVOoKELY OVK OvaaY avTots adetav avOis peTa
, aA
Aoyor xevav Badilovow eis TO oTpaTOTrEdoD.
XXXII. ’ExaverOovrov Sé tov wpéo Bewv axov-
€ / 4 ? a a \
caca 7 Bovdn, xaatrep év NELMOVE TTONA® Kat
40 A , wv N b x ¢ na b an
KAVOMVE THS TOAEWS, Apaca THY ah lEpas adjcev.
4 \ “a A /
boot yap hoav tepeis Oey 7 wvaTHpiwv opyractal
A 4 A \ >, 9 > A / 9 >
n pvrakes 7) THY aT OLWYO@Y TAaTpLOV OoVaAaY EK
Tadatov pavTikny ExovTes, TOVTOUS TaVTAaS aTrL-
, \ \ ,
évat Tpos TOV Mapxtov érndicarto, Kexoo pnpévous
bd 4 a
@S NV éExdoT@ vomos év Tals iepoupytats: Néyetv dé
> \ a

TavTd, Kal TapakaXety OTrws araddAdE~as Tov
f “a
ToXeLov ovTW Srareyntar Tept THY OvorAovcKwY
a ‘4
TOUS TONLTALS. EedéEATO [EV OUD ELS TO OTPATOTTEOOV
\ ba
Tous avopas, addo 8 oddev dSwxev odd éEmpakev
399 9
ovd ele paraxwtepov, arr éd ols mpdrtepov
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bo

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Marcius was at hand again with his entire force, ie

sent out another embassy to entreat him to moderate his wrath, withdraw the Volscian army from the country, and then make such proposals and settlements as he thought best for both nations; for the Romans would make no concessions through fear, . but if he thought that the Volscians ought to obtain certain favours, all such would be granted them if they laid down their arms. Marcius replied that, as general of the Volscians, he would make no answer to this, but as one who was still a citizen of Rome, he advised and exhorted them to adopt more moderate views of what justice required, and come to him in three days with a ratification of his previous demands; but if they should decide otherwise, they must know well that it was not safe for them to come walking into his camp again with empty phrases.

XXXII. When the embassy had returned and the senate had heard its report, it was felt that the city was tossing on the billows of a great tempest, and therefore the last and sacred anchor was let down. A decree was passed that all the priests of the gods, and the celebrants or custodians of the mysteries, and those who practised the ancient and ancestral art of divination from the flight of birds,—that all these should go to Marcius, arrayed as was the custom of each in the performance of their sacred rites, and should urge him in the same manner as before to put a stop to the war, and then to confer with his fellow- citizens regarding the Volscians. He did, indeed, admit this embassy into his camp, but made no other concession, nor did he act or speak more mildly, but told them to make a settlement on his former

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o 2

éxéreve TrovetaOas Tas Stadvoess 7) SéxecOar Tov
jToNewov. eTaveNOovtTwy ody TaV Lepewy EdokEV
aTpemoovTas év TH TOAEL TA TELXN HUrAaTTEW Kal
mpoaBddXovtas droxpoverOat Tovs rodEulous,
év T@ yYpovm pardioTa Kal Tois ATO THS TUYNS
maparoyols TiHewévors Tas éAmridas, érrel Oe abTaV
Ye TWTHPLOY OvdeY NicTaVTO WpaTTOVTES, GANA
TapAXn Kat Troe kat dnun movnpa THv TONY
Kateixev, aXpL ov cuveBy TL Tpayua TO Todha-
xis th ‘Opnpov Aeyoueve,! un mdvu de mevBovte *
TOUS WOANOUS, Guotov. RéyovTos yap avTOD Kat
dvadwvobtvtos émi Ttais peyddais mpakeot Kai
Tapandoryots-
To 8 ap eri dpeoi Onxe Bea yravKwmes
"AOnyn:
\ _\
Kat TO
"AAA Tis aBavatwy Ttpétev dpévas, 6s y evi
Oup@
dnpov OnKe hati:
\ N
Kal TO
"H te oiacdpevos 7) Kal Oeos ws éxédeve:
Katadpovovot ws advvatos wpadypact Kat pudev-
pac amiaToLs TOY ExdoTOUV AOYLO MOY THS Tpo-
atpécews amictov® Kxabtotdvtos. ov oret Sé
a eA ? \ \ \ > 4 \ ,
tovTo Opnpos, addXa Ta pev eixoTa Kal avv7nOn

lag... Aeyouévy Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske
(Amyot): tov... Aeyoudvwr.
2 welOovr: Bekker, after Reiske : we@@ov.

3 amorov Bekker has dxpari (powerless to determine).

terms, or else accept the war.! Accordingly, when
the priests had returned, it was decided to remain
quietly in the city, guarding its walls, and repulsing
the enemy, should he make an attack. They put

their hopes in time especially, and in the vicissitudes of fortune, since they knew not how to save themselves by their own efforts, but turmoil, terror, and rumours of evil possessed the city. At last something happened that was like what Homer often mentions, although people generally do not wholly believe it. For when some great and unusual deed is to be done, that poet declares in his stately manner :—

“He then was inspired by the goddess, flashing-eyed Athene”’;?

and again :—

“ But some immortal turned his mind by lodging in his heart
A fear of what the folk would say ”” ;%

and again :—

“Kither through some suspicion, or else a god so bade him do”” ;4

but people despise Homer and say that with his im- possible exploits and incredible tales he makes it impossible to believe in every man’s power to de- termine his own choice of action. This, however, is not what Homer does, but those acts which are natural, customary, and the result of reasoning, he

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 39, 12; Dionysius, viii. 38.
2 Odyssey, xviii. 158 = xxi. i. (77 8 &pa).
3 Not to be found now in Homer. 4 Odyssey, ix. 339.

Kal KaTa Noyov Wepawopeva TO ef’ Huiv arrodédwat, Kat Aéyes SjtoU ToANAKLS"
Avtap éyw Bovdevoa kata peyadyTopa Oupovr:
KaL,
“Os dato, Unrcitwu & ayos yévet, ev 5é of
7)TOP
oTnGecotv Aaciotor Sudvdsya pepunprtev:
KQL TAALD,
GANA TOV Ov TE
wei?’ ayaba dpovéovta, Saidppova Bedrepodov-
THV
J N “ b] , N 4 4 \
év 6€ Tais atoTos Kai twapaBoXos wpakeot Kai ghopas tivos évOovawwdovs Kal Tapactacews deo-

pévats ovK avatpodvTa totei tov OBeov, adda
A 2 ¢
KivovvTa THY Tpoaipedty, ovd opmas evepyalopevon,
adrAa havracias oppav aywyovs, als ovdé Trovet
AS “~ ? 4 b) \ A e 4 ,
Thv mpakiv aKovatov, GAAA TO Exovoim Sidwcey
apxnv, cal 76 Oappely nal 76 eXmriCerv por riOno.
h yap atradXAaxtéov GAws TA Oeia maons aitias
? a a x» ¢ A a fs v Y /

Kal apxis Tov Kal’ Hwas, H Tis Av adXos Eln TpOTTOS
@ BonOodo.v avOpwros cai cuvepyovow; ov TO
capa Sntov TAATTOYTES HUY, OVSE TAS YeElpas,
e a“ 4 > \ \ \ 4 b) ‘
@s det, weratiOévtes avtol Kal tous méodas, adAXa
THS WuyXs TO WpaKtiKoy Kal TpoatpeTiKoY apyats
tTiot Kal davraciais Kal érevoiais éyeipovtes 7H
Touvavtioy aToaTpEepovTes Kal LoTavTEs.
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attributes to our own volition, and he certainly says
frequently :-—
« But I formed a plan within my lordly heart” ;!
and also :—
‘‘So he spake, and Peleus’ son was sore distressed,
and his heart
Within his shaggy breast between two courses was
divided ”’ ; 2
and again :—
« But him no whit
Could she persuade from his integrity, the fiery-
hearted Bellerophon ”’ ;
while in exploits of a strange and extraordinary nature, requiring some rush of inspiration, and des- perate courage, he does not represent the god as taking away, but as prompting, a man’s choice of action; nor yet as creating impulses in a man, but rather conceptions which lead to impulses, and by these his action is not made involuntary, but his will is set in motion, while courage and hope are added to sustain him. For either the influence of the gods must be wholly excluded from all initiating power over our actions, or in what other way can they assist and co-operate with men? They certainly do not mould our bodies by their direct agency, nor give the requisite change to the action of our hands and feet, but rather, by certain motives, conceptions, and purposes, they rouse the active and elective powers of our spirits, or, on the other hand, divert and check them.

' Odyssey, ix, 299. 7 Iliad, i. 188f. 3 Iliad, vi. 161 f.

XXXII. "Ev 6€ 17 “Popn tore tov yuvarnay
GAAat wey pos AAXots lepots, at 6é MrEloTAaL Kai
OKLLOTATAL TEpl TOV TOD Kamitwriou Aros Bapov
ixérevov. év d€ tavtais Hv 7 TlowAsKoAa Tov
peydra Kal ToAAa Pwpaious év te Trodénots Kat
TorLrelats wpeAnoavtos aderghyn Ovarepia. Mozr-
ALKOAAS sev OdV eTEOYNKEL TrpOTEpOV, WS ev TOtS
Tepl éxeivou yeypampmévols totopnKapev, 7 O€
Ovarepia Sdfav eiyev ev TH TOAE Kal TLLNDY,
Soxotca TO Bio pn KaTacyvvey TO yévos. OEP
ovv Aéyw wabos é~ativns Tadotca, Kal Kat
érrivotay ovK abeiaatov arypapevn TOU cuudéporTos,
QUTN TE avéaTN Kal Tas GANAS avacTHCAaca TaTAaS
qxev ert tHv oixiay ths tov Mapxiou pytpos
Ovoroupvias. as 8 ea7nrOe nal xatéraBe peta
THS vuod KabeCouéevny cal Ta Tratdia To Mapkiou
MW pos TOLS KOATFOLS EXOUTAD, ev KUKAM TEPLTTHOATA
Tas yuvaixas avtis “ Adras ye nets,” elrrev, “ @
Ovodoupvia, nai ov, OvepyAia, yuvaines Aropev
™ pos yovaixas, obte Bovdis yopicapevns ovr
GpXovros KerevoavTos, GAN Oo. Geos TpaVY, ws
EOLKEV, OLKTELPAS TIV iKETELaY, OpUnV TrapéoTNoE
devpit TpamrécOat mpos tuas Kat SenOjqvat co-
Tnplav mev avtais Kal Tois GAXNOLS TroALTALS, Upiy
5é wrecOeioats eripaverrépay dépovta So€av Fs
ai LaBivov Ouyatépes exyov, eis gtrdiav kal
Eipnvnv eK Todé“wv cuvayayotocat TaTtépas Kai
1 Chapter xxiii.

2 “Then the matrons came in a body to Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia, his wife. Whether this was the result of public counsel, or of the women’s fear,

XXXIII. Now in Rome, at the time of which I . speak, various groups of women visited the various temples, but the greater part of them, and those of highest station, carried their supplications to the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among these was Va- leria, a sister of that Publicola who had done the Romans so many eminent services both as warrior and statesman. Publicola, indeed, had died some time before, as I

have related in his Life;1 but Valeria was still enjoying her repute and honour in the city, where her life was thought to adorn her lineage. This woman, then, suddenly seized with one of those feelings which I have been describing, and laying hold of the right expedient with a pur- pose not uninspired of heaven, rose up herself, bade the other women all rise, and came with them to the house of Volumnia,? the mother of Marcius. After entering and finding her seated with her daughter- in-law, and holding the children of Marcius on her lap, Valeria called about her the women who had followed, and said: “We whom thou seest here, Volumnia, and thou, Vergilia, are come as women to women, obeying neither senatorial edict nor consular command; but our god, as it would seem, taking pity on our supplication, put into our hearts an im- pulse to come hither to you and beseech you to do that which will not only be the salvation of us our- selves and of the citizens besides, but also lift you who consent to do it to a more conspicuous fame than that which the daughters of the Sabines won, when they brought their fathers and husbands out

I cannot ascertain.”—Livy, ii. 40, 1. In Dionysius also (viii. 39, 40), whom Plutarch seems otherwise to be following, Veturia is the nother, and Volumnia the wife, of Marcius.

4 avopas. Sevte mpos Mdpxuov tovoat pel? MOY
cuvawaabe TAS. ixeTnptas, Kal paptupicare Th
Tar pio. paptupiav anrnO7 Kal Sixatay, ort TONG
TwaoxYovuca KAKOS ovdey OUT’ empage Secvov ov”
éBovdeuce Tmeph tuav Se opyny, aD aTrooLowa ty
vuas exelv Kay pndevos Tuyxdvery médrAn TOV
CTT LELKOV.
5 Taira ris Ovarepias el TTOvENS aveBonoay at
Aovrral ‘yuvaixes, Tipetrato dé 7 Ovorovpyia:
“Kai Tov KOLvay npety cumpopan, @ _yuvaikes,
ioov peter, Kat idia T pat Topev Kaxds amroNé-
cacat THD Mapxiov Séfay Kal apeTnV, TO capa 5
avrov Tobs TOV TodEuLwY SirAOLs Ppovpovmevov
paddov 7 ow lopevov epopiaau. péytotov & npey
TOV aTUXNLaTOV eoriy, | et 78 TiS TAT pioos otras
6 eEnaGevnner @ or év nuiv éxew Tas édrridas. ovK
oida yap él TLva ToUjoeTae NOYov HuaV Eexeivos, el
rye bndéva moira THs maTpt6os, iy cat NT POS
Kat cyuvaKes Kal TEéEKVOD T poeTipna ev. ov env
anna xpija De piv haBovoat al Kopitere pos
éxeivor, el penodev AXXO, Tals Umép THS tTatpidos
ixeotiass évaTrorrveda au Suvapevas.”
XXXIV. ’Ex« rovrov ra tre radia Kat tHv
Ovepy:Aiay dvactjcaca peta TOV AAXwY yuvac-
cov éBadiley eis TO otTpatoTedov TaV Ovorov-
oxwov. 7 8 ois a’Ta@v TO 7 OlKTpOY Kal Tots

TroAeulous éveroina ev aid@ Kal ovwmny. €éT TUXE S
0 Mdpxvos emt Brpatos xadeCopevos pera TOV
2 HYELOVIKO@V. ws ouv ele mpootoveas Tas yuvat-
kas, COatpacev' éruyvous b¢ THY pNTEpa TPw@THY
Badifoucav éBovr€7TOo peév éppévery Tois atpérrots
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of war into friendship and peace. Arise, come with us to Marcius, and join with us in supplicating him, bearing this just and true testimony in behalf of your country, that, although she has suffered much wrong at his hands, she has neither done nor thought of doing harm to you, in her anger, but restores you to him, even though she is destined to obtain no equitable treatment at his hands."

These words of Valeria were seconded by the cries of the other women with her, and Volumnia gave them this answer :—"O women, not only have we an equal share with you in the common calamities, but we have an additional misery of our own, in that we have lost the fame and virtue of Marcius, and see his person protected in command, rather than preserved from death, by the arms of our enemies. And yet it is the greatest of our misfortunes that our native city is become so utterly weak as to place her hopes in us. For I know not whether the man will have any regard for us, since he has none for his country, which he once set before mother and wife and children. However, take us and use us and bring us to him; if we can do nothing else, we can at least breathe out our lives in supplications for our country."

XXXIV. After this, she took the children and Vergilia and went with the other women to the camp of the Volscians. The sight of them, and the piti- fulness of it, produced even in their enemies rever- ence and silence. Now it chanced that Marcius was seated on a tribunal with his chief officers. When, accordingly, he saw the women approaching, he was amazed ; and when he recognized his mother, who walked at their head, he would fain have persisted

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exevous Kat amraparTHrous Aoyta pots, Yevopevos dé
Tou maBous éXdTTwov Kal cuvrapayGeis T™pos THY
Oyu ovK éTAH KadeCouerp mpoaeneiv, adda,
kataBas Oarrov h Badny Kal amavTnoas T paTny

bev jon deato THY pnTépa Kal Téia Tov Xpovov,
cia 6é THY yuvaixa kal Ta Téxva, LnTE daxpuor
ere ponte ToD prrogpoveta ar perdopevos, GXN
@omEp UTO pevpaTtos PépecOat Tod mafous éauTov
évdEdWKOS.
XXXV. "Evel 6€ tTovTwy any elye Kal THY
pnTépa Bovropévny bn AOyov apyxeev nero,
TOUS TOY OvorovcKxwv mpoBovdous Tapacrno d-
JEVOS House TAS Ovorouprias Toabra Aeyovons:
“‘Opas HED, @ Tat, Kav aura i) Aeywouen,
eo Pare Kal poppy TaY aOrhiwv To paT ov Tex maLpo-
[éVOS, Olav olKoupiay jpiv a) on puyn TE PLETTOLN-
gato: Noyioa, 66 viv ws ATUXETTATAL TAT@V
apiypela yuvarKan, als 70 nOvrtov Jéapa po-
ep@ratov ” TUXN TETOUNKED, euot Hep vLoD,
rautn 8 avéipa Tois THs marpisos Teixeow iSety
dvrucabipevov. 08 éore Tois aol aruxias
maons Kal KaxoTpayias Tapapvdtov, ebyerOar
Geois, jpiv aTropworarov yeyoven. ov yep olov te
Kal TH Tat pio. vieny dpa Kal got cwTnpiay
aireio Oat Tapa, Tav Seay, GAN & Tis av mpiv
KaTAapaoaLto TOV exo par, Taira Tais TpeTepacs
éveoti evyais. avayen yap y) TIS matpibos 4
cov reper Bau yuvackl on Kal TEKVOLS. eyo & ov
TEPLUEVED TAUT HY pou Sarria THY TUXNY toon
TOV TONE HOV, GNX’ eb py oe TEL OLLpt pudiav Kat
opovotay avtl S:ahopas Kal caxav Oéuevov apdo-
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in his previous inflexible and implacable course, but, mastered by his feelings, and confounded at what he saw, he could not endure to remain seated while they approached him, but descended quickly from the tribunal and ran to meet them. He saluted his mother first, and held her a long time in his embrace, and then his wife and children, sparing now neither tears nor caresses, but suffering himself as it were to be borne away by a torrent of emotion.

XXXV. But when he was sated with this, and perceived that his mother now wished to say some- thing, he brought to his side the councillors of the Volscians, and heard Volumnia speak as follows: ‘‘Thou seest, my son, even if we do not speak our- selves, and canst judge from the wretchedness of our garb and aspect, to what a pitiful state thy banish- ment has reduced us. And now be sure that we who come to thee are of all women most unhappy, since fortune has made the sight which should have been most sweet, most dreadful for us, as I behold my son, and this wife of thine her husband, encamped against the walls of our native city. And that which for the rest is an assuagement of all misfortune and misery, namely prayer to the gods, has become for us most impracticable ; for we cannot ask from the gods both victory

for our country and at the same time safety for thee, but that which any one of our foes might imprecate upon us as a curse, this must be the burden of our prayers. For thy wife and children must needs be deprived either of their country or of thee. As for me, I will not wait to have the war decide this issue for me while [live, but unless I can persuade thee to substitute friend- ship and concord for dissension and hostility, and so

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a

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Tepwy evepyéerny yevérOar wadrov 7 AULE@VA TAY
fo) \
érTépwv, ovTw Stavood Kal twapacKxevale ceavToy
@s TH Tatpioc wy mpoocpi—as Suvdpevos mplv 7

vexpay vrepBivat THY Texovaay. ov yap éxelyny
a A
pe Set rv jyuépay avapévery év 4 Tov viov é7r-
A 4 e \ A A A
ovropas OptapBevopevov bro TAY TOALTOV 7H Oprape-
Bevovra xata Tis TaTpidos. ef wev ovv aki® oe
\ / A > / > ,
THY Tatpida coat OvorovcKous atro\écavTa,
yareny oot cal Svodiaitntos, @ Wai, wpoKerTat
oKéris: ove yap StapOeipar rovs Troditas Kadov,
OUTE TOUS TeTLaTEVKOTAS TpOdoDVAaL SikaLoyy VvoV
» 5 ‘ a > , / Q
8 amadXaynv Kxaxov aitovpeOa, cwrnpiov pev
apporépots opoiws, évdoFov 5é cal Kadiv padrov
Ovorovcxors, 6tt TH Kpatety SdEovar Sudovar Ta
péytota tov ayabay, ovy Hrrov AapBavortes,
> / N 4 e 4 wv ww
etpnynv Kai didiav, @v padiota pev aitios Eon
ylvomevwv, pn yivopéevay 5é€ povos aitiav &Ees
> » , v > A € s a ?
wap audorépots. adnros 8 wy oO TrOAELOS TOUT
Eyer mpoonropy, tt cor viK@vTe pev GraoropL TIS
Tmarpioos elvat trepieo tiv, HTT@pmevos 5é Sokets UT'
Opyns evepyéerats avopact Kal dirols TOY peyicToV
cuphopav airos yeyovévat."
XXXVI. Tatra tHs Ovoroupvias Aeyovons o
Mapxuos nxpoadro pndév aroxpivomevos. éret dé
kal Tavoapevns ELOTHKEL TLWTaY ToNVY Ypovory,

avOis 7) Ovoroupria: “Ti aiyds,” elev, “ & tral;
4 9 ~ Q ‘4 ao a
MTOTEpOV Opyh Kal pvnoiaxia TavTa cuyywpeiv
4 ? A \ \ 4 4
KaXov, ov Kadrov dé pntpl xapicacbar Seopévn
206
3]

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to become a benefactor of both parties rather than a destroyer of one of them, then consider and be well assured that thou canst not assail thy country with- out first treading underfoot the corpse of her who bore thee. For it does not behoove me to await that day on which I shall behold my son either led in triumph by his fellow-citizens or triumphing over his country. If, then, I asked you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, the question before thee would be a grievous one, my son, and hard to decide, since it is neither honourable for a man to destroy his fellow-citizens, nor just for him to betray those who have put their trust in him; but as it is, we ask only a relief from evils, something which would be salutary for both parties alike, but more conducive to fame and honour for the Volscians, because their superiority in arms will give them the appearance of bestowing the greatest of blessings, namely peace and friendship, although they get these no less themselves. If these blessings are realized, it will be chiefly due to thee; if they are not, then thou alone wilt bear the blame from both nations. And though the issues of war are obscure, this is manifest, that if victorious, thou wilt only be thy country’s destroying demon, and if defeated, the world will think that, to satisfy thy wrath, thou didst bring down the greatest calamities upon men who were thy benefactors and friends.”

XXXVI. While Volumnia was saying this, Marcius listened without making any answer, and after she had ceased also, he stood a long time in silence. Volumnia therefore began once more: “Why art thou silent, my son? Is it right to yield everything to wrath and resentment, but wrong to gratify a
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\ , a \ n“ U
2 wept THALKOUTM@Y; 7) TO peuvncOaL TreTOVOOTA
KAKQ@S avdpt peydX\@ mpoonKxe, TO & Evepyecias,
als evepyerodvra, aides bd TaY TEKOVTMD,
oéBecOa. Kai tidy ovKx avipos Epyov éati
peyadrov kal aya0ov; Kai pnv ovderl padrov
EM peTTE TNPELY YapLW WS Col, TLKPAS OUTwS ayYapt-
3 otiay éreEtovtTt. Kaitos Tapa THS TaTpisos On
, Pf > I: A N 3” 7) ,
—peyanras OiKas atretAndhas, TH UNTpL ovdEeptav

yapw atrodédwxas. Hv pev odv ootwtaroyv dvev
Tivos avayKns TuxXely pe Tapa cod Seopévny
ovTw Karov Kat Sixaiwy: py meiOovca S€é Ti
peiSopar THS coxdrns edrisos ; ;°" Kab tadr
eiTrovaa mpoominrer Tois Tool avrob peTa TIS
4 yuvaicos apa Kat tov téxvwv. o 8 Mapxtos
? / cc ¥ , @ a ”» 9» ,
avaBonoas: ‘Ola eipyacai pe, @ pntep, e€avi-
oTnow avtny, kal thy Sektay miécas ohodpa-
a A ,
“ Nevixnxas, elev, “evtuxyn pev tH marpids
4 b] \ sf DJ 4 wv \ e N Col
vienv, enol & orcOptoy’ are yap vio cov
4 an
Povns NTT@pEVvos.” TovTO 8 eiTrev, Kai Bpayéa
TH pntpl kal TH yuvarxi SvareyGels tdta, Tas
A > 4 > e 4 A > A Py 4
pep arrétreprev eis ‘Pony mdrtv avtas Seomévas,

aA N \ 4 > , > 4
THs b€ vuKTos TapedOovans amnyayev Ovodov-
GKOUS, OV TOV aUTOY TpPOTTOV OVS opoiws dtaKet-
5 pévous atravtas. ot pev yap éuéudhovTo Kai Tov
dvdpa xat tHv mpakiv, ot dé oddétepa, mpos
SidAvow Kal eipnvnv oixeiws Exovres, Evior Sé
/ \

ducyepaivovres Ta tTpatropeva tov Madpkioy
Gums ov tovnpov évouttov, adAA ouUyyvworTOV
éemixracOévra tTHAIKaUTaLS avayKals. avTeitre
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mother in such a prayer as this? Or is the remem- brance of his wrongs becoming to a great man, while the remembrance, with reverence and honour, of the benefits which children have received from their parents is not the duty of a great and good man? Surely for no man were it more seemly to cherish gratitude than for thee, who dost so bitterly proceed against ingratitude. And yet, although thou hast already punished thy country severely, thou hast not shown thy mother any gratitude. It were, therefore, a most pious thing in thee to grant me, without any compulsion, so worthy and just a request as mine; but since I cannot persuade thee, why should I spare my last resource ?’’ And with these words she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children. Then Marcius, crying out “ What hast thou done to me, my mother!” lifted her up, and pressing her right hand warmly, said: “Thou art victorious, and thy victory means good fortune to my country, but death to me; for I shall withdraw vanquished, though by thee alone.” When he had said this, and had held a little private conference with his mother and his wife,

he sent them back again to Rome, as they desired, and on the next morning led away his Volscians, who were not all affected in the same way nor equally pleased by what had happened. For some found fault both with him and with what he had done; but others, who were favourably dis- posed towards a peaceful settlement of the dispute, with neither; while some, though displeased with his proceedings, nevertheless could not look upon Marcius as a bad man, but thought it pardonable in him to be broken down by such strong compul- sions. No one, however, opposed him, but all followed

8 ovdeis, GANG TravTES EltrOVTO, THY apETNV "LaAXOV
avtov Oaupatovtes 4 THY eFouciav.
XXXVII. 'O 6€ 'Pwpaiwv Siuos ev bom poBo
Kai kwodvve KadeotnKxes TOD TrONE"OU TrapoYToS,
aicOnow Tapéoxe pardrXov rAvOEevTOS. dua yap
apewpwv tovs OvorovcKxous avalevyvvovtas ot
wept Ta teiyn, Kal wav evOUs iepov avegryet
orehavnbopovvtay wotrep él vitn Kal OvovTwv.
pdmota S€ TH Tept Tas yUVaiKas ayaTnoEL Kal
Tih THS Te BovAns Tov te TANOGoVS atravTos
&vonros Hv Yapa THS Toews, Kal AeyovTwV
Kal voylovtmv yeyovévas THs ow TNplas Trept-
gavas eéxetvas aitias. wWndtoauévns 5é THs
BovAis, 6 te av avtais aktwowaor yevécOat pos
Sofav xdpw, todTo Totjoar Kal Twapacxeiv
Tovs apxovtas, ovdev nkiwaav dAdo 4 Tuyns
yuvateias tepoy topvcacOa, To pev avadrdopa
oupBaropeva. tap avtTav, iepoupyias 5é nal
TiuLas, Goat Oeois Tpérover, Snpwooia Ths Toews
avanaBovons. érrel dé BovdrAn THY péev didoTt-
play émnvece, Snuooias dé Samdvats éroinoato
Tov vewy Kal TO Ed0s, OVSEev ATTOY adTal ypnuaTa
ouvetoeveyKovaat SevTEpoy ayakpa KaTecKevacay,
0 69 Kal daot Paopaio: xabiotdpevov ev TO LEP@
HOéyEacOai ti ToLodTOv: "@Meodire? pe Oeope
yuvaixes S€0@KATE."
XXXVITI. Tavrnv cai dis yevéoOar thy ova

vOoXoyovcty, ayevnToLs bumolta Kal YaXerwa Wer
lad yer?) /
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him obediently, though rather out of admiration for
his virtue than regard for his authority.!
XXXVII. But the Roman people showed more plainly, when they were set free from the war, the greatness of their fear and peril while it lasted. For as soon as those who manned the walls descried the Volscians drawing their forces off, every temple was thrown open, and the people crowned themselves with garlands and offered sacrifices as if for victory. But the joy of the city was most apparent in the honour and loving favour which both the senate and the whole people bestowed upon the women, declaring their belief that the city's salvation was manifestly due to them. When, however, the senate passed a decree that whatsoever they asked for themselves in the way of honour or favour, should be furnished and done for them by the magistrates, they asked for nothing else besides the erection of a temple of Women's Fortune, the expense of which they offered to contribute of themselves, if the city would under- take to perform, at the public charge, all the sacrifices and honours, such as are due to the gods. The senate commended their public spirit, and erected the temple and its image at the public charge,? but they none the less contributed money themselves and set up a second image of the goddess, and this, the Romans say, as it was placed in the temple, uttered some such words as these : " Dear to the gods, O women, is your pious gift of me." 2

XXXVIII. These words were actually uttered
twice, as the story runs, which would have us be-
1 Compare Livy's story of this interview and its results oN 3-9). Plutarch agrees rather with Dionysius, viii.

2 Cf. Livy, ii. 40, 11. 3 Cf. Dionysius, viii. 56.

a 4 e ua IQ/ \ \ b f
cOnvat me'Povtes nuas. idlovTa pev yap ayar-
pata davivat kat Saxpuppoodvra Kai tivas
peOrévta voTtioas aipatweders ovK advvatov éoTe:
\ 4 , a"
Kat yap Evra Kat Aor TrodrAaKIS Bev EevPa@TA
, /
cuvadyovet yovtmov vypoTnTos, TOoAAAS 5é ypotas
aviaow é& éavtav, Kai déyovtar Badas éx rod
meptéyovTos, ols ea onpaiverv To Satpoviov ovdev
A 60 wy, 8 \ be \ nn N
dv ddfere Kwrvev. Suvatov 6 Kal puyp@ Kal
A 4
orevaypn@ wWwodov duotov éxBaddrdew ayddpata
\ a A , ,
kata pn—w h Stactaciy popiwy Buatorépav év

, / 4 \ A \ lA
Baber yevopévnv: évapOpov dé dovnv kal b&a-
NeKTOY OVTHW cady Kal TrepiTTHVY Kal apTioToLoV
4
éy awvy@ yevéoOar TavtaTaciw ayryyavov, é
\ \ \ \ \ \
pnde thy wpuxnv Kai tov Oedv advev coparos
fa! 4 ‘4 ~
opyavixod Kal Sinpmoopévov pépect RorytKois
”~ > a
yéyovev HYelv Kal OvaréyecOar. Strov & Huds 7
e , ” > 4 \ A A
totopia qoANots atroBialerar Kat miBavois pdp-
, A
TuawW, avopotov aicOnoe waBos eyyivomevoy TO
A a a , \
PavractiK@e THS wuyxns cvvavarreiOer to Soa,
@otrep év mvows akovety ovK aKovovTes Kal
Brérrew ov Brétrovtes Soxodpev. ov pny adAa
A e > > 4 \ / \ \ Gg. \ v
Tois wm’ evvoias Kal didrdtas mpos Tov Beov ayav
A \ a b] 4
éumabas éyovot, Kai pndev abereiv nd avaive-
A \ /
cOat tay ToLovTwY Svvapévoats, péya TrpOS TioTeY
> \ N 4 \ g ¢e A “ A
éotl To Oavpdovov cal pn Kal Huds THs TOU
A \ “A ,

Geod Suvdpews. ovdev yap ovdapas avOpwrrive
wv , v
mpocéotxev ovte Guat ote Kivnow ovtTe TéxYNY
A aA a 4
ovT ioxytv, ovd ef TL TroLel TOY Huiv aTroLnT@YV
a A , >
Kal unxavata: TOY dpnxyavov, Tapddoyov eat,
2T2

lieve what is difficult of belief and probably never happened. For that statues have appeared to sweat, and shed tears, and exude something like drops of blood, is not impossible; since wood and stone often contract a mould which is productive of moisture, and cover themsélves with many colours, and receive tints from the atmosphere ; and there is nothing in the way of believing that the Deity uses these phenomena sometimes as signs and portents. It is possible also that statues may emit a noise like a moan

or a groan, by reason of a fracture or a rupture, which is more violent if it takes place in the interior. But that articulate speech, and language so clear and abundant and precise, should proceed from a lifeless thing, is altogether impossible ; since not even the soul of man, or the Deity, without a body duly organized and fitted with vocal parts, has ever spoken and conversed. But where history forces our assent with numerous and credible witnesses, we must conclude that an experience different from that of sensation arises in the imaginative part of the soul, and persuades men to think it sensation; as, for instance, in sleep, when we think we see and hear, although we neither see nor hear. However, those who cherish strong feelings of good-will and affec- tion for the Deity, and are therefore unable to reject or deny anything of this kind, have a strong argu- ment for their faith in the wonderful and transcend- ent character of the divine power. For the Deity has no resemblance whatever to man, either in nature, activity, skill, or strength; nor, if He does something that we cannot do, or contrives some- thing that we cannot contrive, is this contrary to reason ; but rather, since He differs from us in all

GANG parrov ev tact Siadépwy TorV paddLoTA
a ,
Tois épyows avopoltos €oTt Kal TapndXAaypévos.
ara Tov pev Ociwy Ta TONG, Ka' "HpdxderTor,
amiatin Svahuyyaver un yiwoaKxerOar.
XXXIX. Tov d€ Mdpxiov, as éravardev eis
\ Mv b) N a , A 4
to "AvtTiov amo THS oTpateias, plio@y TTarat
c
kat Bapuvopevos d:a POovov o TvAXAos éreBov-
hevey avereiv evOus, ws ct viv Stadvyo, AaBnv
e ff > 4 '\ \ , \
évépav ov tapéEovta. 'rodXovs bé cvoTHoas Kal
? > 9 > N > +f ? 4 ¢€
mapacKeudoas én' avtov éxédevoev evOvvas wUTr0-
axeiv tots OvorovcoKxos, arodovta thy apxnr.
o 5é hoBovpevos id:@Tns yevéeoOar too Tudou
oTpatnyobvTos Kal Suvapévou péytorov év Tots
éavtod qoXitais, édXeye THY apyny aTrodwceL
OtorovcnKos, éav Kedevwot, Kal yap RaPeiv
4 , > ? \ 4 ,
TavT@v KedevovTov, evOuvas dé Sid0vat Kal Noyov
3 QA "a a a 4 9
ovdé viv TwapatteiaOat Tois BovAopévous "Avtia-
TOV. 'yevopevns ovv éxkAnalas, ot Taperxevac-
pévor TOV Snpaywyav anuotdpevor Tapwtvvoyv To
a bd > 3 4 n / ' \
wAHO0s. eel & avactdvts TO Mapkio To pev

” a e 3 > A b / \ a
dyav BopuBody in’ aidods évedidov Kat Trapelyev
adeds Réyerv, of Sé BéATIOTOL Kal pddoTa
Yatpovtes cipjvn Tov AvriaTav éyévovTo pavepot
pet evvolas axovodpmevoe Kat Stxaiws KpivovvTes,
édeccev o TvAXAOs THY aTroNoyiav Tov avdpos.
qv yap év tots padtota Seuvos eitreiv, Kal Ta
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points, in His works most of all is He unlike us
and far removed from us. But most or the Deity’s
powers, as Heracleitus says,! “escape our knowledge
through incredulity.”
XX XIX. But as for Marcius, when he came back to Antium from his expedition, Tullus, who had long hated him and been oppressed with jealousy of him, plotted to take him off at once, believing that if his enemy escaped him now, he would never give him another chance to seize him. Having, therefore, ar- rayed a large party against him, he bade him lay down his command and give the Volscians an ac- count of his administration. But Marcius, afraid of being reduced to private station when Tullus was in command and exercising the greatest influence among his own countrymen, said he would resign his com- mand to the Volscians, if they bade him do so, since it was at their general bidding that he had assumed it ; and that he was ready, and would not refuse even before that, to give a full account of his administra- tion to all the people of Antium who desired it. An assembly was therefore held, at which the popular leaders who had been set to the work rose and tried to embitter the multitude against him. But when Marcius rose to speak, the more disorderly part of his audience grew quiet, out of reverence for him, and gave him opportunity to speak fearlessly, while the best of the men of Antium, and those that were especially pleased with peace, made it clear that they would listen to him with favour and give a just de- cision. Tullus, therefore, began to fear the effect of the man’s plea in self-defence ; for he was one of the most powerful speakers, and his earlier achievements

1 Fragment 116 (Bywater, p. 45).
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mpoaev Epya peilova THv Xapuv ele THS UoTe-
pov aitias, padrov 6 5rws 70 eyaAn pa. Tov
peyé0ous THS YaptTos i paptuptov. ov yap dy
édofav ddixeia Bas THY Poyny Umoxeipiov M1)
daBovtes, el un ToD AaBeiv éyyds eyévovTo Sia
Madpxuov.
Ovxér’ ovv édoke Sia pédrew ode metpacbat
TOV TOANOD, Grn’ éyxparyovres ot Opactrarot
TOV TWETTOTOY @S OvK gore adxovotéov ovee
TepLomrT ov Ovorovexoss TOV mpodorny Tupay-

voovTa Kal bn Karat Oéuevov THY apxny, T™poome-
TOUTES a8 poot biépOerpav avrov, Kal ™ poonwuvev
ovdels TOV TapovT@v. bre b€ Tois TrElaTOUS OvK
émpaxOn KATA yvouny, eo woav avriKa ouvopa-
povTes éx TOV TOhEOY éml TO cOma Kal Oarxpavres
evTi pos Kal TOV Tapov SwAos Kal Aapupots
Koo unoavres WS apiaTews Kat oTpaTnyou. ‘Po-
patos O€ THY TEAEUTHY mudopevot, Grdo wey oudev
anedeiEavro onpetov ouTE TLLAS OUT épyijs 7 pos
avrov, aiTncapevars bé Tals yuvakiv em érpewrav
arromevOfja at béxa pijvas, doTEp eos y exdorn
TaTépa Kat maida Kat aderpov. odTos yap my
6pos Tov paxpoTatou mevOous, év w@pice Nopas
loptridsos, ws év Tots wept éxetvou yeypapupévors
dednXOTAL.
Tov 8é Mapxiov evO vs érrobet Ta Ovorovanar
T pay ward. Tp@Tov pev yap TTATLaTaYTES 7 pos
Aixavovs cuupaxouvs Kal gdirous dvtas virép

1<*Then, after he had withdrawn his troops from the Roman territory, they say that he was overwhelmed with hatred in consequence, and lost his life, different writers giving different details of his death. In Fabius, who is by

sas

secured him a gratitude which outweighed his later fault; nay more, the very charge against him was but so much proof of the great gratitude which was his due. For they would not have thought themselves wronged in not getting Rome into their power, had not the efforts of Marcius brought them near to taking it. .

Accordingly, the conspirators decided to make no more delay, and not to test the feelings of the multitude; but the boldest of them, crying out that the Volscians must not listen to the traitor, nor suffer him to retain his command and play the tyrant among them, fell upon him in a body and slew him, and no man present offered to defend him.! However, that the deed was not wrought with the approval of the majority of the Volscians, was seen at once from their coming out of their cities in concourse to his body, to which they gave honourable burial, adorning his tomb with arms and spoils, as that of a chieftain and general. But when the Romans learned of his death, they paid him no other mark either of honour or resentment, but simply granted the request of the women that they might mourn for him ten months, as was customary when any one of them lost a father, or a son, or a brother. For this was the period fixed for the longest mourning, and it was fixed by Numa Pompilius, as is written in his Life.?

The loss of Marcius was keenly felt at once by the Volscian state. For, in the first place, they quarrelled with the Aequians, who were their allies and friends, over the supreme command, and carried their quarrel far the most ancient authority, I find that he lived even to old age" (Livy, ii. 40, 10). Chapter xxxix. in Plutarch agrees closely with Dionysius viii. 57-59, who says that Marcius was stoned to death. 2 Chapter xii. 2.

NYEMOVIAS, AYpL TPavpdTwY Kal Povwy mponov-
emetta payn KxpatnOévtes tro 'Pwopaiwv, ev 7
TvAXos aTréOave nat Td avOodv pardtoTta Ths Suva-
pews SvepOdpn, Starvceas aicyiotas nydrnoapy
UMNKOOL YEVOMEVOL, KAL TO TPOTTATTOMEVOY AUTOS
TOLNGEW OMONOYHOAaYTES.
AAKIBIAAOY KAI KOPIOAANOY 3YTKPISI5

> 4 . A 4 eé e /
I. "Exxepévov b€ tay mpakewr, boas nryov-
Ul \ , 93 gos 9 \ \
peBa Noyou Kal pynuns akias elvat, TAs pév TOXeE-
puxas em" ovdéTEpoy TraLovaas poTY meyaAnV Opa
EoTLy. Oparas yap audotepor TOAAa pev oTpa-
A ¥ \ ? , \ \ \
TLWOTIKAS Epya TOAmNS Kal avdpeias, TOA O€é Kal
Téyyns Kal mpovoias otpatnyobvtTes émedetEavto,
TAnVv ef poy tis Oédoe Tov "AdKiBiadnv, Ste Kat
Kata yhv Kat kata OdratTav év ToANOIs ayact
n \ ~ b , ae
yucav Kat katopOwr dueréXeoev, arropaive TEdELo-
/
Tepov otTpatnyov: é7rel TO ye TapovTas Kal ap-
xovtas opOody det mpodndws Ta oixeia Kal mpo-
SndoTepoy av mddw BrAdrreyv peltotapévous
appotépos umnpee. todsteiav dé tHv pev 'AD-
4 A ¥ \ \ \ A a
KiBidoov THY ayav Aapvpay Kal TO pt) KaBapedov
avaywyias Kai Bwoporoxyias év Te pds yap
e A "a "a
optreiy Tois TroANO's ot swdpoves éBdedUTTOVTO,
Thv 6¢ Mapxiov wavraracw ayapw Kal brepn-

to the length of bloodshed and slaughter; in the second place, they were defeated in battle by the Romans, wherein Tullus was slain and the very flower of their forces was cut to pieces, so that they were glad to accept most disgraceful terms, becoming subjects of Rome, and pledging themselves to obey her commands.!

COMPARISON OF ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS

I. Now that all the deeds of these men are set forth, so far as we consider them worthy of recol- lection and record, it is plain that their military careers do not incline the balance either way very decidedly. For both alike gave many signal proofs of daring and valour as soldiers, as well as of skill and foresight as commanders; except that some may give the preference to Alcibiades, because he was continually successful and victorious in many struggles by sea, as well as by land, and declare him therefore the more consummate general. It is certainly true of each that, when he was at home and in command, he always conducted his country's cause with manifest success, and, contrariwise, inflicted even more mani- fest injury upon it when he went over to the enemy. As statesmen, if the exceeding wantonness of Alcibiades, and the stain of dissoluteness and vulgarity upon all his efforts to win the favour of the multitude, won the loathing of sober-minded citizens, it was equally true that the utter ungraciousness of

1 Cf. Livy, ii. 40, 12 £.

pavoy Kat odLyapKLKnV ryevomerny euionoev 0
'Papaiwv Sjpuos. ovderépav pev ovdv em aiveTéov'
0 b€ Snuayoyov Kal Xaprlopevos TOV 70s ov
b0fovaer Snparyoryety T porn aeSov Tov TOUS TOX-
Aovs dpepmToTEpos" aiay pov pev yap 70 KOna-
KEUELD Ofjpov € éTl TO duvac bat, 70 8 box veLv éx TOU
poBepor eivat Kai Kaxoov Kab mLélely pos TO
aioe xP Kal aBixov é éoTiv. |
Or Tolvuy amdovs TUS 0 Mdpxios vrret-
oe T@ TPOT@ yeryovevat Kal avdéxacros, o 0 dé
"ArKBiadns Tavoupyos év TH TodtTela Kal ava-
AnOns, ovK aOnXOv éoTL. pddora dé KaTnyopou-
aw avtov Kaxonberay Kai arraTny, n TOUS Aaxe-
Sarpoviov mpéo Reus TApaxpovoapevos, OS Oovev-
bidns io ropyxe, THD eipyvny éXvoev. GAN airy
pev 7) TOMTELa, Katmep els. TONE MOV adds EpL-
Badovca THV TOAD, ioyupav érroinae Kal go-

Repay, ths Mavtivéwv Kal “Apyetav cunpayias be’
“AdKeBudsou Tpooryevouerns® Mépxtos & Ott pev
andtn kai avros é&eTodéuoce ‘Popalous Kal
Ovorovexous diaBadov pevdas TOUS Heovras eri
Ty Oéar, Atoviaros ¢ ioTopnKev™ 4 8 aitia paviro-
TEPOV ToLEet 70 epyov. ov yap €x ptrovercias ovode
TONLTLRIS payns 7 apiddns, WS éxelvos, Grr’
opyn Xapelopevos, jap ms ovdéva gnoly o Aiwy}
atronaBeiv yaptv, woAAA THs Iradias pépn cuve-
tapate wal TOANAS TOAELS OVdeY AdLKOVTAS TH
mpos THY watpida Ovpo mapavdrwoe. KxaiTtoe
1 Alwy Bekker corrects to “Iw», after Bryan. The verse

. ovdels yap opyns xdpw amelAnder, xarep.. . is attributed
to Menander in Stobaeus, Flori]. xx. 6 (Kock, Com. Att.
Frag. iii. p. 188).
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ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS

Marcius, together with his pride and oligarchical demeanour, won the hatred of the Roman people. Neither course, then, is to be approved ; although the man who seeks to win the people by his favours is less blameworthy than those who heap insults on the multitude, in order to avoid the appearance of trying to win them. For it is a disgrace to flatter the people for the sake of power; but to get power by acts of terror, violence, and oppression, is not only a disgrace, it is also an injustice.

II. Now, that Marcius is usually thought to have been rather simple in his nature, and straightforward, while Alcibiades was unscrupulous in his public acts, and false, is very clear. And Alcibiades is particularly denounced for the malicious deceit by which he cheated the Lacedaemonian ambassadors, as Thucy- dides relates! and put an end to the peace. But this policy of his, although it did plunge the city again into war, made it nevertheless strong and for- midable, by reason of the alliance with Mantinea and Argos which Alcibiades secured for it. And yet Marcius himself also used deceit to stir up war between the Romans and Volscians, when he brought a false charge against the visitors to the games, as Dionysius relates;? and the motive for his action makes it the worse of the two. For he was not influenced by ambition, or by rivalry in a political struggle, as Alcibiades was, but simply gave way to his anger, from which passion, as Dion says, “ no one ever gets a grateful return,’ and threw many districts of Italy into confusion, and needlessly sacrificed many innocent cities to his rage against his country.

1 V. 45; ef. Plutarch’s Nicias, x. ; Alciades, xiv.

2 See Coriolanus, xxvi. 2; Dionysius Hal., Anéig. Rom.
viil. 2.
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kat “Ar«iBuddns du’ opyiv peyadov aitios cup-
ghopav xatéotn Tois ToAtTats. GAA STE Tpw@Tov
éyva pmeTapeNomévous, evyv@povnoe, Kal madLV
atroppipels ovK ébynaOn Tois oTpatTnyois auapta-
vovow ovdé mapeide xaxa@s Bovrevopévouvs Kat
Uf b) > e > , > ”
xuvouvevovTas, GAX’, dep “Apsotetdns érratvetras
/ , \ / a > 9 /
partota mpakas 17 pos MeutoTroKNea, TOUT ETrOLNGE,
\ \ 4,9 > I. 4 ‘ \
Mpos Tvs TOT apxovTas ov irous dvtas EXO wv Kal
, \ 4 lA , \ ”
dpdoas 7d déov kal SbdEas. Mapxios 5€ mpadtov
\ 4 “A DJ , \ S b) e >a
ev OANVY KAKOS eETrOLEL THY TrOALY OVX Ud OANS
, bJ \ A 4 A S /
TaQbav, a\Aa TOD BeXTioTOU Kal KpatioToU pépous
cuvadsxnBevtos avt@ Kal cuvadrynoavros: éreta
TodAals mpecBeias Kal dSenoece piav iwpévov
bd A \ » > \ 2Q>) Vv 2 7
opyny Kat ayvotay ov TeyxOels ovd elEas ESnAwWC EV
émt T@ StadOecipas tHv Twatpida Kal xataBanreiv,
ovy Strws aTroAdBy Kal KaTéXOn, Bapvv ToAELOV
Kal aotrovoov émavynpnpévos. tovtm dé! dyoe
tis dtadépery’ “AXKiBiadnv pév yap éemiBovdevo-
pevov vd Xraptiatav dea Séos Gua Kat picos
9 a n \ b , 4, N
avT@y petaothvar pos ‘AOnvatouvs, Mapxip dé
wavta dixata Trotodvtas OvoXovanKous ov KadwsS
3 > a \ \ e ‘ > Ld
elyev éyxatadiTeiv. Kal yap Hyer atrodebeKTO
Kal peylotny Tiotiy elye peta Suvdpews, OVX WS
Exelvos, ATOXPHLEVOV MAaANOY 7) YpwWpEevwOVv AUTO
Aaxedaipoviwv, év TH Toe Teptioy Kal KUALY-
Sovpevos av0is ev TO otpatowéd@ téXos eis TAS
1 rovrp 5¢ Coraés and Bekker read rovrw ye with C, and
Bekker assumes a lacuna before the words.
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It is true, indeed, that Alcibiades also, through his anger, was the cause of great calamities to his

countrymen. But just as soon as he saw that they were repentant, he showed them his goodwill, and after he had been driven away a second time, he did not exult over the mistakes of their generals, nor look with indifference upon their bad and perilous plans, but did precisely what Aristides is so highly praised for doing to Themistocles: he came to the men who were then in command, although they were not his friends, and told them plainly what they ought to do. Marcius, however, in the first place, did injury to his whole city, although he had not been injured by the whole of it, but the best and strongest part of it shared his wrongs and his distress; in the second place, by resisting and not yielding to the many embassies and supplications with which his countrymen tried to heal his single wrath and folly, he made it clear that he had under- taken a fierce and implacable war for the overthrow and destruction of his country, not that he might recover and regain it. Further, in this point it may be said there was a difference between them, namely, that Alcibiades, when he went over to the side of the Athenians, was moved by fear and hatred of the Spartans, who were plotting to take his life ; whereas it was dishonourable for Marcius to leave the Vol- scians in the lurch when they were treating him with perfect fairness. For he was appointed their leader, and had the greatest credit and influence among them, unlike Alcibiades, whom the Lacedae- monians misused rather than used, who wandered about aimlessly in their city, and again was tossed to and fro in their camp, and at last threw himself

Ticagépvov yeipas adjKxey avrov: ae un vn Ata
A fol \ b , , "A
un POapnvat tas 'AOnvas travrarace trodav
xateNOeiy eOeparreve.

III. Xpyyata roivuy o pev "AdniBidins Kai
AaBeiv odx ed TorddrAdKs ex Swpodoxi@y Kal dva-
GécOat Kaxds cis TpUpyy Kal dxoraciav icropynTac:
Mdpxiov 5€ avv tin Sed0vtes of otpatnyot
AaBeiv ovK Erretcav. 610 Kal parioTta Tots TOA-
Dots errayOns hv év tais wept ypeav Stadhopais
\ \ io e > >? \ 4 3 9
mpos TOV SHmov, Ws ovK emi Képdeotv, GAA Sz
UBpiw Kat twepippoovvyy trois mévnow émnpedlwv.
"Avrimatpos pév ody év émioToAn tive ypadwv
mept THs ApiototéXous Tod dtroadgou TEdeUVTIS,
"TIpos tots aAAots," dynoiv, "Oo avnp Kal To
9
meiBew elye'" tas 5& Mapxiov mpdfes rat
dperas TovTO pn mMpoodv éraxOeis érroinoey
avtots Tots ev TaOovat, Tov GyKov avTOv Kal THv
S
épnuia ovvoixov, ws WAdtov eimev, avOddecay
§:." 3S / a 9? > , ? ,

pn UTopeivavtas. Tod & '"AdKiBiddov tovvavrtiov
émiatapmevov ypnoOat Tots mpootuyydvovoty ot-
, > \ 3 , \ 4
Kelws, ovdey Oavyactov ev ols Kat@pOov trv SoEav
avOeiy wet edvoias Kal Tins Eevnpepovoay, Grou
Kal TOY dpapTndtwy évia ToANaKis | ydpw elye
kal @pav. Oey odTos pév ov pixpa Brarvas ovd
? , \ , 4 3 / 4
6diya iv TOALY Guws amedeinvUTO TOANAKLS
HyEu@Vv Kal oTpaTnyos, éexelvos Sé peTi@v érri
1 woAAdus bracketed by Bekker.

into the hands of Tissaphernes; unless, indeed, he was all the while paying him court in order that the Athens to which he longed to return might not be utterly destroyed.

III. Furthermore, in the matter of money, we are told that Alcibiades often got it ill by taking bribes, and spent it ill in luxury and dissipation; whereas Marcius could not be persuaded to take it even when it was offered to him as an honour by his commanders. And for this reason he was especially odious to the multitude in the disputes with the people concerning debts, because they saw that it was not for gain, but out of insolence and scorn, that he acted despitefully towards the poor.

Antipater, writing in one of his letters about the death of Aristotle the philosopher,[1] says: "In ad- dition to all his other gifts, the man had also that of persuasion"; and the absence of this gift in Marcius made his great deeds and virtues obnoxious to the very men whom they benefited, since they could not endure the arrogant pride of the man, and that self- will which is, as Plato says,[2] "the companion of solitude." Alcibiades, on the contrary, understood how to treat in a friendly manner those who met. him, and we cannot wonder that when he was suc- cessful his fame was attended with goodwill and honour, and flowered luxuriantly, since some of his errors even had often charm and felicity. This was the reason why, in spite of the great and frequent harm done by him to the city, he was nevertheless many times appointed leader and general; while Marcius, when he stood for an office which was his

1 See Comparison of Aristides and Cato, ii. 4.
2 See Coriolanus, xv. 4.

ToAAais aptoteiats Kal avdpaya0iats apxyny
mpoonkovaav é&érecev. ovTw TOY pev ovde
TWATXOVTES KAKOS EOVVAVTO pLoEiY Ob TrONTAL, TO
5é qepinv Paupalopevy 1) pireio a,
IV. Kal ydp tos Mdpxios pév ovdev dmedeifaro

TH TOAEL OTPATHYOV, GAAA Tois TodEulots KATA
Ths tatpioos: ’AX«iBiadou dé kal otpatevopévov
ToAAGaKLES Kal OTpaTHYOUVTOS aTéXavaay oi ‘AOn-
vaiot Kat Tapmy éxpate. tTav éxOpav Scov éBov-
AeTO, Kal pn Tapovtos ioyvoav at daBonrai:
Mdpxzios 5é trapev id ‘Popaiwy KxatedixdaOn,
mapovta 5é€ Ovorodoxor SiéPOecpav, od dexaiws
pev ovd oaiws, aitiay 5é tod evrAdyou Tapéoxev
avtos, Ste Snpocia tas Siadvoers pr) mpoocdegd-
pevos, toia bé mrewcbels Ud Ta YyUvatKaV oOvK
édvoe THY ExOpav, GAXA TOU ToAéuou pévoVTOS
amT@\ece TOV Katpov Kat SiéPOecpe. Treicavta
yap &e. Tovs memurtevxotas ameAdOeiv, ev Tov
mpos éxetvous Sixaiov mrelotov émovetto Noyov.
ei 5é pnddv eppovtiteyv OvorovcKwv, GdrrdA THY
opyny éuTARoaL THY éavtov BovropeEvos evnye Tov
ToNEnoV, elt EAnEev, ov Sua THY pNTépa Karas
elye heicacbat Ths TaTpiOos, GAAA ody TH WaT pid.
THS MNTPOS* épos yap Hv Kal 7h uATNp Kal 7 yuVy
THs Tatpidos iy émodopKer. To 5é Sypociass
ixeotats Kal Senoes mpécRewv nal ALTais Lepéwy
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ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS

due in view of his valorous achievements, was
defeated. And so it was that the one could not
make himself hated by his countrymen, even when
he was doing them harm; while the other was after
all not beloved, even while he was admired.

IV. For Marcius did not, as a commander, obtain any great successes for his city, but only for his enemies against his country ; whereas Alcibiades was often of service to the Athenians, both as a private soldier and as a commander. When he was at home, he mastered his adversaries to his heart’s content ; it was when he was absent that their calumnies pre- vailed. Marcius, on the contrary, was with the Romans when they condemned him, and with the Volscians when they slew him. The deed was not in accordance with justice or right, it is true, and yet his own acts supplied an excuse for it, because, after rejecting the terms of peace publicly offered, and suffering himself to be persuaded by the private solicitations of the women, he did not put an end to hostilities, but allowed the war to continue, while he threw away for ever its golden opportunity. For he should have won the consent of those who had put their trust in him, before retiring from his position, if he had the highest regard for their just claims upon him. If, on the other hand, he cared nothing for the Volscians, but was prosecuting the war merely to satisfy his own anger, and then stopped it abruptly, the honourable course had been, not to spare his country for his mother’s sake, but his mother together with his country ; since his mother and his wife were part and parcel of the native city

which he was be- sieging. But after giving harsh treatment to public supplications, entreaties of embassies, and prayers of

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Q 2
_PLUTARCH’S LIVES

aTnvas xXpnodpevov celta yapicacOar TH pnp
THY dvaY@pnoL, ov THS PNTPOS Hv Ton, GAN
aTimia THs Twatpidos, oilxtm Kal Tapaitnoe dia
pilav yuvaixa owlouérvns, @s ovK akias calecOar
dc’ aithy. érridOovos yap ydpis Kal w@pn Kal
aydpistos adnOes nal mpos ovderépovs Exovca
TO EvYyVapov aveyapnoe yap pte Trevadels bd
TOV TrONELOULEVOY NTE Teiaas TOUS TUpmTTOAE-
povuvTas.
“Qv aitiov airdvtwv 76 advopirntoyv Tod TpoTrov
kal diay vrrepidhavoy Kat avOades, 5 Kal’ avo
pev eTTraXOés Eats Tois ToAXois, TH 5é hiroTipo
@Mpooov yiverat tTavtdmaciw adypiov Kal ama-
pairntov. ov yap Oeparrevovat Tovs TOANOUS WS
pn Seopevoe tins, elta YanreTraivover py TYVyXa-
vovTes. é7rel TO ye py AcTrapH unde OepatrevTiKov
dyAwv evar kal MérerXos eclye cal “Apiotetdns
cal Evrapevovdas adda TO Katadpovety arnOas
av Onuos éote kal dodvat cai apedécOae Kvptos,
éfootpaxtlopevoe Kat aToXELpoTovovpevot fat
katabixalopevoe toAAdKis ovK wpyifovTo Tots
TONTALS AYVWLOVOVELY, GAN Hyatrwv avOis peTa-
peropévovs Kal SinAXAaTTOVTO TapakadovvTov.
Tov yap tKiota Oepamrevtixovy xtota Tpérres
TLULWPNTLKOV ELVAL TOV TOAADY, WS TO YaXeTraivery
pardLoTa pn TUYXaVoVYTA Ths Tints ex TOU opodpa
yMixerOar puopevov.
V. “ArxtBiddns pév odv ovK Hpvetto TLL@pmEVvos yvaipey kal dvodopety Trapopwpevos, O0ev
éerretpato

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priests, then to concede his withdrawal as a favour to his mother, was not so much an honour to that mother, as it was a dishonour to his country, which was thus saved by the pitiful intercession of a single woman, and held unworthy of salvation for its own sake. Surely the favour was invidious, and harsh, and really no favour at all, and unacceptable to both parties; for he retired without listening to the per-

suasions of his antagonists, and without gaining the consent of his comrades-in-arms.

The cause of all this lay in his unsociable, very overweening, and self-willed disposition, which of itself is offensive to most people, and when combined with an ambitious spirit, becomes altogether savage and implacable. Such men pay no court to the multitude, professing not to want their honours, and then are vexed if they do not get them. Certainly there was no tendency to importune or court the favour of the multitude in men like Metellus, Aris- tides, and Epaminondas ; but owing to their genuine contempt for what a people has the power to give and take away, though they were repeatedly ostra- cised, defeated at elections, and condemned in courts of justice, they cherished no anger against their countrymen for their ingratitude, but showed them kindness again when they repented, and were recon- ciled with them when they asked it. Surely he who least courts the people’s favour, ought least to resent their neglect, since vexation over failure to receive their honours is most apt to spring from an excessive longing after them.

V. Well, then, Alcibiades would not deny that he rejoiced to be honoured, and was displeased to be overlooked, and he therefore tried to be agreeable

poo gids elvat Tots Tapovar Kal KeXapLaMEvOs”
Mapxcov dé Oepamrever per ovK éla Tous TUMaY
Suvapévous Kat abgew TO Umepnpavor, opyny dé
Ka Avmny apehouperp To Pehoripwov Trapelye.
Kai AUT’ got & TUS av aitidcalto TOU av-
dpos' Ta 8 aa qjwavta Aa pa. Ta@ppoovrns
dé Kal Ypnuatov éyKpareias évexa Tots api Tous
Kai Ka apardrors TOV EdAgjvev aEvov avrov
mapaBadnevp, ovK "AdKiBrddy pa Aia TO Opacu-
TAT@ tepl TavTa Kal OdLywpoTaT@ TOD Kadov
yevopeva.

and pleasant to his associates; but the overweening pride of Marcius would not suffer him to pay court to those who had the power to honour and advance him, while his ambition made him feel angry and hurt when he was neglected. These are the blame- worthy traits in the man, but all the rest are brilliant. And for his temperance and superiority to wealth, he deserves to be compared with the best and purest of the Greeks, not with Alcibiades, who, in these regards, was the most unscrupulous of men, and the most careless of the claims of honour.

I. ‘O "AxavOiov Onoavpos év Ach pois ém-
ypagny € exe TOLAUTHY" ae Bpacidas Kal “AxavO or
amr AOnvaiwy: ” 510 xal TroAXol Tov évTos €oToTA
Tov otKov Tapa Tais Ovpass NOvov avdpravTa
Bpacidov vopitovew elvat. Avadv8pou dé éorw
elKoviKos, €D udda Kouevros eer TO TAKAUG Kat
Toryova caderpevou yevvaiov. ov yap, Os évtot
acy, A pyetov peTa THY peyddny HrTay € éml Trév-
Jee KapevTov ol Lraptuaras ™ pos 76 aytimaov
avrois TAS KOMLAS GryANOWEVOL Tois Temparywevors
avicay, oveé Baxyradav tov &x Kopiv@ov puyov-
TOV els Naxedaipova TAaTEWOY Kal apoppov dua
70 xeipac Oat Tas Keparas pavévtay ets Cijvov
avrol TOD Komay HrGov, adda Ka TOUTO AvKoup-
yeLov eat. Kal pacw aurov elmety @S 1) KOU
TOUS pev Kanovs eUmpeTTeaTépous opacOa. trorei,
Tous 6é aiaxpovs poBepwrtépous.
II, Aéyerar be) Avadvdpov TaTnp “Apioro-
KhetTos oiklas mev ov yeverdat Baciduxijs, GAdws
dé yévous elvat TOU TOY ‘Hpakredav. eTpagny bé
) Avcavdpos éy evia, Kal mapéaxev éauTov
EVTAKTOV, WS EL TLS ddXos, 7 pos TOUS € to Lous Kat

1 In sB.c. 424, Brasidas won Acanthus, a town on the Chalcidic peninsula, away from its alliance with Athens (Thue. iv. 84-88). 2 Herodotus, i. 82.

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LYSANDER

I. Tue treasury of the Acanthians at Delphi bears this inscription: “ Brasidas and the Acanthians, with spoil from the Athenians.”! For this reason many think that the marble figure standing within the edifice, by the door, is a statue of Brasidas. But it really represents Lysander, with his hair very long, after the ancient custom, and growing a generous beard. For it is not true, as some state, that because the Argives, after their great defeat, shaved their heads for sorrow, the Spartans, in contrary fashion, let their hair grow long in exultation over their victory ;? nor was it because the Bacchiadae,? when they fled from Corinth to Lacedaemon, looked mean and unsightly from having shaved their heads, that the Spartans, on their part, became eager to wear their hair long; but this custom also goes back to Lycurgus. And he is reported to have said that a fine head of hair makes the handsome more comely to look upon, and the ugly more terrible.‘

II. The father of Lysander, Aristocleitus, is said to have been of the lineage of the Heracleidae, though not

of the royal family. But Lysander was reared in poverty, and showed himself as much as any man conformable to the customs of his people ;

3 An oligarchical family, deposed from rule in Corinth by Cypselus, about 650 p.c. (Herod. v. 92).
4 Cf. Lycurgua, xxii. 1.

b) , N / , e lol A ”
avdp@on Kal KpeiTTova Taans HndovAS, TWANV Eb
TLVA TLUL@pmévoLs Kal KaTOpOOVGLY ai Kadai Tpakes
emipépovot. tavtTns 5é ok aloypov éoti HTTa-
\ , 3 iA 4 \ > A bd
c0at Tovs véous év {raptyn. BovrAovrar yap evOus é&
apXIS TWacyelv Te TOvs Tratdas avTav pos dokay,
aXyuvopévous TE TOIS Yoyots Kal peyaXuvopLevous
\ a e 4
uTO TaV éTraivoy: o bé aTrabns Kal axivntos év
4
TOVTOLS WS AtAOTLBWOS pos apeTnV Kal apryds
Katadpoveitar. To pev odv diroTLLov avT@ Kat
dtrovercov éx THs Aaxwvixns tapéueve tradeias
,
eryryevopevov, Kal ovdéy Te péya ypn THY pvow év
TovTots aitiacOar Deparrevtixds S¢ Tov Svvatav
PadXov 7} KaTa Yraptiatyny dvoee Soxet yevécOat,
4 4 > , , 5) ral v
kai Bapos éEoucias bia ypetav éveyxety evKoXos:
O TONTLKHS SELVOTHTOS OV pLXPOY EvLoL TroLODY TAL
9
pépos. “Aprotorérns S€ Tas peydras hicess atro-
daivav pedayyortKds, ws THY Yoxpatovs Kat
¢ a
IAdtwvos cai Hpakréous, totopet cat Avcavdpov
ovK evOUs, ANNA pec BUTEpor OYTA TH WeXayYoMa
: pea Birep fi weharyyonie
TEPLTTET ELD.
“Iétov S€ avtod pddtcTa TO KaAe@s TreviaV
/ “ , \
dhépovta, cal pndapod xparnOévra pndé d:adOa-
4 A
pévta xXpnpacw avTov, éuTrAjoar thy Tatpida
lA \ / \ aA

TRovTOV Kal dtroTAOVUTLAS Kal Tradcat Oavpalo-
f a A
Hévny eri Te pn Oavpdley rAodTOY, eiodyovTa
/ o)
Xpuciov nal dpyupiov wAnOos peta tov ‘“ArteKxov
, A
TodELOV, EavT@ 5 pndeuiav Spayuny virodeTd-
4 \ a
Hevoy. Atovvoiov d€ tov tTupdvvov méprpaytos
> A A ; A aA
avTov Talis Ouyatpdot ToAUTEAH YLT@MA TOY
2 36

of a manly spirit, too, and superior to every pleasure, excepting only that which their good deeds bring to those who are successful and honoured. To this pleasure it is no disgrace for the youth in Sparta to succumb. Indeed, from the very first they wish their boys to be sensitive towards public opinion, distressed by censure, and exalted by praise ; and he who is in- sensible and stolid in these matters, is looked down upon as without ambition for excellence, and a cum- berer of the ground. Ambition, then, and the spirit of emulation, were firmly implanted in him by his Laconian training, and no great fault should be found with his natural disposition on this account. But he seems to have been naturally subservient to men of power and influence, beyond what was usual in a Spartan, and content to endure an arrogant authority for the sake of gaining his ends, a trait which some hold to be no small part of political ability. And Aristotle, when he sets forth that great natures, like those of Socrates and Plato and Heracles, have a tendency to melancholy, writes also! that Lysander, not immediately, but when well on in years, was a © prey to melancholy.

But what is most peculiar in him is that, though he bore poverty well, and though he was never mastered nor even corrupted by money, yet he filled his country full of wealth and the love of wealth, and made her cease to be admired for not admiring wealth, importing as he did an abundance of gold and silver after the war with Athens, although he kept not a single drachma for himself. And when Dionysius the tyrant sent his daughters some costly tunics of Sicilian make, he would not receive them,

1 Problema, xxx. 1.

DeKEABY, OvK éraBev, elroy poetic bar wy dua
TavTa paddov aicxpal pavocty. arr ddLyov
Uatepov Tpos TOV avTOoV TUpavvov éx THs avTns
TOES aTroaTanels mpeo Beut ys, T POoTréMYaVvTOS
auT@ dvo0 oTohas éxeivou xal KedXevoavTos iY

Rotheras TOUTOV Ehopuevov Th Ouyatpi Kopiter,
avuTny exelyny épn BéXtov aipnoccOau, Kal XaBov
auotepas amnrev.
III. ‘Evel dé rod Tledomovynataxod TONE MOU
PAKS NapBavovtos, Kal pera THY év Lexedig TOV
Onvaiwy KaKoT paryiav avutixa per érddEov
ovTey éxtreceia bat TIS ararrns, ov TONN@ dé
Do Tepov aTrayopeva ety TavtaTacw, “AdKiBiadys
amo THS puyis €TLTTAS TOIS mpdypact peyadny
petaBorny é érroinge Kal KatéoThCe TOUS VAUTLKOUS
ayavas eis avtTitaXov avrtots, Seioavtes ovv ob
Aaxedarpovrot manip kal YEVOMEVOL tals mpo-
Ouplats Kawvot mpos TOV TrOAEpOD, as WYYEWOvOS TE
devvod Kal TapacKevis eppwpevertépas Seopevor,
EK TPE TOUT LY él THY THS Gararrns myepoviav
Avoavdpov. yevopevos & év ’Edéco, nal tv
TONY eUpav eivouv fev avT@ al Aaxwvilovoav
mpoOuporata, TpaTTovoav 88 réTe AUTpas Kal KLV-
Suvevovcay éxBapBapwOjvac Tots Tepacnots eBecr
dua Tas emmmtias, a are 84 THs Avotas TEpLKEX UpE-
yns kat tov BaciwKav oTparnyav avroOt ta
Troha, StatprBovtar, oT patomedov Baropevos Kat
Ta WAOLA mavtay ev ErnerO au Kedevoas EXEL TA
poprnya, Kal vauTnyiay Tpinpwv exel KaTa-
oTKevac duevos, Tals pay ew roptais TOUS Arpévas
avTav avéraBev, épyaciass 6é THD aryopay, xpn-
paticopav Sé Tovs olxovs Kal Tas Téxyvas eve-
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saying he was afraid they would make his daughters look more ugly. But a little later, when he was sent as ambassador to the same tyrant from the same city, and was presented by him with two robes, and ordered to choose which of them he would, and carry it to his daughter, he said that she could choose better herself, and went off with both of them.

III. The Peloponnesian war had now been carried on for a long time, and after their disaster in Sicily! it was expected that the Athenians would straight- way lose their control of the sea, and presently give up the struggle altogether. But Alcibiades, returning from exile and taking the command, wrought a great change, and made his countrymen again a match for their enemies by sea.2, The Lacedaemonians, accordingly, were frightened again, and summoning up fresh zeal for the war, which required, as they thought, an able leader and a more powerful armament, sent out Lysander to take command upon the sea.2 When

he came to Ephesus, he found the city well disposed to him and very zealous in the Spartan cause, although it was then in a low state of prosperity and in danger of becoming utterly barbarized by the admixture of Persian customs, since it was enveloped by Lydia, and the King's generals made it their headquarters. He therefore pitched his camp there, and ordered the merchant vessels from every quarter to land their cargoes there, and made preparations for the building of triremes. Thus he revived the trafic of their harbours, and the business of their market, and filled their houses and workshops with

1413 n.c. Cf. Thue. viii. 2. 2 Cf. Alcibiades, xxxii. 4.
* In the autumn of 408 B.C.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

~~ 9 n s
TANTEY, WOTE TPWTOV am éKElvov TOD \YpovoU
THv Tod év édmide TOD Tept adTHY VdV oVTOS
wv f \ / f
dyxou Kal peyéGous da Avoavdpoyr yevéo Bat.
/ A A
IV. [IvOdpevos 5€ Kipoy eis Yapders apiyOat
Tov Bactréws viov, avéBn StareEopevos avT@ Kat
/
Ticadépvov xatnyopnowv, ds éxwv mpootaypa
Aaxedatpoviots Bonetvy nal tis Oardoons é€-
erdoat tovs "AOnvaiouvs, éboxer 60 *AXKtBiadnv
udiéuevos ampoOvmos eivar Kal yAloxpws yopn-
yav TO vauvtixov POecipew. jv de xal Kip@ Bovdo-
péve Tov Ticadépyny ev aitias eivat Kal Kaxas
aKovew, Twovnpoy évta Kal mpos avdrov dia
, " AY 4 \ a d
Stadepopevov. Ex te 59 TovTwY Kal THS aNANS
cuvdtartnoews o Avoavipos ayannbels xal TO
n a e \
Oeparevtik@ padiota Ths opsdcas EX@v TO pELpa-
3 , \ \ 4 > N \ 3
Ktov ém@éppwoe TOS TOY TrOAEpOY. ETeEL dé aTTAN-
4 / > A e a) e ce)
AatTecOat Bovropevoy avTov éoti@y o Kiupos
n&iov py SiwOeic8ar Tas wap avtov pidodpo-
auvas, adr' aiteiy 6 Bovroto nal ppalew ws
> N e "A > ? e \ e J
ovoevos aTAM@S atroTevEopEvoyv, UTrohaBav o Av-
é 6 ay \ 4 > >] 9 ce Lif 4 °
gavopos, Wel ToWwur, eltrev, " oUTWS EYXELS,
Kipe, wpoOupias, aitodpai ce cal twapaxadr®

mpocbecivar T@ pcO@ TaV vavTav Bord», Sirws
tetpw@Borov avti tpiwBdorov AauBavwctv.” Ha-
Geis odv o Kiopos él tH irotipia tod avdpos
J > A P A va > r > / f
pupious avT@ dSapetxous Eaxer, é& My éripeTpnoas
ov O6BoXov Tots vav bra Z vA
Tov ov Tots vavTais Kal Naumpuvdpevos OMy@
Vpovm Tas vavds TOY Torepioy Kevas érroinoey.
> 4 \ e \ \ \ A
amepoiT@v yap oi ToAAOl mpos Tous WAéov be-
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profits, so that from that time on, and through his efforts, the city had hopes of achieving the stateliness and grandeur which it now enjoys. IV. When he learned that Cyrus, the King’s son, was come to Sardis,! he went up to confer with him and to accuse Tissaphernes, who, though he was commissioned to aid the Lacedaemonians and drive the Athenians from the sea, was thought to be remiss in his duty, through the efforts of Alcibiades,? showing lack of zeal, and destroying the efficiency of the fleet by the meagre subsidies which he gave. Now Cyrus was well pleased that Tissaphernes, who was a base man and privately at feud with him, should be ac- cused and maligned. By this means, then, as well as by his behaviour in general, Lysander made him- self agreeable, and by the submissive deference of his conversation, above all: else, he won the heart of the young prince, and roused him to prosecute the war with vigour. At a banquet which Cyrus gave him as he was about to depart, the prince begged him not to reject the tokens of his friendliness, but to ask plainly for whatever he desired, since nothing whatsoever would be refused him. “Since, then,” said Lysander in reply, “thou art so very kind, I beg and entreat thee, Cyrus, to add an obol to the pay of my sailors, that they may get four obols instead of three.’’® Cyrus, accordingly, delighted with his public spirit, gave him ten thousand darics, out of which he added the obol to the pay of his seamen, and, by the renown thus won, soon emptied the ships of his enemies. For most of their seamen

1 He succeeded Tissaphernes as satrap of Lydia.
2 Cf. Alcibiades, xxv. 1-2.
3 Cf. Xen. Hell. i. 5, 6f.

dovtas, ob b¢é MEVOVTES dm pobupo. Kat aracvades
eyivovto Kal Kane mrapeixov oonpepat Tols oTpaTn-
yois. ov pny andra Kaimep ovTwS TEepioTdcas
Kal KAKMOAS TOUS TohepLous O) Nbcavdpos a@ppaver
vaupaxeiv, Spactnptov 6 évra TOV ‘AdoBeddny Kal
veav mrnOee TepLovTa Kat paxas Kal Kata viv
Kal Kara Oddarray els éxeivo ypovou Tacas ajT-

TNHTOV ayovec peévoy dedorxas.
V. ’Errel dé 0 pe ‘AdwiBiddns els Dwxaiav éx
Sdpou OueTrAevoev émt TOU aTohov KATANTOV
‘Avtioyov Tov KuBepynrnyv, o oé ‘AVTLOXos olov
éepuBpilov TO Avadvipy Kal Opacuvopevos érré-
TAEUTE duo T pti perv eis TOV Arpéva TOV
"Edeoiov Kal Tapa Tov vavoTad pov yehore Kal
TaTayy Npwpevos coRapas trapnauver, aryavar-
THOAS O O Avcavépos Kal KaTaoTdoas TO 7 P@TOV
ov Tohhas TOV Tpinpav ediwxey avTov, Lowy 5é
av TOUS ‘AOnvaious BonBoivras addas émipou,
Kail TéXOS évaupdxovy TUL TETOVTES. évica 6é
Avcavdpos, Kal mevTexaidena Tpinpets aBov
éaTnoe TpoTraLov. él TOUT@ TOY “Adar Buddyy O
pev éy aotet Sipos apyiobels aTEXELPOT ONT ED,
ume dé TOY év Zapp oTpATLaT@DV arypalopevos
Kal KaKOS akovwy amém devo ev eis Xeppornaov ék
Tod otpatomésov. TAUTHY bev ovv Thy paxny,
KaiTrep ov peyadny TH modager ° yevopevny, 7 TUXN
d2 "AdXniBiddny o ovopac Thy érroincey.
‘O &é Avaavépos aro TOV TWOAEWY ELS “Edecov
HETATTELTOMEVOS ods édpa pddiora tals Te TOA-
pats Kat Tois ppovnpacw brép TOUS TOAAOUS
dvTas, apyas tréometpe Tov Batepov er avTod
yevopéevwv Sexadbapyiav Kal vewrepiopav, mpo-
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came over to those who offered higher pay, and those who remained were listless and mutinous, and gave daily trouble to their officers. However, al- though he had thus injured and weakened his ene- mies, Lysander shrank from a naval battle, through fear of Alcibiades, who was energetic, had a greater number of ships, and in all his battles by land and sea up to that time had come off victorious.

V. But after this, Alcibiades sailed away from Samos to Phocaea, leaving Antiochus, his pilot, in command of the fleet; and Antiochus, as if in bold mockery of Lysander, put in to the harbour of Ephesus with two triremes, and rowed ostentatiously past his ships, as they lay drawn up on shore, with noise and laughter. Lysander was incensed, and launching at first only a few of his triremes, pursued him ; then seeing that the Athenians were coming to the rescue, he manned others, and at last the action became general. Lysander was victorious,

too, captured fifteen triremes, and set up a trophy. Thereupon the people of Athens, flying into a passion, deposed Alcibiades from his command, and finding himself slighted and abused by the soldiers at Samos, he left the camp and sailed off to the Chersonese. This battle, then, although actually not a great one, was made memorable by its bearing on the fortunes of Alcibiades.}

Lysander now summoned from their various cities to Ephesus men whom he saw to be most eminent for confidence and daring, and sowed in their minds the seeds of the revolutionary decadarchies? after- wards instituted by him, urging and inciting them to

1 Cf. Alcibiades, xxxv.-xxxvi.

* Governing bodies of ten men.

TpéTov Kal Trapok-vver éTaipika cuvictacbat Kai Mpocéxely TOV VOY TOlS TpaYyLATLY, WS Gua TH KatadvOjnvar tous "AOnvaiovs tav te Snpwv amaniakopevovs Kxal duvactevoovtas év Tais matpiat. Tovtwy dé tHy wiotw éxdoTtm de Epywv mapetye, Tos On yeyovdtas Pidrous avT@ kal Eévous eis peydAa mpdyyata Kal Tipas Kal oTpaTnyias avaywv, Kal ocuvadieav Kai ouvek- apaptavav avtos brép Tis éxeivwv wreovettas, @oTe Tpocéxe Atravtas avT@ Kal yapilerOar kal qoeiv, érmifovtas ovdevos atuxnoey Tov peytotwv éxelvou xpatovvtos. 8:0 Kal Kad- AuKpaTibay ovT' EVOds Hdéws eldov EADdVTA TO Avodvip» siddoxyov Tis vavapxias, ovTE, ws vaotepov didovs meipay avnp épaiveto mavTwv apiotos Kal SixatoTatos, npécxovtTo TH TpoT|e THS Hyeuwovias amrody Te Kal Awpioyv éyovons Kat adnOivov. adda TOvTOU péev THY apeTHY WoTrEP ayadrpatos pwixod Kddros eOavpatov, émodouv 6é THY éxeivou aotrovdny Kal TO pidétarpov Kai vpemodes Cn Touv, Bate aOupety éxmrNéoVvTOS AVTOD kat Saxpvew.

VI. 'O &€ tovrovs te t@ Kadndexpartida duc- peveotépous emotes éTt padAdov, kal tav bo Kvpov ypnudtwv avt@ debouévwr eis TO vauTixov Ta TeplovTa TaAL eis apdeis avetreprpev, AUTOV aiteiv, eb BovNorTo, Tov Kaddxpatidav Kal oxo- meiy Straws Opéror Tovs atTpati@tas Kedevoas. Téros O€ atromAéwv euaptipato mpdos avTov StL

form political clubs in their several cities, and apply themselves to public affairs, assuring them that as soon as the Athenian empire was destroyed, they could rid. themselves of their democracies and be- come themselves supreme in power. Moreover, by actual benefits he gave them all a confidence in this future, promoting those who were already his friends and allies to large enterprises and honours and com- mands, and taking a share himself in their injustice and wickedness in order to gratify their rapacity. Therefore all attached themselves to him, courted his favour, and fixed their hearts upon him, expecting to attain all their highest ambitions if only he re- mained in power. Therefore, too, they neither looked kindly upon Callicratidas at the first, when he came to succeed Lysander in the admiralty,! nor afterwards, when he had shown by manifest proofs that he was the justest and noblest of men, were they pleased with the manner of his leadership, which had a certain Doric simplicity and sincerity. They did, indeed, admire his virtue, as they would the beauty of a hero's statue; but they yearned for the zealous support of Lysander, and missed the interest which he took in the welfare of his partisans, so that when he sailed away they were dejected and shed tears. VI. Lysander made these men yet more dis affected towards Callicratidas. He also sent back to Sardis what remained of the money which Cyrus had given him for the navy, bidding Callicratidas ask for it himself, if he wished, and see to the maintenance of his soldiers. And finally, as he sailed away, he called Callicratidas to witness that

1 Late in the year 407 B.c. It was Spartan policy to change their admiral yearly.

Jaraccoxpatobv TO vavTLKOY Tmrapadidwaw. o 6€
Bovdopevos éréyEar TI prhotipiay drabovixny
Kal Kevny ovoav, ' Ovxoodr," (eon, a AaBov év
apiotepe Lapov Kat TepiTAEVTAS ets Mianrov
éxel pot mapados Tas _Tpinpers: dedrévar yap ov
xpn TapaT NeovTas Tpas TOUS év Zdue Tonepious,
el Jaraccoxpatobpev." 7 pos TavTa ¢iT@v o
Avaavépos 6 STL OVK auros, GNX' éxetvos dpxor TOY
veaV, amemXevoev els Tedorevvnoor, év TON
TOD Kadrrxpartidav arropig KaTahim@. ouTeE
yap oixobev adixto Xpjpata Kouitwv, ote Tas
TONELS apyuponoyelv Kat BuateoOar poxOnpa:
Tpatrovaas Um épetve. Novtrov obv hv emt Oupas
iovtTa TOV Baciréws oT parnyan, @aOTrEp Avoav-
Spos, ately: ™ pos & mavTwv adver taros erbyXa-
ver, avnp érevbépios Kal peyardodpor, Kal macav

ud ‘EX Hrray * ‘EAAnow NYOUMEVOS EU TTpE-
Teo TEpay elvat TOU KoAaKevey Kal portray ent
Ovpas avO por av BapBapov, TOAV Ypuciov, AXXO
& ovdév xadov exovTa.
"ExBialomevos dé bird THS drropias, avaBas els
Avoiay evdus emopevero els THY otxiav Tov Kupov,
Kat ppates mpooétakeyv St Kanddxparidas °
pavapxos Tres SiarexOfvar Bovrdpevos auTe.
trav & én Oupacs TLvVOS el7rOVTOS, ss "AAD ov
axon viv, & féve, Kupo iver yap,” ade-
AeoTaTa Tes O Kadvuxparioas, i Ovder,” é ep,
= dewvor- avTov yap éoT@sS avapeva, wey pt Tn.
TOTE pev ouv b0fas aypotKkés Tis elvar Kal KATO
yeraobels tard Trav BapBapor annnrber émrel de
kad Sevtepov éay emi Oupas ov mapeiOn, Bapéws
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the fleet which he handed over to him was in com- mand of the sea. But he, wishing to prove the emptiness and vanity of this ambitious boast, said : ‘In that case, keep Samos on the left, sail to Miletus, and there hand the triremes over to me; surely we need not fear to sail past the enemy at Samos if we are masters of the sea.”” To this Lysander answered that Callicratidas, and not he, was in command of the ships, and sailed off to Peloponnesus, leaving Callicratidas in great perplexity.!_ For neither had he brought money from home with him, nor could he bear to lay the cities under forced contribution when they were already in an evil plight. The only course left, therefore, was to go to the doors of the King’s generals, as Lysander had done, and ask for money. For this he was of all men least fitted by nature, being of a free and lofty spirit, and one who thought any and every defeat of Greeks at the hands of Greeks more becoming to them than visits of flattery to the houses of Barbarians, who had much gold, but nothing else worth while.

Constrained, however, by his necessities, he went up into Lydia, proceeded at once to the house of Cyrus, and ordered word to be sent in that Callicratidas the admiral was come and wished to confer with him. And when one of the door-keepers said to him: “But Cyrus is not at leisure now, Stranger, for he is at his wine’’; Callicratidas replied with the utmost simplicity: “‘No matter, I will stand here and wait till he has had his wine.” This time, then, he merely withdrew, after being taken for a rustic fellow and laughed at by the Barbarians. But when he was come a second time to the door and

1 Cf. Xen. Hell. i. 6, 2.

éveynav eis “Edecov @yeTo, TroANa pev €rra-
p@pevos Kaka Tols mMpwTors evtpupPnOciow wb7r0
BapBdpov xai diddkacw adtovs bBpivev dia

TAodTOY, ouviwv dé pds TOvs TapovTas H UNV,
Stav mp@tov eis Yraptny mwapayévnta, wavTa
mownoe UmTép Tod StadrvOjvar tors "EXXAqvas, os
dhoBepol tois BapBdpors elev avtol cal mavoawro
THS exeivov em’ ANANNOUS Sedpevor Surapews.
VII. "AAA@ Kardrxparidas pév aka rtijs
AaxeSaipovos Stavonbeis, nal yevdopuevos Tois ax-
pots evdptrXros tav “EXXAjver b1a Stxatocvvny Kat
peyarowvyiav cal dvdpetay, weT ov TOoNUY ypovoVv
év "Apywovoas xatavavpaynoels npavicOn. Ta
5é mpaypdtav trodepopévwry of cvppayot mrpec-
Betav wéurovtes eis Sardptny yrodvtTo Avoavdpov
él Thy vavapxiav, @s Todv mpoOupoTEepoy av-
TLANWOMEVOL TOY TpayLaTawV exelvou oTpaTNYoUY-
tos. Ta S€ avTa Kat Kipos akiav éméoredrev.
érrel dé vopos HY ovK e@v Sis Tov avTOY vavapyety,
éBovrovro te Xapiler Oar trois cuppayous ot Aaxe-
datpoviot, TO mév dvopa THs vavapyias “Apaxm
Tit TrepréBecav, Tov 5é Avoavdpoy émistoNéa TH
Noy, TO O Epym KUptov andvtwv ékérepav.
Tos peéev ovV TAEiCTOLS THY TrOALTEVOLeVOY Kal
duvapévav év tais mwodceot madat TOOoUpeEVvos
nKev HATov yap éte waddov laxtvoev Sv avdtod
mavraTract Tov Syuwwv Katadvbévtayv ois 5é
TOV aTOdY Kal yevvatoy ayaTaoLt TOV Tryepovev 437
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LYSANDER

was refused admittance, he was indignant, and set
off for Ephesus, invoking many evils upon those who
first submitted to the mockery of the Barbarians and
taught them to be insolent because of their wealth,
and swearing roundly to the bystanders that as soon
as he got back to Sparta, he would do all he could
to reconcile the Greeks with one another, in order
that they might themselves strike fear into the
Barbarians, and cease soliciting their power against
each other.

VII. But Callicratidas, after cherishing purposes worthy of Lacedaemon, and showing himself worthy to compete with the most eminent of the Greeks by reason of his righteousness, magnanimity, and valour, not long afterwards lost the sea-fight at Arginusae and vanished from among men.! Then, their cause declining, the allies sent an embassy to Sparta and asked that Lysander be made admiral, declaring that they would grapple much more vigorously with the situation if he were their commander. Cyrus also sent to make the same request. Now the Lacedae- monians had a law forbidding that the same man should be

admiral twice, and yet they wished to gratify their allies; they therefore invested a certain Aracus with the title of admiral, and sent out Ly- sander as vice-admiral,? nominally, but really with supreme power. So he came out, as most of those who had political power and influence in the cities had long desired, for they expected to become still stronger by his aid when the popular governments had been utterly overthrown ; but to those who loved simplicity and nobility in the character of their leaders,

1 In the late summer of 406 B.c. (Xen. Hell. i. 6, 33). ” In the spring of 405 B.c. (Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 7).

TpoTrov, 0 Avcavdpos 76 Kadnuxpatisa Tapa-
Barrépevos edones mavoupyos eivar Kal copuaris,
an drats T2 TOAAG StatrotkiArwv Tov TOE OU
Kal TO Sixatov érl TO AvovtehobvTe peyahuver,
et dé un, TO oud épovre Xpwpevos as Kan, Kal
TO arndes ou poet TOU Wrevdous Kpeitrov you -
Hevos, an’ ExaTEpOU Th xpela THY TEND opitev.
tav & afvovvTov H41) Tonepely peta S0A0uv Tovs
ag’ ‘Hpaxhéous yeyoveras KaTayedav éxédever”
= ‘Orrov yap 7 NcovTH un éedixvettar, TpocpamTéov
éxel THY GNwTEKHDY.”
VIII. Tosatra dé adtod nai ta rept Mianrop
ioTopyntar. TeV yap pirov cal Eévwv, ols vmé-
oXETO cuyKaTaduoely Te TOV Ofyov Kal ouven-
Bareiv TOUS Siapopous, peraBaropevor kal dvan-
Aayévtwy Tots éyOpois, havepas pev HOecIar
7 pogeTroteiTo Ka ouvdiadrarrew, Kpvpa dé
Aosdopaiv autos Kal Kcaxilov mapatuve émt-
Béa8as Tois ToNois. ws dé nadero rytvomevny
THY emavacTacty, o&éws BonOicas Kal Tapercen-
Gav eis: THY Todw ols Tparous emuTuyot TOV
vet epilovt ey eXanéTratve TH pova Kal T pootyye
TpaxXUvo"EVOS és émiOioav dieny avtois, TOUS
5€ adXous exédeve Gappeiv Kal pndev ert T poo -
Soxayv Sevov avtov TapovTos. vrrexpiveto 5é
Taira, kal dvetroiKenrne, TOUS SnpoTixw@Tarous Kal
Kpatio Tous Bovropevos a) gevyery, AX atroda-
vei éy TH TOE peivartas. & kal cuvéBn:
mavres yap ameahdynoay of Katamistevoartes.
Arropvnpovevetat Sé Ud ’Avdpoxdeidou AOryos
TOAAHY Tiva KAaTHYOp@V TOU Avaoavépou Trepi TOUS
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Lysander, compared with Callicratidas, seemed to be unscrupulous and subtle, a man who tricked out most of what he did in war with the varied hues of deceit, extolling justice if it was at the same time profit- able, but if not, adopting the advantageous as the honourable course, and not considering truth as in- herently better than falsehood, but bounding his estimate of either by the needs of the hour. Those who demanded that the descendants of Heracles should not wage war by deceit ‘he held up to ridicule, saying that “where the lion’s skin will not reach, it must be patched out with the fox’s.”

VIII. Of such a sort were his dealings with Mi- letus, according to the record. For when his friends and allies, whom he had promised to aid in over- throwing the democracy and expelling their oppo- nents, changed their minds and became reconciled to their foes, openly he pretended to be pleased and to join in the reconciliation; but in secret he reviled and abused them, and incited them to fresh attacks upon the multitude. And when he perceived that the uprising was begun, he quickly came up and entered the city, where he angrily rebuked the first conspirators whom he met, and set upon them roughly, as though he were going to punish them, but ordered the rest of the people to be of good cheer and to fear no further evil now that he was with them. But in this he was playing a shifty part, wishing the leading men of the popular party not to fly, but to remain in the city and be slain. And this was what actually happened; for all who put their trust in him were slaughtered.

Furthermore, there is a saying of Lysander’s, re- corded by Androcleides, which makes him guilty of

4 Spkous evyéperav. exédXeve yap, ws hyo, TovS
peéev raidas aotpaydXols, Tous dé avdpas Gpxots
éFaratay, atroytpovpevos Tlonvxpdtn Tov Lasuov,
ovK opOas TUpavvoy atpaTnyos, ovde Aaxwvixov
TO xphoGar tois Oeois womep Tois Todepioss,
parrov 5é UBpiotixwTepov. o yap bpxw Tapa-
Kpovopevos Tov ev evOpov oporoyel Sedsévar, Tob
5é Jeod xatadpoveiv.
IX. ‘O & ovv Kaipos els Sdapdas petaTepya-
pevos Tov Avaavépon, Ta pév &dwxe, TA 5 btrésyeTO,
yeavieva dpevos eis THY Exeivou Yap Kal et pndéev
o matnp 860n KaTaxYopnynocew Ta oixela: Kav
émtdimrn wavta, KataKoew pn tov Opovov éd’
@ KaOnpevos éxypynuatile, ypucodv Kal apyupouv
2 dvta. tédos dé eis Mydiav dvaBaivey mpds Tov
matépa, Tovs Te opous améderEe TOV TrOACwY
AapBave éxeivov, cai tTHv avTov Sieriotevaoev
apyny domacdpevos 6é cal Senels ur) vavpaxeiv
"A@nvaiots, mpiv adtov adixécbar wadw, adi€-

ecOat 5é vais éyovta qwoddas Ex Te Dowinns cat
Kiduxias, avéBawev ws Bactréa.
Avoavdpos 5€ ute vavpayeiy ayyopdrA@ TAT-
Oe. dSuvdpevos punte apyos KabélecOar peta veav
TocovTaV, avaxGels evias TpoonyayeToO TOV VHTWY,
Alyway te kai Ladapiva mpocpitas xatédpapev.
3 ets 66 THY "Attixny adtoBas Kal Tov "Ayw adoTtaca-
pevos, KaTtéBn yap autos éx Aexedelas mpds autor,
érédecEe TO mel TapovTe THY TOD vauUTLKOU
ie ae re oe eo

1 Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 13 f.
2 In the spring of 413 B.c. the Spartans had fortified Deceleia, a few miles N.W. of Athens, and stationed there a

the greatest recklessness in the matter of oaths. It was his policy, according to this authority, “to cheat boys with knuckle-bones, but men with oaths,” thus imitating Polycrates of Samos; not a proper attitude in a general towards a tyrant, nor yet a Laconian trait to treat the gods as one’s enemies are treated, nay, more outrageously still; since he who over- reaches his enemy by means of an oath, confesses that he fears that enemy, but despises God.

IX. Well, then, Cyrus, summoned Lysander to Sardis, and gave him this, and promised him that, ardently protesting, to gratify him, that he would actually squander his own fortune, if his father gave him nothing for the Spartans; and if all else failed, he said he would cut up the throne on which he sat when giving audience, a throne covered with gold and silver. And finally, as he was going up into Media to wait upon his father, he assigned to Lysander the tribute of the cities, and entrusted his own government to him; and embracing him in farewell, and begging him not to fight the Athenians at sea until he was come back, and promising to come back with many ships from Phoenicia and Cilicia, he set out to go up to the King.!

Then Lysander, who could neither fight a naval battle on equal terms, nor remain idle with the large fleet at his disposal, put out to sea and reduced some of the islands, and touching at Aegina and Salamis, overran them. Then he landed in Attica and saluted Agis, who came down in person from Deceleia? to meet him, and displayed to the land forces there the -

permanent garrison under Agis the king. Lysander’s ravaging of Aegina and Salamis was just before his siege of Athens, according to Xenophon (Hell. ii. 2, 9).

pounv, as TAEWY i Bovnaorro, kparoy THS Oarar-

TNS. Ov pay anna TOUS "AOnvatous aia Bopevos
St@KovTas avTov GAX@ Spop@ 1a vnowy epevyev
els THY ‘Aciay.
Kat TOV ‘EX qo TovT ov epnpov KataraBov
errexel pel Aapraxnvois avTos x Jararrns Tats
vavat, Odpagk 5é TO Tel oTpATe ouvavucas ets
TO aUTO poo éBane TOES TeLXEo LV. edo d€ THY
TOMY Kata Kpatos StapTacat Tols OTPATLWTALS
Edexev. o be TOV "AOnvaioy oT TONS 6ydonKovTa
Kal éxaTov TPLNPwV éruyyave pev apts Kabwppic-
pevos eis “EXavotvta THs Xeppovycou, muvd avo-
pevot O€ arrohwhévat THY Adprpaxov evOvs Els
Lnorov KaTaipovat. KaxetOev emtartiad wevor
mapéTrevd av els Alyos TOTAMOUS, avTiTépas
TOV Tohepiov ere vauAoXOvVT OV mept THY Adp-
paxov. éoTpatyyouv 6é TOV "AOnvaiwv aNNot TE
TAeLous Kal PDiroxdijs o o meioas Tore Yynbicacbat
Tov Of pov amoKomTely TOV defvov dytixerpa TOV
dda KopEeveny Kara moAepov, Strws Sopu pev hépery
pn SvvevTar, KoTnv 5€é éLavvact.
X. Tore pev obv aveTravovTo waves, eAmriCovres
els THY vaTEpatay vavpaynoew. 0 6é Avaavépos
GdAa pev Stevoeito, TpogeTaTTE dé vavTais Kat
xuBepyirais, @S ary @Vv0s dpa TpEPA eA aad
qepl épOpov eu Baiverv eis TAS Tpinpets Kal KabéC-
ecOat Koo ne Kat TLwT Hs Sexopuevous TO Tapay-
YeAAOuEVO?, as 6 atts Kal TO melov ev Taker
Tapa THY Oddrarray novyater. dviaxovTos dé
Tov HALou kal TOY ’"AOnvaiav HeTwmnooy a andacats
ériTAeovTwV Kal mpoKadoupevwy, ayTITp@poUs

strength of his fleet, with the mien of one who sailed where he pleased and was master of the sea. But on learning that the Athenians were pursuing him, he fled by another route through the islands to Asia.

Finding the Hellespont unguarded, he himself attacked Lampsacus from the sea with his ships, while Thorax, co-operating with the land forces, assaulted the walls. He took the city by storm, and gave it up to his soldiers to plunder.! Mean- while the Athenian fleet of a hundred and eighty triremes had just arrived at Elaeus in the Chersonese, and learning that Lampsacus had fallen, they straight- way put in at Sestos. There they took in provisions, and then sailed along to Aegospotami, over against their enemies, who were still in station at Lampsacus. The Athenians were under the command of several generals, among

whom was Philocles, the man who had recently persuaded the people to pass a decree that their prisoners of war should have the right thumb cut off, that they might not be able to wield a spear, though they might ply an oar.?

X. For the time being, then, all rested, expecting that on the morrow the fleets would engage. But Lysander was planning otherwise, and ordered his seamen and pilots, as though there would be a struggle at daybreak, to go on board their triremes in the early morning, and take their seats in order and in silence, awaiting the word of command, and that the land forces also, in the same manner, remain quietly in their ranks by the sea. When the sun rose, however, and the Athenians sailed up with all their ships in line and challenged to battle, although

1 Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 18 f. 2 See the note on xiii. 1.

éxwv Tas vavs Kal memANpwpévas Ere vuKTOS OVE
avnyeTo, TéuTr@Y O€ UaNpeTixa Tapa TAS TPwTAS
TOV VEOV aTpEeuety exédeve Kal pévery ev Takes WN
PopuBoupévous pnd avrextréovtas. ottw Sé trept
SeiAnv atromAcovtwy oricw tav "AOnvaiwy ov
MPOTEpoyv ek TOV vEe@V TOUS OTpaTLWTAS APHKED,
et pn Sv0 Kal Tpets Tpinpers, As Emeurpe KaTAacKo-
qous, €dOeiv iSévtras atroBeBnxotas Tovs TroNEMi-
ous. 7H 8 vorepaia madwv éyivovto TadTa Kat
TH Tpitn péxpe TeTapTyNs, Bote ToAV Tots *"AOn-
vatows Opdcos éyyevécOas cal xatadpovycw ws
SedtoTwy Kal cuverTAaApévoVv TOV TrodELiov.
"Ev rouvrm dé 'AdrKiBiddns (ervyxave yap wept
Xeppovnaov év trois éavtod retyeot StarTt@pevos)
inT@ Mpocerdoas pos TO oTpaTevpa Tav '"AOn-
valwy YTLATO TOs oTpaTHYOUS TpATOV pev OU
Karas 00d dogaras otpatoredeverv ev aiytanots
Sucdppols Kal avaTreTTtTapévols: Errevta moppwOev
éx Ynorov ta émiTndcca AapBavovtas duapravery,
déov eis Atpéva Kal worw Xnotov St drélyou
TepiTNEevoavTas, aTwTépw yevécOas TOV TONELLOY
éfoppovvTwy otpatevpate povapyoupévm Kal
mavTa mpos PoBov d&éws ard cuvOnpatos virnpe-
Touvtt. Tadta 5é avtod didacKovtos ovK érret-
Oovto, Tudevs 5é Kal wrpos Bp arexpivato, djocas
OUK Exeivov, GAN éTépovs oTpaTNYyElDv.
XI. 'O péev obv 'AdAKtBid&ys brorrevoas te
Kal tmpodocias év avtois amnANaTTETO. TéuTTY

he had his ships drawn up in line to meet them and fully manned before it was light, he did not put out from his position, but sending despatch-boats to the foremost of his ships, ordered them to keep quiet and remain in line, not getting into confusion nor sailing out to meet the enemy. And so towards evening, when the Athenians sailed back, he did not allow his men to leave their ships until two or three *triremes, which he sent to reconnoitre, came back, after seeing that the enemy had disembarked. On the following day this was done again, and on the third, and at last on the fourth, so that the Athenians became very bold and contemptuous, believing that their enemies were huddling together in fear.

At this juncture, Alcibiades, who was living in his’

own fortress on the Chersonese, rode up to the Athenian army and censured the generals, first, for having pitched their camp in a bad and even dangerous place on an open beach where there was no roadstead ; and second, for the mistake of getting their provisions from distant Sestos, when they ought to sail round the coast a little way to the harbour and city of Sestos, where they would be at a longer remove from their enemies, who lay watching them with an army commanded by a single man, the fear of whom led it to obey his every order promptly. These were the lessons he gave them, but they would not receive them, and Tydeus actually gave him an insolent answer, saying that he was not general now, but others.?

XI. Alcibiades, accordingly, suspecting that some treachery was afoot among them, went away. But

1Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 20-26; Plutarch, Alcibiades, Xxxvi. 4—xxxvii. 1.

dé juépa TOV ‘AOnvaiev TOT apEevov Tov éqt-
mAouy Kal mad AT EPXOMEVOY, woTrep eLw0ecar,
OAtyOpes Tavu Kal KAT Ah povnrixas, o Avaavépos
eK TE LT OV Tas: KaTacKoTous vads éxéXevoe TOUS
Tpinpapxous, Stav idswat Tous "AOnvaious éxBe-

Anxoras, éhabver aTroaTpeypavTas oriow Taxet
qavti, Kal yevopévous KaTa pécov Tov Tropov
aonioa Xarehy emdpacGas mpppabev érrimhov
ovpBonror. autos 6€ TOUS xuBepynras Kal Tpinp-
dpxous em umécov dvexaheiro Kal Tapappya cup-
exe éxag Tov ev takes TO. TANpwWpA Kal TOUS
vavtas Kal Tous emiBaras, 6 dtapv 6é onpavOn, pera
Tm poupias Kab popns eda wvew éml Tous TONE
pious. as 6€ % Te aamls amo TOV ve@v 71p9n Kat
TH oarTuyye THY avaryoryny éonpacvev amo THS
vavapyisos, érémeov per at vHes, 1 TLLARGVTO dé
oi treCol Tapa Tov aiyradoy emt THv aixpav. TO 6é
petaev Tov nmet pov Sidornpa TaUTy mevrecat-
dexa otadiwy éoti, cal Taxéws vo oTrousis Kat
mpoOupias TOV éXavVOYTOY TUVIpNTO. Kove dé
T™ pwTos 0 TOV “AOnvaiov oTpaTHYOS ATO THS ys
id@v emumhéovTa TOV OTOAOV eLaipuns aveBonoer
euBaiver, Kat mepiTrad av TO KAK@ TOUS pev
exdnet, TOY b€ édeiro, Tous dé jvarynate awAnpovv
TAS TOLNPELS. jv 8€ oddev épyov avrob Tis oTOVONS
eoxedac mévov Ttav avOpotTrav. was yap é&éBnoap,
ev0vs, ate undev mpocdoxartes, nyopagov, érrda-
vOVTO Tepl THY Kwpar, exaQevoov bro Tats
oKnVvais, pia rorravobrTo, TOppwoTaTo TOU péddov-
TOS aTretpia TOV nyoupeven ¢ ovTes. dn b€ Kpavyt)
Kail poliw mpoohepopévwyv TOY TroAemtov oO pev
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LYSANDER

on the fifth day, when the Athenians had sailed over to the enemy and back again, as was now their wont, very carelessly and contemptuously, Lysander, as he sent out his reconnoitring ships, ordered their commanders, as soon as they saw that the Athenians had disembarked, to put about and row back with all speed, and when they were half way across, to hoist a brazen shield at the prow, as a signal for the onset. And he himself sailed round and earnestly exhorted the pilots and trierarchs to keep all their crews at their post, sailors and soldiers alike, and as soon as the signal was given, to row with ardour and vigour against the enemy. When, therefore, the shield was hoisted on the lookout ships, and the trumpet on the admiral’s ship signalled the attack, the ships sailed forth, and the land forces ran their fastest along the shore to seize the promontory. The distance between the two continents at this point is fifteen furlongs, and such was the zealous ardour of the rowers that it was quickly consumed. Conon, the Athenian general, who was the first to see from the land the onset of the fleet, suddenly shouted orders to embark, and deeply

stirred by the threat- ening disaster, called upon some, besought others, and forced others still to man the triremes. But his eager efforts were of no avail, since the men were scattered. For just as soon as they had disembarked, since they expected no trouble, some went to market, some walked about the country, some lay down to sleep in their tents, and some began to get their suppers ready, being as far as possible removed from any thought of what was to happen, through the inexperience of their commanders. The shouts and splashing oars of the oncoming enemy were already

Kovwv oxte® vavoly brebérdevce cat Siaduyor
atremépacev ets Kumpov mpos Evayopar, tais 5é
54 > , e 4 \ \
avras ememecovtes ot IleXoTovyictot tas pev
Kevas TavTaTracw Hpovy, tas & &tt wANpovpevas
éxomrrov. ot b€ avOpwrot mpos TE Tais vavotv
> A " \ f > A
anéOvnoxov dvorrot Kal omopdbes eruBonBobvtes,
éy TE TH YH Hevyortes amoRdvtwv Tav TrONEpLioY
/
éxtetvovto. AapBaver dé o Avaavdpos tptaxiALous
avdpas aixpad@rtovs peTa TOY sTpaTnyav, amTray
\ \ 4 v A 4 a
5é TO vavotabpov dvev tis Hapddov cal tov
\ Ké by a 2 b , de
peta Kovwvos éexduyovoay. avadnoapevos oe
Tas vads Kal dStatropOnoas 76 otpatoTredov peta
avrod Kal Tatavwv avérdevoev eis Adprpaxor,
A
Epyov éNaxiot@ Tove péytotov éFepyacpévos,
N \ LA a / ,
Kal ouvnpyxas Bp yg Xpovov prxcorov Kal
, ?
mwotktAwTatov wdbect Te Kal TUYaLS ATTIC TOTATOV
TOV TPO AUVTOD TroAépwv, ds pupias pophas ayo-
vov Kal mpaypatov petaBoras apeiipas, Kal
oTpatnyous Scous ovde of cUmTaVTES Of TPO AVTOD
a ,
THs "EXAdSo¢ dvarocas, évds avdpos evBovrig
kab dewvornre ouvTpnto® 520 Kal Oetov TLVES HYYN-
TavTO TOUTO TO épyov.
XII. "Hoay 5€ tuves of rods Atocxovpous émt
A A A
THs Avoavépou vews éExatépwOev, Ste TOD ALpevos

, A aA
eEémre. mpatov éml tovs rodcpiouvs, doTpa Tots
oiakwv émiddprypar réyovtes. of S€ Kal THY TOU
4 A “A a
NGouv wracw émi TH WADE ToVT@ onpEtov pace
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LYSANDER

heard, when Conon, with eight ships, sailed stealthily away, and making his escape, proceeded to Cyprus, to Evagoras; but the Peloponnesians fell upon the rest of the ships, some of which they took entirely empty, and others they disabled while their crews were still getting aboard. And the men, coming up unarmed and in straggling fashion, perished at their ships, or if they fled by land, their enemies, who had disembarked, slew them. Lysander took three thousand men prisoners, together with their generals, and captured the whole fleet, excepting the Paralus! and the ships that had made their escape with Conon. So after plundering his enemy’s camp and taking their ships in tow, he sailed back to Lampsacus, to the sound of pipes and hymns of victory. He had wrought a work of the greatest magnitude with the least toil and effort, and had brought to a close in a single hour a war which, in length, and the incredible variety of its incidents and fortunes, surpassed al] its predecessors. Its struggles and issues had assumed ten thousand changing shapes, and it had cost Hellas more generals than all her previous wars together, and yet it was brought to a close by the prudence and ability of one man. Therefore some actually thought the result due to divine intervention. XII. There were some who declared that the Dioscuri? appeared'as twin stars on either side of Lysander’s ship just as he was sailing out of the harbour against the enemy, and shone out over the rudder-sweeps. And some say also that the falling of the stone was a portent of this disaster; for ac-

1 One of the sacred state-galleys. It now carried the news of the disaster to Athens (Xen. Hell. ii. 1, 28).
3 Castor and Pollux.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

yevécOar xatnvéxOn yap, ws 7 S0€a Tav TONKO?,
> > A f , 9 > \N a
é€ ovpavod mrappeyeOns ALOos ets Atos troTtapous.

Kal Seixvutat pev ert viv, ceBopévov avtoyv Tov

Xeppovnaitav: déyeras dé’ Avakayopav wpoeurrety

A \
@S$ TOV KaTa TOV ovpavov évdedenevwvy TwpaTwr,
N J 4 A , Ca
yevouévov Tivos OALcOnMaTOS 7 addrov, pits

éstat Kal mr@ats évds dtroppayévtos: elvat Sé Kal

A ” 4 ? P] Aa , , é
Tay dotpwv Exactov ove év 7 mepune Xopa
ALOwd5n yap dvTa Kal Bapéa Adprrery pév avTepeio er
A a 7f9/ \ ¢ \ ,
Kal tjepixrAdoes TOU aidépos, ErxecOar dé Uo Bias

oduyyoueva Sivn Kal Tove THs Wepipopas, ws Tov
a \ a A a
kal TO mpaTtov éxpatyOn pn Teceiy Sevdpo, TaV

uypav cat Bapéwy dir ox pivopévery TOU TAVTOS.

"Eote 5€ tts mBaverépa boa TaUTNS, eipnKoT wy évioy ws ot Siattovtes a darépes ov pvots eiciv ovd emivéunots aidepiov mupos ev dépt Katac Bevvupévov

\ \ v > , Oe »/ 3 \ ¥
wept Thy éEarpiy avTny, ovdé aépos Ets THY avw
xopav Ane AvVOévTOS ExTpHots Kal avadreéts,
pies 6¢ xal mra@ots obpavioy cwopdtav olov
évdoces tiv Tovov Kal mepitporou! Kivncews
éxTrarav hepopévwv ov pos TOY olKOUpEVOY TOTOV
THS YS, GANA TeV TrEeioTwV EKTOS ES THY
4 > Ld @ 4 8 \ N\ @ 4
peyadny extrimtovtayv Odrattay: O10 Kai Navla-
vouot.
Te S ’Avakayopa paptupel Kal Aaipayxos év
Tois Tlepi evo eBeias, iotop@v Ste 7po TOU TEeceiv
tov riOov ed’ nuépas éESSounKovta Kal révteE
TUVEYOS KATA TOV OUpavoy éEwPATO TrUpLVOY Tapa
1 wepitpérou the correction of Coraés: raparpdémov (unusual).

cording to the common belief, a stone of vast size had fallen from heaven at Aegospotami,! and it is shown to this day by the dwellers in the Chersonese, who hold it in reverence. Anaxagoras is said to have predicted that if the heavenly bodies should be loosened by some slip or shake, one of them might be torn away, and might plunge and fall down to earth ; and he said that none of the stars was in its original position ; for being of stone, and heavy, their shining

light is caused by friction with the revolving aether, and they are forced along in fixed orbits by the whirling impulse which gave them their circular motion, and this was what prevented them from falling to our earth in the first place, when cold and heavy bodies were separated from universal matter.

But there is a more plausible Apinion than this, and its advocates hold that shooting stars are not a _flow or emanation of aetherial fire, which the lower air quenches at the very moment of its kindling, nor are they an ignition and blazing up of a quantity of lower air which has made its escape into the upper regions ; but they are plunging and falling heavenly bodies, carried out of their course by some relaxation in the tension of their circular motion, and falling, not upon the inhabited region of the earth, but for the most part outside of it and into the great sea; and this is the reason why they are not noticed.

But Daimachus, in his treatise “On Religion,’ supports the view of Anaxagoras. He says that before the stone fell, for seventy-five days continu- ally, there was seen in the heavens a fiery body of

1 In 468-7 B.c., according to the Parian marble (ep. 57) and Pliny, N.H. ii. 149 f.

Tappeyedes, & OaTreEp vepos proryoesses, ov oxordfon, anna TOAVTTAGKOUS Kal Kexdac pevas popas pepo- pevov, @aTE UITd odhou Kal wWNaYNS aTroppHyve- peva mupoesh} omdo para peer Ba ToAAAXoOv kal aotparrey, OoTrep ot Siar rovtes daTepes.
émrel O€ evraidda THS vis éBpice Kat wavodpevor poBou Kal OayuBous OL emuxwptot aouvnnrOor, OhOn TupOos pev ovdev & epyov ove ixvos TogovT0," ALOos dé Kei [EVvOS, GANws pev peyas, ovOev dé HE pos, @S elrreiy, exetvns TH mupoeidods TEPLOXAS exon.
6Tt pév ovy evyvopovey 0 Aaipyaxos ax poaTay Setrae O7dos € cori" eb L Oe adrnOns o 0 NOYos, efedeyyer Kara Kpatos TOUS pacxortas é éx TLVOS aKpwpElas amoKomeioay TVED WAC! kat Caras TET pay, vro- AnPOeia ar & @oTEp ot sTpoPeroL, kal hepopevny, qT pa@Tov évédwne Kar SeAvOn TO mepiowvicar, expuphvas Kail TeoetD. et te) vn Aia Tip pey ny GvTMS TO halvopevov eri TONS mpépas, | a Béous dé xal d0opa petaBoray & aépt maperXev Els TrVEv- para Auasotepa Kal Kujoes, bp’ @y TVVETUYXE Kat Tov ALBov expiphvas. TavTa pev ovv ETEp@ YyevEs ypadis StaxprBerréov.

XIII. ‘O éé Avcavépos, émeL TOV Tpia LL
"APnvaiwv, ods éda Bev aX pWarwrous, vUTO TOV
cuvedpor Odvatos KaTéYyVOoTO, Kahéoas Diroxréa
Tov oTpaThyov auToOv npeotncer Tiva Tiaras
Sixny éavt@ rotavtra wept “EAAnvev cvpBeBov-
1 TogovTo Coraés and Bekker adopt Reiske’s correction to
TocoUTou.
1 See en ear 5. According to Xenophon (Hell. ii. 1, 31 f.), however, the Athenians had passed a decree that, if victorious in the sea-fight, they would cut off the right hand

vast size, as if it had been a flaming cloud, not resting in one place, but moving along with intricate and irregular motions, so that fiery fragments, broken from it by its plunging and erratic course, were carried in all directions and flashed fire, just as shoot- ing stars do. But when it had fallen in that part of the earth, and the inhabitants, after recovering from their fear and amazement, were assembled about it, no action of fire was seen, nor even so much as a trace thereof, but a stone lying there, of large size, it is true, but one which bore almost no proportion at all to the fiery mass seen in the heavens. Well, then, that Daimachus must needs have indulgent readers, is clear; but if his story is true, he refutes utterly those who affirm that a rock, which winds and tempests had torn from some mountain top, was caught up and borne along like a spinning top, and that at the point where the whirling impetus given to it first relaxed and ceased, there it plunged and fell. Unless, indeed, what was seen in the heavens for many days was really fire, the quenching and extinction of which produced a change in the air resulting in unusually violent winds and agitations, and these brought about the plunge of the stone. However, the minute discussion of this subject belongs to another kind of writing.

XIII. Lysander, after the three thousand Athenians whom he had taken prisoners had been condemned to death by the special council of allies, calling Philocles, their general, asked him what punishment he thought should be visited upon him for having given his fellow-citizens such counsel regarding Greeks.! of every prisoner ; and the crime of Philocles was that he had ordered the crews of two captured triremes to be thrown over a precipice, :

2 ANeuKwS TOs WoNtTals. o S€ ovdéy TL TpoS THY
a 3 5 ‘\ > / \ a e
acuppopay évdovs éxédevoe pn KATNYOpEly Ov
oudeis eats Sixactys, GANA viK@VTA TpdTTEL
amep av vixnbeis Eracyev' celta ANovaedpevos Kal

AaBov yAavida Aaprpayv mpwrtos érl rHv chaynv-
nyetTo Tots TOTALS, WS \oTOpEl Meddpactos. ex
2, 4 ¢ 4, 3 \ ,
6€ TovTov mAéwy o Avaavdpos ért tras modes
"AG , \ > 4 > + 4, >
nvaiwy pev ols émetvyo. éxéXeve TavTas els
"AOnvas amévarr feicecOar yap ovdevos, arr
> 4 a A ¥ 4 A , A
3 dtooddéay bv av Ew AGByn THs TONEwWS. TadTA
& émparre xal cuvydavuvev Aravtas eis TO Gotu
Bovropevos ev TH Tove TaXY ALmov ioyupoV
yevéoOar kal ond, bres pm) Tpdyuata Tapda-
TXOLEVY AUT@ THV TOALOPKiay EvTrOpwS UTTOMEVOVTES.
Kkatadvwv é Tous Sypous Kal Tas GANas ToATELas,
&va wey appoorny éxdotn AaKxedatpoviov KaTérLTre,
déxa 6¢ Gpyovtas x Tov im avtod cuyKexpoTn-
4 pévov kata Todt étatperav. xal tadtra mpdr-
TwVv opoiws év Te Tals TwoAEeulats Kal Tails cup-
PaXOLS yeyernuévats ToAEoL, TapéeTAEL TYOAALOS,
TpoTov Tia KatacKevalouevos EavT@ THY THIS
"EAAGSoS Hryepoviav. ote yap aptoTtivdny ovTeE
4 > , \ A 3 3 6¢@
wAouTivdny amedeinvue Tovs ApxYovTas, ANN' érat-
petats wal Eeviars yapilouevos Ta wpdypata Kal
Kuplous Trot@v Tins Te Kal KoAdoEws, ToAXats
5é mapayiwopevos autos odayais Kai cuvexBar-
Nw TOvs TaV dirwv éyOpors, ovK érecnes edidou
a_e A an , > aA
tots "EXAnoe Seiya ths AaxeSaipovioy apy7s,
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But he, not one whit softened by his misfortunes, bade him not play the prosecutor in a case where there was no judge, but to inflict, as victor, the punishment he would have suffered if vanquished. Then, after bathing and putting on a rich robe, he went first to the slaughter and showed his country- men the way, as Theophrastus writes. After this, Lysander sailed to the various cities, and ordered all the Athenians whom he met to go back to Athens, for he would spare none, he said, but would slaughter any whom he caught outside the city. He took this course, and drove them all into the city together, because he wished that scarcity of food and a mighty famine should speedily afflict the city, in order that they might not hinder him by holding out against his siege with plenty of provisions. He also suppressed the democratic, and the other forms of government, and left one Lacedaemonian harmost! in each city, and ten rulers chosen from the political clubs which he had organized throughout the cities. This he did alike in the cities which had been hostile, and in those which had become his allies, and sailed along in leisurely fashion, in a manner establishing for him- self the supremacy over Hellas. For in his appoint- ments of the rulers he had regard

neither to birth nor wealth, but put control of affairs into the hands of his comrades and partisans, and made them masters of rewards and punishments. He also took part him- self in many massacres, and assisted in driving out the enemies of his friends. Thus he gave the Greeks - no worthy specimen of Lacedaemonian rule, nay,

1 The specific name for the governor whom the Lacedaemonians sent out to the islands and cities of Greece during their supremacy.

5 G\Aa Kal Oo Kwpikds @edrroptros Eotxe Anpetv amrecxatwy tovs Aaxedarpovious tais xarnriowr,
e \ C4 \ A ,
6tt Tous "EXAnvas Hototov totTov THs éXevOEpias yevoavtes G£os évéyeav: evOs yap hv TO yedpa duoxepés nal mixpov, obte Tovs Syuous Kuptous TOV Tpaypadtav €wvtos elvat tod Avadvdpou, Kat TOY OrLyoV Tois OpacuTdtots Kal hiAoverKoTaToLS TAS ToAELS eyyerpiCovTos.
XIV. Acatpipas S€ wepi tadta ypovov ov
, \ 4 b] / \
ToAvy, Kal wpotéuryas eis Aaxedaipova tous amayyeXouvTas OTL TpoaTAE peTa VewV Stakociwy,
, \ 3 \ w \ 4 "
ouvéwste mept Arrixny "Aytds cai Ilavoavia trois Baciredow os TaXd ovvalpnowy THY TOMY. éTret 5é dvteiyov ot 'AOnvaio, AaBov tas vais made
> 9 , 4 N A \ v 4
eis Actav Stemépace: kai TOY pev AAV TOAEwY
e A e a 4 , \
OMaNaS aTacaY KaTéAvE TAS TrOALTELaS Kal KaO-
, , "a \ J e 4
iotn Sexadapyias, woAN@Y pev év Exdotn ohatropévov, ToAX@Y bé hevyovtwv, Dapious bé wavtas éxBarov amapédwmxe tois guydot Tas TrOdELs.
2 Xnorov 8 "AOnvaiwy éeyovtwy adedopevos ovK elacev oixety Xnotiouvs, GAAA Tois yevopévots UT
> "A , N " " N
avuT@ KxuBepyntais Kai Kerevotais Edwmxke THY TOALY Kal THY Y@pay véwerOat. pos 6 Kal rpa@Tov avréxpovaav ot Aaxedatpovos Kal tovs XNHoTious
¢ > A \ , , > 3 3 " 4

3 avis eri thy Xwpay KaTHyayov. GAN éxeiva ye
tod Aucavépou tmavres ndéws Ewpwv of "EAXnves, 441
Alywntas te dia wood Ypovou THY avTa@v Tod
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even the comic poet Theopompus was thought absurd in likening the Lacedaemonians to tavern-women, because they gave the Greeks a very pleasant sip of freedom, and then dashed the wine with vinegar ; for from the very first the taste was harsh and bitter, since Lysander not only would not suffer the people to be masters of their affairs, but actually put the cities into the hands of the boldest and most contentious of the oligarchs.

XIV. After he had spent some little time in this business, and had sent messengers to Lacedaemon to report that he was sailing up with two hundred ships, he made a junction in Attica with the forces of Agis and Pausanias, the kings, believing that he would speedily capture the city.1_ But since the Athenians held out against them, he took his ships and crossed again to Asia. Here he suppressed the governments of al] the remaining cities in like manner, and set up decadarchies, many citizens being slain in each city, and many banished; he also drove out all the Samians, and handed their cities over to the men whom they had banished.? Moreover, when he had taken Sestos out of the hands of the Athenians, he would not permit the Sestians to dwell there, but gave the city and its territory to be divided among men who had been pilots and boatswains under him. And this was the first step of his which was resisted by the Lacedaemonians, who restored the Sestians again to their country. But there were other measures of Lysander upon which all the Greeks looked with pleasure, when, for instance, the Aeginetans, after a long time,? re-

1 Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 2, 5-9.
2 This was after the fall of Athens (Xen. Hell. ii. 3, 6 f.).
5 They had been expelled by the Athenians in 43] B.c.
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>
atro\apBavovtas Kat Myrious Kal Yxiwvaious vr
? a. / ’ / > /
avtTov avvoixrlopévous, éEeXavvopevov AOnvatwv
‘ \ ,
Kal TAS TONES ATOOLOOYTMD.
” \ \ \ > wv “ 4 e N
‘Hén 5€ nat toils év doter KaKa@s Exel UTO

“ , a
ALpov TuvOavopevos KaTéTrAEVG EV eis TOV Iletparad
“ >
Kal TWapeoTncato THY TOALY, avayxacbeicay ép
ols éxeivos éxéNeve TroinoacOar tas Stadvoers.
, , > \ > A , e
kaitot Aaxedatmoviov éotiy axodaat AeyovT@Y ws
4 a ¢
Avoavépos pév &yparpe tois épopos Tade: ““AXO-
Kayre tat "AOavar,” Avaodvipe 8 dvréypapav
ry 9
i &popor s ‘Apxet TO ve EaX@Kelv. GAX
cimpen elas Napw ovTOS 6 AOoyos TérAaaTAL.
To 8 adrnOvov Soypa tav éfopwv ottws clxe
\ UA a 4
“Tade Ta tédAn Tov Aaxedatpovioy éyva KaB-
/ \ a \ \
Barovres tov Iletpasa xal ta paxpa oxédrn,
fa A 4 \ n
Kal éxBavtes ek TAaT@Y TOV TOMEWY TAY AUTOV
A ” a a e
yav éyovtes, tadtad xa SpavtTes Tav eipavay
EXOLTE, at YpnoorTe, Kal Tovs Puyddas avévtes.
Tept Tav vawv To TANOEOS, oKOLOY Ti Ka THVel
A /
Soxén, TavTa TotéeTe. TavTny 5é mpocedéEavTo
\ 4 e b A V4 “A
THY oxuTadnyvy ot ‘AOnvaio. Onpapévovs Tod
vA UA @ , ¢€ \
Ayvovos auvpBovrevoavtos’ OTe Kat hac v7r0
n A LA
Tav vévy Tivos Snuaywyav Kreopévous épwTw-
pevov et TOAMG TavayTia Bepiotoxre? mwparrev
/ \ , a
Kal réyev, trapadidovs Ta Teiyn Tots Aaxedat-
poviots, & Aaxedatpoviwy akovtwy éxeivos apv-
> a cc? b 2Q7 2 , e
éotnoev, eitrety: ““AXX’ ovd€év, @ petpakiov, UTrE-
vavtioy éy@ mpatTw BeworowrE Ta yap avTa
A , A a
Telyn KaKelvos éTt GwTNPLa TOY TOTO aDv-
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ceived back their own city, and when the Melians!
and Scionaeans? were restored to their homes by
him, after the Athenians had been driven out and
had delivered back the cities.
And now, when he learned that the people of Athens were in a wretched plight from famine, he sailed into the Piraeus, and reduced the city, which was compelled to make terms on the basis of his commands. It is true one hears it said by Lacedae- monians that Lysander wrote to the ephors thus: ** Athens is taken"; and that the ephors wrote back to Lysander: "'Taken' were enough"; but this story was invented for its neatness' sake.? The actual decree of the ephors ran thus: "This is what the Lacedaemonian authorities have decided: tear down 'the Piraeus and the long walls; quit all the cities and keep to your own land; if you do these things, and restore your exiles, you shall have peace, if you want it. As regards the number of your ships, what- soever shall be decided there, this do."'4 This edict was accepted by the Athenians, on the advice of Theramenes the son of Hagnon, who, they say, being asked at this time by Cleomenes, one of the young orators, if he dared to act and speak the contrary to Themistocles, by surrendering those walls to the Lacedaemonians which that statesman had erected in defiance of the Lacedaemonians, replied: " But I am doing nothing, young man, that is contrary to Themistocles ; for the same walls which he erected

1 The island and city of Melos were captured and depopu- lated by the Athenians in the winter of 416-415 B.c.

2 The city of Scioné, on the Chalcidic peninsula, was captured and depopulated by the Athenians in 421 B.c,

To illustrate the Spartan passion for brevity of speech.
* Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 2, 20.
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éoTyoe Kal pets én cwTnpla cataBarovper.
et 8€ Ta TEeixn Tas Toes evdaipovas érroiet,
macéy eet mparrew KaxtoTa THY Yraptny
aTELYLoOTOV ovcav.
XV. 'O é ou Avcavépos, Os mapéraBe Tas
TE vavs anacas Any S@dexa Kal Ta TEX TOV
"AOnvaiwr, & extn emt Sexaty Mouvuytdivos pnvos,
év h Kal thy év Yarapive vavpaxiav évikwv TOV
RépBapov, éBovrevoev evdds Kat THY TONMTELADY
petacthiaat. SsvaoreBes 6€ Kai Tpax ews pepov-
TW, aTrodTEiAaS TPOS TOV Ojjuov é épn THV mohey
ethnpevat _Tapactrovoobcay: éoTava yap Ta
teixn TOV Ti PEp@Y ev als édee xaOnphabat Tapy-

XNHEVOD. éTépav ouv ef apyis m poOnaew yve)-

pny qept auTay @S TAS oponroyias AedvKoTeor.
évior 6€ Kal m™ poTeOhvat pact @S arnOars UTEep
avdpanobia pod yweunv év Tots Tunpaxors, ore
Kal TOV ©nBaiov EptavOov elanyncacbar TO
fev aotu KaTacKkaypan, thv 8é Xeopav aveivat
pnroBoror. celta, évTot cuvoucias YEvOMEVIS
TOY TyeHovery Tapa TOTOV; cai} TLvOS Dwxéws
GaavTos éx THs Evperidou ’HrXéxtpas tyv mdapodov
s) apx7

Ayapépvovos & a) Kopa,
HnAvbov, "Hréxtpa, roti cay aypoteipay avdap,
mavTas emixraabivan, Kal pavivat oXETALOV
epyov THY ovTwS EvKrAEA Kal ToLoOvTOUS avdpas
hépovcay dveneiy Kal Sepyacac bat TOALD.
‘O & obv Avacavépos évddvtwv tov "APnvaiwv

1 wapa xérov xal Bekker follows Coraés in transposing to kal wapa xérov.

for the safety of the citizens, we shall tear down for their safety. And if walls made cities prosperous, then Sparta must be in the worst plight of all, since - she has none.” . XV. Lysander, accordingly, when he had taken possession of all the ships of the Athenians except twelve, and of their walls, on the sixteenth day of the month Munychion, the same on which they con- quered the Barbarian in the sea-fight at Salamis, took measures at once to change their form of government. And when the Athenians opposed him bitterly in this, he sent word to the people that he had caught the city violating the terms of its surrender ; for its walls were still standing, although the days were past within which they should have been pulled down ; he should therefore present their case anew for the decision of the authorities, since they had broken their agreements. And some say that in very truth a proposition to sell the Athenians into slavery was actually made in the assembly of the allies, and that at this time Erianthus the Theban also made a motion that the city be razed to the ground, and the country about it left for sheep to graze. Afterwards, how- ever, when the leaders were gathered at a banquet, and a certain Phocian sang the first chorus in the “Electra” of Euripides,! which begins with

“O thou daughter of Agamemnon,
I am come, Electra, to thy rustic court,”
all were moved to compassion, and felt it to be a cruel deed to abolish and destroy a city which was so famous, and produced such poets.
So then, after the Athenians had yielded in all

1 Verses 167 f. (Kirchhoff).

pos atavta, WoAAAS pev EF AoTEos peTaTrEprpa-
peevos avryrpioas, maoas dé Tas év TO oTpaTo-
mee cuvayayev, Ta TeiXn KatécKxamrTe kal Tas
Tpunpets Katepreye ™pos TOY avnor, éarepavw-
peéveov Kab marlovTov apa TOV TULA OY, @S
Exetyny THY hpépav dpyovaay TiS énevdepias.
evOus be Kal Ta mepl THY ToheTelav éxivnce,
TptdKovTa pev év date, Séxa: dé ev TTespacet
KATAOTHTAS adpxovras, euBarov dé ppoupav ELS
THY ax poTrody, cal KanniBtov dppoaTny, av pa
Lraptedt ny, emLaT TAS. émrel dé ovTOS Avrto-
AvKOV TOV aOanr ay, ép' @& TO ovpTOcLoY Oo Fievo-
pav TeTOLNKe, THY Baxrnpiav Stapapevos Taioew
Epedrev, 0 bé Ta oKxehav TUVApaMEvos avéTt peer
QuTOY, ov TUYNYAVaKTHG EV O Avcav6pos, GANA
Kal TUVETETLLNTE,. dnaoas avurov ovx érriotacbat
erevOépwv apxew. adda Tov pev AdvroduKov
of TpiaKovTa To KadruBio xapifouevor puxpov
daTEpov dveinov.

XVI. 'O bé Adcarédpos a6 TOUTWVY yEvOMEVOS,
avros pev ert Oparns éferrhevae, TOV 6 pn-
pdtav td wepiovta Kal éaas 8a eas avros 7
atepavous €déEaTo, TONNOY, @S €tKOS, b5ovrev
avopt Swvatwordre Kal TpoTov TWa KuUplo TIS
'EdAd60s, améatetnev eis Aaxedaipova da Tv-
Mimmou Tov TTPATHYNTAVTOS mepl LuKeMay. O
5é, ws AéyeTar, Tas padas TaV ayyeiov KaTwbev

1 ouverer{unoe Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to éwrert-
LNGEe.

1 Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 2, 23.

? The scene of the " 'Symposium " is laid at the house of

points, Lysander sent for many flute-girls from the

city, and assembled all those who were already in the camp, and then tore down the walls, and burned up the triremes, to the sound of the flute, while the allies crowned themselves with garlands and made merry together, counting that day as the beginning of their freedom.! Then, without delay, he also made changes in the form of government, establishing thirty rulers in the city and ten in Piraeus. Further, he put a garrison into the acropolis, and made Callibius, a Spartan, its harmost. He it was who once lifted his staff to smite Autolycus, the athlete, whom Xenophon makes the chief character in his “Symposium” ;? and when Autolycus seized him by the legs and threw him down, Lysander did not side with Callibius in his vexation, but actually joined in censuring him, saying that he did not understand how to govern freemen. But the Thirty, to gratify Callibius, soon afterwards put Autolycus to death.

XVI. Lysander, after settling these matters, sailed for Thrace himself, but what remained of the public moneys, together with all the gifts and crowns which he had himself received,— many people, as was natural, offering presents to a man who had the greatest power, and who was, in a manner, master of Hellas,—he sent off to Lacedaemon by Gylippus, who had held command in Sicily.2 But Gylippus, as it is said, ripped open the sacks at the bottom,

Callias, to which Autolycus and his father have been invited, together with Socrates and some of his friends. As Spartan general sent out to aid the Syracusans, he had turned the success of the besieging Athenians into disaster. See the Nicias, chapters xviii. ff.

avadvoas Kal apehey cuxvov apy vptov é& éxa-
oTOU made cuvéppayev, ayvonoas 6Tt ypa.e-
paTiOvov éviy éxaor@ TOV ap. wov onpaivov.
2 éNov dé els Lmdpryy & a, pev vpnpnto Katéxpuyper
vmod TOV képapov THS otxias, Ta O€ ayyela trapé-
dwxe Tots epopous Kal Tas appayidas émréderEev.
érrel bé avorEavtov Kal apiOwovvTay Sreparver
Tpos Ta ypappara TO THOS Tou dpryupiov
Kal Tapetye Tots epoposs dmopiav TO mpayya,
ppater Gepdrav tov I'vAiwmovu pds avtovs aiv-
Edpevos vu7rd TO KEPApK@ Kourdea Gat TONGS
yraixas. qv yap, @s éotKe, TO dpary. a TOU

wreioTov TOTE vouicpaTtos bia Tous *AOnvaious
yAauxes.
XVII. ‘O (Bev ovy TvXerrros atoy pov ovTw
xal GryEVvES épyov én apm pois rois eum poo ev
Kal peyddos épyagduevos petéotncev éavTov
ex Aaxedatpovos. ot i be povipararot TOV Lrap-
TLAT@V oux Kota Kai dia TovTO THY TOU vopio-
paros loxyuv poPnbévres, ws ovyl TOV TUXOVTOV
ATTOMEVNV TOALT@Y, TOV TE Avaavdpor Foss sie
Kab StepapTupayto Tois epopors an oStoTopmet-
aOat wav TO apyiptov | Kal To xXpvolov womTep
Kpas em aryeoryiwous. ot 5€ mpovlecav yvepuny.
2 cal @edrroputros bev pnat 2xrpapiday, "Edopos
de Proyiday elvas Tov amrognvapevov Os ov
xPn mpoadexer Oa vopicpa Ypvoovy Kal apyv-
pody eis THY TOALY, GAA XpncIa TH Tarpiy.
touto 6é€ Vy atdnpobv, TpaTov pev G€e Kata-
Barropevoy é éx TUPOS, Straws 421) KATAXAAKEVOLTO,
ahha dca THY Badiy do Topov Kat adpaves yivo.To,
éreita BaptiotaOyov nai SvoTapaKopictov Kal
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and after taking a large amount of silver from each, sewed them up again, not knowing that there was a writing in each indicating the sum it held. And when he came to Sparta, he hid what he had stolen under the tiles of his house, but delivered the sacks to the ephors, and showed the seals upon them. When, however, the ephors opened the sacks and counted the money, its amount did not agree with the written lists, and the thing perplexed them, until a servant of Gylippus made the truth known to them by his riddle of many owls sleeping under the tiling. For most of the coinage of the time, as it seems, bore the effigy of an owl, owing to the supremacy of Athens.

XVII. Gylippus, then, after adding a deed so dis- graceful and ignoble as this to his previous great and brilliant achievements, removed: himself from Lace- daemon. And the wisest of the Spartans, being led by this instance in particular to fear the power of money, which they said was corrupting influential as well as ordinary citizens, reproached Lysander, and fervently besought the ephors to purify the city of all the silver and the gold, as imported curses. The ephors deliberated on the matter. And it was Sciraphidas,

according to Theopompus, or Phlogidas, according to Ephorus, who declared that they ought not to receive gold and silver coinage into the city, but to use that of the country. Now this was of iron, and was dipped in vinegar as soon as it came from the fire, that it might not be worked over, but be made brittle and intractable by the dip- ping.! Besides, it was very heavy and troublesome

1 Cf. Lycurgus, ix. 2.

GTO TOAAOD TiIWOs TANOOVS Kal GyKoV pox pay
Twa afiav Suvdpevov. kivduveve. 5€ Kal TO
TapTrav apxaiov obTaS exec, oBerLa rots Xpo-
peveov vouic pact} atdnpois, éviwy 5é Karcoise ap
@v tapapévet TAHOOs Ett Kal vov Tay KepuaTov
oBodovs xareia Iau, Spaypnv b€ tovs &F dBorous:
ToTOUTMY yap 7 yelp mepiedparreto,
Tap dé Avadvépov pirov UrrevavTLoupevoy
Kal oTovoac avTwv ev TH ONL KaTapeivat Ta
Xpnwara, Snuooig pev eSokev eta dryer Oat VOL La,
ToLovTop, ay 8€ Tis aX@ KEKTNLEVOS isia, Cnpiay
Bpuoav Odvarov, OoTrEp Tov Avkoupyov TO
VO[ULo a poPnberros, ov THY éml T@ vopiopate
prrapyuptay, iy ovK adnper TO ey) Kex Tio Oat
TOV wrqy, @S TO KexTha Oar THY TOA EeLce-
TOLELTO," Ths xpetas afiay TpocdapBavovans kal
CiAov. ov yap hv Snpocig TL{L@ [LEVOV opavTas
idig Kata povely @S ax pyaton, kal T pos Ta
oixeta vopitery € EKAOT@ pndevos a£tov Tpaypa TO
Kowy, odTwS evdoxtpoiv Kat GryAT @MEVOV, aNAG
Kat TONS TAXLOV ATO TOV KOLVOV émeTnOevpatov
emtppeovaty ol Ora pot Tots iStwrexois Bio 7 y| Ta
Kal' Exactov duc Ojpara, Kal maby TAS rodents
avaTipaAnoe 1 aybaTov TovnpaVv. TO yap Oo
cuvd.act péper au Ta pépn paGAXo», Oray ev0p
T™ pos TO NEtpoD, eLKOs, ai dé ard pépous eis dhov
dpaptias Todas évoracets: Kal BonBeias amo
TOV DyLawvovTov EXovoLY. ot O€ Tals pev oixtass
TOV TOMTOY, dws ov md pevo els auTas vopic-
ie Tov doBov éréctnaav dvrAaka Kai Tov vopor,

1 youlopact Bekker corrects to voulopar:. 2 eiceroretro Bekker adopts Coraés' correction to eloerole:.

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to carry, and a great quantity and weight of it had but little value. Probably, too, all the ancient money was of this sort, some peoples using iron spits for coins, and some bronze; whence it comes that even to this day many small pieces of money retain the name of “oboli,” or spis, and six “oboli’’ make a “drachma,” or handful, since that was as many as the hand could grasp.

But since Lysander’s friends opposed this measure, and insisted that the money remain in the city, it was resolved that money of this sort could be intro- duced for public use, but that if any private person should be found in possession of it, he should be punished with death; just as though Lycurgus had feared the coin, and not the covetousness which the coin produced. And this vice was not removed by allowing no private person to possess money, so much as it was encouraged by allowing the city to possess money, its use thereby acquiring dignity and honour. Surely it was not possible for those who saw money publicly honoured, to despise it privately as of no service; or to consider as worthless for the indi- vidual’s private use that which was publicly held in such repute and esteem. Moreover, it takes far less time for public practices to affect the customs of private life, than it does for individual lapses and failings to corrupt entire cities. For it is natural that the parts should rather be perverted along with the whole, when that deteriorates; but the diseases which flow from a part into the whole find many correctives and aids in the parts which remain sound. And so these magistrates merely set the fear of the law to guard the houses of the citizens, that money might have no entrance there, but did not keep their _

avtas Sé Tas uydas avexTAHKTOVS Kal atrabeis mpos apyvptoy ov dueripnoav, éuBadovtes ets CHrov ws ceuvod 67 TLVOS Kal “EeydNOU TOD TAOV- teiy dtravras. rept pev ovv TovTav Kal di érépas mov ypagns yyraueba Aaxedatpoviorv. ~

XVIII. ‘O S&€ Adcavdpos éorncev amd Tay Aadtpwov év Acrdois aitod yadrkhv eixova nal TOV vavdpywyv éxdoTov Kal ypvcods aaTépas tav Atocxovpar, of mpo Tav Aevetpixav ndavi- cOncav. év dé to Bpacidov kal ’Axavbiov Onoavp@ tpinpys éxecto Sia yYpvcod TreTronpevn Kat édédavtos dveiy rnxav, iy Kipos avt@ viKn- thptov émep ev. ‘Avakavdpidns 6€ o Aeros toTope: Kal trapaxatadnKcny évtad0a Avadvdpov KetoOat TaddavTov apyupiouv Kal pvas TevTnKOYTA dv0 xal mpos TovTols evdexa oTaTHpas, ovY opo- Aoyoupeva ypaddwv Trois wepl TAS Tevias Tov

avdpos oporoyoupévots. Tote 5 ovv o Avaavdpos
Scov ovdels tav mpocbev ‘EAAjvav Suvnbels
éSoxer ppovnpate Kai oyx@ pellou xexphabar Tis
UVAPEWS. T Pare pév ydp, @ totopet Aodpss,
"EAAjvev éxeiva Bwpors at Tors avéoTnTAaV ws
Ge@ xal Ovoias Cvcav, eis mpa@tov Se mataves
jaOncav, wv évos apxnv atropynpovevovat
ToLayoe’
Tov ‘EdXddos ayabéas

oTpatayoy an’ evpyyopou

Lwdptas vpyncoper, @,

in) Tlacay.

Ldpuor S€ Ta Tap’ avtois “‘Hpaia Avaodvdpea
Kane &ndicavto. tav dé toutav Xoipirov
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spirits undaunted by the power of money and in sensible to it; they rather inspired them all with an emulous desire for wealth as a great and noble object of pursuit. On this point, however, we have censured the Lacedaemonians in another treatise.1

XVIII. Out of the spoils, Lysander set up at Delphi bronze statues of himself and each of his admirals, as well as golden stars of the Dioscuri, which disappeared before the battle of Leuctra.? And in the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians 3 there was stored a trireme two cubits long, made of gold and ivory, which Cyrus sent Lysander as a prize for his victory. Moreover, Anaxandrides the Delphian writes that a deposit of Lysander’s was also stored there, consisting of a talent of silver, and fifty-two minas, and eleven staters besides; a statement that is inconsistent with the generally accepted accounts of his poverty. At any rate, Lysander was at this time more powerful than any Greek before him had been, and was thought to cherish a pretentious pride that was greater even than his power. For he was the first Greek, as Duris writes, to whom the cities erected altars and made sacrifices as to a god, the first also to whom songs of triumph were sung. One of these is handed down, and begins as follows :—

“ The general of sacred Hellas
who came from wide-spaced Sparta
will we sing, O! io! Paean.”
The Samians, too, voted that their festival of Hera
should be called Lysandreia. And the poet Choe-
1 Inst. Lacon. 42 (Morals, p. 239 f.).
*-An omen of the defeat of the Ppartans in that battle
(371 B.c.). 3 Cf. chapter i. 1.

pev ael wept avtov elyey ws KoopycOVTa TAS
/ \ a > , \ /
mpakes Sia trountexns, Avtiroy@ 5é roioavTe
petpious Twas eis avTov atixyous Habeis eduxe
, 9 , \ 9 , \ Lo
TANCAS apyupiouv Tov Tidov. “AvtTiupdyou 5é Tod
Korogwviov nat Nixnpdtov tivos ‘Hpaxrewtov
rompact Avodvdpea Staywvicapévwy én’ avtoo
N , > , e 9 ,
tov Nixnpatov éotepdvwcerv, o dé ‘Avtipayos
axXGeabels Hpdvice TO Toinua. IAdtwv Sé véos
av Tote, Kat Oavpdlwv tov *Avripayov ént rH
mountixh, Bapéws hépovta THv HTTav dverauBave
kal tmapeuvbetro, Tois ayvoovat KaKov elvat da-
HEvOS THY ayVoLaV, BoTrep THY TUPAOTHTA TOL 1
Brérovowv. érrel pévtoe 0 KtBapmdds "Aptorovous
e , 4 \ J A
éEdxis Tlv0ca vevexneas érnyyédXNeTo T@ Av-
, 4 A / lA
cdvdpm diroppovovpevos, av viknon mtanru,
Avodvépov xnpvtew éavtov, “"H S0dXov;” elev.
XIX. ’AAN 7H wey dirotipia tod Avadvdpov
Tois mpwtos Kal icotipots qv eras povov.
e , a ee lel / \
Drrepowias dé TONS dua vi prdrorepig bua TOUS
Oepatrevovtas éyyevomerns T@ HOE Kai BapvTytos,
ovTEe TLnS ovTE TLwplas péTPOY HY Tap avTo
Snpotixov, ara dirtas pev GOra cal Eevias
avuTrevOvvo. Suvactetat wodewv Kal tupavvides
9 / a“ \ , , bd ,
aveFéractot, Ovpod 5é pia WANnpwats aTrorécOaut
Tov amrexOopuevov' ovde yap puyeiv éEjv. adda
kat Mirnoiwy botepov tovs tod Snuouv mpoicta-
pévous Sedias py hiywot, nal mwpoayayeiv Tovs
xexpuppevovs Bovropmevos, @pooe pun adixnoety:

rilus was always kept in his retinue, to adorn his achievements with verse; .while with Antilochus, who composed some verses in his honour, he was so pleased that he filled his cap with silver and gave it to

him. And when Antimachus of Colophon and a certain Niceratus of Heracleia competed with one another at the Lysandreia in poems celebrating his achievements, he awarded the crown to Niceratus, and Antimachus, in vexation, suppressed his poem. But Plato, who was then a young man, and admired Antimachus for his poetry, tried to cheer and console him in his chagrin at this defeat, telling him that it is the ignorant who suffer from their ignorance, just as the blind do from their blindness. However, when Aristonoiis the harper, who had been six times victor at the Pythian games, told Lysander in a patronizing way that if he should be victorious again, he would have himself proclaimed under Lysander's name, 'That is,'' Lysander replied, "as my slave?" XIX. Now to the leading men, and to his equals, the ambition of Lysander was annoying merely. But since, owing to the court that was paid to him, great haughtiness and severity crept into his character along with his ambition, there was no such modera- tion as would become a popular leader either in his rewards or punishments, but the prizes he awarded to his friends and allies were irresponsible lordships over cities, and absolute sovereignties, while the sole punishment that could satisfy his wrath was the death of his enemy; not even exile was allowed. Nay, at a later time, fearing lest the active popular leaders of Miletus should go into exile, and desiring to bring from their retreats those also who were in hiding, he made oath that he would do them no

miatevoavtas S€ Kal mpoeNovras amoohatar
Tols OALyapxiKols Tapédwxev, ovK- EXATTOVAS
é6xTaKkoctwy acuvapdotépovs dvtas. Fv be xal
Tov GdXwv év Tais TOAETt SnuoTLKaV Povos ovK
apOunros, ate On py Kat' idias povoy aitias
avTod KTElvovTos, AANA TodAais pev exOpais,
moANais 8& mreoveEias Tov Exactayohs dirov
yaptCopévouv Ta ToLtavTa Kal avvepyouTos. GOev
evdoxipnoev EteoxAs o Aaxedatpovios eiav ws
ovx av 7 'EdXds Sv0 Avaodvdpous jveyxe. Td dé
avto TodTo Kal rept "AdKtBiddov dyol @eo-
gdpactos eimety "Apyéotparov. aA éxet pev
bBpis jv xal tpudy ody adbadeia TO pdduora
Svoyeparvopevov' tHv 8¢ Avadvdpou Sivauw 7
Tov TpoTov yareToTns dpoBepav emote. xal
Bapetav.
Oi 8¢ Aaxedarudviot tots pév AdAXots Ov Tavu
Wpocetyov éyxanovow: éret 5€¢ PapydBalos aé:-
Kovpevos im avtod THY yopay adyovtos Kal
dhépovtos améorerrev eis THY UaadpTHv KaTNYyOpous,
ayavaxThnoavtes ot Epopar Tav pev hirwv avTod
Kal cvatpatnyov éva Owpaxa AaBovtes apyvpiov
idiea Kextnpévoy amréxteway, éxeive Sé oxuTadnv
Ereprpay Hee KeNevovtes.
"Eote 8€ 1 oxutddyn towodTov. érav éxtréu-

Twol vavapyov h stpaTnyor oi épopot, Evra dvo
atpoyytka pnKos Kal mdyos axpiBas amico-
cavTes, WaTE Tais Tomats épappotery mpos GAANAA,
TO ev adtol duddtrovat, Oatepov Sé TO Teptro-
pévm Sidcact. taita Sé ta EvAa oxuTdras
Kanovow. Stay ovv atoppntov te Kal péya
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harm; but when the first put faith in him and the second came forth, he delivered them all over to the oligarchs for slaughter, being no less than eight hundred of both classes. In the other cities also untold numbers of the popular party were slain, since he killed not only for his own private reasons, but also gratified by his murders the hatred and cupidity of his many friends everywhere, and shared the bloody work with them. Wherefore Eteocles the Lacedaemonian won great approval when he said that Hellas could not have borne two Lysanders. Now this same utterance was made by Archestratus concerning Alcibiades also,! as Theophrastus tells us. But in his case it was insolence, and wanton self-will, that gave most offence; whereas Lysander's power was made dreadful and oppressive by the cruelty of his disposition.

The Lacedaemonians paid little heed to the rest of his accusers, but when Pharnabazus, who was outraged by Lysander's pillaging and wasting his territory, sent men to Sparta to denounce him, the ephors were. incensed, and when they found Thorax, one of Lysander's friends and fellow-generals, with money in his private possession, they put him to death, and sent a dispatch-scroll to Lysander, ordering him home.

The dispatch-scroll is of the following character. When the ephors send out an admiral or a general, they make two round pieces of wood exactly alike , in length and thickness, so that each corresponds to / the other in its dimensions, and keep one themselves, | while they give the other to their envoy. These pieces | of wood they call "scytalae.'"" Whenever, then, they ;

1 Cf. Alcibiades, xvi. 5.
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dpdcat BovrAnbact, BuiBdiov Wowep ipavra
paxpov Kal otevov troLovyTes TepiediTTOVaL THY
Tap avtTois cxuTdadyny, ovbev SidrELwpa TWoLovYTES,
GAA TavTayodey KUKAw THY erripdvetav aUTAS
a , 4, “ \ 4
T@ BiBAip KatadauBavortes. tovto Sé€ TroLN-
gavtes & BovrovTat Kataypadovow eis Td
BuBMiov, domep eotl TH cKUTAAN TrEpLKeipevor’
dtav b€ ypawwou, adedovtes TO BiBdtov avev
tov EvNov mpcs Tov oTpaTNyoV aTrocTéAAOVGL.
deEduevos 5é éxeivos GANwS pev ovdey avaré~a-
cOat Sivatar TOV ypappdtrov cuvadny ovK éyov-
Twv, AAA Suectacpévwv, THY dé Tap avT@
oxuTadAnv NaBov TO Tuna TOU BiBdLov Tept
avuTnvy wepléteev, Wate, THS Edixos ets Takw
opotws amoxabiotapévns, éemiBdrrovta Tots TpPO-
Tos ta Sevtepa, KUKrA@ THY OYW éemadyew TO
auvexyes aveupioxovoay. Kareitar 5€ opworipws
TO ude oxuTadrn To BiBAlov, ws TO pEeTpodovTe
TO ETPOUpLEVOD.
XX. “O 5 Avcavbpos, éXMovens THs cxuTddNsS
mpos autoy eis Tov ‘EXAjorovtov, SuetapayOn,
Kal wadtota Tas tov PapvaBdalov Sed:a5 Katn-
yopias, éamrovdacev cis AdyoUs avT@ auvedOetv,
@s AUcwY THY Stahopdv. Kal cuveOwv éeiTo
ypaxpau trept avtov mpos Tovs apyovTas érépav
€TLTTOAY WS OUdeY NdLKNLEVOY one éyxaXovvTa.
mpos Kpytra S€ dpa, To Tod Adyou, KpnTtivwv
nyvoes tov PapydBalov. srocyopevos yap
avavta troncev, pavepas pev éyparpev olay o
Avcavipos nkiwoev émictoAny, xcpida Se elyev
érépav avrTot yeypappévnyv. év d¢7@ Tas odpa-
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wish to send some secret and important message, they make a scroll of parchment long and narrow, like a leathern strap, and wind it round their “seytale,” leaving no vacant space thereon, but covering its surface all round with the parchment. After doing this, they write what they wish on the parchment, just as it lies wrapped about the “scytale’’; and when they have written their message, they take the parchment off, and send it, without the piece of wood, to the commander. He, when he has received it, cannot otherwise get any meaning out of it,—since the letters have no con- nection, but are disarranged,—unless he takes his own “scytale” and winds the strip of parchment about it, so that, when its spiral course is restored

perfectly, and that which follows is joined to that which precedes, he reads around the staff, and so discovers the continuity of the message. And the parchment, like the staff, is called “scytale,” as the thing measured bears the name of the measure.

XX. But Lysander, when the _ dispatch-scroll reached him at the Hellespont, was much disturbed, and since he feared the denunciations of Pharnabazus above all others, he hastened to hold a conference with him, hoping to compose their quarrel. At this conference he begged Pharnabazus to write another letter about him to the magistrates, stating that he had not been wronged at all, and had no complaints to make. But in thus “ playing the Cretan against a Cretan,” as the saying is, he misjudged his opponent. For Pharnabazus, after promising to do all that he desired, openly wrote such a letter as Lysander demanded, but secretly kept another by him ready written. And when it came to putting on the seals,

yidas éemiBadrrXyev évarrdEas ta BiBALa pndev
diahépovta TH det, Sidwow exeivny avT@e THv
Kpupa yeypaupévnv. adixopevos obv o Avcavdpos
els Aaxedaipova Kai ropevbeis, @otrep G05 éotiv,
eis TO apxetov, amédwxKe Tos epopols TA ypappata
tov DapvaBalov, temesopévos avnpncOar To
MéytoTov avTov TOV éyKAnudToVY nyaTaTo yap Oo
PDapvaBalos bro taév Aaxedaipoviwv, mpoOupo-
Tatos év TO TOAD TAY Baciriéws oTpPaTHYaV
yeyervnuévos. érret 5é avayvovres of Epopor THY
émirtoAny ederEay avT@, Kal oUVTKEY @S
Our ap ’Odvaceds dot aipvros pdvos,

TOTE pev iaxupas TEAopuBnpévos annrOev Huépars
5é oAriyais Dotepov évtvy@v toils dpyovow &bn
Sety aitov eis "Appovos dvaBnvat cat TO Obed
Gicat Ouaias as cb~ato Tpo TeV ayovwrv. enol
Lev ovv GdANDas hac avT@ TodLopKodVTL THY TOV
"Adutaiwyv mod éy @paden Kata rovs Hrvovs
Tapacthva. Tov “Appwva: 510 Kal THY ToNLOp-
4 > , e fe) fal 4 Pd
Kiay adeis, os Tov Oceod mpoatdk~avtos, éxéXeuvce
‘ 9 4, Vv 4 N N
tous Adutatous “Aupou Ovew Kxal tov Geov
éotrovoacev eis THY AiBunv tropevfels é€thdca-
afar. tots b€ mreiotos édoKet mpooynpa Tot-
a N 4 bd \ \ > / \
eto Oat tov Oeov, adrAws 5é Tovs éhopous SedorKws
\ \ ¥ \ > A > e 4 ”

Kal Tov olKoe Suyov ov hépwv ovd vTropévwrv ap-
xecOar mrdvns dpéyerOar Kal Tepipoitncews
TLVOS, otep trios ex vouns abétou Kal NeLwavos
a A > \ , \ XN , V4
avbis hewv éri datvnv cal mpos TO cvvnbes Epyov
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he exchanged she documents, which looked exactly alike, and gave him the letter which had been secretly written. Accordingly, when Lysander arrived at Sparta and went, as the custom is, into the senate-house, he gave the ephors the letter of Pharnabazus, -convinced that the greatest of the complaints against him was thus removed ; for Pharnabazus was in high favour, with the Lacedaemonians, because he had been, of all the King's generals, most ready to help them in the war. But when the ephors, after reading the letter, showed it to him, and he under-stood that
"' Odysseus, then, is not the only man of guile," !

for the time being he was mightily confounded and went away. Buta few days afterwards, on meeting the magistrates, he said that he was obliged to go up to the temple of Ammon? and sacrifice to the god the sacri- fices which he had vowed before his battles. Now some say that when he was besieging the city of Aphytae in Thrace, Ammon really stood by him in his sleep ; wherefore he raised the siege, declaring that the god had commanded it, and ordered the Aphytaeans to sacrifice to Ammon, and was eager to make a journey into Libya and propitiate the god. Butthe majority believed that he made the god a pretext, and really feared the ephors, and was impatient of the yoke at home, and unable to endure being under authority, and therefore longed to wander and travel about somewhat, like a horse which comes back from unrestricted pasturage in the meadows to his stall, and is put once more to his accustomed work. 1 An iambic trimeter of some unknown poet.

* In an oasis of the great desert of Libya. Cf. Cimon,
xvill. 6 f.
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avOis ayopevos. iv pev yap "Eqopts THs atrody-
N
pias tavtns aitiay dvaypadet, peTa piKpov

adnynoopat.
XXI. Monss 6€ cal yarerras apePjvar diam pa-
Ui e \ A 5] , ge / e \
Eduevos to tav éhopwy é€éerdevcer. of Sé
Bactnrets arrodnunaavros avtod cuudpovncartes
Ste Tais éraipeiacs Tas TONES KaTéyoV 51a TaYTOS
” 4 i > A e 4 ¥
apyer Kal xupios éote tHS “EXXddos, Erpaccoy
bras atodwaovaet Tots SnudTas Ta wWpaypata
Tovs éxeivou didous éxBadovtes. ov pny aAda
TaALy Tpos TaVTA KLYNMATOS yEevopévou, Kal TrpPw-
a b \ a b] / > s an
tTwv tav ato DvaAjs "AOnvaiwyériBepévwr tots
TpidKkovtTa Kal KpaTovvTwr, éraveOar dia Taxéwy
o Avoavdpos érece tovs Aaxedatpovious tais
> / a ‘ , A
oduyapyiais BonBeiy nal tovs Snpovs Kordleuv.
Kal wpwtots Tois TpidKovTa Tréutrovaly éxaToV
TaXavTa Tpos TOY ToAELOV Kal OTpaTHYOY avTOV
Avcavépov. ot 6é Bactrets POovobvtes Kal Sed:0-
\ , \ > 4 4 P /
Tes pn wary &ryn tas 'AOnvas, eyvwoay éFvévat
\ ¢ , ce by de! \ ¢ / ,
Tov érepov avtav. é&ndOe 5é o Ilavoavias, Noyw
pév uirép Tov Tupavvev émi tov Sihuov, épyp Sé
, \ , id A , e 4
KaTahvowy Tov Todepmov, ws pn Tadtv o Av-
aavdpos 5a tav dirwv Kvptos yévorto Tav ’AOn-
vav. TovTo pev ovv duerpdtato padiws: Kai Tovs
b , 4 \ A \ A
AOnvaious S:adrd£as kal catatravaoas THY oTadoLW
ageireto Tod Avadvdpou tHv didotipiav. driyo
dé votepoy atoctavTwy mdadv Ttav ’AOnvaiwr
autos pev aitiay EdaBev, ws éyxexadwopévov TH
oAryapyia tov SHuov avels adOis éEuBpi t
yapxia Ae $ us pioas Kal
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Ephorus, it is true, assigns another reason for this absence abroad, which I shall mention by and by.! XXI. After he had with great difficulty procured his release by the ephors, he set sail. But the kings, when he had gone abroad, became aware that by means of the societies which he had formed, he had the cities entirely in his power and was master of Hellas ; they therefore took measures for deposing his friends everywhere and restoring the management of affairs to the people. However, fresh disturbances broke out

in connection with these changes, and first of all the Athenians from Phyle attacked the Thirty and overpowered them. Lysander therefore came home in haste, and persuaded the Lacedae- monians to aid the oligarchies and chastise the democracies. Accordingly, they sent to the Thirty, first of all, a hundred talents for the war, and Lysander himself as general. But the kings were jealous of him, and feared to let him capture Athens a second time; they. therefore determined that one of them should go out with the army. And Pausanias did go out, ostensibly in behalf ot the tyrants ? against the people, but really to put a stop to the war, in order that Lysander might not again become master of Athens through the efforts of his friends. This object, then, he easily accom- plished, and by reconciling the Athenians and putting a stop to their discord, he robbed Lysander: of his ambitious hopes. A short time afterwards, however, when the Athenians revolted again, he himself was censured for taking the curb of the oligarchy out of the mouth of the people, and letting them grow bold and insolent again; while

1 Chapter xxv. 3. 2 That is, the Thirty in Athens.

2g!
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Opacvvac ban, T@ O€ Avadvépe mw poceO nKxato
dofav avdpos ov T pos eTEpOV yvapw ovdé Oearpi-
KOS, GANA pos TO TH Yrdptn ocvpdépov avle-
KdoTWS aTpatnyourTos.
XXII. *Hp 6¢ Kal ™@ oye Gpacvs Kal Karta
TANKTLKOS TPOS TOUS aytiteivovTas. "Apryetous pev
yap audiroyoupEevors mepl vas. Spwv kai dixaso-
TEpa TOV Aaxedatpovior olopévors eye detEas
THY paxatpar, ""O tavtns, épn, " KpaT ov Beén-
TiOTa Tmept y7ns Spev Suareyerar." Meyapéws dé
avdpos év Tie Tuhhoyp mappnoia Xpneapevov
T pos avtov, "Oi oryou gov, eltev, "@ Féve,
TOAEWS Séovrat." Tous 6€ Bowrous émauortepi-
Covtas 7pwTa TOT €pov opBois TOUS Sopa
KEKALLEVOLS Siaropeuntat THY Y@pav auTav. émel
6é TOY Kopuiar apecTwoTwv TApepy.opEvos 7 pos
Ta TelXn TOUS Aaxedatuovious € éwpa m poo Badrew
dxvouvTas, Kal Nays TIS ahOn Siamndav THY
Tadpov, " Ovn aicxuverde," epn, " TovouTous
poBovpevor moveutous, @v of Aaywot & apyiav
Tots Telyery éyxadevdovary ;"
"Exrel dé "Ayis o Bactrevs eTeNeUT ITED aded-
pov pev "Aynoidaov KATA TOY, viov O€ vourlope-
vov Aewrtuxisoay, épaatns Tob "Aynotddou yeyo-
YOS O Advcavdpos € émetoev AUTOV ayrthapBavecBat
THs Bactheias ws "Hpaxneibnv 6vTa YyvnoLov. oO
yap Aewruxidas dtaBornv elev é& 'AXxiBiadou

yeryovevat, TUVOVTOS Kpupa TN “Aytdos yuvatnl Trpaig nal dv Xpovov pevyov | éy Lrrapty beé-TpuBev. o Oe “Ayes, as pact, x ‘\povou AoyLT MO TO Tpaypa cuVvedwov, ws ov Kunoeey EE avTOd, TapT-
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Lysander won fresh repute as a man who exercised “his command in downright fashion, not for the gratification of others, nor yet to win applause, but for the good of Sparta.

XXII. He was harsh of speech also, and terrifying to his opponents. For instance, when the Argives were disputing about boundaries, and thought they made a juster plea than the Lacedaemonians, he pointed to his sword, and said to them: “ He who is master of this discourses best about boundaries.”’ And when a Megarian, in some conference with him, grew bold in speech, he said : “ Thy words, Stranger, lack a city.” And when the Boeotians tried to play a double game with him, he asked them whether he should march through their territory with spears upright, or levelled. And once when the Corinthians had revolted, and, on coming to their walls, he saw that the Lacedaemonians hesitated to make an assault, a hare was seen leaping across the moat ; whereupon he said: ‘Are ye not ashamed to fear enemies who are so lazy that hares sleep on their walls ?”’

When Agis the king died,! leaving a brother, Agesilaiis, and a reputed son, Leotychides, Lysander, who had been a lover of Agesilaiis, persuaded him to lay claim to the kingdom, on the ground that he was a genuine descendant of Heracles. For Leotychides was accused of being a son of Alcibiades, who had secret commerce with Timaea, the wife of Agis, while he was living in exile at Sparta. Now Agis, as they tell us, being convinced by a computation of time that his wife had not conceived by him, ignored

1 In 398 B.c., after returning home from a victorious campaign (Xen. Hell. iii. 3, 1).
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pére tov Acwrtuyisou Kal havepos Av avarvopevos

> _\ , \ \ , ? a.

avTov Tapa ye TOV NoLTrOV Ypovoy. é7rel 58 voowV
‘4 A
eis “Hpaiay éxouiacbn nal terevTav Ewerre, TA
A nn A la)
bev utr’ avtod Tov veavioxouv, Ta dé UO TOV
4 / an
dirwv éxrdutrapnbets eévavtiov woAdav amépnvev
A \ n
vioy autov tov Aewtuyisav, cai Senfeis trav
TapovtTwy émiysaptuphcar tavta mpos tovs Aa-
xedatpovious améBavev. odTot pev ovdv éuap-
, A a 4 \ > 9 ,
Tupouy TavTa T@® Aewtvyida: tov & *Aynoidaov
\ v Mw. QA a A
AaptTpov ovta TadNAa Kal cvVaywuioTH T@ Av-
\
cavdpp ypepevov EBraTte AcoreiOns, avip evdo-
,
KiuLos ETL YpNTLONOYLa, ToLOvdE pavTEevA TpOpe-
pwv eis THY YwrOTHTA TOD "AynotrAdou:
Dpaleo by, Xraptn, caiwep peyaddravyxos eovca,

pn o€8ev aptitrodsos BXdotn yor) Bacrreia.

Snpov yap poyPot oe Kataacynoovaty derTTOL

POto.Bpotov 7 él xipa xurALvdopevov Tone-
peoto.
TONAGY OV UTOKATAKALVOMEVWY TPOS TO AOdYLOV
/
Kal TpeTouévwy mpos tov Aewtuyiday, o Av-
é ? bd 0a ¥ N / \ ,
cavdpos ovx opOas pn tov ArotreiOn tHv pavreiav
UToNapBave: ov yap av TpooTtaicas Tis apyYn
Aaxedaipoviwy, Svaxepaivery tov Oeov, adda
\ ? \ Va 3 0 a
YoOrnY evar THY Bacirciay eb voOo Kal KaKas
yeyovotes Bactrevcovar civ! ‘Hpaxrcidais. Tor-
abTa Néywr kal Suvapevos mrciotoy érece, Kal
, \ > ,
yivetat Bactrevs "Aynotraos.
1 giv supplied by Sintenis alone.

Leotychides, and manifestly repudiated him up to the last. But when he was carried sick to Heraea and was about to die, he yielded to the entreaties of the young man himself and of his friends, and declared in the hearing of many that Leotychides was his own son, and after begging those who were present to bear witness of this to the Lacedae- monians, died. Accordingly, they did so bear witness in favour of Leotychides. Moreover, Agesilaiis, who was otherwise illustrious, and had Lysander as a champion, was injured in his-claim by Diopeithes, a man in high repute for his interpretation of oracles, who published the following prophecy with reference to the lameness of Agesilaiis } :—

“ Bethink thee now, O Sparta, although thou art
very proud,
Lest from thee, sound of foot, there spring a maimed
royalty ;
For long will unexpected toils oppress thee,
And onward rolling billows of man-destroying
war.
Many, therefore, out of deference to the oracle,
inclined to Leotychides, but Lysander declared that
Diopeithes did not interpret the prophecy correctly ;
for it did not mean that the god would be displeased
if one who was lame should rule the Lacedaemonians,
but the kingdom would be maimed if bastards and
ill-born men should be kings in a line with the
posterity of Heracles. By such arguments, and
because he had very great influence, he prevailed,
and Agesilaiis became king.?

1 Cf. Plutarch’s A gestlaiis, ii. 2. 2 Cf. Plutarch’s A gestlazis, iii. 3-5; Xen. Hell. iii. 3, 2 f.

XXIII. Ev6ds ovv abrov eFopua Kal Tpoo-
TpeTrev oO Avoavépos eis thy "Aciav oT pareve,
UmorOels eAribas @S KaTaducovTe Tépoas kal
peyiore yevnaouever, pos TE TOUS ev "Acta
one éyparpev aiteia Oar KENEVOV mapa Aaxe-
arpovioy oT paTayov “Aqnothaov él tov pos
2 Tous BapBapous TOMO. ot 8é émeiPovto Kal
mpea Bets reptrov ets Aaxebaipova deopévous’ 6
doxet THS BactXelas ovK éXaTTOV “Aynoid@ KaXOV
vraptar dua Avoavdpor. GRD au ptdort wot

pices addwos poev ov Kanal 7 pos Tas mryepovias
elai, TO O€ pooveiy Tois opotos dia d0fav ov
pix pov ep obtov TOV Kaha mpafewy éxouau
ToLovvTar yap avraywvicTas THS aperhs ols wdp-
3 eoTt XpijoPa cuvepyois. “Aynathaos pév ovy
emnyaryeTo Avoavépov éy Tos ‘TpidKovTa TUp-
Bovdors @S pdduora, Kal TpPaTe TOV pidov
Xpno opevos: émrel O€ eis THY "Aciav Taparyevope-
vov impos éxeivoy péy ovK EXOVTES ot dv pom ot
cvvnbas Bpaxéa Kal amavis SiehéyouTo, Tov 5é
Adcavdpor é éx TOMAS THs mpoabev opurtas ob TE
piror Ocpamrevovtes of te dromrot SeSouxores
4 epottav emt Oupas Kal Tapnxodov0 ovr, olov év
Tparywdiacs eTLELKOS oupBaiver Tepl Tous wiro-
KpuTas, Tov pev ayyéAou TLVOS vn OepdtrovtTos
emreKelpevor » 7 pOOWTrOV evdoxipeiy Kal TpwTaywv-
tateiy, tov dé duddnpa Kal aK T pov popotyra
pn de axoveo Gat POeyyopuevor, OUT TED TOV
cbyBovrov | ay TO wav akiopa Tis apis, T@ dé
Bacirei tovvopa THs Suvdpews Epnpov amrenetTreTo.
1 émixeluevoy Bekker adopts Coraés’ correction to wepixel-
mevov.
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XXIII. At once, then, Lysander tried to rouse and incite him to make an expedition into Asia, suggesting hopes that he would put down the Persians and become a very great man. He also wrote letters to his friends in Asia, bidding them ask Agesilaiis of the Lacedaemonians as general for their war against the Barbarians.1 They obeyed, and sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon with the request, and thus an honour not inferior to that of being made king was obtained for Agesilaiis through the efforts of Lysander. But with ambitious natures, which are otherwise not ill qualified for command, jealousy of their equals in reputation is no slight obstacle to the performance of noble deeds ; for they make those their rivals in the path of virtue, whom they might have as helpers. Agesilaiis did indeed take Lysander with him among his thirty counsellors, intending to treat him with special favour as his chief friend; but when they were come into Asia, the people there, who were not acquainted with him, conferred with him but rarely and briefly, whereas Lysander, in consequence of their large intercourse with him in former times, had them always at his door and in his train, those who were his friends coming out of deference, and those whom he suspected, out of fear. And just as in tragedies it naturally happens that an actor who takes the part of some messenger or servant is in high repute and plays leading réles, while the one who bears the crown and sceptre is not even listened to when he speaks, so in this case the whole honour of the govern- ment was associated with the counsellor, and there was left for the king only the empty name of power.

1 Cf. Plutarch’s Agesilazis, vi. 1 f.
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@

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5 yevérOar pev odv laws Eder TWA THS ExpEAODS
TavTns dirotipias éradyy kal cvotadHvar Tov
Avcavépov dypt tay Sevtepetwy’ TO Sé TravTEedos
amoppinrat Kal MpomnraKioat bud dofav evepyerny
avbpa kat didrov ovn jv aftov ‘Aynotha@ mpoc-
eivat.
TIp@tov péev odv ov tapetyey ait@ mpadkewr
aboppds, ovdé érattev éd wHyepovias’ érerta
uTép Ov alcBotd TL WpaTTOVTa Kal omovddtovTa
tov Avoavépov, del TovTovVs TavTwWY aTrPaKTOUS
kat Tov émiTUYOVTMY EXaTTOY ExOVTAS aTETELTE,
Taparvov novyn Kal dtayvywy Hv éxeivou
6 duvayiy. érel 6€ TOY TdavToYv Stayaptavev o
Aveoavdpos éyvw tois dirous thy map avTod
oTrovony évavTiopa yivouevny, autos Te TO BonOeiv
é€édurre Kaxeivwy édeito wy Wpocrévae pndé Oepa-
mevewv aUTOV, GAAA TH Bactrei StaréyeoOar Kal
tois duvapévois wpereivy Tovs TLuwVTAas aUTOUS
7 parrov év TO TapovTt. tadta axovovtTes oat
TOAAOL TOU pev eVOYAELY AUTOV TEpL TpayLaTwV
ameiyovto, Tas b€ Oeparreias ov KaTédtTTOV, ANA
mTpoopoitavres ev Tots TepiTraTots Kal yupvaciots 447
Ett “aAXOV H TpoTEpov Hviwy Tov "AynoiAaovy b1r6
POovov Ths TuHs, @oTE Tois TOAXOIS Yraptedtais!
nyepovias TpayuaTwy Kal Stotxnoes TOAEWY ATTO-
528005 tov Avcavdpov améderEe xpeodaitny. eita
olov épuBpitwv mpos tovs “Iwvas, ‘“’Arrtovtes,
ébn, “viv tov éuov Kpeodaitny OeparrevéTwaar.”
8 édokev ody 7H Avadvdpm 1d AoYwY pos avToV

1 Srapridtra:ts the correction of Emperius: orpariéracs
(soldiers).
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It is true, perhaps, that there should have been some
gentle handling of this excessive ambition, and that
Lysander should have been reduced to the second
place ; but entirely to cast off and insult, for fame’s
sake, a benefactor and a friend, was not worthy of

the character of Agesilaiis.
In the first place, then, he did not give him opportunities for achievement, nor even assign him to a command ; and secondly, those in whose behalf he perceived that Lysander was earnestly exerting himself, these he always sent away with less reward than an ordinary suitor, or wholly unsuccessful, thus quietly undoing and chilling his influence. So when Lysander missed all his aims, and saw that his. interested efferts for his friends were an obstacle to their success, he not only ceased to give them his own aid, but begged them not to wait upon him nor pay him their court, but to confer with the king, and with such as had more power to benefit those who showed them honour than was his at present. Most of those who heard this refrained from troubling him about their affairs, but did not cease paying him their court, nay rather, by waiting upon him in the public walks and places of exercise, they gave Agesilaiis even more annoyance than before, because he envied him the honour. Therefore, though he offered most of the Spartans! commands in the field and governments of cities, he appointed Lysander his carver of meats. And presently, as if by way of insult to the Ionians, he said: “Let them be off, and pay their court now to my carver of meats.” Accordingly, Lysander determined to have a con-

1 Agis took thirty Spartans with him as counsellors and captains (Plutarch’s A gessaiis, vi. 3; Xenophon’s A gesiaiis,

i. 7).

éNciy: Kat yiverat Bpayus cal Aaxwvixos advTav

Suddroryos. “"H cards ybes, @ Aynoidae, hirous
an 9 \ 4 co > “ ,
é€Xattouv. Kat os: ““Ay ye éuov BovrNwvTar

, 9 \ \ v Q > A AA
petCoves evar: tovs d€ avEovtas tH eunv divapuy
\ , IA , % 669 > » ,
Kal peTéxe autis Sixacov. AXX’ tows per,
@ "Aynoindae, col AéXNeKTaL KAaAALOV 7H Epol Té-
mpaxtat Séouat 5€ cov xat Sta Tovs éxTos
J 4 A ‘ e A 9 , b] “” 4
avOpwrrovs, of wpos Nuas aTroBXéTovat, évTavOd
pe THS GeavTov otpatnyias tTakov, Strov Tetay-
pévov Hxrota pev érraxOyn, wardrov bé ypnotpov
éxeabat ceavT@ vopifers.”
XXIV. ’Ex rovtouv mpeoRevtis eis ‘EXAnoTov-
Tov éméumeto: Kat tov pey ‘Aynoivaov & dpyis
SJ 9 b lh \ Le) 4 ,
elyev, ovx nuérer 5€ tod ra déovTa mpdtrey,
LrvOpidarny Se tov léponv mpooxexpovxora
DapvaBaly, yevvaiov avépa nal otpatiav éxovta

jwept avTov, atootnaas hyaye mwpos tov *Ayn-
4 ” IQs 4 3 a ‘ \
aidkaov. addo bé ovdev eypnoato avT@ Tpos TOV
TOAELOV, GANA TOD Ypovou SveAOdvTOS arémAEUCEV
eis THY Lardptnv atipws, dpytCopevos pev TH
"A x / “ oe ,} \ aX, x , ”
ynoia@, picay 6é Kal THY GANV TONTElaY ETL
padXov % aMpoTtepov, Kal ta mddrat SoxodvTa
auyKxetoOar cai peunxavncbat mpos petaBornv
Kal vewtepta pov éyvaxws éeyyetpety ToTEe Kal pT
Stapérrewv.
"Hy 6é todd. tov dvaytyOévtav Awptedow
‘Hpakredav cai xateovrwy eis TeXorovvnaov
TOAD pev ev Lardptn Kat Naumpov nvOnce yévos,
ov mravtl 6€ avtay Ths Backs pethy Svadoxis,
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ference with him, at which a brief and _ laconic
dialogue passed between them. “Verily, thou
knowest well, Agesilaiis, how to abase friends.” To
which Agesilaiis: “ Yes, if they would be greater
than I; but those who increase my power should
also share in it.” “Well, perhaps thy words,
Agesilaiis, are fairer than my deeds; but I beg thee,
even because of the strangers who have their eyes
upon us, to give me a post under thy command
where thou believest that I shall be least annoying
to thyself, and more serviceable than now.” }
XXIV. Upon this, he was sent as ambassador to
the Hellespont; and though he was angry with
Agesilaiis, he did not neglect to do his duty, but
induced Spithridates the Persian, a high-minded
man with forces at his command, to revolt from
Pharnabazus, with whom he was at odds, and
brought him to Agesilaiis22 The king made no
further use of Lysander, however, in the war, and
when his time had expired, he sailed back to Sparta
without honour, not only enraged at Agesilaiis, but
hating the whole form of government more than ever,
and resolved to put into execution at once, and
without delay, the plans for a revolutionary change
which he is thought to have devised and concocted
some time before. |

They were as follows. Of the Heracleidae who united with the Dorians and came down into Peloponnesus, there was a numerous and glorious stock flourishing in Sparta; however, not every family belonging to it participated in the royal succession,

1 Cf. Plutarch's A gesilaiis, vii.—viii. 1-2; Xen. Hell. iii. 4, 7-9.
2 Cf. Plutarch's A gesilazis, viii. 3; Xen. Hell. iii. 4, 10.
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arn éBacirevov éx dvety oixwv povoy Kvputravtidar kat "Ayiddar mpooayopevouevor, tois dé GAXors ovdev Erépov mréov Exe ev TH TodTELa dia thy ebyéverav bmHpyev, ai Sé am' apeTAs Tipal Tact mpovKevTo Tots Suvapévols. ToVTwY ovv yeyovws o Avcavédpos, ws eis Sofav Tov mpdEcwv np0n peyarnv cat dirous éxéxTnTo ToAXOUS cal dvvaptv, AyOeTo THY TOY opav UT' avTodD pev av€avopévnv, bd érépwv 5é Bactrevopevny ovdey BéXTLOV avTOD yeyovorar, Kal Stevoetto THY apxny é« tev dveiy olxwy peragtnoas eis KoLvoV atrodobvat traow ‘Hpaxrcidats, ws dé Evtot hacuy, oux ‘H pakreidas, adrra Lrapridrass, va pn n ToD ad' ‘Hpaxdéeovs, ara TOV olos ‘Hpakhijs TO "yépas, aperh Kptvopévav, 7) Kaxelvov eis Oeav Tuas avyyayev. Amite 5é THs Bactreias o0Tw Sixalopévns ovdéva mpd avtovd Yraptiatny av aipeOnoecOat.

XXV. IIparov pév otv éereyeipnoe Kai tapeoxevdoato Teibe St éauvtod Tovs ToNiTas, Kal Novyoy éFeueréra mpos THY UTOOEoLW yeypampévov tro Kréwvos tod ‘ANtkapvaccéws. eretta THY atoriav kal To péyeOos Tov KaLvoToMoupevou Tpayuatos opav itaywrépas Seouevov BonGeias, @otep év tpaywdia pnxavav aipwv él tovs jToMiTas, Aoyta WuOdYpnoTa Kal Kpnaopous ouPeTiOer xal Kxatecxevatev, ws ovdéy wpednod-

' Cf. Plutarch's A geatlatis, viii. 3.

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but the kings were chosen from two houses only,

and were called Eurypontidae and Agiadae. The rest had no special privileges in the government because of their high birth, but the honours which result from superior excellence lay open to all who had power and ability. Now Lysander belonged to one of these families, and when he had risen to great fame for his deeds, and had acquired many friends and great power, he was vexed to see the city increased in power by his efforts, but ruled by others who were of no better birth than himself. He therefore planned to take the government away from the two houses, and restore it to all the Heracleidae in common, or, as some say, not to the Heracleidae, but to the Spartans in general,! in order that its high prerogatives might not belong to those only who were descended from Heracles, but to those who, like Heracles, were selected for superior excellence, since it was this which raised him to divine honours. And he hoped that when the kingdom was awarded on this principle, no Spartan would be chosen before himself.

XXV. In the first place, then, he undertook and made preparations to persuade the citizens by his own efforts, and committed to memory a speech written by Cleon, the Halicarnassian, for.the purpose. In the second place, seeing that the novelty and magnitude of his innovation demanded a more audacious support, he brought stage machinery to . bear upon the citizens," as it were, by collecting and arranging responses and oracles of Apollo; convinced

2 In the Greek theatre, gods were swung into view, above the plane of the action, by means of a huge crane. Cf. Themistocles, x. 1.

Hevos UO THS KvXéwvos Seevotntos, e pn PoBo Oeod tut Kal Serorvdatpovia mpoexmrAHn~as Kal Yetpwadpevos UTayayot Tpos TOV AGYOV TOUS TONL-tas. "Edopos pév ovv dyno avtov, ws THY TE Ilv@iav émuyerpnoas SiadGeipar cai tas Awdo-vidas avOis avareiOwov Sua PDepexréovs arré-tuyev, eis "Appovos avaRnvar Kai dvaréyeoOar Tois mpodyntais woAU yYpvaiov S:ddvta, Tous Se Sucyepaivovtas eis Ladptnv twas atrooteiNat tov Avodvdpov xatnyopnoovtas, émel S€ arre-AvOn, tovs AiBvas amiovtas elwety: "'AAN

Hmets ye BéATIOv, @ Sraptiarar, xpiwovpev, drav
nKnTe mpos nuas ets AtBdnv oixnoovtes,” ws
57 Xpnopod Tivos vTos Tadatod AaKxedatpovious
| €v AtBin xatouxhoa. tHv S€ GAnv émriBovarAnv
Kat oxevwpiay Tod TAdTpATOS Ov PavAnY ovaay
ovde ad av étvxev apEapévnv, adAa ToddAS
Kal peydras boGéces, wotrep ev Staypaypate
pabnpatix®, wpocAaBodcay cal dia AnupdToV
Yarerav nat dvotopictwy él To cuprépacpa
Tpoiovoay, nuEls avayparpouev avdpos iotopiKod
kal dtrocopou Aoy@ KaTakoXovOnaavTes.
XXVI. "Hy yovacov ev Tldévt@e xvew é& ’Amon-
Awvos ddyevov, @ TOAAOL pév, WS ELKOS Hp,
nmiorouvv, TodXdol O€ Kal Tpoceiyov, wate Kal
TEKOvENS TaLddpLiov appev bd TroAdKOY Kal yvo-
pipwv orovddkerOar thy éxtpodyv adtod cat
Thv émipérecav. dvona S¢ TO Tradl LetAnvos
éx 8 twos aitias éréOn. tadtnv rAaBov o
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that Cleon’s clever rhetoric would not help him at all unless he should first terrify and subdue his countrymen by vague religious fear and superstitious terror, and then bring them under the influence of his argument. Well, then, Ephorus tells us that after an attempt to corrupt the Pythian priestess, and after a second failure to persuade the priestesses of Dodona by means of Pherecles, he went up to the temple of Ammon and had a conference with that god’s interpreters there, at which he offered them much money, but that they took this ill, and sent certain messengers to Sparta to denounce him ; and further, that when Lysander was acquitted of their charges, the Libyans said, as they went away, “ But we will pass better judgments than yours, O Spartans, when ye come to dwell with us in Libya” ; for they knew that there was a certain ancient oracle bidding the Lacedaemonians to settle in Libya. But since the whole plot and concoction was no insignificant one, nor yet carelessly undertaken, but made many important assumptions, like a mathe- matical demonstration, and proceeded to its con- clusion through premises which were difficult and hard to obtain, we shall follow, in our description of it, the account of one who was both a historian and a philosopher.!

XXVJ. There was a woman in Pontus who declared
that she was with child by Apollo. Many dis-
believed her, as was natural, but many also lent
an ear to her, so that when she gave birth to a
male child, many notable persons took an interest
in its care and rearing. For some reason or other,
the name given to the boy was Silenus. Lysander

1 Probably Ephorus.
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Avcavépos a apxny, Ta AoWTrA Tap éautov mTpoce-
TEKTALVETO Kal ouvuparver, OvK ONéiyoLS Xpe-
pevos ovee pavrous TOU pudov cuvayonarais,
of THY Te pnuny THS yeverews TOD TaLoos els
mor ayuTonTas ™ porryoy, aov Te ovo ex
Acrdav dyTixopicavres els THY Lmdprny Kare-
Badov kal diéametpay, @s €v ypaypacw datrop-
PHToLs UITrO TAY lepéwy pudarrowrTo TAT araLoL
én TIVES xpNs ol, Kat haBeiv ove efeore ToUTOUS
ovo évtuxely Oepurov, él pa Ths apa yeyovas
e& ’Arroddwvos adixotto TO TOAD VY pov@ kal
cuvdnpa tois purdrrovar THS YEVETEWS yvopt-
pov Tapacyeov Kopla arto Tas déATOUS eV als qoav
ol i xpno pol. Tovtwy 6€ T POKATED KEVAG HEVOV eu
TOV LetAnvoy érAOovra TOUS x nT LOUS amavtety
Qs ‘AmddNwvos matoa, Tous é TULTpaTToVTas
TOV lepéov eFax ptBoiv Exacta Kal Scary ave-
obat mept Ths. YEverews, Tédos O€ TETTELG MEVOUS
d70ev Os "ATroAXwVOS Vid betEar Ta ypaupara,
TOV b¢ dvayvavar TOANOV TApovT@v aras TE
pavreias Kal 7s évexa Taha wéeTAaoTaL ‘ THY
Tepl THS Bactrelas, as dewvov ein Kal Awiov
Lnaptiatass € é TOV AGpioT@Y TOALTAY aipoupevots
TOUS Bacireas.
"H6y dé Tov Ledqvod pevpaxiov yeyovoros kal
7 pos THY mpativ 7 HKovTos, elemere TOU Spdparos o 0
voav pos aTOAMG * TOV UTOKPLT@V Kal TUVEpYaV
evs, @S én’ avTo TO epryov nrGev, atrodetAtdoavrTos
Kal avadvvtos. ov pay epopadn ye tov Avodp-
Spov Cavros ovOév, ddA peta Thy TENEUTHD.
1 rhAAa wérAacra the correction of Coraés ; waoa: Bekker : mwAdoa, with the MSS.
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took these circumstances for his foundation, and supplied the rest of his cunning fabric himself, making use of not a few, nor yet insignificant, champions of the tale, who brought the story of the boy’s birth into credit without exciting suspicion. They also brought back another response from Delphi, and caused it to

be circulated in Sparta, which declared that sundry very ancient oracles were kept in secret writings by the priests there, and that it was not possible to get these, nor even lawful to read them, unless someone born of Apollo should come after a long lapse of time, give the keepers an intelligible token of his birth, and obtain the tablets containing the oracles. The way being thus pre- pared, Silenus was to come and demand the oracles as Apollo's son, and the priests who were in the secret were to insist on precise answers to all their questions about his birth, and finally, persuaded, forsooth, that he was the son of Apollo, were to show him the writing. Then Silenus, in the presence ot many witnesses, was to read aloud the prophecies, especially the one relating to the kingdom, for the sake of which the whole scheme had been invented, and which declared that it was more for the honour and interest of the Spartans to choose their kings from the best citizens.

But when at last Silenus was grown to be a youth,
and was ready for the business, Lysander's play was
ruined for him by the cowardice of one of his actors,
or co-workers, who, just as he came to the point,
lost his courage and drew back. However, all this
was actually found out, not while Lysander was alive,
but after his death.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XXVII. 'Everevtnce Sé ply é& 'Acias érrav-
ereiv TOV "Aynotnaor, éuTrec@v els Tov Boww-
TLKOV Tmohepov, i) parrov euBarov THY 'Edd dba.
NévyeTaL yap apporepws: Kal THY aiTiav ot Mev
TEVES €XELVOU Tovovaw, ot be OnBaiwv, ot de
Kony, OnBaiors peev éyeadoortes THY ev AvAtés
TOV LEepa@v Sidppupy Kal ort Tav wept "Avdpo-
KNELONY Kal Apdideor VpPHMLaAcl Bao trrkois dta-
pOapevtor émt T@ Aaxedatpoviots "EXAquicoy
MEpla Theat arédepov éréGevto Pwxevar cal thy
Xepav auTo erropOnaav, Avoav6por 5é pac
opyh hépe Ste ris Sexdrns avTeTornTavTo Tov
TONELOV Onfaio Hover, TOV aGdhov TULLAaX wv
houxavovra, Kal qept Xpnwatov HyavanTnc av
a Avaavdpos eis Lraprny améoTetne, padicta
be emt TS Wapacyxeip apxiv "AOnvaious édevbe-
pOrews a6 TOY TpidKovra Tupdvver, ods Av-
cavdpos peep KaTéaTNGe, Aaxedarpovvot bé Suvapuy
cal doBov avtois ™ poo TLOevTes eynpicavro TOUS
pevyovras é& "AOnvav aryearyipous elvau jTavtTa-
x oben, éxamrovOous dé TOUS €VLT TA LEVOUS TOUS
dyovot. 7 pos TauTa yap avrepnpic avo ©n-
Baiou Yndiopara mpéeTovTa Kat adehpa Tals
'Hpaxréovs rat Atovicou mpageow, oixiay pev
aveoyOar Taocav Kal todww év Bowwtia ToIs

Seopevots "AOnvaiwy, Tov 5€ TO aryopevep guydd.
pn BonOncavra onpiav bet rew Tddavtov, dv
dé Tus "AOnvate d1a Tis Bowwrias émt tos Tupav-
1 In 395 b.c., the aggressions of Sparta led to an alliance between Thebes and Athens against her. In the following year Corinth and Argos joined the alliance, and the whole

XXVII. And he died before Agesilaiis returned from Asia, after he had plunged, or rather had plunged Hellas, into the Boeotian war.! For it is stated in both ways ; and some hold him responsible for the war, others the Thebans, and others both together. It is charged against the Thebans that they cast away the sacrifices at Aulis,? and that, because Androcleides and Amphitheus* had been bribed with the King's money to stir up a war in Greece against the Lace- daemonians, they set upon the Phocians and ravaged their country. It is said, on the other hand, that Lysander was angry with the Thebans because they alone laid claim to a tenth part of the spoils of the' war, while the rest of the allies held their peace ; and because they were indignant about the money which he sent to Sparta; but above all, because they first put the Athenians in the way of freeing them- selves from the thirty tyrants whom he had set up, whose terrorizing power the Lacedaemonians had increased by decreeing that fugitives from Athens might be brought back from every place of refuge, and that all who impeded their return should be declared enemies of Sparta. In reply to this the Thebans issued counter decrees, akin in spirit to the beneficent deeds of Heracles and Dionysus, to the effect that every house and city in Boeotia should be open to such Athenians as needed succour; and that whosoever did not help a fugitive under arrest, should be fined a talent; and that if any one should carry arms

war, which dragged along until 387 B.c., is usually known as
the ‘‘ Corinthian war.'
2 In the spring of 396, when Agesilaiis vainly tried to sacrifice there, in imitation of Agamemnon (Plutarch's A gesilatis, vi. 4-6; Xen. Hell. iii. 4, 3f£., and 5, 5).

3 Cf. Xen. Hell. iii. 5, 1 and 4.

vous émda comity, pLnTe opav Twa @nBaiov pire

4 axoveuv. Kal OUK eynpiaavto pev odTws “EX-
Anuina Kab piravOpora, Tas dé mpages ToIs
ypappacuy | opotas ov _Taperxov, aAAG @pacu-

Bovros Kal of avy avTo Durjy caTaraBovres
éx OnBav apunOncay, Otha Kab XPnwaTa, Kat
To Aabeivy nai To adp~acAat OnBaior avrois
cupTrapacKevac dvTov. aitias péev obv TAUTAS
édaBe cata Tav OnBaiwv o » Nucavdpos.
XXVIII. "H8y dé TayTdaTract Xanrerros dy
opyny bia tH pedaryxortay emuteivouc ay Ets
‘yijpas, Tapwtuve Tous epopous Kab TUvETTELTE
pivas gpovpav én’ avrous, Kal AaBov rhv nye-
poviay éfeaTparevaer. Sorepov dé nal Hav-
caviay Tov Baciréa pera oTpaTLas aTéaTELNAD.
2 adda Ilavcavias peév Kier mepiehDay da TOU
_ KiGarpdvos éuParrev émehdev ets THY Botwriav,
Adcav8pos dé dia Doxéov amrnvTa oTPATLOTAS
EXeov TrodAOUS" Kal THY pev ‘Opxopevioy TOALV
Exovoiws mpooxywpnoacay éraBe, THv Sé AeBa-
devav emeh Ow SueTropOncev. : émepe dé 7™@ Ilav-
cavia Ypaupara KeNevov eis ‘AMaptov ex ITha-
Tawi TUvaT TEL, @S avros Gp npépa 7 pos Tois
TelXeot TOV ‘AMaptiov ryevTT Opevos. TavTa Ta
ypappata ™ pos TOUS On Baious arnvex9n, TOU
Kxopilovros ELS KATAOKOTOUS TLWas euTerovTos.
3 ot dé po BeBonOnxorev avrois ‘AOnvatey THY
pev Tod éxeivors Steriatevoav, avTtot dé mepl
1 Cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 1 f.
2 Lysander was commissioned to raise a force of allies in Phocis and the neighbouring country, with which Pausanias

through Boeotia against the tyrants in Athens, no Theban would either see him or hear about it. And they did not merely vote such Hellenic and humane decrees, without at the same time making their deeds correspond to their edicts; but Thrasybulus and those who with him occupied Phyle, set out from Thebes to do so,! and the Thebans not only provided them with arms and money, but also with secrecy and a base of operations. Such, then, were the grounds of complaint which Lysander had against the Thebans.

XXVIII. And since he was now of an altogether harsh disposition, owing to the melancholy which persisted into his old age, he stirred up the ephors, and persuaded them to fit out an expedition against the Thebans; and assuming the command, he set out on the campaign. Afterwards the ephors sent out

Pausanias the king also with an army. Now it was the plan that Pausanias should make a circuit by the way of Mount Cithaeron, and then invade Boeotia, while Lysander marched through Phocis to meet him, with a large force. He took the city of Orchomenus, which came over to him of its own accord, and assaulted and plundered Lebadeia. Then he sent a letter to Pausanias, bidding him move from Plataea and join forces with him at Haliartus, and promising that he himself would be before the walls of Haliartus at break of day. This letter was brought to Thebes by some scouts, into whose hands its bearer fell. The Thebans therefore entrusted their city to a force of Athenians which had come to their aid, while they themselves set out early in the

was to unite his troops (Xen. Hell. iii. 5, 6). Plutarch's language is obscure.

mpa@tov Umvov eEopynoavres épOacay odiryp TOV Avcav6épor é év 'Addpr YEVOMEVOL, Kar pépet Tul maphrGov Els THY Toy. éxeitvos 5€ TO pev ™p@Tov eyveo TnDv oTpariay idpvaas él Aogpou Te pipevelv TOV Navoaviav: Erre:ta mpoiovons THS T)LEpAS at pepetv ov Suvdpevos, AaBov Ta Stra Kat TOUS ouppayous Tapoppycas OpOip Th parayye Tapa THY odoy YE Wpos TO TELXOS. Tov o€ @nBaiov ot pev é&w pepernicores év apto rep THY OAL Aa Bovres eBadilov em TOUS éoyaTous TOV TOE pLicoy tro thy Kpnynv thy Kiocotcav Tpoaaryopevoperny, év0a pvBoroyotar Tas TeOjvas vATLOV éx THS Noxelas atrohoboat TOV Atovucoy- cal yap OLVwTTOV émaTihBer TO xpBpma Kal Savyes Kal qty Hua Tov. ot bé Kpnovoe oTupaKes ov Tpoow TepiTrepvKacLy, a TeKpHpla THs "Pada- pavOvos avrTods KATOLK HT EOS 'Add priot ToLouy- Tal, cal Taov avrod Sexviovew "ANed Kadodv- TES. éote O€ Kal TO THs "AXKunvns pynmetov eyyus" évtav0a yap, os pace, exndevOn CVVOLK- noaca "Padauavovi peta tHv 'Apditpiwvos TENEUTHD.

Oi 5 év TH Toner OnBaior peta tov 'Adtap- TLV cuvteraypevor TEwS pev novxavov, émel dé TOV Avcavépov & apa Tos WpwroLs mpoomeddlovra ™@ TELNEL KaTetoop, eEamivns | avorEavres Tas TUAAS Kal mpoomecovtes avTov TE peta TOU pavTews «at éBanov Kal TOV adrov dduryous Tuas: oi yap qreloToL Ta éws avéepuyov 1 pos THV parayya. TOY de é On alov OUK avUEVT OY,

ana T poo KeLpeveov avtois, eTpdtrovta TAVTES
dva tovs dodovs devyev, kal yidtoe mimrovew
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night, and succeeded in reaching Haliartus a little before Lysander, and a considerable part of them entered the city. Lysander at first decided to post his army on a hill and wait for Pausanias; then, as the day advanced, being unable to remain inactive, he took his arms, encouraged his allies, and led them along the road in column towards the wall of the city. But those of the Thebans who had remained outside, taking the city on their left, advanced upon the rear of their enemy, at the spring called Cissusa. Here, as the story goes, his nurses bathed the in- fant Dionysus after his birth; for the water has the colour and sparkle of wine, is clear, and very pleasant to the taste. And not far away the Cretan storax- shrub grows in profusion, which the Haliartians regard as a proof that Rhadamanthus once dwelt there; and they show his tomb, which they call Alea. And near by is also the memorial of Alemene ; for she was buried there, as they say, having lived with Rhadamanthus after the death of Amphitryon. But the Thebans inside the city, drawn up in battle array with the Haliartians, kept quiet for some time ; when, however, they saw Lysander with his foremost troops approaching the wall, they suddenly threw open the gate and fell upon them, and killed Lysander himself with his soothsayer, and a few of the rest; for the greater part of them fled swiftly back to the main body. And when the Thebans made no halt, but pressed hard upon them, the whole force turned to the hills in flight, and a thousand of them were slain, Three hundred otf

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aura. dn édavov dé xal OnBator TplaKootot
mpos Ta Tpaxea ral xaptepa Tots Tone pLOLs
cuvextrecovtTes. ovTot 5& Hoav év aitia Tov
haxwvitery, Wy amovddlovres dtodvoacbar Tos
moditats nal oda@v avtav adedovvtes ev TH
bib Eet rapavarwOnoav.
XXIX. Te dé Navoavia To 1a0os aryyehreT at
Kal? odov éx Tdatracav els Ocomas Topevopevep'
Kat cuvTadpevos Hye m™pos TOV 'Adéaptov. HCE
dé kal @pacvBounros é €x OnBor dyov Tous "AGn-
vaious. Bovrevopévov b€ tov Tlavoaviov TOUS
veKpous UToamovdous aTratteir, dvagopobvres ot
mpecBuTepor TOV Lmapriaroy avToi TE nal?
EauTous HryavaKrouy, kal t@ Baciret T Poo Loves
éuaptupavto pn Sa omovday avarpeia Aas Av-
cavdpor, GNA be Om ov wept Tov cawpartos
aywvicapévouvs Kal vixnoavtas odtwm Tov avopa
Odarrew, yTTw@pévoits 5é Kadov évtad0a KeicOat
pera Tod atpatnyod. tadta TOV pec Butépwy

NEYOVT@Y Opav o Tavoavias peya pev prov
vmepBareo bar paxn TOUS @nBatous a apre kexpatn-
KoTas, éyyvs b€ Tav TELX OV TO COpa TOU Av-
oavdpov TAPATETTOKOS, ore anrenrny divev
oTovoay Kal viKn@ow elvat THY dvaipeoty, emeprpe
KnpuKa Kal OTTELT A[LEVvOS anrnyaye THY Svvapy
OTL. TOV dé Avoavépov n ™ p@TOV Kopitovres
Umép Tovs Gpous eyevorto THs Bowwtias év pirn
kal cumpaxioe xepa Th Tavoréwy caTéedecar, ov
yov TO pvnpetov éoTt mapa Tnv odov els Xacpo-
vetav éx Aeddhav TOPEVOpEVOLS.
'Evratéa 8 THs oTpaTias KatavAtcapévns

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the Thebans also lost their lives by pursuing their enemies into rough and dangerous places. These had been accused of favouring the Spartan cause, and in their eagerness to clear themselves of this charge in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, they exposed themselves needlessly in the pursuit, and so threw away their lives.}

XXIX. Tidings of the disaster were brought to Pausanias while he was on the march from Plataea to Thespiae, and putting his army in battle array, he j came to Haliartus. Thrasybulus also came from Thebes, leading his Athenians. But when Pausanias was minded to ask for the bodies of the dead under a truce, the elders of the Spartans could not brook it, and were angry among themselves, and coming to the king, they protested that the body of Lysander must not be taken up under cover of a truce, but by force of arms, in open battle for it; and that if they conquered, then they would give him burial, but if they were vanquished, it would be a glorious thing to lie dead with their general. Such were the words of the elders; but Pausanias saw that it would be a difficult matter to conquer the Thebans, flushed as they were with victory, and that the body of Lysander lay near the walls, so that its recovery would be difficult without a truce, even if they were victorious; he therefore sent a herald, and after making a truce, led his forces back. And as soon as they had come beyond the boundary of Boeotia with Lysander's body, they buried it in the friendly soil of their allies, the Panopeans, where his monument now stands, by the road leading from Delphi to Chaeroneia.

Here the army bivouacked ; and it is said that a

1 Cf. Xen. Hell. iii. 5, 17-20.

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éyerat Twa Tov Pwxéwv € érépp pH Tapatuyovre
TOV aryava Senyoupevov, elev WS ot TONE MLOL
7 ooméootey avtois Tov Avoavdpou tov ‘Omnritny
Hon 6taBeBnxoros. Javpdoarra dé Lmapridryy
dvbpa Tow Avadvipov dtXov épéaOau Tiva Aeyou
TOV ‘Omdirny ov yap eldevar Tovvopa: “Kai pny
éxel ye, " pdvar, “ TOUS porous TeV OL TOAEuLOL
catéBadov. TO yap Tapa TH TOMY petO pov
‘Omrirny KaXovot.” axovoavTa dé Tov 2rap-
TLATHV exdaxpioae Kal evmrety OS did everov éoTLv
avOpa@r@ TO TeTpwpévov. HV yap, as E0LKE, TO
Avodvép@ Sedopévos ypnopos odtas Exar:
‘Onditny Keddbovra purakac bai oe Kedevon
ys te Spdxov?’ vidv dodov KatoTicOev iovta.
tives O€ TOV Onnirqy ov pos ‘Adidpre@ petv
Aeyovawy, ava T™pos Kopavevav Xetpdppouy elvac
TO Pirapo TOTapD ouppepopevov Tapa THY
mor, 8 ov Tara bev ‘Ordiav, pov 6é "loopavtov
Mpocaryopevovaerv. 0 6€ dtroxteivas TOV Adcavdpor
“AMapTeos avnp dvopa Neoxopos emia npov eixe
THS aaridos Opaxovra: Kal TOUTO onpatvey 0
XpNg 140s etxalero. AeyeTat dé Kal OnBaios U76
Tov Tehorovimovanov TONE Lov éy ‘Topnvig ryeve-
cae XpNT pov apa THY Te 7 pos Anrip paynv wal
THY TPOS AmMapre TAUTNY exeivns Dotepov ret
TPLAKOTT@ yEevopevnyv Tpopnvvovta. nv 6€ ToLov-
TOS
’"Eoxyatiay wepvrako AvKOUS KapaKxecot Sox-
Eveov
Kab Aodov "Opyanridny, bv ad@rnk ovmoTe
AeLTreL.
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certain Phocian, recounting the action to another
who was not in it, said that the enemy fell upon
them just after Lysander had crossed the Hoplites.
Then a Spartan, who was a friend of Lysander,
asked in amazement what he meant by Hoplites, for
he did not know the name. “ Indeed it was there,”
said the Phocian, “ that the enemy slew the foremost
of us; for the stream that flows past the city is
called Hoplites.” On hearing this, the Spartan
burst into tears, and said that man could not escape

his destiny. For Lysander, as it appears, had received an oracle running thus :-—

“Be on thy guard, I bid thee, against a sounding Hoplites,
And an earth-born dragon craftily coming behind thee.”

Some, however, say that the Hoplites does not flow before Haliartus, but is a winter torrent near Coroneia, which joins the Philarus and then flows past that city; in former times it was called Hoplias, but now Isomantus. Moreover, the man of Haliartus who killed Lysander, Neochorus by name, had a dragon as emblem on his shield, and to this, it was supposed, the oracle referred. And it is said that the Thebans also, during the Peloponnesian war, received an oracle at the sanctuary of Ismenus which indicated beforehand not only the battle at Delium,} but also this battle at Haliartus, thirty years later. It ran as follows :—

“When thou huntest the wolf with the spear, watch closely the border,
Orchalides, too, the hill which foxes never abandon.”’

1 424 B.C.

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Tov pev ovv rept Andsov ToTov éoxaTiav Tpoc-
etre, Kal” dv 4 Botwtia TH Attixn odvopos éotiv,
"Opxaridny 5€é Addor, dv viv "AX@Trexov Kadovorr,
éy Tois Tpos Tov ‘EXtKkava pépect Tod “AXLapTou
KELpLEVOV. |

XXX. Tosavtns 5é r@ Avoavdp@ tis TedEv-
THs yevouevns Tapayphua pév ovTwS TveyKay ot
Lmaptiatar Bapéws, w@ote TH Bactred xpiowv
mpoypawat Oavaticny: ny ov>x brootas éxetvos
els Teyéav épuye, Kaxet xateBiwoev ixétns ev TO
tepever THS “AOnvas. Kal yap 4 wevia tod Av-
advdpov terevtncavTos éxxarudlecica havepo-
Tépav ETOiNTE THY APETHV, ATO XPHLATOV TOAAGY
Kat duvapews Oeparreias Te TOAEwY Kal Bactiéws
TOCAUTNS MNOE pLKPOV emrLNALTPUVAVTOS TOV OlKOY
els ‘YPNUadTwY Aoyov, ws iaTopet Bedtroptos, ©
PadXov erratvodyTt TucTEevaEev AY TLS fh WéyovTt,

Weyer yap Hdsov 4h érratvei. ypovm oé bartepov
“Egopos yo avtiroyias Twos cuppayiKns év
Lwdptn yevoueyvns, kal Ta ypapyata sa-
oxéacbar Senoay & map éavtT@ Kxatéoyev Oo
Avoavdpos, éXOeiv ert thy oixiay tov Aynoidaov.
evpovta dé To BiBrjLov, év ® yeypappévos Hv o
Wepl THS ToAtTELas AOOS, WS yen TAY EvpuTav-
Tidav Kai "Ayiadav thy Bacirelav aderopévous
els éoov Ocivas nal troveto bas Ti aipeciy ex TOV
apioTwv, opuicas peév eis TOvS TOALTAS TOV NOYOY
é£eveyxetv xal tapadecxvivat tov Avcoavdpor,
olos av ToditTns Svadrabo, Aaxpatiday dé, dvdpa 451
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Now by “border,” the god meant the region about
Delium, where Boeotia is conterminous with Attica ;
and by Orchalides, the hill which is now called
Alopecus, or Fox-Aill, in the parts of Haliartus which
stretch towards Mount Helicon.

XXX. Now that Lysander had met with such an end, at the outset the Spartans were so indignant about it that they summoned the king to trial for his life; but he evaded it, and fled to Tegea, where he spent the rest of his days as a suppliant in the sanctuary of Athena. For the poverty of Lysander, which was discovered at his death, made his ex- cellence more apparent to all, since from the vast wealth and power in his hands, and from the great homage paid him by cities and the Great King, he had not, even in the slightest degree, sought to amass money for the aggrandizement of his family. This is the testimony of Theopompus, who is more to be trusted when he praises than when he blames; for he takes more pleasure in blaming than in praising. But after some time had passed, according to Ephorus, some dispute arose at Sparta with her allies, and it became necessary to inspect the writings which, Lysander had kept by him; for which purpose Agesilaiis went to his house. And when he found the book containing the speech on the constitution,} which argued that the kingship ought to be taken from the Eurypontidae and Agiadae and made acces- sible to all Spartans alike, and that the choice should be made from the best of these, he was eager to pro- duce the speech before his countrymen, and show them what the real character of Lysander’s citizen- ship had been. But Lacratidas, a prudent man, and

1 Cf. chapter xxv. 1.
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dpovipoy Kal TOTe mpoecTatTa TaV épopar, émi-
NaBéoOat Tod ’Aynotddou, Kal ettrety ws Sel py
avoputte tov Avoavédpov, ddAda Kal Tov Aoyov
avT@ ovyKaTopUTTELY OUTW aUYTETaypmEeVvoY TLOAa-
VOS Kal TAaVOUpyws.
Ov pnv adda tds Te GAXaS Timas aTrédocav

avT@ TeAEUTHOAVTL, Kal TOUS pYnoTEVTApévouUS
Tas Ovyatépas, eita peta THhv TedeUTHY TOD
Avo dydpou wévntos eipeBévtos atrevtrapévous éfn-
piwoav, 6Tt TWAOVELOY pev vomilovTes EOepamrevor,
Sixasoy Sé Kal ypnotov ex THs Tevias émiyvovtes
éyxaTéditrov. Hy yap, ws orev, ev YrapTn Kat
ayapiov oixn Kal ovuyapiou nal Kxaxoyapiou:
Tavtn S€ UTAyov pddLoTa Tovs avTl TOY ayabav
Kal oixeiwy Tois TWAovciots KNOEVOVTAaS. TA MeV
ovv Tept Avaavdpov otTws iaTopnocapey Exovta.
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at that time the principal ephor, held Agesilaiis —
back, saying that they ought not to dig Lysander
up again, but rather to bury the speech along with
him, since it was composed with such a subtle per-
suasiveness.
However, they paid him many honours at his
death. In particular, they imposed a fine upon the
men who had engaged to marry his daughters, and
then, after Lysander's death, when he was discovered
to be poor, had renounced the engagement. The
reason given for the fine was that the men had paid
court to Lysander while they thought him rich, but
when his poverty showed them that he was a just
and good man, they forsook him. For there was, as it
appears, a penalty at Sparta not only for not marrying
at all, and for a late marriage, but also for a bad
marriage; and to this last they subjected those
especially who sought alliance with the rich, instead
of with the good and with their -own associates.
Such, then, are the accounts we have found given of
Lysander.
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SULLA

ZYAAA

T Aedxvos be KopvijAsos 2wdAas yéver pev iy
éK TAT pLKLeoV, ods evmarpioas a ay Tus elroL, TOY dé

Tporyovev avTov Aéyouat ‘Pougivoy vTaTevoal,
Kal TOUT dé THs Tomas emupaverTépav yevéo Oat
THY aropiay. etpeOn yap dpyupiou Kothou KEKTN-
pévOS Umep déxa Aitpas, Tov vosov py SSovTos"
emt TouTm O¢ THs BovArts é&érecev. of Se per’
éxetvov 48m Tamewda mpatrovtes SueTékeray, avTos
TE Lwdras € éy ovK aO ovors eTpagy TOUS TATPWOLS.
‘YEvOpEVOS dé perpaxtov @Ke Tap éTépots évolxvov
ov TOAU TEADY, WS Dotepov aveldi lero Tap agiav
evTuyely Soxav. TELVUvOLEVD pev yap avuT@ Kal
peyadnyopobyte pera thv éy AtBin otpateiav
AéyeTai Tes eimety TOV KANBY TE Karyad av avdpor,
“Kal mas av eins ov Xpnaros, Os TOU TATPOS cou
pdev KATANTOVTOS TocavTa KeKTNO aL; ” Kal yap
OvK ert TOV Biwv éy nOeoww opOiats Kat KxaBapois
pevovToy, GAN’ eyKEKLKOTOY kal mapadedey-
péveov Tpudis Kat mohuTeAelas Chrop, els ioov
Gpcos dvetdos ériDevro TOUS Umapxoue ap Sh naed
atroNoavTas Kal TOUS Teviay TaTppay 7) dua
gurafavras. Datepov 5é 4dn KPATOUVTOS avTov
Kat TroAXovs AT OKTLYYUVTOS, arrehevOeptKos av pw-
Tos, Soxav KpuTrrew &va Tov Tpoyeypappeveo
Kal Kataxpnpviler Oar did TobTO péedrwv, wveldice€
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I. Lucius Cornetius Suita belonged to a patrician, or noble, family, and one of his ancestors, Rufinus, is said to have been consul, although he was not so conspicuous for this honour as for the dishonour which he incurred. For he was found to be possessed of more than ten pounds of silver plate, contrary to the law, and was for this reason expelled from the senate. His posterity became at once obscure, and continued so, nor did Sulla himself enjoy a wealthy parentage. When he was a youth, he lived in lodgings, at a low price, and this was afterwards cast in his teeth when men thought him unduly pros- perous. For instance, we are told that when he was putting on boastful airs after his campaign in Libya, a certain nobleman said to him: “ How canst thou be an honest man, when thy father left thee nothing, and yet thou art so rich?” For although the Romans of that time no longer retained their ancient purity and uprightness of life, but had degenerated, and yielded to the appetite for luxury and ex- travagance, they nevertheless held in equal oppro- brium those who lost an inherited wealth and those who forsook an ancestral poverty. And afterwards, when he had at last become absolute in power, and was putting many to death, a freedman, who was thought to be concealing one of the proscribed, and was therefore to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock,

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tov LwaArav srt TOMY Xpovov év pd cuvorxia
dinTa@vto, pépovres évoixtov avros yey Tov dive
Suayudious voUupous, exeLvos be TOV bmoxato
Tploxudious, dare THS TUXNS avr av TO pevagy
xUrLous Elva vOUmpOUS, of mevTnKoVTA Kal Siaxo-
gias Spaxpas “ArriKas Suvavtat. tadta pep ovv
iaTopovot Tepl THS Tahasas TOU dra, TUXNS.
II. Tod 3€ cwpatos avrod 70 pep ado eiSos
él Tov avipiavtov daiverat, THY dé TaV Opparov
YRavKoTnTa Seas TiKpav Kal dixparov ovoay 1)
poa Tov T™poowmou poBepwrépav érroiet 1 poo -
ee eEnvOe yap TO épvOnua TPAXD Kal omopadny
KaTopemeywevov TH AevKoTyTL” mMpos 6 Kal Tob-
vopa Aéyovatv avT@ yevécOat Tis ypoas em iBerov,
Kal TOV "AOnynat yepuplaTa@v emeaKwye Tus eis
TOUTO TroLnaas:
ouxdpivov éo8 o YwrAXas addhito TeTAacpévov.

Tois dé ToLovToLS TOV Texpnpiov OUK aTOTOV éoTe
xpioae mept avdpos, dv ovTH pidooKappova
huces yeyovevar Aéyovew, @oTe véoy péev OvTa Kat
adokov ett pera pipov Kal yeXwrotrooy Sta-
TaaGas Kat cuvaxohactaivew, émret be KUpLOS
amr dvT@v KaTerTN, ouvayayovra TOY amo cKNVTS
Kal Oeatpov Tous (TAaLWTATOUS oonpepau Tiverv
rat StamArnnriver Bas TOUS cKOppATL, TOD TE
7/pws dwporepa pat rey Soxobvta, Kat 7 pos TP
Katara x vrew TO afiopa THS apxiis TONG TOV
Seopeveov emipercias 7 poiguevov. ov yap WV T@
SUAXNa wept Setrvov ovte xpijcacGat orovdaiov
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cast it in his teeth that they had long lived together
in one lodging house, himself renting the upper
rooms at two thousand sesterces,! and Sulla the
lower rooms at three thousand. The difference in
their fortunes, therefore, was only a_ thousand
sesterces, which are equivalent to two hundred arid
fifty Attic drachmas. Such, then, is the account we
find of Sulla’s earlier fortune. ,

II. His personal appearance, in general, is given by his statues ; but the gleam of his gray eyes, which was terribly sharp and powerful, was rendered even more fearful by the complexion of his face. This was covered with coarse blotches of red, interspersed with white. For this reason, they say, his surname was given him because of his complexion, and it was in allusion to this that a scurrilous jester at Athens made the verse :—
Sulla is a mulberry sprinkled o’er with meal.”

Nor is it out of place to mention such testimonies in the case of a man said to have been by nature so fond of raillery, that when he was still young and obscure he spent much time with actors and buffoons and shared their dissolute life; and when he had made himself supreme master, he would daily assemble the most reckless stage and theatre folk to drink and bandy jests with them, although men thought that he disgraced his years, and although he not only dishonoured his high office, but neglected much that required attention. For when Sulla was once at table, he refused to be serious at all, but,

1 In Sulla’s time the sestertius was a silver coin worth between two and three pence, or about five cents.. The Attic

drachma was a silver coin worth about eight pence, or twenty cents.

ovdev, GA’ evepyos dv Kal oxvO pwTroTepos Tape TOV a@Xov Xpovov, aO poay ehauBave peraBor.nv OmTOTE | Tp@tov éauToV eis cvvovolav caTaBarot Kal TOTOV, dare prpmdois Kal opynotais Tacos evar Kal T pos maoav évrevEty Uroxetptos Kal KaTavtns. TAUTNS dé TiS averews Eouke yeyo- vévat voonpa Kal 7 Wpos Tovs épwTas eux épera Kar f puas avTOV TIS prdndovias, iis ovee ynpacas émavaaro, Mytpofiou | dé TaV a6 cKnVIS Twos Epa@v dietéXeoev Ett véos wv. Kal cuynyTnoev avT@ To ToLOvTOV: ap~dpevos yap Epav Kos pév, evmropou oé yuvarkes, 6vopa NexoTorews, Kat dua cuvnderay Kal xdplv, hv ad’ pas elyev, ets épa- pévou oXT pa TepteOay, arent pn. KANpoVvopLos vTO THS avOparrov TENEUTWOONS. exAnpovopunae 6é Kal TH paytputar, ayamnets @amEp vios um auThs: Kal petpios ev a aro TOUT@Y evTropyaen.
III. “Arrodety Gels dé Tapias bmarevovre Mapip

THY Tparny vrrateiay, ouveférevoey els AuBunv
TONE [TO wY "loyopOav. YEvOpEVOS 5é én oT paro-
TEOOU TA TE aha, Tapeiyev EQUTOV _evddK por, Kat
Katp@ TapaTerovTe Xpnodpevos eD dirov érroun-
ATO TOV TOV Nopadov Bactiéa Boxxov. Tpea-
Beutas yap avrod AnoTnpLov Nopadicoy expuyov-
Tas brrobeEdpevos Kat prrogpovndeis, daipa Kat
TOMMY acdanry TaApacxXev aTréa TELAEV. 0 dé
OKXOS éTUyyave pev ETL ye Wwanrat yauBpov 6 ovTa
puowy Kat poBovpevos TOV "loyop0ay, tote 5é
nTTnweve Kal mepevyore ™ pos avtov émuBovrevwy
éxadet Tov YWAXav, & exelvou padtota Bovdo-
1 1 véos &v before this phrase Bekker assumes a lacuna in the text; Sintenis would transpose it to follow apiduevos ydp.
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although at other times he was a man of business and wore an austere look, he underwent a complete change as soon as he betook himself to good-fellowship and drinking, so that comic singers and dancers found him anything but ferocious, and ready to listen and yield to every request. It was this laxity, as it seems, which produced in him a°* diseased propensity to amorous indulgence and an unrestrained voluptuousness, from which he did not refrain even in his old age, but continued his youthful love for Metrobius, an actor.1 He also had the following experience. He began by loving a common but wealthy woman, Nicopolis by name, and such was the charm of his intimacy and youthful grace that in the end he was beloved by her, and was left her heir when she died. He also inherited the property of his step-mother, who loved him as her own son. By these means he became moderately well off.

III. Having been appointed quaestor to Marius in his first consulship,? he sailed with him to Libya, to make war upon Jugurtha. He was put in charge of the camp, and won great credit for himself, _ especially by improving a favourable opportunity and making a friend of Bocchus, the king of Numidia. For he hospitably entertained ambassadors of the king, who had escaped from Numidian robbers, and sent them on their way with gifts,and a safe escort. Now Bocchus had for a long time hated and feared his son-in-law, Jugurtha, who had been defeated and lad fled to him for safety, and was then plotting against him. He therefore invited Sulla to come

1 The sense of the obscure Greek is clear from chapter xxxvi. l fin. Capps suggests ds... . dv. 2 107 B.c.

Pevos THV oun An Kal mapasoow Tov "loydp6a
yever Oa 7 H ov avtov. KOLVWTELEVOS dé TO Mapip
Kal AaBov TT PATLOTAS odious 6 YwvAdAas TOV
peéytorov bmredu xivduvov, 6 OTL BapBapg | Kal mpos
TOUS oiKeloTaTous amiate WioTEVOAS, vTép Tob
3 maparaBelv Erepov éavtov évexeipioer. ov pany
ara o Boxxos apport épeov KUptos YEVOMEVOS, Kal
KaTagThaas éauTov ets avaryeny TOU Ta,pacmov-
Sfjoae Tov erepon, Kal TONG Sievex Gels TH youn,
TENOS exvpwce THY Tperny mposoctay Kal Wape-
dwoxe TO BAG TOV "ToyopOav. 0 pev ovv Opi-
apRevav érrl TOUT® Mapuos nv, » d€ d0&a Tov
catoplaparos, iy O Mapiov POovos SvANG
4 mpoceriBet,. WapeNvirel TOV Mépoy HOUXT. Kal
yap auTos 0 LuAras puae. TE peyahavxos Ov Kal
TOTE TpaTov ék Btov TATELVOD Kat aryVOTOS év
TiVL NOY@ yeyoves Tapa Tois ToAiTats, Kal TOD
Tipaa Bau yevopevos, eis TOUTO diAoTimias 7 ponnr-
Oev doe yruypdpevos éy Saxturim popely etxova
THS mpagews, Kal TaUTH YE Xpwpevos del dueré-
Aecev. Hv 5é 4 ypady Boxxos fev Trapadioouvs,
. BWwrras be TraparapBivey TOV "I oryop0av.
IV. "Hvia pev ouv TadTa Tov Mapior- ére dé
TYOUpEVOS édaTrova TOU pOoveia Aart TOV DwAXaY,
éyphTo Wpos Tas oTpaTelas, TO pev devTepov
UTAaTEvoY mpeo Beuth, To O€ TpiToV Kea pxy, | Kal
Tora oe éxetvdv TOV Xenoipov xkatwp0odTo.
a peo Bevav TE yap nryeuova, Textoodywv Koma -
Nov etre, Kat xedvapxyev peya Kal TroAvav8 pwrov
eOvos Mapaovs emreLoe dirous yevea Bar Kal cup
2 waxous "Pwpaiwov. éx 5& to'twy tov Mapiov 453
33°

to him, wishing to have the seizure and surrender of Jugurtha effected through Sulfa rather than through himself. Sulla imparted the matter to Marius, and taking with him a few soldiers, under- went the greatest peril; he put faith in a Barbarian, and one who was faithless towards his own relations, and to secure his surrender of another, placed himself in his hands. However, Bocchus, now that he had both in his power,

and had laid himself under the necessity of proving false to one or the other, although he vacillated long, finally decided upon his original betrayal, and handed Jugurtha over to Sulla. It is true that the one who celebrated a triumph for this was Marius, but those who envied him attributed the glory of the success to Sulla, and this secretly annoyed Marius. And indeed Sulla himself was naturally vainglorious, and now that he had for the first time emerged from his lowly and _ obscure condition and become of some account among his countrymen, and was enjoying a taste of honour, he was arrogant enough to have a representation of his exploit engraved on a seal-ring which he wore, and continued to use it ever after. The device was, Bocchus delivering, and Sulla receiving, Jugurtha. IV. Of course this distressed Marius ; but since he considered Sulla to be beneath his envy, he used him. in his campaigns, during his second consulship as legate, or lieutenant, and during his third as military tribune, and through his agency performed many successful services. For instance, as legate, Sulla captured Copillus, chieftain of the Tectosages; and as tribune, he persuaded the great and populous nation of the Marsi to become friends and allies of Rome. But perceiving that Marius was vexed with

aicO omevos dy opevov avT@ Kal pnKere mpoie-
pevov noéws Tpdkewy adoppds, adra éviaT dpevov
TH avnaet, Karig, TO cuvapxovTe TOU Mapiov,
T poo everpev éaurov, avdpi XpneT@ } ev, auprv-
TEp@ 5é mpos TOUS aryavas. ud ov Ta Tpara Kat
peyote, TLOTEVOMEVOS | els Sbvapev dua S0&n
T pore. Kad TOAe mM ev aipet ToNU pépos TOV év
tals "AMtrect BapRapur, émidTrovens 6é Tis
aryopas avadcEdpevos THY emiperevay TOOAaUTHY
émoinoe Tmepuovatay, @oTE TOV Karhov oTPATLO-
Tov év a Govors Stayovtwy Kal Tots Maptov
mpoaTapacyeiy. ep 3 ono avTOS LoyuUpas
aviacat Tov Mdpiov. 7 pév ovv éxOpa Bpaxetay
ovTw Kal peepaxrady Aa Bodoa THY mporny vmr0-
Oeow Kal apxny, eita Xwpotoa d:° aipatos
euudiou Kal oT daewy avnker Tov él Tupavvida
Kal auyxvow GT aVTOV TMpayyatay, amederte TOV
Evpiriény copov dvépa Kal ToAditiK@V émLoTN-
pova VOONMATOV, dtaxeXeva dpevov purdrreabat
THY pirorepiay as oheO prorat ny Kal KaKiotnV
Saipova Tois Xpwpévors.
Vv. ‘O & LvAAas olopevos auTe THY ATO TOV
TONE MLK DY bo€av é éml Tas ToNTLKaS mpakes Stap-
Keiy, kat dovs éautov aro THS oTparelas evOds emt
Thv TOD OnjLov mpakiv, € emt oT paThyiay TOM TERY
ameypayyaro Kat SiepedaOn THY 8 airiay Tots
bxrous avatiOnar. onal yap autous THY Tpos

Boxxov elooTas purtay, Kat mpoadexouevous, él
Tpo THS oTpaTHYylas ayopavomoin, KUYnyéota Aap-
' In his Memoirs. Cf. chapter vi. 5.
2 Phocnissac, 532 ff. (Kirchhoff).

him for these successes, and that he was no longer glad to give him opportunities for action, but opposed his advancement, he attached himself to Catulus, the colleague of Marius in the consulship, a worthy man, but too sluggish for arduous contests. By him he was entrusted with the leading and most important enterprises, and rose to power and fame. He not only subdued in war a large part of the Barbarians of the Alps, but when provisions ran low, he undertook the task of furnishing them, and made them so abundant that the soldiers of Catulus lived in plenty, and had some to spare for those of Marius. At this, as Sulla himself says,1 Marius was greatly distressed. So slight and puerile were the first foundations and occasions of that hatred between them, which afterwards led them through civil bloodshed and irreparable discords to tyranny and the confusion of the whole state. This proved that Euripides was a wise man, and acquainted with the distempers of civil government, when he exhorted men to beware of ambition as a Getty most injurious and fatal to its votaries.?

V. Sulla now thought that the reputation which he had won in war was sufficient to justify political activities, and therefore at once exchanged military service for public life,' offered himself as a candidate for the city praetorship, and was defeated. The responsibility for his defeat, however, he lays upon the populace. They knew, he says, about his friendship with Bocchus, and expected that if he should be made aedile before his praetorship, he would treat them to splendid hunting scenes and

3 He returned to Rome in 101 B.c., and waselected praetor
in 93 B.C.

apa kat AtBuxdv Onpiwv ayavas, érépovs atro-
detEar oTpaTnyous WS AUTOY ayopavopety avayKa-
covtas. éoxe S€ THY aAnOA THS arroTedEews
aitiav ovy oporoyav o YwArdAas érdéyyeoOae tots
Tpadyuaci. éviavT@ yap KaToTW éeTvye TIS
otparnyias, Tod Sypyou To wév tt Oepatreia, TO Sé
Kal Xpnpact tpocayayouevos. S10 67 Kal otpatn-
yodvtos avtod, kal mpos Kaicapa pet' opyis
ELTOVTOS WS XpHoETAL TH LOia mpos avTov éEovoia,
yerdoas 0 Kaicap, "'Op0as," &dn, "thy apxynv
idiav vouivers: Exes yap avTHY TpLdpeEvos.
Mera b€ thy otpatnylav eis THY Karmasdsoxiav
aTOoTEANETAL, TOV pev Euhavhn AOyov EXwY TpOS

Thv otpateiav "AptoSapldavnv natayayety, aitiav
dé adn8n MiOpiddtnv emicxeivy trodvTpay-
povouvta Kal meptBarXopevoy apxny Kai dvvayty
oUK é€XaTTOVAa THS UTapxovans. diay peéy ovUV
Sivapv od modAnV émnyeTo, Ypnadpevos dé Tots
cuppayols mpoOvpols, Kal aroNNOUS pev aUTOV
Karrasorav, mi«iovas § adOts "Appeviov mpoa-
BonOodvtas atroxtetvas, Topdtov pev é&nracev,
"AptoBaplarny 5é amédeake Bacinéa.
AvatpiBovtt 5é av’t@ Tapa tov Evdparny
éytuyxyaver Idp0os ’OpoBatos, ’Apodxov Bact-
A€ws mpeaRevtys, oUTw MpoTepov AAAS éTrL-
peplywevov TOV yevov' GAA Kal TovTO THs pe-
yarns Soxed AAA TUYNS yevéoOal, TO TPwT@
‘Papaiwy éxeivy LdpOous cuppayias cal dirias
deouévous Sia rAOywv EdOciv. Ste Kal réyeraL
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combats of Libyan wild beasts, and _ theretore appointed others to the praetorship, in order to force him into the aedileship. But subsequent events would seem to show that Sulla does not confess the real reason for his failure. For in the following year he obtained the praetorship, partly because he was subservient to the people, and partly because he used money to win their support. And so it happened that, during his praetorship, when he angrily told Caesar! that he would use his own authority against him, Caesar laughed and said: “You do well to consider the office your own, for you bought it.”

After his praetorship, he was sent out to Cappadocia, ostensibly to reinstate Ariobarzanes, but really to check the restless activities of Mithridates, who was adding to his dominion and power fully as much as he had inherited. Accordingly, he took out with him no large force of his own, but made use of the allies, whom he found eager to serve him, and after slaying many of the Cappadocians themselves, and yet more of the Armenians who came to their aid, he drove out Gordius, and made Ariobarzanes king again. | ;

As he lingered on the banks of the Euphrates, he received a visit fram Orobazus, a Parthian, who came

as’an ambassador from king Arsaces, although up to this time the two nations had held no intercourse with one another. This also is thought to have been part of Sulla’s great good fortune, that he should be the first Roman with whom the Parthians held con- ference when they wanted alliance and friendship

1 Not the dictator, who was only seven years old at this time.

T pels Sid pous mpoGépevos, TOV pev “A ptoBaplavn, tov 6€ ‘OpoBdfe, tov dé avTe, pécos appotv Kabelopuevos Xpnwariver. ép’ @ TOV pev Opo- Bafov batepov 0 TOV TlapOav Bacrrevs amé- KTewve, TOV dé YAAaY ot pev éemnverav évtpupy- cavta Tois BapBapors, of Se as popticoy HTedoavTo Kal a dxaipas plroripor. ia TopelTar dé Tis avnp TOY peta ‘OpoBafou cataBeBnKoran, Xarsaios, els TO TOU YWwAAa T pg wrrov aniav Kal Tais KWHoETE (THs Te Savoias eat Too Toya TOS ov Tapépyas emiaTiaas, aNAA pos TAS THS TEXYNS Umobéaes THY puow eTuaKerapevos, eiTety @S avayKaiov ein TovTOY TOV avdpa peyio- TOV ryevéo Gat, Javpatew bé Kal viv TOS avéxeTa py TPOTOs Oy ATaVTWV. avaxwpnoavte dé aur dixny édhaxe Swpav Kyvowpivos, @S TOAAA xPH- pata TUVELNOXOTE Tapa Tov vowov ex pidns Kal oUppaxov Bacireias. ov pnp aT VTNG EV éml TH Kpiowv, aX» anéatn THS KaTnyopias.

VI. ‘H pévro mpos Mdpiov avt@ ardaus avep- peifero KaLvny vmobeow haBovoa THY Boxxov prrorimiay, Os Tov Te Onpwov apa. Jepaevev év ‘Popp Kal TO LAG XaprCowevos aveOnne elKovas? év Kamitoni Tpomaropépous Kal Tap avtais “puc our ‘ToyopOav td éavtod YvAra mapadido- pevov. eh @ TOU Mapiov BapvOvpoupévov Kat Kadaupetv EmuxerpovvTos, ET Epo dé apuvev TO LuANa, Kat TIS TOAEWS écov ovTrw Siaxexavpevns vn’ dupoir, O oUppaxLKds TOAELOS TAaNaAL TUPO-

1 eixdvas Coraés, Sintenis', and Bekker, with the MSS.

Sintenis? adopts Cobet’s correction to Nixas (Victories), to agree with Marius, xxxii. 2.

On this occasion, too, it is said that he ordered three chairs to be set, one for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and one for himself, and that he sat between them both and gave them audience. For this the king of Parthia afterwards put Orobazus to death ; and while some people commended Sulla for the airs which he assumed with the Barbarians, others accused him of vulgarity and ill-timed arro- gance. It is also recorded that a certain man in the retinue of Orobazus, a Chaldaean, after looking Sulla intently in the face, and studying carefully the movements of his mind and body, and investigating his nature according to the principles of his peculiar art, declared that this man must of necessity become the greatest in the world, and that even now the wonder was that he consented not to be first of all men. When Sulla came back to Rome, however, Censorinus brought suit against him for bribery, alleging that he had collected large sums of money . illegally from a friendly and allied kingdom. How- ever, Censorinus did not put in an appearance at the trial, but dropped his impeachment.

VI. Moreover, Sulla’s quarrel with Marius broke out afresh on being supplied with fresh material by the ambition of Bocchus, who, desiring to please the people at Rome, and at the same time to gratify Sulla, dedicated on the Capitol some images bearing trophies, and beside them gilded figures representing Jugurtha being surrendered by Bocchus to Sulla. Thereupon Marius was very angry, and tried to have the figures taken down, but others were minded to aid Sulla in opposing this, and the city was all but in flames with their dispute, when the Social war,!

1 90-89 B.c., following the revolt of Rome’s Italian allies.

Hevos él THY TOA avadap Was TOTE THY oTaoLW
erécyev. ev TOUT@, PEYiOT@ Kal TOLKINWTAT@
yevouev@m Kal wréloTa Kxaxa xal BaputTatous
mapacxovT. Kxwduvouvs ‘Pwpaiow, Madpios pev
ovdev awodciEas péya Suvnbels rAEyXE THY TroOXeE-
\ > ‘\ b] A ec / / 4
pLKnY apeTiy axpns Kal pouny Seouévny, {vAras
dé mora Spdcas a&va Aoyou Sokav Exyev iHrye-
povos pweyaXou peéev Tapa Tots ToNTaLs, weyiaToU
Sé mapa tois Pidous, evtuyertatouv Sé Kal Tapa
A b) A 9 >] b 4 > AN f A
3 Trois éyOpois. GAN’ ov“ Errale TavTo Tipolé~ TO
tov Kovwvos, ds, els THY TUYNY avTOD Ta KaTOp-
Oopata tav éyOpov TiWenévwv Kai ypadovtev év
mivakt Kotuwpevov éxetvov, tThv b€ Toyny duti@
\ ’ / ’ 7 \

Tas qwoNes meptBadrXovGay, aypoxtCopevos Kat
YanreTaivwv mpos TOs TAVTA ToLobVTAS WS aTrO-
OTEpOUpEVOS UT avTaY THS emi Tais mpdkeot SoEns,
éhn ToTé pos TOV OHpov, érravnKwVv éx oTpaTelas
2 4 } , ce? a 4
ev Keywpnnévas Soxovons, “’AdXAA Tad’TNS ye
Ths otpateias ovdév, avdpes "AOnvain, tH TVX
, 39 \ ‘ \ @ ef
4 péteotl. mpos Tupobecov pév otv ghaciw otto
dhavévta pirotipov avtiperpaxieverOat Td Saipo-
C4 \ wv n Jf 9 \Y o&
viov, MoTE pnodev ETL TPGEaL AauT POV, GAAA GdWS
amotuyyYavovTa tais mpdkeot kal mpoaxpovovta
TO Synum Tédros extreceiy THs TOAEWS* BAXas Oé
ov povoy ndéws Tpoatéyevos TOY ToLODTOV evdaL-
povicnov Kal SArov, adda Kal cuvavEwv Kal
cuveTrBeidlwv Ta WpaTTopeva, THS TUYNs &€FF-
TTeEV, elTe KOMT@ YpwpeEvos €l6’ odTwWS ExwY TH
5 do€n mpos TO Oeiov. Kal yap év Tots bTopynpact
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which had long been smouldering, blazed up against the city and put a stop for the time being to the quarrel. In this war, which proved of the greatest moment and most varied fortunes, and brought innumerable mischiefs and the gravest perils upon the Romans, Marius was unable to render any great service, and proved that military excellence requires a man’s highest strength and vigour. Sulla, on the other hand, did much that was memorable, and achieved the reputation of a great leader among his fellow-citizens, that of the greatest of leaders among his friends, and that of the most fortunate even among his enemies. But he did not feel about this as Timotheus the son of Conon did, who, when his adversaries ascribed his successes to Fortune, and had him represented in a painting as lying asleep, while Fortune cast her net about the cities, was rudely angry with those who had done this, because, as he thought, they were robbing him of the glory due to his exploits, and said to the people once, on returning from a campaign in which he was thought to have been successful: “In this campaign, at least, men of Athens, Fortune has no share.”” Upon Timotheus, then, who had shown himself so covetous of honour, the deity is said to have requited his youthful petulance, so that from that time on he did nothing brilliant, but miscarried in all his undertakings, gave offence to the people, and was finally banished the city ; whereas Sulla not only accepted with pleasure such felicitations and admiration, but actually joined in magnifying the aid of Heaven in what he did, and gave the credit of it to Fortune, either out of boast-fulness, or because he had such a belief in the divine agency. For in his Memoirs he writes

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z 2

yévpagev bre TOV Kaas avT@ BeBovreba ba
oKoWWTOD ai Li) KATA Yyo"Nv, GAO 7 pos Katpov
TOT OAM [LEVAL m pagers ememrTov els dpewvov. ert
dé Kal 80’ ov onoe qT pos TOXNY ed _Tepuxevat pan-
Nov 7 7) ™ pos TONE MOY, TH TUX THS apeTiis ™ Nov
eouxe ve mew Kal dheos é@uTOV Tov Satpovos moved,
bs ye Kal THS TWpos MéredAov opovotas, to Ortwov
avd pa Kal KndeaT HY, € evTuxiav Tia Oevay aitratas:
TOANa yap avT@ Tm paypata Tmapéetew emidofov
ota, ™pQoTaTov éy TH Kowvavia ryever Oar THs
apxX7s. eTl be Aeveorro pev év Tots Tro)
pact, dv éxeiv@ THY ypadny avarebetce, Tapatvei
pndey od tas aryeta Bau BéBatov ws 6 te av auT@
mpoatdtn VUKTMP TO Sarpoviov. ex Tre LTOMEVOU
dé avtou pera Suvdpews eis TOV | TULpay LKOV
TOE Lov taropel xaopa THis ys peya yevéo Gat
mept AaBepyny éx &€ TouvTou mp avaBrdoat
TONU Kal proya apt pav oTnpicat 7 pos TOV
ovpavov. eimeiv 8% nal Tovs padvrecs @S avnp
ayabos dyer dtaopos Kal mepiTTos apkas anah-
Aa€er TH Tonret TApAaXas Tas ma pouoas. TovTov
6€ avrov elvat onow o LwAras- THS pev yap
dypews iStov elvat TO wept THY Kony Xpuownor,
apetnv Sé ovK aicxuver Bas papTupay eavT@ per
mpagers Karas oUTw Kal peydAas. Tadta peév
ouv Tepl THS Geornros.
Tov dé aAXov TpoTor avepanros Tis éouxe
yeyovevar kal Stddopos mpos éavtor, adedéa Bat
TOAAA, YapiaacIat Trelova, TUMAT AL Taparhoyas,
maparoyws épuBpica, Oepareverv av Séo70,
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that, of the undertakings which men thought well- advised, those upon which he had boldly ventured, not after deliberation, but on the spur of the moment, turned out for the better. And further, from what he says about his being well endowed by nature for Fortune rather than for war, he seems to attribute more to Fortune than to his own excellence, and to make himself entirely the creature of this deity, since he accounts even his concord with Metellus, a man his equal in rank, and a relative by marriage, a piece of divine felicity ; for whereas he expected much annoyance from him as a colleague in office, he found him most obliging. And still further, in the dedication of his Memoirs to Lucullus, he advises him to deem nothing so secure as what the divine power enjoins upon him in his dreams. And he relates that when he was dispatched with an army to the Social war, a great chasm in the earth opened near Laverna, from

which a great quantity of fire burst forth and a bright flame towered up towards the heavens ; whereupon the soothsayers declared that a brave man, of rare courage and surpassing appear- ance, was to take the government in hand and free the city from its present troubles. And Sulla says that he himself was this man, for his golden head of hair gave him a singular appearance, and as for bravery, he was not ashamed to testify in his own behalf, after such great and noble deeds as he had performed. So much, then, regarding his attitude towards the divine powers.

In other respects he seems to have been of very uneven character, and at variance with himself; he robbed much, but gave more ; bestowed his honours unexpectedly, as unexpectedly his insults; fawned on

Opurrrec Bar ™ pos Tovs Seopévous, @ dare ayvocia bat TOTEpOV UITEpOTT NS pvoes padov n Kohat ryeryove.

8 THY pev yap év Tais Tipe pias dvouadiar, ef Ov
eruxev QiTL@V arrotupmavilovTos avrou Kab 1randw
7a péeyloTa TOY adianuarov mpaas pépovros,
Kal SiaddarTouévou peep éml Tots aynKerTOLs peta
evKoNlas, 7a 5é puxpa cat paira TpoaKpovc para
opayais Kat Snwevoeow ova Ley HeTLOvTOS, oUTOS
ay TLS SravTacevev Qs puoer ev opyny yanerrov
dvTa Kat TLMMPNTLCOY, Uptepevov dé THiS mixpias
9 hoyio pe Tpos TO cupépor. ev aUT@ ye TOUT@
TO TUMPAXLKGD TOMO TOY OTPATLWTODY avuTov
oT para y UK Ov avopa wpecBevtnv, AdPivov dvopa,
Evrous Kat riBots Siaxpnoapevarr, maphie Kal
OUK emeEHN ev adiknpa Toa obTOD, anrja Kal
TE LYUVOMEVOS dredidou Aoyou @S mpoOuporépors
bid TOUTO Xxprcouro T pos TOV TrOAELOV avrois
Leo pévors TO adpaptnua ov avppayabias. tav &
éyKANOUVTMV OUdEV eppovricer, aria 78 KaTanrd-
oa Mdpvuov Stavooupevos al Tov Mpos TOUS TUpL-
paxous mohewou Tédos exe SoxodvTos arr obet-
xO fvat oTpaTnyos ért MiOpudarny, EOeparreve THv
bd' eauT@ oTpariay.
10 Kai mapeOov eis THY TOALY UTraTos pev amro-
SelxvuTas pera Koivrou Toumniov, TEVTNKOVTA
érn yeyoves, yapei d€ ydapov évdoforarov Kar-
Kidiay Th MeréAAov Guyarépa Tob apxvepews.
éf & ToAAd _HeD es atop moov ot Snpotexol,
rronRol bé Tay TPOTOY EVELETOV, | ovK akvov
HYOUMEVOL THS yuvatKos Ov aEov UTaTelas Expivay,

1 In 88 B.c.
2 In the seventy-seventh, one of the lost books.
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those he needed, but gave himself airs towards those who needed him; so that one cannot tell whether he was more inclined by nature to disdain or flattery. For as regards the irregularity of his punishments, cudgelling to death as he did on any chance grounds, and again gently submitting to the greatest wrongs ; readily open to reconciliation after the most irre- parable injuries, but visiting small and insignificant offences with death and confiscation of goods; here one might decide that he was naturally of a stern and revengeful temper, but relaxed his severity out of calculating regard for his interests. In this very Social war, for example, when his soldiers with clubs and stones did to death a legate, a man of praetorian dignity, Albinus by name, he passed over without punishment this flagrant crime, and solemnly passed the word about that he would find his men more ready and willing for the war on account of this transgression, since they would try to atone for it by their bravery. To those who censured the crime he paid no heed, but purposing already to put down the power of Marius and, now that the Social war was thought to be at an end, to get himself appointed general against Mithridates, he treated the soldiers under him with deference.

When he returned to the city, he was appointed consul with Quintus Pompeius,)} in the fiftieth year of his age, and made a most illustrious marriage with Caecilia, the daughter of Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus. On the theme of this marriage many verses were sung in ridicule of him by the common people, and many of the leading men were indignant at it, deeming him, as Livy says,? unworthy of the woman although they had judged him worthy of the

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e €
ll ws dyow o Tiros. ov povny &€ TavTny éynper,
b) A , A "4 , A >] 4 ”
GNAG TpwTHY peVv ETL pe_paKiov wv IdLay EayxeE
Thv Kal Ouydtpiov avT@ TeKovcay, Elta pet
éxetynv Aidav: tpitny Sé Krotnriav, fy ateméu-
\ a)
ato yey ws oteipay évtipws Kal pet’ evdynpias
- A 9 ,
Kat dpa mpocbeis, drdéiyats 8€ DoTtepov 1pépats
\ a“ \
ayaryouevos thy MeréAXav edoke Sa tTodTO THY
12 KArorAtav od Karas aitidcacOar. tiv pévTot
MeréAXav év waot Ocparretwv SdrerérXeoev, WoTE

\ N e , “A 4 \ ,
Kat Tov Pwpaiwy djpov, Ste Tovs wept Maptov
guydbas éreOvper Katayayely, apvouvpévov tov
LvAra, Seopevov éeruBoncacbar tHhv MerédXav.
997 \ N a 3 , e \ \ osm
éddxet 6€ kal Trois "AOnvaios EX@v TO doTU Tpoc-
a ; / 14 \ , 2 oN
eveXOjvat tpayvtepov, Ott tTHv MerédAXay aro
a / \
Tov Teiyous yepupivovtes éXoLdopnoav. adda
TavTa wév UaTtepov.
VII. Tote 8€ tiv vmatetay mpos Ta pédXdOVTA
\ nA \ A
PiKpov ayoupevos, erTonto TH yveun jwpos TOV
\ / bd la \ b) a
MiOpidatixov moAenov. avtavictato Sé avT@
Maptos vio Sofopuavias Kal dirotipias, aynpatov
TaQ@v, avnp TO Te compat. Bapus Kal Tais
évayxXos atreipnkas otpatetas 1d ynpas éxdnpwv
2 xai Siatovtioy trodtéuov édiduevos. Kal Tod
, \ ? a / € ,
LUAAa pos Tas émdiTels mpdkes opynoavTos
aA /
els TO oTpatoTredov, avTos oikoupaV éTeKTaiveTo
\ e
THY OACOpiwTaTHy exeivnyv Kai Goa cipmavTes ot
e
Todeuoe THv “Popny ovx éBdaay atrepyaca-
a 4
pévny otdoty, ws Kai To Satpovov avTots m1 poEean-
pnve. wip pev yap avtopatov ex Tav TA onpeia
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consulship. And this was not the only woman
whom he married, but. first, when he was still a
stripling, he took Ilia to wife, and she bore him a
daughter ; then Aelia, after her ; and thirdly, Cloelia,
whom he divorced for barrenness, honourably, and
with words of praise, to which he added gifts. But
since he married Metella only a few days afterwards,
he was thought to have accused Cloelia unfairly.
To Metella, however, he always showed great de-
ference in all things, so that the Roman people,

when it longed for the restoration of the exiled partisans of Marius, and Sulla refused it, in its need called upon Metella for aid. It was thought also that when he took the city of Athens, he treated its people' more harshly because they had scurrilously abused Metella from the walls. But this was later.) |

VII. At the time of which I speak, deeming the consulship a slight matter in comparison with things to come, his thoughts soared to the Mithridatic war. But here he found a rival in Marius, who was possessed by ambition and a mad desire for fame, those never ageing passions. He was now unwieldy ' in body, and in the recent campaigns had given up service on account of his age, and yet set his heart upon foreign wars beyond theseas. And when Sulla had set out for his camp on unfinished business,? he himself kept at home and contrived that most fatal sedition, which wrought Rome more harm than all her wars together had done, as indeed the heavenly powers foreshowed to them. For fire broke forth of its own accord from the staves which supported

1 Cf. chapter xiii. 1.
2 Sulla was occupied with the siege of Nola, in Campania.

Sopatwv iropepovtoy dvéhape kal Kates BéaOn ponss, KopaKes 5é tpeis Tous veora ous els THY oOov ™ poaryaryovTes KaTépayon, ta 6é Aeinpava may els THY peor aay avnveyxav. Kal puav bé év LEep@ Xpuaov avaKel evov Siadaryovrov piay ot Cdxopot wayn Ondevay AapBavovary, 7 a) 6e év aur Th mayn Texodoa TEVTE KATAVANWCE Ta, Tpla.. TO 58 mavTov peyLarop, é& avepéhov Kat Scaipou Tov TEPLEXOVTOS AXNGE oe TAahTUyyos ogy amoteivouca Kal Opnvedy Pboyyov, dare mavras exppovas yevécOar Ka Katam Tear 61a TO Beye Gos. Tuppnvav dé ob Aoyeoe petaBomny érépov yevous amrepaivovTo Kal peTaKoo ppnow arroonpat-yew TO Tépas. Elva uev yap oxTeD 1 ra cupTavTa yevn, Siapépovta Tois Biows Kal Tous nOeow adr Lov, exdatw b€ apwpicbar Xpovev aptO pov io tou Oeov CULT PALO LEvOD éviavTov peydXov Tepid. Kal oTav airy oXn TéENOS, érépas evi Tapevns KivetcOat Tt onpetov ée ys 7 ovpavod Savpdovor, as O7jAov elvat ToIS me pov-TUKOGL Ta TOLAUTA Kal pepadnnoaw evdus 6 Ort Kat TpoTrots addous Kat Bious avO pwrrot Xpw@pevor yeyovact, Kat Oeois HTTOV i) Haddov TOV Tpo-

TEp@V pédoves. Ta TE yap adXAa dhaciv év TH
TOV yeveoy apeiyrer hapBavery peyddas KALVOTO-
pias, Kal THY pavTLeny TOTE pLev avferBar TH
Ton Kal _Kkatartuyy dave Tals Tpoaryopevaeat,
xadapa Kal pavepa onpeta Tov Oatpoviou T poTre j.-
TovTos, avbis o éy érépp ry évet TaTrELVe TpaTrey,
avtooyédiov ovoay Ta TroAAa Kai 8 apudpar
1 dere before this word Sintenis? reads dyépdxwy, after
Suidas.
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the ensigns, and was with difficulty extinguished ; and three ravens brought their young forth into the street and devoured them, and then carried the remains back again into their nest ; and after mice had gnawed consecrated gold in a temple, the keepers caught one of them, a female, in a trap, and in the very trap she brought forth five young ones, and ate up three of them. But most im- portant of all, out of a cloudless and clear air there rang out the voice of a trumpet, prolonging a shrill and dismal note, so that all were amazed and terrified at its loudness. The Tuscan wise men declared that the prodigy foretokened a change of conditions and the advent of a new age. For according to them there are eight ages in all, differing from one another in the lives and customs of men, and to each of these God has appointed a definite number of times and seasons, which is completed by the circuit of a great year. And whenever this circuit has run out, and another begins, some wonderful sign is sent from earth or heaven, so that it is at once clear to those who have studied such subjects and are versed in them, that men of other habits and modes of life have come into the world, who are either more or less of concern to the gods than their predecessors were. All things, they say, undergo great changes, as one age succeeds another, and especially the art of divination ; at one period it rises in esteem and is successful in its predictions, because manifest and genuine signs are sent forth from the Deity; and again, in another age, it is in small repute, being off-hand, for the most part, and seeking to grasp

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Kal KOTELVOY opyavev TOU MéAXXOVTOS am ropevny.
TavTa per ovv of Aoytwratot Tuppnvav Kal mréov
TL TOV GAXwDv eidévat Soxobyres énvBororyouv. THS
dé ovyedyjtou TOUS pavrect mepl TOUTO@Y avo\a-
Covens Kat Kadnpevns év To yao Ths ’"Evuods,
atpovdos eloen Tn mavT@v opevTe@y TeTTUYA pépeov
TO oTOpaTe, Kat TO pev éxBarwv pépos avrod
KaTENTre, To 66 & EX cov dari Oev. UpewpavTo 57
OTATLW Ob TEPATOTKOTOL Kal Stadopay Tov KTN-

parixay 7 pos TOV aoTiKOY OYAOV Kat aryopaiov-
povdevra yap ToUTOV elvat xaOdmep tértiya,
Tous 6€ ywpitas apoupaious.
VIII. Mdpzos 81) mrpocrAapBaver Snpapxyobvra
LouNmixvop, avOpwrrov OUVOEVOS SevTepov év Tabs
axpats Kaxtats, Wore pay Entei Tivos €oTiv éTépou
pox Onporepos, GNA pos Ti boxOnporatos éau-
TOU. Kal yap porns Kal TOMA Kal mheovebia
Wwept adrov Hv amepiaKeTrTOS aisxpod Kal TravTos
KAKOV, OS ye THY ‘Pow paiwv TONLTELAY éfehev-
Geprxois Kal perotKous TAY avapavdov nptO pec
Tiny dia tTparrétns ev ayopg KELHEVNS. erpepe dé
TpLrxtALous paxarpopopous, Kal TAHGos immiKav
vEeavigKary Tpos aay éTotwory Tmepl avrov elXev,
ods ayTicvyKANTOV avopate. vopov O€ Kupo@oas
pndeva TUYEANTLCOV vIrep dioxedias Spaxpas
OpetAeLv, AUTOS aTréALTTE pera THY TedEUTHY oprn-
patos pupiddas Tptaxoatas. ovTos eis TOV Ojjpov
agpeOeis urd Tov Mapiov, cal ovvtapatas wavta

1 The Greek of this sentence is acknowledged by all editors to be corrupt. The translation follows Coraés.

the future by means of faint and blind senses.
Such, at any rate, was the tale told by the wisest
of the Tuscans, who were thought to know much
more about it than the rest. Moreover, while
the senate was busied with the soothsayers about
these prodigies, and holding its session in the temple
of Bellona, a sparrow came flying in, before the eyes
of all, with a grasshopper in its mouth, a part of
which it threw down and left there, and then went
away with the other part. From this the diviners
apprehended a quarrelsome dissension between the
landed proprietors and the populace of the city and
forum; for the latter is vociferous like a grass-
hopper, while the former haunt the fields (like. the
sparrow).
VIII. Marius now made alliance with Sulpicius
who was a tribune of the people, a man second to
none in prime villainies, so that the question was
not whom else he surpassed in wickedness, but in
what he surpassed his own wickedness. For the

combination of cruelty, effrontery, and rapacity in him was regardless of shame and of all evil, since he sold the Roman citizenship to freedmen and aliens at public sale, and counted out the price on a money-table which stood in the forum. Moreover, he maintained three thousand swordsmen, and had about him a body of young men of the equestrian order who were ready for everything, and whom he called his anti-senate. Further, though he got a law passed that no senator should incur a debt of more than two thousand drachmas, he himself left behind him after death a debt of three millions. This man was now let loose upon the people by Marius, and after confounding all

Ta mpdypata Biq Kal oonpe, vopous eypadev aAXous TE poxOnpods Kal TOV didovra Mapi@ Tob MiOpbarixod TONE MOV THY nyepoviap. ampagias dé bia Tabra TOV UTATOV Wapicapevenr, én - ayayov avrois exxdnovatovar mept Tov vewv TOV AtooKxovpwov xo aAXous TE modous Kal TO Tloparniou TOU virdtou peupaxtov érrl THS aryopas aveinev' auTos dé Toparnios Aabav é&éduye. DwvAras Sé eis tHv oixiay Tov Mapiou ouvotwy Geis jvaynaaOn 7 poe Tas anpagias ddoae' Kal da TovUTO TOV Tlopmniov é émrapxovTa Tavoas" 0) DovAri-LOS ovK adetheTo TOU Lure THV brateiay, aXNG TV emi McOpidarny OTPATELAV MOvOY Ets Mdpvoy peTnveyKe? Kal 7 éwret XeAudpyous evOvs els Noda TaparnYopevous TO oTpatevpa Kal pos tov Mdpiov afovtas.

IX. DBOdcavtos 5é tov YAAa Siagpuyeiv eis TO ar patorredop, Kal TOV oTpATLOT aU, @S émuOovto TavTa, KATANEVTAYTWY TOUS XuAudpxous, ot Tept Tov Mdpvov avdis € éy TH TONE TOUS Luda dhirous avy pouv Kal Xpnwata Suifpmatov auTav. hoav be peTacTdacels Kal puyal, TOY pev Els TOMY amo oT ToT éOov, Trav & exeioe Siagorreav Tey éK THS TrOhEWs. " dé GUYKANTOS HY Mev OVY aUTIS, adda tois Mapiou xal LouvAmictov St@xeito poo Tay-pact, tuOopéevn 5é Tov YvrAXrAav éml THY TrOALY uae émepure Suvo TOY oT paThyar, Bpodrov

Kat Lepovidov, atrayopevoovtas avT@ Badifew.
TOUTOUS Spactrepov Jonna diarexGévras wp-
penoay pev avenely ot oTpaTLarat, Tas 6¢ paBdous
1 xavcas Coraés and Bekker, after Muretus: wohoas.

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things by force and the sword, he proposed certain vicious laws, and particularly one offering to Marius the command in the Mithridatic war. To prevent voting on these, the consuls decreed suspension of public business, whereupon Sulpicius led a mob against them, as they were holding an assembly near the temple of Castor and Pollux, and, amongst many others, slew also the young son of Pompeius the consul in the forum; but Pompeius himself made his escape unnoticed. Sulla, however, after having been pursued into the house of Marius, was forced to come forth and rescind the decree for suspension of public business; and it was because he did this that Sulpicius, although he deposed Pompeius, did not take the consulship away from Sulla, but merely tansferred the expedition against Mithridates to the command of Marius. He also sent military tribunes at once to Nola, who were to take over the army there and conduct it to Marius.

IX. But Sulla succeeded in making his escape and reaching the camp first, and his soldiers, when they learned what had happened, stoned the tribunes to death ; in return for which, Marius and his partisans in the city went to slaying the friends of Sulla and plundering their property. Then there were re- movals and flights, some passing continually from camp to city, and others from city to camp. The senate was not its own master, but was governed by the dictates of Marius and Sulpicius, and when it learned that Sulla was marching against the city, it sent two of the praetors, Brutus and Servilius, to forbid his advance. These men addressed Sulla with too much boldness, whereupon his soldiers

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ral deopuevns Hn Badiferv evOus é& éfodou, mravta
yap éceo Oar Ta Sixaca, THs BovAns Wnpicapévns,

@moroynoe pep aUTOU KaTaoTpaToTredeva ety Kab
diaper petv exéXeve vopas, dorep coder, TO
oTpatoTréow TOUS wyepovas, & dare TOUS mpéa Bets
amenOeiy mistevoavtas: éxetvorv &é dred ovr ay
evOds éxtréuras Aevxiov Bdowdndopv Kal Ddiov
Moppuoy KaTarapBdver THY mUdnY 6s avTav Kat
Ta TetXn Ta TWepl TOV dogov TOV Aioxvdivor- elt'
QUTOS a andon onoubdh cuvimte. Téav b¢ Tepl Tov
BaowdXov els THY TrOALD é eumed OvT@Y Kal Kpatouv-
TOV, 0 TONUS Kal dvoTrros Ojos amo TOY Teyev
Kepdue Kat Ow Baddovtes ema Xv @UTOUS TOU
Tpoow Xewpev kab oUverTELAAY ELS TO TEelyos. ev
TouT@ dé O LwAdas Taphy 76n, Kal cuvidav TO
ryevoevov éBoa Tas oixias Upamrew, Kal AaBov
dada KaLopevny eV @pet TPATOS avTos, ral TOUS
rokétas éxéheve vpjabat Tots mupoBoros a avw TaV
oTeyac pat OV etepevous, Kar ovdéva hoyta pov,
arr épmradns & Ov Kal TO Oup@ Tapadedwoxars THY
TOV TpaccopEevev myepovian, és ye TOUS ex Opous
povov éwpa, girous dé kal ouryryevets Kal oixelous
6lS ovdéva oryou Gépevos oud oi TOV KAT HEL d:a
TUpOS, @ TOV aitiov kal pn didyvoots ovK Hy.
TouT@y 6¢ yevoweveov Mapuos eEwaGels mwpos TO
THS Djs iepov exddet dua KNpuypLaros émr é\év-
Gepia To oixeTixov: érreNOovtTwr O€ THY TrOdELioV
xpatnOels é&étreve THS TOAEWS.
X. Dvaras be THY Boudny cuvayayov katayn-
diterat Odvatov aitod te Mapiov xai odiywv
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deputation from the city, which begged him not to advance to an immediate attack, since the senate had voted that he should have all his rights; he therefore agreed to encamp there, and ordered his officers to measure out the ground, as was usual, for the camp, so that the deputation returned to the city believing that he would do so. But no sooner were they gone than he sent forward Lucius Basillus and Caius Mummius, who seized for him the city-gate and the walls on the Esquiline hill; then he himself followed hard after them with all speed. Basillus and his men burst into the city and were forcing their way along, when the unarmed multitude pelted them with stones and tiles from the roofs of the houses, stopped their further progress, and crowded them back to the wall. But by this time Sulla was at hand, and seeing what was going on, shouted orders to set fire to the houses, and seizing a blazing torch, led thé way himself, and ordered his archers to use their fire-bolts and shoot them up at the roofs. This he did not from any calm calcu- lation, but in a passion, and having surrendered to his anger the command over his actions, since he thought only of his enemies, and without any regard or even pity for friends and kindred and relations, made his entry by the aid of fire, which made no distinction between the guilty and the

innocent. Meanwhile Marius, who had been driven back to the temple of Tellus, made a proclamation calling the slaves to his support under promise of freedom ; but the enemy coming on, he was overpowered and fled from the city.

X. Sulla now called together the senate, and had sentence of death passed on Marius himself and a

adrwv, év ols Louvrtixcos Hv o Syuapyos. adda
, \ b 4 e \ iA
LovAmixtos pev arecdhayn mpodobels bd Oepa-
qovtTos, dv Oo YwvAAas nrEevOépwoev, Elta KaTeE-
xpnyvice, Mapio 8 érexnpufev apyuptov, ovK
EVYVOLOVWS OVSE TTONLTLKOS, @ Ye pxpov Ep-
mpocOev wtroxeiptov eis THY oikiay Sovs éavTov
aoparas apeiOn. Kaitos Mapio rote pr Siévte
LvAAav, GAN arroGaveiv bd DovArixiov mpoe-
, 4 a e a 9 > @ ? 4
pévey, TavTwY KpaTeiy UTApyev, GAN Byws édei-
\ e A 3y / \ > \ \
aato: Kal peP nuépas ortyas THY adTny AaABHY
jwapacxyeov ovK étTvxe TaV opoiwy. ed ols o
LvAAas THY pev TUyKANTOV adnrws nviacer 7 Se
Tapa Tov Sypov dvopévera cal véperts av'T@
dhavepa 5: Epywyv annvra. Neovov pév ye tov
adergidoiy avTtod cal Lepovnioy apyas pett-
, > 4 , e. hf
ovtas atroyyndiadpevor cal kabuBpicavtes ETEpOUS
KatéoTnoav apxovTas, ods padtoTa TLLOVTES
@ovTo utTreiy exetvov. Oo 5é TOUTOLS TE TWpOCE-
motetTo Yaipew, ws Tov Sywov TO Troveiv & Bov-
Notto Se' avroy dtoAavovTos THs éXEevOeEpias, Kal
Oeparrevwv TO THY TOAAOY plaos braTov KaTE-
oTnoey amo THS évavtias oatdcews Aevetov
Kivvay, apais xai Spots xatadaBov evvoncey
Tos éavTov mpdypuactv. o S¢ dvaBas eis To
, A
Kamitwruov éxwv ev TH Xetpt ALOov wpvuer, eira
émapacdpevos éaut@ py pudrdtTovTe THY mWpos
éxeivov evvorav éxireceiy Tihs TOAEWS, WOTEP O
ALOos bua Tis yetpos, xaTéBare yapale Tov ALGov

bY 9, / / \ \ >
OUK OALYwWY TrapovTwY. TaparaBov 5é THY ap-
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SULLA

few others, among whom was Sulpicius the tribune of the people. But Sulpicius was killed, after he had been betrayed by a servant, to whom Sulla first gave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock ; moreover, he set a price on the head of Marius, an act both ungrateful and impolitic, since it was in his house that he had found refuge and surrendered himself a little before this, and had been let off safe. And yet had Marius at that time not let Sulla go, but given him up to death at the hands of Sulpicius, he might have been absolute master in Rome ; nevertheless he spared his life, and when after a few days he had given him the same opportunity, he did not obtain like mercy. By these proceedings Sulla won the secret dislike of the senate; but the people’s hatred and indignation was made manifest to him by their acts. For instance, they ignominiously rejected Nonius his nephew, and Servius, who were his candidates for offices, and appointed others, whose preferment they thought would be most vexing to him. But he pretended to be pleased at this, saying that the people, in doing as it pleased, enjoyed a freedom which was due to him, and out of deference to the hatred of the mul- titude allowed Lucius Cinna, a man of the opposite faction, to be invested with the consulship, after binding him by solemn oaths to be favourable to his policies. And Cinna went up to the Capitol with a stone in his hand and took the oaths, and then, after praying that if he did not maintain his goodwill towards Sulla, he might be cast out of the city, as the stone from his hand, he threw the stone upon the ground in the sight of many people. But as soon as he had entered upon his office, he

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

xv evOus emexel pet Ta xaderrara Kiveiy, Kat
Oveny em) Tov 2vANav Taperxevace kal KaTn-
yopety éeméarnoev Ouvepyivioy, € éva TeV Snuapyor,
Ov exEivos dpa 7 Sixactnpie yaipev éaocas él
Mc6pidarny a arh
XI. Aéyerar Ke bd TAS Hméepas éxeivas év als

0 YwAdras aro Ths “Iradias éxiver Tov aronon,
Dra TE TOANG Mipidarn Siar ptBovte wept TO
Tlépyapov emirKnyrat bas ova, al Ninny ore
davnpopov KaPrewerny UTO TOV Tlepyapnver € én
avToyv éx Tivwy opydvev avabev Soov ovum TIS
keparis pavovoay curt piBivas, Kal TOV oTeé-
pavoy éxmecovta Kata Tob Gear pou péper Oar
yapale d:aé put ropevon, Hote ppinny pev TO

OnLD, adupiay be TONANY MiOp.idarn Tapacxetv,
KaiTrep avT@ TOTE TOV T pay wary éX1rtdos Tépa
T pox wpouvTev. auros pev yap ’Aciay te ‘Po-
paiwv cal Bubuviay cai Karraésoxiav tov Bacr-
Aéov adnpnpévos év lepydpw xabjoro, TOVTOUS
Kal duvac elas Kat Tupavvidas Siavéwov Tots
pirors, TOY dé maidev O pev ev Tlovre@ Kal
Booropo THV Tahavay axpe Tov vmép THY Mata-
TW GOLKHTO@D apxiy Kateixev ovdevos Taper
oxXdodvTOs, "Aprapabns dé Opaany cat Maxedoviay
emrnet orpaT@ peyddep T pod aryouevos, drXous bé
oi oTpaTnyot TOTOUS eXetpodvto Suvapers & éxovres,
av o peytaTos “Apxedaos Tais ev vavoly opod
Th cuprdons ETLKPATO@V THS Gararrns Tas Te
Kuxrddas vycous éSovX00To Kal Tav aAXwY Boat
Manéas évros iSpuvtat, cal thv EvBotay avdtiy
elyev, x O€ "AOnvav opumpevos Ta péxpr Ser-

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tried to subvert the existing order of things, and had an impeachment prepared against Sulla, and appointed Virginius, a tribune of the people, to be his accuser. But Sulla, ignoring alike accuser and court, set out against Mithridates.!

XI. And it is said that about the time when Sulla was moving his armament from Italy, Mithridates, who was staying at Pergamum, was visited with many other portents from Heaven, and that a Victory with a crown in her hand, which the Pergamenians were lowering towards him by machinery of some sort, was broken to pieces just as she was about to touch his head, and the crown went tumbling from her hand to the ground in the midst of the theatre, and was shattered, whereat the people shuddered, and Mithridates was greatly dejected, although at that time his affairs were prospering beyond his hopes. For he himself had wrested Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their kings, and was now set down in Pergamum, dispensing riches, principalities, and sovereignties to his friends ; and of his sons, one was in Pontus and Bosporus, holding without any opposition the ancient realm as far as the deserts beyond Lake Maeotis, while Ariarathes was overrunning Thrace and Macedonia with a large army, and trying to win them over; his generals, too, with forces under them, were subduing other regions, and the greatest of them, Archelaiis, who with his fleet controlled the entire sea, was subjugating the Cyclades, and all the other islands which lie to the east of Cape Malea, and was in possession of Euboea itself, while from his head-quarters at Athens he was bringing into revolt from Rome the peoples of Greece

1 In 87 B.o.

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Tahias EOvn tHs “EAXdbos adiorn, pxpa ™ poo
Kpovoas TE _ Xatpoveray. évtav0a yap auT@
Bper710s ovppas aT HVTHTE, m peo BevTiis pev
ov Levriov, Tob otpatyyod Tis Maxedovias,
avnp S€ ToAuy Kal dpovycer Siadpépwv. oUTOS
"Apxedaw Sten pevparos Pepopevp ba Tis
Bowwrias éml «mXetotovy avticrTas, Kat Tpict
maxars ¢ Srarywvic dpevos mept Xarpdvecay, éFewoe
Kat ouvéoretbe Taduy emt THv Oadarray. Aev-
kiou 5é AevxorXou KedEVTAYTOS autov un w-
pety émvovTe AAG Kal Tov eyndic pévov exelvep
éav morepov, evO ds exMT OV THV Bowwriay o OTe w
7 pos Devt cov anjdauve, Kaimep aUT@ TOY ™pay-
peatov édribos mépa 7 pox@pouyvTw@v Kal THs ‘Ed -
Addos Ol KELWS éxovans 7 pos pera Bodny dua THv
éxeivou Karoxayabiay. ada yap Bpetri@ péev
TavTa ra UT poTaTa TOV TET PAY WEVOV.
XII. SwrArAas S€ tas pe addas Tones evOUS
elyev eqreTt ea Bevopevas Kal Kahovoas, tais &€
"AOnvats Sta Tov TUpayvov ‘Aptatiova Bact-
Never Par jvaryKac pevais a8 pous émreoTn Kal Tov
Tletpava TeptiaBov émohvopKet, Lnxavny Te
Twacay epiatas Kal pdxas TavTooaTras ToLou-
HEVOS. Kaitou Xpovoy ov TONY avacXopeve
mapiy axwvduvas éXely THY avo TOMY, bao
pod ouynywevny 0 TH xpelg TOY avaryKatov
‘eis Tov éoyaTov kaupév" aX’ emrevryopevos els
‘Peony cal Sedcas tov exe? vewTepta LOD, TON
ois pev xivdvvors, torrais 8é Haxaus, pleya-
Aas 5 Samdva natéorevde Tov TONE MOY,
ye dixa THS GANS TapacKevis y mepl T
PNXAVNpaATA Tparypwateta Cevryeot pupiots optKols
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as far as Thessaly, although he met with slight reverses at Chaeroneia. For here he was confronted by Bruttius Sura, who was a lieutenant of Sentius the praetor of Macedonia, and a man of superior courage and prudence. This man, as Archelaiis came rushing like a torrent through Boeotia, opposed him most fiercely, and after thrice giving him battle at Chaeroneia, repulsed him, and drove him back to the sea. But when Lucius Lucullus ordered him to give place to Sulla, who was coming, and to leave the conduct of

the war to him, as the senate had voted, he at once abandoned Boeotia and marched back to Sentius, although his efforts were proving successful beyond hope, and although the nobility of his bearing was making Greece well-disposed towards a change of allegiance. However, these were the most brilliant achievements of Bruttius.

XII. As for Sulla, he at once received deputations and invitations from the other cities, but Athens was compelled by the tyrant Aristion to side with Mithri- dates. Against this city, therefore, Sulla led up all his forces, and investing the Piraeus, laid siege to it, bringing to bear upon it every sort of siege-engine, and making all sorts of assaults upon it. And yetif he had been patient a little while, he might have captured the upper city without hazard, since it lacked the necessities of life and was already reduced by famine to the last extremity. But since he was eager to get back to Rome, and feared the spirit of revolution there, he ran many risks, fought many battles, and made great outlays that he might hasten on the war, in which, not to speak of his other munitions, the operation of the siege engines

exopnyeiro, ca? Hyépav évepyois oat mpos THY
virnpeciav. émirertrovons Se THS Ans Sead TO
KomTec0ar TOAAA TOV Epyov TrepiKNopEva ToOis
avt@v Bpibecr Kal muptrovcicbar Baddopeva
cuvexas ro Tay Todepiov, émexeipnoe Tois
tepois adoeot, Kal thy te "Axadnueay Exetpe
Sevdpopopwrdrnv mpoacteiwy ovcay nal ro Av-
kecov. eémel b€ Kal xpnudtwv ee. moddOr
pos TOV T ONELOD, exiver TA TH 'Edd ddos dovna,
TovTo pev é& 'Eridavpou, TrovTo 5é é& "Odvptrias,
T&2 KadAMOoTA Kal ToAUTEeXeoTAaTA TaV avabn-
paTwy perameпropevos. éypawe Sé xal tots
"Apduxtioow eis Aeddovs Ste Ta Ypnuata Tov
Geov BéXrLoy cin xopscOfvat mpos avToy: 7 yap
gurakev acharéotepov Kal atroypnodapevos
atrobwoew oux éXdaTTw Kal Tov dirov atécTetre
Kdduv rov Paxéa xerevoas orabu@ traparaBety
éxaotov. o b€ Kaddis ee pev eis Aerdods,
wKvet O€ TAY iepa@v Oyetv, Kal TrohAa TOV 'Apde-
KTUOVOY TapovT@Y aTEeddKpucEe THY avayKny.
évioy 6¢ dhackdvtwv dxodaat Pbeyyouéevns THs
év Tots avaxtopots KtOdpas, elite Tiatevoas elTE
Tov XwAdrav Bovrcpevos euBareiv eis Secodac-
poviav, éréotethe mpos avtov. o 5&¢ axomrev
aytéypatre Oavpdley tov Kdduv, ef prt) ovvinory

Ste Yaipovtos, ov yarertraivovtos, ein TO ddew
ate Oappodvra NapBdvew éxéXevcev, WS 1d0-
Hévou Tov Oeod cal dudovTos.
Ta pev ovv adrr\a Siédabe tovs ye TodXOovs
“EAAnvas éxtepurropeva, tov 5é apyupoiv miOon,
Os qv UTdAOLTOS ett TOV Bactrtxav, Sa Bdpos
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called for ten thousand pairs of mules, which were employed daily for this service. And when timber began to fail, owing to the destruction of many of the works, which broke down of their own weight, and to the burning of those which were continually smitten by the enemy’s fire-bolts, he laid hands upon the sacred groves, and ravaged the Academy, which was the most wooded of the city’s suburbs, as well as the Lyceum. And since he needed much money also for the war, he diverted to his uses the sacred treasures of Hellas, partly from Epidaurus, and partly from Olympia, sending for the most beautiful and most precious of the offerings there. He wrote also to the Amphictyons at Delphi that it was better to have the treasures of the god sent to him ; for he would either keep them more safely, or, if he spent them, would restore as much. And he sent Caphis, the Phocian, one of his friends, with the letter, bidding him receive each article by weight. Caphis came to Delphi, but was loth to touch -the sacred objects, and shed many tears, in the presence of the Amphictyons, over the necessity of it. And when some of them declared they heard the sound of the god’s lyre in the inner sanctuary, Caphis, either because he believed them, or because he wished to strike Sulla with superstitious fear, sent word to him about it. But Sulla wrote back jocosely, expressing his amazement that Caphis did not understand that singing was done in joy, not anger ; his orders were therefore to take boldly, assured that the god was willing and glad to give.

Accordingly, the rest of the treasures were sent away without the knowledge of the most, certainly, of the Greeks; but the silver jar, the only one of

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Kat péeyeBos ov Suvapevwv avarafely tev wTro-
fuvyiwv, avayKxalopevot Kataxortewv ot “Apdi-
KTUoves eis pynpnv éBdadrovto TodTo pév Titov
Prapwvivov cat Mavov *Axirtov, rodto $&é
Aipinsov Tladvov, ov o pev ’Avtioyov é&eXaaas
THs “EdAdbos, of 5€ Tovs Maxedovev Bactreis
KATATONE LNG AVTES ov povoy atréayovTo TaV
tep@v tov “EdAnuixdr, ara Kal dapa wal
Tuny avTois Kal cemvornra ToAXAnY mmpocébe-
7 aav. GAN’ éxeivor pev avdpav te cwppovav Kat
pepabnxoTwy owt Tois apyovot trapéyey Tas
Nelpas Hryovpevot KaTa vopov, avTot Te Tais

yruyais Baotdtxol wai tais Samdvais evteXcis
OvTes, peTpiots exXp@vtTo Kal reTaypévols avaro-
pact, TO KOAaKevELY TOUS oTpaTLOTAS aioxtov
8 Hryoupevos tov Sedsévas Tovs mrodepious: of de
Tote otpatnyol Bia To mMpwreéiov, ovK apeTh,
KT@PEVOl, KaL waAXOv err' GAANXAOUS Sedpevoe TOV
StAwY i TOUS ToAEmioUs, HvaykalovTo Snuayw-
yelv ev TO aTpatnyeiy, ei Oy eis Tas iouTadeias
TOls oTpaTevomevots avnALTKOY @votpEvoL TOUS
qovous avTa@v, éhaGoyv w@viov OAnV THY TaTpioa
motnaavtes Eautouvs te SovAOUS THY KakioTov emt
T® Ttav BerTiovwvy adpyew. tadta éEnrauve
Mdpiov, eit' avOis éri SvAXNav KatHye, tadra
"Oxtaoviov rovs tept Kivvay, radta PrAdKKov
9 Tovs wept DipBpiay adroyerpas erroincev. av

1 The gifts of Croesus, king of Lydia (Herodotus, i. 51).

2 Manius Acilius Glabrio, consul in 191 3B.c., defeated Antiochus the Great at Thermopylae, and forced him to return to Asia.

the royal gifts! which still remained, was too large and heavy for any beast of burden to carry, and the Amphictyons were compelled to cut it into pieces. As they did so, they called to mind now Titus Flamininus and Manius Acilius, and now Aemilius Paulus, of whom one had driven Antiochus out of Greece,? and the others had subdued in war the kings of Macedonia®; these had not only spared the sanctuaries of the Greeks, but had even made additional gifts to them, and greatly increased their honour and dignity. But these were lawful com- manders of men who were self-restrained and had learned to serve their leaders without a murmur, and they were themselves kingly in spirit and simple in their personal expenses, and indulged in moderate and specified public expenditures, deem- ing it more disgraceful to flatter their soldiers than to fear their enemies; the generals of this later time, however, who won their primacy by force, not merit, and who needed their armies for service against one another, rather than against the public enemy, were compelled to merge the general in the demagogue, and then, by purchasing the services of their soldiers with lavish sums to be spent on luxurious living, they unwittingly made their whole country a thing for sale, and themselves slaves of the basest men for the sake of ruling over the better. This was what drove out Marius, and then brought him back again against Sulla; this made Cinna the assassin of Octavius, and Fimbria of

5 Flamininus defeated Philip V. of Macedon at Cynos- cephalae in 197 B.c., and Aemilius Paulus crushed Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, at Pydna, in 16S B.c. See Plutarch's Flamininus, xv. ; Aemiius Paulus, xvi.—xxii.

ovX TxtoTa LAras évédwonxev apxas, ért TO
StapGeipew Kal peTaKanety TOUS vn ad ots Tar-
TOMEVOUS KaTaxopnyOv ets TOUS od’ auTe@ Kal
Satavwmevos, Wate Gua Tovs ddAous eV Els
mpodociar, TOUS 5¢ id avT@ eis dowrtiay dia-
PO cipor XenwaTov deia Bat ToAAaY, Kal partoTa
pos TV ToMopKiay éxelyny.
XIII. Aecvos yap TLS dpa Kab amapaiTntos
elev aurov Epas édely Tas ‘AOnvas, elite Ondo
Tit 7 pos THY marae cKiapaxodvTa Tijs TOAEWS
d0fav, elre Oup@ Ta TKOMPATA pépovra Kal Tas
Bwporoyxias, als avtov Te Kat thy MerédrXayr a arr6
TOV TELXOY éxda Tore yepupifov Kal KaTopyou-
pevos efnpéOrter o 0 | TUpAVVeS 'Apiation, av pw os
ef acehyeias omod Kal @LOTNTOS EX@V ourKeEL-
pévny thy vpuxny, kal Ta XEipiota, TOY Mc8pu-
daTiK@v cuvEeppynKora, VOONLAT OY Kat Tadav els
éavTov dverhnpos, Kal TH Woes pupious pev
ToAELOUS, TOANAS 5é Tupavvidas Kal ordaoets
Siarrepevyvia ™ poTepov domep voonpa Gavarn-
popov ELS TOUS eoxdtous KaLpous eet iBémevos- 6 és,
ite Spaxpav @viov ToD pedipvou TaV TUp@DV
ovTOS év doTEL TOTE, TOV avO pworrev TLTOUMEVOY TO
Tept THY ax porrokuy puopevov mapbéviov, vrodn-
para &é Kal AnkvOous épOas éaOvovter, aUTOS
evdehex as moTous peOnpepivois Kal Kwpols Xpo-
peevos Kal muppixifov Kal yeAwToTroLeD pos TOUS
Tohemlous Tov pev lLepov THS Beod AVYVOY arTre-

1 According to Appian, Bel/. Civ. i. 71, Octavius, the consul, a supporter of Sulla, was killed at Rome by Censori- nus, acting under the orders of Marius and Cinna, in 86 B.c. Valerius Flaccus, chosen consul to succeed Marius, in 86 B.c.,

Flaccus.!_ And it was Sulla who, more than any one
else, paved the way for these horrors, by making
lavish expenditures upon the soldiers under his own
command that he might corrupt and win over those
whom others commanded, so that in making traitors
of the rest, and profligates of his own soldiers, he

had need of much money, and especially for this
siege.
XIII. For he was possessed by some dreadful and inexorable passion for the capture of Athens, either because he was fighting with a sort of ardour against the shadow of the city's former glory, or because he was provoked to anger by the scurrilous abuse which had been showered from the walls upon himself and Metella by the tyrant Aristion, who always danced in mockery as he scoffed. This man's spirit was compounded of licentiousness and cruelty; he had made himself a sink for the worst of the diseases and passions of Mithridates ; and in these her last days he had fixed himself, like a fatal malady, upon a city which had previously passed safely through countless wars, and many usurpations and seditions. This man, although at the time a bushel of wheat sold in the city for a thousand drachmas, and although men made food for themselves of the fever-few which grew on the acropolis, and boiled down shoes and leather oil-flasks to eat, was himself continually indulging in drinking-bouts and revels by daylight, was dancing in armour and making jokes to deride the enemy, while he suffered the sacred

was sent into Asia to thwart Sulla and conduct the war against Mithridates, but was murdered there by his mutinous lieutenant, Fimbria, in the following year. See chapters xx. 1; xxiii. 6; Lucullus, xxxiv. 2.

coe
“

aBnKora 51a oravev éXatou mepietde, TH Se é iepo-
pavrde Tupev 7 lex TOV TpoaatTouan TETTEPEWS
errepape, Tous dé Bovdevras kal vepeis ixerevovTas
OLR TELpaL THY TOM Kal diadvcacbar Tpos Lwr-
Aap Tokevpwace BdaddXwv Ser Kédacey. Ope dé 78n
Tou pots eB erreprpev vmép eipyvns Svo 7 TpEts
Tay oUpTOTaY mpos ovs oder a&vovyras ow
THpPLOV, ANNA TOV Onoéa Kal TOV Evpodsov Kal Ta
Mndixa | gTEmvohoyoupévous 0 uANas “ “ATiTe,”
elev, “@ paKd LoL, Tous AOyous TOUTOUS ava-
Aa Bovres: éyw yap ov prropad jaw eis "AOnvas
vo “Pwpaiov ere up Ony, arrNa Tos adgiota-
peevous KaTATTpEYyopuevos. °
XIV. 'Ep 6e TOUT NeyeTal Tas ev Kepapern@
a peo BuT@y axovoavtas Srareyopuévev T pos adda
Nous Kal kaxilovrorv TOV TUpavvop, @s pn puddt-
TOVTa TOU TEiYoUS THY mepl TO 'Errdayadkov
Epodov xat mpoaBorny, 7 povn Suvatov elvar Kal
pasdiov vrepRivat TOUS Tonepious, amraryryeihas
TavTa Wpos TOV LwAAav. o 5é ov ated povnaen,
avra émeN av VUKTOS Kal Jeac dpevos Toy ToTov
NOG Lov elyeTo Tob épyou. ever 5é autos oO

LwAAas € €v TOUS Uropynpact TOV Tpartov émtBayra
TOU Tel xous Mapxoy "Arniov avTtaTavTos aur
TmoAepiou Sovra TY eK katadopas 7 paver
TEpLKAGG aL TO Eihos, ov pny upécOat THs apas,
GNAG peivat Kat KaTacxeiy. Karehn pon pev ov
e

n Torts exeOev, ws AOnvaiwy ot mpcaRvtTatot

1 The Outer Cerameicus, s.e. the suburb before the Dipylon, or Sacred Gate, through which one left the city for | Eleusis.

lamp of the goddess to go out for lack of oil; and when the chief priestess begged him for a twelfth of a bushel of wheat, he sent her so much pepper; and when the senators and priests came to him in sup- pliant array, and entreated him to take pity on the city and come to terms with Sulla, he scattered them with a volley of arrows. But after a long time, at last, with much ado, he sent out two or three of his fellow-revellers to treat for peace, to whom Sulla, when they made no demands which could save the city, but talked in lofty strains about Theseus and Eumolpus and the Persian wars, said: “Be off, my dear Sirs, and take these speeches with you; for I was not sent to Athens by the Romans to learn its history, but to subdue its rebels.”

XIV. But at this juncture, as it is said, certain soldiers in the Cerameicus ! overheard some old men talking with one another, and abusing the tyrant because he did not guard the approaches to the wall at the Heptachalcum,? at which point alone it was possible and easy for the enemy to get over. When this was reported to Sulla, he did not make light of it, but went thither by night, and after seeing that the place could be taken, set himself to the work. And Sulla himself says, in his Memoirs, that Marcus Ateius was the first man to mount the wall, and that when an enemy confronted him, he gave him a downward cut on the helmet with his sword, and shattered the weapon; he did not, however, yield ground, but remained and held his own. At any rate, the city was taken at this point, as the oldest

2? An unknown feature of the wall, somewhere between the Piraic, or western gate, and the Dipylon, or Sacred Gate, opening to the N.W.

3 Steuvnpovevoy. autos dé DvrAAas 7 petaku THs Tlevpaixns miAns Kal tis iepds KataaKdypas Kal cuvouadvvas, epi péecas vuKtas eiondauve, ppixwdns bd te cdrruy& nal Képact rodXois,

adharayu@ kal kpavyh ths Suvvdpews ep dprrayiy
Kal hovoy ademevns bm’ avtod, nal hepopevns
da tov otevwrayv! éoracpévors tots Eidecty,
wate apiOuov pndéva yevécOar Tov amroa paryév-
TOV, AANA TP TOT TOD puvéyTos aipatos ett vov
petpetoBat T6 THOS. avev yap TOV KaTa THY
aNAnv moAw avatpeOévrmy co Tept THY ayopay
govos érécye mavta tov évtos Tov Aurvdou
Kepapetxov mrodXois S€ A€yerar Kai dia wudA@Y
KaTaKAVoaL TO TpodoTELov. GAAA TOY oUTwS
aro0avovtwav, TtocovTwy ‘yevopévwv, ovK édAdo-
coves Hoav of sas avrovs SiabGeipovtes oixte@
kal w00~ THs Tatpidos as avatpeOnooperns.
TovTO yap atroyvavar cat goPnOnvar thy co-
Tnpiav éroince tovs BeATiotous, ovdey ev TO
LwrAAG PirdvOpwrrov ovdé pétpiov eATicavtas.
ava yap TovTo péev Mediov xal Kadrryudavros
tav duyddwv Seouévov xal mpoxvaArvooupévey
avrov, ToUTO bé TOY aUYKANTIKaY, Soot ouUVE-
atpatevoy, éEaitoupévav THY WoALY, AUTOS TE
peatos Oy On THS Tiwwplas, eyKwOpLoy TE TAY
maratav "AOnvaiwv iterav épn yapiterOar
TOAAOIS ev OALiyous, CavTas Se TEOVNKOGL.
‘Enety 8€ tas "AOnvas adtos dnow ev ois
vTropynpact Maprtias xaravdais, Ts Hepa
1 rev orevwrav Bekker, after Coraés: crevwray,
1 In Plutarch’s time.
37°
SULLA

Athenians used to testify.1 And Sulla himself, after he had thrown down and levelled with the ground the wall between the Piraic and the Sacred Gate, led his army into the city at midnight. The sight ot him was made terrible by blasts of many trumpets and bugles, ang by the cries and yells of the soldiery now let loose by him for plunder and slaughter, and rushing through the narrow streets with drawn swords. There was therefore no counting of the slain, but their numbers are to this day determined only by the space that was covered with blood. For without mention of those who were killed in the rest of the city, the blood that was shed in the market-place covered all the Cerameicus inside the Dipylon gate; nay, many say that it flowed through the gate and deluged the suburb. But although those who were thus slain were so many, there were yet more who slew themselves, out of yearning pity for their native city, which they thought was going to be destroyed. For this conviction made the best of them give up in despair and fear to survive, since they expected no humanity or moderation in Sulla. However, partly at the instance of the exiles Meidias and Calliphon, who threw themselves at his feet in supplication, and partly because all the Roman senators who were in his following interceded for the city, being himself also by this time sated with vengeance, after some words in praise of the ancient Athenians, he said that he forgave a few for the sake of many, the living for the sake of the dead.

He took Athens, as he says himself in his Memuirs, on the Calends of March,? a day which corresponds

2 86 B.c. Cf. the description of the capture of Athens given by Appian, Bell. Mith. xxx.

pada oupmimrer Th voupnvig rob 'AvOe-
STN PL@VOS Bnvss, év @ KaTa TUYNV Dropynpara
ToNAa ToD did THY emopBpiay OAEOpou Kal THiS
pOopas exelyns dpaaw, Os TOTe Kal Tepl Tov
Xpovov éxetvov padiora Tow xataxhua poo oup-
TET OVTOS. éadwxotos 5¢ Tov doreos Oo pév TUpay-
vos €ls THY ax pomromy KATApvyov érroMopKelTo,
Koupiwvos emt TOUT TETAYMEVOU" xal Xpovov
eyKaprepnaas auxvov avTos éauTov éve eiptoe
diner mea Beis. Kat TO Saipovtoy evus eT eg 7)-
pnve: THS yap aQuriis nue pas TE Kal pas éxetvov
Te Koupiov xariye, cai vepov €& aiO pias cuvpa-
povTov TAGS duBpov KaTapparyev emhnpwa ev
Ddatos THY dc poTromy. elre! O€ xal Tov Iletpaca
per' ov TrOoNUY ' Xpovov 6 LwARas, Kal Ta TAELOTA
Karéxavoev, @Y Ww Kat 7» PDidrwvos omdoOynKn,
Javpalopevov épyor.

XV. "Ey 6¢ TovTe Tagians 0 Midpidarov
oTparyyas éx Opdens Kat Maxedovias cataBeBn-
Kkws déxa pupidot meCav Kal pupiors immevdoe Kal
TeO pirrous evevi}KovTa Sperarnpopors éxddet Tov
"Apxéeraoy, € ETL vavroXobvTa Tept THV Movvuxiav
Kal NTE THS Oardrrns Bovdopevov amrooT ivat
pajre mpoOvpov ovTa cupTréexea Oat Tots 'Po-
patos, adda XpovorpBety TOV T ONE MOV Kal Tas
evTropias aQUTOV an aueee a& 87 TONY paddov
exelvou ouvopoy o YvAAaS avelevEer els Botwrtiay
éx Xopiov YMox pov ral unde ey eipnvy Tpepecy
ixavov dvtwv. Kal Toig ToAdois eddnes ohadr-

1 fae Bekker, after Emperius: elxe.

1 In the time of Deucalion, the Noah of Greek tradition. (Cf. Pausanias, i. 18, 7.)

very nearly with the first of the month Anthesterion. In this month, as it happens, the Athenians perform many rites commemorating the destruction and devastation caused by the flood, believing that the ancient deluge! occurred at about this time. On the capture of the town, the tyrant took refuge in the acropolis, and was besieged there by Curio, who was appointed to this task. He held out for a considerable time, but was driven by the pangs of thirst to give himself up. And the Deity at once gave a manifest token in the matter; for at the very hour of the day when Curio brought his prisoner down, clouds gathered in an open sky, and a quantity of rain fell and filled the acropolis with water. Not long after, Sulla took the Piraeus also, and burnt most of it, including the arsenal of Philo,? a marvellous work.

XV. Meanwhile Taxiles, the general of Mithridates had come down from Thrace and Macedonia with a hundred thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and ninety scythe-bearing four-horse chariots, and summoned Archelaiis to join him. Archelaiis still lay with his fleet at Munychia,? and was neither willing to quit the sea, nor eager to join battle with the Romans, but planned to protract the war and cut off their supplies. But Sulla understood the situa- tion much better than Archelaiis did, and there- fore transferred his forces into Boeotia, away from regions that were far from fertile, and unable to maintain a population even in time of peace. Most people thought that he had erred in his calculations,

2 It must have been finished in 330-329 B.c. See Frazer

on Pausanias, i. 1, 2.
2 One of the three harbours of the Piraeus.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Neo Bau Tov NoyLo LOY, BTL THD "Arricny Tpaxetav ovaav Kal Svavmmov aT OMT OY évéBanev € €aUTOV medidot Kal a dvaTren Ta pevars Tails Tepl THY Bovw- Tia Xwpars, ope éy appace nal irarous THY BapBapixny ovoay anny. GANA pevyav, Oorep elpnra, Aepov Kal omaviv qvaycatero Sia@Kewv Tov éx THS paxns civbuvop. Ere be ‘Oprijatos aurov epoer, oTparnytKos avip rad ptdoverkos, Ov éx Gerrarias dyovra TO ZwrdrAG dvvauw ev Tots arevois ot BapBapor mapepudarTov. dua ratra pe eis THY Bowwtiav avelev£er o Oo {vAAas ‘Opr7j-

atop O€ Kadgus, PETE POS OY, érépas dois wevod-
PEvOS TOUS BapBdpous dia tod Tapvaccod Kar-
fryev vn’ auray THY T:O6pay, ouT a Too avTny WOALY
ovcav ban vov éoTUy, ada pouptov \aTropparyt
Kpnev@ TEPLKOTTOMEVOD, eis 6 Kal madat Tore
Poxéov ot FlépEnv émiovra hevyovtes averxeva-
cavTo Kal Svea dOncar. evraida KATaCTpATO-
medevoas ‘Opraatos npépas pev aTreKpOVTaTO
TOUS TroNepious, vUKTOp oy emt Tartpwvida Tals
Suaxepiars xkaTaPpas arravTncavrt tT WAda
PETA THS Suvd pecs ouveuste.
XVI. Tevopevor dé Koh KatarapBavovrar
Bouvov é éx pero ECTOTA TOV "EXatexey mediov,
ebyewv Kat appiiaph cal mapa THV pilay dap
éyovra: PrroBorwros Kahetrat, Kat THY pvow
avrovd Kal thv Géow éerratret Oavpacins o 0 LvUAXas.
arparoTeseva avres dé TAVTATAGLY odiryou Tots
TONE [LOLS KaTepavna av immels ev yap ov
Telus TevTaxocioy Kal yidiwv éyévovto, Twelol
374

because he had abandoned Attica, which was a rough country and ill-suited for cavalry movements, and thrown himself into the plains and open districts of Boeotia, although he saw that the strength of the Barbarians consisted in chariots and cavalry. But in flying from scarcity and famine, as has been said, he was compelled to pursue the danger arising from battle. And furthermore, he was anxious about Hortensius, a bold and capable general, who was leading a force from Thessaly to Sulla while the Barbarians were closely watching for him in the passes.! For these reasons Sulla transferred his army into Boeotia. But Hortensius was rescued by Caphis, a countryman of mine, and conducted by different routes, of which the Barbarians were ignorant, past Parnassus to a spot just below Tithora. This was not so large a city then as it is now, but a fortress surrounded on all sides by steep cliffs, into which those of the Phocians who in ancient times fled before the advance of Xerxes betook themselves and were saved. Having encamped here, Hortensius repulsed the enemy by day, and at night descended to Patronis by difficult paths and made a junction with Sulla, who came to meet him with his army.

XVI. When they had thus united their forces, they occupied a hill which rose out of the midst of the plains of Elatea, a fertile hill, thickly grown with trees, and supplied with water at its base. Philo- boeotus is its name, and its situation and natural advantages are most highly praised by Sulla. As they lay encamped here, they appeared to the enemy altogether few in numbers ; for they were not more than fifteen hundred horse, and less than fifteen

1 At Thermopylae. 2 Cf. Herodotus, viii. 32.
375

2 &¢ wevraxicxthiwv Kal pupiwy éXatrouvs. SOevy
éxBracdpevot rov ’ApyéXaoy ot Aovtrol oTpatyyol
kal wapardEavtes Thy Sivapu, évérdAnoav irtov,
dppatav, aoTiowv, Oupedv TO trediop.
Thy S¢ xpavynv cal addaraypnov ovK Exteyev oO
anp COvav tocovTay dua Kabtotapéeven eis rake.
qv Sé apa Kal TO Kouta@des Kal coBapoyv avTav
THS WoduTEAELas OUK apyov ovdse axXpNoTOY «is
éxmAnkw, dAr’ ai te pappapvyat tav sirdwv
HOKNPEVOY Kpve@ TE Kal apyvpw Sstamperras, at
te Badai trav Mydieav nat YxvOicav yeraver
dvapepiypévar yark@ Kal atdnp@ DAdprorte
qupoeon Kat hoBepav év Tm careverOat Kat
SiapépecOar mpocéBarov au, date Tots “Po-
patos vo Tov YapaKa ovaoTéArELV EauTOUs, Kat
Tov LW~Adav pndevl Aoyo To OduBos avdTav
aderety Suvdpevov, BidlecOai re darrodidpdcKov-
tas ov Bovdopevov, novxyiav dyew Kal dépew
Bapéws éepuBpilovras opwvtTa xoutracue «Kal
yéXore tovs BapBdpovs. avnce pévTot TovTO
pdducta TayTwY avTOV. ot yap évavTios KaTa-
dpovncavres étpadmovto mpos atatiav odXdn»,
ovdé GAAWS UInKOOL TaY aTpaTnyav dtd TWoAv-
apytay dvresy woe! GAdyou pev ev TH Yapane
Stexaprépoup, o 5é mreiotos ByNoS aprayais Kat
awopOnuace Serealopevos odoy nuepav tToANdv
amo Tov orparorédov Sveometpero. xai tHv Te
roav Tlavoréwy todw éxxoas réyovrat cal tip
AcBadéwv Svaprracat Kal ovAjnoas TO pavreton,
ovdevos oTpatnyou mpootraypa Sovtos.
1 Sore supplied by Coraés and Bekker; Sintenis prefers
xal, with Schaefer.
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SULLA

thousand foot. Wherefore the rest of his generals
overpowered the objections of Archelaiis and drew
up for battle, filling the plain with their horses,
chariots, shields, and bucklers.
The air could not contain the shouts and clamour of so many nations forming in array. At the same time also the pomp and ostentation of their costly equip- ment was not without its effect and use in exciting

terror; indeed, the flashing of their armour, which was magnificently embellished with gold and silver, and the rich colours of their Median and Scythian vests, intermingled with bronze and flashing steel, presented a flaming and fearful sight as they surged to and fro, so that the Romans huddled together behind their trenches, and Sulla, unable by any reasoning to remove their fear, and unwilling to force them into a fight from which they wanted to run away, had to sit still and endure as best he could the sight of the Barbarians insulting him with boasts and laughter. This, however, was of service to him above all else. For owing to their contempt of him, his opponents lapsed into great disorder, since even at their best they were not obedient to their generals, owing to the great number in command. Few of them there- fore consented to remain within their entrenchments, but the largest part of the throng was lured away by plunder and pillage, and was scattered about the country many days march from their camp. They are said to have destroyed the city of Panope, and to have sacked Lebadeia and despoiled its oracle, although none of their generals ordered them to do so.

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5

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

‘O dé SuUAXas, év dupa avdtod rodewv arronr-
Avpevor, SvcavacxeTav Kab AvTrovpmeEvos, OvK ela
Tovs oTpati@tas ayordtew, GANA Tpocadyav
avtovds nvayxale tov te Knducov éx Tov petOpov
jTapatpémey Kai Tadpovs opvccay, avdtavAav
ovdert did0vs Kal Trav évdd0vTay arrapairntos
9 \ 4 big bd 4 ‘
_épeotas KodNaoTNS, OTwS aTrayopevaoavTeEs TpOS
‘A
Ta épya Sia Tov Tovoy damwdowvtat Tov Kivdvvoy.
6 kal avvéBn. Tpitnv yap nuépav épyalopmevos
Tod YvAAa wapeElovtos édéovTO peTa KpavyTs
Gyew él tovs modeuiovs. o 8 ov payerOar
BovAropévav, arAra wn Bovropévav rroveiy Epnoev
elvat TOV AOYOV: Ee Sé dVTWS EXOVOLY GYOVICTLKOS,
éxéXevoevy On META TOV OTrov eAOeEiv exeice,
SetEas avrois Thy 7 pOTepov bev yevopévny axpo-
wow tay Ilaparotapiwv, tore S5¢ avnpnuévns
Tihs Wodews AOgos EXeltreTO TreTpwdNS Kad TrEpi-
xpnpvos, tod “HévaAiou Siwpicpévos Bpous Bcov o
"Acaos éréyer péwv, elra cuprimtoyv bro THY
pilav adranv T@ Kndic@ cal cuvextpayuvopevos
oyupay évatpatoTededoat THY axpav trove. Sto
kal Tous yadxdotibas opay TaV ToNEuLov wOov-
pévous é auTnv o XWaAras éBovrAcTo POFjvae
KataraBov Tov ToTov: Kal catéhaBe yYpnodpevos

TOUS OTPATLOTALS mpoOupors. émel O€ aToxpovo-
Deis éxeiBev o Apxeraos appnoev ert thv Xaipo-
vetav, of S€ avoTpaTevoduevon THV Xatpwvewy
édéovro tod YwArAa py Wpoécbar THY ToAW,
éxmréutret TOV yitudpyov &va TaBivov peta tay-
patos évos Kal tovs Xatpwveis adinot, BovrAn-
Gévras pev, ov pay SuvnOévtas POfvat tov
378

SULLA

But Sulla, though chafing and fretting while cities were destroyed before his eyes, would not suffer his soldiers to be idle, but led them out and forced them to dig ditches and divert the Cephisus from its channel, giving no man a respite, and showing himself an inexorable chastiser of those who were remiss, in order that they might be worn out at their tasks and induced by their hardships to welcome danger. And so it fell out. For on the third day of their drudgery, as Sulla passed by, they begged and clamoured to be led against the enemy. But Sulla said their words showed not a willingness to fight, but an unwillingness to labour; if, however, they were really disposed to fight, then he bade them take their arms and go at once yonder, pointing them to what had formerly been the acropolis of Parapotamii. At this time, however, the city had been destroyed, and only a rocky and precipitous crest remained, separated from Mount Hedylium by the breadth of the river Assus, which then falls into the Cephisus at the very base of the mountain, becomes impetuous in its flow after the confluence, and makes the citadel a strong place for a camp. For this reason, and because he saw the Chalcaspides, or Bronge-shtelds, of the enemy pushing their way towards it, Sulla wished to occupy the place first ; and he did occupy it, now that he found his soldiers eager for action. And when Archelaiis, repulsed from this site, set out against Chaeroneia, and the Chaeroneians in Sulla’s army besought him not to abandon their city to its fate, he sent out Gabinius, one of his tribunes, with one legion, and let the Chaeroneians .also go, who wished, but were unable, to get into the city before Gabinius. So

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TaBinov. odtws jv ayabos nat mpobuporepos
eis TO Coat TAY GWOAvat Seopéevwv. o dé loBas
ov TaBinov gdnov meupOivar, ddra *Epixcov.
7) MEV OVV TOS uUaY Tapa TocodTOY éFépuye TOV
xivduvov.
XVII. "Ex 5é AcBadetas nat rod Tpodwviov
pipai te ypnotal Kal wxndopa pavtevpata Tots
‘Pwpatous éEeréutrovto. tept oy ot pev émeywptot
mrelova Aéyovow ws Sé AAAs avTos év SexaT@
TOV UTouynpatay yéypade, Koivtos Titios, otk
apavns avnp tov év mH “EXAdds mpaypatevo-
pévov, he mpos avrov Hon ti év Xatpwveia

VeVLKNKOTA payny, atayyédXov Ste Kal Sevtépav
0 Tpopavios avtoOs waxnv Kal vinenv tpornpaive
éyTos OAlyou Ypovov. pera dé TovTov avnp TaV
év tafe otpatevopéevay dvoya Larovynvios ayn-
veyke trapa Tov Oeod tédos olov ai Kata THY
"Iradiav mpakers Euedrov EFev. apuorepor 5é
TaUTa Trept THS OudHs Eppalov? TO yap 'OAvpTri
Aut nal ro KddXos Kal TO péyeOos TapaTAncvoy
iseiy Epacav.
'Emevd7 5€é 5:é8n Tov "Accor o {vAXas, aped-
Gav bd To "Hdvdov ro "ApyerAd@ Tapectpato-
médevoe, BeBAnpévo xapaxa KaptTepov éy péc@
tov 'Axovtiov kal trod Hévdiou mpos tots Xeyo-
pévors Acoiou. o pévTou ToTos éy @ KaTECK-
voce aypt viv "ApyéXaos at' éxetvouv Kadetrat.
Siadkirav Sé piav nyépav o wAdXas Movupivar
pev éyovta taypa Kal orretpas dv¥0 wpd& TO Tots
ToONEuLOLS EvOYAHTAL TrapaTaTromevols aTéNTEY,
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efficient was he, and more eager to bring succour than
those who begged that succour should be given.
Juba, however, says it was not Gabinius, but Ericius,
who was thus sent. At any rate, so narrowly did my
native city escape its peril.
XVII. From Lebadeia and the cave of Trophonius
favourable utterances and oracles announcing victory
were now sent out to the Romans. Of these the
inhabitants of the country have more to say; but
Sulla himself has written in the tenth book of his
Memoirs, how Quintus Titius, a prominent man
among the Romans doing business in Greece, came
to him immediately after he had won his victory at
Chaeroneia,! with tidings that Trophonius predicted
for him a second battle and victory in that neigh-
bourhood within a short time.? And after him, a
legionary soldier, Salvenius by name, brought him
from thé god a statement of the issue which affairs
in Italy were going to have. But both agreed about
the source of their oracle; for they said they had
beheld one who in beauty and majesty was like unto

Olympian Jove.
Sulla now crossed the Assus, and after advancing to the foot of Mount Hedylium, encamped over against Archelaiis, who had thrown up strong en- trenchments between Mounts Acontium and Hedy- lium, at the so-called Assian plain. The spot in which he encamped, moreover, is to this day called Archelaiis, after him. After one day's respite, Sulla left Murena behind with one legion and two cohorts, to obstruct the enemy if they attempted to draw up their forces, while he himself held sacrifices on the

1 As described in chapter xix.
* Near Orchomenus, as described in chapter xxi.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4 avTos dé Tapa TOV Kngicov | eaparyidtero, Kat TOV lep@y ryevomeveov exper mpos Thy KXatpwvear, dvadaypopevos Te THY AVTOOL oTpaTuay Kal KaTo- omevos TO Kahoupevov @ovprov UTO TOV TroAE- pelcov TPOKATELATPLEVOV. Gore O€ Kopudr) Tpaxeia Kal o7poBirases bpos, O Kadodpuev 'OpGorayor, umé 5é avTo TO peipa Tou ModAov Kal @oupiou veos *ArroAXwvos. avopacrar dé o Geds ato Oovpois, Ths Xaipwvos PNT POS, Ov obecarny yeryo- 5 vevar ths Xatpwveias iaropobaty. ot o€ pace THY Kddy@ dobetoar t bre Tob Tvdiov caOnyepova Boop éxet havivat, cal Tov ToTov am avTis olTw mpoaayopevOjvat' Oop yap oi Poivixes tHv Bodv KaNovot.
TIpooravros be Tov {vAAa ™ pos Tv Xatpwverav O TETANY LEVOS év TH TOnet xerdiap os, é€wimrhic- févous aywv Tous lee AS arqvTnce orépa- 6 voy dadvns Kopilov. @s be SeEapevos jondcaro TOUS oTpariadtas rat Tapopunce 1 pos Tov Kivdv- vov, evTvyXavovaww auT@ dv0 TaV Xatpwvewy avdpes, 'Oporsixos Kat "Avafibapos, UpioTapevor TOUS TO |, Bovpiov KATAaXOVTAS exxowpery, dAdryous oTpaTi@ras jap éxeivouv AaBovres: _atpatrov yap elvas Tots BapBapars adnrov, aro Tov Kadov- peévou Hetpdyou Tapa To Movoeiov éml To Gov- ptov umép Keharys ayovcay, 7 mopevOevres ov Xarerras émimecciabar cat Katanevoey avwlev 7 avtovs Y TUY@TELY eis TO mediov. rou oe T' ae- viov TOUS avbpaar HapTupyiaavTos avdperay Kat ior, éxédevoev emuxerpely 0 LWwAXas: auros dé TUVvETATTE THY parayya Kat Sudverpe Tous imqo- tas éml Képws éxatépov, To SeEvov avtos exwv, TO

banks of the Cephisus, and, when the rites were over, moved on towards Chaeroneia, to pick up the forces stationed there, and to reconnoitre Thurium, as it is called, which had been already occupied by the enemy. This is a conical-shaped hill with a craggy peak (we call it Orthopagus), and at its foot is the river Molus and a temple of Apollo Thurius. The god got this surname from Thuro, the mother of Chaeron, who was founder of Chaeroneia, according to tradition. But some say that the cow which was given by Apollo to Cadmus as his guide, appeared there, and that the place was named as it is from her, “thor” being the Phoenician word for com.

As Sulla drew near to Chaeroneia, the tribune who had been stationed in the city, with his men in full armour, came to meet him, carrying a wreath of laurel. After Sulla had accepted this, greeted the soldiers, and animated them for the coming danger, two men of Chaeroneia accosted him, Homoloichus and Anaxidamus, and engaged to cut off the troops in possession of Thurium if he would give them a few soldiers; for there was a path out of sight of the Barbarians, leading from the so-called Petrachus along past the Museum to that part of Thurium which was over their heads, and by taking this path it would not be difficult, they said, to fall upon them and either stone them to death from above, or force them into the plain. After Gabinius had borne testimony to the men’s courage and fidelity, Sulla ordered them to make the attempt, while he himself proceeded to form his line of battle, and to dispose his cavalry on either wing, taking command of the

& ev@vvpov arodovs Movprva. TdrBSas 8 nai ‘Opryoios ot mpecBevtal ometpas émitaKtous ExovTes Eoyatos mapevéBarov érl tay axpwv pvraKes pos Tas KUKA@GELS’ EWPAVTO yap ot WONEMLOL KaTAGKEVaLoVTES LIriTeval ToAXOIS Kal Widots todw@xeoww eis emtotpopny TO Képas evkapmées Kat xovdov, os paxpav avaktovres al KuxAwaoouevos Tovs ‘Pwpatous.

XVIII. “Ev 8 tovt@ tov Xatpwvéwr ’Epixcov apxYovta Tapa Tov jvAAa AaBovtwv Kal Tepter-Govrwv dadnrws TO @Bovpiov, elta émipavévtor, OopuBos Hv trodvs Kal duyn tev BapBdapev Kat

govos tir’ dAAnAwWY O TAEioTOS. Ov yap té-
pewvav, GAA KaTa Mpavovs Pepopevoe Tois TE
Sopace Tepiémimtov avTol Tois éauTa@v Kal Kate-
Kkpnuvilov wOodvTes GAANXAOUS, avwbev érmtKet-
pévav TOV Todemiov Kal Ta yupVva TraLovTwD,
@oTE TplaxtALoUS Teceiy Tepl TO Bovptovy. TAY
5é hevyovtwy Tovs pév eis Takw Abn Kabectas o
Moupzjvas atretépveto nal débOerpev brravridfov,
ot 8€ w@odpevoe pds TO Pidiov otpatoredoy Kat
Th darayye pupony éurrecovres avéTAnoav Séous
Kal Tapayhs TO TrEioTov pépos, Kal SrarpiBny
Tols otpaTnyots éverroincay ovy Heista Brapa-
cavautovs. df€éws yap 6 YwAXas Tapaccopévors
émayayev Kal To pécov SidoTnpua TO TaXEL oUDP-
eLov adeireto THY TaY Sperravnpdpwr évépyecav.
Eppwtar yap pardiota pnxet Spopov opodpornta
kal puunv tH Sve—eAdoes Sidovtos, at dé éx
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right himself, and assigning the left to Murena.[1]
His lieutenants, Galba and Hortensius, with cohorts
of reserves, stationed themselves on the heights in
the rear, to guard against attacks on the flanks. For
the enemy were. observed to be making their wing
flexible and light for evolution with large bodies of
horse and light infantry, purposing to extend it and
_envelop the Romans.

XVIII. Meanwhile the Chaeroneians, over whom Ericius had been placed in command by Sulla, made their way unnoticed around Thurium and then showed themselves suddenly, producing great confusion and rout among the Barbarians, and slaughter at one another’s hands for the most part. For they did not hold their ground, but rushed down the steeps, falling upon their own spears and crowding one another down the precipices, while their enemies pressed upon them from above and smote their exposed bodies, so that three thousand of them fell on Thurium. Of the fugitives, some were met by Murena, who had already formed his array, and were cut off and slain; others pushed their way towards the camp of their friends, and falling pell-mell upon their lines, filled the greater part of them with terror and confusion, and inflicted a delay upon their generals which was especially harmful to them. For Sulla promptly charged upon them while they were in confusion, and by abridging the space between the armies with the speed of his approach, robbed the scythe-bearing chariots of their efficiency. For these are of most avail after a long course, which gives them velocity and impetus for breaking through

1 Cf. chapter xvii. 3. Archelaiis had followed Sulla towards Chaeroneia, leaving Murena free to join his chief.

Bpaxéos apécers aim paxrou Kat apBretar, «ada-
Ep Berov Taaww ov AaBovrwv. O cy Kab TOTE
tols BapBapors amrnvTa: Kal Ta Tpara TOV ap-
patov apy as , Eedavvopeva Kal mpooTimrovTa
ved pers exkpovaavtes ot “Pepaior peta KpOTov
kal yéX@ros GAXa Hrovy, OoTrep ciwOacwy év Tais
Oeatpixais immoSpopiaus. rou TebOev ai mebat
Suvapecs suveppayncay, TOV pev BapBdpav Tpo-
Barropevoy Tas capicas paxpas Kal TeLpD WEVOV
7 cwWATT LC We THV parayya Siarnpeiv ev rake,
tov 6€ “Pwopaiwy TOUS pep vacous avrob Kata-
Baxrovror, TAG a PEveOY dé Tas paxaipas Kal
TapaKpovopevary Tas: capicas, @S TaXLOTA Tpoa-
pifevav aurois be opyny. TMpoTeTaryMEVOUS yap
EWPOV TOV Tohepiov pupious Kal TEvTaKiaXtANLOvs
Oeparovtas, ods € éx TOV TOAEWY KNPUYpacLY édEv-
Gepobyres ot Bacrréws oTpatnyol KaTehoxelov
ELS TOUS omiTas. Kab TU EXATOVTAPXNS heyeras
‘Peopaios elmrely ws év K poviors povov eldein TIS
mappnotas dovAous HETEXOVTAS. TOUVTOUS pev ovv
bia Babos Kal wuKvoTnta Bpadéws éEwboupevous
vm TOV oTALT@Y Kar Tapa puow péveuv TOAMOV-
TAS at Te Bedoapevovar Kai ot ypoa ot, Xpo-
pévov aperdéis tov xatoTw ‘Pwopatwv, aréotpe-
gov kal cuveTaparron.
XIX. "Apxeddou 5é ro SeEvov Képas ets KUKAO-
ow avayovtos, ‘Oprijavos épijxe tas omreipas
Spopep por pepopévas as euBarev mrarytors.
émiotpéevravtos 5é taxyéws éxeivou Tovs rept avrov

1 The festival of Saturn, a time of general license and mirth, when masters treated their slaves as equals.

an opposing line, but short starts are ineffectual and feeble, as in the case of missiles which do not get full propulsion. And this proved true now in the case of the Barbarians. The first of their chariots were driven

along feebly and engaged sluggishly, so that the Romans, after repulsing them, clapped their hands and laughed and called for more, as they are wont to do at the races in the circus. Thereupon the infantry forces engaged, the Barbarians holding their pikes before them at full length, and en- deavouring, by locking their shields together, to keep their line of battle intact ; while the Romans threw down their javelins, drew their swords, and sought to dash the pikes aside, that they might get at their enemies as soon as possible, in the fury that possessed them. For they saw drawn up in front of the enemy fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had set free by proclamation in the cities and enrolled among the men-at-arms. Anda certain Roman centurion is reported to have said that it was only at the Saturnalia,' so far as he knew, that slaves participated in the general license. These men, however, owing to the depth and density of their array, and the unnatural courage with which they held their ground, were only slowly repulsed by the Roman men-at-arms; but at last the fiery bolts and the javelins which the Romans in the rear ranks plied unsparingly, threw them into confusion and drove them back.

XIX. Archelaiis now extended his right wing to envelop Sulla's line, whereupon Hortensius? sent his cohorts against him on a quick run, intending to attack his flank. But Archelaiis wheeled swiftly

2 See chapter xvii. 7.

tarrets Sicxidtovs, éxOMBopevos | vro wAnGous
MpogegTEAAETO Tois Opelvois, KATA puUKpOV aTrop-
prryvipevos THS pararyyos car meptrapBavopevos
2 wire TOV TONE pLLcov. arv0opmevos 6€ 0 O Lwhras a amo
Tod Sebvod pyro T ULTENTWKOTOS els maynY
édiwxe Bon bev. "Apxedaos dé TO KoviopT®@ THs
éddoews 6 Grrep iy Texunpdpevos, 'Oprijacov pev eta
aipeu, autos oe emaTpewras Opynoev 60ev o
vAXas + 7 pos TO befeov, as épnpov a&pxovTos aipn-
cov. apa oe Kat Mouprvg Tafians errye TOUS
Karmcdomesas, date THs Kpavyts StyoOev pepo-
pévns Kal Tav dp@v avramodwovt@y THY 'TeEpt-
NXNTL, emiaTHTavTa Tov YvAAav Staropeiy
3 oTroTépwae xpn mpooyevécbar. dokav Se THY
éavTob Takw dvahapBaverv, Movupiva pev dpa-
ryov émreprpev 'Oprijccoy éyovra téccapas omei-
pas, auros dé THY TeLT THY érea ae Kehevoas
él To SeELov nretyeTo kat nal éavTo pe afto-
paxcos non TO "Apxyerdw TUVETTHKOS, éKELVOU
dé émupavévtos mavrdnacw ¢ébeBidcarto, Kal
KpaTjoavTes édioxov Wpos TE TOV TOT apLOv Kat
4 70 "AxovTLov pos Tm pot pom dony pevyovtas. — ov
nv & ye Lwrras TpeAN CE Moupyva xuvduvevov-
TOS, anra Gpynce Tos éxel Bonbeiv: tdov dé
ViKGVTAS, tote THs Siwews peTeixe. ToARol

bev ovv év TO medio tav BapBdpwyv aynpodrTo,
Theloroe be ™® Xdpaxt mpoopepomevot Kare-
KOTNG AY, Gore puplovs dtamreceiv. eis Xarxida
Hovous aro TOTOUT@Y pupiddov. o &é LwAdas
héyet Téscapas Kal Séxa emilntiiga, Tay avrod
TTPATLOTOY, eita Kal Tovtwy dvo0 mpos THY
5 éomépav trapayevécOar. 810 xa) tois TpoTraiors
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against him his two thousand horsemen, and Hor- tensius, forced aside by superior numbers, was keeping close to the hills, separating himself little by little from the main line, and getting surrounded by the enemy. When Sulla learned of this, he came swiftly to his aid from the right wing, which was not yet engaged. But Archelaiis, guessing the truth from the dust raised by Sulla's troops, gave Horten- sius the go-by, and wheeling, set off for the right wing whence Sulla had come, thinking to surprise it without a commander. At the same time Murena also was attacked by Taxiles with his Bronze-shields, so that when shouts were borne to his ears from both places, and reéchoed by the surrounding hills, Sulla halted, and was at a loss to know in which of the two directions he ought to betake himself. But having decided to resume his own post, he sent Hortensius with four cohorts to help Murena, while he himself, bidding the fifth cohort to follow, hastened to the right wing. This of itself had already engaged Archelaiis on equal terms, but when Sulla appeared, they drove the enemy back at all points, obtained the mastery, and pursued them to the river and Mount Acontium in a headlong flight. Sulla, however, did not neglect Murena in his peril, but set out to aid the forces in that quarter; he saw, however, that they were victorious, and then joined in the pursuit. Many of the Barbarians, then, were slain in the plain, but most were cut to pieces as they rushed for their entrenchments, so that only ten thousand out of so many myriads made their escape into Chalcis. But Sulla says he missed only fourteen of his soldiers, and that afterwards, towards evening, two of these came in. He _ therefore

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émréyparpey "Apy ral Nixnv kat 'Agpoditny, Os
ovy HT Tov evTuxia KaTopIwcas i Sewvornre Kaul
Suvdpet TOV TONELOV. aNAG TOUTO pev TO Tpo-
qTa.ov éaTnKe Ths TESLAOOS paxns a 7 P@TOV
evexdivay Ol TEpL "Apxédaov Tapa * TO Modov
petOpor, Erepov 6€ €OTL TOU @oupiou Kara Kopu-
pay BeBnxos emt TH KUKAOTEL TOV BapBapor,
ry pa Lact 'EXAquixois émianpaivov 'Oporsixov
kal 'Avagidapov dpiareis. TAUTNS Ta eT WViKLa
THS paxns Hryev ev OnBars, mept tHv Oidiuro-
Sevov Kpyivnv Kxatacxevadcas Ovupérnv. of Sé
Kpivovtes joav "EXAnves x TOV GAAwV avaKke-

KAnpévot ‘TONEwD, érrel 7 pos ye @nBaious adian.-
AaKTMS elye, kal THIS X@pas avT@Y ATrOTELOPLEVOS
THV jpioecay T®@ IIvOiw cal tO "Oduye nathé-
pwcev, éx TOV _mpoaddav Kedevoas amodisoc0a
Ta XpHpata Tois Geois a aTEp AUTOS ether.
XX. Mera TavTa TmuvOavopevos PrdKKov aro
Tis évaytias oT ao ews dratov npnpevov StaTrepav
Tov "Tovtoy peta Suva pews, hoy HEY ert M6 pe-
darny, EPY? dé én éxeivov avror, @ppnoev ert
@ertarias ws ATAVTHT OY. yevouév@ dé avT@
Tepl TOM Mehitevav adixvobvTo Toda Bev
ayyenNiat mopbeia Oat Ta KATOT LY avOis ove édat-
TOVL OTpATLG BactrLnh THs 7 poTepov. Aopudaos
yap eis XarxiSa karaxOels TapacKev? veay
TOAAH, €v als iryev OKT@ pupiddas noKnpévas
Kal ouvretaypévas apiota 569 THS MiOpibatixgs
1 wapa with Bekker, after Emperius: péxp: mapa.

1 A deity of good fortune among the Romans. So named ‘‘ because in it Oedipus washed off the blood of his murdered father” (Pausanias, ix. 18, 4).

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inscribed upon his trophies the names of Mars, Victory and Venus,! in the belief that his success in the war was due no less to good fortune than to military skill and strength. This trophy of the battle in the plain stands on the spot where the troops of Archelaiis first gave way, by the brook Molus, but there is another planted on the crest of Thurium, to commemorate the envelopment of the Barbarians there, and it indicates in Greek letters that Homoloichus and Anaxidamus were the heroes of the exploit. The festival in honour of this victory was celebrated by Sulla in Thebes, where he prepared a stage near the fountain of Oedipus? But the judges were Greeks invited from the other cities, since towards the Thebans he was irreconcileably hostile. He also took away half of their territory and consecrated it to Pythian Apollo and Olympian Zeus, giving orders that from its revenues the moneys should be paid back to the gods which he had taken from them.’

XX. After this, learning that Flaccus, a man of the opposite faction, had been chosen consul ‘* and was crossing the Ionian sea with an army, ostensibly against Mithridates, but really against himself, he set out towards Thessaly in order to meet him. But when he was come to the city of Meliteia, tidings reached him from many quarters that the regions behind him were ravaged again by an army of the king which was no smaller than the former. For Dorylaiis, having put in at Chalcis with a large fleet, on which he brought eighty thousand of the best trained and disciplined men in the army of

3 Cf. chapter xii. 3-6.
4 With Cinna, to succeed Marius, who died in 86 B.c.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

oTpaTlas, evOvds eis Bowwtiav evéBane Kat maTetxe
THDV xwpay, 7 poOupovpevos eis paxny emlomd-
cacba. Tov 2Urray, ov Tpooex ov "ApXerag
StaxwdvovTt, Kal Aovyov TEpl THS TpoTépas paxns
Suadsd0vs ws OvK dvev mpocootas pupiddes Toa-
Tat dsapOapeiev. ov pny ara o Luvs TAXEWS
DrooTpEyas amedeife TO Aopvrdw TOV “ApXE-
Aaov dvdpa Ppovepov Kat THiS ‘Popaiwy eds
poTaroy apeTis, WOTE PUK pa avTov 7 2vALa
mepl TO Tiadacctov éumeo ovTa ™p@rov elvat
TOV OUK af tov Tov Kpiver Oar bua HAXNS: adra
Satdvats Kal Xpore TpiBew TOV TONEHOV. Gpuas
5é Oapoos Te T@ “Apxerdo Tapeiyey O TpOs
Opxopevd T6908, év @ KATETTPATOTEDEVTADY,
evpverTatos @v imToKpAaTovaty evaywvicacbat.
TOV yap Bowwriwv mediov 6 Th Tép éoTt Kad-
NtoTOVY Kal peyvorov, TovTO Tis (Opxopevior
éEnpTnpevov TONEWS omarov AVATEN TAT OL KAaL
adevdpov dypt tov édrov év ols o Ménas Kar
avaniocKeTalt TroTapos, aVAaTEANOV pev vo THY
Toy tav 'Opyopeviwy todvs Kal TAWIpwos Ev
anyais povos TOV SEdAquicdv ToTapay, av&éo-
HEVOS dé vTo TpoTas Oepuvds, done o Ne?Xos,
Kal hépwv omota Tots excel Ta vopeva, Thay
dxapTa, Kal avavky. Toppa dé ov Tpocrow,
anna TO pev TAELo TOV evdvs Els Aipvas Tuphas
Kal éXwoEs adaviterat, pépos dé ov TOD Tw
Kygio@ TULplyvUTaL, Tepl OV padiora TOTCOV
” Aluvyn OoKel Tov audyTeKov éxpépew Kddapmov.
XXI. ’Ered dé eyyus KaTETTPATOTEsEVaaY, O
pev “Apyéraos novyavev, o d€ LUAAaS wpuUTTE
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Mithridates, at once burst into Boeotia and occupied the country. He was eager to entice Sulla to battle, disregarding the protests of Archelaiis, and giving it out that in the previous battle so many myriads had not perished without treachery. Sulla, however, turning swiftly back, showed Dorylaiis that Archelaiis was a man of prudence and best acquainted with the Roman valour, so that after a slight skirmish with Sulla near Tilphossium, he was first of those who thought it expedient not to decide the issue by a battle, but rather to wear out the war by dint of time and treasure. Nevertheless, Archelaiis was much encouraged by the nature of the country about Orchomenus, where they were encamped, since it was most favourable as a battle-field for an army superior in cavalry. For of all the plains of Boeotia this is the largest and fairest, and beginning from the city of Orchomenus, it spreads out smooth and treeless as far as the marshes in which the river Melas loses itself. This rises close under the city of Orchomenus, and is the only Greek river that is copious and navigable at its sources; moreover, it increases towards the time of the summer solstice, like the Nile, and produces plants like those which grow there, only stunted and without fruit. Its course is short, however, and the greater part of it disappears at once in blind and marshy lakes, while a small portion of it unites with the Cephisus, some- where near the place in which the stagnant water is reputed to produce the famous reed for flutes.! XXI. When the two armies had encamped near each other, Archelaiis lay still, but Sulla proceeded

! The Boeotians excelled with the flute. See Alcibiades, li. 4-6.

Tap pous exatépwen, 6 Grrws, él Suvacto, TOV OTE-
pea Kal LIT aolLey GTFOTE [LO EVOS Tous TOXE-
pious acevev els Ta &Xn. Tav dé ovK dvacyxo-
ever, GNX' @S apelOnaav UTrO TOV OT PATHYOV,
evTavens Kat pudny éXNaUVOVTMY, OU povov ot Tept
Ta &pya Tov aura dtecxeddaOncav, GNNG Kal
TOU TapareTayMEvov cuvex On TO TAELOTOV puy-
OVTOS. évOa 8h LwArAas avTos anroTrnoncas TOU
iirqrov Kat onpeiov avapTracas @Geito Sta TOV
ghevyovtwyv eis Tovs Toheuious, Bowy " "Eyot pe
évtav0d mov Kadov, ® 'Pwpuator, reNevTay, Upmeis
6é Tois nruvdavonevors jou Tpoded@xare TOV
avToKpaTopa, pep névoe ppaterv as év 'Opyo-
pev@. TovTouvs te 57 TO pnOev éeméatpeve,
Kat tav én Tob beEod Képws o7TrEelpav duo
tpoceBonOnaav, as étayayou TpereTat TOUS
Tonepiovs. avayaryov dé puxpov orice, Kat
Sous pus ov avrois, addus arretadpeve TOV ya-
paka TOV Tone Lien. at b€ avOus év Taber panr-

Nov 7h T pOTEpov T pooepépovTo. Kal Atoyevns
bev O THs "Apxedaou yuvarKos vids apiorevov
él tod SeEov TEPLOTTOS émecey, ob 6& roforas,
TOV ‘Popateov éxBralopever, ou EXOVTES ava-
or popyy a8 poots Tois dia Tots ex Xetpos @orEp
Eiheot tratovres aveKon Tov auTous, TéNOS b¢
kataxderaBevres els TOV xdpaKa poxOnpas v6
TpaupdTov Kal povou Stevuxtépevaar. npepas
be Tad 7 Xapace TOUS oTpaTLaTas Tpocaya-
ryeov o Svdas ameradpevev. eFerOovras dé TOUS
TOANOUS ws ert pdynv cuuBarov TpéTreTal, Kal
1 ¢dvov Bekker adopts Reiske’s correction to pdBov (terror).

to dig trenches on either side, in order that, if possible, he might cut the enemy off from the solid ground which was favourable for cavalry, and force them into the marshes. The enemy, however, would not suffer this, but when their generals sent them forth, charged impetuously and at full speed, so that not only Sulla’s labourers were dispersed, but also the greater part of the corps drawn up to protect them was thrown into confusion and fled. Then Sulla threw himself from his horse, seized an ensign, and pushed his way through the fugitives against the enemy, crying : “‘ For me, O Romans, an honour- able death here; but you, when men ask you where you betrayed your commander, remember to tell them, at Orchomenus.’” The fugitives rallied at these words, and two of the cohorts on his right wing came to his aid; these he led against the enemy and routed them. Then he fell back a little distance, and after giving his men breakfast, again proceeded to fence the enemy’s entrench- ments off with his ditches. But they attacked him again in better order than before, Diogenes, the step-son of Archelaiis, fought gallantly on their right wing, and fell gloriously, and their archers, being hard pressed by the Romans, so that they had no room to draw their bows, took their arrows by handfuls, struck with them as with swords, at close quarters, and tried to beat back their foes, but were finally shut up in their entrenchments, and had a miserable night of it with their slain and wounded. Next day Sulla again led his soldiers up to the enemy’s fortifications and continued trenching them off, and when the greater part of them came out to give him battle, he engaged with them and routed

\ \ b] / , 9 \ , e a”
mpos Tov éxelvwv hoBov ovdevos pévovrTos aipet
Kata Kpa@tos TO oTpaTomedov. Kal Katémrdnoay
aToOynaKovTes aipatos Ta Edn Kal vexpav THY
ALuvnv, @oTe pwéxpt viv ToANA BapBapixa Toka
Kai kpdvn Kal Owpdewv omdcpata oldnpav Kat

payaipas éuBeBamticpévas tois TéApacw evpi-
oxecOal, oyedov erav Staxociwy aro THS payns
éxeiyns StayeyovoTov. Ta pev ovv mept Xas-
pwveray Kal mpos ’'Opxopev@ tTowadta éyeTar
yevéo Oat.
XXII. Kivva 6€ cai KdpBavos év ‘Popy tots
émipavertatols avopdct Ypwpevov Tapavouws Kat
Btaiws, rodXot THY Tupavvida pevyovtes womep els
Mpéva TOD YWAAa TO oTpaToTEdoY KaTEpEporToO,
Kal Tepl AUTOV OALryou Ypovou oxXHpa BourHs éeye-
yover. Kat MerérAXAa ports Staxrtepaca éauvtny
kal tovs tatdas, heey ayyéXNovaa THY oiKiav
avtod Kal Tas émavnres td trav éyOpav éeutre-
apnobat Kal Seopévn trois olxor BonOetv. atropov-
péva 8 avt@, nal pnte ths watpidos aperetv
Urom“evovTt KaKOUpEeVNS UTE ETTWS ATELTLY ATENES
NT@v ToTovTOY épyov, Tov MiOpdatiKov TOAELOY,
émivoovvTt, Tapayiveras Andraxos gum opos "Apxeé-
Aaos, edmidas Tivas Kal NOyous KpUha Trapa Tov
Bacirixod Kopitwv “Apyeddov. «al To wpaypa
LwAAas oUTwsS NyaTnTEV waTE auvTOS Eis NOYOUS
orevoar TO Apyedd@ ouveOeiv: nal ovvndrbov
émt OaratrTn tept AndLov, of To tepov Tod ’AroA-
Awvos €atw. apEayévou Sé rod “Apyeddou &a-
NéyeaOat, Kal Tov BvAAav akwdvtos adévta THv
1 Plutarch must, therefore, have written this Life shortly
before 115 a.p.

them, and such was their panic that no resistance
was made, and he took their camp by storm. The
marshes were filled with their blood, and the lake
with their dead bodies, so that even to this day
many bows, helmets, fragments of steel breastplates,
and swords of barbarian make are found embedded
in the mud, although almost two hundred years have
passed since this battle Such, then, are the
accounts given of the actions at Chaeroneia and
Orchomenus.
XXII. Now since Cinna and Carbo? at Rome were treating the most eminent men with injustice and violence, many of these had fled from their tyranny and were repairing to Sulla’s camp as to a harbour of

refuge, and in a little time he had about him a semblance of a senate. Metella, also, who had with difficulty stolen herself and her children away, came with tidings that his house and his villas had been burned by his enemies, and with entreaties that he would come to the help of his partisans at home. But while he was in doubt what to do, and could neither consent to neglect his country when she was outraged, nor see his way clear to go away and leave unfinished so great a task as the war with Mithridates, there came to him a merchant of Delos, named Archelaiis, who secretly brought from Archelaiis the king's general certain vague hopes and propositions. The matter was so wel- come to Sulla that he was eager to have a personal conference with Archelaiis; and they had a meeting on the sea-coast near Delium, where the temple of Apollo is. Archelaiis began the conference by urging Sulla to abandon Asia and Pontus and sail

2 Elected consul with Cinna in 85 B.c.

"Aciav nat tov Tovrov émi tov év "Payn morcnov
wrelv, Xpjuata AaBovta Kal Tpinpes Kai bv-
vay donv BovroTo Tapa Tod Bacthéws, Utro-
AaBov o LvAras MiOpidartou pev apereiy Exérevev,
avrov &€ Bactrevev ayt' éxeivou cvppayor
'Pwpatwoy yevouevov cal mapaddvta tas vais.
apootovpévov dé tov *Apyerdou Hv mpodo-
ota, " Kita," épn, "od peév, @ "Apyérae, Karr-
masoKns @v cal BapBdpov Baciréws SotXos, et
5é Bovret, hiros, ovy Vropévers emt tHrALKOUVTOLS
ayabois 76 aioxpov, éuol dé Hyeuour "Popaiwy
évTe nal Lrra ToAuds StaréyecOar epi ampo-
Socias, Waotrep ovK exeivos dv Apyxédaos, o puy@v
pev éx Xatpwveias orLyooTos ato pupiddwv dvo-
caldexa, KpudOels &€ Svo jyépas év tots 'Op-
youeviwy éXecw, GBatov dé tHv Bowwtiay vie
vexpov wAROous atroreXoLTTAS ;" éx TOUTOU pETA-
Barov o 'Apyédacs Kxal mpoocxuyncas édeito
mavoac0at Tov Todéuou Kal StadrrayHnvat pos
tov MiOpidarnv. SeEapévou S€ tod SvrArAa THv
mTpokAnot éeyévovto auvOnKcat, MiOpidarnv pev
"Aciav adeivas nat Tladdayoviav, éxorinvas dé
BiOvvias Nixoundes cal Kamadoxias! 'Apto-
Baplavyn, xataBareiy 8€ 'Pwpaiow dsucyiita
TadXavTa Kal Sovvat vais éBdounKovtra yad-
KHpELS PETA THS oixelas TapacKeuys, LaAdAav
dé éxeiv@ tHv Te AAANY apynv BeBaoby Kal ovp-
paxov 'Popaiwv ydivec@ar.

XXIII. Tovtwv oporoynbévrayv davaorpéepas
éBddile Sta @ettarias cat Maxedovias éri tov
“EAAjoTovToy, éxov pe? abtod tov “Apyénaov év
1 «al Kawnadoxlas Bekker, after Coraés: Kawmnadoxlas.

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for the war in Rome, on condition of receiving
money, triremes, and as large a force as he wished,
from the king. Sulla rejoined by bidding him take
no further thought for Mithridates, but assume the
crown himself in his stead, becoming an ally of
the Romans, and surrendering to them his ships.
And when Archelaiis expressed his abhorrence of
such treason, Sulla said: “So then, thou, Archelaiis,
who art a Cappadocian, and a slave of a barbarian
king, or, if thou wilt, his friend, wilt not consent
to a disgraceful deed for such great rewards; but
to me, who am a Roman commander, and Sulla,
thou darest to propose treachery? as if thou wert
not that Archelaiis who fled from Chaeroneia with
a few survivors out of one hundred and twenty
thousand men, and who lay hid for two days in
the marshes of Orchomenus, and who left Boeotia
impassable for the multitude of dead bodies!”
Upon this, Archelaiis changed his tone, and as a
humble suppliant besought him to desist from the
war and be reconciled with Mithridates. Sulla
granted the request, and terms of agreement were
made as follows: Mithridates was to renounce
Asia and Paphlagonia, restore Bithynia to Nicomedes
and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, pay down to the
Romans two thousand talents, and give them seventy
bronze-armoured ships with their proper equipment ;
Sulla, on his part, was to confirm Mithridates in the
rest of his dominions, and get him voted an ally of
the Romans.
XXIII. When these agreements had been made, .
Sulla turned back and proceeded by way of Thessaly
and Macedonia towards the Hellespont, having
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2

Tin. Kal YOO HOAVTOS emia paras Tept Adpiscav
EMT TNT aS THY mopelay, @s €vos TOV UT avToV
HryEwovey Kal oTpaTnyav érrewen On. Tatra Te
57 StéBarr€ 70 Tepl Xatpoverav epyov @S ovxt
callapas ayovrader, Kal 6tt ToUs AaAXOUS Mi pr-
barn pidous, obs elev aixpadorous, atodovs oO
SUAAas "A piotiwva p-ovov TOV TUpAVvov avetre
dua sree "Apxedaw Sudgopov 6 évTa* padMota
e n d00cioa Yh TO Kamradoxy puptov TrEOp@rY
ev Evfoia, Kal TO 'Popaiov ptXov avrov ral
oT UMMAX OV UT O Wwhara avaypaphvar. mept peep
OvY TOUTMY AUTOS Oo LUAXaS ev TOls UTOpYHpacLY
amronoyetran.
Tore &é _ mpeo Bevtev Tapa TOU Mc6piddrov
Tapayevouévwy Kal Ta pev adda packovTmy
déyver Gat, IadAayoviar dé akvowvTov un adar-
peBvas, TAS dé vats ovdé 6rAwS oporoynOhvac,
yvarerrnvas o LwaAras, "Ti pare; 'e eire, "McOpe-
Odrys Tagdayovias ayruovetr as Kal mepl TAY
veo eapvos € éoTe, Ov éry@ T poo KuyHa ew évoptCov,
EL THY deEvav avTo KaTahevrrotpe yeipa, St Hs
rocovTous 'Popaiwv avelrev ; ; éTépas pEVTOL Ta a
gavas adnoet StaBdvros els 'Aatav éuou: viv oé
év Tlepydpp KaOrjpevos 6 ov ovx éwpaxe Stactpa-
TnYyEL TONELOV. Ob pev ovv m peo Bets poBndevres
novxator, o 0 be "Apxedaos édetTo Tov >vAAa Kat
KATET PAVE THY opty, Gm TOmevos TIS beftas
avrod «al Saxpiov. TENOS & éewcev arro-
oTadHvat avtos! mpos Tov McOpiddtyv: Stampa€-

1 amooraAjva avrds Sintenis! and Bekker, after Emperius : amocraAjvat. The best MS. (S8) has adrovs.

Archelaiis with him, and in honour. And when Arche-
laiis fell dangerously ill at Larissa, Sulla stopped his
march, and cared for him as if he had been one

of his own commanding officers. This raised the suspicion that the action at Chaeroneia had not been fairly fought, as well as the fact that Sulla released the other friends of Mithridates whom he had taken captive, but put to death Aristion the tyrant alone, by poison, who was at enmity with Archelaiis; the strongest ground for the suspicion, however, was his gift to the Cappadocian of ten thousand acres of land in Euboea, and his bestowing upon him the title of friend and ally of the Romans. At any rate, on these points Sulla defends himself in his Memoirs.

At this time also ambassadors from Mithridates arrived, and when they declared that he accepted the other terms, but demanded that Paphlagonia be not taken away from him, and that as to the ships no agreement whatsoever should be made, Sulla flew into a passion and said: ‘ What say ye? Mithridates maintains his claim to Paphlagonia, and refuses to give the ships, when I thought he would prostrate himself humbly before me if I should leave him but that right hand of his, with which he took the lives of so many Romans? However, he will quickly talk in another strain after I have crossed into Asia; now he sits in Pergamum and directs a war which he has not seen.” The ambassadors, accordingly, were frightened, and held their peace; but Archelaiis entreated Sulla, and tried to soften his anger, laying hold of his right hand and weeping. And finally he obtained Sulla’s consent to send him in person to Mithridates ; for

écOa yap éd ols Botretar THY eipyyny, ec Sé px qmelOo., KTEVELY aUTOS aUTOV. emt ToUTOLS éKméuwas éxeivov avtos eis THY Madixnv évéBare, Kal Ta TONG StaTropOncas TdAw dvétpeper Ets Maxedoviav, cat tov ’Apyédaov ébéEato epi @irimmouvs ayyé\Novta Karos Exe wWdvtaSetcOar Sé mavtws avT@ Tov Midpiddrnv ets Noyous eAOeiv. aitios & Hv padruota DipBpias, Os TOY aro THS ETépas oTdoEws ApxYovta PraKKov avedwov Kat Tov MiOpidatixav otpatnyav Kpa-

Thoas ém avutov éxeivov éBddihe. tadtTa yap
Seicas o McOpiddarns paddov eideto TH AAG
giros yevécOar.
XXIV. LuvArGov odv r7s Tpwados év Aapdava,
MiOpidarns pev Exov vais avtToO. Staxocias
évnpes Kal THs mwelns Suvdwews omditas pev
Siopupious, imeis 5é éEaxioyiriovs Kal avyva
Tav Spetravnpopav, YvAAas 5 réocapas oteipas
Kal Es 1 immets. amavtnoavros &é€ Tob
McOpidatov Kai thy SeE:av mpoteivavtos, npwTn-
oey avTov et KatadvoeTat Tov TroAEwov ed ols
a@poroyncev "Apyédaos' otwravtos b€ Tov 9 -
oihéws, 0 LUANaS "AANA pny," Edn, " THY deo-
pévov éatl TO Tpotépous Aéyetv, Tois 5é Vix@oer
éFapxel TO owwav. érrel dé apk—dpevos THs
atroXoyias 0 McOpiddatys érrerpato Tov ToAemou
Ta pev eis Saipovas tTpéTrev, TA S5é avTOUS aiTLa-
Oat tovs 'Pwpaious, vrorkaBeov o YwaAdas édn
mara pev Evépwv axoverv, viv & avros éyvaoxévar
tov MiOpidarnv Sevotarov syta pnropevev, ds
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he said that he would have the peace ratified on
Sulla's terms, or, if he could not persuade the
king, would kill himself. Upon these assurances
Sulla sent him away, and then himself invaded
the country of the Maedi, and after ravaging the
most of it, turned back again into Macedonia, and
received Archelaiis at Philippi. Archelaiis brought
him word that all was well, but that Mithridates
insisted on a conference with him. Fimbria was
chiefly responsible for this, who, after killing
Flaccus, the consul of the opposite faction,! and
overpowering the generals of Mithridates, was
marching against the king himself. For this
terrified Mithridates, and he chose rather to seek
the friendship of Sulla.
XXIV. They met, accordingly, at Dardanus, in the Troad, Mithridates having two hundred ships there, equipped with oars, twenty thousand men- at-arms from his infantry force, six thousand horse, and a throng of scythe-bearing chariots; Sulla, on the other hand, having four cohorts and two hundred horse. When Mithridates came towards him and put out his hand, Sulla asked him if he would put a stop to the war on the terms which Archelaiis had made, and as the king was silent, Sulla said : "But surely it is the part of suppliants to speak first, while victors need only to be silent." Then Mithridates began a defence of

himself, and tried to shift the blame for the war partly upon the gods, and partly upon the Romans themselves. But Sulla cut him short, saying that he had long ago heard from others, but now knew of himself, that Mithridates was a very powerful orator, since he

1 See chapter xii. 8 and note.

én mpdkecw ottw movnpais Kal mapavopots
NOyov eyovTwy evirpéretavy ovK NropnKkev. é€-
eréyEas 5€ Ta Trempayuéva TiKpas UI avToD Kal
KaTnyopicas, Tad npwTnoev el Totet TA TUY-
ceipeva St "Apyedrdov. gdyaavtos 5€é soceiv,
odTws nomdaaTo Kal TepiiaBav epirnoev ator,
"AptoBaplavnv Sé avis nat Nexopndnv tovs
proBap pd
Bacireis mpocayaywv Sindd\akev. 0 pev odv
MiOpiddtns éBdopunxovta vais tmapadots «al
toforas mevtaxoctous eis lovtov amémdevoev.
O 8 YvAras, aicPopevos dyPopévous Tors
otpatiwtas TH Stadvce (Tov yap ExOioTov TaY
Bactréwy kal Sexatrévre pupiddas Hyépa pia tev
év 'Acia 'Popaiwy xatachayivat tapacKeva-
cavra Seivoy nyouvTo peta TAOUTOU Kal Nadvpav
opav éexmréovta ths 'Acias, iv Etn Téocapa
ANenraTav Kal hoporoyav SueTédXecev), aTreNoyetTo
Mpos avTovs ws ovK dv aua DipBpia cal MiOpe-
Sdrn modepeiv, ef suvéotnoav audorepor Kat
autov, Suvnbeis. |
XXV. 'Opunoas 5é exetOev ert DipBpiav mpos
@vareipos otpatoTedevovta Kai mrAnoloy KaTa-
tevEas, Tdppov TH otpatoTréd@ mepréBarev. ot
dé ro Dip Spiov ctpari@tar povoyiTwves €x TOU
otTpatoTédou mpoiovtes naomwalovTo Tous éKxeivou
a cuvehapBavov avtois Tay épywy mpoOvpws.
dpav 5é 6 DipBpias tiv petaBorgrv Kal Tov
UAXNav ws adiddXaktov Sedoixws avTos éavToy
év T@ oTpatoTrédy SuépOerpe.

1 In the late autumn of 88 8B.c. The cities of Asia Minor were glad to obey the orders of Mithridates for a general

had not been at a loss for plausible arguments to defend such baseness and injustice as his. Then he reproached him bitterly and denounced him for what he had done, and asked him again if he would keep the agreements made through Archelaiis. And when he said that he would, then Sulla greeted him with an embrace and a kiss, and later, bringing to him Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes the kings, he reconciled him with them. Mithridates, accordingly, after handing over to Sulla seventy ships and five hundred archers, sailed away to Pontus.

But Sulla perceived that his soldiers were incensed at the peace which he had made; they thought it a terrible thing to see the most hostile of kings, who had caused one hundred and fifty thousand of the Romans in Asia to be massacred in a single day ! go sailing off with wealth and spoils from Asia, which he had for four years continued to plunder and levy taxes on. He therefore defended himself to them by saying that he would not have been able to carry on war with Mithridates and Fimbria too, if they had both joined forces against him.

XXV. Then he set out from thence against Fimbria, who was encamped near Thyateira, and halting his army near by, began to fortify his camp. But the soldiers of Fimbria came forth from their camp without any armour on, and welcomed Sulla’s soldiers, and joined them eagerly in their labours, and when Fimbria saw this change in their allegiance, fearing that Sulla was irreconcileable, he laid violent hands on himself in the camp.

massacre of the resident Romans. Cf. Appian, Mithridates, xxii. Valerius Maximus (ix. 2, 4, Ext. 3) gives the number of slain as 80,000.

2

bo

SwrAras 8é Kown pev eCnuliwoe tiv ’Aciav Stopupious taddvros, idia dé Tovs olxous é&é- tpiev DBper Kal Todopkia trav émictab wevov- Twy. éTéTaKTo yap éExdoTns nuépas TH KaTAaAUTH tov févov Sidovat téscapa tetpadpa at

mapexey Seitvov avt@ xal dirols, Soovs av
€0édn Karel, taFiapxov dé wevtnxovta Spaypas
AapBdvev THs jpépas, écOn7Ta Sé GAAnV pev
olKoup@v, adXnv be eis ayopay TpoepKopEvos.
XXXVI. "AvayOeis 5€ mdcats tais vavoly é&
"Edécouv tpitaios ev Tletpacet xabwppicOn: Kai
punbels éFeinev éaut@ thy "AmedANKOVOS TOD
Tniov BiBroO nny, ev y Ta TAEioTAa TeV 'Apio-
ToTéXous Kal Meoppdctov BiBriwv Hv, odtrw ToTE
capes yrwptlopeva tots moddots. RéyeTae Sé
kopic0eions avths eis "'Pwynv Tupavviwva tov
ypapparixov évonevacacOa Ta Todd, Kal Trap'
avtov tov 'Podsov Avdpérixov evropnocayta Tov
avtiypagev eis pécov Oeivar Kal avayparyar Tous
viv gepopévous trivaxas. ot 6&8 ampecBvrepot
Ilepuratyrixot paivovrar pev ab" éavtods yevo-
pevot Yaptevtes kal diroroyor, Tav bé "Apictote-
Nous Kal Beodpacrov ypappdtwv ovte roAXots
ovTe axptBas évtetuxnxotes 51a TO TOV Nnréws
Tov Xxnriov KAnpov, @ Ta BiPrAia Katédutre
@codpactos, eis adirotipous Kal idtwras av-
Opwirous mepiyevér Oat.
1 rodtopxig MSS., Coraés, Sintenis!, Bekker : rAcoveéle after
Solanus.
1 Cf. Lucullus, iv. 1.
2 Cf. Strabo, xiii. 1, 54. Scepsis was a city of the Troad,
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Sulla now laid a public fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents,! and utterly ruined individual families by the insolent outrages of the soldiers quartered on them. For orders were given that the host should give his guest four tetradrachms every day, and furnish him, and as many friends as he might wish to invite, with a supper; and that a military tribune should receive fifty drachmas a day, and two suits of clothing, one to wear when he was at home, and another when he went abroad.

XXVI. Having put to sea with all his ships from Ephesus, on the third day he came to anchor in Piraeus. He was now initiated into the mysteries, and seized for himself the library of Apellicon the Teian, in which were most of the treatises of Aristotle and Theophrastus, at that time not yet well known to the public. But it is said that after the

library was carried to Rome, Tyrannio the grammarian arranged most of the works in it, and that Andronicus the Rhodian was furnished by him with copies of them, and published them, and drew up the lists now current. The older Peripatetics were evidently of themselves accomplished and learned men, but they seem to have had neither a large nor an exact acquaintance with the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus, because the estate of Neleus of Scepsis, to whom Theophrastus bequeathed his books, came into the hands of careless and illiterate people.?
and a centre of learning under the Attalid dynasty of Per- gamum. The writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus were hidden in an underground cellar by their owners, to keep them from being taken to Pergamum, and came in a damaged condition into the possession of Apellicon.

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3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

BwArAr| 6é SiatpiBovre mept Tas "AOnvas adynpa. vaprades peta Bdpous els rovs todas é eveTrecer, 6 dynow o 2rpdBov moddypas pedo pov elvac. dtamrAevaas ovv els Aidnpov EX PATO TOI Oeppots bdace, pabupar a apa Kal guvdinpepevov Tots mept TOV Avévucov TexviTass. TepiTaTouvTos bé mT pos THY Oararray aduels tives tx Obs avT@ Tayxddous T poonveyKav. na dels d€ Tos dapous, Kat qrv- Gopevos Os e€ “AAG * elev, “Ere yap oT Tes “Adaiov; ” épn’ eTuyXave yap, OTe THD 1 pos ‘Opxoper@ paxny VEVLKNKOS édimKe TOUS TrOE- lous, apa Tpets Tones THS Bowwrtias, "AvOnéova, Adpupvay, “Aras 1 avnpnKes. tav & avO pana UTr0 déous adaver YEVOMEVOOY, Siaperdidoas éxé- Nevoev aTrLEevaL Xaipovras, @S ov peta pavhov oude akiov dAsyopias HKOVTAaS TrapalTnTov. ‘AXator pev éx TouTou Aéyovar Oappycavtes avles eis THY TOMY TUvENOeEtD.
XXVII. Svarras 8 S:a @etrarias cai Maxe- Sovias cataBas emt OdratTav TapeaKevaleTo XerAtaes vavoi kal Siaxociars amo Avppaxiov draadretv eis Bpevrécuov. 7 de ‘Atroddwvia wAnaotov éori, xal Tos aura To Nuvpdarop, tepos

TOTS éx xMoepas vaTrns Kat AeLpaver avadibous
mupos mWwyyas omopdbas evdehex Os péovtos. év-
rav0a pact Korpmpevov an@var odTupov, oloy ot
TAdoTaL Kal ypadels eledfovow, axGevra 6é WS
LvAAay épwracbat Se Epynvéwy TorAdAOY GoTIS
ein' POeyEapuevou 5é ports ovdevy GuvETas, ada
1 'AdA@y, 'AAds with Coraés (in notes): 'AAa@y, 'AAalas.

1 In some passage not now extant.

While Sulla was tarrying at Athens, his feet were attacked by numbness and a feeling of heaviness, which Strabo says! is premonitory gout. He there- fore crossed the straits to Aedepsus and used the hot waters there, taking a holiday at the same time, and passing his time pleasantly with the theatrical artists. Once, as he was walking along the sea- shore, certain fishermen brought him some very fine fish. Being delighted with their gift, and learning that they were from Halae, " What!" said he, " is any man of Halae still alive?" For when he was pursuing the enemy after his victory at Orchomenus, he had destroyed three cities of Boeotia together, Anthedon, Larymna, and Halae. The men were speechless with terror, but Sulla smiled and bade them depart in peace, since they had brought with them no mean or despicable intercessors. The men of Halae say that this gave them courage to go back again in a body to their city.

XXVIT. And now Sulla, having passed through Thessaly and Macedonia down to the sea, was pre- paring to cross from Dyrrhachium to Brundisium with twelve hundred ships.? Near by is Apollonia, and in its vicinity is the Nymphaeum, a sacred precinct, which sends forth in various places from its green dell and meadows, streams of perpetually flow- ing fire. Here, they say, a satyr was caught asleep, such an one as sculptors and painters represent, and brought to Sulla, where he was asked through many interpreters who he was. And when at last he uttered nothing intelligible, but with difficulty

2 His fleet had sailed round Peloponnesus from Piraeus. According to Appian (Bell. Civ. i. 79), Sulla crossed from Patras to Brundisium.

Tpayelay Tia Kal padiota peueymevny immou TE
NPEMETLO UD Kal Tpayou pnKacLe hovny adpévtos,
éxTrAayéevta Tov YvAXaV arrodioTOpTjncacbat.
MéAdovtos dé Tous OTPATLOTAS dvatreparouy,
Kal Sedsotos 7 THS "Itadias émriAaBopevor Kata
moves éxaoroe Stappuaol, mpa@tov pev wpocay
ad' atitav tmapapevely cal pndév éxovoiws Kax-
oupynoew tHv 'Iradiav, éreta ypnudtwv Se0-
Pevov TONNGY OpaVvTeEs, aTNPXoOVTO Kal auVecé-

epov ws Exaaros eiyev evrropias. ov pny édé€aTo
TY amwapxynvy Oo wAras, GAN éerawécas Kal
Tapoppnoas diéBawev, as pnow avtos, emi
TEVTEKALOEKA OTPATHYOUS ToNE“Lous TWeVvTHKOVTA
kal tetpaxocias ometpas éxovtas, éxdndoTaTa
tov Jeod tas evTvyias TpoonpaivovrTos avT@.
OvaavTos pev yap etdeers 9 S1é8n rept Tapavta,
Saduns otepdvou tuTrov Exwv 6 AOBds HON, Kal
Anpvicxwy Svo KaTnpTnuEvwv. juxpov Sé mMpe
Tis StaBdoews dv Kaprravia rept to Tiparov
dpos nucpas whOnoayv Svo tpdyor peyadror cup-
depopevo. kal wdvta Spavtes nal waoyorrtes
& oupBaiver payopuévors avOpwros. hv b€ apa
ddacpa, xal aS puLKpov aipopevov amo yis Ste-
oTeipeTo TOAAAXOD TOU dépos eidwdots dpaupois
dpuoloy, eitTa OUTS NhavicOn. Kai peT ov TONUY
Npovov évy TH TOm@ TOUT@ Mapiov Tod véov Kal
NopBavod rod imdatou peyddas Suvdpes enaya-
yovrwv, o wANaS oUTe Tdakw arrodo’s oUTE
AoXioas TO oixelov aoTpdTevpa, payn Sé mpobv-
pias Kowwns Kal pope TorAuns atroypnadpevos

2 In the spring of 83 B.c. The main part of his forces, at any rate, must have landed at Brundisium.

emitted a hoarse cry that was something between the neighing of a horse and the bleating of a goat, Sulla was horrified, and ordered him out of his sight.

When Sulla was about to transport his soldiers, and was in fear lest, when they had reached Italy, they should disperse to their several cities, in the first place, they took an oath of their own accord to stand by him, and to do no damage to Italy without his orders; and then, seeing that he needed muci money, they made a free-will offering and contri- bution, each man according to his abundance. Sulla, however, would not accept their offering, but after thanking them and rousing their courage, crossed over to confront, as he himself says, fifteen hostile commanders with four hundred and _ fifty cohorts, But the Deity gave him most unmistake- able foretokens of his successes. For after he had sacrificed at once where he landed at Tarentum,! the victim’s liver was seen to have an impression of a wreath of laurel, with two fillets hanging from it.? And a little while before he crossed over from Greece, there were seen on Mount Tifatum in Campania, in the day time, two great he-goats fighting together, and doing everything that men do when they fight a battle. But it proved to be an apparition, and gradually rising from earth it dispersed itself generally in the air, like vague phantoms, and then vanished from sight. And not long after,? in this very place, when Marius the younger and Norbanus the consul led large forces up against

him, Sulla, without either giving out an order of battle or forming his own army in companies, but taking advantage of a vigorous general alacrity and a

2 The typical triumphal crown. 3 In 83 B.c.

eTpewaro TOUS ToAepious Kal KaTéxreLcev eis
Karrinv TOALY TOV NopBavov, ETTaKtaxiALous
dmoxreivas. TOUTO aitvov auTe@ ryevéoOat pnat
Tou pH StadvO van TOUS OTPATLOTAS Kara, TOAELS,
ana Tuppelvat Kal aan aua nha TOY évavTiov
TodhaT Aaa Loy 6vT@V. év b¢ LernBig onaoty
oixernv Llovtiov Deopopntov evtuxely auT@ ré-
youra Tapa THS "Evvods Kpartos mohewou Kal
vienv arraryyennewy: el O€ un OTEVT ELEY, eumrenpy-
ceaGat TO Kamir@Asov- & Kal oupBivar THS
neepas exelvns 7s 0 av pwr os Tponyopevacy: my
dé aitn mpo plas vovev Kuvtiriov, as vov
'TouMas Kadrovpev. ert O€ Mdpxos AevronrnXos, els
TOV UTO LvAAA TT PATH YOUVTOY, mept Didevtiav
éxxaioexa oretpaus T pos MEVTHKOVTA TOV TO-
eplov avriTax Gels Th pev mpodupia TOV
TTPATLWTAY ETLaTEVED, avotrAous 6é TOUS TON
Novs éEyov @KVEL. BovAevopevou dé avtod Kat
SiapehovTos, amo Tov mAnoiov Tediov AeLwova
EYOVTOS aupa pepovea paracn TONG TOV avOéov
émeBare TH oTpaTla Kal KATE TrELPED, avToparas
eT LPEVOVTE. xal TepiTrimTOvTa TOUS Gupeois Kal
TOUS xpaveow QUT@V, MOTE paiver Oar Tots 10-
Neploes éoTepavepevous. YEVOpEVOL dé vm TOU-
TOU mpoOuporepor ovveBanrov wal VIKNTAVTES
OKTAKLTXLALOUS émi puptors améxtTewav Kai To
otparomedov elXov. ovTos o AevKoAXos abe pos
ny Aevxodrov tod MiOpidatrnv dotepov Kat
Tuypavny KATATONUNGAYTOS.
XXVITT. 'O 3€ Yvaras Ere trodXois oTpato-
médots Kal peyddais Suvdpeocs mepixexupevous
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transport of courage in them, routed the enemy and shut up Norbanus in the city of Capua, after slaying seven thousand of his men. It was on account of this success, he says, that his soldiers did not disperse into their several cities, but held together and despised their opponents, though these were many times

more numerous. He says, moreover, that at Silvium, a servant of Pontius met him, in an inspired state, declaring that he brought him from Bellona triumph in war and victory, but that if he did not hasten, the Capitol would be burnt}; and this actually happened, he says, on the day which the man foretold, namely, the sixth day of Quintilis, which we now call July.! And still further, at Fidentia, when Marcus Lucullus, one of Sulla's commanders, with sixteen cohorts confronted fifty cohorts of the enemy, although he had confidence in the readiness of his soldiers, still, as most of them were without arms, he hesitated to attack. But while he was waiting and deliberating, from the neighbouring plain, which was a meadow, a gentle breeze brought a quantity of flowers and scattered them down upon his army; they settled of their own accord and enveloped the shields and helmets of the soldiers, so that to the enemy these appeared to be crowned with garlands. This circumstance made them more eager for the fray, and they joined battle, won the victory, killed eighteen thousand of the enemy, and took their camp. This Lucullus was a brother of the Lucullus who afterwards subdued Mithridates and Tigranes.

XXVIII. But Sulla, seeing that his enemies still surrounded him on all sides with many armies and

1 Cf. Publicola, xv. 1.

aUvT@ TOUS Tohepious opav mavtax dev iprrero
Suvd pet wal bu amdrns, TpoKadovpevos els dva-
Aves TOV Erepov ray imarav Lanriova. befa-
pévov & éxeivov avAXoyor pev éyivovro Kat
Kowonoryial TAELOVES, del dé Tiva Tapayaryny Kat
mpopacw euBarrov) 2wAAas SuepOerpe TOUS
mept Lanmiova, Tots éavtod TTPATLOITALS, noKn-
pévors T pos an drny a yonTéiav Gracay Oomep
auTos 0 HYEHOV. elovoves yap eis 'TOV xépaxa
TOY Tohepionn Kat ava pryVUpEVOL TOUS pev evdus
apyupio, tous 5€ vrocyécecs, Tous é6e KoNaKev-
ovTes Kal avarreiOovres "mpoanyovTo. térxos Se
Tob 2uAAa pera /oTerpav elxoot mpoaedbovros
eyyus Ob pep homaoavro TOUS TOU Lanmiwvos, ot
bé a dyractacdpevor Tpogex@pnoar o b€ Lentriov
Epnjuos ev TH oKnVA Anpbels 4 dh gall DvAAas dé
Tais eixoce omeipass aorep nOdow épyice TEO-
capdxovra Tas TOV Tohewiov madevoas ann-
yayev eis TO arparomedov a&mavtas. ore Kat
KdpBova paow eimety @S aNwTTEKL Kat A€ovTe
TONE LOY év 7H ZvANa Wuxn Katovxovow vio
THS GNaITEKOS aVL@TO LadXov.
'Ex TOUTOU Tmeph Liyvuov Mdptos doydonxovra
Kal qévre oTrelpas Exwv mpovKaneiro LvAAav.
dé kal avy mpod ujsos "hy Starywvicac Gat Kar
éxeiyny Thy "uépav" eTuyXave yap Sy Ewpaxas

Tordvoe KaTa Tous dirvovs. édoxet Tov yépovTa
Mdpvov reOvnxora wanda TH rracot Mapip mapat-
velv pudagacbat THY émuovcoay nuépav Os peyd-
Aqv abt@ buatuyiay pépoveav. did ToiTo pév
2) mpobupos) ees nv payer Gar, Kal pere-
mwéutrero tov AodoBéAr\av dadrwblev octpatore-
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large forces, had recourse to craft as well as force, and invited Scipio, the other consul, to make terms of peace. He accepted the proposal, and several meetings and conferences were held ; but Sulla continually interposed some pretext for gaining time, and gradually corrupted Scipio's soldiers by means of his own, who were practised in deceit and every kind of jugglery, like their general himself. For they entered the camp of their enemies, mingled freely with them, and gradually won them over to Sulla's cause, some at once with money, others with promises, and others still with persuasive flatteries. And finally, when Sulla drew near with twenty cohorts, his men greeted those of Scipio, who answered their greetings and went over to them. Scipio, who was left alone, was taken in his tent, but dismissed ; while Sulla, who had used his twenty cohorts as decoy-birds to catch the forty cohorts of the enemy, led them all back to his camp. It was on this occasion, too, that Carbo is said to have remarked that in making war upon the fox and the lion in Sulla, he was more annoyed by the fox.

After this, at Signia, Marius, with eighty-five cohorts, challenged Sulla to battle. Now Sulla was very eager to have the issue settled on that day ; for he had seen a vision in his dreams, as follows. He thought he saw the elder Marius, who was long since dead, advising his son Marius to beware of the ensuing day, since it would bring him a great calamity. For this reason, then, Sulla was eager to fight a battle, and was trying to get Dolabella, who was encamped at some distance, to join him. But

devovta. Ttav oé Torepiov epia Tapéveov Tats
obois Kal amopparrovray OL TOU Lora, T™ poo -
pay opevor Kal odorratobytes é exapvor" kab Twos
6u8 pos apa Tots Epyors Tr LYEVOMEVOS padrov
éxdKMOEV AUTOUS. dev ot tafiapyot T poo Lov Tes
TO LUANG ed€ovTo THY paxny dvaBaréa Gat,
Seuuvivtes & Gua tovs oTpatioras épptupévous v7r0
KoTrov Kal T POT AVATFAVOLEVOUS Napate roils Ov-
peois KexAtpévors. émel 5é cuvexwopnoer Giccov Kat
TPOTTary La xkatalevéews eSwrxev, apxopevay av-
TOY Tov xdpaxa Baddew Kal tappov dpvocery
™ po THS otpatoredeias, emnhauve coBapas o
Mdpuos TWpoinmevwy WS aTaKTouvs Kal teBopuBn-
pévous Stacxeddcwp. vrata Te LwAAG THY
Kara, TOUS Unvous poviy) Saipov ouverénet.
opy? yap avuTov Tots oTpATLOT ALS mapéorn, Kat
Tava dpevol Tov Epyov TOUS pep vacous Kare
antay eri TH Tah py, oT ac dpevor dé ra Eipn Kat
ouvarardtavres ev Xepow Hoay TOV TONE ULV.
ot Sé€ ov TONY UméaTno av Ypovov, GANG yiveTat
TOUS povos abtav TPATrEVTOD. Méptos dé dev-
you els TI pawvearov 70n Tas TWUAAS EvpE KEKNEL-
pévas: Kkarwodtouv dé avobev aeBévros évlaaas
éauTov dvenn pan pos TO TELXOS. éviot Oé pac,
av Kat Dawearérdas early, aude aia bécbat THS
pans tov Mapuov, aX é& a arypuTvL@y kal KoT wv
UTO TKLA TLL Yapat KATAKNVEVTE TOU ouvOn-
Paros Sobévtos evSodvat mpos Dmvov, elra, pondes
éFeyelpecOar THs duyts yevouéevyns. ev tavTn TH
waxy SvAXas gyno El KoouT pets povous atroBanetpy,
amroxreivar dé TOV TONE uLeD Sic pupious xa Aa-
Beiv fOvtas oxtaxicxyirious. Kal Tadra 5€ opoiws

the enemy beset the roads and hemmed Sulla in, and his soldiers were worn out with fighting to open a passage. Much rain also came upon them while they were at work and added to their distress. The tribunes therefore came to Sulla and begged him to defer the battle, showing him the soldiers prostrated

with weariness and resting on their shields, which they had laid upon the ground. Sulla yielded reluctantly, and gave orders to pitch a camp, but just as his men were beginning to dig a trench and throw up the rampart before it, Marius attacked them confidently, riding ahead of his lines, and hoping to scatter his enemies while they were in disorder and confusion. There the Deity fulfilled the words which Sulla had heard in his dreams. For Sulla's rage imparted itself to his soldiers, and leaving off their work, they planted their javelins in the trench, drew their swords, and with a general shout came to close quarters with their enemies. These did not hold their ground long, but took to flight, and were slain in great numbers. Marius fled to Preneste, but found the gate already closed. A rope was thrown down to him, however, and after fastening this around his waist, he was hoisted to the top of the wall. But there are some who say, and Fenestella is one of these, that Marius knew nothing of the battle, but was forced by loss of sleep and weariness to cast himself upon the ground in a shady place when the signal for battle was given, and there gave way to sleep, and was then roused with difficulty when the rout took place. In this battle Sulla says he lost only twenty-three men, but killed twenty thousand of the enemy, and took eight thousand prisoners. His other plans were carried out with like

evTuyetto bia TeV otparnyav, Llopmniov, Kpac-
aov, MeréAXov, Sepoviriov. ovdéy yap 7) pixpa
MW pooKxpovaayTes oUToL peyaAas ouvétpipay duva-
pels TOV TWoAepLiwv, BoTE TOV pdaddtoTa THY
évavtiay otdow ovvéyovtra KdpBova victrop
atroépavta tH éavtod otpatiay eis AtBunv éx-
mrACVTAL.
XXIX. Tov pévros rerevtaiov dyava xadamep
Epedpos aOXntH Katarov@ mpoceveyOeis o LYav-
vitns Tereoivos éyyus fAGe tov odhrat Kat
kataBanrety éri Ovpais THs 'Popns. éatrevde pev
yap dua Aaptrovip te Aevxavd yeipa todd HY
aBpoiaas emi Ipaweoroyv ws éEaptacopevos THs
modtopKias tov Mapuov: éret 5€ AodeTo YwAXNaY
pev Kata oropa, Llourniov 5& cat' ovpav Bon-
Spopobvtas ém' avtov, elpyopevos ToD mpoow Kat
oTigW TokEpoTHS avnp Kal peyadwoyv ayovev
EWTrEelpos apas vunros én' avTny éyw@per travtl To
oTparoTréd@ thv 'Papunv. Kal px pod pev edénoev
éumeceiy eis apvAaxtoyv' atrocyev Oé THs KoA-
Aivns mUANS Séxa oTadious ernudcaTo TH TONEL,
peyarodppovayv Kati tals éXtriow émrnppévos ws
TOTOUTOUS HYE"LoVas Kal THALKOUTOUS KATETTPATN-
ynxos. dua 8 nuépa Tov NaptpoTaTwav véwv
éEimmacapuévwv er avtov dANOUS TE TOAAOUS Kal
Knravécov "Ammov, evyevt) nat ayabov avdpa,

4 J ? bd , Ww DJ a
katéBare. OopvBov 6, olov eixds, ovTos ev TH
mover Kal Bons yuvatkeias Kal Stadpopav ws
aMoKOMevwV KaTa KpaTos, TpwTos whOn BadrBos
1 Cf. Plutarch's Pompey, vi.-viii.
2 Cf. Plutarch's Crassus, vi.

success by his generals, Pompey,! Crassus,? Metellus, and Servilius. For with few or no reverses these anni- hilated large forces of the enemy, so that Carbo, the chief supporter of the opposite faction, ran away from his own army by night, and sailed off to Libya. XXIX. In Sulla's last struggle, however, Telesinus the Samnite,? like a third wrestler who sits by to contend with a weary victor, came near tripping and throwing him at the gates of Rome. For he had collected a large force, and was hastening, together with Lamponius the Lucanian, to Praeneste, in order to relieve Marius from the siege. But when he learned that Sulla to his front, and Pompey to his rear, were hurrying up against him, since he was being hemmed in before and behind, valiant and highly experienced soldier that he was, he broke camp by night, and marched with all his army against Rome itself. And he came within a little of breaking into the city in its unguarded state ; indeed, he was only ten furlongs from the Colline gate when he bivouacked against it, highly en- couraged and elated with hopes at the thought of having outgeneralled so many great commanders. And when, at day-break, the noblest youth of the city rode out against him, he overwhelmed many of them, including Appius Claudius, a man of high birth and character. There was a tumult in the city, naturally, and shrieking of women, and running hither and thither, as though the city were taken by storm, when Balbus, sent forward by Sulla, was first

3 At the close of the Social war, in 89 B.c., the Samnites and Lucanians alone persisted in their hostility to Rome. The Marian party had conciliated them, but they regarded Sulla as their bitterest foe.

amo YWANA Tpocedavvoy ava KpaTOS iTTedoLY
értaxocio. Starurav dé doov avarrifat tov
idpata tav immo, elt avOis éyyadivocas da
tayéov éEnmareto TOY TONELiOD.
"Ev tovt@ 8 Kal YvAras épaiveto: Kal Tovs
mpwrous evOus apioTav Kerevon eis Taw Kabiotn.
moira d€ AodoBéAAa Kai Tovpxovarou Seopévwv
émiryxety Kal 7) KATAKOTOUS ExovTa Tous avdpas
atroxwwouvedaas rept TaY éoyaTwv (ov yap Kdp-
Bova cat Maptov, aAXd Zavvitas cal Aeveavois,
Ta éxOtota TH Popun cat Ta TokemKwTaTa pira,
cuudéper Gar), Tapwodpevos avtous éxéXevee o7-

paivery Tas oddTrUyyas apyny épddov, ayedov ets
a@pav dexatny Hon THS nuépas Kataotpepovons.
yevouévou S€ dyavos, olos ovy Erepos, TO yey
deEvov, ev & Kpuccos éréraxto, NauTpas évixa,
T@ S€ eVovdu@ TovodvTt Kal Kaxds éyovTt LUAAaS
mapeBonOer, NevKdy immov éyov Booed rat
ToOwKeoTaTOY: ad ov yvwpicavtTes avtov Svo
TOY Trodeuiov SveTEeivovTO Tas AOYYAS ws ad7}-
TOVTES. AUTOS pev OdY OV TpoEVonce, TOD SB
immoxopov pactitavtos Tov immov &b0n tape-
vex Gels Toa oUTov cov wept Thy oupay Tov tmmou
TAS Alypmas oupTETOVEAS Eis THY YHY Tayhvas.
Aévyerat O€ Eywv Te Ypvcodv 'AmoAXNwWVOS ayad-
patiov éx Acddhav dei wév avto Kata Tas paxas
wepipepe €v TH KOATI@, GANA Kal TOTE TOUTO
katagirety otra 67 rAéyou: "°O, Tv6ce "ArodXor,
Tov EvTUY) LWAAaY Kopynrov ev tocovTas ayo-
aw adpas Aaptrpov Kal péyav évtavOa pirers emi
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SULLA

seen riding up at full speed with seven hundred horsemen. He paused just long enough to let the sweat of the horses dry off, and then quickly bridled them again and attacked the enemy.

At this juncture, Sulla also made his appearance, and ordering his vanguard to take food at once, proceeded to form them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus earnestly besought him to wait a while, and not to hazard the supreme issue with his men fatigued and spent; for they were to contend not with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the most inveterate enemies of Rome, and the most warlike of peoples. But he put them by, and commanded the trumpets to sound the charge, though it was now getting on towards four o'clock in the afternoon. In the struggle which followed, and no other was so fierce, the right wing, where Crassus was posted, was brilliantly successful ; but the left was hard pressed and in a sorry plight, when Sulla came to its assistance, mounted on a white horse that was mettlesome and very swift. By this horse two of enemy recognised him, and poised their spears for the cast. Sulla himself, now, did not notice this, but his groom did, and with a cut of the lash succeeded in sending Sulla's horse along so that the spear-heads just grazed its tail and fixed themselves in the ground. There is also a story that Sulla had a little golden image of Apollo from Delphi which he always carried in his bosom when he was in battle, but that on this occasion he took it out and kissed it affectionately, saying: "O Pythian Apollo, now that thou hast in so many struggles raised the fortunate Cornelius Sulla to glory and greatness, can it be that thou hast brought

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Ovupars HS maTtpidos adyaywv, aloyiota Tots

7 €avtod cuvatoNotpevov oXritais;” ToLtaira
dace Tov YwAXrav GeokrAvToOvVTA TOUS pev avTe-
Bonreiv, Tots dé arretheiy, TOV O€ emtdapBaveo Pac
Téros 6€ TOD eUovupov oy prBevtos aya pie-
yOévTa Tots pevdyouow elg TO oTpatomesov Kara~
purely, TOROS amoBahovra TOY éTalpwv Kat
yopiwov. OvK OArtryoL 5é Kal TOV ex TIS TONEWS
emt Oéav mpoeOoves aTWXOVTO Kal KaTETATH-
8 Onoay, & OOTE THV pev Toy otecOar ramen pax Gar,
jap OAlyov 6é kal THY Mapiou Too pkiay Av-
Ofvan, TOAN@Y €K THS TpoTijs Oo apeveov éxet kat
Tov él Th ToALopKia TETA' LEVOV ‘Opedrav
Aoveprrtov dvalevyvivar KaTa TAXOS KENEVOVTOY,
as aTrohw@hoT os Tov YwaAra Kat THs “Pwpuns éxo-
péevns UT TOV ToAEwLOv.
XXX. "Hdn 6é vuntos ovans Babetas WKOV ELS TO
TOU LUA otparomedov Tapa TOU Kpdooou
Seimvov avTe Kal Tots TTPATLOTALS METLOVTES* @S
yap évinnoe TOUS qonepious, eis “AvTeuvav Kata-
Su@Eavtes éxet kaTeaTpaToT ébevaay. TavT’ ouv
muOopevos o SwAdas, xa Ste TOV Tohepicoy | ot
TrELoTOL dioh@hacw, Tcev Els “Avrepvay ap
THER, Kal TplayLeAL@v eT LRN PUKEVO a. MevOV 7 pos
avrov Umea XETO dwaetv THv dapdnreiay, el Kako
Tt TOUS adous € épyacdpevor ToAepous ENOoLEV 7 pOs
2 avrov. ot de Mla TEVTAVTES én é0evto TOUS Aovmrois,
Kal ToONol KATEKO moa or adAOD. ov unv
ada Ka TovTous Kal TOV AAXWY ToOds ‘Tepuyevo-
pevous els eEaxwoxtALovs adpoaas Tapa TOV im-
“qomov, exadEL THY OUYyKANTOV Els TO THS

him to the gates of his native city only to cast him
down there, to perish most shamefully with his
fellow-countrymen?” Thus invoking the god, they
say, he entreated some of his men, threatened others,
and laid hands on others still; but at last his left
wing was completely shattered, and with the
fugitives he sought refuge in his camp, after losing

many friends and acquaintances. Not a few also of those who had come out of the city to see the battle were trodden under foot and killed, so that it was thought that all was over with the city, and that the siege of Marius in Praeneste was all but raised ; indeed many of the fugitives made their way thither and urged Lucretius Ofella, who had been appointed to conduct the siege, to break camp with all speed, since Sulla had fallen, and Rome was in the hands of the enemy.

XXX. But when the night was now far advanced, messengers came to the camp of Sulla from Crassus, to fetch supper for him and his soldiers; for after conquering the enemy, he had pursued them into Antemnae, and was encamped before that city. When, therefore, Sulla learned this, and also that the greater part of the enemy had been destroyed, he came to Antemnae at break of day. There three thousand of the inhabitants sent a deputation to him to sue for mercy, and he promised them safety if they would do some mischief to the rest of his enemies before coming to him. So they, trusting to his promise, attacked the rest of the people in the city, and many were slain by one another's hands. However, the survivors of both parties alike, to the number of six thousand, were collected by Sulla in the circus at Rome, and then the senate was

9 " e , e > 3 4 4 > /
Evuois tepov. apa & avros te rAéyew éevnpyeto
4
Kal KaTéxoTrTov of TeTaypéevot TOUS EEaKLOXLALOUS.
Kkpavyhs 5€, as elxos, ev YwOpPio pLKp@ ToTOU'Tm@Y
ohattonévov pepouevns Kal TOY ouvyKANTLK@Y
exTrAayéevT@V, WoTEp ETUyyave Néeywv aTpéTT@ Kal
cabeotnkoTt TO Tpocwm@ mpocéyew éxédXevoev
bd \ n 4 \ > / '
avTous T@ Aoyo, Ta O EEw ytvopeva pn ToNV-
Tpayyove* vovleTeicOar yap avTov KedeVTaVTOS
éviovs TOV TOVNnpaD.
Tovro cai t@ Bpadutatm "Popaiov vojoac
TapéaTncev ws adAdayn TO xKpHua Tupavvidos,
' ' \ l / \ ° ed
oux amraddNayn yeyove. Mapios péev ovv at
apyns xarerros av érérewev, od petéBare TH
> / \ 4 4 \ 4
éEovcia thy piow 2vAdas 5é petpias Ta
A " A /
TPOTA Kal TOATLKHS Omtdynoas TH TUYn Kal

Sofav dpiotoxpatixov Kal Snpwderods Hryepwovos
mapacywv, éte 5é cal diroyerws éx véou yevo-
pevos Kal pos olKTov vypos, Mate padiws éme-
Saxpvev, eixotws mpocetpiivato tais peyddats
éFouvciats SsaBornv os Ta HON every ovK ewoats
? A : b n , 9 > \
éml tav é€& apyhs TpoTwv, GAN éEuTAnKta Kat
Xatva kai amdvOpwra toovcats. TOTO Lev OUV
eite Kivnois éott Kal petaBorAr dioews td
4 A
TUXNS, ElTE p~aAXOV UTroKELMEeVNS aTroKadAUY IS év
9 / / A ,
éEovcia Kaxias, érépa tis av Stopicere mpay-
4

pateta.

XXXI. Tod 5 AAA Tpds TO odatTew Tpa-

summoned by him to meet in the temple of Bellona,! and at one and the same moment he himself began to speak in the senate, and those assigned to the task began to cut to pieces the six thousand in the circus. The shrieks of such a multitude, who were being massacred in a narrow space, filled the air, of course, and the senators were dumbfounded ; but Sulla, with the calm and unmoved countenance with which he had begun to speak, ordered them to listen to his words and not concern themselves with what was going on outside, for it was only that some criminals were being admonished, by his orders.

This gave even the dullest Roman to understand that, in the matter of tyranny, there had been an exchange, but not a deliverance. Marius the elder, at any rate, had been naturally harsh at the outset, and power had intensified, not altered, his disposition ; but Sulla had used his good fortune moderately, at first, and like a statesman, and had led men to expect in him a leader who was attached to the aristocracy, and at the same time helpful to the common people. Furthermore, from his youth up he had been of a merry temper, and easily moved to tears of pity. Naturally, therefore, his conduct fixed a stigma upon offices of great power, which were thought to work a change in men’s previous characters, and render them capricious, vain, and cruel. However, whether this is a change and reversal of nature, brought about by fortune, or rather a revelation, when a man is in authority, of underlying baseness, were matter for determination in some other treatise.

XXXI. Sulla now busied himself with slaughter,

1 Both the circus (Flaminius) and the temple were in the Campus Martius.

/ 4 ¥ b \ ¥ sd DJ 4
Topévou Kal hovwv ovte apiOuov obte Gpov éxov-
Tov éumiTAAVTOS THY TOALY, AVaLpoULéVWY TOA-
A b] A
NOV Kal Kat idias ExOpas, ols ovdev HY Tpayua
N , b / 9 A \ /
mpos YwAXrav, epievTos avtTov Kal yaptfopévovu
A A oo
Tots Tept avTov, érodAunoe TOV véwy els, Taios
Mértedros, ev TH cuyKAjT@ ToD BAAa mubé-
aOat ti tépas éotat TOY KaKa@V, Kal Tot Tpo-
eXOovtos avtod det wemaicbat Ta ytvopeva
a 'ec , 4.99 4 oc
mpocdoxav. " IlapartovpeOa yap," eimev, " ovx
ods ov eyywxas avatpeiy THS Tiuwpias, GAAA
"A ? 4 A " , 29 ?
Ths apptBortas ovs eyvwxas owlev. amTo-
Kpwapévov 6€ ToD DWaAAa pndéto ytvooKelv ods
adbinow, tToraBav o MéteAXos, " OvKody," Edn,
39
" Syrwaor ods médrets KoAdLELV. Kalo YwAraS
épn todTo troijcew. eviot 5é ov Tov Méteddop,
fal e
Gr\rAa Povdidiov tia tov Wpos yapw opedovy-
TOV TH BAG TO TEeACVTAIOY ELTrEly EyovCLD.
o & ovv LWwaAdXAas EevOvs oydonxovta mpoéypaev,
ovoevt Tov év TéNEL KOLYWOdpMEVOS. ayavaKTOUV-
be , / e / } x \ rAX
Tov € wdvTov, pilav Huépay Siadua@v adrOUS
,
mpoeyparev elxoot kal Staxocious, eita tpiTy
/ J 4 > \ \ a, Le)
Tau ovK éXdTTOUS. él 5é TovToLs Snunyopav
eltrev Goovs peuvnpévos TUyxXaVvor Tpoypadety,
Tous 6€ viv dtaravOavovtas avfis mpoyparyrev.
, A \ e , \ A
mpoeypaye S€ TO pev UrrodcEapév@m nal dracw-
\ , , n
TavTs TOV Tpoyeypapupevov, Enpiav tHS pidav-

, e 7 , > 9 4 > ev
Opwrias opitwy Pavatov, ovK abdedgov, ovy vior,
A A /
ou yoveis UreFeAopevos, TO 5€ ArroKTeivayTt yépas
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and murders without number or limit filled the city. Many, too, were killed to gratify private hatreds, although they had no relations with Sulla, but he gave his consent in order to gratify his adherents. At last one of the younger men, Caius Metellus, made bold to ask Sulla in the senate what end there was to be of these evils, and how far he would proceed before they might expect such doings to cease. “We do not ask thee,” he said, “to free from punishment those whom thou hast determined to slay, but to free from suspense those whom thou hast determined to save.” And when Sulla answered that he did not yet know whom he would spare, “ Well, then,” said Metellus in reply, “let us know whom thou intendest to punish.’’ This Sulla said he would do. Some, however, say that it was not Metellus, but Fufidius, one of Sulla’s fawning creatures, who made this last speech to him. Be that as it may, Sulla at once proscribed! eighty persons, without communicating with any magistrate ; and in spite of the general indignation, after a single day’s interval, he proscribed two hundred and twenty others, and then on the third day, as many more. Referring to these measures in a_ public harangue, he said that he was proscribing as many as he could remember, and those who now escaped his memory, he would proscribe at a future time. He also proscribed any one who harboured and saved a proscribed person, making death the punishment for such humanity, without exception of brother, son, or parents, but offering any one who slew a proscribed

1 A list of the persons proscribed was posted in public, and those whose names were on the list might be killed by any one who chose to do it.

dv0 TdXavtTa THs avdpodpovias, Kav SovA0s Sear 0-
, en > fF a , 9
Thy Kav Tatépa vids avédn. 6 S€ TavTwY ade-
Kotatov eéoke, THY yap Tpoyeypappéevov HTi-
woe Kal viols Kal viwvovs, kal TA ypnpaTa
lA 290 7 4 ? >
mavrwav ednwevoe. mpoeypadovTo dé ovK év
‘Poun povov, adda Kal év don oder THS
’ / : l ” \. 4 \
Iradias: Kal hovevopévwr aire vacs Hv Kxabapos
Geod ovte éxtia Eévios ovTE olxos TaTpP@osS, AANA
kal mapa yuvakl yapetais advdpes éoddttovto
Kal wapa pntpdot aides. joav 5é of be
b] \ ? , \ > QA lA
opyny atroAAvpevoe Kai bu’ ExyOpay ovdev pépos
Tov dia Ypnpata opatTopévwv, GAA Kal réyewv

émnet tots Korafovow ws Tovde pév avnpnKkev
> / 4 4 \ a y¥ 4
oixia peyaddn, Tovde dé KHTos, aAXNov BdaTra
Oeppa. Koivtros 5& Avpyrtos, avnp ampaypov
Kal TOTOUTOY AUT@ peTEeivat TOV KaKa@v vouilwv
4 ” a 5] A >) > \
ooov aAXdots cuvadyety aTuXOUCLY, Els ayopaVy
CMav aveyivwoxe Tovs Tpoyeypappmévous' evpov
dé éavtov, “ Olpot TdXas,” eltre, “ Si@xes pe TO ev
"AXBave yopiov.” Kal Bpayd mpoedOav tro
Tivos aTmechayn KaTadiw€avTos.
XXXII. ’Ev rovt@ 5¢ Mdptos péev ddtoKdpevos
éautov SépOetpe, LvrAras be els Tpaweordoy
\ A 3Q7 b v , > @

Sav mpata pev idia cat avdpa Kpivwv éxo-
ralev, ita WS OV GYOANS ovoNS WdavTas aOpows
eis TavTO oUvayayov, pupiouvs Kal dioxXtdious
évTas, éxéXevoev atroodattey, wove te Evo

person two talents as a reward for his murderous deed, even though a slave should slay his master, or a son his father. And what seemed the greatest injustice of all, he took away all civil rights from the sons and grandsons of those who had been pro- scribed, and confiscated the property of all. Moreover, proscriptions were made not only in Rome, but also in every city of Italy, and neither temple of God, nor hearth of hospitality, nor paternal home was free from the stain of bloodshed, but husbands were butchered in the embraces of their wedded wives, and sons in the arms of their mothers. Those who fell victims to political resentment and private hatred were as nothing compared with those who were butchered for the sake of their property, nay, even the executioners were prompted to say that his great house killed this man, his garden that man, his warm baths another. Quintus Aurelius, a quiet and inoffensive man, who thought his only share in the general calamity was to condole with others in their misfortunes, came into the forum and read the list of the proscribed, and finding his own name there, said, “ Ah! woe is me! my Alban estate is prosecuting me.”” And he had not gone far before he was dispatched by some one who had hunted him down.

XXXII. Meanwhile Marius the younger, at the point of being captured,! slew himself; and Sulla, coming to Praeneste, at first gave each man there a separate trial before he executed him, but after- wards, since time failed him, gathered them all to- gether in one place—there were twelve thousand of them—and gave orders to slaughter them, his host

1 According to Appian (Bell. Civ. i. 94), as he was trying to escape from Praeneste by an underground passage.

b.d00s adevay. 0 6€ evyevads mavu pyoas T™ pos
avuTOV ws OvdéTTOTE TwTNpLAS xapoy éloerat T@
govel Tijs mart pibos, avapy Geis exeov cuyeate-
KOTN Tots monritas. dof dé KQLVvOTATOV ryeve-
Oat TO mepl Aevxvov Karshivar. obT0s yap
OUT TOV TparywaTov KEK PLLevov aunpnkas
aderdov eden Tou LUNA, TOTE mporyparpas
TOV avOpwTrov os Swvra: Kai Tpoeypagn. TOU-
tov 0oé€ TO LwrAAG Xapu exTivery Médpxov Tuva
Madpvoy TOV &x THS évayTias oTaoEws amro-
KTELWVAS THY pev Keparny €v ayopa Kabeloperep
T YvrAa TpoonveyKe, T@ 5é TeptppavTnpi@ TOU
"ArdAAwvos eyyds dvte TmpoceN@v arreviiyato
Tas yelpas.
XXXITI. "EE 5€ Tav dhovixav Kal Ta hound
TOUS avO parrous eAurret, SuxTaTopa pev yap
éauTov avnyopeuae, db: éra@v éxatov eixoot TOvTO
TO yevos THS apyis dvahaBov. epnpiadn dé
avTe TdvTwv adea THY yeyovoTwy, pos Sé TO
pédXov éoucia Gavatov, dnpevoews, KAnpov-
XLav, KTigews, TopOjcews, aperéc Oar Bactreiav,
Kat @* Bovdorto Xapioac bau. Tas bé Sia-
mpacels TOV Sednpwevpevary OLKWV odT ws vmepn-
paves emote TO kat Seorotixas émi Bnpatos
Kcabeloperos, a Bore TOV apatpécewy émax Gea répas
airod Tas Swpeds elvas, Kat yuvatély evpopdors
kat Aup@dois Kal pipors Kal Kabdppacw é£e-
AevOepecois eOvav Xopas Kal 7 OAEWY Xapelo-
pévou mpoaodous, évious dé yapous aKovoiws
Cevyvupéevav yuvarxav. Tloumniov ye tou Bov-
1 xa) 6 with Bekker, after Reiske: 9.
430
4

3

alone receiving immunity. But this man, with a
noble spirit, told Sulla that he would never owe his
safety to the slayer of his country, and joining his

countrymen of his own accord, was cut down with them. But that which Lucius Catiline did was thought to be most monstrous of all. This man, namely, had killed his brother before the civil struggle was decided, and now asked Sulla to proscribe the man, as one still living; and he was proscribed. Then Catiline, returning this favour of Sulla's, killed a certain Marcus Marius, one of the opposite faction, and brought his head to Sulla as he was sitting in the forum, and then going to the lustral water of Apollo which was near, washed the blood off his hands.

XXXIII. But besides his massacres, the rest of Sulla's proceedings also gave offence. For he pro- claimed himself dictator,! reviving this particular office after a lapse of a hundred and twenty years. Moreover, an act was passed granting him immunity for all his past acts, and for the future, power of life and death, of confiscation, of colonization, of founding or demolishing cities, and of taking away or bestow- ing kingdoms at his pleasure. He conducted the sales of confiscated estates in such arrogant and im- perious fashion, from the tribunal where he sat, that his gifts excited more odium than his robberies. He bestowed on handsome women, musicians, comic actors, and the lowest of freedmen, the territories of nations and the revenues of cities, and women were married against their will to some of his favour- ites. In the case of Pompey the Great,? at least,

1 In 81 B.c.

2 The title of Great was first bestowed on him by Sulla himself (cf. Pompey, xiii. 4).

Aopevos oixecwoacbat tov Madryvov, ty pev elye yapLeTHy adeivar mpooéragen, Alpidiay 86, Leav- pou Ouyarépa Kal (MerédAns THS éavtod YUVALKos, aroamdaas Maviov PAaBpiwvos erycdpova, oup- @KLoEVv auto améBave 5é 4 Kopn Tapa T@ Toparnt TiKTOVOa. Aovepytiou dé Ogérra TOU Mapvov ex OMLOpK HG aVTOS aiToupevov Kal HET LOVTOS brratetay TpPQTOV pev éx@dvev™ as dé €xelVvOS VITO TONN@Y omovdalopevos els THY aryo- pav évéBanre, meurpas Twa TOY Tept avTov EKATOVTAPXOY arreapage Tov avopa, cabelouevos autos éml Bypatos év TO Atoc Koupeip kal TOV povov epopav avolev. TeV be avO porrwy TOV exaTOvTapX nv cuhraPovtov Kat T pos ayayovTa@y TP Aypare, CLOT HT AL Kedevoas TOUS GopuBovvras autos épn Kededoat TOTO, Kal TOV ExaTovTapynV

adetvat mpooérager.
XXXIV. ‘O PEVTOL GpiapBos avTov TH ToNv-
Téedela Kal KaWOTnTL TOV BaotdtKkov adupov
coBapos Yevopevos petfova Koo pov éoxe Kat
karov Oéaya Tous puyddas. ot yap évdoEotatot
Kal dwaTetatot TOV ToMTaV eo Tepavapevor
Tapelmovro, cwThpa Kat TaTépa TOV {vANav
arroxanobvres, aTe én du’ éxeivov ets Tap marpiba
KaTtovTes Kal Koputouevot jwaidas Kal yuvaixas.
Hon O€ ournpn Levon amrdvrov, dmodoyea pov éy
EXKAHOLA TOV mpatewy | ToLovpevos oux éAdocov
omovdy TAs evtuxias q Tas avdpayabias xaTn-
pOpeito, Kal mépas éxéXevoev éauTov emi ToU-
tas Evtuyi mpocayopevecOar: todTo yap o
te
Geo
to
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wishing to establish relationship with him, he ordered him to divorce the wife he had, and then gave him in marriage Aemilia, daughter of Scaurus and his own wife Metella, whom he tore away from Manius Glabrio when she was with child by him; and the young woman died in childbirth at the house of Pompey.! Lucretius Ofella, who had reduced Marius by siege, gave himself out as a candidate for the consulship, and Sulla at first tried to stop him ; but when Ofella came down into the forum with a large and eager following, he sent one of the centurions in his retinue and slew him, himself sitting on a tribunal in the temple of Castor and beholding the murder from above. The people in the forum seized the centurion and brought him before the tribunal, but Sulla bade them cease their clamour, and said that he himself had ordered this deed, and commanded them to let the centurion go.

XXXIV. His triumph, however, which was im- posing from the costliness and rarity of the royal spoils, had a greater ornament in the noble spectacle of the exiles. For the most distinguished and in- fluential of the citizens, crowned with garlands, fol- lowed in the procession, calling Sulla their saviour and father, since indeed it was through him that they were returning to their native city and bringing with them their wives and children. And when at last the whole spectacle was over, he gave an account of his achievements in a speech to the people, enu- merating the instances of his good fortune with no less emphasis than his deeds of valour, and finally, in view of these, he ordered that he receive the surname of Fortunate (for this is what the word

1 Cf. Plutarch’s Pompey, ix. 2.

OAuUE pardiota Bovnerat SnAobv" autos dé Tots

“KAAnot ypapav kat Xpnuarivov éautov ’Eza-
ppodrrov dymyopeve, Kal Trap piv év Tots Tpo-
matos otTws avayéypartars AETKIOS KOP-
NHAIOS STAAAS EDTA®POAITOS. ere 5é
“A VA , 4 / \ \
THs MeréAAns madia texovons diduya TO per
” fe \ \ A ce) 9 /
appev Dadcorov, To dé OAV Datotav wvopace:
\ \ > \ \ ¢ N € a a
TO yap eutuyés Kal thapoy Pawpaior patvotov
Kanovow. otTw Sé apa ov tais mpdkeow ws
ToS EvTUY NAc éeTrioTEVEV, OTE, TALTOAAWY
pev avnpnpévov br’ avtod, Katvotopias bé yevo-
pévys Kal petraBorrs év TH ToAEL TOTAUTNS, ATrO-
OécOar tiv apxynv Kal Tov Shuov apyYatpectov
UTATLK@V Trolnoat KUpLOV, aUTOS 5é pH WPOTEA-
Oeiv, GAN év dyopG 70 oO Ua mapexov Tois Bov-
e >
Nopévors UrevOuvov watrep ihtwTyns avactpéde-
cOat. Kai Tis Tapa yvuounv aitod Opacis avnp
4 > / = (4 e A
kal troréwos érridotos fv dtratos aipeOnoecOat,
Mdpxos Aémidos, ov de’ éavtov, adrra Tloparnio
omovoatorte Kal Seopévm Tov djpou yapilopéevov.
5:6 Kal yaipovra TH vixn Tov Tlopmniov o XvAXas
OA ’ ! t Loe fgg € fo
iOov amlovTa Kadéoas mpos éauTor, “ Os Kadov,
Edn, “cov TO TOAiTEVLA, @ veavia, TO KatXov
mpotepov avayopedoar Aémidov, trod mdvtwv api-
oTou Tov éumAnKTOTATOV. Wpa pévTOL GOL py
Kabevdery ws ia YUPOTEPOV TETOLNKOTL KATA CAVTOD
N 3 / 3 A \ = e , ~
TOV aVYTAYWOVICTHD. ToUTO pev ovv 6 YwAXas 474
iA > / \ > J e 4
womep ancléotice’ TaXY yap éEuBpicas o Aére-
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“ Felix” most nearly means). But he himself, in writing to the Greeks on official business, styled himself Epaphroditus, or Favourite of Venus,) and on his trophies in our country his name is thus in- scribed: Lucius Cornelius Sulla Epaphroditus. Be- sides this, when Metella bore him twin children, he named the male child Faustus, and the female Fausta ; for the Romans call what is auspicious and joyful, “‘faustum.” And to such an extent did he put more confidence in his good fortunes than in his achieve- ments, that, although he had slain great numbers of the citizens, and introduced great innovations and changes in the

government of the city,? he laid down his office of dictator, and put the consular elections in the hands of the people ; and when they were held, he did not go near them himself, but walked up and down the forum like a private man, exposing his person freely to all who wished to call him to account. Contrary to his wishes, a certain bold enemy of his was likely to be chosen consul, Marcus Lepidus, not through his own efforts, but owing to the success which Pompey had in soliciting votes for him from the people. And so, when Sulla saw Pompey going away from the polls delighted with his victory, he called him to him, and said :8 “What a fine policy this is of thine, young man, to elect Lepidus in preference to Catulus, the most unstable instead of the best of men! Now, surely, it is high time for thee to be watchful, after strength- ening thine adversary against thyself.” And in say- ing this, Sulla was something of a prophet; for

1 Cf. chapter xix. 5 and note.

2 Sulla restored the ancient powers of the senate, and

reduced those of the tribunate. He resigned the dictatorship in 79 B.C. 3 Cf. Pompey, xv. 1f.

dos eis woAdcuov Katéatn Tots wept tov Tlop-
Wniov.
XXXV. ’ArroPvwv Sé THs ovcias amdans o
LwAras TO ‘Hpaxr? Sexarny éotidces éroretro
T@ On torvtereis: Kal TocodTOY TWEepL_TTH Hv
Tapackevn THS Ypelas @oTe TauTAnOH Kal”
ExdoTnV Huépav eis TOV TroTamov Oa puTTTetaAaz,
tiverOas O€ olvov éra@v Teccapdxovta Kal Tadato-
tepov. dia pecov Sé THs Ooivns TroAUNLEpoU
yevouevns améOvncxev 1 Meréd\X\a voow Kal
TOY lepéwy TOV LVAXNAV OVK EWVTWY AUTH TpocEd-
Geiv ovdé THv otxiay TO Kndet pravOjvat, ypaya-
pevos dudAvowy Tod yduou pds aUTHV Oo LAXas
évt Cooay éxédevoev eis éErépay olkiay peTaKope-
cOjvat. Kal TodTo pév dxptBas TO voptpov Urd
devordarpovias érnpnoe Tov bé THs Taps optlovra
Thy SaTdvnv voyov avTos eicevnvoyas TtapéBn,
pndevos dvarw@patos deroduevos. trapéBatve Sé
Kal Ta Trepl THS evTEAcias TOV SetTrVwY UT’ avTOUD
TeTAyMEVva, TOTOLS Kal GuVdeiTTVOLS TpUdas Kal
Bwporoytias Exovat Tapyyopav TO TévOos.
"OX iyor O€ unvav Sayevopévwr jv pev Oéa povo-
paxov, ova bé Tov ToTwv Staxexpiméevov, ANN
éTt TOV Oedtpov cuppmtyods avipdat Kat yuvackiv

OvTOS, ETUXYE TANCiOV ToD YwvAAA KabeComevy
yuvn Thy ow edmpeTns Kal yévous NapT pod:
Meoodra yap iw Ouyatnp, ‘Oprnciov & Tob
pytopos aderdy, Ovarrepia 5é toivoua: cuveBe-
Bice S6€ avTH vewotl mpos dvdpa SssdoTacts.
avTn Tapa tov YwArav éEoriaOev wapatropevo-
evn THY TE YElpa Tpos avToVY amnpEicato Kal
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Lepidus speedily waxed insolent and went to war
with Pompey and his party.}
XXXV. On consecrating the tenth of all his sub- stance to Hercules, Sulla feasted the people sumptuously, and his provision for them was so much beyond | what was needed that great quantities of meats were daily cast into the river, and wine was drunk that was forty years old and upwards. In the midst of the feasting, which lasted many days, Metella lay sick and dying. And since the priests forbade Sulla to go near her, or to have his house polluted by her funeral, he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house while she was still living. In doing this, he observed the strict letter of the law, out of superstition; but the law limiting the expense of the funeral, which law he had himself introduced, he transgressed, and spared no outlays. He transgressed also his own ordinances limiting the cost of banquets, when he tried to as- suage his sorrow by drinking parties and convivial banquets, where extravagance and ribaldry prevailed.

A few months afterwards there was a gladiatorial spectacle, and since the places for men and women in the theatre were not yet separated,? but still pro- miscuous, it chanced that there was sitting near Sulla a woman of great beauty and splendid birth ; she was a daughter of Messala, a sister of Hortensius the orator, and her name was Valeria, and it so hap- pened that she had recently been divorced from her husband. As she passed along behind Sulla, she rested her hand upon him, plucked off a bit of nap

1 On the death of Sulla, in 78 B.c., Lepidus headed an insurrection, and attempted to overthrow the constitution.

Pompey adhered to the senatorial party (Cf. Pompey, xvi.). 2 As they were in the time of Augustus.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kpoxuda ToD ipatiov omacaca TrapnrGev él THY
éauTis xopav. éuBr¥EWavtos 5é Tov LUAAa Kal
Gavpacartos, “Ovdév,” én, “ deuvov, avto-
KPaTop, adda Bovropar THS OTS Kay pLiKpov
evTuxias petaraBeiv.” TOUTO Hove ev OUK anows
O Zuhvas, adda Kal bios evOvs i UTOKEKYLG -

Hévos* npwTa yap Drom eure avrijs svopa, Kal
‘yevos cal Biov evavOavev. éx be TOUT@D press
OLpLaToV én’ aA doug éyiverTo Kal TWapeTrLoTpo-
pal ouvexeis TpoTwTODV Kat pedtaparov d:a-
dooes, TEAS be opodoryiar kal auvbécecs Tept
vapor, éxeivy pev tows dpewmror, LwAAas dé, el
Kal Ta pddorTa cappova Kat yevvaiay, GNX OvK
éKx oad povos Kal Karns eynuev apxis, Gyfrer kat
Aapupia petpaxiov dixny trapaBrnbeis, id’ av
Ta aloxiota Kal avaidéctata raOn xiveicbat
mépuxev.
XXXVI. OF phy adda Kai TavTnv éxwov eri
THS oiKias cuviy pipos yuvackt nal ceOapiotpiass
cat Oupedcxots avOpwrrors, emt aTtBddav ab
7{LEpas TupTivey. ovTot yap ol TOTE Tap aut @
Suvdpevot peyeotov jo av, “Pwaoxios o Kwp@dos Kat
apt O apxipipos Kat MnrtpoBtos O Avatpods,
ob Kaim ep €€@pov ryevojLevou Over eet He pe mav-
TOS epav OUK dpvovpevos. bev cat Thv vooov ar
aitias edad pas apEapyevny éFéO pewe, Kal TwoNUY
xpovov myvoes Wepl TA OTNAYKVA yeyovas EuTrUOS,
up is Kal THY capKa dia Gapeioar els pUeipas
peTeBare TATAV, WOTE TOANOY oe Tpepas dua
Kat VUKTOS apa..pouvTav pendev elvat pépos TOU
Emriytvopévou TO drroK pivouevor, GAA Tacav
écOnra Kal AovTpov Kal aTrovimpa Kal ceriov
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from his mantle, and then proceeded to her own place. When Sulla looked at her in astonishment, she said: “It’s nothing of importance, Dictator, but I too wish to partake a little in thy felicity.” Sulla was not displeased at hearing this, nay, it was at once clear that his fancy was tickled, for he secretly sent and asked her name, and inquired about her family and history. Then followed mutual glances, continual turnings of the face to gaze, interchanges of smiles, and at last a formal compact of marriage. All this was perhaps blameless on her part, but Sulla, even though she was ever so chaste and reputable, did not marry her from any chaste and worthy motive; he was led away, like a young man, by looks and languishing airs, through which the most disgraceful and shameless passions are naturally excited. XXXVI. However, even though he had such a wife at home, he consorted with actresses, harpists, and theatrical people, drinking with them on couches all day long. For these were the men who had most influence with him now: Roscius the comedian, Sorex the archmime, and Metrobius the impersonator of women, for whom, though past his prime, he continued up to the last to be passionately fond, and made no denial of it. By this mode of life he aggravated a disease which was insignificant in its beginnings, and for a long time he knew not that his bowels were ulcerated. This disease corrupted his whole flesh also, and converted it into worms, so that although many were employed day and night in removing them, what they took away was

as nothing compared. with the increase upon him, but all his clothing,

1 Cf. chapter ii. 4.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

avarripmracbat Tov pevpatos éxeivou Kal THs

Pbopas: tocovTov é&nvOer. &10 TOANGKIS THS

npépas ets DOwp évéBawvev éxxrvlov TO apa kal

ATOPPUTTOpLEVOS. i dé ovdev dpedos: éxparet

ue? n peraBory T@ TAYXEL, KAL TEPLEyiVETO TAVTOS
Jappoo TO TANI OS.
hee, dé TOY pev mavuy Taraov "Axaotov
POeipracavra TOV TleAtov TehEUTHO aL, Ttav oé
VaTEPOV "Adkpava TOV peAomrooy Kal Pepexvdny
TOV Deodoryov Kal Kaddobevn TOV 'Orv Gov ev
pee ppovpovpevor, & Ett O€ Mov«cov Tov VOpLKov.
é det Kal TOY am' ovdEVvOS pev Xpnotod yyw pi-
poy dé dAXwS émipvna Ojvar, NeyeTas TOY apEavTa
TOU Sovhixod Tohe wou mept uKeMav dparerny,
Ewvoup 4 évopa, peTa THY adwotv eis 'Pwounv ayo-
pevov UTO plerprdcews amoGavetv.
XXXVII. 'O 6€ ZvAXas ob povov Tpoeyven
THY éauTov TEdEUTHY, adda TpOTrov Twa Kat
ryéypade cept auTns. TO yap eixoo TOY Kal bev-
TEpoV TOV Dropynuarav po dveip nLEp@v q
éreXevTa ypahwv émavaato- Kat yot Tous
Xaddatous auT@ TpoeuTrety as d€ot BeBiwoxora
KaX@S avTov év awh TOV evTUXNLaToV KaTa-
otpéeypar Aéyer 5é Kal Tov vidv avTod, TeEOvnKOTA
pure pov eum poo Oev THs MeréAAns, pavyvat Kara
TOUS Umvous éy eo Ort pavhy TApPETTOTA Kat
deopevov Tov TAT pos mavoas Jat TOV ppovtiswy,
lovra 5€ ou auT@ Tapa THY wNnTEpa MeréAAay
ev Hnovxia Kat am parywovers Ch ber aUTHS. ov
pay ératcars ye TOU TpdaTTey Ta Snpocla. béxa
pev yap nuepars eumpoobey ris TedevTijs TOUS
év Atcasapyeia otacidlovtas SiadddEas vomov
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baths, hand-basins, and food, were infected with that flux of corruption, so violent was its discharge. There- fore he immersed himself many times a-day in water to cleanse and scour his person. But it was of no use; for the change gained upon him rapidly, and the swarm of vermin defied all purification.

We are told that in very ancient times, Acastus
the son of Pelias was thus eaten of worms and died,
and in later times, Aleman the lyric poet, Pherecydes
the theologian, Callisthenes of Olynthus, who was
kept closely imprisoned, as also Mucius the jurist ;
and if mention is to be made of men who had no
excellence to commend them, but were notorious for
other reasons, it is said that the runaway slave who
headed the servile war in Sicily,! Eunus by name,
was taken to Rome after his capture, and died there
of this disease.

XXXVII. Sulla not only foresaw his own death, but may be said to have written about it also. For he stopped writing the twenty-second book of his Memoirs two days before he died, and he there says that the Chaldaeans foretold him that, after an hon- ourable life, he was to end his days at the height of his good fortunes. He says also that his son, who had died a little while before Metella, appeared to him in his dreams, clad in mean attire, and besought his father to put an end to anxious thoughts, and come with him to his mother Metella, there to live in peace and quietness with her. However, he did not cease to transact the public business. For instance, ten days before he died, he reconciled the opposing factions in Dicaearchia,? and prescribed a code of

1 B.c. 134; cf. Diodorus, xxxiv. 2, 23.
2 An earlier name for Puteoli.
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eyparpev avtois Ka” bp TOMLTEVS OVTAL’ po pas
dé npEpas Tudo pevos Tov apxovra T'pdvov, OS
opeihov Snpoovoy _Xpeos ovK aTrobidwour, adn
avapéver THY avrou TENEUTHD, pererréuyato TOV
av0 pwrrov eis TO S@martov" Kal TEpLaTngas Tous
UinpeTas exédeua € Tvivyew, TH b€ Kpavyy Kal T
omapary wep 76 aTrooTn pa pitas wrnOos aiparos
éEéBarev. éx 6é TOUTOU THs Suvapews émedTrOV-
ons Sraryaryoy THY VUKTA pox Onpas atréGave, Svo
maidas € Ex THS MerédAns vyTious KATAMTEOV. n
yap Ovarrepia peta THY TENEUTHY avrov Guyd-
TpLov amrekunoey, o Tlooroupay éxaouv" TOUS yap

Datepov THS TOV TaTépov TENEUTHS yEVOMEVOUS
otto ‘Pwpaios mpocayopevovaty.
XXXVIII. "Oppnoay pep ouv Tool Kar
cuver tno ay 1 pos Aémsdov ws elpEovtes TO Tapa
xnoetas Tis vevopic wévns® Tlopanios 6€, kaiTrép
éyKaX@v TO 2vAXAa (wevov yap avrov ev Tais
SiaO jrcass TOV pideov mapedumre), ToUs pev YapiTe
kal dence, Tovs de aren Siaxpovadpevos els
‘Pon TrapéeTrepye TO TOpa, Kal tais tadpais
dapdrevay & pa, Kal TEND TApeaXe. Aevyerar bé
TocovTo wAHOOs a dpwopar ov “emevery Ket TAS yuvai-
KAS AUT@ Bote avev Tav ev hophyact dena Kat
dtaxoc tous Svaxopslouevoy wracOnvatr peév eldw-
ov edperebes avTov YwAXra, wAacOHvas Se Kat
paSdoiyov ex TE MBavarob TOAUTEANOUS Kal
KLYVALO OV. THS dé TMepas ocuvvepous &wOev
ovans, Bdap é& oupavov m po Soxavres évaTns
Hpav “orALs @pas TOV vex pov. avéwou 6€ AapTTpOv
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laws for their conduct of the city’s government; and one day before he died, on learning that the magistrate there, Granius, refused to pay a debt he owed the public treasury, in expectation of his death, he summoned him to his room, stationed his servants about him, and ordered them to strangle him; but with the strain which he put upon his voice and body, he ruptured his abscess and lost a great quantity of blood. In consequence of this his strength failed, and after a night of wretchedness, he died, leaving two young children by Metella.! For it was after his death that Valeria gave birth to a daughter, who was called Postuma, this being the name which the Romans give to children who are born after their father’s death.

XXXVIII. Many now joined themselves eagerly to Lepidus, purposing to deprive Sulla’s body of the usual burial honours ; but Pompey, although offended at Sulla (for he alone, of all his friends, was not mentioned in his will), diverted some from their purpose by his kindly influence and entreaties, and others by his threats, and then conveyed the body to Rome, and secured for it an honourable as well as a safe interment. And it is said that the women contributed such a vast quantity of spices for it, that, apart from what was carried on two hundred and ten litters, a large image of Sulla himself, and another image of a lictor, was moulded out of costly frank- incense and cinnamon. The day was cloudy in the morning, and the expectation was that it would rain, but at last, at the ninth hour,? the corpse was placed upon the funeral pyre. Then a strong wind smote

1 Cf. chapter xxxiv. 3.
4 J.e. in the middle of the afternoon,
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KaTaLyicayTos els TH. Tupav Kal proya TONNHY
éryelpayTos EpOn TO copa guycopsabey oe ogov 70n
THS Tupas Paparvoperns Kab TOU mupos aTLOVTOS
exxuOhvat ToNUY 68pov Kal Katacyxelv axpe
VUKTOS, @OTE THY TUXNY avroo Soxetv TO Tope
ouvOamrew Tapapevovaay. TO pev ouv punpetov
ev T@ medi tov “Apews dott: TO 5é emiypappa
aol auto Urroypayrapevov KaTahirely, ov
Kepararov éotiv ws ote TOY hirwy Tis avTOY Ew
Tov ovTE THY ExO pov KaKas UTrepeBaneTo.
AYZSANAPOY KAI SYAAA 3YPKPIRIS

I. ’Enret 66 Kal TO TOUTOU dueAnrAvOapev ior,
omen On 7 pos THY oUyKpLaLy. TO pev ovv ad’
EAUTOV avincews apxny AaBovar peyaros yeE-
vécOat KOWOV apport épors vmrnptev, idsov be
Avadv6pou 70 Bovropevav TOV TOMT@VY Kab
UylaivovTwy saas éo €V apxas raBeiv, Bua-
cacbat Sé pndev axovtwv pnd icxdoat Tapa
TOUS VO{LOUS.
"Ev 5€ Styootacin Kal o mayKaKxos éd\dNayeE

TLL,
domep év ‘Pwun tote SiepPappevov Tov Sjpou
Kat vooourTos avtois Tov TOMTEVPLATOS ddNos
adrax ob ev dvia Tato Suvacrns. Kat ovdev mv
Oavpactov ef YWAras Hoxev, Ste TAaveias wat
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the pyre, and roused a mighty flame, and there was just time to collect the bones for burial, while the pyre was smouldering and the fire was going out, when a heavy rain began to fall, which continued till night. Therefore his good fortune would seem to have lasted to the very end, and taken part in his funeral rites. At any rate, his monument stands in the Campus Martius, and the inscription on it, they say, is one which he wrote for it himself, and the substance of it is, that no friend ever surpassed him in kindness, and no enemy in mischief.

COMPARISON OF LYSANDER AND SULLA

I. AND now since we have completed this Life also, let us come at once to the Comparison. In this

respect, then, they were alike, namely, that both were _ founders of their own greatness; but it was a peculiar virtue in Lysander that he obtained all his high offices with the consent of his fellow-citizens, and when affairs were in a sound condition; he did not force anything from them against their will, nor did he acquire any power which was contrary to the laws.

‘‘ But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in
honour,” !
and so in Rome at that time, since the people was corrupt and their government in a distempered state, men of various origin rose to power. And it was no wonder that Sulla held sway, when such men as 1 A proverb in hexameter verse, attributed to Callimachus of Alexandria. Plutarch uses it also in the Niczas, xi. 3, and

in Morals, p. 479 a.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Laropvivor MerédXovs HAavvOY éx Tis TONEWS,
brarov dé amecpaTTovTo maives évy éxxrAnoLals,
apryupicp dé Kal Ypuoig Ta Ora TrapedapBavov
@VOV [EVOL TOUS OT PATEVOMEVOUS, Tupl dé Kal
ordnpe TOUS VO [L0US ériOecay Bralopevor Tous
avTtheyovTas. OUK aitiapat dé tov év ToLovToLs
Tpary pace peytotov toxdoat Siamrpakdpevor, anna.
onpetov ov Tiepat Tov BédreaTov elva TO ye-
véo Oat T p@ToOV obrw ‘Tovnpa mparrovens THs
Torews. 0 O€ aro THS Lmdprns eUVOMOULEVTS
TOTE pada Kal swppovovans € émt Tas peyioras
EXT ELT OMEYOS Hryepovias Kal mpagers oxedov
dploTov apis ros éxpiveto Kal T POT OV T P@TOS.
60ev o ev roAdAKis THY apynv arodous Tois
TOMLT ALS avéraBe TOAAEKLS* Oépeve yap % n Tem
THS apEeTAs éxouga TO mpwretoy’ 0 6€ amrak
aipeBels TT PATEVLATOS NyEpeov, érn TUVEX DS
béxa, vov _ bev imarop, viv dé SueTaTopa TOL@V
éauror, ae 5é dy Tupavvos, év Ttois dios
emevev.
II. "Errexeipnoe pep ou 0 Avaavépos, as
elpnTat, HeTATTHO AL Ta mept THY TONTELAY T™ pqo-
TEpov Kat VO pL eT Epov H YwaAras metBoi yap,
ov be Oro ovoée mavra ovAANnBSnv avatpav,
domep éxeivos, GX avTny émavopOovpevos THY
KaTadoTaciwy Tov _Bacthéwv: ") Kal pucet Trou
Sixasov edoxet, tov é& apiarev dipta Tov dpxeuw
ép monet THS ‘EAAd60s mVOUpeDy | by apeTny, ov
bc evryeveray. BomTep yap _Kuvnyos ov onret TO

eK KUVOS, ara Kuva, Kal imrTreKos: inmrov, ov TO
é& immou: ti yap, av é& immou jyiovos yévntac;
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COMPARISON OF LYSANDER AND SULLA

Glaucia and Saturninus drove such men as Metellus from the city, when sons of consuls were butchered in assemblies, when silver and gold purchased arms and men to wield them, and laws were enacted with fire and sword in defiance of all opposition. Now I do not blame the man who, in such a state of affairs, forced his way to supreme power; but I cannot re- gard his becoming first man, when the city was in such an evil plight, as a proof that he was also the best man. Whereas Lysander, since Sparta was at the height of good government and sobriety when she sent him forth upon the greatest commands and undertakings, was virtually decided to be first of her first men, and best of her best. Lysander, therefore, though he often surrendered his power into the hands of his fellow-citizens, as often received it back again, since the honour accorded to virtue continued to rank highest in the state; but Sulla, when he had once been chosen leader of an army, remained in arms for ten years together, making himself now consul, and now dictator, but always being a usurper.

II. It is true, indeed, that Lysander attempted, as I have said, to change the form of government, but it was by milder and more legal methods than Sulla's; by persuasion, namely, not by force of arms, nor by subverting everything at once, as Sulla did, but by amending merely the appointment of the kings. And it seemed but natural justice, in a way, that the best of the best should rule in a city which had the leadership in Hellas by virtue of his excellence, and not of his noble birth. For just as a hunter looks for a dog, and not the whelp of a certain bitch, and a horseman for a horse, and not the foal of a certain mare (for what if the foal should prove to be a mule?),

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

obTws) TOALT LKOS Gpapryactas TOU TAVTOS,
éav py nth Tov apYovTa Tis éoTwW, GAA ex
TOS. avrot yé ToL Lrapriaras Baothevovras
Evious aeihovro THY apxny, OS ov Bacthxovs,
adda pavrous Kal TO pnodev évTas. ei 58 Kaxia
kal pera yévous aT ipov, oud apern Ss evyévecar,
arr' ad' EQuTAs EVTLov.
Ai toivuy ddiciat Te pev OTép pirov, ™@ S
aX pe didov em pdx Onaar. Aveavdpos (Mey yap
opororyet ras Ta mheiora dua TUS. éraipous ef -
apapreiy Kal Tas mAéeioTas a paryas uTép THS
excivov anepyacacGat duvacteias kal Tupavyidos:
LwAAas dé Kal Hopmniov TreptéKowpe TO oTpare-
@TLKOV dOovncas, cat AoroRéAXa THY vavapxiay
emrexeipnae dous aperéo Gar, Kat Aouxpyttov

‘Opedray aytl TorAdK@y Kal peyddor UTaTelay
pva[evov ev opbarpois anoapagat mpocéTate,
pplenv kat déos ep TrOLaY 7 pos abroy av pwr ots
aract Sta THS TOV pirtarav dvatpécens.
IT. "Ett 6¢ padAXov % mepl Tas doves Kal Ta
Xpijpara oToven deixvucr Tob pey HYEMOVLKND,
Tou O€ TUpAvYLKnY THY Tpoatpeciy ovcav. Oo pep
yap ovdeyv adkoAacToV ovdE erpaKades € év éEovcia
kal Ouvdpet THMKAUTD paiverat Svarremparypévos,
aXD’, el 6 Tis AAXos, extrepevyas TOUTL TO
TreplaKTov’ “Olxot Néovtes, ev tbrralOpw dé aro-
TEKES* OUT cad pova Kat Aakovixny Kat
Kekoas pevny émedetkvuTo Tavraxov thy diatrav.
0 Oe obTe vEOS av) Trepl Tas emudupias cnet pate
dua THY Teviay ovTE ynpacas Oia THY HrLKAY,
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so the statesman makes an utter mistake if he en- quires, not what sort of a man the ruler is, but from whom he is descended. And indeed the Spartans themselves deposed some of their kings, for the reason that they were not kingly men, but insignifi- cant nobodies. And if vice, even in one of ancient family, is dishonourable, then it must be virtue itself, and not good birth, that makes virtue honourable.

Moreover, the acts of injustice which one wrought, were in behalf of his friends; while the other’s ex- tended to his friends. For it is generally agreed that Lysander committed the most of his transgres- sions for the sake of his comrades, and that most of his massacres were perpetrated to maintain their power and sovereignty; but Sulla cut down the number of Pompey’s soldiers out of jealousy, and tried to take away from Dolabella the naval command which he had given him, and when Lucretius Ofella sued for the consulship as a reward for many great services, ordered him to be slain before his eyes, causing all men to regard him with fear and horror because of his murdering his dearest friends.

III. Still further, in their pursuit of riches and pleasures we discover that the purpose of one was more befitting a commander, that of the other more characteristic of a tyrant. For Lysander appears to have perpetrated no act of wantonness or youthful folly while he enjoyed such great authority and power, nay, if ever man did, he avoided the praise and re- proach of the proverb: “Lions at home, but foxes abroad ”’; so sober, Spartan, and restrained was the way of life which he everywhere manifested. But Sulla allowed neither the poverty of his youth to set bounds to his desires, nor the years of his old age,

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ada, Tous Treph ydpov Kal Todpposvvns elo nyelTo
VOMOUS Tois ToAiTats avTos Epav Kal porxevor,

OS once LarovaTL0s. 60ev ovTw THY TONY
TTOX NY Kal Kevny eroinde Xpnpdr ov Gore Tais
cuppaxiar kal piraus TONE LY apyupiou TwWNELWV
THV érevdepiav Kal THY avrovopiay, KatToe TOUS
ToAvapyupwratous otkous Kal peyiatous oonwepae
MpevOVTOS avrTod Kal amroKnpuTTOVTOS. ara
per pov ovden 7 hy Tov pum Toupéver Kal KaTaxopn-
youpeveov els TOUS Kohakas. TWa yap €LKOS elvat
hoyic mov 17 peda Tpos Tas Tap olvov auvovatas
avrov Kal Xapitas, Os €v havep@ tote ToD Sijpou
TEPLETTOTOS ovatay) peyarny Svamimpac Kev TLULTS
THS Tuxovans eis &va TOY pirov éxéXeve xata-
Knpiacew, érépou bé THY Tiny UTepBaropévov
kal tov KHpuUKOS TO mpoo tebe a@yopevoavTos
Sunyavdntnce, “Aeiva Yes @ pirou Tonirat, Kat
TUPAVYLKA waaXe,” GpeEvos, ‘el Ta éua pot
Nadupa babe Gar Ba ekeatw @s Bovdopar.”
Avoavépos 5é kai tas avT@ Sobeicas Swpeds peta
TOV addov anémeppe Tots mwoMTats. Kab ovK
éTrawa TO Epyou" lows yap Braye) KTNOEL
TOY XonudTov THY Lndpryv obTOs Goov ovK
éBrawe ™H apatpéret THY ‘Payny éxelvos’ ANNA
Tex unpLov TOUTO TroLovpLAL THS adthorhoutias
Tob avdpos. idsov d€ TL TrpOsS THY éauTov TOMY
éxdtepos émabe. LvrAras pev yap GKONaTTOS OV
Kal TONUTENNS éowd porte TOUS TohiTas, Avoav-
6 pos 5 av avros amreixeTo Tad ay eve noe Ty
ONLY, @OTE dpaptavetv TOV pev avutov évta
YEeLpova TOV idtcov VOMOV, tov 6é aurod Yel povas
amepyaCouevov tovs Troditas’ detc0ar yap édidake
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COMPARISON OF LYSANDER AND SULLA

but continued to introduce marriage and sumptuary laws for the citizens, while he himself was living in lewdness and adultery, as Sallust says. In these courses he so beggared and emptied the city of her wealth that he sold to allied and friendly cities their freedom and independence for money, although he was daily confiscating and selling at public auction the wealthiest and greatest estates. Nay, there was no measuring what he lavishly squandered and threw away upon his flatterers. For what calculation or economy could be expected in his convivial associ- ations and delights, when, on a public occasion, with the people standing about, at the sale of a large property, he ordered the crier to knock it down to one of his friends at

a nominal price, and when an- other bidder raised the price and the crier announced the advance, he flew into a rage, saying: “It is a dreadful wrong, my dear citizens, and a piece of usurpation, that I cannot dispose of my own spoils as I wish.” But Lysander sent home for public use even the presents which had been given to him along with the rest of his spoils. Not that I commend what he did; for he, perhaps, by his acquisition of money for Sparta, injured her more than Sulla injured Rome by robbing her of it; but I offer this as a proof of the man’s indifference to riches. Moreover, each had a peculiar experience with his own city. Sulla, who knew. no restraint in his extravagance, tried to bring the citizens into ways of sobriety ; while Lysander filled his city with the passions to which he himself was a stranger. The former erred, therefore, in falling below the standard of his own laws ; the latter, in causing the citizens to fall below his own standard, since he taught Sparta to want

THhv Sardaprnv av avTtos éuabe wn mpocdeicat.
Kal Ta ev TOALTLKG TAUTA.
IV. Tlonépeov dé aydot Kal oTpatnyiKais
mpafeot Kal wrnOer TpoTraiwy Ka peyeber Kwov-
veov aavyKpLTos o ‘2vAdas. 0 pévTor ye Svo
viKas efnveyxato vavpaxiats éuct- mpoa Ono
dé avT@ THY "AOnvev TOMOpKiaY, épyp méev ov
peyandny, TH 5e 60&n Aapmporarny yevopmevny.
Ta év Bowwtia kal ‘AM pT Sua Tuxig pep
lows empdxOn Twit, xaxoBouhia dé TpoaéorKev
OuK avapEivavTos Scov ovT@ Tapodaay éx IIda-
TALQV Tv peydday TOU Bacthéws Suvapuy, adrA
Oup@ Kal prror iia Tapa Katpovy w@capévouv T pos
TO TELXOS, Gare Tous TUXOVTAS avOpaous éx-
mndycavras év ovdevt hoy kataBanrel avtov.
ov yap Os Kron Spores ev AeveTpous avrepeioav
emrietpevors TOIS Toneptors, OVOE OS Kipos ovde
as ‘Errapetvovbas KaTéyov eyKenMKoTas Kat TO
vinta, , BeBarovpevos TANYD Katpig TEPLET ET ED”
GAN’ ovTot pev Baciréwy Kal otpatnyov Java-
tov améOvyoxop, Avaavdpos dé wehTaa Too Kat
™ podpopov dingy AKNEWS Tapavarwaas éavTov,
évapTupnce Tots mahavois Lraptidrass 6 Ort Kadeos
epudatrovTo TAS TeLtyouaxias, év als oux um
avd pos povov TOU TUXOVTOS, GAA Kat UTO Tatoos
Kal yuvareos an oBaveiv av Tv TUX OL TANYEVTA
TOV KpaTLaTov, OoTEp tov ‘Aytrr\éa gaclv tro
tov Ildpidos é év Tais TUAaLS avatpeOijvat.
2wAXas pev ovv boas éx mapatatens EViKNGE
vixas Kal xatéBane pupiddas Tohepioov oveé

aprOunoat padiop € éoTiy: aur ny bé THV ‘Pony dls
elhe, kal tov Tlepacd tov "AOnvav ov po
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what he himself had learned not to want. Such was
their influence as statesmen...
IV. But as regards contests in .war, achievements in generalship, number of trophies, and magnitude of dangers encountered, Sulla is beyond compare. Lysander, it is true, won two victories in as many naval battles; and I will add to his exploits his siege of Athens, which was really not a great affair, al- though the reputation of it was most brilliant. What occurred in Boeotia and at Haliartus, was due, per- haps, to a certain evil fortune ; but it looks as though he was injudicious in not waiting for the large forces of the king, which had all but arrived from Plataea, instead of allowing his resentment and ambition to lead him into an inopportune assault upon the walls, with the result that an inconsiderable and random body of men sallied out and overwhelmed him. For he received his death wound, not as Cleombrotus did, at Leuctra, standing firm against the enemy’s onsets, nor as Cyrus did, or Epaminondas, rallying his men and assuring the victory to them; these all died the death of kings and generals. But Lysander threw away his life ingloriously, like a common targeteer or skirmisher, and bore witness to the wisdom of the ancient Spartans in avoiding assaults on walled cities, where not only an ordinary man, but even a child or a woman may chance to smite and slay the mightiest warrior, as Achilles, they say, was slain by Paris at the gates.

In Sulla’s case, at any rate, it is no easy matter even to enumerate the pitched battles which he won and the myriads of enemies whom he slew; Rome itself he captured twice, and he took the Piraeus of

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xabarep Avcavépos, GAAa TroANOIs ayaou Kal
peydnros, exBarov Apxéraov éx THs yhs él Thy
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454 e

478

COMPARISON OF LYSANDER AND SULLA

Athens, not by famine, as Lysander did, but by a series of great battles, after he had driven Archelaiis from the land to the sea. It is important, too, that we consider the character of their antagonists. For ‘I think it was the merest child’s play to win a sea- fight against Antiochus, Alcibiades’ pilot, or to outwit Philocles, the Athenian demagogue,

“Inglorious foe, whose only weapon is a sharpened
tongue” ;!
such men as these Mithridates would not have deigned
to compare with his groom, nor Marius with his lictor.
But of the dynasts, consuls, generals, and demagogues

who lifted themselves against Sulla, to pass by the rest, who among the Romans was more formidable than Marius? who among the kings was more powerful than Mithridates? who among the Italians was more warlike than Lamponius and Telesinus? And yet Sulla banished the first of these, subdued the second, and slew the others.

V. But what is of more weight, in my opinion, than any thing yet mentioned, Lysander achieved all his successes with the co-operation of the authori- ties at home; whereas Sulla, though he was over- powered by a hostile faction, and an exile, at a time when his wife was being driven from home, his house being demolished, and his friends being slain, when he himself, too, was confronting countless myriads of enemies in Boeotia and risking his life for his country, set up his trophy of victory; and not even when Mithridates offered him an alliance and forces to wield against his enemies at Rome, would he make

1 An iambic trimeter of unknown authorship (Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 921).

pararov éveSconev oudé piravOpwrov, aXN oude Tm pocetrrev avde THY defray évéBane TpOoTEpov 7) mubec ba Ta. povTos 6Te Kab THY "Aciav adinat Kab Tas vans mapacidoct Kat Tots Bactrebow eBloratas kat Bidvvias nal Karraéoxias. @v ovdev Srws Soxed YUAAaS KadANOV epyov ovee amo peiCovos elpydoOas pov" patos, OTL TO Kowov TOU oixetov mpoobev Géwevos, Kal xabamep ot yevvator KUVES ovK avels TO Ofrypa Kal THY raBnv ™ poTepov) Tov avTayovisT ay amevmely, TOTE 7 POs THY TOV iSteov a&puvay Gpunoer. ent nae dé Kal 70 Tept Tas "AOnvas & yeu TLva, pony els nOous avyxpiow* elye 2wrras pev vIrép THS M:Opisarou Suvdpews kal nryepwovias TONE U- cacay avTe THY TOA éAOV édevOépav adijce Kat aUTOvO"OY, Avoavdpos b¢ TOG AUTHS nyewovias Kal apxns éxiecovoay ovK PuTELpEV, GANA Kal THY Snjwoxpatiav vi depsmnee a@poTaTous QuTh Kal Tapavopovs atré eve TOUS Tupavvous.

"Opa 67 oKoTrElLDy, pay ov TWoNU Tadnovs du- apapTdvepev arrop aLvouevor TEOVa eV KaTwp- Owxévas 2vAday, ehaT Tova dé eEnuaptycévas Avaav6pop, Kal TO pev éyxpareias Kal awdpo- -TUUNS, To SéaTtpaTnyias Kal avdpeias amrodsdovTes TO Trpwreiov.

any concession whatsoever, or show him kindness even; nay, he would not so much as greet him or give him his hand, until he heard him say personally that he would relinquish Asia, hand over his ships, and restore Bithynia and Cappadocia to their rightful kings. No act of Sulla's whatsoever appears more honourable than this, or due to a loftier spirit, because he set the public interests before his own, and, like dogs of noble breed, did not relax his bite or let go his hold until his adversary had yielded, and then only did he set out to avenge his own private wrongs. And besides all this, their treatment of Athens is of some weight in a comparison of their characters. Sulla, after taking the city, although it had fought against him to support the power and supremacy of Mithridates, restored her to freedom and indepen- dence; whereas Lysander, although she had fallen from such a great supremacy and empire, showed her no pity, but took away her democratic form of government, and appointed most savage and lawless men to be her tyrants.

We may now consider whether we shall err very much from the truth in pronouncing our verdict that Sulla won the more successes, while Lysander had the fewer failings; and in giving to the one the preéminence in self-control and moderation, to the other, in generalship and valour.

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A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

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A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Abydos, 105, a city of Mysia, on the eastern shore of the Hellespont, nearly opposite Sestos on the European side.

Acastus, 441, mythical king of Iolcus in Thessaly. He was one of the Argonauts, and took part in the Calydonian boar-hunt.

Aedepsus, 409, a town on the N.W. coast of Euboea, nearly opposite

Thermopylae on the mainland.
Aegospotami, 107, a stream on the western side of the Hellespont, nearly opposite Lampsacus, with a town of the same name upon it.
Agatharchus, 43, of Samos, prominent at Athens as a theatrical scene-painter, 460—420 B.o.
Alcman, 441, the greatest lyric t of Sparta, who lived from about 670 to about 630 B.o. He was a Lydian by birth, and was brought to Sparta as a slave.
Alcmene, 313, wife of Amphitryon king of Thebes, and mother of Heracles by Zeus. After the death of Amphitryon she married Rhadamanthus.
Amphictyons, 363, officers of the Amphictyonic League, which comprised the peoples whose common sanctuaries were the temple of Apollo at Delphi and that of Demeter at Anthela, near Thermopylae.
Amphitryon, 313, mythical king of Thebes, and husband of Alcmene.
PLUT. IV

Anaxagoras, 263, of Clazomenae in Tonian Asia Minor, prominent at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460-432 B.c., when ‘tthe enemies of Pericles brought about his banishment.
Anaxandrides, 281, the Delphian, probably of the third century B.C., author of a work on the plundered offerings of Delphi.
Andronicus, 407, the Rhodian, head of the Peripatetic school of phi!-osophy at Rome in the middle of the first century B.O.
Antemnae, 423, an ancient city of Latium, some three miles south

of Rome, just below the junction of the Anio with the Tiber.
Anthesterion, 373, the eighth month of the Attic calendar, corresponding to the latter part of February and first part of March.
Antigonus Doson, 143, a grandson of Demetrius Poliorcetes, and king of Macedonia 229-221 B.C.
Antilochus, 283, otherwise unknown.

Antimachus, 283, of Colophon, a celebrated poet of Lysander's time, called '"'clarus poeta'' in Cicero, Brutus, 51, 191.
Antisthenes, 3, the Socratic, a

upil of Gorgias and friend of ocrates.
Antium, 149, 163, 167, 171, 181, 215, a city of Latium, on the seacoast about forty miles south of Rome.
Anytus, 13, 151, an influential politician at Athens, afterwards
461

DICTIONARY OF

rincipal accusers of

r whose death he was sent into exile by the Athenians.
Apellicon, 407, of Teos, a Peripatetic philosopher, and a great collector of books by foul means and fair. He was obliged to fly from Athens to save his life, but returned to be prominent under the tyrant Aristion. He was not living when his library was taken to Rome.
Archestratus, 43, 285, perhaps the choral poet mentioned in the

Aristides, i. 4, as flourishing during the Peloponnesian war.
Arginusae, 249, a group of three small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.
Ariobarzanes, 335, 337, 399, 405, became king of Cappadocia in 93 B.C., but was soon afterwards expelled by Tigranes, king of Armenia,the son-in-law of Mithridates.

Aristion, 361, 367, 401, illegitimate son of an Athenian Peripatetic philosopher named Athenion, to whose property and citizenshi he succeeded. He also taugh philosophy. He was sent as an ambassador of Athens to Mithridates, in whose confidence he established himself, and on returning to Athens in 88 B.c. made himself tyrant of the city through the patronage and in the interest of that monarch.
Aristophon, 43, a distinguished Athenian painter, brother of the great Polygnotus. Aglaophon, however, was probably the author of the painting here spoken of.
Arsaces, 335, Arsaces IX. in the succession of Parthian rulers bearing this name. He seems to have asked for and obtained an alliance with Rome.
Asia, 359, 397, 399, the country on the west coast of Asia Minor out of which the Romans formed the province of Asia in 129 B.o.
Aspendus, 77, a city of Pamphylia

one of the

in southern Asia Minor, on the river Eurymedon.
Aulis, 309, a town of Boeotia, on the strait of Euripus, nearly opposite Chalcis in Euboea. It was the rendezvous for the expedition of the Greeks under Agamemnon against Troy.
-B

Battus, 143, Battus II., the third king of ¢yrene, on the north coast of Africa. His reign began in 588 and ended soon after 570 B.O.
Bola, 187, an ancient town in Latium, of uncertain site. .
Bocchus, 329, 331, 333, 337, a king of Mauritania, who betrayed Jugurtha to the Romans in 106 B.C. ;
Bosporus, 359, the kingdom of this name extended along' the northern shore of the Euxine sea, on either side of the strait between that sea and Lake Maeotis, the strait called the Cimmerian Bosporus.
C

Cappadocia, 335, the eastern district of Asia Minor, between Pontus on the north and Cilicia on the south, and bordering on Armenia.
Callisthenes, 441, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who attended Alexander the Great on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.o.
Capua, 4138, the capital city of

ampania, finally subdued by the Romans in 211 B.o.
Carbo, 397, 415, 419, 421, Cnaeus Papirius, one of the leaders of the Marian party. After his flight to Libya (p. 419) he was taken prisoner by Pompey and cruelly put to death (Pompey, chapter x.).
Catiline, 431, Lucius Sergius, the

DICTIONARY OF

famous conspirator in the consulship of Cicero, 63B.0. (Cicero, chapters x.—xxii.).
Censorinus, 387, Caius Marcius

rominent among the leaders of he Marian party and in many conflicts with Sulla. He was finally taken prisoner and put to death by Sulla in 82 B.0. Cicero speaks of him (Brutus, 67, 237) as well versed in Greek literature.
Chalcedon, 85, 87, 89, a Greek city

in Bithynia opposite Byzantium.

Chalcis, 389, $91, a city in Euboea,

on the strait of Euripus, nearly opposite Chalcis in Boeotia.
Chersonese, 243, 255, 257, 263, the

Thracian Chersonese, or peninsula, on the west of the Hellespont.

Choerilus, 281, of Samos, 479-399 B.O., author of an epic poem on the Persian wars.
Cinna, 357, 397, Lucius Cornelius, leader of the Marian party during Sulla’s absence in the East (87-

84 B.0.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85, and 84. He was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla.
Circeii, 185, a town of Latium, on the sea-coast about eighty miles S.E. of Rome.
Cithaeron, Mt., 311, a range of mountains separating Attica and Boeotia.
Clazomenae, 81, an Ionian city on the southern shore of the bay of Smyrna.

Cleanthes, 15, of Assos, a Stoic philosopher, who succeeded Zeno as head of the school at Athens in 263 B.o. His Hymn to Zeus is still extant.
Cleon, the Halicarnassian, 303, 305, & rhetorician who flourished at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries
0

B.O.

Critias, 97, 113, a brilliant foliower of Socrates, like Alcibiades, and later one of the Thirty Tyrants. He was author of tragedies and elegiac poems.
PROPER NAMES

Cyzicus, 67, 81, 83, a Greek city on the Propontis, in Mysia.
D

Datmachus, 2638, 267, perhaps the same person as the ‘Daimachus of Plataea (Comparison of Solon and Publicola, iv. 1), a historian who flourished in the latter part of the fourth centary B.C.

Dionysius, 237, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.c.
Dodona, 305, a town in Bpirus, famous in earlier times for its oracle of Zeus, the influence of which among the Greek states was subsequently assumed by the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

Dolabella, 415, 421, 449, Cnaeus Cornelius, consul in 81 B.0., and afterwards proconsul of Macedonia. In 77, he was prosecuted by Julius Caesar for maladministration of his province (Caesar, iv. 1).

Duris, the Samian, 93, 281, historian and for a time tyrant of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus. He lived about 350-280 B.c. He was an extravagant and sensational writer.
Dyrrhachium, 409, a city on the coast of illyricum known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.
E

Ephorus, 95, 277, 291, 305, 319, of Cymé, pupil of Isocrates with Theopompus, and author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from earliest times down to 340 B.o., in which year he died.
Epidaurus, 363, a city on the east coast of Argolis in Peloponnesus famous for its shrine and cult o Aesculapius.
Eumolpus, 369, a mythical Thracian bard and warrior, called in to aid Eleusis against Athens, and slain by Erechtheus.
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DICTIONARY OF

Evagoras, 261, king of Salamis in Cyprus, extravagantly praised, in the oration of Isocrates bearing his name, as a mild and just ruler. He was a constant friend of Athens from the time here mentioned till his death in 374 B.c.

F

Fenestella, 417, a Roman historian who flourished during the reign of Augustus.

Fidentia, 413, a town of Cisalpine Gaul (now northern Italy), on the Via Aemilia, south of the Po.

G

Gelo, 155, tyrant of Syracuse 485-—478 B.0., and victor over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C,

Glaucia, 447, Caius Servilius, praetor in 1008B.0., a partizan of Marius, and partner of Saturninus in the pop tumults of that year. e perished with Saturninus. Cicero compares him to the Athenian demagogue Hyperbolus (Brutus, 62, 224).

H

Heraea, 295, a city of northwestern Arcadia in Peloponnesus.

I

Isocrates, 27, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436-338 BO. ~

J

Juba, 381, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 508B.c. to

about 20 4.D., was educated at
Rome, and became a learned and
voluminous writer. Among his
works was a History of Rome.
464

PROPER NAMES

Jugurtha, 329, 331, 337, king of
Numidia 112-106 B.c., when
he was brought a prisoner to
nee and starved to death in
4.

L

Lamponius, the Lucanian, 419, 455,
one of the principal leaders of the
Italians in the war with Rome
(90-88 B.c.).
Lampsacus, 107, 255, a famous
Greek city on the Asiatic side of
ene Hellespont, opposite Aegos-
potami.

Larissa, 401, an important city in
N.E. Thessaly.
Laverna, 341, of unknown site.

Lavicum, 187, an ancient town in
Latium, of uncertain site.
Lavinium, 189, an ancient town of
Latium, near the sea-coast, about
seventeen miles 8.E. of Rome.
Lepidus, 435, 437, 443, Marcus
Aemilius, father of the triumvir.
He was driven from Italy by
Pompey in 77B.C., and died
shortly afterwards in Sardinia.
M

Maedi, 403, a powerful le in
the west of Thrace. is
Maeotis, Lake, 359, the modern
ase of Azov, north of the Black

ea.

Malea, Cape, 359, the S.E. extremity of Laconia in Peloponnesus, now Cape St. Angelo.
Marsi, 331, a warlike nation in central Italy, often victorious over the Romans. They were finally subdued soon after 89 B.c., and admitted to Roman citizenship.

Metellus 341, 843, 419, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.c., and one of his most successful generals. After Sulla's death in 79 B.c., he went as proconsul to Spain to prosecute the war against Ser-

torius (Crassus, chapter vi.). It has been shown that Metella, the wife of Sulla, was not the daughter of Metellus Pius, but of Metellus Daimaticus, his uncle.
Metellus, 447, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Numidicus, consul in 109 B.O., and conqueror of Jugurtha. As censor in 102 B.c., he attempted to expel Saturninus and Glaucia from the senate, but was prevented from doing so and himself expelled and driven into exile for a year (100-99 B.0o.).
'Meton, 45, the astrologer, the most famous mathematician and astronomer of his time. In 432 B.0., he published a new calendar with a cycle of nineteen years, intended to reconcile the lunar and solar years.
Mithridates, 335, 343, 351, 359, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this hame, commonly called Mithri-

dates the Great, 120-63 B.o., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.
Mucius, 441, probably Publius Mucius Scaevola, consul in 133 B.O.

Munychion, 273, the tenth month in the Attic calendar, corresponding to the latter part of April and first part of May.
N

~tet

Niceratus of Heracleia, 283, otherwise unknown.
Nicomedes, 399, 405, the third king of Bithynia bearing this name. He was reseated on his throne in 90 and 848.0. by the Romans, and reigned ten years after the second restoration till his death in 74 B.C.
Nola, 351, 353, an ancient and im-

rtant town in Campania, some wenty miles S.E. of Capua.
Norbanus, 411, 413, consul in 83 B.c. After his defeats by Sulla and Metellus, he fled to Rhodes, where he put an end to his life.
VOL. IV.

P

Panactum, 33, a fortress of Attica on the confines of Boeotia, betrayed to the Thebans in 420 B.o. (Thuc., v. 3, 5).
Pedum, 187, an ancient town of Latium, of uncertain site.
Peenun, 359, 401, the chief city of Mysia in Asia Minor, from 363 to 133 B.c., the seat of the Attalid

dynasty. The last Attalid bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans.

Pharnabazus, 67, 81-89, 111, 113 115, 285, 287, 289, 301, satrap of the Persian provinces about the Hellespont from 412 till 393.

Pherecydes, 441, of Syros, a writer on cosmogony and mythology who flourished about the middle of the sixth century B.o.

Philippi, 403, a city of Macedonia on the river Strymon, formerly called Crenides, renamed by Philip the father of Alexander the Great.

Phocaea, 243, the most northerly of the Ionian cities in Asia Minor.

Phyle, 291, 311, a fortress on Mt.

arnes commanding the road from Athens and Eleusis to Thebes, some sixteen miles from Athens.

Pompeius, Quintus, 343, 351, surnamed Rufus, tribune in 199, raetor in 91, and consul with

ulla in 888.c. Sulla left him in charge of Italy on setting out for the East, but he was murdered ue the soldiers of Pompeius Strabo who had been assigned to his command.

Pontus, 305, 359, 397, the district extending along the S.E. shore of the Euxine Sea, the seat of the kingdom of Mithridates.

Praeneste, 417, 499, 423, 429, an ancient city of Latium on a spur of the Apennines about twenty-three miles east of Rome.

Proconnesus, 81, an island in the western part of the Propontis.

Ptolemy, Lathyrus, 143, Ptolemy VITI,, king of Egypt 117-81 B.o.,

surnamed also Soter and Philo-
metor
465
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

R

Rhadamanthus, 313, mythical son
of Zeus and Europa, brother of
Minos the king of Crete. He fied
from Crete to Ocaleia in Boeotia,
where he married Alemene. He
became one of the judges in the
lower world.
Roscius, 439, a great actor, from
whom Cicero learned much, and
of whom he often speaks in high
babes of praise (cf. pro Archia,

3

Ss

Sallust, 451, 86-348.0., historian
of the Conspiracy of Catiline, of
the Jugurthine War (111-106 B.0o.)
and also, in a work that is lost,
of portions of the Civil Wars.
Saturninus, 447, Lucius Appuleius
a Roman noble who allied himself
with Marius and the popular
party, tribune in 102 and 100 B.o.,
in which year he perished at the
hands of a mob.
Selymbria, 87, 89, a Greek city on
the northern shore of the Pro-
pone: some forty miles west of
yzantium.

Servilius, 419, Publius Servilius
Vatia Tsauricus, made consul by
Sulla in 79 B.o. In the following
year he was sent as proconsul to
Cilicia to clear the sea of pirates.
He was successful, and received

the surname of Isauricus from one of the robber tribes which he subdued.
Sestos, 107, 109, 255, 257, 269, the chief town of the ‘Thracian Chersonese, opposite Abydos on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont.
» 415, an ancient city of

atium, now Segni, some thirty-

five miles 8.E. of Rome, in the Volscian mountains.
Silvium, 413, a town in the interior of Apulia, of uncertain site.
Sphacteria, 35, an island stretching in front of the harbour of Pylos, on the western coast of Peloponnesus.
466

T

Tarentum, 411, a great and powerful city in 8.E. Italy, at the head - of the gulf to which it gave its name,
Taureas, 43, competed with Alcibiades as choregus in a dithyrambic contest at the Greater Dionysia (cf. Demosthenes, Or. xxi. 147).
Tectosages, 331, a Celtic people dwelling at the foot of the Pyrenees in Gallia Narbonensis.
Tegea, 319, an ancient and powerful city in southern Arcadia of Peloponnesus.
Theophrastus, 25, 267, 285, 407, the most famous pupil of Aristotie, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Eresosin Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.o. at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, 95, 277, 319, of Chios,

a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, historian of Greece from 411 to 3948B.0., and of Philip of Macedon (360-336 B.0.). He is always censorious of Athens and her popular leaders.
Theopompus, the comic poet, 269 an Athenian poet of the Old an Middle Comedy, who wrote as late as 380 B.O.
Theramenes, 3, 91, 271, a brilliant naval commander who co-operated successfully with Alcibiades in the closing years of the Peloponnesian war. He was one of the Thirty Tyrants and favoured a moderate course, but fell a victim to the jealousy and hatred of Critias.
Thyateira, 405, a large city in the north of Lydia, about forty-five mniles 8.E. of Pergamum.
Timon, 43, the misanthrope, an Athenian of the time of the Peloponnesian War. He is attacked by the comic poets as a man-hating solitary. Plutarch devotes chapter lxx. of his Antony to a sketch of the man. A dialogue of Lucian bears his name.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Timotheus, 339, from 375 to 354 B.C. one of the most popular and successful Athenian commanders.
Tolericum, 187, an ancient town in Latium, of uncertain site.
Torquatus, 421, perhaps the Manlius Torquatus who was propraetor of Africa about 70 B.o.
Troad, 403, a district in the northwestern angle of Mysia, bordering on the Hellespont and the Aegean

Sea, named from ancient Troy.
Tyrannio, the grammarian, 407, a native of Amisus in Pontus. .He was brought as a captive to Rome by Lucullus in 72 B.o. (Lucullus, xix. 7). There he became a teacher, was patronized and praised by Cicero, and amassed wealth.
Vv
Velitrae, 145, a city of Latium, on the southern slope of the Alban hills, about thirty miles S.E. of Rome.
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|

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

VoLUME I.
THESEUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.
VoLumK II.

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
CIMON AND LUCULLUS.
VoLuME III.

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS,

NICIAS AND CRASSUS.

VoLuME LV.
ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS.
LYSANDER AND SULLA.
PLUTARCH’S
LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
V
AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agree- ment between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. Of the Lives presented in this volume, the Agesilaus and Pompey are contained in the Codex Sangermanensis (S*) and the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), and in a few instances weight has been given to readings from the Codex Matritensis (M*), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux, as published in Burstans Jahresbericht (1884). No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must still be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo). The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless

otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz
Bekker.
All the standard translations of the Lives have
been carefully compared and utilized, including that
of the Pompey by Professor Long.
B. PERRIN.

NEW Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
March, 1917.
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ATHSIAAO2

I. "Apyidapos o ZLev§iayov Bacthevoas emegavirs Aaxedaipovior, catérctrev viov éx yuvaiKos evdokipou, Aapmidots, "Aye, Kal toXv VEWTEPOV ef Evrwdas THS MeAnourrisa Ouyat pos, "Ayncidaop. émrel 6e TAS Bactreias “Ayide T™poanKovons KaTa& TOV VOpOV iduadrns edoxet Broredoety o ’Aynatraos, 7xXOn THY heyouevny ayoyny év Aaxebaiponr, oKAnpay poev odoay TH Siaitn cat TONUTOVOY, maidevovcay 5é Tovs véous dpyecOat. 5:0 kai haow ord tod Ytpwvidou THY 2mdprqy mpoanyopebaAar s SapacipBporor,” Os pddora vd tav bay Tous TOMTAS Tots vopous meOnvious Kal xerpon Gets jTovvaar, domep tmrqrous evOds é& apxis Sapalopévous. TAUTNS adinawy 0 vOpos Ths avayKns Tous él Bacvreig fi a ara Taioas. “Aynoidw 6é Kal tovTo vanpéev i i dz0p, éAOety eri ro apxew pn amaidevtov Tob dipxeca.) 616 Kal TOND TOY Bacthéwy evappoaroTaTOV aurov Tois varnKools Tapeaxe, TO pucet NYE HOVLRD Kal BaotntK®@ mpooxtnadpevos aro THS aryoryns TO Snporexoy kal prravOpwror.

II. ’Ev 6€ rats xaXovpévars aryédas TOV oup-
tpepopévoy traiiwv Avocavdpov éxyev épactny,
1 rod &pxerbas with M® and Cobet: &pxeodat.

AGESILAUS.; |

I. Arcuipamus, the son of Zeuxidamas; after an
illustrious reign over the Lacedaeméaians,. left
behind him a son, Agis, by Lampido, a woltisn of
honourable family; and a much younger.’ son, |
Agesilaiis, by Eupolia, the daughter of Melesippidus.-
The kingdom belonged to Agis by law, and it was.
thought that Agesilaiis would pass his life in a private
station. He was therefore given the so-called
‘“agoge,’ or course of public training in Sparta, which,
although austere in its mode of life and full of
hardships, educated the youth to obedience. For
this reason it was, we are told, that Simonides gave
Sparta the epithet of “ man-subduing,” since more
than in any other state her customs made her
citizens obedient to the laws and tractable, like
horses that are broken in while yet they are colts.
From this compulsory training the law exempts the
heirs-apparent to the throne. But Agesilaiis was
singular in this also, that he had been educated to
obey before he came to command. For this reason
he was much more in harmony with his subjects
than any of the kings; to the commanding and
kingly traits which were his by nature there had
been added by his public training those of popularity
and kindliness.
II. While he was among the so-called “bands ”
of boys who were reared together, he had as his

eemayata pddota Te’ Kdculo THS picews
avroo. Prdoverkoraros . “yap dv kal Oupoedé-
oOTATOS év Tous véous welt: ‘avTa TpwTevew Bovdo-
HEvos, kal 70 opodpdy, Exov Kal parySatov dpaxov
Kat SvcexBiactoy, evTrevOeia Tad ad Kab m™pqo-
THT TOLOUTOR’ se olos $58 pndév, aiaxivy dé
mdvra Tovely, ta T poo Tarr oWeva, kal trois Woyots
anyiver bas HaNXov 7) Tous TOVvOUS Bapvveo Gar’

2 TH; 82. TOU oxéhous Tnpwotv ij Te Opa TOD ca-
PLTOS s inBodvros ¢ em EK pUTTE, Kal TO padiws pepe
naat apes TO ToLobTo, mraifovra Kal CKOTTOVTA
23. ‘Srp@Tov éavTov, ov puxpov hy érravopJwpa tov
°
° e *
- S°ardBous, adrNa Kal thy dirotipiay éxdnrotépay
rote, pos pndéva movoy pndé mpakw arra-
yopevovtos avtod dia tHv ywrotnTa. THs é
popdis elxova péev ovn Exomuev (adTos yap ovK
rO€ > \ \ 3 @g / > A ce ,
nGednoev, adra Kal atrolynckwy amettre * unTe
TAaCTAY pynTE piunrav” Tia Troicacbar Tod
g@pmatos eikova), rNéyeras Sé puxpos Te yevérOat
3 xal thy dypw evdxatadpovntos’ 4 5é iNapoTns Kal
To evVOupov ev atravte Kaip@ Kal Tarywades,
> 6 \ de \ \ dé 4 A ,
axGewvov O€ Kal TpaXU pNoETTOTE NTE PWV LNTE
del, TOV KANOY Kal Mpaiwy épacpiwTEpoy avToV
aypt ynpws tapeiyev. ws 5¢ Oeddpactos taropel,
tov ‘Apyidapov é&npiwoav of éhopoe ynpavra
yuvaixa puxpdv: “Ov yap Bacureis,” Epacav, 597
“appv, ara Bacrreidra yevvace..”
ITI. Baotrevovtos 5é “Ayidos Heev AraiBiddys

> , \ > , .Y ,
éx LiKedias guyas ets Aaxedaipova: nat ypovov
oumTw Toduy év TH Tore Sidywv, aitiay éoxe TH
4
AGESILAUS

lover Lysander,! who was smitten particularly with his native decorum. For although he was contentious and high-spirited beyond his fellows, wishing to be first in all things, and having a vehemence and tury which none could contend with or overwhelm, on the other hand he had such a readiness to obey and such gentleness, that he did whatever was enjoined upon him, not at all from a sense of fear, but always from a sense of honour, and was more distressed by censure than he was oppressed by hardships. As for his deformity, the beauty of his person in its youthful prime covered this from sight, while the ease and gaiety with which he bore such a misfortune, being first to jest and joke about himself, went far towards rectifying it. Indeed, his lameness brought his ambition into clearer light, since it led him to decline no hardship and no enterprise whatever. We have no likeness of him (for he himself would not consent to one, and even when he lay dying forbade the making of “either statue or picture ’’ of his person), but he is said to have been a little man of unimposing presence. And yet his gaiety and good spirits in every crisis, and his raillery, which was never offensive or harsh either in word or look, made him more lovable, down to his old age, than the young and beautiful. But according to Theophrastus, Archidamus was fined by the ephors for marrying a little woman, “ For she will bear us,” they said, “not kings, but

III. It was during the reign of Agis that
Alcibiades came from Sicily as an exile to Sparta,
and he had not been long in the city when he
incurred the charge of illicit intercourse with Timaea,
1 Cf. Lycurgus, xvii. 1; Lysander, xxii. 3.

yuvatkl Tov Baciréws, Tipaia, ouveivat. Kal TO
yevondev €F auras maddpiov ov« épn yea Kely
0 "Ayts, arr' é& "AdKtBiddou yeyovévat. TOUTO
5é ov mavu SuoKodws Thy Tipatay éveyxeiv gnot
Aoupis, adrAa Kal p darken sad olKoL pos Tas
ei\Awtioas 'AXKeBiadnv to tratdiov, ov Aewrtuyi-
ony, Kaneiy" Kal HEVTOL Kal TOV seers
avTov ov Tpos DBpuw TH Tiaia pavas mrnoraley,
adda prdormovpevov Bacirevec Bar LrapTuitas
vro Tav é& éavtod yeyovotwy. sia TavTa pev
THS Aaxedaipovos 'AdKeBiadns vrefNnroe, poBn-
Deis TOV "Ayu 0 dé traits TOV poev adXov x povov
Dromros ay TO "Ayt6e, kal yvnoiou Tiny ovK
elye rap avT@, vorovvts o€ TpOoTed WY Kal
Saxpiwr é Emetoev UVLOV arropivat TOANKOY évaviov.
Ov pv adda TerEUTHCAYTOS TOU "Aytdos o
Avoavdpos, 760 KATAVEVAVLAYXNKOS 'AOnvaious
Kal peyearov év Ywrdptn Suvdpevos, TOV "Aynat-
Aaov él TH Bactretav 7 poryyev, @s ov ™poor-
Kovaay 6vrt vow To Acwruyidy. modArol é
Kal TOV addov moray, dua TH dpeTny © TOU
"Aqnatddov kat TO ouvtTerpadOar Kal peTeaXn-
KEvaL TNS ayaryAs, eh tNoTLWovVTO Kal ouver parrov
avr@ mpoOvpws. nv Oé AvorreiOns a avnp Xpn Modo-
ryos év Lrapry, HavTEay TE Taharay UTOTEDS
Kal Sonav Trepl Ta Ocia copes elvat Kal TEPLT TOS.
ovTos ovK by OepsTov elvat Yw Ov syevéobar THS
Aaxedaipovos Baotréa, kal ypnopov év tH Sinn
TOLOUTOY aveyivwo Ke'
Ppdteo 5, Lardptny, Kattep peyddavxos éovea,
pn céGev aptimobos BAdoty ywrn Bacireia:
1 Sid thy dperhy Coraés and Bekker, after Bryan: rhy
aperhy.

the wife of the king. The child, too, that was born of her, Agis refused to recognize as his own, declaring that Alcibiades was its father. Duris says that Timaea was not very much disturbed at this, but in whispers to her Helot maids at home actually called the child Alcibiades, not Leotychides ; moreover, that Alcibiades himself also declared that he had not approached Timaea out of wanton passion, but because he was ambitious to have the Spartans reigned over by his descendants.! On this account Alcibiades withdrew from Sparta, being in fear of Agis; and the boy was always an object of suspicion to Agis, and was not honoured by him as legitimate. But when the king lay sick, the supplications and tears of Leotychides prevailed upon him to declare him his son in the presence of many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this, after the death of Agis,? Lysander, who by this time had subdued the Athenians at sea and was a man of the greatest influence in Sparta, tried to advance Agesilaiis to the throne, on the plea that Leotychides was a bastard and had no claim upon it. Many of the other citizens also, owing to the excellence of Agesilaiis and the fact that he had been reared with them under the common restraints of the public training, warmly espoused the plan of Lysander and co-operated with him. But there was a diviner in Sparta, named Diopeithes, who was well supplied with ancient prophecies, and was thought to be eminently wise in religious matters. This man declared it contrary to the will of Heaven that a lame man should be king of Sparta, and cited at the trial of the case the following oracle :-—

‘* Bethink thee now, O Sparta, though thou art

very glorious, lest from thee, sound of foot, there

1 Cf, Alcibiades, xxiii. 7 f. 2 In 398 B.c.

Snpov yap vovooi ce KaTacyncovoty aeXTrTOL
A 4
GOc.Bpotov 7 éri Kdua KvdALvdSopevoy TroNE-
polo.
5 mpos tadta Avoavdpos Ereyey ws, ef mavu go-
A \ A
Boivro tov ypnopov of Yraptiatar, pudraxtéov
a \ 4
avrois ein tov Aewruyidnv: ov yap e mpoc-
mraicas Tis Tov moda Bacirevar, Te Oe@ Sia-
/ ? 3 > \ , A \ ¢ ,
héperv, GAN’ et on yunovos @v pndé “Hpakretdns,
“ \ \ 9 a e \ 3
TOUTO THY YoAnY elvac Bacirelav. o be *Ayn-
airaos épn cal tov Tlocedé xatapaprupeiv tod
Aewrvyidouv thv vobeiav, éxBadovta cetopn@ Tod
3
Oardpou tov “Ay: at’ éxeivou dé whéov 4 Séxa
a 4

penvav SedOovtav yevérOar tov Acwrvyidnv.
IV. Otto &é xai da tatta Bacidevs aro-
SeryOeis 0 “Aynairaos evOds elye xal ta ypr}-
na wW e 4 ? 4 \
pata tov “Aytéos, as voOov ameracas tov Aew-
Tuyidnv. opav dé tovs amo pnTpos otKetous
émverkels pev dvras, tayup@s Sé Tevopmévous, arré-
VELLEV AUTOIS TA Huicca TOV KPNUaTwV, edvoLay
e a \ , bd \ , \ /
éaut@ Kal dofav avti POovov Kal dvopeveias
él TH KAnpovopia KxatacKevalopevos. 6 &é
dyow o Bevoday, ott wavta tH watpids rebo-
yy A C4 A A 4
fevos toxyve TrrEloTOV, wWaTE Trotety & BovAoLTO,
2 rowovTov éoTt. TaY épopwy hv ToTe Kal Tov
\ , A
YepovTwY TO péytoTov ev TH TodLTELa KpdTOS,
Ov ot pev eviavTov apyovo. povov, ot Sé yépovtes
\ a
da Biov tavtny éxovor Thy Tiny, érl TO py
mavta ois Bactredow e€etvar ocvvtayberrtes,
AGESILAUS

spring a maimed royalty ; for long will unexpected
toils oppress thee, and onward-rolling billows of
man-destroying war.”
To this Lysander answered that, in case the Spartans stood in great fear of the oracle, they must be on their guard against Leotychides; for it mattered not to the god that one who halted in his gait should be king, but if one who was not lawfully begotten, nor even a descendant of Heracles, should be king, this was what the god meant by the “maimed royalty.” And Agesilaiis declared that Poseidon .also had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychides, for he had cast Agis forth from his bed- chamber by an earthquake, and after this more than ten months elapsed before Leotychides was born.! IV. In this way, and for these reasons, Agesilaiis was appointed king, and straightway enjoyed possession of the estates of Agis as well as his throne, after expelling Leotychides as a bastard. But seeing that his kinsmen on his mother's side, though worthy folk, were excessively poor, he distributed among them the half of his estates, thereby making his inheritance yield him good-will and _ reputation instead of envy and hatred. As for Xenophon’s statement 2 that by obeying his country in every- thing he won very great power, so that he did what he pleased, the case is as follows. At that time the ephors and the senators had the greatest power in the state, of whom the former hold office for a year only, while the senators enjoy their dignity for life, their offices having been instituted to restrain the power of the kings, as I have said in my Life of

1 Cf. Alcibiades, xxiii. 8; Lysander, xxii. 3 ff.; Xenophon, Hellenica, iii. 3, 2. 4 Xenophon’s A gesilazia, vi. 4.

@s év Tois qept Aveovpyou yeypam ran. 5:0 Kat
TATpLKHY TLVa TpoS aUTOUS amo TOD madatov
dieréXouv evOds ot Bacireis piroverkiay Kat bta-
popav maparapSdvovres. o 6¢€ “Aynoihaos emi
THY évavtiay odo 7rOe, Kal TO TroAeuety Kal
TO m™poakpovey avrois éacas eOepareve, waons
pev amr éxelvov mpdfews dpxopevos, ei 6€ KAN-
Gein, Oarrov Badnv Tr ELYOMLEVOS, oodKus de
TUX OL Kadnpevos € ev TO Bactrux@ Jaw Kat xpn-
parila, é eT Lovat tots epopous Urefaviatato, TOV
& es TH yepovotay ael KATATATTOMEVOD éxdor@
Xraivav emeure cal Bobv apiareiov. éx 6é
TOUTOY Topay Soxav kal peyadvvew Tod akiopa
TIS éxeivav apyns, édavOavey abkwv thv éav-
Tou Suvapuy Kal Th Bacireig mpoaTBeuevos
péyeOos ex Tis mpos adtov edvolas cuyywpot-
pevov.
V. Ev 6é Tais 7 pos TOUS dddous mohiTas
opidtas exOpos nv Gwe mTrT OT EpOS H piros. Tous
pev yap éx povs AOLKWS ovK EBraTTe, ToIs be
pirous rae Ta Mt Sikata cuven pare. Kal Tovs
fev pous nox bveTo Te Thay xatopfowvras,
TOUS 4 pirous ovx éduvato éyety dpapTtavov-
Tas, anna Kal BonOav TYAARETO kal ovveta-
papravev aurois: ovdev yap @ETO TOV purucdy
brroupynpatov aicxpov elvat. trois 8 ad d:a-
popous TTATAT 1 P@TOS cuvax Popevos kat den-
Oetor | CULT pPaTTOV T pod vuos ednparyaryer Kat
TpoonyeTo TavrTas. Op@vTEs OUV OL Epopor TavTa
Kal , PoBovpevor THv Sivapuy ébnulocav avrov,
airiay wrreitrovres OTL TOUS KOLWOUS TOALTAsS idLoUS
KTATAL.
Io

Lycurgus.! Therefore from the outset, and from generation to generation, the kings were traditionally at feud and variance with them. But Agesilaiis took the opposite course. Instead of colliding and fighting with them, he courted their favour, winning their support before setting out on any undertaking ; and

whenever he was invited to meet them, hastening to them on the run. If ever the ephors visited him when he was seated in his royal chair and administer- ing justice, he rose in their honour; and as men were from time to time made members of the senate, he would send each one a cloak and an ox as a mark of honour. Consequently, while he was thought to be honouring and exalting the dignity of their office, he was unawares increasing his own influence and adding to the power of the king a greatness which was conceded out of good-will towards him.

V. In his dealings with the rest of the citizens he was less blame-worthy as an enemy than as a friend ; for he would not injure his enemies without just cause, but joined his friends even in their unjust practices. And whereas he was ashamed not to honour his enemies when they did well, he could not bring himself to censure his friends when they did amiss, but actually prided himself on aiding them and sharing in their misdeeds. For he thought no aid disgraceful that was given toafriend. But if, on the other hand, his adversaries stumbled and fell, he was first to sympathize with them and give them zealous aid if they desired it, and so won the hearts and the allegiance of all. The ephors, accordingly, seeing this, and fearing his power, laid a fine upon him, alleging as a reason that he made the citizens his own, who should be the common property of the state.

1 Chapters v. 6 f.; vii. 1 f.
11
3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kaamep yap ot puorxol TO velKoS oloyTaL
Kal THY Epwv, él Tov Sdov eEatpeDein, oTHvat
pev adv ta oupama, mavoacbar dé mavToy © THY
yeveoty Kal euvnow vIro THS Tpos TavTa TavT@Vv
appovias, oUTws EolKeYv O Aaxevixes vopoberns
vmeccaupa TAS aperiis euBaneiv els Thy TONt-
Telav TO diNOTLLOV Kau prdoverov, aelb Tle TOLS
ayabois Stapopay Kal G&puthrav elvas pos addj-
Nous Bovdopevos, THY dé avOumreixovaay TO
avENeYKT ED Xapww apyny Kal avayavirrov ovcay
OUK ép0as omovoray héyeoOau. TOUTO 66 apéet
TUVEWpAKevaL kal Tov “Opnpov olovtTai TivEs* ov
yap av Tov "Ayapépuvova Toijoat Yaipovta Tov
"‘Odvacéws Kal Tod "AXIAAEOS els _AoSopiay
mpoax Devrov s exTraryhots eméecow, él en peya
Tots Kowwots ayabov évopebev elvat TOV) Tos aXdX1-
ous CipNov Kat THY Siapopav TOV aploTwv.
TavTa ev oov ovK ay ovTws TLS ATMS TVYKW-
proecev- ai yap drepBoral TOV prroverkiay yane-
mal tais modect Kal peyddous Kivdvvous Exovat.
VI. Tod dé ‘Aynovddou THY Bactdeiav veworh
Taperhngoros, amnyyerroy tives €& “Acias hKov-

TES @S O Tlepowy Baoinrevs TapacKkevalorto
pEYaN@ oro Aaxedatpovious éxBareiy tis
Oaracons. o Oe Avcavdpos ero upev aves
els “Actay dmoaradhvas kai BonOjoa Tots
pirors, obs autos pév apxovtas Kal KUpLous
TOV TONEwY amédure, Kaxas O€ XPapevor Kal
Braiws Tots Tpaywact ekememtop t UTO TOV TOM-
TOV Kal aréOunoKov, averreiae Tov “Aynoihaov
érifécOar TH oTpateia Kal mWpoToAEuHoar THs
1 xdvrwy Coraés and Bekker have wdvyrws (utterly), an early, anonymous correction. .
12

AGESILAUS

Natural philosophers are of the opinion that, if strife and discord should be banished from the universe, the heavenly bodies would stand still, and all generation and motion would cease in consequence of the general harmony. And so the Spartan law- giver seems to have introduced the spirit of ambition and contention into his civil polity as an incentive to virtue, desiring that good citizens should always be somewhat at variance and in conflict with one another, and deeming that complaisance which weakly yields without debate, which knows no effort and no struggle, to be wrongly called concord. And some think that Homer also was clearly of this mind; for he would not have represented Agamemnon as pleased when Odysseus and Achilles were carried away into abuse of one another with “ frightful words,” 1 if he had not thought the general interests likely to profit by the mutual rivalry and quarrelling of the chieftains. This principle, however, must not be accepted without some reservations ; for excessive rivalries are injurious to states, and productive of great perils.

VI. Agesilaiis had but recently come to the throne, when tidings were brought from Asia that the Persian king was preparing a great armament with which to drive the Lacedaemonians from the sea. Now, Lysander was eager to be sent again into Asia, and to aid his friends there. These he had left governors and masters of the cities, but owing to their unjust and violent conduct of affairs, they were being driven out by the citizens, and even put to death. He therefore persuaded Agesilaiis to undertake the expedition and make war in behalf of

1 Odyssey, viii. 75 ff.
13
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

‘EAAdb0s, atratdtw SiaBdvra Kal dOdcavta THY

2 Tot BapBdpov mapacnevnv. dpa bé Tois év
"Acia dirous eréotedre tréurre eis Aaxedaipova
kat otpatnyov "Aynoidaov aiteicAat. mapen-
Oav ov eis tO TAROos *Aynairaos avedéEaTto
Tov WoAEuov, ce Solev avT@ TpldKovTa pev HryE-

povas Kab cupBovrous Yraptidtas, veodapoders
5é Aoydbas Stoxyerious, tHv 5é cuppayinny eis
3 éEaxtoxytriovs SUvauv. cupmpatrovtos 5é Tod
Avadvdpov mavta tmpoOipws éeyndicavto, Kal
tov Aynoidaov é&éreprov evOds1 éxovta Tovs
Tpiaxovta Yraptiutas, oy 6 Avaavopos hy wpa-
Tos," ov da THY éavTod So-av nal Svvapiv povor,
GANA Kal dia tHv "AynoiAdov diriav, @ petfov
édoxer tHS Bacireias dyabov StavempaxOar THv
oTpatnyiay éxeiyny.
4 'A@pofouévns Sé ths Suvduews eis Teparotor,
autos eis Avdriéa xateXOov peta tov dirov
kal vuetepevoas édofe Kata Tovs Umrvous eitreiv
Tia mpos autov: "°Q Bacired Aaxedarpoviwr,
OTe mev ovdels THS "EAAAOos Oo"od GuuTaans atre- 599
deiyOn otpatnyos 4 wpotepov "Ayapéeuvov cat ov
vov pet' éxeivov, évvoeis SntrovOev érrel 5é TOY pev
auTav apyes éxeive, Tots dé avTois mroAEuets, a7r0
dé TOY avTaY TOTMY Opuas él TOY TrOAELOY, ELKOS
éott kal Oicai ce tH Oe@ Ovoiay iv Exetvos év-
5 tad0a Ovoas ébérdevcev." apa 6€ mas vTndOe
Tov 'Aynoidaoyv 0 Tis Kopns ohayiacpos, iy o
TmatTnp éopake teabels toils pdvtecw. ov pny
1 étéweumwev ebOis MSS.: eféxeuror after Reiske.

2 rpdros S: ebOds rpOtos.

14

AGESILAUS

Hellas, proceeding to the farthest point across the sea, and thus anticipating the preparations of the Barbarian. At the same time he wrote to his friends in Asia urging them to send messengers to Sparta and demand Agesilaiis as their commander. Accord- ingly, Agesilaiis went before the assembly of the people and agreed to undertake the war if they would grant him thirty Spartans as captains and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand enfran- chised Helots, and a force of allies amounting to six thousand. They readily voted everything, owing to the co-operation of Lysander, and sent Agesilaiis forth at once with the thirty Spartans. Of these Lysander was first and foremost, not only because of his own reputation and influence, but also because of the friendship of Agesilaiis, in whose eyes his procuring him this command was a greater boon than his raising him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geraestus,} Agesilaiis himself went to Aulis with his friends and spent the night. Ashe slept, he thought a voice came to him, saying: " King of the Lacedaemonians, thou art surely aware that no one has ever been appointed general of all Hellas together except Agamemnon, in former times, and now thyself, after him. And since thou commandest the same hosts that he did, and

wagest war on the same foes, and settest out for the war from the same place, it is meet that thou shouldst sacrifice also to the goddess the sacrifice which he made there before he set sail.’’ Almost at once Agesilaiis remembered the sacrifice of his own daughter? which Agamemnon had there made in obedience to the soothsayers. He was not disturbed,

1 In the spring of 396 B.c.
2 Iphigeneia. Cf. Euripides, Zph. Atd., 1540 ff. (Kirchhoff).
T5

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Sterapafev avtov, adr dvacrtas Kal Sinynoa-
pEvOS TOUS pirors Ta pavévra THV pev Oedv épn
Tiuinoeww ols elKos éoTt Xatpeny Gedy ovaay, ov
ppnoer Oar dé thy admdGeav! tod TéTe oTpatn-
you. Kal KatactéWas éhaov exéhevoey amrdpta-
oOau Tov éavTou pdvTtv, ovy @omep elaber TOUTO
movely 0 UTTO TOV Bovwrév TETOY HEVOS. dKxovoavTes
ovv ot Bovwrapy ae pos opyny kunbevres & ere
par v UmnpeTas, amaryopevorTes TO "Aynotrd@ pn
Ove Tapa TOUS V0 [0US Kal Ta TWaTpLa Bowwrav.
ot 6€ kal TadTa amnyyerav Kal a pnpia b1ép-
pray aro TOD Bopod. xareras ody exwv O
‘Aynathaos anémhet, Tots te OnBaiors Sropyta-
pévos Kal yeyoves duced Sia TOV olwvor, @S
aTehav auT@ TOV mpakewv yevng omeveoy Kal THS
aTpateias ért TO T poo irov ovK adifouerns.
VII. ’Evret dé 7 Hucev els "Edecor, evOds afiopa
péya Kal Suvapus 7 jv éraxOns Kal Bapeta mepl TOV
Avcavdpor, dxdov porravtos él ras Ovpas éxdo-
TOTE kal TavT@V mapaKohovd ouyt oy Kal Jepa-
TevovT@V éxeivon, @S évopa pey Kal oxTpa Tis
oTpaTayias tov *Aynoidaov _eXOvTa,” bia TOV
vopov, Epy@ O€ Kuptov évra * aravTov Kal dvva-
pevov Ka T pat TovTa. wavra Tov Avcavdpov.
ovdels yap Setvorepos ovdé poBepwrepos éxeivou
Tay eis THY “Actay ATOTTANEVTOV eryéveTo oT pa-
THYOY, ovoé peifova tors idrous avnp aS
evEpyeTngeD ode KaKad Tp MKadTa TOUS éyO pous
éroinoev. av étt tpocphatwv évtwv ot avOpwrrot
1 anaderay S and Amyot: ayuablay (stupidity).
- Exovra Coraés, after Reiske: dvra.
3 xbpiov dvrTa Reiske: xuptoy.
16

however, but after rising up and imparting his vision to his friends, declared that he would honour the goddess with a sacrifice in which she could fitly take pleasure, being a goddess, and would not imitate the cruel insensibility of his predecessor. So he caused a hind to be wreathed with chaplets, and ordered his own seer to perform the sacrifice, instead of the one customarily appointed to this office by the Boeotians. Accordingly, when the Boeotian magis- trates heard of this, they were moved to anger, and sent their officers, forbidding Agesilaiis to sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of the Boeotians. These officers not only delivered their message, but also snatched the thigh-pieces of the victim from the altar.! Agesilaiis therefore sailed away in great distress of mind ; he was not only highly incensed at the Thebans, but also full of ill-boding on account of the omen. He was convinced that his undertakings would be incomplete, and that his expedition would have no fitting issue.

VII. As soon as he came to Ephesus, the great dignity and influence which Uyeda enjoyed were burdensome and grievous to him. The doors of Lysander were always beset with a. throng, and all followed in his train and paid him court, as though Agesilaiis -had the command in name and outward appearance, to comply with the law, while in fact Lysander was master of all, had all power, and did everything.? In fact, none of the generals sent out to Asia ever had more power or inspired more fear than he; none other conferred greater favours on his friends, or inflicted such great injuries upon his enemies. All this was still fresh in men’s minds, and

1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 3 f.
2 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 7.
17

pvnmovevovres, GAXws Sé Tov pev *“Aynoidaov
aderH kal ALTOV év Tals optdiats Kal SnuortiKov
opavres, exeiv@ O€ THY avTny opoltws spodpoTnta
Kal tpayvTnta Kail Bpayvdoyiav Tapovaar,
UTéMLTTOV ALTO TavTatact Kal wovm mpocetxov.
éx 5é TovTov mp@Tov pev ot Aovtrol Lrapriarar
yarerras epepov Umnpérar Avadvdpov paddov 7
avpBovro: Baciréws ovtess érevta 8 avtos o
"Aynainaos, ef kal un POovepos jv pndée HYGero
TOLS TLULWMEVOLS, GAAA HiroTipwos Hy sPodpa Kat
diroverxos, éboPeiro yy, Kav évéyxwat Tt Napmpov
ai mpdtets, trovTo Avaodvdpov yévntar dia THv
SoEav. odTws ovv érrotet.
IIp@tov aytéxpove tais ovpBovAtals avoid,
Kal T pos as exeivos éomovddKer padora, mpaters
é@v Yaipey nal Tapaped@v, Erepa pd éKeivwv

émpattev’ émetta Tav évtuyyavovtwy Kai Seo-
pévov ods aicOotto Avodvip@ pddota Terrot-
Ooras, ampaxtous améreute Kal wept Tas KpiceEls
Gpoiws ols éxeivos émrnpedtot, TovTous Eder mWAéOV
éyovtas ameetv, kal Tovvaytiov ods davepos
yévorto mpoOupovpevos wpereiv, YadeTrOv Hy ju)
Kal EnutwOjvar. ytvopévov Sé TovTwy ov Kata
Tuxnv, GAN olov é« mapacKevys Kat opuards,
aicOopevos THY aitiav o Avcavdpos ovK arre-
KpUTTETO Tpos TOUS dirous, GAN Ereyev ws Ov
avrov atipatowto, Kal tapexadre. Oeparrevew
iovras tov Bacthéa Kal tovs paddov avTov
Suvapévous.
VIII. ‘Os otv taita mpdtrew Kai réyeuv
éSoxer POdvoy excive pnyavepevos, ett padXov
? a lA , > 4 > J
avtov KaBawacbat Bovrcpevos ‘AynotAaos arré-
18

besides, when they saw the simple, plain, and familiar manners of Agesilaiis, while Lysander retained the same vehemence and harshness, and the same brevity of speech as before, they yielded to the latter’s influence altogether, and attached themselves to him alone. Asa consequence of this, in the first place, the rest of the Spartans were displeased to find them- selves assistants of Lysander rather than counsellors of the king ; and, in the second place, Agesilaiis him- self, though he was not an envious man, nor displeased that others should be honoured, but exceedingly ambi- tious and high-spirited, began to fear that any brilliant success which he might achieve in his undertakings would be attributed to Lysander, owing to popular opinion. He went to work, therefore, in this way.

To begin with, he resisted the counsels of Lysander, and whatever enterprises were most earnestly favoured by him, these he ignored and neglected, and did other things in their stead ; again, of those who came to solicit favours from him, he sent away empty-handed all who put their chief confidence in Lysander; and in judicial cases likewise, all those against whom Lysander inveighed were sure to come off victorious, while, on the contrary, those whom he was manifestly eager to help had hard work even to escape being fined. These things happened, not casually, but as if of set purpose, and uniformly. At last Lysander perceived the reason, and did not hide it from his friends, but told them it was on his account that they were slighted, and advised them to go and pay their court to the king, and to those more influential with him than himself.

VIII. Accordingly, since his words and acts
seemed contrived to bring odium upon the king,
Agesilaiis, wishing to despite him still more,
Ig
c 2

derEe Kpeodaitny Kat mpooetmev, @S heyerau,
TONY aKovoyTav’ “Nov ovbv Jeparrevérwoay
obro1 GAT LOVTES TOV pov xpeodaitny. ayOomevos
ovv oO Adaavdpos Aeryet mpos autov: ““Hidess dpa
capas, ‘Aynatnae, dirous ératroov.” “Ny At’,”?}
épn, Tous é€“ou peilov duvacbat Bounoévovs.”
Kat o Avcaavdpos, “ “AAN tows,” ébn, “ TavTa
ool NeAEKTAL Bérrvov 7 H émor TET PAK TAL. 80s 6é
poe TLVa ragw Kal XeOpav év0a eH AVITOV éropat
ool Xprotwos.” ex TovTov mTéueTar pev ed
‘EdAqorovtor, Kal LrOpidarny, avdpa Ilépony,
ato TIS PapvaBalov XoOpas pera Xpneadtav
TUXVaY Kal Staxociwy LIT EW ayaye pos TOV
"Aynatiaon, OUK EAnVE dé TIS opyiis, aGvArja Ba-
pews pepav non TOV ovmov Xpovoy éBovnevev
Ors TOV dveiv oixov tiv Bactréiav aehopevos
eis perov dmaow arrodoin Lraptiatats. Kal
edoxer peyadav av arepydcacbas Kivnow €K
TAUTNS Tis Stapopas, éL Be 7 pOTEpov eTehev-
Tyaev eis Botwriav oT parEvoas. odTas au piro-
Tuo. Pvoes ev tais TOALTELALS, TO dyav Th)
purafduevas, Tov ayaboo petCov TO KaKov éxouce.
Kat yap et Avaavdpos ay popttxos, GoTEp WV,
vTepBardov TH prroripia TOV KaLpov, ovK myvoes
dnt ovOev "Aynainaos & étépav dpeumrToréepav étrav-
opBwawv ovcoay avdpos evd0oEou Kal prroripou
TANLPEAODVTOS. Grr’ ore TAUT@ maer pare
éxelvos dpxovros efovatay yu@vat pHnTEe OVTOS
dyvolay éveyKetv curious.
IX. Emel 5¢ Ticadépyns ev apyn pev goBn-

1 N} Al? Cobet, comparing Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 9: Hidew (I know how to humble).

appointed him his carver of meats, and once said, we are told, in the hearing of many: “Now then, let these suppliants go off to my carver of meats and pay their court to him.” Lysander, then, deeply pained, said to him: “TI see, Agesilaiis, that thou knowest very well how to humble thy friends.” ‘ Yes indeed,” said the king, “those who wish to be more powerful than I am.’”’ Then Lysander said: ‘Well, perhaps

these words of thine are fairer than my deeds. Give me, however, some post and place where I shall be of service to thee, without vexing thee." 1 Upon this he was sent to the Hellespont, and brought over to Agesilaiis from the country of Pharnabazus, Spithridates, a Persian, with much money and two hundred horsemen. He did not, however, lay aside his wrath, but continued his resentment, and from this time on planned how he might wrest the kingdom from the two royal families, and make all Spartans once more eligible toit. And it was thought that he would have brought about a great disturbance in consequence of this quarrel, had not death overtaken him on his expedition into Boeotia.2, Thus ambitious natures in a common- wealth, if they do not observe due bounds, work greater harm than good. For even though Lysander was troublesome, as he was, in gratifying his am- bition unseasonably, still, Agesilaiis must surely have known another and more blameless way of correcting a man of high repute and ambition when he erred. As it was, it seems to have been due to the same passion that the one would not recognize the au- thority of his superior, nor the other put up with the folly of his friend and comrade.

IX. At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaiis,

1 Cf. Lysander, xxiii. 9. 2 Cf. Lysander, xxiv.-xxviii.

Gels tov "Aynairaoy érrotnaato amoveds, a TAS
movels auT@ Tas "EXAnvidas adyoovtTos avTo-
4 4 a \ "
vonous Baciréws, totepov Se mecOels yeu
Sivamuy ixavny éEnveyxe Tov ToAEpMoV, GopEVOS O
"Aynairaos édéEato. mpocdoxia yap hv peyary
THS oTpateias: kal Sewov Hyelro Tovs pév ov
Elevodavre pupious Axew él) OdratTav, oodxis
> / b \ 4 /
éBouvrAnOnacayv avtol tocavtdxis BactX\éa vevixn-
KoTas, avrov 5é Aaxedatpoviwy apxovTos 7you-
péevov yhs kat Oaraoons pndev Epyov aé€tov
A \
pununs pavivat mpos tovs "EXAnvas. evdus
ovv auuvouevos amdtn Sixaia tiv Trcadépvous
PUVOUL H] 'eels pP
> J > / e > \ , 4
émtopkiav, éréderEev ws emt Kapiav mpodtwvr,
éxel 5é tHv Sivaywv tod BapBdpov avvabpot-
" ? , 2 7 \ t
cavtos apas eis Povyiav eveBare. Kal mTrodets
\ \ \ / > , bY
pev etre ovyvas kal ypnuatwv agOovwv éxv-
a \

plevorev, érridecxvipevos tois iro Ott TO pev
oTeladpevov adixety TOY Oeay Extt KaTadpoveir,
év 5€ t@ waparoyilecOat rods TrodEpiovs * Ov
, \ ,) / \ \
povov To dixatov, GArAa Kal Soka woAAN Kal TO
pel" HSovas Kepdaivey &veott. Tots bé immedow
bd] \ fe) e A > , J,
éxatTwOels Kal tov iep@v adoBwov davévtor,
avaywpnoas eis "Edecov tmmixov ouviyye, Tots
/
EVTFOpOLs TrpOELTT@Y, EL p47 BovAoVTaAL oTpaTEeverOan,
Twapacyeiy Exactov tmrov avd' éavtod Kal avdpa.
modXol & Hoav ovo, cal ovvéBaive TO 'Aynat-
Ad@ TAX TOAAOUS Kal ToNEuLKOUS eyELY lrrTeis
a a a € \
avti deika@v omrditav. eutcOodvTo yap ob py
4 /
Bovdopevor otpatever Oar Tovs Bovdopmevous oTpa-
22

and made a treaty in which he promised him to make the Greek cities free and independent of the King. Afterwards, however, when he was convinced that he had a sufficient force, he declared war, and Agesilaiis gladly accepted it. For he had great ex- pectations from his expedition, and he thought it would be a disgraceful thing if, whereas Xenophon and his Ten Thousand had penetrated to the sea, and vanquished the King just as often as they 'themselves desired, he, in command of the Lace- daemonians, who had the supremacy on sea and land, should perform no deed worthy of remem- brance in the eyes of the Hellenes. At once, then, requiting the perjury of Tisaphernes with a righteous deception, he gave out word that he was going to lead his troops against Caria ; but when the Barbarian had assembled his forces there, he set out and made an incursion into Phrygia. He captured many cities and made himself master of boundless treasure, thus shewing plainly to his friends that the violation of a treaty is contempt for the gods, but that in outwitting one's enemies there is not only justice, but also great glory, and profit mixed with pleasure. However, since he was inferior in cavalry and his sacrifices were unpropitious, he retired to Ephesus.and began to get together a force of horse- men, commanding the well-to-do, in case they did not wish to perform military service themselves, to furnish instead every man a horse and rider. There -were many who chose this course, and so it came to pass that Agesilaiis quickly had a large force of warlike horsemen instead of worthless men-at- arms.! For those who did not wish to do military service hired those who did, and those who did not

1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 15.

V4 \

tevecOat, of dé pn RBovAropevoe immevety Tos
BovAopeévous trmevew.’ Kat yap Tov ’Ayapéuvova
fo) aA ee 4 / ? \ \
Totjoat KaX@s Tt Onrevav immov ayadnv AaBov
N\ ” a, b] A “~
Kaxov avdpa Kal mAovotov amndrrgake Ths oTpa-
teias. érrel dé KeXeVoavToOS aVTOD TOUS aiyparo-
Tous adimodvovrTes érimpacKov of NahupoTa@dat,
Kal THS wev eo OHTOS Hoav wvyTal Troddoi, TOV 5é
TWUATOV NeVKaY Kal aTad@v TavTdtact bia TAs
oKxiatpadias yupvoupévoy Kateyédov @s axpn-
e ,

oTwy Kat pnoevos akiwv, émiatas o ‘Aynoidaos,
ce Od 4 99 ? ce t , @ “a bY:
dro. pév,” elev, “ols payerbe, tadta de
vrép av payerbe.”
X. Karpod dé dvtos adOis éuBareiv eis tH
ToNepiav mpoeitev eis Avdiav damdfev, ovKétt
50 > 00 \ T 4 : > > 9 a
aevoopevos evtavla tov Licadepynv: arr eExetvos
éautov éEnrdatnoe, dud THY EutrpocOev amdrnv
amictav T@ “Aynotkd@, Kal viv yobv avrTov
df A , , v ,
dpecOat tHs Kapias vopifwv otans Sucimmou
a e an a
TOA TO lTWLK@ NELTropevov. érrel Sé, ws Tpoei-
e

mev, 0 AynatrXaos hKev eis TO TEplL Lapoes Tredtov,
nvayKdateto Kata aomoudny éxetOev av BonOeiv o
Ticadhépyns: xal tH inmm@ SieFeravvav bépOerpe
, \ :
TONNOUS TAV ATAKTWS TO Tediov TopOovYTAV.

evvonoas ovv o ‘Aynotraos StL Tots TroAEplots
ovTw mTapects TO TeCov, avT@ Sé THs Suvdyews
ovudev atrea TLV, EoTrevoe Staywvicacbatr. Kat Tots
Hey immevow avapuitas TO TeATACTLKOD, éXNavVELY
éxéXNevoev ws TaytoTa Kal tpocBdArew Tois
évaytiow, avtos dé evOds Tovs omditas éripye.
yevouevns 5€ tporr7js Tov BapRapwv éraxodovby-

1 guioBovvro . . . inmeveww bracketed by Sintenis? and Cobet.

The sentence is wanting in Apophtheg. Lacon. 12 (Morals,

p. 209 b).
24

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AGESILAUS

wish to serve as horsemen hired those who did. Indeed, Agesilaiis thought Agamemnon had done well in accepting a good mare and freeing a cowardly rich man from military service.1 And once when, by his orders, his prisoners of war were stripped of their clothing and offered for sale by the venders of booty, their clothing found many purchasers, but their naked bodies, which were utterly white and delicate, owing to their effeminate habits, were ridiculed as useless and worthless. Then Agesilaiis, noticing, said: “These are the men with whom you fight, and these the things for which you fight.”’

X. When the season again favoured an incursion into the enemy’s country,? Agesilaiis gave out that he would march into Lydia, and this time he was not trying to deceive Tisaphernes. That satrap, how- ever, utterly deluded himself, in that he disbelieved Agesilaiis because of his former trick, and thought that now, at any rate, the king would attack Caria, although it was ill-suited for cavalry, and he was far inferior in that arm of the service. But Agesilaiis, as he had given out that he would do, marched into the plain of_Sardis, and then Tisaphernes was forced - to hasten thither from Caria with aid and relief; and riding through the plain with his cavalry, he cut off many straggling plunderers there. Agesilaiis, ac- cordingly, reflecting that the enemy’s infantry had not yet come up, while his own forces were complete, made haste to give battle. He mingled his light- armed infantry with his horsemen, and ordered them to charge at full speed and assault the enemy, while he himself at once led up his men-at-arms. The Barbarians were put to flight, and the Greeks,

1 Iliad, xxiii. 296 ff.
2 In the spring of 395 B.c.; cf. Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 16 ff.
2s

ini eet gp ss ig

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

cavtes ot “EAXXAnves eda Bov TO _aTparoredov at
TOANOUS aveidov. ex TAUTNS THS MAXNS ov povoy
vmipfev auTots diryery: Kal pépery adeas THhv Bact-
Aéws YOpav, GAAA Kat Sixeny emidely Teoapépyny
d.d0vTa, pox Onpov dvdpa Kal TO yévet TOV “EAAN-
yov amex Gerratov. eremrpe 4 yap. evdeas o 0 Bact-
EUS TiOpavarny em auTov, Os éxeivou pep THY
Keparny aTreTEME, Tov 6é “Aynatiaoy néiov dta-
Avo dpevov arom ety oixase, Kab Xpipara 5500s
avT@ mpooemener. o 6é Tis pev elpyvs ébn
THD TOM elvyat Kupiay, avTos be TwouTiCOY Tous

oTpatiatas HoecOat padrrov f) mAOVT@Y avTOS:
Kal adAws ye pévroe vouifey “EXAnvas Kadov ov
Sdpa hauBaverv, adrd Aagupa Tapa TOV TOAE-
piov. Gyms be TO TOpavorn xapilerBa Bovdo-
HEVOS, Ste Tov KoLvoy éxO pov ‘EdAqvey éreTt-
pwopnTo Tusadépyny, arr nyayev ely Ppuyiav TO
oTpaTeupa, AaBov épodiov tap avrod tpidKovTa
Tadavra.
Kai xa o86v dv oKuTadny Séxerar mapa TOV
oixot TEAOVY KEAEVOVTAY avTOV apyew apa Kat
Tov vauTiKod. TovTO pove mavTov brhp£ev
‘Aynode. Kal pérytatos pev Hv dmohoyouperes
Kat TOY TOTE Covrav emupavérraros, @S elpnxe
Trou Kal Ocoroprros, ¢ éavT@ ve pny edi8ou bu’ ape-
THY dpovety peilov 7 C7 bua THY aryepoviav. tore &€
ToD vavTiKod KATAGTHTAS dpxovra Tletcavdpov
dpaptetv edokev, 6 ore mpeo Butépav Kat ppoviwa-
Tépwv TAapovTmy ov oKeyapevos TO THS TWaTpisos,
aNAA THY OlKELOTHTA TEBE | Kal TH yuvatKl Xape- -
Copmevos, Hs. aderpos fw 6 IletcavSpos, éxeivp
mapédwxe THY vavapxiay.
26

following close upon them, took their camp and slew many of them. As a result of this battle, the Greeks could not only harry the country of the King without fear, but had the satisfaction of seeing due punishment inflicted upon Tisaphernes, an abominable man, and most hateful to the Greek race. For the King at once sent Tithraustes after him, who cut off his head, and asked Agesilaiis to make terms and sail back home, offering him money at the hands of envoys. But Agesilaiis answered that it was for his city to make peace, and that for his own part, he — took more pleasure in enriching his soldiers than in getting rich himself; moreover, the Greeks, he said, thought it honourable to take, not gifts, but spoils, from their enemies. Nevertheless, desiring to gratify Tithraustes, because he had punished Tisaphernes, that common enemy of the Greeks, he led his army back into Phrygia, taking thirty talents from the viceroy to cover the expenses of the march.

On the road he received a dispatch-roll from the magistrates at home, which bade him assume control of the navy as well as of the army.! This was an honour which no one ever received but Agesilaiis. And he was confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time, as Theopompus also has somewhere said, although he prided himself more on his virtues than on his high command. But in putting Peisander in charge of the navy at this time,

he was thought to have made a mistake; for there were older and more competent men to be had, and yet he gave the admiralty to him, not out of regard for the public good, but in recognition of the claims of relationship and to gratify his wife, who was a sister of Peisander.
1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 27 ff.
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XI. Adtés 5¢ tov otpatoyv KaTaoTHaas eis THY umd DapvaBalo rerayuéevny yapay od povoy év apOovois Sufye aot, ddr Kal ypjuata cuviye mwoArd: Kal mpoedOav dypt addayovias mpoonyayeto tov Baciréa trav Iladdayovwv, Koruy, ériOuunoavta tis pidias avtov & apetny Kat qwiotw. 6 5€ XmOpidatns, os amoctas Tod PapvaBalov 76 mpa@tov HAGE mpos Tov *Aynot-Naov, det cuvarredjper Kal cuvertpdtevey AUTO, Kado TOY viov pev Eyov, MeyaBarny, od tratdos dvTos pa ahodpas "Aynaidaos, Karnv 8é cal
, / ,
Ouyarépa mapOévov év aprunig iydpou. TavTaY emretoe ynuat Tov Koruy 0 AynotXaos: Kal AaBov Tap avTovD xXLALous Lairets Kal SucyiAlous TeATA-oTas avOus aveyopnoev eis Povyiay, cal Kaxas érroiee THY DapvaBalov ywpay ovy vTropévovtos ovdé TioTEvovTOS Tots épvpactV, AAA Exwv ael Ta WrAEloTa avy EavT@ TOV Tipiwy Kal ayamnTav efexapet Kal vrépevyey GdANoTE GAAaXOCE Tis Xwpas peOidpvopevos, HEXpt ov tapadvAdtas avtoy 0 wiOpidarns Kat traparaBov 'Hpiridav Tov Yraptiatny éX\aBe TO otpatomedov Kal Tov Xpnuatov aravrwv expatnce. &Oa dh wixpos av o 'Hpimidas éketractys tov Krarévtav, Kal tovs BapBdpovs avayxdtwy amoriOecOar, Kat wavta épopav Kai dvepevy@pevos, Tapwevuve Tov LrOpidatnv, @ote ameeciv evOvs eis Yapdets peta tov IladAayovor.
Tobdto Néyetas TO "Aynoird@ yevéoOar TravTwv 602

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XI. As for himself, he stationed his army in the province of _Pharnabazus,' where he not only lived in universal plenty, but also accumulated much money. He also advanced to the confines of Paphlagonia and brought Cotys, the king of the Paphlagonians, into alliance with him, for his virtues, and the confidence which he inspired, inclined the king to desire his friendship. Spithridates also, from the time when he abandoned Pharnabazus and came to Agesilaiis, always accompanied him in his journeys and expeditions. Spithridates had a son, a very beautiful boy, named Megabates, of whom Agesilaiis was ardently enamoured, and a beautiful daughter also, a maiden of marriageable age. This daughter Agesilaiis persuaded Cotys to marry, and then receiving from him a thousand horsemen and two thousand targeteers, he retired again into Phrygia, and harassed the country of Pharnabazus, who did not stand his ground nor trust in his defences, but always kept most of his valued and precious things with him, and with- drew or fled from one part of the country to another, having no abiding place. At last Spithridates, who had narrowly watched him, in conjunction with Herippidas the Spartan,? seized his camp and made himself master of all his treasures. Here, however, Herippidas, who had too sharp an eye to the booty that was stolen, and forced the Bar- barians to restore it, watching over and enquiring into everything, exasperated Spithridates, so that he marched off at once to Sardis with the Paph- lagonians.

This is said to have annoyed Agesilatis beyond all

1 In the fall of 395 B.c.; cf. Xenophon, Hell. iv. 1, 1 ff. .

2 The leader of the second company of thirty Spartan counsellors sent out in the spring of 395 n.c. Cf. Xenophon, Hell, iii. 4, 20.

apiapotarov. 7x Oro pev yap dvdpa yevvaiov aroBeBAnKas TOV 2rd udaTnv Kal avy avT@ Suvapuv ovK ody nD, no UVETO de TH d:a8onr} THS pLKporoyias Kal averevbepias, hs ov povov auton, ara cal Thy TaTpiba xalapevoucav del Tape- ney epidoripeito. Xeopis 6é Tay eupavav Tov- TOV éxveter auTov ov bet plas) ToD ma.i8os épas ever rary Lev0s, éb Kal Wavu TA.pOVvTos avrob T@® ptrAoveix@ _Xpapevos émetparo VEAVLKDS amo- paxeoGar 1 pos THY émiBupiav. Kat TOTE ToD eyaBatov MPOOLOVTOS WS domac opévov Kal girnoovros e&éxdivev. erred b€ exetvos aioyuv- Geis éravoato Kal TO _Aoutrov anwbev i6n Tpoon- yopeven, ax Oopevos ad mad Kal HET ApedopEvos TH gvyi TOU prdjpatos, O 'Aynatraos TT poo €- Tr OverTo Oavpdter 8 6 Te &n Tade@v avTov o Meya- Barns amé ordpatos ov dirodppovoito. "Xv yap aittos," sot cvvners épacar, "oux, vTrooTas,

adda Tpéras 70 hirnpa Tod Kanrod Kal pofnGeis:
émret Kal viv av ENOor cot Teta Oels é éxetvos évTos
pdr patos: GXn OTs avdus OUK arrobeiacess.
Xpovov ovv TWA TPOS EAUT@ rYEVvOMEVOS o ’Ayn-
otXaos Kal Siacwmncas, $6 Ovder,” épn, “ dewov?
meiBew Upas éxetvor: eyo yap pot Sox thvav
Tay pdyav tap Tepl Tov Pihaparos aiov av
paxecOar Tad 7 TavTa boa TeOéapat Xpucia
pot ryevér Gan.” TOLOUTOS Lev Hy Tob MeyaBarou
TapovTos, ame ovtos ye pny oie TEPLKAWS
éaxev @S Nader ov elrrety et TaN av petaBano-
pévou Kal havévtos évexaptépynoe py prrynOjvac.
1 dewdv Reiske’s correction of the deiv of the MSS., adopted by both Sintenis and Bekker ; Stephanus read Se? (there is no need).
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else. For he was pained at the loss of a gallant man in Spithridates, and with him of a considerable force, and was ashamed to labour under the charge of petti- ness and illiberality, from which he was always ambitious to keep not only himself, but also his country, pure and free. And apart from these manifest reasons, he was irritated beyond measure by his love for the boy, which was now instilled into his heart, although when the boy was present he would summon all his resolution and strive mightily to battle against his desires. Indeed, when Megabates once came up and offered to embrace and kiss him, he declined his caresses. The boy was mortified at this, and desisted, and afterwards kept his distance when addressing him, whereupon Agesilaiis, distressed now and re- pentant for having avoided his kiss, pretended to wonder what ailed Megabates that he did not greet him with a kiss. “It is thy fault,” the king’s com- panions said; “thou didst not accept, but didst decline the fair one’s kiss in fear and trembling ; yet even now he might be persuaded to come within range of thy lips; but see that thou dost not again play the coward.” Then, after some time spent in silent reflection, Agesilaiis said: ‘“‘ There is no harm in your persuading him; for I think I would more gladly fight that battle of the kiss over again than to have all that my eyes behold turn into gold.”” Of such a mind was he while Megabates was with him, though when the boy was gone, he was so on fire with love for him that it were hard to say whether, had the boy come back into his presence, he would have had the strength to refuse his kisses.}

1 Cf. Xenophon’s Agesiladis, v. 4-7.
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XII. Mera tadra PapraBalos els ovyous

avT@ ouvenGeip nOEANGE, Kai ouvipyey duxporépous
av Eévos O Kulixnvos ‘Arroddopavns. mpoTEpos
dé pera TOV piror 0 “Aynaidaos éXOav eis TO

Xo ptor, bm6 oKuG TLL TOAS ovans Babeias KaTa-
Barov éavTov, ‘évradda Teplemeve TOV Papva-
Balov. o &€ ws emf rbev, vroBeBAnpEvwv avT@
Kwdloy Te padaxov Kal Toiiriwy daridov, aide-
abels TOV "Aynotdaov ovTw KaTaKelpevov KaTE-
Kdivy Kal avuros, @s eTUXED, éml THs Toas yawate,
KaliTep éoOijra Oavpactny hewroTyTL Kab Baas
évdeduras. domac duevor dé adANAOUS 6 peev
PaprvdBalos ovx ayrropet Aoyor Suxator, are 57
TOAha Kal peydna Aaxedatpoviors XPT Lwo0s
ryeyoves ép T@ T pos 'AOnvatous TONE MED, pov dé
TopOovpevos un’ avT@v: o bé "Aynatnaos, opa@v
TOUS op auT@ Zraptiaras t vn aiaxuvns KUTTTOV-
Tas els THY vhv Kal Starropobytas (aducovpevov
yap é@ peop TOV PapvaPatov), : ‘Hyeis,” eltrev,
“a PapvaBate, Kal piror GVTES T poTepov Baot-
Néws expopeba TOUS éxetvou T payuact puduxers
Kal viv TONEpLOL yeryovores TONE ULES. éy ov
Kal oé Tav Bacldéws KTHpaTwWY opavTes eEivat
Bovdopevon, elxoTa@s b10 cob Brdarropev éxetvov.
ag’ hs 8 av nuépas oeauTov afioons “EAAnVov
dirov Kal TUM LAX OV paddov 7 Sovrov Neyer Iau
Bactréas, TAaUTHY _vopite THY parayya Kal Ta
St7Aa Kal tas vais Kal mavTas nas TOV ody
KTNMAT OV puraxas elvat Kal tips éhevdepias, 7s
dvev Kahov avOpwrrots ovdey oude tnrwrTov €or.
ex TouToU éryet T pos. auTov 0 PapvaBatos iy
ele dtavoiav. “’Eyo yap,” elrrev, “ éay jeev
GdAov éxméuyrn PBacirevs otpatnyov, ~copar
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XII. After this, Pharnabazus desired to have a con- ference with him, and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, who was a guest-friend of both, brought the two together. Agesilaiis, with his friends, came first to the appointed place, and throwing himself down in a shady place where the grass was deep, there awaited Pharnabazus. And when Pharnabazus came, although soft cushions and broidered rugs had been spread for him, he was ashamed to see Agesilaiis reclining as he was, and threw himself down likewise, without further cere- mony, on the grassy ground, although he was clad in raiment of wonderful delicacy and dyes. After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus had plenty of just complaints to make, since, although he had rendered the Lacedaemonians many great services in their war against the Athenians, his territory was now being ravaged by them. But Agesilaiis, seeing the Spartans with him bowed to the earth with shame and at a loss for words (for they saw that Pharna- bazus was a wronged man), said: ‘‘We, O Pharna- bazus, during our former friendship with the King, treated what belongs to him in a friendly way, and now that we have become his enemies, we treat it in a hostile way. Accordingly, seeing that thou also

desirest to be one of the King’s chattels, we naturally injure him through thee. But from the day when thou shalt deem thyself worthy to be called a friend and ally of the Greeks instead of a slave of the King, consider this army, these arms and ships, and all of us, to be guardians of thy possessions and of thy liberty, without which nothing in the world is honourable or even worthy to be desired.” Upon this, Pharnabazus declared to him his purposes. “ As for me, indeed,” he said, ‘‘if the King shall send out another general in my stead, I will be on

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pel” ipov, dav & éuol wapab@ tHv nye“oviar,
OA / / ? / e a N
ovdey édXrciw Tpodumias apvropevos Umas Kal
KAaKOS ToL@v brép éxelvov. tadta & axovaas o
"Aynoidaos HoOn, Kal THs SeEas adtodD AaBo-
, oc BOQ. ° cc 7
pevos Kal cuve-avaotds, “Eide,” elvev, “@
PapvaBale, rorodtos dv piros Hnuiy yévoto paNdov
) TONELLOS.”
XIII. ’Amcovtos 5& tod PapvaBafou pera
n 4 e eN\ e \ J A
Tav phirwyv, o vies bTodePOeis mpocépapye TO
"Aynotrd@ Kal pedidv eltev: “"’Eyo oe Eévov
yn trae per8id Y
I 3 / A 39 \ \ 54 bd
@ <Arynoidae, Trotovpat' Kal TaXTOV éexXwv ev
TH xeuph didwowv avT@. SeEdpevos otv 0 ’Aynot-
aos Kral joGels TH TE dyer Kal Th Prroppoc ivy
Tov TaLods, émecKOTTEL TOUS TapOVTAsS, él TIS éxor
Te TotovToy olov aytidovvat Kad@ Kal yevvaip
Sapov. idwv 8 immov “Iéaiov! rod ypadéws
Kexoopnpévov harapols, TAXY TavVTAa TEpLoTrdaas
TO petpaxio didwot. Kal Td AoLTOV ovK érraveTO
peuynpévos, GAAA Kal ypov@ TeptidvTe TOV olKoV
adtroatepnOévtos avtod Kal guyovtos tro TeV
bd a > , > a b a
adeAdav eis leXomrovyncoy, tayupas érepedcito.
Kat TL Kal TOV épwTtK@v avT@ ouvéTtpakev. npa-
aOn yap aOAntob wados €& "AOnvav: érrei 5é
/ A \ \ » / > 4
péyas Oy Kai oxAnpos Odrvpmtriacw éxivddvevoev
9 a , \ \ ? /
éxxpiOnvat, Kxatapevyes mpos tov *Aynotdaov

e / 4 e \ A / e \
o Ilépons dedpevos irép rod mados: o bé Kal
Tovto BovAdpuevos alt@ yapilecOar, para porLs
7 ‘\ A /
Sverrpagaro ou TONG mparywarelg. —
Tava pev yap nv axpiBns Kat voptpos, ev
1 "1dalouv with 8 and Xenophon (Hell. iv. 1, 39): *Adafov.
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your side ; but if he entrusts me with the command, 1 will spare no efforts to punish and injure you in his behalf.’’ On hearing this, Agesilaiis was delighted, and said, as he seized his hand and rose up with him, “QO Pharnabazus, I would that such a man as thou might be our friend rather than our enemy.” }

XIII. As Pharnabazus and his friends were going away, his son, who was left behind, ran up to Agesilaiis and said with a smile: “1 make thee my guest-friend, Agesilaiis,’” and offered him a javelin which he held in his hand. Agesilaiis accepted it, and being delighted with the fair looks and kindly bearing of the boy, looked round upon his com- panions to see if any one of them had anything that would do for a return-gift to a fair and gallant friend ; and seeing that the horse of Idaeus, his secretary, had a decorated head-gear, he quickly took this off and gave it to the youth. Nor afterwards did he cease to remember him, but when, as time went on, the youth was robbed of his home by his brothers and driven into exile in Peloponnesus, he paid him much attention. He even gave him some assistance in his love affairs. For the Persian was enamoured of an Athenian boy, an athlete, who, owing to his stature and strength, was in danger of being ruled out of the lists at Olympia. He therefore had re- course to Agesilaiis with entreaties to help the boy, and Agesilaiis, wishing to gratify him in this matter also, with very great difficulty and with much trouble effected his desires.?

Indeed, although in other matters he was exact and

1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iv. 1, 28-38, where Agesilaiis adds & promise to respect, in future, the property of Pharnabazus, even in case of war.
2 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iv. 1, 39 f.

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p 2
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a a : /
5é tois hidxois mpodaci évourlev elvat TO ALav
Sixacov. épetas yoiv émiatodNsov avtov mpos
€ , na Cal ce , ? \ N
ISptéa tov Kapa rosodro: “ Nixias e pev pn

9 “A ” 5] N ? a c A A lA
aduxet, apes eb b6 adixel, Huiv ages: mavTas
5é ades.” éy pev ovv Tois waAeioTots ToLODTOS
e \ an , a) / ” ee
Umrép Tav dirov o ’AynaotrAaos: eats 5é Sov
\ \ a A A A
Tpos TO cupépov ExpHro TE Kalp~ PANdXovy, WS
édijrwoev, avalvyhs att@ YopuBwsecrépas yevo-
n ,
pévns, dcbevovvta KaTAaNTT@DY TOY Ep@pmEevov. éxei-
vou yap Seopévou kal KkanXodvTos avTov amuovta,
petactpadels elev ws yarerrov édeciy aja Kat
gpoveiv. rovti pev ‘lepwvupos o pirdcodos iaro-
pnKev. |
XIV. "Hén 5é aeptiovtros eviavtod Sevrépov

“A / A
Th OTpAaTNyla TONS aVw AoYyos eYwpe Tod ’Ayn-
oiidov, Kal So€a Oavyactn Kateiye THs TE
swppoavvns avTod Kal evTedAelas Kal MeTPLOTNTOS.
éoxynvou pev yap atodnueav Kal’ avrov év Ttois
e 4 e r aA N lel 4
ayiwratots iepots, & 7 TWodXol KaBopacw avOpw-
a ,
Wot TWpatTovtTas Has, TOUTwWY Tovs Beovs TroLov-
evos émomtas Kal paptupas: év 8é yudsdot
oTpaTlwtT@yv TocavTais ov padiws av tis Elbe
Ul 4 A > 4 4

davrotrépay ortBada tis ‘Aynotkdov. ampos TE
Garros obtw Kal Yoyos elyev daoTrep povos ael
vpncBat tais vmod tod Oeod Kexpapévats Bpats
4, a \
tmepucas. Horotov bé Oéapa tots KaTotKodoL THY
4 7 /
"Aciav"EdAnow oav of madat Bapeis rai adgo-
pyro. cal dvappéovtes bo tAOvTOV Kal TpYdys
drapxo. cal otparnyol Sedsores Kat OeparrevovTes
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law-abiding, in matters of friendship he thought that rigid justice was a mere pretext. At any rate, there is in circulation a letter of his to Hidrieus the Carian, which runs as follows: ‘ As for Nicias, if he is innocent, acquit him; if he is guilty, acquit him for my sake ; but in any case acquit him.’”’ Such, then, was

Agesilaiis in most cases where the interests of his friends were concerned ; but sometimes he used a critical situation rather for his own advantage. Of this he gave an instance when, as he was decamping in some haste and confusion, he left his favourite behind him sick. The sick one besought him loudly as he was departing, but he merely turned and said that it was hard to be compassionate and at the same time prudent. This story is related by Hieronymus the philosopher.

XIV. Agesilaiis had now been nearly two years in the field, and much was said about him in the interior parts of Asia, and a wonderful opinion of his self- restraint, of his simplicity of life, and of his moderation, everywhere prevailed. For when he made a journey, he would take up his quarters in the most sacred precincts by himself,! thus making the gods overseers and witnesses of those acts which few men are permitted to see us perform ; and among so many thousands of soldiers, one could hardly find a meaner couch than that of Agesilaiis; while to heat and cold he was as indifferent as if nature had given him alone the power to adapt himself to the seasons as God has temperedthem. And it was most pleasing to the Greeks who dwelt in Asia to see the Persian viceroys and generals, who had long been insufferably cruel, and had revelled in wealth and luxury, now fearful and obsequious before a man who went about

1 Cf. Xenophon’s A gesilaiis, v. 7.

avOpwrrov év tpiBave reptiovTa ALTO, Kal pos év
pha Bpayv nal Aarwvixov appofovtes éavrovs
Kal petacynpatifovtes, mate TWoAAOls ener TA
Tov Tupobéou réyery,
“Apns tupavvos: ypuadv 8 “Enddas ov dédoixe.

XV. Kevoupévns 6€ rhs “Acias Kat aroAXa-
Xoo Tpos amroaTacty UmetKkovons, dppo dpevos
Tas avToOe modes, Kai tails TontTeias diva
povov Kal duyis avOpa@rav amodsovs Tov wpoon-
KOVTA KOTMOV, eyv@KEL TPdTw YwpeEly, Kal TOV
ToAEHov dtdpas aro THS ‘EXAnviKAs OadratTns,
Tept ToD cwpmatos Bacttel Kal ths év ’ExBa-
Tavols Kal Yovooss evdaipovias SiapayerOar, cal
TEploTracaL TP@TOV avUTOV THY aYOAHV, WS L)
Kabéloirto Tovs ToNepwous BpaBevov trois “EXAnot
kat SiadOeipwv rovs Snuaywyots. év rovTm &é
adixveitar mpos avtov “Emixvdidas 6 Ymraptia-
TNS, aTrayyéAXN@Y OTL TOAVS TepLeaTHKE THY UTApP-
Tnv TorEpLos ‘EXANViKds, Kal KaNODaLY éxelvoV Ot
Edopor kal KedXevovace Tots olxor BonOeiv.
"O BapBap’ éEevpovtes “EXAnves Kana:

4 N +4 14 \ , 9 “A ,
Ti yap av TLs GAXO TOV POdvoy éxeivov wpocettrot

Kal Thy ToTe cUaTacW Kal abvrakw ép’ éavTous
Tov EAA jvav; of THs TUYNS advw hepopévns érre-
AdBovto, Kal Ta Orda pos Tors BapBdpouvs
Brérovta Kat tov morenov Hdn THS ‘EXAdSos
éEwxicpévov avis eis Eavtovs erpepav. ov yap
éywrye cuudépopat TO Kopw0io Anpapatw peya-
e a ’ A 4 \ \
Ans HOovns atrovercihbOar hoavtt tovs pn Oea-
4 d b) 4 9 “A 4
oapevous “EXAnvas AnréEavdpov év to Aapeiov
Opove KaOjpevov, GX’ eixotws av ola daxpd-
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in a paltry cloak, and at one brief and laconic speech from him conforming themselves to his ways and changing their dress and mien, insomuch that many were moved to cite the words of Timotheus :—

** Ares is Lord; of gold Greece hath no fear.” !

XV. Asia being now unsettled and in many quarters inclining to revolt, Agesilaiis set the cities there in order, and restored to their governments, without killing or banishing any one, the proper form. Then he determined to go farther afield, to transfer the war from the Greek sea, to fight for the person of the King and the wealth of Ecbatana and Susa, and above all things to rob that monarch of the power to sit at leisure on his throne, playing the umpire for the Greeks in their wars, and corrupting their popular leaders. But at this point Epicydidas the Spartan came to him with tidings that Sparta was involved in a great war with other Greeks, and that the ephors called upon him and ordered him to come to the aid of his countrymen.

“O barbarous ills devised by Greeks !”’ 2

How else can one speak of that jealousy which now leagued ‘and arrayed the Greeks against one another? They laid violent hands on Fortune in her lofty flight, and turned the weapons which threatened the Barbarians, and War, which had at last been banished from Greece, back again upon themselves. I certainly cannot agree with Demaratus the Corinthian, who said that those Greeks had missed a great pleasure who did not behold Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius, nay, I think that such might well have

1 Cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, iii.4 p. 622.
* Euripides, 7roades, 766 (Kirchhoff).
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cat, cuvvonoavtas Str tavt *AreEdvdpm kal
Makedoow amédwTov of TOTe ToUs TOV ‘EXAHVOV
otpatnyous wept Acedxtpa xal Kopwveray cat
KopivOov cal Apxadiav catayvnrwoar.
Aynottde pévtos ovdev Kpeiacov h peiCov éote
a >? " bd] 4 4 >Q\
Ths avaxwpnocws éxeivns Statrempaypévov, ovdé
yéyove trapdbderypa tweOapyias Kal Sixatoovvns
@ 4 ied XN > / Ww fal
Erepov xdAdov. Strov yap ‘AvviBas Hon KaKds
TpaTT@v Kat wepiwOovpevos éx THs "ITaXias
pednra hors UTHKovGE Tots ert TOV OlKOL TrONELOV
xkarovow, AréEavdpos S€ xal mpocetrécxwrfe
muOopevos THY mpos "Ayw "Avterdtpov pdaynp,
b , ‘ 66 "EB a wv Po) 4 A a e a
evr oV oxev, @ avopes, Gte Aapetioy nels
évix@pev évtavda, éxel tis ev Apxadia yeyovévar
pvopaxta’” mas ove Hv aktov THY Brdaprny paxa-
nA A \ /
pica: THs ’“Aynotkdov Tihs mpos TavTny Kal
a / a an
Tpos TOvS vomous THs evAaBelas; OS apa TO
THY okuTddAnv édOciy evTUYiav TocavTHnY Kal
Svvapiv Tapovoay Kai tTHALKavTas EXTIOas Udy-
youpévas adels xal mpoéuevos evOvds amrémrEvcev
“2D , ’ } ” 9 \ € a ‘0
aterxeuTntw én épyw,’ worvy éavTov, toOov
Tols ouppdyois atoNT@y, Kal wddtcta 87 Tov
9 , n 7 bY 4 , > la
Epaciatpdtou tov Paiaxos €deyEas Noyor, eivrov-
e ? M4 \ / s
tos ws cial Snuocia pév Aaxedatpovioe Bedtioves,
idta S€ "A@nvaio. Bactiéa yap éavtov Kal
: é
A 4 9 4 4 ,
otpatnyov apiotov émiderEduevos, ett Bedtiova
VN eQ/ “a , Q/ i \ /
Kat ndtova Tots Ypwpévors (Ota dirov Kal avv7ydn
te) a 4
mapéeaxe. Tov dé Ileporxod vopicpatos xadpaypa

1 At Megalopolis, in Arcadia, 331 B.c., Agis fell fighting, and the Spartan rebellion at once collapsed.

Alexander

shed tears when they reflected that this triumph was left for Alexander and Macedonians by those who now squandered the lives of Greek generals on the fields of Leuctra, Coroneia, and Corinth, and in Arcadia. Agesilaiis, however, never performed a nobler or a greater deed than in returning home as he now did, nor was there ever a fairer example of righteous obedience to authority. For Hannibal, though he was already in an evil plight and on the point of being driven out of Italy, could with the greatest difficulty bring himself to obey his summons to the war at home; and Alexander actually went so far as to jest when he heard of Antipater's battle with Agis,! saying: '' It would seem, my men, that while we were conquering Dareius here, there has been a battle of mice there in Arcadia." Why, then, should we not call Sparta happy in the honour paid to her by Agesilaiis, and in his deference to her laws? No sooner had the dispatch-roll come to him than he renounced and abandoned the great good fortune and power already in his grasp, and the great hopes which beckoned him on, and at once sailed off, "' with task all unfulfilled," 2 leaving behind a great yearning for him among his allies, and giving the strongest confutation to the saying of Erasistratus the son of Phaeax, who declared that the Lacedaemonians were better men in public life, but the Athenians in private. For while approving himself a most ex- cellent king and general, he shewed himself a still better and more agreeable friend and companion to those who enjoyed his intimacy. Persian coins were stamped with the figure of an archer, and Agesilaiis

had not the slightest thought of returning home to help Antipater.
2 Iliad, iv. 179.
41

ToboTny EXOvTOS, avalevyvior Edn puplous To£o-
Tals UTr0 Bacthéws éfeAavvecOat THs 'Acias:
Tocovtwy yap eis 'AOnvas nal @nBas Kxopicbév-
Tov Kal S1ado0evror TOUS Snpayoryois, éfemroXe-
poOnoav ot Ojpor T pos TOUS Laraptidras.
XVI. 'Os 8€ SsaBas rov "ENAqoTovTov éBa-
bile bia Tijs Spans, edenOn MeV ovdevos TOV
BapBapur, TEMTTOV é T pos éxdo Tous émuvOdveto
TOTEpoV @S pudtay 7 os Tohepiay Staropetnrat
THY xepav. ol pev ovv ardow TAVTES PLNIUKDS
edéxovTo Kat TApeT EMTOV, @s ExacTOS Cates
elyev" ot 6é KaNOUpPEVOL Tparnrets, ols Kal EépEns
edcoxer, @s Néyeras, dpa, THS 6t080v pa Gov
NTOUY TOV "Aynot\aov éxaTov apyupiov TaXavTa
Kal Tocavras yuvaicas. 6 be KATELP@vEVT aMEVOS
avTous Kal bnoas: «Tt ovv ovK evOvs 7AOov
Anpopevor; " T pore, Kal ovpBarov avtois Tapa-
TETAY MEVOLS eTpewaro Kal SiepOerpe Todos. TO
8 avto cal TO Bacirei Tov Maxedovav epwoTnua

T poo errepurpe “pieavros dé Bovreroer Aan, “ Bov-
NeverOw Toivuy éxeivos,” elrre, * mets bé 67
Topevopeba. Bavydoas ody thy TOApay avToD
kal Seioas o Bactreds éxéXeuvcev Os dirov mpod-
yey. Tov 6€ Bettarev Tois Tone pos ouppa-
YouvTov émop0e tv ywpav. eis O€ Adpic cay
erreurpe Flevorréa Kal KvOny mept hirias’ ova-
AnpOevrov 5é€ tovTwy Kal Tapaduidac comevey
ol pev adro. Bapéws pépovres @ovto Seiy Tov
"AynotAaov meptotpatoTedevoavTa TroALopKeiv

1 According to Xenophon (Hell. iii. 5, 1 ff.), Persian money was distributed in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos. ‘* The Athenians, though they took no share of the gold, were none the less eager for war.’

said, as he was breaking camp, that the King was
driving him out of Asia with ten thousand “ archers ”’ ;
for so much money had been sent to Athens and
Thebes and distributed among the popular leaders
there, and as a consequence those peoples made war
upon the Spartans.!

XVI. And when he had crossed the Hellespont and was marching through Thrace,? he made no requests of any of the Barbarians, but sent envoys to each people asking whether he should traverse their country as a friend or as a foe. All the rest, accordingly, received him as a friend and assisted him on his way, as they were severally able; but the people called Trallians, to whom even Xerxes gave gifts, as we are told, demanded of Agesilaiis as a price for his passage a hundred talents of silver and as many women. But he answered them with scorn, asking why, then, they did not come at once to get their price ; and marched forward, and finding them drawn up for battle, engaged them, routed them, and slew many of them. He sent his usual enquiry forward to the king of the Macedonians also, who answered that he would deliberate upon it. “ Let him deliberate, then,” said Agesilaiis, “but we will march on.’ In amazement therefore at his boldness, and in fear, the Macedonian king gave orders to let him pass as a friend. Since the Thes- salians were in alliance with his enemies, he ravaged their country. But to the city of Larissa he sent Xenocles and Scythes, hoping to secure its friendship. His ambassadors, however, were arrested and kept in close custody, whereupon the rest of his command were indignant, and thought that Agesilaiis ought to

2 Agesilaiis followed ‘‘ the very route taken by the Great King when he invaded Hellas” (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 2, 8).

THY Adpicoay, o O€ prycas oun av eOedfjoat @eo-
cahiap 6Anv ANaBety aTrohéa as Tav avdpav TOV
Erepov, bmoamovbous avTous anéhaBe. Kal TOUT
lows é "Aynoikae Gavpacrov OUK mY, Os mru0o-
pevos paxynv peyahny yeyovevat rept KopivOov,
Kal av pas? Ttav tavu évdo—wv ws évt padiora
aipvidiov drrohw)évat, Kat} LraptTiaT ey peev
odUYyoUS TavTaTAce TeOvnKkévat, Tapmoddous dé
TOV Toheor, ovK apn Tepixapns ovde €7rnp-
HEVOS, adra Kal Taye Bapu atevatas, ‘ Ded
THs “EXXdbos,” by, “ Tocovtous avépas atrodo-
Aexulas id’ avris, Soot CavrTes eduvavto piKay
ouov cupmavTas TOUS BapBdpovs paxXopevot.” TOV
bé Papoanriov T POo KEL pevov auT@ Kal KaKOUVTwOY
TO oTpaTeuua, TevTaKootors inmeboty euBaneiv
Kedevoas ou avT@ Kal Tpeyrapevos éaTyce T po-
maLov bro TO NapOaxiy. Kal THY viKny vmepy-
yarrnaev exewny, ort TvTTHT a LEVOS iarmeKov avr os
b:° éavrod TOUTY fov@ Tovs péytotov ed’ immixh
ppovovvras ExpaTnoev.
XVII. "Eytai0a Argpisas oixobev epopos ay
aTHVTNTEV AUTO KEeXevwv EvOUS euBarely Els THY
Bowwriav. o 86, KaiTrep amo petCovos TapacKevhys
YaTEepov TovTO Touno at Sravoovperos, ovdév weTO
deiv arreiOeiv Tots dpxovaty, adnra TOUS TE Hel?
éauToOU 7 poet ev eyyus elvau THY meepay ép hy é€
"Acacias RKovat, Kal dvo popas peTeTréuyato TOV
Tepl KopvGov TTpATEvopevwy. ot O€ év TH TONEL
AaxeSatpovioe TLLOVTES avTov éxnipuéav TOV
vévwy atroypadecBar tov BovrAcpevoy t@ Bactret

1 Gydpas . . . wal rejected by Sintenis and Bekker, and questioned by Coraés, after Schaefers the words are wanting in Apophth. Lacon. 45 (Morals, p. 211 e).

44

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AGESILAUS

encamp about Larissa and lay siege to it. But he declared that the capture of all Thessaly would not compensate him for the loss of either one of his men, and made terms with the enemy in order to get them back. And perhaps we need not wonder at such conduct in Agesilaiis, since when he learned that a great battle had been fought near Corinth,’ and that men of the highest repute had suddenly been taken off, and that although few Spartans altogether had been killed, the loss of their enemies was very heavy, he was not seen to be rejoiced or elated, but fetched a deep groan and said: “ Alas for Hellas, which has by her

own hands destroyed so many brave men! Had they lived, they could have conquered in battle all the Barbarians in the world." However, when the Pharsalians annoyed him and harassed his army, he ordered five hundred horsemen which he led in person to attack them, routed them, and set up a | trophy at the foot of mount Narthacium. This victory gave him special pleasure, because with horsemen of his own mustering and training, and with no other force, he had conquered those whose chief pride was placed in their cavalry."

XVII. Here Diphridas, an ephor from Sparta, met him, with orders to invade Boeotia immediately. Therefore, although he was purposing to do this later with a larger armament, he thought it did not behoove him to disobey the magistrates, but said to those who were with him that the day was near for which they had come from Asia. He also sent for two divisions of the army at Corinth. Then the Lacedaemonians at home, wishing to do him honour, made proclamation that any young man who wished

1 394 B.c. Of. Xenophon, ell. iv. 2, 18—3, 1 f.
2 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iv. 3, 9.
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PLUTARCR'S LIVES

BonGeiv. arroypanyapeévav be mavTov mpobupws,
ot apxovres WEVTNHKOVTA TOUS Gx MaLoTaTous Kal
poparewTarous exréeEavres aTréoTetNav.
'O dé 'Aynothaos elow Tudav mapenbav kal
dvodevoas THY Oawxida pidny ovcar, érrel THs
Bowwtias 1patov eméBn Kab mepl THY Xatpaverav
Kateo TpaTon éevoey, dua pev Tov HALov _eKhet-
TovTa Kal ytvomevov pnvoedi) Kateidev, Gua b¢
jeouce TeOvava Tletoavdpov NTTN Levov vaupaxia
Tept Kvidov vm0 PapvaBatov Kal Kévevos.
3 nxGéoOn ey ov, as elKos; éml TOUTOLS wal dua
TOV dvdpa Kat Sia THY mod, Sires bé pry TOUS
OTPATLOTALS érrl pany Badifovor abu pia Kal
poBos euméon, Tavavtia, héyery éxédevoe TOUS
amo Oardrrns F HKovras, STL VIKOOL TH vavpaxig:
Kal ™ poehOary avTos eorepavapevos COvcev evay-
yédua Kal Sréreptre pepidas Tois dirows ad TaV
TeOupévov.
XVIII. 'Ezret 8e mpoiay Kal YEVvOLEVOS éy
Kopwveia xateide tovs TOKEULOUS wal Katopon,
maperdéaro Sous 'Opxopeviors TO EV@VULOV Képas,
autos 5é 70 deEvov emHyev. ol dé OnBaior TO pev
SeEvov eixov avrol, 70 dé evovupov "A ryetou.
Aeyer dé THY pany 0 Fevopay € éxelyny olav ovK
addny TOV TWTTOTE yevéa Bar: Kal raphy avTos
TO "Aynoirde cuvayovibouevos, é& 'Actas SiaBe-

2 Bnxas. 7 pev ouv TpoTn ovppatis ouK éovev
@Otc pov ode Gyava TrOAUY, GANA Ot TE @nBaior
? August, 394 B.c.

2 The soldiers of Agesilaiis were consequently victorious in a skirmish with the enemy, according to Xenophon (Hell. iv. 3, 14).

might enlist in aid of the king. All enlisted eagerly, and the magistrates chose out the most mature and vigorous of them to the number of fifty, and sent them off.

Agesilaiis now marched through the pass of Thermopylae, traversed Phocis, which was friendly to Sparta, entered Boeotia, and encamped near Chaeroneia. Here a partial eclipse of the sun occurred, and at the same time! news came to him of the death of Peisander, who was defeated in a naval battle off Cnidus by Pharnabazus and Conon. Agesilaiis was naturally much distressed at these tidings, both because of the man thus lost, and of the city which had lost him; but nevertheless, that his soldiers might not be visited with dejection and fear as they were going into battle, he ordered the messengers from the sea to reverse their tidings and say that the Spartans were victorious in the naval battle. He himself also came forth publicly with a garland on his head, offered sacrifices for glad tidings, and sent portions of the sacrificial victims to his friends.?

XVIII. After advancing as far as Coroneia and coming within sight of the enemy, he drew up his army in battle array, giving the left wing to the Orchomenians, while he himself led forward the right. On the other side, the Thebans held the right wing themselves, and the Argives the left. Xenophon says that this battle was unlike any ever fought,® and he was present himself and fought on the side of Agesilaiis, having crossed over with him from Asia.* The first impact, it is true, did not meet with much resistance, nor was it long contested, but the

3 Hellenica, iv. 3, 16.
* Cf. Xenophon’s Anabasia, v. 3, 6.

‘ \ 3 , 9 / \ \
Ttayv tovs ‘Opyxopuevious étpéavto Kal Tous
"Apyetous o “Aynaidaos: émel bé dxovoavTes
b , a > 7? / @ \ 4
appotepo. Ta evavupa mieCecPar Kal pevyey
dvéatperav, évtadda tis vixns axwdvvouv Tap-
ovens, el THS KaTa oTOma payns VpécOat Tois
l4 > lA \ 4 e , 4
@nBaiows nOéAnoe eal mate éEropevos Tapadrd-
e \ a / ? ,
Eavtas, vio Oupod Kal giroverxias évavTios
éya@pes Tois avdpdow, @oacOat Kata KpdTos
J e \ b) bd VA 20 /
Bovropevos. of S€ ody Frrov éppwpévws €d€-
Eavto, cal paxn yiveras d0 bAov pev toxyupa Tov
oTpatevpatos, ioxupotatn 8 Kar’ éxeivoy avTov
éy TOs TevTHKOVTA TeTAYypEévOV, WV Els KaLpoV
Gorcev iroTiwia TH Bactret yevéoBar Kal
cwTHpLos. aywrilopuevor yap éxOvpws Kal tpo-
KtvOUVEVOVTES ATPWTOV meV aUTOY OvK eduIOnTAY
a 9
gurd£at, roddds bé da tev StrAwv SeEdpevoy ets
\ A \ / \ / / bd /
TO copa wANyas Sdpace Kal Eiheot ports avnp-—
macay Cavra, xal oupdpatavres mpd avtov
ToAANous pev avnpovy, TroAAol Sé Emimtov. os
dé péya epyov jv w@aac8at mpotpoTddny Tous
@nBaiovs, nvayxdcOnoav Srep &E& apxis ovK
éBovrovtTo toijnoa. dtéeotnoav yap avtois THY
ddrayya nal dvéoyov, elra ataxtotepoy dn
Topevopevous, ws dteEétrecov, axodovOovytTes Kal
/
mapadéovres éx TAayiwy Eratoy. ov pny éTpé-
/ > > 3 4 e A \ N
yravTo ye, GAX’ atrexwpnoav ot OnPBator pos Tov
€ a / A A
Enuxdva, néya TH dyn Ppovowvtes, WS anTTNTOL
xa?’ avbrovs yeyovores.
48

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Thebans speedily routed the Orchomenians, as Agesi- laiis did the Argives. Both parties, however, on hearing that their left wings were overwhelmed and in flight, turned back. Then, although the victory

might have been his without peril if he had been willing to refrain from attacking the Thebans in front and to smite them in the rear after they had passed by, Agesilaiis was carried away by passion and the ardour of battle and advanced directly upon them, wishing to bear them down by sheer force. But they received him with a vigour that matched his own, and a battle ensued which was fierce at all points in the line, but fiercest where the king himself stood surrounded by his fifty volunteers,' whose opportune and emulous valour seems to have saved his life. For they fought with the utmost fury and exposed their lives in his behalf, and though they were not able to keep him from being wounded, but many blows of spears and swords pierced his armour and reached his person, they did succeed in dragging him off alive, and standing in close array in front of him, they slew many foes, while many of their own number fell. But since it proved too hard a task to break the Theban front, they were forced to do what at the outset they were loth to do. They opened their ranks and let the enemy pass through, and then, when these had got clear, and were already marching in looser array, the Spartans followed on the run and smote them on the flanks. They could not, however, put them to rout, but the Thebans withdrew to Mount Helicon,? greatly elated over the battle, in which, as they reasoned, their own contingent had been undefeated.

1 Cf. chapter xvii. 2. They are not mentioned by Xenophon. 2 From the slopes of which they had advanced to the battle.

XIX. 'Aynothaos 5€, Kaimrep v7r0 TPAVLaTOY 606
TONY KAKOS TO copa Staxetpwevos, ov T pOTEepov
ent oKNViy annrlev 7 i) popddny évex Oivat T pos
THY ddrayya Kal Tovs vEKpoUS ely evTOS TOV
Oro ouyKEKopuis wEvous. Soot pévrou TOV TOXE-
pi@y eis TO lepov Karepuyov, mavTas exéhevaev
apeOjvan. ™Anolov yap 0 VES éotw 6 THS
'Irevias "AOnvas, kai mpd avTod tpoTraLov éorn-
xev, 6 waddrat Bowwrtot LrapTovos oTpaTnyouvTos
evravda vino ayes "AOnvatous cal Torpidny
QITOKTELVAVTES éoTnaay. apa é pepa Bovdo-
pevos eEeheyEar TOUS @nBaiovs 0 "Aynotdaos, él
LapaxodvT an, orepavodabat pev exéhevae TOUS
TTPATLATAS, avnely dé TOUS avrnras, torava
6€ xal Koo pely TpoTracov OS VEVLKNKOTAS. as 6é
émewrpay ot TONE [LOL vex pov dvaipecty attodvtes,
éomreloato, Kal THY ViKNV OUTWS éxBeBarwc dpevos
els Aerdovs arexopiaOn, udev aryouevear, cal
THY TE TOMMY émeTévet TO Jed ral TH Sexdrny
améOve Tav ex Tis *Aolas Aaghvpwov éxaTov
TaNdvTov YEVOMEDTY.
"Ered Se aTrevoa TNO eV oixase, mpoa pidns pev
Hv EevOds Tots TroXtTaLs Kal TepiBrer705 am0 TOU

Biov kai tH Staitns: od yap, OorreEp ot TrELo TOL
TOV OTPATHYOV, KaLVvos érravAdOev aro THs Eévns
Kat KEKLUTLEVOS on GAOT piv eGov, kal ducKo-
haiveov 7 pos Ta olKot Kab Cuyouax ar, anra
opotis Tots pnden wrote TOV Evporav d1aBe-
Bynkoot Ta Tapovta Timev Kal otépywv ov Setrvov
1 In 447 B.c.; cf. the Pericles, xviii. 2 f.
2 Cf the Nictus, vi. 5.
5°

AGESILAUS

XIX. But Agesilaiis, although he was weakened by many wounds, would not retire to his tent until he had first been carried to his troops and seen that the dead were collected within the encampment. Moreover, he ordered that all of the enemy who had taken refuge in the sanctuary should be dismissed. For the temple of Athena Itonia was near at hand, and a trophy stood in front of it, which the Boeotians had long ago erected, when, under the command of Sparto, they had defeated the Athenians there and slain Tolmides their general.! Early next morning, Agesilaiis, wishing to try the Thebans and see whether they would give him battle, ordered his soldiers to wreath their heads and his pipers to play their pipes, while a trophy was set up and adorned in token of their victory. And when the enemy sent to him and asked permission to take up their dead, he made a truce with them, and having thus assured to himself the victory,” proceeded to Delphi,? where the Pythian games were in progress, There he celebrated the customary procession in honour of the god, and offered up the tenth of the spoils which he had brought from Asia, amounting to a hundred talents.

Then he went back home, where his life and conduct brought him at once the affection and ad- miration of his fellow-citizens. For, unlike most of their generals, he came back from foreign parts un- changed and unaffected by alien customs ; he showed no dislike towards home fashions, nor was he restive under them, but honoured and loved what he found there just as much as those did who had never crossed the Eurotas; he made no change in his

3 Leaving the army in command of Gylis the polemarch (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 3, 21).
SI

5 prrakev, ov Aovtpov, ov Oepatreiav YUVALKOS, ou
Srrheov Koo pov, OUK oixias KaTacKeuny, arnra ms
Tas Ovpas adjcev odTws ovoas opodpa Taras,
@s Soxely elvat, TavTAS éxelvas as éréO nev
"Aptctodnpos. Kal TO Kxavvad pov pnow o Fevo-
pov ovdéy TL oepvoTepoy elvat THS éexeivov Ouya-
T pos i TOV GAXNOD. cavvabpa dé Kanodowy eldwra
ypuTrav Evruva Kal Tparyehadav év ols KoptCouct
6 Tas qaidas év Tails Trourrais. O pev ov Revopav
dvopa THS "Aynotddou Ourya.t pos ov véypage, kato
Atxaiapyos é emnyavaxtnoey OS LTE THY “Aynoe-
dou Juyatépa pare THY "Exrapuvevdou pntépa
ylvaockovTwv nuov: nueis Se et popev év tais
Aaxwvixais dvaypadais ovopatoméevny yuvatixa
pev Agnotddou Kreopay, Guyarépas dé Etrwdlav
ral IIpoavyav.’ gore dé Kat Aoyynv ibeiy adrod
Keypev ny aypt vov év Aaxedaipou, pndéyv trav
ad\Nwv Staépovcay.
XX. Ov pay aGAXa opav évious TOV TOMT OD
amo immotpodias Soxodvras ef elvai Tivas Kab peya*
ppovodvtas, é émecce THY adeApHY Kuvioxav appa
xkabeioav ‘Oduptiacw ayovicac ba, Bovdopevos
evdeiEacbat Tos EdAnor WS ovdenas ear
ApeTHnS, GNA mAoOUTOU kal damravys ue vin.
2 Fevoporvra dé Tov copoy EYwy pel” é€auTOU
omrovdalopuevov ExéXNeve TOUS maidas év Aaxe-
daipove TpepeLy peTaTrepYpapevon, as pabnoo-
pévous TOV pa nyarov TO Kad TOD, apyerOau
Kai apxew. Tov 6é Avodvdpou TETENEUTIKOTOS
eUp@v éTaipeiay oA cuverTacar, iy éxeivos
1 Tpdavyay a reading mentioned by Stephanus, and aow found in S: [MypodAdrav.
2 uéya Cobet, van Herwerden, with F@: peydaa.
52

table, or his baths, or the attendance on his wife, or the decoration of his armour, or the furniture of his house, nay, he actually let its doors remain although they were very old,—one might say they were the very doors which Aristodemus! had set up. His daughter’s “kannathron,”’ as Xenophon? tells us, was no

more elaborate than that of any other maid (“ kannathra”’ is the name they give to the wooden figures of griffins or goat-stags in which their young girls are carried at the sacred processions).2_ Xeno- phon, it is true, has not recorded the name of the daughter of Agesilaiis, and Dicaearchus expressed great indignation that neither her name nor that of the mother of Epaminondas was known to us; but we have found in the Lacedaemonian records that the wife of Agesilaiis was named Cleora, and his daughters Eupolia and Proauga. And one can see his spear also, which is still preserved at Sparta, and which is not at all different from that of other men.

XX. However, on seeing that some of the citizens esteemed themselves highly and were greatly lifted up because they bred racing horses, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to enter a chariot in the contests at Olympia, wishing to shew the Greeks that the victory there was not a mark of any great excellence, but simply of wealth and lavish outlay. Also, having Xenophon the philosopher in his following, and making much of him, he ordered him to send for his sons and rear them at Sparta, that they might learn that fairest of all lessons, how to obey and how to command. Again, finding after Lysander’s death that a large society was in existence, which that

1 The great-great-grandson of Heracles; cf. Xenophon, A gestlaiia, viii. 7.
2 These figures of animals were on wheels, and served as carriages (cf. Athenaeus, p. 139 f.).
53

OF

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

evVOus erravenOav amo THs "Acias cuvéotnoev énl
N b 4 C4 > AN 3 ,
tov ’AynoiXaov, Opunoev avtrov éFereyyxev olos
Hv Cav qoXitns: Kal Aoyov avayvods év BiBrip
drodeAerppéevov, dv eypawe pev Kréwv o ‘AN-
Kapvacces, euedrc 5é Aéyerv avaraBav o Avcav-
Spos év Te Syuw wept mpaypdtwv Kawov Kal
METATTAaTEWS TOU TOALTEVpLaTOS, NOEANTEV Eis
péoov éeveyxeiv. érel 5€ Tus THY yepovTwV TOV
Adyor dvaryvouvs kal hPoBnOels tHv ServdtnTa ouve-
UA \ N 4 9 4 3
Bovrevoce wy Tov Avoavdpov dvoputtey, adda
TOV AGYoV MAaAXOV av’T@ cuyKatopUTTEay, éretcOn
kai Kabnovyake. rods Sé Urevavtioupévous avT@
A \ b) 4 4 \
davepas pev ov éBratrre, Starpatropevos &é
wéutrecOai Twas det otpatnyous Kal adpxovTas
é& avtav, émedeixvue yevomévous év tais éEovciats
Tovnpovs Kal mEovextas, Elta Kpivopévors TWadL

at BonOav Kai acuvaywrifopevos, oikeious éx
/ a
Siadopwv érroveito Kal peOiotn Tpos avTov, WaTE
pnGéva avtimanopr etvat.
‘O yap Erepos Bactreds *"Aynoimors, ate 87
\
TatTpos pev wv dhuydoos, HAuKia Se mavTdTace
4 tA N A 4 >
petpaciov, puoet 5 mpdos Kal Kdcptos, oY OANA
TOV TONTIKOY Empattev. ov pny adda Kal
ToUTOV émroteito yelponOn. cuacitodvar yap ot
a > \ > \ la / 4
Baotreis eis TO avto ghortavtes piditioy, Stav
émtinu@ow. eidas odv evoyov dvta Tols épw-
TLxots Tov AynoimoXty, @oTrEp NY AUTOS, del TLVOS
1 Cf. the Lysander, chapter xxx.
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AGESILAUS

commander, immediately after returning from Asia, had formed against him, Agesilaiis set out to prove what manner of citizen Lysander had been while alive. So, after reading a speech which Lysander had left behind him in book form,—a speech which Cleon of Halicarnassus had composed, but which Lysander had intended to adopt and _ pronounce before the people in advocacy of a revolution and change in the form of government,—Agesilaiis wished to publish it. But one of the senators, who had read the speech and feared its ability and power, advised the king not to dig Lysander up again, but rather to bury the speech with him, to which advice Agesilaiis listened and held his peace. And as for those who were in opposition to him, he would do them no open injury, but would exert himself to send some of them away from time to time as generals and commanders, and would shew them up if they proved base and grasping in their exercise of authority ; then, contrariwise, when they were brought to trial, he would come to their aid and exert himself in their behalf, and so would make them friends instead of enemies, and bring them over to his side, so that no one was left to oppose him.

For Agesipolis, the other king, since he was the son of an exile,? in years a mere stripling, and by nature gentle and quiet, took little part in affairs of state. And yet he too was brought under the sway of Agesilaiis. For the Spartan kings eat together in the same “phiditium,” or public mess,? whenever they are at home. Accordingly, knowing that Agesi- polis was prone to love affairs, just as he was himself,

* Pausanias, who was impeached in 395 B.c., went into
voluntary exile, and was condemned to death.
3 Cf. the Lycurgua, xii. 1 f.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

UmTnpKe NOyou Tepl TOY ev Wpa Kal Tponye Tov
veavioxov eis TavTO Kal cuvipa Kal cuvétrpaTte,
a a 2 @ Oe 3 / NA de
Tov AAaKwVLKOY EpWTWY OVdEY ALTYPOV, ALOW Oe
TOAAHy Kal diroTisiav Kal CHrov aperns eyov-
Tov, @S év Tots Trept AuKovpyou yéypaTrTat.
XXI. Méyorov obv Suvapevos ev rH moder b1a-
4 4 N ig / b] \ >
mpatretat TerXevtiav Tov opountplov adeAdoy ért
Tov vavTiKoU yevéo bat. Kai TTpaTEVva dpevos els
Kopw6ov autos pey pet Kata ynv Ta paxpa
TetXn, tais 5¢ vavolv o Tedeutias!..... 'Ap-
yetov S& tHv KopwOov éydvtwy tote Kai Ta
wv @ / 9 9 M4 \
IcOuta auvterovvtwy, émipavels éxeivous per
“A a 4
éEnNacey apts, T@ Oem teOuKoTas, THY: Tapa:
\ ef > 4 b \ \ A
okeuny dtracay arodumovtas émet 5€ Tov Kopw-
4 e/ Uf ” , ? /
Giwv bcot puyddes Etruyov tapovtes edenOnoav
avrod Tov ayava Siabeivas, ToUTO pev ovK érroin-
> A bd / A 4
cev, avtav bé éxeivorv S:aTi0évtwy Kal cvvtedovv-
TwY Tapéepeve Kal Tapécyev aodareav. boTEpov
5é direNOovtros avtod maddy bm’ "Apyeiwr HyOn
v ;
Ta IcO usa, cai reves ev évixnoav manu, eat Sé
of vevixncores TMpoTepov, HTTHuEvot 5é Botepor,
aveypadnoav. él tovtm dé TodANY amépnve
Sevdiav KaTnyopely éavT@yv tous ‘Apyeious o
b / ? \ 4 \ f \
AynotX\aos, eb cEe“voy ovTW Kal péeya THY

1 The lacuna after this name may be filled from the words kara OddAatray Tas vavs Kal Ta vedpia Hpnee, in Xenophon,

Hell. iv. 4, 19.

1 Chapters xvii. 1 ; xviii. 4.

Agesilaiis would always introduce some discourse about the boys who were of an age to love. He would even lead the young king’s fancy toward the object of his own affections, and share with him in wooing and loving, these Spartan loves having nothing shameful in them, but being attended rather with great modesty, high ambition, and an ardent desire for excellence, as I have written in my life of Lycurgus.!

XXI. Having thus obtained very great influence in the city, he effected the appointment of Teleutias, his half-brother on his mother’s side, as admiral. Then he led an army to Corinth, and himself, by land, captured the long walls, while Teleutias, with his fleet, seized the enemy’s ships and dockyards. Then coming suddenly upon the Argives,? who at that time held Corinth, and were celebrating the Isthmian games, he drove them away just as they had sacrificed to the god, and made them abandon all their equipment for the festival. At this, the exiles from Corinth who were in his army begged him to hold the games. This, however, he would not do, but remained at hand while they held the games from beginning to end, and afforded them security. Afterwards, when he had departed, the Isthmian games were held afresh by the Argives, and some contestants won their victories a second time, while some were entered in the lists as victors in the first contests, but as vanquished in the second. In this matter Agesilaiis declared that the Argives had brought down upon themselves the charge of great cowardice, since they regarded the conduct of the

Plutarch confuses the expedition of 393 B.c. (Xenophon, sys iv. 4. 19) with that of 390 B.c. (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 5, 1 ff.).

aywvobeciav Hyovmevor payerOat Tept avTis
ovx éroApnoay. avTos S€ pos TadTa TdvTa
petpiws mero Seiv Exe, Kal Tovs péev olor Yopods
kal adyavas émexoope Kal ouprraphy del di-
NoTilas Kal orrovdys peaTos Ov Kal ovTe Traidwv
w 4 e / b / aA \ \
ovTe TapOévwv apirrns aTrorertTrOpevos, & dé TOUS
bd @e 7 4 20 7 ,
adXous éwpa Oavpdlovtas édoxer wndé ywvockerv.
kat tote Kaddrridns 0 tav tpayediav vTo0-
/ v 4 ” b a if
KptTys, ovoua Kal Sokav éyov ev trois “Eddqot
Kal oovdalouevos Urd TavTwy, Tp@Tov pev
aNnVvTnoEev aUT@ Kal wpoceireyv, Ereita coRapas
€is TOUS ouptrepiTatovvTas éuBadwv éavToY
3 / , 3 A v \

emedeiKvuTO vouilwy éxetvoy apkev Tivos ptdo-
dpoouvns, Téros Oé elev’ “ OvK erriyitvecKels pe,
@ Bactred;” Kaxeivos amoBrNévas mpos avTov
2 “? \ > , : , e
elmev' “’AXAA ov auye éoot Kadrdridas o
decxnrixtas;” odtw 5é Aaxedatpovior Tovs pipous
KaXovet. Tapakanovpevos b€ maddy aKodoat
TOU THY anodova pLpoupevov, TapynTnoaTo drcas,
ce A b) A ” 39 le) dé > A M 4
UTas dKkouxa. Tov dé latpod Mevexpartous,
émel KaATATUXY@Y éy Tiow aTreyvwopévats Oeparrei-
ats Zevs érexrnOn, poprexas TaVTH Xpwpévou TH
mpocwvuuia Kal bn Kat mpos éxeivov émiotetrat
ToApnoavtos oltws: “ Mevexparns Zevs Raciret
"AynotAd@ yaipew, avtTéypate ‘ Baowneds
> s 4 e , b>]
Aynotraos Mevexpares vytaivecy.
XXII. AtatpiBovros 5é wept rv Kopiw6iev

b A \ \ ¢ a / \ \ > 4
avtod nat to ‘Hpaiov etrnghotos Kal ra aixpa-
AwWTA TOUS OTpaTLWTaS ayovTas Kal dépovTas
4 / a

émtBrerrovtos, adixovro mpécBes éx OnBav trepr

games as so great and august a privilege, and yet had not the courage to fight for it. He himself thought that moderation ought to be observed in all these matters, and sought to improve the local choirs and games. These he always attended, full of ambitious ardour, and was absent from no contest in which either boys or girls competed. Those things, however, for which he saw the rest of the world filled with admiration, he appeared not even to recognize. Once upon a time Callipides the tragic actor, who had a name and fame among the Greeks and was eagerly courted by all, first met him and addressed him, then pompously thrust himself into his company of attendants, showing plainly that he expected the king to make him some friendly overtures, and finally said : “ Dost thou not recognize me,O King?” The king fixed his eyes upon him and said: “ Yea, art thou not Callipides the buffoon?’’ And again, when he was invited to hear the man who imitated the nightingale, he declined, saying: “I have heard the bird herself.” Again, Menecrates the physician, who, for his success in certain desperate cases, had received the surname of Zeus, and had the bad taste to employ the appellation, actually dared to write the king a letter beginning thus: “ Menecrates Zeus, to King Agesilaiis, greeting.” To this Agesilaiis replied: “ King Agesilaiis, to Menecrates, health and sanity.”

XXII. While he was lingering in the territory of Corinth, he seized the Heraeum,? and as he was

watching his soldiers carry off the prisoners and
booty, messengers came from Thebes to treat for
1 Cf. the Lycurgus, xx. 5.

2 The refugees in the Heraeum came out and surrendered of their own accord (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 5, 5).

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

U e \ A \ > \ A / 27
dirtas. o S€ pro@y pév del THY TrOALY, Olopevos
dé rote Kal cupdépew éevuBpicat, mpocetrotetro
pnTe opay avtods pnte aKoveww evTUyyavorTan.
érade 56 1payywa vepernrov' ote yap amnrAay-
pévov tav OnBaiwv Heov tives atrayyédXovtes
avT@ THY popay bro 'Idixpdrous KaraxexopOa.
Kal wdQos Todto péya bud ToANOD Ypovou auVreE-
> a) \ \ LA bd \ 3 ,
Tegev AUTOS TOANOUS yap avdpas ayabous arre-
Barov xpatnOévras bio Te TWeATATT@V OTATAS
, 4,
kal ptaSodopav Aaxedatpovious.
"Averndnae pev odv evOds o 'Aynairaos as

s b \ ww , 2
BonOnowv: érel 5é &yvw Statrerpaypevous, av&ts
ets TO 'Hpaiov ice, cal tovs Botwtovs tote mpoo-
eMMeiy Kerevoas, éxypnudatilev. ws 5 avOuBpi-
Covtes éxeivor THS péev elpnyns ovK epéuvnvTo,
n A 3 , >] 4 b] \ e
mwapeOnvar dé nkiovy eis KopiwOov, opyicbels o
"Aynairaos elmev: " EKiye Bovreabe tovs hidrous
Upav ideiy péya ppovodvtas éd' ols evtuyovour,
avptov acgharas vyiv tovto bTdp Ee." Kal wapa-
AaBSa@v avtovs TH boTepaia THY Te YwOpay TeV
KopivOiwv éxomre Kal mpos tTHv Toy avTHy
mpoanrev. ottw Sé rods KopivOious éFeréyEas
apvverbat pn TOAMaVTAS, adie THY TpEeaReiav.
avros 5€ Tovs mrepiAerctupéevous avdpas ex THs
4 > \ b a ? 4 \
popas avaraBeov amie cis Aaxedaipova, mpo
nuépas otovpevos tas avatevEes nal madww

oKoTaious Tas KATaNUCELS, STWS OL pLoODVTES Kat
Backaivovtes Tov "Apxddov py eruyaipwow.

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AGESILAUS

peace. But he had always hated that city, and thinking this an advantageous time also for insulting it, pretended neither to see nor hear its ambassadors when they presented themselves. But his pride soon had a fall; for the Thebans had not yet departed when messengers came to him with tidings that the Spartan division had been cut to pieces by Iphicrates.1 This was the greatest disaster that had happened to the Spartans in a long time; for they lost many brave men, and those men were overwhelmed by targeteers and mercenaries, though they were men-at-arms and Lacedaemonians.

At once, then, Agesilaiis sprang up to go to their assistance, but when he learned that it was all over with them," he came back again to the Heraeum, and ordering the Boeotians then to come before him, gave them an audience. But they returned his insolence by making no mention of peace, but simply asking safe conduct into Corinth. Agesilaiis was wroth at this, and said: "If you wish to see your friends when they are elated at their successes, you can do so to-morrow in all safety." And taking them along with him on the next day, he ravaged the territory of the Corinthians, and advanced to the very gates of the city. After he had thus proved that the Corinthians did not dare to resist him, he dismissed the embassy. Then he himself, picking up the survivors of the division that had been cut to pieces, led them back to Sparta, always breaking camp before it was day, and pitching the next camp after it was dark, in order that the hateful and malicious Arcadians might not exult over them.

1 At Lechaeum, the port of Corinth on the Corinthian gulf, in 390 B.c. (Xenophon, fell. iv. 5, 11-18).

? He had marched till he was ‘‘ well within the plateau of Lechaeum ” (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 5, 8).

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fo

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

"Ex tovtou Xapelopevos Tous ‘Axarois SéBavev
els ‘Axapvaviay or pared pet aura, Kal moNAny
pev nXNacaTo eiav, paxn 5é Tovs ‘Axapvavas

evixnoe. Seopéverv d€ Tov “Axavdy Straws TOV
NELUOVA Tapapeivas apérnrar TOV OTOpoV TOV
ToNEwov, TovvayTiov &pn Touno ety paddov yap
poPnOncerbat Tov Toe pLOV avTous, édv éomap-
pévny THV viv és dpas EXO UY) kal ouveBn.
maparyyehhopevns yap av&us ém’ avTovs oTpareias
Sunhdayna av TOUS “Axatois.
XXIII. ’Eed 5€ Kovov rai PapvaBalos To
Bactréws VAUTLK® Jararroxpatovrres émopGouv
7a, mapada THs ANaxwuixns, ererxiaOn dé xai TO
aotu tav’ APnvaiwy PapvaBatov xphnpuata Sovtos,
édo0ke Tots Aaxedatpoviors ELpnUny moveta Oat T pos
Bactnréa: wal méuTrovaw “Avrarkiday ™ pos Tepi-
Balov, aisxlota, Kal TAPAVOMLOTATA Tous THY
"Agiav xatotxobvras “EXAnvas, brrép av éroné-
pnoev "Aynainaos, Bactret mapadiortes. d0ev
HKLOTA guveBn TAS Kaxodofias TAUTNS ‘Aynothaw
peTacxeiy. 0 yap “Avrarxibas EXO pos qv ave,
Kal rnp elonvny é& Gravros émpattev ws Tov
monéuou Tov "Aynoiraov av€ovtos Kal trovobvtos
evdofatatov Kal péytatov. ov pny adda xal
™ pos TOV el ovTa TOUS Aaxedarpovious pndilerv
o "Aynatdaos amexpivato aAXov Tovs Mnédous
Aakavivew. Tois 5é wn Bovropevors SéyverOar
THY eipnvny atretAov Kat KaTayyeddov WoAEMoV
NVaYKaC EV € peeve amavras ols 0 Tépons
édixaiwoe, pddtota ba Tovs @nBalovs, d7rws
1 In 390-389 B.c. (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 6, 3—7, 1).

2 [n 393 B.c. (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 8, 10).
3 The Great King’s satrap in Western Asia.
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After this, to gratify the Achaeans, he crossed
over with them on an expedition into Acarnania,!
where he drove away much booty and conquered the
Acarnanians in battle. But when the Achaeans
asked him to spend the winter there in order to
prevent the enemy from sowing their fields, he said
he would do the opposite of this; for the enemy
would dread the war more if their land was sown
when summer came. And this proved true; for
when a second expedition against them was an-

nounced, they came to terms with the Achaeans.
XXIII. When Conon and Pharnabazus with the Great King’s fleet were masters of the sea and were ravaging the coasts of Laconia, and.after the walls of Athens had been rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus furnished,? the Lacedaemonians decided to make peace with the king of Persia. To that end, they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus,? and in the most shameful and lawless fashion handed over to the King the Greeks resident in Asia, in whose behalf Agesilaiis had waged war. Agesilaiis, therefore, could have had no part at all in this infamy. For Antalcidas was his enemy, and put forth all his efforts to make the peace because he saw that the war enhanced to the utmost the reputation and power of Agesilaiis. Notwith- standing this, to one who remarked that the Lace- daemonians were favouring the Medes, Agesilaiis replied that the Medes were the rather favouring the Lacedaemonians. Moreover, by threatening with war the Greeks who were unwilling to accept the peace, he forced them all to abide by the terms which the Persian dictated, more especially on account of the Thebans, his object being to make

4 The peace of Antalcidas was ratified by all the Greek states except Thebes in 387 B.c. (Xenophon, Hell. v. 1, 29 ff.).

> , \ / ? , > /
avTovopov tHv Bowwtiay addvtes aabevéorepor
yevovtat. OHrov € TovTO Tots DoTepov eTroinger.
> \ \ 4 ” ? VA \ >
émel yap PoiBidas Epyov eipydcato Sewov év
A \ >] , A / ,
omovoais Kal eipnyn thy Kadpciav xataraBov,
\ 4 \ b) , edd A
Kal Tapes pev nyavaxtouy ot” EXXnves, KaXeTTasS
\ »” e a \ 4 e
dé édepov of Ymrapridtat, cal pdruora ot S:ade-
popevo. TO 'Aynotrd@w pert’ opyns éemuvOdvorvto
a 4 A
tov DoiBidou Tivos tadTa KedXevoavTos Empaker,
eis éxelvov THhv Umovotay TpéTroVTEs, OVK WKVNTE
a / a / 9 \ ¢ a \
TO Por Bide Bondar deyet avagpavdov Ste Sel Thy
mpakw avtny, el te ypjotmov exer, oxoteEly: TA
yap ouudhépovta tH Aaxedaipov xaras exerv
avtopuativea bar, Kav pndels KeAevan. Kaito TO
NOYH TavTayod THY Sixatoobvnv aTépaive TPw-
4 A b) a by / \ \ v
TEVELY TOY ApET@V* avdpeias pev yap ovdev Speros
2
elvat, pn Tapovons Stxatoovvys, et S€ Sixazot

mavres yévouvro, wndev avbpeias SenoesOar. mpos
5é tovs Aéyovtas Ste tadta Soxed TH peydr@
a ¢¢ la 9 ? A b] a? 3 ‘6 4, 9
Bactnrei, “Ti & éxeivos éuod,” elie, “ wetfwv, et
pn Kat Sixatotepos;” opOas Kal Karas olopevos
Seiy T@ Stxai@ xabdrep pétpw Bacidix@ petpet-
\ A a
cOat thy vmepoyny tod peilovos. ty Sé THs
> / a
eLpnuns yevouevns éreuev avT@ tepl Eevias xal
/ b \ ¢ 4 3 ¥: 3 \
dirtas érictoAnv o BactXevs, ovx EraBev, evtrav
a N Vd
éEapKeiy Thy Kownv didrgcav, cal pndev idias
SenoecOar pevovans éexeivns. év 5é tots épyots
ouxéTe TavuTny dSiadvrdtrov thy Sokav, dArAa TH
prrotipia Kal tH didovecia moddayod ouvex-
pepopevos, Kal padiota TH pos OnBaiovs, ov
povov éowae Tov PorBidav, aGdAda Kal THY Tod
64
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them weaker by leaving Boeotia independent of the King. This he made clear by his subsequent behaviour. For when Phoebidas committed the foul deed of seizing the Cadmeia! in a time of perfect peace, and all the Greeks were indignant and the Spartans displeased at the act, and when especially those who were at variance with Agesilaiis angrily asked Phoebidas by whose command he had done this thing, thereby turning suspicion upon Agesilaiis, he did not scruple to come to the help of Phoebidas, and to say openly that they must consider whether the act itself was serviceable or not; for that which was advantageous to Sparta might well be done in- dependently, even if no one ordered it. And yet in his discourse he was always declaring that justice was the first of the virtues; for valour was of no use unless justice attended it, and if all men should be just, there would be no need of valour. And to those who said, “This is the pleasure of the Great King,’ he would say, “How is he greater than I unless he is also more just?’’, rightly and nobly thinking that justice must be the measure wherewith the relative greatness of kings is measured. And when, after the peace was concluded, the Great King sent him a letter proposing guest-friendship, he would not accept it, saying that the public friendship was enough, and that while that lasted there would be no need of a private one. Yet in his acts he no longer observed these opinions, but was often carried away by ambition and contentiousness, and _par- ticularly in his treatment of the Thebans. For he not only rescued Phoebidas from punishment, but

1 The citadel of Thebes. It was seized by Phoebidas in 383 B.c. (Xenophon, Hell. v. 2, 26 ff.).
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emevoev els auTny avadéfacbat TO adixnwa Kal
KaTEeXELY THY Kadpeiay du éautis, TOY dé m™pary-
parwoyv cal THS monuTelas “Apxiav kat Aecovriday
amodeifat Kupious, dv dv o PaBidas eiaArAOe Kal
xaténaBe THY ax poToAwy.
XXIV. "Hy peév odv evOds ex tovdtwv vrovola
PoiBidov ev epyov elvat, Botrevpa dé *Aynot-
Adouv TO TET pary WEVOV' ai oe VaTepov m pagers
Opodoyouperny emoingay THY aitiav. os yap
éféBadov ot QnBaior rH ppoupar Kal Thy To
nrevOépwaay, eyKahav avtois Stu tov ’Apyiav
kat tov Acovtiday atrextovecay, Epy@m peéev Tu-
pavvovs, oye be Todenap ous évras, éEnveyxe
TONEMLOV Tos QUTOUS. Kal KreouBporos HON
Bactrevov “Aynaimonsbos TeOvnKOTOS, eis Boto-
Tlay érréuhOn peta duvapews: o yap "Aynotnaos,
Os ern TeacapdKovta yeyovas ad’ 71Bns Kai
oTpareias exon adeow t bao TOV VOMMY, Epuye TV
oTparayiay * éxeivnv, aiaxuvopevos et PrLacioss
oALyov eum poo Oev brép puyddov TETONELNKDS,
avis ofOrjcerat OnBaiovs xaxds Tomy Sia Tovs
Tupavvous.
Hy dé ts Adxov Yhodpias ex THs: vmrevayTias
oTaaEws 7 'Aynoita@ TETAYMEVOS ev Gcomeais
apwoa rns, OUK ATOAMOS pev ovd adtNOTLpo0s avnp,
del & érridov padrov i) ppevev ayab av perros.
ovTOS émeOupav OVOMATOS peydndou, Kal tov Por-
Biday vopi Sev évooEov yeyoveva Kal meptBontov
amo Tov Tept OnBas TOMUNLATOS, éneiaOn TOAD
KadALOV elvat Kal Aap porepov eb TOV Hewpara
kataraBo. &° éavtovd Kal tav 'AOnvaiwy adé-
1 grparnylavy with Stephanus, Coraés, and S: ozparefay.

actually persuaded Sparta to assume responsibility for his iniquity and occupy the Cadmeia on its own account, besides putting the administration of Thebes into the hands of Archias and Leontidas, by whose aid Phoebidas had entered and seized the acropolis.

XXIV. Of course this gave rise at once to a
suspicion that while Phoebidas had done the deed,

Agesilaiis had counselled it ; and his subsequent acts brought the charge into general belief. For when the Thebans expelled the Spartan garrison and liberated their city,! he charged them with the murder of Archias and Leontidas, who were really tyrants, though polemarchs in name, and levied war upon them. And Cleombrotus, who was king now that Agesipolis was dead, was sent into Boeotia with an army ; for Agesilaiis, who had now borne arms for forty years, and was therefore exempt by law from military service, declined this command. He was ashamed, after having recently made war upon the Phliasians in behalf of their exiles,? to be seen now harrying the Thebans in the interests of their tyrants.°

Now, there was a certain Lacedaemonian named Sphodrias, of the party opposed to Agesilaiis, who had been appointed harmost at Thespiae. He lacked neither boldness nor ambition, but always abounded in hopes rather than in good judgement. This man, coveting a great name, and considering that Phoe- bidas had made himself famous far and near by his bold deed at Thebes, was persuaded that it would be a far more honourable and brilliant exploit for him to seize the Peiraeus on his own account and rob the

1 In 379 B.c., with the help of the Athenians (Xenophon, Hell. v. 4, 2-14). Cf. the Pelopidas, ix.-xiii.

2 In 380-379 B.c. (Xenophon, Hell. v. 3, 13-25).

5 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. v. 4, 13.

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F 2

Noto THY Oaddaccav, éx ys ampocdoxynras
4 émehOwv. Déyouat b€ TodTO wnxydvnyua yevérOar
tov wept IleXomriday nai Mérwva Bowwrapyav.
vtréteuav yap avOpwTovs AaKkwvitery Tpoc-
Totoupévous, of Tov Yhodpiay émaivovvtTes Kal
peyaruvovtes ws Epyou tTHALKOUTOU povoy ator,
éripav Kai tapwpunoe averécOar mpakiv adixov
bey opoiws éxeivn Kal trapdvopov, ToApns Sé Kal
4 > a / e / \ > \ > A
5 TUYNS evded yevopernv. mwepa yap abtov ev 7

/ 4
@piacip medio xatédaBe nal xatédapwev éd-
TigavTa vuKTos mpocpi€ew TO Iletpare?> Kal das
ad iepav tivwv *EXevowd0ev idovtas Néyovat
dpi~at kai mepupoBovs yevéoOat Tovs otpatiwtas.
> \ \ A lA 3g / ¢ 3 A a
autos 66 Tov Opdaous ékérrecev, ws ovKétt ANabeiv
a \ a
jv, Kai tia Bpaxeiay aprrayny Oéuevos aicxypas
+) ’ sQ7 > \ 4 b \
6 dveyxwpnoe xal ado~ws eis Tas Deomids. é« 5é
4 4 \ > A 5] 4, ?
ToUToU KaTHyopot pev érréudhOnoav eis Yrdaprny €&
"AOnvav, edpov S€ Katnyopias! pndev él tov
Shodpiav Seouévous tovs apyovtas, AAA Oavdrou
Kpiaty avT@ tTpoetpnKotas, tv éxeivos wrropévery
amréyvw, poBovpevos tHv opyny tev ToNTOV
> , \ ’ , ,
aicxuvopevwv tovs ‘AOPnvatovs cal Bovropévov
cuvadixetobar Soxeiv, iva mn cuvadixeiv Sonactv.
XXV. Elyev ody viov 6 Yhodpias Krewvupor,
A /
ov Tmaidos évTos étTs Kal Kadod thy dw *Apyi-
¢ 3 Ul a , eA ww \
dapos 0 ‘AynotAaou Tov Bactdews vios ijpa. Kat
TOTE TUYNYOVLA Mey WS ElKOsS aUT@” KivduvEevorTL
1 xarnyoplas with S: xarnydpwr.
2 &s elxds abrg with S; other MSS. as ecixds hv: aitg.
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Athenians of access to the sea, attacking them un- expectedly by land. It is said, too, that the scheme was devised by Pelopidas and Melo, chief magistrates at Thebes.1 They privily sent men to him who pretended to be Spartan sympathizers, and they, by praising and exalting Sphodrias as the only man worthy to undertake so great a task, urged and incited him into an act which was no less lawless and unjust than the seizure of the Cadmeia, though it was essayed without courage or good fortune. For full daylight overtook him while he was yet in the Thriasian plain, although he had hoped to attack the Peiraeus by night. It is said also that his soldiers saw a light streaming from certain sanctuaries at Eleusis, and were filled with shuddering fear. Their commander himself lost all his courage, since con- cealment was no longer possible, and after ravaging the country a little, retired disgracefully and in- gloriously to Thespiae. Hereupon men were sent from Athens to Sparta to denounce Sphodrias. They found, however, that the magistrates there had no need of their denunciation, but had already indicted Sphodrias on a capital charge. This charge he de- termined not to meet, fearing the wrath of his countrymen, who were ashamed in the presence of the Athenians, and wished to be thought wronged with them, that they might

not be thought wrong- doers with Sphodrias.

XXV. Now Sphodrias had a son, Cleonymus, who was still a boy and fair to look upon, and of whom Archidamus, the son of King Agesilaiis, was en- amoured. In this crisis Archidamus naturally sympathized with his favourite because of the peril in

1 Their object was to embroil Athens and Sparta (Xenophon, Hell. v. 4, 20-24).

jTept Tov watpos, auumpatreay dé havepws Kai
BonOeiv ovx elyev: Hv yap o Xhodpias ex Tav
Stahopwv tov 'Aynotdkdov. tov bé Krewvipou
TpooeNOovTos avT@ Kal peta Senoews Kat Saxpvwv
éyruyovtos, Strws tov 'Aynoidaoy evvouy Trapd-
oXN, padoTa yap éxeivov avtois poBepov elvat,
Tpeis pev Téocapas Huépas aidovmevos Tov
matépa Kai dedims ciwmh tapnKxorovOe TédosS
5é THs Kpioews eyyds ovaons éTOApNoeEY eEtTrEty
\ N 3 A 4 , b "
mpos tov 'AynotAaov ott KrAewvuyos avtov
A e
Senbein Trept Tod matpos. o d€'Aynaidaos eldas
n e
épavra tov "Apyidapov ovK éravoev: Hv yap o
Kreovupos evOvs éx traidwv éridofos, eb tus Kat
" > A " "a b] \ > # 4
adXos, avnp érecOat otrovdaios. ov pny évédwKée
Tl TOTE dalihls h diravOpwrrov édktricar Seopevp
TO Tatot, oxévrecOar 5é dyoas 6 TL KAAS ExoL
A 4 €
Kal mpetovtws, amirOev. aidovpevos ody oO
b 4 9g / \ 4 a 4
Apxidapos é&éXertre TO Tpoctévat TO KrNewvupo,
KaiTrep etwO@s TOAAAKLS TOUTO THS Hwépas ToLEty
mpotepov. éx 6€ TovTOV KaKElvoL Ta KATA TOV
Sdodptav padrr\govy améyvwcav, axpt ob TaV
' 4 lé 9 A "4 4
AynotXaou pirwv "Etupoxdris év tive KotvoXoyia
pos avToVS aTreyvpVaTE THY yvOunY TOD Aynat-
QA
AXdou: TO pev yap épyov ws Em pardtota eye
avTov, GAXAwS ye UNV avdpa Tov Upodpiav ayabov

ra] cia
nyeicOat Kal Thy ToAW opav ToLovTwY oTpa-
A e
tiwtav Seopévnv. Ttovtovs yap o ‘Aynainaos
EKAOTOTE TOUS AOYOUS ErroLEiTO TrEpi THS Sixns, TO
mast yapiverOar Bovdrdmuevos, wate Kal Tov
Knreavupov ev0vds aicbdvecOat tiv amovdny tod
> 4 N A 4 \ fe) ‘4
ApyiSapou Kat Tovs dirous tovs tod Xdodpiou
A a ‘ /
Oappodvtas 5n BonOetv. tv Sé Kal herotexvos
e 93 > 4
o Aynoiraos Stadepovtws: Kal qepi éxelvou To
7°

which his father stood, but he was unable to aid and assist him openly, since Sphodrias was one of the opponents of Agesilaiis. But when Cleonymus came to him in tears and begged him to mollify Agesilaiis, from whom he and his father had most to fear, for three or four days he was restrained by awe and fear from saying anything to Agesilaiis as he followed him about; but finally, when the trial was near at hand, he plucked up courage to tell him that Cleony- mus had begged him to intercede for his father. Now Agesilaiis, although he knew of the love of Archidamus, had not puta stop to it, since Cleonymus, from lis early boyhood, had given special promise of becoming an earnest and worthy man. At this time, however, he did not permit his son to expect any advantage or kindness in answer to his prayer ; he merely said, as he went away, that he would consider what was the honourable and fitting course in the matter. Archidamus was therefore mortified, and ceased to visit Cleonymus, although before this he had done so many times a day. As a consequence, the friends of Sphodrias also were more in despair of his case, until Etymocles, one of the friends of Agesilaiis, conferred with them and disclosed the mind of the king, namely, that he blamed to the utmost what Sphodrias had done, but yet thought him a brave man, and saw that the city needed just such soldiers. For this was the way in which Agesi- laiis always spoke about the trial, in his desire to gratify his son, so that Cleonymus was at once aware of the zealous efforts of Archidamus in his behalf, and the friends of Sphodrias had courage at last to come to his help. It is a fact also that Agesilatis was excessively fond of his children, and a story is told of his joining in their childish play. Once,

THs maLdlas Néyouctv, Ste puxpots Tots maLdtots
@ , \ a tf ¥
ovo. KddNapov weptBeRnKkas Botrep tamov oiKor

/ 9 A € 4 A ‘4
cuverrattev, ofOels 5é v7r0 Twos THY dirwv Tap-
exdrge pndevt dpdcat, ply av nal adtos matip
Taidwy yévnTas.
XXVI. ’ArrorAvOévtos 5 tod Xdhodpiov, nai

A ? , e DJ 4 \ /
tav AOnvaiwr, as érvOovto, mpos WoAELOV Tpa-
Topevav, apddpa Kaxos o 'Aynoidaos HKovce,
db: émiupiay atoTov Kal tadapiadn Soxav
éurrodwv yeyovévas Kpioes Stxata, kal THY TWOAW
Tapaitioy ameipyacbat tTapavounuatwy Tnr«-
Koutwy eis tous “EXAnvas. eel b€ tov Kyre-
ouBporov ovy éwpa mpdOupoy Gvta TrodEuety Tots
@nBaios, oitw 59 xaipew tov vomov édoas @
mpooOev éypnto mepl THs oTpaTelas, avTos els
Bowwtiav évéBarev 7dn Kal KaKxds érolet Tous
@nBaiovs kai wadw avrémacyev, OoTEe Kal TPw-
Oévros avtod mote tov ‘Avtradxiday eitrety:
“"H xara ta didacKna\a tapa OnBatiwv dro-
NapPRavets, 7 Bovropévous pndé emictapévous
, 4 29 a \ 4 /
payecOar Sdidakas.” te yap dvtt OnBatovs
avrovs éauvT@y ToNEmtKwWTAaTOUS TOTEe ryevérOat
gaci, tais woddais otpateias tov Aaxedat-
povlwy ér avtovs @aoTEp eyyupvacapévors. S10
kat Auxodpyos 0 qwadatos év tais Kadovpévats
Tptol pytpais ametre py WoAAdKIs ETL TOUS
avTovs otpatevev, Strws pn Torepety pavOa-
YWOL.
"Hy &€ cai tots cuppadyous tov Aaxedatpovior

when they were very small, he bestrode a stick, and
was playing horse with them in the house, and when
he was spied doing this by one of his friends, he
entreated him not to tell any one, until he himself
should be a father of children.
XXVI. But after Sphodrias was acquitted,! and the Athenians, on learning of it, were inclined to go to war, Agesilaiis was very harshly criticized. It was thought that, to gratify an absurd and childish desire, he had opposed the course of justice in a trial, and made the city accessory to great crimes against the Greeks. Besides, when he saw that his colleague Cleombrotus was little inclined to make war upon the

Thebans, he waived the exemption by law which he had formerly claimed in the matter of the expedition, and presently led an incursion into Boeotia himself,? where he inflicted damage upon the Thebans, and in his turn met with reverses, so that one day when he was wounded, Antalcidas said to him: “ Indeed, this is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teaching them how to fight when they did not wish to do it, and did not even know how.” For the Thebans are said to have been really more war-like at this time than ever before, owing to the many expeditions which the Lacedaemonians made against them, by which they were virtually schooled in arms. And Lycurgus of old, in one of his three so-called ‘‘rhetras,” forbade his people to make frequent expeditions against the same foes, in order that those foes might not learn how to make war.

Moreover, the allies of the Lacedaemonians were

1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. v. 4, 24-34.

2 According to Xenophon (Hell. v. 4, 35), he was asked to do so by the Lacedaemonians, who preferred him to Cleom-

brotus as a leader. This was in 378 B.c.
3 Cf. the Lycurgus, xiii. 6.

-émaxOns o ‘Aynotraos, ws de’ ovdev éyeAnpa
Snpoctov, GAAa Puyo tive Kai A ea TOUS
@nBaiouvs atrorécat SnTav. ovdey ovy _ edeyov
Sedpevor pOeiper Bar Seipo Kaxeloe Kal’ ExaoTtov
éviavTor, OALyous ToaobTou ovvaxodovbobvtes.
évda Oé 57 eyeTae TOV "Aynaidaop, eFereyEar
Bovdopevov avtav To TAOS, 7 00¢ pnXavnca-
Oa. mavras exédevoe Kabioas TOUS TULLaXoUS
per aN ov d.va,pepirywevous, idia dé TOUS Aaxe-
Satpovious éd’ éauTov. cira éxmpuTTe TOUS Kepa-
pels avicracbat Tm parov: as Oé avérTnoay ovrTot,
devTepov exnpuT Te TOUS Xarxeis, elta TEKTOVAS
Epes Kat oixodopous Kal TOV addov TEXVOY
éxdorny. mavres ovv Orjiyou Sely avérrnoay of
TULMAXOL, TOV bé Aaxedatpoviov ovdeis: amei-
pyro yap avtots TeXYNY epydterBar Kat pavO ave
Bavavoov. oUTw on yehdoas O “Aynatraos,
s ‘Opare,” elmev, “@ dvdpes, 6 oo@ wrelovas buav
TTPATLOTAS €xTrELTTO LEV mpeis.
XXVII. "Ev 8é Meydpors, OTE THY oTpariay
amrijyev eX OnBar, ava Baivovtos auToU ™ pos TO
apxelov els THY axporrohw, ond pa Kai movov

toxupov éraBe 70 Uryes oKéXos' &k 6é TOUTOU
Sroynabev pectov aimaros édofe yeryoveva, Kal
preyywovnv bmepBaddovaav mapetxev. tarpon é
TLvOsS Lupaxovaiov THY UTO TE ohUP@ preBa
oXacAaVTOS, ai pev ayn doves éEAn€ay, aipartos
d€ oAXod Pepomevov Kat péov ros GVETLTXETOS
etroyruxia TONM} Kal KivOuvos ofvs am' auras
TeprerTy TOV 'Aynothaov. ov pV GNA TOTE ye
THVv popav Tov aiparos éravae: Kal Kopiabels ets
1 Cf. the Lycurgus, xxiv. 2.
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offended at Agesilaiis, because, as they said, it was not upon any public ground of complaint, but by reason of some passionate resentment of his own, that he sought to destroy the Thebans. Accordingly, they said they had no wish to be dragged hither and thither to destruction every year, they themselves so many, and the Lacedaemonians, with whom they followed, so few. It was at this time, we are told, that Agesilaiis, wishing to refute their argument from numbers, devised the following scheme. He ordered all the allies to sit down by themselves promiscuously, and the Lacedaemonians apart by themselves. Then his herald called upon the potters to stand up first, and after them the smiths, next, the carpenters in their turn, and the builders, and so on through all the handicrafts. In response, almost all the allies rose up, but not a man of the Lacedaemonians ; for they were forbidden to learn or practise a manual art.! Then Agesilaiis said with a laugh : "You see, O men, how many more soldiers than you we are sending out." ,

XXVII. But in Megara, when he was leading his army back from Thebes," as he was going up to the senate-house in the acropolis, he was seized with a cramp and violent pain in his sound leg, which then swelled up, appeared to be congested, and showed signs of excessive inflammation. As soon asa certain Syracusan physician had opened a vein below the ankle, the pains relaxed, but much blood flowed and could not be checked, so that Agesilaiis was very faint from its loss, and in dire peril of his life. At last, however, the flow of blood was stopped, and Agesilaiis was carried to Sparta, where he remained

2 From a second incursion into Boeotia, made in 377 B.c. (Xenophon, Hell. v. 4, 47-55; 58).
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Aaxedaipova ToAvY Xpovoy éaxyev appwoTas Kat
T pos Tas oTpateias advvatws.
"Ep 5€ T@ ypovm TovT@ TOAAA cuveBn wraic-
para Tos Zmapridrais Kal Kata viv Kat Kara
Oddarray: av iy TO Trept Teyvpas péyla top, d7rov
mp@Tov ex mapaTagews kparnbevres v6 @n-

Bator nrTnOncav. _okev ovv maou Gécbat mpos
WwavTas elpnvny Kal cuvnrdov aro THS “Ed a605
m péa Reus ets Aaxedaipova TOUT OMEVOL Tas da-
Avoes. av els nv ’Ervapevovéeas, avnp évdofos
emt Taoeia Kat prrocogia, oTparayias bé melpav
ow SeSwxws. oTos opawy TOUS adddous dmravras
UTOKATAKALVOMEVOUS TO vAynciiay, povos éxpn-
oaToO ppovnpare Tappnatay EXOvTL, Kal SieE Ne
Aoyov, oux brép OnBatwv, GAA bTrép Tis
‘E AAdbos 000 KoLvov, Tov pep TONE LOV arrodel-
KVU@V aifovra THY Lmdprnv ef av drravres ot
octal KAKOS TaoxXovcL, THY dé etpnuny ioornte
Kat TO Suxaip KnTaaDat Kedevov: OUTM yap avTiy
dtapevety, icwv amdaytov YEVOMEDOY.
XXVIII. ‘Opav ouv 7) “Aynalraos Umepguas
dryauévous Kal T poaexXovTas auTe TOUS "EdAnvas,
npornoev eb vopiter Sixacov elva Kat lcov av-
Tovopeiabar THv Bowwriav. avrepwrnaavTos be
Tou ‘Errapevvavdou TAXU Kat TeDappnxorws el
KaKELvOS oleTat dtkavov avrovopeta Oat THY Aakw-
viKnY, avarndnaas 0 O “Aynaihaos per’ opyis éxé-
Nevoe every capas avTov el THY Bowwriav arpin-
olv avTovopov. To dé auTo TOUTO Wadsy TOD
’Ezrapecvovdou dyoavtos, et Thy Aaxwvxny adin-

1 This battle, fought in 375 B.c., is not mentioned by Xenophon, but is described by Plutarch in the Pelopidas,

for a long time in a weak condition and unable to take the field.

During this time the Spartans met with many reverses both by land and sea, the greatest of which was at Tegyra, where for the first time they were overpowered by the Thebans in a pitched battle.! There was, accordingly, a general sentiment in favour of a general peace, and ambassadors from all Hellas came together at Sparta to settle its terms.? One of these ambassadors was Epaminondas, a man of re- pute for culture and philosophy, although he had not yet given proof of capacity as a general. This man, seeing the rest all cringing before Agesilaiis, alone had the courage of his convictions, and made a speech, not in behalf of Thebes, his native city, but of all Greece in common, declaring that war made Sparta great at the expense of the sufferings of all the other states, and urging that peace be made on terms of equality and justice, for it would endure only when all parties to it were made equal.

XXVIII. Agesilaiis, accordingly, seeing that the Greeks all listened to Epaminondas with the greatest attention and admiration, asked him whether he considered it justice and equality that the cities of Boeotia

should be independent of Thebes. Then when Epaminondas promptly and boldly asked him in reply whether he too thought it justice for the cities of Laconia to be independent of Sparta, Agesi- laiis sprang from his seat and wrathfully bade him say plainly whether he intended to make the cities of Boeotia independent. And when Epaminondas answered again in the same way by asking whether

chapters xvi. and xvii., doubtless on the authority of Ephorus (ef. Diodorus, xv. 81, 2).
* In 371 B.c. (Xenophon, Hell. vi. 3, 3-20).
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ow auTovopon, ovr TPAXEWS éaxev o 'AynaoiXaos
Kal THY mpopac ww Hyams ev Os evOus eEareipae
TO TOV OnSaier évopa TIS ELPHVNS KAL TrpoELTrEty
TOE HOV avtois: tous dé \addovs if EdAnvas dianr-
Aayevras éx€éevo ev amvevat, Ta pev AKETTA THS
ELpNVNS, 7a 5é ane ra TOU Trohepou Tovouvras.
Epryov yap nv macas éxxabapar cat Ssardoae tas
dp troyias.
"Eruye d€ Kat' exeivov Tov Xpovoy év Poxetow
ov o Kr«opSporos peta Suvdpews. evOvs ovdv
Tre Tov ot epopor KehevovTes avrov ért On-
Batous a dyey TO oTpdTevpa* Kat TOvS TULpaXoUS
wepitréutrovtes HO postov, an poOupous pev OvtTas
Kat Bapuvopevous Tov ToAEnov, ovTw dé Bap-
podvras avTinéyerv ovdé areOeiv tois Aaxedat-
poviors. TOANOY be onpelwv pox Onpav ryevo-
péveo, @S €v TO tept "Exrapewavdou yeypamras,
Kal Tl poGcov Tob Adxwvos évavtiovpévov ™ pos
Thy aoTpateiav, ovK avixev 0 'Aynaoidaos, GAN
e€érpage TOY TONELOY, edmiSov avrois ev THs
"EAAdSdos GANS Urapxovens, exoTrovday dé TaV
OnBatwv YEvOMEVOOY, KaLpov elvas Stany Aa Bel
Tap avTov. Onrot dé TO ov Opyn padov q
Aoyou~ yevecOar THV oTpareiay exetvyy 0 KaL-
pos. TH yap. TeTpdde émi Séxa Tov Licpopo-
pt@vos pnvos emoujnTavTo Tas o7rovoas év Aaxe-
Saipovt, TH Sé TERT TD Tov 'ExatopBasivos 7 HTTN-
Onoav év Acverpors nuEpa@Vv eixoct Siaryevouévany.
améBavov dé xtrwoe Aaxedatpovien kal Kreou-
Bporos 0 Bactreds nal repli adrov ot KpdtioTot

1 According to one ae (loc. cit.), who makes no mention of Epaminondas, the Thebans had signed as Thebans, but on

he intended to make the cities of Laconia independent, Agesilaiis became violent and was glad of the pretext for at once erasing the name of the Thebans from the treaty of peace and declaring war upon them.! The rest of the Greeks, however, he ordered to depart, now that they were reconciled with each other, leaving differences which could be healed to the terms of peace, and those which could not, to war, since it was a hard task to settle and remove all their disputes.

At this time Cleombrotus was in Phocis with an army. The ephors therefore immediately sent him orders to lead his forces against Thebes. They also sent round a summons for an assembly of their allies, who were without zeal for the war and thought it a great burden, but were not yet bold enough to oppose or disobey the Lacedaemonians. And although many baleful signs appeared, as I have written in my Life of Epaminondas,? and though Prothoiis the Laconian made opposition to the expedition, Agesilaiis would not give in, but brought the war to pass. He thought that since all Hellas was on their side, and the Thebans had been excluded from the treaty, it was a favourable time for the Spartans to take vengeance on them. But the time chosen for it proves that this expedition was made trom anger more than from

careful calculation. For the treaty of peace was

made at Lacedaemon on the fourteenth of the month Scirophorion, and on the fifth of Hecatombaeon the Lacedaemonians were defeated at Leuctra,—an inter- val of twenty days. In that battle a thousand Lacedaemonians fell, besides Cleombrotus the king, and

the next day wished to substitute Boeotians for Thebans. This Agesilatis refused to permit. It would have recognized the supremacy of Thebes in Boeotia. * Not extant.

6 Tov Lraptiatav. év ols Kal Krewovupov pact
TOV Xpodpiou TOV Kaov Tpis wecovta po TOU
Bacrréws Kat trocavtakis éEavactavta Kai payopevov Tois O@nBatos amrobaveiv.
XXIX. LupBavros S€ trois Te Aaxedatpoviors

TTALTWATOS an poo Soxjrov Kal Tous OnBaiors
Tapa Sofay EUTUYT| MATOS olov ov yeyovev arrows
“EAAnot ™ pos "EdAqvas aryaviTapevors, ovbdey dy
Tes HT TOV eli oce THS aperiis Kal Hyaa On THY
2 HTTnMéevnv TOAL 1 THY YiK@TAY. oO peEv yap
Fevodav gyoe TOY ayadav avdpav é éyew Te Kat
Tas ép olvp Kal Tad pavas Kal Siar pias
aftouynpovevtoy, opOas “Neyo éote S€ ovx T-
TOV, GAXAa Kal padrov af.ov xatavoeiv Kal Oca-
cat Tov ayabav & Tapa Tas TUXas mpatrover
kal Aéyouet Seva xnpovobvres. ETuye pev yap y
mods éoptny dyovoa xal Eévwv ovoa perry
yuuvorrarbiat yap Hoav arywvilowevery xopay ev
T@ Jedtpy’ Taphoav Cy amo Aevetpwv ot THY
3 ouppopay amaryyEXovres. ot 5€ Epopor, KaiTmep
evOus 6 ovTos Katapavois & 6Tt SuepOaprar : Ta mpay-
pata Kal Thy apyny aTrohw@réKac wv, ovTE Yopov
eFen Oety elacav OUTE TO ox Tpa THs copThs peTa-
Banetv THY TOMY, anra Kar’ oiKiay Tav Tedvew-
TOY Tots T™poa7jkouar Ta dvopara TEU aVTES,
avrol Ta mepl THV Géav Kal TOV ayava TOV Nopev
4 Em pat Tov. dpa é 7 mMEpa pavepav 76n yeyovoToy
Tact Tov Te cwlopéevwv wal TOY TeOvewtTov, of
pev TaY TeOvemTrwv tratépes Kal Kndectal Kal
otKetot xataBaivovres els ayopav adA2Aous ébe-
Evobvro Autrapol Ta Tm poownTra, ppov7jparos pearol
Kat yous, ot 5€ TaY cwlopévwr, WaoTep emt
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around him the mightiest of the Spartans. Among these, they say, was Cleonymus, the beautiful son ot Sphodrias,! who was thrice struck down in front of his king, as many times rose again to his feet, and died there, fighting the Thebans.

XXIX. Now that the Lacedaemonians had met with an unexpected reverse, and the Thebans with an unlooked-for success surpassing that of any other Hellenes at strife with Hellenes, the high conduct of the defeated city was no less to be envied and admired than that of the victorious city. Xenophon says 2? that in the case of noble men, there is much that is worth recording even in what they say and do at their wine and in their sports, and he is right ; and it is no less, but even more, worth while to observe carefully the decorum with which noble men speak and act in the midst of adversity. The city was holding a festival and was full of strangers ; for the “ gymnopaediae”’ were in progress and choirs of boys were competing with one another in the theatre ; then came the messengers of calamity from Leuctra. But the ephors, although it was at once apparent that their cause was ruined and their supremacy lost, would not allow a

choral performance to be omitted, nor the fashion of the festival to be changed by the city, but after sending the names of the slain warriors to the homes of their kindred, they themselves con- ducted the spectacle and the choral contests to a close. On the next morning also, now that every- one knew who had survived the battle and who had been slain, the fathers and kindred and friends of the slain went down into the market-place and greeted one another with bright faces, full of pride and exultation ; while the friends of the survivors, as if

1 Cf. chapter xxv. 1. 2 Symposium, i. 1.

mévOet, peTa THY yuVvatKav olxor SréTpiBov, ei Sé
Tis Um' avayKns TpoédNOot, Kal oxHpaTt Kal dwv7
kal Bréupate tamewos épaiveto Kai cuvertan-
pévos. rt dé waAXov Ta yuvatka@y ely Hv Kal
mubécOar thy pev CovTa Tpocdeyopévny viov amd
THs paxyns xatndh Kal ovwrndyjy, tas dé Ta
TemTTWKEVaL AEyouévwY Ev TE TOls LEpois EVvOUS
dvactpepopévas, Kal mpos aGAAnAaS tapas Kal
dirotiuws Badifovcas.
XXX. OD pay adAQ TOs TOAXOIs, as Aadi-
CTAVTO Mev OL TUppayYolL, TWpoTEdoKGaTO O€ vErLKN-
cas 'Errapewovdas xal peyadodpovay éuBareiv
eis TleAorrovvnoor, évvora TOV ypnopay évéTece
TOTE, Tpos THY YwAOTHTA Tov 'Aynatddov, Kal
SvcOupia modAn Kal mroia pds TO Oeiov, ws
dua tovTo mpattovons KaK@s THs ToAEws, OTL
Tov aptimoéa tis Bactrelas éxBaXovtes etAovTo
YoXAOV Kal Temnpwpévoy: 6 TavTos paddov av-
Tovs edidacKke PpdlecOa Kai phuArdtrecBar TO
Saipoviov. d2a 5é THY GAAnV Sbvapty avTod Kat
apetnyv kat dofav ov povov éypa@vto Bacirel kal
STPATNYP TOV KATA TOAELOV, ANAA Kal TOV TOAL-
TLK@Y atropiav tatp@ Kal SiaitnTH, Tois év TH
paxn Katadedudoactv, ods avtol tpécavtas
dvopalovaty, OxvoovTes TAS eK TOV VOmwY aTimias
mpocaye, TodXois ovo. Kati Suvatois, poBov-
Hevol vewTEplopoy am' avTavY. ov yap povov
apxXhs ateipyovtat twaons, adrAa Kal Sobvai tiv
TouTw@y yuvaixa xal raBeiv adokov éote tale
5é¢ 6 BovAopevos adtrovs Tav évytuyxavoyvTwY. of

in mourning, tarried at home with the women, and if one of them was obliged to appear in public, his garb and speech and looks betokened his humiliation and abasement.!_ And a still greater difference was to be seen (or heard about) in the women; she who expected her son back from the battle alive was dejected and silent, but the mothers of those reported to have fallen immediately frequented the temples, and visited one another with an air of gladness and pride.

XXX. The greater number, however, when their allies were falling away from them and it was ex- pected that Epaminondas, in all the pride of a conqueror, would invade Peloponnesus, fell to thinking of the oracles,? in view of the lameness of Agesilaiis, and were full of dejection and con- sternation in respect to the divine powers, believing that their city was in an evil plight because they had dethroned the sound-footed king and chosen instead a lame and halting one,—the very thing which the deity was trying to teach them carefully to avoid. And yet otherwise he had such power and valour and fame that they not only continued to employ him as king and general in matters pertaining to war, but also as physician and arbiter in their civil perplexities. For instance, upon those who had shewn cowardice in the battle, whom they themselves call “ tresantes, or run-anays, they hesitated to inflict the disabilities required by the laws, since the men were numerous and powerful, for fear that they might stir up a revolution. For such men are not only debarred from every office, but intermarriage with any of them is a disgrace, and any one who meets them may strike them if he pleases. Moreover, they are

1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. vi. 4, 16. 2 Cf. chapter iii. 4 f.

de xaprepovar meptiovres auxpnpol Kal TaTrewwoil, TpiBwvas Te | ™ poo eppappEvous Xpoparos Barrod popovat, Kal fupdvras Hépos THs UmnVNS, HEpos dé Tpepovar. Secvov ouy Hy TOLOUTOUS é€v TH TOAEL Teptopay ToAXOUS ouK OdLryoor Seouevy oTpaTto- TOD. Kal vopob érny aipobyras TOV "Aynaidaoy. o 56 pnre mpoadeis TL pare apehov pnre peTa- yparpas eta NO ev els TO ™AHOos TOV Aaxepas- povioy" Kal pncas 5Te TOUS vopous Set onMEpov éav cabevoewy, € éx bé THS _on_LEpov THEpas Kupious elvat 7 pos TO NoLTroy, aya TOUS TE vomoUsS TH ToAEL Kal TOUS avdpas erruTipous epurate. Bov- ANopevos Sé THY mapotoav abupiay Kal KaTH- petay apereiv Tov vévy évéBarev eis "Apkadiar,

Kal paxny bev i ioxupas épvrdtato suvarpas Tots
évaytions, éheoy 5é TroAiyyny Tiva TeV Mavtivéwy
Kal THY Y@pav emrdpapey, ehadporépay érroinae
Tais eAmiot Kal dt THY TOMY, WS OV TaVTa-
Tact aTreyvosnevny.
XXXI. "Ex 6€ TovTou Tapiy els THY Aakw-
YLKnY O "Erapewavdas peTa TOV ouppaxer, ovr
éXdTTrovas & EXoov TET pAKio wUpLoV omhurév. TON
Aol dé Kal prot kat avottAot TWpos dpraryny
auvnkorov0ouy, wate pupiabas ema TOU oUp-
TAVTOS GxAov ouvera Baneiy Els THY Aaxovicny.
Hy pe 57) Xpovos ouK ENATTMV eT@V éfaxoctov
ag' ov KAT@KOUY THY Aakedaipova Awpeeis: ev dé
TOUT® mavt) TOTE TP@TOV apOncar évy TH Ywpa
TONE ULOL, ™ poTEpov 5é ovdels eToApmnoev: arra
adgwrov Kal a@ixrov ovcav _&MBarortes émup-
moXouy Kal Sinpmatov a axpt Tob _ToTapov Kal Tis
Toews, wndevos émeftovTos. 6 yap "Aynaidaos
84

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obliged to go about unkempt and squalid, wearing cloaks that are patched with dyed stuffs, half of their beards shaven, and half left to grow. It was a serious matter, therefore, to allow many such men in the city, when she lacked not a few soldiers. So they chose Agesilaiis as a law-gtver for the occasion. And he, without adding to or subtracting from or changing the laws in any way, came into the assembly of the Lacedaemonians and said that the laws must be allowed to sleep for that day, but from that day on must be in sovereign force. By this means he at once saved the laws for the city and the men from infamy. Then, wishing to remove the discourage- ment and dejection which prevailed among. the young men, he made an incursion into Arcadia,! and though he studiously avoided joining battle with the enemy, he took a small town of the Mantineans and overran their territory, and thus lightened and gladdened the expectations of his city, which felt that its case was not wholly desperate.

XXXI. After this,2 Epaminonda$ entered Laconia with his allies, having no fewer than forty thousand men-at-arms. Many light armed and unarmed troops also followed him for the sake of plunder, so that a horde of seventy thousand, all told, made this in- cursion into Laconia. For a period of no less than six hundred years the Dorians had been living in Lacedaemon, and this was the first time in all that period that enemies had been seen in the country ; before this, none had ventured there. But now they burst into an unravaged and inviolate land, and burned and plundered as far as the river and the city, and no one came out against them. For Agesilaiis

1 In 370 z.c. (Xenophon, Hell. vi. 5, 10-21).

2 In the same year, after Agesilaiis had returned and disbanded his forces. ;

oux ela Tpos TodovTov, ws dnot Beoropros, "bedua kal KrAvdwva Trodémou"™ pdyecOat TOUS Aaxedatpovious, GANA THS WoAEwWS TA béoa Kab Kuparata Tois omAirass TEple TELpapevos éxa.p-Tépes Tas areas Kal Tas peyaravyias TOV O7Baiwr, T poKahoupevay éKELvOV ovowactl Kal Siapayer Oar Tepl THs KwOpas KENEVOVTOP, Os TOV KaKav airs éoTev exkavoas TOV TONEHOV. ovx HT TOV d€ TovTwY éedvTrour TOV 'Ayyatdaov ob KaTa THY TOALY BopuBor Kai Kpavyal Kal Siadpopat TOV TE mpea Butépay Svcavacxeroutar Ta ylvo-peva Kal TOV YUVaLK@Y ov Suvapévov nouxatery, andra TauTamacw exppovey ova av ™ pos TE THY Kpavyny Kal TO TUp TOV ToAELioV. nVvia bé Kat to THs So0&ns avrov, OTe THV TOMY peyiorny TaparaBov Kal duvatwararny, éwpa oUvEerTAan-pévov avTHS TO afiopa Kal TO abynma KeKOOU-pévov, Kal avTos € Hoare TOANGKIS, ELT OV StL yuvn Adxawa KATTVOV ovx éwpaxe TONE LOD. Aéyerar 5é Kal 'Avrarxisas, 'AOnvaiov TLvOS apdia BytovvTos vmép avdpeias Tpos avrov Kat el7rovtos, "Hyeis pévTOL TOAAAKLS vas amo TOU Knydicov edu@Eaper," UmoTuyeiv' "ANN Tyets ye ovdémroTeE buas amo Tou Evpwra." Tapa-TANTS 5é xal mpos Tov "Apyeiov a amexpivaro 7 TOV LOnNMOTE pov Ma 2maptiatéy O pev yap elrre® " IloAAot UwOv év TH "Apyonids Keivrat, o 6é arr nyt noe: ""Tuav S€ ye ovdels ev tH Aa-KOVLK.

XXXII. Tore pévToe TOV "Avtadxiday hac Epopo ¢ ovTa TOUS maioas els Kv@npa vrexOeaIax, mepipoBov yevouevov. o b€ 'Aynaidaos, ém-

would not suffer the Lacedaemonians to fight against such a " billowy torrent of war," to use the words of Theopompus, but surrounded the central and most commanding parts of the city with his men-at-arms,

while he endured the boastful threats of the Thebans, who called upon him by name and bade him come out and fight for his country, since he had caused her misfortunes by lighting up the flames of war. But this was not the worst. Agesilaiis was still more harassed by the tumults and shrieks and running _ about throughout the city, where the elder men were enraged at the state of affairs, and the women were unable to keep quiet, but were utterly beside themselves when they heard the shouts and saw the fires of the enemy.! He was also distressed at the thought of what his fame would be, because he had taken command of the city when she was greatest and most powerful, and now saw her reputation lowered, and her proud boast made empty, which boast he himself also had often made, saying that no Spartan woman had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's fires. It is said also that Antalcidas, when an Athenian was disputing with him over the valour of the two peoples and said, " Yet we have often driven you away from the Cephisus,' replied: " But we have never driven you away from the Eurotas." And a similar retort was made by a Spartan of lesser note to the Argive who said, " Many of you lie buried in the lands of Argos" ; the Spartan answered : " But not a man of you in the lands of Laconia."'

XXXII. Now, however, they say that Antalcidas, who was an ephor, secretly sent his children away to Cythera, so full of fear was he. But Agesilaiis, when

1 «<The women could not endure even the sight -of the

smoke, since they had never set eyes upon an enemy"
(Xenophon, Hell. vi. 5, 28). 8
7
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NELPOVVT@V ScaSatvew Tov TmoTapov TOV Tohepiooy
kai BiafeoOar 7 pos THY TOALD, eKMT OY Ta hora
TapeTagato mpd THY mecwv Kal Iynrav. éppun
5é TeiaTos éavTou Kal péyiaTos TOTE O Evp a
Tas, Xeovery ryevopevwny, Kar TO pedpa padDov v6
Puxporntos 7 TPAXUTNTOS eryeveTo oKANpOV | kab
xaderrov TOIS @nBaiors. Topevopevov dé mpwrov
THs pararyyos TOV 'Errapewovbay édeixvucay TiVveEs
TO 'Ayncthdag: Kaxeivos, WS heyeTar, TONY
povov euPrepras avT@ Kal oupTaparéuapas THY

Oyu ovdev 7) TocovTOY povov ele" '*O, tod
peyadon parywovos avOperrou." émet 6€ prrori-
Povpevos O 'Errapewavdas év TH monet paxny
cuvayat Kal otnoat TpoTraLoy oux loxuaev
éEaryaryety oveeé Tpoxarécaa Gar Tov "Aynathaop,
éxetvos peep avatevtas wad emop0et THY xwpar,
év 5é Aaxedaipovt TOV TdAraL TLVes UTOVAwWY Kal
TOvnpav @S Siaxoo vor TvaTpapevres catedaBovto
TO 'Ioowpuor, ov TO TIS "Aprépsdos ¢ fepov eOTLY,
evepn Kal ducexBiactov tomrov. éd' obs Bovdo-

Hever: evOus abetc Oat TOV AaxeSatpoviov, poBn-
Beis Tov vEwTEpio WOV O ‘Aynatdaos éxéheuce TOUS
fev adAXovus nouxtay aryely, auros dé ép ‘pati
Kat pel évos olKeTOU 7 poonjet, Bow adhws
aAKNKOEVaL TOU TpoTTayLATOS auTous: ov yap
evradda Kehevoat ouveBeiv ovdé Tavtas, adn
TOUS bev ext (SetEas éTepov ‘ToTov), tous O6€
adhaxooe THS TOAEwWS. ob b€ axovcavtes aOn-
cay olopevor AavOdvew, Kar dtacraytes emt
TOUS TOTOUS obs éKxelvos éxéXevoeEY amex wpovy.
6 bé TO pev ‘loowptov evOus PETATELYAPEVOS
ETépous KaTéoxe, TaV O€ CvaTAYTMY éexElvwY TreEpt
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the enemy tried to cross the Eurotas and force their way to the city, abandoned the rest of it and drew up his forces in front of its central and lofty precincts. Now, the Eurotas at this time was flowing at its fullest and deepest, since snows had fallen, and its current, even more from its coldness than its violence, was very troublesome to the Thebans. As Epam- inondas was fording it at the head of his phalanx, certain ones pointed him out to Agesilaiis, and he, we are told, after fixing his gaze upon him and watching him for a long time, said but these words : “OQ adventurous man!” Epaminondas was ambitious to join battle in the city and set up a trophy of victory there, but-since he could neither force nor tempt Agesilaiis out of his positions, he withdrew and began to ravage the country. Meanwhile, about two hundred of the Lacedaemonians who had long been disaffected and mutinous banded together and seized the Issorium, where the temple of Artemis stands, a well-walled and inaccessible spot. The Lacedaemonians wished to make a dash upon them at once, but Agesilaiis, fearing their insurrection, ordered the rest to keep quiet, while he himself, wearing his cloak and attended by a single servant, went towards them, crying out that they had mis- understood his orders; for he had not commanded them to assemble in that place, nor in a body, but some yonder (pointing to another spot), and some in another part of the city. They were delighted to hear this, supposing that their design was undis- covered, and, breaking up, went off to the places which he ordered them to occupy. Then Agesilaiis at once summoned other troops and took possession of the Issorium, after which he arrested about fif- teen of the conspirators who had been gathered there,

MEVTEKALOEKA TLVAS TVANABwV VUKTOS aTréeKTELvED.
addy dé petCov eunvoen cuvwopocia Kal avvodos
avd Qv Lraptiarav emi Tpaypace vEewTépots eis
oixtay K va TUVEPXOMEVOV, ods Kal KpiveLy

amropov ny éy Tapaxy Tocavry Kal teptopav
émeBovdevovTas. amwéKTelvev OvY Kal TovTOUS
pera TOV épopwv Bovrevadpevos o ’Aynaidaos
ax pious, OvdEvOS Sina dimns TePavaTopevou
™poTepov TAPTLAT ADV. émret O€ Tool TaeY oup-
TeTaypevov } eis Ta OTrAa TEPLOLKOD Kal ELAWTOV
arrediépackoy € ék THS TONEWS POS TOUS TrOAELLOUS,
Kal TOUTO mrELoTHY aOupiav qWapeiyev, edidake
TOUS Uanpetas Tept 6pOpov émipouTav Tais
oTtBact Kat Ta oma TOV ATrOKEXWPNKOT OY
AapBavey nal awoxpvrrrey, Stes ayvoyra. TO
mwAHOOS.
"Avaya hoa dé TOUS @nPaiovs éx THS Aanw-
veKijs ou pev a&AXot héyouce Xerpwaver Evopevov
Kal TOY ‘Apeadoy apa peverv amvévat Kal Scappetv
aTaKTOS, ot 5é Tpels wivas éupenevnxotas Sous
Kal Ta wWreioTa THS Xwpas Stare opOnxotas
@eorroprros dé pow, On TOV Bowwrapyay eyvar-
KOT@V aTraipev, apixéobar pos AUTOUS Ppifor,
avépa = Xmaptiaryy, Tapa “Ayo tAdov déxa
TddavTa xopitovra THS dvaxwpna ews puabov,
@OTE TA madat dedoypeva MpatTovolw avtTois
ébodsov Tapa TAY Tohepiov m poarrepuyevéo Oa.
XXXII. Todo pev ovv ovK oda Straws Tyyvo~
noav ot adXoL, Hovos dé @eoroptros no Gero. Tow
6€ cwOivar thy Lrdpryy Tore mavTes aittov
oporoyovar yevéerOa. Tov ’AynotNaov, ote TaY
1 guvreraynevoyv with S: rergypnévor.

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and put them to death in the night. He was also informed of another and a larger conspiracy of Spartans, who met secretly in a house and there plotted revolution. It was impracticable either to bring these men to trial in a time of so much confusion, or to overlook their plots. Accordingly, Agesilaiis conferred with the ephors, and then put these men also to death without process of law, although no Spartan had ever before met with such a death. At this time, also, many of the provincials and Helots who had been enrolled in the army ran away from the city and joined the enemy, and this caused very

deep discouragement. Agesilaiis therefore instructed his servants to go every morning before it was light to the barracks and take the arms of the deserters and hide them, that their numbers might not be known.

As for the reason why the Thebans withdrew from Laconia, most writers say that it was because winter storms came on and the Arcadians began to melt away and disband ; others, because they had remained there three entire months and thoroughly ravaged most of the country;! but Theopompus says that when the Theban chief magistrates had already determined to take their army back, Phrixus, a Spartan, came to them, bringing ten talents from Agesilaiis to pay for their withdrawal, so that they were only doing what they had long ago decided to do, and had their expenses paid by their enemies besides.

XXXIII. This story may be true, although I know not how all other writers could be ignorant of it, while Theopompus alone heard it; but, at any rate, all agree that the salvation of Sparta at this time was

1 All three reasons are given by Xenophon (Hell. vi. 5. 50).

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eupurov avT@ mabey, prroverrias Kal prroripias, amoards, expirato TOUS mpary pac adoparos. ov pévrot THY YE Suvapuy Kai TH bofav eduvyOn THs TOAEWS dvanaBeiv éx Tov WTaicpaTos, adn @OOTED THLATOS bryvewvod, Atay dé ax piel Kal KaTnoKnwery KEXPNMEVOU Siairy Tapa WavTa TOV Xpovov, apaptia pia Kat pom THY Tacav éxduvev evTuxtay TiS Tohews" ouK ddoys. mpos yap elpnuny Kal dpeT ay Kal opovo.av apiota, ouv-TETANY MEV TOMTEVHATE | Tpocayaryovres apxas kat duvacteias Buaious, ov ovdevos 7 nyetro Seta Aat Tod evoatmovas Biwcopévnv o AvKoipyos, éoda-Anoav.

Avros pev obv 0 'Aynatraos 760 Tpos TAs oTpaTelas drretpnicet 61a TO yipas, 'Apxidapos de) vios QUTOD, THY ex 2uKedas ieove ay Tapa Tob Tupdvvov Bonberav éywv, évixnoerv "Apkdbas THY Neyouerny aSaxpuv pa Ng ovdels yap émece TOV per' auton, ouxvous TOY évaytiov dvetrev. aitn padora: THV daBéverar HreyEev n vin _THS

TOhEWs. ‘™poTepov fev yap 00TH cvvnes 7 Hryobvro
Kal 7 poo hKov Epryov avTots elvat TO VLKGY TOUS TO-
Aepious, dare pyre Ovew Tois Geis TAY GEKT-
puova vinntyplov év TH TONE, pare peryadnyopely
TOUS dyovir apevors, rire b Umepyaipely TOUS TUv-
Gavopevovs, ara Kal THs ev Mavtiwela payns
yevoperns, hv Oovxvoidns yéypade, T® T POTD
ppacartt THY vieny ot apxovres éx pdstiou KpEas
érrepapay evayyéXov, ao dé ovbév: Tote 5é THs
payns ayyeOeions Kai tod “Apyiddpouv tpoc-
1 Dionysius the Elder.
2 In 368 3.c. (Xenophon, Hell. vii. 1, 28-32).
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due to Agesilaiis, because he renounced his inherent passions of contentiousness and ambition, and adopted a policy of safety. He could not, however, restore the power and reputation of his city after its fall, for it was like a human body that is sound, indeed, but has followed all the while too strict and severe a regimen; a single error turned the scale and brought down the entire prosperity of the city. Nor was this strange. For to a civil polity best arranged for peace and virtue and unanimity they had attached empires and sovereignties won by force, not one of which Lycurgus thought needful for a city that was to live in happiness; and therefore they fell. Agesilaiis himself now declined military service on account of his years, but Archidamus his son, with assistance which came from the tyrant of Sicily,' conquered the Arcadians in the so-called “ tearless battle,” where not one of his own men fell, and he slew great numbers of the enemy.? This victory, more than anything else, showed the weakness of the city. For up to this time they were wont to think the conquest of their enemies so customary and natural a thing for them to achieve, that no sacrifice for victory was offered in the city to the gods, beyond that of a cock, neither did the winners of the contest exult, nor those who heard of their victory show great joy. Nay, even after the battle at Mantinea,® which Thucydides has described, the one who first announced the victory had no other reward for his glad tidings than a piece of meat sent by the magis- trates from the public mess. But now, at the news of the Arcadian victory and at the approach of

3 In 418 B.c., when the Lacedaemonians defeated an allied force of Mantineans, Argives, and Athenians (Thucydides, v. 64—75).
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tovtos ovdels éxaptépnoev, GANA TP@TOS oO
TaTynp amyvra Saxpiwv umd yapas Kal per
éxeivov Ta dpyeta, TOV Sé mperBuTépwy Kal TaV

yuvatk@v TO WAGs ert Tov ToTapov KaTHEL, TAS
Te yelpas dpeyovtwy Kal DeoxdXvTOVYTY, baTTEp
amewamevns Ta Tap akiav oveidn tHS Lraprns
\ N 9 b ? fo) \ A ¢ , > \
Kal AauTpov avOss EE apyns TO Pas opwans: érrel
, Lf , IQ\ a \ ? ,
mpotepov yé pact ove Talis yuvarkly avtiBrEreLv
Tous avdpas aiayuvopévous ed ols Extacav.
XXXIV. Olnifopévns 8€ Meoonvns td Trav
mept tov "Errapewovédar, cal Tov apxatwv moN-
TOV TavTaxobeV cis avTHY cUuTropevopevor, b1a-
4 \ > > / > 4 20 7
payerBar péev ovk éTOAMwWY Ovde KwAVELY édV-
A \ \ , A N b ,
vavTo, xareTras 5€ Kal Bapéws mpos tov “Aynai-
Naop elyov, Tt Ywpav ovTe TANOEL THS NaKxwvixts
éXdTTova Kal TpwTevovoay apeTH THS ‘EAAnViKA}s
4 A
EYovTes Kal Kapmovpevot Ypovov TocovToy éri
a b] / / 9 4 \ \
THS éxeivou Bactrcias amodwréxact. 610 Kai
mporevopéevny vTo tav OnBaiwy THv eipyvny o
"Aynairaos ovx édéEato. pi BovrAouevos Sé TO
Noy MpoécOat Tois Epyw KpaTovot THY Ywpar,
ca) , 4
GNAG PrroOvEelKov, exelvnv péev OvK aTrédXaBe, pLiK-
pod &€ thy Yrdaprnv mpocaTéBare Katactpa-
TnynGeis. étrel yap ot Mavtivets adOis atréotn-
cav TaV OnBaiwv cal peteméutrovTo Tovs Aaxe-
e
datpoviovs, aicPopevos o ‘Errapewwvdas tov
9 i‘ ? 4 \ A ,
AynotNaov éFeotpatevpévoy peta ths Svvdpews
\ / \ \ a > /
Kal mpootovta, Aabwy tovs Mavrtiveis davétevEe
\ > , ¥ > 9 > A \ ,
puntos éx Teyéas aywv em adtnv tyv Aaxedat-
pova TO oTpaTevpa, Kal pixpov édénoe Tapan-
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Archidamus, no one could restrain himself, but first
his father went to meet him, weeping for joy, and
after him the chief magistrates, while the elderly

men and the women went down in a throng to the river, lifting their hands to heaven and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had wiped away her unmerited disgraces and now saw the light shine bright again as of old; for before this, we are told, her men could not so much as look their wives in the face, out of shame at their disasters.

XXXIV. But when Messene was built by Epami- nondas, and its former citizens flocked into it from all quarters,! the Spartans had not the courage to contest the issue nor the ability to hinder it, but cherished the deepest resentment against Agesilaiis, because a country which was not of less extent than their own, which stood first among Hellenic lands for its fertility, the possession and fruits of which they had enjoyed for so long a time, had been lost by them during his reign. For this reason, too, Agesilaiis would not accept the peace which was proffered by the Thebans. He was not willing to give up to them formally the country which was actually in their power, and persisted in his oppo- sition. As a consequence, he not only did not re- cover Messenia, but almost lost Sparta besides, after being outgeneralled. For when the Mantineans changed their allegiance,? revolted from Thebes, and called in the Lacedaemonians to help them, Epaminondas, learning that Agesilaiis had marched out from Sparta with his forces and was approach- ing, set out by night from Tegea, without the know- ledge of the Mantineans, and led his army against Sparta itself. He passed by Agesilaiis, and came

1 In 369 B.c. 2 In 362 B.c.

rAdEas tov 'Aynoidaov épnuov eEaidyns Kata-
AaBety thv tod. Ev@vvov dé @Beomiéws, ws
Kadrobévns dyciv, ws 6 Eevopav, Kpnrtos
Twos, eEayyetNavtos T@ 'AynotAa@, Taxv Tpo-
mwéuas imméa Trois év TH TOAEL PpacovTa, PET
ov TOAD Kal avTos TapHAGev evs THY Ywrdptyy.
oriym 5€ daorepov ot OnBaios diéBawov rov Kv-
, \ 4 a , 4 b
pwtay Kal tpocéBadXov TH Trove, para Eeppw-
lA "~ 3 , N 9 e la 9 4
pévws Tou AynotAaou Kai Tap nALKiaV eTap-
VOVTOS. OU yap, ws TpoTEpov, acdadreias éEwpa
Tov Katpov dvTa Kal duAaKns, GAAG padXov
> / , N wv 4
amovotas xal roApns, ols tov addov xpovov
ovdétroTe TicTevaas Ovd5é YpnadpEvos, TOTE LOVOLS
amewoato Tov Kivduvoy, éx TaV Yetpav Tov 'Erra-
petvovdov thy wow é€aprdcas, Kal othoas
TpoTatov, Kal Tots tatot Kal Tais yuvatkiv ém-
/ 4 4 "A lol / '
deifas Ta KadANCTA Tpodeia TH TaTpidse TOS

Aaxebatpoviovs amodidovtas, év b€ mpwtots Tov
"Apyidapov daywulouevoy wvmepnpavws TH TE
poun Tis Wuyns Kal TH KouhoTNTe TOU cwpaTos,
9 , > ON , (ol) 4 4
oféws émi Ta OrsBoueva ths paxyns diadéovtTa
da TOV oTevaT@v Kal TavTayoD peET OAyw>D
’ / A , 9 , \ a
avtepeloovta Tois trodepios: ‘Ioidav & Soxa,
Tov PotBidou viov, ov Tois ToNiTals povov, GANA
kal tots modeuios Béaya davivar xaivov) kal
ayacTov. hv pev yap éexmpemns TO eldos Kal
\ , A , ud \ 3 Ad \ «@
TO péyeBos Tov cwpatos, wpav Sé év FTO HOe-
otov avOovow avOpwrot maptovTes eis avdpas
éx tratowy elye, yupvos O€ Kal SarAWY TOV oKETTIOV-
1 xawdy with Amyot and S: xaddv (noble).
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within a little of suddenly seizing the city in a de- fenceless state.| But Euthynus, a Thespian, as Callisthenes says, or, according to Xenophon,? a certain Cretan, brought word to Agesilaiis, who quickly sent on a horseman to warn the people in Sparta, and not long after he himself also entered the city. Soon after his arrival the Thebans were crossing the Eurotas and attacking the city, while Agesilaiis defended it right vigorously and in a manner not to be expected of his years. For he did not think, as on a former occasion, that the crisis demanded safe and cautious measures, but rather deeds of desperate daring. In these he had never put confidence before, nor had he employed them, but then it was only by their aid that he repelled the danger, snatching the city out of the grasp of Epaminondas, erecting a trophy of victory, and showing their wives and children that the Lacedae- monians were making the fairest of all returns to their country for its rearing of them. Archidamus, too, fought among the foremost, conspicuous for his impetuous courage and for his agility, running swiftly through the narrow streets to the endangered points in the battle, and everywhere pressing hard upon the enemy with his few followers But I think sal Isidas, the son of Phoebidas, must have been a strange and marvellous sight, not only to his fellow-citizens, but also to his enemies. He was of conspicuous beauty and stature, and at an age when the human flower has the greatest charm, as the boy merges into the man. Naked as he was, without either defensive

1 «* Like a nest of young birds utterly bereft of its natural defenders” (Xenophon, Hell. vii. 5, 10).

2 Loc. cit. Cf. also Diodorus, xv, 82, 6.

3 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. vii. 5, 12-14.

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VOL. V. H

TOV KAl ipaTtiwv, AiTTa KplodpEVvos TO THpa, Kat
“A A , A
TH pev Exwv yept Aoyynv, 7H Se Ethos, eEnXaro
THS oiKtas, Kal dia péowy TOV paxYopévay waod-
A / ,
Mevos év Tois TroAEuLOLs aveaTPEPETO, Taiwy TOV
‘ \ , bf , \ ¢ 9
mpootuxyovTa Kal KkataBddrov. étpwOn Sé v7
? ‘ ” A > » \ 4 >
ovdevos, elite Deo de apetny durdttTovtos avtov,
elre petCov TL Kal KpeiTTOV avOpwrrov davels Tots
> 4 9 \ LA 4 \ > ,
évavtiow. eat tovTm dé Aéyerat Tovs ehopous
\ n
oTrepavwcavras avToy elta yiAiwy Spaxpov émi-
a 4
Bare Cnuiav, Ste yopis SrrrA@v Scaxivduveverv
éTOApNoeD.
\
XXXV. ’Oriyats 5€ Botepov nuépais wept THv
Martiveray éwayéoarto, cal tov ’Emapevovdav
HON KpaTouvTa Tov mpweTwv, ere bé éeyKelpevov
kal Kataorevoovta thy diwkiv, “Avtixpatns
\
Adxov broatas éraice Sopats pév, ws Acooxov-
/ ¢ , / \ /
pions toropnke, Aaxedaipovio. 5¢ Mayarpiovas
\ 4 le) le)
ET viv TOUS aTroyovous Tov ’AvtTiKpdtous KaNod-
gw, @S payaipa tatdEavTos. ottTw yap éav-
\ € 4 > AN , a
pacav Kal bmepnydryncav avtov o8@ Tod -
"Erapervovdov Cavtos, @oTEe TLas pev éexetv@
Kat dwpeas WhdicacOat, yéver S atédevav, fv Ere
Kal Kal’ Huds Eyer Kaddexparns, els rov ’Avte-
Kpatous atroyovav.
Meta &€ tay pdxynv cat tov Odvatov! rod
"Exrapetvmvdou yevouevns eipnvns trois “EdAnot
Mpos avTOvVs, amTHAaUVOY oi Tept Tov ’AynoidNaovy
tov bpxov tovs Meconvious, ws Tod ov exor-
tas. érret dé ot Nowtrol mavres edéxovTO Kal TOvs
1 roy Odvarov with S: 6dvarov.

armour or clothing,—for he had just anointed his body with oil,—he took a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, leaped forth from his house, and after pushing his way through the midst of the combatants, ranged up and down among the enemy, smiting and laying low all who encountered him. And no man gave him a wound, whether it was that a god shielded him on account of his valour, or that the enemy thought him taller and mightier than a mere man could be. For this exploit it is said that the ephors put a garland on his head, and then fined him a thousand drachmas, because he had dared to hazard his life in battle without armour.

XXXV. A few days afterwards a battle was fought near Mantinea, in which Epaminondas had already routed the van of the Lacedaemonians, and was still eagerly pressing on in pursuit of them,! when Anticrates, a Spartan, faced him and smote him with a spear, as Dioscorides tells the story; but the Lacedaemonians to this day call the descendants of Anti- crates “ machaeriones,”’ or swordsmen, because he used a sword for the blow. For the Lacedaemonians were filled with such admiring love for him because of the fear in which they held Epaminondas while living, that they voted honours and gifts to Anticrates him- self, and to his posterity exemption from taxes, an immunity which in my own day also is enjoyed by Callicrates, one of the descendants of Anticrates.

After the battle and the death of Epaminondas, when the Greeks concluded peace among themselves, Agesilaiis and his partisans tried to exclude the Messenians from the oath of ratification, on the ground that they had no city. And when all the rest admitted the Messenians and accepted their

1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. vii. 5, 22-24.

a / ’ > A > / e
6pkous éAduBavov tap avTav, améoTnoav ot
Aaxedatpoviot, Kal povots avtois moXepos Hv
érmifovow avarnyeobat thv Mecanviav. Biatos
ovv éd0xer Kat atevns Kal Todéuwv amANnoTOS
6 "Aynoiraos elvat, Tas pev Kotvas Stadvcets
/ 4 e 4 \ > 4 ,
TaVTA TPOTOY UTOPUTTWY Kai avaBdadAXw?, Tad
dé vro yYpnudtwv atopias avayKxalopevos évox-
Nelv Tols KaTAa TOA dirows Kal SaveilerOat Kal
4 4 > , n 5 A
ouvepaviler Pat, déov ATNAAG Oat KAKAY Eis TODTO

A a \
TEPLNKOVTL TO Kalp@, Kal pn THY aTacay apxXnv
TOTAUTHY yevopéerny aderxota Kal TodEs Kal Yh
cal @ddratTay, vTrép tav év Meoonvyn KTnuatwv
Kat mpocodwv ofadater.
5 \ “A b / 4 a
XXXVI. Ett be padrov nooknae Tax T®
?
AltyuTti@ otparnyov émidovs éavTov. ov yap
9 gs ” A
nétovy avdpa ths ‘“EdXAdbos dpiotov Kexpipuévov
\ , .
kat do—ns éumemAnKoTa THY oiKOULEeVNY, aTrO-
, / 9 , , a \
otatyn Bacthéws, avOpwarr@ BapBdapw, xpijcae To
oo pa Kal Tovvoua Kal Thv dofay atrodoa at Xpn-
patron, epya pia Popopov Kat Eevayov Siam par-
TOMEvOY. Ket yap umép dySonxovra yeyovos eT
Kal map bre TpavuaTwV TO oe wa KaTaKeKop-
pévos éxeivnv adOis avedéEato thy Kady Kal
TmepiBrertov nyepoviay UTép Tis TeV ‘EAAnVOD
,
édXevGepias, ov Tautay GpeuTrrov elvat THY tdo-
/ A n a
Tipiay’ TOU yap Kado KaLpov oiKelov elvat Kal
iA al \oa@ \ \ “A bf a A
a@pav, wadAov 6é dAws Ta KAAA TOV alcypav TE
4 / > N > / a 4 “€
peTpip duadéperv. ov pay eppovtTive” tovTwy o
1 Cf. Diodorus, xv. 89, 1 f.
Ioo
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oaths, the Lacedaemonians’ held aloof from the peace, and they alone remained: a$-war in the hope of recovering Messenia.! Agesilaiis «was therefore deemed a headstrong and stubborn ian, . and insatiable of war, since he did all in his power.to undermine and postpone the general peace, and agin since his lack of resources compelled him to lay -butdens on his friends in the city and to take loans and -contribu- tions from them. And yet it was his duty to put an end to their evils, now that opportunity offeréd and not, after having lost Sparta’s whole empire, "vast as it was, with its cities and its supremacy on land and-- sea, then to carry on a petty struggle for the goods . and revenues of Messene.

XXXVI. He lost still more reputation by offering to take a command under Tachos the Egyptian. For it was thought unworthy that a man who had been judged noblest and best in Hellas, and who had filled the world with his fame, should furnish a rebel against the Great King, a mere Barbarian, with his person, his name, and his fame, and take money for him, rendering the service of a hired captain of mercenaries.! For

even if, now that he was past eighty years of age and his whole body was dis- figured with wounds, he had taken up again his noble and conspicuous leadership in behalf of the freedom of the Hellenes, his ambition would not have been altogether blameless, as men thought. For honourable action has its fitting time and season ; nay, rather, it is the observance of due bounds that constitutes an utter difference between honourable and base actions. Agesilaiis, however, paid no heed

1 Xenophon (A gesilaiis, ii. 28-31) has Agesilaiis take this step in order to punish the Great King and liberate again the Greeks of Asia.

'AynotXaos, ovdé weta:-rap akiav eivat et-
roupynua Snpocioy o@bév, adda padrdov avaktov
éavtou To Chy anpaxrov év TH Toke Kai KaO7-
cba TeplpevovrTge "TOV Oavatov. GOev aOpoicas '
pcbogopouvs w*-aov o Tayos a'to ypnpdtov
érreprpe, Ka} xXoia TANpwoas, avynyOn, TpLaKovta
cupBovdous -éxav pel éavtod Yraptidtas, ws
1 POTEPOV.",
4 "Emmet, 8¢ xarémdevoer eis tiv Alyurrrop, evOvs
i rp@to. Tov BaciNikay Hryemoverv Kat SvorKnTav
"-¢Radilov éri vaiv Oepatrevovtes avtov. jy Sé
a kat Tov Gdov Alyurrtiwy smovdn Te peyadn
1 %' Kal mpocdoxia 81a tobvopa cal tiv S0£av Tov
"+ "Agynotddou, nal ouvetpoxavov atavtes él thy
5 Oéav. ws 5€ é®pwv AapTpoTnTa pev Kal KaTa-
oxevny ovdeniav, dvOpwrov S¢ mpeaRutny Kata-
Keipevov ev Tut TOG Tapa THY Odragaay, EvTEAT
Kal pixpov TO c@pa, Tpayv Kal Pavrov ipatov
ALTEXOMEVOV, TOKOTTELY aUTOIs Kal yeAwToOTrOLEtY
émrjel, Kal Néeyey StL TovTO Hv TO puvOodAoYOv-
6 pevov wdivetv Spos, Elta piv atrorekety. Ett dé
BaAXov avtov tHv atotriav CGavmacay, Ste Eeviwy
mpoocKkoucbévTwy Kal tpocaxGévtwy arevpa pEev
Kal pooyous Kat yvas édaBe, tpaynuata é
Kal Téwpata Kat pipa Siwbeiro, nal Pralopevwy
AaBelv wal ALTrapovvTwY éexédNevTE TOIS ELhwoL
S:dovat xopilovtas. TH pévtor arepavwrpic.
BuBrAw dnoty avtov yoOévta Becdpactos Sa 617

Thv ALTOTNHTA Kal KaOapioTnTa TeV oTedpdvav
aitnoacOa nat rAaBeiv, Ste ATréTAEL, Tapa TOD
Bactréws.
1 &6polcas with Coraés and S: #@pace.

to these considerations, nor did he think any public service beneath his dignity; it was more unworthy of him, in his opinion, to live an idle life in the city, and to sit down and wait for death. Therefore he collected mercenaries with the money which Tachos sent him, embarked them on transports, and put to sea, accompanied by thirty Spartan counsellors, as formerly.!

As soon as he landed in Egypt,? the chief captains and governors of the king came down to meet him and pay him honour. There was great eagerness and expectation on the part of the other Egyptians also, owing to the name and fame of Agesilaiis, and all ran together to behold him. But when they saw no brilliant array whatever, but an old man lying in some grass by the sea, his body small and con- temptible, covered with a cloak that was coarse and mean, they were moved to laughter and jesting, saying that here was an illustration of the fable, “a mountain is in travail, and then a mouse is born.’ ® They were still more surprised, too, at his eccen- tricity. When all manner of hospitable gifts were brought to him, he accepted the flour, the calves, and the geese, but rejected the sweetmeats, the pastries, and the perfumes, and when he was urged and besought to take them, ordered them to be carried and given to his Helots. He was pleased, however, as Theophrastus tells us, with the papyrus used in chaplets, because the chaplets were so neat and simple, and when he left Egypt, asked and received some from the king.

1 Cf. chapter vi. 2. 2 361 B.C. 3 In Athenaeus, p. 616d, it is Tachos himself who makes this jest upon Agesilaiis, who replies in anger: ‘‘ Someday

you will think me a lion.”

XXXVII. Tore 6€ cuppitas 7@ Taye mapa-
oxevalopevp Tpos THY oTpaTelay, oux, WOTEP
nrmesen, andons oTpatTynyos amredeiyOn THs duva-
Hews, GAG TOV paBodpopev povev, tou oe vau-
TLKOU XaBpias o “AOnvaios: jryepav Sé cup ay-
TOV avr os nv oO Taxos. Kat TOUTO ™ p@TOV
jviace TOV “Aynaidaov: ETELTA THY adAqV ana-
Covetay Kal Kevohpoovvny rod Aiyumtiov Bapuvo-
pevos nvayKatero péperv’ Kal ouveférheva ev emt
TOUS Poinxas auTe, mapa Thy akiav THY éavtob
Kal THY gdvow wmeikwv Kai Kaptepav, axpt ov

xatpov éXaBe.
NextavaBis yap dvewpios Ov TOU Taxo Kal
pépos EXOv vp’ éauT@ Ths Suvd pews améotn’ Kab
Bacthevs b76 TOV Alyumriov avaryopevBeis d1€-
TEL TETO 1 pos TOV ‘Aynathaov aki@v avT@ Bon-
Oeiv» ta 8 avra Kat TOV XaBpiav mapexdnet,
peyanas DmrLaxvoupevos apporépors Swpeds. ai-
obopévov dé TavTa Tob Tayo «al TpaTropevou
mpos Sénow avTav,) pev XaBpias emretpaTo Kat
TOV "Aynoinaov €v TH prria TOU Tax Twel\Owy
cal mapa puv0ovpevos KaTeXew, o 6€ “Aynathaos
elev Ste “Dol pév, @ _Xa8pia, KATA GEeauTov
aduy “evo xpicGa. Tos éavTOU Aoyia pois éLeor,
eyo o€ vmro THs marpisos | eS00nv Alyumrioss
TT PATHYOS. ouK ovv av éxor Hot Karas ols
emeuhOny TUMPLAXOS TONE HELV, eay pH mad 1
TaTpis KéXevon. Tata O€ EeliT@Y emreprpev els
Lmapryy dv8pas, ot Tov pev Tayw KaTHyopya ely,
émratvéces Bat dé Tov NexravaBuy Euedrov. Errep-
yav S€ Kaxeivor deopevos tdv AaKxedatpoviwr,
O bey @> WdadaLr TUppayos yeyovas Kal dildos,
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XXXVII. But now, on joining Tachos, who was making preparations for his expedition, he was not, as he expected, appointed commander of all the forces, but only of the mercenaries, while Chabrias the Athenian had charge of the fleet, and Tachos himself was commander-in-chief.!_ This was the first thing that vexed Agesilaiis; then, though he was indignant at the vain pretensions of the king in other matters, he was compelled to endure them. He even sailed with him against the Phoenicians, forcing himself into a subservience which was beneath his dignity and contrary to his nature, until he found his opportunity.

For Nectanabis, who was a cousin of Tachos and had a part of the forces under his command, revolted from him, and having been proclaimed king by the Egyptians, sent to Agesilaiis asking for his aid and assistance. He made the same appeal to Chabrias also, promising large gifts to both. When Tachos learned of this and resorted to entreaties for their allegiance, Chabrias tried to persuade and encourage Agesilaiis to continue with him in the friendship of Tachos. But Agesilaiis said: “You, Chabrias, who came here on your own account, can decide your own case ; but I was given by my country to the Egyptians as a general. It would therefore be dishonourable for me to make war on those to whom I was sent as an ally,

unless my country gives me a new command to do so." After these words, he sent men to Sparta who were to denounce Tachos, and commend Nectanabis. Tachos and Nectanabis also sent and besought the support of the Lacedaemonians, the former on the ground that he had long been their ally and friend, the latter on the plea that he would

1 Cf. Diodorus, xv. 92, 2 f.

e

\ e Ww 4 \

o dé ws ebvous Kal mpoOumoTepos trepl THY TrodLY
€comevos. axovoavtes ovv of Aaxedatpovioe Tots
\ 3 , 9 , A b] 4
pev Aiyurrions atexpivavto davepas 'Aynoia@
mept TOUTwY peAnoeLV, exeivp Sé éTécTELAay opav
KeXevovTes OTrws Make TO TH Braptn cuudépov.
ovtw 6) AaBwy tous pucOodopous o 'Aynoidaos
amo tod Tayo petéotn mpos tov NextdvaBu,
atoTov Kal aAXoKOTOU TpdypaTos TapaKkanup-
A A /
pate TO ocuphépovtTe THs tatpidos Ypnoapevos:
érrel TavTns ye THs Tpoddcews adatpeDeions TO
Sixatotatov bvona THs mpakews Hv mpodocia.
Aaxedarpoviot 5é THY TpwTNY TOD KaAod peEpida
TO THS TaTpioos cuuhépovte Sedovtes OTE pavOd-
v7 b> / / 4 \ a \
youot ovte érictaytat Sikatoy AXXO TANY O THY
Xmaprnv av&ev vopifovory.
XXXVIII. 'O pév ody Tdyaws epnuwbels trav
,
ptabodopwy eduyev, éx dé Mévdnros érepos erravi-
Le 4 \ > ,
oratat T@ NexravaBid. Bactrevs avaryopevOets:
Kal cvvayayov déxa pupiddas avOpwrev émrnet.
Oapovvovtos Sé tod NextavaBidos tov *Aynot-
Naor, Kal AéyouTos OTL TOAAQL MEV EloLY OL TrOAE-
4 \ , \ > bd l4
pot, puyddes b€ nal Bavavoot nat de' azrecpiav
b , 66 \ > \ A 3 " 39
evcatappovntot, " Kai wav ov To mAHOos avTav,

o Aynoinaos elev, “ aAXa THY arreipiav poPod-
\
pat Kal Thv apabiay ws duceEaTaTnTOV. at yap
A v
amdtat TO Tapadokoy émayovar Tois TPOS amuvay
nw wn ¢€
UTovoovaL Kal TpocboKa@at TpeTropévols, o b€ py
“ A , A
mpocdoKav pnoé vrovoav pydev ov didwar TO
———

1 Xenophon, who can see no fault in Agesilaiis, says (A gesilavis, ii. 31): ‘* Accordingly, he chose between the two

be well disposed to their city and more eager to promote her interests. The Lacedaemonians, accordingly, after hearing the messengers, made _ public answer to the Egyptians that Agesilaiis would attend to these matters ; but to Agesilaiis they wrote privately bidding him see to it that the interests of Sparta should not suffer. So Agesilaiis took his mercenaries and went over from Tachos to Nectanabis, making the interests of his country serve as a veil for a strange and unnatural proceeding, since when this pretext was removed, the most fitting name for his act was treachery.! But the Lacedaemonians assign the chief place in their ideas of honour to the interests of their country, and neither learn nor understand any other justice than that which they think will enhance the glory of Sparta.

XXXVIII. Tachos, accordingly, thus deserted by his mercenaries, took to flight. But in Mendes another rival rose up against Nectanabis and was proclaimed king, and after collecting a hundred thousand men advanced against him. Then Necta- nabis sought to encourage Agesilaiis by saying that although the enemy were numerous, they were a mixed rabble of artisans whose inexperience in war made them contemptitle. “Indeed,” said Agesilaiis, “it is not their numbers that I fear, but the in- experience and ignorance of which you speak, which it is hard to overcome by stratagems. For stratagems array unexpected difficulties against men who try to defend themselves against them, if they suspect and await them; but he who does not await nor even suspect any stratagem gives no hold to the opponent

that one who seemed to be the truer partisan of Hellas, and
with him marched against the enemy of Hellas and conquered
him in battle.’

Taparoyiloperp AaBnv, @oTEp ovde T@ Tanase
OVTL pony O pn KLvOUpEVOS. éx TOUTOU Kal oO

Mevénotos éreptre Twretp@v tov Aynoivaov. édet-
cev ovv o NextravafBis, kal Kxedevovtos avTov
StapdyecBar thy Taxiotny Kal pm) Xpov@ Tore-
pelv mpos avOpwrous amreipous Aayavos, TOAVYELpia
Sé mepiedeiv nal mepitadpedoa: Kai dOdoa
TOANG Kal TpodaBely Suvapévous, ers “adDoOV ev
vrowia Kal poe ‘VEVOMEVOS ™ pos avr ov aTre-
Xepnoev eis TOW evEepKh Kal peyav éxovoay
mepiBorov. o b¢ ’AynotNaos nyavanrTe pev
amtiotoupevos Kal Bapéws Epeper, ALiTYUVOLEVOS
6é xal madw petacthvat Tpos Tov Erepov Kal
TeXéws ately ampaxktos, nkoNOvVONnGE Kal ouD-
evan AOev Els TO TELXOS.
XXXIX. ’EqedGovrwv S$ tev Torepiwv Kal
Tepitagpevov Tar THY TOA, aVOLs av Seiaas THY
TodtopKiay o Aiyumrios éBovAeTo paxecOas Kal
tous “EdAnvas wdra ovpmrpoOvpoupévous eixer:
ov yap Hv év TO Ywpiw aitos. o dé "Aynoidaos
OVUK €@V, GAAA KWAVOY Kove mev ETL PANAOV
KAKOS h TpoTEpov Ure TaV AiyuTTioy Kal mpodd-
TNS aTrEKAXELTO TOU Bactréws, epepe Se TPGOTEpOV
On TAS | SuaBoras Kal mpocelye TO KaLP@ TOV
OTPATHYNWATOS.
"Hy d€ rorovde. tadpov éEwbev tryov of toné-
poe Tept’ TO Tetyos Babeiavy ws TayTaTacw
aTrokNelaovTes avTous. ws odv éyyus Hoay ai
TENEVTAL TOV OpUypwaTOs aTraYT@VTOS avUT@ Kal
TEptiovTos ev KUKAM THY TOY, EoTrépay avapei-
vas yevéoOar Kat Kxerevoas éEorrrilec Oar Tovs
"EAXnvas édeyev €Mwv wpds tov Aiydrreiov: ““O
108

who is trying to outwit him, just as, in a wrestling bout, he who does not stir gives no advantage to his antagonist.”” After this, the Mendesian also sent and tried to win over Agesilaiis. Nectanabis was therefore alarmed, and when Agesilaiis urged him to fight the issue out as speedily as possible, and not to wage a war of delays against men who were in- experienced in fighting, but were numerous enough to surround him and hedge him in and anticipate and get the start of him in many ways, he grew still more suspicious and fearful of him, and retired into a city which was well fortified and had a large compass. Agesilaiis was incensed at this lack of confidence, and full of indignation, but since he was ashamed to change sides again and finally go back home without accomplishing any thing, he accom- panied Nectanabis and entered the city with him.

XXXIX. But when the enemy came up and began to surround the city with a trench, then the Egyptian changed his mind, grew fearful of the siege, and wished to give battle, for which the Greeks also were very eager, since there were no provisions in the place. Agesilaiis, however, would not permit it, but opposed it, and was therefore maligned by the Egyptians even more bitterly than before, and called a betrayer of the king. But he bore their calumnies more patiently now, and sought to find the fitting moment for his stratagem.

This was as follows. The enemy were digging a deep trench outside around the city, in order to shut its occupants up completely. Accordingly, when the trench had been carried almost around the city, and its ends were near one another, after waiting for evening to come and ordering the Greeks to arm themselves, Agesilaiis went to the Egyptian and said :

yey Tijs TWTnplas, @ veavia, KaLpos ovTOS eoTw,
Oy éy@ drapBeipas poBovpevos OUK éppatov ply
énGeiv. érrel 66 7 ny Ob TONE |LLOL TH aod dhevav
auTot Sia TOY yELpav TaperKevdKadt, TooauTnY
opu&apevor Tadpoy, 4s TO pev eFeupyac uevov éKel-
vows euToooy éoTt Tob TA ous, To 56 dsadetrov
jyiv Sidwaw i iow Kal OLKai@ péeTpP@ SrapdyerOar
TOs avrous, dépe viv, mpodupnGeis avnp ayabos
yevée Iau kal pel OV EM LOTOMEVOS pow oabte
ceavTov aya. Kal THY OTpaTiay. Huds yap ot pev
Kata T TOMA TOV TONE LLOOY ovx Umopevodaty, oi | O€
arXow Sia THY Tappov ou Brdypovaw." éOavpacev
ov O NexravaBis TOU "AynotAdou THY Sewvornta,
Kal dovs é éauTov els péoa TA TOV 'EAH vev drrha
Kat T pooner wy éTpeyrato padiws Tous avrisTay-
Tas. @s 6€ anak éraBe rev 6 pevov avT@ TOV
NexrdvaBw O 'Aynothaos, avbus émiye TO aUvTO
oTpaTHynwa kabarep marae pa, TOUS Tonepiors.
TQ mev yap Urropevyay Kal & Ur dyov, Ta 6¢ dvre-
TEpiXwpan, éuBarre To THO 0S aur ay €lS TOTTOV
éyovta Siopvya Babeiav €& éxatépas mreupas
Tapappeove ay, ov TO pegOov euppatas Kal Kara
haBov TO PETOT Ths pararyyos éEicwaoe Tmpos
TOUS payouévous TaV mohepionv To TAHOOs, ouK

éeXovras mepiopouny Kab KUKAOO LD. d0ev ov
ToNUY Xpovov a dvTioTavtes eTPATOVTO" Kal TroAXob
pev avnpeOnoar, ot-dé hevyovtes éoxedacbncav
kal Sveppvynoar.
XL. ‘Ex dé ToUTOU Kaas pev eixe Ta mpay-
pata Kab BeBaiws TO Aiyurrip Tos aoparevav’
ayarrav &é Kai $irog povotpevos édeiro peivar Kal
cuvdiaxerpdc as per’ avrov tov ’AynoinXaov. 0 be
@ppnto pos Tov olKoL ToAEpOY, Eidos YonUaTwV
I1o

AGESILAUS

“Now is the time, young man, for us to save our- selves, and I would not speak of it until it came, for fear of vitiating it. The enemy have now worked out our safety with their own hands. They have dug their trench so far that the part which is finished hinders them from attacking us in great numbers, and the space between the ends gives us room to fight them on fair and equal terms. Come, then, be eager to shew yourself a brave man; follow with us as we charge, and save yourself and your army too. For the enemy in our front will not withstand us, and the rest will not harm us because of the trench.” Nectanabis, then, was filled with admiration for the sagacity of Agesilaiis, and putting himself in the centre of the Greek array, charged forwards and easily routed his opponents. And now that Agesilaiis had won back the confidence of Nectanabis, he brought the same stratagem to bear again upon the enemy, like a trick in wrestling. By sometimes pretending to retreat and fly, and sometimes attack- ing them on the flanks, he drove their whole multi- tude into a tract which had a deep canal full of water on either side. The space between these he occupied and stopped up with the head of his column, and so made his numbers equal to those of the enemy who could fight with him, since they were unable to surround and enclose him. Therefore after a short resistance they were routed ; many were slain, and the fugitives were dispersed and melted away.

XL. After this, the Egyptian succeeded in estab- lishing himself firmly and securely in power, and showed his friendliness and affection by begging Agesilaiis to remain and spend the winter with him. But Agesilaiis was eager to return to the war at

1 The account of this Egyptian campaign in Diodorus, xv.

93, differs in many details.
11!
7

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Seopévnv thv wordt Kal Eevotpopotcayv. ampov-
meprev ovv avToyv évtipws Kal peyanXompeTras,
dAXas te AaBovta tipas nal Swpeds xal mpos Tov
ToAenov apyupiov Siaxocta Kal TpLaKxovTa Ta-
Lavra. yenpa@vos 66 dvros Hdn THS yAs eEXomevos

tais vavol xai twapa thv AcBuny eis yopiov
Epnuov Koutabeis, 6 KadXovat Meveddov Ampéva,
Ovncxe, Bocas péev oySonxovta Kal técoapa
étn, Bactrevoas 5é THs Yardprns évl tev Tec-
capdkovta TAéov, Kal TOVTwY UTép TpidKovTA
TdavTwV péeytaTos Kat SuvaTwTATOS yEevomevos Kal
oxedov GAs THs “EAAdSos Hyenwv cal Bactreds
vopta Geis aype THs év AcvKTpoLs paxns.
"Edous 6€ dvtos Aaxwuixod trav pev adrwv ert
Eévns amo8avovtwy avtod Ta ca@pata Kndeverv
Kal atroXeirrerv, Ta b¢ TOY Bactdéwpy olxade Kopi-
Ceww, of mapovtes Yraptvarar Knpov émitHEavtes
T@ VEKPQ, MEALTOS Ov TrapOVTOS, amHyov eis Aaxe-
Saipova. tay 5é Bactretay ’Apyidapos o vids 619
autov tapédaBe, nal dréperve TO yéver péxpts
“Ayt6os, bv émeyepodvTa THY TdTpLoY avana-
Bety modttetav atréxrewe Aewvidas wéurtov an
"Aynotddou yeyovora.
AGESILAUS

home, knowing that his city needed money and was
hiring mercenaries. He was therefore dismissed
with great honour and ceremony, taking with him,
besides other honours and gifts, two hundred and
thirty talents of silver fur the war at home. But
since it was now winter, he kept close to shore with
his ships, and was borne along the coast of Libya to
an uninhabited spot called the Harbour of Menelaiis.
Here he died, at the age of eighty-four years. He
had been king of Sparta forty-one years, and for
more than thirty of these he was the greatest and
most influential of all Hellenes, having been looked
upon as leader and king of almost all Hellas, down
to the battle of Leuctra.
It was Spartan custom, when men of ordinary rank }
died in a foreign country, to give their bodies funeral
rites and burial there, but to carry the bodies of their
kings home. Sothe Spartans who were with
Agesilaiis enclosed his dead body in melted wax,
since they had no honey, and carried it back to
Lacedaemon. The kingdom devolved upon Archi-
damus his son, and remained in his family down to
Agis, who was slain by Leonidas! for attempting to
restore the ancient constitution, being the fifth in
descent from Agesilaiis.

1 In 240 B.c. See the Agzs, chapters xix., xx.

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POMPEY

12

ITOMITHIO2

I. IIpos Tloprniov éorxe trovro Twabeiv o ‘Pw-

4 A > \ b > le) (4 e ? lA
paiwy Shuos evOvs €& apyis, Sep o Alayvrou
IIpoundeds mpos tov ‘Hpaxréa cobeis tn’ avtod
Kal Néyov:
? a U lo) 4 iA

EyOpob tratpos pot TovTo didtatov Téxvov.

ovTe yap picos ovTws ioxyupoy Kal ayptov érre-
deiEavto ‘Pwpaios mpos Erepov atpatyyov ws TOV
Iloprniov tatépa XtpadBwva, Cavtos peév avrov
4 \ >] A 4 f 2
poBovpevo. tH év tots Sirros Svvayw (HY yap
avnp ToNeux@tTatos), ere d€ améOave KEepav-
vobeis, éxxoptlouevoy TO cha KaTaomwdoavTes
amo Tov Néxous Kal KabvBpicavtes, oTE pnv
LA = 4 / A a > VA
evvolav avy Tad opodpotépav 7 Oacaov apEape-
vyY 7) MaANOY EvTUXODYTL TUVaAKudTaCAaY h TTal-
cavtt trapapeivacay BeBavotepov aArAOS EayXE
‘Pwpaiwy 7 Wopmrnios. aitia &€ tod péev picous
éxeiv@ pia, Ypnuatov atAnoTos émiOvpia, TOUTD
dé moddal Tov ayaracOa, cwhpocvvn Tept
OL 5A b a 4 /
iavtay, aoxno. év Omrots, meBavoTrns Royou,
miotts HOovs, evappootia mpos évrevEw, ws p1)-

1 A fragment of the Prometheus Loosed (Nauck, T'rag. Graec. Frag.? p. 68). Prometheus was fastened to a cliff in

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I. Towarps Pompey the Roman people must have had, from the very beginning, the feeling which the Prometheus of Aeschylus has towards Heracles, when, having been saved by him, he says :—
“T hate the sire, but dearly love this child of his.” !

For never have the Romans manifested so strong and fierce a hatred towards a general as they did towards Strabo, the father of Pompey; while he lived, indeed, they feared his talent as a soldier, for he was a very warlike man, but when he was killed by a thunderbolt,? and his body was on its way to the funeral pyre, they dragged it from its bier and heaped insults upon it. On the other hand, no Roman ever enjoyed a heartier goodwill on the part of his countrymen, or one which began sooner, or reached a greater height in his prosperity, or re- mained more constant in his adversity, than Pompey did. And whereas there was one sole reason for the hatred felt towards Strabo, namely, his insatiable desire for money, there were many reasons for the love bestowed on Pompey ; his modest and temperate way of living, his training in the arts of war, his persuasive speech, his trustworthy character, and his tact in meeting people, so that no man asked a Scythia by Zeus, whose eagle preyed upon the prisoner.

Heracles slew the eagle and released the sufferer.
2 In 87 B.c.
117

fr

Sevos adutrorepov SenOjvat pndé Hdcov Uroupyjnoar Seopévw. mpocnv yap avtod rais ydptoe cal ro averraxOés bi80vT0s Kai TO cEepvoy AauBavorTos.
II. Ev apy7 6é xai rhv div éoxev ov petpios cuvdnpaywyovcay Kal WpoevTuyydvovcay avTod THs povis. TO yap épdopioy dkiwpatixoy Hv piriavOporws, kal év 7TH veap@ Kai avOodvTt Stéhaivey evOds 7) ax TO yepapov Kal ro Bact- ALKOY TOD HOouvs. Hv Sé TLS Kal avacTOAH TIS KouNS aTpéua Kal To@v tepl Ta Supata pvOpav iypoTns Tov MpocwTou, ToLovoa paAdoV eyo- pévnv 7) patvopévny oporornta mpos tas "AndeEdr- Spov Tov Baciréws eixovas. 7 Kal Tovvopa TOA- NOY Ev APXH cvveTrupepdvTav ovK epevyerv o Top- mnios, Mote Kal yAevalovTas avTov évious Hd carey AdéEavdpov. 816 nal Aevxtos Didstrros, AVP UTATLKOS, TUYHYOPOV AUTO, wndev py Trovety Tapanoyov et Pidinios av piraréEavdpos €or.

Prwpav Sé thy éraipav Epacay 7Hdn Tpeo-
Butépay ovcay émieun@s ael pynpovevery THS
yevopévns avTH ampos Tloptrniov optaAtias, dé-
youcay @S OvK HY éxelym oUVavaTTaVoaperny
adjnktws amedOeiv. mpos b€ tovTots Sinyeto Oar
THv Prwpav ériBupjoat tiva tév Tloprniov
aovvnbwv avris Tepivov, cal mpaypata mode
mapexev TeipavtTa' avtTns de. payévns ovK av
GOerjoar ota Lloprrniov, exetve tov Teiviov
SiaréyerOar: tov ovv Tlopmniov émitpéyrar peév
T@ Vepviw, pnxéte S€ avdtrov drac0at To mapda-
mav pode évtuxeiy avty, Kaivep épav Soxovvta:

favour with less offence, or bestowed one with a better mien. For, in addition to his other graces, he had the art of giving without arrogance, and of receiving without loss of dignity.

II. At the outset, too, he had a countenance which helped him in no small degree to win the favour of the people, and which pleaded for him before he spoke. For even. his boyish loveliness had a gentle dignity about it, and in the prime and flower of his youthful beauty there was at once manifest the majesty and kingliness of his nature. His hair was inclined to lift itself slightly from his forehead, and this, with a graceful contour of face about the eyes, produced a resemblance, more talked about than actually apparent, to the portrait statues of King Alexander. Wherefore, since many also applied the name to him in his earlier years, Pompey did not decline it, so that presently some called him Alexander inderision. Hence, too, Lucius Philippus, a man of consular rank, when pleading in his behalf, said that he was doing nothing strange if, being Philip, he loved Alexander.

We are told that Flora the courtesan, when she was now quite old, always took delight in telling about her former intimacy with Pompey, saying that she never left his embraces without bearing the marks of his teeth. Furthermore, Flora would tell how Geminius, one of Pompey's companions, fell in love with her and annoyed her greatly by his at- tentions ; and when she declared that she could not consent to his wishes because of Pompey, Geminius laid the matter before Pompey. Pompey, accordingly, turned her over to Geminius, but never afterwards had any thing at all to do with her himself, although he was thought to be enamoured of her; and she

touto S€ avtay ovy éEtaipixas éveyKety, ara
, A
Tou vTo AUINS Kal mofov yYpovoy voojaat.
, \ , ef , 3 A \
Katto. Thy PrAwpav odtTw Aéyovaw avOjaar Kal
yevéoOat mepiBontov wate Kexidtov Méteddov
avépidot Kal ypadais Kocpotvta Tov vewv TaV
Atockovpwv, Kaxeivns eixova yparrapevoy ava-
Oetvar Sua TO Kaddos. Tloptrynios 5é nal rH
Anpuntpiov tod atredevOépou yuvatki, mreiotov
toxvoavtos Tap avT@ Kal TeTpaKicytdiwy Ta-
a \
AavTwWY aTOALTOVTOS OvclaY, éXpHTO Tapa Tov
e a Ld > b A 2Q\ ,
avTov TpoTrOYV OUK émrtEeLKa@S OUVdE EXeVOEpiws, ho-
BnGeis thy edpopdiav avtiis auaxov tiva kal
/

TeptBonroy ovcav, was pn pavein KEexpaTnpévos.

ef 4 4 b] \ A \ \
ovUTw 5é mavu toppwOev evrAaBys ov mpos Ta
ToLavTa Kal TepvAaypévos, Guws ov Sepvye Tov
9 A \ A
éexGpav tov éml tovtT@ wroyov, GAN él tais
yapetais éouxodarvteiro TOAAA TOV KOLV@Y Tap-
é a / / PJ /
tdety Kal mpoéaOar yapitopevos éxeivars.
a \ \

Tis Se awept thy Startav evxorias Kal dLTO-
TNTOS Kal arrouynuoveupa RéyeTat ToLvovTov.
9 \ A “A A \
LATPOS AUT@ vooodvTt Kal KaKaS EXOVTL TPOS TA
, , , a €e A
olTla KLXYANY TpocéTake AaBeiv. ws 5é EntobvTEs
bp) @ Vv @ \ Pd [4 "4 4
ovY eUpov wriov (Av yap wap wpav), épn Sé Tis
e l4
evpeOncecOat mapa AevKoAro Se étovs Tpehope-
2 ”» ©

vas, ‘‘ Kita,” eimev, “et pn Aeveorros étpuda,

fo >

Tlopmnios ovn dv &noe;” Kat yaipew édoas tov
> \ % , A A
tatpov éhaBé TL TeV evTopicTaV. TadTa pév
ovv voTeEpov.
” \ a

ITI. "Ere 8€ pecpdxvov dv Twavtdtact Kai Te

N s
TaTpl TVaTpATEVOLEVOS avTiTeTAaypEevm pos Kiv-
120
620

POMPEY

herself did not take this treatment as a mere courtesan would, but was sick for a long time with grief and longing. And yet Flora is said to have flowered into such beauty, and to have been so famous for it, that when Caecilius Metellus was decorating the temple of Castor and Pollux with paintings and statues, he gave her portrait also a place among his dedications. Moreover, Pompey also treated the wife of Demetrius his freedman (who had the greatest influence with him and lIcft an estate of four thousand talents) with a lack of courtesy and generosity unusual in him, fearing lest men should think him conquered by her beauty, which was irresistible and far-famed. But though he was so extremely cautious in such matters and on his guard, still he could not escape the censures of his enemies on this head, but was accused of illicit relations with married women, to gratify whom, it was said, he neglected and betrayed many public interests.

As regards his simplicity and indifference in matters pertaining to the table, a story is told as follows. Once when he was sick and loathed his food, a physician prescribed a thrush for him. But when, on enquiry, his servants could not find one for sale (for it was past the season for them), and some- one said they could be found at Lucullus’s, where they were kept the year round, “ What then,” said he, “if Lucullus were not luxurious must Pompey have died?” and paying no regard to the physician he took something that could easily be procured.! This, however, was at a later time.

III. While he was still quite a stripling and was on a campaign with his father, who was arrayed against

1 Cf. the Lucullus, xl. 2.

vav, Aevxidy twa Tepévrsoy elyev éEtaipov Kat
avoKnvov. ovtos UTd Kivva teicbels yvpnpwaciy
autos pev Euerre Llourniov aioxtevelv, report
THD oKNYHY éumpnoev Tow oTparayoo. UNnvicews
5¢ 7@ Lowrie repi detarvov 6 ovte ™poaTrecouans,
oibis SiatrapaxOeis, adrra Kal TMV mpoOuporepov
L piroppovnadpevos Tov Tepévtvov, apa T@
rpartaBas ™ pos avdTravaw Umrexpuels THIS oKN-
vas érade, Kal TO marpl ppoupav TEPLOTIOAS
novyater. o Oe Tepevrtos, Os évouute KaLpov
€lvaL, TTATALEVOS TO Eios a avéoTn Kal Th ott Bao.
tod Toparniou mpooerOav OS KATAKELLEVOU TOX-
Ads évepoper mANYAS toils oTpwpacw. éx dé
TOUTOU ryiverau péeya Kivnpa pice. tod otpatnyod,
Kal T™ pos aTroaTacw oppn TOV TTPATLWOTOY, Tas
TE TKNVaS avagTovT wy ral Ta omha Aap Bavov-
TOV. O per ouv oTpaTayos ov Tporjer Sedta@s TOV
BopuBov, o &€ Topmnios év pérou avaoT pep o-
pevos Kal Saxpdov i inéreve, TEAOS bé pirpas éavrov
emt oTOMa Tpo Ths TUS TOU Xapakos éuTroO@v
ExeLTO Kalov Kal Tatety KeNevov TOUS efvovtas,
Gate ékactov dvaxwpelv im’ aidods Kal mavras
oUT@ TANV oxTaKoclay petaBaréecbar Kal diar-
Nayhvas TPOS TOV GTpaTHYOV.
IV. “Apa 6€ T@ TereuTHoat Tov YrpaBova,
Sixny KroT HS Exxev vrép avTov Snpociwy ypen-
uaTOV 6 Tlopanios. Kat 7a pev TrEoTA hwpa-
gas éva TOV atrerevOépwv o Topmnios vevoo pic-
pévov "AréEavdpor, anéderke Tots dpxovew, avTOS
dé iva Onparixa Kat BiPrAa Tav év "“Ackr@
AnpOevrav ever Katnyopeito, Taira dé éraBe
pév Tapa Tov Tatpos édNovTOS TO “AcKAO?, aTrW-
I22

Cinna, he had a certain Lucius Terentius as tentmate and companion. This man was bribed by Cinna, and was himself to kill Pompey, while others were to set fire to the tent of the commander. But Pompey got information of the plot while he was at supper. He was not at all disturbed, but after drinking more freely even than usual and treating Terentius with kindness, as soon as he retired to rest stole out of the tent unperceived, set a guard about his father, and quietly awaited the event. Terentius, when he thought the proper time was come, arose, and ap- proaching the couch of Pompey with drawn sword, stabbed the

bed-clothing many times, supposing him to be lying there. After this there was a great commotion, owing to the hatred felt towards the general, and a rush to revolt on the part of the soldiers, who tore down their tents and seized their arms. The general did not venture forth for fear of the tumult, but Pompey went up and down among the soldiers beseeching them with tears, and finally threw himself on his face in front of the gate of the camp and lay there in the way, weeping and bidding those who were going out to trample on him. As a consequence, everyone drew back out of shame, and all except eight hundred changed their minds and were reconciled to their general.

IV. As soon as Strabo was dead, Pompey, as his heir, was put on trial for theft of public property. And although Pompey discovered that most of the thefts were committed by Alexander, one of his father's freedmen, and proved it to the magistrates, still he himself was accused of having in his possession hunting nets and books from the booty of Asculum. Now, he did receive these things from his father

1 In 87 B.C.

Aece 5€ trav Kivva Sopvddpwv, Ste xatnnrOev,
acapévov eis THY oikiav avTod Kal dtapracav-
Tov. éytvovto b€ Ths dixns avT@ Tpoayaves ovUK
OAiyoL TrPOS TOV KaTHYyopoV. év ols o€vs Apa Kal
' ¢€ / 9 \ , / "
Tap HAtKiay evoTabns gatvoyevos dSo€av éoye
peyarnv cal yapw, date 'Avtictiov otpatn-
A /
yoovra xal BpaBevovta tiv Sixny éexeivny épa-
cOnvat tod Tloumniov nal yuvaica Sidovae tiv
éavtou Ouyatépa Kal mepi tovTov Tots didrors
, , \ \
StaréyerOar. SeEapuevou Sé Lopmniov xai yevo-
pévay év avtols atroppntayv oporoyLav, Guws ovK
w: '\ \ \ A \ \ a
EXaGe tTovs ToAAO's TO Tpaypa dia THY TOD
9 ' , , \ \ , J
Avtiatiouv omovdnv. tédXos 5€ THY yvopny ava-
yopevoavtos avtod Tay Sixacta@v amodvovaay,
°" a
WoTED EK TapayyéApatos o SHpuos érepwvyce
A \ A fe) /
rovtTo 87 TO Tois yapodow émipwvovpevoy é&
U4 A ,
EJous tradatov, Taracin.
\ a
To dé G05 apyny rNaBeiv hace TtoravTnyv. Ste
\ / a" / b , > A 3

tas Ouyatépas TOY YaBivwv em Oéav ayavos eis
¢ 3 A
Pony wapayevopevas of mpwrevovtTes apeTi
e a a /
Pwpaiwy iptrafov éavtois yuvaixas, adofot tives
TeddtTar Kal Bothpes apdpevor Kopnv Kadnv Kal
4 4
peyarny exoutlov. OTws ovv fi) TpooTUX@V TIS
A a
apérntat Tov KpertTovwer, éBowy Oéovtes apa
f “ /
Taracto (Trav 6é yaptévtwv Kal yvwpipwv tis Hv
e 4
o Tadacwos), aoTe Tov’s aKkovaavTas Tobvopa
Kpoteity kat Boav olov cuvndopévous Kal avuver-
atvouvtas. €x TovTov dact (cal yap evtUyIs 6
/ 9 , A U 4 \ b] ,
yapuos amté8n to Taracip) tavTny thy éripo-
124

6

1

POMPEY

when he took Asculum,! but he lost them when Cinna’s guards, on that general’s return to Rome, broke into his house and ransacked it. He had many preliminary bouts in the case with his accuser, and since in these he showed an acumen and poise beyond his years, he won great reputation and favour, insomuch that Antistius, the praetor and judge in the case, took a great liking to him and offered him his own daughter in marriage, and conferred with his friends about the matter. Pompey accepted the offer and a secret agreement was made between them, but nevertheless the people got wind of the matter, owing to the pains which Antistius took to favour Pompey. And finally, when Antistius pronounced the verdict of the judges in acquittal, the people, as if upon a signal given, broke out in the ancient and customary marriage acclamation, “ Talasio.”

The origin of the custom is said to have been this. At the time when the daughters of the Sabines, who had

come to Rome to see a spectacle of games, were haled away by the most distinguished Romans to be their wives, certain hirelings and herdsmen of the meaner sort seized a fair and stately maiden and were carrying her off. In order, therefore, that no one of their betters, on meeting them, might rob them of their prize, they shouted with one voice as they ran, “ For Talasius,” Talasius being a well-known and popular personage. Consequently, those who heard the name clapped their hands and shouted it themselves, as if rejoicing with the others and approving what they did. From this circumstance, they say,—and indeed the marriage proved a happy » one for Talasius,—this acclamation is used in mirth-

1 In 89 B.c.

ynow pera tradcids yevéoOas Tois yapovou.
oUTOS 0 AOYOsS TiBaVwTaTOS EoTL TOV mepl TOU
Taraciov Aeyouevev. oAdryas 8 ovv dorepov
Tpepas O Tloparnios Tyyayero THY "Avtiotiav.
V. ’Ezet be T pos Kivvav eis TO OTpaTOTEdOV
mopevdels éE aitias TLvOS Kal dia Borijs édeuce Kar
TAaXU Aabov éxTrodwv émroinaey éavtov, OUK OVTOS
é€upavous auto Opods duiOev € é€v To oTpaton ei
Kal oryos OS avnpyKot TOV veavic Kop o Ktyvas:
éx dé TOUTOU ot manat Bapuvopevot Kal pLoovvTeEs
Gppnoay én’ avrov. o 6€ hevywv xal Katana.
Bavopevos Ud Twos TOY hoyayay yup TP
Eider SteKovTos T poo eTred€ TOLS “yovace Kab THD
oppayiva T POUTELVE TOUT UpLOV ovcav. o be kal
para UBpratiKas eiTra@v, “ "ANN ouK eyyuny
Epyopat a ppary.ovpevos, adda avoovov Kab Tapa-
vowov TLMMPTTOLEVOS TUpavvov, airéxTewev av-
TOV. obra dé tod Kiva TENEUTTAVTOS édéEaTto
pev Ta Tparypara al ouvel xe KapBov éurdnk-
TOTEposS éxeivou TUpavvos, émjee dé 2urAas TOUS
TrELoTOLS TOOELVOS, LITO THY TapoYTwY KaKOV
ovde deomotou petaBorjy px pov nryoupevors arya
Jov. ets TobT0 Tmponryaryov ai cuppopal THY TOALY,
as Oovreiav emietxeatépay Enteiy atroyvwce THS
ehevepias.
VI. Tore odv-o Topmnios év TH Toenvide Tips
Iradias d1ér peBev, eXcov perv adobe Kat Xwpia,
To 8& wéov Tails TONET W ndopevos olxelos kal
purines marpobev é exovaars 7 pos avuTov. opav oé
TOUS emepaveaTatous Kal Bedtiorous TOY Toht-
TOV aTrOAELTrOVTAS TA oixeta Kab mavraxodev ELS
TO YUANA oOTpaTOTEdOY WoTEP Eis ALEVA KaTA-

ful greeting of the newly wedded. This is the most credible of the stories told about Talasius.! But be it true or not, a few days afterwards Pompey married Antistia.

V. Then he betook himself to Cinna's camp, but because of some calumnious accusation grew fearful and quickly withdrew unnoticed. On his disappearance, there went a rumour through the camp which said that Cinna had slain the young man, and in consequence of this those who had long hated Cinna and felt oppressed by him made an onslaught upon him. Cinna, as he fled, was seized by one of the centurions who pursued him with drawn sword, and fell upon his knees and held out his seal-ring, which was of great price. But the centurion, with great insolence, said: '"' Indeed, I am not come to seal a surety, but to punish a lawless and wicked tyrant,' and slew him. When Cinna had come to such an end,? Carbo, a tyrant more capricious than he, received and exercised the chief authority. But Sulla was approaching, to the great delight of most men, who were led by their present evils to think even a change of masters no slight good. To such a pass had her calamities brought the city that, in despair of freedom, she sought a more tolerable servitude.

VI. At this time, then, Pompey was tarrying in the Italian province of Picenum, partly because he had estates there, but more because he had a liking for its cities, which were dutifully and kindly dis- posed towards him as his father's son. And when he saw the best and most prominent citizens for- saking their homes and hastening from all quarters to the camp of Sulla as to a haven of refuge, he

1 Cf. the Romulus, chapter xv. 2 In 84 B.c.

Péovtas, avTos ovx nkiwoev arrodpas ovbé acvp-
Boros 05 ypntwv BonOeias, adra brrapEas Tivos
Xapiros évdoEws 'eal pera Suvdpews érdetv 7 pos
avtov. O0ev éxives tovs Iltxnvovs datrorepo-
pevos. ot O€ UITNKOVOY av'T@ Tpobvpws Kal Tots
mapa KapBwvos jRxovow ov mpocetxyov. Odndiov
Sé TLvos eltrovTos Sti Snuaywyos avTots é« Tat-

Saywyelou taparemndnxev o Lloprnios, obras
nyavaxtnoav wate evOus dverciv mpootrecovTeEs
tov Ovndzov.
"Ex tovtou Ilopmnios érn pév tpia Kai eixoat

4 e > > \ \ > 4 >

yeyovas, um ovdevos be avo parray _amodebevy-
pévos oTpaTnyos, avTos éavT@ Sovs To dpyev, év
Avkipu@, wore peyddrn, Biya Gels év ayopa, Kal
TOUS TpwTEevovtas avTav aberpovs Sto Ovevtt-
Stous urép KapBwvos avtiumpatrovras diatdy-
MATL METAOTHVAL THS TOAEWS KEAEUTAS, TTPATLO-
Tas KaTéAEye, Kal NoXayoUs Kal taktapyous KaTa
Koopov atrodeiEas ExadaTols TAS KUKA@ TWoAELS
émnet TO auto Troy. éEaviotapévwy 6é Kai
UToYwpouvTov daot TA KapBwvos éppovour, tav
d€ adAAwy acpévas emididovtwmy avTovs, ovT@
Kataveipas év OALy@ YpoVv@ Tpla TdypaTa TérELa,
Kal tpopyy Topioas Kal oKxevaywya Kal ayakas
Kal THY GAANV TWaaav TapacKeEvHD, Hye TPOS LVA-
av, OVK EmeELyomEvos Ovde TO AaOEiY ayaTrOD,
ara StatpiBwv xa’ odov év TO KaKaS TroLEtV
TOUS TroNEMLOUS, Kal TAY Goov earner THS Itadias
Tetpwuevos adiotavat tod KapBavos.
| VII. ’"Avéornoav otv én’ avtov tpeis apa
oTpatnyot trodéutot, Kapivas cat KXotdos Kat
Bpodrtos, ovK évavtios wavtes ovdé onobev, adr
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himself would not deign to go to him as a fugitive, nor empty-handed, nor with requests for help, but only after conferring some favour first, in a way that would gain him honour, and with an armed force. Wherefore he tried to rouse up the people of Picenum and made test of their allegiance. They readily listened to him and paid no heed to the emissaries of Carbo. Indeed, when a certain Vedius remarked that Pompey had run away from pedagogues to be a demagogue among them, they were so incensed that they fell upon Vedius at once and killed him.

After this, Pompey, who was only twenty-three years old, and who had not been appointed general by anybody whomsoever, conferred the command upon himself, and setting up a tribunal in the market-place of Auximum, a large city, issued an edict ordering the chief men there, two brothers named Ventidius, who were acting against him in Carbo’s interest, to leave the city. Then he pro- ceeded to levy soldiers,

and after appointing cen- turions and commanders for them all in due form, made a circuit of the other cities, doing the same thing. All the partisans of Carbo withdrew and gave place to him, and the rest gladly offered their services to him, so that in a short time he had mustered three complete legions, and provided them with food, baggage-waggons, carriages, and other needful equipment. Then he led his forces towards Sulla, not in haste, nor even with a desire to escape observation, but tarrying on the march as he harried the enemy, and endeavouring to detach from Carbo's interest all that part of Italy through which he passed.

VII. There came up against him, accordingly, three hostile generals at once, Carinas, Cloelius, and Brutus,! not all in front of him, nor from any one

1 All belonging to the Marian party. 129

KvKA@ Tptol otpatomébois TEepixwpodvTEes ws
dvaptacopevot. 6 5€ ovx decer, adda Tacav
eis TavTO THY Siva cuvayayov w@pynoev ep
év To tod Bpovtou orpatevpa, Tous immeis, év ols
qv autos, mpotdgas. émel && Kal mapa Tav
jwoneniov avreEimmevcayv ot Kertol, Tov mpewTov
avrav! kal pwparewtatoy pOdver twaicas éx
xetpos Sopate nal KxataBadov. of dé GAdo
Tpamropevot Kal to telov auverapatay, wate
guyny yevéoOat twavtav. éx dé TovTov otacid-
oavtes of oTpaTnyol Tpos AAAHAOUS avEXwPNCAD,
as Exaotos éruxe, Tlopuantp S&¢ mpocexwpovv ai
Twodes, ws Sia poBov éoxebacpévwvy TOV TroAE-
piov. avOis S€ Xxnriwvos émiovtos adt@ Tov
badrov, piv év éwBorais vooawv yevéoOa Tas
pdrayyas, ot Lenrriwvos domacdpevot Tovs Top-
mniov peteBdrovto, Ucnriwy 5é &puye. Tédos Se
KapBovos avtod epi tov "Apow motapov it-
Téwy cuvyvas tras épévtos, evpwotws bTrocTas
kal tperapevos eis Xarerra Kal adirma ywpia
mavras éuBarryg. Sioxwv: of 5é THY cwTnpiay
avéNriaTov opavTes évexeipitayv avTovs pEeTa TOV
StAwY Kat TOV lrTeDv.
VIII. Otrw $8 tatta YvAras érémvoro,
mpos O€ Tas mpwTas ayyerias Kal dynywas bmép
avtov Sedoix@s évy TocovTois Kal THALKOUTOLS
avaotpepoméevou oatpatnyots . Trodepiots, ediwxe
BonOycwv. yvors dé o Topsrnios éyyis dvta
mpooérate Tois Hryepoow é€orrAifeav Kal dtaxoc-
1 roy mpdrov a'tav with CMS and Coraés: roy mpatov.

direction, but encompassing him round with three armies, in order to annihilate him. Pompey, how- ever, was not alarmed, but collected all his forces into one body and hastened to attack one of the hostile armies, that of Brutus, putting his cavalry, among whom he himself rode, in the van. And when from the enemy’s side also the Celtic horse- men rode out against him, he promptly closed with the foremost and sturdiest of them, smote him with his spear, and brought him down. Then the rest turned and fled and threw their infantry also into confusion, so that there was a general rout. After this the opposing generals fell out with one another and retired, as each best could, and the cities came over to Pompey’s side, arguing that fear had scattered his enemies. Next, Scipio the consul came up against him, but before the lines of battle were within reach of each other’s javelins, Scipio's soldiers saluted Pompey’s and came over to their side, and Scipio took to flight.1 Finally, when Carbo himself sent many troops of cavalry against him by the river Arsis, he met their onset vigorously, routed them, and in his pursuit forced them all upon difficult ground impracticable for horse; there, seeing no hope of escape, they surrendered themselves to him, with their armour and horses.

VIII. Sulla had not yet learned of these results, but at the first tidings and reports about Pompey had feared for his safety, thus engaged with so many and such able generals of the enemy, and was hastening to his assistance. But when Pompey learned that he was near, he ordered his officers to have the forces

1 Plutarch seems to have transferred this exploit from Sulla to Pompey. See the Sulla, xxviii. 1-3, and cf. Appian, Bell, Civ. i. 85.

plety THY Suvapuy, @s Kardiorn TO avToxpdaropt
Kat Aaprpotatn pavein: peryddas yap nrrive
Tap avTou TLS, éruye O€ perfoveor. @s yap
eldev avTov 0 {ANAS MpoctovTa Kal THY OTpA-
TLay Tapert Tay evavdpia TE Oavpacrny rar dua
Tas catopbwces ernppevnv Kat (Napav, arronmn-
Sijcas TOU larrov Ka T poaaryopevOets, Os eos,
avuToKpaTwp dvrim poonyopevaev avToxpdadtopa TOV
Hopsniov, ovdevos ay mpoadoxncavtos avdpi ve
kat ponder Bounrjs peTEX ovTL xoweocad Gat Tob-
voua TOUTO SvAAap, Tept ov Lenrioge Kab
Mapious eTroe pel. kal tadr\a 8 Hv opmoro-
yoovta tais T PWOTALS prdroppocvvats, breLan-
oTALEvOV Te T™ poo LovTe 7 Touanip Kal HS
Keparis amrdryovTos TO iparvov, & mpos aAXov ov

padios éwparo ‘TOLD, Kaimep vray ToAX@Y Kal
dryab av meph aUuTOV.
Ou pny exovpiain rye TOUTOLS 0 Toprnios,
GX’ evOvs els THY Kedreeny Um’ avTov TEuTrO-
HEVOS, iv EXoV o MéredXos boxer py dev aEvov
mpaTrew THs TapacKevys, ov Kadas Edn exewv
mpecButepoy Kat mpovxovta b0En oTpatnyias
aparpeiaOau, Bovropéve pévtot T® Meréedr Kal
KENEVOYTL ouprrohenety kad BonOetv Erorpnos elvat.
deEapévou 6¢ Tob MeréAXov Kal yparpavtos Key,
euBarav els Thy Kertixnv avros te kal” éavtov
épya Gavpacta Serr partero, Kal TOD Mereddov
TO) WAX LLOV Kat dapoaréov 78n oBevvdpevov v7r0
YNPwS avs éFeppimile Kal ouveteOeppacver,
Oomep 0 péwv Ka TET VPM HEVOS Naricos T@ WeTN-
yore Kal puxpe Tepeyvdets eyerat Tov qupos
PadXov dvuypaivey Kal cuvavatnxeww. adda
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fully armed and in complete array, that they might present a very fine and brilliant appearance to the imperator ; for he expected great honours from him, and he received even greater. For when Sulla saw him advancing with an admirable army of young and vigorous soldiers elated and in high spirits because of their successes, he alighted from off his horse, and after being saluted, as was his due, with the title of Imperator, he saluted Pompey in return as Imperator. And yet no one could have expected that a young man, and one who was not yet a senator, would receive from Sulla this title, to win which Sulla was at war with such men as Scipio and Marius. And the rest of his behaviour to Pompey was consonant with his first tokens of friendliness; he would rise to his feet when Pompey approached, and uncover his head before him, things which he was rarely seen to do for any one else, although there were many about him who were of high rank.

Pompey, however, was not made vain by these things, but when Sulla would have sent him forth- with into Gaul, where, as it was thought, Metellus was doing nothing worthy of the armament at his disposal, he said it was not right for him to take the command away from a man of great reputation who was his senior, but that if Metellus wished and bade him do so, he was ready to assist him in carrying on the war. And when Metellus accepted the proposal and wrote him to come, he hurried into Gaul, and not only performed wonderful exploits himself, but also fanned into fresh heat and flame the bold and warlike spirit of Metellus which old age was now quenching, just as molten and glowing bronze, when poured round that which is cold and rigid, is said to soften it more than fire does, and to melt it also

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a

yap, @otep aOAnTOD wpwTtevoavTos év avdpdct
Kal tovs tavrayod Kxabedovtos evddEws ayavas
eis ovdéva AOryov Tas TraLdtKads TiIMevTaL viKxas OVS
dvaypapovow, ottws as emrpake tote wpakes o
Tloprnios, avtas nal’ éautas vreppueis otcas,
mrANnOe bé Kal peyéOer TOV baoTépwv ayovev Kal
TOAEUWY KaATAKEXwWopevas, ededleLY KivElY, BH
Tepi Ta Tp@Ta TOAAHS StatpiBAs yevopévns TaV
peyiorev Kal pardsota Synrovvrwv To 700s epywv
ral TaOnpdtwv tod avdpos atrorerpO oper.
IX. "Eel totvuy éxpatnce tis “Itadias o
LwArAas Kal ductarwp avynyopevOn, Tovs pev ar-
ous Hyewovas Kal otparnyovs nueiBeto mov-
ctovs Toay Kal tpodywv émi apyas Kal yapito-
pevos adOovas Kal mwpoOvpos av Exactos édeito,
Tloumniov 5& Bavydtwv Sd’ dpernvy nat péya
vopitwy dpedos elvat tois éavtod mpdypacur,
eoTovdacey GUas yé Tws oiKeLoTNTL TpocOéa bal.
cupRovroperns 5€ THS yuvatKos avTov THs Me-
TéeAANS, WeiMovot Tov Tlouryiov amadXNayévta
THs “Avtictias AaBely yuvaixa tHv YAXa Tpod-
yovov Aiuidiav, é« Merédrrgns wal XKxavpou ye-
yevnuevny, avdpl 6¢ cvvoixodcay H6n Kal Kvovoay
TOTE.
"Hv otv rupavuixad ta Tob ydpou Kal ois
YvUAAa KaLpois PaArov 4 Tots Tlopmrniov tporots
mpérrovTa, THS ev Aluidias ayopuéevns eyxdpovos
wap érépov mpos avrov, éEedawwopévns Se ris
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down. However, just as athletes who have won the primacy among men and borne away glorious prizes everywhere, make no account of their boyish victories and even leave them unrecorded, so it is with the deeds which Pompey performed at this time; they were extraordinary in themselves, but were buried away by the multitude and magnitude of his later wars and contests, and I am afraid to revive them, lest by lingering too long upon his first essays, I should leave myself no room for those achievements and experiences of the man which were greatest, and most illustrative of his character.

IX. So then, when Sulla had made himself master
of Italy and had been proclaimed dictator, he sought

to reward the rest of his officers and generals by making them rich and advancing them to office and gratifying without reserve or stint their several requests ; but since he admired Pompey for his high qualities and thought him a great help in his administration of affairs, he was anxious to attach him to himself by some sort of a marriage alliance. His wife Metella shared his wishes, and together. they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia and ma Aemilia, the step-daughter of Sulla, whom Metella had borne to Scaurus, and who was living with a husband already and was with child by him at this time.

This marriage was therefore characteristic of a tyranny, and befitted the needs of Sulla rather than the nature and habits of Pompey, Aemilia being given to him in marriage when she was with child by another man, and Antistia being driven away from

1 Cf. the Sulla, xxxiii. 3. This was in 82 B.c. With a similar purpose Siflla tried to make Julius Caesar part with his wife, but Caesar refused (cf. Plutarch’s Caesar, i. 1).

9 , > 3 b] A ud 4 “
Avtiotias atiuas nal oixtpas, are 89 Kal rod
matpos évayyos éeorepnuévns Sia tov avdpa:
, ¢ 9 , > fo ,
xkatecgayn yap o ‘Avtiotios év t@ BovrcuTnpio
Soxdv ta LrAra dpoveiy Sida Tlopaniov: 4 Sé
pntnp auras émidotca tadta mponxato tov Biov
éxovciws, @oTe Kal TOUTO TO TaDos TH Tepl TOV
yapov éxeivoy tpaypdia mpocyevéoOat nal vi
Aia ro thv Aiptriav edOds S:apOapivar rapa
T@ Lloputarntle tixtoveap.
X. "Ex rovtou ZxeNav yyyérreTo Ileprrévas
ait@® KpariverOat cal toils weptovoty ETL TIS
évavtias oTdoews opynTyploy Tapéyety THY VIC OD,
aiwpoupévov xat KapBwvos avtob vavtixe Kat
Aopetiou AtBin wpoomemtwKotos, aANwY Te
TOAA@Y eTéxewva peyddov Wovpévov huyddwr,
¢ \ A v ? / 9
Soot tas mpoypadas EpOnoav atrodpavtes. emi
4 Io 9 4 \ fol /
rovtous Lloumnios ameotadyn peta troAANS duvd-

\ , \ 7f\ > A 4
pews. Kal Ileprévvas pev ev0ds avt@ Yxerias
éféorn, tas 5 modes dvedaduBave reTpuvywpevas
, , b a \ ,
cal diravOpotras wacals expynto wAnY Mapeprti-
vov tav év Meconvyn. tmaparroupévwv yap avTov
To Bia nal thy Sixatodociay as vom TadaLe
e 4 bd , 66 O > 4 0 ” 9
Pwpaiwy aeipnpeva, Uv Wavoeole, eEltrev,
“gpiy vrelwopuevas Eipy vomous dvaytvecxKov-
res;” Gd0ke S€ xal tais KdpBwvos ovx avOpw-
mivws évuBpicat cupdopais. eb yap hv avayKatov
> ‘ Ld Mv > a > ‘ 4
avTov, @oTep jv iows, avereiv, evdus der
A \
AaBovta, Kal rod KeXevcavTos av Hv TO Epryov.
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him in dishonour, and in piteous plight too, since she had lately been deprived of her father because of her husband (for Antistius had been killed in the senate- house! because he was thought to be a partisan of Sulla for Pompey’s sake), and her mother, on behold- ing these indignities, had taken her own life. This calamity was added to the tragedy of that second marriage, and it was not the only one, indeed, since Aemilia had scarcely entered Pompey’s house before she succumbed to the pains of childbirth.

X. After this, word was brought to Sulla that Perpenna was making himself master of Sicily and furnishing a refuge in that island for the survivors of the opposite faction,? that Carbo was hovering in those waters with a fleet, that Domitius had forced an entry into Africa, and that many other exiled men of note were thronging to those parts, all, in fact, who had succeeded in escaping his proscriptions. Against these men Pompey was sent with a large force. Perpenna at once abandoned Sicily to him, and he recovered the cities there. They had been harshly used by Perpenna, but Pompey treated them all with kindness except the Mamertines in Messana. These declined his tribunal and jurisdiction on the plea that they were forbidden by an ancient law of the Romans, at which Pompey said: “Cease quoting laws to us that have swords girt about us!’ More- over, he was thought to have treated Carbo in his misfortunes with an unnatural insolence. For if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put the man to death, this ought to have been done as soon as he was seized, and the deed would have been his who

1 Earlier in the same year, 82 B.c., by order of the younger Marius, one of the consuls (Appian, Bell. Civ. i. 88).
2 The Marian party.
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e A
0 5é¢ Séoptov mpoayaywv avdpa ‘“Pwpaioy tpls
Urarevoavta Kal mpo tov Bnywatos aTnoas
KabeCopuevos avtos avéxpier, ayOopévov kal
Bapuvopévav tav tTapovTwy: eita éxédNevcev
amayayovtas avenelv. atrayOévta pévtoe paciv
auTov, @s eldev EXKOpEevoyv HOn To. Eidos, SetoBat
TOTTOV aUT@ Kal ypovov Bpayuy, a UTrO Kotdias
évoyAoupéve, tapacxeitv. Tdios 5¢ “Ommtos o
Kaicapos éraipos arravOperas dyoi cai Kolvro
OvarrAcpio ypnoacGat tov Tloumniov. émriord-
pevoy yap ws ~ate htrorAdyos avnp cal drrouabns
éy dAtyous 0 Ovarréptos, os 7xOn mpos autor,
émlioTacdapevov Kal cupmepitratnoavta Kal Trub0-
pevov wv éxpnte cal padovta, mpoctatas ois
varnpérass evOvds averety atrayayovrTas.
9 ? , A
ANN "Orig pév, Stav mepi tav Kaicapos
M4 } , a
qokemioy 7) gdirwy Siaréyntat, aopddpa Sei
4 \ > 4 Doe \ \
miorevery peta evraBeias: Tloumnios &€ Tovs
pev ev So€n paddiora TaY YwAXa Torepiov Kal
davepas adoKopévous avayxaiws éxorale, Tov
8 drAdtav doovs é&jv treptewpa RavOdvovtas,
> aed \ \ 4 \ ? e ,
évious d€ Kal ouveféreure. thv 8 ‘Tnepaiov
, , b “A 4 ,
TOMY &yYWKOTOS avTOU KoAaLELY yevomevnY peTa
a ,
Tav ToAeniov, LOévis o Snuaywyos aitnodpmevos
, b) ” / / \ Sa
Noyov ove Edy Sixaca trounce Tov Topzrniov,
9\ \ ” > N 9 A \ ?

éav Tov altiov adels amrodéon Tovs pndev abi-

Kovvtas. épopévou Sé éxeivov tiva éyet Tov
oY e \ e / ” \ \ f
aititov, éautov o {Oévs epn, Tovs pev dirovs
a a“ “
TelcavTa TOV TodtTa@V, Tos O éxXOpovs Biacd-

ordered it. But as it was, Pompey caused a Roman who had thrice been consul to be brought in fetters and set before the tribunal where he himself was sitting, and examined him closely there, to the distress and vexation of the audience. Then he ordered him to be led away and put to death. They say, moreover, that after Carbo had been led away to execution, when he saw the sword already drawn, he begged that a short respite and a convenient place might be afforded him, since his bowels distressed him. Furthermore, Caius Oppius, the friend of Caesar, says that Pompey treated Quintus Valerius also with unnatural cruelty. For, understanding that Valerius was a man of rare scholarship and learning, when he was brought to him, Oppius says, Pompey took him aside, walked up and down with him, asked and learned what he wished from him, and then ordered his attendants to lead him away and put him to death at once.

But when Oppius discourses about the enemies or friends of Caesar, one must be very cautious about believing him. Pompey was compelled to punish those enemies of Sulla who were most eminent, and whose capture was notorious; but as to the rest, he suffered as many as possible to escape detection, and even helped to send some out of the country. Again, when he had made up his mind to chastise the city of Himera because it had sided with the enemy, Sthenis, the popular leader there, requested audience of him, and told him that he would commit an injustice if he should let the real culprit go and destroy those who had done no wrong. And when Pompey asked him whom he meant by the real culprit, Sthenis said he meant himself, since he had persuaded his friends among the citizens, and forced

7 pevov. ayacbels ody THY mappnoiav al TO ppovnua : Tov avdpos 9 Tlopmnios adice THS aitias mp@Tov éxeivoy, elta, TOUS adAous Gtravras. axavev Se tous TTPATLOTAS éy Tais odotrropiars aTaKTety, ohpayida Tais payaipats avtTa@v éré-Banreyv, tv o py puratas exonaleto.

XI. Tadra mpdrrayv év YKxedLa cal TOMTEVO-peevos édéEaro Soyua cuyKAyTOU 'kad ypaupara LvAAa KEeNEVOVTA els AwBinv wreiv nat To Epely

Aoperio xata KpaTos, nO porxore TodaTTAaG Lay
Suva hs € Eyov Mdpuos ov mahat Svetrépacen € eK
AcBons ets Itadiav wal ovvéxer Ta ‘Popatov
mpaypara, TUpavvos éK puydoos KaTacTas.
2 dFéws ou daravra TapacKevac devos) Tlop-
mnios Dumerias pev adpxovra Méppuov Katéhime
TOV avdpa THs. aderpijs, autos 5é€ aynyeto vaval
pev paxpats éxaTov elxool, poptnyois 5& otrov
Kal Bern eat XpnHaTa Kat unXavas Kopivovaass
OKTAKOGiaLS. KAaTATXOVTL auT@ Tais pev els
Trveqy vavot, Tais dé Ets Kapxndova, Tay Tohe-
peicov amooTayres ENT AKLTXIALOL TpoceXwpnoar,
autos 5é Hye && evTent} TayWaTa.
3 Lup Rivas b¢ avrT@ mpaypa yedotov ioTopovct.
oTpaTiatat ydp TES, Os EorKe, Onaaup@ Tept-
TET OVTES éxaBov ouyva ypnuata. Tod bé mpary-
patos yevopevou pavepov 60fa Tots adXo1s
mapérrn mace Xpnudrov peoTov elvat TOY ToTov
éy tais worte TUXaLs TOY Kapyndoviav amOTE-
4 Gerpeverv. ovdev obv) Tloparnios elye xpnoOae
TOLS CTPATLOTALS éml modAds npE pas Oncaupovs
EnTovaw, adria | Trepuget yehav Kal Jecpevos o on00
puptddas Tocav’tTas opvocovcas Kal otpepovaas
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his enemies, into their course. Pompey, then, admiring the man’s frank speech and noble spirit, pardoned him first, and then all the rest. And again, on hearing that his soldiers were disorderly in their journeys, he put a seal upon their swords, and whosoever broke the seal was punished.

XI. While he was thus engaged in settling the affairs of Sicily, he received a decree of the senate and a letter from Sulla ordering him to sail to Africa and wage war with all his might against Domitius. For Domitius had assembled there a much larger force than that with which Marius, no long time ago,! had crossed from Africa into Italy and con- founded the Roman state, making himself tyrant instead of exile. Accordingly, after making all his preparations with great speed, Pompey left Memmius, his sister’s husband, as governor of Sicily, while he himself put out to sea with a hundred and twenty galleys, and eight hundred transports conveying provisions, ammunition, money, and engines of war. No sooner had he landed with part of his ships at Utica,? and with part at Carthage, than seven thou- sand of the enemy deserted and came over to him; and his own army contained six complete legions.

Here, we are told, a ludicrous thing happened to him. Some soldiers, it would seem, stumbled upon a treasure and got considerable amounts of money. When the matter became public, the rest of the army all

fancied that the place was full of money which the Carthaginians had hidden away in some time of calamity. Accordingly, Pompey could do nothing with his soldiers for many days because they were hunting treasures, but he went about laughing at the spectacle of so many myriads of men digging and stirring up

1 In 87 B.C. 2 In 81 B.c.
IAI
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

A a 4 > ‘ 9 / e \ v
TO TredLov, Ews aTreiTrovTEs EKENEVOY AUTOUS aye
4 UA \ Dos e , e A
darn Bovrgerat tov Lopryiov, as dtenv txavyy
Ths aBeXreptas Sedwxoras.
XII. ’Avriteraypévov Sé tod Aopetiov Kai
Xapadpav tiva. mpoBeRAnpévov yareT HY rEepacar
kal tTpaxelav, duBpos dua wvevpats Todvs Ewlev
apEdpevos KaTetyev, BoTE ATOYVOVTA THS Huepas
éxelyns payécacOar tov Aopériov avabuyny
mapayyetvat. Lloumrnios b¢ tovToy avTod troat-
ovpevos Tov Katpoyv o&éws earner Kat dvéBatve THv
, € > 4 ,
yapdépayv. ot 5¢ ataxtws Kal OopuBovpevar ral
ov WavTES OVSE OMaras UdiotavTo, Kal TO TvedWA
, A 4 b) A tA > 4
mepine. THY Cadnv avtots mpooBdaAXov évayTiay.
> \ b) \ N ‘ e , e \ 3 4
OU NV AAG Kal Tous Pwpatovs o Yelmwv eTapa-
? A ? , b) a > 7
Eev ov xadopavtas adAnAous axptBas, avToS
te Tlopmnios éxtvdtvevoev ayvonbels amro0aveiv,
EpWT@VTL oTpaTL@aTn TO GUVOnua Bpdbiov arro-
K pia pevos. .
? “A

Qodpevor S€ TOAX@ Hovm rovs Torepious
(Aéyovra, yap amd Stcpupiov tpioxirtoe Sda-
guyeiv) avtoxpatopa tov Ilopmniov nomdcarto.
gnoavtos Sé éxeivou pn SéyecOas THv timnv Ews
opOdov Eotnxe TO oTpatomedov THY TrodELIOV, E&
dé avrov afvodar ravtTns THS TMpoonyopias, éxeivo
a 7 a
Npijvat mpotepov xataBanreiv, Opynaav evOvs éml
Tov ydpaxa: Kat Tloparnios dvev xpdvovs nywvi-
Seto Sedotxms to Tpotepov mados. adrjioxneras 57)

TO otpatoredov Kat atrobvnoxe Aopétios. Tav
‘4 ¢€ \ > \ e 4 e N
dé moNewy ai pev evOds tarnKovov, ai && Kata
Kpatos €AnpOnoav. elre bé xal trav Bactdéwv
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the ground. At last they grew weary of the search and bade Pompey lead them where he pleased, assuring him that they had been sufficiently punished for their folly.

XII. Domitius now drew up his army against Pompey, with a ravine in front of him which was rough and difficult to cross ; but a violent storm of wind and rain began in the morning and continued to rage, so that he gave up the idea of fighting that day and ordered a retreat. But Pompey, taking advantage of this opportunity, advanced swiftly to the attack, and crossed the ravine. The enemy met his attack in a disorderly and tumultuous fashion, not all of them indeed, nor with any uniformity ; besides, the wind veered round and drove the rain into their faces. However, the Romans also were troubled by the storm, since they could not see one another clearly, and Pompey himself narrowly escaped death by not being recognized, when a soldier demanded the countersign from him and he gave it rather slowly.

Nevertheless, they routed the enemy with great slaughter (it is said that out of twenty thousand only three thousand escaped), and hailed Pompey as Imperator. And when he said he would not accept the honour as long as the camp of the enemy was intact, but that if they thought him worthy of the appellation, they must first destroy that, his soldiers immediately made an assault upon the ramparts ; and Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of a peril like the one he had just escaped. The camp was soon taken, and Domitius was slain. Then some of the cities submitted at once to Pompey, and others were taken by storm. King Iarbas also, the con-

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‘Idppav TOV CUMMAXnTAvTA Aoperin, Thv 8é
Bac treiav Tappa mapéedwxe. xXpwpevos Se Th
TUYn Kal TH puun Tov TTPATEVLATOS els THY
Nopadichy évéBane- Kab TOhOV o6dv TMEp@V

édacas kal wdavtwv Kkpatnoas ols évéruye, Kat
TO Wpos ‘Pepaious bé0s Hon TOV BapBapov
éfeppunxos avs loxupov kal poBepov éyxaTa-
oTnTas, ovde Ta Onpia dety ébn Ta THD AuBonv
KatoKobvTa THs THY ‘Popatav a aireipa popns Kal
TOALNS arronetrety. GOev év Onpass NeovTwy Kal
ehepavT ov jépas Svérpupey ov aoddds Tais 5é
Tacals, as pact, TegoapaxovTa TOUS Tohepious
guveihe Kal AtBony éxelpwoaro Kat Sintnge Ta
TOY Bacher, éros aywv éxeivo tétaptov Kal
eixoo Tov.
XIII. ’EsraverOovrs &é eis TrvKqy auT@e ypap-
para Kopiterat DvAAAa mpooTarTovTos adiévat
pev THY AaAXANnV OT paTLay, auTov dé pe” vos
TAY MATOS meptuevery avuToOe Tov d:adeEopevov
oTpAaTHyOV. émt tovTows adnrws pev avToS
Xero kat Bapéws edeper, eppavas 5é 6 orpatos
nyavanrer kal SenOévros tov Tlopantov 7 po-
eeiv, Tov Te XWaAdav KaKOS Edeyov, xaxeivov
ovK épacay tponcecOat Xepis avTay, aude elov
WLOTEVELY ™@ Tupdvve. TO fev ovv TPATOY O
Tloprnios émetpaTo mpavvety Kal mapiyopet
autovs' as 8 oux évreiOe, cataBa S$ amo TOU
Bypatos ent thy oxnvnv amne Sedaxpupévos.
oi 6€ cuAAaBovtes avtov avOis ért tod Bnyatos
KaTéaTnoay Kal TOND pépos THS Nwépas avy-
AOOn, TOV péev péverv Kal ape KehevovT@V, TOU
5 meiPecOar Seouévov Kai py ataciatle, axpe
144

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federate of Domitius, was captured, and his king- dom given to Hiempsal. Taking advantage of the good fortune and momentum of his army, Pompey now invaded Numidia. He marched through the country for many days, conquered all who came in his way, and made potent and terrible again the Barbarians’ fear of the Romans, which had reached a low ebb. Nay, he declared that even the wild beasts in African lairs must not be left without experience of the courage and strength of the Romans, and therefore spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. It took him only forty days all told, they say, to bring his enemies to naught, get Africa into his power, and adjust the relations of its kings, though he was but twenty-four years of age.

XIII. On his return to Utica, a letter from Sulla was brought to him, in which he was commanded to send home the rest of his army, but to remain there himself with one legion, awaiting the arrival of the general

who was to succeed him. Pompey himself gave no sign of the deep distress which these orders caused him, but his soldiers made their indignation manifest. When Pompey asked them to go home before him, they began to revile Sulla, declared they would not forsake their general, and insisted that he should not trust the tyrant.. At first, then, Pompey tried what words could do to appease and mollify them; but when he was unable to persuade them, he came down from his tribunal and withdrew to his tent in tears. Then his soldiers seized him and set him again upon his tribunal, and a great part of the day was consumed in this way, they urging him to remain and keep his command, and he begging them to obey and not to raise a sedition. At last, when their clamours and entreaties increased, he swore

ov T pogATapouyTov Kal KataBowvreov dpooev
avarpnoew éaurov e BialowrTo, cal ports OUTS
eT ava avTo.
T@ S¢ LAA mpery ev WrOev a yedla Tov
Hoprniov agpeordvan, Kal T pos TOUS pirous eltrev
as apa TET pew LEVOV qv avT@ yevopevep yepovTe
maideov ayavas aywvitecOat, dia TO kai Mdprov
auT@ véov bvTa, Kopion wAELoTA mpdypara Tapa-
axelv kal els Tous éaxdrous TEPLOTHTAL KLV v-
vous, mud opevos dé TtarnOH, wat mavTas avOpo-
TOUS aicBavopevas béxer Oar | Kat TAPATrELTELY
tov Tlopmniov @pynwevous per evvo! }aS, éomevoev
UrepBarérOar: Kal mpoehOarv aT nVvTno ev auto,
rat beftwadpevos ay evi mpodvuotata peyarn
pov Mayvov jowdaato, kal Tous TapovTas
odTas éxédevoe mpoc aryopetoan. onpaiver 5é Tov
peyav) Madryvos. Erepot 5é dacw éy MBby
7 P@TOV avahavnpa Todt Tov oTpaToU TAVTOS
yevérOat, KpaTos dé haBeiy Kat Sivapuy | vr
LvAAa BeBatwb ev. avros PEVTOL wavTov vota-
Tos Kal peTa TONUY _Xpovov eis "[Bnpiav avOv-
TATOS exTrenpdels € emt DepT@ptov np&ato ypager
EavTov év Tais éemeaTonais Kal Tots dtaTaypact
Mayvov lloparniovy ovxért yap Hv émridGovov
ToUvOLA avvndes 'yevopevor.
' O6ev eLKOTOS aryaa ein wal Javpdcevev ay Tis
tous mada. '"Pwpaious, ot tals ToLavTals éT6-
KAnTETe Kal Tporwvupiacs ov Tas TONEMLKAS
jueiBovro xal oTpaTLOTLKaS catopIwaets povov,
adda, Kal Tas TohiTLKAS mpagers Kal apeTas
éxOo MOU. Sv0 yoov Ma€ipous, Srrep éotl pe-
yiorous, dynyopevaey o Shpmos: Ovanrnréprov pev

éml t@ Stadrradkat otacidloveay avt@ thy avy-
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with an oath that he would kill himself if they used force with him, and even then they would hardly stop.
Sulla's first tidings of the affair were that Pompey was in revolt, and he told his friends that it was evidently his fate, now that he was an old man, to have his contests with boys. This he said because Marius also, who was quite a young man, had given him very great trouble and involved him in the most extreme perils. But when he learned the truth, and perceived that everybody was sallying forth to welcome Pompey and accompany him home with marks of goodwill, he was eager to outdo them. So he went out and met him, and after giving him the warmest welcome, saluted him in a loud voice as "Magnus," or The Great, and ordered those who were by to give him this surname. Others, however, say that this title was first given him in Africa by the whole army, but received authority and weight when thus confirmed by Sulla. Pompey himself, however, was last of all to use it, and it was only after a long time, when he was sent as pro-consul to Spain against Sertorius, that he began to subscribe himself in his letters and ordinances " Pompeius Magnus" ; for the name had become familiar and was no longer invidious.
And herein we may fittingly respect and admire the ancient Romans; they did not bestow such titles and surnames as a reward for successes in war and military command alone, but also adorned with them the high qualities and achievements of their states- men. At any rate, in two such cases the people bestowed the title of "Maximus," which signifies the Greatest : upon Valerius, for reconciling them with the senate when it was at variance with them;! and

1 After the famous secession of the plebs, in 494 B.c.

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a"

a

KAnTtov, PaBiov 5é “PodAXoyv, Ste wAovatous Tivas
> > 4 ‘ ,
e€ amreXevOépwv yeyovotas Kal xatanedeypévous
> \ 4 9¢/
els THY aUYyKANTOY €FEBarev.

XIV. ’Ex rovrtov OpiauBov nre Llopsrnios,
avréreye 5€ BaAras. UrdtTo yap } otpaTny@
Hovov, GAXr@ &é ovdev’ Sidwaww o vopuos. 620 Kal
Lentiov o mpatos amd pelovev Kal KpEerTTOVOV
ayavoyv év 'IBnpia Kapynbdoviov xpatioas ovK
nrnoe OpiauBov: bratos yap ovK Hv ovdé oTpa-
tTnyos. ef 5 Tloumrnios ovmm mdavu yeverov
9 A 4 > A ‘ Ad a
eiveNd OptauBevwv els THY TOMY, Bovhijs dua
‘ 4
THY HAtKiay ov péTeoTL, TavTdtracw éridOovov
écecOar Kal thy apxnv éavT@ Kal Thy Timny
>] , “ \ Io e 4 wv.
éxeivo. tadta mpos Ilopaniov o LUAXas Edeyev,
@> ovK édowy, GAG évoTHooOMEVvos avT@ Kal
KwWAVowY TO PirOverKov aTrEOodYTOS.
‘O &é Tlopmrnios ovy brémrnkev, adr’ évvoely
éxéXevoe TOV TvAAAaY STL TOV HALOV avaTédXdoVTA
mreloves 7 Sudpevov mpocKuvovcty, WS AUT@ peév
av€avopévns, pecoupévns dé Kal papatvomérvns
éxelv@ THs Suvapews. Ttavta o LWAXas ovK axpt-
Bas éEaxovoas, copay Sé tos axovoavtas amd
Tov mpoowTou Kal tod aoxnpatos év Oavpuate
Totoupevous, NpeTo TL TO AEXOeY ein. TuUOopEVOS
5é xal xatatrayels tod Tlowrniov tHv ToApav
aveBonae Sis edetfs, “ @prapBevedto.” ToAdNOv
dé ducyeparvovtwy Kal ayavaxtovvToy, éTt pan-
> , e ‘ b A €
ov avtous, os gdact, BovAopevos aviav o Ilop-
mnios, émexeipnoey élepdvtwy appate TeTTApov
émtBas eicedXavvew' Hyaye yap éx AsBuns Tav
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upon Fabius Rullus,! because he expelled from the senate certain descendants of freedmen who had been enrolled in it on account of their wealth.

XIV. After this, Pompey asked for a triumph, but Sulla opposed his request. The law, he said, permitted only a consul or a praetor to celebrate a triumph, but no one else. ‘Therefore the first Scipio, after conquering the Carthaginians in Spain in far greater conflicts, did not ask for a triumph; for he was not consul, nor even praetor. And if Pompey, who had scarcely grown a beard as yet, and who was too young to be a senator, should ride into the city in a triumph, it would not only make Sulla’s government’ altogether odious, but also Pompey’s honour. This was what Sulla said to Pompey, declaring that he would not allow his request, but would oppose him and thwart his ambition if he refused to listen to him.

Pompey, however, was not cowed, but bade Sulla reflect that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun, intimating that his own power was on the increase, while that of Sulla was on the wane and fading away. Sulla did not hear the words distinctly, but seeing, from their looks and gestures, that those who did hear them were amazed, he asked what it was that had been said. When he learned what it was, he was astounded at the bold- ness of Pompey, and cried out twice in succession: “Let him triumph!” Further, when many showed displeasure and indignation at his project, Pompey, we are told, was all the more desirous of annoying them, and tried to ride into the city on a chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought many

1 Cf. the Fabius Maximus, i. 2. It was in the capacity of censor, 304 B.c., that Rullus thus purified the senate.

Bactdnav cvxvors aixyparerous adda THS TANS
arevorépas ovons améotn Kai pernOev éri tors
immovs. émel S€ of oTpaTi@TaL pn TUYOVTES
ey / 50 2 a b UA N
NALKOY TpocEdoKnaay évoxrely EBovrOVYTO Kal
GopuBeiv, ovdév fy dpovtiferv, GdrAd padrrdov
9 , \ , A 4 b] ,
adjoew tov OpianBov 7 KoraKxevoew éxetvous.
cd &7; i> ir 9. A > \ \ tr
bre 89 Kal LepouvtrLos, avinp émiudpavys cal pdrduora

mpos tov OpiauBov evatas tov Tlopmaniov, viv
¥ \ Foe e fa) lA 3 a \
épn tov Lloumrniov opav Kal péyav adnOas kat
aEvov tod OptauBov. Syrov & éotly Ste nai
Bovrts av eernoas Tote padiws érvyev. GAN
3 b] 4 e / '\ " > A
ovK éaTrovoacer, MS Aéyouat, TO evdoEov éx TOD
qapadotou Onpwpevos. ov yap iv Oavpacropv eé
, «
mpo nrtkias éBovAeve Ilopumanios, GAN bréprap-
cd / , 3 4 A
mTpov 6 pndémw Bovrcvwv eOpiauBeve. tovTo
Sé avT@ Kxal mpos evvorav Uriipye TOV TOAD
OU puKpov: Exaipe yap o Ohmos aUT@ peta Opiap-
Bov év rots immcxois éEetralopéve.
XV. SvAAas 5é Huiadto pev opav eis Soop
ScEns mpdeoe Kal Svvdpews, aiayvvouevos 88
, e , « , oe , M7
KoAvEeW Houxiay Hye AH, OTe Bia Kal axovTos
avtovd Aémidov eis brrateiay KaTéoTHoE, TvVapy-
atpectdcas Kal Tov Sipov evvoia TH Tpds EavToV
éxeiv@ otrovddlovra Tapacyav, Peacdpevos avrov
amiovra peta mArAnOovs Sv ayopas o YWaAAas,
" oO a "» + «<? , / A , .
p@ oe, elev, "@ veavia, Yalpovta TH viKy
A > AN a "A \ 4 4,
TOS yap ovxl yevvaia radra Kal Kara, Kardou
"A Fi N
Tov wavtwv apiorov Aémidov Tov TwavTwy Ka-
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from Africa which he had captured from its kings. But the gate of the city was too narrow, and he therefore gave up the attempt and changed over to his horses. Moreover, when his soldiers, who had not got as much as they expected, were inclined to raise a tumult and impede the triumph, he said he did not care at all, but would rather give up his triumph than truckle to them. Then Servilius, a man of distinction, and one who had been most opposed to Pompey's triumph, said he now saw that Pompey was really great, and worthy of the honour. And it is clear that he might also have been easily made a senator at that time, had he wished it; but he was not eager for this, as they say, since he was in the chase for reputation of a surprising sort. And indeed it would have been nothing wonderful for Pompey to be a senator before he was of age for it ; but it was a dazzling honour for him to celebrate a triumph before he was a senator. And this con- tributed not a little to win him the favour of the multitude ; for the people were delighted to have him still classed among the knights after a triumph.

XV. Sulla, however, was annoyed at seeing to what a height of reputation and power Pompey was advanc- ing, but being ashamed to obstruct his career, he kept quiet. Only, when in spite of him and against his wishes Pompey made Lepidus consul,! by canvassing for him and making the people zealously support him through their goodwill towards himself, seeing Pompey going off through the forum with a throng, Sulla said: “I see, young man, that you rejoice in your victory ; and surely it was a generous and noble thing for Lepidus, the worst of men, to be pro- claimed consul by a larger vote than Catulus, the

1 In 79 B.c.

KLO-TOV arroderx Phar TpoTEepov Unarov, cov TOV
Sijmov ovTw TApATKEvaTavros; dpa PEVTOL oot
pn xabevoery, adda T poo éXetv Tous Tpay pact"
toxuporepov yap Tov avrayoves Tay TeavT@ KarTe-
oxevacas. edn rwoe dé padiora Swaras 3 6Tt
™pos Tloprnjiov | ovK eULEVaS elxe Tais Sad jKass
as eyparpev. érépous yap pidors Swpeds amro-
ALT@V, Kal TOU TaLdOS anodetEas € emit porous, TOV
Top niov dws maphnrdev. TveyKe pévroL TOUTO
pet plas Tavu Kal TOMTLKOS exeivos, OoTE Aeri-
Sou Kal Tevooy Gr\Xwv éevictapéevov yn Tapyvat TOV
vexpov év TO Tredlm, pndé Snpooia THY expopav
yeverOan, BonPijcar Gah mapacye dSokav aya
Tals Tapais Kal dodpanretay.
XVI. ’Ezrel 6é Taxy Tou LwUrra TENEUTHO AVTOS
els pas Trappet Ta pavreipara, Kal AémiBos
eloTrov@y éavTov ets THY éxelvou Suvapuy ov KvKL@
Te priv ovoe peta TX MATOS, anna evdds évy Tos
Grrdous Rv, TA Tada vocobvTa Kal /Saduyovra
TOV LvAXaY Umonelupata TOV oTdoewy aides
avaKivev Kat mreptBarhopevos, 0 be cuvapyov
avrov Karhos, @ TO xabapov Kal vytaivov pa-
Mora Tis BovAjs xal rod Srypov mpoaelyen, Hv
pev év akidpare coppocvyns kat Sixacoovrns
peyloTos TOV TOTE ‘Popaior, edoxet be TohiTLKAs
Hryepovias padrov q OTPATLOTLEAS oixetos elvat,
TOV T Pay waTov avTav moOouvrov TOV Toparniov
ov Steperdrnoey 6 mn Tpamnrat, mpoadels 6¢ Tots
apia rots éavTov amredelyOn TT PATEVLATOS HYEL@V
él TOV Aémdov 787 To\Aa THS “ITadrias Kexwn-
KoTa Kal THY évTos | “Arey Tanrariav xatéyovra

$a Bpovrov otparevpare.
1 karegnxevaxas with Bekker and 8: wapeoxevaxas.

best of men, because you influenced the people to take this course. Now, however, it is time for you to be wide awake and watchful of your interests ; you have made your adversary stronger than your- self." But Sulla showed most clearly that he was not well-disposed to Pompey by the will which he wrote. For whereas he bequeathed gifts to other friends, and made some of them guardians of his son, he omitted all mention of Pompey. And yet Pompey bore this with great. composure, and loyally, inso- much that when Lepidus and sundry others tried to prevent the body of Sulla from being buried in the Campus Martius, or even from receiving public burial honours, he came to the rescue, and gave to the interment alike honour and security.!

XVI. Soon after the death of Sulla," his prophecies were fulfilled, and Lepidus tried to assume Sulla's powers. He took no circuitous route and used no pretence, but appeared at once in arms, stirring up anew and gathering about himself the remnants of faction, long enfeebled, which had escaped the hand of Sulla. His colleague, Catulus, to whom the in- corrupt and sounder element in the senate and people attached themselves, was the greatest Roman of the time in the estimate set upon his wisdom and justice, but was thought better adapted for political than military leadership. The situation itself, therefore demanded Pompey, who was not long in deciding what course to take. He took the side of the nobility, and was appointed commander of an army against Lepidus, who had already stirred up a large part of Italy and was employing Brutus to hold eigeipine Gaul with an army.

1 Cf. the Swla, chapter xxxvili.
* 78 B.C,

Tov per obv adov expaTnae padias émeOov 627

O Topmnios: év dé Movutivy Tihs Daratias avre-
KaOnro 7 Bpovre ouxvov xpovov: év & Aémedos
emt THY 'Payny p puels xat T poo Kanpevos EEwO ev
Uratelav NTEL Sevrépay, oxo TOAA@ SedLTTO-
pevos Tovs evoov. duce Se Tov $oBov émlaToms)
mapa Topiarniou Kopobeioa Kat @pOoKxoros aivev
payns TOV TONELOV. 6 yap Bpotros, elTe Trapa-
Sous Tay Suvapup avTOs, elTeé mpodobels peta
Baropevns éxeivns, evexel pice TO Tloparni TO
TOUA, Kal ha Baw iT TEls TPOTOMTMOUS amrexo-
pnoev els TONYVLOY TL TOV TrEpL TOV Iadov, 6 Strov

ped” TMépay par, émiméurpavtos avuT@ Tob Top-
malov Tepiviov, avnpeOn: Kal ToAADY éoyev a0
TOUTOU _Tloparijios airiav, yeypapars yap evOus
év 4px THS petaBorgRs wpos THV oUyKANTOV WS
éx@y auto mpoabo.to Bpodros, érépas adds
Emre prev emLaTOAAs avn pnpévov tod av @Trov
KaTHyopovcas. TOUTOV Bpodros Hy vios 0 Kai-
capa ovv Kaoaio xreivas, avnp opoieas TO TwaTpl
pyre ToEunoas unte aTroVaver, as év Tous Tept
éxelvov yéypamrat. Aertéos pev ovv evs
exTreg OV THs "ItaXias amemépacey ets Lapdova:
KaKel voonaas érenevtnoe Oe’ adupiav, ov TOV
TPaywaTov, OS pacw, ara Ypapparie Te pt-
meawy €& ob pocxetan ° TWA THS yuvarnos epdpace.
XVII. Aeridp bé ovdev dpotos TTPATAYOS
‘TAnpiav KaTeX ov DLepTaptos € em n@pelTo ‘Papatous
poBepos, adomep én éoxarov * voonua TaV ép-
pudov TONEY ets ToUTOV Tov avdpa auvep-
PUNKOTWY, TrOAAOUS Mev HON TOV EXATTOVWY OTpA-
1 éx’ Zrxarov Stephanus, Coraés, and S: grxarov,

Other opponents against whom Pompey came were easily mastered by him, but at Mutina, in Gaul, he lay a long while besieging Brutus. Meanwhile, Lepidus had made a hasty rush upon Rome, and sitting down before it, was demanding a second con- sulship, and terrifying the citizens with a vast throng of followers. But their fear was dissipated by a letter brought from Pompey, announcing that he had brought the war to a close without a battle. For Brutus, whether he himself betrayed his army, or whether his army changed sides and betrayed him, put himself in the hands of Pompey, and receiving an escort of horsemen, retired to a little town upon the Po. Here, after a single day had passed, he was slain by Geminius, who was sent by Pompey to do the deed. And Pompey was much blamed for this. For as soon as the army of Brutus changed sides, he wrote to the senate that Brutus had surrendered to him of his own accord ; then he sent another letter denouncing the man after he had been put to death. The Brutus who, with Cassius, killed Caesar, was a son of this Brutus, a man who was like his father neither in his wars nor in his death, as is written in his Life. As for Lepidus, moreover, as soon as he was expelled from Italy, he made his way over to Sardinia. There he fell sick and died of despondency, which was due, as we are told, not to the loss of his cause, but to his coming accidentally upon a writing from which he discovered that his wife was an adulteress.

XVII. But a general quite unlike Lepidus, namely Sertorius, was in possession of Spain, and was threatening the Romans like a formidable cloud. As if for a final disease of the state, the civil wars had poured all their venom into this man. He had

tTnyav avypnkota, MerérdrA@ 6é Ilim tore oup-
memAeypLévov, avdpt AapTpP@ péev Kal ToremKg,
Soxobvrs Sé apryorepoyv bro ynpws ErecOat Tois
Katpois Tod troAguov, Kal amorelrecOat TeV
mpaypdtov apralouévwy o€itTyTL Kal TaxXeL, TOU
epTwpiov TapaBoAws Kal AnoTPLKwWTEpOY avT@
mpoopepouévov, Kat TapaTrovTos évédpais Kal
TepLopouais avbpa vouipwv aOrAntTHy adyovov Kar
Suvdpews otacipov Kai Bapeias Hyepova. pos
tadta Iloumnios éywv thy otpatiay bd éEavTo
Sterpatreto MerédArp reudOjnvar BonOos: kat
KadrAov xerevovros ov diéAvev, GAX év ois
Smo Hv rept THY WoALY, del TLvAaS TroLOvpEVOS
mpopaces, ews Ewxav alt@ thy apynv Aevxiov
Dirinwov yvepuny eitrovtos. Ore Kai dacw ev
cuykrAnt@ mvOopévov twos Kal Oavydfovtos et
Tlopmnjiov avOvmatov oierat Seiv éxrreupOjvar
Midimtos: “Our éywye,” pavat tov Pirsrmop,
“arn avl imdatwv,” as audortépouvs Tovs TOTE
UmarevovTas ovdevos akious dvtTas.
XVIII. ’Evel 5é€ tis “[Pnpias crvpdpevos 6
Ilopmrnios, ola pire mpos véov So€av iHyepuovos,
étépous Tais éXmiow éroinae Tos avOpwrrous Kal
Ta py wavy BeBalws TO Yeptopio cvvectara
tov eOvav exiweito Kal peteBddrero, ddyous
imepndavovs o Lept@pios Kata Tod Topsrniov
Suéotreipe, Kal oxwTTWY Edeye VdpOnKos av aiTe
Sefoat Kal oxvTous ert Tov Taida TovTOV, Ee pM)
Tv ypabv éxeivny époBetto, ANéywv tov Méred-
ov. gpym pévtror purarropevos adodpa kat

already slain many of the inferior commanders, and was now engaged with Metellus Pius, an illustrious man and a good soldier, but, as men thought, too slow by reason of his years in following up the opportunities of war, and outdistanced when events swept along at high speed. For Sertorius attacked him recklessly and in robber fashion, and by his ambus- cades and flanking movements confounded a man who was practised in regular contests only, and com- manded immobile and heavy-armed troops.!_ Pompey, therefore, who kept his army under his command, tried to get himself sent out to reinforce Metellus, and although Catulus ordered him to disband his soldiers, he would not do so, but remained

under arms near the city, ever making some excuse or other, until the senate gave him the command, on motion of Lucius Philippus. On this occasion, too, they say that a certain senator asked with amazement if Philippus thought it necessary to send Pompey out as pro- consul. “No indeed!” said Philippus, “but as pro-consuls,”’ implying that both the consuls of that year were good for nothing.

XVIII. When Pompey arrived in Spain,? the reputation of a new commander produced the usual results ; he transformed the men of Metellus with fresh hopes, and those nations which were not very firmly leagued with Sertorius began to be restless and change sides. Thereupon Sertorius disseminated haughty speeches against Pompey, and _ scoffingly said he should Have needed but a cane and whip for this boy, were he not in fear of that old woman, meaning Metellus.? In fact, however, he kept very close watch on Pompey, and was afraid of him, and

1 Cf. the Sertorius, xii. 5. 2 In 76 B.C.
3 Cf. the Sertorius, xix. 6.
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SeSorxas Tov Tlopmniov aodaréctepov éotparn-
\ e 4 ¢ 9 wv »7
yet. Kal yap o Mérednos, Srrep ove av Tis wNnOn,
SuerOpuTto tH Bio Kouidh pos Tas dovas
évdedwxas, Kal peyaAn Tis eis OyKov Kal TroNv-
a 3 / > 4 \ > 7F
Téreay éEaidyns éyeyoves petaBorn Tepl autor,
aorte TO Lloprnio cai todTo Oavpactny evvovay
dpa Soé&n pépesy, emireivovtTe thy evTédXerav TIS
Suaitys ov ToAAHS éritndevoews Seouévnv’ pvoes
yap qv cadpewv cal tetaypévos év tats émOv-
piats.
Tod 5é modguou roAAds tdéas ExovtTos, nviace

4 N ae e lA e e \
parsora tov Tlopmrniov 7» Aavpwvos adwots vie
Leptwpiov. KuxrovaIat yap avrov oinbels cat
Te peyarnyopnaas, avros éEaigyns avedavyn tept-
exopevos KUKA@ Kal dia TodTO KivEelcOat Sedias
€MEelde KATATLLTPALEeVnY THY TOALY AVTOD TrapoV-
e / \ / v e

tos. ‘Epévucov 5é xal Tepiréwav, avdpas jrye-
PoviKxovs TV Tpos YEepT@pLoy KatatrepevyoTwv
Kal orpaTnyouvTap éxeiva, vixnoas tept Ovarev-
tiav vrrép puplovs amréxretvev.
XIX. ’EsrapOels Sé 1H wedke Kal péya dpo-

vav ém avtTov éxmevde YepTwptov, WS py) peTa-
A , / \ \ 4
ayo. THs viens MéreAXos. mepl 5é Yovepwve
TOTAL THS Huépas Hdn TedevT@aNS avvéBadov
Tas Suvdpets, Sedvores érrerOeiy tov Méreddor,
O pev ws povos, o O€ ws pov@ Staywvicatto. TO
\ 9 } > / wv e 93 , @ ,
pev ovv tédos audidofoy Ecyev o aywv: éExatépov
yap Oarepov Képas evinnoe: tav b& otparnyav
Tréov nvéyxato Leptwpios: érpépatro yap To
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therefore conducted his campaign with more caution. For Metellus, contrary to all expectation, had become luxurious in his way of living and had given himself up completely to his pleasures; in fact, there had been all at once a great change in him towards pomp and extravagance,! so that this circumstance also brought Pompey an astonishing goodwill, and enhanced his reputation, since he always maintained that simplicity in his habits which cost him no great effort ; for he was naturally temperate and orderly in his desires.

The war had many phases, but what most vexed Pompey was the capture of Lauron by Sertorius. For when he supposed that his enemy was surrounded, and had made some boasts about it, all of a sudden it turned out that he was himself completely enveloped. He was therefore afraid to stir, and had to look on while the city was burned before his eyes.2,.. However, near Valentia he conquered Herennius and Perpenna, men of military experience among the refugees with Sertorius, and generals under him, and slew more than ten thousand of their men.

XIX. Elated by this achievement and full of pride, he made all haste to attack Sertorius himself, that Metellus might not share in the victory. By the river Sucro, though it was now late in the day, they joined battle, both fearing the arrival of Metellus; the one wished to fight alone, the other wished to have only one antagonist. Well, then, the struggle had a doubtful issue, for one wing on each side was victorious; but of the generals, Sertorius bore away the more honour, for he put to

1 Cf. the Sertorius, xiii. 1 f.
2 Cf. the Sertorius, chapter xviii.
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xa" avrov éxelvos avtitayOeis. Tloumrnip 5é
avip péyas immotn welds épwopynoe' cTupredor-
tov § eis TO avTd Kal yevopéveav év AaBais aré-
oxnyav ai TAnyal trav E:pav eis tas yxelpas
appoiv, ovx opotws: érpoOn pév yap o Tlopmnios
poovov, éxeivou dé atréxoe THY Yelpa. TAELOVOD
dé cuvdpapovtar ém' adrov, 75n THs TpoTHS ye-
yevnuevns, avertriotws Stépuye, mpoéuevos Tov
iartrov Tots ToAEuiols PdvAapa ypvoa Kal Koopov
dEtov TwodXoOd Trepixeipevov. Tavita yap Stavepo-
pevot Kal TEpl TOUTWY paYopevOL POS ANAHXOUS
atreneipOnoav. dpa dé npépa wapetdEavto peév
auporepot tradi éxBeRatovpevot To vixnua, Me-
Tédnou 5é mMpociovTos aveywpnoev Oo Leprowpios
oxcdacbévtTt T@ oOTpaT@. ToLtadTar yap joav at
Siarvoes Kal mddw ovvdpopal tav avOpeoTrav
@orTe TOAAGKIS fLovoy TAavacOaL TOV LEepTw@pLoD,
mwodnaks b€ adbis émiévar pupidot Tevrexaidera
oTpatias, @omep Yeipappovy éLaiduns miutra-
pevov.
'O & otv Tlopmyios, evel peta tv paxnv
annvTa te Merérd\r'\{m Kat wANnciov aA
hoa, exérevoev tdheivar tas paBdovs, Oeparrevwv
@S Wpovyovta tum tov MéredAdov. o é Kal
tovTo SvexdAvoe xal tarda ypnoros Hy avyp
wept avTov, ovdey ws UTaTiK@ Kal tpecBuTép@
véuwv éavT@ Wréov, GAN h TO aivOnpa Kown
orTpatotredsevovtav eis Atravtas é&erréuteto Tapa
'MeréAdovu: ra Todd 5é yupls éotpatoredevovTo.
Siéxomrre yap avtous Kat diictn oixiros Ov oO
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flight the enemy in front of his position. But Pompey, who was on horseback, was attacked by a tall man who fought on foot; when they came to close quarters and were at grips, the strokes of their swords fell upon each other's hands, but not with like result, for Pompey was merely wounded, where- as he lopped off the hand of his opponent. Then, when more foes rushed upon him together, his troops being now routed, he made his escape, contrary to all expectation, by abandoning to the enemy his horse, which had golden head-gear and ornamented trappings of great value. They fought with one another over the

division of these spoils, and so were left behind in the pursuit.) At break of day, however, both generals drew up their forces again to make the victory assured, but on the approach of Metellus, Sertorius retired and his army dispersed. His men were accustomed to scatter in this way, and then to come together again, so that often Sertorius wandered about alone, and often took the field again with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, like a winter torrent suddenly swollen.

Pompey, then, when he went to meet Metellus after the battle and they were near each other, ordered his lictors to lower their fasces, out of deference to Metellus as his superior in rank. But Metellus would not allow this, and in all other ways was considerate of him, not assuming any superiority as a man of consular rank and the elder, except that when they shared the same camp the watchword was given out to all from the tent of Metellus; but for the most part they encamped apart. For their versatile enemy used to cut off their communications

1 Cf. the Sertorius, xix. 4.

Tonreutos Kai Sewos év Bpayel roAdaxov tTept-
gavnvar cal petayayely am addrAwv eis AAXOUS
ayavas. Tédos b€ mepixomTeV pev ayopas, Ani-
Copevos 5€ THY Yopay, émixparav 8 tis Oadrdo-
> / > ‘ “ e b e N bd
ons, eEeBarev apdotépouvs tis up eavtov ‘IBy-
pias, avayxacBévtas eis adXOTpias KaTaduyey
érapxXias amropia Tav émitndeiwv.
XX. Tloprnios 5€ ta mreicota TeV dior
éFarnrwxas Kal caTaxeypnpevos eis TOV TOAELOD,
TEL YpHATAa THY OvYKANTOY, ws adiEopevos Ets
"IradXiav peta HS Suvdwews ef my Téptrocev.
e 4 N 4 , Ah A
vratrevwov d€ Aeveorros tore cal Tlopmrnig peév
av Suddopos, py@pmevos & éavt@ tov MiOpidatexov
ToAELov, EoTrevoey ATrocTAaAnVaL Ta Ypnpata,
poBovpevos aitiav Ilopmrnie wapacyxeiv Seopéve
LepTwopiov adeivar kal mpos MiOpiddrnv tpare-
cOat, Naptrpov pev eis SoEav, edpetayeiptatov Se
dhawvopevoy avraywvictny. év tovtm bé OvncKet
LepTa@ptos wre trav hirwv Soropovybeis: dv Ilep-
jwévvas 0 KopupaoTatos éeTexeipnoey exeiv@ Ta
aUTa TroLEtY, ATO TOY AVTA@V Lev Oppwpevos Suva-
pewy Kal TapacKkevav, Tov 5é Ypw@pevoy avTais
e / ? ” / La A) a €
OfolLwWS OUK EXwV NoYtopov. EvOUS ovv oO Tlop-

daw 3 \ e 4 > al 4
anios émeEeNOwv cal peuSopevov év Tols wpay-
pace tov Ileprrévvay xatapabov, dércap avte
déxa omreipas UpiKer, eis TO Tediov StacTraphvar
KedXevoas. Tpatrouévov Sé pos TavTas éxeivov
\ , QO 3 \ \ ,
kal Stmxovtos, a0pous émipavelts Kal cuvdras
, 3 / 4 \ } @ 4 e
paynv éxparnoe twavrwv. Kal duepOdpnoar oi
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and separate them, and showed great skill in appearing in many places within a short time, and in drawing them from one contest into another. And finally, by cutting off their supplies, plundering the country, and getting control of the sea, he drove both of them out of that part of Spain which was under him, and forced them to take refuge in other provinces for lack of provisions.!

XX. When Pompey had exhausted most of his private resources and spent them on the war, he asked money of the senate, threatening to come back to Italy with his army if they did not send it. Lucullus was consul at this time, and was not on good terms with Pompey, but since he was soliciting the conduct of the Mithridatic war for himself, made great efforts to have the money sent,? for fear of furthering Pompey's desire to let Sertorius go, and march against Mithridates, an antagonist whose subjection, as it was thought, would bring great glory and involve little difficulty. But in the meantime Sertorius was treacherously killed by his friends,® and Perpenna, the ringleader among them, attempted to carry on his work. He had indeed the same forces and equipment, but lacked equal judgement in the use of them. Accordingly, Pompey took the field against him at once, and perceiving that he had no fixed plan of campaign, sent out ten cohorts as a decoy for him, giving them orders to scatter at random over the plain. Perpenna attacked these cohorts, and was engaged in their pursuit, when Pompey appeared in force, joined battle, and won a complete victory. Most of Perpenna's officers

1 Cf. the Sertorius, ard xxi.

* Cf. the Lucullue, v.

5 In 72 B.c., two years ore Lucullus had set out against Mithridates.

A A @e 4 3 n 4 N \
TrEla TOL TAY Hyewovav évy TH pwayn Tov Sé Tlep-
mévvav ayOévta mpos avTov améxtewev, ovK
axyaptotos ovd apynuwv yevopevos TeV rept
LiKxediav, ws éyxarovow vor, weyary Sé Scavola
\ / a
Kal awTnpim TOV OLov yvoOuN XpNnoapEvos. oO
\ / le)
yap Ileprévvas trav Yeptwpiov ypaypdtwv ye-

\ a
yovms Kuplos édeixvuey émictoAas Tov év ‘Popn
Suvatwtatwy avdpov, of Ta Tapovta Kivnaat
, aA

BovrAopevot rpaypata Kal petacthoaL THY ToN-

4 > Ul \ 4 ? A b /
Telav €xadovv Tov Leptwpiov eis THv Itariav.
LY @ € Fue A \ ,

poBnbeis ovv o Lloutrnios tradta, py petfovas
advactTynon TOY TeTaUpevwV TOAELOV, TOV TE Llep-
, > “ A 3 9Q9 > A
mévvay avetre Kal Tas émiatoAas ovd’ avayvous
KaTéxavoev.
XXI. ’Ex 5 tovTov Twapapeivas ypovov bcov

\
Tas peyiotas KatacBéoat tapayas Kal Ta
prcyuaivovta padtora KataoThoat Kal dvardoat
TOV TpayLaTav, atiyev eis “Itadiav Tov otpa-
Tov, axpdtovre T@ SovALK@ Trordéum Kata TYYHY
\
depopevos. 810 kal Kpdooos o otpatnyos nreke
TapaBorws THY pudyny, Kal KaTevTvXNCE, Staxe-
Alous Tplaxoatous emt puplots KTElvas. Ov pV
9 \ U4 N Pune 9 Ul
arrAa Kal tovtm Tov Tloumrniov evorovovens
aUOS YE TWS TO KaTOpJa@paTL THS TUYNS, TEVTA-
Kicxidtoe hevyovres ex THS payns evéTrEerov Ets
3 / A e/ / ” \ \
autov, ods atravras dtapOeipas, Eyparre Tpos THY
auyKAntov UropOdcas ws Kpdooos pév €x trapa-

Takews vevinnxe Tovs povoudyovs, avTos bé Tov Tovenov ex pilav twavtdmaciw avypnke. Kal
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perished in the battle, but Perpenna himself was brought before Pompey, who ordered him to be put. to death. In this he did not show ingratitude, nor that he was unmindful of what had happened in Sicily,! as some allege against him, but exercised great forethought and salutary judgement for the commonwealth. For Perpenna, who had come into possession of the papers of Sertorius, offered to produce letters from the chief men at Rome, who had desired to subvert the existing order and change the form of government, and had therefore invited Sertorius into Italy. Pompey, therefore, fearing that this might stir up greater wars than those now ended, put Perpenna to death and burned the letters without even reading them.

XXI. After this, he remained in Spain long enough to quell the greatest disorders and compose and settle such affairs as were in the most inflammatory state; then he led his army back to Italy, where, as chance would have it, he found the servile war at its height. For this reason, too, Crassus, who had the command in that war, precipitated the battle at great hazard, and was successful, killing twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Even in this success, however, fortune somehow or other included Pompey, since five thousand fugitives from the battle fell in his way, all of whom he slew, and then stole a march on Crassus by writing to the senate that Crassus had conquered the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that he himself had extirpated the war entirely.?

1 Cf. chapter x. 2, where there is nothing to imply that Perpenna put Pompey under obligations to him, except that he made no resistance. ;

2 Cf. the Crassus, xi. 7.

A 4, @ > A > a A
tavta BovAopévors Hv Sc evvotay axpodcBat Kat
réyey Tois “‘Pwpaiors. "IBnpiav 8é ral Yeptoprov
a O\ 4 4 9 e / \
ovdé Trailwy av Tis elev érépou Kal uy Ilopsrniov
TO Tay épyov eva.
b] 7 “A l4 a ? \

Ev tocavrn 5 Tin Kal mpocdoxia Tob avdpos
ef IA e / , e >
Suos évav kal vtroia tis Kal Séos, as ov Tpo-
4 \ 4 lA 9
nooméevov TO oTpatevpa, Badsovpévov be &
OtAwv Kal povapxias dvtixpus él thy YWAda
, 4 b 4 @ A b]
modTeiav. OOev ovK éXNaTTOVes Hoav Trav be
eivolav TpexovTay Kal dirodpovovpévov Kal?
odov of do8w taita motodytes. érrel Sé Kal
TaUTHY aveire THY UTrovotay Oo Ilopmnios mpoevTov
adnoew TO oTpaTevpa peta Tov ApiayBov, év
airtacOat tois BacKaivovot mepinv vmdXorTor,
a A VA 4 A e \ a A
Ste TO Snum mpoovéwer padrrov éauTov Hh TH
BovvAy, wal To THs Snpapyias akiwpa, YwAAa
/ ”) / \ /

kataBandorTos, éyvwKxev aviotavar Kal yapilecOat

a a ? ® ? ’ > N yo:
Tois TToANols, OrEep Hv adnOés. ov yap éoTu
e > VA ee 4 9 4 A
ovTivos éupavéotepoy 6 ‘Pwopaiwyv npadaOn dros
Kal warrov érdOncev THY apynv avOus émdety
éxeivny, @oTte Kal Tlopmrniov etriynuwa trovetc bar
péya TOY Tov ToNLTEvATOS KaLpoV, ws OUK av
e , 4 bh ® \ ¥ > 4
EvpovTa Yapty adAnV 7 THY evvoLav apeireTat
TOV TWOMTOV, Eb TAUTHY ETEPOS TpoeAaBe.
4 ® b) A 4 4

XXII. Vadicbévros obv ait@ Sevrépov Optap-
ie , 9 8 a a ft) \ 3M
Bov kat braretas ov 1a tabta Oavpaortos edoKxer

And it was agreeable to the Romans to hear this said and to repeat it, so kindly did they feel towards him ; while as for Spain and Sertorius, there was no one who would have said, even in jest, that the entire work of their subjugation was performed by any one else than Pompey.

Nevertheless, mingled with the great honour shown the man and the great expectations cherished of him, there was also considerable suspicion and fear; men said he would not disband his army, but would make his way by force of arms and absolute power straight to the polity of Sulla. Wherefore those who ran out and greeted him on his way, out of their goodwill, were no more numerous than those who did it out of fear. But Pompey soon removed this suspicion also by declaring that he would dis- band his army after his triumph. Then there re- mained but one accusation for envious tongues to make, namely, that he devoted himself more to the people than to the senate, and had determined to restore the authority of the tribunate, which Sulla had overthrown, and to court the favour of the many; which was true. For there was nothing on which the Roman people had more frantically set their affections, or for which they had a greater yearning, than to behold that office again. Pompey therefore regarded it as a great good fortune that he had the opportunity for this political measure, since he could have found no other favour with which to repay the goodwill of his fellow-citizens, if another had anticipated him in this.

XXII. Accordingly, a second triumph was de- creed him,! and the consulship. It was not on this account, however, that men thought him admirable

1 In 71 B.c.

Kal péyas, GAN’ éxelvo Texpyploy erotovvTO TIS Napmporntos, dtt Kpdagos, avnp Tav TOTE ToN- Tevopévwov TAovawwtatos Kal Sewvotatos eizreiy Kat péyiotos, autov te Llopmrniov birepppovev kal tovs dAXovs aravtas, ovK eOdppnoey vra- relay petiévat mpotepov 4» Iloprniov denOjvar. kat pévroe Tloumnios nyamnoe, wanrat Sedpevos ypeias twos wmdpEar Kal diravOpwrias mpos avtov' mate Kal SeEvodcbat mpoPvpws Kai Trapa- Kanreiv tov Shor, émayyeAdopevos yap Eewv ovK éXaTTOVa Tod cuVdpYoVTOS H THS apyijs. ov pny GAN aroderyOévtes Uratos Srepépovto wavTa Kal mpocéKpovov adAdHAOLS* Kal év ev Th Bovag padrov ioyuev 0 Kpdoaos, év 5€ TO one peya To [oparniov Kparos my. kal yap

améd@xe THY Snpapxiay avT@, «al tas Otxas
Teptetoev avOis eis TOUS imméas vOo“@ pEeTadeEpo-
pévas. Hdvotov dé Céapa TO Sip Trapéoyxev
AUTOS EAUTOV THY OTPATELAY TAPALTOV[EVOS.
"Edos yap é€ote “Pwpaiwy rots tmredow, Stay
OTPATEVTWVTAL TOV VOMLMoY Ypovov, aye Eis
ayopay Tov imov én Tovs dvo avdpas ods Tunas
Kanovat, Kal KaTapiOunoapévovs TOV oTpAaTHYaV
kal avtoxpatopav Exactov tp ols éotparevoavTo,
kat Sovtas evOuvas tis otpateias adierOar.
vépetat 6€ Kal Tin Kal atipia mpoanKkovaa Tots
Biots éxdotov.
Tote 6% mpoexdO@nvto pev ot truntat T'édduos
kat AévtrAos ev Koop@, Kal mwapodos HY TeV
168

and great, nay, they considered this circumstance a proof of his splendid distinction, that Crassus, the richest statesman of his time, the ablest speaker, and the greatest man, who looked down on Pompey himself and everybody else, had not the courage to sue for the consulship until he had asked the support of Pompey. Pompey, moreover, was de- lighted, since he had long wanted an opportunity of doing him some service and kindness, and there- fore granted his request readily and solicited the people in his behalf, announcing that he should be no less grateful to them for such a colleague than for the consulship. Notwithstanding, after they had been elected consuls, they differed on all points, and were constantly in collision.1_ In the senate, Crassus had more weight; but among the people the power of Pompey was great. For he gave them back their tribunate, and suffered the courts of justice to be transferred again to the knights by law.? But the most agreeable of all spectacles was that which he afforded the people when he appeared in person and solicited his discharge from military service.

It is customary for a Roman knight, when he has served for the time fixed by law, to lead his horse into the forum before the two men who are called censors, and after enumerating all the generals and imperators under whom he has served, and render- ing an account of his service in the field, to receive his discharge. Honours and penalties are also awarded, according to the career of each.

At this time, then, the censors Gellius and
Lentulus were sitting in state, and the knights were
1 Cf. the Crassus, xii. 1 f. :
2 By a law passed in the time of Sulla, only senators were
eligible as judges.
169

Ummrewy eFeralopevan, apn be Tlopmnios dvabev
én aryopay KATEPXOMEVOS, Ta pev adda Tapaonpa
THS apyijs EXOD, C avros be bua Xetpos dryoy TOV
immov. ws d éyyus Hy Kat KaTapayns éryeryovet,
Kerevoas Siacxelv TOUS paRdodopous TO Brnpate
Mpoonyaye Tov iararov. qv O€ TO Syp@ Jaipa
Kal colony Taca, Tous TE dpXovras aides dpa
Kat Kapa T pos THY oyu éoxyev. lta o pev
T peo BUTEpos porn “TluvOdvopai cou, @
Tloprnie Mayve, él Tacas éoTpaTevoas TAS KATA
VO|LOV oTpaTelas;”” Ilopanios 5é peyadny povi,
“Ideas,” elev, “ €oTpaTevpat, Kal Tagas UT
eMauT@ avroxparopt. TOUTO axovaas) Sfjwos
efexparye, Kal Katacyxelp odKeTe THV Bony v7
yapas 7p, GX’ avactavtes of Tinral Tm poemep-
Tov aurov oixade, yapilouevo. tots moAtTats
ETroméevows Kat Kpotobaw.
XXIII. "Héy dé Tis apys TE parvoperns TO
Tloparnio, tis dé 7 pos K pdocop avEouerns Sia
popas, Tdios Tes Avpyiios, afiopa pev UT TT LKOV
éyov, Bio é am pdry wove KEX PNMEVOS, éxxAnoias
ovens avaBas emt TO Bjpa Kal wpocehOav épn
Kata TOUS Darvous auT@ TOV Aia davyvat, Kedev-
ovTa Tots vmaTots ppdoat Pea ™ poTepov aTrobéa Oat
THY apy y) pidous adrqhows yever Gan, pn0év-
TOV dé TovTwv oO pes Tloumnios novyiay ryev
ETTWS, O be Kpacoos apEdapevos beEvobo bas Kal
mpog aryopevewy autov, ‘ Ovdéer,” elrrev, “‘ olpas
qToLely ayEVVES ovde TaTELvon, a ToNiTaL, Top-
mtg TpoTepos évdud0vs, Ov vpets paaytroy joey
yevet@vra Méyav nktwoate Kadeiv, pnw 6é
pETEXOVTE Bovans éyyndicacbe dv0 OptdpBovs.”
€x TouTov dvadAayéevtes amréDevTo Thy apyYnv.
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passing in review before them, when Pompey was seen coming down the descent into the forum, otherwise marked by the insignia of his office, but lead- ing his horse with his own hand. When he was near and could be plainly seen, he ordered his lictors to make way for him, and led his horse up to the tribunal. The people were astonished and kept perfect silence, and the magistrates were awed and delighted at the sight. Then the senior censor put the question: “Pompeius Magnus, I ask thee whether thou hast performed all the military services re- quired by law?” Then Pompey said with a loud voice: “I have performed them all, and all under myself as imperator.” On hearing this, the people gave a loud shout, and

it was no longer possible to check their cries of joy, but the censors rose up and accompanied Pompey to his home, thus gratifying

the citizens, who followed with applause. } XXIII. When Pompey's term of office was now about to expire, and his differences with Crassus were increasing, a certain Caius Aurelius, who, though belonging to the equestrian order, had never meddled in public affairs, ascended the rostra at an assembly of the people, and came forward to say that Jupiter had appeared to him in his sleep, bidding him tell the consuls not to lay down their office before they had become friends. After these words had been said, Pompey stood motionless, but Crassus took the initiative, clasped his hand and greeted him, and then said: "I think [do nothing ignoble or mean, my fellow-citizens, in yielding first to Pompey, whom you were pleased to call Magnus when he was still beardless, and to whom you decreed two triumphs before he was a senator." Upon this, they were

reconciled, and afterwards laid down their office.!
1 Cf. the Crassus, xii. 3 f. 171
3

Kal Kpdooos pev 6vrep €& apyins etrero
tporov tod Biov SuepvrAatre, Ilopanios de tds
Te TOAANaS avedveTo cuYHYyopias Kal THY ayopav
KATA pixpov amérerTre Kal pone oTaViWS Els 'TO
4 b \ / 3 \ § 4
Snpudatov, acl b€ peta wANOovs. ov yap iv Ett
e LO v \ J A 1e. 6 "A > 4
padsov dyAov xwpis évtuyxety ovd dey avTopr,
GAN Hdtrros opov woAAois Kal aOpoots édatvero,
cepvotnta teptBarromevos é€x TovTOU TH dyreu
kal dyxov, tats S€ Tov ToAN@V évTevEect Kal
/ " 27 A \ 2 4
cuvnbetats AOixTov oldpevos Sev TO akiwpa b1a-
Tnpelv. oO yap év tuatiw Bios émicharns éots
mpos aookiay toils éx TOV GTrA@Y MeyadoLS Kat
mpos iaoTnTa Snuotinny aovppeTpois' avTol pev
yap Kal évrad0a mpwtevew, ws éxel, dtxatovor,
tots dé éxet epopévors EXaTTOv évtaiOa yovv
bn mréov Exe ov avextov éott. 616 Tov év
/ 0 4 4 e b
atpatomrésors Kal OpidpBows Aapmpov, Stav év
ayopa NaBwou, vTO YElpa TrovobyTat Kal KaTa-
Barxrovet, TO 5€ arroreyouévm Kal bToxywpodvTt
\ > a \ \ 4 b] / Ul
Thy éxel Tiny Kal Svvaply aveTridO ovov PvrAaTTOV-

b] 4 »\ > \ \ 4 4 9 3 4
ow. €diAwoe 6€ AUTA TA TPAyHaTA MET OALYOV
\ povov.
XXIV. ‘H yap reipatixyn dvvapis opynOn peév
éx Kudtxias To mp@tov, apynivy mapdBodrov da-
a 4 / \ /
Botca nal AavOavovoar, dpovnpa 6é kal Todpav
4 9 a a / / a“
éxyev €y TO Mibpidatine TOACLW, KPHoaca Tails
a e e , ® e /
BaowtKais vrnpeciars éavTnv. elta Popaiwv
3 n > , , \ 4 A e ,
év Tots éuduaAiors Trodémous trept Ovpas THs Pawns
TULTETOVTWY, Epnos ovca dpoupas 7 Oaracca
KaTa pulxpov avutovs édeiixeto Kal amponyer,
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Now, Crassus continued the manner of life which he had chosen at the outset; but Pompey ceased his frequent appearances as an advocate, gradually forsook the forum, rarely shewed himself in public, and when he did, it was always with a retinue of followers. In fact, it was no longer easy to meet him or even to see him without a throng around him, but he took the greatest pleasure in making his appearance attended by large crowds, encompassing his presence thus with majesty and pomp, and thinking that he must keep his dignity free from contact and familiar association with the multitude. For life in the robes of peace has a dangerous tendency to diminish the reputation of those whom war has made great and ill suited for democratic equality. Such men claim that precedence in the city also which they have in the field, while those who achieve less distinction in the field feel it to be intolerable if in the city at any rate they have no advantage. ‘Therefore when the people find a man active in the forum who has shone in camps and triumphs, they depress and humiliate him, but when he renounces and withdraws from such activity, they leave his military reputation and power untouched

by their envy. How true this is, events themselves
soon showed.
XXIV. The power of the pirates had its seat in Cilicia at first, and at the outset it was venturesome and elusive; but it took on confidence and boldness during the Mithridatic war,! because it lent itself to the king's service. Then, while the Romans were embroiled in civil wars at the gates of Rome, the sea was left unguarded, and gradually drew and enticed them on until they no longer attacked navi-

1 88-85, 83-81, 74 B.c.

ovKEeTL TOIs WA€oVGL povoy émiTLOEMEéVOUS, AANA
Kalb vnoous cal jones Wa adtous €XKOTTOVTAS.
76n O€ kal ypnuact Suvatol Kal yévert Aaptpol
kal ro} ppoveiv a£tovpevor Siadépew dv6pes
évéBawov els Ta AnoTpiKa Kal peTetXov, @s Kal
d0fav TW Kal dirotiiay tod Epryou PEpovtos.
my Oé kal vavoTadpa Tohrax ot TELPATUKA Kat
ppveTwpia TETELX LO HEVA, Kal oTOAOL ™ pooemumTov
ov TANPOLATOV povov evavdplats oveé TEXVALS
xuBepyntov ovee Ta eol vee Kab KovpoTna ty
éEnoxnpévot mpos TO olxetov Epyov, aAXa Tob
poBepor aAXov avTav TO emi Bovov cedures Kal
Umepn pavor, oTuNiot xpuoais Kal TapaTreT do pa
ou ddoupyois kal mAdTats emrapyupors, GoTep
EVTPUPOVTOY | TO Kaxoupyew Kal Kahhom ouevory.
avnol dé Kal parpol kal peOar mapa macav
aKThy Kal copatav WYEMOVIK BY aprayal Kat
TOAEWY Ai HadwTov arohuTpacers dvedos Hoay
THS 'Popaton 7 myemovias. éyevorTo & ovv ai pev
ANaTpLOES VES vmrép Vidas, at 6é drovdaaL Toners
UT QUTODV TeTpaKoavat. tav oé dovov Kal
aBatov ™ pOTEpov lepav efexopav emLovTes 70
KaAdpuov, To Atdvupaiov, ro 2apob pax.ov, Tov épv
'Eppwovy THS XGovias veo Kal TOV év "Emdavpe
TOU 'AcKdyt0i Kab TOV 'ToO pot Kal Tawvapo Kal
Kanaupig TOU Hocedavos, tov dé "ATrOAN@VOS
Tov év "Anrig Kal Aevedds, THs dé " "Hpas Tov év
Lay, Tov év "Apyel, TOV éml Naki. Eévas 6é
Ouctas éOvov avtol Tas év 'Oddprre, Kal TeAETas
Twas amoppytous érédouv, dv 7 ToD MiOpov xal
pexX pe Setpo diacwleras paunseN eae 7 P@T OV
Um éKelvon.

1 +b Sintenis, with SEA; Bekker, with inferior MSS.,
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gators only, but also laid waste islands and maritime cities. And presently men whose wealth gave them power, and those whose lineage was illustrious, and those who laid claim to superior intelligence, began to embark on piratical craft and share their enter- prises, feeling that the occupation brought them a certain reputation and distinction. There were also fortified roadsteads and signal-stations for piratical craft in many places, and fleets put in here which were not merely furnished for their peculiar work with sturdy crews, skilful pilots, and light and speedy ships; nay, more annoying than the fear which they inspired was the odious extravagance of their equipment, with their gilded sails, and purple awnings, and silvered oars, as if they rioted in their iniquity and plumed themselves upon it. Their flutes and stringed instruments and drinking bouts along every coast, their seizures of persons in high command, and their ransomings of captured cities, were a disgrace to the Roman supremacy. For, you see, the ships of the pirates numbered more than a thousand, and the cities captured by them four hundred. Besides, they attacked and plundered places of refuge and sanctuaries hitherto inviolate, such as those of Claros, Didyma, and Samothrace ; the temple of Chthonian Earth at Hermione ; that of Asclepias in Epidaurus; those of Poseidon at the Isthmus, at Taenarum, and at Calauria; those of Apollo at Actium and Leucas; and those of Hera at Samos, at Argos, and at Lacinium. They also offered strange sacrifices of their own at Olympus,! and celebrated there certain secret rites, among which those of Mithras continue to the present time, having been first instituted by them.

1 A town in southern Asia Minor, one of the strongholds
of the pirates.
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6

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Ilhetora be ‘Popators évuBpicarrtes, éTs Kal
Tas od0vsS avTay avaBatvovres amo Oardoons
eAnifovTo Kal Tas eyyus émavners é£éxomrov.
ipTacay dé mote Kai TTPATHYOVS dv0 LeFridvov
Kal BeAdivov ev Tas TE imoppupots, Kal TOUS
UmrnpeTas apa « kal pap opopous OXOVTO ouv
auTots éxelvots ExovTes. rw Oe Kal Ouya-
™p ‘Avtovion, Spray Bixod avdpos, els arypov
Badifouca, | Kal TOAN@Y XPNWATOV arreduTpadn.
éxetvo O€ Hv UBprotixn@tator. OmTroTe yap TLS
éarwoxas avaBonoee ‘Pwpaios elvau kal Ttovvoua
ppaceser, entre HX Oat 1 POO TOLOU{EVOL cal debué-
va TOUS TE pmpous ématovro Kab Tpogem mT ov
avTo, ouyyvapny eye avttBorobvres* 0 6
émeibero TAT ELVOUS opav Kal Seopévous. é« Tov-

Tou 6€ of ev vrrédouv Tots Karxios QUTOV, Ob Sé
TH Bevvov mepieBanrov, & @s 67 wn Wad aryvon Bein.
moduy dé xpovov obta KATELPWVEVT d [EVOL kal
amoNavaavTes TOU avOpdrou, TéXOS éV perp Té-
haryer KALpaKa mpooBanrovres ex €evov éx Baivery
Kal amvevar Xalpovta, Tov O€ pn Bovddmevov
obobvtes avtot xarédvov.
XXV. "Exreveiyato bé 7 Suvapes airy Twacav
ood TL THY Kad Teas Oaraccay, QOTE ATNOUY
xal aBatov éutropia mdon yevéoOat, TovTo én
padiora ‘Peopaious eméatpewpe, Or1Bopévous 7H
aryopa Kal omraviy peyddnv Tpoc SoK@vTas, eK
TENA Tloparniov adaipnoopevov Trav TELPATOY
Thv Odraccav. éyparpe be LaBivios, els TOV
Tlopuarniou ovvibov, vomov ov vavapxiar, AVTLKPUS
Sé povapyiay ait@ Sidovta kai Sivapyw emt
TavTas av0 porous dvuTevOuvov. édidov yap
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But they heaped most insults upon the Romans, even going up from the sea along their roads and plundering there, and sacking the neighbouring villas. Once, too, they seized two praetors, Sextilius and Bellinus, in their purple-edged robes, and carried them away, together with their attendants and lictors. They also captured a daughter of Antonius, a man who had celebrated a triumph, as she was going into the country, and exacted a large ransom for her. But their crowning insolence was this. Whenever a captive cried out that he was a Roman and gave his name, they would pretend to be frightened out of their senses, and would smite their thighs, and fall down before him entreating him to pardon them; and he would be convinced of their sincerity, seeing them so humbly suppliant. Then some would put Roman boots on his feet, and others would throw a toga round him, in order, forsooth, that there might be no mistake about him again. And after thus mocking the man for a long time and getting their fill of amusement from him, at last they would let down a ladder in mid ocean and bid him disembark and go on his way rejoicing ; and if he did not wish to go, they would push him

overboard themselves and drown him.
XXV. This power extended its operations over the whole of our Mediterranean Sea, making it unnavigable and closed to all commerce. This was what most of all inclined the Romans, who were hard put to it to get provisions and expected a great scarcity, to send out Pompey with a commission to take the sea away from the pirates. Gabinius, one of Pompey's intimates, drew up a law which' gave him, not an admiralty, but an out-and-out monarchy and irresponsible power over all men. For the law

¥ e , 7 A a > '. € 4
apyew o vopos ait@ THS évtos Hpaxdetov
aTnvav Oardoons, nretpov 5é wdons éml ota-
Siovs tetpaxoatous amo Oardoaons. TovTo dé ov
a /
Tavu TOAAG Ywpia THs 076 "Pwpaiwy otkoupéevys
TO pétpov é&éhuyev, AANA TA peytota TOV eOvav
\ nn / e 4 /
kal tov Bacidéov oi Suvatetatot trepteAapBa-
vovto. pos d€ TovTots éAécOat mrevrexaidexa
> \ ) a. 9 \ a f
mpeo Bevras avtoy éx Bovrns él tas KaTa MEpos
Hyepovias, ypjwata 5é NapBdvew é€x Tov Ta-
puetov Kal mapa Tov TeXwvav Goa BovXAoLTO Kal
vais Staxocias, Kvptov évta mANnGouvs Kal KaTa-
Noyou oTpaTias Kal TANPw_ATOV épEeTLKOD.
"Avayvacbevtwy S¢ TovTav o pev Shuos vTeEp-
guas édéEato, THs Sé cuyKAnTOU Tols peyloToLs
cal Svvatwraross ok peilov pev pOdovov, poBov
dé d&tov eivat 76 THs eEovcias amepiknmrov Kat
dopictov. Oey éviotavto T@ vou, ANY Kai-
gapos: ovtos S€ ouvnyopes TO vouw, Lloumrniov
\ > , / e } , be \
pev édraxiota gpovtTifwy, vrodvopevos O€ TOV
A 3 9 A € lo) Q 4 e \ ww
Sipuov é& apyis éavTG Kal xT@mevos. ot 6€ adror
tod Iloprniov adodpas xaOjmtovto. Kat TeV
pey brdtav arepos, eimav mpos avrov 6tt 'Po-
pvrov Cnrov ov ghevEerar tavTov éxeiv@ TéXoOS,
> Ul e ' "A / a
éxwvovuvevoey via Tov mAnOovs ScadOaphvac:
Kdtvov 6€ kata Tod vopov mpoceNOdvtos, TOAAT

\ Ul e a a
pev aidovpevos 0 StHpos novxiay mwapetyev, érrel
\ \ a
dé ToNAad peta Tins avetipOovas wtrép Tod
Tlopaniov dSeAO@v cuveBovreve deidecOar Kal
\ A
py mwpoBdrXew TotovTov avopa xKivdivos érad-
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gave him dominion over the sea this side of the pillars of Hercules, and over all the mainland to the distance of four hundred furlongs from the sea. These limits included almost all places in the Roman world, and the greatest nations and most powerful kings were comprised within them. Besides this, he was empowered to choose fifteen legates from the senate for the several principalities, and to take from the public treasuries and the tax-collectors as much money as he wished, and to have two hundred ships, with full power over the number and levying of soldiers and oarsmen.

When these provisions of the law were read in the assembly,! the people received them with excessive pleasure, but the chief and most influential - men of the senate thought that such unlimited and absolute power, while it was beyond the reach of envy, was yet a thing to be feared. Therefore they all opposed the law, with the exception of Caesar ; he advocated the law, not because he cared in the least for Pompey, but because from the outset he sought to ingratiate himself with the people and win their support. The rest vehemently attacked Pompey. And when one of the consuls told him that if he emulated Romulus he would not escape the fate of Romulus,? he was near being torn in pieces by the multitude. Moreover, when Catulus came forward to speak against the law the people had regard enough for him to be quiet for some time; but after he had spoken at length in Pompey’s praise and without any disparagement of him, and then counselled the people to spare such a man and

1 In 67 B.c., Pompey being then thirty-nine years old.
* That is, he would be mysteriously put out of the way.
Cf. the Romulus, chapter xxvii.
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AnAas Kal moréuots, “*H iva,” elmev, ‘‘ &ere
¥ A ? 4 a ” 9 A s

GXXov, av atTroNeonTEe TOUTOV; EK [aS YYWLNS
€ , ¢ ee é > Ff 99 e \ °
vrepwvnoav atravtes, “Ye avtov. Oo pev ovv
KdtnX0os, ws ovx érebev, avréotn “Pwonlov Sé
mpocenGovtos ovdels Hxovcev o 5é Tols SaxTUXNOLS
Sueonpaive pn povov, arAa SevTepov aipetobas
Tlopmrniov. él rovrm Aéyerar Suvcyepdvavta
‘ fo) aA a “4
Tov Onpov THALKODTOY avaKpayely Bate UTEpTrETO-
Héevov Kopaka THs ayopas tudwOjvat Kal Kata-
mecely eis Tov dyAOov. Oey ov Soxet pHker Tod
aépos kal Ssacrracu@ Kxevov ToAv AapBdvovTos
> 4 \ / a 9 , 9
évoAtcOaivery Ta WimTrTovTa TOV opvewr, anrra
TUTTOMEVA TH TANYH THs phovys, Grav ev TO
»/ 4 \ A / \ } 3 a
aépt oadov Kal KULA TOLnON TOAAN Kal LoxXUP
depopevn.
, \ @ , ® \ oe 4
XXVI_. Tore pév ody SredvOnoav 7 Sé juépa
fe / a e
Thy Wihov éroicew Euedrov, UreEnAGev o Top-

“ a \
mnios eis aypov. axovoas S€ Kexup@aBat Tov
/ b) “A 4 > \ , e 3 ¢
vopov eianrGe vuxtwp els THY TOdW, ws érripGo-
vou THs Tpos avTov arravTnoews Kal cuVdpopLAs
bd / iu \ e +/+ \ ” \
écouévns. dua dé nuépa mpoehOwv EOvoe Kal
yevouevns éxxAnoias avt@, SvempaEato mpoc-
naBeiy Erepa woddAa ois erndiopévors 75n,
puixpod Sumdacidcas Thy TapacKeuny. TevTa-
KOTLAL Mev yap aUT@ vijes errANpeOncay, omrL-
tov 5é pupiddes Sddexa xal revtaxioyirsot
immeis nOpoicOncav. yepovixot 5é Kxal orpa-
\ a
THYyLKOL KaTeAéynoay amd BovrAns avdpes eixo-
a , a
attéacapes Um avtod, dvo 5é tapiat maphoav.
ai 8€ tial Tav w@viwv evOus mecovaar Aoyov
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not expose him to successive wars and perils, asking, ""Whom else will you have if you lose him?" all with one accord replied, "Thyself." Catulus, accordingly, since he could not persuade them, retired ; but when Roscius came forward to speak, no one would listen to him. He therefore made signs with his fingers that they should not choose Pompey alone to this command, but give him a colleague. At this, we are told, the people were incensed and gave forth such a shout that a raven flying over the forum was stunned by it and fell down into the throng. From this it appears that such falling of birds is not due to a rupture and division of the air wherein a great vacuum is produced, but that they are struck by the blow of the voice, which raises a surge and billow in the air when it is borne aloft loud and strong.

XXVI. For the time being, then, the assembly was dissolved ; but when the day came for the vote upon the law, Pompey withdrew privately into the country. On hearing, however, that the law had been passed, he entered the city by night, feeling that he was sure to awaken envy if the people thronged to meet him. But when day came, he appeared in public and offered sacrifice, and at an assembly held for him he managed to get many other things besides those already voted, and almost doubled his armament. For five hundred ships were manned for him, and a hundred and twenty thousand men-at-arms and five thousand horsemen were 'raised. Twenty-four men who had held command or served as praetors were chosen from the senate by him, and he had two quaestors. And since the prices of provisions immediately fell, the people

noouéva TO Snuw TapEryov, ws AUTO TOUVOLA TOU Tloumniov NéXuKeE Tov TroAELOV.
Ov pv adda SteA@y Ta Terayn Kal TO diaoTnpa Ths évtos Oardaoons eis pépn Tpicxatdexa, cal veav apiOwov ep éExdote nal dpyovta td€as, dua tavrayod TH Svvaper oxedacbecion Ta pev éumrimrovrTa TOY TeLpaTiK@V aOpoa TreptdapBavev

? \ bd A ‘ a e \ /

evOus é€eOnpato nai xathyev' ot 5€ POdoartes
StarvOfvar nal Svexrrecovtes Waowep eis opuAvos
> 4 , , \ /
éSvovto travrayolev xatadhepopmevor THY Kircxiay,
999 A b) N > / A v e 4 \
éd’ ods avtos éotéAXeTO vads Exywv éEEnKovTa Tas
aplotas. ov pv ampotepov én’ éxeivous é€é-
WNevoevy 4 Tavrdmact. KaOjpa. tev avTobt
AnoTnpioyv TO Tuppynuxdy médXayos, TO AuBu«or,
To «wept Lapdova nab Kupvov xat Suxeréav,
/ n nw
Huepats TEecoapaKkovta Tais Tdoals, avT@e Te
Xpw@wevos arpuT@ Kal Tols oTpaTNYyoIs TpoOUpmoLS.
e A
XXVIII. ’Ev 8é ‘Poépn rod brartov M[etcwvos
a ,
opyn xal dOovm Avpatvopéevov THY TapacKeuTy
kat StadvovTos Ta TWANPOLaTA, TO MeV VAUTLKOV
? s 4 > \ \
els Bpevréotoy treptémreprpev, avtos Sé d1d Tup-
, > ¢ , > , > /
pnvias ets Popnv avéBawev. aicOouevor 8e
mavtes éFexvOnoay eis tHv Oddy, @aTEp OV TPO
ce) > ,
HuEpPaY OALYywH Extrépwryavtes avTov. émote 5é
. N b) 4 A A
THY Xapav To Tap édirida Ths petaBorjs TAaxos,
iTrepBdrXrovaav adboviay tis ayopas éxovons.
oe e ll , ’ SY \ € , >
60ev o Iletowy exivddvevoe tHv bmateiay adat-
a /
peOjvar, VaBuviov vopov yovtos 76n cvyyeypap-
pévov. GAA Kal TobTO Svex@Avcev 6 Tloptnios,
Kal TaAXa xXpnuaTioas émeKas kab Siatrpaka-
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were moved to say in their joy that the very name
of Pompey had put an end to the war.
However, he divided the waters and the adjacent

coasts! of the Mediterranean Sea into thirteen districts, and assigned to each a certain number of ships with a commander, and with his forces thus scattered in all quarters he encompassed whole fleets of piratical ships that fell in his way, and straightway hunted them down and brought them into port ; others succeeded in dispersing and escaping, and sought their hive, as it were, hurrying from all quarters into Cilicia. Against these Pompey intended to proceed in person with his sixty best ships. He did not, however, sail against them until he had entirely cleared of their pirates the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Libyan Sea, and the sea about Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, in forty days all told. This was owing to his own tireless energy and the zeal of his lieutenants.

XXVII. But the consul Piso at Rome, out of wrath and envy, was interfering with Pompey's equipment and discharging his crews; Pompey therefore sent his fleet round to Brundisium, while he himself went up by way of Tuscany to Rome. On learning of this, the citizens all streamed out into the road, just as if they had not escorted him forth only a few days before. What caused their joy was the unhoped for rapidity of the change, the market being now filled to overflowing with provisions. As a consequence Piso came near being deprived of his consulship, and Gabinius had the requisite law already written out. But Pompey prevented this, as well as other hostile acts, and after arranging everything else in a reasonable manner and getting

1 Cf. chapter xxv. 2

pevos wy édeito, KataBas eis Bpevtéciov é&é-
3 mAevoev. érreryouevos b€ TH Kalp® Kal Tapa-
TACWY TAS TOAELS UTO TTrOVONS, Gwws ov TapHrGe
ras 'AOnvas, avaBas 5é Kat Ovaas tots Pcois Kat
Tpooayopevaas _ Tov S7jov evdus drew dveryi-
YWOKEY Eis AUTOV ETLYEYpappéva povodTLYa, TO
fev evTos THS TUANS
Ed' Goov dv avOpwrros oldas, él trocodrov é
Beds:
To © €xTOS:
IIpocedoxapev, mpocexvvodpuev, cidouev, mpo-
qéLTTO MEV.
4 érrel b¢ TOY GUvecTOTMY ETL Kal TAAYW LEVON EEW
mevpatnpiwy éeviows SenBeiow émiecxas expnoato
Kal TaparkaBeov Ta Tota Kal Ta THpaTA KAaKOY
ovdev érroinoev, em' édXrridos xpnerijs ot AoLtrot

yevomevor TOUS pev AArous Sréehevyoy Hyeuovas,
Tloumniw oé dépovtes éavtovs peTa Téxvwov Kal
yuvaikav éveyeipttov. o dé mdvrwv édeidero,
Kal padrdtota dia TovTwY Tovs Ett NavOdvovTas
éEvyvevwv Kai rAapBdvev éxoraley ws avTovs
éauTois avnxerta cuvetootas.
XXVIII. Oc &€ wreiotor Kai Suvatwrator
yeveas ey avTav Kal ypnpata Kal Tov axpnoTov
dyAov év gdpoupiots Kal worticpace Kaptepois
qept Tov Tavpov elyov atroxeipmeva, Tas 5é vads
TAnpw@cavTes avtol mept to Kopaxnotov tis
Kirtxias émimdéovta tov Tloumniov édéEavto:
Kal maxns yevouéevns vixnBévtes érrodtopKodvTo.
Tédos Oe Téurpavtes ixeTnpias Trapédwxav éavTovs
Kal modes Kal vycous wy émexpatouy évrerxt-
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what he wanted, went down to Brundisium and set sail. But though his immediate business was urgent and he sailed past other cities in his haste, still, he could not pass Athens by, but went up into the city, sacrificed to the gods, and addressed the people. Just as he was leaving the city, he read two inscriptions, each of a single verse, addressed to him, one inside the gate :—

‘¢ As thou knowest thou art mortal, in so far thou art a god;”’

and the other outside :—

‘We awaited, we saluted, we have seen, and now conduct thee forth.”

Some of the pirate bands that were still roving at large begged for mercy, and since he treated them humanely, and after seizing their ships and persons did them no further harm, the rest became hopeful of mercy too, and made their escape from the other commanders, betook themselves to Pompey with their wives and children, and surrendered to him. All these he spared, and it was chiefly by their aid that he tracked down, seized, and punished those who were still lurking in concealment because conscious of unpardonable crimes.

XXVIII. But the most numerous and powerful

had bestowed their families and treasures and useless folk in forts and strong citadels near the Taurus mountains, while they themselves manned _ their ships and awaited Pompey’s attack near the promontory of Coracesium in Cilicia; here they were defeated in a battle and then besieged. At last, however, they sent suppliant messages and _surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands of which they were in control; these they
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upevol, YaXeTras BracOhvat Kal dvom poorend-
OTOUS. KkaTenvOn pev ovv oO TodE“os Kal Ta,
mavTaxod AnaTypia TAS dardcons ebémecev ouK
ev TELOVL Xpovep Tplav punvev, vais oé Todas
per ddXas, evevT}KovTa dé XarrceuBorous Tape-
raPev. avrous dé dio pupiwy TAEiovas ‘VEvouEVOUS
avereiy péev ovde éBovrcvaato, peOeivar dé xat
mepiidely oxedacbévtas %) auotavtTas adits,
amropous Kal TodeutKovs Kal Todos | dvTas, OK
@ETO Karas EXE. evvonaas ouv Ore ducer pev
av6 pwrros ouTE ryeryovev ovr’ éoruv ay npepov o@ov
ovd GpLKTOV, GAN’ eFioraras TH Kaki Tapa
dvow ypdpevos, ect S& nal torwv kal Biwv
peraBorais eEnuepovrat, kat Onpia be” diaitns
Koweovodvra mpqotépas éxdveTat TO dyptov Kal
Narerrov, é éyvw TOUS av6pas els vay perad épery
ék TIS Gardaoons Kal Biov ryevetv emvetkobs, oup-
eOrabevtas € ev mOheoey oixety wal yewpyeiy. évious
per ovv at pixpat Kat Urépnpot TOV Kirixov
modes edé€avro Kal KaTémEav éautais Xeopav
mpochaBovoan, Thy 5é Lortov Tp pwomevny évary-
xos vmod Teypavou TOU ‘Appevicov | Bacotréws
avaraBav iSpuce qoNXous éV avrg. Tots 6é
Todois OLKNTNPLOV edwxe Avpny THY ‘Axaiba,
Xnpevoua av avépav torte, yy dé modAnv Kal
ayabny éyovaay.
XXIX, Tava pev OUV OL BacKaivorres éyeryou"
TOUS b¢ Tepl Kpnrnv mpaxGetcr pos MéreAdAov
ovd’ ot wavy dirobvtes avtov Exalpov. oO yap
1 «al woAAovs Coraés and Bekker, with S&: rots woAAods after Stephanus (most of them being, etc.).
2 8 supplied, after Emperius; Bekker has émov xat Onpla,

after Coraés.
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had fortified, making them hard to get at and difficult to take by storm. The war was therefore brought to an end and all piracy driven from the sea in less than three months, and besides many other ships, Pompey received in surrender ninety which had brazen beaks. The men themselves, who were more than twenty thousand in number, he did not once think of putting to death; and yet to let them go and suffer them to disperse or band together again, poor, warlike, and numerous as they were, he thought was not well. Reflecting, therefore, that by nature man neither is nor becomes a wild or an unsocial creature, but is transformed by the unnatural practice of vice, whereas he may be softened by new customs and a change of place and life; also that even wild beasts put off their fierce and savage ways when they partake of a gentler mode of life, he determined to transfer the men from the sea to land, and let them have a taste of gentle life by being accustomed to dwell in cities and to till the ground. Some of them, therefore, were received and incorporated into the small and half-deserted cities ot Cilicia, which acquired additional territory; and after restoring the city of Soli, which had lately been devastated by Tigranes, the king of Armenia, Pompey settled many there. To most of them, however, he gave as a residence Dyme in Achaea, which was then bereft of men and had much good land.

XXIX. Well, then, his maligners found fault with these measures, and even his best friends were not pleased with his treatment of Metellus in Crete.

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MéreAXos, olxetos av éexeivou tod cuvapEavtos
év "I8npia +r@ Tloutrnie, ctpatnyos eis Kpnrny
éméupOn mpotepov % tov Lloumniov aipeOfvar:
Seutépa ydp tis Hv avtn TOY TrELpaTnpioy THY)

pera thy év Kiduxia nal moddovs éyxatadaBov
o MérerXos eEnper nal StépOerpev. ot 5é wepsovtes
érs Kal qodtopKovpevot téurraytTes ikeTnpiav
émexadovovto tov Iloumniov eis thy vicov, ws
Ths éxeivou pépos ovcav apyins Kal mavrayolev
éumimrovoay eis TO péTpov TO amd Oadrdoons.
o b¢ deEduevos eypade TH MetérArAM KwrwV TOV
morenov. eypade dé Kal tats modeoe pH Tpoa-
éyey Merérr@, wal otpatnyoy ereprpe TOV bd'
éauvtov apyovtwy éva Aevniov 'Oxtaoviov, ds
cuverceNOoy eis Ta TElLYN ToS TroALOPKOUpLEVOLS
kal waxopmevos pet avTaY, ov povov émayOH Kal
Bapvy, ad\Xa nal KatayéXactov érote: Tov Tlop-
mniov, avOpa@ros avociows Kat abéors Tovvoma
KiypavTa Kal wepiamrrovta thy avtov dofav
aomep areEibadppaxov bro POdvou xal PiroTepias
Ths mpos Tov Méteddov. ovdé yap Tov "Ayirréa
Tovey avdpos épyov, GAAA petpaxiov TavTaTacww
éumAnKTov Kal cecoBnpuévov mpos Sofav, ava-
pevovta Tois aAXoLS Kal dtaxwrXVovTa BadreLv
Exvopa,
M7 tes KdS0s dporo Badr, 6 Sé Sevrepos édOo1:
Tloumniov dé xal caley vmepuayotvta tav
KoLV@Y ToAEuLov etl TO Tov OpiayBov aderéa Bat
oTpAaTNYyOU TONAA TEeToVvNnKOTOS. ov pv éevédw-
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Metellus, a kinsman of the Metellus who was a colleague of Pompey in Spain, had been sent as general to Crete before Pompey was chosen to his command ; for Crete was a kind of second source for pirates, next to Cilicia. Metellus hemmed in many of them and was killing and destroying them. But those who still survived and were besieged sent suppliant messages to Pompey and invited him into the island, alleging that it was a part of his government, and that all parts of it were within the limit to be measured from the sea.1 Pompey accepted the invitation and wrote to Metellus putting a stop to his war. He also wrote the cities not to pay any attention to Metellus, and sent them one of his own officers as general, namely,

Lucius Octavius, who entered the strongholds of the besieged pirates and fought on their side, thus making Pompey not only odious and oppressive, but actually ridiculous, since he lent his name to godless miscreants, and threw around them the mantle of his reputation to serve like a charm against evil, through envy and jealousy of Metellus. For not even Achilles played the part of a man, men said, but that of a youth wholly crazed and frantic in his quest of glory, when he made a sign to the rest which prevented them from smiting Hector,

"'Lest some one else win honour by the blow,
and he come only second "' ; 2

whereas Pompey actually fought in behalf of the common enemy and saved their lives, that he might rob of his triumph a general who had toiled hard to win it. Metellus, however, would not give in,

1 Cf. chapter xxv. 2. 2 Iliad, xxii. 207.

xev 0 MéredXos, GAAa Tos TE Tetpatas éEeAov
ériuwpnoato, Kal Tov 'Oxraoviov évy T@ oTpato-
/ / \ / 2 aA
Twéd@ xabuBpicas Kal ANovdopHnaas adijxev.
XXX. 'AayyerPévtos Sé eis 'Pw&pnv trépas
Eyely TOV TrELPATLKOV TrOAEMOY Kal TXOAnY ayovTa
\ fw > 4 \ / /
Tov Ilopmniov érépyecBar tas modes, ypader
vouov els tav Snudpywy Mdddos, dons Acv-
KONAOS apyer ywpas Kalb Suvapews, Toparniov
TmaparaBovta tracav, tpocAaBovra 6é Kal Budv-
viav, hv exer TXaBpiwv, rorenety MiOpiddty cat
Teypavyn trois Baciredouv, Exovta Kal thy vautt-
N 4 \ \ 4 a VA >?
kny Svvapw Kal To Kpatos THs Oardaons éd
ols é\aBev é& adpyis. tovtro 8 hv éf" &t
4 / \ e / e ,
avAAnBSnv yevécOat thy "Pwpaiwv ryepoviar:
av yap édoxet povwy érapyiav pn edixveic bar
TO TpoTépw vow, Ppvyias, Auvcaovias, l'adratias,
Kamrasdoxias, Kirrxias, ths avw Koryidos, Ap-
pevias, adrat mpocetifevto peta otpatotédwy
\ 4 4 4
kai Suvduewv als AevdxorrXos KaTeTroAéunoe
MOpidarnv Kxal Teypavnv. adda AevodXov

fev atootepoupévou tHy Sofav wv KaTEeLpydcato
Kat OpiduBov pardov 7} trodéuov Stadoynv Aap-
Bavovtos, AttTwv AOYyos HY Tois aptaToKpaTtKois,
xaitrep olopévors aduca Kal axapiota macye
\ ” \ \ UA A of 4
Tov avopa, thv Se Stvayiv tod Tlopmniov Bapéws
dhépovtes ws Tupavvida Kabiotapevny, idia Trape-
4 \ 4 e \ PJ VA
KdXovv Kat tapePdppuvov avtovs émidaPécGar
ToU vouou Kal pn mpoeccOar Ty édevOepiav.
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but captured the pirates and punished them, and
then sent Octavius away after insulting and abusing
him before the army.

XXX. When word was brought to Rome that the war against the pirates was at an end, and that Pompey, now at leisure, was visiting the cities, Manlius, one of the popular tribunes, proposed a law giving Pompey all the country and forces which Lucullus commanded, with the addition, too, of Bithynia, which Glabrio? had, and the commission to wage war upon Mithridates and Tigranes, the kings, retaining also his naval force and his dominion over the sea as he had originally received them. But this meant the placing of the Roman supremacy entirely in the hands of one man; for the only provinces which were held to be excluded from his sway by the former law, namely, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Upper Colchis, and Ar- menia, these were now added to it, together with the military forces which Lucullus had used in his con- quest of Mithridates and Tigranes. But though Lucullus was thus robbed of the glory of his achieve- ments, and was receiving a successor who would enjoy his triumph rather than prosecute the war,’ this was of less concern to the aristocratic party, although they did think that the man was unjustly and thanklessly treated; they were, however, dis- pleased at the power given to Pompey, which they regarded as establishing a tyranny, and privately exhorted and encouraged one another to attack the law, and not to surrender their freedom. But when

1 More correctly, Manilius. The Manilian law was passed in 66 B.c. Cf. the oration of Cicero Pro Lege Manilia.

2 Glabrio, consul in 67 B.c., had been sent out to supersede

Lucullus.
3 Cf. the Lucullus, xxxv. 7.

4 évotavtos 8 Tod Katpod, Tov Shpov hoyOevtes
2¢/ \ , e / A

é€éXurrov Kal Kateowwmnoay ot AoiTrOt, KatXos
5é Tod vosov TOANA KaTHnyopHnaas Kal tov dn-
4 4 \ 4 > / \ \
papyou, pndéva Sé teiOwv, exéXeve THY BourAnY
amo Tov Bnuwatos Kexpayes troAddKes dpos Enteiv,
@omrep ot mpoyovol, Kal Kpnyvov, Sirov KaTa-
A , \ > , > , ?

5 guyotaa Siacdcer THY édevOepiav. éexupwOn 6
OV 0 VOMLOS, WS AéyovaL, Tacats Tals PuAais, Kal
KUpLoS aTrodéberKTO gy Tapwv Oo Iloumnios dtrapv-
e < a
Tov axedov mY Oo YvAAas Srrdors Kal TodeuM THs
(, b] \ \ 4 \ 4
Tokews Kparnaas. autos 6é deEduevos Ta ypap-
pata Kat wuOopevos Ta Sedoypéva, Trav dirov
mapovtwv Kat cuvndopévav, tas odpds éyerat
cuvayayely Kai Tov pnpov wardktar Kal eitrelv
as dv Bapuvopevos 45n Kal Svaxepaivwy 76 ap-
‘ic nA an 9» , ¥ co” n

6 yew “Ded trav avynvitwv GOdwr, ws dpa KpelT TOV
9 4 “A ? 4 / > , 4
jv &va tav abddEov yevécOar, ci pndémotre mrav-
copat aotpatevopevos pndée tov POdovoy TovTov
>] \ 3 > A / A fe. / 39
éxdus év ayp@ Startnoopat peta THs yuvatkos. 635
249 / 9 Q9> e , , v
é’ ols Aeyopuévous ovd’ ot Trav cuvyndes Epepov
avTod THV Eipwveiay, yLYwaKoVTES OTL THS EupUTOU
diroripias xal dirapxias bréxxavpa THY TpOS
AevxorXov éywv Stadhopav perlovws Exatpev.
\

XXXII. ’Apérer Sé nal ra Epya tayéws adrov
amexdd\urre. tTavtayov yap éxrilels Svaypap-
fata TOUS oTpaTLwWTAS aveKadeiTO Kal peTeTrép-
METO TOUS UINnKooUs Suvdotas Kal Bacirels ws
éavTov. émiwv Te THY Ywpay ovdév axivntor cia
a“ e \ a U / 5) \ \
tov vio tov AevxoAXou yeyovoTwy, adAa Kal
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the time came, their hearts failed them through fear of the people, and all held their peace except Catulus ; he denounced the law at great length and the tribune who proposed it, and when none of the people would listen to him, he called out in loud tones from the rostra urging the senate again and again to seek out a mountain, as their forefathers had done,! or a lofty rock, whither they might fly for refuge and preserve their freedom. But still the law was passed by all the tribes, as we are told, and Pompey, in his absence, was proclaimed master of almost all the powers which Sulla had exercised after subduing the city in armed warfare. Pompey himself, however, on receiving his letters and learning what had been decreed, while his friends surrounded him with their congratulations, frowned, we are told, smote his thigh, and said, in the tone of one who was already op- pressed and burdened with command: “ Alas for my endless tasks ! How much better it were to be an unknown man, if I am never to cease from military service, and cannot lay aside this load of envy and spend my time in the country with my wife!’ As he said this, even his intimate friends could not abide his dissimulation ; they knew that his enmity towards Lucullus gave fuel to his innate ambition and love of power, and made him all the more delighted.

XXXI. And certainly his actions soon unmasked him. For he sent out edicts in all directions calling the soldiers to his standard, and summoned the subject potentates and kings into his presence. Moreover, as he traversed the country, he left nothing undisturbed that Lucullus had done, but

1 In reference to the secession of the plebs to Mons Sacer.

See the Coriolanus, chapter vi.

Koddoets avijce ToANOS Kal Swpeds adeireTo Kat mavrTa SAws erparrev émidetEar Tov avdpa piro- VELK@VY TOTS Jaupalovow ovdevos dvTa KUpLov. éyxanroovtos 5 éxeivou dia Trav dirwv, edoke cuveNOety eis TaUvTo: Kal auvirOov Tepl THY Tadariav. ola dé peyiorwr oT pPAaTIyOv al peytota cata pOwxorov dddvais dveo Teppevas ExovTes ood Kal Tas pafdous jot Umrnperat amr nyray" GNA AevKodXos pev éx TOTMY XMoEpav Kal KaTacKiov pooper, Tloparnios 5é ToAANY adevopov wal Kareypuypévny eTUYeE dtehnrvOas. iSovres ody oi roo AevxodAAov paBdodpopot Tod Tloparniov Tas dddvas abanrnreis Kar pepapap- pévas jTavratTaci, €K T@V loLwV Tpooparay ovody peTadsoovTes € emexoopnoay Kal KaTécTevrav Tas éxetvov paBsous. y onpetov édofev elvat tov ta AevxoAXou viKNnTn pla Kat THV dofay oiao-

pevov épxerOat Topurniov. jw be AevxoAXos
pev év bmarelas Te Taker Kal xa “Kay T™ peo-
Burepos, To 5€ Tod Ioumrntov pet Cov aie pat Tots
dual Opa Bocs. ov pnv AAAG THY ™POTny ép-
TevEww Os éviv padloTa TONTIKAS Kal puro-
ppovars érrornaavto, peyadvvovTes aNMPAOV Ta
épya Kal gurndopevor Tois KaTO Papacy ev 5é
Tois oyous wpos ovdev emverkes Ovde péTpLOV
oupBavtes, ada Kal Aowdopyaarres, O pev els
prdapyupiay tov AevKodAor, o &€ eis Ptrapxiav
ExelvoVv, UTO TOV pidov pons dteAvOnoav.
Kai AevorXos pev ev Tanaria dieyparre Xo-
pas THs aixpaharov Kal Swpeas ddras ols éBov-
NETO, Toumnios dé pax pov am wTépa oTpatomedev-
cas éx@\veE TPOTeXELY AUT@, Kal TOUS TTPATLWTAS
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remitted punishments in many cases, and took away rewards, and did everything, in a word, with an eager desire to shew the admirers of that general that he was wholly without power. Lucullus ex- postulated through his friends, and it was decided that they should have a meeting; they met, there- fore, in Galatia. And since both were very great and very successful generals, their lictors had their rods alike wreathed with laurel when they met; but Lucullus was advancing from green and shady regions, while Pompey chanced to have made a long march through a parched and treeless country. Accordingly, when the lictors of Lucullus saw that Pompey’s laurels were withered and altogether faded, they took some of their own, which were fresh, and with them wreathed and decorated his rods. This was held to be a sign that Pompey was coming to rob Lucullus of the fruits of his victories and of his glory. Now, Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was older than he; but Pompey’s two triumphs gave him a greater dignity. At first, however, their interview was conducted with all possible civility and friendliness, each magnifying the other's exploits and congratulating him on his successes; but in the conferences which followed they could come to no _ fair or reasonable agreement, nay, they actually abused each other, Pompey charging Lucullus with | love of money, and Lucullus charging Pompey with love of power, and they were with difficulty separated by their friends.

Furthermore, Lucullus, remaining in Galatia, as- signed parts of the conquered territory and made other gifts to whom he pleased ; while Pompey, en- camped at a little distance from him, tried to prevent any attention to his commands, and took away all

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o 2
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adravras adeiheto wAHY yiAlov E€axociwy, ods
éevoutter vr’ avOadeias adyphorous pev EavT@, TH

Aevxorr 8 Sucpeveis elvar. mpos dé tovTos
dtactpwov Ta epya eudhavas edreye tpaywdiass
kal oxtaypadias tmemoveunnévar BacidKais Tov
AevKoAnor, ait@ Se pos addnOwny Kai cecwdpo-
viopévnv Tov ayava rettecOa Sivapty, eis Ov-
peovs Kat Eibn Kal tmmovs Mibpiddrov xata-
gevyovtos. dauvvomevos 86 6 Aedxodros e&ddAM
kal oxid mworéuou Tov Lloumyiov én payoupevov
Babifew, eiOtcpévov GAXoTpiols vexpois, woTEp
Opry apyov, émixataipev Kal reirpava Todéuwv
oTapaccev. ovTw yap avTov émiypdyat Lep-
Topi, Aeride, trois Yrapraxetors, Ta wev Kpdo-
gov, Ta dé MeréAdov, ta Sé KdtAov xatwpba-
koTos. Sev ov Oavydlew ef tov "Appenaxdv
kal Wovrixay crodéuov broBddretat tHy Sd£ar,
avOpwnos éavtov eis Sparetixoy OpiayBov dues
yé ws euBarely unyavnodpevos.
XXXII. "Ex tovrov Aevxorros pev arippe,
Tloumnios 6¢ 7 oroA@ travtl thy petakd PDowi-
kns Kat Boomépov Oddaccav ért ppovpd Si.a-
AaBov, aitos éBddiLev ert Midpidarny, eyovra
Tptapupious melors év ddrayye Kal Suoyidous
immets, wdyeoOar 8 ux) Oappodvta. Kal mpartov
pev avtod Kaptepdy dpos Kal Svcpayov, év @
oTpatomedevwy eruyev, ws avudpov éxdLTOVTOS,
auto TovUTO Katacywy 6 [loumnios, Kal TH dioe
Tov Bractavovtav Kal tails ovyKdwviats TOV
TOTWY Tekpalpopevos exew mnyas TO yopior,

his soldiers from him, except sixteen hundred, whose mutinous spirit made them, as he thought, useless to himself and hostile to Lucullus.1_ Besides this, he would belittle the achievements of Lucullus, declaring that he had waged war against mimic and shadowy kings only, while to himself there was now left the struggle against a real military force, and one disciplined by defeat, since Mithridates had now betaken himself to shields, swords, and horses. To this Lucullus retorted that Pompey was going forth to fight an image and shadow of war, following his custom of alighting, like a lazy carrion-bird, on bodies that others had killed, and tearing to pieces the scattered remnants of wars. For it was in this way that he had appropriated to himself the victories over Sertorius, Lepidus, and the followers of Spartacus, although they had actually been won by Metellus, Catulus, and Crassus. Therefore it was no wonder that he was trying to usurp the glory of the Pontic and Armenian wars, a man who had contrived to thrust himself in some way or other into the honour of a triumph for defeating runaway slaves."

XXXII. After this, Lucullus withdrew from those parts, and Pompey, having distributed his whole fleet so as to guard the sea between Phoenicia and the Bosporus, himself marched against Mithridates, who had a

fighting force of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, but did not dare to offer battle. To begin with, the king was strongly encamped on a mountain which was difficult of assault, but abandoned it, supposing that it had no water. Pompey took pos- session of this very mountain, and judging by the nature of the vegetation and by the channels in the slopes that the place had springs, ordered his men to

1 Cf. the Lucullus, xvi. 1-4. 2 Cf. chapter xxi. 2.

éxéXevoev exBareiv travtayod dpéata. Kal pe-
N > \ ef 3 4 '\ 4
otov hv evOus bdatos adOovov To stparorredop,
aaote Jaupdley ef TO Tavtl ypovm todTo McOpr-
Satns Hyvoncev. etreita TepioTparoTredevoas
mwepueteiyicey avrov. o Oé wévte Kal TeTTapda-
\ e / bd
Kovta TroAsopKnbels nuépas EXabev atrodpas peta
a ,
THs éppwpevertarns Suvdpews, KTeivas TOUS AY pT-
oTous Kal vooovvtas. celta pévtot aepl tov
Eudparnv catarkaBov adtov o Tlopriios mape-
otparotrébevoe? nal Sedtas pn POdon Tepdcas
Tov Eudpdtny, ée péowr vurtav éniyyey wmdI-
opévnv thy otpatiay: Kal" by xpdvov RéyeTat
Tov MiOpidarnv oyu év Brrvois idely ta pér-
a / \ ,
Novta mpodnrovcav. edoKxer yap ovpip Tvevparte
, \ N 4 a ;
mréov TO Llovtixdy méXayos 76n Boozopovr
a a \
Kabopav cai dirodpovetcOar tovs cuptrréovtas,
e v7 3 / a \ / /
as ay Ts emt ow Tnpia cage: Kau BeBatw xaipov:
A > A
ddvw 6€ avadhavivar wavtTay Epnuos éml NerTOd
vavayiov Stadepopevos. éy Tovovrois dé avrov
évta Tabect Kal ddopacw émiotaytes avéotn-
e / , 9 4 fu 9
cav ot hiro, dpdlovtes érvevat Tlopmrniov. jy
ov é€& avadyKns payntéoyv vrép Tod Yapakos, Kal
mpoayayovtTes of atpatnyol thy Sivamw érakav.
aicOopevos S€ THY TapacKkevny aditav o Ilop-
o \ aA
anios @KveL KATA GKOTOS eis Kivduvoy édOeiv,
Kal KvKA@ povov eto Sety TrepLeNavvely, STrwS

pn pevdyouev, nuépas Sé Kpeitrovs dvras émiye-
peiv. ot d€ mpecBUTaTo TaY Taktapyav Se0-
pevot Kal TapaKadrobvTes éEdpunoav adtov- ovee
/ 4 3 \ e lA
yap oKOoTOS VY TayTdTaclW, adNAa GEAHVYN
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sink wells everywhere. At once, then, his camp was abundantly supplied with water, and men wondered that in all the time of his encampment there Mithri- dates had been ignorant of this possibility. Next, he invested the king's camp and walled him in. But after enduring a siege of forty-five days, Mithri- dates succeeded in stealing off with his most effective troops ; the sick and unserviceable he killed. Then, however, Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates river, and encamped close by; and fearing lest the king should get the advantage of him by crossing the Euphrates, he put his army in battle array and led it against him at midnight. At this time Mithri- dates is said to have seen a vision in his sleep, re- vealing what should come to pass. He dreamed that he was sailing the Pontic Sea with a fair wind, and was already in sight of the Bosporus, and was greet- ing pleasantly his fellow-voyagers, as a man would do in his joy over a manifest and sure deliverance ; but suddenly he saw himself bereft of all his com- panions and tossed about on a small piece of wreckage. As he dreamed of such distress, his friends came to his couch and roused him with the news that Pompey was advancing to the attack. He was therefore compelled to give battle in defence of his camp, and his generals led out their troops and put them in array. But when Pompey perceived their prepara- tions to meet him, he hesitated to hazard matters in the dark, and thought it necessary merely to surround them, in order to prevent their escape, and then to attack them when it was day, since they were | superior in numbers. But his oldest officers, by their entreaties and exhortations, prevailed upon him to attack at once; for it was not wholly dark, but the moon, which was setting, made it still possible

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Katadepomévn tapeiyvey ETL TOV CMMATwWY ixavnY
éroyiv. Kal todro pddota tous Bactdtxods
éodnrev. érnecay pev yap ot 'Pwpaioe xara
YwTOU THY TEAnVHY EXOVTES* TrEeTLETpEVvOU OE Trept
ras Svaes TOD PwTos, ai oxtal TOAD TOV Twp"d-
tov éumpocbev mpoiovoar Ttois TroAemios érré-
Barrpov, od Suvapévors 176 Stdornpa ovvideiv
axp\Bas' avr as ev yepoly dn yeyovoTtav
tovs vacovs adévres pdtnv ovdevos édixovo.

TovTO auvloovTes of ‘Pwyator peta Kpavyins éré-
Spapov, Kal pnéte pévery TOAM@VTAS, adr’ exTreE-
wANymévous Kal pevyovtas ExTEewvov, WoTE TOAD
mnelovas pupiov atobavety, ad@vat S€ 7O oTpa-
romedov,
Adros 8¢ MiOpidarns év apxn pev dxtaxocios
inmedot Suéxowe cal dieEnrAace tors ‘Pwpaiovs,
taxv 5é TaV Adr\wv oKedacbeTwaY drTereihOn
peta tpiav. év ols qv ‘Tiuxpdtea tadXaxis,
det pev avdpodns tis ovca Kal trapdToXpos:
‘Tapixpatny yoov avtny o Bactideds éxddeu TOTE
5é dvdpos éyovea Ilépcov crodny Kai troy obte
T® Copatt Tpos Ta pHnkn TAY Spdpov amnyo-
pevoev ovTe Oepamrevovoa Tov Baciréws TO cOpa
Kat tov tmmov éFéxapev, axypt HKov eis ywpiov
Livwpa xpnudtwy Kal Keiundtwv BacidsKov
pectov. é& ov AaBov o MiOpiddrns écOFras
moduTeneis Stévere Tols auvdedpaunkdat pos
autov éx ths huyns. dwKxe 5 cal tov dirov
éxdot@ hopely Oavactmov Pdppyaxov, OTws aKwv
pndeis vrroxelptos yévorTro Tots Trodepiots. ép-
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to distinguish persons clearly enough; indeed, it was this circumstance that brought most harm to the king’s troops. For the Romans came to the attack with the moon at their backs, and since her light was close to the horizon, the shadows made by their bodies were thrown far in advance and fell upon the enemy, who were thus unable to estimate correctly the distance between themselves and their foes, but supposing that they were already at close quarters, they hurled their javelins to no purpose and hit nobody. The Romans, seeing this, charged upon them with loud cries, and when the enemy no longer ventured to stand their ground, but fled in panic fear, they cut them down, so that many more than ten thousand of them were slain, and their camp was captured.

Mithridates himself, however, at the outset, cut and charged his way through the Romans with eight hundred horsemen ; but the rest were soon dispersed and he was left with three companions. One of these was Hypsicrateia, a concubine, who always dis- played a right manly spirit and extravagant daring (for which reason the king was wont to call her Hypsicrates), and at this time, mounted and ac- coutred like a

Persian, she was neither exhausted by the long journeys, nor did she weary of caring for the king’s person and for his horse, until they came to a place called Sinora, which was full of the king’s money and treasures. Thence Mithridates took costly raiment and distributed it to those who had flocked to him in his flight. He also gave each of his friends a deadly poison to carry with them, that no one of them might fall into the hands of the enemy against his will. From thence he set out

rev0evy apunto pev er ’Appevias mpos Teypavny,
éxeivou S€ amayopevovtos Kal tTddavTa éxaTov
erixnpuEayTos aUT@, Trapapenpduevos Tas THYAS
tov Kidparov dia tis Koryidos épevye.
XXXII. loprrnios 5é ets "Appeviay évéBare
Tov véouv Tiypavov Kxadobvtos avtov: dn yap
apeoTnKes TOD TaTpOS, Kal auvnvTnoe TH Tlop-
ant tept tov "Apatnv rotamov, bs avioyet wer
éx Tov avtav To Evdpatn toTwv, atroTpeTopEevos
dé mpos Tas avatoras eis 76 Kaomiov éuBdarree
mwédayos. OvTOL Mev OV TpOoTyoV Gua Tas TrOdELS
TaparapuBavovtes: 6 5¢ Bactrevs Tuypavns évay-
vos ev bird AevKdAXou cuyTETpLpevos, HmEepov
dé Twa TO TPOTY® Kal Tpdov TvOopEVvOS Elvat TOV
Tlopmrniov, édéEato pév eis ta Bacirera ppovpay,
dvaraBav 5& tots dirouvs Kal cuyyeveis avTos
émopevero mapaddéa wv EavTop. ws 5é€ AOev tar-
TOTS éTL TOV Yapaxa, paBdovyor Svo Tod Top-
aniov mpocedOovtes éxéXevoay atoRhvat tod
immov Kal metov édXOety ovdéva yap avOpoTrmv
ed immov Kabelopevoy ev ‘Pwpaik@ orpatorréd@
mamote ob0jyat. Kal tadta ovv o Tuypayns
éreiVero Kal ro Eidos avtois daroAvodpevos
mapedioou: kal tédXos, wS Tmpos avTov ADE TOV
Ilopmniov, apedopevos THY Kitapw opunoe po
Tov Today Oeivat, kal kataBarwov éavrov, aicye-
ora 61 TavTwV, TpooTecEiy aUTOD TOs yovacty.
aA’ o Ilopmrnios &fOn tis SeEas adtod AaBo-
fevos mpocayayéo8ar: Kal wAnciov idSpycdpmevos
éavtod, Tov 5é vioy él Odtepa, Tov pev dAXAOV
Ednoe Seiv aitidabat AevxorXov, tr’ éxeivou yap
adnpjcbat Yupiav, Powilxnv, Kidrsxiav, Tarda-
tiav, Lwdnvyv, & Se aype éEavtod ScateTHpykey,

towards Armenia on his way to Tigranes ; but that monarch forbade his coming and proclaimed a reward of a hundred talents for his person; he therefore passed by the sources of the Euphrates and continued his flight through Colchis.

XXXIII. Pompey then invaded Armenia on the invitation of young Tigranes, who was now in revolt from his father, and who met Pompey near the river Araxes, which takes its rise in the same regions as the Euphrates, but turns towards the east and empties into the Caspian Sea. These two, then, marched forward together, receiving the submission of the cities as they passed; King Tigranes, how- ever, who had recently been crushed by Lucullus, but now learned that Pompey was rather mild and gentle in his disposition, received a Roman garrison into his palace, and taking with him his friends and kindred, set out of his own accord to surrender himself. When he rode up to the Roman camp, two of Pompey's lictors came to him and bade him dismount from his horse and go on foot; for no man mounted on horseback had ever been seen in a Roman camp. Tigranes, accordingly, not only obeyed them in this, but also unloosed his sword and gave it to them; and finally, when he came into the presence of Pompey himself, he took oft his royal tiara and made as if to lay it at his feet, and what was most humiliating of all, would have thrown himself down and clasped his knees in supplication. But before he could do this, Pompey caught him by the hand and drew him forward, and after giving him a seat near himself, and putting his son on the other side, told him that he must lay the rest of his losses to Lucullus, who had robbed him of Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene; but that

Gav éxticavta town é€axioxiita TddavTa
'Pwpaios tis adtxias, Twodnvijs 5é Bacrrevoew
Tov viov. él tovTots o pev Tiypavns nydatrnee,
kal Tov 'Pwpaiwy doracapyéevwv aitov Bactéa
TEeptyapys yEevouevos emnyyethaTo STpPATLATH Mev
Hptvaioy apyupiou dace, éxatovTapyy Sé uvas
déxa, xiALdpyY@ Sé TddavToy: o & vids édvadopet,
kal KAnOels emt Setmrvov ovk &byn Iloprntov Sei-
oOat tovaita Ttim@vtoss Kal yap avtos aAXOov
evpnoev "Pwpaiwyv. éx tovtou Sefels ets tov
OpiauBov épurdrrero. Kal per ov woNUY xpovoy
éreprpe Ppadtys o IIdpOo0s amairav pev tov
veavickov, ® avTod yauBpov, akidv bé TaOY Hye-
poviav Spe xpjcOat tO Evdpdryn. Tloprrnios 88
dmexpivato tov peéev Tiypdvny TO tatpl uaddov
i 7 wevOep@ TpoonKkey, Spm Sé ypynoecOas TH
Sixaio.

XXXIV. Katadirav 68 dpovpov *Appevias
"Adpdviov avtos éBdbube Sta THv TrEeptovKovVTwY TOY
Kavxcacov éOvav dvayraiws émi MiOpidarnv. pé-
yiota O¢ avtTav éotiv é6vn!’AdXBavol cal" Bnpes,
"TBnpes ev eri ta Mooyira pn nal tov Tlovtov
kaOnxovres, "AXNBavol dé érl thy Ew Kal THY
Kaotriav xexrAtpévor Odrdaccav. ovbtot mpatov
pev atrodyvte Tlopmrnipy diodoyv &ocav yetpadvos
5¢ tHv otpatiay ev TH Xopa KaTadaPovTos Kal
ths Kpovixts éoptis tots “Papatows cabnxovens:
1 vn bracketed by Sintenis.

what he had kept up to the present time he should continue to hold if he paid six thousand talents to the Romans as a penalty for his wrongdoing; and that his son should be king of Sophene. With these terms Tigranes was well pleased, and when the Romans hailed him as King, he was overjoyed, and promised to give each soldier half a mina of silver, to each centurion ten minas, and to each tribune a talent. But his son was dissatisfied, and when he was invited to supper, said that he was not dependent on Pompey for such honours, for he himself could find another Roman to bestow them. Upon this, he was put in chains and reserved for the triumph. Not long after this, Phraates the Parthian sent a demand for the young man, on the plea that he was his son-in-law, and a proposition that the Euphrates be adopted as a boundary between his empire and that of the Romans. Pompey replied that as for Tigranes, he belonged to his father more than to his father-in-law; and as for a boundary, the just one would be adopted.

XXXIV. Then leaving Afranius in charge of Armenia, Pompey himself proceeded against Mithridates,! and of necessity passed through the peoples dwelling about the Caucasus mountains. The greatest of these peoples are the Albanians and the Iberians, of whom the Iberians extend to the Moschian mountains and the Euxine Sea, while the Albanians lie to the eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. These latter at first granted Pompey’s request for a free passage; but when winter

had overtaken his army in their country and it
was occupied in celebrating the Roman festival of
the Saturnalia, they mustered no less than forty
1 In 65 z.c.
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yevopevot TETpAKLapUpLOV ovux éXaTTOUS émexet-
pnoay avrTois, dia Raves TOV Kupvov ToTaov, o¢
éx TOY "T Rnpixdy o Opa@v avicTapevos Kar Sex opevos

KQTLOVTO, TOV "Apafinu an "Appevias éEinar §0-
Sexa oTOpacw eis TO Kdomvop. ot dé od daca
TOUT cuppéperar TOV "Apd€ny, adda Kad
éavTov, éyyus Sé trovetc Oar THY éxBodnv eis TAUTO
TELAYOS. Hopmnjios 8é, Kaltrep evoThvas duva-
Mevos Tpos THY didBaow Tots Tohepiors, mepteive
SiaBdvras Kal? novytav' eita em aryaryov éTpé-
ato kal SuepOeupe TaparnGeis. T@ O€ Bactret
SenBevre Kat méprapavre m peo Bers adels THY adt-
Kiav Kal OTELTapEVOS, él Tous "I8npas éBadite,
mrnber bev ovK éAaTTovas, HaXtpmerTepous dé TOV
érépwv dvtas, loxupas dé Bovdopévous TO M6 po-
barn xapiver da Kal Siw Beta Bar TOV Tloparniov.
ovte yap M*yéors oure Tépoacs bmnkovgay
"TP npes, Lepuryov 5é Kal THY Maxedover apy,

'AreEdvdpou bia Tayéwy x THiS 'Tpkavias ama-
pavros. ov pny GaXXAA Kal TOUTOUS payn peyann
Tpeypapevos 0 Topmnios, WOTE amoGavetv pev
évaxiaxthtovs, anavat b¢ mAeLous pupioy, els THY
Kovyexny évéBane: wat T pos Tov aor QUT
Lepovi Atos arnvrnge, Tas vads &ywv als éppovper
tov Ilovrov.
XXXV. "H pev ovv M6 pidarov SiwEss évdedv-
KOTOS els Ta wept Boomopoy GOvn kai thy Marotw
aropias ele peyaras: "AABavol dé aibis ae-
oTOTES ave mpornyyenOnaar. 7 pos ods um
opyiis Kal ptdoverxias emraTpeyras TOV TE Kupvov
pos Kal TapaBorws wan. Stetrépacey emt
mov oTaupols vireo Tov BapBdapwy atroKxeyapa-
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thousand men and made an attack upon it. To do this, they crossed the river Cyrnus, which rises in the Iberian mountains, and receiving the Araxes as it issues from Armenia, empties itself by twelve mouths into the Caspian. Others say that the Araxes makes no junction with this stream, but takes a course of its own, and empties itself close by into the same sea. Although Pompey could have opposed the enemy's passage of the river, he suffered them to cross undisturbed ; then he attacked them, routed them, and slew great numbers of them. When, however, their king sent envoys and begged for mercy, Pompey condoned his wrongdoing and made a treaty with him; then he marched against the Iberians, who were not less numerous than the others and more warlike, and had a strong desire to gratify Mithridates by repulsing Pompey. For the Iberians had not been subject either to the Medes or the Persians, and they escaped the Macedonian dominion also, since Alexander departed from Hyrcania in haste. Notwithstanding, Pompey - routed this people also in a great battle, in which nine thousand of them were slain and more than ten thousand taken prisoners; then he invaded Colchis, where, at the river Phasis, Servilius met him, at the head of the fleet with which he was guarding the Euxine.

XXXV. Now, the pursuit of Mithridates, who had thrown himself among the peoples about the Bosporus and the Maeotic Sea, was attended with great difficulties; besides, word was brought to Pompey that the Albanians had again revolted. Turning back against these in resentment and wrath, he crossed the Cyrnus again with great difficulty and hazard, since the Barbarians had fenced off its banks with

2 Kwpévov, kal paxpas avtov éxdexouévns avudpou kal dpyaréas 0600, pupiovs aaxovs Bdatos éepTANT dpevos t)AavveEV el TOUS TrOAEpLOUS, Kal KaTéAaBe mpds "ABavte wotay@ Tapatetaypévous éEaxiopupious melovs Kal dSioycrALous taareis él pupiow, wmrdcpévous S¢ davAws Kal déppace Onpiwy Ttovs ToAXoUs. Hyeito SéavTav Baciréws

3 aberdds dvoua Kdots. otros év XEpat THS PAXNS
yevouévns él tov Tloumniov oppnoas avrov
EBarev ert tiv Tov Oedpaxos émimtuyny axovti-
apart, Ilopmrnios 5é éxeivov éx yetpos Sueddoas
avetrep.
"Ev ravtn TH pdyn AéyovTar Kal ’Apatoves
cvvaywovicacbat tois BapRdpos, aro Tov Tepl
Tov @epuewdovra trorapov pov KaraBadcat. pera
yap THY paxnv oxvrdevortes ot ‘Pwpator Tovs
BapBdpovs wéXtats ‘Apalovixais Kal Kobdopvos
évetuyxavov, capa dé ovdé&y &h0n yuvatxetov.
4 vépovras 5€¢ rod Kavedoov ta KaOnxovta impos
THv “Tpxaviay Odraccav, ovy opopodcar Tois
"AABavois, adAra Térar nal Ajyes otxodor dia
pécou' Kal TovTos ETovs éxdaorou dvo0 pHvas eis.
TavTO hort@oat Trept Tov Bepuwdovta trotapov
Outrovow, eita Kal’ avtTdas amadXayeioa Bro-
Tevovoly.
XXXVI. ‘Opynoas 8 peta rhv paynv o Top-
mnios éhavvew eri tiv ‘Tpxaviay nal Kaoriav
Oadraccav, bro mAnOovs éptretav Oavacipov
ATETPATN TPLOV OOOY HUEPaY aTroa Kar, Eis SE THY
2 pixpav Apyeviay aveyopnoe. Kal TO pev Edv-
paiwy cal Mydov Bacirel réuact mpécBeus
avréypawe gtrdcxas, tov §é TlapOov, es thy
Topdunvnv éuBeBdnkota Kal wepixorrrovta Tous

long stretches of palisades; then, since he must
make a long march through a waterless and difficult
country, he ordered ten thousand skins to be filled
with water, and with this provision advanced upon
the enemy. He found them drawn up on the river
Abas, sixty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse,
but wretchedly armed, and clad for the most part in
the skins of wild beasts. They were led by a
brother of the king, named Cosis, who, as soon as
the fighting was at close quarters, rushed upon
Pompey himself and smote him with a javelin on
the fold of his breastplate; but Pompey ran him
through the body and killed him.
In this battle it is said that there were also
Amazons fighting on the side of the Barbarians, and
that they came down from the mountains about the

river Thermodon. For when the Romans were despoiling the Barbarians after the battle, they came upon Amazonian shields and buskins; but no body of a woman was seen. The Amazons inhabit the parts of the Caucasus mountains that reach down to the Hyrcanian Sea, and they do not border on the Albani, but Gelae and Leges dwell between. With these peoples, who meet them by the river Thermodon, they consort for two months every year; then they go away and live by themselves.

XXXVI. After the battle, Pompey set out to march to the Hyrcanian and Caspian Sea, but was turned back by a multitude of deadly reptiles when he was only three days march distant, and withdrew into Lesser Armenia. Here the kings of the Elymaeans and the Medes sent ambassadors to him, and he wrote them a friendly answer; but against the Parthian king, who had burst into Gordyene and was plundering the subjects of Tigranes, he sent

e ‘ 4 , > / tA
vmO Teypavn, meuypas pera red sega Svvapey
efjrace Siw yJevra HEXpL THS ApBnrite OS.
Oca S€ tov MOpiddtov wadXaxkidwov ayv7-
XOncav, ovdepiav éyvw, macas bé Tois yovetor
3 J, >
Kal oixeiots davéreurev. Yoav yap ai moddal
Ouyarépes nal yuvaixes otpatnyav Kal duvvactov.
> Y ae PY iy ? P uy 4 ‘ \
Tpatovixn 66, i) peytatov elyev aliopa Kat TO
TohuxXpvaotatoy Tay dpoupiov epvdarrer, Hv
pév, ws Eotxe, WrdrATov TLWOs OvY EVTUXOS TaAXa,
, 4 of > \
mpeaRutou dé Ouyartnp, ottw dé evOus ere Trapa
a ince aly A rnc Sacra
motoyv Wrnvaca Tov MiOpidatny, Mote éxeiyny pev
4 bd v4 \ . 4 > ,
th aveTraveTo, fa dé m peo Burny amemeurpe
vagopodvvTa TO Tpoapynoews TUYEly e7l-
popovvTa TH pyde Mporpnoews x: €
eLKovs. os pevrot wept GpOpov eéyepleis cider
” > lA \ > a N A

évdov cxTrapdtoy yey apyvpav Kal xpvody Tpa-
melas, dyrNov Sé Oeparreias woduvy, edvovyous be
Kai TWaidas (waTLA TOV TWOAVTEADY TpoTHhéepovTas
avuT@, Kai Tpo THS Ovpas immoy éEctTata Kexoopn-
pévov Momep ot ToV dirwv tod Baciréws, yrEv-
aopov elvat TO XpHua Kal maddy ryoupevos
a@punoe hevye did Ovpav. tadv Sé OepatovTwv
avTtNapBavopevwv, Kal NeyovTwv OTL Wrovatov
teOvnkotos évayyxos olxov av'T@ péyay o Bactrevs
, le) /
dedwpntat, kal TabTa pixpai tives atrapxal Kal
4 a)
Selypara TOV ahdov XPnpareov Kal KTNPATOV
eloitv, OUTW TloTEvoas pods Kal THY 'Trop-
7 3 >
dupav avadaBov kal avarndnoas érl tov 'airov
naauve dia ths modews Bowov "'Eua tradra
499 N a
TavTa €oTl. Wpos O€ TOs KaTayeA@VTAS Ov
TouTo édeyev elvat Oavyactov, GA' Ste wy AiOots
fal ? "A
Barxre tos aravtavras bd Hdov7As parvopevos.
aA 6
TaUTNS pev HY Kal yeveads Kal aipatos 7 Xtpato-
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an armed force under Afranius, which drove him out of the country and pursued him as far as the district of Arbela.

Of all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought to Pompey, he used not one, but restored them all to their parents and kindred; for most of them were daughters and wives of generals and princes. But Stratonice, who was held in highest esteem by the king and had-the custody of the richest of his fortresses, was, it would seem, the daughter of a humble harpist, an old man, and poor besides ; but she made such a swift conquest ot Mithridates as she once played for him at his wine, that he took her with him to his bed, but sent the old man away in great displeasure at not getting so much as a kindly greeting. In the morning, however, when the old man rose and saw in his house tables loaded with gold and silver beakers, a large retinue of servants, and eunuchs and pages bringing costly garments to him, and a horse standing before his door caparisoned like those of the king's friends, he thought the thing a mockery and a joke, and tried torun out of doors. But the servants laid hold of him and told him that the king had bestowed on him the large estate of a rich man who had recently died, and that these things were only small fore- tastes and specimens of the goods and chattels still remaining. In this way he was with difficulty per- suaded, and putting on his purple robes and leaping upon his horse, he rode through the city, crying: " All this is mine.' To those who laughed at him he said that what he was doing was no

wonder ; the wonder was that he did not throw stones at those who met him, for he was mad with joy. Of such a stock and lineage was Stratonice: But she

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viKn. T@ dé Topanip Kal TO Xwplov Trape-
didou TOUTO Kal dépa TONG 7 poo nvey Kev, @v
éxelvos Goa Koopov tepois Kat Aapmpornta. 7@
OpiapBo mapéeey epaivero AaBov ova, Ta
Lowa THY Lrparovikny éxéXeve Kec Tho Oa xai-
povaay. opotws b€ Kal Tov Bactréws Trav I8npwv
KdMvyy Te Kal Tpamelav Kal Opovoyv, amavra
xpuaa, _TeppavTos avT@ Kal dendévros haBeiv,
Ka TavTa Tols Tapia TapédwKxev eis TO by-
poctov.
XXXVII. "Ev 6é T@ Kawa ppoupip Kab ypap-
pac arroppyrous 0 Tloparijios eveTuxe Tob M.6pr-
datrov, kat dindOev ovx andas aura TOAD
EXOVTA Tov nOous KaTaVvOnaty. UTouVnLaTa yap
ny, €E a av epapadn dapuaxors addous TE TONAOVS
kal Tov viov 'A prapdOny avnpnKes Kal TOV
ZapSiavov "Adcaion, bre Tapevdoxiunoev avrov
immous aryovirT as ehavveov. hoav 6é avaryeypap-
pevan Kal _kpioess évuTrvion, Ov Ta pev avTos
éwpaxel, Ta O€ Evtas TOV yuvatKkav, éTLoTOAAl Te
Moviuns T pos aurov dxohacro Kal wdadw éxelvou
mpos auTnv. @eodpdvns Se Kal 'PoutiAtou ovyov
evpeOvat gyno. mapo vyTLKOY art Th avaipecw
Tov év "Agia "Paopaiwy. 6 Karas elxd Sova
ot TreiaToL xaxo7Pevpa Tov Geopdvous elvat,
Taxa pev ovder avT@ tov 'Povtidsov éoxora
picobytos, elxos bé cal ba Topanior, ov TO
Tatépa waptovnpoy amédecEev o "Poutirsos év
Tals to Topiass.
XXXVIII. 'Evreddev eis "Apicov erdOwv o
Tloparnios amados vEewernTov vio prrotipias
émabe. To\Aa yap tov AevKoAXoy énixepTo-
pnoas, tt TOD ToAEpiou LavTos éypade Statakes
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surrendered this stronghold to Pompey, and brought him many gifts, of which he accepted only those which were likely to adorn the temples at Rome and add splendour to his triumph; the rest he bade Stratonice keep and welcome. In like manner, too, when the king of the Iberians sent him a couch, a table, and a throne, all of gold, and begged him to accept them, he delivered these also to the quaestors, for the public treasury.

XXXVII. In the fortress of Caenum Pompey found also private documents belonging to Mithridates, and read them with no little satisfaction, since they shed much light upon the king's character. For there were memoranda among them from which it was discovered that, besides many others, he had 'poisoned to death his son Ariarathes, and also Alcaeus of Sardis, because he had surpassed him in driving race-horses. Among the writings were also interpretations of dreams, some of which he himself had dreamed, and others, some of his wives. There were also letters from Monime to him, of a lascivious nature, and answering letters from him to her. Moreover, Theophanes says there was found here an address of Rutilius, which incited the king to the massacre of the Romans in Asia. But most people rightly conjecture that this was a malicious invention on the part of Theophanes, perhaps because he hated Rutilius, who was wholly unlike himself, but probably also to please Pompey, whose father had been represented as an utter wretch by Rutilius in his histories.

XXXVIII. From Caenum Pompey went to Amisus, where his ambition led him into obnoxious courses. For whereas he had roundly abused Lucullus because, while his enemy was still alive, he would

kal Swpeds évepe kal TLyuds, & svvnpnuévou TroAé€-
pov kal mépas Exovtos eidPact Trovety ot vevten-
4 > NX > / 4 A
KoTes, avtos év Boorropm MiOpidatov xparodytos
kal cuvetroxotos aktouayov Sivayw, as 87

ouvrereneopévwv atravtwv, émpatte tavTa, d:a-
Koopav Tas émapyias Kai Sdiavéuwv Swpeds,
TOAA@Y pev nyenovav Kal duvactav, Baciréwv
5¢ Sadexa BapBdpwv adiypévwv mpds avdrov.
cd IQN 3H \ 4 > , C4
50ev ovbé nEtwae Tov IldpOov avtiypddwrv, womep
e / / 4 Le
of Aowrroit, Bacttéa Bacittéwy TWpocayopevoat,
Tois GAXoLs yapilopmevos. avrov Sé Tis Epws Kal
Ciros elye Yupiav avadraBeiv nal da tHs ’Apa-
, > \ \ > \ 4 4 e A
Bias éri thy épvOpav érdoat Oddaccay, ws TO.
mepiidvTe THY oiKovpevny TravTayobey “Oxeav@
ampoopifee vic@v' Kal yap év AiBuin mpatos
adxype THs éxtos Oardoons Kpatav mponrbe, Kat
\ bd > , 4 bd \ Co x7, ¢ ld
Thv ev IBnpiq madw apyny wpicato “Pwpatois
T® 'AtAavTiK@® TeArdye, Kal TpiTov évaryxos
b \ 4 > V4 29 / > a >
AdABavovs dubxav ordiyov édénoev euBarety els
\ € , 4 e = 4 n
Thy ‘Tpxaviay Oddaccay. ws ovv cuvdrpwv TH
épv0pa tv mepiodov THs oTpatelas avioTaTo.
Kal yap adddNws Tov MiOpiddtny éwpa SvcOnpatov
” a 5.4 4 / A
dvta Tois Ordos Kal hevyovta YareTrwWTEpoY 1
payopevov.
XXXIX. Avo rovtTm pev eitav ioxyuportepov
e A A \ \ 9 , 3
EAUTOU TONEWLOY TOV ALLOY aTroNEipetY, ETéaTNTE
PvrAaKas TOV vewy érl TOS TAEOVTAS eis Boo7ro-
pov éumopovs: kat Odvatos hv 9 Enpia rots
adtoKopévots. avarkaBov dé THs oTpaTLas THY
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issue edicts and distribute gifts and honours,—things which victors are wont to do only when a war has been brought to an end and finished,—yet he himself, while Mithridates was supreme in Bosporus and had collected a formidable force, just as though the whole struggle was ended, took the same course, regulating the provinces and distributing gifts; for many leaders and princes and twelve barbarian kings had come to him. Wherefore, to gratify these other kings, he would not deign, in answering a letter from the king of Parthia, to address him as King of Kings, which was his usual title. Moreover, a great and eager passion possessed him to recover Syria, and march through Arabia to the Red Sea,! in order that he might bring his victorious career into touch with the Ocean which surrounds the world on all sides; for in

Africa he had been the first to carry his conquests as far as the Outer Sea, and again in Spain he had made the Atlantic Ocean the boundary of the Roman dominion, and thirdly, in his recent pursuit of the Albani, he had narrowly missed reaching the Hyrcanian Sea. In order, therefore, that he might connect the circuit of his military expeditions with the Red Sea, he put his army in motion. And, besides, he saw that it was difficult to hunt Mithridates down with an armed force, and that he was harder to deal with when he fled than when he gave battle. XXXIX. Wherefore, remarking that he would leave behind him for this fugitive a mightier enemy than himself, to wit, famine, he stationed ships to keep guard against the merchants sailing to Bos- porus; and death was the penalty for such as were caught. Then taking the great mass of his army,

1 7.e. the Persian Gulf.

\ A a . A a T f
TANOdW cuyVnY mponye Kat Tov petra Tptapiou
A ,
apos MiOpiddrnv atvxas aywvcapévov Kat
mecovTwy évtuyayv atdpos ett Tois vexpots,
Gave Napmpas xal grrotivws dravtas, 5 doxet
/
maparepbev ovy Axtota AevxoAd\w picous
v / A \ > 3
aitiov yevéoOar. Yetpwodpevos 5é bs "Adpa-
viov tous wept 'Apavoy "ApaBas xat xaraBas
autos eis Yuplav, TavTnv pev ws oUK EXoVAGAY
yunatous Baotreis émapyiay drédnve cal nrjpa
tod Sypou "Pwpaiwyv, thy $b "lovdaiay xare-
4
aotpéato, xal cuvédaBev 'AptotoBovrov ov
Baciréa. orges Sé tras péev extile, tas dé
9 , lA A > >) A ,
nrevbepov Koralwy tovs €v auTais Tupdvvovs.
\ , 5 ' J A PS 4
tThv O€ mAetotrny dwatprBnv év +O Sexdlew
érotetto, ToAewy Kal Bactréwy dydhiohntnpata
A N A
Stactov, éb' & 5é€ avros ovK éEtxvetto, wéuTmwv
\ i 4 9 , \ Ul
Tovs pirous, wamep "Appeviots nat TapOors rept
\
ns Suehépovro y@pas THY Kpioty Totnoapévots
én' avT@ Tpels amréatetXe KpiTas Kal SrarraxtTds.
péya pev yap Av dvopa THs Suvapews, ovK EXaTTOV
dé Tis apetiis Kal mpaoTnTos' @ Kal Ta TACioTA

TOV Tept avToY dpapTnpata dirowv cal cuvnbwv
améxpuTrTe, KwAve pev 7) KoAdLELY TOUS TroVn-
pevopévous ov mepux@s, avtoyv 5é Tapéxwy Tois
éytuyydvovalt TowvToy wate Kal Tas éxéeivov
mrcovetias Kal Bapvtntas edxoros bropéverv.
XL. ‘O 8 péytotov duvduevos map’ aire
Anuntptos Hv ameevOepos, ovx adpwv eis Tarra
veavias, dyav 5€ TH TUXN KXp@mevos: Tepl od Kal
Totovde Te NéyeTat. Kdtwv o dirooogos ere pév
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he set out on his march, and when he came upon the still unburied bodies of those who, led by Triarius, had fallen in an unsuccessful combat with Mithridates,! he gave them all an honourable and splendid burial. The neglect of this is thought to have been the chief reason why Lucullus was hated by his soldiers. After his legate Afranius had subdued for him the Arabians about Amanus, he himself went down into Syria,? and since this country had no legimate kings, he declared it to be a province and possession of the Roman people; he also subdued Judaea, and made a prisoner of Aristobulus the king. Some cities he built up, others he set free, chastising their tyrants. But most of his time he spent in judicial business, settling the disputes of cities and kings, and for those to which he himself could not attend, sending his friends. Thus when the Armenians and Parthians referred to him the decision of a territorial quarrel, he sent them three arbiters and judges. For great was the name of his power, and not less that of his virtue and clemency. This enabled him to hide away most of the transgressions of his friends and intimates, since he was not fitted by nature to restrain or chastise evil doers; but he was so helpful himself to those who had dealings with him that they were content to endure the rapacity and severity of his friends.

XL. The one who had most influence with him was Demetrius, a freedman, a young man of some intelligence otherwise, but who abused his good

fortune. The following story is told about him.
Cato the philosopher, when he was still a young man,
1 Three years earlier. Cf. the Lucullus, xxxv. 1.
® In the spring of 64 B,c,
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dv véos, 46n 6é peyadny EXov d0fav cal péya
ppovary, avéBawev eis "AvTioxeray, OvUK ovTOS
avToOt Hlourntov, Bovropevos laTophoat THY
TONY. auTos ev ovn, GaoTEp aei, welos éBd61-
fev, ot Sé piror aouvwdevov trmous Xpwomevor.
KkaTioov 5& po THs mUANS oy XOV avdpav év
eoOhjoe AevKais Kal mapa THv obo évOev péev TOS
épnBous, evOev Oe TOUS maidas Sraxexpimevous,

edvaxéeparvey olopevos eis Tyuny Tia Kal Oepa-
metav éavTou pndev Seopévou tavtTa yiverOat.
TOUS pévToL pidous éxéhevoe KataBnvar Kal
mopever Gar eT: auto yevopevous dé mAnotov
0 TavTa Siaxoc Lav éxeiva, kat KaQuotas exov
orepavor Kal paBdoov aTrnVTNGE, TuvOavopevos
Tap QUT@V Tov Anuntptov amoNeXotTact Kat
more abi€erat. TOUS Mev OY pirous Tob Katovos
yehos édaBev, 0 6€ Karav elroy, "0, ris
aOrias Todews," waphrOev, ovdev Etepov arro-
KPLVA[EVOS. *
Ov pv adda Kal Tots arrows TOUTOV TOV
Anpitpiov HTTOv émidOovov érroiet auTos)
Tloparnios evTpupwpevos oT auTov Kal pay dug Ko-
Natvov. héyerau yap, OTe TOAAAKIs ev Tals
broboxais TOU Hoprniov T POO HEVOVTOS Kal dexo-
pévov TOUS Gdrous € éxeivos non KATEKELTO coBapos,
EXov &e OToOv Kata THS Kehadiys TO iwareov.
ovTw 6é eis "Iradiav emravednrvd as EXEKTNTO
THs 'Pauns Ta Hotota Wpodorea Kal TaY 7Rn-
Tnpiwv Ta KaAALOTA, Kal KHTOL TOAUTEAELS HoaV
i a rater Anpntpiov: xairos Topanios avTos
b TOU Tpitou pra Bov pert picos Kat apenas
oiser: vatepov 5é "Pwpaiots TodTO 67 TO KAaAOV
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but had already great reputation and lofty purposes, went up to Antioch,! at a time when Pompey was not there, wishing to inspect the city. Cato himself, the story goes, marched on foot, as always, but the friends who journeyed with him were on horseback. When he beheld before the gate of the city a throug of men in white raiment, and drawn up along the road the youths on one side, and the boys on the other, he was vexed, supposing this to be done out of deference and honour to himself, who desired nothing of the kind. However, he ordered his friends to dismount and walk with him; but when they drew near, the master of all these ceremonies met them, with a wreath on his head and a wand in his hand, and asked them where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come. The friends of Cato, accordingly, burst out laughing, but Cato said, “O the wretched city!” and passed on without any further answer.

However, Pompey himself made this Demetrius less odious to the rest by enduring his caprices with- out vexation. For instance, it is said that many times at his entertainments, when Pompey was awaiting and receiving his other guests, that fellow would be already reclining at table in great state, with the hood of his toga drawn down behind his ears.?_ Before his return to Italy, he had purchased the pleasantest suburbs of Rome and the most beau- tiful places of entertainment, and very costly gardens were called “ Demetrian’’ after him; and yet Pompey himself, up to the time of his third triumph, had a simple and modest house. After that, it is true, when he was erecting the famous and beautiful

1 Cf. Cato the Younger, chapter xiii.
2 A mark of slovenliness.
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kab treptBontov auatas Ogatpov, dorep éporxctov
Tl, WApeTEKTHVATO AapTpOTépay oixiay éxetvns,
averripOovov Sé xal tavTnv, ate TOY Yyevdmevor
Seomrotny autis peta Lloumniov ciceXOovta Bav-
pate xal wuvOavecOat rob Wopmrnios Mayvos
éSeirrvet. TavTa pév ovv odTw AéyeTaL.
XLI. Tod 8 Bactrtéws tev rept tHv Tétpav
"ApaBwv mporepov pev év ovdevi Aoym Ta “Po-
patwv tiUOepévov, tote 5é Seicavros ioxupas
Kal ypawavtos Ott mavta TweiOecOar Kai Trovety
éyuaxev, exBeBarwoacbar Bovrcpevos avtod thy
Sudvotav o Lopmanios éorpatevoev emt thy Tétpav

ou Tavu TL Tols TWOAACIS auEe“TTTOY TTpaTElav.
amodépaciv yap wovro THs MiOpiddatov SduaFews
elvat, kal mpos éxetvov HEliovv TpémecOat Tov
apxyaiov avtaywvotnv, avlis avalwrupobyta
Kal mapacxevalouevor, @ amnyyéAreTo, Sia
Xxvbav cal Tlavovwv otpatov édavvew emt thy
"Iradrtav. o &€ pdov olduevos avtod Katadvoew
thv Svvauy woremovvTos TO cana AmpecOat
devyovtos, ovx éBovreto tpiBeoOar patny Trepi
tiv Siwkiv, étépas 5é rod moAéuov rapevOnxas
émotetro Kal Tov ypovov elNxev.
‘H 8 ruyn trnv aropiav édXvaev. ovdKéte ya

xn Thy dmop yap
avtod ths Lérpas moAdny oddv airéxovros, Ady
5é THs Huépas éxeivns BeBAnpévov yYapaxa Kat
yupvalovtos éautov imm@ Tapa TO oTpaToredop,
Yypaunpatndopo: mpoonravvov éx Ilovtov xopi-
Covtes evayyédta. dro. & evOus eios Tais
aixpais tav Sopdrav Sadvats yap avacrédovrat.
TouTous (Sovtes of oTpATLATAL cUVETPOXaCOV TpPOS
tov Ilourniov. o S¢ mpa@tov pev éBovrEcTO T
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theatre which bears his name, he built close by it, like a small boat towed behind a ship, a more splen- did house than the one he had before. But even this was not large enough to excite envy, so that when he who succeeded Pompey as its owner entered it, he was amazed, and inquired where Pompey the Great used to sup. At any rate, so the story runs.

XLI. The king of the Arabians about Petra had hitherto made no account of the Roman power, but now he was thorougly alarmed and wrote that he had determined to obey and perform al] commands. Pompey, therefore, wishing to confirm him in his purpose, marched towards Petra, an expedition which was not a little censured by most of his followers. For they thought it an evasion of the pursuit of Mithridates, and demanded that he should rather turn against that inveterate enemy, who was again kindling the flames of war and preparing, as it was reported, to march an army through Scythia and

Paeonia against Italy. Pompey, however, thinking it easier to crush the king's forces when he made war than to seize his person when he was in flight, was not willing to wear out his own strength in a vain pursuit, and therefore sought other employment in the interval of the war and thus protracted the time.

But fortune resolved the difficulty. For when he was come within a short distance of Petra, and had already pitched his camp for that day and was exercising himself on horseback near by, dispatch- bearers rode up from Pontus bringing good tidings. Such messengers are known at once by the tips of their spears, which are wreathed with laurel. As soon as the soldiers saw these couriers they ran in throngs to Pompey. At first he was disposed to finish his

yuuvacia cuvtedety, Bowyvtwy dé Kal Seopévov carannonoas amo Tov immov xal rAaBov Ta ypadppara T porjet. Bnparos 5é ovK dvtos ovdé TOU OTpATLOTLKOD yevéo Oar POdcavros (6 qotovotv autol THS Yhs éxTouas Babeias NauBavortes Kal Kar addy Acov ouvrevres), bard THS TOTE anovdhs kal mpoOupias Ta oaypata TOV tmobuyiov oUppopyaavres Epos : eEfpav. emt TovTo mpoBas 0 Ilopmrnios am nyyethev autots Ott Mi pidarns TéOvnKE oTacida ayTos Papvaxou Tou viod diaXpnodpevos avrov, Ta Sé éxet mdvTa _Tpayywata Dapvaxns KaTeKAnpwoato, Kal éavT@ Kat "Popeatots yeypahe TOLOUMEVOS.

XLII. "EK TOUTOU TO pev oTpaTeupa TH Xape Apa mevon, as eixos, évy Ouctass Kal cuvovatats duiryev, as ev TO M:Opidarov TOMATL _pupiwy TeOvnKoTOY Tohepiov. Topmnios 5é tails mpaEcou avtob Kal Tais oTparetars Keharny ériteOerxws ov mmavu Pqdlas ouTw mpoadoxnGeicay, evd vs avétevEev éx Ths "ApaBias: Kab TAXD Tas év péow dreEeNOov é emapxias eis "Apioov adixeto, Kal KatéhaBe TOAAa pev Odpa mapa @Dapvaxov KEKOMLG UEDA, TOAAa Oe TOMATA TOV Bacirscer, auTOV be TOV Mipiddrov Vex pov ov Wavy yvopov amo ToD mpoowmov (rov yap éyxépadov éradev éxrhfat TOUS Oeparrevovtas)> ara Tails ovdais emeyiryvad cov ot Seouevoe Tou Oeduaros. ov yap avTos Toumnios ideiy U7réwetvey, adn

ahootwadpevos TO vewernTov els Livomny aTré-
meprpe. THs 8 eabfros, nv épopet, Kal TOV Srrhov
TO péyeOos Kal THY NaumTpoTnTa Cavpace KaiToL
1 $~os Coraés and Bekker have eis Sos, after Solanus.

exercise, but at their shouts and entreaties he dis- mounted from his horse, took the dispatches, and led the way into camp. There was no regular tribunal, nor had there been time to erect the military sub- stitute, which the soldiers make with their own hands by digging up large clods of earth and heaping them one upon another; but in the eager haste of the moment they piled up the pack-saddles of the beasts of burden and made an eminence of them. Pompey ascended this and announced to his soldiers that Mithridates was dead, having made away with himself because his son Pharnaces had revolted from him, and that Pharnaces had come into possession of all the power there, acting, as he wrote, in behalf ot himself and the Romans.!

XLII. Upon this the army, filled with joy, as was natural, gave itself up to sacrifices and entertain- ments, feeling that in the person of Mithridates ten thousand enemies had died. Then Pompey, having brought his achievements and expeditions to such an unexpectedly easy completion, straightway withdrew from Arabia, and passing rapidly through the inter- vening provinces, came to Amisus. Here he found many gifts that had been brought from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the royal family, and the corpse of Mithridates himself, which was not easy to recognize by the face (for the embalmers had neglected to remove the brain), but those who cared to see the body recognized it by the scars. Pompey himself could not bring himself to look upon the body, but to propitiate the divine jealousy sent it away to Sinope. He was amazed at the size and splendour of the arms and raiment which Mith- ridates used to wear; although the sword-belt, which

1 This was in 63 B.C.

Tov pev Echiothpa wemomnpévoy aro teTpakociwy
taravtov Llomdtos KrAépas érradynoev "Apapad n,
A \ , fue e A UA 4
Thy € Kitapy dios o rod MiOpiddatou aivtpodos
édSwxe xpuda Senbevte Davote TH Yada rracdi,
Oavpaotis ovcay épyacias. 6 rote tov Tlop-
mniov dréda0e, Papvdens 5€ yvods totepoy éte-
pwpnoato Tovs UpEedopevors.
Atouxnoas 6€ ta éxei Kal KatacTnodpevos
ed ” , > a A ,
olTws 76n Tavnyuptx@tepoy éexpnto TH Topeia.
\ A 9 4 > , / ‘
Kat yap eis MetrvAnyny adixopevos tiv Te Toy
nrevbépwae b1a Beoddvn, cal tov ayava Tov

matpiov eOedcato Tay Tonto, UToBeow pilav
v \ > , 4 e el 4
éyovta tas éxeivou mpakes. jabels 5é 7@ Oed-
Tp@ Tepteypdvato TO eldos avTOD Kal Tov TuToOD,
4 N € 4 a
@s Guotov atrepyacopevos TO év ‘Pan, petbov dé
f e
kal cepuvotepov. év dé “Pod@ yevouevos tavTav
bev NKpodcato THY codicTay, Kal Swpeay ExdoT@
4 ES af PY , de \ \ ? /
TaXavTov edwnxe? Llogetowpyios O€ Kal THY aKpo-
> f/f ” > 9 > n \ e
agi avéypawev iy Eoxev én” adrod mpos “Ep-
payopay Tov pytopa wept ths KaBorov CntHceEws
2 / > \ 3 , \ ‘\ \
avritakdpevos. év d€ AOnvais Ta pév pos TovS
dirocogous Spyora tov Ilopmrniov: tH more é
émdous eis éricKeuny TevTnKOVTa TaNaVTAa Aap-
4 > 4 4 9 / A
mpotatos avOpareav Hnamivev éemiBnoecOa Tihs
"Iranias cal ro8ay ofOyncecOat Tots olxot Tobod-
aw. @& & dpa mpos Ta AapTpa Kal peydrda TOV
\ a U4 9 al > / UA A
amo THS TUXNS ayabay ae TLVa KEepavydvaL KaKOD
poipay emiperds Eote Satpovi~, TOUTO UTTOLKOUpeEL
mddat TapacKxevdlov ai’t@® AuvTNpoTépay THY
\ \
érdvodov. é&uBpice yap % Moveia mapa rhv
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cost four hundred talents, was stolen by Publius and sold to Ariarathes, and the tiara was secretly given by Caius, the foster brother of Mithridates, to Faustus the son of Sulla, at his request; it was a piece of wonderful workmanship. All this escaped the knowledge of Pompey at the time, but Pharnaces afterwards learned of it and punished the thieves.

After arranging and settling affairs in those parts, Pompey proceeded on his journey, and now with greater pomp and ceremony. For instance, when he came to Mitylene, he gave the city its freedom, for the sake of Theophanes, and witnessed the traditional contest of the poets there, who now took as their sole theme his own exploits. And being pleased with the theatre, he had sketches and plans of it made for him, that he might build one like it in Rome, only larger and more splendid.t And when he was in Rhodes, he heard all

the sophists there, and made each of them a present of a talent. Poseidonius has actually described the discourse which he held before him, against Hermagoras the rhetorician, on Investigation in General. At Athens, too, he not only treated the philosophers with like munificence, but also gave fifty talents to the city towards its restoration. He therefore hoped to set foot in Italy with a reputation more brilliant than that of any other man, and that his family would be as eager to see him as he was to see them. But that divine agency which always takes pains to mingle with the great and splendid gifts of fortune a certain portion of evil, had long been secretly at work preparing to make his return a very bitter one. For Mucia his wife

1 Cf. chapter xl. 5. The theatre was opened in 55 B.c., and accommodated 40,000 persons.

A d \ A e (a7)
atroénuiav avtod. Kal moppw pév ov o ILopurrnios
Pa my , s
Kateppover TOD Aoyou: TAnaioy de 'Itadias yevo-
A al A ¢
pevos Kal axorAdlovTe TH AOYiou@ parrov, ws
a 27 A \
Gouxe, THS aitias arrdpevos, Evepr ev auth THV
? ?
ddeow, ote TOTEe yparas ovO' Batepov ep' ols
a a" /
adinceyv ékeurov: év & émuctorais Kuxépwvos 7
aitia yéypamrras.
XLIII. Aoyot 6¢ wavtodarol mepi tov Top-
€ Ul
aniov mpoxatémiT Tov eis THY Pawpnv, cal GopuBos
, \
Hv Words, ws EevOvs aEovTos émi Thy Tod TO
/ ,
oTpatevpa Kal povapyias BeBatas écopevys.
Kpdaaos 5é rovs traidas Kal Ta ypipata AaBov
treEnrOev, cite Seiaas adNOOs, elte WGAXoOV, wS
LNW , , , a a \ Q
éd0xe, TWiotw amodeitrwv tH StaBorAn Kal Tov
POdvov trowav tpaxvtepov. evOvs otv émiBas
b) , € ian \ > >
Iradias o Tlopanios nal cuvayayov eis éx-
KAnoiav TOUS aTpatiotas Kal Ta TMpéTOVTA
SiareyOeis xai giroppovncdpevos, éxédevoce
U4 / e 4 ,

dsadvecOat Kata TomY éxdotovs Kal Tpétre-
cat wpos Ta otxeia, peuyvnpévovs avOus emi
\ 7 > A aA e ‘ A
Tov OpiauBov avT@ avvedOciv. ovtw Se TIS
oTpaTias oxedacbeions Kat truvOavopévoy amdv-
Twv mwpayya avvéBy Oavpactov. opacar yap
e , fu 4 v \ ’
at trodes Lloparniov Mayvov dvorXov Kat pet
», 7 A / ef 9 ¥ ? ,
OMywv Tav cuvnbwv womep EE GAANS atrodnpias
Statropevopevov, éxyecpevar bu’ edvotav xal tpo-
méumovoa, peta pelCovos Suvdpews cuyKatiyov
ets THV ‘Papny, et Te xuveiy Stevoetto Kal vewTEps-
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had played the wanton during his absence. While Pompey was far away, he had treated the report of it with contempt ; but when he was nearer Italy and, as it would seem, had examined the charge more at his leisure, he sent her a bill of divorce, although he neither wrote at that time, nor afterwards declared, the grounds on which he put her away; but the reason is stated in Cicero’s letters.}

XLII. All sorts of stories about Pompey kept travelling to Rome before him, and there was much commotion there, where it was thought that he would straightway lead his army against the city, and that a monarchy would be securely established. Crassus took his children and his money and secretly withdrew, whether it was that he was really afraid, or rather, as seemed likely, because he wished to give credibility to the calumny and make the envious hatred of Pompey more severe. Pompey, accord- ingly, as soon as he set foot in Italy,? held an assembly of his soldiers, and after he had said what fitted the occasion, and had expressed his gratitude and affection for them, he bade them disperse to their several cities and seek their homes, remember- ing to come together again for the celebration of his triumph. When the army had been thus disbanded and all the world had learned about it, a wonderful thing happened. When the cities saw Pompey the Great journeying along unarmed and with only a few intimate friends, as though returning from an or- dinary sojourn abroad, the people streamed forth to show their good will, and escorting him on his way with a larger force, brought him with them back to Rome, where, had he purposed any revolutionary

1 Not in any which are extant. In a letter to Atticus (i. 12, 3) Cicero says that Pompey’s divorce of Mucia was heartily approved. 2 In 62 u.c.

Ul ? , U A 4
Sew tote, pndev éxeivov Seouevoy tov otpatev-

patos.
XLIV. ’Evel &€ 6 vopos ov« ela mpo tod
A A "4
OpiduBov mapedOciy eis THv roku, Emreprper
“A \ “~
akiov eis tHv Bovrnv dvaBadécba Tas TeV
tmdteav dapyatpecias, cai Sodvar tavtTny aiT@
Thv xapw Stws Tapov Iletowu ovvapxatpe-
aidan. Katevos 5€ mpos thy akiwow évotavtos
oux étuxe Tod BovAcvyatos. Oavpdaoas bé thy
“A , A
Tappnotav avtov Kal Tov Tovov @® pwovos éxpHTo
ghavepas wrép Tav Sixaiwv, érmeOvpnoev aus yé
mos KTncac0at Tov avdpa: Kal dveivy ovo aded-
Le) A 4 \ \ 9 N b] 4 A
prdav T@ Kdtove thv pév adtos éBovreTo AaBeiv
yuvaixa, thv S€ Te Tatdt avvotxioat. tod &é
Kadtovos vmidopée ; ‘ vs d1adbopa
S$ umlooué vou THY Trelpay, ws dtadVopav
ovoav avtod tpoTroyv tiva Sexalopévou Sia Tis
? / C4 2 \ \ e \ a
Ol\KELOTNTOS,] TE AdEAdN Kal 7 YUVYT) YaAETTAS
Epepov ef Tloxmniov Mdyvov aorpivetar xndec-
, 9 4 de / 4 > 5 a
THY. €v ToUT® oe Bovropevos mato aio ebEae
Loparnjios ‘Agpanov d dpryuptov eis Tas puras auy-
ALoKEY UIrép avroo, Kal TOUTO KaTLovTes is TOUS
Ilopmrniov xymovs éAdpBavov, doTe TO Tpaypa
mepiBontoy etvac «cat tov Tlowmniov axoveu
“ N A
KaKOS, NS autos apyns ep’ ols xatapOwaev ws
peytotns Eruxe, TavTHY @vioy trotobvta Tots bv
apeTns xtyncacbar py Svvapévos. “ Tovtav
? A
pévtol, mpos Tas yuvaixas o Kdtov édyeoe,
“Trav dOvEelo@ov KoLYwYnTéov oixetots Tloparniou
yevopevos. ai dé axovoaca cuvéyvacay BéXTLOV
avtTav exeivov NoyitecOar wept Tod TpeTrOVTOS.
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changes at that time, he had no need of the army
that he had disbanded.
XLIV. Now, since the law did not permit a com-

mander to enter the city before his triumph, Pompey sent a request to the senate that they should put off the consular elections, asking them to grant him this favour in order that he might personally assist Piso in his candidacy. But Cato opposed the request, and Pompey did not get what he wished. However, Pompey admired Cato's boldness of speech and the firmness which he alone publicly displayed in defence of law and justice, and therefore set his heart on winning him over in some way or other; and since Cato had two nieces, Pompey wished to take one of them to wife himself, and to marry the other to his son. But Cato saw through the design, which he thought aimed at corrupting him and in a manner bribing him by means of marriage alliance, although his sister and his wife were displeased that he should reject Pompey the Great as a family connection. In the meantime, however, wishing to have Afranius made consul, Pompey spent money lavishly on his behalf among the tribes, and the people went down to Pompey's gardens to get it. As a consequence, the matter became notorious and Pompey was in ill repute ; the office of consul was highest of all, and he himself had therefore received it as a reward for his successes, and yet he was making this office a thing to be bought by those who were unable to win it by merit. 'In these reproaches, however,' said Cato to the women, " we must have taken our share, if we had become allied to Pompey." And when they heard this, they agreed that his estimate of the fit and proper was better than theirs.!

1 Cf. Cato the Younger, xxx. 1-5. 229

XLV. Tod dé OpiduBov TO peryedet, Kaimep els Tmepas Svo peptic Oévtos, 0 _Xpoves OUK éEnpkecer, ara TOV T Opes KEVAT HEVOY TOANG THs Oéas eEerrecer, € éTépas arroxpevTa, TOMTENS aFiwpa Kal KOT [L0S eva. ypaupace dé T ponryoupevols édn-ANovTO Ta yevn Kal' ov eOpidpBevev. Hv 5é Tade Ilovtos, Appevia, Karmaéoxia, IWaddayovia, Mnédia, Koayis, "I8npes, 'AdBavot, Zupia, Kudu-Kia, Megorortapia, Ta qTepl Powvixny Kal Tia-

Lato tivyy, "lovsaia, "Apafia, Td TEeLpaT LOY drrav
év OH Kal arden KATATETTONEMNLEVOV. év 6€
TOUTOLS ppovpta pev TwoKoTa. Xora oun éAdtT-
Tova, Trodets b€ OV TrOAV TOV évaxoo wv am obé-
ove at, TetpaTiKal dé vies oxTaKooLal, KaTOLKiaL
dé Tohewv puads Séovaas TETTAPAKOVTA. mpos dé
tovtots Eppate dua TOV Ypappareov ore TEVTAKLG -
Mat y _ Hupudsbes ée TOV TEXOV UTTpXor, ék
dé dv autos TPOTEKTHTATO TH WoNEL pupidbas
OKTAKLG iAtas TevTaKogtas hapBdvovarr, ava-
hépetar O€ Els TO 8noatov Tapetov év Yopio parte
Kal KatacKevais apryuptou Kal Xpuatov dio pupa
TddavTa, mupeE TOV Els TOUS OTpATLOTAS ded0-
pévov, BY 0 TOUAaXLGTOV aipwY Kara hoyov
Cpaxpmas elanhe Xerias TevTAKotas. aixua-
AwrToL oi éeroumevOncay, a avev TOV GpXeTerpaT ay,
ULOS Teypavou TOU “Appeviou pera YUvaLKos Kat
Ouyat pos, avtov te Tuypdvou tov Bactréws yur
Zocipn, cat Bactrevs lovdaiwy ‘AptoToBovdos,
MiOpidarov dé abderdy xal wévte réxva, Kai
Levdises yuvaixes, "ArBavav Sé Kal TBj pov
Sunpot nal tov Koppaynvev Bacirews, Kal Tpo-
Tata wduro\Aa Kal Tais payats todpiOya
230

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XLV. His triumph had such a magnitude that, although it was distributed over two days, still the time would not suffice, but much of what had been prepared could not find a place in the spectacle, enough to dignify and adorn another triumphal procession. Inscriptions borne in advance of the procession indicated the nations over which he triumphed. These were: Pontus, Armenia, Cappa- docia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine, Judaea, Arabia, and all the power of the pirates by sea and land which had been overthrown. Among these peoples no less than a thousand strongholds had been captured, according to the inscriptions, and cities not much under nine hundred in number, besides eight hundred piratical ships, while thirty- nine cities had been founded. In addition to all this the inscriptions set forth that whereas the public revenues from taxes had been fifty million drachmas, they were receiving from the additions which Pompey had made to the city’s power eighty- five million, and that he was bringing into the pyblic treasury in coined money and vessels of gold and silver twenty thousand talents, apart from the money which had been given to his soldiers, of whom the one whose share was the smallest had received fifteen hundred drachmas. The captives led in triumph, besides the chief pirates, were the son of Tigranes the Armenian with his wife and daughter, Zosime, a wife of King Tigranes himself, Aristo- bulus, king of the Jews, a sister and five children of Mithridates, Scythian women, and hostages given by the Iberians, by the Albanians, and by the king of Commagene ;

there were also very many trophies, equal in number to all the battles in which Pompey

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Tacals as 7 avTos 7) Ota TOY OTpaTHYyaV evixnoe.
péytotov 8é bripxe mpos Sd-av nal pndevi tadv
matoTe 'Pwpatwy yeyovos, ott Tov tpitov Opi-
apBov ars Tis TpiTns HIreipov KaTHYyayev. é7rel
Tpis ye Kal TpoTEpov Haav Erepot TEO pau BevKOTeEs:
éxeivos 5¢ Tov pev mpa@tov ex ArBvns, Tov dé dev-
tepov €& Evpwrns, Todrov 6¢ Tov TeXevTAalov amo
THs "Acias eicayayov tpdtov Tiva THY oiKoUpE-
ynv éddxet Tois Totaly UrAYyOa OprapBors.
XLVI. 'Hdsxia 6 tore Fv, Os pev of Kata
mavta t® 'AreEdvdpw trapaBdaddovtes avTov
kal mpooBiBalovtes akiovot, vewTepos TaY Tpla-
KovTa Kat rertdpwv étav, adrybeia Sé ois
TETTAPAKOVTA TPOTHYEV. OS WYNTO y av éevTavOa
tov Biov travodpevos, a&ypt ob tHv "ArXeEdvdpou
TUxny éxxev: 6 5é eréxetva Ypdvos a'T@ Tas pev
evTuxias HveyKev éemipOovous, avnxéatous Sé Tas
| Svatuyias. ty yap é« mpoonkovtwy autos éxtT7-
cato Suvami ev TH TOdEL, TAVTN KpwpeEvos UTrép
GAXNwVY ov Stxaiws, Soov exeivols Layvos Mpoce-
TiOer tHS éavtod So—ns adarpov, éXaGe pon
Kal peyebe. THS avTod Suvdpews KatadvOets.
kal kabarep Ta Kaptepwrata pépn Kal ywpia
Tov qwodewv, Stav SéEnrat trodNepious, éxeivoss
mpootiOno. thy avTav ioyvv, otTas Sia Tis
Tloprniov Suvaduews Kaioap éEapbeis ert rv
TOMY, @ KATA TOV ArAXwv loxvoe, TodTOV avé-
Tpewre kal catéBarev. éempayOn &é ov Tas.
Aevxodndor, ws émravnrOev é& 'Acias tro Top-
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had been victorious either in person or in the persons
of his lieutenants. But that which most enhanced
his glory and had never been the lot of any Roman
before, was that he celebrated his third triumph
over the third continent. For others before him
had celebrated three triumphs; but he celebrated

his first over Libya, his second over Europe, and this his last over Asia, so that he seemed in a way to have included the whole world in his three triumphs.

XLVI. His age at this time, as those insist who compare him in all points to Alexander and force the parallel, was less than thirty-four years, though in fact he was nearly forty. How happy would it have been for him if he had ended his life at this point, up to which he enjoyed the good fortune of Alexander! For succeeding time brought him only success that made him odious, and failure that was irreparable. That political power which he had won by his own legitimate efforts, this he used in the interests of others illegally, thus weakening his own reputation in proportion as he strengthened them, so that before he was aware of it he was ruined by the very vigour and magnitude of his own power. And just as the strongest parts of a city's defences, when they are captured by an enemy, impart to him their own inherent strength, so it was by Pompey's power and influence that Caesar was raised up against the city, and Caesar overthrew and cast down the very man by whose aid he had waxed strong against the rest. And this was the way it

came about.

' When Lucullus came back from Asia, where he

1 In 61 B.c., when this triumph was celebrated, Pompey was in his forty-sixth year.

f~

"a

amntov mepwBpicpévos, avtixa Te AapTpPas 17)
avyKAntos édéEato, kal pardrov ére Tlopaniov
mapayevopévou KoXovovea THv Sofav Hyepev ert
THY TWokLTELaV. Oo € TaAXAA pev auBXALS Hv Hdy
Kal KaTéypuKTo TO TpaKTLKoV, HOovR aYOARS Kal
Tais tept Tov mrovTOV StatpiBais éavTov évdedw-
Kos, ert dé Tloumrniov evOus aifas cal AaBopevos
9 I ? A l4 A lA A 4
évTovws avtod mepi te Tov Siatakewr as EXVEEV
b ' \ lA 9 b] A A
éxpdret, kal méov elyev ev TH BovdAn cuvaywvi-
Couevov Katovos. éxtrimtav 66 cal trepiwbovpevos
o Ilopumrnios qvayxatero Snpapxyotot mpoadevryey
Kal mpocaptacOat petpaxios ov o BSeAupotatos
cat Opacitatos Kr wdi05 dvadaBov avtov brép-

pie TO Snug, eal map’ dkiav cvrAwdovpevov év
ayopa éXwv Kal tepipépwn éxpHTo TaY Tpos yapLY
wv \ , / \ A
OVAOU Kat KoNaKEelay ypaghopevav Kal Neyouéeveov
BeBawwth, nai mwpocéte proOdv Are, @omTep ov
KATALTXUVOY, ANAA EvEpyeTaV, bv VaTEpov EXaBeE
mapa Ilopmrniov, mpoécBar Kixépwva, hirov évra
kal mdetota 87 ‘TemoAtTevpevoy virép avTod.
, \ 2 A \ / ,
xevduvevovte yap avT@ Kal Seouévm BonOetas
ovde els Oyivy mponrdOev, GAA TOs HKovow
9 , \ # e / 4 v
amoknelaas THY avrevovy étépats Ovpais BETO
/
amiav. Kuxépwv dé poBnbels tiv xpiow brek-
A a ,
nrve Ths “Pons.
1 Cf. chapter xxxi. 1.

had been outrageously treated by Pompey, the senate at once gave him a splendid reception, and after Pompey’s arrival, wishing to obstruct that leader’s reputation, it urged Lucullus all the more to take part in public life. In other matters Lucullus was already dulled and chilled past all efficiency, having given himself over to the pleasures of ease and the enjoyment of his wealth ; but he sprang at once upon Pompey and by a vigorous attack won a victory over him in the matter of those ordinances of his own which Pompey had annulled,! and carried the day in the senate with the support of Cato. Thus worsted and hard pressed, Pompey was forced to fly for refuge to popular tribunes and attach himself to young adventurers. Among these the boldest and vilest was Clodius, who took him up and threw him down under the feet of the people, and keeping him ignobly rolled about in the dust of the forum, and dragging him to and fro there, he used him for the confirmation of what was said and pro- posed to gratify and flatter the people. He even went so far as to ask a reward for his services from Pompey, as if he were helping him instead of disgracing him, and this reward he subsequently got in the betrayal of Cicero, who was Pompey’s friend and had done him more political favours than any one else. For when Cicero was in danger of condemnation and begged his aid, Pompey would not even see him, but shut his front door upon those who came in Cicero’s behalf, and slipped away by another. Cicero, therefore, fearing the result of his trial, withdrew secretly from Rome.?

2 Having been impeached for illegally putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, he went into voluntary exile in 58 B.c. See the Cicero, chapters xxx. and xxxi.

XLVII. Tore 5¢ Kaicap é\Oav ard otpatetas
WWwato mwodTevpatos 6 TAcioTHY péev AUT@ Yapww
év t@ trapovte Kal Svvamw cicadOis jveyre,
\ oe WwW \ 4
péytota Sé Ilopmniov Brave nal thy Toru.
Urateiay pev yap peTnes tpeTnv: opav Oé tt
Kpdocov mpos Loptrniov Ssapepopévov Oatép@
mpocBémevos exOp@ YpynoeTat TO ETEp@, TpéTrETAL
mpos OtadXayas apdhoivy, wpayua Kadov pev
GrrAws Kab toduTiKov, aitia b€ davrAy nal pera
, e ? 3 4 : \ 9 4 e
Seevotntos um éxeivou auvrTebey émtBovrAws. 1
/ io
yap @oTeEp év oxader TAS ATTOKNIcELS ETAaVLGOVCA
“A , 3 \ > aA A ,
THS TOAEWS Laxds Els Ev TUVENDODCA Kal yevomervn
pia THY TavTa TMpaypata KaTacTacidaacay Kal
KkataBaXrovoav avavrayouctov porny étroincev.
0 your Katwy tovs réyovtas bd THs Botepov
n \ , , A
yevouevns mpos Katcapa Lloumrnio dsvadopas
A \
avaTpaThvar THY TOMY apapTavelv édeyev aitiw-
\ a
peévous TO TedEUTAloy: ov yap THY oTdalW oUvde
\ ” mWy A \ 4 ‘ e 4
THY ExOpav, GAAG THY cvaTACLY Kal THY opovoLaY
avT@v Th Model KaKOY TpaTOY yevéoOar Kal
béytotrov. 7pé0n pev yap Uratos Kaicap: evOds
5é Oepatrevwy Tov aropov Kal mévnta KaTotKkias
/ \ 2 a ” > / \
TOAEWY KAL vowas aypav &ypadev, éxBaivev To
THS apxns akiwpa Kal TpoTov tivda Snuapyiav
Thv vTateiay xabtotds. évavtiovpévouv dé Tod
, > A a \ ,° bd
guvapyovTos avt@ BuBdov, cai Katwvos éppw-
lA a a
peveotata T@ BuBrAw trapecnevacpévou Bonbeiv,
mpoayayov 0 Kaicap éri rod Bnpatos Topmniov
eugavi Kal wpocayopevoas npw@Tnoev El TOUS
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XLVIT. At this time Caesar had returned from his province! and had inaugurated a policy which brought him the greatest favour for the present and power for the future, but proved most injurious to Pompey and the city. He was a candidate for his first consulship, and seeing that, while Crassus and Pompey were at variance, if he attached him- self to the one he would make an enemy of the other, he sought to reconcile them with one another, —a thing which was honourable in itself and con- ducive to the public good, but he undertook it for an unworthy reason and with all the cleverness of an intriguer. For those opposing forces which, as in a vessel, prevented the city from rocking to and fro, were united into one, thereby giving to faction an irresistible momentum that overpowered and overthrew everything. At all events, Cato, when men said that the state had been overturned by the quarrel which afterwards arose between Caesar and Pompey, declared that they wrongly laid the blame on what had merely happened last; for it was not their discord nor yet their enmity, but their concord and harmony which was the first and greatest evil to befall the city. Caesar was, indeed, chosen consul ; but he at once paid his court to the indigent and pauper classes by proposing measures for the founding of cities and the distribution of lands, thereby lowering the dignity of his office and making the consulate a kind of tribunate. And when he was opposed by his colleague Bibulus, and Cato stood ready to support Bibulus with all his might, Caesar brought Pompey on the rostra before the people, and asked him in so' many words

1 He returned from Spain in 60 B.c. See the Caesar, chapters xiii. and xiv.

vOLOUs émavoin" TOU dé TUULPHTAVTOS, "Ov«oby," elrrev, "dy TIS TOUS Vopous Budbnrar, els TOV S7jpov agitn BonPav;" " avu per ov, édy 0 Topumrnios, ee apitouae, pos TOUS amrethouvTas Ta Eidn pera Eidous al Oupeov Kopisov. TOUTOU Tloumnios ovdev ovTEe El7reiy OUTE TroLnoaL expe THS nye pas éxeivns hoptix@tepov e&do€er, Gore kal Tous pirous arronoyeta ar pdoKovtas éK- puyely avrov éml Karpov TO pipa. ToIS pévToe peTa TavTa T pat TouLevols havepos Hv non TavTd- Tao éauTOY TO Kaicape xpncacae mapadedw- kas. "lovAiavy yap tiv Kaicapos Ouyarépa, Kairie Kadwpororynwevny Kal yapeio bar pén- Nove ay OAyov nmEp@v, oudevos av mpoadoKn- TAVTOS eynpe Topmrnios, petNLry wa Kauri THS opyiis THY EAVTOD Ouyarépa Katawweécas, Pavore TO Taol Lwrra 1 pOTEpoVv eyyeyunuerny. avTOS Sé Kaicap é éynpe Kadroupviav Tnv Ieiowvos.

XLVIII. "Ex dé ToUTOU Tlopanios eum dyoas OTPATLOTOY THY TOALVY arravra Ta mpdy para Big Katetye. BuPro TE yap eis dryopav T@ brary

KATLOVTL beta AevxoAXov Kat Kdtwvos ave
T poo Tea ovTEs KaTexhacay TAs paBdous, avTov
d€ TUS KOT pov Kopivov ex Keparys tod BuBdov
KaTETKebace, dvo0 5é Snpapyor TOV CULT POTEpL-
TOVTOD eTpaOnaay. outa oé€ TOY eva TA LEVOY
THY ayopay epnpadavres emexUpwa av TOV mepl
THS Stavoyijs TOV YwWpioVv vopov" @ SedeacGels 0 0
Of 105 els Tacav Hon TIOacdds avTots éryeryover Kal
KaTavTns mpatuy, ovdev TONUT PAY LOVED, adr'
em upepav oLwT TOUS ypapopévors THV pion.
éxupwOncav ovv Ioprrnio pév ai dtatakers vrrép
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whether he approved the proposed laws: and when Pompey said he did, " Then," said Caesar, "in case any resistance should be made to the laws, will you come to the aid of the people?" "Yes, indeed,' said Pompey, "I will come, bringing, against those who threaten swords, both sword and_ buckler."' Never up to that day had Pompey said or done any- thing more vulgar and arrogant, as it was thought, so that even his friends apologized for him and said the words must have escaped him on the spur of the moment. However, by his subsequent acts he made it clear that he had now wholly given himself up to do Caesar's bidding. For to everybody's surprise he married Julia, the daughter of Caesar, although she was betrothed to Caepio and was going to be married to him within a few days; and to appease the wrath of Caepio, Pompey promised him his own daughter in marriage, although she was already engaged to Faustus the son of Sulla. Caesar himself married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

XLVIII. After this, Pompey filled the city with soldiers and carried everything with a high hand. As Bibulus the consul was going down into the forum with Lucullus and Cato, the crowd fell upon him and broke the fasces of his lictors, and somebody threw a basket of ordure all over the head ot Bibulus himself, and two of the tribunes who were escorting him were wounded. When they had thus cleared the forum of their opponents, they passed the law concerning the distribution of lands; and the people, caught by this bait, became tame at once in their hands, and ready to support any project, not meddling at all, but silently voting for what was proposed to them. Accordingly, Pompey got those enactments of his ratified which Lucullus contested ;

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av Aeveorros Aprte, Kaicaps S¢ tyv évtos "AX-
Tew Kal THY éxTos éxew Tadatiav cal Idduptovs
eis Tevtaetiay Kal téccapa Tdyyata TédELa
OTpaTiwTaY, Umdtovs dé els TO MéAXOV eElvaL
Iletcwva tov Kaicapos mevOepov xa T'aBSinop,
avopa tav Llopmrniov xordkwv brephuéctatov.

IIpattopévwv dé tovtwv BuBros pev eis THY
OlKiaVv KaTaKNELTaMEVOS OKT@ pNnVvaY ov mpondOev
uTatevwv, GAN é&étrewtre Staypappata Bracdhn-
pias apudoty éyovra Kal xatnyopias, Katrwv &é
@omep érimvous Kal houBornrtos év tH BovrF
Ta wédNovTA TH Worer Kal TO Lloparnl mapon-
yopeve, AevKorXos S¢ drermav jovylay yey ws

OvKETL TpOs ToALTELavy wpaios: Ste 57) Kal Tlop-
anios &pn, yépovte 7d Tpudpdv awpotepov evar
TOU ToALTeved Oat. TAY pévToL Kal avTos éua-
AdooeTO TH THS KOpNs Epwre Kal mpocelyev
éxeivn Ta TOAAA Kal ouvdsnpépevey év aypois
Kal Knows, nuéerer O€ TOY KAT Gayopay TpatTo-
pévov, wate nal Krddioy adtod xatadpovijcat
Snpapyotvra tote Kat Opacuvtatwv adrvacbar
mpaypatwov. émel yap é&éBare Kixépwva, xa
Kdtwva mpopdce otpatnyias eis Kumpov arré
meprre, Kaicapos eis Tandartiav é&eAndaxoros,
aut@ 5& mpocéyovra tov Shyov édpa mavta
mpatTovTse Kal moAtTevomévp mpos Kap, evOrs
émexeipe TOV Lloparniov Suatakewy évias avatpeiv,
kal Trypavny tov aixpddwtov adaprdcas elye
avy avT@, Kal Tois dirous Sixas éerfye, teipav
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Caesar received the two Gauls and Illyricum for five years, together with four complete legions ; and it was decided that the consuls for the ensuing year?! should be Piso, the father-in-law of Caesar, and Gabinius, who was the most extravagant of Pompey's flatterers.

While this was going on, Bibulus shut himself up in his house and for the eight months remaining of his consulship did not appear in public, but issued edicts which were full of accusations and slanders against Pompey and Caesar; Cato, as though inspired and possessed by a spirit of prophecy, foretold in the senate what the future would bring to the city and to Pompey; while Lucullus renounced the struggle and led a life of ease, on the plea that he was past the age for political affairs; whereat Pompey remarked that for an old man luxurious living was more unseasonable than political activity. However, Pompey himself also soon gave way weakly to his passion for his young wife, devoted himself for the most part to her, spent his time with her in villas and gardens, and neglected what was going on in the forum, so that even Clodius, who was then a tribune of the people, despised him and engaged in most daring measures. For

after he had driven Cicero into banishment, and sent Cato off to Cyprus under pretence of giving him military command, and Caesar was gone off to Gaul, and when he saw that the people were devoted to him because all his political measures were undertaken to please them, he straightway attempted to repeal some of the arrangements which Pompey had made; he took away his prisoner, Tigranes, and kept him about his own person; and he prosecuted some of his friends,

> b] 4 An oh 4 4
év éxeivors THS Tloumrniov AapBdvev duvdpews.
Tédos 8é, mpoedOovtos avTod mpos twa dixny,
wv e ? e A A > 4 > U N
éyov tp' ait@ TAHOos avOpwrav acedyetas Kal
dduywplas pmeoTov auvToOs pev els emihavh TOTTOV
KatacrTas épwtnpata To.adra mpovBarrg« "' Tis
éoTl avToKpdtwp aKkoXacTos; Tis avnp avdpa
A / e , na A / 99 e
Entei; tis évt SaxtvA@ Kvatar THY KEepadrry;" ot
5é, owep Yopos eis aporBaia ouyKexpoTnpévos,
éxeivou thy tHRevvov avaceiovtos ép éxaoT@
"a »"
péya Boawvtes arexpivayto: " Topmrnios.
XLIX. 'Hvia pév ody cal tadra Lopmrniov
anOn tod KaK@s axovelv dvTa Kal wayns ToLAvTNS
" bd \ a bd / \
ametpov' nYOeTo 5é padrXov atcBavopyevos THY
BovAny értyaipovoay avtT@ tpomnraxilopév Kat
, , A /
didovte Sixnv tis Kexépwvos mpodocias. éret dé
\ a
kal mwAnyas év ayopad péypt Tpavydtav suvéBy
/ 4 > /
yevéo Oat, cal Krwdiov tis oixétns tapadvopevos
év OxA@ 1a TOY TEpteaT@TaY Tpos TOV Llopmniov
A /
nreyxOn Eidos éxetv, TadTa Trovovpevos Tpopaccy,
Grrws 56 Tod KAwdiou tHv acédyerav Kal Tas
Bracdypias Sedids, odxért mponrAOev evs ayopay
Saov éxeivos HpKXe Kpovoy, GAN oixovpav Sreréret
Kal oKeTTTOmEevos peTa THY dirwv Eros dv éEa-
Kéoatto THS BovAns Kal tav apiotav Tiy mpos
> A > 4 / \ ? 4 \

avtov opynv. Kovarrgéovi pév odv KerevovTe THY
"TovAiavy adetvas nal petaBarécbat mpos tiv
v4 > \ A lA , b)
auyKkAnTov amo TAS Kaicapos piAias ov mpoo-
éoxe, Tots 5€ Kixépwva xatayayew aksodouw,
dvipa kal Krwdio rodkeuioratov Kai tH Boudry
\
Tpocdiréctarov, émreicOn Kal mpoayaywv Tov
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making a test of the power of Pompey by his pro-
ceedings against them. And finally, when Pompey
appeared at a public trial, Clodius, having at his
beck and call a rabble of the lewdest and most
arrogant ruffians, stationed himself in a conspicuous
place and put to them such questions as these:
“ Who is a licentious imperator?’’ “What man seeks
for a man?” “Who scratches his head with one
finger?’ And they, like a chorus trained in respon-
sive song, as he shook his toga, would answer each
question by shouting out ‘‘ Pompey.”
XLIX. Of course this also was annoying to Pom- pey, who was not accustomed to vilification and was inexperienced in this sort of warfare; but he was more distressed when he perceived that the senate was delighted to see him insulted and paying a penalty for his betrayal of Cicero. When, however, it had come to blows and even wounds in the forum, and a servant of Clodius, stealing along through the crowd of bystanders towards Pompey, was found to have a sword in his hand, Pompey made this his excuse, although he was also afraid of the insolent abuse of Clodius, and came no more into the forum as long as Clodius was tribune, but kept himself con- tinually at home, where he was ever debating with his friends how he might appease the anger of the senate and the nobility against him. To Culleo, however, who urged him to divorce Julia and ex- change the friendship of Caesar for that of the senate, he would not listen, but he yielded to the arguments of those who thought he ought to bring Cicero back, who was the greatest enemy of Clodius and most beloved in the senate, and he escorted

* The trial of Milo, in 56 B.c. Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxix.

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aderpov avrovd Sedpevoy crv yept TWOAAT, Tpav-
peadtov év ayopa yevouévayv Kai Twov avaipcDév-
b 4 a la \ , \
Tov, expatnoe Tov KAwdiov. Kal vou cateOov

o Kixépwv thy te Bovany evOds 7Q@ Toprrnio
dunrAXraTTE, Kal TO CLTLK@ VO“ TUVNYOPaY TpOTr@
Twi Twadw ys Kal Oaratrns, bonv éxéxtnVvTO
“‘Pwpaior, xvprov emote. Iloumniov. ér avTo
yap éyivovto Aiypméves, éutropta, Kaptrav Siabécess,
évl AOy@, TA TOY TWEOVTMY TPadypaTa, Ta TOV
4 , . 9 n \ /
yewpyouvtwyv. KaAwdios 5é nteato py yeypadOae
\ , \ N / > > @& e /
Tov vopov dia THY atTOdElaY, GAN OTwS O VOLOS
ypadein yeyovévar THY otTodeiav, WoTEp eK ALTTO-
upias avTod papawopévny tiv Sivamy apy7
véa madiv avatwrupodvTos Kal avadapuPdvovtos.
érepor b€ tod brdtov YrwOjpos amodaivover
TOUTO Godicpua, KaTakAEicavTos eis apynv pel-
fo d@ > \ ? a
Cova Lloprrniov, ows autos éxtreupOy I tonre-
paiw to Bactret BonOav. ov pny adda cal
Kaviédios etonveyxe Snpapxav vopov, dvev otpa-
TLas Lloparniov Eyovta paBdovyous dvo0 diadddr-
Tew AdeEavopedor tov Bacthéa. xai Toprrnios
pev édoxer TH vopw pn Suaxepaiveayv, 4 48
/ 2¢/ ? a /
acuyxAntos é&éBanev, evarpeTTas oxnapevn Se-
Ssévar wept tavdpos. jv 5é ypdppacw évruyxeiv
Sreppimpévors Kat ayopav Kai mapa To RBovdev-
, e ‘\ , / fn
typtov ws 67 Irovcuaiov Seopévov Toptrniov
avT@ otTpatnyov avtt tod YmwOhpos So0fvac.
Tipayéevns S€ xal adXws Tov IITodepaiov ov«
1 In 57 Be.
*The law made Pompey Praefectus Annonae for five years,
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Cicero’s brother, who was a petitioner for his re- turn, with a large force into the forum, where, though some were wounded and some killed, he nevertheless got the better of Clodius. And when Cicero returned to the city! by virtue of the law then passed, he immediately reconciled Pompey to the senate, and by his advocacy of the corn law he in a manner once more made Pompey master of all the land and sea in Roman possession. For under his direction were placed harbours, trading-places, distributions of crops,—in a word, navigation and agriculture.? Clodius alleged that the law had not been proposed on account of the scarcity of grain, but the scarcity of grain had arisen in order that the law might be proposed, a law whereby the power of Pompey, which was withering away, as it were, in consequence of his failing spirits, might be rekindled again and recovered in a new office. But others de- clare that this

was a device of the consul Spinther, whose aim was to confine Pompey in a higher office, in order that he himself might be sent out to aid King Ptolemy.? However, Canidius, as tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that Pompey, without an army, and with two lictors only, should go out as a meditator between the king and the people of Alexandria. Pompey was thought to re- gard the law with no disfavour. but the senate re- jected it, on the plausible pretence that it feared for his safety. Besides, writings were to be found scattered about the forum and near the senate-house, stating that it was Ptolemy's wish to have Pompey given to him as a commander instead of Spinther. And Timagenes actually says that Ptolemy left home

* Ptolemy had taken refuge from his dissatisfied subjects

in Rome, and wished to be restored. Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxix. 12-17, He is referred to again in chapter Ixxvi. 5.

ovens avdryicns ameOeiy dnot, Kat KaTanureiy
Aiyurtov v7ro Oeopdvous meabévta TpaTTOovTos
Tloparnio Xphpatia pous Kal oTparnyias Kaas
indBecw. GANA TodTO pev oUx obras » @eo-
pavous poxOnpia miOavov ws atrictov Lopmniov
motel puts, ovK €yovaa Kaxonbes ovd averevOepov
oUT@ TO PiAoTLpoV.
L. "Emotadels d6 TH TWepl 70 OLTLKOV OLKOVOMia
Kal mparyparela, TONAXOV peev aTréaTELNE 7 peo
Beuras Kar pirous, autos 5é wrevoas eis Zinehlav
Kal LapSova Kal AsBuny nO porte otrov. avarye-
oGat dé HERO TVEVLATOS peyahou Kata Odrat-
Tav GvTOS Kal TOV uBepyntar o dxvouvTar, T POTOS
éuBas Kal Kehevoas THY aryKupay aipewy aveBonae
“ TT dety avayKn, ov ouK dvdr Kn. TotavTn é
TOA Kab mpoduuig XPOpEvos pera TUXNS aryabiis
évéTrAnoe giTou Ta, éumopta Kat TRotov THY
Odraccay, a WOTE Kal Tots éxtos avOpwrrois émap-
Kéoas THY Teptova tay éxelvns THs TapacKevijs,
Kal ryevér Oa xabatep éx mnyns apOovoy atrop-
pony eis mavTas.
LI. "Ev tovr@ 6é T@ pov heya mpav ob
Kenrexol monepor Kaicapa: Kat doxav Toppw-
TATM THS ‘Paouns ametvat Kal cuvnptija Gat Ben-
yats Kai LounBors kal Bpetravots, édavOavev wo
GeworTnros € éy péo@ TO ony Kal Tots KUpLTATOLS
mpdry pact KaT@moAtTevopevos TOV Tloprrijiov.

AUTOS péev yap ws capa THY TTPATLOTLENY bu-
VapLy TEpLKElLEvOS, ovK él TOUS BapBapous, aX’
domep € éy Onpais Kal Kuvnyeciows Toig Tmpos éxel-
vous ayaoe yupvaterr, Stem over, Kal Kateoxevater
dpayov kai poBepav, xpvoov Sé cal apyupov Kal
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without sufficient reason and under no necessity, and that his abandonment of Egypt was owing to the persuasions of Theophanes, who was aiming to give Pompey profitable occupation in the holding of anew command. But this is not made credible by the baseness of Theophanes as much as it is made incredible by the nature of Pompey, in which ambition was not of such a mean and base order.

L. Having thus been set over the administration and management of the grain trade, Pompey sent out his agents and friends in various directions, while he himself sailed to Sicily, Sardinia and Africa, and collected grain. When he was about to set sail with it, there was a violent storm at sea, and the ship-captains hesitated to put out; but he led the way on board and ordered them to weigh anchor, crying with a loud voice: “To sail is necessary; to live is not.” By this exercise of zeal and courage attended by good fortune, he filled the sea with ships and the markets with grain, so that the excess of what he had provided sufticed also for foreign peoples, and there was an abundant overflow, as from a spring, for all.

LI. Meanwhile, his Gallic wars raised Caesar to greatness; and though he was thought to be very far removed from Rome, and to be occupied with Belgae, Suevi, and Britanni, he secretly and cleverly contrived to thwart Pompey’s designs in the heart of the city and in the most important matters. For he himself, with his military force clothing him as the body does the soul, was carefully training it, not against the Barbarians merely, nay, he used its com- bats with these only to give it exercise, as if in hunting and the chase,—and was making it in- vincible and terrible; but all the while he was

TadvAa Aahupa Kal Tov GAAOV TrODTOV Tov éx
TONMWY TOTOUTWY TrEpiyLVopeEvoY eis THY “PomnV
aTOOTEANWY, Kab StaTretpav Tais dwpodoKiats Kat
suyXopnyav ayopavopots Kal otpatnyois Kal
vrato Kal yuvattly av’Ta@v, @KEeLodTO TroNNOUS"
4 a
ote UTEpBadovTos avTov Tas “AXrres kal Sia-
veludfovtos év Aoven, Tov pey adrAwV dvdpav
\ A e lA , ‘
Kal yuvatKav dudArAgopmévwov cal hepopévwv TOAD
a A \ / 9
TrAHGos yevér Oat, cvyKANTLKOUS bé StaKocious, év
\ Ton hy 2 4 > VA
ols xat Iloumrnios hv nat Kpdooos, avOuTatov
5é xal otpatnyav éxatov elxoot paBdous ért
- / / bd A \ \ e ”
tais Katoapos Oupais ofOjvar. Tous péev ovdv ar-
Nous atravtas éuTAnoas éATribwy Kal yonudtov
atéoterre, Kpdoow S¢ cal Nopumniw mpdos adtov
4 A
éyevovto cuvOnKat, peTiévar péev wrratelas éxel-
/ lA b a ,
vous kal Kaicapa ovAdapBdvev avtois, wéutrov-
A a A a \
TA TOV OTPATLWTaV GUyvoUs emt THY Wihpop, éTav
dé aipeOaor TayLoTAa, TWpaTTEeW pev EavTois éTrap-
a ,
NiaV Kal aTpatoTrédwv Hyepovias, Kaicapi 6€ Tas
Ww A > v 4 > 4
ovaas BeBatodv eis ANXnY TevTaetiav. éml Tov-
tous é€evexOciow eis tovs odAXOUS YareTaS
Epepov ot mpatou Kal Mapxerrivos ev TO SHu@
KkataoTas audoiv évavytiov npwTncerv eb peTiacl
irateéiav. Kal TOV TOAN@Y aToKpivacOaL KEd-
evovtwv, mpatos Ilopmrnios eimev os Taya pep ay
peténOor, Taya 5é ovK av petérOou: Kpdocos 8é
TOMTLK@TEPOV? OUT yap pn Tpdakew OTroTépwS
a le) 4
dv ointa. T@ Kow® avvoicev. émipvopévov bé
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sending back to Rome gold and silver and the other spoils and the rest of the wealth which came to him in abundance from his numerous wars, and by tempting people with his bribes, and contributing to the

expenses of aediles, praetors, consuls, and their wives, he was winning many to his side. There- fore when he crossed the Alps and spent the winter in Luca, a great crowd of ordinary men and women gathered there in eager haste to see him, while two hundred men of senatorial rank, among whom were Pompey and Crassus, and a hundred and twenty fasces of proconsuls and praetors were seen at Caesar's door. Accordingly, he filled all the rest with hopes and loaded them with money, and sent them away; but between himself, Pompey, and Crassus the following compact was made: these two were to stand for the consulship, and Caesar was to assist their candidacy by sending large numbers of his soldiers home to vote for them ; as soon as they were elected, they were to secure for themselves commands of provinces and armies, and to confirm Caesar’s present provinces to him for another term of five years. When all this was publicly known, it gave displeasure to the chief men of the state, and Marcellinus rose in the as- sembly and asked Pompey and Crassus to their faces whether they were going to be candidates for the consulship. As the majority of the people bade them answer, Pompey did so first, and said that perhaps he would be a candidate, and perhaps he would not ; but Crassus gave a more politic answer, for he said he would take whichever course he thought would be for the advantage of the common. wealth.2, And when Marcellinus persisted in his

1 This was in 56 B.c. Cf. the Caesar, chapter xxi.
2 Cf. the Crassus, xv. 1 f.

Topanie Mapxedrivou Kal apodpas | éveuv Sox-
obvTos, 0 Topmnios én TaVTOV adtK@TATOV elvas
TOV Mapkednivoy, ¢ bs nape ovK &xet NOYLOS pev e&
adwvou &.’ avtov, éuetixds 5é éx TEewarTiKod yevo-
pevos.
LII. Ov pny adda TOV G\N@OV atTocTavTwV
Tov maparyyéddew vTratetay, Aevevov Aopéertov
aTeov emetoe Kal mapeJappuve HN) amevmeiy: ou
yap vmép apxis, Grn’ vmrép éhevOepias elvat TOV
ay@va mTTpos Tous Tupavvovs. ot 6€ rept TOV
Tlopmniov pondevres TOV TOVOD Tou Kadtevos,
THV Bovdny EXOV | dracav anoonaan kat peTa-
Bary TOU OnjLoU 76 Uytaivov, ovK Elacay eis ayo-
pay ‘KaTenbeiv TOV Aopériop, aXn emiméepuapavres
évoTrAOUsS avdpas a arréxTewav pev TOV T ponyoupevov
Auxvopopor, eTpeyavro dé Tovs adddous" ETXATOS
6 Karwy dvexapnee, Tpobeis tov dekrov mHyuv
apvvopevos po Tov Aopetiou.
Tovatrn dé 08@ mapedOovres én THY apxny
ovde Tanda, KOO MLGTEPOV Em paTTOV. adr ™ p@-
TOV pev TOV Karwva Tov Onuov otpatnyov aipov-
pévov Kal THY pipov em upépovTos, Tlopanios
EXuoe THY ExKANTiAY olwvous aiTLapevos, aytl 6é

Katwvos Bativov avnyopevoay, apyupi@ Tas
puras SiapOeipavtes. erecta VOMOUS dua Tipe-
Boviou dnuapxodvTos ela épepor, Kaicape pep,
Gomep BONE os SevTepay € emtpeT poovTas WevTa-
egTiay, Kpaoce 6 é Lupiav kal tHv émt Tapbous
orparelay OvoovTas, anT@ dé Tlopani AtBinv
aracav Kal “IRnptav € éxatépay Kab résoapa Tay-
pata TTPATLOT OY, @v émexpnoe dv0 Kaicapt
denbévte 7 pos Tov ép Tarartia TONE HOD. aNNa
Kpdocos peéev é&Oev cis thy érapxiay aman-
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attack upon Pompey and was thought to be making a strong speech, Pompey remarked that Marcellinus was of all men most unjust, since he was not grate- ful to him for making him eloquent instead of speechless, and full to vomiting instead of famished.

LIT. However, though all the rest declined to be candidates for the consulship, Cato encouraged and persuaded Lucius Domitius not to desist, for the struggle with the tyrants, he said, was not for office, but for liberty. But Pompey and his partisans, seeing the firmness of Cato, and fearing lest, having all the senate with him, he should draw away and pervert the sound-minded among the people, would not suffer Domitius to go down into the forum, but sent armed men and slew the link-bearer who was leading his company, and put the rest to flight ; Cato was the last to retire, after being wounded in the right arm while he was fighting to defend Domitius.

By such a path they made their way into the office they sought, nor even then did they behave more decently. But first of all, while the people were casting their votes for the election of Cato to the praetorship, Pompey dissolved the assembly, alleging an inauspicious omen, and after corrupting the tribes with money, they proclaimed Vatinius praetor instead of Cato. Then, by means of Tre- bonius, a tribune, they introduced laws which, ac- cording to the agreement, continued his provinces to Caesar for a second term of five years, gave Crassus Syria and the expedition against the Parthians, and to Pompey himself the whole of Africa, both Spains, and four legions ; of these he lent two to Caesar, at his request, for the war in Gaul. But although Crassus went out to his province at the expiration of

ANayels THS Umateias, Tlopmrnios 5é ro Oéatpov
avadeiEas ayavas Hye yupvixovs Kal povalxous
éml TH Kcabepocet, kab Onpav apidras év ols
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érehavtouayiav, éexmAnkTix@tatoyv Oéapua, wapé-
oYEV. |
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ovx, Dropevev atroNTe: Kal yap Kal TOUTO
AeyeTau. kal mreptBontov Hv THS KOpNS TO pidav-
Spon, ov Kad apap moovens TOV Top niov, Grn
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Jeparrovtay, éTUxXe pev ” KOpn Kvovaa, Jeacapévn
be Kady parypevny THY THBevvov eédurre Kat pores
avnveyxev, ex S€ THS Tapax is éxelvns Kal Tov
maQous amnuBrwoev. GOev ovdE Of padtoTa
pephopevoe THY pos Kaicapa Topmniov duriav
UTLOVTO TOV EpwTa THS yuvatkos. avOis pévTot
Kunoaca Kal texovoa Orv Tratdioy éx TAY
252

POMPEY

his consulship,! Pompey opened his theatre and held
gymnastic and musical contests at its dedication,
and furnished combats of wild beasts in which five
hundred lions were killed, and above all, an elephant
fight, a most terrifying spectacle.
LIII. All this won him admiration and affection ; but on the other hand he incurred a corresponding displeasure, because he handed over his provinces and his armies to legates who were his friends, while he himself spent his time with his wife among the pleasure-places of Italy, going from one to another, either because he loved her, or because she loved him so that he could not bear to leave her; for this

reason too is given. Indeed, the fondness of the young woman for her husband was notorious, al- though the mature age of Pompey did not invite such devotion. The reason for it, however, seems to have lain in the chaste restraint of her husband, who knew only his:wedded wife, and in the dignity of his manners, which were not severe, but full of grace, and especially attractive to women, as even Flora the courtesan may be allowed to testify. It once happened that at an election of aediles people came to blows, and many were killed in the vicinity of Pompey and he was covered with their blood, so that he changed his garments. His servants carried these garments to his house with much confusion and haste, and his young wife, who chanced to be with child, at sight of the blood-stained toga, fainted away and with difficulty regained her senses, and in consequence of the shock and her sufferings, mis- carried. Thus it came to pass that even those who found most fault with Pompey's friendship for Caesar could not blame him for the love he bore his wife. However, she conceived again and gave birth to a

| 1 In 54 B.c. 253

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

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666 bP) a @ a c @ 5 ” a 3
edacra.” tois Oeois, “éxaatos & Eupope Tuy,
254

POMPEY

female child, but died from the pains of travail, and the: child survived her only a few days. Pompey made preparations to bury her body at his Alban villa, but the people took it by force and carried it down to the Campus Martius for burial, more out of pity for the young woman than as a favour to Pompey and Caesar. But of these two, it was thought that the people gave a larger share of the honour to Caesar, who was absent, than. to Pompey, who was present. For the city became at once a tossing sea, and everywhere surging tumult and discordant speeches prevailed, since the marriage alliance which had hitherto veiled rather than restrained the ambition of the two men was now at anend. Aftera short time, too, tidings came that Crassus had lost his life in Parthia, and so what had been a great hindrance to the breaking out of civil war was removed ; for through fear of him both Pompey and Caesar had somehow or other continued to treat one another fairly. But when fortune had removed the third champion who waited to compete with the victor in their struggle, at once the comic poet's words were apt, and

“ each wrestler against the other
Anoints himself with oil and smears his hands
with dust.’ 1

So slight a thing is fortune when compared with human nature; for she cannot satisfy its desires, since all that extent of empire and magnitude of wide-stretching domain could not suffice for two men. They had heard and read that the gods? “divided the universe into three parts, and each got his share of power,” and yet they did not think

1 Cf. Kock, Com. Graec. Frag. iii. p. 484.
2 Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto; Iliad, xv. 189.
255

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patwyv apyny.
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pev aidecOels émewernOn, Kxal xatectdOnoav
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tov Sixtadtopos Royo éyeipovTwv iTapwrepor,
hoBnOévtes of mepl Kdtova pn BracOdorr,
éyvwoav apynv tiva TO Lloprnie mpoéuevor
256

the Roman dominion enough for themselves, who
were but two.

LIV. Still, Pompey once said in addressing the people that he had received every office earlier than he had expected, and had laid it down more quickly than others had expected. And in truth his dis- banding of his armies was a perpetual witness to the truth of his words. But at this time he thought that Caesar was not going to dismiss his forces, and therefore sought to make himself strong against him by means of magistracies in the city. Beyond this, however, he attempted no_ revolutionary changes, nor did he wish to be thought to distrust Caesar, but rather to neglect and despise him. But when he saw that the magistracies were not bestowed according to his wishes, because the citizens were bribed, he suffered an anarchy to arise in the city ;! and forthwith there was prevalent much talk in favour of a dictator, which Lucilius the popular tribune first ventured to make public, when he advised the people to elect Pompey dictator. But Cato attacked him, and Lucilius came near losing his tribunate, and many of Pompey's friends came forward in defence of him, declaring that he neither asked nor desired that office. And when Cato applauded Pompey and urged him to devote himself to the cause of law and order, for the time being he did so, out of shame, and Domitius and Messala were installed in the consulship?; but afterwards an anarchy arose again, and more people now agitated the question of a dictatorship more boldly. There- fore Cato and his party, fearing lest they should be overborne, determined to allow Pompey a certain

1 That is, no consuls were elected.
* In 53 B.c., seven months after the regular time,
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VOpLpov aTroTperat THS akpdTov Kal TupavyLKhs
éxeivns. kat BUBros éyOpos av Tloprnio mpatos
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dé pu Tapaxadyjtat, Snpocia ppdoev to dpawvo-
fevov. TovovTos péev ovv Kadtwv év tract.
1 In 52 B.c.
258
POMPEY

legalized office, and so to divert him from the unmixed tyranny of a dictatorship. Consequently, Bibulus, who was an enemy of Pompey, was first to propose in the senate that Pompey be chosen sole consul; for thus, he said, the city would either be set free from the prevailing disorder, or would become the slave of its strongest man. The proposal seemed strange, considering the man who made it ; but Cato rose, leading everybody to think that he was going to speak against it, and when silence was made, said that he himself would not have introduced the proposed measure, but that since it had been introduced by another, he urged its adoption, because he preferred any government whatever to no government at all, and thought that no one would govern better than Pompey in a time of such disorder. The senate accepted the measure, and decreed that Pompey, if elected consul, should govern alone, but that if he himself desired a colleague, he might choose whom he thought fit after two months had fully expired. Having in this way been made consul! and so declared by Sulpicius, the Interrex,2 Pompey addressed himself in a friendly manner to Cato, acknowledging that he was much indebted to him, and inviting him to give advice in a private capacity on the conduct of the government. But Cato would not admit that Pompey was indebted to him, declaring that none

of his words had been spoken in the interests ot
Pompey, but in the interests of the city; and that
he would give him advice in a private capacity if he
were invited, and in case he should not be invited,
would publicly make known his opinion. Such,
indeed, was Cato in everything.
2 One who held supreme power in the absence of regularly
elected consuls.
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s 2

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LV. Ilopanios 8 mapedOav eis Hv modu
énue Kopynvtav Ouyarépa MeréAXov XKntriwvos,
ov mrapOévov, GAAA Ynpav ATroAcEAcLpEeVNV VEewoTl
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Tepl ypdppata KaXOS HoKnTO Kal qepl AVpaY
Kal yewpetpiav, Kal rNoyov dirocddwv elOtoTo
Npnoimws axoverv. Kal mpoonv rovtos 700s
andtas Kab Teptepyias xabapov, & 57 véats mpoo-
tpiBeras yuvatkl ta ToradTa paOnpata' watTnp
dé Kal yévous Evexa xai SoEns dueumtos. GAN
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evTUXoVoNs THS TaTpioos. émel Sé Tais dixais
trav Swpodoxiav Kal Sexacuav émiotds, Kai
vomous yparras Kal" ods ai xpices éyivovto, Ta
pev AANA cepwvas éBpdBeve Kal xabapas, adoda-
Netay Gua Kal Kocpoy Kal Hovxiav avTov Tpoc-
Kkabnpévov peO StrAwY Tots SuxacTypiors Tapéexor,
Layntiovos 5 tod mevOepovd Kpivopévov, peta-
meurpapevos olxade Tovs éEnKxovTa Kal TpLtaKoctous
Sicactas évérvye BonOeiv, o dé xatnyopos anéactn
Tis Stns wav Tov Zenriwva mpoTewropevov
260
649

LV. Pompey now entered the city, and married Cornelia, a daughter of Metellus Scipio. She was not a virgin, but had lately been left a widow by ‘Publius, the son of Crassus, whose virgin bride she had been before his death in Parthia. The young woman had many charms apart from her youthful beauty. She was well versed in literature, in playing the lyre, and in geometry, and had been accustomed to listen to philosophical discourses with profit. In addition to this, she had a nature which was free from that unpleasant officiousness which such ac- complishments are apt to impart to young women ; and her father’s lineage and reputation were above reproach. Nevertheless, the marriage was displeasing to some on account of the disparity in years; for Cornelia’s youth made her a fitter match for a son of Pompey. Those, too, who were more critical, considered that Pompey was neglectful of the un- happy condition of the city, which had chosen him as her physician and put herself in his sole charge ; whereas he was decking himself with garlands and celebrating nuptials, though he ought to have re- garded his very consulship as a calamity, since it would not have been given him in such an illegal manner had his country been prosperous. Moreover, although he presided over the suits for corruption and bribery, and introduced laws for the conduct of the trials, and in all other cases acted as arbiter with dignity and fairness, making the court-rooms safe, orderly, and quiet by his presence there with an armed force, still, when Scipio, his father-in-law, was put on trial, he summoned the three hundred and sixty jurors to his house and solicited their support, and the prosecutor abandoned the case when he saw Scipio conducted from the

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cetat THY Sokav, GAN avTos apker Kal TiunoeTat
Kal’ novxiay o KaTepyacdpevos. ovons 6€ mrepl

forum by the jurors. Once more, therefore, Pompey was in ill repute, and this was still further increased because, although he had put a stop by law to encomiums on persons under trial, he himself came into court to pronounce an encomium on Plancus. Cato, who happened to be one of the jurors, clapped his hands to his ears and said it was not right for him, contrary to the law, to listen to encomiums. Cato was therefore set aside before he could cast his vote, but Plancus was convicted by the other votes, to the disgrace of Pompey. For, a few days after- wards, Hypsaeus, a man of consular dignity, who was under prosecution, lay in wait for Pompey as he was returning from his bath for supper, clasped his knees, and supplicated his favour; but Pompey passed along contemptuously, telling him that, except for spoiling his supper, he was accomplishing nothing. In this way he got the reputation of being partial, and was blamed for it. Everything else, however, he suc- ceeded in bringing into good order, and chose his father-in-law as his colleague for the remaining five months of the year. It was also decreed that he should retain his provinces for another four years, and receive a thousand talents yearly, out of which he was to feed and maintain his soldiers.

LVI. But the friends of Caesar took occasion from this to demand that some consideration be shewn for Caesar also, who was waging so many con- tests in behalf of the Roman supremacy ; they said he deserved either another consulship, or the prolonga- tion of his command, so that no one else might suc-

ceed to his labours and rob him of the glory of them, but that the one who had performed them might himself continue in power and enjoy his honours un- disturbed. A debate arose on these matters, during

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mAavTO Kal K@mat Kab ALpéves EvwYoupévwy Kal
Ovovtwv. rodrol 6€ xal orehavndhopodytes vid
Aapradwy édéyovto Kal Tapéreptrov avOoBorov-
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Mevov, WOTE THY KOmLony avTov Kal Topeiay
Oéaua KndddNoTOV elvat Kal AapTpoTaToY. ov-
Sevos pévtou TobTo NéyeTar TOY amTepyacapévoy

which Pompey, giving the impression that it was goodwill towards Caesar that led him to deprecate the odium in which Caesar stood, said he had letters from Caesar wherein he expressed a wish to have a successor and be relieved of his command; he thought it right, however, that he should be per- mitted to stand for the consulship even in his absence. Opposition to this was made by Cato and his party, who urged that Caesar must lay down his arms and become a private citizen before he could obtain any favour from his fellow-citizens; and since Pompey made no contention, but as it were accepted defeat, there was more suspicion about his sentiments towards Caesar. He also sent and asked back the troops which he had lent him,! making the Parthian war his pretext for doing so. And although Caesar knew the real reasons for asking back the soldiers, he sent them home with generous gifts.

LVII. After this Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples,? but recovered from it, and on the advice of Praxagoras the Neapolitans offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for his preservation. Their example was followed by the neighbouring peoples, and so the thing made its way throughout all Italy, and every city, small and great, held festival for many days. No place could contain those who came to greet him from all quarters, but roads and villages and ports were filled with sacrificing and feasting throngs. Many also with garlands on their heads and lighted torches in their hands welcomed and escorted him on his way, pelting him with flowers, so that his progress and return to Rome was a most beautiful and splendid sight. And yet this is said to have done more than anything else to bring about

1 Cf. chapter lii. 3. 2 In 50 B.c.

TOV TOAE“OY aitiwy EXaTTOV yevécOat. dpovnua
yap elondOevy wmepaipoy dua To peyeOer THs
Napas Tos amd TOY TpayyaTwv Aoyiopous Kal
Thy eis aGopares del Ta evTUXnpaTAa Kal Tas
mpates avtov Oepévnv evAdBevav mpoéuevos eis
axpatov é&érece Opdoos Kat mepippovnow Tihs
Katoapos duvduews, ws obte StrAwY én” adTov
oUTE TLVOS épywdous Tparyyarelas Seno opevos,
GNNA TOAD paov KaSaipnowy % mpoTepov nvENcE
Tov advopa. ampos S€ tovtos “Amos adixeto
Kopitov é« Taratias iy éxpnoe Iopmiios
Kaicape otpatiay: xai todda pév é€edbravpite
Tas éxel mpateus kal Aoyous eFépepe BrAacdnpous
mept Kaicapos, avtov 8¢ Tlopumrniov ameipws yew
éXeye THS auTtod Suvdyews Kal S0Fns, érépots
Stros mpos Kaicapa dpayvipevov, bv adtois
KaTepydoerat Tol éxetvou oTpaTevpacty, Srav
mpatov op07 TrocovTov Kal piaovs mpos Kaicapa
cat mo0ov ampos Tloumniov évumrapyew avrois.

qiutw 5 ovv o Tloumnios érnpOn, nal roravtns
Kal tocauTns GrLywplas 1a TO Oappeiv éyévero
peotos wate Kal Tov SedidTwY TOY TOoAEMOY
KaTeyéAa, Kal Tovs A€yovTas av édavyn Kaicap
éml Thy TOALY, OvY Opav Suvdpets als avTOY apv-
voovTal, peccLOVv TO Trpocw@T@ Kal Staxexvpevos
dperciy éxérXevoev? “"Orrov yap av,” edn, “ Ths
Irarias éy@ xpotow T@ Todt THY Yhv, avadv-
covTat Kat TwebiKal Kal immixal Suvapecs.”
LVIII. "Hdn 6é wai Kaicap érepveto tots
Tpaypacw éppwpevéotepov, autos pméev ovKéTt
paxpayv THs “ItaXias atraipwr, eis 5é THY TONY
del Tovs oTpaTL@Tas aTooTéAAWY apxatpecta-
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the war. For while the public rejoicing was so great, a spirit of exaltation entered into the conclusions which Pompey drew from the progress of events, and, throwing to the winds that caution which had thus far always given security to his successful achievements, he indulged himself in unlimited con- fidence and contempt for Caesar’s power, feeling that he would need neither an armed force to oppose him nor any irksome labour of preparation, but that he would pull him down much more easily than he had raised him up. Besides this, Appius came, bringing from Gaul the troops which Pompey had lent Caesar. He said much to belittle Caesar's achieve nents there, and gave out scandalous stories about Caesar. He also said that Pompey knew not his own power and reputation if he surrounded himself with other troops against Caesar, for he could put down Caesar with Caesar’s own soldiers as soon as he appeared on the scene, so great was their hatred of Caesar and their warm affection ror Pompey. In this way, then, Pompey was elated, and his confidence filled him with so great a contempt for his adversary that he mocked at those who were afraid of the war; and when some said that if Caesar should march upon the city, they did not see any forces with which to defend it from him, with a smiling countenance and calm mien he bade them be in no concern; “ For,” said he, “in whatever part of Italy I stamp upon the ground, there will spring up armies of foot and horse.”

LVIII. And now, too, Caesar devoted himself
to public affairs with greater vigour. He no longer
kept himself far away from Italy, was always send-
ing his soldiers back to the city to take part in
the elections, and by means of his money was
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covTas, xpnpace 5é moddoOvs Urotxoupov Kal

StadbGeipwy dpxovras:' av Kai Tlatros hv o
baratos él yudAlors Kal TevTaKkoctots TaddvrToLs
peraBaropevos, cal Kouvpiwv o Syuapyos apnya-
vov wANOE Savetwv édevOepwbels bm' avtod, cal
Mdpxos *Avravios 8a didiav Koupiwvos ov
w@bereito petéywov. édéxyOn pev ody Ste Tov
adiypévov tis amo Kaicapos raftapyav éotos
mapa to BovdreuTnpiov, Kal muvOopevos ws ov
Siswow % Bovrn Kaicapse ypovov rhs apy,
elev emixpovev TH xerpt TO Eidos, '\'AANA TOvTO
Soca." Kal Ta TpaTTopeva Kal Ta TapacKeva-
Copeva TavTny elye THv Sudvoray.
Ai pévtos Kovpiwvos aftooes nal mapardn-
aes vmép Kaicapos édaivovto Snporixwrtepat.
Sueiy yap n&iov Odrepov, 4 wat Topmrniov darras-
teiv 7 nde Kaicapos adarpeioOar To otpatio-
TiKov 7 yap idu@tas yevouévous ert tois SiKaiots
péevovtas avtimdnous éf' ols Exovaw atpeun-
cew 0 dé Tov Erepov aabevn troy iy poBeitas
Sivauw douTracidler. mpos tadta MapxédXov
Tov UTaTOU AnoTHY aTOKaXNOdVTOS Tov Kaicapa,
kal WndiferOat Troréutov KeXevovTOS ef I) KaTA-
Ojcerat ta Stra, Kovpiwv suws ioyvoe pera
"Avtwviou cal leicwvos cEenéyEar tTHv ovyKANTOV.
éxéXevoe yap petacthvat tovs Kaicapa povov
Ta Stra KatabécOat Kerevovtas, Tloumniov Se
apxew Kal petéotnoav o mrcious. avis dé
HeTaoTHVaL KedeVaaVTOS GooUs aupotépovs apé-

secretly working upon many of the magistrates and
corrupting them. Among these was Paulus the
consul, who was won over by a bribe of fifteen
hundred talents; and Curio the popular tribune,
whom Caesar set free from innumerable debts ; and
Mark Antony, whose friendship for Curio had in-
volved him in Curio's obligations. It was said,
indeed, that one of Caesar's centurions who had
come back to Rome and was standing near the
senate-house, when he heard that the senate would
not give Caesar a prolongation of his term of office,
struck his hand upon his sword and said: " But this
will give it." And Caesar's intrigues and prepara-
tions had this purpose.

And yet the requests and demands which Curio made in behalf of Caesar seemed to be very popular in their character. For he demanded one of two things: either that Pompey also should be required to give up his soldiery, or else that Caesar's should not be taken away from him; for whether they became private persons on just and equal terms, or remained a match for each other with their present forces, they would make no disturbance ; but he who weakened one of them doubled the power of which he stood in fear. To this Marcellus the consul replied by calling Caesar a robber, and urging that he be voted a public enemy unless he should lay down his arms; nevertheless, Curio, aided by Antony and Piso, prevailed so far as to have the opinion of the senate taken. He therefore moved that those should withdraw to one side who wished that Caesar only should lay down his arms and that Pompey should remain in command; and the majority with- drew. But when he moved again that all those should withdraw who wished both to lay down their

oxet TA SttAa Katabécbat Kal pydétepov dprerv,
Tlopmnip pév eixoot cai dv0 povov, Kovpiov &é
mavtTes ot NouTToL mpooéMevTo. KuKEivos pév ws
VEVLKNK@S AapTpos vd yapas eis Tov Show
éEnXato, KpoTw Kal Borais otehavarv Kai avOav
deF.ovpevov avtov. év 6¢ 77H Bovag Topmnios ov
Taphv' ol yap apYovTes oTpaToTédwv Eis THY
4 b) 3 , \ 9 \ >
TOA ovK eigiaat. Mdpxedros dé avacras ovK
" , 9 , Va 3 b) ec a
Epn Adywv axpodcecOar KxaOnpevos, aAXr opav
vmrephavopeva TOV "AATeEwy On Séxa TaypaTta
Badbilerv, cat adtos éxréprpery tov dvtitaEopevov
avrois UTép THS TaTpisbos.
LIX. 'Ex tovrov tas éoOitas ws emi wévOe
peteBadrovto. Madpxeddos bé mpds Lopmrniov bv
ayopas éBadule THs BovAns érropévns, cal xata-
N] Sf 66 v4 9 oc 3? Due
oTas évavtios, " Kerevw ce," elzrev, " @ Toptrnie,
Bonbeitvy tH Tmatpids nat ypnoOat tais mape-
oKxevacpevars Suvdyeot kal nataréyey étépas."
Ta 8 avta tavta nal Aévtvos édevye, TOY atrobe-
Seryuévov es TO méAXOV UTTdtwY ATEepos. apka-
peévov O€ tod Llopmantov xataréyew ot pév ovx
uTHKOVvoY, OrALyot 5é€ YAiaxpws Kal ampobdpws
auvynecay, ot dé Treiovs dtadvces éBowv. Kal
9 / 4 ? A b] ,
yap avéeyvw twa Kaicapos émictorny 'AvTwvios
év TO Sym, Bracdpevos tHv BovAnv, éxovoav

éraywyous GyAov mpoxAnces. nEiov yap ap-
gotépous éxBavtas Tov émrapytav Kal Tas oTpa-
Tiotixas Suvdpers adévras eri ro Sym yevécIat
kal Tav wempayyévwy evOuvas vTroaxeiv. ot 5é
/ e 4 WW \ 9 A

mept AévtXov vrratevovtes On BovAnv ov ourt-
ww > , > J /
you; apte Sé é€x Kirsxias aduypévos Kixépwov

émpatte Starrayds, Stws Kaicap, é&edAOwv

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arms and neither to remain in command, only twenty-two favoured Pompey, while all the rest sided with Curio. Curio, therefore, felt that he had -won the day, and with a joyful countenance rushed before the people, who clapped their hands in welcome and pelted him with garlands and flowers. Pompey was not present in the senate, since com- manders of armies cannot enter the city ; Marcellus, however, rose and declared that he would not sit there listening to speeches, but since he saw ten legions already looming up in their march over the Alps, he himself also would send forth a man who would oppose them in defence of his country.

LIX. Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in the presence of a public calamity ; and Marcellus, followed by the senate, marched through the forum to meet Pompey, and standing before him said: “I bid thee, Pompey, to defend thy country, to employ the forces now in readiness, and to levy others.’ Lentulus also said the same, being one of the consuls elected for the coming year. But when Pompey began to levy recruits, some refused to obey the summons, and a few came together reluctantly and without zest, but the greater part cried out for a settlement of the’controversy. For Antony, in defiance of the senate, had read before the people a letter of Caesar containing propositions which were attractive to the multitude. He asked, namely, that both Pompey and he should give up their provinces, dis- band their armies, put themselves in the hands of the people, and render an account of what they had done. But Lentulus, who was by this time consul, would not call the senate together ; Cicero, however, who was just returned from Cilicia, tried to effect a settlement of the dispute on these terms, namely,

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Tadatias cat tv adAnv otpattav adgels racar,
> \ 4 .Y a 3 A \ 4
éml duct tdypace cat TO “TAArpix@ thy Sevtépay

e / / \ ,
urateiay weptuévyn. Topumniov 5é ducxorai-
> , e , , 4
vovtos émetcOnoav ot Kaicapos diroe Odtepov
tJ Aa \ 39 4 4
agdetvau' AévtAov 8 avtixpovoavtos Kal Katwvos
avOis dpaptdvery tov lopumniov éEatatw@pevov
Boavtos ov« Exyov at S:advoes trépas.
LX. *Ev rovt@ Sé atayyéAretat Kaicap *Api-
puvov, TOALY peydAnv THs “Itadias, KaTEArAnPos
\ / ” x \ A e , \ lA
kat Baditwy avtixpus éri thv Popny pera tTaons
Tis Suvapews. TovTo dé Hv Weddos. éBabdife yap
ov TAElovas exw iTTéwy TplaKoolwY Kal TevTA-
KioxXtdiwv omrdiTav? tHy Sé adrAnv Svvapw éré-
xkewa Tov” Adrrewv ovoay ov Treptépevev, Eure Et
dpyw tetapaypévors Kal py mpocdoxaot Bovdo-
Hevos paAXov 7 ypovoy Sods ex tapacKeuvhs uaye-
cOar. Kal yap émi rov ‘PovBixwva mrotapov
eM av, ds apapifev adt@ tHv SeSouéevnyv errapxiar,
got olwmn Kal SveuédrdrAgnoev, a’tos dpa mpos
e \ S XN , A 4
éavTov avAdXoytCopevos To péyeBos Tov TOALN-
patos. elta, @omep of mpos Bdbos adzévtes
axXaves aro Kpnuvod Twos éavTOvs, pvcas TO
Noyicu@ Kal twapaxadruypdpevos mpos TO Setvov,
kat tocodTov povoy EXAnvuati mpos tovs tapov-
tas éxBonoas, “’AveppipOw xvBos,’ SeBiBale
TOV OTpaToV.

‘Os 5€ rparov 7 dyun mpocémece Kai KaTEcye
THD ‘Papny pera cerry Fews BopuBos Kat po Bos
olos ovTw TpoTEpoY, ev00s pep 7) ovary pepopevn
mpos tov Iloumryjiov ovvérpexe nal Taphoay at

that Caesar should renounce Gaul and dismiss the rest of his forces, but should retain two legions and Illyricum, and wait for his second consulship. And when Pompey was dissatisfied with this, the friends of Caesar conceded that he should dismiss one of the two legions; but since Lentulus still opposed, and Cato cried out that Pompey was blundering again in allowing himself to be deceived, the settlement

came to naught.
LX. And now word was brought that Caesar had seized Ariminum,! a large city of Italy, and was marching directly upon Rome with all his forces. But this was false. For he was marching with no more than three hundred horsemen and five thousand men-at-arms; the rest of his forces were beyond the Alps, and he did not wait for them, since he wished to fall upon his enemies suddenly, when they were in confusion and did not expect him, rather than to give them time and fight them after they were prepared. And so, when he was come to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of the province allotted to him, he stood in silence and delayed to cross, reasoning with himself, of course, upon the magnitude of his adventure. Then, like one who casts himself from a precipice into a yawning abyss, he closed the eyes of reason and put a veil between them and his peril, and calling out in Greek to the bystanders these words only, " Let the die be cast,"' he set his army across.
As soon as the report of this came flying to Rome and the city was filled with tumult, consternation, and a fear that was beyond compare, the senate at once went in a body and in all haste to Pompey, and

1 In January, 49 B.c. See the Caesar, chapter xxxii.

apyai, muBopévov 5é tov TuAXov Tept ortpatias kal duvapews kal tod Tloumniov peta Tivos perAnoews ABapaas eitrovTos Ett TOUS Tapa Kaicapos qKovras ETotpwous exer, vopiter Sé Kal tos KaTeNeypevous WpoTepov ev Taxes cuvakewv Tptapupious évras, o pev TUAXOs dvaBonjaas, "'EEnmrdarnkas pas, @ Tlopmrnie," cuveBovrevev ws Kaicapa mpéaRes atroorédndew, Paws Sé Tis, avnp TAArha pev ov trovnpos, avOadeia 5é xal HBpet TrorAdKis THY Kadtwvos olopevos atropipetoOar Trappnoiav, éxédXeve tov Tlopmrniov tO wodlt TuTTeww THY yy, as Umioxveito Suvdpes dvaxanovpevor.
o O€ TAUTHY ev TveyKe THY akatplay paws TOD 5é¢ Katwvos vropipynocKxovtos wv ev apyn tept Kaicapos avt@ mpocirev, atrexpivato pavTiKke-

Tepa pev elvar Ta Katou reyOérta, didixwtepa
S¢ br avtod mempayOat.
LXI. Kdtov d€ cuveBovrevev aipeicbar otpa-
THyov avtoxpatopa Ilopmniov, émeumav bre TeV
avTav éorte nal Tovety TA peyadda KaKa Kal wave.
ovTos pev ody evOds éEFFAOe eis TuKediav (Er\axe
yap avtny Tay érapylav) Kal Tov adAXwv ExacTosS
eis Gg éxdnpwOn. tis 8 "Itadias ocxeddv SrNs
aviotapéevns atropiay élye TO yivdpevov. of per
yap &Ewbev pepomevoe hvyH twavtayobev eis Thy
‘Popnv évérirtov, ot 88 tiv “Popny oixodvtes
é£émimrov avtot Kal améNevrov thy aod, év
Neyuave kal tapadx@ TocovT@ TO peYv YpnoLLoV
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the magistrates came too. And when Tullus asked Pompey about an army and a military force, and Pompey, after some delay, said timidly that he had in readiness the soldiers who had come from Caesar, and thought that he could speedily assemble also those who had been previously levied, thirty thousand in number, Tullus cried aloud, “Thou hast deceived us, Pompey!” and advised sending envoys to Caesar; and a certain Favonius, a man otherwise of no bad character, but who often thought that his insolent presumption was an imitation of Cato’s boldness of speech, ordered Pompey to stamp upon the ground and call up the forces which he used to promise. But Pompey bore this ill-timed raillery with meekness!; and when Cato reminded him of what he had said to him at the outset about Caesar, he replied that what Cato had said was more prophetic, but what he himself had done was more friendly.

LXI. Cato now advised that Pompey should be elected general with unlimited powers, adding that the very men who caused great mischief must also put an end to it. Then he set out at once for Sicily, the province which had fallen to his lot, and the other senators likewise departed for the provinces which had severally been allotted to them. But since nearly all Italy was in commotion, the course of things was perplexing. For those who dwelt out- side the city came rushing in hurried flight from all quarters into Rome, and those who dwelt in Rome were rushing out of it and abandoning the city, where, in such tempestuous confusion, the better element

1 In Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 37, Pompey replies: ‘‘ You will have them if you follow me, and do not think it a terrible thing to leave Rome, and Italy too, if it should be necessary.”

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T 2

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aabeves &youcay, To bé amretOés iaxupov Kal Suc-
peTaxeiptaToy Tols ApYovalv. ov yap Rv Tadaat
\ , IQ\ v / a aA e A
tov poBov, ovdé elacé tis ypnoOat tois éavTod
Noytapots Llopsrniov, ddr’ @ Tis everoyyave mmd-
\ a A Us

Oa, poBnbeis AvINbels 7} Starropycas, TovT@
dhépwv exeivoy avetipmAn? cal Tavaytia ths av-
THS Huépas expdtet Bovrevpata, nal mvbécOat
\ A , 9O\ 9 > \ > a \ \
TEpL TOY TrONEMiMY OVOEY HY adnNOes avT@ 81a TO
‘\ > 4 bd a 9 >

TWoNAous atrayyé\Nely O TL TUYOLEV, ELTA aTTLC-
TouvTs YareTraivey. obtw by Wndicdpevos Tapa-
xv opav Kal KeXevoas Atavtas ErecOar avT@
‘\ ? N a \ \ 4 ,

Tovs amo BovAns, Kat mpoerav bre Kaicapos
nynoeTat Tov amoNepbévta, ep Seinnv oviav
amédimre THY TOA. of dé Brratoe pndé Ovaavres
& vouiferar wpo Trodépwv Epuyov. jv dé cal wap’
td \ >. A A \ > A
avTa ta Seva knrwrds avip THs mpds avTov
evvoias TAY avOpwTrav, StL TWOAN@Y THY oTpAaTn-
yiav peuhopévwv ovdels HY 0 pLoc@v TOY oTpAaTN-
yov, A@AAA arelovas av tis edpe TOV Sta THY
érevbeplav hevyovtwy tovs amoAdtreiy Woparniov
pny Suvapévous.
LXII. 'Odiyars 5é€ tortepov pépars Kaioap
ciceXaoas Kal xatacxyov tiv ‘Papny trois pev
GAnrows émiekas évérvye nal xatempaive, Tov dé

Snpapyor évi MerérAXr@ KwdvovTe Xpnpata NaBety
avtov é« Tov tapuelov Odvarov 7nTeiAnoe, Kat
TpocéOnxe TH ATrELAH TpaxvTEpoy AGyov' epn yap
@s TovTO doar yareTOv Fv avT@ padAov %
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was weak, and the insubordinate element strong and hard for the magistrates to manage. For it was impossible to check the reigning fear, nor would any one suffer Pompey to follow the dictates of his own judgement, but whatever feeling each one had, whether fear, or distress, or perplexity, he promptly infected Pompey's mind with this. Therefore oppo- site counsels prevailed in the same day, and it was impossible for Pompey to get any true information about the enemy, since many reported to him what- ever they happened to hear, and then were vexed if he did not believethem. Under these circumstances he issued an edict in which he recognized a state ot civil war, ordered all the senators to follow him, declared that he would regard as a partisan of Caesar any one who remained behind, and late in the evening left the city. The consuls also fled, without even making the sacrifices customary before a war. But even amid the actual terrors of the hour Pompey was a man to be envied for the universal good will felt towards him, because, though many blamed his generalship, there was no one who hated the general. Indeed, one would have found that those who fled the city for the sake of liberty were not so numerous as those who did so because they were unable to forsake Pompey.

LXII. A few days after this, Caesar entered and took possession of Rome. He treated everybody with kindness and calmed their fears, except that when Metellus, one of the tribunes, attempted to prevent him from taking money out of the public treasury, he threatened to kill him, and added to the threat a still harsher speech, namely, that it was easier for him to execute it than to utter it.! Having

1 Cf. the Caesar xxxv. 4.
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2 mpakat. rpewrdpevos S€ roy MéredXov ottH, Kal
raBov av exypnter, Sime Tloutrniov, éxBareiv
omevowy €x THS 'Itadias mply adixéoOar rhv é€F
"[Bnpias avt@ Svvapiv. o S€ 1d Bpevtéccov
KaTacYov Kal Troiwy evmopnoas Tovs meV
e 4 > A > , A 3 9 n" 7
imatous evOds éuBiBaoas kai pet avTov oreipas
Tpidxovta mpoekérep ev eis Avppayiov, Y«n-
mlwova 5é tov twevOepov cal Tvaiov rov vidv es
Duplav améoteke vavtTixdy KatacKkevdoortas.
3 autos 5¢ dpakdpevos Tas wvAas Kal ToIs Telxect
Tous éAadpotdtous otpaTiotas éemtatTHaas, TOUS
5é Bpevrecivouvs atpeuety cat' oixiay Kedevoas,
C4 b] . \ 4 9 4 v4

SAny évros rHv TOW avéoxae xal Sretddpevae,
Kat oKoAoT@v évérAnoe TOUS TTEVWTOVS TAY
a“ b e ? , > A a
dueity, 5¢ wv él Oddrattav avtos Katirev.
4 npépa S€ rpitn Tov pév addrov Sydov ev Tais
vavoly elyev 75n Kal’ novxiav éuBeBnxota, Tots
5¢ ra telyn pvArdtrovow éEaidyns onpetiov apas
cal catadpapovtas o£éws avadkaBav aterépacen.
e AN An e 9 > , , \
6 5é Kaicap, ws eidev exreAerppéva Ta reixyn, THY
guy aicOopevos puxpod pev edénoe Siw@Kwv Tois
otaupois Kal Tols opvypact TrepitreTns yevéoOat,
n , 4 ,
trav b€ Bpervrecivwv dpacdytav gvdNaTToOpmeEvos
THY TOALY Kal KUKA@ TeEpLiov avnypévous cdpE
mavras wAnY Sveiv TOLwY aoTpaTLMTAS TLVas OU
ToNXOUS exovT@V.
LXIII. Of pév ody ddAXoe Tod Topmrnitov tov
amotNouy év Tos apiotos TiMevTar otpaTnyn-
pac, avros 6¢ Katcap éOavpaley Ore ral modmy
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thus driven away Metellus, he took what he wanted, and then set out in pursuit of Pompey, being anxious to drive him out of Italy before his forces came back from Spain. But Pompey, having taken possession of Brundisium, where he found plenty of transports, immediately embarked the consuls, and with them thirty cohorts of soldiers, and sent them before him to Dyrrachium; Scipio his father-in-law, however, and Gnaeus his son, he sent to Syria to raise a fleet. He himself, after barricading the gates and manning the walls with his lightest-armed soldiers, ordered the Brundisians to remain quietly in their houses, and then dug up all the ground inside the city into trenches, and filled the streets with sunken stakes,! all except two, by which he himself finally went down to the sea. Then on the third day, when he had already embarked the rest of his host at his leisure, he suddenly raised a signal for those who were still guarding the walls to run swiftly down to the sea, took them on board, and set them across to Dyrrachium. Caesar, however, when he saw the walls deserted, perceived that Pompey had fled, and in his pursuit of him came near getting entangled in the ditches and stakes; but since the Brundisians told him about them, he avoided the city,? and making a circuit round it, found that all the trans- ports had put out to sea except two, which had only a few soldiers aboard.

LXIII. Other people, now, count this sailing
away of Pompey among his best stratagems, but
Caesar himself was astonished that when he was in

1 Ditches were dug across the streets, sharpened stakes planted in the ditches, and the whole work lightly covered so as to look undisturbed. Cf. Caesar, Bell. Civ. I. xxvii.

2 He had besieged it for nine days, and had also begun to close up the harbour (Caesar, Bell. Csv. I. xxv.-xxvii.).

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exyov oxupay Kat T poa Sox Gv Tas é& 'TBnplas
Suvdpets kal OJaraccoxpatrav é&éduTre Kal 7™pon-
KATO Tyv "Iraniav. airiaras Kat Kixépwv bre
THY @emirroxréovs € eMLpno ato otparyyiay paddov
y| THY Tepuxréous, TOD TpaypaTov TOUTOLS
opotov OVTWV, OVK éxelVvoLs. edi woe dé Kaicap
Epye apodpa poBovpevos TOV xpovov. eo yap
Novpépcov Topaniov dirov améatetrey eis Bpev-
Téa Lo éml tois loos abtav Siadraynvar Nov-
pEpLos dé Tlopanie ouveberdevaev. évred0ev 0
pev év peas 4 éEnxovta KUpLOS yeyovas avat-
port THs "ItaXias ddns éBovnero pev evs
Tlopmrniov SimKxerv, mrolwv Sé pi) TapovTaVv

atoaotpéyas eis "1 Bnpiav Hravve, Tas éxet duvd-
pets mpotaryayerbau Bovdopevos.
LXIV. 'Ev ¢ 76 xpovep TOUT® peyary cuverTn
Tloprnio Svvayuis, 7 pev apg! Kal TAVTEADS
avavTayavia Tos (Roav yap at paxtpor TevTa-
Koola, AeBupvidey bé - KaTAaCKOTTODV Umrep-
| Baddov ap.Ouos), immets 66, 'Pepatov wal
"Irark@v 16 avOodr, ETTAKLTXLALOL, yeveot Kat
TOUT Kat ppovnpace Sta épovres: Thy O€ rebny
o ULPLLK TOD ovoav Kal pererns Seouevny éyupvatev
év Bepoia KaOnpevos ovK apyos, Grn donep
dnpdtovre Xpwpevos aur@ mpos Ta yuuvdowa.
peyarn yap Rv porn m™pos TO Oappeiv Tos opaat
Tloptrniov Méyvou éfneovta, pep érn Sveiv dei-
TwovrTa yeyernpévon, é év 5é tols SirAoLs Gpthded wevov
meCon, elra é LIrTroT ny avbus Eicopmevov TE TO Eidos
aT parypovers Géovre TO imme Kat KATAKAELOVT A,
WadLy EVYEPAS, ev 88 tois dxovticpois ob povov
1 év judéoas Bekker, after Emperius: juépats.
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possession of a strong city and expected his forces from Spain and was master of the sea, he gave up and abandoned Italy. Cicero also blames him! for imitating the generalship of Themistocles rather than that of Pericles, although he was situated like Pericles, and not like Themistocles. Moreover, Caesar had shown by what he did that he greatly feared a protraction of the war. For after capturing © Numerius, a friend of Pompey, he sent him to Brundisium with a request for a reconciliation on equal terms. But Numerius sailed away with Pompey. Then Caesar, who in sixty days had be- come master of all Italy without bloodshed, wished to pursue Pompey at once, but since he had no transports, he turned back and marched into Spain, desiring to win over to himself the forces there. LXIV. In the meantime a great force was gathered by Pompey. His navy was simply irre- sistible, since he had five hundred ships of war, while the number of his light galleys and fast cruisers was immense; his cavalry numbered seven thousand, the flower of Rome and Italy, preéminent in lineage, wealth, and courage; and his infantry, which was a mixed multitude and in need of training, he exercised at Beroea, not sitting idly by, but taking part in their exercises himself, as if he had been in the flower of his age. And indeed it was a great incentive to confidence when they saw Pompey the Great, who was now sixty years of age less two, but who nevertheless competed in full armour as a foot-soldier, and then again, as a horseman, drew his sword without trouble while his horse was at a gallop and put it back in its sheath with ease; while in hurling the javelin he not only displayed accuracy,

1 Kpist. ad Att. vii. 11.

axpiBerav, adr\a Kab popnv émidecxvvpevov eis
HjKos, 6 ToAXOl TaY vévv ovY UTEpéBaddov.
émehoitwy dé cat Bactreis eOvav nai Suvaorat,
kat tav amd 'Pons nyepovixav apiOmos Fv
évteXods BovAjs tepl avtov. ArAOe Sé Kai
AaBinvos! atordrtr@v Kaicapa diros yeyovas
kal ovveotpateupévos ev Tandartia, cal Bpodvros,
vios @v Bpovrov tod mept Tadatiav odayévtos,
dvnp peyaroppay ral pndérote Ilourniov mpoc-
evT@v pnoe aomacdpevos mpotepov ws ovéa
Tov TaTpos, TOTE Sé ws éAevOepodyTe THY "Payny
vrérafev éauvtov. Kuxépwv 5€é, xaitep adda
yeypadws xal BeBovrcupévos, Suws KxarndécOn
un yevéoOar tod tpoxwvduvevovtos apiOpwod Ths
matpioos. rAOe Sé cal Tidisos YéEti0s, éoya-
Toynpws avnp Oatepov meTnpwpévos oKéXOS, ES
Maxedoviay: by TOY GAdwY yeXoOvTwv Kal yAEva-
Covrwv, o Llopmrnios idwv éEavéotrn nal mpocé-
Spape, peya vouifwy paptvptov eivar Kai rovs
map HAtkiav Kal mapa Sivayy aipovpévous Tov
pet avtov Kivdvvoy avtl Ths acdanetas.
LXV. 'Esrel 6€ BovAis yevopévns Kai yvopunv
Kadtwvos ettovtos éepndicavto pndéva 'Papaiwr

dvev wapatafews avarpely pndé Svaprdalew morw
vmnxoov ‘Pwpaiols, ére wadXov 4 Tlopsnitov pepis
nyatnOn Kal yap ols pndév hv mpayya rod
ToAé“ou Toppw Katoxovow % Sv’ daabéverav
apmerovpévors, TH ye BovrAcoOat cuvyxaretiOevto
kal T@ OYM GuvVEe“dyouy UTép TaV S.iKalwD,
1 AaBinvds with Coraés and Bekker: AaBewy.

sty

but also vigour in the length of his cast, which many of the young men could not surpass. There kept coming to him also kings of nations and potentates, and of the leading men from Rome there were enough about him to form a full senate. Labienus also came, having deserted Caesar, though he had been his friend and had served under him in Gaul; and Brutus, a son of the Brutus who had been put to death by Pompey in Gaul,! a man of lofty spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey nor even saluted him before, because he held him to be the murderer of his father, but now he put himself under his command, believing him to be a deliverer of Rome. Cicero, too, although he had advocated other measures in his writings and his speeches in the senate, nevertheless was ashamed not to be of the number of those who risked all for their country. There came also Tidius Sextius, a man of extreme old age and lame of one leg, into Macedonia. The rest laughed and jeered at him, but when Pompey saw him, he rose and ran to meet him, counting it a great testimony that men past the years and past the power of service should choose danger with him in preference to their safety.

LXV. When their senate convened and a decree was passed, on motion of. Cato, that no Roman should be killed except on a field of battle, and that no city subject to Rome should be plundered, the party of Pompey was held in still greater favour. For those even who took no part in the war, either because they dwelt too far away, or were too weak to be regarded, attached themselves to it in their wishes at least, and, as far as their words went, fought with it in behalf of the right, considering

1 Cf. chapter xvi. 3 f.; Brutus, iv. 1 f.

Hyovupevot Oeois elvat kat avOpwrots éxOpov &
pn Kal? Hdovnv éote vixady Topmrniov.
Ov pny arXa cal Kaicap evyvopova rapeixev
éavrov év T@ Kpareiy, ds Kal ras év “IBnpia tod
Tlouaniov duvayes éXOv Kal KatatroAEunoas
agjxe tovs orpatnyous, tois 5€ otpatimrats
eypnro. Kal wadw vrepBarov tas “Adres Kat
d:adpayov thy “Itadiav eis Bpevréciov heey év
TpoTrais On TOD YEeLta@vos SvTos: Kal diaTrepdcas
TO WéAXaryos avTos pev eis “"Opixov trapevéBarer,
OvBovaArtov} S€ tov Tloprniov dirov aiypdro-
Tov éywv ovv éavt@ mpos Topmrniov avéorenre,
Tpokanrovpevos eis Ev auveMovtas dauorépous
npépa tpitn mavta Siadriocat Ta otTpatevpata
kat yevouevous hirous kal opooavtas émraveeiv
eis ‘Itadiay. tadta Tlopranios atéts évédpav
nryetto: Kal xkataBas okéws él Odrattav Karté-
AaBe yYwpia cal Torovs pas te Tols welois
oTpatoTédols umepadkels exovta, nal vavrAova
Kal Katdpoes émipopovs Tois emiporTaoe sia
Oaratrns, Bote wavTa mveiy avepov Lopmrniw
otrov 7 oTpatlay f ypnpata Kxouifovtra, Kaicapa
dé duayepetars ada yi opod Kal Kata OddatTay
meprexopevov €& avdyKns Ptdopayelv, cal mpoo-
BadXovta ois éptpact Kal mpoxarovpevoy
éxdotote TA pev TELoTA VIKaY Kal KpaTety Tois
axpoBortc pois, arrak dé puxpod cuvtpiBjvas Kal
THhv orpatsay arroBaneiy, rod Lloparniov AXaurpas
arywVvicapevou péxpt TpoTIAS aTavTwy Kat dovov
SioxtrAiwv, BracacOar 5é Kal cvvetomeccivy ph
SuvnPevtos 4 hoBnOévtos, wate eimety Kaicapa

1 OdiBovAAtory after Caesar, Bell. Civ. iii. 10: ’lovBioy.

him a foe to gods and men who did not wish Pompey to be victorious.

However, it is also true that Caesar showed him- self merciful as a conqueror; after defeating and capturing the forces of Pompey in Spain, he sent away their commanders, and took the soldiers into his service.1 Then he re-crossed the Alps, marched rapidly through Italy, and came to Brundisium shortly after the winter solstice.2 Crossing the sea there, he himself put in at Oricum, but he dis- patched Vibullius, the friend of Pompey, who was his prisoner of war, to Pompey, with a proposition that they

should hold a conference, disband all their armies within three days, and after renewing their friendship under oath, return to Italy. This Pompey thought to be another snare, and marching swiftly down to the sea, he took possession of the posts, regions, and sites which offered strong posi- tions for land forces, as well as of the naval stations and landing-places which were favourable for those who came by sea, so that every wind that blew brought Pompey grain, or troops, or money; while Caesar, on the other hand, reduced to straits by sea and land, was forced to seek a battle, attacking Pompey’s defences and challenging him to come out all the while. In these skirmishes Caesar was for the most part victorious and carried the day; but once he narrowly escaped being utterly crushed and losing his army, for Pompey made a brilliant fight and at last routed Caesar’s whole force and killed _two thousand of them. He did not, however, force his way into their camp with the fugitives, either because he could not, or because he feared to do so, and this led Caesar to say to his friends: “ To-day

1 See Caesar, Bell. Civ. I. xli,-lxxxvii. 2 Of 49 B.o.

Tpos Tovs dirouvs Ste Yjuepov av 7H vinn mapa
TOUS TrONEMLOLS HV, EL TOY ViK@VTA ElyoV.
LXVI. ‘Em rovt@ péya dpovicavtes ot Top-
mniov dia payns éorrevdov xptOjvar. Tlopmnios
dé tots pev &w Bactrdedot xal otpatrnyois Kxat
TOT WS veviKnKas eypade, Tov 5é THs paxns
xivduvov wppader, TO Ypdve Kal tais atropiats
KaTaTrovNepnoey vopilwy dvdpas dudyous pep ev
tots Ordos Kal cuveOiopévous vixdy pet’ AXd1-
AwY Torvv On Ypovoy, mpos 5é THY GAANDY
oTpareiay Kal Trdvas Kal peraBaces Kal rddpov
opv—es Kal reryav oixodopias amayopevovTas
umTo ynpws, Kal 1a rodTO Tais yepoly éuhovat
TaxloTa Kal ovuprraxhvat omevdovtas. ov pny
GANA TPOTEPOV GUS yé Tas Tapirye TE\OwY TOUS
wept avrov atpeuety o Llopmnios: eel Sé peta
Thy payny o Kaicap bro tev aropiav avacras
éBdabdile 80 "AOapdvwv cis @ettariav, ovKért
xabextov fv 1d dpovnua tay avdpav, adda
gdevryery Kaioapa Bo@rres of pév axorovbely rai
Side éxédevov, of Sé dSiaBaivey eis “ItaNiar,
ot 6é Oepatrovtas eis “Papnv cal pirous Ereprrov
otxias mpoxatadnopévous éyyus ayopas ws av-
Tika petiovres apxyas. é€Oedovtat dé mrodXol mpos
KopyynAtay émdeov eis AéoBov evayyedrSopevor
mépas yew Toy ToAELOY: exe yap adTHy vTeEkE-
mepvev o Llopmrnios.
"AOpacbeions 5¢ BovrAjs "Adpdvios pev arre-
ghaiveto yopnv éyeo8at tis Itadias, ravtny yap

elvat Tov roAéwou TO péytaTov GOXov, mpooti-
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victory would have been with the enemy if they had had a victor in command."

LXVI. At this success the followers of Pompey were so elated that they were eager to have the issue decided by a battle. Pompey, however, al- though he wrote to distant kings and generals and cities in the tone of a victor, feared the risk of such a battle, thinking that by imposing delays and distresses upon them he would finally subdue men who were invincible in arms and had been accus- tomed to conquer together now for a long time, but who for the other duties of a campaign, such as long marches, changes of position, the digging of trenches, and the building of walls, were incapacitated by old age, and therefore eager to come to close quarters and fight hand to hand without delay. Notwith- standing their over-confidence, Pompey had hitherto somehow or other succeeded in inducing his followers to keep quiet; but when after the battle Caesar was compelled by his lack of supplies to break camp and march through Athamania into Thessaly, their spirits could no longer be restrained, but, cry- ing out that Caesar was in flight, some of them were for following in pursuit of him, others for crossing over into Italy, and others were sending their attendants and friends to Rome in order to pre- occupy houses near the forum, purposing at once to become candidates for office. Many, too, of their own accord sailed to Cornelia in Lesbos with the glad tidings that the war was at an end; for Pompey had sent her there for safety.

A senate having been assembled, Afranius gave it as his opinion that they should make sure of Italy, for Italy was the greatest prize of the war, and

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Pévat 5é rots Kparodoty evOds Yxeriav, Lapdova, Kupvov, 'I8npiav, Taratiav amacav: hs te 67 mrelatos 0 AOyos Iloumniw marpidos dpeyovons Netpas éyyvbev, ov Karas Eyety Tepropay TpoTN- Naxilopevnv Kal SovrAevovaay oixeras Kal Kodak. tupavvev. autos Sé Ilopumrnios obte mpos Sdfav nyeiro Kadov avt@ Sevrépay guyny deve Kaicapa xal dS:oxeoOa, ths tHXYNS Stw@Kew Se- Sovons, otte Gotov éeyxatadinely Yenriova kal Tous qepl thy "EXAdéa cal @etrariay dvdpas Uratikous, evOUS bro Kaicape yevnoopévous pera Ypnuatov kal Svvdpewv peydrwr, Ths 5é 'Payns paducta KyndecOar Tov amwTdtTw TodEpobyTa mept avrTis, das arabns Kaxdv ovoa Kal avy- KOOS TepiLevn TOY KpaTouVTa.

LXVII. Taidra Wndiodpevos ediwxe Kaicapa, payns pev éyvoxws améyecOat, mordopKeiv Sé

kal tpiBew tais aropias éyyvOev érraxodov0av.
Kal yap addXws Tadra aoupdépery nyetro, Kal
AGyos Tis eis aUTOY Hey ev TOIs immedot HeEpo-
pevos, @ XPT) TaXLoTa TpEeYrapévous Kaicapa
cuykatadvey Kaxeivov avTov. evior bé dace
§1a TodTo Kal Kdtove pndév aktov orrovdns ypn-
cac8a: Tloprniov, adrAa Kal wopevopevoy él
Kaloapa ampos Oardoon xatardireivy em rijs
atrookevis, poBnGévra py Kaicapos dvatpedév-
Tos avayxdon Kaxeivoy evs atoBécBar tH
apxnv. ovtw S€ mapaxor\ovdav atpéua ois
joneptots év aitiars hv Kal xaraBonceow @s ov
Kaicapa kataotpatnyay, adAa THY TaTpida Kad

would at once put also into the hands of her masters Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and all Gaul; and since his native land, which was of the greatest concern to Pompey, stretched out suppliant hands to him close by, it was not right to allow her to be enslaved and insulted by servants and flatterers of tyrants. Pompey himself, however, thought it neither well for his own reputation to run away a second time from Caesar and to be pursued by him, when fortune made him the pursuer, nor right before Heaven to abandon Scipio and the men of consular rank in Thessaly and Hellas, who would at once come into the power of Caesar together with their moneys and large forces; but that he cared most for Rome who fought for her at the farthest remove, in order that she might neither suffer nor hear about any evil, but quietly await her master. LXVII. Having decided the matter in this way, Pompey set out in pursuit of Caesar, determined to avoid a battle, but to keep him under siege and harass him with lack of supplies by following close upon him. He had reasons for thinking this the best course, and besides, a saying current among the cavalry reached his ears, to the effect that as soon as they had routed Caesar they must put down Pompey himself also. And some say this was also the reason why Pompey called upon Cato for no service of any importance, but even when marching against Caesar left him at the coast in charge of the baggage, fearing lest, if Caesar should be taken off, he him- self also might be forced by Cato to lay down his command at once. While he was thus quietly following the enemy he was loudly denounced, and charges were rife that he was directing his campaign, not against Caesar, but against his country and the

TY BovAny, dtrws 61a TayTos apxn Kal pnderore
TAvanTat Tots akvovar TAS OLKOULEVNS adpxeuw
Xpopevos UmnpeTats Kal eee Aopeértios
d€ avTov "AnvoBapBos * Ayapeéuvova KANOV Kal
Bacréa Baciréwv émid Bovov érroiee. Kat Paw-

vLos OUX TT TOV ny andns TOV mappnoratopeveov
dxaipws ey 7 TKOTTELY, “"AvOpwrrot,” Boar,
“ovdé tHTES Eotat Tov év Tovoxravm ciKwv

na 2? 4 \ > 4 e \ b
petadaBetv ;” Aevecos bé Adpdvios Oo Tas éy
‘TAnpia duvduers arroBadov év aitig 7 podogias
yeyovas, ToTe O€ Tov Tlopmrniov opav puyopay-
obvta, Gavpaterv éXeye TOUS xatnyopobvras avrod,
TOs Tpos TOV EuTropoy THY eTapXLdY ov paxovTas
mpoeOovres.
Tatra kal Ta towabra TOG éyoures dvopa
d0Ens HTTOVA Kal THS TWpOS TOUS dirous aidois
TOV Topmniov éfeBidcavto Kal ouvenconadaavTo
TALS EAUTOV éNTriot Kal oppais emaxohoviaat,
7 poe meEvov TOUS apiatous Aoyeonovs, é7Ep ovde
7 NoLouv cuBepyiry, entiye! rocovtwv eOvav Kai
duvdpewy avToKpdatopt oTpaThny@ Tabeiv hv Tpoc-
jKeov. o 8€ TeV pev taTpaLr ToS pn demote
yvaptfopévous tais émiOupmiay émnverev, autos dé
T@ vooourTt TAS. oTpatias evedwrxe, deiaas ent
TwTnpig AUTTNPOS yevea ar. TOS yap ay Tes
pycecev Dryvatvery éxetvous Tous avdpas, @v ot
pev vTaTteias 76m Kab oTpaTnyias év TO o7Tparo-
TEOw TepLvoaTobvTEs EMYOVTO, SG jipe dé xal
Aoperi kal Lent rove Tepl Ths Kaicapos dpx-
ee epives joav Kal prdoverkiat cal
deEtwoes; Wamrep avtots Tiypdvouv tov ’Appeviou

1 unreye Bekker reads uhrovye, with C.
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senate, in order that he might always be in office and never cease to have for his attendants and guards men who claimed to rule the world. Domitius Ahenobarbus, too, by calling him Agamemnon, and King of Kings, made him odious. And Favonius was no less displeasing to him than those who used a bolder speech, when he bawled out his untimely jest: “Omen, this year, also, shall we eat no figs of Tusculum?” And Lucius Afranius, who lay under a charge of treachery for having lost his forces in Spain, on seeing Pompey now avoiding a battle with Caesar, said he was astonished that his accusers did not go forth and fight this trafficker in provinces.

With these and many similar speeches they forced Pompey from his settled purpose,—a man who was a slave to fame and loath to disappointthis friends,— and dragged him into following after their own hopes

and impulses, abandoning his best laid plans, a thing which even in the master of a ship, to say nothing of a general in sole command of so many nations and armies, would have been unbecoming. Pompey himself approved of those physicians who never gratify the morbid desires of their patients, and yet he yielded to the diseased passion of his followers, for fear of offending if he tried to heal and save them. For how can one say that those men were sound and well, some of whom were already going about among the soldiers and canvassing for consul- ships and praetorships, while Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio were quarrelling, scheming, and conspir- ing over the pontificate of Caesar,? just as though Tigranes the Armenian were encamped over against

1 He was accused of taking a bribe from Caesar for the surrender of the Spains (see the Caesar, xli. 2).

2 Since 63 B.c., Caesar had been pontifex maximus. Cf.
Bell. Civ. iii. 83.
2g!

2

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TapactpatoTresevovtos 1 Tov NaBataiwy Ba-
oLrEws, GNX' ov Kaicapos éxelvou Kal THS duvd-
MEWS 7 xurALas peev npnKeEL TOAELS KAT KpaTos,
EOvn 58 'ardelova Tptaxociwy UMHKTO, Deppavois
dé Kal Tardrtais PE MAXNMEVOS ANTTNTOS éaas
ovK av TIS apOunoa paxas éxaTov pupiddas
alXparharv éxaBev, éxatov S€ atréxrewe Tpe wd-
MEVOS €K mapaTatews.
LXVIII. 'AXN Sums eryicel wevor kal Gopu-
Boovtes, érrel xkatéBnoav eis TO Papo ddtov
mediop, jvaryKac ay Bovday mpo0eivar TOV Tlop-
mHiov, év n AaBunves 0 TOY itm éwy apxeov
TpP@TOs dvacTas a moae Th) dvaxeopiaew éx Tis
HaXnS, el pn Tpépatro TOUS trodeptous: Ta 6é
aura Kal TavTEs @pvvcav. TH 6€ vuKTos édo£e
Kara TOUS Umvous Tlopmnios els TO Jéat pov
elavovTos avrou Kporeiy Tov Ofjov, autos 6é
Koo pew vepov "Agpodirns vexnpopov TONNOLS
Aadvpors. al Ta ev edpper, Ta dé breO parte
avrov n Orbts, bedouxora Hn) TO yever TO Kaicapos
els 'Ad poditny avnkovTe dofa wal apm porns
an' avTov yévntar Kal maviKot tives OopuBot
Sudtrovres eEavértncay avrov. éwOwys Se
puraxis vmép Tov Kaicapos orpatonédov TOn-
My naovxiay aryov Tos eFéXaprpe heya Gas, éx &é
TOUTOU Lapras apbeioa proyoedns € émt To} Top-

mntov katécnn ye Kal tovTo ieiv gnot Kaicap
AUTOS em Lov Tas purakds. dpa oe NMEPG per
AovTOS avroo mpos Skotodcay avatevryviev «al
Tas oKNVaS TOY oOTpaTLWTa@V KaOaLpovYTwY Kal
MpoTepTovTwy vrovuyia Kal Oepatrovtas, hrov ot
oxoTot ppavovres Grrrda ToAXNa Kadopay év TO
1 éw) +d Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske: é7).
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them, or the king of the Nabataeans, and not that Caesar, and that army, who had taken by storm a thousand cities, subdued more than three hundred nations, and fought unvanquished with Germans and_. Gauls in more battles than one could number, taking a hundred times ten thousand prisoners, and slaying as many, after routing them on the battle-field. LXVIII. But notwithstanding, by their importuni- ties and agitations, after they had gone down into the plain of Pharsalia, they forced Pompey to hold a council of war, where Labienus, the commander of the cavalry, rose first and took an oath that he would not come back from the battle unless he routed the enemy; then all likewise swore the same oath. That night Pompey dreamed that as he entered his theatre the people clapped their hands, and that he decorated a temple of Venus Victrix with many spoils. On some accounts he was encouraged, but on others depressed, by the dream; he feared lest the race of Caesar, which went back to Venus, was to receive glory and splendour through him; and certain panic tumults which went rushing through the camp roused him from sleep. Furthermore, during the morning watch a great light shone out above the camp of Caesar, which was perfectly quiet, and a flaming torch rose from it and darted down upon the camp of Pompey; Caesar himself says he saw this as he was visiting the watches! At break of day, Caesar was about to decamp and move to Scotussa, and his soldiers were taking down their tents and sending on ahead the beasts of burden and servants, when the scouts came in with a report that they saw many shields moving to and fro in the

1 Cf. the Caesar, xliii. 3. It is not mentioned in the Commentaries.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Xepare TOV TOAELiOV Srapepopeva, Kal xivnow
elvat kal OopuBov avdpav én paxny éEvovTav.
peta O€ TOUTOUS érepor Tapijoav ets Taku 75n
Kxaliaracbar TOUS TT P@TOUS éyoutes.) pev ovv
Kaioap el @y THD mpoadoxwperny Fj KEL npepay,
év 7} ‘T pos avdpas, ov T pos ALpov ovde Teviav
paxovvrat, Kara TAXOS TPO Tis cxnvijs exédevae
m pobeiva Tov gowxotv xiTeva: TobTo yap
pays ‘Pwpaio éotl aovpPorov. ot dé OT pa-
TL@T AL Jeagdpevoe pera Bors wal Xapas Tas
oKNVas adévrTes epépovto mpos Ta OmAa. Kal

Tov Ttaktapyav aryovTov eis hv de Tak, Exac-
TOS, damep Xopos, dvev BopvBou MEepeXETN LEVWS
els TaEwv) cal Tpaws Kadiararo.
LXIX. [loparnios 88 TO pev deEcov avros exo
emehdev avOicrac bat mpos ‘Avr@vov, év d€ TO
péow Lxntiova Tov mevOepov avrérate KarBivo
Aevxiw, To dé eDodvUpov ele pev Aevxtos Aopé-
TLOS, éppooOn dé 7 wrOe TOY imma. evTavda
yap ortyou dei Gmavres éppunaay as Kaicapa
Biacopevoe kal 76 Séxatov Taypa Staxdwortes,
ov Tretia TOs my 0 Aoyos @S paytuwrTdatov, Kal
Kaicap év éxeivp TATTOMEVOS evwOet paxec Bar.
KaATLO@Y be Ted pay wevOV lnwe ToTaUuTy TOV
TON pLov TO EV@VU[OD, kat poBnbeis THY Nap-
TpoTnTa Tob omc pod, petevréwato omreipas é&
amo TOV emeTarypaTov kal KATET TNT EY oma bev
TOU dexdrou, Kedevoas novyiav aye adnhous
Tous Toheious évtas: Stay oé Tpogedavywa ty ot
imtreis, bta TOV TpO“aYyov éxdpapovras mz) 1 poe-
c8at tovs vaaods, MaoTrep ELM@PactY ot KpdTLOTOL
1 eis rdtwv bracketed by Bekker,
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enemy’s camp, and that there was a noisy movement there of men coming out to battle. After these, others came announcing that the foremost ranks were already forming in battle array. Caesar, therefore, after saying that the expected day had come, on which they would fight against men, and not against want and hunger, quickly ordered the purple tunic to be hung up in front of his tent, that being the Roman signal for battle. His soldiers, on seeing this, left. their tents with shouts of joy, and hurried to arms. And when their officers led them to the proper place, each man, as if in a chorus, not tumultuously, but with the quiet ease which training gives, fell into line.

LXIX. Pompey himself, with the right wing, intended to oppose Antony; in the centre he sta- tioned Scipio, his father-in-law, over against Lucius Calvinus; his left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and was supported by the main body of the cavalry. For almost all the horsemen had crowded to this point, in order to overpower Caesar and cut to pieces the tenth legion; for this: was generally said to fight better than any other, and in its ranks Caesar usually stood when he fought a battle. But Caesar,

observing that the left wing of the enemy was enclosed by such a large body of horsemen, and alarmed at their brilliant array, sent for six cohorts from his reserves and stationed them behind the tenth legion, with orders to keep quiet and out of the enemy's sight; but whenever the cavalry charged, they were to run out through the front ranks, and were not to hurl their javelins, as

1 Both Plutarch (not only here, but also in his Caesar, xliv. 1 f.) and Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 76) differ in their accounts of the order of battle from that which Caesar himself gives (Bell. Crv. iii. 88 f.).

omevdovtes él Tas EchourAnias, GAA Traiey avo
CuYTiTpwWoKOVTAaS GupaTa Kal mpoownra Tov
TONELLOV? OU yap pevely TOUS KAaAO'S TOUTOUS
kat avOnpovs truppiytatas 81a Tov w@paicpor,
ovdé avTiBrdpetv arpos Tov aidnpov év opOarpois
yevopuevov. év TovTois pev odv o Kaioap jp.
'O 8 Tlopmrnios ad' trmov ray rapdtakw
ETLTKOTOV, WS EWPA TOUS peVv aYTLTdXOUS pEO"
Hovyias Tov Katpov év Taker wpoopevortas, THs
S id' ait@ oTparias TO WrAELoTOY OK aTpELOdY,
GAXa Kupaivoy amepia cal OopvBovpevor, ece
un SiacracOn wavtdracw év apyh THS wayns,
xal tapdyyeApa Tois mpoTtetaypévots edwxev
éotatas év mpoBoAn Kal pévovtas apapotas Sé-
xecOat tors Tworepious. o dé Kaicap airiitas
TO OTpATHYNnUA TOUTO' TOY TE yap TANYaV TOV
€& éiSpopns Tovoy dpavpdcat, Kal THY paddtoTa
TOUS TOAXOUS ev TO ouphépedOat Tois TrodEpLOLS
TAnpodcav evOovatacpod Kal popas avteEopun-
ow, dua cpavyh cat Spop@ Tov Ovpov ab~ovaar,
agedovta mhEar nal xatawitat tovs avdpas.
hoav dé ot pev peta Kaicapos dioxidtor mpos
dtapupiors, ot dé peta Tourniov Bpayel wretoves
nH OtTrAaoLoL TOUVTWD.
LXX. "Hdn b€ cuvOnpatos Sidouéevov rapa
appotépwv Kai Tis cddrvyyos apyouéevns éyKe-

the best soldiers usually did in their eagerness to
draw their swords, but to strike upwards with them
and wound the faces and eyes of the enemy; for

these blooming and handsome war-dancers (he said)
would not stand their ground for fear of having
their youthful beauty marred, nor would they face
the steel when it was right at their eyes. Caesar,
then, was thus engaged.
But Pompey, who was surveying on horseback the battle array, when he saw that his antagonists were standing quietly in their ranks and awaiting the moment of attack, while the greater part of his own army was not at rest, but tossing about in waves of tumult, owing to its inexperience, was afraid that his array would be completely broken up at the beginning of the battle, and therefore ordered his front ranks to stand with their spears advanced, to remain fixed in their places, and so to receive the enemy's onset. Now, Caesar finds fault with these tactics !; he says that Pompey thereby robbed the blows of his weapons of that impetus which a rapid charge would have given them; and as for that rushing counter-charge, which more than any thing else fills most soldiers with impetuous enthusiasm as they close with their enemies, and combines with their shouts and running to increase their courage, Pompey deprived his men of this, and so rooted them to the spot where they stood, and chilled their spirits. And yet Caesar's forces numbered twenty- two thousand, while those of Pompey were a little more than twice as many.

LXX. And now at last the signal was given on
both sides and the trumpet began to call to the
1 Bell, Civ. iii. 92. Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 79) says Caesar does this in his letters.

Never Iau Tpos Ty ova Tact, TOV pev TONN@Y
ExacTos éoxomret TO Kad avrov, driryot 6€ "Po-
paiov ol | BéXtea Tot Kae TLVES Eddjvev TapovTes
éFco THS paxns, OS eyys Hv TO dewvor, éhoyifovro
THY meovefiav Kat prroveriar, érrov pépovaea
Thy rye LOVviav eEeOnuev. Orda yap ouryyever
Kal tak&eus aderpat Kal Kowa onpeta Kal pias
Toews evavdpia TocavTn Kal dvvapus avrn pos
éavTny ouverimtey, emiderxvupern Hv dvOpo-
mivny pvaoww, ws ev made syevopern Tup ov eoTL
Kat paveddes. ny pep yap 70n Kal' jovyiav
xpnSovaw a apyev Kat dronavesv TOY KaTeLpyac-
MEVOV TO reio Tov cal Kpatia Tov apeTh vas Kal
ardcons vmnKooy, Hv © ert TPOTraLey | kai Opiap-
Bov épwtt Bovropévous xapiter Bar cal dupavtas
euTimrac bas IlapOixav TORE MOV n Teppavican.
TonD bé Kat 2xvOia NELTrOEVvOV epryov kal "Ivédoi,
Kat mpopacts OUK ado£os érl tara THs TA€ov-
eEias npep@aat Ta BapBapixd. Tis 5 av 4h

KvOop i inmos) Tofevpata Idp0wv) TWOVTOS
‘Ivddr € éméaxe pupiadas entra ‘Popaiwr € év Srrdots
emepxopevas [loparntov wal Katcapos ayoupeven,
ov évopa Tov ™poTepov icoua av h TO Pwopaior;
ovTwsS apixta Kal Tokina kat Onpiwdn ira
vixavtes émnrOov. torte dé addiprous Haxovpevor
acuvnecav, ovode THY dofav aura, by WN THS
mar pibos npeidoun, oleTeipayTeEs, axe Tis mpuepas
éxeiyys GULKNTOV Tporaryopevopevery. y) pev yap
yevopern ouryryevera Kal Ta ‘lovXias pirtpa Kat
yapos éxetvos evO us Hy anaTnha, Kal Drona
Kowwvias él xpela TUVLTTALEYNS o“npevpata,
dirias & arnOivis ov perécyev.
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conflict, and of that great host every man sought to do his part; but a few Romans, the noblest, and some Greeks, men who were present without taking part -in the battle, now that the dreadful crisis was near, began to reflect upon the pass to which contentious- ness and greed had brought the sovereign Roman state. For with kindred arms, fraternal ranks, and common standards, the strong manhood and might of a single city in such numbers was turning its own hand against itself, showing how blind and frenzied a thing human nature is when passion reigns. For had they now been willing quietly to govern and enjoy what they had conquered, the greatest and best part of earth and sea was subject to them, and if they still desired to gratify their thirst for trophies and triumphs, they might have had their fill of wars with Parthians or Germans. Besides, a great task still remained in the subjugation of Scythia and India, and here their greed would have had no inglorious excuse in the civilization of barbarous peoples. And what Scythian horse or Parthian archery or Indian wealth could have checked seventy thousand Romans coming up in arms under the leadership of Pompey and Caesar, whose names those nations had heard of long before that of Rome, so remote and various and savage were the peoples which they had attacked and conquered. But now they were about to join battle with one another, nor were they moved even by a compassion for their own glory to spare their country, men who up to that day had been called invincible! For the family alliance which had been made between them, and the charms of Julia, and her marriage, were now seen to have been from the first suspicious and deceptive pledges of a partnership based on self-interest ; there was no real friendship in it.

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LXXI. ‘Os & ob ro Dapoddiov trediov avdpav
Kal immov xal Stdwv avetrétrnoTO Kal paxns
7p0n tap apudhotépwv onpeia, mpwtos éx THIS
Kaicapos ddrayyos éFédpaye Vdios Kpacciavos,
avopov éxatov eixoot NOXayav, peydAny arrob.-

Sovs tmdcyerw Kaicapt. mpatov yap avtov
éfiwmy Tod yapaxos elde, xal mpocayopevoas HpeTo
mas ppovoin mept THS wayns. o b€ tH Sekcav
mpoteivas aveBonoe “Nixjoes Aaptpas,
Kaicap: éué 6¢) Cavta tHpepov 7) vexpov émrarveé-
gels.” TovTaV TOV AOYoY pEm“Ynuevos eEWpuNceE
xal ouverectmdcato moAXovs Kal mporéBare
KATA MéTOUS TOUS TrOAEuiOUS. ‘yevomévou Sé TOD
ayavos evOus év Eipeot Kal ToAAaY hovevopévar,
Bialopevoyv tpdocw Kal S:axorrovta Tos TpwToUS
imoatas Tis WOE Sua Tov aotTopatos TO Eidos,
Gore THY aixunv wepdcacay dvacyeiv Kata TO
iviov.
Ilecovtos 5¢ tod Kpacciavovd, cata tovTo peév
jv iooppotros 7 ayn, TO dé SeEvov o Llopuarjios ov
TaXéwS eTIAyEeV, GANA TaTTatver éwt Outepa Kal
TO TOV iTTéwY avapevwn Epyov évdséTpiBev. 75n
5é éxeivos Tovs OvAALOUS aVIYyOV WS KUKAWTO[MEVOL
tov Katoapa, kal tovs mpotetaypévous itmarets
OAiyous dvtas éuBanrodvTes eis THY Pdddrayya.
Kaicapos 6é€ onpeiov dpavtos, of peév immeis
éFaveywopnaar, ai 5é émitetaypevat orretpar pos
Thy KUKAwWOLY éexdpapmovaat, Tpioxidtot avdpes,
1 The name is Crastinus in Caesar’s own story of the battle
(Bell. Cwv, iii. 91),
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LXXI. So then, when the Pharsalian plain was
filled with men and horses and arms and the signals
for battle had been lifted on both sides, the first
to rush out from Caesar’s lines was Caius Crassianus,!
a centurion in command of one hundred and twenty
men, who was thus redeeming a great promise made
to Caesar. For he had been the first man whom
Caesar saw as he issued from the camp,: and ad-
dressing him, he had asked him what be thought
about the battle. The centurion stretched forth his
right hand and cried with a loud voice: “ Thou wilt
win a splendid victory, O Caesar; and I shall have
thy praise to-day, whether I live or die.” Mindful
now of these words of his, he rushed forward,

carrying many along with him, and threw himself into the midst of the enemy. The combatants at once took to their swords and many were slain, and as the centurion was forcing his way along and cutting down the men in the front ranks, one of them confronted him and drove his sword in at his mouth with such force that its point went through to the nape of his neck.?

After Crassianus had fallen, the battle was evenly contested at this point; Pompey, however, did not lead up his right wing swiftly, but kept looking anxiously towards the other parts of the field, and awaited the action of his cavalry on the left, thus losing time. These at last deployed their squadrons with a view to envelop Caesar, and to hurl back upon their supporting lines the horsemen whom he had stationed in front, only a few in number. But Caesar gave a signal, his cavalry retired, and the cohorts drawn up to oppose the enveloping move- ment ran out, three thousand men, and confronted

2 Cf. Caesar, op. cit. iii. 99, where Caesar gives Crastinus that high praise for which he was willing to die.

umavtTialouat Tous ToAEmious, Kal TaploTdpEvoe
Kal' immav, ws éiddyOncav, IWndrois éxpavTo
Tots Vaools, Epiesevor TOV TpocwTaV. ot Sé, ATE
payns Taons amepot, ToLavTny dé wn TpoadoKn-
caves unde mpopadorvtes, ovK eroApwy ovdeé nvei-
YOVTO TAS TrANYas év Gupacet Kal oTopacty ovcas,
GAN atroatpepopevot Kal Mpoicyopuevor TeV
dew Tas Yelpas axes ETPdTOVTO. eEeuvyov-
tov € ToUTwY dpednoavtes of Kaicapos éywpouv
éml Tous Trelous, 7 waALTTA TOV immévwy TO Képas
éyrirwpévov tepidpounv edidov Kal KiKrwow,
dua dé Tovtwyv ék TAaylov mpooTecovTaY Kal
KaTa otoua tov dexdtov mpoopikavtos ovx
UTéwevay OVSE TULETTNAAY, OpaVTES ev @ KUKAW-
cecOat Tovs Todeulovs HAmifov avTovs TOTO
WaoKXovTas. |

LXXII. Tpazropévwv 5 tovtwv, ws xateide
Tov xovioptov o Tloumnios cal To qepl Tous im-
mwéas maQos cixacev, @ peyv expnoato Oyo LO
Yarerrov elieiv, padiota b€ Guotos Tapaddpove
Kat TapaTAnye THY Stavotay, Kat und 6tt Mayvos
éott Llopmnios évvoodyvts, pndéva mpocetav
amne. Badnv eis TOY YdpaKxa, Tdvu Tois Erect
mT péToVv exeivols:

Zevs 5é marnp Aiav?’ inpituyos év doRov apace:

otn 5€ tapwv, dridev S€ cdKxos Barev érta-

Boeov,
Tpéoce O€ TamTHvas ép opirou.
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their enemies, and standing close by the horses, as they had been directed, they thrust their javelins upwards, aiming at the faces of the riders. These, since they were without experience in every kind of fighting, and did not expect or even know anything about such a kind as this, had neither courage nor endurance to meet the blows which were aimed at their mouths and eyes, but wheeling about and putting their hands before their faces, they in- gloriously took to flight. Then Caesar’s soldiers, suffering these to make their escape, advanced upon the enemy’s infantry, attacking at just that point where the wing, left unprotected by the flight of the cavalry, could be surrounded and enclosed. And since this body attacked them on the flank, while at the same time the tenth legion fell upon their front, the enemy did not stand their ground nor even hold together, for they saw that while they were ex- pecting to surround the enemy, they were themselves being surrounded.

LXXITI. After his infantry was thus routed, and when, from the cloud of dust which he saw, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry, what thoughts passed through his mind it were difficult to say; but he was most like a man bereft of sense and crazed, who had utterly forgotten that he was Pompey the Great, and without a word to any one, he walked slowly off to his camp, exemplifying those verses of Homer!:

But Zeus the father, throned on high, in Ajax
stirred up fear ;
He stood confounded, and behind him cast his
shield of seven ox-hides,
And trembled as he peered around upon the throng.

1 Iliad, xi. 544 ff., where Telamonian Ajax retires before
. Hector and his Trojans.
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TOLOVTOS Eis THY OKNYNY TapeNOov AaPODoyyos Kab-
joTo, wéype ov Tots hevyouot troddol StwKovTes
ouvercéTimTov? TOTE O€ Povnyv piav agels TavTHD,
“Ovdxodv cat ért thv tapenBornv ;” ardo &é
pndevy eita@yv,. dvactas xal AaBov écOAtTa TH
Tapoven TUXN wpémovoay vrreEnOev. epuye bé
Kal Ta NoLTA TaypaTa, Kal hovos év Te TTpaTO-

TéEO@ TOAUS eyéveTo oKNVopuAdKwY Kal JepaTov-
Tov: otpati@tas 5é povous éFaxtoxytNlous Trecetv
gdnow “Acivvtos TloAN wv, pewaynpuévos éxeivny
Thy paynv peta Kaicapos.
Atpovvtes 5¢ 76 oTpatorredov COe@vro THY avotav
Kal KoupoTnta TOV TOAEHiOY. Taca yap oKnVy
pupoivats KxatéoteTrto Kal otpwpvais avOcvais
HaoKknto Kal tparéfais éxtrwpdtov peorais: kal
KpaTiipes olvou mpovKewro, Kab TapacKevn Kal
Koo 0s HY TeOuKOTOV Kal ravnyupLlovTwY wadXoV
h wpos paxny eEoTrAlopévwv. ottw tais éArtrict
tepOappévor Kai yémovtes avontov Opdacous éml
TOV TOAELOV EX@poUD.
LXXIII. Topmrnios b€ pexpov €w tot yapaxos
mpoeNO@y Tov méev imrov aPHKev, Oriywv O€ Kopt-
57 wept avtrov dvtwv, ws ovdels ediwxev, amrnjes
xa? novyiav, év Siadroyiopois wy olovs eiKos
AapBaverv avOpwrov Etn TéTTapa Kal TpLdKoVvTA
yikav Kal Kpateiv amavtwv etOiopévov, ATTNs 4é
kal puyhs ToOTe Tpa@Tov év yjpa NapBavovta Trei-
pav, évvoovpevov b¢ é& Scwy aywvey Kal TrOAéLov
nuEnuévnv arroBarwv wpa wa dokav cal dvvapmiy,
0! apo pixpov TooovToLs SirAoLs Kal imois Kal
1 6 Reiske’s correction of 7 in the MSS., which Sintenis
and Bekker delete.
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In such a state of mind he went to his tent and
sat down speechless, until many pursuers burst into
the camp with the fugitives; then he merely ejacu-
lated : “ What! even to my quarters?” and without
another word rose up, took clothing suitable to his
present fortune, and made his escape. The rest of
his legions also fled, and there was a great slaughter
in the camp of tent-guards and servants; but only
six thousand soldiers fell,! according to Asinius
Pollio, who fought in that battle on the side of
Caesar.
When Caesar’s troops captured the camp, they
beheld the vanity and folly of the enemy. For
_ every tent was wreathed with myrtle boughs and

decked out with flowered couches and tables loaded with beakers ; bowls of wine also were laid out, and preparation and adornment were those of men who had sacrificed and were holding festival rather than of men who were arming themselves for battle. With such infatuated hopes and such a store of foolish confidence did they go forth to war."

LXXIII. But Pompey, when he had gone a little distance from the camp, gave his horse the rein, and with only a few followers, since no one pursued him, went quietly away, indulging in such reflections as a man would naturally make who for four and thirty years had been accustomed to conquer and get the mastery in everything, and who now for the first time, in his old age, got experience of defeat and flight ; he thought how in a single hour he had lost the power and glory gained in so many wars and conflicts, he who a little while ago was guarded by

1 Caesar says that fifteen thousand of Pompey's soldiers fell, and twenty-four thousand surrendered. His own losses he puts at two hundred soldiers and thirty centurions (Bell. Civ. iii. 99). 2 Cf. Caesar, op. cit. ili. 96,

TOROS Sopupopovpevos aTrepXeTat puxpos ovTw yeyovas Kat cuveotarpevos wate AavOaverv Cn-TovVTAaS TOUS TrOAEpiOUS. Tapapenrdpevos dé Adpiccay, ws 7Oev ext ta Téurrn, cataBadrov éauTov emt oTOpa Sedinxaws Ewe Tov TOTa pov, kal TwaAw dvacras éBadzsbe bua TOV Teprav, a ax pt ov KaThrber € émt Oddarrav. excel 6€ THS VUKTOS TO Aoumrov dvaT ava dMevos év KaruBio rwl Taynvewy, Kal mepl TOV épOpov émiBas Trotapiou mAotou, cal TOV eTOMevOV TOUS édevdépous avahaBor, TOUS bé Gepdmrovtas a dmvévat _Tpos Kaicapa KeAevoaS Kal pn Sedvévat, wapa ynv Koptlopevos eldev evperyeOn poprnyov avaryer bar pédXOUTAY, 15 evavKdper 'Pwpatos a avnp ou mavu Lopani cuv7Ons, ryeva-oKwY dé THY Oi avtov: Ilerixtos érekaneiro. TOUT® ouveBeBrjKec THS TApoxXnuErns VUKTOS iSety KaTa Tovs Umvous Toparniov, ovy ov éwpaxe TONAGKLS, adda Tam eLvov ral KaTnpy, mpooo.a-Aeyomevov avT@. Kal TavTa Tots cupTAEovatY eTUYYavE Sumyoupevos, as 59 direl rept Tpayyd-Tov THAMLKOUTOY Aoyor Eyvewv avO pwrous oXOANV

dyovras. ékaidyns 5é Tus TOV vavT@v éppage
KATLO@V 6 Ste tAotov TOT LL0v amo THS yIs, épéa-
oeTae Kal Katacetoval TWES avOpwmot 7a imatoa
Kal Tas eipas épéyouct Tpos avTous. émlaTiaas
ovv oO eTixtos evOus éyvw Tov Topaniov, oloy
évap cide Kal Tn Edpevos THY Keparnv exédevoe
TovsS vavTas. TO eporntov TapaBaneir, Kal TH
deEtav éFéreve xa Tpooenarel TOV Tlopmjiov,
Hon cupppove T@ oVnMaTL THY TUXnY Kat peta-
Borny TOU avdpos. d0ev ovTe mapakdnoww ava-
peivas ove Noro, GAN avaraBov 6 O7OUS exéhevoe
pet avtov (AevtovAa Sé joav apdorepor Kai
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such an array of infantry and horse, but was now going away so insignificant and humbled as to escape the notice of the enemies who were in search of him. After passing by Larissa, he came to the Vale of Tempe, and there, being thirsty, he threw himself down on his face and drank of the river; then, rising up again, he went on his way through Tempe, and at last came down to the sea. There he rested for the remainder of the night in a fisherman’s hut. At early dawn he went aboard a river-boat, taking with him such of his followers as were freemen, but bidding his servants to go back to Caesar and to have no fear. Then he coasted along until he saw a merchant-ship of goodly size about to put to sea, the master of which was a Roman who, though not intimately acquainted with Pompey, nevertheless knew him by sight; his name was Peticius. This man, as it happened, had dreamed the night before that Pompey, not as he had often seen him, but humble and downcast, was addressing him. He was just telling this dream to his shipmates, as men who are at leisure are wont to make much of such matters, when suddenly one of the sailors told him that he saw a river-boat rowing out from the shore, and some men in it waving their garments and stretching out their hands towards them. Peticius, accordingly, turned his attention in that direction, and at once recognised Pompey, as he had seen him in his dream; then, smiting his head, he ordered the sailors to bring the little boat alongside, and stretching out his hand, hailed Pompey, already comprehending from his garb the change of fortune which the man had suffered. Wherefore, without waiting for argument or entreaty, he took Pompey on board, and also all whom Pompei wished to have with him (these were the two Lentul

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x 2

4,
Pawvios) avijyOn- Kal pixpov botepov doves
J \ aA Cd 4 of \ /
amo Yijs aptArA@pevoy Anidrapov tov Bacthéa
TpocavadauBuvovow. émet dé KaLpos hv Selmvou
e “A U

KQL TAPETKEVATEY O VAUKANPOS eK TOV TaporTwr,
e 4 ’ A oa
Sav 0 Pawvios oixet@v aropia tov Topmniov
4
apXoLevov avTov UirodvEe mpocédpape Kal UTeé-
\ / \ \ \ 6 4
Auge Kal ouyyndere. Kal TO NOLTOV ex TOUTOU
, “
mepiéemwv Kat Oepatrevwr dca Secrrotas So0vXo1,
péxpt vilrews today Kal Seimvov rapackevijs,
C4 , A ?
dueTéXETEV, WOTE THY EXEVOEPLOTHTA THS Vroupyias
éexeivns Ocacdpevoy dv tia kat To adedrés ral
am\ac Tov eltetv
A a / 4 ,
Dev totot yevvaiorowv ws Atay KaXov.
LXXIV. Odtw 6€ tapamdcioas én *Apd-
monews éxeiOev eis MetuAnvny éerepatovro, Bovdo-
pevos THY Kopynriav avadraBeiv nal tov viov.
émel O€ TpoTéaXe TH VNT@ KAT aiyiadopr, érep-
ev eis TONY ayyeXov, OVX ws 7) KopyndAia tpoc-
edoka Tois mpos yap amayyeddouévots Kal
ypahopevots, éAmilovca Tov ToNé“ov KEexptiévov
wept Auppaxvov Ett NouTrov Epyov eivat Lopumrnio
Thv Katoapos diwkiw. év tovTows ovcay adrny
KataraBav o ayyedos domdacacbat pév ody Té-
pewve, TA O€ TWAELOTA Kal péyLoTAa TOV KaKaY TOIS
Sdxpvot padrov 7) TH dovn Ppdcas omevdery
éxérevoev, eb BovrXetai was Tloprniov ideiy émt
yews plas Kat adXoTpias. 17 5é akovoaca Tpo-
nKaTO pev auTnvy yapale nal mwodNvY ypovoy
éxdpwv Kar dvavoos éxetro, worss S€ mas Eudpov
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POMPEY

and Favonius), and set sail; and shortly after, seeing Deiotarus the king hurrying out from shore, they took him on board also. Now, when it was time for supper and the master of the ship had made such provision for them as he could, Favonius, seeing that Pompey, for lack of servants, was beginning to take off his own shoes, ran to him and took’ off his shoes for him, and helped him to anoint himself. And from that time on he continued to give Pompey such ministry and service as slaves give their masters, even down to the washing of his feet and the preparation of his meals, so that any one who beheld the cour- tesy and the unfeigned simplicity of that service might have exclaimed :

“Ah, yes! to generous souls how noble every task !""1

LXXIV. And so, after coasting along towards Amphipolis, he crossed over to Mitylene, desiring to take on board Cornelia and his son. And when he had reached the shore of the island, he sent a messenger to the city, not such a one as Cornelia was expecting in view of the joyful messages and letters she had received, for she was hoping that the war was ended at Dyrrachium, and that the only task left for Pompey was the pursuit of Caesar. The messenger, finding her in this mood, could not bring himself to salute her, but indicated to her the most and greatest of her misfortunes by his tears rather than by his speech, and merely bade her hasten if she had any wish to see Pompey with one ship only, and that not his own. When she heard this, she cast herself upon the ground and lay there a long time bereft of sense and speech. At last,

1 The verse is assigned to Euripides in Morals, p. 85a (Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag ?, p. 671).

yevouevn Kat éumancaca Tov KaLpov ovK oVTa Opyvev Kar Saxpuov, eédpape dua THs TONEWS emt Oadratrav. aT aVvT HT aVTOS de ToD Hoparniov Kal deEamévou Tais ayKanats auTny DireperTro- peny Kal mepiTimrouaay, ""Opo ae,' elrrev, ' avep, ov THs ons TUXNS Epyov, ara THS éuns, 7 poo EpptLLevov ev) oxadet Tov ™po ta&v Kop- vn dias yapov TEVTAKOTLALS vavol TAUTHV TEpt- TrevTaVTA Thv Odracoav. Ti fe mr0es ely Kat ovK amTéntres TO Bapet Saipove THY Kal oé SvoTu- tas dvaT \noacav ToT AUT NS; WS eUTUXTS pev ay menv Uv?) TPO TOD TlorAsov év IlapOots axodaat TOV mapGeviov dvbpa Ket wevov arrobavoica, oo). ppav dé Kal per éxetvoy, @amep @punoa, TOV EMAUTHS T poewevn Biov: éowlounv 8 apa xal Tloparnio Mayve cumpopa yevéoOat."

LXXV. Taira eimeity tnv Kopyndiav Aéyouat, tov 6é Tloprniov aroxpivacbau . Miav dpa, Kopynda, TOXxNY moeus THY dpetvova, i) Kal o€ Lows efn@arnaer, STt pot Xpovov TrELova TOU avy nbovs Tapewerver. anda Kal Tavita Se pe- peu YEvOpEvOUS avd pwrrous, kat THs TUXNS. ETL TeLpatéov. ov yap aveXTLaTOV eK TOUT@Y ava- AaBeiv éxeiva tov é& éxeivwv év TovTOLs yevo- pevov.

"H_ peév obv yun HETETEUTETO Xpynuata Kat Jeparrovras éx Toews' TOV be MirvaAnvaiov TOY Toprniov doTracapevoy kal TapaKxadovvTav

elo enGeiv els THY Tod, ovx 7OEANCED, adda
KaKEivous exéhevoe TO KparoovTe meOecOat Kai
Gappeiv: evyv@pova yap elvat Kaicapa Kal
XpnaTov. autos Oé Tpos Kparermov TPAT OMEVOS
Tov girocopoy (KatéBn yap ex THs TodEws
310

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however, and with difficulty, she regained her senses, and perceiving that the occasion was not one for tears and lamentations, she ran out through the city to the sea. Pompey met her and caught her in his arms as she tottered and was falling. ‘I see thee,” she cried, “husband, not by thy fortune, but by mine, reduced to one small vessel, thou who before thy marriage with Cornelia didst sail this sea with five hundred ships. Why hast thou come to see me, and why didst thou not leave to her cruel destiny one who has infected thee also with an evil fortune so great? What a happy woman I had been if I had died before hearing that Publius, whose virgin bride I was, was slain among the Parthians! And how wise if, even after his death, as I essayed to do, I had put an end to my own life! But I was spared, it seems, to bring ruin also upon Pompey the Great.”

LXXV. So spake Cornelia, as we are told, and
Pompey answered, saying: “It is true, Cornelia,
thou hast known but one fortune to be mine, the
better one, and this has perhaps deceived thee too,
as well as me, in that it remained with me longer
than is customary. But this reverse also we must
bear, since we are mortals, and we must still put
fortune to the test. For I can have some hope of
rising again from this low estate to my former high
estate, since I fell from that to this.”’
His wife, accordingly, sent for her goods and
servants from the city; and though the Mitylenaeans
gave Pompey a welcome and invited him to enter
their city, he would not consent to do so, but bade
them also to submit to the conqueror, and to be of
good heart, for Caesar was humane and merciful.
He himself, however, turning to Cratippus the
philosopher, who had come down from the city to
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or

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

3 , 3 , > + \ ,
ovrouevos avtov), euéurpato Kal cuvdintropyce
BSpaxéa repli ris mpovoias, UroxataxNLvopevou Tov
Kpatintov cat wapayovros avrov éml tas dpei-
> 4 cd \ \ ”
vovas éd7ribas, GtTws pn AVITNpOS pndée AKaLpos
> VA 3 \ \ > + N
avrTihéyov ein. émrel TO peéev épécOar tov Tlop-
aniov nv UTrép THS Tpovoias, Tov & atropaiverOat
OTL Tos Tpaypacw Hon povapyias eeu bia tHv
o > / / 66 Lal 9 Se
KaxotroAtetay: épéoOar Sé “IIas, & Touraie,
\ 4 , a a” 4 A \
Kal tive Texpmpim TrecOapev OTe BédXtLOV av ov
lo 4 / b , / 39 > \
™ tTvyn Kaicapos éxXpijow xpatnoas; addga
TadTa péev éaréov worrep exer, TA THY Dewy.
LXXVI. ’AvaraBav &€ tiv yuvaina cat Tous
dirous éxopiteto, mpocicoxywy Spuois avayKaios
ef > 4 9 \ 4 3 a
vdwp fH ayopav éxovatv. eis S€ woAw elonrOe
mpwtTnv Atrareav ths TlaudvaAdas. évtavda oé
avT@ kal rpinpers tives amrnvrnoay éx KirsKias
Kal oTpaTiMTaLs cuvEeNéyovTo Kal TOV TUYKANTI-
Kav wad éEnxovta tept a’Tov joav. akovwy
dé xal To vavtixoy éTt cuvertavat, Kal Katwva
TOANOYS OTpaTLWOTAS avELANpoTA ‘TepaLovY Els
4
AtBuinv, w@dupeto mpos tovs didous, KaTapeupo-
pevos éavtov éxBiacbévta te TEC ovpRanreiv,
Th 5& Kxpettrou adnpirws Svvdpuer mpos pndév
atoxypncacbar pndé weptoppicar +6 vavtixor,
is4 \ a” 72. A ? 2 M4
Sqrov Kata yhv odanrels evOvs av ciyev avtimraXov
> 7 “ ? \ \ ,
éx OarattTyns Twapectacay adknv kal dvvapyy
TocauTny. ovdev yap auaprnua Tloumniov petfov
oveé Secvorepov otparynynua Kaicapos 7} TO THY
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see him, complained and argued briefly with him
about Providence, Cratippus yielding somewhat to
his reasoning and trying to lead him on to better

hopes, that he might not give him pain by arguing against him at such a time. For when Pompey raised questions about Providence, Cratippus might have answered that the state now required a monarchy because it was so badly administered ; and he might have asked Pompey: “ How, O Pompey, and by what evidence, can we be persuaded that thou wouldst have made a better use of fortune than Caesar, hadst thou got the mastery?” But this matter of the divine ordering of events must be left without further discussion.!

LXXVI. After taking on board his wife and his friends, Pompey went on his way, putting in at harbours only when he was compelled to get food or water there. The first city that he entered was Attaleia in Pamphylia; there some triremes from Cilicia met him, soldiers were assembled for him, and he was surrounded again by senators, sixty of them. On hearing, too, that his fleet still held together, and that Cato had taken many soldiers aboard and was crossing the sea to Africa, he lamented to his friends, blaming himself for having been forced to do battle with his land forces, while he made no use of his navy, which was indisputably superior, and had not even stationed it at a point where, if defeated on Jand, he might have had this powerful force close at hand by sea to make him a match for his enemy. And, in truth, Pompey made no greater mistake, and Caesar showed no abler generalship,

1 Sintenis? follows Amyot in including this last sentence with the words supposed to be spoken by Cratippus: ‘‘ But these matters must be left to the will of the gods.”

paxny ovTw paxpay atoomdcacbat THS vavTiKTS
BonOeias. ov pnv GAN éx TOY TapovTwY Kpivetv
Tt Kal wpatTew avayxalopuevos, él Tas trodes
meptéeTreuTre? Tas © avTos TEpLTACWY HTEL \pT-
pata kal vais émrAnpov. thy 8 o€vtnTa Tod
ToNEmlov Kal TO TAYOS SedorKws, 41) TpoavapTracy
Ths TapacKkeuns avtTov éwedOwv, éoxoTe: Kata-
ghuyny éml Te TapovTs Kal dvaywpnow. éemapyia
\ @ b) la UA 3 , ,
fev ovv ovdeyia pvEtmos épaivero Bovrevopevols
autois, Tov dé Bactret@v autos péev atrépawve
thv UdpOwv ixavwrdtny ovcav év Te T@ TapovTe
déEacOat Kal mrepiBareiy ofas aoevets dvtas,
adfis te pacar Kal mporéuar peta TrEloTHS
a Aa 9 v e . 3 VA \
Suvvapews: tov 8 adddwv ot pév ets AtBinv kal
had 4 \ , 4 \ A

IoBav érperov thy yvopunv, Beoddver dé TO
\ a A
AeoBiw pavixov édoxee Tpi@v uepa@v TrodY
adréxovcav Aiyurrov atodtrovta Kal Irone-
a e , \ > , , \ \ /
Haiov, nAtkiav pév avtitraéa, girtas 6€ Kal yd-
pitos Twratpwas wtroypewv, IldpOous vroBaneiv
e 4
éauTov, atic ToTaT@ yével, Kal Pwpaie pev avdpi
KNdeoTH yevopévp Ta SevTepa AéyovTA Tpa@ToV
elvat TOV GAXrwv pn Oérerv pndé TretpacOar THs
éxelvou petproTntos, Apodkny 5€ trovetcOae Kv-
ptov éavTov rov pndé Kpdocov duvnbévta Savtos:
Kal yuvaica véav oixov Tod LKntiwvos eis Bap-
f / ¢ \ 2) , N Pd ,
Bdpous Kkopilery UBpet cal axodNacia THv éFouvciay
A e A \ 4 , X a
petpouvtras, 4, Kav pn wdOn, So—En dé wader,

1 His father was Ptolemy Auletes, mentioned in chapter xlix. 5. He had been restored to his throne in 55 B.c. through Pompey’s influence. The son, Ptolemy Dionysius,

than in removing the battle so far from naval assistance. However, since he was compelled to decide and act as best he could under the circum- stances, he sent messengers round to the cities; to some also he sailed about in person, asking for money and manning ships. But fearing the quick- ness and speed of his enemy, who might come upon him and seize him before he was prepared, he began to look about for a temporary refuge and retreat. Accordingly, as he deliberated with his followers, there appeared to be no province to which they could safely fly, and as for the kingdoms, he himself expressed the opinion that the Parthian was best able for the present to receive and protect them in their weak condition, and later on to strengthen them and send them forth with a large force ; of the rest, some turned their thoughts to Africa and Juba. But Theophanes the Lesbian thought it a crazy thing for Pompey to decide against Egypt, which was only three days’ sail away, and Ptolemy, who was a mere youth and indebted to Pompey for friendship and kindness shown his father,! and put himself in the power of Parthians, a most treacherous race ; to refuse to take the second place under a Roman who had been connected with him by marriage, and to be second to none other, nay, to refuse even to make trial of that Roman’s moder- ation, but instead to make Arsaces his lord and master, a thing which even Crassus could not be made to do while he lived; and to carry a young wife, of the family of Scipio, among Barbarians who measure their power by their insolence and licentiousness, where, even if she suffer no harm, but

now fifteen years of age, had been left joint ruler of Egypt

with his sister, Cleopatra.
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Secvov éotiv émi tois trowjoat Suvapéevors ryevo-
Lévy. TOUTO povor, WS Paci, arrétpere THS ert
tov Evdparnv ob00 Topumrniov: et 8n tes ére Top-
mnlov Aoyto mos, GAN’ odyXi Saipwv exelvny bdn-
yelTO THY OOD.
LXXVII. ‘Os & odv évixa hevyew eis thy
Aiyurrov, avayOeis amd Kumpov Serevxids tpe-
npet meTa THS yuvatxos (rav & adAAwv of pev év
pakpais opotws vavaiv, of Sé év oAKdow apa
oVULTAPETAEOV), TO pev TréAaYoS StEeTrépacEY ac-
paras, tulouevos dé tov IItoAeuaiov év IIn-
Aovaiw KabycOar peta aoTpaTias, ToNe“ovrTa
Tpos THY adEADHY, Exel KaTéa KE, TpOTeUAvaS TOV
ppacovta T@ Baciret cal Senoouevov. o pev
ovv IIroveuaios Hv Koptdn véos) o S€ mavtTa
diérwv ta mpaypata Tobevos “Oporce Bourn
tov duvvatwratov: édvvayTo dé péytaTov ods
éxeivos éRBovreTo: Kal réyew exéXevoev Hy exer
yvounv exactos. mv ovv Sevov rept Toprniov
Mad-yvou Bovrever Oat TloPewdv tov edvotyov Kat
@codorov tov Xiov, éri picO@ pntopicav rAoyov
SiddoKxarov dvetdnupévov, cat tov Aiyumriov
"AyLAAaY: Kopudatotatot yap Hoav év Katevva-
aorais Kal ttOnvois Tots aAXOLS OVTOL GUuBovXoL.
Kat TotovTov dtxacrnpiov yidov Lopmrnios én
ayKUpOV TPOTwW THS YwWpas aTrocadevwv TeEpLeé-
pevev, dv Kaicaps owtnpias yapw ovK fv aELov
opetreLy.
Tav péev otv GdAXAwV TocovTOY ai yvapat Seé-
oTnoav Soov ot péev arredAavverv éxéXEvor, ot Sé
kanety kal déyec0ar tov dvdpa: Beddotoy Se
Sewotnta Adyou Kal fpntopelay émiderxvipevos
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is only thought to have suffered harm, her fate is a
terrible one, since she has come into the power of
those who are able to do her harm. This con-
sideration alone, as we are told, diverted Pompey

from journeying to the Euphrates, if indeed it was longer any calculation of Pompey's, and not rather an evil genius, that was guiding him on this last journey.

LXXVII. So when it was decided that he should fly to Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus on a Seleucian trireme with his wife (of the rest, some sailed along with him in ships of war like his own, and others in merchant vessels), and crossed the sea in safety ; but on learning that Ptolemy was posted at Pelusium with an army, making war upon his sister, he put in there, and sent on a messenger to announce his arrival to the king and to ask his aid. Now, Ptolemy was quite young; but Potheinus, who managed all his affairs, assembled a council of the most influential men (and those were most influential whom he wished to be so), and bade each one give his opinion. It was certainly a dreadful thing that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be decided by Potheinus the eunuch, and Theodotus of Chios, who was a hired teacher of rhetoric, and Achillas the Egyptian; for these were the chief counsellors of the king among the chamberlains and tutors also gathered there. And it was such a tribunal's verdict which Pompey, tossing at anchor some distance off the shore, was waiting for, a man who would not deign to be under obligations to Caesar for his life.

The opinions of the other counsellors were so far divergent that some advised to drive Pompey away, and others to invite him in and receive him. But Theodotus, making a display of his powerful speech

? \ /
oudéTepov amrédnvey dodparés, adrrdaa de~apéevous
\ (34 , 4 \ ,
pev E€erv Kaicapa roréumuov cai Seatrotnv Top-
mniov, atwaapevovs 56 Kat Hopmrni tis éexBorjs
Utaitious écecOat Kat Kaioapse tis St@kews:
b] a
KpadticTov ovy elvas peTatreprypapévovs avedeiv
Tov avopa' Kal yap éxcivm yapteicOat Kai TovTOV
> a \ / 4
ov doBijcecOat. mpoceretre Oé Stapetdidoas, ws
act, 6Tt vexpos ov daxvet.

LXXVIII. Taira xvupocavtes er' "AyirArd
jTovvvta, THY mpakiv. o O€ Yewtipsoy tua
, 4 of. ,
mara yeyovora Llourniov takiapyov tapana-
Bov, cal YddPBiov Erepov Exatovtapyny Kal tpels
/ / .
) TéeTTApAS LIrNpeTas, avnyOn mpos THY Llopmrniou
vabv. étuxov bé mdvtes els avTny ot SoKtm@TATOL
A / a

TOV cupTAcovToY éuBeBynKoTeEs, STrws Eldetev TO
,
MpatTouevov. ws ovv eldov ov BactrsKnv ovde
\ IQN a) / > 4 e /
Aaptpay ovbé tais Bcopdvovs édAriow opotav
@ 4 > bY 9 \ a e 4 ,
UTOOOKHV, GAN él pias Grados TMpoomAéovTas
, 4 ,
orALyous avOpwrovs, UireiSovTo THY OALywpiay Kal
A . ,
T®@ Ilopmrnie mapnvour eis TwéXayos avaxpovecBat
A A ef ” / > , b] 4 N\
Tnhv vadv, éws &Ew Bédous eiciv. ev TovTm bé
4 A P
merXalovens THS adtddos POdcas o Lewripsos -
4 o ee
eEaveotn Kat ‘Pwpaiori rov Tlopmniov avtoxpa-
, e “A
Topa mpoonyopevoev. o S€ ‘AytdAd\as aotacd-
> NA e va)
pevos avtov EXAnuoTtl mapexdre peTedety ets
: {
THY adtada’? Tévayos yap elvat Tod, Kal Babos
? bY Vas / A lf ig ,
ovk éxXeLy TAOIMOY TPLnpEL THY OdraTTAV UTOWap-
@ ¢ \ A “A A
pov ovoav. apa dé Kal vais Ties EwpOvTO TOV
a) 4 al
Baotrtcav wANpovpEvat, Kal TOV aiytadrov oTALTAL
a 4 xv \ , > ,
KaTELYOV, WoT abUKTA Kal weTAaRarXopEvots Epai-
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and rhetorical art, set forth that neither course was
‘safe for them, but that if they received Pompey,
they would have Caesar for an enemy and Pompey
for a master; while if they rejected him, Pompey
would blame them for casting him off, and Caesar
for making him continue his pursuit; the best
course, therefore, was to send for the man and put
him to death, for by so doing they would gratify
Caesar and have nothing to fear from Pompey. To
this he smilingly added, we are told, “ A dead man
does not bite.”

LXXVIII. Having determined upon this plan, they entrusted the execution of it to Achillas. So he took with him a certain Septimius, who had once been a tribune of Pompey's, and Salvius besides, a centurion, with three or four servants, and put out towards the ship of Pompey. Now, all the most distinguished of Pompey's fellow-voyagers had come aboard of her to see what was going on. Accord- ingly, when they saw a reception that was not royal, nor splendid, nor in accordance with the hopes of Theophanes, but a few men sailing up in a single fishing-boat, they viewed this lack of respect with suspicion, and advised Pompey to have his ship rowed back into the open sea, while they were beyond reach of missiles. But meanwhile the boat drew near, and first Septimius rose up and addressed Pompey in the Roman tongue as Imperator. Then Achillas saluted him in Greek, and invited him to come aboard the boat, telling him that the shallows were extensive, and that the sea, which had a sandy bottom, was not deep enough to float a trireme. At the same time some of the royal ships were seen to be taking their crews aboard, and men-at-arms were occupying the shore, so that there seemed to be no

a a a \
veto, Kab mpoohv TO Sidovat toils povedou THv
an.istiav avtTny THS adikias aToNOyiav. aoTaca-
A 3 "A
pevos ovv THY KopynXiav mpoatroPpnvovaav avTov
TO TéXos, Kal dvO éExaTovTapyas TpoeuPyvat Ke-
Nevocas Kal TaV atredevbépwrv Eva Didirmov Kai
, > , " / > \ »5
Oepdrrovta UKvOnv svopua, deEvovpévwv avtov Abn
"A \ N > A 9 a e 4
TOV mept Tov AxtddAav ex THS aALdOos, pEeTa-
fa) e 2
otpadels mpos THY yuvaika Kat Tov viov Eire
Lodoxr€ous iapBeia:
'O \ \ 4 b] 4
oTLS O€ TPOS TUPAVVOY EuTrOpEvETat,
4 9 \ "A A b , ,
xelvou att SodNos, Kav éXeVOEpos MOND.
LXXIX. Tatra & écyata mpos tovs éavtov
PO eyEdpevos evéBn? nal cvyvod S:acTHpatos dvTos
emi THY YHV amo THS TpLNpous, ws OvdEls Tapa TOV
N
cuuTAEOVT@Y éyiveTo Novos PtdravOpwrros POS
avTov, atoBréas eis Tov Lemriusov, "Ou by
Tov oe, elev, "éy@ yeyovoTa cvaoTpaTLoTny
2-08 > A 9 9 A 9 4 A a
E"ov audiyvo@ ;" Kaxetvos émévevoe TH KEpary
/ Oe '\ Oe @ /

povov, ovdev mpocert@v ovdé dtroppovnbeis. aToN-
ARs ovv wdrdLv ovans cromhs o Llopumnios éxov
3 , a / e 3 > A ,
ev BiBAim pLKp@® yeypappévov wT avtov Royov
‘EAAnUUKOY, @ Tapeckevacto ypiacbat mpos TOV
a b , ig \ A nA

IIrohepaiov, aveyivwckev. as dé Th vi Tmpoo-

N Le) aA
emrehalov, 7 wev Kopynria peta Tov dirwy ex THS
Tpinpous TepiTabns ovca TO MéAAOV ATTETKOTELTO,
kat Oappeiv pyeto moAAovs Opaoa pos THY
9 , a A >? \ a \ A
avoBacw tov Bacidixov olov éri tenn Kat deEw-
ae ouvepyopévous. év toute dé tov Llopumniov
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escape even if they changed their minds; and besides, this very lack of confidence might give the murderers an excuse for their crime. Accordingly, after embracing Cornelia, who was bewailing his approaching death, he ordered two centurions to go into the boat before him, besides Philip, one of his freedmen, and a servant named Scythes, and while Achillas was already stretching out his hand to him from the boat, turned towards his wife and son and repeated the verses of Sophocles :—

Whatever man unto a tyrant takes his way,
His slave he is, even though a freeman when he goes.}

LXXIX. After these last words to his friends, he went into the boat. And since it was a long distance from the trireme to the land, and none of his companions in the boat had any friendly word for him, turning his eyes upon Septimius he said: “Surely I am not mistaken, and you are an old comrade of mine!” Septimius nodded merely, without saying anything to him or showing any friendliness. So then, as there was profound silence again, Pompey took a little roll containing a speech

written by him in Greek, which he had prepared for his use in addressing Ptolemy, and began to read in it. Then, as they drew near the shore, Cornelia, together with his friends, stood on the _ trireme watching with great anxiety for the outcome, and began to take heart when she saw many of the king's people assembling at the landing as if to give him an honourable welcome. But at this point,

1 Nauck, J'rag. Graec. Frag.* p. 316. The recitation of these verses is a feature common also to the accounts of the tragedy in Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 84) and Dio Cassius (xlii. 4).

THS ToD Dirimrov AapBavopevoy yetpos, BTras paov éEavactaln, Lewripsos drriabev rp Eiger Sue-Aavver Wpatos, elra YarAPios per' exeivov, elra "AYLAAaS éomdoavto Tas paxaipas. o 8 tails xNepoly aupotépas tay THREevvoy épedxvadpevos Kata TOD TpoTwTrOV, uNdev EiTrav avattoy éavTOd pndé Tonoas, AAXAd orevdtas povor, évexaptépynoe Tais WAnyais, éEnKovta pev évos Séovta BeBrwoxas érn, pad 8 darepoy nucpa ths yeveOAtov Tedev-tTyoas Tov Biov.

LXXX. O: & dao Trav vedv ws eOedoavto Tov hovov, oipwynv éEdxovatoy axpe THS yHs éxyé-ates épuyov, apdpevot TAS ayKUpas KaTa TaYOS. Kal mvevpa Aaprpoyv éBoyOer merayious vrrexOE-ovow, wate BovAropévous Si@Kewv arrotpaTécbat tovs Aiyumrtious. tod dé Llouaniov ray peév Keparny arrotéuvovaet, TO dé AAXO GHMA yupVoV éxBaXovtes aro THs GALabos Tos Seopévors ToLov-tou Oedpatos arréditrov. trapémewe 5é avTo @irumtr0s, Ews eyévovto peorol tHS SWews elra meptAovoas TH Jardoon TO copa Kal xeTeovip Til Ta éavToU TrepiateiNas, GAO 5é ovdEev Ex?, GANA TepioKoTray Tov aiytadoy edpEe piKpas adid-Sos Aeipava, madaid pév, apxodvta Sé vexp@ yUupLV@ Kai ovdé OAM TupKaidy avayKaiay Tapa-oxely. tTavtTa avyKopifoytos avTovd Kal ouvTt-Oévros émiatas avnp 'Pwpaios 75n yépwv, tas Sé mpwtas otpatetas Ett véos Tloparniy cvvertpatev-

pévos, “Tis ov, ® avOpwire, edn, “ Odrreuv
davon Maryvov Ioprniov;” éxetvou dé dycayvtos
@s atrenevOepos, “ ANN ov pov@ aol,” pn, “ Tod-
TOTO KaXov vIrapee Kape 5é WorweEp EdpnpaTos
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POMPEY

while Pompey was clasping the hand of Philip that
he might rise to his feet more easily, Septimius,
from behind, ran him through the body with his
sword, then Salvius next, and then Achillas, drew
their daggers and stabbed him.! And Pompey,
drawing his toga down over his face with both hands,
without an act or a word that was unworthy of
himself, but with a groan merely, submitted to their
blows, being sixty years of age less one, and ending
his life only one day after his birth-day.

LXXX. When the people on the ships beheld the murder, they uttered a wailing cry that could be heard as far as the shore, and weighing anchor quickly, took to flight. And a strong wind came to their aid as they ran out to sea, so that the Egyptians, though desirous of pursuing, turned back. But they cut off Pompey’s head, and threw the rest of his body un- clothed out of the boat, and left it for those who craved so pitiful a sight. Philip, however, stayed by the body, until such had taken their fill of gazing ; then he washed it in sea-water, wrapped it in a tunic of his own, and since he had no other supply, sought along the coast until he found the remnants of a small fishing-boat, old stuff, indeed, but sufficient to furnish a funeral pyre that would answer for an un- clothed corpse, and that too not entire. As he was gathering the wood and building the pyre, there came up a Roman who was now an old man, but who in his youth had served his first campaigns with Pompey, and said: “Who art thou, my man, that thinkest to give burial rites to Pompey the Great?” And when Philip said that he was his freedman, the man said: “ But thou shalt not have this honour all to thyself; let me too share in a pious privilege thus

1 Ibi ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur (Caesar, Bell, Civ.
ili. 104).
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

evaeBots SeFau KOLVOVOV, WS LN KATA mavra pe p-
po pat THY arrofevwatv, avtl TroAA@Y avlapay
TovTo youv eUpapevos, axfracGat Kal TeptaTethat
tals épuais xepat TOV péytotov avToxpatopa ‘Pw-
paiwv. ovTw pep éxndeveto Tlopmnios. tH So
iorepatg Aevxctos AéytXos ovK cides Ta mem pary-

péva, TAEDY amo Kurpov Kal Tapa yhv Kopilo-
HEVOS, OS elde vexpov qupav Kal TaperTara TOV
Didurrov, ouTw cab opapevos® Tis dpa,’ épn,
‘To TET Pw MEVOD evraila TENT AS avaTréTAUTAL;
Kal pour pov dtarutreav Kal orevagas, Taxa 6é, ey
elmre, “av, Tlouanie Mayve. Kai peta poxpov
amroBas Kat currAnpOeis ameBave.
Todto Tloptrniov rédos. ov TOAD bé arepov
Kaicap édwv eis Alyurrov dyous TOT OUTOU
KaTaTETANT MEvnY TOY pep mpoadépovra THY KeE-
pari Os Tahapvatoy aneatpagn, Thy 5€ oppa-
yida Tov Tlopmniov deEdpevos eddxpucen’ nv 6é
yrugn Aéwv Evdnpns. Axirray dé Kal Tlodewvov
anéagater avros 5é 0 Bactreds Mann herpOeis
wept Tov TOTA{LOV npavicOn. ®codotov dé tov
copia thy nm pev éx Kaiaapos dixn maphhbe:
puyov yap Aiyurrop érhavaro TaTTELVa TparTov
Kat pecoupevos: Bpodros Se Mépxos, 6 OTE Kaicapa
KTetvas expatnaey, eFeupav aur ov év “Agia Kat
macav aixiay aixtodpevos améctewev. Ta 8
Aeirpava Tou Topaniov Kopyydia deFapévn Ko-
puobévra, wept tov ’ArXBavov Onxev.
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POMPEY

offered, that I may not altogether regret my sojourn in a foreign land, if in requital for many hardships I find this happiness at least, to touch with my hands and array for burial the greatest of Roman imperators.” Such were the obsequies of Pompey. And on the following day Lucius Lentulus, as he came sailing from Cyprus and coasted along the shore not knowing what had happened, saw a funeral pyre and Philip standing beside it, and before he had been seen himself exclaimed: “ Who, pray, rests here at the end of his allotted days?” Then, after a slight pause and with a groan he said: “ But perhaps it is thou, Pompey the Great!’’ And after a little he went ashore, was seized, and put to death.

This was the end of Pompey. But not long after- wards Caesar came to Egypt, and found it filled with this great deed of abomination. From the man who brought him Pompey’s head he turned away with loathing, as from an assassin ; and on receiving Pom- pey’s seal-ring, he burst into tears; the device was a lion holding a sword in his paws. But Achillas and Potheinus he put to death. The king himself, more- over, was defeated in battle along the river, and dis- appeared. Theodotus the sophist, however, escaped the vengeance of Caesar; for he fled out of Egypt and wandered about in wretchedness and hated of all men. But Marcus Brutus, after he had slain Caesar and come into power, discovered him in Asia, and put him

to death with every possible torture. The remains of Pompey were taken to Cornelia, who gave them burial at his Alban villa.

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ATHSIAAOY KAI NOMITHIOY SYTKPISIS

I. "Exxecpévav odv tav Biwv ériipduwopev TO
AOy~ TaXéws TA TroLodVTa Tas Stagopds, Tap
aNAnra ouvdyovtes. eats dé TabTa: mpatov, ott
llopmrnios éx tov Sixavordtov tpoTouv TapiAGev
els Suvayiy Kal doEav, avtos opynBels ad’ éavtod
Kal TOAAa Kal peydra YwAAa THY “Itadav aro
TOV Tupdvywy érevOepodvTL TUYyKaTEpyacdpEVOS,
"Aynotraos 5é€ tiv Bactreiav édoke NaBeiv ov'te
Ta pos Oeovs apeurrros oUTE TA Tpds avOpwrroUs,
xpivas vobeias Acwruyidny, bv viov avtod! aré-
SecEev 0 adeApos yvyjotov, Tov 8& ypnopmov KaTet-
pwvevadpevos TOY TEpl THS YwAOTHTOS. SevTepoy,
67 Llouanios YvAAav cal CovTa tipav SverérXece
kat teOvnKdtos exndevoe Bracapevos Aémidov 76
capa, Kal T@ Tradl DPavote@ tiv attod Ouya-
tépa avvexioev, ‘Aynoldaos b¢ Avaavdpov éx
THS TuXovons Tpopdcews UTreEéppie kal xabv-
Bpice. Kaitou {Aras pev ovK EAaTTOVeD EruKEV
h Loprnip rapécyev, Aynoiraov dé Avcavdpos
kat tHS Xmaptns Bacittéa Kal ts ‘“EAAdbos
oTpatnyov éroinoe. tpitov bé, ai mepl Ta TON-
Tua ToY Sixaiwy TapaBdacets Llopmnio pev dv
oixeoTnTas éyévoyto: Ta yap wAciota Kaicapz
kal Xntiov. cuveEnpapte Kndeotais ovow
"Aynatraos 5é Ydhodpiav pev éd ols ’AOnvatous
noiknoey amoQaveiy odeiiovta TO Tov TraLdos
Epwrt yapiCouevos cEnprrace, PorBida 5é @nBaious
1 abrov bracketed by Sintenis*.

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COMPARISON OF AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

COMPARISON OF AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

I. Now that their lives lie spread before us, let us briefly run over the points in which the two men differed, and bring these together side by side. They are as follows. In the first place, it was in the justest manner that Pompey came to fame and power, setting out on his career independently, and rendering

many great services to Sulla when Sulla was freeing Italy from her tyrants; Agesilaiis, on the contrary, appeared to get his kingdom by sinning against both gods and men, since he brought Leoty- chides under condemnation for bastardy, although his brother had recognised him as his legitimate son, and made light of the oracle concerning his lameness. In the second place, Pompey not only continued to hold Sulla in honour while he lived, but also after his death gave his body funeral obsequies in despite of Lepidus, and bestowed upon his son Faustus his own daughter in marriage; whereas Agesilaiis cast out Lysander on the merest pretext, and heaped insult upon him. And yet Sulla got no less from Pompey than he gave him, while in the case of Agesilaiis, it was Lysander who made him king of Sparta and general of all Greece. And, thirdly, Pompey's transgressions of right and justice in his political life were due to his family connections, for he joined in most of the wrongdoings of Caesar and Scipio because they were his relations by marriage ; but Agesilaiis snatched Sphodrias from the death which hung over him for wronging the Athenians, merely to gratify the love of his son, and when Phoe- bidas treacherously broke the peace with Thebes, he

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

jTapactovonaavtTs SHros Hy Ot' avTo TO adixknpa
mpoOvpws BonOav. xaborov dé dca 'Pwpaious
50 aidé Tlopmriios 4 ayvotav aitiav oye BAdYat,
Tavita Oupoe xatl gtrovexia Aaxedaipovious
'Aynotiraos EBXave tov Borwtioy éxxavoas Trone-
pov.
II. Ei 8€ cal royny tia tev avdpov éxatépov
Tois oddApact TpocotoTéov, avéATicTOS MeV 7
Ilopmniov "Pwpaios, "Aynoitaos 8 Aaxedar-
povious axovovtas Kal mpoetddTas ove elace huA-
dfacbar THY YoANY Bacireiav. Kal yap ei pupt-
dks nréyyOn Aewruyidns adrXOTpLos elvat Kal
vo0os, ovx ay nropynoay KEvpurovtidat yvnotov
Kal aptimoba TH Umdptn Bactréa rapacyely, ef
A > 9 / b] , a a 4
un 8 "Aynoidaov érecxotnce TH Xpnou@ Av-
oavopos.
Olov pévro: TH wept TOV TpecdvTwY aTropia

V4 € > , A >
mpocnyayey o 'Aynaidaos laya peta thy év
Aevatpots atuyiav, KeXevoas TOUS VvoMoUS éxeiyny
\ e / 4 b] J LA ,

Thy nuépav Kabevderv, ov yéyovev AXXO cOdiopa
MWONTLKOY, OVO Eyouev TE TOD Ilopmrniov rapa-
4 > \ 9 , 9Q9 > AN > 7

TANHTLOV, AANA TovUvayTiov ovd ols autos éTiPes
vopots weto Seiy éupéverv, TO SdvacOat péya Tots
dirous évderxvupevos. o S€ els avayKny KatacTas
Tov AVaaL TOUS VomoUs él TP G@aaL TOvS TOX-
2 a / / ? / /
Tas, e€edpe Tpotrov © pnte éexeivous Brdrpouct
pnre Oras ov BAadYrwor AvVOHTovTaL. TiPepat dé
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evidently made the crime itself a reason for zealously supporting him. In a word, whatever harm Pompey was accused of bringing upon the Romans out of deference to his friends or through ignorance, Agesilaiis brought as much upon the Lacedaemonians out of obstinacy and resentment when he kindled the Boeotian war.

II. Moreover, if we must assign to any ill-fortune of the two men the disasters which overtook them, that of Pompey could not have been anticipated by the Romans; but Agesilaiis would not permit the Lacedaemonians to guard against the "lame sovereignty," although they had heard and knew beforehand about it. For even if Leotychides had been ten thousand times convicted of being bastard and alien, the family of the Eurypontidae could easily have furnished Sparta with a king who was of legitimate birth and sound of limb, had not Lysander darkened the meaning of the oracle in the interests of Agesilaiis.

On the other hand, when we consider the remedy which Agesilaiis applied to the perplexity of the state in dealing with those who had played the coward, after the disaster at Leuctra, when he urged that the laws should slumber for that day, there was never another political device like it, nor can we find anything in Pompey's career to compare with it; on the contrary, he did not even think it incumbent upon him to abide by the laws which he himself had made, if he might only display the greatness of his power to his friends. But Agesilaiis, when he confronted the necessity of abrogating the laws in order to save his fellow-citizens, devised a way by which the citizens should not be harmed by the laws, nor the laws be abrogated to avoid such

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KaKeivo TO apipntoy Epyov eis TWoNLTLKNY apeTHY

A > 4 \ lA \ 4
tou ‘Aynotddov, To deEduevov thy aoxutTddnv
? a 9 9 la 4 ? lA e
atodtreiy tas év "Acia mpdkes. ov yap, ws
Iloptrnios, ad’ av éaurov étroies péyav were To
KOLWOV, GAAA TO THS TaTpiOos OKOTOY THALKAUTNHY
b A 4 , ey / 9 4
agdje Sivapw cal So€av nrixnv ovdels mporepov
? e ‘ >] 4 ”
ovdé datepov wAnv "AréEavdpos éoxev.
III. Am’ Gddns Toivuy apyis, év tais otparn-
ylats Kal Tots ToAeptxols, apiOu@ pev TpoTraiwy
kal peyéBer Suvduewy as érnydyeto Tloprnios,
kal mrnOet tapatrdeewv as evinnoev, ovd av o
Elevodav por Soxet twapaBanreiv ras “Aynotddou
vixas, © Sia TANNA Kana Kabarep yépas éEaiperov
dé50Tar nal ypadew 5 BovrotTo Kal réyerv Tept
Tov avdpos. olpat dé nal TH Tpos Tos TroAEmI-
> 4 4 \ ¥ nA > / e
ous émecela Siadépety tov avdpa tov avdpds. o
Hév yap avdparodicacba @nBas cal Meconvnv
9 4 / \ e Ul A
éEouxtcacBar Bovropevos, vy pev omoxAnpov THs
Tatpioos, fv dé pntpotoA Tov yévous, Tap
ovdev HAGE THY Lardprnv amoBanelv, atréBare 5é
Thy Hyepwoviav o 8 Kal TeV TeLpaTav Tois peTa-
Baropévois roves edaxe, cal Tiypavnv tov
9 / , / 399 @¢ a
Appeviwy Bacidéa yevopevoy ep éavt@ Optap-
Betoat cvppaxov éeroincato, djcas ypépas mas
alava TpoTLav.
Ei pévrot tots peyiotos Kal Kxuptwrarots ets
Ta OTA Tpadypace Kal Aoyiopols mpooTiMeTat
Tpwretoy apethas avdpos Hryepovos, ov puxpov oO
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COMPARISON OF AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

harm. Further, I attribute also to political virtue
in Agesilaiis that inimitable act of his in abandon-
ing his career in Asia on receipt of the dispatch-
roll. For he did not, like Pompey, help the com-
monwealth only as he made himself great, but with

an eye to the welfare of his country he renounced
such great fame and power as no man won before or
since his day, except Alexander.
III. And now from another point of view, that of their campaigns and achievements in war, the trophies of Pompey were so many, the forces led by him so vast, and the pitched battles in which he was victorious so innumerable, that not even Xenophon, I think, would compare the victories of Agesilaus, although that historian, by reason of his other ex- cellent qualities, is specially privileged, as it were, to say and write whatever he pleases about the man. I think also that in merciful behaviour towards their enemies the two men were different. For Agesilaiis was so bent on enslaving Thebes and depopulating Messenia, Thebes the mother-city of his royal line, and Messenia a sister colony to his country,! that he nearly lost Sparta, and did lose her supremacy in Greece ; whereas Pompey gave cities to such of the pirates as changed their mode of life, and when it was in his power to. lead Tigranes the king of Armenia in his triumphal procession, made him an ally instead, saying that he thought more of future time than of a single day.

If, however, it is the greatest and most far-reach- ing decisions and acts in war that are to determine preéminence in the virtues of leadership, then the

1 Thebes was the birth-place of Heracles, from whom the

eee kings were supposed to be descended; and Messenia, like Sparta, was settled by the Heracleidae.

Adxov tov ‘Pwpaiov aoréXorTe. TWp@Tov peév
yap ov mponkato THy Todt ovd éFéXLTEV Extra
pupidot oTpatov TeV ToAEwiov éuBadrovTwr,
9% / wv ¢ / \ / >
OAiyous ExXwV omAiTas Kal TpovEevtKNMEvVOUS EV
Aevxrpos: Tlopumrgios bé, revtaxioytriors povots
, , / U >
kal tptakocios piav Kaicapos modw ‘“ItadXu-
Knv KataraBovtos, é&érece ts “Pwuns ot7r0
déous, 7) TocovTos el~as ayevvas 7) Tdréiovas
Wrevdas eixdcas: xal cuoKxevacdpevos Ta Téxva
N a e A \ aA v
kal Tnv yuvaica attod, tas Sé Tav ad\NOV
a > 7s 9 \ ” dé aA a
TOALTGV EPNLOUS aTrOALTI@OY Epuye, O€oV 7 KpaTELy
a“ /

paxopevoy brép THS watpidos H SéyecOat S.a-
AVGELS Tapa TOU KpEiTTOVOS Hv yap ToALTHS Kal
a A , a
oixeios: viv bé @ oTpaTnyias Ypovoy émipeTpnaar
€ / / \ e a /
kal vrateiav Wndicacbar Sewor iryeito, TovTe
/ / a
mapéaye AaBovre tiv ToL elteivy pos MéteA-
Nov STL KaKElVvOY aixparwTov avTod vopiter Kal
Tous dAXous arraytas.
IV.“O roivuv épyov éotly ayabod otpatnyod
peadcta, Kpeitrova pev dvta Bidcacbat Tovs
,
moNeuious paxecOat, AevTOpevoy Oé Suvduer py
a nn a) > / oN ,
BtacOijvat, tovro motmv Aynoinaos ae duedv-
Aakev éavrov avixntov’ Tlopmniov 5é¢ Kaicap, od
pev Hv éeddtrrov, Suépuye un BraBjvat, cabo &e
/ A a
KpeiTT@V Hv, nvayKacey aywvicdpevoy TO Tel@
mepl ravTav spadivat, cal Kvptos evOds Fv ypn-
, b] la) N 4 e ? * /
patov Kal ayopas cal Oaratrns, bd ov dueré-
TpaxTo ay avev payns éxeivots Tpocovtay. To 8
vmrép TOVTWY ATOACYHnpPA péeyLoTOY éoTLY eyKANLA

Lacedaemonian leaves the Roman far behind. For, in the first place, he did not desert nor abandon his city, though the enemy attacked it with an army of seventy thousand men, while he had only a few men-at-arms, and these had recently been vanquished at Leuctra ; but Pompey, after Caesar had occupied a single city of Italy with only fifty-three hundred men, hurried away from Rome in a panic, either yielding ignobly to so few, or conjecturing falsely that there were more; and after conveying away with him his own wife and children, he left those of the other citizens defenceless and took to flight, when he ought either to have conquered in a battle for his country, or to have accepted terms from his conqueror, who was a fellow-citizen and a relation by marriage. But as it was, to the man for whom he thought it a terrible thing to prolong a term of military command or vote a consulship, to this man he gave the power of capturing the city and saying to Metellus that he considered him and all the rest of the citizens as his prisoners of war.

IV. Furthermore, the chief task of a good general is to force his enemies to give battle when he is superior to them, but not to be forced himself to do this when his forces are inferior, and by so doing Agesilaiis always kept himself unconquered ; whereas in Pompey’s case, Caesar escaped injury at his hands when he was inferior to him, and forced him to stake the whole issue on a battle with his land forces, wherein Caesar was superior, thus defeating him and becoming at once master of treasures, pro- visions, and the

sea,—advantages which would have brought his ruin without a battle had they remained in his enemy's control. And that which is urged as an excuse for this failure is really a very severe

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OTpaTNyoU THALKOUTOV. véov eV yap dpxovra
OopvBos cai kataBoncecty ets padraxiay cat de-
Map emitapayOévTa TOY aadharecTaTwnv éExTreceEty
Aoyiopav eixos éott Kal cuyyvwortor Topmrniov
5¢ Madyvov, ob 'Pwpaiot tO ev otpatotedov
matpioa, cvyxAntov &€ THY oKnVNnY, aTrooTaTas
5é «al mpoddras tovs év 'Padun trodtTevopméevous
kal otpatnyoovtas Kal vmatevovtas éxdXour,
apxopevov dé bn' ovdevds eyvwoav, maaas Sé
QUTOKpaTOpa oTpaTEevodmEvoy ApiaTa TAS oTpAaT-
elas, Tis Av avacxoto Tois Pawviov cxapmpact
kat Aopertiov, cal va py 'Ayapéuvov AéynTat,
map édaxiorov éxBracbévra Tov Tepl THs HryepLov-
tas xal édevOepias avappipar xivdvvov; ds &
povoy éoxoTre: TO Trap pmépay Adokov, wpeirev
avrictas év apy StaywvicacOar tept Tihs 'Pa-
BNS, GAA py THY huynv exelyny atodaivev
oTpaTnynua BepotoxrAeov torepov év ataxp@
tiBecBat Thy ev Bertadia mpo payns dratpeByv.
ov yap éxeivo ye ortadiov avtois Kal Oéatpov
évaywvicacbar tepl THs Hryepovias 0 Oeos arré-
dake TO Dapadrov wediov, ovd5é b7rd KNpuKOS
éxaneitro payecOar Katiwv 4 deTrety érép@ Tov
otTépavoy, dAAQ TOAAA pev tedia pupias Se To-
Nels Kal yhv atAeTov 9 Kata OdraTTaY evTrOpia
mapécye PBovronévm ptpetoOac Mdéipoyv rat
Maptov cal Aeveorrov cat avdtrov 'Aynoidaon,
Os ovK éAdTTOvas pev ev Yardptn GopvBous b1ré-
peeve BovrAopévwy @nBaiors brrép THs Yopas pd-
xeoOa, rodras & év Aiyumr@ d:aBoras ral KaTn-
yoptas Kal wrovoias tov Bacthéws Hveyxev jaov-
Xiav aye Kerevwov, Ypnoauevos 6 Tois dpiarous
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COMPARISON OF AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

accusation against a general like him. For that a youthful commander should be frightened by tumults and outcries into cowardly weakness and abandon his safest plans, is natural and pardonable; but that Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and his tent their senate, while they gave the name of traitors and rebels to the consuls and praetors and other magistrates at Rome,—that he who was known to be under no one's command, but to have served all his campaigns most success- fully as imperator, should be almost forced by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and by the fear of being called Agamemnon, to put to the hazard the supremacy and freedom of Rome, who could tolerate this? If he had regard only for the immediate infamy involved, then he ought to have made a stand at the first and to have fought to its finish the fight for Rome, instead of calling the flight which he then made a Themistoclean stratagem and after- wards counting it a disgraceful thing to delay before fighting in Thessaly. For surely Heaven had not appointed that Pharsalian plain to be the stadium and theatre of their struggle for the supremacy, nor was he summoned by voice of herald to go down thither and do battle or leave to another the victor's wreath ; nay, there were many plains, ten thousand cities, and a whole earth which his great resources by sea afforded him had he wished to imitate Maximus, or Marius, or Lucullus, or Agesilaiis him- self, who withstood no less tumults in Sparta when its citizens wished to fight with the Thebans in de- fence of their land, and in Egypt endured many calumnies and accusations and suspicions on the part of the king when he urged him to keep quiet; but he followed his own best counsels as he wished, and

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PLUTARCRH'S LIVES

6 as éBovrAeTO RAoyiopois, ov povoy AiyuTrTious
dxovras éowaev, ovde THY Yrdptnv év TocovtT@
cEeLoU@ povos opOay det Stepvrakev, aAdAA Kal
/ ” / 9 a , \
Tpomatov éotnoe Kata OnBaiwv év TH rode, TO
viknoat Tapacyev avOis é« tod TOTE un TpoaT-
orécGar Biacapéevovs. dev 'Aynaoiraos pév vd
tov BiacBéevtwv totepov éerynvetro cwlévtor,
Tlopmnios 5¢ 80 &AXOus Guaptav, avTovs ols éret-
7 o0n Katnyopous elye. Kxaitor pact tives ws b7rd
Tod mevOepod XKntiwvos éEnmaryOn: ta yap
TrEloTa TOV Xpnudtrov ov éxoulev eE 'Acias
Ul > A / 3 4
BovAopuevov adrov vocdicacba: Kat atoxpuavra
KaTemelear THY payXnY, ws OUKETL YpNLaTOD
dvrwv. 6 Kav adnOes hv, Trabeiv ovK w@detrev o
s b) € / 4 \
atpatnyos, ovdé pabdiws ottw mapadoyicbels
atroxwévuvedoat Tept TOY peyiotwv. év pev ovv
TOUVTOLS OUTMWS EXaTEpoY aTroHEwpodpeD.
V. Eis A'yutrrov & o peéev é& avdyxns émrdevoe

4 € w a 4 bd / ?
gevywv, o € ovTE Kas OUTE avayKaiws éml
4 A A
XpHnuaciw, dws &yn Tois "EXXnot TodEpeiv ad’
e “A
av toils BapBdapos éotpatnynoev. ecita a Sid
Tlopwniov Aiyurriou éycarodpev, tadta Airyv-
a > 7 e
TTLot KaTnyopovoty ‘“AynowNdov. oO pev yap
? / 4 e \ \ > }
nOLKNON mictevoas, o bé miaTtevOels éyxaTéntTTE
Kal perTéaTn Wpos TOUS TroAEwoUVTAS ols erAEUCcE
TULMAYNTOV.

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COMPARISON OF AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

not only saved the Egyptians against their wills, and by his sole efforts ever kept Sparta upright in the midst of so great a convulsion, but actually set up a trophy in the city for a victory over the Thebans, which victory he put his countrymen in the way of winning later, by keeping them then from the destruction into which they would have forced their way. Wherefore Agesilaiis was afterwards commended by those whom he had forced to take the path of safety, while Pompey, whom others had led into error, found accusers in the very ones to whom he had yielded. And yet some say that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who wished to appropriate to his own uses the greater part of the treasure which he had brought from Asia, and there- fore hid it away, and then hastened on the battle, on the plea that there was no longer any money. But even if this were true,.a general ought not to suffer himself to be so easily deceived, nor after- wards to put his greatest interests at hazard. In these matters, then, such is the way in which we regard each of the men.

V. And as to their voyages to Egypt, one went thither of necessity and in flight; the other for no honourable reason, nor of necessity, but for money, that what he got for serving the Barbarians as commander might enable him to make war upon the Greeks. Then again, as to the charges which we bring against the Egyptians for their treatment of Pompey, these the Egyptians lay at the door of Agesilaiis for his treatment of them. For Pompey trusted them and was wronged by them; while Agesilaiis was trusted by them and yet forsook them and went over to the enemies of those whom he had sailed to assist.
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PELOPIDAS

IIEAOTTTAA

I. Kdtwv o mpecButepos mpos twas étratvodv-
tas avOpwrov droyiotws tapdBoXov Kal Tod-
pnpov ev Tots TrodEutKots Stadépey py TO TOANOD
Tiva Thy apeTny akiav Kal TO UH TOAXOD AELov TO
Cav vopilerv: opOas arropatyvopevos. o yovv Tap
"Avtiyov@ otpatevopevos itamos, havAos Sé THY
EEw nai To owpa SdtepOopes, épopévov tod Baat-
NEWS THV ALTiaY Tis WYPOTNTOS @poAroynaé TWA
yooov Tov atroppytwy émet d5é diroripnOels o
Baownrevs rpocérake tois iatpois, éav tis 4 Bon-
Gera, pndev édXALTELY THs axpas émipereias, O}Tw
GepatrevOels 0 yevvatos exeivos ovxér' Hv pidroxiv-
Suvos ovbé paysatos ev Tols dy@oww, WoTE Kal TOY
"Avtiyovov éyxanrew xal Oavydtew tHv peta-
Bornv. ov pny 6 avOpwmos amexpipato To
aitiov, adr eltrev? "QO Bactred, ov pe tetroin-
Kas aTOAMOTEpOY, aTTadAdEas ExelywY TOV KAKOY
dc & tod Chv @Aty@pouv." ampods TovTO Sé dai-
veTat Kal LuRapityns avyp eimreivy wept tev Yrap-
TLAT@V @S Ov péya Trotovat DavaTavTes év ToIS
TONE LOLS vmrép Tov TocoUTOUS TrovoUs Kal TOLAUTHY
aroduyeiv Siarrav. add\a YuBapitas pev éx-
TeTNKOGLY LITO TpUdHS Kal paraxtas bia THY Tpds
TO KAaXOV Oppny Kal diroTLLiaY ELKOTWS EdaivoyTo
picely tov Biov ot pn hoBovpevoe tov Oavaror,
Aaxedatpoviows $8 Kat Civ ndéws kal OvnoKerv
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PELOPIDAS

I. Caro THE Etper, when certain persons praised a man who was inconsiderately rash and daring in war, told them there was a difference between a man's setting a high value on valour and his setting a low value on life; and his remark was just. At any rate, there was a soldier of Antigonus who was venturesome, but had miserable health and an impaired body. When the king asked him the reason for his pallor, the man admitted that it was a secret disease, whereupon the king took compassion on him and

ordered his physicians, if there was any help for him, to employ their utmost skill and care. Thus the man was cured ; but then the good fellow ceased to court danger and was no longer a furious fighter, so that even Antigonus rebuked him and expressed his wonder at the change. The man, however, made no secret of the reason, but said: *O King, it is thou who hast made me less daring, by freeing me from those ills which made me set little value on life." On these grounds, too, as it _would seem, a man of Sybaris said it was no great thing for the Spartans to seek death in the wars in order to escape so many hardships and such a wretched life as theirs. But to the Sybarites, who were dissolved in effeminate luxury, men whom ambition and an eager quest of honour led to have no fear of death naturally seemed to hate life ; whereas the virtues of the Lacedaemonians gave them

auporepa apern Tapeiyer, Os dndot TO éemiKy-
Secov' ode yap dynow EOavov!
ov TO ony Bépevor KaXov oveeé TO Ovijoxery,
"AAA 76 TadTA KANDS apdoTep exTEdécat.
ovTE yep guy Javarou peuT TOD, ap opéyntat TUS
Tov Riou ri) aiaxpas, ovUTE UTomovn Kadov, Eb
per' druyeopias yivotto tov Chv. dOev " 'Opnpos
pev aed TOUS Japparewt drous Kal PaxLwwrarous
dySpas ev kal Karas OTL MEVvOUS eEdryeu Tpos
Tous ayavas, ot dé TaV 'EAAjvev vopod eras Tov
pipaonw Korabovaty, ov TOV Sidos oveé hoyyxny
T POE MEVOV, biBdoxovres 6 OTe Tov bn trabeiy KAKOS
7 poTepov 7 ToD Tovhaae TOUS Troheuious éxdore
peerewy T poonKel, padicta 86 apyovTt ToAEwS 7
oT PATEDUATOS.
Il. Ei yap, os 'Tpexparas Senpet, Xepat bev
éoixacty ot prot, moat dé TO immKor, avTn 5é 7
pararyt orépvyp kal Owpaxt, Keparn dé 0 otparn-
ros, ovx avrob bofevev av arroxivouvevov Tapa-
penely Kal Opacvvopevos, ann' am dvTa, ols 7
cwTnpla yiverat de avrob Kal TovvaYTioV. d6ev
O _Kar\uxparisas, Kalrep @y Tada péyas, OUK
e) pos Toy paytiv ele' Seopévov yap autov
purdrrecGar Oavarov, as TOY lepG@y Tpodndouy-
TOD, ébn TT) Tap éva elvat TaV Ltraprav. paxo-
pevos yap els Hv Kal wrAéwv Kal TT PATEVOMEVOS O
Kadvixparioas, oTpaTyyav bé THY amayrov elye
sud aBov év avT@ Stvapiv, @aTe ovK Hv els d
rocatta cuvav@ddvTo. Bédtiov Se "Avtiryovos 0
1 Of Odvov ob rd (Hv KrA., attributed to Simonides (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii.' p. 516).

happiness alike in living or dying, as the following
elegy testifies: These, it says, died,
“ not deeming either life or death honourable in
themselves,
But only the accomplishment of them both with
honour.”’
For neither is a man to be blamed for shunning death, if he does not cling to life disgracefully, nor to be praised for boldly meeting death, if he does this with contempt of life. For this reason Homer always brings his boldest and most valiant heroes into battle well armed and equipped ; and the Greek lawgivers punish him who casts away his shield, not him who throws down his sword or spear, thus teach- ing that his own defence from harm, rather than the infliction of harm upon the enemy, should be every man’s first care, and particularly if he governs a city or commands an army.

II. For if, as Iphicrates analyzed the matter, the light-armed troops are like the hands, the cavalry like the feet, the line of men-at-arms itself like chest and breastplate, and the general like the head, then he, in taking undue risks and being over bold, would seem to neglect not himself, but all, inasmuch as their safety depends on him, and their destruction too. Therefore Callicratidas, although otherwise he was a great man, did not make a good answer to the seer who begged him to be careful, since the sacri- ficial omens foretold his death ; “Sparta,” said he, “does not depend upon one man.” For when fight- ing, or sailing, or marching under orders, Callicratidas was “one man”; but as general, he comprised in himself the strength and power of all, so that he was not “one man,” when such numbers perished with him. Better was the speech of old Antigonus

Yépan, bt vaupaxely qept “Avdpov emedrep, él-
TOvTOS TLVOS @S TOA eLous at TOY ToAEuLoV
vhes elev, “ "Eye dé avrov,” eon, “ Tpos mooas
GVTLTTH ELS ; a peya TO THis apxis, BaTeEp erry,
afiwpa Tomy pera éwrretpias Kal aperijs TaTTO-
pevo, 7S ™ p@Tov épyov éotl cater Tov aTravrTa
Tad\Aa awlovta. 510 KaXdas oO Tipodeos, émet-
KVUUEVOU Tore TOUS PAGnvaiors TOU Xadpyros wret-
Aas Tivas év TO capware cal THY domida rNOYKN
Sraxexonperny, “’Eyo 66,” elmev, “as Mav
nox ove ny 5Tt pou ae kiasnoontbs Sins éryryus
émrece fédos, @S petpaxtwdéaTepov euauT@ @-
pevos 7) KaTa oT paTNyOV | Kal myepova Surdpeas
TocaUTNS. Strouv pev yap es Ta Ska peyarny

péper pornv o Tov oTpaTnyou KivOvvos, évradda
Kal yerpl Kal oapart XpnoTéov apedars, Xaipew
ppacavta TOUS Aéyovow as xen TOV ayabov
oTparnyov pddiara bev wUTr0 YNPwS, et Oé I,
yépovTa vnc Kew: Strov 6é pixpov TO Tepuytvo-
pevoy €x TOU KaToplapuaros, TO is Twav oUvaTron-
AUTaL apanévros, ovdets aTratTel TTpAaTOTov
mpakw xivdvv@ tparromevny otparnyoo.
Tabdra dé pot TaperTn Tpoavapwvijcar rypa-
porte tov Iledomidou Biov kal TOV Mapxénnov,
peyddov avopov Tapadoyws TETOVTOV. Kal yap
xetpt xphoOae PAXLWaTaror ‘Yevopuevot, Kal oTpa-
THYyiaLs emupavertarats Koo pnoavTes apporepot
Tas mat pibas, ére 5¢ TOV Baputarwv avTaryove-
oTav o pev ’AvviBav GHTTATOY | évTa TPATOS, WS
NéyeTal, TpeYauEvos, 0 0 O€ ys Kal Barairrns a dpxov-
Tas Aaxedarpovious é éx Tapatakews ViKTTaS, npet-
dnoay € éavTav, auv ovdevi oyo uP T POE HWEVOL Tov
Biov omnvixa pddtoTta ToLoUTwWY KaLpos Hv avdpav
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PELOPIDAS

as he was about to fight a sea-fight off Andros, and someone told him that the enemy’s ships were far more numerous than his: “ But what of myself,” said he, “ how many ships wilt thou count me?” implying that the worth of the commander is a great thing, as it is in fact, when allied with experience and valour, and his first duty is to save the one who saves everything else. Therefore Timotheus was right, when Chares was once showing the Athenians some wounds he had received, and his shield pierced by a spear, in saying: “ But I, how greatly ashamed I was, at the siege of Samos, because a bolt fell near me; I thought I was behaving more like an im- petuous youth than like a general in command of so large a force.” For where the whole issue is greatly furthered by the general’s exposing himself to danger, there he must employ hand and body unsparingly, ignoring those who say that a good general should die, if not of old age, at least in old age; but where the advantage to be derived from his success is small, and the whole cause perishes with him if he fails, no one demands that a general should risk his life in fighting like a common soldier.

Such is the preface I have thought fit to make for the Lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, great men who rashly fell in battle. For both were most valiant fighters, did honour to their countries in most illus- trious campaigns, and what is more, had the most formidable adversaries, one being the first, as we are told,to rout Hannibal, who was before invincible, the other conquering in a pitched battle the Lace- daemonians, who were supreme on land and sea; and yet they were careless of their own lives, and reck- lessly threw them away at times when it was most important that such men should live and _ hold

owlomeveov Kat dpyovTov. Sso7rep nets Em Opevot
Tats opoLornar TAaPAAAHAOUS aveyparvapev AVTOYV
tous Bious.
III. Tedorida TO ‘IarmoxXou yévos pev Fv ev-
Soxtpov € év @7Bats domep "Errapevdvdeg, Tpagels
dé é ev ovaig peyary Kal maparaBov é ETL véos Aap-
7 pov olxov Gpynce TOY Seopevev TOUS afious Bon-
Getv, ii iva KUpLOS arnbas paivorro Xpnpatov yeryo-
YOS, GAA pL?) Soddos. TOY yap TOMO, OS
"Aptororévns ono, ot fev ov XPOvrTar TH TOU-
Tw Sia puKporoyiay, ot be TapaypavTa ou aca-
Tlay, Kal SovAevovtes ovTos pev ael tais jdovais,
éxeivot 6é tals doxodtass, Statedobow. ot pep
ovv aNdow TO Iledomida ydpw éxovtes éypavto
Th 1 pos QUTOUS erevDepiornrs cal pray poria,
povoy Se Tav pidwy Tov ‘Erapewovbay ovK émevle
Tov ToUTOU peTarapBavery avros pévrot peT-
exe Tips éxeivou TEevias, ea Ojos adeneia Kal
Tpametns MeroTyTe Kal T@ WPOS TOUS TOVOUS aonvep
Kal Kara oTpatelas adore Kadrhomelopevos, ao-
TEp O 9 Evpiridou Karavevs, } @ “Bios peev my TOUS,
nxiota Oé OL 6d Bov yadpos my," aloXUvopevos ei
dhaveitar wreloce XPOpEVvOS eis TO COpA TOU TA
eMayrora Kextnpevou OnBaiov. "Errapewavdas
per ouv auvnOn Kat TATPPAV ovoav avTe Thy
meviay éTt pmadXov ebfwvov Kal Koipov erroing€
dirocogav Kal poveTpoTrov Biov an apxiis édo-
pevos: Iledomrida Sé mv pev ya Los apr pos, érye-
vovto 8¢ nal maides, GAN obdev HT TOV apedev TOU
xpnpariverbar Kal axXoratoy Th Tod Tov atrav-
Ta xpovov nraTTWOGE THY ovciav. TOV be pirav
vovGetovvTwy Kal NeyOVTWY WS avayKaiov Tpa-

command. These are the resemblances between them which have led me to write their lives in parallel.
III. Pelopidas the son of Hippoclus was of a highly honourable family in Thebes, as was Epamin- ondas, and having been reared in affluence, and having inherited in youth a splendid estate, he devoted himself to the assistance of worthy men who needed it, that he might be seen to be really master of his wealth, and not its slave. For most wealthy men, as Aristotle says,! either make no use of their wealth through avarice,

or abuse it through prodigality, and so they are forever slaves, these to their pleasures, those to their business. The rest, accordingly, thankfully profited by the kind- ness and liberality of Pelopidas towards them ; but Epaminondas was the only one of his friends whom he could not persuade to share his wealth. Pelopidas, however, shared the poverty of this friend, and gloried in modest attire, meagre diet, readiness to undergo hardships, and straightforward service as a soldier. Like the Capaneus of Euripides, he " had abundant wealth, but riches did not make him arrogant at all,?"' and he was ashamed to let men think that he spent more upon his person than the poorest Theban. Now Epaminondas, whose poverty was hereditary and familiar, made it still more light and easy by philosophy, and by electing at the out- set to lead a single life ; Pelopidas, on the contrary, made a brilliant marriage, and had children too, but nevertheless he neglected his private interests to devote his whole time to the state, and so lessened his substance. And when his friends admonished him and told him that the possession of money, which

1 Fragment 56 (Rose) ; cf. Morals, p. 527 a.
2 Suppliccs, 863 f. (Kirchhoff, fxsora 8' LABe).
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

yuaTos oAvywpel, TOD ypnuata éxew, "'Avay-
4 lA 33
xaiov, vn Aia, Nixodnuw tovte@, én, detEas tia
‘ /
YoXov Kat Tupdov.
IV. "Hoav 6€ kal mpos wacay dpetny tredv-
¢€ la) a
KOTES Ofolws, TANY StL TO yupvalerOar paddov
éyatpe IleXorridas, TO 5é pavOdvey 'Erapevor-
das, cal Tas diatpiBas ev TH oXOAALELY o ev Tepl
TadalotTpas Kat Kuynyéowa, o S€ axovoy tt Kal
dirocopav émoeito. tmod\X\ov 5€ Kal Kadov
vTapxovTwv audotéposs mpos Sdkav, ovdey of voov
ExovTes NYyOUVTAL THALKODTOV HALKOY THY d1a TOO-
ovUToY ayoveyv Kal otpaTnyiav Kal TrodTELOV
aveEéXeyx Toy evvotay Kal didiav an' apxiis pexpe
TéXous éupeivacav. et yap Tis amoBAeas THY
9
Aptoteidov xal @eusotonréouvs cal Kipwvos nat
'
Ilepexréous xal Nexiov cat' ArxtBeadou rovuteiar,
Sowv yéeyove peotn Stadhopav Kxal POdvorv Kat
CnNoTUTLa@Y pos. GAANAOUS, oKEYpaLTO TaALY THY
IleXoridov mpos "Errapevoviay evpéverav Kal
TLuLHnv, TovToUs av opOas Kal Sixaiws Tpocayo-

pevoee ouvapyovTas Kal cvaTpaTHyoOUS 7 ExEiVvoUS,
Oa) A > U A “A / ? a
ol #adXAOV AAANAWY H TOV TOAELLWOY aywviCopeEvot
a / > / \ » \ \ e
mwepteivas SueténXeoav. aitia dé adnOwwy pev Hv 7
b la > b) , b) ce) > \ A
apetn, ds nv ov dofav, ov mrovTOY amo TOaY
4 7 ¢
mpakewy peTtiovTes, ols 0 yaXretros Kal dvcepis
bd 4 , bJ > a > > > A
éupverat POovos, adr Epwra Oeiov an’ apyxis
, le)
épacbévres aupotepot Tov THY TaTtpida NapTpo-
TaTny Kal peyioTny éd éavtav ideiv yevouéevny,
@otrep idiots él todTo Tols abTav éxpavTo
KaTop0opmacuy.
Ov pv adn ob ye ONKOL vouitouvaey avTots THV
/ > \ e. b / A
opodpay didiav amo ths év Mavtiveia yevéobat
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he scorned, was a necessary thing, “ Yes indeed,”
he said, “ necessary for this Nicodemus here,’ point-
ing to a man who was lame and blind.
IV. They were also fitted by nature for the pursuit of every excellence, and in like measure, ex- cept that Pelopidas delighted more in exercising the body, Epaminondas in storing the mind, so that the one devoted his leisure hours to bodily exercise and hunting, the other to lectures and philosophy. Both had many claims upon the world’s esteem, but wise men consider none of these so great as the un- questioned good will and friendship which subsisted between them from first to last through al] their struggles and campaigns and civil services. For if one regards the political careers of Themistocles and Aristides, or of Cimon and Pericles, or of Nicias and Alcibiades, which were so full of mutual dissensions, envyings, and jealousies, and then turns his eyes upon the honour and kindly favour which Pelo- pidas showed Epaminondas, he will rightly and justly call these men colleagues in government and command rather than those, who ever strove to get the better of one another rather than of the enemy. And the true reason for the superiority of the The- bans was their virtue, which led them not to aim in their actions at glory or wealth, which are naturally attended by bitter envying and strife; on the con- trary, they were both filled from the beginning with a divine desire to see their country become most powerful and glorious in their day and by their efforts, and to this end they treated one another's successes as their own.

However, most people think that their ardent
friendship dated from the campaign at Mantineia,}
1 In 418 B.c., when Athens gave assistance to Argos, Elis, and Mantineia against Sparta. See the Alcibiades, xv. 1.

oTpareias, ny TUvETTpATEVTAYTO Aaxedatpoviors,
ere gidors Kal cuupdxors ovat, meupbeions éK
OnBav BonGeias. TETAY EVOL yap év Tots omALTaLs
per’ GAA OV Kal Pax opevor pos TOUS "Apxdoas,
OS evedwxe TO Kar QaUTOUS Kepas TOV Aaxedat-
poviwy Kal (TpoT TOV TONAQV eyeryovet, cuvacri-
OAVTES jpvvavro TOUS emupepopevous. kal IleXo-
Tidas pev émra, TpavpaTa AaBov é évavtia ToNXols
emia TEppun VEKPOLS opod pirozs Kal ToAEpLoLs,
‘Errapewvovdas 8é, KalTrep aBiwTas exe avTov
TYOUMEVOS, imrép Tob c@patos Kal TOV Stroy
earn T poe kal Srexivdvvevoe 7 pos TOAXNOUS
povos, eyvoKOS aro0avety pardov vr TleXomtdav
amrohutretv kelpevov. 780 b¢ Kal tovTov KAKBS
éXovros, Kal AoyXN pev eis To aT HO0s, Eider Se els
TOV Bpaxiova TET PWMEVOU, m poo eBonOnoer amo
Oatépov Képws ‘Aqnaimodus i) Baotrevs TOY
Lmapriar ay, kal qepteTroinoey aveATiaTwS av-
TOUS apporép ous.
V. Mera be TavTa TOY LraptiaTav Aoy~ pev
@S pirous Kal TUppayous TpoaPEpopevoy | Tots
OnBaioss, épy@ Sé 76 ppovnpa THS TOhEWs Kab TH
Svvapey Upopwpeven, Kal partota Thy lopnviov
Kal ‘Av8poxdetdou pc oUvT MV erarpelar, Hs peret-
xev) JHerorisas, prrerevdepov a aa, Kat Snuott-
Kn elvat Soxovcay, ‘Apxias cai Aeovtidas Kal
Didirmos, avdpes oduyapyexol Kal mdrovatot Kal
péT ptov oudey ppovoovres, avatre\Oovot PorBidav
tov Aadxwva pera oT paras Statropevdpevov éFai-
puns kaTaraBeiy Thv Kadyelav Kal TOUS vmevav-
TLOUMEVOUS avtois éxBaXovta mpos TO Aaxedau-
poviwy UTNKOOV appocacbar be obey THY ToN-
telav. meaOévtos & éxeivou nal wn mpoadoxaat
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where they fought on the side of the Lacedaemonians,

who were still their friends and allies, and who received assistance from Thebes. For they stood side by side among the men-at-arms and fought against the Arcadians, and when the Lacedaemonian wing to which they belonged gave way and was routed for the most part, they locked their shields together and repelled their assailants. Pelopidas, after receiving seven wounds in front, sank down upon a great heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together ; but Epaminondas, although he thought him lifeless, stood forth to defend his body and his arms, and fought desperately, single-handed against many, determined to die rather than leave Pelopidas lying there. And now he too was in a sorry plight, having been wounded in the breast with a spear and in the arm with a sword, when Agesipolis the Spartan king came to his aid from the ae wing, and when all hope was lost, saved them both.

V. After this the Spartans ostensibly treated the Thebans as friends and allies, but they really looked with suspicion on the ambitious spirit and the power of the city, and above all they hated the party of Ismenias and Androcleides, to which Pelopidas be- longed, and which was thought to be friendly to freedom and a popular form of government. There- fore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, men of the oligarchical faction who were rich and immoderately ambitious, sought to persuade Phoebidas the Spartan, as he was marching past with an army, to take the Cadmeia by surprise, expel from the city the party opposed to them, and bring the government into subserviency to the Lacedaemonians by putting it in the hands of a few men. Phoebidas yielded to their

tots @nBaiow éewiepévov Oecpodopiwy svrwyr, Kal THS axpas xuptevoavTos, Iopnvias pév ovvap- macbels Kat xouicOeis eis Aaxedaipova pet' ov Tov xpovoy avnpéOn, eroridas 5€é kal Depé- vixos Kal Avdpoxrctdas peTa ovyvav adrwv pev- yovtes éEexnpvxyOnoav, Emapewaovdas 8 xara Yopav éueve TO xatadpovnOjvar dia pev didro- codiayv ws ampaypwv, Sia 5é rreviav as advvatos.

VI. 'Evrel 5¢ Aaxedarpovior PorBidav pev adei- NovTo THS apyns Kal Séxa Spaxypov pupiaow 9 , ' \ , 01 ° a étnpiwcav, THv 6€ Kadpeiav ovdev AttTov ppovpa KaTésXOV, Of pev aArOL Travres" EAAnvEes EOavpa-

Cov THv atoriay, et Tov pev rpdkavra Koralovot,
Thy dé wmpakiw Soxuudlovar, tots 6¢ @nBaious rHv
matptov atoBeBAnKoot ToMTELav Kal KaTadedov-
AwpEévols UTE TOV mept “Apyiav cat Acovtiday
ove EXtTrigal TEpinY aTradraynV TVA THS TUpav-
vidos, iy éwpwov TH Yraptiarav Sopupopovpéevyny
nyemovia Kal KatadvOjvar pn Suvapévny, eb pn
TiS apa Tavoee KaKeivovs ys Kal Oararrys
bi >] N > > e \ 4
apxYovTas. ov uny ard’ oi trept Aeovtiday muvOa-
, \ lA > / 4 A
vopevor Tovs huydbas "AOnvna. SsatpiBewy Te TE
/ a) wv \ \ wv e \
mwrAnGe mpoodirels dvtas Kal tinny Exovtas v1
TOV KaNaV Kal ayabav, éreBovrEvoy avTots KpU-
da: kal wéprpavres avOp@rovs ayvatas ’Avdpo-
xrcldav pev atroxtivyvovot Sor, Tov Sé GAA
Stayaptavovow. Ke 6€ Kal Tapa AaKedatpoviwv
ypdupata tois AOnvaiows mpootdcoovta py Sé-
\ a) > ? 3 4 \
xeoOar pndé wapaxiveiv, adr éEeXavvery TOUS
guydoas ws Kowovs ToAEpious UT TOY TULUAaYoY
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persuasions, made his attack upon the Thebans when they did not expect it, since it was the festival of the Thesmophoria, and got possession of the citadel.! Then Ismenias was arrested, carried to Sparta, and after a little while put to death; while Pelopidas, Pherenicus, Androcleides and many others took to flight and were proclaimed outlaws. Epaminondas, however, was suffered to remain in the city, because his philosophy made him to be looked down upon as a recluse, and his poverty as impotent.

VI. But when the Lacedaemonians deprived Phoe- bidas of his command and fined him a hundred thousand drachmas, and yet held the Cadmeia with. a garrison notwithstanding, all the rest of the Greeks were amazed at their inconsistency, since they pun- ished the wrong-doer, but approved his deed. And as for the Thebans, they had lost their ancestral form of government and were enslaved by Archias and Leontidas, nor had they hopes of any deliverance from this tyranny, which they saw was guarded by the dominant military power of the Spartans and could not be pulled down unless those Spartans should somehow be deposed from their command of land and sea. Nevertheless, Leontidas and his as- sociates, learning that the fugitive Thebans were living at Athens, where they were not only in favour with the common people but also honoured by the nobility, secretly plotted against their lives, and sending men who were unknown, they treacherously killed Androcleides, but failed in their designs upon the rest. There came also letters from the Lacedae- monians charging the Athenians not to harbour or encourage the exiles, but to expel them as men

1 In the winter of 382 B.c. Cf. the Agesilaiis, xxiii.

4 atrobederypévous. of pev ody AOnvaio, mpdos TO
jWaTptov avtTois Kal oUpapuTov elvat TO hirdvOpw-
Tov, apetBouevor TOUS OnBaiovs panera ouvae-
Tious yevomevous TO Onuw@ TOU Katereiv, Kal
Wnpioapevous, édv tus ’AOnvaiwn éml rods tupav-
vous omr)a, dua THS Botwtias Kopitn, undeva Boww-
Tov akovety poe opav, ovdéy ndiknoav Tous
@nBaious.
VII. ‘O & Iledoriéas, KaiTrep év Tois vewTd-
TOLS WY, dia Te Kal &xao Tov éFopya TOV puyd-
Sav, Kal T pos TO TrHOOS é7rotnoato oyous, QS
oUTe KaXov ovTEe Gotov ein! SovAEevOVCAaY THV
—marpiba Kal Ppoupovpevny Tmeptopar, auTous b¢
pLovoy TO ower Oat kal daly ayaTavTas ex pé-
pacdar TOV "AOnunce vn vndiopareov kat Oepa-
meveLy DTOTETTWKOTAS adel Tois Néyewv Suvapéevors
Kal metOetv TOV oVAop, ava xuySuvevTéov bmrép
TOY peyioTon; mapaberypa Oepevous THY @pacv-
BovxXou TONmAY Kal dpetnv, iva, os Exeivos éK
@nBov 7 poTepov oppndels «aTéhuce tous év ‘AOn-
vats Tupavvous, oUTwS avToL Tad é€E “AOnvav
7 poed Gores erevdepwawar Tas O7Bas. @s ovv

eTrelce Tatra eyo, Tm éwrrove Els @nBas Kpuda
T pos TOUS UT ONENELLLEVOUS TOV pidov Ta dedory-
péva ppatortes. ot Sé cuvettnvouy: Kat Xapov
pev, domep hy emipavéctatos, wmodoynoE THY
oiKiay mapeten, Dirrpdas 6é duerpafato TOV
qept "Apxiav kat Dirstrov ypappatevs yever Bar
a ada "Exrapervovdas 5€ Tovs véous
1 e{m Coraés and Bekker, with most MSS.: elva: with A.
1 In 403 u.c., when Thrasybulus set out from Thebes on his campaign against the Thirty Tyrants at Athens (Xenophon, Hell. ii. 4, 2).

declared common enemies by the allied cities. The Athenians, however, not only yielding to their traditional and natural instincts of humanity, but also making a grateful return for the kindness of the Thebans, who had been most ready to aid them in restoring their democracy,! and had passed a decree that if any Athenians marched through Boeotia against the tyrants in Athens, no Boeotian should see or hear them, did no harm to the Thebans in their city.

VII. But Pelopidas, although he was one of the youngest of the exiles, kept inciting each man of them privately, and when they met together pleaded before them that it was neither right nor honourable for them to suffer their native city to be garrisoned and enslaved, and, content with mere life and safety, to hang upon the decrees of the Athen- ians, and to be always cringing and paying court to such orators as could persuade the people; nay, they must risk their lives for the highest good, and take Thrasybulus and his bold valour for their example, in order that, as he once sallied forth from Thebes ! and overthrew the tyrants in Athens, so they in their turn might go forth from Athens and liberate Thebes. When, therefore, they had been persuaded by his appeals, they sent secretly to the friends they had left in Thebes, and told them what they purposed. These approved their plan; and Charon, a man of the highest distinction, agreed to put his house at their disposal, while Phillidas contrived to have him- self appointed secretary to Archias and Philip, the polemarchs. Epaminondas,? too, had long since filled

2 There is no mention either of Epaminondas or Pelopidas in Xenophon’s account of these matters (Hell. v. 4, 1-12), and his story differs in many details from that of Plutarch.

mara ppovnpatos Hv éumetAnKkws’ éxédeve yap
év Tots yunvacions emrauBaveo Gat tav Maxedat-
poviwy Kal Trandate, elra opov él T@ KpaTety
cal meptetvar yavpoupéevous eTeTATTEV, OS
aicxuvec bar padXov aurois T poaiKov, eb Sovdev-
ovot Ot avavdpiay @v TocoiToy Tais popats
Stapépovow.

VIII. “Hyépas 5é 7 pos Ty mpakuv optabetons,
éd0ke Tots puydor TOUS pev dddous cuvayayovTa
Depevixov ev TO Opiacin Tepipéeverv, GALyoUS bé
TOY vewTaTov mapaBarécbar ™ poetaed Get Els
THY TOMY, éay 66 te TAOwWoLY UITrO TOV Tmohepicoy
oUTOL, TOUS GANOUS EmripereioOaL mdvTas OTrws
penre waides avTa@v pare ryovels évoeets ExovTar

TOV dvaryKaiwy. ipictatas bé THY m paki TleAo-
mibas Tp@T0s, elra MéAwv kcal Aaporreidus Kad
@coropmros, dvdpes ole TE TP@TWV Kat 7 pos
aAANXNOUS TA GANA pev Pirsecs Kal TLTTOS, vmép
dé b0Ens Kal avdpeias del piroveixos EXovres.
yevopevot 5€ oF oupravTes bddexa, Kal TOUS aTro-
AevTropevous aomTacdpevot, Kat mporeprpavres
dryyehov ™@ Xdpwvi, 7 poryov ev xrapvdioss,
oKidaKds TE Onparicas Kal oTENKAS EXOVTES, BS
pndé els UTromrTevoe TOV evTuyXavovTov Kal' oddp,
GNX' advovTes GAXNWS TAAaAVAaCGaL Kal KUYHyeElY
Soxoiev.
'Erret 5é 0 mreupbels Tap QuT@v diyryehos INCE
Tpos TOV Xdpova Kal Kad odov ovTas éppater,
AUTOS pev) Xdpev ovde Ure Tob dewvod TARO LE
. Covros erpewe Tl THS yeuns, GAN' avynp ayabos
iy kal wa eixe THY olxiav, 'Iarroabevidas b¢ TU,
ov TOPOS pév, GNAA Kat prdaorrar pes Kal Tots
guydow evvovs avOpwiros, éevdens dé ToAuNS
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the minds of the Theban youth with high thoughts ;
for he kept urging them in the gymnastic schools to
try the Lacedaemonians in wrestling, and when he
saw them elated with victory and mastery, he would
chide them, telling them they ought rather to be
ashamed, since their cowardice made them the slaves
of the men whom they so far surpassed in bodily
owers.

VIII. A day for the enterprise having been fixed,} the exiles decided that Pherenicus, with the rest of the party under his command, should remain in the Thriasian plain, while a few of the youngest took the risk of going forward into the city; and if anything happened to these at the hands of their enemies, the rest should all see to it that neither their children nor their parents came to any want. Pelopidas was first to undertake the enterprise, then Melon, Damoclei- des, and Theopompus, men of foremost families, and of mutual fidelity and friendship, although in the race for heroic achievement and glory they were constant rivals. When their number had reached twelve, they bade farewell to those who stayed be- hind, sent a messenger before them to Charon, and set out in short cloaks, taking hunting dogs and nets with them, that anyone who met them on the road might not suspect their purpose, but take them for hunters beating about the country.

When their messenger came to Charon and told him they were on the way, Charon himself did not change his mind at all even though the hour of peril drew nigh, but was a man of his word and prepared his house to receive them; a certain Hippostheni- das, however, not a bad man, nay, both patriotic and well disposed

towards the exiles, but lacking in that

1 In the winter of 379 B.c.
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TocauTns bons 6 TE Karpos oEvs av at TE UmoKel-
pevar mpaers Gmnrovy, GoTep iAeryyedoas T pos
TO peyeDos Tov ayavos év Xepat yevopevov, Kab
pores Tore T@ Roya UM Tuudpovnaas OTL Tpomov
Tova THY trav Aaxedatpoviwy cadevovory apxnv
Kat THs éxeiBer Suvdpews broBdddovrae KaTa-
AvoW, TWiotTevoavTes amropors Kal guyadixais
eXTricLy, drredO cov oixade CLOTH TéLTEL TLVA TOV
pirov ™ pos MéAova kal Hedonibav, avaBanréo bat
KeVOY ev TP TapovTe Kab T EpLweveLy BeAtiova
Katpov addus dmaddaryévTas els "AOnvas. Xridov
Hy dvopa 7 meupderte, Kal Kata omovdny oixade
Tpos aitov TpaTropevos Kal Tov immov eFayayov
nree Tov VaNsvov. dmropoupéevns 6€ Tijs yuvatkos
ws ov elye Sodvas, Kal Xpioat Tut TOV cuvnbav -

Aeyovons, owdopiat TO 1 PGT OV Heavy, elra duagn-
plas, Tijs yuvarnos ema pw Hens auT@ TE Kaas
odous éxetvm xal Tois TEMTOVOLY, Morte Kat TOV
XrAidova TOAD TIS nuépas dvahdcavrTa T pos
TOUTOLS bu opyiy, dpa 6e kal to ocupBeBnKos
olwrec apevor, adeivat THY OOOV dws Kal 7 pOs
ado TL TpaTréa Gan. Tapa TOTOUTOV [EV mAGov 28

au péyiorat Kal KadhioTae Tav wpakewr evbus ev
“ex5 dtaduyety Tov Karpov.
. Ov 6é repli tov Iledoriday eo Oras yewp-
yav aaniors kal SteXovtTEes autos arrow
Kar’ adda pépn THs TOANEWS maperah Gov ere
Tpépas ovons. nv O€ TE mvedpa Kal yipeTos
dpxouevov TpeTea Oat TOU dépos, Kal paddov
éXadov KaTamepevyoTov non dLa TOV Kerpeva TOY
TEL TOV ets Tas oixias. ols dé hv errtpehes Ta
™parTopeva yLv@oKeLD, avehauPavov TOUS 7 poo -
epyxopévous Kal xabiotwy evOds els THY olKiay
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”)

degree of boldness which the sharp crisis and the pro- jected enterprise demanded, was made dizzy, so to speak, by the magnitude of the struggle now so close at hand,and at last comprehended that, in undertaking to overthrow the armed force in the city, they were in a manner trying to shake the empire of the Lace- daemonians, and had placed their reliance on the hopes of men in exile and without resources. He therefore went quietly home, and sent one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, urging them to postpone the enterprise for the present, go back to Athens, and await a more favourable opportunity. Chlidon was the name of this messenger, and going to his own home in haste, he brought out his horse and asked for the bridle. His wife, however, was embarrassed because she could not give it to him, and said she had lent it to a neighbour. Words of abuse were followed by imprecations, and his wife prayed that the journey might prove fatal both to him and to those that sent him. Chlidon, therefore, after spending a great part of the day in this angry squabble, and after making up his mind, too, that what had happened was ominous, gave up his journey entirely and turned his thoughts to something else. So near can the greatest and fairest enterprises come, at the very outset, to missing their opportunity.

IX. But Pelopidas and his companions, after put- ting on the dress of peasants, and separating, entered the city at different points while it was yet day. There was some wind and snow as the weather began to change, and they were the more un- observed because most people had already taken refuge from the storm in their houses. Those, how- ever, whose business it was to know what was going on, received the visitors as they came, and brought

tov Xdpwvos: éyévovto 6€ avy Tols huyaot TEvTN-
xovra Svolv déortes.
Ta S€ rept rovs tupdvvous obtws eye. PidAré-
Sas 0 ypappateds cuvétpatte pév, OaoTrEp ElpnTat,
mavrTa Kal ouvyde. Tots ghuydotv, eis Sé THY
Huépav exeivnv ée Tadatov KaTHYyyeAK@s Tots
mept tov Apxiay motov Tia Kal cuvovoiav Kal
yuvata TOV UTdvopwv, empatrev STL parLoTA
tais ndovais éxAeAupévous Kal KaToivous peTAXeEL-
picacbas trapéFev tots émitiepévots. ovrrw bé
wavy TOppe peOns ovoty avTols mpocétrecé TEs Ov
arevdns pév, &BéBaros 5é cal woAAny doddeav
éyovoa wept tav duyddwyv pyvuows ws ev TH
jwodet KpuTTopéevav. Tov dé Pirridov trapadgép-
ovTos TOV NOyov, Buws Apyias ereurpé Twa TOV
UTNpET@V pos Tov Xdpwva, mpoatdcacwyv evOvs
HKew avtov. wv dé éorépa, kal cuvérartoy évoov

avrovs ot wept tov Iledoriday, 45n teOwpaxt-
opévor KaL TAS paxaipas averhndotes. eEaipvns
dé Komtopévns THS Ovpas mpocdpapwv tis, Kat
muOouevos Tod UTnpérou Xdpwva petiévar twrapa
TOV Tokeudpyov hdoKovTos, amyyyerrev elow
teGopuRnpévos, nal macw evOvs Trapéoty THY Te
mpakw éxpeunvicba nal odas admavras atorho-
Aévat, nde Spadcavtas Te THS apeThs akov. ov
pny arr éd0kev traxotoat tov Xdpwva xat
Tapacyelv éautov Sety avuTTémtws Tols apyoucty,
adrAws pev avdpwdn cal Bapvy dvta Te Oappeiv
mapa ta Sewd, tore 5é bi éxeivous éxmemAny-
pévov Kat mepirabodvta, pwn tis bTrovia tpo-
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them at once to the house of Charon; and there
were, counting the exiles, forty-eight of them.
With the tyrants, matters stood as follows. Phil- lidas, their secretary, as I have said, was privy to the plans of the exiles and was co-operating fully with them, and some time before had proposed for that day that Archias and his friends should have a drinking- bout, at which a few married women should join them, his scheme being that when they were full of wine and completely relaxed in their pleasures, he would de- liver them into the hands of their assailants. But before the party were very deep in their cups, some information was suddenly brought them, not false, indeed, but uncertain and very vague, that the exiles were concealed in the city. Although Phillidas tried to change the subject, Archias nevertheless sent one of his attendants to Charon, commanding him to come to him at once. It was evening, and Pelopidas and his companions in Charon's house were getting them- selves ready for action, having already put on their breastplates and taken up their swords. Then there was a sudden knocking at the door. Someone ran to it, learned from the attendant that he was come from the polemarchs with a summons for Charon, and brought the news inside, much perturbed. All were at once convinced that their enterprise had been revealed, and that they themselves were all lost, before they had even done anything worthy of their valour. However, they decided that Charon must obey the summons and present himself boldly before the magistrates. Charon was generally an intrepid man and of a stern courage in the face of danger, but in this case he was much concerned and fright- ened on account of his friends, and feared that some

doaias én' avtov On TocovTay dua Kal ToLov-
TWV TOMTOV ATOAOLEVOV. WS OUV Eu"ENAEV ATLE-
vat, TapadaBeov éx THs yuvatxwviTidos Tov viov,
ETL pev OvTa Tratba, KadAXEL 5é Kal PON TopmaTOS
TpwtevovTa Tav Kal nrALKiav, évexeiptte Tots

mept IleXoriday, ef tia S0rov Kai mpodoctav
aUuTOU KaTayvotEV, WS TroAELio YpnoOaL KEerAEvwWY
éxeivm nat un deldecOar. aoddois pev ov avTav
Saxpva mpos 76 wabos Kal TO Ppovnua Tov Xa-
pwvos é&érece, tavtes Sé Hyavaxtouv ef Sedov
oUTws elvai Tiva Soxet Kal SrepOappévov bd TOD
TApovTos, WATE UIroVvoety exelvov 7) SAWS atTLa-
cBat cal tov viov édéovTo py KaTapiyvie av-
Tois, GAN exrodav Oécbat Tod péAXOVTOS, GTrwS
AUTOS ye TH TOAEL KaL TOs PlrAOLS TLLwPOS UTrO-
Tpéporto treptawlels Kai Siadvywy tovs Tupav-
vous. 0 6¢ Xdpwv tov pev viov amadrd£etv ovK
épn wotov yap avt@ Biov opav 4 tiva cwrnpiav
KadAova THS o"0d peTa TraTpos Kal diXwv TOGOv-
tov avuBpictov TereuTHs; émevEduevos 5é Tots
Geois Kai Tavtas uoTracdpevos Kai Tapabappuvas
am nel, T Pog EX wv éauT@ Kal pO wile oXNMATL
@poowmov Kat Tove wvijs avopoidtatos ols
émpatTe paviavas.
X. Tevopévov & eri tais Ovpats avrov, mpo-
nrvev o “Apyias, cal Dirridas,! cat etrrev “"O,
Xdpwv, tas axnkoa wapeAnrvOoras év TH TodEL
KpuTtTecOat, Kal cuumpatrew avtots éviouvs TOY
jmoMTav. Kalo Xdpov siatapayGels TO mpo-
Tov, cia, €pwTnaas Tives etal ot mapednrvores
kal tives of KpUmTovTEs avTovs, ws ovdév Ewpa
1 piAAldas with the MSS.: iArwwos, Bryan’s correction (cf. Morals, p. 595 f.). Bekker brackets xal d{Airmos.

suspicion of treachery would fall upon him if so many and such excellent citizens now lost their lives. Accordingly, as he was about to depart, he brought his son from the women’s apartments, a mere boy as yet, but in beauty and bodily strength surpassing those of his years, and put him in the hands of Pelopidas, tell- ing him that if he found any guile or treachery in the father, he must treat the son as an enemy and show him no mercy. Many were moved to tears by the noble concern which Charon showed, and all were indignant that he should think any one of them so ‘demoralized by the present peril and so mean-spirited as to suspect him or blame him in the least. They also begged him not to involve his son with them, but to put him out of harm’s way, that he might escape the tyrants and live to become an avenger of his city and his friends. Charon, however, refused to take his son away, asking if any kind of life or any safety could be more honourable for him than a decorous death with his father and all these friends, Then he addressed the gods in prayer, and after embracing and encouraging them all, went his way, striving so to compose his countenance and modulate his voice as not to betray what he was really doing. X. When he reached

the door of the _ house, Archias came out to him, with Phillidas, and said: ‘‘Charon, I have heard that certain men have come and hid themselves in the city, and that some of the citizens are in collusion with them.” Charon was disturbed at first, but on asking who the men were that had come and who were concealing them, he saw that Archias could give no clear account of the

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caes ebmeiy éxovra TOV “Apxiay, t Urrovonaas ar’ 283

OVOEVOS TOV eTLoTapevav yeryovevas TD pnvuct,
as ‘Opare Toivuy, ebm, af pn KevosS Tis Las dta-
TapaTTn Novos. Ov pv arAXrAG oKEeyropae bei
yap icws pndevos xatagpoveiv.” Taira Kal
Prrridas Tapov empvet, Kat tov “Apyiay ama-
yaryor adds ets ai paror jwotvy KaTéBare, Kat
Tais Tepl TOY yuvacey éMriot dteTracdarya@ryet
TOV moTov. ws 6 émavijrGev O Xdpwv oixade
Kal dea Kevac pévous TOUS avipas etpev ov Os
adv tia viknv cwrTnpiayv eamifovras, GAN @s
aroBavoupevous Aapm pas Kal pera povov ToNXou
TOV Tone pLeov, TO pep arnbes avrois éppale TOUS
mept Tov IleXorisdar, TOs 5é Tovs dAdous eyrev-
Taro NOyous Tevas TOU ‘Apytou rept TpayyuaTwv
éTépwv TaTaLEVOS.
"Ete oé TOU 7 pw@TOU Tapa hepopevov Sevrepov
emnryev ” TUXN KElwova ee avSpacw. nKE yap
Ts €& "AOnvav mapa, Apytov Tob lepopavtov
7 pos "Apxiav TOV OMmVULOY, Eevov 6 6vTa Kat dirov,
ETLATONNY Kopitar ov Kevny éyoucay ovee Te-
Tag wEvny brovouay, aAXa cagpas éxaoTa Twept
TOV T PAT TOMEvOV pdcKovaay, ws votepov ée-
yuoocOn. tote Se peOvovts T® “Apxig 7 poa-
axGels Ypapparopopos Kal Thy emLaTONHY
emtdous, “"O tavtny,” ébn, “ meurpas éxéXNevoev
evOus avaryvevat Tepl oTovdaiwy yap TWeV
yeypapbar.” Kal o "Apxias pediacas, “ OvKoby
ELS avptov, ” €on, “Ta orroveaia.” Kat THD em L-
arohny beEduevos t vo TO TpooKepararov uTréOn-
ev, aVTOS O€ TAALV TO Prrrida meph @v eT uy avov
Stadeyduevot mpocetyer. 6 pev odv AdyoS OvTOS
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matter, and conjectured that his information had not come from any of those who were privy to the plot. He therefore said: “ Do not, then, suffer any empty rumour to disturb you. However, I will look into the matter; for perhaps no story should be ignored.”’ Phillidas, too, who stood by, approved of this, and after leading Archias back, got him to drink hard, and tried to protract the revel with hopes of a visit from the women. But Charon, when he got back home, and found the men there disposed, not to expect safety or victory at all, but to die gloriously after a great slaughter of their enemies, told the truth only to Pelopidas himself, while for the rest he concocted a false tale that Archias had talked with him about other matters.1

Before this first storm had yet blown over, for- tune brought a second down upon the men. For there came a messenger from Athens, from Archias the hierophant to his namesake Archias, who was his guest-friend, bearing a letter which contained no empty nor false suspicion, but stated clearly all the details of the scheme that was on foot, as was subse- quently learned. At the time, however, Archias was drunk, and the bearer of the letter was brought to him and put it into his hands, saying: ‘The sender of this bade thee read it at once; for it is on serious business.” Then Archias answered with a smile: ‘Serious business for the morrow”; and when he had received the letter he put it under his pillow, and resumed his casual conversation with Phillidas.

1 According to Plutarch’s lengthy version of this affair in his Discourse concerning the Daemon of Socrates (chapter 29, Morals, p. 595 f.), Charon hid the truth from no one. 6

éy trapotuas rater mwepipepopevos péype viv
Staowleras rapa toils “EXAnot.
XI. Tis 6€ mpdkews Soxovons eyeuv Hon Tov
oixetov Kxatpov, éEoppwv diya StedXovtes avTous,
of pev trept IleXomidayv nat Aapoxreidav émi
tov Acovriday cai tov “Trarny éyyts addnjAwv
oixovvtas, Xdpwv dé cai Médowv esi tov ’"Apxiav
kat Dirimmov, éoOjras érevdedupevoe yuvatneias
Tos Owpaks, cai Sacets atepdvous édarns Te Kal
TEevKNS Teplxeipwevoe KatacKidlovtas Ta Tpdc-
wma. 610 Kat Tais Ovpats Tod auputrociov To
TpPOTOV ETLOTAVTES, KPOTOV érroinaav Kal OopuBov
olopéevwvy as madat TpocedoKwy yuvaikas Kev.
émet b€ TrepiBréYravtes ev KUKAM TO TUpLTOGLOY
Kal TOV KaTaKexAlpevwy ExacTov axpiBas KaTa-
pabovres éomdcavto Tas payaipas, Kal depo-
pevor Sia TaYv Tpamel@v énl tov ’Apyiav Kal
Pirirtov éhavycav oimep jaav, drtyous pev o
Dirridas tov Kataxepévwy Erercev jovyiay
diye, Tous bé dAXous apvvecOat peta TOV TOAE-

pedapxev émixeipovvtas Kai avveEavotapévous
dia THY péOnv ov avy yareTTas aTréKTELvaD.
Tots 8€ mept tov Ledomidayv épywdéotepov
aTnVTAaA TO Mmpayua: Kal yap émi vndovta Kai
Sevov dvdpa tov Acovtiday éxywpovy, Kal Kexdet-
apevny THY oixiavy evpov ion Kaevdovtos, Kat
TOAUY Ypovoyv KoTTOVOLW avTOLS DariKovEV Ovdeis.
ports b€ mote TOD OepdrrovTos aicOopévov mpoi-
évtos évdobev kal Tov woxdor aharpodvtos, dua
T@ mpaTtov évdobvat Kat yadacat Tas Bvpas
dumecdvtes AOpoot Kal Tov oixérnv dvatpéyavtes
ért tov Oddapov Bpunoav. o dé Acovtidas avTe
TEKMALPOMEVOS TH KTVITO Kat Spopm TO yeyvo-
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Wherefore these words of his are a current proverb to this day among the Grecks,

XI. Now that the fitting time for their undertaking seemed to have come, they sallied forth in two bands; one, under the lead of Pelopidas and Damocleidas, against Leontidas and Hypates, who lived near together; the other against Archias and Philip, under Charon and Melon, who had put on women's apparel over their breastplates, and wore thick garlands of pine and fir which shaded their faces. For this reason, when they stood at the door of the banquet-room, at first the company shouted and clapped their hands, supposing that the women whom they had long been expecting were come. But then, after surveying the banquet and carefully marking each of the reclining guests, the visitors drew their swords, and rushing through the midst of the tables at Archias and Philip, revealed who they were. A few of the guests were persuaded by Phillidas to remain quiet, but the rest, who, with the polemarchs, offered resistance and tried to defend themselves, were dispatched without any trouble, since they were drunk.

Pelopidas and his party, however, were confronted with a harder task; for Leontidas, against whom they were going, was a sober and formidable man, and they found his house closed, since he had already gone to bed. For a long time no one answered their knocking, but at last the attendant heard them and came out and drew back the bolt. As soon as the door yielded and gave way, they rushed in together, overturned the servant, and hastened towards the bed-chamber. But Leontidas, conjecturing what was happening by the very noise and trampling, rose from .

5 pevov, €omdcato pev To eyyepidioy éFavacrds,
Q x N ~ \ 4 N XN
érabe Sé avtov xataBareiv Ta AVYVa Kai bia
OKOTOUS avToUS éavTOts TepliTreTEts TroLATAL TOUS
dvipas. év b€ dwt ToAA@ Kabopa@pmevos, UIT HVTA
- A \
mpos tas Ovpas avtois tov Oaddpov, Kai Tov

a“ /
mpatov eiatovta Kydicddwpov awatdatas Katé-
Bare. weadvtos 5€ Tovtou devtépw cuveTrrA€KETO
T@ IleXorrida: Kai thy paxny yarenny erroter Kat
Sucepyov 1 aTevoTns Tav Oupay Kal xeipevos
2 \ Ww \ e / > 4
éutrodwy on vexpos 0 Kndicodwpos. éxpatnoe
e
5S otv o I[ledomwidas, nal xatepyacdpevos Tov
\
Aeovriday él tov “Trdrnv evéds éyope peta
TaY aUY aUT@. Kal rapetcérecoy pev cis THY
oixiav opoiws, aicOopuevoy dé TaxYéws Kal KaTa-
duyovta pos Tovs yeitovas, éx Trobav Siw@Eavres
\ A
elXov cal drépberpav.
XII. Avarrpakdpyevor 5¢ tadta Kat rots rept
Mér\wva cupBarovres Ereuav pev eis THY
"Artixny émt tous woredetppéevous exel TaV
LO 9 aN ny \ 4 > \ \ aN
guyadwr, éxddovy b€ Tovs TwoAitas emi THY éXev-
, n
Oepiay, Kai tobs TpoctovTas WTALCoY, apatpodvTES
aro TOY GTOOY Ta Tepixeipeva oxida, Kal TA
mept THY oixiay épyaatnpia SopvEowy Kai payas-
poTotav avappynyvuvtes. Hxov d€ BonBovvtes
“A fa) >
avTois peta ToV STAwWY of wept Eapevavday
\ , / ’ b 3 4 / ra) ,
kal Topyidav, cvverdoxores ovx OALyous TOV vévY
Kat TaY TpecBuTépwv Tovs BerTioToUs. 1 Sé
/ “

TOMS HON wey aveTTONTO Traca, Kal TroAvS Oopu-
Bos fv xat dota wept tas oixias Kal Sradpopai
mpos aAAHAOUS, oUTIW Sé GUVELTTHKEL TO TATOOS,
b > » UA \ c \ A
GAN EXTTETANYHEVOL TLPOS TA yLvopmEVA Kal aagés
ovdey etdorTes nuépav Treptépevov. S0ev duaprtety ot
tov Aaxedatpovimy apxovres ebokay evOvs ovd« ére-
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bed and drew his dagger, but he forgot to over- throw the lamps and make the men fall foul of one another in the darkness. On the contrary, exposed to view by an abundance of light, he went to meet them at the door of his chamber, and struck down the first one that entered, Cephisodorus. When this assailant had fallen, he engaged Pelopidas next ; and their conflict was rendered troublesome and difficult by the narrowness of the door and by Cephisodorus, whose body, now dead, lay in their way. But at last Pelopidas prevailed, and after dispatching Leontidas, he and his followers went at once to attack Hypates. They broke into his house as they had done into the other, but he promptly perceived their design and fled for refuge to his neighbours. Thither they closely followed him, and caught him, and slew him.

XII. These things accomplished, they joined Melon’s party, and sent into Attica for the exiles they had left there! They also summoned the citizens to fight for their freedom, and armed those who came, taking from the porticos the spoils suspended there, and breaking open the neighbouring workshops of spear-makers and sword-makers. Epaminondas and Gorgidas also came to their aid with an armed following, composed of many young men and the best of the older men. And now the city was all in a flutter of excitement, there was much noise, the houses had lights in them, and there was running to and fro. The people, however, did not yet assemble ; they were terrified at what was going on, and had no clear knowledge of it, and were waiting for day. Wherefore the Spartan commanders were thought to have made a mistake in not attacking and engaging

1 Cf, chapter viii. 1.

Spapovres ovde cupBarovtes, avtTn pev 1 hpoupa
Tept YLALOUS TrEVTAKOTIOUS OVTES, EK SE THS TONEDS
Tpos avTOvS TOAN@Y GuUYTpPEXOVTWY, GANA THY
Bony nat ta mupd nal Tov dydov ywpodrta'
mavrayolev rorvy poBnévtes novyalov, avTny
Tv Kadpeiav xatéyovtes. aya Sé juépa trap-
hoav pev ex THs ’Artixhs of puydbes OALopéEvoL,

cuvnfpoato Sé els thy éxKkAnciavy o Shmos.
etanyov 5é€ Tovs tept TleAoTiday ’Emapetvavdas
wat Topyidas vo tev iepéwv mepieyopévous
OTEMMATA TPOTELVOVTMWY Kal TApAKAaNOUYTwY TOUS
monitas TH TraTplos Kal toils Oeots BonOety. 13
éxxrAnoia opOn impos thy diuv peta KpdToU Kal
Boys éEavéorn, Seyouevwy rovs avdpas as
evepyétas Kal owrTnpas.
XIII. "Ex 5é rovrov Borwrdpxns aipeBeis pera
MéAwvos xal Xdpwvos o Iledomidas evOvs arre-
reiyile THY axpoTroAty Kal mpooRoras éroteiro
mwavraxolev, éEedeiy otrovdalwy tors Aaxebaspo-
viovs xal thy Kadpciav édevOepioat mplv éx
Lmdptns otpatov éredOeiv. xal wapda tocovTov
épOacev adels ttrootovdous tots avdpas Soop
éy Meydpors ovat avtois amavtjcar KvAedp-
Bporov éri tas @nBas éXavvovta peta peydrys
Suvdpews. of S€ Yrapriatat, tpi@v appocTav
yevouevoy ev OnBais, Hpiridav péev cal “Ap-
Kicoov améxtewav xpivavtes, 0 5é tpitos Avoa-
vopidas ypnpace troAXois SnuwOels avror éx THs
TleXovrovynaou petéctyce.
Tavtny tiv wpakiv dpetais pev avdpav Kal
xwdutvors Kal ayaot TapaTAnciay TH Bpacv-
1 xwpotyra Coraés’ correction of the MSS. avaxwpotrra, adopted by Bekker.

at once, since their garrison numbered about fifteen hundred men, and many ran to join them out of the city; but the shouting, the fires, and the great throngs in motion everywhere, terrified them, and they kept quiet, holding the citadel itself in their possession. At break of day the exiles came in from Attica under arms, and a general assembly of the people was convened. Then Epaminondas and Gorgidas brought before it Pelopidas and his companions, surrounded by the priests, holding forth garlands, and calling upon the citizens to come to the aid of their country and their gods. And the assembly, at the sight, rose to its feet with shouts and clapping of hands, and welcomed the men as deliverers and benefactors.

XIII. After this, having been elected boeotarch, or governor of Boeotia, together with Melon and Charon, Pelopidas at once blockaded the acropolis and assaulted it on every side, being anxious to drive out the Lacedaemonians and free the Cadmeia before an army came up from Sparta. And he succeeded by so narrow a margin that, when the men had surrendered conditionally and had been allowed to depart, they got no further than Megara before they were met by Cleombrotus marching against Thebes with a great force. Of the three men who had been harmosts, or governors, in Thebes, the Spartans condemned and executed Herippidas and Arcissus, and the third, Lysanoridas, was heavily fined and forsook the Peloponnesus. |

This exploit, so like that of Thrasybulus in the valour, the perils, and the struggles of its heroes,

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BB 2

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

BovXou tialeile Kat BpaBevOeicar opcoicos uTo
THS TVYNS, a aBerpny Exelvns 7 poo myopevov o
"EdAnves. ov yap éoTe padiws éTépous eltrety ot
MrELOVOY EXATTOUS Kai SuvaTarépov Epnporepot
ToApy Kat Sewvornte KpaTnoavres altion peclover
ayabay Tais matpict KaTéesTHO AD. évdo£otépav
be TAUTHY érroinaey n petaBory TOV Tparyparev.
o yap KaTavoas TO TAS Lrdprys akiopa Kai
mavoas dpxovras auTous yns te Kal Jararrns
qonrepnos e€& éxeivns eyeveTo _TiS VUKTOS, ev
TleXozidas ov ppovpror, ov TEeLYOS, OUK aKpoTroMLy
cataraBow, ann es oixiay dadéxatos catehOwn,
ei det petapopa TO arnbes evTreiv, EXvoE Kal
diexowe TOUS Seo povs THIS Aaxebdatpovior nIYYE-
provias, GXVTOUS Kal appixtous elvat Soxovvtas.
XIV. "Errel ToLvuy oTpaTe@ peyardo Aaxe-
Satpovioy els THY Bowwtiay éuBadovror ot
"AOnvaior mepioBor yevopevor 7 THY TE TULpaxray
ameimavTo tois @nBaios Kal trav Bovwrialovray
eis TO Sixacr7 prov TaparyaryovTes TOUS pev amé-
KTetvav, Tous 6 epuyadevoar, TOUS dé Xenwacey
eCnpiwaay, éSoxer Se KAKOS EYELY TA TOV OnBaior

Tpaypara pndevos avtois BonOobvtos, érvxe pep
0 Iledovidas peta Topyidou BotwrapXav, eT t-
Bovrevortes 6é auyxpotcat madw Tous ‘AOn-
vatous Tots Aaxedarpoviors To.ovoe TL pnXavavrat.
Lpodpias, dunp Lraptidrys, evdoxtpos pev év
TOS TOhEMLKOLS Kal AawmT pos, vToKoupos bé THY
yuan Kal Kevav érTiOwv kal dirotipias avon-
TOU perros, ameretpOn Tmept @comias peta duva-
PEWS TOUS adiara pévous TOY @nBaiwv dexer Oat
wal Boneiv. T pos ToUTOV TOTEM TOUT LY ot rept
tov IleXomiday idia EuTropov twa Tav dirov,
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and, like that, crowned with success by fortune, the Greeks were wont to call a sister to it. For it is not easy to mention other cases where men so few in number and so destitute have overcome enemies so .much more numerous and powerful by the exercise of courage and sagacity, and have thereby become the authors of so great blessings for their countries. And yet the subsequent change in the political situation made this exploit the more glorious. For the war which broke down the pretensions of Sparta and put an end to her supremacy by land and sea, began from that night, in which Pelopidas, not by surprising any fort or castle or citadel, but by coming back into a private house with eleven others, loosed and broke in pieces, if the truth may be expressed in a metaphor, the fetters of the Lacedaemonian supremacy, which were thought indissoluble and not to be broken.

XIV. The Lacedaemonians now invaded Boeotia with a large army, and the Athenians, having become fearful, renounced their alliance with the Thebans, and prosecuting those in their city who favoured the Boeotian cause, put some of them to death, banished others, and others still they fined, so that the Thebans seemed to be in a desperate case with none to aid them. But Pelopidas and Gorgias, who were boeotarchs, plotted to embroi] the Athenians again with the Lacedaemonians, and devised the following scheme. Sphodrias, a Spartan, who had a splendid reputation as a soldier, but was rather weak in judgement and full of vain hopes and senseless am- bition, had been left at Thespiae with an armed force to receive and succour the renegade Thebans. To this man Pelopidas and Gorgidas privately sent one of their friends who was a merchant, with money,

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Npynpata Kouilovra Kai Noryous, of TAY yYpnLaToV
PaAXNOY avétetcay avToY ws Np} MmpayyaTav
@ 4, N N “ a
GpacOat peydrowv Kat tov Teipara xatadaPeip,
ampoodoxnrov émimecovtTa 1 PvAATTOMEVvOLS TOLS
"AOnvaios: Aaredatmovios Te yap ovdéy odTas
v / e n 9 ,
écecOar Kexaptopéevovy ws AaBety tas “AOnvas,
@nBatovs te yareTas éxovtas avtois nal mpo-
Sotas vopilovtas ovK émiBonOnoev. Ttédos Se
aupTecbels 6 Xdodpias Kal rods otpatiwtas
b , N > A 9 ‘ > / \
avahaBov, vuctos ets thy Arrexny évéBare. Kat
, \ 9 wn A ; 9 nn ~
pméxps pev “Edevoivos mpondOev, éxet Sé Tav
oTpAaTLWTaY amobeLtacdYTwY haveEpos yEevomeEvos,
, ? “~ +OQO\ es a
Kal avvtapdtas ov dadrov oddé padiov Tots
Lmaptidrats ToAEpov, avexwopnoev eis Oeamds.
XV. ’Ex rovtov wdduv rpobupotata ’AOnvaios
tois @nBaiors cvvepaxyovy, nal ths Oadrarrys
avredapBdvovto, Kal mepsiovtes édéyovTo Kal
MpoonyovTo Tovs atocratiKas Tov ‘EXXnver
.) e a b] e \ b A
Eyovras. ot d€ @nBaior nal’ avtous év TH
Botwtiga cupmrexcpevoe Tois Aaxedarpoviots éxa-
OTOTE, KAL payopevor padxXas avTas meV OV peya-
Aas, pmeydAnv 5é Thy perETHVY Exovcas Kal THY
daxnow, éEeppiritovro tots Oupois Kal dserro-
youvTo TOS Twpact, euTrepiay dua TH cvvnOeia
kal dpovnpa mpocdapBavortes ex THY ayaver.
5:6 xai dacw ’Avradxiday Tov Yraptiaryy, ws
> li 9 a“ @ 9 , A
Aynoidaos éravndbev ex Botwtias TetTpwpévos,
eimreiy mrpos avtov: “"H xara dioackdda Tapa
@nBaiwv anvorauBavets, un Bovdopévous avTovs
aA 4 @ 5 5 4 99 @ de e
qwoNteyety Kab paxecOar dudafas. qv de as
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and, what proved more persuasive than money with Sphodrias, this advice. He ought to put his hand to a

large enterprise and seize the Piraeus, attacking it unexpectedly when the Athenians were off their guard; for nothing would gratify the Lacedae- monians so much as the capture of Athens, and the Thebans, who were now angry with the Athenians and held them to be traitors, would give them no aid. Sphodrias was finally persuaded, and taking his soldiers, invaded Attica by night. He advanced as far as Eleusis, but there the hearts of his soldiers failed them and his design was exposed, and after having thus stirred up a serious and difficult war against the Spartans, he withdrew to Thespiae.!

XV. After this, the Athenians with the greatest eagerness renewed their alliance with the Thebans, and began hostile operations against Sparta by sea, sailing about and inviting and receiving the alle- giance of those Greeks who were inclined to revolt. The Thebans, too, by always engaging singly in Boeotia with the Lacedaemonians, and by fighting battles which, though not important in themselves, nevertheless afforded them much practice and train- ing, had their spirits roused and their bodies thoroughly inured to hardships, and gained expe- rience and courage from their constant struggles. For this reason Antalcidas the Spartan, we are told, when Agesilaiis came back from Boeotia with a wound, said to him: “ Indeed, this is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teach- ing them how to war and fight when they did not wish to do it.” 2 But, to tell the truth, it was not

1 The attempt of Sphodrias on the Piraeus is more fully described in the Agestlaiis, xxiv. 3-6.
2 Cf. the Agesilazis, xxvi. 2.

arn as 6iSdo Kaos OvK ‘Aynathaos, GX’ ot ouv
Kaip@ Kat pera Roya pod TOUS @nBatovs OoTEp
oxidaKas euTelpos m™poaBanrovtes Tols ToNE-
pots, cira yevoapevous vixens Kal Ppovnparos
aa paras am aryovTes* ov peyiorny do€av elev
0 Tledoribas. ad’ is yap eidAovTo ™ p@Tov nYE-
pova TOV Orhor, ovK émavcavtTo Kad ExaaTov
évtavTov adpxovra XetporovooyTes, Gyr 4) «TOV
lepov Aoxov ayav |) Ta TrEloTa RowwTapxKav
aX pL THS TEAEUTHS € ET PATTEDV.
Eyévovto ev obv Kat mepl Tvatasas xati
@eomas HTTat Kab puyat Tav Aaxedatpovior,
é6trov Kat PoiBidas o TH Kaépetav KataraBov
amr é0ave, TOAAOUS dé xal pos Tavayp9 Tpe-
papevos avTOV wal TavOoisav TOV appoo thy
avetnrev. Xn’ OUTOL fev of aryaves @OTEP TOUS
Kparobvras Els ppovnpa, Kal Gapoos 7 ponyov,
odTws TOV Noo wLEvery ov TavTaT acl edovAobvTo
THY yvounv’ ov yap €K mapatatews joav ovoe
roi ae eupavh KatdoTacw exovons Kal VO put ov,

Kdpopas bé T poo Kaipous TE wevot, Kab puyas 7 n
Bubbets émuyetpobvtTes avTois Kal ocupmrEKopevot
Katwp0our.
XVI. ‘O 6é Teph Teyupas T Oro TLWa Tob
Acuxrptxod mpoaryov yevopevos peyav 7pe d0&n Tov
Tero ibay, OUTE TpOS Kat ophwpa Tols avoTpa-
THOUS aura Barna ouTE THS Hers mpopacu
Tous TWoNEmiols aTroALTOV. TH yap Opyouevioy 286

TONEL Ta Saraptiaz ay éhomevy kal dvo dedeypevn
popas auvTav virép ao panreias émeBovreve pev
ae Kat mapepvhaTTe Katpov, as 5é HKouce Tots
dpoupois eis thv Aoxpida yeyevnjoOat otpateiav
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Agesilaiis who was their teacher, but those leaders of theirs who, at the right time and place, gave the Thebans, like young dogs in training, experience in attacking their enemies, and then, when they had got a taste of victory and its ardours, brought them safely off; and of these leaders Pelopidas was in greatest esteem. For after his countrymen had once chosen him their leader in arms, there was not a single year when they did not elect him to office, but either as leader of the sacred band, or, for the most part, as boeotarch, he continued active until his death.

Well, then, at Plataea the Lacedaemonians were defeated and put to flight, and at Thespiae, where, too, Phoebidas, who had seized the Cadmeia, was slain; and at Tanagra a large body of them was routed and Panthoidas the harmost was killed. But these combats, though they gave ardour and boldness to the victors, did not altogether break the spirits of the vanquished ; for they were not pitched battles, nor was the fighting in open and regular array, but it was by making well-timed sallies, and by either retreating before the enemy or by pursuing and coming to close quarters with them that the Thebans won their successes.

XVI. But the conflict at Tegyra, which was a sort of prelude to that at Leuctra, raised high the repu- tation of Pelopidas; for it afforded his fellow com- manders no rival claim in its success, and his enemies no excuse for their defeat. Against the city of Orchomenus, which had chosen the side of the Spartans and

received two divisions of them for its protection, he was ever laying plans and watching his opportunity, and when he heard that its garrison had made an expedition into Locris, he hoped to find

éXtticas Epnuov aipnoew tov 'Opyopevov éotpa-
tevoev, exwy pel' éavtod Tov lepoy Aoxov Kal
A e , b , b] \ \ A A /
TOY immévy ov TOAAOUS. erret 58 pds THY TrOALY
Mpocayayay evpev Hxovoay éx Yraptns Saboynv
THS Ppoupas, ariyev oricw TO oTpaTevpa Tad
nn L a lA a @ 4
5a Teyupav, 7 povn Bdaotpov jv KviKrXw Tapa
4 e , N , a e A i

THY UIr@pelay' THY yap ba pécou Tacay o Médas
\ 792A ? a" 9 \ \
motapos evOvs éx mnyav eis EAXn TAWTA Kal
Aipvas Siaceipopevos Atropov érrotet.
Muxpoy &€ bar6 Ta EXn vews éotw 'AmrorAdWVOS
Teyupaiou nal pavretov éxreretupévoy ov mdvu
jouw Xpovoy, GAN aypt Tav Mndixav jxpate,
Tv wpopynteiay 'Exyexpdtous éxovros. évtaida
le) \ \ , A \ \

puOoroyovor Tov Oeov yevéoOat: Kal TO pev WAD-
aiov dpos AjAos Kadelral, Kai Tpos avTO KaTa-
Mpyouow ai to' Méravos Stayvcets, drricw Sé
tov vaov Svo pyyvuvtas mrnyal yAuKUTHTL Kal
mrAnOe kal xruxpoTnts Oauvpactod vdaparos, Ov
To pev Doivixa, To 5é "EXaiav aypt viv ovomd-
> A A " b) \ es) A
Couey, ov durav petakd dveiv, ddrAa peiOpwv Tis
Ocod roxevdeions. Kal yap To IIT@ov éeyyis,
@ > A > A , /
d0ev avrnv avarronOjvat mpopavéevtos éEaidyns
Kampou Aéyouvet, kal Ta rept TlvOwva cat Tervov
@TAUTWS Ol TOTOL TH yEevéeoe TOD Deod auvoLKEt-
Ovol Ta yap WA€ioTa Tapadeirw TOV TEKUN-
piwy: ov yap év Trois éx petaBorAns abavdros
yevomevos yevynTois Oo WaTpLos Aoyos Tov Oeov
a b] , , C4 e \
tovToy azroneitrer Saipoow, womep 'Hpaxréa cai

the city without defenders, and marched against it, having with him the sacred band and a few horsemen. But when, on approaching the city, he found that its garrison had been replaced with other troops from Sparta, he led his army back again through the district of Tegyra, that being the only way by which he could make a circuit along the foot of the mountains. For all the intervening plain was made impassable by the river Melas, which no sooner begins to flow than it spreads itself out into navigable marshes and lakes.

A little below the marshes stands the temple of Apollo Tegyraeus, with an oracle which had not been long abandoned, but was flourishing down to the Persian wars, when Echecrates was prophet-priest. Here, according to the story, the god was born ; and the neighbouring mountain is called Delos, and at its base the river Melas ceases to be spread out, and behind the temple two springs burst forth with a wonderful flow of sweet, copious, and cool water. One of these we call Palm, the other Olive, to the present day, for it was not between two trees,! but between two fountains, that the goddess Leto was delivered of her children. Moreover, the Ptoiim ? is near, from which, it is said, a boar suddenly came forth and frightened the goddess, and in like manner the stories of the Python ® and of Tityus® are asso- ciated with the birth of Apollo in this locality. Most of the proofs, however, I shall pass over; for my native tradition removes this god from among those deities who were changed from mortals into im-

1 As in the Delian story of the birth of Apolloand Artemis.

2 A mountain at the south-eastern side of Lake Copais, on which was a celebrated sanctuary of Apollo.

3 A dragon and a giant, who were slain by Apollo and Artemis.

Atovucov, éx« petaBorRs apeth to Ovntov Kat mabnrov amoBanovtas, andra TOY aidiov Kal aryeVY TOV els éotuv, ef Set Tots bd TOY ppovipo- TATWV Kal TANALOTUTOV AEyouEevols TEXpalpec Oat Wepl TOY THALKOUTOY.

XVII. Eis & ovv Teyupas ot OnBaior Kara TOV aur ov xpovov ex TAS ‘Opyopevias am ovtes

Ka ot ANaxedarpovtor auveTriTToVv, && evavTias
avTois éx Hs Aoxpidos dvatevyvuvtes. @S be
7 p@rov apOnaav Ta oteva dtexBadXovtes, Kai
TIS ele TP Iledorridg Tm poo Spapeov- ‘ "Eprento-
Ko WeV els TOUS monepious,” “TE HaAXOD,” eltrev,
“n els npas exeivol;” Kal THY pev tarmov evO vs
macav éxéhevoe mapehavvey am’ ovpas ws Tpo-
euBadovoar, autos bé TOUS OTALTAS TpLaKocious
éyTas 6s oALyov cuvnyayev, érrifov Kxal” $
mpooBanrot padwora Siaxoypety bTepBaddovtas
mwrAnOes TOUS ToAepious. Hoav dé dv0 popat
ANaxedatpovior, thy dé popay "Eqopos pev dvdpas
elvas TEVTAKOGLOUS ona, Kadraodévns 8 érra-
Kootous, addot dé Tuves évaxoctovs, QV TToAvBros
éoTl. Kal Gappobytes ol TORE MAX OL TOV 2map-
TLAT OY Topyonéwv rai Gcoropros Opynoav emt
TOUS OnBaiovs. “yevopevns d¢ TOs padora, THS
épodov Kat aUvTOUS TOUS dpxovras amr " apport épeov
peta, Oupov xai Bias, TMp@Tov pev Ot TONE Lap Kot
TOV Aaxedarpovior T@ Tlerowida ouppakavtes
émrecov" érerta TOY TEpt exELVOUS 7 ALO LEVeOY Kal
am obvnaKovTey ama els poBov KatéaTn TO
oT pPaTEvpa, Kat dtéoye prev én’ audhorepa Tots
@nBaiows, ws Stexteceiv ets Tovpm poo bev Ka
Ssexddvat Bouropévois, érret dé THY Sedouévny o
IleXoridas Hyetto mpos Tovs cuveot@tas Kai
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mortals, like Heracles and Dionysus, whose virtues enabled them to cast off mortality and suffering ; but he is one of those deities who are unbegotten and eternal, if we may judge by what the most ancient and wisest men have said on such matters.

XVII. So, then, as the Thebans entered the dis- trict of Tegyra on their way back from Orchomenus, the Lacedaemonians also entered it at the same time, returning in the opposite direction from Locris, and met them. As soon as they were seen marching through the narrow pass, some one ran up to Pelo- pidas and said: “ We have fallen into our enemies’ hands!”” “Why any more,’ said he, “than they into ours?’ Then he at once ordered all his horse- men to ride up from the rear in order to charge, while he himself put his men-at-arms, three hundred in number, into close array, expecting that wherever they charged he would be most likely to cut his way through the enemy, who outnumbered him. Now, there were two divisions of the Lacedaemonians, the division consisting of five hundred men, according to Ephorus, of seven hundred, according to Callisthenes, of nine hundred, according to certain other writers, among whom is Polybius. Confident of victory, the polemarchs of the Spartans, Gorgoleon and Theo- pompus, advanced against the Thebans. The onset being made on both sides particularly where the commanders themselves

stood, in the first place, the Lacedaemonian polemarchs clashed with Pelopidas and fell; then, when those about them were being wounded and slain, their whole army was seized with fear and opened up a lane for the Thebans, imagining that they wished to force their way through to the opposite side and get away. But Pelopidas used the path thus opened to lead his men against those of

SieEner povevar, oUT@ mavTes m™ pot pomrdony
Epevryov. éyéveto be ouK emt TONUY TOTTOY 7
Siw Ee" époBodrto yap eyyus éytTas ot On Baioe
TOUS "Opxoperious ral THY diadoyny TOY Aaxe-
Saipoviov. Scov dé wxioat Kata KpdTos Kat
SucEeAOeiv Sia travtos How pévou Tou oTparev-
patos, éFeBideavto Kat TTT AVTES Tpomatov
Kal VEK POUS oKuevoavTes avexwphoav én oiKou
péya ppovovrtes. éy yap TOTOUTOLS, @S éouxe,
monémots "EXAnviKots Kal BapBapixois mT poTepov
ovdemroTe Aaxedatpovrot TAELOVES ovres on' éhar-
TOvOY éxpatnOnoav, aArN ovde ioot 7 pos igous
ee mapaTakews cupParovres. Sev joav avu-
WOOTATOL T ppovnpara, ral th Soky Kata-
TANT TOMEVOL TOUS dyTiTaTTouevous, odd abtods
afvobyras at' tons Suvapens TO toov péper Oar
Lmapridrass, eis Xeipas TUVETTHO AD. éxeivn Se
7) paxn TpoTy Kal Tous addous édidakev "EX -
Anvas @S ovxX Oo Evparas oud' o petage BaBv«as
Kal Kvaxi@vos tomos dv6pas expéepet paxntas
Kal TONEUMLKOUS, AAD map ols dy aioxuver Oat
Ta aioxpa Kal ToApaY emt Tois Kadois éOédovtes
éyyévmvTat véot Kab TOUS 'poyous TOV KLVOUYOY
padov pevyortes, ovto. moBepwrartot Tots évay-
tious €lot.

XVIII. Tov 8 ¢ tepov NOXoY, WS Paci, cuveTa-
Earo Topyisas TpBTos && avdpav emLAEKTOY
TptaKxog to, ols 1) WoAts doxnow Kal Startav épv
TH Kaéueia oT PATO EdEvOMEVOLS mapetye, Kal da
Too" 6 ék TONEWS Aoxos exarobyta Tas yap
dxpomronets emLetK as ou TOTE TrOnELS avopatov.
évtoe 5é hacww é€ € épactav Kat Epa meéveov ryevéo Oat
TO aovoTnUa TOUTO. Kal Tlappévous Hm ORRIBS:

the enemy who still held together, and slew them as he went along, so that finally all turned and fled. The pursuit, however, was carried but a little way, for the Thebans feared the Orchomenians, who were near, and the relief force from Sparta. They had succeeded, however, in conquering their enemy out- right and forcing their way victoriously through his whole army; so they erected a trophy, spoiled the dead, and retired homewards in high spirits. For in all their wars with Greeks and Barbarians, as it would seem, never before had Lacedaemonians in superior numbers been overpowered by an inferior force, nor, indeed, in a pitched battle where the forces were evenly matched. Hence they were of an irresistible courage, and when they came to close quarters their very reputation sufficed to terrify their opponents, who also, on their part, thought them- selves no match for Spartans with an equal force. But this battle first taught the other Greeks also that it was not the Eurotas, nor the region between Babyce ! and Cnacion,! which alone produced warlike fighting men, but that wheresoever young men are prone to be ashamed of baseness and courageous in a noble cause, shunning disgrace more than danger, these are most formidable to their foes.

XVIII. The sacred band, we are told, was first formed by Gorgidas, of three hundred chosen men, to whom the city furnished exercise and maintenance, and who encamped in the Cadmeia ; for which reason, too, they were called the city band; for citadels in those days were properly called cities. But some say that this band was composed of lovers and beloved. And a pleasantry of Pammenes is cited, in which

1 Probably names of small tributaries of the Eurotas near Sparta. Cf, the Lycurgus, vi. 1-3.

veveTal TL meTa Tadtas eipnuévov' ov yap &pn
TaxTiKoyv evar Tov ‘Ounpov Néotopa xedevovta
kata ira Kal dpntpas acvrdroyilerOar Tovs
“EAAnvas,
‘Os dentpn penrpndsey apryn, pora de pvrors,

déov eépactiy tap épwpevov tatTew. gurgéTas
bev yap duretav xal dpdtopas dpatopwy ov
A 4 ” i. “a al \ 3 > >
ToXuv rOvyov éyew ev Tots Secvois, To 8 eE épa-
a , , A > /
TUKAS pidias cuYnppocpévovy atidos adiddAvTOV
elvas Kal appnxtov, Stav of péev ayaT@VvTEs TOUS
épwpévous, ot S& aicyuvouevot Tors épavTas
éupévwce Tots Setvols trép GAANA@Y. Kal TodTO
Javyactov ovK éatiy, elye 6% Kal i Tapovtas
aidovvTat padXov Etépwv trapovTwy, ws éxeivos
a , > AN

0 Tov ToAEulov Keipevov auvTov émiopdttew
péAXOVTOS Seopevos Kal dvTtBor@v bia Tod oTép-
n \ f 3
vou dvetvas to Eidos, “""Omas,” Edn, “ ur) pe
veKpoVv 0 ép@evos OpaV KaTa vwTOU TETPwpLéVOV
atayuvOn.” réyerat dé eal Tov ‘lorXewv Tod “Hpa-
Kréous épwpmevoyv dvTa Kowwveiy TOY aOrov Kal
, > 4 A N 3 e \
mapaoriteyv. ‘Apiototérns 5é Kai cal” adbroy
»” \ > \ A 4, a 35 / \
éte dyolyv emi tov tddov tov "lodkew Tas xata-
mistw@ces TowetcBar Tovs épwpévous Kal Tos
épaotas. eixds ovv Kal Tov AOYoY lepoy Trpoca-
yopeverOat, kaOore cat Iddtwv evOcov didov
TOV épaoTHy mpoceime. Aédyetar Sé dtapetvar
péxpe tas ev Xapwveiqg payns antryntov: ws Se
PETA THY waxny epopav Tovs vEexpovs o PiduTros
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he said that Homer’s Nestor was no tactician when
he urged the Greeks to form in companies by clans
and tribes,
“That clan might give assistance unto clan, and
tribes to tribes,” !
since he should have stationed lover by beloved. For tribesmen and clansmen make little account of tribesmen and clansmen in times of danger ; whereas, a band that is held together by the friendship between lovers is indissoluble and not to be broken, since the lovers are ashamed to play the coward before their beloved, and the beloved before their lovers, and both stand firm in danger to protect each other. Nor is this a wonder, since men have more regard for their lovers even when absent than for others who are present, as was true of him who, when his enemy was about to slay him where he lay, earnestly besought him to run his sword through his breast, “in order,’ as he said, “that my beloved may not have to blush at sight of my body with a wound in the back.” It is related, too, that lolaiis, who shared the labours of Heracles and fought by his side, was beloved of him. And Aristotle says? that even down to his day the tomb of I[olaiis was a place where lovers and beloved plighted mutual faith. It was natural, then, that the band should also be called sacred, because even Plato calls the lover a friend “inspired of God.’ It is said, more- over, that the band was never béaten, until the battle of Chaeroneia ;* and when, after the battle, Philip was. surveying the dead, and stopped at the

1 Thad, ii. 363. Cf. Morals, p. 761 b.
2 Fragment 97 (Rose). Cf. Morals, p. 761 d.
3 Symposium, p. 179 a. 4 338 B.C.
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éorn Kara TOUTO TO xwpiov ev @ ouveTvy ave
xeio Oat Tovs TpLaxoatovs, évayTious amnvTnkoTas
TALS capic as aravras éy tots SiAots Kal per’
ap ov avapepoypevors, Oavpacavta Kal mu00-
HEvov as 0 TOV épacTav Kal TOV épwpevav ovTOS
ein Aoxos, Saxpica Kat elmeiy" “"AmrodowTo
KAaK@S of TovTOUS TL Tote n la aad alay pov
UT OVvOO vyres.”

XIX, ” Oras 6é Tis tepl Tous épacras CUVy-.

Getas OvY, @omep ob Tountal Aéyouvat, @nBaiors
TO Aatov mabos apynv Tapea xen, aN’ ot vopo-
Gera. TO ducer Oupoedes auTey Kal dx parov
aviévat rat dvuypaivew evOvs éx maidwv Bovdo-
pevot, TONY pev aveuiFavro Kal oTrouen Kal
maoid waon TOV avnov, els ToD Kat poeSplay
ayovtes, Naum pov 8é Tov para Tals mTahaioT pass
ar aaa ouyKepavvuvtes 7a 70 TOV véwY.

@s dé impos TovTo Kal THY e& "Apews xal

"Agpodirns ryeyovevat heyomevny Oeov Th Tone

cweKelwoar, OS, Srrou TO P@aXNTLKOY kat Trone-
piKov padiota TO peTeXovTL mwetOovs Kal apiTeov
Ojtnel Kal CUVESTLY, ELS THY EMpeherTaTHY Kal
KOO MLwTaTHY ToMTelay 52’ appovias xabiorta--

4
peveoy am avTov.
Tov. ovv lepov Aoyov TovTov 6 pep Topyisas

dtatpav els Ta TpaTa Cvyda Kal map OAnY THY
parayya TOV om dure Tm poBaddopevos em ionov
OvK éTrolet THY “aperny TOV avdpav, ovo éypito
Th Suvdper 7 pos Kowvov épyov, & are dn Stadredv-
pevy Kal T pos TOAD MEpeypery TO pavdorepor,
0 be Tledomridas, ws éFehaprpev avray a apeTy
mept Teyvpas, kabapas Kal Trept avTov dyovira-
péevav, ove ert Stetrev ovde Stéorracev, adn

place where the three hundred were lying, all where
they had faced the long spears of his phalanx, with
their armour, and mingled one with another, he was
amazed, and on learning that this was the band
of lovers and beloved, burst into tears and said:
“Perish miserably they who think that these men
did or suffered aught disgraceful.”

XIX. Speaking generally, however, it was not the passion of Laius that, as the poets say, first made this form of love customary among the Thebans ;1! but their law-givers, wishing to relax and mollify their strong and impetuous natures in earliest boyhood, gave the flute great prominence both in their work and in their play, bringing this instrument into pre-, éminence and honour, and reared them to give love a conspicuous place in the life of the palaestra, thus tempering the dispositions of the young men. And with this in view, they did well to give the goddess who was:said to have been born of Ares and Aphro- dite a home in their city; for they felt that, where the force and courage of the warrior are most closely associated and united with the age which possesses grace and persuasiveness, there all the activities of civil life are brought by Harmony into the most perfect consonance and order..

Gorgidas, then, by distributing this sacred! band among the front ranks of the whole phalanx of men-at-arms, made the high excellence of the men incon- spicuous, and did not direct their strength upon a common object, since it was dissipated and blended with that of a large body of inferior troops; but Pelopidas, after their valour had shone out at Tegyra, where they fought by themselves and about his own person, never afterwards divided or scattered them,

1 Laius was enamoured of Chrysippus, a young son of
Pelops (Apollodorus, iii. 5, 5, 10). 3
3°7
cc 2

Oomrep cwopat. Ypwpevos GrA@ mTpoEeKLVdUvEvE
Tois peyiotols ayaow. @omwep yap of tarot
Qacoov iro Tois Gppaciv:4 nab’ abtovs éXavvo-
pevoe OBéovowv, ovx Ste padrov éeprimrovtes
éxBialovrar Tov dépa TO TAROEL Pyyvupevov, AAN’
OTL ovvencaies Tov Oupov 9 pet’ GAANAwY GurAra
Kal T0 didovetxoy, oUTwS Beto ToOvs ayabous CHrOV
adAnAOS KAA@Y Epywy éviévTas wpPeALuwTATOUS
els KoLWov Epyov eivas al mpoOupoTaTous.

XX. ’Enrei 5¢ Aaxedatuovioe tact tots ° EXXAN-
ow elpyynv auvOéuevoe mpos povovs @nBaiovs
éEnveyxay Tov modewov, éveBeBAnner 8e Kreop-
Bpotos 6 Bacineds aywv orAitas pupiovs, imrels
5é xtriouvs, 06 bé Kivdvvos ov rept oy TpoTEpov
hv OnBaios, arr ayticpus ametAn nal Katay-
yeria Stotxtopov, cal poBos olos obTw THv Botow-
tiav Katetyev, eEiwy ev éx Tis oixias o IleXo-
midas, Kal THS yuvatkos €v TH Mpotréwtrery
Saxpuovons nal tapaxarovons ole éavTor,
“Tadra,” elrrev, “® yvvat, Tois iuwtais ypn
mapatveiv, tois 5¢ adpyovoww Sirws Tous addOVS
cwtwow” éOwy Se eis TO oTpaTOTEdOV Kal TOUS
Bowotdpxyas KatadkaBav ovy opoyvwpovovvtas,
1 P@TOS ‘Erapewovda mpoaédero ywouny wndt-
Somévyp dua paxnns tévat Tots Tronepiors, Boww-
Tans pep OUK drrodederypevos, &pxwv 5é Tod
iepod Adyov, Kal miotevopevos, ws Hv Sixarov
dvipa TnAtKadra SedwxoTa TH TaTpids cvpBora
eis THV édevOepiav.
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but, treating them as a unit, put them into the fore-
front of the greatest conflicts. For just as horses
run faster when yoked to a chariot than when men
ride them singly, not because they cleave the air
with more impetus owing to their united weight,
but because their mutual rivalry and ambition in-
flame their spirits; so he thought that brave men
were most ardent and serviceable in a common cause
when they inspired one another with a zeal for high
achievement.
XX. But now the Lacedaemonians made peace
with all the other Greeks and directed the war
against the Thebans alone ;! Cleombrotus their king
invaded Boeotia with a force of two thousand men-
at-arms and a thousand horse ; a new peril confronted
the Thebans, since they were openly threatened with
downright dispersion; and an unprecedented fear
reigned in Boeotia. It was at this time that Pelopi-
das, on leaving his house, when his wife followed
him on his way in tears and begging him not to lose
his life, said: “This advice, my wife, should be

given to private men; but men in authority should be told not to lose the lives of others.” And when he reached the camp and found that the boeotarchs were not in accord, he was first to side with Epaminondas in voting to give the enemy battle. Now Pelopidas, although he had not been appointed boeotarch, was captain of the sacred band, and highly trusted, as it was right that a man should be who had given his country such tokens of his devotion to freedom.

1 In 371 B.c.

‘Os ob é5é50xt0 Staxiwduvevey nai wept ta Acixtpa Tois Aaxedatpoviors avreatpatomédevor, Ovi ide Kara TOUS imvous) Tledomidas eD para Siatapdfacay avTov. éott yap év T@ Acuxtpix@ medio Ta ONpPATA TOV TOU SaeSdoov Ouyatépov, as Aevertpidas Kandovot bia Tov TOTOV: éxEel yap avtais imo Eévov Lrapriariav Brac beicats cuvé8n Tapivas. yevoperns dé Xaremijs otTw Kal Tapavopov mpatews, 0 O pev TATNHP, as ovuK éETUYED éy) Naxedaipovt Sixns, apas Kata Top Lmapria-TaV apacdapevos Eohakev éauTov éml tois Tapots TOV Twaplévwn, xpne pol 5é Kai Adyta Tois Lrap-TLaTals ael Tm povpavov evha Beta Bas cal pudartec0at TO Aeverptxov pqvipa, Ty) mdvy TeV TONN@Y TUVLEVTOY, GX appeyvoovvtav TOV TOmov, émel Kal THs Aaxovnts TOXVLOV Wpos TH Gardoon Aetxtpov dvopaterat, Kat Tpos Meyddy monet Tis "Apxadias TOTS €oTip Of@vupoOs. TO peév ovv wd0os TovTO ToAV Tav AevKTpLKO@Y TV TANALOTEPOV.

XXI. ‘O &€ Hedorridas évy TO oT paToméese Kataxouunbeis éd0fe tas te taidas opay Tmept Ta pvnpata Opnvoveas Kal KaTapwpevas Tois Lrapridtass, Tov Te YKédacov KehevovTa Tais KOpars opayidca map0évov EavOny, et Bovnovro TOV | TONE LOV eM LK Paria at. bewod 5é Kal trapavogou Tov T pooTayLaros auT@ pavévtos efavaoTas exowvovTo Tots Te pavrect Kal Tots apXovorv. Ov ot pey ove elov Tapapeneiv ove” arrevBeiv, TOV pev TANALOY mpopépovres Mevotxéa tov K éovros kat Maxapiav THY ‘Hpaxdéous,

tav 5 datepov Depexvdnv re TOV coov imo
Aaxedaipoviwy avaipeOévta kal thy Sopav avrod
39°

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Accordingly, it was decided to risk a battle, and at Leuctra they encamped over against the Lacedaemonians. Here Pelopidas had a dream which greatly disturbed him. Now, in the plain of Leuctra are the tombs of the daughters of Scedasus, who are called from the place Leuctridae, for they had been buried there, after having been ravished by Spartan strangers.1 At the commission of such a grievous and lawless act, their father, since he could get no justice at Sparta, heaped curses upon the Spartans, and then slew himself upon the tombs of the maidens; and ever after, prophecies and oracles kept warning the Spartans to be on watchful guard against the Leuctrian wrath. Most of them, however, did not fully understand the matter, but were in doubt about the place, since in Laconia there is a little town near the sea which is called Leuctra, and near Megalopolis in Arcadia there is a place of the same name. This calamity, of course, occurred long be- fore the battle of Leuctra.

XXI. After Pelopidas had lain down to sleep in the camp, he thought he saw these maidens weeping at their tombs, as they invoked curses upon the Spartans, and Scedasus bidding him sacrifice to his daughters a virgin with auburn hair, if he wished to win the victory over his enemies. The injunction seemed a lawless and dreadful one to him, but he rose up and made it known to the seers and the commanders. Some of these would not hear of the injunction being neglected or disobeyed, adducing as examples of such sacrifice among the ancients, Menoeceus, son of Creon, Macaria, daughter of Heracles; and, in later times, Pherecydes the wise man, who was put to death by the Lacedaemonians,

1 The damsels, in shame, took their own lives, Cf.
Pausanias, ix. 13, 3. ae
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

o A A
Kata TL NoOyLov Ure TOY Bactdéwy ppovpovpevny,
4 A A
Aewviday te Te XpnoL@e TpPOTOY TLVa TpoOvad-
e .' e ' A € 4, 4 \ AY e \
pevov éautov wép tis 'EAXdSos, Ets 5€ Tovs U7r0
OcwictoxrAéous ohaytacbévtas @pnoth Arovice
Tpo Tis ev Yarapive vavpayias: éxeivors yap
éripaptupnoat ta KxatopOdpata: toto Sé, as
> li ? \ " b al ? 4, /
Aynot\aov ato tev avTav Ayapémvove ToTTMV
éml TOUS AUTOUS TTPATEVOMEVOY TrOAEMLOUS ATNCE
peev 9 Oeos THY Ovyatépa ahayiov Kal tavTny
elde tTHy Giri év Avridt Kotuopevos, o S ovK

éSmxev, GAN atropwadMaxwbels KatéXvTE THY
, Mv a bd A ‘4 e A
otpateiav abofov Kai ateAH yevomevnv. of Se
ToUvavtioy amnyopevov, ws ovdevi TAY KpEtTT OVOY
Kal umép nas apectnv ovcay ottw BapBapov
4 A
kal tapdvopov Ovoiayv ov yap tovs Tudavas
3 4 IOAN \ 4 v > \ N
éxeivous ovdé tovs Tiyavtas apxew, adda Tov
A 4
mavrwv tmatépa Seay xat avOpwTrarv: Saipovas
\ ,
5é yaipovtas avOparwv aipatt Kai povm mT-
/ oY] bY \ 2Q/ 4 de
oTeve pev lows éotly aBédTEpOY, GvTwY O€ ToL-
yy ? e 9 8 f 2 @ 4 a \
ovTwV apedrnréov ws advvatwv: acUeveig yap Kal
’ a \ 4 \
poxOnpia Wuxis éupverOar kat Tapapevery Tas
“f
aTomous Kal yareTras értOupulas.
“a ,
XXII. "Ey rosovtoss oby S:aroyous TOY TPwTwY
évTwv, Kat partoTa Tov IleXomridou SiatropobvTos,
A oe ‘
immwv €& ayéAns TaXOS atropuyovca Kal hepo-
f \ a ef € 9 , ? ? \
pévn dia TOV OTAWY, WS HV Béovca KAT aUTOUS
> , > 4 N a \ v @ 4 A
EXELVOUS, ETETTN’ KAL TOLS LEY AXXOLS Céav Trapet-
” 4 LU
Nev TE pda aoTihBovoa THs KaiTHS TUpcOTAaTOV
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and whose skin was preserved by their kings, in accordance with some oracle; and Leonidas, who, in obedience to the oracle, sacrificed himself,! as it were, to save Greece ; and, still further, the youths who were sacrificed by Themistocles to Dionysus Carnivorous before the sea fight at Salamis ;? for the successes which followed these sacrifices proved them acceptable to the gods. Moreover, when Agesilaiis, who was setting out on an expedition from the same place as Agamemnon did, and against the same enemies, was asked by the goddess for his daughter in sacrifice, and had this vision as he lay asleep at Aulis, he was too tender-hearted to give her,® and thereby brought his expedition to an unsuccessful and inglorious ending. Others, on the contrary, argued against it, declaring that such a lawless and barbarous sacrifice was not acceptable to any one of the superior beings above us, for it was not the fabled

typhons and giants who governed the world, but the father of all gods and men; even to believe in the existence of divine beings who take delight in the slaughter and blood of men was perhaps a folly, but if such beings existed, they must be disregarded, as having no power; for only weakness and depravity of soul could produce or harbour such unnatural and cruel desires.

XXII. While, then, the chief men were thus disputing, and while Pelopidas in particular was in perplexity, a filly broke away from the herd of horses and sped through the camp, and when she came to the very place of their conference, stood still. The rest only admired the colour of her glossy mane, which was fiery red, her high mettle, and the

' At Thermopylae. Cf. Herodotus, vii, 220.

2 Cf. the Themistocles, xiii. 2 f.
3 Cf. the Agesilazis, vi. 4 ff.

e / \ ‘ \
Te yavpotns kal To coBapov Kal tePappnKos
aA A / e 4 Va
THs Pwvis, Meoxpitos Se o pavtis cupudpovncas
9 , A A J co Q
aveBonoe mpos tov TleXomidav. “Hee vor ro
e a 9 , 4 ¥ A
iepetov, @ Satmovie, kal trapOévoy AdXXANV pn Trept-
pévopev, aNAA yp SeEdpevos iv o Deds SiSwowv.”
3 4 4 \ ¢ > \ A ,
éx tovtov AaPovtes THY immov. ért Tos Tapous
Hyov tav wapbévar, kal xatevEdpevot nal nata-
otévavtes évéte“ov avtoi Te yaipovtes Kal Noyov
eis TO oTpatomedov trept THS SYrews Tod IleAo-
midov Kal tis Ouaias Sd0vTes.
? N A Ul ” > a
XXIII Ey 6é TH baxXn Tob Errapewovdou
Thy darayya NoEnv emi TO evovupov EXKOVTOS,
Stas TOV GAX\wov ‘“EXAjHVOY aTwTdtTe yévntat
\ \ A A \ \ /
To Oeftov TOV Yraptiatav Kal tov KredpuBporov
éEaon tpoomecwy ab pows KaTa Képas Kat Biaca-
MEVOS, OF pev TrOAEuLOL KaTApLAOOYTES TO yLVOMLEVOV
npEavTo petaxively tH Taker ods avTovs, Kal
70 de€tov avértvocoyv Kal Teptiyyov @S KUKAO-
copevor Kal wepiBarodvres wd mANOovs Tov
9 , 5 e oe iS > UA

Ezrapervmvdav, o 6€ IleXotidas ev tovT@ mpo-
eFéSpape, Kal avaoTpéWas Tovs TpLaxocious Spo
POdver mply dvareivar Tov KreopBportov 76 xépas
ovvayayely TadLv Els TO AUTO Kal auyKNEioaL
THhv takw, ov Kabeotaow, aAXrA{A GopuBoupévots
dv addjA@v Tots Aaxedatmovioss éiBarov. xai-
ToL TavTwy apo TexviTat Kal aodictal Tov
ToveuiK@y OvTes of Ywaptiatar pos ovdev
ovTws émraidevoy avtovs Kal ovveiOilov, ws Td
pn TAavacBa pndé tapdtrrecBar tadkews diadv-
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vehemence and boldness of her neighing; but Theocritus the seer, after taking thought, cried out to Pelopidas: “Thy sacrificial victim is come, good man; so let us not wait for any other virgin, but do thou accept and use the one which Heaven offers thee.” So they took the mare and led her to the tombs of the maidens, upon which, after decking her with garlands and consecrating her with prayers, they sacrificed her, rejoicing themselves, and publishing through the camp an account of the vision of Pelopidas and of the sacrifice.

XXIII. In the battle, while Epaminondas was drawing his phalanx obliquely towards the left, in order that the right wing of the Spartans might be separated as far, as possible from the rest of the Greeks, and that he might thrust back Cleombrotus by a fierce charge in column with all his men-at- arms, the enemy understood what he was doing and began to change their formation ; they were opening up their right wing and making an encircling move- ment, in order to surround Epaminondas and en- velop him with their numbers. But at this point Pelopidas darted forth from his position, and with his band of three hundred on the run, came up! before Cleombrotus had either extended his wing or brought it back again into its old position and closed up his line of battle, so that the Lacedaemonians were not standing in array, but moving confusedly about among each other when his onset reached them. And yet the Spartans, who were of all men past masters in the art of war, trained and accustomed themselves to nothing so much as not to straggle or get into

1 There is only a hint of this strategy, and no mention either of Epaminondas or Pelopidas, in Xenophon’s account of the battle (Hell. vi. 4, 9-15).

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Oeions, GAAA Ypw@pevor Tao. Wdvres eTigTAaTALs

kat Cevyitats, Orrot ToTé Kal cuviotnoLw oO Kiv-
dvvos, KatadapBavey xal ocuvappottew Kat
paxeoOar Tapamhna iws. tote 5é€ » Tov ’Eza-
petvavdov darayE eripepopévn povois éxeivoss
\ , \ ” a la
Kal TapaXdNaTTovaa Tovs addXous, O TE IleXomidas
peTa TaXOUS aTictov Kal TOApNs év TOIS STAOLS
yevopevos, ouUVeXEoY Ta TE Ppovnpata Kal Tas
eTLTTHMAS AUTaV OUTwWS waTE huyny Kal ghovoy
Lraptiatav scov ovmw wpotepov ryevérOar. S10
”~ 3 , A N ”
T@ Erapervavdag Sowrapxotvre pn Bovorapyar,
kal raons hryoupéevm THs Suvdpews pixpod pepous
apxewv, toov nvéyxato So&ns THs vixens éxeivns cat
Tov KatTopOwparos.
XXIV. Eis pévrot Tedorovvncov apydorepor
Bowwrapyovvtes évéBarov xal tav eOvav
mréiata Wpoornyovto, Aaxedatpoviwy arocTy-
cavtes "Hdyw, “Apyos, “Apxadiavy cvpracay,
avTns THs Naxwuxns Ta Treiota. Kaito xee-
Pa@vos péev Hoav ai trepl tTpoTras axpai, punvos bé
Tov TedevTaiov POivoyTos OAiyaL TrEpLACaV Hepat,
A > \ ” 4 e / b \
Kal thy apyny de rapadrauBave érépous evOus
ioTapévou Tov TpwTOU pNVos, 7} OvnoKELY TOUS p71)
v e N BA , \
qmapaoioovtas. ot dé addX\or BowwTapyar kal Tov
vopuov Sediotes ToUTOY Kal TOY yELL@va hEevyovTeS
amayeiv Eorrevdoy ér’ olkov TO oTpatevpa, LledXo-
midas 5é mpatos ‘Ezrapevavda yevopevos ovp-
ndhos Kai oupmapoppncas Tovs trodiTas Tye
> A) , / \ bd) ,
éml thy Lardprny kai dveBiBale tov Evporav.
Kal TOAANGS [ev pet TOAELS AUTOV, Tacay 5é THY
yapav éropler péxpt Oardtrns, HYyovpevos érra
pupiddov “EXXnviKis otpatiads, Hs EXatTov 7
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confusion upon a change of formation, but to take anyone without exception as neighbour in rank or in file, and wheresoever danger actually threatened, to seize that point and form in close array and fight as well as ever. At this time, however, since the phalanx of Epaminondas bore down upon them alone and

neglected the rest of their force, and since Pelopidas engaged them with incredible speed and boldness, their courage and skill were so confounded that there was a flight and slaughter of the Spartans such as had never before been seen. Therefore, although Epaminondas was boeotarch, Pelopidas, “who was not boeotarch, and commanded only a small portion of the whole force, won as much glory for the success of that victory as he did.

XXIV. Both were boeotarchs, however, when they invaded Peloponnesus and won over most of its peoples, detaching from the Lacedaemonian confederacy Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and most of Laconia itself. Still, the winter solstice was at hand, and only a few days of the latter part of the last month of the year remained, and as soon as the first month of the new. year began other officials must succeed them, or those who would not surrender their office must die. The other boeotarchs, both because they feared this law, and because they wished to avoid the hardships of winter, were anxious to lead the army back home ; but Pelopidas was first to add his vote to that of Epaminondas, and after inciting his countrymen to Join them, led the army against Sparta and across the Eurotas. He took many of the enemy’s cities, and ravaged all their territory as far as the sea, leading an army of seventy thousand Greeks, of which the Thebans themselves were less than a

1 In 370 B.c.

3 dwdéxaTov jaoav avrot @nBaior pépos. GAD’ v)
b0fa TOV avd pav dvev Soyparos Kowvow Kat vn-
plo patos érrotet TOUS TULPAXOUS EmecOat Lom
mayTas aHryoupéevous éxetvots. 0 yap TpwWTOS, ws.
EouKe, Kal KUpLwOTAaTOS vo"os TO cwtecBar Seopery |
Tov oo Sel duvdpevov apxovra. Kata puow a7r0-:
didwau: Kay Hoep of wA€ovtes eddias obons
map aKTHV oppobvTes doehyas Tpocevex Pace
Tois xuBepvytats Kal Opacéws, & ipa Te Xerudva
Kat xivduvov, KatarapBavew ™ pos éxelvous aqro-
Prérover kal tas éArridas ev éxetvols éXovat.
4 ral yap "Apyeior Ka "Hnrelor Kal ‘Apeddes € év Tois
cuvedpiors épilovtes Kal Sapepopevor Tpos TOUS
@nBaious brép tyyepovias, € én avr ay TOV AYOVOV
kal mapa ta Sewd Tos éxeivwy adlaipétos
mevOopevor aTparnyois jcorovdour.
5 "Ev éxeivn TH oTpateia Tac ay peev "Apkadiay
els piav Sivapuv ouvéorTnaar, THY dé Meconviav
Vy apa VELOMevenV Lraptiatéy a amor ELopevor TOUS
WaNa.ovs Meconvious éxdouv Kat KaTHyov
W0apnv cuvotxicartes, am LovTes dé ém’ olxou
dia Keyypeav “AGnvaious evixoy emuxetpodvTas
anfrupaxeiv mepi Ta oTeva Kal KodvVELW THY
Topeiav.

XXV. "Ent 5e ToUToLs of pev aNXot TAVTES
UTepnyaTrov THY apeTny Kat THY TUYNV édavpa-
Cov, o 6€ auyyevns Kal TroALTLKOS 30s & dpa Th
S0&n TOV avopav auvavEopevos ov kanas ovde
MpeTrOova as vrodoxas trapeo Kevatey avrots. Oava-
TOU yap apporepor dixas Epuyov émavehBovres,
StL TOU vopou Kehevovtos év TH TpOT@O pnvi
mapadobvat THDv Bowwrapxiav éTEpous, dv Bov-'
Katiovy Gvouatovat,. tTértapas SXous mpocere-
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twelfth part. But the reputation of the two men, without a general vote or decree, induced all the allies to follow their leadership without a murmur. . For the first and paramount law, as it would seem, namely, that of nature, subjects him who desires to be saved to the command of the man who can save him ; just as sailors, when the weather is fair or they are lying off shore at anchor, treat their captains with bold insolence, but as soon as a storm arises and danger threatens, look to them for guidance and place their hopes in them.- And so Argives, Eleans, and Arcadians, who in their joint assemblies con- | tended and strove with' the Thebans for the supre- macy, when battles were actually to be fought and perils to be faced, of. their own will obeyes the Theban generals and followed them.

On this expedition they united all Arcadia into one power ; rescued the country of Messenia from the hands of its Spartan masters and called back and re- stored the ancient Messenian inhabitants, with whom they settled Ithome; and on their way back home- wards through Cenchreae, conquered the Athenians when they tried to hinder their passage by skirmish- ing with them in the passes.

XXV. In view of these achievements, all the rest of the Greeks were delighted with their valour and marvelled at their good fortune; but the envy of their own fellow-citizens, which was increasing with the men's fame, prepared them a reception that was not honourable or fitting. For both were tried for their lives when they came back, because they had not handed over to others their office of boeotarch, as. the law commanded, in the first month of the new year (which they call Boukatios), but had added four

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Bdrovro pivas, év ols ta mept Meoconvny kat
"A ot A AY 5 /
pxadiay xal thv Aaxovixny Si@Knoay.
EionyOn pév ovv mpotepos eis to Suxactyptov
TleXoridas, 5:6 kal parrov éexwdvvevoer, appo-

tepor b€ atrervOnoav. Oo 6€ cuxopdyTnpa Kai
THY meipay "Erapewwvdas fveyxe paws, peya
pépos avépeias Kal peyarowuxias Thv év Tots
TONLTLKOLS aveEixaxiav T OLOULEVOS, IleXomridas
5é cal dices Ovpoedéotepos wv, cal tapoéuvo-
Hevos vTrd TaV dirwv auvvacbat Tovs éxOpovs,
b , 4 > / , e e 4
émeNdBetro toravrTns aitias. Mevexdeidas o pr-
Top Hv pev els trav peta IleAorridou cal MéXovos
3 \ / > 27 , ? \ “A
eis THV Xdpawvos oixiay avverdOovtor, ere 5é TOV
lowy ov nEvovTO Tapa Tots OnBatots, Sewvoratos
\ A 4 ? , \ \ 4 Q
pev av Aéyerv, akoXacTos bé Kal KaKxonOns Tov
TpoTroyv, €Xpnto TH pvoet mpos TO oUKOpavTeEiV
cal duaBdrrXew Tovs KpetTtTovas, ovde peTa Séenv
éxeiyny mavodpuevos. ‘Emapevoviav pev odv
é£éxpovoe THs Bowwrapyias cal cateToALTevc ato
modu xXpovoy, IleXomriday Sé mpos péev Tov SHyov
ov« loxvoe StaBarelv, érexeiper 5é auvyxpodcat
7 Xdpww Kal xownv tia tov dO0ovov tapa-
la 4 e 9 \ \ 4 f
pv0iav ExovTos, dv oy avtol un Sivavtat BeATious
havivat, TovTous apas yé Tws éEtépwv atrodeiEwor
Kaxious, Tors HY mpos Tov SHuov avk~wv Ta TOU
Xdpwvos Epya, cal Tas otpatnyias tas éxeivou
Kal Tas vixas éycwpiatwv. THs 5é pos TINataras
immopaxias, vy mpo tov Aeuxtpixav évixnoay
Hryoupévou Xapovos, émrexeipnoev avabnua Tovovde
moijoar. ‘Avdpoxvdns o Kufixnvos éxrd\aBov
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whole months to it, during which they conducted their campaign in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia. Well, then, Pelopidas was first brought to trial, and therefore ran the greater risk, but both were acquitted. Epaminondas bore patiently with this attempt to calumniate him, considering that for- bearance under political injury was a large part of fortitude and magnanimity ; but Pelopidas, who was naturally of a more fiery temper, and who was egged on by his friends to avenge himself upon his enemies, seized the following occasion. Menecleidas, the orator, was one of those who had gathered with Pelopidas and Melon at Charon’s house, and since he did not receive as much honour among the Thebans as the others, being a most able speaker, but intemperate and malicious in his disposition, he gave his natural gifts employment in calumniating and slandering his superiors, and kept on doing so even after the trial.

Accordingly, he succeeded in excluding Epaminondas from the office of boeotarch, and kept him out of political leadership for some time; but he had not weight enough to bring Pelopidas into disfavour with the people, and there- fore tried to bring him into collision with Charon. And since it is quite generally a consolation to the envious, in the case of those whom they themselves cannot surpass in men's estimation, to show these forth as somehow or other inferior to others, he was constantly magnifying the achievements of Charon, in his speeches to the people, and extolling his cam- paigns and victories. Moreover, for the victory which the Theban cavalry won at Plataea, before the battle of Leuctra, under the command of Charon, he at- tempted to make the following public dedication. Androcydes of Cyzicus had received a commission

Tapa THS TOAEwS TivaKxa ypa rat payxns ETépas,
émeréner TO Epyov év OnBars: yevomevns Se tis
amrogtacews Kal TOU TroAé"OU GULTTETOYTOS, Ov
jToAv Tov TédAos exyew €drELTOVTA TOV TivaKa
map éavtois ot @nBaio KaTéaxov. TOUTOV OUD
0 Mevexrcidas érevcey avabévras éruypdayar
Tovvopa Tov Xdpwvos, ws apavpoowv tHv IleXo-
midou Kal 'Erapewavoou Sofav. hy 5é aBértepos
) dtroTysia, Tapa toaovTovs Kal THALKOUTOUS
ayavas évos Epyou kal pds vinns ayaTopévns,
év 3 Tepavéay twa tav aonpev Yraptiatav Kal
Tegoapdxovta mer avtTod receiv, GAXo Sé ovdey
péya mpaxOnvar rAéyovot. Toto TO vidicpa
ypaderar IleAoridas rrapavouer, ioyuptlopevos
dre OnBaios od wdtpiov qv idia Kat avdpa
Tiav, GAA TH TaTpid. KoWWaS TO THS viKNS
dvoua catew. Kai Tov pev Xdpwva Tapa Tacay
Thy Sixny éyxopiatwv apOoves Sierédrece, Tov Se
Mevexrcidav BacKcavov cal Tovnpov éFehéyyov,
kat Tovs OnBaiovs épwrav et pndév avrois xadov
TEN PAKTAL, dare? Meverdreidav Cnpiaa as x pN-
pacw, & pn Svvadpevos éexticoa. dua mAnO0s,
Yotepov émexeipnoe Kivjoar Kal peTaoTioal THY
TomTEelav. Tada pev ovv Eve TLvd Kal Tov Biou
aTobewpnaw.
XXVI. "Evel 5é 'AreEdvdpou tod Depoy tu-
pdyvouv ToXepmouvros pév €x mpodnrou TroAAOtS
@etrtarav, émiBourevovtos 5é€ Tacw, émpéaBev-
aav eis OnBas at modes oTpaTNyoV atTovpevae
kat Svvapwv, opav o Tledomidas rov 'Erapewov-

1 S0re Bryan's correction of the MSS. 8 uh, which Sintenis and Bekker retain, assuming a lacuna in the

text.

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from the city to make a picture of another battle, and was finishing the work at Thebes; but the city revolted from Sparta, and the war came on, before the picture was quite completed, and the Thebans now had it on their hands. This picture, then, Menecleidas persuaded them to dedicate with Cha- ron's name inscribed thereon, hoping in this way to obscure the fame of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. But the ambitious scheme was a foolish one, when there were so many and such great conflicts, to bestow approval on one action and one victory, in which, we are told, a certain Gerandas, an obscure Spartan, and forty others were killed, but nothing else of importance was accomplished. This decree was attacked as unconstitutional by Pelopidas, who insisted that it was not a custom with the Thebans to honour any one man individually, but for the whole country to have the glory of a victory. And through the whole trial of the case he continued to heap generous praise upon Charon, while he showed Menecleidas to be a slanderous and worthless fellow, and asked the Thebans if they had done nothing noble themselves; the result was that Menecleidas was fined, and being unable to pay the fine because it was so heavy, he afterwards tried to effect a revolution in the government. This episode, then, has some bearing on the Life which I am writing. XXVI. Now, since Alexander the tyrant of Pherae made open war on many of the Thessalians, and was plotting against them all, their cities sent ambassa- dors to Thebes asking for an armed force and a general. Pelopidas, therefore, seeing that Epami-

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bp 2
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

"day Tas 'ev TleXorovynce mpagets Stocety,* QUTOS
éaTov ETEOWKE Kat T pooevetpe TOUS Oeccarsis,
pnte THY iSiav é emia TEND Kal Suva py apyotoap
qTeplopav Umropevan, penre Siro mdpearey '"Ezra-
'pewvavdas éTépov beta Gar orpatnyoo vopitav.
@S ovy éotparevoev érl Qeccadiay peta Suva-
pews, THY TE Adpisoay evOvs tmapédXaBe, Kal Tov
"AneEavdpov éOovra Kal Seopevov Siahrarrewy
€metparo Kal Trovety ex Tupdvvov mpgov dpxovra
Tous @eccanrois xat VOpLWoV. os be 7 hv aUNKETTOS
Kal Onpiadys Kal TOMAH pep @EOTNS autob,
TONAN 6€ ao ehyeva Kal mAcovetia KATHY OpELTo,
Tpaxvvopevov Tou Medomidou T pos avTov Kat
Naretratvovros amroépas @XETO META TOV Sopv-
popwv. o 6é IleXomridas adecay Te TONAIY amo
Tov Tupdyvou TOUS Oeccanrois aTONT OV Kal ™ pos
aXANAouS opovoray, avtos eis Maxedoviav amripe,
IItroAepaiou pév 'AreEdvdpy 7 Baovrevovtt TOY

Maxedover TONE MOUVTOS, apudorépov dé peTatrep-
Tropeévav exeivov @S Siahdant yy kal ducactny Kat
TUM MAX ov kal BonOov tov Soxotvtos abdixeicbar
yevnjg opevov. eBay bé Kal dvadvoas Tas dta-
dopas Kal KaTayayov TOUS pevyovTas, 6unpov
erase Tov adeAov Tov Bacrréws Pidurmov cat
TpLdKovTa jwaioas adnous TOV emupaverTatov,
Kat KATETTNTEY eis @nBas, emrderFapevos Tous
if EdAqow @S Toppw Sunxer Ta OnBaiwr ™ pary-
pata TH S0En Tis Suvdpews Kal TH TioTEL THS
Sixavoouvys.
“Odtos my Piru mos 0 TOUS “EAAqow orepov
“‘Tokeunoas bmrép THs éXevOepias, Tore Sé mais Ov
1 S:otxetvy Bekker has d:o:1nvdyra, after Coraés.

nondas was busy with his work in Peloponnesus, offered and assigned himself to the Thessalians,} both because he could not suffer his own skill and ability to lie idle, and because he thought that wher- ever Epaminondas was there was no need of a second general. Accordingly, after marching into Thessaly with an armed force, he straightway took Larissa, and when Alexander came to him and begged for terms, he tried to make him, instead of a tyrant, one who would govern the Thessalians mildly and according to law. But since the man was incurably brutish and full of savageness, and since there was much denunciation of his licentiousness and greed, Pelopidas became harsh and severe with him, where- upon he ran away with his guards. Then Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in great security from the tyrant and in concord with one another, set out him- self for Macedonia, where Ptolemy was at war with Alexander the king of the Macedonians. For both parties had invited him to come and be arbiter and judge between them, and ally and helper of the one that appeared to be wronged. After he had come, then, and had settled their differences and brought home the exiles, he received as hostages Philip, the king’s brother, and thirty other sons of the most illustrious men, and brought them to live at Thebes, thus showing the Greeks what an advance . the Theban state had made in the respect paid to its power and the trust placed in its justice.

This ‘was the Philip who afterwards waged \ war to enslave the Greeks, but at this time he was a boy,

1 In 369 B.C. | |

éy @nBas trapa Tlappéves Siartay elyev. ex 5e
Tovrou cai Cnrwrns yeyovévar edokev' ’Erapei-

vevdoou, TO wept Tous odésous Kal Tas oTpaTN-
yias Spactnpioy icws xatavonoas,' 6 ptxpov hv
Tis TOD avdpos apeTHs popsoy, éyxpateias 5é Kal
Ssxasoourns Kal peyadopvyias xat mpgornros,
ols hy adds péyas exeivos, oddey OUTE PicEt
Dirdswmos ove psunoer peTtéoye.
XXVII. Mera &é tratta mddsy tav BetTarov
aittwpévoy toy Depaioyv *ArdéEavdpoy ws dia-
Tapattovta Tas TONES, aTEgTAAN peTa Iopnviov
apeaBevwr o IleXomidas: Kal rapiy ovte oixobev
Gyov Suvaysv ovte 1roAEpov mpocdoxnaas, avrois
5¢ trois @etrarois ypncPas wpos TO KateTeEiyov
TOV TpaypnaTwv avayxalopevos. év touTm dé
wadsy tav kata Maxedoviay tapattopévoy (0
yap IIroANepaios aynpyxes tov Baosréa nal thy
apyny xatéoyev, ot 5é piros Tod TeOvnKdTOs éxd-
Aoup Tov IleXowidav), Boudopevos pév erripavjvas
Tois mpaypacty, idtouvs 5é orpatiwtas ov exon,
puaBodpapovs tivas autobev mpocdaRopevos pera
Toutwv ev0us é8adilev eri tov IIro\euaiov. ws
S éyyvs GdArAwy éyévovto, Tous pev piaPodopous
IItorepatos ypnpacs StapOeipas Ereroev ws avTov
petaothvat, tov Sé [leXoridov thv So-av avtny
kai touvoua Sedoixws airnvrncey os Kpéeiooore,
kai deEwmodpevos cai Senbels mporoynoe THY pev
apxXny Tots Tod TeOvynKoTos adeAHois StagurAdEecy,
@nBaiows Sé tov avdtov éyOpov eew «al dirov
ounpous 8 émi rovtors tov viov Dirdokevoy edwxe
kal qwevtnxovta tav étaipwy. tovTous pev ovv
1 Botey.. . xaravofoas Bekker has rioly Soter. .. xara- vohoacw (to some .. . who observed), after Coraés.

and lived in Thebes with Pammenes. Hence he was believed to have become a zealous follower of Epaminondas, perhaps because he comprehended his efficiency in wars and campaigns, which was only a small part of the man’s high excellence; but in restraint, justice, magnanimity, and gentleness, wherein Epaminondas was truly great, Philip had no share, either naturally or as a result of imitation. XXVII. After this, when the Thessalians again brought complaint against Alexander of Pherae as a disturber of their cities, Pelopidas was sent thither on an embassy with Ismenias ;1 and since he brought no force from home with him, and did not expect war, he was compelled to employ the Thessalians themselves for the emergency. At this time, too, Macedonian affairs were in confusion again, for Ptolemy had killed the king and now held the reins of government, and the friends of the dead king were calling upon Pelopidas. Wishing, therefore, to appear upon the scene, but having no soldiers of his own, he enlisted some

mercenaries on the spot, and with these marched at once against Ptolemy. When, however, they were near each other, Ptolemy cor- rupted the mercenaries and bribed them to come over to his side; but since he feared the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he met him as his superior, and after welcoming him and supplicating his favour, agreed to be regent for the brothers of the dead king, and to make an alliance with the Thebans ; moreover, to confirm this, he gave him his son Philoxenus and fifty of his companions as hostages.

1 In 368 B.c.

atréatetkev eis @nBas o Iledomidas, avros 5€
Bapéws hépov tHv Trav piabopopwv mpodociay,
Kal tuvOavopevos Ta TAEicTA THY YonLaTOV
autos Kal Taidas Kal yuvaixas atroxeicOat Tept
Pdpocaroy, Bote TOVT@Y KpaTHaas ikayny dixnv
ay xabuBpictat AnYrecOar, cvvayayov Tav Gec-
carav tivas hKev eis Pdpoarov. aptiws 8 aitod
mapednrvbotos "AréEavdpos o TUpavyos éredai-
veto peta THs Suvapews. Kat vopicavtes ot rept
tov IledXoriday dzrodoynoopevoy jxew éBad.Cov
avtol pos avTov, éForyn péev SvTa Kal pardovov
elodTes, dia 5é tas OnBas Kat To Tept avrovs
agtiopa Kxat Sdfav ovdev ay wabeiv mpocdoKn-
aavtes. 0 5é, ws eldev avoTrAOUS Kal povous Tpoc-
tovtas, éexeivous pev evOds auvéraBe, THY Sé
@PdpoaXdov KaTEaXE, dpixny 5é cal PoBov évecp-
yaoato Tols UTNKOOLS TAG OS ye META THV THAL-
KavTnyv adixiav Kat ToOApay adetdnowy ardvTwr,
Kal Ypnoopmevos odTw Tois Tapatintovow avOpo-
To Kal TPaywacl ws TOTE YE KOULOH TOV EaUTOD
Biov atreyvwxas.

XXVIII. Of pév otv OnBaioe tadta axov-
cavtes Efepov Bapéws Kat oT paTLay éférreutrov
evOUs, 5: Opynv tiva mpos tov 'Emapewovdav
érépous amrobeiEavtes apyovtas. tov é IIeAo-
miday es Tas Depas atayayov o TUpAaVVOS TO [eV
m™paTov ela Tovs BovrAopévous avT@ Siar€éyecOat,
vopifwv édeetvov yeyoveévat Kal Tamrelvov Ud TIS
aouudopas: émet 6é Tovs pév Depaiouvs o Iedo-
midas Gdupopévous mapexadre. Oappeiv, ws vov
Hadtota Swocovtos Tov Tupavvov dixny, mpos Sé
aUTOV exEelvov amroaTEiAas éXeyev WS ATOTTIOS éoTL

These, then, Pelopidas sent off to Thebes; but he himself, being indignant at the treachery of his mercenaries, and learning that most of their goods, to- gether with their wives and children, had been placed for safety at Pharsalus, so that by getting these into his power he would sufficiently punish them for their affront to him, he got together some of the Thessa- lians and came to Pharsalus. But just as he got there, Alexander the tyrant appeared before the city with his forces. Then Pelopidas and Ismenias, thinking that he was come to excuse himself for his conduct, went of their own accord to him, knowing, in- deed, that he was an abandoned and blood-stained wretch, but expecting that because of Thebes and their own dignity and reputation they would suffer no harm. But the tyrant, when he saw them coming up unarmed and unattended, straightway seized them and took possession of Pharsalus. By this step he awoke in all his subjects a shuddering fear ; they thought that after an act of such boldness and iniquity he would spare nobody, and in all his dealings with men and affairs would act as one who now utterly despaired of his own life.

XXVIII. The Thebans, then, on hearing of this, were indignant, and sent out an army at once, although, since Epaminondas had somehow incurred their displeasure, they appointed other commanders for it. As for Pelopidas, after the tyrant had brought him back to Pherae, at first he suffered all who desired it to converse with him, thinking that his calamity had made him a pitiful and contemptible object ; but when Pelopidas exhorted the lamenting Pheraeans to be of good cheer, since now certainly the tyrant would meet with punishment, and when he sent a message to the tyrant himself, saying that

Tous pev aOdious TroNXitas Kal pndév adsxobvras
e A“ A a, 3 “ A ld
oonpépat oTpeBr@v Kal hovevwv, avtov dé devdd-
pevos, by pddioTa yivdoKeEL TLLWPNTOMEVOY AUTOV
3 avrep Siadiyn, Oavydoas To ppovnpa Kat Thy
adecav avtov, “Ti 5é,” nai, “ cmevdee Tledo- 293
, > A b}) > a 3 , oc? bd]
midas atro0avelv;” Kaxelvos axovoas, “Oras,
9 ce A ? ? n a a a Q
ele, “‘ ov TaXvov arrodf, parrov 7 viv Ocopuons
yevomevos.” éx TovTov dSrexorAvoey evtuyyaverv
QUT®@ TOUS EKTOS.
e
H 5€ @78n, Ovydtnp pév “Idcovos ovca, yuvn
5é "AreEdvSpou, muvOavopévn Trapa tay dudatT-
tovtay IleXowiday 16 Oapparéov avtod Kal yev-
vatov, émeOvpnoev idety Tov avdpa Kai mpocectreiv.
4 ws d¢ #AGe mpos avtov cal dre bn yuvn TO pev
/ na M bd > A) > 4 “~

péyeBos Tov HOous ovK evOuUs ev TocavTn cuppopa
Kateide, xoupa 5é nal ctor Kal Svaity Texpatpo-
4 \ A , 4
pém AuTpa Kal wn mpérovta TH S0&n waoyev
\ a A
auTov ameddxpuce, TO pev TPATOV ayVvowV oO
Hledomidas tis ein yuvarcdv, COavpater, as Se
4
éyvw, Wpoonyopevoey avTnv watpddev’ jv yap
T® “Iacovu cuvnOns Kai diros. eltrovons Sé
éxetyns, “’EXe@ cou tHy yuvaixa,” “ Kai yap
2 7 » » Pa ° € , ’ ,
eyo oe, elirev, ‘OTL AdEeTOS OVGA UTromévers AXEE-
e A ,
5 avdpov.” ovtos EOuyé Trws 0 AGYOS THS yuvaLKos
éBapuveto yap thy wpoTnTa Kal thv DBpw Tov
Tupavvov, pPéTa THS GAANS aoedyelas Kal TOV
vewTAaTOV avThs TOY adeAhav TalbiKa TeTroLn-
pévov. 516 nal cuveyds poitaca mpos Tov
IleAXoriday xat wappnotalopévn wept oy érracyev
UreniumAato Oupod xal dpovnuatos nal dve-
pevetas mpos tov ‘“AdéEavdpov.
XXIX. ’Emel 5€ of otpatnyolt Trav OnBaiwv
> \ , > , Os
els THY @ertariav éuBarovtes expakay ovder,
410

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it was absurd to torture and slay the wretched and innocent citizens day by day, while he spared him, a man most certain, as he knew, to take vengeance on - him if he made his escape ; then the tyrant, amazed at his high spirit and his fearlessness, said: “And why is Pelopidas in haste to die?’’ To which Pelopidas replied: “That thou mayest the sooner perish, by becoming more hateful to the gods than now.” From that time the tyrant forbade those outside of his following to see the prisoner.

But Thebe, who was a daughter of Jason, and Alexander’s wife, learned from the keepers of Pelo- pidas how courageous and noble the man was, and conceived a desire to see him and talk with him. But when she came to him, woman that she was, she could not at once recognize the greatness of his nature in such dire misfortune, but judging from his hair and garb and maintenance that he was suffering indignities which ill befitted a man of his reputation, she burst into tears. Pelopidas, not knowing at first what manner of woman she was, was amazed ; but when he understood, he addressed her as daughter of Jason; for her father was a familiar friend of his. And when she said, “I pity thy wife,’ he replied, “‘And I thee, in that thou wearest no chains, and yet endurest Alexander.” This speech deeply moved the woman, for she was oppressed by the savage insolence of the tyrant, who, in addition to his other debaucheries, had made her youngest brother his paramour. Therefore her continued visits to Pelo- pidas, in which she spoke freely of

her sufferings, gradually filled her with wrath and fierce hatred towards Alexander.

XXIX. When the Theban generals had accomplished nothing by their invasion of Thessaly,
All

ara 80 avepiay dvotuylay aicypas 'avexo-
pnoav, éxeivov pev Exactov 4 ods pupiats
n > , > a dba be A
Spaypais é€nuiwoev, "Exrapewvovdav b€ peta
Suvdpews arréoterrev. evVOds ovv Kivnois tis pe-
lA "A @ 9 / A \ /
yarn @etrarav jv érratpopevev mpos thy dofav
Tod atpatnyod, Kal Ta Tpdypata TOD TUpdvvoU
porns édeiro puxpas atrodwdévat TocovTos éve-
a /
mwenra@xes PoBos toils Tepl avTov nyewoot Kat
diros, tocavtn 8 tovs wmnKoovs opin TTpOs
amootacww elye Kal Yapa ToD pméddoVTOS, @S VviV
9 / , / \ , >
érrovropévous Sixny Sidovta Tov TUpavvoy. ov
nv arr 'Enapevevdas tnv avtod dokav év
e , na , / , Q
vaotépw TAS IleXoridov cwrnpias TiBéuevos, Kal
dedorxms pt) TOY TpayudTov tapaxGevtwy atro-
\ e \ > 4 ef 4 4
yvovs éauvtov Adé~avdpos dotrep Onpiov tpamnrat
\ A A
pos Exéivov, éTnwWpElTO TO TrOAEL@, Kal KUKA®
wo FS lel "A A
TEpliwv, TH TWapacKkevn Kal TH meAANTEL KATE-
axevate kal auvéotedrAe Tov TUpaYVOY, MS pNTE
aveivat To avOades avtod Kal Opacvvopevoy pyre
\ \ \ bd / ,
TO WiKpov Kat Ovpoedés eFepeficar, muvOavo-
PEVOS THY WLOTHTA Kal THY OALywpiay TOY KaXOV
kat dexaiwv, os CavTas péev avOpotovs Kat@puT-
tev, éErépors Sé Séppata cvav aypiwy Kal apxTov
mepiTiOels Kal Tovs Onpatixods erayov KUvas Kal
diéotra Kal KatnKovTile, Tadud TAUTN Ypapevos,
MeasBota S€ cal LKotoven, wordeow éevotrovdas
A , b 4 / 54
Kat girais, exxAnovaloveais TepioTnoas apa

tous Sopudopous 7Bnbov arécdake, tHv 5é AOy-
xnv 7 llorvdpova tov Ociov atréxtetve xaOtepwoas
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but owing to inexperience or ill fortune had re- tired disgracefully, the city fined each of them ten thousand drachmas, and sent out Epaminondas with an armed force.! At once, then, there was a great stir among the Thessalians, who were filled with high hopes in view of the reputation of this general, and the cause of the tyrant was on the very verge of destruction; so great was the fear that fell upon his commanders and friends, and so great the inclination of his subjects to revolt, and their joy at what the future had in store, for they felt that now they should behold the tyrant under punishment. Epaminondas, however, less solicitous for his own glory than for the safety of Pelopidas, and fearing that if confusion reigned Alexander would get desperate and turn like a wild beast upon his prisoner, dallied with the war, and taking a roundabout course, kept the tyrant in suspense by his preparations and threatened movements, thus neither encouraging his audacity and boldness, nor rousing his malignity and passion. For he had learned how savage he was, and how little regard he had for right and justice, in that sometimes he buried men alive, and sometimes dressed them in the skins of wild boars or bears, and then set his hunting dogs upon them and either tore them in pieces or shot them down, making this his diversion ; and at Meliboea and Scotussa, allied and friendly cities, when the people were in full assembly, he surrounded them with his body-guards and slaugh- tered them from the youth up; he also consecrated the ‘spear with which he had slain his uncle Poly- phron, decked it with garlands, and sacrificed to it

1 367 B.C.
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Kat xatactéWas, éOvev daTrep Oe@ xal Tvywva
mpoanyopeve. tpay@ooy Sé tote Oewpevos Kvpr-
midov Tpwddas vroxpivdpevoy @yYeTO amTL@y €K
tov Oeatpov, Kal méuas mpos avtov éxédXeve
Oappety cab pndév ayovilerOar Sa TodTO xeEtpor,
ou yap éxeivou KaTadpovev amehBeiv, adn aic-
Xvvowevos Tovs Toditas, el pndéva momore TOY
UT auToV hovevopévay nrENKwS, ET TOIs ExaBns
kat "Avdpouayns Kaxois od@ncetae Saxpvov.
ovToS pEVTOL THV boFay aQuTny kal Tovvoya Kat
TO Tpooxnpa THS "Emapewovdov otpatnyias
KatamNayels, .
émrne aréxtwp dovdros Gs KAivas TTEpOP,

kal Tovs dmodoynoopévovs TaYv pos avToV
éreptrev. 0 5é ovvOécOac pév eipnunv Kal pirtav
mpos TotovTov avdpa @nBaiow ovy strrépeuve,
aomeodpevos 5é Tpraxovlnpépous avoxas Tov

qmoké“ou xal AaBwv ov IleAoriday Kal Tov
‘Iopnviay aveywpnoer.
XXX. Ot d€ OnBaio rapa trav Aaxedatpovior
kat tav ‘AOnvaiwy aicBopevoe mpos Tov péyay
Baciréa tpéc Bers avaBaivovtas brép cuppayias,
érepvav cat avtot IleXoridav, dpiota Bovrev-
odpevoe mpos tHv Sofay avrov. wpaTov pe
yap aveBawe bia tov Baciréws érapytav ovo-
pactos @y xal treptBontos: ov yap npéua Stixto
THs “Acias ovd émt puxpov 9 Soka Tav pos
Aaxebaipoviovs ayovwv, Grd, @s mpaTos Trept
ths év Aevxtpors paxns éFeSpapye AOyos, del Tivos
Ka.vod mpoottOenévou xatopOapatos avEavopevn
414

as to a god, giving it the name of Tycho.! Once when he was seeing a tragedian act the “Trojan Women” of Euripides, he left the theatre abruptly, and sent a message to the actor bidding him be of good courage and not put forth any less effort because of his departure, for it was not out of contempt for his acting that he had gone away, but because he was ashamed to have the citizens see him, who had never taken pity on any man that he had murdered, weeping over the sorrows of Hecuba and Andromache. It was this tyrant, however, who, terrified at the name and fame and distinction of the generalship of Epaminondas,

‘‘Crouched down, though warrior bird, like slave, with drooping wings,” ?

and speedily sent a deputation to him which should explain his conduct. But Epaminondas could not consent that the Thebans should make peace and friendship with such a man; he did, however, make a thirty days’ truce with him, and after receiving Pelopidas and Ismenias, returned home.

XXX. Now, when the Thebans learned that am- bassadors from Sparta and Athens were on their way to the Great King to secure an alliance, they also sent Pelopidas thither; and this was a most excel- lent plan, in view of his reputation. For, in the first place, he went up through the provinces of the king as a man of name and note; for the glory of his conflicts with the Lacedaemonians had not made its way slowly or to any slight extent through Asia, but, when once the report of the battle at Leuctra had sped abroad, it was

ever increased by the addition

1 That is, Luck.

2 An iambic trimeter of unknown authorship; cf. the Alcibiades, iv. 3.

9 o 4 La vy
kal dvaPaivovea ToppwraTw KaTecyer EwetTa
Tois émt Oupais caTpdtats Kai otpazyyois Kai
Cd ‘ 3 a ~ 4 e , ¢
wyepoow opGeis Oatpa Kat Aoyorv KapEeryer, Ws
4 9 Sf 3 e ”~ ‘ 4 > Q
ovTOS aynp éoTLy oO ynS Kai Barats exBarwv
, Q i ig N a Q
Aaxedaipovious Kai cvoteiias UrO Tavyeroy xai
tov Evpwrav thy Yadptny Thy odvyor Euwpoobey
Baotrei tO peydr@ Kai Ilépoas Se "Aynotdaou
Tov rept Yovowrv cal "ExBardvwv éwapapéevnv
/ : a? 2 e » , 4 \
jokeov. TavT ow o AptatepEns Exape, Kat
tov [leXorridav €Oavpate eri tH SoEn' Kai péyay
émote. tais tiuais, Ud TOV peyiotav evdatpo-
viberOa. nat Oeparrevec Oar Bovropevos Soxeiv.
érret 5é xal tHv iv avtod eide nat Tovs AoOyous
Katevonoe, Tov pev "Attixav BeBaorépous, TOV
5é Aaxedaipoviwy amNovatépous Gvtas, ett par-
Nov Hnyamnoe, Kal maQos Bacidtxoy maQav ovx
amexpi\rato Tv Mpos Tov avdpa tinny, ovd
EXaGe tovs ardovs mpéchers WrAEioTOY vépov
b , a / a e ‘4
éxeivo. xattot Soxel pdrrota taY ‘“EXAnvev
b] / A N\ a i.4 X
Avradkiday tipjoa, tov Aaxedarpovioy, OTe TOV
arépavoy, dv mivwy TrepLéxecto, Barpas eis pvpov
améatetre. IleXomrida Sé obtw pév ovK éveTpu-
dnoe, Sapa S€ AaptpoTata Kal péeyicTa TeV
voutlopévev e&érreurpe Kxab tas afimoes ére-
KUpwoev, avTovopous pev elvar Tors “EAXqvas,
olixeicOar 5 Meoanvnv, @nBaiovs S€ ratpiKods
VA 4 ,
dhirous vouifec Oar Bactréws.

Tavtas éywv tas amoxpices, Tav 5é SHpav
ovdey 6 TL on YapLTos jv ovpPBorov Kal dtdo-
1 én) rf 86&n Bekker, after Coraés: rf 3é6tp. |

of some new success, and prevailed to the farthest recesses of the interior; and, in the second place, when the satraps and generals and commanders at the King's court beheld him, they spoke of him with wonder, saying that this was the man who had ex- pelled the Lacedaemonians from land and sea, and shut up between Taygetus and the Eurotas that Sparta which, a little while before, through Agesilaiis, had undertaken a war with the Great King and the Persians for the possession of Susa and Ecbatana. This pleased Artaxerxes, of course, and he admired Pelopidas for his high reputation, and loaded him with honours, being desirous to appear lauded and courted by the greatest men. But when he saw him face to face, and understood his proposals, which were more trustworthy than those of the Athenians, and simpler than those of the Lacedaemonians, he was yet more delighted with him, and, with all the assurance of a king, openly showed the esteem in which he held him, and allowed the other ambassa- dors to see that he made most account of him. And yet he is thought to have shown Antalcidas the Lacedaemonian more honour than any other Greek, in that he took the chaplet which he had worn at a banquet, dipped it in perfume, and sent it to him. To Pelopidas, indeed, he paid no such delicate com- pliment, but he sent him the greatest and most splendid of the customary gifts, and granted him his demands, namely, that the Greeks should be in- dependent, Messene! inhabited, and the Thebans regarded as the king's hereditary friends.

With these answers, but without accepting any
gifts except such as were mere tokens of kindness
1 Messene was the new capital of Messenia, founded on the slopes of Mt. Ithome (cf. chapter xxiv. 5) by Epaminondas, in 369 B.C.

dpoovvns SeEapmevos, avéfevFev. 6 xal padota
6 Tovs dAXOous mpécBets StéBare. Ttpayopav yor
"AOnvaio. Kpivavtes améxtewvay, eb pev etl TO
' a a 9 A \ ,) \
TAO TaV Swpeav, Op9as Kal SiKaiws: ov yap
/ , 708 b) 7 EX bd) \ A
povoy xpucioy ovdé apyvpiov EdXaBev, adda Kal
KNivny TwoAvTEAH Kal aotpwras Gepdrovtas, ws
a) e / > > / " A "A
Ttav "EXAnvev ov émictapévwy, Ett 5€ Bods
3 N / e \ \ > 4
dydonxovta Kal BoveorXous, ws 69 Wpds dppwartiav
/ , / 4 A 4

Twa yddaKtos Boeiov Sedpuevos, téXOS 5é KaTeE-
Batvev éri Odraccav év hopetw xopttopevos, cal
f 4 a , \ baNw4
tégoapa tddavtTa Tois Kopilovar ptabos &d00n
mapa Baoitéws' GAX Eorxev ovy 7 Swpodoxia
4 fe) \ > / > /

7 pardtota mapokivar Tovs ’AOnvaious. *Emixpa-
Tous youv Tote TOU caKeaodopov pnTe apvoupévov
Sapa SéEac8ar rapa Bactréws, ydiopuda Te
ypadew pdoxovtos avtl Tav évvéa apyovtav
a >
NecporoveiaOar Kat evautov évvéa mpéa Bets pos
Bactréa tev Snpotixay Kal Tevytwv, brws Nap-
4 bd a > / e A > 4
Bavovres evtopaow, éyéXacev o Shuos* GNA STL
@nBaios éyeyover mavta areas Epepov, ov
AoyLouevor tHv Iledorridov So€av, dowv Hv pn-
TopeLov Kal Aoywv KpeitTwY Trap avOpeT@ Oepa-
WevovTs TOUS TOY OTAwWY ael KpaToUVTAS.
XXXI. ‘H pév odv mpecBeia ro Iedomida
mpocéOnxey ov puixpay edvorav érravenOovtt, dia 295
tov Meconvns cuvoixtopoy Kal tHv TOV aAKOV
‘EAAjvev adtovopiav: ’AreEdvSpou S¢ rob Pepaiov
Tdadw €is THY avTOD dvow dvadpapovTos Kal
Ococarav pév ovK oAlyas TeptKoOTTOVTOS TOAES,
b]
DOiwras b€ “Ayatovs arravras cal to Mayvn-
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and goodwill, he set out for home; and this conduct of his, more than anything else, was the undoing of the other ambassadors. Timagoras, at any rate, was condemned and executed by the Athenians, and it this was because of the multitude of gifts which he took, it was right and just; for he took not only gold and silver, but also an expensive couch and slaves to spread it, since, as he said, the Greeks did not know how; and besides, eighty cows with their cow-herds, since, as he said, he wanted cows’ milk for some ailment; and, finally, he was carried down to the sea in a litter, and had a present of four talents from the King with which to pay his carriers. But it was not his taking of gifts, as it would seem, that most exasperated the Athenians. At any rate, Epicrates, his shield-bearer, once confessed that he had received gifts from the King, and talked of proposing a decree that instead of nine archons, nine ambassadors to the King should be elected annually from the poor and needy citizens, in order that they might take his gifts and be wealthy men, whereat the people only laughed. But they were incensed because the The- bans had things all their own way, not stopping to consider that the fame of Pelopidas was more potent than any number of rhetorical discourses with a man who ever paid deference to those who were mighty in arms.

XXXI. This embassy, then, added not a little to the goodwill felt towards Pelopidas, on his return home, because of the peopling of Messene and the independence of the other Greeks. But Alexander of Pherae had now resumed his old nature and was destroying not a few Thessalian cities; he had also put garrisons over the Achaeans of Phthiotis and the

5 419
EE 4s
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tov €Ovos éudpovpov Tmeromnpévov, muvOavopevat
Tledorridav érravijew ai odes evOds émpéo Bevov
eis @nBas aitovpevae Svvayv nat orpatnyov
éxeivov. Wndioapévoyv b¢ tav OnBaiwv mpo-
Ovpws, Kal TaXv TavT@Y ETOiWoY Yyevouévwry Kal
Tod otparnyou wept éEodov dytos, o peéev HALOS
\
—- éEéAuTre Kal oKotos ev Huépa THv Tod Evxer,
6 8€ IleAomidas copay mpos TO paca auvte-
Tapaypévouvs atavtas ovx weto Seiv BidlecBar
4 \ é / PS) " Oe >
katagoBovs cat ducédridas OvTas, ovde arroKwD-
v4 e , Ul > > e \

duvevery emtaxicyidLols TroAtTals, GNX éavToY
povov trois @eccanrois émidovs Kal tpiaxocious
A e VA > \ b) \ \ ,
Tov imtéwy eGeXovtTas avadkaBov Kai Eévovs
éEwpunoev, oUTE TOV paVTEWY EWVYTWY OUTE TOY
" / "a lA
G\Awv cuumpodvpovpévav TrOdMTo@Y: péya yap
/ a)
édoxer xal mpos avdpa Naprpov €E ovpavod yeryo-
a »

vévat aonpeiov. o dé tv pev cal Se opynv ov
xabvBpioro Oepporepos ert Tov "Ar€Eavdpop, Ar-
mite d€ kal THY oixiay avTov vocotaay Abn Kal
SiehOappévny evpyoew é& av dretexto TH OnBn.
peddiota 8 avtov Kal wapexdder TO THS TPaEEws
KadXos, érOupodvra Kal dirotipovpevor, ev ols
4 nw
xpovors Aaxedatpovioe Atovucio 1@ LiKnedias
TUupdvy@ oTpaTHyoUs Kal appootas éErreptrop,
"AOnvaior bé pucbodorny 'AréEavdpov eiyov xat

A ¢/ e > 4 4 a_¢tt

NAaNKOVY LoTATAV ws EvEpyEeTNY, TOTE TOs ~EXAN-
aw eémderEar OnBaiovs povovs brép tev Tupav-
VOUPEVMY OTPAaTEVOpEéVOUS Kal KaTadvoYTaS év
a “Rh a / \ ,
tots “EdAnot Tas tmrapavopovs Kal Biaious duva-
oTeias.
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people of Magnesia. When, therefore, the cities learned that Pelopidas was returned, they at once sent ambassadors to Thebes requesting an armed force and him for its commander. The Thebans readily decreed what they desired, and soon every- thing was in readiness and the commander about to set out, when the sun was eclipsed and the city was covered with darkness in the day-time.! So Pelo- pidas, seeing that all were confounded at this manifestation, did not think it meet to use compul- sion with men who were apprehensive and fearful, nor to run extreme hazard with seven thousand citizens, but devoting himself alone to the Thes- salians, and taking with him three hundred of the cavalry who were foreigners and who volunteered for the service, set out, although the seers forbade it, and the rest of the citizens disapproved; for the eclipse was thought to be a great sign from heaven, and to regard a conspicuous man. But his wrath at insults received made him very hot against Alex- ander, and, besides, his previous conversations with Thebe? led him to hope that he should find the tyrant’s family already embroiled and disrupted. More than anything else, however, the glory of the achievement invited him on, for he was ardently desirous, at a time when the Lacedaemonians were sending generals and governors to aid Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and the Athenians were taking Alexander’s pay and erecting a bronze statue of him as their benefactor, to show the Greeks that the Thebans alone were making expeditions for the relief of those whom tyrants oppressed, and were over- throwing in Greece those ruling houses which rested on violence and were contrary to the laws.

1 July 13, 364 B.c. 2 Cf. chapter xxviii. 3 ff.

XXXII. ‘Os odv eis Papoarov Mav 7Opoice
THY Suvapuy, evdus eBddiSev éml TOV Arefavdpov.
o 6é OnBaious pev odiryous mepl TOV TleAoridav
opay, aQuTos dé mrelous € ov h Sumhacious oTr-
Aras Tav Qeccarav arnvra mpos TO @eridecov.
ElTTOVTOS b¢ twos t@ IleAomida modXovs éxov-
Se Tov TUpavvov érépxer Bau, “ Bérrov, edn,
“ arAelovas yap viKno Ome. 7

"Avatewovtwoy dé mpos Td pécov KaTa Tas
Kadoupevas Kuvos Keparas NOdav TE PLE ALVOY

Kal DYNrAGY, Opynoav ap orepor TOUTOUS KaTa-
AaBelv Trois welois. Tovs o inmreis 0 Tledorridas
TWOANOVs Kayabous dvtas epFKe Tots im@mevdor TOV
TONE pion, os dé ovTOL _pev expatouv Kal ouvel-
émrecov et$ TO medtov Tois hevyouawy, o dé "ANEE-
avdpos &pOn TOUS Aopous catahaBan, Tois omrAt-
Tals TOV Ococarav a TEpov emEpXoMevots Kat
7 pos ioxupa Kat peTéwpa x0 pia, Bralopévors
éuBaray é EXTELVE TOUS T porous, at dé aAXoz ™hy-
yas NaBovtes ovdév Epaccov. KatTidav odv 6
Ilexoridas Tous peéev immets advexanetto Kal pos
TO cuvEer THKOS TOV Tone ploy ehavverv exeheven,
avTOos 6é ouverte Spay Tots wept TOUS hogous
paxopevous evOvs THY aorioa haBov. Kat bua
TOV Grid Dev Go dwEvos els TOUS Tpw@rous ToTaU-
Tnv éveTtoinoe papunv Kal tpoOupiay arracw ooTE
Kal Tois ToXemiots éTEpous Soxeiy yeyovoras Kat
copact Kal Yruxais émépyer Oar. Kai dvo péev 7
Tpeis airexpovcavTo mpoo Bonds, opavres bé Kal
TOUTOUS éruBaivoyras EUPOTTOS cal THY iartrov
amo TIS diakews avactpéepovoay elEav, € éml oxéXOS
jotovpevor THY avaywpnow. o 6é IleXomidas
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PELOPIDAS

XXXII. Accordingly, when he was come to Phar-
salus, he assembled his forces and marched at once
against Alexander. Alexander, also, seeing that
there were only a few Thebans with Pelopidas, while
his own men-at-arms were more than twice as many
as the Thessalians, advanced as far as the temple of
Thetis to meet him. When Pelopidas was told that
the tyrant was coming up against him with a large
force, “ Alf the better,” he said, “for there will be
more for us to conquer.”

At the place called Cynoscephalae, steep and lofty hills jut out into the midst of the plain, and both leaders set out to occupy these with their infantry. His horsemen, however, who were numerous and brave, Pelopidas sent against the horsemen of the enemy, and they prevailed over them and chased them out into the plain. But Alexander got posses- sion of the hills first, and when the Thessalian men- at-arms came up later and tried to storm difficult and lofty places, he attacked and killed the foremost of ' them, and the rest were so harassed with missiles that they could accomplish nothing. Accordingly, when Pelopidas saw this, he called back his horse- men and ordered them to charge upon the enemy’s infantry where it still held together, while he him- self seized his shield at once and ran to join those who were fighting on the hills. Through the rear ranks he forced his way to the front, and filled all his men with

such vigour and ardour that the enemy also thought them changed men, advancing to the attack with other bodies and spirits. Two or three of their onsets the enemy repulsed, but, seeing that these too were now attacking with vigour, and that the cavalry was coming back from its pursuit, they gave way and retreated step by step. Then Pelo-

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

amo TOV axpov Kat dev array TO oTpatoredov
TOV TON piwV OTTO Be els gpuyny TETPA[EVOP,
non dé JopvBov Kab Tapaxys dvaTr yu Aapevor,
éoTn Kat mepeBreyrev avrov * Enta@v TOV "Ane€-
avépov. as 0 eldev érri Tob deEtov mapabappu-
vovTa Kar cuvTaTTovTa TOUS paPodopovs, ov
KATETXE TQ oyra wg THY opyny, GXAA TPOS THY
Breve avaprex Gels Kat TO Oup@ Trapasous 70
copa Kal THV ryewoviay THIS m pakews, TOAD po
TOV aANov éfaropevos épépero Body nai Tpoxa-
Aovpevos TOV TUpavvov. éxeivos pev ouv oOUK
edeEato THY oppny ovee u Dmréuewven, GXn' avapuyav
Wpos TOUS Sopudopous evexpuypev EauTOD. TOD
dé _ bia Oopopeor ot pep T paror cupPBadovtes els
yvelpas avexomna av vd TOD TleAoridou, tives 5é
kal mAnyevtes éteXevTNTav, ot Sé wroAdol Tois
Sdpact moppwbev bia TOV OThov TUTTOVTES AUTO
KateTpavparilov, €ws ot @ecoarol scepitraby-
CaVvTES aro TOY NOhav Spome mpoaeBonOncar,
76n TENT@KOTOS, ot Te immeis 'Tpocedacavres
Sdnv eTpexravo THV parayya Kal Oi@Eavtes € emt
TAEltoTov éveTrAnTAV vexpov THY Ywpayv, TrEOV i]
TpiaytAtous cataPanorres.
XXXII. To pév otv @nBatiwy tovs Tapovras
ért Th TOU Iledomidou TENEUTH} Bapéws hépery,
maTépa Kal cWTHpa Kal SiSdoKaXov Tov peyloT@v
Kal xadXlctov ayabav amoxanroivtas éxeivor,
ov qavu Gavpacrov nv: ot bé @cacarol Kal ot
TUppAXoL Tacav avOpwrivn TpeTova ay apeT i
Tiny Tos Wndicpacw vmepRadovtes, tt par-

1 wepieBAeey avrov Sintenis' correction of the MSS. wepé-
ornoev abrév; Bekker, after Coraés and Amyot, corrects to
wepreondnnoey 'abrdy.

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pidas, looking down from the heights and seeing that the whole army of the enemy, though not yet put to flight, was already becoming full of tumult and confusion, stood and looked about him in search of Alexander. And when he saw him on the right wing, marshalling and encouraging his mercenaries, he could not subject his anger to his judgement, but, inflamed at the sight, and surrendering himself and his conduct of the enterprise to his passion, he sprang out far in front of the rest and rushed with challenging cries upon the tyrant. He, however, did not receive nor await the onset, but fled back to his guards and hid himself among them. The foremost of the mer- cenaries, coming to close quarters with Pelopidas, were beaten back by him; some also were smitten and slain; but most of them fought at longer range, thrusting their spears through his armour and cover- ing him with wounds, until the Thessalians, in dis- tress for his safety, ran down from the hills, when he had already fallen, and the cavalry, charging up, routed the entire phalanx of the enemy, and, fol- lowing on a great distance in pursuit, filled the country with their dead bodies, slaying more than three thousand of them.

XXXIII. Now, that the Thebans who were present at the death of Pelopidas should be disconsolate, calling him their father and saviour and teacher of the greatest and fairest blessings, was not so much to be wondered at; but the Thessalians and allies also, after exceeding in their decrees every honour that can fitly be paid to human excellence, showed

ov emedelEavro TOUS madect THY 7 p0s TOV avdpa
2 xapty. TOUS pev yap mapayeyovotas TO Eprya
Aeyouct pare Gopana OécOat pre im-mrov ex aNL-
vacat pare Tpavpa djcacbat T poTepov, OS
érvOovto THY éxelvou TENEUTHD, aNAra pera TOV
OT N@V Jeppovs | tovras emt Tov vex pov domep
aicBavopevon, Ta TOV TONE pLeoV KUKN@ Twept TO
cOUa ow@pevety Adpupa, xeipa dé imrrovs, Kel-
3 pacbat bé Kal avrovs, amvovras rOé ToAAOUS emt
oKnvas pyre Tp avarypat pre deimrvov éréc0an,
ouyny dé Kal Karnpeav elvat Tov orpatorrésou
TAVvTos, domep ov VEVLKNKOTOY émupaverTatny
vikny Kal peylorny, aX' NT TN MEVOY uTO TOU
4 Tupavvov Kat Karasedoudmpmevav. éx oe TOY
Tow, as amnyyerdn TabTa, Taphoay ai TE
apyal Kal pet avTav éepn Bor Kal Lmaises Kal lepeis
1 pos THY bmrodox nv Tou THLATOS, TpoTrata Kal
atepavous Kal wavoTAlas Xpucas émriupépovtes.
as 6é Euedev exxopiter Oar TO copa, 7 pogen-
Govres ob mpeo Butarot TOY Ocrcarav qrobvto

TOUS @nBatous 80 aitay Odrpat tov vexpov. els
bé AUTOY Edevyer" oe “Avdpes TUMMAXOL, Xap
aitodpev map bpav Koopov nuiv émt aTuxia
5 TocavTn Kal tapapvOiav pépoucar. ob yap
Cavra @eccarol Tedomiday ™poTreurpoualy, ovde
aia Pavopeve TAS afias TULas amodwcovaty, GND’
éav Watoai Te Tov vexpod TUXMpev Kal du abTav
Koophnoat Kali Oarrat TO capa, Sooper byiv ovK
amare 5tt pet Sov n cuppopa yeyove @etraXrois
n OnBaiors- Upiv PED yap MYEHOVOS ayalod
povov, npiv dé Kal tovTov Kal Ths édevdepias
otépecOat cupBéRnxe. TAS yap étt TOALNTOMEV
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still more by their grief how grateful they were to him. For it is said that those who were in the action neither took off their breastplates nor unbridled their horses nor bound up their wounds, when they learned of his death, but, still heated and in full armour, came first to the body, and as if it still had life and sense, heaped round it the spoils of the enemy, sheared their horses’ manes, and cut off their own hair; and when they had gone to their tents, many neither kindled a fire nor took supper, but silence and dejection reigned through all the camp, as if they had not won a great and most brilliant victory, but had been defeated by the tyrant and made his slaves. From the cities, too, when tidings of these things reached them, came the magistrates, accompanied by youths and boys and priests, to take up the body, and they brought trophies and wreaths and suits of golden armour. And when the body was to be carried forth for burial, the most reverend of the Thessalians came and begged the Thebans for the privilege of giving it burial themselves. And one of them said: “ Friends and allies, we ask of you a favour which will be an honour to us in our great misfortune, and will give us consolation. We men of Thessaly can never again escort a living Pelopidas on his way, nor pay him worthy honours of which he can be sensible; but if we may be permitted to compose and adorn his body with our own hands and give it burial, you will believe, we are persuaded, that this calamity is a greater one for Thessaly than for Thebes. For you have lost only a good commander ; but we both that and freedom. For how shall we

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aiTnoat oTpatnyov addov Trap bue@v ovUK aTro-
dovres TleAoridav;” radra peév ot @nBaio ouve-
Yopynoav.
XXXIV. ’Exeivoy S€ tov Tapav ou Soxodow
Erepat Aap porEepat yeverBar Tous TO apm pov
ovK év érepavte Kal ypvo@ kal _twoppupats elvat
vouilovary, o \@aTep Dirdsotos buvav cal Gaupacov
tnv Acovuctov tad, olov Tparypotas peyadns THS

Tupavridos eodtov Deatpixov yevopévnv. ” AnreEav-
Spos dé 0 péyas ‘Hfaratiovos arro0avovTos ov
povov tmmous Exetpe Kal HMLOVOUS, addha kat Tas
émanfeus apeihe TOV TEXaY, OS av Soxotev at
TOAELS mev0eiv, avrt THS Tpocbev popd7s Koupt-
pov axa Kal atipov dvahapBdavovaat. tabTa
peév ovp TpooTaypara Seam ora ovra, wal peta
TONN IS avaryKns ‘Tepatvoueva Kat peta POovou
TOV TUXOVTOY Kat picous TOV Biafopévwv, avde-
pas YapLTos iy ovoe TEMAS, Oryxou O€ BapBapixod
Kal TPUPTS Kat ara loveias émideréts, ets Kevar Kat
atnv\a TH Teptovotay SraTiOepevov: avnp be
SNMoTLKOS éml Eevns | TeOvnKas, ov YUvaKes, ov
maiswv, ov auyyevOv Tapovtwv, ov Seopévou
TLVOS, OUK dvaryKalovros, UTrO Sno TOC OUTWY
kal qWodewv Gpidrepeveov T POTTE LTO MEVOS Kal
auvexxoputopevos Kal oatehavovpevos, eixoTa@sS
edoxer Tov TeAELOTATOY aTrEeKEL eVdarpovic pov.
ov 14p, as Atawtros épacke, Xarerοraros €oTUV
0 TOV EUTUXOUVT@Y Gavaros, anna pakaploTaros,
els acpani XOpav Tas evmpatias katate pevos
Tav ayabav Kal TUX NY petaBarrea Oat fn) atro-
Aelrrwv. do BéATLOY Oo Ado Tov "Odupmeovinny
Avayopav, éridovta pév viods otehavoupévous
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have the courage to ask another general from you,
when we have not returned Pelopidas?”’ This
request the Thebans granted.

XXXIV. Those funeral rites were never surpassed in splendour, in the opinion of those who do not think splendour to consist in ivory, gold, and purple, like Philistus, who tells in wondering strains about the funeral of Dionysius, which formed the pompous conclusion of the great tragedy of his tyranny. Alexander the Great, too, when Hephaestion died, not only sheared the manes of his horses and mules, but actually took away the battlements of the city- walls, in order that the cities might seem to be in mourning, assuming a shorn and dishevelled appear- ance instead of their former beauty. These honours, however, were dictated by despots, were performed under strong compulsion, and were attended with envy of those who received them and hatred of those who enforced them ; they were a manifestation of no gratitude or esteem whatever, but of barbaric pomp and luxury and vain-glory, on the part of men who lavished their superfluous wealth on vain and sorry practices. But that a man who was a com- moner, dying in a strange country, in the absence of wife, children, and kinsmen, none asking and none compelling it, should be escorted and carried forth and crowned by so many peoples and cities eager to

show him honour, rightly seemed to argue him su- premely fortunate. For the death of men in the hour of their triumph is not, as Aesop used to say, most grievous, but most blessed, since it puts in safe keeping their enjoyment of their blessings and leaves no room for change of fortune. Therefore the Spartan's advice was better, who, when he greeted Diagoras, the Olympian victor, who had lived to see

'Odvpriacw, émidovta © vi@vous Kal Ouyarpt-
bobs, do Trac duevos, '* Kat@ave," ele, "« Atayopa:
ovK els TOV "Oduptrov avaBnon." Tas bé 'Onup-
TaKas kat Tv@txas viKnas ovK av, olpai, tts els
TO avtTo cuvbels dmdcas évl trav Tledomidou
mapaBareiv dayovwyv akidceev, obs ToAXOUS
arywvic drevos Kal catophwaas, Kal Tov Biou TO
mNelotoy év S0&n Kal TUT Biwcas, TENOS év TH
Tpisxadenaty Bowrapyxta, Tupavvoxtovia, pepery-
pévny apio relay dpistevav, imép ths tTav @ec-
carov édevOepias amé0avev.
XXXV. 'O &¢ Gdvaros avToD peyd\a pev
EXUTINCE TOUS TULA ous, peilova de Opernae.
@nBaior yap, ws érvdovtro rv Tod Tledorridou
TENEUTHY, ovdeniay avaBodnv Toodpevor Tis
Ttwcoplas Kata _TAXOS eotpaTevoay omhitais
emTaxiaxthtous, immevot © émtakocioss, mYOupe-
vou Madxitov cal Avoyetrovos. kataraBorres dé
guver TAABEVOY Kal TE PLKEK Op LEVOV THiS Suvdpews
"Are£avdpor nvayKacay Beccarois pév atrodov-
vat TAS TONES As eixev auTor, Mayvntas dé xal
DO.wtas 'Ayatous ageivat Kal Tas _ppoupas
eEaryaryeir, ¢ opooat dé avtov éd' ods av Hyavrat @n-
Baio Kal KEAEVT WO LY aohovO nae. OnBaior pep
ovv TOUTOLS npxécOnaay iv Sé odio VaTrepov Tois
Oeois vrrép Iehoridou Suny edwxe Sinynoopat.
O@nBnv thy cuvotxodcav auT@ TP@TOV pév, Qs
elpntat, Tledomisas édibake pH poBeiaGat THY
ew Aaum porta Kat TapacKeuny THS Tupavvibos,
évTos TOV Gmrhov Kal TOV purdcov ovoay' éreta
be poBoupern THY aTlaTiav avrob Kal picovca
THY QmOTHTA, aouvOepévn peta Tov adehp ar,
Tptav évrov, Tictgpovov, IIvOordov, Auvxddpovos,

his sons crowned at Olympia, yes, and the sons of his sons and daughters, said ; “ Die now, Diagoras; thou canst not ascend to Olympus.” But one would not deign, I think, to compare all the Olympian and Pythian victories put together with one of the struggles of Pelopidas; these were many, and he made them successfully, and after living most of his life in fame and honour, at last, while boeotarch for the thirteenth time, performing a deed of high valour which aimed at a tyrant’s life, he died in defence of the freedom of Thessaly.

XXXV. The death of Pelopidas brought great grief to his allies, but even greater gain. For the Thebans, when they learned of it, delayed not their vengeance, but speedily made an expedition with seven thousand men-at-arms and seven hundred horsemen, under the command of Malcitas and Diogeiton. They found Alexander weakened and robbed of his forces, and compelled him to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, to withdraw his garrisons and set free the Magnesians and the Achaeans of Phthiotis, and to take oath that he would follow the lead of the Thebans against any enemies according to their bidding. The Thebans, then, were satisfied with this; but the gods soon afterwards avenged Pelopidas, as I shall now relate.

To begin with, Thebe, the tyrant’s wife, as I have said, had been taught by Pelopidas not to fear the outward splendour and array of Alexander, since these depended wholly on his armed guards; and now, in her dread of his faithlessness and her hatred of his cruelty, she conspired with her three brothers, Tisiphonus, Pytholaiis, and Lycophron, and made an

4 emexeipet Tovde TOV) TPOTTOV. THY mev aiddnu oixtay
TOU Tupdvvou KatetXov at puracal TOV Ta. pavu-
KTEPEVOVTMY, 0 de Odrapos, é év @ xabevoewy etd e-
cav, UTEpos jy, Kal mpd avrod puranny eixe
KUOY SeBeuevos, Tao poBepos TAnV autos éxet-
vous Kat évi TOV olKeT@v TQ TpepovTe. Kal? ov

ovv éuedXe KQLpOV émuxerpety 7 On8n, TOUS pev
adedpous ad nuépas elye mANo Lov ev otk Tut
5 KEK BUMMEVOUS, elaeNOovoa Sé, WaTrep eiesBer, povn
Tm™pos. tov ‘AréEavdpov 757 xabevoovta Kal pera
pi pov mad mpoehBovca, TP Mev oixéTn TWpoce-
takev amayev éEw Tov Kova BodrecOar yap
avatravecOat pel” naovyias exelvor" avrn de THY
KALaKka poBoupern pn KTUTOY Tapaoxn TOV
veavic Kev avaBawovtov éplous KATEGTOPETEV®
6 eita, obT@s avaryaryovca TOUS adehgovs Exnpers
Kat oToaTG, 7po TOY Oupayv etanrOev avtn, kat
xabeXovoa 76 Evdhos brép TS Keparns kpepape-
yov onetoy etvat Tov Katéxer Oat TOV avdpa Kat
abevdery edevEev. CRTEETANYPEVOV dé TOY veavi-
cKO Kal KATOKYOUVTOD, KaxtCovca Kal Stopvu- 298
pen pet opyis avTn TOV ‘AdéFavdpov efeyelpaca
pnvicey THY m pat, aiaxuvdevtas avtovs a aya Kal
poPnévras elonyaye Kal TEpléa THE TH Krivn,
7 mpoo épove a, TOV Auxvov. Tay S€ 0 wey TOUS 78as
KATELXE TETAS, O be THY Keparny AaBopevos TOV
Tpiy@v avéxracev, 0 5 T iTos TO Eider TUTTT@OV
avTov Suexpnoaro, T@ pev TAX EL THs TeheVTHS
mpgorepov i tows i] 7 poohKov Hv arrofavevta, TO
de povov v7 ™p@Tov Tupdvvay UT syuvarkes iSias
atronéa Oat, kal TH peTa davarov aixia TOU capa
Tos pipévros Kat TatnGévtos & tro TOV Pepaiov,
afta merovOévar SoEavta Tav TapavoynudaTwv.
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attempt upon his life, as follows. The rest of the tyrant’s house was guarded by sentries at night, but the bed-chamber, where he and his wife were wont to sleep, was an upper room, and in front of it a chained dog kept guard, which would attack every- one except his master and mistress and the one servant who fed him. When, therefore, Thebe was about to make her attempt, she kept her brothers hidden all day in a room hard by, and at night, as she was wont, went in alone to Alexander. She found him already asleep, and after a little, coming out again, ordered the servant to take the dog outdoors, for his master wanted to sleep undisturbed; and to keep the stairs from creaking as the young men came up, she covered them with wool. Then, after bringing her brothers safely up, with their swords, and stationing them in front of the door, she went in herself, and taking down the sword that hung over her husband’s head, showed it to them as a sign that he was fast asleep. Finding the young men terrified and reluctant, she upbraided them, and swore in a rage that she would wake Alexander herself and tell him of the plot, and so led them, ashamed and fearful too, inside, and placed them round the bed, to which she brought the lamp. Then one of them clutched the tyrant’s feet and held them down, another dragged his head back by the hair, and the third ran him through with his sword. The swiftness of it made his death a milder one, perhaps, than was

his due; but since he was the only, or the first, tyrant to die at the hands of his own wife, and since his body was outraged after death, being cast out and trodden under foot by the Pheraeans, he may be thought to have suffered what his lawless deeds deserved.

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MAPKEAAO2

I. Médpxov 5é Kravéiov tov TEVTaKis UTATEV-
cavta ‘Pwpaiwv Mdpxov pev viov yever Oar
Néyouat, Kr Divas bé TOV amo TAS. OiKiaS TP@TOV
Mapxedrov, 6 dep early “Apniov, as dnote Iloces-
Sa@vios. 7p yap Th pev épmecpia TONEMLKOS, T@
6é compart popanéos, 7H be xeupl TANKTNS, TH Oe
pucet prom ohepos Kav TOUT én ToONU TO yavpov
Kal aryépwxov éemipaivey év Tois ayaot, TH dé
adr TpOoTr@ capper, prravOpwros, "EAANviKijs
matdeias Kal NOyov axpu TOU Tiyway Kal Javpatery
TOUS xatopBobvras € épaoTns, avTos dé om’ aoxXo-
Mav ép’ Scov Hy m pod upos doKhoat Kat pabeiv
ouK eErxopevos. eb yap | aAXots ticiv avOpwroaes
0 Ocos, @otrep“Opunpos eipneer,
éx vEeoTnTos GdwKeE Kal eis yHpas ToNUTrEvELY
apyanéous TroNémous,
Kal TOiS TOTE mpwrevovar ‘Pwpaiwv, ot véor pev
évTes Trepl DuKceday Kapxndoviors, dxpdfovres 5é
Tanrdtais brép auras ‘Iradtas eTOAE LOUD, Hon O€
YNpavres | “AvviBe may TUVELXOVTO Kat Kapyn-
Soviors, ouK éXOvTES, OoTeEp ot ToNAOl, oa yipas
avdrravew oTparely, GND’ ert oTpaThyias | TONE-
pov Kal nyem“ovias Kat evyéveray Kal apeTny
ayomevot.

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MARCELLUS

I. Marcu Craupivs, who was five times consul of
the Romans, was a son‘of Marcus, as we are told,
and, according to Poseidonits, was the first of his
family to be called Marcellus, which means Martial.

For he was by experience a man of war, of a sturdy body and a vigorous arm. He was naturally fond of war, and in its conflicts displayed great impetuosity _and high temper; but otherwise he was modest, humane, and so far a lover of Greek learning and discipline as to honour and admire those who excelled therein, although he himself was prevented by his occupations from achieving a knowledge and _ proficiency here which corresponded to his desires. For if ever there were men to whom Heaven, as Homer says,!

“From youth and to old age appointed the accomplishment of laborious wars,”

they were the chief Romans of that time, who, in! their youth, waged war with the Carthaginians for ; Sicily ; in their prime, with the Gauls to save Italy | itself; and when they were now grown old, contended again with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and did not have, like most men, that respite from service in the field which old age brings, but were called by their high birth and valour to undertake leaderships and commands in war.

1 Iliad, xiv. 86 f.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

II. Mdpxedros 6é ™ pos ovoev Bev nv paxns eldos apyos ovde avdoKntos, avTos 5 éavtod KPATLG TOS év T@ povopayxety rYEVvOMEVOS ovdemiav TpoKANo wy eure, mavTas 6é Tovs mpoKadecapevOUS améxtewev. év 5& Lixeria Tov aded.pov ’Oraxidvoy xuvOuvevovta Siéswoev brepacrriaas Kal dmrox Teas TOUS emu Epopevovs. av Ov OVTL pev ere véw atépavor Kal yépa Tapa TOV oTpaThnyav noay, eddoxtpobvra dé uadXov aryopaVo_OV pev améderfe Ths emupaveatépas Tafews o Sijpos, oi O¢ f tepeis abryoupa. todTo & éotly ‘epoauvns eldos, © padiora THY an olwvary pavTeKny émtBrerrev Kal TapapuraT rely vomos bédwxev. "HyayxdoOn 6é ary opavopev Stxny aBovrntov eloeveyxely. mv yap avTe Tats OM@vU LOS év wpa, THY Ow éxmpenns, ovx HTTOv Oe TP cwmpovew Kal meTraloeva Oat mepiBrerros t UTO TOV ToT Oy" TOUT@ Kasretwhivos 6 Oo TOU Mapxeharov cuvdpxXwr, doedyis avijp Kal Opacus, epay oyous m™poonveyKe. Tod dé rratdos TO pev T pat ov avrob Kal’

éavTov drrorpiapevou THY metpay, Os dé adOus
emexelpnoe KATELTTOVTOS 7 pos TOV Tarépa, Bapéws
EVEYK@V O Mdpxednos Tpoonyyetre t™ Boudry TOV
avOpwrov. o oe TONGS per drodpdces Kab
mapaypapas eunxavaro, Tous Snpdpxous emika-
Loupevos, exeLveov be pa T poo Sexopevov THY
emikANoL dpvncet THY aitiav epevye. Kal pap-
TUpOS ovdevos TOV Aoyov yeyovotos ébo0ke peTa-
méepmerOar Tov Tatoa TH Bovr7. Taparyevopevov
é oR TES épvOnua Kat Sdxpvov Kal pwepey wevov
atravot@! T@ Oupovpév@ To aidovpevov, ovdeves
1 @nator» Bekker corrects to amAdatw (unfeigned), after
Emperius.
438

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MARCELLUS

II. Marcellus was efficient and practised in every

ing his challengers. In Sicily he saved his brother Otacilius from peril of his life, covering him with his shield and killing those who were setting upon him. Wherefore, although he was still a youth, he received garlands and prizes from his commanders, and since he grew in repute, the people appointed him curule aedile,! and the priests, augur. This is a species of priesthood, to which the law particularly assigns the observation and study of prophetic signs from the flight of birds.

During his aedileship, he was compelled to bring a disagreeable impeachment into the senate. He had a son, named Marcus like himself, who was in the flower of his boyish beauty, and not less admired by his countrymen for his modesty and good training. To this boy Capitolinus, the colleague of Marcellus, a bold and licentious man, made overtures of love. The boy at first repelled the attempt by himself, but when it was made again, told his father. Marcellus, highly indignant, denounced the man in the senate. The culprit devised many exceptions and ways of escape, appealing to the tribunes of the people, and when these rejected his appeal, he sought to escape the charge by denying it. There had been no witness of his proposals, and therefore the senate decided to summon the boy before them. When he appeared, and they beheld his blushes, tears, and shame mingled

1 Literally, aedile of the more wlustrious cluss, i.e. patrician, in distinction from plebeian, aedile.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

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Grou Senévres texpnpiov xatetndicavto Kat

aA e e

Vpnpaciww étnuiwoay Karetwdwov, €€ wy o

MapxerXos apyupa dowBeta trornodpevos ois
Geois xabtépwaoev.
III. ’Evei &5€ tov mpwtov tav Kapynéoviwv

/ ” 4 \ > A ,
TONE MeV éree SevTép@ Kai enooT@ cuvarpeDevros
4 A >
apyal maddy Taratixav dyovev dredéyovto THV

e : fol

Popny, of S€ THY UTadTeEiay vem“oyevoe TIS

Iranrias “IvoouBpes, Kertixov €0vos, peyddoe Kat

Kal éavtovs dvtes, Suvdpers exdrovy, Kal pete-

mwéutrovto Tadate@v tovs picOod otpatevopevous,

2 of Tatroatat xadXodvtat, Oavpacroy pev édoxet Kat
Tuxyns ayadys yevéoOar TO wn GUppayjvat Tov
a A >
KeaArtixoy eis TO avtTo TO AtBuK@ ToXrEpoV, aAX
e a
womrep epedpeiav ciAnghotas tovs Taradtas, opbas
A 4 ,
Kat Stxaiws atTpemnoavtas payopévwy éxeivor,
e / \ ra
ovTw ToTe 57 Tois verLKnKOoLY émamTrodved Oat Kal
a Q ” b] \ 9 \
mpoxareio Bar oxokny ayovras’ ov pny avANa
peyay us TE Xepa mapetxye hoBov, dia thy yeet-
viaow opope Kal TpocoiKep TrOhE Me ouvoico-
pévors, Kal TO Tadatov dkiwpa trav Tadatov,
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ods padduota “Pwpaios Setoar Soxodowy, are dy
\ \ / e_ 3? > A > / bd bd /
3 Kal THY TOW UT avTa@V atroBaXovTes, cE éxeivou
dé kal Oéwevor vosov atereis elvat oTpateias TOUS

iepéas, wAnv ef pn Taratixos mad érérOor
“i b] , \ \ N , 3 A a
TOAEMOS. €dnrov Oé Kal Tov hoBov avTav H Te
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Tapackeun (mupiddes yap év Sirrols apa Tocai-
la
tat ‘Pwpaiwy ote mpotepov ote Dorepoy yevé-
oOat réyovtTas) Kai Ta Tepl Tas Ovoias KatvoTopLoU-
i,

with quenchless indignation, they wanted no further proof, but condemned Capitolinus, and set a fine upon him. With this money Marcellus had silver libation- bowls made, and dedicated them to the gods.

III. After the first Punic war had come to an end in its twenty-second year, Rome was called upon to renew her struggles with the Gauls.! The Insubrians, a people of Celtic stock inhabiting that part of Italy which lies at the foot of the Alps, and strong even by themselves, called out their forces, and summoned to their aid the mercenary Gauls called Gaesatae. It seemed a marvellous piece of good fortune that the Gallic war did not break out while the Punic war was raging, but that the Gauls, like a third champion sitting by and awaiting his turn with the victor, remained strictly quiet while the other two nations were fighting, and then only stripped for combat when the victors were at liberty to receive their challenge. Nevertheless, the Romans were - greatly alarmed by the proximity of their country to the enemy, with whom they would wage war so near their own boundaries and homes, as well as by the ancient renown of the Gauls, whom the Romans seem to have feared more than any other people. For Rome had once been taken by them,? and from that time on a Roman priest was legally exempt from military service only in case no Gallic war occurred again. Their alarm was also shown by their prepa- rations for the war (neither before nor since that time, we are told, were there so many thousands of Romans in arms at once), and by the extraordinary sacrifices which they made to the gods. For though

1 The First Punic War lasted from 265 B.c. till 241 B.c., and the Insubrians invaded Italy in 225 B.c. 2 In 390 B.c. See the Camillus, xix.—xxlii.

4 peva’ BapBapixoy pep yap" ovoeyv ovd _expudov
emery devovtes, GaXN ws évt paduora, Tais dokaes
‘EAAnuinas Sianelpevor Kal T PLO’ mpos Ta Geta,
TOTE TOU \Trohepou TUL TETOVTOS nvayxaoOnoav
elEat Aovyiors Ticly ex Tov SuBudrArEiwv, kal dvo
prev” EdaAnvas, dvbpa Kai yuvaira, 8v0 dé Tand-
TAS Opoiws év 7H Kahoupery Body ayopa KaTopu-
Eat Cavras, ols étt Kal vov &v TO NoepBpip pyvi

dpaccy “ "EAA ot kal Tardtais atoppntous Kat
eres iepoupyias.
. Of pev ou Tpa@ror Tav ayavey viKas TE
igtiae Kal opdkpara Tois ‘Popators é evéyKavTes
ets ouder éreNeuTno ay mépas BéeBasov: Prapuviov
6 kat Doupiou trav imarov peyanrais exoTpareu-
oavray Suvdpecty él Tous “IvcopBpas, abOn pev
aipate péwy o dia THs Teanvisdos YO pas TOTA[OS,
ehéxOn dé Tpels oedivas pavyvar wept ToALy
2 ’Apiptvov, ot dé éi Tats Umatixais arndhodopiars
mapapudar roves OLWVvOUS lepets beBeBatobvro
pox Onpas Kal duaopyidas avTois yeyovevar Tas
TOV UTATWY a avaryopevoets. evOvs ody emeprpev 7)
oUYKANTOS émt TO oTpatoTredov ypappara Ka-
Novca Kal peTaTremTropern TOUS vmadtous, ST WS
éemavehOortes 7 n TAXIOTA THY apXnV aneim@vrat
Kal pnder « as Umatoe POdcwot m pagat pos TOUS
3 mohepious. tava deFapevos Ta, ypappara Pra-
piveos ov ToT epov EXvoev 7) vax cuvdrras Tpe-
racbat Tovs BapBapovs Kal THv Xopav auT@v
émOpapeiv. as ouv éemravnrde peta TONG da-
hvpwv, ovK amnvrncev o Ojos, aN’ Sti Kadov-
pevos ovK evOus wvarnKovcev oud" émeia On Tois
ypaupaciw, GrAX eévuBpice Kal Kxatedppovyce,
1 wev yap Bekker, after Coraés : pév.

they have no barbarous or unnatural practices, but cherish towards their deities those mild and rever- ent sentiments which especially characterize Greek thought, at the time when this war burst upon them they were constrained to obey certain oracular com- mands from the Sibylline books, and to bury alive two Greeks, a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, in the place called the “forum boarium,” or cattle-market ; and in memory of these victims, they still to this day, in the month of November, perform mysterious and secret ceremonies.

IV. The first conflicts of this war brought great victories and also great disasters to the Romans, and led to no sure and final conclusion; but at last Flaminius and Furius, the consuls, led forth large forces against the Insubrians. At the time of their departure, however, the river that flows through Picenum was seen to be running with blood, and it was reported that at Ariminum three moons had ap- peared in the heavens, and the priests who watched the flight of birds at the time of the consular elec- tions insisted that when the consuls were pro- claimed the omens were inauspicious and baleful for them. At once, therefore, the senate sent letters to the camp, summoning the consuls to return to the city with all speed and lay down their office, and forbidding them, while they were still consuls, to take any steps against the enemy. On

receiving these letters, Flaminius would not open them before he had joined battle with the Barbarians, routed them, and overrun their country. Therefore, when he returned with much spoil, the people would not go out to meet him, but because he had not at once listened to his summons, and had disobeyed the letters, treating them with insolent contempt, they

puKxpou pev edénoey atrondicacbat Tov OpiauBov
avtov, OprauBevoavta bé idtwrny érroincer, avay-
xkdoas é€opocacbat Thy bTatelay peta TOU auV-
adpyovtos. ovTw Tavta Ta Tpdypata "Pwpaios
eis Tov Deov aynyeto, pavTeav 5é Kal tatpiov
a 4
Umeporiay ovd émt trais peyiotais evtpakiass
amedéyovro, peiCov nyovpevoe mpos owTnpiav
ToAEws TO Oaupdleay ta Oeia rovs apyovtas Tov
KPATELY TOV TOELiOV.
V. TiBéptos ody Lepmpavios, avnp Si' avdpetav
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Kal xaXoxayabiav ovdevos HTtTov ayatnOels vio
e , > / \ e 7 /
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miwva Nacixav cat V'diov Médpxtov, 780 dé éxov-
TOV AUTOV emapxias cal oTPATED LATA, lepariKots
UTrouvijpaciw éevtux@v edpev Hryvonpevov up avtTod
a / "
Tt TOV TaTpiwy. Av dé ToLovTOV: Stay apxov
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kal raBeiv Erepov, €E od rrornoetar THY Oéay
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adOus é& imapyins. tovto Edadev, ws Eotxe, TOV
TrBéptov, cai dis TH avTO yenodpevos améderke
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Tous ElpnweEvous avopas UmaTous. Dorepov dé
'yvovs THY apaptiav aynveyne pos THY ovyKAyTOV.
n O€ Ov Kareppovyce Tov KaTa pLKpov ovTwS
EArNcimpatos, GAN éeypawe Tois avdpace Kai
éxeivot Tas émapyias amoNTrovTes ETTaVnAOOY Eis

e , \ \ 4 \ > / > A
Popny taxv nat xatéGevto thy apynv. adda
TavTa pev vaTtepov éem@paxXOn: trepi 5é TOUS avTOUS
444

came near refusing him his triumph, and after his triumph, they compelled him to renounce the consulship with his colleague, and made him a private citizen. To such a degree did the Romans make everything depend upon the will of the gods, and so intolerant were they of any neglect of omens and ancestral rites, even when attended by the greatest successes, considering it of more importance for the safety of the city that their magistrates should reverence re- ligion than that they should overcome their enemies.

V. For example, Tiberius Sempronius, a2 man most highly esteemed by the Romans for his valour and _ probity, proclaimed Scipio Nasica and Caius Marcius his successors in the consulship, but when they had already taken command in their provinces, he came upon a book of religious observances wherein he found a certain ancient prescript of which he had been ignorant. It was this. Whenever a magistrate, sitting in a hired house or tent outside the city to take auspices from the flight of birds, is compelled for any reason to return to the city before sure signs have appeared, he must give up the house first hired and take another, and from this he must take his observations anew. Of this, it would seem, Tiberius was not aware, and had twice used the same house before proclaiming the men I have mentioned as consuls. But afterwards, discovering his error, he referred the matter to the senate. This body did not make light of so trifling an omission, but wrote to the consuls about it; and they, leaving their provinces, came back to Rome with speed, and laid down their offices. This, however, took place at a later time.1 But at about the time of which I am

1 Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, father of the two famous tribunes, was consul for the second time in 163 B.c.

éxeivous Xpovous kai dvo tepets emupavéo trator Tas
lepoatvas adnpeOnaay, Kopyn Atos pep KeOnyos
dTt TA oOTAaYYVA TOU tepeiov 7 a.pa, Taki émédeoxe,
Kovivros dé LouNTiKios émt TO Ovovtos avTod
TOV xopupatov am oppunvas THS keparhs qidov, ov
ob Kaovpevot Pra piveoe popovor. Muvovxiou dé
SixTaTopos immapxov anodeiEavros Taiov Pra-
piviov, émel Tptopos joboOn pouos ov copiKa
KaXovo ty, arroynbic apevoe TOUVTOUS avdis é érépous

KaTéoTHO AV. Kat Thy év ovT@ pexpois axptBeav
purdrrovtes ovdepia mpocepiyvucay decotdar-
povia, TO pnoey adXAaTTEV pwndé TrapexBaivery
TOV marplav.
VI. ‘Os & obv éEwpocavto THY apxnv ot tepl
Tov Prapivor, dia TaY KaNoupéevoy peo oBact-
Néwy B UTATOS amodeixvuTas Mdpxedros. Kal Tapa-
AaBov Thv apxny dmodeixvucw avr cuvdpyovra
T'vatov KopvnAtov. érXEVON fev ovv ws TONG
oupBartixa Tov Taratov NeyorTon, Kat THS
Bours eipnvaia Bovropéerns,) Madpxedros efe-
TpaXUVE TOV Sjjpov é emt Tov TOE HOV" ov pay anna,
Kal yevopéevns etp7vns avakawtoat Tov TOAELOV ol
Datcarat doKovc Ll, Tas “AMtrets vmepBadovres Kat
TOUS ‘IvoopBpous €m dpavrTes” Tpla wupLot yap
OVTES 7 poce'yevovTo TohhaT Aas tous éxelvots ovot,
Kal peya dp povobvtes evOds én’ ‘Axéppas @ Opynoay,
TOMY umép motapov Iddou avepKic pévnv. éxet-
Gev dé pupiovs trav Tastcatay o Bactheds Bpero-
1 Cf. the Numa, vii. 5.

2 In 222 8.c. In republican times, an interrex was elected when there was a vacancy in the supreme power, held office for five days, and, if necessary, nominated his successor. Any number of interreges might be successively ap-

speaking, two most illustrious priests were deposed from their priesthoods, Cornelius Cethegus, because he presented the entrails of his victim improperly, and Quintus Sulpicius, because, while he was sacrificing, the peaked cap which the priests called flamens! wear had fallen from his head. Moreover, because the squeak of a shrew-mouse (they call it “sorex’’) was heard just as Minucius the dictator appointed Caius Flaminius his master of horse, the people deposed these officials and put others in their places. And although they were punctilious in such trifling matters, they did not fall into any superstition, be- cause they made no change or deviation in their ancient rites.

VI. But to resume the story, after Flaminius and his colleague had renounced their offices, Marcellus was appointed consul? by the so-called “interreges.”’ He took the office; and appointed Gnaeus Cornelius his colleague. Now it has been said that, although the Gauls made many conciliatory proposals, and although the senate was peaceably inclined, Marcellus tried to provoke the people to continue the war.

However, it would seem that even after peace was made the Gaesatae renewed the war; they crossed the Alps and stirred up the Insubrians. They numbered thirty thousand themselves, and the Insubrians, whom they joined, were much more numerous. With high confidence, therefore, they marched at once to Acerrae, a city situated to the north of the river Po.° From thence Britomartus the king, taking with him pe until the highest office was filled. Cf. the Numa, 11. °

* According to Polybius (ii. 34), no peace was made, although the Gauls offered to submit, and the consuls

marched into the territory of the Insubrians and laid siege to Acerrae.

paptos avaraBov thy rept dbov ywpay éropber. Tabra, Mapxedros mudopevos TOV pev cuvdpxovra 7 pos "AKéppaus améNre THY meth Kal Bapeiav opod Taoay éxovTa Sbvapev Kal Tov imméay pépos Tpitov, autos dé TOUS NoeTrous tIrTrets avaAaBov cal Tovs édappotatous TOY omhitay Tept éEaxoaious Tprauvev, ouUTE Tepas ore VUKTOS avueis Tov Spopor, & Ews éréBare tots pupias Taroar ass mept TO KadovUpEvor Kraortidvov, DanaTLKNY KOUNY ov po ToD 'Pwpaiors bmnKoov yeyernpevny. avaraBeiv dé kal Stavarratoas TOV oTpatov ouyx umiptev avT@: Tax yap aicOnovw TOLS BapBdpors adixdpevos Tapéa xe, Kal kareppovnOn elon pev odor TwavTaTactw. OvTwY ov avtT@, To 8 immecov éy ovdevt doy TOV KeATov TUB epeveov. KpaTLo To yap OvTes (mrro0paxetv Kal pddLoTa TOUT! Siaé pe Soxobvres, ToTe Kal mrnOe TOND TOV MdpxedAor UT EpeBarnror. evOus ovv én avTOV ws dvapTac opevot peta Bias moAXjs- Kat Sewe aTreth ov épépovTo, TOU Baciréws mpoimrmevovTos. o 0€ Mapxednos, @S [7 pbaier avrov eynuehao apevor Kat TEPLYUGévres dhuyoo Tov éytTa, Tas ihas mye Toppe Tay iTTEMY KAL TEPLHAQUVE, NETTOV EXTELVMY TO Képa axpt ob puKpov améaxe TOY TONE MLV. 767 TWs Els epBorny ema Tpepovtos avrou auvTvy-

ydver Tov immov mrupevTa TH yaupornte TOV
TONE wLoy amotpanéaOas kat Bia pepe orig
TOV Mdpxedrov. 6 88 todT0 deicas By Tapaxny
ex Serodatpovias Tots -Popaious evepydontat,
TAaXY meplomaaas ep” jviay TP XAAVO Kal Tmept-
operas TOV irtrov évavtiov Tois Tohepiors, TOV
HALoY avTos TpoceKUYNnaeEY, ws 57 LN KATA TUYNY,
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MARCELLUS

ten thousand of the Gaesatae, ravaged the country about the Po. When Marcellus learned of this, he left his colleague at Acerrae with all the heavy-armed infantry and a third part of the cavalry, while he himself, taking with him the rest of the cavalry and the most lightly equipped men-at-arms to the number of six hundred, marched, without halting in his course day or night, until he came upon the ten thousand Gaesatae near the place called Clastidium, a Gallic village which not long before had become subject to the Romans. There was no time for him to give his army rest and refreshment, for the Barbarians quickly learned of his arrival, and held in contempt the in- fantry with him, which were few in number all told, and, being Gauls, made no account of his cavalry. For they were most excellent fighters on horseback, and were thought to be specially superior as such, and, besides, at this time they far outnumbered Mar- cellus. Immediately, therefore, they charged upon him with great violence and dreadful threats, think- ing to overwhelm him, their king riding in front of them. But Marcellus, that they might not succeed in enclosing and surrounding him and his few follow- ers, led his troops of cavalry forward and tried to outflank them, extending his wing into a thin line, until he was not far from the enemy. And now, just as he was turning to make a charge, his horse, frightened by the ferocious aspect of the enemy, wheeled about and bore Marcellus forcibly back. But he, fearing lest this should be taken as a bad omen by the Romans and lead to confusion among them, quickly reined his horse round to the left and made him face the enemy, while he himself made adoration to the sun, implying that it was not

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GNX évexa TOUTOU ™ mepiayoryh Xpnodpevos:
ovTw yap Eos éoti ‘Pepators Tm pooKuvelv TOUS
Geos TeplaTpepopevous. Kat avrov 767 T poo pt-
yuvra Tois évavTioss mpocevtac Gat T@ peperplo
Aut Ta KaANCTA TOV Tapa Tos mone pots oT Aw
Kabvepwcew.
VII. ’Ep TOUTY dé KaTioov 0 trav Tadarov
Baotdevs Kab TEX UNpapevos amro TOV cup Porov
apxovra TOUTOV elvat, ToXU ™po TOV ad\d\wV
é€eXaoas tov tariov omqvrTiacey, apa th povy

TpoKANTLKOV érrahahafov kal To Sopu kpadaiver,
avnp peyeder Te THPATOS éFoxos TanXarov, Kal
TavoTrAta év apryupo Kal xpua@ Kal Badais kat
Tact mouidpacey, OoTrep dorpaTn, Stag épov
arthBovon. @S oUv emiBréppavte THY parayya
7? Mapxérr Tavita tov Srrrwy oke KaANMoTA
Kal Kata TOUTOY bréxaBe merrotha Oat T® Gee
THY KATEVY NY, Bpynoev émt tov dvopa, Kal TO
Sopare diaxoyas Tov Gwpana Kal ouveTrepeloas
TH pun Tov iamov fovra ev avroy TepleTpewpe,
Seurépav 88 nal tpirny TANYHY evels evOus amré-
KTELVED. aronndyaas dé tov tov, Kal TOY
oTwY Tob vexpod Tails Xepaly éparpdpevos, ™ pos
TOV ovpavov evTey" "OO, peyara OTPATHYOY Kat
Hye MOveOD épya Kal mpagers émtPrémov év TOAE-
poous Kab payats peperpre Zed, paptvpopai ce
'Popatov TpiTOS dpxav apxovra kal Baothéa
oTpatnyos iota yerpl Tovde Tov dvdpa KaTepyaca-
pevos Kal KTEWaS COL cab tepoby Ta m para xal
KdAMoTAa TOV Aagupav. ov dé didou TUXNY Opotay
éml Ta Nowra Tov ToNépou T POT PET OMEVOLS.
"Ex tovtTouv cuvéputoyov ot immeis ov SiaKxexpe-

by chance, but for this purpose, that he had wheeled about ; for it is the custom with the Romans to turn round in this way when they make adoration to the gods. And in the moment of closing with the enemy he is said to have vowed that he would consecrate to Jupiter Feretyius the most beautiful suit of armour among them.

VII. Meanwhile the king of the Gauls espied him, and judging from his insignia that he was the commander, rode far out in front of the rest and con- fronted him, shouting challenges and brandishing his spear. His stature exceeded that of the other Gauls, and he was conspicuous for a suit of armour which was set off with gold and silver and bright colours and all sorts of broideries; it gleamed like lightning. Accordingly, as Marcellus surveyed the ranks of the enemy, this seemed to him to be the most beautiful armour, and he concluded that it was this which he had vowed to the god. He therefore rushed upon the man, and by a thrust of his spear which pierced his adversary's breastplate, and by the impact of his horse in full career, threw him, still living, upon the ground, where, with a second and third blow, he promptly killed him. Then leaping from his horse and laying his hands upon the armour of the dead, he looked towards heaven and said: "QO Jupiter Feretrius, who beholdest the great deeds and exploits of generals and commanders in wars and fightings, I call thee to witness that I have over- powered and slain this man

with my own hand, being _ the third Roman ruler and general so to slay a ruler and king, and that I dedicate to thee the first and most beautiful of the spoils. Do thou therefore grant us a like fortune as we prosecute the rest of the war.”

His prayer ended, the cavalry joined battle, fight-

pévors Tots immedow, GAAA Kal Tpos Tovs Tefous
O“od TpoapEpopevous PAYXOMEVOL, Kal VUKooL ViKNY
iséa te Kal tTpowT@ wWepiTTnv Kal Trapdadokov:
immeis yap immeis kat relovs dua tocovTor
TOdOUTOUS OUTE TpOTEpoY oUTE UaTEpov WiKHoAL
Néyovtat. xKteivas 5é Tovs TWAEiaTOUS Kal KpaTN-
gas SrrAwy Kal ypnudtov émavydOe mpos Tov
cuvapyovta poxOnpas trodepodvta Kertois rept
Tok peytotny Kal qoAvavOpwrotatny tav Ta-
AaTiK@v. MediArAavoy Kxadeirat, Kal pntpoTroAty
auTnv of tHdE KeATol vopifovaory: bev éxOvpws
pPaYopevot Trept avThs avtTeToALépKouv Tov Kopvy-
Auov. émeNOovTos dé Mapxédrdov, cai trav Taca-
Tov, ws éeTvUOovTO THY TOD Baciréws Array Kal
TereuTnV, aTedOovTwv, TO péev MediodAavoy aXi-
oxetat, Tas 5é adXas TONES aVTOL Trapadidcacw W
oi Kertol xal ta Kal’ éavtovs émitpérover TavrTa
‘Pwpaios. Kal TovTois pév Rv eipnvn petpiov
TUXOUGL.
VIII. Wadioapévns S€ tTHS cuyKrANTOV pove
Mapkérdo Opiap Bor, evanravve TH pév AAXy Aap-
MpOTHTL Kat WAOUVTM Kal AadUpos Kal GwOpactY
UTepphvéoly aixparaotwv év org&yos POavpacTos,
jHOtotov b€ TdavtTwy Oéaya Kai Katvoratov émidet-
Kvbpevos auTov Kouifovta T@ Oe@ THY TOD Bap-
Bapov wravoTrAiav. Spvds yap evxtedvou mT péuvov
épOtov Kat péya tTeypov Kal doxynoas oaTeEp
TpoTatov avednoato Kal Katnprnoev €€ avTod Ta
Adpupa, Koo pep biabels Kal Teptappocas Exao Tov.
mpolovons b€ THS TouTHS apamevos avTos é7éBN
452

ing, not with the enemy’s horsemen alone, but also with their footmen who attacked them at the same .

time, and won a victory which, in its sort and kind, was remarkable and strange. For never before or since, as we are told, have so few horsemen con- quered so many horsemen and footmen together. After slaying the greater part of the enemy and getting possession of their arms and baggage, Mar- cellus returned to his colleague, who was hard put to it in his war with the Gauls near their largest and most populous city.!_ Mediolanum was the city's name, and the Gauls considered it their metropolis ; wherefore they fought eagerly in its defence, so that Cornelius was less besieger than besieged. But when Marcellus came up, and when the Gaesatae, on learn- ing of the defeat and death of their king, withdrew, Mediolanum was taken, the Gauls themselves sur- rendered the rest of their cities, and put themselves entirely at the disposition of the Romans. They obtained peace on equitable terms.

VIII. The senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus alone, and his triumphal procession was seldom equalled in its splendour and wealth and spoils and captives of gigantic size; but besides this, the most agreeable and the rarest spectacle of all was afforded when Marcellus himself carried to the god the armour of the barbarian king. He had cut the trunk of a slender oak, straight and tall, and fashioned it into the shape of a trophy ; on this he bound and fastened the spoils, arranging and adjusting each piece in due order. When the procession began to move, he took the trophy himself and mounted the chariot, and

1 Acerrae had, in the meantime, been taken. by the Romans, who had then advanced and laid siege to Medio- lanum (Milan). Cf. Polybius, ii. 34.

A la A , ¥ n~
tov téOpimrov, kal tpotratopopoy ayadpa TOV
éxeivov KdAXoTov Kal S:amrpenéotatoyv émdpmreve
Sua THs ToNews. 0 S€ oTPAaTOS ElmEeTO KAANLCTOLS
Ordos KexogUNpéVvos, GOwv Apa TeTrornuéva péXN
Kat watavas émivixious eis Tov Oeov Kxat tov
otTpatnyov. otTw Sé mpoRas nab wapedOov eis
Tov vewr Tov hepetpiou Aros, avéotnoe Kal nabsé-
pwoe, Tpitos Kal Tedevtaios aypt ToD Kal" Hyas
ai@vos. WpaTos ev yap aynveyxe oxdrAa "Po-
i, > \ wv nw 4 4 A
pvnros aro "Axpwvos tod Karvevytov, devtepos 5é
Koacos Kopvndsos amo Toroupviov Tuppnvod,
XN \ iA , > \ A
peta 6€ tovTous Mdpxeddos ato Boprropydptov,
Baotréws Tararav, peta 5¢ Mdpxerndor ovée els.
Karetrat 66 Oo pev Oeds wo TéuTetat hepeT
a e ~~" - BP mes N B pepe pe
Zevs, as pev Eviot hac, ao Tod Pepetpevopéevov
\ € , aA
Tpovraiov, Kkata tHv EnrdAnvida yAoooav ért

\ , a A
MOAAnY TOTE TUupEenlypevny TH Aativwv, ws Sé
, A
Erepot, Aros éotiv) mpoowvupia KxepavvoBondodr-
ToS. TO yap TUTTE Pepipe ot ‘Pwpuaios KarXoverv.
Grou S€ Tapa THY TOU ToAEulov TWANYHY yeryo-
vévat Tovvopa éyovot: Kal yap viv év tals
A
paxats, Stav SidKwot TOS TrodEpLoUS, TUKVOD TO
aA wn \
dépl, TOVTETTL Tale, Tapeyyvaow GAANAOLS. TA
dé oxdAa oTodNa pev Kotvas, dims Sé drripma
TavTa KaNOdGL. Kaitot hacly év Tots. UTOopYHpact
Nopay Tlopridsov xai rpdétev omipioy Kal dev-
tépwv Kal TpiTov pynpoveve, TA pev TPATA
AnPOevta TH hepetpio Avi nerXevovta KaGtepodr,
an ww A nw ,
ta Sevtepa 5é T@ “Apert, ra b€ rpita Te Kupivg,
o
kal AapBavey yépas doodpia Tpiaxoota Tov
454

MARCELLUS

thus a trophy-bearing figure more conspicuous and beautiful than any in his day passed in triumph through the city. The army followed, arrayed in most beautiful armour, singing odes composed for the occasion, together with paeans of victory in praise of the god and their general. Thus advancing and entering the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, he set up and consecrated his offering, being the third and last to do so, down to our time. The first was Romulus, who despoiled Acron the Caeninensian ;! the second was Cornelius Cossus, who despoiled Tolumnius the Tuscan; and after them Marcellus, who despoiled Britomartus, king of the Gauls; but after Marcellus, no man. The god to whom the spoils were dedicated was called Jupiter Feretrius, as some say, because the trophy was carried on a “pheretron,” or car; this is a Greek word, and many such were still mingled at that time with the Latin;? according to others, the epithet is given to Jupiter as wielder of the thunder-bolt, the Latin “ferire”’ meaning to smite, But others say the name is derived from the blow one gives an enemy, since even now in battles, when they are pursuing their enemies, they exhort one another with the word “feri,’ which means smite! Spoils in general they call ‘‘spolia,” and these in particular, “opima.”” And yet they say that Numa Pompilius, in his commentaries, makes mention of three kinds of “ opima,” prescribing that when the first kind are taken, they shall be conse- crated to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; also that the reward for the first shall be three hundred asses,® for the second

1 Cf. the Romulus, xvi. 4—7.
2 Cf. the Romulus, xv. 3; Numa, vii. 5.
3 The Roman as corresponded nearly tothe English penny.
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7 p@Top, TOV bé SevTepov Siaxoota, tov O€ TpiTov
éxaTOV. 0 pévroe ToAUS obtos émexparet Novos,
@S éxeivov oven OmrLpbeoy dv ToD, dca Kal Tapa-
Takews ovans Kal Tora eal oTparnyod oTpaTn-
yov aveXovTos. Tept pev ov TOUT@Y ént TOCOUTOV.
Oi dé 'Pepator THY vixny exelyny kal ToD
TONE MOU Thy KaTadvow ovTwS Urepnyanncay
@oTe Kat TO IIv0io xpucoby Kpatijpa amo
AeTpav® . . . els Aerpous aTrooTElhat Xaporn-
plov, Kat TOV Aagpupoy tais TE TULpAXior peTa-
dobvar Tohect AapT pas, Kal pos 'lépava TONG
mepnpat, TOV Yupaxovatov Bactréa, didov ovTa
Kal cuppa ov.
IX. "AvviBou 5é éuBarovtos eis "Itadiav ér-
EupOn pev O Mapxednos emt DuKeday oToAov
ayo" émel dé 7] Tmepl Kadvvas aruxia ouverrere
kal 'Pwpaiwy ove drjkyat pupiddes ev TH waxn
SiefOdpnoar, OAiryou 5é swbévtes ets Kaviovov
OUVETTE evyeray, ny Se mpoadokia TOV 'AvviBav
evOus éml TH 'Pepny éXay, rep Hy kpatiaTov
THS Suvdpews avnpnkora, TP@TOV pev O Médpxen-
Nos amo THD vey érrepyre TT) TroAet pudanny
mevraxoaious Kal XLALous dySpas, évrevta Soypa
TIS Bouhijs SeEdpevos eis Kavuovoy TaApHrOe, Kar
Tous éKxet |TuverheryLevous maparaBov eEnyare
TOV epupatay as ov T pong opevos THY Yopay.
'Peopators bé THY NYEMOVLKeY Kal duvarav avd perv
ot pev ere vnked av éy Tabs paxass, PaBiov dé
Mafipov Tov melo Tov éyovtTos afiwpa Tig Tews
Kat TUveTEws, TO Nay amnkptBwpevoy éy Tots
umép Tov en Twadeiv Aoyts wots @S apyov él Tas
awpakets Kal atoApoy yTL@vTO*' Kal vopitoyTes
1 dd Aitpay Sintenis', Coraés and Bekker: ad Adtpwyv.

two hundred, and for the third one hundred. How-
ever, the general and prevailing account is that only
those spoils are "opima" which are taken first, in
a pitched battle, where general slays general. So

much, then, on this subject.
The Romans were so overjoyed at this victory and the ending of the war that they sent to the Pythian Apollo at Delphi a golden bowl! ... as a thank- offering, gave a splendid share of the spoils to their allied cities, and sent many to Hiero, the king of Syracuse, who was their friend and ally.

IX. After Hannibal had invaded Italy,2 Marcellus was sent to Sicily with a fleet. And when the dis- aster at Cannae came,' and many thousands of Romans had been slain in the battle, and only a few had saved themselves by flying to Canusium, and it was expected that Hannibal would march at once against Rome, now that he had destroyed the flower of her forces, in the first place, Marcellus sent fifteen hundred men from his ships to protect the city ; then, under orders from the senate, he went to Canusium, and taking the troops that had gathered there, led them out of the fortifications to show that he would not abandon the country. Most of the leaders and influential men among the Romans had fallen in battle; and as for Fabius Maximus, who was held in the greatest esteem for his sagacity and trustworthiness, his ex- cessive care in planning to avoid losses was censured as cowardly inactivity. The people thought they had

1 The indication of its source or value which follows in the Greek, is uncertain.
2 218 B.C. 3216 B.c. Cf. the Fabius Maximus, xv. f.
457

aTOoYpavTa TOUTOV every pos aa pareray, ou
drape bé 7 pos auvvay TT pPATHYOY, em TOV Mdp-
KEAXOY adespwy," kat To Gapparéov avrob Kar
Spacrnptov pos THY éxetvou kepavvovtes Kal
dpporrovres evra Bevay Kat Tpovo.ay, TOTe pev
aporépous apa Xetporovoirres UmaTtous, Tote bé
év pepe, TOV péev Urrarov, tov dé avOuratov, e&-
émrepumov. o 6¢ Nocesdavcos dnote Tov pev Pafrov
Oupeoy KancioOat, Tov b¢ Mdpxeddov Eidos. avTos
6é 0 o AvviBas Edevye Tov pev PaBrov as maidayo-
yov poPeic Gar, TOV 5é MdpxedXov as dyTaryove-
oTny: vd' ob pev yap xwrverOat Kaxov Te Trovetv,
id' ob 5é Kat mda xeLv.
X. Hpdrov fev oop avérews ToAANs Kat Opacv-
THTOS ex TOD Kpareiy Tov 'AvviBav tois otpa-
TLWOTALS eyryevopevns, TOUS arog KLBvapevous TOU
oTpatomédov Kat KATATPEXOVTAS THY xopav
emit Bépevos KaTEKOT TE Kat Umavihic Ke THS
Suvduews: Errerta ™ pos Néav mony Kal Nadav
BonOnoas Nearodiras pev em éppwcev avrous
kal' éavrovs BeBaious ovras 'Peopatous, els 6é
Noaav eciceXOav ordow cipe, tHS Bovdrts Tov
Ojjpov aviBilovra petaxerpicacbas Kal KaTap-

Tidae py /Suvaperns. mp yap TUS avnp evryevelg
TE Tpworevov év TH Todt Kal Kar’ avopelay € é7rl-
paras, dvopa Bavd.os- TodTov éy Kavvacs Tept-
OTTWS aywVicduEVOY Kal TOANOUS peev avEeAoVTA
tav Kapxndoviwr, tédros 8¢ avtov év Trois vexpois
evpeGévra modrAav Betov KatddAEwv TO copa,
Oavpdoas o ‘AvviBas ov povov adjxev avev
1 apewpwv Coraés and Bekker have xarépevyov (took refuge),
after Stephanus.
458

in him a general who sufficed for the defensive, but was inadequate for the offensive, and therefore turned their eyes upon Marcellus ; and mingling and uniting his boldness and activity with the caution and fore-thought of Fabius, they sometimes elected both to be consuls together, and sometimes made them, by turns, consul and proconsul, and sent them into the field. Poseidonius says that Fabius was called a } shield, and Marcellus a sword.! And Hannibal him- self used to say that he feared Fabius as a tutor, but Marcellus as an adversary; for by the one he was prevented from doing any harm, while by the other he was actually harmed.

X. To begin with, then, since Hannibal’s victory had made his soldiers very bold and careless, Mar- cellus set upon them as they straggled from their camp and overran the country, cut them down, and thus slowly diminished their forces; secondly, he brought aid tou Neapolis and Ngja. In Neapolis he merely confirmed the minds of the citizens, who were of their own choice steadfast friends of Rome; but on entering Nola, he found a state of discord, the senate being unable to regulate and manage the people, which favoured Hannibal. For there was a man in the city of the highest birth and of illus- trious valour, whose name was Bantius. This man had fought with conspicuous bravery at Cannae, and had slain many of the Carthaginians, and when he was at last found among the dead with his body full of missiles, Hannibal was struck with admiration of him, and not only let him go without a ransom, but

1 Cf. the Fabius Maximus, xix. 3.

AUTpOY, GAA «Kal ddpa poo éOnxe Kal pidov
eTotnoato Kat _Sevov. apetBopevos ouv THY xapev
0 Bdvézos els 7 i TOV avyrBilov rev Tpodupuns, kal
tov SHpov & taxvov eFirye 7 pos dmocract.) dé

Madpxeddos avedelv pev dvépa Aaprrpov oUT® THY
TUY NY Kat KEKOWOVNKOTA TOV peyioroy ‘Pwo-
patous ayavev ovx% Savov Hyetro, T pos sé TO
pices prravOpame kal midaves & av omshig T poo a-
yeoOat pthortpov 700s, doracapevov Wore TOU
Bavéiou aurov npwOTnaEv Sots avO porrav ein,
Tada pev ev elds, apxnv 5é Kal wpopacw év-
TevEews onTav. a@s yap ele, “AevKvos Bavdtos,”
olov na Geis Kat Gavpicas o O Madpxedros, «°H yap
EKELVOS, "én, “ ov Bavé:0s, ov TELTTOS ev ‘Poeun
Aoyos Tav év Kavvass ayovirapevor, OS povov
IlabXov Alpidtov TOV apxovra r) mT pohimovros,
ada Ta TWrELTTA TOV éxetip pepopévay Berdov
UTOOTAYTOS TT TOMATL Kal dvadefauevov;” py-
TavTOS 5é Tod Bavdiov Kat TL Kal TapadnvavtTos
avT@ TOV TPAVLaTwOD, Eira,” epn, “rn dtxavta
yvwpiopata Peper THS T pos neas _pertas ovK
evOus T pooners; n KaKot oot Soxodpev dpeTny
dpetBea Oar pirwv ols éate Tin Kat Tapa Tots
Tore pias 5” ” taita girodpovnbeis xat Seko-
od pLevos immov TE | Owpeiras TOAEMLOTHY avr@
Kal Spaxuds d apyuptou TevTAaKocias,
XI, "Ex TOUTOU BeBatoraros pev Rv Mapkédrw
TapacTarns Kat TUMPAXOS, deevoratros bé pn-
VUTHS Kab KaTHYOpOS TOV TavavTia ppovovvrov
0 Bavézos. qoay dé TOOL, Kal devoobv 0 TOV
‘Popaiov éreEvovtwv trois moAepiows avdrot drap-
Tacat Tas amooxevas. S10 ovvtakas o Map-
460

MARCELLUS

actually added gifts, and made him his friend and guest. In return for this favour, then, Bantius was one of those who eagerly favoured the cause of Han- nibal, and was using his great influence to bring the people to a revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put to death a man so illustrious in his good fortune who had taken part with the Romans in their greatest conflicts, and, besides his natural kindliness, he had an address that was likely to win over a character whose ambition was for honour. One day, therefore, when Bantius saluted him, he asked him who he was, not that he had not known him for some time, but seeking occasion and excuse for conversation with him. For when he said, “I am Lucius Ban- tius,” Marcellus, as if astonished and delighted, said : ‘What! are you that Bantius who is more talked of in Rome than any of those who fought at Cannae, as the only man who did not abandon Paulus Aemi- lius the consul, but encountered and received in his own body most of the missiles aimed at him?’’ And when Bantius assented and showed him some of his scars, “ Why, then,” said Marcellus, “when you bear _ such marks of your friendship towards us, did you - not come to us at once? Can it be that you think us loath to requite valour in friends who are honoured even among our enemies?” These kindly greetings he

followed up by making him presents of a war horse and five hundred drachmas in silver.

XI. After this Bantius was a most steadfast partisan and ally of Marcellus, and a most formidable denouncer and accuser of those who belonged to the opposite party. These were many, and they purposed, when the Romans went out against the enemy, to plunder their baggage. Marcellus there-

1 The story of Lucius Bantius is told by Livy also (xxiii. 15, 7—16, 1).

KeAXOS THY SUvapty évTds Tapa TAS TrUNAS EcTHGE
a wn A
Ta aKxevodopa, cal tois NwaAavois d:a xnpvy-

Paros ateime Tpos Ta TELyYn MpooTrEeAalev. AV

@ ¢ ? , \ % > U 9 4,

ou OTrAwy épnuia cai tov "AvviBav émeotacato
aA nw 4
Wpocayely ATAKTOTEpOV, WS TOY ev TH TrONEL
'\
tapatropévov. 'Ev tovrm S€ tHv nal' avtov

TUAnY avatreTdcat KeXevoas o Madpxeddos &€&n-

Nacev, Exov pel" éavtTod TaY immoTaY TOUS
4
NaumpoTdtous, Kal Mpoomec@y KaTa oToOMa

ld a , > 9 , b e \

guveiveto Tois Todepions. pet OArtyov 8 ot meCot

,

Kad érépayv mvdnv éyw@povy peta Spopov Kat
An a ? /
Bohs: nat awpos tovTovs avOts avd tov AvviBa
pepifovtos thy Svvayiv tpitn TeV muA@V
> ' \ > > A Ig-/ e)

avewyvuto, Kal 6’ avthns éFéOeov ot Aottrol Ka
mpocéxetvto Tavtayobev éxmeTANYypEVOLS TO
ampocdonnt@m Kal KaK@s apvvopévots Tovs év
yepaiv On Oud Tovs VaoTepov émipepopévovs.
3 “ a e \ ? ; e , 2 /
xavtTav0a mpatov ot crv ‘AvviBa “Pwpaiors éve-
Swxav, wOovpevor dove TWorAA@ Kal Tpavpact
MWpos TO oTpaTOTEboV. A€yovTaL yap UTép TrevTA-
KisXtdovs amro0aveiv, adtoxteivac 5é ‘Pwpaiwv
9 , Av / e \ / (ef
ov mAélovas 7) TreVTaKocious. o dé AiBtos ovT@
\ b “ A 4
pev ov dtaBeBatovrar yevéoOar peyadnv Array
ovdé TEecEiy VEexpOvS ToTOUTOUS THY TroAEMiW?,
, \ , A
KdEos 6€ péya MapkérAdo xal “Pwpatots éx naxov
U 9 \ A
Oapoos amo tis payns éxeivns vrdpkar Oav-
ld
PaaTOV, OVX WS Mpos apayov ovdée aNTTHTO?,
PJ a
GdAd te kat wadeiv duvapevov Staywvilopévots
TWoNEjLLOV.
XII. Avo nad Oatépov tay brdtwv atrobavivtos
46a

fore drew up his forces inside the city, stationed his baggage-trains near the gates, and issued an edict forbidding the men of Nola to come near the city walls. Consequently there were no armed men to be seen, and Hannibal was thus induced to lead up his forces in some disorder, supposing the city to be in a tumult. But at this juncture Marcellus ordered the gate where he stood to be thrown open, and marched out, having with him the flower of his horsemen, and charging directly down upon the enemy joined battle with them. After a little his footmen also, by another gate, advanced to the attack on the run and with shouts. And still again, while Hannibal was dividing his forces to meet these, the third gate was thrown open, and through it the rest rushed forth and fell upon their enemies on every side. These were dismayed by the unexpected onset, and made a poor defence against those with whom they were already engaged because of those who charged upon them later. Here for the first time the soldiers of Hannibal gave way before the Romans, being beaten back to their camp with much slaughter and many wounds. For it is said that more than five thousand of them were slain, while they killed not more than five hundred of the Romans. Livy, how- ever, will not affirm! that the victory was so great nor that so many of the enemy were slain, but says that this battle brought great renown to Marcellus, and to the Romans a wonderful courage after their disasters. They felt that they were contending, not against a resistless and

unconquerable foe, but against one who was liable, like themselves, to defeat.

XII. For this reason, on the death of one of the

1 Vix equidem ausim adfirmare, xxiii. 16, 15.

to

éxddhet Madpxerrov 6 Siuos emt thy Siadoyny
anovra, kal Big tev apydvtwv brepeOero Ti
KatdoTacw éws éxeivos HAGev did Tov otpato-
médov. Kal mdcats perv aredeiyOn tals yosdors
drraros, émtBpovtycavros 8&8 Tod Oeod Kal Trav
tepéwy ov« aictoy TiWepevav 7d onyeior, éudavas
dé xwArvew dxvovvtwy kad Sedidt@v Tov ojmov,
autos éEwpdcato tiv dpyjv. od pévtor thy
oT parelav Epuryer, GAN' avOvmatos avayopevbels
Kat wadtwv mpos Na@dav éraverOav eis To otpa-
Tomedov KaKas érole. Tos npnugvous Ta TOD
Doivixos. ws 5é dkeiav én' abtov Oéuevos Bor-
Oevav exeivos Hxe, mpoxadovpévm pev ex wapa-
a > 3 4 , J
tafews ove nBovrAnOn Staywrvicacbat, Tpewavtt
6¢ To wreiotov ef dprayhy tod otpatod Kal
pnxére mpoadeyoueve pdynv éreEArOe, Siadods
Sopata Tay vauydyov peydda Tois retois, cal
Sibdéas moppwhev suvrnpover tai tovs Kap-
nSovious, axovrTiaTas pep ovK évras, aixpais dé
Npwpeévous éx verpos Bpaxetats. 810 cal Soxoicr
tore detEar Ta voTAa Pwpaios bc0t cuvéBarov
Kal duynv ampopaciotov pvyciv, atoBadovtes
é& éautav vexpous pev Evo pevous TWEVTAKITYIAL-
ous, alyparwtous de éEaxocious,' Kat TOV éNE-
ddvrwy téccapas pev TeoOvTas, dv0 &€ Cwods
Notas, 08) Av wees teD: MEEPS TpiTy pera,
THY wayny ines 'TBipav Kat Nopddor puryades
AUTOMOAODALY UITEP TOUS TplaKootous, ovTM Tpd-
repov 'AvviBa TovTo malovros, GNX ek TouKthoy
cal moAvTpOTeY acuvnppocpévoy EOvav BapBapt-

1 alyuaddrous 8 éfaxoglovs added to the text by Sintenis and Bekker, after Livy, xxiii. 46, 4.

consuls,! the people called Marcellus home to succeed him, and, in spite of the magistrates, postponed the election until his return from the army. He was made consul by a unanimous vote, but there was a peal of thunder at the time, and since the augurs considered the omen unpropitious, but hesitated to make open opposition for fear of the people, he re- nounced the office of himself. He did not, however, lay aside his military command, but having been declared proconsul, he returned to his army at Nola and proceeded to punish those who had espoused the cause of the Carthaginian. And when Hannibal came swiftly to their aid against him, and challenged him to a pitched battle, Marcellus declined an engage- ment ; but as soon as his adversary had set the greater part of his army to plundering and was no longer expecting a battle, he led his forces out against him. He had distributed long spears used in naval combats among his infantry, and taught them to watch their opportunity and smite the Carthaginians at long range; these were not javelineers, but used short spears in hand to hand fighting. This seems to have been the reason why at that time all the Cartha- ginians who were engaged turned their backs upon the Romans and took to unhesitating flight, losing five thousand of their number slain, and six hundred prisoners ; four of their elephants also were killed, and two taken alive. But what was most important, on the third day after the battle, more than three hundred horsemen, composed of Spaniards and Nu- midians, deserted from them. Such a disaster had not happened before this to Hannibal, but a barbarian army made up of varied and dissimilar peoples had

1 Lucius Postumius, who was utterly defeated and slain by the Gauls in 215 z.c. Cf. Livy, xxii1. 24.

Ov oOTpadTEevpa TAELoTOY YpovoY ev [La YvoO_LN
ScadurdEavtros. ovTot péev ovv TMicTOL Tapémevay
eis Atay avT@ te T@ MapxédrdrA@ Kal Tois peT
avTov oTpaTnyois.
XIII. “O 58 Mdpxedros drrodayGels tratos
TO TpiTov eis LexeAlav Emrevcev. ai yap Avvi-
Bov wept tov modeuov evmpatiar Kapyndovious
érijpav av0is avttNauBdvecBas THs vncov, pa-
NOTA TETApaypevwVv TOY TeEpl Tas Yupaxovaas
peta thv ‘lepwvipou tod tupavvov TedeuvTHD.
516 Kal “Pwpaiwy qv éxed mpoarectarpéevn Siva-
pis Kal otparnyos “Ammos. rTavTny Tapadap-
Bavovtt t@ MapxérdrXr@ mpoomimrovet ‘Popaios
TOAAGL cuuopa KEXPNHEVOL TOLAUTH. TOY mrepl
Kavvas Trapatagapevev ™ pos ‘AvviBav OL pep
épuyov, ot b€ Cavtes HAwWaav, TocovTOY TAOS
as Soxeiv “Pwpaios vrrorercipOar nde Tovs Ta

reiyn Stadvadtovtas. ois 6¢ apa tocovTo Tob
ppovnparos kal peyarowvyias Tepiiy wate TOUS
Hey atyparwrous emi prxpois NUTpOLS aTrobtdovTOS
"Avvi8ov py NaBeiv, adr arowndicacba: nab
meptioeiy Tous pév avatpeDévras, Tovs dé mpabér-
tas é€m TH ‘Itadias, Trav 5é huyh wepiyevoméevwv
TO WAHOOS eis Yexediav amoctetAat, SiaxedNevoa-
pévous ‘Itadlas py émiBaivery ws Trodepodar
mpos “AvviBav. ovtor 5) To Mapxéd\ArA@ trapa-
yevouev@ trpootecovtes aOpoot, cal yapal Kata-
Baxrovres avtous, nrouv td&ty émitipou otpateias
peTa TroAdHs Bons kal Saxpiwv, érayyeddAopevot
SeiEew 8c’ Epywv atuxia til padrov 4 Sv dvav- 305

for a very long time been kept by him in perfect harmony. These deserters, then, remained entirely faithful both to Marcellus himself, and to the generals who succeeded him.?

XIII. And now Marcellus, having been appointed consul for the third time,? sailed to Sicily. For Hannibal’s successes in the war had encouraged the Carthaginians to attempt anew the conquest of the island, especially now that Syracuse was in confusion after the death of the tyrant Hieronymus. For this reason the Romans also had previously sent a force thither under the command of Appius. As Marcellus took over this force, he was beset by many Romans who were involved in a calamity now to be described. Of those who had been drawn up against Hannibal at Cannae, some had fled, and others had been taken alive, and in such numbers that it was thought the Romans had not even men enough left to defend the walls of their city. And yet so much of their high spirit and haughtiness remained that, although Hannibal offered to restore his prisoners of war for a slight ransom, they voted not to receive them, but suffered some of them to be put to death and others to be sold out of Italy ; and as for the multitude who had saved themselves by flight, they sent them to Sicily, ordering them not to set foot in Italy as long as the war against Hannibal lasted. These were the men who, now that Marcellus was come, beset him in throngs, and throwing themselves on the ground before him, begged with many cries and tears for an assignment to honourable military service, promising to show by their actions that their

1 Cf, Livy, xxiii. 46, 1-7.
2 In 214 3.c. Fabius Maximus was his colleague.
3 Cf. Livy, xxiii. 25, 7.

HH 2 “A

if
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é

Sptay aur av THY Tpomny éxelynv yevopuernp.
oixTetpas ouv avTous 6 Mdpxedros éypayre ™ pos
THY aUryKAHTOV alToupevos éx TOUT@Y dé TIS
OTPAaTLAS TO émedelov ava npovv. oven 5é
TOAN@V yevopLevov émrorngaro yvapny n Bovrn
pndev eis Syuoora Tpaypara Seia Oar ‘Pwpaious
av patrav avavdpev’ et Oé€ Bovderat xphabas
Mdpxe)nos autots tows, pndevdos TOV 1 avdpeia
vou Copevev atepavay kal yepav TUXELD vr
adpXovros. TOUTO To Soypa Mdpxedrov nviace,
Kal peta TOV ev LiKehig mOhepov émaveJav
eméprparo THY Bourn», & @s aytl TOXov Kal peya-
AwWY OV Tapacyodaay avT@ TocovTwY SvatuxXiav
éravop0dcaa ae TONTOY.
XIV. Tote & ev Sexedia mpartov pev adicnBels
bao ‘Iamoxpatous Supaxoveiay oTpaTnyou, bs
Kapynboviors Xaprbomevos cal tupavvida KTo-
pEevos aUT@ moddous StepOerpe ‘Popaiov pos
Acovrivous, ele? THY TOV Aeovtivay TOMY KATA
KpaTos, Kat _Aeovtivous fev ovK ndience, TaY dé
avToMoNov Saous édaBe pactuyocas AT EKTELVE.
tov 8 Immoxparous Tpe@Tov pep Aoyov eis TAS
Lupaxovaas T poTrepypayTos a@s Aeovtivaus 7Bndov
anoaparret Mapxedros, é émerta O€ TETAPAyMEVOLS
emumesovtos Kal THY TONY katanafovros, apas
0 Mdpxedros T® OTpaT@ TavtTl mpos Tas Yupa-
Kovcas exapet. wal KaTac TpaToTedevaas TAN-
aiov eioétreprpe pev mpéa Bets mepl TOV év Aeovri-
vols SuddEovtas, ws dé ovdéy Hy dpedos Ba mevBo-
pevery Yupaxovatwv (€xpdrouv yap ot mept Tov
‘Imrmroxpdtnv), mpoaBoras érroteito KaTa yhv apa
1 efae with Reiske and Coraés: ... xat efAe, the lacuna to be filled from Livy xxiv. 30, 1.

former defeat had been due to some great misfortune rather than to cowardice. Marcellus, therefore, taking pity on them, wrote to the senate asking permission to fill up the deficiencies in his army from time to time with these men. But after much

discussion the senate declared its opinion that the Roman commonwealth had no need of men who were cowards ; if, however, as it appeared, Marcellus wished to use them, they were to receive from their commander none of the customary crowns or prizes for valour. This decree vexed Marcellus, and when he came back to Rome after the war in Sicily, he upbraided the senate for not permitting him, in return for his many great services, to redeem so many citizens from misfortune.

XIV. But in Sicily, at the time of which I speak, his first proceeding, after wrong had been done him by Hippocrates, the commander of the Syracusans (who, to gratify the Carthaginians and acquire the tyranny for himself, had killed many Romans at Leontini), was to take the city of Leontini by storm. He did no harm, however, to its citizens, but all the de- serters whom he took he ordered to be beaten with rods and put to death. Hippocrates first sent a report to Syracuse that Marcellus was putting all the men of Leontini to the sword, and then, when the city was in a tumult at the news, fell suddenly upon it and made himself master of it. Upon this, Marcellus set out with his whole army and came to Syracuse. He encamped near by, and sent ambas- sadors into the city to tell the people what had really happened at Leontini; but when this was of no avail and the Syracusans would not listen to him, the power being now in the hands of Hippocrates, he proceeded to attack the city by land and sea,

Kat Kata Odrattav, Aniou pev tov melov émd-
yovTos oTpaTov, avTos 6é mrevtnpets Exon EEnKovTA
mavrodatav StAwy Kal BerXov wAnpers. omép dé
peydrou Cevrypatos vewy OxT@ pos GAANAAS ouv-
Sedepévov unyavny apas émrémder pos TO TEtyos,
T@ TWANOE Kal TH NauMpOTHTe THS TapacKevTs
cal th SoEn tH wept avTov TeToOas: is apa
Adyos ovdels Hv "Apxyipnder cal Tots "Apytundous
enXavnpaciv. ov as pev Epyov aktov otrovdns
ovdey 0 avnp mpovdeTo, yewpeTpias b¢ walovons
éyeyoves Tapepya Ta mAEloTAa, TpoTEpov dLAOTL-
unbévtos 'lépwmvos tod Baoiréws nal reicavtos
"Apxeundyn tpéac te TIS TEXUNS ATO TOV VONTOV
éml Ta TWPATIKA Kal TOV AOYoV amas yé mas 60
aicO@noews pifavta tais xpelats éudhavéotepoy
KATATTHOAL TOUS TONNES.
Tv yap ayatrapévny tavtny Kal meptBonrov
opyavixny npEavro péev. Kivelv ot Trept BvboEov Kab
"A pyutay, trovkidXovTes TO yradupe ryew eT pLay,
Kai Noyixns Kal ypappeKys atrodetEews ovK EevTrO-

potvta mpoBAnpata bu aicOnrav Kal opyauKav
mapaderyudtav vmepeloovTes, WS TO TWepl dVO pé-
cas ava Noyov wpoBAnpa Kal otorxetoy emi Ton-
AA TaV ypadhopévwy dvayKaiov eis opyaviKas
éFjryov auhotepot KaTacKevas, pecoypadous Twas
ATO KaLTUAwY ypau“pav Kal TUNnLdTeV peOappo-
Yovres: eel 5é€ Ikdtwv nyavaxtnoe Kai dueret-
\ ) \ e ? 4 \ 5 Oeci-
vaTo Tpos AUTOUS ws aTohhuvTas wat wap b
povtas TO yewpeTpias ayabov, amo TOV dowpaToV
Ce 7

' Seo chapter xv. 3, According to Polybius (viii. 6), Marcellua had eight quinqueremes in pairs, and on each pair, lashed together, a “sambuca” (or harp) had been

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as

MARCELLUS

Appius leading up the land forces, and he himself having a fleet of sixty quinqueremes filled with all sorts of arms and missiles. Moreover, he had erected an engine of artillery on a huge platform supported by eight galleys fastened together,! and with this sailed up to the city wall, confidently rely- ing on the extent and splendour of his equipment and his own great fame. But all this proved to be of no account in the eyes of Archimedes and in comparison with the engines of Archimedes. To these he had by no means devoted himself as work worthy of his serious effort, but most of them were mere accessories of a geometry practised for amuse- ment, since in bygone days Hiero the king had eagerly desired and at last persuaded him to turn his art somewhat from abstract notions to material things, and by applying his philosophy somehow to the needs which make themselves felt, to render it more evident to the common mind.

For the art of mechanics, now so celebrated and admired, was first originated by Eudoxus and Archytas, who embellished geometry with its subt- leties, and gave to problems incapable of proof by word and diagram, a support derived from mechani- cal illustrations that were patent to the senses. For instance, in solving the problem of finding two mean proportional lines, a necessary requisite for many geometrical figures, both mathematicians had re- course to mechanical arrangements, adapting to their purposes certain intermediate portions of curved lines and sections. But Plato was incensed at this, and inveighed against them as corrupters and destroyers of the pure excellence of geometry,

constructed. This was a pent-house for raising armed men on to the battlements of the besieged city.

47%

- PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kat vontayv atrodidpacKxovans emi ta aicOnrtd,
Kal mpooxpopévns avis ad copact TodANS Kal
ghoptixhs Bavavaoupyias Seopévors, od rw Sex piOn
yewpetpias éxtrecovca pnxXavixyn, Kal Teptopw-
A / , n
pévn wodvv yYpovov vo gtrocodias pia THV
OTpaTiWTioOMY TeEYVaV éyeEeryovel.

Kal pévroe cal “Apxepnons, ‘lépwve rp Baciret

auyyerns dv kal diros, éypapey as tH So0cion
Suvdpet TO So0év Bapos xivhaat Suvarov éote:
Kal veavievaodpevos, OS Pact, pwoun THs amovet-
Fews elev ws, ef yy elyev étépav, exivnoey av
4 \ ? ? , 4 \ na.
TavTny petaBas eis exeivnv. Oavydaoavtos Sé Tob
‘lépwvos, «al Senbévtos eis epyov eEayaryelv TO
™ poBnpa kai Seika tt TOV peydov xovobpevov
bro opucpas Suvduews, od\xdda Tpidppevoy TAY
Bacittkav rove peydr@ Kat yetpl TOAAT vewrA-
KnGeicav, éuBarwv avOpwrovs te wodXOUs Kal
Tov auvynOn poptoyv, avTos atrabev KaOnpevos, ov
peta omrovois, dAAa npéua TH Yepl ceiwy apyny
TWA TONVETAOTOU TPOONYAYETO NELWS KAL ATTTAL-
ots Kal wotrep Sia Oarattns émibéovoav. éx-
TraYyELs oY 0 BactrEvs Kal cUYVOnTAS THs TéeXYNS
Thv Siva, rece tov “Apyupndnv Stas avT@
Ta pev apvvopévo, ta 8 eruxerpodyte pnyavny-
pata KaTacKevdon Tpos Tacay iéay TroALopKias,
ols avtos pev ovK eypyaato, Tob Biov TO meio TOY
atroAepov Kal TavnyuptKov Biocas, ToTe S vrIpye
Tots Yupaxovatots eis Séov 4) WapacKevi) Kal peta
THs TapacKeuns o Snptoupyos.
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which thus turned her back upon the incorporeal things of abstract thought and descended to the things of sense, making use, moreover, of objects which re- quired much mean and manual labour. For this reason mechanics was made entirely distinct from geometry, and being for a long time ignored by philosophers, came to be regarded as one of the military arts.

And yet even Archimedes, who was a kinsman and friend of King Hiero, wrote to him that with any given

force it was possible to move any given weight ; and emboldened, as we are told, by the strength of his demonstration, he declared that, if there were another world, and he could go to it, he could move this. Hiero was astonished, and begged him to put his proposition into execution, and show him some great weight moved by a slight force. Archimedes therefore fixed upon a three-masted merchantman of the royal fleet, which had been dragged ashore by the great labours of many men, and after putting on board many passengers and the customary freight, he seated himself at a distance from her, and without any great effort, but quietly setting in motion with his hand a system of com- pound pulleys, drew her towards him smoothly and evenly, as though she were gliding through the water. Amazed at this, then, and comprehending the power of his art, the king persuaded Archimedes to prepare for him offensive and defensive engines to be used in every kind of siege warfare. These he had never used himself, because he spent the greater part of his life in freedom from war and amid the festa] rites of peace; but at the present time his apparatus stood the Syracusans in good stead, and, with the apparatus, its fabricator.+

2 Cf. Polybius, viii. 5, 3-5; 9,2; Livy, xxiv. 34.

XV. 'Os ody rpocéBadov ot 'Papato: Siyober,
éxTrrAnkis Rv Tov Yupaxovoiwv cat oiyn Sa Séos,
be A 9 @ 4 N , \ é 4 >' /
pnoev av avOéFev mpos Biay cat dvvapuy oiopévov
TocavTny. axdaaavtos 5é Tas pnyavas Tod "Apye-
pydous dpa Trois péev relois annvra Tokevpata Te
A \ / € / lA es
mavrobara Kal ALOwv vrépoyxa peyéOn, poileo
Kal Taxes Katadepopéevwyv atriote, Kal pndevos
4 \ al / 3 ' ? ,
Srdws TO BpiPos creyovtos aPpoouvs avatpeTovTwr
Tovs Urotimtovtas Kal Tas Ta€ets auyyeovTar,
tals 6€ vavoly ao THY TEeryov advw tTrEepaiwpov-
pevat Kepaiar tas pev vd BpiOous aotnpifovtos
dvwbev a0oicat xatédvov eis BuOov, tas 5é yepot
aiynpais i) oTopaci eixacpévols yepavev ava-
le) J > \ > 4 3 4

onaocat tpwpaber opOas él mpvpvav éBdamrelor,
h Sv avtttoven evoov éria tpepopevas Kad Treptaryo-
pevat Tois Ud TO TElyos TrepuKooL Kpnuvois Kat
/ , @ / a A
TKOTENOLS TPOTHpAacooY, dua POdpw TOAA@ TOV
> wn , 4 \ la
ériBatav cuvTpiBopévwv. trodAdKis 5é peTewpos
éEapOcioa vais amo ths Oaracons dedpo xaxeice
mepiouvoupévn kat xpepapevn Oéapa dpix@des Hy,
Béxpt ob trav avdpav atroppipévtav Kat Siacder-

Sovnbévrwy Kevn mpooméco Tots Teiyeoty 7) TEpt-
oricbot THs AaBAs aveions. Av 5&6 Mapxerros
amo Tov Cevrypatos erhye unyavnv, capBven pmev
éxaretto 82’ opotornta Tia oXnpmaTOS Tpos TO
poovatkov dpyavoy, ért b¢ adrwlev adtis mpoc-
, N \ a) > / / 4
hepopévns mpos TO Tetyos éEjrato AiOos Sexata-
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XV. When, therefore, the Romans assaulted them by sea and land, the Syracusans wege stricken dumb with terror ; they thought that nothing could with- stand so furious an onset by such forces. But Archimedes began to ply his engines, and shot against the land forces of the assailants all sorts of missiles and immense masses of stones, which came down with incredible din and speed ; nothing what- ever could ward off their weight, but they knocked down in heaps those who stood in their way, and threw their ranks into confusion. At the same time huge beams were suddenly projected over the ships from the walls, which sank some of them with great weights plunging down from on high; others were seized at the prow by iron claws, or beaks like the beaks of cranes, drawn straight up into the air, and then plunged stern foremost into the depths, or were turned round and round by means of enginery within the city, and dashed upon the steep cliffs that jutted out beneath the wall of the city, with great destruction of the fighting men on board, who perished in the wrecks. Frequently, too, a ship would be lifted out of the water into mid-air, whirled hither and thither as it hung there, a dreadful spec- tacle, until its crew had been thrown out and hurled in all directions, when it would fall empty upon the walls, or slip away from the clutch that had held it. As for the engine which Marcellus was bringing up on the bridge of ships, and which was called *‘sambuca’’ from some resemblance it had to the musical instrument of that name,! while it was still some distance off in its approach to the wall, a stone of ten talents’ weight ? was discharged at it, then a

1 See chapter xiv. 3.
2 A talent’s weight was something over fifty pounds.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

AavTos OnKGD, elra Erepos éri TovT@ Kal |, TplTOS,
@Y ot pev airy? euTred OvTES peydho KTUT Kai
KrDO@vE THIS unXavijs THY TE Baow cuvndonoay
Kal TO youpwpa Leveroay Kal dieamracav Tow
Cevyparos, aoTe? TOV MdpxedAov dm opovpevov
avTov TE tais vavolv amoThely KaTa TAXOS Kat
tois melois avaxapnow mapeyyunoat.
BovaAevopévois bé édofev avrois ere VUKTOS, av
Siverras, mpoo pitas Tots Telyect’ TOUS yap T0-
vous, ols xpioGat TOV "Apxeuneny, 6 pupny éxovTas

Umeprerets TowjoerOat Tas TOV Bedov apéces,
eyyidev 5é Kal TEAEWS aT pak TOUS elvat Sudornpa
Tis TANYAS ovK éyovons. 0 S Lie @s Gorey, emt
TavTa marae TA,PETKEVAT HEVOS opydvev TE oUppe-
Tpous ampos wav Ovdornpa KLVnTELS kat Bérn
Bpaxéa, wai Sa 7d Teixos ® ov peydhwv, TONRGY
dé Kal TUVEX DY TPNPAT OY évTav,® ot oKopTiot
Bpaxvrovor pep, éyyubev 5¢ wAREaL TapeoTnKeoay
dopatos Tois Tmohepcors.
XVI. ‘Os otv mpootuEav o1opevot AavOavery,
avdus av Bédeat Todnois évTvyx avovtes «al TwAN-
yais, TET POV pev Ex Kepanris én’ adTous pepo-
Pévav WaoTrEp T POS xaberov, tov 8é TelXoUs Togev-
pata wavrayoley a avaTe“TovTos, dvexepouy OTri-
vw. KavTavda mwadw avTav Els puKos éxTeTa-
Hever, Berdav éxOcovtav Kat katadapBavorvrov
aT LovTas éyiveto TOs pep avtav pbopos, TONS
5€ TOV veov cUryKpoUT HOS, oudev avtiSpacat TOUS
Todeuious Suvayévav. Ta yap TWAElaTA TOV Op-
1 ait Bekker, after Coraés; airijs (of the engine itself).

2 gore before "this word Sintenis? and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, comparing Polybius, viii. 7, fin.

3 7d TEerXOos, Serav added to the text by Sintenis, who compares Polybius viii. 7, 6.
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second and a third ; some of these, falling upon it with great din and surge of wave, crushed the foundation of the engine, shattered its frame-work, and dislodged it from the platform, so that Marcellus, in perplexity, ordered his ships to sail back as fast as they could, and his land forces to retire.

Then, in a council of war, it was decided to come up under the walls while it was still night, if they could ; for the ropes which Archimedes used in his engines, since they imparted great impetus to the missiles cast, would, they thought, send them flying over their heads, but would be ineffective at close quarters, where there was no space for the cast. Archimedes, however, as it seemed, had long before prepared for such an emergency engines with a range adapted to any interval and missiles of short flight, and through many small and contiguous openings in the wall short-range engines called scorpions could be brought to bear on objects close at hand without being seen by the enemy.

XVI. When, therefore, the Romans came up under the walls, thinking themselves unnoticed, once more

they encountered a great storm of missiles; huge stones came tumbling down upon them almost perpendicularly, and the wall shot out arrows at them from every point ; they therefore retired. And here again, when they were some distance off, missiles — darted forth and fell upon them as they were going away, and there was a great slaughter among them ; many of their ships, too, were dashed together, and they could not retaliate in any way upon their foes. For Archimedes had built most of his engines close

yavev Um TO TELXoS eo KevorroinTo TO "Apxipn det,
Kat Jeopaxotow égxeray ot 'Popaior, puptwy
avTots KaK@v ef adavods EMLXEOMEVOV.
XVIL. Ov pny GX' o Mapxedndos amepuye TE
Kal Tovs ouv éavT@ cKOTTMOY TEXViTAS Kal pn-
Xavorrosous ddeyev" "Ov rravoopeba mpos TOV
yew eT pLeov TobTop Bptdpewy rohepnobytes, OS
tabs pev vavow } pov mualiter é éx THS Jaracons,
TH dé cau Sveny pari Sev * per' ais xuvns ex Bé-
Bryne, tous 6€ pub ixovs éxaToyxerpas vrepatper
Tocaitra Barrov apa BEdn Kal' MOY 3 T@
yap dvs MWdvres of NoLTrOl Lupaxovavor copa TIS
"Apxtmndous TapacKevis joa, n 8€ Kwodca
WavTa Kat otpepovea uy) pia, TOY pev adov
Om Mwy aTpéua KELMEVOD, peovars é Tots éxeivou
TOTE Tis TOAEWS Xpamerns cal pos apuvay wal
7 pos aapdneav. Tédos Oe TOUS Popatous obTw
meptpoBous yeyovoras opay o Mapxednros ob Oot, eb
Kar@ozov 7) h Evrov t onép TOD TELYOUS juix pov bp Bein
TPOTELVOMEVOY, TOUTO éxElvo, uNYaVHY TWA xuvely
én avrous "Apxeunon Boayras amotpenea Oat Kat
pevyey, dméa Xero payns arraans Kat mpoaBonjs,
TO AowTroY eT 7 pove THY moAtopKiav Oéuevos.
TyAtcodrov pevToL gdpovnua Kai Baos puns
Kal TogobTov EXEKTNTO Gewpnuarov m)obTov
"A pxeundys adore, ed' ols dvoma Kal dofav OUK
avOpwririvns, dArAa Satpoviov TLVOS eaxe cwveTEws,
pnOev eGedfjoat oUyypaypa Tepl TovT@V amo-
Acmrety, WW THY mept Ta pnXaviKka Tparypatelay
kal tacav ddws Téyvnv ypeias edpamrropévnv

1 rats ev vavoly . . pawf(wy an early anonymous correction of the MSS. ras pby vais ipav Kabl(wv xpos thy Oddaccay nwal(wy, adopted by Bekker. Cf, Polybius, viii. 8, 6.

behind the wall, and the Romans seemed to be fighting against the gods, now that countless mischiefs were poured out upon them from an invisible source.

XVII. However, Marcellus made his escape, and jesting with his own artificers and engineers, " Let us stop," said he, "fighting against this geometrical Briareus, who uses our ships like cups to ladle water from the sea, and has whipped and driven off in dis- grace our sambuca, and with the many missiles which he shoots against us all at once, outdoes the hundred-handed monsters of mythology." For in reality all the rest of the Syracusans were but a body for the designs of Archimedes, and his the one soul moving and managing everything ; for all other weapons lay idle, and his alone were then employed by the city both in offence and defence. At last the Romans became so fearful that, whenever they saw a bit of rope or a stick of timber projecting a little over the wall, " There it is," they cried, " Archimedes is training some engine upon us,' and turned their backs and fled. Seeing this, Marcellus desisted from all fighting and assault, and thenceforth depended on a long siege.

And yet Archimedes possessed such a lofty spirit, so profound a soul, and such a wealth of scientific theory, that although his inventions had won for him a name and fame for superhuman sagacity, he would not consent to leave behind him any treatise on this subject, but regarding the work of an engi- neer and every art that ministers to the needs of life as ignoble and vulgar, he devoted his earnest

ayevyh Kal Bdvavaov NYNG dpevos, eis éxelva xaTabéc bau pova, THY avrob _pidoripiay ols TO KaXov Kal jweptT Tov apvyes Tow dvayKatov mpoc- eoTLy, aa vyKpita pev évTa Tois aAroLs, épty 6é Tape ovTa ™ pos THY dAnY Th amobeitet, THS pmev TO Hevyedos Kal TO KaNAOs, THS 5é THY axpiBeav Kal THY Suva brreppun Mapex opevns® ov yap gory év yewper pig Narerrwrépas Kal Bapurépas drobecers éy amhovaépors AaBeiv Kal xabapw- TEpoLs oToLXELous Ypadpopévas. Kat Tou' ot pev evpula Tob avopos TpooaTrovaw, ot Oé vmepBony Tie ToVvoU voitovat arr ovens TETOUNLEVe Kal pasins é Exacrov €0tKos yeyovevat. Cntav pev yap OUK ay TLS epot bv avTod THY amddetiv, & apa 6b Th pabijoes TapioTaraL d0&a Tob Kav avrov evpely? oTH Aetav oOo a dryer ® kal Taxelav él TO Setkvupevo. oUKouy oudé aniaThoas Tots Tept avrou eyouevors éaTip, as om oixetas 69 TLVOS Kal ouvoiKou Gedyopevos del ceLpivos €XNEANTTO

Kal citov” Kal Jepamreias (T@UaTOS éFéNerTre, Big
6é TOANAKLS EAKOMEVOS én’ Gerpupeas kab dovtpér,
év Tas eaxdpais eypacpe TX MATA THY yewperpe-
K@V, Kal TOU TWMATOS aN ALL pLEvOU Outrye TO
OanTUdep ypaupas, UO HOovAS peyaAns KAaTOXOS
av Kal HovaorAnT 705 arynbas. trordrNov bé xal
KAN@Y EvpETHS yeyovws Aéyerar TOV dirwv den-
Ofjvar Kai Tav ovyyevav OT WS avrou petra THY
TeheuTHY ETLITHTWOTL TO Tape TOV mepiiapBav-
ovTa THY cpaipay € évT os “KddvB poy, emruyparpavtes
TOV) Noyov THS UTEpoXS TOU TEPLEXOVTOS OTEPEOD
TPOS TO TEPLEXOMEVOV.
1 aye: Bekker, after Bryan: &yev.
2 xa ofrov Bekker has wérov Kal olrov (food and drink), a
suggestion of Coraés.
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efforts only to those studies the subtlety and charm . of which are not affected by the claims of necessity. These studies, he thought, are not to be compared with any others; in them the subject matter vies with the demonstration, the former supplying gran- deur and beauty, the latter precision and surpassing power. For it is not possible to find in geometry more profound and difficult questions treated in simpler and purer terms. Some attribute this suc- cess to his natural endowments; others think it due to excessive labour that everything he did seemed to have been performed without labour and with ease. For no one could by his own efforts discover the proof, and yet as soon as he learns it from him, he thinks he might have discovered it himself; so smooth and rapid is the path by which he leads one to the desired conclusion. And therefore we may not disbelieve the stories told about him, how, under the lasting charm of some familiar and domestic Siren, he. forgot even his food and neglected the care of his person ; and how, when he was dragged by main force, as he often was, to the place for bathing and anointing his body, he would trace geometrical figures in the ashes, and draw lines with his finger in the oil with which his body was anointed, being possessed by a great delight, and in very truth a captive of the Muses. And although he made many excellent discoveries, he is said to have asked his kinsmen and friends to place over the grave where he should be buried a cylinder enclosing a sphere, with an inscription giving the proportion by which the containing solid exceeds the contained.}

1 When Cicero was quaestor in Sicily (75 B.c.), he found this tomb, which had been neglected and forgotten by the Syracusans (7J'usc. Disp. v. 64 ff.).

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

A ,
XVIII. "Apyepndns pév ody TorovTos yevopevos
GnTTNTOV éavToy te Kal THY Tod, Goov Ed'
éavt@, Stepvrake. ris Sé modopias ba pécov
Mdpxerros elre pev Meyapéas, modu ev tais
A e
TaNavoTadtas TOV BKedwrTidwy, etre 5é TO 'I7r- 308
moxpatous mpos "AxpiAXais aotpatotedov, Kat
KaTéxTelvey UTrép OKTAKLOXLALOUS émiTET@V Xd-
paxa PBadrdopévors, erédpape S€ mroddANY THs
ld A , 9 , , \
Lexedlas Kal woes atéotyce Kapyndovioy Kai
pdxas evixnoe wacas Tovs avtTiTayOjvat TOAMN-
2 cavtas. ypovm 8é mpoiovt. Adptrmov tiva
Taptidtny é€x Yvpaxovady NaBov éxmréovta
arypdrwrov, aftovvtwy éml AVTpoLs TAY Yvpa-
/ / '\ 4 4 ¢ \
Kovoiwy Kopicacbar Tov avdpa, woAdaKIS UIrEp
TovTou dStareyouevos Kal ouvTiOéwevos mupyov
\ , / > a
Tia Kateckéato vAaTtTOuEevoy pev apedos,
v 6 de 5 4 dé : @ Ud A J
avdpas o€ duvdpevov déEacBat Kpida, Tod TEivous
3 a , oA 4 e 9% , ae DP
3 émuBatod map avtov évTos. ws ovv To TE DYOS
b " UA / \ 4 N
€x TOV TOAAdKLS Trpoctéevar Kal dvaréyerOat T pos
Tov trupyov eixadcOn Karas Kal KripaKes Trape-
oxevacOnaay, éoptiy "Aptéusds tovs Yupaxovoi-
ous ayovtas Kal Tpos olvoy wpunpévous Kal trat-
diay trapadvaAdtas, éradev ov povov tov mupyov
KaATaTY@OV, AANA Kal KUKAM TO TELXOS TrapEL-
\
wAnoas SrAwy ply nuépav yevéecOa, Kal Ta
4 '"E&dmvva Staxoras. dpyopévov 5é Kweicbar
kal tapatrecOat tov Yvpaxovciwy mpos THv
aicOnow, dua wavrayobey tais cddmuy&e Xp7-
Oat xerevoas puyny éroince TrOoAAnV Kal hoor,
@> ovbdevos pépous avadwrouv pévovtTos. Epeve Oé
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XVIII. Such, then, was Archimedes, and, so far as he himself was concerned, he maintained himself and his city unconquered. But during the progress of the siege Marcellus captured Megara, one of the most ancient cities of Sicily; he also captured the camp of Hippocrates at Acrillae and killed more than eight

thousand men, having attacked them as they were throwing up entrenchments ; furthermore, he overran a great part of Sicily, brought cities over from the Carthaginians, and was everywhere vic- torious over those who ventured to oppose him. Some time afterwards he made a prisoner of a certain Damippus, a Spartan who tried to sail away from Syracuse. The Syracusans sought to ransom this man back, and during the frequent meetings and conferences which he held with them about the matter, Marcellus noticed a certain tower that was carelessly guarded, into which men could be secretly introduced, since the wall near it was easy to sur- mount. When, therefore, in his frequent approaches to it for holding these conferences, the height of the tower had been carefully estimated, and ladders had been prepared, he seized his opportunity when the Syracusans were celebrating a festival in honour of Artemis and were given over to wine and sport, and before they knew of his attempt not only got pos- session of the tower, but also filled the wall round about with armed men, before the break of day, and cut his way through the Hexapyla. When the Syra- cusans perceived this and began to run about con- fusedly, he ordered the trumpets to sound on all sides at once and thus put them to flight in great terror, believing as they did that no part of the city remained uncaptured.' There remained, however,

1 Cf. Polybius, viii. 37; Livy, xxv. 23 f.

TO KaptTepwtatov Kal KddANoTOY Kal péytotor
CAxpadivn xaretrar) bua TO TeTexlcOat apos
Thy é&w Todt, Fs TO pev Néav, ro dé Tuyny
ovopatover.
XIX. Kal rovrov éyopévwv dpa dae bia Tov
'E€arvAwyv o Mdpxerdos xaryet, paxaptCopevos
to Tay Ud éavToY Hryemovwry. avTOS péVvTOL
NévyeTa KaTibav avobev Kal Trepioxelpdpevos TIS
TOAEWS TO péyeOos Kal TO KadANOS eri TOAD
Saxpdoar TO péddovte yiverOar cuprrabgoas,
évvonaas olov €& olov axa Kal popdiy apeirrer
PETA pixpoyv UO TOD atpatoTédou SiahopyOeica.
TOV yap Hryewovwv ovdels pev HY Oo TOAL@Y évay-
Tiovabat tois oTpatimTats aitouvpévors Se? ap-
mayns apernOivar, trodXot Sé Kal muptodety cat
Katackdmrey éxéXevovy. aAAA ToUTOY pev ovde
SAws WpoojKato TOY AOyov 6 MapxedXos, para
5é dxwy Bracbeis Ewxev awd ypnudtov Kai
avépatroswv wpereicbar, trav 5é édevOépwv ow-
patwv ateirev aracGat, cat StexeXevoato pyre
aTroxreival Tia pwnte aicydvar pyte avdparro-
Sicacbat Svpaxovotwv.
Ov pny adda Kaitep odTw petpiacar Sofas
OiKTpa TacxXeW HyEelto THY Tod, Kal TO CUpL-

mwaboby Kai TO cuvadyody Suws ev ToTOUTH peyé-
Ger xapas 7 uy Suéhawwer opadvros év Bpayet
Xporm WworAs Kal rapmpas adaviopov eddar-
povias. AéyeTat yap ovK éXNaTTOVa TOUTOY Hh TOV
vaotepov amo Kapxndovos d:adopnbévta twAodTOV
yevéoOas' xal yap tv GAAnY TOW ov peTa

the strongest, most beautiful, and largest part (called Achradina), because it had been fortified on the side towards the outer city, one part of which they call Neapolis, and another Tyche.

XIX. When these parts also were in his possession, at break of day Marcellus went down into the city through the Hexapyla, congratulated by the officers under him. He himself, however, as he looked down from the heights and surveyed the great and beautiful city, is said to have wept much in commiseration of its impending fate, bearing in mind how greatly its form and appearance would change in a little while, after his army had sacked it. For among his officers there was not a man who had the courage to oppose the soldiers' demand for a harvest of plunder, nay, many of them actually urged that the city should be burned and razed to the ground. This proposal, however, Marcellus would not tolerate at all, but much against his will, and under compulsion, he permitted booty to be made of property and slaves, although he forbade his men to lay hands on the free citizens, and strictly ordered them neither to kill nor outrage nor enslave any Syracusan.

However, although he seems to have acted with such moderation, he thought that the city suffered a lamentable fate, and amidst the great rejoicing of his followers his spirit nevertheless evinced its sympathy and commiseration when he saw a great and glorious prosperity vanishing in a brief time. For it is said that no less wealth was carried away from Syracuse now than at a later time from Car- thage ; for not long afterwards ! the rest of the city

1 In 212 B.c., the siege having lasted nearly three years. Cf. Livy, xxv. 24-31.

ToNvLY Ypovoy arovaav éx mpodocias éBidcavtTo
Stapracat, wAnv tov Bactiikav yYXpnuator:
tavta 6€ eis TO Snwoctov &Enpébn.
Madmota 8é€ ro ‘Apxiundovs mabos nviace
Mapxedrov. éetuxe péev yap autos tt Ka” éavtov
9 A > \ 4 \ a 4
dvackomény émt Saypdppatos wal 7H Jewpig
dedwxws dua tHv te Stavoiay Kal THY mpdcoy
\ a €
ov mponabeto THY KatTadpoyny Tav ‘Pwpaiwv
3 \ A oe fol , 4 \ 3 4
ove THY Arwalv THs TOAEWS, Advw bé émLeTAYTOS
avT@ oTpatiwTov Kal KedevoOVTOS axkoAovOeEiv
mpos MadpxeAXov ove éBovreTo mpl 4 TEedécat
fo ,
TO TpoBAnua Kal KaTaoThoat mpos THY aTrO-
e \ 3 ‘ \ , N ‘
decEuv. 0 5€ opyiobels al omacapevos To Eidos
avetXevy avtov. é&Tepor pev odv Aéyouow émt-
atThvat pev evOds ws atroxtevodvta Eibypn Tov
e “ ? n 9 90 7 “A BJ
Pwpaiov, éxeivov & idovta SetcOar Kal avti-
Bonreiv avapeivar Bpaxydy xpovoy, ws pn KaTa-
XL \ ‘a 4 ? Xe \ 10 , ‘ oe
trn TO Entovpevov ateres Kai aBewpnror, Tov dé
ov dpovticavta dSiaypnoacOa. Kai Tpitos éoTl
Novos, ws Kopuifovtse mpos Mdpxedrov avt@ Tav
pabnpatixay opyavev oxioOnpa Kal odpaipas Kal
yovias, als évapporre: TO TOD HALO péyeOos TpOsS
Thy oy, oTpaTL@TaL TepitvYoOVTEs Kal ypuciov
év t@ Ttevyet Sdkavtes hepa amextevav. tt
, a bd N ? U
pévtot Madpredros HAynoe Kal Tov avToxerpa
Tov avdpos atectpagdn xabarrep éevayn, Tovs oé
oixelous aveupwv éTipnoev, OporoyelTaL.
XX. Tav Sé ‘Pwopaiwy tots éxtos avOpwras
Sevav pev elvat wodepov petayepicacbar Kat
poBepav eis yetpas éMeivy voptlopévwv, evyvo-
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was betrayed and taken and subjected to pillage,
excepting the royal treasure; this was converted

into the public treasury.
But what most of all afflicted Marcellus was the death of Archimedes. For it chanced that he was by himself, working out some problem with the aid of a diagram, and having fixed his thoughts and his eyes as well upon the matter of his study, he was not aware of the incursion of the Romans or of the capture of the city. Suddenly a soldier came upon him and ordered him to go with him to Marcellus. This Archimedes refused to do until he had worked out his problem and established his demonstration, whereupon the soldier flew into a passion, drew his sword, and dispatched him. Others, however, say that the Roman came upon him with drawn sword threatening to kill him at once, and that Archimedes, when he saw him, earnestly besought him to wait a little while, that he might not leave the result that he was seeking incomplete and without demon- stration; but the soldier paid no heed to him and made an end of him. There is also a third story, that as Archimedes was carrying to Marcellus some of his mathematical instruments, such as sun-dials and spheres and quadrants, by means of which..he made the magnitude of the sun appreciable to the eye, some soldiers fell in with him, and thinking that he was carrying gold in the box, slew him. However, it is generally agreed that Marcellus was afflicted at his death, and turned away from his slayer as from a polluted person, and sought out the kindred of Archimedes and paid them honour.

XX. The Romans were considered by foreign peoples to be skilful in carrying on war and formidable fighters; but of gentleness and humanity

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Pas
4
d

poourns 5€ Kal diravOpwrias Kal 6Aws TOoMTLKTS
apeTns UTodEiypata pn Sedwxotwrv, patos Soxet
tore Mdpxeddos vrrodetEat tois "EAXnot Stxato-
Tépous “Pwyaious. otTw yap éypito Trois oup-
BddXovet Kal trocadta Kal Todas Kal idi@tas
evepyéTnoev wore, el TL wept “Evvay 7} Meyapeis 7
Lupakovatous Epyov iv eipyacpéevov ovK émretees
auTois, ToUTO THY TeTTOVOdTwWY aiTia MaAXAOY 4
TOY TeTOLNKOTD SoKeEly yeyovevat. pvncOncopat
dé évos awd TOANOY. TALS éoTl THS Teicedias
"Eyyviov od peyadn, apxaia 5é mavu cal b:a Oeav
éemipadverav évdokos, as kadovaot patépas. idpupa
Aéyetae Kpnra@v yevésOar TO lepov: Kal Aoyxas
Tivas edcixvucay Kal Kpavn YarKa, Ta pev ExovTa
Mnprovov, ta 5é OvrALEov, Tovréotiv "Odvacéus,
ériypagas, avateOexotwv tais Beats. tavrnv
mpoOuporara Kkapxnoovifovcay Nixias, avnp
™ patos TOY ToNTeV, emeOe perabdc bau 1 pos
‘Pwpaious, dvadavdoy éy tais éxxdXnotats tap-

pyoralopevos Kat KaKors ppovovvTas efedeyxov
TOUS tmevavtious. ot S¢ hoBovpevoe thy Suvapey
avtod Kat thy Sdtayv éBovdevoavTo suvapTrdcat
Kat rapadobvat Tois PoiviEw. atcOopuevos ovv 6
Nuxias non Kal TapapurarT opevov adidas cavrov,
éEehepev ev pavepp hovyous mept TOV paTépwv
dverriTndetous, Kal ToNAa Tpos Thy vomrboperny
emipaveray Kal S0fav ws atiactayv Kat Katadpo-
vav érpattev, ndopevov Tav éxOpav Ste THY
peylaTny aitiay autos éf éavTov av Teicetat
mapetye. ‘yeyovorwpy de THY pos THY GUAAHY LY
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and, in a word, of civil virtues, they had given no proofs, and at this time Marcellus seems to have been the first to show the Greeks that the Romans were the more observant of justice. For such was his treatment of those who had to do with him, and so many were the benefits which he conferred both upon cities and private persons, that, if the people of Enna or Megara or Syracuse met with any indignities, the blame for these was thought to belong to the sufferers rather than to the perpetrators. And I will mention one instance out of many. There is a city of Sicily called Engyium, not large, but very ancient, and famous for the appearance there of goddesses, who are called Mothers.! The temple is said to have been built by Cretans, and certain spears were shown there, and bronze helmets; some of these bore the name of Meriones, and others that of Ulysses (that is, Odysseus), who had consecrated them to the goddesses. This city, which most ardently favoured the Carthaginian cause, Nicias, its leading citizen, tried to induce to go over to the Romans, speaking openly and boldly in the assemblies and arguing the unwisdom of his opponents. But they, fearing his influence and authority, planned to arrest him and deliver him up to the Carthaginians. Nicias, accordingly, becoming aware at once of their design and of their secret watch upon him, gave utterance in public to unbecoming speeches about the Mothers, and did much to show that he re- jected and despised the prevalent belief in their manifestations, his enemies meanwhile rejoicing that he was making himself most to blame for his coming fate. But just as they were ready to arrest

1 Magna Mater, the Cretan Rhaea, often confounded with the Phrygian Cybele. Cf. Diodorus, iv. 79, 5-7.

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éTolweov Hv wep éxxdnoia Tay ToMTaOY, O de
Nexias petake TL heyov Kat cup Bourevwv T POS
TOV Sjjpov éEaidyns ap hey els Thy viv TO copa,
Kai pK pov Siaderroy, olov ELKOS, hovytas coy
éxmrAn kes syevoperns, THV ceparay emrapas Kat
TE PLEVEYKOY, brrot poe gwvn Kat Bapeia, Kara
pukpov auvTeivav Kai ‘Tapofuver TOV TX OY, @S

éwpa ppixn Kal olwmTh KATEX OMEVOY TO Géarpov,
atroppirxpas TO ipdreov kat TepiopnEduevos TOV
NLTwviTKOV, NuiyUEVOS avarn Haas eGee Tos THY
éEod5ov Tov Geatpou, Body bro TaV paTépov éXav-
ver Oa. pndevos S€ ToAL@VTOS dpa ba pnode
amayrijoas bua devo Oarpoviar, aN éxTperro-
pévov, emt Tas TUNAS eFeSpapen, ovTE poviis
TLVOS OUTE KLVHTEWS MpeTTOvVaNS Satpovevre Kat
mapadpovobyTt peta dpevos. 7 O€ yurn cuvelduia
Kab ouvrexvatovea T®@ avopi, AaBoica Ta ma.dia
7 p@TOv pev ixéTes mpooekudivociro ToOis peydpos
TOV Ocav, Emerta TAAVwpEvoY EXxEivOY TpoaTrOLOU-
pevn Snteiv KWAVOVTOS ovdEvos aaparos anhev
éx Ths TONEWS. Kal Suet wOnoav pep OUTWS ELS
Yupakoveas mpos Mapxedaov émel O€ ToANa
tous ’Eyyvious UBpicavtas Kat TANMpEAR TC AYTAS
éNav Maépxedros éOnoe mavtTas os TLL@pnao-
HEVOS; O be Nuxias eddxpuce TWAPETTWS, TEAOS b¢
Xerpav Kal yovatav ANTOMEVOS TAPNTELTO TOUS
ToXiTas, aro TOV EXOp av apEdpevos, émexdaa Gels
‘adbiixe mavras Kat THY TONY OVOEY ndixnee, T@ 6€
Nexia X@pay TE TOAATY Kar Swpeds TONAAS iene.
Tavta pev ody Tlocedwveos o piroaopos t laTopnce.
XXI. Tov 6é Mapxedaov dvaKaroupevov TOD
‘Popaion € él Tov éyYwplov Kab avvotKov TONE HOV,
émravepYopevos Ta TEloTA Kal KddMOTA TOV év
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him, an assembly of the citizens was held, and here Nicias, right in the midst of some advice that he was giving to the people, suddenly threw himself upon the ground, and after a little while, amid the silence and consternation which naturally prevailed, lifted his head, turned it about, and spoke in a low and trembling voice, little by little raising and sharpening its tones. And when he saw the whole audience struck dumb with horror, he tore off his mantle, rent his tunic, and leaping up half naked, ran towards the exit from the theatre, crying out that he was pursued by the Mothers. No man venturing to lay hands upon him or gven to come in his way, out of superstitious fear, but all avoiding him, he ran out to the gate of the city, freely using all the cries and gestures that would become a man possessed and crazed. His wife also, who was privy to his scheme, taking her children with her, first prostrated herself in supplication before the temples of the gods, and then, pretending to seek her wandering husband, no man hindering her, went safely forth out of the city. Thus they all escaped to Marcellus at Syracuse. But when Marcellus, after many transgressions and insults on the part of the men of Engyium, came and put them all in chains in order to punish them, then Nicias, standing by, burst into tears, and finally, clasping the hands and

knees of Marcellus, begged the lives of his fellow citizens, beginning with his enemies. Marcellus relented, set them all free, and did their city no harm; he also bestowed upon Nicias ample lands and many gifts. At any rate, this story is told by Poseidonius the philosopher.

XXI. When Marcellus was recalled by the Romans to the war in their home territories, he carried back with him the greater part and the most beautiful of

Lupaxovoais éxivpnoev avalnpatov, OS auT@ TE
T™pos TOV OpiapBov dpris el Kal TH monet KOG 0S.
ovdey yap elxev ovd éyivwcxe T poTEpov TOV
Kopapey cal TEPLTTOD, onde Hp €v auri TO Xaprev
ToUTO Kal yAadupov Gry [LEVOP, SirAwy dé Bap-
Bapixov Kat Nadvpwv évaipwv avaT ews ovca
Kal TepierTEPavopevy OpidpBov & Vropynpact Kat
Tporratous ovx tha pov ovd adoBov ovdé dethav
my Oéapa xat TpupavT av Geatav, adr domep
"Ezrapewvovdas TO Boww tov Tedtov "A pews 6px 1j-
oTpay, Fevopav 5é trav ""Edecov TON v_épya-
aT pLoV, oUTws av pot Soxel TIS TOTE THY 'Popny
KaTa Ttvdapor " Babumrorépdu TEMEVOS "Apews "
T pooerTeiy. 5:6 Kal warrov evdoxipnae Tapa pev
TH Onpep Mdpxeddos nSovny éxovoars at Xapev
'EA Aquecny Kat _mbavornra dtatrovninas Opere
THY WOLD, mapa b¢ Tois mpea But épots Pa Bros
Ma£ipos. ovdey yap éxivnoe TOLOUTOV OVOE METI-
veyKey €K TIS Tapavrivey Toews adNovons, dAXNa
Ta pev adda Xpupata | Kal TOD qovTOV eEepo-
pnoe, Ta be ayadpara pévew elacey, CTTELTT@V TO
pynpwovevopevov: 'Aroncitrwpev, yap pn, " ToVs
Geovs tovrous Trois Tapaytivors Kexohwpevous."
Mdpxedrov 5 qT LavTo MpPOTov pev WS émidBovov
movobvTa THY TON, Ov povov avo par wy, ada
cai Oeav olov aiyparorcov dryopevery éy auth Kat
TOMTEVOLEVO, ETrelTa OTL TOV Onwov iva pévov
Tohepety i) yeopyeiv, Tpudijs dé kal padupias
aretpov évta Kai kata Tov KvpuTridecov 'HpaxXéa,
Paddrov, dxopwov, Ta péytat' aryabov,

1 néyior' ayabdy with Coraés, as in the Cimon, iv. 4:
meyiord Te dyabdy.

the dedicatory offerings in Syracuse, that they might grace his triumph and adorn his city. For before this time Rome neither had nor knew about such elegant and exquisite productions, nor was there any love there for such graceful and subtle art ; but filled full of barbaric arms and bloody spoils, and crowned round about with memorials and trophies of triumphs, she was not a gladdening or a reassuring sight, nor one for unwarlike and luxurious spectators. Indeed, as Epaminondas called the Boeotian plain a “dancing floor of Ares,’ and as Xenophon! speaks of Ephesus as a “work-shop of war,’ so, it seems to me, one might at that time have called Rome, in the lan- guage of Pindar, “a precinct of much-warring Ares.” 2 Therefore with the common people Mar- cellus won more favour because he adorned the city with objects that had Hellenic grace and charm and fidelity ; but with the elder citizens Fabius Maximus was more popular. For he neither disturbed nor brought away anything of this sort from Tarentum, when that city was taken, but while he carried off the money and the other valuables, he suffered the statues to remain in their places, adding the well- known saying: “Let us leave these gods in their anger for the Tarentines.” And they blamed Mar- cellus, first, because he made the city odious, in that not only men, but even gods were led about in her triumphal processions like captives; and again, because, when the people was accustomed only to war or agriculture, and was inexperienced in luxury and ease, but, like the Heracles of Euripides, was

“ Plain, unadorned, in a great crisis brave and true,’’ 4

1 Frell. iii. 4, 17. 2 Pyth. ii. 1 f.
3 Cf. the Fabius Maximus, xxii. 5.
‘ A fragment of the lost Licymnius of Euripides (Nauck, Trag. Grec. Frag.? p. 507).

oYOAHS eveTTANTE Kal NadLGS TeEpl TEXVOY Kai TeyuiTav, aarteifopevoy Kat sstatpiBovta mpos TOUT®@ TOAU pépos THS Hpépas. ov py adrAA TovToLs évepvUvETO Kal pos TOUS" EAAnVas, @S TA Kara kal Oavpacta tis “EAAdbos ovKn émicta- pévous Timav Kal Oavpalerv “Pwpaious didakas.
XXII. "Enotapévov 5€ tov évyOpav 7@ Map- KédXw pos TOV OpiayBov, émel cal mpdkes tives UTonTrels Hoav ere tept Sxediav cal dOovoy elyey o tpttos OpiauBos, cuvexwopnoey avtos } Tov pev evTerr Kal péyay eis to "AXBavoy dpos éEeXdoat, tov O€ éNaTTW KaTayayely eis THY modv, dv evav “EdXnves, d6Bav bé ‘Pwpaios Karovdot. réutes 5¢ avTov ovK éml Tod TEeOpir- mov BeBnxas ovdé daduvns éyov orépavov ovdé mepicarmilouevos, GAAa Tebos év BravTats, br’

avANT@V para ToANOY, Kal puppivns otépavoy
emiKelpevos, WS aTrOAELOS Kal HOVS OPOHvaL par-
Nov 7) KaTaTANKTLKOS. 5 Kal méytoTOV émol TEKLLN-
ptov éote Tov Tpow@ mpodkews, GAAA py peyeOer,
Siwpicbar tovs OpiauBovs TO Tradatov. ot perv
yap peta payns xal dovov TOV Trorcpiov éme-
Kpaticavtes Tov “Apniov éxeivov, ws gorke, Kal
ghoBepov eiatryov, wotep év Tots Kabappois Tav
_oTpatoTrébwy eiw@Oecav, Sdpyvn TwoAAn KaTacTé-
wravres Ta StrAa Kal Tovs avdpas, Tots Sé TroNewou
pev pn SenOeior otparnyois, optria dé Kal mrevBot
kai d1a Aoyou wavta Oemévois KaX@S, olov émt-
1 gitds Corués and Bekker, following Stephanus, have
abrois (agreed with them).

he made them idle and full of glib talk about arts and artists, so that they spent a great part of the day in such clever disputation. Notwithstanding such censure, Marcellus spoke of this with pride even to the Greeks, declaring that he had taught the igno- rant Romans to admire and honour the wonderful and beautiful productions of Greece.

XXII. But when the enemies of Marcellus opposed his triumph, because something still remained to be done in Sicily and a third triumph would awaken jealousy, he consented of his own accord to conduct the complete and major triumph to the Alban mount, but to enter the city in the minor triumph; this is called “eua”’ by the Greeks, and “ova” by the Romans.!_ In conducting it the general does not mount upon a four-horse chariot, nor wear a wreath of laurel, nor have trumpets sounding about him; but he goes afoot with shoes on, accompanied by the sound of exceeding many flutes, and wearing a wreath of myrtle, so that his appearance is unwarlike and friendly rather than terrifying. And this is the strongest proof to my mind that in ancient times the two triumphs were distinguished, not by the magni- tude, but by the manner, of the achievements which they celebrated. For those who won the mastery by fighting and slaying their enemies celebrated, as it would seem, that martial and terrible triumph, after wreathing their arms and their men with abundant laurel, just as they were wont to do when they purified their armies with lustral rites; while to those generals who had had no need of war, but had brought everything to a good issue by means of con- ference, persuasion, and argument, the law awarded

1 Cf, the Crassus, xi. 8. The later Latin name was
‘* ovatio.”

Taavioat THY ATrOAELOV TAVTHY Kal TaVYnyUpLKHY
amediOov ToumTny Oo vomos. Kal yap 6 avArJdsS

b 4 a \ N , b) , a A
eipnvns pépos Kal TO wvprov "Adpoditns durov, 7h
partota Oewy aréxOera: Bia nal tror€pors. SBas
5 ov rapa tov evacpov, ws ot TodAAL vouiCovory,
e 4 e bd , > ”
0 OpiapBos ovros ovoualetar (Kal yap éxetvoy
épevalovres nal adovres trapatréutovow), aXrN
e@ » e , > \ UA > An A
vd “EAAnvery eis to cvvnbes avtois trapitat
Tovvopa, Temeopevav dua Kal Atoviow tt TIS
“ 4 a M ae \ 4 > ,
Tims mpoonKkev, Ov Kviov cat @piauBov ovoga-
Comev. ovy ota 5é Eyer TO ANNOES, GAN eri prev
A vy. 4 a , @ na

TO peyaro OprapBo BovOuteiy watptov jv rots
a) 7 \ UA 4 Ww
otpatnyois, emt 5é tovTw wpofatoy é0vov. dBa

5¢ ta mpoBata ‘Pwpaios KadXovow: éx TovTov Kal

\ ‘ v b) , ” de A N
tov OpiayBov dBayv wvopacayv. aé€toy 6€ Kai Tov
Aaxwuxoy arroPewphoat vopobétny vtevartias
an ¢ ~~ A , , , b
T@ ‘Pwpyaire rakavta tas Ovoias. Ovet yap ev
Srdptn tav atootpatynyav o peév Oe’ ararns F
metOovs & Bovretar Statrpakdpevos Body, o bé da
paXns GXExTpvova. Kaitrep yap SvTes TrodkewiKa-
Tato. peiCova Kal paddov avOpwr@ mwpéToveav
HryouvTo Thy dia AOyou Kal ovvécews Tpakw 7h
\ , > , a @ a
THv petra Bias kal avdpeias. taita pev odv drrws
eyel OKOTELY TApEoTL.
XXIII. Tod 6 MapxérXov 10 tétaptov vra-
tevovtos of éxyOpol Trovs Yupaxovaiovs avérrecoav
eis “Pépnv adixopévovs xarnyopety Kat karaBoay
mpos THY avyxAnTov ws Seva kal tapdotoveda
496

31]

MARCELLUS

the privilege of conducting, like a paean of thanks- giving, this unwarlike and festal procession. For the

flute is an instrument of peace, and the myrtle is a plant of Aphrodite, who more than all the other gods abhors violence and wars. And this minor triumph is called " ova,'' not from the Greek "euas- mos, as most think (since they conduct the major triumph also with songs and cries of "eua!''), but the name has been wrested by the Greeks into con- formity with their speech, since they are persuaded that something of the honour has to do with Diony- sus also, whom they call Euius and Thriambus. This, however, is not the true explanation; but it was the custom for commanders, in celebrating the major triumph, to sacrifice an ox, whereas in the minor triumph they sacrificed a sheep. Now, the Roman name for sheep is "ova," and from this circumstance the lesser triumph is called ova.1 And it is worth our while to notice that the Spartan lawgiver appointed his sacrifices in a manner opposite to that of the Romans. For in Sparta a returning general who had accomplished his plans by cunning decep- tion or persuasion, sacrificed an ox ; he who had won by fighting, a cock. For although they were most warlike, they thought an exploit accomplished by means of argument and sagacity greater and more becoming to a man than one achieved by violence and valour. How the case really stands, I leave an open question.

XXIII. While Marcellus was serving as consul for the fourth time,? his enemies induced the Syracusans to come to Rome and accuse and denounce him before the senate for terrible wrongs which they

1 It is hardly necessary to say that Plutarch's etymology, as often, is worthless. 2 In 210 B.c.

metrovOotas. éruye pev ovv év KatitwXio Ovoiav Tiva ouvvtedo@v o Mapxedrrdos: ere &€ auyxabeto- pévn TH yepovcia Tav Zupaxovciwy mpootecov- tov Kat Seopévwyv Noyou Tuxelv Kal Sixns, o pev 2 cuvapywv ékcipyey adtovs, ayavaxtav brép Tod MapxéAXov pu tapovros, o 5¢ Madpxeddos evOvs qMEV akovoas. Kal TpwTtov pev eri tov didpou xcabioas ws bratos éxpnuatiler, érerta, TOV Ad- Awy TéAOS EvovTwWY, KaTaBas ato TOD Sidpou Kal KaTacTas womep touwrns eis TOY TOTroY év @ Aéyery ei@Oaciv ot KpLYopevot, Tos YupaKxovaiots 3 édéyyew avTov Tapetyev. ot Sé Servds pév cuve- rapaxOnoav mpos 76 dkiwpa Kal Td TetroLOds TOD avdpos, Kal TO év Tois BAO avuTrOcTaTOY érL padXov &v TH TepiToppupw PoBepov Hnyodvto xal SvoavTiBrerrov. ov pny adda Kal rapabappr- vovTay avTous Tav Stadpepopévwv mpos tov Mdp- KeAXov Hp~avTo THs KaTyyoplas Kal SeEHAOov 4 OdAOdUpPa Tive peprypevnv Sixaroroyiav, hs Fv TO Kepddatov OTe cippayot Kal diror 'Pwpaiors évres TremovOacw & TroNXNOIs THY TrOAELLoV ETEpoL

otpaTnyot pn Tadeiv éxapicavto. mpos TadTa o
MdpxedAos Edeyer ws dvtl troddav ov Sebpdxace
‘Pwpaious Kaxas ovdev retrovOact, AMV & TrOdE-
pe kal Kata Kpadtos adovtas avOpwrous KwADCAL
mafeiy ov duvarov éeotiv, ottTw dé dro@vat Sv
aUTOUS, TOAAA TpoKaroupeve teva Oqvar pi ébe-
6 AnoavTas. ov yap wre THY TUpdvYwY TOAEMHCAL
BiacOevtas, AAAA Kadxeivous ém) TH Todepelv
&xéoOat Tupavvovs.
498

had suffered contrary to the terms of surrender. It chanced, then, that Marcellus was performing a sacrifice on the Capitol, but, the senate being still in session, the Syracusans hurried before it and begged that they might have a hearing and justice. The colleague of Marcellus tried to have them expelled, angrily explaining that Marcellus was not present ; but Marcellus, when he heard of it, came at once. And first, sitting as consul in his curule chair, he transacted the routine business; then, when this was all ended, coming down from his curule chair and taking his stand as a private citizen in the place where men under accusation usually plead their cause, he gave the Syracusans opportunity to press their charge. But they were terribly confounded by his dignity and confidence, and thought him yet more formidable and hard to confront in his robe of purple than he had been irresistible in arms. How- ever, being encouraged by the rivals of Marcellus, they began their denunciation and rehearsed their demands for justice, which were mingled with much lamentation. The gist of their plea was that, although they were allies and friends of the Romans, they had suffered at the hands of Marcellus what other generals allowed many of their enemies to escape. To this Marcellus made answer that in return for many injuries which they had done to the Romans, they had suffered nothing except what men whose city has been taken by storm in war cannot possibly be prevented from suffering ; and that their city had been so taken was their own fault, because they had refused to listen to his many exhortations and persuasions. For it was not by their tyrants that they had been forced into war, nay, they had elected those very tyrants for the purpose of going to war.

Acyévrov 5& Tay AOywv nai peOtoTtapévors,
@otep ciwhev, ex THs BovArs tois Yvpaxovaiors
aouveEnrOe Mapxeddos, eri T@ ovvapxovTe Trotn-
odmevos THY CUYKANTOY, Kal po TOY Jupav Tou
Bovreutnpiou SiétpiBev, odre Poo Sia rHv Sinn
oute Ouu@ mpds Tous Yupaxouvciovs Tov cuvndous
petaBarov Katactnuatos, GAAa Tpaws Wavu
Kal Koopiws TO THs Sixns TéAOs exdeyopevos. étrel
5é SenvéxOnoav ai yrapuat nal uxwr arredeiyOn,

TpooTintovaw auTe ot Lvpaxovarot, peta ba-
Kpvov Seopevor THY Opyny eis avTovs adeivar Tous
TAapovTas, oixTeipar O€ THY GAANY TOL pE“VN-
pévnv ov Ervyev adel Kal ydply Exovoav. émkda-
abels ody 0 Mdpxednros TovTas te SundAAdyn, Kal
Tots GAXos Yupaxovaiors dei Te TpdtTwv ayabov
duetédet. cal rnv édevOepiav iy arédwxev avrois,
Kal Tovs vououvs nal TOV KTNLaTwY TA TepLoYTAa
BéBaa Twapécyev % avyKANTOS. avl’ dv aAXaS
Te Tuas UTrEeppueis Exe Tap avToOis, Kal voor
EDevro ToLovToy, oTrdTay émLBH Bxertas Mapxed-
Nos 7 TOY Exyovwyv Tis avTOD, oTEepavndopelv
Lupaxovaiovs Kal Ovew trois Beois.
XXIV. Tovvtei0ev 45n tpéretar mpos ‘“Avvi-
Bav. kal trav adANov trdtwv Kal Hyepovwr
oyedoy amdavtwv peta Ta ev Kavya él otpatn-
yneatt TO pvyopayety ypwpévor emt tov avdpa,
mapatatrecOar O€ Kal ovprréxecOar pndevos
ToAMO@VTOS, avTos él rHv évaytiay wpynaev odor,
olopevos TO SoxovvtTs Katadvew ’AvviBav ypovy
mporepov éxtpiBetoav bn’ éxeivov AnoecOat THY
"ItaXiav, cat rov PaBrov ael tis aopareias €xXo-
pevoy ov Karas Exe! taoOat TO voonpa Tijs
1 om’ éxelvov, Exe bracketed by Bekker.
500
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MARCELLUS

When the speeches were ended, and the Syra- cusans, as the custom was, withdrew from the senate, Marcellus went forth with them, after giving to his colleague the presidency of the senate, and lingered before the doors of the senate-house, allowing no change in his accustomed demeanour either because he feared the sentence, or was angry with the Syra- cusans, but with complete gentleness and decorum awaiting the issue of the case. And when the votes had been cast, and he was proclaimed not guilty, the Syracusans fell at his feet, begging him with tears to remit his wrath against the embassy there present, and to take pity on the rest of the city, which always was mindful of favours conferred upon it and grateful for them. Marcellus, accordingly, relented, and was reconciled with the embassy, and to the rest of the Syracusans was ever afterwards constant in doing good. The freedom, also, which he had restored to them, as well as their laws and what was left of their possessions, the senate confirmed to them. Where- fore Marcellus received many surpassing honours from them, and particularly they made a law that whenever he or any one of his descendants shou!d set foot in Sicily, the Syracusans should wear garlands and sacrifice to the gods.

XXIV. After this he moved at once against Han- nibal. And although almost all the other consuls and commanders, after the disaster at Cannae, made the avoidance of all fighting their sole plan of cam- paign

against this antagonist, and no one had the courage to engage in a pitched battle with him Marcellus himself took the opposite course, thinking that before the time thought necessary for destroyin Hannibal had elapsed, Italy would insensibly be worn out by him. He thought, too, that Fabius, b making safety his constant aim, was not taking ihe

matpioos, wepiévovta tH "Poun papatvopévn
cuvamoaBivat Tov TOAELOV, WaoTTEp iaTpaY TOUS
> 7 é \ N \ . / ~
aToApous Kal detrovs mpos ta BonOnpata, THs
vooov Trapakuny thy THs Suvapews! eEavdrwow
Hyoupevous. a mpwTov pev ovv Tas LavariKcas
Ul UA ? 4 @ 4 a fs A
Tones peyadas ahectwoas eXwv, ciTov TE TONUY
aTrokeipevoy év avtais nal ypnuata Kal rovs
gurdacoovtas "AvviBou otpatiwtas Ttptaytdious
évras éXaBev' érevta tov *AvviBov PovrABov
Tvaiov avOvmatov év 'AmovNMa Kataxtetvaytos
bev avtov avy Evdexa yidtapyots, KaTaKowavTos
Sé Tis oTpaTLas TO TrAEloTOY, Ereprpev eis 'PHounv
ypadupata Tous woNiras twapaxadav Oappeir
autos yap Hbn Babdifery ws apérotto THY Yapav
> , A le) A e 4 , >
AvviBov. Kat tavta pev o AtBios dyow ava-
4, \ Uf \ A UA > a
yvooOevta Ta ypdppata pn THS AUTTNS adereiy,
tAAQ a poB Q a A 'Pp , he
ardr\a TO hHo8w tpocbeivat, TAV "Pwpaiwy peifov
4 lo A ad
HYOULEVwWY TOU yEYOVOTOS TO KLVOUVEVOMEVOY ba@
DovAPiov xpeittwv tv Mdpxeddos- o 5é, aotrep
éyparrev, evOds "AvviBav Sioxwv eis tyv Aev-
/ > 7 \ , ,
kaviav évéBare, kal trept wodtwv Nopiortpwva
, e \ LU bd A ' s \
caOnpevov virép Nopwv oyvp@v KaTtadaBwvy avTos
éy T@ TEdiw KaTEcTpaTOTédevoe. TH SD VoTEpaia
mpoTepos eis payny mapatatas To otpdteupa
4 » 4 4 , a 9
kataBavtos AvviBov, cvveBare waynv Kpiowv ov
AaBotcav, taxyupav Sé Kai peyadrnv yevopevnv:
amo yap pas TpiTns cupTEcoYTEs HON TKOTOUG

, , a & e / ‘
ports SeeAvOnocav. apa NHEPa Mpoayaywy
avOis To otpatevpa tmrapétake Sia TaY vEexpav
1 thy ris Suvduews Bekker, after Coraés : rijs duydpews.

right course to heal the malady of the country, since the extinction of the war for which he waited would be coincident with the exhaustion of Rome, just as physicians who are timid and afraid to apply remedies, consider the consumption of the patient’s powers to be the abatement of the disease. First, then, he took the large cities of the Samnites which had revolted, and got possession of great quantities ot grain which had been stored in them, besides money, and the three thousand soldiers of Hannibal who were guarding them. Next, after Hannibal had slain the proconsul Gnaeus Fulvius himself in Apulia, together with eleven military tribunes, and had cut to pieces the greater part of his army, Marcellus sent letters to Rome bidding the citizens be of good courage, for that he himself was already on the march to rob Hannibal of his joy. Livy says! that when these letters were read, they did not take away the grief of the Romans, but added to their fear; for they thought their present danger as much greater than the past as Marcellus was superior to Fulvius. But Marcellus, as he had written, at once pursued Hannibal into Lucania, and came up with him, and as he found him occupying a secure position on heights about the city of Numistro, he himself encamped in the plain. On the following day he was first to array his forces when Hannibal came down into the plain, and fought a battle with him which, though indecisive, was desperate and long; for their engagement began at the third hour, and was with difficulty ended when it was already dark. But at daybreak Marcellus led his army forth again, put them in array among the dead bodies of the

1 xxvii. 2.

kal mpovxareito SiaywvicacGar wept THS vis
\ b) ‘4 bd a \ b 4 rd
rov AvviBav. avatevEavtos 5é éxeivou oxurevd-
gas TOUS ToAEpiovs vexpovs Kal Odryras Tovs
dirous ediwxey adOts: Kal Toddas pev UpévTos
évédpas obdepud treptrecwy, év 5€ Tact Tols axpo-
a a 4 ’ , \ \ ~
Boro pois wretov Exwv CBaupdfero. S10 Kai THY
apyatpeciwv érreyovrwy edofe TH Bovdt parXov
bd 4 N @ b] / a A o
éx Luxedias Tov Erepoyv amrdyew trarov i Map-
xkedrov “AvviBa cuvnptnpévoy xivetv, éOovta 8”
é P ad > -
> £ b] a 4 ~

éxédevev eitreiv Sextdtopa Koivtroy PovrAvop.
€ ‘ 4 > ” e A A ,

O yap Suxtatwp ove éotiv bro Tod mANnOouS

ION aA n e , 9 XN a e 4 a
ovde THs BovANs aipeTos, AAAa TeV UIrTaTwY TLS 7}
TOV oTpaTnyav TpoEedOwv eis Tov SHyov by avlTo
Sonxet Néryet Suxtaropa. kal dia: TovTO Suctatwp 0
pynOets Kadeitae TO yap D€vyerp_ Sixepe Peopaior
Kadovow* éveot 5é€ Tov Suxrdropa TO pny mpore-
Gévar Wihov xXeipotoviay, arr ad’ abtod Ta
Sofavta wpocrattew Kal réyew ovTwS wvoL"G-
cOar' nal yap Ta Staypdupata tay apyovTwy
“EAAnves péev Statdypata, ‘Pwpaio. Sé¢ eéduxta
WT poo aryopevova ty.
XXV. ’Ezrel 5€ éX\O@y aro tis Suxedas o Tod
MapkédXov cuvapyev étrepov éBovreto dNafety }
duxtatopa, Kai BiacOjvar rapa yvapunv pn Bovr0o-
pevos e&émrAevce VUKTOS Els DiKEALAY, OUTWS O MeV
djpuos @vopace Sixtadtopa Koivtrov PovrABtov, 4
Bourn & éypare MaprérAr\w Kedevovaa ToiTov
etmety. o 5€ TetcOels aveire Kat cuveTrentpwce
Tov Onpou THY yvopuny, autos bé mad avOvraTos
1 raBeiv Bekker has Aéyeiw, after Coraés.

slain, and challenged Hannibal to fight it out with him for the victory. And when Hannibal withdrew his forces, Mardellus stripped the dead bodies of the enemy, burjed those of his own men, and pursued him agpin. And though his adversary laid many ambuskes for him, he escaped them all, and by getting fhe advantage of him in all the skirmishes, won admiration for himself. For this reason, too, when the consular elections drew near, the senate decided that it was better to recall the other consul from Sicily than to disturb Marcellus in his grappling with Hannibal, and when he was come, it bade him declare]Quintus Fulvius dictator.

For a dictator qannot be chosen either by the people or by the sqnate, but one of the consuls or praetors comes before the assembled people and names as dictator the one whom he himself decides upon. And for this reason the one so named is called “ dictator,” from the Latin “ dicere,” to name or declare. Some, however, say that the dictator is he puts no question to vote or

XXV. But the 'colleague of Marcellus, who had come back from Sicily, wished to appoint another man as

dictator, and being unwilling to have his opinion overborne by force, sailed off by night to Sicily. Under these\circumstances the people named Quintus Fulvius as dictator, and the senate wrote to Marcellus bidding him confirm the nomination. He consented, proclaimed Quintus Fulvius dictator, and so confirmed the will of the people; he himself was

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

2 eis Toumiov arrebeiyOn. ocuvOéyevos Sé mpos

PaBiov Ma :pov Srrws éxeivos pev éemryerpn Ta-
pavrivots, avTos 5é cupTrAEKOmEVOS Kai TEPLEAKWY
"AvviBav éurodav 4 Tot BonOeiv mpos éxetvor,
éméBare wept Kavicctov, cal rodXas ad\NdooorTe
oTpatotreseias Kal uyopayodvts travtaxyoVev
érehaiveto, tédos 8 iSpuvOévta ampocKeipevos
éEaviotn tois axpoBodcpots. opunoavtos dé
paxerOar SeEduevos vo vuntos SveAvOn: Kat pe?”
nuépay adOis év Trois SirXols Ewpato Tov oTpaTov
éywv Tapatetaypevov, @oTe Tov "AvviBav Tept-
adyi yevopxevov tovs Kapyndovious abpoicat cal
SenOivar thy paynv éxeivny birép tacay aywvt-
cacbat tov éutrpocbev. ‘‘“Opate yap,” elzrev,
“@s 00d€ avatvedoal peTa vikas TocavTas ovdé
oYONHY ayew Kparodaw nuiv ExT, Eb wn TOUTOY
woaipeda tov avOpwrrov.”
"Ex tovtov cupBarovrtes éudyovto. Kat Soret
Tapa TO épyoyv aKaipw oTpaTnynmaTL Ypwmpevos
0 Mdprerros charivar. Tok yap Sekod so-
vouvTos éxéXevoev Ev TOY Tay"aTwY Eis Toby
mpoobev mpoehGeiv- n 5€ HeTaKsnots airy Tapa-
Eaca Tovs Haxopevous mapédane TO viKnpa Tots
ToAemlols, éewTaKkociwv éml Sioxtrtors ‘Pwpaiwy
TecovTwv. avaywpnoas dé o Mdpxeddos eis tov
Xapaka Kal cuvayayov Tov otpatov, opav épn
‘Pwpaiwy orra TOAANG Kal copata, ‘Pwpaiov Sé
pndéva opav. airoupévar 5é cuyyveunv ovk Eby
b.80var vevixnuevors, gay S& vinnowot, Soceww:
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3]

appointed proconsul again for the ensuing year.! He then made an agreement with Fabius Maximus that, while Fabius should make an attempt upon Tarentum, he himself, by diverting Hannibal and engaging with him, should prevent him from coming to the relief of that place. He came up with Hannibal at Canusium, and as his adversary often shifted his camp and declined battle, he threatened him continually, and at last, by harassing him with his skirmishers, drew him out of his entrenchments. But though battle was offered and accepted, night parted the combatants, and next day Marcellus appeared again with his army drawn up in battle array ; so that Hannibal, in distress, called his Carthaginians together and besought them to make their fighting that day surpass all their previous struggles. “ For you see,” he said, “that we cannot even take breath after all our victories, nor have respite though we are in the mastery, unless we drive this man away.’

After this they joined battle and fought. And it would seem that Marcellus made an unseasonable movement during the action, and so met with disaster. For when his right wing was hard pressed, he ordered ond of his legions to move up to the front. This change of position threw his army into confusion and gave the victory to the enemy, who slew twenty-seven hundred of the Romans. Marcellus then withdrew to his camp, called his army together, and told them that he saw before him many Roman arms and Roman bodies, but not a single Roman. And when they asked for his pardon, he refused to give it while they were vanquished, but promised to do so if they should win a victory,

avptov b€ payeioOas raduy, Strws of TodtTAL THY vixny mporepoy } THY huynvy axovowor. Starexy-— Geis S€ tadta, mpocétake tals Hrtnpévats orrepats avti trupa@v KpiOas petpnoa. 8s & ToAX@Y ao THS payns érixwdvvas Kal Tovnpws éxovT@V

ovdéva ghaciv dy oi MapxédAXov Adyot TOY Tpav-
HaTa@V OVXL UAadNrOV HAYUVAaD.
XXVI. “Apa 58 juépa mpovnecto pev 6 posve-
KovS YLT@Y, wS ElwOe, payns Ecopévns supBodror,
ai 8é nripacpévar omeipat thy mpwetrny avtat
SenBeicar taki édapBavoy, rnv 5é addrnv é&d-
yovTes Ob ytMtapyot oTpatiay trapevéBaddXovr.
dxovoas 5€ o ‘AvviBas, “QO ‘“Hpdxnres,” eizre,
“ri xpioetai tis avOpwrm pnte THY Yeipova
TUXnY pnTe thy BeATiova Hépery EidSoTL; pdvos
yap ovTos obte vinav Sidwowy avatravow ovTeE
AapBaver vixwpevos, GAN adel paynodpeOa mMpds
TovTOY, ws eoixev, & Tov ToAuav adel Kal TO
Oappetv evtuyodvrTt Kai ohaddropévw 76 aideicOat
mpopacis éortw.” éx TovTov acuvnecay ai duyd-
pes’ Kal TOY avipav ica hepopévwy exédevoev
"AvviBas ta Onpia xatractycavtas eis TpwTny
Tafiv émaye tois SAO TOV ‘Pwoyatwv. wbtc-
pod 6é peydrou Kal tapayns evOvs ev trois mpe-
ToLs yevouerns, els TOV YLALapywr dvoua PraBros
avapTwdacas onpaiay wmnvtiake Kal To oTUpaKkt
Tov TpwTov édéhavta TUTTwV aTéaTpepev. oO Se
éuBarov eis tov omicw ouverapake nal tobdrov
Kat Tous émepepopévous. Kxatidav dé rovto Map-
KEeNNOS ExéXEVa'E TOUS LmTels ELaVVELY AVA KpaTOS
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MARCELLUS

assuring them that on the morrow they should fight
again, in order that their countrymen might hear of
their victory sooner than of their flight. At the
close of his speech, moreover, he gave orders that
rations of barley instead of wheat should be given to
the cohorts that had been worsted. Therefore,
though many were in a wretched and dangerous
plight after the battle, there was not a man of
them, they say, to whom the words of Marcellus did
not give more pain than his wounds.!
XXVI. At daybreak the scarlet tunic, the usual signal of impending battle, was displayed, the co- horts under disgrace begged and obtained for them- selves the foremost position in the line, and the tribunes led forth the rest of the army and put them in array. On hearing of this Hannibal said: “O Hercules! what can be done with a man who knows ‘not how to bear either his worse or his better fortune? For he is the only man who neither gives a respite when he is victorious, nor takes it when he is vanquished, but we shall always be fighting with him, as it seems, since both his courage in success and his shame in defeat are

made reasons for bold undertaking"'. Then the forces engaged ; and since the men fought with equal success, Hannibal ordered: his elephants to be stationed in the van, and to be driven against the ranks of the Romans. A great _ press and much confusion at once arose among their foremost lines, but one of the tribunes, Flavius by name, snatched up a standard, confronted the elephants, smote the leader with the iron spike of the standard, and made him wheel about. The beast dashed into the one behind him and threw the whole onset into confusion. Observing this, Marcellus ordered his cavalry to charge at full speed

1 Cf. Livy, xxvii. 12 and 13, 509

7 pos TO GopuBovpevov Kat Tovey ere padrov
avTots TEPLTET ELS Tous TOAEMLOUS. ovTot Te On
AapT pas euBarovtes aVvEKOTTOV aX pe TOU oTpa-
Tom ébov TOUS Kapyndorious, Kal TOV Onpiov Ta
KTEWOMEVA KAL TiTTOVTA TOV WAEioTOY aUTa@YV
dbovov aretpydfero. NéyovTar yap wvmrép oxTa-
Kua xtALous amroOavetv: 'Popaior bé vex pol peev
€ryEVOVTO Tpiaxircot, Tpavpariar 5é odtryou Secy
dravtes. Kat \TOUTO wapeayev "AvviBa Ka?"
nouxiay GVACTAVTL VUKTOS dpau moppwrara Too
Mapxédnov. draxety yap oux my Suvaros vm6
wrAnOous TOV TETPOMEVOY, adda Kara oXokny eis
Kaprraviav avévev€e, Kal TO Bépos éy YLwvoeacon
dunyev avarkapBavev tovs oTpatiotas.
XXVII. 'O 68é 'AvviBas Os améppntev éavtTov
Tov Mapxérrov, V PWILEVOS OoTrEp Aehupevep 7e
oT paTEvpart, Twacav adeds ev _KoK hp meptiov
ep reve THY 'IraAiav: Kal KAKOS Kova ev év 'Payn
Mdpxednos. oi Oe éxApol TlouPrixcov BiSnov,
&va Tov Snpcip ov, avéatnoav emt THY KaTN-
yoptav avrov, dELvov etTrety avopa Kai Biacov:
OS TOAAGKES cuvayaryor TOV 57} uov émeBev aAX@
mapadobvat oTpaTny@ THY Suvapuy, " érel Mdp-
KENXOS, ep, - puKpa T@ TORE 7 pooyeyup.-
VAC MEVOS Gomep ex TaraloTpas eri Oeppa ouT pa
epameva wy EQUTOV TETPATITAL. TtavtTa truv0a-
VO MEVOS O Mdpxeddos éml pev TOU oTpaTomédedou
TOUS pea BeuvTas améhiTren, autos O€ mpos Tas
d:aBoras ATONOYNTOMEVOS ELS 'Popny érravinbev.
éx bé TOV 61a Borov éxelveov Sieny ebpe Taper Kev-
ao wevny ép' avrov. Tpépas ov optadeians Kal
tov Syuou auvedOovtos eis tov Prapivioy immo-
510

upon the disordered mass and throw the enemy still more into confusion. The horsemen made a brilliant charge and cut the Carthaginians down as far as to their camp, and the greatest slaughter among them was caused by their killed and wounded elephants.! For more than eight thousand are said to have been slain ; and on the Roman side three thousand were killed, and almost all were wounded. This gave Hannibal opportunity to break camp quietly in the night and move to a great distance from Marcellus. For Marcellus was unable to pursue him, owing to the multitude of his wounded, but withdrew by easy marches into Campania, and spent the summer at Sinuessa recuperating his soldiers.

XXVII. But Hannibal, now that he had torn him- self away from Marcellus, made free use of his army, and going fearlessly round about, wasted all Italy with fire. Meantime, at Rome, Marcellus was in ill repute, and his enemies incited Publicius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a powerful speaker and a man of violence, to bring a denunciation against him. This man held frequent assemblies of the people and tried to persuade them to put the forces of Marcellus in charge of another general, “since Marcellus,” as he said, “after giving himself a little exercise in the war, has withdrawn from it as from a palaestra, and betaken himself to warm baths for refreshment.”’ On learning of this, Marcellus left his legates in charge of his army, while he himself went up to Rome to make answer to the accusations against him. .There he found an impeachment prepared against him which was drawn from these accusations. Accordingly, on a day set for the trial, when the people had come together in the Flaminian

' Five were killed, according to Livy, xxvii. 14.

Spopov, o pev BiBros avaBas KATHYOPNTED, o Oe
Mdpxednos amehoretro, Bpaxéa pev kal dwra Se’
éavrod, TONY 5é xal Napmpav ot SOKLL@TATOL
Kab %P@TOL Tov Toner ay mappnaiay yor, Tapa-
KaNovvTes 41) Xetpovas Tov qro\euiou KpiTas
tik ot detAiay MapxédAov Kataynpioapevous,
vy povov pevryet TOV NYE LOvOV exeivos Kat duareXet
TOUT® pn) paxecBar aTpaTHYaY, oS Tots adAXos
paxeaBan. pnevrwy 5é Trav horyor TOUTM@Y TOG-
ovToOV i] THS Sixns éxrris epevoato TOV KaTH-
yopov wate wm povoy adeOnvar TOY aiTi@v Tov
Mdpxearndor, arAa xat 76 Téutrtov bratoy arro-
SeryOjvat.
XXVIII. HaparaBov 6¢ THV apxny Tp@T ov
pev év Tuppnvia peya Kiynpa wpos anoaTacw

émauae Kat watempauvev éreXOwv tas wodets*
émerta vaov éx Tdv Lixetixdv Lapvpwv Geodoun-
pévov Orr’ avroo AoEns xa "Aperijs kabrepdoar
Bovdopevos, al KwAvOeis brrd TOY iepéwy obK
akiovvrav évi va® dvo Jeous Tepe ecOat, madtv
npkato mpocoixodopeiy & ETEpov, ov badios pépwr
THY ryevyernpmevqy avTixpovoty, ann OoTep olw-
vilopevos. wal yap aANa ToANa onusia Stera-
parrey avo», lep@v TLVwWY KEpavyMdeEs Kal pvES
tov év Atos ypucov Staparyovres: erEXIn 5é xal
Bovy avOpwrov govnv ageivat wal mardiov éxou
xepadny édepavTos ryevéo Bas Kat mept Tas éx-
Ovces Kat _amoTpoTr as Svatepobyres of _pavrers
Katetyov avrov év ‘Popy oT apyavTa Kat preyo-
pevov. ovdels yap épwra Toc obTov npaaOn mpary-
paros oudevos Scov ovTOS Oo avnp Tov payn
xptOnvar mpos “AvviBayv. todro Kal vuiKrwp

circus, Bibulus rose up and denounced him. Then Marcellus spoke briefly and simply in his own defence, and the leading and most reputable citizens, with great boldness of speech and in glowing terms, exhorted the people not to show themselves worse judges than the enemy by convicting Marcellus of cowardice, whom alone of their leaders Hannibal avoided, and continually contrived not to fight with him, that he might fight with the rest. When these speeches were ended, the accuser was so far disappointed in his hope of obtaining the verdict that Marcellus was not only acquitted of the charges against him, but actually appointed consul for the fifth time.!

XXVIII. After assuming his office, he first quelled a great agitation for revolt in Etruria, and visited and pacified the cities there; next, he desired to dedicate to Honour and Virtue a temple that he had built out of his Sicilian spoils, but was prevented by the priests, who would not consent that two deities should occupy one temple; he therefore began to build another temple adjoining the first, although he resented the priests’ opposition and regarded it as ominous. And indeed many other portents dis-

turbed him: sundry temples were struck by lightning, and in that of Jupiter, mice had gnawed the gold; it was reported also that an ox had uttered human speech, and that a boy had been born with an elephant's head; moreover, in their expiatory rites and sacrifices, the seers received bad omens, and therefore detained him at Rome, though he was all on fire and impatient to be gone.2, For no man ever had such a passion for any thing as he had for fighting a decisive battle with Hannibal. This was

1 For 208 B.c. Cf. Livy, xxvii. 20.
2 Cf. Livy, xxvii. 11; 25.

Svetpov HY avTo Kal peTa hirwy Kal cuvapyorTav
a A ' , A '
év BovNeupa Kai pia mpos Oeovs pwr}, tapatar-
Topevov "AvviBay rNaBeiv. Adiota 8 av poe Soxet
Telyous évds 7 Tivos XapaKos apudorépors Tots
oTpaTevpact TrepiTebevros Sayovicac Bau, Kal et
py TONAHS ev 75H peoTos bripxe boEns, ToNAHY
8e meipay TApEeTXNKEL TOV map ovTivouy TOY
oTpATHYOY éuBprd7s ryeryovevas Kat Ppavtpos,
elroy Qv Ste petpaxiades ait MT POTTET TWKEL
Kal girotiuotepov ma0os 4 Kata mpeoRvTny
ToaovTov. wirep yap éEnxovta yeyovas étn TO
TELWTOV UTATEVEY.
XXIX. Ov phy adda Ovotov nal Kafappav
Oy Uumnyopevoy of pavrers yevopévory éEnADe pera
a lA > \ ,

Tov ouvapyovtos él Tov todepov, Kal ToAAa
\ B 4 / t 4 /
petatv Bavtias toXews xal Bevucias xaOnpevov
npedrge tov 'AvviBav. o &é eis pdynyv pev ov
xkatéBawvev, aicOopevos 5é Treutromevny UT' avTay
b \ \ > , \
aotpatiav émi Aoxpovs tovs 'Emilepupious, cata
Tov wept IlernAiay rNodhov tdels évédpas rwevta-
Koalovs Kal Siayirjiovs améxtewe. TovTo Mdp-
2 / a A '\ \ , \

Kedrov eFéhepe TH Ouy@ mpos Thy payny, Kal
mTpoohryey apas éyyutépw thy Svvapev.
3 \ A / bd

Hy 8@ petakd trav orpatorédwv AdHhos éreet-
KOS pev evepxys, VANS Sé wavtTobanis avaTAEws*
9 \ \ a > > 9» /
elye 5é€ Kal oKoTras Teptxdvels em apporepa,
kal vapatwv bTepaivovto myyal KatappeovTwy.
9 , @ ee aA > , 4 “A
EOavpaloy ovv ot Pwpaio: AvviBay ort Tpw@Tos
€ \ > “A , : if > , > >» > /
EXov evpva TOTOY OUTWS OU KaTET KEV, ANA arTré-
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MARCELLUS

his dream at night, his one subject for deliberation with friends and colleagues, his one appeal to the gods, namely, that he might find Hannibal drawn up to meet him. And I think he would have been most pleased to have the struggle decided with both armies enclosed by a single wall or rampart; and if he had not been full already of abundant honour, and if he had not given abundant proof that he could be compared with any general whomsoever in solidity of judgement, I should have said that he had fallen a victim to a youthful ambition that ill became such a great age as his. For he had passed his sixtieth year when he entered upon his fifth consulship.}

XXIX. However, after the ceremonies of sacrifice and purification which the seers prescribed had been performed, he set out with his colleague for the war, and gave much annoyance to Hannibal in his encampment between Bantia and Venusia. Hannibal would not give battle, but having been made aware that the Romans had sent some troops against Locri Epizephyrii, he set an ambush for them at the hill of Petelia, and slew twenty-five hundred of them. This filled Marcellus with mad desire for the battle, and breaking camp, he brought his forces nearer to the enemy.

_ Between the camps was a hill which could be made tolerably secure, and was full of all sorts of woody growth ; it had also lookout-places that sloped in either direction, and streams of water showed themselves running down its sides. The Romans therefore wondered that Hannibal, who had come first to a place of natural advantages, had not occupied it,- but left it in this way for his enemies.
1 In 208 B.c.
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LL2

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 Nee Tots TroNepioNS. T@ Sé apa Kadov pev ev-
" N , b , A
oTpaToTedevoat TO Ywpioy epaivero, modu Sé
KpettTov évedpevoat: Kxai mpos TovTo padXov
avT@ ypjabat Bovropevos evéerAnoe THY DANY
kal tas xotikddas axovticTay te ToNAOY Kal
NoyKopspwv, memetopévos erdkecOar &: evdviav
b) \ 4 \ ¢ , PQNV\ 9 4
4 avuTa Ta Ywpia TOvs "Pwpaious. ovdé atreWetcOn
THS EXmridos? EevOds yap Nv TOALS eV TH TTPATO-
a S
Twébp TOV 'Pwpaiwy Aoyos ws YP] TO Yopiov
KatarapBdvev, kat duectpatnyouv dca mNeove-
KTHTOVOt TOUS TroNepioUS, paAtoTAaA pev eKeEt
otpatomesevoartes, eb Sé pn, TEerxXicavres TOY
Adpov. edofev otv To Mapxédrdr@ pet' GrALyav
e a > 4 / ' \
immToTay éTeNacavTt KatacKkéwacbat. kat AaBov
A 4
Tov pavti éOveto' Kal rod mpwTov meaovTos
iepetov Seixvucww avt@ TO hrap ovK Exov Keharyv
e
5 0 padvris. émiOvoapévouv dé TO Sevrépov 4 te
xeparyn péyeOos timephués avéoye nal Tarra
patdpa Oavpacras Stepdvn, nai rAvow eyew Oo
A 4
Tav mpwtav poBos okev. of S€ pavtes Tadra
a wv , A 4
pardrov épacay Sedsévas nat tapatrecOat: rap-
TpoTatwy yap én aicyiatos Kal oxvOpwtotd-
Tobs Lepois yevouevwv UrowTov elvat THS peTa-

Borjs tiv atoTriav. adda yap
To wempwpévov ov trip, ob aidapotv cynoe
TELXOS,
\ / 9g / , ‘ a
cata Iivdapor, éEne roy te cvvapyovta Kpioti-
vov maparaBeov Kai Tov vioy yidtapyodvTa Kal
6 TOUS cUpTravTas imrets eixoot Kal Staxociovs. OV
e€ a b) @ 3 2 @ EA ,
Pwpaios ovdels Hv, ANX of pev GAXot Tuppyvot,
recocapaxovra 5é PpeyeNXavol, trefpay apeThs Kal
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MARCELLUS

Now, to Hannibal the place did seem good for an encampment, but far better for an ambuscade, and to this use he preferred to put it. He therefore filled its woods and hollows with a large force of javelineers and spearmen, convinced that the place of itself would attract the Romans by reason of its natural advantages. Nor was he deceived in his expectations ; for straightway there was much talk in the Roman camp about the necessity of occupying the place, and they enumerated all the strategic ad- vantages which they would gain over their enemies, particularly by encamping there, but if not that, by fortifying the hill. Marcellus accordingly decided to ride up to it with a few horsemen and inspect it. So he summoned his diviner and offered sacrifice, and when the first victim had been slain, the diviner showed him that the liver had no head. But on his sacrificing for the second time, the head of the liver was of extraordinary size and the other tokens ap- peared to be wonderfully propitious, and the fear which the first had inspired seemed to be dissipated. But the diviners declared that they were all the more afraid of these and troubled by them; for when very propitious omens succeeded those which were most inauspicious and threatening, the strange- ness of the change was ground for suspicion. But since, as Pindar says,!

“ Allotted fate not fire, not wall of iron, will

check,”

Marcellus set out, taking with him his colleague

Crispinus, his son, who was a military tribune, and

two hundred and twenty horsemen all told. Of

these, not one was a Roman, but they were all

Etruscans, except forty men of Fregellae, who had
1 Fragment 232 (Bergk).
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

wioTeas del TH MapkéAro dedwxores. brwdous
5é Tod Aopou Kat cuvnpepods dvTOS avnp xan-
pevos avo oxomny elye Tots Toheuwors, auTos
ov cUVvOPHpLEVOS, cadopayv be TOV ‘Popatov TO
oT patomedov. Kat Ta yvopeva TOUTOU ppdcavtos
Tots Aox war, MpooéeNAvvoYTa TOV Ma KeXN OV
édoavtes eyyus mpocenOeiy eEaipyns avéecTnoay,
Kal mepixvd eves apa mavraxobev nrovtitov,
émauov, édimkov TOUS pevyovras, cuvEeTTAEKOVTO
ToIs Upto Tapevors. ovr ou S hoayv ot Tecoapa-
xovta DpeyedAXavoi. kal TOV Tuppnvav ed0us ép
apxn Stat pec aver avrol TVaTpApEvTeEs jpUVOVT O
Tpo TOY UraTwV, aXpL ov Kptarrivos pev aKovTi-
Tpact dual BeBAnpévos émea rpeyev els puyny
Tov imov, MdpxedXov 6€ Tis doyXn TraTELa Sua
TOV WAEvpaY Sinracev, iv Aaykiay Kadovow.
00TH 6 Kal TOV DpeyedAaveov ot TepLovTes driryoe
TavraTacw QUTOV Mev TrecovTa NéElToVaL, TOV é
vioy a macavres | TET paapévov pevyovow éml TO
arpaToredov. éyévovto 5é vexpol pev ov TOMA
TOY TETOA aKovTa Thelous, aiXparwror sé Tov
pev paBdovxeov WEVTE, TOV bé i iwméwv eixoot dueiv
déortes. eTeAeUTI GE dé Kal Kptomivos é« Tov
TPAUYLAT@Y Ov TOAANAS nuepas éemtBracas. Kal
mabos TOUTO ‘Popators ouveTrece TpOTEpov ov
yeyovos, auporépous éF é évos ayavos TVs VIraTous
aroGaveiv.
XXX. ’AvviBa 5é tev pév addov éNaXLoTOS
ip Noyos, Mdpxednov be TET TOKEVAL mud opevos
AUTOS éFéopapev éml Tov TOTIOV, Kal TH vexp@
TapacTas Kal woXvv Xpovov THY TE pouny Tou
ca@pmatos Katayuaba@y Kal ra eldos, ottTE havav
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MARCELLUS

given Marcellus constant proof of their valour and fidelity. Now, the crest of the hill was covered with woods, and on its summit a man had been stationed by the enemy to keep a lookout; he could not be seen himself, but kept the Roman camp in full view. This man, then, told those who lay in ambush what was going on, and they, after permitting Marcellus to ride close up to them, rose up on a sudden, and encompassing him on all sides, hurled their javelins, smote with their spears, pursued the fugitives, and grappled with those who made resistance. These were the forty men of Fregellae, who, though the Etruscans at the very outset took to flight, banded themselves together and fought in defence of the consuls, until Crispinus, smitten with two javelins, turned his horse and fled, and Marcellus was run

through the side with a broad spear (the Latin name for which is “lancea”). Then the surviving men of Fregellae, few all told, left him where he lay dead, snatched up his son who was wounded, and fled to their camp. Hardly more than forty were slain, but five lictors were taken prisoners, and eighteen horsemen.! Crispinus also died of his wounds not many days after. Such a disaster as this had never happened to the Romans before: both their consuls were killed in a single action. XXX. Hannibal made very little account of the rest, but when he learned that Marcellus had fallen, he ran out to the place himself, and after standing by the dead body and surveying for a long time its strength and mien, he uttered no boastful speech, 1 Cf. Livy, xxvii. 26 and 27.

apixev vTepnpavov, ouvTE an’ dyrews 70 Xatpov,
@S av TIS epyodn TOA MLOV Kal Bapuv a ATEKTOVES,
2 ébédnver, adr em Gaupdcas TO maparoryov THS
TEhEUTHS TOV pev daxTUdtov adetreTo, TO Oé TO pa 31!
KOO PLNnTAS ™ peTrovTt Koo [ep Kal meptaTetdas e€vTi-
pos éxavoe Kal Ta Aeipava auvbels ets Kady
apyupar, Kal Xpucoby éuBarov arépavon, amré-
aTethe Tmpos TOV viov. TOV 6é Noudder tives mepe-
TUXOVTES Tois Kouilovaty Opynoav adatpetc Oat
TO TEDXOS, aytthapBavopevov S° éxeivov ex Bualo-
3 pevot Kal pay opevot Stépprpay Ta dara. mu0o-
pevos 5€ ’AviBas, Kal Wpos TOUS mapovTas elroy,
es Ovder dpa duvarov yevérOau aKovTos Geov,”
Tots ev Noyaovy é7réOnKe Sinn, OUKETL O€ Kopediis
h avAdoyys TOV Nenpdvev eppovticen, & as 67 KaTa
deov Twa, Kal Ths TEeMEUTAS Kat THS arapias Tapa-
4 ayes oUTW TO Mapxérro ryevoperns. TavTa pmev
ovv ot Tepl Kopyij\uov Nézorta Kat Ovaréprov
Mdéipov iotopnxace: AiBtos 5é Kai Kaicap | oO
2eBacros Kora Ohvar Thv wdpiav mpos Tov viov
eipnkact Kal Tadjvat Aap pas.
"Hy dé avaOnpa MapkehaAov diya tav év ‘Popy
upydovov pev év Kardvy THS 2uKxehas, dvd pidvres
dé xal mivaxes TaV éx Lupaxovedy 2 év Te Yapo-
Opaxn Tapa TOUS Geois, obs KaBetpous avopaton,
5 Kal mepl Aivdov év tO ‘ep ris "AOnvas. éxel 6¢
avTov TO avdpiavee TOUT TV ETrLyEeypapLpevory, WS
ToceSavids dno, 76 érriypapua:
Odtos tot “Pouns o péyas, Eéve, TaTpioos & aorip,
Mapxerdos xrevvav Kravdzios éx mrarépor,
1 Of which he afterwards made fraudulent use (Livy,
XXvii. 28),

nor did he manifest his joy at the sight, as one might have done who had slain a bitter and troublesome foe; but after wondering at the unexpectedness of his end, he took off his signet-ring, indeed,1 but ordered the body to be honourably robed, suitably adorned, and burned. Then he collected the remains in a silver urn, placed a golden wreath upon it, and sent it back to his son. But some of the Numidians fell in with those who were carrying the urn and attempted to take it away from them, and when they resisted, fought with them, and in the fierce struggle scattered the bones far and wide. When Hannibal learned of this, he said to the bystanders : " You see that nothing can be done against the will of God." Then he punished the Numidians, but took no further care to collect and send back the remains, feeling that it was at some divine behest that Marcellus had died and been deprived of burial in this strange manner. Such, then, is the account given by Cornelius Nepos and Valerius Maximus; but Livy? and Augustus Caesar state that the urn was brought to his son and buried with splendid rites.

Besides the dedications which Marcellus made in Rome, there was a gymnasium at Catana in Sicily, and statues and paintings from the treasures of Syra- cuse hoth at Samothrace, in the temple of the gods called Cabeiri, and at Lindus in the temple of Athena. There, too, there was a statue of him, according to Poseidonius, bearing this inscription :

"This, O stranger, was the great star of his country, Rome,—Claudius Marcellus of illustrious line, 2

According to Livy, xxvii. 28, Hannibal buried Marcellus

on the hill where he was killed. Livy found many discordant accounts of the death of Marcellus (xxvii. 27 fin.).

éemTdxe Tay uTaTay apyav év "Apni purdkas,

TOY TOADY ayTiTraAoLs Os KaTEXEVE Povov.
THY yap avOuTraTov a BPX TY, hy bis npke, Tabs WEVvTE
TpooKaTnpiO uncer Vmatelats O 76 éTriypapypa
TOLnoas. yevos 8 avtod Naprpov axXpe Mapxér-
ov Tob Kaicapos adergibod duérever, bs "Oxta-
Bias hv Tis Kaicapos adehpiis vios ex Taiou
Mapxéddou yeyovars, aryopavopav dé ‘Popator
éreAevT ATE vupspios, Kaicapos Ouyarpl ovoy ou
TONY cUVvoLKnoas. eis bé TLLNY aUTOD Kal pYn NY
"OxtaBia pév 7 eayTnp THY BiBMoOnnny avébnxe,
Kaicap 5é Oéatpov éruypawas Mapxénrnov.
IIEAOTTAOY KAI MAPKEAAOY SYTKPISIS

I. “Oca pev ovy édokev juiv avaypadas aka
TOV lo Topnweveoy qept Mapxédrov rat Iledonidou,
TavTa €ort, Tav 5é Kata Tas pucets kal Ta 70
KOLVOTHT@Y WOTE epapirrov ovo ay («al yap
avdpetor Kab prdorrovor Kal Oupoedeis Kal peya-
Aoppoves dpporepor yeyovacwy), éxeivo b0fevev
av Stadopay é eve _Hovor, ort Mdpxednos pep ép
Todas TOAETLY Umoxetplous ‘Yyevouevars apayas
éroingen, "Errapewvavbas 6é Kal IleAozridas ov-
déva TwToTE KpaTnravTes améxtewvay ovoé To-
Aets jvSparodicayro. NéyovTas Oé @nBaior poe
‘Opxopevious dy otTw petayetpicacIat TaporvTwy
éxeivev.
"Ev O€ tats mpafeot Javpacra pev Kal peydha
Tov Mapxéddrov ta ampos Kedtous, woapévou
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PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

who seven times held the consular power in
time of war, and poured much slaughter on
his foes.”
For the author of the inscription has added his two proconsulates to his five consulates. And his line maintained its splendour down to Marcellus the nephew of Augustus Caesar, who was a son of Caesar’s sister Octavia by Caius Marcellus, and who died during his aedileship at Rome, having recently ‘married a daughter of Caesar. In his honour and to his memory Octavia his mother dedicated the library, and Caesar the theatre, which bear his name.

COMPARISON OF PELOPIDAS AND
MARCELLUS
I. Tus is what I have thought worthy of record in what historians say about Marcellus and Pelopidas. In their natures and dispositions they were almost exactly alike, since both were valiant, laborious, pas-

sionate, and magnanimous; and there would seem to have been this difference only between them, that Marcellus committed slaughter in many cities which he reduced, while Epaminondas and Pelopidas never put any one to death after their victories, nor did they sell cities into slavery. And we are told that, had they been present, the Thebans would not have treated the Orchomenians as they did.

As for their achievements, those of Marcellus against the Gauls were great and astonishing, since

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31.
_l ¥ °C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ToOUTOY TAHO0s innéov Ono Kal mela drLvyous
Tois mept avTov immedo ww, é padios vg' éTépou
oTparnyod yeyoves oux loropnTat, al TOV aip-
NovTa Tov TONE LLOV ave ovTos: ev @ TPOTr®
Hedomibas é ewT ata ev opunaas éml TavTd, ™poavat-
peBels 5é bro Tob Tupavvov Kal Tadey 1 pOTEPOV
3 7) Opdoas. ov pny drna TOUTOLS Bev éore Tapa-
Baneiv 70, AedetTpa Kal Teyupas, é eT averTaTous
kat peyiorous ayOvOY, Kpupatiay dé ovr Loxw
KaTtwopOwpéevny rpakiy ovK EXOMEV TOU Mapxedrov
mTapaBaneiy obs TleAomridas Tepl THY éK guyis
xkadosov cat dvatperw TOV év OnRars TUPaVV@YV
empagev, Gr éxeivo TOND mavTov & Eorke TP@-
TEvELY TOV VITO cKOT@ Kal Se amraTns yeyermpéveov
4 TO épyov. 'AvviBas "PoPepos pep kat Sewos évé-
KELTO 'Popaiors,) OO TEP apéder Aaxedatpovior
TOTE OnBaiors, evdobvar 5é rovTous pev IleNorida
kal mreph Teytpas Kai mept Acdetpa BeBarov € éorwy,
"AvviBav 6é Mapxednos, @S ev ot mepl ToAvfrov
Aéyouay, ouoe anak évinnoey, aXn' ant THT OS 6
5 avnp SoKet Staryevéc Bar pexpe Lanmiavos: npets
dé AtBi, Kaicape Kat Nérote Kab TOY "Educ
Kav TO Baciret "loBa TLaTEvOpeEY, HTTAS Twas
ral TpoTras vm Mapxéddou TOY ou 'AvviBa yeve-
o8au peyarny 5é avrat pony ovdepian € émroinaay,
arr' eouxe Yevdor rapa TL yeveaOas qjept TOV
6 AiBuv év Tats cupTAoKais éxeivais. & 87) Kara
oryov Kab T POTNKOVTWS eGavpdaAn, peTa TooaV-
Tas TpoTras oTpaton dmv cal povous oT pATHYaDV
Kai cvyxvotv SANs o"od THs "Pwpalwy Hyepcvias
1 évéxerro 'Pwyalots Coraés and Bekker, after an early
anonymous critic: évéxe:ro.
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he routed such a multitude of horse and _ foot with the few horsemen in his following (an action not easily found recorded of any other general), and slew the enemies' chieftain; whereas in this regard Pelopidas failed, for he set out to do the same thing, but suffered what he meant to inflict, and was slain first by the tyrant. However, with these exploits of Marcellus one may compare the battles of Leuctra and Tegyra, greatest and most illustrious of actions; and we have no exploit of Marcellus accomplished by stealth and ambuscade which we can compare with what Pelopidas did in coming back from exile and slaying the tyrants in Thebes, nay, that seems to rank far higher than any other achievement of secrecy and cunning. Hannibal was, it is true, a most formidable enemy for the Romans, but so, assuredly, were the Lacedae- monians in the time of Pelopidas for the Thebans, and that they were defeated by Pelopidas at Tegyra and Leuctra is an established fact; whereas Han- nibal, according to Polybius,! was not even once de- feated by Marcellus, but continued to be invincible until Scipio came. However, I believe, with Livy, Caesar, and Nepos, and, among Greek writers, with King Juba, that sundry defeats and routs were in- flicted by Marcellus upon the troops of Hannibal, although these had no great influence upon the war ; indeed, the Carthaginian would seem to have prac- tised some ruse in these engagements. But that which reasonably and fittingly called for admiration was the fact that the Romans, after the rout of so many armies, the slaughter of so many generals, and the utter confusion of the whole empire, still had

' Cf. xv. 11, 7, where Hannibal makes this claim, in a speech to his men just before the battle of Zama (202 B.c.).

eis avtivada T@ Oappeiy cafiotapévov: o yap éx
ToAXoOv Tov Warat Tepidéovs Kal KaTATETANYOTOS
avOis éuBSarov T@ otpatrevpate Cnrov Kai diro-
7 vetkiay Mpos Tovs TOAELIiOUS, Kal TOUTO 57 TO Ly
padios THs vinns bdiéyevov, AddrAA Kal appro Bn-
Tou Te Kal didoTipovpevoy émdpas Kai Oappvvas,
els avnp tv, Mdpxeddos ciOtopévous yap bird
n le) > UA > 7 bd ?
TaV cuumopar, et hevyovtes Expuyorey AvviBar,
> A 39Q7 b s ,
ayarrav, édidakev atoyvverOar cwlopévous pe"
4 > a \ XN \ 3 4 > ~
TTS, aibeto Oar 5é Tapa puxpov évdovtas, adyety
5é 7) KpaTnoartas.
II. 'Evrel rotvuy [leXotridas pev ovdepiav yr7H0n
, " , \ , "A
paynv otpatnyav, Mdpxerros Sé wreloras Tov
xa?' avrov 'Popaiwn éevienoe, SdFeev dv tows TO

Suovinnt@ Wpos TO anTTnToOv LTO TAROOUS TAY
KkaTop0wpévor émavicovcba. Kat pv ovTos ev
elke Yupaxovoas, éxecivos S¢ tis Aaxedaipovos
amétuyev. GAN oipat petCov civat Tod KaTradafety
YeKediav 76 TH Bardptyn wpocedNMely cat S:aBFvae
2 mpatov avOpwrrwy trordéu@ Tov Kipwtay, et pn v7
J “ , \ wm ? ,
Ava ToUTO peep poet Tes TO epyov “Enrapeworda
HadrXov 7 edomida mpoonxcev, @otep Kal Ta
Aeixtpa, tov 5€ MapKxérrA@ $= diatrerpaypéevov
axowarvntov eivat THY Sokav. Kat yap Yupaxov-
oas movos etre, Kal Kertovs dvev Tod cvvdpyovtos
étpépato, kal mpos ’AvviBav pndevos ovdAdap-
Bdvovtos, GAXa Kal TWavTwy aroTpEeTTOVTMY, aVvTt-
Takdpevos Kai petaRarwv To axa TOU TroAEpOU
MPOTOS HYELWY TOD TOALaY KaTéTTN.
III. Ty troivuy teXeutyy errawa pév ovdetépov
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the courage to face their foes. For there was one man who filled his army again with ardour and ambition to contend with the enemy, instead of the great fear and consternation which had long oppressed them, inspiring and encouraging them not only to yield the victory reluctantly, but also to dispute it with all eagerness, and this man was Marcellus. For when their calamities had accustomed them to be satisfied whenever they escaped Hannibal by flight, he taught them to be ashamed to survive defeat, to be chagrined if they came within a little of yielding, and to be distressed if they did not win the day.

. IJ. Since, then, Pelopidas was never defeated in a battle where he was in command, and Marcellus won more victories than any Roman of his day, it would seem, perhaps, that the multitude of his suc- cesses made the difficulty of conquering the one equal to the invincibility of the other. Marcellus, it is true, took Syracuse, while Pelopidas failed to take Sparta. But I think that to have reached Sparta, and to have been the first of men to cross the Eu- rotas in war, was a greater achievement than the conquest of Sicily ; unless, indeed, it should be said that this exploit belongs rather to Epaminondas than to Pelopidas, as well as the victory at Leuctra, while — Marcellus shared with no one the glory of his achieve- ments. For he took Syracuse all alone, and ‘routed the Gauls without his colleague, and when no one would undertake the struggle against Hannibal, but all declined it, he took the field against him, changed the aspect of the war, and was the first leader to show daring.

III. I cannot, indeed, applaud the death of either

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aa

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

TOV avopov, aArX aviapat Kal ayavaxT® TO
TAparoy@ TOU TUT TOMATO: Kal Javpateo peep
éy payats Tooavtais boats GmoKkdpoe TLS dy Kar-
ap pan, pnde tpwbevTa tov 'AvviBav, dyapae bé
Kal Tov ev TH Tadetq Xpuodyray, ds Sinppévos
KoTrida Kal traiew péddov TONE LLOV, as UTED 7-
pnvev n oanmuyé avaxdntiKon, ageis TOV avopa
2 para T™ paws Kal Koo piws _avexapnaer. ov pny
anna Tov TleXoridav trovet ovyyvoarov apa T@
Tis paxns Karp mapadeppov évTa Kal Tpos TID
dpuvav OUK ayEevyas expépov) Oupos: apiotov
pev yap viK@vra, oalerbar TOV oTpATayor, * 'et dé
Oaveiv, eis dpeTny KaTadvoavra Biov," was Edpe-
midns pnaiv:? oUTw yap ov ma0os, adra mpakes
3 yiveTas TOU TEAEUTOVTOS O Gdvaros. T pos b¢ TO
dupe Tob Tledomidou Kal TO TENS avTo TO THS
viens év T@ Tmecelv TOV TUpavvov opdpwevov ov Tav-
Tamacw aoryons émEesTATATO Thy oppry: Karem ov
yap eTepas obra Kadny Kat apm pav exovons
vrobeow a apia teas émudaBeaGar, Mdpxedros 8é,
PTE Ypeias pears CTTLKEL MEV NS, pare Tov Tapa
Ta Sewva TrodAaKis eEvaravtos TOV AoyLo OY év-
Govatac pod TApEeTTHTOS, Oodpevos ATEPLTKEN TOS
Els Kivduvoy ov oTpaTnyod TTO@pa, Tpodpomou Oé
4 Twos 7) KaTaoKoTroU TET TOKED, tmateias TévTE
Kal _ Tpets OptapBous kat oxdra xal tpoTrarodopias
amo Baotéwv TOUS mpoaTroOvijcKovar Kapx7-
Sovieoy "TBnpoe wal Nopdow broBadov. DOTE
veeohoat avtovs éxeivous éauTtois Tov KaTopbw-

1 Ei d¢ Oavety Oéuis, Wde Oaveiy Kraddy,
eis dperhy karaducapévous Blov
(Nauck, T'rag. Graec. Frag.* p. 679). Cf. Plutarch, Morals,
p. 24d.

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PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

of them, nay, I am distressed and indignant at their unreasonableness in the final disaster. And I admire Hannibal because, in battles so numerous that one would weary of counting them, he was not even wounded. I am delighted, too, with Chrysantes, in the "' Cyropaedeia," 1 who, though his blade was lifted on high and he was about to smite an enemy, when the trumpet sounded a retreat, let his man go, and retired with all gentleness and decorum. Pelopidas, however, was somewhat excusable, because, excited as he always was by an opportunity for battle, he was now carried away by a generous anger to seek revenge. For the best thing is that a general should

be victorious and keep his life, " but if he must die," — he should "conclude his life with valour,' as Euri- ~ pides says; for then he does not suffer death, but rather achieves it. And besides his anger, Pelopidas saw that the consummation of his victory would be the death of the tyrant, and this not altogether unreasonably invited his effort; for it would have been hard to find another deed of prowess with so fair and glorious a promise. But Marcellus, when no great need was pressing, and when he felt none of that ardour which in times of peril unseats the judgment, plunged heedlessly into danger, and died the death, not of a general, but of a mere skirmisher or scout, having cast his five consulates, his three triumphs, and the spoils and trophies which he had taken from kings, under the feet of Iberians and Numidians who had sold their lives to the Cartha- ginians. And so it came to pass that these very men were loath to accept their own success, when

1 Xenophon, Cyrop. iv. 1, 3.

patos, avipa 'Pepaiwy dpiotoy apeth xai Suvapset
, ' , Ld > "~
péytotov xai Sofy Napmpotatoy ev Tois Dpeyerd-

Lavev Tpodtepevyntais Tapavaraoba.

Xpn 6€ radra pn Katryopiay civat Tov avipav
vopitery, AAX' ws WyavaxTnol Tiva Kai Tappynoiay
UTép auTay éxeivwv Tpos avToUs Kai THYv avipeiay
9 "A > a N 4 VA 3 .'
auTa@y, cis hv Tas GAXas KatavdAwoay aperas
agednoavtes tov Biov cal THs Wuyns, BoTrep
e " > nw 4 "a V4 '
Eavtots, ov Tats WaTptot pardrov Kai dirors cat
TUPLAKOLS, aTTOAAUPEVOOY.
Mera 5€ tov Odvarov Iedomidas pév tovs cup-

, A ww e \ Ld > la vA
paxous Tageis Eoxev, vTrép av avréOave, Mapxer-
Nos S€ Tous rrodepious, if' ov avéGave. bnrwTov

peév ovv éxeivo xal paxdptov, xpeitrov dé Kai
petCov evvoias ydpiv apesBopévns ExOpa AvTrOv-
cay apetiy Oavydlovoa. 76 yap xaXdov évtavda
\ A 4 4 b ” \ \ \ \
THY Tiny Exe povoy, exet Sé TO AVOETEAES Kal
) Xpela parrov ayaTratas THs apeThs.
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PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

a Roman who excelled all others in valour, and
had the greatest influence and the most splendid
fame, was uselessly sacrificed among the scouts of
Fregellae.
This, however, must not be thought a denunciation of the men, but rather an indignant and outspoken protest in their own behalf against themselves and their valour, to which they uselessly sacrificed their other virtues, in that they were unsparing of their lives; as if their death affected themselves alone, and not rather their countries, friends, and allies.

After his death, Pelopidas received burial from his
allies, in whose behalf he fell; Marcellus from his
enemies, by whose hands he fell. An enviable and
happy lot was the former, it is true; but better and
greater than the goodwill which makes grateful re-
turn for favours done, is the hatred which admires
a valour that was harassing. For in this case it is
worth alone which receives honour; whereas in the
other, personal interests and needs are more regarded
than excellence.
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A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES
A

Achillas, 317-325, one of the guar-
dians of Ptolemy XII. (Dionysus),
and commander of his troops
when Caesar came to E ;
According to Bell. Alex. iv., he
was put to death by his sister
rsinoé.

Achradina, 485, the first extension
on the mainland of the island city

of Syracuse, stretching from the Great Harbour northwards to the sea.
Actium, 175, e promonteny of Acarnania in northern Greece, at the entrance to the Ambraciot gulf.
Aesop, 429, a Greek writer of fables who flourished in the first half o the sixth century B.O. Fables bearing his name were popular at Athens in the time of Aristophanes.
Afranius, 205, 211, 217, 229, 287, 291, Lucius A., a warm partisan of Pompey, and one of his legates in Spain during the war with Sertorius, as well as in Asia during the Mithridatic war. He was consul in 60 B.c. In 55 B.0. he was sent by Pompey with Petreius to hold Spain for him. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.0O.).
Amanus, 217, a range of mountains branching off from the Taurus in Cilicia, and extending eastwards to Syria and the Euphrates.
Amisus, 213, 223, a city of Pontus, in Asia Minor, on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea.
Amphipolis, 309, an important town

in S.E. Macedonia, on the river Strymon, about three miles from the sea.
Androcydes of Cyzicus, 401, a celebrated painter, who flourished from 400 to 377 B.c. See Plutarch, Morals, p. 668 c.
Andros, 345, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, 8. E. of Euboea.
Antalcidas, 63, 73, 87, 417, an able

Spartan poesn, and com-
mander of the Spartan fleet in
388 B.0. The famous peace
between Persia and the Greeks
concluded in 387 B.0., was called
after him.
Antigonus, 341, 343, the general of
Alexander who was afterwards
aoe of Asia, surnamed the One-
eyed.
Antioch, 219, the capital of the

Greek kings of Syria, on the river

Orontes, founded by Seleucus in

300 B.O.

Antipater, 41, regent of Macedonia
and Greece during Alexander's
absence in the East, and also
after Alexander's death, until
319 B.O.
Apollophanes of Cyzicus, 33, known
only in this connection.
Appius, 467, 471, Appius Claudius
Pulcher, military tribune at
Cannae (216 B.O.), praetor in
Sicily 215 B.o., and legate of Mar-
cellus there in 214. He was
consul in 212, and died in the
following year.
Arbela, 211, a town in Babylonia,
near which Alexander inflicted
final defeat upon Dareius.

Archimedes, 471-477, the most
famous of ancient mathemati-
cians, lived 287-212 B.o.
Archytas, 471, a Greek of Taren-
tum, philosopher, mathemati-
cian, general and statesman,

flourished about 400 B.o.
Ariminum, 273, 443, a city of Umbria, on the Adriatic, commanding the eastern coast of Italy and an entrance into Cisalpine Gaul.
Arsaces, 315, Arsaces XIV. (or Orontes I.), king of Parthia 55-38 B.O.
Arsis, 181, an error for Aesis, a river flowing between Umbria and Picenum, in N.E. Italy.
Asculum, 123 f., a city in the interior of Picenum, taken by Strabo during the Marsic war (89 B.C.) and burnt.
Athamania, 287, a district in northern Greece, between Thessaly and Epirus.
Aulis, 15, a town on the Boeotian side of the straits of Euripus, reputed to have been the rendezvous for the Greek chieftains under Agamemnon.
Auximum, 129, a city of Picenum, in N.E. Italy, just south of Ancona.
B

Bantia, 515, a small town in Apulia about thirteen miles south-east of Venusia.
Beroea, 281, a town in Macedonia, west of the Thermaic gulf (Bay of Saloniki).
Bibulus (1), 237-241, 259, Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65, raetor in 62, and consulin 59 B.c., n each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He was an aristocrat of moderate abilities. He died in 48 B.C.

Bibulus (2), 511, 513, Publicius B., not otherwise known.
Bosporus, 215, the territory on both

sides of the strait between the Euxine Sea and the Maeotic Lake (Sea of Azov), and including the modern Crimea. The strait (p. 207) bears the same name.
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PROPER NAMES

Briareus, 479, a monster of mythology, having a hundred arms and fifty heads, called by men Aegaeon (Iliad, {. 403 f.).
Brundisium, 183 f., 279, 285, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.
Brutus, 129, 153, 155, Marcus Junius B., father of the conspirator, tribune of the people in 83, and, in 77 B.O., general under Lepidus.
C

Caenum, 213, the fortress mentioned without name in the preceding chapter. It wasin Pontus, on the river Lycus, S.E. of Amisus.
Caepio, 239, Servilius C., a sup-

rter of Caesar against his colleague Bibulus in 59 B.o. (Suetonius, Div. Jul. 21). Cf. the Caesar, xiv. 4.
Calauria, 175, a small island off the S.E. coast of Argolis in Peloponnesus. Its temple was the final refuge of Demosthenes.
Callicratidas, 343, the Spartan admiral who succeeded Lysander

in 406 B.c., and lost his life in the battle of Arginusae. Cf. the Lysander, chapters v.—vii.
Callipides, 59, cf. the Alcibiades, xxxil. 2
Callisthenes, 97, 381, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who accompanied Alexander the Great on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.O. Besides an account of Alexander's expedition, he wrote a history of Greece from 387 to 357 B.C.
Calvinus, 295, see Domitius (3).

Canusium, 457, 507, an ancient city of Apulia, about fifteen miles from the sea.
Capitolinus, 439, Caius Scantilius C., colleague of Marcellus in the aedileship about 226 B.O.
DICTIONARY OF

Carbo, 127-131, 137 f., Gnaeus Papirius C., a leader of the Marian party, consular colleague of inna in 85 and 84 B.o., put to death by Pompey in 82 B.0o.
Carinas (or Carrinas), 129, Caius C., was defeated by Sulla in the following year (82 B.Cc.), captured and put to death.
Catana, 521, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about mid-way between Syracuse and Tau-romenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.
Catulus, 153, 157, 179, 181, 193, 197, Quintus Lutatius C., a leading aristocrat of the nobler sort, consul in 78 B.O., censor in 65, a supporter of Cicero against Cati-line in 63, died in 60 B.o.
Caucasus Mountains, 209, the great

mountain system lying between the Euxine and Caspian Seas.
Cenchreae, 399, the eastern harbour-town of Corinth.
Chabrias, 105, a successful Athenian general, prominent from 392 till is gallant death at the siege of Chios in 357 B.o.
Chaeroneia, 47, a small town at the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, commanding an extensive lain on which many battles were ought in ancient times (cf. the Marcellus, xxi. 2). Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 338 B.O. It was Plutarch's native city.
Chares, 345, a famous Athenian general, prominent from 367 to 334 B.0. He was able, but untrustworthy and rapacious.
Cinna, 123-127, Lucius Cornellus

C., leader of the pepuar party

and consul during the years of

Sulla's absence in the East (87-—

84 B.C.).

Claros, 175, a place in Ionian Asia Minor, near Colophon, where there was a temple of Apollo, and an oracle of great antiquity.
Cleon, of Halicarnassus, 55, a rhetorician who flourished at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.o.
Cloelius, 129, an error for Coelius
Caius Coellus Caldus, tribune of
PROPER NAMES

the peop in 107 B.c., consul in 94, a staunch supporter of the

Marian party.
Cnidus, 47, a city at the S.W. extremity of Caria, in Asia Minor.
Colchis, 203, 207, a district of Western Asia, lying north of armenia and east of the Euxine ea.
Commagene, 231, a district of Syria, lying between Cilicia and the Euphrates.

Conon, 47, 63, a distinguished Athenian general. He escaped from Aegospotami in 405 B.o. (see the Lysander, xi. 5), and with aid from the Great King and Pharnabazus defeated the Spartan fleet off Cnidus in 394 B.o. and restored the Long Walls of Athens in 393 B.c.
Cornelius, 447, 453, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, consul with Marcellus in 222 B.o., afterwards (218 B.c.) legate of his brother Publius in Spain, where the two carried on war against the Carthaginians for eight years, and where both finally fell.
Coroneia, 41, 47, a town in N.W. Boeotia, the scene of many battles. Here reference is made to the victory of Agesilaiis over the Thebans and their allies in 394 B.C. (Agesilaiis, xvili.).
Cratippus, 311 f. of Mitylene, a Peripatetic philosopher highly regarded by Cicero, and by Cicero’s son, whose teacher he was. Brutus attended his lectures at Athens (Brutus, xxiv. 1).
Crispinus, 517, 519, Titus Quinctius Pennus Capitolinus C., a trusted commander under Marcellus in Sicily, 214-212 B.c., and now (208) his colleague in the consul-

ship. After the skirmish here described he was carried to Rome, where he died at the close of the year.

Culleo, 243, Quintus Terentius C., tribune of the people in 58 B.c., a friend of Cicero, whose banishment he tried to prevent, and whose recall he laboured to ob ‘

Curio, 269 f., Caius Scribonius C.,

an able orator, but reckless and : He was tribune of Deore ee and sold his the Pompeians there, a was

to the heads o 4 ae cre 87, a large d directly of Laconia in Peloponnesus. Cyzicus, 401, a Greek city on the Propontis, in Mysia.

D

Damip peed dead 483, a Spartan at the of Hieronymus, king of Syracuse. He tried to persuade the king not to abandon alliance with Rome. Marcellus gave him his liberty.

Deiotarus, 309, tetearch of Galatia in Asia ‘Minor, and an old man in 54 B.O. (cf. the Crassus, xvii. 1 f.). He was a faithful friend of the Romans in their Asiatic wars, ang was rewarded by the senate, in 63 B.0., with the title of King. Caesar could never be brought to poo wheal him for siding with emaratva the Corinthian, 39, a

est-friend of Philip of Macedon

pit i 176. in the teriitory. y of

e ry o

Miletus, the site of a famous
temple of A pollo.
Dionysius, 429, Phe Elder, tyrant of
Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.O.
Dioscorides, 99, a pupil of Isocrates,
author of a treatise on the Spar-
tan polity, writing in the latter
part of the fourt century B.O.
(cf. the Lycurgus, xi. 4).
Domitius (1) 137 141, Gnaeus
Domitius Ahenobarbus, son-in-
law of Cinna, and a partisan of
Marius. When Sulla obtained
the supreme power in 82 B.©.,
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poate eee ence: where he
died in 81 B
Domitius (2), “351, 291, 295, 335,
Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbas.
Domitius (3), 257, 295, Gnaeus
Domitius ’ Calvinus "(wrongly
called Lucius Calvinus, p. 295),
consul in 53 B.c. He was a sup-
of Bibulus against Caesar
59 B.O., but after 49 B.c. an
active supporter of Caesar.
Pharsalus he was Caesar’s lieu-
tenant in Asia.
Duris, 7 “ Samos, a pupil of Theo-
Pp historian and, for a
time, peter of Samos, lived
Bang 350-280 B.C.
ymé, 187, the most westerly of the
Peat cities of Achaia in Pelo-
nnesus. It had been destroyed
y the Romans in 146 B.o.

Dyrrachium, 279, 309, a city on

the coast of Llyricum, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.
E

Ecbatana, 39, 417, an ancient city of Media, the residence of the Great King during the summer months.
Eleusis, 69, 375, the sacred city of the Athenian mysteries, some twelve miles west of Athens.
Engyium, 489 f., a city in the interior of Sicily, the exact site of which is unknown.
Enna, 489, an ancient fortress-city nearly in the centre of Sicily.
Ephesus, 17, 23, 493, one of the twelve Ionian cities in Lydia of Asia Minor, near the mouth of the river Caystrus.
Ephorus, 381, of Cymé, pupil of

Isocrates, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the *‘ Dorian Invasion ’’ down to 340 B.o., in which year he died.
Epidaurus, 175, a city on the east coast of ‘Argolis in Peloponnesus famous for its shrine and cult o Aesculapius.
Erasistratus, 41, otherwise unknown.
Eudoxus, 471, of Cnidus, a pupil of Archytas, most famous as a mathematician and astronomer, flourished about 360 B.c. He taught philosophy at Athens.
Eurypontidae, 329, one of the two royal families at Sparta; the other was that of the Agidae.
F

309, 335
Marcus F., called the ‘“‘ Ape of Cato,” edile in 52 and praetor in 49 B.o. He joined Pompey in
Flaminius, 443, 447, Caius F. consul in 223 B.O., a violent opponent of senate and aristocrats. The Circus Flaminius and the Via Flaminia were constructed during his aedileship Soa BO). Cf. the Marcellus, xxvii. 3.
Fregellae, 517 f., 531, a city in S.E. Latium, on the river Liris. It was severely punished by Hannibal in 211 B.c. for its fidelity to Rome.

Fulvius (1), 503, Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, was praetor in 212 B.o., and received Apulia as his province, where, in 210 B.0., he was badly defeated (but not slain, as Plutarch says) by Hannibal. He had played the coward, and went into voluntary exile.
Fulvius (2), 505, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, brother of Gnaeus, consul in 237, 224, 212, and 209 B.o. In 212 he captured Capua, which had gone over to Hannibal, and wreaked a dreadful vengeance upon the city.
PROPER NAMES

G

Gabinius, 177, 183, 241, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66, praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58 B.C., the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in

48 B.O.
Geraestus, 15, a town and promontory at the south-western extremity of Euboea.
Gordyene, 209, a rather indefinite district of Asia, lying south of Armenia and west of the river Tigris.
H

Hecatombaeon, 79, the first month of the Attic year, comprising parts of our June and July.
Herennius, 159, Caius H., tribune of the people in 80 B.o. After the death of Sulla he joined Sertorius in Spain (76-72 B.0O.).
Hermagoras, 225, of Tenedos, a distinguished rhetorician in the times of Pompey and Cicero. He was a mere formalist.
Hermione, 175, an ancient town at the south-eastern extremity of Argolis in Peloponnesus.
Hexapyla, 483, 485, probably a section of the wall fortifying Epipolae, the triangular plateau to the west of Syracuse.
Hiempsal, 145, king of Numidia after the Jugurthine war (111-106 8B.0O.), expelled from his throne by Gnaeus Domitius and restored to it by Pompey. |
Hiero, 457, 471 f., Hiero IT., king of Syracuse 270-216 B.c., for nearly half a century a faithful friend and ally of Rome.
Hieronymus (1), 37, of Rhodes, a disciple of Aristotle, flourishing about 300 B.0O., frequently mentioned by Cicero.
Hieronymus (2), king of Syracuse 216-215 B.O., successor to Hiero II., whose policy of friendship with Rome he forsook for alliance

with Carthage.
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Himera, 139, a Greek city on the northern coast of Sicily.
Hippocrates, 469, 483, a Syracusan

y birth, but educated at Carthage. He served under Hannibal in Spain and Italy. He persuaded Hieronymus, the young king of Syracuse, to abandon the Roman cause (216 B.0.).
Hydrieus the Carian, 37, otherwise unknown.
Hypsaeus, 263, Publius.Plautius H., tribune of the people in 54 B.O., and candidate for the consulship. He was accused of corrupt ractices, tried, and convicted.

ompey, whom he had devotedly served, forsook him in the hour of need.
Hyrcania, 207 f., a district of Asia lying south of the Caspian (Hyrcanian) Sea.
I

Iarbas (or Hiarbas), 143, a king of Numidia, set on the throne by Gnaeus Domitius, instead of Hiempsal.
Iphicrates, 61, 343, a famous Athenian general, who increased the effectiveness of light-armed troops and defeated a Spartan division of heavy-armed men at Corinth in 392 B.o. He was prominent until about 348 B.o.
Isthmus, 175, the Isthmus of Corinth
Ithome, 399, see Messene.

J

Jason, 411, tyrant of Pherae in Thessaly, and active in Greek affairs from 377 to 370, the year of his death. He was succeeded by Alexander of Pherae.
Juba, 315, 525, Juba II., king of Mauritania. He lived from 50 B.O. to about 20 A.D., was educated at Rome, and became a learned and voluminous writer. Among his works was a History of Rome.
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L

Labienus, 293, Titus L., tribune of the ple in 63 B.o., and devoted to Caesar's interests. He was an able and trusted legate of Caesar through most of the Gallic wars, but became jealous of his leader and deserted him for Pompey in 49 B.o. After Pharsalus he fled to Africa, and after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.0.) to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda and was slain (45 B.o.).
Lacinium, 175, a promontory on the east coast of Bruttium, in Italy, some six miles south of Crotona.
Larissa, 43 f., 307, 405, an important town in N.E. Thessaly, on the river Peneius.
Lauron, 159, a small town in the S.E. part of Spain, south of Valentia, near the sea.
Lentulus (1), 273, 325, Lucius

Cornelius . Crus, consul in
49 B.O. with Claudius Marcellus,
and a bitter opponent of Caesar
(cf. the Caesar, xxx. 3). He
joined Pompey in the East, fled
with him from Pharsalus, and
was put to death in Egypt.
Lentulus (2), 307, see Spinther.

Leontini, 469, a city of Sicily
between Syracuse and Catana.
Lepidus, 151 ff., 197, 327, Marcus

emilius L , father of the trium-
vir, praetor in Sicily in 81, consul
in 78 B.O.
Leucas, 175, an island in the Ionian
Sea, lying close to the coast of
Acarnania.
Leuctra, 79, 391, and often, a village
in Boeotia, south-west of Thebes,
between Thespiae and Plataea,
for ever memorable as the scene
of the utter defeat of the Spartans
by the Thebans in 371 B.O.
Lindus, 521, an ancient and Sa a
tant town on the east coast of the
island of Rhodes.
Locri Epizephyrii, 515, a celebrated
Greek city on the eastern coast of
Bruttium, in Itaiy. said to have
been founded in 760 B.c.
DICTIONARY OF

Luca (or Lucca), 249, a city of

, N.B. o a frontier-

town of Caesar’s province in good
communication with Rome.
M

Macaria, 391, daughter of Heracles
and Deianeira. She slew herself
in order to give the Athenians

victory over Eurystheus.
Minoolic Sea, 207, the modern Sea of

zOvV.

Magnesia, 421, 431, a district on the eastern coast of Thessaly.
Mantinea, 85, 93 f., 99, 349, a powerful city in the eastern part of central Arcadia, in Peloponnesus.
Marcellinus, 249 f., Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus M., consul in 56B.¢., a friend and advocate of Cicero, and persistently opposed to Pompey, who was driven by his hostility into alliance with Caesar.
Marcellus, 269 f., Caius Claudius M., consul in 50 B.c., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Caesar. But after the outbreak of the civil war he remained quickly and timidly in Italy, and was finally pardoned by Caesar. He is not to be confounded with an uncle, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consul in 51, or with a cousin, Caius Claudius Marcellus, 49 B.O.

Marcius, 445, Caius M. Figulus, consul in 162 B.O., and again in 156 B.O.
Maximus, 521, Valerius M., compiler of a large collection of historical anecdotes, in the time of Augustus.
Megara, 483, 489, a Greek city on the eastern coast of Sicily, between Syracuse and Catana, It was colonized from Megara in Greece Proper.
Meliboea, 413, an ancient town on the sea-coast of Thessaly.

Memmius, 141, Caius M., after this,
Pompey’s quaestor in Spain,
where he was killed in a battle
with Sertorius (Sertoriue, xxi.).
consul in

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Mendes, 107 f., a prominent city in
the north of Egypt.
Menecrates, 59, a oy eousen gavel
clan at the court of Philip of
Macedon 3859-336 B.o. Accord-
ing to Aelian (Var. Hist. xii. 51),
it was from Philip that he got
this answer.
Menoeceus, 391, son of Creon the
mythical king of Thebes. He
sacrificed himself in order to give
his city victory over the seven
Argive chieftains.
Meriones, 489, a Cretan hero of the
Trojan war, the companion and
friend of Idomeneus.
Messala, 257, Marcus Valerius M.,
secured his election to the consul-
ship in 53 B.o. by bribery, but
still had Cicero’s support. In
the civil war he sided actively
with Caesar.
Messenia, Messene, 95, 99, 101, 331,
417 f., the south-western district
in Peloponnesus, in earliest times
conquered by the Spartans. Its
stronghold, Ithome, was included
in the capital city built by Epa-
minondas in 369 B.o. and named
Messene. The names Messenia
and Messene are sometimes
interchanged.
Metellus (1), 121, (?) 187 f., Quintus
Caecilius M. Creticus, consul in
69 B.O., and from 68 to 66 B.o.
engaged in subduing Crete. On
his return to Rome the partisans

of Pompey prevented him from celebrating a triumph, for which he waited patiently outside of the city until 62 B.O.
Metellus (2), 277 f., 333, Lucius Caecilius M. Creticus, a nephew of the preceding Metellus, is little known apart from the incident here narrated.
Metellus (3), 133, 157 ff. 197, Quintus Metellus Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of his most successful generals. After - Sulla's death in 78 B.o., Metellus was sent as proconsul into Spain, to prosecute the war against Sertorius. He died about 63 B.o.
Minucius, 447, Marcus M. Rufus, consul in 221 B.o., and in 217 Master of Horse to the dictator
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Fabius Maximus (Fab. Maz. iv.—xili.). It is not known in what year Minucius was dictator.
Mithras, 175, a Persian sun-deity, whose worship su uently spread over the whole man mpire.

Mitylene, 225, 309 f., the chief city of the island of Lesbos.
Mucia, 225 f., Pompey's third wife (cf. the Pompey, ix.), and the mother by him of Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey.
Mutina, 155, an important city of Cisalpine Gaul, south of the Po, the modern Modena.
N

Nabataeans, 293, a people occupying the northern pete of the

Arabian peninsula, between the Euphrates and the Arabian Gulf.
Neapolis (1), an ancient oy of en aT the modern Naples. Neapol 2), a rtion of what

(
Plutarch calls the ‘‘ outer city” . of Syracuse, lying between Epi- polae and Achyadina.
Pens, 521, 525, Cornelius N., a man biographer and historian contemporary and _ friend of Cicero.

Nola, 459, 463 f., an important city of Campania, about twenty miles 8.E. of Capua.
O

Oppius, 139, Caius O., an intimate end of Caesar (cf. the Caesar, xvii.), author (probably) of Lives of Marius, Pompey, and Caesar.
Orchomenus, 47 f., 377, 381 f., 523, a city in northern Boeotia, near the Copaic Lake.
Oricum, 285, a town on the coast of Epirus, north of Apollonia.
P
Paeonia, 221, a district in Thrace, north of Macedonia.
Paulus, 269, Lucius Aemilius P., 540

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consul in 50 B.o. with Claudius Marcellus. He had been a violent opponent of Caesar.
Pelusium, 317, a strong frontier- oan on the eastern branch of the e.

Perpenna, 137, 159, 163 f., Marcus

P. Vento, a leading partisan of Marius. On the death of Sulla (78 B.0o.) he joined Lepidus in his attempt to win the supreme power, and, failing here, retired to Spain, where he served under Sertorius.
Petelia, 515, an ancient city of Bruttium, north of Crotona.
Petra, 221, the capital city of the Nabataeans, about half way between the Dead Sea and the Arabian Gulf.
Pharnabazus, 21, 29, 33 f., 47, 63, satrap of the Persian provinces about the Hellespont from 412 to 393 B.O.
Pharsalus, Pharsalia, 45, 293, 301, 335, 409, 423, a city and plain in southern Thessaly.
Pherae, 403, 407 f., 419, 433, a city in south-eastern Thessaly.
Pherecydes, 391, possibly Pherecydes of Syros is meant, a semi-mythical philosopher of the sixth century B.0., about whose death many fantastic tales were told.
Philippus, 119, 157, Lucius Marcius P., consul in 91 B.0., and a distinguished orator, & cha gs of the popular party. e died before Pompey’s return from rem (71 B.O.).

Philistus, 429, the Syracusan, an

eye-witness of the events of the Athenian siege of ap Seas pa (415-—413 B.0.), which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.
-Phlius, Phliasians, 67, a city in N.E. Peloponnesus, south of Sicyon.
Phthiotis, 419, 431, a districtin S.K. Thessaly.

Picenum, 443, a district in N.E. Italy.

Piso (1), Caius Calpurnius P., consul in 67 B.O., a violent crat, afterwards proconsul for the province of Gallia Narbonensis which he plundered. He must DICTIONARY OF

have died before the outbreak of civil war.
Piso (2), Lucius Calpurnius P. Caesorinus, consul in 58 B.O., through Caesar's influence, recalled from his province of Macedonia 55 because of extortions, consul again in 50 B.O. at Caesar's request, and after Caesar's death a supporter of Antony.
Plancus, 263, Titus Minutius P. Bursa, accused of fomenting the disorders following the death of Clodius (52 B.o.), found guilty and exiled. Pompey, whose ardent supporter he was, deserted him in the hour of need. Caesar restored him to civic rights soon after 49 B.O.
Plataea, 377, 401, an ancient and celebrated city in S.W. Boeotia, near the confines of Attica, where the Persians under Mardonius were defeated by the allied Greeks in 489 B.O.
Pollio, 305, Caius Asinius P., a famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.0.-4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Caesar (cf. the Caesar, xxxii. 5), fought under him in Spain and Africa, and after Caesar's death supported Octavian. After 29 B.o. he devoted himself entirely to literature, and

was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works have come
Polybius, 381 f Megal iis, in olybius, , 0 egalopolis, Arcadia, the Greek Shistorian of the Punic Wars, born about 204 B.O., long resident in Rome, and an intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he was present at the destruction of Cart in 146 B.o.
Poseidonius, 225, 437, 459, 491, 521, of Apameia, in bry a Stoic philosopher, a pupil of Panaetius at Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him.

Potheinus, 317, one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy. He plotted against Caesar when he came to Alexandreia, and was put
PROPER NAMES

to death by him (cf. the Caesar, xlviii. f.).
Ptolemy, 405 f., assassinated King Alexander II. of Macedon in 367 B.O., held the supreme power for three years, and was then himself assassinated by the young king, Perdiccas IIT.
Publius, 261, 311, Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, son of Marcus Crassus the triumvir. He was Caesar's legate in Gaul 58—55 B.c., followed father to the East in 54, and was killed by the Parthians near Carrhae (cf. the Crassus, XXV.).
R

Roscius, 181, Lucius R. Otho. As one of the tribunes of the ople

in 67 B.o., he introduced the un-
po ular law which gave the
ghts special seats in the
theatre.
Rullus, 149, Quintus Fabius Maxi-
mus R., five times consul, the
last time in 295 B.o., when he was
victorious over Gauls, Etruscans,
Samnites and Umbrians in the
great battle of Sentinum.
Rutilius, 213, Publius R. Rufus
consul in 105 B.0., unjustly exiled
in 92 B.O., retired to Smyrna,
where he wrote a history of his
own times.
8

Samothrace, 175, 521, a large island
in the northern Aegean Sea, some
twenty miles off the coast of
Thrace, celebrated for its mys-
teries (cf. the Alexander, ii. 1).
Sardis, 25, the capital va ad the
ancient kingdom of 1 , and,
later, the residence of the Persian
satraps of Asia Minor.
Sat , 205, a festival of Saturn,
held at this time on the nine-
teenth of December. See the
Sulla, xviii. 5.
Scipio (1), 149, 315, Publius Corne-
us §. Africanus oe ha the con-
queror of Hannibal. His con-
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go of Spain occupied the years
10-202 B.c.
Scipio (2), Lucius Cornelius 8.
siaticus, belonged to the Marian
party in the civil wars, and was
consul in 83 B.0., the year when
Sulla returned from the East.
Cf. the Sulla, xxviii. 1-3. He

was proscribed in 82, and fled to Massilia, where he died.
Scipio (3), 261, 279, 289, 295, 327, ublius Cornelius 8. Nasica adopted by Metellus Pius and therefore called Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius 8., or Metellus Scipio, was made Pompey 6 colleague in the consuls pete in the year 52 B.O., and became a determined foe of Caesar. He was proconsul in Syria, joined Pompey in 48 B.0., commanded his centre at Pharsalus, fied to Africa, and killed himself after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.c.). zou a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and a son-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.
Scipio (4), 445, Publius Cornelius cipio 'Nasica Corculum, celebrated as jurist and _ orator, consul in 162 B.c. (when he abdicated on account of faulty auspices), and again in 155 B.c.
Scirophorion, 79, a month of the Attic year comprising portions of our May and June.
Scotussa, 293, 413. a town in central Thessaly, N.E. of Pharsalus.
Scythia, 221, a general term for the Moone regions north of the Euxine ea.
Seleucia, 317, probeny the Seleucia in Syria on the river Orontes.
Sertorius, 155-167, 197, Quintus S., was born in a small Sabine village, began his military career in 105 B.O., was a consistent opponent of the aristocracy, retired to Spain in 82, where for ten years and until his death he was the last hope of the Marian party.
8ee Plutarch’s Sertorius.

Servilius, 151, Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus, peo the consul of 79 B.0., who obtained a triumph over Cilicia in 74, and
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died in 44 B.c. His son, of the same name, was consul with Caesar in 48 B.0O., though a member of the aristocratic party.
Simonides, 3, of Ceos, the greatest lyric poet of Greece, 556—467 B.o.
Sinope, 223, an important Greek city on the southern coast of the Euxine Sea, west of Amisus.
Sinora (or Sinoria), a fortress-city on the frontier between Greater and Lesser Armenia.
Soli, 187, an important town on the coast of Cilicia, not to be confounded with the Soli on the island of Cyprus. See Xenorhon Anab., i. 2, 24.
Sophene, 203, a district of western Armenia
enia.
Spartacus, 197, a Thracian gladiator, leader of the servile insurrecbert a 1B.0.). Cf. the Crassus,
Spinther, 245, 201, 307, Publius Cornelius Lentulus 8., consul in 57 B.C., took part against Caesar in 49, was captured by him at Corfinium, but released. He then joined Pompey, and after Pharsalus fied with him to Egypt.
Strabo, 117, 123, Gnaeus Pompeius Sextus S., consul in 89 B.0o., in which year he celebrated a triumph for his capture of Asculum. He tried to be neutral in the civil wars of Sulla and Marius. In 87 B.0. he was killed

by lightning.
Sucro, 159, a river in S.E. Spain, between Valentia and Lauron.
Susa, 39, 417, an ancient city of Persia, residence of the Great King during the spring months.
Sybaris, 341, a famous Greek city of Italy, on the west shore of the gulf of Tarentum, founded in 720 B.c., noted for its wealth and luxury.
T

Tachos, 101-107, king of Egypt for ashort time during the latter part of the reign of Artaxerxes II. of Persia (405-362 B.0.). Deserted by his subjects and mercenaries,

he took refuge at the court of Artaxerxes ITI., where he died.
Taenarum, 175, a promontory at the southern extremity of Laconia, in Peloponnesus.
Tanagra, 377, a town in eastern Boeotia, between Thebes and Attica.
Tarentum, 493, 507, a Greek city in S.E. Italy. It surrendered to the Romans in 272 B.0O., was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal in 212, and recovered by Fabius Maximus in 209.
Taurus, 185, a range of mountains in Asia Minor, running eastward from Lycia to Cilicia.
Taygetus, 417, a lofty mountain range between Laconia and Messenia, in Peloponnesus.
Tegea, 95, an ancient and powerful city in 8.E. Arcadia, in Peloponnesus.

Tegyra, 77, 377 ff., 387, 525, a vil-

lage in northern Boeotia, near Orchomenus.
Tempe, Vale of, 307, the gorge between Mounts Olympus and Ossa in N.E. Thessaly, through which the river Peneius makes its way to the sea.
Theodotus of Chios (or Samos), 317 825, brought to Caesar the head and signet-ring of hue 9
Theophanes, 213, 225, 247, 315, 319, of Mitylene in Lesbos, a learned Greek who made Pomy's acquaintance during the

ithridatic war, and became his intimate friend and adviser. He wrote a eulogistic history of Pompey's campaigns. After Pompey's death he was pardoned by Caesar, and upon his own death (after 44 B.O.) received divine honours from the Lesbians.
Theophrastus, 5, 103, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in rae B.O., at the age of eightyve.

Theopompus, 27, 87, 91, of Chios, a fellow-pupli of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394 B.O. and of Philip of Macedon from 360 to 336 B.O.
Thermodon, 209, a river of Pontus in Northern Asia Minor, emptying into the Euxine Sea. _
Thesmophoria, 353, a festival in honour of Demeter as goddess of marriage, celebrated at Athens for three days in the middle of the

month Pyanepsion (Oct.—Nov.).
Thespiae, 67 f., 97, 373 ff,, an ancient city in S3.W. Boeotia, north of Plataea. ;
Thetis, 423, a sea-nymph, wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles.
Thriasian plain, 69, 357, a part of the plain about Eleusis, in S.W. Attica.
Timagenes, 245, a Greek historian, of the time of Augustus, originally a ares slave. The bitterness of his judgments brought him into disfavour.
Timagoras, 419, an ambassador from Athens to the Persian court in 387 B.o. He spent four years there, and took part with Pelopidas rather than with his own colleague, Leon. He revealed state secrets for pay, and it was this which cost him his life.
Timotheus (1), 345, son of Conon the great Athenian admiral. He was made general in 378 B.0., and about 360 was at the height of his popularity and glory.
Timotheus (2), 39, of Miletus, a famous musician and poet, 446—357 3B.O. His exuberant and florid style conquered its way to great popularity.
Tisaphernes, 21 f., 27, Persian satrap of lower Asia Minor from 414 B.0., and also, after the death of Cyrus the Younger in 401, of maritime Asia Minor, till his death in 359 B.o.
Tithraustes, 27. After succeeding Tisaphernes in his satrapy, Tithraustes tried in vain to induce Agesilaiis to return to Greece, and then stirred up a war in Greece ainst Sparta, in consequence of which Agesilaiis was recalled.

Trallians, 43, no tribe of this name is now known to have lived in 543

DICTIONARY OF

Thrace, nor are they mentioned in Herodotus (vii. 110).
Trebonius, 251, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.O., and an instrument of the triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul, and loaded with favours by him, but was one of the conspirators against his life.
us, 275, Lucius Volcatius T., consul in 66 B.0., a moderate, who took no part in the civil war.
Tyche, 485, a portion of what Plutarch calls © e * out Ny ”” of yracuse D ween Epipolae and Achradina.
Vv

Valentia, 159, an important town in S.E. Spain, south of Saguntum.
PROPER NAMES

Valerius, 147, Marcus V. Maximus, dictator in 494 B.0., defeated and triumphed over the Sabines.
Vatinius, 251, Publius V., had been tribune of the people in 59 B.c., and was a paid creature of Caesar. He was one of Caesar’s legates in the civil war, and, after Pharsalus, was entrusted by him with high command in the East.
Venusia, 515, a prosperous city of

Apulia, a stopp lace for travellers on the App Way from Rome to Brundisium. It was the birthplace of the poet Horace.

Vibullius, 285, Lucius V. Rufus, a
senator, captured by Caesar at
Corfinium, at the outbreak of the
war, and again in Spain, but
pardoned both times.
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY RB. CLAY AND SONS, LTD., BRUNSWICK STREET,
STAMFORD STREET, S.E. I, AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

Pt all

PLUTARCH'S
~ LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
VI
DION AND BRUTUS
TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS PAULUS
Bo sad ao :

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> 4 ‘

LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXVIII
PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of the one to the other, and any departure from both, have been indicated in the brief critical notes. An abridged account of the manuscripts and editions of Plutarch's Lives may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the Lives presented in this volume is contained in either of the two oldest and _ best manuscripts. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must still be referred to the major edition of the Lives by Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo). The

reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.
Vv

PREFATORY NOTE

Some use has been made of the Siefert-Blass edition of the Zimoleon (Leipzig, Teubner, 1879), and also of Holden’s edition of the same Life (Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1889).
All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the Brutus by Professor Long.
B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
December, 1917.
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AEMILIUS PAULUS .... .

COMPARISON OF TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS PAULUS

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(14) Nicias and Crassus.

(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.

(16) Agesilatis and Pompey.

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(22) Dion and Brutus.
(23) Aratus.
(24) Artaxerxes.

(25) Galba.

(26) Otho.

DION

VOL. VB.

ATON

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twa Kal puOuov enidépovta peta tov mpérovtos.
2

“BION

I. Ir it be true, then, 0 ’Socius Senecio,! as Si-
monides says,? that Ilium*‘is- not wroth with the
Corinthians’’ for coming up-against her with the
Achaeans, because the Trojans. -also had Glaucus,
who sprang from Corinth, as a zealous ally, so it is

likely that neither Romans nor Greeks' will quarrel with the Academy, since they fare' alixe in this treatise containing the lives of Dion' and. Brutus, for Dion was an immediate disciple of. Plato, while Brutus was nourished on the doctrines of Plato. Both therefore set out from one training-school, as it were, to engage in the greatest struggles. And we need not wonder that, in the performance of actions that were often kindred and alike, they bore witness to the doctrine of their teacher in virtue, that wisdom and justice must be united with power and good fortune if public careers are to take on beauty as well as grandeur. For as Hippomachus the trainer used to delare that he could recognize his pupils from afar even though they were but carrying meat from the market-place, so it is natural that the principles of those who have been trained alike should permeate their actions, inducing in these a similar rhythm and harmony along with their propriety.

1 One of the many friends whom Plutarch made during his residence at Rome. See on Theseus, i. 1.

2 Fragment 50; Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graect, iii.* p. 412.

II. Ac 8é _TUXat, Tois CULTTOUAG Haddov 4 Tais Tpoaipererty ovoat at avrat, guvayouct TOY avdpav TOUS Bious els oporaryta. 7 poavnpe-Onoav yap apdorepot Tob -Térovs, els 0 mpovdevto Tas mpagers ex TONG: KL _ beyahov ay@veov catabéc bat pa Suv déozes. 0 6€ mavrwv Bav-paci@tatov, STL Kak * To Sa1povioy auporépors UTEedH Awa € THY TEREUTIpD, Opoiws éxaTépep pacpa-TOS ets Oxruy OUK euplevods Taparyevouevov. KatTot oryos Ths eos, TOY avaipovvTwy Ta ToLavTa, pndevt av-voty eyovtTe tmpootecety pavTacpa Saipovos. june" eldwArov, GANA Traddpia Kal yv-vaia Kas . Tapaopous 8.' aoévevav avOparrous éy tige-.wrdve wWuyis 7 SvoKpacia TOMATOS yevopesisous d0€as apadeecBau KEVAS Kal adXoKo-TOUS 5+ above Tmovnpov év avrois thv Serordat-poviap } éXovTas. et b¢ Alwy Kal Bpodros, dvdpes

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adarels ovd’ ed AwrTot wabos, oUTWS vo do pa-
tos dueténoav wote nal dpdaoat pos erépous,
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Satmovia cal Bacxava, TpoagOovobvta Tots aya-
ois avdpdat cat tais mpateow eva Tdpeva,
TapaXas Kal poBous emdyet, oelovTa Kal opan-
NOvTA THY apeTny, @S 11) Srapetvavres an TOTES
év TO Kan cal aKcépa.cot Bertlovos éxeiveav poipas
perd THY TEAEVTHY TUXWOLD. adr TavTa pmeVv
els GAAov dvaxeiaOw Aovyov. ev tovT@ Sé, dwSe-

1 thy 8e:o:8aiuovlay Coraés and Bekker, instead of the elva: Seco8aiuovlay of the MSS.: Sea Samuovlar.

II. Moreover, the fortunes of the two men, which were the same in what befell them rather than in what they elected to do, make their lives alike. For both were cut off untimely, without being able to achieve the objects to which they had determined to devote the fruits of their many and great struggles. But the most wonderful thing of all was that Heaven gave to both an intimation of their approaching death, by the visible appearance to each alike of an ill-boding spectre. And yet there are those who deny such things and say that no man in his right mind was ever visited by a spectre or an apparition from Heaven, but that little children and foolish women and men deranged by sickness, in some aber- ration of spirit or distemper of body, have indulged in empty and strange imaginings, because they had the evil genius of superstition in themselves. But if Dion and Brutus, men of solid understanding and philosophic training and not easily cast down or over- powered by anything that happened to them, were so affected by a spectre that they actually told others about it, I do not know but we shall be compelled to accept that most extraordinary doctrine of the oldest times, that mean and malignant spirits, in envy of good men and opposition to their noble deeds, try to confound and terrify them, causing their virtue to rock and totter, in order that they may not continue erect and inviolate in the path of honour and so attain a better portion after death than the spirits themselves. But this subject must be reserved for discussion elsewhere, and in this, the twelfth book}

1 The Pericles was part of the tenth “ book ” (chapter ii. 3), the Demosthenes part of the fifth (chapter iii. 1). The ordi-

nary arrangement of the Lives is purely arbitrary.

KaT@ TOV TAparrAnhov éyvt. Biwy, Tov Tov TpeE-
o Butépou Tpoeaaydyw ev.

III. Atovuctos 0 mpea BuTepos eis THY apy
Kataotas evOvs éynpe THY ‘Eppoxpatous Tou
Lupakovatou Buyarépa. TAUTNY, obTrw THs Tupav-
vidos iSpupevns BeBatws, arog TavTes ot _2upa-
Kovatot devas Kal TAapavapLous UBpecs els TO TOpa
KabvBpioav, ep als T ponKaTo Tov Biov éxougiws.
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oToMayny, Ouyatépa ‘Inrapivov, TPWTEVTAVTOS
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yeveas viov auth BonBeiv 7 pos TO yévos. n Oe
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Atovuaiep kaitep orrovodtovre mepl THY éx TAUTNS
TEKVOoLY, 6s ye kal Thy pntépa Tis Aoxpidos
aiTacduevos KatapappaKkevery thy “Aptotopa-
Ynv awéxTeELve.
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elye Tiyuny amo Ths aderdijs, VaoTepov Oé Tod
6

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DION

of my Parallel Lives, I shall begin with that of the elder man.

III. Dionysius the Elder, after assuming the reins of government,! at once married the daughter of Hermocrates the Syracusan. But she, since the tyranny was not yet securely established, was ter- ribly and outrageously abused in her person by the seditious Syracusans, and in consequence put an end to her own life. Then Dionysius, after resuming the power and making himself strong again, married two wives at once, one from Locri, whose name was Doris, the other a native of the city, Aristomache, daughter of Hipparinus, who was a leading man in Syracuse, and had been a colleague of Dionysius when he was first chosen general with full powers for the war. It is said that he married both wives on one day, and that no man ever knew with which of the two he first consorted, but that ever after he con- tinued to devote

himself alike to each; it was their custom to sup with him together, and they shared his bed at night by turns. And yet the people of Syracuse wished that their countrywoman should be honoured above the stranger; but Doris had the good fortune to become a mother first, and by pre- senting Dionysius with his eldest son she atoned for her foreign birth. Aristomache, on the contrary, was for a long time a barren wife, although Dionysius was desirous to have children by her; at any rate, he accused the mother of his Locrian wife of giving Aristomache drugs to prevent conception, and put her to death.

IV. Now, Dion was a brother of Aristomache, and at first was honoured because of his sister; after-

1 In 405 B.c.

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dpovety dudovs metpav, 75n Kal' éavtov nyanato
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cat Biov péev avicov kal xatadpofov, Oepatreias
5€ veomAovTov Kal Tpudfis areipoxdrov Kal
Staitns év ndovais Kai trEoveEiats TiOemévns TO
cadov eas Kal peotos yevouevos, ws TpaOTov
éyevoato Aoyou Kal dirocodias HryEewovtrts pds

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apeTny, aveprexXOn tiv yuxnv TAaXU, Kal TH TreEpt
avtov evTecia THY KaX@Y akdKws Tavu Kal
A \ aA a
VEWTEPLK@S MpocdoKyaas viro THY avTaY AOYoV
Suora welcecBar Aroviatov, éotrovdace Kal Sue-
mpatato Tomoapevos aXoAny avTov évtuyelv
Tlvdteve cat axovoat.
wv

DION

wards, however, he gave proof of his wisdom, and was presently beloved by the tyrant for his own sake. In addition to all] his other favours, Dionysius ordered his treasurers to give Dion whatever he asked, although they were to tell Dionysius on the same day what they had given. But though Dion was even before of a lofty character, magnanimous, and manly, he advanced still more in these high qualities when, by some divine good fortune, Plato came to Sicily. This was not of man's devising, but some heavenly power, as it would seem, laying far in advance of the time a foundation for the liberty of Syracuse, and devising a subversion of tyranny, brought Plato from Italy to Syracuse and made Dion his disciple. Dion was then quite young, but of all the companions of Plato he was by far the quickest to learn and the readiest to answer the call of virtue, as Plato himself has written,? and as events testify. For though he had been reared in habits of submission under a tyrant, and though he was fully accustomed to a life that was subservient and timorous, as well as to ostentatious service at court and vulgar luxury and a regimen that counts pleasures and excesses as the highest good, nevertheless, as soon as he got a taste of a rational philosophy which led the way to virtue, his soul was speedily on fire ; and since he very artlessly and impulsively expected, from his own ready obedience to the call of higher things, that the same arguments would have a like persuasive force with Dionysius, he earnestly set to work and at last brought it to pass that the tyrant, in a leisure hour, should meet Plato and hear him discourse.

1 About 388 B.0., if this first visit be not a myth.
2 Epvet. vii. p. 327.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

V. Tevouevns dé Tis guvovaias avTois TO ev
Sov sept avdpos aperis, mrcla roo dé Tepl
avdpetas SiarropnBevrwr, @s TavTas)! wadXov oO
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éx O€ TovTou Tparrouevos Tept Sixatoauyns édt-
Sac Kev @S paKdptos pev) TOV dixaiwv, Ors bé
Oo TOV adixwy Bios, ovte Tovs Adyous epepev 0
TUpavvos womep éFeheyXomevos, iXGero Te Tos
mapovat Javpactas aTrobexXouevors Tov avdpa Kal
KOU MEVOLS UTO TOV Aeyouevan. TéhOS b¢ Oupw-
Beis Kal mapoEuvbeis jparnoev aurov 6 te on
Bovropevos eis YuxedAlav wapayévoito. Tod bé

dycavtos ayabov avdpa Cnteiv, vmoha Bev ExEC-
vos, “AAG v7 TOUS Geovs,” ele, ‘ “at paivy
panto TOLOUTOV eUpnKes.” ot pev odv Trept TOV
Aiwva TOUTO TéAOS MOVTO TIS opyiis yeyovevar,
kat tov Iddtwva omevdovra ouvebémrepumov ent
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Lrraprearyy: o 6¢ Atoviatos Kpuda, TOU TT oAALos
€TOLnTaTO Senow padiota pev aTOKTElVaL TOV
avipa Kata wrody, et d€ xn, TWavTws atrodocbat:
PraByoecBar yap over, arr’ evdatwovnc ety
opoiws, Sixatov dvta, Kav SovA0s yévntar. S10
Kat Aéyeras TloAXs ets Alyway pépov arrobocGas
I]ddrwva, TONE HOU pos "AOnvatous 6 OVTOS avrois
Kal yudic patos Strws 0 ANPOels “AOnvaiwr év
Aiyivg Tim pacKnTat.
Ov pay 6 ye Aiev éXaTTov eixe Tapa TO
Atovuct TUuLHS 7 Tio TEDS, adna, mpea Betas TE
Tas peylatas Sikes Kal Teptropevos mpos Kap-
1 xdyras Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske: wav7a.

) Ge)

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DION

V. At this meeting the general subject was human virtue, and most of the discussion turned upon manliness. And when Plato set forth that tyrants least of all men had this quality, and then, treating of justice, maintained that the life of the just was blessed, while that of the unjust was wretched, the tyrant, as if convicted by his arguments, would not listen to them, and was vexed with the audience because they admired the speaker and were charmed by his utterances. At last he got exceedingly angry and asked the philosopher why he had come to Sicily. And when Plato said that he was come to seek a virtuous man, the tyrant answered and said : “Well, by the gods, it appears that you have not yet found such an one.”” Dion thought that this was the end of his anger, and as Plato was eager for it, sent him away upon a trireme, which was conveying Pollis the Spartan to Greece. But Dionysius privily requested Pollis to kill Plato on the voyage, if it were in any way possible, but if not, at all events to sell him into slavery; for he would take no harm, but would be quite as happy, being a just man, even if he should become a slave. Pollis, therefore, as we are told, carried Plato to Aegina and there sold him; for the Aeginetans were at war with the Athenians and had made a decree that any Athenian taken on the island should be put up for sale.

In spite of all this, Dion stood in no less honour and credit with Dionysius than before, but had the management of the most important embassies, as, for instance, when he was sent to Carthage and won

Il

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xnoovious eCavpacly OLradEepovTws Kai THY Trap-
pnoiav épepev avtov povouv axedov adeas AéyovTos
TO TaptaTapevoy, ws Kal THY Tept Térwvos éni-
4 e ” A /
mrAnew. yrevalopevns yap, ws éotxe, tTHS Té-
AwVOS apYs, avTov Te TOV T'éXwva tov Atovuciou
p 7 4 / VA

, a e \
yéXwTa THs YKerlas yeyovévar dyoavtos, of ev
GAOL TO TKOppa TpoceTraovvTo Oavyalerv, o Sé
Aiwv ducyepavas, “Kal pry,” bn, “od tupav-
veis Sta TéXwva miotevbeis: 56a oé b€ ovdels
Erepos miotevOnoetar. TH yap sytTt daiverat
, \ a >] , ,
carrxoTov pev Vérowv ériderEdpevos Oéaua povap-
Youpevny rod, alaxiotov 5é Atoviacos.
VI. "Ovrwv &€ Avovucio traiswv tpidy pev éx

a 5 4 de bd "A , A
THS Aoxpt as, TeTTapwv oe €€ proTouayns, dv
dv0 joav Ouyarépes, Zapporvvy Kat ‘Apern,
Lodpocvvyn pev Atovuci T® Vid ouvexneer,
’Apérn S€ @eapidn T@ adeAPO. TEAEUTHTAVTOS
5é rod adergod Weapidou Aiwv éraBe tiv’ Apérnv
adergibqv odaav. émret 6€ voowy edo€ev o Arovv-
atos aBiatws eye, erexeipnoey avT@ diaré-
yeoOat tepl Tav ex THS "Aptorouayns Téxvwv oO
Aiwv, ot & tarpot T@ médAXOvTE THY apynv Siadé-
yecOat yapilopevor Katpov ov trapéaxov: ws dé
Tipatos dnot, cal dappakov brvwtixoy aitoovtt
Sovtes adeirovto tHv alcOnow avdtod, Bavaro
cuvarpaytes Tov Urrvov.
Ov phy adda avAACYOU TpwTOU TaY dirwv
yevoueévou rapa Tov véov Aoviciov ovtw Siené-
xOn Tepi TaV oupdEepovTwY Tpos TOY KaLpOV 6
12
DION

great admiration. The tyrant also bore with his
freedom of speech, and Dion was almost the only

one who spoke his mind fearlessly, as, for example, when he rebuked Dionysius for what he said about Gelon. The tyrant was ridiculing the government of Gelon,! and when he said that Gelon himself, true to his name, became the Jlaughing-stock (“ gelos’’) of Sicily, the rest of his hearers pretended to admire the joke, but Dion was disgusted and said : “ Indeed, thou art now tyrant because men trusted thee for Gelon’s sake; but no man hereafter will be trusted for thy sake.’’ For, as a matter of fact, Gelon seems to have made a city under absolute rule a very fair thing to look upon, but Dionysius a very shameful thing. |

VI. Dionysius had three children by his Locrian wife, and four by Aristomache, two of whom were daughters, Sophrosyne and Arete. Sophrosyne be- came the wife of his son Dionysius,? and Arete of his brother Thearides, but after the death of The- arides, Arete became the wife of Dion, her uncle. Now, when Dionysius was sick and seemed likely to die, Dion tried to confer with him in the interests of his children by Aristomache, but the physicians, who wished to ingratiate themselves with the heir apparent, would not permit it; moreover, according to Timaeus, when the sick man asked for a sleeping potion, they gave him one that robbed him of his senses and made death follow sleep.®

However, in the first conference held between the young Dionysius and his friends, Dion discoursed upon the needs of the situation in such a manner

1 Gelon had been tyrant of Syracuse circa 485-478 B.c.
2 Cf. chapter iii. 3. 3 In 367 B.c.

Aiwv ore Tovs dddous ATAVTAS TH ev ppovycer Tatoas arroveifat, TH dé mappnoig dovXous THS Tupavridos d aryEVvVOS Kal mepipoBes Ta TOANA 1 pos Xapev T petpaxio cupBovrevovtas. pardiora b¢ avTous eLerdnfe TOV aro Kapyndovos xivduvov eT LK pe pa wEvOV TH apxn Sedotxotas, & Drrog Xopuevos, ei pev eLpnvns tovto Atoviotos, Trevoas evs els AiBinv as aptota SiabiccecOa Tov TONE LO, et O€ rroNepety mpodvpoiro, Operpecy aUuTOS idtous TéXeot Kal mapebev ets TOV mohepov avT@ TEVTNKOVTA TpLnpeLs €v WAcoveas.}

VII. ‘O per ou Avovictos Umeppues THY peyadowuxiav Oavpace Kal tH mpoOupiay nyatnoey® ot dé édeyxecOat TH Aaparporyre Kat ramevovcOa mH Suvaper tov Aiwvos ovopevot,

TavTNv eddus apyny AaBortes, ovdemsas epetdovro
povins i) TO perpaxcov eFarypiaive EweNXOY TpOS
avrov, as DTrEpyopevov dua TIS Gararrns Tupav-
vida Kal Teptome@vTa Tais vavot Tijv Svvapuy ets
TOUS ‘Aptotopdyns maidas, aderprdovs évTas
ave. paveporarat dé Kal beyrras TOY Ets
POdvov Kat picos QiTL@OV UTA pov 7 Tob Biou
dtapopa Kal TO THS Siairns a GpLKTov. Ol ev yap,
evOvs €& apxiis véov Tupdvvou Kal TeOpappeévov
pathos Omtriav Kal ouvndevay noovais Kal KoXa-
Kelas caTahapBavovtes, aei TiVvas épwras Kal
SiatpiBas Eun Xavavro pepBaders Tepl TOTOUS
«al yuvaixas, ral mradias é érépas aoxynuovas, vd’
ov 7 Tupawvis, domep atdnpos, paracropern,
Tois pev apxopevors épavn giravopwros, xal TO
Mav amdvOpwrov vTavijcev, ovK émreckeia Tint
1 ef wAeovoas van Herwerden : wAeovcas.

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that his wisdom made all the rest appear children, and his boldness of speech made them seem mere slaves of tyranny, who were wont to give their counsels timorously and ignobly to gratify the young man. But what most amazed them in their fear of the peril that threatened the realm from Carthage, was Dion’s promise that, if Dionysius wanted peace, he would sail at once to Africa and put a stop to the war on the best terms possible; but if war was the king’s desire, he himself would furnish him with fifty swift triremes for the war, and maintain them at his own costs.

VII. Dionysius, then, was greatly astonished at his magnanimity and delighted with his ardour; but the other courtiers, thinking themselves put out of countenance by{Dion’s generosity and humbled by his power, began hostilities forthwith, and said every- thing they could to embitter the young king against him, accusing him of stealing into the position of tyrant by means of his power on the sea, and of using his ships to divert the power into the hands of the children of Aristomache, who were his nephews and nieces. But the strongest and most apparent grounds for their envy and hatred of him lay in the difference between his way of life and theirs, and in his refusal to mingle with others. For from the very outset they obtained converse and intimacy with a tyrant who was young and had been badly reared by means of pleasures and flatteries, and were ever contriving for him sundry amours, idle amusements with wine and

women, and other unseemly pastimes. In this way the tyranny, being softened, like iron in the fire, appeared to its subjects to be kindly, and gradually remitted its excessive

T5

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Aa A A 4
padXov H pabvyuia tod KpatodvTos auBdvvopEern.
o A \
éx 5¢ rovtou mpoiodea Kal vepopévn KaTa pLKpOV
la
wept TO pelpdKiov aveots Todvs AdapavTivous
Sexpovs éxetvous, ols 0 mwperButepos Atovvatos
"4 J > , \ lA b>] ,
épn Sedepéevnv atroreitew Thy povapyiav, éEérnge
/ e 4 4 e b 4
kat drepOecpev. Huépas yap, ws paciv, évern-
a \ \
KOVTA TUVEXaS Erivey apEdpevos, Kal THY avAnVY
év TO Kpovw TOUT@ aTroVdaiols avdpdat Kai NOYoUS
/ ,
aBatov nal aveicodov ovoav péOat Kai cKop-
\ ? 4 \ 4
pata cal Wadpol Kai opynoes cat Bwporoytar
KATELYOV.
VIII. "Hv ody, as eixos, 0 Aiwy érayOns eis
b e \ \ \ > \ e , N
ovdey OU Kal vewrepixoy évdsdods éauvTov. 610
kal wiava Kxaxi@v tpocpnyata Tais apetais
émipépovtes avtod SéBaddrov, vrepoiay thy
oe“voTnta Kal THY Tappyoiay avOddeav atroxa-
Nobvtes' Kal vovOeTav Katrnyopeiv édoKxet Kai pr)
cuveEapaptaveyv Katadpoveiyv. apérer dé cal
puaer Twa TO 00s SyKov elyev avTOD Kal TpaYv-
tnta dSvatpoaodov évTevEes Kal duaEvpBorov. ov
yap povov avopt véw nat dsrateOpuppévo Ta Ta
Koraxelats ayapis hv ovyyevéo Oar Kal mpocdvrns,
qodAol 5€ Kal TOV Wavy Ypwpévwv avT@ kal THY
dmXoTnTa Kal TO yevvaioy ayaTwvTwy Tod TpOd-
A e /
Tou KaTEpéu“povTo THS o-tAlas, WS aypoLKOTEpoY
kat Bapvtepoy TodTiKaY xKpEeL@v Tots Seopévors
U4 ‘\ 2 \ /, 4
cuvadAacoovTa. mept wv Kal Ilhkatwv vorepor

@ tJ 4 "4 \ > \ >
@otep atrolecTritwy eypayre mpos avtov é£ev-
16
DION

cruelty, though its edge was blunted not so much by any clemency in the sovereign as by his love of ease. Asa consequence, the laxity of the young king gained ground little by little, until at last those " adamantine bonds" with which the elder Dionysius said he had left the monarchy fastened, were melted and destroyed. For it is said that the young king once kept up a drinking bout for ninety consecutive days from its beginning, and that during this time his court gave no access or admission to men or matters of consequence, but drunkenness and raillery and music and dancing and buffoonery held full sway. VIII. Dion, then, as was natural, was obnoxious to these men, since he indulged in no pleasure or youthful folly. And so they tried to calumniate him by actually giving to his virtues plausible names of vices; for instance, they called his dignity haughti- ness, and his boldness of speech self-will. Even when he admonished, he was thought to denounce, and when he would not share men's sins, to despise. And in very truth his character had naturally a certain majesty, together with a harshness that re- pelled intercourse and was hard to deal with. For not only to a man who was young and whose ears had been corrupted by flattery was he an unpleasant and irksome associate, but many also who were in- timate with him and who loved the simplicity and nobility of his disposition, were apt to find fault with the manner of his intercourse with men, on the ground that he dealt with those who sought his aid more rudely and harshly than was needful in public life. On this head Plato also afterwards wrote to him, in a tone almost prophetic, that he should

1 Epist. iv. ad fin.
1]
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AaBeioOat thy avOaderav ws épnuia cuvotxovcap.
ov nv GdAB TOTE THreiatou Soxwy akios wrdp-
yew Sta Ta Tpaypata Kal povos } padtora THY
tupavviba Tadevovaay avopbobv Kat Siapurdr-
TEL, EYLYWaKEY OV TpOs XapL, anh QKOVTOS UTrO
YpEeLas TOD TUPdYVOY TPMTOS Ov Kal péyLoTos.
IX. Aitiav 5€ trovrov tiv aradevaiar eivat
vopitwy éuBareiy avtov eis StatpsBas érevOept-
ous édirotipetro Kal yedoat Noywv Kai pabnud-
Tov nOoTroLaY, ws apeTny Te Tavaatto SediMs Kai
-Tots Kanrois yaipev Oicbein. pice yap ov
yeyoves TOV pavAoTdtwy Tupavywy o Aroviatos,
GX' o traTHp, Sedotxas 7 Ppoynuatos peTtada-
Baov Kal ovyyevouevos vobv Eyovow avOpatras
ériBovrevoctey avT@ Kal TapéXoLTO THY apyny,
éd povpet KaTaxdetoTtov otxoL, St épnutav optrias

évépas Kal atretpia Tpaypdtav, Os pact, auakia
kal rvyvias nab Sidpous Evrivous Kal tpamétas
TEKTALVOMEVOY. OUTW Yap NY aTrLOTOS Kal TpOS
dmavras avOpwrovs bronrros Kai mpoBeBAnpEévos
51a hoBov o mperBvtepos Atovicios wate pnde
Ths Keparys Tas Tpixas adedety! Kovptxais
payaipats, AANA TOV TAACTaY TIS EmipolrT@v
avOpaxt THv KOmnv qeptéxatev. eioner dé mpos
avrov eis TO Swpatiov ovte abeAPos OO vids ws
eruyev nuhtecpevos, GAN Eder mpl eicedOeiy
aim bivra Thv éavtod oToAny Exactov érépav
avaraBeiv, opabévta yupvov bro TaV hudaTTOV-
tov. émet dé Aemtivns o abeXdos avT@ corte
1 apedcivy Bekker, after Coraés, has apaipeiy.

DION

be on his guard against self-will, which was a “ com-
panion of solitude.’’! However, at this time, though
circumsiances led men to think him of more value
than any one else, and the only or the chief sup-
porter and guardian of the storm-tossed tyranny, he
knew that it was not out of goodwill, but against
the wishes of the tyrant and owing to his needs,
that he was first and greatest.

IX. Considering, then, that a reason for this lay in the tyrant’s want of education, he sought to engage him in liberal studies, and to give him a taste of such literature and science as formed the character, in order that he might cease to be afraid of virtue, and become accustomed to take delight in what was high and noble. For by nature Dionysius did not belong to the worst class of tyrants, but his father, fearing that if he should get wisdom and associate with men of sense, he would plot against him and rob him of his power, used to keep him closely shut up at home, where, through lack of as- sociation with others and in ignorance of affairs, as we are told, he made little waggons and lampstands and wooden chairs and tables. For the elder Diony- sius was so distrustful and suspicious towards every body, and his fear led him to be so much on his guard, that he would not even have his hair cut with barbers’ scissors, but a hairdresser would come 2nd singe his locks with a live coal. Neither his brother nor his son could visit him in his apartment wearing any clothes they pleased, but every one had to take off his own apparel before entering and put on an- other, after the guards had seen him stripped. And once, when his brother Leptines was describing to

1 Cf. the Coriolanus, xv. 4.

ywpiov duaow éEnyoupevos KaBov AoYXNY Tapa
Tivos Tav Sopudopev Uréypayre Tov TOTOD, éxelv@
peév ioxupas éyarémnve, tov 5é Sovta Thy AOYXNV
améxtewev. édeye 5é Tors dhirovs PvratrecBat
voov éyovras eidws xat Bovropévous paddov
Tupavveiy) TupavveicBat. nal Mapovav Sé twa
Ta@V Tponypévov UT avtov Kal TeTaypévwv ep
nyeuovias davette Sokavta Kata Tovs Omvous
opatreyv avrov, a am' évvoias peOnpepivis Kat
Siaroyropod THs Swews TavTyns eis Tov Drvov
aUT@ Trapayevouevns. o pev dn TTdatov Oupo-
Deis Ott wy TWavTwyv avTov avOpwrov avdpeoTaTov
dvTa amédpynvev, ovTw TepihoBov Kal tocovTwy
vo Setdias KaKOVY peaTHy elye THY Woyny.
X. Tov & vidv abtod, cabdrep cipntar, diare-
AwWBnuevov amrabevoia Kal ouvTeTpippevovy TO
7005 0 Aiwv op@v tmapexdder mpds ratdeay
tpatrécOat Kai SenOfvat tod mpwrov TaV Piroao-
gov tacav Sénow édeiv eis Bieediav €AOovTt
5¢ rapacyely avtov, twas Svaxocpndeis 7d O05
eis apeThs AOyov, Kal mpos TO Oerdtatoy dpopow-
Oels mapdderypa TOY dvTwv Kal KaANTOV, S TO
Trav nyouuévw meOopevoy é& dxoopias Koo pos
dati, TONATY pev Eevdatpoviay EaVTO "NYavynoeTat,
movAny dé Trois moditats, dca viv év abvpia
Stovxovot Tpos dvayKny THS apyis, Tadta cwhpo-
auvn cal Sixatoovvn pet' Eevpevetas Tatpovopov-
peva TapacxXwv Kal yevouevos Bactrevs x TUpay-
vou. Tous yap ddapavrivous Seapovs ovy, waTEp 6
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him the nature of a place, and drew the plan of it on the ground with a spear which he took from one of his body-guards, he was extremely angry with him, and had the man who gave him the spear put to death. He used to say, too, that he was on his guard against his friends who were men of sense, because he knew that they would rather be tyrants than subjects of a tyrant. And he slew Marsyas, one of those whom he had advanced to positions of high command, for having dreamed that he killed him, declaring that this vision must have visited his sleep because in his waking hours he had purposed and planned such a deed. Yes, the man who was angry with Plato because he would not pronounce him the most valiant man alive, had a spirit as timorous as this, and so full of all the evils induced by cowardice.

X. This tyrant's son, as I have said, Dion saw to be dwarfed and deformed in character from his lack of education, and therefore exhorted him to apply himself to study, and to use every entreaty with the first of

philosophers to come to Sicily, and, when he came, to become his disciple, in order that his character might be regulated by the principles of virtue, and that he might be conformed to that divinest and most beautiful model of all being, in obedience to whose direction the universe issues from disorder into order; in this way he would pro- cure great happiness for himself, and great happiness for his people, and that obedience which they now rendered dejectedly and under the compulsion of his authority, this his moderation and justice would base upon goodwill and a filial spirit, and he would become a king instead of a tyrant. For the “ada- mantine bonds” of sovereignty were not, as _ his

watnp édeyev avrod, doBov xal Biav Kal veov
TAOS elvat Kat BapBdpov pupiavépov puracny,
evvotay dé cal mpodupiav nal yapw eyyevopevgy
on aperis Kat Sixavocwrns, a, Kainep évTa
pahaKarepa TOY OUVTOVOV wal oKAnpay éxetvov,
loxuporepa 7 pos Stapovny Wryepovias vrrdpyxew.
Xo pis b€ TovTwY ap iAor tov elvat xat aenhov
TOV apxovra, TO HEV o TopATL TEPLTTOS dumexo-
pevoy Kal TH rept THY olxnot aBpornte Kal
KaTACKEVT} AapeTrpuvopevor, Opsrta be Kat Noy
pndev évTa Tob T poo TUX OVTOS TEMVOTEPOV, pNde
TAS uyis TO Baciretov afwodvra Kexoo unwévov
éyew Bacihixas Kat T PETOVT WS.
XI. Tatra TONAAKLS Tov Aicvos TapatvouvTos,
Kal TOV Aoyeov TOU TAdtwvos € EOTIV OVOTLVAS brro-
oTeipovTos, eaxev épes tov Acovvatov dvs Kal
TEPLLavTys TOV TE Aoyov Kal THS avVOValas Tob
TThatwvos. evOvs ovv "AOijvale ToAAG per
époira ypaupata Ta.pa tov Atovuciov, rodXal §
emiaxnypers qapa Tov Aiwvos, ddAa 8 é€ "IraXias
Tapa TOV Tv@aryopixav, Sraxehevopevov Tapa-
yevéoOat Kal véas puxs é£oucia peyarn Kat
Suvdpet Teptpepoperns ériraBécOar kab xata-
axe éuBpilearépois Noyia pois. TlAdtov pev
ov, as pnow autos, éavTov aiaxuvdels paduota,
Hm d0fere Noryos elvat povov, Epyou 8 exe ovdevos
ay axpac Gan, cal mpoodoxnaas 8 évds avdpos
Oomep mye poveKod pépous exxabapBévros SAnv
latpevoewv Luxerlav vocovaav, vmnKxovoev.
Oi & rH Aiwve TroheLouvTes poBovpevor THY
tod Avovyciov petaBorjy Ereicay abtov amd rhs

father used to say, fear and force and a multitude of ships and numberless barbarian body-guards, but goodwill and ardour and favour engendered by virtue and justice; these, though they were more flexible than the bonds of severity and harshness, were stronger to maintain a lasting leadership. And be- sides all this, it was mean and spiritless in a ruler, while his body was magnificently clothed and his habitation resplendent with luxurious furnishings, to be no more majestic in his intercourse and con- versation than an ordinary man, and not to insist that the royal palace of his soul should be adorned in meet and royal fashion.

XI. Since Dion frequently gave him such advice, and artfully mingled with it some of Plato's doc- trines, Dionysius was seized with a keen and even frenzied passion for the teachings and companionship of Plato. At once, then, many letters began to come to Athens from Dionysius, and many injunctions from Dion, as well as others from the Pythagorean philosophers of Italy, all of whom urged Plato to come and get control of a youthful soul now tossed about on a sea of great authority and power, and steady it by his weighty reasonings. Plato, accord- ingly, as he tells us himself,[1] out of shame more than any thing else, lest men should think him nothing but theory and unwilling to take any action; and further, because he expected that by the purification of one man, who was, as it were, a controlling factor, he would cure all Sicily of her distempers, yielded to these requests.

But the enemies of Dion, afraid of the alteration in Dionysius, persuaded him to recall from exile

1 Dpist. vii. p. 328.

ghuyns petaréurecOar Ditiotov, dvdpa cal qe-
matsevpéevov tmept AOyous Kal TupavuiKav nOdV
éuTeipoTatov, @s avtTitayya mpos IlAdrwva cai
dirocodiav éexetvov EEovtes. 0 yap 57 Pidsotos
€E apyis Te TH Tupavvids Kabiorapévn Tpodvpo-
Tatov éavTov TAPETXE, Kal tTHy axpav Sepvrake
ppoupapxav él trodvy xpovov. hy 5€é Adyos ws
Kal TH pyTpt wAnoLalos Tov mpecBuTépov Acovu-
aiov, Tov TUupdvvou pi) TavTdtractw aryvoourTos.
éret 5€ Aemtivns, é« yuvatxds tv Siadpbeipas
étép@ ouvoixovaay eaye yevouévwy avT@ Sveiv
Ouyatépwv, thv évépav Edwxe Piricoto pndée dpa-
aas mpos Atovictov, opytcbels éxeivos thy péev
yuvaixa tov Aemtivov dnoas év rédats Kabeip£e,
tov 5¢ Diriorov éEnrace UxKertas, hvyovtra Tapa
Eévous tivas eis tov 'Adpiav, Srrov nat Soxet ta
mAclota cuvOcivar Tis LaTopias axordlwv. ov
yap emavnrie TOU mpea Butépou Cavros, adhe
HETA THY EXELVOU TEAEUTHV, WOTEP ELpNTal, KATI-

yaryev avtov 0 tpds Aiwva Tav ddXwv POovos, ws
avTots Te wAAXov. eritTHdeLov GvTA Kal TH TUpav-
vids BeBarotepov.
XII. Odbros pév odv evOvs cateOav Srerrehucet
Ths Ttupavvidos: Te 5é Aiwm xal tap ddAdXd.ov
érvyxavoy ovoat S:aBorai Kal Katnyopiar mpos
TOV TUpavvon, Os Sretheypevep TEpt KATAAVTEWS
Ths apxns mpos te @eodornv nat mpos “Hpa-
Krelonv. nrmile pev ydp, ws éorxe, d1a TXadtwvos
wapayevopévou TO SeomoTiKoy Kal Mav aKpatov
adedov THs Tupavuldos éupeXr Teva Kal voptpov
apxovta tov A.ovvatov Katacthoey: et dé ayti-
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Philistus, a man versed in letters and acquainted with the ways of tyrants, that they might have in him a counterpoise to Plato and philosophy. For Philistus at the outset had most zealously assisted in establishing the tyranny, and for a long time was commander of the garrison that guarded the citadel. There was a story, too, that he was very intimate with the mother of the elder Dionysius, and that the tyrant was not wholly ignorant of the fact. But when Leptines, who had two daughters by a woman whom he had corrupted when she was living with. another man and then taken to wife, gave one of them to Philistus without so much as telling Diony- sius, the tyrant was wroth, put the wife of Leptines into fetters and prison, and banished Philistus from Sicily. Philistus took refuge with some friends in Adria, and there, it would seem, in his leisure, com- posed the greater part of his history. For he did not return to Syracuse while the elder Dionysius was alive, but after his death, as I have said, the envy which the other courtiers felt towards Dion brought about his recall; they thought him a more suitable man for their purposes, and a stauncher friend of the tyranny.

XII. Philistus, then, as soon as he had returned, was in close touch with the tyranny ; and there were others also who brought slanders and accusations against Dion to the tyrant, alleging that he had been in conference with Theodotes and Heracleides concerning a subversion of the government. For Dion had hopes, as it seems likely, that by means of the visit of Plato he could mitigate the arrogance and excessive severity of the tyranny, and con- vert Dionysius into a fit and lawful ruler; but if

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Baivot kal py padrdoooto, catadvaas éxeivov
éyvaxes THY TodeTelay amodidovar Suvpaxovatoss,

ovk émrawvay pév Snwoxpatiav, mdvras 8& Bertin
Tupavvidos tyyovpevos Tois Siapaptdvovaw vyta-
vovons apiaToKpatias.
XIII. “Ev rovavty 8¢ eatactdce tev mpayyd-
tov dvtwy IAdrwv els Luxediav ddixdpevos Tept
pev Tas mpdTas dravtyces Oavpactis eTvyYaveE
prroppoovrns xat tiphs. Kal yap adpyua tov
Baciktkdy avT@ twapéotn Kxexoo unpévov Siam pe-
TOS aToBdavTt THS Tpipovs, Kai Ovalav LOvcer 6
TUPAVVOS WS EUTUYATOS MEydroU TH apYXn Tpoa-
yeyovotos. aidws S& ouutrociwy Kal oYnNLA-
TLo Los aVAHS Kal mpadTns av’Tod Tod TUpaVVOU
Tepl Exacta THY YpnuaTtilouévwy Oavpactas évé-
dwxev éedmridas pyetaBorHs tols morta. popa
6€ Tis Hv emi Adyous Kai dirocodiav amr dvrwy,
Kal TO TUpavveiov, &s Paci, Kovoptos bd TAH-
Govs TaY yewpeTpovvTMY KaTelyer. nuepav &é
Odiywr Stayevouévwv Ovaia per Rv TATpLOS €v TOIS
Tupavveiois: Tod b€ KijpuKos, Saomep clwOet, KaTev-
Eauevov Svapéverv thy tupavvida doddevtov ToX-
Aovs xpovous, 6 Arovdatos réyerat TAPETTOS,
“OU raven,” davat, “Katapdpevos hpiv;” rod-
To Kouidp Tovs mepl tov Ditiotov edrvmrncer,
dpayov twa tod IXatwvos sFyoupevous &cecOar
Xpovy Kai cuvnPeia tiv Siva, ef viv ex cvvov-
aias orlyns HAXOiwKEY otTW Ka) etaBeBrAnxKe
THY yvouny To werpdKtoy.
26

DION

Dionysius should oppose his efforts and refuse to be softened, he had determined to depose him and restore the civil power to the Syracusan people; not that he approved of a democracy, but he thought it altogether better than a tyranny in lack of a sound and healthy aristocracy.

XIII. Such was the condition of affairs when Plato came to Sicily,! and in the first instances he met with astonishing friendliness and honour. For a royal chariot, magnificently adorned, awaited him as he left his trireme, and the tyrant offered a sacri- fice of thanksgiving for the great blessing that had been bestowed upon his government. Moreover, the modesty that characterized his banquets, the deco- rum of the courtiers, and the mildness of the tyrant himself in all his dealings with the public, inspired the citizens with marvellous hopes of his reforma- tion. There was also something like a general rush for letters and philosophy, and the palace was filled with dust, as they say, owing to the multitude of geometricians there.? After a few days had passed, there was one of the customary sacrifices of the country in the palace

grounds; and when the herald, as was the custom, prayed that the tyranny might abide unshaken for many generations, it is said that Dionysius, who was standing near, cried: “Stop cursing us!” This quite vexed Philistus and _ his party, who thought that time and familiarity would render Plato’s influence almost irresistible, if now, after a brief intimacy, he had so altered and trans- formed the sentiments of the youthful prince.

1 Soon after 368 B.c.
2 (;eometrical figures were traced in loose sand strewn upon the floor.

XIV. Ovxér’ odv Kal’ &a Kal AaOpaiws, ara mavTes avahavdov érXorddpouv tov Aiwva, AéyovTes as ov hednDe KateTradwv Kal KaTapapyaaawy TO TTAdtevos oye Avoviarov, Smras adévros ExXOU- obs avrov Kal tpocpévou THY apxXnv vroda Bev els TOUS “Apiaromayns TEPLATHON Tmatdas, ov Oeios eat. Evie O€ TpoceToLobvTo dvaxepai- Vel, €6 TWPOTEpov pey "AOnvaior vavTixais Kat meSixais vvapect peydrats Seipo TEvoaVTES amT@XoVTO Kal StepOapnoav mpotepov 7) NaBeiv Lupaxovoas, vuvi dé 2° évas cogiatob KaTadvovat THY Atovuciou Tupavvida, cuptreioavtTes avTov ex TOV pupiov Sopupopwr arroépavTa, kal KaTani- TOvTa Tas TeTpaxoatas IT pinpers Kal TOUS pupious immets Kal TOUS TONNAKIS TOTOVTOUS omdiras, éy Axadnpeta TO o Lem Levov ayabov enreiv Kat bua yewper plas evdaipova yevécOat, THY év apyn Kal xp jpact kal tpudais edSarpoviav Aiwve kab Tois Aiwvos adedprdois T poe MEVOV.
"Ex TOUTwY vrowias TP@TOV, eita Kal pavepw- Tépas opyijs Kat Siapopas yevoperns, exopiaOn Tes eTLTTONN Kpupa mpos Acovictov, tv eyeypader Atcv POS TOUS Kapyndoviey erripednTas KedEvOOD, érav Atovuci Tept THS ecpnuns Siadéeyovra, V7) wpis avTov mounoadbat THY évrevEw, @S TavTa Preston ApETaT TOT OS 52’ avtov. TavTHY avaryvous Atovictos @Diriote Kal per’ exelvou Bovrevodpevos, o> dnote Tipacos, vrjrve TOV Alwva memdacpévais Svadvoect: Kal petpta oun yd pevos SiahrAdrrea Gai TE pycas, fLovov TE aTayayov vo Thy axpoToALy pos THY Oddrac- 964

XIV. They therefore no longer abused Dion one by one and secretly, but all together and openly, saying that he was manifestly enchanting and bewitching Dionysius with Plato’s doctrines, in order that the tyrant might of his own accord relinquish and give up the power, which Dion would then assume and devolve upon the children of Aristomache, whose uncle he was. And some pretended to be indignant that the Athenians, who in former times had sailed to Sicily with large land and sea forces, but had perished utterly without taking Syracuse, should now, by means of one sophist, overthrow the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss his ten thousand body-guards, and abandon his four hundred triremes and his ten thousand horsemen and his many times that number of men-at-arms, in order to seek in Academic philosophy for a mysterious good, and make geometry his guide to happiness, surrendering the happiness that was based on dominion and wealth and luxury to Dion and Dion’s nephews and nieces.

As a consequence of all this, Dionysius became at first suspicious, and afterwards more openly angry and hostile, and just then a certain letter was secretly brought to him, which Dion had written to the Carthaginian officials, urging them, whenever they should treat with Dionysius for peace, not to hold their interview without including him, since he would help them to arrange everything securely. This letter Dionysius read to Philistus, and after consulting with him, according to Timaeus, he beguiled Dion by a feigned reconciliation. That is, after moderate protestations and a declaration that their quarrel was at an end, he led him off alone beneath the

¥ \ b] A \ 4 e
cav, éevEe THY émicToAnY Kal KaTNYyOpnoEY ws
guuctapévouv peta Kapynooviwy én’ avrov.
atronoyetaOat S&é Bovrouévov tod Aliwvos ov«
’ , ’ 9 »Q/ e ? ? , 3
avacXoEvos, GNX EvOUs, ws elyev, evOEmEVOS Ets
axatiov tpoaérake Tois vavTats KopiCovTas avTov
éxOeivat trpos THY Itaniav.

XV. Tevopevou &€ tovtov nal davévros wpod
Tots avOpwrrots, THY wév OlKiay TOU TUpavVoU Trév-
Bos eye 81a Tas yuvaixas, 9 Se wos TOY Yupa-
KOVolwY eTpTo Tpaypyata vewTepa Kal petaRorAny
mpoodexXouevn Tayelay éx Tod wept Aiwva Oopv-
Bov kat ths mpos Tov TUpavvoy dmioTtias TOV
wv a A aA e , \ ,
adrwv. & 67 svvopav o Atoviavos kal Sedorxas,
Tous pev hirous TapepvOetto Kal Tas yuvaixas ws
b) A > > 9 , A a A
ov puyis, AAX atrodnuias TO Aiwve yeyevnuevns,
@S LN TL XElpov OpyhH mpos THv avOdberay avTod
Tapovtos apapte Biacbein: Svo dé vais trapa-
So0vs tots Aiwvos otxelots éxéXevoev évOemévots boa
BovAowTo Tay éxeivou xpynuata Kai BepdrovtTas
’ , N > A r) ’ >
aTaye mpos avtov eis IeXotovvncov. hv 8
ovaia peyadn TO Aiwm cai oxedov te TUpavytKy
Tommy Kal KatacKevn tept thy Siastav, Hv oi
dito. cvAraBovtes éxoutlov. adrra 8 érréptreto
TOAAG Tapa TOV yuvatkov Kal ToY éTaipwr,
@aorTe Ypnuatwv Evexa Kai TWOVTOV NapTpoY év
tois "EdAnow eivar cal Scapavivas tH Tod guya-
/ a / ,

Sos evtropia thy THs Tupavvidos Suvamuv.

XVI. TAdtwva $€ Atoviatos ev0vs pev es thy
dxpotrokw petéotncev, VTLMOV alT@ oYNUATL
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DION

acropolis down to the sea, and then showed him the letter and accused him of conspiring with the Carthaginians against him. And when Dion wished to defend himself, he would not suffer it, but at once placed him, just as he was, on board a small boat, and commanded the sailors in it to set him ashore in Italy.

XV. At this proceeding, which seemed to men a cruel one, the women in the household of the tyrant put on mourning, but the citizens of Syracuse were cheered by the expectation of a revolution and a speedy change in the government, since Dion’s

treatment caused such a commotion and the rest of the courtiers distrusted the tyrant. Dionysius saw this and was afraid, and sought to console the friends of Dion and the women by saying that he had not sent Dion into exile, but upon a journey, in order that his wrath at the man's self-will when at home might not drive him to do him some worse wrong. He also handed over two ships to the kinsmen of Dion and bade them to put on board whatever property and servants of Dion's they pleased and convey them to him in Peloponnesus. Now, Dion had great riches and an almost princely splendour of appointment in his way of living, and this his friends got together and conveyed to him. Besides, many other things were sent to him from the women of the court and from his adherents, so that, as far as wealth and riches went, he was a brilliant figure among the Greeks, to whom the affluence of the exile gave some idea of the wer of the tyrant.

XVI. As for Plato, Dionysius at once removed him to the acropolis, where he contrived to give
7 3!

fevias ptravO poxrov ppovpav pnxavne dpevos, @S pt cup h€éor Aiwvs padptus dv ndixnto. Xpove 6é nai owvdiarticet, xabdmep yavew av porrou Onpiov, EO. Oels Urromévery tTHy Te} omsdiay avrod Kal Tov _Aoyor, npadaOn tupavyexov épwra, povos akiav wo TTAaravos avrepia Gat Kal Oaupa- becBar partora Tavroy, ETOLMOS dy emeT peTreLy Ta, Tpaypara Kal THY Tupavvida Hn) TPOTLMGYTE THY 7 pos Aiwva prriay THiS 7 pos aud. Hv ovv TO Trareve cuppopa To mwalos avTou TovTO, paivopevov cabdmep ot Sucépwtes vO Endorv- mias, Kal mjoAAas pepy opyas éy odiy@ xpove, TOANAS bé dsadrayas Kal denoess ToLoUpevou 7 pos aurov, axpoda bas 5é Tay hoyov Kal KoLVMVElY TAS Tmepl pirocodiav Tpayyarelas aTrovddtovTos pep UTeppuas, aidoupévou dé Tovs dmoTpérovTas OS Sia pOapnoopevov.
"Ep TOUT@ d€ TOAgMoU TLVOS cumeaovTos arro-

TETEL TOV ‘Tldtova, ouvOépevos | els Gpav ETOUS
petaméuyacbat Aiwva. Kati rodro pev ev us
eevoato, Tas 5é Tpoaabous TOV KTNMATOY amé-
TEM TEV auTo, afiav TAadtrova ouyyvevat Te pt
Tob Xpovou ms Tov TONE MOV" elpivns yap yevo-
pévns TaxyloTa petarréppes Bas Tov Aiwva, Kal
akvovv avtov nouxiav a aryery kat pndev vewre pile
pndé Bracdnpety kat’ avtod ™ pos TOUS "EdAnvas.
XVII. Tatra eTrespaTo moe IIAdtwr, Kal
Atwva TpeWas eri prrocogiav év ‘Axadnpeia
ouvelxen. @KEL pev ouy év dares mapa Kan-
ALTT/~ Tl TOY yYwpipwv, aypov be dtaywys
1 Swouevery thy re Schenk] : brouévew re Thy.

him a guard of honour under pretence of hospitable kindness, in order that he might not accompany Dion and bear witness to his wrongs. But after time and intercourse had accustomed Dionysius to tolerate his society and discourse, just as a wild beast learns to have dealings with men, he conceived a passion for him that was worthy of a tyrant, de- manding that he alone should have his love returned by Plato and be admired beyond all others, and he was ready to entrust Plato with the administration of the tyranny if only he would not set his friend- ship for Dion above that which he had for him. Now, this passion of his was a calamity for Plato, for the tyrant was mad with jealousy, as desperate lovers are, and in a short space of time would often be angry with him and as often beg to be reconciled; for he was extravagantly eager to hear his doctrines and share in his philosophical pursuits, but he dreaded the censure of those who tried to divert him from this course as likely to corrupt him.

At this juncture, however, a war broke out, and
he sent Plato away, promising him that in the summer
he would summon Dion home. This promise, indeed,
he immediately broke, but he kept sending to Dion
the revenues from his property, and asked Plato to
pardon his postponement of the time of Dion’s re-
call, because of the war; as soon as peace was made
he would summon Dion home, and he asked him to
be quiet, and to attempt no revolution, and to say no
evil of him to the Greeks.
XVII. This Plato tried to effect, and kept Dion with him in the Academy, where he turned his at- tention to philosophy. Dion dwelt in the upper city of Athens! with Callippus, one of his acquaint-

1 The ‘‘ upper city,” as distinguished from the Piraeus.

yap éxticato, Kal TodTOV baTepoy eis YKediav
wréov Yrevoirme Swpedy Ewxev, © pduoTa
trav AOnvnat hiro éxypito Kai suvdintato, Bov-
Aopévov Tod TAadtwvos opsdia Yap éxovon Kal
TaLolas eéupedovs KaTA KaLpoY ATrTOMévN KEpavYU-
pevov apndvverGat tod Aiwvos 76 400s. Totovtos
dé Tis 0 Lrevourros Hv 7 Kal cKx@ Wat dyabov
avtrov év tois LiArouws Oo Tipwv mpoonyopevoev.
abr@ b€ Adtran xopnyobyts waidwv xop@ Tov
Té Yopov jaoxnoev o Aiwy nal To Sarravnpa Trav
éréXece Tap EavTov, cvyxwpovvTos Tov IINatwvos
THY ToLAavTnY dirotiuiay mWpos Tovs *AOnvaious,
@s éxelvp pardov ebvoray 7 SoEav ait@ pépovcar.
’"Exregoita 5é nal rais ddXats ToAcow o Aiwp,
Kal cvveryorate xal ouverravnyvpite Trois api-
atots Kal ToALTiKwWTaTOLS avdpdow, Ovdéy ev TH
Staitn aoXoLkov émidecxvipevos ovdé TupavyiKov
ovdé ériteOpuppévov, GAAA Gwhpoovvyy Kal ape-
Thv kal dvdpeiav Kai mepi Adyous Kai Tept dido-
aodiav evoxnpovas SiatpiBds. éf’ ols evvora
mapa tmavrov éyivero Kal Cros avT@ Tipal TE
Snucctat Kal wWndicuata Tapa tToV TodEwr.
AaneBatpoviot 8€ Kat Yraptidtyny avtoy émoin-
aavro, ths Avovuciou xatadpovncarres opyijs,
Kalwep avTots ToTe TpoOUpws eri Tors OnBaiovs
ouppayodvtTos. Aéyerar Sé rote Tov Aiwva Tov
Meyapéws Irorodépou Sedpevov él tiv otxiav
eXOety: Fv Sé, ws Eotxe, TOV TWrovaoiwy Tis Kal
Suvatav o Itotddwpos: bydov ody emi Ouvpats
idov o Aiwy nat wAnOos aoxodav Kal dvoév-
TevKTov avrov Kal Svompocodov, amid@v mpos
tous dirous dvaxepaivovtas nal ayavaxrobvtas,
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ances, but for diversion he bought a country-place, and afterwards, when he sailed to Sicily, he gave this to Speusippus, who was his most intimate friend at Athens. For Plato desired that Dion’s disposition should be tempered and sweetened by association with men of charming presence who indulged seasonably in graceful pleasantries. And such a man was Speusippus; wherefore Timon, in his ‘ Silli,’’ spoke of

him as “ good at a jest.” And when Plato him- self was called upon to furnish a chorus of boys, Dion had the chorus trained and defrayed all the expense of its maintenance, and Plato encouraged in him such an ambition to please the Athenians, on the ground that it would procure goodwill for Dion rather than fame for himself.

Dion used to visit the other cities also, where he shared the leisure and festal enjoyments of the noblest and most statesmanlike men, manifesting in his conduct with them nothing that was rude or arrogant or effeminate, but rather great modera- tion, virtue, and manliness, and a becoming devotion to letters and philosophy. This procured him the emulous goodwill of all men, and decrees of public honours from the cities. The Lacedaemonians even made him a citizen of Sparta, without any regard for the anger of Dionysius, although at that time the tyrant was their zealous ally against the Thebans. And it is related that Dion once went to pay a visit to Ptoeodorus the Megarian, upon his invitation. Now Ptoeodorus, it would seem, was one of the wealthy and influential men of the city; and when, therefore, Dion saw a crowd of people at his door, and a press of business, which made him difficult of access and hard to come at, he turned to his friends, who were

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“Ti robvrov,” ébn, ‘ weuhoueda; Kal yap adrot
TavTws év Lupaxovaass Gora TovToLs errotovpev.
XVIII. Xpovov 8 wrpoiovros o Atoviatos Endo-
tuTa@v Kai Sedoxas tod Alwvos tHv Tapa Tois
"EXAnow evvotay, érravaato Tas Tpoaddous atro-
otéhiwv Kal thy ovciay Tapédaxey idious émuTpo-
mous. Bovrdopevos 5é cal THv eis Tovs didoaogous
da TAdtova xaxodokiay advapdxyerbat, rodXovs
auvnye Tav trenatdedvcbar SoxovvTwv. didott-
povpevos S¢ TO SiaréyecOat Tepicivar wavTwv,
nvaycateto Tots UXdrwvos trapaxovopact KaKas
yphoOa. Kxal mdduw éxetvov éobe, Kai KaTeri-
vooKEev AUTOS AUTOD Un YpNadpeEvos TrapovTt pwnde
Staxovoas 60a Karas elyev. ola 8& Tvpavvos
éumdrnntos ael tals émiOupiats Kal mpos tmacapv
o£vppotros atrovdny, evOus @punaev emt tov IIda-
Twva, Kab Tacav pnyavny aipwy, cvvérrece TOUS
wept Apxvtay Iv0ayopicobs Tv oporoyoupevav
avaddxous yevouévous xarely TIXatwva: 8: éxet-
vou yap avtois éyeyoves diria wal Eevia To TpPa-
tov. ot & émrepryav “Apyédnuov map’ avtov
éreurpe 5& nal Atovicvos tpinpn Kal didrous
denoopévous Tov Id drwvos: auras TE capes Kab
Scappydnv eryparpev @s ovdey av yévorto TaV
pet piov Aiwve pn mecobévtos Idarwvos éNOeiy

eis Quxertav, weioOévros S€ mdvta. Toddrdgai &
adixovro mpos Aiwva mapa tis aderdys xal
yuvaikos emiokn es, SetaOat TIAdtwvos itraxod-
gat Atovyciw Kai wy mpopaciy Tapac ye. odTw
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DION

vexed and indignant at it, and said: “ Why should
we blame this man? For we ourselves used to do
just so in Syracuse.”
XVIII. But as time went on, Dionysius became jealous of Dion and afraid of his popularity among the Greeks. He therefore stopped sending him his revenues, and handed his estate over to his own private stewards. However, with a desire to make head against the bad repute which he had also won among the philosophers on Plato’s account, he as- sembled at his court many men with a reputation for learning. But he was ambitious to surpass them all in discussion, and was therefore driven to use inaptly what he had imperfectly learned from Plato. So he yearned once more for that philosopher, and reproached himself for not having utilized his pres- ence to learn all that he should have learned. And since, like a tyrant, he was always extravagant in his desires and headstrong in all that he undertook, he set out at once to secure Plato, and, leaving no stone unturned, persuaded Archytas and his fellow Pytha- goreans to become sureties for his agreements, and to summon Plato; for it was through Plato, in the first place, that he had entered into friendly rela- tions with these philosophers. So they sent Arche- demus to Plato, and Dionysius also sent a trireme for him, and friends to entreat his return. He also wrote to him himself in clear and express terms, saying that no mercy should be shown to Dion unless Plato were persuaded to come to Sicily; but if he were persuaded, every mercy. Dion also received many injunctions from his wife and sister, that he should beg Plato to listen to Dionysius and not afford him an excuse for further severity. Thus it

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pev 89 dynorv o TAatwv édOety to Tpitov eis Tov
mopO mov Tov trept {KvAXay,}
Shp Ett THY OAONY avapeTpnacte XapuPbuv.

XIX. ’EdOov &é peyarns pev avrov éverrAnoe
yapas, weyadns 5€é waduy €rmidos Yexediav, cvvev-
Youéevny cal ovudirorimoupevny UWdatwva pev
Diriorov mepiyevécOar, pirocodiav 8 tupav-
, @ \ \ \ aA A \
vidos. my b€ Todd) wey TOV YuVAaLK@V oTroUd)
wept autov, éEaipetos b€ mapa te Atovucio
, 9 A ¥ tf bd 4 b) A
miotls, hy ovdels aNXOS Elyev, AdtepevYNTOY avT@

mrAnoratew. Swpeas 5€ yYpnuaTwy ToAAwY Kat
U a \ , “A \ \ /
TodANaKts Tov pev SedovTos, Tov bé yun Sexouévou,
\ 9 ‘ e hd a > a“ ”
wapwv Apiotimmos o Kupnvatos acharas édn
peyarowvyov elvat Acovictov: adrois pév yap
puxpa Stdovat tmrevovwov Seopévois, Wratwu b¢é
TOAAG pndev Aap Bavovte.
Mera &€ ras mpwtas diroppocvvas, apEapévou
TlAdtwvos évtvyxydvew mept Aiwvos, trepbécers
TO Tpa@Toy Haay, eita peers Kat Scadopal rav-
Pavovaat tous éxtos, émixpuTrropevov Atovuctiou
\ a v A , 4 A
kat tais addNats tov IIXadrwva Oepareias Kat
Tipais Tetpwuévou Tapayey amo THs Aiwvos ev-
voias, ov’ avtov év ye TOls TPWTOLS YpovoLs a7rO-
KAAUTTTOVTA THY aTLaTIAV avTOD Kal Yrevdoroyiar,
GX’ éyxaptepodyta Kal oxnpatilopevov. otTw
dé Staketpevwy mpdos addAndovs Kxal rAavOaverv
1 SxvAAay as in Plato, Epist. vii. p. 346; Coraés retains
the XixeAlay of the MSS.
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DION

was, then, that Plato, as he himself says, “came for
the third time to the straits of Scylla,
That he might once more measure back his way to
fell Charybdis.””!
XIX. His arrival filled Dionysius with great joy,
and the Sicilians again with great hope; they all
prayed and laboured zealously that Plato might
triumph over Philistus, and philosophy over tyranny.
The women also were very earnest in his behalf,
and Dionysius gave him a special token of his trust,
which no one else had, in the privilege of coming
into his presence without being searched. The tyrant
offered him, too, presents of money, much money
and many times, but Plato would not accept them.
Whereupon Aristippus of Cyrene, who was present
on one of these occasions, said that Dionysius was
safely munificent; for he offered little to men like
him, who wanted more, but much to Plato, who

would take nothing.
After the first acts of kindness, however, Plato introduced the subject of Dion, and then there were postponements at first on the part of Dionysius, and afterwards faultfindings and disagreements. These were unnoticed by outsiders, since Dionysius tried to conceal them, and sought by the rest of his kind attentions and honourable treatment to draw Plato away from his goodwill towards Dion. And even Plato himself did not at first reveal the tyrant's perfidy and falsehood, but bore with it and dis- sembled his resentment. But while matters stood thus between them, and no one knew of it, as they

1 Odyssey, xii. 428, with slight adaptation from the first person.

mavrTas oiopevwv, 'EXixov o Kuoixnvos els TOV TAdrwvos ournbov nartou ™ poetrrev Exhempuy: Kal YEVOMEVNS WS TrPOELTrE, Javpac Geis t vO TOU Tupdy- vou Swpeav édraBev dpyupiov TaXNavrov. *Apt- oTumrmos O€ mailov T pos ° TOUS GAXOUS piroodgous épn TL Kal aUTOS EXELY TOV mapadocov mpoevreiy. éxelvov dé ppacar Seopevov, - Tporeyo Toivuy," eltrev, " dAlyou Xpovov TAdteva Kal Atovuatov ex O pous YEVNT OpMEVOUS. " réXos 6€ THY Bev ovatap tov Aiwvos o Atovictos em@hee Kal Ta Xphwara KaTeixe, TAdteva é év ® Tepl THY olxiay Kym SvarT@pevov els TOUS pula Jopopous peTéatnae Ta- Nal ploovvTas avTov Kal nrobyTas UvEeNEV WS mweiBovta Atovicroy adeivas thy tupavvida cal Ch adopupopyrov.

XX. 'Ev ToLouTp dé Kivduvep ryevopevov TOU TIAdtwvos ot mepl "Apxurav mudopevor TAXD TE pL- Touat mpeaBeiay Kal TplaxovTopov, amartobvtes TOV avSpa, mapa Atovuciov cal eyoures @S av- TOUS AaBov avadoxous TIS aa paneias m7 NEVoELEV els Lupaxoveas. aroneyouevou dé tov Arovw- ctou THY Ey pay eoTiaaeat Kal prhoppocvvars mepl THY TpoTOMT HY, ev b€é tt TmpoaxDévros ™ pos QUTOV TOLOUTOV etmeiy: '°H qrov, Trae, TONNa kal Seva KaTnyopnaers 7 OV 'pos TOUS oupptro- copobvras'" UTopel Lda as EKELVOS amexpivato: i" My TOCAUTH oye év "Axadnpeta yévouto on a- vs @OTE Gov TWA prnpovetcat. TOLAUT AY pev THY amoaToAny TOU TAdtwvos yevérOar Neyoua ww: ov pevtot Ta [IAadtwvos avTod madvu TovTOLs ouD- ade.

supposed, Helicon of Cyzicus, one of Plato's inti- mates, predicted an eclipse of the sun. This took place as he had predicted, in consequence of which he was admired by the tyrant and presented with a talent of silver. Thereupon Aristippus, jesting with the rest of the philosophers, said that he himself also could predict something strange. And when they besought him to tell what it was, " Well, then," said he, "I predict that ere long Plato and Dionysius will become enemies." At last Dionysius sold the estate of Dion and appropriated the money, and re-

moving Plato from his lodging in the palace garden, put him in charge of his mercenaries, who -had long hated the philosopher and sought to kill him, on the ground that he was trying to persuade Dionysius to renounce the tyranny and live without a body-guard.

XX. Now when Archytas and his fellow Pytha- goreans learned that Plato was in such peril, they quickly sent a galley with an embassy, demanding him from Dionysius and declaring that Plato had taken them for sureties of his safety when he sailed to Syracuse. Dionysius sought to disprove his enmity to Plato by giving banquets in his honour and making kind provisions for his journey, and went so far as to say something like this to him: "I suppose, Plato, thou wilt bring many dire accusations against me to the ears of your fellow philosophers." To this Plato answered with a smile: ' Heaven forbid that there should be such a dearth of topics for discussion in the Academy that any one mention thee." Such, vhey say, was the dismissal of Plato; Plato's own words)! however, do not entirely agree with this account.

1 Epist. vii. p. 349 f.

XXI. Atwy 8€ cal rovtos éyaréraive, cal per'
b 4 4 b] 7 4 ,
OAdiryov ypovoy e€eTToNEUoOn TravTatrace TUO opMEVOS
TO TWEpt THY yuvaiKa, Tept ov Kal IIXdtwv yviEato
ypadwv mpos Arovicrov. Hv dé toodTov. peta
tiv éxBoArAnv tov Aiwvos aroréurov Wrdtova
Atovictos éxéXevoev avtod b: arroppytwv true-
cbat, pH TL K@AVOL THY YyUAaiKa TpPds yapov éETép~@
a a 2 4 vy > 3 \ ¥
Sobjvar: Kal yap Rv Aoyxos, eit' aANONS elrEe ouD-
e \ A / 4 e > e
reels bro Tov Aiwva picovvTwr, ws ov Kal 780-
ynv o yapmos ein Aiwve yeyovms ovd' evappootos 7
a /
mpos THY yuvaixa oupBiwots. Ws oY KEV O

TAatov "Adnvate cal tO Aiwve wept wavTov
évétuxe, ypapet impos Tov TUpavvoy érLcTOANnY TA
pev AAA sagas Tacw, avdTo 6€ TodTO povw yvo-
b] , v4 td 5 ra) / ,
ptpov exeivm dpdlovaay, ws orarexein Atwm
A / A 9
meépl TOU WpayuaTos exelvou Kal cpodpa O7Xos ein
yaretraivwov, ef todto Atovictos éFepyaoatro.
4 \ 4 a ? / b A \
kal Tote pev ets ToAN@Y EATriOwY OVTwY Tpds
Tas Stadvoes ovdev erpake tepi thy adeAdny
\ A
vewTEpOV, GAN ela pévely AUTHVY META TOV TaLdiov
tov Aiwvos oixotcav. éret Sé mavtaracu
aoupBatas eiye cal UAdtwv adOis Mov arre-
/ \ b 4 ef \ > /
méuhOn mpos améyOecav, ottw thy *Apérnv
wv e AQ “ 4 , , b)
dxovoay évi Trav dirtwv Tipoxpater didwatv, ov
piunodpevos THY KaTa ye TovUTO TOD TaTpOS
CT LELKELaV.
"Eyeyoves ydp, ws éouxe, kaxeivp LorvEevos o
A > \ ” > a“ , , 9
Thy GdEXhHY Exwv avTov O€orny ToAréuLOS. atro-
42

DION

XXI. But Dion was vexed by all this, and shortly afterwards became altogether hostile when he learned how his wife had been treated, on which matter Plato also spoke covertly in a letter to Dionysius. The case was as follows. After the expulsion of Dion, and when Dionysius was sending Plato back,} he bade him learn from Dion confidentially whether he would oppose his wife’s marrying another man ; for there was a report, whether true or concocted by Dion’s enemies, that his marriage had not proved agreeable to him, and that he did not live harmo- niously with his wife. Accordingly, after Plato came to Athens and had conferred with Dion about every- thing, he wrote a letter to the tyrant which spoke of other matters in a way that was clear to anybody, but of this particular matter in language that could be understood by Dionysius alone, saying that he had talked with Dion about that business, and that Dion would evidently be exceedingly angry if Dio- nysius should carry it through.? Now, as long as there were many hopes of a reconciliation, the tyrant took no violent measures with his sister, but suffered her to continue living with Dion’s young son; when, however, the estrangement was complete, and Plato, who had come to Sicily a second time, had been sent away in enmity, then he gave Arete in marriage, against her will, to Timocrates, one of his friends. And in this action, at least, he did not imitate the reasonableness of his father.

For the elder tyrant also, as it would appear, had a sister, Theste, whose husband, Polyxenus, had be-

come his enemy. When, therefore, Polyxenus was

1 For the first time; cf. chapter xvi. 3.
3 Cf. Hpist, xiii. p. 362 ad jin.
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fo

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Spavros ovv avtov Sa poBov Kal puyovTos éx
Sucedlas peTaT EU apEvos NTaTO TH adergny,
Ort cuverdvia THY guy Tov avopos ov KQTELTTE
Tpos avuTov. i & avextrAYKtws Kal vn AC apo-
Bas: "Ee obra cou Soka, Atovvcte, pavrn yun
yeyovevat Kab dvav6pos OTE mpoyvovca THV
guyny Tob avdpos ouK av ouvert redo at Kal pera
oxely HS auriis TUYNS; GAN ov T poeyveov: émret
KANBS ELVE pot paddov TloAvE€evou yuvaixa pev-
yovTos 7) cov TupavvouvTos aderd nv Neyer Gas."
TavTa THs Gears Tappnoiacapevns Oavpdoat
Neyougs TOV TUpavvov. eGavpacav bé Kal ot
Lupaxovavoe THY aperny THS yuvarkos, Bore Kal
pera THY KaTaAVOLY THS Tupavidos éxelyyn TULny
Kat Oeparetav Bacidseny v uma pxeu, dmoBavovens
d€ Snpocia 7 pos THD Tapny emaxoovOjoat TOUS
ToNTas. TavTAa pev OUY OVK AXpNoTOV exEL THY
ma,pexBacw.
XXII. 'O dé Air évrevbev On TpeTreT aut 7 pos
TOANELOY, AUTOU pev TAdtavos éxrrodav i toTapevov
be aide THs 7 pos Avovictov Eevias Kal yipas,
Lmevoimov 5€ ral TOV adrAov ératpov 7@ Atwve
oVANa Bavovrov Kat _ TapaKehevopevov éXevbe-
pouv Siverlav Helpas opéyoucav auT@ kal mpodu-
pws vob, i aa éTe yap év Lupaxovoais
Ilharov dueTpiBev, oi trept_ Lrevorm mor, @S éoune,
pGdXov EVALLYVU EVOL Tots avd amos KaTepay-
Oavov thy didvotay aut av. Kal TO pev ™pOTOv
epoBobvro THY mappnotav as Sidrerpav ovcay
bro Tov TUpavvou, Xpovep 8 émictevoav. 0 yap
avTOS Hv Tapa TavTwVY AOYOS Seopévev Kat Tapa-
Kerevonevov eAOciy Aiwva pn vais éxovta pnd
44

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moved by fear to run away and go into exile from Sicily, the tyrant sent for his sister and upbraided her because she had been privy to her husband's flight and had not told her brother about it. But she, without consternation, and, indeed, without fear, replied: “ Dost thou think me, Dionysius, such a mean and cowardly wife that, had I known beforehand of my husband’s flight, I would not have sailed off with him and shared his fortunes? Indeed, I did not know about it; since it would have been well for me to be called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, rather than the sister of Dionysius the tyrant.”’ The tyrant is said to have admired Theste for this bold speech. And the Syracusans also admired the virtue of the woman, so that even after the dissolution of the tyranny she retained the honours and services paid to royalty, and when she died, the citizens, by public consent, attended her funeral. This is a digression, it is true, but not a useless one.

XXII. From this time on Dion turned his thoughts to war. With this Plato himself would have nothing to do, out of respect for his tie of hospitality with Dionysius, and because of his age. But Speusippus and the rest of his companions co-operated with Dion and besought him to free Sicily, which stretched out her arms to him and eagerly awaited his coming. For when Plato was tarrying in Syracuse, Speusippus, as it would appear, mingled more with its people and learned to know their sentiments; and though at first they were afraid of his boldness of speech, thinking it a trap set for them by the tyrant, yet in time they came to trust him. For all now spoke in the same strain, begging and exhorting Dion to

omdiras pnd tarmous, GAN’ avTov els UarnpeTLKov euBdvra Xpijoae TO oda Kal Tovvoua uKehue-Tats emt tov Atoviciov. tadta rev mept Lrev-ovo aryyehdovT@v erippad dels eLevonroryer kpvda Kat di érépwv em LK PUTTTOMEVOS thv did-volay. cuvéT patron | b€ Kal TOY TONTLKOY TodXol Kal TOV pirocopwr, 6 0 TE Krptos Evénuos, els Ov ‘Apia roréhns amobavovta tov mept yuxiis Sea-Aovyov évroinae, Kal Tepavidnys o) Acvnab«os. ouv-éoTnoav de Kal MiaArav auT@ TOV @eccanor,

ee peavrev Kal peTETXnKOTA THS €v ’Axadnpeta
SiatptBijs. TOV & uo Tov Tupdvvou meg uyadev-
Hévav, ov peiov q Kerdiwv évTwv, Tévte Kal eiKooe
Hover THS oTpaTelas éxowwvycar, ot 5 aAdoe
mpovsocay arrodetaa artes. opynTnpLov So hy
y) ZaxvvOiov vIjTOS, els fy of oTpaTi@TaL ouven-
éynoav oxTaKootov ehdrrous ryevopevot, yreppot
dé TaVres EX TONAQY Kal peyadov OTPATELBY, Kat
Tots Tamar Hho Knwevor Siadeportas, éurrerpig dé
Kal TONM TOAU TaVTOY KpartatoL, Kal Suvdpevor
TAIGOS 6 Saov nAmcev EEeww ev ZuKehig Aiov trex-
Kavoas Kal ouvefoppijoas ™ pos adacrjy.
XXIII. Odo TO ev TpaTov axovaavres ert
Atovictov Kal LeKediav aiper Bas TOV oToNop,
eferrddynoav Kal KATEYVOTAY, @S opyis TLVOS
Tapappoowy Kal pavia TOU Aiwvos 1 Xeno rev
éenmrideoy d admopig pimrotvtos éauTov els ameyvod-
pévas mpatets Kal Tots éavT@y nryewoot Kal
pieogiee apyilovro a TpoetTovaw evOus é&
pxyns tov movenov. érrel dé Aiwy ro hoy 70,
me a ris tupavvidos émekioy ediSacxev, as ov
46

DION

come without ships, men-at-arms, or horses; he was simply to come himself in a small boat, and lend the Sicilians his person and his name against Dionysius. Encouraged by this information from Speusippus, Dion collected mercenaries secretly and by the agency of others, concealing his purpose. He was assisted also by many statesmen and philosophers, such as Eudemus the Cyprian, on whose death Aristotle wrote his dialogue “On the Soul,’ and Timonides the Leucadian Furthermore, they en- listed on his side Miltas the Thessalian also, who wasaseer and had studied in the Academy. But of those who had been banished by the tyrant, and there were not less than a thousand of them, only twenty-five took part in the expedition; the rest played the coward and abandoned it. The rendez- vous was the island of Zacynthus, and here the soldiers were assembled. They numbered fewer than eight hundred, but they were all well known in con- sequence of many great campaigns, their bodies were exceptionally well trained, while in experience and daring they had no equals in the world, and were cap- able of inciting and inflaming to share their prowess all the host which Dion expected to have in Sicily. XXIII. At first, indeed, when these men heard that their expedition was directed against Dionysius and Sicily, they were full of consternation and de- nounced the enterprise, declaring that Dion, in a mad frenzy of anger, or in despair, was plunging into desperate undertakings ; they were also enraged at their own leaders and recruiting officers for not having told them at the very outset about the war. But when Dion addressed them, setting forth in detail the unsound condition of the tyranny, and

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OTPATLWTAS, AAA MAAAOV HyE“ovas AUTOS KOpLL-
Co. Yupaxovoiwy Kal tov GAdNwY LixedtoTov
Ta\at Wpos amoctacw étoiwwv UTapyovtwr,
peta bé€ tov Aiwva S:arexGévtos avtois "Ad«e-
pévous, 65 mpatos av “Ayatwv Sofn Kal yévet
ouverTpatevev, eretcOnaav.
"Hy pev ovy Oépous axpun Kal xatetyov étynaiat
7d Tédayos, 7 Se cernvn Styounviay Hye. TH 5
"AmoAAovt Ouciav peyarorperr) TapacKevdaas o
Aiwy éroumevce peTa TOV OTPATLWT@Y KEeKOT LN-
pévoy Tais TavoTrAials Wpos TO tepov' Kal peta
tnv Ouvaiay év Ta oTadio Tav ZaxvvOiwv xata-
KrLOévtas avtovs elotia, Javydlovras apyupav
Kal Xpvoav éxTwpatwv Kai tpatefav uTepBar-
Noveay idiwTixov WAOVTOY AapTpoTNTa, Kal Ro-
ytCouévous Ste Tapnkpaxas avnp On Kal Tocav-
TNS EvTOpias KUpLOS OUK Ay eTrLVELpOin TapaBoXOLs 968
mpayuact ywpis édmidos BeBaiov Kal dirov
évoudovtav éxetOev avtT@ Tas TAEioTas Kal peryi-
aTas ahopydas.
XXIV. Mera 5é tas crrovdas Kal Tas vevopuc-
pévas Katevydas efédiTrey 7 oeArnVYN. Kal Tots
pev rept tov Aiwva Oavpactoy ovdev Hv roxtlo-
pévors Tas exNeLTTixas Treptodous Kal THY yLVO-
pévny Tov oKxidopatos amtavtnow mpdos THY
cernyny kal THs yhs Thy avtippakw mpos tov
mrsov. émrel dé Tois otpatiwrais SiatapayGetow
Sez Teves tapnyopias, Midtas o paris év péow
catactas exédeve Oappeiy avrovs cal mpoadoxay
48

DION :

declaring that he was taking them, not as soldiers,
but as commanders of the Syracusans and the rest
of the Sicilians, who had long been ready for a
revolt; and when, after Dion, Alcimenes, who was
an Achaean of the highest birth and reputation and
a member of the expedition, had argued with them,
they were persuaded.
It was now midsummer,! the Etesian winds? pre- vailed at sea, and the moon was at the full. Dion had prepared a magnificent sacrifice to Apollo, and marched in solemn procession to the temple with his soldiers, who were arrayed in full armour. After the sacrifice, he gave them a banquet in the stadium of

the Zacynthians, where, as they reclined on their couches, they wondered at the splendour of the gold and silver beakers, and of the tables, for it passed the limits set by a private man's fortune; they reasoned, too, that a man who was already past his prime and was master of such great affluence, would not engage in hazardous enterprises unless he had solid hopes of success, and friends over there who offered him unbounded resources.

XXIV. But after the libations and the customary prayers, the moon was eclipsed. Now, to Dion this was nothing astonishing, for he knew that eclipses recurred at regular intervals, and that the shadow projected on the moon was caused by the interposi- tion of the earth between her and the sun. But since the soldiers, who were greatly disturbed, needed some encouragement, Miltas the seer stood up amongst them and bade them be of good cheer,

1 357 B.C.
2 Winds blowing steadily from the North during the summer.

Ta KpdtioTa* onpaivery yap To Satpovov exreu-
iv Tivos tav viv éripavev: émipavéctepov dé
pndéev elvat ths Asovuciov rupavvidos, Hs To
Aaptrpov atrocBécew éxetvous evOvs arrapévous
Lexedias. TovtTo pev ovv o Midras eis pécov
éEéOnxe Tact To Sé TeV pedtoowy, at mepl Ta
mrota Tov Aiwvos apOncay écpov AapBavovaat
Kata wpvpvay, idia mpos avtov Kal Tovs dirous
Eppate Sedsévae pn xaral pev at mpd&es avtod
yevovtal, xpovov & dArAiyov avOnoacat papavOacr.
Aéyerar 5é€ kal TH Atovpycip srodAdAa TEepaTw@dy
mapa tov Satpoviov yevéoOar onpucia. aeros
pev yap aptrdcas Sopdtiov twos tav Sopuddpav
apdpevos tov cal dépwy adjxev eis tov BvOov-
» 6€ mpookrvbovca mpos THY axpoTrodv Oa-
Aacoa piav nuépav TO Ddwp yAvKY Kal To-
TOV TrApécYEV, WaTE yEevoapévols Tact KaTa-
SnXov elvat. xoipor & éréyOnoay avte Tov pév
GAXwv ovdevos évdeeis poptwv, ata & ovK ExovTes.
atepaivovto & of pavrTess TovTO pev atooTa-
wews Kal aTreOeias elvat anpetov, WS OUKETL TOV
TOALT@Y aKkovcouéevwv THS Tupavvidos, tHv Sé
yAukuTynTa THS Oardoons petaBorAnv Katpav
aviapOm Kal Trovnpay eis mpdyyata yYXpnoTa
dépery Yupaxovaiots. deros b€ Oepadrwv Atos,
hoyyn O€ mapdonpov apyns Kal Suvacteias:

apavicpov ovv Kal KkatddAvaw TH Tupavvidse Bov-
Aevery TOV Tov Oe@y péyiorov. TadTa pev ovv
@cearoptros toropnke.
XXV. Tovs 5€ orpatiatas tovs Aiwvos é&edé-
Eavto aotpoyyvAat dvo vads, tTpitov &€ mXotov ov
péya kat dvo TptaxdvtTopot mapnKorovdouv. Sida
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DION

and expect the best results; for the divine powers indicated an eclipse of something that was now resplendent; but nothing was more resplendent than the tyranny of Dionysius, and it was the radiance of this which they would extinguish as soon as they reached Sicily. This interpretation, then, Miltas made public for all to know; but that of the bees, which were seen settling in swarms upon the sterns of Dion's transports, he told privately to him and his friends, expressing a fear that his undertakings would thrive at the outset, but after a short season of flowering would wither away. It is said that Dionysius also had many portentous signs from Heaven. An eagle snatched a lance from one of his body-guards, carried it aloft, and then let it drop into the sea. Furthermore, the water of the sea which washed the base of the acropolis was sweet and potable for a whole day, as all who tasted it could see. Again, pigs were littered for him which were perfect in their other parts, but had no ears. This the seers declared to be a sign of disobedience and rebellion, since, as they said, the citizens would no longer listen to the commands of the tyrant; the sweetness of the sea-water indicated for the Syra- cusans a change from grievous and oppressive times to comfortable circumstances; an eagle, moreover, was servant of Zeus, and a spear, an emblem of authority and power, wherefore this prodigy showed that the greatest of the gods desired the utter dis- solution of the tyranny. Such, at all events, is the account which Theopompus has given.

XXV. The soldiers of Dion filled two merchant- ships, and a third transport of small size, together with two thirty-oared galleys, accompanied these.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4 N A e a 4 \
5€, ywpis dy elyov of ctpati@tat, Stoytdias pev
éxopitey aomidas, Bérn 5é nal Sdpata odd,
Kal wANOos epodioy adOovov, Stas émiriry
pndév avtovs trovtoTropovrtas, ate 57 TO cUptray
él mvevpact. kal Oardoon Teroinpévous Tov
A \ N A a aA A 4
wrovv dia TO THY yhv PoBeicbar cal ruvOdver Bat
Dittotoyv év larvyla vavroyodvta tapadpurdr-
Tew. apat@ bé Kal paraKe Wrevpate TAEVTAVTES
nuépas Swdexa, TH Tpirxadexatyn Kata Idyuvoy
2 Ld a / A a e

oav, axpay THs Lixedias. Kat Ipatos pév o
xuBepyntns Kata Taxos éxéXevoev atroBaivey,
@s, av atootacbact Tis ys Kal thy axpav
e + 3 a e A , 9 n
ExOVTES APMGL, TOANAS Huépas Kal vUKTAaS év TO
medayer TeLBnoouévous, Opa Oépous vorov Trepipe-
vovtas. Aiwv S€ rhv éyyus TOV ToNeuiwv aTro-
Baow Sdedias Kal TOY Tpdcw pardov aacba
f , 4 4 3 \
BovAcpevos mapémAevce tov Ildyuvov. éx 6é
TOUTOU TpAaXVS MeV aTrapKTiAaS éTLTETwWV HrQAUVE
lo 4 AN fe) b] \ A 4
TOAA@ KAVOwWYL TAS vais aTO Ths YKedias,
bd \ \ \ ? 4
dotpatrat dé xat Bpovtal davévtos *Apxtovpou
cupTecovoat todvy €& ovpavod Yetava Kal
paydaiov ouSpov ée&éyeav' © TOY vavToY cuP-
TtapaxJevTwy Kat mrdvns yevouéyvns Kadopdow
aidvidiov bd Tod KUpaTos W@Oovpévas Tas vais
émt tiv mpos AtBun Képxivav, } padtota Kpnp-
vodns amnvTa Kal tTpaxeia mpoodhepopéevors av-
Tots 4) vHooS. puxpov ody Senoavtes éxpipfvat
Kal cuvTpiBhvar tepi Tas Tétpas éBialovto mpos
KOVTOY Tapadepopevot mors, ws Oo Yetuwy éw-
§2

DION Moreover, besides the arms which his soldiers had, Dion carried two thousand shields, missiles and spears in great numbers, and a boundless store of provisions, that they might suffer no lack as they traversed the high sea. For they put themselves entirely at the mercy of winds and sea during their voyage, because they were afraid of the coast, and learned that Philistus was watching for them with a fleet at Iapygia. After sailing with a light and gentle breeze for twelve days, on the thirteenth they reached Pachynus, a headland of Sicily. Here Protus their pilot urged them to disembark with all speed, since, if they should be forced away from the shore, and should relinquish the headland which they had gained, they would be tossed about on the high sea for many days and nights, awaiting a south wind in the summer season. But Dion, fearing to dis- embark near the enemy, and wishing to land farther along the coast, sailed past Pachynus. Thereupon a boisterous wind from the north rushed down upon them, raised a great sea, and drove the ships away from Sicily, while flashes of lightning and peals of thunder, now that Arcturus was just rising, con- spired to pour down from the heavens a great storm of furious rain. The sailors were confounded by this and driven from their course, until on a sudden they saw that their ships were driving with the sea upon Cercina, off the coast of Africa, at a point where the island presented the roughest and most preci- pitous shore for their approach. Accordingly, after a narrow escape from being cast ashore and dashed to pieces on the rocks, they plied their punting-poles and forced their way along with great difficulty, until

gnoe cal wrolp cuvtvyovtes &yvwcay eri Tails
kadoupévais Keparais tis peyddns Lvprews
évtes. aOupovat 8 avtois mpos THY yadnvny
cat Stadepopévots avpav tia xaréoretpev 1
YOpa votiov, ov Tavu mpocdexopuevors votov ovdé
Ticrevoval TH peTaBorH. KaTa pLxpoy Se pwr-
pupévou Tov Tvevpatos Kal peyeOos AapSavovTos
éxteivavtes Scov hv (aotiwv, Kal mpocevEduevot
tots Beots, meddylot Tpos THY YuKEediav Edevyov
amo THs AtBuns: Kat Oéovres EXadppas Teprraior
kata Mivwav a@ppicavto, twodopdtioy év TH
Lexedia THs Kapyndoviwy émixpateias. étuyxe
5¢ tapwyv o Kapyndovos adpxwv Yvvaros év TO
yopio, Eévos dv kal hiros Alwvos. dyvoav Sé
Tv Tapovoiay avTod Kal Tov oTOAOY, érElpaTo
KwAvew Tovs oTpatiwtas amoBaivovtas. oi Sé
peta Tov STrAwy éxdpapovTes amréxTewav pev
ovdeva, drrepyKet “yap 0 Atwoy &a rHv ovcoav
avuT@ podiav ™ pos TOV Kapyndowov, petryover dé
TUVELT TET OVTES aipodor TO Xepiov. ds S amrjy-
THoaV GAANAOLS Ob HyEewoves Kal NoTdcayTo,
Aiwy peév drédoxe thy ody YvvdrA@, ovdev
adixnoas, Lwvaros 5é rovs otpatiwtras ée&évite
Kal cuptrapecxevatev av Aiwy édetro.
XXVI. Mauota & avtovs eOdppuve To oup-
BeBnxos avtopatws mept tiv arodnulay tov
Avovuciouv' vewotl yap éxmemevems ériyxavev
oysonxovta vavaly eis THY ITadiav. 810 Kal Tod
Alwvos trapaxaXodbvtos évtadda Tovs atpatiotas
54

*

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the storm abated, when they learned from a vessel which they spoke that they were at what were called the Heads of the Great Syrtis. And now they were disheartened by the calm in which they found themselves, and were drifting up and down, when a gentle southerly breeze was wafted to them from the land, although they were by no means expecting a south wind and could not believe in the change. Little by little, however, the wind freshened and grew strong, so that they spread all the sail they had, and praying

to the gods, fled over the sea from Africa towards Sicily. For five days they ran swiftly on, and came to anchor at Minoa, a little town in that part of Sicily which the Carthaginians con- trolled. Now, it chanced that Synalus, the Cartha- ginian commander, was in the place, and he was a guest-friend of Dion's. But not knowing of Dion's presence or of his expedition, he tried to prevent his soldiers from landing. These, however, rushed on shore with their arms, and although they killed no one, since Dion had forbidden it because of his friendship with the Carthaginian, they put their opponents to flight, dashed into the place with the fugitives, and captured it. But as soon as the two commanders had met and greeted one another, Dion restored the city to Synalus, without doing it any harm, and Synalus entertained the soldiers and sup- plied Dion with what he wanted.

XXVI. But what most of all encouraged them was the accidental absence of Dionysius from Syra- cuse; for it chanced that he had recently sailed with eighty ships to Italy. Therefore, even though Dion urged his soldiers to recruit themselves here

dvahapBavew Toy Ovov év Th Jaracon
KeKAK@MLEVOUS, our Dare pea avtol omevdoves
apmacas TOV Karpor, ¢ aXr éx€hevov tpyeto Ca TOV
Aiwva ™pos TAS Lupaxovoas. arog Kevacd-
pevos oby Ta TepLovra Tov dtAwY Kal TOV op-
TLOV éxel, Kat Tov Zuvddov Senbeis, dSrav a
KaLpOS, ATrOTTELAAL mpos avrov, éBadiber éml ras
Lupakovaas. TOpPEVvOperep & avrg mp@rov prev
"Ax payavTivay T Poa eK@pnoav immels Siaxoctor
TOY Tept TO" Exvopov oixovvTav, weTta b€ ToVTOUS
Dedoou.
Tax dé rhs pyuns Siadpapovens eis Lupa-
Kovcas Trpoxparns, 0 Oo TH | Alwvos yuvack TUVOLKED,
Atovuaiov & aderdgy, Tay GTTONENEL[L LEVY év 7)
Toner ior TPOETTAS, eK TEMTEL Kage TAXOS
diy'yehov T@ Avovuci Ypappara KopivovTa Teol
Tihs Aicvos api~ens. autos 6Oé Tois Kata THY
Tony T poo eixe GoptBors | Kal KUT Lao, émnp-
pévaov pev TavTov, d1a & amiotiay étt Kal poBov
novxatovTav. TO € meppdevre ypaupatopop@
TUXN TH TUMTITTEL Tapanoryos. StaTrrAEvcas
yap els THV 'Tradtay Kat THY 'Pyyivepy dieOav,
érretyopevos els Kavrwviav mrpos Atovictoy amnp-
To€ TWe TOV ouvn bor tepeiov vework TeOumevov
Kopitovrs Kal NaBov Tap QuTov potpay TOY
Kpeay EVO PEt omoudj. THS Oé VUKTOS HE pos
odevaas Kal px pov arrodapOeiv Ure KOTTOU

BiacBels, as eixe, Tapa THY obov év oAn Twi
KaTéxALvey éavTop. mpos oé THY dopnv NUKOS
ere Dav, Kal AaBopevos TOV Kpeay dvadedepévery
éx THS ™7pas, @XETO pepo dua ouv aurois THY
wHpav, €v 4 Tas émiaToNas Oo avOpwros eiyev.
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after their long hardships on the sea, they would not consent to it, so eager were they of themselves to seize their opportunity, but urged him to lead them towards Syracuse. Accordingly, he deposited his superfluous arms and baggage there, asked Synalus to send them to him as opportunity offered, and marched against Syracuse. As he was on his way thither, first he was joined by two hundred horsemen belonging to the Agrigentines who dwelt about Ecnomum, and then by men of Gela.

But the report of his doings quickly flew to Syra- cuse, where Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the sister of Dionysius, and who stood at the head of the tyrant's friends now left in the city, speedily sent off a messenger to Dionysius with letters announcing the arrival of Dion. He himself, moreover, took steps to prevent any disturbances or tumults in the city, where all were greatly excited, but as yet kept quiet owing to their distrust and fear. But a strange misfortune befell the man who had been sent with the letters. After he had crossed to Italy and passed through the territory of Rhegium, and as he was hastening on to Dionysius at Caulonia, he met one of his acquaintances who was carrying an animal that had been recently sacrificed, and after accepting from him a portion of the flesh, went on his way with all speed. But after travelling part of the night, he was compelled by weariness to take a little sleep, and lay down, just as he was, in a wood by the side of the road. Then a wolf came to the spot, attracted by the scent, and seizing the flesh which had been fastened to the wallet in which the man had his letters, went off with it and the wallet

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as 5é SieyepOeis nobero xal Todra pdrnv TraYn-
Geis xal Sumtas ody cdpev, &yvw py Tropever Oat
Sixa TOY ypaypydTwYv pos Tov TUpavvov, aN
arrodpas éxrrodwv yevérOa.
XXVIII. Acovictos péev ody oe nal rap' éré-
pov éuerre truvOaverOat Tov év UKedia TOAELOD,
Aiwve 5€ rropevopévm Kapapivaiot te mpoaébevto
kal Tov KaT aypovs Yvpaxovoiwyv davictapévwv
éméppes AROS ovK orLyov. ot 5€ peta Tipo-

Kpatous Tas ‘Emimortas puddooovtes Acovtivor
kat Kaptravoi, \oyov yrevdy wpootépartos eis
avtous tov Aiwvos as éml tas models Tp@ToOV
TpEToLTO Tas ExelvwY, ATrONLTTOVTES @YOVTO TOV
Tioxpatnv tots oixetots BonOnaovtes. ws 8
annyyérn TavTa mpos Tov Aiwva tept Tas “Axpas
oTpatoresevovta, vuxTos éT’ TOUS oTpaTLWTAS
avacTnoas TT pos tov “Avatrov ToTapov Kev,
améyovta Ths Todews Séxa otadiouvs. évTavda
5é tTHv Topeiay éemiatncas éadayidlero tmpos Tov
WoTapov, avaTéXrAovTe TH NALwW TpocevEdpeEVos:
dpa 8 of pavreas Tapa Tov Oewv vinny éEppatov
avT@. Kai Oeacdpevor tov Aiwva &1a thy Ovciav
éoTepavapéevoy Of TapOVTES ATO pias OpuAs éoTe-
davotvtTo mavres. joav be TEVTAKLT YX tALOOD ovK
EXATTOUS TpoayeyovoTes KATA THY OddV: wWrALC-
pévoe 5€ havrAws éx TOD MpocTvyXOYTOS avEeTAN-
pow TH mpoOupia THY Ths TapacKevis évdevay,
@oTe Kwnoavtos tov Aiwvos Spou@ Ywpetv peta
xapas Kai Bojs GANjAOUS Tapakadovytas emt
Thy edevlepiav.
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too. When the man awoke and perceived what had happened, he wandered about a long time in search of what he had lost, but could not find it, and therefore determined not to go to the tyrant without the letters, but to run away and disappear.

XXVII. Dionysius, therefore, was destined to learn of the war in Sicily late and from other sources; but meanwhile, as Dion proceeded on his march, he was joined by the Camarinaeans, and no small multitude of the rural Syracusans revolted and swelled his ranks. Moreover, the Leontines and Campanians who were guarding Epipolae! with Timocrates, in consequence of a false report which Dion sent to them that he would attack their cities first, deserted Timocrates and went off to assist their own peoples. When news of this was brought to Dion as he lay encamped near Acrae, he roused up his soldiers while it was still night and came to the river Ana- pus, which is ten furlongs distant from the city. There he halted and sacrificed by the river, ad- dressing his prayers to the rising sun, and on the instant the soothsayers declared that the gods promised him victory. When, too, the audience beheld Dion with a wreath on his head for the sacrifice, with one impulse they all crowned them- selves with wreaths. No fewer than five thousand men had joined him on the march, and though they were wretchedly armed with such weapons as came to hand, their enthusiasm made up for their lack of equipment, so that when Dion gave the word they advanced on the run, exhorting one another with joyful shouts to win their liberty.

1 The plateau west of the city of Syracuse. See the note on Nicias, xvii. 1,
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XXVIII. Tév & év 1H more Yupaxovaiwy of pev yvopiyuor Kal yapievtes eoOfjta Kabapav Eyovtes amnvrav emi tas mwvdNas, of 5é TodXOl Tois tupavvov giro érretiPevto Kal cuvypta- Cov Tovs KaXovupévous Tpocaywyibas, avOpaTrous avocious Kat Oeois éyOpovs, ot teptevoarouy év Ti TONEL KATApEMLyuEeVvoL TOs RUpaKovatols TroAv- mpaypovoovtes Kal duayyédXovTes TH TUPavv@ TAs te Stavoias Kal tas havas éxdotwv. ovToL pév ovv mpatoe dixny édidocay bd THY TpocTuUY- Navovtwy amotuptravilopevor' Tipoxpatns o€é cuppitas Tois Ppovpodar THv axpoTrodLy py Suvn- Geis tarrov AaBaov Siekérrece THs TorEwWS Kal mavta pevywv evérrnoe GoBov Kal Tapayts, emt petlov aipwv Ta Tov Aiwvos, as py Soxoin péTpLov tt deicas atroBeBAnkévar THY TodLY. ev TOUT@ 5é cal Aiwy mpocepxyopevos 75n xatadavyns Hy, TpP@TOS AUTOS wTALTLEVOS AauTPas, Kal ap' avrov évOev pev 0 adeXdos Meyakdrjs, evOev dé Kaanurrros 0 '"A@nvaios, éotrehavwpévor. tev dé Eévwv éxatov pev eitrovto gdudaKes Trept Tov Aiwva, trois & adXous Fyov ot Aoxayol S:a- Kexoo unpévous, Oewpévwv tov Lvpakovaiwv Kat Seyopévwy woTep tepdyv twa Kal Oeorpenh rop- mv édevbepias kal Snuoxpatias 80 étrav oKTM Kal TeTTapaKkovTa KaTLOvaNs Els THY TOALD.
XXIX. 'Esret 6€ cio iOev o Aiwy Kara ras Teyevitidas mvdas, TH oddNriyys KaTatTravaas Tov OopuBov, éxnpuvkev Gre Aiwy nal MeyarrAs HKovres éml Kxatadvcet THS Tupavvidos édev- Depotar Xvpaxovaiovs nal tovs adXovs Tixerdt0- Tas amo Tov Tupavvov. Bovropevos S€ Kal Se
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XXVIII. As for the Syracusans in the city, the men of note and cultivation, in fresh apparel, went to meet them at the gates, while the multitude set upon the tyrant's friends and seized those called tale-bearers,

wicked men whom the gods hated, who went up and down in the city busily mingling with the Syracusans and reporting to the tyrant the sen- timents and utterances of every one. These, then, were the first to suffer retribution, being beaten to death by those who came upon them; but Timo- crates, unable to join the garrison of the acropolis, took horse and dashed out of the city, and as he fled, filled everything with fear and confusion, ex- aggerating the strength of Dion, that he might not be thought to have abandoned the city through fear of any trivial danger. Meanwhile Dion drew near the city and was presently seen, leading the way himself in brilliant armour, with his brother Megacles on one side of him, and on the other, Callippus the Athenian, both crowned with garlands. A hundred of his mercenaries followed Dion as a body-guard, and his officers led the rest in good order, the Syracusans looking on and welcoming as it were a sacred religious procession for the return of liberty and democracy into the city, after an absence of forty-eight years.

XXIX. After Dion had entered the city by the Temenitid gate, he stopped the noise of the people by a blast of the trumpet, and made proclamation that Dion and Megacles, who were come to over- throw the tyranny, declared the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilians free from the tyrant. Then,

éautod mpocayopedaar TOUS avO parrous avne did THS "Axpasdiris, éxatépabev Tapa, THY oooy TOV Lupaxovolwp iepeta Kal TpaTecas Kal KpaTnpas iotdvrwv, kat Kal ods yevorTo MpoxvTais TE Baddortov Kal T poor peTroMeveov OOTED Geov Karevyais. jy & vmo ray ax pooh Kal Ta TevTaTUNG, Atovuciou KaTacKevdoavros, nLo- TpOmvov KaTapaves Kal tyndov. er TOUTO 7 po- Bas ednunyopyce Kar Tapwpunce TOUS Troritas avréyer Ian Tis érevOepias. ot 5é Xatpovres Kal piroppovovpevor KaTET THO AY apport épous avto- xpdropas oTpATyyoUS, Kal TpoaetAovTo, Bovdo- péveov Kal Seomeveny exeivorr, avrois cuvapxovTas eixoow, Ov apices haav é éx TOV pera, Aiwvos amo Ths puyis TUYKATEPXOMEVOY. tois 8é pdvreow avdts édoxe TO pev vmod Todas AaBety Tov Aiwva Snunyopodvra THY prdoripiay Kal TO dvd Ona Tov Tupdvvou am pov elvat onpetov: sre & ALOT POTTLOV lg é' ov BeBnxas npen oTpATHYOS, appadovy 7) TpoT ny Twa THs ToXNS at mpdkeas Taxelav AdBwow. éx TouTou Tas pev "EnriroAas éehov TOUS xa erpypevous TOV TWONTOV éduge, Thy O€ ax porrodty amrereiXicev. éSdoun & nuépa

Atovictos Kxatémdevcev eis TH ax poTroALy, rar
Aiov ™poanyov duafar twavoriias as Luvdd
KaTéALTrE. TAUTAS Sréverpe Tots Toritars, TOY
S drwy éxacTos éauTov, ws SuvaToyv Hy, exo pet
Kal Tapelyev omAiT Hy 7 poOvpov.
XXX. Atovuctos dé 7 p@Tov idia mpos Aiwva
mpéa Reus & Emr eutrev GTrOT Lp LEvos* ‘Greta Kerev-
cavros éxeivou Staréyer Oar xown Lvpaxovaioss
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wishing to harangue the people himself, he went up through the Achradina,! while on either side of the street the Syracusans set out tables and sacri- ficial meats and mixing-bowls, and all, as he came to them, pelted him with flowers, and addressed him with vows and prayers as if he were a god. Now, there stood below the acropolis and the Pentapyla a tal] and conspicuous sun-dial, which Dionysius had set up. Mounted upon this, Dion harangued the citizens and exhorted them to assert their liberty. And they, in their joy and affection, made Dion and Megacles generals with absolute powers, and besides, at their wish and entreaty, chose twenty colleagues to hold office with them, half of whom were of those who had come back from exile with Dion. To the soothsayers, moreover, it seemed a most happy omen, that Dion, when he harangued the people, had put under his feet the ambitious monument of the tyrant ; but because it was a sun-dial upon which he stood when he was elected general, they feared that his enterprise might undergo some speedy change of fortune. After this, Dion captured Epipolae and set free the citizens who were imprisoned there ; then he walled off the acropolis. On the seventh day Diony- sius put in with his fleet and entered the acropolis, and waggons brought Dion the armour and weapons which he had left with Synalus. These he distri- buted among the citizens as far as they would go, and all the rest equipped themselves as best they could and zealously offered their services as men-at-arms. XXX. At first, Dionysius sent envoys privately to Dion and tried to make terms with him; then, when Dion bade him confer publicly with the Syracusans,

1 An extension of the city, covering the eastern part of the plateau of Fpipolae. Fe
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@s édevOepors odour, éyevoro Aoyor Sta TeV
m pea Bewv Tapa Tod TUpavvou prravpwror, po-
pov Umurxvoupevoy petpiornTa Kal paot@yny
TTPATELO”, av ay avtol oopynpor yevovTac.
Taira, éexevalov ot Zupaxovarot. Aioy 5 ame-
Kpivaro Tots mpecBeoe py diaréyec Oat T pos
avrovs Avovic.ov, «& pn THY a xn adinaw:
agévre dé cupm pagerv adevav autos, Kay ado TL

TOV petpiov Suvntat, penyNMEvos TAS oixeLorntos.
TaiTa Atovicros emnvel, Kat may Emre e Tpéo-
Bets xerXevov Hucewy | Teas els THD ax pomroduy TOV
Lupaxovoiwy, ols Ta pev meiOwv, Ta Oe met opevos:
draréberar TEept TAY KOLWT TumpepovTav. éméu-
pOnoav ov avd pes ™ pos auTov ods Aiov éboxt-
pace. Kal AOyos TONUS €x THS akpas els TOUS
Lupaxove tous katne. Atoviciov adnoew 7H
Tupawviba kal padXov éavtod tmoinoecOar! yapiv
} Aiwvos.
"Hp 8 Soros 1) mpoamoinats airy tov Tupdy-
vou Kal oxevwpia Kata TOV Lupaxouaiov. TOUS
pev yap éMovras ™ pos auTOV éK Tis TOEWS
ouyKreloas elxe, TOUS dé praBopopovs 7 pos dp-
Opov éurrAncas axpdrov pou@ Tpos TO TeEpLTel-
Yio pa TOY Lupaxovaiwy epiie: yevouerns O€ THs
7 poo Borns dvedrria Tou Kal TOV BapBapov Opa-
oel TOANG kat GopvBo cadatpovvtwy To Statet-
Xeo we Kal Tots Lupaxovatos emupepopever, ovdels
eTOALG péveov apuverOat, mrqv TOV Eévwv Tov
Aiwvos, of mpwtov aia Bopevor TOV JopuBov
éEeBonOncav. ovd ovtor dé tis BonOeias tov

' wothoeo@a: a correction by Sintenis of the MSS. wohoa- o@a:, which Coraés omits and Bekker brackets.

on the ground that they were a free people, the envoys brought generous propositions from the tyrant, who promised such moderate taxes and easy military service as the people themselves should agree to by vote. These offers were derided by the Syracusans, and Dion made answer to the envoys that Dionysius was not to confer with them unless he renounced his sovereignty ; but on his renouncing this, Dion would himself procure immunity for him, and any other reasonable privilege that was in his power, mindful of the close relationship between them. These conditions Dionysius approved, and again sent envoys, bidding some of the Syracusans to come to the acropolis, where, both parties making concessions, he would confer with them concerning the common good. Accordingly, men were sent to him whom

Dion approved. And frequent reports came to the Syracusans from the citadel that Dionysius would renounce the tyranny, and would do this to please himself rather than Dion.

But this was a treacherous pretence on the part of the tyrant, and a piece of knavery directed against the Syracusans. For he kept in close custody the depu- tation that came to him from the city, and towards morning plied his mercenaries with strong wine and sent them on a dash against the siege-wall about the acropolis. The attack was unexpected, and the Bar- barians, with great boldness and loud tumult, began to tear down the cross-wall and attack the Syracusans, so that no one dared to stand on the defensive, except the mercenaries of Dion, who first noticed the dis- turbance and came to the rescue. And even these

TpoTrov auveppovovy ovd eianKovov vie Kpavyiis Kal Tras Tov pevyovtov Lupakovotwv ava- mepuppevey auTois Kal StexDeovtar, piv ye én Atop, érel Néyovtos ovdels KaTHKOVEY, Epy@ TO 1 pAaKTéov _ Upnynoacbat Bovdopevos euBarrev T p@Tos eis TOUS BapBapovs. kab yiverat mepl auTov Feira Kal dew payn, Lan tal ovx HTTOv v vo TOV Todepiov 7 TOV pi deov" Gpynoav yap &ua raves éuBonaarres. O e Hv mev HON Baptrepos 6b raxtay y KaTa TOLOUTOUS ayévas, anrKn Sé Kal dune TOUS * wpoo pepopevous bio rd- pevos Kal GVAKOTTTO@V TET P@OKETAL Aoyxn THY xetpa, T pos dé a addXra Bern Kal tas éx Xeupos TANYAS MoOALs Oo Oapak ipkece dua THs aomibos Sopact ToAAols Kal Aoyxaus TUTFTOMEVOS" ov kataxrac bevtov KATETETEY O Aiwy. eiTa avap- macdels ur Tov TTPATLOTODY éxeivors per nye pova Tupaovidny eméea THT eD, autos 6€ THY oN intr@ Teptehavvev Tous TE upaxovatous émave puyis, Kab TOV Eevov TOUS pudarrovras THY "Axpaderny avactncas érfye tois BapBapos aknTas éxTreTovnpevols Kal ™ poOupous arrav0@- ol 78m Tpos TH Teipav. edrrioavres yap apa TH 7 porn peen THY Tow atracay é£ Fs Se nadezew, elTa Tapa Sofav € evTuyxavovres avdpact TAK TALS Kad paytpols aver TEXovTo mpos THY GK pOTTONLY. ers &é padrov, ws évédwxay, em iKes- pévary Ttav EXXAjver T parr ojLevor KatexreloOnoay els TO TeLXOs, éBSounxovta per Kat _Técoapas amoxteivavtes Tov peta Aiwvos, éavtav 6é

qjoAXous aToBanovTes.
1 rovs the article is suggested by Sintenis.

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DION

knew not how to render aid, nor could they hear what was said to them, owing to the shouts and wild movements of the fugitive Syracusans, who mingled confusedly with them and broke through their ranks. But at last Dion, since no one could hear his orders, wishing to show by his example what should be done, charged foremost into the Barbarians. Then there arose about him a fierce and dreadful battle, since he was recognized by the enemy as well as by his friends, and all rushed towards him at the same time with loud shouts. He was now, by reason of his age, too unwieldy for such struggles, but he with- stood and cut down his assailants with vigour and courage until he was wounded in the hand with a lance ; besides, his breastplate hardly sufficed to resist the other missiles and hand-to-hand thrusts, and he was smitten through his shield by many spears and lances, and when these were broken off he fell to ‘the ground. Then, after he had been snatched away by his soldiers, he put Timonides in command of these, while he himself, mounting a horse, rode about the city rallying the flying Syracusans, and bringing up a detachment of his mercenaries who were guard- ing Achradina, led them against the Barbarians,— fresh and eager reserves against a worn-out foe, and one that already despaired of his cause. For they had expected at their first onset to overrun and occupy the whole city, and now that they had un- expectedly encountered men who could smite and fight, they retired towards the acropolis. But as they gave ground, the Greeks pressed all the harder upon them, so that they turned their backs and were driven into the shelter of the citadel ; they had slain seventy-four of Dion’s men, and had lost many of their own number.
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F 2 a

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XXXI. Tevopevns dé amr pas THS viens ot

pev LupaKxovarot TOUS Févous éxaTOV pais éoTe-
pdvecay, ot &é Eevor Aiwva Xpua@ oTepave.
KIpUKES dé Tapa, tod Acovuciov xaréBasvov
emlo TONGS 7 pos Aiwva Tapa TOY oixelov yuvat-
K@V KopitovTes. bia o ny éEwOev emeyeypap-
pévn, “TO Tatpi, map’ ‘Inrmapivou:” tovto yap
si dvopa 7@ Aiwvos vip. KabToL onal Tipacos
€Taioy avrov amo Tis pT pos “Aperns Kanel-
i a Tepavidy dé paAXov, ws olomat, mept ye
TOUT@Y Ta TEVTEOY, avdpi pir xal TVTTPATLATH
Alwvos. ai péev ovv adXat toils Lupaxovaioes
aveyvacOnaav émicToNal TroAAas ixeatas car
Senoets € éxougat mapa TOV yuvarKaw, Thy 5é Tapa

Tov Tatoos elvat Soxovoay ovK éwvTwY iy 8 mapa
AvVOHvat Bracdpevos o Aiwy éduoev. é mapa
Too Atovuciou, tois pev- ray pos TOV,
Aiwva, tots 5é mpaypace ™pos Tovs Yu axovat-
ous Siareyopévou, ox ipa pev éxouea denoews xal
Sixaroroyias, oTUryKerpern b¢ ™pos draBorny TOU
Aiwvos. vmouvnoes TE yap Hoa av umép THS
Tupavvidos em pate Tpodupes, Kai Kara TOV
gidtatov amrevhas TWMATOY, aderdis ral TEKVOU
Kal yuvarros, emuony pers TE dewal pet' odogpup
pov, Kal TO padrAtoTa KLWHoAaY avToOD, aftovvros
pn Kabatpeiy, adr maparapBavery THY TUpaD-
vida, pnd €AevGepody praobvras avOparrous Kal
pynotKaKovvTas, Grd aurov apxev, wapéxovtTa
tots pirous Kal oiKxetors THY dopdndeav.
XXXII. "Avayivec kopevory dé rovTwy ovx,
Smrep Hv Sixacov, ELonet TOUS Lupaxovaious éK-
mAnrrecOas Thy amdberav Kal Thy peyarowuyxiav
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XXXI. The victory was a brilliant one, and the Syracusans rewarded Dion's mercenaries with a hun- dred minas, while the mercenaries honoured Dion with a wreath of gold. And now heralds came down from Dionysius bringing letters to Dion from the women of his family. There was also one addressed outside, "To his father, from Hipparinus"' ; for this was the name of Dion's son. Timaeus, it is true, says he was called Aretaeus, from his mother Arete ; but on this point at least, in my opinion, Timonides is rather to be trusted, who was a friend and fellow- soldier of Dion's. Well, then, the rest of the letters were read aloud to the Syracusans, and contained many supplications and entreaties from the women ; but that which purported to be from Dion's son, the people would not allow to be opened in public. Dion, however, insisted upon it, and opened the letter. It was from Dionysius, who nominally ad- dressed himself to Dion, but really to the Syracu- sans; and it had the form of entreaty and justification, but was calculated to bring odium on Dion. For there were reminders of his zealous services in behalf of the tyranny, and threats against the persons of his dearest ones, his sister, children, and wife; there were also dire injunctions coupled with lamenta- tions, and, what affected him most of all, a demand that he should not abolish, but assume, the tyranny ; that he should not give liberty to men who hated him and would never forget their wrongs, but take the power himself, and thereby assure his friends and kindred of their safety.

XXXII. When all this had been read aloud, it did not occur to the Syracusans, as it should have done, to be astonished at the firmness and magnanimity of

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tod Aiwvos tirép tev Kadov Kal Sixatwy ani-
aoxyupilopéevov mpos TotavTas oiKeoTnTas, ANN
Umowias Kal PoBou NaBovtes apyy, os peyarns
ovans avayKns éxeivm peldccOar Tod Tupdavvou,
mpos éTépous On mpootatas améBXerrov: Kal
pddtota tuvOavopevoe Katatrely “Hpaxretdnv
avertonOncav. Hv dé rav duydbeav ‘Hpaxnreidns,
oTpaTnyixos pev avOpwios Kal yvepipos ad’
nyewovias iv éoxe Tapa Tois Tupavvols, ovK
apapws 5é THY yvauNv, GAXA Tpos TavTa Kovdos,
necota ¢ BéBatos ev Kowwvia mpayudrav apynv
éyovtav cal So—av. ovtos év IleXorovynaw mpos
Aiwva otactacas éyvw xa’ avrov idStoaroXos
Thelv él TOV TUPaVVoY, Els TE TUPaKoVaas adiKo-
pevos ETA Tpinpere Kal TpLot Trotots Arovictov
pev avOus edpe TrepiTeTerytopevor, érnpyévous Se
Tous upakovoiovs. evOvs obv vmedvero THY
TOV TOAAY Kap, Exwy péev Te Kal dvoet m-
Oavov Kat xuvntixoyv 6yXow Oepatreved Oat Cntoiv-
Tos, uToAapBavey O€ Kal peTaywv pdov adtous,
of TO aeuvov Tov Aiwvos ws Bapv Kai dvam7oXi-
TEVTOV aTreaTpephovTo Sia THY yeyevnuevny ex Tov
Kpatei dveow Kat Opacvrnta, mpo tov Simos
elvay TO OnuaywyeicBat Oérovtes.
XXXIII. Kai wparov pév eis exxrAnoiav ad’
avuT@v auvdpapovres ethovto tov ‘Hpakndetdnv
vavapyov. eémel b€ Aiwy mapedOov nriato THY
éxeive Sidopmévny apyny apaipecw elvar tHS TWpo-
Tepov avT@ Sedopévys, ovKéTe yap avToxpatwp
7°

DION

Dion, who was resisting in behalf of honour and justice such strong claims of relationship, but they found occasion for suspecting and fearing him, on the ground that he was under a strong necessity of sparing Dionysius, and at once turned their eyes towards other leaders. And particularly, when they learned that Heracleides was putting in to the har- bour, they were all excitement. Now, Heracleides was one of the exiles, a man of military capacity and well known for the commands which he had held under the tyrants, but irresolute, fickle, and least to be relied upon as partner in an enterprise involving power and glory. He had quarrelled with Dion in Peloponnesus, and had resolved to sail on his own account and with his own fleet against the tyrant; but when he reached Syracuse, with seven triremes and three transports, he found Dionysius once more beleaguered, and the Syracusans elated with victory. At once, then, he sought to win

the favour of the multitude, having a certain natural gift of persuading and moving a populace that seeks to be courted, and - winning them over to his following all the more easily because they were repelled by the gravity of Dion. This they resented as severe and out of place in a public man, because their power had given them license and boldness, and they wished to be flattered by popular leaders before they were really a people.

XXXIIJI. So,to begin with, they held an assembly of their own calling, and chose Heracleides admiral. But Dion came forward and protested that in giving this office to Heracleides, they had done away with that which they had before given to him, for he would no longer be general with absolute powers

peveryv, Av aAXos nynras TaV Kata Odracca),
dxovres oi LvpaKxovarot wad areyndpicavto
TOV "Hpaxretdnv. yevomeveny dé TOUTM@Y peTa-
meprpdpevos avrov o Aliwy oixade, Kal piKpa
peprpapevos, @S OU Karors ovee TuppepovTas & uTrEp
do&ns oractavovtTa Tpos avrov épy KaLp@ pomijs
ohiryns Seouév mpos amra@neav, adits éxxhnotay
avros cuvayaryav pavapxov amébeuEe Tov "Hpa-
Kretdny, Kar Tob TWMATOS éreioe puranny Sobvat
TOUS modiTas, damep auros elyev. o 6 TO wey
hoy Kat T@ oXpaTe Tov Aiwva Oeparrevov Kat
Xapuw omodory av eve mapnorovber TANTELVOS,
UTNPET@Y TO KENEVOMEVOY, Kpupa b¢ TOUS TroANovS
cal VE@TEpLaT AS dtapbeipwv Kal broxwoyv, Gopu-
Boas tov Aiwva mepréBadnev, els Atracav droplay
cabtordpevov. elre yap aceevar xerevor Atovv-

oLov Umdarrovbov ex THS axpas, dca Born elxe
peiderbar Kab meprow lew exelvov, elre AUTELY fA1)
Bovdopevos emt TiS modopKias noux dor, dva-
Tnpely édoxer TOY TOAEHOY, @S paAXov apyot Kat
KATATAHTTOLTO TOUS ToNiTas.
XXXIV. *Hyv € tes Yous, avOpwiros ex trovn-
pias Kal Opacutntos evdoxt pan wane TOUS 2upa-
Kovaiols, meptovoiay Tyyoupévous é evdepias TO
péxpt ToLovtay avetcBar TH Tmappyoiay. ovTos
émtBovrevov Aiwr mparov fev éxxrnolas ovans
dvaaras ToAAa TOUS Zupaxovatous éXordopnaey,
eb 7) TUVLATLY ws ema nKTOU ral pedvovens
amrnddary pévor tupavyidos éypnyopota Kat yynpovra
deatroTny eihngactv: érretTa pavepov TOU Aiwvos

éy0 pov avadelEas ¢ éavTov TOTE pev €x TIS dyopas
aTirbe, TH 8 votepaia yumvos WhO Sid Tips
72

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DION

if another should have command of the navy. Then the Syracusans reluctantly revoked the appointment of Heracleides. When this had been done, Dion summoned Heracleides to his house and gently reproached him, on the ground that he was not acting well or wisely in quarrelling. with him for honours at a crisis where a slight impulse might ruin their cause. Then he himself called a fresh assembly and appointed Heracleides admiral, and persuaded the citizens to give him a body-guard, like his own. In word and mien, now, Heracleides paid court to Dion, acknowledged his thanks to him, and attended submissively upon him, performing his commands; but in secret he perverted and stirred up the multitude and the revolutionaries, and encompassed Dion with disturbances which reduced him to utter perplexity. For if he advised to let Dionysius leave the citadel under a truce, he would be charged with sparing and preserving him ; and if, wishing to give no offence, he simply continued the siege, it would be said that he was protracting the war, in order that he might the longer be in command and overawe the citizens.

XXXIV. Now, there was a certain Sosis, a man whose baseness and impudence gave him renown in Syracuse, where it was thought that abundance of liberty could only be shown by such license of speech as his. This man, with hostile designs upon Dion, first rose in an assembly and roundly abused the Syracusans for not comprehending that they had merely exchanged a stupid and drunken tyrant for a watchful and sober master; and having thus declared himself an open enemy of Dion, he left the assembly. Next, on the following day he was seen running

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TONEWS Oéwr avaTrA€ws aiparos THY Keparnv Kal
TO 7 powrroy, as 57 Tivas pevywv Ov@KovTas.
éuBarov 5é TovevTos eis THY ayopapy édeyer vo

trav Eévwv Tov Aiwvos émiBeBovrciabat, cal Thy
Keparny emedelxvue TeTpwperny Kab ToAous
eixe TOUS cuvayavaxTovyTas Kal TUVLTTAPEVOUS
Kara TOU Aiwvos, as Seuva Kal TUpAavYLKa TpaT-
TovTos, é& povors kal Kwdbvors TOV TOMT OY
apaipetras Ty jTappnotayv. ov pay anAd, Kaimep
axpitou Kat Tapaxwcous exxAnotas yevomerns,
mapeav o Alwy amedoyeiTo Kat TOV Loo
an epaive TOV Avovuciou Sopupopwy é évos adedgov
évTa Kal ov éxeivou TETELT LEVOY TTATIdgaL Kal
cuvrapagar THY TOMY, ovdewas Atovucip cwrn-
pias ovons, 7 IY THS exelvorv amiatias Kab dta-
ghopas ™pos avrous. dua & of pev tarpol Tov
wardos TO Tpadpua xatapavOdvovres eipioxov
ef ememonis paddov n Katapopas yeryevnpevov.
at pev yap vo Eigpous mArnyat padora TO péaov
vo Bdpous mélovat, TO dé Tob Xwa dos hemrov
nv Storou Kal TONNAS elyev apyas, @S etKos, UT'
arynoovos a ayievTos, elta avOts émrayovTos. Tyicov
dé Tives TOV yopipav Evpov xopuiCovtes els. THY
éxxAnotay, Kal Sunyoupevor Badifovow avrois
xal" odov aTaVThG at Tov {wou n pay Wevov Kat
AéyovTa ghevyey tovs Aiwvos Eevous @S apTtias
Ur éxelvywy TETPwMLEVOS evdvs ovv SiwKovres
dvO pwrrov | Mev ovdeva AaPeiv, Ud tTétpav dé
KotAny kel wevov idetv Evpov, dev éxetvos adbOn
T POG EPYOMEVOS.
XXXV. "Hv pev ovv i6n poyOnpa ta wept Tov

through the city almost naked, his head and face covered with blood, as though he were trying to escape pursuit. In this condition he dashed into the assembly and told the people there that he had been set upon by Dion's mercenaries, and showed them his head with its wounds. He found many to share his resentment and take sides with him against Dion, who, they said, was committing dire acts of tyranny, if by murder and peril of life he sought to rob the citizens of their free speech. However, although the assembly had become confused and tumultuous, Dion came forward and showed in his own defence that Sosis was a brother of one of the body-guards of Dionysius, and had been induced by him to raise confusion and faction among the citizens, since there was no safety for Dionysius except in their mutual distrust and dissension. At the same time, too, the physicians examined the wound of Sosis and discovered that it had been made by razure rather than by a downright blow. For the blows of a sword, by reason of its weight, make wounds that are deepest in the middle, but that of Sosis was shallow all along, and intermittent, as would be natural if he stopped his work on account of pain, and then began it again.

Besides, certain well known persons brought a razor to the assembly, and stated that as they were walking along the street, Sosis met them, all bloody, and declaring that he was running away from Dion’s mercenaries, by whom he had just been wounded; at once, then, they ran after them, and found no one, but saw a razor lying under a hollow rock in the quarter from which Sosis had been seen to come.

XXXV. Well, then, the case of Sosis was already

Ldow* mpooyevouévwy 5é rovtois Tois éXéyyxors
olKeTOV KATAaLapTUpOUVTOY ws ett VUKTOS EFENOOL
povos éywv To Eupoy, of Te KaTnyopodyTes TOU
Aiwvos drexapnoay & Te Sijpos Katayndicapevos
Odvatov Tov Ywotdos SinrAAdooeto TO Aiwrt.
Tovs 5€ ptaPodhapovs oddév Hrrov év vrroviats
elyov, cal padtoTa TOV TAELOTwWY aywVwY pds
Tov TUpavvoy On ywopévwvy Kata OdraTTAaD,
érret0n Didsotos Heev €& “lamuyias éywv moddas
tpinpets Arovucia BonOnowv, xal rav Eévwv
OVTOY OTALTOY OVSEmiay ere xpHovw évopulov etvar
pos Tov TToAEMOV, GANA KaKeivous é EéauUTOIS
écecOar vavBatais ovo. Kal TO Kpdtos éx TaY
veov KkTwpévols. ett 58 padrXov avtovs éemjpev
evTUXia TIS yevouévn Kata Odraccay, ev 7 VUKN-
cavtes Tov Didtorov wpas cai BapBapixas ait@
mpoanvey naar. "Edopos pev ody dnow as
aNoKopErns THS vews éavTov avérot, Topwmvidns
5é mpatropévats €€ apyns tais mpdkeot Tavras
peta Aiwvos waparyevomevos Kal ypadwy mpos
Lwevoirmrov Tov dirocodov toroped Covta XAn-
HOFvat THs Tpinpous Eis THY yhv éxtrecovans TOV
Didtotov: Kal mpatov péev amodvaavtas avrod
Tov Owpaxa Tovs Lvpaxovaious Kal yupvov émidec-
Eapévovs TO o@pa mpoTnrakilew dytTos bn
yépovTos: erecta THY Kepadny atroTEpEty Kal Tois
Tat Trapacodvat TO cua, KeXeVoavTas Ede
dua THs "Axpabiwis cat cataBanrety eis Tas Aato-
pias. re dé parXov épuBpilwv o Tipasos éx Tod
aKxéXous dyat Tov YwAov Ta Tratddpia TOY vEKpOoV
éhayrdpueva ToD Didictov avpew 5a THS Toews,
xrevalopevoy ITO TAY Zupaxovaiwv mdvTwv,

desperate ; but when, in addition to these proofs, his servants testified that while it was still night he had left the house alone and carrying the razor, Dion's accusers withdrew, and the people, after condemning Sosis to death, were reconciled with Dion.

However, they were none the less suspicious of his mercenaries, and especially so, now that most of the struggles against the tyrant were carried on at sea, since Philistus had come from lapygia with a large number of triremes to help Dionysius; and since the mercenaries were men-at-arms, they thought them of no further use for the war, nay, they felt that even these troops were dependent for protection upon the citizens themselves, who were seamen, and derived their power from their fleet. And they were still more elated by a successful engagement at sea, in which they defeated Philistus, and then treated him in a barbarous and savage fashion. Ephorus, it is true, says that when his ship was captured, Philistus slew himself; but Timonides, who was engaged with Dion in all the events of this war from the very first, in writing to Speusippus the philosopher, relates that Philistus was taken alive after his trireme had run aground, and that the Syracusans, to begin with, stripped off his breast-plate and exposed his body, almost naked, to insult and abuse, although he was now an old man; then, that they cut off his head, and gave his body to the boys of the city, with orders to drag it through Achradina and throw it into the stone quarries. And Timaeus, enlarging upon these indignities, says that the boys tied a rope to the lame leg of the dead Philistus and dragged his body through the city, while all the Syracusans mocked and jeered as they saw drawn about by the

opavray Tov oKxédous EA KOMEVOY Tov eimovta my)
beiv € ex Tupavvibos pevryery Atovictov imm@ Taye
XpPwpevor, adda ToD oKéhous EXKOMEVOY. KaLToL
TOUTO Pirvoros, as up’ étépov rAExOév, ovy vd
avtov, mpos Atovictoy eEnyyedxer.
XXXVI. "AANA Tipacos ovK aodixov AaBav

mw popacty THY vreép THS Tupavvidos TOU Diriarou
oTovdny Kat mioTly cumimdara TOV Kar auTov
Pracghnmay, ¢ @ TOUS poe aducnBevras TOTE oVY-
ywarov éotw icws axpt THs eis avaicOnrov
opyiis Narerous yevéa Ga, TOUS 5° Sarepov ouy-
ypdpovtas Ta Tem paryweva Kal TO pev Bip yn
Avandevras avrob, 7@ dé ASO Kpwpevous, 7) ddEa
Taparretrat pn eO BBpews Bn ne peTa Bopodo-

Las overdivery TAS cvppopas, @y ovoev amréxet
Kal Tov dpiorov avd piv ex TUXNS pEeTATXELY.
ov pny ovd "KE idopos tyratver Tov Diriarov é eyKo-
pualov, & és, Katrrep av SevvoTaros adixors mpary-
pact Kal movnpois Oeow evox povas aitias
meptBaneiv Kat ovyous éxovTas koa pov é€eupeiy,
autos auTov ov Swvatat madvra pnXavaevos
éFeréo bau TIS ypadis, ws ov piroTupavvoTatos
avOpwrrwy yévouTo Kat paduoTa TAVT@Y del
Syracas Kal Oaupdcas Tpupny Kal dSvvapiv Kat
TAOUTOUS Kat ya wous TOUS TOV TUpavvav. andra
yap Diriorov fev o entre tas mpakes érrawaov
pnre TAS TUYAaS ovELdiCoy eMpeheaTaros.
XXXVII. Mera b¢ THY Prriorov TEAEUTHY
Atoviaros é Tre WIE ™ pos Aiwva THY pep dx porrohty
éxeivo mapadidovs Kal Ta Orda Kal ToS puLcOo-
dépous Kal qévTe pnvav evTenT} TovTois picbor,
avtos 8 a&tav uToatrovecs eis “Itadiav amedOeiv
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leg the man who had said to Dionysius that he must not run away from his tyranny on a swift horse, but wait until he was dragged from it by the leg. And yet Philistus has stated explicitly that this was said to Dionysius by another, and not by himself.

XXXVI. But Timaeus, finding a fair excuse for his animosity in the zeal and fidelity which Philistus showed in behalf of the tyranny, gluts himself with the slanders against him. Now, those who were wronged by Philistus while he lived may perhaps be pardoned for carrying their resentment to the length of maltreating his unconscious body; but those who in later times write histories of that period, and who were not harmed by his life, but avail themselves of his writings, owe it to his reputation not to reproach him, in insolent and scurrilous language, for calamities in which fortune may involve even the best of men. However, Ephorus also is unsound in heaping praises upon Philistus; for, although he is most skilful in furnishing unjust deeds and base natures with specious motives, and in discovering decorous names for them, still, even he, with all his artifice, cannot extricate himself from the charge of having been the greatest lover of tyrants alive, and more than any one else always an emulous admirer of luxury, power, wealth, and marriage alliances of tyrants. Verily, he who neither praises the conduct of Philistus, nor gloats insultingly over his misfor- tunes, takes the fittest course.

XXXVII. After the death of Philistus, Dionysius sent to Dion offering to surrender to him the acro- polis, his munitions of war, and his mercenaries, with five months’ full pay for these, and demanding for himself the privilege of retiring unmolested into

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KAKEL KATOLK@V xaprrova Gas THS Zupacoucias TOV
Kahovpevov Tvapra, TONY wal arya ny xwpay
avynKovoay aro Gararrns eis THY weToyeLoV. Ov
mpoadeEapévou dé Tov Aiwvos, anrra SeicOar tay
Lvpaxovaiwv KEAEUTAYTOS, ot pep LupaKovaror
Cavra Amer Oa TOV Acovicrov éexmicavres ann
Nacav TOUS m pea Bers, éxetvos 5é THY joey axpay
“AtrohoK patel, | TO mpeaButépp Trav maidor,
mapédwxer, avT05 8 mveipa THpHTAS émipopov
Kal Ta TLYWMOTATA TOV TOMaTOV Kal TOV xpnea-
tov évOéuevos ets Tas vads AaBwv Tov vavapyov
‘Hpakdeidqv e€emdevoev.
‘O 6é Kanes axovwv Kai OopvBovpevos UTrd TOV
TONTOD * ‘Inreva Twa TeV “SnwaryeoySy Kcadinar
mpoxanreia ar TOV Ofjwov emt vhs ava ac wov, @S
érevOepias a apynv obcay THYv iaornta, SovAcias 5é
TV meviay Tois AKTHMLOCL. cuVnyopay dé TOUT®
Kal Tov Aiwva xatactacidloy evavTLovpevov
émeloe TOUS Lupaxovatous TavTa angicacbas
Kal TOY Bevery TOV proBov arroarepel Kat oTpa-
THYOVS érépous éheaBar, THS éxetvov Bapurntos
amradaryevras. ao 8, domep ex paxpas appa
oTias THS Tupavyidos ed00s émexetpodvTes eEavi-
oracbat, Kal 1 parrey Ta TOV avTOvopLoUpevary
Tapa Katpor, éopaddovto fev avtol Tats ™pa-
feow, éuicovy dé tov Aiwva Bovdopevov WoTEp
laTpov év axprBet kal awhpovovan diaitn Kxata-
oxetv THY TONY.
XXXVIII. "Exednorafovar 8 avrots él véats
apyais, Oépous pecobytos, éaictor Bpovrai cai
Stornpias movnpat auveBawov ed’ jpépas dexa-
mwévTe TUVEYaS, avioTacat Tov SHpyov vie daot-
So

Italy, and of enjoying during his residence there the revenues of Gyarta, a large and rich tract in the territory of Syracuse, extending from the sea to the interior of the island. Dion, however, would not accept these terms, but bade him apply to the Syra- cusans, and these, hoping to take Dionysius alive, drove

away his ambassadors. Upon this, the tyrant handed over the citadel to Apollocrates, his eldest son, while he himself, after watching for a favourable wind and putting on board his ships the persons and property that he held most dear, eluded the vigilance of Heracleides the admiral, and sailed off.

Heracleides was now stormily denounced by the citizens, whereupon he induced Hippo, one of their leaders, to make proposals to the people for a distribution of land, urging that liberty was based on equality, and slavery on the poverty of those who had naught. Supporting Hippo, and heading a faction which overwhelmed the opposition of Dion, Heracleides persuaded the Syracusans to vote this measure, to deprive the mercenaries of their pay, and to elect other generals, thus ridding themselves of the severities of Dion. So the people, attempting, as it were, to stand at once upon their feet after their long sickness of tyranny, and to act the part of independence out of season, stumbled in their undertakings, and yet hated Dion, who, like a physician, wished to subject the city to a strict and temperate regimen.

XXXVIIT. As they met in assembly to assign new commands, the time being midsummer, extraordinary peals of thunder and evil portents from the heavens occurred for fifteen days together, and dispersed the

{

, A
Saipovias KwAVOpEvoy Etépous aTrodei~at oTpaTn-
2 yous. émel b€ durdEavtes evdiay atabepav oi
Snuaywyot auveténovy Tas apyatpecias, Bois
apakevs ovx anOns ovd amevpos GxAwY, dAXrws Sé
, A AY 3 , \ A ‘
TWS TOTE TpOS TOV éXavvovTa Bupwlels Kai Puyov
amo ToD Cuyot, Spdu@ mpos TO Oéatpoy wpunce
Kai Tov pev Shuov evOvs avéotnce kal Suecké-
9 \ , 4 “A 9 M”
Sacev ovdevi Kooum gevyovta, ths 8 adAns
jonews émédpaue oxiptav Kal Trapdttwy dcov
¢ e 4 4 9 \ 9

Yotepov of trodéutoe KaTéoxYov. ov pny adda
taita yaipev édcavtes ot Yupaxovator tévte
kal elxoot oTpatnyovs éxetporovncav, av els Hv
e , \ \ VA e 4
3 ‘Hpaxredns: Kat tovs Eévous viroméutrovtes
xpvda tov Aiwvos adiotacav Kal petexadovy
Wpos AUTOUS, éTayyeNAOMEVOL Kal THS TroNLTELAS
igomotpiav. ot b€ Tadta pev ov mpocedé~avTo,
tov 5€ Aiwva mictas Kal TpoOimws peTa Tov
¢ >] , A lA € “~ >
étAwY avaraBfovTes Kal cupdpakavtes vIrnyov éx
“ , 10 A \ yO€ A
THS TWOAEWS, AdLKOUVTES peV OVOEVa, TOAAA
TOUS évTUyXavovTas eis ayaploTtiay Kal poxOn-
4 piay overdiCovtes. ot S€ THS OALYOTNTOS auUTaY
Kal Tov un mpoeTLYyElpety KaTadpovncavTes, Kal
yevomevolr TOAD TAEious exeLvMY, EpwpuncaY ws
padiws émixpatnoovtes év TH Tore. Kal mdvtas
QAUTOUS KATAKTEVOUVTES.)
XXXIX. Ev rovt@ Sé yeyovms avayens Kat
, e 4 a , a V4 A \
Tuyns o Aiwy 7 payecOat Tots Totals H peta
Tav Eévov aroQaveiv, Toda pev ixéTevev opéywor
Tas xEelpas Tois Yupakovaeiows Kai THY aKpoTroALY
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people, whose superstitious fears prevented them from appointing other generals. And when, after waiting for settled fair weather, the popular leaders were proceeding to hold the elections, a draught-ox, who was quite accustomed to crowds, but now for some reason or other got angry at his driver and broke away from the yoke, made a dash for the theatre, and at once dispersed and scattered the people in disorderly flight ; then he ran, plunging and throwing everything into confusion, over as much of the rest of the city as the enemy afterwards occupied. However, the Syracusans paid no heed to al] this, but elected twenty-five generals, one of whom was Hera- cleides; they also sent secretly and without his knowledge to Dion’s mercenaries, and tried to get them to leave his service and come over to their side, promising them even an equality of civic rights. They, however, would not listen to these proposals, but showing fidelity and zeal, took their weapons in their hands, put Dion in their midst, encompassed him about, and tried to conduct him out of the city, doing violence to no one, but roundly reviling those whom they encountered for their base ingratitude. Then the citizens, seeing that the mercenaries were few in number and did not offer to attack, despised them, and having become far more numerous than they, set upon them, thinking to overpower them easily before they got out of the city, and slay them all.

XXXIX. And now Dion, seeing that fortune com- pelled him either to fight against his fellow citizens or perish with his mercenaries, fervently besought the Syracusans, stretching out his hands to them,

mepitrewv Todepiwy ovaay Urrephaivopévov Ta
Teiyn Kal Ta yevoueva xa0opwvtwy émideKve-
pevos’ os 8 hy atrapairntos 7 TaY TWOAAw@Y Popa
kal Katetyev @omep ev TeNayer TO TOV Snpayo-
you mvetpa Thy Todt, éuBorjns pev atroryéoOau
tois Eévots mpocétakev, Scov 8 émridpapovTav
peta Bons nai tots SrAots Tivakapevwv ovdels
Guerve TOV Lupakouciwv, adr’ wyovto hevyorTes
ava Tas ayuias, ovdevos emidt@xovTOs: EevOdsS yap
aréotpevev o Aiwy tovs Eévous xal mponyer eis
Aecovtivous.
Oi & dpyovtes Tov Yupaxovoiwy KatayéXacToL
yeyovoTes uTO TOY yuvatKav, Kal THY aioyuVyY
avaraBeiv ('ntobytes, avOus omdloavtes Tovs
qoXitas édiwxov Tov Aiwva. kal xatéXaBov pev
ért SiaBaoces Tivos ToTapod Kal wpocimmevoay
ayyiuayobvres: ws 8 édpwv ovxétt mpdws ovdé
TATPLKOS UTOpéevovTa TAS apapTias aVTaY, GANA
Oued Tovs Eévous émiatpépovta Kal mapatarro-
pevov, aicyiova duyny ths mpotépas puryovtes
bmex@pynoav els THY ToALV, OV TOAA@Y aTrobaL-
OvTmD.
XL, Aiwva S¢ Acovrivos Aaumpais edéyovTo
Tipais, Kal Tos Eévous avedauBavov picBois Kal
TonTeLas’ mpos 5é€ Tovs Yupaxovaious émpeé-
oBevov akodvtes Ta dixata Tois Eévous trosety. ot
dé mpéoBes Ememav Kxatnyopnocovtas Aiwvos
TOV gs cuppaywy amrdytwy eis Aeovtivouvs a0 pa-
oOévtwy Kat yevonevwy Noywv ev avtois, éoEav
abduxely of Lupaxovaror: tots b€ KptOeiow vo
TOV TULpLdxwV ovK éevéyEetvay TpUparTes HON Kal
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and pointing out to them the acropolis, which was
full of enemies peering over the walls and watching
what was going on below; but since no entreaties
could stay the onset of the multitudes, and the city,
like a ship at sea, was at the mercy of the blasts of its

demagogues, he ordered his mercenaries not to make a charge, but simply to run towards their assailants with loud cries and brandishing of weapons; which being done, not a Syracusan stood his ground, but all promptly took to flight along the streets, where none pursued them. For Dion immediately ordered his men to wheel about, and led them forth to Leontini.

But the leaders of the Syracusans, now that they were become a laughing-stock for the women, sought to redeem their disgrace, armed the citizens again, and pursued after Dion. They came upon him as he was crossing a river, and their horsemen rode up for a skirmish ; but when they saw that he no longer bore with their faults in a mild and paternal spirit, but was angrily wheeling his mercenaries about and putting them in battle array, they broke into a more disgraceful flight than before, and retired into the city, with the loss of a few men.

XL. The Leontines received Dion with splendid honours, took his mercenaries into their service, and gave them civic rights; they also sent an embassy to the Syracusans with a demand that they should do the mercenaries fustice. The Syracusans, how- ever, sent envoys to denounce Dion. But when all the confederates had assembled at Leontini and dis- cussed the matter, it was decided that the Syracusans were in the wrong. By this decision of their con- federates, however, the Syracusans would not abide,

peyaroppovouvtes éml To undevos axovew, AXA xpjoOat Sovrevover cai poBovpévors tov SHpmov oTparnyois.

XII. "Ex rovrou xaTam Move ly ets THY mode mapa Aovuciou T penpers Ninpiov dryoucat Tov Neamonirn», citov Kat Xpnwara Kouitovra Tois TOALOPKOULEVOLS. ryevowerns dé vaupayias evixwv pev of Zupaxovator Kal Téeccapas TOY TUpayViKaY ve@y édafov, UBpicavtes bé TH vixn, Kal oe dvapxiav TO Yaipov els TOTOUS wal ouvovotas pavikas Tpépavres, obTe TOV Ypnoibav nuéedXn- cay OTE THY axporroduy é éXelv seeoiores Abn non Kat TH TONY mpocameBanov. 0 yap Nv 40s opay ovdev vyvaivov éy T] Tone HEpos, adda TOV pep dxdov avAnpact Kal péOats els VUKTA Babeiay ag' Hmepas KATEXOMEVO?, TOUS dé oTpaTyyous

ETLTEPTOMEVOUS TE TOUT® TO Tavyyupic wp wal T poo aryewy avaryKny pevovow avo pwross OKVOUD- TAS, ApioTa TO KaLp@ Xenaapevos émexyeipnoe TO

Tetyiopate Kal KpaTnaas Kat Lad puyras epire
TOUS BapPapous, KerXevoas yxpjabat Tots ™poo-
TUYXavovaty @S Bovrovrat Kal duvavTat. TaYéws
fev OV ol Lupaxovotot TO KaKov ia Oovto, Bpaée-
ws 5€ Kal Karem ers auveBonBouv EKTETAAY EVOL.
mopOnow yap tv Ta yivopeva, THS TONEWS, TOV
pev avdpav povevouEeroy, TOY dé TELXOV KATA
TKATTOMEVOD, yuvarcav bé Kat maida aryomeveov
an THY |axpoTrohy per olparyis, ATEYYOKOTOV be
mpaypara TOV oTparnyav at xphoGat Th)
Supa Tots TOA(TALs TpOSs TOUS Tone pious
avarrepuppevous Kal ouppemiypévous avTois
Tmavrayolev.
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being now insolent and full of pride because they
were subject to no one, but had generals who were
in slavish fear of the people.

XLI. After this, there put in at the city triremes from Dionysius, under the command of Nypsius the Neapolitan, who brought food and money for the beleaguered garrison of the acropolis. In a naval battle that ensued the Syracusans were indeed vic- torious, and captured four of the tyrant’s ships, but they were made wanton by their victory, and in their utter lack of discipline turned their rejoicing into drinking-bouts and mad carousals, and were so neglectful of their real interests that, when they thought themselves already in possession of the acropolis, they actually lost both it and their city besides. For Nypsius, seeing no saving remnant in the city, but the multitude given over to music and revelry from dawn till midnight, and their generals delighted with this festivity and reluctant to use compulsion with men in their cups, made the best use of his opportunity and attacked their siege--~ works, and having mastered these and broken them down, he let his Barbarians loose upon the city, bidding them treat those whom they encountered as they could and would. Quickly, then, were the Syracusans aware of the mischief, but slowly and — with difficulty did they rally to oppose it, so utterly distracted were they. For it was a sack of the city that was now going on, its men being slain, its walls torn down, and its women and children dragged shrieking to the acropolis, while its generals gave up all for lost and were unable to employ the citizens against the enemy, who were everywhere inextric- ably mingled with them.

XLII. Oitw S¢ trav Kata THY TOW éyovToY
Kal Tov xwvduvov mpos THY "Axpadiwrhy mrANoOtG-
Lovtos, eis Sy povoy Hv Kal Rowrrov arepeicacOau

‘N , 4 \ b Ul 9 ,
THY €dmriba TavTes pev eppovouy, ereye 5é ovdeis,
A

aioxuvopevot THY aXaploTiay Kal THY aBovdiay
Tnv mpos Alwva. wAnv ye 57 THs avdyKns
éxBiatopévns Tapa TOY cuppaxwv Kal TOY iT-
Téwy yiverat dwovn care Aiwva nal perarép-
meaGat Trovs IleNorrovynctous éx Acovtivwv. ws
5¢ mpa@tov nxovabn Kal aretorunOn rodTo,
Kpavy? Kal yapa xal Sdxpva rovs Yupaxovaious
KaTetyev eUXouevous éripavnvat tov avipa Kat
TmoOouvtas THYV Gui avToD Kai peuvnuévous Tis
Tapa Ta Seva pwns Kal wrpoOvupias, ws od povov
AUTOS HW aveXTANKTOS, GAA KaxeEivoUS TrapElye
Oappobvras nal adews Tots Trodepiors oupdepopé-
vous. evOvs ovv éxméumovot mpos avTov amo
A 4, b ld ,
pev TOV cUpa ov Apxavidny nal Tereoidny,
9 \ A A e lA \ e 4
amo 6€ Tay Lirméwy TévtTe TOUS Tept EXAdyEKOV.
@€ n~

ovtor SueXaoavres THY Oddy irmoLs ATO PUTHpOS
Aov eis Acovtivous ths nyépas 76n cael gay
Hévns. atromndncartres Sé¢ tav immov Kal TO
Aiwv mpete mpoomecovtes Sedaxpupévor tas
a fal »Y , wv “Py de \
ouppopas TaY Lupaxovaiwy Eppalov. dn 5é Kal
A , A
tov Acovtivwy tives amnvtTwv Kal rev TeXozrov-
4 9 , N \ lA , A
ynciwy nOpoilovro apes tov Aiwva moAdXol, TH
omovon Kal TH Senoes THY avdpav UovoobyTES
elvat tt Kawvotepov. evOus odv ayeitTo Tpdos THY
éxxAnoiav avtois, Kal cvvdpapovtwv mpoOvpws oi
N > \ N e , >
mwept tov Apxwvidny cal tov ‘EXXdvixoy eiced-
Oovres éEnyyettay re Bpayéws 7d péyeOos Tav
Kak@v, Kal qapexddouv tors Eévous érapivar
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DION

XLII. While the city was in this plight and the Achradina in imminent peril, all knew who was the only man left upon whom they could fasten their hopes, but no one spoke his name, because they were ashamed of their ingratitude and folly towards Dion. However, now that necessity constrained them, some of the allies and horsemen cried out that Dion and his Peloponnesians should be summoned from Leontin. As soon as this venture was made and the name heard, the Syracusans fell to shouting and weeping for joy; they prayed that Dion might appear upon the scene, and yearned for the sight of him, and called to mind his ardour and vigour in the presence of danger, remembering that he was not only undaunted himself, but made them also bold and fearless in engaging their enemies. Im- mediately, therefore, they sent a delegation to him, Archonides and Telesides from the allies, and Hel- lanicus with four others from the horsemen. These, sending their horses over the road at full gallop, came to Leontini just as the sun was setting. Then, leaping from their horses and throwing themselves at the feet of Dion first of all, with streaming eyes they told him the calamities of the Syracusans. Presently, too, some of the Leontines came up and many of the Peloponnesians gathered about Dion, conjectur- ing from the haste and suppliant address of the men that something quite extraordinary was the matter. At once, then, Dion led his visitors to the place of assembly, the people eagerly gathered there, Ar- chonides and Hellanicus with their companions came before them, reported to them briefly the great disaster, and called upon the mercenaries to put away their feelings of resentment and come to the

Tols Lupaxovatos, TO pynotcaxeiy adévtas, ws
/ OL Py § / > A a a A e
peifova dixcnyv dedwxotwy avTav 7 NaBPelv av ot
Kaxas merovOdres n&iwaoay.
XLITI. Tavoapévor 5é rovtwyv otyh pev elye
\ \ , ’ , \ a ,
wovAn TO Oéatpoy: avacrdvtTos Sé tod Aiwvos
Kat réyerv apEapévou ToAAG Tov Saxpvav éxTi-
mrovra THY Pavny eméayev’ ot O€ Eévor Trapexadovuv
Oappety Kal ouvnxovTo. puxpov ovv dvaraBov
éx Tov WaBous éavtov o Aiwv, “”Avdpes,” én,
“TleXorrovyjoto. Kal cvppayot, BovrAevaopevous
Upas evtav0a Trepi Yua@Y avTaV auvYnyayov. épol
5é mepl éuavtod BovreverOar nares ovn exer
s a " , 9 9 9 a \
Lupaxovawy atrohAvpévwv, aXXN Eb TwCAaL py
Suvaipny, amet TH wupt Kal TO TWropate TIS
9 Ld € a , Ul
matpioos évtadynaopevos. vpeis dé, Bovromevor
pev ere cal viv BonOeiv rots aBovArotdtots Hpiv
nat SvotuxecTarots, UpeTEepov Epyov ovcay dp-
Oodte tHv Yvpaxovaoiwy wrod: et Sé pephopevor

Lupaxovaias Vrepowede, Tis ye TpoTEpoy apEeTis
Kat mpoOuuias wept éuée yapw akiav xopilorbe
a“ ” 4 , e WwW? ¢ A
mapa TaV Oedy, peuvnpévor Atwvos, os oO" tpuas
adixoupévous mpotepov ov’ barepoy Tous troditas
Svotuyobvtas eyxaTadiTovTos..
"Ete 5 avtod XN€yorros o« pev Eévor peta xpav-
ys avernonoay ayew cai Bonbeiy xara tdyos
KedevovTes, ot O€ mpéa Bes THY Lupaxovaiwy rept-
Barovres notacayto TokAd peéev exelv@, ToAAa
N “~ , 9 \ “ “ % ,
dé rois Ecvoss aya0a rapa tav Sew evyopevot.
go
9

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DION

aid of the Syracusans, since those who had wronged them had suffered a heavier punishment than those who had been wronged would have thought it right to exact.

XLII. When the messengers had made an end of speaking, there was a profound silence in the theatre; then Dion rose and began to speak, but copious tears checked his utterance ; his mercenaries, however, sympathized with him and bade him take heart. Accordingly, after he had recovered a little from his grief, he said: “ Men of Peloponnesus and allies, I have brought you together here to deliberate upon your own course of action. As for me, it is not meet that I should consult my own interests now that Syracuse is perishing, but if I cannot save her, I shall return to seek a grave amid the blazing ruins of my native city. But you, if you are willing even now, after all that has passed, to come to our help, who are the most foolish and the most unfortunate of men, pray restore the city of Syracuse and the work of your own hands.! If, however, in your displeasure at the Syracusans, you shall leave them to their fate, at least for your former bravery and zeal in my behalf may you obtain a worthy reward from the gods, and may you think of Dion as one who abandoned neither you when you were wronged, nor, afterwards, his fellow citizens when they were in distress.”

While he was still speaking, the mercenaries sprang to their feet with shouts and bade him lead them speedily to the city’s relief, while the Syracusan envoys embraced them passionately, invoking many blessings from the gods upon Dion, and many upon

1 Syracuse was colonized from Corinth, in Peloponnesus.

g!I

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

KatactavTos 5é Tov OopuBou rrapyyyerev o Aiwy
evOus amovtas TapacKkevdleaOar cai detrvnoar-
Tas KEL META TOY STAM ELS AUTOV ExEivOY TOV
ToTrov, éyvwxas d1a vuxros Bonbeiv.
XLIV. ’Ev &€ rais Supaxovcats Trav Acovuciou
OTPATHYOV, AXpe pev Hv Huépa, TWOAAA KAKA THY
TOA épyacapévav, yevouevns S5¢ vuKTos avayw-
pnoavrev els THY axpoToN Kai Twas e& éEavTov
GAiyous atroBarovtwr, avabappnoavtes ot Snpa-
ywyol TOY Yupaxovciwv, xal Tovs moNemtous
éXrricavres atpeunoey ert trois S:avrempaypevors,
mapexdXouv TOvs ToNitas avOis dav Aiwva, nav
mpocin peta tav Eévov, yn SéyerOar nde wapa-
Ywpely THS apeTAs éxeivois @S KpELTTOTIV, AAA
catew Thy Tok Kal THhv édevOepiay avTovs de
éautav. mddw ovv éréutrovto mpos tov Aiwva,
Tapa ev TOV oTpAaTHYaV aTroTpeéTTOVTES, Tapa 5é
Tav immévv Kal TOV yvwopipwy TodToV émiomTeEd-
Sovtes THv Tropeiav. Kal dia TodTo Bpabéws dua
Kal KaTa oTrovdny Topevopmevos Tpoone. THs dé
VUKTOS TpOENGOVENS Of ev putcodvTes Tov Aiwva
KaTEtYoOY Tas TUAAS WS aTroKNELaOVTES AUTOY, Oo 5é
Nuwuos, é« Ths axpas avOus rodArX@ TpoOvporteé-
pous yeyovotas xal mAciovas édiels Tovs prabodo-
pous, TO wey TpoTeixiopa Tay EevOrs KaTécKaT TE,
Thy dé wodw KaTétpexe nal Sunptratev. av Se
dovos pev ovKéTt povov avdpav, adda Kal yvvat-
Kav kat waidwv, adprayal & Grjiyat, POopos Sé
WAVTWV TOAUS. aTEyvwWKOTOS yap HON TA Tpay-
para Tob Atovuciou ral TOUS Lupakovatous devas
HELLONKOTOS, WoTEP EevTadiacat THY TUpavvida
Th wove Timtovoay éBovAcTo. Kal tod Aiwvos
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DION

his mercenaries. And when the tumult was allayed, Dion ordered his men to go to their quarters and make themselves ready, and, after taking supper, to come with their arms to that very place, for he was determined to go to the rescue by night.

XLIV. But the soldiers of Dionysius at Syracuse, as long as it was day, did much mischief to the city; when night came, however, they retired to the acropolis, having lost some tew of their number. Upon this, the popular leaders of the Syracusans plucked up courage, and in the hope that the enemy would rest

content with what they had done, ex- horted the citizens once more to ignore Dion, and if he should come up with his mercenaries, not to admit them, nor yield precedence to them as superior in point of bravery, but to save their city and their liberty by their own efforts. Accordingly, fresh mes- sengers were sent to Dion, some from the generals forbidding his advance, but others from the horsemen and more reputable citizens urging him to hasten it. For this reason he came marching on now slowly, and now at top speed. As the night advanced the enemies of Dion took possession of the gates in order to shut him out, but Nypsius, sending his mercenaries once more from the citadel in greater numbers and with more impetuosity than before, tore down at once the entire siege-wall, and overran and sacked the city. And now there was a slaughter not only of men, but also of women and children; there was little haling away of prisoners, but a great destruction of all alike. For since Dionysius now despaired of his cause and fiercely hated the Syra- cusans, he wished to make their city as it were a tomb for his falling tyranny. So his soldiers, fore-

mpoxatahapBavovres thv BonOecay én tov ofv-
TaTOV dua TUpOS mavT@v dreO por Kal apavig mov
exopnoar, ra pep eyyus aro Xetpav Saat Kal
Aawrdow Uromiyumpaytes, eis 5€ TA T poo dia-
oT elpovTEs aro Tobov mupoBonous. pevryovtay dé
TaY Zvpaxovaiwy oi wev év tais odois épovevovto
KaTarauBavopevot, TO bé els Tas olxias KaTadvd-
pevov avis vd Tob mupos é€Férimre, TOANOY HON
dreyouevwy cal xatagepopévar eri tovs diaé-
ovTas.
XLV. Totto rd mdafos pdduota tip TOMY
dvéwte Aiwve TavTov cundwrnadyray. éruye
pev yap OUKETL OITOVOH TropEVOp"EVoS, as HKOVOEV
els THY ax poTroney kararennelabas TOUS Tone-
pious. Tpoiovans be THS Huéepas T parrov imarets
annvrngay avT@ Thy Sevtépav Katadypey amrary-
yédovtes: éretta Kal TOV UmEevayTLoupEvon EVvLOL
Tapio av _ereiryer Oat Seopevot. TUYTELVOVTOS dé
Tov Kaxov padrXov 'Hpaxreidns TOV adedpov e€é-
Temper, elta @eodorny TOV Ociov, ixerevwy a.p-
yeu, @S pndevos aVvTEXOVTOS TOUS ToAEpiors,
auto dé reTpwpévou, Tis 5€ TONEWS pLKPOV ame-
xovans avaterpagpOas Kat catanen piaBar. Tovov-
Tov ayyedpatov to Aiwve T pooTred ovT@y €Te wev
éEjxovta atadious Tav TUADY amretye: ppacas dé
TOV xivduvov tots Eévous Kal TApAKeneva dpEvos
OuKETE Bdény HyEV, adhe, Spop TO oTpaTevpa
pos THY TOA, GAXov er adro1s avtialovTwv

Kal Seomevenv emeiyer Oat. Xpnodpevos 5é Oav-
pact@ Taxer Kar mpodupia Ttav Eevwv cicéBare
bid Toy TUAGY eis Thy ‘Exatépmedov Aeyouevny:
Kat Tous pev EXadpous evOus adjxev édOeiv mrpos
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DION

stalling the succour which Dion was bringing, re- sorted to the speediest destruction and annihilation of everything by burning, setting fire to what was near them with the brands and torches in their hands, and scattering fiery arrows from their bows among the remoter parts. As the Syracusans fled, some were overtaken and slain in the streets, and those who sought cover in their houses were driven out again by the fire, many buildings being now a- blaze and falling upon those who were running about.

XLV. Owing to this disaster more than to any thing else, the city was thrown open to Dion by unanimous consent. For he was no longer marching in haste, since he had heard that the enemy had shut themselves up in the acropolis. But as the day advanced, first, horsemen met him with tidings of the second capture of the city; next, even some of his opponents came with entreaties that he would hasten his march. Moreover, as the mischief grew worse, Heracleides sent out his brother, and then Theodotes his uncle, begging Dion to help them, since no one now resisted the enemy, he himself was wounded, and the city was almost demolished and consumed by fire. When these amazing messages reached Dion, he was still sixty furlongs distant from the city gates; but after telling his merce- naries of the city’s peril and exhorting them, he led his army towards the city, no longer in marching step, but on the run, while one messenger after another met him and begged him to hasten. His mercenaries advancing with astonishing speed and ardour, he burst through the gates into what was called the Hecatompedon, and at once sent his light- armed troops to charge upon the enemy, in order

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TOUS rohepious, @S ioice Oapatoas Tobs upa-
Kovatols éyyévorto, TOUS o omhiTas avros ouve-
TATTE cal TOY TodTaY TOUS éippéovTas Kal
TUYLTTAPEVOUS, épBious NOVXOUS TOLaY Kal Statpav
Tas myevovias, dws tmodAayodey dua mpoade-
potto poBepwrepov.
XLVI. ‘Emel 5€ rabra TapacKevac dpHevos Kal
Tois Beois T poo evEdpevos apOn bia Ths TONES
drycov éml Tous Toheuious, Kpauyn Kal xapa kal
TOAUS drahary 110s evyais onod kal TapaKdoece
He LLry LEvOS éyivero Tapa TOV Lvpaxovcioy, TOV
pev Aiwva cwrhpa Kal Jeov atroxadXovvtwv, Tous

dé Eévous adehpous Kal tjoXtTas. ovdels be pir-
autos oUTws" Hv Kat perowpuyos mapa TOV TOTE
“Keaupov bs ov paiddov vmrép povou Aiwvos 7) TOY
aw aTravTwv aryovidy épaivero, TPOTOU T pos
TOV xivdvvov Topevopévov be aiparos Kal sTrupos
Kat vexpov TOAD KELLEVODY éy tais WwAaTetass.
"Hy peev obv kal Ta mapa TOV TOAELiOV poBepa
mavTamacw aTrnyptmpevarv Kal Taparerary Levey
Tapa TO TEeLY Lo pa Xaremny é éXov Kal SucexBia-
oTov Thv wpocodov: o & éx Tob T Upos Kivuvos
érdparre padrov TOUS Févous wal dvcepyov € érroiet
THY Topeiav. KK yap vo Tis Proyos Tépt-
EXGTOVTO TAS oixias Teptvewouerns” kat d:amv-
poss émtBaivovtes eperTrions Kal KaTapepopevots
aroppnywact peydrous UOT PEXOVTES emurparas,
Kal ToNUy opod KATTY@ Starropevopevor KovLopToY,
émetp@vTo ouvex ew Kal pn Stacrav thv taku.
é mpocéuEav Tots rodepios, ev yepol pev

4 neds o}tws Coraés, after Reiske (oftws gidavros
Bekker): pfAaures.
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|
DION

| that the Syracusans might take courage at the sight ;

Y

he also marshalled his men-at-arms in person, to-
gether with those of the citizens who kept running
up and forming with them, dividing his commands
and forming companies in column, that he might
make a more formidable attack from many points
at once.
XLVI. When he had made these preparations and
had prayed to the gods, and was seen leading his
forces through the city against the enemy, shouts of
joy and loud battle-cries mingled with prayers and
supplications were raised by the Syracusans, who
called Dion their saviour and god, and his merce-
naries their brethren and fellow citizens. And no

one was so fond of self or fond of life in that emergency as not to show himself more anxious about Dion alone than about all the rest, as he marched at their head to meet the danger, through blood and fire and the mass of dead bodies lying in the streets.

It was true, indeed, that the enemy presented a formidable appearance, for they had become alto- gether savage, and had drawn themselves up along the demolished siege-wall, which made the approach to them difficult and hard to force; but the peril from the fire disturbed the mercenaries of Dion more, and made their progress arduous. For they were surrounded on all sides by glowing flames which were spreading among the houses; they trod upon blazing ruins and ran at the risk of their lives under falling fragments of great size; they made their way through clouds of dust and smoke; and yet they tried to keep together and not break their ranks. Moreover, when they joined battle with the

7 \ ~~ / > 2 4 \ ‘ ,
OALYWY IPOS OArjLyOUS éyiveTO wayn ta THY OTEVO-
\ A 9 , A a A \
TnTa Kal THY avopadiay Tod ToToV, Kpavyn é
lo) ,
kat wpobupia trav Yvpaxovoiwy émippwoavtwv
é
9 , @ e \ \ N a \ ‘ AQ
éBidcOnoav ot wept tov Nuyuov. al to pe
TAELTTOY AUTWY ELS THY AKpOTTOALY eyyUs ovcaY
avadetyov éowteto* tovs 5 arrorerdbévtas é&w
cat Staorvapévtas avypouvy ot Eévor SiwxKovres.
amoAavow 6€ THs viens év T@ Tapautixa Kal
Xapav Kal TreptBoras é Epy@ THAMKOUT @ mpeTrovaas
ov TrapéaxeV O Kaupos, éml tas olxias Tpamrowevery
Tov Yupaxovatwv Kal 7d wip pods év TH vuKti
xatao Bec avrwv.

XLVII. ‘Hpépa & ws Av, trav pév GAXrwv ovdeis
Uméuerve Snpaywyav, GANA KaTayvovtes éavToOV
,
Epuyov, “Hpaxretdns S€ cai @eodorns avrol xo-
picavtes éavtovs te Aiwm trapédwxav, adsxeiy
A , ,
opmoroyoovres Kal Seouevor Berriovos exeivou tv-
Yeiv H yeyovaci avtoi epi éxeivov' mpémew 5é
Aiow thy aAAnv adracay apetny aavyxpitov
éyovTe kal mpos opyny KpeitTove davivat tay

NYVOLOVNKOTWY, OL TEpL OU TpPOTEpOY eaTAaCiacaY
mpos avuTov viv Heovow nrtacBat ths aperis
e “A “ . A \ \ e v4
omoroyourTes. TavTa THY Trept Tov HpaxrEidny
Seopévwv ot pev piros mapexerevovto tH Alwve
un peidecOar xaxov cat Backaverv avbporor,
b \ “a 4 , \ e
adXa Kal Tois oTpaTIWTaLs YapicacOat Tov ‘Hpa-
Krelonv Kal tov wodsTedpatos é&edXeiv Sypuoxo-
miay, émipaves voonua, Tupavvidos ovx éXaTTOV.
0 6¢ Aliwy rapapvOovpevos adtovs EXeyev WS Tots

enemy, only a few on each side could fight at close quarters, so narrow and uneven was the place; but the Syracusans encouraged them with eager shouts, and Nypsius and his men were overpowered. Most of them fled back into the acropolis, which was near, and so saved themselves; but those who were left outside and scattered hither and thither, were pur- sued and slain by the mercenaries. No immediate enjoyment of their victory, however, and none of the glad congratulations befitting so great an achievement were possible for the Syracusans in that emer- gency; they turned their attention to their burning houses, and only by toiling all night did they succeed in putting out the fire.

XLVII. When it was day, not one of the other popular leaders would remain in the city, but passed judgement on themselves by taking to flight; Hera- cleides and Theodotes, however, came of their own accord and surrendered themselves to Dion, acknow- ledging that they had done wrong, and begging him to treat them better than they had treated him; it was meet, they said, that Dion, who was their superior in every other virtue, should also show himself a better master of his anger than his ungrateful foes, who were now come confessing that in the very quality to which they had formerly disputed his claim, namely, virtue, they were his inferiors. Though Heracleides and Theodotes thus besought Dion, his friends exhorted him not to spare such base and envious men, but to give Heracleides over to the mercy of his soldiers, and to rid the commonwealth of the hunt for mob-favour, which, no less than tyranny, was a raging distemper. But Dion tried to soften their resentment, saying that while other

pev GAXOLS otparnyots Tpos oma ral TONELOV a
Tretorn Ths acKknoews éeotiv, avT@ bé aodvy
Xpovov ev ‘Axadnpeta pepeheTnras Oupod TEpt-
elvat Kal POovou Kal prdoverxias TaoNS' Ov é émi-
betkis €OTW OX a 7 pos pirous Kal Xpna Tous
peTplorns, Grr’ et Tes adixovpevos eUTrapaitytos

ein Ka pos Tots duaptavovet BotreaBat S
“Hpaxreidou Th) Toa oUTOY Suvdpet cal dpovyce
KpaT av doo Xpnorornte Kal dicacocuvy pavivac:
TO yap adrnbas BérXrLov év TovTois: ai dé Tod
TONE LOU catopOacers, et Kal avOperrav pndeva,
TI YE TUXNY SiappiaByntobcav Eyovotwv. et 6
‘Hpaxreions amiatos Kal Kaos dia pOovor, ov
ToL Kal Aiwva Seiv Oupo diapBeipac THDV aperny:
TO yap ayritiwmpeta Oat Tov mpoadinety vow
dixatoTepov apicdar, pucer yevomevov amo pas
do Gevetas. av 6 pwrrov 5é Kaxian, eb Kal Kader ov
eoTLy, ovxX obTws ayptov elvat TavTamace Kat
dvcKonov 6 WOTE py peraBardey NapeTe vixnOetoav
vid TOV TOANAKLS ED TOLOUVTWY.
XLVIII. Tovovrous XPNT apevos Noyta pots o
Aiwy adie TOUS mepl Tov ‘Hpaxretdny. TpaTo-
pevos 8& mpos TO ha Mee Tov pév Zupa-
Kovatwv Exac tov exédevoer € éva KowarTa oTraupov
eyyus caTaBarneu, tous b€ Eévous émiaticas 51a
VUKTOS, avaT avopevov TOV Lupaxovaiwy, éhabev
arog Taupwcas THY ak poTony, wate pel’ Tpepav
TO TAXOS Kal THY épyaciay Jeacapevous OpLolws
Javpalew TOUS jToNitas Kal TOUS ToNemious. Od-
ras b€ Tovs reuncortas TOV Lupaxoue tev ral
Avaupevos TOVs éarwxoTas, SioxXthiwy ovK éAUdT-
Too

generals trained themselves mostly for arms and war, he himself had studied fer 4 Jong time in the Academy how to conquer anger, énvy, and all contentious- ness; and it was no manifestation of such self-mastery, he said, when one was kind to friends and benefactors, but when one who had been’ wronged was merciful and mild towards the erring ; besides, he wished men to see that he was superior to Heracleides, not so much in power and wisdom, as ‘n.-goodness and justice; for therein lay real superiority; whereas successes in war, even though they had. to ‘be shared with no man, must at least be shared with fortune. Moreover, if envy led Heracleides to be faithless and base, surely anger must not drive Dion to sutlv his virtue ; for although taking vengeance for a wreng was in the eyes of the Jaw more just than the duizg

of the wrong unprovoked, by nature it sprang from -.

one and the same weakness. Furthermore, baseness- in a man, even though it be a grievous thing, was”

eo.
.
not so altogether savage and obstinate that it could —

not be conquered by frequent benefactions and
altered by a sense of gratitude.
XLVIII. After using such arguments as _ these, Dion set Heracleides and Theodotes free. Then turning his attention to the siege-wall, he bade each one of the Syracusans to cut a stake and lay it down near the works, and setting his mercenaries to the task all night, while the Syracusans were resting, he succeeded in fencing off the acropolis, so that when day came the citizens and the enemy alike were amazed to see with what speed the work had been accomplished. He also buried the dead Syra- cusans, ransomed those who had been taken prisoners, although they were fully two thousand in number,

»

tovas GvTas, éxkAnoiay cuynyaye. Kai Tape Owv
“Hpaxretdns eionynocato. yuwpnvy avtoxpdtopa
otpatnyov érecbas Aigya-xata yhv Kal Odrac-
gav. atrodeEapévwr, 5¢ ‘TeV dpictwy Kal yeLpo-
Tovely KedXevovtwy <OgpuByoev o vauTixos dys
kat Bavavoos, ay Paleevos éxmimtovTs THS vavap-
yias TO ‘Hpanrésdr, cal vouitwy adrov, ei xal
Tarra pnbdevos akties ott, Snwotexwtepoy ye tav-
Tws elvat TOO imvos kat padXov Ure yelpa Tois
aA Ave a A Ian a
3 qoAXois. .°6, 06 Aimy TovTO pev epfxerv adtois Kat
Thy Kata Oaratray apxynv amedoxe t@ ‘Hpa-
Kreldn, arpos Sé THS ys Kal TOV olKL@V TOV ava-
Sacyoy eppnpévors évavtiwbeis Kal Ta mpoTepov
wybrrfévta mept tovtwv axupwaas édAuTNCEDV.
Ofer evOds érépay apxynv AaBov o ‘Hpaxrgeidns
“TQUS TuvEexTTAEVTAVTAS ET aAUTOD oOTpaTLMTAS
.+, ab vavtas ev Meconvn xaOnpevos ednpayeryer **\"xal mapwEuve kata tod Aiwvos ws Tupavvety
pér- “.. Novtos: autos dé wpos Atovictoy éroveito cuvOn-

4 xas xptda Sia Ddpaxos tod Yraptidrov. Kai

TOUTO TOV YyYwpLLwTaTeY Yvpakovaiwy wirovon-
TaVTWY, OTAOLS HY ev TO oTpaToTéde Kal bv avTny
amopia Kal omdavis év tals Yupaxovaoas, wate
Tavrataciw apnyaveiy tov Aiwva kal xaxds

dxovey vTo Tav ditwv ottw Sdvapetayeipirtov
avOpwrov kai dvepOappévov v7r0 POovov cal Tovn-
pias avEnoarvta Kal’ avrod rov Hpaxrcidnv.
XLIX. Bdpaxos $€ wpos Néa wore ris ’Ax-
payavrivns oatparomedevovtos, éEayaywyv tous
Lupaxovatous EBovrAETo peév ev éErépw Katp@ Siaryo-
vicacOat mpos avrov, ‘Hpaxreidou 5€ kai tov
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and then held an assembly. Here Heracleides came
forward with a motion that Dion should be chosen
general with absolute powers by land and sea. The
aristocracy approved of this motion and urged the
appointment; but the mob of sailors and day-
labourers tumultuously opposed it, being vexed that
Heracleides should lose his office of admiral, and
considering him, even though good for nothing in
other ways, at least altogether more a man of the
people than Dion and more under the control of the
multitude. This point Dion yielded to them, and
restored the command by sea to Heracleides; but
when they insisted upon the redistribution of land
and houses, he opposed them and repealed their
former decrees on this head, thereby winning their
displeasure. Wherefore Heracleides at once renewed
his machinations, and, when he was stationed at
Messana, artfully tried to exasperate against Dion
the soldiers and sailors who had sailed thither with
him, declaring that Dion intended to make himself
tyrant; but he himself was all the while making
secret compacts with Dionysius through the agency
of Pharax the Spartan. When this was suspected
by the better class of Syracusans, there was dissen-
sion in the army, and therefore perplexity and want
of provisions in Syracuse, so that Dion was altogether
at a loss what to do, and was blamed by his friends
for having strengthened against himself a man so
perverse and so corrupted by envy and baseness as
Heracleides was. .
XLIX. Now, Pharax was encamped at Neapolis,
in the territory of Agrigentum, and thither Dion led
forth the Syracusans. Dion wished to settle the
issue between them at a later opportunity, but

wv“ 4 e 9 4 4, aA
vavtov KataBowrvtTwr ws ov BovrAeTat waxy Kpivat
N 4 / 9 > 9 / ¥
tov troXenov Aiwy, arr ael évovTos APYELY,
b) / \ / / \
avayxacbels avvéBare nal nrtnOn. yevopévns 5é
THS TpoThs ov Bapelas, AANA padrdOoV bd éavTav
Kal Tov otacidley rapayOévtarv, adOis 6 Aiwv
mapecxevatero payecOar xal ovvétatte mreiOwv
kal wapaBappyvwv. Ths 86 vuKTos apyopéevns
2 s \ > A € , ” \
ayyednNeTat moos autov “Hpaxreidnv adpavta tov
GTONOY qWAcly er Yupaxoveay, eyywKoTa THY
TONY KaTanaPely KaKEtvoY aToK\Eioat pEeTaA TOU
, 9 A 2 3 N \
oTpatevpatos. ev0vs ody dvaraBSav Ttovs duva-
TwTaTous Kal mpoOupotatous immacato Sta THs
, ed a
vuxTos' Kal wept TpiTnv @pay THs nuépas mpos
Tals TUAALS HV, oTAdLOUS KATHVUKOS ErTakoctous.
“Hpaxrelins 5€ tals vavoiv, os dputdropevos
toTépnoev, atroTAevaoas Kal TAaVa@peEVvos ev Tais
4 a
apatesw acKxorws émituyyaver TactrAm Te
4 / A 92? e 4
Xmaptiatn, pdoKxovts rely ep Hyepovia Lxe-
Meotav é€« Aaxedaipovos, ws MpoTEpov TroTeE
Tvriros. aaopevos otv avaraBwv rovtToy Tov
” 4 4 b ,
dvépa Kal meptayrapevos wotep are~ipdppaxov
tov Atwvos émedeixvuto Tots ouppdyos: Kal
KipuKa wéuTov eis TAS Yupaxovaas éxéreve Sé-
4 v
yecOar Tov Braptidtny apxovta Tovs oAiTas.
“A ,
atroxpiwwapevov 5€ Tov Aiwvos ws elo apyortes
ixavol Tots Yuvpaxovaiots, et 5é€ mavtws Séor Kat
Lmaptidrov Tols mpdypaci, avtos odtos elvat,
\
KATA Toinow yeyovws YrapTvaTns, THY wer apynv
e , > / 4 N ‘ \ 4

6 Taiavros amréyva, twrevcas S5é mpos tov Aiwva
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DION

Heracleides and his sailors kept crying out against him, saying that his wish was not to decide the war by a battle, but to have it last forever, that he might remain in power. He was therefore forced into an engagement, and was worsted. Since, however, the defeat of his men was not severe, but due more to their own seditious disorders than to the enemy, Dion again prepared for battle and drew up his forces, persuading and encouraging them. But in the evening word was brought to him that Hera- cleides with his fleet was sailing for Syracuse, deter- mined to occupy the city and shut Dion and his army out of it. Immediately, therefore, he took with him his most influential and zealous supporters and rode all night, and about nine o'clock next day was at the gates of the city, having covered seven hun- dred furlongs. But Heracleides, who, in spite of all his efforts, arrived too late with his ships, put out to sea again, and being without definite plans, fell in with Gaesylus the Spartan, who insisted that he was sailing from Sparta to take command of the Sicilians, as Gylippus had formerly done.! Hera- cleides, accordingly, gladly took up this man, at- tached him to himself like an amulet, as it were, against the influence of Dion, and showed him to his confederates ; then, secretly sending a herald to Syracuse, he ordered the citizens to receive their Spartan commander. Dion, however, made answer that the Syracusans had commanders enough, and that if their situation absolutely required a Spartan also, he himself was the man, since he had been made a citizen of Sparta. Thereupon Gaesylus gave up his pretensions to the command, and sailing to

1 See the Nictas, chapters xix. ff. .
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

dip rrake Tov 'Hpaxnretdyy ¢ GpKous dovta Kal Tic-
TELS Tas peyloras, als avros o T'aicvros doce
tipwpos évecOar Aiwve cat xoraorTHs "Hpaxreidou
gigs alec dal
. "Ex TOUTOU KaTehvoay pep ot Lvpaxovevor
TO ae ovdev yap Av épryov avrob, peydrae
bé daravat toils Théovat, Kal atdcews apoppai
TOS apXover. thy b€ a dixpay émoNLopKouv é£ouxo-
SopnoavtTes TO TrEeptTeyiopa. pnberds dé Tois
TONLOPKOULEVOLS BonOobvros, emiALtrov TOs dé ai-
Tov, TOY 6e peabopopov yivopevoy Tovnpar,
aTroyvous O vios Tou Atovuciou Ta mpdypara Kab
TTELTAMEVOS pos TOV Aiwva tiv pev dxpay é éxeivep
META TOV éTrh@v Kal THS adds KaTACKEUTS 1a pe-
Swxep, avTOS dé Tv pnrépa Kal Tas aerpas
avaraBav Kal TevTe TANpwD awevos Tpuypets efe-

met Mpos Tov Tatépa, TOU Aiwvos aoparas ev
éxmeUTrovTos, ovdevos be Tov év upacovears
arrohelTovTOs éxeiyny THY Gy, Gr Kal TOUS BY
mapovTas érreBowpevov, ort Thy npepav TaUTHY
Kal TOV ipvov éNevO pais avis XovTa tas _Zupa-
KOVTAaLS OUK epopaory. Strov yap étt vov Tav
Leyouevoy | Kata THS TUXNS TapaderypaTov eu a-
veoTaTov éott Kal peyLaTov " Atovuciou guy,
tiva Xpn SoKxeiv adtav éxeivov THY TOTE Xapav
yever Gat Kal wnrixov dpovncas Tovs THY wEeyioT HV
TOY TeTOTE Tupavyidwy KabEdOVTAS ENAXioTALS
adoppats;
LI. "ExTevoavtos dé Tov "AmroAAoKpatous,
Kal rod Aiwvos eis THY dix poTroALy Badifovtos, ovK
éxaptépnaay ai yuvaixes ovd avéepweway eioedOeiv
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DION

Dion, effected a reconciliation between him and
Heracleides, who took oaths and made the most
solemn pledges, in support of which Gaesylus him-
self swore that he would avenge Dion and punish
Heracleides if he worked any more mischief.
L. After this the Syracusans discharged their fleet, since it was of no use, while it involved great outlays for the crews, and caused dissension among their com- manders ; they also laid siege to the citadel after they had finished building the wall that enclosed it. No one came to the help of the besieged, provisions failed them, and the mercenaries became mutinous, so that the son of Dionysius gave up his cause for lost and made terms with Dion. The citadel he handed over to him together with the arms and other equip- ment there, while he himself, taking his mother and sisters and manning five triremes, sailed away to his father. Dion allowed him to depart in safety, and no one who was then in Syracuse missed that sight, nay, they called upon the absent ones also, pitying them because they could not behold this day and the rising of the sun upon a free Syracuse. For since, among the illustrations men give of the mutations of fortune, the expulsion of Dionysius is still to this day the strongest and plainest, what joy must we suppose those men themselves then felt, and how great a pride, who, with the fewest resources, over- threw the greatest tyranny that ever was!

LI. After Apollocrates had sailed away, and when Dion was on his way to the acropolis, the women could not restrain themselves nor await his entrance,

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

avtov, GAN emi tas Ouvpas éFéSpapov, 4 pev

"Aptotouayn Tov viev ayovca tod Aiwvos, 7 &
"A pérn KATOTLY elmero Saxpuouca, Kal d:arro-
povoa 7H doTdonTat kal mpoceimn TOV dvdpa
Kotvwvias auth mpos ETepov yeyevnuévns. ac-
Tacapévov & avtovd mpatov THY abeAdnr, elta
TO Taloiov, 4 ‘AptoTouayn Tpocayayotoa THY
"Apérny, ““Hruyodpev, & Aiwv,” épn, “cov dev-
yovtos: hKwv dé Kal vixav adnpynKas hua atapv-
TOY TAS KATHELAS, TARY LovNsS TAUTNS, Hv emeidov
n Svotvyns eyo ood CavtTos érépm auvedOeiv
BiacOcioav. Ste ody oé Kvptovy Huav H TY
MeTOLNnKe, TWS AUTH Staitas exeivnv THy avayKny;
motepov ws Oeiov 7} Kal ws avdpa oe aomacetat ;”
Totavta THS Aptotouayns Neyovons o Aiwy éxda-
Kpucas mpoonydryero pidoaTopyws THY yuvaina:
Kal TrApado’S AUTH TOV VLOV ExEXNEVoEV ELS THV
oixiav tTHv avTod Badifew, Sov Kal av’tos bun-
TaTO, THY AKpav él Tois YvpaKxovators trounoa-
pevos.
LII. Oitw 6é tev Tpayydtwr avT® mpoKeyo-
pnKoT@v ovdev aronabeas 7 POT Epov nEtoce Tis
mapovans evTUXLas 7) TO Kal pirous Xaprtas Kab
cuppayos Swpeds, partota Sé Trois év doe
ouvnbect nat Eévors arrovetpai Tiva piravOpwrias
Kal Tins mepida, TH peyaropuxyia thy Svvauw
imepBarrAopevos. éavTov 5é TAS Kal cwhpovas
éx tav tuxovrav SidKet, Oavpafopuevos Ott, 1)
povov BKertas Te Kal Kapynddvos, adAa nal THs
"EAXdb0s GANS aToBAEerrova ns pos avTov evnpe-
pouvta, Kal pndevy ottTw péya TeV ToTE vomlov-
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DION

but ran out to the gates, Aristomache leading Dion’s son, while Arete followed after them in tears, and at a loss how to greet and address her husband now that she had lived with another man. After Dion had greeted his sister first, and then his little son, Aristomache led Arete to him, and said: “ We were unhappy, Dion, while thou wast in exile; but now that thou art come and art victorious, thou hast taken away our sorrow from all of us, except from this woman alone, whom I was so unfortunate as to see forced to wed another while thou wast still alive. Since, then, fortune has made thee our lord and master, how wilt thou judge of the compulsion laid upon her? Is it as her uncle or as her husband that she is to greet thee?’’ So spake Aristomache, and Dion, bursting into tears, embraced his wife fondly, gave her his son, and bade her go to his own house ; and there he himself also dwelt, after he had put the citadel in

charge of the Syracusans.

LII. And now that his enterprise had been so successful, he thought it not right to enjoy his present good fortune before distributing thanks to his friends, rewards to his allies, and particularly to his Athenian associates and to his mercenaries some mark of kindness and honour, his generosity leading him beyond his resources. But as for himself, he lived with simplicity and moderation on what he had, and men wondered at him because, while his successes drew upon him the eyes not only of Sicily and Carthage, but also of all Hellas, and while he was regarded by the people of that time as the

Twv, pnd énidaveortépas mept aAXov Hryepova
ToApns Kal TUyYns yeyovévat SoKovons, ovTw
mapeixev éauTov ecOhre Kal Ocparreia Kal rpaTrébn
pétpiov, Bomep év "Axadnpeta ovooita@v peta
TIAdtavos, ov« év Eevayots xat probodopas diat-
T@pevos, ols ai Kal" éExdotny Hyépav TANT oval
Kal atroXavces Tapauv0ia Tov Tovey Kal TOV
xkwodvvev eiciv. arr éxeiv@ pev IAdtwv éypadev
@> Wwpos éva viv THS oiKovpévns TOUTOY aTavTES
aroPnérrouvaw, autos S€é éxeivos, ws Eorxev, abewpa
mpos &v ywpiov pias Todews, THY "Axadnpesar,
Kat Tovs avToOe nal Oeatas Kal Suxactas éyivw-
oKkev ovTe mpakw ovtTe TOAMaV oOvTE VviKnY TLV
Oavpatovras, GANA povov et Koopiws Kal cwdpo-
YWS TH TUYN XpHTat Kal wapéyer pétptov éavTov
évy Tpayywact peydAos aGtooKoTrobvtTas. Tov mév-
TOL Trepl TAS OmLALAS GyKoU Kal TOU Tpos TOV Shpov
arevous epidoveiKer pander Upedeiv pnde xardoat,
KaiToL TOY mpary nara are Xaperos évdewy ov-
tov, kat TIAdtwvos éeritipaevtos, @S EelpnKaper,
Kal ypapovros ott 7 avOddera epnpia ovvotKos
dot. GAAG hvoes Te haiverar Wpos To TiOavov
SvoKxepdot@ Keypnuevos, avtiomray Te Tovs Yupa-
Kovalous ayayv avepévous Kal SiateOpuppéevous
7 poOvpovpevos.
LIII. 'O yap 'Hpaxrretdns adOes érréxerto: Kat
@pQ@Tov pev eis auvedploy Tapaxarovpevos ovK
éBovreto Badilew: idsi@rns yap Ov peta Tov.
dAXwv exxrnotdlew wodkTa@y. Emetta KaTnyoper
11oO

DION

greatest of living men, and was thought to be blessed with courage and good fortune beyond any other commander, he was nevertheless so modest in his dress, his attendance, and his table, just as though he were messing with Plato in the Academy, and not living among captains of mercenaries and paid soldiers, who find in their daily feastings, and other enjoyments, a solace for their toils and perils. Plato, indeed, wrote to him! that the eyes of all the world were now fixed upon him alone, but Dion himself, as it would seem, kept his eyes fixed upon one spot in one city, namely, the Academy, and considered that his spectators and judges there admired neither great exploits nor boldness nor victories, but watched to see only whether he made a discreet and decorous use of his good fortune, and showed himself modest in his high estate. Nevertheless, he made it a point not to remit or relax at all the gravity of his manners or his haughtiness in dealing with the people, al- though his situation called for a gracious demeanour, and although Plato, as I have said,? wrote and warned him that self-will was “a companion of solitude.’ But he seems to have been of a temper naturally averse to graciousness, and, besides, he was ambitious to curb the Syracusans, who were given to excessive license and luxury.

LITT. For Heracleides once more set himself in
opposition to him. To begin with, when he was
invited by Dion to attend the council, he refused to
come, saying that as a man in private station he
would meet in assembly with the other citizens.
' EHpiat. iv. p. 320: Sore rovs ef axdons rhs oixouménrs eis eva témov amoBAdmrey, Kal év ToUT@ wdAtota mpds o€.

2 In chapter viii. 3
Il
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

a 4 4 \ ¥ ? , \ A
tov Aiwvos 6Tt THY akpav ov KaTécKae Kal TO
Sym tov Acovuciov tapov wpynpévm AdoaL Kal
a 4
Tov vexpov éxBarely ovK eTétpe re, peTAaTEeWT ETAL
dé é« KopivOov cupBovrous xal ocuvdpyortas,
la) / A ?
amaki@v Tovs ToNiTas. TOO dyTe peTEeTEeUTETO
\ , ig / > a /
tous Kopwiovs o Aiwv, iv émevoet rodteiav
padov éAmifoy Kxatacthcew exeivwy Traparyevo-
pévov. érrevoet O€ THY ev Akpatoyv Snuoxpatiay,
e b 4 b \ v4 @
@S OU TOALTELAV, ANAA TAaVTOTWXLOV OVTAY TOX-

A \ \ 4 4 \
te@v, kata Tov IlAdtwva, kwrvev, Aakwyixov
dé te cal Kpntixoy oxjpa prEdpevos éx Sypou

kat Bacirelas, apistoxpatiay éxov THY émioTa-
a \ ,
tovcav Kat BpaBevovoav Ta péyiota, Kabtotavat
A e lal \ la! ,
Kal Koopeiv, op@v Kal Tods KopivGiouvs odyap-
/ \ \ \ a
NX LK TEPOV TE TWONLTEVQMLEVOUS KAL LN TONKA THY
Kowav év TO Snww@ TpaTTovTas.
\ A \ €
‘Os ody padtota Tpos TadTa Tov Hpaxreidny
? A / @ ,
évavtimcer Oar Tpocedoxa, Kal TaANA Tapaxywodns
N\
Kal evpetaberos Kal otaciactixos hy, ods drat
\ a
Bovropévous avroy éx@Avey avedely, TovTos érré-
Tpewe tote? Kal mapedOovtes es THY oiKiav
\ 4
amoKtivyvovaly auTov. édAvTNGE dé ahodpa Tovs
Lupaxovatious atobavav. suws bé tod Aiwvos
Tapas Te AapTpAas TapacKevdcavTos Kal peta
le) 4
Tov OTpaTevpaTos ETopévou MpoTéuavTos TOV
a /
vexpov, elta diarexGévtos avtois, cuveyvwoay ws
ov Suvatov Hv tapaccopevny Tmravoacdat tHv
/
mow ‘Hpaxdrctdov nat Aiwvos dua mrodTevo-
; :

pévav.

II2

DION

Next, he publicly denounced Dion for not demolish- ing the citadel, and for checking the people when they set out to open the tomb of Dionysius and cast out his dead body, and for sending to Corinth for counsellors and colleagues in the government, there- by showing contempt for his fellow citizens. And in fact Dion did send for assistance to the Corinthians, hoping the more easily to establish the civil polity which he had in mind if they were at his side. And he had it in mind to put a curb upon unmixed de- mocracy in Syracuse, regarding it as not a civil polity, but rather, in the words of Plato,! a “ bazaar of polities’’; also to establish and set in order a mixture of democracy and royalty, somewhat after the Spartan and Cretan fashion, wherein an aristo- cracy should preside, and administer the most im- portant affairs; for he saw that the Corinthians had a polity which leaned towards oligarchy, and that they

transacted little public business in their assembly of the people.

Accordingly, since he expected that these measures would find their chief opponent in Heracleides, and since the man was in every way turbulent, fickle, and seditious, he now yielded to those who had long wished to kill him, but whom he had hitherto re- strained ; so they made their way into the house of Heracleides and slew him. His death was keenly resented by the Syracusans; but nevertheless, when Dion gave him a splendid funeral, followed the body to its grave with his army, and then discoursed to them upon the matter, they came to see that it was impossible for the city to be free from tumults while Heracleides and Dion together conducted its affairs.

1 Republic, viii. p. 557 d.

LIV. "Hv &é tis éraipos tod Aiwvos é& 'AQn-
vov, Kdddurros, dy dnow o Tharov OUK ato
Tmatoeias, arr' x puotayoyiav Kal THs TéptTpe-
yovons eraspelas yV@ ptyov avT@ yever Bar Kat
cuvnon, petacyav bé THs otparelas Kal TLue-
PEVOS, WOTE Kal aouvercenGeiv els TAS Lupaxovoas
Tp@Tos TOV éralpwv am dvrov, ea repavepevos Kab
Aap pos ev Tois ayaot Kal Sidonpos. émrel 8é,
TOV 7 parov Kal Bedtio Tey dirwv tod Aiwvos
dyno weveov bro Tov TONELOD, Kal teOvnKotos
'Hpaxneldov, TOV Te Ofjpov € éwpa TOV Lupaxovaioy
Epnwov HVE WOVOS évTa, Kab TOUS oTpaTLOTAS TOUS
peta Aiwvos T poaéXovTas aurT@ padiota, prapa-
TATOS avOpwrrav yevouevos Kal TavTaTracw éMri-
oas ZineMav aOrov éew THs Eevoxrovias, ws bé
pac é évtol, Kal TddavTa TpoorhaBav elxoot Tob
dovov pa Dov Tapa TOV Tohepior, | dtéfOerpe xat
qmapec xrevalé TLvas TOY Eeveov ert TOV Aiwva,
caxonBeartarny apxny Kal mavoupyoTatny Town-
gapevos. ael yap TLvas dwvas TOV TT PAT LOT EY
mMpos exelvoy H NEdEyHLEevas adrANOas avadépwr +)
meTrag mevas vd' abrod, TovavTaY efovoiav éha Be
dua THY lor OoT évTuyy dvew Kpuga Kat dta-
eye Gar pera. mappycias ols Bovroro Kata Tob
Aiwvos, avTov KedEvovTOS, I iva bse els AavOavn
TOV UMTOVAWS KAL dua pevaas eXovTwv. éx S€ Tov-
TOV cuveBawe TOUS pev TOVNPOUS Kal vooourtas
eUpio Kev TaXy rat cuviatdvat TOV Kaanurmoy,
él O€ TLS AT wT aMeVvos TOUS Aoyous aurob Kal THY

meipav é€eimrot pos Tov Aiwva, wy TapdTTecOat
114

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DION

LIV. Now, there was a certain comrade of Dion’s named Callippus, an Athenian, who, as Plato says,} had become intimately acquainted with him, not as a fellow pupil in philosophy, but in consequence of initiation into the mysteries and the recurrent comradeship which this brought. He took part in Dion’s expedition and was held in honour by him, so that he even entered Syracuse with him at the head of all his comrades, with a garland on his head, after winning glorious distinction in battle. But now that the chief and noblest friends of Dion had been consumed away by the war, and Heracleides was dead, he saw that the people of Syracuse were without a leader, and that he him- self was very much in favour with Dion’s soldiers. Therefore, showing himself the vilest of men, and altogether expecting that he would have Sicily as a reward for murdering his friend,’ and, as some say, having received twenty talents from the enemy to pay him for doing the murder, he bribed some of Dion’s mercenaries into a conspiracy against him, beginning his work in a most malicious and rascally manner. For he was always reporting to Dion various speeches of his soldiers against him, either actually uttered or fabricated by himself, and in this way won his confidence, and was authorized to meet secretly with whom he would and talk freely with them against Dion, in order that no lurking malcontents might remain undiscovered. By this means Callippus succeeded in quickly discovering and banding together the evil-minded and discon- tented citizens, and, whenever any one who had repulsed his overtures told Dion about them, Dion

1 Hpist. vi. p. 333.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

pnde Xareraiverv éxeivov, @S & WoocétaTTE TOU
Kadritrrrov mepaivovtos.
LV. Luc Tapers bé THs émtBoudijs pac pa
yiverat Tp Aiwve peya Kat TepaT does. éTuyxave
pev yap ope THS nLepas cabelopevos év TacTace
THS olKias povos aly 7 pos cavT@ TV Sudvouay:
éLaipyns dé yopou yevopevov 1 pos Garép Tépatt
Tis aTodas, arroBréypas ert @TOS dytos elde
yuvaixa peyarny, OTOAR pev Kal Tporom@ pndev
"Eptvvvos TPAyLKAS mapahuTrovaay, caipovoay
bé KAaAAUYT PY Tit THV oixiay. ex haryels dé
dewvds Kal TrepipoBos YEVOMEVOS peTeTreuparo
TOUS pirous Kat Sinyetro THY yw avrois Kal
Tapapevery édeiTo Kat TUVYUKTEPEVELY, TavTa-
mag EKO TATIKOS EXeov Kal dedorKas pay TaALy
eis oyu auT@ povebévre TO Tépas adinntas.
TOUTO pev ov ai6us OU GUVETEGE. pel Hype pas Cy

ddLyas o vids autod oxebov dyrimans OV, EK TLVOS
AuINS Kal OpyAs picpav Kal TaudiKny apxny
AaBovens, epptrpev éavtTov amo TOU TéyouS ET
THY Kepadny Kal dtepOapn.
LVI. ’Ep TovovTots b€ Tov Aiwvos dvtos, o
KaaAdemos ere paddov elyeTO THIS émtBourips,
Kal oyov eis TOUS Lupaxovatous efédmxev @s 0
Aiwyv, amas yeyovas, eyvoxe tov Atovuciou
Kanety ‘AmoAdoKparny Kal mo.eto Oat Siddoxor,
aderpidobv pev 6vTa THS éavToU yuvaikes, Ouya-
Tpidoby dé THs aberoijs. 700 dé xal TOV Aiwva
Kal Tas yuvaixas Urrovota TAY TPATTOMEVOD | lye,
Kab envicers éyiyvorTo TAavTa oGev. GNX Oo pev
Aiwv, os eouKen, emt Tols KAT TOV ‘Hpaxneidny
axOopmevos, kai tov dovov éxeivov, ws Tiva TOD
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was not disturbed nor vexed, but assumed that
Callippus was merely carrying out his injunctions.
LV. As the plot was ripening, Dion saw an ap- parition of great size and portentous aspect. He was sitting late in the day in the vestibule of his house, alone and lost in thought, when suddenly a noise was heard at the other end of the colonnade, and turning his gaze in that direction he saw (for it was not yet dark) a woman of lofty stature, in garb and countenance exactly like a tragic Fury, sweeping the house with a sort of broom. He was terribly shocked, and, becoming apprehensive, summoned his friends, told them what he had seen, and begged them to remain and spend the night with him, being altogether beside himself, and fearing that if he were left alone the portent would appear to him again. This, indeed, did not occur a second time. But a few days afterwards his son, who was hardly a boy any more, in a fit of angry displeasure caused by some trivial and childish grievance, threw himself headlong from the roof and was killed.

LVI. While Dion was thus heavily afflicted, Cal- lippus was all the more intent upon his plot, and spread a report among the Syracusans that Dion, being now childless, had made up his mind to send for Apollocrates, the son of Dionysius, and make him his successor, since he was his wife’s nephew and his sister's grandson. And presently both Dion and his wife and sister began to suspect what was going on, and information of the plot came to them from every quarter. But Dion, as it would seem, being in distress at the fate of Heracleides, and suffering continual vexation and depression at thought of the man’s

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A aA A /
Biou nal Trav wpdkewv adt@ Knrida Trepixerpéevny,

dSucxepaivwy det Kat Bapuvopevos, elev Grt
4 # 4 a , 9 \ 4
TodAaKls 75n OvncKey Erotwos éote Kal mrapéyewv
“ B ne , 4 au , 9 oF » 4 ‘
T@ BovAropevw odatre autov, ev Cnv dence: mn
4 > ,
povov Tous é€xyOpovs, GAXA Kal Tovs pirous du-
J
NATTOMEVOD.
Tas 5€ yuvaixcas opwv o Kandnduros é€eta-
Covcas axpiBas To Tpaypa, Kai PoBnOeis, 7rGE
Mpos avTas apvoupevos Kal Saxpvwv Kal TiatL
iy Bovrovrar dudovae Bovrcpevos. ati & n&iovv
\ “
avtTov ouocat Tov pwéyay Spxov. jv S€ ToLodTOS:
N 5) \ a 4 / € \
xkataBas eis TO TOV Oecpodopwv Téuevos o bid0vs
THY TOT, LEeP@V TIWwY YyEevomevwY, TreptBadAETAL
oY / a a \ \ a
THY moppuptoa THS Beod, Kai daBov 6g6a KaLo-
PevnY aTrojvUcl. TAaUTa TOlnoaS oO Ka@\XAuraros
mavTa, Kal TOV OpKOV ATrOLOGAaS, OUTW KaTEyéAAcE
Tav Oedy Bote TrEepimeivas THY EopTHY Ss BpmoceE
Oeod, Spa tov dhovov év trois Kopeiots, ovdev tows
TO TEpt THY Hwépay THs Oeod mrotnodpeEvos, ws
9 / iA b A b | v /
aoceBoupévns Twavrws, e Kal KaT GOV yYpovoy
Eohatte Tov pUoTHY AUTIS 0 pucTAaywyos.
LVII. “Ovtwy 5é mrecovwr €v TH Kowwvia Ts

4 4 4 9 > 4 ,
mpatews, KaGeCopevov Atwvos ev otxnpate KrLVaS
Tivas €yovTs peta Tov dirwv, ot pev Ew THY
oixiay meptéctncay, oi Sé mpdos Tais Ovpats Tod
¥ “A / a +] »] e

oixov Kal Tais Oupiow joayv. avtol & ot mpoo-
a) A fo!
héperv Tas Xelpas péeAAovTEes ZaxvvO.o. tTapHrGov

murder, which he regarded as a stain upon his life and actions, declared that he was ready now to die many deaths and to suffer any one who wished to slay him, if it was going to be necessary for him to live on his guard, not only against his enemies, but also against his friends.

But Callippus, seeing that the women were investigating the matter carefully, and taking alarm, came to them with denials and in tears and offering to give them whatever pledge of fidelity they desired. So they required him to swear the great oath. This was done in the following manner. The one who gives this pledge goes down into the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, where, after certain sacred rites have been performed, he puts on the purple vestment of the goddess, takes a blazing torch in his hand, and recites the oath. All this Callippus did, and recited the oath; but he made such a mockery of the gods as to wait for the festival of the goddess by whom he had sworn, the Coreia, and then to do the murder.! And yet it is possible that he took no account of the day, since he knew that the goddess would have been utterly outraged even if at another time her mystic were slain by his mystagogue.?

LVII. Many had conspired to do the deed, and as Dion was sitting with his friends in an apartment containing couches for entertainment, some of the conspirators invested the house outside, while others stood at the doors and windows of the apartment. The actual assassins, who were Zacynthians, came in

1 353 B.C.

_ 2 Implying that Callippus had himself initiated Dion into the mysteries of Demeter.

dvev Erhav ev tois yiT@OLW. aya 8 of pev éEw tas Oupas émiaTacduevor KaTeixov, oa dé TO Aiov T poo WET OVTES KaTayyew éTepavtTo Kai ovvT piBer avtov. as 0 ook yp émépatwvov, 7 Tov Eios: ovdels & éroApa TAS Oupas avoitat. ou-vol yap ho av évdov ot peTa ToD Aiwvos, ov EKaTTOS olopevos, dv éxeivov mpontat, Stacwoerv éauTon, OUK eTOA MG BonGety. drat puis bé Ye-

vopwevns AvKwv o Lupaxovatos opéyet TWh TOV
ZaxvyOvev bia THS Gupidos eyELpLoLov, @ Kaba-
mep tepetov tov Aiwva KpaToupevov mda Kal
BeSierteiou aneopatav. evs dé xal TH
GdeApny pEeTAa TIS yuvarros eryKULOVOS ovans ets
THD elpkT HY evéBarov. Kat ouveBn TH yuvakt
TANpoVvEerTaTa hoxevdeion Texety év T@ SOecpo-
Tnpi@ matSdprov dppev" omrep Kat Operas padrov_
mapeBarovto TET ATAL TOUS puraxas, 70n TOU
KaadAinovu OopuBoupévou Tobs Tpdypaciy.
LVIII. Ev api bev yap amoxreivas Tov
Atwva ham pos jv Kal Kateixe TAS LupaKxoveas:
Kab TTpos THY "AOnvatov eypahe Tow, iv pa-
NOTA [ETA TOUS Jeovs apetrev aidetoOat Kat
Sedsévat THALKOUVTOU pvoous dypawevos. XX'
gotxev adnbas reyes ae TO THY TOLD éxetvny
péperv dvdpas apeTh TE TOUS ayabouvs apio Tous
Kal KaKia TOUS pavrous TOVNPOTATOUS, cadarrep
aura Kal n X@pa KaNALoTOV pen Kat Ke@oveLov
QV LOPWTATOV avabidacty. ov pV TOU » Xpovov
O Kaddumros eyKAn pa THS TUXNS kat Tav Oeav
TEpLHD, @S TEpLOpOVvT OV ef aceBnuatos dvO pwrrov
THMLKOUTOV KT@MEVOV TYE LOvias Kal mpdypata:
taxu © akiav dinny edwxev. opunoas pev yap
I20

unarmed and without their cloaks. Then at -the same time those outside closed the doors and held them fast, while those inside fell upon Dion and tried to strangle and crush him. They made no headway, however, and called for a sword; but no one ventured to open the door. For Dion's com- panions inside were many in number; but each of them thought that by abandoning Dion to his fate he would save his own life, and so no one ventured to help him. After some delay, Lycon the Syracusan handed through the window to one of the Zacyn- thians a shortsword, and with this they cut Dion's throat as if he had been a victim at the altar; he had long since been overpowered and. was quivering before the stroke. At once, too, they cast his sister into prison, together with his wife, who was big with child. His wife had a most wretched confinement, and gave birth in the prison to a male child, which the women ventured to rear, with the consent of their guards, and all the more because Callippus was already involved in great trouble.

LVIII. At the outset, indeed, after he had killed Dion, Callippus was a glorious personage, and had Syracuse in his power. He actually wrote a letter to the city of Athens, which, next to the gods, he ought to have held in awe and fear after setting his hands to so great a pollution. But it appears to be truly said of that city that the good men whom she breeds are of the highest excellence, and the bad men of the most despicable baseness, just as her soil produces sweetest honey and deadliest hemlock. However, Callippus did not long remain a scandal to fortune and the gods, as though they had no eyes for a man who won

leadership and power by so great impiety, but speedily paid a fitting penalty. For on setting out to take

12!

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Karavny raBeiv, evOds améBanre TAs Lupaxotoas:
STE Kat hac avtov ciety Ste TOALY ATrOAWAEKS
TUpOKYNaTLY einen. émBemevos bé Meoonvious
Kal TOUS TAELOTOUS TTpPaTLWTAS aTrOAéCas, év als
Hoav ot Aiwva KaTaxteivavtes, ovdepmtas 5é TWo-
ews avTov év Zenedia TpoaSexoperns, anXra
pcouv Top amavTov Kab “mpoRarropever, "Pryyov
Katéayev. eéxei 5€ AUTIPAS TpaTTwY Kal KaKaS
Statpepov Tous puaBodopous, vo Aerrivou Kal
TloAvmépxovtos avnpeOn, Xpnoapevov Eudidi—p
Kata tuxnvy © Kai Aiwva wAnyivat pac.

eyvaoOn oe T@ peryeOer (Bpayd yap mp, domep
Ta, Aaxwvixd) Kal TH KaTaoKeyh THS TEXVIS
elpyac pévov yAadupos cal mepiTTas. TotauTny
pev ovv tiow KdddTros edwnce.
Ty & “Aptotopaxny kal TH "Apérny, as
apetOnoar EK THS ELpKTHS, avahaBov ‘Teérns | 0
Lu aKOUCLOS, els trav Aiwvos pidov yeyovas,
édoxet TLOTOS Kab KaA@S Teplétrery. Elta cup-
mea Gels UTO TOV Aiwvos EXO pav Kal wapa-
aKevaoas TAolov auTais, @s Els TleAomovyna ov
atTooTaAncomevals, eKENEVTE KATA THOVY aToO-
addatavras éxBarelv eis tHv Oardaccav. oi Oé
fwoas éTt KatatrovtTicOjvat Aéyovar, Kal TO
Taoiov per’ avTay. mepiidOe b€ Kal ToUTOV
afia Town TOV TETOAPNMEVOOY, avTos TE yap
v7 Tipodéovtos arovs amr eOave, Kal Ouyartépas
5v0 TPOTATEKTELVAY avtob Aiwu TLpcopobvTes ot
Lupaxovarot, wept av év rH Ttmodéovros Bip
Kal’ Exacta yéypaT Tas.
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DION

Catana, he at once lost Syracuse; at which time, as
they say, he remarked that he had lost a city and
got a cheese-grater.1 Then he attacked Messana
and lost most of his soldiers, among whom were the

murderers of Dion; and since no city in Sicily would receive him, but all hated and spurned him, he took possession of Rhegium. But there, being in straitened circumstances and unable to support his mercenaries properly, he was put to death by Leptines and Polyperchon, who, as fortune would have it, used the shortsword with which Dion also was said to have been smitten. And it was known by its size, which was short, after the Spartan fashion, and by the style of its workmanship, being delicately and cunningly wrought. Such, then, was the penalty which Callippus paid.

As for Andromache and Arete, when they were released from prison, they were taken up by Hicetas the Syracusan, who had been one of Dion's friends, and who was thought to be faithfully and honourably disposed towards them. Afterwards, having been persuaded by the enemies of Dion, he got a ship ready for them, pretending that they were to be sent into Peloponnesus, and ordered the sailors, during the voyage, to cut their throats and cast them into the sea. Others, however, say that they were thrown overboard alive, and the little boy with them. But Hicetas also met with a punishment worthy of his crimes. For he himself was captured by Timoleon and put to death, and the Syracusans, to avenge Dion, slew his two daughters also; of which things I have written at length in my Life of Timoleon.?

1 Apparently the meaning, in Sicilian Greek, of the word

Catana. Callippus maintained himself in Syracuse only thirteen months. 2 Chapters xxxii. and xxxiii.

BRUTUS

BPOYTOZ

I. Mdpxov && Bpovtov mpdyovos fv “lovvos 984 Bpodtos, bv avéotnaav év Kamitadio yadxoiv of mdadat ‘Pwpaio pécov Ttav Baciréwv, éotraopévov Eidos, ws BeBaorata Kxatadvoavra Tapkuvious. GAN éxeivos wév, WoTTEP TA ruxXpHraTA tov Eupav, oxAnpoy éx hicews Kal ov padaxov éyav UTro Adyou TO HOo0s aypt Tratdogovias é&wKetle TO Oup@ TH KaTa TAY TUpadvvwY, ovTOGL 5’, brép o8 ypadetae tadta, madeia Kal Noy@ dia dirocodias katapitas 76 700s, Kal thy dvow éuBp04 Kal mpaciay otcav émeyeipas Tais tpaxkTuKais oppais, éuperéotata doxet xpadjvar mpos TO KaXov, WoTE Kal TOvS aTrexXOavopévous aUT@ dia thy éml Kaicapa ovvwpociav, et pév Tt yevvaiov % mpakis iweyxe, Bpovt@ mpocamtey,

Ta Suaxepéotepa Sé TaY yeyovdTwY TpéTrELY Ets
Kaocuov, oixetov pév dvta Bpovtou nal didov,
amdobv S€ TO TpoT@ Kal Kafapdv ovy opoiws.
LepBiria S€ 7 pntynp avédepe To yévos eis ‘Addav!
LepBirsov, 5 Maidiov Xopiov tupavvida xata-
oxevalouévou Kal TapdtTovros Tov Onpov éyyet-
pldtov AaBwv bro pddrns wpondOev eis ayopav
Kai Tapactas T@ avdpt TANcIOY, ws évTUyyaveLy
1 *AdaAay Cobet : “AAav,

I. Marcus Brutus was a descendant of that Junius Brutus whose bronze statue, with a drawn sword in its hand, was erected by the ancient Romans on the Capitol among those of their kings, in token that he was most resolute in dethroning the Tarquins. But that Brutus, like the tempered steel of swords, had a disposition which was hard by nature and not softened by letters, so that his wrath against the tyrants drove him upon the dreadful act of slaying his sons;! whereas this Brutus, of whom I now write, modified his disposition by means of the training and culture which philosophy gives, and stimulated a nature which was sedate and mild by active enterprises, and thus seems to have been most harmoniously attempered for the practice of virtue. As a consequence, even those who hated him on account of his conspiracy against Caesar ascribed whatever was noble in the undertaking to Brutus, but laid the more distressing features of what was done to the charge of Cassius, who was a kinsman of Brutus, indeed, and his friend, but not so simple and sincere in his character. Servilia, the mother of Brutus, traced her lineage back to Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Maelius was seditiously plotting to usurp absolute power, took a dagger under his arm, went into the forum, drew nigh the man, as if

1 See the Publicola, chapter vi.

TL péAXwMY Kal SiaréyecOat, mpocvevoavtTa Ta-
tdktas dméxtewve.
Todo pep ovy opororyoupevov éoTe' TO O€
Tat p@ov yévos of Ova Tov Kaioapos povov &yOpav
TWa Kat Suc péverav aTroSELKvupevor T pos Bpotrov
ov daowy els TOV éx BaXovra Tapeuviovs anew
ovdev yap éxelv@ AepOivac ryeévos avehovre TOUS
vious, ara Snworqy TOUTOV, oixovopou viov
évta Bpovrov, apte Kat ™panv els dpxovra
mpoedOeiv. Tlocesdavios 8 o prrocogos TOUS
peep evn ALKOUS poly amore Oat Tou Bpourou
maidas WS toropntas, TpiTov Oé AecPOfivar yyqeov,
ab’ ob TO ‘yéVvos apphabac: Kal tov ye Kal’
avrov éx TAS oixias yeyovor@v emrupavav avdpav
dvapépew évious 7 pos TOV avdpidvra Tob Bpovrov

THY opoloTnTa THS t6€as. Tepl pev odv TOUTwWY
Toc avTa.
II. YepBidias dé Tis Bpourov pntpos adehpoas
Hy Katov 6 prrocogos, Ov padiora ‘Popatov
eb rwoer oUTOS Oeiov ovra Kai mevOepor b Da Tepov
yevopevov. TOV dé “EdAnuicdy: ptroa ode ov-
Sevds pév, WS amTAGS EiTEtY, aYNKOOS 4 ovde
aGAXoTpios, Stadhepovrws 8 é€omovddKer pos TOVS
avo IIAdtwvos. Kal thy véav Kal peony deyo-
pévnv Axadsjpetay ov mravu tpoctépevos é&nptnTo
THIS maracas, kat Srerérer Javpalov prev “Avti-
oxov TOV ‘Aokadovirny, pidov bé Kai cupBrotny
TOV adder ov avTOD TeTounmévos "A piorop, av dpa,
TH pep év Aoyors &Feu TOANOY pirocopwy Aevtro-
pevoy, evratig dé Kal TpQoTnTe TOLS MpwToLs
évaptdrov. o 8 "Eputrunros ob nal adtos év tais

intending to confer privately with him, and when he inclined his head to listen, stabbed him to death.!

This, at all events, is generally admitted; but as to the lineage of Brutus by his father’s side, those who display great hatred and malevolence towards him because of the murder of Caesar deny that it goes back to that Brutus who expelled the Tarquins, since no offspring was left to him when he had slain his sons. The ancestor of Brutus, they say, was a plebeian, son of a steward by the name of Brutus, and had only recently risen to office. Poseidonius the philosopher, however, says that the two sons of Brutus who were of age perished according to the story, but that a third son was left, an intant, from whom the family descended. He says, moreover, that there were certainly illustrious men of this house in ‘his own day, some of whom called attention to their likeness in form and features to the statue of Brutus. Thus much, then, on this head.

II. Servilia, the mother of Brutus, was a sister of Cato the philosopher, and Brutus had a higher esteem for him than for any other Roman, Cato being his uncle and afterwards becoming his father-in-law. There was practically no Greek philosopher with whom Brutus was unacquainted or unfamiliar, but he devoted himself particularly to the disciples of Plato. To the New and Middle Academy, as they are called, he was not very partial, but clung to the Old. He was therefore always an admirer of Antiochus of Ascalon, whose brother Aristus he had made his friend and housemate, a man who in learning was inferior to many philosophers, but who in good sense and gentleness vied with the foremost. Empylus also, who is often mentioned by Brutus himself in

1 In 439 B.c. Cf. Livy, iv. 13 f.

émigtonais Kai ot pidrot pemynvTaL TONAGKLS WS
cup Brobvtos au7@, pHnTwp ayy Kal KaTané)oure
pix pov per, av paidov dé cuyypappa Tept THS
Kaicapos dvarpérens, y Bpodrtos é emuyeypaT Tat.
‘Popaiort Mev ovv hoKnTo mpos Tas SteEodous
Kal TOUS ayavas ikavas o Bpoiros, ‘EXdquiatl
dé THY an opOeyparixiy kat AMaxwvixny emirn-
Sevav Bpaxvdoyiav ev Tais émioToNais evtaxod
TAPaonpos € €oTtv. otov dn KaderTnKas eis TOV
TOAE LOV rypadet Hepyapnvois- ‘ ‘Axovo unas
AodoPerrg dcdwnxévat XpnwaTa: a et jev EKOVTES
édore, Sporoyeire adscety? eb 5€ axovTes, atro-
deiEare T@ épol éxovtTes Oobvat.” madLv Laptors:
“Al Bovrai | pe OAtrywpor, al viroupytat Bpa-
Setar. Th TOUTOY TEAOS evvoeiabe;” Kal éTépav
‘ EidvOvo THY euny evepyeoiav UrrepioovTes Tagov
amovoias eoxnKace THY marpiba; Ilarapets dé
miaTevaavTes EauTovs éemol ovdev . édAElTrOoVGL
StotxovvTes Ta Kal’ Exacta Tis édrevOepias.
éEov ovy Kal Upiv Hy THY Tlarapéwp Kpiow i) THY
RavO icv TUXNY érécbar.” TO pev ovv TOY Tapa-
TH Lov yevos ema TOAL@Y ToLooTov EOTLV.
Ill. "Ere 6é peipaxcov av Katou Te Dei
cuvaTredijunoev els Kumpov € eri Irorepaiov a amo-
OTANEVTL. IIroAcpatou dé Siabeipavtos € EQUTOV 0
Kdtov avTos ev ‘Pode SiatpiBny € EYOV dvaryeatay
eTUXE peev non TLV TOV pirov Kavidiov émi tay
TOV Xpnarov hvvAakny amrectadKkws, deicas ©
EXELVOY WS OUK adel opevov KdoTrhs, éyparpe TO
Bpout@ hey THV Taxiorny els Kurrpop é ex Ilap-
pudias: exe yap éavTov dvahapBdver EX TLVOS
aaOeveias Sufyev. 0 S€ Kal para dxwv errevae,
130

his letters, and also by his friends, as a housemate of his, was a rhetorician, and has left a brief but excellent account of the assassination of Caesar, entitled “ Brutus.”

In Latin, now, Brutus was sufficiently trained for narrative or pleading; but in Greek he affected the brevity of the apophthegm and the Spartan, of which he sometimes gives a striking example in his letters. For instance, when he had already embarked upon the war, he wrote to the Pergamenians: “I hear that ye

have given money to Dolabella; if ye gave it willingly confess that ye have wronged me; if unwillingly, prove it by giving willingly to me." Again, to the Samians: " Your counsels are paltry, your subsidies slow ; what, think ye, will be the end of this?'' And in another letter: "The Xanthians ignored my benefactions, and have made their country a grave for their madness; but the Patareans en- trusted themselves to me, and now enjoy their freedom in all its fulness. It is in your power also to choose the decision of the Patareans or the fate of the Xanthians.'' Such, then, is the style of his remarkable letters.

III. While he was still a youth, he made a journey to Cyprus with his uncle Cato, who was sent out against Ptolemy.! And when Ptolemy made away with himself, Cato, who was himself obliged to tarry a while in Rhodes, had already dispatched one of his friends, Canidius, to take charge of the king's treasures; but fearing that he would not refrain from theft, he wrote to Brutus bidding him sail with all speed to Cyprus from Pamphylia, where he was recruiting his health after a severe sickness. Brutus set sail, but very much against his will, both because

1 Cf. Cato the Younger, chapters xxxiv., xxxvi. 131

tov Te Kavidsov aidsovpevos ws atipws atreppip-
"évov vio TOU Katwvos, Kal dAws THY TOLAUTNY
émtipérerav nat Svoixnoww, ate 69 véos Kal cyo-
AacTHS, OVK EAevOEpiov OVS EéavTOU TroLOUpeEVOS.
ov piv adda Kal tepl Tai'ta ouvteivas éavTov
uTo To Kdtwvos érnvéOn, nal Tis ovoias éEap-
yuptoBeions avahaBav Ta TAElo TA TOY YpNudTwV
eis 'Pan érdevoer.
IV. 'Ezei 5€ ta tpdypata Séatn Toprniov
kat Kaicapos éfeveyxapévav ta Grrrda Kal Tis
Hyepovias TapayOelons, émidoEos péev Hv aipnoe-
cAat ta Kagioapos: 0 yap matip avtobd dia Tov
Tloumniov éreOvnxes mpotepov: akiov bé¢ Ta Kowa
Tov idiwy émimpocbev troveicOar Kal tHv Tlop-
aniov vouitwv vrobecty BeXtiova Tpds TOV TO)eE-
pov elvat THs ToD Kaicapos! éxeivm mpocéderto.
KaiTol TpoTepov atravtnaas ovdé TpoceEime TOV
Iloumniov, adyos mryoupevos péya tatpos dovel
SiaréyecOar: tote & ws apxovtTe THS tratpidos
wrotdéas éautov eis Kedcxiav émdevce mpecBev-
TNS meTa Ynotiov TOD AaYOVTOS THY eTapyiay.
ws 8 éxet wpatrtew ovdév Rv péya Kal cvvnecay
eis TAUTO HON Llopmnios cai Katoap aywrifopevor
Tep Ta ddAwy, HKev eis Maxedoviay eOedXovtis
Tov Kivdvvov pebéEwv: Ste Kai dace Topmniov
Hodevta kai Oavpadcavra mpoctovtos avtod Kabe-
Coperoy cEavacthvar Kal meptBarelv ws KpeiTTova

mavtov opwevtwv. ev de TH oTpaTela THS Hpépas
1 rhs rov Kaloapos Lentz: rot Kaloapos.

he had regard for Canidius, whom he thought to have been ignominiously discarded by Cato, and because on general grounds he considered such painstaking attention to administrative affairs to be illiberal and unworthy of himself as a young man addicted to letters. However, he applied himself to this task also, and won Cato's praise, and after converting the king's property into money, took most of the treasure and set sail for Rome.

IV. Here, when the state was rent by factions, Pompey and Caesar appealing to arms and the su- preme power being confounded, Brutus was expected to choose the side of Caesar, since his father had been put to death a while before at the instiga- tion of Pompey;! but thinking it his duty to put the public good above his own, and holding that Pompey's grounds for going to war were better than Caesar's, he attached himself to Pompey. And yet before this he would not even speak to Pompey when he met him, considering it a great abomination to converse with the murderer of his father; now, how- ever, looking upon him as his country's ruler, he put himself under his orders, and set sail for Cilicia as legate with Sestius, to whom the province had been allotted. But since there was nothing of importance for him to do there, and since Pompey and Caesar were now about to meet in a supreme struggle, he came of his own accord into Macedonia to share the danger. It was then, they say, that Pompey was so filled with delight and admiration that he rose from his seat as Brutus approached, and in the sight of all embraced him as a superior. During the cam- paign, for whatever part of the day he was not with

Sce the Pompey, chapter xvi.

oh a“ f
daa pwn Loprnio cuviv mept Aoyous Kai BiBrALa
4 b / \ ¥ ‘ ‘ ? \ \
diérpeBev, ov wovov Tov adXOV yYpovoy, GAG Kal
a ,
Tpo THS peydAns paxns. Hv pev axpn Oépous Kat
n N ,
Kava TONY TPOS EAWLETL Ympiots EgTPATOTTEdEL-
a /
KoTwv, T@® 6€ Bpovtw ov Tayéws HKeov ot THY
oKnvny Koptfovtes. éxtrovnbels 5é tmept tadza,
peonpBptas ports areupdpevos cal daywv omya,

a \
Tov adddwv 1) KaGevdovTwy 1 mpos émivota Kal
aA 9 \ “A
dpovrTids Tod pédAXOVTOS GYTwWY, AUTOS aypL THIS
e , 4 , 3 \ ,
eatrepas éypape ouvrattay enitounv IloAvBiov.
V. Aéyetat 5€ nai Kaioap ovx« dpereiv tod
b) y ? \ \ a a e > e \ e
dvOpos, AANA Kal TpoElTrEeity Tots UP EavToOV iyE-
poow év TH paxn pe) KTEtvey Bpovtov, adda
, ,
heider Oa, nai mapacyovta pev Exovaiws aye,
? \ 3? 4 \ \ , aA \ \
El O€ GTOMAXOLTO TPOS THY TUAAHYWIV, EGY Kal [1
BiafecOar Kai tadta Tovety 7H NnTpl Tod Bpov-
/ 4 b) UY , e ”
Tov .pRiria yapilopevos. eyvwxer yap, WS Core,
veavias Oy éte THY YepBrrLav émripavetcay avt@,
\ 9 A / / e oo” 9 4
Kat Kad’ ovs padiota Ypovous o Epws éeTédAcye
yevopevov Tov Bpovtoy éméteroto twos é& éavTod
yeyovévar. évyetat dé TAY wept KatiAlvay mpay-
, ny
HATOV MEYANOY EMLTETTWKOTWD ELS THY TUYKANTOY,
\
& puxpov edénoev avatpévrar Thy TodL, éoravat
e a ,
pev opod Katwva nal Kaicapa dradepopévous
Tept yvopuns, ev TouT@ dé ypaypatidiov puxpod

ampoadobévros éEwhev Katoapt, Tov péev dvaywo-
oxev atwmn, Katwva b€ Boav ws dewd mtoret
Kaicap évrev&es nai ypdupata Tapa TeV Tode-
plwv mpocdexopevos. OopuByodvtwv 5é woddA@v,
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IX

BRUTUS

Pompey, he busied himself with books and literature,
not only the rest of the time, but even before the
great battle! It was the height of summer, the
heat was great (since they had encamped in marshy
regions), and they that carried the tent of Brutus

were slow in coming. But though he was thus all worn out, and though it was almost noon before he anointed himself and took a little food, nevertheless, while the rest were either sleeping or occupied with anxious thoughts about the future, he himself was busy until evening in making and writing out a compend of Polybius.

V. It is said, moreover, that Caesar also was con- cerned for his safety, and ordered his officers not to kill Brutus in the battle, but to spare him, and take him prisoner if he gave himself up voluntarily, and if he persisted in fighting against capture, to let him alone and do him no violence; and that Caesar did this out of regard for Servilia, the mother of Brutus. For while he was still a young man, as it seems, Caesar had been intimate with Servilia, who was madly in love with him, and he had some grounds for believing that Brutus, who was born at about the time when her passion was in full blaze, was his own son. It is said also that when the great conspiracy of Catiline, which came near overthrowing the city, had come to the ears of the senate, Cato and Caesar, who were of different opinions about the matter, were standing side by side, and just then a little note was handed to Caesar from outside, which he read quietly. But Cato cried out that Caesar was outrageously receiving letters of instruction from the enemy. At this, a great tumult arose, and Caesar

1 At Pharsalus in Thessaly, in August of 48 b.c.

kal tov Katoapos TO GeATdpiov, ws elxe, TP
Katou mpoaSovTos, avayvovTa LepSirias THS
dbenpijs aKoNac TOV emia TOhov éxelvo pev piyrac
7 pos Tov Kaicapa Kat eimreiy " Kparet, péOuae,
apos b€ THV yepuny Kal Tov Aoyov atts be apxis
tpatréa Oat. oUTw pev mv Oo mpos Kaicapa Xep-
Btrtas Eps mepySonros.

VI. Devopevns dé Tis kata Pdpoarov Arrns
cat Tloumrniov peév emi Oddracoay dtextrecovTos,
ToALopKkoupéevou 5€ Tov Yapaxos, EXaVev o Bpodtos
Kara TvAaS TpPOS TOTTOV EAWSN Kal pea Tov vodrav
Kat Kaddpov pepovoas é€eXOav xai dia vuKros
arog wOeis eis Aapiscav. éxeibev b€ yparpavTos
auTou Kaicap AoOn Te cwlopeve, Kal Kehevoas
T pos aurov ed Gel ov povov adie THS aitias,
andra Kat TLpL@LEvOV év Tois wadsoTa mepl avrov
elev. oudevos © dan pevyor Tloparnios eltreiy
EXOVTOS, aX' arropias avons, odov Tiva ouv T®
Bpovre Badifov pLovos a7reTreLpaTo TIS ywopuns.
Kat dofavtos éx Tivwy S:aroyio paw apiora wept
THS Topaniov Texpaiper Oar guys, aeis Tava
THY én Alyum Tou cuvérewvev. Jarra Toprniov

pV, OaTep eixace Bpovrtos, Aiyirre 7 poo Ba-
hovra, TO TET pwpEVOV édéEato, Kaicapa bé Kal
TOs Kaocwov érpaive Bpodros. Kal 57 Kal TO
TOV AiBuwv Bactret 7 ponyopev ev NTTATO TOU
peyélous TOV Kearmyopian, Seopevos dé Kal mapat-
TOUMEVOS mept TovTou} TORY auT@ Suécwore THS
apyis. Réyerar 6€ Kaioap, te mpatov jxovcev
1 wep) rovrouv transposed by Bekker, after Vogelin, to the following sentence, between avrov and Aédyoryros (as soon as he heard him speaking in his behalf),

gave the missive, just as it was, to Cato. Cato found, when he read it, that it was a wanton bit of writing from his sister Servilia, and throwing it to Caesar with the words " Take it, thou sot," turned again to the business under discussion.!_ So notorious was Servilia's passion for Caesar.

VI. After the defeat at Pharsalus, when Pompey had made his escape to the sea and his camp was besieged, Brutus went out unnoticed by a gate lead- ing to a place that was marshy and full of water and reeds, and made his way safely by night to Larissa. From thence he wrote to Caesar, who was delighted at his safe escape, and bade him come to him, and not only pardoned him, but actually made him a highly honoured companion. Now, since no one could tell whither Pompey was fleeing, and all were . In great perplexity, Caesar took a long walk with Brutus alone, and sounded him on the subject. Certain considerations advanced by Brutus made his opinion concerning Pompey's flight seem the best, and Caesar therefore renounced all other courses and hastened towards Egypt. But as for Pompey, he put in at Egypt, as Brutus conjectured, and there met his doom; as for Caesar, however, Brutus tried to soften him towards Cassius also. He also served as advocate for the king of Africa,? and though he lost the case, owing to the magnitude of the accu- sations against his client, still, by supplications and entreaties in his behalf he saved much of his king- dom for him. And it is said that Caesar, when he

1 Cf. Cato the Younger, xxiv. 1 f.

2 Probably an error, either of Plutarch's, or of the MSS. In 47 3B.c. Brutus pleaded unsuccessfully before Caesar the

cause of Deiotarus, king of Galatia. Coraés would read
Padarav for A:Buwy.

auTou AEyoVTOS, etmeiy pos TOUS pidous: I Odros
0 veavias ouK olda peév 5 Bovrera, wav © 6 Boo-
AeTae ood a Bovrerat." TO yap eu Bpbes avuTov

kal pn) padias pn de TAVTOS v Um jKOov TOU Seoueévou
T pos Xapw, GAr ék Novyeo pov Kal TpoaLlpeg ews
TOV KANOV T AKTIKOY, OTOL Tpérpecev, taxupais
eXpATO Tais oppais Kal Teheatoupyois. T pos be
TAS abixous denoers AKONAKEVTOS my, Kal THY UTrO
TOY AVALTXVYTWS AcTrapouvTov TTAV, WV EevLol
dvawmeta Fat KaXovotp, aiaxiotny avdpt peyaro
ToLovupevos et@Oer Reyer @S ol pndev dpveiabar
Suvduevoe Soxodow av'T@ pn Karas THY Bpav
diateDeiaGat.
MaéAArwv Sé dcaBatverv eis AtBunv Kaioap én
Kadteva cai Yenriwva Bpovto THY évTos "AX Teov
Parariav émeTpewrev EVTUXLA TIL THS erapxias:
Tas yap adrras UBper Kal m)eovetia TOV TET LO -
TEUpevOY Oomep aixwarorous Siapopotvre, € exet-
vous Kal Tov tmpocbev aTUxXNpaTov mavha Kal
mapapvdia Bpotros mV. Kal THY yap els
Kaicapa TaVvToV aviyarey, OS auT@ peTa THY
émdvooov TepliovTt THY "ItaXiay dtoro Oéapa
Tas vTo BpovtT@ TONES yevéo Pan, Kal Bpodrov
avrov, avfovra Thy éxelvou Tysny Kal auvovTa
KeXapiopeévas.
VIL. "Errel 5é AELovey oTPAaTnyLav OVo@V THY
pérytoTov éexovoay dfiwpa, Kkaroupevny bé ToNt-
TUE NDs emidotos 7 WV 1 Bpottos_ &Eew 7 Kdootos, ol
pev avTous A€yovaw é& airy T pore pov HovUX}
Sradepopevous é ere paddov Umep TovTov Siactact-
daat, Kaitep oixelous dvtas: "louvia yap, aberdgh .
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BRUTUS

first heard Brutus speak in public, said to his friends: "1 know not what this young man wants, but all that he wants he wants very much."! For the weight of his character, and the fact that no one found it easy to make him listen to appeals for favour, but that he accomplished his ends by reasoning and the adoption of noble principles, made his efforts, whither- soever directed, powerful and efficacious. No flattery could induce him to grant an unjust petition, and that inability to withstand shameless importunity, which some call timidity, he regarded as most dis- graceful in a great man, and he was wont to say that those who were unable to refuse anything, in his opinion, must have been corrupted in their youth.

When Caesar was about to cross over into Africa against Cato and Scipio, he put Brutus in charge of Cisalpine Gaul, to the great good-fortune of the province ; for while the other provinces, owing to the insolence and rapacity of their governors, were plun- dered as though they had been conquered in war, to

the people of his province Brutus meant relief and consolation even for their former misfortunes. And he attached the gratitude of all to Caesar, so that, after Caesar's return, and as he traversed Italy, he found the cities under Brutus a most pleasing sight, as well as Brutus himself, who enhanced his honour and was a delightful companion.

VII. Now that there were several praetorships to be had, it was expected that the one of greatest dignity, that is, the praetorship of the city, would fall either to Brutus or to Cassius ; and some say that the two men, who were already slightly at variance for other reasons, were still more estranged by this circumstance, although they were relatives, since

1 Cf. Cicero ad Att. xiv. 1, 2. 139

2 Bpovrou, cuvexet Kdooios: ot 6€ Kaicapos épyov
yeverOar THv diroverxiav TavTny, Exatépw Kpioa
9 3 / b / e / " e /
d2 édzridwy évdcdovtos Eavtov, aypt ob mpoayOév-
Tes ovTw Kal wapokuvOévtes ets ayava Katé-
/ a , a
atnaav. nywvitero dé Bpotros evxreta nal apetn
ce) /
mpos ToAAa TOD Kacciov Kal Aautpa ta Ilap-
3 Ona veavievpata. Kaicap & axovcas xal Bov-
a /
Nevopevos ev Tois Pirous elmer? ''ArKatorepa pev
/ , 4 \ \ , 4 29
réyee Kadoaowos, Bpovtw 5é tHv mpwrny Soréov.
amredelyOn 5¢ Kdaocios éf étépa otpatnyds, ov
x 4 2 A PS ae areas
"A > / 4 » 3 a
tocovrov evvoias éywv Se' hv éhaBev Goov dpyijs
Oy ATETUXE.
4 Bpovros dé eat tadra petetye THs Kaicapos
/ id > , / \ e a
Suvdpews oaoVv eBoudero. Bovhopevp yap virnp-
xyev elvar TOV pirov m pate kai dvvacbar mrei-
otTov' avr elAKev avrov " mept Kdoovov étatpeia
Kal améaotpedev, aUT@ pev ovTW Kacoiw dinr-
Naypevoy €& exeivns THS PidroTipias, axovovta bé
tov dirwyv dtaxerXevopévwy pt) Tepropay avrov
trod Kaicapos padaccdpevov Kat Knrovpevon,
\
GANA hevye TAs TUPAYVIKAS peroppoovvas Kal
\

KaprTas, als ov TILOYT a THY apeTijv, AXN’ cere
yovTa Tnv aheny Kal tov Oupov wrrepetrovta
xpiobat pos avrov.
VIII. Ov py o05é Katcap avirrortos hv wap-
mav ovd ddidBAnTOsS Wpos avTOV, GAAA TO peV
y \ N bJ ¢ \ \ 4 9 ,
dpovnua kai ro aktwpa Kai todvs pirous edediet
Tov avdpos, émiateve 5€ TH 0E. Kal mpwTOV pev
4
"Avtwviov cal AoroBédXa Acyopévov vewTepilerv
140

BRUTUS

Cassius was the husband of Junia, a sister of Brutus. But others say that this rivalry was the work of Caesar, who secretly favoured the hopes of each until, thus induced and incited, they entered into competition with one another. Brutus, however, made the contest supported only by his fair fame and his virtue, as against many brilliant and spirited exploits of Cassius in the Parthian war.! But Caesar, after hearing the claims of each, said, in council with his friends: ‘Cassius makes the juster plea, but Brutus must have the first praetorship.” So Cassius was appointed to another praetorship, but he was not so grateful for what he got as he was angry over what he had lost.

And in all other ways, too, Brutus had as large a share in Caesar’s power as he wished. Indeed, had he wished it, he might have been first among Caesar's friends and exercised the greatest power; but the party of Cassius drew him away from such a course. Not that he was reconciled to Cassius himself as yet, after their struggle for honours, but he gave ear to the friends of Cassius, who urged him not to suffer himself to be charmed and softened by Caesar, but rather to flee the tyrant’s kindnesses and favours, tor these were shown to him, not to reward his virtue, but to root out his vigour and his haughty spirit.

VIII. However, even Caesar was not wholly with- out suspicion, nor free from the effects of accusations against Brutus, but, while he feared his high spirit, his great repute, and his friends, he had faith in his character. Once, when he was told that Antony and Dolabella were plotting revolution, he said it

1 See the Crassus, xviii. ff.

I4I

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ouK ébn TOUS mayels Kal KOMITAS Evoyep, andra
TOUS aX pous Kal Laxvous éxetvous: Bpodrov Néyou
Kal Kaeotor éretta tov Bpovtov tTuvav dra Ban-
AovTw@y Kal purarrecOau TAPAKEhEvouevov TH
Xetpl TOU TWLATOS AT TO MEVvOS elie: "Te bé; OUK
av Dpiy doxet Bpodros dvapeivat TouvTlt TO cap
xiov;" ws ovdevt T™ pooijKov arArX@ pee éauTov 4
Bpovrp Svvac Gat TooovTOV. Kal pévToL doKet
T PWTOS ay év TH monet yeveo Oar BeBaiws, OAryoV
\Vpovov dvacxXopevos Kaicape Sevtepetoas Kal
Tapaxpacat THY OUVapLY avTov Kat papavOhvat
Thy ert TOS Katop0wpacty édaas dofav. adra
Kdaotos, avnp Oupoedys Kal parrov idia pc o-
xaloap KOWH ptooTupavvos, éféxavae Kal
Katnmerte. Réyetar dé Bpodtos (bev THY apxny
BapivecPar, Kaaatos O€ TOV apxovTa pcely,
GXNA TE KAT aUTOU TroLoupevos eyKAr pata Kat
NEOVT WY dai pecty, ods Kaaouos pev aryopavopety
péddeov Taper Keviaaro, Kaicap dé xatadndpbév-
TAS €v Meydpous, 60 7 TOALS HAW Oa Kadnvov,
KATETXE. Tavta ta Onpia oT umpopav héyeTau

peyadny yeverOar Meyapedowv. of péev yap non
THS TodEws KaTaAapBavopevns StéoTracay Ta
KretO pa Kal Tovs dSecpous avikay, @s eurob@y
ein Ta Onpia Tots emipepopevors, Ta © Gpovoev
eis avTous éxelvous Kal dad éovras avOTTAOUS Hp-
matey, MOTE Kal TOLS TOAEMLOLS THY OLY OLKTpaY
yevéo Oat.
IX, To 8 ov Kacocip TAUTNV padora pac
aitiav imdpEa THS emtBovrns oun opOas Aéyov-
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was not the fat and long-haired fellows that troubled him, but those pale and lean ones ;/ meaning Brutus and Cassius. And again, when certain ones were accusing Brutus to him, and urging him to be on his guard against him, he laid his hand upon his breast and said: "What? Think ye not that Brutus can wait for this poor flesh?" implying that no one besides Brutus was fit to succeed him in such great power. And

verily it appears that Brutus might have been first in the city with none to dispute him, could he have endured for a little while to be second to Caesar, suffering his power to wane and the fame of his successes to wither. But Cassius, a man of violent temper, and rather a hater of Caesar on his own private account than a hater of tyranny on public grounds, fired him up and urged him on. Brutus, it is said, objected to the rule, but Cassius hated the ruler, and among other charges which he brought against him was that of taking away some lions which Cassius had provided when he was about to be aedile; the beasts had been left at Megara, and when the city was taken by Calenus,? Caesar appropriated them. And the beasts are said to have brought great calamity upon the Megarians. For these, just as their city was captured, drew back the bolts and loosened the fetters that confined the animals, in order that they might obstruct the on- coming foe, but they rushed among the unarmed citizens themselves and preyed upon them as they ran hither and thither, so that even to the enemy the sight was a pitiful one.

IX. In the case of Cassius, then, they say this was the chief reason for his plotting against Caesar ;

1 Cf. Cuesar, Ixii. 5. 2 Cf. Caesar, xiii. 1.

Tes. €& apxns yap Hv TH pucet Tov Kacctov
duapéverd Tes Kat Narerorns ™ pos TO ‘yévos TOV
TUpavvor, as édnAwaoey Ete Tats Ov Badifwv eis
TAUTO 7@ Tob yvAAa mrasol Pavoto bidacKaneiov.
) pev yap éy Tois ratal peryadnyopav THY TOU
TAT POS err nvel povapxiav’ 0 5é Kdoouos érrava-
oTas xov8vdous éveTpiBev auT®. Bovropever dé
TOY émLTpOTMY TOD PavoTou Kal oiKeiwy érreELevar
Kal bicaberBar Topanios é€x@AvaeE, Kal cuvaya-
you els TAYTO TOUS Traioas auporepous avex pve
Tmept TOU mpdyparos. évda 87) héyerae TOV Kao-
oLov elmrety" «Arve 62), @ Pavote, TOAMNO OV évav-
TLOVv TOUTOU peyEacar TOV Aovyov éxetvov ep @
mapwkvvOny, iva gov Tad éyo avvtTpifyw TO
oTOua.
Totodtos pev O iets Bpovrov dé moAXot
per Aovyor Tapa Tov avvnbor, mohnais oe pypars
Kab ypdupaciy eLexadodvro Kal TApop wav ert
THY mpakiw ot mortar. TO pev yap avdpiayre
TOU TpoTaTopos: Bpovrou TOU KATANYGAVTOS THY
TOV Bactdeéwv apxny érréypadou: “ Hide vov 785
Bpotre” Kat “"Odere Civ Bpodtos.” 70 8 av-
Tob Bpovrou Bijpa otpatnyobytos evpioxeto wel
juépay advan hewy YPap pdr ov TotovTwy: “ Bpodre,
Kabevoets;” Kat “Ov« et Bpovdtos adnOas.” aitiot

5é TOUVTwWY OF Kaicapos Koraxes ddXas TE TLULAS
emipOovous aveuptoKkovTes avT@ Kal Stadijpara
TOUS avdpidae vixtop emitibévtes, os TOUS TOA-
dovs brakopevor Bacthéa mpocertrety avri Sucta-
Topos. ToUvvVaYTLOV 6 aTHVTNTEV, WS ev TOIS TeEpt
Kaicapos axpiBos Yeypam ras.
X. Kacoiw 6€ wecpavte tos dirovs émi Kai-

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BRUTUS

but it is not so. For from the outset there was in the nature of Cassius great hostility and bitterness towards the whole race of tyrants, as he showed when he was still a boy and went to the same school with Faustus the son of Sulla. For when Faustus blustered among the boys and bragged about his father's absolute power, Cassius sprang up and gave him a thrashing. The guardians and relatives of Faustus wished to carry the matter into court, but Pompey forbade it, and after bringing the two boys together, questioned them both about the matter. Then, as the story goes, Cassius said: "Come now, Faustus, have the courage to utter in this man's presence that speech which angered me, and I will smash your face again."

Such was Cassius; but Brutus was exhorted and incited to the undertaking by many arguments from his comrades, and by many utterances and writings from his fellow citizens. For instance, on the statue of his ancestor, the Brutus who overthrew the power of the kings, there was written: "O that we had thee now, Brutus!"' and "O that Brutus were alive!" Besides, the praetorial tribunal of Brutus himself was daily found covered with such writings as these: " Brutus, art thou asleep?" and " Thou art not really Brutus." These things were brought about by the flatterers of Caesar, who, among other invidious honours which they invented for him, actually put crowns upon his statues by night, hoping to induce the multitude to address him as king instead of dictator. But the contrary came to pass, as I have written fully in my Life of Caesar.1

X. Moreover, when Cassius sought to induce his

1 Chapter lxi.

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Tapa TavTes WmLoAOYOUY, et Bpodros Hryotro: Set-
abat yap ov yetpw@v ovdé TOALNS THY TPaELW, ANA
d0Ens avdpos olos ovTOs eotiv, WoTEp KaTApyo-
pévov kat BeBatodvtos avT@ TH Tapetvar 76
dixatov: et 5é py, Kal dpwvtas abuporépous éce-
aBat kat Spdocavtas btromtotépous’ ws ovK at
éxeivou TO Epyov, et Kkadnv aitiay elyev, aTeTra-
pévov. Taita cuudpovncas évétuxye Bpovtw
mporepos éx THs Stahopas éexeivns, Kal peta Tas
diadvaoeis Kal dirodpocvvas npwTynaev Ef TH vov-
pnvia tod Maptiou pnvos éyvwxev eis ovyKANTOV
Tapeivar muvOdavecOat yap ws Aoyov UIrép Bact-
relas Kaicapos oi didou tote kaOnooey. dyoav-
tos 8¢ Tov Bpovrou un maprévat, “Ti ovv,” elzrev
o Kaoatos, “ av xada@ow pas; “’Epov épyov,”
épn 0 Bpodtos, “dn To wy TLwTay, AAN’ apovetv
TH Tatpios! nal mpoatroOvncKey THs édevOepias.”
kat o Kaocatos érap$eis, “Tis &,” etme, “‘Pw-
paiwy davéFerat cov mpoatroOvicKkovtos; apa
ayvoeis, @ Bpovte, ceavrov; 7 To Biya aov
doxels KaTaypadely tous Upavtas Kal TOUS KaTr-
ous, ovxXl Tos TpwToUs Kal KpaTtiotToUs TavTa
Totety, Tapa pev TOV AArNWY oTpAaTHYaV éertdoceELs
kal Oéas kai povoudxous, Tapa aod b€ ws d>Anua
TATpLKOY THY KaTaAVOW THS TUpavvidos amat-
TouvTas, avTOVS © UITép Tov TdvTA Td XELV TpO-
Ovpous dvtas, olov aftodo. Kai mpoadéyovtar
1 Quvvew TH warpl’: Lentz, comparing Appian, B.C. ii. 113:

dmuvery.

friends to conspire against Caesar, they all agreed to do so if Brutus took the lead, arguing that the undertaking demanded, not violence nor daring, but the reputation of a man like him, who should consecrate the victim, as it were, and ensure by the mere fact of his participation the justice of the sacrifice ; otherwise they would be more timid in doing the deed and more suspected after they had done it, since men would say that Brutus would not have declined the task if the purpose of it had been honourable. After reflecting on this, Cassius made Brutus his first visit since the quarrel above mentioned,! and when they were again on a friendly footing, asked him whether he had made up his mind to attend the meeting of the senate on the Calends of March; for it had come to his ears, he said, that Caesar’s friends would then

move to have him made king. When Brutus answered that he should not attend, ‘“ What, then,” said Cassius, “if we should be summoned?” “It would at once be my duty,” said Brutus, “not to hold my peace, but to defend my country and die in behalf of liberty.” Then Cassius, elated, said: “ But what Roman will consent to have thee die in such defence? Dost thou not know thyself, Brutus? Or dost thou think that thy tribunal was covered with inscriptions by weavers and hucksters, and not by the foremost and most influential citizens? From their other praetors they demand gifts and spectacles and gladi- atorial combats; but from thee, as a debt thou owest to thy lineage, the abolition of the tyranny; and they are ready and willing to suffer anything in thy behalf, if thou showest thyself to be what they ex-

1 Chapter vii. 1-3.

havevtos;' é€ tovtrov Tepi8arwv tov Bpodtov
naomacero, kat dtadvOévtes oUTWS eTpéTrOVTO TT pOs
Tous plArous.
XI. "Hy b¢ TLS: Tdios Avyaptos TOV Tlopaniou
hirwv, ov ent TOUT Kxatyyopndevta Kaicap amré-
AvoEV. obTOs, ovyx 15 apetOn dixns yapw exwr,
anyr.a be Hy evans apxnv Bapuvopevos,
expos nv Katcap, tov bé Tmepl Bpovtov ev
TOUS padiora cuviOns. Wpos TOUTOV ao Qevoivra
Bpobros elcehOwv, “rd Acydpte,” elrrev, “ €y 0l@
Kapp vooeis.” KaKELvOS evOvs eis ayxava diava-
oT as Kal haBopevos aUTOU THIS beEvas, «7 AXN’
el TL, pryoiv, ‘@ Bpovte, ceavrod dpovets aEcov,
Dyeaive.”
XII. ’Ex TovTOU SraTrerpwpevor Kpuda Tay yo-
pipewv ols é émiaTevoy avexowvovvtTo Kal T poo eda p-
Bavov, ov povov TOV cuviav ToLoupevor THY
aipeot, GND 6cous nTiaTavTO TOALNTAS dvTas
dyaBous Kat Javarov Katappovntas. 616 Kal
Kixépova, TodTO pev TLoTEDS, TouTo 6€ evvolas
évera 7 pevTov dvTa Tap avrois, damexpuyavTo,
pa 7@ pucer TOAMNS evdens elvat Tpocedndars
vIro xpavou yepoVvTLKny evrAdBetav, ela mavra
Kal’ exacTov avayov Tots horyea mois eis Axpav
ao parear, apBrUvn THY apn avTav TAS 1 po-
Oupias TaNOUS copevnv. érel Kal TOV addeov
éTaipwv) Bpovros LrarrAov Te mapéhiTre TOV
’Eruxovpevoy ral Pawviov epagTny Kadtwvos, 6te
mroppwOev auTols TOLAUTNY Tova. KUKA@ TeptBa-
NovTos ev TO SiareyerOar Kai cupdpirocopedv
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pect and demand." After this, he embraced Brutus and kissed him, and thus reconciled they betook themselves to their friends.

XI. There was a certain Caius Ligarius[1] among the friends of Pompey, who had been denounced as such, but pardoned by Caesar. This man, cherishing uo gratitude for his pardon, but rather offended by the power which had put his life in jeopardy, was an enemy of Caesar, and one of the most familiar friends of Brutus. Once; when this man was sick, Brutus came to see him, and said: "O Ligarius, what a time this is to be sick!" Ligarius at once raised himself on his elbow, clasped Brutus by the hand, and said: "Nay, Brutus, if thou hast a purpose worthy of thyself, I am well."

XII. After this, they secretly tested the sentiments of well known men in whom they had confidence, selecting not only from their intimates, but all whom they knew to be bold, brave, and contemptuous of death. For this reason, too, they kept their plans a secret from Cicero, although he was foremost among them, not only for the confidence, but also for the good will which he inspired. They feared that the caution which time and old age had brought him, combined with his natural timidity, and further, his habit of calculating all the details of every enterprise so as to ensure the utmost safety, would blunt the edge of their ardour at a crisis which demanded speed. Besides, Brutus also passed by, among his other friends, Statilius the Epicurean and Favonius the devoted follower of Cato. The reason was that some time before he had put them to a very similar test by the round-about method of a philosophical

1 He is called Quintus Ligarius in the Cicero, xxxix. 5.

a , al
méetpav, o pev Dawyios atrexpivato Yeipov eivar
4
povapxias mapavouov modepov éudvrAcov, o 5é
f " A A \ A 4 \ ,
Stratinuos py TH cOPO Kai vodv Exovts dia hav-
Nous Kal avorntous Kivduvevetv Kal TapaTTecBa
\ / A \ \ > aA J
py KaOncev. trapwy 6¢ AaBewy avteitev audo-
. fo) ,

Tépots. Kalo Bpovdros tote pev ws exovtos Te
Tov Aoyou YareTTOv Kal SUaKpLTOV aTrEecLMOTNGEY,
Lod \ a) aA \ 4
datepov b6€ AaBewve Kotvodta. To Sovrevpa.
\ ce)
SeFapuévov 5€ mpofvpws, tov Erepov Bpodrov,
émixrnaw ArXPivov, dAXws pEev OVK 6VTA PéxTNY
9Q\ / > A \ , ,
ovdé Oapparéor, eppwpévov dé rrANPEL povopayov
A > \ 4 e , wv \ \ ,
ods émi Oéa ‘Pwpaiwy Erpede, cal wapa Kaicapr
muaTevopevoyv, edoxet mpocdyecOat. Kaaciov dé
\ a > aA & / 9O\ bd /
cat AaBedvos avT@ Orareyopévwr ovdev azrexpi-
B i 8 > AN ? \ FOL \ \
vato, Bpovtm & avtos évtuyav idia Kai pabedv
a , ,
éte THS Wpakews Hyepav éotiw, wmorACynCE cUL-
4 a \ aA v7 de ‘\ ,
mpatew mpodvpws. Kal TOV AAXwWV O€ TOUS TAEi-
otous Kal apiatous 7 S0£a Tod Bpovtou tpoanyero.
kal pn? SpKov avvoudcarvtes pnte Tiatw Kal’
iepav NaBovtes H Sovtes, oUTWS atravTeEs Exyov ev
éautois Kal KaTeclwmnoay Kai cuvdunveyKay WaTE
pavreiats Kal daopace Kal tepois Ud TOV Beav
mpodetxvupevny amiaton yevéc Oat Thy paki.
e Le) \ ~ fa)
XIII. ‘O 5€ Bpotdros, ate 6) Ta wpaTa Tis
e
Powpns ppoviyata nal yevn Kai apetas éEnptn-
pévos éavTOv Kal TEpLVOwY TdvTa TOV KiVvduvoD,
é&w pev emeipato xatéyew Tap éavT@ Kal Kata-
A ‘
Koopetv THY Stdvotay, oixot S€ Kal VUKTWP OVK HV
e be id > a N \ v “ a b] \ e
O AUTOS, GAAG TA LEV AKOVTA TWY UITVwWY aUTOY 7
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discussion, when Favonius had answered that civil war was worse than illegal monarchy; and Statilius had declared that it did not become a wise and sensible man to be thrown into turmoil and peril for the sake of feeble and foolish folk. Labeo, however, who was present, argued against them both. At that time, on the ground that the question was rather difficult and hard to decide, Brutus held his peace, but afterwards imparted his purpose to Labeo, who readily concurred in it. Then it was decided to bring over

to their cause the other Brutus, surnamed Albi- nus ;? in other ways he was not an enterprising nor even a courageous man, but the large number of gladiators whom he was maintaining for the Roman spectacles made him powerful, and he had Caesar's confidence. When Cassius and Labeo discussed the matter with him, he would make no answer; but he had a private interview by himself with Brutus, and on learning that he was leader of the enterprise, readily agreed to co-operate. The most and best of the rest also were won over by the reputation in which Brutus stood. And although they exchanged neither oaths nor sacred pledges, they all kept the | undertaking so much to themselves and were so secret in carrying it out together that, although it was foretold by the gods in prophecies and oracles and sacrificial omens,? no one would believe in it. XIII. Now Brutus, since he had made the foremost men of Rome for dignity, family, and virtue, depen- dent on himself, and since he understood all the danger involved, in public tried to keep his thoughts to himself and under control ; but at home, and at night, he was not the same man. Sometimes, in spite

1 Cf. Caesur, chapter Ixiv. 2? Cf. Caesar, chapter Ixiii.

dpovtis ebedepe, ta 6é€ pardov evduopevos 7
Roya U@ Kal Star piBov év tats arropiats ovK
éravOave THV yuvaixa Tuvavamavoperny, ore pe-
5705 core Tapaxis anOous Kal KUKAEL TL Tap
éauT@ dvapopov BovrAeupa cal Sucekehuxrov.
‘H 8é Hlopxia Ouyarnp pév, wWaTreEp elpnrat,
Karwvos 7 WV, eye & avTny o Bpodros averios wv
ovx éx wapOevias, dAXAA TOU TWpoTépou TEAEUTH-
TavTos avdpos éraRe Kopny ovcay ETL Kal Tavovov
éxovoap €& éxeivou pix por, @ BuPnos nv évopa:
Kat TL BiBri6cov px pov ATOPY) MOVED LAT WY
Bpovrov Vey pappevov ut avtoo Siacalerar.
pidoaTopryos ar) Topxia Kal piravdpos ovoa
Kat peoTn ppovnparos voov EXOVTOS, ou ™ porepov
émexelpnoey | avepéaOau TOV avdpa, Tept TOV
atroppntwv » NaPetv éauijs TovauT ny Otdrretpay.
AaBovca payaipiov @ Tovs dvuxXas ot KoUpeEls
adatpotat, Kat méoas éFehdcaca tov Jadrdapou
Tas érradous, TOMNY evéBanre TO UNP@ Babeiar,
Bare pvow aipatos TONAAY yeverOar Kat pera
puxpov odvvas TE veavixas Kai dPptxwsers TrupETOUS
émehaBeiv eK Tob TpAavuaTOS. d-ywviayT os dé
Tou Bpovtou Kal dvapopodvros ép axpq THS
aryndovos ovca Sede On 7 pos avTov od Tas:
“Eye, Bpotre, Kataves ovaa Ouyarnp eis Tov
oov eS00nv vixov ovy Gamep au TANAAKEVOLEVAL,

KOLTNS ucbefovca Kear Tpamecns povor, ara
KOLV@oVvOs pev aryabav elvat, KoLvovos dé aviapa.
Ta pev ov oa mavTa mepl Tov ya pov duepm ra:
tay 6€ Tap epob tis atrobetkts 7 xaprs, EL pLnTE
cot maQos amroppntov cuvdtoiaw pte ppovrida
miaTews Oeouévnv; oS Ott yuvaineia vats
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of himself, his anxious thoughts would rouse him out of sleep, and sometimes, when he was more than ever immersed in calculation and beset with perplexities, his wife, who slept by his side, perceived that he was full of unwonted trouble, and was revolving in his mind some difficult and complicated plan.

Porcia, as has been said, was a daughter of Cato, and when Brutus, who was her cousin, took her to wife, she was not a virgin; she was, however, still very young, and had by her deceased husband! a little son whose name was Bibulus. A small book containing memoirs of Brutus was written by him, and is still extant. Porcia, being of an affectionate nature, fond of her husband, and full of sensible pride, did not try to question her husband about his secrets until she had put herself to the following test. She took a little knife, such as barbers use to cut the finger nails, and after banishing all her at- tendants from her chamber, made a deep gash in her thigh, so that there was a copious flow of blood, and after a little while violent pains and chills and fever followed from the wound. Seeing that Brutus was disturbed and greatly distressed, in the height of her anguish she spoke to him thus: “ Brutus, I am Cato’s daughter, and I was brought into thy house, not, like a mere concubine, to share thy bed and board merely, but to be a partner in thy joys, and a partner in thy troubles. Thou, indeed, art faultless as a husband ; but how can I show thee any grateful service if I am to share neither thy secret suf- fering nor the anxiety which craves a loyal confidant? I know that woman’s nature is thought too weak to

1 Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, colleague of Caesar in the consulship of 59 B.c. 153
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

aabevns Soxel oyov éveyxety arroppyTov: Gr’
éoTt TUS, @ Bpoire, Kal Tpopis ayabis Kal
omtrtas Xpnorijs eis W005 ¢ ba xus" éwot dé Kal TO
Kdrevos elvat Ouyatépa Kal 76 Bpovrou yuvaina
™ poorer TL ols TPOTEpoy jev HTTOV émrerrotGewy,
viv 8 EMAUTHY éyvona kal mpos movov anTT]TOV
elvan. TAUT elroboa, deixvuaty avT@ TO Tpabpa
Kal Sunyetrau THY metpay. 0 6 demaryels Kat
avateivas Tas Yelpas éemevEato Sodvat Tous Deovs
auT@ KatopOovvtt THY mpaki avdpi Tlopxias

akin gavivar. xal tote pev averapBRave THV
yuvaixa.
XIV. IIpoypadetons be BovAjs, ets iy émido€os
HV api€er Bart Kaicap, eyvocay emuxetpeiv Kai
yap ab poo per adAnrdov dvuTonTas éver Oat
TOTE, Kal wavtTas ebewv opod TOUS apiaTous Kat
mpwtouvs avopas, & Epyou peyddou mpaxOévros ev-
Aus avrihapBavopevous Tis édevGeplas. edoxer
dé Kal 70 Tob TOTOU Oeiov elvau Kal mpos avTav'
TO yap iy pia TOV TEpl TO Jéatpov, eFedpav
éxouca év 7) Toprniov TLS elK@Y elaTHKel, THS
TOAEWS oTNTALENS Ste Tais aToais Kal TO
Jedrpy TOV TOTTOY éKxEtVvoV exoounoen. éls TAUTNY
ow 7 a UYKANTOS éxandeito ToD Maprtiov Banvos
padora [LETOUVTOS (etdovs Maprias THY Nuépav
‘Popaior Karovowv), @oTe Kal Oaimeov tes edoxet
TOV ee Th Tlopmrntov sien mpoa afew.
Enrdovons dé TIS TipEpas Bpovtos pev vTrotw-
OLMEVOS éyxerpi6vov pons ouverduias THIS yuvaLKOS
mponrbev, ou S adddot ™ pos Kadooctov a6 pora Bevres
Tov viov avTov TO Kaovpevov avdpeiov i iuadtov
avarapuRavovta KaTiyov eis ayopav. éxeiOerv Sé
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endure a secret; but good rearing and excellent companionship go far towards strengthening the character, and it is my happy lot to be both the daughter of Cato and the wife of Brutus. Before this I put less confidence in these advantages, but now I know that I am superior even to pain."" Thus having spoken, she showed him her wound and explained her test; whereupon Brutus, amazed, and lifting his hands to heaven, prayed that he might succeed in his under- taking and thus show himself a worthy husband of Porcia. Then he sought to restore his wife.

XIV. A meeting of the senate having been called, to which it was expected that Caesar would come, they determined to make their attempt there; for they could then gather together in numbers without exciting suspicion, and would have all the best and fore- most men in one place, who, once the great deed was done, would straightway espouse the cause of liberty. It was thought, too, that the place of meeting was providentially in their favour; for it was one of the porticoes about the theatre, containing a session- room in which stood a statue of Pompey. This statue the city had erected in his honour when he adorned that place with the porticoes and the theatre.!} Hither, then, the senate was summoned about the middle of March? (the Romans call the day the Ides of March), so that some heavenly power seemed to be conducting Caesar to Pompey’s vengeance.

When the day came, Brutus girt on a dagger, to the knowledge of his wife alone, and went forth, while the rest assembled at the house of Cassius and conducted his son, who was about to assume what was called the “ toga virilis,” down to the forum. Thence

1 Cf. Pompey, xl. 5. * March 15, 44 B.o.

4 9 \ of,
mavtes ets THY Lopirniov oroav éuBarovtes b1é-
e > , 4 J / \
TpliBov, ws autixa Kaicapos adiEopévouv mpos
4 a a
Thy avyxAntov. évOa 6 padtota TOV avdpav
\ 9» Ae \ \ \ PS \ a] A 29 ,
To aTralés Kal Tapa ta Seva KabeotynKkds eOav-
” IQN \ “4 4 A N \
pacey av Tis ELd@sS TO MEAAODY, OTL TOAAOLS OLA TO
Lal b ,
otTpatnyel avayxalouevor ypnuativew ov povov
/ ? “ fa)
TPAWS NKPOWVTO TOY evyTUyXavovTwv Kat d:adeEpo-
,
pévwv WoTrep TXOAaLOVTES, GANA Kal Tas KpioeEs
exdoTols axpiBeis Kal peta yvopns édidocar,
ETLUEAWS TPOTexoVTES. émreL SE TLS pm BovAO-
pevos Oixnv viocyxeiv émexadeito Kaicapa Kat
\ 9 a \ / 3 , e
modus nV Bowy Kal wapTupopevos, aTroBAéYras oO
a BJ a >
Bpodros eis tovs mapovtas, “’EKué Kaicap,’
elirev, ““oUTE KWAVEL TTOLELY TA KATA TOUS VOLOUS
oUTe KMAVCEL.”
XV. Kaitot moda OopvBodn Kata rvynv
avtois mpocétece: TPOToOv péev Kal parALoTA TO
, a
Bpadvvery tov Katcapa tis juépas mponxovons
Kal Svotepovvra KatéxeaOas péev VITO THS yuvatKos
oixot, kwrvecOar Sé mpoedOety WTO THY pavTEwV.
Sevtepov 5€ Kaoxa tev ouvedotwv évi mpoced-
Owv tis Kal AaBomevos THs SeEtas, “Xv peév,”
2 62 / \ SMA ° ,
elev, “‘amrexpuirw To atroppyTov, wo Kaoxa,

mpos nuas, Bpodtos b€ pot wavta pepnvuxerv.”
éxtrayevtos 6€ tov Kdoxa yeraoas éxeivos,
v6 , ”» »¥ ce / ” 2 ,
llodev,” én, “‘tayéws ovTws, ® paxkaple, Te-
4 @ 9 3 > 4 b) 4 ”
TrovTnKAaS WaT Els ayopavopiav atrodvecIat;
lo) e
mapa TocovToy pev o Kdoxas Abe odarels
9 4 , \ b , 9) 2N \
apgpiBorta mpoécGar tO atoppntov' avtov de
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they all hastened to the portico of Pompey and waited there, expecting that Caesar would straight- way come to the meeting of the senate. There any one who knew what was about to happen would have been above all things astonished at the indiffer- ence and composure of the:men on the brink of this terrible crisis. Many of them were praetors and therefore obliged to perform the duties of their office, wherein they not only listened calmly to those who had petitions to offer or quarrels to com- pose, as if they had ample time, but also took pains to give their verdicts in every case with accu- racy and judgment. And when a certain man who was unwilling to submit to the verdict of Brutus appealed to Caesar with loud cries and attestations, Brutus turned his gaze upon the bystanders and said: ‘Caesar does not prevent me from acting according to the laws, nor will he prevent me.” XV. And yet many things occurred to surprise and disturb them. First and foremost, though the day was advancing, Caesar delayed his coming, being detained at home by his wife because his omens were unpropitious,! and prevented from going forth by the soothsayers. In the second place, some one came up to Casca, one of the conspirators, took him by the hand, and said: “You hid the secret from us, Casca, but Brutus has told me everything.’”” And when Casca was dumb with amazement, the man burst out laughing and said: “ How did you get so rich on a sudden, my good fellow, as to stand for the aedileship ?’’ So near did Casca come, in the mistake caused by the man’s ambiguity, to disclosing the

1 Cf. Cuesar, \xiii. 5.

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Bpobrov kat Kdoovov avnp BovreuvTiKos Hlominuos
Aaivas ATT ATALEVOS mpoOvporepov Kat piOupi-
cas npeua, Luvevxouar,” pnaiv, ‘ ‘piv éxredeiv
a Kata voov eyeTe Kat TapaKehevouat pn Bpadv-
pew" ov yap ClwWTAaTAL TO Tpary ya. "Kal Ta0r
ELT @V am@éoTn TovkAny UToviay éuBarwv tod
memva Gat Thy mwpaktv.
"Ey tovtT@ 6é TUS oixodev &Oet mpos Tov ee

dryyeXMov avT@ THY yuvaika OvnoKery. 7) yap
Tlopxta T™ pos TO pédDov exradns ovoa Kal TO
peyeBos Ma pepouca, THis ppovrisos EAUTHVY TE
ports oixor Kareixe, Kal mpos mdvta OopvBov
Kat Bony, OoTEp ai KaTaaxXeTor Tots Baxxcois
mddecw, eEdrtovea TOV bev elo Lov Tw an
aryopas ExaoTov avex pivev 6 Tt mpaTroL Bpodiros,
éTépous 6€ cuvex as eferrepumre. TEAS dé Tob xpo-
vOU pTjKos AapBdvovtos ouxér avreixev TOU
TWMATOS Suvames, GaNn' eEedvOn | Kal KaTepapai-
veTO THS ux7s advovens bia THY aTropiav' Kal
maperOety pev els TO Sw@pdtiov ouK EpOn, TEpL-
ictato 8 avrnp, domep eTUy Xaver, év péow «abe-
Comerny AiroOupia Kat OapBos apryavoy, i Te
"pou peta Borny edd puBave Kal tHv povny éme-
oXNTO Tavranacw. at dé Geparrawas ™ pos THY
Ory dvwororvear, Kal TOV YELTOV@Y cuVdpapov-
TOV emt Oupas Tax T pone pnun Kar 61e600n
orvyos @s TeOvnkvias auras. ov pay aX exeluny
pep avarhdppacav ev Bpayet Kat wap éavt7
yevouevny at yuvaixes éGepamrevov" o 6€ Bpodtos
vmo TOU Aoyou TpooTETOvTOS avT@ cuverapax On
HEV, wS elKos, ov pny ye kaTeédutre TO KOLVOY OVS
Eppun pos TO oiKEtoy Udo TOU TaBous.
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secret. Moreover, Brutus and Cassius were greeted more warmly than usual by Popilius Laenas, a senator, who then whispered quietly to them: " I join you in praying for the accomplishment of what you have in mind, and exhort you not to delay, for the matter is on men's tongues." Having said this, he went away, leaving them full of suspicion that their undertaking had become known.

At this juncture, too, a messenger from his house came running to Brutus with the tidings that his wife was dead. For Porcia, being distressed about what was impending and unable to bear the weight of her anxiety, could with difficulty keep herself at home, and at every noise or cry, like women in the Bacchic frenzy, she would rush forth and ask every messenger who came in from the forum how Brutus was faring, and kept sending out others continually. Finally, as the time grew long, her bodily powers could no longer endure the strain, but were relaxed and enfeebled as her perplexities threatened to drive her mad. She had not time to go to her chamber, -but just as she was, sitting in the midst of her servants, she was

overwhelmed with faintness and helpless stupor, her colour fled, and her speech was utterly stayed. Her maids shrieked at the sight, and since the neighbours came running in a crowd to the door, a report speedily went forth and a story was spread abroad that she was dead. However, she revived in a short time, came to herself, and was eared for by her women; but Brutus, though he was confounded,' naturally, by the startling tale, nevertheless did not abandon his public duty, nor was he driven by his affliction to dwell on his private concerns.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XVI. "H6y b€ Kaicap amrny VENETO T™ poate
év popetep Kcoprlosevos. eyvares yap emt ois
tepots abupev pydev émexupovv tote Tav perto-
yov, aXr' uTepBarreo Bar ounapevos aoa Géverav.
exBavTt é auT@ TOU popetou m poa puels Tloridtos
Aaivas, exeivos o puxp@ mpoo dev evEapevos Tots
WeEpt Bpotrov € emiTuyy avew Kab xatopobr, Ouene-
YETO TELM Xe povov epiotapevep Kal Tpooeyovte
TOV voov. é owveporas (Aeyer Peo yap ovTws)
THS pev davis ouK émaiovres avToU, TEK MAL PO MeVOL
o ag' wy Umevoouv pavuo elvat THS emtBouhiis
THY KoLWoNoylay, avéTecov TE Tals yvw@pats, Kal
7 pos addyrous éBrevay avboporoyoupevor d:a
TOV TPOTHT WY WS xpH LN TEpLwevely TuAANYpw,
GNX evd us amobviaKety &0 avtav. Kacciov &
760 KQL TLUWY a doov TAS yeElpas emt BeBdnKoTov
tais AaBais bro Ta ipatia Kal oT LEVOV Ta
eyxetpioua, Bpovros eyKaT oop T@ Tob Aaiva
oXNpaTe deouévou omoudny Kal ouxi KaTnyo-
pouvros, epOeyEato pev ovdey dia TO ToddoUS
adAot pious avapeuty Gar, gaidp@ dé TO Tpoorwnp
TOUS rept Kacotov eJappuve. Kal peta px pov
0 Aaivas THY defvav Tou Katcapos KaTapirjoas
amTéoTN, pavepos YEVOMEVOS WS Umep éavTov Kal
Tov avT@ Tivos StahepovtTwy emoteito THY
évtevEv.
XVII. Tis dé Bovis els THY eédpav 7 poeraen-
Bovans ol pev adAor Tov Oippov Tod Kaicapos
TeplerTna av as evTUYyXavely TL HEV TES AUTO.
Kal Kdoouov pev éeyeTat TpéTovTa TO 7 poo wm ov
els THY eixova Tov Iloumniov tapaxarciv BoTeEP
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XVI. And now word was brought that Caesar was coming, borne on a litter. For in consequence of the dejection caused by his omens, he had determined not to sanction any important business at that time, but to postpone it, under pretext of indisposition. As he descended from his litter, Popilius Laenas, who, a little while before, had wished Brutus success in his enterprise, hurried up to him and conversed with him for some time, and Caesar stood and listened to him. The conspirators (for so they shall be called) could not hear what he said, but judging from their suspicions that what he told Caesar was a revelation of their plot, they were disconcerted in their plans, and mutually agreed by looks which passed between them that they must not await arrest, but at once dispatch themselves. Cassius and some others, indeed, had already grasped the handles of the daggers be- neath their robes and were about to draw them, when Brutus observed from the mien of Laenas that he was asking eagerly for something and not denouncing anyone. Brutus said nothing, because many were about him who were not in the plot, but by the cheerfulness of his countenance gave courage to Cassius and his friends. And after a little while Laenas kissed Caesar's hand and withdrew. He had made it clear that it was in his own behalf and on something which closely concerned himself that he had consulted Caesar.

XVII. When the senate had preceded Caesar into the session-room, the rest of the conspirators stationed themselves about Caesar's chair, as if they intended to have some conference with him, and Cassius is said to have turned his face towards the statue of Pompey and to have invoked it, as if it had understanding ;

aicOavopevov, TpeBovios dé mept tas Ouvpas
"Avroviov émicmacdapevos Kal mpocopirav ew
katéoxe. Kaicaps 5é eiovovte pev) obyxAnTOS
treEavéstyn, xabeCopevov & evOds éxeivor rept-
éxyov aOpoa, Tidrov KiuBpov é& éavtay apo-
Bddrovtes Urrép aderpod guyddos Seopevor
Kal cuvedéovto Tavres, aTTOMEvol TE YeLPwV Kal
4 \ '\ / ' /
OTEPVA Kai KEeharnY KaTepirouv. arroTptBopevou
5é tas Senoes TO wpartor, 610', ws ovK avierar,
éEaviatapévov Bia, Tirdrsos pév audortépass ais
yepoly ék TOV Ouwv KatéoTvace TO tpdrion,
Kdoxas 6€ mpatos (eiatnxer yap dmicbev)
9 UA ' / 4 b) bd 4
dvaonmdcas To Eidos Suekavver, ovK eis BaBos,
\ \ J b , \ A a
Tapa Tov @pov. avTtnauBavopévou bé ths AaBAs
tov Kaicapos xai péya 'Popaioti advaxpayéovtos,
"*Avoote Kaoxa, ti trovets;" éxeivos "EXXnuoTI
' b] \ 4 > + a

Tov ddeXpov mpocayopevaas éxédevoe BonOeiv.
ay) de 4 e \ a \ 4
On O€ TALOMEVOS UTO TONNWY KAL KUKA® TreEpt-
Brérwv «al SswcacPar Bovropmevos, ws Elbe
Bpodrov éXxopevov Eidos én’ adrov, rHv YXeEipa
tov Kdoxa xpatov adie, cal T@ iatio thy
Keharny éycadupapevos tapédwxe TO cpa Tais

TAnyais. of & adedas avareTreypévot TrONXOLS

qept TO capa Ypwpevor Tots Eihectvy GAAHAOUS

éritpwoxov, wate xal Bpovroy ets thy yeipa
TAnyny AaBeiv Tov povov cuvedamropevor, Tip-
mwracOat 5é TOU aiatos arraytas.
XVIII. Oita 8 arroPavovros avtot Bpottos
\ % lA \ bd 4 / \
bev eis pécoy mpocedkOwmv éBovreTo Réyerv Kat
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but Trebonius drew Antony into conversation at the door and kept him outside.! As Caesar entered, the senate rose in his honour, but as soon as he was seated the conspirators surrounded him in a body, putting forward Tullius Cimber of their number with a plea in behalf of his brother, who was in exile. The others al] joined in his plea, and clasping Caesar’s hands, kissed his breast and his head. At first, Caesar merely rejected their pleas, and then, when they would not desist, tried to free himself from them by force. At this, Tullius tore Caesar’s robe from his shoulders with both hands, and Casca, who stood behind him, drew his dagger and gave him the first stab, not a deep one, near the shoulder. Caesar caught the handle of the dagger and cried out loudly in Latin: “Im- pious Casca, what doest thou?’’ Then Casca, ad- dressing his brother in Greek, bade him come to his aid. And now Caesar had received many blows and was looking about and seeking to force his way through his assailants, when he saw Brutus setting upon him with drawn dagger. At this, he dropped the hand of Casca which he had seized, covered his head with his robe, and resigned himself to the dagger-strokes. The conspirators, crowding eagerly about the body, and plying their many daggers, wounded one another, so that Brutus also got a wound in the hand as he sought to take part in — the murder, and all were covered with blood. XVIII. Caesar thus slain, Brutus went out into the middle of the session-room and tried to speak, and

1 In Caesar, lxvi. 3, Brutus Albinus is incorrectly said to have detained Antony in conversation. Cf. Appian, B.C. ii. 117, and Cicero’s letter to Trebonius (Hist. x. 28).

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M 2

Kareixe Jappiver THY ouyKAnTov’ % © ume déous
Epevryev aTaKTwsS, Kal repl Tas Ovpas wOtapos
qv Kal tadpaxos, ovdevos Su@xovtTos ovde Kare-
TeiryovTOs. toxupas yap ebé5ox70 pndéva KTelveLy
Erepov, adda TavTas emt Thy édevOepian | dvaKa-
AetcAar. Kal TOUS pev drdows Tao, omnvixa
StecxotrovvTo thy mpake, Hpec kev "AvTa@viov
emsoparrew Kaicapt, povapyLKoy avdpa Kat
UBprariy, t loxuv TE Tem oLn WEVOV optria Kab oun
Geia mpos TO OTPATLOTLKOY, Kal padrod Sr TO
pices coBap Kal peyadompaypove mpocerrnper
TO THS Umatetas afiopa TOTE Kaicape cuvapxYov.
ara Bpodros € éveoTn mpos 7o Bovdevpa, 7 pwTov
bev to upilomevos TO Sixaio, SevTepov S Uro-
Tels EXTrOA TIS petaBonrijs. ov yap ameyive-
oKeV ebpua kal dtrorLpov dvdpa kal 8d0€&ns
épacrny tov ‘Avraviov, éxTrodov Kaicapos ryevo-
Levon, cwveparves Far TH mar plot Tis erevdepias,
emamaabevra T@ tik@ mpos TO KaNov bm’
avTav. oUTw pe "Avraviov Bpodros Teper oin-
cev' ev 5€ Te TOTe POR petaBarov écOFjTa
Snpotixny eduryev.
Oi dé meph Bpodrov els 70 Kametaduov exw
pour, nuaypevot Tas Xelpas, Kal Ta Ein yupve
SecxvuvTes emt THY édevepiay mapexdouv TOUS
modiTas. TO per ovv WpaToy hoay Grararypol,
Kal Sradpopat 7 mabee Kara TUX NY erry vopevae
mAelova Tov BopuBov émoinoay: ws 8 obte dovos
addros ol’ dprayn TLVOS éyiveto TOV KELUEVOY,
Jappodvres avéBawwov ot TE Bovreural Kal TOV
Snu“oT@v oAXol pos Tovs avdpas ets TO Kare-
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would have detained the senators there with en- couraging words; but they fled in terror and con- fusion, and there was a tumultuous crowding at the door, although no one pressed upon them in pursuit. For it had been firmly decided not to kill any one else, but to summon all to the enjoyment of liberty. All the rest of the conspirators, indeed, when they were discussing their enterprise, had been minded to kill Antony as well as Caesar, since he was a lawless man and in favour of a monarchy, and had acquired strength by familiar association with the soldiery; and particularly because to his natural arrogance and ambition he had added the dignity of the consulship, and was at that time a colleague of Caesar. But Brutus opposed the plan, insisting in the first place on a just course, and besides, holding out a hope of a

change of heart in Antony. For he would not give up the belief that Antony, who was a man of good parts, ambitious, and a lover of fame, if once Caesar were out of the way, would assist his country in attaining her liberty, when their example had induced him to follow emulously the nobler course. Thus Antony's life was saved by Brutus; but in the fear which then reigned, he put on a plebeian dress and took to flight.

And now Brutus and his associates went up to the Capitol, their hands smeared with blood, and displaying their naked daggers they exhorted the citizens to assert their liberty. At first, then, there were cries of terror, and the tumult was increased by wild hurryings to and fro which succeeded the disaster ; but since there were no further murders and no plundering of property, the senators and many of the common people took heart and went up to

5

wo

T@ALOV. GOpacbévtos. dé Tod wdnOous SuvedéxOn
Bpovros éraywya tov Syyou Kal mrpérovta Tois
TeTpayywevots. €mratvovvTwy Se Kal KaTiévat
Bowvrwy Oappodrtes xaréBawvov eis ayopdy, ot
pev addAor cuverromevoe pet' adAA@V, Bpodtov
dé qodAol tay emipavav mepiémortes ev pow
jwavu NauTpPOS KaTiyov amd THs axpas Kat
Katéotnaay emi trav éuBorwv. mpos Se TH
Oe of TOdKOL, Kaltrep piyddes dvTes Kal Tape-
oxevacjévoe OopuBelv, Sérpecav nai 7d pérXXOv
éSéyovtTo Koop@ Kal oLwTy. mpoedOovTos 8
avtov TavtTes naovxiay TE Ady Tapécyxov: srt
5 ov maa mpds jSovnv éyeyover 16 epyov, ébnr\w-
gav apkapévov réyew Kivva nal xatnyopeiv
Kaicapos avappnyvipevo. pos opyiy Kal Kaxds
tov Kivvay déyovtes, Gore madw tovs advdpas
eis TO Kazretodov amedbeciv. Oa 8 Sedi0s
modopxiay 6 Bpodtos améreume Tovs apictous
Tov suvvavaBavtwy, od akiav THs aitias py
HETEXOVTAS AUTOVs GUVUTTOSvEDOat Tov KivduVoV.
XIX. Ov pnv adre 7H Lotepaia ths Bours
auveiOovons eis to THs Tis fepov, "Avtwviou dé
kal [INdyxou nai Kixépwvos efrrovtwy rept auvn-
oTias Kal opuovoias, G0fe un povov adcav elvat
Tols avopdo.v, adda Kal yvounv trép Tipav
mpoletvar Tous Umdtous. Kal tadt' émupndicd-

pevot OveAVOnaav. “Avtwviov S€ Tov vidv eis TO Kamerwdtov opnpevoovta méuavtos KxatHdOov ot wept Bpotrov, domacpot te nat Sekiwoets
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the men on the Capitol. When the multitude was assembled there, Brutus made a speech calculated to win the people and befitting the occasion. The audience applauding his words and crying out to him to come down from the Capitol, the conspirators took heart and went down into the forum. The rest of them followed along in one another's company, but Brutus was surrounded by many eminent citizens, escorted with great honour down from the citadel, and placed on the rostra, At sight of him the multitude, although it was a mixed rabble and prepared to raise a disturbance, was struck with awe, and awaited the issue in decorous silence. Also when he came forward to speak, all paid quiet attention to his words; but that all were not pleased with what had been done was made manifest when Cinna began to speak and to denounce Caesar. The multitude broke into a rage and reviled Cinna so bitterly that the conspirators withdrew again to the Capitol. There Brutus, who feared that they would be besieged, sent away the most eminent of those who had come up with them, not deeming it right that they should incur the danger too, since they had no share in the uilt.

° XIX. However, on the following day the senate met in the temple of Tellus, and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero spoke in favour of amnesty and concord. It was then voted not only that the conspirators should have immunity, but also that the consuls should lay before the people a measure to pay them honours. After passing these votes, the senate broke up. Then, when Antony had sent his son to the Capitol as a hostage, Brutus and his associates came down, and there were salutations and greetings for
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éyévovto TwavTwyv avamxGévtwv. nal Kdoouov
pev ’Avtovios eiotia traparaBov, Bpodrov &é
Aémibos, Tovs & dAXovs, Ss Tes elye pos ExacTov
h auvnbcias 4 dirofppocivns. dua § jyépa
manu cuvedOovtes of Bovrevral mpatov ev
"Avrovip tiypas Eocay ws KaTaTravoavtt TONE-
pov éupvrAioy apynv: éreta tov wept Bpodrov
Hoav &rraivot TOY TrapovTwy, Kal Tédos éTapyYLOV
Stavouat. Bpovre pév yap éyndicavto Kpyrny,
Kaacio 5é AiBunv, TpeBovio 8 ’Aciav Kai
KinBpe Biduviav, Te 8 évrépp Bpovr@ tv rept
tov. Hptéavov Tanariav.
XX. Mera dé tadta mept trav Kaicapos b1a-
Onxav cat tadjs avdrod AOyov éuTecovTwr, Kal
Tov mept tov ‘Avt@vov akiovytwv tas te Sa-
Pjxas avayvwcOnvar Kal tod cwpatos éxpopav
yevérOar 7 Kexpuunpevny pnd aTimov, a pn Kal
TovTo Tapokuvy Tov Sjpov, Kaootos péev ioyupas
avténeyev, elfe 5 Bpotros nal cuveya@pnoe, dev-
Tepov apaptety TovTo Sokas. Kal yap ‘Avrawviou
decodpevos aitiay éoxyey éemiterxyloar TH svvw-
pocia Bapvuv Kal dvopaxov TONEMLOV, KAL TA TeEpt
Thv tapyy by o ‘Avtwvios nkiov tpdmov éadoas
yevérOat TOU TavTos ohadhvat. MpOTov pev yap
év tais dsabnKais Sedouévev Kat’ dvdpa ‘Pwopaios
mwact Spaxpav éBdounxovra révte nal TO Snup
TOV Tépay TOD TrOTAaLOD KHTaY ATrOAEAELLpLEVOD,
ov vov éote Tuyns iepov, evtvora Oavpaoty Kat
wo0os avTod tovs moAditas elrXev’ Eretta Tov
cawparos eis THY ayopay KoyicbévtTos "AvTa@vios
ératvov, womep 005 éoti, SieEeXOwv, Kal ta
TAHOn Kwovpeva Tpos TOV AOryov Opar, els olxToV
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all without discrimination. Cassius was taken home and entertained by Antony, Brutus by Lepidus, and the rest by their several comrades or friends. Early next morning the senate assembled again. In the first place, they gave a vote of thanks to Antony for having stopped an incipient civil war; next, they passed a vote of commendation for the followers of Brutus who were present ; and finally, they distributed the

provinces. It was voted that Brutus should have Crete, Cassius Africa, Trebonius Asia, Cimber Bi- thynia, and the other Brutus Cisalpine Gaul.

XX. After this, the subjects of Caesar’s will and of his burial came up for discussion. Antony de- manded that the will should be read publicly, and that the body should be carried forth to burial, not secretly, nor without honours, lest this also should exasperate the people. Cassius, indeed, vehemently opposed these measures, but Brutus yielded and agreed to them, thus making a second mistake, as it was thought. For by sparing Antony’s life as he had done he incurred the charge of raising up against the conspirators a bitter and formidable foe; and now, in allowing Caesar's funeral rites to be con- ducted as Antony demanded, he committed a fatal error. For, in the first place, when it was found that the will of Caesar gave to every single Roman seventy-five drachmas, and left to the people his gardens beyond the Tiber, where now stands a temple of Fortune, an astonishing kindliness and yearning for Caesar seized the citizens; and in the second place, after Caesar’s body had been brought to the forum, Antony pronounced the customary eulogy, and when he saw that the multitude were moved by his words, changed his tone to one of com-

a ‘
peréBare, Kai tHv écOjTa AaBav THY Kaicapos
nuaywevnvy avemrutev, émiderxvipevos tas d1a-
Komas Kal T@VY TpavpaTwY TO TAHOOS. Hv ovv
b] n QA ” ‘ / > b e N
isetv oddev Ere Kooum ytvopevov' GAN ot pév
5 U \ b , 9 “A e 9 C4
éBowv tovs avdpodpovous avaipely, oi &, watrep
/ A A A
ért Krwdiov tod Snpaywyod mpotepov, amo TAV
épyaoctnpiav ta Babpa nal ras tpatélas ava-
TTaVTES Kal GUyKOpivovTeEs Eis TAUTO Trappeyedn
Tupav évncayv: Kal Tov vexpoy émiOévtes ev péow
TOAA@Y pev lepav, TOAK@Y & aavrAwy Kal aBe-
/ 4 , e \ N “A 9g sf
Bnrov torwv Kabnylov. ws dé To TUp éFéXap-
rev, AANaKOOEV Aros Tpochepopevor Kal Sarovs
> A e UL v4 > \ > ?-
avactra@vrTes nuipréxtous b1é0eov ert tas oixtas
A e
TOV AVNPHNKOTWV AUTOV WS éuTpHaOVTES.
? > » a \ 2 4 ,
AAXN exeivor pev ev Trehpaypyevot mpoTeEpov
atexpovoavtTo Tov Kivdvvoyv. nv Sé€ tus Kivvas,

TOLNTLKOS aYHP, OvdEY THS aitias peTéXoV, GANG
kat hiros Kaicapos yeyoves. otros dvap @erto
Karovpevos vTo Kaicapos éi Seimvoy apvetabat,
Tov 6€ Atrapety Kai BidlecOar, téros 8 ayew
AaRopevov THs Yetpos els aYavy Torov Kal cKoTet-
vov, avtov 8 dxovta kal reBayPnuévov Erecbat.
TavTny LoovTe THY dp a'T@ ouvéBy Tupéerren
dua vuxtos: Suws 8 Ewlev éxxopusttopévov tod
cw@patos aidovpevos p47 wapeivar mponrOev eis
Tov dyAov On Stayprawopevov. opOeis Se Kal
| }
S0Eas ovxy Somrep jv Kivvas eivat, adr' éxeivos 6
Kaicapa mpos tiv éxxdrnaotav évayyos AowWopyaas,
dseomraa On,
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passion, and taking the robe of Caesar, all bloody as it was, unfolded it to view, pointing out the many places in which it had been pierced and Caesar wounded. All further orderly procedure was at an end, of course; some cried out to kill the murderers, and others, as formerly in the case of Clodius the demagogue,! dragged from the shops the benches and tables, piled them upon one another, and thus erected a huge pyre; on this they placed Caesar's body, and in the midst of many sanctuaries, asylums, and holy places, burned it. Moreover, when the fire blazed up, people rushed up from all sides, snatched up half-burnt brands, and ran round to the houses of Caesar's slayers to set them on fire.

These men, indeed, having previously barricaded themselves well, repelled the danger ; but there was a certain Cinna, a poet, who had no share in the crime, but was actually a friend of Caesar's. This man dreamed that he was invited to supper by Caesar and declined to go, but that Caesar besought and constrained him, and finally took him by the hand and led him into a yawning and darksome place, whither he followed unwilling and _ bewildered. After having this vision, he fell into a fever which lasted all night; but in the morning, nevertheless, when the funeral rites were held over Caesar's body, he was ashamed not to be present, and went out into the crowd when it was already becoming savage. He was seen, however, and being thought to be, not the Cinna that he really was, but the one who had re- cently reviled Caesar before the assembled people, he was torn in pieces.

1 Clodius was killed in a street-brawl with Milo, 52 B.c.
Cf. Cicero, xxv. 1.
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XXI. Todrto +o waOos padtota peta ye THY
9 , A a e AY a
Avtwviou petaBorny Seicavtes of mept Bpotrov
dveyopnoav é€x THS ToAews’ Kal SiérptBov ev
"Avtim TO MpaTov ws, Stay Tapaxudon Kat
papavOy To THs opyns, adOes eis ‘Paynyv xati-
, e ’ ” Ul 3 /
ovtes. § padiws EcecOar mpocedoxwy év wANnOECL
dhopas actabuntous kal taxeias hepopevors, Kal
THY avyKAnTOY evvouv eyovTes, 7) Tovs Kivvay
Stactracapévous yaipe édacaca Tovs éml Tas
> » ‘ bY 4 bd 4
olxias Tas éxelvov éredOovtas avetnre Kal
4 a \ \ e A > 4

2 suverauBavev. 70n Sé nal o Shyos ayOopevos,
"Avtwviou oyedov eis povapyiay Kaltotapévon,
Bpodrov érodew Kal mpocedoxato tas Oéas akew
Tapwv avtos, as where oTpaTnyav Tapacyeiv.
9 , N \ “A e \ li
aig@opevos Sé mTodXdOvs TAY Ure Kaicapos
éotpateupevov Kal yhv cal modes Tap éxeivou
NaBovrwy émiBovrAevovtas avT@ nal Kat’ odLyous
Tapetopeovras éis THY ToAW ovK eOdppnaev ér-
Geiv, GAN’ o Siuos €Ocato pu Trapovtos éxeivou
Tas Géas, ahedas mdvu yopnyoupévas Kal crepit-
ToS. Onpia te yap wdprroAdXa ouvEewvnpmévos
éxéXevoe ndev arrodocbat und vroduteiv, AAXNa
mao kataypioacba., Kal tay Tepl Tov Arovucov
TexviTav autos eis Néav rrodw xataBas évéruvye
mretatos: tmept b€ Kavovtiou tivos evnuepotytos
év tois Oedtpois &ypade mpos Tovs didous drrws
meloavtTes avTov eicaydywou “EAXnvev yap
ovdéeva BracOjvar mpoonxev. éypade 5é cal
Kixépou, tavtws mapatuyxety tais Oéass Sedpevos.
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XXI. This incident more than anything else, ex- cept, perhaps, Antony’s change of heart, frightened Brutus and his adherents, and they withdrew from the city. At first they spent some time in Antium, with the idea of returning to Rome when the people’s wrath had passed its climax and subsided. This they

thought would readily come to pass, since multitudes are fickle and impetuous, and, besides, they had the senate in their favour, which let those who tore Cinna to pieces go unpunished, and yet tried to seek out and arrest those who had assaulted the houses of the conspirators. Already, too, the people were disturbed because Antony was assuming almost absolute power, and they longed for Brutus; it was also expected that he would be present in person and conduct the spectacles which it was his duty as praetor to furnish. But Brutus learned that many of the veteran soldiers of Caesar who had received land and cities from their commander, were now plotting against his life and in small bands streaming into the city. He therefore had not the courage to come. The people, however, had their spectacles, in spite of his absence, and these were very lavishly and magnificently appointed. For Brutus had purchased a great number of wild beasts, and now gave orders that not one should be sold or left behind, but that all should be used ; and he himself went down to Naples and conferred with a very large number of actors; and regarding Ca- nutius, an actor who enjoyed great fame, he wrote to his friends that they should persuade him to go to Rome; for no Greek could properly be compelled to go. He wrote also to Cicero, begging him by all means to attend the spectacles.

XXII. 'Ev toravtn 5¢ xataotdce: tov Tpa-
yudtov évtwv érépa yiverar petaBorr Tov véov
Kaicapos éredOovros. obtos Hv peév é& aberdidas
Kaicapos, ypdppate 5€ mais vm avrov xai
xANpovopos amroAedetppéevos. ev & 'AzroAdwvia
SuétpiBev Ste Kaicap dvnpébn, oxordlwv epi
NOyous KaKelvov ért TlapOovs édavvew evOvs
éyyaxoTa mpoopéevov. aya b€ TO TvOécOas 7d
mados HAO eis 'Pounv: nal Snuaywyias dpyny
tovvoua Kaicapos Oéuevos éavt@ Kal diavéuov
TO KaTarehbev apyvptov Tots TodtTats AvT@voy
Te xatectaciale cal xpnpata dradidovs cuviorn
Kal cuviyye TroAAovs THY LTO Kaicapos éorpatev-
pévov. éret 66 Kixépwy te mpdos 'Avtwroyv
pioes TA Kaioapos érpatte, rovT@ pev o Bpodtos
errém ANT TEV loxupars, ypadwv ws ov Seororny
Bapivorto Kixépwv, adda pucovvta Seorortny
oPotro, cal troduTevorTo Sovreias aiperww dirav-
Opwrov ypadwv Kal Aéyov wS YXpNoTOS éeoTL
Kaicap. "Oi 8é mpoyovol," dyatv, "ipav ovde
mpaous Seomotas Uméuevov." avT@ & els TovTO
Katpod pte trodeuety BeBaiws SedoxPar pte
novydtev, adr &y povov elvar BeBovrcvpévor,
To pn Sovrevew Oavydtew dé Kexépwvos, ei
mwoNeov pev éudurtov kai Kwdvvedy Sédorxer,
aiaypav 5é nal adokov elpyvnv ov poBeitat, tod

8 “Avrovov éxBareiy HS Tupavvidos psobov
aitet ro Kaicapa xatacthoat tTUpavvon.
XXIII. Ev pév ody tais mpwrais éructonais
TotovTos o Bpovros: 76 dé Tay pev ws Kaicapa,
tav & ws Avt@vioy stictapéevar, @viwv & TaV
\ dorpareupévwy as in xxi. 2: orparevouévwr.

XXII. Matters were at such a pass when a fresh turn was given to them by the arrival of the young Caesar. He was a son of Caesar’s niece, but had been formally adopted by him, and left his heir. He was pursuing his studies at Apollonia when Caesar was killed, and had been awaiting him there after his determination to march at once against the Par- thians. As soon as he learned of Caesar’s fate, he came to Rome, and as a first step towards winning the favour of the people, assumed the name of Caesar and distributed to the citizens the money which had been left them by his will. Thus he deposed Antony from popular favour, and by a lavish use of money assembled and got together many of Caesar's veteran soldiers. When Cicero was led by his hatred of An- tony to take the side of Octavius Caesar, Brutus rebuked him severely, writing that Cicero did not object to a despot as such, but only feared a despot who hated him, and that when he declared in his letters and speeches that Octavius was a worthy man, his policy meant the choice of a kindly slavery. «Our ancestors, however,’ said he, “ could not endure even gentle despots.” As for himself, he had not as yet definitely decided, he said, either for war or for peace, but on one thing only was he determined, and that was not to be a slave; and he was amazed, he said, that Cicero dreaded a civil war with all its perils, but was not afraid of a shameful and inglorious peace, and that, as a reward for driving Antony from the tyranny, he asked the privilege of making Octavius tyrant.

XXIII. Thus, then, did Brutus express himself in his first letters to Cicero. But already one faction was forming about Octavius, and another about

oTpatoTédwv w@oTrep UTO KnpUKL TpoaTOELEevwY
TO HEOv didovre, Tavtdmact KaTayvous TOY
TpayLaTov eyo cataditrety ‘Itadiav, nal weoq
dca Aevkavias éls "EXéav emt Oahaccay wen.
2 60ev 4 Ilopxia pédrovea maALy eis “Pa&unv aro-
tpaTéa Oat Nav dverv pev émretpGTo mepiTrabars
éxouca, ypagn 5é THs aurny mpovdaxe TaN
y ovaav. ny yap éx TOV “EdAnuicav
cixgegitee. ; T POTTELTOMEVOS "Extwp vTr0 ‘Avdpopua-
xs Kouslomerns Tap avtov To masoiov, € éxeiv@ Oé
3 mpooBrerovens. Taira Gewpevny THV Topxiav

» Tov wdaOous eixoY eerngev els daxpva: Kal
TONAGKLS portaca TNS TpEpas éxdaev. "AxtAtov
5€ Twos TOV Bpotrov ditwyv Ta mpos “Exropa
rns Avdpopaxyns érn dveXOovtos,
“Extop, aTap ov po éool matip Kal moTMa

paitnp
noe Kaciyyyntos, av 5é wor Oarepos epee
4 perdsdcas 0 Bpodtos, “’AXX’ ovw enol y’,” ele,
‘se \ , ” s a A Ay
mpos Ilopxiav érerot havar ta Tov “Extopos,
istov AaKkaTny Te Kal duditrodoel KéXEVE'

TwWUATOS yap dmoneimerat puoe Tav towy av6pa-
yaOnparov, youn & umeép THs maTpioos, ao Tep
jpels, apiorevel. TavTa pév o THS Llopkias vids
iotopnxe BuBXos.
XXIV. ’AvayOeis 8 o Bpoitos éxeiBev er
AOnvov EAE. beFapevou d€ Tov SHpov mpodv-
pws aurov evpnpiacs Kat nic pace Sintaro bev
mapa fév@ tiv, Seopyjarov 8 GK pod Wevos Tov
Axaébnptaxod nai Kparinmov rod Mepirarntixod

Antony, and the soldiers, as though for sale at auction, flocked to the highest bidder. Altogether despairing, therefore, of the state, Brutus determined to abandon Italy, and came by land through Lucania to Elea by the sea. As Porcia was about to return thence to Rome, she tried to conceal her distress, but a certain painting betrayed her, in spite of her noble spirit hitherto. Its subject was Greek, — Andromache bidding farewell to Hector; she was taking from his arms their little son, while her eyes were fixed upon her husband. When Porcia saw this, the image of her own sorrow presented by it caused her to burst into tears, and she would visit it many times a day and weep before it. And when Acilius, one of the friends of Brutus, recited the verses containing Andromache’s words to Hector,

«“ But, Hector, thou to me art father and honoured
mother
And brother; my tender husband, too, art thou,”
Brutus smiled and said: “ But I, certainly, have no mind to address Porcia in the words of Hector,

‘Ply loom and distaff and give orders to thy maids,’ !

for though her body is not strong enough to perform such heroic tasks as men do, still, in spirit she is valiant in defence of her country, just as we are.” This story is told by Porcia’s son, Bibulus.?

XXIV. From thence Brutus put to sea and sailed for Athens. Here the people welcomed him eagerly and extolled him in public decrees. He dwelt with a certain guest-friend, attended the lectures of Theomnestus the Academic and Cratippus the Peripatetic,

1 Iliad, vi. 429 f.; 491. 2 Cf. chapter xiii. 2.
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kal cupdirocodav édoxer mayvtdtaciw apyeiv Kal
ayordtev. émpatte S€ Ta Wpos Tov WorEwov 995
avuToTT@s. Kal yap ets Makedoviay émepuev
'Hpootparoy otxerovpevos tovs émi tav éxei
atpatotréwy, Kal Tovs cyoAdlovras amo 'Pons
éy dares véovs avedduBave Kal cuveiyev. cov hv
cat Kixépwvos vids, dv éraivet Stadepovtas, Kai
gyno, eit éypyyopev eit' évuTmdletat, Oavpa-
Ceev ob Tw yevvaiov dvta Kal prcoTupavvov.
"ApEdpevos 5€ THY Tpayudtwv avadhavddv
anrecbat, cal tru@opevos wAota 'Pwopaixd peora
xpnuatwv €& "Acias mpocpépecOar xal otparn-
yov émuimdeivy avdpa yapievta Kal yvopipor,
aTnvrnoev auT@ wept Kapvorov: évtruxyeov oé cat
meicas Kal mapaxaBwy Ta rola AauTpoTéepay
UTodoyny eroeiro. Kal yap hv nuépa Kal" Av
éyeyoves mpa@tov o Bpodros. ws odv é€XOovtes eis
TO Tive ériyvoes errolodvTo vinns te Bpovrou
kat '"Pwpaiwy édevOepias, ere padAdAov avtovs
pacar Bovrcpmevos ynTnoe twoTHpiov peifov' xal
AaBav, am' ovdeusads mpopdcews dvepwvnce Tov
oTiYoy TOUTOV'
ard pe potp' 6Aon Kal Anrods Extavev vids.

¥ \ \ XN 4 @ " eo \

ére 5é Kal mpos TovTos iotopova.v, Ste Thy
/ bd , 4 %% 1 ,
Tereuvtaliay év Dirimmos paxovuevos Ene pd-

? A

xnv, auvOnua map avtod Tois oTpati@tais

"AmoAAwva So0jvar. 610 Kal THs cupdopas

TiOevrat onpetov exeivny TV avadwrvnotv.

discussed philosophy with them, and was thought to be wholly given up to literary pursuits. But without any one's suspecting it, he was getting ready for war. For he sent Herostratus into Macedonia, desiring to win over the commanders of the armies there, and he united in his service all the young Romans who were studying at Athens. One of these was Cicero's son, on whom he bestows high praise, declaring that whether awake or asleep and dreaming, he was amazed to find him of such a noble spirit and such a hater of tyranny.

Afterwards he began to act openly, and having learned that Roman transports full of treasure were approaching from Asia, and that an accomplished and well-known man was in command of them, he went to meet him at Carystus. After conferring with him and persuading him to hand over the transports, he prepared an entertainment of unusual splendour; for it was Brutus's birthday. Accordingly, when they were come to their wine, and were pledging " Victory to Brutus," and " Liberty to the Romans,' wishing to animate them still more, Brutus called for a larger beaker, and then, when he had received it, without any ostensible reason, recited this verse :—

" But I am slain by baleful Fate and Leto's son." !

And still further, in addition to this, historians tell us that when he was going out to figlt his last battle at Philippi, the watchword which he gave out to his soldiers was "Apollo."'1 Therefore they conclude that when he recited that verse, it also was a presage © of his calamity.

1 Patroclus to Hector, Iltad, xvi. 849. Leto's son was Apollo, and the name was thought to mean Destroyer.

9 v4 / N b A ?
XXV.) Ex ToUTOU MevTHKOVTA pev AUTH pupLd-
Sas 'Avtiatios db wv Hye Kab autos eis 'Itadiav
A 4 Cd . , w
xpnuatwv Sidworv, door Sé wept OecoaNriay ért
THs loumntov orparias éAXAav@vrTo auvéppeov
dopevws mpos autov: immeis 5€ mevtaxocious
ddeiheto Kivva mpos AoroBéAXav ayovtos eis
9 / ? U4 a f A
Aciayv. émimdevoas te TH Anunrptdas:, ToAX@Y
Cd > 4 \ 9 , a ,
OTAw@Y eEayopevwy mpos Avtwyioyv, & Katcapos
A S , > N \ '\
Tov mpotépov Kedevoavtos émi tov TlapOixov
? 4 U > 4 € J, \ A
érroinOn modepov, éexpatnoev. "'Optnaiov &é tov
aoTpaTnyou mapadovtos av't@ Makedoviay, nai
Tov év KuKA@m Bacirtéwy nai Suvact@v auvota-
4 4 > 4 Ia e
péevov nal mpootiOepéevarv, ayyéAXetat Vaios, o
"Avrwviov aderdos, €& "Itadias dsaBeBnxas Ba-
Sifeww evOuvs éml tas Suvdpes as év 'Emiddpve
cal 'AmroAXwvia Batinos cuvetye. RBovrAopevos
otv POdcat nai wporaBeiv o Bpodtos éEaidyns
dvacTnaas TOUs cuv avT@ Sa Ywpiov yareTaov
vipopevos émopeveto' Kal modu mponAGe Tovs
Kouivovtas To aptotov. éyyvs ovv 'Emdduvov
, \ ' a) ,
yevopevos S1a Komrov Kal wWiyos éBovrApiace.
cupmnimres Sé partota To Wabos yLovos ovans
movovot Kai KTYvEect Kal avOpwrots, elite Tod
Geppod Sia rrepiipvkiy cai wvxvwoty, Stav évTos
bod A ' ' , ' J
dmav xaberpyOn, THY Tpopiy aApows avadriaKov-
tos, elte Spipeta nal Aewt) Tis ytovos dtadvo-
pévns lovaa wvo1 Tépver TO cpa Kat dScapOeipe
70 Oeppov é& avtod Oupale Staore:popevov. tas
yap épidpwaes mapéxew Soxet to Oepyov dmav-
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XXV. After this, Antistius! gave him five hundred thousand drachmas from the moneys which he was personally taking to Italy, and all Pompey's soldiers who were still wandering about Thessaly gladly flocked to his standard. He also took from Cinna five hundred horsemen that he was conducting to Dolabella in Asia. Then sailing to Demetrias, whence great quantities of arms, which the elder Caesar had ° ordered to be made for his Parthian war, were being conducted to Antony, he took possession of them. After Hortensius the praetor had delivered up Ma- cedonia to him, and while all the surrounding kings and potentates were uniting on his side, word was brought that Caius, the brother of Antony, had crossed over from Italy and was marching directly to join the forces under Vatinius in Epidamnus and Apollonia. Wishing, therefore, to anticipate his ar- rival and capture these forces, Brutus suddenly set out with the forces under him and marched through regions difficult of passage, in snow storms, and far in advance of his provision-train. Accordingly, when he had nearly reached Epidamnus, fatigue and cold gave him the distemper called "boulimia." This attacks more especially men and beasts toiling through snow ;? whether it is that the vital heat, being wholly shut up within the body by the cold that surrounds and thickens it, consumes its nourishment complete] Y> or that a keen and subtle vapour arising from the melting snow pierces the body and destroys its heat as it issues forth. For the sweat of the body seems to be produced by its heat, and this is extinguished

'A mistake for Appuleius (Cicero, Philippics, x. ll; Appian, B.C. iii. 63), who was quaestor in Asia.

* As it did the "Ten Thousand " in Armenia (Xenophon, Anab. iv. 5, 7 f.).

TOVTL T@ Wuxpe@ mept TV emipaveray oa Bevvv-
pevov. vmrep wy év érépors paddov HTOpnTar.
XXVI. AtroOupobytos dé tod Bpovrouv xat
pnodevos & EXOVTOS év T® aTpaToTEOe pander é00-
Siuov, nvayKxda Onoayv ol Tept avrov emt Tous Trohe-
pLous Katapuyeiy' Kal Tais TUNALS m™ poa eA Oovtes
dptov TOUY TOUS | pudakas. ot dé Sraxovaartes
TO CUmTTO "A TOU Bpovrou maphoav avrol Kal
outta Kal morta Kopitovtes. avl' wv o Bpodtos,
@S THY TToAW TapédaBev, ov povoy TovTaSs,
adda Kal waar dta Tovtovs dtr\avOpmoTas
eXpITAaTO.
Ddios 8 "AvTovtos "AtroANwvia poo Bahov
€KEL TOUS eyyus évTas EKANEL oTpaTLMOTas. érret
S ovToi Te mMpos Bpodrov @yovtTo Kal Tovs
'Atrohhoadtas na Gero Ta Bpovrou ppovowvras,
EXALTIOV THY TOALY ELS BovOpwror eBabyte. Kat
™ p@Tov pev am odvar Tpeis omeipas: Kal odor
v0 Bpourou KatakoTeiaas' éreita TOUS TEpt THY

BvaArida TOTTOUS Tpoxatarnplertas emrexerpav
exBralerOar Kal paxyny cuvdrpas Kinépwv vina-
Tat. TOUT yap o Bpobros EX PHTO ilar MRK
Kat Torna 60 avrod Kcatap0woe. RAaBwv &é tov
Paiov év ywpiots éXwdect paxpav dieotrac pévov
OUK Elacev éuBanreiv, ada r€ ulamevae, eide-
aOat KEAEVOY, WS META pLKPOV 18/ wy écopéevov, §
Kab ovveBn. mapédocav yap EavTous Kal Tov
TTPATHYOV, DATE peyarny HON mrepl TOV Bpodrov
Suvapmuy elvat. povov pev ouv Toy év TUMH
tov I‘diov Hye Kal Ta Tapaonpa THS apxhs ovK
adnpet, caitrep, OS Paci, dX\NwY TE TOANOV Kal
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by the cold which meets it at the surface. But I have discussed this matter more at length elsewhere.!

XXVI. Now, since Brutus was faint, and since not one of his soldiers had anything in the shape of food, his attendants were obliged to have recourse to their enemies, and going down to the gate of the city they asked the sentinels for bread. These, when they heard of the mishap of Brutus, came to him themselves, bringing food and drink. Wherefore Brutus, when the city had surrendered to him, treated not only these men humanely, but also all the other citizens for their sake.

When Caius Antonius drew near Apollonia, he summoned the soldiers who were in the vicinity. These, however, went to Brutus, and Caius perceived also that the people of Apollonia favoured the cause of Brutus. He therefore left the city behind and set out for Buthrotum. To begin with, he lost three _cohorts on the march, which were cut to pieces by Brutus; next, when he tried to force the positions near Byllis which his opponents had earlier occupied, and joined battle, he was defeated by Cicero. For Brutus employed this young man as general, and won many successes through him. When, however, he came upon Caius in marshy regions and with his forces widely scattered, Brutus would not permit his men to attack them, but rode about giving orders to spare them, in the belief that they would soon be his own. And this actually came to pass. For they surrendered themselves and their general, so that now Brutus had a large force about him. For a long time, then, he held Caius in honour, and would not deprive him of the insignia of his command, although, as we are

1 Cf., for example, Morals, pp. 691 f.
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Kixépevos amo ‘Papns ypapovrey Kab Keevov-
TwWY avatpeiy ap&dpevov dé xpida Tots ayepwooe
braréyeo Oar Kal ToujoavTa vewtrepiapov évOé-
pevos els vavy epvrarte. TOV b¢ er ml
OT pATLOT aD els "ATroAoviay arog TavTwy Kal
KaNOvvT@V éxet TOV Bpodrov, ovK edn TOUTO
maT pov elvat ‘Pwpaios, dA éxeivous Tpos Tov
dpxovra Xphvas Badifovras avTous mapatteiaOar
thy él Tots 7] papTnmevors opynv. edBovar de
cad Seopévors cvyyvopnv ewxe.
XXVII. Méddovts 8 atte Sia Baiver eis THY
*Aciav Hcev. aryyedia mepl THs év ‘Payn peTa-
Borys. 0 yap véos Kaicap nv&nOn pev UTro TIS
Bovrns ér ’Avrwvov, éxBarov Sé THs “Itanias
éxetvov avros 78m poBepos WY, bratetav TE pyo-
pevos Tapa vopov, Kal TTPATEUMAT A Tpépov
peydna, TIS Toews ovdev Seoperns. ope 6e Kal
taita thy BovAny Bapuvopevny Kat ™ pos TOV
Bpovroyv adopacav ew Kal udilopevny éxeive
Kal BeBarotaay Tas érrapyxias, éderce. Kal Tov
pev "AvT@vioy TEM OY ELS piriav mpovKaneiro,
Tas 6é Suvd pets Th TONE TEPLaTHI AS brateiav
éraBev, ovr mavu petpaxiov @V, AAN elxoo TOV
dywv Tos, WS AUTOS eV TOIS Uropynuacww elpnxev.
evOus dé Sixas aaah Kata TOY rept TOV Bpobrov
ela tyryev, WS ay pa ™ p@tov év apxais tals peryt-
TTALS GYNPNKOT@Y AKpLTOV’ Kal KaTIYopoY éTe-
oTNTe Bpovtov pev Aevxtov Kopuegixcov, Kao-
giou dé Mdpxov "Aypiravp. apricKkavov ou
tas Oixas epijpas dvaryKatopevav Pépety Wiipov
Ttav dixcactav. Réyetar 5é Tov KnpuKos, @aoTrEp
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told, Cicero and many others besides wrote to him from Rome and urged him to put the man to death. However, when Caius began to hold secret commu- nications with the officers of Brutus, and incited a revolt, Brutus put him on board a ship and kept him under guard. And when the soldiers who had been corrupted by Caius withdrew to Apollonia and in- vited Brutus to come to them there, he told them this was not a Roman custom, but that they must come themselves to their commander and seek to avert his wrath at their transgressions. And when they came and asked his pardon, he granted it. XXVII. But as he was about to cross into Asia, tidings came to him of the change that had taken place at Rome. For Octavius Caesar had been strengthened by the senate against Antony, and after ejecting his rival from Italy, was himself now an object of fear, soliciting the consulship illegally, and maintaining large armies,

of which the city had no need. But when he saw that even the senate was displeased at this and turned their eyes abroad to Brutus, confirming him in command of his pro- vinces by their vote, he became afraid. So he sent and invited Antony to become his friend, and then, stationing his forces about the city, secured the con- sulship, although he was still a mere youth, being in his twentieth year, as he himself has stated in his Commentaries. Straightway, then, he brought in- dictments for murder against Brutus and his associ- ates, accusing them of having slain the first magistrate of the city without a trial. He appointed Lucius Cornificius to be prosecutor of Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa of Cassius. Accordingly, their cases went by default, the jurors voting under compulsion. And

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Kai Sia THY altiavy tavTnY Orlyov Botepoy &va
TOV Tpoypahévtwy ent Oavatw yevécOar. era
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ols kai Kixépwv amébave.
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Biduvia cai epi Kufixov, wefq 8 adbtos émrimy
xabiatato Tas TOES Kat TOis SuvdoTals éypT-
\
partite, Kat rpos Kaootov éreprev eis Yupiav an’
AlyimTov peTaxadav’ ov yap apxnv Ktwpuévous gg7

it is said that when the herald on the rostra_ pro- nounced the customary summons for Brutus to appear, the multitude groaned audibly, while the better classes bowed their heads in silence; and that Publius Silicius was seen to burst into tears, and was for this reason’ soon afterwards put on the list of the proscribed. After this, the three men, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, were reconciled with one another, distributed the provinces among themselves, and sentenced to death by proscription two hundred men, Among those put to death was Cicero.

XXVIII. Accordingly, when tidings of these events were brought to Macedonia, Brutus felt compelled to write to Hortensius commanding him to kill Caius Antonius, on the plea that he was thus avenging Cicero and Brutus Albinus, one of whom was his friend, and the other his kinsman. For this reason, at a later time, when Antony had captured Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, he slew him on the tomb of his brother. Brutus, however, says that he felt more shame at the cause of Cicero’s death than grief at the event itself, and threw the blame upon his friends at Rome. He said their servitude was due to themselves rather than to their tyrants, and that they consented to be eyewitnesses of things of which they ought not even to hear.

He now crossed into Asia with his army, which was already a splendid one, and equipped a fleet in Bithynia and at Cyzicus, while he himself, proceeding by land, settled the affairs of the cities and gave audiences to the potentates of the country. He also sent to Cassius in Syria, recalling him from his expedition to Egypt; for it was not to win empire

1 About the middle of 43 B.o.

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pu, 7 KaTadvoouct TOUS Tupdvvous, cuvayovtas
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"Iradias, Gd’ éxeioe orrevdev xa Bonbeiv trois

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abévres @ Opynoav O pep eis Lupiav, o o 66 els Maxe-
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avrois éx Tis mwapovons ExaTepep Suva pews.
oppnaavtes yap én THIS ‘Itadias Gpota puyddev
tous ATtMOTATOLS aX pnwaTor Kal dvor hot, iT) vaiy
évnpn, fe) OT PATLOTHY éva, un Tod éyovTes, ov
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pact aE ropaxor diaywvicacbat rept THs “Po-
paiwv Tye movias OvTeES.
XXIX. "EBovXero fev ovv looy ee TLS
kar Tapexew) Kaoovos, EpOave 5 Bpodros
as TA TONG porray mpos avtov runs TE Tpov-
xovra Kal ToOpare Tovey opoiws Bn duvapévep
Hpeomevor. Av Oe Sofa Kdootov pev elvas deivov
éy Tos srohepsxois, opyn be Tpax vv Kal poBy
paddov dpxovra, apos S€ Tous cuvnbes t byporepov
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épac bat S vro trav pido, JavpateaBas 8 wo
TOV dpiatay, _pseiaBau dé und wtr0 TOV ToXE-
piwv, Ste mpados o avnp Stadepovtws Kai peya-
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for themselves, he said, but to give liberty to their country, that they were wandering about and collecting forces with which to overthrow the tyrants ; they must therefore keep their purpose carefully in mind and not get far removed from Italy, but rather hasten thither and give aid to their countrymen.

Cassius obeyed, and as he was returning, Brutus went to meet him. Their interview at Smyrna was the first they had had since they parted at Piraeus and set out, the one for Syria, the other for Macedonia. They therefore derived great pleasure and courage from the forces which each now had. For they had set out from Italy like the most wretched of exiles, without money, without arms, having not a ship equipped with oars, not a single soldier, not a city; but before very long they had met, having a fleet, an army of foot and horse, and money, which

made them worthy antagonists in the struggle for supremacy at Rome.

XXIX. Now, Cassius was desirous that Brutus and he should have equal honour, but Brutus forestalled this by coming to him generally, since he was an older man and unable to endure the same amount of hardship. Cassius had the reputation of being an able soldier, but harsh in his anger, and with an authority based largely on fear, although with his familiars he was rather prone to laughter and fond of banter. But the virtues of Brutus, as we are told, made him beloved by the multitude, adored by his friends, admired by the nobility, and not hated even by his enemies. For he was remarkably gentle and

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A aA A /

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Kwwovvm mrnoidlwv ev TO KAaANOTH THS TUXNS
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large-minded, free from all anger, pleasurable indul- gence, and greed, and kept his purpose erect and unbending in defence of what was honourable and just. And the strongest reason for the favour and fame which he achieved was the confidence felt in his principles. For no one had expected that Pompey the Great, if he overthrew Caesar, would insist on dismissing his forces in obedience to the laws, but all thought that he would continue to retain his power, appeasing the people by using the name of consul- ship or dictatorship or some other less obnoxious form of government. And now it was thought that Cassius, vehement and passionate man that he was, and often swept from the path of justice by his passion for gain, was incurring the perils of wars and wanderings principally to establish some great power for himself, and not liberty for his country- men. For the men of a still earlier time than Pompey and Cassius, men like Cinna and Marius and Carbo, made their country the booty or prize round which they fought, and they all but confessed that they waged war to establish a tyranny. But Brutus, we are told, was not accused even by his enemies of such a departure from his principles; nay, Antony at least, in the hearing of many, declared that in his opinion Brutus was the only conspirator against Caesar who was impelled by the splendour and by what seemed to him the nobility of the enterprise, whereas the rest banded together against the man because they envied and hated him. Wherefore Brutus relied not so much on his armies as on his virtuous cause, as is clear from his letters. When he was already nearing the perilous crisis, he wrote to Atticus that his cause had the fairest outlook that fortune could bestow,

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XXX. ’Ev S€ rH Ypvpvyn tore Tov ypnuaTon,
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& moda cuvethoxes Kdootos, nEiov petadraBetv:
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mpoonkovoas éxatépp mpakes, Kaccvos pev ehov
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tavTa wept THY Eloodov Tols mpoaaryopevovow
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avrov Bacidéa kal Kvptov atroxpivapevos: “ Oite
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dovevs kal koractns.” Bpodtos dé Avxious ret
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xpnuata Kal aotpatov. éel 5é Nauxpatns o
4
Snpaywyos avéresos Tas ToAEs udiotacbat Kal
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for he would either conquer and give liberty to the

Roman people, or die and be freed from slavery ;
and that amid the general security and safety of
their lot one thing only was uncertain, namely,
whether they were to live as freemen or die. He
says also that Mark Antony was paying a fitting.
penalty for his folly, since, when it was in his power
to be numbered with such men as Brutus and Cassius
and Cato, he had given himself to Octavius as a
mere appendage; and that if he should not now
be defeated with him, in a little while he would be
fighting him. Herein, then, he seems to have been
an excellent prophet.

XXX. At the time when they were in Smyrna, Brutus asked Cassius to give him a part of the large treasure which he had collected, since he had ex- pended what he had himself in building a fleet large enough to give them control of all the Mediter- ranean. ‘The friends of Cassius, then, tried to dis- suade him from giving anything to Brutus, arguing that it was not right that what he was keeping by his frugality and getting together at the price of men’s hatred should be taken by Brutus for the winning of popular favour and the gratification of his soldiers. Hlowever, Cassius gave him a third of the whole amount. Then they parted again for their respective undertakings. Cassius took Rhodes, but managed matters there with undue rigour, and that too though he had replied to those who hailed him, when he entered the city, as their lord and king, “ Neither lord nor king, but chastiser and slayer of your lord and king.” Brutus, on his part, demanded money and soldiers from the Lycians. But Naucrates, the popular leader, persuaded the cities to revolt, and

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‘Pwpyaiwy mpos To Teiyos Kal mvedpa AaprTpov
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aveppimeilev emt tas émantes tHv droya TeV
éyyvs oixtav avtiAapBavopeyny, Seicas o Bpovros
an /
umép THS ToNEwWS exéXevoe KaTacBevvivar Kat
BonGeiv.
XXXII. Tovs 8& Avxious Sen tis eEaidyns
e
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axev, Nv dv Tis Epwrt Cavdtov paddtotTa Tpocet-
/ A
Kacelev* of ye peTa Traidwv Kal yuvatkav éreEv-
Gepot te Kal Sod Kal Taca HrLKia Tovs pev
/ \ ‘ , “ ? \ A
TodEmtous mpos THY proya BonOodvtas aio Tov
retyav EBadXov, avtoi Sé Kadapov Kat EvAa Kai
A 4
Tay uTéxKavpa Mpoahéepovres Hryov ert T7y WoW
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the inhabitants occupied certain commanding hills in order to prevent the passage of Brutus. Brutus, therefore, in the first place, sent horsemen against them while they were at breakfast, and these slew six hundred of them; next, he took their strong- holds and villages, but dismissed all his captives without ransom, in order that he might win the people over by kindness. They were obstinate, however, feeding their anger upon their injuries, and despising his clemency and kindness, until he drove the most warlike of them into Xanthus and laid siege to the city. They tried to escape by swimming under the surface of the river which flowed past the city. But they were caught in nets which were let down deep across the channel ; the tops of these had bells attached to them which in- dicated at once when any one was entangled. Then the Xanthians made a sally by night and set fire to some of the siege-engines, but they were perceived by the Romans and driven back to their walls; and when a brisk wind fanned the flames back towards the battlements and some of the adjoining houses took fire, Brutus, fearing for the safety of the city, ordered his men to assist in putting out the fire. XXXI. But the Lycians were suddenly possessed by a dreadful and indescribable impulse to madness, which can be likened best to a passion for death. At any rate, all ages of them, freemen and slaves with their wives and children, shot missiles from the walls at the enemy who were helping them to combat the flames, and with their own hands brought up reeds and wood and all manner of combustibles, and so spread the fire over the city, feeding it with

to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TO Tp, GpéyovTes avT@ Tacav DrAnv Kal mavtTa
tpotrov é&epebilovtes xal auvextpépovtes. ws 8
7 POE pueica cal Sialwoaca wavtayobev THY
mod OstéAapre tTrodAdy, tepiradav él Tots
ywwopevots 0 Bpodtos éEwOev rapimmeve mpobv-
povpevos Bonbeiv, cal tas yeipas opéywv ois
Flavio édeito deidecOat nai owtery thy rod,
OVSEVOS AUTO TpoaexXovTos, CAAA TaVTA TpoITTOY
éavTovs amodduYT@Y, OV povoy avdpav te Kat
yuvatk@v, ada Kal Ta Tratdia TA piKpa peETa
Kpavyns kal dAadkaypod Ta pev eis TO Tip
HAXeTO, TA 8 Aavwbev aro trav Teyav éferpa-
xrSev aura, ta 8é€ Tois Eiheot TOY TaTépwv
uméBadr€ Tas ohayas yupvovvta Kal KedevovTa
matev. wpOn d€ THs Tordews SvadOapeions yuvr
Kpeuapevn pev é€& ayyovns, tadiov &8 vexpov
éEnptnuévn TOD Tpaxnrov, Aaptad: Sé Katopéevy
THY oixiav Updttovaa. Kat Tov Oedpatos Tpay-
xov pavévtos ioety péev ovy biréuervev 0 Bpodtos,
édaxpvoe 5€ axovaas' Kat yépas éxnpuke tov
otpatiwtay dotis ay SuvnOn Avecoy avépa trept-
cacat. gaol dé povous éxaTov TevTHKoYTA yeve-
a0at tovs pn Siadhvyovtas T6 cwOjva. Favdcoe
pev ovv ba TOAA@Y YpoveY BorrEep eipappyéevny
awepiosov SsabOopas amrodidovtes THY TOV TTpo-
yovwv avevewoavTo TH TOALN TUYNY Kal yap
cxeivot THY TOY opoiws emt tev Tlepocav
Kataxavoavtes éavtous dépOerpav.
XXXII. Bpodtos 5€ tHv Matapéwv rod opav
dara xyupiComevny Wpos avrov, @Kver pev erriyerpely
xal Suntropetro, THv avTny Sediws arrovolay, EXav
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all sorts of material and increasing its strength and fury in every way. When the flames had darted forth and -encircled the city on all sides, and blazed out mightily, Brutus, distressed at what was going on, rode round outside the city in his eagerness to help, and with outstretched hands begged the Xanthians to spare

and save their city. No one heeded him, however, but all sought in every way to destroy themselves, men and women alike; nay, even the little children with shouts and shrieks either leaped into the fire, or threw them- selves headlong from the walls, or cast themselves beneath their fathers' swords, baring their throats and begging to be smitten. After the city had been thus destroyed, a woman was seen dangling in a noose; she had a dead child fastened to her neck, and with a blazing torch was trying to set fire to her dwelling. So tragic was the spectacle that Brutus could not bear to see it, and burst into tears on hearing of it; he also proclaimed a prize for any soldier who should succeed in saving the life of a Lycian. But there were only a hundred and fifty, we are told, who did not escape such preservation. So then the Xanthians, after long lapse of time, as though fulfilling a period set by fate for their de- struction, had the boldness to renew the calamity of their ancestors; for these too, in the time of the Persian wars, had likewise burned down their city and destroyed themselves.1

XXXII. When Brutus saw that the city of Patara was holding out strongly against him, he hesitated to attack it, and was in perplexity, fearing that it would be afflicted with the same madness; but as

1 Cf. Herodotus, i. 176.

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ovaat Supryouperar Tov Bpovtov, ws avnp etn
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TAVTES ot hourrol Tpocexwopnoav emit pepavres
EAUTOUS exeive, TUXOVTES é xpyatob Kat map
edmridas EVYVOLOVOS, és ye, Kagatov 'Podious t vo
TOV auTov Xpovov avayKda avros iota pev Ov
exEKRTNVTO ypucoVv Kal dpyupov eiceveryneiv aTrav-
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Snpoota bé THv ™ ONLY ad ous TEVTAKOGLOLS Cnptw-
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avétevEev érr 'Tovias.
XXXII. Wovra pep ovv aka punyens epya xal
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auTos TE ion pddota Kal "Pwpaiwy oi Kpa-
TIOTOL, TOUTO Sunyjcopar, Toumniov Mayvou
7 poo Bahovros Aiyorr@ Kata IInAovator, omTN-
vita THY peyarny apxny aTroBarwv t vo Kaicapos
Eduryev, of Tov Bactréws é Ere Tasos GvTosS émiTpo-
qmevovTes ev BovAg meta TaV dirwv Hoay, ov Kara
TavTa Tais yo pars hepopmevor. Tois pev yap
édonxer déyeo Gan, tots & amwbeiv Aiyorrrou TOY
avopa. @eodoros b€é Tis Xios, eri pio @ pnropt-

KOV hoyor: d:dacKaXros TO Bacurel cUvan, n£iw-
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pave, Kal TOUS avahaReiv Kal TOUS ageivat
xerevovtas Tov Iloumrniov: év yap elvat cupdépov
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he held some of its women prisoners of war, he released them without ransom. They were the wives and daughters of prominent men, and by rehearsing the praises of Brutus, calling him a man of the greatest moderation and justice, they persuaded them to yield and surrender their city. Consequently all the rest of the Lycians came and entrusted themselves to him, and found that his goodness and kindness exceeded their hopes. For whereas Cassius, about the same time, compelled the Rhodians individually to pay in to him all the gold and silver they possessed (thus accumulating about eight hundred talents), and fined the city as a whole five hundred talents more, Brutus exacted only a hundred and fifty talents from the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, set out with his army for Ionia.

XXXII. Many were his memorable achievements in meting out rewards or punishments to those who deserved them, but I shall here describe only that in which both he himself and the chief men of Rome took especial pleasure. When Pompey the Great, after he had been stripped of his great power by Caesar, put in as a fugitive at Pelusium in Egypt, the guardians of the boy king were holding a council with their friends, at which opinions differed. Some thought they should receive Pompey, others that they should repulse him from Egypt. But a certain Theodotus, of Chios, who was attached to the king as a paid teacher of rhetoric, and was at this time deemed worthy of a place in the council for lack of better men, declared that both were wrong, both those who would admit and those who would reject Pompey ; for there was but one advantageous course

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> “A / / 6 A

éx TOY TapovtTwy, SeEapmévous amoxteivar. Kat

MpoceTeimEe TOU AOYOU TravopmEvos, BTL VEKpoS Ov
Sdxvet. mpoabepévou 5€ TH yvopn TOD auvedpiov
Tapadeypa Tov aTioTwY Kal aTpocdoKnTwY
” Seo / A / e ,
éxetto Iloumnios Ma-yvos, ts Qeodotou pyropeias
cat Servotntos Epyov, as avTos 0 codiaTns édeye
4 3 , xo > 4

peyaravyovpevos. ordlyw 8 botepov émeNOovTos
Kaicapos, ot pév Sixas twvvovtes am@dXvyTO
Kakol Kax@s, Beodoros dé mapa THS TUXNS KpovoY
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eis adoEov Kat adtropov Kal wrAavnta Biov émt-
Saverodpevos tOTe Bpovtov émiovta thy ‘Aciav
ovK édabev, Grr’ dvaydels Kal Koracbeis dvoma
“A 4 / ” a a 4
tov Oavdtov whéov Exyev 7} TOV Biov.
XXXIV. Kdoowov && Bpodros ets Ddpdes
€xdnret, Kal TpvotovTs peta TOV ditov aTHYTHCeE
kal was 0 oTpaTos w@TALcpévos av’ToKpaTopas
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9 a A 9 4 b / \ A
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ap repov te tro.etv, evOUs éx topeias Kal” av-
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mp@rtov, elt édéyxors Kal Katnyopia. éx dé
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éxdepouévwv, Oavyalovtes of piroe tTHv Tpaxv-
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5¢ Dawvios, épactns yeyovws Katwvos, ov Aoy@
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in view of the circumstances, and that was to receive him and put him to death. And he added, as he closed his speech, “A dead man does not bite.” The council adopted his opinion, and Pompey the Great lay dead, an example of the unexpected and incredible in human life, and it was the work of Theodotus and his clever rhetoric, as that sophist himself was wont to say with boasting.! A little while afterwards,

however, when Caesar came, the other wretches paid the penalty for their crime and perished wretchedly; as for Theodotus, after borrowing from Fortune enough time for a wandering, destitute, and inglorious life, he did not escape the notice of Brutus, who at this time traversed Asia, but was brought to him and punished, and won more fame for his death than for his life.

XXXIV. Brutus now summoned Cassius to Sardis,? and as he drew near, went to meet him with his friends; and the whole army, in full array, saluted them both as Imperators. But, as is wont to be the case in great undertakings where there are many friends and commanders, mutual charges and accusa- tions had passed between them, and therefore, imme- diately after their march and before they did anything else, they met in a room by themselves. The doors were locked, and, with no one by, they indulged in fault-finding first, then in rebukes and denunciations. After this, they were swept along into passionate speeches and tears, and their friends, amazed at the harshness and intensity of their anger, feared some untoward result; they were, however, forbidden to approach. But Marcus Favonius, who had become a devotee of Cato, and was more impetuous and frenzied

1 Cf. Pompey, chapters Ixxvii.-lxxx-

3 In the early part of 42 B.c,

PaAXov H Hopa tive nai ADE pavixe pirocoper,
> 4 wv \ > \ lA e \ "a
éBdadslev elaw mpos avTovs KwAVOMEVOS VITO TAY
oixeT@V. GAN Epryov ny émiraBécGat Pawviov
Tpos OTLOUY OpovaavTos: aHodpos yap hy ev Tact
Kal mpoxerpos. émel To ye BovreuTHY elvat
¢€ , e N > \ Mv e A A \
Pwpaiwy éavrov ovdevds aEtov nyeito, TO 8é
KUVLK@® THS Tappnoias TodAdKis adyper THY
YanreroTnTa, kal TO dkatpov avTod peta Trarbias
Seyouevov. Bia bn tToTe Tov TapovTwy diwod-
\ , > Aa \ , A
pevos Tas OUpas eioHAOe, peta TWAdT MATOS hwvijs
émn tepaivey ols tov Néoropa ypwpevov " Ounpos
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adrrAa TIOecO: audw 5é vewrépw éotov épeio,
kal ra éEnS. ed ols o pev Kdaoouos éyéXacer, 0
Y a Ig / > \ e / \ ,
5é Bpodros é€éBarev avtov amXoxvva nal yrevdo-
Kuva Tpocayopevwyv. ov unv GAA TOTE TOTO
A \ b 4 A 4 4
THS Tpos GAAHAOUS Stahopas Toinodpevor Tépas
> \ 4 A , a ,
evOus SseAvOncav. Kai Kaociou deirvov rapé-

yovtos éxdder Tovs girovs Bpodvtos. dn 8é
KataKkepevovy Pawvios Ke AeAovpévos' pap-
tupopévou 5€ Bpovtov un KexrAnpevov avTov Trew
\ A
Kal KeXEVOVTOS aTrayelv emt THY GYWTATw KL,
4 \ > \ 4 ,
Bia rapedOov ets thv péonv KxatexrALOn: xal
. \ e ’ ” > ” »Q> » /
madtav Oo TOTOS EaxEeV OVK ayapW ovd adiro-
oopov.
XXXV. Ty & vorepaia Bpodtos dvdpa ‘Po-
patoy éotpatnynxota Kai memictevpévoy vir’
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than reasonable in his pursuit of philosophy, tried to go in to them, and was prevented by their servants. It was no easy matter, however, to stop Favonius when he sprang to do anything, for he was always vehement and rash. The fact that he was a Roman senator was of no importance in his eyes, and by the “cynical”’ boldness of his speech he often took away its offensiveness, and therefore men put up with his impertinence as a joke. And so at this time he forced his way through the bystanders and entered the room, reciting in an affected voice the verses wherein Homer? represents Nestor as saying :—

«But do ye harken to me, for ye both are younger
than I am,”

and so forth. At this Cassius burst out laughing ; but Brutus drove Favonius out of the room, calling him a mere dog, and a counterfeit Cynic.2, However, at the time, this incident put an end to their quarrel, and they separated at once. Furthermore, Cassius gave a supper, to which Brutus invited his friends. And as the guests were already taking their places at the feast, Favonius came, fresh from his bath. Brutus protested that he had come without an invitation, and ordered the servants to conduct him to the uppermost couch; but Favonius forced his way past them and reclined upon the central one. And over the wine mirth and jest abounded, seasoned with wit and philosophy.

XXXV. But on the following day Lucius Pella, a Roman who had been praetor and had enjoyed

1 Iliad, i. 259. |

2 A follower of Antisthenes was called a ‘‘ Cynic,” or dog-

like, probably from the coarse and brutal manners affected by the school.
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avrob, Aevecov TlédAav, Zapdtavav Karnyopovv-
TOY éml xkrXoTTals Snpoota KATAYVOUS HTipoce Kal
70 mparypa Kdoovov OU PET PLS eumrnaey. auros
yap odyaus ne pals eum poo dev émt tois avtois
édeyxOévtas adixypace dvo dirous idia vouleTn-
cas pavepas aphKe kal duetérer Xp@pEvos. 60 ev
NTLaTO TOV Bpotrov ws dyav évTa vomLuov Ka
Sixavov év Kaup@ TmodTelas Seomevep Kat prdav-
Opwmias. o 6é TOY elev TOV Maptioy éxéXevev
aurov punpovevery éxelvanr, ey als Kaicapa
EXTELVAY, OUK auTov dryovTa Kal pépovra WaVTAasS
avO paxrrous, GND éTépov Stvapw évTa TavTa
TpaccovTwv @s, eb Tis éoTte Tpopacts Kant)
pe” Fs aperetrar TO Sixacor, Gpervoy qv TOUS
Katoapos gidous Dmropévety i) TOUS eQuT oY Tepto-
pav adixodvtas. “ "Exeivous pev yap avavdpias,
abixias 6é d0fa pera xevdbvev nut Kat Tovey
TpoceaTt. ToLavTn wey 4 ToD Bpovtou mpoai-
pecs Hv.
XXXVI. ’Enei de draBaivew éf ‘Acias euen-
dor, AeyeTae T@ Bpourp peya onpeiov ryever Gat.
pices pep yap iy emeypryyopos 6 avip kal TOV
Umvoy eis ddryou Xpovov poptov aTKHOEL Kab
cwppoovvy ouvTyey, Ti mepas pev ovdérore Kotpe)-
HEVOS, vuctwp d€ TocovTOV Saov OUTE TL TPaTTELW
ovre To SiadeyerOaL, mavTwv avaTavopéver,
Tmapeiye. tore 6é Tob TONE HOV TUVETTMTOS Vv
xepaiy Exeov TAS Umép TOV Odeov m pafecs, Kal
TETAPEVOS Th ppovrids Tos TO péddov, omnvixa
7 p@Tov ad éomépas emipvardgere TOUS curious,
On TO NOLTOV EXPTTO Th vuxtl Tos Ta KaTemei-
yovTa Tay Tpayydtwv. et dé cuvédol Kal KaTol-
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the confidence of Brutus, being denounced by the Sardians as an embezzler of the public moneys, was condemned by Brutus and disgraced ; and the matter vexed Cassius beyond measure. For a few days before, when two friends of his had been convicted of the same misdeeds, he had privately admonished them but publicly acquitted them, and continued to employ them. He therefore found fault with Brutus on the ground that he was too observant of law and justice at a time which demanded a policy of kindness. But Brutus bade him remember the Ides of March, on which they had slain Caesar, not because he was himself plundering everybody, but because he enabled others to do this; since, if there is any good excuse for neglecting justice, it had been better for us to endure the friends of Caesar than to suffer our own to do wrong. ‘‘For in the one case,” said he, “ we should have had the reputation of cowardice merely ; but now, in addition to our toils and perils, we are deemed unjust.’ Such were the principles of Brutus.

XXXVI. When they were about to cross over from Asia, Brutus is said to have had a great sign. He was naturally wakeful, and by practice and self- restraint had reduced his hours of sleep to few, never lying down by day, and by night only when he could transact no business nor converse with any one, since all had gone to rest. At this time, how- ever, when the war was begun and he had in his hands the conduct of a life and death struggle, and was anxiously forecasting the future, he would first doze a little in the evening after eating, and then would spend the rest of the night on urgent business. But whenever he had fully met the demands of such

Kovounaere THY Tept TavTa xpeiav, aveyivac ke RiBrtov péx pe TpiTNS pudranis, Kad” app etabecay ExaTOvTapyor Kab XeALapxoe portav pos avrov. @S ovy Ewer dev ef Agias &:aBiBalew to oT pa- Teupa, yuk yey Hv Babvurarn, pas S elyev ov wavy Aapmpov r oKNVY, Tay d5é€ TO oTpatomesov Lom Kareixer. 6 dé ovrAroyiCopevos Tt at

TKOTTRY pos éauvTov ébokev aiabéc Gar TLVOS etal
OVTOS. amroPhéwas dé 7 pos THY eloodov ope
deuvnyv Kal adXXoKoTOV Oypuy éxpurhov CWUATOS Kal
goBepov, ciwr7 Taper TTOS AUTO. TOApHO aS
dé epér Gan, “Tis wor ov, eltrev, “dvOparor 4 q
Jeav, 7 Ti | BovAopevos 7 HKELS WS meas; ‘Trop ey-
yetas 8 auto To daopa: “‘O aos, ® Bpoire,
Saipar KaKos" Owe O€ pe mept Diriwrous.” Kat
0 Bpovros ov Statapa Deis, “ “Onpopat,” elarev.
XXXVIT. ‘Agana evTOS 8 avtov TOUS maitas
éxaner* pyre & axodoai Twa peony par iOety
op pacKxovtn, TOTE pev emnypuTvnoev’ aya ©
npepa TPATrOMEVvos T pos Kaoouov eppace THY
Oyu. 0 é ToIS "Erexoupou Novos XPwpLEvos Kal
mept TovTwy eos EXeov diapépecbat mpos TOV
Bpowrov, as ‘Hyérepos ovTos, elTrev, “@ Bpotre,
oyos, @S oU mayTa Tao Xouev arnOas ove
opapev, arr’ _ bypov, pév Th Xphpwa Kat amarnhov
” aiaOnors, € éte Oo ofurépa ” didvova KLVELY AUTO
kat petaBdadrAew ar’ ovdevos umapxovTos emt
Wacav idéav. KNP@ per yap éotxey! 7 TUTMOIS,
puxh S avOpanou, TO mhaTTomevoy Kal TO whar-
Tov éyovon TO AUTO, paoTa TroLKiANeW avTHy

1 Eoxev Bekker adopts the early anonymous correction to %EwOev (on wax the impression 18 outside, but the soul, etc.).

business in shorter time, he would read a book until
the third watch, at which hour the centurions and
tribunes usually came to him. Once, accordingly,
when he was about to take his army across from
Asia, it was very late at night, his tent was dimly
lighted, and all the camp was wrapped in silence.
Then, as he was meditating and reflecting, he thought
he heard some one coming into the tent. He turned
his eyes towards the entrance and beheld a strange
and dreadful apparition, a monstrous and fearful
shape standing silently by his side. Plucking up
courage to question it, “Who art thou,” said he,
“of gods or men, and what is thine errand with

me?’’ Then the phantom answered: “I am thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi.’” And Brutus, undisturbed, said: “I shall see thee.” !

XXXVII. When the shape had disappeared, Brutus called his servants; but they declared that they had neither heard any words nor seen any apparition, and so he watched the night out. As soon as it was day, however, he sought out Cassius and told him of the apparition. Cassius, who belonged to the school of Epicurus, and was in the habit of taking issue on such topics with Brutus, said: ‘“‘ This is our doctrine, Brutus, that we do not really feel or see everything, but perception by the senses is a pliant and deceitful thing, and besides, the intelligence is very keen to change and transform the thing perceived into any and every shape from one which has no real exist- ence. An impression on the senses is like wax, and the soul of man, in which the plastic material and the plastic power alike exist, can very easily shape

1 Cf. Caesar, lxix. 5-7.

Kal oynpativey bs éautis vrdpye. Sndrovar dé ai xata tovs brvouvs tpotal Tay dveipwr, as TpémeTa. TO havtactixoy é€ apyns Bpayelas mavrobaTa kat mwa0n Kal cidwra ytvopevor. kiveiabat & aet mépune: xivnots 8 adt@ dartacia Tis vonow. cot S& Kal TO oapa TadaiTwpovpevoy diac THY Sidvotav aiwpel kal mapatpemet. Saipovas & ovr’ eivas tiOavov ovt’ évtas avOpwrrwy exe eidos) povnyv 7 Svvayw eis Huds Sinxovoay: ws éywy av éRovropmny, iva pn povoy StrAoLs Kal immols Kal vavol TocaUTass, adAa Kal Oe@y apwyais émePappodpev, ooLlwTaTOY | Epryov Kal Karhdiotov Hye waves évTes.” TotovTos pev o Kdootos émpaive dédyots top Bpovrovp.

"EuBawovrwv bé tav otpatiwtav él tas TpwTas onuaias aetot dvo ovyKatackn artes ood auvdsexopivovto, nal mapnKxodovOouv sro TOV TT PATLOT AY TpEpopevor expe Dirimrev. > a @€ Le] “A éxel) | nwEpA pid mpo Ths paxns wxorTo ATOTTA{LEVOL.

XXXVIII. Ta pév ody wreicta Tay év Tociv eOvav éruyyavev 0 Bpodtos trijKoa memotnpévos. ev O€ Tes 4 OAS 7 SuVdoTNS Tapelto, TOTE TavTas Wpotayouevos pexpt THS Kata Odaov Oardoons mponrOov. éxet 5€ tav tept NopBavov év trois Xtevois Aeyopévors Kal tept To

LvpBorov atpatomedevovtwy, mepterOovres av-
Tous nvayKacay atoothvat Kal mpoécOar Ta
Ywpia. pixpod b€é Kal THY duvvamw avTov AaBeiv
édénoav, UToXerTopévov 51a vooov Kaicapos, et
pn mpoceBonOncev “Avtwmmos ofTnTt Oavpacth
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and embellish it at pleasure. This is clear from the transformations which occur in dreams, where slight initial material is transformed by the imagination into all sorts of emotions and shapes. The imagina- tion is by nature in perpetual motion, and this motion which it has is fancy, or thought. In thy case, too, the body is worn with hardships and this condition naturally excites and perverts the intelligence. As for genii, it is incredible either that they exist, or, if they do exist, that they have the appearance or the speech of men, or a power that extends to us. For my part, I could wish it were so, in order that not only our men-at-arms, and horses, and ships, which are so numerous, but also the assistance of the gods might give us courage, conducting as we do the fairest and holiest enterprises.” With such discourse did Cassius seek to calm Brutus.

Furthermore, as the soldiers were embarking, two eagles perched upon the foremost standards and were borne along with them, and they kept the army company, being fed by the soldiers, as far as Philippi. There, only one day before the battle, they flew away.

XXXVIIL Most of the peoples encountered on the march Brutus had already brought into subjec- tion ; and now, whatever city or potentate had been omitted, they won them all over, and advanced as far as the Thasian sea. There Norbanus and his army were encamped, at what were called The Narrows, and near Symbolum ; but they surrounded him and com- pelled him to withdraw and abandon his positions. They almost captured his forces, too, since Octavius was delayed by sickness; and they would have done so had not Antony come to his aid with such

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YX pNnodevos, dor aria reiv tous tmept Bpodrov.
mrOe dé Kaicap dorepov 7) ME pas déxa, kal Kate-
otpatomédevaev évavtiov Bpovrov, Kaaciou &é
"AvT@vLOS.
Ta & év péow Tov otpatoTédwrv Tredia ‘Pwpyaior
KG [TOUS @Pirimmovs KaXovot Kat peytoras TOTE
‘Popaior Suvapets aXA7 aus cuvepEepovTo. To}-
Get bev ovv ov Tap OAityov édEitTroVTO TOV TeEpl
Kaicapa, KOC Lo é Stroy Kal AapmpoTyte Jav-
pacTov éBepary To Bpovrov oTpareupa. Xpuass

yap hv avrois Ta TAEtoTAa TOV Gm A@v Kat apryupos
apedas catraxopnynbeis, Kaitrep eis TaANA TOU
Bpov UTOU ca@ppove diaitn xal Kexonao uévy xpjobat
TOUS myewovas ifovros. TOV 5 . Xépor rar
Tepl TO capa TAOVTOV WETO TL Kal PpoviuaTos
Tapexe Tois iptdorrporépors, Tous Oé prroxepoeis
Kal PAXLLwWTEpovs Toleiv, WoTEp KTHUATwWVY TOV
Sm Nwv TEPLEXOMEVOUS.
XXXIX. Of pév ovv Tept Kaicapa cabappov
ev TH Xdpat TOLNG apEvor, pLKpov TL giTov Kal
Spaxmas Kat' avdpa TEVTE dtéverpav ELS Ouciar,
of dé mept Bpobrov xatayvortes avTav Ths amopias
7 pxporoyias, mpwTov bev év UTraiOp@ Tov oT pa-
TOD, domep GOos éotiv, éxdOnpay, émend lepelony
TANON KaTa hoxous Kal Spay was exdoT@ TEVT-
KovTa diadovtes, evvoig Kal mpodupia Tis Suva-
pews TA€oV elyov. ov nv adNAA onpetov év T@
cadappy@ pox Onpov édo0ke Kaccip yevér Bau. TOV
yap arépavov avT@ KAT EDT pO ppLevoV) paBdob os
™ poonveryKe. Déyerau dé kal ™pOTepov év bea
Twi Kal roumh xpvoqy Kacaiov Nixnv d:adepo-
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astonishing swiftness that Brutus could not believe
in it. Octavius came, however, ten days later, and
encamped over against Brutus, while Antony faced
Cassius.
The plains between the armies the Romans call
Campi Philippi, and Roman forces of such size had
never before encountered one another. In numbers
the army of Brutus was much inferior to that of
Octavius, but in the splendid decoration of its arms
it presented a wonderful sight. For most of their
armour was covered with gold and silver, with which
Brutus had lavishly supplied them, although in other
matters he accustomed his officers to adopt a tem-
perate and restricted regimen. But he thought that
the wealth which they held in their hands and wore
upon their persons gave additional spirit to the more
ambitious, and made the covetous even more war-
like, since they clung to their armour as so much

treasure.
XXXIX. Octavius and Antony now made a lustra- tion! of their armies in their camps, and then distributed a little meal and five drachmas to every man for a sacrifice; but Brutus and Cassius, despising their enemies' poverty or parsimony, first made lus- tration of their armies in the open field, as the custom is, and then distributed great numbers of cattle for sacrifice among their cohorts, and fifty drachmas to every soldier, and thus, in the goodwill and zeal of their forces, they were at an advantage. However, it was thought that Cassius had a baleful sign during the lustration ; for the lictor brought him his wreath turned upside down. And it is said that before this, also, in a procession at some festival, a golden Victory belonging to Cassius, which was being borne along,

1 A solemn review, with ceremonies of purification. oe

p 2

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3 pevny meceiv, oAtcOovTOS TOU épovTos. ére 8
OpVvEed TE capkopaya TONG Kad nyépav érredai-
VETO TP oTpaToTresy, Kat peooav _OPOncav
éo pol cUvLaTdpevor mepl TOTrOV TLVa TOU Xapacos
évtos, Ov ebexheroav ot pavers aoc tovpevot THY
SevorSatpoviay aTpépa kat tov Kaaovov aurov
Dmopépovoay éx TOV '"Emrixovpov Aoyav, tors Sé
oTpaTlLwTas TavTaTract SeSovrAwpergy.
7 O6ev ovd hy mpodumos dua payns év 7
mapovrt yevec Bar THY Kpiow, anrra TpiBewy n&iou
xpove Tov TONEMOD, eppwpevous Xpnpace, SarAwv
dé Kal THAT OV wrAnOEL AevTropévous. Bpodros
5é xal mporepov eo mevde TO Taxiore TOV KiD-
Suvev Sraxpibels Ho TH warpios THY édevOepiav
avanaBeiv 7 mwavras avi purrous evox oupévous
Samdvats Kal otpateias Kal \TpooTaypacey
amrarhd£at KaKay, Kal TOTe TOUS mepl avrov
immeis ope év Tots Tpodywot Kal rais arpipaxiats
eUnpepovrTas Kal KpatovvTas éFipro TO ppovnpa
Kat TLVES auToporat YEVOPEVaL POS TOUS Toe-
piovs Kal diaBorai nal érépev Kal Drovorat
moAAovs tav Kacciov dirov peTéaT no av év TO
ouvedpi ™ pos Bpotrov. els 5é@ Tay Bpovrov
dirwv "ArtidrLos jvavTLovto, TOV YE Xetpava
meptpeivar KeNEVOV. épopevou bé Tob Srovrov
TiVE Berriov écecOat vowiter per eveavTor, rs Ei
pndev," eltrev, GdXo, WrEiw Brdcopas _Xpovov."
™pos TobTo Kdootos hla Kat TOIs GANOLS
TpogEKpouaev Ov pETpLWS O "Atiddos. édéd50xeT0

én payer Gas TH baTepaia.
XL. Kal Bpotros pev év édmict xadais nal

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fell to the ground, its bearer having slipped. And besides, many carrion birds hovered over the camp daily, and swarms of bees were seen clustering at a certain place inside the camp; this place the sooth- sayers shut off from the rest of the camp, in order to avert by their rites the superstitious fears which were gradually carrying even Cassius himself away from his Epicurean doctrines, and which had alto- gether subjugated his soldiers.

For these reasons Cassius was not eager to have the issue decided by battle at present, but thought it best to protract the war, since they were strong financially, although inferior in the number of their arms and men. Brutus, however, even before this had been anxious to have the issue decided by the speediest of hazards, that he might either restore freedom to his country, or relieve mankind of cala- mitous expenditures and requisitions for military service. At this time, too, he saw that his horse- men were successful and victorious in the preliminary skirmishes, and was therefore lifted up in spirit. Besides, sundry desertions to the enemy, and sus- picions and assertions that others would follow, brought many of the friends of Cassius in the council over to the side of Brutus. But one of the friends of Brutus, Atillius, opposed his wishes, and urged delay till winter at least was past. And when Brutus asked him how he thought he would be better off another year, “If in no other way,” said Atillius, “1 shall have lived longer.” At this answer Cassius was vexed, and the rest also were not a little annoyed by Atillius. So it was presently decided to give battle on the next day.

XL. Brutus was full of hopefulness at supper, and

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hoyia pois prrocogots yevouevos Tapa TO Setrvov
aveTraveTo- Kdoovov 6é Meoodras gaol detrveiv
te Kal” éavTov oduyous Tav cuvndwv mapaha-
Bovra, Kat ovvvouD opac bat kal oLeomnror, ov
puaet ToLovToY OvTa: Mave apevov 5é Tod Selarvou
Aa Bopevov THS Nelipos avtTov apodpa, TOC OUTOV
elrety, MoTrep ELw@let pirogpovovpevos, ‘EdAnviKeh
povi Maprupopat oe, Meooadna, tava Tlop-
mip Mayvy macxe, avaryKalopevos Sia sas
paxns avappivrat TOV mepl TAS. maT pibos xuBov.
ayabny PEVTOL spuxny é EX @ Lev eis THY TUXNY ago-
povres, nh, Kav Bovrevowpeba KAKOS, ATTLOTELY OU
Sixasov.” TavTa elrovTa dnow o Mecadras

TedeuTaia pos aurov aonacacbat TOV Kdoovor
elvau 6 KeKnLevos els THv voTtepaiay emt Seimvov
vm avrTov ryeveOAvov ovcay.
"Apa & juéog mpovKetto pev tH Bpovrov
Xapaxe Kal 7? Kagoiou ovpBorov aryavos powwe-
Koos yuTwD, avrol dé auvirOov ELS TO perov TOV
oTparoT ebwv Kal revert Kadoovos: “Ein Hey, 1)
Bpoire, vice Kat ouveivat TOV mavra Xpovov
adrnhows ev mpatavras: étrel b€ Ta péytota TOV
avO pwrriver adnhorara., Kal Tis payns Tapa
yepny Kpileians ov padsov adfis ddA ous ielv,
Th yevad Kets mepl guyhs cat TEAEUTIS § kal 0
Bpodtos drrexpivaro ‘* Néos dy é eyo, Kaoote, xa
T pay WaT ov arreupos, ouK old Srras évy dirocodgia
Aoyou apiica péyar. yTtacdpnv Kédrova &a-
qc Gao éauTov, @S ovyx Sa tov oud avdpos
pyov vToxwpeiy TO Saipovt kat un SéyecOat To
cuuTinroy adeas, GAN atrodidpaorety. puri és
214

BRUTUS

after engaging in philosophical discussion, went to rest; but Cassius, as Messala tells us, supped in private with a few of his intimates, and was seen to be silent and pensive, contrary to his usual nature. When supper was over, he grasped Messala’s hand warmly, and, speaking in Greek, as was his custom when he would show affection, said: “I call thee to witness, Messala, that I am in the same plight as Pompey the Great, in that I am forced to hazard the fate of my country on the issue of a single battle. With good courage, however, let us fix our waiting eyes on Fortune, of whom, even though our counsels be infirm, it is not right that we should be distrustful.” With these last words to him, Messala says, Cassius embraced him; and he had already invited him to supper on the following day, which was his birthday.

As soon as it was day, a scarlet tunic, the signal for battle, was displayed before the camps of Brutus and Cassius, and they themselves came together into the space between their armies. Here Cassius said: “ May we be victorious, Brutus, and ever after- wards share a mutual prosperity ; but since the most important of human affairs are most uncertain, and since, if the battle goes contrary to our wishes, we shall not easily see one another again, what is thy feeling about flight and death?” And Brutus made answer: “ When I was a young man, Cassius, and without experience of the world, I was led, I know not how, to speak too

rashly for a philosopher. I blamed Cato for making away with himself, on the ground that it was impious and unmanly to yield to one’s evil genius, not accepting fearlessly whatever befalls, but running away. In my present fortunes,

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adXoios ev tais TUXaLS yivouat Kal Deod Karas
Ta Tapovta pr BpaBevoavtos ov Séopat wad
Gras éAmridas éEereyyew xal mapacKevds, adr’
aTadrdfouat thy tuynv émawav Maptias}
etOois Sovs TH watpidc Tov éuavtod Biov arXov
&inoa bv éxeivny édevOepov cal évdokov.” émi
tovtois Kdoatos éperdiace cal tov Bpodtov aotra-
adpevos, ““Tadra, ébn, “ ppovoovtes iwpev ert
TOUS TOAEMLOUS. 1) YAP VIKHTOMEY 7) VIK@VTAS Ov
poBnOnaopea.”
Mera tadta wept rafews avtois AOyos éyéveTo
TaV dirwv Tapovtwy. Kal Bpodros yreiro Kdo-
gov autos nyeloOar rod Se€iod Képaros, 5 Sv
éuretpiay Kal nAiKiay padXov wovto Kaaccio
Tpoonkel. ov pnv GAAA Kal TodTo Kacotos
rborne, Kal TOV TAYUaTWY TO HaXLLwTaToY éxovTA
MeoaodaAayp éxédXevoev emt Tod SeEtod KatactTHvat.
kai Bpodros evObs éEnye tovs immels Kexooun-
pévous StatrpeTras, Kal +o tmefov ov aoxoraiTepov
mapeveBarnrev.
XLI. "Ervyov 8 of wept “Avr@mov amo tav
EX@v, ols trepteatpatotrédevov, éuBddXovres Ta-
gdpovs eis TO Trediov Kal Tas eri Oaracaayv obovs
tod Kaociouv tepixomrovtes. epndpeve 6€ Kai-
cap, ov tapwy avtos bt aobéverav, arr 4 dvva-
pis, ov wavy payeicbat mpoocdoxa@ca Tovs ToXe-
pious, aAAG povoy éxdpopais yphobat mpos Ta
épya xal BédXeow édAadpois kai OopvBots tovs
opvacovTas emiTapaa cel al Tots ayrireTa-
ypévots ov mpocéeyovTes EOavpaloy THv Tepi Tas
1 éxaway: Maprias Corats and Bekker have éwaiwaw 87%
(because) Maprias xrA., after Reiske.
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1003

however, I am become of a different mind; and if God does not decide the present issue in our favour, I do not ask once more to put fresh hopes and pre- parations to the test, but I will go hence with words of praise for Fortune; on the Ides of March I gave my own life to my country, and since then, for her sake, I have lived another life of liberty and glory." At these words Cassius smiled, and after embracing Brutus, said: "Thus minded, let us go against the enemy ; for either we shall be victorious, or we shall not fear the victors."'.

After this, they conferred together about the order of battle in the presence of their friends. And Brutus asked Cassius that he might have command of the right wing himself, although his years and experience made this post seem more appropriate for Cassius. However, Cassius not only granted him this favour, but also ordered Messala with the most warlike of the legions to take position on the right. Brutus at once led out his horsemen magnificently equipped, and with no less promptness put his infantry also in array.

XL. The soldiers of Antony were engaged in running trenches from the marshes, at which they were encamped, into the plain, thus cutting off Cas- sius from access to the sea. Octavius was quietly watching the course of events,—not being present in person, owing to sickness, but his forces for him ; they had no expectation at all that their enemies would give battle, but thought they would merely sally out against the works and with light missiles and cla- morous cries try to disturb the workers in the trenches. So paying no attention to their oppo- nents, they were amazed at the loud and confused

Tadpous Kpavyny donpov ovoav Kab TOAAHy mpoopepoperny. év TOUT® YPappareov TE Tapa Bpovrov ois TYE POOL porravraor, év ols 7 Hy 70 ovwOnpa YEYPALMEVOD, avTov Té mapeErovTos i iar Tw TA Taypara kal Tapadappivortos, ddiryor pev épOacay axodoat TO cuvO nwa TApEyyUaEvov, ob dé wreioToL LN mpoo peivavres opua pea Kat ana- AayHO mpoaepépovTo TOUS Troheptos. ryevopevns dé ou arafiav TAUTHY dvepanrias Kal Siarmac pod TOV Tay paTOV TO Meoodna 7 POTOV, elta Ta ouvelevypeva TapnhrartTe To Kaicapos dpiare- pov: Kal Bpaxéa TOV cox atov Ouyovres Kab xataBadovres ov TOONS, arr' Umrepkepdcavres,

cumimtovow els TO oTpatomedo, Ka Kaicap
pen, @S autos éy Tots UTOMYH Wag LY _taropel, TOV
pirov TLVOS "Aptwpiou Mdpxou Kalo Darvov idovTos
Oye KeXevovoay exo THVat Kaicapa Kal peTer-
Oeiy éx TOU Yapaxos, ébdace put pov Umexxopia Deis
edoké Te TeOvavat. TO yap popeior Kevov aKxovriou
Kal taocots Badrovtes Sujracay. ny 6é hovos év
TO otpaTom ese TOV dds Kopevery, Kab Siarxidtot
Aaxedatpovioy 7 HKOVTES ETrixoUpoL VewaT! GUyKAaT-
EXOTINT AD.
XLII. Ov b¢ V7) KuKhwo dpevol tous Kaicapos,
andra oupmesovTes, padios pev amerpéyavro TeTQ-
parywévous, Kat SrépBerpay év _Xepaw? fe Ta-
yuara, Kat ouvera erred ov Els TO OT PATOTE ov Tots
pevyova w bro poyns Tov KpaTety cuvevexGevtes,
pe? EAUTOV fs TOV Bpodrov ") 6 ou ouveidov
OL eK@VTES EdELKVYUE TOLS NTTHWEVOLS O KaLpoOS. eis
1 yepoly conjectured by Sintenis and Bekker : yxepoi».

outcries which came to them from the trenches. At this point, while tickets with the watchword written upon them were being carried to his officers from Brutus, and while Brutus himself was riding along past the legions and encouraging them, few of his men succeeded in hearing the watchword as it was passed along, but most of them, without waiting for it, with one impulse and with one war-cry, rushed upon the enemy. This disorder threw the legions out of line and touch with one another, and first that of Messala, then those that had been drawn up with it, went beyond the left wing of Octavius; they had only a brief contact with its outermost lines, and slew only a few men, but outflanked it and burst into their camp. And Octavius, as he himself tells us in his Commentaries, in consequence of a vision which visited one of his friends, Marcus Artorius, and ordered that Octavius should rise up from his bed and depart from the camp, barely succeeded in having himself carried forth, and was thought to have been slain. For his litter, when empty, was pierced by the javelins and spears of his enemies. Those who were taken prisoners in the camp were slaughtered, and two thousand Lacedaemonians who had recently come as auxiliaries were cut to pieces along with them.

XLII. The legions of Brutus which had not out- flanked the forces of Octavius, but engaged them in battle, easily routed them in their confusion and cut to pieces three legions at close quarters; then they dashed into their camp with the fugitives, borne on by the impetus of their victory and carrying Brutus with them. But here the vanquished saw an oppor- tunity of which the victors were not aware; for they

yap Ta yupya Kal Trapappnyvupeva Tis évavrias

parayyos, 7) TO beFcov aneomdaOn pos Thy dio-
Eu, do dpevot TO pev pécov OUK éféwoay, arr’
ayauve peyarp VVELXOVTO, 70 S " EU@VU{LOV atatia
Kal ayvoia TOY Yevopeveov érpépavto kal Kata-
di@Eavtes eis TOV Xa paca, Ste opBovv ouderépou
TOY avToKparopav TapovTos. ‘AvT@veds TE yap,
OS pact, exkdivas éy apyn thy épodov eis 70
EXos avexdpnoe, Kat Kaicap ovda pod pavepos nv
én TET OV Tov xdpaxos, adda Bpovro TWvES @S
aunpnkortes avTov émedelevuov 7) Tpaypéva Ta Ein,
ppatovres idéav iv elye xal nriciav. non 86 TO
péoov éFewxet pov TONN@ TOUS aVTUTET ary MEVOUS,
Kal Travted@s eddxet Kpatety o Bpodros, & domep o
Kdootos xpateiaOan, Kal TOUTO povov avTov
dep erpe Ta mpdypata, TOU [EV WS viK@vTe Kao-
oip Th) Bon NoavTos, Tob bé Bpobrov os aTrohw-
NoTa Ly TeplpelvavTos: émel THS ye viens pov o
Mecoddas tiferar To tpeis derous kal Toda
onpeta raBeiv TOV TONE MLOV, éxeivous be pndev. 1004
"Avayopav 8 o Bpodros Hn Stare opOnpeveov
TOY Kaicapos eOavpace to Kacoiov oT paryyLov
ovy opay uyynror, OoTrEp elwder, Tepupaivopevon,
ovdeé TaN Kara, xwpay épnpimrro yap evdus 7a
WrEeloTa Kat KaTéoTAgTo TOV TOAELLOY éprrec ov-
TOD. aXX ob Soxobvtes dfuTepov Brérew TOY
éraipay éeppalov auT® TONG Hév opav Kpavn
AdurrovTa, jmodAous 3 apyupous Oupeous év TO
xapare TOU Kagciou Stadepopevous: obxoup S0-
Kev avtois ovT’ ape pov ove omia pov elvat TOY
ATrONENELMpEVOY PYAGKMY: OV pHY OvdE TAROOS
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BRUTUS

charged upon the broken and exposed parts of their opponents’ line, from which the right wing had been drawn away in pursuit. The centre did not yield to them, but fought them vigorously; the left wing, however, owing to their disorder and ignorance of what had happened, they routed and pursued into their camp, which they sacked. Neither of the generals was with his men; for Antony, we are told, turned aside from the attack at the outset and withdrew into the marsh, and Octavius was nowhere to be seen after he had forsaken his camp; indeed, sundry soldiers declared that they had slain him, showing Brutus their bloody swords and describing his youthful appearance. But presently the centre drove back their opponents with great slaughter, and it appeared that Brutus was completely victorious, as Cassius was completely defeated. And one thing alone brought ruin to their cause, namely, that Brutus thought Cassius victorious and did not go to his aid, while Cassius thought Brutus dead and did not wait for his aid ; since Messala considers it a certain proof of the victory that he captured three eagles and many standards from

the enemy, while they took nothing. As Brutus was returning from his victory, the camp of Caesar having been already destroyed, he was amazed not to see the tent of Cassius towering above the others, as usual, nor the other tents in their wonted place ; for most of them had been demolished at once when the enemy burst in. But the sharper sighted among his companions told him they could see many helmets gleaming, and many silver breast- plates moving about in the camp of Cassius; they did not think that either the number or the armour was that of the garrison left behind ; however, they

émréxewva, paiverBar pexp@v Soov eleos yp vevixn-
pevev Kara KPGTOS TaypaTOV TOTOUTWY. TAUTA
™p@Tov evvouay KaTETTHOE TO Bpovte TOU TUpL-
TTOMATOS' Kal KATA TOV $ poupav €v 7) oTpa-
ToTEO@ TOV Tronepion dvexaXeito Tovs StmxovTas
kal ouviyyev ws Kaccio BonO nowv.
XLIT. "Emérpaxto '8 otto Ta Kar' aurov.
ouTe THY mpworny exdpounv Tov wept Bpobrov
mdéws eldev dvev cuvOnparos Kat TpoaTayparos
Pade ila ov?" bte6 Kparoovres evOus G3 Gppnoav ef'
apraryny Kat Mpereray, TOU smeptiévar Kat KuKdov-
cba TOUS TrONELLOUS dpehnoavres, 7) npec kev auT@
Ta WpaTTopeva. pedAnoe Sé TLve Kai Siar pei
parddov 7) mpodupia Kal Noylou@ orpaTnyav bao
TOU befvob TOV Tonepioov meptehauBdvero- wal
TOV imméov evs aTropparyevTov puyi T pos THY
Odraccav opav Kat Tovs Trefovs evdibovras € €7r€L-
paro KaTEX ELV Kal wapakanrev. évos dé aonpeto-
popov pevyovtos apapracas TO onpetov émrn£€e
™po T&Y TOOmY, pndé Trav trepi TO cpa TeTaA-
ypéevov avTou mpodupes é ert TUMPEVOY TOY. 00TH
én Bracdels dvex@ oe peT odio emt Aopov
€YovTa Wpos TO TTedtov oKoTas. GXN' avTos pev
ovdev xaTetoey 7 pores Tov xXupaKa Tmop0oupevor,
iy yap da Bevns Thy drpiyv, ot b€ rept aurov immets
Ewpeov TOANOUS TpogehavvovTas, obs o Bpodtos
éreurpev. elkace 6 0 Kadootos rorepious elvar
kal Sioxew ém' avrov. Spuws ¢ Tov TApovT@v
&va Teriveo amréaTELre KaTONPopEvon. OUTOS ovK
éxabe tous imméas Tpooay, arr', ws eldSov avdpa
dirov cal Kaccig Tua TOV, drardEavres ud 700-

said, there were not so many dead bodies visible there as might have been expected if so many legions had been overwhelmed. This was what first made Brutus aware of the calamity; and leaving a guard in the captured camp of the enemy, he called his men back from the pursuit and united his forces with the purpose of assisting Cassius.

XLII. With Cassius matters had gone as follows. He had been disturbed to see the first sally of the troops of Brutus, which was made without watch- word or command, and when, being victorious, they rushed at once after booty and spoil, with no thought for the envelopment of the enemy, he was vexed at the way things were going. Besides, exercising his command with hesitation and delay rather than with readiness and decision, he was enveloped by the enemy's right wing. His horsemen at once broke away in flight towards the sea, and seeing his in- fantry also giving ground, he tried to rally them. He snatched the standard from a standard-bearer who was in flight, and planted it in the ground before him, although not even his body-guard were inclined to hold together any more. Thus, then, under compulsion, he withdrew with a few followers to a hill overlooking the plain. But he himself could see nothing, or next to nothing, of the sacking of his camp, for his vision was weak ; the horsemen about him, however, saw a great troop riding up which Brutus had sent. But.Cassius conjectured that they were enemies, and in pursuit of him. Never- theless, he sent out one of those who were with him, Titinius, to reconnoitre. The horsemen spied this man as he came towards them, and when they saw that he was a trusted friend of Cassius, his in-

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vis ob pev ouvyiOers nowalovto re xai éde-tobvTo
KatanrnoovTes amo Tav tmmav, ot 8 adrXot rept
auTov év KUKX@ TepteAavvoYTES dua Tralave Kal
TATAY® bia Napas auetpiav TO péytaTov atretpya-
TAVYTO KAKOD.
"Edoke yap o Kdoatos adnOas bd Trav Trode-
plov éyecOat Tov Titivoy, cat todto 5) dyoas,
“ Dirouyodvtes dvepcivayev advdpa dirov ap-
TaCopevoyv VITO TAY TOAELiOV idEly, aTEXwpPNaEV
els teva oKxnviy Epnuov, éva TaV artredevOépwov
éperxvodpevos, Iivdapov, dv éx tav Kata Kpdo-
cov atuxynudtoy él ravtnv elye THY avayKny
ud’ avTov TapecKevacpevov. adda IIdpOous pév
duépuye, Tore 5é tas yAapvdas él thy Keparjy
avayayeov Kal yupvecas Tov Tpaxnrov atrokowat
Tapéoyev. evpeOn yap % Keparn Siva Tod oaw-
patos. tov dé Ilivéapov ovdels eidev avOparrwv
peta Tov hovoy, €£ ob Kai wapécyxev éviows SoFay

dverely Tov avopa pn Kercvabeis. or(Lyo 8
tortepov of O immeis éyévovto havepol, cal Titi-
vios éotepavapévos bm' avTav avnes mpos Kdo-
atov. ws 5€ xravOu@ xal Bon tTav dirov
odupopévar nal dvadopovytwy éyvw To waOos Tod
aoTpaTnyou Kal THY ayvorav, éotdcato TO Eidos
ay TOAAA Kakiaas THS BpaduTATos éauTov
anéaogake.
XLIV. Bpodros 8 tH pev Array eyvoxas Tod
Kaaciouv mpocnrauve, tov 5é Odvatov éyyus 7dn
ToD ydpaxos HKovce. Kal TO pev THA Trept-
KAavoas, Kal Wpocayopevaas éoyatov avdpa
'Pwpaiwy tov Kdoowov, a> ovK tt TH ToAEL
TnrALKovTOU hpovnpatos éyyevécOar Suvapévon,
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timates, shouting for joy, leaped from their horses and embraced him warmly, while the rest rode round him with shouts and clashing of arms, thus, in their boundless joy, working the greatest mischief.

For Cassius thought that Titinius was actually taken by the enemy, and with the words " My love of life has brought me to the pass of seeing a friend seized by the enemy," he withdrew into an empty tent, forcing along with him one of his freedmen, Pindarus, whom, after the disaster which befell Crassus,! he used to keep in readiness for this emergency. From the Parthians, indeed, he had made his escape; but now, drawing his robes up over his face and laying bare his neck, he offered it to the sword. For his head was found severed from his body. Pindarus, however, no man saw after the bloody deed, and therefore some have thought that he slew his master unbidden. A little later it became evident who the horsemen were, and Titinius, whom they had crowned with garlands, came up to report to Cassius. But when the lamentable cries of his distressed and weeping friends made known to him the grievous fate of his general and his error, he drew his sword, reproached himself bitterly for his slowness, and slew himself.
XLIV. When Brutus learned of the defeat of

Cassius, he rode towards him, but heard of his death
when he was already near his camp. He mourned
over the body, and called Cassius “the last of the
Romans,’ implying that such an exalted spirit could
no longer arise in the city. Then he decked the
1 Cassius had been quaestor for Crassus on the disastrous Parthian expedition in 53 B.o, (Crassus, xviii. 5).

TE plea TELE Kat am emeunpev eis @daov, ws py,
ov 1Xvow adroit Tapdayo. Kndevopevov. avTos
dé Tous TTPATLOTAS cuvayayov mapenvOnaaro:
Kat TaVTOV Opa adres TEpN LEVOUS TOV dvaryKatov
Umea XETO kat avdpa dioxyirias Spax pas avTl
TOV aTrOhWAOT OD. ot O¢€ _TpOs TE TOUS doyous
aveBappna ay avroi Kal TIS dwpeds Catpacay
TO peyeos: Kat peta Bons mpouTeurpav amLovTa,
peyadtvortes @S povoyv GNTTNTOV ev TH pax TOY
Teco apwv avTOKpATopa@D yeyernpevor. éwaptuper
be TO épyov Ste Th paxn mepréerea as Karas
émiarever" odiryous yap Tay WA LY dmravras er pé-
aro TOUS dytiatavras. el 5€ Taow expngato
™ pos TH paxny | Kal [Ty maperOovres ou melo ToL
TOUS TohepuLous éml Ta TOY Tone uLeov Gpynoay,
ovdev dv édoKet pépos avT@v amoNsTEty anT-
"-TNTOV.
XLV. “Ezrecov 6é TOUT@Y pev oxTaKic iAvoe
auv Tots oT pATEVOMEVoLS oiKerats, ods Bouyas)
Bpodros avouate: TeV & évavtiwv Mecoddas
dnoiv olecbar TAéious 0) SuTAacious. 5:0 Kal
pad ov nO vpour éxeivos mplv 7) Kagatou Oepdrray
évopa Anurrptos aixero mpos Avt@vioyv éorré-
pas, evOus a amo Tob vexpod Tas XAapvdas Aa Bov
Kal TO Eidos. Ov Koma OévT ay ovTwS eOdppnoav
Gare du hpépa ™ podryety omc wevny emi pax
THY Suvapwy. Bpovte dé Trav oTpaToTEedwy € éxa-
Tépov TANEVOVTOS emia paras (TO péev yap avrod
KaTaTreTAno pevov aixparoroy édeiro pudachs
axptBois, TO 6€ Kaociov tv petaBornv tov
dpyovtos ov padimws Edepev, GANA Kal POdvov
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body for burial and sent it to Thasos, in order that the funeral rites might not disturb the camp. He himself, however, assembled the soldiers of Cassius and comforted them; and seeing that they were deprived of all the necessaries of life, he promised them two thousand drachmas the man, to make good what they had lost. They were encouraged by his words and amazed at the largeness of his gift; and they sent him on his way with shouts, exalting him as the only one of the four commanders who had not been defeated in the battle. And the results bore witness that his confidence in a victory in the battle was well grounded ; for with a few legions he routed all those opposed to him. And if he had employed them all in fighting, and if the most of them had not passed by the enemy and set upon the enemy's possessions, it would seem that his victory must have been complete.

XLV. There fell on his side eight thousand men, including the camp servants whom Brutus called Briges ;1 but the enemy, in the opinion of Messala, lost more than twice as many. They were therefore the more dejected of the two, until an attendant of Cassius, named Demetrius, came to Antony in the evening, bringing the robes and the sword which he had taken at once from the dead body. This en- couraged them so much that at break of day they led their forces out arrayed for battle. But both the camps over which Brutus had command were in dan- gerous straits. His own was filled with prisoners of war and required a heavy guard; while that of Cassius was dissatisfied with the change of commanders, and besides, as vanquished men, they were full of hatred

1 The name of a Thracian tribe (Herodotus, vii. 73).

Te Kal pious HTT MEVOLS évnv avTois 7 POs TO VEVLKTK OS), om Aig at pev edoke TO oTpdteupa, paxns & amréaXETO. Tov © aly pwaharov TO pev SovrktKov WAHGos evetdovpevov UTOTTOS Tots O7r- Aas éxéhevoev avatpeDjvat, TOV 5 ehevbépov TOUS pev amédvE pacKov UTO TOV mroneuion paddov BAwKEevat avrous } Kal map exetvots IX MAN@TOUS eivat Kal SovAous, wap avT@ & éhevdepous . Kat moras" ws 6é TOUS dirous é éwpa Kab TOUS Wyyepovas adtaAAaKTwS EXOVTAS, aTro-

KpuTT@V kal TUVEKTELT OV eowbev.
"Hp 6é tes Bodovprios pipos cal LaxovAtwv ye-
NWTOTIOLOS MAWKOTES, obs év ovdevi AOYo TOepevou
TOU Bpovtou T poo dyovtes ot pirou KaT ny Opouv
as ovdé vov TOU éyerv wal TKMT TEV Tpos UBpw
auto dex opevous. émrel 5€ Bpodtos pév évirya
™ pOs éTépais @y ppovtict, Meoodaras dé KopBivos
édtxatou TANYals Konaa Gevtas éml aKNVTS yu-
pvous amrobo0 hvac Tois aTpaTnyois TMV TOAEMiOV,
omrws el0@auv olwv déovrat oT PATEVOMEVOL \oUL-
TOT@Y Kal cuv7Oov, évion ev TOY Tapovrey
éyéracav, Llomdtos dé Kdoxas, o mpa@tos Kai-
capa natagas, Ov Karas, épn, “ teOvnxore
Kacoip matlovres Kal yehwtomotovvTes evaryito-
pev" av 06,” elev, a) Bpotre, Seikers 6 OTWS sexers
HVNUNS Tpos Tov oTpaTHnyov 7 Koddoas nh pv-
Adfas | TOUS xXAevacopuevous rat KaKas épouvras
avTov.” T pos \TobTO Bpodros ev pada duaxe-
pavas, Ts obv,” elev, § ‘émoo wuvO avea Ge, Kdoxa,
Kat ov TpatTeTe To So€av tyiv;” tavtny éxeivor
ThY amroKpiow ovyKxaTabeow Troinoduevor Kata
1 gitovs bracketed by Sintenis®.

and jealousy towards those who had been victorious
Brutus therefore decided to put his army in array,
but to refrain from battle. Moreover, the multitude
of slaves among his captives were found suspiciously
moving about among the men-at-arms, and he or-
dered them to be put to death; of the freemen,
however, he released some, declaring that they had
more truly been captured by his enemies, in whose
hands they were prisoners and slaves, while with
him they were freemen and citizens ; and when he
saw that his friends and officers were implacably
hostile to them, he saved their lives by hiding them
and helping them to escape.

Among the prisoners there was a certain Volum- nius, an actor, and Saculio, a buffoon, to whom Brutus paid no attention; but the friends of Brutus brought them forward and denounced them for not refraining even now from insolent and mocking speeches to them. Brutus had nothing to say, being concerned about other matters, but Messala Corvinus gave his opinion that they should be publicly flogged and then sent back naked to the enemy’s generals, in order to let these know what sort of boon companions they required on their campaigns. At this some of the bystanders burst out laughing, but Publius Casca, the one who first smote Caesar, said: “It is not meet for us to celebrate the funeral rites of Cassius with jests and

mirth; and thou, Brutus, wilt show what esteem thou hast for the memory of that general according as thou punishest or shieldest those who will abuse and revile him." To this Brutus, in high dudgeon, said: " Why, then, do ye enquire of me, Casca, instead of doing what seems best to you?" This answer was taken to be a condemnation of the

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to

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TOV AO Meov avOporrayv, dépOetpay avtovs amra-
yaryov Tes.
XLVI. "Ex TOUTOU THY Swpedy aT ESWKE Tots
TTpAaTLOTaLs, Kal pixpa peprpapevos éri T@ TO
ovvenpa pn «=AaBovtras avev TaparyyéAparos
ATAKTOTEPOV évarecOat TOUS ToAepiors, bréa Xero
KANOS ayovicapEevors dv0 woAes eis aptayny
kat cpéedevay dvncety, Geccarovixny Kat Aaxe-
Saipova. TovTO T@ Bpovrov Bio povov ever Tt
TOV éyKAnLaToOV avaTrohoyntov, €& Kat qroXv
ToUTwY SELVOTEPAa VIKNTNPLA TOS OTPaTEvoLEVotS
"Avr@vios Kat Kaioap eféricay, odiyou dety 1Wa-
ons "Iradias TOUS TaraLovs olxnTopas éfena-
CAVTES, iva Xepar €xetvot Kai mohets: Tas [)
Tpoonkovaas AdBworv. adda TovToLs pev apyew
Kal Kparety UméKetTo Tov TONE LOU Téhos, Bpourep
dé dua dofav aperis ouTE vind OUTE caterOar
guvexwpeiro Tapa TMV TOAKOD 77 4 peTa TOU Kadod
Kal dtxaiouv, Kal TavTa Kaociov TeOvnKoTOs, ds
aitiay elye Kal Bpoirov evaryeLy els Evia TOV
Bracotépav. GXX @omep ev TAP andantou
cuvtptBevros € érepa Evra Tpoondovy | Kat Tpocap-
POTTEL emexerpovary, ovK ev pen, avayKaia é,
paxopevor 7 pos THY Xpetay, ovTw Bpovtos év
Suvdpet TOC AUTH Kal pETE@pols TpayLaclv ovK
éYov icopporrobyta oTpATNyoV jvarynatero \ pT}
a0a. ois mapovat Kal ToANa Tpadooce wal
Aéyerv TaY éxeivols SoxovvTwv. éSoxee & boa
tous Kaociov otpatiotas ovo Bexzious Tapé-
Ee duo petayxeipia tot yap joav, év pev TP
oTpaTon ed bc dvapxiav Opacvvopevot, Tpos
Tous TroAepious Oia THY HrTav aTrodetbavres.
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poor wretches, and they were led off and put to
death.
XLVI. After this, he gave the soldiers their pro- mised rewards, and after gently chiding them for not getting the watchword and for rushing upon the enemy without command and in great disorder, he promised that if they now fought well, he would turn over to them two cities for plunder and booty, Thessalonica and Lacedaemon. This is the only accu- sation in the life of Brutus against which no defence can be made, even though Antony and Octavius practised far greater cruelty than this in rewarding their soldiers, and drove her ancient inhabitants out of almost the whole of Italy, in order that their followers might get land and cities to which they had no right. But in their minds conquest and do- minion were the end and object of the war; whereas Brutus had such a reputation for virtue with the multitude that he was not permitted either to conquer or to gain safety except with honour and justice, especially now that Cassius was dead, who was ac- cused of leading Brutus with him into some acts of violence. But just as sailors, when their rudder has been shattered, try to fit and fasten other timbers in its place, striving to meet their needs, not well, indeed, but as best they can, so Brutus, not having in his great army and dangerous plight a general who was equal to the emergency, was forced to employ such as he had, and to do and say many things which they approved. And so he decided to do whatever they thought would make the soldiers of Cassius better men. For these were very intract- able ; their lack of a leader made them bold in camp, while their defeat made them afraid to face the

enemy.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XLVII. Ovdéy 5¢ Bérriov elye TA mpdypata
tois mept Kaicapa xat ‘Avtr@vov, ayopa Te
Xpwmevors avayxaia Kal 6a KotrOTnTa Tod
oTparoTésov yeava poxOnpov mpoodoxaauy.
etKovpevor yap mpos Edeot Kal peta THY payny
ouBpov PO.voTrwpivay émiyevouévwv mndroD Kat-
eTipm@avtTo TAS oOKNVasS Kal BdaTos Tapaxphpa
anyvupevou ba Yriyos. év tovT@ 8 ovow avtois
Kev ayyeria tTept THs Kata OdraTTav yevouéevns
atuxias wept thy aotpatiav. €& “Itadlas yap
TOAANY Kopulopevnv tapa Kaicapos ai Bpovtov
pies é€rrimecotoat SébGerpav, @v OAlyou Trayta-
Tact TOUS ToNEpLOUs StaduyovTes UTO ALOU TAY
istiwy Kal tov oxowiwv éoOiovtes SteyévovTo.
TavT axovoavtes Eomrevdoy dia paxns KpiOFvat
mpiv aicdécbar TOV Bpotrov Scop aQUT@ yeyovev
evTuxias. Kal yap Huépa pa cvvéBn Tov Te KaTa
yiv apa kal tov Kata OddattTav ayava KpiOjvat.

Tux 5é Tive WaAXOY Hh Kaxia TOV év Tals vavoly
HryeLovav nyvonce TO KaTopOwpa Bpovdtos 7mepav
elxoot Siayevonevwv. od yap av els Sevtépay
paxnv mponrde, Ta peey dvaryKaia Th oTparig
Taperxevacuevos els TOAUY Xpdvov, év Kah@ S¢
THs K@pas iSpupévos, @ote Kal yetm@vos amrabes
Kal mpos Tovs TroAeuious SvoexBiacrov éyew Td
otpatorredoy, TO 5é xpateivy BeBaiws THs Oararrns
kad verixnkévas mela TO Kal' avrov én' édrrridwv
peydrov Kal dpovnpatos yeyovws.
"A\Aa TOV TMpayyuaTwyv, @s Eotxev, OvKETL
modAois GvTwyv Kabextav, GAA povapyias Se0-
pévav, 0 Oeos, eEdyer Kal petacticat TOV Lovo
éutroow@y évta T@ xpateiy Suvapévp Bovdopevos,
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BRUTUS

XLVII. But Octavius and Antony were no better off; they were scantily provisioned, and the low site of their camp made them expect a grievous winter. For they were huddled together on the edge of marshes, and the autumn rains which fell after the battle kept filling their tents with mud and water that froze at once, so cold was the weather. More- over, while they were in this plight, word came to them of the disaster which had befallen them at sea. For a large force which was being brought from Italy by command of Octavius was attacked by the ships of Brutus and destroyed, and the small remnant of them that escaped their enemies were driven by hunger to subsist upon the sails and tackle of their ships. On hearing of this, they were eager to have the issue decided by battle before Brutus learned what great good fortune had come to him. For it happened that the conflicts on sea and land were decided on one and the same day. But by some chance, rather than by the fault of his naval com- manders, Brutus was ignorant of their success until twenty days afterwards. Otherwise he would not have proceeded to a second battle, since his army was supplied with provisions for a long time, and he was posted in an advantageous position, so that his camp did not suffer from wintry weather, and on the side towards the enemy was almost impregnable, while his secure mastery of the sea and the victory of the land forces under his own command had put him in high hopes and spirits.

But since, as it would seem, the government of
Rome could no longer be a democracy, and a mon-
archy was necessary, Heaven, wishing to remove
from the scene the only man who stood in the way
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

atréxowe THY TUXNY exElynY, KaiTrEp éyyUTAaTW TOU
un Aabetvy tov Bpodrov adixopeévny, pérXovtos
yap avrod payer Bas Mpo pias nuépas ore Kro-
S105 TLs €x TOV ToAELioY AVTOMOADS KEV, ayyér-

Awy Ste StepOappevovy yoOnpévor Tov aTOAoV oi
wept Kaicapa orevoovat Siaywvicacbat. Tavita
éywr 6 avOpwros ovK elye Tiativ ovd eis dy
nr0e to Bpovt@, catradpovnbels mravtdtacw as
pndev aknxows vyiés TA rvevdh mpos yadpuv
amayyeArwv.
XLVIII. "Ev éxeivn 8¢ 7H vuetl maddy daclv
eis Oyu ed\Ociy to dacpa T@ Bpovte, Kal tH
avrnv émuidecEduevoy dririv ovdéy eimeiv, adn
olyerOat. ldmdsos 5é Bodovpvtos, avnp ptdo-
copos kal cuveotpatevpévos an' apxns Bpovre,
TOUTO MeV OU AEyel TO oONpEloV, peticoayv 5é dnote
TOV Wp@Tov aeTov avaTrEwy yevérOat Kal TaV
rakiapywv Twos am avtouatou Tov Bpaxiova pv-
pov pocevov eEavOeiv, cal moAddxis éEadeighovtas
Kal aropatrovras pndev Tepaive. Kal mpo THs
paxns avtis derovs duo cuprecovtas adANAOLS
évy petarypio taY otpatotrébwv paxecOa, Kal
ouyny antotov éxety TO TEdLov Dewpéevwnv aTrdvTor,
elfac 5é nai gduyetvy tov xata Bpodrov. o &é
AlGiow mepiBontos yéyovey o THs wUANS dvol-
yOcions amavrncas TH pépovTt Tov deTov Kal
KatTakoTels Tais payaipais vTrd TOV OTPATLWTaY
olwvic apevev.
XLIX. Tpoayayav S€ tiv darayya cal xata-
aoTncas évavtiay Tols Todepiots erretye troAUY
xpovov' vTowiat yap auT@® Kal pynvices Kata
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BRUTUS

of him who was able to be sole master, cut oft from Brutus the knowledge of that good fortune, although it very nearly reached him in time; for only one day before the battle which he was about to fight, late in the day, a certain Clodius deserted from the enemy, and brought word that Octavius had learned of the destruction of his fleet and was therefore eager for a decisive struggle. The man found no credence for his story, nor did he even come into the presence of Brutus, but was altogether despised; it was thought that either he had heard an idle tale, or was bringing false tidings in order to win favour.

XLVITI. On that night, they say, the phantom visited Brutus again,! manifesting the same appear- ance as before, but went away without a word. Publius Volumnius, however, a philosopher, and a companion of Brutus in all his campaigns, makes no mention of this omen, but says that the fore- most standard was covered with bees; and that of its own accord the arm of one of the officers sweated oil of roses, and though they often rubbed and wiped it off, it was of no avail. He says also that just before the battle itself

two eagles fought a pitched battle with one another in the space between the camps, and as all were gazing at them, while an incredible silence reigned over the plain, the eagle towards Brutus gave up the fight and fled. And the story of the Ethiopian is well known, who, as the gate of the camp was thrown open, met the standard- bearer, and was cut to pieces by the soldiers, who thought his appearance ominous.

XLIX. After Brutus had led out his forces in battle array and stationed them over against the enemy, he waited a long time; for as he was reviewing his

1 See chapter xxxvi. 235

TIVO mpooemimTov €TLoKOTOUVTL TO oTpaTevpa:
Kal Tous imméas wpa haxns apxew ov mavu
mpobupous 6 dvras, GAN del ™ poo pévovTas TO TOV
meta épyov. elt éEaidyns avip moAemxos Kal
TeTiunmévos én' dvdpeia StampeTa@s Tapa Tov
Bpodtov avrov éfimmacdpevos petaRadrerat
mMpos Tovs wodeutous: Kapoudrdtos dé éxanelro.
TovToy id@v 0 Bpovros nAynoev loyupas: Kal Ta
pev bm' opyns, Ta b€ hoBw peiLovos petaBorjAs
Kal mpodocias evOus emt Tovs évavtious rev, eis
@pav évdtnyv Tov hAlov Katadepomévov. Kal TO
pev Kal abtov éexpadtnoe péper Kal mpondbev
UTOYWPODYTL T@ aploTEepm TOV TrorEpLioV éyKel-
pevos' Kxal ouveTéppwoav ot immeis Gua Tois
meCois éuBadovtes teTapaypmévors: TO & Erepov
KEpAS, WS py) KUKAWOEiN, TOY Hyewovwy avTitrape€-
ayovtov, wANnOer Sé Aecrropévav, Sueamwato pécov
Kat yiyvopevov acbeves ovK avteixve Tots evayTiors,
GAN' épuye mpwtov. ot dé tTovTo diaxovravrTes
evOUs exuxAXovvTo TOV Bpodrov, avrov pév boa Kai
OTpaTHnyiKhs Kal oTpaTiwTiKhs apeTHs Epya Kal
yeipt Kal yvoun Tapa Ta Seva mpos TO viKay
amroderkvupevov, @ Sé mwréov Exxe TH TpoTépa
peayn, TouTp BramTopevov. TeV yey yap TrONeE-
piwv tro vinnOev evOds amoAwWAEL TOTE TaV bé
Kacociov tparévtwy orjiyou duehOapnoav, oi Sé
aowlopevoe TH MpontTiaOat mepidecis vres avé-
TAncav aOupias Kal tapayfis TO WAEloTOY TOU
oTpatevpatos. evtav0a xai Mdpxos o Katwvos
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troops he became suspicious of some of them, and heard them accused of treachery ; he saw, too, that his horsemen were not very eager to begin the battle, but always waited to see what the infantry did. Then, of a sudden, a man who was a good soldier and had been conspicuously honoured for his bravery by Brutus, rode out of the ranks and went over to the enemy; his name was Camulatus. The sight of this gave Brutus great distress; and partly from anger, partly because he was afraid of greater treachery and desertion, he led at once against the enemy, at about three o'clock in the afternoon. With the part under his own immediate command he was victorious, and advanced, pressing hard upon the retreating left wing of the enemy; his cavalry, too, dashed forward along with the infantry and fell upon a disordered foe; the other wing, however, which was extended by its commanders to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy, to whom they were inferior in num- bers, was thus weakened in the centre and could not hold out against their opponents, but fled first. After cutting their way through this wing, the enemy at once enveloped Brutus. He himself displayed all the valour possible in a soldier and commander, con- tending with judgment and personal prowess for victory in the terrible crisis; but that which was an advantage for him in the former battle was a detri- ment to him now. For in the former battle the conquered wing of the enemy had been at once de- stroyed, but when the soldiers of Cassius were routed, only few of them were slain, and those who then escaped, rendered fearful now by their former defeat, filled the greater part of his army with dejection and confusion. Here Marcus the son of Cato also, fighting

vids év Tois dpic Tots Kal yevvarotatous TOV véewy
PAX OpMEvos Kat KATATOVOULEVOS ovK epuyev ove’
eifev, aXe pepevos TE TH Xeupl Kal ppatov
Gotis ely, Kal maT pov dvopmdtoov, éqrecev emt
TodAois vexpols TaV Tonepion. ériumtov 6é Kal
TOV GAXwY ot KpatictoL Tov Bpovrov mpoxw-
Suvevortes.
L. "Hy &€ Ts Aoukidnr«0s, dvnp ayabos, é év Tots
éraipots. ovTos opay BapBdpous TLVAS imméas
év TH dwwker TOY ey adrAwY ovdéeva Trotoupévous
Aoyov, éXavvovtas 5é pudnv él TOV Bpodrov,
evo Tapaxivouvevaas éumrodwy avTots yeveo Ga,
Kab mLKpov vronepbels autos édn Bpot'ros elvas:
Kal mtBavos Hv 7 pos “Avraéviov Seopevos aye
éauTop, as Kaicapa Sedorxars, ¢ éxelvp dé Dappav.
ot & aomacdpevot TO eUpnpya Kat TUX) tuvi
Gavpacth Kexphobar vouilovres Hyov Tov avopa,
GKOTOUS On, TpoTréuarres é& aut av TIVaS
dryryéXous mapa Tov “AvT@vLOD. AUTOS Te oy
noOeis amnvrTa toils ayovcw, Kal TOY aA ot
TruvOavopevor tovra Bpovrov Kopilerbar TUvETpO-
xator, ol pev eA eervov HYOULEVOL THS TU ns, ot &¢

THS b0&ns avafcov, dypav BapBdpwv vTrO puro-
puxias ryevopevon. érret eyyus tide Oo pmev
“AvT@vios t UTéaTH, OLatropay Srrws Xp7 befacar
Tov Bpodrov, o Se Aouxiddzos mpocax els pana
teOappnKkas “ Mapxov pév,” elzrev, ‘ ‘Avravee,
Bpovrov ovdels 7 mpnKev oud” dv €or ‘TONE LOS" pn
TOO OUTOV 7 TUXN KpaTnaoele THS aperis. arr’
éxeivos eupeOnoerat Gav 7 Tou wal YEK POS akios
Keipevos EauTod. eyw 5é Tos cols GTpaTiwTas
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BRUTUS

among the bravest and noblest young men, was over- powered, but would not yield nor fly, but plying his sword, and declaring that he was Marcus Cato and Marcus Cato’s son, fell dead upon the many enemies whom he had slain.! The bravest of the rest fell also, risking their lives in defence of Brutus.

L. Now, there was a certain Lucilius, a brave man, among the comrades of Brutus.2 This man, seeing some barbarian horsemen ignoring all others in their pursuit and riding impetuously after Brutus, determined at the risk of his life to stop them. So falling behind a little, he told them that he was Brutus. The Barbarians believed him because he asked them to conduct him to Antony, pretending to be afraid of Octavius but to have no fear of Antony. They were delighted with their unexpected prize, and thinking themselves amazingly fortunate, led Lucilius along in the darkness which had now fallen, after sending ahead some messengers to Antony. Antony himself was pleased, of course, and set out to meet the escort, and all the rest also who learned that Brutus was being brought in alive flocked together, some thinking him to be pitied for his misfortune, others that he was unworthy of his fame in thus allowing his love of life to make him a prey of Barbarians. When they were near, however, Antony paused, at a loss to know how he ought to receive Brutus; but Lucilius, as he was brought forward, said with great boldness: ‘“ Marcus Brutus, O Antony, no foe has taken or can take; may fortune not so far prevail over virtue! Nay, he will be found living, or possibly even lying dead as becomes him. It is by cheating

1 Cf. Cato the Younger, Ixxiii. 3.
3 Cf. Antony, lxix. 1.
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TMapaxpovodpevos xe, mabeiy oudey emt TOUT
TOY dynKéo Tov TApalTOUpeEros. TAUT eiTTOVTOS
TOU Aoveiddiov Kal TAVTOV ExT AQYEVTOV "AvTo-
vios Tpos TOUS KopicavTas avrov arroBreyas,
“*Harov Naremds,” elrrev, “@ CVSTPATLOTAL,
pépere TH apaptia eptvsptoba Soxobres. adn’

ev lore KpeiTTOVA TIS Enroupérns a dypas: npnnores.
TOE WLOV yap Snrobytes Hicere pidov Hpi Kopi-
Covtes’ _@s eyo Bpovrp pev ovx olda pa TOUS
Oeovs 6 te av expnodpnv COVTE, Totovrwy &
avdpav pikov TUYXdvorue padXov u) Trodeuiov.”
TavT el Toy Kal Tov AouxtdALov doTracduevos
TOTE pev evi TOY dirov TUvET TH ED, datepov Se
Npwpevos eis TavTa TLoT@ Kal BeBaiw SueTédece.
LI. Bpodros dé d:aBas Tt peiO pov vAwoes Kal
TapdaKpnuvov 78n OKOTOUS ovTos ov TORU T porpr-
Mev, adr’ ev TOT Koih@ Kal méTpav exovte
peyadny ™ poxerpevny xabicas, odiyov Tept avrov
WyeHovery Kal pirwv 6vTMD, Tpara pev aTroBne-
‘ras eis Tov oupavor daTépeov évta peo Tov ave-
hbéyEato Svo otixous, av Tov Erepov Borovpros
avéyparye:
Zev, uw) NAOor ae THVS Ss altLos KaKav

tov 6 érépou gnaoiv emradecGar. pera dé
put pov tay év TH paxn Tpd avTod TecovTwy
éTalpwv Exac Tov ovoualwy padiota TH PraBiou
pvieD Kal TH AaBedvos émeorévaker. wv 8
auTov mpeaBevriys 0 AaBeay, o 6e PrdBros
émrapxos TOV TEXVITEY. év TOUT b¢ TUS autos
te Supnoas kal tov Bpodrov copay opoiws Eyovta,
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BRUTUS

these soldiers of thine that I am come, and I am
ready to suffer for it any fatal penalty.” When
Lucilius had thus spoken and all were in amaze-
ment, Antony turned to his conductors and said:
“T suppose, my fellow soldiers, you are vexed at
your mistake and think that you have been flouted;
but be assured that you have taken a better prey
than that you sought. For you sought an enemy,
but you come bringing me a friend. Since, by the
gods, I know not how I could have treated Brutus,
had he come into my hands alive; but such men as
this I would have my friends rather than my ene-
mies.”” With these words he embraced Lucilius, and
for the time being put him in charge of one of his
friends, but ever afterwards found in him a sure and
trusty helper.

LI. But Brutus, after crossing a brook which ran among trees and had precipitous banks, would go no further, since it was already dark, but sat down in a hollow place with a great rock in front of it, having a few officers and friends about him. First, he turned his eyes to the heavens, which were studded with stars, and recited two verses, one of which Volumnius has recorded :—
**O Zeus, do not forget the author of these ills!’’!

the other Volumnius says he has forgotten. Then, after a little, he called the name of each of his comrades who had fallen in the battle to defend him, groaning most heavily at the mention of Flavius and Labeo. Labeo was his legate,? and Flavius his chief of engineers. At this point, someone who was thirsty himself and saw that Brutus was thirsty too, took a
1 Euripides, Medeia, 334 (Kirchhoff).
2 Cf. chapter xii. 3 ff.

AaBov xKpavos emi Tov TOTa,Mov Karédpape.

3 xrohou b€ xaTa Oarepa 1 pog TET OVTOS Bodov-
HLVLOS 7 pomjrde KaTowopevos, Kal avy avT@
AdpSavos o o UnaoTiaTHS. émavedOovtes 5é pera.
ee npwTna av mept Tod TpaTos. nO iKds dé
agodpa pedidoas o Bpodros ™ pos Tov Bodov-
peveov "Extrérorat,” elev, ‘ GNX’ érepov vupipv
KoucOnoerat. meu eis 5 0 avros éxuvduvevoev
UTO TOV TTrodEeuimy adrA@vat Kal porus éawOn
4 TETPwpEVOS. eixatovts. 5€ avT@ By moAAous év
Th pax TeOvdvar DTATVAALOS UTETTN bud TOV
ToNELLwy ex Tata dHeVos (dAAws yap ovK 7)
katower Gat TO aTpatoresor, Kat Tupoov apas
avrrep ebpn TaKel glo peva, TaN ap iter Oat
™ pos avrov. o pev ovv Tupaos npOn Tov Lratva-
Alou TmapehOovros eis TO oTparorecon, as 8 ove
éTravnet xpovep TOAA@ Bpodtos elev: «Av op
Srarvrnos, apiferat.” ouvéBn 5° avrov éravep-
Nouevov eumeceiy els TovS troAEulous Kal dia-
d0apivat.
LIT. I poiovens dé Ths VUKTOS amroKhivas, @S

ETUye Kabelopevos, 1 pos oixeTny éautov Kyeltroy
EAarEl. TLOT@VTOS dé rob Kreirou Kat Sax pu-
ovtTos, avlts emia TATaUEVvos TOV bracniaThy
Adpéavov iSta TLVAS auT@ Tpoaépepe oyous.
TérXos 6é Tov Bodovpvoy avrov “EAAnueth Trav
hoyou Kal THs ATKHTEWS Drepipyna Ke: kal Tape-
KadEeL TH xerpt cwedayac Gat Tov Eihous avT@
2 Kal ouverrepeioas HV TANYIV. Tob dé Bohov-
pviov Suwoapevou ral TOV ado 6 Omolws ex over,
eltruvtos 6& Tivos ws Set pun péverv, AANA hevyery,
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helmet and ran down to the river. Then a noise fell upon their ears from the opposite direction, and Volumnius went forth to reconnoitre, and with him Dardanus his shield-bearer. After a little while, however, they returned, and asked about the water to drink. Whereupon, with a very expressive smile, Brutus said to Volumnius: “It is drunk up; but another draught shall be fetched for you.” Then the same man who had brought the first was sent for more, but he ran the risk of being captured by the enemy, was wounded, and with difficulty came off safe. Now, since Brutus conjectured that not many of his men had been killed in the battle, Statyllius! promised him that after cutting his way through the enemy (there was no other way), he would recon- noitre the camp, raise a blazing torch if he found things there in safety, and then come back to him. Accordingly, the blazing torch was raised, since Statyllius succeeded in reaching the camp; but after a long time had passed and he did not return, Brutus said: “If Statyllius is alive, he will come back.”’ But it so happened that he fell in with the enemy on his way back, and was slain.

LII. As the night advanced, Brutus turned, just as he sat, towards his servant Cleitus, and talked with him. And when Cleitus wept and made no answer, Brutus next drew Dardanus his shield-bearer aside and had some private conversation with him. Finally, he spoke to Volumnius himself in Greek, reminding him of their student life, and begged him to grasp his sword with him and help him drive home the blow. And when Volumnius refused, and the rest likewise, and some one said they must not tarry

3 Cf. Cato the Younger, Ixv. 4 f.; Ixxiii. 4.

éEavactas, “Tlavu pév obdv,” edn, “ pevetéor
ANN ov Sia THY TOdaY, Adda bia TOY YeELpaV.”
éuBarov bé thv dSeEiav éExdotm para dardpos
Ly 4 \ 4 4 e \ a“ A /
noecOae pev Eby peyddrynv joovnv Sti tav dirov
> A 9 N b , A , 9 > a
avtoy ovdels éyrevoato, TH TUXYn 8 éyKanrely

Umép Tihs matpidos: éavrov b€ TOY vEertKnKOTOY
paKkapi@orepov vopiferv, ovx éxOés ovde mpwnv
f > \ N a b 4 ? a
povov, AANA Kal voy, dtodciTovta So-ay aperis,
vf? ¥ / b / e
nv ov’ SrAoLs OUTE YenpacW aToOAEipovaLY ot
Kexpatnxotes, @s py Soxeiy Stt Sixaiovs avdpas
adixot Kal Kaxol ypnoTous atroNecavTes ov Tpoc-
nKovtws apxyovot. SenOels S€ Kal rapaxarécas
awlew éavTovs avexapnoey aTwrépw peta duety
A a bd a “4 , ¢ 9 AN '
Tptov, ev ols nv Kal Yrpdtwyv o ato Aoywv
PHNTOpPLKaY Yyeyovwms avT@ auvnOns. Kal rodTov
éyyiota mapactnodpevos éavt@ Kat 10 Eidos
\ a a a
yupvov el tis AaBAS Tals yYepoly dudotépacs
épeioas Kal Tepimeown eredevTncev. of S€ hac
OUK AUTOV, GAAA TOV YrpdTwva, TOAAA Trdvu TOD
Bpovrov SenOévtos, aroctpéyavta thy dpe vUTo-
a \ / ? a es ,
atnoat To Eidos: éxeivoy Sé pun mpooBarovra
, a
To otépvoy Kab SiwcavTa cvvTopws aTobareiv.
LIII. Todrov &¢ rov Ltparwva Meoaodras érai-
pos @v Bpovtm Kaicapt diaddayels emt oyoris
mote mpoonyaye, Kat Saxpvaoas elmev “Odtos
3 A a e 9 7 e aA A , \
éotw, w Katcap, o avnp, 0 T@ éu@ Bpovt@ tiv
e 4 4, 99 9 4
TeXeuTaiay vmoupynoas xapiv. atrodeEapevos
ovv 6 Kaicap éoxyev avtoy év Te Tois tovos Kal
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BRUTUS

but fly, Brutus rose and said : “ By all means must we fly ; not with our feet, however, but with our hands.” Then, after clasping each by the hand, with a very cheerful countenance he said he rejoiced with ex- ceeding joy that not one of his friends had proved false to him, and as for Fortune, he blamed her only for his country’s sake; himself he regarded as more to be envied than his conquerors, not yesterday and the day before merely, but even now, since he was leaving behind him a reputation for virtue, which those who surpassed in arms or wealth would not do; since the world would believe that base and unjust men who put to death the good and just were unfit to rule. Then, after earnestly entreating them to save themselves, he withdrew a little way in the company of two or three friends, among whom was Strato, who had been his intimate since they studied rhetoric together. This man he placed nearest to himself, and

then, grasping with both hands the hilt of his naked sword, he fell upon it and died. Some, however, say that it was not Brutus himself, but Strato, who at his very urgent request, and with averted eyes, held the sword in front of him, upon which he fell with such force that it passed quite through his breast and brought him instant death.!

LIII. As for this Strato, Messala, the comrade of Brutus, after a reconciliation with Octavius, once found occasion to introduce him to his new master, and said, with a burst of tears: “This is the man, O Caesar, who did the last kind office for my dear Brutus.’’ Accordingly, Strato was kindly received by Octavius, who, in his subsequent labours, and

1 The battles at Philippi occurred in 42 B.c., ard Rrutus was forty-three years of age when he died.

év Tois Tepit “Axtiov ayaow Eva tov Trept auTov
9 a) a € 4 > A \ ‘
ayabav yevopévev “EXAnvev. avtov 6 Tov Mec-
odXav Aéyouvotw watepov éerratvovpevov bd Kai-
capos Ot, Kaitep ey Dirivrocs | TONE MLGTATOS
avtots yevopevos da Bpovrtov, év "Antiw mpobv-
potaroy éauToy mrapéo yer, “Eye rot,” davas, “o@
Kaioap, dei tis BeXtiovos xat Stxatorépas TiAs
Kai peptoos éyevouny.”
Tov 5€ Bpotdtov o ‘Avtwvios avevpwv reOvnxota
TO Pe OHA TH TWOAVTEAETTATH TAY EavTOU dol-
pixidwoy meptBareiv éexér\evcev, Botepovy Sé rHv
gowixida xexreppevny ataOopevos amréxtewe Tov
Upedopevov. Ta 5é AEetava mpos THY uNTépa TOU
Bpovtov LYepRiriav arémepwe. Tlopxiay Sé ryv
Bpovrou yuvaixa Nixoraos 0 ptrocodos iatopet
kat Ovarépios Maék:pos Bovropévny arrobaveiv,
ws ovdeis eméeTpeTre TOV hirwv, GAA TpoTéeKELVTO
Kai TapepvAattoy, €x Tov wupos avapracacav
avOpaxas KaTaTety Kal TO oTOMa TvyKNELCACAaD
Kai pvoacay ovTw SiagOapivat. xaitor héperat
tis €mtatoAn Bpovtouv apos tovs dirous éyxa-
AowYTOS AUTOS KaL ONOhUpOpEevOU TrEept THs Ilop-
Kias, @ apedrnOeions UT’ adlTav Kal mpoedopevns
Sua vooov KxaTaXtreivy tov Biov. €éoixev ovv 6
NixoAaos nyvonxévat tov xpovov, émel tO ye
waQos Kat Tov Epwra THs yuvatKos Kai TOV Tpo-
Tov THS TENEUTHS vrrovonaat Sidwot Kal TO ém-
oTeOXLOD, EiTEp Apa TOY ywnoiwy éoTiv.

especially at the battle of Actium, found him, as well as other Greeks, a brave partisan. And it is said that Messala himself was once praised by Octavius because, though at Philippi he had been most hostile to him and Antony for the sake of Brutus, at Actium he had been a most zealous adherent of his; whereupon Messala said: " Indeed, O Caesar, I have ever been on the better and juster side."

When Antony found Brutus lying dead, he ordered the body to be wrapped in the most costly of his own robes, and afterwards, on hearing that the robe had been stolen, put the thief to death. The ashes of Brutus he sent home to his mother Servilia.!. As for Porcia, the wife of Brutus, Nicolaiis the philosopher, as well as Valerius Maximus," relates that she now desired to die, but was opposed by all her friends, who kept strict watch upon her; wherefore she snatched up live coals from the fire, swallowed them, kept her mouth fast closed, and thus made away with herself. And yet there is extant a letter of Brutus to his friends in which he chides them with regard to Porcia and laments her fate, because she was neglected by them and therefore driven by illness to prefer death to life. It would seem, then, that Nicolaiis was mistaken in the time of her death, since her distemper, her love for Brutus, and the manner of her death, are also indicated in the letter, if, indeed, it is a genuine one.

1 Suetonius (Divus Augustus, 13) says that the head of

Brutus was sent to Rome to be thrown at the feet of Caesar's statue. 3 De factis mem. iv. 6, 5.

AINNOS KAI BPOYTOY SYTKPISIS

I. TloAA@y roivuy tois avdpdcw vraptdavtwv Karav, ev Tois mpwros 5é€ Tod peyictous éAaxtara adoppais yevécOat, rovTO T@ Aiwyt KadXuoTov é€otw. ov yap elye Tov audioBntodrTa, cadarep 6 Bpodtos Kdoowov, dvdpa mpos pév apetny Kal So€av ovx opotws aksomtoTor, eis 5é TOV TOAELOV OVK eXaTTOVaS TOALN Kal SeLVOTHTE Kat pate. cupBoras mapacyopuevov, S ye nat TOD TaVTOs épyou Wpoco.odery Evioe THY apYny, Hryenova THS emt Kaicapa yvwuns tovtov atpepovvTt Bpovte@ yevéoOat rA€yortes. Alov 8 dorep

dda Kal wrola Kal orpatiotixny Svvamy, odtw
Kal dirous Kal cuvepyovs emt tHv mpakwv adros
éavt@ aiverar Ktnodpevos. ov pay ovd as
Bpodros éx Tav Tpayudtwy avTav Kal Tod ToXé-
pov wAovTOY écyxe Kal Svvamw, cttw Kal Atop,
GANA TO Torépw WpoeranveyKev avVTOS TOV éauToOU
WrOVTOY, UTED THS TOV ToArALTaV ENEVOEpias ToOIS
THs puyns éepodiows wpoxataypnodpevos. ert dé
Bpovros pév cal Kadoatos, ovx dv acdhades jov-
yiav dyew éxtrecovat THS ‘Pwpuns, AAXN wPAHKoct
Sixnv Oavdtov Kai Stwxopévors, dvayxaiws eis Tov
ToAEmov KaTépuyov' Kal Ta cwopaTta Tos SToOLS
Tmapaxatabéuevor Stexrvduvevoay tiTép avtav To
mwréov 7) Tov TodtTaV, Aiwy 8 adeéatepoy ev TH
guyn tod puyadevoavtos Tupavvou Kai Hd.ov dia-
you avéppipev éExwv xivduvvoy tocovTov éml te
coca, LiKEediav.
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COMPARISON OF DION AND BRUTUS

I. WE see, therefore, that both men had many noble traits, and especially that they rose to the greatest heights from the most inconsiderable be- ginnings; but this is most to the credit of Dion. For he had no one to dispute his eminence, as Brutus had in Cassius, a man whose virtue and fame did not inspire confidence in like degree, but who, by reason of his boldness, ability, and efficiency, con- tributed no less than Brutus did to the war; indeed, some attribute to him the origin of the whole enter- prise, declaring that he took the lead in the plot against Caesar when Brutus was passive. Dion, how- ever, appears to have acquired by his own efforts, not only arms and vessels and a military force, but also friends and co-workers for his enterprise. How- ever, Dion did not, like Brutus, win wealth and power from the course of the war itself, nay, he contributed his own wealth for the war, expending in behalf of the liberty of his countrymen those resources which supported him in his exile. And further, it was not safe for Brutus and Cassius to keep quiet after their banishment from Rome, but since they were condemned to death and pursued, it was of necessity that they resorted to war; and in commit- ting their persons to the protection of their arms they incurred danger in their own behalf rather than in behalf of their countrymen ; whereas Dion was living with greater confidence and pleasure in his banish- ment than the tyrant who banished him, and yet of his own accord he hazarded a peril so great in order to save Sicily.

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II. Kai pay ovx Guwotov Acovuciou Lupaxouaiors
n Katcapos aradraynvar ‘Popators. O pev yap

ovd } npvetTo TUpavvos elvat KaK@V TE puptov
euTeTANKEL Lexediar 4 Oe Kaicapos apxn curt
oTapéevn pev ovK GALlya Tois évavTLoUpEevots Trpay-
para Tapéaxe, deFapévors dé Kal cpatnbeiow
évopa Ka Soxnats épavn povon, Epyou 8 am’ avris
ovdev @pmov ovde TUPAVVLKOY umnptev, anna Kal
Seopevors édoke Tois Tpdyuace povapxias ™paqo-
TATOS WOTE tar pos on avrov Tov Saipoves
ded0a 0a. 3 Kaicapa pev evOus éroOncev 0
‘Popaiov Sijpos, dare Xarer os ryever Oat Kal
amrapaitnros Tous aTEKTOVOCL, Aiwva 5 v) Atovu-
aiou Tapes éx Lupaxove oy ral TO BN Kara,
oKayra TOU TpoTépou Tupdvvov TOV Tapov émrai-
TLov padiota Tpos TOUS TodiTas évroinoev.
III. "Ey autais Toivuy Tas TohemlKats ™pa-
feo 6 wey Aiwv dweuTrTos yéyove oT paTnyos,
ws? | bev auros éBovnevero Tots Tpaywacty apiora
XPwmevos, a S emraicOn 82’ ETEPOUS dvarapov
Kat peTadtTnoas emt TO Beédriov- o be Bpodros TOV
Eo YaTov dry diva, vmrép TOV OAwY ovO’ UTooThvas
doxet ppovipws ouTE opareis émavopOwarv evpeiv,
GQXX’ atette xal Tm poeiTo Tas eAmibas, ovd Ocov
Tlopanios €TLTOALNTAS TH TUYN Kal TavTa TON
ANS pev avrToOt Aevtropevys edridos éy tois oa-
ros, Tails 6€ vavol Kpatov mdons BeBaiws ths
Oaracons.
“O 8 péytordv dot dy éyxadotar Boovty, 70
owbévta 77 Kaicapos yapit: cal cooavta tav
1 903’ Bekker corrects to od7’.
3 és with Coraés and Bekker: a».
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COMPARISON OF DION AND BRUTUS

II. And verily it was not a like thing for Syracuse to be rid of Dionysius and Rome of Caesar. For Dionysius was even an avowed tyrant, and filled Sicily with countless ills; whereas the rule of Caesar, although during its establishment it gave no little trouble to its opponents, still, after they had been overpowered and had accepted it, they saw that it was a tyranny only in name and appearance, and no cruel or tyrannical act was authorized by it; nay, it was plain that the ills of the state required a monarchy, and that Caesar, like a most gentle physician, had been assigned to them by Heaven itself. Therefore the Roman people felt at once a yearning for Caesar, and in consequence became harsh and implacable towards his murderers; whereas Dion, for letting Dionysius escape from Syracuse, and for not demolishing the tomb of the former tyrant, was held most culpable by his countrymen.

III. Next, as regards their actual military achieve- ments, Dion was a consummate general; where he

himself made the plans, he achieved the best results, and where failure was due to others, he restored and bettered the situation. Brutus, on the other hand, as it seems, was unwise in entering upon the last supreme struggle, and when he was defeated, could not find a way to restore his cause, but gave up and abandoned his hopes, not even facing adverse fortune with as much resolution as Pompey, and that too although on land he had much ground for confidence left in his troops, and with his fleet was secure inaster of all the sea.

Moreover, the gravest charge which is brought against Brutus, namely, that although his life was spared by the kindness of Caesar, together with the

auveadwKotwv daoous éBovreTO Kal dirov vouto-
pevoy Kal mpotiunOévta ToAX@Y avTOXELpa TOU
cwaavtos yevérOat, TovT' ovK av TIS elrroL KaTA
Ni@vos. adda Tovvaytion, oixeios pev Ov Arovu-
}
aio Kat diros w@pOou Ta mpaypata Kal cuvdstedv-
NaTTev, extrecwy 5é€ THS Tatpidos Kal adiKnOels
mepl THY yuvaika Kal THY ovciay aTodecas ex
mpopavous eis ToAc"ov KaTéoTN voutpov Kal d-
Katov. i TOUT avTioTpehee mpaTov; & yap Es
émaivov wmapye. Tois avdpdot péytorov, %) mWpos
TOUS Tupavvous aTéyOera Kal pcororvnpia, TOOT'
ikuxpivés €ott T@ Bpovt@ Kai xaBapor, idia ya
eb ALKp e povT@ apov, Lorg yap
\ bf A " a ,
ovdey éyxarav Kaicape ris Kowvys mpoexivduvevev
, e b) bd \ "a " b) , >
éXevOepiass o & et py Kaxas Errabev adtos, ovK
dy érotéunoe. Kal tovto dndovTa tais TIddTo-
Aa A ,
vos ériatoAais, €€ av SHrOS eoTLv ws ATrOBANOEls
THs TUpavVvibos, OVK aTroo Tas, KaTéAvae Atovuctov.
A \
ért Bpodrov pev xal Topurnio dirov éroincer,
éyOpov ovta, Kal trodeguov Kaicapt, To Kowh
4 e 4 a \ , e 4
cvupepor, ws ExOpas Spw nal dedrias évd ypdpevov
Aa / 4 A \ 4 wv \
To Sixaiw: Aiwy && mpos xadpty wp0ov mrodAXa
Atovictov, 67 Hv BéBatos avT@, Kal pos opynv
Pd \ > . / XN 4 9 O9 e

amvatnOels errodéunce. 816 TovT@ pev ovd’ oi
diroe tavtes erictevoay, ws petactHiaas Atovu-
\ A
atov ovx av BeBatwoatto tHv apynv adte,
/
mpaoTépw Tupavvidos dvoyatt Tapayayav Tous
s \ A , aA b A
moditas, wept d€ tod Bpovrouv trav éyOpav He
4 a
axovey Stt povos Ta éri Kaicapa ovvapapévov
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COMPARISON OF DION AND BRUTUS

lives of all the fellow captives for whom he wished to intercede, and although Caesar held him a friend and honoured him above many, he struck down his preserver with his own hand,—this charge no one can bring against Dion. On the contrary, while he was a courtier and friend of Dionysius, he tried to set the state in order and help in preserving it; but when he had been banished from his country, wronged as a husband, and deprived of his property, he openly resorted to a war that was lawful and just. Or does this argument reverse itself at once? For that which redounds to the praise of both men is their hostility to tyrants and hatred of their baseness, and this is disinterested and sincere in the case of Brutus, since without any private grievance against Caesar he risked his life for the common liberty; whereas, had not Dion himself been mistreated, he would not have gone to war. And this is made manifest by the letters of Plato, from which it is clear that Dion did not revolt, but was cast out from the tyranny, and there- fore overthrew Dionysius. Still further, it was the public good that made Brutus a friend even to Pompey, who was his foe, and an enemy to Caesar, since he determined both hatred and friendship by justice alone; Dion, on the other hand, gave Dionysius much support in order to win his favour, when he was secure in his confidence, and when he was dis- credited by him, it was to gratify anger that he went to war. Therefore Dion was not trusted even by all his friends, who felt that after removing Dionysius he might secure the government for himself, enticing his countrymen along by some milder name than that of tyranny; but the enemies of Brutus were wont to say that of all the conspirators against Caesar he

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éva, mpovOeto oxomoyv aT apxijs ax pe TéXous THY
TaTpLov anodotvar ‘Pepators modTelay.
IV. “Avev rye pay TOUT@Y 0 ™mpos Atovuctop
ayov our, Guotos HY Symov TO T™ pos Kaicapa.
Avovvaiou pev yp avdels 6 boTts ovK dv xateppo-
ynoe TOV oun bor évy pedas Kal xvBots Kal
yuvarkt tas mAEloTas oLtovpévou StarpeBds:
to 5€ tTHv Kaicapos xatddvotw eis vodv ép-
BaréoGat Kal a pohnOivat THY Servornta Kal
Suvauy Kal TuxnV, ob Kal Tobvopa tous Ilap-

6vaiwy Kal "Ivdav Baowreis ouK ela xabevdery,
Ureppuois WV puns Kal mpos pnOev UpierIat
o8@ Tov ppovnuaros Suvapévns. 616 TO pev
opOevre povov év Leeda pupiddes OvK OdjLyaL
cuvéortng av én Avovicvov n 6é Kaicapos bofa
Kat TET OVvTOS @pGov TOUS pirovs, Kal TOUOMa TOV
xpnodpevov Typev €K Tatoos aunydavouv T p@Tov
evdus elvat ‘Popalwrv, ws arefipdpparov Todo
mpos Tv ‘Aytwviov Tepiarduevoy éxOpav Kal
Suvapuy.
Ei 8 gpycer tis Ste peyadous ev dydow o
Aiwy eFeBanre TOV TUpavvoY, Kaicapa dé Bpovtos
EXTELVE syupvov Kal apiraxror, auTo TovTo Sevo-
THTOS axpas Kal otpatnyias Hy Epyov, avdpa
TOTaUTHY meptBeBAnpévov Svvapwy advhaxtov
haBeiv Kat yupvor. ov yap eLaipyns ovee HLovos
ov dALyous emimeg@y avetrAEv, ANN €x TOANOU
cuvbels | TO Bovvevpa Kal pera Toho ém0é-
pEvOs, av ovdels eyevoar’ aurov. 7 yap evOus
EXPLVE TOUS dpiaTtous i Tpoxpivat TOUS Lo TEev-
Gévras ayabous éroinge. Aiov be cite Kpivas
Kax@s émiarevoev EauToY Trovnpois elTEe yYpw@peEvos
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alone had one aim from first to last, namely the re-
storation to the Romans of their ancient form of
government.

IV. However, apart from these considerations, the struggle against Dionysius was surely unlike that against Caesar. For Dionysius must have been de- spised by every one of his associates, devoted as he was to wine, dice, and women; but to plan the over- throw of Caesar, and not to fear the ability, power, and good fortune of the man whose very name robbed the kings of Parthia and India of their sleep, be-tokened an extraordinary spirit, and one which fear could never induce to remit its lofty purposes. Therefore Dion had only to be seen in Sicily, and many thousands joined him in attacking Dionysius ; whereas the fame of Caesar, even after he had fallen, supported his friends, and his name raised the help-less boy who adopted it to be at once the foremost Roman, and he wore it as a charm against the power and hatred of Antony.

But should it be objected that Dion cast out the tyrant only after great struggles, while Brutus slew Caesar unarmed and unguarded, this very circum- stance was a result of the highest ability and gene- ralship, namely, that a man enveloped in such great power should be taken unarmed and unguarded. For not on a sudden, nor alone, or with a few helpers only, did he fall upon him and slay him, nay, his plan was long in

forming, and his attack was made with many helpers, not one of whom proved false to him. For either he chose out at once the best men, or his choice of them before others, and his confi- dence in them, made them good. But Dion either chose unwisely and entrusted himself to bad men,

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

érroinoey éx Xpna Trav Tovnpovs, ovdéTepov Tabeiv
avdpi ppovipe Tpoancev. emiTemd dé Kal ITda-
TWY AVT@ TowovTOUS EXopévw.pirous, Ud Ov amrw-
NETO.
V. Kal Aiwvos pév TLpcopos ovbels épavn Te-
covTos* GANG Bpotrov Kal TOV TONEuio "AvTO-
vlog pep | Barpev évdokus, Kaicap 6é xal Tas
Tiuas éTHpHaEV. EaTHKE dé xarnoos avdpids ev
Mediodav THS évTos "AMTewy Tararias. ToUTOV
voTepov idw@v o 6 Kaicap eLKOVUKOV évTa Kal Xaprev-
TWS elpyac pévov maphrOev elt' émlaTas pera
pax pov aK powpéevoy TOO TOUS dpxovras éxanet,
pdcKkwv éxamovov aura THY mohty ein pevar
TONE Lov éxoucav Tap aur. TO péev OvV TPO-
TOV, OS ELKOS, 7} npvowvTo, Kal Tiva reyou Scatropovv-
TES eis adAAOUS anéBrerrav. as & ema tpéyas
O Kaicap ™ pos TOV avdpidvta kal guvaryaryav TO
T poo wtov, ANN ov ovTOS, eon, ' TONEMLLOS
Gy néetepos evtavda & EO THKED 5 " €rb adhov KaTa-
TaryEVTEs éovamnoay. o 6é petdidoas emnveré
Te TOUS Tardras @S TOUS pirous kal Tapa Tas
TUXAS BeBaious dvTas, Kal Tov avdpidvTa Kata
Yopav weve éxéNevce.
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COMPARISON OF DION AND BRUTUS

or else treated the men of his choice so as to turn them from good to bad, neither of which mistakes a prudent man ought to make. And in fact Plato censures him for choosing such friends as proved his ruin.

V. Further, no one arose to avenge Dion's death ; but in the case of Brutus, Antony, an enemy, gave him illustrious burial, and Octavius, an enemy, actu- ally took care to preserve his honours. For a bronze statue of him stood in Mediolanum in Cisalpine Gaul. This statue, at a later time, Octavius noticed as he passed by, for it was a good likeness and an artistic piece of work; then stopping, after a little, in the hearing of many he summoned the magistrates and declared that he had caught their city violating its

treaty and harbouring an enemy of his. At first, then, as was natural, they denied it, and looked at one another in perplexity, not knowing what he meant. Then Octavius, turning to the statue and knitting his brows, said : “Well, is not this an enemy of mine who stands here?” At this, the magistrates were still more dumbfounded and held their peace. But Octavius, with a smile, praised the Gauls because they were true to their friends even in adversity, and gave orders that the statue should remain where it was.

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"Euol! Hs trav Biwy awWwacbar pev ypadfs 235
auvéBn St’ éErépous, émipévery 5é xal didroxwpeiv
989 nal &v éuaurov, Oaomrep év EooTTpy TH (aropia
TELPWMLEVOY ALAS YE TwS KOTMELY Kal adopotoby
mpos Tas éxelywy apetras Tov Biov. ovdév yap
’ x 4 , ? \ ,
GXN’ 4h ouvdtaitnoe Kal cupBi@cer TO yivopevoy Eotxev, OTav watTrep émi~evovpevov ExacTov
avTaV év péper 51a THs (otopias UTrodexopevoe Kal Trapa-

, ’ a of ¥ , ”
AauBavovres avabewpapev “Gacos Env olos Te,
Ta Kuplwtata Kal KdAXNCTAa Tpos VYOaLY aTrO
Tav mpukewy AapBavovtes.
Ped, hed: Ti rovTov yappa peilov av AABass,

\gQ N 3 , b] A 9 Ld 4
xal® apos €travophwaotv nOav évepyotepov; Anpo-
Kpitos pev yap evyecOai dyot Seiv Grws evrAOY-
90 7 4 \ \ , \
xov cdodwv Tuyxdvepev cal Ta cvpdura Kal Ta
NpnoTa padrrov huiv éx Tod meptéyovtos 7 Ta
A \ \ \ A 4 wv” 9
gavra Kal Ta oKala cupdepntat, Noyov ovUT
> a \ \ 9 4 2 4
a0 Kal mpos atepavtous éxpépovta Sercrdat-
povias eis ptdocopiay xataBaddov: npeis 8€ TH
mept thy iatoptay dratpiByn Kal TAS ypadjs TH
1 éuol with Bekker, after Stephanus and Reiske: éuol pév. 2 «al supplied by Sintenis, after Schaefer; Bekker sup-

plies 4.
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I pecan the writing of my “Lives”’ for the sake
of others, but I find that I am continuing the work
and delighting in it now for my own sake also, using
history as a mirror and endeavouring in a manner
to fashion and adorn my life in conformity with the
virtues therein depicted. For the result is like nothing
else than daily living and associating together, when
I receive and welcome each subject of my history in
turn as my guest, so to speak, and observe carefully
“how large he was and of what mien,” ! and select
from his career what is most important and most
beautiful to know.
«And oh! what greater joy than this canst thou
obtain,” ?
and more efficacious for moral improvement? De- mocritus says we ought to pray that we may be visited by phantoms which are propitious, and that from out the cireumambient air such only may en- counter us as are agreeable to our natures and good, rather than those which are perverse and bad, there- by intruding into philosophy a doctrine which is not true, and which leads astray into boundless supersti- tions. But in my own case, the study of history and the familiarity with it which my writing produces, 1 As Priam admired Achilles, Iliad, xxiv. 630.

2 An iambic trimeter from the Tympanistac of Sophocles (Nauck, Tray Graec. Frag.?, p. 270).

ouvnbeia TapacKevdalopev éEavtovs, Tas TaV api-
otwv Kat Soxtpwrdtoyv prvypas vtodeyopévous
del rais ~uyais, et Te padrov H eaxonOes ayev-
ves ai TOV cuvorvTwy €F dvdyens Omtdiat mpoc-
BarXoverv, éxxpovery Kai S:wGeicbat, wpos Ta
Kdd\MoTa TOY Tapaderypwatwv tew Kal mpaciav
atrootpépovtes Tv Stavoray. av ev T@ Trapovte
mpoxexetpta weOd aoe Tov Tioréovtos Tov Kopu-
Giov Kai rov Aipetrdiouv Ilavdou Biov, avdpav ov
Hovov Tais aipécecty, ddd cal tais TUYaLs aya-
Pais opotws xeypnuévwv él ta mpdypata, Kat
SiappiaBytnow wapetovtwy motepov evrrotpia
PGaAXOY 7) povynce Ta péytoTa TOY TeTpAayLEevwY
KaT@powoar.
I. Ta pev Yvpaxovoiwy mpdypata mpo ris
Tiporéovtos eis uxedtav atroaton is obTws elyer.
éret Atwy peév é€eXdoas Avovictoy tov tépavvor

evOvs avnpéOn dorm nal Svéotnaav of atv Aiwv
Supaxovaious érevOepwoartes, 4 Sé modus &AXOV
€& adXou petaBddrAXovea ouveyas TUpavvoy ib
wAnOouvs KaK@v ptxpov arrédevtrev Epnwos eEwvas,
THs 8 adANS BKedias 7 ev avadatatos Kal aroNs
mavtdracw Hon Sta Tovs Todeuous UrApyey, ai
5é mreiotar woAEs Ud BapBdpwv peyddwv Kab
oTpAaTLWTaY apcOwy KaTeixovTo, padiws Tpoate-
pévwv tas petaBoras trav Suracter@v, Asovictos
eres Sexatw Eévouvs suvayaywv Kal Tov TOTE Kpa-
tobvTa TaVv Xvpaxovciwy Nucaiov éferacas,
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enables me, since I always cherish in my soul the records of the noblest and most estimable characters, to repel and put far from me whatever base, malicious, or ignoble suggestion my enforced associations may intrude upon me, calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts away from them to the fairest of my examples. Among these were Timoleon the Corin- thian and Aemilius Paulus, whose Lives I have now undertaken to lay before my readers; the men were alike not only in the good principles which they adopted, but also in the good fortune which they enjoyed in their conduct of affairs, and they wili make it hard for my readers to decide whether the greatest of their successful achievements were due to their good fortune or their wisdom.!

I. The state of affairs in Syracuse, before the ex- pedition of Timoleon into Sicily, was as follows. After Dion had driven out Dionysius the tyrant, he was at once treacherously slain,? and those who had helped him to free Syracuse were divided among themselves. The city, therefore, was continually ex- changing one tyrant for another, and owing to a multitude of ills was almost abandoned, while as for the rest of Sicily, part of it was ruined and already wholly without inhabitants by reason of the wars, -and most of the cities were occupied by Barbarians of mixed races and soldiers out of employment, who readily consented to the successive changes in the despotic power. At last Dionysius, in the tenth year of his exile,’ collected mercenaries, drove out Nisaeus, who was at that time master of Syracuse,

1 In the MSS. this Introduction stands as the first chapter of the Aemilius Paulus.
2 See the Dion, chapter lvii. This was in 354 B.o.

3 346 B.C.

avéhaBe Ta Tpaypara Tad Kal cadearyKel
TUPAVVOS eE apxis, TAparoyos pev vIr0 pexpas
Suvdpews THv peylo Tay TOV WWITOTE tupavvidey
amonrecas, Tapahoywr pov 8 abOis é« puydébos
Kal Tametvou TOV éxBadovtov KUpLOS YEVOMEVOS.
ot pev ovv Urropeivavres év TH TOEl TOV upa-
Kovoloy édovhevov ovr' addws emveel Tupdvywp
Kal TOTE TavTaTacly v0 cuppopav aTrny ple -
pév@ THY puxiy, ot de Beédriorot Kal yvopipo-
Tato. wpos 'lKnérnv TPATrevTEs TOV duvacrevovra
TOV Acovtivey emeTpeyrav aurous exeivep Kal
oT paTnyov etXovTo Tov TonEpOU, Berrie pev ov-
Sevos évTa TOY OMONO'VOULEVWS TUpayVOV, éTépav
5" ovK eXovTes amoatpopny, Kal TLaTEvaavTes
Lupaxoua ip TO yévos évTe Kal KexTnpév@ Stvapey
ak.ouaxov Tpos TOV TUpavvov.
Il. "Ev tovr@ be Kapynéoviwy TTOAM peyddwp
Taparyevopevary els Yexedtav Kal Tols mpayyacwy
ET ALWPOUHEVOY poPnbevtes ot LiKeorar Tpe-
oBetav €BovrAovtTo Twéutrely els THY 'Ed dba Kal
mapa Kopw tw BonBevav aiTeiv, ov povov bia
THY ouyyeverap ove' ad' @y HOn TorNaKIS EvEpye-
THVTO TLaTEVOVTES €xeivolts, aAda Kal xaodov
T™Y money opa@vres prrehevepov Kai pug oTUpavvoy
ovcav adel, Kat TOV Toheueoy TOUS rela TOUS Kat
peyiarous TeTroNepNKViaY OUx brép Mryeuovias Kal
Treovetias, arr vmep THS TOV 'EAM vev édev-
Depias.) 5° 'Inétns, ate 8 THs aTpaTnyias
vrobeowv Thy Tupawioa TETrOLNLEVOS, ov THY
Lupaxovaiwv édevOepiav, Kpvpa pev dn Tm pos
tous Kapynéoviovs dicikexto, havepas 8 tovs
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recovered the power again, and established himself as tyrant anew; he had been unaccountably de- prived by a small force of the greatest tyranny that ever was, and now more unaccountably still he had become, from a lowly exile, master of those who drove him forth. Accordingly, those of the Syra- cusans who remained in the city were the slaves of a tyrant who at all times was unreasonable, and whose spirit at this time was rendered altogether savage by misfortunes, but the best and most dis- tinguished of them had recourse to Hicetas the ruler of Leontini, put themselves under his protection, and chose him their general for the war; not that he was better than any acknowledged tyrant, but because they had no other refuge, and felt confidence in one who was a Syracusan by birth and possessed a force that was able to cope with that of Dionysius. II. Meanwhile the Carthaginians came with a large armament to Sicily and were watching their oppor- tunity, and the Sicilian Greeks, in their fright, wished to send an embassy to Greece

and ask for assistance from the Corinthians, not only because they trusted them on account of their kinship! and in conse- quence of the many benefits they had already re- ceived from them, but also in general because they saw that the city was always a lover of freedom and a hater of tyrants, and had waged the most and greatest of her wars, not for supremacy and aggran- dizement, but for the liberty of the Greeks. Hicetas, however, since he had made a tyranny for himself, and not the freedom of Syracuse, his sole object in taking the field, had already held secret conferences with the Carthaginians; yet openly he commended the plan of

1 Syracuse was founded by Corinthians in 735 B.c.

> , b] , \ A , J
Upakovotous émnver Kal Tous perches evs IleXo-
' / b) , a
qmovynoov ouvetérepev, ov Bovropevos édAOeiv
, >] "a ed bd 97 24 > AX @ e
cuppaytay éxeiev, adr éav, Strep eixos HY, OF
KopivOcoe 1a tas "EXAnviKas tapaxas Kal acyo-
ld ? 4 N 4 VA ean b] '
Nias ameitwot THv BonOeav, édrritwv padov emi
tous Kapyndoviovs ta mpdypata perakev Kai
xpnoccOat cuppayols Kai cuvaywuioTais éxeivols
émt tovs Supaxovalovs 7) Kata tod Tupdvvov.
TavdTa pev ovv oAiyov UaTtepoy éEnréyxOn.
III. Tav b¢ mpéoBewv trapayevopévwr, oi Ko-

4 1 2 AN a 9 4 ,
pivOrot, endecOar pev ael THY aTroLKidwy TOAEwV
kal padoTa THs Yuvpaxovoiwv eiwOdres, ovdevos
8 adtovs TéTe THY EXAnviKay Kata TUX NY Tapev-
A 9 > » > / \ Aa s
OXAODYTOS, GAN ev Eipnvn Kal aYOAH Siayovrtes,
éyndicavto mpodupws BonOetv. Enrovpévov Sé
oTpaTnyou Kal TAY apYovTwy ypapovtwy Kat Tpo-
BadrXopévwv Tovs evdoxtpety ev TH TONE OTTOL-
Satovras, els éx THY TOAA@Y avacTas wVvOpaTeE
Tiporéovta tov Tipodnpov, pnre mpocvovta Tois
Kowwois éTt pnt €Aridos ToLavTns yevopuevov 7)
mMpoatpéwews, AXA Oeod Tivos, ws EotKey, cis vodV
éuBarovros te avOpwar@ toca'Tn Kal Twepl THY
bf \ ¥ 4 9 VA Y a
aipeow evOus Edape TUXNS evpévera Kat Tais

v 4 b , 4 b
adrAats mpaterw emnxorovbnoe ydpis émixoc-
povoa THY apEeTHnY Tod avdpos.
"Hy peév ovv yovéwy émipavav év TH trode,
Tepodnpov cal Anpapiorns, diromarpis 5é Kal
mpdaos Suapepovtws doa un ohddpa picoTvpavvos
eivat Kal pucotrovnpos. év dé Tols ToNEuOLS OUTW
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the Syracusans and joined them in sending the embassy to Peloponnesus, not because he wished that an allied force should come from there, but because he hoped that if, as was likely, the Corinthians should refuse their assistance because the disturbed condition of Greece kept them busy at home, he might more easily turn the control of affairs into the hands of the Carthaginians and use these invaders as allies and helpers in a struggle against the Syracusans or against Dionysius. This, then, was fully proved a little later.

III. But when the embassy arrived, the Corinthians, since they were wont to be ever solicitous for their colonial cities and for Syracuse in particular, and since by good fortune there was nothing in Greece at that time to disturb them, but they were enjoying peace and leisure, voted readily to give the assistance desired. And while they were seeking for a commander, and the magistrates were writing down the names of those in the city who were eager for the honour and proposing them for election, one of the common people rose to his feet and nominated Timoleon the son of Timodemus, although he no longer took part in public business, and had no expectation or purpose of doing so; but some god, as it would seem, put it into the man’s mind to nominate him, such was the kindliness of Fortune that shone forth at once upon his election, and such the grace that attended his subsequent actions and adorned his virtues.

He was born of parents who were illustrious in the city, Timodemus and Demariste, and he was a lover of his country and exceedingly gentle, except as he was a hater of tyrants and of base men. As

KANOS Kab Opares exeKpaTo THY Pol WOTE TrON-
AV pe € év vév cuvectv, ovK éXaTTW SE ynp@VTOS
avdpetay éemepaiver Oar Tais mpoakeov. aded pov
é Bs Tepo avny, Tm pea Butepov, ovdev avT@ ™poa-
OpoLoy, jaXr eum AnKTOV Kal Step Oappevov € EpwTe
povapxias bro thoy pavhov Kat Eévwv otpa-
TLOTLK OY ael mrept aurov évT@V, every Tt Soxouvta
parySaiov év Tais oTparelass Kal prdoxivduvov.
@ Kat TOUS TOALTAS T poo aryOLEVOS Qs avip ToAeE-
piKos Kat Spactnptos ep’ TYE WOVL@Y érdrtero.
Kat 7 pos TAUTA Teporéav auT@ TUVNpYet, Ta pev
apapTnpara TavTamacww aTroKpUTTT@Y n Mikpa
paiver Oar TOL, a 8 7 duos e&éhepev acteia
KATAKOG MOV Kal cuvautwv.
IV. "Ey &€ 77 TOs ’Apyetous Kat Krewvaious
waxy TOV KopivBiav) pev Tiporéwv éTUXED év
Tots om ras TeTaypevos, Tov Oé Tipopavny TOV
immeéwv MYyOUpEvov kaTahapBavet Kivduvos ofus.
o yap tarmros avTov dmecelcaro TANYD TepiTEer@v
€is TOUS TroAEpious, Kal TOY éra @V ob pev evOvs
éoxopriaOncay poknfevtes, ot § Tapapeivarres
oALryou ™ pos TONAOUS paxopevor Xaretros avrei-
Xov. @S OU O Tiporear Kateive TO cupBeBnkos,
Spon mpoaBonOnaas Kal TH doniba tov Tipo-
pavous KetLevou mpobépevos, Kat TONG pev
axovtia pata, Toddas Se wAnyas éx XeLpos avade-
Edpevos eis TO oo pa Kal Ta Orda, pods ewoaro
TOUS TONELLOUS kal dtéowoe TOV adedpov.
"Erret 5 of Ko ivOtot dediores pn wadoev ola
Kal mporepor UTO TOV TUMpaX ov atroBarovtes
Thy Tod, eyrnpicavto tpépeav Eévous reTpa-

a soldier his nature was so well and evenly attempered that great sagacity was manifested in the exploits of his youth, and no less bravery in those of his old age. He had a brother Timophanes, older than he, and not at all like him, but headstrong and filled with a ruinous passion for absolute power by worth- less friends and foreign military adventurers who were ever about him, and having the reputation of being rather impetuous and fond of danger in mili- tary service. Therefore he won followers among the citizens and as an efficient warrior was given posts of high command. And Timoleon aided him in obtain- ing

these, trying to conceal his mistakes altogether or to make them seem trifling, and embellishing and enhancing his good natural qualities.

IV. In the battle fought by the Corinthians against the Argives and Cleonaeans,! Timoleon was stationed among the men-at-arms, and Timophanes, who commanded the cavalry, was overtaken by extreme peril. For his horse was wounded and threw him in among the enemy, and of his comrades, some scattered in panic flight, while the few who remained fought against great numbers and were with difficulty holding their ground. Accordingly, when Timoleon saw what had happened, he came running to the help of Timophanes and held his shield over him as he lay on the ground, and after receiving many javelins and many hand to hand blows upon his person and his armour, at last succeeded in repulsing the enemy and saving his brother.

After this, the Corinthians, fearing lest they should suffer a second loss of their city through the treachery of their allies,2 voted to maintain four hundred mer-

1 Perhaps between 368 and 366 B.c.

* As they had at the hands of the Argives in 393 B.c.

, , wv U 4
Koclous Kai ToVTwY apyovta Tipopavny Katéotn-
cav, 0 6€ Tav KaXav Kal Stxaiwy vreptdav evOds
3 a, 3 e y \ 4s id : e ~
émépaivey €& Ov TroinoeTat THY TOMY Ud avTO,
Kal TUXVOUS GvEXw@Y AKpiTOUS TOY TPWTwWY TOAL-
nn" 9 v4 9 AN e \ 14 , 4
trav avéderEev a'tos Eavtov Tupavvoy, Bapéws pé-
pov o Tiporéwv, Kal cupdpopay Trorovpevos EavTod
Thy éxeivou Kaxiay, émexeipnoe pev avT@ diané-
yeoOa: xai tapaxadeiy adévta thy paviay cal
Suotvyiay THs émiOupias éxeivns Cnreiy Twa TOV
nHeaptTnuevwy éerravopOwolv mpos Tovs moALTas,
atnwoapévov & éxeivou xal xatappovycartos,
ef '\ n~ ' >] a > a
ovTw twapadkaBov tav pev oixetwy Aioxvarop,

adedpov ovta ris Tiuoddvous yuvainds, trav Sé
\
ditwy tov pavtiw bv Ldrvpov pév Bedrropstros,
v4
"Eqopos 6€ cat Tiparos ’OpOayopay ovopafovor,
\ 5 ‘N e , 9 , Vv 9 a ‘N

Kat Otadttr@v nyepas odiyas avdis avéBn Tpos

9 a “

tov adeAghov’ Kal wepiotdvtTes avtTov ot TpEls

9 nA “A

xaOixérevoy adda viv ye ypnodpevoy Aoyion@

a A .y 4 “ Q

petaBarécBar. tod 5€ Tepoddvouvs mpwtov peév

auT@V KaTAayEA@YTOS, ETerta 5é TMpos Gpyny exde-

popévou Kal YaXeTratvovtos, o pév Tipodéwv atro-

‘N n

Yopncas puxpovy auTov Kal ouvyKxadrudpevos

eiatixet Saxpvov, éxeivor O¢ ta Eipy orracdpevor
taxv StadpOeipovaty avrov.
V. Tis 5€ mpdkEews di:aBonBeions oi pév xpc-

A ,
tTisto. TOY KopivOiwy émnvouy thy picotovnpiay
ld aA AY
kal peyadopuytay tov Tiporéovtos, Ste YpnaTos
jy Kat pidotxetos Guws thy Tatpida Tis oiKias
Kat TO Kadov nal Sixatov mpoetipnoe Tov cup-
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cenaries, and put Timophanes in command of them; but he, without regard for honour and justice, at once took measures to bring the city under his own power, and after putting to death without a trial great numbers of the leading citizens, declared himself tyrant. At this, Timoleon was greatly distressed, and considering his brother's baseness to be his own mis- fortune, he attempted to reason with him and exhort him to renounce that unfortunate and mad ambition of his and seek to make some amends for his transgres- sions against his fellow citizens. But when his brother rejected his appeals with scorn, he took his kinsman Aeschylus, who was a brother of the wife of Timo- .phanes, and his friend the seer whose name, accord- ing to Theopompus, was Satyrus, but according to Ephorus and Timaeus, Orthagoras, and after waiting a few days went up again to his brother; and the three, surrounding him, besought him even now to listen to reason and change his mind. But Timo- phanes first mocked them, and then lost his temper and was violent, whereupon Timoleon withdrew a little space from him and stood weeping with muffled head, while the other two, drawing their swords, speedily despatched him.!

V. The deed having been noised abroad, the most influential Corinthians applauded Timoleon for his hatred of baseness and greatness of soul, in that, although a kindly man and fond of his family, he had nevertheless set his country before his family, and honour and justice before expediency ; for when

1 Diodorus (xvi. 65, 4) says that Timoleon slew his brother with his own hand in the market place; Nepos (7%imoleon, i. 4) supports Plutarch's account, though with differing details.

éporTos, apo tevovta pev vmrép THs Tatpidos
Stacéaas tov adeAdor, émriBovrcvoavta bé avTh
kal xatadovAwadpevoy amoxteivas. ot S€ py
Suvdpevor Chv év tH Snuokpatia Kai mpos Tovs
Suvdotas aroBAérev ciwOotes TO pev Oavatw
Tov Tupavvou TpoceTroLovYTO Yaipety, Tov dé Tipmo-
A€ovta AoLdopodvyTes ws aveBes é€erpyacpévoy Kal
pua @oes Epyov eis GOupiav Tepieaotnocav. érret Sé
Kal thv pntépa Suvadopety tuOopevos Kal dovas
te Seas Kat Katapas er avtov apacbat dpike-
Sets €Babile trapapvOnoopevos, 8 wpoatdeiv
ovy vuméuewe THY Ow, adda THY olKiav arré-
Kreltoe, TOTE 67 TavTdtacet TEpiduTrOS yevopevos
kat ovvtapayOels thy Stavoray Bpunoe pev ws
SitabOepav éavtov améyecOar tpodins, tav dé
ditwy ov tepiddvtTwy, adda Tracay dénow Kal
macav dvdryxqy T poceveyKapevoy eyve Cav xa"
éavtov, éx pécou yevouevos: Kal TrodtTELvay pev
anmacay adjce, tovs dé mpwrovs ypovous ovde
KATUSY els TrOALY, GAA' adnuovev Kai TAAVe@pEvos

év Tols épnuotatos TAY dypav SvétpuBev.
VI. Odtws ai xpices, dv pn BeBatornta nat
pounv éx Aoyou Kal dirocodias mpocrAdBwouv
emt tas mpdkes, oelovtar Kxal mrapadpépovtrar
pasios bro TeV TUXOVTMY érraivey Kal Yoyor,
éxkpovopevat TOY OLKElwy AoYytopav. Sei yap ov
povov, @s éoLxe, THY mpakiw Karnv elvar Kal
dixaiav, GdXAa nal thy Sokay, ad' hs mpdttetat,
povepov Kal dpetatTwtor, iva mpattwpey Soxt-
pdoavres, und @owep ob ALyvot TA TANT LLA TOV
éSecudtwy ofutaty SimKxovtes émiOupia taxXLoTa
a

his brother was fighting valiantly for his country, Timoleon had saved his life, but after he had plotted against her and enslaved her, Timoleon had slain him. However, those who were unable to live in a democracy and were accustomed to pay court to men in power, while they pretended to rejoice at the death of the tyrant, still, by their abuse of Ti- moleon as the perpetrator of an impious and abomin- able deed, they drove him into despondency. And now he learned that his mother was angry with him and uttered dreadful reproaches and fearful impreca- tions against him, and went to plead his cause with her; but she could not endure to see his face, and closed her house against him. Then indeed he became altogether a prey to grief and disordered in mind, and determined to starve himself to death; but his friends would not suffer this, and brought all manner of entreaty and constraint to bear upon him, so that he made up his mind to live by himself, apart from the world. So he gave up all public life, and for a long while did not even return to the city, but spent his time wandering in great distress of mind among the most desolate parts of the country.

VI. So true is it that the purposes of men, unless they acquire firmness and strength from reason and philosophy for the activities of life, are unsettled and easily carried away by casual praise and blame, being forced out of their native reckonings. For it would seem that not only our action must be noble and just, but the conviction also from which our action springs must be abiding and unchangeable, in order that we may be satisfied with what we are about to do, and that mere weakness may not make us dejected over actions which have once been accomplished, when

ducxepaivovew éeumrnobévtes, ows tyets em)
tais mpakeot cuvtedcoOciaas dOupapev Ov acbé-
vera atropapatvopevns THS TOU KaXOD haytacias.
aiaypov yap % peTdvora trotet Kal TO KaNOS TE-

Tpayyevov, 7 & €& ériatnuns @punuern Kat do-
ytopod mpoaipects ovd adv mraicwow ai mpakes
petaBarr€cTat. S10 Pwxiwr pév o ’AOnvaios trois
tard Aewa bévous mparropévors éevavtiwbels, ered)
xatopOobv éxetvos éddxet xal Ovovtas éwpa Kai
peyaravxoupévous TH vixn Tous "AOnvaious, eltrev
as éBovreto dv ait@ taita pev tmpaxOjvat,
BeBovrciacbat & éexeiva: apodpoteporv & ’Apioret-
dns 0 Aoxpos, els dy tav TTAdtwvos étaipwr,
aitouvtos yey avrov yuvaixa Atovuciov tot mpe-
oButépou play tov Ovyatépwr, jocov av pn vexpav
iSeiy THY KOpHY } TUPavY@ auVOLKOvCAD, arOKTEl-
vavtos S€ tovs traidas avTod pet’ odLyor ypovoy
tov Atovuciov cai muOouévou apos Bp et tHVv
auTny ere yuopunv Exou wept THs éexdocews TaV
Ouyatépwy, amrexpivato toils péev yeyevnpévots
AvTreiaOa, Tois & etpnuevors pn perapérco Oar.
TavTa péev ovv icws peiCovos Kal TedeLoTépas
apETHS ETL, |
VII. To 5 Tieporéortos ert tots mempaypévots
aabos, elt olxTos mv Tov TEOYNKOTOS ElTE TIS
“pntpos aides, odtw xatéxdace Kal ovvétpiper
avtov tv Stavoray wot elxoot axedov érav
Siayevomévor pndé pias émripavods unde trordetTixhs
dwacbar mpdkews. dvayopevOévtos ody avtoi,
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the fair vision of the Good fades away; just as gluttons who devour cloying viands with the keenest appetite are very soon sated and then disgusted with them. For repentance makes even the noble action base; whereas the choice which springs from a wise and un- derstanding calculation does not change, even though its results are unsuccessful. For this reason Phocion the Athenian,! after having opposed the activities of Leosthenes, when Leosthenes was thought to be successful and the Athenians were seen sacrificing and exulting over the victory,? said he could have wished that the achievement were his own, but was glad that he counselled as he did. And with more force Aristides the Locrian, one of Plato’s com- panions, when Dionysius the Elder asked him for one of his daughters in marriage, said he would be more pleased to see the maid dead than living with a tyrant ; and when, after a little while, Dionysius put his children to death and then asked him insultingly whether he was still of the same mind about giving his daughters in marriage, answered that he was afflicted by what had been done, but did not repent him of what had been said. Such utterances as these, then, betoken perhaps a larger and more consummate virtue. |

VII. But the grief of Timoleon over what had been done, whether it was due to pity for his dead brother or to reverence for his mother, so shattered ‘ and confounded his mental powers that almost twenty years

passed without his setting his hand to a single conspicuous or public enterprise. Accordingly, when

1 See the Phocion, xxiii. 4.

2 Won by the allied Greeks under Leosthenes over Anti-

pater of Macedonia, in 323 B.c. The victory was soon followed by the defeat of the Greeks at Crannon.

Kat TOU Sypou Tm poOvpas defapevov Kal XeLpo-
Tov}aavTos, avacTas Trexr<tdns © TOTE Kal
Suvdapes Kal bofn ™pw Tevov €y TH TodEl, TWape-
Kdnret Tov Tiodeorra. mept Tas mpaters aryabov
dvdpa elvau cal yevvaiov. " "Ap pév yap, Edn,
ANOS aryavian, Tupavvoy avnpynxévas So€oper,
ay &€ davrws, abedpov."
Tapackevafopévou S€ tov Tiporéovtos tov
éxm houv Kat TTpATLOTAS oupayovTos, exopia On
ypappara Tpos TOUS Kopw ious Tap 'Ixétou
pnviovta HV petaBohny avTov Kat m podoaiav.
@s yap taxora, Tous mpéa Bets eerreupe, Tois
Kapyndoviors m poo Dépevos avapavooy 1 pate
per éxeivav Srrws Atoviatov éxBadav Lupaxov-
cay autos éoTas TUpavvos. wat Sedorxms 17)
1 pOTEpov edovens x KopivOov Suvdpews cal
oTpaT you Siapywoey ai mpdakets avtov, emrep-
yer émistohny ois KoprvGiors ppdtoveay os
ovdev déov mpdry pata, Kat Samavas EYely avTous
mréovTas els Licedav Kat «evdvvevortas, aAws
Te Kal Kapyndovicv dTraryopevorT wv Kat Tapa-
purarropevov vavat Todas Tov oTOAOP, obs
autos avaryxacbeis éxeivov Bpadvrevtav row
gaLtTo ouppdxous él Tov TUpavvoy. TOUT@P dé
TOY Ypapmarov avayvocbevTav, et Kat TLS nT beos
elye 7 poTepov TOY KopwOiev Tm pos ™HY oTpateiay,
TOTE TaVvTas 7) T pos rov 'IKérny 6 opyn TapaEuvev,
BoE svyXopnyiaat mpobvps T@ Tiporéovte xal
cupTapackevdcat Tov ex ouv.
VIII. Tevopever d€ TaV veav égTot wy, xal Tots
oTpATLWT ALS ov eder opt Bevtwy, ai perv i léperar
tis Kopns dvap édofav idety tas Deas pos
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he had been nominated general, and the people had readily approved of it and given him their votes, Telecleides, who was at that time the foremost man in the city for reputation and influence, rose up and exhorted Timoleon to be a noble and brave man in his enterprises. ‘ For if,’ said he, “thou contendest successfully, we shall think of thee as a tyrannicide ; but if poorly, as a fratricide.” |

But while Timoleon was getting ready for his voyage and collecting soldiers, a letter was brought to the Corinthians from Hicetas which disclosed his treacherous change of sides. For as soon as he had sent out the embassy, he openly attached himself to the Carthaginians and acted with them in order to expel Dionysius from Syracuse and become its tyrant himself. And fearing lest his opportunities for action should escape him if a general and an army came from Corinth in advance, he sent a letter to the Corinthians telling them that there was no need of their putting themselves to the trouble and expense of a voyage to Sicily with all its perils, especially since the Carthaginians, with whom their delay had forced him to make an alliance against the tyrant, forbade their expedition and were on the watch for it with a large fleet. When this letter had been read publicly, if any of the Corinthians had before been lukewarm towards the expedition, their wrath against Hicetas now incited them all, so that they eagerly joined in supplying Timoleon and helping him get ready for his voyage.

VIII. When the fleet was ready, and the soldiers provided with what they needed, the priestesses of Persephone fancied they saw in their dreams that gocdess and her mother making ready for a journey,

aTroénpiay tivd oTeddopevas Kal Aeyovoas ws
Teporéovre péAXovaL cuprheiy els Zexedav. 610
kal tpenpn KATAG KEUGTAVTES lepay ot Kopivécor
taiv Ocaivy émavopacay. autos 5° éxeivos ets
Acrpous mopevbels é0uce TC Gee, kal KxaTa-
Baivoyros els TO pavTetoy avToD yiverat onpeiov.
ex yap Tov Kpepapevev avabnuarav rawwia TU
danoppueioa Kal pepopern, arepavous éxoua Kal
Nixas épmrerrorkiApevas, TEepLeTETE Th Kepary
TOU Teporéovtos, as Soxety avrov vid tod Beod
oTehavovpevoy emt Tas mpafers mporéumea Ban.
Nads dé Kopw0ias bev Exwv érrda, Kepxupaias
dé duo, Kal TH dexarny Aevaadtov T™pooTrapa-
TYOVTMV, avnxOn. Kal vuKTOS éuBarov els TO
TEAAYOS Kal TvEevpare KaX@ Xp@pevos édotev
aidvidicas payévta Tov oupavov umrép THIS vEeos

exXeae ToAv Kal Tepipaves mip. éx dé TOUTOV
Aaptras aplcioa tais pvotixais eupepiys Kat
cupmapabéovea Tov auTov Spopov, 7 pddtoTa
HS "IraMas émeixov ot xuBepvijrat, KaTecnnyper.
ot 5€ puivress TO pdopa tots dveipace TOV (épeLray
paptupeiy arrepaivovto, wal tas Deas auvepamrro-
vas THs oTpatelas mpopaive é& ovpavod rd
aéhas elvat yap tepav TIS Kopns Thy BtKeNay,
€rret Kal Ta Tept THY aptayny avrobe pudoro-
yotor yevér Bat Kal THY vhoov év Tois yapmols
dvaxadvrrnptov aura of hvac.
IX. Ta pev ovy rapa TOV Jewy ovTe TOV OTO-
Nov eOdppuve' Kal omevdovres, as} To TréAaryos
StatrAéovtes, éxopiCovro mapa tHy "Iradiav. ta

1 After this word, Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, in which other motives for haste were given.

and heard them say that they were going to sail with Timoleon to Sicily. Therefore the Corinthians equipped a sacred trireme besides, and named it after the two goddesses. Furthermore, Timoleon himself journeyed to Delphi and sacrificed to the god, and as he descended into the place of the oracle, he received the following sign. From the votive offer- ings suspended there a fillet which had crowns and figures of Victory embroidered upon it slipped away and fell directly upon the head of Timoleon, so that it appeared as if he were being crowned by the god and thus sent forth upon his undertaking.

And now, with seven Corinthian ships, and two from Corcyra, and a tenth which the Leucadians furnished, he set sail.! And at night, after he had entered the open sea and was enjoying a favouring wind, the heavens seemed to burst open on a sudden above his ship, and to-pour forth an abundant and conspicuous fire. From this a torch lifted itself on high, like those which the mystics bear, and running along with them on their course, darted down upon precisely that part of Italy towards which the pilots were steering. The soothsayers declared that the apparition bore witness to the dreams of the priest- esses, and that the goddesses were taking part in the expedition and showing forth the light from heaven; for Sicily, they said, was sacred to Per- sephone, since mythology makes it the scene of her rape; and the island was given to her as a wedding

present.
IX. Such, then, were the signs from Heaven which encouraged the expedition ; and making haste, since they were crossing the open sea, they skirted the

1 In 344 Bo,
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o aro HS YiKedias arpyehdopeva wodAqy a7r0-
piav T? Tepodéovre Kal dv08 oOupiay Tots oTpa-
TUOTAS Taperyev. 0 yap 'Teérns pa. VEVLRNKOS
Avovictov Kat Ta mhetoTa pépy TOV UpaKxoUT oy
KATELANPOS éxeivyov pev ets THY axpoTrohsy eat
THY Kadoupevny Nijcov TUVETTAApEVOY aUuTOS
ouveTTONopKel xat ouprrepteretxite, Kapyndovious
de ppovrivery éxéXevey OWS OvK émtByo otro
Tiporecv LixeMas, arr' anrwa Berra éxeivov
auTot Kal' ouxtay StavepoivTat pos aXA1dous
THY vijcov. oi dé méwrrova ty €LxOoL T pen pers CK,
'Prytov, ed' ov érémXeov mpea Bevtal map auTov
T pos Teporéovra Kopilovres Aoyous Tow ™parto-
peEvoLs opoious. Tapayeryat yap evmperets xal
mpopaaets ioav ent pox Onpois BovAevpaou,
aftovvroy avrov MED, et Bovrouro, Tiporéovra,
ovpBovrov Tce | map 'Teérqv Kat KOLY@VOV ev
Same parypeveov amravroy, Tas 5é vais xat TOUS
oTPATIOTAS dmroa Téhnety eis KoptvOov, as rob
TONE LOU pK pov amonelmovTos ownpiaGat, Kap-
xndoviev dé Kohvewv THY 6iaBacw Kal paxeo Bat
T pos Bialopévous eTOtpeoV bvTw@y. @S ovY KaTa-
TNEVTAVTES ELS To 'Pryyeov ot Kopiv@tor Tois TE
mpeoBevpact TovTOLS evéTUXoOV Kal TOUS Poivias
ov mpoaw vavroxobvTas xateisor, Ix8ovr0 pev
UPpispevor, Kal TapioTato Tao Opyn Tpos Tov
'Teérqy kat S€os uirép LuxediwTav, obs capas
éwpwv GOa AevtTropévous Kat piobdy 'Ikéty pev
mpodocias, Kapyndoviors 5é tupavvidos, edoxet
3 apnyavov bmrepBareaOat cat ras avutobs TaD
BapBdpwv vads dumdacias éhoppovoas xal THY
éxel pe? 'Inérov Suvayv, § otpatnynoortes
TOLEV.
280

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coast of Italy. But the tidings from Sicily much perplexed Timoleon and disheartened his soldiers. For Hicetas, after defeating Dionysius in battle and occupying most of the outlying portions of Syracuse, had shut the tyrant up in the acropolis and what was called The Island, where he was himself helping to besiege and wall him in, while he ordered the Cartha- ginians to see to it that Timoleon should not land in Sicily, but that he and his forces should be repulsed, and that they themselves, at their leisure, should divide the island with one another. So the Cartha- ginians sent twenty triremes to Rhegium, on board of which were envoys from Hicetas to Timoleon carry- ing proposals which conformed to his proceedings. For they were specious and misleading suggestions covering base designs, the envoys demanding that Timoleon himself, if he wished, should come to Hicetas as counsellor and partner in all his successes, but that he should send his ships and his soldiers back to Corinth, since, as they claimed, the war was almost finished, and the Carthaginians were ready to prevent their passage and to fight them if they tried to force one. When, therefore, the Corinthians, after putting in at Rhegium, met these envoys, and saw the Carthaginians riding at anchor not far off, they were indignant at the insult put upon them, and were all of them filled with rage at Hicetas and fear for the Sicilian Greeks, who, as they clearly saw, were left to be a prize and reward, to Hicetas on the one hand for his treachery, and to the Carthaginians on the other for making him tyrant. Moreover, it seemed impossible to overcome both the ships of the Barbarians confronting them there with twice their numbers, and the force under Hicetas in Syracuse, where they had come to take command. 281

X. O¥ ppv add o Tipor€wr trois mpecBevtais
nal tois apxovo. tav Kapynooviev évrvyov
érietxas Eby weiPeaBar pev ols KeNevovar (Ti yap
dv xal mepaivey drreOav), eOérew 5é tadta
modrews 'EXAnvib0s Kal dirns cows THs 'Pyyiver
€vavtiov dxovoas Kal eimov atraddatTeEcOat:
nal yap avT@ tovto mpos aoddrcav Siadéperv,
Kdeivous épevely BeBarorepov ols émaryyehdovrat
mept Yupaxovetwy Sip paptupt Tas oporoyias
TrapaxaTabepévovs. tavta & wiérewev avrois
anatny émi tH SsaBaoe teyvalwv, nal ouvve-
téxvatoy of tav '"Pyyivev orpatnyol, mdvres
erOupovvres ev KopiwOiors ta wpdypata tev
LixeAtwToav yevéoOar, kat doBovpevor tHv TaY
BapBdpov yetviacry. 66 cuvipyov éxxdyoiav
al Tas mUAas aréxdELoV, WS pn TpOS AAO TL
tpémecOat Tovs mroditas, Kai mapedrOovtes els TO
TAGs éxpavTo pnet Noywr, Erepos ETEPH Trapa-
S:d00¢ THY auTiny broOectv mpds ovdév Tédos,
GANA Sidyovtes GAXwWS TOV ypovory, éws avayxOd-
ow ai tov Kopiwbiwv rpinpers, cai Kapyndovious
emi THs éxxAnoias KaTéyovtes avuTroTTTas, ATE

Kat tov Tiporéorvtos tapovros Kai mapéyovros
Soxnow GScov ov'mw pos TOY OYyor avicracBaL
cai Snunyopety. ws & amrnyyeré tis adt@ xpvda
Tas pev GddraS Tpinpers avnxPar, play Oé THY
éxeivou mepiuévery UtroAcdeupevny, Srexdvs Tov
byXov, dua tov tept tO Bhywa 'Phyivev ovvert-
xpuntovtwy, Kai xataBdas énl thy Oddarrapv
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X. However, after Timoleon had met the envoys of Hicetas and the commanders of the Carthaginians, he calmly said that he would obey their commands (for what would he accomplish by refusing ?), but he wished that, before he went away, their proposals and his reply should be made in the presence of the people of Rhegium, a Greek city and a friend of both parties; for this would conduce to his own safety, and they, on their part, would abide more firmly by their promises regarding the Syracusans if they made a people witness to the agreements into which they entered. In making this overture to them he was contriving a deceit which should secure his safe passage across the strait, and the leaders of the Rhegians helped him contrive it, since they were all desirous that the affairs of the Sicilian Greeks should be in the hands of the Corinthians, and feared to have the Barbarians as neighbours. Therefore they convened an assembly and closed the gates, in order that the citizens might not engage in any other business; then they came forward and addressed the multitude in lengthy speeches, one handing over to another the same topic and coming to no conclusion, but protracting the time to no apparent purpose, until the Corinthian triremes should have put to sea, and keeping the Carthaginians in the assembly free from all suspicion, since Timoleon also was there and led them to think that he was on the point of rising to address the people. But when some one secretly brought him word that the other triremes had put to sea, and that one only, his own, had been left behind and was waiting for him, he slipped through the crowd unnoticed, with the connivance of the Rhegians about the bema, went down to the sea,

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4 éEérdevce Sid Tayéwr. Kai KatnxOnoay eis
Tavpopéviov THs Wkedlas, Urodeyouévov ral
xadodvtos avtovs étt mddat TpoOvuws 'Avdpo-
pdxou Tob THY TOMY éxovtos Kal Suva revovtos.
odTos HY TatTIp Timaiov Tov toToptKod, Kal TOAD
KpaTLaTos Tov TOTE duvac revovtwy ev LeKerla
yevouevos TMV TE EAUTOU TOALTOY HYELTO VOULLwS
kat Sixaiws, cal mpos Tovs Tupavvous havepos Hv
5 aet Staxeipevos atrexOas nal adrXotpiws. 816 Kal
Teporéovte tote THY TOALY OppNTHpLoY Taper xe,
Kal Tovs moditas érece acuvaywvilerOar rots
KoptvOiows rat cvverevOepody ty Yuxediav.

XI. Oi 8 ev to ‘Pnyio Kapyndomot rod Tipo-
Novos avnyyévou Kat THS éexxAnatas Starvbeians
yYanrerras pépovtes, ev TH KatTectpatrnynoGar dia-
rpiBny trois Pnytvots mapetyov, et Poivixes dvtes
ovK apéoxowtTo Tois dt atatns MTpaTtopéevots.
2 mwéutrovot © ovv cis TO Tavpopévov mpeoBevtny
mt Tpunpous, 0s ToAAd SvareyOels trpos Tov Avdpd-
paxov, éerax as cal BapBapicds dvarewdpevos
el py THY TayioTny éexBdrXrE Tovs KopiGiovs,
TéXos UTTiay Thy yxelpa SeiEas, elt’ adOus xaTa-
TTPEWAS NTELANTE TOLAVTNY OVTAaY AVTO THY TOALY
TovavTnyv wornocev. yedacas 8 o ‘Avdpopaxos
ado pev ovdev atrexpivaro, THY Sé yelpa viv pev
UmTiav, WS éxeivos, vov Sé TpNV TpoTeivas éxé-
Nevoev atroTrAEly aUTOY, EL un BovrAoLTO THY VadY
avtt roravrns yevérOar ToravTny.
3 ‘O & ‘Inérns ruOopevos tiv tod Tipor€ovtos
diaBacw Kal goRnOeis peteréurpato toAdds
tov Kapynooviey tpinpes. Ste xal wavtdmact 24)
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and sailed off with all speed. And they put in at Tauromenium in Sicily, whither they had been earnestly invited some time ago, and where they were now kindly received by Andromachus, the master and ruler of the city. Andromachus was father of Timaeus the historian, and after making himself by far the most powerful of the rulers in Sicily at that time, not only led his own citizens in the ways of law and justice, but was also known to be always averse and hostile to tyrants. Therefore at this time also he allowed Timoleon to make the city a base of operations, and persuaded his citizens to join the Corinthians in their struggle to set Sicily free. XI. But the Carthaginians in Rhegium, after Ti- moleon had put to sea and the assembly had been dissolved, were indignant, and in their discomfiture afforded amusement to the Rhegians, seeing that, though Phoenicians, they were not pleased with what was effected by deceit. Nevertheless, they sent an envoy aboard a trireme to Tauromenium, who, after a long conversation with Andromachus, in which he menaced him in insolent barbaric fashion if he did not expel the Corinthians as soon as pos- sible, finally showed him his hand with the palm up, and then turning it down, threatened that he would turn his city as completely upside down. Andro- machus, however, with a laugh, made no further reply than to stretch out his hand, as the Barbarian - had done, now palm up, and now palm down, and then order him to sail off, if he did not wish his ship to be turned upside down in the same fashion. But Hicetas was afraid when he learned that Ti- moleon had crossed the strait, and sent for great numbers of the Carthaginian triremes. And now it

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auvéBn tovs Lupaxovaious atroyvavar THY cw-
Tnpiav, 6pavras Tov pev Mpévos altav Kapyn-
ovlous xpatodrras, thy dé Trodw Ixérny éxovta,
Ths & axpas xuptevovta Atovictov, Tiporéovta
5é dotep ex Kpacrédov Tivds AeTTTOD THs Taupo-
PEVLTOY TOALYUNS TH ZiKedia wpoonprnpuévov én'
érridos! aabevods xai Bpayelas Suvdpews: xurI-
wv yap auto TTpaTLOT av rar Tpopis TovTots
dvayKaias wréov ovdéy vIrfpyev. ovd émiatevor
ai moAes StamAeat KaKav ovcat Kai mpos amav-
Tas aTnyptwpévat TOUS Nyoupévous aTpaToTrédwy,
paduota Ota THY KadXirirov cal Pdpaxos amioti-
av, @v o pev 'AOnvaios adv, o 5é Aaxedatpovios,
apporepor 5é gddoxovtes wrép Tis éAevOepias
qeewv Kal Katadvely Tovs povapyous, ypuaov
arrédetkav? 7H Yuxedia Tas ev TH TUpavvids cup-
gopas cat pakapiwrépovs Soxeiv éroinaay tods
KaTaoTpeyravras év tH Sovrcia tev émidovtwy
THY avTovopuiay.
XIT. Ovden ody éxcivwv Bertiova tov KopivOcov
écecOar tpoadoxawyres, AANA TAUTA Wary Hee
mpos avuTous godicpata xai SeXedopata, pet
éATridwy Ypnotav Kai diravOpwrrwy vrroc yécewv
eis petaBornv Seamotou Kxawvov tiWacevopéevous,
imw@mrevoy kat Siexpovorvto tas tav KopwOiwv
mpoxAnoes wAnv 'Adpavetav, of moAW pLxpav
peév, iepav 8 ovacav 'Adpavod, Oeod tiv0s Tipe-
pévou diadhepovtws ev 6An LKedia, KatotKodvres
éotaciacay mpos aNAXOUs, of pev 'Ixérny apoc-
ayopevor kat Kapyndovious, ot 5é mpos Tipor€ovta
1 én' édxl3os Bekker has aw' éAxlSos, after Coraés. 2 anéSeitav Blass, after Hemsterhuis: @8e:tay.

was that the Syracusans altogether despaired of their deliverance, seeing their harbour in the power of the Carthaginians, their city in the hands of Hicetas, and their citadel in the possession of Dionysius; while Timoleon had but a hold as it were on the fringe of Sicily in the little city of Tauromenium, with a feeble hope and a small force to support him; for apart from a thousand soldiers and provi- sions barely sufficient for them, he had nothing. Nor did the cities feel confidence in him, over full of ills as they were and embittered against all leaders of armies, particularly by reason of the per- fidy of Callippus! and Pharax,? one of whom was an Athenian, and the other a Lacedaemonian ; but both of them, while declaring that they came to secure the freedom of Sicily and wished to overthrow its tyrants, made the calamities of Sicily under her tyrants seem as gold in comparison, and brought her people to think those

more to be envied who _ had perished in slavery than those who had lived to see her independence.

XII. Expecting, therefore, that the Corinthian leader would be no whit better than those who had preceded him, but that the same sophistries and lures were come to them again, and that with fair hopes and kind promises they were to be made docile enough to receive a new master in place of an old one, they all suspected and repulsed the appeals of the Corinthians except the people of Adranum. These dwelt in a city that was small, but sacred to Adranus, a god highly honoured throughout all Sicily, and being at variance with one another, one party invited in Hicetas and the Carthaginians, while the

1 The false friend of Dion (Dion, chapters liv-lvii.).

2 Cf. the Dion, xlviii. 3: xlix. 1 f.

Svatrewmropevor. Kai ws an' avtouatouv cuveTuxXe
omevoovtwy auotépwr eis Eva Karpov audorépots
yevéoOat Thy tTapovciav. AadN 'IKérns pev Hee
WeVTAKLaXLALOUS oTpaTLMTas exw, TiporéovrTe 5é
ol ovpTraYTEs Roay Ov TWrELoUS ytAiwv Staxociwr'
obs dvadaBov ex tod Taupopeviov, cradimv mpos
70 'Adpavov évtwy tettapdxovta Kal Tpiaxociwv,
Th Mev TPOTH THY HuEp@v ov TOA pépos THIS
od0d mpoéhaBe xal xatnudicato, TH 8 borepaia
guvTovws odevcas Kal yarena ywpia SedOov
Hon THs Nuepas Katadhepopéevns Hxovoey apte
Tpoopiyvuvar Tov 'IKétny T@ ToALXVi Kal KaTa-
OTpATOTEdEVELY. OF Lev OV AOXaYyol Kal TaEiapyXot
Tous Mpwrous émégTHCAY ws éupayodat cai Seava-
Tavoapévors xXpncopevot mpoOuporépors, 0 5é
Tiporéwy éemitropevopevos édeito tradta 1) rovety,
GXN' ayew Kata Taxos Kal auvdTTey Tols Tro-
Nemlols ATuYTaKTOLS OVELY, WS ELKOS ApTL Travo-
pévous odottropias nal mept aoxnvas Kal Seimvor
adoxorovs dvtas. Kal rNéywv Gua TadTa, THY
aoTriéa AaBwv Hyeito mpatos @atrep emt vieny
mpodnrov. oi 8' ettrovto TeOappnKotes, EXATTOV 7)
TptaxovTa aotadious ETL TV TrONEMiwY ATrEXOVTES.
@s 6€ Kal tovtous SindOov, emimimtovew avtois
TMPATTOMEVOLS Kal pevyovow OS MPaToV noGorro
mpoctovtas, O0ev avnpeéOncoay pev ov TOAA@
mXélovs Tplaxociwy, éddwoav bé dis tTocodraL
" > 4 \ \ c e > 9 aA
Cavres, €djpOn dé 7d oTpatomedov. ot & 'Adpavi-
Tat Tas muAas avoi~avtes mpocéevto TO 'Ttpo-

NEovTL, META Hpixns cat Oavparos aTayyéAXovTEs
ay éviotaperns Tis payns of pev (epol TOD vew
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other sent an invitation to Timoleon. And by some freak of fortune, both generals hastening to answer the summons, both arrived at one and the same time. But Hicetas came with five thousand soldiers, while Timoleon had no more than twelve hundred all told. Taking these with him from Tauromenium, he set out for Adranum, which was three hundred and forty furlongs off. The first day he advanced only a small part of the journey and bivouacked for the night ; but on the second day he quickened his pace, and after traversing difficult regions, when day was already declining he heard that Hicetas was just arriving at the little city and pitching his camp. Accordingly, his captains and taxiarchs halted the van-guard, in order to give the men food and rest and so make them more ready to fight; but when Timoleon came up, he begged them not to do this, but to lead on with speed and engage the enemy while they were in disorder, as they were likely to be when just at the end of their march and busy with their tents and supper. And as he thus spoke, he took his shield, put himself at the head, and led the soldiers on as if to certain victory. And they followed, em- boldened by his example, being now distant from the enemy less than thirty furlongs. And when they had traversed these too, they fell upon the enemy, who were confounded and took to flight as soon as they perceived them coming up; wherefore not many more than three hundred of them were slain, while twice as many were taken alive, and their camp was captured. Moreover, the people of Adra- num threw open their gates and joined Timoleon, reporting to him with terror and amazement that at the beginning of the battle the sacred portals of

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fr

muraves avTopator StavorxyOeciev, opBein Sé Tod
Oeod To pev Sopu cetopevoy Ex THS alypns axpas,
76 88 mpoawrroy iSp@Te TONAP pedpevov.
XIII. Tadtra &, &s goucev, ov Thy TOTE viKny
conpaiwe povov, addrAa Kal tas peta taita
mpakes, als éxeivos 0 ayov apyiy evTvXh
Tapecxe. Kal yap odes evOvs émempeo Bevope-
vat mpocetiOevto TH Ttpworéortt, Kat Mapepxos
6 Kardyns tupavvos, jTodeuotys avnp Kal xpn-
pact éppwpévos, wey abTov els cuppayxiar.
7d Sé péytotov, autos Atoviatos arreipnKkas 75
Tais éArriot Kal plxpov atrodEelT@V exTroNopKel-
aOa. tod peéev ‘Ixétov Kateppovnoev atoxpas

Arrnpévov, Tov dé Teporcovta Oavpdlwv ereprypev
éxelvp xai Kopivbiow mapadidovs avtrov Kal thy
axpétoduv. SeEdpuevos 8 6 Teporéwy tHv avérre-
otov evTuxlav, atroaTéAXe Tovs Tmept Evedeldnv
cai Tnrépaxov, avdpas KopiGiovs, eis thy axpo-
mod, Kal oTpaTLlwtTas TeTpakociovs, ovXY opod
ardvtas ovde davepas, advvatov yap Hv epoppouv-
Twy TodEuiwy, GAXA Kpi'ha Kal Kat' OdLyOUS
mapeloTecovTas. of mev ov oTpaTLOTAL Trape-
NaPov Thy axpoTroAly Kal Ta TUpavvela PETA TIS
TapacKeuis Kal TOY XpNaipwwv pos TOV TOdELOV
immo: Te yap evijoay ovK oAlyoL Kal Taca pn-
yarndtav idéa cai Bedkdv TriO0s, STAwWY 8
dméxewto pupiades Eta teOncavpicpévov ex
madatov, otpatiatat S€ deayidtor TH Acovvain
maphoav, ods éxeivos, @ TAANA, TH TepodrcovTe
mapédwxev, autos Sé€ xpnuata AaBov Kal Tov
girwv ov Toddods Grade éxTrevoas tov 'Inérny.
kal Kopscbels eis TO TOD Trpodéovtos _otpaTo-
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their temple flew open of their own accord, and the spear of the god was seen to be trembling to the tip of its point, while copious sweat ran down his face.

XIII. These prodigies, as it would seem, were a sign not only of the victory which was then won, but also of the achievements succeeding them, to which that struggle afforded a propitious beginning. For cities at once sent envoys to Timoleon and espoused his cause, and particularly Mamercus, the tyrant of Catana, a warlike and wealthy man, pre- sented himself as an ally. And what was most im- portant, Dionysius himself, now grown desperate and almost forced to surrender, despised Hicetas for his shameful defeat, and in admiration of Timoleon sent to him and his Corinthians offering to surrender him- self and the citadel to them. Timoleon accepted this unexpected good fortune, and sent Eucleides and Telemachus, men of Corinth, into the acropolis, and with them four hundred soldiers, not all at once, nor openly, for this was impossible when an enemy was blockading the harbour; but they made their way in secretly and in small companies. These soldiers, then, took over the acropolis and the castle of the tyrant, together with his equipment and stores for the war; for there were many horses there, all sorts of engines of war, and a great quan- tity of missiles, and armour for seventy thousand men had been stored up there for a long time. Diony- sius also had with him two thousand soldiers; these, as well as the supplies, he turned over to Timo- leon, while he himself, with his treasure and a few of his friends, sailed off without the knowledge of Hicetas. And after he had been conveyed to the

medov, TOTE TPATov LoLwrTns Kal TameLvos opOeis,
ml pds vews Kal ypnudtwv oriywv ets KopevOov
ameotadn, yevvnbets pev Kal Tpadels ev rupavvids
Th Wace émiupavertatyn Kal peyiotn, KaTacXo@v
Sé tavtny érn Séxa, Swdexa 8 AdAra peta THY
Aiwvos otpateiay év ayaou Kal Trodépots d1a-
hopnbecis, & 8 Exrpake tupavvav ols Erafey viep-
5 Badopevos. Kal yap viv évnrixwv Oavatovs Kat
Ouvyatépwv Katatropvevces trapOévwy érreide, Kal
THY auTHy aderAdny kal yuvaixa Caoav pév eis TO
capa tais acenyeotdtas Td TeV ToNEmioV
ndovais tmapavounbeicav, Bia 8 amodavovcay
ueTa TOV TEXVWV, KaTaTOVTLAMEicaY eis TO Tré-
Aayos. Tadta peév odv év Tois Tept Aiwvos axpuBas
yéypaTrrat.
XIV. Tod &€ Acovyciou xatamAevoavTos ets
Kopi ov, ovdels Hv “EXAjvav b5 ovyl Oedoacbar
Kal mpocettreiy erd0naev avtov. aAX ot TE xai-
povtes él tais auppopais Sia picos aopevor
auvirOov oloy éppimpévov wre THS TUYNS TaT?-
GOVTES, Ol TE Mpos THY peTAaBOATY TpETTOMEVOL Kat
cuptraboivtes €Oe@vtTo ToAAnY év acbevéos Tots
avOpwrivors Kal mpodijdous THY TOY adnrwWY ai-
2 trav Kal Ociwy Suvapiv. ovdév yap ovTE piaews
6 TOTE KaLposS ovTE TéxVns Goov éxeivo TUXNS
Epyov émedetEato, Tov YuKeAlas OALyov éumpoaHev
tupavvov év KopivO@ ScatpiBovra trept rnv ovo-
mor f KaOnpevov év pupoTrMdAe, Tivovta Kexpa-

1 There is nothing in the Dion to justify this statement. The cruelties described were committed by the revolting people of Locri, to whom Dionysius had made himself odious

camp of Timoleon, where for the first time he was seen as a private person and in humble garb, he was sent off to Corinth with a single ship and a small treasure, having been born and reared in a tyranny which was the greatest and most illustrious of all tyrannies, and having held this for ten years, and then for twelve other years, after the expedition of Dion, having been involved in harassing struggles and wars, and having surpassed in his sufferings all his acts of tyranny. For he lived to see the violent deaths of his grown-up sons and the violation of his maiden daughters, and the shameful abuse of the person of his

wife, who was at the same time his sister, and who, while living, was subjected to the most wanton pleasures of his enemies, and after being murdered, together with her children, was cast into the sea. These things, then, have been fully described in my Life of Dion.!

XIV. But as for Dionysius, after his arrival at Corinth there was no Greek who did not long to behold and speak to him. But those who rejoiced in his misfortunes were lead by their hatred to come together gladly that they might trample, as it were, upon one who had been cast down by Fortune; while those who regarded rather the reversal of his fortune and sympathised with him, saw strong proof, amid the weakness of things that are human and seen, of the power of causes that are unseen and divine. For that age showed no work either of nature or of art that was comparable to this work of Fortune, namely, the recent tyrant of Sicily in Corinth, whiling his time away at a fishmonger's or sitting in a perfumer's

during his residence there from 366 to 346 B.o. Cf. Athenaeus.
p. 541 c e.
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Mévov aro THY KaTnAciwy Kal SraTrANKTLCOMEVOY
éy péom Tois ag' wpas épyatouévors yvvaios,
tas 8€ povcoupyovs ev tats @bais SddoxKovta,
kal wept Ocatpixav aopatwv épilew omovddlorra
mpos éxelvas Kal Tept péXous appovias. tadta
S of pév GAXwS AdVovtTa Kal dvoe Padupov dvtTa
kat dirtakoXacTov @ovto trotety Tov Avovictor,
ot & umép tov Katadpovetabar Kai yun hoBepov
elvat tots KoptvOious, und' drromtov ws Bapuvo-
Mevov THV peTaBoAny tod Biov Kal mpayyudtwv
édiéuevov, éemutndevery Kat wtrroxpiverOat Tapa
guow, ToAAnY aBerrEpiav éredeckvipevov év TO
oxvonralev.
XV. Ov pny adda Kal Noyor TIWes avdTOD
pvnpovevovtar, de av édoxer cupdéperOar ois
Tapovotvy ovK ayervas. TOUTO pev yap eis
Aevedda xataxOeis, twodmY arr@Kicpevny bd
Kopw0iwv domep thy Lupaxovoiwy, ravTov edn
merov0évar Tois év aGpapTnpace yevouevors TOV
veavickov? WS yap éxetvot Tois pév adEeddois
itapas avvdiatpiBovar, Tods Sé matépas aicyuvo-
pevoe evyovow, ovTwS avTos aidovperos THY
MnTtpotroAuy déws ay avToOe wet éxelvwy KaTot-
xeiv. tovuto 8 év KopivOm Eévouv tivos aypotxo-
Tepor els Tas peta THY pirocopwy SiatpiBas, als
TUpavvav EeXalpe, Xrevalovros auTov, Kal TEhos
épwtavTos tt 6 THs TdAatwvos aroNaucete

codias, “ Ovdév,” pn, “ cot Soxodpev tro ITda-
tavos wperroba, TUYNS peTaBoAnY odTw dé-
povtes;” mpos S€ Tov povotKov "Aptorokevov Kat
Tivas GANouS TruvOavopévous oTTOFEY ALTO Kai Tis
2y4

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~ TIMOLEON

shop, drinking diluted wine from the taverns and skirmishing in public with common prostitutes, or trying to teach music-girls in their singing, and earnestly contending with them about songs for the stage and melody in hymns. Some thought that Dionysius did these things as an aimless loiterer, and because he was naturally easy-going and fond of license ; but others thought that it was in order to be held in contempt and not in fear by the Corin- thians, nor under suspicion of being oppressed by the change in his life and of striving after power, that he engaged in these practices and played an un- natural part, making a display of great silliness in the way he amused himself.

XV. However, certain sayings of his are preserved, from which it would appear that he accommodated himself to his present circumstances not ignobly. Once, namely, when he landed at Leucadia,’ a city which had been colonized by Corinthians, just like Syracuse, he said he had the same feelings as young men who have been guilty of misdemeanours; for just as these pass their time merrily with their brothers, but shun their fathers from a feeling of shame, so he was ashamed to live in their common mother-city, and would gladly dwell there with them. And again, in Corinth, when a stranger somewhat rudely derided him about his associations with phi- losophers, in which he used to take delight when he was a tyrant, and finally asked him what good Plato’s wisdom did him now, “ Dost thou think, said he, ‘that I have had no help from Plato, when I bear my change of fortune as I do?” Further, when Aristoxenus the musician and certain others inquired

1 On his voyage from Syracuse to Corinth.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

3 9 wpos Ilkatwva yévoiro péuryris, ToAAaY Edy
KaK@V THY TUpavyida peoTny ovaay ovdev ExeLV
TNALKOUTOY HALKOV TO pNdéva TOV Reyouévor
ditwyv peta trappnoias SiadéyerOar' Kai yap
autos Um éxeivor atrootepnOjvar tHS TIAdtwvos
evvoias. émel 5& tav Bovropévoy tis evpuar
elvat cx@mtwv Tov Arovuctov éFécere TO ipatiov
elol@v pos avTov, ws 67) pos TUpavVOY, avTI-
axamtTov éxeivos éxéXeve TOTO Tovey STav étin
Tap avtov, wh te Tov évdov éywv arérOn.

4 Dirtamov b¢ tod Maxedovos mapa rotov twa
Aoryov peta eipwveias EuBarovtos wept TOV MEXrOV
Kal TOV Tpaywdtav as o mpecButepos Arovictos
KaTéaume, Kal mpoamotoupévou Starropel év tive
“pov TavTa Troveiv éxeivos eayoraler, ov dav-
ws amyvrnoev 6 Atovictos eirav: “’Ev & ob
Kayo Kal mdvtes of paxdptoe Soxovvtes elvat trepl
KoOwva Stat piBopev.
5)\drov pev odv ov« éretdev ev KopivO@ Arovv-
giov, GAN éEtvyev 76n TEeOvnKws, o S€ Xvwr7redvs
Avoyévns atravrncas avt@ mpatov, “Os avaki-
ws,” &py, ‘ Atoviote, Ens.” émsatavtos 8 éxei-
vou Kal elmrovtos: “ Ev rovets, @ Atoyeves, cuva-
VOopuevos nuiv ntuvxyncoct, “Ti ydp;” elev 6
Atoyévns, “oles pé aor cuvadyeiv, ov Siayava-
xtely Ste TovovTOv avdpatrodov wy, Kai Tots TUpav-
pelos, waoTEep O TaTIp, émtiTHdelos éyynpdoas
aTolavety, évtav0a railwv Kal tpupav Suayes

what his complaint against Plato was and what its origin, he told them that of the many ills with which tyranny abourded there was none so great as this, that not one of those reputed to be friends speaks frankly with the tyrant; for indeed it was by such friends that he himself had been deprived of Plato’s good will. Again, when one of those who wish to be witty, in mockery of Dionysius shook out his robe on coming into his presence,! as if into the presence of a tyrant, Dionysius turned the jest upon him by bidding him do so when he went out from his presence, that he might not take anything in the house away with him. And when Philip of Macedon, at a banquet, began to talk in banter about the lyric poems and tragedies which Dionysius the Elder had left behind him, and pretended to wonder when that monarch found time for these compositions, Dionysius not inaptly replied by saying: ‘“ When thou and I and all those whom men call happy are busy at the bowl.”

Now, Plato did not live to see Dionysius when he was in Corinth, but he was already dead ;* Diogenes of Sinope, however, on meeting him for the first time, said: “ How little thou deservest, Dionysius, thus to live!” Upon this, Dionysius stopped and said: “ It is good of thee, O Diogenes, to sympathize with me in

my misfortunes.’ “ How is that?” said Diogenes; “ Dost thou suppose that I am sympathizing with thee? Nay, I am indignant that such a slave as thou, and one so worthy to have grown old and died in the tyrant’s estate, just as thy father did, should be

1 To show that no weapon was concealed there.
2 Plato died in 348 B.c.; Dionysius came to Corinth in 343 B.O.

6 pel” Hpav;” Bote wor TapaBddXovTe TOUTOLS TAS
Dirictov dwvds, as adinor wept tov Aemrivov
Ouyatépwv GAopupopevos, ws EK peyarwoy ayabav
TaY THS TUpavvidos eis TaTreyny adiypévwr bi-
a:tav, gpaivesOat Opnvovs yuvaixds adaBdotous
Kal troppupas Kal ypvaia todovens.
Taira pev odv ovx adddTpLa THS TOV Biwv
advaypadis ovdé axypnota Sokew oidpeOa 1)
omevdovat unoé aoyoroupévols axpoatais.
XVI. Tijs 5¢ Atovuciov ductuxias mapadoyou
ghavetons ovx TTov 1) Tipodéovtos evtuxia To
Oavpactov éoxev. émtBds yap Yexerias év mHpe-
pas TevTnKoVTa THY T axkpoTOALY T@Y YupaKov-
cav tapédXafe xat Arovicrov eis Tedorovvnoov
eEdrreurev. SOev éemippwobévres ot KopivOca
méumovow avtT@ Suoxtdlovs omditas Kal dia-
2 xoalovs times, of KopicBévtes axpt Bouvpiwv
Thy éxeiOev Trepaiwow bo Kapynooviwy aodXais
vavol Kateyouevns THS OaXadrTns atropov opavTes,
@> hv avayKn Kalpov TEeptwévovTas aTpEpety avTO-
01, mpos KadNAO TOV Epyov aTrEeXpHaavTO TH TXOAN.
Bovpiwy yap émi Bpettiovs otpatevovtwy rv
jody maparaBovtes wWomrep tatpida Kxabapas
Kal miatas Siepvra£tay.
3 ‘O88 ‘Teérns thy pév axpotodw tov Yupaxov-
Gav émodLopKer Kal citov éexwXrvev EloTAELY TOS
KopwvOloes, Tiporéovts bé S00 Eévous tapacKevd-
gas Sorohovncovras avrov vrrémeuev ets ’Adpa-
vov, ote GAAWS TWEPL TO THA ouYTETayperynDY

living here with us in mirth and luxury." Wherefore, when I compare with these words the mournful utterances of Philistus about the daughters of Leptines, how from the great blessings of the tyranny they fell to a lowly life, they seem the lamentations of a woman who pines for her alabaster caskets and purple gowns and golden trinkets.

These details, then, will not seem foreign to my biography, I think, nor without usefulness, to readers who are not in haste, and are not occupied with other matters.

XVI. But though the misfortune of Dionysius seemed extraordinary, none the less did the good fortune of Timoleon have something marvellous about it. For within fifty days after his landing in Sicily the acropolis of Syracuse was surrendered to him and Dionysius was sent off to Peloponnesus. Stimulated by this success, the Corinthians sent him two thousand men-at-arms and two hundred horse- men. These got as far as Thurii, but seeing that their passage thence was impracticable, since the sea was beset with many Carthaginian ships, they were compelled to remain there quietly and await their opportunity, and therefore turned their leisure to advantage in a most noble action. When the Thu- rians, namely, went on an expedition against the Bruttians, the Corinthians received their city in charge, and guarded it honestly and faithfully to the end, as though it were their own.

But Hicetas kept the acropolis of Syracuse under siege and prevented the importation of food for the Corinthians there; he also sent to Adranum two foreigners whom he had engaged to assassinate Timoleon ; for Timoleon at no time kept a guard in array

v / 4 4 \ \
éyovTt gdudaxnv, kal ToTe Taytdtact bia Tov
Oedv averpévws kai avuTromTas cyovdlovtTe peta
A b] A e \ / 4 4
tov "Adpautav. ot b¢ meudOevtes xaTa TUyny
, , 4 > 4 @ > N
muGopevot péAAovTa Ovety avTov, HKov eis TO
lepov U1rd Tots imation éyyerpidia Kopilovtes, Kal
Tots Twepteatao. TOY Bwpov avamyGértes, éyyu-
TEpW KATA puKpov eTexeipovy. Kal Boov ovTw
, ? I > + 4
TApaKeXevopevav AAANAOLS EvapxyedOar TraieL TLS
avTay Tov Etepov Kata THS Kehadrfs Eider, cat
mecovtos ov0' o traicas Euevev od o peta TOU
, C4 ' » 9 a /, °e \

TANYEVTOS HKWV, GAN ExeElvos pév, WoTeEp Ele TO
4 4 4 / e \ 9 ,
Eidos, hevywv mpos Tia TéetTpav UWnrHY avetn-
¢ ‘ A a ‘4 bf
dnaev, Atepos 5€ tov Bwpod AaBopevos aderav
nretro Tapa Tov Tipmoréovtos éml TO TavTa pyvi-
\ > 4 ’ e A \
gat. Kal A\aBeov éunvuce xa’ avtod Kal Kata
Tov TeOvnkotos ws trewhOeciev exeivoy atroKTter-
obvtes. ev Toute S€ Kal Tov did THS TEeTpAS KATI-
“A \ bd A 9 > » /
yov €tepor, Bowvra pndev adixety, aX ayynpynKévat
Sixaiws tov avOpwrov trép tatpos teOvnxoTos,
dv éxeivos amrextovynxot mpotepov év Aeovtivors.
Kal paptupobytas elyey éviovs TaV TapdovTmwD,
a 4 \
Oavydlovtas dua THs TUYNS THY EvpNyYaviar, ws
8: érépwv erepa Kwodea Kal cuvdyovca Tavra
moppwOev Kal ovyxatamdéKovea Tois TrEloToV
Stadéperv Soxovar cai pndev Exery mpos adAnda
Kolvov Gel Tots GAAHAWY ypATaL Kal TédreoL Kal
apyais.
Tov pev otv advOpwrov éatepavwaay ot Kopiv-
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about his person, and at this time in particular, owing to his trust in their god, he was altogether without anxiety or suspicion in his diversions with the people of Adranum. The men who had thus been sent learned, as chance would have it, that he was about to offer a sacrifice, and therefore came into the sacred precinct with daggers under their robes, mingled with those who stood around the altar, and gradually drew nearer their intended victim. And as they were just on the point of exhorting one another to begin their work, somebody smote one of them on the head with a sword and laid him low, whereupon neither he who had struck the blow nor the companion of him who had received it kept his place; but the one, with his sword still in his hand, fled to a lofty rock and sprang upon it, while the other laid hold of the altar and begged immunity from Timoleon on the condition of his revealing everything. And when he had obtained his request, he testified against himself and against his dead comrade that they had been sent to kill Timoleon. Meanwhile others brought down the man who had fled to the rock, who kept crying out that he had done no wrong, but had justly slain the man on behalf of his dead father, who had been murdered by him some time ago in Leontini. Some of the bystanders bore witness also to the truth of his words, and wondered, too, at the dexterity of Fortune, seeing how she makes some things lead up to others, brings all things together from afar, weaves together incidents which seem to be most divergent and to have nothing in common with one another, and so makes use of their reciprocal beginnings and

endings.

To this man, then, the Corinthians gave a reward

S n eo " , , N
Gror Séxa pais, te TO HvAdttovTe Saipove Tov
, 4 wv , \ \ 9
Tiporéovra mabos éypnoe Sixacov Kai tov éx
ToAAOU Tapovta Oupov aVT@ TpoTeEpov ov KaTav-
, 9 \ b] > 27 20/ \ A 5] ,
UNwWoEV, ANNA PET aiTias Ldtas TWpos THY éKEtvoU
4
cwTnpiay amo TUxns SeeTHpnaev. 1 5 eis Tov
TapovTa Katpoy evTvyia Kal Tpos Ta péAXOVTA
tails éXmriowy émnpeyv op@vtas ws tepov avdpa xat
A A \ Cd an , \ 4
ovv Oe@ Tipwpov HKovta TH LeKxedia Tov Tiponre-
4 \ ,
ovta oéBecOas kai pudarrery.
XVII. 'Os 68 taurns Sufpapte tis meipas 6
'Txérns nal mpos Tiporéovta troAXovs édpa ourt-
oTapmévous, meurrdpevos avTos éavTov ott TyrL-
4 , n
KavTns Tapovons THiS Kapynéovioy duvapyews
@OTEP ALTXVVOMEVOS AUTH KATA piKpa ypHTaL
Kat XdOpa, KrAétrTwv Kal Tapelodywv THv cuppa-
yiav, weteTréwTreTO Maywva tov otparnyov avTav
A la) , , e A 9 , '\
peTa TID GTOAOU TravTOS. O dé ciaéTAEL HoBepos
vavol TevtnKovta Kal éxaTov KaTaXa"Bavwv Tov
ALpEeva, meCav Oé pupiddas EE aroBiBaltwv Kai
KaTaoTpatoTesevay év TH TOAEL TOY Luvpaxov-
aiwy, wore TaVTas olecOar THY TadArAaL Neyouéevny
Kai Tpocbokwpevny exBapBapworv Kew ert tHv
4 9 / \ / e a)
LuxeAiayv. ovdémote yap Kapynéooviors tarijp&e
4

MpoTepov pupiovs TovEuioAacL TONEMOUS ev LtKe-
Ma NaBety Tas LupaKxovaeas, AANA TOTE deFapévou
tov 'Inétov nai tapadovtos fv opav thy modw

‘ 4, = e \ \ b] ,
otpatotredov BapBapwr otcav. ot S€ THY axpo-
ray 4 / ? Le) A
tow Tov Kopwiiwy catéyovtes érisharas cal
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of ten minas, because he had put his just resentment at the service of the deity who was guarding Timoleon, and had not at an earlier time expended the wrath which had long’ been in his heart, but with a personal motive had reserved it, under Fortune’s guidance, for the preservation of that general. Moreover, their good fortune in the present crisis raised their hopes for the future also, and they anticipated that men would revere and protect Timoleon, looking upon him as a sacred personage, and one who had come under divine guidance to avenge the wrongs of Sicily.!

XVII. But when Hicetas had failed in this attempt and saw that many were now thronging to the support of Timoleon, he found fault with himself because, when so large a force of the Carthaginians was at hand, he was using it in small detachments and secretly, as though he were ashamed of it, bringing in his allied troops like a thief and by stealth; he therefore called in Mago their general together with his whole armament. Thus Mago, with a formidable fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, sailed in and oc- cupied the harbour, disembarking also sixty thousand of his infantry and encamping them in the city of Syracuse, so that all men thought that the barbariza- tion of Sicily, long talked of and expected, had come upon her. For never before in all their countless wars in Sicily had the Carthaginians succeeded in taking Syracuse; but now Hicetas admitted them and handed over to them the city, and men saw that it was a barbarian camp. But those of the Corinthians who held the acropolis were beset with difficulty

1 The Greek of this sentence is obscure, and has thus far defied emendation.
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Xarerrars amrnANaATTOV, Tpopys ev ixavijs OvK TL TApovons, arr’ _ evdeopevor dia TO Ppovpetabar TOUS Aipévas, | det dé év ayaoe Kal paxass mept T TeLXN kal wpos way enXavnpa Kal pos Tacay idéav modtopKias pepiSovtes avTOUS.

XVIII. Ov pny arr o Temorévwv mapeBonOer ovTov éx Kardvys pixpats adtact Kal AeETTots axartious ATOTTENNWY, & padiotTa Yewave Tapeto -

ETLTTE bia TeV SapBaptxaov Tpinpay UmoTropevo-
preva, pos TOV KN\vOwva Kal TOV odov exelvov
Stiotapevav. & bn cUvopavTEs ol Teph tov Ma-
yova Kal tov ‘IKérny éBovXovro THY Kardynv
édeip, é& His elect! Ta émiTnoera Tots mohtop-
KOUpEvoLs® Kat ha.Bovres THS Suvdpews THY payxe-
peor arny ébérevoav ex Tov Lupaxovady. o 6e
KopivOsos Néwv (od70s yap hy apxwv TOY TOALOp-
KOUpEVoV) KATLOW@VY ATO THS axpas TOUS UTrO\E-
etppevous TOV Tohepiov apyas Kal dpedras
purarrovras eEaiduns érrémee Svea Trappévors
avTois: Kal TOUS pev averav, Tous O€ Tpeypdpevos,
expaTnge Kal KATETXE THY Aeyouevny “AxXpadwny,
5 KpateaTov édoxet wal ab pavatotatov brrdpxew
THS s Lupaxovatwy pépos Toews, TpoTov TIWa Guy-
KELLevNS Kal oc UY Np LOG MEVNS éx TELOVOY TONEWD,
evmopnaas dé Kal gitov Kab Nparov ovK ab fice
TOV TOTOV, OVS aveywpnoe Tad ert THY axpav,
ddnra ppatdpuevos TOV mreptBonov Tihs "Axpadcvijs
Kal ouvaryas Tots épupace T pos THD ax pooh
Stepvharre. tous dé mrept Tov Mayova Kab TOV
‘Txérny éyyus 7dn TIS Kardyns dvTas immens eK
Yupaxoveay KatadaBov amnyyere thy adwow
1 eloéwAe: Holden’s conjecture: &rre,

and danger ; for they no longer had sufficient food,
but suffered lack because the harbours were block-
aded ; and they were forever dividing up their forces
in skirmishes and battles around the walls, and in
repelling all sorts of engines and every species of
siege warfare.

XVIII. However, Timoleon came to their aid by sending them grain from Catana in small fishing boats and light skiffs; these would make their way in, especially in stormy weather, by stealing along through the barbarian triremes, which lay at wide intervals from one another because of the roughness of the sea. This soon came to the notice of Mago and Hicetas, who. therefore determined to take Ca- tana, from which provisions came in by sea to the besieged; so taking with them the best of their fighting men, they sailed forth from Syracuse. But Neon the Corinthian (for he it was who commanded the besieged), observing from the citadel that the enemy who had been left behind were keeping an easy and careless watch, fell suddenly upon them as they were scattered apart; some he slew, others he put to flight, and

then mastered and took possession of the quarter called Aotuadipa. This seems to have been the strongest and least vulnerable part of the city of Syracuse, which was, in a manner, an assem- blage and union of several cities. Having thus sup- plied himself with grain and money, he did not give up the place, nor did he go back again to the citadel, but fenced in the circumference of Achradina, united it by his fortifications with the acropolis, and guarded both. Mago and Hicetas were already near Catana, when a horseman from Syracuse overtook them and

Tis Axpadivis. nal cvvrapaybértes aveyopnoay
51a rayéwv, ote AaBovtes ed' fw eFHAOOv obte
puratavtes iv elyov.
XIX. Tatra pév ody Ere tH wWpovoia Kal apeTh
Sidwot Tia mpos THY TUXNY anda RyTHoLW TOS
éml TOVTOLS yEevouEvoy TaYTaTracty éoLKe TULA HVAL
Kar evtvyiav. ot yap év tots @oupios Scatpi-
Bovres orpatiatar Tov KopivOiwv apa peév Seb00-
tes Tas Kapyndoviwv tpinpes, at mapepvratTov
avTous peta "Avywvos, &ua 8 éd' 7pépas ToANaS
éEnyptwpévns bro mvevpartos THs Oadatrns, wel
S:a Bpettiwy ®punoav wopevecOar' Kai Ta pev
meiOovres, Ta S€ Bralopevor tors BapBadpous eis
"Pyytov xatéBatvov Ett todvy Yet"ava TOD Treda-
yous éxovtos. o b¢ tav Kapyndoviwy vavapyos,
@s ov Tpocedoxa Tovs KopivOiovs cal udtnv veto
Kabncbat, Tretcas avTos éavTov vevonKevat TL TOV
copav Kal Tavovpywy mpos atatny, oTepava-
cacOat Tovs vattas KedXevoas Kal KoopHnoas TAS
Tpinpets daomiow "EXAnuixais Kat dgoirexiow,
émdet Tpos TAS Yupaxovoas. Kai Tapa THY aKpo-
Tow Ypwpevos poliw pera KpoTov Kal yédXwTos
éBoa tovs KopivOiovs Frew veriene@s Kal xKe-
yetpwpéevos, ev TH Oardttn NaBov dtatdéortas,
ws 6 twa dvcOupiay Tots TrodtopKoupévors Trapé-
Ewv. éxeivov 5¢ radta Anpobvtos Kal pevaxiflovros
éx Tov Bpettiwy xataBeBnxotes oi KopivOsor ets
To 'Pyytov, @s ovdels trapepvAaTte Kal To TVEtLA
cates Beopévoy Tapahoyws axvpova Tov Topov
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told them of the capture of Achradina. They were confounded by the tidings and went back in haste, having neither taken the city against which they went forth, nor kept the one they had.

XIX. In these successes, then, foresight and valour might still dispute the claims of Fortune; but that which followed them would seem to have been wholly due to good fortune. The Corinthian soldiers, namely, who were tarrying at Thurii,. partly because they feared the Carthaginian triremes which were lying in wait for them under Hanno, and partly because a storm of many days' duration had made the sea very rough and savage, set out to travel by land through Bruttium ; and partly by persuading, partly by compelling the Barbarians, they made their way down to Rhegium while a great storm was still raging at sea. But the Carthaginian admiral, since he did not expect that the Corinthians would venture forth and thought his remaining there inactive an idle thing, after convincing himself that he had devised something clever and mischievous in the way of deceit, ordered his sailors to crown their heads with garlands, decorated his triremes with purple battle- flags and Greek shields, and sailed for Syracuse. And as he passed the acropolis at a dashing speed amid clapping of hands and laughter, he shouted that he was come from conquering and capturing the Corin- thians, whom he had caught at sea as they were trying to cross the strait ; supposing, indeed, that he would thus greatly dishearten the besieged. While he was thus babbling and playing the trickster, the Corinthians who had come down from Bruttium to Rhegium, since no one was lying in wait for them and the unexpected cessation of the storm had made

deity Kai Nelov Trapetye, TayY TWANpwCcaYTES Ta
jopOueta Kal Tas aruddas Tas TWapovaas avyyovTo
cat drexopiCovto mpos THY YKEray, OVTWS agpa-
Aas Kal d:a ToTaUTNS yadHvns waTE TOUS tous
Tapa Ta TWrOLA TapaynYopmevous Ex PUT pwv épéd-
xeoOat.

XX. Tleparwbévtwy &€ wdvrev o Teporéwr Se-
Edpevos avtous thy te Meaanyny evOrs eye, Kal
cuvtatapevos éBadifev él tas Yupaxoveas, ols
evtuyes wal xatwpJov padrdrov 7 TH Suvdper
meToldws' ov yap oav of avy avT@ mrEéious
TETPAKLTYIMaV. ayyeAXopevns 5é THs Epodou TO
Mayovi BopuBovpevos nal Sedornas ett paddov
els UTroviay HAOev ex ToLavTNns Tpopdcews. ev
Tots Tepl THY TOALY TEVaYyEoL, TONY peEy Ex KPNVOV
motipov vowp, Tmodv & é€& éX@v Kal ToTapLav
KatTappeovtwv eis THY OdratTay Sexopévots, TAA-
Bos éyxéNewv véeuetat, kal Sawirera THs aypas
tois BovAopévois adel Mdpectt. TavTas ot Tap
aupotépwv pic0od otpatevopevot aYOATS OVENS

Kal dvox av auveOnpevovy. ola & “EAXAnves dytes
Kal wpos aAAHAOVS OvK ExorTes LOiwy amreyOerav
mpopaciw, ev pev tails payas Stexevdvvevov ev-
pwaTws, év 5€ Tais avoyais mpocpotT@vTEes ANX1-
Dots SueAéyovto. Kal TOTE KOLVOY TrEpl THY aNLEiaY
Exovtes Epyov év Aoyors Hoav, Gavydlovres Tis
Gardoons Ti evviav Kai TAY ywpiwy THY KaTa-
oKkevny. Kai Tis ele THY Tapa Tots KopwwOiots
otpatevopevoy' ‘“ Tooavtny pévtot trodw? To
péyeOos Kal Tocovtas éEnoxnpéevny xarois bpeis
“EAAnves dvtes éxBapBapwioat tpofupetcbe, Tovs
1 wéAw Blass, after Coraés: rhy wdacy.

the strait smooth and calm to look upon, speedily manned the ferry-boats and fishing craft which they found at hand, put off, and made their way across to Sicily, with such safety and in so great a calm that their horses also swam along by the side of the boats and were towed by the reins.

XX. When they had all crossed over, Timoleon took them and at once occupied Messana, then, uniting them with his other forces, marched against Syracuse, relying on the good fortune and success that attended his efforts rather than on the strength of his army; for his followers were not more than four thousand in number. But when Mago got tidings of his approach, disturbed and fearful as he was, he was made still more suspicious for the following reason. In the shoals about the city, which receive much fresh water from springs, and much from marshes and rivers emptying into the sea, great numbers of eels live, and there is always an abundance of this catch for anybody. These eels the mercenary soldiers on both sides, when they had leisure or a truce was on, used to hunt together. And since they were Greeks and had no reason for private hatred of one another, while in their battles they risked their lives bravely, in their times of truce they would visit and converse with one another. And so now, as they were busy together with their fishing, they conversed, express- ing their admiration of the richness of the sea and the character of the adjacent lands. And one of those who were serving on the Corinthian side said : «Can it really be that you, who are Greeks, are eager to barbarize a city of such great size and furnished with such great advantages, thus settling Cartha-

KaxtoTovs Kai hovxetatous Kapynoovious éyyu-
ao , e a“ A a w
Tépw xatoxilovTes numYy, Tmpos ovs Ede. Todas

etyecOas Xixedias mpoxeiobas THs “EAXAdbos: 7
Soxeite ToUTOUS OTpaToY ayeipavTas ATO oTNADY
“Hpaxrcioy xai THs ’ATAavTiais Heerv Oaratrns
Sevpo xevduvevoortas UTrép THS ‘IKérou duvacteias;
a > ‘ 9 e , bd by 4
Os ef Aoytopov elyev rryepovos, ovx av €FéBadre
Tous Tatépas ovd émipye TH Watpids TOUS TrOde-
pious, GAAa wai Tins Kai Suvapews eTUyYavev
o 4 , \ , , 33
cons tpeTret, KopsvOtous xat Tipor€ovtra treicas.
as ‘ v e 4 a 9
TovToUS TOUS AGyouS ot pscOodopat SteOponaay ev
T@ OTpATOTEd@, KaL Tapécyov UToYiay TO Ma-
yor wpodidocbat, ypnlovTs marat tmpodpacews.
520 Kat Seopévov tov ‘Ixétou twapapevery cai deda-
” , 4 > A 4 ”
axovtos dam BeXTLOVes ELot TOV TOELIWY, LAAXOV
7 ’ a \ , , , a
OLOpMEVOS APETH Kal TUYN NetTrETOaL TiporéovTos 7
mwAnder Suvduews uirepBddreLv, Apas evOus aneé-
mrevoev eis AtBunv, aioypas Kat ovdéva Aoyt-
cpov avOpwruivoy x Tav yetpav adels Ytxeriav.
XXI. Ty 8 torepaia trapny o Tiporéwv emt
paxynv cuvtTetaypevos. ws dé tHv huyny éruvdd-
VOVTO Kal THY épnuiay Ewpwv TOV vewpiwv, yedav
autos émne THY avavdpiav tov Maywvos, xa
Teptiovtes éxnpuTToy ev TH TodeL nVvUTpA TO
dpacavtt Tov Kapyndoviwr ororov Srry ofas atro-
déSpaxev. ov pny adda Tod ‘Ikérou Piropayorv-
Tos éTt Kab THY AaABNY Ov TpoieLéevou THs TOAEWS,
ana eumrepuxotos ols KaTetxe mépett KapteEpois
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ginians, who are the basest and bloodiest of men,
nearer to us, when you ought to pray for many
Sicilies to lie as a barrier between Greece and
them? Ordo you suppose that they have collected
an army and are come hither from the pillars of
Heracles and the Atlantic sea in order to risk their
lives in behalf of the dynasty of Hicetas? He, if he
reasoned like a true leader, would not be casting out

his kindred people, nor would he be leading against his country her natural enemies, but would be enjoying a befitting amount of honour and power, with the consent of Timoleon and the Corinthians." Such speeches as these the mercenaries disseminated in their camp, and made Mago suspicious of treachery, though he had long wanted a pretext for going away. Therefore when Hicetas begged him to remain and tried to show him how much superior they were to their enemies, he thought rather that they were more inferior to Timoleon in bravery and good fortune than they surpassed him in the number of their forces, and weighing anchor at once, sailed off to Libya, thus letting Sicily slip out of his hands disgracefully and for no reason that man could suggest.

XXI. On the day after his departure, Timoleon came up with his forces: arrayed for battle. But when they learned of Mago's flight and saw the docks empty of vessels, they could not help laugh- ing at his cowardice, and went about the city pro- claiming a reward for any one who told them whither the Carthaginian fleet had fled away from them. However, since Hicetas was still eager for battle and would not let go his hold upon .the city, but clung to the parts of it in his possession, which were

ovat Kal dvompocpdyos, Siekov o Tiporéov tHv Suva avTos pev 7 Bracoratov Hy mapa TO pet- Ooov tod "Avatrov tmpocéBadrev, adrous 8 éx TIS "Aypadivis éxédevev emiyetpeiv, dv Iaias Hryetto 6 KoptvOtos. rovs 5& tpitous émriryov émt tas 'Earurronas Acivapyos cat Anuapertos, of thy baré- pav dyaryovres éx KopivOou BojOeav. dua dé cat mavrayoley tis Epodou yevopevns Kal TeV Tept Tov 'Inétny avatpareévtwv kal devyovtwy, To pev GNO@vat THY TOW KaT axpas Kal yevécOat Ta- yews Dmoxel pov exTET OV TOY TOV TONE uO bt- Katov avabeivar TH TOV paxXoLévwy avdpayabia Kal TH SevoTnts Tov aTpaTnyod, TO 5é yu) atro- Oavety twa pndé tpwOhvar tav KopivOiwv idssov Epyov auras 4 Tipodréovtos émedetEato tvyn, caarep Stautdrwpevn mpos THY apeTnv Tod av- Spos, iva TOV émratvoupévwy adTod Ta paxaptlo- eva pardXAov of truvOavopevot Oavpdlwow. ov yap povov XtxerAlav wacav ovs "Itadiav evOvds 7

gnun Kxatéoyev, GAN juepov orjtryov 7 “EAAas
inyer TO péyeOos TOU KaTopOa@patos, WoTE THY
Tav KopiwOiwv ror amiorobdcay ei StaTrémNevKev
0 OTOAOS, O"OU Kal Gecwopévous Kal VvEviKNKOTAS
axovety Tovs avdpas. ovTwS Evponaay ai mpa-
Eers, Kal TOTOUTO TH KaANEL THY Epywy TO TAXOS
n TUXN TpoaéeOnxey.
XXII. Tevopevos d€ rhs dxpas KupLos ovK eTTrabe
Aiwvt tavTo 1d0os, ovS épetoato tod Tomov ba
TO KGNNOS Kal THY TrOAUTEAELAY THS KATACKEUIS,
andra THy éxetvov SiaBaXdovdcar, eit’ ato\écacay
iTowiay duraFduevos éxijpute Tov Lupaxovolwy
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strong and dangerous to attack, Timoleon divided his forces, he himself attacking along the river Anapus where the struggle was likely to be hottest, and ordering others, under the lead of Isias the Corinthian, to make their attempt from Achradina. The third division was led against Epipolae by Deinarchus and Demaretus, who had brought the second reinforcement from Corinth. The attack was made in all three places at once, and the troops of Hicetas were overwhelmed and took to flight. That the city was taken by storm and fell quickly into their hands after the enemy had been driven out, it is right to ascribe to the bravery of the soldiers and the ability of their general; but that not one of the Corinthians was killed or even wounded, this the good fortune of Timoleon showed to be her own work, vying emulously, as it were, with his valour, in order that those who hear his story may wonder at his happy successes more than at his laudable efforts. For his fame not only filled at once all Sicily and Italy, but within a few days Greece echoed with his great success, SO that the city of Corinth, which was in doubt whether his armament had got across the sea, heard at one and the same time that it had safely crossed, and that it was victorious. So pros- perous was the course of his enterprises, and such was the speed with which Fortune crowned the beauty of his achievements.

XXII. When he had become master of the citadel, he did not repeat the experience of Dion, nor did he spare the place on account of the beauty and great cost of its architecture, but guarding against the suspicions which had brought calumny and then destruction upon his predecessor, he made proclama-

1 See the Dion, chapter liii. 1. 313
3
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tov BovXoLevoy Trapeivar peTa otdnpou Kai cuved-
antesBat KatacKkarTopévwoy TOY TUpAaPYLKaY
épupatav. ws d5€ mdvtes avéBnoav, apyny édev-
aos jomnjodpevoe BeBatotatny To Knpvypa Kal
THY Hyuepav exeivay, ov povov THV axpay, andra,
Kal Tas oixkias Kal Ta pynpata TOY TUpavvwD

avétpevray nal xatéoxawav. evOvs dé Tov TorTov
auvopaduvas éev@xodounoe Ta Sixactypia, yapt-
Copevos Tois ToAiTats Kal THs Tupavvidos UTeEp-
Tépav ToLa@v THY SnpoKpatiay.
"Eret 5€ tHv mod éEXo@v oOvK Elye TroXiTAS,
GANA TOV pev ev TOS TOOLS Kal Tais OTaCECE
StadOapévtwy, Tav 5é Tas Tupavvidas hevyorTor,
) pev év Yupaxovaais ayopa Sv épynpuiay ovTws
ToAAny kal Babeiay éképucey DANY woTE TOUS
imrqous €v avTn Katavéeuer Oat, TOY iTTroKOpLwD év
TH XAon xaTaxerpévav, ai 5é araL TONELS TAY
TAVTEADS OALywov éX\adwv éyévorvto pectal Kal
ava aypiov, év 5é tois mpoactetots Kal repli Ta
TELYN TOAAAKLS OL DXOATY ayorTes ExuvNyeTour,
umnKxove & ovdels TaY ev Tois épvuace kal ppov-
plows KAaTOLKOUYT@Y, OVE KaTEBAaLVOD Eis THY TOLD,
arrAa hpixn Kai picos elye wavtas ayopas Kai
monTeias Kal Bnuatos, €& av avéducav avtois
Gl WAEloTOL TOY TUpavvaY, Edoke TH Tipor€ovTe
kal tots Svpaxovaiors yparyat mpos tovs Kopiv-
Giovs Strws wéurwotw oixnTopas eis Tas Yupa-
xovaas €x Ths ‘EXAdbos. 7 TE yap Yopa axYONd-
Cecv Ewedre, kal arodvy Trodeyov éx AtBuns
mporedéxovtTo, TuvOavoyevor tovs Kapyndovious
Tod pev Maywvos éavtov avedovtTos dvectaupo-
Kévat TO copa Sia THY oTpaTnyiay opyiaBévTas,
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tion that all Syracusans who wished should come
with implements of iron’and help in the demolition
of the tyrants’ bulwarks. And when they had all
come up, considering that day with its proclamation
to be a most secure beginning of freedom, they over-
threw and demolished, not only the citadel, but also
the palaces and the tombs of the tyrants. Then, as
soon as he had levelled off the place, Timoleon built
the courts of justice there, thus gratifying the citi-
zens by making their democracy triumphant over
tyranny. i
But the city which he had taken had not citizens enough, since some had perished in their wars and seditions, while others had gone into exile from ty- rannical governments. Indeed, for lack of population

the market place of Syracuse had produced such a quantity of dense herbage that horses were pastured in it, while their grooms lay down in the grass; and the other cities, with almost no exceptions, were full of deer and wild swine, while in their suburbs and around their walls those who had leisure for it went hunting, and not one of those who were estab- lished in fortresses and strongholds would hearken to any summons, or come down into the city, but fear and hatred kept all away from market place and civic life and public speaking, which had produced the most of their tyrants. Therefore Timoleon and the Syracusans decided to write to the Corinthians urging them to send settlers to Syracuse from Greece. For otherwise the land was likely to lie uncultivated, and they expected a great war from Africa, since they learned that the Carthaginians, after Mago's guicide, had impaled his dead body, in their rage at his conduct of the expedition, and that they were

avrous 5é€ cuvaye peyddny Sivayw ws Erous
apa SiaBnoopévous eis YeKediav.
XXIII. Tay 8¢ ypappdtwv rovtwyv rapa tod
Teporéovtos xoutcbévtwv, Kal mpécfewov aya
Tapovtwv Lupaxovoliwv Kal Seouevwv émipern-
Ojvat TIS ToAEwS Kal yevécDat TdrW €€ dTrapyis
OixicTas, ovY Hptacay ot KopivO.or thy wreove-
Eiav, o05é mpoceTroincay avTois THY TOALY, GANA
Tp@Tov pev emLovTes TovsS iepovs ayavas ev TH
Ul A

"EAAdOL! Kal tas peyiotas Tov Tavnyvpewy
dvnyopevoy ume Kxnpixov Ste KopivOtor xata-
AeAUKOTES THY év LYupaxovaais tupavvida, cal
Tov TUpavvoy é€eXnAaKOTES, KaXOVGL Yupaxovat-
ous Kal TOV GANwVY YKedtwTav Tov Bovdropevov
oixety tHy Word édrEVOépovs Kal avTovopous,
ér ico Kal Sixaiows thy yopav dtadayovras:
Ereita Statréumovtes ayyéAous els thy Aciav
Kal Tas vyoous, trou TAELaTOUS érrUvOdVOYTO TOV
guyddwv Steatappévovs Katoixeiv, Ttwapexddouv
tévat mravtas eis KopivOov, ws KopivOiwv aodarj
TouTHy Kal wrota Kal otpatnyovs TrapetovTwv
idiots tédeow eis Yupaxovcas. Kynpvacopéevwv
d€ TOVT@Y 7) ev TOALS TOV SixaLoTAaTOV Kal KarL-
oTov ameAXduBavey érrawov xat bnrov, édevGe-
povoa pev ato TaY TUpavyverv, cwlovaa 8 amd
tav BapBdpwv, amodidotca Sé -ots ToXiTats THY
YwOpav.
Oi 5é€ cuvedOovtes eis KopivOov ovx dvtes

ixavol To AROS edenOnoav é« KopivOov Kat
THs GAAS “EAAdOos traparaBelvy cvvoixovs: Kal
YEVOMEVOL pUPLwY OUK éXdTTOUS KaTéTAEVCAY eis
1 éy rp ‘EAAGS: with Coraés, Bekker, and Blass: ‘EAAd&:.

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assembling a great force with the intention of cross-
ing into Sicily in the summer.
XXIII. When these letters from Timoleon had been delivered, and were accompanied by Syracusan envoys who begged them to take thought for their city and to become anew its founders, the Corinthians did not seize the opportunity for their own aggran- dizement, nor did they appropriate the city for themselves, but, in the first place, they visited the sacred games in Greece and the greatest festival assemblages, and proclaimed by heralds that the Corinthians had overthrown the tyranny in Syracuse, and driven out the tyrant, and now invited Syracusans, and any other Sicilian Greeks who wished, to people the city with free and independent citizens, allotting the land among them on equal and just terms. In the second place, they sent messengers to Asia and the islands, where they learned that most of the scattered exiles were residing, and invited them all to come to Corinth, assuring them that the Corinthians, at their own expense, would furnish them with leaders and trans- ports and a safe convoy to Syracuse. By these pro- clamations the city of Corinth earned the justest praise and the fairest glory; she was freeing the land from its tyrants, saving it from the Barbarians, and restoring it to its rightful citizens.

When these had assembled at Corinth, being too few in number, they begged that they might receive fellow colonists from Corinth and the rest of Greece ;

and after their numbers had risen to as a

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

4 Lupaxovcas. dn b€ nal tov é€& ‘Iradias Kal
ZiKedias mohhol 7@ Teporéovre cuvednrvieoar:
Kat ryevopevors aurois éEaxtapupiors TO TriOos,
@S “Adans elonke, THY meV Xepav dreverpe, Tas
5é olxias atédoto XerAbov TahavTo, dua pev
DrrohesTromevos Tots dpxaion Lupakovators
eEwveta Iau Tas avTa@v, dua oe Xpnparov €v-
mopiay To Sno pnXavepevos oUTWS TEVOLEV®
cal 1 pos ‘Tada Kal Mpos TOV TOAELOV wate Kal
5 TOUS avdprdvras arroboa bau, andou Srapepoperns
Umép Exdaorou Kal ywopmevns KaTnyopias, domep
avO porary evOuvas Sidovtwv: Ste 57 pace tov
TéXevos dvdpidvra Tov Tadao tupdvvov da-
THPHS aL TOUS Yupaxovaious, KATAXELpOTOVOU-

péveov TOV adndor, arya, pevous Kal TLu@VvTas
Tov avdpa TAS viens fv mpos ‘Iuépa Kapyn-
Sovious évixnaer.
XXIV. Otro & Tihs Toews avalon upovans
kal _TANpoupErnys, em LppeovT wv mavTaxober els
aurny TOV TOMLTOV, Bovdopevos O Tiporéwy Kal
Tas dAXNas TONES éXevOepwaa Kal mayTanacww
éxxoyat Tihs LuKedias Tas Tupavuioas, émi Tas
Xepas avrav otpatevov ‘IKétny peév jvaryKnacey
avTooTavTa Kapyndoviar omoroyia au Tas a dx pom o-
dees KatacKdypew Kat Biorevoev idatTny € év Aeov-
2 Tivos, Aerrivov dé Tod TupavvodvTos "AtroAAw- 248
vias Kat TUXvaV GAXwY TOALYVioD, as exuvduveve
Kata Kparos anova, mapadovros aurov peroa-
pevos els Kopw8ov aTrET TELE, KaXov HryoupEvos
év Th pNT omoXeL TOUS THS Bxedias Tupdvvous
bo Tav EdAnvav arolewpeicBar ghuyadixads
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thousand, they sailed to Syracuse. But by this time many also from Italy and Sicily had flocked to Timoleon ; and when their numbers had risen to sixty thousand, as Athanis states, Timoleon divided the land among them, and sold the houses of the city for a thousand talents, thus at once reserving for the original Syracusans the power to purchase their own houses, and devising an abundance of money for the community ; this had so little, both for other pur- poses, and especially for the war, that it actually sold its public statues at auction, a regular vote of con- demnation being passed against each, as though they were men submitting their accounts. It was at this time, they say, that the statue of Gelon, their ancient tyrant, was preserved by the Syracusans, though they condemned the rest, because they admired and honoured him for the victory which he had won over the Carthaginians at Himera.!

XXIV. Seeing the city thus beginning to revive and fill itself with people, since its citizens were streaming into it from all sides, Timoleon determined to set the other cities also free, and utterly to root out all tyrannies from Sicily. He therefore made an expedition into their territories and compelled Hicetas to forsake the cause of Carthage, and to agree to demolish his citadels and live as a private person in Leontini. And as for Leptines, who lorded it over Apollonia and numerous other strongholds, when he was in danger of being taken by main force, he surrendered himself; and Timoleon spared his life and sent him off to Corinth, considering it a fine thing to have the tyrants of Sicily in the mother city where the Greeks could observe them living .

1 In 480 B.c., on the same day, it is said, as the victory at
Salamis. Cf. Herodotus, vii. 166
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fr

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3 nal tamevas Covtas. Ttovs Sé pucbohopous
, > a , bd a LY A
BovAdpevos ex tHS ToAEpias w@peretcOar Kal by
oxordte, autos péev eis Tas Yupaxovoas érrav-
iAGe TH KaTagTadcEL THS TOALTELas TrpocéEwY Kat
tois jKovow éx KopivOov vopobéras Kedar
kal Atovucio ta Kuptwatata Kal KdAN_oTA ouUD-
Siabnawy, tovs dé wept Aeivapyov cal Anudperov
eis THY TOV Kapynbovioy éEémeppev emixparesar,
ot mOAELs TOAAaS adioTayTes THY BapRdpwy ov
,) \ fo) PJ 9 , 2 \ ,
povov avtot Sijyov év ddOovors, GAdra Kal ypn-
pata tapeoxevatoy eis Tov ToAE“oy amo TOV
ato Kopévov.
XXV. ’Ev rovt@ 5é Kapyndomo xatamrréovary
bd \ 4 ¥ e \ 4 “
eis TO AtAvBasov ayovres Erta puptdbas oTparod
kat tpinpers Staxocias Kai TA0Ia yiAta KopilovTa
pnyavas nat réOpimrma Kai citov adBovoy Kai
Thy GAANVY TapacKeuNny, WS OvK ETL TrOLNTOMEVOL
\ 4 ‘N ; ? > ¢ “a ,
KaTa sépos TOV TOAEMOV, GAN oOpov Tracns LX-
Kkedlas é€eXacovtes Tovs "EAAnvas: Fv yap 1
Svvamus éEapxovoa Kai py voocotvtas pnde d:e-
POappévous it’ adAnjrA@v svAAaBEcIa LiKediw-
tas. muOopevos 5€ tropOcicAas thy émixpatetav
autav, evOus opyn wpos tous KopivOiouvs éywpour
"AcdpouBa te kai 'Apidxa otpatnyourray. Tis
8 ayyedias oféws eis Lupaxovoas ddixopévns
ovUTw KaTeTAaynoav of Yupaxovato. wpos TO
péyeOos Tis Suvapews Mate podus TH Tiporcovte
(4 > ‘N a, c e
Tpicxyidiouvs ato TocovTey wupiadwy dma Aa-
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the lowly life of exiles. Moreover, he wished that his mercenaries might get booty from the enemy’s country and not remain idle. Accordingly, while he himself returned to Syracuse in order to apply himself to the establishment of the civil polity and to assist the lawgivers who had come from Corinth, Cephalus and Dionysius, in arranging its most im- portant details in the most attractive way, he sent forth the troops under Deinarchus and Demaretus } into that part of the island which the Carthaginians

controlled, where they brought many cities to revolt from the Barbarians, and not only lived in plenty themselves, but actually raised moneys for the war from the spoils they made.

XXV. Meanwhile the Carthaginians put in at Lily- baeum with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred triremes, and a thousand transports carrying engines of war, four-horse chariots, grain in abundance, and other requisite equipment. Their purposé was, not to carry on the war by piece-meal any more, but at one time to drive the invading Greeks out of all Sicily ; for their force would have been sufficient to capture the native Greeks, even though they had not been politically weak and utterly ruined by one another. And on learning that the territory which they controlled was being ravaged by the Corinthians, they were furious, and straightway marched against them under the command of Hasdrubal and Hamilcar. Tidings of this coming quickly to Syracuse, the Syracusans were so terrified at the magnitude of the enemy’s forces that only three thousand out of so many tens of thousands could with difficulty be brought to pluck up courage, take their arms, and go

1 Cf. chapter xxii. 3.

*~ n yd
3 Bovtas toApfnoar cuveEeNOeiv. ot 5é€ prcPopopor
TETpAaKiaXiALoL TO TAOS Hoay Kai TovTwY
avOts Goov yidiot Kal’ odoy amodedtacartes
AVEXY@PNTAY, WS OVY UyLtaivovTos TOU Teor€ortos,
b , 9 e , A e
GA\Ad paswouévov trap Atciay Kal mpos entra
peuptddas wodepioy pera twevraxioyirioy meCav
, e y , A ”~
kal xtdtov immévwy Badifovtos, kai Stapt@vtos
obey nuepa@v OxT@ Tv Svvapty amo TOY Lupa-
Kkovaav, Bev ote cwORvat Tois hevyovoty oUTE
4 Tadjvat toils Trecovow avtToy UTdpte. TOUTOUS
pev ovv Tiporéwv Képdos nryetto mpo TAS payns
havepovs yeyovotas, Tous Sé€ GAXOvS Emippwaas
KaTa TaXos Wye pos tov Kpiynoov motapmor,
Strov Kal tos Kapyndovious jxovce cuvat re.
XXVI. ’AvaBaivovte 5¢ a’t@ mpos Aodov, Sy
UrrepBadovres uedrov caroperbar TO oTpaTeupa
\ 4 a , 9 ,
kat thy Sivapty tav trodepiwv, éuBadXovow
Hutovot wéALva Kopilovtes’ Kal Tots oTpaTL@TALS
elon Ae trovnpov elvat TO onmetoy, OTL TA pYnpaTA
TOY vexpav ei@bapev erverKas oTEpavody aErAivots*
kal Tapotmia tis éx TOUTOU yéyove, TOY émiapa-

2 A@s vocodvTa Setcbat cerivov. Bovdopevos odv
> A 9 4 fe) A X
avrous amadAdéar ths Sevotdaipovias nad rHv
, b A e , 9 v4
dvceAmictetav adedreiy o Timodéwv, emaotynoas
THY Topelay GANa TE WpéTOYTA TO Katp@ Sie-
, A , > “a 54 A fo
AéyOn, Kal Tov atépavov auvtois edn mpo Tis
vixns Kxoptlouevov avToudtws eis Tas yeipas
jKev, @ KopivOtoe otepavodct tovs “IcOua vu-
K@VTAS, (epov Kal TaTpLov TO OTé“LA TOU GEAlvoU
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forth with Timoleon. Furthermore, the mercenaries were only four thousand in number ; and of these, again, about a thousand played the coward on the march and went back to Syracuse, declaring that Timoleon was not in his right mind, but was more crazy than his years would lead one to expect, and was marching against seventy thousand of the enemy with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, and was taking his force a march of eight days away from Syracuse, so that those of them who fled from the field would find no safety, and those who fell upon it would have no burial. As for these men, then, Timoleon counted it gain that they had shown what they were before the battle; the rest he encouraged and led them with all speed to the river Crimesus, where he heard that the Carthaginians also were concentrating.

XXVI1. As he was marching up a hill, from the crest of which they expected to look down upon the camp and the forces of the enemy, there met them by chance some mules laden with parsley ; and it occurred to the soldiers that the sign was a bad one, because we are generally accustomed to wreath the tombs of the dead with parsley; and this has given rise to a proverb, namely, that one who is dangerously sick “ needs only parsley.’ Accordingly, wishing to free them from their superstitious fears -and take away their despondency, Timoleon halted them on their march, and after discoursing other- wise as befitted the occasion, said also that the wreath for their victory had come into their hands in advance and of its own accord, the wreath with which Corinthians crown the victors at the Isthmian games, considering the garland of parsley to be tra-

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y 2
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vouitovres. ets yap Tore TOV ‘IcOpuiwy, woTep
viv trav Nepciwv, To aédwwov Hv otépavos, ov
mdrat dé % iTS yéyovev. évtTuyav ovv o Timo-
Av, OomrEp eipynrat, Tois oTpaTL@Tats Kal AaBov
TOV GeAlvor KaTEeaTéeaTO TP@TOS avUTOS, Elta of
mept avTov Hyepoves Kal TO WAHOOS. of dé wavTes
Katibovtes aetous S00 mpoadepopévous, OV O Lev
Spdxovta tois dvukw epepe Statrerrappévor, o bé
imtato KexAayos peya nal Oapparéov, éredet-
Kvvoy Tols oTpaTiMTats, Kal Mpos evYas Dewy Kal
avakrnoels éTpatroyTo WaVTES.
XXVII. To pév odv Eros iatapévov Oépous
elyevy @pav, Kal AnyorTs unvi Oapyndave mpos
Tas Tpowas On cuvire TOV KaLpov? opiyrAnv Sé
Tov ToTau“OU TOAAnY avad:doyTos mpaToy pev
amrexpumteto Cope TO Twediov, Kal ovvoTrTov ovdév
HY GTO TOV TOAELLWY, TANY HY TLS aKpPLTOS Kal
TULLLYNS Ava Wwpos TOV NOmoy Exwper TrpdcwHev
AVLOTAPLEVNS oTparias TtocavuTns. ws 5 avaBavres
éml rov Nogov éatncay of KopivOror nai Oéuevoe
tas aomidas Staverravovto, Tov HdLov Teptpepo-
pévouv Kal petewpilovtos THv avabupiac.y, o pév
Borepds anp aOportopevos mpos Ta btYynra Kal
TuvicTapevos KaTevehwoe TAS aKpwpeias, TOY Sé
U7 1ddas TOTwY avaxaBatpopévor 6 Te Kpiunoos
éEehavn Kai StaBaivovtes avtov @dOncav ai
TOAELLOL, TPWTOLS eV TOIS TEOPiTrIrots eKTANKTI-
Kas Tpos ayGva KaTerKevacuevors, KaTOTLD dé
ToUT@Y Luplots omAiTals NEVKdOTLCL. TOUTOUS
érexpatpovto Kapynéovious elvas tH AaptrpoTyTe
Ths oKxeuns kal tH BpaduTire Kal rake THs
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ditionally sacred in their country. For at that time parsley was still used for wreaths at the Isthmian, as it is now at the Nemean games, and it was not long ago that the pine came into use instead. Ac- cordingly, when Timoleon had addressed his soldiers, as I have said, he took of the parsley and crowned himself with it first, and then the captains and the common soldiers about him did the same. Moreover, the soothsayers, observing two eagles coming up on the wing, one of which bore a serpent pierced with its

talons, while the other flew with a loud and in- spiring cry, pointed them out to the soldiers, and all betook themselves to invoking the gods with prayers.

XXVII. Now, the season of the year was early summer, the month of Thargelion was drawing to a close, and the summer solstice was near;! the river exhaled a thick mist which at first hid the plain in darkness, and nothing could be seen in the enemy's camp, only an inarticulate and confused noise made its way up to the hill, showing that the vast host was moving forward. But after the Corinthians had ascended the hill, where they stopped, laid down their shields, and rested themselves, the sun was passing the meridian and drawing the vapours on high, the thick haze moved in masses towards the heights and hung in clouds about the mountain summits, while the regions below cleared up, the Crimesus came into view, and the enemy were seen crossing it, in the van their four-horse chariots for- midably arrayed for battle, and behind these ten thousand men-at-arms with white shields. These the Corinthians conjectured to be Carthaginians, from the splendour of their armour and the slowness

1 It was early in June, 339 Buc.

mopeias. peta S€ TovTovs Tav AoLTaOY Over
émippecvtwy Kai tiv SudBaow pet @Oiopod Kat
Tapayis Tovovpevwy, svvid@v o Tiporéov tov
WOTaPLOV AUTOIS TasuEevovTa TOV mANJoUS Tov
modeuiwy atrodaBeiy Sooty OéXovev avTol paye-
aoOat, xai tovs otpatiwmtas xabopay xedevoas
Thy parayya te peiOpm Siaredvpévny nai rods
pev 78n SsaBeBnxoras, Tovs dé péXAovtTas, Tpoc-
érake Anpapér@ AaBovre Ttovs imrets éwBareiy
els tous Kapynédovious xal ovvtapdéa tov &:a-
KOO LOV AUT@Y THS Tapatd&ews ovTrH KabecTwOoNS.
avros 6€ xataBads els TO tediov Ta pev Képata
Tois GAdos LuKedksoTats arédwxev, avapitas
exatépp tav Eévwy ov troddovs, ev péow S€ zrepi
aitov XaBav Tovs Lupaxovaious Kal Td payipwo-
Tatov TaV pcOopopwv Bpaydy pev xpovov éméaye
TO TOV immréwy aTrolewpay Epyor, ws 5é éxeivous
eldev tro TOY appatev po THs Takews SiabedvTwv
eis yeipas ENOeiv Tois Kapyndovioss od Svvapévous,
aX Gres pn cuvrapayxOeiev avayxalopdvous
éFerittey cuvexa@s xal muxvas é& émotpodis
qovctabat Tas émeNaceEls, dvadaBov tHv acrida
wat Bonoas ErecOat cai Oappeiv rots melois
éokev vrreppvet povy nai peilove xeypnobat THs
cuvnfous, eitre TO TdaGEL Tapa TOY ayava Kai TOV

évOovatac pov otTw Statevdpevos, cite Satpoviov
TLVOS, @S TOLS Tronnois TOTE mapéorn,, OUvETt-
pb cyEapévov. TAXD dé THY kpavyiy avtaTrodov-
Tov, Kal Tapeyyv@vtwy aye xal py pédrewv,
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and good order of their fharch. After these the other nations streamed on and were making the crossing in tumultuous confusion. Then Timoleon, noticing that the river was putting it in their power to cut off and engage with whatever numbers of the enemy they themselves desired, and bidding his soldiers observe that the phalanx of the enemy was sundered by the river, since some of them had already crossed, while others were about to do so, ordered Demaretus to take the horsemen and fall upon the Carthaginians and throw their ranks into confusion before their array was yet formed. Then he himself, descending into the plain, assigned the wings to the other Sicilian Greeks, uniting a few of his mercenaries with each wing, while he took the Syracusans and the best fighters among his mercen- aries under his own command in the centre. Then he waited a little while, watching what his horsemen would do, and when he saw that they were unable to come to close quarters with the Carthaginians on account of the chariots which coursed up and down in front of their lines, but were forced to wheel about continually that their ranks might not be broken, and to make their charges in quick succession after facing about again, he took up his shield and shouted to his infantrymen to follow and be of good courage ; and his voice seemed stronger than usual and more than human, whether it was from emotion that he made it so loud, in view of the struggle and the enthusiasm which it inspired, or whether, as most felt at the time, some deity joined in his utterance. Then, his men re-echoing his shout, and begging him to lead them on without delay, he signalled to

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Tots pev imrotats €onpavey EEw rapa thy taki
T@Y appatwv TapeNdoat Kal KaTa& Képas Trpoc-
pépecOat tots todepuiows, avtos S€ Tovs mpo-
paXoUs WuKv@cas T@ ovvacwicp@, Kat THY
aadtvyya Kerevoas emipbéyEacIa, mpooéBare
tois Kapynédoviors.
XXVIII. Ot S&é thy pév rpw@rny émidpoprny
UurésTnoay éppwpévas, Kai TO KaTaTreppayOat Ta
capata atdnpois Owpaks nal yadxois xpdveow
aoridas Te peyddas mpoPeSrnoOa: StexpovoytTo
Tov Sopatiopov. eérrel 5é eis Eibn cuvndOev o
ayav Kal Téyyns ovxX NTTOY H pwpns eyeyover TO
Epyov, éEaipyns ato tay opa@v Bpovtat te poBepat
KaTeppyyvuvto Kal wupwdes aotparai ouveké-
WLNTOV. ETA O TWEplt TOS AOoUS Kal Tas axpw-

petas Cohos ent thy paxyny xatiav, 6uBpm Kar
mvevpate Kal yardln cuppemeypévos, Tois pev
"ErAnow é£oricbev xal Kata vwrov teptexetro,
tov 5¢ BapRdpev éErumte TA TpdcwTa Kal KaTN-
atpamte Tas dyes, Gua Daidatros bypas xal
froyos auvexois ex TaV vedav Pepopuévyns. ev
ols T1roANG ev HV Ta AUVTTODVTA, Kal pddtoTaA TOUS
atreipovs, ovx HKiota S€ Bradyar doxodow ai
Bpovral nal tov Grrdwy 6 Tatayos KoTTOMEVwY
@ 4 4 4 9 V4
cf paySaim cat yaraln, kwdXvwv axoverOa Ta
mpootaypata Tov nye“ovwv. ois S& Kapyn-
Soviows ovK ovow evlovots TOY oTALCpLOY, adn,
®omep elpntat, Katatreppaypévors, 6 TE mWNHAOS
hinébine hy ol te KoATTOL TWANPOvMEVOL TeV
xitovev bdatos, oF abrois mev eis TOV ayava
xpijc Gat Bapels Raoav Kat Svaepyot, padsoe 8é Tois
"EdAnaoe tepitpémec Oat, Kal wecovtTes aunyavor
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his horsemen to ride along outside and past the line
of chariots and attack the enemy on the flank, while
he himself made his vanguard lock their shields in
close array, ordered the trumpet to sound the charge,
and fell upon the Carthaginians.

XXVIII. But these withstood his first onset sturdily, and owing to the iron breastplates and bronze helmets with which their persons were pro- tected, and the great shields which they held in front of them, repelled the spear thrusts. But when the struggle came to swords and the work required skill no less than strength, suddenly, from the hills, fearful peals of thunder crashed down, and vivid flashes of lightning darted forth with them. Then the darkness hovering over the hills and mountain summits came down to the field of battle, mingled with rain, wind, and hail. It enveloped the Greeks from behind and smote their backs, but it smote the Barbarians in the face and dazzled their eyes, a tempest of rain and continuous flames dashing from the clouds. In all this there was much that gave distress, and most of all to the in- experienced ; and particularly, as it would seem, the peals of thunder worked harm, and the clatter of the armour smitten by the dashing rain and hail, which made it impossible to hear the commands of the leaders. Besides, since the Carthaginians were not lightly equipped, but, as I have said, encased in armour, both the mud and the bosoms of their tunics filled with water impeded them, so that they were unwieldy and ineffective in their fighting, and easily upset by the Greeks, and when they had once fallen it was impossible for them to rise again from

4 mdduy éx mmo peTa Tay Orhey aGyacTiva. «kai
yap o 0 Kpipnoos imo tay SiaPatvovtev exhuoOn
péeyas 76 Tots Su Bposs nvEnpévos, wal TO qwedtov
TO Wepi QUTOV UTO ToAAAS ouvaryKeias Kat papay-
yas Urroxel pevov ériprhato pevidtev ov Kata
qropov pepopeveor, ols ot amLcreibarn xadsvoou-
pevot Xarers amr NATTOV. téros Sé Tov xet-
pe@ovos ET LKELLEVOU, Kal TOV ‘EXAjvev THY TP@THy
Tage aura, avdpas TeTpaxocious, xataBadov-
5 Tw, eTpaTry To WANOOs Eis puyyy. Kai ToAXot
pev ev TP Trediep xatahapBavopevor biepGeipovro,
TrONAoUS 5€ 0 Totapos ois Ere Te aLoupevots
cULTiMTOVTAS éuBarrdov cal Tapadepaov aT on-
Ave, Telia TOUS dé Tay Aopeov éptepevous ems-
Oéovres ot yorot KaTeLpyacavTo. Aéyovrat your
év pupiots vex pos Tpurxirsot KapynSovicv ryeve-
6 cBa, peya TH Tone mevOos. ouTE yap yéveow
obre Tovrors ovre Sokats Erepot Bedrioves hoav
éxeivwv, ovT amroBavovtas ToTe fuUa ayn Wpo-
TEpov é& avrav Kapyndoviey ToTOUTOUS pVN-
povevovory, ara AiBvot Ta TONGA car “I Bnpot
xat Nopdot ypwopevor 7 pos TAS payas aAdNNoTpLaLs
BraBats avedéXovTo Tas HTTas.
XXIX. "Eqvac@y dé ois “EAAnow n Oofa
TOY TETOVT@Y ATO THY Aapupwv. eAd YLT TOS
yap hy Xoreav Kat odnpav Tois oKUAEVOUCL
oryos” oUTWS add Govos bev tv apyupos, ag Bovos dé
Xpucos. Kal yap To oTparorTresoy pera TOY
vmrotuylov dscaBavres EXaBov. TOV é alxpanw-
TY Ol pev mwoXXol _Stexdarrnoay UTO TOV oTpa-
TiaT@y, els Oe KOLWOV amredeixOnoay TEVTAKL Xi -
Auoe TO TAHOOS? Aw Sé wal dwtaxdota tov
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the mud with their weapons. For the Crimesus, having been already greatly swollen by the rains, was forced over its banks by those who were cross- ing it, and the adjacent plain, into which many glens and ravines opened from the hills, was filled with streams that hurried along no fixed channels, and in these the Carthaginians wallowed about and were hard beset. Finally, the storm still assailing them, and the Greeks having overthrown their first rank of four hundred men, the main body was put to flight. Many were overtaken in the plain and . cut to pieces, and many the river dashed upon and carried away to

destruction as they encountered those who were still trying to cross, but most of them the light-armed Greeks ran upon and des- patched as they were making for the hills. At any rate, it is said that among ten thousand dead bodies, three thousand were those of Carthaginians—a great affliction for the city. For no others were superior to these in birth or wealth or reputation, nor is it recorded that so many native Carthaginians ever perished in a single battle before, but they used - Libyans for the most part and Iberians and Numid- ians for their battles, and thus sustained their de- feats at the cost of other nations.

XXIX. The rank of those who had fallen was made known to the Greeks from the spoils. For those who stripped the bodies made very little account of bronze and iron; so abundant was silver, so abundant gold. For they crossed the river and seized the camp with its baggage-trains. As for the prisoners, most of them were stolen away and hidden by the soldiers, but as many as five thousand were delivered into the public stock; there were also

2 tOpinmwv. KxadrrAJornv Sé Kxal peyaXompere-
aorarny aiiv % Teporéovros éredetxvuto oxnvy
meptowpevOeioa tTavtodatrois Aadupots, év ols
xidvo. pev Owpaxes epyacia Kal KddrAW Siadé-
povtes, puptat S€ aomides tmpoeTéOnoav. drJLyot
5é moAXovs oxvrevovTes Kal peydrats éevtuyyd-
vovtes wperciars tpitn moms Hepa peTa THY
payny éornocay TpoTratov.
“Apa S¢ tH Syn tis viens o Trporéwov eis
pa Se TH din Tis vien yo
KopwOov ereuye se KdAMOTA THY aixparorTov
dirdwv, Bovropevos avrov tHy a i Tact
3 avOpatros Enrwrtny elvat, Oewpévors ev exetvy
povn tay “EXAnuiKnay morewv tovs émibaveota-
Tous vaovs ovx “EAXnviKois Kexoounpévous dAa-
hipots ovd amd ouyyevav dovov Kal ouopvrav
avaOnpatov pynpas areprreis éyovras, adda
BapBapixa oxira xadXiorats emtypagais 8y-
NovVTA pEeTa THS avdpelas TAV vEevLKNKOTwY THY
Sixacoouvny, Ste KopivOtoc cal Teworéwv 0 otpa-
Tyyos édevOepwoavtes TOvS BKediay oixobvTas
"EXAnvas amo Kapyndovioy yapiotnpia Geois.
aveOnnay.
XXX. "Ex tovtov xatadirev ev Th Todepia
Tous ptaGopdpous ayovtras Kal dépovtas tHy TeV
Kapynooviwyériucpateav, avtos xev eis Yupa-

Kovaas' Kal Tovs xtALlovs puaOoddpous éxelvous,
td’ oy éyxaterelhOn mpo ths paxns, eEexrpute
THs BeuKeXtas, Kat mpl 4 Sivas tov HALov nvdy-
2 xacev €x Yvpaxovoav awedOeiv. ovdtoL pev ovv
Stamrrevoavtes ets ‘Iradlav amedovto Tapa-
amovonbévtes Uo Bpetriwv, cal Sixny tavtny
To Satpomoy avtois THiS mMpodocias érébnxe.
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captured two hundred of the four-horse chariots. But the most glorious and magnificent sight was _presented by the tent of Timoleon, which was heaped about with all sorts of spoils, among which a thousand breast-plates of superior workmanship and beauty and ten thousand shields were exposed to view. And as there were but few to strip many, and the booty they came upon was great, it was the third day after the battle before they could erect their trophy.

Along with the report of his victory Timoleon sent to Corinth the most beautiful of the captured armour, wishing that his own native city should be envied of all men, when in her alone of Greek cities they saw the most conspicuous temples, not adorned with Greek spoils, nor possessed of joyless memorials in the shape of votive offerings from the slaughter of kinsmen and fellow citizens, but decked with barbarian spoils which set forth in fairest inscriptions the justice as well as the valour of the victors, declaring that Corinthians and Timoleon their general set the Greeks dwelling in Sicily free from Carthaginians, and thus dedicated thank-offerings to the gods.

XXX. After this, he left his mercenaries in the enemy’s territory plundering the dominion of the Carthaginians, and went himself to Syracuse; there he ordered out of Sicily the thousand mercenaries by whom he had been deserted before the battle, and compelled them to depart from Syracuse before the sun went down. These, then, after crossing into Italy, were perfidiously slain by the Bruttians, thus receiving from the divine power a penalty for

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Tar 5é wept ror Mdpepxoy, tov Karayns tvpay- 251
vov, kat ‘Ixérny, ere PO0ve tav KxatopOovpévwy
uma Tiporéovros, elite oPovpérwy autov ws
amtoTov kai dotrovdov Mpos TOUS TUpaVVOUS, TULL-
paxiay Tomncapévev mpos tovs Kapyndovious
Kal KeXevoavroy réurey Suva «al orparn-
yov, et un wayvtdtrace Bovdovtas YeKeMas éx-
teceiv, Errevoe Técxwv vais pev Exov EBdopun-
xovta, pscOodopouvs Sé¢ wpocrda8eav “EAAnvas,
ovmw mpotepoy “EXXAnot ypnoapévav Kapyn-
Soviwy, adA\d ToTe Oavypacaytwv ws avuTo0-
oTdTous Kal paxtpwrdrovs avOp@rav anrdvTev.
ovotavres 5¢ xowwn pet addAnAwv Arravtes ev TH
Meconvia tetpaxocious tav mapa Tipor€ovtos
Eévwv émixovpovs weupOévtas améxrewav, év
8¢ 19 Kapyndoviwy émixpateia tepi tas xadou-
pevas “letas evedpevoavtes tovs pet Evdvpou
tov Aevxabdiou pucboddpous S:épOetpav. &€& ov
kat partota thy Tiporéovtos evtuyiay avvéBn
yevérOat Siwvupov. Hoav pev yap ovTa Tav
peta Diropynrov tod Poxéws xal ‘Ovoudpyov
Aeros catadaBovtov cal peracxovtov éxeivoss
THS lepoovAias. pucovvtayv 5é€ TavTev autos
cal duratropéevoy érrapdrovs yeyovortas, TAave-
pevot wept tHv IleXorovvncoyv bd Tiporéovtos
ErnpOnoay érépwv oTpatiwtav ovK evTropovyTos.
adixopevo. Se eis YueNayv Goas pev exeivo
suynywvicayvto pdyas mdoas évixwy, tov Sé
Trelotwv Kal peylotwy aywverv tédos éxyovTav
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TIMOLEON

their treachery. Mamercus, however, the tyrant of Catana, and Hicetas, whether through envy of the successes won by Timoleon, or because they feared him as one who distrusted tyrants and would make no peace with them, formed an alliance with the Carthaginians and urged them to send a general with an army if they did not wish to be cast out of Sicily altogether. Accordingly, Gisco set sail! with a fleet of seventy ships, and added Greek mercenaries to his forces, although the Carthaginians had never before employed Greek soldiers; they did so at this time, however, because they had come to admire them as the best and most irresistible fighters in the world. After they had all united their forces in the territory of Messana, they slew four hundred of Timoleon’s mercenaries who had been sent thither as auxiliaries, and in that part of the island belong- ing to the Carthaginians, near the place called Ietae, they set an ambush for the mercenaries under Euthymus the Leucadian and cut them to pieces. Herein even most of all did the good for- tune of Timoleon become famous. For these were some of the men who, with Philomelus the Phocian and Onomarchus, had seized Delphi and shared in their spoliation of the sanctuary.2 Then, since

all mankind hated them and shunned them as men who had put themselves under a curse, they wandered about Peloponnesus, where they were enlisted in his service by Timoleon, in the dearth of other soldiers. And after coming into Sicily, they were victorious in all the battles which they fought under his leadership, but when the most and greatest of his 1 In the spring of 338 B.c.

2 This was at the beginning of the second so-called Sacred War, 356 B.0.

€xTreuMomevot Wpos ETépas vm avtov PBonOeias
ar@XovTo Kab Katavarwbnoar, ovy ouod TayTes,
GAA KaTa pépos, TAS Aixns avtois amoNoyou-
péevns tH Tiporéovtos evtuxia émritiOenevns 1
Orrws pnoeuia toils ayabois amo THS TOY KaKO@V
Kordcews BAdBn yéevntat. THY pev oY mTpdS
Tiporéovra trav Seay evpévetay ovx Hrtov év als
mpooéxpovoe mpaterw 7 mepl as xatwp0ou
OavpdtecOat avvéRaivev.
XXXI. Of & woddol trav Yupaxovaiwv éxaré-
Ta.vov UT TAY TUPdvYwY TpoTNAaAKLCOMEVOL. Kal
yap 0 Mapeptos emi T@ Trotnuata ypadew Kai
Tpaywdias péya dpovav éxopumale vinnoas rovs
ptcboddpors, Kal tas aomidas dvabeis trois Oeois
édeyetov URpiotexov eTréypawe:
TacS ootpeoypadets xai XpucehehavTnrEKTpous
daomidas adomidiou ethopev evTEnéoe.
yevowévev dé tovTwy nal rod Tiporgéovtos ets
Kadavupiav otpatevcavtos, 6 'Ixérns éuBadrov
eis THY Yupaxouciay Aciav Te cuYrny EXaBeE Kal
ToNAa AvuNvapevos Kal KaOvBpicas amnddGr-
Teto wrap avtny thy Kadavpiav, xatadpovev
tov Tiporéovtos odtyous oTpatiwtas ExoVToS.
éxeivos 5¢ mpodaBeiv édoas édiwxev tmmets Exwv
Kat Yirovs. aicBdpmevos 5 o 'Inérns tov Aapv-
piav d:aBeBnxas tréotn mapa Tov ToTAapoOY os
apuvovpevos: Kal yap avt@ Oapoos 4 Te TOD
mopou XaderroTns Kal TO Kpnuraces THs éExaTépw-
Oev Gy Ons mapetxe. Tois 5€ weTa TOD Tiponréovros

l ris Allens... éxiriOenévns Sintenis, with the MSS. The corrupt passage is variously emended by different editors.

struggles were over, they were sent out by him to the assistance of others, and then perished utterly, not all at one time, but little by little. And Justice thus punished them, while at the same time she sustained the good fortune of Timoleon, in order that no harm might come to the good from the chastisement of the wicked. So, then, the good will of the gods towards Timoleon was no less to be admired in his reverses than in his successes.

XXXI. But the people of Syracuse were vexed at the insults heaped upon them by the tyrants. For Mamercus, who valued himself highly as a writer of poems and tragedies, boasted of his victory over the mercenaries, and in dedicating their shields to the gods wrote the following insolent couplet :—

“These bucklers, purple-painted, decked with
ivory, gold, and amber,
We captured with our simple little shields.”

And after this, when Timoleon was on an expedition to Calauria, Hicetas burst into the territory of Syracuse, took much booty, wrought much wanton havoc, and was marching off past Calauria itself, despising Timoleon, who had but few soldiers. But Timoleon suffered him to pass on, and then pursued him with cavalry and light-armed troops. When Hicctas was aware of this, he crossed the river Damurias, and halted on the farther bank to defend himself; for the difficulty of the passage, and the steepness of the banks on either side, gave him courage. ‘Then

indpyais épis éumecodca Oavpaorn Kxal dirdo-
verxia SiatpiByny érroiee THs payns. ovdels yap
qv o Bovropevos éerépou diaBaiverw dortepos emt
TOUS ToNEmious, GAN avTos Exactos nkiov Tpw-
Tayovoreiy, Kal Koopov ovK elyev 4 SiaBacis
éEwOovvtwy xal Tapatpeyovtwy ddAnAOUs. Bov-
NOLEVOS OV Oo Tepor€wy KANP@aAL TOS HrEe“ovas
ékaBe wap éxdotov Saxtidov. éuBarav sé
mavtas eis THY EavToU yAapvda Kal pitas Eerke
TOV MP@ToV KaTa TUYNY yAUd HY ExovTa TAS oppa-
yidos Tpomatov. ws dé TovToY elSov ol vEeavicKol,
peta yapas avaxpayovres ovK étt Tov GAAoV
Uméuervay KAHpov, GAN’ ws Exaotos Taxus elye
Tov trotapov SucEeXdoavtes ev yepoly Hoav ToL
modeuiots. of 5é ov édéEavto THy Biav avon,
GANA hevyorTes THY pev OTAWY ATravTeEs Oouaras

éatepnOnaay, Xedious d€¢ amréBanXov wrecovtas.
XXXII, Ov worr@ b€ Sotepov eis tHv Acov-
tivev otpatevoas o Tiportéwy RAapBaver Tov
‘Inérny Cavra cal tov viov Evrodenov nal tov
immapyny KiOupoy, vrd tev oTpatiwtav acuvee-
Oévras Kal nomscOévtas mpdos avTov. o pev ov»
‘Ikérns nat TO peupadxiov ws TUpavvot Kal mpoddtas
xkoracbévres améOyvnoxov, o & EvOupos, avyp
dyaos dy mpos. tovs ayavas Kal TOApy Stadépwr,
oux étuxev oixtov Sia Praodnpuiav tiva mpos
tous KopuvOious xatnyopnOeitcay avtod. Réyerat
yap Ott tav Kopw6iwy éxotpatevoapévev én’
avtovs Snunyopav év tois Acovtivots ovdev py
yeyovévae poBepoy ovbe Sewov, et
Kopiv@tae yuvaixes €EAXOov Sopwv.

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among Timoleon’s cavalry officers an astonishing strife and contention arose which delayed the battle. For not one of them was willing to cross the river against the enemy after another, but each demanded to begin the onset himself, and their crossing was likely to be without order if they crowded and tried to run past one another. Timoleon, therefore, wish- ing to decide their order by lot, took a seal-ring from each of the leaders, and after casting all the rings into his own cloak and mixing them up, he. showed the first that came out, and it had by chance as the device of its seal a trophy of victory. When the young men saw it, they cried aloud for joy and would no longer wait for the rest of the lot, but all dashed through the river as fast as they could and closed with the enemy. These could not withstand the violence of their onset, but fled, all alike losing their arms, and a thousand being left dead on the field. XXXII. Not long afterwards Timoleon made an expedition into the territory of Leontini and cap- tured Hicetas alive, together with his son Eupolemus and his master of horse Euthymus, who were bound and brought to Timoleon by his soldiers. Hicetas, then, and his young son, were punished as tyrants and traitors and put to death, and Euthymus, though a brave man in action and of surpassing boldness, found no pity because of a certain insult to the Corinthians which was alleged against him. It is said, namely, that when the Corinthians had taken the field against them, Kuthymus told the men of Leontini in a public harangue that it was nothing fearful or dreadful if “ Corinthian women came forth from their homes.” ! An adaptation of Euripides, Medeia, 215 (Kirchhoff), where Medea speaks to the chorus in the first person. 339

z2

ovUTws Ure Aoyev padrov n mpafewy Trovnpa@y

dndobat mepiKac Ot WoOAXoL’ _Xarerr@repov
yap bBpuw 7 n BraBnv pépovar. Kal TO pev ape-
veoBar 80 epyov @S avaryKaiov bédorat Tots
Trohepovow, ai d¢ Bracdnpias treptovala picovs
h xaktas yivecOat Soxovauy.
X XXIII. "Exraven Oovros dé Tod Tiporeovros
ot Xupaxoveros TAS yuvaikas Tov Téept TOV Teérqy
Kab Tas Ouyatépas év exxdnoig KATAOTHGAYTES
eis Kpiow arrexTelvay. Kal oxet TOUTO TOY
Tiporcovros Epywv aXapiaToTaTov yevéo Oars pr
yap av éxeivov KwAvovTos obtws Tas avOpdrous
amoQaveiv. Soxet d€ avtas umepideiv Kal m™po-
éaOau T@ Oup@ tav TodTeVv Sin AapBavovtwy
bmp Atewvos TOU Atovictoy éxBadovtos. ‘Teérns
yap éoTw oO THY yuvaixa Tob Atwvos ~Aperny Kat
Thy adergny’ "Apia ropayny kal Tov viov ére
maida Katatrovticas twvtas, wept av év To
Aiwvos yeypamras Bio.
XXXIV. Mera 6€ tadra oTparevoas én
Mdyeptoy eis Karavnv Kal Tmepl TO peda THY
"ABoXov éx maparafews uTooTavTa viKnoas Kal
Tpe\dpevos vrép durytrLous aveiney, ov pé pos
OUK OdLyoD 7; OAV Ob ep Gevtes t uo T'éoxwvos é émt-
Koupot Poiveres. éx O€ TOUTOV Kapyndovior pev
elpnyny émoujoavro Tpos aUTOV denOevtes, WO TE
Thv €VvTOS. TOU Avkov Xopav exely, Kat Tots
Bovdopevors ? €€ avtis peToxely 7 pos Zupaxov-
atovs xpnuara Kal yeveas amodibovtes, Kal tots
1 rots BovAouévots Coraés, Sintenis!, and Bekker, after
Reiske (with AC): robs BovAoudvovs. Corats and Bekker
bracket the preceding «al.
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So natural is it for most men to be more galled by
bitter words than hostile acts; since insolence is
harder for them to bear than injury. Besides, defen-
sive acts are tolerated in an enemy as a necessary
right, but insults are thought to spring from an
excess of hatred or baseness.
XXXIII. After Timoleon had returned, the Syra-
cusans brought the wives and daughters of Hicetas
and his friends to public trial, and then put them to
death. And this would seem to have been the most

displeasing thing in Timoleon's career; for if he had opposed it, the women would not have been thus put to death. But apparently he neglected them and abandoned them to the wrath of the citizens, who were bent on taking vengeance in behalf of Dion, who drove out Dionysius. For Hicetas was the man who took Arete the wife of Dion, and Aristomache his sister, and his son, who was still a boy, and threw them into the sea alive, concerning which things I have written in my Life of Dion.}

XXXIV. After this, Timoleon made an expedition against Mamercus to Catana, conquered and routed him in a pitched battle near the stream of the Abolus, and slew above two thousand of his soldiers, a large part of whom were the Carthaginians sent him as auxiliaries by Gisco. Thereupon the Cartha- ginians made a peace with him which they sought themselves; the terms were that they should keep the territory within the river Lycus, restoring their families and property to all who wished to change their homes from there to Syracuse, and renouncing

1 Chapter lviii. 4.

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2 Tupavvols aTrevTrapevor THY Guppaxiav. Mapepxos S¢ Suc Oupav tais édXricow err pev eis Itadiav as Aevxavors érakwv Tyoréovts xal Lupaxovaio, émel S€ amoorpéwaytes of cdY a'T@ Tds Tpinpets Kal wrevoavtes eis Lixediavy TH Tipo0- Novre tay Karayvnv rapédoxav, avayxacbels Kal avros eis Meoonvnv Kxatépuye mpos "lrmeova

3 TOY TUpavvovYTa Ths Toews. érEeADoVTOS Se TOD Tcporéovtos avtois Kal wodLopKxodvtos Ex TE YAS kat Oaratrns, o wey "Inmwy atrodiépacnayv éri vews HAW, Kal TrapahaPovTes avTov ot Mecaonnor, kal tovs taidas é« tov didacKxareiwy ws eri Géapa nddNoTov THY TOU TUpdvvoU Tipwpiav dyayovtes eis Oéatpov, nxicavto Kal drépOerpar: o 5¢ Madpepxos éavtoy Tiporéovte mrapédwxev érit te dixny brea yeiv éy Yupaxovaios py

4 xatnyopobvtos Tiporéovtos. axOels 5é eis Tas Lupaxoveas, TapehOwy eis Tov SHuov emreyeiper pév Twa cuyKelpevov x Tadatov AOdyov UT avtov SueEvévas, OopvBos Sé mepitintwv Kal rhv

éxx\noiav opav amapaitntov ee pivras To
iuatiov dia pécov Tov Geatpov, cal mpos te Tov
Bdabpwv Spopm hepopevos cvvéppnte thv nehadnv
ws amroGavovpevos. ov pny ETuXe ye TaUTNS THs
TedeuTHS, GAN' Ere Cav atrayGels Fvirep of AnaoTal
dixny axe.
XXXV. Tas pév ody tupavvidas o Tiporéov
TovTov Tov TpoTroy éFéxoWe Kal TOvS ToXELOUS
éxuce' THY O€ GANv vio cEnyptopevny bro KaKaV
kal Stayemonuévny Ure TaV oiknTopwy tapa-
AaBov obtas eEnuépwoe Kal roOewny éroince
Taotvy MOTE TAEW OlKHoOYTAaS ETépoUS BOeVv of 253
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their alliance with the tyrants. Then Mamercus,
despairing of success, took ship for Italy with the
purpose of bringing the Lucanians against Timoleon
and Syracuse; but his companions on the voyage
turned their triremes back, sailed to Sicily, and
handed Catana over to Timoleon, whereupon Mamer-
cus himself also was compelled to seek refuge in
Messana with Hippo the tyrant of that city. But
Timoleon came up against them and besieged them
'by land and sea, and Hippo was caught as he was
trying to steal away on board a ship. Then the
Messanians took him into the theatre, brought their
children thither from their schools to behold, as
a glorious spectacle, the tyrant's punishment, and
put him. to torment and death. As for Mamercus,
he gave himself up to Timoleon on condition that
he should undergo trial at Syracuse, and that Timo-
leon should not denounce him. So he was brought
to Syracuse, and when he came before the people,
attempted to rehearse a speech composed by him a
long time before; but being received with noise and
clamour, and seeing that the assembly was inexor-
able, he flung away his mantle, ran right across the
theatre, and dashed head foremost against one of
the stone steps, hoping to kill himself. However,
he was not so fortunate as to die in this way, but
was taken away, still living, and crucified like a
robber.
XXXV. In this manner, then, did Timoleon ex- tirpate the tyrannies and put a stop to their wars. He found

the whole island reduced to a savage state by its troubles and hated by its inhabitants, but he made it so civilized and so desirable in the eyes of all men that others came by sea to dwell in the

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

2 qwoNiTas T™poTepov amedibpackov. Kal yap "Axpd-
yavTa Kal Ténap, TOAELS peydras pera TOV
"Arrexoy TONE MOV urd KapynSoviev dvaoTatous
yeryernpevas, TOTE KATOKLOQY, THY bev ol mepl
MéyeAArov xat Dépiorov é£ "Enéas, THD be ob
mept Topyov € éx Kéw TrEvTAaVTES kal cuvayayorTes
TOUS apxatous ° moniTas" ols ov povoy dopareray € éx
Tohewou TogouTov Kal yaArHnvny iSpvopévots trapa-
cXOV, ANAA Kal Taha, TapacKevacas Kab TUp-
3 mpoOuundels OaomTreEp olKLaTNS nyaT aro. Kat TeV
adov bé Sraxetpevov opoiws dmrdvtov mpos
avrov, ou Tohépou TUs AVaLS, OU VOLLov Géats, ov
xapas KATOLKLG 10S, ov ToNLTELAS Sidrakis edoner
KANOS EXELY, As éxeivos pa) mW poadyyatto pn dé
KATAKOTLNOELEV, WOTED Epye CUVTENOUPEVO
Snucoupyes émOeis tia yap Oeodiry xat
mpeTovaav.
XXXVI. Torr dy yoov Kat' auTov 'EX qvev
peryddoov ryevomeveo" eal peyara KaTepyacapevo,
@y Kal Tipodeos Hy Kat "Aynatiaos cat Iledo-
mioas Kal o padora onrwbels ure Teporcovros
"Erapewoveas, at bev éxeivwv mpakes Bia Tut
Kal Tov TO Naum pov eLevnvoyace He [try LevOV,
WOTE KAL peprpey € evials 5 emeyiver Oar Kal peTavoay,
TOY dé Tiporéortos Epyor, é&w Aoyou Bepévous
THY mepl Tov adehpov avayKny, ovdev éotiy © un
Ta Tod Yodhorr€ous, ws hyot Tipacos, émupwvely
&7r peTrev"
@ Oeoi, tis Apa Kumpis 7 ris ipepos
tovde Evynrpato;
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TIMOLEON

places from which their own citizens used to run away before. Agrigentum and Gela, for instance, great cities which had been ruined and depopulated by the Carthaginians after the Attic war, were re- peopled at this time, one by Megellus and Pheristus from Velia, the other by Gorgus, who sailed from Ceos and brought with his company the old citizens. To these settlers Timoleon not only afforded safety and calm after so long a storm of war, but also supplied their further needs and zealously assisted them, so that he was revered by them as a founder. All the other inhabitants also cherished like feelings towards him, and no conclusion of war, no institution of laws, no settlement of territory, no arrangement of civil polity seemed satisfactory, unless he gave the finishing touches to it, like a master builder adding to a work that is drawing to completion some grace which pleases gods and men.

XXXVI. At any rate, though in his time Greece produced many men who were great and wrought great things, such as Timotheus, Agesilaiis, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas (whom Timoleon most emulated), still, the lustre of their achievements was tarnished by a certain degree of violence and laborious effort, so that some of them were followed by censure and repentance; whereas in the career of Timoleon, setting aside his necessary treatment of his brother, there is nothing to which it were not meet, as Timaeus says, to apply the words of Sophocles :—

“Ye Gods, pray tell what Cypris or what winning love
Was partner in this work? ’’}

3 Nauck, J’rag. Graec. Frag.? p. 316.

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

2 xaarrep yap 9 pev "Avtiupayou moinots nai Ta Atovuciou Swypadpjpata, Tov Korodpoviar, ioyov éyovra xal rovov éxBeBiacpévots Kal Katatrovots éorxe, Tats 5é Nexopayou ypadais xai rots ‘Opnpou oTixots peta THs GAAns Suvdpews Kal XaptTos mpoceote To Soxely evyepas Kal padiws arreipyac0a, odTws jTapa thy Enapervovoou otpatnyiav cal tHhv ‘Aynotddou, ToAvTrOVoUs yevopévas kat duvcdywvas, 7 Timoréovtos avrefetalopern, xal peta TOD KaXOV TOAD TO padiov ExovCa, daiveTat Tois ev Kal dixaiws Aoyilopévors ov TUYNS 3 Epyov, GAN apeThs evTUXOVONS. KaiTOL TaYTa y éxejvos els THY TUXNY avATTE TA KaTopOovpeva: Kat yap ypaduv Tots olkot pirors kal dnpnyopav ™ pos TOUS Luparouatous TodaKLs Epy 7? ep xapw éxew Sr Bovrcpevos cdaat LeKehiav émre-

ypaaro thy abtod mpoonyopiav. éml S€ Tis
oixias iepov iSpvadpevos Avtopuatias Over, avtny
4 5€ tHy otxiay tep@ Saiwovr xaOtépwoev. anet dé
oixiay fy éEeiXov a’t@ otpatnyias aptoreiov oi
Lupaxovetot, kal Tov aypav Tov HotoTOV Kal
xaddoTov. év @ Kal TO TAEloTOV TOU \YpovOU
Katecyonale, petatreuapevos olxofev thy yu-
vaika Kai Tous maidas. ov yap érravnder eis
KopiOov, ovde xatéuike trois “EXAnuiKois Oopi-
Bots éavrov ovdé TH TOALTIK@ POdv Trapéduxer,
eis Sy ob WELT TOL TOV OTPATHYaV aTANTTIiA TLULOV
Kal duvapews éEoxédXovow, GAN’ exe xaréwetve
tois up éavTov peunxavnpévots ayabois ypo-
pevos’ OV péytoTOV HY TO TONES TOTaUTAS Kal
puptabas avOpwrrwy de’ éavtov épopay evdarpo-
4
vovoas.
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TIMOLEON

For just as the poetry of Antimachus and the pic- tures of Dionysius, both Colophonians, for all their strength and vigour, seem forced and _ laboured, while the paintings of Nicomachus and the verses of Homer not only have power and grace besides, but also give the impression of having been exe- cuted readily and easily; so, if we compare the generalship of Epaminondas and Agesilaiis, which in both cases was full of toil and bitter struggles, with that of Timoleon, which was exercised with much ease as well as glory, it appears to men of just and careful reasoning a product, not of fortune, but of fortunate valour. And yet all his successes were ascribed by him to fortune; for in his letters to his friends at home and in his public addresses to the Syracusans he often said he was thankful to God, who, desiring to save Sicily, gave him the name and title of its saviour. Moreover, in-his house he built a shrine for sacrifice to Automatia, or Chance, and the house itself he consecrated to man’s sacred genius. And the house in which he dwelt was picked out for him by the Syracusans as a prize for his achievements in the field; they also gave him the pleasantest and most beautiful of their country estates, and at this he used to spend the greater part of his leisure time, after he had sent home for his wife and children. For he did not return to Corinth, nor did he take part in the disturbances of Greece or expose himself to the jealousy of his fellow citizens, the rock on which most generals, in their insatiable greed for honours and power, make shipwreck; but he remained in Sicily, en- joying the blessings of his own creation, the greatest of which was the sight of so many cities and myriads of people whose happiness was due to him. 349

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XXXVII. ’Ezred 5é yptv, as eovxev, od povov
Taot Kopvoarrols NOgov eyyiyverOat, Kata Yu-
, b] A , 4 4
povidny, adda Kal racn Snwoxpatia ovnopavtny,

érreyeipnoay kat Tinordovts dv0 Trav Snuaywyar,
Aagvorios cai Anpaivetos. dv Aadvotiou peéev
avTov mpos twa Sixnv Kateyyua@vtos ovK ela
OopuBeiv ovdé KwAVELY TOvS TrOAITAsS* ExwV yap
avTos UTropetvat TocOUTOUS TovoUs Kal KiVdivOUS
UTép TOU Tots vopols yphaAat tov BovrAdpeEvov
/ A \ 4
Yupaxovaiwyv: tov 5é Anpaiwérov woANa KatTn-
yopnoavtos év éxxAnaia THs oTpatnylas, pos
éxeivov péev ovdev dvtetre, tois Sé Oeois pn ydptv
9 4 wv 4 9 aA ry
opeirerv, ols evEaTO Yupaxovoiovs émideiv ris
Tappnatas Kupious yevopévous.
Méyora 8’ otv cal KddNoTa TOV Kal’ abTov
‘EAAnVaY oporoyoupévws Stampakdpevos épya,
N ld 2,9 A e \ A fa) 4 “
Kat povos, €p as ot cogiotai dra TeV Adywv TaV
Tavnyuptcay ael trapexddouv Tpakeus TOs ° EXAN-
vas, €v TavTals apiotevoas, Kal TOV pev adToOe
A a A b) l4 ig 4 V4 e NX
Kakov, & Thy apxatiav ‘“EAd\dba Kxatéoxev, bd
Ths TUXNS TpoEeKKomoOeEls avaiwaxtos Kab Kaba-
, > , \ , \ > J
pos, émuderEdpevos d¢ Secvotnta pév Kal dvdpeiav
tots BapBapos Kai Trois tupavvots, Sixacocvvny
Sé cal mpaorynta tois “EXAnot Kat Tots pirots, TA
5é€ mieloTa TpoTAaLa THY aywvwy adaxpuTa Kar
amevOy Tots Twodltals Kataotnaas, KaBapav Se
Thv LwKeAtlav ev ovd Grots ETECLY OKTH Aidiwv Kat
348

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TIMOLEON

XXXVII. But since, as it would seem, not only all larks must grow a crest, as Simonides says, but also every democracy a false accuser, even Timoleon was attacked by two of the popular leaders at Syracuse, Laphystius and Demaenetus. Of these, Laphystius once tried to make him give surety that he would appear at a certain trial, and Timoleon would not suffer the citizens to stop the man by their turbulent disapproval ; for he himself, he said, had of his own accord endured all his toils and dangers

in order that any Syracusan who wished might avail himself of the laws. And when the other, Demaenetus, brought many denunciations in open assembly against his conduct in the field, to him, indeed, Timoleon made no answer, but said he owed thanks to the gods, for he had prayed them that he might live to see the Syracusans gain the right of free speech.

So, then, having by general confession performed the greatest and most glorious deeds of any Greek of his time, and having been the only one to succeed in those achievements to which the rhetoricians, in their speeches at the national assemblies, were ever exhorting the Greeks; having been removed be- times by a happy fortune, pure and unstained with blood, from the evils which were rife in the mother country, and having displayed ability and valour in his dealings with Barbarians and tyrants, as well as justice and gentleness in his dealings with the Greeks and his friends; having set up most of the trophies of his contests without causing his fellow citizens either tears or mourning, and having in even less than eight years! handed over to her inhabitants a

1 346-338 B.0.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

GuVvoiKaVY KaKaY Kal voonudtwv Trapadovs Tots KaTotKovclv, 76n wpexBuTepos ov amrnuBrALVON Thy ow, eita TEAewsS eNnpwOn peET' OdivyoV, OUTE autos éauT@ Tpodaci TapacXov ovUTE Tapoln- Gels bo THS TUXNS, GANA GUYyEVLKIS TLVOS, WS Eouxev, aitias Kal xataBoAns Gua TH ypove ouv- emrifenévns: AéyovTat yap OvK OrLyou TOV KaTAa yévos AUT@ TpocnKovTwy opoiws atroBanew THY Oyu bro ynpws atopapavilcioav. o 5é "Abas és cuveat@tos Tov pos "Immwva Torepou Kal Mapepxov, év Murais ert otparorédou dyoiv atoyAavxw0 vat THY Ow avTov, Kal Tact pave- pav yevéoOar tHv mHpwoL, od pny atooTivar bua TOUTO THS ToALOpKias, GAN' éupeivavTa TO TONE- pm AaBeivy Tovs Tupdvvous: ws 5é érravnrOev eis vpaxovoas, evOvs amo0éc Bas THY povapyiav Kai mapattetcOar Tovs ToditTas, TOY TpaypyaTwy eis TO KAGANOTOV HKOVTWY TEXOS.

XXXVIII. *Exeivov pév obv adrov btropeivayra Thy cuugopayv arvTras HrTov av Tis Bavyacete: tav 5é Yupaxovoiwy aktov ayaocOar thy pos TOV avopa tiunny Kal xapw hv émedetEavto tremnpw- péve, pouravtes él Ovpas adroit cal trav Eévwv TOUS TapemionuovvTas Ayovres els THY OlKiav Kal

TO Xwpiov, Oras Oedoawro Tov evepyéeTny adTar,
ayahdopevor kal péeya ppovoovtes Stt wap’ avtois
efrAeto xatabnoa tov Biov, oftw AapTpas érravo-
Sov THs ets THY ‘EXAdba TapecKevacpévns avT@
dua Tay evtUXnadTwWY KaTappovncas. TrOANOV
5é kal peyddXwv els THY exeivou Tiny ypahopévor
cal mpattopévwy ovdevos HTTov Hv TO Wnpicacbat
Tov Tav Lupaxovotwy Sipov, oadxis ouptrécor
35°

TIMOLEON

Sicily purged of her perpetual intestine miseries and complaints; at last, being now advanced in years, he began to lose his sight, and then, after a little, became completely blind. He had done nothing himself to occasion this, nor was he therein the sport and mockery of Fortune, but suffered from some congenital disease, as it would seem, which came upon him with his years; for it is said that not a few of his kindred lost their sight in a similar way, when it was enfeebled by old age. But Athanis says that while the war against Hippo and Mamercus was still in progress, in his camp at Mylae, his vision was obscured by a cataract in the eye, and it was plain to all that he was getting blind; he did not, however, desist from the siege on this account, but persisted in the war and captured the tyrants; yet after his return to Syracuse, he at once laid aside the sole command and begged the citizens to excuse him from it, now that matters had reached the happiest conclusion.

XXXVIII. Well, then, that he himself should bear his misfortune without repining is less a matter for wonder; but the gratitude and honour which the Syracusans showed him in his blindness are worthy of admiration. They often went to visit him in person, and brought strangers who were sojourning in the city to his house and to his country seat to see their benefactor, exulting and proud that he chose to end his days among them and thus made light of the brilliant return to Greece which had been prepared for him by reason of his successes. And of the many great things decreed and done in his honour, nothing surpassed the vote passed by the people of Syracuse that whenever they went to war against alien peoples,

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TOAELOS AUTOIS pos aAXOHVAOUS, Kopivbiw yph-
cOat otpatnye. Karnyv 8 Kal TO wept Tas éx-
KAnolas yivopevov Oy ets TLV avTOD TrapElxe’
Ta yap adda Ot’ avTa@v Kpivortes emi Tas peiCovas
Stackéwers exeivov éexddouv. o dé Koplopevos be
ayopas émi Cevyous mpos TO Béatpoy étropeveto:
Kal Ths amnyns, oaTrEp éTUyyave KAOnmEVOS, Eica-
youevns, o pev Shpwos nomaleto uta pwvn mpoca-
yopevov autor, 0 & advtactacdpevos Kal ypovov
tia Sovs tals evpnpias Kal tots éraivors, eita

Siaxovoas To Sntovpevov, atrepaiveto yvopnv.
émixerporovnbeions Sé TavTns of pev UanpéTat
wad annyov da tov Oeatpou 76 Ledyos, oi Se
qmonvita. Bon Kal xpotm mpotréuwavtes éxetvov
On Ta roLTA TaV Snuociwv Kal’ abtovs éxpn-
pariCov.
XX XIX. ’Ev rowadry 5€ ynpotpopovpevos timy
pet’ evolas, WOTED TATIP KOLVOS, EK pLKPaS Tpo-
pdcews TH XpOvm cuvedhapapévns érEeNeUTHGEDV.
jpepav dé SoPeroay trois wév Yupaxovaiors eis TO
TapacKevdoat Ta TEpt THY TadHy, TOS dé TeEptoi-
cots nal Eévois eis TO cuvedOeciv, Td Tt’ GAX@ Nap-
mpas yopnyias Ervye, Kai TO AéxXOS OF Whdw TaVv
veavioxwy mrpoxpiOévtes Epepov Kexoounpévov dia
tav Avovvoiov Ttupavyeimy TOTE KaTETKAppévov.
mpoutreptrov S¢ toddal puprddes avdpa@v Kab yu-
vaixav, Ov Oris péev Hv éoptH wWpéTrovea, mavTwv
datepavwpévar kai nabapas écOjtas popovvrwr,
gwval bé nal Sdxpva cuvyxexpapéva TO paxa-
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TIMOLEON

they would employ a Corinthian as their general. Moreover, the proceedings in their assemblies afforded a noble spectacle in his honour, since, while they decided other matters by themselves, for the more important deliberations they summoned him. Then he would proceed to the theatre carried through the market place on a mule-car; and when the vehicle in which he sat was brought in, the people would greet him with one voice and call him by name, and he, after returning their greetings and allowing some time for their felicitations and praises, would then listen carefully to the matter under debate and pro- nounce opinion. And when this opinion had been adopted, his retainers would conduct his car back again through the theatre, and the citizens, after sending him on his way with shouts of applause, would proceed at once to transact the rest of the public business by themselves.

XXXIX. Cherished in old age amid such honour and good will, like a common father, a slight cause co-operated with his great age to bring him to his end. A number of days having been allowed in which the Syracusans might prepare for his funeral, while the country folk and strangers came together, the whole ceremony was conducted with great mag- nificence, and besides, young men selected by lot carried his bier with all its decorations through the precinct where the palace of Dionysius had stood before Timoleon destroyed it. The bier was escorted, too, by many thousands of men and women, whose appearance was one that became a festival, since all were crowned with garlands and wore white raiment; while cries and tears, mingled with benedictions

* In 337 or 336 B.c.

piop@ Tov TeOvnKdTOs ov Tins apocitwow ovde

Aetroupyiay éx mpoBovrAEevpatos, GAA ToOov bi-

Kalov émredeixvuvTo Kal ydapiy aAnOwWhs evvoias.
, \ a / > \ \ \ ,
tédos bé THS KAlvnsS éml THY TUpay TeBEions An-

LIT pLOS, Os HY peyadopwvdratos TOY TOTE KNPU-

KWV, yeypappévoy aveitre KnpUyya ToLovTOVY'

““Q Sipos 6 Yupaxovaiwy Tiporéortra Tt-
podypou KopivOc:oyv tovde Oamre pev dtaxo-
ciwy pvav, étiunoe & eis TOY ATavTa Ypovov
ay@ou povotxois, immixots, yupvicois, Ott
Tous Tupavvous KaTadvcas Kal tos BapBRa-
pous KaTaTroAeunoas Kal Tas peyiotas TOV
avacTatwyv ToNwWY oiKicas aTrédwKE TOUS
vopous Tots YiKedewTas.”
"Exrotnoavto 5é thy tap tod cwpatos év
ayopa, Kal atoas otepoy weptBadovtes nal ta-
Aalotpas évotxodopnoavtes yupvaotov Tois véors
avixav kal TimoreovTerov mpoonyopevoay. avtot
5é ypwpevot troduteia Kal vopors ods éxeivos KaTé-
aotnaev, ert troAvY ypovoy evdatpovodvTes SieTe-
AETay.

upon the dead, betokened, not a formal tribute of respect, nor a service performed in obedience to public decree, but a just sorrow and a thankfulness arising from genuine good will. And finally, when the bier had been placed upon the funeral pyre, Demetrius, who had the loudest voice of any herald of the time, read from manuscript the following decree :—

«By the people of Syracuse, Timoleon, son

of Timodemus, from Corinth, is here buried at
a public cost of two hundred minas, and is

honoured for all time with annual contests,

musical, equestrian, and gymnastic, because he
overthrew the tyrants, subdued the Barbarians,
re-peopled the largest of the devastated cities,
and then restored their laws to the Greeks of
Sicily."'

Furthermore, they buried his ashes in the market
place, and afterwards, when they had surrounded it
with porticoes and built palaestras in it, they set it
apart as a gymnasium for their young men, and
named it Timoleonteum. And they themselves, using
the civil polity and the laws which he had ordained,
enjoyed a long course of unbroken prosperity and
happiness.
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AA?
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AEMILIUS PAULUS

AIMIAIO2 TAYAOZ

II. Tov Aiuirtwv oixov év 'Paun trav evrarpt-
Sav yeyovévat nal Tadal@y of mrEloTOL oVYy-
ypagets oporoyovow. Ott & oO TpwTOS avTaV 256
Kal TO yévet THY emwvUpiay aToALT@V MadpepKos
iv, IlvOayopov mais tot codov, S¢ aipudtay
Aoyou Kal ydpw Aipidtos mpocayopevOeis, eipn-
cao évior tov Ilv0ayopa thv Nowa tod Bact-
2 Néws Traidevow avabévtwv. of péev ov TrElaTOL
tov eis 80£av amo THS oixias TavTns mpoeNMovTwv
dz' apetny, Hv eCnrwoar, evtuynoav, Aeveiou dé
Ilavaov 70 rept Kavvas atuynua thy te ppovnot
dua cai thy avopeiav &ekev. ws yap ovK éreice
TOV cuvapxovta keohveov payecQar, Tod pep
ay@vos akwv petécyev avT@, THs bé puyis ove
€XOLVOVNTEV, GAAA TOV cUVdavTos TOV KivduvOY
EYKATANTOVTOS AUTOS ETTWS Kal paxoLEVOS TOOLS
ToAEplols ETENEVTICE.
3 Tovtov Ouydtnp pév Aipwirdia Xcynriwv. To

peydrA@ cuvexnoev, vids b€ Ilaidos Aiplrsos,
mepl ov Tdde ypaderat, yeyoves év nrccia Kara,
Katpov avOodvra Sofas Kal aperais éripaverta-
Tov avdpav Kai peyiotov, déedapev, ov Tata
1 The first chapter has been transposed to serve as Intro- duction to both the 7tmoleon and the Aemilius Paulus,

II.! That the Aemilii were one of the ancient and patrician houses at Rome, most writers agree. And that the first of them, and the one who gave his surname to the family, was Mamercus, a son of Pythagoras the philosopher, who received the surname of Aemilius for the grace? and charm of his discourse, is the statement of some of those writers who hold that Pythagoras was the educator of Numa the king.2 Now, most of this family who rose to dis- tinction by their cultivation of virtue, were blessed with good fortune ; and in the case of Lucius Paulus, his misfortune at Cannae gave testimony alike to his wisdom and valour. For when he could not dissuade his colleague from giving battle, he took part with him in the struggle, though reluctantly, but would not be a partner in his flight; nay, though the one who had brought on the peril left him in the lurch, he himself kept his post and died fighting the enemy.‘

This Paulus had a daughter, Aemilia, who was the wife of Scipio the Great, and a son, Aemilius Paulus, whose Life I now write. He came of age at a time which abounded in men of the greatest reputation and most illustrious virtue, and yet he was a con-

3 Plutarch suggests the identity of the Latin Aemilius with the Greek aiuvacos (winning). Cf. Odyssey, i. 56.

3 See the Numa, i. 2 f
* See the Fabius Maximus, chapters xiv. and xvi.
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TOis EvdoKLMOvEL TOTE VvéoLS érriTHOEKpaTA Lnro-
gas, ovde thy abtiy oddv am apxis wopevbeis.
ovUTe yap NOYyor HoKe. rept dixas, doTracpovs TE
Kal deEvooes Kat Prrofpocvvas, als itrotpéxovtes
oi TodAol Tov SHpwov éexta@vto Oeparevtixol Kal
oTrovdaion yevouevot, TavTdracw é&édLTre, pds
ovdérepov aduas éxwv, as 8 éxatépou Kpeitrova
THY am avodpelas kal Sixatocvvns Kal Tictews
SoEav avit@ mepiTrovovpevos, ols evOds Srédepe TeV
Kab” nrLKiav.
III. [Ipwrnv yoov trav émupavav apyav ayopa-

vopiay peTeOwv ampoexpiOn Sexadvoiv avdpav
cuvaTroypavrapévay, ods botepov amavtas vra-
TevoaL A€yovot. ‘yevopevos & tepevs Tav Ad-
youpwy mpocayopevopevwr, ods TAS aT’ opvidwy
kai Stoonuerav amrodexviovar ‘Pwpaios pavtixiis
émicxoTrous Kal dvdaxas, o0Tw mpocécye Tois
matpwos eect Kal KaTevonce THY TOV TradaLOv
mept To Oeiov evAdBerav wate TLHy tiva doKod-
cav elvat kal Cnroupévny GrAXws vena b0Ens tTHv
lepwovunv TOY axpoTaTav play aTrodivat TeXvay,
kal paptupncat tos diroaodos, Soot TH ev-
aéfeav wpicavto Oepareias Seay émotnunv
elvat. wavTa yap édpato pet éeurepias wr’
avtod Kal omovdys, cxoANY TOV A\XNOV ayoVTOS
Ste yiyvotto mpos TovT@, Kal mapareiTovtos
ovderv ode KaLVOTOLODYTOS, GNAG Kal TOls cUNLE-
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spicuous figure, although he did not pursue the same studies as the young nobles of the time, nor set out on his career by the same path. For he did not practise pleading private cases in the courts, and refrained altogether from the salutations and greet- ings and friendly attentions to which most men cunningly resorted when they tried to win the favour of the people by becoming their zealous servants ; not that he was naturally incapable of either, but he sought to acquire for himself what was better than both, namely, a reputation arising from valour, justice, and trustworthiness. In these virtues he at once surpassed his contemporaries.

III. At all events, when he sued for the first of the high offices in the state, the aedileship, he was elected over twelve competitors,! all of whom, we are told, afterwards became consuls. Moreover, when he was made one of the priests called Augurs, whom the Romans appoint as guardians and overseers of the art of divination from the flight of birds and from omens in the sky, he so carefully studied the ancestral customs of the city, and so thoroughly understood the religious ceremonial of the ancient Romans, that his priestly function, which men had thought to be a kind of honour, sought merely on account of the reputation which it gave, was made to appear one of the higher arts, and testified in favour of those philosophers who define religion as the science of the worship of the gods. For all the duties of this office were performed by him with skill and care, and he laid aside all other concerns when he was engaged in these, omitting nothing and adding nothing new, but ever contending even

’ In 192 5.0.
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pedo. del kal mepi Trav pixpav Stahepopuevor, Kai
S:ddoxovtos ws ef TO Belov evKxorov TLS HryetTaL Kat

dpephes elvat TOY apedeL@v, GNAA TH ye Todt
yarerov } wept Tadta cuyyv@pun Kal trapopacis:
oveels yap €& dpyjs evOus peyad@ Tapavopnpate
Kwet modtTelav, GAAA Kal THY TaV perlover
ppoupav xatadvovotv oi mpoiguevor thy év Tots
puxpots axpiBerav.
“Onoov 6é cal Tov otpatioTtixav Oar Te Kal
matpiov e€etaoctHy Kal PvAaKa Tapelyev EavTor,
ov Snuaywyav év te oTpaTnyetv, ovd, waTED
ot wAeiaTos TOTe, Sevtépas apyas Tails mpwrTais
pvopevos Sia Tod yapiterOar Kal mpaos eivat
Tois apKopevols, GAN worep lepers aAXwy opyiov
Secvav, TOV Tepl Tas aTpateias EOav éEnyovpevos
Exacta, kal poBepos @v Tois ameOovdor Kal
TapaBaivovesy, wp0ov thy tatpiba, pxpod Seiv
TUpPEPYOV HrYOUMLEVOS TO VLKaY TOUS TroAELLoUS TOD
matdevely TOUS TOMTAS.
IV. Yvaortavtos dé tov wrpos "Avtioyov Tov péyav
monreuov TOS Pwpaiows, Kal TOV HryEemoviKwTAaTODY
avdp@v TEeTpaypéevwy pos Eexeivoy, AAXos atro TIS
éoTrépas avéotn Trodenos, ev “I 8npia Kwnudrov
peyadov yevopévav. €mi TodTov o Aipinsos é€e-
TéppOn otpatrnyos, ovx €& éywv Tredéxels, Ecous
éyovow of aotparnyobvtTes, aXXA TpocrtaBav
érépous TocovTOVS, WaTE THS apXis vratixov
yeveoOat 76 akiwpa. pdyn mev ovv dis éx rapa-
rakews évixnae tous BapBapovs, trepi tps pupious
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with his colleagues about the small details of cere-
mony, and explaining to them that, although the
Deity was held to be good-natured and slow to
censure acts of negligence, still, for the city at least
it was a grievous thing to overlook and condone
them ; for no man begins at once with a great deed
of lawlessness to disturb the civil polity, but those
who remit their strictness in small matters break
down also the guard that has been set over greater
matters.
Furthermore, he showed a like severity in scruti-
nising and preserving his country’s military customs

and traditions also, not courting popular favour when he was in command, nor yet, as most men did at this time, courting a second command during his first by gratifying his soldiers and treating them with mildness ; but, like a priest of other dread rites, he explained thoroughly all the details of military custom and was a terror to disobedient transgressors, and so restored his country to her former greatness, considering the conquest of his enemies hardly more than an accessory to the training of his fellow-citizens.

IV. After the Romans had gone to war with Antiochus the Great, and while their most experi- enced commanders were employed against him, another war arose in the West, and there were great commotions in Spain. For this war Aemilius was sent out as praetor,! not with the six lictors which praetors usually have, but adding other six to that number, so that his office had a consular dignity. Well, then, he defeated the Barbarians in two pitched battles, and slew about thirty thousand of them ;

1 In 191 B.o.

avedov, cat doxei TO KaTop0wpa THS oTpatyyias
TEPLPAVOS yever Oar, Xoptov evpulg cal Torawob
TLVOS SiaBadcer pgotavny mapacXovTos avTov
mpos Td vixnua Tois TT PATLOT ats" moves Oe
TeVvTNKOVTA Kal Siaxoctas eXElp@aaTo defapevas
avrov Exovaiws. i mn dé Kal Tia Tel cvynppo-
oMéevny aTOMTOV THV emapxiav els 'Pouny € érrav-
iprOev, aude Spaxun pug yeyovas oo
amo Tis oTpatetas. fv 88 Kab rept TaAXa
parLaThs apyorepos, evdaTravos dé xal apeadye
éx TOV Drapxovra, ov TONG 5 ay, ara Kal
pepvijs aperdoperns TH yuvarki pera tov Odvatov
avTou) Yio x pws éEijpwecey.

V. "Eynue dé Tameptay, avdpos & UrariKob Ma-
TWVOS Ouyarépa, Kal Xpovov ouvoikijaas oN
adijxe Tov yapov, xaitrep cE auras KaddiTexvora-
Tos syevopevos® avTn yap Wy TOV KAELYOTATOV
anre Lentriova texodoa kal Mdfipov Ao
aitia dé yeypappwevy THS Siactdcews OUK 7}
els T1Mas, ann' couxey arnOns Tes elvat NOYOS repl
yapov Avo EWS YEvouevos, ws avnp 'Pwpaios atre-
TEWTETO yuvaixa, Tov b¢ pidwv vouvderouvT@v

avrov, “ Oui cappov; OvK ebpopoos ; ouxi Tm O-
Sorrocas 5” mpoteivas TO UTOOnpA (4ddre0v avo
“Pepaior Kanrovow) elrrev “Our eum peT ns ovTos ;
ov veoupyns; adn’ ouK av etdein TS Dua ead’ 6
TL Prieras pépos obmos Tous. Te yap dvTL
peydNat pev auaprias Kal dvarenTapevat yuvai-
kas avdpav adXas amr7nAdakap, 7A, 5 && Tivos
anotas Kal Sucappootias nOav pica kal TuKva
Tpogxpovopata, ANavOdvoyta tTovs dAXOUS, aT-
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and it would seem that his success was conspicuously due to his generalship, since by choosing favourable ground and by crossing a certain river he made victory easy for his soldiers; moreover, he made himself master of two hundred and fifty cities, which yielded to him of their own accord. He left the province in peace and bound by pledges of fidelity, and came back to Rome, nor was he richer by a single drachma from his expedition. And, indeed, in all other ways he was a rather indifferent money-maker, and spent generously and without stint of his substance. But this was not large; indeed, after his death it barely sufficed to meet the dowry due to his wife. |

V. He married Papiria, a daughter of Maso, who was a man of consular dignity, and after he had lived with her a long time he divorced her, although she had made him father of most glorious sons ; for she it was who bore him that most illustrious Scipio, and Fabius Maximus, No documentary grounds for the divorce have come down to us, but there would seem to be some truth in a story told about divorce, which runs as follows. A Roman once divorced his wife, and when his friends admonished him, saying: “Is she not discreet? is she not beautiful ? is she not fruitful?” he held out his shoe (the Romans call it “calceus’’), saying: “ Is this not handsome? is it not new? but no one of you can tell me where it pinches my foot?” For, as a matter of fact, it is great and notorious faults that separate many wives from their husbands; but the slight and frequent frictions arising from some un- pleasantness or incongruity of characters, unnoticed as they may be by everybody else, also produce

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epyaterar Tas avnkéotous év Tais cupBiwcecw
adXoTpLoTNTAs.
‘O & oby Alpirtos atraddayels tH Tasspias

évépav nryayeto: Kal dvo Traidas adppevas Texovans
TouTous ev ert THs oixtas elye, Tovs S€ mpotépous
eloeTrOing ey OlKOLS TOs peyiaToLs Kal yévect TOLS
émipaveo taro, Tov ev mpecButepov To Matki-
pov PaBiov tov Tevtaxis UTatevoavtos, tov bé
vewtepov "Adpixavod Yxyntiwvos vids dveyriov
dvta Oéuevos XKnTiwra mpoonyopevoe. Tav bé
Ouyatépwv trav Aiptrjiou tHv pev 0 Kdtavos vids
éynue, THY 8 AldAtos TovBépwr, avip apirtos Kal
peyaNorpetréctata Pwpaiwv trevia ypnodpevos.
joav yap éxxaidexa ovyyevets, Aldtoe mayvtes:
oixidtoy Sé mavu puxpov hv avtots, Kat ywpidiov
év Hpxet Wacol, pilav éotiay véwovat peTa TAaLowv
To\A@yv Kal yuvarxav. év als wal % Aipmrlov
Tovde Ouyutnp iv Sis vratevaavtos Kal Sis Opt-
apBevoavtos, ovK aicxuvou“éevn THv Treviav Tov
avépos, addA\a Oavydlovca thy apetiv bv iv
mévns hv. ob dé viv adedpol Kal auyyeveis, dv py
KAipact Kal motapots Kai Statexiopaci opi-
gwolt TA KOLVa Kal TOANHY Evpvywpiay év péow
AdBwow at’ adrHrwD, ov Travovtat SiahEepopevos.
Tadra pev ody 4) iatopia NoyifecOar Kai twapeme-
oxotrety didwot Tois cwlerAar BovrAopévots.
VI. ‘O & Alpintos trates arodeyOels eotpda-
Tevoev él Tovs tapaAdtious Aiyvas, ods eo Kat
Auyvativous ovopafovet, paxtpov Kal Oupoedés
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incurable alienations in those whose lives are linked together. .

So then Aemilius, having divorced Papiria, took another wife; and when she had borne him two sons he kept these at home, but the sons of his former wife he introduced into the greatest houses and the most illustrious families, the elder into that of Fabius Maximus, who was five times consul, while the younger was adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus, his cousin-german, who gave him the name of Scipio. Of the daughters of Aemilius, one became the wife of the son of Cato, and the other of Aelius Tubero, a man of the greatest excellence, and one who, more than any other Roman, combined the greatest dignity with poverty. For there were

sixteen members of the family, all Aelii; and they had a very little house, and one little farm sufficed for all, where they maintained one home together with many wives and children. Among these wives lived also the daughter of that Aemilius who had twice been consul and twice had celebrated a triumph, and she was not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admired the virtue that kept him poor. Brethren and kinsmen of the present day, however, unless zones and rivers and walls divide their inheritances and wide tracts of land separate them from one another, are continually quarrelling. These, then, are considerations and examples which history presents to those who are willing to profit by them.

VI. Aemilius, then, having been appointed con- sul,! made an expedition against the Ligurians along the Alps, whom some call also Ligustines, a warlike

4 In 182 B.o.

GOvos, éurtreipws dé trodeueiv SidacKopevoy wre Peopaier bia THY yerTviacw. Ta 12p_ éoyara Tis 'Iradtas Kat KatadmyovTa T pos tas "Adres av- TOV TE TOV "Adee Ta crvlopeva T@ Tuppnvix@ merayer Kal 7 pos THY AiBonv avtaipovta ye- povrat, PE pty LEVOL Taddrais Kal Tots mapantoss npwv. tote 5¢ xal ths Oaratrns aypdpevot oKxapert TELPAaTLKOLS adnpodvro Kat TEpleKOT TOV Tas éurropias, ax pe ornhav 'Hpaxdelov ava- THEOVTES. emrvovTos ovv tod Aipsdtov TeTpaxtc- puproe YEVOMEVOL TO TOs UméoTnoay" o 6ée TOUS ovpmavTas SKtaxiaxtdious éYov jevtaT\a- atols ovoL avrots ovveGane, ral Tperpdwevos xat KaTaxheloas els Ta Tel dé5coxe oyor hirAdv- Operov Kab cupBarecor: ov yap WV Bovropévors Tots 'Pwpators TavTamacty éxxovrat TO Avybov éOvos, @ @omrep Epxos 7) mpoBodov eumrobay xelwevov TOUS DPararixots Kvn wac emampoupevors ael meph THhV 'Tradiav. Tig TEVTAYTES ouv TO Aipidte Tas Te vadS Kal Tas TrOAELS EVE eipicay. o 66 Tas yey rorets ovdéev adinynoas: ue povoy Ta TelXn Tepiehav aTrédwxe, Tas b€ vads amacas adetrero, Kat 7 hotov ovdey avtois TpirKxddwov petCov arré-

AeTre? ToUs 8 NAwKOTAS UT avT@Y KaTa YVv 7
kata OdNatTav averdoato ToAXoUs Kal Eévous
Kal ‘Pwpatous etpeDévras. éxeiyn ev obv 7)
vrateia Tas eipnévas mpdgers émupaveis é do xev.
“Torepov 5é moAddxus ToUoas dhavepov avTov
avis v vratetoat Bovdopevoy xai Tote Kal Tapary-
yetras, os améTuxe xal mapwpbn, To Nowrrov
houxlav elye, TOY (epwy eripedoupEvos Kal TOUS
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and spirited folk, and one whose proximity to the Romans was teaching it skill in war. For they occupy the extremities of Italy that are bounded by the Alps, and those parts of the Alps themselves that are washed by the Tuscan sea and face Africa, and they are mingled with Gauls and the Iberians of the coast. At that time they had also laid hold of the sea with piratical craft, and were robbing and destroying merchandise, sailing out as far as the pillars of Hercules. Accordingly, when Aemilius came against them, they withstood him with a force of forty thousand men; but he, with eight thousand men all told, engaged their fivefold numbers, and after routing them and shutting them up in their walled towns, gave them humane and conciliatory terms; for it was not the wish of the Romans to extirpate altogether the Ligurian nation, since it lay like a barrier or bulwark against the movements of the Gauls, who were always threatening to descend upon Italy. Accordingly, putting faith in Aemilius, they delivered their ships and cities into his hands. Their cities he restored to them, either doing them no harm at all, or simply razing their walls; but he took away all their ships, and left them no boat that carried more than three oars; he also restored to safety those whom they had taken captive by land or sea, and these were found to be many, both Romans and foreigners. Such, then, were the conspicuous achievements of this first consulship. Afterwards he often made it clear that he was desirous of a second consulship, and once actually announced his candidacy, but when he was passed by and not elected, he made no further efforts to obtain the office, giving his attention to his duties

maidas aoKx@v tH pev éemexy@plov Traoeiav Kat

4 C4 oN v \ » ¢ \
WaTpioy WamEp autos HaoKynTo, Thy & “EXAnvixny
hiAOTLLOTEpOY. OU yap povoy ypaupartiKol Kat
cogiotal cal pyropes, GANA Kal wWAdoTAaL Kal
, \ , \ lA 9 4
Cwypador Kal meAwv Kal oxvrAdKoy éTicTaTat
cat Siddonarot Onpas "EXAnves Hoav wepl rovs

veavloxous. o 5¢ Tatnp, ef wy Te Snpocioy éutro-
Sov ein, waphv det pererao. cai yupvalopévas,
iroTexvotatos ‘Pwpaiwy yevopuevos.
VII. Tav 8 Snpociwy mpdkewy xatpos Fv
éxelvos tote nal? bv Ilepoet 7H Maxedovov
Bactnrel rrovenoovtes ev aitiats Tos atpatnyous
elyov, ws 60 ateipiay al atoApiav alicxypas Kal
KaTayerdoTws TOs Tpaypact Ypwpévous Kal ma-
GYOVTAS KAK@S MAadXAOV 7 ToLobyTaS. apTL peév
yap ’Avrioyov tov émixAnOévra péyav eiEavra
THs GAAns “Acias vmép tov Tadpov é«Badovtes
kal xataxdeicavtes eis Yupiav, éml pupios Kat
WevTAaKLoXLNOLS TAaVYTOLS ayaTncaYTAa TAS
Starvces, odiyo de mpocbev dv @cccaria our-
tTpivvavtes Diderrrov kat tovs “EAXnvas aod
Maxedovwy edevfepwoavtes, 6 Te Bactrevs ovdels
mapaBAntos eis Todkpav 7 Sivayw, *AvviBay
KATATONEMNCAVTES, OUK avExTOY HyovvTO Ilepaet
Kkadamep avtitdde tis “Pepys icov epopevor
A \ ” 4 9 N a“
cupTeTrAcK Oat, TroAvy 45n Ypovoyv a7ro TeV Net-
Wdvev THY Tatp@as HrTns TroNewodvTL Tpods
> 4 > Le] 4 “~ \ 4

autos, ayvootvtes Ste TOAAM THY Makedovwy

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as augur, and training his sons, not only in the native and ancestral discipline in which he himself had been trained, but also, and with greater ardour, in that of the Greeks. For not only the grammarians and philosophers and rhetoricians, but also the modellers and painters, the overseers of horses and dogs, and the teachers of the art of hunting, by whom the young men were surrounded, were Greeks. And the father, unless some public business prevented, would always be present at their studies and exercises, for he was now become the fondest parent in Rome.

VII. As to public affairs, that was the period when the Romans were at war with Perseus,! the king of Macedonia, and were taking their generals to task because their inexperience and cowardice led them to conduct their campaigns ridiculously and disgrace- fully, and to suffer more harm than they inflicted. For

the people which had just forced Antiochus, surnamed the Great, to retire from the rest of Asia, driven him over the Taurus mountains, and shut him up in Syria, where he had been content to buy terms with a payment of fifteen thousand talents; which had a little while before set the Greeks free from Macedonia by crushing Philip in Thessaly ; and which had utterly subdued Hannibal, to whom no king was comparable for power or boldness; this people thought it unendurable that they should be compelled to contend with Perseus as though he were an even match for Rome, when for a long time already he had carried on his war against them with | the poor remains of his father's routed army ; for they were not aware that after his defeat Philip had

171-168 b.c.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

, € \ /) , \
Suvapw ATtnOets Didirmos eppwpevertépay Kat
paxylwwrtépay eroinge. ep ay Stems Bpaxews
avwlev apEdpevos.
a 9

VIII. 'Avriryovos péytotov Suvnbeis tav AXe-
Eavipouv Siadoywv kal otpatnyav, KTHTApEVvoS
éavT@ kal yévet THY TOD Bactréws Tpoonyopiay,
eN "4 4 e ra) > la e
viov éoxe Anyurntptov, ob mais 'Avtiryovos hv o
Tovatads érovouacbeis: tovtov 5 Anunrptos, bs
b] U 4 a b 4 es
autos Te BaotNevoas ypovoy ov Woduvy, viov TE
Taida THY HALKiay arroktT@Vv Dirsrov éTedev-
noe. Seicavtes 5é€ THY avapyiav of mpwror
Maxedovev 'Avtiyovoy érayovtat tov teOvnKoTos
dvetov éyta, Kal cuvotxicavtes avT@ THY wnTépa
tov Dirimov, wp@tov pev enitpotroyv Kal orpa-
THYOV, €lTa TEetpwpevot weTpiov Kal KoLYwhEXOdS
, 4 > , /
Baocikéa mpoonyopevoav. érrexrOn 5é Awcov
@s émaryyeATixos, OU TEAEoLOUpyos 8 TeV Ur0-
, \ A , e '4
cxXEeTEwV. peTa TOUTOY Bactrevoas o DirsTrTos
7 > " / a , "
nvOncey e€v Tois padtota tov Baciriéwy Ett
petpaxioy wv, Kal dSoFav Eoxyev ws dvactncwy
Maxedoviay eis To TwaXatov akimpa xal povos éri
mavras On THY 'Popaiwy Sivauty aipopévny
4 e \ \ , 4 \ 4
xabéEwv. nrTneis Sé peydrn waxy Tepl Yxo-

e N lj 4 4 Mv
tovoav vo Titov Prapwvivov tote pev entnke
\ U » e \ > / e /

cal wavta Ta Kal’ éavtov émétpeve ‘Pwpaiois,
4
Kal Tuxe@v émitiunoews petpias nydtynoev. tore-
\ 4 / \ 4 ,
pov S¢ Bapéws dépwr, kal ro Bacirevew yapitt
‘Pwpaiwy jyovpevos atyparwrou tpudny ayarav-

made the Macedonian armies far more vigorous and warlike than before. This situation I will briefly explain from the beginning.

‘VIII. Antigonus, who was the most powerful of Alexander's generals and successors, and acquired for himself and his line the title of King, had a son Demetrius, and his son was Antigonus sur- named Gonatas. His son in turn was Demetrius, who, after reigning himself for a short time, died, leaving a son Philip still in his boyhood. The lead- ing Macedonians, fearing the anarchy which might result, called in Antigonus, a cousin of the dead king, and married him to Philip’s mother, calling him first regent and general, and then, finding his rule moderate and conducive to the general good, giving him the title of King. He received the surname of Doson, which implied that he was given to promising but did not perform his engagements. After him Philip succeeded to the throne, and, though still a youth, flowered out in the qualities which most distinguish kings, and led men to believe that he would restore Macedonia to her ancient dignity, and that he, and he alone, would check the power of Rome, which already extended over all the world. But after he was defeated in a great battle at Scotussa by Titus Flamininus,! for a time he took a humble posture, entrusted all his interests to the Romans, and was content to come off with a moderate fine. Afterwards, however, his condition oppressed him, and thinking that to reign by favour of the Romans was more the part of a captive

1 In 197 3.c. The battle is usually named from a range of hills near Scotussa called Cynoscephalae. See the Flaini- ninus, chapters iii. and iv.

Tos elvat parXov H hpovnua Kai Oupov éxovTos 259
avdpos, éretye TO Wore THY yvounv Kal ouve-
TaTTeTO AAO pa Kai Tavovpyws. TeV yap ToAEwY
Tas évodious Kal mrapalaXattious aabeveis yevo-
pévas meptopav Kai vrepnuous, ws KaTadpovet-
cOat, TOAAnY dvw cuvirye Suva, Kal Ta pEo-
yea xYwpia Kal dpovpia cal models OTAWY Kal

ypnudtwov woddA@v Kal cwpatwv dxpalovtwy
ELTETANKWS ETMpdoKer TOV TOAEBOV Kal OUVELYEV
@omrep éyxexpuppevoy adnrws. SirAwv pey yap
apyouvtwy amréxewto Tpels pupidoes, OxTaKoctat
Sé citou pedipvoy hoav eyxatwxcdounmévou Tots
tetyeot, Ypnudtov Sé TAROos dooy HpKer picOo-
dhopous érn Séxa pupicus Tpépery TpoToAEpLovvTas
THS Yopas.
"AAN' exeivos pev ovK EfOn TadTa KWHoaL Kal
mpoayayeiv eis Epyov, vro NUTNsS Kal Svabupias
mpoémevos Tov Biov: éyvw yap adixws Tov ETepov
tav viav Anuyrptov éx dtaBorFs TOD yelpovos
aynpyncas: 08 arorerTropmevos vios avtov Hepoevs
dpa tH Bacireiq StedéEato tHv mpos "Pwpaious
ExOpav, ovK av exéeyyuvos eveyxeiy Sia pxpoTyta
cal poxOnpiav nOous, év @ Tabay Te TavToObaT eV
Kal voonpaTwy évovTwy éempwrevev 4 pidapyupia.
NeyeTae 5é pndé yryotos Pivat, AaBeiv 8 avdtov
4 ouvoixodoa Te Piriam@ veoyvoy axeotpias
Tivos "Apryorsxns Cvabaiviov trobvoya texovons,
cal Nabety vroBaropévn. 8 6 Kal pdrota
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satisfied with meat and drink than of a man pos- sessed of courage and spirit, he turned his thoughts to war, and made his arrangements for it in secrecy and with cunning. Thus, those of his cities which lay on the highroads and the seashore he suffered to become weak and rather desolate, so as to awaken contempt, while in the interior he was collecting a large force ; he also filled the fortresses, strongholds, and cities of the interior with an abundance of arms, money, and men fit for service, in this way prepar- ing himself for the war, and yet keeping it hidden away, as it were, and concealed. Thus, he had arms to equip thirty thousand men laid up in reserve, eight million bushels of grain had been immured in his strongholds, and a sum of money sufficient to maintain for ten years ten thousand mercenaries fighting in defence of the country.

But Philip, before he could put these plans and preparations into effect, died of grief and anguish of mind!; for he came to know that he had unjustly put to death one of his sons, Demetrius, on false charges made by the other, who was his inferior. The son, however, whom he left, Perseus, along with his father's kingdom, inherited his hatred of the Romans, but was not equal to the burden because of the littleness and baseness of his character, in which, among all sorts of passions and distempers, avarice was the chief trait. And it is said that he was not even a true-born son, but that Philip's wife took him at his birth from his mother, a certain semp- stress, an Argive woman named Gnathaenion, and passed him off as her own. And this was the chief reason, as it would seem, why he feared Demetrius

4 In 179 BO.

Soxei TOV Anpjtptov hoBnbeis atroxreivat, eH
yijavov EXeov o olxos dsdd0xov atroxaduyrn thy
éxeivou vobeiay.
IX. Ov pany ana, Kaimep ov aryevv7ys Kai
TATELVOS, UTO _payns TOV TparywaTov avadepo-
HeVvOS T pos TOV TONE LOV éorn Kat Sinpeioaro
ToD Vpovov, Hyemovas TE ‘Popator t ratios
Kab OT PATEV LATO, Kal TTOAOUS peyddous arrorpt-
papevos, evioy be Kat KPATHTAS. IlovrAsov te
yap Aceivvrov éuBarovta Tp@TOv eis Maxe6doviay
TpeWrdevos immopmayia Sioxedious MTEVTAKOTLOUS
avipas ayabouvs drréxreve Kat Cavras adXous
éEaxoaious éXaBe, Tov TE vavaTaO wou Twept ‘Qpeor
oppoivTos amr poa SoKnTov éemitmdouv Oéwevos eixoot
pey avropoptous orAKddas exetp@aaro, tas &
adXNas aiTou _Yepoveas KaTéducer" expaTnoe 5¢
Kal TEVTNPLKA Tégoapa. Kab Haxny € emorcunoe
TO devrepor, éy Tov vTraTiKOV Ooridtov amre-
Kpovaato KkataBialopevov! Kata tas "EAtulas:
AdOpa be 61a @ecoarias éuBarovra mpoKanou-
pevos eis paxny epoBnae. md pepryov dé Tod
ToNepou oTpaTelav emt Aapoaveis Oepevos, as 57
TOUS ‘Pwpaious t UTEpOpaY Kal Txoralwn, Hupious
TOV BapBapov Katéexowe Kal Aetav nacato
TONA MD. Drexiver de Kal Tadatas tovs wept Tov
“Totpov pen pevous, ot Baorépvar’ KandovrTat,
oTparov immorny kal MAX. HOV, TrAuptous Te Ola
TevOiov tod Bactdéws trapexare cvvepawacbar
1 xaraBia(duevoy Coraés and Sintenis, after Bryan, for the kal BiaCéuevoy of the MSS., where Bekker brackets xai. 2 of Baorépya: Coraés "and Bekker, after Stephanus :

Baorépvat,

and compassed his death, lest the royal house
having a true-born heir to the throne, should un-
cover his own spurious birth.
IX. However, although he was ignoble and mean, the strength of his position led him to undertake the war, and he kept up the struggle for a long time, repulsing Roman commanders of consular rank with

great armies and fleets, and actually conquer- ing some of them. Publius Licinius, for example, who was the first that invaded Macedonia, he routed in a cavalry battle, slew twenty-five hundred good men, and took six hundred prisoners besides; then he made an unexpected attack upon the Roman fleet which was lying at anchor near Oreus, seized twenty ships of burden with their cargoes, and sank the rest together with the grain that filled them; he also made himself master of four quinqueremes. He fought a second battle, too, in which he repulsed the consul Hostilius as he was trying to force his way into Macedonia at Elimiae; and after Hostilius had broken into the country undetected by way of Thes- saly, he gave him a challenge to battle which he was afraid to accept. Furthermore, as a side issue of the war, he made an expedition against the Dardanians, implying that he ignored the Romans and that time hung heavy on his hands; he cut to pieces ten thousand of the Barbarians and drove off much booty. He also secretly stirred up the Gauls settled along the Danube, who are called Bisternae, an equestrian host and warlike; and he invited the IIlyrians, through Genthius their king, to take part with him

Tov ToNeuov. Kal Aoyas Kater yer Os tav Bap-
Bapov pode TETTELT WEVODY tr avtov Sa THiS
Kato Tadatias mapa tov 'Adpiay éuBareiv eis
tny "Itariav.
X. Tadta tots 'Peopators muvOavopevors édoxee
Tas TOV oTpATHYL@VvT OV Naperas Kal Taparyyedias
edoavras avTous Kaneiv érl THY Hryepoviav avdpa
vouv éxovra Kal mpdryyace xphoGat peryarors
emtaT apevov. obTos Vy IlavAos Aéutros, Klas
pev HON ™porw Kal wept éEnxovta yeyovas ern,
poun dé Td LATOS axpalov, Ted parypevos dé xnde-
oTais Kal matal veavials Kal pirwv mr Ger Kal
ovyyevav péeya Suvapyévwv, ot mravtes avtov vrra-
Kodoat Kadovdvrt TO One 7 pos THY mateiav
emetBov. o 6¢ KaT apxKas pev eOpimreto 7 pos
TOUS TOAAOUS Kal biéxdive TV prroripiav avTo@V
Kal omovony, Os BN Sedpevos Tov apxev, porraiy-
TOV be Kal neépav él _Supas Kal 7 poKahoupe-
veov avuTop els dryopav Kab cataBowyTov erecta On:
kal paveis evdus év Tols petLovar THY vratetay
édo£ev ouK apyny Anpopevos, GANA vinnv Kal
KpaTos TOAEMLOU Kopilov kal d:d0us Tots TOTALS
Kata Batve els TO Tediov' peta TOTaUTNS éXmri-
50s Kxal mpoOuvpias ébéEavro wavtes avtov Kai
KatéoTnoay omaroy to Sevtepov, ovn edoavtes
KXApov | ryever Bau, xaddre eiw0e, tmept tov
émapxyi@v, GAN evOus exelve Wndicapevot TOU
Make OVLKOU TOANELOU THY Wyepoviay. Néyerar

auTov, Os avnyopevOn Kara tov Mepoéws oTparn-
yos, UTrO TOU Sj pou TAVTOS oixade TpoTrenpOevra,
Aap pas evpety TO Ouyatprov thv Teptiav beda-
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in the war. And a report prevailed that the Bar-
barians had been hired by him to pass through lower
Gaul, along the coast of the Adriatic, and make an
incursion into Italy.

X. When the Romans learned of these things, they decided that they would bid good-bye to the favours and promises of those who wanted to be generals, and themselves summon to the leadership a man of wisdom who understood how to manage great affairs. This man was Paulus Aemilius, now advanced in life and about sixty years of age, but in the prime of bodily vigour, and hedged about with youthful sons and sons-in-law, and with a host of friends and kinsmen of great influence, all of whom urged him to give ear to the people when it sum- moned him to the consulship. At first he was for declining the appeals of the multitude, and tried to avert their eager importunities, saying that he did not want office ; but when they came daily to his house and called him forth into the forum and pressed him with their clamours, he yielded; and when he presented himself at once among the candi- dates for the consulship, he did not appear to come into the Canipus in order to get office, but as one who brought victory and might in war and offered them to the citizens. With such eager hopes did all receive him, and they made him consul for the second time,! and did not permit a lot to be cast for the provinces, as was the custom, but at once voted him the conduct of the Macedonian war. And it is said that when he had been appointed general against Perseus, and had been escorted home in splendid fashion by the whole people, he found there his daughter Tertia, who was still a little child,

1 In 168 B.o. 379

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4 Kpupevny ere matBiov ovcay: aomra Louevov ou
autny épwrav ép STw NEAUTINTAL’ THY dé Tept-
Badovcav ral karagidodoay, “Ov yap olc 8a,”
elvreiv, “@ TATED, 5Tt Huty o Tlepaevs TéOvnke ;”
Aéyoucay | Kupvid.ov oUvT popov oUTH m™ pooaryopevo-
pevov' Kal Tov Aiwidsov ° "Aya TUXD, pavat,

“@ Ouyatep, Kat déxopas TOV ol@vor. TavTa
pev ovv Kixépwv o pitwp év tots mrept pavtixis
iaTopyKey.
XI. Eiworwv &€ trav umatelav NaBovtTwv olov
avOoporoyeia Bat Twa xXapw Kal T poo aryopevety
prop pores tov Siov a amo Tob Brparos, Aipirsos
els exkdnoiay cuvaryaryeov TOUS ToMTas THY pev
T poTepay Umateiay petedOetv épn avros apxis
Seopevos, tHv Se SevTépav éxelvov oTpaTnyou
2 Seopéveor- bc 8 pndeuiay auTois ydapuy EXEL,
arn’, et vopitovar bu évépou BEd Lov eFew Ta
KAT TOV TORE MOV, efioracGae THS myepovias, él
5¢ murtevovot auT@, BY mapaatparnyetv pnde
Aovorrocety, arr’ Umoupyely oLwT Ta OéovTa
1 pos TOV ToNELOV, OSs éay a apXovros dpxetv ont a-
ou, ere HadAov h viv KATAYENATTOUS év Tais
3 oTparetars Evopevous. amo TOUTMD TOV hoyeov
TOMMY pev aid@ mpos avTov éverroing€ ToUs
TONLTALS, peyadny dé mpoa Soxiav Tov pméAAOvTOS,
nOopeven a aTaVTwOY OTL TOUS KohaxevovTas Tapenr-
Oovres elAovTo Tappnaiav éxovra Kal dpovnua
TT PATHYOV. | obras em _7@ Kpareiy Kal péytotos
elvat TOY GAXwY apeTAs Kal TOU Karov Soros
Hv Oo ‘Pepaiov SLs.
XII. Aduirsrov &€ Tatndov, ds éEwpynoev émi

ae,

in tears. He took her in his arms, therefore, and
asked her why she grieved. And she, embracing
and kissing him, said: “ Pray dost thou not know,
lather, that our Perseus is dead ?” meaning a little
pet dog of that name. And Aemilius cried : ‘Good
fortune ! my daughter, I accept the omen.” Such,
then, is the story which Cicero the orator relates
in his work “On Divination.” }
XI. It was the custom for those who obtained the
consulship to return thanks, as it were, for the great
favour in a friendly speech to the people from the
rostra ; but Aemilius, having gathered an assembly
of the citizens, said he had sued for his first consul-

ship because he himself wanted office, but for his second because they wanted a general ; wherefore he was under no obligation to them ; on the contrary, if they thought the war would be carried on better by another, he resigned the conduct of it; but if they had confidence in him they must not make themselves his colleagues in command, nor indulge in rhetoric about the war, but quietly furnish the necessary supplies for it, since, if they sought to command their commander, their campaigns would be still more ridiculous than they were already. By these words he inspired the citizens with great reverence for himself, and with great expectations of the future, and all were glad that they had passed by the flatterers and chosen a general who had resolution and frankness of speech. Thus was the Roman people, to the end that it might prevail and be greatest in the world, a servant of virtue and honour.

XII. Now, that Aemilius Paulus, after setting out

1 Cicero, De divinatione, 46.

oTpareiay, wrod pev evTUXiG Kal partavn Xerr cacbas _Tropelas Kara Saipova riOnps, ovv by Kal per' aahanreias els TO otparorebov Kouta

TQ" Tob dé TONE LOU Kat TAS oTparhyias avTov TO pev TONUNS ofuTnTL, TO be Bovrcdpace xPn- aTois, TO 6é hirwy éexOvpors iTnpeciats, TO 5€ TO Tapa Ta Sawa, Oappeiv cal xphaAas Novyea pois dpapooww opav S:ameT parypevoy, oux éyw TH Leyouern Tov avdpos evTUXia AapT poy atrodobvas Kal Sudaonpov epyov olov éTépwy TTPATHYOV. eb Be Tis apa THY Tlepoéws pirapyupiav Aipirip TUXnY ayaOny jwéepl Ta Tpdypata. yever Gar pnaiv, i) apm pa Kal peydha WpOs TOV TONELOV apévra Tals eAmrioe Ta Maxeddvarv avétpeve Kal Karé- Bare, T pos apyvptov am odeihdaavros. AKov pep yap avt@ SenPévts Bactépvat, puptoe pep trtreis, puptor 83 mapaBdrat, pea bogopor mares, avdpes

ov ‘yewopryely eldores, ov wheiv, OvK a7r6 TOLL
Ch VEMLOVTES, GAN ep Epyyov Kat play TEXYY
pedeT@vTeEs ael baxerbar Kal Kparély TOV avTe-
TATTOLEDOY. as 6é mepl THY Macdiany Kara
aTpatom devo aves EmELLYVUVTO Tois Tapa Tov
Bactréws dvdpes vypnrol pev Ta Tap"ara, Jav-
pacrol dé Tas pehéras, peydravyoe dé tal Nap-
Tm pol Tais KaTa TOV TrOAELioV amethais, Jdpaos
TapeaTyo ay Tois Maxedoor Kal bofav @S TOV
‘Pepaiwy ovx UTOMEVOUVTOY, aD’ éxTNayngo-
péveov Thy ow auTny Kal THY Kiyno ww Expu)ov
ovcav xal SuoTpocom Tov. obTw diabels Tovs
avOp@trous o Tlepaevs Kal TOLOUTOY: euT ANT as
érrridwy, aitovpevos Kal’ Exactov nyepova xLAi-
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upon his campaign, had a fortunate voyage and an easy passage and came speedily and safely to the Roman camp, I attribute to the favour of Heaven ; but when I see that the war under his command was brought to an end partly by his fierce courage, partly by his excellent plans, partly by the eager assistance of his friends, and partly by his resolute adoption of fitting conclusions in times of danger, I cannot assign his remarkable and brilliant success to his celebrated good fortune, as I can in the case of other generals. Unless, indeed, it be said that the avaricious conduct of Perseus was good fortune for Aemilius, since it utterly subverted the great and brilliant prospects of the Macedonians for the war (wherein their hopes ran high), because Perseus played the coward with his money. For there came to him from the Bisternae, at his request, ten thousand horsemen with ten thousand men to run at their sides, all professional soldiers, men who knew not how to plough or to sail the seas, who did not follow the life of herdsmen, but who were ever practising one business and one art, that of fighting and conquering their antagonists. And when these had encamped in Maedica and mingled with the soldiers of the king,—men of lofty stature, admirable in their discipline, great boasters, and loud in their threats against their enemies,—they inspired the Macedonians with courage and a belief that the Romans could not withstand them, but would be utterly terrified by their looks and movements, which were strange and repulsive. But after Perseus had disposed the feelings of his men in this way and filled them with so great hopes, upon being asked to pay each captain of the mercenaries a

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ous, Mpos TO yuyvopevoy Tov ypvaiov mrHBos
idtyyidoas Kal tapadpovyncas vmro puKporoyias
amelrTato Kal TponkaTo THv cuu“paxXiav, Bote
a a ; \
oixovopav, ov TrodcLa@DV ‘Pwpaiots, Kat Noyto pov
aTrodwowv axpiBhn thas eis Tov ToAELOv Samravys
J / , cA ¢ J ,

ols érrodéuer? Kaitoe SidacKdAous elyev éxeivous,
ols dvev THS GAANS TapacKeuns oTpatiwtav Sexa
pupiddes Hoav nOpovcpévar Kal TapecTa@cat Tais
ypetass. 0 ¢ mpds Sivapw dvtaipwr THuKAdTHY
Kal ToNELov OY TOTODTOY HY TO TrapaTpEedopeEvor,
Sueuérper kal trapernpaiveto To ypuaioy, dyvacbau
Sedi@s Botep aAdotpiwv. Kal tadtT émparttev
ov Avdav tis 005é Powixwy yeyovas, GAAA THs
"AreEdvdpou nal Piditmou Kata ovyyéverav ape-
THS peTaTroLovmEvOS, Of TH TA TpaypaTa TOV
NENMATWOV WYNTA, fi) TA XPHLATA TOY TpayLaTov
yyetcOat Tavtwy éxputnoav. éppéOn yoov Ste
Tas odes aiper tTav “EXAnvav ov PDiduTTo-s,
GANA TO Dirimov ypuvaiov. *“AréEavdpos &é tijs
én’ “Ivdovs otpateias dmropevos, kat Bapuv opav
kal Svaoyxov 76n Tov Ilepotxdv édbedxopévous
wrovTov Tovs Maxedovas, mpwtas vrémpnoe TAS
\ e 4 9 ‘ ¥ 4 > \
Bactntxas apa€as, eita Tous adXouS Erretce TAUTO
TomnoavTas édadpous avaledEat mpos Tov aoNe-
Cd 4 ‘ \ \ \
pov watrep AeAvpEVvous. Tlepaevs 5é Tov ypucdv
avTos avTov Kai téxvwv Kal Bacireias Kxata-
4 > b] , > 9? / a
Neapevos oux nOédAnoe bu OrALywV GwOFvaL Ypn-
PaTwv, GAG peTa TAAX@Y KOmLTOels 6 TOVELOS
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thousand pieces, he was bewildered and crazed at the amount of gold required, and out of parsimony renounced and abandoned the alliance, as if he were a steward, rather than a foe, of the Romans, and was to give an exact account of his expenditures for the war to those against whom he waged it; and yet he had his foes to give him lessons, for, apart from their other preparations, they had a hundred thousand men assembled and ready for their needs. But he, though contending against so large a force, and in a war where such large reserves were maintained, measured out his gold and sealed it up in bags, as afraid to touch it as if it had belonged to others. And this he did although he was no Lydian or Phoenician born, but

laid claim to a share in the virtues of Alexander and Philip, whose descendant he was,—men who mastered the world through their belief that empire was to be bought with money, not money with empire. At all events, it was a common saying that the cities of Greece were taken, not by Philip, but by Philip's money. And Alexander, when . he was starting on his expedition to India, and saw that his Macedonians were dragging along after them their Persian wealth, which was already burdensome and heavy, set fire to the royal baggage-waggons first, and then persuaded his followers to do the same with theirs, and to set out for the war in light marching order, like men released from bondage. But Perseus would not consent to pour out his gold upon himself, his children, and his kingdom, and thus purchase salvation with a small part of his treasures, but chose to be carried with many treasures as the wealthy captive, and to show the

aiypdrwros émideiEacOat 'Pwpaiow boa heod-
pLevos ETNPNOEV AUTOLS.
XIII. Ov yap povoyv améreu we tovs Tadrdtas
Wrevodpevos, adAA Kal TévOov érrdpas tov "TAAv-
ptov émt tptaxociots tadrdytTos ocuveddwacba
TOU TWoAéuov TA ev Xpypata Tols wap avTod
weupbeios mpoovOnxeyv npiOunuéva xal Kata-
onunvacba: trapécyev' ws b€ mecbels Exew &
nrnoev o L'évOvos Epyov aaeBes nal dewdv eSpace
(mpéoBets yap éMovtas "Pwpaiwy mpos avTov
aouvéraBe Kat Katédnoev), hryovpevos o Ilepaevs
ovdev ére SeiaOar Tov YpnuadTov THY éxTrodé"wwow,
ddvta Tov TevOiov mpodedmxdtos eyOpas evéxupa
kal Sca tyALKaUTNs abixias éuBeBANKOTOS EavTOV
eis TOV TOAELOY, aTEcTépNaE TOV KaAKOdSaipova
TOV Tplakociwy TaddvT@v, Kai Tepietdev orALY@
pov@ peTa TEXVMV Kal yUPALKOS WS ATO VvEoTTLAS
apBévta tis Baoihelas bd Acuxiov *Avixiov
oTpaTnyou meupbévros er avrov peta Suvdpews.
Em) totobrov avtimandov édOav o Aipirzos
avrov pev xatedppover, tTHv 8 vm avT@ Tapa-"
oxeuny xal Sivaptv COavpatev. oav yap ines
pev teTpaxtaxirsot, relol & eis dddayya TeTpa-
Kia pupiwy ov moAdXois atrodéovTes. (Opupevos
5é mpo tis Oardttns Tapa thy ''Odvpreenv
iTa@peav él ywpiwy obdayddev mpocaywynv
éyovtav xal tavrolev bm' avdtod SiaTredpaype-
vov épvpact Kal Tpoterxicpact EvAivots TOAAHY
adeay yev, amotpvcew xXpovm Kal xpnudrov
Saravyn tov Aipirsov ayovpevos. 0 8 TH youn
bev hv évepyos emt wav BotrAevpa Kal twacav

Tpemopevos Twelpav, Um adeias Sé THs mpdaber
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Romans how much he had saved and watched
for them.
XIII. For he not only sent away the Gauls after playing them false, but also, after inducing Genthius the Illyrian, on payment of three hundred talents, to assist him in the war, he showed to the king's messengers the money all counted out, and suffered them to put their seals upon the bags; then, when Genthius, convinced that he had the price he had asked, committed a dreadful and impious deed, arresting and imprisoning a Roman embassy that had been sent to him, Perseus, thinking that the money was no longer needed to make Genthius an enemy of Rome, since before getting it he had given a lasting earnest of his hatred and had involved himself in the war by the great wrong which he had done, deprived the poor wretch of the three hundred talents, and suffered him in a little while to be taken from his kingdom with his wife and children, as birds from their nest, by Lucius Anicius, a general sent against him with an army.

Aemilius, coming against such an adversary,
scorned him indeed, but admired his preparations
and his army. For Perseus had four thousand
horsemen, and not much fewer than forty thousand
heavy-armed footmen. And planting himself with
the sea behind him, along the foot-hills of Mount
Olympus, on ground which nowhere afforded an
approach, and which had been fortified on all sides
by him with bulwarks and outworks of wood, he lay
in great security, thinking that by delay and expense
he would wear out Aemilius. But Aemilius was a
man who clung to his purpose, and tested every plan
and method of attack; seeing, however, that his
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Tov otpatov opav dvaavacyxetovvTa Kal AOy@
Toa SiactpaTnyouvTa TaY amTpaKTwp, éTreTipn-
Gey aUTols, Kal TapHyyEeLre pNdey TroduTrpayyjwovely
\ 4 bd > A \ a \ e A \
pndé ppovrivew, drAX 7 TO c@pa TO éavTod xal
THY TavoTAiay Exaotov STws évepyov tapéfe
Kat xpnoetat 'Pwpaixas TH payaipa, Tov KaLpov
jwapadovtos Tov otpaTnyod. Tas dé vuKTeptvas
éxéNevoe uraxds avev AOYYNS PvAdtTEW, ws
PaAXov mpocéEovtas Kal diapayoupévous pos
Tov Umvov, av apvvac0at Tovs Trodepious p7

SvvwvtTat Tpocovtas.
XIV. ‘Evoydoupévay b€ tev dvOperev pd-
Mota TEpl THY TOU TrOTOU Ypeiav (Kal yap OrLyov
/
kal trovnpov émidve Kal cuvedeiBeto Tap avTny
Q , Coa e > + , \
tTHv OdraTTav), opav o Aipircos péya Kal Kan:
\ dé 8 ” \ “O ’ ,
pepes dSévdpecty dpos tov "Odvutrov érixetpevor,
, A a an
Kal TEXpalpopevos TH YAwpoTHTL THS Ans vapa-
54 > a 10 e 4
tov éxyew apyas ba Babous srrodepopévor,
> \ b a \ 4 \ \
dvamvoas autos Kal dpéata Toda Tapa TH
e , v a 5 9 \ > / €
UTwMpeLAY WPUTTE. T evOus émripmdato peu-
patov Kabapov, émrovydidovt@v odKn Kal dopa
Tov OrArBopévou mpdos TO Kevovpevov.
4 \ v e 4 e
Kairos tives ov dacw vddrov étoluov Kexpup-
\ > a a
pévoy mnyas evatroxeioBar Tots tomo é& ov
>] 9 ‘@a
péovowv, ovd atroxdduiw ovdée py—w elvar rip
éxBoXnv avTa@v, GAAA yéverw Kal avaoTacw
9 A lo) a b 4 > 4
évtaida ths Orns eEvypawoperns: éEvypaiverBar
‘ ,
Sé muKxvoTnte Kal WuxpoTnte THY voTEepay ava-
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army, by reason of their former license, was im-
patient of delay, and inclined to dictate to their
general many impracticable things, he rebuked
them, and instructed them to take no thought or
concern for anything, except how each man might
keep himself and his armour in readiness for action,
and ply his sword in Roman fashion, when their
general gave them the opportunity. Furthermore,
he ordered the night watchmen to keep watch
without their spears, with the idea that they would

be more on the alert and would struggle more successfully against sleep, if they were unable to defend themselves against their enemies when they approached. .

XIV. But his men were annoyed especially by the lack of drinking water, since only a little of it issued forth and collected in pools at the very edge of the sea, and that was bad. Aemilius, therefore, seeing that the lofty and wooded mountain of Olympus lay near, and judging from the greenness of its trees that there were veins of water coursing under ground, dug a number of vents and wells for them along the foot of the mountain. These were at once filled with streams of pure water, which, under the weight and impulse of the pressure that was upon them, discharged themselves into the vacuum afforded.

And yet some deny that stores of réady water lie hidden away beneath the places from which springs flow, and that they merely come to light or force a passage when they issue forth; they hold rather that the water is generated and comes into existence then and there through the liquefaction of matter, and that moist vapour is liquefied by density and cold,

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Ouptaciy, Grav év Baber xatabdXBeioa pevotixy
3 yevntat. KxabaTep yap ot pactol Tay yuvaiKay
ovY Wotrep ayyela MArHpes eioly emLppéovTos
éroiuov yadaKxtos, adda petraBdrAXovTes TV
A b] e “ 9 4 lA \ “A
Tpopny ev avrots épyafovras yara Kai dinOodour,
oUT@S of Tepixruxto Kal midaxwbets TOTOL TIS
yjs dap péev ovK Exovot KaduTrropevov, ovdé
KOATrOUsS pevpata Kat Baby ToTapawv TocovTwY
é& érotmns Kat UTroxetpévns adiévtas apyis, TO
5é mvedpa Kal Tov aépa Te mélew Kal Katatv-
A > / 9 ee / A
4 xvodv atroOAiBovtes eis DSwp tpérrovet. Ta yoov
OpuTTOopeva TAY YoOpiov paddrov avamidver Kat
, \ A 4 , C4

Siavaes mpos THY ToLtavTnY Wnrddnowv, woTreEp
oi pactol Tav yuvatK@v mpos Tov Ondracpor,
dvuypaivovta Kal panattrovta THY avadupiacw
daa § apya ths ys cuptréppaxtat, tupPAa pos
yéveow vdaTwv éoTiv, ovK Exovta Thy épyatopévny
6 TO Uypov Kivnow. ot 5€ Tabta réyovTes émt-
yetpeiy Sedwxact Tois atropytiois, ws ovdé TO
alpa tots Cwows Eveotiv, GAXa yevvatat TpPOS TA
TPAVMATA TVEVLATOS TLVOS 7 GapKaY petaBoAn,
pvow aTrepyacapévn cat cuvtntw. édMéyxovrae
5¢ rois pds Tovs Hrovopous Kal Tas peTadreias
anavT@cw eis Baby trotapois, ov Kat' OXéiyov
4 C4 > / > / 9
ouAAeyouévols, WoTrEp ElKOS eoTLVY Ef yevertW eK
"a "A , A n~
Tov TAapaYpHUa KivoupEerNs THS YAS NauBdvovewp,
/ el
GAN' dO poois dvaxeopevots. opav S€ Kal rétpas
a @ 4 > 10 iA , C4
TANYH payelons eEeT@ nonce peda AXaBpov Vdaros,
elta éréduTre. Tata pey tept ToUTwY.
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whenever, that is, it is compressed in the depths of earth and becomes fluid. For, they argue, just as the breasts of women are not, like vessels, full of ready milk which flows out, but by converting the nourishment that is in them produce milk and strain it out ; so those places in the ground which are chilly and full of springs do not have hidden, water, nor reser- voirs which send forth the currents and deep waters of all our rivers from a source that is ready at hand, but by forcibly compressing and condensing vapour and air, they convert them into water. At all events, those places which are dug open gush and flow more freely in response to such manipulation, just as the breasts of women do in response to suck- ing, because they moisten and soften the vapours ; whereas all places in the ground which are packed tight and unworked, are incapable of generating water, since they have not been subjected to the agitation which produces moisture. But those who hold this doctrine give the sceptical occasion to object that, on this reasoning, there is no blood in living creatures, but it is generated in response to wounds by a transformation of some vapour or flesh, which causes its liquefaction and flow. Moreover, they are refuted by the experience of men who dig mines, either for sieges or for metals, and in the depths encounter rivers of water, which are not gradually collected, as must naturally be the case if they come into existence at the instant that the earth is agitated, but pour fourth in a great mass. And again, when a mountain or rock is smitten asunder, a fierce torrent of water often gushes forth, and then ceases entirely. So much on this head.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XV. ‘O & Alpirsos juépas pév tivas npéuet,
Kat pact pnToTEe THALKOUTWY OTpaTOTEbUD eyyUS
ovTw acuveNOovtwy jaovytav yevérOat TooavTnv.
érrel b€ Kiva@v Atravta Kal Tretp@pevos éruvOaveto
/ ? ‘ v , wv > ,
puav etcoBornv Ett povov appovpov atronreitrec Oat,
\
thy d1a IleppasBias mapa ro v@cov cat thv
a \
Ilérpav, t@ wn puratrecOar Tov ToTrov éATicas
padrrov 7 be’ hy ovK épuratreto Svaywpiay Kat
tpaxvrnta deiaas éBovreveTo. mpwtos b€ TaY
wapovtwy o Naatkads émixadXovpevos Yenriwv,
N b Le) , ev \ /
yapBpos ’Adpixavod Yxntiwvos, dotepov dé pé-
ylotov év TH auyKAnt@ duvnbeis, bedéEaTO Tis
, e ‘ V4 , \ ,
KUKAwTEWS HYE“oV yevér Bat. SevTEpos 5é PaBros
Ma€tpos, o mpeoButatos tov AtwAtou traidwr,
,
ETL pELpaKLOY WY, aveaTN TpOOUpOvpEVOS. Nobels
ovv o Aipinsos Sidwov adtois ovy Baovs Todv-
¥ b] > o& b] \ e le) n~
Bios elipneev, XN daous autos o Naotxas AaBeiv
\ \ ~ / 4
dyot, yeypadws wept tav mpakewy tovTwv ém-
a ,
aTOALOY Tpos TLVa TOV Bactréwy, of pev éxTOS
4 a
takews "Itadixol Tpucyidvor TO TAOS Hoav, TO
,
5’ ev@vupov Képas els TevTaKiaytALOUS. TOUTOLS
mpocrAaBwv o Naotxas imeis éxatov elxooe rat
tov tap Aptrdd@ @paxav cai Kpnrov davapem-
/ ry \
ypuevov Staxocious, eEwpynoe TH pos OddXaccav
a \
060, kal kateoTpatoTédevae Tapa To ‘Hpaxdeuov,
€ ' \ a \ UA b ry \
ws 67 Tais vavol péedX\AwWY ExTEpLTTAELY KA KU-
an f a /
xKNovaOat TO oTpAaTOTESOV TV TrOAEKioV. éret &
lo ,
éSeimvnoay ol otpati@tat Kal oKoTos éyéveTo,

a € , Ul \ ? \ e A \

Tois HyeHoot Ppdoas TO adyOes ye dea vuKTOS

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XV. Aemilius kept still for several days, and they say that never was there such quiet when armies of such size had come so close together. But when, as he was trying and considering everything, he learned that there was one passage and one only that still remained unguarded, namely, the one through Per- rhaebia past the Pythium and Petra, he conceived more hope from the fact that the place was left unguarded than fear from the roughness and diffi- culty of it which caused it to be so left, and held a council of war upon the matter. Among those present at the council, Scipio, surnamed Nasica, a son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, and afterwards of the greatest influence in the senate, was first to offer himself as leader of the enveloping force. And second, Fabius Maximus, the eldest of the sons of Aemilius, though he was still a young man, eagerly volunteered. Aemilius, accordingly, delighted, gave them, not as many men as Polybius states,! but as many as Nasica himself says they took, in a short letter which he wrote concerning these exploits to one of the kings, that is, three thousand of his Italians who were not Romans, and his left wing numbering five thousand. In additiom to these, Nasica took a hundred and twenty horsemen, besides two hundred of the mixed Thracians and Cretans with Harpalus, set out on the road towards the sea, and encamped by the Heracleum, as though he intended to sail round by sea and envelope the camp of the enemy. But when his soldiers had taken supper and darkness had come, he told his chief officers his real design, and then led his forces by night in the opposite direction, away from the sea,

1 In a lost portion of Book XXIX.

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THv éevavtiay ato GOaXraTTNS, Kal KaTadXUaas avé-
mave THY oTpatiay UTrO TO TlvOtov. évtavOa tod
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Odrvprou 70 iyfpos avateiver TEOV 7 Séxa oTAdl-
ous' onpairetar 5€ émriypdppate TOD peTpHacavTos
oUTwS'
OvAvprov Kxopudiys Ere Wvdiov 'AmoAXNwvOS
iepov Dros Exet, Tpos Kaeo 5é pérpov,}
TAN ev Sexcba oTadloy pia, abtap ém' avTa
mwrEOpov TeTpaTréd@ AetTropevoy peyeber.
Evpnrou 6€ pu vids €Onxato pétpa KedevOov
Reaves av 8, dvak, yaipe nat écOrX4
;

idov.
KalToe A€yovaty ol yewpeTpLKOL NTE Gpous Dros
pnte Babos Oaracons tvrepBarrew Soca oTa-
Sious. o pévtor levayopas ov tapépyws, adda
meOodm xa 8 dpydvev eirndévar Soxet rHv
péeTpyouv.
XVI. ‘O pev odv Nacixds évtad0a Sevunte-
pevoe’ TH Se Ilepoet tov Aipidsov atpepovvta
KaTa K@pav opavte Kal pn NoyLlouév@ TO yLVO-
pevov atrodpas ex THS 0b600 Kpns avtroporos te
unviev thy wepiodov TaV ‘Pwpaiwy. o dé cuv-
tapaxOcis TO pev aotpatomedov ovK éxivyce,
Hupious 5é€ puaGodopous Eévous cal Stoytriovs
Makedovas Midrovt trapasdovs éEaréotetXe, trapa-
Kehevodpevos Taxbvat ral catadaBeiv tas bTreEp-
Bodrads. tovtots o péev TlorvBeds dnow ert Kotpw-
pévors erimeceiv Tovs ‘Pwpatous, o 5¢ Nacuxas
1 xpos... uétpoy a correction suggested by Sintenis (and

adopted by Bekker) of the unmetrical xpds thy xdOerov 8
duetphOn of the MSS.

and halted below the Pythium, where he gave his army a rest. From this point Olympus rises to a height of more than ten furlongs, as is signified in an inscription by the man who measured it :—
“The sacred peak of Olympus, at Apollo's Pythium, has a_height, in perpendicular measurement, of ten full furlongs, and besides, a hundred feet lacking only four. It was the son of Eumelus who measured the distance, Xenagoras; so fare thee well, O King, and be propitious in thy gifts.”
And yet the geometricians say that no mountain has a height, and no sea a depth, of more than ten furlongs. It would seem, however, that Xenagoras took his measurement, not carelessly, but according to rule and with instruments. _
XVI. Here, then, Nasica passed the night; but to Perseus, who did not infer what was going on because he saw Aemilius remaining quietly in his position, there came a Cretan deserter who had run

away on the march, bringing him news of the circuit which the Romans had taken. Though Perseus was confounded at this, he did not move his camp, but sent out ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under Milo, with orders to make haste and occupy the passes. These men, according to Polybius,! were still asleep when the Romans fell upon them; but Nasica says that a

1 In a lost portion of Book X XIX.

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ofvy ayava trept Tols aKxpots yeveoOar Kal Kiv-
fo) / a
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xataBanrelv, éxBracbéevtwr 5€ TaV TOAELioV, Kal
fe) 4 an
tov Midwvos aicyista evyovtos avev Tov
OTAWY povoxYiTwVos, aoparws akorovUeElv, dua
xataBiBalwv eis THY Ywpav TO oTpdaTevpA.
Tovtwy dé t@ Ilepocet mpoomecovtwy Kata
, 5) Y @ > / \
Taxos avalevEas hyev oTicw, TepipoBos yeyovas
kal auyKxeyupevos tais éXtriow. avtod 8 bpuws
a 4 a
apo ths Ilvévns bropévovta tretpacOar payns
avayKaiov nv, h Te oTpaT@ cKedacbévtt Trept
\ / / N , 3 , ed
tas ToAEls SéyecOar Tov TOAELOY, ereiTEep aTAaF
fo , “
éuBéBnxe TH yopa, Siva trorArd dovov Kat
a a) ‘N ;
vexpov éextreceiy yn Suvdyevov. wAnOer pev ovv
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avopov avTobev trepteivar, trpoOuptav Sé troAAHVY
Umdpyew auvvopévors wept Téxvav Kal yuvatxar,
épopavrTos Exacta tod Bacihéws wal mpoxivdv-
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yupvntevoval Kai Widois avaduyas nal trepidpo-
\ v 5 \ 4 de \ es 7
pas Eyovtes. Sia wécou de Totapol péovtes Alowv
fo! A ,
cat AedKos ov para Babeis tote (Oépous yap Hv

sharp and perilous conflict took place for possession of the heights, and that he himself slew a Thracian mercenary, who engaged him, by striking him through the breast with his javelin, and that after the enemy had been driven away, and while Milo was flying most disgracefully without his armour or his cloak, he followed after them without danger, and brought his army with him down into the plain.

After this disaster, Perseus hastily broke camp and retired ; he had become exceedingly fearful, and his hopes were shattered. But nevertheless he was under the necessity of standing his ground there in front of Pydna and risking a battle, or else of scattering his army about among the cities and so awaiting the issue of the war, which, now that it had once made its way into his country, could not be driven out without much bloodshed and slaughter. In the number of his men, then, he was superior where he was, and they would fight with great ardour in defence of their wives and children, and with their king beholding all their actions and risk- ing life in their behalf. With such arguments his friends encouraged Perseus. So he pitched a camp and arranged his forces for battle, examining the field and distributing his commands, purposing to confront the Romans as soon as they came up. The place afforded a plain for his phalanx, which required firm standing and smooth ground, and there were hills succeeding one another con- tinuously, which gave his skirmishers and_light- armed troops opportunity for retreat and flank attack. Moreover, through the middle of it ran the rivers Aeson and Leucus, which were not very deep at that time (for it was the latter end of summer),

apa pOivovros) édoxouy tivad ducepyiay Guws Tots

‘Pwpaiors mapefetv.
XVII. ‘O & Alpintos, as eds TauToV ouvewite
tT Naouka, catéBatve TUYTETAYMEVOS emt TOUS
Tone pious. as 8 cide THY naparatw avTav ral
TO THOS, Oavpacas éréaTnoe THY Topelay,
autos Te mpos éautov avrdroyilopuevos. oi 8° iHrye-
povixol veavioKot 7 poOupovpevor payer Oar Tape-
AavvovTes édéov To BN pédrewp, Kal padiora may-
TOV O Naowxds 7H Tepl tov “Odvuroy evtuxia
TeOappnKas. 0 = Aipintos, beldudaas, “Ei ye
THY anv, eltrev, “ AtKiaY elxov" ai € Trodnat
pe vixat dubdoxovoat Ta TOV NT TO LEVOV cpLapty)-
para, K KwAVOVOLY ef od00 paxnv TiOecOat 7 pos
pdrayya ouvTEeTayMernY non Kal cuverToaav.
éx TovTOU Ta pev TpaTa Kal catahavh impos Tovs
Tohepious éxéXevoev Els omeipas xabiarapeva
Tovely ox nwa mapatatews, tous 8 an’ ovpas
otpadévtas év X%pa xapaxa Bareobat Kal oTpa-
TOTrEOEVELD. oUTM ¢ TOV cTUvEX av TOUS Tehev-
taiow Kal’ brayoyny eFedcT Topeveny Exade tiv
maparativ dvahuaas Kat KatactHaas abopvBas
els TOV dpaka mavTas.
"Evel Be yok ryeryover Kal peta Seitrvov érpd-
TOVTO ™pos Darvov Kat avdravow, aipvidcov y
cedqvy mANPNS ovca kal HETEWPOS epehaivero Kal
ToD gwrds amroNLTOVTOS auThy Xpeas dpeinpaca
mavrobamas npavicOn. Tav 6é Popatan, OoTep
éotl vevopiic peor, Xarxod TE Tardyou avaxa-
Aoupeveor TO pas QUuTHS Kal mupa TONG dadoils
Kal dgolv avexovT@v T™pos TOY ovpavor, ovdér
Spovoy Erpattov of Maxedoves, adrAa dpixn cal
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but were likely, nevertheless, to give the Romans
considerable trouble.
XVII. Aemilius, after effecting a junction with
Nasica, came down in. battle array against the
enemy. But when he saw how they were drawn
up, and in what numbers, he was amazed, and came
to a halt, considering with himself. His young
officers, however, who were eager for battle, rode up

and begged him not to delay, especially Nasica,
who was emboldened by his success at Mount
Olympus. But Aemilius, with a smile, said to him:
«Yes, if I had thy youth ; but many victories teach
me the mistakes of the vanquished, and forbid me
to join battle, immediately after a march, with a
phalanx which is already drawn up and completely
formed.” After this, he ordered his foremost troops,
who were in sight of the enemy, to form into cohorts
and give the appearance of a battle line, while the
others, wheeling to the rear, dug trenches and
marked out a camp. And in this way, the troops
next to the last wheeling off in due succession, before
the enemy knew it he had broken up his battle line
and brought all his men without confusion into their
intrenchments. ;
Now, when night had come, and the soldiers, after supper, were betaking themselves to rest and sleep, on a sudden the moon, which was full and high in the heavens, grew dark, lost its light, took on all sorts of colours in succession, and finally disappeared. The Romans, according to their custom, tried to call her light back by the clashing of bronze utensils and by holding up many blazing fire-brands and torches towards the heavens; the Macedonians, however, did nothing of this sort, but amazement

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OapBos To otpatotesov KaTteiyve Kal NOYOS NAOVYT
Sia TroAA@y éywpet, Bacii€ws TO Pdopa onpat-
b
ve éxrenfiv. o © Aipirsos ove Hy ev avnKoos
ovd aTeipos TavTdtact TMV EKNELTTLK@VY AVO-
Hara, al thy cEernvnv epipepoméevyny Eis TO
oxiacna ThHS yns éuBadAovar TeTaypévats Trept-
odors Kal diroxpUTtovaw, dypt ov tapeNovca
THY émiaKoTOUpLeVnY YOpay Tad éTiAdprn POs
1. ’ \ ’ \ a , + J / ‘
TOV HALOY" OV LV GAAA T@ Geiw TOV VvEe“wY Kal
dirodurns ay kat pavtixes, ws elde MpaTov THY
cernvyny atroxaGatpopéevnv, Evdexa poaxous avTh
cateOvoev. dua S nuépa to ‘Hpaxdret Bovduta
- dpa 8’ juépg 7O “Hpax ovduT@y
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ovK éxadAtéper péexpts eixnoot TO 56 TpwT@ Kal
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ELKOOTO TAphy Ta onpcta Kal vixny apuvopéevols
v 9 / > \ a e \ N
eppalev. evEauevos obv cata Bowy éxatov xal
ayavos tepod TH Oe@, mpocetake Siaxocpely Tots
4 \
nyeu“oot TOY oTpaToy eis paxynv’ avdtos bé THY
\
amroxdtow Kal wepipopay avapévov tod dwros,
STS LL] KATA TpoTwToU payouevats avTots Ewlev
- 0 HrALoS avTiNduTroL, Taphrye Tov Ypovov év TH
axnvn KabeCouevos avatreTTtapévyn Tpos TO Tediov
Kal THY OTpaToTrEdclay TMV TrOAELiOV.
XVIII. Ilepi 5é detAnv ot ev avtod hac tod
Aipuriou texvalovtos éx tev Trodeuiov yevécbat
Thy émeyelpnow, axddwoy inmmov éFeXdocavtas
éuBareiy avtots tovs ‘Pwpaiouvs, xal todrov
apyny paxns Stwxopevov wapacyxeiv' ot de “Pw-
oo A 4
paixav wtrolvyiwy Yoptacpata TapaxomlovTwy
uf a ° ’ / ¢€ a \
adwtecOar @paxas, av “Arétavépos nyeito, mpods
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and terror possessed their camp, and a rumour quietly spread among many of them that the portent signified an eclipse of a king. Now, Aemilius was not altogether without knowledge and experience of the irregularities of eclipses, which, at fixed periods, carry the moon in her course into the shadow of the earth and conceal her from sight, until she passes beyond the region of shadow and reflects again the light of the sun; however, since he was very devout and given to sacrifices and divination, as soon as he saw the moon beginning to emerge from the shadow, he sacrificed eleven heifers to her. And as soon as it was day, he sacrificed as many as twenty oxen to Hercules without getting favourable omens; but with the twenty-first victim the propitious signs appeared and indicated victory if they stood on the defensive. Accordingly, having vowed to the god a hecatomb and solemn games, he ordered his officers to put the army in array for battle; but he himself, waiting for the sun to pass

to the west and decline, in order that its morning
light might not shine in the faces of his men as
they fought, passed the time sitting in his tent,
which was open towards the plain and the enemy's
encampment.
XVIII. Towards evening, Aemilius himself, as some say, devised a scheme for making the enemy begin the attack, and the Romans, pursuing a horse which they had driven forth without a bridle, came into collision with them, and the pursuit of this horse brought on a battle ; others say that Thracians, under the command of Alexander, set upon Roman beasts of burden that were bringing in forage, and

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yevéo Oat trapaBonfovvtwr 5é mrevovwy Exarépors
ovTw cuvaTrTedOat THY waXnVv aupoTépwrv. Oo pev
ovv Aiutrsos Ootep KUBEpynTHS TO WapovtTe caro
kal Kivnuats Tov oTpaToTrédwY TEexpatpopeEvos TO
péyeOos Tod pédXNovTOS aydvos, ex THS TKNVTS
mponiOe kal Ta Taypata TeV oTALTOV éTL@V
TmapeOdppuver, o dé Naowxds éEurrmacdpevos mpos
Tous axpoBorLlouévous opad wdvras bcov ovTw
TOUS ToNeutous ev yepoly dvTas.
IIpara 8 of @paxes eywpouv, Ov pddtoTd
dnow éxtrayjvar thy byw, avdpes bWnrol ra
cMpaTa, NEvUK@ Kal meptrdutrovTe Oupewy cat
mepixvnpio@y omA\tou@ pérAavas Urevdedupévor
xitavas, opOas €é poudaias Bapvotdnpovs dro
trav SeEvav wpov éemicciovtes. tmapa S€ Tovs
Opdaxas oi ptoPodopor trapevéBardov, ov cxevat
Te tavrooatal, Kal peutypévor Ilaioves aoa
émt 8& rovTots aynpa Tpitov of Aoyddes, avTaY
Maxedovwy dpeth xal jrLKia 76 KaBapwtarov,
doTpamtovtTes émtxpvaols Sidoas Kal veoupyois
dhowixiow. ols nabiorapévors eis taki at Tov
Xarcacridwy émavatédXovaear hararyyes €x TOU
Xapaxos eve noav anys avdpov Kal NaptTN-
Sovos yarxod 76 Trediov, xpavyfhs bé cai OopvBou
wapakeNevopevoy THV opevyiy. ovTw 5é Opacéws
Kal peTa TAXOUS eTHETAaY WaoTE TOVS TPwWTOUS
vexpovs amo duely atadiwv tod 'Pwpatcod yapa-
KOS KaTATET ELD.
XIX. Teyvopuevns Sé tis ébddou traphv o Aiui-
Atos, Kal KaTeAdpBavey Hn Tovs év Tos aynpact

Maxeddévas dxpas Tas capicas TpocepnpeKxotas
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that against these a sharp sally was made by seven hundred Ligurians, whereupon reinforcements were sent to either party, and thus the engagement became general. So then Aemilius, like a pilot, judging from the surging commotion in the armies the greatness of the coming storm, came forth from his tent and went along in front of his legionary troops encouraging them, and Nasica, after riding out to the skirmishers, saw that the whole force of the enemy was all but at close quarters.

First the Thracians advanced, whose appearance, Nasica says, was most terrible,—men of lofty stature, clad in tunics which showed black beneath the white and gleaming armour of their shields and greaves, and tossing high on their right shoulders battle-axes with heavy iron heads. Next to the Thracians, the mercenaries advanced to the attack ; their equipment was of every variety, and Paeonians were mingled with them. Next to these came a third division, picked men, the flower of the Macedonians them- selves for youthful strength and valour, gleaming with gilded armour and fresh scarlet coats. As these took their places in the line, they were illumined by the phalanx-lines of the Bronze-shields which issued from the camp behind them and filled the plain with the gleam of iron and the glitter of bronze, the hills, too, with the tumultuous shouts of their cheering. And with such boldness and swiftness did they advance that the first to be slain fell only two fur- longs from the Roman camp.

XIX. As the attack began, Aemilius came up and found that the Macedonian battalions had already planted the tips of their long spears in the shields

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Dp 2
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

tots Oupeois Tav “Pwpyaiwy cal pity mpoctepévous
eis épuxtov a’Tav Tas paxaipas. érel é Kal TOY
ad\iwy Maxedovev tas te wéAtas é€ wou Trept-
onacavtwy Kal tais capicats ad’ évos cuvOn-
patos KXLOGcicas UmoctavtTwy Tots Bupeopopous
elde THY TE PONY TOD GvvacTLG LOD Kal THY TpAa-
yuTHnTA THS mWpoPorNs, éxmrrAn kts QuTov Eye Kab
déos, @S ovdev idovta maTore Géapa poBepwrepoy:
v4 “A 9
Kal TOoAAGKLS BoTEpov éuéuvynto Tov mdaOous exet-

vou Kal Ths Oypews. Torte Sé Tpos TOUS payxopuévous
> tf 6 \ A e A ov ,
émriderxvopevos thew nal hadpov éauvtov avev Kpa-
vous Kal Oopaxos itm wapynArauvev. o 5é Tov
C4 nn
Maxeddvav Bacireds, &s dynat TloAvBios, tijs
payns apxnv AauBavovans atrodeididcas eis 1d-
hu adimmdoaato, oxnyrdapuevos “Hpaxret Over,
a“ ¢ \ ? b) A
Seika trapa Sevrav iepa py Sexouévp pnd evdyas
aOepitous émetedobvvtTt. Oepitoy yap ovK éoTw
ote Tov pn BddXOVTA KaTEVoTOYXELY OUTE TOV 141)
pévovta Kpatety ov8 SXws TOY ATpaKToOV evTpa-
lo) v7 N \ > A b (a) >
yelty oUTE TOV Kaxoy evdatpovely. adda Tais Al-
ptdiou mapiv evyais o Beas evyeTo yap KpaTos
Todkéuou Kal vicny Sdpv xpatav, Kat payomevos
mapexdre cvppayov Tov Deov.
Ov pnv adda Tlocevdortds tis év éxeivois Tots
ypovors Kal Talis mpdkeot yeyovévar Néywr, (oTo-
, \ \ 4 b la
piay 6é yeypadas arepi Ilepoéws ev mreioor Bi-
, \ > N b) e N , > N N
Brio, gdnoly avtov ody tro Sevrdias ovdé tHv
Ouciav tommodpevov aitiay amedOeiv, adda TH
, “A A
MpoTépa THs paxns Tuyely NeXaKTIcpévoy Ld
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of the Romans, who were thus prevented from reach- ing them with their swords. And when he saw that the rest of the Macedonian troops also were drawing their targets from their shoulders round in front of them, and with long spears set at one level were withstanding his shield-bearing troops, and saw too the strength of their interlocked shields and the fierceness of their onset, amazement and fear took possession of him, and he felt that he had never seen a sight more fearful ; often in after times he used to speak of his emotions at that time and of what he saw. But then, showing to his soldiers a glad and cheerful countenance, he rode past them without helmet or breastplate. The king of the Macedonians, on the other hand, according to Polybius, as soon as the battle began, played the coward and rode back to the city, under pretence of sacrificing to Heracles, a god who does not accept cowardly sacrifices from cowards, nor accomplish their unnatural prayers. For it is not in the nature of things that he who makes no shot should hit the mark exactly, or that he who does not hold his ground should win the day, or, in a word, that he who does nothing should be successful in what he does, or that a wicked man should be prosperous. But the god listened to the prayers of Aemilius, who kept wielding his spear as he prayed for might and victory, and fought as he invited the god to fight with him.

However, a certain Poseidonius, who says he lived in those times and took part in those actions, and who has written a history of Perseus in several books, says it was not out of cowardice, nor with the excuse of the sacrifice, that the king went away, but because on the day before the battle a horse had

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gowvi~at TuUPAP poOArAwWTL, TodLY Xpdvoyv Siadu-
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vrép Tov Llepoéws aroNoyelTat.
XX. Tov b¢ 'Popaiwv, as avréotncav Th pa-
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pevor Trapadépery, ot 5€ THY mpoRoAnVv KpaTtuVa-
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Mappovewov, nat ovdéva Noytopov, ada dup@
Onpiodet, pos evavtTias WAnyas Kal 7 povTrrov
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kicked him on the leg. He says further that in the battle, although he was in a wretched plight, and although his friends tried to deter him, the king ordered a pack-horse to be brought to him, mounted it, and joined his troops in the phalanx without a breastplate ; and that among the missiles of every sort which were flying on all sides, a javelin made entirely of iron smote him, not touching him with its point, indeed, but coursing along his left side with an oblique stroke, and the force of its passage was such that it tore his tunic and made a dark red bruise upon his flesh, the mark of which remained for a long time. This, then, is what Poseidonius says in defence of Perseus.

XX. The Romans, when they attacked the Mace- donian phalanx, were unable to force a passage, and Salvius, the commander of the Pelignians, snatched the standard of his company and hurled it in among the enemy. Then the Pelignians, since among the Italians it is an unnatural and flagrant thing to abandon a standard, rushed on towards the place where it was, and dreadful losses were inflicted and suffered on both sides. For the Romans tried to thrust aside the long spears of their enemies with their swords, or to crowd them back with their shields, or to seize and put them by with their very hands; while the Macedonians, holding them firmly advanced with both hands, and piercing those who fell upon them, armour and all, since neither shield nor breastplate could resist the force of the Mace- donian long spear, hurled headlong back the Pelig- nians and Marrucinians, who, with no consideration but with animal fury rushed upon the strokes that

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3 wloupévav Oavarov. obo dé Tap Tpopdy wv
SiapOapevtov dvexomna ay ot KaTOT Ly avTay em
TET Ary MEVOL* wal guy bev ovK Hp, dvaxopnots bé
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Aiutdov lovra, dnoty o Tlocedavios KaTappy-
Ear bar TOV Xurava, TOUT@V eV évdidovTor, TOV
& dv\Xov 'Popatov Stat peTopeveov Ty pddayya
mpoa Bodny OUK éXoucay, adn' domep Xapaxe-
pate TO TuKVOpaTt TOY captaay UTravtTiafovaav
mavtobev amrpoapaxov.
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o pata AapRavovear, @s elKds ev peyddors oT pa-
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pev excOdBopevny fépect, ToL bE TpoTimTovaay,
eTrL@y o€éws Kal Srarpav TAS omelpas éxéXevev ets
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pay T pos aravras, GANA ToANAS Kal peperypeévas
5 Kata Hépos Tas paxas TidecOa. Tabra TOU pev
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cva Taser ot Makedoves mtxpois pev eyxerproiors
aTepeous Kal tmodnpers Oupeovs vUaoovTes, éda-
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met them, and a certain death. When the first line had thus been cut to pieces, those arrayed behind them were beaten back; and though there was no flight, still they retired towards the mountain called Olocrus, so that even Aemilius, as Poseidonius tells us, when he saw it, rent his garments. For this part of his army was retreating, and the rest of the Romans were turning aside trom the phalanx, which gave them no access to it, but confronted them as it were with a dense barricade of long spears, and was everywhere unassailable.

But the ground was uneven, and the line of battle so long that shields could not be kept continuously locked together, and Aemilius therefore saw that the Macedonian phalanx was getting many clefts and intervals in it, as is natural when armies are large and the efforts of the combatants are diversified ; portions of it were hard pressed, and other portions were dashing forward. Thereupon he came up swiftly, and dividing up his cohorts, ordered them to plunge quickly into the interstices and empty spaces in the enemy's line and thus come to close quarters, not fighting a single battle against them all, but many separate and successive battles. These instructions being given by Aemilius to his officers, and by his officers to the soldiers, as soon as they got between the ranks of the enemy and separated them, they attacked some of them in the flank where their armour did not shield them, and cut off others by falling upon their rear, and the strength and general efficiency of the phalanx was lost when it was thus broken up; and now that the Macedonians engaged man to man or in small detachments, they could only hack with their small daggers against the firm and

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paxynv nuépa SrenOeivy ere peptypévov aipare.
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long shields of the Romans, and oppose light wicker targets to their swords, which, such was their weight and momentum, penetrated through all their armour to their bodies. They therefore made a poor resist-

ance and at last were routed. | XXI. But the struggle between them was fierce. Here, too, Marcus, the son of Cato and the son-in- law of Aemilius, while displaying all possible prowess, lost his sword. Since he was a young man of the most generous education and owed to a great father proofs of great valour, he thought life not worth the living if he abandoned such spoil of his own person to the enemy, and ran along the ranks telling every friend and companion whom he saw of his mishap and begging them for aid. These made a goodly number of brave men, and making their way with one impulse through the rest, they put themselves under his lead and fell upon the enemy. With a great struggle, much slaughter, and many wounds, they drove them from the ground, and when they had won a free and empty place, they set themselves to looking for the sword. And when at last it was found hidden among great heaps of armour and fallen bodies, they were filled with exceeding joy, and raising songs of triumph fell yet more impetuously upon those of the enemy who still held together. Finally, the three thousand picked men of the Mace- donians, who remained in order and kept on fighting, were all cut to pieces; and of the rest, who took to flight, the slaughter was great, so that the plain and the lower slopes of the hills were covered with dead bodies, and the waters of the river Leucus were still mingled with blood when the Romans crossed it on

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Aéyovtas yap Urép Siopupious mevraktayiALous
aroQavety. tav dé ‘Pwpaiwy éEmecov, ws pev
Tloved@uos dno, éxatov, ws 5¢ Nacixas, oydo-
HKOVTA.
XXII. Kat xpiow pev o€utdtnv péyiotos ayov
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obat wpo Sexarns évixnoav: TO O€ NELTOMEVO TIS
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pias dvameyPevta tois Todepiots payopevors.
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jmav TO oTpdtevpa, Kal petaku Sertrvobvtes ave-
amnoov cat SéGeov peta AapmTddwy, ToAXKOL pev
ért Thy axnvny tov Aiptriou, TrodAoi Sé mpo tov
Vapaxos ev Tos TpwToLs vexpots CnToVTES. KaTH-
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Karelyev dvaKaXrovupéevwy Tov Lentiova, TaoLyap
5 ® Le Be 9 le \
ayaatos hv evOus €& apxis, mpos nyepoviay Kal
412
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the day after the battle. For it is said that over twenty-five thousand of their enemies were slain ; while of the Romans there fell, according to Poseido- nius, a hundred, according to Nasica, eighty.

XXII. And this greatest of all struggles was most speedily decided ; for the Romans began fighting at three o'clock in the afternoon, and were victorious within an hour; the rest of the day they spent in the pursuit, which they kept up for as many asa hundred and twenty furlongs, so that it was already late in the evening when they returned. All the rest were met by their servants with torches and conducted with joyful shouts to their tents, which were ablaze with light and adorned with wreaths of ivy and laurel; but Aemilius their general was a prey to great sorrow. For of the two sons who were serving under him, the younger was nowhere to be found, and Aemilius loved him especially, and saw that he was by nature more prone to excellence than any of his brothers. But he was of a passionate and ambitious spirit, and was still hardly more than a boy in years, and his father concluded that he had certainly perished, when, for lack of experience, he had become entangled among the enemy as they fought. The whole army learned of the distress and anguish of their general, and springing up from their suppers, ran about with torches, many to the tent of Aemilius, and many in front of the ramparts, searching among the numerous dead bodies. De- jection reigned in the camp, and the plain was filled with the cries of men calling out the name of Scipio. For from the very outset he had been admired by everybody, since, beyond any other one of his family,

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didFews Tm poo jet peta vo i] T play éTalpwy,
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pep ouy THY Tov KaTop GATOS pepe ets Erepov
a) TOxN Kawpov imepBaddopevy TOTE TAVTEAH THY
HOOVHY ATEOLOOU THs viKns.
XXIII. Tlepoevs bé guyh pev éx Ivduns ets
TleAAav a amrexapel, TOV lITrTéewY ETLELKwS TAYTOY
QTro THS paxns Stacerwopevov. émel dé Kxata-
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ouvatrrety, o Sé imtrov apdety, 6 o 6¢ moTov xpngerv,
UToherTropevor KaTA pete pov arredi8packov, ovx
oUTw TOUS TroAELLOUS, as THY éxeivou XarerornTa
Sedorxores. KeYyapaypévos yap bo TOY KaKav
1 xpévois supplied by Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske.

he had a nature adapted for leadership in war and public service.

Well, then, when it was already late and he was almost despaired of, he came in from the pursuit with two or three comrades, covered with the blood of the enemies he had slain, having been, like a young hound of noble breed, carried away by the uncon- trollable pleasure of the victory. This was that Scipio who, in after times,! destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and became by far the most noble and influential Roman of his day. Thus Fortune, post- poning to another season her jealous displeasure at the great success of Aemilius, restored to him then in all completeness his pleasure in his victory.”

XXIII. But Perseus was away in flight from Pydna to Pella, since practically all his horsemen came safely off from the battle. But when his footmen overtook his horsemen, and, abusing them as cowards and traitors, tried to push them from their horses and fell to beating them, the king, afraid of the tumult, turned his horse out of the road, drew his purple robe round and held it in front of him, that he might not be conspicuous, and carried his diadem in his hands. And in order that he might also con- verse with his companions as he walked, he dis- mounted from his horse and led him along. But of these companions, one pretended that he must fasten a shoe that had become loose, another that he must water his horse, another that he himself wanted water to drink, and so they gradually lagged behind and ran away, because

they had more fear of his cruelty than of the enemy. For he was lacerated

1 In 146 and 133 B.c.
3 The battle of Pydna is described by Livy in xliv. 36-41.
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eis wavtas eCrjre. tTpéwety ad avTov THY aitiay
THS HTTHS. eet S€ vuxTos eis IléAXav eiloerOav
Eixrov nai Evdaov, trovs émi rod vopicpatos,
aTavTnoavTas avuT@ nal Ta yeev éyxadodvtas
A é \
wept TaV yeyovorwy, Ta Sé mappnotalopévous
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mapépevev avt@ mapeE Evdvdpov te tod Kpnros
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kat "Apyedapou Tov Aitwrov Kai tov Bowrtod
Néwvos. trav &€ otpatiwtav émrnxoXovbnoav oi
Kpijres, od Se evvotay, adda Tolls yYpnpacw,

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Kal THY GAY év apyvp@ Kal Xpyc@ KatacKevyny
els TEVTNKOVTA TANAdVTwWY AOYoV. 'yevomevos & év
"Apdimoret mparon, elt' éxetOev ev Tarn wd, xar
tov poBov puxpov UravévTos, eis TO Tuyyeves Kal
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didous as TOV "AreEavdpou tot peydAou Ypvcw-
pareov éua tots Kpnot Sseppipws vr' ayvoias,
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Kal Tapexdre Tovs éxovtas advTtBorav nai da-
\ ta
xpvov dpelrpacOat mpos vopiopa. Tods meV OdV
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\ ,

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Tptdxovta Tddavta Kepddvas amo TaV didwv, &
pexpov Botepov Ewerdrov ot Torémioe Ar WerOat,
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by his misfortunes, and sought to turn the responsi- bility for his defeat away from himself and upon everybody else. He entered Pella during the night, and when Euctus and Eulaeus, his treasurers, came to meet him, and, what with their censure for what had happened and their unseasonably bold speeches and counsels, enraged him, he slew them, smiting both of them himself with his small-sword. After this no one remained with him except Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Aetolian, and Neon the Boeotian. Of his soldiers, only the Cretans followed after him, not through good will, but because they were as devoted to his riches as bees to their honey- combs. For he was carrying along vast treasures, and had handed out from them for distribution among the Cretans drinking cups and mixing bowls and other furniture of gold and silver to a value of fifty talents. He arrived at Amphipolis first, and then from there at Galepsus, and now that his fear had abated a little, he relapsed into that congenital and oldest disease of his, namely, parsimony, and lamented to his friends that through ignorance he had suffered some of the gold plate of Alexander the Great to fall into the hands of the Cretans, and with tearful supplications he besought those who had it to exchange it for money. Now those that understood him accurately did not fail to see that he was playing the Cretan against Cretans; but those who listened to him, and gave back the plate, were cheated. For he did not pay them the money he had promised, but after craftily getting thirty talents from his friends, which his enemies were to get soon afterwards, he sailed across with them to

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pet avtav Siérrevocev eis LapoPpaxny nai da-
gevywv emi tovs Atooxovpous ixétevep.
XXIV. Aci prev ovv Aéyovtar hidoBacirean
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ddcxovow. Ett 5é nai To wept Thy Ovaiay ovp-
4 A > > ‘ tA “
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Aipiriov xal taV iepav evnpypévwy KEepauvos
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mavTws Kal TUYn Ta THS Huns. jv péev yap
npépa teTapTyn vevixnuév@ Llepoet arepi Ivdvav,

év 5¢ 1H ‘Pop tod Sypov Gewpoivtos immxous
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xnxas Ilepoéa xatactpéporto ovptacayv Maxe-
Soviav. éx &€ tovrov tayd THs Pyuns avaxeo-
pévns eis TO WARDS eEéNaprve yapa peTa xpoTtov
kal Bons tHv nuépav éexeiyny Kxatacyovoa Hp
TOMY. ELTA, WS O AOYOS OvK ElyeV Eis apynY
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averOeiy BeBatov, aXX €v Tac opoiws epaiveto
mTraAVa@pLEVvOS, TOTE pev eoxeddaOn Kai Steppin Ta
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capas Cavpafov tiv mpodpayodoav ayyeniap,
e 3 le! 4 N 3 9
ws év T@ wevder TO adnOés ceive.
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Samothrace, where he took refuge as a suppliant in
the temple of the Dioscuri.

XXIV. Now, the Macedonians are always said to have been lovers of their kings, but at this time, feeling that their prop was shattered and all had fallen with it, they put themselves into the hands of Aemilius, and in two days made him master of all Macedonia. And this would seem to bear witness in favour of those who declare that these achieve- ments of his were due to a rare good fortune. And still further, that which befell him at his sacrifice was a token of divine favour. When, namely, Aemilius was sacrificing in Amphipolis, and the sacred rites were begun, a thunderbolt darted down upon the altar, set it on fire, and consumed the sacrifice with it. But an altogether more signal instance of divine favour and good fortune is seen in the way the rumour of his victory spread. For it was only the fourth day after Perseus had been defeated at Pydna, and at Rome the people were watching equestrian contests, when suddenly a report sprang up at the entrance of the theatre that Aemilius had conquered Perseus in a great battle and reduced all Macedonia. After this the rumour spread quickly among the multitude, and joy burst forth, accompanied by shouts and clapping of hands, and prevailed in the city all that day. Then, since the story could not be traced to any sure source, but seemed to be current everywhere alike, for the time being the rumour vanished into thin air ; but when, a few days afterwards, they were clearly informed of the matter, they were astonished at the tidings which had reached them first, seeing that in the fiction there was truth.

XXV. Aéyeras 5€ Kal ris él Zaypa trorape@

lA b “ > \ J ,
payns “Itadiwtav avOnpepov év Tedorovynce
Novo yevéoOar, xal TIhatasaot tis év Muxarn
N / é \, ¢ nw , N
apos Mydous. fv 5é ‘Pwpaior Tapxuvious peta
Aativoy émictpatevoarras évixnaay, avtayyerot
dpalovres whOncayv aio tod otpaTod puKpov
tatepov avdopes dv0 Kado Kal peyadot. TovToUs
2 elxacay elvat Atocxovpous. o 8 évtuy@v mpaTos
avtois Kat’ ayopay mpo THS KPNVYNS, avarvyouvar
Tous immous LOp@Tt TOAAM Tepippeopuevous, eOav-
\ ‘ A , , 9° e \
pale Tov mept THS viKns Noyov. E€10 oF pev ért-
Waitcat Néyovta: THs vanvns avTod Tolv yepoiv
atpéua pediavress 7 8 edOds éx pedaivns Tptyos
els Tuppav petaBadovoa TO pév NOY TioTLV, TO
& avipl wapacyeiy érixrnow tov ’AnvoBapBor,
Step éott YadxoTwywva. aot S€ tovToLs TO
3 Kal’ Huds yevopevoy miatiw Tapécyev. STE yap
? , > A A \ A ‘
Avrevios atréotn Aopetiavov Kal TroXvs TroAELosS
amd Teppavias mpocedoxato, THs “Pans tapat-
Tomevns advw Kat adtoudtws o Sijpos é& attod
dnunv avédwxe vixns, kal tHv “Poyny érédpape
ANOyos avTov Te TOV ’AvT@VLOY avnpncBat Kat TOD
ovY aUT@ oTpaTevpatos HTTHMEvou pndev pépos
a 4 A 7 4 e”
NerelPOat. TocavtTyny Sé AaumpoTnta Kal prynv
4H TloTls éoxev Bate Kal Odcat tov év téres
4 moAAous. Cntoupévou Sé Tod mpwtou dpacarTos,
1 A battle between the Locrians and Crotoniats, at some time in the sixth century B.o.
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XXV. It is said also that a report of the battle fought by the Italian Greeks at the river Sagra! reached Peloponnesus on the same day, and so did that of the battle with the Medes at Mycale come on the same day to Plataea.?, And when the Romans conquered the Tarquins, who had taken the field against them with the Latins, two tall and beautiful men were seen at Rome a little while after, who brought direct tidings from the army. These were

conjectured to be the Dioscuri. The first man who met them in front of the spring in the forum, where they were cooling their horses, which were reeking with sweat, was amazed at their report of the victory. Then, we are told, they touched his beard with their hands, quietly smiling the while, and the hair of it was changed at once from black to red, a circumstance which gave credence to their story, and fixed upon the man the surname of Ahenobarbus, that is to say, Bronze-beard. And all this is made credible by that which has happened in our time. When, namely, Antonius was in revolt from Domitian,‘ and a great war was expected from Germany, and Rome was in commotion, suddenly and spontaneously the people of their own accord spread abroad a report of a victory, and a story coursed through Rome that Antonius himself had been slain, and that of his defeated army not a portion was left alive. Belief in the story became so strong and distinct that many of the magistrates actually offered sacrifices. When, however, the author of the story was sought, none

2 It was when the Greeks at Mycale were about to attack the Persians that a rumour came to them of the victory of

the Greeks at Plataea over Mardonius (Herodotus, ix. 100). 3 See the Coriolanus, iii. 4. * In 9] a.v.

ws ovdels jv, GAN o Aoryos els AANOov EF AANOV
Stwxopevos avépevye, xal tédXos Katabvs Wore
pe ¥ p
9 li ? NX ‘ ” w b] 4
els TéNayOS axaves TOV ATreLpov OYrOV Eedhavn
, 3 ‘ 4 , (4 \ e 4
pndeuiav apxnyv éyov BeBaiov, aitn pév 7 hynun
Tayv THs odkews eLeppvn, topevopevm dé TH
Aopetiav® peta dvvapews emi roy toXeLov Hon
9 @QN 9 , \ , , \
xa’ odov ayyeMa kai ypdppata dpavorta tiv
vicny anmnvtncev. 7 8 avtod! tod KatopOwparos
nuépa Kal THs nuns eyivero, ert mréov 7 Siopv-
plous otadiovs TOY TOTwY StecTHTwY. TadTa pev

ovdels ayvoet Tay Kal? Huas.
XXVI. Tvaios 5€ "OxtdBios 6 vavapyay
AimiArt@ mpocoppicdpevos tH LapoOpaxn tHv
pev acvriay wrapetye TH Ilepcet da Tovs Deovs,
éxtrAou 5€ Kal guys eipyev. ov py adda Rar-
Gave. tas 6 Ilepceds "Opodvdnv twa Kpira
NéuBov éxovta cuptreicas peta Ypnudtwv ava-
NaBeiy avrov. o S€ KpnTicLe XpNnodpevos Ta
pev Xpnpata viKTwp avédaBev, éxeivoy Sé Tis
érépas vuxtos few Kedevoas él Tov mpos TO
Anpntpip Apéva peta TOV Téxvwv Kal OepaTreias
P / IA\ 229 © , > © 8
avaykaias, evOus ad' éorrépas atrémrevcev. 6 Se
Ilepvevs ointpda pev rracye S1a otevis Oupisdos
mapa TO Telyos éxunpvopevos avTov Kal tadia
cal yuvaixa Tovey Kal mans aTreEipous, olKTpO-
tatoyv d¢ otevaypov adjxev, Os TIS aUT@ Tra-
yopevm wapa Tov aiytadov On TeAdytov Tov
1 abrot Bekker adopts Reiske's correction to avrh.
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could be found, but it eluded all pursuit from one man to another, and finally disappeared in the limit- less throng, as in a yawning sea, and was seen to have no sure source. This rumour, then, quickly melted away in the city ; but when Domitian was setting out with an army for the war and was already on the march, messages and letters announcing the victory came to meet him.! And the success itself was gained on the day when the rumour of it came to Rome, although the distance between the places was more than twenty thousand furlongs. These facts are known to every one of our time.

XXVI. But to resume, Gnaeus Octavius, the admiral of Aemilius, came to anchor off Samothrace, and while he allowed Perseus to enjoy asylum, out of respect to the gods, he took means to prevent him from escaping by sea. However, Perseus some- how succeeded in persuading a certain Cretan named Oroandes, the owner of a small skiff, to take him on board with his treasures. So Oroandes, true Cretan that he was, took the treasures aboard by night, and after bidding Perseus to come during the following night to the harbour adjoining the Demetrium, with his children and necessary atten- dants, as soon as evening fell sailed off. Now, Perseus suffered pitifully in letting himself down through a narrow window in the fortress, together with his wife and little children, who were un- acquainted with wandering and hardships; but, most pitiful of all was the groan he gave when some one told him, as he wandered along the shore, that he had seen Oroandes already out at sea and under full

1 Antonius did not get the help he expected from German auxiliaries, and was defeated by Appius Norbanus.

3 'Opodavinv Béovta xatidov Eppacevy, vTréNapTeE
yap npuépa, cal maans édrridos Epnuos Urexw@per
huyh mpos To tTetyos, ov AaOwy pév, UTOPOacas
dé tovs 'Pwpaious, peta THS yuvatkos. Ta Sé
maidia avdd\aBov avtois "Iwy éveyeipicev, 5s
mdvat pev épwopevos jv tod Ilepcéws, tore b€
MpoOOTNS YEvouevos aitiay Tapéaxe THY padtorTa
cuvavayxacacay tov avOpwrov, as Onpiov ars-
cKopmévwv TOV TéxvwV, els yelpas EAOciY Kal
mapabovval TO c@pa TOS ExeivwY KpaTovaL. -
4 'Enioteve pév ody pddtota TO Naotnd, xaxei-
vov éxadeu' pu) Trapovtos b¢ KataxNavaas THV
TUynY Kal THY avdayKny Tepioxelrdpevos ESwxev
avtoyv btroxelprov TO Tvaim, ToTe pddtora trown-
cas pavepov ote THS pirapyupias Hy ev avT@ ti
Kakov ayevvertepov 7 dirowuyta, du' hv, 6 povov
) TUXN TOV eTTALKOTWY ovK AdhalpeEiTat, TOV
5 éNeov, aTeaTtépnoev éavTov. Senfeis yap axyOjvar
mpos Tov Aipiriov, 6 wey ws avdpl peyddo TeTTH-
KOTL TT@pA veyeontov Kal dvaTuxes eEavactas
imnvTa peta Ttav didrcwv Sedaxpupévos: o 8,
aicyictov Oéapya, rpoBarwv avtov éml ctopa Kal
yovatayv Spakdpevos aveBddXeTO havas ayevrvets
6 kat Senoets, as ovN vréperver ovd Hrovoev 6
Aiptdtos, dAAa TpoaBré Was avdtov adryobvTt Kal
AeAuTnLErP TH Mpocwor@, "Ti THs TvYNS,"
elrrev, '@ Taraitwpe, TO péyrotov adatpels TeV
éyxAnpdtwv, tadta mpdttwv ad' ov Soke ov
nap atiav atuyxelv, ovdé Tod viv, AAA TOU drat

sail. For day was beginning to dawn, and so, bereft
of every hope, he fled back to the fortress with his
wife, before the Romans could prevent him, though
they saw him. His children were seized and de-
livered to the Romans by lon, who of old had been
a favourite of Perseus, but now became his betrayer,
and furnished the most compelling reason for his
coming, as a wild beast will do when its young have
been captured, and surrendering himself to those

who had them in their power.
Accordingly, having most confidence in Nasica, he called for him; but since Nasica was not there, after bewailing his misfortune and carefully weighing the necessity under which he lay, he gave himself into the power of Gnaeus, thus making it most abund- antly clear that his avarice was a less ignoble evil than the love of life that was in him, and that led him to deprive himself of the only thing which Fortune cannot take away from the fallen, namely, pity. For when at his request he was brought to Aemilius, Aemilius saw in him a great man whose fall was due to the resentment of the gods and his own evil fortune, and rose up and came to meet him, accompanied by his friends, and with tears in his eyes; but Perseus, a most shameful sight, after throwing himself prone before him and then clasping his knees, broke out into ignoble cries and supplications. These Aemilius could not abide and would not hear; but looking upon him with a distressed and sorrowful countenance, said : ‘‘ Why, wretched man, dost thou free Fortune from thy strongest indictment against her, by conduct which will make men think that thy misfortunes are not undeserved, and that thy former prosperity,

Saiuovos avakios yeyovévar; ti dé pov Kata-
Barras tHv vinny, cal To KatopOwpa roteis
puxpov, ETrLOELKVUBEVOS €avTov ov yevvaiov ovdé
m peTovTa ‘Pepatov avTayover Thy ; a eT) TOL
dvatuxodar eyaanu ever potpay ai ods Kat
Tapa Tmoheptots, Sethia | é ‘Pwpaiows, cay eviro-
TUN, TWAVTNH aTiwoTaTov.”
XXVII. Od pay adda TOdTOV pev dvacTnoas
Kal beFraa duevos TovBépwve Trapedwxen, avTos
be TOUS maibas kal tovs yapBpous cal TOV adXNov
TYE HOULKD padiora TOUS vewrépous érw THs
oKNVTS emia Tag dpevos TONY Xpovov ay 7 pos
aut clo] Kadjpevos, DOTE Oavpdtew a admavTas.
opunaas 58 Tept THS TOXNS Kal TOV avOpwrriver
braréyerOar Tpayywaroy, ‘ ‘"Apa ye ” elarev, “ aEtov
eum paryias Tapovons avOpwroy a ovTa OpaciverBar
kal péya ppoveiv EO vos) ToAwW 7 Bactretav
KaTarTpeapevov, h THY petaBodny TavTny Tijs
ruxns, 1 mapddeaypa TO TodepoovTe KOWhs
ao Oeveias mpoGeica maidever pndey ws povipov
kal BéBatov Scavoeicban; Totos yap avOpw@rots
Tov Oappeiv Katpos, Gray TO Kpareiv érépav
pddora dedorxévar THY toxny avaryKatn, Kat TO
xaipovre duc Gupiay émaryn TOTAUTHY O) THS Tept-
pepopmerns Kal T™pocta Tapevns GAXor adrXots
elwappuerns Loyes Hos; n thv “AreEavdpouv d:a-
SoxnY, bs emt TeloTov npOn Suvdpews kal

peéytoTov éaxe KpaTos, @pas pas Hopi mecovaay
ume Todas Oéuevot, Kai TOS apTL puplace TEelOV
1 +s tuxns, } so Sintenis!, Coraés, and Bekker, with the
MSS.: 4 rdx7n.
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rather than thy present lot, was beyond thy deserts ?
And why dost thou depreciate my victory, and make
my success a meagre one, by showing thyself no
noble or even fitting antagonist for Romans? Valour
in the unfortunate obtains great reverence even
among their enemies, but cowardice, in Roman eyes,
even though it meet with success, is in every way a
most dishonourable thing."

XXVII. Notwithstanding his displeasure, he raised Perseus up, gave him his hand, and put him in charge of Tubero, while he himself drew his sons, his sons- in-law, and of the other officers especially the younger men, into his tent, where for a long time he sat in silent communion with himself, so that all wondered. Then he began to discourse of Fortune and of human affairs, saying: "Is it, then, fitting that one who is mortal should be emboldened when success comes to him, and have high thoughts because he has subdued a nation, or a city, or a kingdom ? or should his thoughts dwell rather on this reversal of fortune, which sets before the warrior an illustration of the weakness that is common to all men, and teaches him to regard nothing as stable or safe? For what occasion have men to be confident, when their con- quest of others gives them most cogent reason to be in fear of Fortune, and when one who exults in' success is thrown, as I am, into great dejection by reflecting upon the allotments of Fate, which take a circling course, and fall now upon some and now upon others? Or, when the succession of Alex- ander, who attained the highest pinnacle of power and won the greatest might, has fallen in the space of a single hour and has been put beneath your feet, or when you see kings who but just now

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kad yididow irméwy TocavTats oTAOpopoupmevous
Bactrels opaytes ex TOV TroAELioY yeLpav édn-
Hepa oitia xal toTd NapBadvovtas, olecBe T
Kal" pas eye Twa BeBaotnta tuyns SvapKA
Mpos TOV Xpovov; ov KaTtaBaXrovTes pets ot véot
TO Kevoyv Ppvaypya TovTO Kal yaupiapa THs vicns
raTrewol catamrTnEeTe Tmpos TO péAXOV, Gel Kapa-
Soxobvres eis 6 TL KaTaTKN WEL TéXOS EXATTH THV
THs Tapovons evrrpayias o Saipov véweorw;"
ToavTad pact moAda SiarexOévta tov Aipidsov
atroTréuyyat TOUS véouvs ev pada TO KaUYn pa, kat

thy UBpw, wowep YadLve, TO AY KoTTOVTL
KeKONAG LEVOUS.
XXVIII. "Ex rovtov rnv pev orpariay mpos
dvatravowv, autov 5é mpos Oéav tis “EXXdbos
érpewe xal Staywynv évdofov dua nal giravOpo-
Tov. émiwy yap averauBave tors Sdypous Kal
Ta TodtTevpata Kabiatato, Kal Swpeds édidou,
tats pev attov éx tod BaciWsxod, tais § éXatov.
TocoUTov yap evpeOfvai hacw arroKeipevoy Marte
Tous NapBavovtas ab Seouévous emedeTretv apo-
Tepov 7 KatavadwOjvat To TAHOOS TaY ebpeHév-
tov. év 6é Aerdois idav nlova péyay TeTpdyovov
éx NiOwv NevKOV TUT PHOG MEVOY, éf’ ov Tlepoéws
euedre Ypucovs dvdptas tiPecOat, rpocétake tov
avrov TeOHvat: Tovs yap NTTHMEéVOUS TOIs VIK@COLW
eEiatacbat ywopas mpoonkeav. ev § ‘Odvpuria
todTo 67 TO ToAvOpvAnTOY éxeivoy avadbéyea-
cOai hac, ws Tov ‘Ounjpov Ala PDedSias arro-
mracatto. tav & Séka tmpéoRewv éx ‘Pouns
adpixouévwv Maxedoor pev arédwxe thy yopav
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were surrounded by so many myriads of infantry and thousands of cavalry, receiving from their enemy’s hands the food and drink requisite for the day, can you suppose that we ourselves have any guarantee from Fortune that will avail against the attacks of time? Abandon, then, young men, this empty insolence and pride of victory, and take a humble posture as you confront the future, always expectant of the time when the Deity shall at last launch against each one of you his jealous displeasure at your present prosperity.” Many such words were uttered by Aemilius, we are told, and he sent the young men away with their vainglorious insolence and pride well curbed by his trenchant speech, as by a bridle.

XXVIII. After this, he gave his army a chance to rest, while he himself went about to see Greece, occupying himself in ways alike honourable and humane. For in his progress he restored the popular governments and established their civil polities ; he also gave gifts to the cities, to some grain from the royal stores, to others oil. For it is said that so great stores. were found laid up that petitioners and

receivers failed before the abundance discovered was exhausted. At Delphi, he saw a tall square pillar composed of white marble stones, on which a golden statue of Perseus was intended to stand, and gave orders that his own statue should be set there, for it was meet that the conquered should make room for their conquerors. And at Olympia, as they say, he made that utterance which is now in every mouth, that Pheidias had moulded the Zeus of Homer. When the ten commissioners arrived from Rome, he restored to the Macedonians their country

kal Tas trodes édevOépas oixeiy Kai avTovopous,
éxatov 5é taXavra 'Pwpaiols vTroredciv, ob mréoV
h SumAdatov tots Bactredowv eicépepov. Oéas Sé
javrodanayv aywovev Kat Ovaias émiTredo@v Tos
Oeois éctidcers Kai Seitrva ampovbeto, yopnyia
' 9 aA A bd A , Ul
pev éx tov Bacitixav afore ypapevos, Tak
5é¢ kal Koopov Kai KatakXices Kal deEtooes Kal
THv mpos Exactov avTod THs Kar akiav tints
kal ptroppocvyns aicOnow ottws axpiBn Kai
meppovticpévny evdecxvipevos wote Oavpatew
tous "EAAnvas, e& pndé tHv Tadidv dpotpov
J 4 o} > \ A ,
atroAeiTret o7rovdns, GAAA THALKADTA TpdTTwY
aynp TpayuaTa Kal Tols pixpois TO TpéTOV arro-
, € \ , v eo A
Sidwatv. o 5é nal tovtow Eyatpev, Ste TOAK@Y
mapecKevac pévov Kal AapTpPaY 76 Hdto Tov avTos
qv atoAavopa Kal Oéapa Tots trapovat, Kal mpos
\ 4 \ b A A
tous Oavydtovras tiv émipérderav Ereye Tijs
aitis elvat uyns tapardfews te mpoothvat
Karas Kal cuptrociou, Ths pév, brrws hoBepwrdry
Tots ToAEpiols, TOD 8, WS EvYapLaTOTATOY H Tots
A bd \ b] > ce) A > ,
auvovaw. ovdevds & Hrrov avtod tiv édevOepto-
\ / > / ©

TnTa Kal THY peyadoWvylay émrnvovy ot avOpw-
Wot, TOAY pev apyuptov, TOAD dé ypuatov éx TOV
Baciuxdv nOpotopévoy ovd ideiv eOedncavtos,
9 a , ? \ 4 4
GAXA Tois Tapas ets TO Snpooloy TapadoyTos.
pova ta BiBAia Tod Baciréws diroypaypatovat

Trois uiéow émétpeev éEerécOa, cal Sravéuwv
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and their cities for free and independent residence ; they were also to pay the Romans a hundred talents _in tribute, a sum less than half of what they used to pay to their kings. He also held all sorts of games and contests and performed sacrifices to the gods, at which he gave feasts and banquets, making liberal allowances therefor from the royal treasury, while in the arrangement and ordering of them, in saluting and seating his guests, and in paying to each one that degree of honour and kindly attention which was properly his due, he showed such nice and thoughtful perception that the Greeks were amazed, seeing that not even their pastimes were treated by him with neglect, but that, although he was a man of such great affairs, he gave even to trifling things their due attention. And he was also delighted to find that, though preparations for entertainment were ever so many and splendid, he himself was the pleasantest sight to his guests and gave them most enjoyment; and he used to say to those who wondered at his attention to details that the same spirit was required both in marshal- ling a line of battle and in presiding at a banquet well, the object being, in the one case, to cause most terror in the enemy, in the other, to give most pleasure to the company. But more than anything else men praised his freedom of spirit and his greatness of soul; for he would not con- sent even to look upon the quantities of silver and the quantities of gold that were gathered together from the royal treasuries, but handed them over to the quaestors for the public chest. It was only the books of the king that he allowed his sons, who were devoted to learning, to choose out for

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

apioreta THS payns Airio TouPéport ™? yauBpp
didrnyv ewe trévte der pév onKTY. obTOs éore
TovBépwy dv paper pETa ouryyevav oixely éx-
Kaidéxaror, amo yndtov pixpod Scatpepopevery
andyrav. Kat Tp@Tov dpyupov éxeivov pacw
eis TOV Aidiov olxoy elaenOety, vr aperis eal
Tins Eeloayouevoy, TOV .. addov Xpovov ob
avTovs ovTe Tas yuvaixas! apyupiov ypnlev 7
vgou.
XXIX. Aroxnpévov dé TaVvTOV avT@ Kaos
domacdpevos tovs “EAAnvas, Kal mapaKarécas
tous Makxedovas penvicbar ris Sedopevns vo
‘Popaiwr erevdepias catovtas avrny ds’ evvo-
pias Kal opovoias, avétevEev érl ryyv “Harecpoy,
eXov Soypa ovyKhyTov TOUS TUMPEMAN TLEVOUS
auT@ THY 7 pos Iepoea payny OTPATLOTAS amro
TOY éxel TroNCwy OhErToat. BovAopevos 5é racw
dpa kal pndevos mpoa SoxavTos, arr’ éEaihuns
€TiTEg ei, METETEULAPATO TOUS TPWTOUS eE éxdarns

TOAEWS avd pas déxa, Kal mpooeratev avrois, 5a0¢
dpryupos éott Kal Xpuaes ev oixials Kal tepois,
nMepg puta Karapéper. éxdatous bé ouvemepypev
@s én' avto 67 TOUTO dpoupay oT pATLOT OY kat
takiapxov T pom ovovpevov Snreiv Kat Taparap-
Bavew TO Xpuatov. evotdans TIS ne pas,
Dp' é&va kal Tov avTov dua Karpov opyncartes
éTpatrovTo Tpos KaTadpouny Kal Svaprrayny TOV
TOAEWY, WATE WPA pla TevTexaidexa avOpwrov
ékav8par odio 8 fvat pupiddas, éEBdounnovta dé
mores tropOnOjvat, yevea Bat & ao TOTAUTAS
pbopas i a éxdoT@ OTpATLOTN THY
1 rds yuvaixas Bekker, after Reiske: yuvaixas.

=7

themselves, and when he was distributing rewards for valour in the battle, he gave Aelius Tubero, his son-in-law, a bowl of five pounds weight. This was the Tubero, who, as I have said,! dwelt with fifteen relations, and a paltry farm supported them all. _ And that is said to have been the first silver that

ever entered the house of the Aelii, brought in as an honour bestowed upon valour, but up to that time neither they themselves nor their wives used either silver or gold.

XXIX. When he had put everything in good order, had bidden the Greeks farewell, and had exhorted the Macedonians to be mindful of the freedom bestowed upon them by the Romans and preserve it by good order and concord, he marched against Epirus, having an order from the senate to give the soldiers who had fought with him the battle against Perseus the privilege of pillaging the cities there. Wishing to set upon the inhabitants all at once and suddenly, when no one expected it, he sent for the ten principal men of each city, and ordered them to bring in on a fixed day whatever silver and gold they had in their houses and temples. He also sent with each of these bodies, as if for this very purpose, a guard of soldiers and an officer, who pretended to search for and receive the money. But when the appointed day came, at one and the same time these all set out to overrun and pillage the cities, so that in a single hour a hundred and fifty thousand persons were made slaves, and seventy cities were sacked ; and yet from all this destruction and utter ruin each soldier received no more than

1 Chapter v. 4.

Soot ov peilov evdexa Spaypav, ppiéas 5¢ ravtas
avOpwrrovs TO Tov TrOAEMOU TEXOS, Els [LLKPOV OUT@
N 9 (4 An 4 Ww 4
To Kal’ Exactov Anupa Kal Képdos EOvous Grou
KaTaKxeppatiabevtos.
XXX. Aipirsos pév oty TovT0 mpdkéas paduiocta
Tapa THy avrov hvaow émienh cal ypnotHny ovoav
> 9 N 4 > Cad > 9 , \
ets Opixov xateBn: xaxeiOev eis ‘Iradiay pera
tov Suvayewv meparwbels dvérrAe Tov BvSpiv
ToTapov emt tHS BactdtKns Exxatdexnpous KaTe-
oKevacpevns eis KOTpov STrAOLS aixyparwTols Kai
ghowixiot kal troppupats, ws xal tavnyupivew
EEwOev xabarrep eis Tiva OptapSinns Oéav roumis
Kal mpoaTroNavelv Tovs Pwpaious, TO polio oxeé-
Snv brayovts thy vaby avtimapeEayovtas.
O: 8é otpatri@trat Tois BaciiKots yphpacww
b / e > ef 9¢/ v
éropGarmicartes, ws ox Sowv nkiovy éervyor,
apyifovTo pév adjraws ba TovTO Kal yareTas
9 N N > + > 4 A A
elyov mpos Tov Atuinov, aitimpevor S€ pavepas
drt Bapus yévoito nal SeorroriKds avrois dpywv,
ov tavu mpoOvpws ert thy bTép tod OptduBov
omovony anynvrncav. ataBopevos 5é Todt Lép-
Bios Taras, éxyOpos Aipursov, yeyovas 8¢ tav
br avrov yidapywv, eOdppnoev avadavéov eitreiy
e 2 / ¥ \ 4 > \
@s ov Soréov ein Tov OpiaywBov. évels 5é roAXds
T® oTpatiwtixn@® TAGE SuaBoras Kata Tov
atpatnyoo kal tiv ovcay opyny Ett pad2Xov
> , 9 A A 4 bd
éfepeOicas 7Teiro mapa tev Snudpywv addnv
npepav’ éexeivny yap ov é€apKely tH xaTnyopia,
téacapas éTt AotTas wpas Eyovoav. Tav sé
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eleven drachmas as his share, and all men shuddered
at the issue of the war, when the division of a whole
nation’s substance resulted in so slight a gain and
profit for each soldier.
XXX. Aemilius, then, after executing a commis-

sion so contrary to his mild and generous nature, went down to Oricus. From there he crossed into Italy with his forces, and sailed up the river Tiber on the royal galley, which had sixteen banks of oars and was richly adorned with captured arms and cloths of scarlet and purple, so that the Romans actually came in throngs from out the city, as it were to some spectacle of triumphant progress whose pleasures they were enjoying in advance, and followed along the banks as the splashing oars sent the ship slowly up the stream.

But the soldiers, who had cast longing eyes upon the royal treasures, since they had not got as much as they thought they deserved, were secretly en- raged on this account and bitterly disposed towards Aemilius, while openly they accused him of having been harsh and imperious in his command of them; they were therefore not very ready to second his eager desires for a triumph. And when Servius Galba, who was an enemy of Aemilius, although he had been one of his military tribunes, perceived this, he made bold to declare openly that the triumph ought not to be allowed him. He also sowed many calumnies against their general among the masses of the soldiery, and roused still further the resentment they already felt, and then asked the tribunes of the people for another day in which to bring his accusations, since that day was not sufficient, of which only four hours still remained. But when

dnpdpyov héyery aurov, ef te Bovnderaz, xehev- ovtwv, apEdpevos pape Kai Bracdnuias € eEXovTE mavroban as ypjobat oye TOV Xpovov avnhoce THS npepas: Kal yevopevou TKOTOUS ot pev b7}- papxot THY éxxdyo lav agdjxav, mpos dé Tov ParBav oi OTpaTiaTaL cuvédpapov Opacutepos yeyovotes, xal suvyxpoTnoapres avrous wept Tov GpOpov avs catahapSdvovras to KarerwXov- éxel yap ot Snuapyo. thy éxxAnolay Eueddov a£euv.

XXXI. "Apa S TpEPS Ths Wgpouv Sodeons F Te Tparn pur Tov OplapBov areynpitero, Kat TOU TpPayHaTos aicOnaors eis TOV Gd)ov O7jpov Kal TH ovyKAnTov Kate. Kar TO pev TAH os Umeparyoiv T@ mponnraxiver Bat Tov Aipirsoy € ev pevais qv am paKrous, ob bé yeptporarot TOY amo Bours Sevov elvat TO yevopevoy Boavres adAnhovs mapexdovy émraBéobat THS «TOV oTpaTL@TaY do edyeias Kal Spacvrntos, emt way agiEoperns dvopov Epyov cal Biaov, et pndev

éurroday avTois yévouo Tladrov Aipirsov apenc-
cat Trav émiixioy Timor. Go dpevor dé roy
éxdov Kai dvaBdvres a9 poor Tois Snudpyors éXe-
ryov emia xe THY ynpopopiar, axpu ay beA Bway
a Bovdovras qpos 70 TArHGOS. emia XOvT@V dé
TavTOV Kal yevopevns CLOTHS ave Gov avnp
UTATLKOS cal mohepious elxoot Kal Tpels éx ™ po-
KANTEwWS aYNPNKAS, Mdpxos LepBirsos, Aipidsov
pev épn Ilavaop, HAlKos avToKpaTop yévorro, viv
padiota YylLvMOKELD, opav bons aneBeias ‘yeuovTt
Kal Kakias oTpatevpats ypwpevos oTw Karas
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the tribunes ordered him to speak, if he had any-
thing to say, he began a speech which was long and
full of all sorts of injurious statements, and so
consumed the time remaining in the day. When
darkness came, the tribunes dissolved the assembly,
but the soldiers, now grown bolder, flocked to Galba,
formed themselves into a faction, and before it was
light proceeded to take possession of the Capitol ;
for it was there that the tribunes proposed to hold
the assembly.

XXXI. As soon as it was day the voting began, and the first tribe was voting against the triumph, when knowledge of the matter was brought down to the rest of the people and the senate. The multitude, deeply grieved at the indignity offered to Aemilius, could only cry out against it in vain; but the most prominent senators, with shouts against the ignominy of the thing, exhorted one another to attack the bold license of the soldiers, which would proceed to any and every deed of lawlessness and violence if nothing were done to prevent their depriving Aemilius Paulus of the honours of his victory. Then pushing their way through the | throng and going up to the Capitol in a body, they told the tribunes to put a stop to the voting until they could finish what they wished to say to the people. All voting stopped, silence was made, and Marcus Servilius, a man of consular dignity, and one who had slain twenty-three foes in single combat, came forward and said that he knew now better than ever before how great a commander Aemilius Paulus was, when he saw how full of baseness and disobedience the army was which he had used in the successful accomplishment of such great and

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Kataplwce Kal peyddas wpakes, Javpdferv dé 279
Tov Ofjpov el Tois am TAAUpiay Kat Auyvor
ayanNopevos OprapBors avr pOovei tov Ma-

xedovwy Baciriéa CovTa Kal THY ‘AdeEdvdpov
Kal Pirinrov bofay émidety Ud Tois ‘Popatov
dm ows dryomevny aixpddortov. “TI@s yap ov
Sewvov,” elrrev, “e, Piyns mepl pirens aBeBatou
™ poTEpov els THY TONW éumecovans, educate Tots
Geots EUXOMEVOL TOU NOyou TovTOV TaYéws aTroNa-
Beiv THY ow, HKovTos O€ TOU oTpatnyob pera
THS arn Ouwijs viKNS apatpeiobe Tav pev Oeay thy
TL LHD, aura 5é ty Xapdy, ws poBovpevor bea-
cac8at To péyeBos TOY KaTopOwudtov i] petdo-
pevor TOD Tone pO ; KatTot Kpeit Tov hy TO 7 pos
exetvov ehép, pn TO T™ pos avToxpatopa, bPovep
AvOAvat TOV OpiapBov. aX’ els TOTaUTND, " én,
TO xkaxonbes éEovciay mpodyetat St’ pov wate
mepl otpatnylas Kal bpudpBov TONUG eyetv
avO pwros aT pwTos Kal TO TowaTe otthBov vmo
AEeLoTNT Os Kal ox.atpapias ™ pos npas TOUS TOCOU-
TOLS TPAvLAce memratbevjevous dperas Kal Kaxias
Kpivety aTpaTayav. dpa 5é Tis éo Ofjros dua-
oXwY éEednve kata TOV oTépvaY OTELAAS aniatous
TO TAHOos. elra petaotpadels Gia THY ovK
EUT PETTOS év by yupvobabar Soxow tev Tou
TWMATOS davexahue, Kab m pos TOV T'd\fav émrt-
ie Sup “do per,” én, “yedds ei rovras,
érya o¢ TEpvovopat pos TOUS moniTas vmép Tov-
TOV yp nuépav Kat vUKTA TUvEX OS tarmac duevos
TavuT éo ov. Grr’ aye NaBwv avtous émi THY
Wipov éyo Sé cataBas mrapaxorovdia Tat,
Kal yvaoouar Tovs KaKovs Kal axapiorous Kat
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fair exploits ; and he was amazed that the people, while exulting in triumphs over TIllyrians and Ligurians, begrudged itself the sight of the king of Macedonia taken alive and the glory of Alexander and Philip made spoil by Roman arms. “For is it not a strange thing,’ said he, “that when an unsubstantial rumour of victory came suddenly and prematurely to the city, you sacrificed to the gods and prayed that this report might speedily be veri- fied before your eyes ; but now that your general is come with his real victory, you rob the gods of their honour, and yourselves of your joy in it, as though afraid to behold the magnitude of his successes, or seeking to spare the feelings of your enemy? And yet it were better that out of pity towards him, and not out of envy towards your general, the triumph should be done away with. But,” said he, “to such great power is malice brought by you that a man without a wound to show, and whose person is sleek from delicate and cowardly effeminacy, dares to talk about the conduct of a general and his triumph to us who have been taught by all these wounds to judge the valour and the cowardice of generals.’ And with the words he parted his gar- ment and displayed upon his breast an incredible number

of wounds. Then wheeling about, he un- covered some parts of his person which it is thought unbecoming to have naked in a crowd, and turning to Galba, said: “ Thou laughest at these scars, but I glory in them before my fellow-citizens, in whose defence I got them, riding night and day without ceasing. But come, take these people off to their voting ; and I will come down and follow along with them all, and will learn who are base and thankless

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SnpaywyeiaOar warXov év Tois ToAgmoLS } OTpPA-
tnyeic Oar Bovopévous.”
XXXII. Odtw gacly id THY AOywr TOvTwY
dvaxorhnvat Kal petaBareiy TO oTpatiwTiKoV
@aoTe Tacats Tals pudais émixupwOnvar TH At-
prio tov OpiapBov. meupOivar S avtov otTw
Néyouow. o pev Shmos ev te Tois iwmixols Oed-
Tpows, & Kipxovs xandodot, epi te THY ayopay
ixpta wnEdpevos, Kal TaAXNA THS TrorEwWS pépN
KataraBovtes, ws Exacta Tapelye THS TouTAS
érroyriv, eBe@vtTo Kabapais éoOfot Kexoomnpevot.
mas 6€ vaos avéwxto Kal oreddvev cal Oupiapa-
TOV HY TANPNS, UTNpETAaL TE TOAAOL Kal paBOSovo-
poe TOUS aTaKTWS GUppéovTas eis TO pécoY Kal
Siaéovtas é£eipyovtes dvatentapévas Tas odovs
cal xaOapas trapetyov. tis 5é wopmijs eis Hpépas
Tpeis VEvELNMEVS, n pev T porn pos éfapxecaca
Tots aixparwtos avdptaot Kal ypadais «cai
KoNocaols él Cevyav mevtnxovra kai Ssaxociwv
xopelopévos Tovtwy éxye Oéav. HS totepaia
Ta KaANCTA Kal ToAUTeXMoTaTa TOY Make-
Sovxav OtwY eréwreto ToAKAIS apakats, aUTA
A /

TE PappLaipovTAa YArAK@ veoopynnT@ Kal odypo,
thy te Oéow ex téyvns Kal cuvappoyhs ws i
paduora ouprredpopnpevors VvdSny Kal avTopdTas
€oixot tTemonueva, Kpadyn pos aoricat nai Oo-
paces éml xynyuiot, cal Kpnrixal mértar xal
@paxia yéppa nai hapérpar peta inmixav avape-
pypévat Karwar, cal Eidn yusrda dia TovTov
TapavioxovTa kal odpioat Taparennyvial, cvp-
HETpov eXOVvTWY YddNacLa TOV STAwY, wate THY
mpos GAAnra Kpotow év TH StapépecOa tpayxv
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and prefer to be wheedled and flattered in war rather
_ than commanded.”
XXXII. This speech, they tell us, so rebuffed the soldiery and changed their minds that the triumph was voted to Aemilius by all the tribes. And it was conducted,' they say, after the following fashion. The people erected scaffoldings in the theatres for equestrian contests, which they call circuses, and round the forum, occupied the other parts of the city which afforded a view of the procession, and witnessed the spectacle arrayed in white garments. Every temple was open and filled with garlands and incense, while numerous servitors and _lictors restrained the thronging and scurrying crowds and kept the streets open and clear. Three days were assigned for the triumphal procession. The first barely sufficed for the exhibition of the captured statues, paintings, and colossal figures, which were carried on two hundred and fifty chariots. On the second, the finest and richest of the Macedonian arms were borne along in many waggons. The arms themselves glittered with freshly polished bronze and steel, and were carefully and artfully arranged to look exactly as though they had been piled to- gether in heaps and at random, helmets lying upon shields and breast-plates upon greaves, while Cretan targets and Thracian wicker shields and quivers were mixed up with horses’ bridles, and through them projected naked swords and long Macedonian spears planted among them, all the arms being so loosely packed that they smote against each other as they were borne along and gave out a harsh and dreadful sound, and the sight of them, even though

1 In November, 167 B.c.
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Kat poBepov v barnxew, Kad pnde vEeveKn Levary ago-
Bov elvac thy dypev. pera 5é tas omAoddpous
apafas avdpes € émemopevovTo TplaxiAsor voUic wa
hépovTes apyupoby ey aryyetots EWTAKOO LOLS TEVTN-
KovTa TpiTahavTos, ov éxag Tov ava Téocapes
éxopstor™ arrot be KpaThpas apyupovs xal Képara.
ral pidras rat KodiKas, ed Staxexoo wnuéva, 1 pos
Oéav éxaota kal mepitta TH peyéOer Kal TF
TWAXVTNTL THS Topeias.
XX XIII. Ths 5é tpitns TpEpas EwOev pev
evOus € émropevov To cadmuyeral pédos ov ™ poo ootov
Kal TOMTLKOD, aN’ oi axouévous emoT puvovaw
avrous ‘Popaior, T poaeryKEeevopevor. pera bé
TOUTOUS HYyovTo XputoKepe Tpopiat Bods EXQTOV
elxoat, pir pass HoKNMEVOL Kat OTE MMATLY. a &
dryovTes auTous veaviaKot mrepilopaow evTrapugors
éoTahpevot mpos tépoupytav éxaipour, Kat traides
apyupa oBeia Kal Xpuae a Kouivovtes. elta
peta TOUTOUS ot TO YpucodY vO plo pa pepovres,

els aryyeia TpiTadavtiaia He pepto wevov opotas
T® apyupiy. TO bé awrH00s Hy TOV dryryetov
GySonKovTa T play éovTa. TOUTOLS émréBadov
ot Te THY depav pudrny avEXOVTES, iv o Aipidxos
éx xpucov Sena taravrov bia AUOwv KaTecKEva-
aev, ol Te TAS ‘Avruyovidas Kai Dedevcidas Kab
Onpixdreious kal Oca Trept Seimvov Xpurwpara
TOU _Tlepaéws err OELKYUPEVOL, TOUTOLS éeméBadne
TO appa Tob Tlepaés Kat Ta Sarha cal To dia-
Onya Tots SrAous eT KEL MEVOD. eita pexpod dia-
Aeiwparos 6VTOS Hn Ta TéEKVa TOU Bacthews
nyeto SodAa, nal ovv avtois tpodéwy nai d:da-
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they were spoils of a conquered enemy, was not without its terrors. After the waggons laden with armour there followed three thousand men carrying coined silver in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which contained three talents and was borne by four men, while still other men carried mixing-bowls of silver, drinking horns, bowls, and cups, all well arranged for show and excelling in size and in the depth of their carved ornaments.

XXXIII. On the third day, as soon as it was morning, trumpeters led the way, sounding out no marching or processional strain, but such a one as the Romans use to rouse themselves to battle. After these there were led along a hundred and twenty stall-fed oxen with gilded horns, bedecked with fillets and garlands. Those who led these victims to the sacrifice were young men wearing aprons with handsome borders, and boys attended them carrying gold and silver vessels of libation. Next, after these, came the carriers of the coined gold, which, like the silver, was portioned out into vessels containing three talents ; and the number of these vessels was eighty lacking three. After these followed the bearers of the consecrated bowl, which Aemilius had caused to be made of ten talents of gold and adorned with precious stones, and then those who displayed the bowls known as Antigonids and Seleucids and Thera- cleian,! together with all the gold plate of Perseus’s table. These were followed by the chariot of Perseus, which bore his arms, and his diadem lying upon his arms. Then, at a little interval, came the children of the king, led along as slaves, and with them a throng of foster-parents, teachers, and tutors, all

1 These last were named from a famous Corinthian artist.
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oxdhov Kal mardaryory ay Sedaxpupever OxXNOS,
avuT@Y Te TAS Yelpas Operyov Tey eis tous OeaTas
Kal Ta macdia bia Bat Kal MeTavevery SidacKov-
Tov. wo appeva, pev duo, Gnru de ev, ov mayu

cupppovotyTa TOV KAK@V TO péyeBos Sua TH
nrduciay a Kal paddov éeewva, Tpos THV peta-
Bonny THS avatcOnatas HY, dote puxpod TOV
Tlepoéa Badivew Ta popwpevoy" odTws un' olxTou
Tois VnTrioLs MpocEixov TAs drYfets oF 'Papaior, Kat
Sdxpva, TOANOLS ex Barre ouveBn, mao 6é
papery pevny arnyndove nal yapits tHhv Oday eivat
eypt ov Ta TraLdia mapirdev.
XXXIV. Autos 5é Tav TEKVOV 0 Ilepoevs Kal
Ths meph aura, Jeparreias KaTOT LD _Erropevero,
parov pep tmareov Gpmex opevos Kat Kpnribas
EX ov ETLYWpLOUS, b76 5é peyéOous Tav KaKav
mavTa Gap Sobvre Kal Taparren yy Leven padora,
TOV oyto pov €oixas. Kal toute & eieTo 'X0pos
dirov Kal our Ov, BeBapnpevor Ta mpoowma
mwévOe, kal T@ mpos Ilepcéa Brérrew ael Kat
Saxpue € evvotay Tapio TavT@y Tots Gewpévors 6 ért
THV éxeivou TUXNY oropupovrat Tav Kal" éauTous
eAaXLoTa, ppovrivovres. KaiTot WpooéTeue TG
Aipirio Seopevos p47) mopmevO vat Kat maparTou-
pevos TOV PpiapBov. 0 dé Ths avav6pias auToo
Kat prropuxias, Os éotke, KaTayehav, " "AMAA
TobTO Y> " elrre, 'Kal 7 poTepov Hy err aur@ Kat
vov €oTiv, av Bovdnras" énda@v TOV po aloxv-
vans Odvarov, dv ovy tropeivas o Seiatos, adr'
in éxmidev TiWaV aTromaraxtobels eyeryover LEpOS
TOV avTOU NaduUpwD.
"EqdeEns 5é rovtous éxopilovro ypvaoi atépavor

in tears, stretching out their own hands to the spectators and teaching the children to beg and supplicate. There were two boys, and one girl, and they were not very conscious of the magnitude of their evils because of their tender age ; wherefore they evoked even more pity in view of the time when their unconsciousness would cease, so that Perseus walked along almost unheeded, while the Romans, moved by compassion, kept their eyes upon the children, and many of them shed tears, and for all of them the pleasure of the spectacle was mingled with pain, until the children had passed by.

XXXIV. Behind the children and their train of attendants walked Perseus himself, clad in a dark robe and wearing the high boots of his country, but the magnitude of his evils made him resemble one who is utterly dumbfounded and bewildered. He, too, was followed by a company of friends and inti- mates, whose faces were heavy with grief, and whose tearful gaze continually fixed upon Perseus gave the spectators to understand that it was his misfortune which they bewailed, and that their own fate least of all

concerned them. And yet Perseus had sent to Aemilius begging not to be led in the procession and asking to be left out of the triumph. But Aemilius, in mockery, as it would seem, of the king's cowardice and love of life, had said: " But this at least was in his power before, and is so now, if he should wish it," signifying death in preference to disgrace ; for this, however, the coward had not the heart, but was made weak by no one knows what hopes, and became a part of his own spoils.

Next in order to these were carried wreaths of

TETPAKOGLOL TO TAHOOS, ots al models apa tela
Tihs viKns T@ Aimarto pera m pea Betov émepupay.
elt' auTos éméBadXev dppare KEKOO MNMEVD bta-
TpETOS émiBeBnkas, avnp Kat dixa TOTAUTNS
éfovatas af.o0éaros, ddoupyiba Xpvaomac tov
GPT EXO LEvos Kat Sagyns Kava TH befud Tpo-
TELVOD. edagpunpoper 5é Kal ovpTras 0 oTpaTOs,
TO pev Gppare Tov oTpaTynyoo Kara Aoxous Kal
Tafers Err Opevos, dev dé Ta pev wdds Ttivas
Tartplous avapeporywevas yEAWTL, TA be maravas
émvixious Kai TOV StaTren pay pevev emraivous els
TOV Aiuidsoy mepiBrenrov 6 évta Kal Enrwrov v7rd
wavrwy, ovdevt oe TOY arabe émigOovov TrIY eb
Tt Saxpoviov dpa. TOY peyddwv Kas UmepoyKav
elAnyey evTUYIOY atTapuTeLW Kal peryvova TOV
avO porrvov Biov, Straws pndevi Kaxay axpatos ein
Kal _kabapos, ade Kal "Opnpov a dpiora doxact
mparrewy ols ai TUXaL TpoTHY ew aupoTEpa THV
TparywadTov exovoww.
XXXV, "Heap yap avT@ Téa Tapes vioi, dv0
bev eis érépas atr@Kiopévor ovyyevetas, ws dn
AéhexTat, Lanwiov Kat Paws, dv0 dé maides ere
THY ixiay, ods emi THS olKias ele THs éavtob
yeyovoras ef érépas yuvarkes. @v Oo pev npépas
wévte TpOo TOU OprapBeverv Tov Aipinsov érerev-
TICE TegoaperKaiveKeTNSs, o 6€ dwdexérns pera
T pets nwepas OptapPevoavros érramé0avev, Wore
pndéva ryevéa Bau "Papatov Tow ma0ous) avdynTov,
adda dhpi—ar THY @poTnTa THs TUNNS a dmavtas, @S
OUK n8écaTo mevos Too obTov ELS oixiay ondou
Kal yapas Kal Ovaav yéuovoay eiadyovca, Kal

gold, four hundred in number, which the cities had sent with their embassies to Aemilius as prizes for his victory. Next, mounted on a chariot of mag- nificent adornment, came Aemilius himself, a man worthy to be looked upon even without such marks of power, wearing a purple robe interwoven with gold, and holding forth in his right hand a spray of laurel. The whole army also carried sprays of laurel, following the chariot of their general by companies and divisions, and singing, some of them divers songs intermingled with jesting, as the ancient custom was, and others paeans of victory and hymns in praise of the achievements of Aemilius, who was gazed upon and admired by all, and envied by no one that was good. But after all there is, as it seems, a divinity whose province it is to diminish whatever prosperity is inordinately great, and to mingle the affairs of human life, that no one may be without a taste of evil and wholly free from it, but that, as Homer says,! those may be thought to fare best whose fortunes incline now one way and now another. XXXV. For Aemilius had four sons, of whom two, as I have already said,? had been adopted into other families, namely, Scipio and Fabius; and two sons still boys, the children of a second wife, whom he had in his own house. One of these, fourteen years of age, died five days before Aemilius celebrated his triumph, and the death of the other, who was twelve years of age, followed three days after the triumph, so that there was no Roman who did not share the father’s grief; nay, they all shuddered at the cruelty of Fortune, seeing that she had not scrupled to bring such great sorrow into a house that was full of gratula-

1 Iliad, xxiv. 5265 ff. 2 Cf. chapter v. 3

Katapsyvuovca Opyjvous Kal Saxpva tatdow émt-
vixtots Kal OpidpBors.
XXXVI. Ov pnv adn’ o Aipuirdsos 6pOas Noye-
Fopevos avdpetas Kat Oappareorytos avO parrots
ov ™ pos Oma Kat capioas Xphow elvat povov,
adhe 1 pos Tacav Opanis TUXNS avrigtacw,
oUTWS npyocaro s Kat KATEKOO ENTE THY TOV Tmapov-
TOV ouyKpact @oTe Tois ayabois Ta patra cal
Ta olKxela Tots Snpociots evahavia Dévta ra) Ta-
Tewvaaas TO péyeBos unde cabuBpicas TO akiopa
THS ViKNS. TOV Mev YE TPOTEpoY TV maiSey & aqro-
Oavovta Barras evOus eO pid Bevoer, « @s NéXNEK TAL:
Tov be devtépou PETA TOV OpiauBov TEMEUTITAVTOS
TUWAYAYOV Ets éxxnotav Tov “Pwpaiwy Sipov
éXpytaro Aoyors avdpos ov Seouévov mapapvbias,
aAXra mapapv0oupévov Tovs troAitas SvoTaboiv-
tas éf ols éxeivos CSuatuyncev. edn yap Sry tép
dvO pwrivev ovdev ovdérrote Seicas, Ta 6é Deion
as amtaToTaTov Kal TroiKiNwrTaTov Tm pay pa Thy

TUX ND del poBnbeis, pddora Tept ToUToY auris
TOV TONEMO?, domep TVEVLATOS Aap poo, Tas
mpabeot mapovons, Statedoin peraBorqy Tia
Kal madippotav Tpoa eX opevos. “Mid pep yap,”
elev, - npeépa tov ‘lovov amo Bpevtectou Wepa-
cas Ets Kepxupay Katy ony: weuTraios & exeiBev
év Aerdois ™@ Ge@ Ovaas, érépats adOis ad mévTe
THv Suvapsev év MaxeSovia mapérafor, Kal Tov
elwGoTa ovvtTedéoas xabappov auris Kal Tov
mpatewv evOus evap apevos év TpEpas adras
mevrexaivera TO Kado TOV éméOnxa T@ Tod pp
tédXos. amictav de TH TUYN Sid THY evpoLay TOY
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tions, joy, and sacrifices, or to mingle lamentations and tears with paeans of victory and triumphs.
XXXVI. Aemilius, notwithstanding, rightly con- sidering that men have need of bravery and courage, not only against arms and long spears, but against every onset of Fortune as well, so adapted and adjusted the mingled circumstances of his lot that the bad was lost sight of in the good, and his private sorrow in the public welfare, thus neither lowering the grandeur nor sullying the dignity of his victory. The first of his sons who died he buried, and im- mediately afterwards celebrated the triumph, as I have said; and when the second died, after the triumph, he gathered the Roman people into an assembly and spoke to them as a man who did not ask for comfort, but rather sought to comfort his fellow-citizens in their distress over his own mis- fortunes. He said, namely, that he had never dreaded any human agency, but among agencies that were divine he had ever feared Fortune, believing her to be a most untrustworthy and variable thing; and ‘since in this war particularly she had attended his undertakings like a prosperous gale, as it were, he _had never ceased to expect some change and some reversal of the current of affairs. “For in one day,” said he, “I crossed the Ionian Sea from Brundisium and put in at Corcyra; thence, in five days, I came to Delphi and sacrificed to the god; and again, in other five days, I took command of the forces in Macedonia, and after the usual lustration and review of them I proceeded at once to action, and in other fifteen days brought the war to the most glorious issue. But I distrusted Fortune because the current of my affairs ran so smoothly, and

TpayuUaTwV, WS Abela TrOAAN Kal Kivduvos ovdels
HV aro TOV TONE MLLOD, padiota. Karta wrodv éde-
Stew Thy petaBodny Tou Saipovos én’ euTuxia,
TOTOUTOV oTpaTov vevixniota Kal Aagupa Kal
Baatnreis aixuadwrous Kopivo. ov pay andra
Kal awbels pds bpas Kat THY mOALY opav cdg po-
ours Kal oihou Kab Ouatay yéwoucay, ert Thy

tuxynv 8¢ dbrrowias elyor, ed@s ovdev etdixpivés
ove dvepéontov avO pwr ats TOV peyahov apt-
Couévnv. al TOUTOV ov T™ poTEpov n vex TOV
poBov a@divovca Kal TEpia KOTOUPLEVY TO péAXOv
vmep THS TOAMWS abicey i) THMKAUTD pe Irpoc-
mraigat dvatuxig Tept TOV OlKoY, vi@V dpioroy,
ods euauTe povous éederrouny Siadoxous, Tapas
emTahd1)dous ev npépais tepais peTaxetpioduevov.
vov ov axivduvos tps Ta péytota Kal Oappe, kal
vopita THY TUXNY Dpiv mapapevely aPraBh Kai
BéBarov. ixavos yap éuol Kal rots éuois Kaxois
eis THY TOV Katop0wpeévary aTrOKEXpNTAL vépeoty,
our adavéoTepov éxovea wapadevypa THis av0 pw-
awivns aaBeveias TOU OptapBevopevov Tov Optap-
Bevovta- TAHY OTe Tepaeds peéev exer Kal vevixn-
Hévos TOUS maidas, Aipirtos 5€ rods avrod vixnoas
améBanev.”
XXXVII. Otto pév evryevels Kal peyaXous
Aoyous TOV Aipidvov é& amddotov Kal arnOvod
ppovnuaros év Te Srp S:arexOhvat Aéyouat.
TO dé Ilepoei, KalIrep OiKTEelpas THY pera Borny
Kal para BonOijoas mpodupndeis, ovdev eipeto
TV peTacTacews éx TOU Kaoupevov KapKEpE
Tap autots eis TOTOV xadapov Kal prravbpw-
motépav Siavtav, Sov hpovpovpevos, ws pev ot
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now that there was complete immunity and nothing to fear from hostile attacks, it was particularly during my voyage home that I feared the reversal of the Deity’s favour after all my good fortune, since 1 was bringing home so large a victorious army, such spoils, and captured kings. Nay more, even when I had reached you safely and beheld the city full of delight and gratulation and sacrifices, I was still suspicious of Fortune, knowing that she bestows upon men no great boon that is without alloy or free from divine displeasure. Indeed, my soul was in travail with this fear and could not dismiss it and cease anxiously forecasting the city’s future, until I was smitten with this great misfortune in my own house, and in days consecrated to rejoicing had carried two most noble sons, who alone remained to be my heirs, one after the other to their graves. Now, therefore, I am in no peril of what most concerned me, and am confident, and I think that Fortune will remain con- stant to our city and do hernoharm. For that deity has sufficiently used me and my afflictions to satisfy the divine displeasure at our successes, and she makes the hero of the triumph as clear an example of human weakness as the victim of the triumph; except that Perseus, even though conquered, has his children, while Aemilius, though conqueror, has lost his.”
XXXVII. With such noble and lofty words, we are told, did Aemilius, from an unfeigned and sincere spirit, address the people. But for Perseus, although he pitied him for his changed lot and was very eager to help him, he could obtain no other favour than a removal from the prison which the Romans called

“‘carcer’’ to a clean place and kindlier treatment ; and there, being closely watched, according to most

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TAreloTor yeypapacty, darexaptépnoev, Eviot be THS 275
TeAEUT IIS ldcov Tuva Kat Tmapnrdarypévov TpOTrov
ioTopovct. peprrapevous yap Tt Kal Gupwbevtas
avT@ Tovs Tepl TO Tapa OTpATLOT AS, as Erepov
ovdep ndvvavTo Aumreiv kal Kaxodv auton, ef eip-
ye Tov Urver, Kai Tpos€éXovTas axpiBers évi-
orac0at Tais katagopais Kab TUvEXely € eypnyopoTa
wacn enXavh, pexpt o8 TovTov Top TpoTov éx-
Tovnbeis eTENEUTNTED. eTeMevTIOE d€ Kal Tov
Tavtwv ta dvo. TOV dé tTpitov, ‘Ad€Eavdpor,
evpva pev év TO TopeveLy Kal Aewroupyety yeve-
ofat pacir, éxpabovra dé Ta ‘Popaina ypdupata
kai thy Stadextov _Urrorypapparevey ToiS dpXou-
ow, émrweEvov kal yapievta epi tavTny thy
Umnpeciay éFeralojevov.
XXXVITI. Tats 6 Maxedovnais moukect Tob
Aipediou SnpoticwTarny mpoaypadovat xapu
bmép TOY TOANOY, os TOTOUVTWY EIS 70 dn poatov
TOTE XPNMaT Ov vn avtod TeOevT@y @OTE PNKETL
Sefirat TOV Sfjpov elo everynely dype TOY Iptiov
cat Idvoa Xpoveor, ot mept TOV TT P@TOV ‘Avtaviou
cal Kaicapos TONE MOV umatevaayv. KaKeivo ©
(dvov Kal mepitTov tov Aiptriov, TO otrovdato-
pevoy bro Tov SHmou Kal Tipwpevoy SsadeporTws
él THS plat oKpaTiKhs peivar T Poa per ews, Kat
pndev evtrety pode mpakat xapere TOY TOANOY,
GNX TOFS Twos kal K ariarots del ouvegera-
GerOas Tept THY TrodkTetav. 5 Kal ypovots BaTe-
pov “Ammtos aveloicev “Ag picave Laentiove,
peyoToe yap dvtes ev TH TONE TOTE THY TLUNTL-
KnY apxXnv peTnetav, Oo wev THY BovAny éxwv Kal
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writers the king starved himself to death. But some

tell of a very unusual and peculiar way in which he died, as follows. The soldiers who guarded his person found some fault with him and got angry at him, and since they could not vex and injure him in any other way, they prevented him from sleeping, disturbing his repose by their assiduous attentions and keeping him awake by every possible artifice, until in this way he was worn out and died. ‘Two of his children also died. But the third, Alexander, is said to have become expert in embossing and fine metal work ; he also learned to write and speak the Roman language, and was secretary to the magis- trates, in which office he proved himself to have skill and elegance.

XXXVIII. To the exploits of Aemilius in Mace- donia is ascribed his most unbounded popularity with the people, since so much money was then brought into the public treasury by him that the people no longer needed to pay special taxes until the times of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls during the first war between Antony and Octavius Caesar.! And this, too, was peculiar and remarkable in Aemi- lius, that although he was admired and honoured by the people beyond measure, he remained a member of the aristocratic party, and neither said or did anything to win the favour of the multitude, but always sided in political matters with the leading and most powerful men. And this attitude of Aemi- lius was in after times cast in the teeth of Scipio Africanus by Appius. For these men, being then greatest in the city, were candidates for the censor- ship,? the one having the senate and the nobles to

1 The so-called ‘‘War of Mutina,” in 43 B.c.; cf. the Cicero, xlv. 3-5. 3 In 142 B.c.

TOUS apioTous TEpt avToV’ av’tn yap Ammios 7 moNTela waTplos: Oo bé péeyas pev av ed’ éavTod, peyarn & adel tH mapa tov dnuov yapite Kal omovon Kexypnucvos. ws ovv éuBdaddovtos els ayopay Tov Xxntiwvos KaTelde Tapa WAEUpaY oO “Ammios avOpwrous ayevveis cat SedoudNevKoTas, dyopatious 5é cal duvapévous byXov ouvayayew Kal omovdapyxia Kal Kpavyh wavta mpaypata BiacacOat, péya Bonoas, “’OQ Tladne,” elzev, “ Aiutvse, otévakov UTo ys aiaOomevos tt cou tov viov Aipirdtos o KApvE cat Acxivyros Bido- veikos émt TyunTeiav KaTayovoly. dAAA Lenriwv pev abEwv ta mrciota tov Sijpov eivouy elxev, Aipirttos 5€, xaimep Ov aptotoxpatiKos, ovdev Attov Ure TOV TOAAMY HyaTaTO Tov padtoTa Snpaywyelv Kat mpos ydptv optreiv Tots ToANOIS

SoxovvtTos. edndr\waav b€é peTa TOV GAXNWY KAAOV
cal Tyntelas avtov akiwcartes, itis oti apyn
macav iepwratn Kal Svvapevn péya mpos Te
TadXa Kal mpos éeracww Biwy. éxPRanreiy te yap
éfeots ovyxAntov Tov ampera@s Covta Tots TLun-
tals, Kal mpoypavrat Tov apioTop, immou T adat-
pécet TOV véwY aTLLaoaL TOY aKoACTaiVvorTa.
Kal T@V OVOLOY OUTOL TA TiuNnuaTa Kal Tas aTo-
ypadas émicxotrobaly. ameypdyavTo pév odv
kat avtov pupiddes dr Opamrwv tpiaKxovta Tpels,
éru 8 érraxiaxirsou TETPAKOTLOL TevtnKovTa Ovo,
THs 6é Bovrts ™ poeyparre pev Mdpxov Aipidsop
Aémibov, 38n tTeTpdKis KapTovmEevoy TavTny Thy
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support him, for this was the hereditary policy of the Appii, while the other, although great on his own account, nevertheless always made use of the great favour and love of the people for him. When, therefore, Appius saw Scipio rushing into the forum attended by men who were of low birth and had lately been slaves, but who were frequenters of the forum and able to gather a mob and force all issues by means of solicitations and shouting, he cried with a loud voice and said: “O Paulus Aemilius, groan beneath the earth when thou learnest that thy son is escorted to the censorship by Aemilius the common crier and Licinius Philonicus.” But Scipio had the good will of the people because he supported them in most things, while Aemilius, although he sided with the nobles, was no less loved by the multitude than the one who was thought to pay most court to the people and to seek their favour in his intercourse with them. And they made this manifest by con- ferring upon him, along with his other honours, that of the censorship,! which is of all offices most sacred, and of great influence, both in other ways, and especially because it examines into the lives and conduct of men. For it is in the power of the censors to expel any senator whose life is unbecoming, and to appoint the leader of the senate, and they can disgrace any young knight of loose habits by taking away his horse. They also take charge of the pro- perty assessments and the registry lists. Accordingly, the number of citizens registered under Aemilius was three hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and fifty-two; he also declared Marcus Aemilius Lepidus first senator, a man who had

1 In 164 B.o.
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mpoedpiav, €€éBanre Sé tpeis ovyKANTLKOYS OV TAY
éripavav, kat mept thy tav immévv é&étacty
€ 4 ld > , A 4, I
Omoiws éueTpiacey autos Te Kal Mapxios Pirirr-
Tos 0 cuvapKXwV avTod.
XXXIX. Atoxnpéevovy b€ Ttav TrEeictwVv Kal

, nw “A
peyiotwy évoonae vooov évy apyn pev éemicphanrn,
ypovm 6€ axivduvoy, épywdn 6€ Kal dvcamddda-
KTOV yevopuevnv. emel de TeLaOeEls UO TOY laTpaV
érrevoev eis “EXéav tis ‘Itadias cal drétpiBev
, Cal
avToO: mAeiw ypovoy év tapadios aypois Kat
TOAAnY Hovytay Exovalv, émoOncav avTov oi
e a \ b) 4 9 ,
Pwpaior, cat dwvas troddAaKis év Oeatpors olov
evydouevor Kat atrevdovtes ideiv adpjxay. avons
dé Tivos lepoupytas avayKaias, Hdn Sé Kal doxodv-
Tos ixavas éxewv avT@ TOD awapatos, émavydbev
> @¢€ , ? a \ v \ A wv
ets ‘Pounv. Kaxeivny péev Ebuce peta TOV GX\NOV
Tyv Ovaiav lepéwv, eTipavas Tod Sypov trept-
Kexupévov Kal xalpoytos: TH 8 voTEepata madu
EOucev avtos Urép avTod cwtypia Tois OGeois.
, , wn
kal auptrepavOetons, ws mpocipntat, THS Oucias
e 4 v 5 N Xx @ ld } ? Oé
tmoatpéwas oixabe Kal xataxXdOeis, mply aicbe-
cOat Kal vonoat tHv petaBorgrny, év éxatdcet
ol a , 4 A
kal wapapopa THs Stavoias yevdopuevos tpttatos
’ , ’ V9 \ 2e 9 \ in \
éredeuTnaev, ovdevos evdens ovd aTEANS TOY T pds
4 ,
evdatmoviay vevopucpéevwr yevouevos. Kal yap %
A N
wept Thy expopav troumn Oavpacpoy Eoxe, Kai
nw A \ ? A A \ a
Chrov érixoopovvTa THY apeTny Tov avdpos Tos
dpictots Kal paKxapiwtatots évtadios. tadta S
>
jv ov Xpvads ovd edépas ovd 17 Novy TroAVTEAELG
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already held this presidency four times, and he ex-
pelled only three senators, men of no note, and in
the muster of the knights a like moderation was
observed both by himself and by Marcius Philippus

his colleague.
XXXIX. After he had performed most of the more important duties of this office, he fell sick of a disease which at first was dangerous, but in time became less threatening, though it was troublesome and hard to get rid of. Under the advice of his physicians he sailed to Velia in Italy, and there spent much time in country places lying by the sea and affording great quiet. Then the Romans longed for him, and often in the theatres gave utterance to eager desires and even prayers that they might see him. At last, when a certain religious ceremony made his presence necessary, and his health seemed to be sufficient for the journey, he returned to Rome. Here he offered the public sacrifice in company with the other priests,! while the people thronged about with manifest tokens of delight; and on the follow- ing day he sacrificed again to the gods privately in gratitude for his recovery. When the sacrifice had been duly performed, he returned to his house and lay down to rest, and then, before he could notice and be conscious of any change, he became delirious and deranged in mind, and on the third day after died.? He was fully blessed with everything that men think conducive to happiness. For his funeral procession called forth men's admiration, and showed a desire to adorn his virtue with the best and most enviable obsequies. This was manifest, not in gold or ivory or

1 See chapter iii. 1-3.
® Seven years after his triumph, 160 B.o.

Kat prrotepia Tis TapacKevis, adr' ebvota.xal
TLLN Kal yapLS Ov Lover Tapa, TOV TOT AY, adda
Kal TOV TOhEMLOY. boot youu Kata TUXNY
Taphaap "IBypov Kal Atyvov Kal Makxedover, ol
per ioyupol Ta TapaTa Kal véot dvadaBovtes TO
AéXos UMédvaay Kal mapexdpstov, of b€ mpecAu-
TEpOU ovynKohovdouy dvaKarovpevot TOV Atpidtov
evepyeTny Kab TwThpa TOV mat pidwy. ov yap
peovov éy ols expaTnae KaLpors Trias Tae Kal
prravO pars anndr.ayn Xpnoapevos, adra Kat
Tapa mavTa Tov NoLTrov Biov deb Te mpaT Toy
ayabov avdtois Kal xndopevos Gorrep olKeiwy Kal
ouyyevaov SieTédece.
Tnv & odciay avtod poms érta Kal TptaKovta
pupidbwv ryever Bar A€eyouow, HS avTos pev ap-
porépous TovUs viovs amrédLTTE KANPOVOmOUS, Oo Se
VEWTEPOS Lanmiov TO abeASO maoay exery ouve-
XOpysev avros ets olxov eUTOPWTEPOY tov 'Adpt-
Kavov dedopevos. ovtos ev o IavaAov Alto
Tpomos Kal Bios Néyeras yevéc Oat.
TIMOAEONTOS KAI WAYAOY AIMIAIOY
SYTKPISIS
I. Tovovter b¢ TOV KATA THY ioTopiav évT@y,

djdov QS ovK exe TOAhas Siapopas oveé avo-
MOLOTNTAS 1) TUK PLOTS. ot Te yap ToAELoL TOS
évdo£ous yeyovac wv apdhorépots dvrayoviaras,
TP pev Maxedovas, TH de KapynSovious, at te
pixar weptBontot, Tov pev édrovtTos Maxedoviav
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COMPARISON OF TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS

the other ambitious and expensive preparations for such rites, but in good will and honour and gratitude on the part, not only of his fellow citizens, but also of his enemies. At all events, out of all the Iberians and Ligurians and Macedonians who chanced to be present, those that were young and strong of body assisted by turns in carrying the bier, while the more elderly followed with the procession calling aloud upon Aemilius as benefactor and preserver of their countries. For not only at the times of his conquests had he treated them all with mildness and humanity, but also during all the rest of his life he was ever doing them some good and caring for them as though they had been kindred and relations.

His estate, we are told, hardly amounted to three hundred and seventy thousand drachmas, to which he left both his sons heirs; but the younger, Scipio, who had been adopted into the wealthier family of Africanus, allowed his brother to have it all. Such, as we are told, was the life and character of Paulus Aemilius.

COMPARISON OF TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS

I. Sucu being the history of these men, it is clear that our comparison of them will have few points of difference or dissimilarity to show. For the wars which both conducted were against notable antago- nists; in the one case against the Macedonians, in the other against the Carthaginians. Their victories, too, were far-famed: the one took Macedonia and

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Kal Thy aT’ “Avtuyovou Sadoxny év éBdou@
Baornrei KATATAVTAVTOS, roo 6¢€ Tas Tupavvidas
mdoas avedovTos &ék LiKedias Kal THY vio ov
éhevepwo avtos” eb py v1) Aia Bovdorro TLS
Tapeyxetpely @S Aipinrsos pev eppapeve Tlepoet
Kat ‘Pwpaious veveKNKoTL, Tiporéav dé Atovu-
ow wavTamaow dmetpnKore Kal KATATETPLULBLEVED
auvétece, Kal maduy UTrép Teporéovtos, OTL
WoNAOUS ev Tupdvvous, peyahny be THY Kapyxn-
Soviay Suvapep amTo THS TUYOVENS oTpaTias

eviKna ey, ovx @otep Aipidtos avépdow epmreLpo-
Tone woes Kal pepadntoory apxec bas XPomevos,
adra pa Pod opors ovat Kal OTPATLMTALS aTaKToLs,
7 pos ndovny elO ra pévors atpatever Oat. Ta yap
aw ouK tons mapacKevijs ica Katop§opata TO
oTPATNYO THY aittay meptTiOnar.
II. Kadapav ow Kal Sicatov év Tots 7 pa-
yuacw apport épov yeyovoren, Aipirsos pév UTrO
TOY vOMwY Kal THs mar pibos ovTwWs Eotxev evs
adixéoBar Taped KEVvac UEVOS, Tiporéwv 5€ ToL-
obtov avTos eauTov Taper xe. TOUTOU TEX [L1}pLOov
éTt ‘Pewpaior pev opards ey ™@ TOTE Xpovep WT av-
TES Ho av eUTaKToL Kab Urroxetptot Tots eGuc pois
kal Tovs vopous dedioTes Kat TOUS TOTAS,
EdAqvev 5é ovdels 7) YE POV éotiv ovdé oTpaTHyos
ds ov StepOdpn TOTE YKErLas anpapevos éFo
Aiwvos. xaitor Aiwva Tool povapxias Ope-
yerGau Kal Baotheav TLVa Aaxavixny ovetporro-
Neip Dmrevoour. Ti imatos dé cal ['vAurarov acres
dnot cat drips amoréuypat Zupaxovatous, prdo-
jTXouTiay avTov Kal amhnotiav év TH OTpaTnYyia
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brought the royal line of Antigonus to an end in its seventh king; the other abolished all the tyrannies in Sicily and set the island free. One might, indeed, argue otherwise, and say that Perseus was strong and victorious over the Romans when Aemilius en- gaged him, while Dionysius, when Timoleon engaged him, was altogether crushed and desperate. And, again, it might be said in favour of Timoleon that he conquered many tyrants and the force of the Carthaginians, large as it was, with what soldiers he could get, not having at his service, as Aemilius had, men who were experienced in war and taught to obey orders, but men who were hirelings and disorderly soldiers, accustomed to consult their own pleasure in their campaigns. For when equal successes follow an unequal equipment, the greater credit accrues to the commander.

II. Further, in their administration of affairs both were just and incorruptible; but Aemilius, it would seem, was made so from the outset of his career by the laws and customs of his country, while Timoleon’s great probity was due to himself. There is proof of this in the fact that the Romans in the time of Aemi- lius were, all alike, orderly in their lives, observant of usage, and wholesomely fearful of the laws and of their fellow citizens; whereas, of the Greek leaders and generals who took part in Sicilian affairs during the time of Timoleon, not one was free from cor- ruption except Dion. And Dion was suspected by many of being ambitious for a monarchy and dream- ing of a kingdom like that in Sparta. Furthermore, Timaeus says that even Gylippus was sent away in ignominy and dishonour by the Syracusans, because they found

him guilty of avarice and greed while

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Kateyvwoxotas. & dé Ddpak o Yraptiatys Kal
Kdddurmos o 'AOnvatos édrricavtes dpkew LeKxe-
Alas Tapevounoay Kal trapectrovdnaay, U7 TON-
NOY avayéypatrat. KaiTOL Tives Hh THALKWD KU-
plou wpaypatwv dytes odToL ToladTa AATCAaD;
ov o pev éxtrentwxota Yvpaxovadyv éepareve
Atovictov, KaddXrrmos Sé els Hv tov tepi Aiwva
ce) ? 4 ? A \
Eevayov. aGdrAd\a Tiportéov aitnoapévois xal
Senbeiow attoxpatwp meupbels Yupaxovaioss,
kal duvaptv ov Enreivy aArN Eye odetrAwy iv
éxaBe Bovropévoy cat didovrwy, tépas émounaato
THS avTOD oTpaTnyias Kal adpyYns THY TOY Tapa-
VOLO APYOVTwWY KATaAVOLD.
, A , a > , , @
Exetvo pévtot tov AiptAiov Oavuactoy, Ste
4 / J IQ
TnAtkauTnvy Bacireiay KaTacTpewapevos ovdé
Spaxyyn peifova thy ovoiay éroinaey, ovdé eldev
ovdé Hato TOY YpnudTwr, KaiToL TOAAA Sovs
e¢ / lA tJ , oe 4
érépois Kal dwonodpevos. ov rNEyw dé Ott Tipo-
Adwy peu"mTos €oTLV oiKiay Te KaAnVY AaRwv Kai
ywpiov' ov yap To NaBelv éx ToLovTwWY aicypor,
GAA TO py AaBeiv KpeirTov Kal Teptovaia Tijs
apetys, ev ols é€eotw émideccvupévns TO py
Seopevov,
"Ezrel Sé, ws ca@partos piyos Odrrros dépery
Suvapévov To pos apdorépas ev TeduKods opod
Tas peTaBoras pwparewrtepor, ovTH Yruyis axpa-
4 a
Tos evpwotia Kal taxus, fy ovTe TO evTUYXELY
4 4 \ > 7s w \
UBpet OpuTrre: Kal avinow ovte cuppopal rarres-
la' ' e La!
vovot, paiverat TedeLoTEpos Oo Alpirsos, év yareTr7
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COMPARISON OF TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS

he was their general.!. And how Pharax the Spartan and Callippus the Athenian violated laws and treaties in their hopes of ruling Sicily, has been told by many writers.2, And yet who were these men, or of how large resources were they masters, that they entertained such hopes? One of them was a servile follower of Dionysius after he had been driven out of Syracuse, and Callippus was one of Dion's captains of mercenaries. But Timoleon, at the earnest request of the Syracusans, was sent to be their general, and needed not to seek power from them, but only to hold that which they had given him of their own free will, and yet he laid down his office and command when he had overthrown their unlawful rulers.

It is, however, worthy of admiration in Aemilius that, although he had subdued so great a kingdom, he did not add one drachma to his substance, nor would he touch or even look upon the conquered treasure; and yet he made many liberal gifts to others. Now, I do not say that Timoleon is to be blamed for accepting a fine house and country estate, for acceptance under such circumstances is not disgraceful; but not to accept is better, and that is a surpassing virtue which shows that it does not want what it might lawfully have.

Furthermore, a body that can endure only heat or cold is less powerful than one that is well adapted by nature to withstand both extremes alike. In like manner a spirit is absolutely vigorous and strong if it is neither spoiled and elated by the insolence which prosperity brings, nor humbled by adversity. The character of Aemilius, therefore, was manifestly more

1 See the Nicias, xxviii. 2 f.
3 See the Zimoleon, xi. 4.

4 , 4 a \ \ a
TUXn Kal wd0et peyddr@ TO Teplt Tos Traidas
ovdéy TL pixpoTEepos ode doepvoTtepos 7 dia TaV
6 evtuynudtwy dpabeis: Timoréwy Sé yervaia mpda-
Eas wepl rov abdedpov ove avtécxye TO AOYLT UO
N \ / 9 \ J Us
mpos TO TdOo0s, A\AA peTavoia Kal AVTIN TaTrE-
vwbels érav eixoot TO Bhua Kal thv dyopay idety
b e 4 " > \ , \
ovY Uméueve. Set dé TA ataxypa devyew Kal
aideicOat, TO 5& wpds Tacayv dbokiav evrAaBes
émuetxods péev HOovs Kal amanrod, péyeOos bé ovK
EyovTos.

perfect, since in the grievous misfortune and great sorrow brought upon him by the death of his sons he was seen to have no less greatness and no less dignity than in the midst of his successes; whereas Timoleon, although he had acted in a noble way with regard to his brother, could not reason down his sorrow, but was prostrated with grief and repentance, and for twenty years could not endure the sight of bema or market-place. One should scrupulously shun disgraceful deeds ; but the anxious fear of every kind of ill report among men argues a nature which is indeed kindly and sensitive, but has not greatness.

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A

Achradina, pp. 67, 77, 89, 305, 307, 313, the first extension on the main-land of the island city of Syracuse, stretching from the Great Harbour northwards to the sea.
Acilius, 177, Caius, not otherwise known.
Acrae, 59, a small city of Sicily about twenty miles west of Syracuse.
Adranum, 287, 289, 299, 301, a city of "Sicily at the foot of the western slope of Mt. Aetna, founded by Phe elder Dionysius in 400 B.c.
Adria, 25, an ancient and famous city of Cisalpine Gaul, originally a sea-port between the mouths of the Po and the Adige, but now some fourteen miles inland. It gave its name to the Adriatic

sea.

Agrigentum, 57, 345, one of the most powerful and celebrated of the Greek cities in Sicily, situated on the south-west coast of the island. It was colonised from Gela in 582 B.c.
Agrippa, 185, Marcus Vipsanius, a fellow-student of ctavius Cesar at Apollonia, and a most intimate friend. He became one of the prominent and powerful men of the Augustan age. He lived 63-12 B.C.
otherwise

Alcimenes, 49,
known
Amphipois 47, 49, an important n §.E Macedonia, on the at Been. about three miles from the sea.
Anicius, Lucius, 387, Lucius Anicius Gallus, praetor in 168 B.O., PLUT. VI.

not

acted in concert with Appius Claudius against Genthius the Illyrian, and was completely successful ii a campaign of thirty days, for which he celebrated a triumph.
Antigonus (1), 373, 461, King of Asia, surnamed the One- eyed. Lived 382-301 B. &
Antigonus (2), 373, surnamed Doson. On the death of Demetriuns II. (229 B.c.) he was appointed guardian of his son Philip. He married tne widow of Demetrius and assumed the crown in his own right. He supported Aratus and the Achxan

League against Cleomenes of Sparta. e died in 220 B.c.
Antigonus (3), surnamed Gonatas, 373, a son of Demetrius Poliorcetes by Phila, and grandson of Antigonus King of Asia. He succeeded to the title of King of Macedonia on his father’s death in 283 B.c., and gained possession of part of. his realm in 277 B.c. He died in 239 B.o.
Antimachus, of Colophon, 347, a great epic and elegiac poet who flourished during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War (420-404 B.0.). See the Lysander XViii. 4f.
Antiochus of Ascalon, 129, called the founder of the Fifth Academy. He was a teacher of Cicero at Athens in 79-78 B.c., and Cicero speaks of him in the ‘highest and most ehureclehye terms (Brutus, 91, 315).
duces the Great, 363, 371, King of Syria 223- 187 B.0. He was defeated by the Romans under Glabrio at Thermopylae in 191, and by Scipio near Magnesia in Asia in 190 B.c.

He made peace with Rome in 188 B.c., ceding all his dominions west of Mt. Taurus.
Antium, 173, an ancient and powerful city of Latium, on the coast, thirty-eight miles south of Rome, the modern Porto d’Anzo.
Antonius, Caius, 181-187, a brother of the triumvir, legate of Julius Cesar in 49 B.c., praetor urbanus in 44 B.C., receiving

Macedonia as his province.
Antonius, 421, Lucius A. Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany under Domitian, raised a rebellion; but an inundation of the Rhine deprived him of the assistance of the Germans which had been promised him. Cf. Suetonius, Domit. 6.
Appius, 453, 455. Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 143 B.c., father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus. He lived in constant enmity with Scipio Africanus the Your ger.
Apollocrates, 81, 107, 117, eldest son of Dionysius the Younger.
Apollonia, 319, a small city in the central and northern part of Sicily, mentioned last by Cicero (in Verr. iii. 43, 103.)

Apollonia, 175, 181-185, an ancient Greek city of Illyria, near the river Aoiis and about eight miles from its mouth. Towards the end of the Roman republic it became a famous seat of learning. ;
Archedamus the Aetolian, 417. In 199-197 B.c. he acted with the Romans against Philip V. of Macedon. Later he was prominent in the war between the Aetolians and Rome, and joined Perseus in 169 B.c.
Archedemus, 37, apparently a disciple of Arch :
Archytas, 37 a Greek of
41
Tarentum, distinguished as philosopher, mathematician, general, and statesman. He flourished about 400 B.c. and onwards. Cf. the Marcellus, xiv. 5.

Arete, 18, 43, 109, 121, 123, niece and wife of Dion.
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Aristides the Locrian, 275, mentioned elsewhere (Aclian, Var. Hist., xiv. 4) only as more grieved at the manner than at the fact of his death.
Aristippus of Cyrene, 39, 41. founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy, obnoxious to Xenohon and Plato on account of his uxurious ways of living.
Aristomache, 7, 14, 109. 121, 123 sister and mother-in-law o Dion.
Aristoxenus the musician, 205, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school. Only fragments of his musical treatises have come down to us.
Aristus, 129, brother of Antiochus of Ascalon, and a teacher of philosophy at Athens when Cicero was there in 51-50 B.c. (ad Att., v. 10, 5). Cicero calls him "' hospes et familiaris meus " in Brutus, 97, 332.
Athanis, 319, 351, of Syracuse, wrote a history of the events attending and following Dion's expedition. He was probably one of the generals elected by the Syracusans in Dion's place (Dion, XxXXviii. 2).
Attillius (Atilius), 213, otherwise

unknown.

Atticus, 191, Quintus Caecilius Pomponianus, surnamed Atticus on account of his long residence

in Athens, where he took refuge from the storms of the civil wars in 85 B.c. He was Cicero's most intimate friend. He returned to Rome in 65, and died in 32 B.C., at the age of seventy-seven. He was a man of wealth, learning, and refinement.

B

Basternae, 377, 383, a powerful tribe of European Sarmatia (Russia). They were driven back across the Danube by _ the Romans in 30 B.c.

Bibulus, 153, 177, Lucius Calpurnius B., youngest son of the

Bibulus who was Caesar's consular colleague in 59 B.c. He surrendered to Antony after the battle at Philippi (42 B.c.), was pardoned by him, and made commander of his fleet. He died shortly before the battle of Actium (31 B.C.).

Brundisium, 449, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural int of departure from Italy to he East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.

Brutus, 151, 169, 187, Decimus Junius Brutus, surnamed Albinus after his

Postumius Albinus, the consul of 99 B.c. He was widely employed, highly esteemed, fully trusted, and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and yet joined his murderers. After Caesar's death he opposed Antony successfully,

but fell a victim to the coalition between Antony and Octavius in 43 B.O.

Buthrotum, 183, a city on the western coast of Epirus, opposite Corcyra, celebrated by Vergil in Aeneid, iii. 293 ff.
C

Calauria, 337, a town of Sicily not mentioned elsewhere.
Calends (Kalends), 147, the Roman name for the first day of the month.
Callippus, 33, 61, 115-123, 463, of Athens, a disciple of Plato in common with Dion, to whom he came to have much the same relation as Brutus Albinus to Julius Ceesar.
Camarina, 59, a famous Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily, about twenty miles east of Gela. It was colonized from Syracuse in 599 B.C.
Canidius, 131, 133, perhaps the Publius Canidius Crassus who was the friend and supporter of adoption by Aulus-

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Antony (Plutarch, Antony, xxxiv.-lxxi.).
Canutius, 173, mentioned only here.

Carbo, 191, Gnaeus Papirius C., a leader of the Marian party and consular colleague of Cinna in 85 and 84 B.c. He was put to death by Pompey in 82 B.c. (Plutarch, Pompey, x. 3f.).
Carystus, 179, an ancient city on the south coast of Euboea, famous for

its marble.
Casca, 157, 163, 229, Publius Servilius C., tribune of the people in 44 B.o. He fled from Rome after Caesar's murder, and died soon after the battle at Philippi, in which he fought. His brother Caius was also oné of Caesar's murderers (Plutarch, Caesar, vi. 5).

Catana, 123, 291, 305, 335, 341, 348, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Tauromenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.
Cato (1), 411, Marcus Porcius C. Licinianus, son of Cato the Elder by his first wife Licinia. It was after the battle of Pydna that he became the son-in-law of Aemilius Paulus. For his education, and his exploit at the battle of Pydna, see the Cato Major, chapter xx.
Cato (2), 237, 239, son of Cato the Younger. After the death of his father, Caesar pardoned him and allowed him the use of his patrimony. See the Cato Minor, chapter i.
Caulonia, 57, a Greek city on the eastern coast of Bruttium, conquered by the elder Dionysius in 389 B.O.
Ceos, 345, one of the Cyclades islands in the Aegean sea, about thirteen miles S.E. of Attica most famous as the birthplace of the great lyric poet Simonides.
Cicero, 179, 183, Marcus Tullius, only son of the great orator, born in 65 B.0o. He joined the army of Pompey in Greece when only

sixteen years of age, and gained
, 471

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credit as an officer of cavalry. After Pharsalus, he resided at Athens, where he fell into loose habits for atime. After Caesar's death, he served as military tribune under Brutus. After Philippi, he was taken up by Octavius, and became his consular colleague in 30 B.c. See the Cicero, xlix. 4.

Cimber, 163, 169, Lucius Tullius, had been one of Caesar's warmest supporters) and rewarded by him with the province of Bithynia. After Caesar's murder he went to his province, raised a fleet, and co-operated effectually with Brutus and Cassius.

Cinna (1), 191, Lucius Cornelius, leader of the Marian party during Sulla's absence in the East (87-84 B.C.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85, and 84. He was killed in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he had hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla. See the Pompey, chapter Vv.

Cinna (2), 167, 181, Lucius Cornelius, son of the preceding. He served under Lepidus and Sertorius (78-72 B.c.), but was restored from exile by Caesar and made praetor in 44 B.Oo. He would not join the murderers of Caesar, but approved of their deed.

Cinna (3), 171, 173, Caius Helvius,

a friend of Catullus, and probably the same person as the Helvius Cinna whom Valerius Maximus (ix. 9, 1), Appian (B.C. ii. 147), and Dion Cassius (xliv. 50) call a tribune of the people. Cf. Suetonius, Div. Jul. 85; tarch, Caesar, Ixxili. 2f. Only fragments of his poems remain.
Clodius (Claudius), 171, Publius Claudius Pulcher, youngest son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in the Sulla, xxix. 8. He helped to demoralize the soldiers of Lucullus in Asia (Lucullus, chapter xxxiv.), became a venomous foe of Cicero, was notorious for incest and licentiousness (Caesar, 472

chapters ix. and x.), and was at last killed in a street-brawl with Milo in 52 B.0. (Cicero, chapters xxViii.-xxxv.).
Colophon, 347, one of the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, situated on the river Hales, near the sea, north of Ephesus.
Corcyra, 449, an island in the Ionian sea, opposite Epirus, the modern Corfa.
Cornificius, Lucius, 185, afterwards an able supporter of Octavius in war on land and sea. He became consul in 35 B.c.
Cratippus, the Peripatetic, 177, of Mitylene, a contemporary and intimate friend of Cicero, and a teacher of Cicero’s son.
Crimesus (Crimisus), 323, 325, 331, a river in the N.W. part of sicily. near Segesta.
Cyzicus, 187, a Greek city on the

Propontis, in Mysia, wonderfully
arate on the neck of a pen-
nsula.
D

Demetrias, 181, an ppor sent
city in the S.E. part of Thessaly,
at the head of the Pagasaean
ulf, founded by Demetrius
oliorcetes about 290 B.c.
Demetrium, 423, of Samothrace,
probably a sanctuary of Demeter
connected with the austere and
worship of the Cabeiri.
Demetrius (1), 373, Demetrius
Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus
King of Asia, lived 337-283 B.c.
See Plutarch's Life.
Demetrius (2), 373, Demetrius II.
son of Antigonus Gonatas, king o
Macedonia 239-229 B.c.
Demetrius (3), 375, younger, and
only legitimate son of Philip V.
of Macedon, sent to Rome as
hostage after the battle of
Cynoscephalae (197 B.0.), where
he won that favour of the
Romans which roused the jeal-
ousy of his brother Perseus and
brought about his death.
Diogenes, of Sinope, 297, a Cynio
philosopher, born 412 B.o. He
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became a pupil of Antisthenes
the Socratic at Athens, and
changed from a dissolute to a
most austere life. He was sold
into slavery at Corinth, where he
acquired freedom and passed
his old age. He died in 323 B.c.,
according to Plutarch (Morals,
p. 717 c) on the same day as
Alexander the Great.
Dionysius, of Colophon 347, a.

painter contemporary with Polygnotus (latter half of the fifth century B.C.), of whom he was said to be an imitator. According to Aristotle, his work lacked idealism.
Dolabella, 131, 141, 181, the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero, lived 70-43 B.o. He took part with Caesar in 49 B.C., but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He was outlawed and declared a public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.
Domitian, 421, 423, Roman Emperor 81-96 A.D.
E

Ecnomum (Ecnomus), 57, a hill on the southern coast of Sicily, between Agrigentum and Gela.
Elea (Velia), 177, 345, 457, a Greek colony from Phocaea in Ionian Asia or, founded about 540 B.O. on the N.W. coast of Lucania in southern Italy (Herod. i. 164-167). Itreceived the Roman franchise in 90 B.Cc., and was a noted health resort.
pat Pe 129, mentioned only here, unless he is the same person as the orator, Empylus Rhodius, mentioned by Quintilian (x. 6, 4).

Ephorus, 77, 79, 271, of Cymé pupil of Isocrates, and author of a ghly rhetorical history of Greece from the “ Dorian Invasion ’ down to 340 B.0., in which year he died.
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Epicurus, 207, founder of the philosophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.©., died at Athens, 270 B.o. He established his school at Athens in 306, was a man of pure and temperate habits, and _ bore suffering with cheerful fortitude.
Epidamnus, 181, the city on the coast of Illyria known in Roman history usually as Dyrrhachium. It was a free state, and sided consistently with the Romans.
Epipolae, 313, a triangular plateau rising gradually westwards from Syracuse, visible from the interior of the island city, and surrounded by precipitous cliffs. . the Nicias, xvii. 1; xxi. 5-9.
Eudemus, the Cyprian, 47, a member of the Platonic circle and an intimate friend of Aristotle. Aristotle’s dialogue entitled ** Eudemus, or On the Soul,” is preserved only in scanty fragments (cf. lutarch, Morals, P. 175 b, and Cicero, de Div., . 25, 53). Eudemus fell in a battle between the friends of Dion and the traitor Callippus (Diodorus, xvi, 36, 5).
Evander, the Cretan, 417, mentioned only here.
F

Favonius, 149, 151, 201, 203 Marcus F., called the “ Ape of Cato,” was aedile in 652, and raetor in 40 B.C. He joined ompey in the East notwithstanding personal enmity to him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus (cf. the

Pompey, \xxiii. 6 f.)
Flavius, 241, Caius F., an intimate friend of Brutus, and his praefectus fabrorum at Philippi.
G

Gaesylus, the Spartan, 105, 107, mentioned only here.
Galba, 435-439, Servius SulpiciusG., uuilitary tribuae under Aemilius 473

DICTIONARY OF

Paulus, praetor in 151, and famous for his faithless cruelty in his province of Spain. He was consul in 144 B.c. He was also an orator of power.
Galepsus, 417, a colony of Thasos on the coast of Thrace.
Gela, 57, 345, an important Greek city on the southern coast of Sicily, between Agrigentum and Camarina. It was colonized in 690 B.c. from Crete and Rhodes. The Carthaginians destroyed it in 405 B.C.
Gelon, 319, tyrant of Syracuse 485—478 B.C., and victor over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C. ;
Genthius, 387, King of Illyria. He graced the triumph of his conqueror, Lucius Anicius, in 167 B.C., and died in captivity.
H

Hanno, 307, had successfully in the last war between the Carthaginians and Dionysius the Elder (368 B.c.). His failure to prevent the landing of Timoleon in 344 probably led to his recall and the substitution

of Mago in his place. He was afterwards put to death for conspiracy.
Harpalus, 393, mentioned only here.

Helicon, of Cyzicus, 41, for some time a resident at the court of Dionysius the Younger. Suidas S cntioda a work of his astrology.
Heracleides, 25, 71, 73, 81, 83, 95, 99, 101-107, 111-117, was commander of the mercenaries of Dionysius the Younger, and fled from Syracuse with Dion (Diodorus, xvi. 6, 4).
Hermocrates, 7, an eminent and nobly patriotic Syracusan at the time of the great Athenian expedition against the city (415-413 B.C.), and prominent in the narrative of Thucydides. After the destruction of the Athenian armament, he served his native
474

commanded

on

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city ably as admiral in conjunction with the Spartan fleet, but was deposed in 409 B.C. by a years d attempt to gain possession of Syracuse by force.
Herostratus, 179, mentioned only

here.
Hicetas, 123, 265, 277, 281, 283, : a uring e - orders following the death of Dion succeeded in establishing

himself as tyrant of Leontini.
Himera, 319, an important Greek city on the northern coast of Sicily, at the mouth of the river of the same name.
Hirtius, 453, Aulus H., a warm friend and supporter of Julius Caesar. He fell in gallantly leading an assault upon Antony's troops.
Hortensius, 181, 187, Quintus H. Hortatus, a son of the great orator Hortensius, though apparently cast off by his father on account of dissolute habits. He joined Caesar in 49 B.c, and served him in important commands. In 44 B.c. he held the rovince of Macedonia, and rutus was to succeed him.
Hostilius, 377, Aulus H. Mancinus, consul in 170, and pro-consul in Greece in 169 B.c., where he conducted a safe but inconclusive warfare against Perseus.

I

Iapygia. 53, the ancient (Greek) name for Calabria, the eastern eninsula of southern Italy. obably the Iapygian promontory is here meant.
Ion, 425, a military officer of Perseus.

J

Junia, 141, Junla Tertia, a half-sister of Brutus. She lived till 22 a.D., and left large legacies to the leading men of Rome.

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L

Labeo, 151, 241, Quintus Antistius

L., an eminent, jurist, and father
of a jurist more eminent still,
who lived under Augustus.
According to Appian (B.C. iv.
135), Labeo, unwilling to survive
Brutus, himself killed by a
trusty slave and buried in his tent.
Lacedaemon, 231, apparently a
town of Macedonia near Thessa-
lonica.
Laenas, Popilius, 159, 161, a
Roman senator, not otherwise
mentioned (cf. Appian, B.C.,
ii. 115 f.).
Leontini, 59, 85, 89, 301, 319, 339,
an ancient Greek city of Sicily,
between Syracuse and Catana,
about eight miles inland.
Lepidus, 169, 187, 455, Marcus

emilius L., trlumvir with Octa-
vius and Antony. He joined
the party of Caesar in 49, and was
praetor in Spain in 48 B.c.,
Caesar's magister equitum in
47 and 45, and his consular
colleague in 46. After Caesar's
murder he sided with Antony,
and as member of the trium-
virate received Spain and Nar-
bonese Gaul as his province,
then, in 40, Africa, where he
remained till 36 B.c., when he
was deposed from the triumvirate
He lived till 13 B.c.
Leptines, 123, 299,319, a Syracusan,
who aided Callippus in capturing
Rhegium in 351 B.C. exile
by Timoleon was in 342 B.c.
Leucadia (Leucas), 295, an island
in the Ionian sea, once a part of
the mainland of Acarnania.
Licinius, Publius, 377, P. L.
Crassus, consul in 171 B.0o.
Lilybaeum, 321, a promontory and

city at the extreme western end
of Sicily.
Lycon, the Syracusan, 121, not
otherwise mentioned. .
M

Maedica, 383, the territory of the
aedi, a powerful tribe in
western Thrace.
Mago, 303-315, commander of the
Carthaginian ficet and army in
Sicily in 344 B.c., succeeding
Hanno.
Mamercus (1), 359, son of Pytha-
goras. Cf. the Numa, xiii. 9.
Mamercus (2), 291, 335-351, tyrant
of Catana.

Marrucinians, 407, a warlike tribe
of central Italy, generally sharing
the fortunes of the neighbouring
Marsi and Peligni, and after
304 B.O. faithful allies of Rome.
Maso, 365, Calus Papirius M.,
consul in 231, died in 213 B.c.
Maximus (1), Fabius, 393, 447, see
Plutarch’s Life.
Maximus (2), Valerius, 247, compiler
of a large collection of anecdotes,
in the time of Augustus.
Mediolanum, 257, the chief clty of
Cisalpine Gaul, the modern
Milan.
Messala, 215-229, 245, 247, Marcus
Valerius M. Corvinus, born about
70 B.O., educated at Athens,
and a friend of Horace. He
attached himself to Cassius after
the death of Caesar, and fought
ably at Philippi. After the
death of Cassius he became a
supporter of Antony, and then of
Octavius (Augustus). He was
also a poet, historian, gram-
marian, and orator. He wrote

commentaries on the civil wars
after Caesar’s death.
Messana, 103, 123, 309. 335, 343,
an important city of Sicily, on
the strait between that island
and Italy, nearly opposite Rhe-
ium.

Milo, 395, 397, of Beroea, an officer
in the army of Perseus. He had
been successful against the Ro-
man consul Licinius Crassus in
171 B.c. From Pydna he fled to
Beroea, but soon surrendered the
lace to Aemilius.
tas, the Thessalian, 47-51, not
otherwise mentioned.
Mycalé, 421, a promontory in Asia
Minor, opposite the island of
Samos, where the Athenians
defeated the Persians in 479 B.o.
Mylae, 351, an ancient Greek city

on the northern coast of Sicily
about thirty miles west of
Messana, and generally depen-
dent on that city.
N

Nasica, see Scipio (2).

Neon (1), the Corinthian, 305,
mentioned only here.
Neon (2), the Boeotian, 417, one of
the principal authors of the
alliance between the Boeotians
and Perseus. After the battle
of Pydna he fell into the hands of
the Romans and was executed.
Nicolatis, the philosopher, 247,
probably Nicolaus Damascenus,

a famous historian and philosopher of the Augustan age.
Nisaeus, 263, not otherwise mentioned.

Norbanus, 209, an officer sent forward into Macedonia by Octavius and Antony (Appian, B.C., ix. 87).
Numantia, 415, a famous city in northern Spain. :
Nypsius, 87, 93, 99, not otherwise mentioned.

O

Octavius, Gnaeus, 423, 425, praetor in 168 B.C., consul in 165. He was assassinated in 162, while on an embassy in Syria.
Oreiis, 377, formerly called Histiaea, an ancient and important town in northern Euboea.
Oricus (Oricum), 435, a town and harbour of Illyria, a few miles south of Apollonia.
P

Pachynus, 53, the south-eastern promontory of Sicily.
Paeonians, 403, an ancient and powerful people of Upper Macedonia. ;
Pansa, 453, Caius Vibius P., a devoted friend of Julius Caesar, who made him governor of Cisalpine Gaul in 46, and consul for 43 B.C. with Hirtius.

Patara (Patareans), 131, 197, a flourishing city on the south-

western coast of Lycia in Asia
Minor, celebrated for its temple
and cult of Apollo.
Pelignians, 407, a warlike people in
central Italy, neighbours to the
Marsi and Samnites, and after
304 B.C. faithful allies of Rome.
Pella, 415, 417, was made the
capital of Macedonia by Philip IT.
and was the birthplace of
Alexander the Great. It was
some fifteen miles from the sea,
west of the river Axius.
ee Lucius, 203, mentioned only

ere.

Pelusium, 199, a strong frontier-
town on the eastern branch of
the Nile.
Perrhaebia, 393, a district in
northern Thessaly.
Pharax, 103, 287, 463, perhaps the
8ame person as the envoy from
Sparta to Athens mentioned by
Xenophon in Hell. vi. 5, 33, and
as the Pharax characterized by
Theopompus as most un-Spartan
ia his mode of life (Athenaeus,
Pp. 536 c).
Philip, 371-375, Philip V. of
Macedon, one of the ablest
Macedonian monarchs, reigned
220-179 B.c.
Philippus, Marcius, 457, Quintus
M.P., consul in 186, and again in
169 B.C., in which year he con-
ducted the war against Perseus,
handing over his command to
Aemilius Paulus in the foliowing
year. He was censor. with
Aemilius in 164 B.c.
Philippi, 179, 187, 207-211, a city of
Macedonia on the river Strymon,
formerly called Crenides, but

renamed by Philip II.
Philistus, 25-29, 39, 53, 77, 79, 299
a Syracusan, an eye-witness o
the events of the Athenian siege
of Syracuse in 415-413 B.o.,
which he described thirty years
later in a history of Sicily.
Plancus, 167, Lucius Munatius P.,
a friend and supporter of Julius
Caesar, and after Caesar's death
of Antony. He was consul in
DICTIONARY OF

42 B.c., ay Caesar had planned.
He abandoned the cause of
Antony in 32, and joined Octa-
vius, whose favour he thence-
forth enjoyed.
Plataea, 421, the little city of
Boeotia near which the allied
Greeks defeated the Persians in
479 B.C.
Pollis, the Spartan, 11, a Spartan
naval commander in 376 B.C.,
defeated by Chabrias of Athens.
Polybius, 185, 398, 395, 405, of

egalopolis in Arcadia, the
Greek historian of the Punic
Wars, born about 204 B.O.,
long resident in Rome, and an
intimate friend of the younger
Scipio, with whom he watched
the destruction of Carthage in
146 B.C.
Porcia, 153, 1655, 247, wife of
Marcus Brutus, daugher of Cato
the Younger by his first wife.
See the Cato Minor, Ixxiii. 4.
Poseidonius, 129, 405-418, of
Apameia in Syria, a Stoic
philosopher, pupil of Panaetius
of Athens, contemporary with
Cicero, who often speaks of him
and occasionally corresponded

with him.
Ptoeodorus, the Megarian, 35, mentioned only here.
Pydna, 397, 415, 419, a town of southern Macedonia, on the Thermatc gulf.
Pythagoras, the philosopher, 359, of Samos, flourished about 540-510 B.o. After extensive travels he settled in Crotona of southern Italy, and founded a numerous and mysterious sect.
R

Rhegium, 123, 281-285, 307, an important Greek city in' the Bruttian peninsula of southern Italy, nearly opposite to Messana in Sicily.
Samothrace, 419, 423, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about forty miles south of the Thracian coast.
PROPER NAMES

Scipio (1), the Great, 359, 367, ublius Cornelius 8. Africanus Major, conqueror of Hannibal. He lived 234-183 B.c.
Scipio (2), 393, 395, 399, 403, 418,

425, Publius Cornelius 8. Nasica

Corculum, celebrated as jurist

and orator, consul in 162,

censor in 159, and consul a

second time in 155 B.c. He

appears to have written commentaries on this campai under Aemilius, which is his first

appearance in history.

nee (3), 189, Publius Cornelius 8.

asica, adopted by Metellus
Pius and therefore often called
Metellus Scipio. He was Pom-
pey's colleague in the cone
or part of the year 52 B.0., an
became a determined foe of
aesar. He killed himself after
the battle of Thapsus (46 B.c.).
Scipio (4), 365, 413, 415, 447, 453,
55, 459, Publius Cornelius 8.
Aemilianus Africanus Minor,
younger son of Aemillus Paulus,
adopted by Publius Scipio, the
son of Scipio the Great, was
born about 185, and died mysteri-
ously in 129 B.o.
Servilia, 127, 129, 135, 137, 247,
after the death of her first hus-
band, the father of Brutus,
married Decimus Junius Silanus,
who was consul in 62 B.o.
Servilius, Marcus, 437, mentioned
only here.
Sestius, 133, Publius Sestius, a
supporter of Cicero in the
suppression of the Catilinarian
conspiracy, and active in securing
Cicero’s recall from exile. See
Cicero’s oration pro Sestio. In
the civil war, he sided first with
Pompey, and then with Caesar.
Silicius, Publius, 187, called Siliclus
Coronas by Dion Cassius (xlvi.
49), a Roman senator, appoin-
ted one of the judges to try the
murderers of Caesar. He ven-
tured to vote for the acquittal
of Brutus, and was therefore
proscribed and put to death by
the triumvirs.
Simonides, 3, 349, of Ceos, the

atest lyric poet of Greece,
Speusippus 35, 45, 47,77, a disti
peusippus, ’ ’ & in-
guished disciple of Plato, whom
e followed as head of the
Academy (347-839 B.O.).
Statilius, the Epicurean, 149, 151,
mentioned only here.
Strato, 245, mentioned only here.
T

Tauromenium, 285-289, a city on
the north-eastern coast of Sicily,
about midway between Catana
and Messana.
Thasos, 227, an island in the
northern part of the Aegean sea,
off the coast of Thrace, half a
day’s sail from Amphipolis.
Theomnestus, the Academic, 177,
a brother of the Aristus men-
tioned in chapter ii. 2, and
me Lege his successor as head
of the Academy.
Theopompus, 51, 271, of Chios, a
fe ow-pupil of Isocrates with
Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian
histories of Greece from 411 to
$394 B.o., and of Philip of Macedon
from $60 to 336 B.C.
Thessalonica, 231, an important
city at the head of the Thermaic
gulf, capital of the Roman
province of Macedonia.
Thurii, 299, 307, a Greek oy of
Lower Italy, on the gulf of
Tarentum, near the site of the
ancient Sybaris. Its coloniza-
tion in 444 B.c. was one of the
great projects of Pericles. See

the Nictas, v. 2.
Timaeus, 18, 29, 69, 77, 79, 271, 285, 345, 461, of Tauromenium, lived between 350 and 250 B.0. During a long exile in Athens he wrote a voluminous history of his native island from earliest time down to 264 B.0o.
Timon, 35, of Phlius, a philosopher of the Sceptic school, author of a famous satiric poem called Swii,

taught successfully at Chalcedon and Athens. He flourished about 280 B.O.
Timonides, the Leucadian, 47, 67, 69, 77, accompanied Dion to Sicily and fought on his side.
Timotheiis, 345, son of Conon the great Athenian admiral. He was made general in 378 B.c., and about 360 was at the height of iia popularity and glory.
Titinius, 223, 225, a centurion.

His story is told also in Appian (B.C. iv. 113) and Valerius Maximus (ix. 9, ext. 2).
Trebonius, 163, 169, Caius T., tribune of the peo fe in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the first triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul and was loaded with favours by him, but joined his murderers.
Tubero, 367, 427, 4338, Quintus Aelius T., son-in-law of Aemilius Paulus. Cf. Valerius Maximus, iv. 4 ext. 9.
V

Vatinlus, 181, Publius V., tribune of the people in 59 B.O., and a aid creature of Caesar. After

harsalus, Caesar gave him high
command in the Kast. He was
compelled to surrender his army
to Brutus, but did not forfeit the
favour of Octavius and Antony.
Velia, 345, 457, see Hlea.
Volumnius, Publius, 235, 241, 243,
mentioned only here.
x

Xanthus, 131, 195, 197, the largest
and most prosperous city of
Lycia in Asia Minor, at the
mouth of the river of the same
name.
Zz

Zacynthus, 47, 49, 119, 121, an
island off the western coast of
Peloponnesus, the modern Zante.
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY R. CLAY AND SONS, LTD., BRUNSWICK STREET,
STAMFORD STREET, S.E. I, AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK,

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PLUTARCH’S |
LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
Vil
DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR
}
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
MOMLXVII
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SS SN SIE ae YS

First printed 1919

Reprinted 1928, 1949, 1938, 1967
Printed in Great Britain

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CRRSAR ue ae Ss Aa ee a ew Oo A ee ee
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES 6.-- 6s 61)
PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agree- ment between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the inanuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the Lives presented in this volume are con- tained in the two oldest and most authoritative manuscripts—the Codex Sangermanensis (S*) and the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), or in the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F*). Their text there- fore rests principally on the Paris manuscripts Nos. 1671, 1673, and 1674 (ACD), although in a few instances weight has been given to readings from the Codex Matritensis (M*), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux and his editions of the Demosthenes and Cicero. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a

full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo), or to the rather inaccessible text of the Lives by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner Library of Greek and Latin texts (Vol. IIL, Fase. I. was published in 1915). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and_ utilized, including those of the Cicero and Caesar by Professor Long. And more or less use has been made of the follow- ing works: Graux, Vie de Démosthene, and Vie de Cicéron, Paris, 1883 and 1882; Holden, Plutarch’s

Demosthenes, Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1893; Gudeman, Sources of Plutarch's Cicero, Philadelphia, 1902; Sihler, Cicero of Arpinum, New Haven, 1914, and Annals of Caesar, New York, 1911.
B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
November, 1918.
Vil

ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES

IN THIS

EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

OF THE GREEK

VoLuME I.
(1) Theseus and Romulus.
Comparison.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
Comparison.
VouuME II.

(4) Themistocles and
Camillus.
(9) Aristides and Cato the
Elder.
Comparison.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.
Comparison.
VouumeE III.

(5) Pericles and Fabius Max-

imus.
Comparison.
(14) Nicias and Crassus.
Comparison.
VoLuME IV.
(6) Alcibiades and Cortola-
nus.

Comparison.
(12) Lysander and Sulla.
Comparison.
VoLuME V.

(16) Agesilaiis and Pompey.
Coinparison.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
Comparison.
vill

LIVES.

VouumE VI.
(22) Dion and Brutus.
Comparison.
(7) Timoleon and Aemilius
Paulus.
Coniparison.
Vouume VII.

(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
Comparison.
(17) Alexander and Julius
Caesar.
VoutumE VIII.

(15) Sertorius and Kumenes.
Comparison.
(18) Phocion and Cato the
Younger.
VoLuME IX.
(21) Demetrius and Antony.
Comparison.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
VoLUME X.

(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and
Tiberius and Caius
Gracchus.
Comparison.

(10) Philopoemen and Flam-

ininus.

Comparison.
VoutumeE XI.
(24) Aratus.

(23) Artaxerxes.

(25) Galba.

(26) Otho.

THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE
PARALLEL LIVES.
(1) Theseus and Romulus.

(2) Lycurgus ind Numa.

(3) Solon and Publicola.

(4) Themistocles and Camillus.

(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
(10) Philopoemen and Flamininus.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
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(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.
(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius
Gracchus.

(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.

(21) Demetrius and Antony.

(22) Dion and brutus.

AHMOSOENH2

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TI. “O pév yparas to eri TH vixn THs ‘Odvp-
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1 sav Sintenis', and Graux with M®; rh».

Paris
Edition,
a. 1624, p.
846

DEMOSTHENES

I. Tue author of the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at Olympia,! whether he was Euripides, as the prevailing report has it, or some other, says, Sosius,? that the first requisite to a man’s happiness is birth in “a famous city’’; but in my opinion, for a man who would enjoy true happiness, which depends for the most part on character and disposition, it is no disad- vantage to belong to an obscure and mean city, any more than it is to be born of a mother who is of little stature and without beauty. For it were laughable to suppose that Iulis, which is a little part of the smal] island of Ceos, and Aegina, which a certain Athenian was urgent to have removed as an eye-sore of the Piraeus,? should breed good actors and poets, but should never be able to produce a man who is just, independent, wise, and inagnanimous. The arts, indeed, since their object is to bring business or fame, naturally pine away in obscure and mean cities; but virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, takes root in any place, if she finds there a generous nature and a spirit that shuns no labour. Wherefore we also, if we fail to live

1 See the Alcibiudes, chapter xi.

2 One of Plutarch’s Roman friends. See the note on the 7'heseus, i. 1. 3 See the Pericles, vill. 5.

‘The great poet Simonides was of Ceos, and the great
actor Polus of Aegina.
3

PLUTARCHS LIVES

ppovety ws Set kai Brody EAAELTOMED, TOUTO TH
TMLKPOTNTL THS mat pioos, aX avtois Sixalws
aval no ope.
II. Té pévto. cuvtaki vroBeRAnpévw Kai
istopiav éE ov mpoxeipwv ovd oixeiwy, adda
Eevev Te TOY TONGY Kal over Tr appeveov év
eT EpOLs cuviotoay dvayvodLatov, 7@ OVTL xpn

TP@TOV Urdpxew Kal pddiora THY TOW Ev-
Soxtpov kal ptrdoxadov cal ToAvavOpwTop, as
BiBrtov Te TavtodaTav adOoviav EXOV, Kat
é6aa TOUS ypagovras vagevyoura TwWTNpPLA pon wns
emupavertépav etAnde mioTu UToAapBaven a aKon
Kal StarruvOaropevos, 11) TOAA@Y und' avaryKaiwy
évdeés amodidoin TO Epyov. eis 5é pexpav
oixouvTes ToALW, Kal iva py HLLKpOTEpa, yevntar
piroxwpodvres, év 6é Poun Kal tals wept THY
"Tradiav deat ptBais ov axXodNs ovons yupva-
CecOar wept THY "Pwpaixny duddexTov vO ypELav
TodtTiK@y Kal Tov sta dtdocodiav mrnoLa-
CovTwy, ore ToTe Kal TOppw THS HAtKias noEa-
pea 'Pwuaixots Ypappacwy evtuyxavel. Kal
T pay pa Javpacrov per, GND arn bes emaoXopen.
ov yap obTws éx TOV ovouaToy Ta mpdypara
ouvieval Kat ue piven ouveBarver 1) nuiy, Os €K TOV
T PAYLAT@V ALOS ve TOs elXopev eumerpiav érra-
xorovbety Oe avta' Kal Tots ovopact. KaAXous
dé 'Popairis amayyehias Kal TaXous ai Baver Bar
Kal peTapopas ovopaTav ral appovias Kal TOV
dddwv ols o AOyos ayddNETAaL, YapLevy pev rryoU-
' cumerpiav. . . 5: abrd with M4 and Graux: éuweipias...
81a Taira (Bekker, é av... éureiplas).
4

DEMOSTHENES, 1. 3-11. 3

and think as we ought, will justly attribute this, not to the smallness of our native city, but to ourselves.

II. However, when one has undertaken to compose a history based upon readings which are not readily accessible or even found at home, but in foreign countries, for the most part, and scattered about among different owners, for him it is really necessary, first and above all things, that he should live in a city which is famous, friendly to the liberal arts, and populous, in order that he may have all sorts of books in plenty, and may by hearsay and enquiry come into possession of all those details which elude writers and are preserved with more conspicuous fidelity in the memories of men. He will thus be prevented from publishing a work which is deficient in many, and even in essential

things. But as for me, I live in a small city, and
I prefer to dwell there that it may not become
smaller still; and during the time when I was in
Rome and various parts of Italy I had no leisure
to practise myself in the Roman language, owing
to my public duties and the number of my pupils
in philosophy. It was therefore late and when |
was well on in years that I began to study Roman
literature. And here my experience was an astonish-
ing thing, but true. For it was not so much that
by means of words I came to a complete under-
standing of things, as that from things I somehow
had an experience which enabled me to follow
the meaning of words. But to appreciate the
beauty and quickness of the Roman style, the
figures of speech, the rhythm, and the other
embellishments of the language, while I think it
5

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

peBa KL OUK Tepes" 7 dé pos TOUTO pereTn
Kab doKnows ouK Ev XEpTS, GNN ols Teot Teton
Te oXoM) Kal TQ THS @pas éTl TPOS Tas TOLAUTAS
ETL a PEt prrorepas.
III. Aco «al ypapovtes év TD BiBrLw TOUT,
TOV TApAaAA/AwWY Biwv dvTr TéuTT@, Tept An-
pooobévous Kai Kixépwvos, amo tov wpdkewy Kat
TOV TOATEL@Y Tas dUEIS aUT@Y Kal Tas dta-
Oécets mwpos adAjAAS erro xetroneba, TO 6é TOUS
hoyous avreteT ale Kat arropatved Bat TOTEPOS
OLov 7) " SeLvoTepos eimeiy, edo open. " Kay yp
ws pyaw 6 "lwv, "1 berdivos év yépow Bia," }
Ny o mwepittos ev atract Kexidsos ayvonoas éve-
avievoato avyKptotv Tod AnpooBévous Kal Kuxé-
pwvos ékeveyxetv. GdrG, yap lows, ét TAvTOS
HY TO Dvd cavToy" EXEL TPOVELPOV, OVK av
éOoKeL Tporrary La. Oetov elvat.
Anpoc Bev yap Kal Kixépava, TOV aurov
EOLKE TRATTOV aT apxis 0 Sai pov TONAAS jev
epBanreiv els THY puow aur ov TOV OMOLOTHT OY,
@omEep TO Perorepov Kal prredevepov ev TH
TonTEla, ™ pos dé KLVOUVOUS Kal TONELOUS aTON-
pov, TONG oy avapl€at Kal TOV TUX POD. &vo
yep ETEPOUS ovK av eupel van Sond prtopas eK

pev adofov Kal pK p@v iayvpous Kal peyarous
YEVOMEVOUS, TporKpovaavTas 6é Bactrebou Kal
TUPAVVOLS, Ouyatépas & aToBaXovtas, é exTe OVTAS
6é THs matpidos, KaterOdvtas S€ peta TepAs,
d Kart . . . Bla an iambic trimeter (Nauck, 7rag. Graec. Frag." p. 744), restored by Reiske: Kaxel. .. "Iwv, deApivos

. Bla (for in this attempt the dolphin's might would be on
dry land).
6

847

DEMOSTHENES, 11. 3-171. 3

a graceful accomplishment and one not without its pleasures, still, the careful practice necessary for attaining this is not easy for one like me, but appropriate for those who have more leisure and whose remaining years stil] suffice for such pursuits.

III. Therefore, in this fifth book! of my Parallel Lives, where I write about Demosthenes and Cicero, I shall examine their actions and their political careers to see how their natures and dispositions compare with one another, but I shall make no critical comparison of their speeches, nor try to show which was the more agreeable or the more powerful orator. " For useless," as Ion says, "is a dolphin's might upon dry ground," a maxim which Caecilius, who goes to excess in everything, forgot when he boldly ventured to put forth a comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero. But really it is possible that, if the "Know thyself" of the oracle? were an easy thing for every man, it would not be held to be a divine injunction.

In the case of Demosthenes and Cicero, then, it would seem that the Deity originally fashioned them on the same plan, implanting in their natures many similarities, such as their love of distinction, their love of freedom in their political activities, and their lack of courage for wars and dangers, and uniting in them also many similarities of fortune. For in my opinion two other orators could not be found who, from smal] and obscure begin- nings, became great and powerful; who came into conflict with kings and tyrants; who lost each a daughter; who were banished from their native cities and returned with honour; and who, after

1 See the note on the Dion, ii. 4. 2 At Delphi,

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

amoépavtas & avdis cai AndOévtas bro TeV
ToOAELioVv, dua dSé Tavoapéevy TH TOV TOALTOV
éhevOepia tov Biov ovycatactpéavtas' woTe,
ei yévotto TH hvoer Kal TH TUX KAOaTrEp TEXVI-
Tails autdrAa, yarevas av StaxptOjvat toTeEpov
avTn Tols TpOTrOLS 7) TOS Tpaywaciv EKELYN TOUS
dvépas opototépovs ameipyactat. dextéov Oé
qept Tov MpecButépou mpoTeEpov.
1V. Anpoobévns o tratnp Anpoabévous hv peév
Tav Kadk@v Kal aya0av avipav, ws toTopet
Ocorroptros, émexanreito b€ payaipotroLos épya-
aTiplov exw péya Kat SovAovs TExXViTAS TOUS
TouTo mpatrovras. & 6 Aiayivns o pntwp eipnKe
Tept Ths pntpos, ws ek LvAwvos Tivos én' aitia
mpodocias dhevryovtos €& aoteos yeyovoe cat Bap-
Bapov yuvatxos, ovK Exopev ettrety eit' adnOas
elpnxev elte Bracdynuav Kat Katarevdopevos.
atrorerdeis & o Anpoobévns vireo Tov tTatpos
émTaéTns év evTropia (putKpoy yap atréduTreV 1)
CULTATA Tinols AVTOU THS OvoLas TrevTEKaibeKa
TAAAVTOV) UTO TaV éTLTPOTMV HOLKHON, TA [eV
voodioapmévoyv, Ta © apedrnoavtar, WaTE Kal TOV
d:dacKkddXwv avtod Tov picOdv aTrooTEpijcat. did
TE 61) TOUTO TOV éupEer@v Kal TPOTHNKOVTOY érEv-
Oépp racdi paOnudtwv atraidevtos doxel yevéea Oat
Kat 1a THY TOD cMpaTos aabéveray Kal OpvYnr,
ov Tpoieu"evns Tots Trovots THS "NTPOS avTov, ovdE
mpocBialouevov TOY Taldaywyav. nv yap é&
APXS KATLAXVOS KAL voTwdNS, Kal TV NoLdopoL-
8
DEMOSTHENES, 111. 3-iv. 3

taking to flight again and being captured by their
enemies, ended their lives as soon as their country-
men ceased to be free. So that, if there should
be a competition between nature and fortune, as
between artists, it would be difficult to decide
whether the one made the men more alike in their
characters, or the other in the circumstances of their
lives. But I must speak of the more ancient first.
IV. Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes,
belonged to the better class of citizens, as Theo-
pompus tells us, and was surnamed Cutler, because
he had a large factory and slaves who were skilled
workmen in this business. But as for what Aeschines

the orator says of the mother of Demosthenes,}
namely, that she was a daughter of one Gylon,
who was banished from the city on a charge of
treason, and of a barbarian woman, I cannot say
whether he speaks truly, or is uttering slander
and lies. However, at the age of seven, Demos-
thenes was left by his father in affluence, since
the total value of his estate fell little short of
fifteen talents ;? but he was wronged by his guar-
dians, who appropriated some of his property to
their own uses and neglected the rest, so that
even his teachers were deprived of their pay. It
was for this reason, as it seems, that he did not
pursue the studies which were suitable and proper
for a well-born boy, and also because of his bodily
weakness and fragility, since his mother would
not permit him to work hard in the _palaestra,
and his tutors would not force him to do so. For
from the first he was lean and sickly, and_ his
1 On the Crown, §§ 171 f.
2 A talent was equivalent to about £235, or $1,200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money.

9

or

to

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4 > , N , 3 Si a“
pévny émwvupiav, tov Butadov, eis TO copa
/ ld es a] , a
NEyeTaL skKaTTOLEVOS UTO TaY Taidwy aBfeiv.
$ \ € / e \ ” / ’ \
nV 6€ o Batados, ws peev EVLOL dacty, AVANTNS
n é ‘ 4 ral
TOV KATEAYOTWV, KAL OpapaTioy Eis TOUTO KwLO-
a“ N >] i /
Sav avtov ’Avtidavyns tweToinkev. vioe dé tives
wn \ fA
@S TOLNTOUV TpYdepa Kat Trapotvia ypadovTos
aA 4 a N a
tov Batadou péuvnviat. Sdoxet 6€ Kai TeV ovK

a n a , /
EVTIpPEeTO@V TL AEVOHVAL TOV GHUATOS LOPLaY Tapa
a > wn 4 n e 9
tots Attixois tote KkadreicoGart Batadros. o 6
> nw \ wn Zc wn“ g
Apyas (kat tovto yap dace T@ Anpoabéver
, , xX \ N 4
yeveoOat Tapwvum“ov) Tpos TOV TpOTTO!, ws
/ \ \ U
Onpiwdn Kat wiKpov é€7TéOyn: Tov yap oduv Evtot
a nw “ > A ‘N
TOV TOLNT@VY Upyav ovoudlovoivy’ Tpos Tov
/ a /
AOYOV, WS GAVL@AVTA TOUS AKpowpévoUS’ Kal yap
Apyas Tovvoua Tointns nv vopwy Tovnpayv Kal
/ a ,
apyaréwv. Kat Tavta pev TavTy.}
riya be \ \ f e a b) \ 5) A
V. Tis d€ apos Tous Noyous opens apxXnV avT@
Ah 4 ~ cs
hace totavtTnv yeveoPar. Kaddtotpatou tov pi)-
4 N ’ a
Topos aywrivecbar tHv Tept OQpwrov Kptiow év
nw 4 4 > 4 n /
T@ SLKATTNPLW p“EXNOVTOS TY mTpocdokta THs diKns
, \ a ef ? b] aA
peydAn ova TE THY TOD PHTOpos SUvamuLy, avOovVTOS
U , el 60 \ PS \ \ a 5
TOTE padtota TH OOEN, Kal dta THY TPAELY OvVaaY
, , e / a
TeptBontov. axovoas ovv o Anpoalévns tav
4 a A
didackddAwy Kal Tov Talbaywoyov cuvtTi Gepéevwr
a 4 wn f + nw
TH OlKn Tapatuyelyv, Everce TOY EavTOU Traiba-
NX 4 - 4
ywyov Seopevos Kal mpoOvpuovpmevos OTwsS avToV

1 After these words Bekker retains the xara MAdtwva which Coraés, Sintenis, and Graux, after Wyttenbach, reject asa gloss. Cf, Plato, Symposium, p. 220, ec.

opprobrious surname of Batalus is said to have been given him by the boys in mockery of his physique. Now Batalus, as some say, was an effeminate flute-player, and Antiphanes wrote a farce in which he held him up to ridicule for this. But some speak of Batalus as a poet who wrote voluptuous verses and drinking songs. And it appears that one of the parts of the body which it is not decent to name was at that time called Batalus by the Athenians. But the name of Argas (for they tell us that Demosthenes had this nickname also) was given him either with reference to his manners, which were harsh and savage, the snake being called “argas’’ by some of the poets; or with reference to his way of speaking, which was distressing to his hearers, Argas being the name of a composer of vile and disagreeable songs. So much on this head.

V. The origin of his eager desire to be an orator, they tell us, was as follows. Callistratus the orator was going to make a plea in court on the question of Oropus,'! and the trial was eagerly awaited, not only because of the ability of the orator, who was then at the very height of his reputation, but also because of the circumstances of the case, which was notorious. Accordingly, when Demos- thenes heard the teachers and tutors agreeing among themselves to be present at the trial, with great importunity he persuaded his own tutor to

1 In 366 B.c. Oropus, a town on the confines of Attica and Boeotia, was wrested from Athens by the Thebans. Sub- sequently there was « trial for treason at Athens, in which Callistratus the orator and Chabrias the general figured, but the details of the trial are obscure.

/ \ \ b ; e 8 Vv X \
ayayot Tpos THY axpoacw. o 8 éywy pds TOUS
x 4 ,
avoiyovtas Ta dtxactyHpta Snuocious cuvnberap,
? a ¢ a ,
evropnoe Ywopas év 7 KaBi}mEVvOS 0 Tais ddynrAwWS
AKOUGETAL TOV REYOuevWY. eEvNLEP)GaVTOS 6é
a / A
tod Kaddotpatou Kat Gaupacbévtos UTepduas,
\ / i a
éxetvou pev eCnrAwoe THv do€av, opwy mpoTEuTo-

\ a “A \ f aA
Levoy UT TY TOMMY Kal paxapLlopevov, TOD
5€ Aoyou padrov ePavyace Kal KaTevonae THY
1 yetpotabar Kat tiAacever
/ ee see \ \ , \
TepuxoTos. O0ev édcas Ta NoiTa pabiuata Kal
f \ \
Tas Tatiixas StatpiBas, avTOS auTOY HoKer Kal
a if A n~
Suemovet tais pedrétas, ws av Tov AeyovTwY
9
égouevos Kat autos. éxpnaato 6é ‘Ioaiw pds
a , ?
Tov AOyov Udnyntn, Kaitwep ‘laoxpatous Torte
sy 7 /
gTYOAdoVTOS, ELTE, WS TIVES NEYOVGI, TOV MPLA “EvOV
/
picOov “Iooxpate: tedkécar pn Suvdapuevos, tas
, a \ \ » 4 ” va a
Séxa pvas, dra tHv opdaviav, elite wadrov Tod
\ , f a
"Iaaiov tov doyov ws Spactipiov Kai tavodp-
? /
yov émi tHv xpelay amrodexomevos. “Kppemaos
/ road
dé dno ddecToTaAs vTopYipaciw évtuyeiy év
\ /
ols éyéypamto tov AnpooBérny cuveryorakévat
HWratwve Kat wretotov ets Tovs NOyous w@pEdF-
, \ i f \
oGat, KrnowBiov 6€ péuyntat Réyortos Tapa
a , ,
Kadrtov tot Suvpaxouaiouv Kai tivwv AGAXwWY TAS
’ , / \ \ > A ?
Icoxpatovs téxvas Kal Tas “AdKiOduavtos Kpida
s N / n
NaBovta tov AnuoobEevnv Karapadeiv.
e a a“
VI. (Os yotv ev ArtKia yevopevos tots émt-
Tpomots pEato buxalecGar Kal Noyoypadeiv én’
’ \ € ’
to XUV @MS TAaAVTAa
1 os wavta Graux with M®: awdvra.

take him to the hearing. This tutor, having an acquaintance with the public officials who opened the courts, succeeded in procuring a place where the boy could sit unseen and listen to what was said. Callistratus won his case and was extravagantly adinired, and Demosthenes conceived a desire to emulate his fame, seeing him escorted on his way by the multitude and congratulated by all; but he had a more wondering appreciation of the power of his oratory, which was naturally adapted to subdue and master all opposition. Wherefore, bidding farewell to his other studies and to the usual pursuits of boyhood, he practised himself laboriously in declamation, with the idea that he too was to be an orator. He also employed Isaeus as his guide to the art of speaking, although Isocrates was lecturing at the time; either, as some say, because he was an orphan and unable to pay Isocrates his stipulated fee of ten minas,! or because he preferred the style of Isaeus for its effectiveness and adaptability in actual use. But Hermippus says that he once came upon some anonymous memoirs in which it was recorded that Demosthenes was a pupil of Plato and got most help from him in his rhetorical studies. He also quotes Ctesibius as saying that from Callias the Syracusan and certain others Demosthenes secretly obtained the rhetorical systems of Isocrates and Alcidamas and mastered thei.

VI. However this may be, when Demosthenes came of age he began to bring suits against his guardians and to write speeches attacking them.

1 Equivalent to about £40, or $200, with five or six times the purchasing power of modern money.

avtous ToAAaS dtadvcEls Kal Tadwvd.iKias evpi-
\ \ /
oKOVTAas, éyyupVvacdpevos, KATA TOV MovKvdidny,
va / ’ a

Tais peréTais ovK aKivdUVwWS OVS apy@s, KaTEv-
/ > a \ Oe \ 10 10
Tuxnoas éxT@pak&at pev ovdé ToANOaTOY HovYNnON
a ’ lA N \ \
Hépos TOY TaTpMwY, TOApay 5é TpPOS TO Aéyev
Kal cvvnbeav ixavyv AaBwv Kal yevoapevos THs
aA / \ /
Wept Tovs ay@vas dtroTipias Kat duvapews ére-
/ \ \
YElpNoev Els METOY TrapLévat KAL TA KOLVAa TpaT-
\ / rd \ b] rd
tev. Kal Kabatep Aaopédovta tov ’Opyopéviov
iv, / \ \ , ,
Aéyouat KayeELav TIVA OTANVOS auvVopevoy Spo-
Hols paxkpolts xpholat Tov LaTpaV KEdXEvodYTMD,
ssp ee 4 \ ir4 > / ~
ei@ ovtws dtatrovncarta Thy EEw éemiPécOat Tots
/ a aA ,
aoTepavitals ay@ou. Kal ToY akpwv yevéobar
SorLryospouwy, ovT@s TO AnpodOéver cuveBn TO
Xx p lad = é Teed ”
A ig a 207 bd
TpaTtov étavoplwaews evexa TOV idiwy aTrodvYTL
\
Tpos TO A€yetv, €x TOUTOV KTHTAapévw SEeLVOTHTA
, “a al
Kal Ovvapuv év Tois ToXrLTLKOls dn Kaladmep
aTepavitats ay@ot TpwTevey TOV amd TOD By-
patos aywyilouévov TorLTOV.
f a a
Kaitot To ye mpw@tov évtuyxavwv TO dHuw
, / \ a Be os
GopvBots wepiémimte Kal KaTeyeraTo Ou anOeay,
Tov oyou auyKexXvaat Tals Tepiodots Kal Be-
4 a nm
BacavicOat tots évOuynpace mixpa@s ayay Kal
/ a /
Kataxopws Soxovvtos. Av Oé TLS, ws EoLKe, Kal
A > / x , b] 4 \ /
doris acbévera Kai yAwTTNs adodgea cal Tvev-
, \ a a
patos KoAoBoTnS émiTapaTTovaa Tov vodv TOY
Neyouévwv TO SitacTacbat Tas Teptodovs. TédOS
A is
8 aroctavta Tov diyov Kal peuBouevoy év Ilee-

They devised many evasions and new trials, but Demosthenes, after practising himself in these exercises, as Thucydides says,! not without toil and danger, won his cause, although he was able to recover not even a small fraction of his patrimony. However, he acquired sufficient practice and confidence in speaking, and got a taste of the distinction and power that go with forensic contests, and therefore essayed to come forward and engaye in public matters. And just as Laomedon the Orchomenian—so we are told— practised long-distance running by the advice of his physicians, to ward off some disease of the spleen, and_ then, after restoring his health in this way, entered the great games and became one of the best runners of the long course, so Demosthenes, atter applying himself to oratory in the first place for the sake of recovering his private property, by this means acquired ability and power in speaking, and at last in public business, as it were in the great games, won the first place among the citizens who strove with one another on the bema.

And yet when he first addressed the people he was interrupted by their clamours and laughed at for his inexperience, since his discourse seemed to them confused by long periods and too harshly and immoderately tortured by formal arguments. He had also, as it would appear, a certain weakness of voice and indistinctness of speech and shortness of breath which disturbed the sense of what he said by disjoining his sentences. And finally, when he had forsaken the assembly and was wandering about

1 Kal dumeipdrepot eyévorto meta Kivdtvwv Tas meAETaS ToOLOU- neva: (i. 18, 3 of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians).

r5

to

parel dv’ adupiayv Evvopos) Opiacros 78m Tavu
YEpon | Geacdpuevos _émreTinnaey, OTL TOV ovyov
EXeov OM“oLtoTAaTOV TO Tlepexréous Tpodiboaty vm
aTohplas kal paraxtas eQuTOV, ove TOUS dxAous

UptaTdpevos ev0apa@s, oUTE TO Gau"a Tpos
TOUS ayavas éEaptuopevos, GANA TpUdH TepLopav
Mapatvopevov.
VIL. Wladiv b€ roté hac éxrecovtos avtod
Kat amtovtos oixade auyKxeyupévou? xal Bapéws
épovtos émakorovOjocat LatTvpov Tov vVroKpiTHy
€m 677) 0€LOV 6vTa Kat cuverdeiv. odupopevov dé
TOU Anpoo Gevous Toos avTov GTt TavTwy dido-
TOVWTATOS WV 7 Ov AeyovTwy Kak puxpod déwv
KaTAVvahw@Keva THY TOU TOMATOS dx une ELS TOUTO
xa pe OUK EVEL T pos TOV Ofpov, ara KparTaray-
TES avOpe rot vavtat Kai dpadeis aK OvOVTAL Kal
KaTéyouat TO Biyua, Tapopatas 8 autos, ’AdnOH
Néyers, @ Anpoabeves,” havat Tov Latupor, “arr
éy@ TO aitvov Lao ope Bees ay po. TOV Eupe-
mi8ov TW, pyoewv y Lopoxreous ededyjons el TTeELy
amTO oTOpatos. ettrovtos bé TOU Anioa Gevous
peTaraBovta tov Latvpov obtw wrdcar Kal
SueEeAOety év Oe: mpétovtT: Kai cvabéces THv
avuTny phow wad dros /erepay T@ Anpoobever
pavivar. meta Jévra, oy da-ov ex TAS UToKpiTEws
TO NOYO KOo Ov Kal XapeTos TporErTe, fuLK pov
iyjoacbar Kal TO pndev evar THY aoKyot a [e-
AovvtTe THs mpodhopas Kal d:abécews TOV eEyo-
pévwv. €k TOUTOV KaTdyELoV péy oiKodouncat
1 guyxexuuevou Graux with M4; guykexaduppévou (with
muffled head).
16

dejectedly in the Piraeus, Eunomus the Thriasian,
who was already a very old man, caught sight of him
and upbraided him because, although he had a style
of speaking which was most like that of Pericles,
he was throwing himself away out of weakness and
lack of courage, neither facing the multitude with
boldness, nor preparing his body for these forensic
contests, but suffering it to wither away in slothful
negtiect.
VII. At another time, too, they say, when he had been rebuffed by the people and was going off homewards disconcerted and in great distress, Satyrus the actor, who was a familiar acquaintance of his, followed after and went indoors with him. Demos- thenes lamented to him that although he was the most

laborious of all the orators and had almost used up the vigour of his body in this calling, he had no favour with the people, but debauchees, sailors, and illiterate fellows were listened to and held the bema, while he himself was ignored. “ You are right, Demosthenes,” said Satyrus, “ but I will quickly remedy the cause of all this, if you will con- sent to recite off-hand for me some narrative speech from Euripides or Sophocles.’’ Demosthenes did so, whereupon Satyrus, taking up the same speech after him, gave it such a form and recited it with such appropriate sentiment and disposition that it appeared to Demosthenes to be quite another. Per- suaded, now, how much of ornament and grace action lends to oratory, he considered it of little or no use for a man to practise declaiming if he neglected the delivery and disposition of his words. After this, we are told, he built a subterranean

17

PLUTARCH S3biyv is

A \ nA
pedAeTHTHpLoV, 0 On StecwleTo Kal Kal nuas,
a \ ,
evTavda b€ TAaVTWS MeV EXaTTNS Nuépas KATLOVTA
\ , \ a
TAATTELY THY VTOKpLOW Kai SiaTovEly THY huvyp,
, \ \ wn ¢ A ? \ wn ,
mo\Adkis d€ Kai pnvas ERs Sv0 Kal Tpéeis ouva-
, fol fal
mre, Evpovpevoy THs Kepadns Oatepov pépos
“ / , A
vmép Tov noe BovrAopevw wavy TpoedOeiv evdé-
yeobar bt aicyvvny.
‘ \
VIII. Ov pany dddXa Kal Tas mpos TOUS éxTOS
9 ‘4 ‘ f \ 9 / ¢ f
evtevéels Kal oyous Kal aaxyorlas vi7obéceEts
3 a \ b \ a a >
ETTOLELTO KAL adoppas Tov dtrAoTOVElW. aATrad-
\ A
Nayels yap avT@v TaytoTa KaTéBatvev els TO
4 \ i, / sf > fal
pereTnTyptov, Kali OveEner Tas Te mpdEes edeEis
° \ wn y
Kal TOUS UTEP AUT@V aTrOoAOYIapoUS. eTL b€ TOUS
/ /
Noyous ols mapéTvye Aeyouévots, avarapPavov
‘ > , ~ \ /
ElS EAUTOV ELS YYWpAS aViyye Kat Teplobous, émrapv-
\ \
opAwdets TE TaVTOOATTIAS Kal peTappdcels exaLvo-

fa) / e ° \
TOMEL TMV ELpNnuevwy Ud’ ETEpOV Tpos EauTOV +}
A | /
id’ avtov Tadiv mpos adrov. €x ToUvToOU do€av
3 e 3 b] \ ? 5] 3 3 ,
ELYEY WS OVK EVvpUNS WY, AAN Ex TrOVOU GUYKEL-
/ . , , id
pévn ServoTnTts Kai duvdmer Xpwpevos. €ddxKeEL TE
A 2 , \ \ , fod
TOUTOU ONMELOV EivaL péya TO wy Padlws aKovcai
/ aN a , 3 \ \
Tiva Anpoalévous EmTl KALPOU NEYOVTOS, AXAA Kal
, 3 9 t , a ,
xkadnpevov €v exkdAnoia ToddaKis TOD Snpou
a a“ > \
KAXODVTOS OVOpaTTL wn TapedOelv, EL pn TUYOL
, > a“
TeppovTik@s Kal TrapEedKEevacpévos. Els TODTO
n fal 4
d€ adAOL TE TOAAOL TOV Sypaywyav éxreva Lop
9 , \ , 3 ie 3 lA SYA
avrov, kat IIlvGéas éemickwmtwy edXdUXViwY Edn-
18

study, which, in fact, was preserved in our time,]! and into this he would descend every day without exception in order to form his action and cultivate his voice, and he would often remain there even for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head in order that shame might keep him from going abroad even though he greatly wished to do so.

VIII. Nor was this all, but he would make his interviews, conversations, and business with those outside, the foundation and starting point for eager toil. For as soon as he parted from his associates, he would go down into his study, and there would go over his transactions with them in due order, and the arguments used in defence of each course. And still further, whatever speeches he chanced to hear delivered he would take up by himself and reduce to propositions and pcriods, and he would in- troduce all sorts of corrections and changes of ex- pression into the speeches made by others against himself, or, contrariwise, by himself against others. Consequently it was thought that he was not a man of good natural parts, but that his ability and power were the product of toil. And there would seem to be strong proof of this in the fact that Demosthenes was rarely heard to speak on the spur of the moment, but though the people often called upon him by name as he sat in the assembly, he would not come forward unless he had given thought to the question and was prepared to speak upon it. For this, many of the popular leaders used to rail at him, and Pytheas, in particular, once told him scoflingly that his arguments smelt of lamp-

1 An erroneous tradition identifies this with the choragic monument of Lysicrates (the ‘‘ Lantern of Demosthenes ”).

3 “~ \ a 9
4 cev oe avtov Ta evOupHnuata. TovTOV pev OUv
A - \
nueipato mixpas o Anpoobévns: “OU tadTa
F230 es BeOS \ ea (aye e ,
yap, elev, “éuot Kat coi, ® Ilva, o XvYVOS
- 39 N N ‘ ” bd] -
guvolse.” mpos S€ TOUS AAXOUS Ov TravTdTacLD
> la
ny e€apvos, adr ovTEe ypatras oi’T adypada
a / \
Koutoy A€yetv @pmoroyer. Kai pévTo. OnpotiKov
’ , v x , a
avrépawev avdpa Tov réye pereT@vTa: Oepa-
N a
Teas yap €ivat TovTO Snuwov TapacKeuny, TO 8
vd ° € \ N \ , 9
omws e€ovolv ol TOAXOL POs TOY AOYoV adpov-
A 3 “a \ , A A A
TiaTelv OrLYapyLKOD Kat Bia parrov % meOot
, A \ ‘ \ b] / ’ A
5 MpocéyovTos. THs d€ Mpos KaLpoY aTOApias avTOD
Kat TOUTO ToLoDYTaL onpetlov, OTL Anuddns pev
9 , , 4 b) \ 3
exeivy GopuBynOevte ToAANdKis avactTas eK Trpo-
A a 9 ,
Xelpov auvettev, éexetvos O ovdérote Anuddn.
, e ,
IX. [lodev ody, hain tes av, 0 Ataxivns mpos
\ a ,
THY Ev TOLS AOYyoLs TOALaVv POavpaciwTaToY aTe-
“4 A a
Kader Tov avdpa; mas dé Ivdam tH Bulartio
4 AS LSA al x A 9
Opacuvomévw Kal péovTt TOAA® Kata Tov "AOn-
? \ f nn al
valwy avaotas povos avteizev, Aapayou tov
, , 3 s b] a \

Mupwvatov yeypadotos éyxap.ov “AXeEdvdpou Kat
, a /
DPirimrmov tay Baciréwv, ev & TOANA OnBaious
5 / > f a \ 93 ,
2 xat OnrvvOtous etpyKes Kaxos, Kal dvaylvwoKov-
6] if ‘
tos Ondvpriaci, mapactas cai deeEeXOav pel”
e U ¢ y
iotopias cal amrodetEews boa OnBaiow xat Xad-
“A e \
KLOEvoWW UTdpyet Kaka Tpos THY ‘EXXAdSa, Kal
1 See Aeschines, On the Crown, § 152.

wicks. To him, then, Demosthenes made a sharp answer. “Indeed,” said he, “thy lamp and mine, O Pytheas, are not privy to the same pursuits.” To the rest, however, he made no denial at all, but confessed that his speeches were neither altogether unwritten, nor yet fully written out. Moreover, he used to declare that he who rehearsed his speeches was a true man of the people: for such preparation was a mark of deference to the people, whereas heedlessness of what the multitude will think of his speech marks a man of oligarchical spirit, and one who relies on force rather than on persuasion. Another circumstance, too, is made a proof of his lack of courage for an emergency, namely, that when he was interrupted by the clamours of the people, Demades often rose and spoke off-hand in his support, but he never rendcred such a service to Demades.

IX. How, then, some one might say, could Aeschines call him a man of the most astonishing boldness in his speeches?! And how was it that, when Python of Byzantium? was inveighing with much boldness and a great torrent of words against the Athenians, Demosthenes alone rose up and spoke against him? Or how did it happen that, when Lamachus the Myrinaean had written an encomium on Kings Philip and Alexander, in which many injurious things were said of Thebes and Olynthus, and while he was reading it aloud at Olympia,? Demosthenes came forward and rehearsed with historical proofs all the benefits which the peoples of ‘Thebes and Chal- cidice had conferred upon Greece, and, on the other

2 An envoy of Philip to the Athenian assembly, in 343 B.c, See Demosthenes, On the Crown, § 136. 3 In 324 B.c.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TAALY OTWY ALTLOL YEYOVAGL KAKWY Of KONAKEVOD-
/ ¢ / /
tes Maxedovas, otTws éréatpewre ToUs TapovTas
e 4 “~ \ “~
@aTe deitcavTa TH DopvRw Tov copiatHy vTEKOv-
lo f
Val THS Tavynyvupeas ;
3 ? ” ¢ b] \ lo) / \ \
AXX €otxevy 0 avnp tov IlepixXéous Ta pev
” \ \ ¢ \ ¢ J \ \ /
Gra pay TpPOs AVTOY nynoac Bat, TO dé TES ja,
Kal TOV TXNMAT LT wov avToD Kal TO [1 TAXEWS
pnde mepl TAVTOS €x TOU TA PLOT AsLeEVvOU Neyer,
@aTEp ek TOUTOV peyarov yeyovoTos, CyA@Y Kal
oh \ la) a
[ulLovpevos, ov Tavu mpocieccOat THY év TO KAaLp@
i #0? 3 \ / / e \ > A
do€av, oO eri TUYN TOANAKLS EX@V Elvat TroLEL-
\ f f \
Oat THv Suvapuy. errel ToApay ye Kal Oapaos oi
AexOevres vn aUTOv oryor | TOV ypapevtov pan-
Nov eiXov, ev te Set Toa TEVEW ‘Epatoo Géver Kal
Anpntpte TO Parnpet Kab Tots KopiKots, Ov
"Epatocbévns pe pnow avTov év Tots Novos
Toraxod yeyovevar TapaBaxxov, 0 6€ Parnpevs
TOV E L/L Pov éxelvov Opkov Opfocal OTE TPOS TOV
Sov wamep evOovotavTa:
LA YAY, MA KPHVAS, MA TOTApLOUS, WA VapaTa.

A a e M4 \ A
TOV O€ KWOMLKOV O LEV TLS AVTOV aTTOKAAEL poTo-
e \ 4 v4
mepTrepnOpav, 0 S€ TAPATK@TTOV WS YPwpLEVOY
fal A
TO avtiléTo hyaclv ovTas:
A. avéXaBev @otrep ExaBev.
B. nyadTnoev av
X

TO phya TovTO TaparaBov Anuocbérns.

1 Kock, Com. Att. Frag. ii. p. 128. From Plutarch's Morals, p. 845 b, it is to be inferred rather that this was a verse of Antiphanes_ ridiculing the perfervid manner of Demosthenes. 2 Kock, op. cit., ili, p. 461.

hand, all the evils of which the flatterers of the Macedonians had been the cause, and thereby so turned the minds of the audience that the sophist was terrified at the outery against him and slunk away from the festival assemblage ?

But although Demosthenes, as it would appear, did not regard the other characteristics of Pericles as suitable for himself, he admired and sought to imitate the formality 0: his speech ana bearing, as wel) ag his refusal to speak suddenly or on every subject that might present itself, as if his greatness was due to these things; but he by no means sought the reputation which is won in a sudden emergency, nor did he often of his own free will stake his influence upon chance. However, those orations which were spoken off-hand by him had more courage and boldness than those which he wrote out, if we are to put any confidence in Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comic poets. Of these, Eratosthenes says that often in his speeches Demosthenes was like one frenzied, and the Phal- erean says that once, as if under inspiration, he swore the famous metrical oath to the people :—

" By earth, by springs, by rivers, and by streams,''! Of the comic poets, one calls him a " rhopoperpere-

thras," or trunpery-braggart,? and another, ridiculing his use of the antithesis, says this :-—

(First slave) " My master, as he took, retook."'

(Second slave (?)) " Demosthenes would have been

delighted to take over this phrase."' %

3 Kock, op. cit., ii. p. 80. A verse precedes which may be translated : ''My master, on reveiving all his patrimony," and the point appsrently is that the heir took what was a gift as his rightful due.

' N > \ 5 , 8 XN ¢ \ ¢ 4
EXTOS EL py VN Ata mpos Tov uiep AXovynaov
, CaF , \ \ / A '
Noyov o Avtehavns Kal tovti wéracyev, hv 'AOn-
/ / \ ,

vaiots Anpocbévns cuveBovreve fn AapPRaveur,
\ 4
QXN aTo\apBaverv mapa Piditmov.
r i 4
X. WAjv tov ye Anuddnv wavtes wporoyour
a bs \ s
tH pve Yp@LEVOY AviknTov Eivat, Kal TapadépEev
) 3 * ye X la ; / ,
avtTooyecuitovTa tas tod Anpoodevous oxerress
\ ’ ’ ’ » ¢ aie \
Kal TapacKkevas. “Apiaotwv 5 0 Xtios kat @eo-
\ / U \ a ,
dpdatou tiva dofav taTopynKe Tepl TOV PNTOpwY.
€ afr lo’ /
epwTnGevta yap omroios Tis avTO haiveTtat PHnTwp
& f > ~ cou fel U 99
o AnpoocOévns, etrety: A&tos THs Toews:
id a ¢ \ , ¢
omrotos O€ Anuadns, “'Trép tiv wort.” o &
? , € ~ N
autos ditocopos Wodvevxtov tatopet Tov Lprjr-
a , ,
TLov, Eva TOV TOTE ToALTEVop“évoY ~AOHYnoL>,
N
aTopaivecOat péytotov pev eivat pytopa Anpo-
, , \ a] / ~
obévny, duvvatwtatov 6é etmety Pwxiwva: Tret-
\ ? , , al ’ / \
atov yap ev Bpayutatyn NE~et vouv exdhépetv. Kal
\ \ / , ¢
pevtos Kat tov AnpooBerny daciv ator, oadKis
A 4 ’ A > A ,) , ,
av’ avtepov avt@® Pwxiwv avaPatvot, réyeuv
\ \ ‘0 cee a x, A , \
mpos tous avvnfes: “H trav éu@v Aoyev Kkoris
, ” “
GVITTATAL. TOUTO MeV OY AONAOY ETE TPOS TOY
/ lal NaN e
Noyov Tov avdpos 0 Anpoabérns el're mpos Tov
, \ \ ’ 3 , ns r \
Biov cal tiv doEav érerov0e:, ToAX@Y TavU Kal
~ if A ~ ~
WaKp@v Tepicdwyv ev phua Kal veda mot
3 > id /
EYovTos avOpwrou KuUpL@TEpov ryoUpEVos.

,r rv nw \ ~ 9 f of
XI. Tots 6€ cwpatixois éXatTwpact ToLavTnY
a 4 e \
emnyev aoxnat, ws o Parnpevs Anurntptos tato-
1 4y omitted by Bekker, after Coraés and Schaefer ; also by Graux with Ma.
24

DEMOSTHENES, tx. 5-x1. 1

Unless, indeed, this, too, was a jest of Antiphanes upon the speech of Demosthenes concerning Halonnesus,! in which the orator counselled the Athenians not to take the island from Philip, but to re-_ take it.

X. Still, all men used to agree that Demades, in the exercise of his natural gifts, was invincible, and that when he spoke on the spur of the moment he surpassed the studied preparations of Demosthenes. And Ariston the Chian records an opinion which Theophrastus also passed upon the two orators. When he was asked, namely, what sort of an orator he thought Demosthenes was, he replied: " Worthy of the city''; and what Demades, "Too good for the city." And the same philosopher tells us that Polyeuctus the Sphettian, one of the political leaders of that time at Athens, declared that Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the most in- fluential speaker; since he expressed most sense in fewest words. Indeed, we are told that even De- mosthenes himself, whenever Phocion mounted the bema to reply to him, would say to his intimates: "Here comes the chopper of my speeches." Now, it is not clear whether Demosthenes had this feeling towards Phocion because of his oratory, or because of his life and reputation, believing that a single word or nod from a man who is trusted has more power than very many long periods.

XI. For his bodily deficiencies he adopted the exercises which I shall describe, as Demetrius the Phalerian tells us, who says he heard about them from

1 Or. vii., wrongly attributed to Demosthenes. There is in § 5 a phrase similar to the one under comment.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

A / 3 " / ? , ,
pet, A€ywv avTod Anpoolévous axovev mpecBv-
/ \ ' U
TOU YEyGVOTOS, THY pev acagelav KAL TPAVAOTYTA
a , ? , x " b] \
THS yAwTTns éxBiuilerbat cai bvapOpotrv ets TO
/ / id \ etd a /
oTopa Wyhovs AauBavorvta Kat poe apa dé-
\ > a /

yovTa, THY de Paviy €v Tols Spopwers yupvaler Oat
A X \ \ ,
Kal Tals POs TA Lua TpoaBaceot diareyouevov
\ / / a
Kal NOyous Tivas 1) TTLYOUS ama TO Tvevpate
/ / > > b] a /
TT UKVOUMEVO ™ pocpepopevov elval 6 auT@ peya
, v \ a 3
KATOTTPOV olKOL, KAaL TPOS TOUTO Tas ped€Tas €F
évavtias (aTamevoy Trepatvery.
, ,
Aéyerat Sé, avOpwrrov mpocedOovtos deopévou
, \ ? e ¢ / ,
guvnyopias Kal dteEvovtos ws vmo Tov Adore
\ , bf \
Tanyas, “AANA av ye, havat tov Anpocbévnr,
ce f e / WY; / Q 39 ? /
TOUTWY WY NEyELS OVOEV TrETTIOVUAS. ETrLTELVADV-
\ “ , fa)
Tos 6€ THY hovyny Tov avOpwrov Kat Boayvros
’ N tf 39
«°Rivw, Anuooberves, ovdev temova ;” “Ni Ata,”
an , \ ,
hava, “viv axovw gavnv adixovpevov Kal Te-
Pd ¢ wv / AS / s
movOoTos. OUTWS ETO MéyA TOS TioTLVY elvaL
, la! , a
TOV TOVOY Kal THY UTOKPLOLY TOV AEYOYT@V. TOLS
9 A e / f le)
[Lev OU TOAAOLS UTTOKpLI'OMEVOS pecKe OaupacTas,
, \ a
of dé YaptevTes TaTrELVOY aYyOUVTO Kat awyeVVes
fa \ iL Ms 4
avTOD TO TAdC MA Kal “adakor, OV Kat Anuntpios
e , / ¢
o Dadnpevs €otiv. Aiciwva de dnow” Kpyitmos,
4 A , \ aA
épwtnbévta mepl TOV Tadat pyNTopwv Kal TOV
b] n ¢ 4
xa’ avtov, eltmety ws dxovwv pev av tes eOav-
, f n A
HaGEY EKELVOUS EVKOTMWS Kal weyadoTpETa@S TO
/
diuw@ dcadeyomevous, avaylwwokopevot 0 ot Anpo-
ofévors NOYOL TOAV TH KaTacKEVH Kal Suvapet

f e \ Cs / a ,
Stahepovotyv. ol pev ov yeypappEevor TOY NOYwH
26

qn

DEMOSTHENES, x1. 1-4

Demosthenes himself, now grown old. The indistinctness and lisping! in his speech he used to correct and drive away by taking pebbles in his mouth and then reciting speeches. His voice he used to exercise by discoursing while running or going up steep places, and by reciting speeches or verses at a single breath. Moreover, he had in his house a large looking-glass, and in front of this he used to stand and go through his exercises in declamation.

A story is told of a man coming to him and begging his services as advocate, and telling at great length how he had been assaulted and beaten by some one. ‘ But certainly,’ said Demosthenes, “ you got none of the hurts which you describe.” Then the man raised his voice and shouted: “ I, Demosthenes, no hurts?” “Now, indeed,” said Demosthenes, “I hear the voice of one who is wronged and hurt.” So important in winning credence did he consider the tone and action of the speaker. Accordingly, his own action in speaking was astonishingly pleasing to most men, but men of refinement, like Demetrius the Phalerian, thought his manner low, ignoble, and weak. And Hermippus tells us that Aesion,? when asked his opinion of the ancient orators as compared with those of his own time, said that one would have listened with admiration when the older orators discoursed to the people decorously and in the grand manner, but that the speeches of Demosthenes, when read aloud, were far superior in point of arrangement and power. Now, it is needless to remark that

1 Strictly, an inability to pronounce the letter ‘‘r,” giving instead the sound of ‘‘].” See the Alcibiades, 1. 4.

2 A contemporary of Demosthenes.

ef sy 9’ iN, ‘ \ \ ¥ , A

6TL TO AvoTNPOY TOAU Kai TixpoV éxovat, TL Av

a , A \

Néyou Tis; ev O€ Tals ATaVYTHOECGL TAs Tapa TOV
a a ,
KaLPOV EYpPHTO Kai TO yerotw. Anuaddou pev yap

> / ‘cc E \ A Gé e (ei \ "A@ ~ 99
ELT OVTOS pe Anpoabevns, 9 bs THY nvav,
ci 39
‘Avbrn, elev, “7 AGnva 7 pony ev KodhuT@
poryevouaa edpOy.” 7 pos b¢ TOV RET TY Os
émexanelTo NadKkovds, Kab auTtov eis Tas ay pu-
if “ \ 7 , /
TVIAS AUTOU Kal vuUKTOYypadias TreLpwEVOY TE
/ 66 O76 > 4) oo LE a ,
NEVELY, toa, elmrev, “ott ce AVTW AUYVOY
/ ¢e a / > v ’ a \
Kaiwv. wupets 6€, @ avdpes "AOnvaio, ur) Gav-
/ 4
patete Tas yiwopévas KNOTUS, OTaVY TovS jmeéDv
aA \ / f
KNETTAS YarKovds, tovs S€ Toixous THrLVOUS
” >? \ \ N 7 , Vv
EX@HEV. GNAA TEPL LEV TOUTOV KarTep €Tt TED
NEvyeLy EXovTeEs evTavla Tava opeba: Tov & aNdov
aUuTOU TpoTrov kat To HOS ato TaY Tpdakewy Kai
THS za cis Oewpeta Par Stxatov éotiy.
2 \ \

NII. Opyrjce plev ovv emt TO T PAT TEL Ta
Kowa Tob Poxecod TONE MOU TUVETTATOS, @S
avTas wédnot cal raBeiv Ect aro Tov Pirer-
e \ \ 4

TLKOY Onn yopeav. at perv yap 701) Ovarem pa-
yHevay EKELVOD yeyovacty, ai 6€ mpecBuTatat TaV
éyytora Mpaypwaroy aT TOVTAL. Oj)Aos 8 é€oti
Kab THY Kara Meséiou TAPAT KEVAT A [EVOS em ely
deny vo pev eri Tots TPLaKOvT a, yeyovws érn,

/ o ” 3 A 3 A de }
undéro © éxwv ia your é€v Th TorTeELa poe ofav.
O Kal padtoTa pot Sorel Seiaas em dapyuplo
/ \ \

catabécbar Thy Tpos Tov avOpwirov ExPpav:

’ , : / > \ 5 209 9 ,
ov yap TL YAUVKUOUMLOS aYNp HY OVS ayavodhpmr,
——.-

1 357-346 B.c. 2 On the Crown, § 18.
3 About 350 B.o. The speech ‘Against Meidias” (Or. xxi.)
was never delivered. See § 154.
28

DEMOSTHENES, x1. 4-xut. 2

his written speeches have much in them that is harsh and bitter; but in his extempore rejoinders he was also humorous. For instance, when Demades said: “Demosthenes teach me! As well might the sow teach Athena.” “It was this Athena,” said Demosthenes, “that was lately found playing the harlot in Collytus.” And to the thief nick- named Brazen, who attempted to make fun of him for his late hours and_ his writing at night, “Tf know,” he said, “that I annoy you with my lighted lamp. But you, men of Athens, must not wonder at the thefts that are committed, when we have thieves of brass, but house-walls of clay.” However, though I have still more to say on this head, I shall stop here ; the other traits of his character, and his disposition, should be surveyed in connection with his achievements as a statesman. X1J. Well, then, he set out to engage in public matters after the Phocian war! had broken out, as he himself says,” and as it is possible to gather from his Philippic harangues. For some of these were made after the Phocian war was already ended, and the earliest of them touch upon affairs which were closely connected with it. And it is clear that when he prepared himself to speak in the prosecution of Meidias* he wes thirty-two years old, but had as yet no power or reputation in the conduct of the city’s affairs. And his fears on this score were the chief reason, in my opinion, why he compromised his case against the man he hated for a sum of money :

“For he was not at all a sweet-tempered man or
of gentle mood,” 4
4 Thad, xx. 467, of Achilles,
29
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ann’ évtovos Kat Biatos Tepi TAS apUvas. opav
S ov davrov ovdé tis avtov duvdpews Epryov
avopa Kal tAOUTM Kal OY Kal Pirots Ev TeE-
ppaypévoy Kaberewv, tov Meadiav, évédwee Tots
uTép avTod Seopévors. at O& Tpicxidiae Kal?

éavtas ovK av pot Soxovar thy Anpoabérous
auPrOva, Wikpiav, éAmifovTos Kat duvapévou
mepryevéc Oat.
AaBov 6€ THs ToXrtTElas Kady vTdbeoLW THY
T pos Didvarmov UTEp TOV ‘EAM vor dixatoroyiar,
Kal ™pos TAUTHY ayoviSomevos akios, TAXU bofav
eaXe Kal meptPrETTOS UTO TOV hoyov 7jpOn Kab
Ths Tappnoias, wate OavpalecOar pév év TH ED-
Adbt, Cepatrever Oat & rd TOD peyadrou Baciréws,
TAElaTov & avToU Noyoy elvar Tapa TO PidirTH
TOV ONMAYWYOUVTWY, OfoAOyElY Sé KAaL TOUS aTreE-
yGavopévous OTt ™pos évdoFov avrois av0 pwrov
0 ayov eo7t. Kal yap Alaxivys Kal “Lrrepetons
“ ¢

TOLAUTA UTEP avTou KATHY OpovYTES elpyKxacty.

XIII. “Odev ov 0f8 drrws TO. peo7n Ocomopme
Neyerv avTtov aBéBaiov TO TpoTw yeyovévat Kal
pire Teaypact wnt avOpwros wodkvy ypovor
Tots auTots émipévery Suvapevor. daivetar yap,
els pV an axis TOV TpaypaTav pepida Kal
TaAgw auTov év TH ToXtTEla KATETTIOE, TAUTIY
ax pu TENOUS Suagundigas, Kat ov povoy ép TO Bro
pry weTaBaropmevos, GANA Kal TOV Biov é éml TO 7}
peta Barecbar T POE MEVOS. ov yap, ws Anpddns
dT oNoyoUpEVOS Sua THY év 7H MOLT EL pera Bonny
eheyen, auTo pev avrov Tavaytia Toh deus eLpn-
KEVaL, TH S38 mde pndérote, Kat Medavwrros
30

DEMOSTHENES, xu. 2-xu1 2

but vehement and violent in his requitals. How- ever, seeing that it was no mean task and one beyond his power to overthrow a man like Meidias, who was well hedged about with wealth, oratory and friends, he yielded to those who interceded in his behalf. For it does not seem to me that the three thousand drachmas of themselves could have dulled the bitter feelings of Demosthenes if he had expected or felt able to triumph over his adversary.

But when he had once taken as a noble basis for his political activity the defence of the Greeks against Philip, and was contending worthily here, he quickly won a reputation and was lifted into a conspicuous place by the boldness of his speeches, so that he was admired in Greece, and treated with

deference by the Great King; Philip, too, made more account of him than of any other popular leader at Athens, and it was admitted even by those who hated him that they had to contend with a man of mark. For both Aeschines and Hypereides say thus much for him while denouncing him.

XIII. Wherefore I do not know how it occurred to Theopompus to say that Demosthenes was un- stable in his character and unable to remain true for any length of time to the same policies or the same men. For it is apparent that after he had at the outset adopted a party and a line of policy in the conduct of the city's affairs, he maintained this to the end, and not only did not change his posi- tion while he lived, but actually gave up his life that he might not change it. For he was not like Demades, who apologised for his change of policy by saying that he often spoke at variance with him- self, but never at variance with the interests of the

avtTiToAtTevopevos Kaddtotpit@m Kat moddakis 852

e ' ? a / , at /
Um avTov Xpypace petatiGéuevos erwler Eyer
' Xx n cc € \ 3 A b] f N '
mpos tov Shuovr " O pev avnp éyGpos, TO ce
r , , é 99 , $ c
Ths TOAEWS ViKAT@ oupdéepov, Nuxodnwos Sd o
/ 4 ar 7, f ,
Meoonmos Kacdvipw mpootiGepevos mpotepor,
see) e x , Ll b] W
eit' avO.s vTrep Anpntpiov TroXLtevopevos ovK Edy
\ \ > f
Tavavtia éyew, del yap elvar oupdépov ax-
a a) fe ¢ \
poacbat TOY KpaTovYTwY, OUTwW Kal Tept An-
A a «
poadévous Eyomev ettreiy oiov extpeTropevou Kal
, a N XN ee 9 ? ed
wraytdfovtos dwvyv) wpakiv, adr womwep
' bd Cae \ b] ld - A
ad' évos kal dpetaBryTov Siaypappatos Ts
/ e 4 x a
ToALTELAaS Eva TOVvoY EXwY év TOLs TPaypacW «dé
Ud ' e if, a
dsetéXece. TLavaitios 8 o didocodos Kal trav
f > n ce uf \ /

AOyov avtod dyaow ovtTw yeypadGat tous mret-
, a a > N n~ Y
OTOUS WS Lovo TOV KAXOU SL AUTO alpEeTOD OVTOS,
a / nj
TOV Teplt TOU oTEpavou, TOY KaTa AploTOKpaTouSs,
4 e N a , a \ / 3 @
TOV UTEP TOV ATEXEL@V, TOUS DiduTTLKOUS* év ots
a \ Ni ¢ lal
TAGW OV TPOS TO HOLaTOV 1) PaoTOV 7H NUVOLTENE-
v \ , b \ fa) \
GTATOV ayél TOUS TOALTAS, GNAA TOAANAYOV TV
N , v ~
aogareav Kab Tiv ocwTynpiav oletat delv év
a an a \ a)
Sevtépa TaEeL TOU KANOD ToleioGat Kal TOD Tpé-
/ a N \ , ns
TOVTOS, WS, elye TH TEpl Tas vTOoGéces avTod
, N n “ f 9 , a
piroreura, Kal 77 ay OOM EVYEVELL TAPI}V
>] nm
avOpELa TE TOAEMLLOTIPLOS Kal TO KADapasS ExacTa
, > ? a \ / \ la
TMpauTTe, ovK ev T@ KaTAa MotpoxrEea eat Morv-
Ve , 3 a a e ' 3 ’
evKTOV Kal Trrepetony aploOue TOV fp) TOpwV, GAX
N we, \ f
dive peta Kipevos cai Oovevdidou xai HeptxdXéous
wv = (ene)
aktos hy TiWecOa,
32

DEMOSTHENES, . 2-4

city; nor like Melanopus, who, though opposed politically to Callistratus, was often bought over by him, and then would say to the people: “e The man is my enemy, it is true, but the interests of the city shall prevail ’’ ; nor like Nicodemus the Messenian, who first attached himself to Cassander, and fhen again advocated the interests of Demetrius, but said that he was not contradicting himself, for it was always advantageous to listen to one’s masters, We cannot say such things of Demosthenes also, as of one who is turned from his course and veers to and fro either in word or deed—nay, he followed one unchangeable scale, as it were, and ever held to one key in politics. And Panaetius the philosopher says that most of his speecnes also are written in the conviction that the good alone is to be chosen for its own sake, as, for instance, the speech “On the Crown,” ! the one “ Against Aristo- crates,’ * that “For the Immunities,’? and the Philippics ;* for in all these he does not try to lead his countrymen to do what is pleasantest or easiest or most profitable, but in many places thinks they ought to make their safety and preservation second- ary to what is honourable and fitting, so that, if the loftiness of his principles and the nobility of

his speeches had been accompanied by such bravery as becomes a warrior and by incorruptibility in all his dealings, he would have been worthy to be num- bered, not with: such orators as Moerocles, Polyeuctus, Fiypereides, and their contemporaries, but high up ‘with Cimon, ‘Thucydides, and Pericles.

1 Or, xviii, 2 Or. xxiii.
* Or. xx. (Against Leptines),
SOL 8. UVa Vie, 1X
33

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XIV. Tév yotv cat avtov 0 Paxiwy ovK émat-
voupevns mpoiotdpevos Tohitelas, AAAA CoKeY
‘ v4 > 3 a \ 4
paxedovitery, Ouws Os avdpeiav cal dtxavocoviny
nw , bY
ovdey ovdaun Yeipwv edokev “Ediadtov Kai Ape-
/ \ 4
2 areidou Kai Kipwvos avnp yevéeoOat. AnpooBévns
3 3 SN >) wn e 3 s 4 (2
d ovk ov €v Tols OTAOLS aEvoTLATOS, OS PHT Oo
\ \
Anpijtptos, ovde Tmpos TO AaUPBavey TavTdTacWw
> , F Dak \ a \ \ @ XL
AT WYUPWLEVOS, GAA TH pev Tapa DirtTTov
\ 1 , 3 f wv A 3 ” 9
kat Maxedovias avddwtos wv, TO 8 avoder éx
Ny ¢ \3 f > \ / XN
Sovoewv kat ExBatavav émsBatos ypuct@ yeyovws
4 id \ e /
KAL KATAKEKAUGLEVOS, ETALVETAL MEV [KAVWTATOS
Q \ a , f /
WY Ta TOV TpoyoveY Kara, piunoacBa, bé ory
ad bd \ id QE’ e_N CL, ses be
Opmolos. émrel Tous ye Kal avTov prtopas (éFw ée
td - / \ nA / nA
Noyou TiPenat Dwxiwva) Kai TO Biw TapHrle.
4 \ \ d ¢ A
3 paiverat 66 Kai peta Tappnolas padsota TO
, \ \ \ / na
dnu@ StareyouEevos Kal Tpos Tas émtOupLas TOY
TOAROY AYTETELVOY KAL TOLS AapT)}MacLY avTOV
? / e > a / al ”
emipvopevos, ws €k TOV AOywv AaPeEly EotiD.
e a 55 \ ? ef nw b] , 3 /

laTopel d€ Kal Oeotroutros Ott, TOV AOnvaiwv éri
/ 2 N hi € p: b)
Tiva TpOPAadAopEVwY AUTO KATHYOpLAV, WS d OVX
tc. 9 @ / > \ 5 wee nA
umnxove, GopuBovvtwv, avactas etter: “‘Tyets
3 ev do ov > a ‘ di av \
éuot, @ ardpes AOnvaior, cupBovrA@ per, Ka pT
Oérnte, ypnoesOe: cuxopav7n de ovde av OédnTEe.”
4 adodpa 6 aptotoxpatixoy avTov TodtTevpua Kal
‘ . 3 n A ee \ a) /
To wept Avtid@vTos’ Ov vie THS éKKANGIAS
apelevta curdaBov ert tnv éE ’Apeiou muyou
1 Theopompus almost always displays hostility to Athens and her popular leaders.

34

DEMOSTHENES, xiv. 1-4

XIV. At any rate, Phocion, among his contem- poraries, though he took the lead in a policy which is not to be commended, and though he had the reputation of favouring Macedonia, nevertheless, by reason of his bravery and integrity, was held to be in no wise inferior to Ephialtes and Aristides and Cimon. Demosthenes, however, was not worthy of confidence when he bore arms, as Demetrius says, nor was he altogether inaccessible to bribes, but though he did not succumb to the gold which came from Philip and Macedonia, that which came down in streams from Susa and Ecbatana reached and overwhelmed him, and therefore while he was most capable of praising the virtues of earlier gene- rations, he was not so good at imitating them. For certainly the orators of his own day (though I leave Phocion out of the account) were surpassed by him even in his life and conversation. And it is manifest that beyond them all he reasoned boldly with the people, opposed himself to the desires of the multitude, and persistently attacked their faults, as may be gathered from his speeches. And even Theopompus! tells us that, when the Athenians nominated him to conduct a certain impeachment, and, on his refusal, raised a tumult against him, he rose and said: “ Men of Athens, I will serve you as a counsellor, even though you do not wish it; but not as a false accuser, even though you wish it.” Moreover, the measures which he took in the case of Antiphon? were exceedingly aris- tocratic in their spirit. Antiphon had been acquitted by the assembly, but Demosthenes arrested him and brought him before the council of the Areio-

* See Demosthenes, On the Crown, §§ 132 f.

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3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

BovrAnv aviyaye, Kal Tap ovdév TO TPOTKpOvaaL
a ,

TO num Géuevos NreyEev vrecxnpevoy Pirin7@
XN 2 > / \ \ e
Ta vewpla éumpjoey Kal Tapadobels 0 avOpwros
“A a / ,
uTo THs BovAns améBave. Katynyopnoe b€ Kal
THs lepetas Pewpidos ws arAXAa TE padioupyovans
ToAXa Kal Tovs dovAoUs é€aTraTay bidacKovaNs’
Kal Oavatou TipLyoapEVvos ATEKTELVE,
XV. Aéyetat 8é xat tov Kata Tipobéov tod
a“ ¢ 9
aTpaTnyoD Aoyov, © Xpnodpevos ‘A7rodAdGSwpos
elke tov avopa Tov odrAnpatos, Anpoabévns
ypavat T® Amrohrobwpw, KaSdrep Kal Tovs pos
ay / b)
Poppiwova kai Xtépavov, ef’ ois eixotws 7d0Enae.
, f
Kal yap 0 Poppiwy nywviteto Aoyw Anpoabevous
mpos tov ‘AqvoAdobwpov, atexvas KabaTep é&
C29 EN / \ > b] / 3 ,
EVOS MAXALPOTMALOV TA KAT AAANAOD eyyelpidoia
aA a An A \
TWAOVYTOS AUTOD TOIS avTLoLKOLS. TaY bé dHLO-
, ¢ AY > 93 / ‘ if
ciwy o pev Kat “Avdpotimvos xat Ttpoxpatous
Nd A id 4 > if ” wn
kat AptotoKpatous eTépots eypadyaay, ovTw TH
f a \ a 3
moATeLa mpocerndubotos: Soxet yap Sdvetv 3}
é
tpiav Séovta &Tn TplaKovTa yeyovws eFeveyKety
\ ‘ bd / \ N x ,
Tovs Noyous éxelvous: Tov d€ KaTa AploToyELTovos
> Q , / \ \ a 9 a \
autos HywVvicaTo, Kal TOV TeEpl TOY aTEAELOV, bia
r “ 7
7ov XaBpiov ratda Krijormov, os dyotv avtos,
¢ ‘ , a /
as 8 €viol A€éyoudt, THY LNTEPA TOV vEeavioKou
, ’ \ 4 / ’ \ ,
LVOMEVOS. OV pHY Eynue TavTHV, adda Lapa
36
853

DEMOSTHENES, xiv. 4-xv. 3

pagus, and making no acconnt of the offence thus given to the people, convicted him of having promised Philip to set fire to the dockyards; and Antiphon was given up to justice by the council and suffered death. He also accused the priestess Theoris of many misdemeanours, and _ particularly of teaching the slaves to practise deceit; and by fixing the penalty at death he brought about her execution.

XV. It is said, too, that the speech which Apollo- dorus used in order to secure the conviction of Timo- theus the general in an action for debt was written for him by Demosthenes, and likewise the speeches which Apollodorus used against Phormio and Steph- anus, in which cases Demosthenes properly won dis- credit. For Phormio contended against Apollodorus with a speech which Demosthenes had written for him,! the orator thus simply selling to the disputants, as it were from one and the same cutlery-shop,? the knives with which to wound each other. Moreover, of his public orations, those against Androtion® and Timocrates* and Aristocrates* were written for others to pronounce, before he had as yet entered public life; for it appears that these speeches were produced when he was twenty-seven or twenty- eight years of age. But he himself delivered the speech against Aristogeiton,® as well as the one “On the Immunities,’* at the instance, as be himself says, of Ctesippus the son of Chabrias, but as some say, because he was wooing the mother of this young man. However, he did not marry this woman, but had a certain woman of Samos

IO PRN Vi. 2 See chapter iv. 1. ae ee ate

«Or. xxiv. OS Or ee Xilh: BO) he kOCy, OR Ae

oF

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

‘ 4 e cd a A , e M /
TIVL TUV@KNTEV, WS LaToper Anuntpios 0 Mayvns
a , e \ ? A
év Tols TEpl GUrwvUpwV. Oo O€ Kat’ Aiaytvou THs
Uj f > / /
Tapamper eas adndov et A€NexTat Kaitos Pyaly
\ \ f ‘
"Idouevevs mapa tptaxovta povas Tov Alayivny
b] A b] ? b] ” et 4 b] 4
atropuyety. aN OUK EOLKEY OUTWS EveLY TAA Es,
? a a /
El O€i TOls TrEpL oOTEpavoU Yyeypappéevots ExaTépwry
, , /
oyous TexpaipetOat. péuvntar yap ovdéTEpos
A A \ mn 4 an nm

avTa@y évapyas ovdé Tpavas éxetvou TOD ayavos
/ , \ \ oo ei
ws ayps dixns mpoedMovTos. TauTi pev ody ETEpar
dtaxpivovat “adXov.
\ A /
XVI. ‘H 6€ tod Anyoobévous roditeia havepa
XN y 4 \ n ’ , /
Mev tv ETL Kal THS EipnvNsS VTapxovons, ovdev
A a , a
E@VTOS UVETITILNTOY TOV TPATTOMEevwY UT TOD
, 3 >
Maxedovos, adv ef éxadatw TapattovtTos Tovs
’ / 3) / bt Sales \ ”
A@nvaiovs Kai diaxatovtos él tov av@pwrov.
\ \ \ iA a“ 9 f 3 lal
610 Kal Tapa Pilimm@ TrELATTOS VY AOYOS avTOD
\ , / e 2 /
Kal oTe mpea Bevan Séxatos Kev ets Maxedoviar,
’ 4 a“
HKOVaE fev Tavrwy Didsmmos, avTetTe Sé peTa
f b / N \ b) / , 9
TRELOTHS ETLJLENELAS TPOS TOV ExKELVOU AOYOV. OV
\ ” in ” pe \ 7
pny ev ye Tats arXAats Tipalts Kal hiroppoavvais
ee e \ aA / a b) \
Guotov avtov TO Anpocbéver tapetyev, adra
a ’ /
TpoanyeTo Tovs Tept Atayivnv Kat Piroxkpatny
lal e > i 3 i \ i‘
uardrAov. OOey EvratvovvTwy éxeivev Tov PidiT TOV
° , 3 a
os Kal Néyery SvYaT@TaTOV Kal KadNALCTOV Of67)-
a e ,
var Kal vn Ata cuurtety tkavwtatov, nvayKaketo
f Ss ‘ an N
Backaivoy émickwnrTey ws TO pEev cod.aTod, TO
‘ , N \ A vy / ’
dé yuvatkos, TO 8€ aomoyylas ein, Bactdéws 6
\ ‘
OVOED ErYKWLLOV.
38
DEMOSTHENES, xv. 3—xv1. 2

to wife, as Demetrius the Magnesian tells us in
his work “ On Persons of the Same Name.” Whether

the speech denouncing the treacherous embassage of Aeschines! was aoliered or not, is uncertain; and yet Idomeneus says that Aeschines got off by only thirty votes. But this would seem to be untrue, if we are to Judge by the written speeches of both orators “On the Crown.”? For neither of them speaks clearly and distinctly of that contention as one which came to trial. This question, however, will have to be decided by others.

XVI. The political attitude of Demosthenes was manifest even while peace still lasted, for he would let no act of the Macedonian pass uncensured, but on every occasion kept rousing and inflaming the Athenians against him. Therefore Philip also made most Pecan of him; and when Demosthenes came to Macedonia in an ‘embassy of ten, Philip listened indeed to them all, but took most pains to answer his speech. As regards all other marks of honour and kindly attention, however, Philip did not treat Demosthenes as well as the others, but courted rather the party of Aeschines and Philocrates. And so when these lauded Philip as most powerful in speaking, most fair to look upon, and, indeed, as a most capable fellow-diinker, Demosthenes had to say in bitter raillery that the first encomium was appropriate for a sophist, the second for a woman, and the third for a sponge, but none of them for a king.

Or. xix.

See the second note on xxiv. 1 f.

3 In 346 B.c, they obtained the so-called Peace of Philocrates.

1

2

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

yr . 2)) \ x \

XVII. ’Evel 6 els to woAguety Eppeme Ta

a ‘ i \ t \

Tpayuata, TOU pev Pirtmmov pn dvvapévov THY

“~ bf b] i

novxiay ayer, Tov & “AOnratwv éyerpopevor

id ‘ a) Ul ” \ > A

uTo tov Anpoclevous, mpa@Ttorv pev evs Evora
b , \ bd / 4 t ‘
éEwpunae tous AOnvatovs KatadecovAwpevny VO
a) id / \ f ? dd
Tov TUpavvav Piri7T@ Kal dtaBavTes, exeivov
, ' \
To Whdtopa ypawartos, é&y\acav tovs Make-
\ / > if
Sovas. bdevtepov dé Bulavtiows éBonOnoe kal
r \ a oN) t t
IleperOiors vo tov Maxedovos trodepovpévors,
\ ral , \ if
Teicas Tov Oiov apevta thy EXxOpav Kat TO
ww ~ \ \ QA
pepviobat TOV TEPL TOV TULPLAYLKOV UA PTH LEVY
al , ral
éxaTépols ToAemov atrootetAa Svvaply avTots,
¢ 7? @ 5) , v / \
ud’ As éowOncarv. éErerta mpecRevwrv nal dia-
, m then \ 4 /
Neyopmevos Tos” KM AANGL Kat TapoEVVwY GULéTTHGE
eS > i? ef bd \ \ if 4
TAHY OALYOV aTavTas emt Tov DidtrTov, wWaTE
, val N /
cuvtativ yeverOar weSav pev pupt@v Kai TevTa-
i e / \ / wv ~
KiTXLALOV, ITTEWY b€ SLTVIAL@Y, AVEV TOY TOAL-
a“ / f \ \ “
Tik@yv Ouvdpewy, Yenwata de Kal piobors Tois
, ? , / ad 7
Ecvors etadepecGur mpofvpws. oTe Kal nor
, nw e ry
Qcodpactos, akiovvtay TOY cvppaywv opta6i-
‘ > , > A Y , N
vat Tas eladhopas, evmety KpwBvXov tov Snpua-
/ an
YWYOV WS OV TETAYMEVA TLTELTAL TOAELOS.
~ € ‘ \ /
"Emnppevns 6€ THs “EAXAdSOS pas TO péAXOD
\ lA) eQ \ (A >, /
Kal cuviotapevov Kat €Ovyn Kat modes KvSoéwr,
a “ 4 is
"Ayatav, Kopivdiwv, Meyapéwv, Aeveadiov, Kep-
/ ~
Kupalwv, 0 méylaTos UTedetTETO TH Anpoodéver

“~ , ; 4 f a
TOV aywovev, OnBaiovs mpocayayéclar TH cup-
40

DEMOSTHENES, xv. 1-4

AVI. And when matters were inclining at last to war, since Philip was unable to keep quiet and the Athenians were being stirred up by Demosthenes, in the first place, he urged the Athenians to invade Euboea, which had _ been brought into subjection to Philip by its tyrants ; and it was on his motion that they crossed over to the island and drove out the Macedonians. In the second place, he came to the aid of the citizens of Byzantium and Perinthus when the Macedonian was making war upon them, by persuading the Athenian people to remit their hatred and forget the wrongs committed by each of these cities in the Social War,! and to send thein a force,—the force which saved them. Next, he went on an embassy to the Greek states, and by arguing with them and pricking them on brought almost all of them into a league against Philip, so that they raised a mercenary force of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, apart from the citizen soldiery, and readily contributed money to pay them. It was at this time, as Theophrastus says, when the allies were demanding that their contributions be fixed within limits, that Crobylus the popular leader said: ‘‘ War has no fixed rations.” 2
Greece was now in suspense as it thought of the future, and its peoples and cities were leaguing theinselves together, Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyraeans. But the most important struggle still remained for Demosthenes in bringing the Thebans to join
* At the outbreak of the Social War (357-355 .c.) Byzan tium and other allies of Athens had revolted from her. 2 See the note on the Crassus, ii. 8.

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3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

paxia, xopav TE “7 uvopoy THs "ATTLKAS Kat Suva-
pay “evaryoveov EyovTas, Kat amare TOTE TOV
‘EAAnver evooxipobvTas éy Tots Om dots. ay °°
ov padsov ert ™pooparors EVEPYETHUACL Tots mepl
tov DwxKixov TONE LOV TeTeGac evmevous vm0 Tob
@Pirtriov petacticat tous OnBaiouvs, Kal pd-
nan \ 3
NtoTa Tals Sta TV YyEeTViaATLY aYIpayiats ava-
Favomevwv EKXAOTOTE TOV TOAEMLKOV TPOS AAAN-
ra a ?
Aas Stahopwv Tats wodecw.

XVIII. Ov piv arn eet Direrros UTo Tis
Tept THY Aphiooay evTUYias ETULPOMEVOS Els THY
ayy la > id Pp] , \ \ ,
urAaTecay éEaidyns éverrece kat tHhv Pwxida
KATETYEV, EKTET TAY PEVOV TOV A@nvaiwoy Kal
pen devos TONLOVTOS dvaBaivety él TO Bia poe
EXOVTOS 6 Tl xPn Néyetv, GAN’ GT opias ovans év
[ETw KAL TLwT hs, Tapeh Oo {LOVvOS O Anpoobevns
cuveBovreve TOV OnBatwv ExecOat Kai Tadra
, .

mapabappuvas Kal peTewpioas, warrep elwlen,
Tov Onuov tats éXtTioLv, aTEeTTAAN TpecBEvTNS
pc?” Erépwv eis On Bas. Erepre 5€ cal DirirTos,
e M / / ane 7 \ \ Kk Xe
ws Mapovas dyotv, Apvvtav pev cat KrEapyov
Maxeddvas, Adoyov 6€ Occcadov kai Opacvdaiov
GVTEPOUVTAS.
my \ 9 , ? , \ ia)

To pev ovv cvupdépov ov diepevye Tous THY
) / Xx / aes b] v v4
))Batov OyLTMous, u EV OMMaglY EKA TOS
ele Ta, TOU TONEMOV Oewwd, ETL TOV Donixav
TPQUMAT@V vEeapov TO Pa. LEVvOVT@Y™ 7 O€ TOU p1)-
Topos duvapus, ws Pyot Oeoropros, éxpimifovca

1 In 339 B.c., Philip was deputed by the Amphictyonic Council to punish the city of Amphissa, near Delphi, for sacrilege. Cf. Demosthenes, On the Crown, §§ 143 ff.

the alliance, for they had a territory bounding
that of Attica and a force ready to take the
field, and at that time were accounted the best
soldiers in Greece. But it was no easy matter,
in view of the recent benefits with which Philip
had cultivated their favour during the Phocian
war, to make the Thebans change sides, and espe-
cially because in the petty quarrels brought on
by their proximity to Athens the differences which
made for war between the two cities were all the
while stirred up anew.

XVIII. Philip, however, elated by his good-
fortune in the matter of Amphissa,! surprised
Elateia and occupied Phocis. This step drove the
Athenians out of their senses: no one ventured
to ascend the bema and no one knew what ought
to be said, but perplexity and silence reigned in
the assembly. Then it was that Demosthenes,
and he alone, came forward and advised the people
to cling to ‘Thebes; and after giving them courage
in other ways and buoying them up with hopes,
as he was wont to do, he was sent with others
as ambassador to Thebes. Philip also, as Marsyas
tells us, sent Amyntas and Clearchus of Macedonia,
Daochus of Thessaly, and Thrasydaeus, to speak
in opposition to the Athenians.

Well, then, the Thebans, in their calculations, were not blind to their own interests, but each of them had before his eyes the terrors of war, since their losses in the Phocian war? were still fresh ; however, the power of the orator, as Theo- pompus says, fanned up their courage and inflamed

2 The second so-called Sacred War (357-346 B.c.), in which Athens aided the Phocians, and Philip the Thebans.

Tov Oupov avT@v Kat Otakaiovea THY dtNoTLpiav
éemecKOTNOE TOLS AAXOLS ATractv, Wate Kal PoBov
Kat Noytopov Kal yap éxkBareiv avtouvs évOov-
oLavTas vUTO TOU Aoryou T™ pos TO KANO. oT
6é peya Kal Aa pom pov efuvn TO TOU pyTopos Epryov
WOTE TOV bev Piet Tov ev0us emexnpuKevec Oat
Seopevov eipryvns, opOnv b€ tTHvy “EAXNdda yevéoIar

cal ouveEavactivat mpos TO péAXNOv, UINpETEtY
dé 1 povoy tovs otpatnyous T® Anpoabéver
TOLOUVTAS TO TPOTTATTOMEVOY, GANA Kal TOUS
Bowwrdpyas, dtocxeta Oar O€ Tas éxxAnatas dTracas
ovdey HTTOVY UT éxeivou ToTEe TAS OnBaiwy 7)
Tas ’AOnvatwv, ayatwpévou Tap audotépots cal
SUVATTEVOYTOS OVK UOLKWS OVE Tap aé&LaV, WaTEP
avodaivetat Pecmopumos, dda Kal Tavu Tpogn-
;
KOVTOS.
AOS Tux 5é Tes Eoxe Sacpovtos € ev mrepipopa
TpayLaTov, els ExElVO KAaLpO) TULTEpaivovaa THY
érevOepiav ths “EdAdédbos, evavtiotafar ois
TpaTToMEevols, KaL TOAAA onpEla TOD pEéXXOVTOS
avadaivery, év ois } Te WIu0ta decva mpovdacve
HAVTEVLATA, KAL YPNTMOS ETO TANALOS EK TOV
dYuBvudArelwr
A 3 , , ’ , ,
THS Tt OeppwdovtTe wayns avravevde yevoiny,
aleTos év vehéeaat Kai népt Onnoacbar.
/ e s e \ f 3 s
KNQALEL O vixnoeis, 0 06 VLKNTAS ATONE.
Tov 6€ Ocppwdorta pacw eivaut map nyy ev
Natpoveta TOT a pLov pox pov els TOV Ka gpeoov
éuBadrov. nets O€ vov pev ovdevy 00TH TOY
peupatov io pev ovomaloperov, eixafopev oe€ TOV
Kadovpevov Alipova Oepuwdovta éyeaOat TOTE
44

DEMOSTHENES, xvii. 3-x1x. 2

their honourable ambition and obscured all other considerations, so that, casting away fear and _ calculation and feelings of obligation, they were rapt away by his words into the path of honour. And so great and glorious was the orator’s success seen to be that Philip at once sent an embassy and asked for peace, while Greece was confident and up in arms to aid Demosthenes for the future; and not only did the Athenian generals assist him and do what he ordered, but also the Boeotarchs. He managed at this time all the assemblies of the Thebans no less than those of the Athenians; he was beloved by both peoples and exercised supreme power, not illegally nor unworthily, as Theopompus declares, but rather with perfect propriety.

XTX. But it would seem that some divinely ordered fortune in the revolution of affairs, which was putting an end at this time to the freedom of the Greeks, opposed their efforts, and showed forth many signs of what was to come. Among these

were the dire prophecies which the Pythian priestess
made known, and an ancient oracle which was
recited from the Sibylline books :—
“From the battle on Thermodon may I be far re-
moved,
To behold it like an eagle in clouds and upper air.
Tears are for the conquered there, and for the
eonqueror, death.”
Now, the Thermodon, they say, is in my native territory, in Chaeroneia, being a little river which empties into the Cephisus. But I know of no river bearing this name at the present time; I conjecture, however, that the stream now called Haemon then

\ \ a \ NS f 4

kal yap mapappet mapa TO HpadkXerov, drrou Kate-
f e \ f
aorpatomécevoy of “EAXnvess Kal Texpatpoucla
THS MAYS yevouevns aipatos éumAncbévta Kal
vexp@v TOV ToTawov TavTny StarrAGEat THY TpOG-
, e \ A 3
nyopiav. o 6€ Aovpts ov ToTamov eivat dyot
XN , > > e , x \
Tov OeppwdovTa, addr totavtas Tivas oKnYHY
Kal TEPLOPUTTOVTAS avdoplavTiaKoY EvpEly ALOLVOD,
° nA ,
UTO Ypaumatwoyv Ttiav diacnuaivomevov ws ein
Ocpuwdwv, év tais ayxarais ‘Aualova épovta
TeTpWmevnY. el Sé TOVTW YpPNnoMov AAXoOY
adec Oat NéyovTa:
\ 33 \ f / ‘4 /
Thy O eT OepuwdovtTs payny péve, Taypérav
oput’
, / \ , b ,
TNVEL TOL KPEA TOANA TrAapeooeTaL avo puTeELa.
XX. Tatra pév ody orws exe, StaiTtHoat
4 e \ / fe A a
yanretov: o 6€ Anpocbévns AéyeTat Tos TaY
“EAAnveoy OmXols ExTEePappnKws, KaL NaTpPOS UTrO
/ a
pauns Kal Tpobvmtas avdp@v TOGovVTwY TPOKAaXoOV-
juevwy TOVS TOAEMiOUS alpomevos, OTE YpNopmols

éav Tpooéyety OUTE pavTeias axovely, AAAG Kal
rynv I[v0tav vrovociy ws didtimmifovoay, ava-
, 5) , \ , \
pupvynoKka@yv “Emapivw@vdov tovs OnBatovs «al
Tlepexréovs tous ’A@nvaious, ws éxeivot TA TOLAVTA
SetAias rjryovpevoe mpodacers éypavtTo Tos Xo-
n \ 9
yi ots. péeyple mev ov TOUTwY avnp HY ayalos*
bf \ A , x ’ \ »>Q) e if
év O€ TH MaXn KaXOY ov p
dé TH n KaXov ovdEev OVS OpodoyoupEvo
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DEMOSTHENES, xix. 2-xx. 2

bore the name of Thermodon. For it flows past the Heracleum, where the Greeks had their camp; and I judge that after the battle the river was filled with blood and corpses and therefore received its present name in exchange.! Duris, however, says that this Thermodon was not a river, but that some soldiers who were pitching a tent and digging a trench about it, found a small stone figure, an inscription upon which signified that it was Thermodon,’ carrying in its arms a wounded Amazon. They say also that in reference to this another oracle is recited as follows :—

“ For the battle on Thermodon wait thou, all-black
bird ;
There thou shalt have in abundance the flesh of
men.”

XX. How this matter really stands, then, it is difficult to decide; but as for Demosthenes, he is said to have had complete confidence in the Greek forces, and to have been lifted into a state of glow- ing excitement by the strength and ardour of so many men eager to engage the enemy, so that he would not suffer his countrymen to give heed to oracles or listen to prophecies; nay, he even sus- pected the Pythian priestess of being in sympathy with Philip, reminding the Thebans of Epaminondas and the Athenians of Pericles, and declaring that those great leaders regaided things of this kind as pretexts for cowardice, and therefore followed the dictates of reason. Up to this point, then, he was a brave man; but in the battle? he displayed no con-

1 Deriving Aluwy from afua (blood).

2 2.e. the god of the river Thermodon, in Cappadocia, on

the banks of which the Amazons were thought to dwell. Cf. the Theseus, xxvii. 6. 3 At Chaeroneia, 338 B.c.

4 La % e b] 5 c A ” iN
Epyov ols etmey arodeEduevos wyeto eTwY
\ / > ‘ wv \ XN tid es
Thy Taki, aTrodpas aia ytata Kal Ta OTAa pivas,
> A X > \ A ’ , e ba
ovdée thy éemiypadny ths damidos, w; édeye
4 ’ / ? , ,
Ilu@éas, aicyuvets, eriyeypapmevns ypaupace
“ a /
ypuaots, Ayabn TUXN.
, > e s ’ a 4
Ilapautixa pev otv 0 Didtrmos emi TH viKy
\ \ li \
dia Thy Xxapav eEvBpicas, Kal Kwydaas eT TOUS
\ hf > ‘ \ A
vexpous peOuwr, 6€ THY apynVv TOV AnpoabEvous
\ f A
Whpicpatos mpos Toda btatpov Kal UroKpovwr
Anuoodévns Anpoc@évous Uatarieds tad’ elrrev:

exviras 6€ Kat TO péyeOos Tod TEpiaTaVTOS aUTOV
ayavos év v@ NaBav edpeTte THy CetvoTnTa Kal
Thy SUvaptv TOU prTopos, ey péper IKE@ plas
Huépas Tov UTEP THS YELovias Kal TOD GwpaTOS
avappiwat xivdvvoy avayxacGeis vm autod.
diixto & 1) b0€a péxype Tov Ilepow@v Baciréws:
KaKelvos émeu Wwe Tois caTpatats él Oaraccav
ypappata, Xpnpata Anpoo ever dubovat KeXevar,
Kal Tpocexey eKelv@ pddiota ToOV EXAnvwr, ws
TepioTdoue Svrapev@ Kal KaTacxelv Tats “EXX-
pixais tapayais tov Makedova. tatta pev ody
yy és “w 9
aLPOETLY ETTL-
vatepov ébwpacev Ar€Eavédpos, ev
oToNds Tivas dvevpwy TOU Anpocbévous Kal ypap-
fata TOV Bacirtéws aotpatnyav, dnAovrTa TO
TANHGoS Tov OoVEvTWY AUTO XPNLATwD.
XXI. Tote 6€ Ths atvyias Tols “AAHaL
YEVEVNKEVNS OL PED AVTLTOALTEVOMEVOL pNTOPES
48
DEMOSTHENES, xx. 2-xxr. 1

duct that was honourable or consonant with his
words, but forsook his post, cast away his arms, and

ran away most disgracefully, nor was he ashamed to belie the inscription on his shield, as Pytheas said, whereon was written in letters of gold, “ With good fortune.”

Immediately after his victory, then, Philip waxed insolent for joy, and going forth in revel rout to see the bodies of the slain, and being in his cups, recited the beginning of the decree introduced by Demosthenes, dividing it into feet and marking off the time :—

“Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of Paeania, thus moves; }

but when he got sober and realized the magnitude of the struggle in which he had been involv ed, he shuddered at the power and the ability of the orator who had forced him to hazard his empire and _ his life in the brief span of a single day. And the fame of this orator penetrated even to the Persian king, who sent letters to his satraps on the coast, bidding them to offer money to Demosthenes, and to pay more attention to him than to any other Greek, since he was able to distract and detain the Macedonian? with the troubles which he raised in Greece. These things, now, were discovered at a later time by Alexander, who found at Sardis certain letters of Demosthenes and documents of the King’s generals, which disclosed the amount of money they had given him.

XXI. At this time, however, when their disaster tell upon the Greeks, the orators of the opposing

1 The Greek words form an iambic tetrameter cataletic. 2 Philip was threatening the invasion of Asia.

3 2) , “ iN Oé / bd
emeufativov7es TO Anpocbéver xatecKevalov ev-
/ \ \ bd > by f e \ “A 3 f
Ouvas Kat ypadhas éx avtov: o 6é Shoes ov povov
/ \ a
TOUTwY améAvEev, GAA Kal Ti@v SreTérXEL Kal
, 5 ” b) \ f
TpoKkarovpevos avlis ws EvvoUY Eis THY TONLTELAD,
/ a 3 J ry /

WOTE KAi TOV OTTEwV EK Natpwveias Kopiabévtwv
\ / \ \ a
Kat Gartopevwy Tov émt tots avépdow érarvov
a > “ fal
ETE ATESWKEV, OV TATELVAS OVS ayEVVaS hépwv
f \ nw ,
TO oupBeRnKos, ws ypader Kal Tpayode? eo-
3 \ ~ al / \ nA
TOUTOS, GANA TO Temay puriota Kal Koopely Tov
, > / \ N A
oupPBovrov aTroderkvupevos TO Mn peTapércea Vat
a / \ \ 5 , s
Tots BeBourevpévots. Tov pev ovv Roryov eizrev
e / A \ M4 4
o Anpoc@évns, tots b€ Whdicpaciw ovy éavTor,
4 n f
arr’ é€v péper Tov dirwy Exacrov éméypader,
ste K pies es 8 , \ 7) / ;
€forwvtCouevos Tov idtov daipova Kat THY TYYNY,
¢ /
Ems avéis aveBuppynoe Pidimmov TerXeuvTICAVTOS.
‘TeNEUTNOE O€ TH TEpl Natpwreray evTvYia ypovo
eTENEUTNOE O€ TH TEPL Nalpwre UTUXLA VY pPovov
> \ b 7 \ cal a“ ral
ov ToAUY éemtBiwoas: Kal TOUTO CoKEL TO TEXEV-
“A n € ‘ 4
TALM TOV ETOV O Xpnopos aTolecricar’
, e ,
KANaiet o viknOeis, 0 6 ViKNaAaS TOAWXED.
XXII. "Eyre pév ody xpvdha tHv tov Diriamov
TereuTnv oO Anposbévns, twpoxatarapBavev sé
N a 3 \ \ / \ > 4
TO Oappeitv émt Ta pédAXOvTA ToVs “A@nvaious,
mponrGe pardpos eis THY BovrAnY ws dvap éwpa-
Kas ab ov Te péeya mpocdoxary “AOnvaiots
9 , \ > > \ A e N ,
ayalov: Kat MeT Ov TOAU Trapyaav ot Tov DiriT-
59°

DEMOSTHENES, xxi. 1—xxu 1

party assailed Demosthenes and prepared reckonings
and indictments against him; but the people not
only absolved him from these, nay, they actually
continued to honour him and invited him again, as

a loyal man, to take part in public affairs. Consequently, when the bones of those who had fallen at Chaeroneia were brought home for burial, they assigned to him the honour of pronouncing the eulogy over the men; nor did they show a base or ignoble spirit under the calamity which had befallen them, as Theopompus writes in his inflated style, but by the special honour and respect which they paid to their counsellor they made it manifest that they did not repent of the counsels he had given them. The oration, then, was pronounced by Demosthenes, but to the decrees which he proposed he would not put his own name, but rather those of his friends, one after the other, avoiding his own as inauspicious and unfortunate, until he once more took courage upon Philip's death. And Philip died, surviving his success at Chaeroneia only a short time ;! and this, it would seem, was foretold by the Jast verse of the oracle :—

"Tears are for the conquered there, and for the conqueror, death,"

XXII. Now, Demosthenes had secret intelligence of Philip's death, and by way of inspiring the Athenians with courage for the future, he came forth to the council with a glad countenance, declaring that he had had a dream which led him to expect some great blessing for Athens; and not long afterwards the messengers came with tidings of

1 Philip was assassinated by Pausanias, one of his royal bodyguard, in 336 B.c. See the Alexander, x. 4.

mov Qavutoy amayyzdXovtes. evIus ovv EOvoY
a , ,
evayyerla Kal atehavody éewndicarto Havaaviav.
a € , f \ €
Kat TpondGev o Anuocdevns Eyov ANapuT pov twaTtov
3 , € 4 t , A X
ea tehavewpévos, E8dounv apepav ths Ouvyatpos
b) a , Ud e b , \ a
avrov TeOyyxkvias, ws 0 Atoyins dyot Nordopov

a a a“ ,
emt TOUT@ Kal KaTHYOP@V avTOU ptooTEXxviar,
92 N “a ’ \ \ f bd \ / \
avTos @VY ayevyns Kab padakos, EL TA TEVON Kab
\ x¢. . ¢ f \ ? A
TOUS dduppLOrs Auépov Kal diootopyouv wWuyijs
9 a a \ \ 3 / , “
ETOLELTO onpeta, TO O€ AdUTWS HépelY TaUTA
\ , ’ i. , >
Kal Tpaws aTredoKipaten.
bd A ? \ :
Eyo 8, ws pev emi Oavatw Baoiréws npépws
of \ # 9 9? > 4 ‘
oUTw Kal diravOpwres év ots nUTUYNTE YpHaa-
/ w “ a
péevou Tiaicacw av7ols otehavyndhopety Karas
if 9 3 v A
etye Kal Ove, OvK ap ElTrolu Tpos yap TO
ral ? / a“ \ n
ve“eont@ Kat ayevvés, CovTa pev Timav Kat
a , ' > © 7? € Ff 4
ToiaOat modtTHY, TeaovTos & Ud €ETépov pi)
A tS \ is 9 bf 3 A na
pepely THY Yapav peTPLWS, WAN ETLOKLPTAaY TH
ca \ 4 if b \ b
vexp@® Kal tmatwvive, WoTep avtors avdpa-
‘ U
yaOijoavtas’ OTL pevToL Tas olKoL TUYAS Kal
t ee) \ ’ a a \ €
Sdxpva Kal oduppors amrorXTMY Tals yuvarti oO
A Gé A a ae , v -~ 3?
npoabévyns, & TH TOAEL GuuEepery WETO, TAUT
a“ \ , “A
EmpaTtev, emai, Kat TiWenat TorLTLKAS Kal
% , A DayeN A ‘ \ ¢ ,
avipwdous Wuyis del Tpos TO KOLVOY taoTdLevov
\ a / \ a
Kal Ta OiKEela TAOH Kai TpayuLaTa Tots Onuoaiots
ww \ tA \ onl
émavéexovta THpely TO akiwua ToNU paAAOY 7
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DEMOSTHENES, xxi. 1-4

Philip’s death. At once, then, the Athenians pro- ceeded to make thank-otferings for glad tidings and

voted a crown for Pausanias. And Demosthenes came forth in public dressed in a splendid robe and wearing a garland on his head, although his daughter had died only six days before, as Aeschines says,} who rails at him for this and denounces him as an unnatural father. And yet Aeschines himself was of a weak and ungenerous nature, if he considered mournings and lamentations as the signs of an aflec- tionate spirit, but condemned the bearing of such losses serenely and without repining.

For my own part, I cannot say that it was honourable in the Athenians to crown themselves with garlands and offer sacrifices to the gods on the death of a king who, in the midst of his successes, had treated them so mildly and humanely in their reverses ; for besides provoking the indignation of the gods, it was also an ignoble thing to honour him while he was alive and make him a citizen of Athens, but when he had fallen by another's hand to set no bounds to their joy, nay, to leap, as it were, upon the dead, and sing paeans of victory, as if they themselves had wrought a deed of valour. However, for leaving his domestic misfortunes and tears and Jamentations to the women and going about such business as he thought advantageous to the city, I commend Demosthenes, and I hold it to be the part of a statesmanlike and manly spirit to keep ever in view the good of the community, to find support for domestic sorrows and concerns in the public welfare, and to preserve one's dignity far more than actors

1 Against Clesiphon (or On the Crown), § 77.

\ \ n lal
Tous vmoKxpiTas TOV BactdIKoOV Kat TUpavVe-
wn e e la > >
KOV TPOTWOTOV, OVS OPAmev OVTE KAALOVTAS OUTE
yerovtas év tots Pedtpots ws avtot Oédovawp,
S) ? e e >] \ 3 na Ss N (? 4
aX WS 0 AY@V aTaLTEl TpOs THY VTTOOECLD.
g \ > n
Nwpis 6€ TovTwy, et det TOY aTVYYCAaVTA pA)
n , a ,
Teplopay aTrapyyopyntov év TH Tale Ketpevoy,
5 \ \ / n / a N
GAAXa Kal Noyots YpHaGat Kovdtifovar Kal Tpos
X

HOlw WpayHaTa TpeTEw THY CLlavolav, WaTrEP
nm N lal ca)
ob TOUS OdOardpt@vTas amo TOV apTrpaV Kal
\ \ \
avTiTuTwY éml Ta YAWPA Kal paraKa Ypw-
3 , V4
pata THy Ow amaye KEedEvOVTES, ToOEV av
, f A
Tus érayayorto BeXtiw Tapnyopiay 7) martpidos
fal) cal) n \ n
evTUYOUGIS eK TOV KOWWaY TAVaY emt TA OtKEla
/ a i 3 ie
ovyxpaciv tropilopevos tots PBedttocww adpavi-
~ ’ wn N iy b wn WA
Covcav Ta Yeipw; TadTA pEV OvY ElTrEly TPOIKXON-
Ce bf ca) \ \ > ,
MEY OPOVTES ETLKADVTA TONAOVS Kat aTroOnNv-
, A U , \ ?
vovta Tov Aiaxivnv TO NOYw TOUTH TPS OLKTOV.
5 aie. wae / Le
XXITIT. Ad 6€ modes wadw tov Anuoadévous
\ / an
avappimifovTos avtas cuvictavTo. Kal OnGaior
N b) / a a ‘ \ x n
pev émefevto TH Ppovpad Kat TrOoAXNOUS aveEtro?,
¢ a) Uf n
oTrAa tov Anpoobévous avtolts cupmapacKeva-
cavtos, "A@nvaio: & ws Toreu“noovTEs MET AUTOV
\ n n e
TapeckevalovTo. Kal To Biya Katetyey o An-
‘ \ ,
poadévns, Kal mpos tous év ‘Acta otpaTnyous
a f ” \ > a ? / U
Tov Bactréws Eypade Tov éxeiVer eTTEyELpwY TOXE-
pov ’AreEdvopw, twatéda cat Mapyitny aroxadov
, N \ , /
avuTov. é7rél mévTOL TA TEpL THY YwpaVv BépeEvos
A \ Ny a > f
Taphv avtTos meta THS Suvapews els THY Bovrwrtiar,
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DEMOSTHENES, xxi. 4-xxut. 2

do when they take the parts of kings and tyrants ;
for these, as we see in the theatres, neither weep

nor laugh according to their own inclinations, but as the subject of the action demands.
And apart from these considerations, if it is our duty not to allow the unfortunate to lie comfortless in his sorrow, but to address him with cheering words and turn his thoughts to pleasanter things (like those who tell people with sore eyes to withdraw their gaze from bright and hard colours and fix it upon those which are soft and green), how can a man obtain better consolation for his domestic griefs than by blending them with the general welfare of a prosperous country, thus making the better things obscure the worse? These things, then, I have been led to say on seeing that many have their hearts softened to effeminate pity by this discourse of Aeschines.
XXIII. The cities of Greece, under the incitations of Demosthenes, now formed themselves into a league again. The Thebans, whom Demosthenes had helped to provide with arms, fell upon their Macedonian garrison and slew many of them; while the Athenians made preparations to go to war along with them. Demosthenes reigned supreme in the assembly, and wrote letters to the King's generals in Asia stirring them up to make war upon Alexander, whom he called a boy and a Margites.!. When, however, Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country and came in person with his forces into Beeotia, prone lay the courage
Lae. Silly Madman. A mock heroic poem bearing this name was attributed to Homer. Cf, Aeschines, On the Crown, § 160.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

% if \ e , ~ b] , YG
éEexéxomrtTo pev 1) OpacuTyns Tov AOnvaiwy Kai o Anpoabévns ater Brjxet, OnBaio: 5é tpodobevtes Um éxelvwy rywvicavto KaO avTovs Kal THY
/ > / A \ , \
mod améBarov. OopvBov b€ peyarou Tovs "A@nvatovs TepteaT@T0s, aTeaTaAn péev o Anpo-aOévns aipeBets pel' éEtéepwy mpecBevt1s mpos "AréEavdpor, deicas b€ THY Opynv éx tod Kidac-

pOvoes aveywpnaoev oTiaw Kat THY MpEea Petar
a e
adjcev. ev0us 8 o ’Ar€Eardpos eEntes méuTrwv
Tov Snpaywyav séxa pév, ws ‘ldopevers xal
Aotpis eipyxacw, oxTw 8, WS ol TAEloTOL Kal
“A , ,
Soktpotato. Tav avyypadewv, tovace, Anuoalé-
3 la)
vnv, IloAvevetov, “Kgiadtnv, Aveotdpyov, Mos-
poxréa, Anpwva, Kardro0evnv, Xapidnuov.
a . \ 4 kes) / , e
Ore kai Tov wept TOV TpoBuTwy Royor o
aA A , A lal ,
Anpoabévns mpociWe 70 Sym, &) Tots AUKOLS
Tous Kuvas é€FcdwKe, Sienynodpevos avTov peév
€lKATE KAL TOUS TLV AUT@ Kuvalv UTEP TOU S1}Mou
‘
payouévors, AréEavdpov 6€ tov Maxedova povo-
N ' y S. «Oo » +
UKOV TpoanyopEevaoev. ETL O, aomep, €pn,
“Tous éumopous opwpev, Tay év tpuBrLw Selypa
mepipépwat, St odiywy Tupw@y Tous TorXovS
TiMpaaKoVvTAS, OUTWS EV Huiy NavOdveTe TaVTAs
avTovS cuvexdLoovTes. TAaUTA pev ovV 'Aptaoto-
€ /
Bovros 0 Kaacavépevs tatopnxe.
Bovrevopévav b€ tav ’AOnvaiwy Kxat b:Lar7r0-
, ¢ , N , , \
povvtwy, 0 Anuadns AaBov reéevte TdNavTa Tapa
al fal , ,
TOV avopav wpmoroynce mpecBevoev Kal 5e2)-
1 rpoonpe... & Graux with M4; ds.
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DEMOSTHENES, xxi, 2-5

of the Athenians, and Demosthenes was extinguished, while the Thebans, betrayed by their allies, fought by themselves and lost their city.) Then, in the midst of the great confusion which reigned at Athens, Demosthenes was chosen and sent with others as an ambassador to Alexander, but fearing the wrath of the king he turned back at Cithaeron and abandoned the embassy.2. Then straightway Alexander sent to Athens a demand

for the surrender to him of ten of their popular leaders, according to Idomeneus and Duris, but according to the most and most reputable writers, only eight, namely, Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Moerocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes told the Athenians the story of how the sheep. surrendered their dogs to the wolves, comparing himself and his fellow-orators to dogs fighting in defence of the people, and calling Alexander “the Macedonian arch-wolf.”” Moreover, he said further: “Just as grain-merchants sell their whole stock by means of a few kernels of wheat which they carry about with them in a bow] as a sample, so in surrendering us you unwittingly surrender also yourselves, all of you.”” Such, then, is the account which Aristobulus of Cassandreia has given.

The Athenians were deliberating on this demand and were at a loss how to treat it, when Demades, for five talents which he had received from the men demanded, agreed to go on an embassy to

' In October, 335 B.c.

2 Cf. Aeschines, On the Crown, § 161.

fa) a ’ a ,
cecbat Tod Bacthéws UTEP avUTOYV, elite TH Hirta
“ N e/
TLOTEVWD, ELTE TPOTOOKOY [LETTOV EUPITELW HOTTEP
> § \
Néovta ovov Kexopeapévov. Emrerce O odv Kat
/ \ v e 4 \ /
TapnTnaato Tous avspas o Anuddns, Kai dindXa-
a \ ,
Fev avT@ THY TONLYD.
Ss ,
XXIV. ’AmerOovtos 6€ “AXreEadvdpou peyador
C \ e
ev Hoav ovTol, TaTeva 6 eémpattev o Anpo-
é tym Oe “Ayide tO Laraptiar

aGevns. xwoupevp de “Ayidu 74 preaty
4 if f 95 4 “A
Bpayéa ovvexivyOn maruv, eit Extnfe, Tov pev
3 / 3 £ / “ ® v }
A@nvaiwy ov cuveEavactavTwy, Tov Arytoos
/ “w oe
mecovtos Kal Tov Aaxedatpovioy cuvTpiBerTov.
s , a)
EiaonyOn 5€ tote Kal 4 epi Tov atedavov
\ \ K a a \ SAAN,
ypadyn kata Krnoipwvtos, ypadetoa pev ert
Xatpwvdov apxyovtos puixpov éTava tov Xatpwvi-
a “A ¢ b)
Kar, Kpietoa & vaTepov Etect déxa em’ AptoTto-
a / “ ,
havtos, yevouévn 5€ ws ovdepia TV Snpootwry
/ / \ / a“ if \
TepiBontos dea Te THY OoEaY TOV NEyOVTwY Kal
nA 4 / € n 7
Thy TaVv OixalovTwY evyéveray, ob Tols éXavVOVGL
/ / a

tov AnpocGévnv tote wielotov Suvapévors Kal
/ b) , \ ? le
paxedovilovoly ov TponKavTo THY KAT avTOU
a ’ , ef a 3 / ae \
Wipov, aXX ovTwm AauTPwWS aTréXVGAaV WOTE TO
/ “A / 3 f
mTéumTov pepos TOV Wihdwv Atoyivnv py jpeTta-
a a \ 9 \ a

AaBely. eéxelvos péev odv evOus ex THS TOrAEWS

1 From 333 B.c. to 330 B.c., Agis IIL, the king of Sparta, carried on war against Macedonia in conjunction with Persia. In the latter year he was defeated and slain by Antipater, Alexander’s regent in Macedonia.

2 In 336 B.c., Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes receive a golden crown for certain public services, and Aeschines indicted Ctesiphon for proposing an illegal measure. The document (Demos. De Cor. § 54), from which Plutarch takes

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the king and entreat him in their behalf; either because he relied on the friendship of Alexander, or because he expected to find him sated, like a lion glutted with slaughter. At any rate, Demades persuaded the king to let the men off, and reconciled him with the city.

XXIV. So when Alexander went back to Macedonia, Demades and his associates were high in power, but Demosthenes acted a humble _ part. It is true that when Agis the Spartan was active in revolt Demosthenes once more made a feeble effort in his support, but then he cowered down, since the Athenians would not join in the uprising. Agis fell in battle, and the Lacedaemonians were erushed.}

It was at this time that the indictment against Ctesiphon in the matter of the crown came on for trial. It had been prepared in the archonship of Chaerondas a little before the battle of Chaeroneia, but came on for trial ten years later? in the archonship of Aristophon. It became the most celebrated of all public causes, not only on account of the fame of the orators, but also because of the noble conduct of the judges, who, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then at the height of power and acting in the interests of Macedonia, would not vote against him, but acquitted him so decisively that Aeschines did not get a fifth part of their ballots.2 Consequently, Aeschines forsook the city at once, and spent the

the name of Chaerondas, the archon of 338, has been shown to be spurious. The case was tried in 330 pr.c.

3 This made Aeschines liable to a fine of 1,000 drachmas, and made it impossible for him to bring any future action before an Athenian court.

” > ’ , \ ME Ls / , 3 /
@OXET aTiov, Kat Tept “Podov Kai ‘lwviay codgu-
CTEVOV KATES. WCE.

XXV. Mer ot wodtv & “Aprardos teev é&
\ b)
"Actas ets tas “A@ynvas atrodpas *>AréEavdpor,
e a ? \ \ >
AUT@ TE TPaypLaTAa TUVELOwS TrOVNpAa Ot dowTiay,
3 a ” \ v a / ,
KaKElVOY 70n XYaXeTroV dvTA Tots Pirols SedoiKas.
/ \ N a a
KaTagduyovtos 6€ Tpos Tov Ohmov avTov Kal pera
nw \ a aA ‘\
TOV VPNMATWOV KAL TOV VEOY AVTOV TAPAdLOOYTOS,
e ‘ bd Cor, bf] \ > f
ot pev adAot pytopes evdus érrodOarptacaytes
\ ‘ a bd / \ / \
pos Tov mAovTOY €BoxCovv Kat cuvérreOov TOUS
9 ; f N , \ Caper ¢ \
A@nvatous eéyecOat nai owe Tov ikéTnV. 0 O€
a f
Anpooévns mpwtov pev aTedavvery TuvEeBovrEVE
\
tov “ApzraXov, kat duratTecOat en THY Tod
> ih ? , >] ’ Pp] f \
euBdrwoiv Els ToNeuov €€ OUK avayKatas Kal
+Q7 , € A 9 ~~ 7” ef
adtkou mpopdacews’ Huépars 6 Odriyats botepov
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éFetalopévwr TOV XpNudTwY Lowy avTov o ”Ap-
Gg f a f \
manos naGevta BapBapixyn KUALKL Kal KaTapap-
, \ 5
Gavovta THv Topetav Kal TO ElOos, exédEvcE S1a-
\ € aA lé c
Baotacarta tiv oXKiv TOD Xpvatou cKepacGat.
f \ a ig \ / \
Oavpacavtos b€ tov Anpwoabévous to Bapos Kat
, a ” / eed
mvuOomévou Tocov aye, peidtacas o “AprtraXos,
“"AEe cot, naw, “elxoot TddavTa’ Kat
nw N a
yevomevns TaXlaTa THS vuKTOS ErEeurey avT@
a / 9
THY KUAIKA META TOV elkoot TAaAaYTOYV. HY &
/ aA N
apa devos 0 “Aprrados épwttxot mpos xXpuaiov
’ ‘\ Vv 4 4 \ al ’ tA

avopos owes kat dtayvoe Kat Porais opupatov
aveupety 7005. ov yap avtécyev 0 Anpoadevys,
60

rest of his life as a teacher of rhetoric in Rhodes and Ionia.

XXV. Not long afterwards Harpalus! came out of Asia to Athens. He had run away from Alexander, because he was conscious that his prodigality had led him into criminal practices, and because he was afraid of his master, who was now become harsh to his friends. But after he had taken refuge with the Athenian people and put himself in their hands with his ships and _ his treasures, the other orators at once fixed their longing eyes upon his wealth, caine to his aid, and tried to persuade the Athenians to receive and save the suppliant. But Demosthenes, in the beginning, counselled them to drive Harpalus away, and to beware lest they plunge the city into war upon an unnecessary and unjust ground ; a few days afterwards, however, while they were making an inventory of the treasure, Harpalus saw that Demosthenes was eyeing with pleasure a cup of barbarian make, with a keen appreciation of its fashion and of the ornamental work upon it. He therefore bade him poise it in his hand and see how heavy the gold was. And when Demosthenes was amazed at its weight and asked how much it would amount to, Harpalus smiled and said, “ For you it will amount to twenty talents;” and as soon as night was come he sent him the cup with the twenty talents. Now, Harpalus was skilful in detecting the character of a man who had a passion for gold, by means of the look that spread over his face and the glances of his eyes. For Demos-thenes could not resist, but was overcome by the

1 Alexander’s treasurer. He came to Athens in 324 B.c

ara TANYyELS UTO THs dwpodoKias WoTrEP Trapa-
, Q / at i“
dedeypévos ppovpav TpocKexwprKcer TO ApTrdaro.
Kat pel apépav ev Kal KANDS Eplots Kal TaLVials
KATA TOU Tpaynrov KadedEdpevos Els THY EK-
/ “A \ / > 7S
KrAnoiav mponrdde: Kat KEedXevovTwY avictacbat
Kat Néyetv, Svévevey WS ATTOKEKOMMEVNS AUT@ THS
nA ¢€ bo] >] n A >] ¢ \
dwvijs. ot 5 evdvets yrevafovtes ovxX vio
bd > A
ouvayxns Efpalov, ANN UT’ apyupayxns ErAnpOat
vurtwp Tov Snpaywyov. vaTtepov de TOD Sypou
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Y a \ U 5) 7A ’ \
pevov atroroyetoOat Kal TWelGEly OvK EDVTOS, ANAG
N fal
yaretaivovtos Kal GBopvBovytos, avaotas Tis
iA
gcoxwowey eitwv: “OvK axkovoecbe, ® avdper
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AOnvaiot, ToD THY KUALKA EXOVTOS;
Tore pev ovv amétepav €x THs Toews TOV
\ , A
“Apranopv, dedi0Tes 5€ un Aoyov aTratTa@vTat ¥pPN-
Cae Cotes 4
udtwv @v SinpTaKeray ob pytopes, Sytnow érot-
n / ,
ODVTO VEAVLKIY KAL TAS OLKLaS ETTLOVTES NpEvYOD,
le) ~ %
wry THS KaddtkrA€ous Tod “Appevidov. povny
f
yap THY TOUTOV VEWOTL YEYALMNKOTOS OVK ElacaV
3 a f y bt4 ¢ 4 a
éLeyyOijvat, vusdns évdov ovans, ws toToper
®eorroptros.
c , fa)
XXVI. ‘O b€ Anuoobévns omoce ywpady etor)-
\ > 4
veyce Wijdtopa thy €& “Apetou mayou Bovdjy
a \ f
éfetdoat TO Tpaypa Kat Tous éxetvyn Sokavtas
wn n \ lal al
abdixety Sobvat Sixnv. ev b€ TPwTOLS abToD THs

bribe, and now that he had, as it were, admitted a garrison into his house, promptly went over to the side of Harpalus. Next day, after swathing his neck carefully in woollen bandages, he went forth into the assembly; and when he was urged to rise and speak, he made signs that his voice was ruined. The wits, however, by way of raillery, declared that the orator had been seized overnight, not with an ordinary quinsy, but with a silver quinsy. And afterwards, when the whole people learned that he had been bribed, and would not permit him, when he wished it, to have a hearing and make his defence, but were angry and raised a tumult against him, someone rose and said jokingly: " Men of Athens, will you not listen to the man who holds the cup?"'!

At that time, then, they sent Harpalus away from the city, and fearing lest they should be called to account for the moneys which the orators had seized, they made a zealous search for it, and went round to their houses on the quest, except that of Callicles the son of Arrhenides. For his house was the only one which they would not allow to be searched, since he was newly married and his bride was within, as Theopompus relates.

XXVI. But Demosthenes put a bold face on the matter and introduced a bill providing that the case should be referred for investigation to the council of the Areiopagus, and that those should be brought to trial who were found guilty there. He was himself, however, among the first condemned by the council, and came before the court for trial,

1 At feasts, the cup passed from guest to guest, and the one who held it had the right of uninterrupted speech or

song.

/ f
tov dixnv Kal trapadofels eis TO Seapwrnpov,
’ , A 7 \] \ ee 9 Gé nA
aiayuvn THS aitias Pyot! Kal 6s acGéverayv Tov
, , , \ e ‘ ’
TwUATOS OU Cuvauévou Hépely TOV Elpypov aTro-
PS cel \ \ ‘al , a be al n b) /
pavat tous pev AaOovta, ToV de AaGeiy eEovatav
if id) \ n f
Sovtmy. Réyetat your ws ov paKpayv Tov aaTEOS

if ’ , n , bf lal
hevywv aicGo.rd tTivas Tov dtahopwv avT@ ToNXt-
-” > “ -, \ ? \ e X ?
TOY eTLoL@KOVTAS, Kal BovAOLTO fev AUTOV aTrO-

ft e b] b] - i? v \

KpuTTey, ws 0 exetvot POeyEduEevot TOUVvOma Kal

, \ / n , 9
mpoceNOovtes eyyvs edéovTo AaBetyv épodia Tap
~ ? \ a - iA
AUTO@V, €T AUTO TOUTO KopmitovTEs apyuUpLOV OlKO-

, , / \
Gev Kal tovtov xapi éridiwkavtes abtov, dua be
aA , \ / >] al N
Oappety Tmapexddouv Kai pn hepev aviape@s TO
U 14 nA Z ‘
auuBeBnkos, ETL paddAov avakrXavoacGat Tov
\ > n n b] ,
Anuocbévny kat eimetv: “las 8 ov péd\r@
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dhépery Bapéws avrodtTwv TOALY EXO povs TOLOUTOUS

v “ b Ce / e - ? Cat ,

éyovaay olovs év eTEepa hirous evpety ov padzsov
bP)
ECT;

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n , \ \ \ N

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, e
"Artixny amoBrérav cedaxpupéervos, @oTE Havas
e , a“ n
oUK evyvmpovas ovd of"oXOYOVCAS ToOls eV TH
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TOALTELA Vveavlievpadiy aTropvnuoveverOal. Reé-

nA Yi > , \
yeTab yap €k TOU aaTEOS WTAaNrAATTOMEVOS Kal
, / AY a b) a“
TPOS THY AKPOTOALY avaTELVasS TAS Keipas Elmrety:
z r EN \ n
‘OC, déormowa Todas, te 62) Tptat Tols YadeTTo-

, N \
TaToLs yatpers Onpiois, yNavKt Kal SpaKovTs Kal
1 gnoi Reiske, and Graux with M*: ¢act.
64
858

DEMOSTHENES, xxvi. 1-4

where he was sentenced to a fine of fifty talents and delivered over to prison in default of payment. But out of shame at the charge under whieh he lay, as he says,’ and owing to the weakness of his body, which eould not endure confinement, he ran away, through the carelessness of some of his keepers and the connivance of others. At any rate, we are told that when he was in flight at a short distance from the eity, he learned that some of the citizens who were his enemies were in pursuit of him, and there- fore wished to hide himself; and when they ealled upon him loudly by name, and came up near to him, and begged him to aecept from them provision for his journey, declaring that they were bringing money from home for this very purpose, and were pursuing him only in order to get it to him; and when at the same time they exhorted him to be of good courage and not to be pained at what had happened, Demosthenes broke out all the more into eries of grief, saying: “ Surely I must be distressed to leave a city where my enemies are as generous as I ean hardly find friends to be in another.”

And he bore his exile without fortitude, taking up his quarters in Aegina and Troezen for the most part, and looking off towards Attica with tears in his eyes, so that utterances of his are on record which are not generous or consonant with his spirited efiorts as a statesman. We are told, namely, that as he was leaving the city he lifted up his hands towards the aeropolis and said: “ O potent Guardian of the City, Athena, how, pray, canst thou take delight in those three most intraetable beasts, the

1 In the second of the letters which have come down to us under his name, § 17.
05

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& Onuw; ' TOUS O€ TPOTLOVTAS aVT@ Kal cuVdLaTPpi-
U4 a /
Bovras veavickovs améTpeTe THS TONLTELAS AEyOV
° a / e A ? a nw
@S el, dvely TpokEepmevwvy OO@Y AT apXis, THs
\ bd \ \ A \ \ > , A >
pev ert To Biya Kai thy éxxrnolav, THs 8 dvte-
\ \ \
Kpus els TOV ONEO POY, ETUYYaVE TPDELOW; TA KATA
\ , Le 4 x 4 \
THY TorlTeLav Kaka, PoBovs Kat POovous kai
ww >) e wn
diaBoras Kat ayvas, emi TavTnY av oppncat
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tiv evdv Tod Gavutou Telvovcar.
r > X \ 5) A
XXVIT. “AANA yap ete hevyovtos avtod ty
3 , \ > iy \ ’ ig
eLonpevny guyny “AreEavdpos perv éTerevTyCE,
€
Ta 6 “EXAnviKkad cuvictayvto Tmadiv, AewoOévous
A N ,
avopayabodytos Kal wepiteryifovtos ’Avtimatpov
bd , 7 / \ i e
2 év Aapia todtopxovpevov. Ivéas peév odv o
¢ n
pytwp Kat Kaddrtpédwv o KapaBos €& ’A@nvav
>]
dhevyovtes Avtimutp@ mpoceyévovto, Kal pera
A , , o
TOV éxeivou dirtwv Kal twpécBewv TeEpLiovTEes OUK
v > / \ c/ 3 \ /
clwy apiatacbat Tous “EXAnvas ovdé tpocéyery
A > , / \ A
tots A@nvaiow: Anpocdévns 6€ tots @& doteos
\
mpeaBevovot mpoopitas éautTov nywvifeTo Kai
/ wn
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Makedoct kat cvvexBarovaw avtous THs “EXXa-
>] A
3 dos. é€v & ’Apxadia Kat Nodopiav tod IlyOéou

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> e if wn
eipncev 0 Purapxos ev exxdnaola, ToD pev Urép
wn A la) ¢
tov Makeddovor, Tod 8 umép Tov “EXXjvwY ré-
/ \ N \ / bd va) e
ryovtos. Aéyetar dé Tov pev LluOéav eizrety Ott,
/ 3 ra %,
Kabamep otktav els HY dvetoy ElLaohépeTas yadda,
, e
KAKOV TL TUVTWS EVELY VOULComEv, OUT@ Kal TOALY
wn ¢ 2) / ,
avayKn voce eis iv A@nvatwv mpecBeaa trapa-
66

DEMOSTHENES, xxvi. 4-xxi11. 3

owl, the serpent, and the people?’’ Moreover, when young men came to visit and converse with him, he would try to deter them from public life, saying that if two roads had been presented to him in the beginning, one leading to the bema and the assembly, and the other straight to destruction, and if he could have known beforehand the evils attendant on a public career, namely, fears, hatreds, calumnies and contentions, he would have taken that road which led directly to death.

XXVII. But while he was still undergoing the exile of which I have spoken, Alexander died,! and the Greek states proceeded to form a league again, while Leosthenes was displaying deeds of valour and walling Antipater up in Lamia, where he held him in siege. Accordingly, the orators Pytheas and Callimedon (called the Stag-beetle) fled from Athens and joined the party of Antipater, and travelling about with the regent’s friends and ambassadors tried to prevent the Greeks from revolting or attach- ing themselves to Athens; but Demosthenes, joining himself to the ambassadors from Athens, used his utmost efforts in helping thein to induce the cities to unite in attacking the Macedonians and expelling them from Greece. And Phylarchus states that in Arcadia Pytheas and Demosthenes actually fell to abusing one another in an assembly, the one speak- ing in behalf of the Macedonians, the other in behalf of the Greeks. Pytheas, we are told, said that just as we think that a house into which asses’ milk is brought must certainly have some evil in it, so also a city must of necessity be diseased into which an Athenian embassy comes; whereupon

1 At Babylon, in May, 323 B.o.
67
PEWEARCH SCELVES

4 yivetau' Tov b€ Anpoobérny otperat TO Tapd-
, \ ‘ lA \ wv b>] 2 LG f
Sevypa, bnoavTa Kat TO yada TO Ovelov ep vVyLELa
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cat tous "A@nvatous él cwtypia wapayiweobat
TOV VOTOLVTOD.
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ral / i)
Cera 7 Anpoobéver KkdOodov. TO pev ody
is t \ BY
wndicpa Anpwv o Iatavievs, aveyrtos wy An-
, Sut ate ra) de / > 9
poabévous, etarnveyxev: éeTéeuhOn dé TpLnpns ém
’ X > v ? \ “A J i
5 avtov eis Alyevav. éx« 6€ Tlepatas avéBatvev
wv v v b / >) / >] \
oUTE APYOVTOS OUTE lEpews aTroNELPOEVTOS, GAA
Kab TOV GA\NOV TONTOV OMOd TaVTwWY aTAVTWD-
Tw Kal Ceyouevwy Tpobvpws. OTE Kal dyotv
Si eX € , , ,
avrov o Mayyns Anr)tptos avatetvavta Tas
Nelpas paKkapioat THs iuepas exeivns autor, ws
, 9 , f ,
Bérxtiov ~AdrxtBtadov Katiovtas Wemetopevous
f > / e > > a / \
yap, ov BeBiacpévous, UT’ avtov déyecPat Tovs
/ a \ a “ a
6 woAiTas. THs oe XPnbar ees Cnuias AUT@ pevov-
ans (ov yep egy xapere AVGAaL karadirey) éoo pi- 859
TAaVTO ™ pos TOV vOjL0v. elwOcres yap év TH
Quaia tod Aos tod owtipos apyupiov Tedeiv
Tols KaTtacKevalovas Kal Koopovat Tov Bwpor,
éxelv@ TOTE TAUTA TOLhoaL Kal TApATYELV TEVTH-
4 ¢ na
KoVTa TaravTwv éFéOwKav, Oocov Fv Tipnuya THs
/ |
KATAOLKNS.
ons, tr N
XXVIII. Ov pny emi wordy ypovov atéXarvoe
Ths TaTpioos KaTeNOar, dra TAYV TOV LAAHVI-
K@V Tpayuatov ovvTpiBévtwv Mertayertyidvos
pev 7) Tept Kpavyava paxn ovvetece, Bonédpo-
63

Demosthenes turned the illustration against him by saying that asses' milk was given to restore health, and the Athenians came to bring salvation to the sick.

At this conduct the Athenian people were de- lighted, and voted that Demosthenes might return from exile. The decree was brought in by Demon of Paeania, who was a cousin of Demosthenes; and a trireme was sent to Aegina to fetch him home. When he set out to go up to the city from Piraeus, not an archon or a priest was missing, and all the rest of the people also met him in a body and welcomed him eagerly. It was at this time, too, as Demetrius the Magnesian says, that he lifted his hands towards heaven and blessed himself for that day, since he was coming home from exile more honourably than Alcibiades did; for he had persuaded, not forced, his fellow-citizens to welcome him. It is true that his pecuniary fine remained standing against him (for it was not lawful to remit an assessment by act of grace), but they found a device to evade the law. It was their custom, namely, in the case of a sacrifice to Zeus the Saviour, to pay a sum of money to those who prepared and adorned the altar, and they now gave Demosthenes the contract to make these pre- parations for fifty talents, which was just the amount of his assessment.

XXVIII. However, he did not enjoy his native city for long after his return from exile, but the cause of Greece was speedily crushed, and in the month of Metageitnion the battle at Crannon took place,! in that of Boédromion the Macedonian 1 August 6th, 322 B.c. In this battle Antipater and

Craterus crushed the combined armies of the Greeks and concluded the so-called Lamian war. 6

9

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

pu@vos d€ mapndOev ets Movvvyiayv 1 dpoupd, Ilvaveiavos b6¢ Anpuocbérns améBave tovde Tov TpOTOV.

'Os 'AvTimrat pos Kal Kpatepos NYVEXOVTO mpoatovTes ert Tas "AOnvas, ot pev mepl tov An- pooOevny POacavtes vTeENNOov ex THs TOdEWS, o 6é Shuos avTav Oavatov Katéyvw Anwddou 4 ¥ \ b] " , ypaavtos. addXwv 6€ ddAXAaXoD StactapéevToVv 0 'Avtimat pos TEPLETTE LTE Tous cvAAapBavortas, Oy yyEepov iy 'A pxtas) KA Gets puyad0oOnpas. Tovtov 6€ Qovpiov évta TO yever Aayos Exel Tpa- yootas vmoxpiverOai mote, Kat tov Aiywwntny Il@Xov tov brepBadovta TH TéeXVN TWavtas éxel-

vou yeyovévat pabnrijy tatopovaiv. “Eppurmaos
d€ Tov ‘Apxiav év Tots Aaxpitov TOU p7TOpoSs
uadnrais! avaypade: Anpntpios dé THIS “Avagipe-
vous Svat piBijs HETETXNKEVAL poly avrov. obTos
ovv Oo 'Apxias ‘Trrepetony bev TOV pytopa Kal
"A pea rovixoy TOV Mapa@anov Kal TOV Anyntpiov
TOU Parnpéws adehpoy ‘Ipepaion e év Abyivn KaTa-
puyovtas emt TO Aldxetov amooT dao as emreprpev
els KXewvas mpos “Avrimarpoy KQKEL dep Oa-
pnoav, ‘Trepeidov dé xal tiv yAOtTav éxtTpN-
Orvar N€youct.
XXIX. Tov 6é AnpocPévny ruOopevos ixérnu
év Kanavpiq év TO lep@ Tlocesdavos KabeCer Gar,
ClaTevoas UTNpETIKOIS Kal arrofas peTa Opg-
KOU Sopudopev ere ev avactavTa Badiferv peT
avtTov mpos Avritatpov ws Suayepés Teroopevor
1 uadntais with Reiske, Coraés, Bekker, and M* (Graux):
mabynriy.
70

DEMOSTHENES, xxvii. 1—xxix. 3

garrison entered Munychia, and in that of Pyanep- sion Demosthenes died, in the following manner.

When Antipater and Craterus were reported to
be advancing upon Athens, Demosthenes and _ his
associates succeeded in escaping by stealth from
the city, and the people, on motion of Demades,
passed sentence of death upon them. Since they
dispersed themselves to different places, Antipater
sent his soldiers about to arrest them, under the
command of Archias the so-called Exile-hunter.
This man was a native of Thurii, and the story
goes that he was once a tragic actor; indeed, it
is recorded that Polus of Aegina, the best actor
of his time, was a pupil of his. But Hermippus
states that Archias was one of the pupils of
Lacritus the rhetorician; while Demetrius says
that he belonged to the school of Anaximenes.
This Archias, then, finding that Hypereides the
orator and Aristonicus of Marathon and Himeraeus
the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean had taken
refuge in the sanctuary of Aeacus at Aegina, haled
them away and sent them to Antipater at Cleonae.
There they were put to death, and Hypereides,

it is said, also had his tongue cut ont.
XXIX. Moreover, on learning that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Poseidon at Calauria, Archias sailed across to the island in small boats, and after landing with Thracian spearmen tried to persuade the fugitive to leave the temple and go with him to Antipater, assuring him that he would suffer no harsh treatment. But ek

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ovdév. 0 6€ Anuoobévns étvyyavev drvpiy Ewpaxas
\ \ ¢ / fal
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286 \ ' 1 he a 3 / ,
édoxet yap avraywritecbar TO 'Apxia Tpaywdiay
¢ / "A , '
UTOKpLVOMEVOS, EUnmEepav O& Kal KaTéywV TO
/ > i al \ ,
Géatpov évoeia mapacKkeuvhs Kal yopnytas Kpa-
A N a b] , \ ,
tetc ar. 610 Tov "Apyiov modrda hiravOpwra
} / ' a} x ' Ul ef
tareyPevros davaBrdeyas pos autor, wa7rEp
aes, , 6c? ' a) eee Cen at
etuyvare Kadynpevos, '""O Apxta, etmev, " ovte
° , , Vi if % nw ?
UTOKPLVOMEVOS ME ETTELTAS TWTTOTE OVTE VUV Treét-
bf] / 39 ? , ? ? A
oes éTrayyedXopevos." apEapévou 6 amendety
a » , te] fal T:A 3 »" / ¥
tov Apxiou pet opyis, " Nov,' ébn, " deyers Ta
> aA lal , 4 ' ,
éx ToD Maxedovixod TeimoSos, apts O UmeEKpivov.
\ , , ~
piKpoVv oUY EmloyEs, OTMS ETLTTELAW TL TOLS
oikol. Kal TaUT EelT@V eVTOS aveywpnaEe TOD
w~ x f € , ,
vaovo' Kat \aBov LuPrtov ws ypadew péedrAwv
n / \ ,
TPOTHVEYKE TO TTOMATL TOV KdAAMOV, Kal daKw",

ef A n >
@omep év To StavoetoGar Kai ypapev etwder,
, \
Ypovoy TivVa KaTécyer, eiTa ocuyKaduWapevos
’ , \ td e \ 9 X \
uTexNLVE THY KEparyV. ol PEeVv OVY TAPA TAS
Ug A / / ¢, 3
Gupas éotwtes Sopuhopor KateyédXwv ws aTr0-
O€ELALWYTOS AUTOD, Kal fadaKOoV aTEKaXOUY Kal
v e ? 3 / \ > /
avavopov, 0 6 ‘Apyias mpoce\Owv avictacbat
\ ’ al ,
TAPEKUNEL, KAL TOUS AUTOUS UVAKUKA@V ROyoUs
9 \ \ le
avOis éemnyyédrXeTO dtadrayas pos Tov ’Avtt-
Tatpov. 0n 6€ ouvyncOnpevos o Anpoodévns
Ul A fal “
EMTEPUKOTOS AUT@ TOV PapMaKOV Kal KpAaTOvYTOS
YZ \ / ‘ \ ?
éfexaruyato: cat dvaPdéras mpos tov ’Apyxiar,
3 ? > ‘ a
“Ouvn dv gOavos,’ eimev, “dn Tov ex THS Tpa-
f , be f AS “A
yodtas umoxpivopevos Kpéovta Kat To o@pa
72

DEMOSTHENES, xxix. 1-5

it chanced that Demosthenes, in his sleep the night before, had seen a strange vision. He dre: amed, namely, that he was acting in a tragedy and contending with Archias for the prize, and that although he acquitted himself well and won the favour ai the audience, his lack of stage decorations and costumes cost him the victory. Therefore, after Archias had said many kindly things to him, Demosthenes, just as he sat, looked steadfastly at him and said: “O OHEG. thou didst never convince me by thine acting, nor wilt thou now convince me by thy promises.” And when Archias began to threaten him angrily, “ Now,” said he, “thou utterest the language of the Macedonian oracle ;! but a moment ago thou wert acting a part. Wait a little, then, that I may write a message to my family.’ With these words, he

retired into the temple, and taking a scroll, as if about to write, he put his pen to his mouth and bit it, as he was wont to do when thinking what he should write, and kept it there some time, then covered an d bent his head. The spear-men, then, who stood at the door, laughed at him for playing the coward, and called him weak and unmanly, but Archias came up and urged him to rise, and reiterating the same speeches as before, promised him a reconciliation with Antipater. But Demosthenes, now conscious that the poison was affecting and overpowering him, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon Archias, “Thou canst not be too soon now,” said he, “in playing the part of Creon in the tragedy and casting this

1 a.e. thy real sentiments, in obedience to Antipater.

~ € f \ ’ f s
TouUTO pittwy atadov. éyw d,@ dire Ilocedop,
ére Cov eEavictapat Tov lepov' T@ be “AvtiTatp@
\ , >~ © \ \ \ ) ,
kat Maxedoow ovd 0 cos vaos KaBapos atroné-
A 4 nw
NeLTTAL. TAUT ElTwr, Kal KEXEVTAS UTONAPELD
3 s ” f \ / ee a
avTOV 70H Tpé“ovTa Kal aadXopmEvoy, awa TO
nw 5 \ \
mpoerOety Kat TwapadrAaar Tov Bwpov éTvTece Kal
4 > wn \ f ;
otevakas adie THY Wuyi.
na ad % ‘ , > / “a
XXX. To d€ dappaxov “Apiotwov pév exe Tov
Kadapmov AaBew dynow avtor, ws etpntar ar-
/ e \ / A b) ,
qos O€ TLS, OU THY toTopiay "EpuiTios aveidnde,
f A \ \ \ A
hyal, TETOVTOS AUTO Tapa Tov Bwpoy év pev TO
B Bru / > we ? \ e Ad ;
LBrL@ yeypappevny eTLTTOAHS apyny evpeO vat,
“AnpooOévns “Avtimatp@, Kat pndév ardor
/ \ a \ ‘ tA f

Oavualopéevyns 5é€ THs TEept Tov Bavatov oEUTHTOS
n \ \ rad ? “~ °
SunyetaCat Tous Tapa Tats Ovpas Opixas ws &x
, \ a a aA
Tivos pakiov NaBwv ets THY YElpa TpoaOoito TO
Ff 7 SS
TTOMATL Kal KaTaTILOL TO Puppakov: avTol § dpa
x7 9 N / G
xpucoy wnOncav eivat TO KaTaTLVOpEvov' 1 8
al id aA
UnpeTovaa Taldlokn, TuvOavopévwy TOV Treph
\ > , , N 5 s
tov *“Apxiav, dain modvv eivar ypovov é& ob
f \ > y A e e
hopoitn tov atrodecpov éxetvov o Anpocbévns as
, oe ml / \ s\ JIRLEN >
duraxtnpiov. “Epatoabévns b€ Kat adtos épv
/ \
Kpiko dyal Koikw TO hPadppaxov durdocewv Tov
\ , 5 A 2 oA , ,
dé KpiKoY Eivat TOTOY avT@ hopnpa TrepiBpayto-
a ” e A
viov. TOV OS drwy, door yeypadact TEpl avTod,
f / > \ \ b) ’ a
TapToAro S€ etal, TAS Stahopas ovK avayKaiov
wn Q ef 4 t fal
emeEeNOeiv: mr1,v OTL Anpoyapys o tod Anpo-
74

body out without burial! But I, O beloved Poseidon, will depart from thy sanctury while I am still alive; whereas Antipater and the Macedonians would not have left even thy temple undefiled.” So speaking, and bidding someone support him, since he was now trembling and tottering, he had no sooner gone forth and passed by the altar than he fell, and with a groan gave up the ghost.

XXX. As for the poison, Ariston says he took it from the pen, as I have said; but a certain Pappus, from whom Hermippus took his story,

says that when he had fallen by the side of the altar, there was found written in the scroll the beginning of a letter, “ Demosthenes to Antipater,” and nothing more; and that when men were amazed at the suddenness of his death the Thracians who had stood at the door told the story that he took the poison into his hand from a cloth and put it to his mouth and swallowed it; and that they themselves, strange to say, had supposed that what he swallowed was gold; and that the little maid who served him, when inquiries were made by Archias, said that Demosthenes had long worn that cloth girdle as a safeguard against his enemies. And even Eratosthenes himself says that Demosthenes kept the poison in a hollow bracelet, and that he wore this bracelet as an ornament upon his arm. But the divergent stories of all the others who have written about the matter, and they are very many, need not be recounted; except that Democharès the relative of Demosthenes says

1 An allusion to the Creon in the Antigone of Sophocles, by whose edict the body of Polyneices was to be left unburied (wv. Of. LOL ff).

abévovs oixetos olec bai dnow aitov ovy uTO fappaxov, Cewy b€ TYun Kal mpovoia THY Maxedovav @MOTHTOS Ee€apTaynvalt, ouvTopws Katactpé-Wwavta xal aduTws. Katéotpepe 5€ extn emi déxa Tov Ilvaveyiavos pnvos, év » THY oxvOpw-ToTaTyy TOV Oecpohopiwy Huépav ayovcar Tapa Th Oe@ vyoctevovaty at yuvaixes.

5 Tovtw peév ortyov botepoyv o tav ’APnraiwv Shjuos aktay amodidovs Tiny eixova Te YadKv dvéatnoe Kal Tov TpecBUTaTOV eyndicato TaV amo yévous év Iputaveiw aitnaw éyew. Kat To émiypaupa TO Opvrovpmevov eTreypadyn TH Race ToD dvoptavTos:

eimrep anv popnv yvoun, Anuoobeves, eives,
ovTroT av ‘EAA jvwv HpEev”Apns Maxedav.

of yap avtov tov Anpoobévnv tovto Totjoat révyoutes €v Kadavpia, pédNovtTa TO hadppaxov mpoaphéperOat, ould) pPrAvapovar.

XXXI. Mexpov 6€ mpocbev 4} tapaBanretv
nuas “AOnvale RAé€yera’d te Tocovde cvuBhvac.
aTpaTLWTys éml Kpiow TWA KaAXOUpEVOS Ud’ ryye-
povos, door elye Xpucisuopy Els TAS YEelpas évéOnKe
Tou avdptavtos. éaTnKe S€ TOUS daKTUAOUS GUVE-
you &¢ adriAwV, KaL TapaTéduKev ov peyary
2 TAGTAaVOS. ATO TAUTNS TOAKA TOV PUAAOD, EiTE

1 An annual festival in honour of Demeter and Persephone. 2 This statue, the work of Polyeuctus, was erected in 280-279 B.c., on motion of Democharcs, a nephew of Demos-

that in his opinion it was not due to poison, but to the honour and kindly favour shown him by the gods, that he was rescued from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and painless death. And he died on the sixteenth of the month Pyanep- sion, the most gloomy day of the Thesmophoria,! which the women observe by fasting in the temple of the goddess.

It was to this man, a little while after his death, that the Athenian people paid worthy honour by erecting his statue? in bronze, and by decreeing that the eldest of his house should have public maintenance in the prytaneium. And this cele- brated inscription was inscribed upon the pedestal of his statue :—

“ If thy strength had only been equal to thy purposes,
Demosthenes,
Never would the Greeks have been ruled by a
Macedonian Ares.”’

Of course those who say that Demosthenes himself composed these lines in Calauria, as he was about to put the poison to his lips, talk utter nonsense. XXXI. Now, a short time before I took up my abode in Athens, the following incident is said to have occurred. A soldier who had been called to an account by his commander, put what little gold he had into the hands of this statue of Demos- thenes. It stood with its fingers interlaced, and hard by grew a small plane-tree. Many of the leaves from this tree, whether the wind accidentally

thenes. The well-known marble statue of Demosthenes in the Vatican is thought to be a copy of it. See Pausanias, i. 8, 2, with Frazer’s notes.

7H

’ ¢ , wv ?
TvevmaTos €k TUXYNS KaTaBadorTOS, ElT avTOS
ovTws o Geis ExadduWe, TepiKeiueva Kal cuuTEcoD-
na \ /
Ta Aabety eroince TO YpUcioy OvK OAiyor YXpovoD.
’ bd ’ \ n
ws & 0 avOpwros eTravehOav avetpe Kal S1ed00n
/ a a
Noyos UTép ToUTOV, TOAAOL TMV cevhvav UTobeciY
N / n
NaBovtes eis TO Adwpoddoxyntoyv Tov Anpucabévous
n n La
OLnpLLAA@VTO TOLS ETLypappace.
/ 4 ’ \ ’ ,
Anuddny b€ ypovov ov modvy amoAavcavta
a“ 4 / e / 7 /
THS pvonevns SoEns 4 Anpoabéevouvs dikn Kat-
, ca
yayev eis Maxedoviar, ods éxodaKkevey aia ypas,
€ ‘ sf 3 / f 3 a \
UmTo TovTwmy éEoXNovmEVOY SiKaiws, éTAaXOH mév
y / nA , >]
6vTa Kal TpoTepov autots, TOTE 6 Els aiTiav
/ \
adduxtov éumecovta. ypappata yap é&étrecev
9 al > Ka f OL ? a
avtod, ov wv tapexare Llepdixcay émuyerpety
is f \ 7
Makedovia Kat cafe tovs “EXXnvas ws amo
n fe) , \
campov Kal TAXaLOD aTHMOVOS (A€ywr TOV ’AvTL-
/ >? e / a
jTatpov) nptnmévous. ép ois Aevapyov tot
ié / \ ¢
KopuOtov xatnyopnaavtos tmapokuvleis o Kado-
wn n f A ee?
cavdpos éyxatéeohakev avTou TH KOATH TOV VIOP,
3 6 wn nw / Lal
elTa OUTWS EKELVOY avedetv TpodéeTakeEV, EV TOIS
peyloTols OLOaTKOMEVOY ATUY HPAL OTL TPWTOUS
e \ € 4 “A a ,
EAUTOVS Of TPCOOTAaL TwADDGLY, 0 TOAAAaKIS Anpo-

,
abévous TpoayopEevovToS OVK éTLTTEUGE.
‘ , ’ / /
Tov pev otv Anpoabévous améyets, Loocte,
* n f A id
Biov c& av pets aveyvapev 7) dincovoapev.
78

blew them thither, or whether the depositor himself took this way of concealing his treasure, Jay clustering together about the gold and hid it for a long time. At last, however, the man came back, found his treasure intact, and an account of the matter was spread abroad, whereupon the wits of the city took for a theme the incorruptibility of Demosthenes and vied with one another in their epigrams.

As for Demades, he had not long enjoyed his growing reputation when vengeance for Demosthenes brought him into Macedonia, whose people he had disgracefully flattered, only to be by them justly put to death. He had been obnoxious to them even before this, but now fell under a charge from which there was no escape. A letter of his, namely, leaked out, in which he had urged Perdiccas to seize Macedonia and deliver the Greeks, who, he said, were fastened to it only by an old and rotten thread (meaning Antipater). And when Deinarchus the Corinthian denounced him for this, Cassander! flew into a rage and slew the son of Demades as he stood close by his father’s side, and then ordered that Demades should be likewise killed. _Demades was now learning amid his extremest misfortunes that traitors sell themselves first, a truth of which Demosthenes had often assured him, but which he would not believe.
And so, Sosius,? thou hast the promised Life of Demosthenes, drawn from such written or oral sources as I could find.
* The son of Antipater and, later, his successor.
4 See the opening sentence of the Life.
79

— OE —

~~ —

KIKEPON

il Kixépavos 6é Thy jev pnTépa Aéyovaw 861
‘EXBtay Kat yeyovevat KANOS Kal BeBroxevas,
Tept de Tob TAT POS oudev iy mubéabau [eT plov.
Ol ev yap év Kvapeiep TLVh Kal ever Gar Kal
Tpapivar TOV avépa. héyovow, ot & ets Tuddov
'ATTuy avayovet THY apn Tod yevous, Baarev-
gavTa AapTpas évy OdorotvcKols Kal TrOdEL?)-
cavta ‘Pwpaiots ove addvvat@s. 0 MEVTOL TPA@TOS
éx TOU yévoUS Kuxépeov érovopac Beis aEtos NOyou
Soxel yeveo bau, 640 THD embehnow OuK diméppupay
of pet avTov, aAN NOT AT AYTO, KALTTEP TO
TOANY xArevaloperny. KiKxepa yap ot Aativot
TOV. épeBurdov Kahovot, KaKeivos ev TO TEpaTe
THs pivos SiacTorry, Ws EoLKeD, dp Preiap elev
OoTEp €peBtvOov Orabuny, ad’ ns EXTTATO THY
éemavupiar. AUTOS YE py Kicépwv, t UTEep ov Td0€
yeypan rat, TOV pirov auTov olopevany beiv, OTE
TT P@TOV apxiy peTneL Kal ToALTElas TTTETO,
puryetv ToUvoma Kal perabécbau, eyeTat VEAVLEV-
TA pLEVOS ev Tety ws aywvieitat Tov Kinépwva tav
SKaupov kat Tov Kathov evdoforepov aTrobetEat,
TOpMEvoY & évy LuKxedia xal Tots Geots avaOn wa
TOLOUMEVOS apyupoby Ta Lev Tpara duo TOV
dvoudatwrv éméypae, tov te Madpxov kal tov
82

CICERO

I. Ir is said of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, that she was well born and lived an honourable life; but of his father nothing can be learned that does not go to an extreme. Tor some say that he was born and reared in a fuller’s shop, while others trace the origin of his family to Tullus Attius,! an illustrious king of the Volscians, who waged war upon the Romans with great ability. However, the first member of the family who was surnamed Cicero seems to have been worthy of note, and for that reason his posterity did not reject the surname, but were fond of it, although many made it a matter of raillery. For “cicer”’ is the Latin name for chick-pea, and this ancestor of Cicero, as it would seem, had a faint dent in the

end of his nose like the cleft of a chick-pea, from which he acquired his surname. Cicero himself, however, whose Life I now write, when he first entered public life and stood for office and _ his friends thought he ought to drop or change the name, is said to have replied with spirit that he would strive to make the name of Cicero more illustrious than such names as Scaurts or Catulus. Moreover, when he was quaestor in Sicily and was dedicating to the gods a piece of silver plate, he had his first two names inscribed thereon, the

! Called Tullus Aufidius in the Coriolanus, xxii. 1.

4 . a /
TvAXLov, avti d€ TOU TpiTov cxwTTwV épéBtvOov
f \ \ \ /
€X€NEUTE TAPA TA Ypup4paTa TOV TEXViTHY eVvTO-
nw ww 9 aA e
pedoa. TavTa ev OvdY TrEpt TOD dVvOpaTOS iaTO-
pntat,
IT. TeyOjvar b5€ Kexépwva A€yovow avodvvas
\ ' / ts > fal a XN ¢ ,
Kal aTrOveOS hoxevGeions abtob Tihs mytpos Huépa
Tpitn Tov vévy Karavdav, év 1 vuv ot apyovTes
yy , a , A
evyovtar Kal OUovoty UTép TOD yE"ovos. TH SE
'4 a nw °
titTOn dhacpwa Soxet yevéeoOat Kal mpoeTety ws
" , ca) ie ® / b / nm
2 oderos peya aot Pwpaios extpepovon. tTavta
\ 3 , \ / % A
dé dAAws Ovetpata Kal drvapov eivat SoxovvTa
/ SEN b , , 3 \ ' €
TAXEWS AUTOS aTrederEe pavTEeLay UrXNOLWHY EV 1)AL-
tf " , ' > Pp] of 3 /
Kla Tov pavOuvew YEVOHEVOS, ds evdviav éxrap-
~ X wv \ > wn /
was kal pnaBaov Gvopa cat dofav év tots maton,
@OTE TOUS TaTépas avTwV émipolTav Tois dida-
v , a) A bat /
aKanretos owes TE BovrAopevous tOety TOV Kixépwva

KaL THY Upvoupévynv avTtod epi Tas padnoets
/ ¢ al
ofUTnTa Kal guUVEedLY LoTOpyaat, TOUS & aypotKo-
, ? a e? e n al
Tépous opyilecPat Tos viéow opa@vTas év Tats
¢ wn N Fe , , ¢ ww > \ nm i?
odots TOV Kixépwva pécov avtav em TYn AapBa-
/ 2 c ¢ / b) cal
3 vovtas. yevouevos 6, wamep o IIdkdtwv aéktot
n , ,
Thv dirouaby Kai ptrocopov hvaty, clos aomale-
n / \ be , Y- ,
cba wav padnua Kai pndév Noyou pde Tardeias
4 's
atimatew eidos, éppun mas mpofuporepoyv émi
/ \ x
TOWNTLKNY. KAL TL Kal Trotnuatioy ere rados
A 4 a
avtov dtacwlerat, Ilovtios VXaixos, ev tetpa-

1 January 3, 105 B.c. Plutarch follows the Greek method of reckoning from a fixed point in the month. Cicero says (ante diem) III. Nonas Januarias (ad Att. xiii. 42, 2), the

S4

CICERO, 1. 4-11. 3

Marcus and the Tullius, but instead of the third, by way of jest, he ordered the artificer to engrave a chick-pea in due sequence. This, then, is what is told about his name.

Il. It is said that Cicero was born, without travail or pain on the part of his mother, on the third day of the new Calends,! the day on which at the present time the magistrates offer sacrifices and prayers for the health of the emperor. It would seem also that a phantom appeared to his nurse and foretold that her charge would be a great blessing to all the Romans. And although these presages were thought to be mere dreams and idle fancies, he soon showed them to be true prophecy ; for when he was of an age for taking lessons, his natural talent shone out clear and he won name and fame among the boys, so that their fathers used to visit the schools in order to see Cicero with their own eyes and observe the quick-

ness and intelligence in his studies for which he
was extolled, though the ruder ones among them
were angry at their sons when they saw them
walking with Cicero placed in their midst as a
mark of honour. And although he showed himself,
as Plato? thought a nature should do which was
fond of learning and fond of wisdom, capable of
welcoming all knowledge and incapable of slight-
ing any kind of literature or training, he lent
himself with somewhat greater ardour to the art
of poetry. And a little poem which he wrote
when a boy is still extant, called Pontius Glaucus,
Nones being the fifth of January. Strictly speaking, only
the first day of the month was called the Calends, but
Plutarch seems to call the opening days of the new official
year ‘‘ the new Calends.” 2 Republic, p. 475 b.

oo \ A
peTPW TeTTOLNMEeVOY. Tpoiwy 5€ TO YpoVvm Kal
, n a) /
TOLKLNWTEPOY ATTOMEVOS THS TWEPL TAVTA povenNs,
” 3 f (WA > \ x \ ba
édo£ev ov povoy pHntwp, GAXa Kal TOLNTNS ApLOTOS
, N A a
eivat Pwpuatimy. 1 pev ovv emt TH pyntopiky doa
n , / n
pévpe viv dvapéver, KaiTEp ov puKpas yeyevn-
/ ,
HEINS TEplL TOVS RAOyovs KaLwvoTomias, THY O€
TOLNTIKHY AUTOV, TOAABY Eevdhvav Emriyevopmevwn,
lal U4 , ,
TAVTATACW AKNEN KAL ATipoy Eppety cuULBEBNKEDV.
Ill. “Amadrayels d€ tav év ratol dt:atpiSav
la) bd , a
Dirwvos HKovaee TOD €E "Axadnueias, Ov partota
€ nn “ ra 4 , \ SS \
Popato: Tav KXectonaxyov cvviOwv Kai bua Tov
\ \ ,
Noyor Cavpacay Kat dia TOY TPOTOY HYaTHCaD.
n , \
da O€ Tots Trept Movxtov avdpace cvvev ToArtTL-

A fal Lal %
KolS KAL TpwTEVOVaL THS BovaAnsS els eurrErpiav
“ An , f
TOV VOMWY WHEAEITO’ KAL TLVA YpoVvoVv Kal oTpAa-
, Z € X ~S , \ \ \
Telas peTeoxey UTO XvAAQA TEPi TOY MaporKxoy
3 ta nw \ “
jmovenov. €10 opa@y eis aotdouw, ex O€ THS OTGa-
gews els xpaTov éumintTovTa Ta wTpaypata
povapxylav, éml tov cxXoraaTHy Kal OewpntiKov
/ n ,
éerXOwv Biov”EXXAnot cvviy diroroyots Kal Tpoc-
A a) , ” t / > 4
etye Tois padnpuacw, aype ob YAAas éxpaTynce
\ , 4 if € ,
Kal KaTdoTacty Tiva NapPaverv edokev 7 TOALS.
ai de n ee 4 Ne t 3 rAeEV
y d€ TO Ypovw TOUT@ Npuvaoyovoes aTeEdev-
Ss / / \ ? / ¢) 3
Oepos YvAAa TpocayyetAas TLVOS OVTLAY ws Ex
A \
Tpoypapys avatpeVévtos autos éwvycato diaxe-
/ “ b \ \ € 7 ¢ en \
3 riwy Spaypav. éret d€ “Pwoxios 0 vids Kai
n , ?
KANPOVOMLOS TOD TEOVNKOTOS HYAVaKTEL KAaL THY
1 90-88 B.c. It was under Pompey, however, that Cicero
served (Phil. xii, 11, 27). a incS2 5. c,
86

and composed in tetrameter verse. Moreover, as
he grew older and applied himself with greater
versatility to such accomplishments, he got the
name of being not only the best orator, but also
the best poet among the Romans. His fame for
oratory abides to this day, although there have
been great innovations in style; but his poetry,
since many gifted poets have followed him, has
altogether fallen into neglect and disrepute.
III. After he had finished the studies of boyhood,
he attended the lectures of Philon the Academic,

whom, above all the other disciples of Cleitomachus, the Romans admired for his eloquence and loved for his character. At the same time he consorted with Mucius Seaevola, a statesman and leader of the senate, and was helped by him to an acquaintance with the law; and for a little while he also did military service under Sulla in the war against the Marsians.! Then, seeing that the commonwealth was hurrying into factions, and from factions into unlimited monarchy, he betook himself to a retired and contemplative life, associated with Greek scholars, and pursued his studies, until Sulla got the mastery and the state appeared to be somewhat settled.?

About this time Chrysogonus, a freedman of Sulla's, put up at public auction the estate of a man who, as it was said, had been put to death under proscription, and bought it in himself for two thousand drachmas.* Then Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, was indignant and set

3. In translating Cicero's ''duobus millibus nummum," Plutarch erroneously reckons in denarii (which were equivalent to drachmas, or francs) instead of in sestertii (worth only one-quarter as much).

5 - \ ,
ovolay amedselKVUE TEVTHKOVTA Kal Stakociwy
Rn fs id - /
Taravtwv ovoav akiav, 6 Te SUANaS eheyyYopevos
/ lo A
éyanérraive Kal diKny TaTpoxTovias EemHYyE TO
a vr ik
'PwoKio, TOU Npvaoyovov KaTacKkevacayTos, €8o-
, a
nOew 8 ovdeis, GAN atreTpeTIOVTO TOV YAAa TH
, CY N 3 id a
yareToTnTa SedoxoTes, oUTW 61 dt epyytay TOD
aA 4 , e ,
petpaxiov TO Kiképwrr mpoodpvyovtos of dtrou
TULTAPOPUOV, WS OUK av avT@® Aaptrporépay
s 3 \ \ 80 ¢ , Oe U
avis apxnv mpos dofav etépav ovde Kkarrdiw
s \

yevnoopevnv. avadceEduevos ovv THY cUYNyopiaV
0) icQn- dedi@s 5€ TOV Lv
Kat Katoplwaas eOavyacOn: dediws b€ TOY SvA-
Aav aTednunoey eis THV ‘EAXXaba, StacTelpas
e A a , ?
NOYOY WS TOD GwWLATOS AUTO OepaTretas Seopévou.
9 : f
Kal yap iY OVTWS LOXVOS Kal AoapKoS, a4ppwotia
\ \ ? 4 > \ nA
OTOMdYOU piKpa Kal yAloxpa jLoyes oe Tis
ee / ‘ e be \ N \ N
@pas Tpocdepopevos’ n O€ Pwvn TodAN pev Kat
’ , \ be \ ” € \ oe a
ayabyn, oxrnpa b€ Kat amwXaotos, Uo 5é Tov
U U n
Aoyou chodpoTnta Kal Tabos EyovTOS ael Sid TOY
+ , i “n lal
dvw Tovey €1.avvoyevn hoSov Tapetyevy UTép TOU
TWLATOS.
IV. ’Adixopuevos 8 eis "AOijvas ’Avttoyou Tod
9 , tA “A Ss) , nn f
Ackawvitov Sunkouce, TH pev evpoig THY NOyor
rs \ ig Oy 39 a ’
avTOU Kal YapiTL KnAOUpEVOS, & O° Ev TOS Oéypa-
aw évewtépitev ovK enrawav. Hon yap éEictato
a , A bd - €9
THS véas Aeyopévns “Akadnpetas o ’Avtioxos Kal
, ,
tTyv Kapveddov otdaw éyxatéderTev, elite Kap-
a a an
TTOMEVOS UTO THS evapyelas Kal TOY aicOnoewr,
” (cA v Xo td ‘ \ } A
ELTE, WS Pay EVLOL, PiAOTLLLG TLVL KaL OLahopa
83

CICERO, ut. 3-1v. 1

forth clearly that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents, whereupon Sulla, enraged to have his actions called in question, indicted Roscius for the murder of his father, Chrysogonus having trumped up the evidence. No advocate would help Roscius, but all avoided him through their fear of Sulla’s cruelty, and so at last, in his destitution, the young man had recourse to Cicero. Cicero’s

friends encouraged him to undertake the case, arguing that he would never again have a more brilliant or a more honourable opportunity to win fame. Accordingly, he undertook the defence of Roscius,! won his cause, and men admired him for it; but fearing Sulla, he made a journey to Greece, after spreading a report that his health needed attention. For in fact he was spare and lean, and owing to a weakness of the stomach could only with difficulty take a little light food late in the day; his voice, however, was full and streng, but harsh and unmedulated, and _ since, owing to the vehemence and passion of his oratory, it was always forced into the higher tones, it made men apprehensive for his health.

JV. On coming to Athens he attended the lectures of Antiochus of Asealon, and was charmed by his fluency and grace of diction, although he disapproved of his innovations in doctrine. For Antiochus had already fallen away from what was called the New Academy and abandoned the sect of Carneades, either moved thereto by the clear evidence of the sense-perceptions,? or, as some say, led by a feeling of ambitious opposition to

1 See the oration pro Roscio A merino.

2 This the New Academy refused to admit.

mpos tovs Krestopayou cat Dirwvos cuvybeus
Tov Stwixov éx petaBorrns Geparrevwv ANdyov év
Tois mAeiatos. Oo b€ Kixépwv éxelva ryyara
KAKELVOLS 7 pooeine padhov, Svavoovpevos, éL
: 'A
Tavrdmaciw exTesor TOU Ta Kod MpdooeLy,
detipo HETEVEYKALEVOS TOV Biov € ex THs ayopas Kal
Tihs mwoNtTelas é€v aovyia peta girocodias
KATACHD.
"Karel é avT@ NvAANaS TE m™poanyyerOy TeOV)-
KOS, Kal TO G@pa TOS yupva.a tous avappovuy-
pevon ets €&wv EBadile veavixipy, 1) Te Povyn AapBa-
pouga TAGGLW nOELa eV pos aKony étéOpaTrto,}
eT pias b€ ™ pos TI ee iippoato Tob TWMATOS,
Tora HEY T@V ATO 'Papns ditwy ypapovtwr

Kal Seomevov, TOANG O “AVTLOXOU TApaKkeNEvo-
pévov Tous KoLVOlS emtBanreiv TpaypLacty, avors
@oTeEp dpyavov €Enptveto™ TOV pntopexov Aoryov
Kal GvEeKivel TV TONTERY Suvapy, aut ov Té
Tais peNéTats StaTrovav Kal TOUS éTaLtvoupévous
peTiov prytopas. O0ev eis “Aciav xai ‘Podov
émevae, Kal TV pev Aglavav pyTopwv Revoknret
TO ASpaputT ve Kat Atovucia TO Maryunre Kal
Mevirrrre T® Kapt curecxonracey, év 66 ‘Podw
PYTOPL [ev ’Arroh\Awrla TO Modevos, Prrordde
d€ Llocesdwviw. réyerar S& tov "AmoANdvLOY Ob
oUVLEVTE TI ‘Pwpaixny duadextov 6enO jar TOU
Kexépwvos ‘EAAnuea ti HereT HOA TOV © UTaKOU-
cat TpoOvuws, olowevov ovtTws EcecOat BerTiova
1 éréOparro the words kat moAAy (and full) which follow this verb in the MSS. are deleted by Gudeman as contra- dictory to iii. 5 and due to the double woaaa below.

2 éfmptvero Graux, after Madvig: é&nprue.

go

CICERO, iv. 1-4

the disciples of Cleitomachus and Philon to change his views and cultivate in most cases the doctrine of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the systems which Antiochus discarded and devoted himself the rather to them, purposing, in case he was altogether driven out of a public career, to change his home to Athens, away from the forum and the business of the state, and spend his life in the quiet pursuit of philosophy.

But word was now brought to him that Sulla was dead,! and since his body, strengthened by exer- cise, was taking on a vigorous habit, while his voice, acquiring modulation, had grown pleasant to the ear, and had been moderated into keeping with the habit of his body; and since, moreover, his friends at Rome earnestly besought him by letter and Antiochus strongly urged him to apply himself to public affairs, he once more sought to prepare for service therein his instrument, as it were, to wit his rhetorical style, and to rouse to action his political powers, diligently cultivating himself in declamation and taking lessons of the popular rhetoricians. With this end in view he made a voyage to Asia and Rhodes. In Asia, he studied oratory with Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menip- pus the Carian; in Rhodes, oratory with Apollonius the son of Molon, and philosophy with Poseidonius.? Apollonius, we are told, not understanding the Roman language, requested Cicero to declaim in Greek, with which request Cicero readily com- plied, thinking that in this way his faults could

tie 5 Boe: 2 Cf. Cicero’s Brutus, 91,
g!I
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

\ b , bd \ ’ ’ ; ‘ \

5 THv éravopOwow: evel 6 éuedeTHoE, TOUS peV
’ n a \
adXous eéxmeTANKOae Kat StaptdracAat pos
a fe 3 b
adAAnAOUS Tos émraivots, Tov & ’AmroAAwVLOY OUT
akpowpevov avtov dtayvOfvat Kal Tavoapévov
4
auvvouy KabéfecOat todvy yporov, ayPopévov Oé 863
a , ’ a cS f >
tov Kuxépwvos eimeiy. “de pev, © Kexépor,
a a /
érawa kal Oavualo, THs dé “EXAdSos orKktEtpw
THY TUXNHY, OPOV, & “ova TOV KAAOY Huty UTrENEt-
a / a ,
metTo, Kal TaAVTA ‘Pwpraiots da cod Tpoayevoueva,
,
Taivelay Kal Noyov.”
a - /
V. ‘O yodv Kixépwy édrTridmv peaotos él Try
, \ a
TontTeLav PEepopmevos UO Ypnapov TLvos aTNL-
va \ ¢ , 9 , \ > OA ‘ ’
Brvv8n THY OpHIY. Eepomevy yap auT@ Tov ev
Aerdois Peov ows av evdofotatos yévotto, Tpoc-
\ “ ¢ \
étakev 1) lu0ia thy éavtod dvatv, ddrQ pty THY
al a , ¢ t a n ,
TOY TOANw@Y SofaV, HyE“oVva ToleiaOat Tov Biov.
a ¢ , t a
2 Kal Tov ye TpeTov év “Pon ypovoyv evrAABas
a a a 3 “ 4
dujye Kal Tals apyats oxvnpas Mpoane Kai Tapn-
a fo \ ¢€ - an id
peXEiTo, TAVTA 51) TA Pwyaiwy tois Bavavoota-
ToLsS TMpoxepa Kai cuvnOn pynuata, Tparxos Kat
\ ’ / ’ \ ‘ t ’
gTyoNacTiKos axovwrv. émel Oe Gvoer idotipos
3 U \ A \ a
av Kal wapokviopevos vie Tov TaTpos Kal Tov
Q \ a Ul
hitwv érédwxev eis TO TuVHyopEiy EavToV, OvK
+ / a / a >] ’ 3 \ 3 /
Npé“a TO TWOwTELW TMpoonyev, aX evdus e€e-
aA , \ , \ a
Naprbe TH OOEN Kal Ovepepe TOV THY aywuto-

bd “n
pévaon er ayopas.
, \ \ 9 \ bp) \ e , fa!
3 Aéyeras 6é cal avtos ovdéy HTTOV voanaas TOD
\ \ , a“ N
AnpocOévovs mpos THY UioKploLv, TOUTO peV
g2

CICERO, tv. 4 v. 3

better be corrected. After he had declaimed, his other hearers were astounded and vied with one another in their praises, but Apollonius was not greatly moved while listening to him, and when he had ceased sat for a long time lost in thought; then, since Cicero was distressed at this, he said: “ Thee, indeed, O Cicero, I admire and commend ; but Greece I[pity for her sad fortune, since I see that even the only glories which were left to us, eulture and eloquence, are through thee to belong also to the Romans.”

V. However, though Cicero, full of hope, was being borne on towards a politica] career, a certain oracle took the edge from his eager desire. When he inquired, namely, of the god at Delphi how he could become most illustrious, the Pythian priestess enjoined upon him to make his own nature, and not the opinion of the multitude, his guide in life. And so during the first part of his time at Rome! he conducted himself with caution, was reluctant to sue for office, and was therefore neglected, being called “Greek” and “Scholar,” those names which the low and ignorant classes at Rome were wont to give so readily. But he was naturally ambitious and was urged on by his father and his friends, and so when he gave himself in earnest to the work of an advocate, he did not advance slowly to the primacy, but his fame shone forth at once, and he far surpassed those who strove with him for distinction in the forum. But it is said that he too, no less than Demos-thenes, was weak in his delivery, and therefore

1 Cicero returned to Rome in 77 B.c., being in his thirtieth year.

‘Pwokio TO Ko UO, ToutTo & Aicwre T@ Tpa-
Yd@ TPOTEXELV eT LMENOS. Tov © Alowmov
TOUTOD toTOpovcLy UTrOK pLVvofLevov ev Peatpe TOV
mept THS TLwooplas tov Ovéatov Bovrevopevov
’ATpéa, TOV UnnpeTav Tivos apyw ma padpa-
pOvTOS, eEo T@V EAUTOU Aoyeg wav 61a TO 780s
ovTa TO TK TT PD Taragat Kal dvenelv. ov
puikpa be 7 pos TO TreiGeuy v vmrhpxev ex TOU UTOKpt-
vera porn TO Kiwepeove. Kat TOUS ye TH Body
peyanra Xpwfeevous * piytopas eTTKOT TOV ereve
be’ aoOéveray é emt THY Kpavyny WOT EP Xorovs eb
imarov ™nOav. n O€ Tepi Ta TKOMLATA Kab THv
mardiav TAUTHD evTpaTrehia Oukavexov pev édoxet
Kat yragupon, Xpopevos S auth KaTaxopas Tod-
Nous EXUTrEL KaL KaKONOELAS edd Bave do£av.
ae ‘Arroberx Gels dé Tapias év ottodeta Kat
haxov Sexehiay VOXANTE TLS avO porous ev
apxn oitov ELS ‘Pony aToaTéN New dvaryKato-
pevoes. Vatepov dé Tihs err pehetas Kal O1KaLOGU-
yys Kal TPZOTHTOS auTOvD mreipay AapBavovres OS
ovoerva TOV mam oO ary epoveov étiunoav. éel ¢
ToAAol TOV amo Pwpuns vévy EvdoEot Kat yeyovo-
TES KANO, aitiay éyovtes atakias Kal paraxtas
mept TOV TOAELOD, averréupO naar emt Tov oTpa-
THYOV THS DLuKeMas, ouvetmey avrois) _Kirepov
emipavas Kal TepLeTroLNoeD. éml Tovtols ovr
péya dpovev eis ‘Poyny Badiwv yerotov tt
mabety dnot. cuvTuxX@v yap avépt Tov étipavav

1 neydAa xpwpevous MSS., Sintenis!, and Bekker ; Sintenis? adopts Cobet’ 8 evan ertreee (boasting loudly of’) ; meyaaa Boav xpwuévous Graux with M®,

sought with care to imitate now Roscius the
comedian, and now Aesop the tragedian. This
Aesop, they tell us, was once acting in a theatre
the part of Atreus planning to take vengeance on
Thyestes, when one of the assistants suddenly ran

across the scene, and the actor, losing control of himself in the intensity of his passion, smote him with his seeptre and laid him dead. Now, Cicero's delivery contributed not a little to his persuasive power. Moreover, of those orators who were given to loud shouting he used to say jestingly that they were led by their weakness to resort to clamour as cripples were to mount upon a_ horse. And his readiness to indulge in such jests and pleasantry was thought indeed to be a, pleasant characteristic of a pleader; but he carried it to excess and so annoyed many and got the reputation of being malicious.

VI. He was appointed quaestor! at a time when grain was scarce, and had the province of Sicily allotted to him, where he annoyed people at first by compelling them to send grain to Rome. But after- wards they found him careful, just, and mild, and honoured him beyond any governor they had ever had. Moreover, when large numbers of young men from Rome, of illustrious and noble families, were accused of lack of discipline and courage in the war and sent up for trial to the praetor of Sicily, Cicero pleaded their cause brilliantly and won the day. While he was journeying to Rome, then, highly elated over these successes, he had a laughable experience, as he tells us.2, In Campania, namely, he

Yn 5 36

* Or. pro Plancio, 26. This was in the succeeding year

(74 B.C.).

pire Soxobyte Tept Kapraviav, épéo Bau tiva 8n
TOV TET ary LEVOV UT auto oryov exovar 'Po-
poaioe Kat Th ppovodary, as OVO LATOS Kal 60&ns
TOV TET PAYLEVWY AUTO THV TOAW ATracay éuTeE-
TANK@S* TOY O eimreiv: " Ilob yap 7s, @ Kixépov,
TOY YXpovoy TovTOV;' TOTE pev ov éEabupHoat
TavTaTract, eb KabaTEp Els TeNAYOS AYaves TID
TOAL ELTETMVY O TEPL avUTOU AOdyos oOvdev Els
dofav éridnrov wemoinkev: Batepov 5é Noyta mov
éavT@ didovs Toru Tis Pirotiplas vpetrev, ws
Tpos aoptaTov mpaypa THY doEay dpi RXO jLEV05
Kal TEpas ouK epic Tov Eyovgav. ov pay adna,
TO ye Yaipew em aivoupevov Stag epovTws Kal ™ pos
dofav éumabéctepov Eyerv AXpt TavTos avT@
Tapeuetve Kal modAovs TOAAAKIS TOY oplaY
émreTapate Noyta uv.

Via “AT TO{LEVOS 6é TAS ToreTEelas T pobupo-
TEpOD, alax pov nyetro TOUS ev Bavavaous opya-
vols Xpwopevous Kat oKeviery apuxoes pndevos
awyvoetv dvopa poe Yvopav 7 Svvapey avr OY, TOV
dé TOALTLKOD, @ ov avO pwrrav a cowal m pagers
TEpaivovTa, pad vpe00s Kat GpEeh@s exe Tept THY
TOY TOTO yrOow. 60ev ov povov TOV /Ovoma-
Tov et Oube pn wovevely avTOV, ara Kat TOTOV ev
@ TOV Yvopipov éxaaTos oiKel, Kab xeplov ov
KEKTI TAL, Kal pirous ols TLct NpHrae, Kal yettovas
éyivwaKe: Kab Tacav ody “Itadtas diatropevo-
pévo Kixépwve mpoxetpov tv etmety cal émdetEas
Tous ToV dirwy aypovs Kal Tas éTavrELs.
Ovciav Sé ptxpav pév, (xavnv 6€ Kal tails
daTdvats évapKh KexTnuevos eOavyaveto pre
96

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CICERO, vi. 3-vn. 3

fell in with an eminent man whom he deemed his friend, and asked him what the Romans were saying and thinking about his achievements, supposing that he had filled the whole city with the name and fame of them; but his friend said: ‘Where, pray, have you been, Cicero, all this while?” At that time, then, as he tells us, he was altogether disheartened, seeing that the story of his doings had sunk into the city as into a bottomless sea, without any visible effect upon his reputation ; but afterwards he reasoned with himself and abated much of his ambition, con- vinced that the fame towards which he was emulously struggling was a thing that knew no bounds and had no tangible limit. However, his excessive delight in the praise of others and his too passionate desire for glory remained with him until the very end, and very often confounded his saner reasonings.

VII. And now that he was engaging in public life with greater ardour, he considered it a shameful thing that while craftsmen, using vessels and instru- ments that are lifeless, know the name and place and capacity of every one of them, the statesman, on the contrary, whose instruments for carrying out public measures are men, should be indifferent and careless about knowing his fellow-citizens. Wherefore he not only accustomed himself to remember their names, but also learned to know the quarter of the city in which every notable person dwelt, where he owned a country-place, what friends he had, and what neigh- bours ; so that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, it was easy for him to name and point out the estates and villas of his friends.

His property, though sufficient to meet his ex- penses, was nevertheless small, and therefore men

97

5

pura Dous punjre Mpa 7 poo LepEvos amo THS TuVN-
yoplas, padtota © ore THV Kara Beéppov Stxny
avéXaBe. TevTOY yap oTpaTnyov yeyovota THs
Ducedlas Kal ToANA TeToVNnpevpévoy TOV X«xe-
NwToOv Siw@KOVTM@VY EtrEV, OUK ElTMV, AA eE
avTov 7 poTrov TLVA TOU [Ly ELTrEtD. TOV 14p oTpa-
tnyav T® Béppyn xapfouévwv Kat TID Stxny
imepBéceor Kat Staxpovoect TodXals els Ty
voTaTny éxBarrovtor, Ss Hv Tpoonrov OTL TOS
Noyous oO THs mpEpas OUK eFapnecel Xpovos ovee
apperar 7 Epas 7) Kplals, avactas 0 Kuxépov épy
pr) deta Par Noyvov, aNr’ erayayov TOUS MupTupas
Kal emuxpivas EXENEVTE pepe Thv Whdhov Tovs
SiKaoras. Opes € TOA Xaptevra dia pevnmovev-
ETAL Kal Tepl exeivnv avTOD THY Siknv. PRéppnv
yap ot ‘Pwyatoe Tov éxteTUNnMEVvoY Yotpov KaXov-
gw. WS OUP dmerevOepiKos avOpwrros EVOXOS TO
tovdaiverr, évona Kexinrtos, éBovnero TaApwoo ape-
vOS TOUS LiKehioras KaTnyope TOU Beppov_ ge Ds
"lovdai@ pos Xoipov; épy o Kixépwv. fv bé
TO Béppn ayTiT as ULOS, OUK ehevdepios SoK@v
Tpoic rac Oar THs apas. AowdopnOets ovv oO Kuxe-
pov ELS _padaiay umo tov Béppou, ‘ Tots viots,”
elTreD, ‘ éytos Oupav bei Aotdopeta Far.” Tov 6€
pyTtopos ‘Oprnciou THY peev evleiav TO Béppn
CUVELTELY [41 TOALNOAVTOS, év O€ TO TLL MATE
merabévtos mapayevécOat Kal Aa Boros éXehav-

1 That is, the last day on which the case could be tried during that year. The city praetor already elected for the coming year (69 Bc) favoured Verres, and Hortensius, the advocate of Verres, was to be consul in that year. He

wondered that he would accept neither fees nor gifts for his services as advocate, and above all when he undertook the prosecution of Verres. This man, who had been praetor of Sicily, and whom the Sicilians prosecuted for many villainous acts, Cicero convicted, not by speaking, but, in a way, by actually not speaking. For the praetors favoured Verres, and by many obstacles and delays had put off the case until the very last day,! since it was clear that a day’s time would not be enough for the speeches of the advocates and so the trial would not be finished. But Cicero rose and said there was no need of speeches,? and then brought up and ex- amined his witnesses and bade the jurors cast their votes. Nevertheless, many

witty sayings of his in connection with this trial are on record. For in- stance, ‘‘verres”’ is the Roman word for a castrated porker; when, accordingly, a freedman named Caeci- lius, who was suspected of Jewish practices, wanted to thrust aside the Sicilian accusers and denounce Verres himself, Cicero said: ‘‘What has a Jew to do with a Verres?”” Moreover, Verres had a young son, who had the name of lending himself to base practices. Accordingly, when Cicero was reviled by Verres for effeminacy, ‘‘ You ought,” said he, “to revile your sons at home.” And again, the orator Hortensius did not venture to plead the cause of Verres directly, but was persuaded to appear for him at the assessment of the fine, and received an ivory

therefore used every artifice to delay the case. See Ciccro, in Verrem, i. 10, 31 ff.
2 Of the seven orations against Verres (including the Divinatio ir Caecilium) only the first two were delivered ; the others were compiled after the verdict had been pro- nounced,
99

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Ti Lpiyya pa bov, ebTé TL Traryicos) Kixéepov

T pos avTov" Tov 6€ pyavtos aiveyparoov AvoEws

drei pias EXEW, se Kai pnv emt tis otKxtas,” &py,}
“ony Shiyya exes.
VIII. Otto 6€ tov Béppou Katadicacderros, éBoopi}Kovta. TEVTE pupiadooy TLUN GHLEVOS THY Sixny o o Kixépwy StaBornv éoxyev ws er apyupio TO Tipn ia. Kal uperpevos. ov pny GAN of Suxedd- Tae Xap eldores aryopavopodvtos avToU TOAXG pev aryovTEs aro THs vajoou, TOAAA Oé Pépovres HOV, ov ovdey €T01jT ATO KEpOOS, arr écov émevwricas THY ayopav amexXpijaato Th ptroTiwla TOV dvO porov.
“Exéxrnto dé xoptov kanov ev “Apross, Kal Tept Néay TOALY 79V dr pos Kal wept Toprnious ETEpos, Ov peydror peppy) TE Tepevtias THS yv- varios T POTEYEVETO pupiddwy Séxa, Kal KANpOVoO- puta. TLS vets évvéa Syvapiov cuvaxGeioa pupiaoas. aro TOUTWD érevd epics apa, Kal codppoves Outyrye PETA TOV cupSrovyTay “EX Agvev Kal ‘Popatov pirohoyor, omaveo, ev TOTE, 7 po Ov HOV pAtov KATAKRIVO{LEVOS, ovx, oUTw oe aoxoMay, @s Oa TO TOpa TO TTOMEX pox Onpas Svaxelpevov. AY dé Kal THY aNdayy Tept TO copa Ocparreiay aKpt-

Bs Kal wepiTTos, @oTe Kal tpiireot Kat TepuTra-
TOUS apiOue TeTaypéevors xphe ar. TovTOV TOV
TpoTrov SraTrardaryory ov THY éEu avoo ov Kal
dtapKn 7 pos TONAOUS Kal peyanous ayavas Kab
MOVOUS TULELXED. oixiav 6é THY pev TaTppav TO
aserg@ TApeX WNT ED, AUTOS. & wKEel Wept TO
Tlavatiov umép Tov pn pakpay Basifovtas évo-
1 oixtas, pn, Hv Graux with M*: olxlas rn».

1o0o0

sphinx as his reward; and when Cicero made some oblique reference to him and Hortensius declared that he had no skill in solving riddles, “ And yet,” said Cicero, “thou hast the Sphinx at thy house.”

VIII. When Verres had thus been convicted, Cicero assessed his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand denarii,! and was therefore accused of hav- ing been bribed to make the fine a low one. The Sicilians, however, were grateful to him, and when he was aedile brought him from their island all sorts of live stock and produce; from these he derived no personal profit, but used the generosity of the islanders only to lower the price of provisions.

He owned a pleasant country-seat at Arpinum, and had a farm near Naples and another near Pom- peii, both small. His wife Terentia brought him besides a dowry of a hundred thousand denarii, and he received a bequest which amounted to ninety thousand. From these he lived, in a generous and at the same time modest manner, with the Greek and Roman men of letters who were his associates. He rarely, if ever, came to table before sunset, not so much on account of business, as because his stomach kept him in poor health. In other ways, too, he was exact and over-scrupulous in the care of his body, so that he actually took a set number of rubbings and walks. By carefully managing his health in this way he kept it free from sickness and able to meet the demands of many great struggles and toils. The house which had been his father’s he made over to his brother, and dwelt himself near the Palatine hill,? in order that those who came to pay their court to

1 See the note on iii. 2.
2 Ina house purchased after his consulship (ad fam. v. 6, 2).
IO]

A \ (a 3 U > i?
yAEtoPar Tous Gepatrevovtas avTov. éOepamrevov
\ , € / > AS tA “ > > ,
dé Kal” auépav exit Ovpas hortavtes ovK édat-

N td > A / \ Ps \
toves 7) Kpaooov ért mrovT@ Kal opumpiov dca
A , ,
Thy €v TOS oTpaTEvpact SvVapw, Davpalopmévous
¢€ Jf
padtota Pwpaiwy cat peyiotous évtas. Top-
fo y \ / ’ 4 \ ,
mnios d€ Kal Kixépwva éOepareve, kal peydda
\ ? A , Y
mpos Ovvapuv avT@ Kal do€av 1 Kexépwvos cuvé-
EA
Tpakce TONLTELA.
r dé \ Fi; ed \ > “A
Te Lrparyyiav d€ meTiovT@Y aa CRD IA.
fal \ “ id / s
TONNWY KAL MEYANOV TPWTOS ATAUYTWY UVNYyopev-
On Kai Tas Kpioes Edoke Kabapas Kal Kadr@s
“A / \ / ig
EpaBedoa. Déyerar 6€ cal Atkxivvtos Makep,
\ , aA ,
avnp Kat Kal’ avtov toyvwv év TH TWOdEL peya
/ , A , A
kat Kpacow xXpwopevos BonO@, Kpivopevos KNOT IS
’ A “ \ al
ém avutov,! tH Suvvayer kal omovdh mremo0ws;
$14 \ A “A “ f ,
eve THY Wihov Tov Kpitav diadhEepovtwv atar-
\ ” , ? \ \ XN
Aayels olkade KetpacOat Te THyv Keharnv KaTa
\ ¢€ “ie id ‘\
Tayos Kal Kalapov ipatiov ws veriknKas KaBav
> \ af fal \
avOus ets ayopay Tpoiévar: Tov d€ Kpdoaou rept
THY AUAELOY ATAVTIHGAYTOS AUTO Kal PpacavTos
ef , oF cal ¥ 3 / \
OTL Tagals Edhoxe Tats Whos, avactpeas Kat
nw \ \ al ~
KatakAdtvels aTroVavervy. To dé mpayua TO Kuré-
/ v7 La > “~ , \
pove do€av nveyxey ws emripera@s BpaBevoavte TO
/ \ \ / \ Y4
Sixaotypvov. érret 6€ Ovartinios, avnp éyov Tt
\ *, U > td b] A
TpaYU Kal TPOS TOUS apxovTas Oywpov éVv Tats
A \ ,

curnyopiats, yoipddwy d€ Tov TpaXndoV TeEpi-
b) ~ ft \ N fa) /
TAEWS, ITELTO TL KaTATTAS Tapa TOD KiKképwvos,
1 én’ avtod Cobet’s correction of the MS. bm’ aizod, adopted
by Sintenis?, So Graux with Ma,
102

865

CICERO, vit. 3-1x. 3

him might not have the trouble of a long walk.!_ And men came to his house every day to pay him court, no fewer than came to Crassus for his wealth or to Pompey because of his influence with the soldiery, and these were the two greatest men among the Romans and the most admired. Nay, Pompey actually paid court to Cicero, and Cicero’s political efforts contributed much towards Pompey’s power and fame.

IX. Although many men of importance stood for the praetorship along with Cicero, he was appointed first of them all;? and men thought that he managed the cases which came before him with integrity and fairness. It is said, too, that Licinius Macer, a man who had great power in the city on his own account and also enjoyed the help of Crassus, was tried before Cicero for fraud, and that, relying upon his influence and the efforts made in his behalf, he went off home while the jurors were still voting, hastily trimmed his hair and put on a white toga in the belief that he had been acquitted, and was going forth again to the forum; but Crassus met him at the house-door and told him that he had been convicted unanimously, whereupon he turned back, lay down upon his bed, and died. And the case brought Cicero the reputa- tion of having been a scrupulous presiding officer. Again, there was Vatinius, a man who had a harsh manner and one which showed contempt for the magistrates before whom he pleaded ; his neck also was covered with swellings. As this man once stood at Cicero's tribunal and made some request of him,

1 Cf. the Marius, xxxii. 1.

2 In 66 8.c. Eight praetors were appointed, and the one
who received most votes was made city praetor, or chief
magistrate.
103

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kat on Svdovtos, AAAA BovdrEvopévou TorvY ypo-
VOV, ELTEV WS OUK AV AUTOS StOTaGELE TEPL TOUTOU
oTpaTny@v, emratpadets o Kuixépwv, “’AXAN
eyo, el7rev, ‘ovK EY@ THALKOUTOV TPayNrOV.”
"Ete 0 Ayépas dvo 7) Tpets ExovTs THS apxys
avt@ Tpocnyayée tts Mavidtoy evOtvwrv KkdoTrHs.
0 6€ Mavirtos obTos Evvolay Eixe Kal oTrovdHY

e \ fa!

UTo TOU Onpov, Soxav érXavvecBat b1a Ioptrniov:
éxeivou yap nv piros. attovyévou 8 nuepas
avtov piav o Kixépwy povnv tiv ertotaay ebwxe:
Kal 0 Ofmos yavantTyoey elOtopwévwv TOV OTpPATN-
yav dSéxa TovAdYLaTOV nuépas OLidovat Tots Kiv-
duvevouat. Tav O€ Onudpywv avToy diayayovTeVv
éri TO BHua Kat KatTnyopovvTeY, axovabjvat
denGeis eitev 6TL TOis KiVOvVEVOVELY dé, KAP
OTOV Ol VOMOL TAPELKOVGL, KEYPNMEVOS ETTLELKAS
kai piravOowras Sewvov yyetto TH Mavirio
TAVTA I) TapacyXeiv: is ovV ETL fLoVNS KUPLOS HV
HuEpAasS OTPATHYaY, TavTHY émiTNHdES OpicaL TO
yap els adXov apxKovta Thy Kpiow éxBarelv ovK
eivat Bovronévov PBonfeiv. tavta Reybévta
Gavpactiy éroince Tov Shmouv petaBornv Kai
ToNAa KaTevpnmovvTes avTov ed€ovTO THY UTEP
tov Maviriov auvyyopiav avadaBeiv. o 8 v7é-
aTn Tpolvmws, ovy HKiaTta Ova Llowmniov atovta:
Kat KaTaoTas wari é€& vrapyns ednunyopnae,
VEAVIK@S TOV OdLyapyLKoVv Kat TO Llopryiw
pbovovvtwr Kaba ToueEvos.
X. Eat 6€ thy bratetay ovx Brtov UTe TeV

104

CICERO ta e=x. 41

Cicero did not grant it at once, but took a long time for deliberation, whereupon Vatinius said that he himself would not have stuck at the matter had he been praetor. At this Cicero turned upon him and said: “ But I have not the neck that you have.”

Two or three days before his term of office expired, Manilius was brought before him on a charge of fraudulent accounting. This Manilius had the good will and eager support of the people, since it was thought that he was prosecuted on Pompey’s account, being a friend of his. On his demanding several days in which to make his defence, Cicero granted him only one, and that the next; and the people were indignant because it was customary for the praetor to grant ten days at least to the accused. And when the tribunes brought Cicero to the rostra and denounced him, he begged for a hearing, and then said that he had always treated defendants, so far as the laws allowed, with clemency and kindness, and thought it an unfortunate thing that Manilius should not have this advantage; wherefore, since only one day was left to his disposal as praetor, he had purposely set this day for the trial, and surely it was not the part of one who wished to help Manilius to defer it to another praetor’s term. ‘These words produced a wonderful change in the feelings of the people, and with many expressions of approval they begged Cicero to assume the defence of Manilius. This he willingly consented to do, chiefly for the sake of Pompey, who was absent,

and once more mounting the rostra harangued the people anew, vigorously attacking the oligarchical party and those who were jealous of Pompey.

X. Yet he was advanced to the consulship no less

9 a“ A lan) “A S X\ Q
ApLaTOKpATIiKaY TOV TOAN@Y TpOnYOn dia TiY
fal 7
TOA €& ALTiAaS AUT@ TOLAVTNS CUVAYWVYLTALEVOV.
A € \ SOA / a \ \
THS vO YvArAa yevouevns petaBorANns Tept THY
aA XN , 4 , \
ToNTELav Ev apYH bev aTOTOV haveions, TOTE O€
Cal a) N , ,
Tols TOANOLS VIO Ypovou Kal ovvnOeias On Tiva
f / / 9
KaTaoTaow exe ov dhavrnv doxovans, haav ob
} tal tal al
Ta TapovTa dtacetoar Kal petabeivat Entodytes
9Q/ ¢ en > \ \ /
idiwy evexa TrEoveet@v, ov mpos TO BédXTLOTOD,
of. \ 4 a a ,
Tloumrniou pev ett Tots Baorredouv ev Ilovtw kai
oN , x A y be “A ‘p / S a
previa ToAepobyTos, ev O€ TH Poun undepsas
e eo 3 eae:
upecTMaNS TPOs TOUS vewTepifovtas aEvopiayou
duvauews. ovTOL Kopudpaioy eiyov avdpa ToAun-
\ ,
THY Kal peyaroTpayLova Kal TolKiiov TO 00s,
? / a /,
Aevxtov Katidivav, ds aitiay moté mpos adXots
LOLK) yanots éXaB é :
adixynpact meyadols EhaBe TtrapOévw avyyeyovévat
, a > 3 \ e A \ 4 bl) \
Ouyatpl, ctetvat 0 adedgpov avtod: Kal dixny éml
f 4 4 wn
Tout doBovpevos erresce LUANaV ws ETL CovTA
\ yy a ?
Tov avOpwrov év Tois aToPavoupévors Tpoypaat.
TOUTOV OVY TPOTTATHY oO! TOoVNpOL AaBovTES AAAS

a ? 7 ” \ 7
Te TioTels aAANAOLS Edvcav Kal KataQvaavTes
” 3 / a a / >
avOpwrov éyevoavto Tov capKkav. SiépOapto §
Cd a ‘ id aA fol é

um avTov TOAV pepos THs év TH ToAEL VEOTNTOS,

4 lal

O0VaS KAL TOTOUS Kai yuvatK@V Epwtas del Tpo-
a 4 ? A
EevodvTos eXadoT@ KAaL THY els TavTa daTravny

9 al , 3 fal 3 v4

abevoas TapacKkevdfovto0s. eéemhpto 8 4 te Tup-

N ce S fal
pyvia mpos arootacw OAH Kal Ta TOAXKA THs
‘ 4
évros “AXrewy LTadatias. émrichadéotata 8§

e ¢ , \ \ 9 & \ \ bd a

7 Pwun mpos petaBornv elye dia THY év Tails

106

866

CICERO, x. 1-4

by the aristocrats than by the common people, and in the interests of the city, both parties seconding his efforts for the following reasons. The change which Sulla had made in the constitution at first ap- peared absurd, but now it seemed to the majority, owing to lapse of time and their familiarity with it, to afford at last a kind of settlement which was not to be despised. There were those, however, who sought to agitate and change the existing status for the sake of their own gain, and not for the best interests of the state, while Pompey was still carrying on war with the kings in Pontus and Armenia, and there was no power in Rome which was able to cope with the revolutionaries. These had for their chief a man of bold, enterprising, and versatile character, Lucius Catiline, who, in addition to other great crimes, had once been accused of deflowering his own daughter and of killing his own brother; and fear- ing prosecution for this murder, he persuaded Sulla to put his brother’s name, as though he were still alive, in the list of those who were to be put to death under proscription.! Taking this man, then, as their leader, the miscreants gave various pledges to one another, one of which was the sacrifice of a man and the tasting of

his flesh.2 Moreover, Catiline had corrupted a large part of the young men in the city, supplying each of them continually with amusements, banquets, and amours, and furnishing without stint the money to spend on these things. Besides, all Etruria was roused to revolt, as well as most of Cisalpine Gaul. And Rome was most danger- ously disposed towards change on account of the

TET epNe NS 0. XM NL, 2.
2 Cf. Dion Cassius, Hist. Rom. xxxvii. 30, 3.
107

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

% / > , " \ b] , /
ovatats avwpuadriay, TOV pev év do&n padiota Kal
, , A
ppovipate KaTeTTwKEvLEVwD Eis Oéatpa Kat bei-
\ , \ > , A \ lA
mva Kat dirapyias Kal oixodoputas, Tov b€ Wrov-
A 4
TwWY Els ayevvEels Kal TaTELWOUS cUVEppYNKOTOY
4 on t ~ "a x
avOpwrrous, BaTE pliKpas pots deiaGar Ta Tmpa-
YyMATA Kal TAVTOS Elvat TOD TOALNGAaYTOS éKOTH-
\ a fal
Cat THY TONLTELAY avTHY Up avTHS vocovdaay.
XT. Ov pry adda Bovdopevos 0 Kartirivas
/ aA
isyupov TL TpokaTaraety opuntipiov vratelav
peTyEel* Kat NapTrpOs iv Talis éXriow ws Lal
? ¢
Avtwviw cuvuTatevowr, avdpt Ka? avutov peév
\ ' / XN A e
ovTe mpos To BEXTLOV OUTE TPOS TO YEtpoV HryeE-
aA 3
povik@, wpoc8ijxkyn & ayovtos Etépou Suvapews
écouévw. tavta 61) TOV Kadav Kal ayabav oi
a d N A
TrELaTOL TpoatcOopevoe TOV Kixépwva tmponyov
emt THY UTaTELay' Kal Tov Sypou SeEapévou Tpo-
, e N oe , > 4 , \ N
Gupwso pev Kartirivas é&étece, Kixépwv dé xat
oo ¢ , A
[dios "Avtwvios npéOnoav. Kaitot TOV peTioV-
€ / e a
Twv 0 Kixépwy povos nv é& immtKkovd TraTpos, ov
Bovrevtod, yeyoves.

aa x ,
NIT. Kat ra pév wepi Kartirivav Euerrev rt
\ \ 4 / \ ?
Tous ToANOUS AavOavovTa, Tpoaywves SE beyaNot
Thv Kexépwvos utratetay é€ed€EavTo. TovtTo peév
\ ¢ / \ \ WN’ /
yap ol KexwAULEVOL KATA TOUS LVANA VomOUS
,o9 ’ a 3 f% bl] ,
apxew, ovT aabeveis ovTes ovT OALyoL, pwETLOVTES
\ A 4
apyas édnuaywyour, Toda THS DAA Tupav-
, ro) ld a
vidos adnO pév Kal dixata KaTnyopobvTes, ov
\ a
poy ev d€ovtTt THY TOALTE(av ovde GUY KaLPO
wn “A \ , > “A
KivOUVTES’ TOUTO O€ VvOsLOUS ELaHYOV oi Sijpapyxot
108

CICERO x. 4-xtl.2

irregularity in the distribution of property, since men of the highest reputation and spirit had beggared themselves on shows, feasts, pursuit of office, and buildings, and riches had streamed into the coffers of low-born and mean men, so that matters needed only a slight impulse to disturb them, and it was in the power of any bold man to overthrow the common- wealth, which of itself was in a diseased condition.

XI. However, Catiline wished to obtain first a strong base of operations, and therefore sued for the consulship; and he had bright hopes that he would share the consulship with Caius Antonius, a man who, of himself, would probably not take the lead either for good or for bad, but would add strength to another who took the lead. Most of the better class of citizens were aware of this, and therefore put forward Cicero for the consulship, and as the people readily accepted him, Catiline was defeated, and Cicero and Caius Antonius were elected.|. And yet Cicero was the only one of the candidates who was the son, not of a senator, but of a knight.

XII. The schemes of Catiline were still to remain concealed from the multitude, but great preliminary struggies awaited the consulship of Cicero. For, in the first place, those who were prevented from holding office by the laws of Sulla, and they were neither few nor weak, sued for offices and _ tried to win the favour of the people, making many charges against the tyranny of Sulla which were just and true, indeed, but disturbing the govern- ment at an improper and unseasonable time; and, in the second place, the

tribunes were introducing

1 For the year 63 B.c
109
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

\ \ SEN bea eee , -
Tpos THY avTiy vTOEatY, dexadupylav KabiaTar-
, "A e "~
TES AUTOKPATOPwWY AVOPAY, ois Edetto TaaNS pev
aT / 4 de Ss / \ eo 5 \ TI oh
Tartas, Taans d€ Lvptas, Kal doa dra Lourniov
/ - a
VEeWOTL MWpoTWPLOTO KUpLoUS OVYTaS Twdely TA
, / A fe
dnpoola, Kpivery ods dSoxoin, duyddas éx Barre,
, , a "A
guvoixivey modes, YXpipata AapBavew ex Tov
id , / \
TAMLELOV, OTpaTiwTas Tpéhey Kal KaTaréyeu
\ \ "A , "A
oTocwy O€owTo. O10 Kal TO VvOLM Mpocelyov
» " a \ a > e
avo TE TOY ETLhaVvaV Kat TP@TOS "AvT@VLOS oO
"A / "
Tov Kuxépwvos cvvapxov @s tay déxa yevnoo-
3 / \ \ '\ al 7 \
pevos. €doKer O€ Kai Tov Katiriva vewtepto pov
20 \ 3 , e\N , ; A
elom@s ov duaxepaivery UTO TANOOUVS Savetwy' 6
A f / n
partota Tos apiotos PoGov wapetye.
n A S e
Kat todtov mpa@tov Oepavevwy o Kixepwy
by / \ > 7 al > n ,
exetvo pev Eerndicato tav éerapyiav Maxedoviar,
n \ \ | / lé /
avt@ dé THY LTadatiav didopevnv trapnticato,
, "A 4 iA ' b] /
Kal KATELPYaTAaTO TH YUapiTL TAVTN TOV > AVTwVLOY
e \ a \
@oTeEp vToKpiTy)VY éuproPov avT@ Ta devTEpa
5 a / > «
neyely UTep THS TaTpioos. ws 6 OdTOS éadwxKet
\ , b) / n of na ¢

Kat xelporijOns éyeyover, “adrAov 16n Oappav o
r / \ a “A
Ktxépwy éviotato mpos Tovs KaLvoTomovYTas. ey
3 A “A f \ “A ,
pev ovvy tH BovrAn KaTHYOpLAaY TiVa TOU VvoLoU
. e / \
diatiOémevos ovTws eer AnEEY abTovs TOUS ciodé-
\ / b] \ 9
povtas wate pydevy avtihéyerv. émel 8 atOus
/ fal
émrexelpovy Kal TapecKevacpévot TpoeKaodvTo
\ “A b] \ , ¢
TOUS UTUuToOUS él TOV dSHuov, ovdev UITOdEetaas O
\ \ \
Kixépwv, adr THY BovAny érecbat Kedevoas Kab
/ / \ /
mooedOwv, ov povoy é€€Bare Tov vopuov, adrAda
aA oy) \
Kat TOV GAAwWY aTroyVavat Tors Snpapyous
| @ te)

CICERO, xu. 2-5

laws to the same purpose, appointing a commission of ten men with unlimited powers, to whom was committed, as supreme masters of all Italy, of all Syria, and of all the territories which Pompey had lately added to the empire, the right to sell the public lands, to try whom they pleased, to send into exile, to settle cities, to take moneys from the public treasury, and to levy and maintain as many soldiers as they wanted. Therefore many of the prominent men also were in favour of the law, and foremost among them Antonius the col- league of Cicero, who expected to be one of the ten. It was thought also that he knew about the conspiracy of Catiline and was not averse to it, owing to the magnitude of his debts; and _ this was what gave most alarm to the nobles.

This alarm Cicero first sought to allay by getting the province of Macedonia voted to his colleague, while he himself declined the proffered province of Gaul; and by this favour he induced Antonius, like a hired actor, to play the second réle to him in defence of their country. Then, as soon as Antonius had been caught and was tractable, Cicero opposed himself with more courage to the inno- vators. Accordingly, he denounced the proposed law in the senate at great length, and so terrified the very promoters of it that they had no reply to make to him. And when they made a second attempt and after full preparation

summoned the consuls to appear before the people, Cicero had not the slightest fear, but bidding the senate follow him and leading the way, he not only got the law rejected, but also induced the tribunes to desist

Pit

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

= , NY a A , ,
émoinoe, Tapa ToTOVTOV T@ NOyYH KpaTnOEevTAS
UT AUTOD.
Yr \ oe . /
XIII. Mddtota yap ovtos 0 arynp érréderEe 86
e / ee ¢ a / a n ,
Pwpaiots doov 7S0vis NOYOS TO KAXO Tpoctt-
ef N , , ‘0 Nn b] a
Ono, Kal OTL TO StKaLoy antTTHTOV éoTLV av OpOas
/ \ A \ b] A , coy
NéyynTas, Kal Sed TOV EumeADS TWoOALTEVOMEVOY EL
A \ “A F
TO peev Epy@ TO KaAOV avTL TOU KONAKEVOVTOS
Fr a aA \ , \ a b] a fa)
aipetabat, T® SE NOY TO AUTrODY adatpEty TOD
& &
, a ‘ ’ a a \ \ ,
auudepovtos. detypa O€ avTod THs wept Tov do-
\ \ \ \ , a
yov Xapitos Kal TO epi Tas Beas ev TH UTraTEla
, “A \ e a) , a
YEVOLEVOV. TOV Yap (mmTLK@V TpOTEpoV év TOTS
/ a “a x
Oeatpots avapepiypévoy Tots Todos Kab peta
A , “ ,
Tov Sipuou Oewpévwv ws ETUXE, TOMTOS Sréxpivev
“A \ / \ ‘a wv a
eal Tien TOUS imméas ATO TOV AdNWY TOdTOV
5 Y a \
Madpxos “OOwyv otpatnyav, cat Créverpev idiav
iA ¢ a /
éxetvors Oéav, iy éte Kat viv é£atpetov eyovat.
wn \ 5] 4 c an byé \ f
TOUTO pos ATipias Oo Ohwos EXKaBe, Kal dhavévtos
na , ie
év Oedtpw tov “Obwvos ehufpifwrv ecupiTtev, ob
8 (mwmeis uméXaBov Kpotw tov avdpa AaUTPG

Ss P é P ‘ ad pws.
> \ ¢ wn > / N - 9S
avOts b€ o Shuos eméTetve Tov cuUpLypov, cita
n , ,
éxelvol Tov KpoToV. €x b€ TOUTOUV TpaTrOopMEVOL
/ A , \
Tpos GAAAOUS Eyp@vTo Ao.doptats, Kal To Oé-
, a \ b] ¢ @
aTpov adxoopia katetyev. éret & 0 Kixépwy ire
, \ XN wn aA
muOopevos Kab Tov Shpov éexxaréoas pos TO TIS
IT fa) e \ is ,
Epvods (tepov émetinoe Kal Tapnvecev, amred-
1 See the three orations de Lege Agruria, which have come down to us almost intact.
112

CICERO, xu 5-x1n. 4

from the rest of their measures, so overpowered were they by his eloquence.!
XIII. For this man beyond all others showed the Romans how great a charm eloquence adds to the right, and that justice is invincible if it is correctly put in words, and that it behooves the careful statesman always in his acts to choose the right instead of the agreeable, and in his words to take away all vexatious features from what is advantageous. A proof of the charm of his discourse may be found in an incident of his consulship connected with the publie spectacles. In earlier times, it seems, the men of the equestrian order were mingled with the multitudes in the theatres and saw the spectacles along with the people, seated as chance would have it; Marcus Otho was the first to separate in point of honour the knights from the rest of the citizens, which he did when he was praetor,? and gave them a_particular place of their own at the spectacles, which they still retain. The people took this as a mark of dishonour to themselves, and when Otho appeared in the theatre they hissed him insultingly, while the knights received him with loud applause. The people renewed and increased their hisses, and then the knights their applause. After this

they turned upon one another with reviling
words, and disorder reigned in the theatre. When
Cicero heard of this he came and summoned the
people to the temple of Bellona, where he rebuked
2 It was in 67 B.c., four years before Cicero’s consulship, that Lucius Roscius Otho, as tribune of the people, introduced his law giving the equites a special place at the spectacles,

namely, the fourteen rows of seats next those of the senators. The law, however, had only recently been enacted.

N / bd / Ny
Govres adOus eis TO Péatpov éxpotovy tov "Obwva
val ‘\ \ e 4 f
AapTpPOs Kal Tpos Tous immeas apthray €7rot-
A lal ‘i , “ ,
odvto Tept Tyua@y Kal doEns TOU avdpos.
ea \ \ pee i
XIV. ‘H 6€ wepi tov Katidtvay cuvwpocia
/ \ a
amTnkaca Kai KaTabetcaca THY apynV adOls ave-
/ \ “ 5] 4 \ ,
Ouppet, Kat ovviyyov uddnXovs Kal Tapexadovy
ef ~
EUTOAMOTEpoY amtecOar TOY Tpaypatwy TTply
>] lal Pion ” / ¢, ,
éeraverOetv Loprijiov dn Neyomevoy uToatpéhery
\ la) ? id \ NX /
peta THS Suvduews. pardtota o€ Tov Katerivav
4 a
éEnpéOrSov of YvAAA Tddat otTpaTi@Tal, StaTre-
¢ \ oe fa! ? 4 “ \ \
PUKOTES ev oANS THS IradXias, wreltaTtot b€ Kat
, la tad 4
payipetato tats Tuppnvixais éyxatecTrappévor
t e \ f \ / ,
TONETLY, ApTayas TUAW Kal dtahopijcels TOV-
, bd a“ & \ 4
TWV ETOLMWVY OVELPOTTOAOVYTES. OUTOL yap nyEwova
, / nw 9 ~ \ 4
Madrduov éxovtes, avopa Tov éripaves vo LVA-
, fal vi

AQ oTpaTevoapévwy, cuvictavto T® Katirtra
lol e ,
Kal Taphoav els ‘Pouny cuvapxatpectacovtes.
a ,
UTatetay yap avOis petnet, BeLovrevpévos ave-
a / N \ a a
Nery Tov Kixépwva Tept avTOV THY apyYatpeci@V
\ , x0 7 \ \ \ t
tov GopuBov. édoxet &€ Kat TO dalpovioy Tpocn-
\ f Cal \ an
ualvery TA TpacaopEera cEeLapmois Kab KEepauvois
¢ ’ ? id ,
Kat dacpaciv. at 0 am avopwtav pxnvicers
b lal \ i ” a] > of. 3 aA
arnOeis pév aay, ovrw O ets EdXeyXov aToYpa-
\ \ / / a
gai Kat avdpos évddEou cat dvvapévou péya Tod
bad , \ \ ¢ , a ’ A
Karidiva. 610 THY pepav TOV apyalperiov
e , e ul > 7 \ cad , b
uTepOewevos 0 Kixepwv éexadret tov Katirivav ets
, \ a /
THY TVYKANTOY Kal TEPL TOV eyouevwy avex pier.
\ 27 9
o 6é ToAAOUS OlOpFVOS Eivat TOUS Tpay_LaToV
~ / > a“ “ er “
Kawov epiemevous ev TH BovdAn, Kal apa Tols
T14

CICERO, xi. 4-xiv. 4

and exhorted them, whereupon they went back again to the theatre and applauded Otho loudly, and vied with the knights in showing him honour and esteem.

XIV. But Catiline and his fellow-conspirators, who at first were cowed and terrified, began once more to take courage, and assembling themselves together exhorted one another to take matters in hand more boldly before Pompey came back, and he was said to be now returning with his army. It was the old soldiers of Sulla, however, who were most of all urging Catiline on to action. These were to be found in all parts of Italy, but the greatest numbers and the most warlike of them had been

scattered among the cities of Etruria, and were again dreaming of robbing and plundering the wealth that lay ready to hand. These men, I say, with Manlius for a leader, one of the men who had served with distinction under Sulla, associated themselves with Catiline and came to Rome to take part in the consular elections. For Catiline was again a candidate for the consulship, and had determined to kill Cicero in the very tumult of the elections. Moreover, even the heavenly powers seemed, by earthquakes and thunderbolts and apparitions, to foreshow what was coming to pass. And there were also human testimonies which were true, indeed, but not sufficient for the conviction of a man of reputation and great power like Catiline. For this reason Cicero postponed the day of the elections, and summoning Catiline to the senate, examined him concerning what was reported. But Catiline, thinking that there were many in the senate who were desirous of a revolution, and at

IIs

cuveporais eveerxripevos, amexpivato TO Kuixepove pavichy amoxpiow "Tiyap,' én, " mpatta Servov, et, Svetv cwpmaTwv dvT@v, Tod péev Laxvod kat katepOivnxdtos, éxovtos b& Keparry, TOD 0 axepdrov pév, iaxupod dé Kal peyarou, TOUT Keharny avtos éretTlOnp;" TovTw@y eis TE TH Boudry Kal Tov Shpov yveywévov vT avtov, parrov 6 Kexépwr SSerce, kal TeOwpaxtopévov avtov of te Suratol WavTEes ATO THS oikKias KaL TOV vévwy modo KaTiyayov eis TO Tediov. Tov dé Owpaxos érityndes brépawé Tt Tapavaas &k TOV WLwV TOU YLTOVOS, évderxvUpevos TOs OpPMTL TOV KLVOUvov. of & ayavdxrouv Kab ouvertpépovto Tept avrév: Kal Tédros ev Tais Wydous Tov pev Katinrevav abOis é&éBadov, etAovto 5€ Liravov vratov Kat Moupnvav.

XV. OF worAAG 8 Batepov TovTwy Hon TO Karirira tav év Tuppnvig cuvepxopevwr Kat kataroxilopevwr, Kal THS wploperns pos THV erica huépas éyyus ovens, jKov emt tHv Kexepovos oixiav mept péras ruKTas aydpes of TpaTot

cal Svvatotato. ‘Pwpaiwy, Mapxos te Kpaoaos
cat Mdpxos Mapreddxs Kat L«nmiwv MétedXos:
kowavtes 5é Tas Ovpas Kal Kadécavtes Tov Ov-
pwpov éxédevov emeyeipar kal ppdcar Kixépwre
Thy Tapovelav avTav. ip dé rotovder TS Kpac-
ow peta Seitrvov émiatoddas arodidwow o Ou-
popes, v1rd Sy Tivos avOpaTrou KopLaOeicas ayve-
otov, dAdas AAXols Eruyeypammévas, aVT@ de
Kpdoow piav adéorotor. hv povny avayvous
6 Kpdaaos, ws &ppave ta ypappata dovov yevn-
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the same time making a display of himself to the conspirators, gave Cicero the answer of a madman: “What dreadful] thing, pray,’ said he, “am I doing, if, when there are two bodies, one lean and wasted, but with a head,! and the other headless, but strong and large, I myself become a head for this?” Since this riddle of Catiline’s referred to the senate and the people, Cicero was all the more alarmed, and he wore a_ breastplate when all the nobles and many of the young men escorted him from his house to the Campus Martius. Moreover, he purposely allowed the spectators to get a glimpse of his breastplate by loosing his tunic from his shoulders, thus showing them his peril. The people were incensed and rallied about him; and finally, when they voted, they rejected Catiline once more, and elected Silanus and Murena consuls.”

XV. Not long after this, when Catiline’s soldiers in Etruria were already assembling and forming into companies, and when the day set for their attack was near, there came to the house of Cicero at mid- night men who were the leading and most powerful Romans, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Scipio Metellus; and knocking at the door and sum- moning the doorkeeper, they bade him wake Cicero and tell him they were there. Their business was what I shall now relate. After Crassus had dined, his doorkeeper handed him some letters which an unknown man had brought; they were addressed to different persons, and one, which had no sig- nature, was for Crassus himself. Crassus read _ this letter only, and since its contents told him that

1 Unum debile, infirmo capite (Cicero, pro Murena, 25, 51).
2 For the year 62 B.c.

haa J / ~
aopevov trodvv 61a Katidiva, cal Twapnver Tis
e a \ ’ X >]
monews vmeEeNGeiy, Tas AANas ovVK EXVGEV, UAX
‘ \ la)

Heev evOds mpos Tov Kixépwva, wrANyEls VITO TOD
a a , ,
Oelvov, KAL TL THS AlTias ATTOAVOMEVOS HY ETE
\ a“ ag
dua didiav Tov Watidtva.
Bovrevodpuevos otv o Kixépwy ap’ ryuépa Bov-
; ieee ge sealed gine cre dc
,
AyV cuPIyaye, Kal TAS ETLTTONAS KOpicas aTre-
aN / 7 a
dwxev ols oayv émetTadpéval, KedNeVaAas Phavepars
na n ’ ® e , \
avayveval. mwacat & Aoav opotwsériBovrAnv
f > \ \ 4 rT Ia ba SN
ppufovoat. éret d€ kal Koivtos “Apptos, avnp
, ,
TTPATHYLKOS, aTNYyyENXE TOUS ev Tuppyria Kata-
4 \ , f \
AOXLT MOUS, KAL MadQuos ATNYYENAETO TUV KEL pL
f \ \ b) , b] ra ,’ ,
peydryn Tepl TAS TONES ExELVAS ALWPOU{LEVOS del
a \ ‘ a / 4
Te mTpoadokav Kaivoy amo THS “Pwuns, yivetat
al A 7 “
doypa THs BovAs wapaxatatibecbat tots vira-
\ {8 / 3 i
Tos Ta mpayparta, SeEapévous 6 éxEivous ws
/ “ , \ fa)
émiagtavrat dtoixety Kai cwbe THY TOALW. TOTO
b] b] ao > > ce A / wn
6 ov TWoAAdKIS, GAN OTAaV TL peya Seton, TOLELV
/
elwGev 7) ovyKANTOS.
rT ; 5 fi
XVI. ’Eaet 6é tavtnv AaBwv tiv éEovciav o
a \ f , A ,
Kixépwv ta pev Ew mpdypata Kolvto MerérAXro
f \ \ , 5 \
diemtatevoe, THY O€ TOdW eElye Oia YeEtpos Kal
, , / ’ fal
Kal’ *pépav mponet Sopupopovpevos UT avdpav
\ aA ind a A
TocovTwYy TO TAHVOS WaTE THS ayopas ToAv
, > nw
pépos KaTéxerv €uPadXovtos avtov Tovs TapaTrép-

a \
TOVTAS, OVKETL KapTEep@Y THY pédAdXynaow oO Karti-
a b] N ‘ 3 nm ” ‘ \ ,
Alvas avTOS meV ExTINdaY Eyvw pos TOV MaddXLov
1 See the Crassus, xiii 3. Cicero’s treatise on his consulship, there referred to, was written in Greek, and is not extant.

there was to be much bloodshed caused by Catiline,
and advised him to escape secretly from the city,
he did not open the rest, but came at once to
Cicero, terrified by the danger, and seeking to free
himself somewhat from charges that had been
made against him on account of his friendship for
Catiline.}
Cicero, accordingly, after deliberation, convened the senate at break of day, and carrying the letters thither gave them to the persons to whom they had been sent, with orders to read them aloud. All the letters alike were found to tell of a plot. And when also Quintus Arrius, a man of praetorian dignity, brought word of the soldiers who were being mus- tered into companies in Etruria, and Manlius was reported to be hovering about the cities there with a large force, in constant expectation of some news from Rome, the senate passed a decree that matters should be put in the hands of the consuls, who were to accept the charge and manage as best they knew how for the preservation of the city.2 Now, the senate is not wont to do this often, but only when it fears some great danger.

XVI. On receiving this power Cicero entrusted
matters outside to Quintus Metellus, while he him-
self kept the city in hand and daily went forth
attended by so large a bodyguard that a great
part of the forum was occupied when he entered
it with his escort. Thereupon Catiline, no longer
able to endure the delay, resolved to hasten forth
2 Dent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat (Sallust, Catiline, 29); decrevit quondam senatus ut L. Opimius consul videret ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet (Cicero, ta Catz. i. 2, 4).

émri TO atpatevpa, Mdpxvov oé Kat KéOnyov éxé-
Aeuoe Eipn AaBovras EXOeiv et Tas Ovpas Ew O ev
QS LOTAG OMEVOUS TOV Kirépova Kal Say prjoa-
aOat TpooTred ovTas. TovTo Dovrfia, yur? Tav

éemipavav, éEayyédrer T@ Kixépwvi, vuxtos en
Goboa Kal BONES purarrec 0a TOUS
mept tov Ké@nyov. 5 nov ape MEE, Kal
Koduevtes cicenBely + jjendma Kal KaTeBowr
eTL Gupass, MOTE UTOTTOTEPOL yevéo Pau. 7 poen-
Pav 2 O Kirépov eKaNEL THY ouyKA TOV Eis TO
Tov Stnotov Aros Lepov, Ov Lrdropa Popator
Kadovory, Ldpupevon € Ev APXH THS tepas 0600, 7 pos
TO Harareov avidvtwyv. évtavda Kat tod Kate-
iva peTa TOV AdrwY EXMOVTOS wS aTOOYNCO-
pévou, cuyKabiaat pev ovdels Uréperve TOV oUY-
KNYNTIKOV, ANA TavTEs GTO TOD BaOpou peTHA-
Oov. apEdapevos dé Neyerv EOopuBelto, Kat TEXOS
avagTas o Kixépwv mpooerager avT@ THs Toews
aTanrrattecOa Seiv yap avTod pee Aorvyous, éxel-
vou 6 oTdoLs TONLTEVO[LEVOV plécov elvat TO
TELXOS. 0 pev ovv Karedivas evOvs efeN av
META TpLAKOOLOY om hopopav Kat TEPLOTNO AMEV OS
avT@ paBsovxtas QS dpxovre Kal TENEKELS Kat
onpatas émrapapevos, mpos tov Maddtov eYopet:
Kal Sto pupiwv ofLovd TL ovvnOpore peveov eT Net Tas
Toves avarelOwy Kal adloTdas, WOTE TOU TOXE-
pov pavepod yeyovoTtos Tov *AvT@vioy aToaTAaNh-
vat Stapayovpevov.
een rm et me

1 From Cicero’s oration pro Sulla (6, 18) and Sallust’s Catiline (28) it appears that the names of these would-be murderers were Caius Cornelius and Lucius Vargunteius.

to Manlius and his army, and ordered Marcius
and Cethegus! to take their swords and go early
in the morning to the house of Cicero on pretence
of paying him their respects, and there to fall upon
him and dispatch him. This scheme Fulvia, a woman
of high rank, made known to Cicero, coming to him
by night and urging him to be on his guard against
Cethegus and his companion. The men came at
break of day, and when they were prevented from
entering, they were incensed and made an outcry
at the door, which made them the more sus-
pected. Then Cicero went forth and summoned

the senate to the temple of Jupiter Stesius (or Stator, as the Romans say), which was_ situated at the beginning of the Via Sacra, as you go up to the Palaces hill. Thither Cantina also came with the rest in order to make his defence; no senator, however, would sit with him, but all moved away from the bench where he was. And when he began to speak he was interrupted by outcries, and at last Cicero rose and ordered him to depart from the city, saying that, since one of them did his work with words and the other with arms, the city-wall must needs lie between them.' Catiline, secon ainelys left the city at once with three hundred armed followers, assumed the fasces and axes as though he were a magistrate, raised standards, and marched to join Manlius; and since about twenty thousand men altogether had been collected, he marched round to the various cities endeavouring to persuade them to revolt, so that there was now open war, and Antonius was sent off to fight it out.

* CE Cicero, m Cate. i. 5, 10.

Leos

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

r > ¢ ~ 4 val
XVII. Tods & varorepbevtas év TH TONEL TOV
4 ¢ x lal ed , ~ \
dtehOappévoy vo tov Katidiva ouviye Kat
, if
mapefappuve Kopyidcos Aevtdos Lovpas étikry-
SN / \ ' f \ \ /
ov, avynp yevous ev évdoEou, BeBiwxas b€ hav-
/ an a
Aws Kal bt acérXyetayv e€EeAnAapEvos THS BovdrAs
f X\ ~
MTpoTEpov, ToTE O€ aTpaTHYoY TO SEeVTEPOY, @S
GOos éati tots €& UTapxhs avaxtwpévots TO Bov-
, / \
NeuTLKOY aELwpa. RéyeTas O€ Kal THY érikANoLD
A 4 4
avT@ yevéobat tov Lovpav €& aitias Toravrns.
a eA L ?
év Tots Kata LvANaY yYpovols Tapsevwv aUYVa
TOV Snpociwv XYpnuaTwoV aT@rEdE Kai SrePOerpev.

9 ~ XV “A , \ 4 b]
ayavaktouvtos b€ Tov YvAAa Kal Aoyov atral-
lal “ \
TOUYTOS EV TH TVYKANTW, TpPoEAGwY OdLYWPwWS
“A ,
Tavu Kal KatappovnTiKas oyov pev ovK edn
/ / \ \ / ef
diddvat, Tapéxerv O€ THY KYnLNY, OoTEp EL@O ELT AD
id n~ ~ /
ol Taides OTaV Ev TO ohHhaipiCew apiptwatv. éK
, / / \ €
TovTou Lovpas mapwvouacOn covpayv yap ot
‘p a \ , XE aN be é
w@pato. THY KYnunv Eeyovolt. Tari 6é Sixnv
f f a a
éyov kat dtapGetpas éeviovs tev SixacTap, érel
\ 2 Z f / 4 ,
dval povais amrepuye Wudols, edn Tapavaropa
/ / io / a
yeyovévat T0 Oatépm KpiThH Sobév: apxety yap et
Kat pia Widw povoy amervd
: ey MN tae i 1). ‘ ;
Totrov ovta tH duces ToLovtToOV KEKLVNwévOY
‘ an / , a
uTo Tov Katiriva mpoocdsépOetpav édXmiat Kevais
wrevdoudvTers Kal yontes ern TeTacpEVA Kal
\ 46 e bf a v /
yYpnopous aovTes, ws ek TOV LuBvAdELwv, Tpo-
fa) , 9s ma ¢ ,
SnrovvTAS Elpappévous eivae TH “Pawpwn Kopynr-
~ = Q 7 \ >
ous Tpéls povapyous, @Y Ovo peEv On TEeTANPO-
re X , Kk \ ~~ , , \
KEvaL TO Ypewv, Wivvay Te Kal SUAXADY, TPLIT@ de
122

CICERO, xvu. 1-4

AVI. The creatures of Catiline who had been left behind in the city were brought together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of illustrious birth, but one who had led a low life and for his licentiousness had formerly been ex- pelled from the senate, though now he was serving as praetor for the second time, as is the custom with those who have recovered their senatorial dignity. It is said too that he got his surname of Sura for the following reason. In Sulla’s time he was quaestor and lost and wasted large amounts of the public moneys. Sulla was angry at this and demanded an ac- counting from him in the senate, whereupon Lentulus came forward with a very careless and contemptuous air and

said that he would not give an aecount, but would offer his leg, as boys were accustomed to do when they were playing ball and made a miss. On this account he was surnamed Sura, for “sura”’ is the Roman word for deg. At another time, too, he was under prosecution and had bribed some of the jurors, and when he was acquitted by only two votes, he said that what he had given to the second juror was wasted money, since it would have sufficed if he had been acquitted by one vote only.

Such was the nature of this man who had been stirred up by Catiline, and he was further corrupted by vain hopes held out to hiin by false prophets and jugglers. These recited forged oracles in verse pur- porting to come from the Sibylline books,! which set forth that three Cornelii were fated to be monarchs in Rome, two of whom had already fulfilled their destiny, namely, Cinna and Sulla, and that now to

AeCl Cicero, 1m Cali. 111.4, 9.

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

an , b 4 , \ i
AOLTO Kopynhim oe pepovta Tae aes gies!
e “ / N
HKewv Tov Saipova, Kal ety wavtws SéyerOas Kai
\ , yp. A} / ef
pn dvadGetpery péAXXOVTA TOUS KaLpOS, WaTTED
Katirivas.
XVITI. Ovd€ev obv érrevoes ptxpov o Aévtros 4)
’
donuov, GAN ededoKxTO THY BovAnY amacay avat-
pely TOV T AAAWY TOALT@Y Soous SvUVaLTO, THY
4 > > \ f , ,
wok 6 avtivy KaTtatipmpavar, heidecOat Te
pndevos 7} TAV Lloumniov téxvwv' tavta & éEap-
’ n
TATAMEVOUS EXELY VP AUTOS Kal PuAAaTTELY GuNpa
an N II fw 6 x , Bs 0 \ b) /
tov mpos Ilopmniov diadvoewv’ dn yap édoita
\ / \ , C \ b] a ,
joAus NOYyos Kal BEeBaros uTEp avTov KaTLOVTOS
a , ve: \ o¢
aro THS meyadns oTpaTelas. Kal vvE pév WptaoTo
s \ peed , an / , ‘
mpos THY eiPecw mia Tov Kpoviddwr, Edn dé
wn A \ a f
Kal otummeta Kat Oetov ets THY KeOnyou dépovtes
5S eld 3 , LA \ , e \
oikiay améxpuav. avdpas 6€ tTd€avtes éxaTor
a ~ ¢ ’
Kal pépn Tocavta THs Pwpns exactov ed Exa-

Le fal
oTw@ SLEKAHPWTAY, WS OL OALYOU TOAAGY arvav-
, /
twv hréyoto travTayolev 1 Torts. adror be
\ 3 s v7 >] if > ¢
TOUS OXETOVS E“eddrOV euhpakavtes aTroapattetv
e ie
TOUS VOpEevopmeEvous.
IIpatropéevwr S€ Tovtwy etvyov éridnjovdytes

, /
"ArXdoBpiyov dvo mpéecBes, EOvovs partota 67
,
TOTE TOVNPA TpaTTOVTOS Kal PBapvvoygevou TH
e , , e \ , > ,
Hyemoviav. TouTous ot wept AevTNOY wErtwous
\ “ \ a
WYOUMEVOL TPOS TO KLITTaL Kal peTaBaXeiy THY

i , \ f
Taratiav éroinoavto ovvmpotas. Kal ypaupata
an \ a , id
pev autois mpos THv éxet Bovrnv, ypappata be
a N Ay
apos Katidivay Socay, TH pev vntoxvovpmevot
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CICERO, xvu. 4-xvitt. 3

him, the third and remaining Cornelius, the heavenly
powers were come with a proffer of the monarchy,
which he must by al] means accept, and not ruin his
opportunities by delay, like Catiline.
XVIII. Accordingly, it was no trifling or insignifi- eant plan which Lentulus was cherishing, nay, it was decided to kill all the senators and as many of the other citizens as they could, to burn down the city itself, and to spare no one except the children of Pompey ; these they were to seize and hold in their own custody and keep as hostages for their recon- ciliation with Pompey; for already there was current a wide-spread and sure report of his coming back from his great expedition. A night had also been fixed for the attempt, a night of the Saturnalia,! and swords, tow, and brimstone had been carried to the house of Cethegus and hidden there. Moreover, they had appointed a hundred men and assigned by lot as many quarters of Rome to each one severally, in order that within a short time many might play the incendiary and the city be everywhere in a blaze. Others, too, were to stop up the aqueducts and kill those who tried to bring water.

But while this was going on, there chanced to be staying at Rome two ambassadors of the Allobroges, a

nation which at that time was in a particularly evil plight and felt oppressed by the Roman sway. These men Lentulus and his partisans thought would be useful in stirring up Gaul to revolt, and therefore took them into the conspiracy. They also gave them letters to their senate, and letters to Catiline, making

1 At the time of the conspiracy of Catiline the Saturnalia lasted only one day, December 19; in the time of Augustus three days were devoted to them (December 17-19). See the note on Sulla, xviii. 5.

Thy érevGepiav, Tov d€ Katirivay mapaxanovvtes
érevdepmaavTa Tovs dovrous ent THY Payny
éNavvery. curaTeaTEdRov dé peT avTav ™ pos
tov Katirivay Titov tua Kpotwmarny, Kxopi-
Covta tas émtatoAds. ola 6 avOpwrayv actad-
nTwOVY Kal peT Olvou TA TOAAA Kal yUVvaLKaY
b , bd , i , \
ahrAndots EvTVyYavovtwy BovrAevpaTa TOVw Kal
OYTO vnPovee Kal Tuverel TEPLTTH Stokov 7)
Kixépor, Kal TONAOUS ev EXov éEwOev émricko-
mobvTas TA T PAT TOMLEVA, Kat cuvettxvevortas
avTO, Toots 6€ TOV peTeXeLv SoxouvT@vy Tips
cwveapLoias Suaher/ojrevos Kpupa Kal TL TEVOY,
éyya THY mpos Tous Eévous Koworoyiav: Kal
vuKkTos évedpevaas €raBe Tov Kpotmvdtny cal ta
ypaupata, curepyouvTwy adyAws tav *AXXo-
Bpiyov.
XIX. "Apa é MEY Bovrnv aOpoicas Els TO
THs 'Oporotas iepov eEaveyva TQ ypappara Kat
TOY pqvuTav Sujcoucer. épn O€ Kat Leaves
"lovvios axnkoévat tivas Ke@rjyou déyovtos ws
Umatol TE THElS KAL OTpaTHYyoOL TETTAPES avatpeEl-
c@at pérXXovat. Towadta 6 Erepa Kai Letcwr,
oeN e / bf i Fue , xt ,
avnp uTaTLKOS, elanyyere. TVadios 5€ Xovarrixcos,
eis TOV OTPATHYOY, et THY olkiay TeudOels Tod
Ke@zjyou moda pev év aura Bern Kal O7mAa,
TrElaoTA O€ Eby Kal payaipas ebpe veoOnk Tous
aTUoas. téoOs 6€ TO Kpotwmdry Waypioanerns
adetav é7l penvvg ee TIS Bovris eLereyx Geis O
AévtXos aT@pocato Ty apyny (aTpaTnyav yap
érvyyave), Kal THY wepiToppupoy év TH Bovrn
Kataléuevos dinrrakev eoOijta TH cuppopa Tpé-

the senate promises of freedom and urging Catiline to set the slaves free and march upon Rome. ‘They also sent with them to Catiline a certain Titus of Croton, who was to carry the letters. But the conspirators were unbalanced men who seldom met together without wine and women, while Cicero was following their schemes industriously, with sober judgement and surpassing sagacity; he also had many men outside of their conspiracy who kept watch upon their doings and helped him track them down, and he conferred secretly and confi- dentially with many who were supposed to belong to the conspiracy; he therefore came to know of their conference with the strangers, and, laying an ambush by night, he seized the man of Croton and his letters with the secret co-operation of the Allobroges.!

XIX. At break of day, then, he assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, read the letters aloud, and examined the informers. Silanus Junius also said that certain ones had heard Cethegus de- clare that three consuls and four praetors were going to be taken off. Piso, too, a man of consular dignity, brought in other reports of a like nature. Moreover, Caius Sulpicius, one of the praetors, on being sent to the house of Cethegus, found in it many missiles and weapons, and a huge quantity of swords and knives, all newly sharpened. And finally, after the senate had voted immunity to the man of Croton on condition that he gave information, Lentulus was convicted, resigned his office (he was then praetor), and laying aside his purple-bordered toga in the senate, assumed in its placc a garment suitable to his

Cr, Cicero, +m Cait. 11, 2. 4-6,
127
3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

@ \ 9S € ‘ ~ ,
Tovday. OUTOS MEV OVV Kal Ol OLY AUT@ TrapeEdo-
A a“ a
Onoav eis adeopov durakny Tols oTpaTHYOCS.
“HS oO e , ¥ \ a“ } / 4
n 0 éattépas ovons Kal TOU SHwouv Tepimeé-
3 U ‘ e f \ ,
vovTos aOpoov, tpoedOwv o Kixépwv, kal dpacas

\ a a / \ ,
TO Tpaypa Tois ToNTALS Kab TpoTEUpleis, Trap-
a“ 3 3 , f “A > \ \ 9 ¢
mMrAGEv Els Oikiav hirov yEertvL@vTos, evel THY exel-
“A a ¢ a ,
YOU yuvalKEs KATELYOV, lEpols aTroppHToLs opyta-
. ¢ ¢ A > sot
Covaat Ceov nv Popatot pév Ayadnv,” EXXnves 6é
/ 3 n
Tuvatcetav ovopafovor. Ovetas 8 avTH Kat
a a C , \
éviauTov év TH olKLa TOD UTaTOU bLa yuVaLKOS }
ral a e f ,
untpos avTod, tov ‘Eortidédwv rapGévav tapov-
ral b \ 9? ¢ f > ¢e ,
cov. eloed\O@v ovv o Kixépwv, cal’ avtor,
, , > a“ , b f
OMyworv TavTaTacw avT@® TapovToyv, éhpovtitev
a b) , / \
OTwS XpHoaLTo TOls avopuct. THY TE Yap aKpav
/ ,
Kal TpoonKkovacay adiKnpacL THALKOVTOLS TLLO-
a , 3 /
piav é&eviaBeitro Kat Katwxver Ot émleixerav
ov ee \ ¢ \ o E. a b / ”
nGovsS Aua KAL WS fn COKOLN TIS EEOVCLaS ayay
A an /
éupopetobar cat wixp@s émepPatvey avdpace yé-
\ / a
vel TE TPWTOLS Kal didovs duvatous ev TH ToreEt
‘ /
KEKTNLEVOLS* MANAKWTEPOY TE KPHTapMEVOS WPPw-
a / \
del TOY aT aUTa@V KivduvoY. ov yap ayamTnoeD
/ ¢ f >
peTpiwtepov Tt Gavatov tralorvtas, aX els arrav
, f a A f
avappaynoer at Torus, TH Wadala Kakia véav
3 \ , 3 / 60 y
opyiv mpocrhaPovtas autos te Sofetv avavdpos
\ , 299 ” a“ ’ ,
Kal parakos, ovd’ adrdos Soxdv evTOAMOTATOS
Elvat TOLS TOAAOLS.
XX. Taidta tod Kixépwvos diaropobytos yi-
1 ae. for confinement under guard in their own houses

(libera custodia).
128

CICERO, xix. 2-xx. 1

predicament. He and his associates, therefore, were handed over to the praetors for custody without fetters.}

It was now evening, and the people were waiting about the temple in throngs, when Cicero come forth and told his fellow-citizens what had been done.? They then escorted him to the house of a friend and neighbour, since his own was occupied by the women, who were celebrating inystcrious rites to a goddess whom the Romans call Bona Dea, and the Greeks, Gynaeceia. Sacrifice is offered to her annually in the house of the consul by his wife or his mother, in the presence of the Vestal Virgins. Cicero, then, having gone into his friend's house, began to deliberate with himself—and he had only very few companions —what he should do with the men.? For he shrank from inflicting the extreme penalty, and the one befitting such great crimes, and he hesitated to do it because of the kindliness of his nature, and at the same time that he might not appear to make an excessive use of his power and to trample ruthlessly upon men who were of the highest birth and had powerful friends in the city; and if he treated them with less severity, he was afraid of the peril into which they would bring the state. For if they suffered any milder penalty than death, he was sure they would not be satisfied, but would break out into every extreme of boldness, having added fresh rage to their old villainy: and he himself would be thought unmanly and weak, especially as the multitude already thought him very far from courageous,

XX. While Cicero was in this perplexity, a sign

2 The third oration in Catilinam.
3 Cf. Sallust's Cutiline, 16.
129

2

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

veTat Te Tais yuvatkt onpetov Ovovaas. oO yap
Beopos, }6n ToD Tupos KaTaKeKkotmhaOar SoKodv-
, A " / a)
TOS, Ex THS TéePpas Kal TOV KEeKavuevar hrOLOV
f \ > wn \ , e 3 e e
droya mToAAnY aviKke Kat KauTTpaY. vp 1S at
\ ba / e IEE N Va \
bev ddXrat StemTonOnaay, at O tepat mapbévor Tiy
ww 4 nn , e
tov Kixépwvos yuvaica Tepevtiay éxéXevoav 7
fad \ N f
TUXOS Ywpely mpos Tov avdpa Kal KedevEL ois

a AS A /
éyroKxev éeyyetpely umép THs tatpisos, ws péya
- \ f ol A nn nn
mTpos TE TwTNpiav Kat dofav avT@ THs Geod pas
, € \ »! , \ \ +39? » =
didovans. 1 d€ Tepevtia (kal yap ovd adAXwS AV
nw > f \ ?
mpactd TL ov aTOALOS THY puaoww, GAAA odo-
7 \ \ a e b U ec f
TLLOS YUVH Kat “arAOV, ws auTOs dyno oO Kuxé-
pOv, TOV TOALTLK@Y peTaXapBarovca Tap éxel-
/ 3 al a A
vou povtiswy 7 petadibodca TAY oiKLaKaDV
A \ N ,
éxeiv@) TADTa TE TPOS auTOV Edpace Kal TAape-
(oe €
Euvev él Tous avodpas: opolws b€ cai Koivtos o
A \ 4
aderhos Kal Tov ato gdidrocodias étatpwv Ilo-
ees e _\ n \ f \
martos Neyidtos, © Ta TELoTA Kal péyioTa Tapa
x A
TAS TOALTEKUS EYPHTO mpaktess.
TH o va ia yEevomermv € YKAHTO NO
7 TEPALA YEVOMEVWY EV TVYKARTO NOYOV
id n ’ A e A
TEpl TtLwplias TV aVvepav, 0 TpwTOS épwTnOels
@ \ 5 \ / n
yvouny YAravos cite THY eaxXaTyny Sixnv dodvar
/ \
mpoanxe aylevtas eis TO SecpwripLlov. Kal
mpocetiGevto TovTm mavTes epeEns péype Laiov
r A ‘ A
Kaicapos Tov peta tadta dintatopos yevopévov.
, 3 ld \ \ fos
TOTE O€ VéoS wp ETL Kal Tas TpwTas eywY TIS
av&noews apyas, non O€ TH TOXLTEL L Tat
joews apyas, On O€ TH TOAITELA Kal Tails
9 , > b 4 \ eQr b] \ e \
éXrtou els exetyny Thy odov éuBeBnKkws % Ta
€ id ? / / ,
Papatwy es povapylay petéotnoe Tpdypata,
130

CICERO, xx. 1-3

was given to the women who were sacrificing. The altar, it seems, although the fire was already thought to have gone out, sent forth from the ashes and burnt bark upon it a great bright blaze. The rest of the women were terrified at this, but the sacred virgins bade Terentia the wife of Cicero go with all speed to her husband and tell him to carry out his resolutions in behalf of the country, since the goddess was giving him a great light on this path to safety and glory. So Terentia, who was generally of no mild spirit nor without natural courage, but an ambitious woman, and, as Cicero himself tells us,! more inclined to make herself a partner in his political perplexities than to share with him her domestic concerns, gave him this message and incited him against the conspirators ; so likewise did Quintus, his brother, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical companions, ot whom he made the most and greatest use in his political undertakings.

On the following day the senate discussed the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, who was the first to be asked to give his opinion, said that they ought to be taken to prison and there suffer extremest punishment. All the senators acceded to his opinion one after the other, until it came to Caius Caesar,? who afterwards became dictator. At this time, however, he was a young man still and at the very beginning of his rise to power, but in his public policy and his hopes he had already entered upon that road by which he changed the Roman state into a monarchy. His

1 In some passage no longer extant.

2 Cf. Cicero, in Cutil. iv. 4, 7.

4

PEDTARCH Sb ES

Tous “ev ArNous eAdvOave, TO b€ Kixépwve wor-
NaS pev UToWias, AaBiv & ovdeuiav eis EXeyyov
mapéowKkev, GAA Kal AeyovTwMY HV Eviwy aKovELDY
e ’ \ ? \ e a“ a ‘\ wv

ws éyyus éAOwv adrovar drexdvyor Tov avdpa.
“ s taal
tives 66 hace Tapioety ExovTa Kai TapadiTrely THY
> 9 f , , “ , 5) a \
Kat éxelvou pyvucw do8w TaV hitwy avTov Kal
a 5 s ¢
THs Suvapews' TavtTl yap elvat mpodnrov Ort
n a ,
uwarrov ay éxetvor yévowwto TpocOnKkn Kaicapr
~ /
cwTnpias } Kaioap exetvors Kohacews.
XXI. "Emel 6 ovv 4 yvoun wepinrOer ets
avTov, avactas atedivato pi) Gavatovv Tovs
” b] \ A ? / 3 f b) N
avépas, addNa TAS Ovaias eivat dynpootas, avTovs
> 9 , ? , lat Rs / a XN a
S avaydevtas ets trodeus THs Itadtas as adv d0xF
A £
Kixépwri, tnpeta Oar decepevous axpt av ov KaTa-
lal ” \ n~
moreunOn Katertvas. ovons d€ THs yvopns émi-
a “ A 9 “A
ELKOUS Kal TOV Aé€yorTOS ElTrEtY SUYATwWTATOU,
pony 0 Kixépwy mpocénxev ob puxpav. autos
/ >
Te yap avaoTas évexelpnoev ELS EXATEPOV, TA pLeV
fal / \ a , / ,
TH MpoTépa, TA O€ TH YV@pun Katoapos auvertror,
e/ aN f 27 rn K f /
ot TE $i or mdvres olopevor TH Kinépove oupe-
a b] 2 ee A
peev THY Katoapos yummy (nTTov yap év attiats
A , a
ésecGar py POavateécavta Tovs avdpas) npodvto
Tiv OevTépavy pmaANoV yrounv, WoTE Kal TOV
/ a
Yiravov advOis peraBarropevoy maparteiabar Kat
N€éyerv WS OVS avTOS Eitor OavaTiKnYy yvoOunr
? f N ? ‘\ tole ks , ?
éoyatny yap avdpt Bovrevth “Pwpaiwy erat
, bd / \ a
Sixny To Secpwtypiov. elpnpevns O€ THS yvopmns
a f “A
mp@tos avTéxpovaev avtn Katros Aovtattos:
> ’ f \ a s a

eita deEapevos Kutov, kat TO NOYH aphospas
132

87]

CICERO, xx. 4-xx1. 3

designs were still unnoticed by the rest, but to Cicero he had given many grounds for suspicion, and yet no hold which could lead to his conviction, although many were heard to say that he had come near being caught by Cicero, but had eluded him. Some, however, say that Cicero purposely overlooked and neglected the information against him through fear of his friends and his power, since it was clear to every one that the other conspirators would be included in Caesar's acquittal, rather than Caesar in their punishment.

XXI. When, then, it was Caesar's turn to give his opinion, he rose and declared it to be against putting the conspirators to death, but in favour of confiscating their property and removing them to whatever cities of Italy Cicero might deem best, there to be put in fetters and closely guarded until Catiline should be defeated. The proposal of Caesar was merciful and its author a very able speaker, and Cicero added no little weight to it. For when he rose to speak himself,! he handled the subject in both ways, now favouring the first proposal and now that of Caesar. All his friends, too, thinking that Caesar's proposal was an advantageous one for Cicero, who would be less subject to censure if he did not put the conspira- tors to death, chose the second proposal rather, so that Silanus also changed his position and excused himself by saying that even his proposal had not meant death: for "extremest punishnient,"' in the case of a Roman senator, meant the prison. Lutatius Catulus was the first to oppose the opinion which Caesar had given; then Cato followed him, helping

' The fourth oration in Catilinam.

133

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

auvetepetaas éml tov Kaicapa tiv trovoay,
évérrAnoe Ovpov Kal dpovnuatos Tv TVyKANTOP,
arte Oavatov Katandicac0a. Tov avdpav.
mept O€ Synwevtews YONudTwv évictato Kaicap,
oun aélav Ta prravdporra TIS EAUTOVD YVOsLNS
éxBarovtas et Xpyucac bar TO oKvOpwmoTare.
Bralopevon dé TON@Y érexanelro TOUS Onpudp-
yous. ot 8 ovy vayjxovorv, addra Kixépwv adtos
évoous avijxe THY Tepl OnpwEevaoEews yVO-UND.

XXII. ’Eywpes d€ peta THs Bours emt tovs
advdpas. ovK év TauT@ Ce TavTes oav, adros 6
adXov epvrAaTTE TOV OTPATHY@V. Kal WpaTov
éx IlaXatiov mapaxaBwv tov Aévrdov tye da
Tis (epas 0600 Kal Ths ayopads péayns, TOV ev
WYELOVLKOTAUTOV AVOPOV KUKAW TEPLETTELPALEVWY
Kal Sopupopowyter, ToD dé Sywou dpittovtos ta
Spwpeva Kab TapiovTos | Tut), pomora dé TOV
Vewy, OoTEp (epols TLTL Tarp. ‘ous dplaTOKpaTeKis
Tivos €€ovatas Teretabat peta hoBovu Kat OapBous
Coxovvtwyv. dieXOwv Sé THY ayopav Kal yEevopevos
Tpos TO SegpaTHPL@ TrapédwKe Tov AévTrOY TO
Snuto Kal wpocétakey averety. 610 EES Tov
KéOnyov, Kat ovT® TOV AX\Xwv Exactov KaTa-
yaywv améxtetvev. opa@yv Oé moddoUS ETL TOV
avo THS* cuYMpotias ev ayopa ouverTo@Tas
aOpoous Kal Thy pmev TWpakw ayvoodvtTas, THY é
VUKTA TpoomevorvTas, ws ETL CwovTwV TOY avdpov
cai duvapévoy éEaprracbivar, PbeyEdpevos péya
mpos autovs, “'Efnaav,” eivev. otto dé “Po-
' rapidvtos Bekker and Graux adopt the mapiévros (acqui-

escung) of Coraés.
2 rev awd THs Graux with M4: ris.
134

CICERO, xxt. 3~xxi. 2

by the vehemence of his speech to fix suspicion upon Caesar, and filled the senate with angry resolution, so that a decree of death was passed upon the con- spirators. As regarded the confiscation of their property, however, Caesar made opposition, deeming it wrong that the merciful part of his own proposal should be rejected and the one part that was most severe adopted. And when many of the senators insisted upon it, he invoked the aid of the tribunes, but they would not listen to his appeal; Cicero him- self, however, yielded the point, and remitted that part of the vote which called for confiscation.

XXII. Then he went with the senate to fetch the conspirators. ‘These were not all in the same place, but different praetors had different ones under guard. And first he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill and led him along the Via Sacra and through the middle of the forum, the men of highest authority surrounding him as a body-guard, and the people shuddering at what was being done and _ passing along in silence, and especially the young men, as though they thought they were being initiated with fear and trembling into some ancient mysteries of an aristocratic regime. When Cicero had passed through the forum and reached the prison, he delivered Len- tulus to the public executioner with the order to put him to death. Then Cethegus in his turn, and so each one of the others, he brought down to the prison and had him executed. And seeing that many members of the conspiracy were still assembled in the forum in ignorance of what had been done and waiting for night to come, with the idea that the inen were still

living and might be rescued, he cried out to them with a loud voice and said: “They have

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

pateov ot duodynpety pn BovrAopevoe TO TeOvdvas
onuaivovaw.
"Hon 8 iv éorépa, kai bs ayopas avéBaivev
els THY olKlaVv, OUKETL GLWITH TOV TONTOYV OvbE
Take TWpoTELTOVTWY avTOV, arAA dwrais Kal
Kpoto.s deyoumévwyv Kal’ ods yévotTo, gwTHpa Kal
KTlaTHY avaKadovvTayv Tis atpioos. Ta é
POTA TOAG KATEAALTE TOUS TTEVWTTOUS, NAUTA-
dia xal d46as taot@vTey éml tats Ovpats. ai bé
yuvaixes ex TOV TEYOV T povparvov én TLyLn Kal
Jéa Tov dvdpos, vTo TouTy TOV dpia tov pana
TELVOS avLovTos” @V ot Theta Tot TOAEMOUS TE
KATELPY AC [EVOL peydous Kal bua Opi uPov elo-
edn akores Kal T POT KEKTNLEVOL yy Kal Oddar-
Tav OUK OdLYNnY eBadeCov dyopohoyovpevor ™pos
aXhijdovs TONNOLS ev T@V TOTE nYEHOvOY Kab
oTpAaTHYav movTOU Kab Aabvpov Kal uvdpews
Xap opei ery TOV ‘Popatov Ojuov, acdharetas
dé Kal coTnpias evi pov Kixépovt, THALKCODT OY
aedovre Kal Tog ovTOV avtou KLVOUVOV. Ov yap
TO Konrdoat Ta T part T opera, Kal Koddoat TOUS
TpaTTovTas €ddxet Oavyactov, AAN OTL péytoTov
TOV TWTOTE VEWTEPLT UL@V OUTOS EAAYlOTOLS Kaxois
avev oTATEWS Kal _TApaxys Katéa Bece. Kal yap
TOV Karedtvay ol WAEloTOL TOV _TUVEPPUNKOT OY
7 pos avTov dpa Te TrUbécOat Tat Tepb Aévtiov
Kat Ké@nyov éyeatadumdrtes @YOvTO Kal peta
TOV TUM Emer KOT OY auto Svaryovir duevos Pos
"Aytoviov adtos te SiebOdpn Kal 7d oTpatomTedov.
XXIII. O8 poy adn FHoav of tov Kixépova
TapecKevacuevol Kal Aéyey el TovTos Kal
136

87

4

CICERO, xxn. 2-xxu. 1

lived.” For thus the Romans who wish to avoid
words of ill omen indicate death.
It was now evening, and Cicero went up through the forum to his house, the citizens no longer escort- ing him on his way with silent decorum, but receiving him with cries and clapping of hands as he passed along, calling him the saviour and founder of his country. And many lights illuminated the streets, since people placed lamps and torches at their doors. The women, too, displayed lights upon the house- tops in honour of the man, and that they might see him going up to his home in great state under escort of the noblest citizens. Most of these had brought to an end great wars and entered the city in triumph, and had added to the Roman dominion no small extent of land and sea; but they now walked along confessing to one another that to many of the com- manders and generals of the time the Roman people were indebted for wealth and spoils and power, but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had freed them from so peculiar and so great a peril. For it was not his preventing their schemes and punishing the schemers which seemed so wonderful, but his quenching the greatest of all revolutions with the fewest possible evils, without sedition and commotion. For most of those who had flocked to the standard of Catiline, as soon as they learned the fate of Len- tulus and Cethegus, deserted him and went away ; and Catiline, after a conflict with his remaining forces against Antonius, perished himself and his army with him.}

XXIII. However, there were those who were
ready to abuse Cicero for what he had done, and to
1 Near the beginning of 62 B.c.

oS

a “ , a
TOLELY KAK@S, EXYOVTES NYEMOVAS TOV Eis TO EANOV
, ta)
apxovtoyv Kaicapa pév otpatnyouvta, MéredXov
, A A \
6é kat Byotiay Snpapxodvtas. of thy apxny
, a Yr
maparaGovtes, Ett TOU Kixépwvos ipepas odtyas
APXOVTOS, OVK elwyv SnuNnyopEty avTOY, AAX VITEp
a 4 , b]
Tov €uBorwyv Babpa Gévtes ov Tapiecav ovd
9
émétpeTrov Aéyerv, GAN éKédevov, e& PovXroLTO,
A A , ,
fLOvOY TEPL THS ApYHS aTopotavTa KaTaBaiverv.
KaKElvos él TOUVTOLS ws OpocwY mponAGE? Kal
YEVOMEVNS AUTO TLWTHS WpvVvEV, OV TOV TUATPLOP,
> x YN TF \ \ or 3 \ /

AX LOLOV TLYA KAL KALVOV OPKOY, 1) UNV TETWKEVAL
i / N ,
Thy TaTploa Kal StaTETHNPHKEVAL THY HYyEepmoviav.
\ a , € lal
éTm@pVvve O€ TOV OPKOV ALT@ cuuTras Oo OHnmwos. ep
v A ee r wn ¢/ ,
ols éts padrov 0 Te Kaicap ot Te dnpapyor
, 4 a A \
VanreTraivovTes adras Te TH Kixepwv. tapayas
nw if wn n
EULNYAVOVTO, KAL VOMOS UT avTa@V ELonyEeTO KaNELDY
\ aA a yA
Hlounniov peta THS oTpaTLAas, @s 6) KaTAXV-
\ , , b] > =
covta tHy Kixépwvos Sdvvactetav. arr Hv
v , A Ras , \ / a
opedos peya TO Kixépwve Kat Taon TH ToXEt
aA / \ a ,
dnuapyev tote Katy Kal tots éxetywv! ronrs-
4 b] > \ > td f \ ,
Teupacw amt ions pev eEovaias, peiCovos dé d0Ens
b) , , \ wv e , wf
aVTITATTOMEVOS. TATE YAP adrAA padiws EdvaE,
\ , , 9 a
Kal Thy Kixépwvos umateiay ovTws pe TO AOYH
, er a a ,
peyarny Snunyopnaas WATE TLLAS AVTO TAY TH-
7 4 a
Tote peyiatas WhndicacGar Kai mpocayopevoat
, \ u a
TaTépa Tatpioos. mpwTw yap éKxeivm doxei
1 éxelywy Coraés, Bekker, and Graux, after Xylander:
éxetvov (referring to Caesar).
138

CICERO, xxi. 1-3

work him harm, and they had as leaders, among the magistrates-elect, Caesar as praetor, and Metellus and Bestia! as tribunes. When these assumed office, Cicero having still a few days of consular authority,? they would not permit him to harangue the people, but placing their benches so as to com- mand the rostra, would not suffer or allow him to speak; instead, they ordered him, if he wished, merely to pronounce the oath usual on giving up office, and then come down. Cicero accepted these terms and came forward to pronounce his oath ; and when he had obtained silence, he pronounced, not the usual oath, but one of his own and a new one, swearing that in very truth he had saved his country and maintained her supremacy. And all the people confirmed his oath for him. At this Caesar and the tribunes were still more vexed and

contrived fresh troubles for Cicero. Among other things, a law was introduced by them for calling Pompey home with his army, in order, forsooth, that he might put down the arbitrary power of Ciccro. But Cato, who was tribune at this time, was a great help to Cicero and to the whole state, and opposed the measures of the other tribunes with an authority equal to theirs and a greater good repute. For he easily put a stop to their other projects, and so highly extolled the “arbitrary power” of Cicero in a speech to the people, that they voted him the greatest honours ever conferred and called him the father of his coun- try. For he was the first, as it seems, to receive this

1 Bestia was tribune in 63 B.c., and could not have had any part in dictating the procedure of Cicero.

2 Caesar, as praetor, assumed office January 1, 62 B.c., the

day after Cicero laid down the consulship; but the new tribunes for the year 62 assumed office early in December of 63.

TOUTO cabuTrapEat, Katwvos avtoyv ovtws év TO
87 Lew 7 poaayopevaayTos.
XXIV. Kat péyotov pev taoyuoev ev TH TOE
¢ a Ui as e S) , ee
TOTE, TOAAOLS O EmihVovoy EauToV ETOiNoEY aT
‘ A A a
OVOEVOS epyou Tovnpov, & émawely adel Kat
pera uve avTos éauTov UT TONEY dua Xepa-
voMEvOS. OUTE Yap Bourn oure dj u0v ovTe
dixaaTijptov iv cuvedOety ev @& pn Katirjivav eet
? 3 a \ / ’ \ \
Opvrovpevov axovaoat Kat AévtTAov. ada Kal
\ / “ / ‘ \ /
Ta Pi PALA TEAEUT@Y KATETANGE KAL TA OVYYpPap-
aA A Ul bY
Hata TOY eye pio: Kal TOV NOYOV Hota rov OvTA
Kal Xapev EXOvTa. TrELTTNY em axon Ka poptexoy
errounce TOlS UKpowpevols, WOTTEP THVOS det KN POS
¢
avT@® THS andtas TavTHS Tpocovans. sSuws Sé,
KaiTEp OUTWS dKpare prrorepia CVO, dir
NAKTO TOD pOoveiv ETEPOLS, apdovwrtatos ov éy
\
T® TOVS TPO aUTOV Kal TOvS KAP avrov avdpas
ey wm wiacery, MOS €k TOV cUyypaypaTwy AaPeiv
\ 3 a

€oTlt. ToOAAa & avTov Kal atrop“ynpovevovow’
3 / et 7
olov wept “AptototédXous, TL Ypvaiov ToTapos
v / an
Ein p€éovtos, Kal Tept tov IdXatwvos diadoyor,
e fal td / A e
ws Tov Avos, eb AOyYw YpHoOat wéepuKer, ovVTw
/ \ Soya / Sie, ‘
dianeyopevov. Tov d€ Mcodpactov cimler tTpudinv
idiay amoxadelv. Tepi b€ taVv AnpocPevous
4 3 A , / , 3
Aoyor €pwTnleis Ttiva Soxoin KaAXNLOTOY éeivat,
iA la
TOV MEYLOTOY ETE. KALTOL TLVES TOY TPOTTFOLOU-
, , 3 ? a) ~ 4
[EVV Onpioo Devitery emepvovtat povy tod Kuxe-
/
p@vos, vy Tpos TIA TOV éTaipor €Onxev év éte-
GTOAH ypawas, €viayov TV Aoywr aTovuaTatetw

1 Cicero himself nowhere says this, nor does he mention Cato in connection with the title. In his oration in Pisonem,

title,) after Cato had given it to him before the people.

XXIV. So at this time Cicero had the greatest power in the state, but he made himself generally odious, not by any base action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself, which made him hateful to many. For there could be no session either of senate or assembly or court of justice in which one was not obliged to hear Catiline and Len- tulus endlessly talked about. Nay, he even went so far as to fill his books and writings with these praises of himself; and he made his oratory, which was naturally very pleasant and had the greatest charm, irksome and tedious to his hearers, since this un- pleasant practice clung to him like a fatality. But nevertheless, although he cherislied so strong an am- bition, he was free from envying others, since he was most ungrudging in his encomiums upon his pre- decessors and contemporaries, as may be gathered from his writings. There are also many sayings of his on record which prove this; for instance, he said of Aristotle that he was a river of liquid gold,* and of the dialogues of Plato that Jupiter, were it his nature to use human speech, would thus discourse.° Theophrastus, too, he used to call his own special delight. And when he was asked which of the speeches of Demosthenes he thought the best, he replied, “the longest.” And yet some of those who pretend to be imitators of Demosthenes dwell much upon an expression which Cicero used in a letter to one of his friends, to the effect that in some parts of

3, 6, he says that Quintus Catulus gave him the title in the

Senate. 2 Acad. Prior. ii. 38, 119.
3 Brutus, 31, 121 (si Graece loquatur).
I4!

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

\ , a ‘ , a
tov Anpoabevn tov d€ peyadXov Kal Gavpactav
, e a n \ A ,
éraivwv ols Tod\aXOD Xpitat Tepl Tov avopos,
v4 a. A , fal OQ? ,
Kal OTL TeEpl ods pudtota TOV Lotwy éaTrovdaceE
9 ,
Aoyor, Tovs Kat “Avtwviov, Pirimmixovs éré-
ypawev, auynpovovct.
A > \ /
Tav 6€ kar avtov évdokwv amo Xoyou Kat
/ 3 ” CN \ a 3 b] ? b] G /
codias ovK éotiv ovdeis ov ovK eTroinoev éeveoko-
A / XN - 3 la \ t
TEpov 7) Aéyeor 7) ypadhwv EevpEevas Tept EXdoTov.
, i a n ‘ \
Kpatimae 6€ TO Hepieratntix® dterpatato pev
¢ , , \ / U wv
Popato yeverOat tapa Katoapos adpyovtos 1j6n,
\ \ Day , /
dtemrpakato 8é Kai) thy €& ’Apetov mayou BovAny
F n / b] \ ?
Widicacbat denOjvar pévery avtov ev “AOnvars
tA A / A
Kal d1aréyecOat Tois véots @S KOTMODYTA THY
4 b \ be Ni a“ K , > N
Tod. émiaToXal 6€ mapa Tov Kixépwros cial
‘ id , id \ \ \ cs? »
mpos Hpwdnv, érepat O€ pos Tov vlov, éyKEXEvO-
, a / ,
pevov cuudtrdocode Kpatima@. Topyiav 6é
if 3 \ ,
TOV pyTOPAa alTL@pevos Ets 1d0vaS Kal TOTOUS
\ is lal
TPOdyEW TO [MELPUKLOVY aTrEeAaUVEL THS TUVOUCIAS
~ \ N ¢ a ¢ A
avTov. Kal cxyedorv aitn Te TOV EAANMIKOV pia
\ , \ , 5} , b) b] A
Kat deutépa mpos TléXovra Tov BuCavtiov év opyn

, \ \ id na
Tive yeypantat, Tov pev Topytay avtov mpoan-
ie f ik A
KOVTWS ETLKOTTOVTOS, ELTEP HY PAVAOS KAL akKo-
@ , “‘ \ ‘N ,
actos, nrep eddKxel, mpos de Tov TléXoTA puKpo-
ca 5 n -
Noyoupevou Kal peurwipotpovvTos wWaTrEp apEdr-
A A ia
caVTAa Tlds TIVAaS aUT@® Kal WnhdicpaTa Tapa
, /
Bulartiov yevéo Gat.
-‘*r aA tA \ 4
XXV. Tatra te 6n htdotipa, Kal TO TOANAKIS
1 «al supplied here by Reiske, and deleted before den@jvat by Sintenis! (in crit. notes). Graux simply transposes.

Ie

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CICERO, xxiv. q-anv. 1

his speeches Demosthenes nods; but of the great and admirable praises which he often bestows upon him, and of the fact that those speeches of his own to which he devoted most labour, namely, the speeches against Antony, were entitled by him Philippics, they say nothing.

Moreover, of the men of his own time who were famous for eloquence or learning, there is not one whom he did not make more famous by what he said or wrote in favour ofhim. For Cratippus the Peripatetic he obtained the Roman citizenship from Caesar, now in power, and he also induced the council of the Areiopagus to pass a decree requesting him to remain at Athens and discourse with the young men, and thus be an ornament to the city. Furthermore, there are Jetters from Cicero to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he urges them to study philosophy with Cratippus.t_ But Gorgias the rhetorician he censured for leading the young man into pleasures and drink- ing parties, and banished him from his son’s society.? This is almost the only one of his Greek letters (there is also a second, addressed to Pelops of Byzantium) which was written in a spirit of anger; and Gorgias he properly rebukes, if, as he was thought to be, he was worthless and intemperate ; but towards Pelops he shows a mean and querulous spirit for having neglected to obtain for him certain honorary decrees from the Byzantians.

XXV. These complaints were characteristic of

1 These letters are not extant.

2 The younger Cicero, in a letter to Tiro (ad fam. xvi. 21, 6). says that he had found Gorgias useful as a teacher of declamation, but had dismissed him in obedience to his father’s positive command,

> f aw , nw ies , \
ératpom“evovy TOV Aoyou TH CEeLVOTHTL TO TpéTrOV
oh t \
mpolec@at. Movvatio pev yap more avynyopy-
\ \ f a ,
gas, ws anodvywy thy Sikny éxelves édiwKev
¢, a) a al Uy lal
étaipov avtov SaBivov, ottw AéyeTat TpoTEcetD
ane nan ¢ ! e > > OA SE es \ Pees
um opyis o Kixépwyv @aot etmreiv: “Xu yap éxei-
8 Z \ , b 4 \ U
yyy, & Movvatie, THv dixkny atéguyes 61a cavutor,
lal \ U \ a) 4
ovK é“ov ToAv oKoTos ev duwtl TO StxaoTnpiw
/ »” be x f bd] /
meptyeavtos; Mapxov oe Kpacocoyv éyxwptatwv
a 4 3 , \ bi e /
amo TOU PHyaTtos evnmepynoe, Kat pel’ Huépas
9 b>] , la >) / e 9 a >
avOis odtyas AoLdopa@v avTOV, ws EexEiVvos eitrED
wn ‘ b) X lal 3 f
“OU yap évtavia mpwnv autos nas émnves;”
, , , , \
“Nai,” yor, “ mereTns evecev yupvafwv Tov
, > s e 4 bb 3 4 4
Aoyov els havany vmToGeow. eElTovTos O€ ToTE,
a ld , 3 ¢ /
tov Kpacaov pndéva Kpdocov év ‘Popn BeBio-
, / 3p
Kévat praxpotepov é€nxovtaetias, €(8 totepov
’ / \ / ee A as N 2 A Oc
apvovpevov Kal AEYOVTOS, i & av éyo twadov
wn > Db] v > ld ¢ iP td
trout elmov; ‘Hidess,” py, “ Pwpaiouvs déws
\ nm 3 , 3 ,
aKovgomévous Kal Sta TOUT ednpaywryes. apé-

\ lal 4 a o a ‘2
axecOa 6€ TOV Kpacoou Tots Xtwixols dycartos,
of 95 \ > \ b] ,
OTt WRovGLOY Eivat TOV ayalov amTopairovew,
a“ 8 ” Up lal A
“"Opa 1) parrop,” eltrev, “OTL TAaVTA TOU cogpov
, 8 93 b] > /
Aeyouowy eivar. SieBddreTo 6 els hirapyupiav
& = \ ~ a , e
o Kpdoaos. émel 6€ tov Kpacoov tov maidwr o
er > 4 \ a e 3 \ \ a
étrepos Akiw Tivi Sox@v bmotos Eivat, Kal Ota TOUTO
~ \ Ul 3 \ > \ a 3 ts
Th PNTpL TpooTpLBopevos aicypav emt TH “AEi@
f 4 al ,
dtaBorny evdoxipynoe Noyor ev BovrAyn duedOor,
e Ve id , 4 b] “ Ww bD]
épwrnfeis o Kixépwv te haivetar avTe@, “"Aézos,
® 6c if ”?
etme, “ Kpaucoou.
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CICERO, xxv. 1-4

ambition, as well as the fact that he was often led on by the cleverness of his speech to disregard propriety. For instance, he once served as advocate for Muna- tius, who was no sooner acquitted than he prosecuted a friend of Cicero’s, Sabinus, whereupon, it is said, Cicero was so transported with anger as to say: “ Was it, pray, on your own merits, Munatius, that you were acquitted, and not because I spread much darkness about the court when before there was light?” And again, he gained great applause by an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the rostra, and then a few days afterwards as publicly reviled him, whereupon Cras- sus said: “ What, did you not stand there yourself a day or two ago and praise me?” “ Yea,” said Cicero, “exercising my eloquence by way of practice on a bad subject.” Again, Crassus once said that no Crassus had lived in Rome to be older than sixty years, and then tried to deny it, exclaiming, “ What could have led me to say this?” ‘You knew,” said Cicero, “that the Romans would be delighted to hear it, and by that means you tried to court their favour.” And when Crassus expressed his satisfaction with the Stoics because they represented the good man as rich, “ Consider,’’ said Cicero, “whether your satis- faction is not rather due to their declaration that all things belong to the wise.”” Now, Crassus was ac- cused of covetousness. Again, one of the sons of Crassus who was thought to resemble a certain Axius, and on this account had brought his mother’s name into scandalous connection with that of Axius, once made a successful speech in the senate, and when Cicero was asked what he thought of him, he answered with the Greek words ‘‘ Axios Krassou.” !

1 « Worthy of Crassus.”

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to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XXVI. MéAXwv 8€ Kpaccos ets Zvpiav atat-
\ aA fal /
pev €Bovreto Tov Kixépwmva waddXov avt@ pidrov
‘ i f f
h éy@pov elvaty Kai piroppovovpevos Epyn Pov-
a A a e /
NecOar SeiTVAoa Tap avTo> KaKeivos UTEdEEATO
> / ¢ ,
mpoOvuws. oOdrryats © UoTepovy nuépars epi
/ , ~ ,
Bativiou didwv tiver évtuyyavovTav @s pywpe-
\ f > \ f
vou diadvcets Kal dirtav (Hv yap éxOpos), “Ov
/ 99 s a My
dyrouv xat Bativeos,” ceive, “Sermvncat tap epuol
4 > N \ 8) An
BovreTat;” pos pév ovv Kpacaoyv torovtos. av-
\ / A
tov 6€ tov Batimov éyovta yotpddas &v TO
‘ Us id ca)
TPAXNAW Kal éyovta OtKNVY oldodyTA pyTopa
mn > cf
Tpoceimev. axovoas & OTe TébyynKev, eitTa peTa
, A e fal La \
puxpov TrvOopmEevos cadas ote Fn, “ Kaos toivur
b) , A e , ” b \ \ ,
GTONOLTO KAKWS O Wevodpevos. émel d€ Kai-
, \ 3 Zz ,
cape Wndicapevp thy ev Kapravia Xepay
fa “a \
KaTaveunOnvat Tols oTpatiwtats moddAGL pep
a “a , \ ,
éSvayépatvov év tH BovryH, Aevxios d€ Tédd105
a) nN 3 b)
Omov Te TpecBUTATOS BY EiTEY WS OV YEVITETAL
“A nw “a / 29>
trouto fCavtos avtov, “ Ilepipeivwpev, eimrev o
, (73 \ \ > 3 a ,
Kixépwv, “ paxpav yap ovK« aitettat LedXuos
e 4, 99 Ly lA > car > , ¥

umépGeow.” tv O€ tis ‘Oxtaovios attiay éyev
, ‘ nA Y ,
éx AtBins yeyovérar’ mpos tovTov év tive dixy
n A is \ ¢
Néyovta TOU Kixépwvos pn eEaxovery, “Kai pny
9 DA ” e 66 \ } > 4 29 4
ovK Eyels, Elmre, “TO OVS aTpuTNTOV. Mertédrov
, va / A
dé Néwwtos etmovtos OTt TAELOVAS KATALAPTUPOY
avnpynKey 7) curvnyopov aéowxKev, ““Oporoy@
4 9d 6c / 3 b) \ f a é t
yap, edn, “ WioTEws EV Emo TAEOV H CELvOTNHTOS
s 39 , , , ,
eivat. veavicxov 6€ TLV0s aitiav éxovtos év
TrakodvT. dadppaxoy TO TaTpi dedwxévar Opa-
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CICERO, xxvi. 1-5

XXVI. When Crassus was about to set out for Syria, wishing that Cicero should be a friend rather than an enemy, he said to him in a friendly manner that he wished to dine with him; and Cicero readily received him into his house. Buta few days after- wards, when some friends interceded with him for Va- tinius, saying that the man sought reconciliation and friendship (for he was an enemy), “It surely cannot be,’ said Cicero, “that Vatinius also wishes to dine with me.” Such, then, was his treatment of Crassus. Now, Vatinius himself had swellings on his neck, and once when he was pleading a case Cicero called him a tumid orator, Again, after hearing that Va- tinius was dead, and then after a little learning for a surety that he was alive, “ Wretchedly perish, then,” said Cicero, “the wretch who lied!” And again, Caesar once got a decree passed that the land in Campania should be divided among his soldiers, and many of the senators were dissatisfied, and Lucius Gellius, who was about the oldest of them, declared that it should never be done while he was alive; whereupon Cicero said: “Let us wait, since Gellius does not ask for a long postponement.” There was a certain Octavius, too, who was reputed to be of African descent; te this man, who said at a certain trial that he could not hear Cicero, the orator replied : “And yet your ear is not without a perforation.” ! And when Metellus Nepos declared that Cicero had brought more men to death as a hostile witness than he had saved from it as an advocate, “ Yes,” said Cicero, “I admit that my credibility is greater than my eloquence.” Again, when a certain young man who was accused of having given his father poison in

1 Usually the mark of a slave.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

guvopévov Kal A€yovTos OTL RAoLtdopyjcer Tov
Kixépova, “Todto,” édy, “mapa cod BovrAopar

pGiddov i) TAraKobyTa.” Ilowdiov 6€ Synortiov
ou yyopov jev aurov ey TIVE dixn TaparaBovros
pel? évépav, avroo dé maya, Bovdopévou éyerv
Kab pdevi TAPLEVTOS eivrety, ws OHAOS HY apte-
pEvos UTO TOV Sicaa Tov 79) THs Wapou pepope-
vns, “X pa onpLEpov,” ébyn, “TO Katp@, Lot Le:
pérXrets yap aisprov iStwTy5 elvat.” Wodmrduov 8
Kovortay VOpLKOV evar Boundopevor, OvTa o apa-
Of Kal abun, mpos Twa diKny exdheoe peapTupa
Tob dé pndey eldévat ddcxortos, “"Iaws,” én,
“Soxels Tepl TOV vopiK@v épwtacda. Merér-
hou oé Néretos eV Srahopa rit TOAAGKLS NE-
yovtos ‘Tis cov maTnp €oTLv, 0 Kuxepav Sai
TauT ay” Ein “Thy amoKpiaw 7 unTHp NareTro-
Tépay emoinoer.” edoxer S akoddaotos 7 LyTHpP
elvat TOU Nerwros, avTos 6€ TLS evpeTa Boros.
Kat Tote Tv Onuapyiay amohTev addyw pos
lloumniov é&érdevoev eis Yvptav, eit éxeiOev
emai ev GROYOTEPOD. Oarypas dé Piraypov
TOV Kadyyntny emipehes TEpov éméatnaev avTovu
TO Tabw Kopaxa NAwov: Kaio Kixépwy “ Toor”
edn soparepov éroinaas’ méTecOar yap ae
padov y Aeyerv edidakev.” érret dé Mapxos
"Atrios éy tiv dikn Tpootmalomevos eitre dirov
avtod dSedenoOat Tapacyeiy émipedecav Kal Xo-
s S f c¢ 72) ef 2 c¢
yloTnTa Kat Tiattv, “ Ki’ ovtws, edn, “ o1dn-
povs yéyovas dvOpwiros wate pnodeyv ex ToToUTwY
av ntnaal’ o diros Tapacyxetv;”
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CICERO, xxv. 5-8

a cake put on bold airs and threatened to cover Cicero with abuse, “That,” said Cicero, “I would rather have from you than a cake.” There was Publius Sextius, too, who retained Cicero as an advocate in a case, along with others, and then wanted to do all the speaking himself, and would allow no one else a word ; when it was clear that he was going to be ac- quitted by the jurors and the vote was already being given, “ Use your opportunity to-day, Sextius,” said Cicero, “ for to-morrow you are going to be a nobody.” Publius Consta, too, who wanted to be a lawyer, but was ignorant and stupid, was once summoned by Cicero as witness in a case; and when he kept say- ing that he knew nothing, “ Perhaps,” said Cicero, “you think you are being questioned on points of law.” Again, in a dispute with Cicero, Metellus Nepos asked repeatedly “ Who is your father?” “In your case,” said Cicero, ‘‘ your mother has made the answer to this question rather difficult.” Now, the mother of Nepos was thought to be unchaste, and he himself a

fickle sort of man. He once suddenly de- serted his office of tribune and sailed off to join Pompey in Syria, and then came back from there with even less reason. Moreover, after burying his teacher Philagrus with more than usual ceremony, he set upon his tomb a raven in stone; whereupon Cicero remarked: “In this you have acted more wisely than is your wont, for he taught you to fly rather than to speak.”” And again, when Marcus Appius prefaced his speech in a case by saying that his friend had begged him to exhibit diligence, eloquence, and fidelity, “And then,’ said Cicero, “are you so hard-hearted as to exhibit none of those great qualities which your friend demanded ?”

XXVII. Té pév ody pos éyApovs 7) avtidixous
oKoOppact yphaVat mixpoTtépots Soxet pyntopexory
elvat’ TO 6 ols EtUXE TpodKpovey Evexa Tod
yedotou TORU GUVIyE Hicos auT@. ypdarrw oé
Kal TOUT@Y ONL. Mdpxov *Axviviov é éyovta duo
yapuSpovs puyacas "Aépacrov eKarEl. Aeuxiou
dé Kotra TENT UK IY EYOVTOS apy, tXotvoTatov
8 OvTos, UTaTEelay METLOV O Kixépov edipnae,
Kal tov dieov KUKMD TEPLOTAVTOY @S Enver,
“ ‘OpGas poseia be,” eltre, “ {1 Lot ryévotTo Xar-
e705 O TLUNTNS OTL vdwp Tivw. Bexovio §
amavrioas dyovte pe’ éavtod Tpels duoppordtas
Ouyatépas avedbéyEaTo:
‘“ , b) > IA v / bh
DotBou wort ove €@vTos EoTrEtpEV TéKVA.
Mdpxou 6é Tedriov do0xodvtos ovK ef érevd Epo
yeryovevat, Aaumpa b6€ 77 Pwvn Kal weyary pap
fata Tpos THY ouryeANTOV efavayvovrtos, ‘ ‘My
Oavpatere, 4 elmre, ‘xal autos els éoTe TOV ava-
TEPOVNKOTOY. émel O€ Paiiotos) LuANa Tou
POvapX7TavTOs év ‘Poun Kal TONOUS émt Gava-
TO T poypaypavTos éy Saveious yevopevos Kal ToA-
ra THs ougias diacmabyjoas a dm dptvov Tpoeypaye,
TAUTNY epn pardov aUT® THY Tpoypadny ape-
KEL THY TaTppay.
XXVIII. "EK = ToUTwY éyiveTo Todnois éma.-
xOns° Kal ol peta KrArwédiou cuvertnoay er avTov
apxnv TOLAUTHY Aa Bovres. Av KAwézios aynp
Evyevs, TH pev HNALKLA Vvéos, TO 5€ Ppovnuate
_—

1 Adrastus, mythical king of Argos, gave his two daughters in marriage to Tydeus and Polyneices, both of whom were fugitives from their native cities,

AXVII. Now, this use of very biting jests against enemies or legal opponents seems to be part of the orator’s business; but his indiscriminate attacks for the sake of raising a laugh made many people hate Cicero. And I will give a few instances of this also. Marcus Aquinius, who had two sons-in- law in exile, he called Adrastus.1 Again, Lucius Cotta, who held the office of censor, was very fond of wine, and Cicero, when canvassing for the consulship, was a-thirst, and as his friends stood about him while he drank, said: “ You have good reason to fear that the censor will deal harshly with me—for drinking water.” And when he met Voconius escorting three very ugly daughters, he cried out :—

“It was against the will of Phoebus that he begat
children.”’ 2
Again, when Marcus Gellius, who was thought to be of servile birth, had read letters to the senate in a loud and clear voice, “Do not marvel,” said Cicero, “he too is one of those who have cried aloud for their freedom.” * And when Faustus, the son of the Sulla who was dictator at Rome and placarded many people for death, got into debt, squandered much of his substance, and placarded his household goods for sale, Cicero said he liked this placarding better than his father’s.
XXVIII. Asa consequence of this he became odious to many; and besides, the partisans of Clodius combined against him on the following ground. Clodius was a man of noble birth, young in years, but bold

2 An iambic trimeter from some lost tragedy, perhaps the Ocdipus of Euripides (Nauck, T'rag. Graec. Frag.?, p. 911).

3 A play upon the phrase (used of a slave) ‘‘ in libertatem reclamare.”

Opacus Kat avdadns. ovTos épav Toumrnias THS Katcapos yuvarKos eis TIHV olxiay avTou _Tapeio- re Kpupa, AaBav éo0ijra Kal oKeuny rar- T plas” é@vov yep ab yuraixes THY aTroppyTov éxeiynv Kal adearov avopacu Duciay éy TH TOU Katcapos oixia, Kal mapiy aynp oudeiss aAAG pelpaKlov @Y ETL Kab pyTH ryevercov 0 Kidwézos rm iE AnoesOar dea dvs Tpos THY Hopaniav

pera TOV yuvarkay. ws 8 eianrOe VUKTOS Ets
oixiay peyarny, nTopetto Tay dL0dwv" Kal TAa-
VOMLEVOV AUTO iSotoa Avpmrias Oepatrauvis THs
Kaicapos LNTPOS, NTN EDV dvopa. pbeyEac bau
S avayxacbévtos éxeivou Kal pg avTos aK ONOU-
Oov Iloprnias Snteiv "ABpav tovvopa, cuvetca
Ty povnv ov yuvarxetav ovaav avéxpaye Kal
TUVEKANEL Tas yuvaikas. ait & amoxreicacat
TAS Ovpas Kal mavTa Svepevvespevae AauBavovart
tov KrAws.ov eis olka TALOLT RNS, 1 n cuverainrOe,
KaTaTepevyoTa. TOU 6€ TPayLatos meptBorrov
yevouevou Katodp te tHv Uopurniav adjxe cai
dixnv } aceBeias aveypayato T6 Kiwoiw.
XXIX. Kixépwv & iv pév avtov diros xal
Tov mept Katirtvav TParTopEevav EXpHTO Tpo-
OumoTatTm cuvepy@ Kal puraxe TOU TOMATOS,
ia xuptSopevov d€ 7 pos TO eye AN Lat TO poe
ryevyovevar Kat’ € éxeivov ev ‘Pwpn Tov ypovov, arr’
ev Tots Topparara Xeopiows. dar piBew, KaTepwap-
TUpnoey ws adiypwévov pos autov olxade Kal
* Slieny before this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, where once stood some such phrase as eis Tav Snudapxwy (Plutarch, Caesar, x. 5). So (substantially) Graux,
1§2

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CICERO, xxvii. 1—xx1x. 1

and presumptuous in spirit. This man, being in love with Pompeia, Caesar’s wife, got into his house secretly, by assuming the dress and guise of a lute- player; for the women of Rome were celebrating in Caesar's house that mysterious rite which men were not allowed to witness,! and no man was there; but being still a beardless youth Clodius hoped without being noticed to slip through to Pompeia along with the women. But since he got in at night and the house was large, he lost his way in the passages; and as he was wandering about, a maid of Aurelia, Caesar's mother, caught sight of him and asked him his name, Being thus compelled to speak, he said that he was looking for an attendant of Pompeia named Abra, whereupon the maid, perceiving that his voice was not that of a woman, raised a cry and called the women together. These shut the doors, searched carefully all about, and found Clodius, who had taken refuge in the chamber of the girl with whom he came into the house. The affair having become noised abroad, Caesar divorced Pompeia and had an action for sacrilege brought against Clodius.

XXIX. Now, Cicero was a friend of Clodius, and in the affair of Catiline had found him a most eager co-worker and guardian of his person; but when Clodius replied to the charge against him by insist- ing that he had not even been in Rome at the time, but had been staying in places at the farthest remove from

there, Cicero testified against him, declaring that Clodius had come to his house and

1 Cf. chapter xix. 3,

2 drecXeypévov Tmept TLv@v" OTE HY arndes. Ov pny
€OOKEL paptupeiv) Kexépov 61a THY arnberar,
a) pos THY avTou yuvatka Tepevtiav amrono-
ryoupevos. my yap avutn T pos TOV KrXwdrov aré-
xGera Oa THY adedpiy THY éKElVvOU Krwdiar, WS
TO Kixépove Bovdoperny yapnFhvar Kal TOUTO
bua TvAXov TLVOS MpaTrovaar, os éTaipos pev Ay
Kat auvnOns év Tos padtora Kixépwvos, del b¢
Tos Thv Krwoiav port ov Kal Geparreveov eyyus
3 o1xovcay vrowiay 73) Tepev tia TAperXe. Va-
hem dé Tov oO otca Kal Tob Kirépevos
dpyovca tapwtuve TH KAwdiw auveriPécBat Kai
KaTapaptupijcat. Katevaptupovy dé tov Kio-
diou To\AoL TOY KAN@Y Kayabav avdpay émLop-
Klas, pgosoupytas, dxyrwv dexacpous, POopas
YUVALKOV. Aevxovrros dé Kat Oeparratvisas
TApElLYey WS TVYYEVOLTO TH VEewTATH TAY AdeAPav
4 0 KAwédcos, te AcvxovAdw ouvexKet. Torn O
jv Soka Kal Tats adhaus Svalv adehpais Th
oud lev tov Krwdsov, wv Teptiav bev Mapevos 0
'PHE, Krwdiav d€ Méredros o Kenep eixev, Hv
Kovadpaytiav * €xadovy, OTL TOV epactay Ts
auTH XarKous eBarov els Baravtvov OS apyv-
plov cloémeuwe? TO O€ AETTOTATOV Tov _Xahkov
VOpLoLaATOS KOVaOpavTny éxdoup. él TAUTN
pddoTa TOV adedpav KAKOS Hove ev 6 KaAdduos.
5 ov pny GAB TOTE TOU d7}Lo0u 7 pos TOUS KATOpOp-

7.
TUPOUVTAS AVTOV KAL GUVETTATAS aVTLTATTOMEVOU
1 Kovadparrfay Sintenis with the MSS.; Kovadpayraplay Bek-
ker, after Xylander and Du Soul (cf. Cic. pro Cael. 26,
62, mulier quadrantaria).

consulted him on certain matters; which was true. However, it was thought that Cicero did not give his testimony for the truth's sake, but by way of defence against the charges of his own wife Terentia. For there was enmity between her and Clodius on account of his sister Clodia, whom Terentia thought to be desirous of marrying Cicero and to be con- triving this with the aid of a certain Tullus; now, Tullus was a companion and an especial intimate of Cicero, and his constant visits and attentions to Clodia, who lived near by, made Terentia suspicious. So, being a woman of harsh nature, and having sway over Cicero, she incited him to join in the attack upon Clodius and give testimony against him. More- over, many men of the better class bore witness against Clodius for perjury, recklessness, bribery of the multitude, and debauching of women. And Lucullus actually produced female slaves who tes- tified that Clodius had commerce with his youngest sister when she was living with Lucullus as his wife. There was also a general belief that Clodius had intercourse with his other two sisters, of whom Tertia was the wife of Marcius Rex, and Clodia of Metellus Celer; the latter was called Quadrantia, because one of her lovers had put copper coins into a purse and sent them to her for silver, and the smallest copper coin was called " quadrans."' It was with regard to this sister in particular that Clodius was in evil repute. However, since the people at this time set themselves against those who com bined and testified against him, the jurors were

no

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

hoByibévtes of Stxactal duraxny TeptectHaayTo,
Kal TAS OEATOUS Ol THELTTOL TUYKEXUMEVOLS TOUS
ypampacw WVEYKADV. opens d€ WAEtoves éofay ol
damon vores yever at: Kat TLS erEXOH Kal Oa:
6 LOS dveAG civ. a0ev o per KatXos a ATrAVT HOAs TOUS
KpLTats, * SV ers, elTreD, ' 'ws arnbas virép aopa-
Aelas ntno ac Ge THY puraxiyp, poBovpevor bn
TiS UL@Y apEernrat 70 dpy upto." Kixépwv oe
TOU Krwdiov T POs avrov NeyovTos OTL LapTupay
OUK ETE mor Tapa TOUS dicacrals, ORNS
époot HEV, " eivev, "ol TWévTEe Kal eixoot TOV StKa-
CTO emia tevoay' TOT OVTOL yap gov cate wn dbi-
ayo" gol dé TpedKovTa OUK emlaTevoay' ov
yap mT poTEpov amtéXvaav 3) eraBov TO dpyuptov."
70 HEV TOL Kaicap ov KATE LApPTUPNGE Kr1/Gels eT
TOV KAw6zov, ovo &pn porxetay kareyvoxKevar THS
yuvaros, agerkevar 5 avr HY OTe TOV Kaicapos
ede yasov ov mpatews aicypas povov, dAXAa Kal
dyuns cabapov eivat.
XXX. Atapuywv b€ tov Kivdvvoyv @ Krwédzos
Kab Onpapxos aipeeis evOus elXeTO tov Kexépw-
VOS, nave opod Tpayywara Kal mvt as v0 pwrous
cuvaryov Kal TapaT Tov ém avtTov. Tov Te yap
Of wov @KELw@oaTO vopors piravOpar ots, Kab TOV

UT UT OV EKAT EDD peyaras éemapxias éevrndicato,
Heicw pev Maxeéoviar, TaBwin ce Lupiar,
TONNOUS be TOV aT ope GuVveTAT TEV els 70 TOA
TEVA, Kal dovrouUS oma pevous TEpl AUTOV ElYe.
2 Tw O€ TAEtcTOY SuvVapévwY TOTE TPLOV avdpar,

1 Cf. also the Caesar, x. '7. Each juror was provided with. three tablets, on one of which was marked A (absolvo); ona second C (condemno); and ona third N.L. (non liquet). The

frightened and surrounded themselves with a guard, and most of them cast their voting-tablets with the writing on them confused.! But nevertheless those who were for acquittal appeared to be in the majority; and some bribery also was said to have been used. This led Catulus to say, when he met the jurors, “It was indeed as a measure of safety that you asked for your guard; you were afraid that someone would take your money away from you.” 2 And Cicero, when Clodius told him that as a witness he had found no credit with the jurors, said: “ Nay, twenty-five of the jurors gave me credit, for so many voted against you; and thirty of them gave you no credit, for they did not vote to acquit you until they had got your money.”’3 Caesar, however, when sum- moned as a witness, gave no testimony against Clodius, and denied that he had condemned his wife for adultery, but said that he had put her away because Caesar’s wife must be free not only from shameful conduct, but even from shameful report. XXX. But Clodius, having escaped his peril, and having been chosen tribune,* at once began to attack Cicero, arraying and stirring up against him all things and all men alike. He won the favour of the people by benevolent laws, got large pro- vinces voted to each of the consuls (Macedonia to Piso, and Syria to Gabinius), brought many of the poorer class into organized political activity, and kept armed slaves about his person. Now, of the three men who at that time had most power,

jurors voted hy placing one of these tablets in the urn, Plutarch must have misunderstood his source.

2 Cf. Cicero, ad Att. i. 16, 5.

3 Cf. Cicero, sbid. 16, 10. 4 For the year 58 B.c.

i a
Kpaooov pev avtexpus Keixépwve trodepodvtos,
of. f \ f
Iloprniov dé Opumtopéevov mpos apdortépous,

,
Kaioapos 6€ uédXovtos ets T'adatiav éftévar peta
s lad \ ¢
OTPATEULATOS, UTO TOUTOV UTodus oO KuKépwr,
/ ? v , > > ef ? “ \
KaLTTep OUK OVTA PirAOV, AAX UTOTTOV EK TOV TrEpPL
K XL 3 ger \ b a
atirivav, nkiwoe mpecRevTns avT@ ovoTtpa-
/ a ,
revelry. OceEapévov 5€ tov Kaicapos 0 Krdzos
¢ a 4 N ie nn \ f
op@v expevyovta thy Snmapxtav avtod tov Kuixeé-
pwva mpocetroteito cupBatixa@s Exew, Kal TH
, \ f > \ 2s ? f
Tepevtia tTHv wielaoTnv avatibels aitiav, éxeivou
a“ /
dé peuvnpevos errieck@s ael Kal Aoyous evyvo-
b 7 e v > “~ ? \
Hovas évo.oovs, @S av TLS OV pLo@Y OVE Yare-
f b] tee pd ~ f \ a ,
TAlWwV, AA €yKadwy pEeTplLa Kal hirdtKa, TavTa-
“a \ f a“ 4 a A
Tact avtov Tov hoSov avijxev, WoT aTreiTrEty TO
, \ f 4 ~
Kaicapt tHv mpecBeiay nal wadw éxecOat ths
, 37? @ \ e a ,
Tortteias. é€h @ wapokvvbels o Kaicap tov te
Krwdsov éméppwoe cat Wopmijiov améotpete
” ~ , b) /
Kouton ToD Kixépwvos, autos Te KaTep“apTupno ev
a \ a a a
év TO Onuw wn SoKEiy AVT@® Karas pNdé Vvopipws
v ? , 3 wn \ N 4
avépas axpitous avnphobat tovs mepi Aévtdov
re N f
kat KéOnyov. attn yap qv n KaTnyopia, Kai éri
Toul’ o Kixépwy éxadreito. Ktivouvetwrv otv Kal
, ? a / \ / ? f
Suwmxopevos eoOATa peTHAXNaEE Kal KouNsS ava-
ee 4 XN Aw al
TAEWS TEpliov ixéTEvEe TOY Sipuov. TravTayoU 8 o
\ \
Krwdtos amrnvta Kata ToUs otevwTrous, avOpa-
\ ‘ A ¢
mous éywv UBpiotas Tept avTov Kali Opaceis, ot

\ \ , ? f 3 A
TOAAG pey YAEUaCoVTES AKONGOTS Els THY pETA-
\ ‘N lal wn , nm
Bornv Kal to oxjpa tov Kixépwvos, roAdayod
1538
87

CICERO, xxx. 2-5

Crassus was an out-and-out foe of Cicero, Pompey was dallying with both, and Caesar was about to set out for Gaul with an army ; into Caesar’s favour, therefore, Cicero insinuated himself (although Caesar was not a friend, but an object of suspicion owing to the affair of Catiline), and asked to accompany him on his campaign as legate.1 But no sooner had Caesar granted the request than Clodius, seeing that Cicero was thus escaping his tribunicial power, pretended to be desirous of a reconciliation, and by laying the chief blame upon Terentia, and always speaking of Cicero in friendly terms and using kindly expressions about him, as one who bore him no hatred or even ill-will, but had mode- rate complaints to make of him in a friendly way, he altogether took away his fear, so that he declined the office of legate under Caesar and again applied himself to public matters. But at this conduct Caesar was exasperated, and encouraged Clodius against Cicero, and completely alienated Pompey from him, while he himself testified before the people that he did not think it right or lawful that men should be put to death without a trial, as in the case of Lentulus, Cethegus, and their accomplices. For this was the denunciation made against Cicero, and to this he was summoned to make answer. And so, being in peril of prosecution, he changed his attire,? and with his hair untrimmed went about supplicating the people. But Clodius met him everywhere in the streets, with a band of bold and insolent men about him, who made many unbridled jests upon Cicero’s change of attire,

1 According to Cicero (ad Att. ii. 18, 3), it was Caesar who made the request. 2 Toa garb of mourning.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

a / / a
6€ wydkwo Kat AGous BdadrAovtTes evictavto Tais
/
(KECLALS.
XXXII. Ob py adda TO Kixépwrt tp@tov peév
al \ an e nw wn
6Xiyou Sely cuptTay TO TOY iTTLKoY TAHOOS
cuppeteBare thy écOijta, Kat dicpvpiwv ov«
7 na
EXaTTOUS véwy TapnKoAOVOOUY KOLaVTES Kal cuVI-
lo a ,
KeTEvOVTES? eTreLTa THS BovAns cuverOovans 6Tws
, \ a e > AN , a

wWwndicaito Tov Siwov ws ert mévOect pwetaBRanety
Ta (atia, Kal TOV UTdTwY évavTiwOévtav, Krw-
, \ , \ \ ,
diov 6€ atdnpohopovpevov mept TO BovrAevT prov,
> 4 b] b] 4 A n
2€é8papov ove orjLyot TOV BovrEUTLKaV KaTap-
x al wn
pyyvipevoe Tous yiT@vas Kal BowvTes. ws & Hv
7 ? 3 # IQA \ \ ” b >
ovT olKToS OUTE TLS aldws Tpos THY Oi, AAXr
Es oy Kuiké evyey 7 Bia Kal oLdn
édes Tov Kixepwva gevyev 7 (ta np@
ms \ ‘ , IQA a,
xpihivat mwpos tov Karwdiov, édetto Topsniov
aA , \
BonOeiy éritnies éxtrodwy yeyovotos cat dsatpi-
nw \ ? , \ fa)
Bovtos év aypots Tept tov AdXBavov. Kat tpwTor
\ ” II , \ \ PS /
pev érreprve Iletcwva tov yapBpov denoopevor:
4 Ay > N > , v >] e
émerta Kat avtos avéBn. truOopnevos 6 o Top-
Foe b] e , > bd > @ cal PS \ \
Wnios OvX vTmEemetvev Els Orly EAVELV, CELYN yap
auTov aidws elye mpos Tov avdpa peydrous nyw-
viapevoy ayoavas uTép avTovd Kal ToAXa pos
i > ld , b) \ r ,
vapw éKxelv@m mTeTrodLTeUpEvov, urddrAa Kaioape
yapBpos @v Seouév@ mpovowKe Tas Tradatas
/ \ \ ig ” e \ 3
yvapitas Kal Kata Ovpas adXas uTEEEN wv are-
‘6 \ 4 ef or 5 0 \ e
SidpacKxe thy evtevErv. ottw $7 mpodobels o
a \ \ M4 \
Kixépov ta’ avtod Kal yeyovws Epnuos emi Tovs
¢e , , \ ti \ >
umatous KaTepuye. Kal LaPuivios pev nv yare-
\ Or nté , \ , , > an
mos adel, Ileiowy de SuehéyOn mpaotepoy arte,
160

CICERO, xxx. 5—Xxxx1. 4

and often pelted him with mud and stones, and so
interfered with his supplications to the people.

XXXI. However, in the first place, nearly the whole body of knights changed their attire with Cicero, and as many as twenty thousand young men escorted him with their hair untrimmed and joined in his suppliant entreaties to the people;! and besides, when the senate had met in order to pass a vote that the people should change their dress in token of public calamity, and the consuls had opposed it, and Clodius was in arms about the senate-house, not a few of the senators ran out, rending their garments and crying aloud. But since "this sight awakened neither pity nor any mercy, but Cicero was obliged either to go into exile or to appeal to force and the sword against Clodius, he begged for aid from Pompey, who had purposely got out of the way and was staying at his country seat in the Alban hills. First Cicero sent Piso,? his son-in-law, to entreat for him; then he went up thither himself also. Pompey, however, on learning of his coming, could not endure to see him, for he felt a strong sense of shame towards the man who had made great struggles in his behalf and had often adopted a political course to please him; but since he was Caesar's son-in-law, at his request he proved false to his old obligations, clipped out by another door, and so ran away from the interview. Thus betrayed by him and left desolate, Cicero fled for refuge to the consuls. Gabinius was always severe with him, but Piso dealt

1 Cf. Cicero's oration post red. ad Quir. 3, 8.

2 Not the consul who is mentioned in xxx. 1 and below in § 4,

TAPALWOV EXOTHVAL Kal UTOYwpHoat TH TOV Krw-
diov puun Kat THY peTaBoArAnv TOV KatpaY éveyxKeEtv
Kal yeveoOat Tadtvy cwThpa Hs Tatpidbos ev
n b] aA
oTdcect Kal Kaxols Ou éxeivov ovaons.
Totavtns Tuy@y amroxpicews 0 Kirépwy éBov-
, a /
NevETO auV Tols hirots: Kat AevKOVAXOS pEV ExE-
Ds e t " \ ,

NEVE MLEVELVY, WS TEpleTopevoV, AANoL Oe hevryery,
ry f
os Tayv Tov Snpyov ToOrjcovtos avTov, Stay
9 wn nw , (A \ 5 4
éuTrAncOn Hs KAwdiov pavias Kal arrovoias.
a > Fe. / \ \ ‘ ov a
taut édofe Kixépwruy Kal To pev ayadpa THS
’ nA a \ , bd b ‘ A ’ 4
A@nvas, 6 qoduy XYpovov EXwy eml THS otKias
e / b Ble f ? A
idpupévov étiva ditagepovtws, ets Kamitadtov
f b) LQ. > , ‘“o? ral e ,
KopLoas ave neev emuyparpas ; AGnvG Pons
PUAaKt, TouTovs S€ Tapa Tov diiwv AaBav
\ / 7 iC A n , \ A
Tept pécas vuxtas vTEeEnAGe THS TOAEWS Kal TEST
if
dra Aevxavias étropeveto, AaBécOat Xtxedias
Bovropuevos.
XE “Os 6" a os 10 D
2.@: S nv pavepos non Tmedevyas,
nw wn fo) e
émiyyayev avT@ guys Widov o KrAwsd:os, cat &id-
ypappa Tpov0nkey elpyery mupos Kal datos Tov
\ / S
avépa Kal py Tapéyeww oréyny évTos putdiov
/ ? , a \ ¢ ”
mevtakooiwy Itadtas. Tots pev ovv adXots
A ,
éXaxlaTos jv Tov diaypappatos TovTOV oOyos
\ / a
aldovpévors Tov Kixépwva, cal macav évdeckvv-
, /
pevot @troppocvvnvy Tapémeutov avtov: év &
td , 4 n / A b fal A
ImToviw, Toke THS AevKavias, Hv OtuBadva viv
i 2h s pee eee ” \
KaNrovaw, OviBios, LiKedos avynp, addAa TE TOAKA
wn f , 9 \ \ \
THs Kixepwvos pidtas aTroAeXavews Kai yeyovws
162

87!

CICERO, xxxt. 4—xxxu. 2

with him more gently, advising him to stand aside and yield to the impetuous assaults of Clodius, to submit to the change in the times, and to become once more a saviour of his country when she was involved in seditions and misfortunes through Clodius.

After getting such answer to his appeal, Cicero took counsel with his friends: Lucullus urged him to remain in the city, believing that he would prevail ; but others advised him to go into exile, believing that the people would quickly long for him when they were sated with the folly and madness of Clodius. This Cicero decided to do; so he took the statue of Minerva which had long stood in his house, and which he honoured exceedingly, carried it to the capitol,! and dedicated it there with the inscription " 'To Minerva, Guardian of Rome"; then, accepting an escort from his friends, about midnight he slipped out of the city, and set out on foot through Lucania, desiring to reach Sicily.

XXXII. But as soon as it was known that he had fled, Clodius caused a vote of banishment to be passed upon him, and issued an edict that all men should refuse him fire and water and that no man should give him shelter within five hundred miles of Italy. Now, most men paid not the slightest heed to this edict out of respect for Cicero, and escorted him on his way with every mark of kindness ; but at Hipponium, a city of Lucania,? which is now called Vibo, Vibius, a Sicilian, who had profited much from Cicero's friendship and_particularly by being made prefect of engineers during

1 Cf. Cicero, de leg. ii. 17, 42 ; ad fam. xii. 25, 1.
2 Rather Bruttium.

UTATEVOVTOS AUTOD TEKTOVWY ETAPXOS, OKLA LEV
> INL E \ / de , > f
ovx €dé£aTo, To ywpiov de KaTaypa ew éeTNyyérfiw € a ,
AeTo, Kal [dios Ovepytrsos, 0 THs XLeKedtas oTpaa / /
TynYyos, év Tols pardtata Kexépwr Keypnpévos,

4 3 , a Ss ? x4) e ? f
éypawev amréxer Oat THs RuKedtas. eh ols aGvmn-
cas Opunoev éri Bpevtéciov, caxeiGev ets Auppa-
Yi A ¢ ’ 4
Yiov avéum@ hop@ Tepatovpevos, avTimvEevcavTos
Teraylou pel ipépav érradwdpounoer, eft’ atOrs
avynyOn. Réyetar S€ Kal KaTaTAEvCarTOS Es
Avppaytov avtod Kat pédXovtos amroPaivev cet-
n A \ / a
omov TE THS YRS Kal oTacpOY apa yevécOas Tis
¢ > 4) @ / ¢ \ \
Oaratrns. ah @v avvéBadrov ot pavtixol py
povipov avt@ Thy duyiy ésecGar peTaBorgHs yap
civat TavTa onpela. Tod\rA@Y Sé holT@YTWY ar-
nw i¢ 9 b] f \ “A ¢ , 4
Sp@v um evvotas kai tov “HAAnvidwy TrOACwV
\ \ a aa
StaplAAWMEVOV TrPOS aUTAS Talis TpETBElals, OWS
bf] “ \ f tol \ Yd \) \
abupov kat Twepidvios Suye TA TOANA, TPS THY
ef € f n n
[radiav, @omep of Sucépwtes, apopov, Kal T@
\ \ ¢ a
ppovnywatt puxpos ayav Kal Tamewvos Ure TIS
aovppopas yeyovas Kai ovverTarpéevos, ws ove ay
Tis avdpa Tavela cupBeBimxota TocavTy mpoc-
é / b] \ > , \
EOOKNGE. KALTOL ToAXrAKIS avTOS HEloV ToS
dirovs un pyTopa Karey avTov, GAA dirocodor:
/ \ e f e a“ ry
dirocogiav yap ws épyov npjoPat, pytopien &
a /
dpydve xpicGat ToAtTevopevos él Tas YXpelas.
\ \ , ¢
arn 7 dda Savy tov Noyov, Os TEp Rady, arro-
, a a \ \ a“ la > ,
KAVoAaAL THS Wuyijs, Kal TA TOV TONY evomdp-
b is Uy \ a
Eacda. mdOn dt opiriav cab ovvybeav ois
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CICERO, xxxu. 2-5

his consulship, would not receive him in his house, but sent him word that he would assign him his country-place for residence; and Caius Vergilius, the praetor of Sicily, who had been on most inti- mate

terms with Cicero, wrote him to keep away from Sicily.t Disheartened at this treatment, he set out for Brundisium, and from there tried to cross to Dyrrhachium with a fair breeze, but since he met a counter-wind at sea he came back the next day, and then set sail again. It is said, too, that after he had put in at Dyrrhachium and was about to land, there was an earthquake accompanied by a violent convulsion of the sea. Wherefore the soothsayers conjectured that his exile would not be lasting, since these were signs of change. But although many people visited him out of goodwill, and the Greek cities vied with one another in sending hin: deputations, still, he passed his time for the most part in dejection and great grief,? looking off towards Italy like a disconsolate lover, while in his spirit he became very petty and mean by reason of his misfortune, and was more humbled than one would have expected in a man who had enjoyed so lofty a discipline as his. And yet he often asked his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had chosen philosophy as all occupation, but used oratory merely as an instrument for attaining the needful ends of a political career. But public opinion has great power to wash away reason, like a dye, from the soul of man, and by force of familiar association to impress the feelings of the vulgar on those who engage

1 Cf. Cicero, pro Plancio, 40, 95 ff.
? As his letters to Atticus (ili, 8-21) show.

4 # , ba , ,
TOALTEVOMEVOLS, AV LN TLS EV para huvrAATTOMEVOS
© aA \ al s
oUTw cuUudépnTat Tols EKTOS WS TOY TPAaypaTwV
a A \ A a“
QUT@V, OV TOV ETL TOIS TPaypnact TAaGaY cvppe-
OéEwr.
XXXITI. “O d€ Krwosos éFeAdcas tov Kuixé-
pwva KaTéeTpnoe pev avTov Tas émavrets, KaT-
\ beats A
émpnae O€ THY OlKiay Kal T@® TOTM vadv 'EXev-
/ ? 4 \ > > + ? ’
Oeptas ém@Kodopunoe tHv 8 AdAXNV ovotav éerwrEL
’ /
Kal dtexnpuTte Kad nuépav, pndév wvoupévou pn-
\ ? \ A a
Sevos. €k O€ ToUTOV PoPeEpos BY Tots aptaToKpa-
a \ \ on 3 , ? ef \
TLKOLS, Kab TOY Ojpov aveimevoy as UBpiv ToAAHY
\ , , b] , A
Kab OpacuTnta TUVEPENKO[EVOS, emexetper TO
Hloprnio, Tov dtwoxnpévwoy vr’ av’tod Kata THY
oTpateéiav Evia orapdttwv. éd ols o Topmaaios
adoEay éxaxilev avTos avTov mpoémevos Tov Kixé-

pwva' Kat Tadw éx petaBorns Tavtotos éyiveto
TpaTTwv KaGodov AVT@ peTa TOV hirtwv. Eevicta-
A / f a A
pevov 5€ ToD KrAwdiov cvvédo£e 7H BovrAn unbdev
/ a fe) \
dla pécov mpaypa Kupody poe mpattTew dnpuo-
cov, e+ py Kixépwrr xaOodos yévotto. tay &é
f A
mept AévTXov UTaTEeVvoYTWwY Kal THS OTdTEws
i? f a a
Tpocw Badilovens, date TpwOhvat wev ev ayopa
, Iw \ \ oe , b] N -
dSnudpyous, Koivtov 6é tov Kixépwvos adergov év
a a / A e
Tois vexpois ws TeOvNnKOTa Keipevoy d1arabely, 6
A 4 A a, a
Te Onpos HpxeTo TpeTECGar TH yvwoun, Kal TOY
, Ww t “ > f iN
Snuapxov “Avvtos Mitwv patos éToAunoe TOV
, ,
Krwdiov es Sixny amdyev Biatwv, cal Toumnio
A f “A i A
ToANol cvvAAGov Ex TE TOD Onuwov Kal TOV TépLE
, bd e \ \ \ , ,
Tovewy. peo wv mpoekOwv Kat tov Krwdrov
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CICERO, xxxtl. 5—XXXII. 3

in political life, unless one is right well on his guard when he engages himself in things external, and is resolved to participate only in the things themselves, and not in the feelings attendant upon them.

XXXITI. As for Clodius, after driving Cicero away he burned down his villas, and burned down his house, and erected on its site a temple to Liberty ; the rest of his property he offered for sale and had it proclaimed daily, but nobody would buy anything. Being therefore formidable to the patricians, and dragging along with him the people, who indulged in great boldness and effrontery, he assailed Pompey, attacking fiercely some of the arrangements made by him on his expedition. The disgrace which this brought upon Pompey led him to reproach himself for his abandonment of Cicero; and changing front he used every effort to effect Cicero’s return, and so did his friends. But since Clodius opposed himself to this, the senate decided to ratify no measure that came up in the mean time and to do no public busi- ness, unless Cicero should be permitted to return.! During the consulship of Lentulus,? however, when the disorder went on increasing, so that tribunes were wounded in the forum and Quintus the brother of Cicero lay unnoticed for dead among the slain,’ the people began to change their minds, and Annius Milo,

one of the tribunes, first ventured to prosecute Clodius for violence, and many joined themselves to Pompey both from the people and from the surround- ing cities. With these Pompey came forth, drove

1 Cf. Cicero, pro Sest. 31, 67 f.; Plutarch, Pompey, xlix. 1-3.
2 57 B.C.
2 Cf. Cicero, pro Sest. 35, 75 f.

avactiaas €k THS ayopas emi thy Wihhov éxaret
TOUS ToNiTas. Kal NEvyeTas pydémroTe pn dev ex
ToT AUTNS opoppoauvns emiupnpicac bar TOY b7)-
pov. 1 O€ GUYKANTOS dpe TOs TOV d7} ov
éryparrev emauveOiva TAS TOAELS boar TOV Kuxé-
pova Tapa 7 Thy puyny eOeparrevoar, Kal T1v oixiav
avT@ Kat Tas emavras, as Krwdcsos dvebOapces,
Téreat Onpoctow avactabjvat.
Karnet 6¢ Kixépov ExardendT@ pnt pera tiv 87k
puyny: Kab TOTAUTN Tas TONELS yapa Kal amoven
TOUS avOpam ous Tepl THY aT aVTNaW Elyev ooTe
TO pnOev v7r0 Kexépevos t Uo repov évdeéaTepov elvat
THs arnOeias. edhy yap aurov éml TOY @ Lov TID
'Iradiav pépoveay els THY 'Pomny eloreveryKely,
OTrOU Kat Kpacoos, ex Opos QV avT@ po THS
duyijs, TOTE ™ poOvpws amiyra Kab Stedvero, TO
Tatot TomAte yapilopevos, ws Ereye, EnrwrH Tov
Kexépwvos ovtt.
XXXIV. Xpovoyv & ov mworviw Stadimav Kal
mapapurdtas atoénpovvta tov Krwdzsov érnrGe
MeTAa TOAAOY TO KatritTwAL@, Kal TAS SnuapytKas
déXTOus, év ais avaypadai Tov dtwxnpévwv Hoar,
améotrace Kat SvépOerpev. €yKaXovvTos O€ Tepl
TOUTOU TOU Kr.éiou, Tou o€ Kuxépwvos A€yorTos
WS Tapavopors EK TAT PLKLOY els Onpapxiav TAaper-
Got, Kal KUpLOV ovdey elvat TOV TET pany fev ov ie
auton, Katov NYAVEKTNTE Kal aVTELTE, TOV pev
KA @érov ove érrawav, adda Kal dua xepaivev TOLS
TeTOALTEUMEVOLS, OeLVOV O€ Kal Biatov aTrodaivev
1 On the question of Cicero's recall.
2 Cf. Cicero, in Prsonem, 22, 52. |
3 Cf. Cicero, post red. in sen. 15, 39. |

Clodius from the forum, and summoned the citizens to the vote.! And it is said that the people never passed any vote with such unanimity. The senate, too, vying with the people, wrote letters of thanks to all the cities which had ministered to Cicero during his exile, and decreed that his house and his villas, which Clodius had destroyed, should be restored at the public cost.?

Thus Cicero came home in the sixteenth month after his exile; and so great was the joy of the cities and the eagerness of men to meet him that what was said by Cicero afterwards fell short of the truth. He said, namely, that Italy had taken him on her shoulders and carried him into Rome.? And there Crassus also, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily met him and was reconciled with him, to gratify his son Publius, as he said, who was an ardent admirer of Cicero.

XXXIV. After allowing only a short time to pass and watching for an opportunity when Clodius was absent from the city, Cicero went up with a great company to the capitol, and there tore away and destroyed the tablets of the tribunes, in which were the records of their administration. When Clodius brought charges against him for this and Cicero argued that it was illegal for Clodius to pass from the ranks of the patricians into the tribunate,* and that therefore none of his acts was valid, Cato was indignant and spoke against Cicero; not that he approved of Clodius, nay, he was actually displeased at his political course, but he set forth that it was a

4 Clodius had secured an adoption into a plebeian family in order to become a candidate for the tribuneship. Cf. Cicero, pro domo sua, 29, 77.

avaipedty Yn picacbat Soypatov Kal mpatewr TOTOUTOP THY a UYKANTOD, év ais elvat Kat tiv éavtov tov tept Kutpov cal Bufavtiov dsotxnouv. éx TovTov mpocéxpovoey 6 Kixépwv avt® mpoc- Kpovowy els ovdev eupaves 7 pochOobcay, aX’ WOTE TH diroppocvvyn ypnalat pos aAXAAOUS dL [Lav poTeE pov.

XXXV. Mera ratdta KiXwédtov pév adroxtivyvet Midov: cat diwxopuevos povov Kirépwva tape- oTHTAaTO GvYHyopov. 7 de Bovrn PoPnOeioa p71) KLVOUVEVOVTOS dvd pos évdoEou Kal Oupoedobs Tod

Midtwvos tapayn yévntar mept THY TONY, émre-
tpewe Lloparnio TaVvTyy TE KAL TAS adXas Kploets
BpaBedoat, Tapéyovta TH ToAEL Kal Tos StKa-
arn plous dopaneray. exetvou dé THY aryopav ETL
VUKTOS amo TOV aK pov meptraPovTos Tots oT pare
@Tas, 0 Miawy tov Kixépwva detaas pn mpos
Thy owl anbeia diatapax dels Yetpov Ssaryor'-
onTat, cuverrercer év popeio Kopiabevta 7 pos
Thy aryopav navy abel, a aype ov cuviacwy ol KpiTal
Kal mAnpovrat TO OtxaaTHpLov. O06 ov povov HW,
Ws éorKen, ev omhous alapons, arra kal TO Neyer
peTa poBou Tpoonet, Kal ports ay ératoato}
TANXNOMEVOS KAL TPELOY ETL TOANOY UYOVOV AKBHV
Tov AOYoU Kal KaTdoTacLy AaBortos. Atxivviw
de |] Moupijva pevyovte dixny i3d Kdtwvos Bon-
Oar, Kal Prdoripovpevos ‘Optyocov vmepBanreip
evnpmeprjoavta, Jtépos ovdev aveTTAavaaTO THS vu-
KTOS, @S UTO TOD apodpa ppovticat Kal dtaypu-
mvnca Kaxwlels évdcéotepos avtod davnvat.
1 &y émavoato Graux with D (averavoaro M4): émravuuro.

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CICERO, xxxiv, 2-Xxxv. 3

strange and violent measure for the senate to vote
the abrogation of so many acts and decrees, among
which were those for his own administration in Cyprus
and Byzantium. This led to an antagonism between
him and Cicero which came to no open manifestation,
but made their friendly treatment of one another
less marked.

XXXV. After this Clodius was killed by Milo;} and Milo, being prosecuted for murder, engaged Cicero as his advocate. But the senate was afraid that at the trial of Milo, who was a man of repute and high spirit, there might be a disturbance in the city, and therefore intrusted the superintendence of this and the other trials to Pompey, who was to furnish security for the city and the courts of jus- tice. So Pompey, while it was still night, posted his soldiers on the heights so as to command the forum, and Milo, fearing that Cicero might be disturbed at the unusual sight and conduct his case less success- fully, persuaded him to be brought in a litter to the forum and to wait there quietly until the jurors assembled and the court-room was filled. Now Cicero, as it would seem, was not only without courage under arms, but also felt fear when he began to speak, and in many trials he hardly ceased quivering and trem- bling after his eloquence had become high and sus- tained. When he was to plead for Licinius Murena in a case brought against him by Cato, and was ambitious to surpass Hortensius, who had made a successful plea, he took no rest at all during the night before, so that his lack of sleep and his great anxiety did him harm, and he was thought inferior

1 Early in 52 8.c. For this year Pompey had been made
sole consul,
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

4 tore O ow ért THv TOU Midwvos dixny éx TOD
popetou ™ poeOov Kab Jeacapevos TOV Topm jiov
ave KabeSoperov G ooTep ev oTpatomese, Kal KUKA@
TA OT Aa TepihaTrovTa THY ayopay, ouvex On
Kal Ors evnpEato TOU oyou, Kpadarvomevos TO
copa Kab tHv dhovnv évucyopevos, avtov Tod
Midwvos evOapo@s Kai avdpeiws TaptaTapévou
7 ayove kal Kkopnv Opéra. Kai petaBanreiv
écOijta hatav atakiwcavtos: bTEp ovy HKioTa
doxel avvaitioy avT@ yevécbar Ths Katadixns.
aX’ 6 ye Kixépwy dca tadta didrétaipos madXov
H detdos &do£ev eivat.
XXXVI. Tevetat 6€ cat Tov tepéwv obs A’ryou-
pas “Pwpaios xaXovawv, avtt Kpdacov tov véov
pera THY eV TdpOous avTov TEAEUTID. elra KA1P@
haxov TOV emapXeay Kedtxiav Kat OTOATOV OTAL-
TOV puptov Kal dtoyiriwv, immréwv Be Ova XerLeov
éEaxootwy, E€TNEUTE, mpoaray Gey aUuT® Kal Ta
mepl Karmadoxiay ‘A proBaplavy To Bactret
2 gira Kab meiOjvia mapacxeiv. TavuTa TE 57) Tap-
€OT1}TATO Kal TUVi}ppoaev a PeMT TOs arEp TONE-
pov, TOUS TE Kidceas op@v [pos TO THap@txov 879
TTA ja ‘Pwpaiwv Kat Tov év Lupia VEWTEPLE HOV
EMNPMEVOUS KATETPAUVEV NUEPWS ApYwv. Kal 6@pa
pev ove TOV Bactrhéwy SeddvTwY Eafe, Settvwr
dé TOUS ema pXeKovs auAKEV" aVTOS dé kal? 7 LE pap
TOUS xaplevTas dvedapSavev € EO TLAT EO LY Ov TONV-
3 Tees, arr’ erevdepios. 48 olKia Oupwpov ovK
elyev, 0V0 avtTos WhO KaTaxelipevos br’ ovdeEVES,
arr’ Ewlev Ext@s 7) TeptmaTaY Tpo Tov dwpuaTiov
Tous aamalopévous edeEtovTO. AéyeTar bé prjTe
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CICERO, xxxv. 4—xxxvi. 3

to himself in his plea. And so at this time, when he came out of his litter to plead Milo’s cause and saw Pompey stationed on the heights as in a camp, and arms flashing all around the forum, he was confounded and could scarcely begin his speech, for his body quivered and his voice faltered; whereas Milo

showed the good courage of a brave man at the trial and had not deigned to let his hair go untrimmed or to change his attire to a dark one; and this seems most of all to have contributed to his condemnation. However, Cicero’s behaviour led men to think him devoted to his friends rather than cowardly. XXXVI. He became also one of the priests whom the Romans call Augurs, in place of the younger Crassus, who had died among the Parthians.!. Then the lot gave him Cilicia as his province, with an army of twelve thousand men-at-arms and twenty-six hundred horsemen, and he set sail,? with instructions to keep Cappadocia friendly and obedient to King Ariobarzanes. This he accomplished and arranged satisfactorily without war, and seeing that the Cili- cians, in view of the Parthian disaster to the Romans and the uprising in Syria, were in an agitated state, he pacified them by his mild government. Gifts he would not receive, not even when the kings offered them, and he relieved the provincials from the expense of entertainments; but he himself daily re- ceived men of pleasing accomplishments at banquets which were not expensive, although generous. His house, too, had no door-keeper, nor did anyone ever see him lying a-bed, but early in the morning he would stand or walk in front of his chamber and re- ceive those who came to pay him their respects. It is

1 Tn 53 B.o, See the Crassus, chapter xxv. cul Gotan) bes ae

es pe fe / ea tars) | a f
paBdos aixicacbat tiva pit éoOjta Tepicxicar
4 / e >’ 3 aA A a wn
pnte Braohynputav ur opyjns 7 Enutas mpoaBanreiv
9 ef ’ ‘ \ \ le) /
ue? UBpewv. avevpwv b€ TodArdAA TOV Snpociwy
KEKNEMPEVA TAS TE TOAELS EVTFOPOUS ETOLNGE, Kal
TOUS aTroTivovTas ovdév TOUTOV TAEioy TabdvTas
4
émitipous dtepvrAakev. rato dé Kal mrodéuou,
ca) >
AnoTas TOY TEpl TOY 'Apavoy oiKOvYTOY TpEYa-
pevos’ €h ® Kal avTOKpdTwWP UTO TOV oTpaTLW-
an 3 10 K , 1 oe “A er o
Tav avnyopevOn. Kastrtouv! 6€ tod propos Seo-
a ‘ /
pévov TrapodreEls avT@ Tpos Tiva Oéav eis ‘Pwopny
éx Kidtxlas atroatetAat, xadrAwriComevos emt Tols
Tem paypevors ypade Tpos AUTOV OUVK Eivat TAp-
Oar ‘y Kidixias medevyévar yap eis Kapi
drew ev a mepevyevar yap ets Kapiay
b wv fal f
ayavakTovaas OTL ovat woNEmoUVTAL, TaYTwY
, f ? n

elpnunyv éyovTwy. mréwv O ato THs étapyias

a \ e , / A be) f
Tovto pev ‘Pod mpocécye, TodTo & 'AOnvats
b] / Vv / a) / ca)
évoréeTpipev dopevos 100m Tov Tarar SraTpiBov.
avopdat 6€ Tols TMpwWTOLS amo TraLoeias TUYyEVO-
pevos Kal TOUS TOTE diAous Kal curjOers doTaca-
pevos Kal Ta mpérovta Oavpacbels trod Tis
“EAAdOos els THY TOALY eTraVIADEY, 7}5n TOV Mpa-
\ “A
yuaTwVY WaTEp VT pr€eymovns apioTapéevwy eTrt
Tov éupvrtoy modELOv.
s \ in “
XXXVIT. “Ev pev ody tH BovrH Wndilopévwv
’ “A / eo Kn 4 a
avT@ OpiapBov Adwov av &pyn wapaxorovOjaoa
, 4
Kaicaps OpiapBevovtt cupBacewr yevopévor:
/ \

idta 5€ cuveBovrAeve TOhAA prev Kaicapt ypddwr,

1 Ka:Afov Coraés, Bekker, and Graux, after Xylander:
KexiAlou.
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CICERO, xxxvi. 3-xxxvit. r

said, moreover, that he never ordered any man to be chastised with rods or to have his raiment torn from him, and that he never inflicted angry abuse or con- tumelious punishments. He discovered that much of the publie property had been embezzled, and by restoring it he made the cities well-to-do, and men who made restitution he maintained in their civil rights without further penalties. He engaged in war, too, and routed the robbers who made their homes on Mount Amanus;! and for this he was actually saluted by his soldiers as Imperator. When Caelius the orator asked Cicero to send him panthers from Cilicia for a certain spectacle at Rome, Cicero, pluming himself upon his exploits, wrote to him that there were no panthers in Cilicia; for they had fled to Caria in indignation because they alone were warred upon, while everything else enjoyed peace.? On his voyage back from his province he first touched at Rhodes, and then gladly spent some time at Athens in fond remembrance of his old pursuits in that place. Then, after associating with men who were foremost for their learning, and after greeting his old-time friends and intimates, and after receiving from Greece the tokens of admiration that were his due, he returned to Rome,’ where a violent inflamma- tion, as it were, was already forcing matters on towards the civil war.

XXXVII. Accordingly, when the senators were voting him a triumph, he said he would more gladly follow in Caesar’s triumphal procession if matters could be settled ; and privately he gave much advice

+ Cf. Cicero, ad fam. ii. 10, 2 f.
Ad fame uy 1,2.
3 January 4, 49 B.o. Cf. ad fum. xvi. 11, 2f.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

3 aA 4 (of.
modrka 8 avtov Iloumrntov deduevos, mpaivev
ExaTepov Kal Tapapvlovpevos. ws 0 Hy avijxecta
kat Katoapos érepyopévou Llopmrnios ovx Epeuvev,
ANNA META TOAKOY Kal ayaday avdpav THY TOW
4 lal lel
éEéduTre, TavTns pev aTreAetpOn THs huyis o Kuxé-
/ A
pov, édoke 6€ Kaicaps tpoctiPecOar. Kai dros
9 A , . ¢€ \ pyaar b f
€OTL TH yYwuUN TOAAG pimtacbets eT apdoTtepa
kai OvoTrabnaas. ypader yap év tais émictoXais
A i ef
diatropety ToTépwoe xXp1 TpemecGat, Ilopmniov
\ 5 \ \ ef \ \ t 2
prev Evdokov Kat Kadynv vToGecwv mpos TOY TOAE-
/ A
pov Eyovtos, Katcapos 8 apetvoy tots moaypace
Vpwpévou KaL padrov éEavTOY Kal Tovs didous
, ee > \ a f \ ” \
awlovtos, wat évew pev dy huyn, py eves O€
\ A td 4 4 \ wn ,
mpos by duyyn. TpeBatiov dé, tivds Tov Kaicapos
e f be 3 \ ef a a 7
éraipwv, yparpavtos émiatoAny ott Kaicap oletat
A td A 3 \ 9 tf 3 ¢ A
Sey partota péev avtoy ée€eTralerGar pel avtod
\ A ’ ? ,) > 9 , \
Kal tov édmidwy perexev, eb & avadvetar dia
aA ¢ 4 a
yipas, ets THY EdAAdba Pabdilery Kaxel xaOnpevov
Hovyiay ayew exmob@v apdotépors yevopevor,
£ i“ 5
Javuacas o Kixépwy ots Kaicap avtos ov éypa-
, \ \
ev, aTrexpivato mpos opynv ws ovdey avat.ov
a , XN a

ampakes TOV TeTONITEVLEVWOY. TA Lev OdY év Tals
ETLTTONALS YEeypappeéeva TOLADTA eoTL.
XXXVIIL. Tov 5é€ Kaicapos ets 1 8npiav dra-
pavtos, evdus ws Tlopajiov érdevce: xa ois
f v
pev GArAros agpEevors Of0n, Katov & adtov idav
idSta moda KaTepéeugheto Lloumrniw wpocbépevor
a \ A ral
auT@ bev yap ovyl Kadws Exe éyxaTaXdirely hv
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CICERO, xxxvi. 1-xxxvin. 1

to Caesar by letter, and much to Pompey in person by way of personal entreaty, trying to mollify and pacify each of them. But when things were past healing, and Caesar was advancing upon the city, and Pompey did not stay there, but abandoned the city in the company of many good men, Cicero did not take part in this flight, and was thought to be attach- ing himself to Caesar. And it is clear that his judge- ment drew him strengly in both directions and that he was in distress. For he writes in his letters that he knew not which way he ought to turn, since Pompey had honourable and good grounds for going to war, while Caesar managed matters better and had more ability to save himself and _ his friends; he therefore knew from whom he should flee, but not to whom he should flee.! And when Trebatius, one of the companions of Caesar, wrote him a letter stating that Caesar thought he ought above all things to range himself on his side and share his hopes, but that if he declined to do this by reason of his age, he ought to go to Greece and take up a quiet life there out of the way of both, Cicero was amazed that Caesar him- self did not write, and replied in a passion that he would do nothing unworthy of his political career. Such, then, is the purport of his letters.

XXXVIIT. But when Caesar set out for Spain,
Cicero at once sailed to Pompey.? The rest of
Pompey’s followers were glad to see him, but when
Cato saw him, he privately blamed him much for
attaching himself to Pompey. In his own case,
Cato said, it was not honourable to abandon the
1 Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo
(ad Ate. viii. 7, 2).
2 In April, 49 B.c., Caesar set out for Spain, and in June
Cicero sailed for Greece.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Sees oe? a ch a , , ? a \
aw apyis eiXeTo THs Tworitelas Taku, éxeivoy be
, , “A / \ ww , ’
VPNTLLWTEPOV OVTAa TH TAaTpLOL Kai TOS dirots El

lod \ \ A b]
pévey loos Exel Thos TO aTOBaivov npuoleTo, KAT
> , \ +09 b] 3’ / /
ovdéva Aoyiapov ovd €E& avayKns TodEmLOV YyeEYo-
/ , ,
véevat Kaicapte kal tocovtov peOéEovta Kivdvvou
devp KEL.
Lg , \ a r , ’ ‘ e sf
Odrot Te 67 Tov Kixépwvos avéotpedov oi Né6yot
\ , \ , bf A a
THY YVOUNV, Kal TO péeya pnoev avT@ yYpnoOat
\
Tloprniov. aittos & tv adtos ovK apvovpevos
, , \ A oh
petapéerecOar, dravpilov € Tob Wopmniov thy
‘ \ ,
Tapackevny Kat Tpos TA BovrevuaTta SvcKonral-
, \ a“ ,
VWV UTOVAWS, KAL TOU TAPAaTKwWITELY TL Kal Neve
, > ‘ , b] b f 3 >
VaApPlev Els TOUS TUMLpLAYOUS OVK ATEYOMEVOS, GAN
N \ y , SAN wl A
QUTOS fev AYEAATTOS aEl TEptioy ev TO aTPATO-
6 / ,
Tédw Kal cKVOpwTrOS, ETEpOLS O€ Tapévov yédAwTaA
\ fi / N \ f 5] ,
pndev Seopévars. BEérXTLOV S€ Kal TOUTwWY bALya
, / , 4 3 ?
wapabecba:. Aopitiov toivuy advOpwrrov eis Tab
\ YU \ /
HYEMOVLKNY AYOVTOS OV TrOAELLKOV Kal A€YOVTOS WS
) \ \ , Bae, \ , oT’ 3%
€TLELKNS TOV TPOTTOV éoTl Kal cwdporv, ‘Ti od»,
4 un
eimev, “ouK eTLTpOTOY ALTO Tols TéeXVOLS hUAdC-
> 9 dé f S / \ ,
geus; émaivouvTwy 6€ Tivav Mcodavnv tov Aé-
a 9 a f i
aB.ov, 05 iv €v TO TTpaToTéd@ TEKTOVOY ETrap-
e * , ¢ , \ ,
yos, ws ev TapauvOncatto “Podiovs tov cTtddov
, ¢€ , b M2
atoBanrovtas, “ Hdtxop,” etter, “ayadov éott TO
NX f 4 33 ,
Tpatxov éyew émapyov. Kaicapos &€ xatop-

A \ A , A
Jodvtos Ta TELTTA Kai TPGTOV TWA TOXOpPKOUY-
b] / , N > 4 f
tos autous, AévTA@ pev etmovte trurv@avecOas
178

&é

CICERO, xxxvmi. 1-4

line of public policy which he had chosen from the beginning; but Cicero, though he was of more service to his country and his friends if he remained at home without taking sides and accommodated himself to the issue of events, without any reason and under no compulsion had made himself an enemy of Caesar, and had come thither to share in their great danger.

By these words the purpose of Cicero was upset, as well as by the fact that Pompey made no great use of him. But he was himself to blame for this, since he made no denial that he was sorry he had come, made light of Pompey's preparations and showed a lurking displeasure at his plans, and did not refrain from jests and witty remarks about his comrades in arms; nay, although he himself always went about in the camp without a smile and scowling, still he made others laugh in spite of themselves. And it will be well to give a few instances of this also. When Domitius, then, was advancing to a post of command a man who was no soldier, with the remark that he was gentle in his disposition and prudent, "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him as a guardian of your children?" And when certain ones were praising Theophanes the Lesbian, who was prefect of engineers in the camp, because he had given excellent consolation to the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, ""What a great blessing it is,' said Cicero, "to have a Greek as prefect!"' Again, when Caesar was successful for the most part and in a way was laying siege to them,! Lentulus said he had heard

1 At Dyrrhachium. See the Caesar, xxxix.; Caesar, B.C. iii. 41-55,

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\ s \ ‘ / 3 l4
otuyvovs evar tovs Kaioapos didous, amexpt-
: oA ’ \ } n K , 33 M
5 vaTo éyets avtous ducvoety Kaicapt. Map-
/ be 4 b ’ , \ \
kiov 6€ tevos HKovtos é& “Itadtas veworti Kal
Aéyoutos ev ‘POun hyunv éwixpatety ws ToALOp-
n as wR. 27 ”» 4 Prete:
xotto Llopmnios, Kit é&émXevcas,” elrev, “iva
TOUTO mMiaTevaons autos Peacdpevos;” peta dé
, e a
Thy HTTav Novviov pev evtrovtos OTe Set ypnotas
/ e \ \ a
éAmidas exe, EwTa yap aeTous év TO aTpaTo-
A of a aA >
méom tov Jloumniov rAeretdOar, “Kards av,
” ‘“ f ’ ae. A ”
6 edn, “ wapyvets, Eb KoOLOLS ETTOAELODMEV. Aa-
Benvod b€ pavtetats tic loxvptfopévou Kat ré-
e 8 a , Q Il Po 6s b] a 39
yovTos ws det TepiyevécOat Lloumniov, ‘‘ Ovxour,
u , ig 7 fad
Edn, “oTpaTnynpate TOUT XpwpmeEvol vOV aTroPe-
\ / >
BAnKkapev TO oTpaTOTEboV.”
r > a
XXXIX. “AANA yap yevouévns THs Kata Pap-
e , .
canov payns, 5 ov petéecyve Ot appwortiar, Kal
of f e
Ilourniov duyovtos, o uev Katwv cal otpatevya
ouyvov é€v Avppayim Kal otoXov éywv péyav
a f a a
éxetvov nEiou oTpaTnyely KATA vomov Kal TO THS
uUTaTteias akiwpya mpovyovta. StwOovpevos Oé
\ ’ \ & / ‘\ <4 7 \
Thv apxnv o Kixépwv Kat dros hevywv To
, \ > A
avaTpateverbat tap oddev Oev avaipeOhvat,
of a , \ a / ,
2 Iloumniov tov véov Kai Tav dirwv mpodorny
i \

aToKanovvtoy Kai ta Elpn oracapdvor, ef py
K , 3 \ Xr ’ aN \ } aA 3 \
aTwV évoTas moArts adeireTo Kal dijKxev avTov
ék Tov otpatoTébov. Katacy@v 8 eis Bpevte-
’ a / ,
otov evtavla cuétpthe, Kaicapa mrepipévev Bpa-
dSvvovta Sta tas év ’Acta Kxal wept Alyutrrov
3 , 3 ‘ 3 > [A 4 lA
3 acxyoNlas. eres & ets Tapavta xadwppiopévos
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CICERO, xxxvii. 4-xxXxIx. 3

that Caesar’s friends were gloomy, to which Cicero replied: “You mean that they are ill-disposed to Caesar.’ And when a certain Marcius, who had recently come from Italy, spoke of a report which prevailed in Rome that Pompey was_ besieged, “ And then,’ said Cicero, “did you sail off that you might see with your own eyes and believe?” Again, after the defeat, when Nonnius said they ought to have good hopes, since seven eagles were left in the camp of Pompey, ‘ Your advice would be good,” said Cicero, “if we were at war with jackdaws.” And when Labienus, insisting on certain oracles, said that Pompey must prevail, “ Yes,” said Cicero, “this is the generalship that has now cost us our camp.”

XAXIX. However, after the battle at Pharsalus,! in which Cicero took no part because of illness, had been fought, and Pompey was in flight, Cato, who had a considerable army aud a large fleet at Dyr- rhachium, asked Cicero to take the command in accordance with custom and because of his superior consular rank. But Cicero rejected the command and was altogether averse to sharing in the cam- paign, whereupon he came near being killed; for the young Pompey and his friends called him a traitor and drew their swords upon him, and that would have been the end of him had not Cato inter- posed and with difficulty rescued him and sent him away from the camp.2 So Cicero put in at Brun- disium and tarried there, waiting for Caesar, who was delayed by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. But when word was brought that Caesar had landed at

1 In August, 48 B.c.
2 Cf. Cato the Younger, lv. 3.
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annyyédreTo Kal Teoh Teptiov éxeibev eis Bpev-

TEGLOY, WPILnoe TPOS avTOV, Ov Tdvu pev ov
SugEATLS, aidoupevos 5€ TOANK@Y Ta.povT@v avdpos
exOpov Kat K paTouvTos Aap Bavew melpav. ou
pny edena ev avT@ mpagat Te map afiav i] elmrety.
Oo yap Kaicap, as elev auTov TOD po Toy
arAXov aTravT@vra, Karten Kal nowucaTo Kal
SlaNEYOMEVOS LOVH TUXVOV aTAdiwY OdOV TpPOnA-
Jev. éx a: TOUTOU SteTerEL TLL@Y Kal prog povov-
pevos, MaTE Kal yparpavte oryov eyKa cov Ka-
TWVOS aytiypadpev TOV TE AOYOY avTOU Kat TOV
Biov as Hadtora TO Tlepuxdéous. €oikoTa Kal
Onpapevous eT aLvely. O pev ov Kure pwvos
Aoyos Katwy, o 6¢ Kaicapos ’Avtixatwv éruyé-
ypanrar.
AevyeTat dé xat Koiytov Auyapiou Sixny pev-
‘YOVTOS OTL TOV Kaicapos TONE LLWY els evyeyovet,
Kat Kixépovos auT@ BonOodvtos, etmety Tov
Kaicapa ™ pos TOUS pirous: ed I K@AVEL ola
xpovou Kirépwvos axodoas AeyovTos, ere madnat
KEK PLT QL Tmovnpos 0 avnp* Kal TONELLOS 5” émel O°
apEapevos Aéyeu 0 Kixépwy UTEpp ues éxivet Kal
mpovBaiwev avT@ Tabet Te TOLKLAOS Kab Xapire
davpaaros o oO oyos, TOANAS pev lévat Xpoas eTL
Tov mpoowTrouv Tov Kaicapa, tacas 5é THs Wuxis
T PET OMEVOV TpoTras KATASNAOV elva, TENS O€ TOY
KaTa Pdpcarov aapevou Tod prTopos ayavoy
extra ryevopuevov Tivax Ojvar TO copa Kal THIS
XELpPOS éxBarety via Tov Ypapparetwv. TOV
youv advOpwirov améduce THS aitias BeSiacpévos.
? 6 avho Bekker, after Schaefer: arha.
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CICERO, xxxtx. 3-6

Tarentum! and was coming round by land from
there to Brundisium, Cicero hastened to meet him,
being not altogether despondent, but feeling shame
to test in the presence of many witnesses the
temper of a man who was an enemy and victorious.
However, there was no need that he should do
or say anything unworthy of himself. For Caesar,
when he saw him approaching far in advance of the
rest, got down and embraced him and journeyed on
for many furlongs conversing with him alone. And

after this he continued to show him honour and kindness, so that in his reply to the encomium upon Cato which Cicero wrote he praised Cicero's eloquence and his life, as most resembling that of Pericles and Theramenes. Now, the discourse of Cicero was entitled "Cato," and that of Caesar " Anti-Cato."

It is said also that when Quintus Ligarius was under prosecution because he had been one of the enemies of Caesar, and Cicero was his advocate, Caesar said to his friends: " What is to prevent our hearing a speech from Cicero after all this while, since Ligarius has long been adjudged a villain and an enemy?' But when Cicero had begun to speak and was moving his hearers beyond measure, and his speech, as it proceeded, showed varying pathos and amazing grace, Caesar's face often changed colour and it was manifest that all the emotions of his soul were stirred ; and at last, wlien the orator touched upon the struggles at Pharsalus,? he was so greatly affected that his body shook and he dropped from his hand some of his documents. At any rate he acquitted Ligarius under compulsion.

1 In September, 47 B.c 2 Cf. pro Ligurio, 9, 27 f.

XL. 'Ex tovtov Kixépwr, ets povapyiav tijs TOMLTELAS pelerTaons, ab épevos TOU Ta KoLWa Tparrew eoxorale Tous Bovropévors ptrooopety TOV VED, Kab axedor € ex Ths 70s TOUTOUS ouVn-Ocias, evyevertatovs Kal TpwTovs dvTas, avdts
2 loyvev év TH ToOAEL péytaTov. auvT@d dS Epyov pev WV TO TOUS prroo ogous OUVTEAELY diadoryous Kal petadpatery, Kat TOV dtarextixov 1) phuotkav OvOLAaTwWY ExaTTOV els 'Popaixny peta Bandrewv duanextov? éxetvos yap €atwv, ws hac, o Kal THY davtaciav Kal TV cuycatabeaw Kab THY eT OX) Kat THY KaTaryypu, & Ett O€ TO ATOMOP, TO dpepés, TO KEvor, Gdha TE TOAAA TOV TOLOUT@Y é€ovopdoas TP@TOS i) pada 'Popaiors, Ta pev petagopais, Ta © olxeroTno tv arrAaLs Ye pupa
3 Kal T poon'yopa ENXavyo dpevos. TH O€ TPOS THY Toinav evxoia Trailov éXpijto. éyerau Yap, omnvira puety Tpos TO TOLOVTOV, THS vuKTOS en TOLELY TEVTAKOTIA.

To pev ody TAelo Tov TOU Xpovou TovToU mepl TodcKdov év Xeptous auTou Oud-yor éypade T pos TOUS pirous Aaéptov Bio ony, €LTE Tailor, Os €00s elyev, €10' vo dtAoTiuias OTAapy@v TpOS TY TrodTelay Kal adnuovav toils KabecTact.
4 omaviws & eis dotu Oepateias évera tod Kat-

TAPOS KATHEL, KAL TPWTOS HV TOV TUVAyopEeVOVYTMY
Tals TLuals Kal NEyELY GEt TL KALVOY Eis TOY Avdpa
Kal T& TpaTTopeva PtroTipmovupevwr. oldv éote
1 In Latin, respectively, visum (conceptton), assensio(assent), assensionis retentio (withholding of assent), comprehensio (perception), individuum (atom), vacuum (void); ‘‘ameres”

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CICERO, xu. 1-4

XL. After this, when the government had been changed to a monarchy, Cicero abstained from public affairs and devoted his time to those of the young men who wished to study philosophy, and mainly from his intimacy with these, since they were of the highest birth and standing, he was once more very influential in the state. He made it his business also to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render into Latin the several terms of dialectics and natural philosophy; for he it was, as they say, who first, or principally, provided Latin names for “ phantasia,”’ “synkatathesis,” ‘“epokhe,’ and “katalepsis,” as well as for ‘“ atomon,”’ “ameres,’ “kenon,’! and many others like these, contriving partly by metaphors and partly by new and fitting terms to make them intelligible and familiar. His facility in verse-making, too, he em- ployed to divert himself. It is said, indeed, that when he applied himself to such work, he would make five hundred verses in a night.

During this time, then, he lived for the most part at his country-seat in Tusculum, and he used te write to his friends that he was living the life of Laertes,? either jesting, as was his wont, or because his ambition filled him with a desire for public activity and made him dissatisfied with the turn things had taken. He rarely went down to the city, and then only to pay court to Caesar, and he was foremost among those who advocated Caesar’s honours and were eager to be ever saying something new about him and his measures. Of this sort is

(indivisible), with its Latin equivalent, does not occur in the
extant works of Cicero (Gudeman),
2 Cf. Odyssey, i. 189 ff.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Y \ \ A of. \ > ¢ A
kal To wept Tov Iloumniou AeyOev etxovwv, as
? 4 \ , e a oe ek
avnpnuevas Kal kataBeBrnpévas 0 Kaicap éxé-
ANevoeyv avactabhvar' Kai aveatadbnaav. &Epn yap
e rr la 4 / A tg a
0 Kixépwv ote tavtn 7H ptrtavOpwria Kaicap
of / \ a
tous pev Lloumnyiov tatnos, tous 8 avtov m7-
yvuaw avoptayTas.

S ,
XLT. Acavoovpevos 8, ws A€yeTat, THY TaTpLOV
istopiav ypabyn meptrkaBelv Kat TOANA ouppi_as
aw em a“ \ ec \ / ,
tav EXAAnWUKwY KaL OXWS TOUS GUYNYMEVOUS Xo-
b “~ Q / b] Cal / aw
YOUS AUT@ KAL pvOous éevravGa Tpevat, TOAXOLS
a ,
pev Onpcatots, TONS 6 tdLots KaTEANPON Tpa-
yuactw aBovrrTos Kal maQectwv, @v avlatpeta
a a a a \ \
doxel TWAELaTA TUUBHVAL. TWP@TOV péev yap aTe-
, \ a / ’ \ e 3
Téuwato thy yuvaica Tepertiay apernOels tar
auTAS Tapa Tov ToAEMOV, WaTE KaL TOV avay-
/ >? / > \ ’ fo) \ + 2
kalwv épodiwy évdens atootadjnvar kat und bre
A 9 4, wn
Katihpev avOts ets “Iradtay tuyeiv evyvopovos.
‘See \ \ ’ 9 al b B / 6 /
avtTn pev yap ovk AAOev, ev Bpevteciw dvatpi-
Bovtos avtov ToAvy Xpovov, épyopnevn Se TH Ov-
? e /
yaTpl, TaccioKyn véa, ToTavTnY odoVv, Ov TOUT
,
mpémovgay, OU Xopnyiay mapéoyev, adda Kal
Thy oixiay TO Kiképwvte TavTwy Epnpov Kal Kevipy
amederEev emt TmodXois obAnpact Kal peyarots.
avTat yap elo at rEeyouevat THS StacTacews
eumpeméatata, mpopaces. tH bé€ Tepevtia xal
li \ /
TaUTas apvovpéevn NapTrpaV ETroLnoe THY aTONO-
“ >
ylav autos éxeivos eT ov TorXUY Xpdvoy yas
\ G ,
TwapOévov, ws pev 1 Tepevtia xatepnurter, épwte
a ce G \ if uy a , ’ /
THs @pas, ws b6é Tipwy o tov Kixépwvos atrerev-
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CICERO, xv. 4-XLt. 3

what he said about the statues of Pompey. These
Caesar ordered to be set up again after they had
been thrown down and taken away; and they were
set up again. What Cicero said was that by this act

of generosity Caesar did indeed set up the statues of
Pompey, but firmly planted his own also.
XLI. He purposed, as we are told, to write a comprehensive history of his native country, com- bining with it many Greek details, and introducing there all the tales and myths which he had col- lected ; but he was prevented by many public affairs which were contrary to his wishes, and by many private troubles, most of which seem to have been of his own choosing. For in the first place he divorced his wife Terentia because he had been neg- lected by her during the war, so that he set out in lack of the necessary means for his journey, and even when he came back again to Italy did not find her considerate of him. For she did not come to him herself, although he tarried a long time at aeabaibetent, and wiicn her daughter, a young girl,} made the long journey thither, she supplied her with no fitting escort and with no means; nay, she actually stripped and emptied Cicero's house of all that it contained, besides incurring many large debts. These, indeed, are the most plausible reasons given for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied that these were the reasons, and Cicero him- self made her defence a telling one by marrying shortly afterwards a maiden.2. This he did, as Terentia asserted, out of love for her youthful beauty; but as Tiro, Cicero's freedman, has written,

1 Tullia was old enough to have lost her first husband and married a second (§ 5). 2 Publilia, of patrician family.

Jepos yeypaper, evTopias évexev pos Suadvow

4 Saveiwr. nv ap a mais opodpa Wrovaia, Kal
THY OUclaY avTis o Kixépwv év miote: kAnpoVvdjLos
aTronerp Geis _Svepvrar rev. _Opethov dé Tohhas
pupiadas t UTO TOV pirav Kal oixetov emetaOn THY
Taioa yar Tap nAiKiav Kal Tovs daverotas 882
amanr.aFar Tots éxeivns Ypyoduevov. "Avtwrios
dé TOU yapou pynabeis év Tais Tpos tous Didi7-
TLKOUS dvTuypapais exPanetv avrov pyoe yuvatKa
Tap 7 7 eyipace XapLevtws apa TV olxouplay OS
AMpakKTOUV Kal (GOT patEevTOU TAPATKON TOV TOU
5 Kixépwvos. ynpavtt & avt@ pet ov TodvY Ypo-
vov n Ouvyarnp an éOave TiKTovod mapa Mévtrw*
TOUTED yap éyapunOn pera THY [letowvos TOU 7™po-
TEpou avdpos TENEUTHD. Kat auvndOov ev em
Thy Tapauvliay TO Kuxépove mavtay ober OL
diro! Bapéws 8 ayav hveyxe TO cvpBeBnKOs,
Mate Kal THY yaunOcioay aToTépWac bat doEacay
noOnvar TH TEeAEUTH THS TuAXLas.
XLII. Ta pev ody kat oixov ottws elye TO
Kixépwm. ths 8 émt Katcapa, TUVLT TAPLED)S

mpakews ou HETETXE, KaiTrep ayy eTa‘pos év Tots
padiara, Bpovtov kat Bapvveo Bat TQ TapovTa.
Kal Ta TWadat TOGciY TpaypaTta SoKaY ws ETEPOS
ovéeis, adr Edercay of dvdpes avdtod THD TE
puow @s evoea TONS, TOV TE (xpovov, ey @ Kat
Tas eppopever Tatars puoeow emihetTel TO Oap-
2 peitv. ws 6 ovv em ET PAKTO TOLS TEL Bpobrov Kal
Kdootov 70 épyov cat tov Kaicapos pirov ovu-
CTALMEVWY ETL TOUS avdpas avdis Av d€05 éuduAlots
ToAgwols TepiTmeTH yevéoOar Thy TwortLv, ’Avto-
1 gfro: Graux, after Volkmann: g:Adgopor.

to get means for the payment of his debts. For the girl was very wealthy, and Cicero had been left her trustee and had charge of her property. So since he owed many tens of thousands he was persuaded by his friends and relatives to marry the girl, old as he was, and to get rid of his creditors by using her money. But Antony, who spoke of the marriage in his replies to Cicero’s Philippics, says that he cast out of doors the wife with whom he had grown old, and at the same time makes witty jibes upon the stay-at-home habits of Cicero, who was, he said, unfit for business or military service. Not long after Cicero’s marriage his daughter died in child-birth at the house of Lentulus, to whom she had been mar- ried after the death of Piso, her former husband. His friends came together from all quarters to comfort Cicero; but his grief at his misfortune was excessive, so that he actually divorced the wife he had wedded, because she was thought to be pleased at the death of Tullia.

XLII. Such, then, were Cicero’s domestic affairs. But in the design that was forming against Caesar he took no part, although he was one of the closest companions of Brutus and was thought to be dis- tressed at the present and to long for the old state of affairs more than anybody else. But the con- spirators feared his natural disposition as_ being deficient in daring, and his time of life, in which courage fails the strongest natures. And so, when the deed had been accomplished by the partisans of Brutus and Cassius,! and the friends of Caesar were combining against the perpetrators of it, and it was feared that the city would again be plunged into civil

1 On the Ides of March, 44 B.c.

\ e , N \ r \
vos pev viratevwy thy BovrANVY auvnyaye Kal
i / \ e / y U \ \
Bpaxéa diehéyvOn rept opovoias, Kexépwv 5é Toda
\
mpos Tov Katpov otKeiws StehOwv Emetce THY

, ?
aguykrAntov ‘“AOnvaiovs pipnoapevny apynotiav
a SN , f A \ A
Tov emt Katoape Wndicac@ai, veipat Sé Tots
mept Kaactov cai Bpovtov érapyias. éaye 5é
f / +Q? f \ a Spans \ > 4?
TOUTW@Y TEADS OVOEV. 0 yap SHwOS AUTOS peEV ad
a“ s
éavTov mpos oixtov é€ayOeis ws ede TOV vExpoV
9 , > 9 a ry , \ \ \
€xxoptlopevov 6.’ ayopas, “Avtwrtov 6€ Kal tH
A ~ vA
éoOita SetEavtos autois atwatos KaTaT Newry Kal
KEeKompevny TaVvTn Tols Etheowv, expavévtes vTr
opyns €v ayopa Cytnaw émowovvtTo Tov avopar,
kal mup éxovtes emt Tas otxtas EOeov ws Udd-
wovtes. ot b€ TovUTOV pev TH TpoTedvAdyOar
4 \ , e / \ \ \
duéhuyov tov Kivduvoy, éTépous dé ToAXOVS Kal
/ A ? ‘4 N ‘
beydXous Tpocdoxavtes €EE€LTOV THY TOLD.
r = e 3 ~
XLIII. Evéds otv o “Avtwvios érfpto, Kai
A 9 ‘ e la)
Tao. wev nv hoSepos ws povapynowr, T@ dé
Kexépwvt hoSepwtatos. avappwvvupévny te yap
avT@ TaALY Op@Yv TiVY SvVautY ev TH ToALTELa
\ : a \ “ ? , ION v i
Kat Tots wept Bpovtov émitidecov edas 1)yGeTo
a, « nw
TAapovTt. Kal TOV TL Kal TpovTHpYev virowias
3 n \ 3 / \ \ aA , SY
avtTols mpos aANnAOUS KaTa Thy THY Biwv avo-
povoTnta Kal dsadopav. tavta detcas o Kinépwv
val e/ \
Tp@Tov pev wpunoe mpecBevtns AoroPérra
a ’ Ss / O89 \ So ¢ / :
cuvexTrAcdoal els Lupiav: éemet & of méXXovTES
b 3 f
vmatevery pet Avtw@vov, “Iptios cai Iavaas,
\ ‘\ nA /
dvdpes aya0ol Kai Enrwtat tov Kixépwvos, édé-
“w “A 4
ovTO 1) ohaS KATANT ELV, UTOdEXOMEvOL KATANU-
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wars, Antony, as consul, convened the senate and said a few words about concord, while Cicero, after a lengthy speech appropriate to the occasion, persuaded the senate to imitate the Athenians! and decree an amnesty for the attack upon Caesar, and to assign provinces to Cassius and Brutus. But none of these things came to pass. For when the people, who of themselves were strongly moved to pity, saw Caesar's body carried through the forum, and when Antony showed them the garments drenched with blood and pierced everywhere with the swords, they went mad with rage and sought for the murderers in the forum, and ran to their houses with firebrands in order to set them ablaze. For this danger the conspirators were prepared beforehand and so escaped it," but expecting others many and great, they forsook the city.

ALI. At once, then, Antony was highly elated, and all men were fearful that he would make himself sole ruler, and Cicero most fearful of all. For Antony saw that Cicero's power in the state was reviving, and knew that he was attached to Brutus and his party, and was therefore disturbed at his presence in the city. And besides, they had previously been somewhat suspicious of one another because of the marked difference in their lives. Fearing these things Cicero at first was inclined to sail to Syria with Dolabella, as his legate; but the consuls elect to succeed Antony,? Hirtius and Pansa, who were good men and admirers of Cicero, begged him not to desert them, and undertook

1 These declared a general amnesty after the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus in 403 B.c,
2 Cf. Plutarch's Brutus, chapter xx. * In 43 B.c.

>] id D>] / / € 9 v9 >
cetv Avtwriov éxetvou trapovtos, 0 & ovT arrt-
a 7 wv , / \
oTWY TavTUTacL oUTE TLIGTEVwY AordoPérXAaD [Lev

, & a
Elace Yatpery, owoNoynaas O€ Tots Trepl Tov "I prov
N 4 > >] A 7 td 3 3 a
To Oépos év "A@nvars dia€ewv, OTav 8 éxetvos
maparaBwot Thy apxny, aptEecPar rddw, avTos
kal’ éavtov é€émdevoe. yevouévns O€ meplt Tov
A a U €
TrobY dtaTpLAAs, Kal Aoywv amo “Pwpuns, ota
hirel, KaWwov TpoctecovTwy, peTtaCeBrARCOat
’ \
pev Avtovov Oavpactny petaBornv Kat TavTa
f \ \
TMpaTTEw Kal TodLTEvEedOat TPOS THY TVYKANTOD,
a a i. , \ \
évdety O€ THS EXELVOU TApOVOLasS TA TpdyLaTa pL
, lg
Thy apioTny exer didGecwv, KaTapeurapevos
AS ¢ a) \ \ 3 if on WA
avTos avuTov THY TOAAnY evrAaPELaY avéoTpEedeV
avis eis “Pwounv. Kal TOV TWewTwV ov dinuap-
> 4, Cal nm 3 , ¢ N
Tavev éXTiOwy TocovTOV TANOGos avOpatwv Ud
an 4 \ \ sf
yapas Kat moVou pos THY aTavTnow éFeyuOn,
f
Kal cyEdov 1EpIjTLov dvnAwWOAY YXpoVvoV ai Trept
Tas WvAas Kal Tip elcodov auTov deEtwoes Kal
/ A > ¢ 4 \
diioppocvvar. tH Oo votepaia Bovrnyv cuvaya-
, \ a o
yovtos Avtwviov Kat KaXOvYTOS avTOV ovK HAOED,
GNAA KATEKELTO MANAKOS EYEW EK TOU KOTIOU OKN-
U 3 / \ 3 \ 3 A ?
mTomevos. ed0xer Oe TarnNOEs emvBovrATs eivas
1D ” € 4 \ f >» ¢Qr
boos ex Tivos UTOWias Kal pnvucews kal? odov
a > , \ a
avtT@ mpoctecovons. “Avt@vios 5é YareTras Lev
> aan a a ‘\ , ”
etyev emt TH dtaRodn Kat oTpati@tas Errepev
a \ ,
diye QUTOV 1) KATATPHaaL THY OiKlav KEXEvVCAS,
: l de ANG L 6enOé 4
évotavtwy O€ Today Kai denOévtwy évéyupa
4

AaBwv povov éravaato. Kat TO AoLTOV OvTwS
if 3 4 \ 4
avtimapetvovTes atpéua kal duratropevoe deeTe-
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883.

CICERO, xu. 2-6

to put down Antony if Cicero would remain at Rome. So Cicero, who neither distrusted nor trusted them altogether, let Dolabella go without him, and after agreeing with Hirtius and Pansa to spend the summer at Athens, and to come back again when they had assumed office, set off by himself. But there was some delay about his voyage, and, as is often the case, new and unexpected reports came from Rome, to the effect that Antony had undergone a wonderful change and was doing and administering everything to please the senate, and that matters needed only Cicero's presence to assume the best possible complexion ; he therefore blamed himself for his excessive caution and turned back again to Rome. And in his first expectations he was not disappointed ; for a great crowd of people, moved with joy and longing for him, poured forth to meet him, and almost a day's time was consumed in the friendly greetings given him at the gates and as he entered the city. On the following day, however, when Antony convened the senate and invited him to be present, Cicero did not come, but kept his bed, pretending to be indisposed from fatigue. The truth, however, seemed to be that he was afraid of a plot against him, in consequence of some suspicion and of information that had unexpectedly come to him on the road. But Antony was indignant at the implication and sent soldiers with orders to bring Cicero or burn down his house; but since many opposed this course and entreated him to desist, he did so, after merely taking sureties. And thenceforward they kept up this attitude, quietly ignoring one another and mutually on their guard,
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Nour, ax pl ov Kaicap o véos é& *“AtroAXwvias
TAparyevouevos TOV TE KA pov avedéEato Tov
Kaicapos €KELVOU, Kal Tepl TOV dio thio TevTa-
KOTLWY pupidd@y as “Avr@vios ex THS ovoias
KATELYED, ELS Sta opav KaTéaTy TOs. aUTOV.
XLIV. "Ex 6€ TovTou Pirurmos o 0 THY payTépa
Tov véov Kaicapos eXov Kal Mapxedros o TH
adeh pny adixopevor peta TOD veavic Kov ™ pos TOV
Kixépora cuvebevto, Kixépova pev éxelv@ THY
GTO TOV AOYOU KAL THY ATO THS TOALTELAS Stivapw
ev TE TH Bourg Kal TO Onwe TApEXELY, éxetvov O€
Kixépwve THY ATO TOV XPNLAT OY Kal TOV Or Aov
adopdrerav. on yap OUK OALYOUS TOV vTo
Kaicapt otpatevoapévwy mepi avtov eye TO
petpaxtov. édoxer dé Kal peiCwy Tis aitia yeyo-
vevat Tov Tov Kixépwva déEacbat Trpobvpas tiv
Kalcapos ¢iriav. tt yap, os Force, Llopmniov
Cavtos kal Kaioapos ééofe xata tovs tavovs
o Kixépwv Kxadeiv tiva tovs TOV oUYKANTLKO@Y
qmatéas e(s TO Kamitrwrtov, ws péddXovtos é&
avuTav éva Tod Atos arr oberkyver tis “Pwpns
Hyryewova: Tous O€ TodiTas bro oTovosys Jeovras
iatac0at mept TOV vewr, Kab TOUS Taioas év
Tals TepiTroph upots KabélecOat otw7riy eXovTas.
éEaiduns d€ TOV Oupav avorx Gera Kal’ &va TOV
TAlowy AVL TAPEVOV KUK AD mapa Tov Geo ‘Tapa-
mopever0al, Tov O€ TavTas émioKOTElY Kal GTO-
méuTrey ayOopévovs. ws & ovtos Hv Tpociwy
Kat avTov, exreiva Ty deErav Kal ettreip:
dG) ‘Popaior, TéEpas vpiv éupudioy TORE MOV
OUTOS YEMWY YyEevouEvos. TOLoUTOV hac Eévv-
194

CICERO, x in. 6—xLiv. 4

until the young Caesar came from Apollonia,!
assumed the inheritance of the elder Caesar, and
engaged in a dispute with Antony concerning the
twenty-five million drachmas which Antony was de-
taining from the estate.”
ALIV. After this, Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who had married the sister of the young Caesar, came with the young man to Cicero and made a compact that Cicero should give Caesar the influence derived from his eloquence and political position, both in the senate and before the people,

and that Caesar should give Cicero the security to be derived from his wealth and his armed forces. For already the young man had about him many of the soldiers who had served under the elder Caesar. It was thought, too, that there was a stronger reason why Cicero readily accepted the young man's friend- ship. For it would appear that while Pompey and Caesar were still living Cicero dreamed that some- one invited the sons of the senators to the Capitol, on the ground that Jupiter was going to appoint one of their number ruler of Rome; and that the citizens eagerly ran and stationed themselves about the tem- ple, while the youths, in their purple-bordered togas, seated themselves there in silence. Suddenly the door of the temple opened, and one by one the youths rose and walked round past the god, who revicwed them all and sent them away sorrowing. But when this young Caesar advanced into his pre- sence the god stretched out his hand and said: "O Romans, ye shall have an end of civil wars when this youth has become your ruler." By such a dream as

1 Where he was studying.
* Caesar's widow had made Autony guardian of the estate.
195

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

9 , \ aa / \ N »>Qs A
mviov toovta Tov KiKépwva thy pév tdéav tov
, aA \
matdos éxpeuayat Kal KaTéYelv evapy@s, aUTOV
b] b] > / > e / \ ta
& ove érictacba. pel pépay O€ KataBaivov-
\ , x i la \ tal
Tos elg TO Tedloy TO "'Apetovy avTov, TOs Taidas
f , ? A
non Yyeyupvacpmevous atépyet0al, KuKelvov Oh-
fal A la wv ,
Ojvat TO Kixépwvt mpatov oios whOn xal
ef > , \ , , v
Umvov, éxtrayevta 6é€ TuvOdavecPat Tivwy ely
\ bd of a 3
yovewy. Hv d€ TaTpos Oxtaoviou TeV ovK ayav
al b] , a ,
éeripavav, "Attias d€ pytpés, aderdidyjs Kai-
gapos. d0ev Katcap avt@® matéas ove éyov
. { os > a
idlous TV ovalav éavToU Kal Tov oikov év Tats
, " > , \ \ r ,
diabnnats ESwxev. €x TovTOV daal Tov Kixépwra
A \ \ ,
TO Talol KATA Tas aTavTHaEls evTUyyavev érL-
a ? a > , L \ if
MEAS, KAKELVOV oLKelos exer Oa Tas dtrodpoav-

vas? Kal 14p éK TUXNS aUT@ yeyovevat cup BeBrjKet
Kuxépwvos v UTATEVOVTOS.
XLV. Attar péev obv tpopdceas joav ai
U Al \ be a "A , al kK ,
Neyopevat'! ro d€ mpos "Avt@mor picos Kinépwva
wn 9 f i lal
TpOTOY, ELTA 7 PVGLS HTTWY OTA TILAS Tpoce-
, F / A
moinoe Katocapt voplfovta mpoodapPavew th
, \ > , / 7 \ e ,
TORLTELG THY eKElvoU Suva pay. ovTH yap vrjEL
TO pelpdkloy aUTOV wWaoTE Kal TaTépa Tpoca-
, > 4? e 40 B A 3 aA oY
yopevery. ep Ww odhocpa Bpovtos ayavaxtav év
~ ‘ > N “~ ln’
Tais mpos AtTtikov émistoAats KadiWato tod
Fa , 24 } \ / > Ld 4
Kexépwvos, ott O1a hoPov “Avtwviov beparevwn
LY 2 a , bd b > Sf a
tov Katcapa Shros éotw ovx édevOepiav TH
i? 3 \ ,
TaTplo. TpaTTwOV, adrAa SeatTroTHY dthavOpwrroy
a , \ \ , a
AUT@® pvwpevos. ov funy GAAa TOV ye Taida
1 aj Acydpeva: Bekker, after Reiske;: Aeyduevas.
196

CICERO, xtiv. 4-XLv. 2

this, they say, Cicero had impressed upon him the appearance of the youth, and retained it distinctly, but did not know him.! The next day, however, as he was going down to the Campus Martius, the youths, who had just finished exercising there, were coming away, and the youth of his dream was seen by Cicero for the first time, and Cicero, amazed, inquired who his parents were. Now, his father was Octavius, a man of no great prominence, but his mother was Attia, a daughter of Caesar’s sister. For this reason Caesar, who had no children of his own, willed his property and his family name to him. After this, it is said, Cicero took pains to converse with the youth when they met, and the youth welcomed his kind attentions; and indeed it happened that he was born during Cicero’s con-

sulship.
XLV. These, then, were the reasons that were mentioned ; but it was Cicero’s hatred for Antony in the first place, and then his natural craving for honour, that attached him to the young Caesar, since he thought to add Caesar’s power to his own political influence. And indeed the young man carried his court to him so far as actually to call him father. At this Brutus was very angry, and in his letters to Atticus attacked Cicero, saying that in paying court to Caesar through fear of Antony he was plainly not obtaining liberty for his country, but wooing a kind master for himself? However, Brutus took up

1 According to Dion Cassius (xlv. 2) and Suetonius (Divus Augustus, 94), Cicero dreamed that Octavius was let down from heaven by a chain of gold, and presented with a whip by Jupiter.
2 Cicero, ad Brutum, i. 17, 5 (Brutus to Atticus),

ee

a 3
Kexépwmvos o Bpodtos év ’AOnvats ScatpiBovta
al \
Tapa Tols gtdocddos avaraBwv éoyev éd’
\ a ,
NYEMOVLAS, KAL TOAAG YpwpEVOS aLT@ KaTwpOov.
a \ r i ? \ of e , >
Tod b€ Kixépwvos axpny éxyev 1) Svvapus év
a / a ¢
Th Wore TOTE peyloTnY, Kal KpaTa@y Oaov éBov-
eto Tov pev “Avt@vov é€éxpovoe Kal Kate-
oTaclace Kal ToEMHCOVTAS aAv’T@ Tos dvO
e f v \ , ge / ,
vT@atous, Iptiov cai lavoap, é€ereu we, Kaicape
\ \
dé paBdovyous Kal orpatnyiKov Kocpov, ws 61)
TPOTONELOVVYTL THS TaTpLOos, ETELTE Whdicacbat
THY auyKAnTOV. émel & "Avtw@vios pev HTTNTO,
aA / a
Tov O uTaTwY apdoTépwy atoCavovtwy ex THs
\
payns mpos Kaicapa avvéotncay ai duvapers,
dei © 7 Bovry véov avdpa cal tUyn NauT Pa
ioaca 0 n véov avdpa Kal TYYN NauT pa
> a a \ a bd

KEYpPNuEevov ETEIPaTO Tiais Kal dwpeais arro-
wn aA \ nA
Kadelv avTov Ta oTpaTevwaTa Kal TeEptomday
iz \ / a
Thy Ovvapty, ws pn Seomévn TOV TpoTOAELOUYT WY
>] , id ¢ a“
Avtwviov mepevyotos, obTws 0 Kaicap doBnbeis
al uu ‘\
UTémepTte TO Kixépwre tots deouéevovs Kat tret-
/ , e A
Govras vrateiay peéev audotépors ood mparret,
a \ a 4 a 7a 4
yvphabar o€ Tots TPaywaciy oTwS AUTOS EyvOxE,
7 > \ \ i?
TupadapBavovta THY apxny, Kal TO pelpaKtov
n /
Storxety ovopatos Kal dons yAtyopevov. wpyo-
, \ a > \ e \ , \
rAoyet € Kaicap avtos ws debiws KaTddvow Kal
/ a
Kivduvevwy epnwos yevéoOar xpncatto TH Kuxé-
/ 4
pm@vos év déovTe pirapxia, TpoTpeiramevos avtoy
UTATELAY fLETLEVaL ULTpPaTTOVTOS avTOvD Kal
ovvapyatpectalovtos.
198

884

CICERO, xiv. 2-5

Cicero’s son who was studying philosophy at Athens,
gave him a command, and achieved many successcs
through his instrumentality.!

Cicero’s power in the city reached its greatest height at this time, and since he could do what he pleased, he raised a successful faction against Antony, drove him out of the city, and sent out the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, to wage war upon him, while he persuaded the senate to vote Caesar the lictors and insignia of a praetor, on the ground that he was fighting in defence of the country. But after Antony had been defeated,” and, both consuls having died after the battle, the forces had united under Caesar, the senate became afraid of a young man who had enjoyed such brilliant good fortune, and endeavoured by honours and gifts to call his troops away from him and to circumscribe his power, on the ground that there was no need of defensive armies now that Antony had taken to flight. Under these circumstances Caesar took alarm and secretly sent messengers to Cicero begging and urging him to obtain the consulship for them both, but to manage affairs as he himself thought best, after assuming the office, and to direct in all things a youthful colleague who only craved name and fame. And Caesar him- self

admitted afterwards that it was the fear of having his troops disbanded and the danger of finding him- self left alone which led him to make use in an emergency of Cicero’s love of power, by inducing him to sue for the consulship with his co-operation and assistance in the canvass.

1 Cf. the Brutus, xxiv. 2; xxvi. 3.

2 Near Mutina, a city in Gallia Cispadana, early in the

year 43 B.c. Octavius Caesar acted in conjunction with the two consuls, Cf. Appian, B.C., in. 71.

XLVI. ’Evratéa pévtow. padiota Kirépwov
émapbeis vmod véou "ye pov Kal pevaxia Gels Kal
cuvapxatpeciacas Kal _Tapacxav aUT@ THY
cuyKhytov evOUs pev vmo TOV pirov aitiav elxev,
only @ 8 aTepov avTov aTONWAEKOS nodeTo Kal
Tob Sijpov TPOEMEVOS THY ehevdepiar. av&nbeis
yep O veavias Kab THY uTaTtetay AaBav Kixépova
bev elace yatpew, Avtwviw 6¢ cai Aetridw didos
yevopmevos Kal THY Svvapuy els TAUTO TUvEveyKOY,
Bonep aXXo TL KTHMA, THY NYyEwovlay evel waTo
Tpos avTous. Kal Kateypadnoay avdpes obs édet
OunoKev, vimrep dtaxoatous. TrELTT HY dé TOV
audio ByTnwaTOV avuTols cpu n Kixépavos 7 po-
ypagy TApEa XE, ‘Avtaviou pev acupPBatas exov-
Tos ef pn Tp@TOS exelvo; aTroOvncKot, Aeridov
S ‘Avtwviw mpoateuevon, Kaicapos 6é mpos
audorépous aVTEXOVTOS. éyivovto 8 at cuvodor
povous am oppnrot TEpl TONY Boveviay ep Tpepas
Tpels, Kal ouynEecay eis TOTOY TWa Tpoow TOV
TTPATOTESWY TOTAM@ TWeptppeomevov. AéyeTas bE
Tas TMpoTas npépas draryovid dpevos UTep TOU
Kexépevos o o Kaioap evoodvat TH TpiTn Kal 7 po-
eo bat Tov avopa. Ta 6é Ths avtdscews obTas
elyev. eder Kixépwvos éxotivat Kaicapa, Havnrov
5eé tadeXdov Aémidov, Aevxiov 6é Kaicapos
"Avto@viov, ds jv Oeios avT@ pos pntpos. olTws
éférrecov UTO Oupod Kal Avaons TaV avo pwTriverv
Noyts wv, HaXXov | & amrébeaEav ws oddév avO pw@mov
Onpiov éaotiv aypi@tepov éEovciay male: tpocAa-
Bovtos.
XLVIT. Upartopéver be TOUTOV O Kixépov 7 my

pev év aypots tdtors mept Todoxdor, Eywy Tov
200

CICERO, xvi. 1-xtvu. 1

XLVI. Here, indeed, more than at any other time, Cicero was led on and cheated, an old man by a young man. He assisted Caesar in his canvass and induced the senate to favour him. For this he was blamed by his friends at the time, and shortly aftei- wards he perceived that he had ruined himself and betrayed the liberty of the people. For after the young man had waxed strong and obtained the con- sulship,! he gave Cicero the go-by, and after making friends with Antony and Lepidus and uniting his forces with theirs, he divided the sovereignty with them, like any other piece of property. And a list was made out by them of men who must be put to death, more than two hundred in number. The pro- scription of Cicero, however, caused most strife in their debates, Antony consenting to no terms unless Cicero should be the first man to be put to death, Lepidus siding with Antony, and Caesar holding out against them both. They held secret meetings by themselves near the city of Bononia for three days, coming together in a place at some distance from the camps and surrounded by ariver. It is said that for the first two days Caesar kept up his struggle to save Cicero, but yielded on the third and gave him up. The terms of their mutual concessions were as follows. Caesar was to abandon Cicero, Lepidus his brother Paulus, and Antony Lucius Caesar, who was his uncle on the mother's side. So far did anger and fury lead them to renounce their human sentiments, or rather, they showed that no wild beast is more savage than man when his passion is supplemented by power.

XLVII. 'While this was going on, Cicero was at his own country-seat in Tusculum, having his brother with

1 In August, 43 B.c., when only twenty years of age.
201
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

adedpov yweO avtou: tuOopevor O€ TAs Tpoypadas
éyvoaay eis"*Aotupt peTaBnval, Xwplov Tapadov
a) / > a \ A > 7
Tov Kuxépwvos, éxetOev S€ mreiv eis Maxedoviav
\ a # \ e \ > a , ? ,
mpos Bpotvrov: 76n yap uvmep avtov Novos époita
fo) 4 >
Kpatouvtos. éxoptlovto & ev hopetos amretpnKores
vmo AUTINS' Kal KATA THY OdOV EpioTapeEVvoL Kat
Ta hopeia tmapaBarrXovtes AAAS TpoTwXoO-
iA a b 2, lao > 4, '
dupovto. parrov 6 o Koivtos jOvper, Kat
\ > ; aA
Noylo pos avTOV Elanet THS aTropias: ovdev yap
ébn rAaBeivy olxobev, AAAA Kal TO Kixépove
4 = > / " cy 3 \ \

yAioxpov nv épod.ov: apewov ovv eivat TOV pev
V4 , A A AY \
Kixépwva trpodapBavew 77 puyn, avrov b€ pera-
a a?
Ociv oixobev cvacKkevacapevov. TtavTt édofe* Kal
meptraBovTes aAAnAOUS Kal avakNavaodpeEvot
dueAvOnoayr.
¢ ‘ 9 Pas >] nw ee e ;
O pev ovv Koivtos ov ToAXats VaTEpov nuepats
LTO TOV OiKETOV Tpododes Tots EnTovow avnpeOn
\ “ 50 e be / 9 v
peTa TOU Tatoos. o O€ Ktkéepwy ets “Aotupa
\ \ o ¢e \ ’ \ > \
Koutabeis Kai mAotov evpwv evOds evé8n Kal
, /
TapeTrevoev axpe Kipxatov, mvevpate ypwmevos.
9 wn \ , 3 \ v A
éxetOey Sé€ Bovropevav evOus aipey tov KuBeEp-
ynt@v, elite delaas tHyv Oddaccay eit ovTH
,
mavTadtact tiv Katcapos ameyvaxws TicTlD,
> / ‘ nw aA / ¢€ \ id >
amTéBn kat TapnrGe meln atadtovs ExaTov ws Els
9 7
‘Pwunv wopevopevos. av0us 8 advwv Kai peta-
, , N 4 ? od
BarXropevos katynet wpos POaracoav eis "Aotupa.
Kael OtevyKtépevoev emi Oevav Kal atropwv
Noyltapav, ate Kal TapeNOetv els THY Kaicapos
3 ? / / \ / e \ 3 \
oixiay dtevonOn Kxpuda Kat odakas €avtov éri
202

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CICERO, xivu. 1-4

him; but when they learned of the proscriptions they determined to remove to Astura, a place of Cicero’s on the sea-coast, and from there to sail to Brutus in Macedonia ; for already a report was current that he was in force there. So they were carried along in litters, being worn out with grief; and on the way they would halt, and with their litters placed side by side would lament to one another. But Quintus was the more dejected and began to reflect upon his destitute condition; for he said that he had taken nothing from home, nay, Cicero too had seanty pro- vision for the journey; it was better, then, he said, that Cicero should press on in his flight, but that he himself should get what he wanted from home and then hasten after him. This they decided to do, and after embracing one another and weeping aloud, they parted.

So then Quintus, not many days afterwards, was betrayed by his servants to those who were in search of iim, and put to death, together with his son. But Cicero was brought to Astura, and finding a vessel there he embarked at once and coasted along as far as Circaeum, with the wind in his favour. From there his pilots wished to set sail at once, but Cicero, whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet altogether given up his trust in Caesar, went ashore and travelled along on foot a hundred furlongs in the direction of Rome. But again losing resolution and changing his mind, he went down to the sea at Astura. And there he spent the night in dreadful and desperate calculations; he actually made up his mind to enter Caesar's house by stealth, to slay him- self upon the hearth, and so to fasten upon Caesar an

THs €oTias addotopa mpodBareiy. adda xa
TAUTNS AUTOV aTEKpOVaE THS OO0d béos Bacuver:
Kal ToAXa ! Tapax@on Kal TadtvtpoTa Bounev-
para THiS yvapns pmeTarapSivorv TapedwKe Tots
olKeTaes EQUTOV els Kauyrny" Kata 7 ouv KOLt-
Ceu, Exwy Exel ywpia Kal Katadvynyv Opa Oépous
diravpwrov, dTay Hototov ot étTyndia. KaTa-
TVEWOLD.
"Eyes & 0 témos kal vaov 'AroAXwVOS pLKpOV
vmep TAS: Jararrys. évted0ev apOevtes a0 poor
KOpAaKes UTO Khayyis TpooepEpovTo TQ TAOLW
Tov Kixépavos érrh yy eper comer" ral Kabi-
cavtes émt THY Kepaiav exatepobev ot pev éBown,
ot © ékoTTOV Tas TOV pn pupaT ov dpxas, Kal
mao €édoKet TO onfetov elvat Tovnpov. amTreBn
dS ovv 0 Kixépwr, cat mapeO@y eis THY éTavrAWw
@S dvaTavaopevos KaTEKrLOn. ToV dé KOpaKwY
ot TrOAXOL pev él THs Oupisos drexdOnvto dUcyyo-
evo JopuBades, eis 6é KataBas él TO K«Awwidvov
ery KeKaRUHMEVOU ToD Kixépwvos a anipye TO TTOMATL
Kara pK pov amo TOU TPOTWTOV TO (MaTLov. ot
5 oiKeT al Tavd opavres, Kal KAKloavtTes EaUTOUS
€L TEpluévovat Tov SeaTroTOU ovevomevou GeaTtal
yevéoOat, Onpia 8 ab't@ Bonbet nal mpoxydetat
Tap aEtav TpuTTOVvTOS, autol & ovK dpuvouat,
Ta pev Oeopevor, Ta. dé Bia AaBovtes exopsfov év
T® opelo 7 0s THY Jadaccay.
XLVIII. 'Ev trovre & of chayeis éemhrOov, éxa-
Tovtapyns "Epévvios kai TomiddXos ytrdiapyxos,
1 roAAG Graux, after Coraés : taAAa.
2 Kant: Coraés and Bekker, after Wyttenbach ; Ka:jras

Sintenis (in notes), and Graux ; Kazitas MSS.
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CICERO, xiv. 4-XLVUL. I

avenging daemon. But a fear of tortures drove him from this course also; then, revolving in his mind many confused and contradictory purposes, he put himself in the hands of his servants to be taken by sea to Caieta, where he had lands and an agreeable retreat in summer time, when the breath of the Etesian winds is most pleasant.
The place has also a temple of Apollo, a little above the sea. From thence a flock of crows flew with loud clamour towards the vessel of Cicero as it was rowed towards land; and alighting on either end of the sail-yard, some cawed, and others pecked at the ends of the ropes, and everybody thought that the omen was bad. Nevertheless Cicero landed, and going to his villa lay down to rest. Then most of the crows perched themselves about the window, cawing tumultuously, but one of them flew down upon the couch where Cicero lay with muffled head, and with its beak, little by little, tried to remove the garment from his face. The servants, on seeing this, rebuked themselves for waiting to be spectators of their master's murder, while wild beasts came to his help and cared for him in his undeserved misfortune, but they themselves did nothing in his defence. So partly by entreaty, and partly by force, they took him and carried him in his litter towards the sea.
XLVIIT. But meantime his assassins came to the villa, Herennius a centurion, and Popillius a tribune,

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

? , A f a) ¢
@ TWATPOKTOVIAS MOTE Stxny pevyovTe TUVELTFED 0
Kixépor, EXovTEs Umnperas. émel O€ TAS Oupas
Kekhero pevas eUpovTes éféxoay, ov patvomevou
TOU Kuxépavos ovde TOY évoov etdevat packovtar,
reyeTat veavic Kov Tiva TeOpappéevov peév uT0 TOU
Kixépwvos ev ypaupacuy erevOepiors Kal paen-

paow, dmredevOepov d6€ Koilytov tod adedgod,
Diroroyov Toivopua, ppdcar TO XerLd px TO
popetov KopCojevov Ova TOY Katapirey Kal
acuvoxiwy Tepitatwv emt thy OdraTTav. oO pev
ovv Kedtapxos Odbyous avaraBov pel éavtod
mepreDet pos TI éEodov, TOU o Eee dpoLo
Pepopevou bua TOV TEPLTAT OV 0 Kixépwv iaerto,
Kal TOUS olKeTas exehevo ev évtavda karabéc bat
TO popeiov. AUTOS of OoTEp eta0et, TH dapratepa
yEtpl TOV ryevelov aT TOMEVOS GTEVES évewpa Tots
apayetouy, avy pod Kat KOS AVaTAEDS Kal
OUYTETHKMS UTO Ppovtiowy TO TpOTwTOV, WATE
TOUS mTAELaTOUS eyeadupacbar TOU “Epevviou
opalovtos QUTOV. eopayn O€ TOV Tpaxnrov ex
Tov popelov mpotetvas, ETOS éxetvo yeyovas €&n-
KOoTOY Kal TETAPTOD. THY b€ Keharny aT éKowev
avtod Kal Tas yelpas, “Avtwviov KENEUTAYTOS,
ais Tous Pirsrmixovs éyparvev. autos TE yap oO
Kixépov TOUS. Kat ‘Avtoviov Noyous DiruwmeKovs
éméypawre kat péexpe viv Ta BiBria Didtrrmixoi
KaXovvTat.
XLIX. Tov 8 dxpwTnpiov ELS ‘Pouny KOjLt-
abevTav eTUXE pev apxarperias TEA@V O ‘AvTo-
vos, akovaas 66 Kai tomy aveBoncev ws voUY al
mpoypapal tédXos éyoev. THv O€ KEepar}yv Kai
Tas Yelpas exéXevoev UTEP THV éEuBorwy el TOD
206
CICERO, xtivint, 1--xLix, 1

who had once been prosecuted for parricide and de- tended by Cicero; and they had helpers. After they had broken in the door, which they found closed, Cicero was not to be seen, and the inmates said they knew not where he was. Then, we are told, a youth who had been liberally educated by Cicero, and who was a freedman of Cicero’s brother Quintus, Philo- logus by name, told the tribune that the litter was being carried through the wooded and shady walks towards the sea. The tribune, accordingly, taking a few helpers with him, ran round towards the exit, but Herennius hastened on the run through the walks, and Cicero, perceiving him, ordered the ser- vants to set the litter down where they were. Then he himself, clasping his chin with his left hand, as was his wont, looked steadfastly at his slayers, his head all squalid and unkempt, and his face wasted with anxiety, so that most of those that stood by covered their faces while Herennius was slaying him. For he stretched his neck forth from the litter and was slain, being then in his sixty-fourth year.! Herennius cut off his head, by Antony’s command, and his hands—the hands with which he wrote the Philippics. For Cicero himself entitled his speeches against Antony ‘‘ Philippics,’ and to this day the documents are called Philippics.

XLIX. When Cicero’s extremities were brought
to Rome, it chanced that Antony was conducting

an election, but when he heard of their arrival and saw them, he cried out, “ Now let our proscriptions have an end.” Then he ordered the head and hands to be placed over the ships’ beaks on the

1 Ciccro was murdered ou the seventh of December, 43 B.c.

, 4) a Gé ‘p / , ’ N
Brnpatos Peivat, Péapa Pwpaios dpixtov, ov TO
€ aad f 4 “
Kixépwvos opay mpocwtov olopévots, GANG THS
’ i A > , ‘\ oe 4 ?
Avi7mviov wWwuyis elxova. mAnv ev ye TL Ppovn-
, / , A ws
gas metprov év tovtols Lopurwva th Koivtov
in N N @ ror Ss +) e be /
yuvatkt Tov Didodoyov wrapédmxer. 1% S€ Kupia
a / A
yevouevn TOU cwpaTtos adAaLS TE SeLVAals EYPHTAaTO
\ , > , “
TLLWPLALS, KaL TAS TAaPKAS ATOTE“LVOYTA TAS aUTOD
\ 9 A LOL ayes 4 ¢ ¢
KATA [LLKpPOV OTTTAaY, ElT EoOie VdyKaTEV. OUTH
“ 4 e / ¢
yap éviot T@V avyypadhéwy totopnxaciw: o &
9 ra a lA 3 f , \
avtov tov Kixépwvos aedevdepos Tipwy 70
\ / fo) lal
TapaTav ovde péemynta. THs tov PidodOyou
?
m™poodoatas.
, , , “a
IlvvOavopat dé Kaicapa xpovots modXoils bote-
a N 4 A fa)
pov eiaed ety mpos Eva TOV OvyaTpio@v: Tov &é
/ a
BiBrXtov Exovta Kirépwvos év tats yepolv éx-
A J ¢
TAAYEVTA TO ipatio meptxaruTTev: idovta &é
Kaicapa r\aBetv nal dvedOety éEotata pépos Torv
na tA ‘ >] , “
Tov SiBAlov, Tadkw 8 azodidovtTa TH petpakio

4 ? 4 = a ,
pavat ‘‘ Aoytos avnp, ® Tat, Noytos Kal dtdo-
99 ? ‘ 4 /
maTpls. é€mel pévTOL TaYLOTA KaTETTONEULNoEV
e id ‘ Of.
‘AvT@viov vTatevwy autos elheTO cuvapyovtTa
a , \ er 949)? ® , > 9 F e
Tov Kixépwvos tov viov, ép ob Tas 7 eixavas 7
a ,
Bovry cabeirev “Avtwviou Kai Tas ddXdas HKVpwoe
4 A
TLULAS KaL TpOTEYHndicato pnoevt Tov “AvtTwviwr
b) 9: ef N
dvona Mapxov civat. ovtTw TO datpoviov els TOV
9 ig \ a
Kixépwvos olxov emavyveyxe T0 TéXOS THS Avtw-
viov KOAdGEWS.
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CICERO, xix. 1-4

rostra, a sight that made the Romans shudder; for they thought they saw there, not the face of Cicero, but an image of the soul of Antony. However, he showed at least one sentiment of fair dealing in the case when he handed over Philologus to Pomponia, the wife of Quintus. And she, having got the man into her power, besides other dreadful punishments which she inflicted upon him, forced him to cut off his own flesh bit by bit and roast it, and then ‘to eat it. This, indeed, is what some of the historians say; but Cicero’s own freedman, Tiro, makes no mention at all of the treachery of Philologus.

I learn that Caesar, a long time after this, paid a visit to one of his daughter’s sons; and the boy, since he had in his hands a book of Cicero’s, was terrified and sought to hide it in his gown; but Caesar saw it, and took the book, and read a great part of it as he stood, and then gave it back to the youth, saying: “ A learned man, my child, a learned man and a lover of his country.” Moreover, as soon as he had finally defeated Antony,! and when he was himself consul, he chose Cicero’s son as _ his colleague in the office, and it was in his consulship that the senate took down the statues of Antony, made void the other honours that had been paid him, and decreed besides that no Antony should have the name of Marcus. Thus the heavenly powers devolved upon the family of Cicero the final steps in the punishment of Antony.

1 At Alexandria, in 30 B.c. (see the Antony, Ixxxi. 1 f.).

AHMOS@ENOYS KAI KIKEPONOS
SYTKPISIS
T."A pev ody a&ia prvnuns Tov wept Anpo-
/
abévous Kai Kixépwvos tatopoupéva@y els TIv 1me-
an lal a 9 f
Tépav adixtat yv@olv, TavT éoTiv. adetxas Oe
a 4 e a
TO ouyKpivey tHhv év Tois Royo E&v autor,
nw a \ V4 f
€xeivd pot Sox® py Tapncew appntov, drt An-
\ \ / la) o
poabévns pev els TO PNTOPLKOV eveTELVE TAY GaoV
% b ¢ A b) / , e '
elyev Ex PvoEews 1} AoKITEWS OYLOV, UTEpBaddo-
pevos évapyeia pev Kat Sewotnte Tovs emt Ta
fal a /
adyoveyv Kal tov dixav cuveEetalopévous, byKxo
4
Sé Kal peyadotpereta Tods éTLOELKTLKOUS, AKpt-
f \ \ / \ A A \
Beta b€ Kal tTéyvn tovs codiotds: Kixépov oé
\ / a ,
Kal ToAvpabns Kab ToLKidos TH TEPL TOUS NOYoUS
fal , \ 3107
amovon yevopevos auvtakes pev dias dtdroao-
b] 4 b] bp] 4 3 \ ,
ous a7roNéXouTrev ovK odiyas ets TOV "AKadn-
- \ cal
paixov tpotrov, ov pny adda Kal dia TOV pds
, a /
tas Sixas Kal Tovs ayavas ypadopévwy Aoywv
A , \
dnAOS €oTL EuTrELpiav TIVa YpaLmaTwY TapeTt-
i"
Setxvucbat Bovropuevos.
Ww - \ a 3 a / e
Eote 6 tis Kat Tov 7)0ous év tots Novos Exa-
' , e

Tépov dtoves. o pev yap Anpocbevixos &&w
X\ ty A \ a lA
TavTos wpaicpov Kat matdias ets SewotnTa Kai
\ , b] b] / ” ¢
oTovony suvnypevos ovK edduvyviwy Gdwdev, wa-
¢€ / 4 3 ? ¢ 7 \
mep o Ilv0éas éoxwrtev, adr vdporocias Kal
ppovrTidwy Kal THs Neyouevys mixpias Tod Tpomou
kal otvyvotntos, Kixépwy $€ modrdayod 7@
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DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO, 1. 1-4

COMPARISON OF DEMOSTHENES AND
CICERO

I. THesr, then, are the memorable incidents in the recorded careers of Demosthenes and Cicero which have come to our knowledge. And though [have renounced the comparison of their oratorical styles,! yet this, I think, ought not to be left unsaid, namely, that Demosthenes devoted to the rhetorical art all the powers of speech which he possessed by nature or acquired by practice, surpassing in force and effectiveness his rivals in forensic and judicial pleading, in pomp and majesty of utterance the professional declaimers, and in precision and _ skill the sophists; Cicero, on the other hand, became widely learned and had a variety of interest in the pursuit of letters, and left behind him not a few philosophical treatises of his own conforming to the fashion of the Academy; indeed, even in the speeches which he wrote for the forum and the courts he clearly desires to display by the way a considerable acquaintance with letters.

It is possible, too, to get a glimpse of the character of each in his style of speaking. For that of Demosthenes, which had no prettiness or pleasantry, and was condensed with a view to power and earnestness, did not smell of lamp-wicks, as Pytheas scoffingly said,? but of water-drinking and anxious thought, and of what men called the bit- terness and sullenness of his disposition; whereas Cicero was often carried away by his love of jesting

1 See the Demosthenes, iii. 1.
2 Cf. the Demosthenes, vili. 3.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TKOTTKD TPOos TO Bwporoxov expe popevos Kat
TpaywaTa om ovdis akva yehore Kal Tada
KAT ELPWVEUO[EVOS év Tats Otxars eis TO yperades
npecoet Tou T PET OVTOS, OoTEp ev Th Katdiov *
ouInyopia pndev ATOTTOV TOLELY AUTOV ev TooauTn
Tpudh Kal TOAUTERELE Tais ndovats Xpepevor: 70
yep av é&eaTe pay peTé yeUv, paveKov eivat, Kal

Tavta éy)O0vn TO Eevdatmov TOY émihavertdtwy
dirocodwyv TiOenévwr. ean 6€ Katavos
Movpivay d:@KovTos Uratevwy aToXoyetc Oar Kal
TodrAa dia TOV Kadtova copodety tiv Stwixyy
ai peau éml Tals atoTiatss TaV TapadoEwp Aeyo-
evo Sorypat ov YEd@TOs dé Aapn poo KATLOVTOS
€K TOV TEPLETTWTWY TPOS TOUS Sexaoras, 7 Nov?
Staperdtaaas 0 Katey T pos TOUS cad npevous
evmreivs “ Os yedoion, oO avdpes, € EX opev Umartov.’
Soxel dé Kal yéXwrTos oixelos 0 Kixéowv yeryovéva
Kal procKkortns, TO TE ™ poo wr ov QUTOU pét-
diapa Kal yadnvnv mapetye. TO bE Anuocbérous
del TUS CHD omouvdr), Kal TO TedpovTLKos TobTO
Kal ourvour ov pacias an édevmev* ® dev Kal
SvaKohov avtov ot €xOpol Kat Svotporov, ws
avtos dyna, amexddouvp.
Il. “Ere rowvuy év tots cuyypdpuace xatideipy
got, TOV pmev euped@s Kal averrayOas TaV eis
avuToy amtopmevov éyxwplwy, OTe TovTOV dencat
mpos €repov te petfor, TaAAa 8 evAABH Kal pé-
tTptov: 1 b€ Kexépwvos ev Tots Noyots apeTpia Tis
1 KatAfov Coraés, Bekker, and Graux, after Wyttenbach :

KextAfov.
2 aréXecnev With Graux and Bekker, after Coraés: améAcwev,
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DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO, 1. q-n. 1

into scurrility, and when, to gain his ends in his cases, he treated matters worthy of serious attention with ironical mirth and pleasautry, he was careless of propriety. Thus, in his defence of Caelius, he said that his client, surrounded as he was by great luxury and extravagance, did nothing out of the way when indulging in pleasures; for not to enjoy what is in one’s possession was madness, he said, particularly when the most eminent philosophers assert that true happiness consists in pleasure.!} And we are told that when Cato prosecuted Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, defended him, and because of Cato’s beliefs made much fun of the Stoic sect, in view of the absurdities of their so- called paradoxes ;? and when loud laughter spread from the audience to the jurors, Cato, with a quiet smile, said to those who sat by: “ What a funny man we have, my friends, for consul!’’ And it would seem that Cicero was naturally prone to laughter and fond of jesting ; his face, too, was smiling and peaceful. But in that of Demosthenes there was always a certain intense seriousness, and this look of thoughtfulness and anxiety he did not easily lay aside. "For this reason his enemies, as he himself says,” cailed him morose and ill-mannered.

II. Still further, then, in their writings it is pos- sible to see that the one touches upon his own praises cautiously and so as not to give offence, when there was need of this for some weightier end, while on other occasions he is eareful and moderate ; whereas Cicero’s immoderate boasting of

1 Cf. Cicero, pro Caelio, 12, 28; but Plutarch’s interpreta- tion does Cicero great injustice. CE. Pig oo. 2 Cf. pro Murena, 29-31. 3 In Phil. ii. 30.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

, , ‘
TeplavToNoyias axkpaciav Twa KaTNHYOPEL TT POs
A X a /
éo€av, Bowrvtos was Ta OTA Edet TH THBEvYM Kal
A , \ \ e , /
TH yAOTTn THY OptapBrKny UTreixey Oadvnv. TeE-
A ’ \
NevTav 6 ov Ta épya Kal Tas mpdkes povor,
b) ‘ \ \ Z. bd va] \ ’ / e 4)
ANNA KAL TOUS NOYOUS ETTALVEL TOUS ELpNuEeVvoUS UP
avtou! Kal yeypappévous, waoTep “looxpate: Kai
"Avakipéves tots codiatais Staperpaxtevopevos,
3 \ € ? A wv 9 A \ 3 a
ov Tov Pwpaiwy djpov aye aEiav cal opOodr,
¢ o /
Bp.Ouv, owdtToTaXay, Odiov avtiT@adots.
loxverv pev yap dia Aoyou Tov TrodtTEVOpEVvor
avayKaiov, ayaTav & ayevvés Kal AuxXvEevery THY
ato ToD Aoyou ddEav. 6Oev épBpiOéatEpos Tav-
™ Kal peyarorpetéatepos? o Anpoobévns, THY
pev AUTOD Ovvam éuTreplay TLVa TOAAHS SEope-
UHV THS Tapa TOV GKpowpLevwov evvoias aTropatvo-
pevos, averevGépous b€ xat Bavavaovs, woTrEp
eiai, TOUS éml TOUT hYTwpLEeVOUS NYOUV[EVOS.
TIT. ‘H peév ody év TO Snunyopety Kat troAtTev-
ecOat Sivapis omaras audortépots varnpEev, date
Kal TOUS TOV OTAWY Kal OTpaTOTébwY KUPioUS
detaPat, Anuoabévous pev Napnta cai Acorrei@ny
kal Mewobévnv, Kixépwvos b€ Lloumniov nat Kai-
capa TOV véov, ws avTos 0 Katcap év tots mpos
"Aypimmav cat Marxijvav vropvypact elpnkev.
1 §¢’ abrov Graux with M®; bn’ adrov.
2 peyadompenéatepos With Bekker, after Stephanus: peya-
Aompenéotatos.
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DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO, u. t-11. 1

himself in his speeches proves that he had an intemperate desire for fame, his cry being that arms must give place to the toga and the laurel of triumph to the tongue.! And at last he praises not only his deeds and actions, but also his speeches, both those which he delivered himself and those which he committed to writing, as if he were impetuously vying with Isocrates and Anaximenes the sophists, instead of claiming the right to lead and instruct the Roman people,

“ Steadfast, in heavy armour clad, destructive to

It is necessary, indeed, that a political leader should prevail by reason of his eloquence, but ignoble for him to admire and crave the fame that springs from his eloquence. Wherefore in this regard Demosthenes is more stately and magnificent, since he declares that his ability in speaking was a mere matter of experience, depending greatly upon the goodwill of his hearers,’ and considers illiberal and vulgar, as they are, those who are puffed up at such success.

III. It is true that in haranguing and guiding the people both had equal power, so that even those who controlled armies and camps had need of their services; Chares, Diopeithes, and Leosthenes needed Demosthenes, and Pompey and the young Caesar needed Cicero, as Caesar himself says in his Memoirs addressed to Agrippa and Maecenas.

1 Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi (in Pisonem, 29.72 i1.).

2 The second verse of an elegiac distich attributed to Aeschylus in Morale, p. 334d. Cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graect, li.4 p. 242. 3 Cf. On the Crown, 277.

“A , s
26 dé Soxet padicta Kat NeyeTaL TpOTroY avdpos
>’ f 4 / 3 / 3 4
émiverxvuvat Kal Bacavitev, éEovcia Kal apy?)
mav 7Tados Kivovoa Kal Tacay aToKadUTTOVCA
, , \ > e n QO

ckakiav, Anpwocbever pev ovy vanptev, od Edwxe
ToLAUTHY SLaTrELpaY EavTOD, pndEeMiay apynY TAY
9 A v A Oe a e >] e al
éemipavav ap&as, 0s ovde THS Up avTOv curTE-
taypevns ért Dirtimmov €atpatnynce duvdpews:
r / de f > x / \ 3 Av
3 Kixépwv 6€ tapias eis XtxedXav Kat avOvTratos
ae ,
eis Kudttxtav xat Kanmaboxiayv atootanels, év
e ral a / 3 f 7 a
@ Kaip@® THS PirAoTAouTias axpwalovens, Kat TOV
“A 4 a
TELTOMEVWY TTPATHYOV Kai IYELOVOY, WS TOD
n 3 N e
KNETTELY AYEVVOUS OVTOS, ETL TO apmraley TpETFO-
péevwv, ov TO Aap Bavev edoxer Secvov, AA oO
a A a \
HETPLWS TOUTO TOLOY NYaTATO, TOAAHY jev ETri-
e / , bd / \
decEw vmepowias XpnpyatTwy emoincato, TONY
\ / \ , bd IA \
4 6€ diravOpwrias Kat ypnatoTynTos. ev auth oe
ac , U \ bf \ ed b ,
TH Popn Noyo pev atrodey Geis Urratos, éEovciav
S¢ AXaBov avtoxpdtopos Kal &txTdTopos ert Tovs
\ 4 b tA (ia n 7
mept Katirivav, euaptupnoey apa to HAXatTom
pavtevouevw tadvav é€ev Kxax@v Tas ToXeLs,
e ’ 3 \ Vf , / \ /; we
Gtay eis TAVTO SUVamis TE MEyaXNH Kal Ppovnats ex
TLVOS TUXNS XPHNOTHS aTavTyjon peta Suxatocvvys.
5 NpnpaticacGat toivvy ato Tov Xoyou Anpo-
/ a
ofévns péev errinpoyws NéyeTal, Noyoypapav Kpuda
tois wept Poppiwva kal’ AmrodXObwpor aytidixots,
\ \ \ a a ,
kat csaBrAnGels pev emt Tos BacirtKols Ypnuacwy,
oprov 6¢ Tov ‘Aprarewv. ef 5é tadtTa Tovs
) ’ 2 ~
ypahovtas (ovx« orjtyot 8 eloiv obToL) evdecIa
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DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO, i. 2-5

But what is thought and said most of all to reveal
and test the character of a man, namely power

and authority, which rouses every passion and uncovers every haseness, this Demosthenes did not have, nor did he give any such proof of himself, since he held no conspicuous office, nor did he even command the force which was raised by him against Philip ; whereas Cicero was sent out as quaestor to Sicily, and as pro-consul to Cilicia and Cappadocia, at a time when the love of wealth was at its greatest height, and when those who were sent out as praetors and governors, feeling that theft was an ignoble thing, resorted to open plundering, so that the taking of property was not thought heinous, but he who did this in moderation was held in high esteem; and yet Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt for wealth, and many of his humanity and goodness. And when in Rome itself he was appointed consul in name, but really received the power of a dictator and sole ruler against Catiline and his conspirators, he bore witness to the truth of Plato’s prophecy! that states would then have respite from evil, when in one and the same person, by some happy fortune, great power and wisdom should be conjoined with justice. Moreover, it is said to the reproach of Demosthenes that he made money by his eloquence, since he secretly wrote speeches for Phormio and Apollodorus, who were adversaries in the same case, and since he was accused in the matter of the Great King’s money, and condemned for taking that of Harpalus. And if we should say that those who write these things (and these writers are not few)

! Republic, p. 473 d.

painuev, adr’ Ste ye Tpos Swpeas Bacidéwv avdv
yYapite Kal Teun Stdopéevas avTtBrEpat Anpoc OE-
/ 9) wn
yns ovK av éeroApLNGEDV, OVS Hv TovTO Epyov! av-
Oowmov saveifovtos emi vavutiKols, apnjyxavov
9 an \ \ , oe \ a
avrTeimev: mept dé Kixép@vos, OTe Kal YKEeALwWTa@V
ayopavopovyts Kat Bacitéws tov Kammadoxav

3 s \ a) bd ¢ , / + > heh
avOutTratevovtt Kai TaVv év Pwpun dirav, OT €Fe-
fo / \ \ ;
TUITE THS TWOEWS, SwpoULEeVOV TOAAG Kai Seopeé-
yov AaBeEiy avTécyeEr, EipNTat.
\ \ 4 4 A \ 3 \ a
IV. Kai pny i) ye puyn TO pev atoxpa KroT IS
e€ , / fal \ f v7 b] /
adovtt cuvérede, TO 5€ KAAXNTOV Epyov avOpw-
, a /
Tous aNLTNPLOUS exKoWavTe THS matptoos. 610
a \ bf \ 4 b , 27? e 9 e
Tod pev ovdels AOyos extimtovTos, ef @ 8 7
auyKAntos écOnra TE dujAXraEE Kal TévOos Eaye
Kal yvounv wrép ovdevos elmrety érmeicOn Tpod-
vr ,
tepov 7) Kuxépwrt xaboboyv Wwndicacba. trv
nm ¢
pévto. guyny apyas o Kixépwv dujveyxev év
Makedovia Kcadrpevos, TO S€ AnpocBéver Kai 1)
/ / a /
puyn péya pépos THS TortsTELas yéyove. auva-
, , 4 ” af \
yovilowevos yap, woTeEp cipntat, Tots’ EXAnae Kal
‘ U / b 7 b] /
tous Makedovwy mpéoBes eEedavvwy émnpyeto
Tas Toes, TortU BeATiov Oeutotoxr€ouvs Kal
\
"ArKiBiadou Tapa Tas auTas TUXAaS havels ToXé-
Tns* Kal pévtoe KaTEN@py atOts éavtov érrédmxev
\
els THY AUTNV TAUTHY ToALTELAY, Kal SLETENEL TrO-
a > /
Aexaoyv wpos Avtimatpoyv Kai Maxedovas. Kuxeé-
n ~ 4,
pwova © wveidioev év TH BovrAyn Aatrtos aitoupévou
1 sovro €pyov Bekker and Graux, after Reiske: rotro rd
Epyov.
218
888 |

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO, 1. 5-1v. 3

tell what is untrue, still, at least, that Demosthenes could not bring himself to look with indifference upon gifts which kings offered as marks of honour and favour, and that this was net to be expected of a man

who lent money on bottomry, it is im- possible to deny; whereas, in the case of Cicero, that the Sicilians when he was quaestor, and the king of Cappadocia when he was pro-consul, and his friends in Rome when he was going into exile, offered him large sums and begged him to take them, only to meet with his refusal, has been said. IV. And surely in the matter of banishment, at least, for the one it was disgraceful, since he had been convicted of theft; but for the other it was a most honourable result, since he had rid _ his country of baleful men. Therefore no account was made of the one when he went into exile; but for the other the senate changed its garb and put on mourning and could not be induced _ to discuss any business until Cicero's return had been decreed. However, Cicero spent his exile idly, remaining quietly in Macedonia; but the exile of Demosthenes proved to be a great part of his service to the state. [Tor he took part in the struggles of the Greeks, as has been said, and drove out the Macedonian envoys in the various cities which he visited, and so showed himself to be a far better citizen than Themistocles or Alcibiades when they were having the same fortune; and furthermore, when he returned from exile, he again devoted himself to this same public service, and steadfastly continued waging war upon Antipater and the Macedonians. Cicero, on the contrary, was re- proached in the senate by Laelius for sitting silent

Katoapos umatetay peti€vat Tapa vopov, ovtrw
yevet@vTos, aiwmn Ka9nuevov. éypade Sé xal
Bpottos éyxadkov ws peifova Kxal Baputépav
TeTalooTpiynKoTe Tupavvida THs vd' avTod
Katadvéeions.
V. 'Emi raat b€ THs TeNeuTAS TOV pev OlxTELpat
Tis av, avdpa mpecButnv b¢ ayévverav bro o-
KET@V AVW Kal KATW TrepLpEpopevoy Kal Tepided-
yovta Tov Oarvatov Kal dmcKpuTTOmEvoy TOUS Ov
TodvD mpo THS pvaoews tKovtas ém' avdtov, eit
aTvrocpayevta: tod 6, eb Kal yuxpa mpos THY
ixeTetay €védwKev, GyaoTn pev 1) TapacKevyn TOD
pappaxov Kal tTHpyows, ayaoty 8 1 xXpHoes, OTe
ToD Oeod fn Tapacyovtos avT@ THY acurlay,
@otep él pelCova Bwpov catadvyov, ée TOV
OTAwY Kal TOY Sopvdopwv AaBwy EauTOY wyYeTO,
THs Avtimdtpov KATAYENUTAS WMOTNTOS.
DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO, iv. 3-v.

when Caesar asked leave to stand for the consul-
ship, which was contrary to law, since he was still
a beardless youth. And Brutus also, in one of his
letters, accused him of having reared up a tyranny
greater and more severe than that which the writer
himself had overthrown.!
V. And after all, the one is to be pitied for the manner of his death—an old man ignobly carried up and

down by servants, trying to escape death, hiding himself from those who were coming after him not much in advance of nature’s final summons, and then beheaded; whereas in that of the other, even though it had a slight touch of supplication, we inust admire the preparation of the poison and its place of custody, must admire, too, the use he made of it, because, since the god would not afford him asylum, he took refuge at a greater altar, as it were, made his escape from arms and inercenaries, aud laughed to scorn the cruelty of Antipater.

} Cicero, ad Brutum, i. 17, 2 (Brutus to Atticus),

I. Tov ’AreEavdpov tod Bacitréws Biov Kal
TOU Kaicapos, up ov KatedvOn Tloprrjios, év
TOUT® TO BiPrXiw ypadovtes, dia TO TWAHOOS TOV
DTroKetpeveoy mpafewy ovoev adrO 7 poepodpev
n TmapaiTna opeba TOUS avaylyWOoKoVTas, €av pn
mdavTa pnde Kal’ Exactov eFeupryacpéeves TL TOV
meptBontov aT AY YEAXW LED, aN eTLTEMVOVTES
Ta WrEloTa, Mn GUKOparTElyY. OTE yap LoTopias
ypidhomev, aArNa Biovs, ovTE Tais émipavertTaTals
mpakect TavTws éverte SHjAwWOtS ApeETHS 7} Kakias,
GAAA Tpayywa Bpayv TodAaKkis Kal pHya Kat
TALOLa TES Eupacw nOous émroinae baXdov 1)
paxas HupLover pot Kal maparaters at péytoTat
Kal TOALopKiat TONEWD. @aTrEp OvV Ob Soypagor
TAS OMOLOTHTAS ATO TOV TpoTwTroU Kai THY Tept
Thy Ovi eidav, ols eupaiveTar TO 780s, ava-
AapuBavove wv, eAaytota TOV hour ay pep@y ppov-
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aoTeupéeveoy éott. Réyetae b€ Pidimos év Lauo-

I. Ir is the life of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, who overthrew Pompey, that I[am writing in this book, and the multitude of the deeds to be treated is so great that I shall make no other preface than to

entreat my readers, in case I do not tell of all the famous actions of these men, nor even speak exhaustively at all in each particular case, but in epitome for the most part, not to complain. For it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives; and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of virtue or vice, nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments, or sieges of cities. Accordingly, just as painters get the likenesses in their portraits from the face and the expression of the eyes, wherein the character shows itself, but make very little ac- count of the other parts of the body, so I must be permitted to devote myself rather to the signs of the soul in men, and by means of these to portray the life of each, leaving to others the description of their great contests.

II. As for the lineage of Alexander, on his father's side he was a descendant of Heracles through Caranus, and on his mother's side a descendant of Aeacus through Neoptolemus; this is accepted with- out any question. And we are told that Philip, after

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, a , / f
qTavu waralov, Krwdwrés te cat Mipardoves
226

ALEXANDER, u. 1-5

being initiated into the mysteries of Samothrace at the same time with Olympias, he himself being still a youth and she an orphan child, fell in love with her and betrothed himself to her at once with the con- sent of her brother, Arymbas. Well, then, the night before that on which the marriage was consummated, the bride dreamed that there was a peal of thunder and that a thunder-bolt fell upon her womb, and that thereby much fire was kindled, which broke into flames that travelled all about, and then was ex- tinguished. Ata later time, too, after the marriage, Philip dreamed that he was putting a seal upon his wife’s womb; and the device of the seal, as he thought, was the figure of a lion. ‘The other seers, now, were led by the vision to suspect that Philip needed to put a closer watch upon his marriage rela- tions; but Aristander of Telmessus said that the woman was pregnant, since no seal was put upon what was empty, and pregnant of a son whose nature would be bold and lion-like. Moreover, a serpent was once seen lying stretched out by the side of Olympias as she slept, and we are told that this, more than anything else, dulled the ardour of Philip’s attentions to his wife, so that he no longer came often to sleep by her side, either because he feared that some spells and enchantments might be practised upon him by her, or because he shrank from her embraces in the conviction that she was the partner of a superior being.

But concerning these matters there is another story to this effect: all the women of these parts were addicted to the Orphic rites and the orgies of Dionysus from very ancient times (being ealled Klodones and Mimallones!), and imitated in many 1 Macedonian names for Bacchantes. 227

3

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

emovupiay éXovea, TOAAG Tais '"Hémviot Kat Tals TeEpl TOV Aipov Opyacats Opole. dpaciv, ad' @y SoKet xa TO OpnoKevery 6 ovopa, Taig KATAKOpOLS ryevéa Bat Kal TEpLepyols lepoupyiats,) dé 'Odup- meas paddov étépwv Cnrtocaca Tas KATOVAS KL TOUS evdovorac mous éEdryovca BapBapixo- Tepov odes peydrous yeiponGers epetdKeTo Tots Otdcots, of mwoAXAdKIS EK TOU KLTTOUD Kal TOV HMUCTLE@Y ALKVOV TAPAVASVOMEVOL KAL TEPLEALTTO- pevot TOs Ovpacolts TOV yuvatK@V Kal Tols oTEda- vows é€émAnTtTov Tovs avdpas.
III. Od pv adr Dorin HEV, [ETA TO pac pa meat Xaipova TOV Meyadoronitny ELS Aergous, x xpNe HOV Kouta Onvat heyouce Tapa tov Geov KENEVOVTOS "Appove Ovew Kat céBecOar partota tovTov Tov Oeov: anoBareiv dé TeV Owewv avTov THY ETE pay, yy TO THS Ovpas appe@ ™ poo Bahov KAT@MTEVC ED ev poppy OpaKovTos cuvevvatouevov TH yuvatkt Tov Oeov. bé Onup- TLAS, WS 'Epatoabevns pict, Tpomepmouvea TOV "ArdeEavopov éml THv oTpaTelay, Kal ppdoaca Love TO Tept THY TEKVOOU aTroppytop, éx €XEVEV akia dpovety ths yevécews. EtEpor SE hacw aAvTHV ahoorotabat Kal every" "Ov TAVGETAL pe d:aBarAXwv 'AREEavdpos Tpos THY "Hpav;" "Eyevvnbn & ovv "AréEavdpos (otapévou pnvos 'ExatouBatovos, dv Maxedoves A@ov xadovour,
1 Plutarch apparently derives this verb from @pjaca (Thracian women).
2 Sacred to Dionysus, and carried on the headg of the celebrants.
228

ways the practices of the Edonian women and the Thracian women about Mount Haemus, from whom, as it would seem, the word “ threskeuein’’! came to be applied to the celebration of extravagant and superstitious ceremonies. Now Olympias, who affected these divine possessions more zealously than other women, and carried out these divine inspirations in wilder fashion, used to provide the revelling companies with great tame serpents, which would often lift their heads from out the ivy and the mystic winnowing-baskets,? or coil themselves about the wands and garlands of the women, thus terrifying the men.

III However, after his vision, as we are told, Philip sent Chaeron of Megalopolis to Delphi, by whom an oracle was brought him from Apollo, who bade him sacrifice to Ammon and hold that god in greatest reverence, but told him he was to lose that one of his eyes which he had applied to the chink in the door when he espied the god, in the form of a serpent, sharing the couch of his wife. Moreover, Olympias, as Eratosthenes says, when she sent Alexander forth upon his great expedition, told him, and him alone, the secret of his begetting, and bade him have purposes worthy of his birth. Others, on the contrary, say that she repudiated the idea, and said: ‘Alexander must cease slandering me_ to Hera.” *

Be that as it may, Alexander was born early in the month Hecatombaeon,* the Maeedonian name for

3 The lawful spouse of Zeus Ammon.

4 356 B.c. The day of birth has probably been moved back two or three months for the sake of the coincidence mentioned below (§5). Hecatombaeon corresponds nearly to July.

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230

which is Loiis, on the sixth day of the month, and on this day the temple of Ephesian Artemis was burnt. It was apropos of this that Hegesias the Magnesian made an utterance frigid enough to have extinguished that great conflagration. He said, namely, it was no wonder that the temple of Artemis was burned down, since the goddess was busy bringing Alexander into the world. But all the Magi who were then at Ephesus, looking upon the temple’s disaster as a sign of further disaster, ran about beating their faces and crying aloud that woe and great calamity for Asia had that day been born. To Philip, however, who had just taken Potidaea, there came three messages at the same time: the first that Parmenio had conquered the Illyrians in a great battle, the second that his race-horse had won a victory at the Olympic games, while a third announced the birth of Alexander. These things delighted him, of course, and the seers raised his spirits still higher by declaring that the son whose birth coincided ‘with three victories would be always victorious.

IV. The outward appearance of Alexander is best represented by the statues of him which Lysippus made, and it was by this artist alone that Alexander himself thought it fit that he should be modelled. For those peculiarities which many of his successors and friends afterwards tried to imitate, namely, the poise of the neck, which was bent slightly to the left, and the melting glance of his eyes, this artist has accurately observed. Apelles, however, in painting him as wielder of the thunder-bolt, did not reproduce his complexion, but made it too dark and swarthy. Whereas he was of a fair colour, as they say, and his

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iy yap TOSWKNS, eS Oy yer é~yn, ‘‘ Bactreis
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évwv mrEelaTous ye Toe Beis ayavas ov povov
232

fairness passed into ruddiness on his breast particu- larly, and in his face. Moreover, that a very pleasant odour exhaled from his skin and that there was a fragrance about his mouth and all his flesh, so that his garments were filled with it, this we have read in the Memoirs of Aristoxenus.

Now, the cause of this, perhaps, was the tempera- ment of his body, which was a very warm and fiery one; for fragrance is generated, as Theophrastus thinks, where moist humours are acted upon by heat. Wherefore the dry and parched regions of the world produce the most and best spices; for the sun draws away the moisture which, like material of corruption, abounds in vegetable bodies. And in Alexander’s

case, it was the heat of his body, as it would seem, which made him prone to drink, and choleric.

But while he was still a boy his self-restraint showed itself in the fact that, although he was im- petuous and violent in other matters, the pleasures of the body had little hold upon him, and he in- dulged in them with great moderation, while his ambition kept his spirit serious and lofty in advance of his years. For it was neither every kind of fame nor fame from every source that he courted, as Philip did, who plumed himself like a sophist on the power of his oratory, and took care to have the victories of his chariots at Olympia engraved upon his coins; nay, when those about him inquired whether he would be willing to contend in the foot-race at the Olympic games, since he was swift of foot, " Yes," said he, "if I could have kings as my contestants." And in general, too, Alexander appears to have been averse to the whole race of athletes; at any rate, though he instituted very many contests, not only

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234

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ALEXANDER, w. 6-v. 4

for tragic poets and players on the flute and players
on the lyre, but also for rhapsodists, as well as for
hunting of every sort and for fighting with staves,
he took no interest in offering prizes either for
boxing or for the pancratium.

V. He once entertained the envoys from the Persian king who came during Philip's absence, and associated with them freely. He won upon them by his friendliness, and by asking no childish or trivial questions, but by enquiring about the length of the roads and the character of the journey into the interior, about the king himself, what sort of a warrior he was, and what the prowess and might of the Persians. The envoys were therefore astonished and regarded the much-talked-of ability of Philip as nothing compared with his son’s eager disposition to do great things. At all events, as often as tidings were brought that Philip had either taken a famous city or been victorious in some celebrated battle, Alexander was not very glad to hear them, but would say to his comrades : “ Boys, my father will anticipate everything; and for me he will leave no great or brilliant achievement to be displayed to the world with your aid.”” For since he did not covet pleasure, nor even wealth, but excellence and fame, he con- sidered that the more he should receive from his father the fewer would be the successes won by himself.

Therefore, considering that inerease in prosperity meant the squandering upon his father of opportunities for achievement, he preferred to receive from him a realm which afforded, not wealth nor luxury and enjoyment, but struggles and wars and ambitions.

In the work of caring for him, then, many persons,

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Komto;) SvtypnoTtos, ovTE avaBaTny Tpoctépevos
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tos, “’Emitiuas ov, edn, “ mpecButepols ws Te
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TNEOV AUTOS ELOWS TF padAAOY iTTM® YpHnacacbat
236

as was natural, were appointed to be his nurturers, tutors, and teachers, but over them all stood Leonidas, a man of stern temperament and a kinsman of Olympias. Although he did not himself shun the title of tutor, since the office afforded an honourable and brilliant occupation, yet by other people, owing to his dignity and his relationship, he was called Alexander's foster-father and preceptor. The man, however, who assumed the character and the title of tutor was Lysimachus, a native of Acarnania, who had no general refinement, but because he called himself Phoenix,! Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus, was highly regarded and held a second place.

VI. Once upon a time Philoneicus the Thessalian brought Bucephalas, offering to sell him to Philip for thirteen talents,? and they went down into the plain to try the horse, who appeared to be savage and altogether intractable, neither allowing any one to mount him, nor heeding the voice of any of Philip's attendants, but rearing up against al] of them. Then Philip was vexed and ordered the horse to be led away, believing him to be altogether wild and un- broken; but Alexander, who was near by, said: “What a horse they are losing, because, for lack of skill and courage, they cannot manage him!” At first, then,

Philip held his peace; but as Alexander many times let fall such words and showed great distress, he said: “ Dost thou find fault with thine elders in the belief that thou knowest more than they do or art better able to manage a horse?”

1 The preceptor of Achilles.
2 The talent was worth about £235, or $1,200, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.

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Kal cadEevopmevny Opa@Vv mpd avTodD OLtaTapdTTotTo.
\ ¢
puikpa € OUTW TapaKkadTracas Kal KaTaWyaas,
/ le \ a b)
@S Ewpa TANPOULEVOY Oupod Kal TvEvMATOS, ATOP-
a a \ /
piyas Houxh THY XAapuvOa Kal peTEWpiaas AUTO
5) an / \ \ \ \ “
aoPharas TEpleBn. Kal miKpa prev TEeptrtaBwv Tats
, \ a a
nviars TOV YaALWov avev TANYHS Kai oTapaypLov
,
mTpocavéotetrev'! ws d€ Ewpa Tov immor apeiKoTa
\ 3 , ? a \ \ \ , ? \
THY aTELAHY, Opy@vTa O€ Wpos TOV Spopoy, édeis
OtwKxev 116n hdwvn Opacutépa Kal Todos Kpovce
: , y iy a 7 i \ \ PS / 2 e ia F
Ypw@pevos. Ta dé Tept TOY DiriTTOV HY aywvia
\ a \

Kal olyn TO TWp@Tov: ws b€ Kaprpas érréotpeev
? al \ \ Q e ~*~ A U
op0as coBapos Kat yeyndws, ot wev adrot TavTeEs
3 Ul ¢e be \ x Ps a / U
nrdratay, o d€ TAaTHpP Kal OaxpUaal TL EyETAL
\ a
mpos THY XYapdv, Kat KaTaBavtos avTOU THY Ke-
> a 39 A
hariy piryaas, ‘PO wat,” pavas, “ Gytet ceavt@
/ a
Baotrelav iconv: Maxedovia yap ce ov ywpel.”
wn \ fd nA
VII. Kadopav dé tHv dua avtod dvaKivyntov
\ 9 Sin 4 \ An e OL be
pev ovaoav épicavtos pn PRracOhvat, padiws de
\ \
aryouevny vTO AOyou pos TO Séov, AUTOS TE TTeEi-
1 wpocavéoterdey Bekker has apooeore:Aey, with inferior

MSS.

“This horse, at any rate,’ said Alexander, “I could manage better than others have.” “ And if thou shouldst not, what penalty wilt thou undergo for thy rashness?”’ “Indeed,” said Alexander, “I will forfeit the price of the horse.’”’ There was laughter at this, and then an agreement between father and son as to the forfeiture, and at once Alexander ran to the horse, took hold of his bridle-rein, and turned him towards the sun; for he had noticed, as it would seem, that the horse was greatly disturbed by the sight of his own shadow falling in front of him and dancing about. And after he had calmed the horse a little in this way, and had stroked him with his hand, when he saw that he was full of spirit and courage, he quietly cast aside his mantle and with a light spring safely bestrode him. Then, with a little pressure of the reins on the bit, and without striking him or tearing his mouth, he held him in hand ;! but when he saw that the horse was rid of the fear that had beset him, and was impatient for the course, he gave him his head, and at last urged him on with sterner tone and thrust of foot. Philip and his company were speechless with anxiety at first ; but when Alexander made the turn in proper fashion and came back towards them proud and exultant, all the rest broke into loud cries, but his father, as we are told, actually shed tears of joy, and when Alexander had dismounted, kissed him, saying: “My son, seek thee out a kingdom equal to thyself; Macedonia has not room for thee.”

VII. And since Philip saw that his son’s nature was unyielding and that he resisted compulsion, but was easily led by reasoning into the path of duty,

2 Amyot, ‘“‘le remeit gentiment.”

tO

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Oew érreipato paddov 1) mpooTatTEV, Kat Tots
\ ‘ \ 4 n
Tept MOVvoLKNY Kab TA €YKUKALa TraLoevTais ov
, ‘ / “
qavu TL TloTEVMY THY éTLOTATiaY avTOvD Kal
4 / iS ,
KATAPTLOLV, WS pEeLCovos OVTAY TpaypaTeEias Kab
LS ,
KaTa Tov ~opoxrEa
nw a“ >’
TOAAOY Yadtvav Epyov olukwv O apa,
peteTéwrato Tay dirocopay tov évdo€otatov 668

Q , bd / \ Q Ul
Kat Noytwratoyv ApioToTeXny, Kaa Kal TpeTTOVTA
f al \ nm
biacKkddia Tehécas avT@a. THY yap Srayepitav
/ 3 ® a > ,) , C2
ToAw, €& WS AY “AptaotoTeAnS, avactaTov UT
a / ,
QUTOU YEyEVNMEVNV TUVOKLTE WAAL, Kal TOUS OLa-
huyovTas 7 Sov\evovtas TOY TOALT@V aTOKAaTE-
OTNCE.
Nv \ \ > b nn ‘ } ‘ ‘ \
LYoAnY pév ovy avtois Kat dratpiPiv TO Trept
/ nw > 4 ee 4 a)
Mielav vupdatov aédetEev, Strov péype voy
? / ¢ , \ e 4
Apiatotérous edpas te ALGivas Kal UTogKious
f , v \ ? f
mepimatous Setxvvovalv. Eéorxe O€ ‘AXé£Eavdpos
9 Ud N 3 N \ \ a
ov povov Tov 7O0tKOY Kai TOXNTLKOY Tapanraely
, 5) \ \ a > / \ f
Noyor, GAAa Kal TOV aTroppyTwY Kai BaduTéepwr
“ e ft PENTA)
didacKkadiorv, as of avdpes idiws akpoapmatiKas
3 % if
Kal émomTiKas mpocayopevovTes oux eEepepor els
, a ay \ > aa id é

TodXouvs, peTacxe. On yap ets Actay dtaPe-
, \ 4 f \ bd ,
Bnxos, Kal muOopmevos ayous Tivas ev BiPALows
\ ig Ld \ 9% / 3 , ,
wept TovTwy ve ’ApiatotéXous ExdeddaOa, ypa-
, /
get mpos avtov Urép pirocogias wappynaralopevos
im b /
emia ToAny, HS avTiypadoyv €otiv: “’AX€Eardpos
i ’ la) /
"ApiotoTéves ev mpaTTew. ovKk oplas éroinoas
a U f
€xO0US TOUS AKpOamaTLKOUS TAY NOYwH' TivL yap
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ALEXANDER, vn. 1-4

he himself tried to persuade rather than to command
him; and because he would not wholly entrust the
direction and training of the boy to the ordinary
teachers of poetry and the formal studies, feeling
that it was a matter of too great importance, and,
in the words of Sophocles,!
“A task for many bits and rudder-sweeps as well,”

he sent for the most famous and learned of philoso- phers, Aristotle, and paid him a noble and appropriate tuition-fee. The city of Stageira, that is, of which Aristotle was a native, and which he had himself destroyed, he peopled again, and restored to it those of its citizens who were in exile or slavery.

Well, then, as a place where master and_ pupil could labour and study, he assigned them the pre- cinct of the nymphs near Mieza, where to this day the visitor is shown the stone seats and shady walks of Aristotle. It would appear, moreover, that Alex- ander not only received from his master his ethical and political doctrines, but also participated in those secret and more profound teachings which philoso- phers designate by the special terms “acroamatic ” and “epoptic,”? and do not impart to many. For after he had already crossed into Asia, and when he learned that certain treatises on these recondite matters had been published in books by Aristotle, he wrote him a letter on behalf of philosophy, and put it in plain language. And this is a copy of the letter. ‘‘ Alexander, to Aristotle, greeting. Thou hast not done well to publish thy acroamatic

1 Nauck, Trag. Graec. Fraq.? p. 315. 2 z.e., fit for oral teaching only, and for the initiated ; ‘‘esoteric,” as opposed to “‘ exoteric” doctrines.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

57 Stolcopmey nueis TOV Addr, Eb KAD ods ETTAL-
SevOnuev oyous, OUTOL TMavTwY EcovTaL KoLVOL;
éya b€ Bovroluny dv rais wept Ta dpliota éurrec-
piais } tats duvapeot Stadéperv. Eppwao.” Tav-
THY men oby THY prroripiay avToU _TapapuOov-
pevos “A pia ToTEhys amonhoyetTat Tept TOV hOYwv
éxeivon, os Kal éxdedopevonv Kal pn éxdedopevorv™
arnOas Yep " peta TA Palka Tpaypareia 1 POs
didacKkanriay Kal wabnow ovdév & exovea Xproupov
UTOoELYya TOs TeTaLbevpévols aT apxXAs Yé-
YypamTrTat.
VIII. Aoxe? 6é por Kat To pircatpeiv ’AXeEar-
Spe mpoatpiracbar paddov eTEpOV “A ptaroTéAns:
ov yap fLovoy THY Oewpiay nyaTna ev, aNAa Kal
vor ovaLy éBon ber TOUS pirous KAL TUVETATTE Gepa-
TELaS TLVaS Kal Olaitas, ws €k TOV eT LT TONDY
AaBeiv éotrv. Hv b€ Kal huvcet Piroroyos Kat
piravayvoorns. Kal THY ev ‘Trrdda THS TOAE-
LLKIS aperis epodiov Kal vomifor Kat ovo pata,
érxaBe mev A pta ToTEAOUS SiopPwaarros 7; iy €x TOU
vapOnKos Kahovow, eixe dé del peta TOU eyxXelpe-
diov KeLpevny Utd TO mpoo cep dharov, OS ‘Ovnat-
KpLTOS laTopnKe, TOV 6 G\rxov BiBrtov ovK ev-
Topay ev Tots vw TOTTOLS “Apranov éxéXevae
Teurpat. Kaketvos eTeurey avT@ tas Te Pir-
oToOv BiBrous Kab TOV Evperidov Kab Lopoxdéous
Kal Alaxvrou TparywoLr@v TuxXras, kat TedXéotov
Kab Pirofevov d.0upauSous. A ptarorehny O¢
Oavpatov év apxi Kat ayaT ov ovxX HT TOV, @S
AUTOS Edeye, TOD TATpPOS, wS bt €xEtvoY pev Cav,
dia TovTov Sé Karas Cav, Uatepov UTomroTEpoV
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ALEXANDER, vu. 4-vin. 3

doctrines ; for in what shall I surpass other men if those doctrines wherein | have been trained are to be all men’s common property? But I had rather excel in my acquaintance with the best things than in my power. Farewell.” Accordingly, in defending him- self, Aristotle encourages this ambition of Alexander by saying that the doctrines of which he spoke were both published and not published ; for in truth his treatise on metaphysics is of no use for those who would either teach or learn the science, but is written as a memorandum for those already trained therein. VIII. Moreover, in my opinion Alexander’s love of the art of healing was inculcated in him by Aristotle preeminently. For he was not only fond of the theory of medicine, but actually came to the aid of his friends when they were sick, and prescribed for them certain treatments and regimens, as one can gather from his letters. He was also by nature a lover of learning and

a lover of reading. And since he thought and called the Iliad a viaticum of the military art, he took with him Aristotle's recension of the poem, called the Iliad of the Casket,! and always kept it lying with his dagger under his pillow, as Onesicritus informs us; and when he could find no other books in the interior of Asia, he ordered Harpalus to send him some. So Harpalus sent him the books of Philistus, a great many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, and the dithyrambic poems of Telestws and Philoxenus. Aristotle lie admired at the first, and loved him, as he himself used to say, more than he did his father, for that the one had given him life, but the other had taught him a noble life ; later, however,

1 Cf. chapter xxvi. 1.

Le)

4 > ee a / f > ' f
ETXEV, OVX WOTE TOLNTAL TL KAKOV, AXX al Ptro-
\ a \
dopoctvat To chodpov exeivo Kai oTEpKTLKOY OUK
> \ ,
Eyougal TPS AVTOV AAXOTPLOTHTOS eyévovTO TEK-
id \ / \
pnptov. oO pevToL Tpos Pirocodiay euTepuKars
: / b b) ol A aA
kat suvteOpappévos am apyns avt@® bros Kal
, b] ? 7 a a e e \ 3 ,
mwO0o0s ove eEeppun Tis Wuyns, ws 7 mept Avak-
\ ,
apyov te Ty Kal Ta TeupOévta Bevoxparter
\ \
TevtnKovta TdvavtTa Kai Aavoamts cat Kadavos
oUTw orovoac OevTes papTupovat.
\ ,
IX. Dirliamov &€ ctpatevovtos ert Bulavtiovs,
Ay pev éexxardexéeTns AréEavdpos, amrorepOels dé
, 7 aA A
Kuptos év Maxedovia TOV TpayyaTwY Kal Tis
a i \ A
oppayioos, Maidwy te tovs adecta@tas Kate-
, \ 4 e \ b>] A \ \
oTpewato, Kal TodLy EhwY aUTOY TOUS pev Bap-
, ? , , a , b
Bapous é&jXace, cvppixtous 6€ Katotxioas 'AXeE-
, i J \ Ty 4

avo pomrodu Tpoonyopevoe. — eV Oe Xatpwveig
THS mpos Tous” KAAnvas wayyns Tupwv peTeryxe,
Kal NéyeTal TP@TOS Evoeloat TH lEp@ AOYW TOV
ld ” \ \ 2 ¢ a 3 , s \
OnBaiwv. ére d€ kal KaP pas ébeixvuto TWadaia
N 4 al
mapa Tov Kndioov ’AXeEavdpou xkaroupéry dpis,
\ , , \
mpos Hv TOTEe KaTETKHVwWOE, Kal TO TOoAUdYSpLOV
ov woppw tav MaxeSovwy éotiv.
> \ 9% f e >] , , @
Ex ev ovy TOUTWY, ws Elkos, PireTTOs VITEpN-
, ui \ a
ydTa TOV ViOV, BOTE Kal yalpew TOV Maxedovwv
? , \ i id \
AnréEavdpov pev Baciréa, Pitimmoy 6€ otpaty-
e \
yov KaXouVT@Y. al dé Tept THY oixiay Tapaxai,
\ \ if a
61a TOUS YyaMmous Kal TOUS Epwtas avTOv TpoTrOY
aA , a 4
Tia THS BaclrElas TH yuvatkwritLos GvYVOGOUCNS,
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ALEXANDER, vin. 3-1x. 3

he held him in more or less of suspicion, not to the extent of doing him any harm, but his kindly attentions lacked their former ardour and affection towards him, and this was proof of estrangement. However, that eager yearning for philosophy which was imbedded in his nature and which ever grew with his growth, did not subside from his soul, as is testified by the honour in which he held Anaxarchus, py his gift of fifty talents to Xenocrates, and by the attentions which he so lavishly bestowed upon Dandamis and Calanus.!

IX. While Philip was making an expedition against Byzantium,” Alexander, though only sixteen years of age, was left behind as regent in Macedonia and keeper of the royal seal, and during this time he subdued the rebellious Maedi, and after taking their city, drove out the Barbarians, settled there a mixed population, and named the city Alexandropolis. He was also present at Chaeroneia and took part in the battle against the Greeks,? and he is said to have been the first to break the ranks of the Sacred Band of the Thebans. And even down to our day there was shown an ancient oak by the Cephisus, called Alexander’s oak, near which at that time he pitched his tent; and the general sepulchre of the Macedonians is not far away.

In consequence of these exploits, then, as was natural, Philip was excessively fond of his son, so that he even rejoiced to hear the Macedonians call Alexander their king, but Philip their general. How- ever, the disorders in his household, due to the fact that his marriages and amours carried into the king- dom the infection, as it were, which reigned in the

1 See chapter Ixv. 2 In 340 Buc. > In 338 B.c.

TONGS aitias Kal peydras Stadhopas Tapetxyor,
ray a ? \
as 9 THs 'Odvpmiddos yadrerrorns, Svalnrov Kat
BapvO jpou yuvarkes, ere petfovas emote, Tapotv-
vovans tov 'AréEavdpov. éxpaveotatny é
v nm ?
Attanros tapécyev év tots KdXeotratpas yapors,
a € / ? , , bd \ >
Hv o Dikimmos Ayayeto wapGévov, épacbes tap
ral n wn ¢
HArAtKiaV THS KOpNS. Delos yap Ov auTHAs o "Arta-
os €v T@ TOT peOUwy Tapexadre: Tovs Maxe-
, b] al 4 A , > 4 T
dovas aiteicOat Tapa Oewv yunavov éx Piditrrrov
fel ,
xal KXeorratpas yevécbar diddoyov THs Bactnelas.
> A r \ e3 , \ 9 ,
ért TouTm trapokuvOels 0 "AXéEavdpos Kat etry,
"A a Ca >
""Huels 5€ cot, canny Kehbarn, vo0or Soxovpev;
géBare oxvgov ém' avtov. o 8&€ Pirimmos é
éxetvov éEavéstn cracdpevos To Ethos, evTuxia
, \
dé éxatépov d:a Tov Oupov Kai Tov olvov EmeceE
, e
adareis. o b€ 'AréEavdpos éfuBpifav, " Obras
t » 4 co 5 te , ? Suuat
pevTot, elmev, " dvdpes, eis Actav é€& Kupwmrns
/ , a bd N / ? \
mapecxevaleto dtaSaiver, Os émi KXrLYNY ato
KMivns StaBaivwy avatétpaTtTat." pera TaVTNV
\ , y \ \ Y / \
THY Tapoviay avataBwv thv 'Odvpmidda Kat

, ? ” Sea 3 > a
Kataotnaas eis “Haretpov avtos év ‘IXdupiots
dceTpuBev.
e /
"Ev tovt@ 5€ Anpadpatos o KopirOcos, Eévos av
A /
Ths oixias Kal mappynaias peTéeYwv, adixeto Tpos
, \ \ \ , , \
Dirurmov. peta b€ Tas mpwtas SeEtwoes Kai
diroppocivas étepwravros tov Didimmov més
7
éyovaw opovoias mpos addAnAous of “EXXAnVves,
“Tlavu yobv,” édyn, “aot mpoonke, Pirie,
, A ¢ vA ra) XN 9 \ nw
xndeaOat THS “EXXdbos, ds TOY olKoV TOV cEeavTOdD
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ALEXANDER, 1x. 3-6

women’s apartments, produced many grounds of of-
fence and great quarrels between father and son,
and these the bad temper of Olympias, who was a
jealous and sullen woman, made still greater, since
she spurred Alexander on. The most open quarrel
was brought on by Attalus at the marriage of Cleo-
patra, a maiden whom Philip was taking to wife,
having fallen in love with the girl when he was
past the age for it.1 Attalus, now, was the girl’s
uncle, and being in his cups, he called upon the
Macedonians to ask of the gods that from Philip
and Cleopatra there might be born a legitimate
successor to the kingdom. At this Alexander was
exasperated, and with the words, “ But what of me,
base wretch? Dost thou take me for a bastard?”
threw a cup at him. Then Philip rose up against
him with drawn sword, but, fortunately for both,
his anger and his wine made him trip and fall. Then
Alexander, mocking over him, said: ‘ Look now,
men! here is one who was preparing to cross from
Europe into Asia; and he is upset in trying to cross
from couch to couch.” After this drunken _ broil
Alexander took Olympias and established her in
Epirus, while he himself tarried in Illyria.
Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was a
guest-friend of the house and a man of frank speech,

came to see Philip. After the first greetings and welcomes were over, Philip asked him how the Greeks were agreeing with one another, and Demaratus replied: “It is surely very fitting, Philip, that thou shouldst be concerned about Greece, when thou hast filled thine own house with such great
1 Amyot, ‘hors d’age et de saison.” In consequence of this passion Philip had divorced Olympias.
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OTUTEWS TOTAUTNS Kal KaKo@DV éuTréTANKAS. Ov-
\ , e 4 v N
tw 6) oupdpovicas o Dirdsmros eee Kat
if n
KaTnyaye Tetcas Sta TOU Anuapatouv tov ’AdéE-
avopov.
a
X. ’Emet de [1eEgdapos, 6 Kapias catpazyns,
\ ,
Urodudpevos bt’ olxeroTnTos eis THY WDiAtmoV
4 , ~
cuppayiay, eBovrAero THY mpecButatny Tav Ov-
yarépwv ’Appidaiw t@ Didimmov yvvaika Sdotvat
/
Kat mept tovtwy ‘ApiordKpirov ets Maxedoviay
4 ‘
dméoretev, adits eyivovto Adyor Kat SdraBoyat
\ a / \ “~ \ \ "Ade
mapa Tov didwy Kat THS pNTpos Tos é€av-
a “~ 4
Spov ws ‘Apptdaiov émt 7H Pacrreita Drrimrov
“A A / ? >?
yapots Aapmpots Kal mpdaypact peyayots ELcot-
Ketoovtos. vd av Satapayeis méumer Oecca-
fe ~ ~ vA
Aov eis Kapiay, tov tay tpaywdtayv dmoKpiTny,
4 7
Tuéwddpw diadeEdpevov ws xpy Tov voboyv éacay-
\ ad ?
va, Kat od doeviipn, peOapydccacbar To KHdos Ets
\ \
’AdéEardpov. Kat [liEwdapw pwev ov mapa pukpov
of ~ ~ a ¢€ \ 4

ypeoke TaUTa THY Tpotépwr paddAov Oo de Didiz-
tos aicGouevos, twv eis To ’AXeEavdpov dwpua-
TLov,' raparaBwv Tay dirwy avtod cal cvrvnbwv
eva, Pirwtav Tov Tappeviwvos, éretiunoev ioyv-
w~ ~ / nn A
pas, Kal Tixpos edordopnoev WS ayevYH Kal THY
UTAPYOVTwWY TEpt aUTOV ayabwv avakov, et Kapos
b , \ / a ,
avOpwrov Kat BapBapw Baciret SsovrEvovTos
> fal * / \ N N
ayara yauBpos yevéoOar. tov b€ Oeccarov
4 AL ee > 4 > <8
eypae KopivOors Omws avatréurpwow év wédats
dedeuévov. Tav dé dAwv Etaipwv “Apiradov Kal

1 idy... Swudtioy an anonymous correction of the MSS. dvta Tov *AdrgéZavdpov eis Td Swudtiov, after Amyot; Sintenis and Bekker adopt idvra, the correction of Stephanus (learning that Alexander was coming).

dissension and calamities.” Thus brought to his senses, Philip sent and fetched Alexander home, having persuaded him to come through the agency of Demaratus.

X. But when Pixodarus, the satrap of Caria, trying by means of a tie of relationship to steal into a military alliance with Philip, wished to give his eldest daughter in marriage to Arrhidaeus the son of Philip, and sent Aristocritus to Macedonia on this errand, once more slanderous stories kept coming to Alexander from his friends and his mother, who said that Philip, by means of a brilliant marriage and a great connexion, was trying to settle the king- dom upon Arrhidaeus. Greatly disturbed by these stories, Alexander sent Thessalus, the tragic actor, to Caria, to argue with Pixodarus that he ought to ignore the bastard brother, who was also a fool, and make Alexander his connexion by marriage. And this plan was vastly more pleasing to Pixodarus than the former. But Philip, becoming aware of this, went to Alexander's chamber, taking with him one of Alexander's friends and companions, Philotas the son of Parmenio, and upbraided his son severely, and bitterly reviled him as ignoble and unworthy of his high estate, in that he desired to become the _ son-in-law of a man who was a Carian and a slave to a barbarian king. And as for Thessalus, Philip wrote to the Corinthians that they should send him back to Macedonia in chains. Moreover, of the other companions of Alexander, he banished from Mace-

Néapyov, éte & “Epeyduov nat Wrodepaiov ex

Maxedovias petéctycer, ovs Batepov AréEavdpos
KaTayayov év Tais peyiotats éoye Tipats.
Emel 6€ ayoavias ’AttaXov yvepn cat Kre0-
matpas uBpicGeis Kal pn Tvy@v Stns aveire
@Pitirmov, TO pev TrEtoTov eis "OXNvpTLAdaA THs
aitias mepinrOev, ws Ouvpovpévm TO veaviox@
mpoceyxeNevoaperny Kal tapokvvacay, EBbuye bé
tis kal AXeEdvopou SiaBorn. RéyeTat yap évtv-
yovtos avT@ Tod Ilavcaviov peta thy bBpww
éxelvnv Kal atrodupopéevou mpoevéeyxacOas TO THs
Mnédelas fapPetov:
/
Tov OoVvTa Kal yHuaVTA Kal yapoupevyny.
f al ipa
ov "nv ANA Kal TOUS TUVaLTLOUS THS EwTLBOUVATS
> , Sa! \ \ 2 3
avatntnoas éxodace, Kal THY KXeoratpav anobn-
a n an ’ n
mouvTos avTov THs Odupmiados Mas peTayerpe-
4
TAMEVNS HYAVAKTNGE.
XI. HapérxaBe pév obv tn yeyoves elxoot tTHVv
/ r , \ ‘ 4 ‘
Bacireiav, POovous peyarous Kai bea pion Kal
/
Kiwoduvous Tavtayolev -Eyovoav. ote yap Ta
, \ , , \ , ¥
BapSapa Kal mpocoika yevn Thy dovrAwWOLY edepe,
a“ \ , , a \ €
moGovvtTa Tas TaTtpious Baotdelas, ovtTe THY EX-
Nada KpaTHaas Tots O7TAOLS O DidewTos olov KaTa-
n \ a i“ 4 > \ ,
CevEar Kal tTiPacevoat Ypovoy Ecyev, ANAG MovoY
1 The AMedeia of Euripides, v. 289 (Kirchhoff). The context makes the verse suggest the murder of Attalus, Philip, and Cleopatra.
250

67)

ALEXANDER, x. 3-x1. 1

donia Harpalus and Nearchus, as well as Erigyius and Ptolemy, men whom Alexander afterwards recalled and had in the highest honours.

And so when Pausanias, who had been outrageously dealt with at the instance of Attalus and Cleopatra and could get no justice at Philip's hands, slew Philip, most of the blame devolved upon Olympias, on the ground that she had added her exhortations to the young man's anger and incited him to the deed; but a certain amount of accusation attached itself to Alexander also. For it is said that when Pausanias, after the outrage that he had suffered, met Alexander, and bewailed his fate, Alexander recited to him the iambic verse of the " Medeia" } :—

"The giver of the bride, the bridegroom, and the
bride."'
However, he did seek out the participants in the plot
and punished them, and was angry with Olympias
for her savage treatment of Cleopatra during his
absence.?
AI. Thus it was that at the age of twenty years Alexander received the kingdom, which was exposed to great jealousies, dire hatreds, and dangers on every hand. For the neighbouring tribes of Barbarians would not tolerate their servitude, and longed for their hereditary kingdoms; and as for Greece, al- though Philip had conquered her in the field, he had not had time enough to make her tame under his yoke, but had merely disturbed and changed the

* "After his death Olympias killed Philip's infant son,
together with his mother Cleopatra, niece of Attalus, by
dragging them over a bronze vessel filled with fire" (Pausa-
nias, viil. 7, 5).
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

\ \ / \ , \
petaBarov Kai tapakas Ta Tpayuata ToNUY
, y \ r ¢ nv. 9 , ee
gaXov €vyovTa Kal Kivnow UTO anOelas aTédALTE.
/ \ fa) } \ f \
hofovpévav d€ tov Maxedcvwy Tov Katpov, Kal
\ \ eM ae / ' . \ \
Ta wey KAAnUKA TauYTws adelvaL KAL fn TPOG-
\ / al
Bidlec@at tov *AdéEavdpov otopéevwv deiv, Tovs
\ b] / ca] 4 b "
dé adiotapévovs tov BapBdapwv avakareialar
f \ / \ b \ a
T paws Kal Cepam evew Tas apxyas TOY vewreEpl-
wn a ei
SUA, AVTOS AT EVAVTLMV AOYLTLOV WPUNnTE TOA-
a s
bn Kal peyaroppocivyn Kktacbat Thy acdadeav

n~ 4 e lal
Kal GwTnpiay Tos mpaypacly, ws, KaV oTLOUY
¢ / > al fa) s 9 ,
Upéwevos apn tov ppov)jpatos, émiBycopevwy
td \ 9
aTdavTwov. Ta péev otv PapRapixa Kiwhpata Kat
a Ud Ud / \
Tous éKel TOAEM“OUS KaTéTTaVaEY OFEws éTLOpapoV
n / \ \ 7
oTpaT@ péexpt wpos tov “lotpov, 7 Kal Yvppov
Saas la / \ fA ca) rf
eviknoe Man meyadry, Tov Pacirea Tav T'ptBar-
av: OnBatous dé apectavat TuOopevos Kai cup-
n na / * nm
ppoveiv autots “AOnvatous, evdus tye cra Uvrev
\ , bd \ 4 / a \
Ty Ouvapl, eiro@v ore Anpuoobever maida pev
‘ > 3 ~ al
avutov, Ews Fv ev IAXNuplots Kai TptBardois, amo-
al \
KadodVTL, petpaKlov dé Trept OeTTAaALav yevomevor,
NS aA > /
Bovr\eTat pos tois “AOnvaiwy teiyeoiv avnp
pavinvat.
\ ca / a
Ipoopitas 5€ tats OnBars Kai did0vs Ett TOV
f /
TeTpayuévov petavotay €Entet Poivixa Kat Ipo-
a /
Ournv, kat toils petaPadropévots pos avtov
a) 3 s Lol Oe (©) / y ig
adeav éxiputte. Tov o€ OnBaiwy avteEattovr-

1 In September, 335 B.c. Plutarch makes no mention of a previous expedition of Alexander into Southern Greece, im- mediately after Philip’s death, when he received the submis-

condition of affairs there, and then left them in a great surge and commotion, owing to the strangeness of the situation. The Macedonian counsellors of Alexander had fears of the crisis, and thought he should give up the Greek states altogether and use no more compulsion there, and that he should call the revolting Barbarians back to their allegiance by mild measures and try to arrest the first symptoms of their revolutions; but he himself set out from opposite principles to win security and safety for his realm by boldness and a lofty spirit, assured that, were he seen to abate his dignity even but a little, all his enemies

would set upon him. Accordingly, ke put a speedy stop to the disturbances and wars among the Barbarians by overrunning their territories with an army as far as to the river Danube, where he fought a great battle with Syrmus, the king of the Triballi, and defeated him; and on learning that the Thebans had revolted and that the Athenians were in sympathy with them, he immediately led his forces through the pass of Thermopylae, de- claring that since Demosthenes had called him a boy while he was among the Illyrians and Tribal- lians, and a stripling when he had reached Thessaly, he wished to show him that before the walls of Athens he was a man.

Arrived before Thebes,! and wishing to give her still a chance to repent of what she had done, he merely demanded the surrender of Phoenix and Prothytes, and proclaimed an amnesty for those who came over to his side. But the Thebans made sion of all the Greek states except Sparta, and was made commander-in-chief of the expedition against Persia, in

Philip's place. See Arrian, Anab. i. 1.

Tov meV Tap avTou Pirorav Kat "Avtimatpov, KnpuTTOVTwY O€ TOUS TIPV 'EANaEa. Bovropévous cuvehevdepoby 'rattec Oat per AUTOV, oUTMS eTpewe TOUS Maxedovas 7 pos TONE HOV. nYyo- via On poev ovv uiép SuvamlY apEeTH Kal mpobupia Tapa tav OnPaiwy' TohaT aators over TOLS Toheploes avritaxJevtov émel d€ kal THY Kao- pela apévTes ot dpovpol Tav Maxedovev émé- TenT OV aurois eforea bev, Kuerobevres Ol WELT TOL Kara THY waXny avTHVY ETEcor, a be TOMS HAW Kab Siaptacbeioa KatecKkagy, TO pev OXOV 7 poo SoKiTAaVTOS auUTOU TOUS "EXAnVAas exTharyevTas made. tTyrALKOUT@ Kal mrn~avTas aTpEemrnoery, ddrAws be Kal Kawa awevov xapilecr bar Tots TOV TULA OV eye Anpace Kab yap Pwxets Kat ITXataets tov OnBatov KaTnyopnaay. ume fe- Nopevos 5é TOUS lepets Kal TOs E€vous TOV Make- Sovav dnavtas Kal Tovs amo Luvddapou yeyovotas Kal TOUS brevavtimbevTas TOLS Ynpecapevors THY anoaractw, am €50T0 TOUS ANXOUS Tept Tplo MUpLoUsS rEvOMEVOUS" ot 5é amtoBavovtes Urép éEaxtayt- lous Hoa.

XII. Ey oe Tois ToAAols Twabect Kab Xarerois éxeivots & THY TON KATELXE, Opgxes TIVES exKO- avtes olxiay Tipoxretas, yuvatKos €voo£ou kal

Tw@PPOVOS, QaUTOL pev Ta Xprypara Sunptrafov, o 0 b¢
YE MOV 7H yuvarel T™ POs Biav TUYYEVOMLEVOS Kat
KATALOXUVAS, aveKpiver el Trou Xpvatov EX OL KE-
Kpuppévov % apyvpiov. 9 dé exetv wpmodroynae,
1 rapa Tay OnBalwy Coraés and Bekker, following Reiske:
7a Tapa TAY OnBalwy, Be
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ALEXANDER, x1. 4-xu. 2

a counter-demand that he should surrender to them Philotas and Antipater, and made a counter-proclamation that all who wished to help in setting Greece free should range themselves with them ; and so Alexander set his Macedonians to the work of war. On the part of the Thebans, then, the struggle was carried on with a spirit and valour beyond their powers, since they were arrayed against an enemy who was many times more numerous than they; but when the Macedonian garrison also, leaving the citadel of the Cadmeia, fell upon them in the rear, most of them were surrounded, and fell in the battie itself, and their city was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. This was done, in the main, because Alexander expected that the Greeks would be terri- fied by so great a disaster and cower down in quiet, but apart from this, he also plumed himself on grati- fying the complaints of his allies; for the Phocians and Plataeans had denounced the Thebans. So after separating out the priests, all who were guest-friends of the Macedonians, the descendants of Pindar,! and those who had voted against the revolt, he sold the rest into slavery, and they proved to be more than thirty thousand; those who had been slain were more than six thousand.

XII. Among the many and grievous calamities which thus possessed the city, some Thracians broke into the house of Timocleia, a woman of high repute and chastity, and while the rest were plundering her property, their leader shamefully violated her, and then asked her if she had gold or silver concealed anywhere. She admitted that she had, and after

1 «* And we are told that Alexander preserved the house

of Pindar the poet, and the descendants of Pindar, out of
regard for Pindar" (Arrian, Arab. i. 9, 10).
08
PLUTARCH SS LIVES

Kal jLovov els TOV KATOV ayayovoa Kab beiEaoa,
ppéap, evtavda egy THS TONEWS adi KOpELNS
cataBanrel avTn Ta TULOTATA TOV NPNLAT OV.
eYKUTT OvTOS 6€ TOU Opgxos Kal KATATKET-TOMEVOY
TOV TOTO, €waEV AUTOV éfomia bey ryevop.evn, Kab
Tov Nw éreupBarovdaa Tordovs arréxTetvey,
ws 6€ aviyOn Tos "AneEavdpov UTO TOV Opgxav
dedené17), m p@Tov yey ato THS ovpecs KaL THS
Badicews ébavy TES (eSt@parixi) Kal peyaroppov,

GVEKTAIKTOS Kat adeds eT OMELN Tots ayovow
évetta TOU Pactiéws EpwtnacavtTos tres ein yuvat-
Ka, amex pivaro Ocaryevous aderpy ryeyoverat,
TOU TapaTaganevov Tpos Diodurrov t bmreép THS TOV
‘EAA veOv érevbepias Kal TET OVTOS éy Xatpwveia
aTpatyyouvTes. Gavudcas otyv o "AnéEavdpos
avTtis Kal THY aTOKploly Kal THY TpakW, exérEv-
cev éhevOépay amiérat meTa TOV TEKVOD,
XIII. "A@nvaiors bé SindtrXayn, Kaitrep ob perT-
pices éveyxovdot TO Tepl OnBas dvoTvynpa’ Kal
\ a , € \ > \ 514
Yap THY TOY pUTTHpioOY EopTHY ev NEpoly EXOVTES
Umo mévOous apijcay, Kal Tots Katagbvyovow ert}
THY TOALY aTUVYTOV peTecioocay TaVv diravO pw-
TWV. GAN’ EiTEe pEaTOS OY HON TOV BupoY, OoTEP
ol NéovTes, ETE ETTLELKES Epyor @poTdT@ Kal OKU-
Oowmorare Tapaparetw Bovropevos, ov povoy
apiKev aitias TaoNs, GNA Kal T pocexely exe-
Aevoe TOUS mpdypact TOV vouv THY TOLD, @S, €b
Tl cupBain Tept avtov, ap Eove ay THS ‘EX)dOos.
DoTepov [evTor TONNAKES avTov) OnPatov avi-
aoa cuphopa réyeTat xa TPQOTE pov OUK OnLy os
mapasxetv. Gdrws Oé Kal TO Tept KAeitov épyov
1 gataguyovow én Bekker corrects to puyoter eis.
256

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ALEXANDER, xu. 2—xi1. 3

leading him by himself into the garden and showing him a well, told him that when the city was taken she had itll her own hands cast in there her most valuable possessions. Then, as the Thracian was bending over and inspecting the place, she came behind him and pushed him in, cast many stones

upon him, and killed him. And nei the Thracians led her, with hands bound, to Alexander, she showed by her mien and gait that she was a person of great dignity and lofty spirit, so calmly and fearlessly did she follow her conductors; and when the king asked her who she was, she replied that she was a sister of Theagenes, who drew up the forces which fought Philip in behalf of the liberty of the Greeks, and fell in command at Chaeroneia. Amazed, therefore, at her reply and at what she had done, Alexander bade her depart in freedom with her children.

AI. Furthermore, he was reconciled with the Athenians, although they showed exceeding sorrow at the misfortunes of Thebes; for although they had begun the festival of the mysteries, they g gave it up in consequence of their grief,! and upon the ‘Thebans who sought refuge in their city they bestowed every kindness. But notwithstanding this, whether his rage was now sated, as a lion’s might be, or whether he

wished to offset a deed of fhe. inost sullen savagery with one that was merciful, he not only remitted all his charges against the city, but even bade it give good heed to its affairs, since, if anything should happen to him, it would have the rule over Greece. In later times, moreover, as we are told, the calamity of the Thebans often gave him remorse, and made him milder towards many people. And certainly the

1 According to Arrian (i. 10, 2), 16 was from panic fright.

=o

PLUTARCR'S LIVES

év olv@ revo mevov Kal THY 7 pos 'Tv6ous TtTav Make-
dover drrobeiMaow, womep aTenh THY otpateiay
Kal THY dofav avTov TpoEuevar, Els pHi avijye
Atovicov ral VEMET LY. my dé OnBaicv ovdels TOV
TmepLyevopeveny OS evTuXov TL Kat den Bets DoTtepov
ov duetpakéato map avtod. Tavta pev Ta TeEpi
@nBas.
XIV. Kis dé Tov To O pov TaV "EXMjvov auNXe-
yevT@V Kal Wn pro apeveov émi Ilépoas pet' 'AXeE-
avdpov OTPATEVELY YEW avnyopevdn. TONNOY
be Kal TONTLKE@Y av0pav Kat pirocopwr amnv7n-
KOTWY avT@ Kal cuvndopévav, nATLCE Kal Atoyé-
yy Tov Sweréa tavto Tomaew, S:atpiBovta
mept KopivOov. ws 6 €KELVOS eMaXLa Tov "AneE-
avdpou Aoyor éywy év TO Kpaveio oxXoNy YeD,
AUTOS emo pevero Tos avr ov" ervxe dé Kataxel-
pevos év NAL@. Kal piKpov peév avexdlicer, av-
OpweTrwv tocovtwy émepyopevar, Kat dreBreErev
eis Tov "AXeEavdpov. ws bé éxeivos doTacdmeros
Kal TpocerT@V avTOV pot na Ev el TIVOS TUYXaveEL
Seopevos, rs Mexpov," elt@ev, "amo TOU nAtoU peTa-
oTnOt. mWpos TOUTO NeyeTas Tov *"AXEEavdpov
ovTw diateOHvat Kal Gavpacar xatadpovnbévra
THY UTEepowiay Kal TO méyeos TOD avdpos, WaTE
TOY TEepl AUTOV, @S aTEcap, OrayehovT@v Kab
axwTtovtav, "'AXAG py eyo," elrrev, "ed pn
"AréEavdpos Hunv, Avoyévns av Hun.
1 See chapter li. 2 See chapter I xii.
8 This god was said to have been born of Semele, daughter of Cadmus the founder of Thebes,
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ALEXANDER, xu. 3-xIv. 3

murder of Cleitus,! which he committed in his cups, and the cowardly refusal of his Macedonians to follow him against tne Indians,? whereby they as it were robbed his expedition and his glory of their consum- mation, he was wont to attribute to the vengeful wrath of Dionysus. And there was not a Theban of those that survived who afterwards came to him with any request and did not get what he wanted from him. Thus much concerning Thebes.4

XIV. And now a general assembly of the Greeks was held at the Isthmus,5 where a vote was passed to make an expedition against Persia with Alexander, and he was proclaimed their leader. Thereupon many statesmen and philosophers came to him with their congratulations, and he expected that Diogenes of Sinope also, who was tarrying in Corinth, would do likewise. But since that philosopher took not the slightest notice of Alexander, and continued to enjoy his leisure in the suburb Craneion, Alexander went in person to see him; and he found him lying in the sun. Diogenes raised himself up a little when he saw sO many persons coming towards him, and fixed his eyes upon Alexander. And when that monarch addressed him with greetings, and asked if he wanted anything, *‘ Yes,’ said Diogenes, “stand a little out of my sun.” It is said that Alexander was so struck by this, and admired so much the haughtiness and grandeur of the man who had nothing but scorn for him, that he said to his followers, who were laughing and jesting about the philosopher as they went away, “ But verily, if 1 were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.”

* For a full account of Alexander’s capture and destruction

of Thebes, see Arrian, Anab. i. 8 f.
5 See the note on xi. 5.
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4

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Bovdopevos 6é TO Oew xpycacbar " epl (Tis
oTparetas ArAGev ELS Aeros: KaL KAT a TUYHY
7 LEP@V aTog pacay ove ay, év ais ov vevopeg Tas
epsa reve, Tpatov pev ETE [LTE TapaKaroy THY
7 POMAVTLD. OS dé apyvouperns Ka Tpoia opens
TOY vomov avTos avaBas Bia Tpos TOV VAOV elAKev
avT IY, 7" O€ @oT Ep eEyrrmpwevn THs o TOVONS elev"
si ‘Avixntos él, @ Tal, TOUTO akoveas ‘ANE Fav-
Opos OUKETL épn yp tev ETEPOU HAVTEUUATOS,
ANN EVELV ov éBovheTo map QAUTHS XpnT Lov.
"Earel O€ opunoe 7 POs THY oTpaTEiayv, Ara Te
Soxel onueia mapa Tov datuoviou yevéaOat, Kal
to mept AeiBnOpa tod “Opdéws Eoavov (hv be
KUTAPLTTLVOV) (OP@TA TOAD vmO TAS 7 MEpas éxel-
vas adiKe. poBoupevov d€ WavTwY TO onfLELoV,
‘Aptatavdpos éxéXeve Jappein, @S dowipous Kat

meptBontous KATEPYATOpLEV OV mages, at mwoNuY
Lopara KQt TOVOY Uuvovot TOLNTals KaL MOoVaLKOLS
mapéEovet.
XV. Tijs dé oTpaTtias TO TANS ob pev éX =
VLoTOY NeyovTes T pio wuptous mefous Kal TeT pa
KLoKXLNLOUS innels, ot o€ Teta Tov melovs ev
TETPAKLO MUpLOUS Kal TpLaXtNOUS, LTméas O€ TeEV-
TakloytrdLous avaypagovatv. epddsov bé TovToOLS
ob mhéov éBdouijxovta TaddavtTwy exen aur ov
‘A ptatoBounos ioropet, Aotpis be TpedKxovTa jL0-
vov n MEep@v dtatpopyy, ‘Ovnaixpetos b€ Kal Oia o~
oa TahavTa Tm poaoet hel. arra Kaimep ago
LIKP@Y Kal OTEVOV OUTWS OPpLwpEVvos, OV TPOTEpOV
1 In the early spring of 334 B.c,
2 Cf. Arrian, Anab. i. 11, 2.
260

67

ad

ALEXANDER, xv. 4-xv. 2

And now, wishing to consult the god concerning
the expedition against Asia, he went to Delphi; and
since he chanced to come on one of the inauspicious
days, when it is not lawful to deliver oracles, in the
first place he sent a summons to the _ prophetess.
And when she refused to perform her office and
cited the law in her excuse, he went up himself and
tried to drag her to the temple, whereupon, as if
overcome by his ardour, she said: “Thou art in-
vincible, my son!” On hearing this, Alexander said
he desired no further prophecy, but had from her
the oracle which he wanted.
Moreover, when he set out upon his expedition,!
it appears that there were many signs from heaven,
and, among them, the image of Orpheus at Leibethra
(it was made of cypress-wood) sweated profusely at
about that time. Most people feared the sign, but
Aristander bade Alexander be of good cheer, assured
that he was to perform deeds worthy of song and
story, which would cost poets and musicians much
toil and sweat to celebrate.?
XV. As to the number of his forces, those who put it at the smallest figure mention thirty thousand foot

and four thousand horse; those who put it at the highest, forty-three thousand foot and five thou- sand horse.? To provision these forces, Aristobulus says he had not more than seventy talents; Duris speaks of maintenance for only thirty days; and One- sicritus says he owed two hundred talents besides. But although he set out with such meagre and narrow resources, he would not set foot upon his ship until

3 <*Not much more than thirty thousand foot, including
light-armed troops and archers, and over five thousand
horse ” (Arrian, Anab. i, 11, 3).

b / a \ A» \ a € , ,
éméBn THs vews 7’ Ta TaV EéETAalpwY TpaypaTa
a A t aA
oKEWaMEVOS ATOVEl“LAaL TO MEV GYpOV, T@ O€ Kw-
A ,
NV, TO O€ GUVOLKias TPOTOdoV 1H) ALpEvOS. 7/0
\ We \
dé KaTavn\wpévwov Kal drayeypaupéevwv oxXedoy
Cd , aA n ¢ OL 66 rat
antavrav tov Baciitxov o Ilepdixxas “ Yeavt@
IY ” 5 cc 2 “ / , 9 A Oe
é, eltrev, “aw Bactred, TL KaTadeElTEts; TOV Oé€
e , a >
dyoavtos 6Tt Tas éAtriOas, “ OvKody,” edn, “ Kai
wn t \ A
LES TOUTWVY KOLVWYNTOMEV OL META TOD OTPA-
f > A
Tevopevol. Tapaitnaapévov Sé tod Ilepdixxou
THV OLAYVEYPALMEVNV KTHTLW AUTO, KAL TOV ANNOY
‘4 ” \ 3 \ b {é A x ,
hirwv éviot TO avTO éTOincav. Tols d€ AapBa-
/ if ,
vovat Kal Seopuévors mpolvpws éeyapileTo, Kai
a a ,
Ta wrelota Tov év Makedovia diavépwv odTws
\ e a aA
KATNVEAWOE. TOLAUTN MEY OPH Kal TapacKeuT
¢€ ,
dsavoias tov “EXXjam7ovtov Suevépacev.
v A ’ aA
"AvaBas &€ eis “INtov EOvce tH “AOnva xa
a ef v \ NES , /
Tols Howow éorerce. THY d€ AYES GTNANV

, \ \ a ,
anreupapevos Nita Kal peta TOV ETALPWY TUVaAVA-
4 e b)
Spapnov yuuvos, @omep EOS éativ, eoTepavuce,
\ © n A
pakapioas ad'tov btt Kal Cav didov miotov Kat
TENEVTI TAS LeyaNov KipvKOS ETUXEV. ev O€ TH
os a \
meptievat kat OeaoOar Ta Kata THY Tod épope-
N > >
vou Tivos avTov et BovreTat THY '"AdeEdvdpov
a id ,
AUpav loeiv, EXaxXLaTAa hpovTile exes Eby, THY
a \ /
S 'AyirrAéws Cnteiv, 7 Ta KNEA Kal Tas Tpdéets
buver TOv ayabav avdpav Exeivos.
id A A
XVI. 'Ev 6é tovt@ tav Aapéiov otpatnyav
4 f
pweyarny dovvapuiv nOpotxotwyv Kal tapaTteTaype-
vov él TH dvaBdoe Tod Vparxod, wdyerbae pév
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ALEXANDER, xv. 2—-xv1. 1

he had enquired into the circumstances of his companions and allotted to one a farm, to another a village, and to another the revenue from some hamlet or harbour. And when at last nearly all of the crown property had been expended or allotted, Perdiccas said to him: " But for thyself, O king, what art thou leaving?" And when the king answered, "My hopes," "In these, then,' said Perdiccas, "we also will share who make the expedition with thee." Then he declined the possessions which had been allotted to him, and some of the other friends of Alexander did likewise. But upon those who wanted and would aecept his favours Alexander bestowed them readily, and most of what he possessed in Macedonia was used up in these distributions. Such was the ardour and such the equipment with which he crossed the Hellespont.

Then, going up to Ilium, he sacrificed to Athena and poured libations to the heroes. Furthermore, the gravestone of Achilles he anointed with oil, ran a race by it with his companions, naked, as is the custom, and then crowned it with garlands, pro- nouncing the hero happy in having, while he lived, a faithful

friend, and after death, a great herald of his fame. As he was going about and viewing the sights of the city, someone asked him if he wished to see the lyre of Paris. “For that lyre,” said Alex- ander, “I care very little; but I would gladly see that of Achilles, to which he used to sing the glorious deeds of brave men.”'!

XVI. Meanwhile the generals of Dareius had as- sembled a large force and set it in array at the crossing of the river Granicus, so that it was prac-

4 See the Iliad, ix. 185-191.

> a cy ce 3 4 A > ie
laws avayKatoy Hv, WoTep ev TUAaLS THS 'Acias,
a / \ a a a
Tept THS eladdov Kal apyns Tod b€ ToTAapod TO
\ ce. ral
Ba0os xat tThv dvwpariav kcal TpaxvTnTa TOV
¢ 4 ,
mépav byOwv, pos ods Ede yiverVar THY aTrO-
\ A ,
Bact peta payns, TOV TrEoTwY SedtoTwD, eviwDy
x a
d€ Kal TO Tepl TOY pHVvA vEevoutcpEévov OLomévwv
Sey duraEacOa (Aataiou yap ovK eiw@betoay ot
a a , \
Baowrets tov Maxedovwr éEayerv thy otpatiav),
aA ,
ToUTO pev emnvwpPwaato Kedrevoas dSevTEpOY
? / v “A \ lA e > \
Aptepuictoy ayewv, tov dé [lappeviwvos, ws ove
a , “ * >
THS WPAS OVTNS, OUK EOVTOS ATOKLVOUVEVELY, ELT@V
S ¢
alaxuverOat tov EXXaijo7rovtov et PoBycetat Tov
ay \ ~ \ b) A b] U aA c ,
lpavixoy dia BeBncos EKELVOD, en Barret 7@ pev-
ba
patt ovv tras immévwy tpitoKaioexa. Kal pos
A , \ “A ¢
évavtia Bédn Kal Tomovs atoppayas OTXoEs
\ / \
KataTreppaypévous Kal immo éXavvwv, Kal dia
pevpatos TapahépovTos Kai mepixruCovtos, Edoke
a S; f A

pavKkas Kal mpos amovotavy padXrov 7 yvopn
“A 3 x ? % 3 \ a 2 \
oTpaTnyeiv. ov uny Arr éeugvs TH dtaBdoe Kai
a hi a / A
KpaTioas TOV TOTMY YarETaS Kal MOXLS, VYPaV
\ A 4 A \ , > x
Kal Teptaparav yevouevmy 61a TOV TiIprOV, EVOUS
9 , / / ‘ > yw
nvayKatleto buponv payecOat Kai Kat avdpa
ovpTr€éKer Oat Tois emiepopevols, Tply ets TAELY
A 4
TWa KaTacThvat Tovs dtaBaivovras. évéKEtvTo
al \ \ Cf
yap Kpavyn, Kal Tovs immovs TapaBadXorTes
a a “i / n
Tots trios éxpwvto Sopact, Kat Eihect THY Sopd-
bd a
Toy ouvtTpiSevtTwy. @oapévwy b€ TOAN@Y ET
ky a A fo) 4
avtov (nv 6€ TH TEATH Kal TOD Kpavous TH YatTn
/ ¢ f s
Stat pens, HS ExaTéepwOey EiaT KEL TTEPOV NEVKO-
264

ALEXANDER, xvi. 1-4

tically necessary to fight, as it were at the gates of Asia, for entrance and dominion there. But most of the Macedonian ofhcers were afraid of the depth of the river, and of the roughness and unevenuess of the farther banks, up which they would have to climb while fighting. Some, too, thought they ought to observe carefully the customary practice in regard to the month (for in the month of Daesius the kings of Macedonia were not wont to take the field with an army). This objection Alexander removed by bidding them call the month a second Artemisius; and when Parmenio, on the ground that it was too late in the day, objected to their risking the passage, he declared that the Hellespont would blush for shame, if, after having crossed that strait, he should be afraid of the Granicus, and plunged into the stream with thirteen troops of horsemen. And since he was charging against hostile missiles and precipi- tous positions covered with infantry and cavalry, and through a stream that swept men off their feet and surged about them, he seemed to be acting like a frenzied and foolish commander rather than a wise one. However, he persisted in his attempt to cross, gained the opposite banks with difficulty and much ado, though they were moist and slippery with mud, and was at once compelled to fight pell-mell and engage his assailants man by man, before his troops who were crossing could form into any order. For the enemy pressed upon them with loud shouts, and matching horse with horse, plied their lances, and their swords when their lances were shattered. Many rushed upon Alexander, for he was conspicuous by his buckler and by his helmet’s crest, on either side of which was fixed a plume of wonderful size and

265

\ f f b \ \
TTL Kab peyéOer Oavpactov), axovtiabels pév
, A ,
UTO THY UmoTTUXLOa TOD OwpaKos ovK éTPwON,
e 4 \ \ / A “A
Porcdxov b$€ cal XmiOpiddTov TaY oTpaTnyoY
ei \ ,
Tpoopepopéevav aya, Tov pev exkrLvas, “Porcaxyn
dé mpoeuBarov teOwpakiapéevw Kai To dopu KaTa-
Krdoas él TO éyxetpidlov Opynoe. oULTETTH-
KoTwv dé avTav o LriOpidatns vToctHcas éK
\ a
Trayiwv Tov irmov Kal peTa oTOVoNS cuve~ava-
a \
oTas Komidt BapBapixn KatnveyKxe Kal TOV peév
t b) , \ / A \ \ ,

Nopov améppake peta Oatepov mTEpod, To O€ Kpa-
\ A ‘
Vos Tpos THY TANYHY aKpLB@s Kat pods ayTé-
TXEV, ETE TOV THATAV Watcal TPLY@Y THY TTE-
a \
pvya ths Komrisos. érépav bé Tov YriOpidatynv
mTuArw émaipopevoy EfpOace Krettos 0 pédas TO
A e A ¢
Evot@ diedacas pécov. ood dé Kai ‘Poroaxns
émecev urd "AnreEavipou Eihet wANYELS.
"Ev tovtT@ 6€ Kivdtvou Kal awyavos ovans THs
inmropuayias h Te HdAaYE SiéBatve TOV Makedo-
vov Kal cuviryov ai melal duvapes. ov pny wré-
> ’ bf \ \ f ’ >
TTNTAV EUPWOTWS OVE TOAVY YpOVoV, GAN’ Epuryov
/ \ a / e ,
TpaTropevol, mAnv TaV ptoOodopav “EXXjvev.
if Uf ? \
ovTo: O€ Tpos Tivt AOhwW GVYEOTAaVTES 7TOVY TA
\ \ ? , e \ A A a
aicta tov “AnréEavipov. o b€ Oup@ pad2Xov 7
Aoylouw TeeTOS éuBarwv Tov Te inmmov atoBar-
Y fon, E / ee \ 9 \ 4
A Lal Ly,
ret Eihes wAnyévta Sid THY TrAEVPaY (Fv bé ETe-

’ e / \ \ / A
pos, ovx 0 Bouxedddas), Kai Tovs TAELTTOUS THY
atobavovtwyv Kal tpavpaticbévTmv éxet cuvéSn
KiVOUVEDC aL KaL TeaELY, TpOS avOpwWTTOUS aTTEyVO-
KOTAS Kal MAXLLOUS TULTAEKOMEVOUS.
266

whiteness. But although a javelin pierced the joint of his breastplate, he was not wounded; and when Rhoesaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, made at him together, he avoided the one, and smote Rhoesaces, who wore a breastplate, with his spear ; and when this weapon snapped in two with the blow, he took to his sword. Then, while he was thus engaged with Rhoesaces, Spithridates rode up from one side, raised himself up on his horse, and with all his might came down with a barbarian battle-axe upon Alexander’s head. Alexander’s crest was broken off, together with one of its plumes, and his helmet could barely and with difficulty resist the blow, so that the edge of the battle-axe touched the topmost hair of his head. But while Spithridates was raising his arm again for another stroke, Cleitus, ‘« Black Cleitus,” got the start of him and ran him through the body with his spear. At the same time Rhoesaces also fell, smitten by Alexander’s sword.

While Alexander’s cavalry were making such a dangerous and furious fight, the Macedonian phalanx crossed the river and the infantry forces on both sides engaged. The enemy, however, did not resist vigorously, nor for a long time, but fled in a rout, all except the Greek mercenaries. These made a stand at a certain eminence, and asked that Alexander should promise them quarter. But he, influenced by anger more than by reason, charged foremost upon them and lost his horse, which was smitten through the ribs with a sword (it was not Bucephalas, but another); and most of the Macedonians who were slain or wounded fought or fell there, since they came to close quarters with men who knew how to fight and were desperate.
267

, fo

Aéyovta: 56 weCol pév duc puptor TOY BapBRapwr,
€ a ‘ , U a a) N
iaTets be Sua XiAvo1 MEVTAKOTLOL TETELV. TOV OE
Tepl TOV ‘AréEavEpov ‘A pta toBovros pyar Téa-

Tapas eal T ptaKOVTa vEKpOvS yevér Gar TOUS
TAVTAS, OV évvéa melovus €lval. TOUTwWY pev ouv
éxéA EUCEV elxovas avacTabivac XarKas, as Av-
olnTos elpyadcato. KOWOUMEVOS dé THY vlenv
Tous “EX ow LOL pev Tots "AOnvatots érrepape
TOY al x HAhwT ov Tpraxocias aamibas, Kown 6é
Tots aAXOLs Nadhupors ExéXevaev Erruyparpat dido-
/ 3 4 5 66? 7 } e la

TimotaTny emiypadyny: “° AnreEardpos 0 Didtrmou

\ ec \ , , \ a
Kat ob EAAnves aha Aakedutpovioy amo TOV
PapBapov TOV tThv ‘Acta KATOLKOUVTOY.” €x-
TwUATA O€ Kab moppupas, Kab Oca TOLAUTA TOV
Ilepotxav dae, mavra TH puntpl mArAnv ordiywv
emeurvev.
. €

Dov ae Odtos 0 ayov peyadyy evOus érroince
TOV T pays LaTOV pera Borny T pos” ‘AdeEavépor,
@aTe Kal Lapdes, 7d Tm pooxnpa THS ert Jarao-
on ToOV BapBapwy aAyemovias, TapadaBeiv Kat
> / , \ e \
TaAAa TpootiPecOar. povn dé “AdAtKapvacaos
5 , \ , a € \ \ , \
avTeaTy Kab MiAnrTos, as EAWV KATA KPUTOS Kal
Ta Teph auras TAVTA NEL Pwo dpEvos appiBoros
WW Tpos TA NOLTA TH Youn. Kal TOANGKLS pev
éomevoe Aapei@ cuuTeco@v atoxivduvedoat Tepl
a ef , \ a“ 3 \ A ie
TOV ohuy, TONAKLS dé Tots éml Garaoon T pa-
yHact Kal Xpnpace Otevoetro TT PQ@TOV olov éva-
‘

oKicas Kal pwcas avTov otTws avaBaivey én’

1 Diodorus (xvii. 21, 6) says that more than ten thousand Persian footmen fell, and not less than two thousand horse- men; while over twenty thousand were taken prisoners.

Of the Barbarians, we are told, twenty thousand footmen fell, and twenty-five hundred horsemen.! But on

Alexander's side, Aristobulus says there were thirty-four dead in all, of whom nine were footmen. Of these, then, Alexander ordered statues to be set up in bronze, and Lysippus wrought them.? More- over, desiring to make the Greeks partners in his victory, he sent to the Athenians in particular three hundred of the captured shields, and upon the rest of the spoils in general he ordered a most ambitious inscription to be wrought: “ Alexander the son of Philip and all the Greeks except the Lacedaemonians from the Barbarians who dwell in Asia.” But the drinking vessels and the purple robes and whatever things of this nature he took from the Persians, all these, except a few, he sent to his mother.

XVII. This contest at once made a great change in the situation to Alexander's advantage, so that he received the submission even of Sardis, the bulwark of the barbarian dominion on the sea-coast, and added the rest of the country to his conquests. Walicar- nassus alone withstood him, and Miletus, which cities he took by storm? and subdued all the territories about them. ‘Then he was in doubt as to his future course. Many times he was eager to encounter Dareius and put the whole issue to hazard, and many times he would make up his mind to practice himself first, as it were, and strengthen himself by acquiring the regions along the sea with their resources, and

2 According to Arrian (Anab. i. 16, 4), about twenty-five of Alexander’s companions, a select corps, fell at the first onset, and it was of these that Alexander ordered statues to be made by Lysippus.

3 The siege and capture of these cities occupied Alexander till the late autumn of 334 B.c,

> A ww \ fel , , \ 4!
éxetvov. €ote de THs AuKias Kpnvn wept Try
pat Ud @
Favétwyv modu, 5s TOTE NEyovow avTouaTas
¢ id \ e 4 ? “A 7
mepitTpaTreions Kal vTepBarovons éx BuOod béd-
TOV EXTETELW YAAKHVY TUTOUS Eyovcayv apyYaiwy
ypapatwv, év ois édnrodTO mavcecOat! tip
llepoayv apynv imo ‘EAAnvwv Katadvbeicar.
3 TovTols émapbels nreiyeTo THY Tapadiav ava-
/ / A , \ de ‘ e
Kabnpacbat pexps Tis Powixns cat Kedixvas. 1
dé THs Tlaudvrias tapadpoun modXols yéyove
TOV laTOpLKaY UTOOEaLS ypadexn TpOos éxmAnELv
Kat OyKov, ws Oeia TiWi TUYN Tapaywpnoacav
"AreEdvop@ tHv Oddaccay, arAXAws del TpaxeEiav
éx TENUOUS TpotpEpopevnv, oTaviws dé ToTE
A \
AeTTTOUS Kal TpogEYels UTO TA KpPNUYwOdH Kal
TApEeppwyoTa THS opevis jayous StaxadvrTov-

4 cav. Snrot dé cal Meévavdpos év xopmdia
maifwy wpos TO mapado€ov:
ws AreEavdpwdes 76n TodTO: Kav Ente Twa,
> / Ad / N A \
QUTOMATOS OVTOS TapEecTtal Kav dteOety dnra51)
dia Jaracans Sén ToTov Ti', ovTOS éxTat jot
Bartos.
3 A A
avtos 6€ "AdéEavépos €v tats émrtatoAais ovdev
TOLOUTOVY TEpAaTEVTapEVvoS OdoTOLHaaL dyot TIDY
1 ravoecbar Sintenis?, with C and Stephanus; ratcacéas
Sintenis! and Bekker.
1 According to Arrian (Anab. i. 26, 1 f.), there is no route along this beach except when the north wind blows. '* But at that time, after strong south winds, the north winds

then to go up against that monarch. Now, there 1s in Lycia, near the city of Xanthus, a spring, which at this time, as we are told, was of its own motion upheaved from its depths, and overflowed, and cast forth a bronze tablet bearing the prints of ancient letters, in which it was made known that the empire of the Persians would one day be destroyed by the Greeks and come to an end. Encouraged by this prophecy, Alexander hastened to clear up the sea-coast as far as Cilicia and Phoenicia. His rapid passage along the coasts of Pamphylia has afforded many historians material for bombastic and terrifying description. They imply that by some great and heaven-sent good fortune the sea retired to make way for Alexander, although at other times it always came rolling in with violence from the main, and scarcely ever revealed to sight the small rocks which lie close up under the precipitous and riven sides of the mountain.!| And Menander, in one of his comedies,? evidently refers jestingly to this marvel :—

" How Alexander-like, indeed, this is; and if I seek some one,
Spontaneous he'll present himself; and if I clearly

must
Pass through some place by sea, this will lie open
to my steps.”
Alexander himself, however, made no such prodigy out of it in his letters, but says that he marched by

blew, and rendered his passage easy and quick, not without
the divine intervention, as both he and his followers inter-
preted.”
2 Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iil. p. 240.

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to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

, A e
Aeyouevny Kriwaxa xat dvedOetv opunoas éx
, a
PacnrLdo0s. é10 Kat TrAElovas Huépas Ev TH 0-
Nee Ovétpiyrev: ev ais Kat Oeodéxtov tePvnKkotos
5 \ , IAN > s ’ a ’
(qv 3&€ Dacynritns) id@v etxova avaKermévny év
la) Q a , ra
ayopa, meta Seimvov éemexwmpace peOvav Kal Tov
, > 7 , ? La 3
otepadvev éméppiye moddovs, OvVK ayapl ep
atovad amodsoous Tiny TH yevouevyn be *Apt-
masdi¢ ods Tymiy TH yevouévn 8 "Ap
, \ , e / ‘ \ v
OTOTEAHY Kal ptrocoptay opiALa TOS TOV avopa.
XVIIL Mera tatta eordav te rovs avti-
, ef \ , bd a \ ,
otavrTas nper Kal Ppvytav éyetpovto: Kat Topdzov
/ a aA
moAu, eotiav Midov tod tmaXaLov yevéodat reyo-
f f ‘4 e
pevnv, Taparasav, tiv Opvrovperny apuakav cide
aA f , b a
prom xpavias évdedepévnv, kab AOyov ém’ a’th
\ aA a
TtoTEvomeEvoy UTTO THY BapBdpwv jKovcEV, WS TO
, N \ / a 4
AvoavtTte TOY Seopov elwaptas Baciret yevecOat
THS otKoupévyns. Ob pev ovv TOAXOL dace, TAY

a \ Sees, \ ? \ \ os 5) ,
decpav TUPAas EYovTMY TAS apyas Kai du’ adAN-
wv TOANGKLS TKOALOLS EALypols UVTOdEpopevur,
\ , f , a a a
tov ‘AnréEavpov dpnyavodvta AUaat StaTepety
Th paxatpa TO cvvappa, Kai Todas €& adtob
, > \ A > , \ \
KoTrEVTOS apxas havivat. AptotoBovros 6€ Kal
, , e 7 9 A \ , ,
mavu eyel padtav avT@ thy AVow yevécOaL,
5 , a“ ¢ a SS ee ,
éfeXovTt TOU pupod Tov Extopa KadovpeEvoY, wo
, N , Sf)? 4 e f
auveiyeto TO Cuyoderpov, ei ovTwS UdEedkvoarTt
Tov Curyov.
a ,
"Evredbev Waddayovas te cal Karradoxnas
Tpocayayouevos, Kat thy Méuvovos axoveas
ANeuTHV, OS TV emt Para Aapet
TENEUTHY, OS TOV emt OaratTyn Aapetouv otpaTn-
272
ALEXANDER, xvit. 4-xvul. 3

way of the so-called Ladder, and passed through it, setting out from Phaselis. ‘This was the reason for his spending several days in that city, during which he noticed that a statue of Theodectas, a deceased citizen of Phaselis, had been erected in the market-place. Once, therefore, after supper and in his cups, he led a band of revellers to the statue and crowned it with many of their garlands, thus in pleasantry returning no ungraceful honour for the past asso-ciation with the man which he owed to Aristotle and philosophy.

XVIII. After this, he overpowered such of the Pisidians as had offered him resistance, and subdued Phrygia ; and after he had taken the city of Gordium,! reputed to have been the home of the ancient Midas, he saw the much-talked-of waggon bound fast to its yoke with bark of the cornel-tree, and heard a story confidently told about it by the Barbarians, to the effect that whosoever loosed the fastening was des- tined to become king of the whole world. Well, then, most writers say that since the fastenings had their ends concealed, and were intertwined many times in crooked coils, Alexander was at a loss how to proceed, and finally loosened the knot by cutting it through with his sword, and that when it was thus smitten many ends were to be seen. But Aristobulus says that he undid it very easily, by simply taking out the so-called “hestor,” or pin, of the waggon- pole, by which the yoke-fastening was held together, and then drawing away the yoke.?

Setting out from there, he subdued Paphlagonia
and Cappadocia, and on hearing of the death of
Memon, one of the commanders of Dareius on the
1 Early in 333 B.o. 2 Cf. Arrian, Anab. ii, 3.
273
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

an \
yav éridoEos hv “AdcEavopw modAAa Tpdypata
Kal pupias avTirmpets Kal aoxorias mapéFeuv,
5) , \ ‘ BUA / a 4
émreppwaadn mpos THY aVw oTpPAaTELaY paddAov. 1d
dé cal Aapeios éx Yovowv xatéBawev, émraipo-
, A a \
pevos TE TO TAHOE THS Suvdpews (EF jKovTA yap
Hye pupiddas oTpaTODdD), Kai TLVOS Gveipov Oappv-
VOVTOS AUTOV, Ov ot payor pds Yap é€EnyodYTO
a KA \ \ > , 4 \ \ ,
adXov 1) KaTa TO ELKOS. d0EE yap Tupi véepe-
aOat TOAAG THY Maxcdovav darayya, Tov 6é
"AréEavdpov Eyovta aotodnpy hy avtos épopet Tpo-
? A na / e a ? A
Tepov aotavons av Baciréws, Urnpetely avTe@
/ \ > \ “A f 4 3 A
maperOovra b€ eis TO TOD BydXov réuevos adavh
yeveoOar. 61a TovTwY, ws EoLKev, UIrednNOUTO
Tapa Tov Jeod AauTpa pev yevyoecOar Kai Tept-
aw “a > Aw
gavn ta tOv Maxedover, “AréEavdpov $é tijs
pev ’Acias Kpatnoev, waotTep éexpdtnce Aapetos
b] 2 , \ / \ \ \
é& aotavoov Baciredvs yevomevos, Taxyv Oé ov
d0&y Tov Biov atrorciwvecy.
XIX. "Ere 68 padrov éOdppnce Katayvors
Sevttav “ArXeEdvdpou todvy xpovov év Kirrxia
Siatpiwavtos. Hv 561 SiatpBy Sia vooor, hv oi
N b] , e Oe 4 ? a a f
bev EX KOTTMD, Ol O€ NoVTALEV@ Ev TO TOD KUdvov
pevpate KataTayévte! mpooteceiy Aéyouct. TaV
\ 9 4 > “a > \ b] v4 ,
bev ovv AXXwY LaTpa@Y ovdels EOappee BonOncey,
\
GNA TOV KivdUYOY olopEevOL dans LayUpOTEpOV
eivat BonOetas éfoBodvto thy éx Tov charqvat
di:aBornv mpos tovs Maxedovas: Piditros 8 6

1 xatamayévt: Bekker reads kal xatamayévrs (and got chilled).

274

ALEXANDER, xvul. 3-x1x. 2

sea-board, who was thought likely to give Alexander abundant trouble and infinite annoyance, he was all the more encouraged for his expedition into the in- terior. Moreover, Dareius was already coming down to the coast from Susa, exalted in spirit by the magni- tude of his forces (for he was leading an army of six hundred thousand men), and also encouraged by a certain dream, which the Magi interpreted in a way to please him rather than as the probabilities de- manded. For he dreamed that the Macedonian phalanx was all on fire, and that Alexander, attired in a robe which he himself formerly used to wear when he was a royal courier, was waiting upon him, after which service he passed into the temple of Belus and disappeared. By this means, as it would seem, it was suggested to Dareius from Heaven that the exploits of the Macedonians would be conspicuous and brilliant, that Alexander would be master of Asia, just as Dareius became its master when he was made king instead of royal courier, and would speedily end his life with glory.

XIX. Dareius was still more encouraged by Alex- ander's long delay in Cilicia, which he attributed to cowardice. The delay was due, however, to a sickness, which assailed him in consequence of fatigues, ac- cording to some,! but according to others, because he took a bath in the river Cydnus, whose waters were icy cold. Be that as it may, none of the other physicians had the courage to administer remedies, but thinking that the danger was too great to be overcome by any remedy whatever, they were afraid of the charges which would be made against them by the Macedonians in consequence of their failure ;

1 So Aristobulus (Arrian, Anab. ii. 4, 7).
275
ao

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ee pox Onpa pep ewpa Ta TEpl avr ov ova,

n oe didrta TLOTEVOY, Kal devov YOU MEV Os el
civBovetor Ty guyKwduvevo et HEX pl THS éoxXa-
THs welpas Pondav kal mapaBarhopevos, eTrex el
page pappaxeia Kal cuvémetcey QUT OV UT OME VEL
Kat melv, omevdorTa pocdhvar ™ pos TOV TOE HOV.
év toute 6€ Ilappevior emepunpev ema Tony a0
otparoméou, Oraxehevopevos avT@ purafacbat
Tov Ditirmov ws vwo Aapetov Tremetopeévoy ert
dSwpeats peyadrats Kal yaum Ovyatpos averety 67

"AnréEavdpov. 0 O€ THY éETLeTOANY avayvods Kal
pnoevi SetEas TOV hitwy vO TO TpoaKepddatoy

vméOnxev. ws 6€ TOD KaIp9d TrapovTos etondrADe
peta T@V éETaipwy Oo Pidimros TO happaxov év
KUALKL KOmifwy, éxeivm pev er@édmKe THY érLOTO-
apy, avTos dé 70 happaKkov edéEato TpoOvmas Kal
aQvuTOTTOWS, @TE OavpacTHY Kat OeaTpiKnY THY
ow eivat, TOD pey avaywwcKovtTos, TOD dé Ti-
vOvTos, elra apa pos GX) AOUS aToSXeT ovTwY
ovx opoiws, GNA TOD pev “AReEdvOpov parope
TO TPOTOT Kal Svakexuperep THY T pos TOV
Dirurrov eiudveray nal riotw drodatvovtos,
éxeivou 6é€ wpos THyv dtaBorny éEtatapevov Kal
mote pev OeoxruTodyTOS Kab TPOS TOY Ovpavor
avaTeivovTos Tas Yelpas, Tote 5€ TH KAiVN TeEpt-
TLTTOVTOS Kal TApAaKaroovTos TOV “AreEavdpov
evOupeiv Kal T poo Ex ew auT@. TO yap p appaxov
év apy Karo ay ToD TWMLATOS olov dn éwoe Kal
KATEOUC EV els Babos THY Ovvaey, @aoTe Kal pavny
€mihimely Kal Ta TEpl THY alcOnaw dcadh Kat
pexpa Komloy yeveoOat, ALTOOUpLas eTLTETOVENS.
276

-

v

ALEXANDER, xix. 2-5

but Philip the Acarnanian, who saw that the king was in an evil plight, put confidence in his friend- ship, and thinking it a shameful thing not to share his peril by exhausting the resources of art in trying to help him even at great risk, prepared a medicine and persuaded him to drink it boldly, if he was anxious to regain his strength for the war. Mean- while, however, Parmenio sent a letter to Alexander from the camp, urging him to be on his guard against Philip, for the reason that he had been persuaded by Dareius, with the promise of large gifts and a marriage with his daughter, to kill Alexander. Alexander read the letter and placed it under his pillow, without showing it to any one of his friends. When the time appointed was at hand, and Philip came in with the king’s companions, carrying the medicine in a cup, Alexander handed him the letter, while he himself took the medicine from him with readiness and no sign of suspicion. It was an amazing sight, then, and one well worthy of the stage,—the one reading the letter, the other drinking the medicine, and then both together turning their eyes upon one another, but not with the same expression; for Alexander, by his glad and open countenance, showed his good will towards Philip and his trust in him, while Philip was beside himself at the calumny, now lifting up his hands towards heaven and calling upon the gods to witness his innocence, and now falling upon the couch on which Alexander lay and beseeching him to be of good courage and obey his physician. For at first the medicine mastered the patient, and as it were drove back and buried deep his bodily powers, so that his voice failed, he fell into a swoon, and became almost wholly unconscious. However, he

4 b] \ , \ a
ov pny aAArAA TAYEwWS avaAnPOeEis VIO TOD PirIT-
Tov Kal paioas avtov éméderEe tots Maxedoou:
3 \ ? Le \ 9 a ‘ > , “A
ov yap émavovto mpl deity tov ‘“AdXéEavdpor
au povvtes.
A , nn
XX. "Hv 6é tis év tH Aapetov ctpate wepev-
/
yos éx Maxedovias avnp Maxedeorv, *Apurtas,
9 bd a ? / ra 2
ovK ameipos tHS 'AXcEdvdpov gdvcews. ovTOS
4 A A A
wopynuévoy io@v Aapetoy eiow TaV otevav Badi-
> 9? 3 , IN A \ , e t
Cew er AdéEavdpov, édeito kata Ywpav Urope-
ve, €v TWAATOS EYouaL Tediols Kal avaTreTTApe-
,
vows mpos €AdtTovas TAME TOoTOUTM Stapayov-
4 \ , ,
2 wevov. amoxpiwapévov be Aapeiouv dedrévae py
dbacwoiv avtov atrodpavTes ot Tonéutoe Kal
>
dtahuyov AréEavopos, “AXA TovTOV ye,” el7rer,
“a Baotred, yapw Odppe Badrettat yap éxeivos
SN A \ \ 4 , 29 n ,
emt oé, Kal axedov dn Badiler.” Tavita rAéyou
b] = v Q » > > \ 2 4
Apuvtas ovx ereev, aXX avactas €eTropeveTo
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4 'AreEdvipw b€ Tov pmev ToTOV H TYUXN Tapecyer,
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was speedily restored to his senses by Philip, and
when he had recovered strength he showed himself
to the Macedonians, who refused to be comforted
until they had seen Alexander.

XX. Now, there was in the army of Dareius a certain Macedonian who had fled from his country, Amyntas by name, and he was well acquainted with the nature of Alexander. This man, when he saw that Dareius was eager to attack Alexander within the narrow passes of the mountains, begged him to remain where he was, that he might fight a decisive battle with his vast forces against inferior numbers in plains that were broad and spacious. And when Dareius replied that he was afraid the enemy would run away before he could get at them,and Alexander thus escape him, " Indeed," said Amyntas, "on this point, O king, thou mayest be without fear; for he will march against thee, nay, at this very moment, probably, he is on the march." Dareius would not listen to these words of Amyntas, but broke camp and marched into Cilicia, and at the same time Alex- ander marched into Syria against him. But having missed one another in the night, they both turned back again, Alexander rejoicing in his good fortune, and eager to meet his enemy in the passes, while Dareius was as eager to extricate his forces from the passes and regain his former camping-ground. For he already saw that he had done wrong to throw himself into places which were rendered unfit for cavalry by sea and mountains and a river running through the middie (the Pinarus), which were broken up in many parts, and favoured the small num- bers of his enemy. And not only was the place for the battle a gift of Fortune to Alexander, but

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ALEXANDER, xx. 4-8

his generalship was better than the provisions of Fortune for his victory. For since he was so vastly inferior in numbers to the Barbarians, he gave them no opportunity to encircle him, but, leading his right wing in person, extended it past the enemy’s left, got on their flank, and routed the Barbarians who were opposed to him, fighting among the fore- most, so that he got a sword-wound in the thigh. Chares says this wound was given him by Dareius, with whom he had a hand-to-hand combat, but Alex- ander, in a letter to Antipater about the battle, did not say who it was that gave him the wound; he wrote that he had been wounded in the thigh with a dagger, but that no serious harm resulted from the wound. Although he won a brilliant victory and destroyed more than a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he did not capture Dareius, who got a start of four or five furlongs in his flight; but he did take the king’s chariot, and his bow, before he came back from the pursuit. He found his Macedonians carry- ing off the wealth from the camp of the Barbarians, and the wealth was of surpassing abundance, al- though its owners had come to the battle in light marching order and had left most of their baggage in Damascus; he found, too, that his men had picked out fur him the tent of Dareius, which was full to overflowing with gorgeous servitors and furniture, and many treasures. Straightway, then, Alexander put off his armour and went to the bath, saying: “ Let us go and wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Dareius.”” “No, indeed,” said one of his companions, “but rather in that of Alexander; for the property of the conquered must belong to the conqueror, and be called his.” And when he

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saw the basins and pitchers and tubs and caskets, all of gold, and curiously wrought, while the apartment was marvellously fragrant with spices and unguents, and when he passed from this into a tent which was worthy of admiration for its size and height, and for the adornment of the couch and tables and banquet prepared for him, he turned his eyes upon his companions and said: “This, as it would seem, is to be a king.”

XXI. As he was betaking himself to supper, some- one told him that among the prisoners were the mother, wife, and two unmarried daughters of Da- reius, and that at sight of his chariot and bow they beat their breasts and lamented, believing that he was dead. Accordingly, after a considerable pause, more affected by their affliction than by his own success, he sent Leonnatus, with orders to tell them that Dareius was not dead, and that they need have no fear of Alexander; for it was Dareius upon whom he was waging war for supremacy, but they should have everything which they used to think their due when Dareius was undisputed king. If this message was thought by the women to be mild and kindly, still more did the actions of Alexander prove to be humane. For he gave them permission to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to use for this purpose raiment and adornment from the spoils, and he abated not one jot of their honour- able maintenance, nay, they enjoyed even larger allowances than before. But the most honourable and most princely favour which these noble and chaste women received from him in their captivity was that they neither heard, nor suspected, nor

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hous, épwtav ti mwToTe Pidokevos ataypov avT@
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ALEXANDER, xxi. 3-xxm. £5

awaited anything that could disgrace them, but lived,
as though guarded in sacred and inviolable virgins’
chambers instead of in an enemy’s camp, apart from
the speech and sight of men. And yet it is said that
the wife of Dareius was tar the most comely of all
royal women, just as Dareius himself also was hand-
somest and tallest of men, and the daughters re-
sembled their parents.

But Alexander, as it would seem, considering the mastery of himself a more kingly thing than the conquest of his enemies, neither laid hands upon these women, nor did he know any other before marriage, except Barsiné. This woman, Memnon's widow, was taken prisoner at Damascus. And since she had received a Greek education, and was of an agreeable disposition, and since her father, Artabazus, was son of a king's daughter, Alexander de- termined (at Parmenio's instigation, as Aristobulus says) to attach himself to a woman of such high birth and beauty. But as for the other captive women, seeing that they were surpassingly stately and beautiful, he merely said jestingly that Persian women were torments to the eyes.) And displaying in rivalry with their fair looks the beauty of his own sobriety and self-control, he passed them by as though they were lifeless images for display.

XXII. Moreover, when Philoxenus, the commander of his forces on the sea-board, wrote that there was with him a certain Theodorus, of Tarentum, who had two boys of surpassing beauty to sell, and enquired whether Alexander would buy them, Alexander was incensed, and cried out many times to his friends, asking them what shameful thing Philoxenus had ever

1 Cf. Herod. v. 18.

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ALEXANDER, xxi. 1-5

seen in him that he should spend his time in making such disgraceful proposals. And on Philoxenus himself he heaped much reproach in a letter, bidding him send Theodorus to perdition, merchandize and all. He severely rebuked Hagnon also for writing to him that he wanted to buy Crobylus, whose beauty was famous in Corinth, as a present for him. Further- more, on learning that Damon and Timotheus, two Macedonian soldiers under Parmenio’s command, had ruined the wives of certain mercenaries, he wrote to Parmenio ordering him, in case the men were con- victed, to punish them and put them to death as wild beasts born for the destruction of mankind. In this letter he also wrote expressly concerning him- self: “As for me, indeed, it will be found not only that I have not seen the wife of Dareius or desired to see her, but that I have not even allowed people to speak to me of her beauty.” And he used to say that sleep and sexual intercourse, more than any thing else, made him conscious that he was mortal, implying that both weariness and pleasure arise from one and the same natural weakness.

He had also the most complete mastery over his appetite, and showed this both in many other ways, and especially by what he said to Ada, whom he hononred with the title of Mother and made queen of Caria.) When, namely, in the kindness of her heart, she used to send him day by day many viands and sweetmeats, and finally offered him bakers and cooks reputed to be very skilful, he said he wanted none of them, for he had better cooks which had been given him by his tutor, Leonidas ; for his break-

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. i. 23, 8.

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ALEXANDER, xxu. 5-xxu. 3

fast, namely, a night march, and for his supper, a light breakfast. ‘‘ And this same Leonidas,” he said, “used to come and open my chests of bedding and clothing, to see that my mother did not hide there for me some luxury or superfluity.”

XXIII. To the use of wine also he was less ad- dicted than was generally believed. The belief arose from the time which he would spend over each cup, more in talking than in drinking, always holding some long discourse, and this too when he had abun- dant leisure. [For in the stress of affairs he was not to be detained, as other commanders were, either by wine, or sleep, or any sport, or amour, or spec- tacle. This is proved by his life, which, though altogether brief, he filled to overflowing with the greatest exploits. In his times of leisure, however, after rising and sacrificing to the gods, he immedi- ately took breakfast sitting; then, he would spend the day in hunting, or administering justice, or ar- ranging his military affairs, or reading. If he were making a march which was not very urgent, he would practise, as he went along, either archery or mounting and dismounting from a chariot that was under way. Often, too, for diversion, he would hunt foxes or birds, as may be gathered from his journals. After he had taken quarters for the night, and while he was enjoying bath or anointing, he would enquire of his chiet cooks and bakers whether the arrange- ments for his supper were duly made. When it was late and already dark, he would begin his supper, reclining on a couch, and marvellous was his care and circumspection at table, in order that everything might be served impartially and without stint; but

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ALEXANDER, xxi. 3-XXIv. I

over the wine, as I have said, he would sit long, for conversation’s sake. And although in other ways he was of all princes most agreeable in his intercourse, and endowed with every grace, at this time his boastfulness would make him unpleasant and very like a common soldier. Not only was he himself carried away into blustering, but he suffered himself to be ridden by his flatterers. ‘These were a great annoyance to the finer spirits in the company, who desired neither to vie with the flatterers, nor yet to fall behind them in praising Alexander. ‘The one course they thought disgraceful, the other had its perils. After the drinking was over, he would take a bath and sleep, frequently until midday; and sometimes he would actually spend the entire day in sleep.

In the matter of delicacies, too, he himself, at all events, was master of his appetite, so that often, when the rarest fruits or fish were brought to him from the sea-coast, he would distribute them to each of his companions until he was the only one for whom nothing remained. His suppers, however, were always magnificent, and the outlay upon them increased with his successes until it reached the sum of ten thousand drachmas. ‘There it stood, and that was the prescribed limit of expenditure for those who entertained Alexander.

XXIV. After the battle at Issus,! he sent to Da- mascus and seized the money and baggage of the Persians together with their wives and children. And most of all did the Thessalian horsemen enrich themselves, for they had shown themselves surpassingly brave in the battle, and Alexander sent them on this expedition purposely, wishing to have them enrich

TOES apernOivac Bovdopevos: eve oO dé Kal
TO owrrov evTmopias oTpaToTecoy. Kat yevod-
pevot TOTE Tpatov ot Maxedoves Vpucov Kal
cpyopou kal yuvatkov Kal Ssartns BapBapuxgs,
OoTEp KUVES éo-mevoov avrapevoe aotiBou dSioKxey
Ba cyexvevewy Tov TOV Ilepoay rhodrov.
U unv a2AN ’AreEdvdpw tp@tov edoxet Kpatv-
veoOat Ta pos Pardoon. Kuzrpov pev ouv
evdus ot Bacireis KOV eyxeupifovres avT@, Kal
Powieny ThYV Tupov. Tupov bé TONLOPKOV eT TA
pfvas XOuact Kal pnxavais Kal Tpuypect dla-
Koalais ék Oararrns, ovap elde Tov ‘Hpaxréa
deEtovpevoy QvTOV ATO TOD TELXOUS Kal KadovvTa.
TOV dé Tupiwv TONO‘S Kara TOUS vrrvous edo€ev
0 “AmroAov eyeuv OS area T pos “AreEavopor
ov yap aperKew avT@ Ta ‘Tpaccopueva Kata THY
TOMY. GAN avTo. wey WoTEp aVOpwrov avuToO-
porovvTa Tpos TOUS ToAEulovs eT avTopwMpH
tov Oeov eiinhotes cerpas TE TH KONOTT®@ TeEpté-
Bardov avtov Kal Ka@nrouv mpos tHv Bao,
"AreEavdpta tn KanrovvTes. /erepay dé dvpev
‘Aréav6pos ele Kata Tovs Uvous. Larupos
auto pavels édoxet mpooraile moppoben, elTa
Bovdopuévov AaBetv umeEéhevye’ TéXOS O€ TrOAAA
NTApPHNTAaVTOS Kal TepLdpapovTos HAOEV ELs YeEt-
pas. ol O€ pavTers TOUVOma SiatpodVTES OVK aTrL-
Paves epacav autre: “37 yevnoerat Tupos.”
Kal Kpyvny O€ TiVa deuxvdovat, Tpos Hv KATA TOUS
UTVOUS idetv édoke TOV Larupov.
Aud pécou O€ THs ToXtopkias él Tovs "ApaBas
Tous wpocoixourtas TO 'AvTtAtBave otpatevaas

themselves. But the rest of the army also was filled with wealth. Then for the first time the Macedo- nians got a taste of gold and silver and women and barbaric luxury of life, and now that they had struck the trail, they were like dogs in their eagerness to pursue and track down the wealth of the Persians.

However, Alexander determined first to make himself master of the sea-coasts. As for Cyprus, then, its kings came at once and put the island in his hands, together with Phoenicia, with the exception of Tyre. But Tyre he besieged for seven months,! with moles, and engines-of-war, and two hundred triremes by sea. During this siege he had a dream in which he saw Heracles stretching out his hand to him from the wall and calling him. And many of the Tyrians dreamed that Apollo told them he was going away to Alexander, since he was displeased at what was going on in the city. Whereupon, as if the god had been a common deserter caught in the act of going over to the enemy, they encircled his colossal figure with cords and nailed it down to its pedestal, calling him an Alexandrist. In another dream, too, Alexander thought he saw a satyr who mocked him at a distance, and eluded his grasp when he tried to catch him, but finally, after much coaxing and chasing, surrendered. The seers, dividing the word “satyros” into two parts, said to him, plausibly enough, “Tyre is to be thine.” And a spring is pointed out, near which Alexander dreamed he saw the satyr.
While the siege of the city was in progress, he made an expedition against the Arabians who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Mount Antilibanus. On
1 January—-August, 332 B.c.
293
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

5) if \ \ \ f 3
exivduveuce Sta TOV Taldaywyov Avoipayov: é&n-
/ \ b A , a , 9
Ko\ovOnge yap avT@ Aéywv Tov PotviKos ovK
3 , > \ f 3 \ \
eivat yelpwv ovde mpeaBuTepos. émel S€ Tr7-
gladcas Tos Opetvots Kab TOUS tamoUs aTroALTTOV
melos é€Bddrlev, of pev AAXOL ToAV TpoHdrOor,
SieN \ \ / e A BA
avtos 6€ Tov Avaoipaxov, éomrépas $n KaTAadap-
Bavovons Kat TOV TOAEHIinY éyyUs GyTwY, aTra-
,
yopevovta Kat Bapuvopevoy ovy UTropévwv arroAt-
~ 3 ,

mel, GAN avakadovpevos Kal TapaKkopilor,
a f
éxade Tov oTpaTevpatos aToaTaabels meT OrLYOV
, la
Kal GKOTOUS Gua Kal piyous opodpod vuKTEpevwv
a U
év yopiots YadeTrois. eldev ody TOppw TUPA
\ , / A ,
TOAAG KaLOmEeva oTropadny TOY TONELLwV. Oap-
p@Vv O€ TOU THMATOS TH KOUPOTHTL, KAL T@ Tovety
avTos del TapapvOovmevos THV atroptav Tov Make-
4 a a“ ,
Sovev, Tporédpape Tols éyyloTta Tup Katovot Kal
S a A f
meptxabnuevous TH TWUpa dvo BapBapous watakas
a > ? \ \ e f \
TO eyxelptdiw Kal dadov aprdcas KE pos TOUS
A , , A
EauTOU Komilwv. éyKavaavTes O€ TIP TOAV TOUS
\ +f) N > , ee a ‘\ > » ,
pev evdvs éfpoBnaav wate puyeiv, tovs 8 ériov-
5 / \ f b) i
Tas étpéavto, Kal KatnudicOncay axivdvvos.
a ,
TauTa pev ovy Napys totopyxev.
XXV. ‘H 6€ wodopxia towvrtov éoxe Trépas.
\ a
"AreEdvdpou Thy mév TOAAnY THs SuVapEews ava-
\ a , A
TAVOVTOS ATO TOAAOY ayovwy Tov EumpoaOer,
9 ? , (d \ iA e ,
ddiyous b€ TLVaS, WS I TKXOAaCOLEY OF TOAELLOL,
a 4
Tols Tetyeot Tpocayovtos, Apiatavdpos 0 pavtts
éapayiaveto: Kai Ta onuelta KaTioa@v Opacutepov
294

6

=

g!

ALEXANDER, xxiv. 6-xxv. 1

this expedition he risked his life to save his tutor, Lysimachus, who insisted on following him, declaring himself to be neither older nor weaker than Phoenix.! But when the force drew near the mountains, they abandoned their horses and proceeded on foot, and most of them got far on in advance. Alexander himself, however, would not consent to abandon the worn and weary Lysimachus, since evening was already coming on and the enemy were near, but sought to encourage him and carry him along. Before he was aware of it, therefore, he was separated from his army with a few followers, and had to spend a night of darkness and intense cold in a region that was rough and difficult. In this plight, he saw far off a number of scattered fires which the enemy were burning. So, since he was confident in his own agility, and was ever wont to cheer the Macedonians in their perplexities by sharing their toils, he ran to the nearest camp-fire. Two Barbarians who were sitting at the fire he despatched with his dagger, and snatching up a fire-brand, brought it to his own party. These kindled a great fire and at once frightened some of the enemy into flight, routed others who came up against them, and spent the night without further peril. Such, then, is the account we have from Chares.

XXV. The siege of the city had the following issue. While Alexander was giving the greater part of his forces a rest from the many struggles which they had undergone, and was leading up only a few men to attack the walls, in order that the enemy might have no respite, Aristander the seer made a sacrifice, and after taking the omens, declared very confidently

2 Cf. chapter v. 4.

, ' 4 A
Siwpliaato Tpos TOUS TapovTas ev ExEelv@ TO evi
s € , \ / / \
2 mavtws adwoecOat THv Tod. Yyevouévou Sbé
a \ / "a
yYAevac pov Kal yéXwTos (HV yap H TEXEUTALA TOD
f \ ¢
pnvos nuépa), Sinmropnuévov avtov tdav o Bact-
NevS Kal cuUdiAOTLMOVMEVOS GEL TOS HaVTEVLATW
éxéXeve pnKkéTs Tptaxdda Thy nhuépav Exeivnp,
GAA Tpitny POirovtos aptOpetys Kai TH Tad-
a a a ,
TiyYl ONLHVAS ATETELPATO TMV TELYOV Eppwpmeve-
a 4
aotepov rep €& apyns SrevonOn. yevopevns Oe
Napmpas eriBors Kat undé Tov étl oTpaToTédou
\
KAPTEPOLYT@V, ANAA TUYTPEXOVT@Y Kal TROT BoON-
Oovvtwy, ametrov ot Tupiorr Kxal THv woXW etre
>

KaT é€xelyny THY Huepay.
Ni \ a fe) , ’ la) a
3 Mera d€ tadta mortopxovwts Talay avta, Ths
Sv f f / > , a ’ \
Lupias peyiotny WoAL, éumimte: BOXos els TOV
= > \ v iy ‘ v e \ ew ? 3
@uov apelels avwbev vio dpviBos. 0 O€ dpres é
¢ la /
év TOV pnXavnuatwrv Kabioas éEdabev évayebels
Tois veupivots KexpudaAots, ols mpos Tas émLTTPO-
4 has TOV TyoWiwy éyp@vT70. Kal TO onpelov
\ \ ’
avtéBn kata tHy Aptaotavdpou tpoppnaw: étpabn
> 4
pev yap AndéEavdpos eis Tov @pmov, EXaLe O€ THY
ToAW. atrooTé\Awy b€ ToAAA TOY AaAdh’pwY
>] a
Ordvpriads kat Kreotratpa Kai tots pidots, caté-
\ ? a A f
Tene Kat Aewvidn TH Taidaywy@ Tddavta
NBavwrtov TevTakocia Kal TuVpYS ExaTOV, ara-
5 pvnobeis wardixns edrrridos. o yap Aewridns, os
v 3 , \ N N) , 5
éouxev, ev Gvaia Tote mpos Tov ’AréEavdpov ére-
, , a
dpakapevov adotépats tais yepol Kal Kxalaryi-
a @ ff col ? ” 66 a
gavta Tov Cuptapatos, Otay, ey, TiS
296

ALEXANDER, xxv. 1-5

to the bystanders that the city would certainly be captured during that month. His words produced laughter and jesting, since it was then the last day of the month, and the king, seeing that he was perplexed, and being always eager to support his pro- phecies, gave orders to reckon that day, not as the thirtieth of the month, but as the twenty-eighth ; and then, after the trumpet had sounded the signal, he attacked the walls with greater vigour than he had at first intended. The assault became fierce, and even those troops which had been left in camp could not restrain themselves, but ran in throngs to help the assailants, and the Tyrians gave up the fight. So Alexander took the city on that day. After this, as he was giving siege to Gaza,! the principal city of Syria, a clod of earth, which had been dropped from on high by a bird, struck him on the shoulder. The bird alighted on one of the bat- tering-engines, and was at once caught in the network of sinews which were used to give a twist to the ropes.2, And the omen was fulfilled as Aristander predicted ; for though Alexander was wounded in the shoulder, he took the city. Moreover, as he was dispatching great quantities of the spoils home to Olympias and Cleopatra and his friends, he sent also to Leonidas his tutor five hundred talents’ weight of frankincense and a hundred of

myrrh, in remembrance of the hope with which that teacher had inspired his boyhood. It would seem, namely, that Leonidas, as Alexander was one day sacrificing and taking incense with both hands to throw upon the altar-fire, said to him :—“ Alexander,

1 During September and October of 332 B.c.
Ci, Curtius,- fist; Alex. iv, 6,114,
297

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

adpwpatodopov xpatyans, “Ar€Eavdpe, mrovoiws
oUTws érLOuptaces’ viv dé hedopévws YP Tots
mapodot. tote ov ‘AréEavdpos éypawe mmpos
avtov: “’Amectddxapev cot AULBavwtov adGovor
Kal opupvay, das Travan Tpos TOUS JEeovs puLKpo-
NOyoumEvos.
AOS VI. KiBoriov dé Tivos avT@ mT poo eve Dev-
TOS, ov TOAUTENETTEPOV ovdey éddvy Tols Ta
Aapetov Xpnwara Kal TAS amroaKevas TApanai-
Bavovorr, NPOT a TOUS pirous 6 TL OoKOLN padiora
Tav akiwy aTovdns eis aUTO KaTabécOat Toda
5é€ mod\N@Y Xeyovtwy avtos edy THY “Ihidda
hpoupjcey évtavda xatadémevos. Kal TavTA pev
ovK OALyot TOV aELtoTiDTwWY fe“apTUPHKaGLY. El
&’, dmep "AreEavdpets Aéyouow “Hpaxrrgeldn me-
oTevovtes, adynbés éativ, OVKOUY apyos OVdE aaUpE-
Boros alt@ avaotpatevery Eorxev” Opnpos. déyovat
yap OTL TIS Aiyurrou Kpatnoas éBovXeTo TONY
peyahny Kal TovavO por ov EAA yviOg TUvOLKiGUs
éevwvujoy eavtod Kataher ely, Kab Tia TOTO
YVOLN TOV APYLTEKTOVOY OaOY OVOETW OLEMETPELTO
Kal wepteBadreEyv. EtTAa VUKTMP KOLWwpeEVvOS OrLY
EOE Gavpact ny avnp TOANLOS ev para THY Kon
Kal yEpapos To «00s éd0kev avT@ Tapactas
Neyely TA EN TAOE
a U Yi , N /
Nijoos €merta Tis ETTL TOAVKAVOTH Evi TOVTO,
’ , / / / /
Atyumtou tpotrapode Dapov b€ € KtKANTKOVOLD.
‘\ ¢
evOus ovv éEavactas éBadifev emt tiv Ddpov, 4)
TOTE meV ETL VGOS HV, TOU KavwPtKovd puxpov
, a
avMTEPW TTOMATOS, VOY Oé ba YOpaTOS avetrn-
298

when thou hast conquered the spice-bearing re- gions thou canst be thus lavish with thine incense ; now, however, use sparingly what thou hast." Ac- cordingly, Alexander now wrote him: "I have sent thee myrrh and frankincense in abundance, that thou mayest stop dealing parsimoniously with the gods."

XAXVI. When a small coffer was brought to him, which those in charge of the baggage and wealth of Dareius thought the most precious thing there, he asked his friends what valuable object they thought would most fittingly be deposited in it. And when many answered and there were many opinions, Alex- ander himself said he was going to deposit the Iliad there for safe keeping.! This is attested by many trustworthy authorities. And if what the Alexan- drians tell us on the authority of Heracleides is true, then it would seem that Homer was no idle or un- profitable companion for him in his expedition. They say, namely, that after his conquest of Egypt he wished to found a large and populous Greek city which should bear his name, and by the advice of his architects was on the point of measuring off and enclosing a certain site for it. Then, in the night, as he lay asleep, he saw a wonderful vision. A man with very hoary locks and of a venerable aspect appeared to stand by his side and recite these verses :—

" Now, there is an island in the muclhi-dashing sea, In front of Egypt; Pharos is what men call it.''?

Accordingly, he rose up at once and went to Pharos, which at that time was still an island, a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, but now it has been

1 Cf. chapter viii. 2. 2 Odyssey, iv. 354 f.

4 7TaL Wpos THY Nrecpov. ws ovv Eide ToOTOV
evduia dtadépovta (tawia ydp éotiv icOue
, . v : 4 Y P ? MS
5 a
TAATOS EXOVTL TUupETpOY émLELKwS SLELpyoUcAa
Aluvyny TE TOAANnY Kal Odraccav év Aipérve
4 "A > ' € v4 §) "
peyddw TeXNEUTM@OAaY), ELTWY ws" Opnpos HY apa

Td TE GANA GOavpactos Kal copwtatos apyiTé-
KTwY, exédevoe Sraypawat TO TXHpA THS TOAEWS
a f , \ A AY bp) A
5 T® TE RACH ALE Kal 2) pev oY Taprny
n ’ ‘ /
AevKH, TOV S€ AAPitwy AapBavovTes ev TEediw
a , \
peXayyel@ KUKAOTEPH KOATGY Hryov, ov THY évTOS
a ? \
mepipéperav evOetas Paces womep ATO KpacTédwv
> an ? ¢€ ¢ Pb] 4 id
els oXHpA YAapveos UrrerduPavor, €& icov cuvd-
‘ / e , \ a / nA
youoat To peyebos. nabévtos b€ TH StaGéces Tov 686
i f \ ta) a
Baciréws aidvidioyv dpuibes avo Tod ToTapod Kat
a \
THS Aliuvyns, WANnOEL TE ATrELpoL Kal KaTa yévos
,
TavTooaTrol Kal peyeOos, emt Tov TOTOV KaTaipor-
Tes véheoty eoLKOTES OVOE puLKpPOV UTEéALTTOY TaV
\ ’]
additwov, wate xat tov ‘AdéEavdpov statapa-
n U
yOjvat Tpos TOV OLwvor.
’ \ b) \ ~“ ¢ a 4
6 Ov pny adda TOV pavtewy Oappely Tapatvoutr-
N ,
Twy (ToAvapKeoTaTny yap oixifecOat Tod UT’
avtov, Kal TavtodaT@y avOpwotTwv éecopévny Tpo-
» ?
ov) épyov KerXevaas EyecOat Tovs éemipednTas
* ean
autos wppnoev ets "Appwvos, odov pmaxpay Kat
\ \ ” > 4 \ 4 ?
ToANA Mev EYoucaY Epywon Kal TaXalTwpa, KiVdv-
/ « »
vous 0€ dUo, TOY pev avudpias, Ot’ iy Epnuos éatuv
b) > , e “ ‘ , > / bd ”
ovK OALywY tuep@v, TOV dé, Ef AdBpos ev dupo
A /
Bafeia kai ayavel mopevopévols emimécot voTos,
300

ALEXANDER, xxv. 4-6

joined to the mainland by a causeway. And when he saw a site of surpassing natural advantages (for it is a strip of land like enough to a broad isthmus, extending between a great lagoon and a stretch of sea which terminates in a large harbour), he said he saw now that Homer was not only admirable in other ways, but also a very wise architect, and ordered the plan of the city to be drawn in conformity with this site. There was no chalk at hand, so they took barley-meal! and marked out with it on the dark soil a rounded area, to whose inner arc straight lines extended so as to produce the figure of a chlamys, or military cloak, the lines beginning from the skirts (as one may say), and narrowing the breadth of the area uniformly.2 The king was delighted with the design; but suddenly birds from the river and the lagoon, infinite in number and of every sort and size, settled down upon the place like clouds and devoured every particle of the barley-meal, so that even Alexander was greatly disturbed at the omen. However, the seers exhorted him to be of good cheer, since the city here founded by him would have most abundant and helpful resources and be a nursing mother for men of every nation, and so he ordered those in charge of the work to proceed with it, while he himself set out for the temple of Ammon. The journey thither was long, full of toils and hard- ships, and had two perils. One is the dearth of water, which leaves the traveller destitute of it for many days; the other arises when a fierce south wind sites men travelling in sand of boundless depth,

1 Cf. Arrian, Anah. iii. 2, 1.
*See Tarbell, ‘‘The Form of the Chlamys,” Classical Philology, 1906, p. 285.

@S Tov Kal maha NéyeTal mepl Tov KapSvoov
oT parton, avaotiaas Giva peyarny Kal KULATOTAS
TO Trediov pupiddas avOpwrwv TévTEe KATAXYwCAaL
Kal drag Peipar. TaUTa WdvTa ayYedov T avTEs
ehoyilorto, Karem ov dé Hv “AAEEavd pov amToTpe-
pat mpos oTuoby @punpEevon. i) Te yap TUXN TAis
emiBorais t Umetkovoa THY yvounv io Xupav €Trolel,
Kal To Gupoerces axe TOV Tparywarov vmekepepe
THY prroverkiav ANT THTOV, ov movov Trodepious,
GXXA Kal TOTOUS Kal KaLpous cataBratoperny.
MAVIT. By your T™) TOTE _Topeta, TA GUYTU-
yovTa tals aTopiats mapa Tov Oeov BonPnwata
T@V UETEDWY XPNT WAV ema Tevon badQov: TpoTov
dé TLva Kal ToLs Xeno pois y miatis €K TOUTWY
varhypee. 7 p@TOv pep yap eK Aros bowp TOND
Kal dapKets veTch Vevopevor Tov Te Tis Oivrns
po/3ov éXucaV, Kal THY Enpornta xatacBecavtes
THS cipou, VOTE PAS yevoperns Kal pos avuTny
Evpmecovons, EUTVOUV TOV aépa Kal kabapwrepov

TapeoYov. ETELTA THV opwn, olmep noav Tots
odnyois, auyxv0évrwy Kal Tradvns ovons Kal
dtactacpod tay Badifovtwrv bia THY ayva.ay,
Kopakes exhavevtes vTedauPavoyv THY 1yEewoviay
THS Topelas, ETopévov pev Eutrpoabev TeTomevot
Kal omevoovtes, VaTEpouvTas b€ Kai Bpadvvovtas
avapévovtes' 0 b€ Hv Pavypaciwratoy, ws KadrL-
abévns pynoi, Tais dwvais avaxadovpevor TovS
1 Cf. Herod. iii. 26.

2 According to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, two serpents served Alexander's army as guides to the oracle and back again. ''But Aristobulus, whose account is generally admitted to

as is said to have been the case with the army of Cambyses, long ago; the wind raised great billows of sand all over the plain and buried up fifty thousand men, to their utter destruction.1_ Almost all of Alexander's followers took all these things into consider- ation, but it was difficult to turn him aside from any course so ever when he had once set out upon it. For Fortune, by yielding to his onsets, was making his purpose obstinate, and the high spirit which he carried into his undertakings rendered his ambition finally invincible, so that it subdued not only enemies, but even times and places.

XXVII. At all events, during the journey which he made at this time, the assistance rendered him by Heaven in his perplexities met with more credence than the oracles which he afterwards received, nay, in a way, the oracles obtained credence in conse- quence of such assistance. For, to begin with, much rain from heaven and persistent showers removed all fear of thirst, quenched the dryness of the sand, so that it became moist and compact, and made the air purer and good to breathe. Again, when the marks for the guides became confused, and the travellers were separated and wandered about in ignorance of the route, ravens appeared and as- sumed direction of their march,' flying swiftly on in front of them when they followed, and waiting for them when they marched slowly and lagged behind. Moreover, what was most astonishing of all, Callisthenes tells us that the birds by their cries called back those who straggled away in the night,

be correct, says that two ravens flew in front of the army
and acted as Alexander's guides" (Arrian, Anab. iii.
B, © {.).
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T NAVW[LEVOUS YUKTOP Kat KAaCovTES Els iyVvos
KaGiotacay THs Topelas.
"Karel dé bel erOoov THY épnyLov NKEV ELS Tov

TOTOD, 0 pev T popayrys aurov 0 “A pL woves aro
TOU Deob xaiper, os amd TATpos, T poo eiTen™)
6€ € em] peTo pry TLS aUvToOV El) taTrepevyas T@V TOU
TAT pos povew. eupnpetv 6€ TOU 7 pod Tov
KEAEVTAVTOS, OV Yap Elvat matépa Ovnrov avT@,
pera Sarov ev avero, TOUS: Didiaroy poveis éL
TavTas eln TET LILO PT MEVOS® eiTa TWept TIS LPXNS,
el TavTwY avT@ didwotv avOpomev Kuplep ryeve-
cba. xpijcavtos 88 Tod Oeod Kai TobT0 SiSévat
Kat Didiwmoy aréxye ExTAEW THY OLKNY, EOwWPELTO
Tov Oeov avabrjuact KapTpois Kal Ypnuact TOUS
av0 pwrovs.
Tatta mept TOV YPHTLOV ot TAELT TOL ypa-
povow autos é€ “ANEEavopos ev em LoTON} T pos
THY ENTEpa pnat yeyovevat TWAS AUTO pavreias
aT oppiyTous, as avTOS ema eh Oo dpdcer POs
povav éxeivyv. Eévioe 5€ hace Tov bev ™ popyT nv
‘EAANVLGTL Boudopevov Tpooevrrely ETA TLVOS
piroppoavinys * °Q, radiov,” év TO TEAEUTAL@ TOV
HO oyywv t vTO PapBaptiopob T pos TO oiypa ékeve-
XO ivan Kat evrety, “°O macdios,” QVTL TOU VD TO
oiypa NENT apLevor, acpéve 5é 7@ "AreEdvdpw TO
opadpa, THS povijs yeveo Gat Kab dradoO hvac do-
yov ws matoa Atos avtov tod Oe0d rposerTorTos.
NéyeTat b€ Kal Vappwvos év Aliyvrt@ Tod dido-
cohov btaxovoas amodéEacPar pddtata Tov
ANeYGévtwy, OTe TavTes ot AvOpwiror BactdevovTat
umo Jeov: TO yap apyov ev ExdoT@ Kal KpaTodY
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ALEXANDER, xxvn. 3-6

and cawed until they had set them in the track of
the march.
When Alexander had passed through the desert
and was come to the place of the oracle, the prophet
of Ammon gave him salutation from the god as from
a father; whereupon Alexander asked him whether
any of the murderers of his father had escaped him.
To this the prophet answered by bidding him be
guarded in his speech, since his was not a mortal
father. Alexander therefore changed the form of
his question, and asked whether the murderers of
Philip had all been punished; and then, regarding
his own empire, he asked whether it was given to

him to become lord and master of all mankind. The
god gave answer that this was given to him, and that
Philip was fully avenged. Then Alexander made
splendid offerings to the god and gave his priests
large gifts of monev
This is what most writers state regarding the oracular responses; but Alexander himself, in a letter to his mother, says that he received certain secret responses, which he would tell to her, and to her alone, on his return. And some say that the prophet, wishing to show his friendliness by address- ing him with “O paidion,” or O my son, in his foreign pronunciation ended the words with “s”’ instead of “‘n,” and said, “O paidios,” and that Alexander was pleased at the slip in pronunciation, and a story became current that the god had addressed him with “O pai Dios,” or O son of Zeus. We are told, also, that he listened to the teachings of Psammon the philosopher in Egypt, and accepted most readily this utterance of his, namely, that all mankind are under the kingship of God, since in every case that

a fal SS 4

Geiov éotiv: Ett O€ paAXOV aAvTOS TEpl TOUTwWY 6S
, , \ , e ,
dtrocodwrepoy do€dlew Kal Néyerv, ws TavTOV
/ , 3
pev ovta Koivov avOpamwv tatépa tov Oedov, lbi-
fal \ ,
OUS O€ TOLOVMEVOV EAaUTOD TOS AploToOUS.
=o f \ \ \
XXVIII. Kafonrou 6 wpos pév tovs BapBa-
\ 3 \ / f
povs coBapos Av Kai opodpa tetetopévw rept
a “A / \ , e a
THs €x Oeod yevérews Kal TEXVM@TEWS GjOLOS, TOIS
4 ‘
d6€"EAAnoe petpiws kat vrrobedopévws éavtov
ty
f A A 4 fe b>] /
éFedeiale: TAHY Tept Lduou ypadwv ’APnvaioss,
cor N \ 3 # 39 f cw fA aN Gé ,
Sy@ Mev ovk av, hyoiv, “vp éhevlepav Tro-

Ne / \
ALY EdwKa Kal évdoEov: ExeTte 6€ adTiv AaBovtTes
fa) / if \ \ fa)
Tapa TOU TOTE KUpioV Kai TAaTPOS é€u“od Tpocayo-

39 f \ /
evomévov, Aeywv Tov Pirrtrov. vatepov 6ée
p és \ \ ?
a bg \
TANYH TepiTec@v VITO TokEvaToS Kal TepLary?s
r Ou Ways , 99 4 Ape , NE eeas
yevopevos, “Toto per,’ eitrev, “@ iro, TO péov
\
ala, Kal OvK
> , a} 4 Ces , aA b>
Ly@p, olos TEP TE péet paxapecce Oeotauy.
3 \ \ , x aA ,
émet O€ peyddns more BpovtTis yevouevns xar
, ? / > f iy \
mTavtTwv extrAayevTwy Avakapxos o codtaotns
, a
map@y éepyn mpos autov, “Mn te ov toovtov o
tov Atos;” yerdaas éxetvos, “OU Bovromat yap,”
3 ‘6 % 3 a , (4 ,
eimre, ‘hoPepos eivat Tos Piro, WaoTEP TU pe
\ n 6 a
KeAevels 0 KaTahavAtlwy pou TO Séitvoy, OTL Tals
¢ a ,
tpaneélats iv@vas opds émixepévous, od catpa-
a LS A \ M4 , \ bd ,
mov Keparus. T@ yap ovTte A€yeTae Tov ’Ara-
€ ,
Eapxov iXOvdiov Hpaoriove Teuplévtmy w7rd
TOU Baothéos TOV 7 poeipnpevov errupléyEac dar
Aoyov, olovy é€evTedilovTa Kal KaTELpwYEvoMEvOV
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ALEXANDER, xxvil. 6-XxvII. 3

which gets the mastery and rules is divine. Still more philosophical, however, was his own opinion and utterance on this head, namely that although God was indeed a common father of all mankind, still, He made peculiarly His own the noblest and best of them.

XXVIII. In general, he bore himself haughtily towards the Barbarians, and like one fully persuaded of his divine birth and parentage, but with the Greeks it was within limits and somewhat rarely that he assumed his own divinity. However, in writing to the Athenians concerning Samos, he said: “I cannot have given you that free and illustrious city; for ye received it from him who was then your master and was called my father,” meaning Philip. At a later time, however, when he had been hit by an arrow and was suffering

great pain, he said: “This, my friends, that flows here, is blood, and not

‘Ichor, such as flows from the veins of the blessed
gods.’’’}
Once, too, there came a great peal of thunder, and all were terrified at it; whereupon Anaxarchus the sophist who was present said to Alexander : “ Couldst thou, the son of Zeus, thunder like that?” At this, Alexander laughed and said: “ Nay, I do not wish to cause fear in my friends, as thou wouldst have me do, thou who despisest my suppers because, as thou sayest, thou seest the tables furnished with fish, and not with satraps’ heads.’’? For, in fact, we are told that Anaxarchus, on seeing a present of small fish which the king had sent to Hephaestion, had uttered the speech above mentioned, as though he were dis-

1 Tliad, v. 340. 2 Cf. Athenaeus, pp. 250 f.
3°7
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

\ \ , / , \ ,
TOUS Ta TreptBrAETTTA pLEyaNoLs TOvoLs Kal KLVSU-
vows OLWKOVTAS, WS OVOEV 7) pLKpoV év r)d0Vvais Kat
’ , , ” n ” ew «4
aToN\avaoeol TWAEOY EXOVTAS TOV AXAwY. Oo 8 oOvdP
"ArdEavdpos kal amo TV elpnuévwv SHAOS éoTev
avtos ovdev tretrovOas ovdé TeTUdwUEVOS, AANA
Tous aAAous KatadovAovpevos TH S0En THs Oeto-
TNTOS.
XXIX. Els 6€ Dowiknv éraverOav é& Airyv-

, a a
atouv Ovaias tots Geois Kai Twopmas éreténet Kal
YOp@V KUKALwY Kal TpayLKaY ayavas, od ovo
“ ~ 3 + \ A e ,

TALS TAPATKEVALS, ANAA KAL TALS apidrAaLs Aap-

Tpovs yEevouévous. EXopyyouv yap ot Bacireis
a r ? if > , e ,
tov Kumpiov, womep “A@jvnow ov KrAnpovpevot
\ Be , \ ’ iC @ a Xx 4
Tas pvadds, kal nywvilovto GavpactH dtrdoTipia

\ ’ 7 'é \ , e

Tpos GAAjAous. partota b€ Nixoxpéwy o Ladra-
va Y € /
pivios Kat Tlacixparns 6 Soros Svehidovetenoar.
outot yap éXayov tols évdoEotaTos wtoKpitais

a , > /
yopnyetv, Tactxpatns pev “A@nvoddop@, Nexo-
, .@Q a Ya ’ , \ > \

Kpewv d€ Oeccard, Tept dv éomovddKe Kat avdTos
> \ /
"AnréEavdpos. ov piyy dvepnve THY omovdny Tpo-

Tepov 7) Tals Widows avayopevOjvat vix@vTa Tov

9 @ 0 , b¢ ld ” > \ 54 ‘

AOnvodwpov. ToTE O€, ws EoLkeV, ATTLBY EhN TOUS

\ “ ,
MEV KPLTAS ETALVELY, AUTOS MEVTOL [Epos AV 7déws
a , “
mpoccOar THS Bacirelas él TO pw Oeccarov

b a , b \ \ 3 / e \ a

iSety verexnuevov. émet dé “A@nvodwpos bro TAY

> , 4 ef \ \ 3 a “

AOnvaiwy Cnutwhets, OTL Tpos TOV ayova Tov
’ ?
Atovucioy ovK amnvtnoev, n&iov ypayat mTepl

paraging and ridiculing those who undergo great toils and dangers in the pursuit of eminence and power, since in the way of enjoyments and pleasures they have little or nothing more than other men. From what has been said, then, it is clear that Alexander himself was not foolishly affected or puffed up by the belief in his divinity, but used it for the subjugation of others.

XXIX. When he had returned from Egypt into Phoenicia,! he honoured the gods with sacrifices and solemn processions, and held contests of dithyrambic choruses and tragedies which were made brilliant, not only by their furnishings, but also by the com- petitors who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were the choregi, or exhibitors, just like, at Athens, those chosen by lot from the tribes, and they

competed against each other with amazing ambition. Most eager of all was the contention between Nicocreon of Salamis and Pasicrates of Soli. For the lot assigned to these exhibitors the most celebrated actors, to Pasicrates Athenodorus, and to Nicocreon Thessalus, in whose success Alexander himself was interested. He did not reveal this in- terest, however, until, by the votes of the judges, Athenodorus had been proclaimed victor. But then, as it would appear, on leaving the theatre, he said that he approved the decision of the judges, but would gladly have given up a part of his kingdom rather than to have seen Thessalus vanquished. And yet, when Athenodorus, who had been fined by the Athenians for not keeping his engagement in the dramatic contest of their Dionysiac festival, asked the king to write a letter to them in his behalf,

Pearly in 351.8.C,

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 nw a / wn \ 3 3 ?, QA
avtov Tov Bactdéa, TodTO Mev OK eTrOiNaE, THY
\ , > + > a , \
dé Cnuiay amréoterke Trap éavtovd. Avewvos 6é
a / al a
Tov XKaphéws evnuepovytos év TO GedtTpw Kal
\ 4 s
oTiyoV eis THY Kwpwotavy éuParovTos aitnot
s
TeplevovTa OeKa TANAVTD, yedacas dwKe.
Aapeiou 6€ réuwpavtos éricToAnY Tpds avTov
\ , iA , \ € \ " e
Kai pirous SEomévous pupta pev UTEép TOY éarw-
Cad \
KOoToV NaBetvy TddavTa, THY dé évtos Evdpadtov
ad , a
Tacay €xXovTa Kal ynuav7a piav Tov Buyatépwr
hirov eiva. Kal cvppayov, éxolvoUTO Tols ETAI-
\ , » ea \ ,)
pos Kal Tlappeviwvos ettrovtos "'Eyo pév, et
/ a ,
"Ar€Eavdpos tunv, éiaBov av tadta," " Kayo,
> t /
yy) Mia," eirev o 'Ad€Eavdpos, " et Tlappeviov."
\ \ \ " bg e > '\ > s
mpos 6€ Tov Aapeiov éyparrer, ws ovdevos atuy?)-
fa) f 3 \ \ > ' ? \ ,
ge. ToV diriavOpwrwy EMawv pos avTOY, Et O€ [41),
avTos én' éxetvoy dn TopevecOat.

XXX. Tayd pévtoe peteweryjOn tis Aapetou
yuvatkos atroPavovans év wdiau Kal havepos rv
/
aVLOmEVvOS- ws eémlderEty ov puixpay adnpnpévos
ld Ky \
xpnatoTntos. €Gawev obtv tHv dvOpwrov ov-
a : , , a
denias wodvTereias hecdopevos. Tav d€ Gadrapun-
4 € an
TWOAWY TLS EVVOVYWY, Ol TUVEAAwWKELTAY Tais yuU-
\ a
vatEiv, atrodpas €x Tov otpatoTédov Kal pos
a ’ a , v Ui
Aapeiov apimmacapevos, Teipews dvopa, dpaker
Tov Oavatov avT@ THs yuvaikos. ws b€ WANE-
\ \ \ ? ld 66 A fa!
peevos THY Kehadrnv Kat avakravaas “Dev Tod
n a A a
Ilepoav”’ by “ datpovos, e¢ THY Bactrtéws yuvai-
\ 3 \ 3 , 3 , ,
Ka Kal adeddnv ov povoy atypaurwtov yevécOas
310

6§

ALEXANDER, xxix. 3-xxx. 2

though he would not do this, he sent them the amount of the fine from his own purse. Furthermore, when Lycon of Searpheia, who was acting successfully before Alexander, inserted into the comedy a verse containing a request for ten talents, Alexander laughed and gave them to him.!
When Dareius sent to him a letter and friends,? begging him to accept ten thousand talents as ransom for the captives, to hold all the territory this side of the Euphrates, to take one of his daughters in marriage, and on these terms to be his ally and friend, Alexander imparted the matter to his companions. “If I were Alexander,” said Parmenio, “ I would accept these terms.” “ And so indeed would I,” said Alexander, “were I Parmenio.” But to Dareius he wrote: “Come to me, and thou shalt receive every courtesy; but otherwise I shall march at once against thee.’’ 3

XXX. Soon, however, he repented him of this answer, when the wife of Dareius died in child- birth, and it was evident that he was distressed at this loss of opportunity to show great kindness. Accordingly, he gave the woman a sumptuous burial. One of the eunuchs of the bed-chamber who had been captured with the women, Teireos by name, ran away from the camp, made his way on horseback to Dareius, and told him of the death of his wife. Then the king, beating upon his head and bursting into lamentation, said: “ Alas for the evil genius of the Persians, if the sister and wife of their king

1 Cf. Morals, pp. 334 f.

* This was during the siege of Tyre, according to Arrian
Pau. Wy Zoe 1)
* This was but the conclusion of an arrogant letter. Cf.
Arrian, Anab. ii. 25, 3.
311

PEULTARCEH S gelyias

a ’ \ \ , v A
Caicav, GN\a Kal TedEUTITAaGAaY apotpoyv KEtaOat
n A \ e /
tabs BaciitKhs,’ vroikaBav o Padrapuntonos,
a / ” > 9 a
“’AXAA Tadns ye Kup, eimwev, ““@ Bactred,
Kal TLS aTUCNS Kal TOU MpétrovTOS ovdev EyeELS
\ / n
aitiacacOat Tov wovnpov oaipova Llepowv. ovte
a , Sr \ \ A
yap Swoon TH SeoTrotvn NtTaTEipa Kab pnTpL of Kal
TéxvoLs evéder TOV Tpodbev ayalav Kal Karov 7
\ \ er oA A a / b 4 \
TO guV opav as, 0 Tadtv avarap wee NapT pov
° n f
0 KUplos “Opoudaadns, ote aTroPavotca Koa pou
bY / \ \ ,
TLVOS GfLoLpOS Yyéyovev, GAXA Kal Todepmiov TeTi-
e \ f \
penta dakpvow. ovTw yap EoTL YpNoTOS KpaTi)-
’ / ag XN / >
cas ’AndéEavdpos, ws dewos payopevos.
rnon A \
Tadta axovoavta Aapetov 1) tapayn Kal To
, Sues \ e / > Q ‘
mados e€ehepe pos vTotas atoTrous' Kal Tov
fa) , n A /
evvodyYov evooTépw THS TKHVAS aTayayov, “Ki

\ A n 39 f ,
fn) Kal ov peta THs Llepoay, Edy, “ TUXYNS HaKe-
, > > + / b] \ n , f
dovilers, AAX Ett oot SegTroTHS eyw Aapelos, eivé
, / A 4
por oeBopevos Mi@pov te das peya cal deFtav
f 9 \ \ , nm e
Bactr\eov, dpa pn TA piKpoTata Tov Ytateipas
n , \
KAALW KAK@Y, OlKTPOTEpA Oé Cwarns ETAT YOLMED,
nm nx ? A an
Kat paddov av Kat aklay édvaetvyodpEv BLO Kal
oxv0pwT@ TEepiTecovTes EXOPM; Ti yap evTrpeTes
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avdpl vem mpos €xOpov yvvaixa péype! tipis
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TocavTns aupPoraov;” tt RéyovTos avTod
\ b] \ \ - f ¢e N e A
KaTaBarov él tous Todas Teipews avtov ixé-
b a \ / an
Tevey evdpynueiy Kat unte “AdéFavdpov adrxety
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pte THY TEOVEO@TAaY AbEXP)Y Kal yUValKA KATAL-
nm , £. n \
OXUVVAL, HTE AUVTOV THY MEeyioTIVY OV eMTALKEV
1 néype Coraés and Bekker: xal wéxpu
B12
ALEXANDER, xxx. 2-5

must not only become a captive in her life, but also in her death be deprived of royal burial.” “ Nay, O King,” answered the chamberlain, “as regards her burial, and her receiving every fitting honour, thou hast no charge to make against the evil genius of the Persians. For neither did my mistress Stateira, while she lived, or thy mother or thy children, lack any of their former great blessings except the light of thy countenance, which Lord Oromazdes will cause to shine again with lustre; nor after her death was she deprived of any funeral adornment, nay, she was honoured with the tears of enemies. For Alexander is as gentle after victory as he is terrible in battle.”

When Dareius heard this, his agitation and grief swept him into absurd suspicions, and leading the eunuch away into a more secluded part of his tent, he said: ‘“‘If thou also, together with the fortune of the

Persians, dost not side with the Macedonians, and if I, Dareius, am still thy lord and master, tell me, as thou reverest the great light of Mithras and the right hand of thy king, is it not the least. of Stateira's misfortunes that I am now lamenting? While she was alive did I not suffer more pitiful evils? And would not my wretched fortune have been more compatible with my honour if I had met with an angry and savage enemy? For what inter- course that is proper can a young man have with an enemy's wife when it leads to such marks of honour?"'? While the king was still speaking, Tei- reos threw himself down at his feet and besought him to hold his peace, and neither to wrong Aloe ander, nor shame his dead sister and wife, nor rob himself of the greatest consolation for his disasters,

of3

PLUTARCH Sabry iS

adatpeta Cat mapapvOtar, 70 Soxeity um avdpos
HrTho at KpelTTOVOS) KATA THY cv pom ivay $e
ow, ddra Kal Gavpalev "AdéEavdpov os WNeElova
tais Ilepoav yuvarki cwdbpoa vynv 7% Ilépcais
avopevav émude decry Levon. apa dé Gpxous Te ppe-
Koes TOU Garapnrorov KLVOUVTOS UTEP TOUTMD,
Kal Trepl THS GAANS eyKpatetas Kal peyarowuxias
THIS "AnreEavopou AEyovTos, efehOov T pos. TOUS
éral pous o Aapetos Kat XEtipas avaret a5 7 pos TOY
oupavov émevEaTo- ""@cor yeveOr.or cat Bacinrevor,
puriata pev éuol didoinre TY Tlepca@y tuyny ets
opOov avdis orabeioav ep' ois edeEapnv ayabois
aT ONT EL, iva KpaTno as cpvetro eat Tas "Ane Eav-
Spov Xapitas ov ELS Ta pidtata Traioas eTUXOV"
el 0 apa TUS ovros ELLAPTOS KEL Xpovos, opetho-
PEVOS veuéeoet Kal petaBory, Tavaacdlat Te Ilep -
cv, pndels Ado avO pwr ov cabicerev ELS TOV
Kvpov @povov wrnv 'AreEdvépov." tadta pev
ovTw yevéoOas Te Kal Nevennae Pacw ol TrAELoTOL
TOV suyypadéwr.
XXXI. "AréEavdpos 5 thy évtos tod Eidpa-
Tov Tacav vd éavT@ Toincdpevos nravvev ert
Aapetiov éxatov puptdot otpatod KataPatvorta.
Kai TIS AUTO ppater TOV ETALPWY, WS 67) 'ENWTOS
aEtov mpaypa, TOUS axodovGous TmaivovTas Els
dv pEpy Sunpneevat opas avTous, ov ExaTEpou
oT parry ov eivat Kal myepova, TOV pev "AdEEav-
Spov, tov oé Aapeiov UT AUT@Y MmpocayopEevo-
pevov" apapévous dé Bonrous axpoBonriferO at
Tpos GAAYAOUS, Elta Tuypats, TéAOS exxexadabat
TH ptrovexta Kal péexpt ALGwv Kai EvAwy, TOA-
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namely, the belief that he had been conquered by a man who was superior to human nature; nay, he should even admire Alexander for having shown greater self-restraint in dealing with Persian women than valour against Persian men. Then, while the eunuch was confirming his testimony with the most solemn oaths, and discoursing on the general self- mastery and magnanimity of Alexander, Dareius went out to his companions, and lifting his hands towards heaven, prayed: “O ye gods of my race and kingdom, above all things else grant that 1 may leave the fortune of Persia reéstablished in the prosperity wherein I found it, in order that my victory may enable me to requite Alexander for the favours which I received at his hands when | had lost my dearest possessions ; but if, then, a fated time has now come, due to divine jealousy and the vicissitudes of things, and the sway of the Persians must cease, grant that no other man may sit upon the throne of Cyrus but Alexander.” That these things were thus done and said is the testimony of most historians.!

XXXI. But to return to Alexander, when he had subdued all the country on this side of the Euphrates, he marched against Dareius,? who was coming down to meet him with a million men. On this march one of his companions told him, as a matter worth laughing at, that the camp-followers, in sport, had divided themselves into two bands, and set a general and commander over each of them, one of whom they called Alexander, and the other Dareius; and that they had begun by pelting one another with clods of earth, then had fought with their fists, and finally, heated with the desire of battle, had taken

' Cf. Arrian, Anab. iv. 20. 2 In June or July of 331 B.c.

id P a .
Nous Kal dvoKxatamave Tous yeyovotas. Tabra 6:
aKkovoas eK ENEVT EY AUTOUS povopaxijoar TOUS
nyepovas® Kal tov pev “AréEavdpov avTos anh,
tov 6€ Aapeiov Pirwtas. €Oeato Sé 0 aGtTpaTos,
€v OlwV@ TLVt TOD pEAXOVTOS TLOEWEVOS TO ryLyVO-
pevov. loxupas d€ THS wayns Evowevns evirrjo ev
0 KANOULEVOS ‘Arefavdpos, Kat dwpeav édaBe
OwoeKka KO "AS Kal oTOAn Ilepocen Vv pio Gat.
TaUTa pLeV OUV "Eparoodévns i (oTopnKe.
Thy 6¢ pey any any 7 pos Aapetov ovx éy
"ApBirols, @aTEP Of TOAAOL ypadovaw, ANG ev
Davyapi rors ryevéo Oat TUVETETE. onpaiven é
activ oixov Kapeyrov tHv SidrExToV, érel THY
Tava. Tus Bacthéwyv éexhuywv Toreputous ent
KQ[L1)N OV Spomdbos evraiba Kadidpuvoev auTny,
amoragas TWAS K@mas Kal 7 poo osous els THY

emiperetav. 7% ev ovv aeAnVH TOD Bondpomta@vos
eEéhutre TEpl THY TAY pvaoTypiwy TOV "AOHYnow
apynv, evdexdtn O€ amd THs éxrEivews vuKTt
TOV OTpaTOTEédwY Ev Get yeyovoTwy, Aapetos pev
év omdots cuvetye THY SUVA, UTO NapTadmy
érrimropevopevos tas Tak€es, "AdéEavdpos O€ TaV
Maxedovey avaTravopevov AUTOS TPO THS OKN-
vijs pera TOU _(LEVTEDS Aptatavdpov Over pi Bev,
/
iepoupytas TLVAS ATrOppI)TOUS Lepoupyoupevos Kal
TO Po8o opayvalonevos. or oe 7 peo BuTEpor
TOV eTALpov, Kab patra, Tlappevior, OS TO pev
mediov To petakév tov Nidatov cal tav opev
Tav Topdvaiwy dtayv éwpato KataXapTopevov
Tots BapBapixois peyyercr, GTEK [Lap TOS 6€ TIS
dwvi cuppeprypéevyn Kat OopuBos éx tod otpato-
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ALEXANDER, xxx1. 2-5

to stones and sticks, being now many and hard to quell. When he heard this, Alexander ordered the leaders themselves to fight in single combat; to the one called Alexander he himself gave armour, and to the one called Dareius, Philotas. The army were spectators of the combat, counting the issue as in some measure an omen of the future. After a strenuous battle, the one called Alexander was vic- torious, and received as a reward twelve villages and the right to wear Persian dress. ‘This, at any rate, is what we are told by Eratosthenes.

Now, the great battle against Dareius was not fought at Arbela, as most writers state, but at Gau- gamela.! The word signifies, we are told, “ camel’s house,” since one of the ancient kings of the country, after escaping from his enemies on a swift camel, gave the animal a home here, assigning certain vil- lages and revenues for its maintenance. It so hap- pened that in the month Boédromion the moon suffered an eclipse,? about the beginning of the Mysteries at Athens, and on the eleventh night after the eclipse, the armies being now in sight of one another, Dareius kept his forces under arms, and held a review of them by torch-light; but Alex- ander, while his Macedonians slept, himself passed the night in front of his tent with his seer Aristander, celebrating certain mysterious sacred rites and sacri- ficing to the god Fear. Meanwhile the older of his companions, and particularly Parmenio, when the saw the plain between the Niphates and the Gor- dyaean mountains all lighted up with the barbarian fires, while an indistinguishably mingled and _ tu- multuous sound of voices arose from their camp as

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 8, 7. 2 September 20, 331 B.c.
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médov Kalarep €& ayavots Tpoonyes TEAGYOUS,
Javudaoavtes TO wWANHOOS Kat TpdsS AANAHXOUS

dtareyGevtes ws péya Kal yadrerov Epyov ein
cuuTecovTas €k mpopavovs TocovTov waacbat
TOAELOY, ATO TOV lep@Vv yevouevwm TH Bacirel
mpocerOovtes erretOov avtov émiyephoat vuKTwp
Tois ToNEuions Kal T® aKOTM TO hofEepwrTaTor
aouyxaruwat Tod pé\XovTOs ay@vos. oO 6€ TO
jen provevopevov etTra@v, “ Ov Kreme THY viKny,”
éviows pev edoke petpaxcadn Kal Kevny aT OK play
merrowho Gat, mailov T pos Toa ouTOV Kivouvoy,
éviows 5€ Kal TO TapovTt Oappeiv Kai oToxalecOat
TOU HEXOVTOS op as, en dd0vs Tpohaci HTTN-
Oevtt Aapeie 7 pos addqv aves dvabapphyaat
Te(pay, ai Tee pero TOUTOY VUKTA Kal TKOTOS,
ws con Kal oteva Kal Gadacoav TOV 7 poTepov.
ov yap OTAwY ovdé TWMATOY aT opig mavcecbat
TohepobvTa Aapeiov a0 TuKairns: duvapews
Kat Xopas TOTAUTNS, GAN OTav adj TO dp povnpeat
Kal Thy edmida, Oe éuhavods HrTHS KATA KPATOS
éEerey Geis.
XXXII. ’AmedOdvrwy b@ tovrwy KcataxrALOels
urd oKnVHY AéyeTaL TO AOLTOY pépos THS vUKTOS
tmve Badet xpatnOjvat Tapa To eiwOos, wate
Gavuatew éredOovtay GpPeev tovs myemovas Kal
Tap avToY efeveryKeiv Tapayyehpa 7 p@Tov
apio tom orelabas TOUS oTpaTiwtas' émelTa TOU
Katpov Katemeiyovtos eiaedOovta Ilappeviwva
Kal TapacTavTa TH KALYN Ols 7 Tpls avToU hbéy-
Eac@at tovvopa Kal dueyepGévtos ot Tws épwtav
318

ALEXANDER, xxx1. 5—XxxU. I

if from a vast ocean, were astonished at their multi- tude and argued with one another that it was a great and grievous task to repel such a tide of war by engaging in broad day-light. They therefore waited upon the king when he had finished his sacrifices, and tried to persuade him to attack the enemy by night, and so to cover up with darkness the most fearful aspect of the coming struggle. But he gave them the celebrated answer, “I will not steal my victory” ; whereupon some thought that he had made a vainglorious reply, and was jesting in the presence of so great a peril. Others, however, thought that he had confidence in the present situ- ation and estimated the future correctly, not offering Dareius in case of defeat an excuse to pluck up courage again for another attempt, by laying the blame this time upon darkness and night, as he had before upon mountains, defiles, and sea.! For Dareius would not give up the war for lack of arms or men when he could draw from so great a host and so vast a territory, but only when he had lost courage and hope, under the conviction brought by a down- right defeat in broad day-light.

XXXII. After the men were gone, Alexander lay down in his tent, and is said to have passed the rest of the night in a deeper sleep than usual, so that when his officers came to him in the early morning they were amazed, and on their own authority issued orders that the soldiers should first take breakfast. Then, since the occasion was urgent, Parmenio entered the tent, and standing by his couch called Alexander twice or thrice by name; and when he

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 10, where it is Parmenio who advises a night attack.

6 te 67 wemovOms Uarvov Kabevdor vertKnKoTos, ouxl pmédAXoVTOS aywvietcbas TOV péylaTOV TeV aywvev. tov your Adé£Eavdpov eirety Svaperdea- cavta: "Ti yap; ovK dn cot verikynKévat Soxod- pev amndrary LeVvoe ToD TAavacbat Kal droxKety €v TONAT Kal catepOapuery pvyopaxobvra Xopa Aapetov; " ov jeovov b€ po THS pays, andra Kal Tap aQUvTOV TOV KivouvoV emredet Earo péyay Kal TUVETTIKOTA TO hoyiSerbar Kal Gappeww EQUTOV. eoXe ep 0 ayov imorpomny Kal oddov év TO EVOVULD KépaTl KATA Hlappeviova, THS Baxrpt- aVvns immou pol TOAD Kal peta Bias Tapep- TEecTOvans ELS TOUS Maxeddvas, Malaiov dé mepiréuravtos €€@ THS haduyyos imeis Tos sxevopvrakovat mpoaBadovvtas. 610 Kai Oopv- Bovpevos UT depot pov o Ilappeviwy améoreire ™ pos Aaefavopor aryyédous ppatovras oixeo Oat TOV Na para Kal Tas amooKeuds, et i) KATA TAXOS Borevav o oxupay amo 708 TTOLATOS menrpere TOS omicOev. Ervye pev ovv KAT EeKxElvo KaLpoU TOIS mepl aurov épodov dLdovs onpetov" ws O€ MKOUCE ©

Ta, Tapa Tob Tlappeviovos, ovK edn owppoveiv avtTov ovdé évtos elvat TOY Aoyeg Ma, arr' em NEAHaOat TAPATTOMEVOY OTL VIKOVTES MEV TPOTKT- covTat Kal TA TOY Toreniwy, NTTwmEVOLS bE / > , TY, ? & / 3 b PpovTtaTeov ov YpnuaTwv ovde avdpaTodwy, adr Omws aTofavodyTat KAAMS Kal AauTPas ayort- Copevoe. a A Tavr Ta €TIT TELNAS Tappevicove TO Kavos TEpL- éJeto, Tov b€ ANAOV OTALTpOV EVOLS ATO oKNVAS

had thus roused him, he asked him how he could possibly sleep as if he were victorious, instead of being about to fight the greatest of all his battles. Then Alexander said with a smile: ‘What, pray? Dost thou not think that we are already victorious, now that we are relieved from wandering about in a vast and desolated country in pursuit of a Dareius who avoids a battle?” And not only before the battle, but also in the very thick of the struggle did he show himself great, and firm in his confident calculations. For in the battle the left wing under Parmenio was thrown back and in distress, when the Bactrian cavalry fell upon the Macedonians with great impetuosity and violence, and when Mazaeus sent horsemen round outside the line of battle to attack those who were guarding the Macedonian baggage. Therefore, too, Parmenio, much disturbed by both occurrences, sent messengers to Alexander telling him that eamp and baggage were gone, unless he speedily sent strong reinforcements from front to rear.t Now, it chanced that at that instant Alex- ander was about to give the signal for the onset to those under his command ; but when he heard Par- menio’s message, he declared that Parmenio was beside himself and had lost the use of his reason, and had forgotten in his distress that victors add the baggage of the enemy to their own, and that those who are vanquished must not think about their wealth or their slaves, but only how they may fight gloriously and die with honour.

After sending this message to Parmenio, he put on his helmet, but the rest of his armour he had on as

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 15, 1, where Parmenio’s message recalls Alexander from the pursuit of Dareius.

elyev, UTévdupa TOV YKerLKav SwaTor, émi &é
TovTw Owpaka ditrovv Awodv éx Tov ANPOEévTwWY
év ‘loa@. To dé Kpadvos Hy pev aldnpodv, EcTiNB
d. pdvos hy pev otdypodr, ¢
\ ee v / ” ,
dé wamep apyupos Kalapos, Epyov Oeodirov,
A e
TVYNPLOTTO OE AUTO TEPLTPAYNALOV Opoiws oLdn-
pouv, ALGoKONAHTOV: payaipav Sé Bavpacriy
Baby xal Kkovpotntt, Swpnoapuévov tod Kutréwy
, > > if \ \ a
Bactréws, eiyev, NoKnmEevos Ta TOANA yYpPHa Oat
paxyaipa rapa Tas paxas. emiTopTrmpa bé époper
a \ ? , , A \ ‘\ BY
TH pwev épyacia coRapwtepoy 7) KaTa TOV addov

e , > \ Yd e n fal A
omic mov: HV yap Epyov [XtK@Vos TOD TadaLod,
Ten O€ THS “Podiwy Torews, UP Hs &500n Spor:
n \ ~
éypito 6€ Kal TovT@ Mpos TOUS ayavas. ayxpL
pev ovv ourTaTTwY Te THS Padayyos Tapa-
, N 4 N > a ,
KeAEVO"EVOS 4) OLOdaoKoY 7 ehopav TwapeEnrauver,
didXov immo eiye, TOU Boveedara Perdopevos dy
TapnrLKos OvTOS’ Yw@pobvTL Oe pos Epyov éxelvos
\ 9
mpoanyeTo, Kal peTaBas evOus Apyev épodov.
XXXIII. Tote d€ trois @ettadols mrElora
“ /
Suareyels ai tols adrous" EAAnowy, ws emréppw-
> NX a v SGN \ A \
cav avtov Bowrtes ayev émi Tovs PapB8dpovus, To
Evotov és THY apiotepay petaBarav TH deEta
mapexare Tos Oeovs, ws Kaddrobévns dyair,
emevyomevos, eltep dvtws Arofev éatl yeryovas,
> oA \ a \ oo e \
apvva, Kat ouvevippwaat tous “EXAnvas. o 6é
- 3 / f \ ” \
pavtis “Aptotavdpos yAavida every Exwv Kal
Ypucouv oTépavoy ETESLKVLTO TAPLTTEVWY ETOV
322

ALEXANDER, xxxm. 5-xxxut. 2

he came from his tent, namely, a vest of Sicilian make girt about him, and over this a breastplate of two-ply linen from the spoils taken at Issus. His helmet was of iron, but gleamed like polished silver, a work of Theophilus; and there was fitted to this a gorget, likewise of iron, set with precious stones. He had a sword, too, of astonishing temper and lightness, a gift from the king of the Citieans, and he had trained himself to use a sword for the most part in his battles. He wore a belt also, which was too elaborate for the rest of his armour; for it was a work of Helicon the ancient, and a mark of honour from the city of Rhodes, which had given it to him ; this also he was wont to wear in his battles. As long, then, as he was riding about and marshalling some part of his phalanx, or exhorting or instructing or reviewing his men, he spared Bucephalas, who was now past his prime, and used another horse; but whenever he was going into action, Bucephalas would be led up, and he would mount him and at once begin the attack.

XXXIII. On this occasion, he made a very long speech to the Thessalians and the other Greeks,! and when he saw that they encouraged him with shouts to lead them against the Barbarians, he shifted his lance into his left hand, and with his right ap- pealed to the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, praying them, if he was really sprung from Zeus, to defend and strengthen the Greeks. Aristander the seer, too, wearing a white mantle and having a crown of gold upon his head, rode along the ranks pointing out to

1 Sometimes the term ‘*‘ Hellenes” excludes. and sometimes it includes, the Macedonians. The context must decide. Cf. xlvii. 5.

na 3

uTep Keharns AdeEdvdpov cuveTratwpovpevoy Kat

KkatevOvvovta TH mTnoEL OpOtov emt Tods TroAe-

pious, @oTE TOAD pev Odpaos éyyevéoOat Tois

€ nA . a a nw \ n 3 /
op@aw, éx d€ Tov Oappety Kal Tapaxadely adXri-
, A e A © ,
Nous Spow ols tmmevow tepévots emi Tovs
es , ’ / \ / \ \
3 ToNeuious émixupaivery THY harayya. amply be
an \ , 507 e 4
oupptEar tovs mpwtous e€exrAtvav of BapBapo.,
\ 9 4 3 \ ,
Kal Ouwypos HV TOAUS, ELS TA “LéGAa TUVEAAUVOVTOS

’ , . ‘ , e aA *

Anrefavdpov To vixwpevov, Otrov Aapetos iv.

\ \ An nw
woppwOev yap autTov KaTetce Sta TOY TpoTETAay-
peéevwy ev Bade. THs Baotdexts trys éxdavevta,
\ v \ / 949 (id e wn
Kadov avopa kal péyav éf a&ppatos vynrod
a aA e a a)
BeBota, TrodXots trmevot Kat AaLTpOts KaTA-

meppaywevoy ev pdra cuverTetpapéevols Trepl TO

dipua kat wapatetayuéevois SéyecOas Tods ToXe-

4 puous. aAra Sewos opOets éyytOev "AréEavdpos

\ \ - > \ > \ 4
Kal Tovs dhevyovtas éuRadrwyv els Tovs pévovTas
/ a €
éEémdnEe nai dvecxédace TO Wrelotov. ov Se
dpisto. Kal yevvaoTatot mpd Tov PBaciréws
, \ >] b] / , 3 \
POVvEevopevot KAL KAT GNANAWD TLITTOVTES EpLTTOOwWY
n > , \
THs Simkews oav, éumAEKOpevos Kal TepioTa-
a 7
povTes avTots Kat trots.

5 Aapetos bé, Tov Sewav ardavtwv év odbarpols
dvTwy Kal TaY TpoTeTaypéevwy dSuvdpewy épevTro-
[EVD ELS AUTOV, WS OVK HY ATOATTPEWal TO Appa Kal
f er ’ 9 / \ ,

SteEeAdoar padsov, adr’ of Te TpoxYol suUVELYOVTEO

7
TTOMATL TEPUPPEVOL TOTOVTOLS Of TE iTTOL KATA-
324

ALEXANDER, xxxim. 2-5

them an eagle which soared above the head of Alex- ander and directed his flight straight against the enemy, at which sight great courage filled the be- holders, and after mutual encouragement and exhor- tation the cavalry charged at full speed upon the enemy and the phalanx rolled on after them like a Hood. But before the foremost ranks were engaged the Barbarians gave way, and were hotly pursued, Alexander driving the conquered foe towards the centre of their array, where Dareius was.! For from afar he was seen by Alexander through the deep ranks of the royal squadron of horse drawn up in front of him, towering conspicuous, a_fine-looking man and tall, standing on a lofty chariot, fenced about by a numerous and brilliant array of horse- men, who were densely massed around the chariot and drawn up to receive the enemy. But when they saw Alexander close at hand and terrible, and driving those who fled before him upon those who held their ground, they were smitten with fear and scattered, for the most part. The bravest and noblest of them, however, slain in front of their king and falling in heaps upon one another, obstructed the Macedonians in their pursuit, weaving and twining themselves in their last agonies about riders and horses.

But Dareius, now that all the terrors of the struggle were before his eyes, and now that the forces drawn up to protect him were crowded back upon him, since it was not an easy matter to turn his chariot about and drive it away, seeing that the wheels were obstructed and entangled in the great numbers of the fallen, while the horses, surrounded and hidden

1 Alexander’s tactics are minutely described by Arrian

(Anab. iii. 14, 1-3).
325

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

/ \ 3 s n , fad
AapBavopevot Kab dM oKPUTTOMEVOL TH mrajee TED
al b CQ ¢€
vexpov €EjAXOVTO Kal aUVETaPATTOV TOV HVLOXOP,
? / \ \ eo \ \ eo / 4
amToNciTEL bev TO Appa Kal Ta StrAa, Onrevav 6,
ef s ivf \ 4 > \
ws pact, veotoKoyv immo TepiBas Epuyev. ov pny
, x 286 & an 3 \ f Ka e
TOTE AV EOOKEL OLADVYELY, EL [LN TAALY NKOV ETE-
\ "~ , cal fal
pot mapa Tov Tlappevimvos tirets pwetaxadovvtTes
"AréEavdpov, as cuverToaNS ETL TOAATS SuvapEws
A A /
€xel KaL TOV TrOAELIOY OK EvdLOOVTMY. OAWS Yap
a 3
aitcavrat Ilappeviwva Kat éxelvny thy paxny
\ / 4 nr
vwOpov yevérOat Kai dvaepyov, cite TOD yHpws
an ,
HON TL TAPANVOVTOS THS TOALNS, ETE THY éEovTiaY
Kat Tov oyKxov, oF Kaddabévns dyat, tis 'AXe-
Eavdpov duvapews Bapuvouevov cal rpoadOo-
A , ie $ e \ Sey nA
voovTa. TOTE ovv 0 Baatrevs ariabeis 77
f a \
peTaTréuyet TOS pév OTPATLWTALS OUK EppaceE TO
' , > > > sf A , \ ,
arnbes, ANN ws avexwV TOU hovevEetvy KAL TKOTOUS
dvTos avaKAnolv eoijpavers éXavYWV dé TpOs TO
KivdvuvEedoy pépos jKovce Kal' odov HrTHAaOat
TavTatac. kal hevyey Tovs ToAEpLLoUS.
XXXIV. Totvto tis payns exeivns KaBovans
f \ b) \ n
TO Tépas, » pev apxn tavtataocw 1 Lepody
, nm
édoxes Katarervabat, Bacirers bé THs *Acias
? LE S ? f re] " a
AréEavdpos avnyopevyevos eOve Tots Peots peya-
an n f n

AoTrpEeTasS Kal Tols dirows edwpetto TAOVTOUS Kal
\ f
OlKoUS Kal NyEep“ovias. eNoTipovpevos O€ TpOs
‘ ia Dee ” \ oO ,
tous “EXAnvas éEypate tas tupavvidas Tacas
aA \ , 3 , 307 \
Katahv@ vat Kat TodvTevEry adbTovopous, idia oé
TlXataedot tHv todw avotxodopeiv, Ste TV
, ¢ ? A Py
Yopav ol TaTépes avTav evaywricacbar Tols
326

68

ALEXANDER, xxxin. 5—xxxiv. 1

away by the multitude of dead bodies, were rearing up and frightening the charioteer, forsook his char iot and his armour, mounted a mare which, as they say, had newly foaled, and took to flight. However, it is thought that he would not then have made his escape, had not fresh horsemen come from Par- menio! summoning Alexander to his aid, on the ground that a large force of the enemy still held together there and would not give ground. For there is general complaint that in that battle Par- menio was sluggish and ineflicient, either because old age was now impairing somewhat his courage, or because he was made envious and resentful by the arrogance and pomp, to use the words of Callis- thenes, of Alexander's power. At the time, then, although he was annoyed by the summons, the king did not tell his soldiers the truth about it, but on the ground that it was dark and he would therefore remit further slaughter, sounded a recall; and as he rode towards the endangered portion of his army, he heard by the way that the enemy had been utterly defeated and was in flight.

XXXIV. The battle having had this issue, the empire of the Persians was thought to be utterly dissolved, and Alexander, proclaimed king of Asia, made magnificent sacrifices to the gods and rewarded his friends with wealth, estates, and provinces. And being desirous of honour among the Greeks, he wrote them that all their tyrannies were abolished and they might live under their own laws; moreover, he wrote the Plataeans specially that he would rebuild their city, because their ancestors had furnished their

? Arrian makes no mention of a second appeal for aid from
Parmenio.
327

Zz

to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

"EA Anow bmrép THS erevOepias TAPETXOV. em eppe

d€ Kal Kpotwriarais ets ‘Itadiav [4€p0s TOV
Lagupov, TV Pavrrov TOU ab Anrod TUpLeoy TT pO-
Oupiay Kal apetTny, Os mept Ta, Mnéica TOV Gd\AwY
‘Tradtwrav ateyywkoToy tovs “EXXnvas idtocrTo-
Nov Eywy vadv émhevoev ELS Larapiva, Tou KLV-
Suvou TL ped eEov. OUT® TES EUHEVNS Hy T™ pos
aracav apeTnvy Kat KaXoVv epywy gvrAaF& Kat
OLKELOS.
XXXY., *Eami@p 6é THY BaBvurwviav arracay
evOvs em avT@ ‘yevopevny eCavpace padvora TO
TE xao pa. TOU TUPOS @oT ep éx THY NS oUVEXaS
ava hepopevon, Kab TO pedpa TOU _vadba Atma.
Covtos bra TO TAOS ov TOppw TOU VAT MATOS, OS
Tada Bey ao Part 7 poo EoLKeD, oUTw be evTradns
TPos TO T Up eoTL Gore, mptv } Oryeiv THY proya,
Ol aUTHS THS Tept TO POs éfam Topevos avyns Tov
petakv TONAGKIS dépa. ouverKateLy. eT LOELKVU-
pEvor O€ THY puow avTou Kal OUvapty ot | BapBapot
TOV ayovTa: pos THY KaTadvow Tov Bactrhéws
oreveomov eadpe@ T@ papacy KaTepeKxacay:
elTa aoTavTes €% AKpw@ TOUS hapnTipas ToLS
BeBpeypevors mpooeOnkar: 70n yap cweoKorate.
TOV 5é rpwtav evOrs awapevov OvK Ex yey 7 voun
-V povoyv aia Onrov, arr dua, vonmare Outro T pos
Oarepov TEPAS Kab Top EVYEYOVEL TUVEXES 0 TTEVW-
70S. my o€ tes “AOnvodayvns "A@nvaios tov
Tept areupa Kal Aovtpov eiwOoTwY TO copa
Geparevery TOD Bactréws Kal THv Ocdvoray ep
HEADS amare él TO paOvpov. ovTOS ev TO
NouTPHVLE TOTE Tatoapiou TH ’ArcEavdpw Tape-
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ALEXANDER, xxxiv. 2—xxxv. 3

territory to the Greeks for the struggle in behalf of their freedom.! He sent also to the people of Croton in Italy a portion of the spoils, honouring the zeal and valour of their athlete Phajyllus, who, in the Median wars, when the rest of the Greeks in Italy refused to help their brother Greeks, fitted out a ship at his own cost and sailed with it to Salamis, that he might have some share in the peril there.? So considerate was Alexander towards every form ot valour, and such a friend and guardian of noble deeds.

XXXV. As he traversed all Babylonia, which at once submitted to him, he was most of all amazed at the chasm from which fire continually streamed forth as from a spring, and at the stream of naphtha, so abundant as to form a lake, not far from the ehasm. This naphtha is in other ways like asphaltum, but is so sensitive to fire that, before the flame touches it, it is kindled by the very radiance about the flame and

often sets fire also to the intervening air. To show its nature and power, the Barbarians sprinkled the street leading to Alexander's quarters with small quantities of the liquid ; then, standing at the farther end of the street, they applied their torches to the moistened spots; for it was now getting dark. The first spots at once caught fire, and without an ap- preciable interval of time, but with the speed of thought, the flame darted to the other end, and the street was one continuous fire. Now, there was a certain Athenophanes, an Athenian, one of those who were accustomed to minister to the person of the king when he bathed and anointed himself, and to furnish suitable diversion for his thoughts. This man, one time when there was standing by Alexander

1 In 479 B.c. 2 Cf. Herodotus, vili. 47.

A n s 3
TTWTOS evtehous opospa Kai yerotou thy oi,
aSovros dé XapeevTos, Ytépavos éxaretto, " Bov-
hen " dnotv, "@ Bactrev, Stdmetpav éy Lrepaveo
Tob hapudkov AdBopev; dv yap arntat tovTou
a , ¥
Kal pn KatacBeoOn, Tavtdraciw av dhainv apma-
a 93 bd
yov kat devnv avtov thy Svvapiv éivat. Tpo-
" , e
Fb pos dé ws Kal Tov Tarda.ptou S:d0vtos éavTov
TPOS THY TELPAV, ALA TO Treprareiypar Kal Ouyeiv
éEnvO noe proya TooavTny TO cpa Kal Tupt
Katecyebn To TaV Bate TOV 'AXEEaVépop Ets Trav
b) / \ A 3 a 3 \ \ \ /,
amropias Kai Séous édOety: eb O€ py KaTa TUXNY
A n \ \ ' e
TOANOL TapHaav ayyela TWpos TO AOUTpOY UVdaTos
\ aA " 9 a ov e ,

dia yepov Exovtes, ovK av EpOacev 7 BorPea
\ bd , 3 A \ U / ,
THY émivomyy. GAAAG Kal TOTE poyls KaTeaBecav 68K

lal " cy al ,
TO T@pua TOD Tatoos St' GAOV TUP YEevouEVOY, Kal
peTa TADTA YaAXETTaS Eayer.
> > » \ A > r \
Eixotws obv éviot Tov poGov avacwlovtes pos
A b) f a if 3 \ n ,
Tv arnOeray TovTO haa eEivat To THS Mnéeias

2 \ f

pdppakov, @® TOV Tpaywdovpevovy atépavov Kal
\ \ n
Tov wémAov Eyptcev. ov yap €& avTov éxeivar

3 ‘ nw

ovde amr avToudtov Aduwat TO TOP, GAAG ro-
\ , bd a e
ros éyytdev mapateleions o€etav odK}Y Kal cUVA-

dyv adnrov aicOyjae yevérOat. Tas yap axtivas

\ ¢ a N ,

Kal Ta pevpata Tov Tupos amwhev érepyopueva

A \ V4 ¢ na
TOlS MeV AANOLS THOUATL PAs Kal OepuoTnTAa TpoC-
\ a
Barretv povov, év O€ Tots EnpoTHnTAa TvevpaTiKNy
/ \ n
7?) votioa AtTapav Kal diapKh KexTnpévots GO pot-
? \ wn
Coueva Kat tupipavodyTa petaBdrrAcy oFéws THY
e Lal ,
vAnV. apetye O€ aumopiay nH yéveois... ETE
33°

ALEXANDER, xxxv. 3-6

in the bath-room a youth who had a ridiculously plain countenance, but was a graceful singer (his name was Stephanus), said, “Wilt thou, O King, that we make a trial of the liquid upon Stephanus? For if it should lay hold of him and not be extinguished, I would certainly say that its power was invincible and terrible.” The youth also, strangely enough, offered himself for the experiment, and as soon as he touched the liquid and began to anoint himself with it, his body broke out into so great a flame and was so wholly possessed by fire that Alexander fell into extreme perplexity and fear; and had it not been by chance that many were standing by

holding vessels of water for the bath, the youth
would have been consumed before aid reached him.
Even as it was, they had great difficulty in put-
ting out the fire, for it covered the boy's whole
body, and after they had done so, he was in a sorry
plight.

It is natural, then, that some who wish to bring fable into conformity with truth should say that this naphtha is the drug which Medeia used, when, in the tragedies, she anoints the crown and the robe. For it was not from these objects themselves, they say, nor of its own accord, that the fire shot up, but a flame was placed near them, which was then so swiftly drawn into conjunction with them that the senses could not take cognisance of it. For the rays and emanations of fire which come from a distance impart to some bodies merely light and warmth; but in those which are dry and porous, or which have sufficiently rich moisture, they collect themselves together, break into fierce flame, and transform the material. There has been much discussion about

ral e s fal N e nw \ ¢€ XN
pLaNXOV UTEKKAUUA THS Proyos vITappEl TO UYypoOV
A fa \ ,
ex THS ys Pvow ALTApav Kal TUpLYyOVOY exovoNs.
‘ 4 3 e / , /
kal yap éaotiv 9 BaBvrwvia chodpa tupwdns,
0 f a
@oTe TAS pmeyv KpLOaS Yapolev éexTNdaVv Kal aTo-
mTadreaGat TOoAAAKLS, Olov LTO hrEyLOVAS TaV
ToTwv aduypous e€vovtwy, Tavs dé av@pwrous ev
n 4 b) fay ¢
TOS KavpacW er coKoV TETANPOLEVOY VdaATOS
xaGevierv. “Aptraros d5€ THs XYwopas aTrorerdOeis
A e a“
émiperntys Kat diroxaraov EdAnvixais puTecass
Siaxoopnoar ta Bacireta Kal TOUS TEpiTaTous,
A \ ” 3 lA N ‘ \ >
Tov pev adrAwY expaTynoe, TOV OE KLTTOV OUK
fo) 4 >
éxtetev 7 yh povov, GAN del déhOetpev ov hépov-
\ A e N A f ¢ a S
Ta THY Kpaow: pev yap Tupwdys, o bé htdo-
wn 9 /
Wuyxpos. ToY pev ody ToLoUTwY TapexBaceEw)D,
dv pétpov éywotv, HTTov lows ot dUocKoXOL KaTN-
yopnoovely.

XXXVI. ’AréEavdpos 66 Yovowy xuptevoas
ral la
mapéhaBev é€v tots PBactretars TeTpaKiopvpLa
/ ‘
Ta\avTa voplopatos, THy b6€ AAAnY KaATAaTKEUHY
\ , > / ee \ ‘
Kal woAvTédeay ddinyntov. Omouv dacl Kat
e A nA
moppupas Epptovixns evpeOnvat tadavta TevtTa-
4 4 \ lal 4
Kityihta, cvyKermevns pev €& ETaV Oéxa SeovTwY
, XN
dtakoclwv, Tpocpatov O€ TO avOos Ett Kat veapov
durattovens. aitiov d€ Tovtov daciv eivat TO
\ ‘ \ f / A e a
thy Bapyy ova pédtTos yiverOar THY adoupyar,
62 éXaiou &€ AevKod TOV AeVKaV: Kal yap TOUTwY
/
Tov loov Ypovov éyovTw@Y THY AauTpOTNTA Kala-
N: \ , c oA , ,
pav Kat oti Bovoav opacda. Acivwy o€ dyat
\ e b) , A tinea \ a
Kal vowp amo te tov NeitAov cat tod “Iarpov
33?

ALEXANDER, xxxv. 6—-xxxvi. 2

the origin of! .... or whether rather the liquid sub- stance that feeds the flame flows out from a soil which is rich and productive of fire. For the soil of Babylonia is very fiery, so that grains of barley often leap out of the ground and bound away, as if its in- flammation made the ground throb; and the inhabit- ants, during the hot season, sleep on skins filled with water. Harpalus, moreover, when he was left as overseer of the country and was eager to adorn the royal gardens and walks with Hellenic plants, succeeded with all except ivy; this the soil would not support, but always killed it. The plant could not endure the temper of the soil, for the soil was fiery, while the plant was fond of coolness. How- ever, if such digressions are kept within bounds, perhaps my impatient readers will find less fault with them.

XXXVI. On making himself master of Susa, Alex- ander came into possession of forty thousand talents of coined money in the palace, and of untold furni- ture and wealth besides. Among this they say was found five thousand talents’ weight of purple from Hermione, which, although it had been stored there for a hundred and ninety years, still kept its colours fresh and lively. The reason for this, they say, is that honey was used in the purple dyes, and white olive oil in the white dyes; for these substances, after the like space of time, are seen to have a brilliancy that is pure and lustrous. Moreover, Deinon says that the Persian kings had water also brought from the Nile and the Danube and stored

1 “This naphtha,” and the first ‘‘ whether ”-clause, have

fallen out of the text.
* Cf. Arrian, Anab. iii. 16, 7, A talent's weight was something over tifty pounds.
333

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

N n ,
MleTA TOV ANAWY METATELTOMEVOUS els THY yulaYy
amTotiGecOat tors Bactrets, otov éxBeBarovyévous
TO péyeOos THS GPXAS Kat TO KUplEevElY ATAaVTMODV.
XXXVIT. Tis db€ Hepcidos ottons ba Tpa-
, f \ f e \
yuTntTa ducgewBorov Kal dudrattopévyns vio yev-
n " \ ' 7
vatotatwy Wepcav (Aapetos pev yap émedhevyer)
/ rd
ylyveTat Tivos TEpLodou KUKXOV exyovans ov TOLD
yyEeuoVv avT@ diykwooos avOpwios, eK TATPOS
, \ \ , , er
Avxtov, pntpos 5é Ilepaidos yeyouws: Gv dhacuy,
étt Tratoos ovtos 'AXeEdvSpov, thy TIvOiav mpoet-
A 7 \ 4 Cal
TEV, @S AUKOS EaTaL KAOnyepwv 'AreEdvdpmw THs
? iy -
émt Ilépcas mopeias. ovoyv pev ovv évtaida
aA 4
TOADY TOV ANLaKOpEeV@Y yevéecOat cuvéTTETE: Ypa-
N e ' fal " ~
het yap AUTOS ws VoulCwY AVT@ TODTO AvVOLTEAELY
3 f , , \ 3 , ,
éxéXevevy atroopattedGat Tovs avOpwrous' vopt-
be e . "4 er b) wae \ de
opatos O€ evpeiy TARGOS Ocov ev Sovaots, THY" b€
4 \ \ \ la) 3 r /
QAXANV KATACKEUNV KAL TOV TAOVTOY ExKoptaOhvat
la af
dace puptos optxots Cevyect Kal mrevraxiaxtALals

KapLnols.
FépEou 6€ avéptavta péyav Oeacdpevos wr
a ld

TAHOovs TOV @PovpEvwY Eis TA Bacidea TAHL-

A /

MEAS GvaTETpappEevoY EeTrégTH, Kal KaOaTrep ep-
7 , U 3 2
wruxov mpocayopevaas, “ llotepov ce,” ei7re, “ dia
\ aN \ ct /
Thy éeTt TOUS EXAnvas oTpaTeElav KEly~EvOV Trap-
3 \ f
EAOwpev 7) Sta THY aANY pEeyarodpocvvny Kal
b \ 3 / a 4 be \ a N
apeTny eyelpwpev;’ Tédos O€ TOADY YXpovov Tpds
al / nw
EaAUT@ yEevopevos Kab ciwmijoas TaphnrGe. Bovdo-
pevos O€ TOUS OTPATLWTAaS avarafetV (Kal yap 7D
334

up among their treasures, as a sort of confirmation
of the greatness of their empire and the universality
of their sway.
XXXVII. Persis was difficult of access, owing to the roughness of the country, and was guarded by the noblest of the Persians (for Dareius had taken to flight); but Alexander found a guide to conduct him thither by a circuit of no great extent. The man spoke two languages, since his father was a Lycian and his mother a Persian; and it was he, they say, whom the Pythian priestess had in mind when she prophesied, Alexander being yet a boy, that a “lycus,” or wolf, would be Alexander's guide on his march against the Persians.!_ In this country, then, as it turned out, there was a great slaughter of the prisoners taken; for Alexander himself writes that he gave orders to have the inhabitants butchered, thinking that this would be to his advantage; and they say that as much coined money was found there? as at Susa, and that it took ten thousand pairs of mules and five thousand camels to carry away the other furniture and wealth there.

On beholding a great statue of Xerxes which had been carelessly overthrown by a throng that forced its way into the palace, Alexander stopped before it, and accosting it as if it had been alive, said: “Shall I pass on and leave thee lying there, because of thine expedition against the Hellenes, or, because of thy magnanimity and virtue in other ways, shall I set thee up again?” But finally, after communing with himself a long time in silence, he passed on. Wishing to refresh his soldiers (for it was winter

1 Arrian (Azab. iii. 18, 1f.) speaks only of a forced march through the mountains. 2 In Persepolis.

YELL@vos Opa) Téeccapas pnvas avroOs ounyare.
NéyeTat O€ KaGicayTos avTOU TO TPWTOV VTO TOY

Ypucody ovpavicxov év T@ Bactdtx@ Opovw tov
Koptv@iov Anpudpatov ebvovy dvta avopa xat
Twatp@ov dirov ‘AreEdvdpou mpeaButixas ére-
Saxptaat, Kal eirreiy ws peyarns 1)S0vns oTEpotvTo
Tov ‘EXXAnvwv of TeOvnKoTEs piv toety *AXéEar-
dpov év T@ Aapetou Opovw Kabrpevov.
XXXVIIL. ’Ex tovtov pédrwv éEedavverv eri
Aapeiov étvye pev eis méOnv tiva Kali tradsav
Tols ETalpots éavTov SedwKwS, WATE KAL YyUVaLa
ouptrivey él K@pov KovTa Tpos Tous épactds.
év d€ TOUVTOLS EVdoKiMOvGA partoTa Mais 4 I1To-
Nexatov ToD PactAEevoarTos VaTEpoV ETALpa, YyEVvOS
"ATTiKn, Ta méev euperas erratvovaa, Ta O€é Tati-
Covca mpos Tov AréEavdpov, dua TH weOn NOyov
eiTety TponKXOn TH pev THs Tatpidos Gee mpé-
TovTa, peitova 5€ 7) KaT auTnv. é&pn yap wv
TeTovnKke TeTAaYN EVN THY Aciav aToNauBavety
yapwv exeivns THS hyépas evTpupHoa Tots vmepn-
davots Iepoayv Bactretos: ett O dv Hdvov wro-
Tphoat Kwpdcaca tov =épfov Tod Kataxav-
cavtos tas ’A@ivas oixov, abt) TO TIP awaca
Tod Baothéws opavtos, ws av doyos Exn Tpos
av@pwmous OTL TOY vavuadxywv Kal Telopaywv
exelvwv oTpaTnyav Ta peta AdeEdvdpov yvvata
petSova dixny éméOnne épcais trép tis “EXAd-
Sos. dua 6€ TO AOyw TOVTw@ KpdTOV Kal BopUBov
yevomevou Kal TapaxeNevoews THY ETAipwHY Kai
336

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ALEXANDER, xxxvi. 3-xxxvuill. 3

time), he spent four months in that place. And it
is said that when he took his seat for the first time
under the golden canopy on the royal throne, De-
maratus the Corinthian, a well-meaning man and a
friend of Alexander’s, as he had been of Alexander’s
father, burst into tears, as old men will, and declared
that those Hellenes were deprived of great pleasure
who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the
throne of Dareius.

XXXAVIII. After this, as he was about to march forth against Dareius, it chanced that he consented to take part in a merry drinking bout of his com- panions, at which women also came to meet their lovers and shared in their wine and revelry. The most famous among these women was Thais, an Athenian, the

mistress of Ptolemy, who was after- wards king. She, partly in graceful praise of Alex- ander, and partly to make sport for him, as the drinking went on, was moved to utter a speech which befitted the character of her native country, but was too lofty for one of her kind. She said, namely, that for all her hardships in wandering over Asia she was being requited that day by thus revel- ling luxuriously in the splendid palace of the Per- sians; but it would be a still greater pleasure to go in revel rout and set fire to the house of the Xerxes who burned Athens, she herself kindling the fire under the eyes of Alexander, in order that a tradition might prevail among men that the women in the train of Alexander inflicted a greater punishment upon the Persians in behalf of Hellas than all her famous commanders by sea and land. As soon as she had thus spoken, tumultuous applause arose, and the companions of the king eagerly urged him on,

, > \ e \ \ »
piroTiplas, éemicrvacbeis 0 Bactdevs Kal avatn-
“i v / \ , n e
4 dnoas éxwv otéhavoy Kal AapTaba Tpojyev. ol
\ , f fal of.
dé érropuevor KOw Kal Bon Teptictavto Ta Baci-
“ e ,
Aela, Kal TOV GAY Makedovwv of TuvOavopevot
/
OUVETPEXYOY [ETA apTadwWY YaipovTes. HATLCOY
\ ¢ ca \ a
yap ort Tots olxot mpoaéxovTos eaoTe Tov vodY Kal
\ / 3 f > “ \ th
Hn wéXAOvTOS ev PapBapols otKely TO TipMpavat
\ / \ / e ‘ ef a
Ta Bactrea Kai dtadOeipew. of pév oUTwW TadTa
/ / £ \ 3 \ * vd 3 9)
yeveoOar dhaciv, ot 6€ amd yvopns OTe & ovv
, / /
petevonoe Tayv Kal KatacBécar mpocérakev
e nw
omodNoyelTat.
a a , x ,
XXXIX. Duces 66 Gv peyarodwpotatos ért
A / al nn
HaAXOV ETEOWKEY ELS TOUTO TOV TpaypaTwy av-
3 \ al € 2g > e
Fouévav' Kat tmpoonv » hiroppocvvn, pel as
, e 3 “A ¢e 4 ,
povns ws adAnO@s ot didavTes yapifovtar. pyn-

/ \ > 4 b) / ty n s
cOycopat 6é odiywv. “Apictwy o tav Ilatovev
YU
nyoUmEvoS aTOKTELVaS ToOAeuLOY Avdpa Kal TiV
\ ? ¢ b] n 77s pe 39> Ly
Keparnv émiderEduevos auto, “'Todto,” eizev,
A 3 al > dé “A A
“@ Buotred, Tip Huty exTr@patos Ypvcod Tima-
A 99 id \
Tat TO O@pov. o 6€ ‘AXéEaVdpos yerXaaas,
ow A ”» 4 fan Oy: \ ’ r
KKevov ye, etmrev, “ éyw 0€ Gol pEeoTOY akpuTou
> val \ bo) /
TpoTiopar. Tov o€ ToAAMY Tis Maxedovwr
of ¢ , \ v4 id
Hravvev Hutovoyv Bactdikov xXpvaciov Kopitovta:
a if *
KGpVOVTOS O€ TOD KTIVOUS AUTOS apdpuevos exoptte
N a ¢
TO poptiov. tdav ody o Bactrevs OrtSdpevov
> N \ , x ral f
auTov ogodpa Kai mu@opevos TO TPaypa, pér-
z ,
Novtos KataTiGecOar, “ NI} Kapns,” elmer, “ adra
338

ALEXANDER, xxxvul. 3-XxxxIx. 2

so that he yielded to their desires, and leaping to his feet, with a garland on his head and a torch in his hand, led them the way. The company followed with shouts and revelry and surrounded the palace, while the rest of the Macedonians who learned about it ran thither with torches and were full of joy. For they hoped that the burning and destruction of the palace was the act of one who had fixed his thoughts on home, and did not intend to dwell among Bar- barians. This is the way the deed was done, according to some writers; but others say it was premeditated.} However, it is agreed that Alexander speedily re- pented and gave orders to put out the fire.

XXXIX. Alexander was naturally munificent, and became still more so as his wealth increased. His gifts, too, were accompanied by a kindly spirit, with which alone, to tell the truth, a giver confers a favour. I will mention a few instances. Ariston, the captain of the Paeonians, having slain an enemy, brought his head and showed it to Alexander, saying : “In my country, O King, such a gift as this is re- warded with a golden beaker.” ‘‘Yes,” said Alex- ander with a laugh, “an empty one; but I will pledge thy health with one which is full of pure wine.” Again, a common Macedonian was driving a mule laden with some of the royal gold, and when the beast gave out, took the load on his own shoulders and tried to carry it. The king, then, seeing the man in great distress and learn- ing the facts of the case, said, as the man was about to lay his burden down, “Don’t give out,

1So Arrian, Anab. iii. 18. 11 f., where there is none of Plutarch's romance. For this, ef. Diodorus, xvii. 72; Curtius, v. 7, 1-7.

Gn

/ " af \ egr > \ \ \ €
mpooGes Ett THY NOLTTHY OdoV ETL THY TKNVHVY Eéav-
foray a 4 99 ew \ " re tal \
TH! TovTO Koploas." OXWS be nx Gero Tois pa
AapBavovat "adrov 7) Tols attovor. Kab Dwxi-
\ ld N ¢ > ,
@ve pev eypawev Eto TOANVY WS OV KpNTopeEvos
5 a , ' / > a a 4
avT@ diriw TO NotTrOV, Eb diwOotTo Tas YapiTas.,
id a '\ /
Nepamiwovt O€ TaY ato ohaipas Tivi veavioxwy
? \ 297 N \ \ 3 a ¢ 9 3 \
ovdey €didou Ora TO pndév aitety. ws OvY Els TO
'4 , e WV f "
adhapifav tapayevouevos o Lepatiwv addors
\ a 3 , a" /
éBarr€ tTHv ohaipav, eimovtos 5€ TOD Bactréws,
\ b] , \ 3 ~ x
"'Kuot 6€ ov didws;" "OU yap aitets," eirzre,
\ \ UL
TOUT® bev On Yeddoas TOANG dwxe. II pwréa dé
A ,
TWL TOY TEP OKOMpATA Kal TOTOV OVK apmovawY
" > 3 a , a" \ / ,
édok&e Ou' opyis yeyovevar: tav b€ dirwv Ceopévwv
b] / , " 4 b] a
Kakeivou dSaxpvovtos Eby StadrAaTTEecOau Kaxet-
an 99 o a ,
vos, "Ovxovdv, eimev, "a Bactred, dos Te pot
a" 3 9 a
TLOTOV TP@TOV. €KEAEVTEV OVY AUT@ TEevTE Td-
a \ N " a / \ a
Aavta SoPhvar. repi 6€ TMV Tots hidots Kal Tots
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TwUaTopPvAakl vEe"op"evwv TAOVTWY, NALKOV EL YOV

” 3 , 3 b] lal 3 4 aA
OyKov, éudaiver os emiotoAns Odvytrids, iv
4 if > /
éypawre ampos avtov. “Adds, dyoiv, “ed
4 \ 4 \ 3 f ” a“ >) ’
mole Tous hirous Kat évdoEous aye: viv & tao-
a c
Baociréas Tavtas Totets Kat todvudtrXtas Tapa-
uf ’ a“ e ‘ N 3 a b>) if
oxevalets avtots, éautov 5€é épnpols.” ToANdKLS
a “ b) cd
dé ToLravTa THs "OXvyTrLados ypadovans édvrAaT-
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TEV ATOPPNTA Ta Ypappata, TANnV ara& Hdai-
otiwvos, woTrEp E.wW0EL, NVOEioay eTLTTOANY AUTO
\
CUVAVAYLVYMOKOVTOS OVK Exw@AVTEV, GANA TOV Oa-
1 ggurg Sint., with the best MSS.; Coraés and Bekker
have geauvrg@. Cf. § 5.
340

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ALEXANDER, xxx1x. 2-5

but finish your journey by taking this load to your own tent.” Furthermore, he was generally more displeased with those who would not take his gifts than with those who asked for them. And so he wrote to Phocion in a letter that he would not treat him as a friend in future if he rejected his favours. Again, to Serapion, one of the youths who played at ball with him, he used to give nothing because he asked for nothing. Accordingly, whenever Serapion had the ball, he would throw it to others, until the king said: “ Won't you give it tome?” ‘ No,” said Serapion, “ because you don’t ask for it,” whereat the king burst out laughing and made him many pre- sents. With Proteas, however, a clever wag and boon companion, he appeared to be angry; but when the man’s friends begged his forgiveness, as did Proteas himself with tears, the king said that he was his friend again, whereat Proteas said : “In that case, O King, give me something to prove it first.” Accordingly, the king ordered that five talents should be given him. What lofty airs his friends and bodyguards were wont to display over the wealth bestowed by him, is plain from a letter which Olympias wrote to him. She says: “I beg thee to find other ways of conferring favours on those thou lovest and holdest in honour; as it is, thou makest them all the equals of kings and providest them with an abundance of friends, whilst thyself thou strippest bare.”” Olympias often wrote him in like vein, but Alexander kept her writings secret, except once when Hephaestion, as was his wont, read with him a letter which had been opened; the king did not prevent him, but took the ring

KTUALOV ahehopevos TOV AUTO TpoTeOnKE TH exeEL-
vou oTOMaTt THY opparyica. Mafatov 6€ Tod
peyotou mapa Aapeiw yevouévov trast catpa-
metav EvovTe devtépav mpoceTiOe: petfora. Tap-
attovpevos O€ éxetvos eimev: “"O. Bactred, TOTE
pev Hv els Aapetos, viv dé ov Todos TeTroinKas
"AreEdvdpous. e Weeaanaue per ovv TOV Bayoou
EO@KEV OLKOV TOV TEpL Lobca," év @ hevyeTau xeric
Taravrwv evpeOhvas (patio pov. mpos & “Avtt-
Tatpov éypae KeXevwv Ever dvAaKAaS TOU co-
patos ws émeBovrevopevov. TH O€ uNnTpl ToAXAa
prev edwpetto Kal KatémeuTev, ovKx ela S€ TroAv-
™ parywovelv ove Tapactparyyetv" éyxanovons O€
TpPLws Epepe TV Xarer ora. TAnY arak torte
"Avtimat pov paxpav KAT auras ypavvartos emre-
oToAny avaryvous ayvoeiv elev ‘Avtimatpov or
pupias émiatoAas ev Sdxpvoy aTraneiet HNTpOS.
XL. ’Ezet 6€ tous TeEph QUTOV éWpa TaVTa-
Tacw éxTeTpupyKotas Kal dhoptixovs Ttais dsai-
Tats Kal ToduTeAclals bvTas, wate “Ayvwva pev
tov Tniov dpyupods év tais xpnmiow Hrous
popety, Aeorvarep 6€ TohrAais Kaunrow am At-
yuTToU KOvI els Ta yupvacia mapaxopifes Bat,
Piriora dé T pos Onpas oracioy EKATOV avratas
yeyovevat, pvp dé Kpwpevous iévat T pos CM erpa
Kal ouTpov Gaous ove eat, TpLT Tas dé Kal
KATEVVAT TAS T EPLa'YOMLEVOUS, emreTinae Tpaws
Kal dirocddas, Oavpdterv pa pevos El TOT OUTOUS
TY@VeT LEvOL Kal THALKOUTOUS ayavas ov pvn-
a OTL TOV KaTaTOoVNnOevTwWY Ol KATATOVN-
1 olxov roy mept Zovea, Coraés and Bekker: olkxov, é
@ Aéyetat Tay wep) Sovoa x.7.A.
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ALEXANDER, xxxix. 5-XL. 2

from his own finger and applied its seal to the lips of Hephaestion. Again, though the son of Mazaeus, the most influential man at the court of Dareius, already had a province, Alexander gave him a second and a larger one. He, however, declined it, say- ing: “O King, formerly there was one Dareius, but now thou hast made many Alexanders.” To Parmenio, moreover, Alexander gave the house of Bagoas at Susa, in which it is said there was found apparel worth a thousand talents. Again, he wrote to Antipater bidding him keep guards about his person, since plots were being laid against him. To his mother, also, he sent many presents, but would not suffer her to meddle in affairs nor interfere in his campaigns ; and when she chided him for this, he bore her harshness patiently. Once, however, after reading a long letter which

Antipater had written in denunciation of her, he said Antipater knew not that one tear of a mother effaced ten thousand letters. XL. He saw that his favourites had grown alto- gether luxurious, and were vulgar in the extravagance of their ways of living. For instance, Hagnon the Teian used to wear silver nails in his boots; Leon- natus had dust for his gymnastic exercises brought to him on many camels from Egypt; Philotas had hunting-nets a hundred furlongs long; when they took their exercise and their Baths: more of them actually used myrrh than olive oil, and they had in their train rubbers and chamberlains. Alex- ander therefore chided them in gentle and reason- able fashion. He was amazed, he said, that after they had undergone so many and so great contests they did not remember that those who conquer by toil sleep more sweetly than those who are con-

caves Hdtov Kabevdovow, ovdé op@ot Tots Lep-
cewv Bios TOUS éauT ap mapaBarnXortes, 6Tt dov-
MOT ATOV pev éott TO Tpupay, BacimKxorartov
dé 70 mwovely. " Kaitot was av Tis, epn, SOE!
éavtod Oepatrevoetev immov 4 hoyxnv doKnoevev
n Kpavos, amretOika@s TOU pidtatov oT @pL.aTOS am Te-
o0at Tas Xetpas; ' "Oun | lore, elev, 'OTL TOD
K patel TE pas npiv éoTe TO He TavTa qoLety Tots
KEK PATN{LEVOLS ; cs em €TELVEY ouv éTL _MadXov AUTOS
EQUTOV éV TAS oTpateiats Kal Tois KUN YyErtots,
KaKkoTad@y Kal mapaBardopevos, OTE kat Aa-
Kova mpeo BevTny Taparyevopuevov avT@ R€ovTa
kataBaddovte peyav elrrety" "Karos Y6, "AXe-
Eavdpe, ™ pos Tov héovTa NY OVC at Tepl TAS Baot-
Aetas. — TOUTO TO KUVNYLOV Kpatepos ELS Aerhous
aveOnen, elKovas Xarnas TOT a [LEvos TOU Xé-
OVTOS Kal T@V KUVOY Kal Tov Baciréws TO EovTe
TVVETTOTOS Kal avTOU mpoc Bonboovtos, @Vv Ta
pev Avoimmos érAace, Ta € Aewydpns.
XLT. 'AréEavdpos pév ody éavtov acKxav aya
Kal TOUS adXAOUS Trapok-vVwY Tpos apEeTHY éKLVOv-
vevev' of d€ trot Ova wOUTOY Kal oyKOV non
Tpupav Bovdopevoe Kal oxonralew éBapwvovto Tas
wravas Kab Tas oTparelas, Kal Kara puuxpov odT@
™ por) ACov els TO Prac hype Kab KAKOS every
auTov. 0 6€ Kal Tavu mpaws év apx7 T pos
TavTa ScéxerTo, packer Baowduxov elvar TO
KAK@S GKOUvELV ev TowouvTa. KalToL To fetK po~
TATA TOV YEevounevayv Tois cvvnGeot Tap avTod
onuela peyadns UTApYev evvolas Kal TLS' BY
odiya Tapabnacopat.

quered by their toil, and did not see, from a com- parison of their own lives with those of the Persians, that it is a very servile thing to be luxurious, but a very royal thing to toil. “And yet,” said he, “how can a man take care of his own horse or furbish up his spear and helmet, if he is unaccus- tomed to using his hands on his own dear person? Know ye not,” said he, “that the end and object of conquest is to avoid doing the same thing as the conquered?” Accordingly, he exerted himself yet more strenuously in military and hunting expeditions, suffering distress and risking his life, so that a Spartan ambassador who came up with him as he was bringing down a great lion, said: ‘“ Nobly, indeed, Alexander, hast thou struggled with the lion to see which should be king.” This hunting-scene Craterus dedicated at Delphi, with bronze figures of the lion, the dogs, the king engaged with the lion, and him- self coming to his assistance; some of the figures were moulded by Lysippus, and some by Leochares.

XLI. Alexander, then, in exercising himself and at the same time inciting others to deeds of valour, was wont to court danger; but his friends, whose wealth and magnificence now gave them a desire to live in luxury and idleness, were impatient of his long wanderings and military expeditions, and gradually went so far as to abuse him and speak ill of him. He, however, was very mildly disposed at first toward this treatment of himself, and used to say that it was the lot of a king to confer favours and be ill- spoken of therefor. And yet in the most trifling attentions which he paid his familiar friends there were marks of great good-will and esteem. I will instance a few of these.

Hevxéota perv éypawe peupopevos Ste dnxGels
e > 0 : e | alge EB / = > x 3
Um apKToU Tols pev AAXols Eypawev, aUT@ O€ OUK
, ’ \ nn A
édjnrtwoev. ‘AAA vov ye,” dyai, “ ypdvpov Tas
4 “A f
EXELS, KAL fn TLVES GE THY GTUYyKUYNYETOVYTOV
b] i / , a) >») A \ \
éyxatéditrov, iva Cixny Saat. Tots be Tepl
€ 7 \ , \ 3 “A sd
Hdatotiwova é:a mpakées tTivas atrovclv éypawev
e u n \ f a ,
OTe TaLCovTM@Y aAUVT@Y Tpos tyVvevpova TO Llepdix-
, r \ \ \
Kov Oopatiw mepirecwyv Kpatepos tous pnpovs
> , , \ / ” ’
érpwOn. Weunéota b€ cwlévtos éx Tivos acbev-
/ ¥ \ > , \ b] \ >

elas €ypawe wpos AdeEiTmov Tov tatpoy evyapt-
a r n \ fa v 9 ‘ 3
atav. Kpazepov b€ vocotytos ow idwv Kad
e / f / a
Umvoyv autos TE TLVas Ovalas EOvoEV UTép avTOU
a A / f \ \
Kaketvov Ovaat éxédevoev. eEypare b€ xal THav-
, cal y A 4 \ \
gavia T@ (aTp@ BovrNopevw tov Kparepov édre-
s \ \ > nw \ \ wn
Bopical, Ta fev aywVvLaV, TA Ys TAPAatvav OT WS
n , \ \
Ypicetae TH happaxeia. Tovs d€ TpwTovs TV
€ , \ \ oe / > ,
Apwdndou duyny Kal amrodpaciy atrayyethavTas
\ ¢
éonoev, Kdiartyny cat Kiooov, ws Katarevdo-
nA ’ 3 \ \ \ n
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7 > ral > ee e \ > \
pvroxos Atyaios eévéypayev éavTov eis Tovs
A 5 \
vocouvTas, eita dwpaleis Exwy oddev KaKOV wLoO-
/ A \ a
Noynoe ‘TerXeoinmmas éepadv Kal ovverraxonrovbeipv
7 4
émt Oaraccav amiovans éxelvns, HpwTNGE TivwYy
- \ \ f b] 7 \ A
avOpwtrav éoTi TO yuvatov. axovaas b€ OTL TOV
, A e a 4 99 e 9
édevOepwr etaipav, ‘ Huas pev,” etaev, “a Ev-
a i“ dd \ a 4
purpoye, TrvEepavras EvEls’ Opa Oe OTTwS TELOwLEV
, , \ ,
A ANoyous 7) OWpors THY TeXeotTTaD, Erreldnmep €E
fd b) 493
éNevdépas éort.
346

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ALEXANDER, xu. 2-5

He found fault with Peucestas by letter because, after being bitten by a bear, he wrote about it to the rest of his friends but did not tell him. “ Now, how- ever,’ said he, ‘‘ write me how you are, and tell me whether any of your fellow-huntsmen left you in the lurch, that I may punish them.” To Hephaestion, who was absent on some business, he wrote that while they were diverting themselves with hunting an ichneumon, Craterus encountered the lance of Perdiccas and was wounded in the thighs. After Peucestas had safely recovered from an illness, Alex- ander wrote to the physician, Alexippus, expressing his thanks. While Craterus was sick, Alexander had a vision in his sleep, whereupon he offered certain sacrifices himself for the recovery of his friend, and bade him also sacrifice. He wrote also to Pausanias, the physician, who wished to administer hellebore to Craterus, partly expressing distress, and partly advis- ing him how to use the medicine. Those who first brought word to him that Harpalus had absconded, namely, Ephialtes and Cissus, he put in fetters, on the ground that they were falsely accusing the man. When he was sending home his aged and infirm soldiers, Eurylochus of Aegae got himself enrolled among the sick, and then, when it was discovered that he had nothing the matter with him, confessed that he was in love with Telesippa, and was bent on following along with her on her journey to the sea-board. Alexander asked of what parentage the girl was, and on hearing that she was a free-born courtezan, said: “I will help you, O Eurylochus, in your amour; but see to it that we try to persuade Telesippa either by arguments or by gifts, since she is free-born.”

: \ 14 ee \ ,
XLIL Oavpdoa 58 adtov éotiv OTe Kai péexpe
f 3 “ a / > / @
TOLOUTWY éTLcTOA@Y TOIs pirots eayora€er, ola
Ta > /
ypaber maida Lerevxov ets Kidixiav amodedpa-
“A \ ,
KoTa Kerkevwy avatyntnoat, Kat Llevxéotay érat-
a e a “ ,
vev ott Nixwva, Kpatepod dotXov, avrédaBe, Kai
nw f la) A e A
MeyaBvlo mepl tod Geparovtos Tov ev TH Epa
, 4 > , Xx 7
cabeComévov, KeXevoV autor, av duvntat, gudAXa-
a fa) a 4 3 \ lal
Betv &Ew Tov iepovd mpoxareodpevos, ev 66 TO
e a ‘\ / , ‘\ \ bs) ,
lep@ pn TpocaTTecOar. RéyeTas dé Kal Tas dixas
Lp \ \ lal cal
Staxpivey ev apxyn Tas Cavatixas THY KXEtpa TeV
la) “ /
OTWY TO ETEPW TPOTTLOEVaL TOU KATHYOpOU Néyov-
“A XN Fd

TOS, OTWS TO KWovvEevovTL KaDapov durdTTyHTAaL
3 ,
Kal AdLaBANTOV. GAN VaoTepoy ye avTov é€eTpa-
, \ nm al
yuvav at Toddal SsaPoratl, dra TOV adnOdY Tap-
\ n fa)
odov émt ta wevdh) AaBovcar. Kai pddLoTA
a 7 , “ sae! \
KAK@S akovwnv eEiaTaTO TOU ppovery Kat YaNETOS
, \ \ , a
HY Kal amTapaityntos, ate 69 THv dokav aytl Tov
A nn a ,
Chv cai THs Bactreias nyaTyKwSs.
Tore 6€ é&)XNavvev él Aapetov ws mandi
‘
payoupevos: axovaas b€ THY UTO Bijacou yevo-
a /
pévnv avtov cvArAn anédXvae TOs Meccarous
vf 4 4 \ bd /
oixade, Cloxidta TddavTa dwpeav emipeTpnaas
a a \ \ \ f ? ,
Tats ptaOopopais. ampos b€ tHv diwkiwy apyaréav
\ \
Kal paKkpav ywwopmevny (&vdexa yap 7 mépas imma-
k \ ,
gaTo TplcyYtrdiovs Kal Tplaxociovs otadious)
, N e a
aTnyopevaay ev ol WAEloTOL, Kal pddLoTAa KATA
\ b] 4 v \ , > /
Thv avudpiav. év0a bn Maxedoves arnvtnoav
avT@ Tires Ddwp év aaoxols éd’ Hutovor KoutCovtes
3 \ fa n
amo TOU ToTapmoU Kat Oeagadpevor Tov “AdéEav-
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ALEXANDER, xt. 1-4

XLII. And it is astonishing that he had time to write so many letters for his friends. For instance, he wrote one giving orders to seek out a slave of Seleucus who had run away into Cilicia; and one in commendation of Peucestas for arresting Nicon, a servant of Craterus; and one to Megabyzus about an attendant who had taken refuge in a sanctuary, bid- ding him, if possible, entice the slave outside the sanctuary and then arrest him, but not to lay hands upon him in the sanctuary. It is said, too, that at first, when he was trying capital cases, he would put his hand over one of his ears while the accuser was speaking, that he might keep it free and unpreju- diced for the accused. But afterwards the multitude of accusations which he heard rendered him harsh, and led him to believe the false because so many were

true. And particularly when he was maligned he lost discretion and was cruel and inexorable, since he loved his reputation more than his life or his kingdom.

Now, however, he marched out against Dareius,} expecting to fight another battle ; but when he heard that Dareius had been seized by Bessus, he sent his Thessalians home, after distributing among them a largess of two thousand talents over and above their pay. In consequence of the pursuit of Dareius, which was long and arduous (for in eleven days he rode thirty-three hundred furlongs), most of his horsemen gave out, and chiefly for lack of water. At this point some Macedonians met him who were carrying water from the river in skins upon their mules. And when they beheld Alexander, it being now midday, in a

4 In the spring of 330 B.c,

Spov non peonpBpias ovens KaKaS Wen) _ Sixpous
EXOvTa TAXU TANT apEevor xpdvos TOT 1VEYKAY.
mrudowevov dé avtod tio Kops OLED, " Tiois,"
epacay, ' ' iStous" adra cov CavTos ETEMOUS ToLn-
copeda, KAY exelvous aToOnET wey." TavUTa AKov-
oas eda Bev els TAs Xetpas 70 Kpavos- meptBeWas
dé kal Gea TAMEVOS TOUS TEpt avrov immels dravTas
éyxexrLeoTtas Tals Keparais Kal pos TO OTOP
Brérrovtas arédwxev ov Tiov, GAN émawéeoas
\ , , ee \ > 7 99 » Pen)
Tous avOpwrous, 'Av yap autos, edn, "Tio
Hovos, adupnoovaty oUTOL. Geacapevot 6€ THY
eyapareray avTOV Kal peyarowuxiar | ot immets
aye dveK paryov Gappodyta Kat Tovs tmmous
éuadotefov: ovTe yap Kadpvew ovTe Oupav ove'
bAXws Gvyntovs civat vopiley avTovs, Ews av Eywot
Bactréa ToLovTo".
XDI. A bev obp mpolupia TAVTOY ay omota*
povous 6€ hac éEnkovta cuvetotreceiy els Ta
aTpatoTreda TOV TONE MLOY. évOa 61) ToXuy pev
dpyupov Kal \"pucov €ppempevov umepBatvovtes,
TONAGS dé Taidwy Kab yuvarKav appapatas
TVLOX OY €pN {Lous Seapepopevas TA pepNopevot,
TOUS TP@TOUS edi@xon, @s éy exelvars Aapetov
OvTa. pots be eUptoKeTat TONY AKO TLG LAT OV
KATATAEWS TO THOUa KEipwevos ev appapakn,
PL POV | Groner oy Tov TedevTay. Spws dé Kat
met nTnoe, Kal Tiwy Bdwp Wuypov elite ™ pos
TOV Sévra To\votparov: 0, avOpwre, TOUTO
pot Trépas yéyore SvaTuyias amdons, ed Tradeiv
apetracbat pn Surduevov" aXn' "Arefavdp 0S

amobwae. got THY yap, AreEavdpw dé of Oeot
525

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ALEXANDER, xu. 4—xLul. 2

wretched plight from thirst, they quickly filled a helmet and brought it to him. To his enquiry for whom they were carrying the water, they replied: “For our own sons; but if thou livest, we can get other sons, even if we lose these.” On hearing this he took the helmet into his hands, but when he looked around and saw the horsemen about him all stretching out their heads and gazing at the water, he handed it back without drinking any, but with praises for the men who had brought it; “ For,” said he, “if I should drink of it alone, these horsemen of mine will be out of heart.” But when they beheld his self-control and loftiness of spirit, they shouted out to him to lead them forward boldly, and began to goad their horses on, declaring that they would not regard themselves as weary, or thirsty, or as mor- tals at all, so long as they had such a king.

XLIII. So, then, all were alike ready and willing ; but only sixty, they say, were with Alexander when he burst into the camp of the enemy. There, in- deed, they rode over much gold and silver that was thrown away, passed by many waggons full of women and children which were coursing hither and thither without their drivers, and pursued those who were foremost in flight, thinking that Dareius was among them. But at last they found him lying in a waggon, his body all full of javelins, at the point of death. Nevertheless, he asked for something to drink, and when he had drunk some cold water which Polystra- tus gave him, he said to him: “ My man, this is the extremity of all my ill-fortune, that I receive good at thy hands and am not able to return it; but Alexander will requite thee for thy good offices, and the gods will reward Alexander for his kindness to

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PLUTARCH S LIVES

THS els pnTépa Kal yuvaixa Kal Taidas Tous émous
émueikelas, © TavTny Sidwps THY SeELav dia aod.”
TavTa ela Kat AaBdopuevos THS TOU IloAvoTpatov
XELpas eEeherrev. ‘AdéEavdpos dé os emir Oev,
anya@v te TO Tabet pavepos my Kat TY éauT ov
yrapvea Mucas é7éBane T@ TO MATE Kal Tepte-
oteive. Kal Biaoov pev Uotepov eUpov dueo hev-
Sovyjcen, opOtav bévdpav eis TAUTO KappOevtov
ExaTepy HLEpos Tpocaptnaas Tob THMATOS, elTa
pedeis ExaTepov, as OpLNnTo pvyn Pepopevor, TO
T poo ijKov av7@ [Epos velar dat. TOTE O€ TOU
Aapetou TO mev oO pa KEKOG J7) LEVOV BacirtKes
Tpos TV batepa améa TELE, Tov 6€ dberdov
"EEdOpny eis Tous ETalpovs avéraPev.

XLIV. Avdtos 5€ peta THS akpwatotatns suva-
pews eis Tpxaviav catéBawe Kai TeXayOUS Lowy
KOATrOV OvK é€AUTTOVa pev TOD IlavTov davévta,
yAuKUTEpoy b€ THS GAANS OaraTTNs, capes pev
ovdey éxxe TvGécOat Trepit avTov, pardiaota Se
elxage THS Matwtidos Ali“vyns avaKoTiy éEivat.
KaLTOL TOUS ‘YE puacKovs avopas ove érabe Ta-
AnGEés, AMAA ToNNois eTETLY eum poo Gev THS “Ade-
EavSpou oTpATELAs LoTopnKacly OTL Teccapwv
KOATIOV eloeXOvT@V TO THs €&W Jardcons
Bopevotatos ovtos éatt, TO “Tpxkaviov wéXayos
kal Kaomcov ood mpocayopevopevov.
"Evrav0a TOV BapBapov tives dm poadoKnTos
TEPLTUXOVTES TOS ayouct TOV ir Tov avrob TOV
3 Bouxedadrav NapBavovaw. o Sé HveyKev ov pe-
1 These details of the death of Dareius are not to be found in Arrian (Anab, iii. 21 fin.), but in Curtius (v. 13, 28) and Diodorus (xvii. 73).

my mother, wife, and children; to him, through thee, I give this right hand.” With these words he took the hand of Polystratus and then expired.! When Alexander came up, he was manifestly distressed by what had happened, and unfastening his own cloak threw it upon the body and covered it. And when, at a later time,? he found Bessus, he had him rent asunder. Two straight trees were bent together and a part of his body fastened to each ; then when each was released and sprang vigorously back, the part of the body that was attached to it followed after. Now, however, he sent the body of Dareius, laid out in royal state, to his mother,’ and admitted his brother, Exathres, into the number of his companions.

XLIV. He himself, however, with the flower of his army, marched on into Hyreania. Here he saw a gulf of the open sea which appeared to be as large as the Euxine, but was sweeter than the Mediter- ranean. He could get no clear information about it, but conjectured that in all probability it was a stag- nant overflow from the Palus Maeotis. And yet naturalists were well aware of the truth, and many years before Alexander’s expedition they had set forth that this was the most northerly of four gulfs which stretch inland from the outer sea, and was ealled indifferently the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea.

Here some Barbarians unexpectedly fell in with

those who were leading Alexander's horse, Buce-
phalas, and captured him. Alexander was angry
2 In the spring of 329 B.c. Cf. Arrian, Anab. ii. 30, 5;
NARS sie Uh
3 «To Persepolis, with orders that it should be buried in the royal sepulchre” (Arrian, Anab. iti. 22, 1).

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

. > \ 7 / ’ / ,
Tpiws, AXAA KyHpUKA TEAS NmEi\ANTE TaVTAsS
a \ / nw
GATOKTEVELY PETA TEKVWOY KAL YUVaLK@Y, El TOV
? ‘mer a. , > ON \ \ \
(TWITOv avT@ pn avaTréurerav. émel b€ Kal TOV
(TTOV AYOVTES KOV Kal TAS TOAELS eyyELplCovTes,
éypycato ditavOpwrws Tact Kal Tov immou
AUTpa Tots AaBovawy Edwxev.
XLV. ’Evteddev ets thv UapOtxnv avavtervéas
\ i“ A ? , \ \
Kal cyoNdlwy mpa@tov évedicato THv BapBapixny
oTOAnY, elite BovAOMEVOS AUTOVY GUVOLKELODY TOTS
, , -
ETLVWpPLOLS VOmols, ws péeya mpos eEnwepwow
b] 4 \ Uf \ e U v9 ’ ,
avOpwrwv to auvnfes kai opoduroy, elt amo-
Telpu Tis upeEelto THS mpooKuyyncews avTN Tos
; ' N N
Makedoct, cata pixpov avacyécbar tTHv éxd.ai-
’ “ \ \ b] , > \
2 tTnolv auTov Kat peTaBorny eOrGopévors. ov pany
/ \ ,
thy ye Mndcxny éxewwny mpoonxato mavtaract
\ ee) , % yO\ 9 ,
BapBapixkny Kai adXoxoTov ovaay, ovdé avakupt-
das ovd€ Kdvduv ovdé ttapay édaPer, adXra ev
x “ a A “A
péow tiva THS Ilepatets cat THs Mndcehs prEa-
lb
peevos eU TWS, ATUPoTepay pev exetvyns, TaAUTNS O€
a) N n
coBapwrépav ovoav. éxpito 5€ TO péev TpaToOV
~ t \ -~ 4
évtuyxavwv tots BapBapos Kat Tois ETAaLpots KAT’

= = A “A er b] f \
oikoVv, elTa TOiS TOAXO’S OUTS eFeAaVYMY Kal
, wn \ N A
3 ypnpaTilwy ewpaTo. Kal AVTNPOY peEV HY ToOIS
; / \ / \ \ » A
Maxedcot 70 Oéapa, tTHy dé GAXnV a’Tov Gavua-
\ f a ow A
Covtes apeTnv @ovto deiy Evia TMY pos 1dOV7V
al U w ef \ A
avT@ Kat do€av émerywpetv: G5 ye Tpos Atract TOLS
, - \
GArows EvayYos Tésevpa pey Els THY KYHUHDY
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ALEXANDER, xuiv. 3-xLv. 3

beyond measure, and sent a herald threatening to put them all to the sword, together with their wives and children, if they did not send him back his horse. But when they came with the horse and also put their cities into his hands, he treated them all kindly, and gave a ransom for his horse to those who had captured him.

XLV. From thence he marched into Parthia,! where, during a respite from fighting, he first put on the barbaric dress, either from a desire to adapt him- self to the native customs, believing that community of race and custom goes far towards softening the hearts of men; or else this was an attempt to intro- duce the obeisance? among the Macedonians, by accustoming them little by little to put up with changes and alterations in his mode of life. How- ever, he did not adopt the famous Median fashion of dress, which was altogether barbaric and strange, nor did he assume trousers, or sleeved vest, or tiara, but carefully devised a fashion which was midway between the Persian and the Median, more modest than the one and more stately than the other. At first he wore this only in intercourse with the Bar- barians and with his companions at home, then people generally saw him riding forth or giving audience in this attire. The sicht — was offensive to the Mace- donians, but they admired his other high qualities and thought they ought to yield to him in some things which made for his pleasure or his fame. For, in addition to all his other hardships, he had recently been shot by an arrow in the leg below the knee, so

' In the early autumn of 330 B.c.
* Prostration on the ground before a great personage, a peculiarly Persian custom,
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

AaBwv, bf ob TO THs KEpKidos daTéov am oO pau-
adev eerrece, NiO dé Trnyels Tadw els TOV

TpaXnrOY WOTE Kal Tats dypeowv ay uv UTrO-
Spa pety Trapapeivacay OUK odyov Xpovor, OMws
OUK €TAavETO XPOmEVOS EAUT@ TPOS TOUS KLIVOUVOUS
apevoas, adra kal TOV "Ope€d pray ts ToTa-
[Lov, OY AUTOS WETO Tavaiv eval, Kal TOUS 2 «vas
Tpeyrauevos elwtev émt oa tadtous éxaTtov, évo-
YAOUpEVOS UTTO Stappoias.
XLVI. ’Evtadda 6é Mpos avTov adixér ba THD
‘Apafova ot TOAXOL heyouow, @V Kat Kreirapxos
éott xat Tlodverertos Kal “Ovnoixpttos Kal
‘Avtuyerns Kal “lotpos: “AptatoBovros 6€é Kal
Xapys o eloaryryedeus Kab IroAepaios Kal ‘Avtt-
KrELOns Kal Pirov O OnBaios Kal Dirurrros)
Ocayyerevs, mpos O€ TOUTOLS ‘Exatatos o ’Lpe-
miptevs cal Dirurmos o Xadndevs Kab Aodpis O
Ldap.os mAdcpa gaol yeyovévat TovTo. Kal
paptupety AUTOLS EOLKEV “AneEav Epos. BLEEP
yap aTAaVTA ypapav axptBas TOV pev Lavdny
avT@ pynot di60var THY Guvyatepa Tpos yapov,
"A pabdvos dé ov pvnpoveves. éyeTae O€ TOANOIS
V povols ‘Ovyotkpitos vatepov 707 Bactrevovte
Avaoipax Tov BiBriov 70 TETAPTOV avayive-
oKELY, ev @ yeypanra mept THS “Apalovos: tov
ouv Avaipaxov AT PEMA pediacavtTa Kai Tov, i
pavar, “ TOTE Heavy éyw;” Tadta pev ovy av TLS
OUTE ATLOT@Y WTTOV OUTE TLoOTEvWY paNdoOV
"AréEavdpov Oavpacete.
XLVIT. DoBovpevos 6€ trovs Maxedévas, wy ets
Ta UTOAOLTA THS OTpaTElasS aTayopevcweot, TO
peev GAO WAHGOS elace KaTAa ywpav, TaUs dé
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ALEXANDER, xiv. 3-xtvir. 2

that splinters of the larger bone came out; and at
another time he was smitten in the neck with a
stone so severely that his eye-sight was clouded and
remained so for some time. Nevertheless, he did
not cease exposing himself to dangers without stint,
nay, he actually crossed the river Orexartes (which
he himself supposed to be the Tanais), put the
Scythians to rout, and pursued them for a hundred
furlongs, although he was suffering all the while from
a diarrhoea.
XLVI. Here the queen of the Amazons came to see him, as most writers say, among whom are

Cleitarchus, Polycleitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister; but Aristobulus, Chares the royal usher, Ptolemy, Anticleides, Philo the Theban, and Philip of Theangela, besides Hecataeus of Fretria, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris of Samos, say that this is a fiction. And it would seem that Alexander's testi- mony is in favour of their statement. For in a letter to Antipater which gives all the details minutely he says that the Scythian king offered him his daughter in marriage, but he makes no mention of the Amazon. And the story is told that many years afterwards Onesicritus was reading aloud to Lysimachus, who was now king, the fourth book of his history, in which was the tale of the Amazon, at which Lysi- machus smiled gently and said: " And where was I at the time?"' However, our belief or disbelief ot this story will neither increase nor diminish our admiration for Alexander.

ALVII. Fearing that his Macedonians might tire of the rest of his expedition, he left the greater part of thera in quarters, and while he had the best of

apiotous éywr év "Tpxavia pe? éavtod, Sicpupt-
ovs melous Kal Tpiaxytdious imets, mpocéBare,
Neyov ws voy Lev AUTOS évUTTULOY TOV BapBdpwV
opwvtay, av dé povoy tacdtavtes tHv "Aciav
atiwolw, émiOncopévwr evGus dorvep yuvarkiv.
ou pny adr amévat ye TOUS BovAopéevous edixe,}
papTupapevos OTL THY oiKOUpLEVnY Tots Maxedoor
KTWMUEVOS EYKATANEAELTTAL META TOV Hhirwv Kal
Tov eXovTwy oTpaTEevelv. TavTa ayedov avTois
ovopacw éy 7H mWpos 'Avtitatpov émicTodAH
yéypattat, Kal OTL TAVTA ELTOVTOS AVTOD TaVTES
éEéxpayov oot BovreTat THS olKoupéevns aye.
deEapéevwy 6€ TOUTwWY TINY Teipay oOUKéeTL HY
Yaretov mpoayOnrat To mAHG0s, AANA padiws
emnKkonrovl naev.
Otte 6) cal Thy diartav rt padXov wpoiou Te
Tois émtywplois éavTor, éxetvad TE TMpoanye Tols
Maxedovixois éOecw, avaxpace Kal Kowwvia
parrov Ot evvolas KatactHoecOal Ta TPpaypaTa
vopifov Bla, pakpay amatpovtos avtov. 6&0
Kal Tplopuplovs taidas émtdreEdpevos éxédevce
ypappata Te pavOavery "EXdXAnuika cal Maxedom-
Kots arAos évtpedecOat, morXovs é€mtaTaTas
KaTaoTHnaas. Kal ta mept "PwE&dvny épwtt pev
empayOn, KaAnVY Kal wpatay év TLL YOpw Tapa
motov opletcar, edoge 5€ ovK avdpmooTa TOIS
UTOKELMEVOLS ELVaL TpdypactW. éOappnoav yap
ot BapBapot tH Kolvwria Tov yapov, Kat Tov

1 épijxe Coraés’ correction of the épy nat of the MSS., adopted by Sint.; Bekker reads agiéva: ... %pn.

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ALEXANDER, xtv.1. 1-4

them with him in Hyrcania, twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, he addressed them, saying that at present they were seen by the Barbarians as in a dream, but that if they should merely throw Asia into confusion and then leave it they would be at- tacked by them as if they were women. However, he said, he allowed those who wished it to go away, calling them to witness that while he was winning the inhabited world for the Macedonians he had been left behind with his friends and those who were will- ing to continue the expedition. This is almost word for word what he wrote in his letter to Antipater, and he adds that after he had thus spoken all his hearers cried out to him to lead them to whatever part of the world he wished. After these had met his test of their loyalty, it was no longer a hard matter for the main body to be led along too, nay, they readily followed after.

Under these circumstances, too, he adapted his own mode of life still more to the customs of the country, and tried to bring these into closer agree- ment with Macedonian customs, thinking that by a mixture and community of practice w hich produced good will, rather than by force, his authority would be kept secure while he was far away. For this reason, too, he chose out thirty thousand boys and gave orders that they should learn the Greek language and be trained to use Macedonian weapons, appoint- ing many instructors for this work. His marriage to Roxana, whom he saw in her youthful beauty taking part in a dance at a banquet, was a love affair, and yet it was thought to harmonize well with the matters which ne had in hand. For the Barbarians were encouraged by the partnership into which the marriage brought them, and they were beyond

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

% IT& e - 4 ¢
AréEavdpov wtepnyarnaayv, 6TL cwppovéatatos
ral \ e ,
TEpl TAVTA yEeyov@s ovo€é HS povns nTTHON yuvat-
KOS dvev vomov Ouyetv Vm éewenvev.
5 \ \ \ A / er a ,
Emel 6€ kat tov didwy éwpa TOV peEeyioTwV
‘Hdaiotiova peév ématvobyta Kat ovppeTaKxoo povU-
pevov avto@, Kpatepov b€ Tois maTpiows EupevovTas
> 9 , \ ) , a , \
dz éxeivou pev éypnuatile tots BapSapois, dia
a / al /
tovrov 6€ Tots “EAAnot Kal tois Maxedoce xal
e \ \ b] 4 , N ye eh at/ ,
Odkws TOV pev epirer wartoTta, Tov O€ éTipa, vopi-

\ A > ON \ \ e ,
Cwv Kal rAéyov aet tov pev Hoarotiwva dira-
réEavdpov eivat, Tov d€ Kpatepov didoBacirEéa.
\ N \ 2) / e / v /
640 Kal mpos AAANAOVS UTTOVAWS EXOVYTES TUVE-
/ ot be \ \ bd \
Kpovov qmoAAaKis. amak& o€ epi tHY ‘Ivdixnv
\ 3 a 9 i \ , \
Kat els Xelpas 7AOov oTacdpevar Ta Eihn, Kal
Tov piriwy éxatépo TapaBonlovvtwv TpoceAXdcas
, ¢ al
"AnréEavdpos érotdopes tov “Hdatotiwva davepas,
EUTANKTOV KANOV KAL MALVOMEVOD, EL 1) OUViNT WW
¢ Sink 3) “ N > / 3 /
@s, éav tis avtov tov ‘AréEavdpov adérnrat,
X \ wn n n
pndév éotiv: idta b€ Kai Tov Kpatepod mixpas
, \ \ bf \ \ s
Kabinpato. Kal cuvayaywv avtous Kal draddaEas
3 , N ” \ \ ” , 5
éemwpoce Tov Apywva Kat Tovs adXous Geovs, 7
pny partota pirety avOpwrwv atavtwy éxeivous*
a XN / ¥ , 3 a
av d€ wad alicOntar dtapepopévous, aToKTEVELY
>] hk A ‘ b] , e e/ > \
audhotépous, } Tov apEdpevov. bOev baTteEpov ove
, ., nw b x nw \ 9 ,
mattovtTes eimrely TL ovde TPAEaL TPOS UAANAOUS
NEVovTat.
\ e
XLVIII. Dirwras 5é 0 Llappeviwvos aFiwpa
ry , , \
pev etyev év tots Maxedocu péya’ kai yap av-
a 19 / \ \ t f \
dpetos édoxes Kal KapteptKos elvat, Pirodwpos 5é
360

ALEXANDER, xivu. 4—xivii. t

measure fond of Alexander, because, most temperate of all men that he was in these matters, he would not consent to approach even the only woman who ever mastered his affections, without the sanction of law.

Moreover, when he saw that among his chiefest friends Hephaestion approved his course and joined him

in changing his mode of life, while Craterus clung fast to his native ways, he employed the for- mer in his business with the Barbarians, the latter in that with the Greeks and Macedonians. And in general he showed most affection for Hephaestion, but most esteem for Craterus, thinking, and constantly saying, that Hephaestion was a friend of Alexander, but Craterus a friend of the king. For this reason, too, the men cherished a secret grudge against one another and often came into open collision. And once, on the Indian expedition, they actually drew their swords and closed with one another, and as the friends of each were coming to his aid, Alex- ander rode up and abused Hephaestion publicly, calling him a fool and a madman for not knowing that without Alexander's favour he was nothing; and in private he also sharply reproved Craterus. Then he brought them together and_ reconciled them, taking an oath by Ammon and the rest of the gods that he loved them most of all men; but that if he heard of their quarrelling again, he would kill them both, or at least the one who began the quarrel. Wherefore after this they neither did nor said anything to harm one another, not even in jest.

XLVIII. Now, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, had a high position among the Macedonians; for he was held to be valiant and able to endure hardship, and,

obTwm Kal irétatpos pet' avTov "Ar€Eavdpov
ovoeis. A€yeTae your OTe TaV auInOwY TiVOS
aitodvtos apyuptoy éxédevoe Sodvar: dracavtos
dé tod dtoixntod py exe, "Ti réyeus;" elmer,
"ovde TOT?) pLov Evers oveé (MET LOD; oyKe@ ¢
pov wartos Kal Paper movTOV Kal TH Tepl TO
copa Geparreia Kab O1airy XpwpLevos éraxOéore-
pov A «ar ididtyy, Kal TéTe 67 TO oepvOV Kab
bynrov ovK EUPENOS, aX avev xapitov TO
gONOiLKw Kal TAPAT ILD [LL LOUPLEVOS, vTowiay Kab
pOovov ¢ EaXEVs @OTE Kal Lappeviova TOTE elmreip
pos avr ov" TO) mal, XElpav pot ytvov." ampos
dé avtov "AdéEavdpov éx avy ToN\\NGY xXpovev
eTUyXaVE dra BeBrnpEv05. OTe yap Ta Tepl
AapacKoy EANW NPNLAT OL Aapeiou vexn Devt os ev
Kedexcta, TONA@V TMOMATOV Kopia Gevt cov EiS TO
otpatomedoy evpéeb n yuvaroy év Tots aX Wahwrors,
TO bev Les [ludvaior, eUT peTTes Oé TI oyu
éxanelro dé" Avtuyov. TovTO éayvev 0 PidoTas:
oia 6é véos Tm pos Epopmevny Kal GUY OlvVM TOA
prrorepa Kal OTPATLOTLKG Trappnovatouevos é €au-
TOU Ta peyiota TOV epyov damrépatve Kal TOU
TAT POS, "AnreEavdpor dé pel paktov amekanrer 60

avUTOUS TO THS apxijs ovoua KapTOUMEVOD. TavTa
THIS yuva.tros expepovans 7 pos TLVA TOV ovrndav,
éxeivou Oé, @S ElKOS, ™ pos ET Epon, mepihrOev els
Kpatepov o Aoryos" Kat NaBwv TO yuvatov elon-
yarye Kpvpa T pos ‘An€eEavdpov. axovaas 6é
exEelvos exehevoe port av ELS TAVTO TO Prora,
Kal wav, 6 te dv é€xtrvOntat TovTov, Tpos avTOV
avayyérrew Badifovear.
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after Alexander himself, no one was so fond of giving and so fond of his comrades. At any rate, we are told that when one of his intimates asked him for some money, he ordered his steward to give it him, and when the steward said he had none to give, “What meanest thou?’ cried Philotas, “hast thou not even plate or clothing?” However, he displayed a pride of spirit, an abundance of wealth, and a care of the person and mode of life which were too offensive for a private man, and at this time par- ticularly his imitation of majesty and loftiness was not successful at all, but clumsy, spurious, and devoid of grace, so that he incurred suspicion and envy, and even Parmenio once said to him: “ My son, pray be less of a personage.” Moreover, for a very long time accusations against him had been brought to Alex- ander himself. For when Dareius had been defeated in Cilicia and the wealth of Damascus was taken, among the many prisoners brought into the camp there was found a young woman, born in Pydna, and comely to look upon; her name was Antigone. This woman Philotas got; and as a young man will often talk freely in vaunting and martial strain to his mistress and in his cups, he used to tell her that the greatest achievements were performed by himself and his father, and would call Alexander a stripling who through their efforts enjoyed the title of ruler. These words the woman would report to one of her acquaintances, and he, as was natural, to somebody else, until the story came round to Craterus, who took the girl and brought her secretly to Alexander. He, on hearing her story, ordered her to continue her meetings with Philotas and to come and report to him whatever she learned from her lover,

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XLIX. ‘O pév otvy Birertas ériBovdrevopevos
OUTS HYyVoEL, KaL cuVHY TH AvTLyovN TOAAa Kal
Tpos opyny Kal peyadavyiayv pryuata Kal Noyous
KATA TOU Bacthews ave Tn OElous T poiépevos. 0
dé ‘AdéEavopos, KaLTFEp KapTepas evoei Eews KaTa
Tov Didwrou TpooTEr ovens, exapTEpnce o1wT 7h
Kal KATET XEN, eite Oappav TH TLappeviavos €U-
voig pos auTov, elite d€dL0@5 THY dogav auTov Kal
THY Suvapuy. év b€ T@ TOTE ypovw Maxedov
dvoma Nipyos, EK Xaraicrpas, em Boureveov “Ane-
Eavdpo Nixopaxov Twa TOV vewD, ™ pos OV AUTOS

EPWTLKOS elXev, emt THY Koweviay THs trpaktews
Tapekdrel. Tov O€ py SeEapéevov, PpacavTos bé
TaAdEAPO KeBarivw thy Tetpav, éd\Oav éxeivos
mpos Pidwrav exeevoey elo dye avTovs T pos
‘Ad€Eavdpoy @s Trept avayKatov eXovTas evTUYely
Kal peyadov. o 6€ Direras, 6 te &y mabav
(adnXov yup €aTtv), ov maphyev AUTOUS, WS ™ pos
anrow petfoce yuyvopevov Tov Bactréws. Kal
ToUTO ls Emoinaev. ot 6€ KAP VTOWiay dn TOD
Piwrov Tpamopevor mpos Erepov Kat év éxetvou
TO ’AnreEdvdpe TporanGevres TP@TOV Mev TA TOD
Alpvou KATELTOV, eTELTA Taped) ora HOU
TOV Pirarav, OS GpEeNHoEtev AUTAV OLS evTUX Ov-
TWV. Kal TOUTO 67) ohodpa Tapweuve Tov ’AXé-
Eavdpov' nai Tov TweudOevtos emt tov Aipvov, ws
7] PUVETO cuhhapSavopevos, ATOKTELVAVTOS AUTOD,
ETL pardov duerapayOn, Tov eAeYX OV extrepevye-
var THS ém@tBovAns vopilwr. Kal mixpas Exwv 693

1 In the late autumn of 330 B.o,

XLIX. Now, Philotas was ignorant of the plot thus laid against him, and in his frequent interviews with Antigone would utter many angry and boastful speeches and many improper words against the king. But Alexander, although strong testimony against Philotas came to his ears, endured in silence and restrained himself, either because he had confidence in Parmenio’s good will towards him, or because he feared the reputation and power of father and son. Meanwhile, however, a Macedonian named Limnus, from Chalaestra, conspired against Alexander’s life, and invited Nicomachus, one of the young men, whose lover he was, to take part with him in the undertaking. _Nicomachus would not accept the invitation, but told his brother Cebalinus of the attempt, and he, going to Philotas, ordered him to conduct them into the presence of Alexander, on the ground that there were matters of great import- ance about which they must see him. But Philotas, for whatever reason (and the reason is not known), would not conduct them in, alleging that the king was engaged on other matters of more importance. And he refused their request twice. They now be- came suspicious of Philotas and applied to someone else, by whom they were brought before Alexander. In the first place they told him about the plot of Limnus, and then threw out veiled insinuations against Philotas, on the ground that he had ne- glected their petitions on two occasions. This greatly incensed Alexander; and when he found that Lim- nus had defended himself against arrest and had therefore been killed by the man sent to fetch him, he was still more disturbed in mind, thinking that the proof of the plot had escaped him. And since

T pos TOV Pirwrav éreaTadoaTo TOUS Taal pL-
covvTas avTov, 60 pavepas héyovtas ws padupia
TOD Bacrrews ein Aippoy olopevou, Nadatotpaiov
avO pwrroy, emixerpiioar TOLMNLATL TOTOUT@ Kal
auTov" GXNG TOUTOV meV UmnpeTny elvat, padrov
dé 6pyavov amo peiCovos apyns aprépevor, ev éxel-
vous d€ THY émuBovrnyv EntynTéov ols padtoTa Tav-
ta ravddve cuvéfEepe. TotovTots Royots Kal
UTovoials avaTreTadcavTOS Ta OTA TOV Bactréus
émiryov Hon pupias Kata Tod Pidwtov dLaBoras.
éx ToUTOU OE curr pbeis aveKpivero, TOV ETALDWP
eperT@Tav tats Bacavots, "AneEdvpou dé KaTa-
KOVOVTOS efw0ev auraias TApareTaperns OTE én
Kai hac avTov etreiy, oixTpas Kal Tareas
tov Pirwtov dwvas Kat Senoers Tois tept Tov
'Hoatotiwva tpocdépovtos: " ObTw 67 paraxos
ov, @ Pihota, Kai avavdpos émeyetpets Tpdypact
TyALKOUTOIS;" aTroOavorTos bé TOU PirwTov Kal
Hlappeviwva tréprras ebtOvs els Mndiav avetrer,
dvépa. TONNe fev Diirre ovykaTepyac auevor,
p-ovov dé 7) pideota Tov mpecButépwv dirov
"Ad€Eavdpov ELS 'Aciav eFopmnjoavra dia Bijvas,
T pea d€ viv avs EaVEV, ETL THS TTPATLAS duo
pev emtdovta Tporepoy aToVavovTas, TO O€ TPLT@
ovvavatpeOevTa.
Tatra mpaxGévra TodXols TOV pihov doBepov
érroinae tov AndéEavdpov, pddtota dé 'Avrima-
Tew Kal mpos AitwXovs Ereue xptha TicTeLs
didovs Kat AauBdavoer. éfoBodvto yap *AXé-
Eavdpov Attwrot da THY Olviad@v avactacw, iv

1 Of. Arrian, Anab. iii. 26.

he felt bitter towards Philotas he drew to himself those who had long hated the man, and they now said openly that the king took things too easily when he supposed that Limnus, a man of Chalaestra, had set his hand to a deed of so great daring on his own account ; nay, they said, he was only an assistant, or rather an instrument sent forth by a higher power, and enquiry into the plot should be made in those quarters where there was most interest in having it concealed. After the king had once given ear to such speeches and suspicions, the enemies of Philotas brought up countless accusations against him. Consequently he was arrested and put to the question, the companions of the king standing by at the torture, while Alexander himself listened behind a stretch of tapestry. Here, as we are told, on hearing Philotas beset Hephaestion with abject and _ pitiful cries and supplications, he said: "So faint-hearted as thou art,

Philotas, and so unmanly, couldst thou have set hand to so great an undertaking?” After Philotas had been put to death, Alexander sent at once into Media and dispatched Parmenio also, a man whose achievements with Philip had been many, and who was the only one of Alexander’s older friends, or the principal one, to urge his crossing into Asia, and who, of the three sons that were his, had seen two killed on the expedition before this, and was now put to death along with the third.!

These actions made Alexander an object of fear to many of his friends, and particularly to Antipater, who sent secretly to the Aetolians and entered into an alliance with them. For the Aetolians also were in fear of Alexander, because they had destr oyed the city of the Oeniadae, and because Alexander, on

, a A > > N
avOduevos ove Olviadoy bn traidas, adr avTov
3 4 , 3 nn
éemOnaey diknv Aitwrots.
A / x
L. OU moAA@ b€ VatEepoy cuvnvéexXOy Kal Ta
\ ta “ ef \ e a / A
mept Kyeitov, ov tw pev amdos Tudopevolts TOY
\ 4 , , f
Kata Pidkwtay aypiwrepa’ OY pévTOL ouUVTL-
f ?? \ s
Gévres Aya Kal THY alTiay Kal TOY KaLpOY, OVK
D N , 3 \ / \ “A e f
aTo yvouns, dra OvoTUXLa TLV TAVTA EUpLoKo-
4 A , > N \ U
pev TeTpaypeva TOD Bactdéws, opyny Kat peOnv
, n bd 4 , f
mpodaci Te Knreitov datpore tmapavyortos.
> s \ e © , ’ if eT
émpaydn dé oUTws. KOov TIVES OTWpav ENXANM-
‘ ’ N 4 “a “ la € \
Kkny amo Gadaucaons TO Bactrel KomtfovtTes. Oo O€
4 \ ? \ \ N , > , \
Gavpacas THY UkpNY KaL TO KaNXOS EXadEL TOV
a) La) \ A ¢
Kvytetrov, éridetEut cal petadovvat Bovropevos. o
\ , \ SS b) \ N \ / 3 /
dé Ovwy peév éTUyyavev, adels 6é THY Avciav éBa-
, A
66e- Kal Tpla TwOVY KaTeoTELaLéEVwWY TpOBaTwV
A 4 \ e

émnxorovOncevy avtT@. muGopevos d€ 0 BactrEus
’ A A , > 4 \
avexowvouTo Tois pavteow Apictavdp@ Kai Kreo-
A \
pavre. TO Adxkwr. dnodvtwy b€ Tovnpov eivat
‘ ral a 3 \ ,
TO onpetov, ExéXevoev ExOvoacGar KaTa TuYOS
e \ a , \ N See e / ,
uTep tov KrXettov. Kat yap autos npépa TpiTn
\ \ iA bf “a v ” / \
KaTa Tous Umvous tdety Oiwv atoTrov: dSo—at yap
ra 4 A \ A sf eA
avtw Tov KAettoy peta Tov Ilappevriwvos vidy ev
, € , ty , e ,
péracw ipatiows KabeCecPat, TeOvnxoTwy atrav-
> \ ” © a a > ,
Tov. ov pny épGacey o Krettos éxduadpevos,
> 3 Or b] \ ‘ 6 a e f e
arr evOus emt TO Seitvoyv Ke, TeAvKOTOS TOU
, / / \ A
Baciréws AtocKovpots. mwotou dé veavKod cup-
Ya / / ¢
payevtos noeTo Troijpata IIpaviyou tives, ws 5é
4 ’ \
hac éviot, lltepiwvos, es Tovs otTpatnycus Te-

learning of it, had said that it would not be the sons of the Oeneadae, but he himself who would punish the Aetolians.

L. Not long afterwards came the affair of Cleitus,} which those who simply learn the immediate circuimn- stances will think more savage than that of Philotas ; if we take into consideration, however, alike the cause and the time, we find that it did not happen of set purpose, but through some misfortune of the king, whose anger and intoxication furnished occasion for the evil genius of Cleitus. It happened on this wise. Some people came bringing Greek fruit to the king from the sea-board. He admired its per- fection and beauty and called Cleitus, wishing to show it to him and share it with him. It chanced that Cleitus was sacrificing, but he gave up the sacrifice and came; and three of the sheep on which libations had already been poured came following after him. When the king learned of this cireum- stance, he imparted it to his soothsayers, Aristander and Cleomantis the Lacedaemonian. Then, on their telling him that the omen was bad, he ordered them to sacrifice in all haste for the safety of Cleitus. For he himself, two days before this, had seen a strange vision in his sleep; he thought he saw Cleitus sitting with the sons of Parmenio in black robes, and all were dead. However, Cleitus did not finish his sacrifice, but came at once to the supper of the king, who had sacrificed to the Dioscuri. After boisterous drinking was under way, verses were sung which had been composed by a certain Pranichus, or, as some say, Pierio, to shame

and ridicule the

1 During the campaign of 328 B.c., at Sainarkand, in Sogdiana. Cf. Arrian, Anab. iv. 8 f.

TOUNPEVA 7 TOUS évaryXos NTT MEVOUS UTo TaV Bap-
Bapov ém' aiaxuvn Kat yedore. TOV 6€ T pe-
o BuTépov duo xeparvovtov Kat NowopovvT@v TOV
TE TOLnT ny Kal TOV adovta, TOU b¢ 'AneEdv6pov
Kal TOV TEL AUTOV ydéws GKPOWMEVOY Kat NEéyeELY
KEAEVOVTOV, O Kretros 0" peO veo Kat poet
TPAXUS ov opyny Kal avdabys 7 nyavdK TEL padora,
dackwv ov Kaas ev BapPapos Kab Tone pious
vB piver Bar Maxecovas TOAD Bertiovas Tav ye-
avr, el Kal dua tuxig KEXPNVTAL. pycavros
dé TOU 'Aref avopov TOV Kyretrov AUTO ouvnyopelv
duo TUYLay aropaivovTa THY devhtay, € eTMAavacTas O
Kreitros, "Abry [LEVTOL OE, ELTrEV, " 1) devhia TOV
éx Gedy 0n TO mB pibarou Eider TOV va@Tov
EKTPETOVTA meplerroinae, Kat TO Maxedovev ai-
hare Kab TOIS TpAavmacL TOUTOLS eyevou THALKODTOS
@ote "Appwvt cavtov eiomoleiy amretTTapeEVvos
Dirirtov."
LI. TapofvvGels otv o 'AXEéEavEpos, "°H tad-
Ta, elmev, ""@ Kkaxkn Kedardy, ov rept nudov
EXAOTOTE Leyov Kai dtactacialwyv Maxedovas
Xalpryo ev vous ters; 7 NNN once viv," Eby,
a Katpoper, "AnréEavOpe, Towavra TEAM TOV TOVWD
KopFopievoe, paKkaptCouev 5€ Tovs 1}6n TeOvNKOTAS
apiv émidety Mndixais paBdors Eatvopévous Maxe-
dovas, Kab epody deouevous iva T@ Bacirel
mpooeOwpev. Toate, TOU Kreérou Moppnola-
Comevou Kal TOY TrEpl 'Ar<Eavdpov avTavig TAape-
YuV Kab AoSopouvTwy QAUTOV, OL _mpeo BuTEpar
KATEXELV ET ELPOVTO TOV Jopuov. Q dé "AréFav-
Spos aTootpadels mpos Fevodoyov tov Kapoiavov
S10

69:

generals who had lately been defeated by the Bar- barians. The older guests were annoyed at this and railed at both the poet and the singer, but Alexander and those about him listened with delight and bade the singer go on. Then Cleitus, who was already drunk and naturally of a harsh temper and wilful, was more than ever vexed, and insisted that it was not well done, when among Barbarians and enemies, to insult Macedonians who were far better men than those who laughed at them, even though they had met with misfortune. And when Alexander de- clared that Cleitus was pleading his own cause when he gave cowardice the name of misfortune, Cleitus sprang to his feet and said: “It was this cowardice of mine, however, that saved thy life, god-born as thou art, when thou wast already turning thy back upon the spear of Spithridates ;! and it is by the blood of Macedonians, and by these wounds, that thou art become so great as to disown Philip and make thyself son to Ammon.” ?

LI. Thoroughly incensed, then, Alexander said : ‘Base fellow, dost thou think to speak thus of me at all times, and to raise faction among Macedonians, with impunity?” “Nay,” said Cleitus, ‘not even now do we enjoy impunity, since such are the rewards we get for our toils ; and we pronounce those happy who are already dead, and did not live to see us Macedonians thrashed with Median rods, or begging Persians in order to get audience with our king.” So spake Cleitus in all boldness, and those about Alexander sprang up to confront him and reviled him, while the elder men tried to quell the tumult. Then Alexander, turning to Xenodochus of Cardia

' Cf. chapter xvi. 5. 2 Cf. chapters xxvii. f.

> ae ~

kal tov Korodwviov ‘Aptéptov, Od Soxodow,”
> cs Sf a e fa) PY > a M 80 e¢
eitrev, “ vuty ot “EXAnves ev tots Maxedoow ado-
3 / e i - be) A \ ,
mep €v Onptows Hteor TepiTaTetv; Tov de Krei-
N v > \ > i ray f i
TOU [Ln ELKOVTOS, AAA Els weoov a BoureTat A€yeLV
\ > / , A \ a > \
tov AréEavépov KeXevorTos, pn Karelv eri
detmrvov avopas érevOépous Kat Tappyotav eyov-
Tas, GvAXa peTa BapBapev chy Kai dvdparrooan,
ot THY Ilepotxny Cwvny Kai tov dtddXevKOV avTOd
LT@VvA T poo kuyijaovaw, OUKETL Pépov THY opyny
‘Ad€Eavdpos paprov Tapakeéevovy évi Barov
ETALGEY AUTOY Kal TO ey xerplo.ov éCntet. Tav é
Twp“aTopvrAaKwy évos “Aptatopavouvs POacavTos
e / \ fal 4 , AN
uderécGat, Kal TOY AAXwWY TEpLEYoVTwWY Kai beo-

/ a
péevov, avatnoyjaas aveSca Maxedoucti carov
Tous uTacTLaTUs (ToUTO O€ HY GUUBorOV JopuBou
peeyarou), Kal Tov carmiyKxTHy éxéXevTe oNMAI-
vel, KaL TUE ETatoev ws StaTpiBovtTa Kal pn
Bovropevov. ovtos pév ody VaoTepov evdoxipnaey
an a \ ,
@S TOU LN cuvtapaxOjvas TO oT paToTedov ALTLO-
TATOS YEVOMEVOS. Tov 6€ Kr«irov ody Udiepevov
ol piror ports éEewoay TOU «rdpavos.
‘O 6é kat addras Ovpas avOis clone, para
odktywpws Kat Opacéws Evpiioou ta é€& *Avdpo-
payns tapPeia Tadta Tepatvev:
cae 3 al
oiuot, KAO “EXAGS’ ws KAKaS voutCeTat.
ouTw 87) AaBov mapa TLVOS TOD Sopudopev ‘ARE-
Eavdpos ax env AT AVT@VTA, Tov Krétrov avt@
Kal TapdyovTa To TPO THS Ovpas mrapaxd dupa
dueXauvet. mecovtos b6€ peTa oTevaypov Kal
4 Verse 683 (Kirchhoff).

and Artemius of Colophon, said : “ Do not the Greeks appear to you to walk about among Macedonians like demi-gods among wild beasts?” Clcitus, however, would not yield, but called on Alexander to speak out freely what he wished to say, or else not to invite to supper men who were free and spoke their minds, but to live with Barbarians and slaves, who would do obeisance to his white tunic and Persian girdle. Then Alexander, no longer able to restrain his anger. threw one of the apples that lay on the table at Cleitus and hit him, and began looking about for his sword. But one of his body-guards, Aristophanes, conveyed it away before he could lay hands on it, and the rest surrounded him and begged him to desist, whereupon he sprang to his feet and called out in Macedonian speech a summons to his corps of guards (and this was a sign of great disturbance), and ordered the trumpeter to sound, and smote him with his fist because he hesitated and was unwilling to do so. This man, then, was afterwards held in high esteem on the ground that it was due to him more than to any one else that the camp was not thrown into commotion. But Cleitus would not give in, and with much ado his friends pushed him out of the banquet-hall.

He tried to come in again, however, by another
door, very boldly and contemptuously reciting these
iambics from the “ Andromache” of Euripides! :
« Alas! in Hellas what an evil government ! es

And so, at last, Alexander seized a spear from one of his guards, met Cleitus as he was drawing aside the curtain before the door, and ran him through. No sooner had Cleitus fallen with a roar and a groan

Bpvxijpatos evOus ab iev O Oupos avtov. Kal
EVO [LEVOS. Tap €avT@ Kal Tous pirous Lowy ape
vous ear Oras Axvoac Gat pev éx Tod vex pou THY
ax uny épOace, matcat & éavTov opunoas Tapa
Tov Tpaxnrov éemeaxeOn, TOV T@paTopurAaKov
TAS Xelpas avToo LaBovtwy Kal TO capa Bra
TOL pEVEYKOVT OY els TOY Odrapov.
LIT. ’Ezret 66 tnv te vinta Kaka@s KKatwy 617)-
veyKe Kal THY ériovcay nuépay dn TO Boav Kal
Opnvety ameipnxeas avavoos éxerto, Bapets ava-
pépwv otevaypous, deicavTes of hidoe THY atro-
auoTnow elonrGov Bia. Kal TOY péev AAdwY Ov
TpoaleTo Tovs Noyous, Apiotavdpou Oé Tov pdv-
TEMS VTOMLLVHOKOVTOS avTOY THY TE Ori iv
elde rept Tov Krettov, cal TO onpetov, ws 87
Tara Kabepappevov TOUT TOV, edokev évdiovae.
520 Kahvuo Gevny TE TOV prrocopov Tapelan-
yaryor, ‘Apia toré)ous | OiKEtoV OVTA, Kal Tov "AB-
Onpityy ‘Ava£apxov. Ov Karr\odevns pev OKs
émetpaTo Kal TPaws, UTOSvOpLEVOS TO oye | Kal
Tepuiov ahUT OS, AaBerbar TOU mabous, o 6€
‘Ardfapxos idtav Tiva TOPEVOMEVOS é& apxijs odov
év prrocogia, kal dofav eiAndas UTEpoYias Kal
odtywplas TOV cuvGor, evus etc eGov aveBo-
noev: “ Ovbtos éotwy “Are Eavopos, els OV 77 oLKou-
pévn vov amroBréTret: o Oé Eppemrat KNaLwv OoTEP
cvdpam bor, avO pwrray vopon | Kal poyov Sedorx@s,
ois avTov tmpoonKer vopov eivas kal bpov Tov
Sixatwy, émeimep apxKew Kal Kpatelv vevixyxey,
GNNG pty SovrAEvELY UTO KEVAS OOENS KEKpAaTHMEVOD.
374

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ALEXANDER, Lr, 6-t11. 3

than the king’s anger departed from him. And
when he was come to himself and beheld his friends
standing speechless, he drew the spear from the
dead body and would have dashed it into his own
throat, had not his body-guards prevented this by

seizing his hands and carrying him by force to his
chamber.
LIT. Here he spent the night and the following day in bitter lamentations, and at last lay speechless, worn out with his cries and wailing, heaving deep groans. Then his friends, alarmed at his silence, forced their way in. To what the others said he would pay no attention, but when Aristander the seer reminded him of the vision he had seen con- cerning Cleitus, and of the omen,! assuring him that all this had long ago been decreed by fate, he seemed to be less obdurate. Therefore they brought in to him Callisthenes the philosopher, who was a relative of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. Of these, Callisthenes tried by considerate and gentle methods to alleviate the king's suffering, employing insinuation and circumlocution so as to avoid giving pain; but Anaxarchus, who had always taken a path of his own in philosophy, and had acquired a reputation for despising and slighting his associates, shouted out as soon as he came in: ''Here is Alexander, to whom the whole world is now looking ; but he lies on the floor weeping like a slave, in fear of the law and the censure of men, unto whom he himself should be a law and a measure of justice, since he has conquered the right to rule and mastery, instead of submitting like a slave to the mastery of a vain opinion. Knowest

1 Of, chapter 1. 2 f.
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4 ovK olc0a," elev, § 'Ore Thy Ateny evel m dpedpov
o Zevs Kal thy Cémy, iva may TO mpax ev UTO
TOU KpatoovTos Oeperov 7) 7" Kal dixatov;" TOLOUTOLS
tial ovyors Xpnoapevos i) "Avaapxos TO pev
mwavos exouglae TOU Baciréos, TO O€ 7005 eis
TONG Xauvorepov Kal TAPAVOpLOTEpOV émroinoen,
auTOV b¢ Satpovios é év7/ppLoce, Kat Tob Kadvuode-
VOUS THY Outrdiav, ode AAXws éTivaply Sta TO
avoTnpov ovcay, mpotdtéBare.
Aéyetat € Tote Tapa Setrvoy UTEP WPaY Kal
Kpdoews TOU TEPLEXOVTOS Aoyor OVT@V, TOV Kan.
Aco Bevny, peTEXOVTA dofns TOUS Aéyouor TAKEL
padrov elvat puxpa Kal dua xetpepa TOV "EXAn-
VLK@Y, EVAYTLOUMEVOU TOU "Avakdpxou Kab pe
AoveEerKoUVTOS, elmeity? "'AXXA pny avaryen col
TavtTa éxelvav oworoyely YruxpoTepa® au yap éxet
pev ev tpiBwve dteyetpates, evtavla dé Tpets ém-
BeBAnpEvos damibas KATAKELOAL. TOV bev ovV
"Avakapxov Kati TovTO MpooTapatuve.
LILI. Tovs dé adrovus copia Tas Kat KohaKas 0
Karhio evs éXUTrEL orrovdalopevos pey UT TOY
véwy Oa Tov NOYOP, ovx AT TOV ¢ TOLsS mpeaBure-
pos GpecKoy 64a Tov Biov, €UTAKTOV ovTa Kal
oepvov Kal avtapKn, Kal BeBatovyta THY Aeryo-
péevny THS aroonpias Tpopact, ¢ OTL TOUS ToNTas

Kataryayety Kab KaToLKio al Tad THY TaTpioa
Prhori movpevos aveBn ™ pos ‘Ar€Eavdpov. po-
VOUJLEVOS dé Ota THY dofav € Early & kat cal avTov
Tots OtaBdrrovot Tapetye, Tas Te KANTELS TA
1 Olynthus, which had been destroyed by Philip in 347 B.c,
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ALEXANDER, tl. 4-Li1. 2

thou not," said he, "that Zeus has Justice and Law seated beside him, in order that everything that is done by the master of the world may be lawful and just?" By using some such arguments as these Anaxarchus succeeded in lightening the suffering of the king, it is true, but rendered his disposition in many ways more vainglorious and lawless; he also made himself wonderfully liked by the king, and brought the intercourse of Callisthenes with him, which had always been unpleasant because of the man's austerity, into additional disfavour.

It is said that once at supper the canversation turned upon seasons and weather, and that Callis-thenes, who held with those who maintain that it is more cold and wintry there than in Greece, was stoutly opposed by Anaxarchus, whereupon he said : "You surely must admit that it is colder here than there; for there you used to go about in winter in a cloak merely, but here you recline at table with three rugs thrown over you." Of course this also added to the irritation of Anaxarchus.

LIII. Moreover, the other sophists and flatterers in the train of Alexander were annoyed to see Callisthenes eagerly courted by the young men on account of his eloquence, and no less pleasing to the older men on account of his mode of life, which was well-ordered, dignified, and independent, and confirmed the reason given for his sojourn abroad, namely, that he had gone to Alexander from an ardent desire to restore his fellow-citizens to their homes and re-people his native city. And besides being envied on account of his reputation, be also at times by his own conduct furnished material for his detractors, rejecting invitations for the most

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ToAAa btmPovpevos, Ev TE TH Guvetvar BapvTnTs
Kal owwin SoK@V ovK éeTraLvEiy OvlE apécKxedOat
Tots yiwopevots, BaTE Kat Tov "AéEavopov elTeiv
éT auto"
a / ee 1. e oO -
[Low COPLITHV, OD TLS OVD AUT® Godos.
Aéyeta 0€ ToTe TOAN@Y TapaKexAnLEeVvwY eri
a) / al

TO O€lmvov ératvéecar KerNevabels etl Tod TOTN-
/ 4 e J ef > A
ptov Maxedovas 0 Kadduobévns obtas evpojoat
N\ / ev 4 ray
Tpos THY vToVEcLY WaTE avicTapévous KpoTeEtV
N 4 ‘ , > > > , b] ad
Kal Barre TOUS aT epavous em’ avrov' eimelp
ovv TOV ‘AdEavdpov OTt, Kat Evpimidnv, tov
AaBovta TV NOYywV
\ bd \ by 4‘ yy * /
kahas apoppas ou mév epyov ev NEyeLy
“CANN EvdetEat,” ddvar, “tv abtov dvvamy
nuty Katnyopnaas Maxedover, va nal Bertious
yévavTat pabovtes a TAIN MLUENOVGLY. oUt 57)
TOV avdpa Tpos Tv Tardwpoiav T PATO LevoV
TONG. mappnovacacbat KaTa TOV Makedover,
Kal THY EXAqueeny OTA AiTiaV anopivavta
THS yevopevns mept Pidimmov av&jncews Kal duva-
pews EeLTrELy"
\

b] \ / e U ” a
év d€ Otyootacin Kal 0 TayKaKos éXAaYE TLLAS
) ’ @ ‘ \ \ > / A A
ep @ mikpov Kal Bapv éyyevécOat picos Tots
Maxedoat, cat tov ’“AréEavdpor eiteiy as od TAS
1 An iambic trimeter from an unkuown play of Euripides (Nauck, 7'rag. Graec. Frag.? p. 652).

part, and when he did go into company, by his gravity and silence making it appear that he disapproved or disliked what was going on, so that even Alexander said in allusion to him :—
“ T hate a wise man even to himself unwise.’ !

It is said, moreover, that once when a large company had been invited to the king’s supper, Callisthenes was bidden, when the cup came to him, to speak in praise of the Macedonians, and was so successful on the theme that the guests rose up to applaud him and threw their garlands at him; whereupon Alexander said that, in the language of

Euripides, when a man has for his words
‘‘A noble subject, it is easy to speak well;” ?

“But show us the power of your eloquence,” said he, “by a denunciation of the Macedonians, that they may become even better by learning their faults.” And so Callisthenes began his palinode, and spoke long and boldly in denunciation of the Macedonians, and after showing that faction among the Greeks was the cause of the increase of Philip’s power, added :
* But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour.” 3
This gave the Macedonians a stern and bitter hatred of him, and Alexander declared that Callisthenes

2 Bacchae, 260 (Kirchhoff).
3 A proverb in hexameter verse, sometimes attributed to Callimachus. Cf. the Nicius, xi. 3; Morals, p. 479 a.
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dewvoTnTos 0 KaddtoGévys, addXa THs SucpeEveias
Ul la
Maxedoow amodekw bédwxe.
LIV. Tatra pev ody o “Eppermos pynoe tov
> , nw 4, nw 3
avayvootny tov KadducOévouvs XtpotBov ’Apt-
ototéve Sinyeiabat, Tov dé Kadrucbévny ovvévta
N > / n“ , \ A \
Thy addoTpLOTHTA TOV Baciréws Sis 7 Tpls
ATLOVTA TPOS AUTOY ELTrEty
id \
KaTOave xat Ilatpoxdos, bmep oéo ToAXov
/
ALELWOV.
ov havrws ovv evTety éovKev) ‘AptatoteAns ¢ OTL
Kadnduadevns oy pev mV Suvaros Kal peyas,
voov dé OvK elyev. Garda THD ¥é TpooKuynow
ia XUpOs AT WT ALEVOS Kal prrocopes, Kab “ovos
év havep@ dvehOwv a Kptdha Tavtes ot BéXtiCTOL
Kal mpecBuTatot ron Maxedovav yyavaxtour,
TOUS pev “EXAnvas ala Xvvns amnrrake peyanrys,
Kal peiCovos “AréEavopor, aToTpéewas THY Tpoa-
KUUNOLY, autov 6é UT ONETED, éxBidcacbar Soxav

pLarXov 7 Teta at Tov Bactréa.
Xapns dé 0 Metuanvatos dnote Tov “AréEavdpov
ev TO cUmTOTiD miovTa piddrnv Tm poreivat tev
TOV pido" Tov dé beEdpevov Tpos éoTtiav ava-
OTHVal Kab TeovTa TpooKuvijoar TpWTOV, ELTA
hiijoat Tov ‘AnréEavd por, Kab KaTaKrd iva.
TavTwy dé TOUTO TOLOULT@Y epeijs TOV Kadnru-
clévny XNaBovTa TY pearyy, ov MpocéyovTos TOU
Bacthéos, AXA ‘Hdatotiove Tpocdiaheyopevov,
TLovTa Tpoctévat dirnaovta, Anuntpiov sé tov
1 Achilles to Hector, Iliad, xxi. 107.
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69)

ALEXANDER, uit. 5-ttv. 4

had given a proof, not of his eloquence, but of his ill-will towards the Macedonians.

LIV. This, then, according to Hermippus, is the story which Stroebus, the slave who read aloud for Callisthenes, told to Aristotle, and he says that when Callisthenes was aware of the alienation of the king, twice or thrice, as he was going away from him, he recited the verse :

‘Dead is also Patroclus, a man far braver than thou art. +

What Aristotle said, then, would seem to have been no idle verdict, namely, that Callisthenes showed great ability as a speaker, but lacked common sense. But in the matter of the obeisance, at least, by refusing sturdily and like a philosopher to perform the act, and by standing forth alone and rehearsing in public the reasons for the indignation which all the oldest and best of the Macedonians cherished in secret, he delivered the Greeks from a great dis- grace, and Alexander from a greater, by leading him not to insist upon the obeisance ; but he destroyed himself, because he was thought to use force rather than persuasion with the king.

Chares of Mitylene says that once at a banquet Alexander, after drinking, handed the cup to one of his friends, and he, on receiving it, rose up so as to face the household shrine, and when he had drunk, first made obeisance to Alexander, then kissed him, and then resumed his place upon the couch. As all the guests were doing this in turn, Callisthenes took the cup, the king not paying attention, but conversing with Hephaestion, and after he had drunk went towards the king to kiss him; but

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mpocovounatomevov Deldwvos etmovtos, “OQ Baa-

Nev, wy Hirnons ovTos yap ae povos ov Tpoc-
EKUUITE, StakXivat TO pihnua TOV ‘AnreEavdpov,
Tov 6é Karnuo bevy peya pbeyEdwevov ELTTELD
“ Dirnuate Tolvuv éhacaov EXOV AT etl.
LV. Totavrns vmoyevopévns ddrXotpLoTyTOS
mpa@tov pev ‘Hdarotiwy émiateveTo Néeywv Gtt
our enevos 7 pos AUTOV O Karntodevns TpooKUV-
oat spevoaito THY omoroyiay ETELTA Avaipaxor
Kal “Aqveves émepvovTo pacKovtes Teptievat TOV
copicTny ws emt KATANVGEL Tupavvioos peya
ppovobvta, Kal o YT PENX EL T pos aUTOV TA poeipaxa
Kab Te ple ELV Os povoy éhevd epov év ToT avTAals
pupidot. 610 Kal TOV TreEpl ‘Epporaov émtBov-
Aevcdvtwov To "AreEavdpw Kal davepOv yevo-
pévwv edokav adnOéowv Gpota Katnyopety ot
dtaBddXrovtes, OS TH pwev TpoBadovtt TAS av
b ¢ / v > nN b)
evdobotatos YEVOLTO avO pws, evmrev, “© Ap amro-
Kreivy TOV évdoforatov,” Tov 6é Eppordaov emt
THV m paw mapogvvev exeheve ry) deduevar Thy
Xpua hy KALVNDY, andra pevnpeovevety OTL Kal vooouvTe
Kal TLTPWOT KOpEVD T POT ela wv avAparg. KaLTOL
Tov Tept KE pyoraoy ovdeis ovde did THS eaxaTys
avayKns ToD Kaadrcodévous KATELTEV. GANG Ka
"AreEavdpos avTos evOus Kpatep@ ypadwrv Kat
"AtTadrw Kal “AdKéTa nat TOUS Taisas Bacavi-
Sopévous OMmOAOYELY ws avtot TavTa mpafevar,
adXos dé ovdeis cuverdein. vatepov b€ ypadwv
ampos “Avtitatpov cat tov Karrobévny cuver-
1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iv. 12.
2 The conspiracy of the pages (Arrian, Anab. iv. 13).
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ALEXANDER, tiv. 4-Lv. 3

Demetrius, surnamed Pheido, cried: “O King, do not accept his kiss, for he alone has not done thee obeisance.” So Alexander declined the kiss, at which Callisthenes exclaimed in a loud voice: “ Well, then, I'll go away the poorer by a kiss.”’ !

LV. The king having been thus alienated, in the first place, Hephaestion found credence for his story that Callisthenes had promised him to make obeisance to the king and then had been false to his agree- ment. Again, men like Lysimachus and Hagnon persisted in saying that the sophist went about with lofty thoughts as if bent on abolishing a tyranny, and that the young men flocked to him and fol- lowed him about as if he were the only freeman among so many tens of thousands. For this reason also, when the conspiracy of Hermolatis and his associates 2 against Alexander was discovered, it was thought that the

accusations of his detractors had an air of probability. They said, namely, that when Hermolaiis put the question to him how he might become a most illustrious man, Callisthenes said: “ By killing the most illustrious;”’ and that in in- citing Hermolaiis to the deed he bade him have no fear of the golden couch, but remember that he was approaching a man who was subject to sickness and wounds. And yet not one of the accomplices of Hermolaiis, even in the last extremity, denounced Callisthenes. Nay, even Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote at once to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, says that the youths confessed under torture that they had made this attempt of them- selves, and that no one else was privy to it. But in a letter written later to Antipater, wherein he ac- cuses Callisthenes also of the crime, he says: “The

4 AUTLAT ApLEVOS, “Or pev taides,” dyatv, “ vio
TOY Maxedovev Katerevo Onoar, Tov O€ copia thy
eyo KOAGoW Kal TOUS exTrepnpay tas avrov Kal
TOUS UTodeXouEvous Tals qTroAEct TOUS epol eT L-
Bovdevovras,” aVTLK US év ye TOUTOLS aT oKaNv-
T TOMEVOS 7 pos “Aptorotehny: Kal yap eTeO pao
Kadrrodevns Tap avT@ d1a THY ouyyeverar, e& -
‘Hpods yeyoves, dveas "ApiatotéXous. amro-
Oavety d€ avTov ot pév vt’ ’AXeEdvdpou Kpeua-
aofévra déyovaty, ot be év médats Sedeuévov Kal
voorcarta, Xadpys 6é pera THY oudy yey eT Ta
pvas puratredbat 6edeuevor, os ev TO cuvedpicp
x piBein TApoVvTos ‘Aptatoréhous, € év als 88 7 nLEpals
"AréEavdpos étpoHOn wept tHv “Ivdiav, amroaveiy
UTEpTAXUY "Vevopevov Kal pbepiacarta.
IDMe Taira fev odv VaoTeEpov empayOn. An-
papatos b€ o Kopivétos 76n mpecBuTepos av
ederoriunOn 7 p0s AreFavdpov avaBivat Kal
Jeacapevos auTOV elmre peyarns ndovis eaTEph-
cOat Tous "EAAnvas, door TEA Kact Tpiy idetv
“AreEav8pov ev TO Aapetou Opove cabnuevov.
ov pv él wA€ov ye THis 7 Os avTov evvoias TOD
Bacirtéws atréXavcev, aAnN €& dppwartias amto-
Javey exndevOn peyaroTpeTos, Kal TAO & EXWoED
0 TT PAT OS em aUT@ TH TEpL MET PO péyav, Urvpos bé
TNX OV bySo/covra Ta 6€ dAEipava TéOpiTT TOV
KEKOT LNLEVOY NaUTPAS ETL OdAagoaV KATEKOMLCE.
LVIT. MéAAwv bé brrepBdrXrev eis THY “Ivd1-
KH, @S €wpa TANOEL Aahvpov THY oTpatiav On

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. iv. 14, 3f., where other accounts still are mentioned.

youths were stoned to death by the Macedonians, but the sophist I will punish, together with those who sent him to me and those who harbour in their cities men who conspire against my life;’’ and in these words, at least, he directly reveals a hostility to Aristotle, in whose house Callisthenes, on account of his relationship, had been reared, being a son of Hero, who was a niece of Aristotle. As to the death of Callisthenes, some say that he was hanged by Alexander’s orders, others that he was bound hand and foot and died of sickness, and Chares says that after his arrest he was kept in fetters seven months, that he might be tried before a full council when Aristotle was present, but that about the time when Alexander was wounded in India, he died from obesity and the disease of lice.!

LVI. This, however, belongs to a later time.” Meanwhile Demaratus the Corinthian, who was now well on in years, was eagerly desirous of going up to Alexander; and when he had seen him, he said that those Greeks were deprived of a great pleasure who had died before seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius.? However, he did not long enjoy the king’s good will towards him, but died from debility. His obsequies were magnificent, and the army raised in his memory a mound of great circumference and eighty cubits in height. His ashes were carried down to the sea-board on a four-horse chariot splendidly adorned.

LVII. Alexander was now about to cross the mountains into India,# and since he saw that his army was by this time cumbered with much booty

2 The spring of 327 B.c. 3 Cf. chapter xxxvii. 4.

4 In the late spring of 327 B.o,

a \ 4 4s See Tee /
Bapetav cal dvoxtvntov ovaay, au nuépa auve-
A a , N e f
oKEvacLevoyv TOV auaEaY, THWTAS MEV UTETPNTE
a a , \ \ /
TaS avTOU Kal T@Y EéETAlpwy, peta SE TaUTAS
a A , A A
éxéXevoe Kal Tais TOV Makxedovwy évetvat top.
\ a“ , ‘ s a bd /
kal Tov mpaypyatos To Bovrevwa petlov épayyn

X , 9 , \ \
Kal Setvorepov % TO Epyov. OXdtyous pev yap
Sat e \ a a \ ? a \
nviageY, Ol O€ TAEtaTOL Bon Kal adaXayu®@ pEeTa
A A A /
évOovotacod Ta pev avayKaia Tots Seopévors
t \ , A / 2 \
peTaoLoovTes, Ta O€ TEpLovTAa THS ypEelas avTot
/ ie a \
KaTakaiovtes kai dradOetpovTes opps Kal Tpo-
f b] / \
Ouuias éevevipwracay tov ’“AréEavdpov. dn 6é
, \ a
kal poBepos hy Kal aTapatTnTos KoAaoTHS TOV
, \ \ , } , A
TAnupENOVYTMWY. Kat yap Mévavdpov tiva tov
7 /
éTaipwv apyovta dpouptov KkatactHaas, ws ovK
> Z A
€BovrAETO MEVELY, ATIEKTELVE, KAL TOY ATOTTAYTOV
, 9 , > x ,
BapBdpov ’Opacodatny avtos xateToFevce.
, Ul a a
IIpoBdatov 6€ TexovTos apva Tepi TH Kehary
oX}ua Kal Yp@pa TLapas EyovTa Kat SiOvpovs Exa-
A \ N A
tépwlev avtod, BdeduxGeis TO onpetov exabapOn
X\ (4 \ A ip A 9 ” J iZ
pev vTrd TaV BaBvAwviwr, ovs €& EOous éemrjyeTo
N \ A \ \ \
Tpos TA TOLAUTA* dieXEy On dé TPOS TOUS pirous WS
5) 5 ’ e 4 b \ } a) / 4 \ \
ov d¢° avtov, adda Ou exEtvous TapPaTTOLTO, [41) TO
A / v
KPATOS Els ayevYH Kal avadKw avO pwrov éxXtTOV-
a 4 \ s
TOS AUTOD TEpLaTHoN TO OatmovLoV. ov pny adrAa
f a , ‘\
BérXtLov Te onpetor yevouevoy tThv abuulay éXvaev,
Oo yap érl THY oTpwuaTopuAaKwY TeTAyMEVvOS av7npP
? ’ / ~ A A
Maxedav, dvoypa Ipofevos, 77H Baoithixh oxnvi}
386

697.

and hard to move, at break of day, after the baggage-waggons had been loaded, he burned first those which belonged to himself and his companions, and then gave orders to set fire to those of the Macedonians. And the planning of the thing turned out to be a larger and more formidable matter than its execution. For it gave annoyance to a few only of the soldiers, while the most of them, with rapturous shouts and war-cries, shared their neces- saries with those who were in need of them, and what was superfluous they burned and destroyed with their own hands, thus filling Alexander with zeal and eagerness. Besides, he was already greatly feared, and inexorable in the chastisement of a transgressor. For instance, when a certain Menander, one of his companions, who had been put in com- mand of a garrison, refused to remain there, he put him to death; and Orsodates, a Barbarian who had revolted from him, he shot down with his own hand.

When a sheep yeaned a lamb which had upon its head what looked like a tiara in form and colour, with testicles on either side of it, Alexander was filled with loathing at the portent, and had himself purified by the Babylonians, whom he was accus- to take along with him for such purposes ; and in conversation with his friends he said that he was not disturbed for his own sake, but for theirs, fear- ing lest after his death Heaven might devolve his power upon an ignoble and impotent man. How- ever, a better portent occurred and put an end to his dejection. The Macedonian, namely, who was set over those in charge of the royal equipage, Proxenus by name, as he was digging a place for the

Yopav opuTToV Tapa tov “OQ£ov ToTAa pov aveka- Aue myyy vypou AuTrapouv Kal TtpLeNwdous: dmravtTdovpevou d€ TOU 7 pw@rou xabapov avéBru lev nOn Kal dtavyés EXatov, ovTe Oop Soxody ovTE yevoes édatov dtadéperv, aottAmVvoTnTa TE Kal ALTapOTNTaA TavTdTacl amapdAXaxkTor, Kal Tata THS Xopas. poe éhaias pepovars. heyerau pev ouv Kal TOV "OEov abtov etvat HANAKOTAT OV vVowp, @oTE TO Sépuwa Tots Novopevots eTLALTIAL- vey. ov pv arrA.a Savpactas “Ar€Lavdpos

nabels Ofros éoTiv ef Ov ypaper 7 pos “Avti-
TaTpov, év TOUS peyioTous TOUTO TOY amo TOU
Geod yeyovor ey auTe TOE pLevos. ot be [aVvTeEls
évdo€ov Bev oT pareias, emumovov 6€ Kab xXarem hs
TO onpetov émroLobvTo" Tovey yap apwynv éatov
avOparots v0 Geov S600 Gat.
LVIE. Torroi pev ov Kara TAS paxas avT@
Kivdvvor ouvétecor Kal TPAVLATL veaviKots ari
THGE, THY O€ TAELaTIY POopay atropiat TOV avay-
Katwv Kat dvoxpaciar Tou T€PlEX OVTOS dtreiprya-
CAVTO THS oTpaTias. autos 6é TOMI THV TUXNY
umepBaréo bar Kal THD Svvapuy a aperh) ptAoTLpov-
Mevos, ovdEV wWEeTO TOs Gappodaty avddwTov ovdé
ox upoy elvat TOUS GTONMOLS. AeveTac dé THY Ltot-
piO pov TroALopKaY TET pav aBatov ovoav Kal amo-
Topov * ab upovvTav TOV OT paTeoT av EPHTHT aL
TOV "Okvaptnv motos tis avTos ein THY Wuyny
O Leo piO prs. dycavros Oe Tob ‘O£vaprov dec-
Notatov avOpwrwy, “Aéyets oU ye, ” havat, “ tH

1 @xérouov Coraés’ correction of the MSS. axpéaBarov, for which Bekker reads ampécpaxov, after Schaefer. Sintenis? suggests amdtouoy xal ampdo Baroy,

king’s tent along the river Oxus, uncovered a spring of liquid which was oily and fatty; but when the top of it was drawn off, there flowed at once a pure and clear oil, which appeared to differ from olive oil neither in odour nor in flavour, and in smoothness and lustre was altogether the same, and that too though the country produced no olive trees. It is said, indeed, that the Oxus itself also has a very soft water, which gives sleekness to the skin of those who bathe in it. However, that Alexander was marvellously pleased is clear from what he writes to Antipater, where he speaks of this as one of the greatest omens vouchsafed to him from Heaven. The seers, however, held that the omen fore- shadowed an expedition which would be glorious, but difficult and toilsome; for oil, they said, was given to men by Heaven as an aid to toil.

LVIII. And so it proved; for he encountered
many perils in the battles which he fought, and
received very severe wounds; but the greatest
losses which his army suffered were caused by lack
of necessary provisions and severity of weather.
Still, he was eager to overcome fortune by bold-
ness and force by valour, and thought nothing
invincible for the courageous, and nothing secure
for the cowardly. It is said that when he was be-

sieging the citadel of Sisimithres, which was steep and inaccessible, so that his soldiers were disheartened, he asked Oxyartes what sort of a man Sisimithres himself was in point of spirit. And when Oxyartes replied that he was most cowardly of men, “ Thy words mean,” said Alexander, “ that we

, al Ed \ \ ? bd) lel
TETNAV AAWGLMOV HuLY EiVaL* TO Yap ApYoV avTIsS
> / , \
ovK OXUpOV éoTL. TAUVTHY pev Od ExpoBHGas TOV
, Ye es \ e , b ,
XuciptOpnv EXaBev. Etépa Sé opolws aroTOLM
, a ,
TpocBarwv Ttovs vewtépovs Ttav Maxedover
id \ ? / / 7
Tapwpna, Kal ’Are~avopov tiva Kadovpevor
, Pre) \ , » 4 cas
mpocayopevaas, “ AXAa cot ye, et7rev, “ av-
an \ x 99
Spayabetv mpoonjKe Kai d:a THY ewvupiav. érrel
a e / , U
d€ AauTpas oO veavias aywviCopevos ETETEV, OV
, > / A \ / f “A
peeTpiws €dnyOn. tH Sé Karovpévn Nvaon Tov
/ / s\
Maxedoverv oxvovvtwy Tpocayey (Kal yap ToTa-
1 4 \ yA 6; ’ a; Nae ee
Los AV pos aUTH Badus) emiatas, “Ti yap, elev,
al ? ’
“0 KAKLOTOS Ey@ velvy OVK Eualov; Kai non éxwv
\ > / A Oé 3 \ \ /
Tv acTioa Tepav nOérAnoev. eet 5é KaTaTIAV-
“A a XN a
gayvTos THy payny avtod Taphoav amo TOY
/ ,
ToALopKoupEevov TOAEwY TpéaBes Senoopevor,
a \ > \ f n ee
ampa@ tov pev oPGeis abepamrevtos év Tois OmAots
3 4 3 f v ? \
eféTTANEev aAvTOUS ETEetTa MpoaKedhaXraiov TLVOS
3 A / > , , / ‘

avuT® Koptadevtos exedXevoe AaPovTa Kabicar Tov
, v ’ n / a
mpecButatov' “Axoudus éxareito. Oavyacas ov
\ f \ / e o
THY AapTpoTHTAa Kal PiriavOpwriav o “Axovdus
? f “
npwta TL BovrETat ToLOvYTAS AUTOUS ExeLV didous.
\ a ? ,
pycavTos dé tod “ArdeEdrdpou, “ dé pev apYovTa
/ “A \ aA
KATACTHGAVTAS AUTMY, pos dé Huds Tew WavTas
\ vw ‘\ b] f 99
EKATOV Avopas TOUS apioTous, yeAdaas Oo “Axov-
> XN / %) 2 my
dis, “ AdAa Bertiov,” eltrev, “ dpEw, Barred,
, \ \ A a
TOUS KAKLOTOVS TPOS GE TE“ras padXoOV 1%) TOvS
aplaTous.
¢ \ te / A a
LIX. ‘O d€ Takirns Aéyetar pév THs “IvdiKhs
a /
Eyer potpav ovK amrodéovaayv Aiyumtou TO péyeE-
” \ \ / bd a ,
Gos, evBotov bé Kal KadXixaprrop év Tols wddoTA,
399

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ALEXANDER, tvin. 2-Lix. 1

can take the citadel, since he who commands it is a weak thing.” And indeed he did take the citadel by frightening Sisimithres. Again, after attacking another citadel equally precipitous, he was urging on the younger Macedonians, and addressing one who bore the name of Alexander, said: “ It behooves thee, at least, to be a brave man, even for thy name's sake.” And when the young man, fighting gloriously, fell, the king was pained beyond measure. And at another time, when his Macedonians hesitated to advance upon the citadel called Nysa because there was a deep river in front of it, Alexander, halting on the bank, cried: ‘Most miserable man that I am, why, pray, have I not learned to swim?” and at once, carrying his shield,

he would have tried to cross. And when, after he had put a stop to the fighting, ambassadors came from the beleaguered cities to beg for terms, they were amazed, to begin with, to see him in full armour and without an attendant; and_ besides, when a cushion was brought him for his use, he ordered the eldest of the ambassadors, Acuphis by name, to take it for his seat. Acuphis, accordingly, astonished at his magnanimity and courtesy, asked what he wished them to do in order to be his friends. “ Thy countrymen,” said Alexander, “ must make thee their ruler, and send me a hundred of their best men.” At this Acuphis laughed, and said: “Nay, O King, I shall rule better if I send to thee the worst men rather than the best. ””!
LIX. Taxiles, we are told, had a realm in India as large as Egypt, with good pasturage, too, and in the highest degree productive of beautiful fruits. He

ICf. Arrian, Anab. v. 2, 1-3.

coos b¢ Tis avnp elvat, Kal Tov ‘AreEav6pov
do Tac apEevos, “Te det TONE MOV, pavat, i Kat
paxns nputy, ‘Ar€Eavope, pos add rovs, él pyre
Dowp adarpnaopevos TO apigat pte Tpopryy
avayKaiay, UTép BY LovoVv avayen orapaxes Oar
voov eXovotv av pwr ors ; TOUS be arrows X PHA L
Kal KT pal Aeyopevors, él pev put KpelTT Ov,
EroLpLos eD trovety, eb O€ HTTwY, ov Pevyw nap
éye ev Tadov.” jo bels ovr oO ‘AreEavdpos Kal
deEtwaapevos avrov, “ "H Tou vomiers,” epn,
a dixa pays évea ba THY evreveey npiy aro
TOLOUTOD Aoyov Kal prroppoc wns ; arr ovdev
Got Wéov' eyo yap aryoviot par TOs oe Kal
Srapaxodpat Tals yapiow, @>s pov XpPNT TOS @V
[1) Tmepuyevy.” NaBov dé d@pa TONG Kal Sous
mretova TéXOS YALA TahavTa vopio 1aT 0s avT@
T poem Lev. ep ols TOUS pev pirous ta yupars
eXUTNGE, TOV dé BapBdpav TOAANOVS érroinoev
MEPOTEPOS exelv pos avr ov.
"Eel 6€ tov ‘Ivdav ot HAXtMOTATOL pea Gogo-
pouvTes emepoitav Tais TONETLY Eppopevns apv-
vovTes Kal TONG TOV “Ar€Eavb pov éxaKomTrotovy,
omeroapevos &v Tie TOAEL TPOS AUTOUS aTrLOVTAS

év 06@ AaB@v amavtas améxtewe. Kal TovTO
ToS TONEmLKOLS Epryols aUTOU, Ta ANAM Vopipws
Kal BaciNtKk@s TO pHNCAYTOS, BaTEP KNALS TPOG-
EOTIV. OUVK EXdoaOVAa O€ TOVTwWY ot Pidocodot
TpayHaTa TapéoYov avT@, Tovs Te mpocTLe-
pevous ToV Bacihéwy Kaxilortes Kal Tous édev-
Gépovs SHpouvs adiotavtes. S10 Kal TovTwy
TONNOUS Expeuace.
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ALEXANDER, ux. 1-4

was also a wise man in his way, and after he had greeted Alexander, said: “ Why must we war and fight with one another, Alexander, if thou art not come to rob us of water or of necessary sustenance, the only things for which men of sense are obliged to fight obstinately ? As for other wealth and pos- sessions, so-calied, if I am thy superior therein, I am ready to confer favours; but if thine inferior, I will not object to thanking you for favours conferred.”’ At this Alexander was delighted, and clasping the king’s hand, said: “Canst thou think, pray, that after such words of kindness our interview is to end without a battle? Nay, thou shalt not get the better of me; for I will contend against thee and fight to the last with my favours, that thou mayest not surpass me in generosity.’ So, after receiving many gifts and giving many more, at last he lavished upon him a thousand talents in coined money. This conduct greatly vexed Alexander’s friends, but it nade many of the Barbarians look upon him more kindly.

The best fighters among the Indians, however, were mercenaries, and they used to go about to the different cities and defend them sturdily, and wrought much harm to Alexander’s cause. Therefore, after he had made a truce with them in a certain city and allowed them to depart, he fell upon them as they marched and slew them all. And this act adheres like a stain to his military career; in all other in- stances he waged war according to usage and like a king. The philosophers, too, no less than the mer- cenaries, gave him trouble, by abusing those of the native princes who attached themselves to his cause, and by inciting the free peoples to revolt. He there- fore took many of these also and hanged them.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

a \ ~
LX. Ta &€ mwpos [l@pov avtos év tais émicto-
ANals ws EmpayxOn yeypade. dyal yap év péow
; pdyOy yeypage. dyaot yap ev péag
TaV otTpatoTédwy tov ‘TdaacTov péovtos aytt-
. e f \ b) , JN N ~
Topouvs toTavtTa Tous édehavtas det tov Iapov
~ , Q b]
émitnpely tiv didBactv. auTov pev ovv Kal
e / e , / a \ / b a“

nuépav exaotyny ropov mrorety Kai OopuBov ev TO
S - 3/47 \ ,
aTpatoTédm modu, €Oifovta tovs BapBapovs
\ n \ \ , \ 3 /
pn poBetcOar: vuKtos b€ yetmepiov Kal aoedXrnVoU
haPovta TaV TECH Epos, immeEts b€ TOUS KpaTi-
t ral
OTOUS, Kat mpoehOovTa TOppw TaY TroAELLOY
la) N fal
dtaTepacat Tpos vngov ov peyadnv. evtab0a
, \ 4 3
dé paydaiov pev exyvévTos duBpou, mpnoTHpwv
dé TOAA@Y Kal KEepavv@v eis TO aoTpaTtoTedov
f ed ¢ a ,
PEepomevav, Ouws Opwv atrodhAUpévous TLVaS Kal
e \ “ “ a
cuppreyopévous UTO TMV KEpavvaYv ard THs
n i / a 3
vnaidos apas mpoohépecOar tais avtitépas by-
\ \ € n
Oats. tpayuv b€ tov ‘Tddomnv bd tod xet-
UOvos ETLOVTA Kal pEeTéewpov, Expnyma ToLtioat
\ , > , a
péya, Kal modu pépos exeivn dépecOat Tod
e ¢ 3 \ \ / \ / 3
pevpatos: autous 6€ dé€acdar TO pécov ov
, ee \ / \ A
BeBaiws, ate 61 cuvodtcOdvoyv Kal repippynyvi-
3 NO be > ~ 2 , cc
pevov. évtavda 6é eitretvy dacw avtov “"O
>] A = , / xX e f e
A@nvaiot, apa ye miaTEevoatTe av diKOUS UTr0-
ig f ~ an
eva Kivduvous Evexa THS Tap bpiv evdokias;”
3 \ a \ ’ Z v oS /
arra TovTO pev Ovancixpitos elpnxev, avtos Sé
\ i f a
dynat tas oyedias adévtas avtovs peta TaV
e 4 ba “a
OTAwY TO Expnypya SraBaivery dypt pactav Bpe-
\ \ a“ ~
yoméevous, diaBas b€ TOV TeCOV elxoct TTAadiovs
ae a 4 3 ¢ s A
T poiTmEevaal, NOYLEOMEVOS, EL LEV OL TrOAELLOL TOLS
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LX. Of his campaign against Porus! he himself has given an account in his letters. He says, namely, that the river Hydaspes flowed between the two camps, and that Porus stationed his ele- phants on the opposite bank and kept continual watch of the crossing. He himself, accordingly, day by day caused a great din and tumult to be made in his camp, and thereby accustomed the Barbarians not to be alarmed. Then, on a dark and stormy night, he took a part of his infantry and the best of his horsemen, and after proceeding along the river to a distance from where the enemy lay, crossed over to a small island. Here rain fell in torrents, and many tornadoes and thunder-bolts dashed down upon his men; but nevertheless, although he saw that many of them were being burned to death by the thunder-bolts, he set out from the islet and made for the opposite banks. But the Hydaspes, made violent by the storm and dashing high against its bank, made a great breach in it, and a large part of the stream was setting in that direction; and the shore between the two currents gave his men no sure footing, since it was broken and slippery. And here it was that he is said to have cried: “O Athenians, can ye possibly believe what perils I am undergoing to win glory in your eyes?” This, how- ever, is the story of Onesicritus; Alexander himself says that they left their rafts and crossed the breach with their armour on, wading breast-high in water, and that after he had crossed he led his horsemen twenty furlongs in advance of his infantry, calculating that, in case the enemy attacked with

1 See Arrian, Anab. v. 9-19. It was in the spring of 326 B.C.

¢ f \ , 3 \
immows mpocBaroev, TodV KpaThoev, eb S€ KuV-
a \ Ul , \ \ % a
olev THY harayya, POncecPat Tovs Tefovs avT@
mT poayevouevous’ Oatepov 5é cupSiyvar. TaY yap
imméewy YiALovS Kal TOV appatawv é£r)KovTa ovup-
, \ \ A
TecovTa TpEipevos, TA pevy Appata RAaBeiv
anavta, Tov & inméwv avedely TeTpaKkoctous.
¢ AY ca)
ovTw 61) cuedpovycavta tov Il@poyv ws avtos
’ /
ein StaBeBynxews ’AX€Eavdpos, émiévat peta Taons
nA \ A
THS Suvapews, TANV Ocov Eptrodwv eElvat Tois
a /
S:aBatvovet tov Maxedovey arédire. goByOeis
\ \ / \ NY a a / > \
dé Ta Onpia Kal TO TAOS TOV TOAELiwV AUTOS

a \ a a
pev évocioa, Kata Oatepov Képas, Koivov 6é T@
An n n / \ wn
defi poo Bane Kehedoat. ryevoperns dé T poms
e “A
éxatépwOev avaywpeiv acl mpos ta Onpia Kal
la) \ 3 / ef 4 ‘
cuvetretabar Tovs éxBiafopevous, GOev Hon THY
4 5 \ U b] ‘ ef
LAY HY GvapeplyMEeVNY Eival, KaL pores oydons Wpas
na ié n \ € n
amTevmely TOUS TrOAEuiOUS. TAUTA pEéV OUY Oo THS
S: nw n
MAXNS TOLNTHS AVTOS Ev Tals émMLaTOAAls ELpNKeED.
° fa) e fal
Oi 5€ mAciotoe TOV GUyypadéwv oporoyodat
a ? al
tov Il@pov virepaipovta Tecoadpwerv mnyav omOa-
n fo) / a
Lip TO phKos immotou pnoey arodciv mpos Tov
x, / if } \ \ 4, @Q \ \ M4
éhéhavta cuppetpia ota TO péyeOos Kal Tov byKov
a le /
TOU owpaTos. KaitTor péyiotos Av o édéhas:
\ i
cuveci 5€ Oavpactiny éredetEato Kal Kndepoviay
a / \ i a
tov Bactiéws, éppwuevov pev Ett Ovu@ Tovs
4 \ ,
TPOTHAXOMEVOUS ApLVVOMEVOS Kal AVAKOTTT@V, WS
\ ” A , \ , 4
Sé nobeto Bedkav mrANOeL Kai TpavpaTwv Kdp-
\ “A nw ‘ s
vovTa, delaas pn TEpLpp’H, Tois pev yovacw Ets
a n / “A \
yi UPnKe Tpdws EavToy, TH d€ Tpovopaia Nap-
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ALEXANDER, -x. 4-7

their cavalry, he would be far superior to them, and
in case they moved up their men-at-arms, his infantry
would join him in good season. And one of these
suppositions came to pass. For after routing a
thousand of the enemy's horsemen and sixty of their

chariots which engaged him, he captured all the chariots, and slew four hundred of the horsemen. And now Porus, thus led to believe that Alexander himself had crossed the river, advanced upon him with all his forces, except the part he left behind to impede the crossing of the remaining Macedonians. But Alexander, fearing the elephants and the great numbers of the enemy, himself assaulted their left wing, and ordered Coenus to attack their right. Both wings having been routed, the vanquished troops retired in every case upon the elephants in the centre, and were there crowded together with them, and from this point on the battle was waged at close quarters, and it was not until the eighth hour that the enemy gave up. Such then, is the account of the battle which the victor himself has given in his letters.

Most historians agree that Porus was four cubits and a span! high, and that the size and majesty of his body made his elephant seem as fitting a mount for him as a horse for a horseman. And yet his elephant was of the largest size ; and it showed re- markable intelligence and solicitude for the king, bravely defending him and beating back his assailants while he was still in full vigour, and when it perceived that its master was worn out with a multitude of missiles and wounds, fearing lest he should fall off, it knelt softly on the ground, and with its proboscis

1 Six feet and three inches.

Bavwv atpéva tov Sopatiwy Exaotov éEnper Tov

8 gwuatos. émel d€ AnPOévta Tov Ildpov o 'Aré-
Eavdpos npwTaT as avTe xpynontat, " Bacidixas,"
eime: tmpoomulopevov b€ pn TL GAAO Revel,
"Tldvta," eimev, "éativ ev TO Bacihixas. ov
povov ouv aicev avTov dpe Gy eSactreve,
TaTpaTHy Kaovpevon, aya Kal ™ poo eOnxe Xe-
pav tous! AUT OVOLOUS KaTaoT pew dpevos, év 7
TEV TEKALOEKA pev €Ovn, TONES Oe TEVTAKLTXtALAS
aktoXoyous, Kwpyas 5€ TapTroAXas eivai daw
addrAnv b€ tpls tocavTny js Didimmov tia Tov
éTalpwv catpamny amédeEer.
LXI. 'Ex 6€ tis mpos Ilapov payns Kat o
Bouxedddas éreXevTHoEV, oVK EVOUS, GAN VoTepor,

WS ol TET TOL Aéyouoww aT TpavpaTtov Gepa-
TEVOLEVOS, @s O€ ‘Ovnaixprtos, bua “Yipas Umép-
Tovos YEVOLEVOS* TpidKkovta yap érT@v atrodavety
avTov. €dnyVOn loxupas "AréEavdpos, ovdéev
ano y ovvyOn Kal pirov amoBeBAncevat vopicwv:
Kal TOALY otKioas én aur Tapa TOV ‘Tédorny
Bouxepadiav Tpoanryopeuce. AeyeTas 6€ Kal
KUVa Hepitay dvoua TEA pa pipevov vn avTov Kal
oTepyopevoy aToBadav KTLOAL TOMY eT WVULOY.
TovTo 6€ Xwttwv dyol Hotduwvos dxodoat tod
Ae Biov.
LXII. Tods HEVTOL Maxedovas 0 Tpos. Ta@pov
aryov ap Brute pous emote Kai TOU Too THS
"Tvdiuchs ete mpoenrOety erécye. pods yap éxeivov
1 rots with Bekker, after Coraés : xa) rods.

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. v. 19, 4 f.
* Alexander carried his conquests from the Indus to the

gently took each spear and drew it out of his body. Porus was taken prisoner, and when Alexander asked him how he would be treated, said: “ Like a king ”’ ; and to another question from Alexander whether he had anything else to say, replied: “ All things are included in my ‘like a king.’’’ Accordingly, Alexander not only permitted him to govern his former kingdom, giving him the title of satrap, but also added to it the territory of the independent peoples whom he subdued, in which there are said to have been fifteen nations, five thousand cities of considerable size, and a great multitude of villages. He subdued other territory also thrice as large as this and appointed Philip, one of his companions, satrap over it.

LXI. After the battle with Porus, too, Bucephalas died,—not at once, but some time afterwards,—as most writers say, from wounds for which he was under treatment, but according to Onesicritus, from old age, having become quite worn out;! for he was thirty years old when he died. His death grieved Alexander mightily, who felt that he had lost nothing less than a comrade and friend; he also built a city

in his memory on the banks of the Hydaspes and
ealled it Bucephalia. It is said, too, that when he
lost a dog also, named Peritas, which had been
reared by him and was loved by him, he founded a
city and gave it the dog's name. Sotion says he
heard this from Potamon the Lesbian.
LXII. As for the Macedonians, however, their struggle with Porus blunted their courage and stayed their further advance into India.? For having had

Hyphasis (Arrian, Anab. v. 25), subduing the Punjab. It was now September, 326 B.c.

' , , a \ id c A
oadapevot Sic puptots TeCois Kal Sic xtALols iTTEvaL
, b] a) b] ,
Tapata&dpevov, avtéctynaay iaxupas AreEavdpo
va) /
Bialopéve kal tov Vayyny mepacat trotapor,
eUpos pev avTov Ovo Kat TpLdKoVTa oTAdiwY Eivat
' \ ,
muvOavouevor Kab Bados opyvias éxaTov, avti-
mépas 6€ tas 6y8as amoKxexpvdbat mrANnOeow
e \ (7 \ 9 s b / \
OTAWY KaL iTTWY Kal EhehavTwv. EdEYOVTO yap
OKT® pev pupiddas immoT@v, elkoot dé Trelar,
e . 3 , \ , f
dppata 6€ oKTakioxtALa Kal paytpmous éXMépavTas
e r Yj ¢ " \
éEFaxicxirtous éxovtes ot Tavdapitov cat Ipac-
ciwy Pacirets vropevety. Kal KOmTTOS OVK AD
A b f \ "
mept Tavta. 'AvdpoKxottos yap vatepov ov TOAA@
f ys , / ~ /
Bacitrtevoas Ledkevk@ TevTaKkoctovs éEdéehavtTas
éSwpngato, Kal otpatov pupidow éfij)Kovta THV
"Tvdsxny érirOev arracav Katactpepopevos.
To péev ody mpetov Uo Svabupias Kal opyis
\ /
auTov eis THY aKnviy Kabeip~as Exerto, yap
? a
ovdeuiay eLdws Tots OvaTreTmpayuevols Eb un Tepa-
N es > > ' , (4 f

aeve TOV Vayynv, ddd’ eEomoroyynow Artns 710E-
\ 4
pevos THY avaywpnaw. ws bé of Te Piro Ta EixoTA
fal NX a
TAapnyopovvTes AUTOV Ol TE OTPATL@TAL Krav-
al \ a) ? a)
Oud kat Bon mpocitotapevot Tats Ovpars ixétevov,
émixracGeis avefevyvue, TOAAA Trpos Sokav atra-
\
TNAA Kab cOpLaTLKa UNYavameEvos. Kal yap 67a
peiCova Kat datvas inmwv cal yarivors Bapv-
TEpOUS KATATKEUdCAS aTEALTE TE Kal Stepper
ispvcato dé€ Bwpovs Gewv, ods péypt viv oi
IIpa:ciwy Baotreis StaB8aivovtes céBovtat Kat
400

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ALEXANDER, cxi. 1-4

all they could do to repulse an enemy who mustered only twenty thousand infantry and two thousand horse, they violently opposed Alexander when he insisted on crossing the river Ganges also, the width of which, as they learned, was thirty-two furlongs, its depth a hundred fathoms, while its banks on the further side were covered with multitudes of men-at-arms and horsemen and elephants. For they were told that the kings of the Ganderites and Praesii were awaiting them with eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. And there was no boasting in these reports. For Androcottus, who reigned there not long afterwards, made a present to Seleucus of five hundred elephants, and with an army of six hundred thousand men overran and subdued all India.

At first, then, Alexander shut himself up in his tent from displeasure and wrath and lay there, feel- ing no gratitude for what he had already achieved unless he should cross the Ganges, nay, counting a retreat a confession of defeat. But his friends gave him fitting consolation, and his soldiers crowded about his door and besought him with loud cries and wailing, until at last he relented and began to break camp, resorting to many deceitful and fallacious devices for the enhancement of his fame. For in- stance, he had armour prepared that was larger than usual, and mangers for horses that were higher, and bits that were heavier than those in common use, and left them scattered up and down. Moreover, he erected altars for the gods, which down to the present time are revered by the kings of the Praesii when they cross the river, and on

them they offer

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Ovovow ‘EXdnvixas Ovotas. “AvdpoxoTttos 6é peét-

4 bay 2 aN > 4 5 \ /
paxvov wy avtov ’AdéEavdpov cide, Kat EyeTat
f >] a (24 e > 3 \ S \
TONAGKLS ELTTELY VITEPOV WS Trap ovodEeV FADE TA
, a ? , A
Tpaypara AaPetv AreEavdpos, [LLTOUMEVOU TE
Kal Katadpovoupevov Tov Bacthéws Ova poxOn-
piav Kal duaryévevay.
LXIII. “Evretev oppjoas “AdréEavdpos tiv
é&w Gadaccav émidely, Kal moda mopO peta
KOT PN Kal oxedias mn Ed Mevos, exomileTo Tots
ToTapots Urropepopevos oXoAatWS. 0 6€ TAODS
OUK apyos ny ovee ATPONEMOS, | m poo Biddov dé
Tats modeot Kal aToBatvwy éyetpodTO TavTa.
\ \ A 4 al e
mpos 5€ Tols Kadoupévorts Maddois, ots dacu
‘Tvdav paxytpwtatous yevéoPar, pixpov édénoe
KATAKOTHAVAaL, TOUS meV yap avOpwrous Béreaty
\ fa) a a
aro THY TELXaD amecKedace, mT pOT0S 6€ 1a
KripaKos TEELaNS dvaBas € éml TO TeElYos, WS 7 TE
crhipak ouvert piBn Kab TOV BapBapov udiata-
peveov mapa TO TELXOS chau Bave TrNYVAS KaT@er,
OALYOoTOS OY avaTpeWas EavTOV Els pégoUS AahHKe
TOUS ToAEuious Kal KaTa TUYNY OopOds Earn.
/ \ aA ad M4 e /,
Tiwagapevou d€ TOUS omhors, édoEav ot BapBapou
oéXas Te Kat pdcpa TPO TOU T@MATOS héperOar.
610 Kal TO 7 p@Tov epuyov Kab SverKedda bycay
@s 6€ elOov aurov peTQ vei UT AC TLOT OY, eT -
dpapovres ol pev €K YELpOS Eipeot Kat Sopace bua
TOV omhav ouveritpwckov GLUVO{LEVO?, els 6€
pukpov am@tépw atas epnxev ato to€ou BéXos
¢ \ f. \
oUTws evTovoy Kai Biatov Bate TOV OwpaKa Sia-

Koay éuraynvat Tois wept Tov paaboy oaTéots.
1 Hydaspes, Acesines, and Indus (Arrian, Anab. vi. 1).

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ALEXANDER, cx, 4-Lx111. 3

sacrifices in the Hellenic manner. Androcottus, when he was a stripling. saw Alexander himself, and we are told that he often said in later times that Alexander narrowly missed making himself master of the country, since its king was hated and despised on account of his baseness and low birth.

LXIII. From thence, being eager to behold the ocean, and having built many passage-boats equipped with oars, and many rafts, he was conveyed down the rivers! in a leisurely course. And yet his voyage was not made without effort nor even without war, but he would land and assault the cities on his route and subdue everything. However, in attacking the people called Malli, who are said to have been the most warlike of the Indians, he came within a little of being cut down. For after dispersing the in- habitants from the walls with missiles, he was the first to mount upon the wall by a scaling ladder, and since the ladder was broken to pieces and he was exposed to the missiles of the Barbarians who stood along the wall below, almost alone as he was, he crouched and threw himself into the midst of the enemy, and by good fortune alighted on his feet. Then, as he brandished his arms, the Barbarians thought that a shape of gleaming fire played in front of his person. Therefore at first they scattered and fled; but when they saw that he was accom- panied by only two of his guards, they ran upon him, and some tried to wound him by thrusting their swords and spears through his armour as he de- fended himself, while one, standing a little further off, shot an arrow at him with such accuracy and force that it cut its way through his breastplate and fastened itself in his ribs at the breast. Such was

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

mpos Se Thy TANYHY évdovtos avTOv Kal TO Toma
Kaprpavtos, o wey Barwv érédpape BapBapixnpy
paxatpav TTATULEVOS, lleveéoras dé Kal Atpvaios
TpocaTnoav' ay mryyevt@y éxaTépwy 6 Ev
at éGave, Tleveéotas b€ avTeixe, Tov dé BapBapor
“AAEEavdpos UTEKTELVEV. AUTOS 6¢ Tpavpata
TOAAA AABwr, TENOS dé _mhnyels UTEP KATA TOU
Tpaxnrou, TPO) pEtae TO TeLXEL TO copa, Brérrwv
Tpos TOUS ToOAEmious. €v TOUT dé TOY Make-
Sovwv tmepiyvb vty dpracbels avaia Ontos 6n
TOV mept auTov eT GKNVIS exopivero. Kal

TapautTixa pev ws TeOveatos mv Royos év 7@
TT PAT OT ESO" Karem as d€ Kal ToAVTOVWS TOV
ola TOY exT PLOdVT OY EvAwoy ovta, Kab TOU
Owpaxos ovT@ pores aToAvGevtos, meph THY
exKOT YD éyivovTo THS axisos évoeduxulas évl TOV
ootéwy. RéyeTar 6€ TO wey TAATOS TPL@V SaKTU-
wy Eval, TO OE pHKOS Tecodpwr. 0 Tais
ALTOOUpiats éyyiora davatov cuvehavvopevos
éFarpouperns auras, 6 LOWS dvéraBe. Kal Sraduyov
Tov Kivduvor, é ert dé do Bevis @V Kal TONY VY povov
év d:aitn Kat Oeparretars Exov aurov, é&w Gopu-
Bovvtas ws nobero mofouvTas aut ov ety TOUS
Maxedovas, AaBov t bwaTioy mponrGe. Kat duoas
Tots Geois aibus avnxOn Kal Tapexouiveto yYwpav
TE TOAANY Kab TOAELS pEyaras KaTao TpEPopEvos.
LXIV. Tov é Dupvocopiatay TOUS pddiora
TOV ~aBBav avanéioavtTas amooThvat Kal KaKa
Tr€loTAa TOS Maxeddor TapacXovras AaBov
déxa, Servos SoxovvTas eivat Tept TAS aTrOKpiCELs
1 Leonuatus, according to Arrian, vi. 10, 2.

the force of the blow that Alexander recoiled and sank to his knees, whereupon his assailant ran at him with drawn scimitar, while Peucestas and Limnaeus ! defended him. Both of them were wounded, and Limnaeus was killed; but Peucestas held out, and at last Alexander killed the Barbarian. But he himself received many wounds, and at last was smitten on the neck with a cudgel, and leaned against the wall, his eyes still fixed upon his foes. At this instant his Macedonians flocked about him, caught him up, already unconscious of what was going on about him, and carried him to his tent. And straightway a report that he was dead prevailed in the camp; but when with much difheulty and pains they had sawn off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and had thus succeeded at last in removing the king's breastplate, they came to the excision of the arrow- head, which was buried in one of the ribs. We are told, moreover, that it was three fingers broad and four long. Its removal, therefore, threw the king into swoons and brought him to death’s door, but nevertheless he recovered. And after he was out of danger, though he was still weak and kept him- self for a long time under regimen and treatment, perceiving from their tumult at his door that his Macedonians were yearning to see him, he took his cloak and went out to them. And after sacrificing to the gods he went on board ship again and dropped down the river, subduing much territory and great cities as he went.

LXIV. He captured ten of the Gymnosophists
who had done most to get Sabbas to revolt, and had
made the most trouble for the Macedonians. These
philosophers were reputed to be clever and concise

Kal Spaxvroyous, epwTniara m podBanev avrots
amropa, pnoas dmroxrevety TOV HN opOars a arroxpwwa-
pevov T POTOV; elTa epetins OUT TOUS aNXous*
éva dé Tov mpea BuUTaToV exédeuoe Kpiverv. O pev
ouv 7 P@TOS epotneis MOTEPOV OLETAL TOUS CavTas
elvat melovas a TOUS TeOnKoras, Edn TOUS Carv-
TAS’ OVKETL yap Elva TOUS TeOUNKOTAS. O ce
SevTEpos, TOTEPOV TI yp 4) TH Oddatray pel-
Cova tTpépewy Onpia, THY yy" TAUTNS yap HEpos
elvat THY Oddrarray. o 6é TpLTOs, Tmotov oT!
Spov TavoupyoTatov, nC) expe vov, elev,
“ avOpamos OUK eyvoKer. o o€ TETAPTOS ava-
K pLvopevos Tivt Noyic Lo Tov LaBBav am éaTNG eV;
ameKpivato, “ Karas Civ Bovdopevos avTov Y
KANOS arroBavetv.” 0 dé TET TOS epornGeis T0-
TEpoy olerau TV npeepav y THY vuKTa TpoTépav
ryeyovevat, Thy neepav, ele, “pepe par
Kat TPOoETELTEY ovTOS, Javpacavtos TOU Baot-
NEWS, OTL TOY ATTOpwY epwTHTEewV aVaYKN Kal TAS
amToxpiges amtopous elvat. petaBadwv ovv Tov
EXTOV HpWTA TAS av TES prrnbein pddora Av
KPaTLOTOS ov,” eh, “py poBepos 7. Tov oe
NOLT WV Tplav o pev épwrtnbeis mas av TUS e&
dvOpaTrov ryevotTo Oeds, Ei Te mpaterev, ‘ elev,
Conn pagar SvvaTov av pwr ep pn ear” o be mepl
Coiis Kat Gavarou, TOT EpOv to XvpoTepor, aT e-
K PLATO THY Conny Tocabra KaKG pepovaar. o oe
TEN evTaios, pEX pl TIVGS avO pone KANOS éxov ony,
se Méxpe ov 1) vopiger TO TeOvavat TOU Chv apec-
vov. ovTw 6) TpaTropevos 7 pos TOV Sicacriyy
éxéXevoevy atopaiverbat. tod dé &repov étépov
A > , ' se Ce ae bee \
yelpov eipnxevar pijcavtos “ OvKody,” épn, “ov
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in answering questions, and Alexander therefore put difficult questions to them, declaring that he would put to death him who first made an incorrect answer, and then the rest, in an order determined in like manner; and he commanded one of them, the oldest, to be judge in the contest. The first one, accord-

ingly, being asked which, in his opinion, were more numerous, the living or the dead, said that the living were, since the dead no longer existed. The second, being asked whether the earth or the sea produced larger animals, said the earth did, since the sea was but a part of the earth. The third, being asked what animal was most cunning, said: “ That which up to this time man has not discovered.” The fourth, when asked why he had induced Sabbas to revolt, replied : “ Because I wished him either to live nobly or to die nobly.” The fifth, being asked which, in his opinion, was older, day or night, replied: “ Day, by one day’; and he added, upon the king expressing amazement, that hard questions must have hard answers. _Passing on, then, to the sixth, Alexander asked how a man could be most loved ; “ If,” said the philosopher, “he is most powerful, and yet does not inspire fear.” Of the three remaining, he who was asked how one might become a god instead of man, replied: “ By doing something which a man cannot do”; the one who was asked which was the stronger, life or death, answered: “Life, since it supports so many ills.” And the last, asked how long it were well for a man to live, answered: “ Until he does not regard death as better than life.” So, then, turning to the judge, Alexander bade him give his opinion. The judge declared that they had answered one worse than another. “ Well, then,” said Alexander, “thou shalt

™ patos anobav7 TowadTa Kpivav. “Oven av Yer
elev, “ @ Bacired, EL pn ov Wevdn pycas. Tpo-
TOV QTTOKTEVELVY TOV aT OK PIV jEVOV KAKLOTA.
LXV. Toutous pev OvY ad ice Swpna dpevos:
™pos dé Tous év d0&n padtoTa Kal Kal’ abtovs év
novxia CovTas émrepyrev ‘Ovnatxpitov, apices ba
Sedpevos mpos autov. 0 6€ OvnatKpttos iv prro-
copos TOV Atoyevet TO Kurexo@ cuverXoaxorov.
Kab pyc TOV pev Kadavov iBproricds Tavu Kal
TPAXEWS KEAEVELY ATrOOUYTA TOV xeT@va ryULLVOV
axpoaa bat TOV Aoyov" adhos d€ ov brarefec Oar
Tpos aUTOV, OVO’ el Tapa ToD Avos apiktas TOV
dé Adveapu 7 PQOTEpov eival, Kal OvaxovcarTa
mepl LwKxparous Kat IvOayopov Kal Aoyévous
ELTTELY WS EUPVELS pev avT@ yeyovevat Soxovaw ot
avdpes, Atay dé ToS vomous aicyvvdpevoe BeBro-
EVAL arrow d€ pace TOV Advéapuy ovdev evmrely
aXW 1 TOTOUTOY povov" “Tivos Xdpw 0 “Ad EEav-
dpos o0d0v TocauTny dep HAGE; TOP pev ToL
Kadavov é@recev o Takidns édOety mpos ’Adé-
Eavdpov. éxareito dé Xdivns: eel 6é Kat
Tvdicny yA@tTav T@ Kare mwpocayopevov avi
Tod Xaipew tovs évtuyxavovtas nomaveto, Kaha-
vos w7ro TOV “EAAnVOV avonacOn. TouUTov 6€
AéyeTat Kab TO Tapaderypa THS apxis TO ‘Ane-
Eavopy mpobea Bar. KataBadov yap ev per

Bvpoay Twa Enpav Kat KaTeoKhnKviay eT aT ATE
TO axpov" 9 66 els év meaVeioa TOUS aNXOLS emnp-
On pépect. Kal TovTo Tepliov ey KoKMD Kal
TueSooy Kal exaoT ov edeiavue yeyvopevor, axpe ob
TO péaov eTLTTAS KaTéETXE Kal TaVTAa oUTWS Hpé-
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die first for giving such a verdict." "That cannot
be, O King," said the judge, "unless thou falsely
saidst that thou wouldst put to death first him who
answered worst.'

LXV. These philosophers, then, he dismissed with gifts; but to those who were in the highest repute and lived quietly by themselves he sent Onesicritus, asking them to pay him a visit. Now, Onesicritus was a philosopher of the school of Diogenes the Cynic. And he tells us that Calanus very harshly and insolently bade him strip off his tunic and listen naked to what he had to say, otherwise he would not converse with him, not even if he came from Zeus; but he says that Dandamis was gentler, and that after hearing fully about Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, he remarked that the men appeared to him to have been of good natural parts but to have passed their lives in too much awe of the laws. Others, however, say that the only words uttered by Dandamis were these: "Why did Alexander make such a long journey hither?" Calanus, nevertheless, was persuaded by Taxiles to pay a visit to Alexander. His real name was Sphines, but because he greeted those whom he met with " Cale," the Indian word of salutation, the Greeks called him Calanus. It was Calanus, as we are told, who laid before Alexander the famous illustration of government. It was this. He threw down upon the ground a dry and shrivelled hide, and set his foot upon the outer edge of it; the hide was pressed down in one place, but rose up in others. He went all round the hide and showed that this was the result wherever he pressed the edge down, and then at last he stood in the middle of it, and lo! it was all held down firm and still.

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unoev. €BovreTo dé 7) eixwy évderEts evar tov
Ta péoa Sety pdrdtota THs apyns wrélev Kal py
pakpav avotAavac Oat Tov "AréEavdpor.
LXVI. 'H dé ota TOV TOTALOY Tpos T Thy Oa-
NaTTay uTaryory?) pnvev em Ta, xpovor avadwoer.
éuBarwv b€ Tats vavolv els Tov 'Oxeavov avé-
TrEVTE TPOS VHgov iv UKihAodaTw avToOS wVO-
pacev, ETepor O€ Virtovav. évtatéa bé€ droBas
€Ove Trois Geois, Kal tTHv dvaw éretde TOU weda-
yous Kal THS TapaXdlas doov édixtov iv. eita
émevEdpevos pndéva pet avtov avOparwy vrep-
Siva Tous bpous Tihs oTpateias avéoT pepe. Kal

Tas ev vais éxéXevae TepiT Ney év de&ia THY
Tvdeanv éyovaas, YE Hove. prev Tt Néapyxov arro8el-
Eas, PON Tg dé ‘Ovnoixperor: avTos €
mel © Opertav TOPEVOMEVOS ELS eoxatny aT0-
play ripen Kat TAnGos avOpwrav aT WET ED,
MOTE Tis paxipov Supauews pnde TO TETApTOV
€k THS “Tvdiahs amayaryeiy. KALTOL dw@dexa pen
pupeddes 7) Hoav ob meCol, TOO (mT LKOV ELS puptous
Kal TEevTakLg XiAOUS. andra Kal vooot xarerral
Kat dtartac movnpal Kal Kaupata Enpa kal
TELTTOUS 0 Atpos SréhOecper, domopov xopav
éTLOVTAS avO pwr KaKo Bio, ONiyYa Kal wyevVvh
TpOBAaTAa KEKTNMEVOY, A TOUS GaratTious txOds
elO.a pwéeva mpoa Peper ar odpKa, poxOnpav elye
Kat Suawon. ports ouv év npepars efnKovTa,
TAUT ND diehOov Kal TIS Despwotas awdpevos ev-
dus év ahOovols Hv Tact, TOV éyyloTa caTpaTa@v
Kai Bactiéwy TapacKkevacavTwr.

1 In midsummer of 328 b.c.

2 It is Cilluta in Arrian (Anab. vi. 19, 3).

ALEXANDER, cxv, 4-Lxv1. 3

The similitude was designed to show that Alexander ought to put most constraint upon the middle of his empire and not wander far away from it.

LXVI. His descent of the rivers to the sea consumed seven months’ time. And after emerging with his fleet into the ocean,! he sailed out to an island to which he himself gave the name of Scillustis, others that of Psiltucis.2 Here he landed and sacrificed to the gods, and studied the nature of the sea and of all the sea-coast that was accessible. Then, after praying that no man after him might pass beyond the bounds of his expedition, he turned to go back. His fleet he ordered to go round by sea, keeping India on the right ; Nearchus was appointed admiral of the fleet, Onesicritus its chief-pilot. But he himself proceeded by land through the country of the Oreites, where he was reduced to the direst straits and lost a multitude of men, so that not even the fourth part of his fighting foree was brought back from India. And yet his infantry had once numbered a hundred and twenty thousand, and his

cavalry fifteen thousand. But grievous diseases,
wretched food, parching heats, and, worst of all,
famine destroyed them, since they traversed an un-
tilled country of men who dragged out a miserable
existence, who possessed but few sheep and those of
a miserable sort, since the sea-fish which they ate
made their flesh unsavoury and rank. It was
with difficulty, then, that Alexander passed through
this country in sixty days; but as soon as he
reached Gedrosia he had all things in abundance,
for the nearest satraps and princes had provided
them.
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PEUTARCH SS LIVES

LXVILI. ‘AvaraBov ouv evrabda THY Suvapup
eEw@ppnoe KOLO XPOLEVOS ep aypepas emTA OLa
TIS Kappavias. avrov pep ovp (m7 Ob ayédnv
éxouelov OKT, META TOV éTaipav UTT ep Ouperns
ev vyIrA@ Kal TEpipavel TraLTLY memnyutas €U-
coXOU MEV OV TUVEX WS npepas Kai VUKTOS" apakae
dé TauTrndeis, al pev adoupyois Kal TOLKLAOLS
meptBoraios, ai & Ans ael _mpoapatou Kal
XAwpas oxvalopevar KAdOoLS, ElTOVTO TOUS aA-
Nous aryoud at dirous Kal nyeu“ovas éatepavwpe-
vous Kat Wivovtas. ebdes O av Ov TéATHY, OV
Kpavos, ov cdpicay, adda Piddrars Kai puTois Kai
Onpixrelors Tapa THY OOoV aTaCaY OF TTPATIATAL
Bartifovtes éx wifwyv pmeyaddwv Kal Kpatnpwv
GAANHNOLS TPOETTLVOY, OL pméev EV TO Tpodyew apa
Kal Badifer, ol 6¢ KATAKELMEVOL. TON) 6é pov-
ga cuplyyav Kal avr@v Bois Te Kal Nvrarpod Kal
Baxxevas yuvark av KATELXE TavTa TOTOV. T@ dé
ATAKT® Kab TETAAYNMEVO TIS Topetas TAPElTETO
Kal maudua Baxxeris UBpews, ws Tob Jeov Tap-
ovTOs avTov Kal TULTAPAT ELT OVTOS Tov K@ Lov.
émel de Ke THS Ledpwaias eis TO BaciNeov, av-
Gis averauBave tiv oTpaTiay may yyupiov. dé-
yeTau o€ peOvovta AUTOV Oewpety aryavas Nopav,
Tov 6€ é €podpevov Bayoay Yopevovta vixhnoat Kai
Kexoounpuevoyv Ota TOD Oeatpov tapedrOdvta Kabi-
oat Tap avtov: toovtas dé TovsS Maxedovas
Kpotety Kat Body didrfjaat xedevovtas, aypt ov
mepiBarov Karepirnoer.

—

' According to Arrian (Aned. vi. 28, Lt), this bacchanalian procession through Carmania rests on no credible authority.

LXVII. Accordingly, after refreshing his forces here, he set out and marched for seven days through Carmania in a revelling rout. He himself was con- veyed slowly along by eight horses, while he feasted day and night continuously with his companions on a dais built upon a lofty and conspicuous scaffolding of oblong shape; and waggons without number fol- lowed, some with purple and embroidered canopies, others protected from the sun by boughs of trees which were kept fresh and green, conveying the rest of his friends and commanders, who were all garlanded and drinking. Not a shield was to be seen, not a helmet, not a spear, but along the whole march with cups and drinking-horns and flagons the soldiers kept dipping wine from huge casks and mixing-bowls and pledging one another, some as they marched along, others lying down; while pipes and flutes, stringed instruments and song, and revel- ling cries of women, filled every place with abundant music. Then, upon this disordered and straggling procession there followed also the sports of bacchan- alian license, as though Bacchus himself were present and conducting the revel.! Moreover, when he eame to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he once more gave his army time for rest and held high festival. We are told, too, that he was once viewing some contests in singing and dancing, being well heated with wine, and that his favourite, Bagoas, won the prize for song and dance, and then, all in his festal array, passed through the theatre and took his seat by Alexander's side; at sight of which the Mace- donians clapped their hands and loudly bade the king kiss the victor, until at last he threw his arms about him and kissed him tenderly.

LXVII. ‘Eyradda TOV mept Néapxov avaBav-
TOY 1 pos avTov jabeis Kal StaKkovaas 7a meph
Tov mWAODY, Oppnoev avTos TrEvC AS KaTa TOV
Evdparny TTOAW peyarw, elTa Tepl THY "ApaBiav
kat rny AiBinv Tapaxopiabels 61a otndo@v ‘Hpa-
KArelwv éuBareiv eis tiv évtds OddXaccav. kal
Troia TavTooaTa Trept Odrwaxov émnyvuto, Kat
cuynyovTo vaitar Kal xuPepviitar wavtayoeev.
O€ AVM oTpareia Xarer 7) yevomevn Kal TO TEpL
MaaxXovs Tpabpa Kal um pOopa TONAN AexPeioa
THS duvapews anata THs. coTnpias avTOU Ta TE
UmnKOG 7 pos dTroaT aa els émnpe Kal Tos OTpartn-
yous Kab cartpam ats adexiav } TONNIY Kal ™EoveE-
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ampos “Avtimatpov ‘Odvumias kat Kreordtpa
oTaclucacaL OLecAOVTO THY apyYnr, ‘Odupmids
pev “H-recpov, Kreoratpa 6é Maxedoviay trapa-
NaBovca. Kat TovTO aKovaas ‘AréEavdpos Bér-
TLov eb BeBovretobar THY pnTépa: Maxedovas
yap ovK dv vopeivar Baatevopevovs v0
YUVALKOS.
Ava tradrta Néapyov pév adfis émi Odraccav
emepapen, euT AHO at TONEY aTacay eYVOKOS
THY Tapantay, avTos 6é cataBatvor éxonate TOUS
TOVNpOVvS T@V aoTpAaTHY@V. Tov € ‘A Bouhntov
matowy éva pev “Okvaprny avtos amméxtetve
caption dtedacas, A Boudajrov bé pnoev TOV
dvaykatov TApATKEvaoavTos, arr 7 Tpioxirea
TUAQAVTA VvOpiTpaTOS avVT@® TpocayayovTos, éKé-
1 dd:clav Bekker reads axnSlay (indifference) with a Munich
MS. (M.).
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ALEXANDER, cxvu. 1-4

LXVIII. Here Nearchus came up to meet him, and Alexander was so delighted to hear of his voyage that he eagerly desired to sail down the Euphrates himself with a large fleet,) and then, after circum-navigating Arabia and Africa, to enter the Mediter- ranean by way of the pillars of Heracles. And vessels of every sort were built for him at Thapsacus, and sailors and pilots were assembled from all parts. But the increasing difficulties of his march back, his wound among the Malli, and the losses in his army, which were reported to be heavy, led men to doubt his safe return, inclined subject peoples to revolt, and bred great injustice, rapacity, and insolence in the generals and satraps whom he had appointed. Ina word, rest- lessness and a desire for change spread everywhere. For even against Antipater, Olympias and Cleopatra had raised a faction, and had divided his realm between them, Olympias taking Epirus, and Cleopatra Macedonia. When he heard of this, Alexander said that his mother had made the better choice; for the Macedonians would not submit to be reigned over by a woman.

For these reasons he sent Nearchus back to the sea,” determined to fill all the regions along the sea with wars, while he himself, marching down from Upper Asia, chastised those of his commanders who had done wrong. One of the sons of Abuletes, Oxy- artes, he slew with his own hand, running him through with a spear; and when Abuletes failed to furnish him with the necessary provisions, but brought him instead three thousand talents in coin, Alexander

1 It was after his return to Persepolis that this desire
seized him (Arrian, Anabd, vii. 1, 1).
2 Early in 324 B.c.

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& ove éyevovto, dycas, "Tt ovv operos nyiv ths
a A " n SN 3 ,
ons TapacKevns; KabeipEe tov ABovrAnrny.
/ a"
LXIX. Ev 6€ Ilépcais mpa@tov péev atédwxe 70
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voulopa Tals yuvakiv, womep ebw0ercav of Bact-
a / ,

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pov diopwpuypévov améxtetve Tov dadtKnoarta,
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‘O d€ Karavos évtat@a ypovov od modvy vie
Kotdias evoyAnVEls NTHTAaTO TUpav aUvT@ yevé-
aOat. Kal Koptobels imm@ mpos avtny, émevéd-
pevos Kal KATAGTELTaS EaUTOVD Kal TOV T PLY OV
atrapEdmevos, avaBaivoy édeE.odTo Tous TwapovTas
a / \

Ttav Maxedovwr, cal wapexdrer THV pépav éxet-

ordered the money to be thrown to his horses. And when they would not touch it, “ Of what use to us, then,’ he cried, “is the provision you have made?” and threw Abuletes into prison.

LXIX. In Persia, to begin with, he distributed the money among the women, just as their kings were accustomed, as often as they came into Persia, to give each one of them a gold piece. And for this reason, it is said, some of their kings did not come often into Persia, and Ochus not even once, being so penurious as to expatriate himself. In the second place, having discovered that the tomb of Cyrus had been rifled, he put to death the perpetrator of the deed, although the culprit was a prominent Mace- donian native of Pella, by name Polymachus. After reading the inscription upon this tomb, he ordered it to be repeated below in Greek letters. It ran thus: **Q man, whosoever thou art and whencesoever thou comest, for I know that thou wilt come, I am Cyrus, and I won for the Persians their empire. Do not, therefore, begrudge me this little earth which covers my body.” These words, then, deeply affected Alexander, who was reminded of the uncertainty and mutability of life.}

In Persia, too, Calanus, who had suffered for a little while from intestinal disorder, asked that a funeral pyre might be prepared for him.2 To this he came on horseback, and after offering prayers, sprinkling himself, and casting some of his hair upon the pyre, he ascended it, greeting the Macedonians who were present, and exhorting them to make that

Cf. Arrian, Anah. vi. 29, 4-8.
2 The self-sacrifice of Calanus is narrated by Arrian {Anab. vii. 3).

yyy nodéws yevécOar Kat peOvabjvar peta tov Bactréws, autor b€ éxeivoyv Epn pet’ orALyov ypo- vov év BaBur@rt oecGat. Tavta & eimwv KaTa-

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Tar pio Vou TOV €KEL copia Ta. TovTO Tools
eTeoty VoTEpov Gros "Tvdos év ‘AG ijvats Kaicape
cuvwv éroince Kal SeixvuTat MEY pL VOY TO uYN-
petov lvdod mpocayopevopevov.
LXX. ‘O dé ’AdéEavdpos aro THs Tupas yevo-
PEVOS, Kal cuvayayov TOdOUS Tov didov Kal
TOY ny ELOVe@Y emt Oeimvon, ayava ™ povOnke Kal
oTepavov axpaToTroctas. 0 pev ovv mrEioTOD
TLV Il popayos axpe VO@y TET oO Upw@Vv mT ponrOe
Kal haBav TO vent pLov, orépavov TadavTtatov,
Tpepas Tpels emélnoe. TOV d6€ GAAWY, WS Xapns
ona, TETTAPAKOVTA Kal els arébavov TLOVTES,
LayupoU ™ pedn Kpvous eTUYEVOMEVOU.
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operdovTov aUvTos dsaduoas, TOU TAVTOS QvaXw-
patos éAdoooves pupiwy TaddvTwv éxaTov Tplda-
1 &AAov Bekker, after Coraés: xaddyv with the MSS.

day one of pleasure and revelry with the king, whom, he declared, he should soon see in Babylon. After thus speaking, he lay down and covered his head, nor did he move as the fire approached him, but continued to lie in the same posture as at first, and so sacrificed himself acceptably, as the wise men of his country had done from of old. The same thing was done many years afterwards by another Indian who was in the following of Caesar,! at Athens; and the “Indian’s Tomb” is shown there to this day.

LXX. But Alexander, afte: returning from the funeral pyre and assembling many of his friends and officers for supper, proposed a contest in drinking

neat wine, the victor to be crowned. Well, then,
the one who drank the most, Promachus, got as far
as four pitchers;? he took the prize, a crown of a
talent's worth, but lived only three days afterwards.
And of the rest, according to Chares, forty-one died
of what they drank, a violent chill having set in
after their debauch.
At Susa he brought to pass the marriage of his companions, took to wife himself the daughter of Dareius, Stateira, assigned the noblest women to his noblest men, and gave a general wedding feast for those of his Macedonians who had already contracted other marriages. At this feast, we are told, nine thousand guests reclined at supper, to each of whom a golden cup for the libations was given. All the other appointments too, were amazingly splendid, and the host paid himself the debts which his guests owed, the whole outlay amounting to nine thousand

1 Augustus Caesar.
2 The ' chous," or pitcher, held about three quarts.
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2

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

KovTa TahavTous yevouevov. érret 6€ "Avtiyévys
0 érepopOan pos OS apetdwy aTreypawato pevdas,
Kat Tapayayeov Tiva pacKovta Sedaverkévar 7 pos
Thy Tparelay, ATETLOE TO apyupiov, elTa epwpa-
On Wevdopevos, opyea bets O Bactrevs aTnhace
THS avAns avToyv Kal TapeteTo THY TIVE MOVLAY.
jv 6€ AapTpas ev TOS TrONEmLKOIS Oo "AvTLyévns
Kat étt d€ véos wv, Pidimrov TrodopKodvtTos ITé-
pwOov, éumecovtTos avT@ KatameAtiKov BéXous
ets TOV OPGarpor, ov Twapécye Bovropévars é€e-
hety TO BéXos ovdé UPHKato T ply dcacbat tpoc-
wax opevos Kal KaTaKhetoat TOUS Tohepious ets
TO TELXOS. ov HeTpios ouv TOTE THY aruuiay
Epepev, GAAA SHAOS Hv éavTov vie AUTNS Kal
BapuOupias Siaxpyaopevos. Kal TOUTO detoas O
Bactrevs avijce THY Opynv Kal Ta Xpypata exe
éxéNevoev avTov.
LXXI. Tov dé rraidwy trav tpiopuptwr, ods
aaKxoupévous Kat pavOavovtas améduTe, Tois TE
copacw avdpetwv davévtwy Kat Tois eideowy
evmperra@v, éTt 5é Kal Tails per€Tals evyepevav

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cap elvau Kab _Tpommhakia Lov, av0 pwrrots arro-
KENT apwevor eis aravra vov arrotiBea bas ou
aloxXUYn Kat Tpocpintev Tais Tatpict Kal Tots

1 Alexander also paid the debts of all his soldiers, amounting to 20,000 talents (Arrian, Arnab. vii. 5, 1-3),

eight hundred and seventy talents.! Now Antigenes, the One-eyed, had got himself enrolled as a debtor fraudulently and, on producing somebody who affirmed that he had made a loan to him at the bank, the money was paid over; then his fraud was discovered, and the king, in anger, drove him from his court and deprived him of his command. Antigenes, however, was a splendid soldier, and while he was still a young man and Philip was besieging Perinthus, though a bolt from a catapult smote him in the eye, he would not consent to have the bolt taken out nor give up fighting until he had repelled the enemy and shut them up within their walls. Accordingly, he could not endure with any complacency the disgrace that now fell upon him, but was evidently going to make away with himself from grief and despondency. So the king, fearing this, put away his wrath and ordered him to keep the money.

LXXI. The thirty thousand boys whom he had left behind him under instruction and training 2 were now so vigorous in their bodies and so comely in their looks, and showed besides such admirable dexterity and agility in their exercises, that Alexander himself was delighted ; his Macedonians, however, were filled with dejection and fear, thinking that their king would now pay less regard to them. Therefore when he also sent the weak and maimed among them down to the sea-board, they said it was insult and abuse, after using men up in every kind of service, now to put them away in disgrace and cast them back upon their native cities and their parents, no longer

unless this is the donation which Plutarch has here erro- neously connected with the great wedding feast. Cf. Athenaeus, xii. pp. 538 ff. 2 Cf. chapter xlvii. 3.

yovetalv, ov ToLovTous TapadaPovTa. TuVvTas
oby éxédevov adiévat Kat mavTas aXpHaoTous
vopitery Maxedovas, (ExovTa TOUS VEOUS TOUTOUS
TUPPLXLOTAS, our ois emo KATAKTHOETAL THY

oixoupevny. ™ pos Tatra Naren as O “AréEavd pos
EXE, Kal ToAXa pev éhordopnaey QUTOUS Tpos
opy ny, amedacas dé Tas pudaras Ta peSwKe
Ilépaars Kat KaTéo THO ED ex TOUT@Y Sopupopous
Kat paBdodopous, up ov op@ures aurov Twapa-
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AaKlopevous, ETaTrELVOUYTO® Kal didovTes Noryov
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TuTias Kal opyfs. TéXOS be TULP porns aves
éBaéilov advotrrot Kal povoyitwves ett THY oKN-
vay, pera, Bons Kat KravO Lod mrapacidovTes
éavTous Kab xpycacGat KéehevovTes OS Kaxois Kab
axapioTous.) & ov 7 poo ieTo, KaiTrep 780
pahacaopevos. ot S ovK ames Tn oay, GNX TEpas
dvo Kal vUKTas OUTW TpocTETTaTES Kal OAOhUPO-
fevot Kal Kolpavov avaKxadovvTes exapTépnaar.
Th O€ Tpitn mpoeAOwy Kali Deacdmevos otKTpods
kal TeTATELV@LEVOUS eSdxpve TONY Xpovov elTa
pe papa pevos peT pla Kat _Mpooaryopevoas dirav-
Oowmws améNuce TOUS aXPNTTOUS S@pnaapevos
peyaron pers, Kal yparras 7 pos "Avtitrat pov
67 WS év TaoL ToS aydor Kab Tos GeaTpous mpoE-
dptav & EXovTeEs eo repaveopevor KabeCowto. TOV 6
TeOuNKOT@Y Tous taidas ophavovs évTas éupi-
aBous érroinaen.

1 The account of the quarrel between Alexander and the Macedonians in Arrian (Anab. vii. 8-11) differs materially from that of Plutarch.

the men they were when he took them. Accordingly, they bade him send them all away and hold all his Macedonians of no account, since he had these young war-dancers, with whom he could go on and conquer the world.! At these words of theirs Alexander was displeased, and heaped much abuse upon them in his anger, and drove them away, and committed his watches to Persians, and out of these constituted his body-guards and attendants. When the Macedonians saw him escorted by these, while they themselves were excluded from him and treated with contumely, they were humbled; and when they reasoned the matter out they found that they

had been almost mad with jealousy and rage. So finally, after coming to their senses, they went to his tent, without their arms and wearing their tunics only, and with loud cries and lamentations put themselves at his mercy, bidding him deal with them as base and thankless men. But Alexander would not see them, although his heart was softening. And the men would not desist, but for two days and nights persisted in standing thus before his door, weeping and calling upon their master. So on the third day he came forth, and when he saw their piteous and humble plight, wept for some time; then, after chiding them gently and speaking kindly to them, he dismissed those who were past service with magnificent gifts, and wrote to Antipater that at all the public contests and in the theatres they should have the foremost seats and wear garlands. He also ordained that the orphan children of those who had lost their lives in his service should receive their father's pay.?

* Cf. Arrian, Anab, vii. 12.

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LXXITI. 'Os 6€ jxev ets ExSatava tis Myéias
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a 3 \ a e , ' / "
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e tv ,
dé epi Tas nuépas éxeivas Hdaiatiwy mupéo-
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cwv ola b€ véos Kab oTpatiwtiKos ov dépwv
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axpiBn startav, dpa to Tov tatpov TAav«ov
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amenOeiv eis TO O€atpov mept aptaTov yevopevos
\ \ > , e X \ fal
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péyay exTi@y olvou KaK@s €aye Kal puxpov dia-
\ > / " 3 \ a A 4

AuTr@Y aTéBave. TOUTO OvdEerlt NOYLTL@ TO TADOS
Yi bd \ 7
"AréEavdpos nveyxev, AXN evOvs pev introus Te
a , / / ,
Kelpat TavtTas émt wévOer Kal nutovous éxédeuvce
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Kal Tov TéepLE Trohewy udetre Tas emTradkets, TOV
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dé GOXtov taTpov avertavpwaerv, avrous € KaTé-
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Tavoe Kat povotkny taaav év TO oTpaToTéso
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ovoa. Tov b€ wévOovs rapnyopia TO Toru
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atpédeto, TavTas nBndov aTochutzTwv. TovTO 6é
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\ ; a
TOAMAaY Kal KO-TrOY Ev Tals KalvoTOMiats éTAy-
424

ALEXANDER, -xxn. 1-3

LXXIJ. When he came to Ecbatana in Media and had transacted the business that was urgent, he was once more much occupied with theatres and festivals, since three thousand artists had come to him from Greece. But during this time it chanced that Hephaestion had a fever; and since, young man and soldier that he was, he could not submit to a strict regimen, as soon as Glaucus, his physician, had gone off to the theatre, he sat down to breakfast, ate a boiled fowl, drank a huge cooler of wine, fell sick, and in a little

while died. Alexander's grief at this loss knew no bounds.! He immediately ordered that the manes and tails of all horses and mules should be shorn in token of mourning, and took away the battlements of the cities round about ; he also crucified the wretched physician, and put a stop to the sound of flutes and every kind of music in the camp for a long time, until an oracular response from Amnion came bidding him honour Hephaestion as a hero and sacrifice to him. Moreover, making war a solace for his grief, he went forth to hunt and track down men, as it were, and overwhelmed the nation of the Cossaeans, slaughtering them all from the youth upwards. This was called an offering to the shade of Hephaestion. Upon a tomb and obse- quies for his friend, and upon their embellishments, he purposed to expend ten thousand talents, and wished that the ingenuity and novelty of the construction should surpass the expense. He therefore longed for Stasicrates above all other artists, because in his innovations there was always promise of great

1 Arrian finds great diversity in the accounts of Alex-
ander's displays of grief at Hephaestion's death (Anab.
vil. 14),
425

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

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TAVTA Mev OY TAPNTHTATO, TOAA® O€ aTOTMTEPA
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kat damavnpotepa TovTwy codifopevos TOTE Kal
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YeTL yevopevos opa Kopaxas TrodXovs dtadhepopé-
VOUS Kat TUTTOVTAS GAANAOUS, WV EVLOL KATETTETOV
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2 Tap avTov. meta pyvvcews yevouevyns Kata
"AvoAXob@pou Tov atpaTnyod THs BaBvAOvos ws
v \ > a“ Z 3 UA ? \
ein Trept autou TeOvpmevos, éxarer Tlu@ayopay tov
MavTlw. ovK apvovpevov b€ TH” TpakEW npaTnae
A ° A , i
TOY iep@v Tov TpoTov. dryaavtos bé GTL TO
z 9 ” 6é II 4% 3 ow? \ ‘
nmap 7v aroBov, aval, elev, “toyupoy TO
A ” \ a , by \ 3 he
onuetov’” Kai tov Iv@ayopay ovéév nbdixnoer.
HYOeTO € wn TeLcOels TH Ned py, Kai TA TONKA
A a v a \ /
THs BaBuradvos é&m xatacknvav Kat TEepttTrEwv
426

ALEXANDER, txxn. 4 LXXxI. 2

magnificence, boldness, and ostentation. This man, indeed, had said to him at a former interview that of all mountains the Thracian Athos could most readily be given the form and shape of a man; if, therefore, Alexander should so order, he would make out of Mount Athos a most enduring and most con- spicuous statue of the king, which in its left hand should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and with its right should pour forth a river running with generous current into the sea. This project, it is true, Alexander had declined ; but now he was busy devising and contriving with his artists projects far more strange and expensive than this.

LXXIII. As he was on his way to enter Babylon, Nearchus (who had joined him again after sailing through the ocean into the Euphrates) told the king that certain Chaldaeans had met him and advised that Alexander should keep away from Babylon.! Alexander paid no heed to this, but con- tinued on his march; and when he was arrived at the walls, he saw many ravens flying about and clawing one another, and some of them fell dead at his feet. Again, being informed that Apollodorus the commandant of Babylon had sacrificed to learn Alexander’s fate, Alexander called Pythagoras the

seer. Pythagoras did not deny the fact, whereupon Alexander asked him what was the character of the sacrifice, And when the seer told that the victim's liver had no lobe, "Ah me!" said Alexander, "a forcible omen!" and did Pythagoras no harm. He was sorry, too, that he had not obeyed Nearchus, and passed most of his time outside of Babylon, either

1 According to Arrian (Anab. vii. 16, 5), the Chaldaeans besought Alexander in person to suspend his march to Babylon. It was in the spring of 323 B.c.

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onpela TOAAA. Kal yap NEoVTA THY TpEpoLEevwV
, \ iA ce wv $ \
péyloTov Kal KaXXdLOTOV TuEpos Ovos éTEeAOwY
A 3
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area Kal ohaipay avtod tailovtos of veavi-
aKkot of ahatpifovtes, ws det madw AaBeiv Ta
ud Jopaorv av vy TO Opo befo
iwatia, Ka0opwoty avOpwrov ev TO Opovw Kabelo-
uevoyv otwmn, TO diadnua Kal THY oTOANnY THY Ba-
N id « ? s
4 GCLALKIY TEPLKELLEVOY. OUTOS avaKpLVOMEVOS baTIS
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oToAny Kal TO Oiddnua Kabioat Kai ciwTay.
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\ " de Sarah, € a ? s
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? a \ f 4 \ ,
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fay ef \ , ¢€
TWas MpooKkuvourtas, ate 5) TeOpappévos “EA-
ANUKas Kal ToLvodTO MpoTEepov pHdev Ewpakas,
e ?
2 éyékace TpoTetéaTepov. o d€ Arét~avdpos wpryi-
n A fa) ,
a8, cal dpaEdpevos avtov tov tptyav ofodpa
428
ALEXANDER, -xxin. 3-Lxxiv. 2

living in his tent, or sailing about on the Euphrates. And he was troubled by many omens. For instance, the largest and handsomest lion in his menagerie was attacked by a tame ass and kicked to death. Again, he once took off his clothes for exercise and was playing at ball, and when it was time to dress again, the young men who were playing with him beheld a man seated on the king’s throne, in silence, wearing the royal diadem and _ robes. When the man was asked who he was, he was speechless for a long time; but at last he came to his senses and said that his name was Dionysius, and that he was a native of Messenia; in consequence of some charge brought against him, he said, he had been brought thither from the sea-board, and for a long time had been in chains; but just now the god Serapis had come to him and loosed his chains and brought him to this spot, bidding him put on the robe and diadem and sit on the throne and hold his peace.}

LXXIV. On hearing of this, Alexander put the man out of the way, as the seers directed; but he began to be low-spirited, and was distrustful now of the favour of Heaven and suspicious of his friends. He was particularly afraid of Antipater and of his sons, one of whom, Iolas, was his chief cupbearer ; the other, Cassander, had only recently come to Babylon, and when he saw some Barbarians doing obeisance to Alexander, since he had been reared as a Greek and had never seen such a sight as this before, he laughed boisterously. But Alex- ander was enraged, and clutching him fiercely by

1 Other predictions of Alexander’s death are given in Arrian (Anab. vil. 18, 22, and 24),
429

to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tals xEpaly apporTépars em a.as THY Kkeparnv T pos TOV TOIXOV. avOis 5€ mpos TOUS KaTnyopobvTas ‘Avrem at pou Névyely Te Bovhopevov TOV Kdoavépov éxxpovwv, “Ti réyets;” édyn, “TocavTny odov avOpwrovs pndev adsxovpévovs, dANA ouKOpar-toovtas édGeiv;” dicavtos 5é tov Kacavédpou TOUTO AUTO ONnpEtov Eivat TOU aUKOdarTELV, OTL paKkpay iKovat TOV eACY NOV, avayedacas o 'A)é-Eavopos, “Tabra €xelva, eb, “copiopata TOV ‘Apiarorédous ELS ExATEPOV TOV ovyou oluw Eope-vov,! av Kal puxpov adixovyTes TOUS avOpwirous pavire.” TO 6€ dAOV OUTw gaat dervov évdvrat Kal devoorooy eyyevéa Oat TH uxh Tob Kacav-dpou To dé0s, waTE VaTEpoV Xpovoes TONAOES, non MAO es Bactrevorvta Kat KparouvTa Ths ‘EX-Aabos, éy Acrdois TepLTaTovvTa Kat Gewwevov TOUS avdpiavras, ELK OVOS ’AdeEdvopou paveions, ddvw wAnyévta dpitar kal xpadavOFjvat TO capa Kal ports avaraPelv EavTor, thiyytacavtTa Tpos THY Oe.

LXXV. ‘O 8 obv “AréEavdpos Ws EVEOWKE TOTE ™ pos Ta Oeta Tapaxwons YEVvOpEVOS Kai mepihoBos THY dtdvocar, ovdev my pcx pov OUTWS TOY anbav Kat atoTwv & pn TEpas €TOLELTO eal onpeior aGXra Ovopeveov Kal cabatpovtov Kal pavTevov-TwY pecToY Vv TO Baciretov. ovTwWS dpa Setvov pev 1) amiotia mpos Ta Oeia Kal Katadpovnars avtav, den dé avOes 7) Setocdaipovia, 4,2 Sieny Udatos del WpOs TO TATTELVOUMEVOY KaTappéoVTOS,”

1 oluwtonéevwy Sint. with the best MSS.; ofuwtoueévou ye Coraés ; oiudtn nev obv Bekker.

2 4, xatappéovtos supplied by Bekker, after Curaés,
430

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the hair with both hands dashed his head against the wall. And at another time, when Cassander would have said something in opposition to those who were bringing charges against Antipater, Alexander interrupted him, saying: “What meanest thou? Would men come so long a journey if they had not been wronged and were making false charges?”? And when Cassander declared that this very fact of their coming a long distance away from the proofs showed that they were making false charges, Alexander burst out laughing and said: “ These are the famous sophisms of Aristotle’s disciples for either side of the question ; but ye shall rue the day if it appear that ye have done these men even a slight wrong.” And in general, as we are told, Cassander’s spirit was deeply penetrated and imbued with a dreadful fear of Alexander, so that many years afterwards, when he was now king of Macedonia and master of Greece, as he was walking about and surveying the statues at Delphi, the sight of an image of Alexander smote him suddenly with a shuddering and trembling from which he could scarcely recover, and made his head swim.

LXXV. Alexander, then, since he had now become sensitive to indications of the divine will and perturbed and apprehensive in his mind, converted every unusual and strange occurrence, were it never so insignificant, into a prodigy and portent; and sacrificers, purifiers, and diviners filled his palace. So, you see, while it is a dire thing to be incredulous towards indications of the divine will and to have con- tempt for them, superstition is likewise a dire thing, which, after the manner of water ever seeking the

aveT’npouv! aBertepias KxatadoBov tov ’Are-
\ a
Eavdpov yevopevov. ov pny adda Kal Xpnopov
ye Tov wept Hdacotiwvos éx Oe0d Kopicbevtoy
? , \ a ny § 3 f \
aToBéuevos TO TévOos avOis Hy év Ovatats Kai
a f
TOTOLS. éaTidoas O€ AauTPas Tos mept Ne-

s Ve ef 77 f
apyxov, elTa ovoapeEros, WoTrEp etwmber heANOY
cabevdev, Mndiov denbévtos ByeTo Kwpacopevos
, a fa ,
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” i , of, f ‘H a
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\ , X
éxtri@y ovTe abvw Stadryns yevopevos TO peTa-
e \ a ,
hpevov waTEp AOYXN TWeTANywS, adda TadTa
Tives @oVvTO Sely ypadev WaTrep SpduaTos peya-
Nouv Tpayixoyv éEdd.oy Kal TepiTrabes TAACAYTES.
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ptaotoBovros 6€ dyna avtov TupeTTOYTA pavi-
Kas, Supnaarvta 6¢ cpodpa Tuety oivoy’ éx TovTOU
dé hpeviTidoat, Kal TeXeuTHoat Tptaxdds Aatoiou
£
LLNVOS.
- A , iY
LXXVI. "Ev 6€ tats éfnpepiow ottws yéeypa-
, b] ,
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Aa.otov pnvos exabevdev Ev T@ NoUTP@VML La TO
, “A AP oe, cal , b>] A J
mupéear. TH Oe EENS NovadpeEvos Eis TOV Oddapov
nn ai \ } , \ / 16 tZ
pmeTHrAGe, Kal Sunpepeve mpos Mndsov xuBevov.
9 3 3 \ ? ‘ \ ¢ \ ~ a ?
eit Owe AOVTUMEVOS Kal Ta lEepa TOis OeEots érrt-
\ > \ \ \ 9 4 A 3 Z
Geis euhayov oid vuxKtos émupete. TH ELKads
, ? v \ ? / ,
Novadpevos marw eOvae THY E:Oropevny Bvciar:
Kal KaTakeipevos év TH NOUTPHML Tots Trepl Néap-

1 gvenArpouv Coraés’ correction of the MSS. xa) avarAnpoir, adopted by Bekker.
2 xatapoBov Coraés’ correction of the MSS. xal gdBou, adopted by Bekker.

lower levels, filled with folly the Alexander who was now become a prey to his fears. Notwithstanding,

in consequence of oracular responses regarding Hephaestion which were brought him, he laid aside his grief and betook himself once more to sacrifices and drinking-bouts. He gave a splendid entertainment to Nearchus, and then, although he had taken his customary bath before going to bed, at the request of Medius he went to hold high revel with him ;! and here, after drinking all the next day, he began to have a fever. This did not come upon him after he had quaffed a “bowl of Heracles,” nor after he had been seized with a sudden pain in the back as though smitten with a spear; these particulars certain writers felt obliged to give, and so, as it were, invented in tragic fashion a moving finale for a great action. But Aristobulus says that he had a raging fever, and that when he got very thirsty he drank wine, whereupon he became delirious, and died on the thirtieth day of the month Daesius.

LXXVI. Moreover, in the court ‘‘ Journals ” there are recorded the following particulars regarding his sickness.? On the eighteenth of the month Daesius 3 he slept in the bathing-room because he had a fever. On the following day, after his bath, he removed into his bed-chamber, and spent the day at dice with Medius. Then, when it was late, he took a bath, performed his sacrifices to the gods, ate a little, and had a fever through the night. On the twentieth, after bathing again, he performed his customary sacrifice; and lying in the bathing-room

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. vii. 25.
? They are given also by Arrian (Anab. vii. 25).
3 June 2, 523 B.c,
433

9 f b) 4, \ \ \ ~
yov €ayodatev, akpowpmevos Ta Teplt Tov mAouv
Kat THY peyddnv Oarattav. TH Sexatyn POivov-
TOS TAUVTA Toljcas maAXAoV avepr€yOn, Kal THV
\ A
vinta Bapéws eoye, Kal THY émLovacaY Hyépav
, \
émupeTTe aPodpa. Kal peraplels KaTéxELTO Tapa
\ 7 , e \ a ¢ f
Thy peyarnv KorvpBnOpav, te 51) Tots rHyEenoct
A /
dierexOn mept tav eprjpmwv nyepovias taker,

ef , / if , ,
OTs KaTacTHowot SoxiudacavTes. éEBSoun odho-
\ \ a
dpa mupéttwy eOucev éEapeis mpos Ta tepa: TOV
\
S€é nyewovwy éxéXEvE TOUS peytaTous StaTpiPew év
Th avrAy, takiapyous d€ Kai wEevTaKocldpyous EEw
, ’ \ A / /
vuxTepevelrv. els 6€ Ta Téepav Bacireaa diaxom-
“A e ¢e
adels TH Extn piKpov Urvacer, o d€ TupETOS OvK
XA 3 / \ a € , a v
avixev. érreOovtwy d€ TaV NyE“ovav HY adw-
\ A
vos, o“oiws b€ Kal TH TéumTny: 510 Kal Tots
MaxeSdoowv é50£e TeOvdvat, Kai kateBowy érdOovtes
> \ \ 7 \ fa) nw ¢ f 4
evi Tas Oupas, Kai SuntretAovyTo Tots ETALpots Ews
éBiacavto: Kai Tav Oupav avtois avoryOeroav év
a A {/ \ \ ,
Tois xiT@ar Kal Eva TavtTes Tapa THY KALYHDV
el , \ nA ¢€ , ¢ \ ,
mapeEnrOov. tavTys d€ THS Nuépas ot Tept Ilv-
\ , b] \ ~ 3
Owva kat Lédeveov eis TO Lapazretov atoctan-
id >] 7 > , 3 ~ \ > ,
EVTES NPOT@V EL Kouicwow Exel Tov AreEavdpov"
¢ \ \ \ , IA ’ a a \ ,
o 5é Geos Kata ywpav éav avetre. TH SE TpiTY
, \ iA ’ i
hOivovtos mpos Seihnv arreGave.
LXXVII. Tovtwyv ta mreiota xata réEw ev
tais édnucpiow ovtTw yéeypamta. happaxetas

dé UToviav TapauTixa pev ovdelts Exyev, Extw SE 707

he devoted himself to Nearchus, listening to his story of his voyage and of the great sea. The twenty-first he spent in the same way and was still more inflamed, and during the night he was in a grievous plight, and all the following day his fever

was very high. So he had his bed removed and lay by the side of the great bath, where he conversed with his officers about the vacant posts in the army, and how they might be filled with experienced men. On the twenty-fourth his fever was violent and he had to be carried forth to perform his sacrifices ; moreover, he ordered his principal officers to tarry in the court of the palace, and the commanders ot divisions and companies to spend the night outside. He was carried to the palace on the other side ot the river on the twenty-fifth, and got a little sleep, but his fever did not abate. And when his commanders came to his bedside, he was speechless, as he was also on the twenty-sixth; therefore the Macedonians made up their minds that he was dead, and came with loud shouts to the doors of the palace, and threatened his companions until all opposition was broken down; and when the doors had been thrown open to them, without cloak or armour, one by one, they all filed slowly past his couch. During this day, too, Python and Seleucus were sent to the temple of Serapis to enquire whether they should bring Alexander thither; and the god gave answer that they should leave him where he was. And on the twenty-eighth,! towards evening, he died.

LXXVII. Most of this account is word for word as written in the " Journals." And as for suspicions of poisoning, no one had any immediately, but five

1 June 13, 323 B.c.

ETEL pact MNVUTEDS YEVOMEVNS Thy 'Odupmidda TOAXOUS [MEV avenety, expivras ¢ TO Aeipava, TOU Tova TEOUNKOTOS, @$ TOUTOV TO papparov eyXeavtos. ot dé "Apiototédny pao KovTes "Avrima-TPO cup Bovrov ryeryevija Oat THS T™ pacews, Kab ONwS OL exEtvov Topia Oar TO pappaxon, 'A yvo-Oepov TLVa Sunyeta Bau Aeyouaty w@s "Avtuyovou Tov Bacitéws dKovoavta: TO bé dappaxov bdwp elvat Wuypov Kal TayeTOdes ATO TETPAS TLVOS eV Nwvaxpt6s ovens, iv waoTtep Spocov NeTTHV ava-NapLuvovtes ets dvou YnANY atroTiOEevTaL' TAV yap addAwy ovdev ayyetoy otéyetv, aAAG SiaKo-

mTelv uTO uypoTnTos Kat SpiuvTnTos. oat dé
Treia ToL TOV Aoyou Oheos olovrar met AAT OAL TOV
mepl TAS. pappaxeias: Kal TEK LNpLOV autois €oTLV
ov MiKpov OTL TOV HYyELOvwDV cractag dvT@y ep'
mpEpas TONAAS alepamevtov TO T@pA Ketwevov
év tomo Geppois Kat MvLy wer Ww ovdev eave
TOLAUTNS pOopas onpetov, GAN Epecve xalapov
Kal mpoo parov.
'H 6€ 'Pwkdvn xvovca pév étiyyave Kal dia
TOUTO TLL LEVY Tapa tots Maxedoce: cua ln hws
d€ €yovga Tpos THY Lrdrerpap éEnm@atnoev avr hy
EMLTTOAT TLVE TeT AAT MEY mapayeverOat, Kat
Mpocayayovoa meTa THs adeAPys amréxteve, Kal
TOUS VEKPOUS eis TO dpéap Katé Bane Kal ouve-
Yooer, elSoTos Taira [epdixcov Kal supTpart-
TOVTOS. Hv yep exeivos evOus év Suvd pee peytotn,
TOV 'Apptoaton ¢ OOTEP Sopupdopnua tis Baothelas
ePEArKO[EVOS, yeyovora pev ek YUVALKOS adoEou
Kat Kowhs Pirtvyns, ated} O€ TO Ppovetyv dvTa
436

ALEXANDER, -xxvi. 1-5

years afterwards, as we are told, upon information given, Olympias put many men to death, and scattered abroad the ashes of [olas, alleging that he had administered the poison. But those who affirm that Aristotle counselled Antipater to do the deed,! and that it was entirely through his agency that the poison was provided, mention one Hagnothemis as their au- thority, who professed to have heard the story from Antigonus the king; and the poison was water, icy cold, from a certain cliff in Nonacris; this they gathered up like a delicate dew and stored it in an ass's hoof; for no other vessel would hold the water, but would all be eaten through by it, owing to its coldness and pungency. Most writers, however, think that the story of the poisoning is altogether a fabrication; and it is no slight evidence in their favour that during the dissensions of Alexander's commanders, which lasted many days, his body, al- though it lay without special care in places that were moist and stifling, showed no sign of such a destructive influence, but remained pure and fresh. Now, Roxana was with child, and on this account was held in honour among the Macedonians; but she was jealous of Stateira, and therefore deceived her by a forged letter into coming where she was, and when she had got her there, slew her, together with her sister, threw their bodies into the well, and filled the well with earth, Perdiceas being privy to the deed and partner in it. For it was he who was at once in the greatest authority, dragging Ar- rhidaeus around after him to safe-guard, as it were, the royal power. Arrhidaeus was Philip's son by an obscure and common woman named Philinna, and

1 Cf. Arrian, Anab. vii. 28.
VOL, VII. p 437
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

, “~

61a TwWLATOS VOTOV ov duce TPOTTETOVGAaY OvbE
/ \ ’
avToudatws, ad\Aa Kal Tavu daci tratdos dvTos
9 fe) , / $ \ 3 b) s
avtov Siadaivecbat yaptev 7005 Kai ovK ayevvés,
> , 4 e \ a /
elta pévtot dhappaxois vd ‘OdvpTriddos caxw-
Oévra SiapPapivar thy didvo.ap,

438

ALEXANDER, Lxxvu. 5

was deficient in intellect owing to bodily disease. This, however, did not come upon him in the course of nature or of its own accord, indeed, it is said that as a boy he displayed an exceedingly gifted and noble disposition: but afterwards Olympias gave him drugs which injured his body and ruined his mind,
439

Il. KAIZAP

I. Tiv Kivva tod povapynoavtos Ouyatépa
KopynAiav, ws érexpatnoe YvAXraS, OVTE EATIiCLY
ovte hoBw suvvnbeis atoomacat Kaicapos, €57-
pevae THY hepyny avtTns. aittia dé Kaicap: tijs
N 4 > / e \ , 5] ,
mpos YwArav amex elas 7 ™pos Mapuov otxeotns
jv. “Tova yap, TAaTpos aderghy Kaicapos, O
mpeaBbrepos TUVWKEL Maptos, eE 75 eryeryover
2 Mapuos o 0 VEWTEDOS, dveryvos @v Kaicapos. ws O€
v0 wArAnOous povev év px Ka ée aaxonas
UTO Zura TAPOpw{LEvos OvK nyurnoey, arra
METL@OY lepwauYnY els TOV OHmoV TponAOEY OvTTH
TAVU MELPAaKLOY @Y, TAUTNS pév exTrETELY AUTOV
vrevayTiwbels YUANAS TaperKEevaceE, TEpl Sé avat-
pécews Bovrevopevos, eviwy AeyovTwY ws OvK
Exot Aorvyov aTOKTLVYUVaL matoa THALKODTOD, CUK
Eby vou Exel QUTOUS, EL p17) TONOUS év TO mato
3 TOUTM Maptous evopaat. TAUTNS Tis davis ave-
rexOetans T pos Katcapa guyrov pév Tia xpovov

TAAVOMEVOS ey LaBivors exhemTev éavTov é7retTa
d: appwotiay eis olxiav étépav petaxoptlomevos
KATA VUKTA TEPLTITTEL TTPATLOTALS TOU LAA
1 Many think that opening paragraphs of this Life, de- scribing the birth and boyhood of Caesar, have been lost.

2 In 86 B.c., after the death of his colleague, Valerius Flaccus.

I. Tue wife of Caesar ! was Cornelia, the daughter of the Cinna who had once held the sole power at Rome," and when Sulla became master of affairs, he could not, either by promises or threats, induce Caesar to put her away, and therefore confiscated her dowry. Now, the reason for Caesar's hatred of Sulla was Caesar's relationship to Marius. For Julia, a sister of Caesar's father, was the wife of Marius the Elder, and the mother of Marius the Younger, who was therefore Caesar's cousin. More- over, Caesar was not satisfied to be overlooked at first by Sulla, who was busy with a multitude of proscriptions, but he came before the people as candi- date for a priesthood, although he was not yet much more than a stripling. To this candidacy Sulla secretly opposed himself, and took measures to make Caesar fail in it, and when he was deliberating about putting him to death and some said there was no reason for killing a mere boy like him, he declared that they had no sense if they did not see in this boy many Mariuses.4 When this speech was re- ported to Caesar, he hid himself for some time, wandering about in the country of the Sabines. Then, as he was changing his abode by night on ac- count of sickness, he fell in with soldiers of Sulla who

3 In 82B.c. Cf. the Pompey, ix. 1 f.

'Nam Caesari multos Marios inesse (Suetonius, Divus Julius, i.).

Suepevywpevors éxelva Ta Neopia Kat TOUS KEK PULL
[LEVOUS gvAdapSavovory. @v TOV nryEHova Kopyn-
Nov wetaas dug Taravtos adeiOn, Kal kataBas
evdds emi Oadarrav e&émr eve ev els BiOuviav
™ pos Nexounony Tov Baciréa. trap @ Ovatpivras
x povov OU TOAUY, EtTA am oT ew adtioxerat mepl
THY Pappaxovocav vio ov uo TELPATAV 170 TOTE
aTohous peryarots Kal oxddeow arto KaTe-
YOvTwWY THY Oddarrav.
TT. II parov peev OUV aitnbeis UT avT@V AuTpa
elKooe TahavTa KaTeyehacey OS ouK elOGT@Y OV

PHKOUED, avTos be Oporhoynae TEVTNKOVTA owoety’
ETELTA TOV mepl auToy adov els arrnv Ova ep
was modu éml TOV TOV YpHudTwY TroptcpoV, év
avOpeotros ghovexwtatos Keres pe? évos pidrov
Kal duvoty axoXovoty aTrOAEAELLMEVOS OUTW KaTA-
ppovyn Texas elev Gore T ELT OY oodKis ava-
TAVOLTO MPOTETATTEV AUTOIG cLwMaV. NwEpats
b€ TecoapaKovTa dueiy Seovaas, @ OoTEp ov ppov-
povpevos, adrAa Sopupopouperos um avTov, emt
TOXNAS abetas ouverrarte Kat ouveyupyacero. Kat
TOL WAT OL ypapav Kal Aoyous Twas axpoatais
éxeivous €xXpHTO, Kal Tous pe) Gavpalovras avTt-
KpUs amaoevTous Kal BapBapous GTrEKUNEL, Kat
ou yehwre TONAGKLS HTT E Kpewav auTOUS.
ot O€ € EXaI por, aerea Til Kab Tada THY Tap
pnaiav TavTny vewovTes. ws S€ HKOV Ex Midsjrou
Ta AUTpa Kat Sovs ageiOn, Troia wWANPwCAS
evOus éx ToD MiAdnciwy ALpévos éml tobs AnaTas

1 Caesar served under Marcus Thermus, praetor of Asia, in 81-80 B.c., being then nineteen years of age, and by him

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CAESAR, 1. 3-1. 3

were searching those regions and arresting the men in hiding there. Caesar gave their leader, Cornelius, two talents to set him free, and at once went down to the sea and sailed to King Nicomedes in Bithynia,! With him he tarried a short time, and then, on his voyage back,? was captured, near the island Pharmacusa, by pirates, who already at that time controlled the sea with large armaments and countless small vessels. II. To begin with, then, when the pirates de- manded twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them for not knowing who their captive was, and of his own accord agreed to give them fifty. In the next place, after he had sent various followers to various cities to procure the money and was left with one friend and two attendants among Cilicians, most murderous of men, he held them in such disdain that whenever he lay down to sleep he would send and order them to stop talking. For eight and thirty days, as if the men were not his watchers, but his royal body-guard, he shared in their sports and exercises with great unconcern. He also wrote poems and sundry speeches which he read aloud to them, and those who did not admire these he would call to their faces illiterate Barbarians, and often laughingly threatened to hang them all. The pirates were delighted at this, and attributed his boldness of speech to a certain simplicity and boyish mirth. But after his ransom had come from Miletus and he had paid it and was set free, he immediately manned vessels and put to sea from the harbour

was sent to Bithynia in order to raise a fleet to assist in the siege of Mitylene.

2 According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 4), it was on a voyage from Rome to Rhodes (after 77 B.c.) that Caesar was captured by pirates,
445

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at

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

avijryeTo° Kal catrahaBov ere 7 POs Th Vvijow@ vav-
AoxobvTas expatnae TOV TELTTOV, Kal TA pev
Xpipara Aetav emoujoaro, Tous 6é avd pas ev
Ilepyap@ Katalewevos eis TO Seg HoT pLov AUTOS
emropevOn pos TOV SuéTrovTa thy ’Actav ‘Touveov,'
OS éxELv@ poo hKov OVTL oT paTny~ Kohda a Tous
gadwxdras. éxetvou Sé Kal Tots KPI macy €T 0-
plarmiavTos (jv yap ovK GAtya) Kal TEpl TOV
aixmadaroy oKevrer Oar pacKovtos em h TXOXis,
Kalper edoas aUTOV oO Kaioap els Tépyapov
@XETO, Kal Tpoayaryov Tous AnoTAs dmavras
aver Tavpwcey, domep avtois Soxav raltew év Th
vnc Tpoerpycel 7 TONAGKLS.
III. Ex dé TOUTOV THs DLvAAa Suvd news 60
ja parvoperns Kab T@V OiKOL KahovvT@V avTov
em Aeuoey eis “Podov eal oXOMD ™ pos “Atrohho-
viov tov Tov ModAwvos, ov Kal Kixépov 7K pOATO,
copia TevovTos émipavas Kal Tov TpoTrov err vet-
Kovs elvat SokodvTos. AéyeTas de Kal pivas POs
NOyous wodTiKo’s Oo Kaicap apiota, nal dra-
TOVijo at pidoriporata THY pvc, ws TA OevTEpeta
pev adypitas Exel, To oe TPOTELOY, OT WS TH
Suvdpe. Kal Tos omhots _TP@TOS eln peaddov
aoxorndeis, apeivat, Tpos O7rEp 7) huats vonyeito
Ths év TO ever GewvoTnTos, t bir0 OTPATELOY Kat
monTeias, 7 KATERTHO ATO THY mYyEpoviay, ovK
éEtxomevos. avTos & ov totepoy ev TH pos
Kixépwva mepi Kadtwvos avtiypadn mapartetrat
[) OTPATLWTLKOU NCYOY avdpos avTeEeTaleww Mpos
1 “lovyxoy Sintenis.

1 According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 4), this voyage, on which he was captured by pirates, was undertaken after his

ot Miletus against the robbers. He caught them, too, still lying at anchor off the island, and got most of them into his power. Their money he made his booty, but the men themselves he lodged in the prison at Pergamum, and then went in person to Junius, the governor of Asia, on the ground that it belonged to him, as praetor of the province, to punish the captives. But since the praetor cast longing eyes on their money, which was no small sum, and kept saying that he would consider the case of the captives at his leisure, Caesar left him to his own devices, went to Pergamum, took the robbers out of prison, and crucified them all, just as he had often warned them on the island that he would do, when they thought he was joking.

III. After this, Sulla’s power being now on the wane, and, Caesar’s friends at home inviting him to return, Caesar sailed to Rhodes! to study under Apol- lonius the son of Molon, an illustrious rhetorician with the reputation of a worthy character, of whom Cicero also was a pupil. It is said, too, that Caesar had the greatest natural talent for political oratory, and cultivated his talent most ambitiously, so that he had an undisputed second rank; the first rank, how- ever, he renounced, because he devoted his efforts to being first as a statesman and commander rather, and did not achieve that effectiveness in oratory to which his natural talent directed him, in consequence of his campaigns and of his political activities, by means of which he acquired the supremacy. And so it was that, at a later time, in his reply to Cicero's Cato,’ he himself deprecated comparison between the diction of a soldier and the eloquence of an

unsuccessful prosecution of Dolabella, mentioned in the next chapter. See the note oni. 4.

devoTynta pytopos evdvods Kal oYoAny emt TovTO TONANY AYOVTOS.

IV. "EzavenOwv 8 eis “Paunv AoroBérXav explve Kakwoews éTrapyias, Kal Tora TOV aTo THS EdAd6os TONEWY paptupias avT@ TAPET NOV. O pev ovy AoroSérras am epuye THY dixny, o be hatoap der Bopevos Thy ‘EAXXdba THS apoOupias curnyopeva ev aura IlowAtov ‘Avt@viov diwxovon Swpodoxias ért AeveouAdov TOU Madpxov Maxe- dovias oTparn yoo. Kal TocouToV toxuoev OTE tov “Avtwvioy emixareraaba TOUS Onpuapxous, od wevov OUK exe To igov év TH “EX G6 7 pos “EdAnvas. év 6€ ‘Pon TON pev el TO Novo Tepl TAS ournyopias avuTOU Yapts éfddamre, TOAAN 6€ THS Tepi Tas Se~rwoets Kal operas dirodpocvyns evvota Tapa TOY SnmoTaV aTHVTa, Geparrevtixod Tap HAtKiav OvTos. Hv dé Tus Kal

ato Oeitrvwy Kal tTpaTéfns Kal dXwsS TAS, Tepl Ty
diartay AapT poTnTos avéavopern xara putx pov
auT@ Suvapes els THY ToheTelay. yy TO 7 p@Tov
of $Oor obVTES Olouevot TaYD TeV AVANOLATOV
dacehm barre é€ityAov ésecbat, TEpLe@pay avOov-
cay éy Tois ToAAOtS oe be no Oovro, peryarns
Kal SvoavarpémTou yevomerns Kal BadiSovens
aVTLK pUS ez THY TOY ONOY peTaBorny, OS oude-
pay apxny T payLaTos nryntéov + pK pay, hy ov
TAXU TroLEet Heyaany TO evdoereves ex TOU Kata
ppovnO vat TO [2 kohvOfvar AaBovoay. 0 youv
T P@TOS umidéobar doxov avTtod Kat poPnOjvar
THS ToXtTelas wWaTep JaraTTns Ta dtayerovTa
1

nyntéov MSS. and Sint.2; ayntéov oftw Coraés, after Stephanus ; oftw nynréov Sint.13; oftws yntéov Bekker,

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orator who was gifted by nature and had plenty of leisure to pursue his studies.

IV. After his return to Rome he impeached Dola- bella! for maladministration of his province, and many of the cities of Greece supplied him with testimony. Dolabella, it is true, was acquitted, but Caesar, in return for the zealous efforts of the Greeks in his behalf, served as their advocate when they prosecuted Publius Antonius for corruption before Marcus Lucullus, the praetor of Macedonia. And he was so effective that Antonius appealed to the tribunes at Rome, alleging that he could not have a fair trial in Greece against Greeks. At Rome, moreover, Caesar won a great and brilliant popu- larity by his eloquence as an advocate, and much good will from the common people for the friendli- ness of his manners in intercourse with them, since he was ingratiating beyond his years. He had also a large and gradually increasing political influence in consequence of his lavish hospitality and the general splendour of his mode of life. At first his enemies thought this influence would quickly vanish when his expenditures ceased, and therefore suffered it to thrive among the common people ; but later on when it had become great and hard to subvert, and aimed directly at a complete revolution in the state, they perceived that no beginnings should be con. sidered too small to be quickly made great by con- tinuance, after contempt of them has left them unobstructed. At all events, the man who is thought to have been the first to see beneath the surface of Caesar's public policy and to fear it, as one might fear the smiling surface of the sea, and who com-

1 In 77 B.C.

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2 a f N)
pévny dewvoTnta TOV HOovs KaTapalov Kixépwv
. “a 7 ce > / b A
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\ a
Kal ToALTevpacle TUpavyiKnY évopav d.idvorar,
f ef
“AN Otay,” édn, “ THY KOpNY oOvVTH StaKELpevny
a n / ,
TEptTTOS low KaKeivoy Evi SAKTULM KVYWpEVOV, OU
nw , aA
pot Soxel wadty ovTos av@pwros Ets vody ay
a , , a
éuBaréc0at tHrALKoDTOY KaKOY, avaipeoly THs
> A ¢
‘Pwpatwy odtTelas.” TavTa peéev ov voTEpor.
A f \ b] , A
V. Tod 8& Snuov rpwrny pev amodaéw ths
\ > \ b , oo. a4 \ fw ,
mpos avTov evvoias EXaBev OTe pos Vaiov Iomt-
a sf
tov épicas vmép yidLapyias mMpoTEepos avnyo-
/ / A
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, A ’ ,
Mapiov mpofécOat, tote Tpa@tov opGeioas peta
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a ate e a > , a ,
tov Kaicapos o dios avtyxynoe AapTpas, SeEd-
f \ @ , er > ¢ & é \
pevos KpoT@ Kal Oavyaoas wotrep €& “Atdov dia
a \

Ypovov TorArAoY avayovta tas Mapiov tipas eis
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THY ROAW. TO pev Ovv €rl yuvarkt TpecBuTépas
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véats 6€ ov dv év Ger patos cite Kaicap én
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A t \ \ e G4 ” \
T® Ta0eL TOUS TOANOYS WS TuEpov avdpa Kal
mepiuectov Oous ayaTay.
450

CAESAR, rv. 4-v. 2

prehended the powerful character hidden beneath his kindly and cheerful exterior, namely Cicero, said that in most of Caesar’s political plans and projects he saw a tyrannical purpose; “On the other hand,” said he, “ when I look at his hair, which is arranged with so much nicety, and see him scratching his head with one finger, I cannot think that this man would ever conceive of so great a crime as the over- throw of the Roman constitution.”’ This, it is true, belongs to a later pericd.

V. The first proof of the people’s good will to- wards him he received when he competed against Caius Popilius for a military tribuneship and was elected over him; a second and more conspicuous proof he received when, as nephew of Julia the deceased wife of Marius, he pronounced a splendid encomium upon her in the forum,! and in her funeral procession ventured to display images of Marius, which were then seen for the first time since the ad- ministration of Sulla, because Marius and his friends had been pronounced public enemies. When, namely, some cried out against Caesar for this procedure, the people answered them with loud shouts, received Caesar with applause, and admired him for bringing back after so long a time, as it were from Hades, the honours of Marius into the city. Now, in the case of elderly women, it was ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations over them ; but it was not customary in the case of young women, and Caesar was the first to do so when his own wife died.2 This also brought him much favour, and worked upon the sympathies of the multitude, so that they were fond of him, asa man who was gentle and full of feeling.

i Tn 68 B.c 2 In 68 B.C,
451
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

“A b) > 4, CEN
Oavas dé tv yuvaira tautas ets 1Bypiav evi

nw A nA A t
Tov otpatnyav Bétept cuveEndOev, Oy auToy TE
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éywy ex Kopyndias Guyatépa TH p m
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n ? ,
péyloTa piKp@Vv, NéyeTaL ply ets apynv Tiva
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ka0ictacOat yidiw@y Kal TpLaxoolwy yevéoPat
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ypewherdérns TadavTwy. émeEt O€ TOVTO pEV OOOv
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THs Amias atroderyGets emipedntns twapmod\da
Vpywata T POTAVANWOE TOV EAUTOV, TOUTO 6é
A 4
ayopavopav fevyn povouaywy Tptaxocia Kai
x nw 14
elkogt Tapéaye Kal Tais addas Tept Oéatpa Kal
TouTas kat ceimva Yopnylats Kat TodvTEdELALS
\ Q e A / / e ,
TAS TPO AUTO KaTéxdAVGE PtdoTiMias, OUTW d:é-
N a \ \ \
Onxe Tov Otjmov ws Katvas péev apyas Kaas 5é
tTias Enretv Exactoy, als avtov apetraiyto.
VI. Avety 6é ovoay év TH TédNeL OTdTEWY, TIS
, a aA
pev amo VvdAAa pévya Suvapevns, THs 5é Mapravis,
i) TOTE KaTeT@TN KEL Kal StéoTATTO KOMLOH TaTrELVA
TpaTTovea, TAVTHY avappwcat Kal Tpocayayé-
cat BovNopevos év tais ayopavopixais Pidrotupt-
1 In 67 B.C,

After the funeral of his wife, he went out to Spain? as quaestor under Vetus, one of the praetors, whom he never ceased to hold in high esteem, and whose son, in turn, when he himself was praetor, he made his quaestor. After he had served in this office, he married for his third wife ? Pompeia, having already by Cornelia a daughter who was afterwards married to Pompey the Great. He was unsparing in his outlays of money, and was thought to be purchasing a transient and short-lived fame at a great price, though in reality he was buying things of the highest value at a small price. We are told, accordingly, that before he entered upon any public office he was thirteen hundred talents in debt. Again, being appointed curator of the Appian Way, he expended upon it vast sums of his own money; and again, during his aedileship,? he furnished three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators, and by lavish provision besides for theatrical performances, processions, and public banquets, he washed away all memory of the ambitious efforts of his predecessors in the office. By these means he put the people in such a humour that every man of them was seeking out new offices and new honours with which to requite him.

VI. There were two parties in the city, that of Sulla, which had been all powerful since his day, and that of Marius, which at that time was in an altogether lowly state, being cowed and scattered. This party Caesar wished to revive and attach to himself, and therefore, when the ambitious efforts of his aedileship were at their height, he had images

2 Caesar was first married to Cossutia, the daughter of a rich Roman knight. 3 In 66 B.c.

ais axpiny éxovoats etKovas émotnoato Maptov
if \ , f A , \
Kpuga Kal Nixas tpotatopopous, as Pepwv vuxtos 71
/
eis To Katitédtov avéctnoev. aua be npuepa

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Téyvn KaTeTKEvacpéeva TEptTT@S (StEedHNAOU Sé
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pevov UKETL Yap VIrovopoLs, Edy, “ Kaicap,
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THY TUYKANTOY, ETL WAaAXOV ot OavydlovtTes avdTov

} ef 6 bracketed by Sint.3,
454
CAESAR, vi. 1-4

of Marius secretly made, together with trophy- bearing Victories, and these he ordered to be carried by night and set up on the Capitol. At day-break those who beheld all these objects glittering with gold and fashioned with the most exquisite art (and they bore inscriptions setting forth the Cimbrian successes of Marius!) were amazed at the daring of the man who had set them up (for it was evident who had done it), and the report of it quickly spreading brought everybody together for the sight. But some cried out that Caesar was scheming to usurp sole power in the state when he thus revived honours which had been buried by laws and decrees, and that this proceeding was a test of the people, whose feelings towards him he had _ previously softened, to see whether they had been made docile by his ambitious displays and would permit him to amuse himself with such innovations. The partisans of Marius, however, encouraged one another and showed themselves on a sudden in amazing numbers, and filled the Capitol with their applause. Many, too, were moved to tears of joy when they beheld the features of Marius, and Caesar was highly ex- tolled by them, and regarded as above all others worthy of his kinship with Marius. But when the senate met to discuss these matters, Catulus Lutatius, a man of the highest repute at that time in Rome, rose up and denounced Caesar, uttering the memor- able words: “No longer, indeed, by sapping and mining, Caesar, but with engines of war art thou capturing the government.” Caesar, however, de- fended himself against this charge and convinced the senate, whereupon his admirers were still more

1 See the Jfarius, chapters xi.—xxii.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

b] , \ 4 A la f
emnpOnaav, Kal TapEexeNEVOVTO wHOEVL TOU povn)-
\ , a
patos vdiecOar TadvTwv yap éxovTe TO SOrHpw
mepiececOar Kal TPwWTEVvoELD.
VII. “Ev d€ tovrw cat MetéAXov Tov apyte-
, ,
péws TEAEUTITAVTOS Kal THY lepwouLnY TepijLa-
yntov ovaav ‘loavpixov cal KdtAov petiovTwy,
b) f ’ > \ / 5 a
éemupaveotatwv avopdy cal péytatov év BovaAn
/ > e a > a e a 9 \
duvapévov, ovy uTetEev avtois 0 Katoap, adda
kataBas ets tov Shpov avtimapiyyedrev. ay-
, \ a a / e ,
yopdrov 5é€ THs arovdns dhatvopévns, 0 KatXos,

> \ i ’ , A 3 “a \ b) ,
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/ a
THTAa, TpocéTEupe Tei\Owy atrootHvat Tov Kai-
a , SSN a , e \
capa THS piAoTiulas ETL TOAKNOIS yYpHMacLY. O O€
Kal TrELwW TpoToavercapevos Epn dtaywvieia Oat.
TA » 4 A \
Tis & apépas évotdans Kat THs pntpos emi
, Pere \
Tas Ovpas avtov ovK abaxpyTlL TpoTEeuTOVe)s,
aoTacapevos avTny, "QO, whtep,” elzre, “ Tr) wEpov
Aas , N ec. , ” ” ,
Hh apxiepea tov viov } guydoa oye.” SreveyOei-
be fal / X 4 e / b) 7,
ans 0€ THS Wapou Kal yevouevns apirAdANS éxpa-
/ a a tal
THOE, Kal Tapéaxe TH BovdrAn Kal Tois aplaTots
pofov ws ert wav Opacvtntos mpoaEwy tov 67-
ef e \ , \ ete b] A
pov. O0ev ot wept Hetowva cai KdtXov nridyto
r , , a
Kixépwva detaodpevov Kaicapos év tots mepl
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id a
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OANY avedEiy THY HYEwoviay Kal TaYTAa Ta Tpa-
, .
yuata ouyyxear dtavonfels adtos pev éekérece,
1 In 63 B.C.
456
CAESAR, vi. 4-vil. 4

elated and exhorted him not to lower his pretensions for any man, since the people would be glad to have him triumph over all opposition and be the first man in the state.

VII. At this time, too, Metellus, the pontifex maximus, or high priest, died,!} and though Isauricus and Catulus were candidates for the priesthood, which was an object of great ambition, and though they were most illustrious men and of the greatest in- fluence in the senate, Caesar would not give way to them, but presented himself to the people as a rival candidate. The favour of the electors appeared to be about equally divided, and therefore Catulus, who, as the worthier of Caesar’s competitors, dreaded more the uncertainty of the issue, sent and tried to induce Caesar to desist from his ambitious project, offering him large sums of money. but Caesar de- clared that he would carry the contest through even though he had to borrow stil] larger sums.

The day for the election came, and as Caesar’s mother accompanied him to the door in tears, he kissed her and said : “ Mother, to-day thou shalt see thy son either pontifex maximus or an exile.” The contest was sharp, but when the vote was taken Caesar prevailed, and thereby made the senate and nobles afraid that he would lead the people on to every extreme of recklessness. Therefore Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for having spared Caesar when, in the affair of Catiline, he gave his enemies a hold upon him. Catiline, namely, had purposed not only to subvert the constitution, but to destroy the whole government and throw everything into confusion. He himself, however, was expelled from the city,?

2 In 63 B.c, Cf. the Cicero, chapters x.-xxii.

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a a Ul
éoxatas avtou BovAas anoxarudOjvat, Aevtrov
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n bd \ 7 nw ,
Ths ovvwpocias, ols ef pev Kpupa Tapelye Tt
bc L duva 9 Kai LOnAOV €
dpaous Kal dvvapyews 0 Kaioap adnrov éotwy,
a a f \
év 6¢ TH Boudkh Kata Kpdtos éFeheyxPevtwy Kat
a a \
Kixépwvos Tov vmdtou yywpas épwT@vTos mepl
/ sa C \ A / ,
KONaTEWS EKATTOY, Ol wey arXrAOL pexXpt Kaicapos
a A \ ,
Oavatovv éxéXevov, 0 6€ Kaicap avaotas dXoyov
A la “~ \ /
bij rAGe TeppovtTiopevov, WS ATOKTELVAL MEV AKpt-
\
tous avopas akimpats Kal yévet apTpovs ov
a \ \ a
Soxel Tatptov ovdé Sixatov eElvat, pn META TIS
bd 4 > 4 3 \ a / >
éayatns avayKns, et 5é ppovpoivto Sebevtes ev
, a 3 / A A y \ és rf
moveat THS ItTadtas as av autos EXnTtat Kixépwvr,
péxpt o0 KatatroreunOn Katidivas, votepov ev
elpnvn Kat Kal’ novyiav mepi éExactov Th Bovrr
yvavat Trapébet.
VIII. Oitw 6€ THs yrouns gtravOpwrov

a 4 a a
havelans Kal TOU AOyou SuvaTas én’ airh pnOev-
/ \ A
TOS OV MOVOY OL peETAa TOVTOY avidTapeEVvoL TpoC-
4 \ \ ‘ Lal \ b) aA \
eti0evto, mo\Xol 5€ Kal TOY TPO avTOD TAS
bi
elpnuéevas yvwpas atreimapevor Tpos THY éxeivou
peTeaTynaav, Ews emt Katwva To mpayya kal
” A / nw
KatArov trepinr@e. tovtTwy dé veaviKds évavTiw-
Gévtwv, Katwvos 6€ Kal THv UTovotay aya TO
, a
NOY oureTEpEicavTOS avT@ Kal auyKateEava-
7 , . ’
TTAVTOS EPPWLEVWS, OL MeV avdpes aTrOPavovpeEvot
, , \ ~ a
TmapeovOncav, Kaicaps dé tis Bovrns é€tovte

1 Cf. the Cato Minor, xxii. 4 £.

having been overwhelmed by proofs of lesser in- iquities before his most far reaching plans were discovered ; but he left Lentulus and Cethegus behind him in the city to promote the conspiracy in his place. Now, whether or not Caesar secretly gave these men any countenance and help, is uncertain ; but after they had been overwhelmingly convicted in the senate, and Cicero the consul asked each senator to give his opinion on the manner of their punishment, the rest, down to Caesar, urged that they be put to death, but Caesar rose in his place and delivered a long and studied specch against this. He pleaded that to put to death without legal trial men of high rank and brilliant lineage was not, in his opinion, traditional or just, except under ex- tremest necessity ; but that if they should be bound and kept in custody, in such cities of Italy as Cicero himself might elect, until the war against Catiline had been brought to a successful end, the senate could afterwards, in a time of peace and at their leisure, vote upon the case of each one of them.

VIII. This opinion seemed so humane, and the speech in support of it was made with such power,}! that not only those who rose to speak after Caesar sided with him, but many also of those who had pre- ceded him took back the opinions which they had expressed and went over to his, until the question came round to Cato and Catulus. These warmly opposed Caesar's proposal, and Cato even helped to raise suspicion against Caesar by what he said.2 As a result, the men were handed over to the execu- tioner, and many of the young men who at that time formed a body-guard for Cicero ran together

2 See the Cato Minor, chapter xxiii.

a /
qmodAot TaV Kixépwva dpovpovyvtwy tote véwy
/ b]
yupva ta Ein cuvdpapovtes émécyov. aArAra
a A
Kovpiwy te AéyeTat TH THREvvw TEptBara@v UTeE-
~ 4 e f
ayayeiv, autos Te 0 Kixépwy, ws ov veavioxor
a \ \ a
mpocéBrewav, avavedoat, poBnGeis Tov Sipov, 7
TOV Povoy Ows adeKov KaL TApavopoY TYoUpEVOS.
aA 4) e
Todto pev obv ovx oida Omws 0 Kixépwr, elzep
9 9 , 3 a \ “ e , 3 ”
hv arneés, ev TH TEpl THS VraTteias ovK Eypaer
: / a a
aitiav O€ etxev VoTEpOY WS APLTTA TO KALPwO TOTE
? \ A / \
TapacyorTt Kata Tov Kaicapos un xXpnoapevos,
9 ’ b] , \ a e€ a if
GXX aTobeidoas Tov Ojpuov UTEppuas TEpLexo-
wn f s4 \ > 3 f
pevoyv Tov Kaicapos, 6s ye Kal pet OrLyas NUépas
> \ \ > / $ “A \ \ * 3
eis THY BovrAnY eioeNOovTos avToOD Kal Tepl wv év
Urowiats Hv amoXoyoupéevou Kal TepiTitToVvTos
a n
GopuBots tmovnpots, érevdn mrELwY TOV GUYHOoUS
a A , a
eyiryveto tH BovrAn KxabeCouevn xpovos, érhdOe
peta Kpauyhs Kal TEpLegTN THY TUVYKANTOD, aTraL-
a ¢ - nw
TOY TOV avopa Kal KEXevwWY Adeivar. 610 Kal
Kdtov poBybeis pddiota tov é€x TaV amopwv
/ ¢ A
VEWTEPLGLOV, OL TOV TavTOS UTéxKaULA TANHOOUS
@) a ‘é ‘\ bf , wv yd
noav ev T) Kaicape tas éAmidas exovtes, évetce
THY TUYKANTOV ATOVvEt MAL TLTNPETLOY aUTOLS Ep-
unvov, €& ot daTavys pev ETTAKOGLAL TeEVTNKOYTA
puptades é€viavatot TpogeyivovtTo Tots GAAOLS ava-
a \ la 4 3 a ? /

AWLATI, TOV LEVTOL PEyav ev TH TrapovTt hoPov
a N / a
ésBece trepthbav@s TO ToAriTevpa TODTO, Kal TO
A 3 , a“
TrEloTOV aTréppynke 775 Katoapos duvapews Kal
460

CAESAR vin. 2~4

with drawn swords and threatened Caesar as he was leaving the senate. But Curio, as we are told, threw his toga round Caesar and got him away, while Cicero himself, when the young men looked to him for a sign, shook his head, either through fear of the people, or because he thought the murder would be wholly contrary to law and justice.

Now, if this is true, I do not see why Cicero did not mention it in the treatise on his consulship ;! however, he was afterwards blamed for not having improved that best of all opportunities for removing Caesar. Instead, he showed a cowardly fear of the people, who were extravagantly attached to Caesar ; in facet, a few days afterward, when Caesar came into the senate and tried to defend himself in the matters wherein suspicion had been fixed upon him, and met with a tumult of disapproval, the people, seeing that the session of the senate was lasting a longer time than usual, came up with loud cries and surrounded the senate-house, demanding Caesar, and ordering the senate to let him go. It was for this reason, too, that Cato, fearing above all things a revolutionary movement set on foot by the poorer classes, who were setting the whole multitude on fire with the hopes which they fixed upon Caesar, persuaded the senate to assign them a monthly allowance of grain, in consequence of which an annual outlay of seven million five hundred thousand drachmas was added to the other expenditures of the state.2 However, the great fear which prevailed at the time was mani- festly quenched by this measure, and the greatest part of Caesar's power was broken down and dissi-

1 No longer extant. & Cf. the Cato Minor, xxvi. 1.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

a a 4 \
dtecKédacev ev KaLp@, aTpaTHNYELY fEéAROVTOS Kal
U \ 5)
hoBepwrépov dia THY apYnv ovToS.
> A > b] b] “
IX. Od piv avéBn tt Tapaxyades am auth,
> \ \ / a K f 4
GNAA KaL TUX) TLS aYapls TO Katoapt cuvyve-
SN
On wept tov oixov. Tlomdtos KrXwdcos jv avnp

, \ > 1 \ , \ XO x
ryévet ev evTaTplons Kab TWAOUT@ Kal NOY@ apL-
¢ n ,
mpos, UBpe de nal OpacvTnts Tov emi Bodedupia
/ > \ f e ”
TeptBontwv ovdevos SevTepos. ovTos pa Tlop-
A ral /
mnias ths Katoapos yuvaikos ovdé avtis axov-
3 A , an , 3
ons. GANA hurakal Te THS yuvatkwviTLoos aKpt-
vad 49 e , A , ’ /
Bets joav, 7) Te paytTnp TOV Katoapos AvpnAta,
yur ToPpwVv, TepleTrovaa THY vUpny del yare-
any Kal TapakeKwduvevpéevyny autos émoies THY
évTrevw.
"Eote 66 “Pwpatos Oeos hv "Ayabnv ovopatou-
aiv, @oTep LeAXnves Tuvarceiav. nat Ppvryes pév
’ , , , a Ul s
oixeovpevot Mida pntépa tov Baciréws yevécOar
dhaci, ‘Pwpaios dé viudyv Apvada Patve cvvot-
4 ad \ A id f \
knoacav,” EXdnves &€ trav Atovicou pntépwv thy
appntov. GO0ev apredtvois Te TAS GKNVAS KX71-
pact éoptalovaat Katepépovar, Kat Sparov
e XN , ~ lal \ ‘N ~
lepos Twapaxabidpytas TH Oem Kata Tov pdOor.
bl \ a > ‘4 + O09 > \ A ’
avépa b€ mpocedOety ov Oéuts ovS emi tis ol-
/ a) A
Kias yeverOat TaV lepav opytatopévwv: avTal dé
> e \ e A \ A ? A
Ka?’ éauTas at yuvaixes ToAdXA TCis ’Opdeixois
oporoyoovTa Spav éyovTat Tepl THY lepoupyiav.
e A fo! , e
OTav ovv oO THS EopTis KaOnnyn yYpovos, UTaTEv-
oVvTOS 7) aoTpaTHyobVTOS avdpos, aUTOsS pev éfi-
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CAESAR, vit. 4-1x. 4

pated in the nick of time, since he was praetor
elect,) and would be more formidable on account of
his office.
1X. However, there were no disturbances in con-
sequence of Caesar's praetorship, but an unpleasant
incident happened in his family. Publius Clodius

was a man of patrician birth, and conspicuous for wealth and eloquence, but in insolence and effrontery he surpassed all the notorious scoundrels of his time. This man was in love with Pompeia the wife of Caesar, and she was not unwilling. But close watch was kept upon the women's apartments, and Aurelia, Caesar's mother, a woman of discretion, would never let the young wife out of her sight, and made it difficult and dangerous for the lovers to have an interview.

Now, the Romans have a goddess whom they call Bona, corresponding to the Greek Gynaeceia. The Phrygians claim this goddess as their own, and say that she was the mother of King Midas; the Romans say she was a Dryad nymph and the wife of Faunus ; the Greeks that she was the unnameable one among the mothers of Dionysus. And this is the reason why the women cover their booths with vine-branches when they celebrate her festival, and why a sacred serpent is enthroned beside the goddess in conformity with the myth. It is not lawful for a man to attend the sacred ceremonies, nor even to be in the house when they are celebrated ; but the women, apart by themselves, are said to perform many rites during their sacred service which are Orphic in their char- acter. Accordingly, when the time for the festival is at hand, the consul or praetor at whose house it is to be held goes away, and every male with him,

1 For the year 62 B.c.

oTaTal Kal TAV TO Cppev, H SE YULN THY olKiaVv
Taparafovaa dtaxoo pet. Kab 7a, HEyoTa vU-
KT p TedelTaL, matd.as AV ALE {LLY [LEVNS Tais Tav-
puxiot Kal HovatKens dpa TONS T apovens.
X. Tavrny tote thy eopr ay THS Loprnias
emiteNovans, 0 KAwdsos oUTM yevermv Kal dua
ToUTO AnoeEV olopevos eoOATA Kal oKevnY Wad-
Tplas avadtaBawv éywpet, véa yuvatel thy ove
éoix@s. Kal tats Ovpats éemeTUYMV avEewmypevats
eloXOn peep A0EWS UTO THS guverdvias Geparraivi-
605, exeluns b€ mpoSpapovons MS TH Hopanig
ppacese, Kal ryevomevys dat pBis, TE PLLevely | pev
Omrou Kcaterei pen 7@ Krodio pe Kaptepovytt,
T ave even 5 év otKta peydidn Kal TepipevyovTe
Ta PwTa Tpoomesovca THS Adpyrias axorov0os
@s 6) yuvn yuvaika Tailew wpovKearetto, Kal pn)
Bovropevor els TO pécov eidAKe, Kal Tis eats Kal
ToGev émruvOdveto. tov d€ Krwodiov dijcavtos
"ABpav tepipéverv Iloumanias, avto Tovto Ka-
Aoupevynv, Kal TH hovh yevouevov xatadpavods,
9 pev akorovOos evOus atreTndnae Kpavyh

Tpos TA Pata Kal Tov dyXov, avdpa Tepwpaké-
vat Bowaa, Tav b6€ yuvarKav StaTTonGecav 7
Atpnria Ta pev Opyta THs Oeod Katémavce Kal
auvexdduwev, avtn dé tas Ovpas atrokXcioat
KENEVTATA TEpinEel THY OlKiaY UIT Aap adwv,
tntovcea Tov Krodiov. evpioxetat © Ets olxnpa
Tadic Kns 7 ouverai Oe Katatrepevyas: Kal
rYEVOLEVOS pavepos ume THY yuvatk@v efeavve-
tat dia TOV OupoOVv. TO dé TPaypa Kal vUKTOS
evOus al yuraikes amlovcat Tois avt@y eppatov
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CAESAR, 1x. 4-X. 4

while his wife takes possession of the premises and puts them in due array. The most important rites are celebrated by night, when mirth attends the revels, and much music, too, is heard.

X. At the time of which I speak, Pompeia was celebrating this festival, and Clodius, who was still beardless and on this account thought to pass unnoticed, assumed the dress and implements of a lute-girl and went to the house, looking like a young woman. He found the door open, and was brought in safely by the maid-servant there, who was in the secret; but after she had run on ahead to tell Pompeia and some time had elapsed, Clodius had not the patience to wait where he had been left, and so, as he was wandering about in the house (a large one) and trying to avoid the lights, an attendant of Aurelia came upon him and asked him to play with her, as one woman would another, and when he refused, she dragged him forward and asked who he was and whence he came. Clodius answered that he was waiting for Pompeia's Abra (this was the very name by which the maid was called), and his voice betrayed him. The attendant of Aurelia at once sprang away with a scream to the lights and the throng, crying out that she had caught aman. 'The women were panic-stricken, and Aurelia put a stop to the mystic rites of the goddess and covered up the emblems. Then she ordered the doors to be closed and went about the house with

torches, searching for Clodius. He was found where
he had taken refuge, in the chamber of the girl who
had let him into the house; and when they saw
who he was, the women drove him out of doors.
Then at once, and in the night, they went off and
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3 if \ ’ e / 3 , \ A U
avdpact, Kal we” nuepav éywper bia THS TrOdAEwS
e la) /
AOryos ws Wbécpots eTiKexerpnKoTos TOV Krwdiov
A , b A e / / 3 \ \
kat Oixny ov Tois UPpicpévots povov, GAA Kal
Th Wonder Kal Tois Beois OeirAovTos. éyparyraTo
A /
pev ovy tov Krwdcov els TOV Snudpywv aaePetas,
Kal auvéotncayv 7 avTov oi duvatwTaTtoL TOV
va ol 7
avo Tis Bours, AdArXas Te Sewwas daoeryeias
KATAPMAPTUPOUYTES Kal pwotyetay aderdijs, *) Aev-
KOVANW TUVMKI}KEL. Tpos d€ TAS TOVTWY GTOVOAS
¢ wn > , e \ wv a Fa / N
o Ojos avtitatas éavtov Huvve TH KrAwdilo, Kal
/ N be \ bd > b]
éeya mpos tous dtkaactas dheros tv éxteTrH-
ypevous Kal Sedoixotas Td TAOS. 0 6€ Kaicap
3 , x > \ \ of , *
aTeTewWato pev evdus THV Lopumniav, waptus &é
\ \ / \ b N ¥ A 4
Tpos THY Stkny KANGels OvdeY Eby TAY AEyouéevwY
\ a , 4 e \ A U
Kata ToD Krwoiov yryvwoxeav. ws d€ TOU Aoyou
mapabofou pavévtos 6 Kat yyopos npwTnae, “ Ids
=e 3 / \ a“ 9? co > 66 \
OUY ATETTELW THY YUVALKa; Ov, edn, “ THY
3 \ 3 / Ah Pd la) 99
eunv n&tovy pndé vTrovonOnvas.
Tatra ot peéev odtw gdpovodvta tov Kaicapa
, > A € \ a“ / %, ¢
A€youaw eivretv, ot O€ TSO SHuw yaplopuevov wp-
/ , X , ,
pnpevo cwlev tov Krwdiov. amodevyer 8 obv
‘ 4 A A

TO é€ykAnua TOV TrELCTWY SiKaTTOY GUYyKEXU-
Z A
HEvOlS TOS Yypdppace TAS Yyvwpas aTroddyTw)Y,
OTWS NTE TapaKxlWduvvevawow év TOls TrOAXOIS
/ ee ’ r aN ,
Kkatawnpioapevor pnte aTodvaavtTes aloEncwat
Tapa Tos apiotoss.
r e aA lel
XI. ‘O 6€ Kaicap ets aro tis otpatynyias
wn A \ > v4
ToV eTapylav THY IBnpiay NaBav, ws Fv Svabea-
466
CAESAR, x. 4-XxI. 1

told the matter to their husbands, and when day came a report spread through the city that Clodius had committed sacrilege and owed satisfaction, not only to those wnom he had insulted, but also to the city and to the gods. Accordingly, one of the tribunes of the people indicted Clodius for sacrilege, and the most infiuential senators leagued themselves together and bore witness against him that, among other shocking abominations, he had committed adultery with his sister, who was the wife of Lucullus. But against the eager efforts of these men the people arrayed themselves in defence of Clodius, and were of great assistance to him with the jurors in the case, who were terror-stricken and afraid of the multitude. Caesar divorced Pompeia at once, but when he was summoned to testify at the trial, he said he knew nothing about the matters with which Cledius was charged. His statement appeared strange, and the prosecutor therefore asked, “ Why, then, didst thou divorce thy wife?”’’ <‘* Because,”’ said Caesar, “I thought my wife ought not even to be under suspicion.”

Some say that Caesar made this deposition honestly ; but according to others it was made to gratify the people, who were determined to rescue Clodius. At any rate, Clodius was acquitted of the charge, the majority of the jurors giving their verdicts in illegible writing, in order that they might neither risk their lives with the populace by condemning him, nor get a bad name among the nobility by acquitting him.!

XI. Immediately after his praetorship Caesar re- ceived Spain as his province, and since he found it

1 The sacrilege and trial of Clodius are described at length also in the Cicero, chapters xxviii. and xxix.

Oetov AUTO TO TEpt TOUS davetaTas évoxXhodv7 as
éEvovte Kai caTaBowrTas, émt Kpaooov Katepuye

TrOVveLwWTAaTOV OvTa ‘Pwpaiwr, Seomevov dé THs
Kaicapos akpis cal Oepmotntos émt tay ™ pos
Hop njiov dvTimoheTetay. avaceEapevou be TOU
K paaaou TOUS MaXLCTA Xarerous Kat ama patty)
TOUS TOV Savero TOY Kal Sueyyurjoavtos OKTAKO-
oie Kal TplaxovTa TANAVTMV, OVTWS EEHAOEV emt
THD emapXiay.
Aéyetat 6é, Tas "AXrets UarepBddXovTOS avTod
Kal ToAlyVLov Tt BapBaprxov ouxoupevov UTO
avO pomov TavTanacw Odyov Kal NUT POV Tapep-
VOMEVvOU, TOUS éraipous dpa yéXwte Kal pera
mavoras “"H cov” davar “ KavradGa Tivés elo
UTEep apyov dtroTipiar Kal Tepl TpwTEelwy Aptr-
Nat Kal PGovoe Tov SuvaTa@v mMpos AAXAjoUS;”
tov 6€ Kaicapa crovidcavta pos avtovs eitrety,
Eye pev éBovrouny Tapa TovToOLs Elvat “adrov
Tpa@Tos » Tapa Pwpaios dSevtepos.” opoiws dé
Tadw év ‘TBypia cXOANS ovens avayivoOrKovTa
Te TOY mepl "Aref dv8pou YEYPappeveov opodpa
ryevéo Ga T POs EaUTO TOAVY Ypovor, elra Kal 6a:
Kpocar tov dé dirov Oavuacdvtwy tiv aitiav
ettrety' “OU doxet byt aEtov eivae AUT NS, Eb THAL-
KovTos pev my “AdéEavdpos 5n TocovTwr éBaci-
Never, Euol S€ AapTrpov ovdev OvTIW TETPAKTaL;”
XII. Tis youu ‘TAnpias émiBas evvs nV €vEp-
yos, wo qpepass odiyaus dexa omelpas ouva-
yayetv ST pos. Tats T poTe pov obo ass elKosl, Kal
oTpatevoas emt KadXaixous Kai Avottavovs Kpa-
! Early in 61 8.0,
468
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CAESAR, xi. 1-x11. 1

hard to arrange matters with his creditors, who
obstructed his departure and were clamorous, he
had recourse to Crassus, the richest of the Romans,
who had need of Caesar’s vigour and fire for his
political campaign against Pompey. And it was
only after Crassus had met the demands of the most
importunate and inexorable of these creditors and
given surety for eight hundred and thirty talents,
that Caesar could go out to his province.
We are told that, as he was crossing the Alps and passing by a barbarian village which had very few inhabitants and was a sorry sight, his companions asked with mirth and laughter, “Can it be that here too

there are ambitious strifes for office, struggles for primacy, and mutual jealousies of powerful men?" Whereupon Caesar said to them in all seriousness, "I would rather be first here than second at Rome." In like manner we are told again that, in Spain, when he was at leisure and was reading from the history of Alexander, he was lost in thought for a long time, and then burst into tears. His friends were astonished, and asked the reason for his tears. Do you not think," said he, "it is matter for sorrow that while Alexander, at my age, was already king of so many peoples, | have as yet achieved no brilliant success? " 2

XII. At any rate, as soon as he reached Spain he set himself to work, and in a few days raised ten cohorts in addition to the twenty which were there before. Then he led his army against the Callaici

2 Suetonius (Div. Jul. 7) and Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 52, 2) connect this anecdote more properly with Caesar's quaestor- ship in Spain (67 B.c.), when he was thirty-three years of age, the age at which Alexander died.

THoaL Kal TpoehOeiy ay pe THs é&w Oardoons Ta
Ht) 7 poT €pov UTAKOVOVTA "Peopators eOun KaTa-
aTpepopevos. Dépevos 6€ Ta Too | TONEMOU KANOS,
ov _XEtpov éBpaBeve Ta THS eLpyvys, opovoay TE
Tais ToAEot cabiaras, Kal pada Ta, TAS TOV
XpewperdeT av Kal averaTov be evos S:ahopas.
erage 14p TOV T po LovT@y Tols opetrovar Ka?'
éxaotov éviavtov ovo pev pmépn Tov Saveratny
avatpeia Oat, TO O€ AoLTO ypHjaOat Tov SearoTny,
aypte av ottws éxrAvO7 TO Sdvetov. er TOUTOLS
EVOOKLL@V arn\rayn THs eTAapXias, AUTOS TE
TOUTLOS YELOVOS | Kal TOUS TT PATLWOTAS OPeArnKas
a7 0 TOV TTPATELAY, Kal Tpoanyopevpevos avto-
KPaTwOp UT' aAUTODV.
XIII. "Evel d€ tovs eV pV@MEvOUS PpianBov

Ew Svat piBerv édet, TOUS b€ peTLovTas UTratetav
rapivras év TH TONEL ToUTO T PAT TEL, év TOLAUTY
Yeyoves avriwopig Kal Tpos auras Tas UTATLKAS
airy pév0S dpxatped (as eve" We TOS THY oUyKAN-
Tov attovpevos avT@ So@nvat tapayyéAXE ets
UTaTEeav aTrovtt Sia TOV pirov. Katavos €
T pOTov per taxuptCopevov T® VOL WpoS THY
akin, ELTA, WS Ewpa Todos TeOepamevjevous
UTO TOU Kaicapos, eXK POUTAYTOS TO Ypoveo TO
mpayyua Kat THY nuépay €v TO réyerv KaTaTpi-

Wavtos, eyveo TOV OpiapBov “adels) Kaioap
éyecOar THS vTatetas. Kal TmapeOov evOvs wro-
OveTat To Teva TL TavTas avOpomous é€aTra-
Thoav TANnVY Kadtevos. mY d€ TovTO diadrayyy
Hopmrniov Kal K padcaovu TOV Méeytorov ev TH TOKEL
duvauevor’ ods cuvayaywv o Kaicap eis didtav
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CAESAR, xu. 1-xt. 2

and Lusitani, overpowered them, and marched on as far as the outer sea, subduing the tribes which before were not obedient to Rome. After bringing the war to a successful close, he was equally happy in adjusting the problems of peace, by establishing concord between the cities, and particularly by healing the dissensions between debtors and creditors. For he ordained that the creditor should annually take two thirds of his debtor’s income, and that the owner of the property should use the rest, and so on until the debt was cancelled. In high repute for this administration he retired from the province; he had become wealthy himself, had enriched his soldiers from their campaigns, and had been saluted by them as Imperator.

XIII. Now, since those who sued for the privilege of a triumph must remain outside the city, while those who were candidates for the consulship must be present in the city, Caesar was in a great dilemma, and because he had reached home at the very time for the consular elections, he sent a request to the senate that he might be permitted to offer himself for the consulship m absentia, through the agency of his friends. But since Cato began by insisting upon the law in opposition to Caesar’s request, and then, when he saw that many senators had been won over by Caesar’s attentions, staved the matter off by consuming the day in speaking, Caesar decided to give up the triumph and try for the consulship. So as soon as he entered the city he assumed a policy which deceived everyone except Cato. This policy was to reconcile Pompey and Crassus, the most in- fuential men in the city. These men Caesar brought together in friendship after their quarrel, and by

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

éx Ssahopas, kal Thy am’ audoty cuveveyKapevos
iayvv els Eavtor, py pirdvOpwrov EXovTt Tpoc-
nyoplay €\abe petactijcas THY ToALTELaVY. Ov
yap, ws of wretoToL vopifovoly, 7 Kaicapos cat
Ilouaniov diadopa tovs éuduriovs atrepydcato

TOAELOUS, GAAA pAAXAOV 17) Hiria, gvaTavT@V eT
KaTadvoel THS aplaToKpaTias TO TpwToV, Elta
oUTwWS Kal Tpos addANAOUS StacTdvTwY. Katwvri
d€ ToAAdKLS TA péAAOVTA TpoPcaTiGovTe TrEpLAY
duoKoXou pev avOpw@rovu TOTE Kal TOAUTPaYLOVOS,
Uatepov dé povisouv pév, ovK evtuyous 6€ cup-
Bovxrov AaBetv do€av.
XIV. Ov piv addr’ 0 Kaicap ev pécw tis
Kpdcaov xai Ilopmniov didtias dopudopovpevos
éml Tv UTateiavy KaTHYOn: Kal AauTpas ava-
ryopevOeis peta Kadzrrovpyiov Burov Kal Kxata-
atas eis THY apyny EvOvds elaéhepEe vosous ovY
UTATwW TpogrKovTas, GAAa Snudpy@ Twi Opacv-
TATM, TPOS NOOVHY TOV TOAAMY KANPOVXLAS TUVAS
yopas Kal Stavopds etonyoupevos. év dé TH
BovrAn TaV Kado Te Kal ayalav avTiKpovaavTwr,
mara Seopevos mpopdcews, avaxpayov cal pap-
Tupaevos ws els Tov Shuov dxwv éFeXavvorTo
Oeparrevowy éxetvov €& avaryans UBpet Kat xare-
TOTNTL THS Bovdijs, mpos avtov éerndnce Kal
TEplaT NO ApLEvOs évOev wey Kpdocov, évOev de
Tloumaniov, npwtnoev et tovs vosous érratvoten.
evatvety 6€ dackovtwy, tapexadre. BonOeiv emi
Tous eviotacbas peta Evhav adretrovvtas. éxeivol
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CAESAR, x1, 2-xIVv. 3

concentrating their united strength upon himself,
succeeded, before men were aware of it, and by an
act which could be called one of kindness, in chang-
ing the form of government. For it was not, as most
men supposed, the quarrel between Caesar and Pom-
pey that brought on the civil wars, but rather their
friendship, since they worked together for the over-
throw of the aristocracy in the first place, and then,
when this had been accomplished, they quarrelled
with one another. And Cato, who often foretold
what was to come of their alliance, got the reputa-
tion of a morose and troublesome fellow at the time,
but afterwards that of a wise, though unfortunate,
counsellor.}
XIV. Caesar, however, encompassed and protected by the friendship of Crassus and Pompey, entered the canvass for the consulship ; and as soon as he had been triumphantly elected, along with Calpurnius Bibulus, and had entered upon his oflice,? he proposed laws which were becoming, not for a consul, but

for a most radical tribune of the people; for to gratify the multitude he introduced sundry allotments and distributions of land. In the senate the opposition of men of the better sort gave him the pretext which he had long desired, and crying with loud adjurations that he was driven forth into the popular assembly against his wishes, and was compelled to court its favour by the insolence and obstinacy of the senate, he hastened before it, and stationing Crassus on one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them if they approved his laws. They declared that they did approve them, whereupon he urged them to give him their aid against those who threatened to oppose

2 Cf. the Pompey, xvii. 1-5. = In 59 B.c.

dé Umea XvOUrTO™ Topmrnios dé Kat Tpocenei rev
ws adpi€orto wpos Ta Ein pera Tov Eibous Kal
Oupeov Kopilov. éml TOVT@ TOUS wep apa TOKpa-
TLEODS avlacer, ovK akiay THS TEept avTOV aidods,
ovde THS T pos THY ouyK A TOV evraBetas 7 peTrou-
aay, anna HAVIKNY KaL pepaktwdyn dwynv aKov-
cavTas, 0 0¢ &nmos adn.
Kaicap dé perloves & eTl Tis Houaniov OUVA MEWS
UrrodpatTopevos, AY yap avT@ 'Tova Guyatnp
ey yeyuneern Lepovidty Karriwvt, TavT HY évey-
yunoe Lloprnio, THY O¢ Hlopaniou TO _Repovidio
dwcew Ebnoev, ovOE avTnY avéyyVOY OvVdAaY, ANAG
Davoto 1TH YaAXAa adit Kabwporoynpuévnv.
driyo 6€ Yatepov Kaicap iyayeto Kadroupviapv
Ouyatépa Iletawvos, tov bé lletcwva xatéotyncev
UTAaTOV els TO wédXov, évtavOa $7 xa apotpa
papTupopevov Katwvos cai Be@vtTos ovK avexTov
elvat, yapots Stapactporrevoperns TS YEHovias
Kal dla yuvaiwy ets eTmapxias Kal oTpatevyata
Kal Suvdpers adhajrous aVTELTAOVTOD.
O [ev Ov ouvipyov TOU Katcapos BuP os,
éTel KWAUVWY TOUS VOHLOUS ovdev éré éparven, Gdra
ToNANUKls exivdvveve peta Katwvos él Ths ayo-
pas aTroJavety, &YKNELTApEVOS OiKOL TOY TIS AaPYIS
\V povov OueTehece. Topanios b¢ yas evdus évé-
TANCE THY ayopav 67AwY Kal TUVETTERUPOL TO
Sx ue TOUS VOLOUS, Kaicaps 6€ tiv évtos "Adrreav
Kal thy éxtos atacay Kedrtixnv, mpoalels to
'Tyrvupixov peta taypatwv Tecodpoy eis Tevtae-
tiav. Katova pev ody émixeipnoavta tovtois
avTiréyery amiyyev els PurAakny o Katcap, olopevos
auTov émikaréaedVat Tous Snpapyous: éxeivou bé

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him with swords. They promised him such aid, and Pompey actually added that he would come up against swords with sword and buckler too. At this impulsive and mad speech, unworthy of the high esteem in which Pompey stood and unbecoming to the respect which was due to the senate, the nobility were distressed but the populace were delighted.
Moreover, Caesar tried to avail himself still more of the influence of Pompey. He had a daughter, Julia, who was betrothed to Servilius Caepio. This daughter he betrothed to Pompey, and said he would give Pompey's daughter in marriage to Servilius, although she too was not unbetrothed, but had been promised to Faustus, the son of Sulla. And a little while afterwards Caesar took Calpurnia to wife, a daughter of Piso, and got Piso made consul for the coming year, although here too Cato vehemently pro- tested, and cried out that it was intolerable to have the supreme power prostituted by marriage alliances and to see men helping one another to powers and armies and provinces by means of women.

As for Caesar's colleague, Bibulus, since he availed nothing by obstructing Caesar's laws, but often ran the risk with Cato of being killed in the forum, he shut himself up at home for the remainder of his term of office. Pompey, however, immediately after his marriage, filled the forum with armed men and helped the people to enact Caesar's laws and give him as his consular province Gaul on both sides of the Alps for five years, together with Illyricum and four legions. Cato, of course, tried to speak against these measures, but Caesar had him led off to prison, sup- posing that he would appeal to the popular tribunes ; but when Cato walked off without a word and Caesar

adwvou Ba&silovtos opav o Kaioap ou povov TOUS KpatiaTous dua hopoivras, anrra Kral 70 Snporixov aidot THIS. Katwvos aperis owwTh Kal pera, KaTN-gelas Em Op1evov, avTOS edenOn kpugda tav dSnudp-Ya évos aera Ga Tov Katwva.
8 Tar dé Gov TUYKANT ERO oAlyot TavTaTacww avT@ cuvjecay els Bovryy, ol oé AovTrol duaxKeEpai-votes éxmosav aap. elTOvTOS dé Kovoudiov TLVOS TOY ododpa YyepovT@Yy @S poBovpevor Ta OWAa Kal TOUS oTpariwras ou TvvepXowTo, id lis ovv, ébn o Kaicap, 'ov cai ov tadta Sdebdims oixoupets;" Kal o Kovatdcos eimevs "Ort pe troret un hoBeic0at TO yhpas' oO yap ETL EcTrOmEvos

Bios ob aroAdHS OAtyos My Seitat mMpovolas.”
9 alaXtaTov 6é Ta TOTE ToNTevpaTwy edokev év
TH Kaicapos UTaTELA Onmapyov aipeOhvae Kro-
Otov exeivov, Up ov Ta TEpl.TOV ydpov Kal Tas
aTroppytous mwapevounOn tavvvyioas. npéOn dé
émi TH Kixépmvos xatadvoe cai Katoap ov tpo-
tepov €&nAOev ert THY oTpaTLay i) KaTagTactacal
Kixépwva peta KrX@diov cat cuvexBarety é« tis
"IraXias.
XV. Toradta pév ovv Réyetar yevéesOar Ta
mpo tov Varaticov. o 6€ T@Y TokéuaV ods
eTrohen Noe pera TavTa, Kal TOV oT parerav ats
nHEPMTATO THY Kerrexyy, \Vpovos, Oomep addny
apy AaBovros avtob Kat KATAGTUVTOS ELS eT e-
pav Twa Biov Kat Tparya Tov KALV@Y OOO”, OUK
éotTiv OTOU TOY padaTa, TeOaupac mevov ep’
nyEewovia Kal peyote yeyovor oy amroheiT@ovTa
2 TodkemioTy Kal oTpaTyraTHY amédetEev avTor,

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CAESAR, xiv. 7-xv. 2

saw not only that the most influential men were displeased, but also that the populace, out of respect for Cato’s virtue, were following him in silence and with downcast looks, he himself secretly asked one of the tribunes to take Cato out of arrest.

Of the other senators, only a very few used to go with Caesar to the senate; the rest, in displeasure, stayed away. Considius, a very aged senator, once told Caesar that his colleagues did not come together because they were afraid of the armed soldiers. “Why, then,” said Caesar, “dost thou too not stay at home out of the same fear?’’ ‘To this Considius replied: “Because my old age makes me fearless; for the short span of life that is still left me does not require much anxious thought.” But the most disgraceful public measure of the time was thought to be the election to the tribuneship, during Caesar's consulate, of the notorious Clodius, who had tres- passed upon his rights as a husband, and upon the secret nocturnal vigils. He was elected, however, for the overthrow of Cicero; and Caesar did not go forth upon his campaign until, with the help of Clodius, he had raised a successful faction against Cicero and driven him out of Italy.!

XV. Such, then, is said to have been the course of Caesar’s life before his Gallic campaigns. But the period of the wars which he afterwards fought, and of the campaigns by which he subjugated Gaul, as if he had made another beginning and entered upon a different path of life and one of new achieve- ments, proved him to be inferior as soldier and commander to no one soever of those who have won most admiration for leadership and shown themselves

1 Cf. the Cicero, chapters xxx. and xxxi.

4 'i
avn elte PaBiovs cal Xenriwvas cat MetédXovs
\ , a
Kal TovS KAT aUTOV 7 pLKpov EumpoaUey avToD,
f ?
XvArav cal Mapiov apdotépovs te AevxovrdAdous
a \ fw by / Ka , e 4 "? a
7H Kat Lloxaniov avtov, ov KX€os UTTOVpaVLoY HnYGEL
TOTE TAVTOLAS TEpl TOAELOV apETHs, TaeaPdroL
e ? e ? , ' \
Tis, at Kaicapos uvepBadXovor mpakers Tov peév
/ \ \ a
YaneToTnTt TOTwY év ols érroNeuNoe, TOV O€ peEryé-
¢ \ f N
Get ywpas ijy wpocextncato, Tov b€ ANGE Kal
, , ¢ , \ b ?
Bia mrodentwy ods évixnoe, Tov b€ aToTIats Kal
b] ' y cal a f ' \ 3 ¥
antotiats nO@v a Kabwpidrnoe, Tov Sé érlEeLtKELa
\
kal TpaoTyTt Tpos Tovs aALTKOmEvOUS, TOV bé
\ 4
dwpots Kal yaptot pos TOUS TVaTPATEVOLEVOVS,
mavras 6€ T® WreloTas peuaynobat payas Kal
TAELTTOUS aYnpHnKévat TOV avTiTAaXPevTwY. eTN
ad
yap ovdé déxa modennoas rept Tadatiav ronets
\ ®@
fev UTEép OKTAKOGLaS KATA KPaTOS etrev, EOVN OE
eyelpwoaTto TplaKoota, pupidoe S€ Twapatakdpe-
VOS KATA pépos TpLaKociais ExaTov pév ev yEpal
duepOecper, adras b€ TocavTas éfaryproev.
XVI. Etvota 6€ kal rpodupia otpatiwtav
éXPNTATO TOTAUTH TEplL AUTOY WaTE TOS éTépwY
\ 3 a Y , f
uncev év Ttais addXats otpateias Siapépovtas
apayous Kal avuToatatous pépecOat pds Trav
\ \ ce) Far a
devvov v7ép THS Katcapos do&ns. olos fv TodTO
SS ' , a 3 " \ , ?
pev Axtidtos, 0s ev TH wept Maccandtay vavpayia

\ , > ‘\ \ \ \ 3 z
vews Toreuias eTtBeBnkas THY pev Se€tav artre-
f A , al Ave ‘ \ \ ’
Komn Xelpa wayatpa, TH dé éTépa Tov Oupeov ove
3 a 3 \ /
apijxev, adda TUTTwWY Els TA TpdOTwTA TOUS
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CAESAR, xv. 2—xvi. 1

greatest therein. Nay, if one compare him with such men as Fabius and Scipio and Metellus, and with the men of his own time or a little before him, like Sulla, Marius, the two Luculli, or even Pompey himself, whose fame for every sort of military excel- lence was at this time flowering out and reaching to the skies, Caesar will be found to surpass them all in his achievements. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the regions where he waged his wars; another in the great extent of country which he acquired ; another in the multitude and might of the enemies over whom he was victorious; another in the savage manners and perfidious dispositions of the people whom he conciliated ; another in his reasonableness and mildness towards his captives; another still in the gifts and favours which he bestowed upon his soldiers; and all in the fact that he fought the most battles and killed the most enemies. For although it was not full ten years that he waged war in Gaul, he took by storm more than eight hundred cities, subdued three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three million men, of whom he slew one million in hand to hand fighting and took as many more prisoners.

XVI. His soldiers showed such good will and zeal in his service that those who in their previous campaigns had been in no way superior to others were invincible and irresistible in confronting every danger to enhance Caesar’s fame. Such a man, for instance, was Acilius, who, in the sea-fight at Massalia,! boarded a hostile ship and had his right hand cut off with a sword, but clung with the other hand to his shield, and dashing it into the faces ot

1 Described by Caesar in Bell. Civ. ii. 4-7.
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PLUTARCI Selva

Tmoheplous ameat pepe TavTas Kal Tob aKagous
emeKpaTnae® TOUTO o€ Kdoovos = XKevas, Os ev TH
Wept Auppaxvov HaXn TOV opar pov exkomrels
Tofevpatt, Tov O€ & apov vao@ Kal Tov pnpov ETEDW
died hapevos, TH O€ duped Berov éxatov Kat
TpudKovTa myryas dvadedeypév0s, éxdrer Tovs
TmoAEptous @s Tapad@owy éauTov. dvelv dé
TPOTLOVT DY, TOD pev amreéKxowe TOV @pov TH
paxatpa, TOV 6¢ KaTa TOD T poo wmov matatas
am eatpeYen, avtos 6é die oOn TOV olxelov Tept-
TXOVTOY. ép O€ Bperrari ia T@V TONEY Ets TOTOV

éxwdn Kal pectov Sdtov éurrecotat Tois Tpw-
tows taktapyos émrilepévay aotpatiwrns, Kai-
Tapos avTod THY paxny ehopa@vTos, WadpeEvos els
pécous Kal TOAAG Kal TepioTTAa TOALNS aTrodel-
Edpevos &pya Tous pev Ttalvapxous ETWTE, TOV
BapBapov puyovTar, avr os be NareT As éml Tact
d:aBaivear eppuypev éavTov els pevpara TEAMAT@ON,
Kal “ors avev TOD Ovpeod, TA pev VNYOMEVOS, TA
dé Badivov, OueTrepace. Oavpatovtay d€ TOV
mept TOV Kaicapa Kal peTa yapas Kal Kpavyis
ATAVTOVT OD, avTos ev pdda KatTndhys Kat deda-
KPULEVOS T pooeTrET€ T@ Kaicapt, ovyyveopny ai-
TOUMEVOS ETL TO mpota Oat Tov Oupeov. év 6é€
AtBun vaov éddvres of mept Lanmiova, Kaicapos,
év 2 D'pavios Ilérpey eT ET AEL Tapas amobedet-
YHEVOS, TOUS pev aAXous €zroLovvTo heap, ™@ 5e
Tapia d00vat THY TwTNpLay ehacav. o 6€ eima@v
étt Tois Katoapos oTpaTLoTats ov AauBaverv,
arrXa didovat T@Tnplay €Gos éattv, éauTov TO
Eider matdEas avetne.
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CAESAR, xvi. 1-4

his foes, routed them all and got possession of the vesse]. Such a man, again, was Cassius Scaeva, who, in the battle at Dyrrhachium, had his eye struck out with an arrow, his shoulder transfixed with one javelin and his thigh with another, and received on his shield the blows of one hundred and _ thirty missiles. In this plight, he called the enemy to him as though he would surrender. Two of them, accord- ingly, coming up, he lopped off the shou'der of one with his sword, smote the other in the face and put him to flight, and came off safely himself with the aid of his comrades.! Again, in Britain, when the enemy had fallen upon the foremost centurions, who had plunged into a watery marsh, a soldier, while Caesar in person was watching the battle, dashed into the midst of the fight, displayed many con- spicuous deeds of daring, and rescued the centurions, after the Barbarians had been routed. Then he himself, making his way with difficulty after all the rest, plunged into the muddy current, and at last, without his shield, partly swimming and partly wad- ing, got across. Caesar and his company were amazed and came to meet the soldier with cries of joy; but he, in great dejection, and with a burst of tears, cast himself at Caesar’s feet, begging pardon for the loss of his shield. Again, in Africa, Scipio captured a ship of Caesar’s in which Granius Petro, who had been appointed quaestor, was sailing. Of the rest of the passengers Scipio made booty, but told the quaestor that he offered him his life. Granius, however, remarking that it was the cus- tom with Caesar’s soldiers not to receive but to offer mercy, killed himself with a blow of his sword.

1 Cf. Caesar, Bell. Civ. iii, 53
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XVII. Ta d€ TolavTa Aypata Kal Tas ptro-
TUBLLAas avTos avebpee Kal xatecxevace Kaioap,
Tp@TOv pey TO xaptfecbar Kat THLay apedas
EVSELKVULEVOS OTL TOV TAOUDTOY OK Eis TpUdNY
iStav oveé Tivas nduTrabeias ex TOY TONEY AO pol-
er, xowa Oe aOra THS avdpaya bias map AUTO
pudraccopeva amr oKelTat, Kal PETETTLY éxeiv@ TOU
movTely 60a TOS agtous TOV OTPATLOTOY dt-
Smo." emelTa T® TAVTA pev xivOuvov EK@V Upi-
otaa bat, ™ pos undéva 88 Tov TéveV AT AY OPEVELY,
TO pev ovv pedoxivevvov OUK eGavpatov avTov
dua Ty prrorupiay: n O€ TOY TOvOY Urromovi
mapa THY TOU THMATOS Suvapuy eycapTepelv 50-
KOUVTOS eLeT AT TEV, OTL Kal THY ef ov toXVOS
Kal THY CapKa euKos Kal dmranos Kal THY Kepa-
ANY voowons Kal Tots émt ToIs ETAT TLKOLS évo-
X05; év KopdvBn T P@TOV avT@ TOU Tadovs, OS
AeyeTat, ToUTOU T POT TES OVTOS, ov paraxias
eTTOLNT ATO THY appworiav Tpopaci, anra Gepa-
Telav THS appwatias THY oTpareiay, Tats aTpu-
Tols odoLTropials Kal TAais evTeh Eat diaitais Kal
T® Oupavreiv evdeheX@S Kal TaXarTr@pely aT O-
paxopevos 7T@ mabet Kal TO TOpa THPeV oucd-
AwTOV. EK OLLATO pev ye TOUS TAciaTOUS UTvous
eV OXI Pac i popetors, els pak Thy avETavoly
katate LEvos, @XEiTo b€ pe? ne pay emt Ta,
ppovpia Kal Tas TONES Kab TOUS xapaxas, évos
auT@ cuvyxadnpévou TALOos TOV UToyppety dpa
SuovTos elOua weveny, Evos & é£omiadev epertn-
KOTOS OTpaTL@ToU Eidos EXOVTOS. TUPTOVWS be
iprauvev obras @OOTE THY 7 PwOTny e£odop amo
‘Pewpns Totnoapevos oysoutos émlt tov ‘Podavov
er Getv.
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CAESAR, xvn. 1-4

XVII. Such spirit and ambition Caesar himself created and cultivated in his men, in the first place, because he showed, by his unsparing bestowal of rewards and honours, that he was not amassing wealth from his wars for his own luxury or for any life of ease, but that he treasured it up carefully as a common prize for deeds of valour, and had no greater share in the wealth than he offered to the deserving among his soldiers; and in the second place, by willingly undergoing every danger and refusing no toil. Now, at his love of danger his men were not astonished, knowing his ambition ; but that he should undergo toils

beyond his body's apparent power of endurance amazed them, because he was of a spare habit, had a soft and white skin, suffered from distemper in the head, and was subject to epileptic fits, a trouble which first attacked him, we are told, in Corduba. Nevertheless, he did not make his feeble health an excuse for soft living, but rather his military service a cure for his feeble health, since by wearisome journeys, siniple diet, continu- ously sleeping in the open air, and enduring hard- ships, he fought off his trouble and kept his body strong against its attacks. Most of his sleep, at least, he got in cars or litters, making his rest conduce to action, and in the day-time he would have himself conveyed to garrisons, cities, or camps, one slave who was accustomed to write from dictation as he travelled sitting by his side, and one soldier standing behind him with a sword. And he drove so rapidly that, on his first journey from Rome to Gaul, he reached the Rhone in seven days.

To pev ovv immevew EK Tardos 7 ay avT@ paduor
ei\Ocato yap els TouTiaw Tas xelpas cm dryou Kal
TO VOT W TEPLTTNEKOY ava KpaTos éXNavvev Tov
im7rov. €v exetvn d€ TH oTparela Tpooegno Kno ev
immalomevos Tas émlaTOAaS Umraryopevety Kal
dua ty opod ypapovaw éEapxety, as 6€ "Oreos
not, cal wreioot. Réyetas O€ Kal TO bia ypap-
aTwV TOiS pidoes omedety Kaioapa Tp@Tov j.1-
xavnoac ban, THY KATA 7 Poo WT OV évTev&ly Umeép
TOV eTELyOVTOV Tod Katpoi Ota TE TAG OS ac yo-
ALOV Kal THis TOAEWS TO peyellos iT {TE PL pseVOVTOS.
THS 6é mept THY diartap evKorias KaKEtvO 7 oLovv-
TAL OnMeELov, OTL TOV SeLTViCoVTOS avToV év Mesio-
Advw Eévou Ovardrepiov Aéovtos mapabévtos
dom dparyov Kal pupov avt édatov KaTaxXéavtos,
avTOS pev APEXWS eparye, Tots Os pirors dua xepat-
vouow emeém An Eev. '"Hpkee yap, ebm, " TO By
xphoPas Tots dmapeoKkovaty' o 6é TH TOLAUTHY
aypotxiay éFedéyxXov AUTOS éoTev dry potkos. év
00@ Oé ToTe gUVEAaTOHEis UTO YEt@Vvos els errav-
AW avo pwTrou TEVNTOS, WS OVSEY EvpE TAEOY OLKN-
[aT 0s évos pMaxpus éva béEacbau Suvapevov,
T POs TOUS pirous ELT @V OS TOV pev evTiwoov Tapa-
Xo pnt éov eln Tots Kpatio tous, Tov oé dvary Katy
Tots aobevertarors, 'Onrmov exehevo ev avanTav-
cao bac autos 6€ META TOV GAXOV VITO T@ Tpo-
oTEyi@ THS Oupas exdbevoev.
XVIII. 'AAAa yap 0 pev T POTOS aUT@ TOY
Keatixav TONE LOY 7 pos "EXByttious TUvETTH
Kat Teyupivous, ot Tas auT@v dwdera TONELS kal

Horsemanship, moreover, had been easy for him from boyhood; for he was wont to put his hands behind his back and, holding them closely there, to ride his horse at full speed. And in the Gallic campaigns he practised dictating letters on horseback and keeping two scribes at once busy, or, as Oppius says, even more. We are told, moreover, that Caesar was the first to devise intercourse with his friends by letter, since he could not wait for personal interviews on urgent matters owing to the multitude of his occupations and the great size of the city. Of his indifference in regard to his diet the following circumstance also is brought in proof. When the host who was entertaining him in Mediolanum, Valerius Leo, served up asparagus dressed with myrrh instead of olive oil, Caesar ate of it without ado, and rebuked his friends when they showed displeasure. ‘Surely,’ said he, “it were enough not to eat what you don't like; but he who finds fault with ill-breeding like this is ill-bred himself.” Once, too, upon a journey, he and his followers were driven by a storm into a poor man’s hut, and when he found that it consisted of one room only, and that one barely able to accommodate a single person, he said to his friends that honours must be yielded to the strongest, but necessities to the weakest, and bade Oppius lie down there, while he himself with the rest of his company slept in the porch.

XVIII. But to resume, the first of his Gallic wars was against the Helvetii and Tigurini,| who had set fire to their twelve cities and four hundred villages and were advancing through that part of Gaul which

1 Cf. Caesar, Bell. Gall. i. 2-29.

da THS vm ‘Pwpatous Tarartias, Oo Ep mada KiuSpoe cat Tevtoves, ovre TONY €KELVWY UTTOdeéoTepor SoxobvTes eivat Kal THOS opards TpLdKovTa pev al Tacat wupraces ovtes, eixoat O€

at paxopevar Beas déovaal. TOVTwWY Teyupivous
pev OUK auTos, anrra AaBujvos meupbets wir’
avTov mept TOV “Apapa TOTapov cuvetpirper,
‘EABytriev dé avT@ Tpos Tlva Tov didnv
diryovTe THY oTpatiay Kae o60v am poo SoxijTos
émiGepéevwy dOacas emi xwptov Kaptepov Kate-
purye. KO KEL ouvaryayor Kab mapatagas THY
ouvapl, ws (mT Os avT@ mpoanxOn, ‘Toute
per, " €py, “ ViKHo as NPNTOpAL pos TH Siow,
vov dé iwpev emi Tous Tonepious,” kal welos
opunoas eve Bane. Kpove | dé Kal Narerras
OT AMEVOS TO paxtpov Tept Tats apakars Kal
TO Ku pare TOV WELaTOV eoxe a ovon, ouK QUTOV
proveov UpioTapevoy EXEL KAL HAXOMEVOD, ddnra
Kal TaAldES AVTAV Kall yuvaiices dpuvopevoe PEX pl
Bavitov TUYKATEKOTIOAY, MOTE THV WaXNV pores
els Heoas VUKTAS TEAEUTHTAL KAA@ be TO THS
VUKNS Epy@ KpeiT TOV emeOnke TO TUVOLKiOAL TOUS
Staguyovtas Ex THS paxns TOV TE pLovT@Y Bap-
Bapov, Kab KaTavay cao al THY VOpav avaraBety
Nv améhutrov Kal TAS TOKELS Gs orép Oetpar, ovTas
Umep O4Ka. pupiaoas. én page b¢ TOUTO O€OLWS
pen THY X@pav epnuov yevouevny ot Teppavol d1a-
Bavtes KATATXWOL.
XIX. Aevtepov S€ mpos Teppavovs aytexpus
UTrep Kedrav ETONEULNGE, KALTOL TOV Bactréa
Tpotepov avtav ApioBiatov év “Pwun cippaxov
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CAESAR? xvii. 1=x1X. 1

was subject to the Romans, as once the Cimbri and
Teutones had done. To these they were thought
to be not inferior in courage and of equal numbers,
being three hundred thousand in all, of whom one
hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men.
The Tigurini were crushed at the river Arar, not by
Caesar himself, but by Labienus, his deputy; the
Helvetii, however, unexpectedly attacked Caesar
himself on the march, as he was leading his forces
towards a friendly city, but he Bireededn in reaching
a strong place of refuge. Here, after he had col-
lected and arrayed his forces, a horse was brought
to him. ‘This horse,” said he, “I will use for the
pursuit after my victory; but now let us go against

the enemy," and accordingly led the charge on foot. After a long and hard struggle he routed the enemy's fighting men, but had the most trouble at their rampart of waggons, where not only did the men themselves make a stand and fight, but also their wives and children defended themselves to the death and were cut to pieces with the men. The battle was hardly over by midnight. To the noble work of victory Caesar added a nobler still, that of settling those of the Barbarians who had escaped alive from the battle (there were more than one hundred thousand of them), and compelling them to resume the territory which they had abandoned and the cities which they had destroyed. He did this because he feared that if the territory became vacant the Germans would cross the Rhine and occupy it.

XIX. His second war, directly in defence of the Gauls, was against the Germans,! although pre- viously, in Rome, he had made their king Ariovistus

1 Cf. Caesar, B.G. i, 30-53.

, > > hy 9 4 a ¢ i
TETOLNMLEVOS' ANN Noav ahopyntot Tots varNKoOLS
na " s bY
avtov yeltoves, Kal Katpovd TrapadovTos ovK av
éSoxouv él Tots Tapovow atpeunoev, adr
9 ? \ Gé \ - e a
émweunoecOar cali KadéEev tHv Taratiay. opev
s al
5é tous Hyenovas amodethi@vtas, Kal padiora
6 ~ ww \ la wa wn
OooL TOV emupavey Kal Vewy AUTO ouvetirov ws
6n TpupH XPNToEvoL kal XPNPATLT LD TH peta
Kaicapos otpatelg, ouvaryaryev els cxednotay
éxéXevoev arriévat Kal pn Kivduvevety Tapa yvo-
pny ovTws avavdpws Kai parakas ExovTas, avTos
\ ' , 4 U N See
dé bn TO SéxaTov Taypa povoy TaparaBwv éri
oe ,
tous BapBdpovs wmopevoecOat, pnte xpeittoct
, 4 s
pérrov KiuSpwv payec0ar Troreptots prjte avros

f /
av Mapiov yelpwv otpatnyos. €x TovTOU TO pe
\ f
déxatov Taypa mpecBevtas Emrepmre mpos avTov
4 wv e “ \ \ o/ \ e
Yap éyey opodoyobvtes, Ta 6€ AANA Tors Eéav-
a , e ad
Tov éxaxiloyv nyepmovas, opuns b€ Kal mpobupias
yervomevot TWANPELS ATraVvTES NKONOVOOLY odoV ueE-
~ “ , a
pav mortar, ws év Staxocioss TOV Todepior
a /
oTadlols KATETTPATOTECEVT AD.
3 \ = ° Y N \ ” > \
Hv pev ody 6 Te Kat mpos THY Ehodoy avTnv
an , ~ 9 4
éréOpavato THs yvopns tov ’AptoBiatov. Tep-
A € td
pavois yap érTtOncecPat Pwpaiovs, ov érepyope-
yov ovx av éddoxouy vToaTHvat, 1 TpocdoKjcas
\ if s
eOavpate thv Katoapos todkpav xal Tov otpa-
4 A
TOV éwpa TeTapaypevov. Erte 5é wadXov avTovs
\ , a) a A A
MBAUVE TA LAVTEVLATA TOV LEepaVv yuvaltKOyv, al
a ,
ToTapav divais mpooBAeTovcat Kal pevpatav
A ‘ f
EXiypots Kal yropots TEexpmatpoperat mpocBéo Tilov,
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V7

CAESAR, xix. 1-4

an ally.) But they were intolerable neighbours of Caesar’s subjects, and if an opportunity presented itself it was thought that they would not remain quietly in their present homes, but would encroach upon and occupy Gaul. Seeing that his officers were inclined to be afraid, and particularly all the young men of high rank who had come out intending to make the campaign with Caesar an opportunity for high living and money-making, he called them together? and bade them be off, since they

were so unmanly and effeminate, and not force themselves to face danger; as for himself, he said he would take the tenth legion alone and march against the Barbarians; the enemy would be no better fighters than the Cimbri, and he himself was no worse a general than Marius. Upon this the tenth legion sent a deputation to him, expressing their gratitude, while the other legions reviled their own commanders, and all the army, now full of impetuous eagerness, followed Caesar on a march of many days, and at last encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

Now, the very approach of Caesar somewhat shat- tered the purpose of Ariovistus. For he did not expect that the Romans would attack the Germans, whose onset he thought they could not withstand, and he was amazed at the boldness of Caesar; be- sides, he saw that his own army was disturbed. Still more, too, was the spirit of the Germans blunted by the prophecies of their holy women, who used to foretell the future by observing the eddies in the rivers and by finding signs in the whirlings and

1 Acting as consul, in 59 B.c.
® Cf. Caesar, B.G. i. 40,
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PLUTARCH SEs

ovx é@aat payny TiOecOat Tpiv ériraprwat véav cerxynvnv. tavta TO Kaicape trvOavopérw ral tous Teppavovs novyalovtas op@vTt Karas éyety éd0Fev ampobvpots ova avtots aupPadrelv pwan- ov) TOV éKElv@v ava pevovTa, Karpov Kabijabae. Kab ™poo Boras TOLOUMLEVOS TOES epupact Kal Nopors éh wv ea Tpatomédevoy, éEnypiawe Kal mapwEvve KataBavtTas T pos opyny Siayoricacbat. YEVOMEVNS O€ apm pas TpoTrijs avTov, émt orao- OUS TET paKoatous aX pe Tob *Payvou duwFas KaTeé- TANTE TOUTO TAY VEKPWV TO Te Otov kal Napvpwv. "AptoBtatos b5€ POdcas pet OrjyoY dteTépace tov ‘“Prvov: apiOuov dé vexpav pupiddas oxTw ryevéo Oat Néyousct.

XX. Taita StatpakFapevos thv péev Svvapw évy Xnxovavois amédere Sraxyetudoovaar, avTos dé tois év “Phun mpocéyev Bovropevos ets T1v mept Iladov Ladatiav xatéBn, THs av’T@ dedo- péevns éTapxias ovcav' o yap KaXovpevos “Pov- Bixwyv rotrapos amo THS vmTd Tats “AXmect Keartexts opifer tav addy ‘Itadiav. évtavéa

Kkadnuevos ednpaywyel, TONA@Y Tpos avToOY adt-
KVOU LEVY, OLOOUS @V ExaaTos Senbein, Kal TaVTas
ATOTELTOY TA pev EYoVTAS dn Tap avTOd, TA
de édmifovtas. Kal Tapa Tov addov Sé TavTa
THS atpateias yYpovov éravOave tov Tloumniov
€y “épel VOY LEV TOUS TrONELLOUS TOTS TOV TOALTOV
OTAols KaTUaTpedouevos, viv bé Tois amo TaD
TONEMLWY YpnuaTiW aip@v Tovs Toritas Kal
:
VELPOUILEVOS.
"Earet d€ BéXyas Heovce Suvatwratouvs Kertav

Kal THY TpLTYWV aTraayns THs KerriKhs vewopérous

splashings of the waters, and now forbade joining battle before a new moon gave its light. When Caesar learned this, and saw that the Germans kept quiet, he decided that it was a good plan to engage them while they were out of heart, rather than to sit still and wait for their time. So, by attacking their entrenchments and the hills on which they were encamped, he irritated them and incited them to come down in anger and fight the issue out. They were signally routed, and Caesar pursued them a distance of four hundred furlongs, as far as the Rhine, and filled all the intervening plain with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus, with a few followers, sueceeded in crossing the Rhine; his dead are said to have been eighty thousand in number.

XX. After this achievement, Caesar left his forces among the Sequani to spend the winter,! while he himself, desirous of giving attention to matters at Rome, came down to Gaul along the Po,* which was a part of the province assigned to him; for the river called Rubicon separates the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. Here he fixed his quarters and carried on his political schemes. Many came to see him, and he gave each one what he wanted, and sent all away in actual possession of some of his favours and hoping for more. And during all the rest of the time of his campaigns in Gaul, unnoticed by Pompey, he was alternately subduing the enemy with the arms of the citizens, or capturing and subduing the citizens with the money which he got from the enemy.

But when he heard that the Belgae, who were the most powerful of the Gauls and occupied the third

1 The winter of 58-57 B.c.

2 Cf. Caesar, B.G. i. 54: ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad
conventus agendos profectus est.

adheatavat, jToddAas 8% Tivas pupiddas evoTTrOV
avdpav 7Opotxotas, émiatpéyas evOus éywpet
TaXEL TOAN@ Kal TopOova. Tovs TUppmaxous
Tardtas érimecmy ois moXepiots Tovs pev
aOpovatatouvs Kal mAEclaoTovs alaxpes aywvi-
gapévous Tpevrdpevos SvépOerpev, BoTE Kal Aipvas
Kat totapnovs Babeis tots “Pwpatois vexpav
ANGE Tepatous yevécOa, TOV 8 aTooTavTwD ot
Mev TAPWKEAVLOL TAVTES Guayel TpoTEeXwpNnaav
éml O€ TOUS AYPLWTATOUS Kal PaYLLwWTATOUS TOV
tnoe, NepBious, éotpatevaer, olmep eis cuppryels
Spupovs KaTwxnévot, yeveas b€ Kal KTHOELS EV
tive BvO@ THS DANS atwratw Oéwevoe TOV TrorE-
piwv, avtol TH Kaicapst motoupévw yapaxa xat
fr) WpogbeyVopévw THULKAUTA THY waxny EEaKiapv-
ptot TO TAOS Svtes aidvidiws mpocétrecor, Kat
Tous pev immets éTpéyavto, Tav b€ TaypaTwv
TO dwdéxaTov Kal TO EBSdSomov meptayxovtTes irav-
Tas aTéxTevay Tovs TaEvdpyous. ef dé p7 Kaicap
aptacas tov @upeov nal Stacywv Tous mpo
avTOU payopevous évéBare Tois BapPdpots, Kat
aTO TOV AkKpwv TO S€KaToY KLYdUVEvOYTOS aUTOD
xkatédpape Kal dséxo we Tas TdEes TOY ToAELLOD,
ovdels dv Soxel mepiyevéaOar viv 5€ 7h Kaicapos
TON THY Neyowévny Uirép SivVamLY paynY ayw-
Vigupevol TpéTTOVTAL pev OVS Hs Tous NepBious,
KaTaKoTTOVat O€ dpUVOMEeVoUS? TeEvTAaKOTLOL yap
amo pupidd@yv &E cwOivar Aéyovtat, Bovrevtal
dé Tpels aTO TeTpaKOUlwv.
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CAESAR, xx. 3-5

part of all their country, had revolted, and had as- sembled unknown myriads of armed men, he turned back at once and marched thither with great speed.! He fell upon the enemy as they were plundering the Gauls that were in alliance with Rome, and so routed and destroyed the least scattered and most numerous of them, after a disgraceful struggle on their part, that the Romans could cross lakes and deep rivers for the multitude of dead bodies in them. All the rebels who dwelt along the ocean submitted without a battle; against the Nervii, however, the most savage and warlike of the people in these parts, Caesar led his forces. The Nervii, who dwelt in dense woods, and had placed their families and pos- sessions in a recess of the forest at farthest remove from the enemy, at a time when Caesar was fortifying a camp and did not expect the battle, fell upon him suddenly, sixty thousand strong. They routed his cavalry, and surrounded

the seventh and twelfth legions and slew all their centurions, and had not Caesar snatched a shield," made his way through the combatants in front of him, and hurled himself upon the Barbarians; and had not the tenth legion, at sight of his peril, run down from the heights and cut the ranks of the enemy to pieces, not a Roman, it is thought, would have survived. As it was, however, owing to Caesar's daring, they fought beyond their powers, as the saying is, and even then did not rout the Nervii, but cut them down as they defended themselves; for out of sixty thousand only five hun- dred are said to have come off alive, and only three of their senators out of four hundred.

1 Caesar's campaign against the Belgae, in 57 B.c., is described by himself in 3.G. ii. 1-33.
2 Scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto (B.@. ii. 25, 2).

to

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Ge Tavra " TUYKANTOS mudopevn) mevrexal-
dexa 1)mépas eynpicato Quew Tots Jeots Kal
oxord ler eoptatovras, Goas é€m ovoEwa viny
T pOTEpOV. Kal yap) xivOuvos epavy peyas,
cOvar a da, TOT OUT@Y dvappayévTov, Kal TO vixnpa
Lapm porepon, ore Kaicap yy. 0 VIKOV, % pds
LO evvowa TOV TONY érrotet. Kaicap 3
avTos* ev Oeper os TA Kara tHv Taratiav radu
év Tots Tept []adov Xwploes duexetpate o ovo Keva-
Copevos Thy TON. ov yap povov ot TAS apxas
maparyyéddovres exeivep Npwpwevor yopnyo Kat
Tois map éxeivov Xprpact dra pFetpovres TOV
Siwov avyyopevovto, Kal Trav ém partov 0 THY
éxeivou Svvauv able Eweddev, GNAA Kal TOV
érihavertat@y avdp@v Kal peyioT@V Ol TAELTTOL
auvidOov mpos avtov eis Aovxav, Topumnids te
Kat Kpdoaos cal" Amatos 0 Tis Lapdovos syepov
kal Nérws o THs "IBnpias avOvtatos, wate
paBdovyous pév Exatov eikoat yevéoOat, cvyKAN-
Texovs d€ mrELovas 7 Staxocious.
BovaAnv oé€ Oéuevor SsexpiOnoav én tovtois:
Ger Hopmniov pev cal Kpioooy trdtous arose:
yO ihvat, Kaicapz 6 xpipata Kal revtuetiav adAnv
émipeTpnOnvat THs atpatnyias, 6 Kal wapadroyw-
TATOV epaivero Tols voty €yovotv. ob yap TO-
caiTa VY PH UAT a mapa Kaicapos AapBavovtes ws
ouk éxovtTe dvdovae Thy Bovday érretOov, "addov

dé jparyKaton € ématévovcay ots eynpivovto, Katovos fev ov TapovTos, émitndes yap avTov ets
1 Kaioap 8 abrds Sint.*; abrds 8 Bekker; nal yap abrds MSS., Sint.!, and Coraés.
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CAESAR, xxi. 1-4

XXI. The Roman senate, on learning of these successes, decreed sacrifices to the gods and cessation from business, with festival, for fifteen days, a greater number than for any victory before.! For the danger was seen to have been great when so many nations at once had broken out in revolt, and because Caesar was the victor, the good will of the multitude towards him made his victory more splendid. Caesar himself, after settling matters in Gaul, again spent the winter? in the regions along the Po, carrying out his plans at Rome. For not only did the candidates for office there enjoy his assistance, and win their elections by corrupting the people with money from him, and do everything which was likely to enhance his power, but also most of the men of highest rank and greatest influence came to see him at Luca,? including Pompey, Crassus, Appius the governor of Sardinia, and Nepos the proconsul of Spain, so that there were a hundred and twenty lictors in the place and more than two hundred senators.

They held a council and settled matters on the following basis. Pompey and Crassus were to be elected consuls for the ensuing year, and Caesar was to have money voted him, besides another five years in his provincial command. This seemed very strange to men of understanding. For those who were getting so much money from Caesar urged the senate to give him money as if he had none, nay rather, they forced it to do so, though it groaned over its own decrees. Cato, indeed, was not there, for he had purposely been sent out of the way ona

1 Quod ante id tempus accidit nulli (Caesar, B.G. ii. 35, 4).
2 57-56 p.c. Cf. the Pompey, li. 3 f.
3 In April of 56 B.o.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kum pov amedioTopTmcavTo, Pacviou bé, os ip CnrwTns Katwvos, @s ovder em epavev ayTt-

Aéywv, €Eadropévov d1a Ovpa@v cal Bodvtos eis
TO TAHOGos. AdNAa Tpocetyev OvdEtS, TOV pev
Hlourniov atéovpévwr cal Kpdagoyr, ot 6€ trei-
ato. Kaiocape yapifouevor cal mpos tas at
éxeivou Caves édtridas navyalov.
XXII. Tpatropevos 5€ atdis 0 Kaicap émt tas
évy TH Kearixn Oupdpers ToNvLY KaTadapBaver
TOE LOV ev TH Xopa, dvo0 Deppavix av éOveov
peyarov él Kxataktnoe ys apte TOV “Pijvov
dtaBeBnxotwv' Ovcizmras Kkadovdar tovs étépous,
tous 6é€ Tevtepitas. mept 6& THs mpos TovToUs
ryEVOMEVNS paxns o péev Katoap év tats epnueptar
yeypager ws of BapBapot dram peo Bevopevor ™ pos
avTov é€v a7roveais emtOoivro kal” odov, kat dra
TOUTO Tpeawro TOUS auTov TEVTAKLTXtALOUS
dvtas imrels oxTaKoatots Tots exeiveov pn m™poa6o-
K@VTas’ eita Téwrperav ETEpous Tpos auvToV ads
éfaratavtas, ods Katacywy émayayo Tois Bap-
Bdapos TO oTpatevpa, TY TpoS OUTS aTiaTOUS
Kal Tapactovoous miativ evrOerav 1youUpevos.
Tavvctos dé réyer Karova, THs BovrAns emt TH
ven Wye Comeviys éoptas Kal Gusias, aTopn-
vacbar yrounv ws éxdotéov éorl tov Katcapa
Tots BapBapors, doo rovpevous 70 Tapacnovonpa
UTEp THS TONEWS Kal THY apav els Tov altLov
TpéTrovTas.
Tov dé SvaBavtov at pev KaTaKoTEioal TET a-
pakovta pupiddes oar, OrALyous S€ TOUS dTo-
1 Cf. the Cato Minor, xxxiv.

eee

CAESAR, xxi. 4-XxxiL 3

mission to Cyprus,! and Favonius, who was an ardent follower of Cato, finding himself unable to accomplish anything by his opposition, bounded out of doors and clamoured to the populace. But no one gave heed to him, for some were in awe of Pompey and Crassus, and most wanted to please Caesar, lived in hopes of his favours, and so kept quiet.

XXII. On returning to his forces in Gaul,? Caesar found a considerable war in the country, since two great German nations had just crossed the Rhine to possess the land, one called the Usipes,? the other the Tenteritae.2 Concerning the battle which was fought with them Caesar says in his “Commentaries ’’ 4 that the Barbarians, while treating with him under a truce, attacked on their march and therefore routed

his five thousand cavalry with their eight hundred, since his men were taken off their guard; that they then sent other envoys to him who tried to deceive him again, but he held them fast and led his army against the Barbarians, considering that good faith towards such faithless breakers of truces was folly. But Tanusius says that when the senate voted sacri- fices of rejoicing over the victory, Cato pronounced the opinion that they ought to deliver up Caesar to the Barbarians, thus purging away the violation of the truce in behalf of the city, and turning the curse therefor on the guilty man.

Of those who had crossed the Rhine into Gaul
four hundred thousand were cut to pieces, and the
2 In 55 B.c. Plutarch passes over Caesar's campaign of
56 B.c. in Gaul, following the conference at Luca. Caesar
describes it in B.@. iii.
3 Caesar calls them Usipetes and Tencteri (B.G. iv. 1).

SCL OIE,

TepacavTas avs umedéfavo LovyapuBpot, lep-

QVeKon é?vos. Kal tavTnv AaBev aitiav én
avtous 0 Kaioap, dd\rAws b€ b0Ens édiépevos Kat
tod mpwtos avOpwrwv atpat@ dvaBivat Tov
'Pivov, éyeptpou mAUTOS TE TOAULY OvTA Kal KAT
€xelvo Tov Topov padtoTa TANpUpOvVTA Kal
Tpaxr Kat powdn Kal TOUS KaTApEpopevols oTE-
Aéveot Kal Evhois TAnyas Kal omaparypous
EvOLOOPTA KATA TOV EpeLCovT@y THY yepupay.
adhe TAaUTA T poBorois EvAwY peyadXwv dea TOU
Topou KATAT ETN YOTOV dvadeXopevos, Kal yart-
VOT AS TO ™ poo mim TOV pevua TO SEUYPATE, TLS TEWS
macys Oéapa KpEetTTov éredelEato Thy yepupav
Hepars Séxa ouvTErAcaOeEtaar.
XXIII. Hleparmoas 5€ thy Svvaptv, ovdevos
UTAVTHTAL TOALNTAVTOS, AAAA Kal TOV rHyEmovte-
KwTaTwov tod Leppavxotd NovnBwv eis Baleis
Kat VAMELS AVA@VUS avacKEeVaTaLevwV, TUPTO-
Ajoas Mev THY TOV TOAELiMY, Oappuvas Sé TOUS
del Ta Pwpatwv aotralopévous, aveywpyoev avbis
els THY Taratiav, eixoct dvetv Seovcas nuépas
€v 7) Teppaveny Craze pipes.
MH oe én TOUS Bpettavovs oTpareta THD peev
~OApLay eb yev OVOLACT HY T PWTOS yap elS TOV

éo Téptov ‘Oxeavov éréBn TTOND, Kat Sa THS
‘Atha ruichs Jararrns oT patov emt TOAE HOV KO-
pile em evo Kal vi}cov amvaToupevny UTO Meé-
yéOous Kat TONY pw TapToNoes cuyypapevat
Tapacxobaav, ws dvoma Kat Aoyos ov yEeroperns
ovde ovans TETAATTAL, Kata xXetv em LUE LEVOS
Tponyayey e€&@ Tis olkoupévns tiv “Pwratwr
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7]

CAESAR, xxu. 4—xXxul. 2

few who succeeded in making their way back were received by the Sugambri, a German nation. This action Caesar made a ground of complaint against the Sugambri, and besides, he coveted the fame of being the first man to cross the Rhine with an army. He therefore began to bridge the river,} although it was very broad, and at this point in its course especially swollen, rough, and impetuous, and with the trunks and branches of trees which it bore down stream kept smiting and tearing away the supports of his bridge. But Caesar caught up these trunks and branches with bulwarks of great timbers planted across the stream, and having thus bridled and yoked the dashing current, he brought his bridge—sight beyond all credence—to completion in ten days.

XXIII. He now threw his forces across the river.
No one ventured to oppose him, but even the Suevi,
who were the foremost nation of the Germans, be-
stowed themselves and their belongings in deep and
woody defiles. Caesar ravaged the country of the
enemy with fire, gave encouragement to the constant
friends of Rome, and then retired again into Gaul,
having spent eighteen days in Germany.
His expedition against the Britanni was celebrated for its daring. For he was the first to leunch a fleet upon the western ocean and to sail through the Atlantic sea carrying an army to wage war. The island was of incredible magnitude, and furnished much matter of dispute to multitudes of writers, some of whom averred that its name and story had been fabricated, since it never had existed and did not then exist; and in his attempt to occupy it he carried the Roman supremacy beyond the confines of

1 B.G. iv. 16-19.
499
9
vo
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

yyepoviav. dis d€ dvatrAEVTAaS Els THY VijcoV éx
Ts avtimépas Vadarttas, Kat paxyats moddais
KAKWGAaS TOUS TOAEULOUS pad Aov i) TOUS idious

apednoas, ovdey yap 6 TL Kal AaBeww mY aE ov
aT avO por av KaKkoBiwv Kal wevyjTwv, ovx otov
éBovreTo TO TONED TENOS em eOnker, GAN' Opn-
pous ha Bev mapa Tov Bacrréws Kab TaEapmevos
Popous ATHpEV EK THS vo Ov.
Kati KatahapBaver pappara. jédAovTa dia-
Tet 7 pos autov avo Tov év 'Popun pirorv, bn-
AobyTa THY THS Ouyatpos avuTovu TENEUTIY" TereuTa
€ TiKTOVTA Tapa Toprnie. KAL eya bev aQuTov
gave Llopmrijiov, péya Oe Kaicapa mevOos, ot b¢
dino. _guverapax na av ws TiS ev ecpivn Kab
opovola Tada vooovugayv TV TonuTetay pvvar-
TOVENS oiKeLOTNTOS AeAvpeEnn]s" Kal yap TO) Bpedos
evdus ov moA\Xas myeepas peta, THY pytépa bia-
Cho av eTENEUT IGE. THY HEV ouv 'TovAtav Bia
TOY ONMapKoV paper ov TO TrAHGOS eis To "A pevov
NVEYKE TEOLOV, KAKEL K1)OEVUEtoa KElTaL.
XXIV. Tod 6 Katoapos peyadny On THY
Suva pu ovoay els TONG KAT avayKny Xeupeaora
StEAOVTOS, avTou dé 7 pos THY 'Irariav, OoTrEp
elw0el, TpaTromévov, mavTa pev avOis aveppHyvuTO
Ta TOV Padazov, Kal oTpatot peyanot Te priovTes
efexomTov Ta Netpadua Kat 7 poo €MaXOVTO Tols
Xapaxapace TOV 'Popaior, ol be TrElLoTOL Kal
KpateaTou TOV ATOOTAVTOV pera "ABptoptyos
Kotrav pev avt@ otpatorédw Kat Titupiov &é-

1 Once in 55 B.c. (B.G. iv. 20-36) ; again in 54 B.c. (B.G. 1-22).

the inhabited world. After twice! crossing to the island from the opposite coast of Gaul and in many battles damaging the enemy rather than enriching his own men—for there was nothing worth taking from men who lived in poverty and wretchedness—he brought the war to an end which was not to his liking, it is true; still, he took hostages from the king, imposed tributes, and then sailed away from the island.

In Gaul he found letters which were about to be sent across to him. They were from his friends in Rome, and advised him of his daughter's death; she died in child-birth at Pompey's house. Great was

the grief of Pompey, and great the grief of Caesar, and their friends were greatly troubled too; they felt that the relationship which alone kept the distempered state in harmony and concord was now dissolved. For the babe also died presently, after surviving its mother a few days. Now Julia, in spite of the tribunes, was carried by the people to the Campus Martius, where her funeral rites were held, and where she lies buried."

XXIV. Caesar's forces were now so large that he was forced to distribute them in many winter- quarters, while he himself, as his custom was, turned his steps towards Italy. Then all Gaul once more broke out in revolt,? and great armies went about attacking the entrenchments and trying to destroy the winter-quarters of the Romans. The most nu- merous and powerful of the rebels, under Abriorix,* utterly destroyed Titurius and Cotta, together with

2 Cf. the Pompey, chapter lili.
3 Cf. Caesar, B.G. v. 24-51.
* Caesar calls him Ambiorix.

N f a
2 pOepav, to b€ bro Kixépwu Ttadypa pupidow ef
4 \ ,
TepiayovTes €rroNlopKouv Kai piKpov améduiTov
, e
NPNKEVAL KATA KPATOS, TUYTETPWLEVWY ATAYTODV
td \ , b ,
Kal Tapa duvapuiy LTO TpoOumtas amvvopevwn.
a a 7 \
'Qs 6€ ayyéA@n tavbtTa 7@ Kaicaps paxpay
f \ \ e
OVTL, TAYEWS ETLATPEWAS Kal OVVAYyaYywV ETTAKIO-
4 / \ ,
yidlous Tovs cUuTaVTas nrelyeto TOV Kixéepwva
A , / \ \
Thy TodtopKxias éEatpnoopevos. Ttovs b€ ToXrt.-
a ' " ' ? bf , e >
OPKOVYTAS OVK éXadev, AAX ATHVYTOV WS avapTra-
A >] , 4
3 gouEevol, THS OALYOTHTOS KaTappovijcayTes. Ka-
aA 9 nw ¢ / ' 7 \ , N
Ketvos é€aTraTay UTédevyev uel, Kal Ywpia KaBov
b) , " \ \ , >

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> , 4 / “
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\ aA , a \ NX
TOUS E€AUTOU TaONS, avayayety Oe TOV YapaKa Kal
\ 4 > a e , ? iy
TAS TUAAS avotKosopety ws SedoLxoTas nvayKale,
aA A ?
KkatappovnOhvar otpatnyav, méexpt ov smopadnpy
N , >
UTO Opacous TpogBarXovtas éTreEeOwv eT pérato
“A /
Kal TOANOUS auUTaV dLepOerpe.
a \ a
XXV. Todto tas roddas arroctaces TaY év-
tav0a Tarata@v Kkateotopece, Kal Tod yetmovos
\ “A ,
avuTOS émiboiT@y TE TavTayoce Kal Tpocéywn
3 ? n n e
of€ws Tols vewTepicpois. Kal yap Kev é& *Ita-
4: > \ a ? / by a , ,
Mas AVTL TOY ATOXWAOTWY AUTO TPLa TaypaTa,
Ul WA ‘) a ey? Coa ee t a
oumniov pev €x THY UP avT@ dvO ypijcavTos, év
\ 4 > A
d€ veoovAXrExTOV é€x THs wept Hadov Tadatias.
, \ e
2 woppw o€ TOVTM@Y al Tadat KaTAaBEBAnpévat KpU-
\ , \ a aA
pa Kai vewouevat O1a Tov dSuvaTwTtdTwy avdpar
502

CAESAR, xxiv. 2—~xxv. 2

their army, while the legion under Cicero was sur-
rounded and besieged by sixty thousand of them,
and narrowly escaped having its camp taken by
storm, although all were wounded and went beyond
their powers in the ardour of their defence.
When tidings of these things reached Caesar, who was far on his journey, he turned back quickly, got together seven thousand men in all, and hurried on to extricate Cicero from the siege. But the besiegers became aware of his approach, and went to meet him with the purpose of cutting his forces off at once, despising their small numbers. Caesar de- ceived them by avoiding battle coutinually, and when he had found a place suitable for one who was fighting against many with few, fortified a camp, where he kept his men altogether from fighting and forced them to increase the height of their ram- parts and the

defences of their gates as though they were afraid. His strategy thus led the enemy to despise him, until at last, when their boldness led them to attack in scattered bands, he sallied out, routed them, and destroyed many of them.

XXV. The numerous revolts of the Gauls in those parts were quieted by this success, as well as by the fact that Caesar himself, during the winter, went about in all directions and kept close watch on the disturbers of the peace. For there had come from Italy three legions to replace the men that he had lost, Pompey having lent two of those under his command, and one having been newly levied in Gaul about the Po. But in remoter regions! the germs of the greatest and most dangerous of the wars waged in

1 Plutarch here passes over the events of the year 55 B.c.,

described by Caesar in B.G. vi. The seventh book is wholly taken up with the war now to be described (52 B.c.).

év Tols PAY LLWTATOLS yeveruy dpxat TOU peylotou
Kal KivdurwbecTaTov TOY Exel TORE MOY avedai-
VOVTO, powobeicat TONAT [ev nrc Kal TwavTa-
xobev Orr dots aOporcbeian, peyarous 5é WAOVTOLS
els TaUvTO cuvevex Getaw, laxupais b¢ TONE,
SucepPoroes dé Xwpais. TOTE 6é Kal KELUOVOS
Opa Tayo HOTA pay Kal veperots dTroKeK puppevo
Spupol xa media VELMA P POLS emthedtpvac peva,,
Kal wh mev aT eK wapToL Baber yeovos atparol, 7H
dé de EXO Kal pevpatoy TApaT peTopeveny dod-
hea TOAAN THS Topetas TavtTatractw eddKouY av-
emeyeipnta Kaicapt ta Tov abiarapevev qovety.
aperaT nner peep obv TOAAA hvAG, Tpooxnpa bé
Hoav ApBépvor Kal Kapvourivos, TO 66 cvUpTraY
aipebels Kpatos ELve TOU TONELOV Ovepyevtopi€,
ov TOV TATE pa. Taddtat tupavvida doxodvta tm pat-
TELY ATEKTELVAD.
XXVI. Obrtos ovv ets Toda dLeN@Y THY duva-
pay HEpn Kal ToAXOUS emLaToas mpyepovas OKEL-
ovTO THY Tepe ATaTAaY ay pt TOY TOs TOV "A papa
KEKNLMEVOY, Sravoovpevos 50 Tov év 'Pouy ouvt-
TTA MEvoy ETL Kaicapa ovpragay éryelpewy TO
TONELM Tarariav. Srrep él peKpov oTrepov émpa-
Ee, Kaioapos els TOV emp vALov éumecovTos T0-
EMoy, OVK ay edadporepor TOV KipBpiay e EKEL-
vov doBor tHv ItaXiav Katéoxov. vuvl 6€ 0 Tact

ev apiora xphoGac TOUS ™ pos TONELOD, pddoTa
€ Karp@ TEPUKDS Kaicap é apa. T@ mubéc bat THY
amogtacty dpas éywper tails avtais odois as
1 GOpoia Beton Sint. with the MSS.; Coraés and Bekker

read aépoiobetos (arms collected from all sides) with the
Aldine ed.
504

CAESAR, xxv. 2 xXxvI. 2

those parts began to show themselves. They had for
a long time been secretly sown and cultivated by the
most influential men among the most warlike tribes,
and derived strength from large bodies of young
men assembled from all sides in arms, from great
riches brought together, from strong cities, and from
countries which were hard to invade. At that season
of winter, too, frozen rivers, forests buried in snow,
plains converted into lakes by winter torrents, in
some parts paths obliterated by deep snow, and in
others the great uncertainty of a march through
swamps and streams diverted from their courses, all
seemed to make it wholly impossible for Caesar to
oppose the plans of the rebels. Accordingly, many
tribes had revolted, but the head and front of the
revolt were the Arverni and Carnuntini,! and Ver-
gentorix! was chosen to have the entire authority in
the war. His father the Gauls had put to death
because they thought he was aiming at a tyranny.
XXVI. This leader, then, after dividing his forces
into many parts and putting many officers in com-
mand of them, was winning over all the country
round about as far as the water-shed of the Arar.
He purposed, now that there was a coalition at Rome
against Caesar, at once to rouse all Gaul to war. If
he had done this a little later, when Caesar was
involved in the civil war, Italy would have been a
prey to terrors no less acute than those aroused
by the Cimbri of old. But as it was, the man
endowed by nature to make the best use of all the
arts of war, and particularly of its crucial moments,
namely Caesar, as soon as he learned of the revolt,
set out and marched by the same roads over which
1 In Caesar’s B.G. the names are Carnutes and Ver-

cingetorix.
595
PLUTARCH Sei Vis

bunrGe, kat Bia cal Tayee THS Topelas bta i000v-
ree, p wal Tdyee Ths mop i
Tov yelmavos éTuderEauevos Tois BapBapots ws
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duayos avtots Kal anttntos emerot otpatos.
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otrou yap dyyeXov 1) ypaupatodopov diadbvat Tov
tal A = f “A
Tap avtod ypovm TOAA@® Hv amtatov, évtavda
e lal A nA / ,
ETA TUTNS EWPATO THS oTpAaTIas aua Ywpas
A \ , \ ,
AVMALHOMEVOS AUTOY KAL EKKOTTOY TA Kowpia,
, id a) é \
KaTacTpepomevos TOES, dvartauBavev Tovs pe-
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3 N b] ? e \ € / \
aderhous avayopevovTes avtovs “Pwpaiwy Kat
, a / ‘ a
Tiuwpevor StamrpeTms, TOTE O€ TOLS aToaTAaTALS
\ a f a
Tpooryevomevot Toddny tH Katoapos atpatia
f a
TepteaTnoav abupiay. dtomrep Kat Kuvijoas éxeilev
\ ,
urepéBare ta Acyyovutrd, Bovropevos trpracbar
fo la) , b) \ le)
THS Unkovavev hirov Ovt@v Kal TpoKELLéerov THS
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"Iradtas mpos tiv dddnv Vadatiav. évtadda &é
n la) / f \ s
QUT@ TOV TOAELLMOY ETLTETOVTMOV Kal TEpLaXOV-
n e /
TWOY pLUpLdoL TrOAAaLS, Opncas Staywvicacbat
aw A f
Tots Mev OdOLS KATATONELaY EKXpPaTHGE, YXpoVvM
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TOAXW Kat hovw KataBracapevos tovs BapPBa-

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pous, €do0ke dé Kat apyds Te kal ofarivat, Kal
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auTos vaTEpoy EmEedLtace, Kal TOV ditwy KaGereiy
f > ‘
KENEVOVT@V OUK ELACED, LEPC NYOUMEVOS.
sabe, eat ‘ \ / n
NXXVIT. Ov pny adra Tote TOV Stahvyortwv
e A \ nw
ol TEtoTOL pEeTa TOU Lactréws els TOALY ’AXD-
, , \ an i7 5
olay cuvepuyov. Kal ToALopKouvTL TavTnv Kai-
506
CAESAR, xxvt. 2—xxvil. I

he had previously come, and by the vigour and speed of his passage in so severe a winter showed the Barbarians that an unconquered and invincible army was coming against them. For where it was incredible that one of his messengers or letter- carriers could make his way in a long time, there he was seen with his whole army, at once ravaging their lands and destroying their strongholds, sub- duing cities, and receiving those who came over to his side, until the nation of the Aedui also entered the war against him. These up to this time had called themselves brethren of the Romans and had been conspicuously honoured, but now, by joining the rebels, they caused great dejection in Caesar’s army. In consequence of this Caesar removed from those parts and passed across the territory of the Lingones, wishing to reach the country of the Sequani, who were friends, and stood as a bulwark be- tween Italy and the rest of Gaul. There the enemy fell upon him and surrounded him with many tens of thousands, so that he essayed to fight a decisive battle. In the main he got the best of the struggle, and after a long time and much slaughter over- powered the Barbarians ; but it appears that at first he met with some reverse, and the Arverni show a short-sword hanging in a temple, which they say was captured from Caesar. When Caesar himself saw it, at a later time, he smiled, and though his friends urged him to have it taken down, he would not permit it, considering it sacred.

XXVII. However, the most of the Barbarians who escaped at that time took refuge with their king in the city of Alesia. And while Caesar was besieging

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

capt doxovaav avaAWT ov eliat peyebet TE TELY OV
Kat wANOE TOV ATOLAXO EVV emUTLMT EL TAVTOS
Noryou peter KivOvvos eEwbev. oO yap iw ev

Varatia KpaTLaTov arto Tov €Ovay cOporaden, € €v
OTAOLS HKOV emt ™yv ‘Adqoiay TpLaKovTa pLupl-
ddes ai & év auth TOV [a Xopeveov ovK ehaTTOoveEs
Hoav énraxaidera pupiddov, MOTE EV peow Toné-
pov Tocovtov tov Kaicapa KATELANMLMEVOY Kal
ToLopKoUpevoy dvaryxac iva ditra TeX ™ po-
BarécOat, To pev 7 pos THY TONY, TO be amo TOV
émeAnrvOoT@v, ws, ef orvvédOotey ai duvapess,
KOMLOn Seamrem pay Levey TOV Ka aurov.
Ata TOANG Lev ov ELK OT OS 0 pos "Adrnala
KiVOvVOS & éaxe do£ar, as Epya TOApNs Kal Sewvory-
TOS ola TOY add oov CY OVov oveels TAPATXOMEVOS,
partota Oe av Tis Oavpacete TO AaOELV TOVS ev TH
TONEL Kaicapa TOTAUTALS pupiact Tats efo Up
Barovta Kal _ TE pUryevOpEvOY, padrov d€ Kal TOV
‘Popaiwv TOUS TO 7 pos Th TONE TELXOS pudar-
TovTas. ov ap ™ potepor no Povto THY viKny 7
KravO pov éx THs ’AXnaias avdpav Kal KoTeTOv
yuvark ov axovo Onvat, Geacapevov dpa Kata Oa-
Tepa pep) TOANOVUS [EV aPYULO Kal UXpue® KEKO-
TUNLEVOUS Oupeous, Torhous 6€ aipate mepup-
JEVOUS Jopaxas, éTt © EXT OpAT Kal oxnvas
Taratixas vo Tov ‘Pwpaiwy eis TO oTpaTOoTrEdoV
Kopifopevas. ovTws o€éws TocavTnH dvvapis,
OaTrep ElOwAOV y ove(pov, npavic ro Kat d.eTre-
popnto, TOV TrELaT OD év TH LaXn TET OVTMD. ol
dé THY ‘AXnaiav exovTes OUK OALYya Tparypara
TapacxovTes éavtots kal Kaicape tédos trapé-
508

CARSAR, xxvi. 1-5

this city, which was thought to be impregnable by reason of the great size of its walls and the number of their defenders, there fell upon him from outside the city a peril too great for words to depict. For all that was mightiest among the nations of Gaul assembled and came in arms to Alesia, three hundred thousand strong; and the number of fighting men inside the city was not less than a hundred and seventy thousand. Thus Caesar, caught between so large hostile forces and besieged there, was com- pelled to build two walls for his protection, one looking towards the city, and the other towards those who had come up to relieve it; he felt that if the two forces should unite his cause was wholly lost.

For many reasons, then, and naturally, Caesar’s peril at Alesia was famous, since it produced more deeds of skill and daring than any of his other struggles; but one must be amazed above al] that he engaged and conquered so many tens of thousands outside the city without the knowledge of those inside, nay more, without the knowledge even of the Romans who were guarding the wall that faced the city. For these did not learn of the victory until the wailing of the men in Alesia and the lamentations of the women were

heard, as they be- held in the quarters of the enemy many shields adorned with gold and silver, many corselets smeared with blood, and also drinking cups and tents of Gallic fashion carried by the Romans into their camp. So quickly did so great a force, like a phan- tom or a dream, disperse and vanish out of sight, the greater part of them having fallen in the battle. Those who held Alesia, too, after giving themselves and Caesar no small trouble, finally surrendered.

5°09

PLUTARCR'S LIVES

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\ v4
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Sia TOV TWUABY? Kal KUKAwW Tepi TOV Kaicapa
t 9 - 95 b , nw (vf
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\ \ a ' 4 ' \ \ /
Thy pev TavoTriav aTéppiev, autos 5é cabiaas
fal 7
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4 , 3 N \ /
TmapesoOn dpovpnacpevos ert tov OpiapBov.
XXVIII. Kaicaps 6€ wadrat pév édéb0xK70 Kata-
" f J aA
Avery Iloprniov, @omEep apédet KaKEiV@ TODTOY:
K , \ 5) im 7 6 5] x X60 a 9
paacov yap év IlapOois amodwAoTos, d5 Hv
Epedpos audoty, amedeiteTO TO pev vTep TOD
\ y a
yevéeoOat peyioT@ Tov dvTa KaTadvely, TO é, iva
aA a a a
pn TaOn TOdTO, Tpoavacpety ov edEdoixer. TOUTO
of. \ ? / n
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¢ n /
Téws UTEpop@VvTe Katoapos, ws ov YaXrerov épyov
a eae " a / e > ' a
Ov autos nvEnce KatadvOjvas Tardy UT avTod,
a " , ,
Kaiocap 5€ am' apxns brobecw tavtTny Twemro.n-
BEeVvOS, ATO TOV avtaywvicTav woTeEp aOANTHS
\ "~ a

EQUTOV UTOTTICAS paKpav Kat TOis KeAtiKois éy-
\ \
YUULVATALEVOS TOAEMOLS ETIjTKHTE meV THY SUVA-
‘ N aA
puv, nvénoe S€ tHv dokav, amo TaV épywy ets
brs of. /
avtimanrov apbeis tois Lloumniov catopOwpaci,
\ n oh
AauBdvev mpopdces Tas pev avtTov Tloumniou,
Tas € TOY Kalpav éevdidovTwy Kat THs év “Pon
> ¢
KaKoTroAtTeLas, OL ijv of pey apxYas peTlovTes éb
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péow@ Oéuevor tparrélas édéxalov avaicyvvTws Ta
, \ ¢ n
mr0n, Katner dé 0 Oijtos EuptaOos, ov r>AWrdots
510

CAESAR, xxvit, 1-XXVII. 3

And the leader of the whole war, Vergentorix, after putting on his most beautiful armour and decorating his horse, rode out through the gate. He made a circuit round Caesar, who remained seated, and then leaped down from his horse, stripped off his suit of armour, and seating himself at Caesar's feet remained motionless, until he was delivered up to be kept in custody for the triumph.

XXVIII. Now, Caesar had long ago decided to put down Pompey, just as, of course, Pompey also had decided to put Caesar down. For now that Crassus, who was only waiting for the issue of their struggle to engage the victor,! had perished among the Parthians, it remained for him who would be greatest to put down him who was, and for him who was greatest, if he would not be put down, to take off in time the man he feared. This fear had only recently come upon Pompcy, who till then despised Caesar, feeling that it was no hard task to put down again the man whom he himself had raised on high. But Caesar had from the outset formed this design, and like an athlete had removed himself to a great distance from his antagonists, and by exercising himself in the Gallic wars had practised his troops and increased his fame, lifting himself by his achieve- ments to a height where he could vie with the suc- cesses of Pompey. He laid hold of pretexts which were furnished partly by Pompey himself, and partly by the times and the evil state of government at Rome,? by reason of which candidates for office set up counting-tables in public and shamelessly bribed the multitudes, while the people went down into the forum under pay, contending in behalf of their

1 Cf. the Pompey, lili. 6. 2? Cf. the Pompey, chapter liv.

birép TAU SedwKOTOS, ANAG To£ os Kal Eupect Kal
opevdovats GpUXNO[EVOS. aipate dé Kal vex pots
TONNKes alo xuvavTes TO Pha dtexplOnoay, d avap-
xia THY TOALD Oomrep axuBéepyntov vad" UT og epo-
pevny dm OMT OVTES, OTE TOUS vodV exovTas arya-
Tav €l TPOS MNOEV AUTOLS xelpor, ada povapytay
ex TOLAVTNS Tapahpos wns Kal TOTOUvTOV KrNvSw-
vos EKTETELTAL TA TPAYLATA. TOAXOL Oé aap ot
Kal Néyety ev pécw TOALOVTES On TWANY UvTO
povapxias avnkea TOV elval THY ToNTELaD, Kal TO
pappaxov TOUTO XpiHvat TOD TpaoTaToV THY ta-
T POV dvacxéeo Oat 7 pos PEepov7os, uTrodnhoby tes
tov Llopmiov. ézret be KAKELVOS Roy Tapauret-
cOat kad opevos Epy@ TavtTos paAXov ée7é-
pawev e& wv dvaderx Ono 0170 duxTaTwp, Tupuppo-
VATAVTES ot mept Katova metBouat TH yepovolay
Umatov avtov atodetEat povon, @S 1) Budoatto
SuKTATOP ryever Gat, VOMIMOTEDG povapxXia Tapn-
yopn Gets. ot 6€ Kal _Xpovov éreynpicavro TOV
eTmapX Lav: dvo dé elyen, TBnptav Kat AtBuny
cupmacay, as Stw@icee m peo BevTas amroo TEhKov
Kai oT PATEVATA tpépov, ols eXapBavev €x TOU
Snpoctou Tap.tetov yYilta TddXavtTa Kal? éxacrov
evlauTov.
DOS OG ‘Ex TOUTOU Kaicap umateav eur'aTo
TEMT OY: Kal Xpovov Omotws TeV ldtwv emapxian.
TO [eV OUP T™p@Tov Tloumniou CLWTAVTOS Ob rept
Mapxedov Kat Aévthov nvavTLoovTo, peo oovT TES
adirws Kaicapa Kat Tots avayKatols OUK avay-
Kata T poor evtes ELS arepiay avTou Kab 7 po-
myrakiopov. Neoxwpitas yap évayyos vo
! yaw supplied by Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske.

512

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CAESAR, xxvii. 3-xx1x, 2

paymaster, not with votes, but with bows and arrows, swords, and slings. Often, too, they would defile the rostra with blood and corpses before they separated, leaving the city to anarchy like a ship drifting about without a steersman, so that men of understand- ing were content if matters issued in nothing worse for

them than monarchy, after such madness and so great a tempest. And there were many who actually dared to say in public that nothing but monarchy could now cure the diseases of the state, and that this remedy ought to be adopted when offered by the gentlest of physicians, hinting at Pompey. And when even Pompey, although in words he affected to decline the honour, in fact did more than any one else to effect his appointment as dictator, Cato saw through his design and _ per- suaded the senate to appoint him sole consul, solac- ing him with a more legal monarchy that he might not force his way to the dictatorship. They also voted him additional time in which to hold his provinces; and he had two, Spain and all Africa, which he managed by sending legates thither and maintaining armies there, for which he _ received from the public treasury a thousand talents annually.}

XXIX. Consequently, Caesar canvassed by proxy for a consulship, and likewise for an extension of time in which to hold his own provinces. At first, then, Pompey held his peace, while Marcellus and Lentulus opposed these plans; they hated Caesar on other grounds, and went beyond all bounds in their efforts to bring dishonour and abuse upon him. For instance, the inhabitants of Novum Comum, a

1 Cf. the Pompey, lv. 7.

Ses

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Katcapos eV Tarartia KAT@KLO [LEVOUS adn pobvTo
THS ToAtTEelas: Kal Mapiedros uTaTevwy eva
Tov eéxet Bovrevtav ets "Pouny adsxopevor
nKLoTO paPdos, émtdéyov ws TAaDTAa TOD 41)
'Pwpatoy eivar wapaonua tmpoctiOnow avTa,
kal Oetxvverv amtovta Katoape éxédXeve.' peta
dé Mapxedrov, 69 Katoapos tov Tadatexov
TAovTOY apvecOat pudnyv aderKoTos Tact TOS
ToAtTevonevats, Kal Kovpimva pév Snuapyodyta
TOAAM@Y ElEevVepwcavTos davetwr, LlavAw dé UTTA-
TevovTt yihia Kal TevTaKOcLa TadaVTAa SoVrTos,
ad av Kal THY Bacrhixny exeivos, ovopac Tor
avaOnpa, TH ayopa T POT EKO LNTEV avTl TIS
DovdBias oixoSopnetcar, ovUTw 67 poBndets Thy
avotacw o Llopmnios avadhavdov on dv éavtod
Kal TOV pirov eT paTTEy amosexOjvat buadoxov
Kaicape TIS apxis, Kat MELT OY ar yt TOUS
TTPATLOTAS ous EXPN EV avr mpos Tous Kea-
TLKOUS dyavas. O b¢ AT OT ELT El, Swpnadpevos
Exaatov dvdpa (TEVTIKOVTO. Kal drakootass dpax-
pais. Ol O€ TOUTOUS Toparnie Kopicavres ELS ee
TO TANHOOS OvK émvericets ovoe XpnaTrous Karé-
ometpav oyous vireo tov Katcapos, avtov 6é
Tloumniov édrior xevais duépOerpav, ws troGov-

pevov vmo THs Katoapos otpatias Kal ta pep
evTavOa da Govoy TOMTELAS, UmoUNou Hos
EXOVTa, THS 6€ éxel duvd LEews Erouuns vmapyou-
ONS aVT@, Kav peovov umepBddwow ELS ‘Iradiay
evOus ésopévns pos éxetvov: oTwS ‘yeyovévat TOV
1 So Coraés and Bekker with the MSS.; Sint.? corrects to

KEAEVEL,

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CAESAR. vxx1x. 2-4

colony recently established by Caesar in Gaul, were deprived of citizenship by them; and Marcellus, while he was consul, beat with rods a senator of Novum Comum who had come to Rome, telling him besides that he put these marks upon him to prove that he was not a Roman, and bade him go back and show them to Caesar. But after the consulship of Marcellus, Caesar having new sent his Gallic wealth for all those in public life to draw from in copious streams, and having freed Curio the tribune from many debts, and having given Paulus the consul fifteen hundred talents, out of which he adorned the forum with the Basilica,! a famous monu- ment, erected in place of the Fulvia,—under these circumstances Pompey took fright at the coalition, and openly now, by his own efforts and those of his friends, tried to have a successor appointed to Caesar in his government, and sent a demand to him for the return of the soldiers whom he had lent him for his Gallic contests.2 Caesar sent the soldiers back, after making a present to each man of two hundred and fifty drachmas. But the officers who brought these men to Pompey spread abroad among the multitude stories regarding Caesar which were neither reasonable nor true, and ruined Pompey himself with vain hopes. They told him that Caesar's army yearned for him, and that while he was with difficulty controlling affairs in the city owing to the disease of envy which festcred in the body politic, the forces in Gaul were ready to serve him, and had but to cross into Italy when they would at once be on his side; so obnoxious to

1 The Basilica Pauli Aemilii, called also Regia Pauli. It took the place of the Basilica Acmilia et Fulvia, erected in 179 B.C. * See chapter xxv. 1]

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

i , A S ? a \
Katocapa rAnder otpater@v AUTINPOY avTOIs Kai
5 ye} ; , (v4 J . Ul Il
gdofw povapyias viromtoyv. emt tovtos Llop-
TnHiOS EXAVVOUTO' Kal TrapacKeuns pev nwéret
a \
aTpatiwtav, ws un Sedotx@s, Noyous b€ Kal yvo-
pals KaTeTroXLTEveTo TO Soxety Kaicapa, Kxata-

WndiComevos wv éxetvos ovdev éppovtifev? adda
A > a
Kal NéeyeTat Tiva TOV adiypévwvy Tap avToU
Ttakidpywv éot@ta mpo tov Bovreuvtypiov Kai
/ ,
mu0opevoy ws ov dSidwatv » yepovoia Kaicape
a aA >
Ypovoy Ths apyhs, “’AXN abrn” hava “ doce,’
/ A \ \ a
KpovoavTa TH Kelpt THY NaABHY THS paxaipas.
XXX, OU pay ard’ 4 ye mapa Kaicapos
4 , A
akiwmalts TO mpocynpa THs dtKatoroyias Aaptrpov
5 ? , \ b / / Led
elyev. n&lov yap autos te catabéoba Ta btha,
of N
kat Lloumrniov tavto mpakavtos apdotépous
LOLWTAS YEvoevoUs eEvpioxedlai Te Tapa TH
a ,
TokuT@Y ayabov, ws Tovs avTov perv apatpov-
4 > id \ A ic aA ?
pévous, éxeirw Oe Hv eiye BeBatodvtas Svvamuir,
4 ? 4 / f
érepov dtaBaddovtas ETEepov KatacKevadley TUpav-
aA , 9 A / ?
2 voy. Tavta mpokadovpevos €v TO Snuw Koupiwr
\ / 9 a lal Cd
uTép Katoapos éxpotetro Napmpas: of dé Kal
9 Q\ ¢ wn
otepavous ém avtov wamTep aOXnTHY avOoBorovv-
’ f > , \ cal ,
tes nhiecav. “Avtavios dé dnnapyav Kaicapos
UTép ToUT@Y emtaTOAHY KomlaOeiaaY Eis TO TAH-
9 - \ b] L a aA ¢ te > \
Bos eEnveyxe Kal aveyyw Bia tov UTaTwv. év &é
A a / \ e of.
7h BovrAn Sxntiwv pev o Topmrniov evOepos
1 Cf. the Pompey, Iviii. 2.
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CAESAR, xxix. 4-xxx. 2

them had Caesar become by reason of the multi-
tude of his campaigns, and so suspicious of him

were they made by their fear of a monarchy. All this fed Pompey's vanity, and he neglected to provide himself with soldiers, as though he had no fears; while with speeches and resolutions of the senate he was carrying the day against Caesar, as he supposed, although he was merely getting measures rejected about which Caesar cared naught. Nay, we are told that one of the centurions sent to Rome by Caesar, as he stood in front of the senate-house and learned that the senate would not give Caesar an extension of his term of command, slapped the handle of his sword and said: " But this will give it." 1

XXX. However, the demands which came from Caesar certainly had a striking semblance of fair- ness. He demanded, namely, that if he himself laid down his arms, Pompey should do the same, and that both, thus become private men, should find what favour they could with their fellow citizens; arguing that if they took away his forces from him, but confirmed Pompey in the possession of his, they would be accusing one of seeking a tyranny and making the other a tyrant. When Curio laid these proposals before the people in behalf of Caesar, he was loudly applauded, and some actually cast gar- lands of flowers upon him as if he were a victorious athlete. Antony, too, who was a tribune, brought before the people a letter of Caesar's on these matters which he had received, and read it aloud, in defiance of the consuls. But in the senate, Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey,? introduced a motion

2 Pompey had married Cornelia, the young widow of Publius Crassus (Pompey, lv. 1).

, , A A a
ELONYYTATO YVOL_UNVY, Av eV HUEPA PNHTH pty KaTAa-
O@ntat ta GTA Kataap, amodeyOjvat Torépmtov
avtov. épwrovtTwy dé Tov Urdtwy e& doxet ILop-
eo wn \ a
mniov abelvat TOUS oTpaTL@Tas, Kal Wat, et
a a > f A
doxei Kaicapa, Th pev orgLyot Tavtatact, TH Oé
5] , f a
TuvTes Tap OAlyous mpocéevto' tTav Sé Tepl
>) , 4 > 4 > f \ >
Avto@vioyv wad akiovvtwy audotépous Thy ap-
nw f e lal
yy adbetvalt, TAaVYTES OMAXNWS TpocEXMpnaay.
f f , n
aNXG exBialouéevov Lentiwvos, Kat Aévrrov Tov
e , a er a" \ w ,
vTatov BowvTos oTXwy deity pos avdpa ANoTHD,

\
od Wijdav, ToTe wev SteAVONnaay Kal peTeBdNovTO
a \
Tas éoOAtas érl wévOet Sta THY oTdowv.
rx<tr \ 4
XXXI. ’Ewel 6€ mapa Kaicapos jxov ém-
4 / } A > Ges N 3 \
oTo\at petpiavery Soxovytos (nktov yap adels
A fe
Ta ddXa Tavta THY évtos “AXmewv Kal 70 IAXv-
\ N a 4 > nn A
pexoy peta duely Taypatwv avT@ Soljvat, péxpe
4 / ,
od tiny devrépay brrateiav ywéTetot), Kal Kixéowv 6
ee? ” \ > f \ \
pyt@p apte twapwv ex Kidrsxias cal d:adr\ayas
4 b f N foe e \ >
mpaTtoy éudratre Tov Lloumniov, o &€ Tada
fal \ /
TVYXOPaY TOUS aTpaTLWTas adype. Kal Kixépwv
\ ” \ / , ,
pev émetOe tovs Katcapos dtrovs avvervdovtas
val > / 4 Mi
éml Tais elpnuévais eTTapyiats Kal oTpaTi@Ttats
, a \
povars e€axtoytrors TroteicPar tas Starvcess,
A , ,
Tloprniouv d€ Kaumropévov Kat didovtos ot rept
/ \ ral
Aévthov ovk eiwy vTaTevovTes, AXXA Kal THs
a ’ / \ / ,
Bovrys “Avt@viov cat Kovptwva mporndaxicar-
, \
tes €&)Nacay atipws, THY evmperrectatny Kai-
capt Tov Tpohacewy avTol pnyavnodpuevor, Kal
\ ,
du 15 wpadtoTa TOS oTpaTLWTAas TrapwEUVED, érTt-
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CAESAR, xxx. 2—xxXxI. 2

that if by a fixed day Caesar did not lay down his
arms he should be declared a public enemy. And

when the consuls put the question whether Pompey should dismiss his soldiers, and again whether Caesar should, very few senators voted for the first, and all but a few for the second; but when Antony again demanded that both should give up their commands, all with one accord assented. Scipio, however, made violent opposition, and Lentulus the consul cried out that against a robber there was need of arms, not votes; whereupon the senate broke up, and the senators put on the garb of mourning in view of the dissension.

XXXI. But presently letters came from Caesar in whieh he appeared to take a more moderate position, for he agreed to surrender everything else, but demanded that Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum to- gether with two legions should be given him until he stood for his second consulship. Cicero the orator, too, who had just returned from Cilicia and was busy with a reconciliation, tried to mollify Pompey, who yielded everything else, but insisted on taking away Caesar's soldiers. Cicero also tried to persuade the friends of Caesar to compromise and come to a settlement on the basis of the provinces mentioned and only six thousand soldiers, and Pom- pey was ready to yield and grantso many. Lentulus the consul, however, would not let him, but actually heaped insults upon Antony and Curio and drove them disgracefully from the senate,! thus himself contriving for Caesar the most specious of his pre- texts, and the one by means of which he most of all incited his soldiers, showing them men of repute

1 January 7, 49 B.c,

Serxvupevos avdopas éARorvyiwous Kal adpxovras emi puro Otov Cevry av mepevyoras ev eo Ojow oiKxeTiKais. ovtTw yap a6 'Poyns cKevdcavtes eavtovs Sta hoPov vmeEnecay.

XXXII. *Hoav peév odv trepi avtov ov retous inméwy Tpiaxociwy Kal TEvTAaKLTYLNL@Y OTALTOV TO yap aAXO oTpUTevpLA Tépav "AXTewy aTo- heA|tHpeEvOV eweddov ageuv OL menpOevres. opay dé THY apxny @v évicTato m parywaTav Kal THY Epodoy ov ToAvyerpias Seomevny é€v TO Tapovre panrrov 1) Gap Bev Te TOALNS Kal TaXel Katpou Katadyn eay ovear, ex mA ery yap amtotov- [LEVOS paov uy Bracecbat pera TapacKeuns €Tend- dav, TOUS pev Hyepovas Kal TakuapXous éxéNeuce paxaipas eXovTas dvev T@V GAAwV OTAWY KaTA- oVelV "A pipwov THS Kedriiis peyadny TOLD, QS evoeyeTa padtora peroapevous g@ovov kal tapa-

XS; ‘Optyacig | d€ THY Suva pu Tapéduwxer.
AvTOs dé THy pev nuépav Sefer ev pavepa
povopayors eperTas yupvalopevoss Kal Gew@pevos®
puuKpov O€ ™ po eo mepas Jepamevoas TO Tapa Kal
Taped Oo els TOV dvdpava Kal _TUYYEVOMEVOS
Bpaxyéa Tois TapaKexdAnpévots em TO det7rvor,
non ovaKoTavovTos efaveorn, TOUS pev adXovs
prrodporn bets Kal KeNevaaS Tept every avrov Ws
eave eva opEvor, odiryous d€ TOY pirwv 7 poelpnto
11) KATA TO AUTO TravTas, AAXov bé AAA StMKELD.
avTos dé Tav pro Otov Ceuy av emi Bas EvOS ipauvev
érépav Tia ™p@rov odop, eita 7 pos TO A pipuvov
emiaTpewas, @S mprOev emt TOV SiopiSovta THY
évtos “AXrewy Tadatiayv ato ts adAns 'Itarias
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CAESAR, xxxt. 2-xxxil. 4

and high office who had fled the city on hired carts and in the garb of slaves. For thus they had arrayed themselves in their fear and stolen out of Rome.

XXXII. Now, Caesar had with him not more than three hundred horsemen and five thousand legionaries ; for the restof his army had been left beyond the Alps, and was to be brought up by those whom he had sent for the purpose. He saw, however, that the beginning of his enterprise and its initial step did not require a large force at present, but must take advantage of the golden moment by showing amazing boldness and speed, since he could strike terror into his enemies by an unexpected blow more easily than he could overwhelm them by an attack in full force. He therefore ordered his centurions and other officers, taking their swords only, and without the rest of their arms, to occupy Ariminum, a large city of Gaul, avoiding commotion and bloodshed as far as possible; and he entrusted this force to Hortensius.
He himself spent the day in public, attending and watching the exercises of gladiators; but a little before evening he bathed and dressed and went into the banqueting hall. Here he held brief converse with those who had been invited to supper, and just as it was getting dark rose and went away, after addressing courteously most of his guests and bid- ding them await his return. To a few of his friends, however, he had previously given directions to follow him, not all by the same route, but some by one way and some by another. He himself mounted one of his hired carts and drove at first along another road, then turned towards Ariminum. When he came to the river which separates Cisalpine Gaul from the

A N \
twotaunov (‘PovBikwy xadeitat), Kat oytapmos
>) ‘N > , ”~ > / wn a) A
avTov elayer paddAov eéeyyifovTa T@ Selva Kat
a / a /
Tepipepopevov TH peyeles THY TOAL@pmEVOD,
\ \ ,
Ex VETO Opopov' KAL THY TOpelay éTLaTHAGAS TOA-
\ ‘ > A 9 r A , a \ ,
Na MEV AUTOS EV EaUTO SujveyKe oLyHn THY yvoOunv
>] bf] 3 ? ¢ \ \ by 4
er appoTepa petarapyBavov, cat TpoTas éaxev
A /
avutT@ TOTE TO BovAevpa TWAEtaTAS: TOAAA 6é Kal
a - an e 5 ,
tov pirwv tois trapovow, wv Hv cat HWorNov
’ , , ’ / € ,
Agios, suvdintopyaev, avaroyilopevos 7 ALKwY
A an , ro
Kaxov apter Tacw avOpwras 7 bia8acis, doov
, a a if
Te Noyou auTis Tols avis amoreirovat. TédOs
a - a
dé weTa Pupod Tivos WaTEep AdeEls EaUTOV eK TOD
a \ \ A \ es \ \ \
NoytoLov Tpos TO MEAAOY, KAL TOUTO 67 TO KOLVOY
a ’ 4 ’ , ’ , ,
Tots eg TUXAaS é€uRatvovaly aTropous Kal TOAMAS
, ¢ , er , , >
Tpootp.ov UTretrov, “ AveppitbOw KuBos,” epunce
\ \ id ‘ td \ \ vw
mpos THV dtaBaoww Kat dpo“@ TO AoLTOV dN
’ , \ , ‘ ’
YPWMEVvos EloeTTETE TPO Huepas els TO Apipvov
\ 4 f \ a / \ na
Kai KaTegVE. R€yeTaL OE TH TMpoTépa vuUKTL THS
, 4 ’ a ” +9 7 \ 9o oN
d:aBacews bvap ideiv ExPecpov: éddKxer yap avTos
A A , \ 1d a
TH EAVTOD pNTPL piryvucBat THY AppyTor weet.

r Ir 7:
NXXIII. ’Evet d€ xaterypOn 7d ’Apipuvor,
/ Ley / ,
WaOTEp avewypmevou TOU TOhE“OU TAATELALS TUAALS
a ¢ a \ a
é7t Tacav onov THY ynv Kat Odraccary, Kat
a ef “ , a
TUYKEYUMEVMY Apa TOS Opals THS eTAapXLas TOV
a“ Yd /
VOMOV THS TOAEWS, OUK aVvdpas av Tis @HOn Kal
nn Yj ‘ , a
yuvaixas, BoTEp ANXOTE, aUY éxTTrAHEEL StaphorTav
fol x \ \
ths ItaXias, adda Tas TONES AUTAS dviaTaperas 724
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rest of Italy (it is called the Rubicon), and began to reflect, now that he drew nearer to the fearful step and was agitated by the magnitude of his ventures, he checked his speed. Then, halting in his course, he communed with himself a long time in silence as his resolution wavered back and forth, and his purpose then suffered change after change. For a long time, too, he discussed his perplexities with his friends who were present, among whom was Asinius Pollio, estimating the great evils for all mankind which would follow their passage of the river, and the wide fame of it which they would leave to posterity. But finally, with a sort of passion, as if abandoning cal- culation and casting himself upon the future, and uttering the phrase with which men usually prelude their plunge into desperate and daring fortunes, «‘ Let the die be cast,” he hastened to cross the river; and going at full speed now for the rest of the time, before daybreak he dashed into Ariminum and took possession of it.! It is said, moreover, that on the night before he crossed the river he had an unnatural dream; he thought, namely, that he was having incestuous intercourse with his own mother.”

XXXIII. After the seizure of Ariminum, as if the war had opened with broad gates to cover the whole earth and sea alike, and the laws of the state were confounded along with the boundaries of the pro- vince, one would not have thought that men and women, as at other times, were hurrying through Italy in consternation, but that the very cities had

1 Cf. the Pompey, |x. 1-2.

2 According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 7), Caesar had this dream while he was quacstor in Spain (67 B.c.). The inter-

preters of dreams told him that his mother meant the Earth, the universal parent, which was to become subject to him.

2 puyi Siapéperbar be ar} AOY, Ty dé ‘Popny
OaTep UT O pevpatov TT NA LEVNV puyais TOV
méput 67) Lov Kal peTaoTdcEoW, oUTE ap ovTe
TWeloat padtav ovcav OUTE oy Kabextny, év
TONG Krvoove Kab TAXM [LK POV amonurreiy au-
THY id’ avtis dvarerpidbau. 7adn yap aVTiTANa
3 Kal Biava KaTeixe KUN MATa WaVTA TOTIOV. OvUTE
14p TO Xatpov nouxiay YD, aXrAa TO SedorKxoTe
Kal AUTOULEVM KATA TOAAA GUT iTToY év pEeyarn
mode. Kal Opacuvopevov UTép Tov pédXOVTOS be
épidwyv tw, avtov te Lopumyiov éxmemAnypévov
ddAros GAANayobev ETAapaTte, Tots perv, wS NUENTE
Kaicapa xa? éavtod xal tis Hryepovias, evOvvas
UTexXorTa, TOY O€, OTL TapelKoVTA Kal T poretyo-
Wéevov evyv@povas duarvoets epnKxe Tots rept
4 Aevtov UBpioar, KATITYOPOVYT WD. Pawvios be
avTov éKéXeve TH TOOL KTUTELY THY Yyhv, érrel
MEyAANYOP@V TOTE TPOS THY GUYKANTOV oOvOEY ela
ToAvTpaypovely ovde ppovtTive éxeivous THS ert
TOV TOAEMOY TApagKEUTS’ AUTOS yap, OTaV érin,
Kpovaas TO €dados TH TOOL oTpaTevpaTwv ép-
mTrAnoew THY ITadiav.
5 Od phy adda Kai TOTE TANOEL SuVdpews UTrEpé-
Barnev 6 Llopmrnios thy Katcapos: elace & ovdeis
TOD avdpa xpicacbas TOUS éauTov hoya pois, ara
UT’ AYYEALATWOV TOAX@V Kal Yevdar Kal poor,
WS eperTOTOS 7100 TOD TOAEMOU Kal Tavra KaTé-
NovTos, elEas Kal cuverxpova Gets TH TAVTOV pope
wapiverar TAaPAYNY opay, Kal THY mohev éFéduTre
Kehevoas émrec Oat THY yepouciav, Kal pendéva,
pévewy TOV _Tpo Ths Tupavvidos ypnuévov tiv
matpiba Kat Thy édAevPeplar.
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risen up in flight and were rushing one through another; while Rome herself, deluged as it were by the inhabitants of the surrounding towns who were fleeing from their homes, neither readily obeying a magistrate nor listening to the voice of reason, in the surges of a mighty sea narrowly escaped being overturned by her own internal agitations. For con- flicting emotions and violent disturbances prevailed everywhere. Those who rejoiced did not keep quiet, but in many places, as was natural in a great city, encountered those who were in fear and distress, and being filled with confidence as to the future came

into strife with them; while Pompey himself, who was terror-stricken, was assailed on every side, being taken to task by some for having strengthened Caesar against himself and the supreme power of the state, and denounced by others for having permitted Lentulus to insult Caesar when he was ready to yield and was offering reasonable terms of settlement. Favonius bade him stamp on the ground; for once, in a boastful speech to the senate, be told them to take no trouble or anxious thought about preparations for the war, since when it came he had but to stamp upon the earth to fill Italy with armies.!

However, even then Pompey’s forces were more numerous than Caesar's; but no one would suffer him to exercise his own judgement; and so, under the influence of many false and terrifying reports, believing that the war was already close at hand and prevailed everywhere, he gave way, was swept along with the universal tide, issued an edict declaring a state of anarchy, and forsook the city, commanding the senate to follow, and forbidding any one to remain who preferred country and freedom to tyranny.

1 Cf. the Pompey, lvii. 5. an

XXXIV. Oi nev ody braTo. poe & VO{LOS. éoTl
mpo é&oduu Oucavres épuyov" epevyov dé kat TOV
Bovreutav ol TELTTOL, TpoToy Teva Ov dpraryiis
avo Tov idtey 6 te TUXOLEY WaTTED GAXOTPiOV
AapuBavovtes. cial 5é ol Kai cpodpa ta Kaicapos
npneevor mpotepoy e&émecov uTo OduBous Tore
TOV AOYiTLaV Kal cuuTapynvéxXOnoay ovdey Seo-
pevou TO pevpate THs popas éxeivys. olKTpoTaToY
dé TO Jéapa THS TOAEWS Vs em ube poievou TO-
gouToU NEL PLOVOS, @aoTep VEWS umro cuBepyntav
ATAYOPEVOVYTWY TPOS TO TUVTUYOV EKTETELY KOpt-
Copevyys. Gna KaiTep oUTW THS JLETATTATEWS OL-
KTpas ovens, THY pev puyny ol aOparot TaTpioa
64a Llourpiov yyoovTo, Thy oé ‘Popny os Kaica-
pos oTPATOTEOoY efeheuov" 6Trov Kal AaBunvos,
avyp €v Tots padwota iroes Kaicapos Kab
mT pea BevTNs yeyovas Kal cuynywvicpévos év TACL
mpoOupotata Tots Kertixots todéuous, TOT exel-
Vov aTOOpas APLKETO TT POS Lopmniov.
"ANAG TOUT Lev Kal Ta Xpynpata Kal Tas
amoaKevas dnérepwer 0 Kaicap: Aoperti¢n O€
NYOUPLEL | OTELPOY TpiadKovTa Kal KATEXOVTL Kop-
pivioy emeNeov TapearTpatoTedevaer. 0 6€ aTro-
yvous Ta Kal’ éautov nTnoE TOV LaTpoY oiKeTHY
ovTa happaxov' Kal NaBwv to doGev Emtev ws
TeOvnEopevos. met OALyor 5€ axovaas TOV K ai-
capa Cavpacrh Tee pirravOpwria Xphobae ™pos
TOUS Eah@KOTas, avTOS aiyr ov dre privet Kal THY

o€vtTnTAa TOD Bovhevparos TAT O. TOU & lat pood
Gappuvavtos auton, @S UTVv@TiKoY, ov Gavactpov,
TETWKOTA, TepLyapns avactas ame. Tpos Kai-
526

CAESAR, xxxtv. 1-4

XXXIV. Accordingly, the consuls fled, without even making the sacrifices usual before departure ; most of the senators also fled, after seizing, in a sort of robbery, whatever came to hand of their own possessions, as though it were the property of others. Some, too, who before this had vehemently espoused the cause of Caesar, were now frightened out of their wits, and were carried along, when there was no need of it, by the sweep of the great tide. But most pitiful was the sight of the city, now that so great a tempest was bearing down upon her, carried along like a ship abandoned of her helmsmen to dash against whatever lay in her path. Still, although their removal was so pitiful a thing, for the sake of Pompey men considered exile to be their country, and abandoned Rome with the feeling that it was Caesar’s camp.! For even Labienus, one of Caesar's greatest friends, who had been his legate and had fought most zealously with him in all his Gallic wars, now ran away from him and came to Pompey.

But Caesar sent to Labienus his money and his bag- gage; against Domitius, however, who was holding Corfinium with thirty cohorts under his command, he marched, and pitched his camp near by. Domitius, despairing of his enterprise, asked his physician, who was a Slave, for a poison ; and taking what was given him, drank it, intending to die. But after a little, hearing that Caesar showed most wonderful clemency towards his prisoners, he bewailed his fate, and blamed the rashness of his purpose. Then his phy- sician bade him be of good cheer, since what he had drunk was a sleeping-potion and not deadly ; where- upon Domitius rose up overjoyed and went to Caesar,

1 Cf. the Pompey, lxi. 4.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

capa, Kat haBov beEvav avis dueEerece T pos
TLopemniov. TAUTA ELS THY Popny aTraryyeXNOpeva,
Tous avOpatrous Hdious emrotel, Kal TWes huyovTeEs
aver Tpeyar.
eX Vee Once Kaicap TaD Te TOU Aopertou
oTpatiavy mapéd\aBe Kat Tovs adXovs, dcoUS EV
tais ToAcat Lloumniw otpatoroyoupévous Eplace
xkatarkaBwv. morvs b€ yeyovws 5n Kalb hoBepos
em aUuTOV ipauve Topmiiov. o O€ ovK edéfaro
THY Epodor, adr’ ets Bperrésiov duywv Tovs pev
VIaTOUS ™ poTepov ECTELNE peTa Suvd mews ELS
Auppaxtor, autos O€ Odin “you Uo tepov emeFovtos
Kaicapos éfémevoen, @S €v Tots Tept éxEtvou
pans optevors Ta Kal? éxaa Tov dnrwbnoerat.
Katcape 6€ Bovropev pev eves di@xewy dmropia

veav Hv: eis b€ THY “Pounv avéotpee, yeyovas
év nuepars éEnxovta Taans avatpwtt THs ItTaXtas
KUPLOS.
"Emel 6€ kal THv ToALW ebpEe adXov } TpOGeE-
doxa xabeat@aav Kat TOV aro Bounhs év auTy
TUXVOUS, TOUTOLS meV emeerkh, Kal OnpotiKa Ste-
NEXON, TapaKkarav avTous Kal pos Toprnjiov
drrooréxhew avopas emt cupBdcect mpeTovaats:
umynxovae & ovdeis, elite hoBovpevor Lopmniov
eYKATANENELLLEVOY, elTE [7 vouitovres otTw Kai-
capa ppovety, AXXr evTrpeTreta Loyeou xpijo Gat.
Too O€ Snpuapxov Meréddou K@AVOVTOS avrov éx
TOD aTrobeTav Xpypara hapBaverv Kab vojous
TLVaS TpopepovTos, oun épy TOV auTov Om hov Kat
VOLOV Katpov elvae' “ Xd dé ef Tots T PAT TOLEVOLS
dSucKoAaivers, vov pev extrod@y amie Tappnotas
5238

the pledge of whose right hand he received, only to desert him and go back to Pompey. When tidings of these things came to Rome, men were made more cheerful, and some of the fugitives turned back.

XXXV. Caesar took over the troops of Domitius, as well as all the other levies of Pompey which he surprised in the various cities. Then, since his forces were already numerous and formidable, he marched against Pompey himself. Pompey, however, did not await his approach, but fled to Brundisium, sent the consuls before him with an army to Dyrrhachium, and shortly afterwards, as Caesar drew near, sailed off himself, as shall be set forth circumstantially in his Life.! Caesar wished to pursue him at once, but was destitute of ships; so he turned back to Rome, having in sixty days and without bloodshed become master of all Italy.

He found the city more tranquil than he was expecting, and many senators in it. With these, therefore, he conferred in a gentle and affable manner,? inviting them even to send a deputation to Pompey proposing suitable terms of agreement. But no one would listen to him, either because they feared Pompey, whom they had abandoned, or be- cause they thought that Caesar did not mean what he said, but was indulging in specious talk. When the tribune Metellus tried to prevent Caesar’s taking money from the reserve funds of the state, and cited certain laws, Caesar said that arms and laws had not the same season. “ But if thou

art dis- pleased at what is going on, for the present get out

1 Chapter Ixii.

2 Caesar gives a summary of his speech to the senators in B.C. i. 32,
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PLUTARCHS ERY ES

yap ov OetTat Todepos' Stray b€ KaTdOwuar Ta
Oma cupBdacewy yevouévwyv, TOTE Taptwv Snpua-
ywyroes. Kal tTadta, édbn, “réyw THY €“auToU
Suxaiwy uplémevoss €uos yap & Kal OV Kal TAVTES
Gaous elAnha TOV Tpos eu“ée oTaciacdyTMY.”
tavta mpos tov MétedXov eiva@v eBudsle mpos
Tas Ovpas TOU Tamteiov, wy patvowevwv bé TOY
KNELOOY YarKels meTaTEeuWapevos exxoTTEw exé-
Nevey’ aves b€ evicotapévov tos MeréAXov Kat
TLVWY ETTALVOVYTO!, SLATELVAMEVOS NTTELANGEV ATTO-
KTEVELY AUTOV, El LN TAVAAaLTO TapevoxrAaDV. “ Kat
TouTo, édn, “‘melpaKlov, ovVK «ayvoeis OTL pmol
SuvtKovA@TEpov Hv elmeiy mpakat.” ovTos oO
AGyos TOTE Kal MéteAXOv arrenOety erroince KaTa-
Seicavta Kai Ta Adda padiws avT@ Kal TaYXéws
uTnpeTeiaOar Tpos TOV ToNELOP.
XXXVI. ’Eotpateve 6° ets “I 8npiav mporepov
éyvoxws tors wept Adpaviov Kat Bappwva Tlop-
aniov tpecPevtas exBareiv, cal tras éxel duva-
pels Kal Tas éTapyias Up avT@ Toinodpevos
ovTws ert Loumrniov éXavvev, undeva KATA VWTOU
TOV TONELLMY UTONELTOMEVOS. KLYdUVEvaAS 6é
Kal TO TOpaTt TOANAKLS KaT Evédpas Kal TO
oTpPAaT@ pdrtoTa Oia ALLOY, OVK aAVAKE TPOTEpPOV
Si@KwY Kal TWpokKadovmEevos Kal TreptTappevwr
Tous avdpas 7 KUptos Bia yevéoPar TOY oTpaToO-
Tédwy Kal TOY duvadpewv. ob 5é HYyEmoves WYOVTO
apos Iloparniov pevyortes.
XXXVI. “EaverOovta bé es “Popnw Kai-
capa Iletowy pév 0 mevOepos mwapexarer Tpos
llouwniov amoctédAayv avdpas vrép dadvoews,
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CAESAR, xxxv. 3-xxxvu. 1

of the way, since war has no use for free speech ;
when, however, I have come to terms and laid down
my arms, then thou shalt come before the people
with thy harangues. And in saying this I waive
my own just rights; for thou art mine, thou and
all of the faction hostile to me whom I have caught."
After this speech to Metellus, Caesar walked to-
wards the door of the treasury, and when the keys
were not to be found, he sent for smiths and ordered
them to break in the door. Metellus once more
opposed him, and was commended by some for so
doing ; but Caesar, raising his voice, threatened to
kill him if he did not cease his troublesome inter-
ference. "And thou surely knowest, young man,"
said he, "that it is more unpleasant for me to say
this than to do it." Then Metellus, in consequence
of this speech, went off in a fright, and henceforth
everything was speedily and easily furnished to
Caesar for the war.}

XXXVI. So he made an expedition into Spain,' having resolved first to drive out from there Afranius and Varro, Pompey's legates, and bring their forces there and the provinces into his power, and then to march against Pompey, leaving not an enemy in his rear. And though his life was often in peril from ambuscades, and his army most of all from hunger, he did not cease from pursuing, challenging, and besieging the men until he had made himself by main force master of their camps and their forces. The leaders, however, made their escape to Pompey.

XXXVII. When Caesar came back to Rome, Piso,
his father-in-law, urged him to send a deputation
to Pompey with proposals for a settlement; but

1 Cf. the Pompey, lxii. 1. * Cf. Caesar, B.C. i. 34-86.

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No

"Ioavpixos Se Kaicape XaprSopevos avTetTer.
atpebeus dé OuxTaTop t imo THs Bovrns duyddas Te
KATHYAYE, Kal TOV er 2UAAa Sua tuyna dvtav
TOUS maidas ETLTLMLOUS eroinae, Kal ceca bea
TLVL TOKOY éxougele Tous Xpewperreras, adrwv
TE TOLOUTWY iyaTO ToOALTEVLATwY OV TOANOY,
arn' év Huépais Evdexa THY pmév povapyiay atre-
Tdpevos, UTaTov 5€ avadet~as EauTOYV Kal Lepoui=
Nov Icaupixov, ei yeTo THs oTpaTetas.
Kal tas pév GddXas Suvapers xa" oddv éretyo-

pevos Tmaphrden, immets b€ exov hoydoas éGa-
Koatous Kal TEVTE TAaYLaTa, XEtu@vos év Tpomats
OvTos, io Tapeévou "Tavvovapiov pnvos (otros & ap
ein Llocesdeap A Onvaioss) apnKev els TO TEAAYOS*
kal S:aBarwv tov “lévioy "Opixov xai ’Ato\N-
viav aipet, Ta O€ Thoia Tad dr émepayev ets
Bpevtéctov ent TOUS VoTEpijcavTas TH mopeta
TTpaTLOras. or de axpe pev KAP odoy 7) oay, are
67 Kat TCP KLAKOTES non tots Tomar Kal T pos
Ta, TrION TOV TONLWDY AT ELPNKOTES, év aitials
etx ov TOV Kaicapa- “Tlot 69 Kal mpos ti mépas
nas obTOS O avip katabyaerac Trepipépav Kal
XPwopevos GoTeEp aTpuToLs Kal arpuxous piv ; Kab
oidnpos éfera pe Tras, kat Oupeod Tis éore
pedo é év Xpovep TOT OUT Kat OwpaKxos. ovod€e amo
TOY T Papa ov apa hovikerar Kaicap 6 OTL Ountav
pev dpxet, Ovnra &é TepvKapev mdaxew Kal ar-
ety; @pav d€ Yetwa@vos Kal TvevpaTos év OadadT-
™ Kkatpov ovee Oem BiafecOar Svratov: arn
OvUTOS mapaBddretat Kadatep ov SitwKwy ToAE-
pious, GANA hevywy.” ToLadTa NéyovTEs eTrOpEd-
53?

CAESAR, xxxvit. 1-4

Isauricus, to please Caesar, opposed the project. So, having been made dictator by the senate, he brought home exiles, restored to civic rights the children of those who had suffered in the time of Sulla, relieved the burdens of the debtor-class by a certain adjustment of interest, took in hand a few other public measures of like character, and within eleven days abdicated the sole power, had himself declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and entered upon his campaign.

The rest of his forces he passed by in a forced march, and with six hundred picked horsemen and five legions, at the time of the winter solstice, in the early part of January! (this month answers nearly to the Athenian Poseideon), put to sea, and after crossing the Ionian gulf took Oricum and Apollonia, and sent his transports back again to Brundisium for the soldiers who had been belated on their march. These,as long as they were on the road, since they were now past their physical prime and worn out with their multitudinous wars, mur- mured against Caesar. ‘ Whither, pray, and to what end will this man bring us, hurrying us about and treating us like tireless and lifeless things? Even a sword gets tired out with smiting, and shield and breastplate are spared a little after so long a time of service. Will not even our wounds, then, convince Caesar that he commands mortal men, and that we are mortal in the endurance of pain and suffering ? Surely the wintry season and the occasion of a storm at sea not even a god can

constrain; yet this man takes risks as though he were not pursuing, but fly- ing from, enemies.” With such words as these they

1 48 8.c. The Roman calendar, at this time, was much in
advance of the solar seasons. P
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2

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ovTo TXOALWS ELS TO Bpevréciov. ws 6€ er OovTes
eupoV GvnyALEVOV TOV Kaicapa, TAYU may av
peTaParovTes €xaxiCov EavTOVS mpodotas a aToKa-
AooVTES TOD avTOKpUaTOpOS, EKaKLCov O€ Kal TOUS
nryepovas: ovK eT TAX VVAVTAS THY mopelay. rea }-
Hevot 66 é emt TOV ax pov 7 pos TO mEAYOS Kal THv
"Harerpov dm ea KoTOUY Tas vads éd’ wv &ueddov
meparova bat T™ pos EXELVOD.
XXXVIII. ’Ev oe ‘ATod via Kaicap ov«
EY Ov aE Lopaxov THY pel eavtod Our ap, Bpa-
duvovans O€ Tis éxeiOev, GT OPOUPEVOS Kab TE puT a.
Gav, SElvov éBovrevae Bovrcuua, Kpuda Tm avTov
els mAOtoV éuBas TO péyeOos Owdexdakadpor a ava-
yOrvar ™ pos TO Bpevréctov, TIMKOUTOLS OTOAOLS
TELEX OMEVOU TOD TENUOUS UTO TOV mo May
VUKTOS ovv ecOnte Jeparrovtos eT LK PUWaHEVOS
évéBn, kal eataBarov éavTov Os TWA TOY mopy-
pednpeveoy novxate. tov 6€’ Awou Totapod TIP
vadv bropepovTes Ets Thy Garaccar, TI pev
Ew Ouvv avpay, i) Tapelye THVEKAUTO mept TAS
éxPoras yarayvny aTrwiotoa T Oppo TO a
TOUS mvevoas TEAL LOS 61a vUKTIS amo Peoe
7 pos dé THY TAN LUA THiS Gararrys Kab THY
avtiBas ow TOU KAUS@VOS dry piatvov 0 T OTAL0S,
Kea TPAXUS dpa Kai KTUTD peyary Kal oKAnpats
AVAKOTTOMEVOS divas, dTrOpos HV Bracivar TO
KuBepynty Kal peta Bahety exéXevae TOUS vaUTas
ws atTooTpéywy tov Trovv. aicBopevos &€ Oo
Kaicap avacerxvucw EavTOV, KAL TOD xuBepyntov
Aa Sopevos THS YELPOS ex Tem hay Lev ou 7 pos THY
owe, “"T00,” edn, “ yervate, ToApa Kat bédiOe

marched in a leisurely way to Brundisium. But when they got there and found that Caesar had put to sea, they quickly changed their tone and reviled themselves as traitors to the Imperator; they reviled their officers, too, for net having quickened their march. Then, sitting on the cliffs, they looked oft towards the open sea and Epirus, watching for the ships which were to carry them across to their commander.

XXXVIII. At Apollonia, since the force which he had with him was not a match for the enemy and the delay of his troops on the other side caused him perplexity and distress, Caesar conceived the danugerous plan of embarking in a twelve-oared boat, without any one’s knowledge, and going over to Brundisium, though the sea was encompassed by such large armaments of the enemy. At night, accordingly, after disguising himself in the dress of a slave, he went on board, threw himself down as one of no account, and kept quiet. While the river Aoiis was carrying the boat down towards the sea, the early morning breeze, which at that time usually made the mouth of the river calm by driving back the waves, was quelled by a strong wind which blew from the sea during the night; the river therefore chafed against the inflow of the sea and the opposi- tion of its billows, and was rough, being beaten back with a great din and violent eddies, so that it was impossible for the master of the boat to force his way along. He therefore ordered the sailors to come about in order to retrace his course. But Caesar, perceiving this, disclosed himself, took the master of the boat by the hand, who was terrified at sight of him, and said: “ Come, good man, be bold

pndév Kaicapa pépes Kat THY Kaicapos TUXMY

4 cupTrEovTaD. éXabovto Tov XELpuavOs ot vavTal, KL Tats KOT ALS EMpuvTes eBialovto Taon mpoOvuia Tov ToTapov. Os dé Av amopa, deEaPEVOS TONANHY Oadatrav Kal Kivduvevaas é€v T@ OTOPATL TUVEX@PNTE dra aKav TO xuBepyirn peTaBareir. aviovte b€ avT@ KaTa TOs ATHVT@V OL TTPATLOTAL, ToANd peppopevor Kal duo ravoby tes el pn TéTETTAL Kal ovY avTois {LOVOLS (Kavos Elvat yiKay, arr’ axOerat Kab TapaBarretar Sta Tovs aTovTas ws aTLaTa@Y TUS Tapovow.

XXXIX. "Ex TOUTOU KaTém hevoe pev >Avto-

VLoS ATO Bpevtectov Tas duvapes ayav: Oappy-
cas dé Kaicap Tpouxanretto Tloparniov iSpupevov
EV KANO Kal Nopnryovpevov éx TE yHS Kal OaXdarT-
TNS ATOXPOVTMS, avTos év ovK apOovars dtayov
Kat PX, borepov dé Kal a podpa Tea Gels
aTropla TOV dvayKatov. GAXa pifav Tiva KO-
TTOVTES Ol TTPATLATAL Kal yDakre pupavtes
2 mpocehépovTo. Kai mote Kal dvavrAacavTes é&
avThs aptovs Kal tais mpodvAaxkais T@V TroXe-
piwv emOpapovTes éSardov elow Kab Sveppimrouy,
eT UNE YOVTES OS, aype av) yh Toltavtas exhépn
pifas, ov TavoovTaL ToMopKobvTeEs Hopaaiov. 0
pévtoe Llopmnios ovTe TOS ApToUsS OUTE TOUS O-
yous ela touvtous éxpépecOar mpos TO mANOAos.
nOvwovy yap ol OTpaTLOTAaL, THY aypLOoTHTAa Kal
Thy aTafeayv TOV TOdELioV WoTrep Onpiwy op-
pw doves.
3 ’Ael O€ Teves mepl Tols épupace Tots Tloparniov payat omropabes éyiyvovto: Kai Tepinv wdaats oO

and fear naught; thou carryest Caesar and Caesar's fortune in thy boat.” ! The sailors forgot the storm, and laying to their oars, tried with all alacrity to force their way down the river. But since it was impossible, after taking much water and running great hazard at the mouth of the river, Caesar very reluctantly suffered the captain to put about. When he came back, his soldiers met him in throngs, find- ing much fault and sore displeased with him because he did not believe that even with them alone he was able to conquer, but was troubled, and risked his life for the sake of the absent as though dis- trusting those who were present.

XXXIX. After this, Antony put in from Brundisium with his forces, and Caesar was emboldened to chal- lenge Pompey to battle. Pompey was well posted and drew ample supplies both from land and sea; while Caesar had no great abundance at first, and afterwards was actually hard pressed for want of provisions. But his soldiers dug up a certain root, mixed it with milk, and ate it.? Once, too, they made loaves of it,and running up to the enemy’s outposts, threw the loaves inside or tossed them to one another, adding by way of comment that as long as the earth produced such roots, they would not stop besieging Pompey. Pompey, however, would not allow either the loaves or these words to reach the main body of his army. For his soldiers were de- jected, fearing the ferocity and hardiness of their enemies, who were like wild beasts in their eyes.

There were constant skirmishings about the forti- fications of Pompey, and in all of them Caesar got

1 Cf. Dion Cassius, xli. 46, 3.
E7Ci. Caesar, B.C, iti 48,

Katoap TANY plas, ev 7 TPOT NS peyarns 'yevo-
MeEVvNS exivouvevoev aToXécat TO TT PAaToTEdov.
opm niou yap 7 poa BudXovTos oveels E[ELVED,
adda Kal TAPPOe KATETLMTAAYTO KTELVOMEVOD,
Kal meph Tots AUTOV Napaxopace Kal TepeTeLyt-
opacw emir tov eLauVOMEvOL mpoTpomdony. Kai-
cap dé vravred lov ETELPATO Lev dvagtpepet
TOUS pevyorras, em épaive 6é oven, arr em hap
Bavopevou TOV onpetav aT eppimTouv ot Kopi-
Covtes, Mate Svo0 Kal Tpidxovta aPelvy ToUS
TOAEMLOUS. AUTOS bé Tapa pLKxpov HAOEV aTrofavely.
cvdpt yap peyir Kal popware pevyovTe map.
avTOV éTIBarov THY YKelpa pmévery ExEeAEVTE Kal
atpéherlat 7pos ToUs ToAEptous: o O€ pegTOS aY
Tapayns Tapa To Servoy émnpato THY pwaxatpav
ws Ka9rEopevos, bOaver 6€ 6 TOD Kaicapos trac-
TLoTHS aToKoas avTOv TOY pov. oOUTw 6€
dem éyvon TO Kad abrov Gore, é7rel Toparnios vm
evraPetas TLVvOs 7) TUXNS epye peyaho TENOS ovK
em éOnkev, AXA KabetpEas Els TOV Vapaka TOUS
pevyovras dvex@pnaer, cimev apa T pos TOUS
pidous ATLWV 0 Kaioap, x ~nuepov cay ") vinn
Tapa Tois ToNELLOLS min €l TOV vuxovTa elyov.
QAUuTOS 6€ Tapeh ay els THY oKnyny Kal KATAKXI-
Deis VUKTA TATOY éxelvny VLA POT AT I/D Surryaryev
év GTOpOLS Noyta pois, @s KaKds Eo TPATNYNKDS,
OTL KaL Ywpas emixetpevns Balcias Kal TOodEwV
evcatovwy tov MaxedomKxarv kal OertadrtKav,
€daas éxel Treplam@dgat Tov TrodEenov évTavda
cablélorro mpos OadatTn, vavepatovvT@y TOV
TONELLWY, TWOALOPKOUMEVOS TOLS aVvayKaio"Ls pad-
538

the better except one, where there was a great rout oi his men and he was in danger of losing his camp. For when Pompey attacked not one of Caesar's men stood his ground, but the moats were filled with the slain, and "others were falling at their own ramparts and walls, whither they had been driven in headlong flight. And though Caesar met the fugitives and tried to turn thein back, he availed nothing, nay, when he

tried to lay hold of the standards the bearers threw them away, so that the enemy captured thirty-two of them. Caesar himself, too, narrowly escaped being killed. For as a tall and sturdy man was running away past him, he laid his hand upon him and bade him stay and face about upon the enemy; and the fellow, full of panic at the threat- ening danger, raised his sword to smite Caesar, but before he could do so Caesar's shield-bearer lopped off his arm at the shoulder. So completely had Caesar given up his cause for lost that, when Pompey, either from excessive caution or by some chance, did not follow up his great success, but with- drew after he had shut up the fugitives within their entrenchments, Caesar said to his friends as he left them: 'To-day victory had been sa the enemy, if they had had a victor in command." ! Then going by himself to his tent and lying He he spent tice most distressful of all nights in vain reflections, convinced that he had shown bad generalship. For while a fertile country lay waiting for him, and the prosperous cities of Macedonia and Thessaly, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and had posted himself here by the sea, which his enemies controlled with their fects, being thus held in siege by lack of

1 Cf. the Pompey, Ixv. &.,
539
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Ne)

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Nov Tols OTOL ToALOpKaY. oUTw On piTTTAa-
cbeis Kal addnuwovycas mpos THY atopiay Kal
yaderoTyTAa THY TaporvT@V avicoTn TOV oTpaTOD,
éri Sentiwva mpoayew eis Maxedoviay éyvwkos:
yap émratacecOat Uoprniov Omrov paxettat
Ly Xopyyovpevos opoiwas ato THs Baratrys, 7)
Teptécer Oat pepovwpévov LKNTLMVOS.
XL. Todto thy lloumniov stpatiay émwhpe xat
TOUS TEPL AUVTOV HyE"ovas WS TTHLEVOU Kal Pev-
yovtos éyecGat Kaicapos. avtos péev yap ev-
haBas eixe opmijios avappiprar paxynv wept
TNALKOUTWY, KaL TAapecKevagpévos apioTa Tact
mpos Tov Ypovoy HEiov TpiBey Kal papaivery Ti
TOY TorEuLwy akpny Bpaxeiay obcav. 76 yap
TOL payiuwwotatov THS Katoapos duvapews éepr7rec-
piav pev elye Kal TOAMaY AyUTOTTATOY TOS TOUS
ayavas, év dé Tals wravats Kal Tals oTpaToTre-
delais Kal TeryouaxovrTes Kal vuUKTEyEpTODVTES
éLéxapvov bid yipws, Kal Bapeis Hoav 'Tots
TWLATL TPOS TOUS ToVOUS, dt acOEeveray éyKaTa-
NetTOVTES THY TpoOUmlay. TOTE bé Kal TL VOTHpLA
Aotpwades EXEYON, THY aToTiav THS d1aiTHS TotN-
TUMEVOY UPYnV, eV TH oTTpaTLA TrepipepedOat TH

Katcapos. Kal To péylotov, ovTEe yprpacty ép-
pOLévOS OUVTE TPOPHS EvTrOpaY ypovouv Bpayxéos
édoxer TEpt aUT@® KaTadvOrjoec Oat.
XLT. Ava tadta Tloprniov payecOar pn Bov-
opevov wovos ernver Katwy hecdolt Tay TodTaY’
540
—_

provisions rather than besieging with his arms. Thus his despondent thoughts of the difficulty and perplexity of his situation kept him tossing upon his couch, and in the morning he broke camp, resolved to lead his army into Macedonia against Scipio; for he would then either draw Pompey after him to a place where he would give battle without drawing his supplies as he now did from the sea, or Scipio would be left alone and he would overwhelm him.

XL. This emboldened the soldiers of Pompey and the leaders by whom he was surrounded to keep close to Caesar, whom they thought defeated and in flight. For Pompey himself was cautious about hazarding a battle for so great a stake, and since he was most excellently provided with everything necessary for a long war, he thought it best to wear out and quench the vigour of the enemy, which must be short-lived. For the best fighting men in Caesar’s army had experience, it is true, and a daring which was irresistible in combat; but what with their long marches and frequent encampments and siege-warfare and night-watches, they were beginning to give out by reason of age, and were too unwieldy for labour, having lost their ardour from weakness. At that time, too, a kind of pestilential disease, occasioned by the strangeness of their diet, was said to be prevalent in Caesar's army. And what was most important of all, since Caesar was neither strong in funds nor well supplied with provisions, it was thought that within a short time his army would break up of itself.

XLI. For these reasons Pompey did not wish to fight, but Cato was the only one to commend his course, and this from a desire to spare the lives
541

bs ye Kal TOUS TEOOVTAS év T ayn Tay TONE-
pov els x tALous TO TrA00s YEVOLEVOUS LOWY
amt nrNOev eyxaruypapevos Kal KaTacaxpvoas. ol
5 adroe mares ex anfov TOV Toparniov duvyoua-
xobvra, Kal Tapogvvov “Aya pepvova Kal Bacthéa
Pactéwv dmroxahowTes, OS én pn Bovdopevor
arrobéabat THY povapxiav, adr Grad opevoy
NYE HOVOY TooOUT@V éEnpTnméevav avrob Kab poe-
TOVTMY eT oKNUNY. Dawvrios 6€ THY Katwvos
Tappyolav vTroToLOvpEvos, paviKas e€ayeTAlalev
el noe THTES Ectar TOV Trept TovocKAdvoY «aTo-
Aatoat avxwy bia THV Hopaniov dirapxiav.
A ppavios dé (vewoti yap é& T8npias apixro
KAKOS oTparnyno as) draBarnopevos emt xPI-
pace mpododvar TOV orparoy, para bud Ti pos
>
TOV EWTOpov ov ptXovTat TOV €@v7 LEVOV Tap
avTov Tas éemapxias. ex TOUT@Y ATAVTWY TUVE-
Aavvopevos axwv els paynv o Lloumnios éywper
TOV Kaioapa SroKxev.
‘O b€ THY péev AAANY TopEiayv YaNETOas Hvucer,
ovdEeVvOS TAPEXOVTOS ayopay, UAAA TdaVTw@V KaTAa-
hpovovvtwy 1a THY evaryXOs NTT AY as 6€ ide
Doudous, Oeccarieny | Toy, ov /LOVOY eOpeve
THY oTparidy, GNA Kal Tou VOT NPATOS anjrhagte
TApAoyos. apbove yap evéTuXov oivw, Kal
TLOVTES aveday, elTa XPopevor K@LOL Kal Bax-
YEVOVTES AVA THY OOO”, éK pens dex povaavTo Kal
Tapnd\ArAalav To TaOos, eis EEwv Evépav Tols cwpact
[ETATEDOVTES.
XLIT. ‘Os 6€ efs tv Papoariayv éuBarovtes
aupoTepor KaTeotpatomédevaay, o pev Tloptrijios
542

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CAESAR, xu. 1—xLin t

of his fellow citizens ; for when he saw even those of the enemy who had fallen in the battle, to the number of a thousand, he burst into tears, muffled up his head,and went away. All the rest, however, reviled Pompey for trying to avoid a battle, and sought to goad him on by calling him Agamemnon and King of Kings, implying that he did not wish to lay aside his sole authority, but plumed himself on having so many commanders dependent upon him and coming constantly to his tent. And Favonius, affecting Cato’s boldness of speech, complained like a mad man because that year also they would be unable to enjoy the figs of Tusculuin because of Pompey’s love of command.! Afranius, too, who had lately come

from Spain, where he had shown bad generalship, when accused of betraying his army for a_ bribe, asked why they did not fight with the merchant who had bought the provinces from him.1_ Driven on by all these importunities, Pompey reluctantly sought a battle and pursued Caesar.

Caesar accomplished most of his march with diffi- culty, since no one would sell him provisions, and everybody despised him on account of his recent defeat; but after he had taken Gomphi, a city of Thessaly, he not only provided food for his soldiers, but also relieved them of their disease unexpectedly. For they fell in with plenty of wine, and after drink- ing freely of it, and then revelling and rioting on their march, by means of their drunkenness they drove away and got rid of their trouble, since they brought their bodies into a different habit.

XLII. But when both armies entered the plain
of Pharsalus and encamped there, Pompey's mind
1 Cf. the Pompey, lxvii. 3.

avirs els TOV apxatov avexpoveTo ovo pov THY
VoOuny, ere Kal pacparov OUK aiciwy 7 poayevo-
pévov Kat Ka? brrvoy dwews. €éd0Ker yap éauTov
opav év T@ Oedtp@ KpoTovpevoy vTO "Pawpaiwr,
... ot 6€ wept avTov oUTwH Opacets oav Kal TO
viKn pa Tais éATict TpoeeAnpores QTE pedor et-
Keiv ae THs Kaicapos apxtepwavvns Aopitiov
Kal LmivOhpa Kal Lantiova Sra pthhopevous an-
AyjAous, TET ELV dé ToONOUS els 'Popny pra Bov-
févous Kal TpokaTadapBavovTas olKias UTaTev-
ovcl Kat oTpaTnyovaw éreiTndetous, ws EvOdS
dpEovtes weTa TOV TOAEMOV. pdrtoTa bé éoda-
dalov ot immets ert THY MLaYNY NOKNLEVOL TEPLTTOS
OTA Aap poTnat Kal Tpopais immoy Kal KaN-
ree TMOPATOD, péeya hpovoovtes kat 51a TO TrIOOS,
emtaKiaxtheot POs YEALOUS TOUS Kaicapos ¢ OV TES.
Hv O€ Kal TO TOV TWECHY TAHOOS ovK ayY@padroy,
GNAG TETPAKIOpUpLOL KAL TrEVTAKLTYiNLOL TapeE-
TUTTOVTO Suc pupious Kal SuorxtAtors.
XLII. 'O 6é Kaicap TOUS OT pPATLOTas ovva-
yayov, Kal TpoeiTav ws dU0 pey AVT@ TaypaTa
Kopdivios ayov éyyis éotiv, adrat O€ Trevte-
Katdexa omeipar peta Karnvod xdOnvtac crept
Méyapa xai 'AOjvas, npwtnoev elite BovrovTat
TE PLLEVELV éxelvous, elTE AUTOL Svaxwouveboar
Kage EavTOUS. ol O€ dveBonoay Sedpevoe pn Te pt-
peeve, ara parnov, OT WS TaXLTTA cuviacw ELS
yvetpas Tots Todemlois, TexvalecOat Kal oTpa-

THyelv. Trocoumévw Sé Kabappov avT@ Ths duva-
1 The substance of what has fallen from the text here may

be found in the Pompey, Ixvili. 2. Sintenis brackets the sentence as an intrusion here from marginal notes.

reverted again to its former reasoning, and besides, there befell him unlucky appearances and a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that he saw himself in his theatre applauded by the Romans,... Those about him, however, were so confident, and so hope- fully anticipated the victory, that Domitius and Spinther and Scipio disputed earnestly with one another over Caesar's office of Pontifex Maximus, and many sent agents to Rome to hire and take posses- sion of houses suitable for praetors and consuls, assuming that they would immediately hold these offices after the war.! And most of all were his cavalry impatient for the battle, since they had a splendid array of shining armour, well-fed horses, and handsome persons, and were in high spirits too on account of their numbers, which were seven thousand to Caesar's one thousand. The numbers of the in- fantry also were unequal, since forty-five thousand were arrayed against twenty-two thousand.

XLIII. Caesar called his soldiers together, and after telling them that Corfinius? was near with two legions for him, and that fifteen cohorts be- sides under Calenus were stationed at Athens and Megara, asked them whether they wished to wait for these troops, or to hazard the issue by themselves. Then the soldiers besought him with loud cries not to wait for the troops, but rather to contrive and manoeuvre to come to close quarters with the enemy as soon as possible. As he was holding a lustration

1 Cf. Caesar, B.C. iii. 82 f.; Plutarch, Pompey, Ixvii. 5.
2 An error for Cornificius,

pews Kat Ovoavte 70 Mp@rov iepeiov ev us) Mayes
eppate T pee 7 PEp@V BaXN xpiOnoea bar T pos
TOUS TohEpious. €popevou dé TOU Kaicapos el
Kal mrepl Tov TéAOUS évopa TL TOUS Lepois eUonLov,
sf AvTos av," épy, " ov ToUTO BEXTLOY U vToKpivaco
TAUTO. poeyadny yap of Ocot wetaBornv Kal peTa-
TTOOW ent Ta evavTia TOV KadeoToTav Onoda,
Gore él pev ev TWpaTTEV NY ceauTov emt TO
Tapovre, THD Xelpova m™ poo 60Ka, TUXNY" él 0€ Ka-
KOS, TH dpeivova. TH 5€ 7 po THS paxns vurti
Tas purakas épodevovros avtov mepl 70 Heo o-
VUKTLOV OpOn Aapmas ovpaviov Tupos, iv vmEp-
evex Geloav TO Katoapos o7 pat oTredov AauT pav

Kal hroyoon yevopuevny eo€ev ets TO Tlopaniov
KATATETELD. ewOuviys d€ purakijs Kal TavLKoV
Tapaxov no Govto yeryvopevov Tapa TOUS TONE [LOLS
ov pay payelodal ¥¢ Kat éxelvnv TpoaedoKka THY
TLEpay, ara ws éml Yeotovacns odevwov ave-
Cevryvuev.
XLIV. ’Emel b€ tTav cenvdv dn KaTadedv-
peveov ot oKoTol T poo immevaay aUT@ TOUS TrO-
AEmious em waxy kataBaive arraryyéddovres,
Tepixapns yevopevos Kat TpooevEdpevos Tots Oeots
TApeTATTE THY parayya, THY Takw TpiTdAHy
Tov. Kal TOS pev perous emeo noe Kadivov
Aopitvor, TOV O€ KepaTov TO [ev elev "AvTwvios,
autos O€ TO beEtov, év TO dexdT@ Taypare HEADY
payer Oat. KaTa TOUTO dé TOUS TOV TOMpLOV
immrets dyTUTapaTarTopevous opay, Kal dedouxws
THY apm poTnta kal TO TrHGOS QUT@V, ATO TAS
eax aTns rafews adnrors exéhevoe meptehGetv POs
éavtov €& oteipas Kal KaToTLy éatyae TOU SeELOd, 729
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CAESAR, xin. 2 xiv. 2

and review of his forces and had sacrificed the first victim, the seer at once told him that within three days there would be a decisive battle with the enemy. And when Caesar asked him whether he also saw in the victims any favourable signs of the issue, ‘‘Thou thyself,” said the seer, “canst better answer this question for thyself. For the gods in- dicate a great change and revolution of the present status to the opposite. Therefore, if thou thinkest thyself well off as matters stand, expect the worse fortune ; if badly off, the better.’ Moreover, on the night before the battle, as Caesar was making the round of his sentries about midnight, a fiery torch was seen in the heavens, which seemed to be carried over his camp, blazing out brightly, and then to fall into Pompey’s. And during the morning watch it was noticed that there was actually a panic confusion among the enemy.! However, Caesar did not expect to fight on that day,? but began to break camp for a march to Scotussa.

XLIV. But just as the tents had been struck, his scouts rode up to him with tidings that the enemy were coming down into the plain for battle. At this he was overjoyed, and after prayers and vows to the gods, drew up his legionaries in three divisions. Over the centre he put Domitius Calvinus, while of the wings Antony had one and he himself the right, where he intended to fight with the tenth legion. But seeing that the enemy's cavalry were arraying themselves over against this point, and fearing their brilliant appearance and their numbers, he ordered six cohorts from the furthermost lines to come round to him unobserved, and stationed them behind his right

1 Cf. the Pompey, xviii. 3. 2 August 9, 48 B.c
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PLUTARCRH'S LIVES

/ a \ ~ 7 Cf a , €
didaEas & Xp ToLeiy OTAaV Of THY TOdEMiwDY bT-
~ 4 oe \
meis tpoopépwvtat. Uoprrajios d€ TO pev avTOS
3 al \ »] , “
elye TOV KEepatwv, TO 6 Evwvupov Aopitios, TOD
\ c , \ e¢ a
Sé pécou SKnwiwy hpxev o wevOEpas. ob 6€ tmmeEis
e Jaren \ ? \ ” e \ S
amavtes emt TO apictepov éBpicay ws TO deEvov
a {?
KUKAWOOMEVOL TOV Toreulwv Kal rNaApTpaV TreEpt
, 4 N \
AUTOV TOV NYELOVA TOLNTOMEVOL TPOTIHY: OVOEV yap
e a
avééEev Bados omrutexns parayyos, GANA oup-
\ , ~
tpivecOat kal katappakecOar Tavta Tois évav-
Tiols emt Borns Ga TOTOUTMY LTTéEwWY yEevomerns.
’Earel 6€ onuaive EuerdXov apporepor THY Epo-
. / fa)
Sov, Lloumrios pév éxéXevce TOUS OTALTAS ETTOTAS
év mpoBorH Kal pévovtas apapotws dSéyecOat THv
cal , A a
eTLOpopmny TOV Toenlwy, wéexpt av Vacod Boris
, a fa
évtos yéevovtat. Katcap 6€ kai Tepi tovTo dvapap-
a / /
Teiy dyow avtov, ayvoncavTa THv peta Spopou
A 3 a , B)
Kat popas €v apxyn ywopevny ocvppakiy, ws ev TE
“ al ,
tals wAnyais Biav mpoatiOnat Kal avvexkaies TOV
Ouyov éx mavtwy avappimitouevov. autos €
a ‘ 7 / \ wo \ 3 > +
Kively THY Padrdayya MEAXWY KAaL TpOtwY em Epyov
a ec oa a ,
non Tpa@Tov opa Tov Taktapywy davdpa TiaToVv
a / ,
auto Kal Todkéuwy EuTretpov, EmtGapavvovTa TOUS
@€ 4? Cpe \ 4 > ee ? n
ud avT@® Kal TpoKaNovpEvon els Aptdhrav adKjs.
a 3 ?
ToUTOY GvopacTt mpocayopevaas, “Té éArmi Soper,”

3 cc S is Toe K , \ a“ ,
eitrev, “@ Laie Kpacociue, cat mas tt Oapaous
” ait c oe K ? bd , \ } \
éyowev;” 0 6€ Kpacotvos éxteivas thy deEvav
, / ee 3) a
Kat peya Bonaas, “ Niexnoopev,” pn, “ \auTpas,
a a SN Se ~ / N f
® Kaicap> éué 6€ 7 Covta thmepov } TeOvnKoTa
3 Coal tal o~
emraivésels. TAUTA ELTOV TPATOS EuBAaArXrEL Tots
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CAESAR, xuiv. --6

wing, teaching them what they were to do when the enemy's horsemen attacked. Pompey had one of his wings himself, and Domitius the left, while Scipio, Pompey’s father-in-law, commanded the centre. But his horsemen all crowded to the left wing, intending to encircle the enemy’s right and make a complete rout about the commander himself; for they thought that no legionary array, however deep, could resist them, but that when so many horsemen made an onset together the enemy would be utterly broken and crushed.}

When both sides were about to sound the charge, Pompey ordered his legionaries to stand with arms at the ready and await in close array the onset of the enemy until they were within javelin cast. But Caesar says? that here too Pompey made a mistake, not knowing that the initial clash with all the im- petus of running adds force to the blows and fires the courage, which everything then conspires to fan. As Caesar himself was about to move his lines of legionaries, and was already going forward into action, he saw first one of his centurions, a man ex- perienced in war and faithful to him, encouraging his men and challenging them to vie with him in prowess, Him Caesar addressed by name and said: “ Caius Crassinius,? what are our hopes, and how does our confidence stand?” Then Crassinius, stretching forth his right hand, said with a loud voice: “We shall win a glorious victory, O Caesar, and thou shalt praise me to-day, whether I am alive or dead.” So saying, he plunged foremost into the enemy at full

1 Cf. the Pompey, |xix. 1-3 Seb sC oa oe.
3 In Caesar’s version of this episode (B.C. iii. 9] and 99), the name is Crastinus,
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

modeulots Spopw, TuveTTtaoTAaTaMEVOS TOUS TEpt
éauTov EKATOV KL elkooe \TPATLOTas. Siaxowas
dé Tous TpwrTous Kal Tporw Xopav pove TOAA®
Kab Bravopevos dvanomreTat Eiger TANYELS Sua
TOU OTOMATOS, MOTE KAL THY ALYMIY UTEP TO LvLoV
dvacyelv.
XLV. Otto be TOV areCov Kara TO peoov
TUppAryEvT@Y Kat HAXOHEVOD, aTO TOU KEPATOS ot
Top niov iT 1rets coBapas em NQUVOV els KUKO-
aw tod deftod Tas thas avayedpmevoe Kat TpLV
a mpoo Barely aUTOUS EKTPEYOUVTLY al oaTrEtpaL
Tapa, Katoapos, o ovX, wWaoTep Elw@lEecaV, aKov-
Tho Laat Xpwpevoe Tots Vaaois, ovdE peN]pous Tai-
OVTES EK XELpos 7 KUnLAS TOV TrohE Lion, adna
TOV Ovpewy eptepevor Kal Ta TpdowTa SUVTLTPO-
oKkovTes, UTO Katicapos Sedidarypevor TOUTO TOLELD,
érxmifovtos dvopas ov wodXa TroAguoLs oOvdE
Tpavpacty OpidyKoras, véous 6€ Kal KOM@VTAS
éTt KaXAEL Kal wpa, Hahiara Tas ToLaUTas
mryyas uTowerOas Kal pn peveir, Tov é€y T@
TapovTe Kivduvoy apa Kal thy adOts aioyvvnv
SedotxoTas. 6 81 Kal cuvéBaivev' od yap Hvei-
XovTo TOV vooay dvapepopevror, ovee erohwav
év opOar pots TOV atdnpov Op@VvTes, ANN’ aT EDT pe-
povro Kal TWEKANUT. TOVTO herdopevoe TOY Tpoc-
oTwY' Kal TéAOS OUTWs TapdEavTas EavTOUS
érpuTovTo evyety aloytota, AvpNVapEvoL TO
cuuTrav. evdus yap ot pev vevixnKoTes TOvTOUS
éxukAOUVTO TOUS TrEfOUS Kal KaTa VwTOU TpoodTi-
UTOVTES EXOTTOV.
Iloumyios 6€ ws Kxatetdev amo Gatepou tous

speed, carrying along with him the one hundred
and twenty soldiers under his command. But after
cutting his way through the first rank, and while
he was forging onwards with great slaughter, he was
beaten back by the thrust of a sword through his
mouth, and the point of the sword actually came
out at the back of his neck.}
XLV. When the infantry had thus clashed to-
gether in the centre and were fighting, Pompey’s

cavalry rode proudly up from the wing and deployed their squadrons to envelope the enemy's right; and before they could attack, the cohorts ran out from where Caesar was posted, not hurling their javelins, as usual, nor yet stabbing the thighs and legs of their enemies with them, but aiming them at their eyes and wounding their faces. They had been instructed to do this by Caesar, who expected that men little conversant with wars or wounds, but young, and pluming themselves on their youthful beauty, would dread such wounds especially, and would not stand their ground, fearing not only their present danger, but also their future disfigurement. And this was what actually came to pass; for they could not endure the upward thrust of the javelins, nor did they even venture to look the weapon in the face, but turned their heads away and covered them up to spare their faces. And finally, having thus thrown themselves into confusion, they turned and fled most shamefully, thereby ruining everything. For the conquerors of the horsemen at once encircled the infantry, fell upon their rear, and began to cut them to pieces.

When Pompey, on the other wing, saw his horse-

Cf, the Pompey, Ixxi. 1-3.

immets huyhn aKedacGévtas, ovuxéte vy 6 avTos ovd éuéuvnto Loumrnios ay Madyvos, adr' wrrd Qeod partota Prartopévo THY yoounv éoixas apBoyyos OXETO aTuay ert TKN, Kal xabe-Copevos éxapacoKer TO pedo", axpe ou TpomNs dard Tov ryevopierns em éBawvov 0 TONEMLOL TOU Xadparos Kal StemdovTo ™ pos TOUS purarrovras. TOTE 6é WaTEP €EVvYOUS 'YEVOEVOS, Kal TAUTHY povnv, os haat, dPwvnv adets, ' OvKodv Kal éri THY TapEe"BoANnV; aATredUcaTO meV THY évaywvLoY Kal otpatnyixny écO0ira, devyovte b€ 1wpémovcav petadaBov men Gev. aXX ovtos pey olats bo Tepov XpNg apLevos TUXALS OTWS TE Tapadous EQUTOY TOES Alyumtioss avopaow avnpéOn, dnrov-prev €v TOLS Trepl éxeivou Ypammacw.

XLVI. 'O o€ Kaioap @s é€y 7 Vapakl TOU

Toprniov ‘yevopevos TOUS TE KEL{LEVOUS vexpous
dn TOV ToNeuiwy ede Kal TOUS ETL KTELVOMEVOUS,
elev dpa orevagas: ** 'Tovto €BouvrnOnoay, els
TOUTO pe dvayKns vIrnyayovTo, iva Daios Kaioap
0 peyiotous Tohe Lous Kkatopbocas, ef Tponea pny
Ta oTpaTevpaTa, KAD KaTedinda On.” TAaUTa
ona TIloAAtwv ‘Aaivntos TA pryuata Popaiort
pev dvapbeyfac bat TOV Katcapa Tapa TOV TOTE
Kalpov, EDAnve Th 0 um’ avtou yeypap bar: TOV
d€ dn ofavovtoy TOUS Tela TOUS oixétas yevér Oat
wept THY Kararmy TOU YapaKkos avaipebévras,
TTpPATLOTAS d€ p41) WAELoUS eLaxiaXihov TECELW.
TO d€ Corto ddovT@v KaTéwsEe TOUS TELTTOUS
o Kaicap eis ta TaypaTa* ToANois dé Kal TOY
em upavav adecav EOWKED, ov Kal Bpodros 7 AY Oo
KTéivas avTOV UaTEpor, ep @ A€yEeTaL [1 hatvo-
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CAESAR, Xv. 4-X.vI. 2

men scattered in flight, he was no longer the same man, nor remembered that he was Pompey the Great, but more like one whom Heaven has robbed of his wits than anything else, he went off without a word to his tent, sat down there, and awaited what was to come, until his forces were all routed and the enemy were assailing his ramparts and fighting with their defenders. ‘Then he came to his senses, as it were, and with this one ejaculation, as they say, “ What, even to my quarters?” took off his fighting and general’s dress, put on one suitable for a fugitive, and stole away. What his subsequent fortunes were, and how he delivered himself into the hands of the Egyptians and was murdered, I shall tell in his Life.}

XLVI. But Caesar, when he reached Pompey’s ramparts and saw those of the enemy who were already lying dead there and those who were still falling, said with a groan: “ They would have it so; they brought me to such a pass that if I, Caius Caesar, after waging successfully the greatest wars, had dismissed my forces, I should have been con- demned in their courts.” 2 Asinius Pollio says that these words, which Caesar afterwards wrote down in Greek, were uttered by him in Latin at the time; he also says that most of the slain were servants who were killed at the taking of the camp, and that not more than six thousand soldiers fell. Most of those who were taken alive Caesar incorporated in his legions, and to many men of prominence he granted immunity. One of these was Brutus, who afterwards slew him. Caesar was distressed, we are told, when

1 Chapters Ixxvii.—-]xxx.

? Hoe voluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar con-

demnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem (Sue-

tonius, Div. Jul. 30).
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

pEvep per ayoudcal, owfévtos b€ Kal Tapayeor-
Jévou 1 p0S oa noOnvar dtadepovTas.
PVE Snpetoov 6 TONA@Y _Yevopeveov THS
viens eTLPAaverTATOV ioTopetrat TO mepl TpanrrXets.
év yap ‘Ep@ Nixns dvdpras. elo THKEL Kaicapos,
Kal TO TEpL AUT@ Kwpiov avo TE oTepeov puces
Kat NiO w oednpo KATEOT PWMEVOV Dv avedev ex
TOUTOU Aéyovow avarethat HoiviKa Tapa THY
Baow Tov avdpidvTos. eV be HaraBie Tdios
K opyn Atos, avip evdOKLLOS em pavteKh, ArBiov
TOU Tvyypapews TOTS Kal YrewpLpos, éruyxavev
én olwvols Ka 1) LEVOS éxetvny THY nyepav. Kal
7 POT OV pe, WS AiBros oyoe, TOV KaLpov eyo TIS
Haxns, Kal ™ pos TOUS TapovTas elev ore Kab 6
TEpaiveTat TO XpHpea Kat ouviact els épyov ou
avdpes. avis dé T pos TH Gea YeVvOMEVOS Kal TA
onueta KaTLb@v dvnhato HET ’ évOovarac pod Boav,
“Nixds, @ Kaicap.” €xT LaYEVTOY b€ TOV
TAPATUXOVT@Y TEPLEA@V TOV orepavov aTO THS
Kepanrijs EVO HLOTOS edn py Tp emOjoec Gar
Tarw i TH TéEXYN papTUpijcaL TO Epyov. TavTa
pev ovv o AiBtos ot Tas yevéoOar kataBeBatovTat.
XLVIIT. Katcap d6€ tO Ocettarav Over tiv
ehevOeptav avadets vexentypeov édimxe Loumpiov:
ayrdapevos 6€ THS ‘Actas Kyidtovs te OcomouTr@
TO cuvayayovTe TOUS podous Xapilopevos nrev-
Bbépwce, Kal maot tots tiv Actay Katotkovat
TO TplTov Tov popwy avikev. es bé ’AreEav-
dperav emt Hopmarnio TeOvnKOTe KaTaydets Oeo-
SoTOV pev ameaTpady tv Llopaniou Keparny
mpochépovta, THvy O€ odpayida SeEdpevos tod
§54

CAESAR, xvi. 2-XxXLvmt. 2

Brutus was not to be found, but when he was
brought into his presence safe and sound, was pleased
beyond measure.
XLVII. There were many portents of the vic- tory, but the most remarkable one on record is that which was seen at Tralles. In that city’s temple of Victory there stood a statue of Caesar, and the ground around

it was itself naturally firm, and was paved with hard stone; yet from this it is said that a palm-tree shot up at the base of the statue.! More- over, at Patavium, Caius Cornelius, a man in repute as a seer, a fellow citizen and acquaintance of Livy the historian, chanced that day to be sitting in the place of augury. And to begin with, according to Livy, he discerned the time of the battle, and said to those present that even then the event was in progress and the men were going into action. And when he looked again and observed the signs, he sprang up in a rapture crying : “ Thou art victorious, O Caesar!”’ The bystanders being amazed, he took the chaplet from his head and declared with an oath that he would not put it on again until the event had borne witness to his art. At any rate, Livy insists that this was so.?

XLVIII. Caesar gave the Thessalians their free- dom, to commemorate his victory, and then pursued Pompey ; when he reached Asia he made the Cnidians also free, to please Theopompus the collector of fables, and for all the inhabitants of Asia remitted a third of their taxes. Arriving at Alexandria just after Pompey’s death, he turned away in horror from Theodotus as he presented the head of Pompey, but he accepted Pompey’s seal-ring, and shed tears over

1 Cf. Caesar B.C, tii 105 ad fin.
2 In Bock exi, which is lost.
S50

€e3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

’ \ LA o¢ \ a e a, 5) A
avdpos KaTedaKkpucev’ Ocot b€ THY ETAIPwWY aUTOD
4 \ (/ e
Kal cuvnOwv TAAV@MEVOL KATA THY Ywpav éaArO-
A / /
Keoav UTO TOV BaclrXéws, TavTas EvEpyeTNGE Kal
(a) \ ‘4 > e / wv
TpoanyayeTo. Tots d€ dirs eis Paopny éypadev
a / >) , al ,
OTL THS VikKnS aToNavot ToUTO péytoToV Kal
¢ % , ‘ \ aA 4
HOtaeTOY, TO TOWLE TLVAS dEl TOV TETTONEMNKOTWY
TONT@OY AUTO.
rqx\ , 4 \ A
Tov d€ avto@t morXepov ot péy ovK avayKaioy,
f A
arr’ épwtt KrXeovdtpas ddoEov abt@ Kal Kxivdv-
, / , e \ \ \
yoon yevécOar Néyouvcty, of 6€ Tos BactrLKOvS
“A \ A /
alTt@vTal, Kal padtoTta Tov evvovyov IloMecvo»,
e \ oy \

Os wWAelaTov duvdpevos Kai Lloumniov pev avn-
4 \
pnkws évayyos, éxkBeBrAnxas 6é€ Kreoratpar,
¢ \ > 7 a) , \ XN a 4
Kpupa pev étreBovreve T@ Katicapt: cai dia totTo
‘ > , f la
act avutov apEdpevoy Extote StavuxTepevey ev
a A lal lal , aA
Tols TWOTOLS EveKa PvraKhs TOV cwomaTos’ Parepas
\ ? > ’ \ ar, \ \ \
dé ove Hv avextos éTipOova mora Kal Tpos
ef > \ bat / dA \ if
vBpw es tov Katcapa Aéeywv Kal TWpdTT@v.
\ \ Z f
TOUS MEV YAP OTPATLWTAS TOV KUKLOTOY LETPOULE-
4 a /
VOUS Kal TaNaLoTAaTOY aiToY éxédevoeEV avexer Oat
\ f > U \ > 4 ‘\ \ \
Kat oTépyev, €oOtavtas Ta AAXOTPLA, Tpos 5é TA
al ? “A A
deirva axeverty éypnto Evdrivois Kai KEepapeots,
\ A \ > A ’ id
WS TA Xpuca Kai apyupa Tauvta Kataapos éxyovtos
4 , f \ e a
elg TL Ypéos. @petle yap o Tod BactdevorTos
, \ / / ,
Tote matnp Kaicape xXtdtas Ertakocias TevTn-
, \ / a a
KOVTa pupiisas, @Y Tas pev adAaS aVKE Tots
‘) a , e i \
Taw avtov mpotepov 0 Kaicap, tas b€ xtrias
1 Cf. the Pompey, Ixxx. 5.
* See the Pompey, Ixxvii. 2.
556

731

CAESAR, xivin. 2-4

it! Moreover, all the companions and intimates of
Pompey who had been captured by the king as they
wandered over the country, he treated with kindness
and attached them to himself. And to his friends
in Rome he wrote that this was the greatest and
sweetest pleasure that he derived from his victory,

namely, from time to time to save the lives of fellow
citizens who had fought against him.
As for the war in Egypt, some say that it was not necessary, but due to Caesar's passion for Cleopatra, and that it was inglorious and full of peril for him. But others blame the king's party for it, and especially the eunuch Potheinus, who had most influence at court," and had recently killed Pompey; he had also driven Cleopatra from the country, and was now secretly plotting against Caesar. On this account they say that from this time on Caesar passed whole nights at drinking parties in order to protect himself. But in his open acts also Potheinus was unbearable, since he said and did many things that were invidious and insulting to Caesar. For instance, when the soldiers had the oldest and worst grain measured out to them, he bade them put up with it and be content, since they were eating what belonged to others ; and at the state suppers he used wooden and earthen dishes, on the ground that Caesar had taken all the gold and silver ware in payment of a debt. For the father of the present king owed Caesar seventeen million five hundred thousand drachmas,? of which Caesar had formerly remitted a part to his children, but now demanded payment of ten millions for the

* During Caesar's consulship (59 B.c.) Ptolemy Auletes was declared a friend and ally of the Romans. To secure this honour he both gave and promised money to the state.

9)

nEiov TOTE AaBov dad peyrar TO oTpatevpa. TOD
6é Todenvod viv pév adtov amtévat kcal tov
peydrwy execGat TpayuaTw@V KENEVOVTOS, VaTEPOV
d€ KoptetaoGat peta Xa plros, ELTOV WS Atyurtioy
eXaXLoTa d€ouTo cvpBovruv, pupa Thy Kyeo-
TATPAV ATO THS xXoOpas METETELLTFETO.
XLIX. Kaxeivy TaparaPotoa TOV giro
'AtrohhoOwpov TOV DeKcehorny eovov, Ls aKaTvov
pixpov éuBadca Tots pev Bacirelors mpocéaxer
On cuaKoTavovTos: amropou bé Tov NaGety dvTOS
ArAAWS, 1) pev Els OTPwWLATOSETpOY évdvaAa TPpoO-
TelveL pakpay éauTry, 0 b€ "AtroNdOSwpos imavTe
guVOnaas TOV oTPwMaTOoET MOV EicKopiter Sta
Oupav mpos Tov Kaicapa. Kal TovT@ TE POT
eyeTal TO TeXVipaTe THS KrEeotaTpas ad@var,
ANapupas daveians, Kab THS aAANS OmtAtas Kai
yapiTos HTTwv yevouevos dtaddraEat mpos Tov
aderhov ws avpBaciievcovoav. émetta 6 év
Tais dtadrayals éotiwpévev atravTov otKkérns
Kaicapos xoupevs, da Setdiav, 4 wavtas avOpo-
mous umepéBanrev, ovdev éov aveEéTaaTOV, GAN'

@TAKOVGTOV Kal ToAVTpPAayLOVaY, auVAKEY éT-
Bovr\nv Kaicapte mpattopévnv vm’ ’AyiAda TOD
aotpatnyov Kal LoGewvov tov ebvovyov. dwpdaaas
b¢ 0 Kaicap Ppoupay jeev TEPLETTIOE TO avd pave,
TOV Ge Ilo@ecvov aveirev: o 5é AXOMAGs guyav
els TO OTPATOTESOY Tepiia THT avT@ Bapov Kal
dvopeTaxei pla Tov TONEMOD, duyoord TOTavTHY
GLUVOMEV@ TOA Kai SUVamuLY. év ® ™p@Tov pep
exwwouvevoev VOaTOS atrokAEtabels? ai yap So-
puyes aTrw@xodopnOnaarv bro TOV TodEpiov: Sev-
TEpOV O€ TEPLKOTTTOMEVOS TOV aTOAOY 7vayKddby
558

CAESAR, xtvii. 5—x1tx. 3

support of his army. When, however, Potheinus
bade him go away now and attend to his great affairs,
assuring him that later he would get his money with
thanks, Caesar replied that he had no need what-
ever of Egyptians as advisers, and secretly sent for
Cleopatra from the country.

XLIX. So Cleopatra, taking only Apollodorus the Sicilian from among her friends, embarked in a little skiff and landed at the palace when it was already getting dark; and as it was impossible to escape notice otherwise, she stretched herself at full length inside a bed-sack, while Apollodorus tied the bed-sack up with a cord and carried it indoors to Caesar. It was by this device of Cleopatra's, it is said, that Caesar was first captivated, for she showed herself to be a bold coquette, and succumbing to the charm of further intercourse with her, he reconciled her to her brother on the basis of a joint share with him in the royal power. Then, as everybody was feasting to cele- brate the reconciliation, a slave of Caesar’s, his barber, who left nothing unscrutinized, owing to a timidity in which he had no equal, but kept his ears open and was here, there, and everywhere, perceived that Achillas the general and Potheinus the eunuch were hatching a plot against Caesar. After Caesar had found them out, he seta guard about the banqueting- hall, and put Potheinus to death; Achillas, however, escaped to his camp, and raised about Caesar a war grievous and difficult for one who was defending him- self with so few followers against so large a city and army. In this war, to begin with, Caesar encountered the peril of being shut off from water, since the canals were dammed up by the enemy; in the second place, when the enemy tried to cut off his fleet, he

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Sea TupOs atwaacbat Tov Kivduvor, O Kat THY
peeyadnv BrBrLoOnKnv eK TOV vewptov émLvepo-
[LevOV Osed Dexpee TpiTov O€ Tepl TH Papo paxns
FUVETTHTNS KateTrOno yey aro TOU XOLATOS
Eig aKxatlov Kal tapeBonbex Tots aywvitopevoes,

em LT MEOVTOV 6é Todhaxobev aAUT@ TOV Atyuttion
pirpas éavTov els (THY Oadacoav ameviEato ports
Kal Nahe ws. OTE Kat N€yEeTAaL BiBr«eva KpaT@v
TONNG pn mpoeabar Bardopevos Kal Barrefo-
pevos, GAN avexXov ump THS Oaracons Ta
BiBrtdca TH ETEpA xeupl vr xeo Bau TO O€ dear Lov
evdus éBv0ic8n. Téhos 6€, tov Bactrtéws 7 pos
TOUS qToAeulovs amoywpioavtos, émedOoyv Kak
cuvawas PAXNY EVLKNTE, TOAXOY TETOVTWV AUTOD
Te TOD Bactréws adavovs yevouévov. KaTadtTov
dé THY KXeomdtpav Bacthevovoay Aiyurrou Kal
pixpov VaTepov €E avTov Texovoay viov, Ov “Ae
Eavdpeis Karcapiwva tpoonyopevoy, Opunoev ert
Supias.
L. Kaxetdev ériwy thy “Aciav éruvOaveto Ao-
pitioy pev vo Papvdxou Tov MiOpidatov tmasos
WTTHMLEVOV EK Ilovrov mepevyevae oov odious,
Dapvaxny 6€ TH vin PW [LEVOV aTrAHT TOS Kab
Bed uviav éeNovTa kal Kammaboxiay “A pHevias
epier Oar THIS pixpas KadXoupévyns, Kal TavTas
avior ava TOUS TaUTN Barrels Kal TeTPapXas.
evOvs oy éml Tov dvdpa T pov Nauve Tay Lact,
Kal Tept TOA Lipav paxnr peyarny cuvaas
avtov pev €&€Bare tov Ilévtov hevyovta, tHv dé
1JIn the Museum, founded by the first Ptolemy (ob.
283 B.c.). The destruction of the library can have been
only partial.
560

CAESAR, xix. 3-L. 2

was forced to repel the danger by using fire, and this spread from the dockyards and destroyed the great library; and thirdly, when a battle arose at Pharos,? he sprang from the mole into a small boat and tried to go to the aid of his men in their struggle, but the Egyptians sailed up against him from every side, so that he threw himself into the sea and with great difficulty escaped by swimming. At this time, too, it is said that he was holding many papers in his hand and would not let them go, though missiles were fly- ing at him and he was immersed in the sea, but held them above water with one hand and swam with the other ; his little boat had been sunk at the outset.3 But finally, after the king had gone away to the enemy, he marched against him and conquered him in a battle where many fell and the king himself disappeared. Then, leaving Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt (a little later she had a son by him whom the Alexandrians called Caesarion), he set out for Syria.

L. On leaving that country and traversing Asia,‘ he learned that Domitius had been defeated by Pharnaces the son of Mithridates and had fled from Pontus with a few followers; also that Pharnaces, using his victory without stint, and occupying Bi- thynia and Cappadocia, was aiming to secure the country called

Lesser Armenia, and was rousing to revolt all the princes and tetrarchs there. At once, therefore, Caesar marched against him with three legions, fought a great battle with him near the city of Zela, drove him in flight out of Pontus, and

2 An island off Alexandria, connected with the mainland by a mole, or causeway, which divided the harbour into two

parts.
3 Cf. Dio Cassius, xlii. 40. 4 In July of 47 B.o.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

oTpaTlav aponv aveine. Kal TS pays TAUTNS
THY o€UTNTa Kal TO TAXOS avayyéAXwv ets 'Paopeny
TpOs nee Tav dtAwy *Apavtioy eypave TPELS
reEas* " "HA Gor, eloov, évixnaa." 'Popaiatt 6€
ai NéEEts Els Opoloy ATONHYyovcaL OXIA PLATS
ovx amiOavoy tiv Bpaxvroytav Exovowy.
LI. 'Ex rovrov dsaBarov ets Itadiav avéBat-
vey els 'Pony, TOU pev éviauTou KATATTPEPOVTOS
els Ov hpnto OLR TATOP TO devTEpon, ovdemore THS
cpxfs. eKELv/S TPOTEpov eviauvatov ryevoperns" Ets
dé TOUT LOD bTatos amredety On. Kal KAKOS Tycov-
GEV OTL TOV TTPATLWT@Y OTacLacavTwY Kal dvO
oTpaTnyiKous avopas avedovtwyv, Kooxwviov Kai
TarBav, éretinoe pev avtois tocovtToy ocov
aVvTL OTPATLWTOV TOAITAS TpoTayopEvaal, YLALAS
dé dréverpev Exdotw Spaypas Kal yxwpav THs "ITa-
Alas aTEeKAHpwWoE TOAAHV. AV € avTOD dtaBory
cat» AodoBérAXa pavia Kai 7 "Auavtiov didap-
yupla xal pedumv 'Avt@vios kai Kopdivios tiv
Tlouaniov cKxevwpovpevos oikiav Kal petotKoco-
U@V WS LKaVnV OUK OVGAY. éTL TOUTOLS yap éduvC-
dopouv "Pwpyata. Kaicap 6€ da thv vrodeow
THS TOALTELAS OVK AyvowV OVE BovrAOLEVOS NYAY-
xaleto ypnoGat Tols UTroupyover.
LIT. Tay dé rept Katova Kal LKntiwva peta
THY év Dapoare pax ets AtBuny puyovtoy
KaKel, TOU Bactréws "loBa BonGodvros avrois,
nO potxoTa@y Ovvdapets aEtorNOyouS, eyvw oTpAaTEvELY
0 Kaicap én' avtovs: Kai Tept TpoTras Yetpepivas
1 Veni, vidi, vici. According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 37), the words were displayed in Caesar'a Pontic triumph.

annihilated his army. In atuouncing the swiftness and fierceness of this battle to one of his friends at Rome, Amantius, Caesar wrote three words : “ Came, saw, conquered.” ! In Latin, however, the words have the same inflectional ending, and so a brevity whieh is most impressive.

LI. After this, he crossed to Italy and went up to Rome, at the close of the year for which he had a second time been chosen dictator,” though that office had never before been for a whole year ; then for the following year he was proclaimed consul. Men spoke ill of him because, after his soldiers had mutinied and killed two men of praetorian rank, Galba and Cosco- nius, he censured them only so far as to eall them “citizens” when he addressed them, instead of “ soldiers,’ and then gave each man a thousand drachmas and much allotted land in Italy. He was also calumniated for the madness of Dolabella, the greed of Amantius, the drunkenness of Antony, and for the fact that Corfinius built over and refurnished the house of Pompey on the ground that it was not good enough for him. For at all these things the Romans were displeased. But owing to the political situation, though Caesar was not ignorant of these things and did not like them, he was compelled to make use of such assistanits.

LH. After the battle at Pharsalus, Cato and Scipio made their escape to Africa, and there, with the aid of King Juba, collected considerable forees. Caesar therefore resolved to make an expedition against them. So, about the time of the winter solstice, he

2 The senate named Caesar Dictator for the year 47 immediately after the battle at Pharsalus,

* Cf. Appian, B.C. ii. 93.

diaBas ets LuxeMiay, Kab Bovdopevos evOus arro- Kowar TOV mept aQuTOV yyeHoveoy anacav éTia peddrjoews Kal drat puis, emt TOU KNUC UATOS émn&e THv éavTov a KYIV" Kal yevopevov TVEU- patos euBas avixOn meta TpLaxX iho meCav Kal im éwy orion. am oBuBacas o€ ToUTOUS NaAbwy avnyOn TaN, umép THs petCovos Oppwocer ouvd- pews” Kal Kara Odratray ovaw 1)0n TpoTTUY@V KaTHYyayev AravTas els TO OTPATOTEOLY.

Tuvavopevos dé XPT HP TeYe mTararo Oappetv
TOUS Tohepious, WS TPITHKOV aél TO Srey eebveov
yéver Kpatety ev AtBun, YaNETOV ELTELY ELTE prav-
pitov év Travia Tut TOV Laymiova oTparnyouvTa
TOV Tronepicon, ere Kal oroven TOV OLWVOV OiKELOv-
HEvOS, Hv yap Kal Tap avT@ TLS avO pwrros addws
jev evKaTappovntos Kab Trapnuednpevos, olKLas
d€ THS "Adpicavav (Racymteov exareiTo Lanhou-
otiwy), ToUTOV ev Tals payats TpoeTATTEY MaTEP
HyEeLova THS TTpATLAS, crayKalomevos TOANAKIS
éFamtecOat TOV ToAEpioy Kai hiroupayelv. Av
yap oUTE otToS Tots avopac apbovos OUTE UTTO-
Curious YINOS, GNAG Spvors nvaryKatovTo Garar-
TLOLS, aroThubetans THS arpupioos, omvyny dy pa-
orl Oot ep ove pa TA paperyVUVvTEs eTWMyElv TOUS
immous. ol yap Nopades errupatvopevor TOROL
Kal Taxels EXAOTOTE KaTeixov THY Xw@pav' Kab
TOTE TOV Katoapos immeov TYOANY ayovT@V
(érvyxe yap avTois avnp AiBus ET LOELKYUMEVOS
opxnaw apa Kat poovauray Oavpatos altos, ot €
TEPTFOLLEVOL Kab hvro Tois tatol tous immous éTt-
TpewavTes), eEaidvns mepehOovres eu Baddovat
Ol TONEMLOL, KAL TOUS péev AVTOU KTELVOVOL, TOLS OE
504

CAESAR, ul. 1-5

crossed into Sicily, and wishing to cut off at once in the minds of his officers all hope of delaying there and wasting time, he pitched his own tent on the sea-beach. When a favouring wind arose, he em- barked and put to sea with three thousand infantry and a few horsemen. Then, after landing these un- observed, he put to sea again, being full of fears for the larger part of his force, and meeting them after they were already at sea, he conducted all into camp.

On learning that the enemy were emboldened by an ancient oracle to the effect that it was always the prerogative of the family of the Scipios to conquer in Africa, he either flouted in pleasantry the Scipio who commanded the enemy, or else tried in good earnest to appropriate to himself the omen, it is hard to say which. He had under him, namely, a man who otherwise was a contemptible nobody, but belonged to the family of the Africani, and was called Scipio Sallustio. This man Caesar put in the forefront of his battles as if commander of the army, being com- pelled to attack the enemy frequently and to force the fighting. For there was neither sufficient food for his men nor fodder for his beasts of burden, nay, they were forced to feed their horses on sea-weed, which they washed free of its salt and mixed with a little grass to sweeten it. For the Numidians showed themselves everywhere in great numbers and speedy, and controlled the country. Indeed, while Caesar's horsemen were once off duty (a Libyan was showing them how he could dance and play the flute at the same time in an astonishing manner, and they had committed their horses to the slaves and were sitting delighted on the ground), the enemy suddenly sur- rounded and

attacked them, killed some of them,

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

€ig TO oTpatoTredoy mpotpoTadny éAavvopévols
OUVELGETTETOV. EL OE 1) Kaisap avtos, Gpua dé
Kaioape Todrtov "Agivytos Bonoivres ex TOD
Yapakos Eaxov THY guy, Sewer part av 0 To0-
NELOS. éore & 6Te kal nal” érépay paynv émhe-
ovéxTng ay ot TOA EMLOL CULTNOKNS yevoperns, év
7 Katcap TOV detopopov pevyovTa ever at Kata
TX OY ek Tob avxEvOS dvactpeyat Kal evTrety
‘Evravéa elaty ot mrodéptot.”
IDOE Tovrors MEVTOL TOUS T poTEprpacty émnpOn
Lent leov pan K pO far Kal KaTaNT@Y Ywpis
pev ‘A gpavior, Xo pis dé ‘ToBav be Odyou [oT pato-
medevovTas, avros érerxelev U vITreép Mipyns epupa. TO
oTpatoT Edw mepl TOMY Odyov, w@s ein Taotv érri
THY paxny OpENTNpLOV Kal Katagpuyy. TroVvov-
pévw O€ AVT@ TEpL TAUTA Kaicap rwdets ToTous
Kal mpoo Boras appagtovs éyovtas apnyave ta-
yer SteAO@y tovs pev exuKdovTO, TOls Sé mpoce-
Barre Kata oTopa. TpeYrd pevos oe TOUTOUS
EXPHTO TO KaLp@ Kal TH pupn THs TuXNS, UP Ss
avToBoet pev pet to ‘Adpaviou oT patomesov,
avtoBoel dé dhevyovtos ‘loBa Steopber TO TOV
Nopddov: auépas 56 mas pepe HLKP@ T pPL@v
oT patoT ew@y eyKparis YEyoves Kat TEVTAKLG [LU-
pious TOV TOAELioY avNpHKwWS OvdSe TeEVTHKOVTA
Tov tdiwy aTéBanrev.
Or pév tadra TeEpi THs HaXNS exeivns avayyér-
ovat: ot O€ ov pact aurov éy 7@ épyo yever Oat,
TUVTATTOVTOS O€ THY oTpaTiay Kal Siaxocpodvros
awacbat to ctvnbes voonpa* Tov dé evOds aico-
EVO ApXomevov, mpiy extapaTtTecGat Kal KaTa-
566

733

CAESAR, Li. 6-Linn. 3

and followed hard upon the heels of the rest as they were driven headlong into camp. And if Caesar himself, and with him Asinius Pollio, had not come from the ramparts to their aid and checked their flight, the war would have been at an end. On one occasion, too, in another battle, the enemy got the advantage in the encounter, and here it is said that Caesar seized by the neck the fugitive standard-bearer, faced him about, and said: " Yonder is the enemy."

LIII. However, Scipio was encouraged by these advantages to hazard a decisive battle: so, leaving Afranius and Juba encamped separately at a short distance apart, he himself began fortifying a camp beyond a lake near the city of Thapsus, that it might serve the whole army asa place from which to sally out to the battle, and as a place of refuge. But while he was busy with this project, Caesar made his way with inconceivable speed through woody regions which afforded unknown access to the spot, outflanked some of the enemy, and attacked others in front. Then, after routing these, he took advantage of the favour- able instant and of the impetus of fortune, and there- by captured the camp of Afranius at the first onset, and at the first onset sacked the camp of the Numid- ians, from which Juba fled. Thus in a brief portion of one day he made himself master of three camps and slew fifty thousand of the enemy, without losing as many as fifty of his own men.}

This is the account which some give of the battle ; others, however, say that Caesar himself was not in the action, but that, as he was marshalling and array- ing his army, his usual sickness laid hold of him, and he, at once aware that it was beginning, before his

1 In April of 46 B.o.

AapBavecOat Tavtadnacww vTO Tov wabovs THY
ais Onow non oeLomerny, els Tiva TOV ™Ano tov
Tupyav Koja O vat Kab Siaryaryely ép novxta.
Tov oé mepevryoTov ék THS. paxns UTATLK@Y Kal
OTPATHYLKGY avdpav OL pep eau Tous drepOerpar
ado Kopevot, auxvors 6é Kaicap éxrecvev andovtas.
lerve Katwva dé NaBetv favre pirortpovperos
éo Tevoe 7 pos 'Irunny exelvny yap Tapapudar-
TOV THY mOALY ou HETETXE TOV AYOVOS. mu Gopevos
Sé ws éauTop 0 aVvnp Olepyacai7o, dios peev HY
dnyeis, eb & dé adyov. elie 8 oop: ed
Katov, PO ovis GOL TOU Oavarou: Kal yap ov pol
TIS corn pias epOornaas." O Mev OUY pEeTa TAUTA
ypageis vt avTov mpos Katwva teOvedta Novos

ov Soxet T Paws EXovTos ovde EVOLANAGKTOS on-
petov etvat. TOS yep av épetoato CavTos els
avaic@nrov exXéas opyny TOT AUT NY; Th dé mpos
Kixépova Ka Bpovrov auTov kal puplous adrous
TOV TETOREMNKOTOY émerketa TexMaLpovTat Kai
TaV oor éxetvov ovK é& ameyOelas, aXra prro-
Tima TOALTLKN ouvreTax ar dua TOLAUT HY aitiav.
éyparpe Kixépwv eryKe@opcov Kadtovos, Ovopa TO
Aoy@ Oépevos Kdteva- Kat Toots 0 NOxos mp
Ota oroudis, as elxoS, UTO TOU SetvoTatov T@V
PNTOPwV Ets THY KaXN OTH TET OLNLEVOS v7 o0e-
ou. TOUTO jvia Kaicapa, kat nyopiay auTOU
vouitovta Tov Tov TeOyynKoTos Ov avTov erratvoy.
éypawev ovv ToAXAus Tivas Kata Tov Katwvos
aitias cuvayayov: To 6€ BiBXtov *Avrixatwv
eT UyeypaTrTaL. Kal oTovoaaTas éyer TOV NOYov
éxatepos 61a Kaicapa cal Katwva trodxXous.
568

CAESAR, tit. 3-Liv. 3

already wavering senses were altogether confounded and overpowered by the malady, was carried to a neighbouring tower, where he stayed quietly during the battle. Of the men of consular and praetorial rank who escaped from the battle, some slew them- selves at the moment of their capture, and others were put to death by Caesar after capture.

LIV. Being eager to take Cato alive, Caesar hastened towards Utica, for Cato was guarding that city, and took no part in the battle. But he learned that Cato had made away with himself,! and he was clearly annoyed, though for what reason is uncertain. At any rate, he said: “Cato, I begrudge thee thy death ; for thou didst begrudge me the preservation of thy life.” Now, the treatise which Caesar after- wards wrote against Cato when he was dead, does not seem to prove that he was in a gentle or reconcil- able mood. For how could he have spared Cato alive, when he poured out against him after death so great acup of wrath? And yet from his considerate treat- ment of Cicero and Brutus and thousands more who had fought against him, it is inferred that even this treatise was not composed out of hatred, but from political ambition, for reasons which follow. Cicero had written an encomium on Cato which he entitled “Cato”; and the discourse was eagerly read by many, as was natural, since it was composed by the ablest of orators on the noblest of themes. This annoyed Caesar, who thought that Cicero’s praise of the dead Cato was a denunciation of Caesar himself. Accordingly, he wrote a treatise in which he got to- gether countless charges against Cato ; and the work is entitled “ Anti-Cato.” Both treatises have many eager readers, as well on account of Caesar as of Cato.

1 See the Cato Minor Ixv.
569
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

LV. 'AXAa yap os emavirder els ‘Pwunv aro

, al \ e a
AtBuns, mp@tov péev vTép THS viens eweyadn-
yopnoe mpos Tov Onmov, @S TOTAaVTHY KEXELpo-
Ul / o >
pEevos Ywopay oon TwapéEes Kad ExacToy éeviavTov
Els TO OnooLov GiTtou pev elxoat puptadas AtTe-
KOV pedtuvov, €EXaiov Sé ALTp@V pupLadas TpLAa-
Kooias. émetta OptauBovs Katyyaye tov Atyu-
J \ , \ , b) b) NX

mtiaxov, tov Lovtixoy, tov AtBuKov, ovK ao
f A a
XKynriwvos, GAN aro “loBa d4Oev tod Baciréws.

/ id a
tote Kat “loBas vios Ov éxeivov Komton vijtreos ev
TO Q@ L is B 4 a , ir \ aN
» OptauBo TapyyOn, paxaptwTtdTnv arovs dro-

, ¢ a

aw, €x BapBapov Kat Nopuados “EXAnvev ois
/
Totupabertatos evapiOusos yevéoOar ovyypa-

A \ \ \
dedor. peta b€ Tovs OptduRous otpati@tats TE
é \ 2Q/ \ N A ? f
peyaras Swpeas edidov Kal Tov Shyov averap-
e 4 7
Bavev éotiacect Kal Oéass, éotuioas pev év dic-
/ / / a
peuplows Kat dtoxXtALoLs TPLKALVOLS OmovU avuTAV-
lé u a
Tas, Géas 5é Kai povopayer Kai vavpayev avdpav
Tapacyov éni tH Ovyatpt ‘lovAia wddat Te-
Ovewon.
Mera 6€ tas Oéas yevouévor Timnoewy avTt TOY
mpotépwy dvety Kal TpiadxovTa pupiddwr éEnta-
cOyoav at macat TevtTeKaidexa. THALKAUTHY 7
Taos aTeipyaoato caupdopav Kal TocodToy
3 ? A f A v , ,
aTAaVaXwWaE TOV Onpouv pépos, Ew Aovyou TLPEpE-

, ’
yous Ta KaTagYoVTA THY adAnV ‘ITadiay atvy71)-
pata Kal Tas émapxias.
LVI. Suvrerecbévtwy 6€ tovtwy Uratos azo-

\ / 3 ed /
SecyGeis To TéETaptov ets IBnpiav éotparsvoer
o72

CAESAR, Lv. 1-LvI. 1

LV. But to resume, when Caesar came back to Rome from Africa, to begin with, he made a boastful speech to the people concerning his victory, assert- ing that he had subdued a country large enough to furnish annually for the public treasury two hundred thousand Attic bushels of grain, and three million pounds of olive oil. Next, he celebrated triumphs, an Egyptian, a Pontic, and an African, the last not for his victory over Scipio, but ostensibly over Juba the king. On this occasion, too, Juba, a son of the king, a mere infant, was carried along in the triumphal procession, the most fortunate captive ever taken, since from being a Barbarian and a Numidian, he came to be enrolled among the most learned historians of Hellas. After the triumphs, Caesar gave his soldiers large giits and entertained the people with banquets and spectacles, feasting them all at one time on twenty thousand dining-couches, and furnishing spectacles of gladiatorial and naval combats in honour of his daughter Julia, long since dead.

After the spectacles, a census of the people was taken,! and instead of the three hundred and twenty thousand of the preceding lists there were enrolled only one hundred and fifty thousand. So great was the calamity which the civil wars had wrought, and so large a portion of the people of Rome had they consumed away, to say nothing of the misfortunes that possessed the rest of Italy and the provinces.

LVI. After these matters had been finished and
he had been declared consul for the fourth time,
Caesar made an expedition into Spain against the
1 According to Suetonius (Div. Jul. 41), this was not a census of all the people, but a revision of the number of

poorer citizens entitled to receive allowances of grain from
the state.
571

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

€mri TOUS Toparniou qjatoas, véous pev ovtas €Tt,
Pavpactny 6€ TO TAHOE oTpariay cuvethoxoTas
Kal TOhpay drroderxvupévous dF 10x pewv T pos mye
poviay, WOTE Kivouvov TO Kaicape TEpla Tia at
TOV Ea xXatov. n 0€ peyarn ayn mept Trodw
TUveTTD Mobvéar, ev 7 Katcap exOtBopevous

Op@Vv TOUS eavTov Kal KAKOS avTévovTas éBoa,
dia TOV OTAwY Kal TOV TaEEwY EtaGewy, Et uNndev
aidodvrar NaBovres autor eyxerpiaar Tots maiba-
plots. joes be mpobupig. TOXT TOUS Torepious
WO ApLEVOS exelvov Bev UTEP Tpiapuptous O1€-
pepe, TOV 6¢ auToU XtrLous aTwhere TOUS dpi-
OTOUS. am Lay 6é pera THY pany Tos TOUS
pidous ELTEV WS TONKS pev aryoviaLto mept
ViKNS; vov o€ 7 T™p@Tov Tept Wnts. TAavTNY THY
paxny evixnae 7H Tov Atovuciwy €0pTh, Kal spy
AéyeTat Kal Top nios Maryvos €ml TOV TONE [OV
éferGetv: Sta pécov € Xpovos evLauT OV Tego apov
dun dOe. tay dé Lloumniov maidwr o pev VE@TEPOS
Suehuye, ToD Sé TpeaBuTépov peP Huépas drgLyaS
Acidios aviveyKe THY KEeparrp.
Todtov €xyatov Kaioap émwoXeunoe Tov Trode-
pov' o 6€ am avtod Kataybeis OpiauBos ws
ovdev AAO ‘Pwpaiovs nviacev. ov yap adrodv-
ous rrye“ovas ovdé BapRdpovs Bactrels xatn-
rYy@VLO LEVOP, avd pos dé “Popatoy Kpatia Tov TU-
xaes KeXpnwevov Tatoas Kal ryévos dpénv avnpn-
Kora. Tats TAS TaTpLoos eT UTOpT EVEL cupdopais
ov HarOS eLyev, dyaXdopevov él TOUTOLS GV pia
Kal T pos Oeovs Kal 7p0S avOpa@rrous amonoyia TO
per avayKns mTempay ban, Kal TavTa 7 pOTEpov
LTE ayyerov pte ypaypata Onpocta wéuWartTa
572

734

CAESAR, tvi. 1-4

sons of Pompey. These were still young, but had collected an army of amazing numbers and displayed a boldness which justified their claims to leadership, so that they beset Caesar with the greatest peril. The great battle was joined near the city of Munda, and here Caesar, seeing his own men hard pressed and making a feeble resistance, asked in a loud voice as he ran through the armed ranks whether they felt no shame to take him and put him in the hands of those boys. With difficulty and after much strenuous effort he repulsed the enemy and slew over thirty thousand of them, but he lost one thousand of his own men, and those the very best. As he was going away after the battle he said to his friends that he had often striven for victory, but now first for his life. He fought this victorious battle on the day of the festival of Bacchus,! on which day also it is said that Pompey the Great had gone forth to the war; a period of four years intervened. As for Pompey’s sons, the younger made his escape, but after a few days the head of the elder was brought in by Deidius. This was the last war that Caesar waged; and the triumph that was celebrated for it vexed the Romans as nothing else had done. For it commemorated no victory over foreign commanders or barbarian kings, but the utter annihilation of the sons and the family of the

mightiest of the Romans, who had fallen upon misfortune ; and it was not meet for Caesar to cele- brate a triumph for the calamities of his country, priding himself upon actions which had no defence before gods or men except that they had been done under necessity, and that too although previously he had sent neither messenger nor letters to announce

} March 17, 45 B.c.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

meph vinns ao TOV eppudiov TONEMWY, Ur'
ATWO {LEVOV alaxuvy THY dogav.
LVII. Ov pay GAXa Kab Tpos THY TUYNY TOU
avdpos ery KEKALKOTES Kal Sederypevor TOV Xahwor,
Kal TOV eu udicov TONE LOY Kab KaK@V avarvony
Hyoumevot THY poovapxian, SixTaTopa fev QUTOV
am eerEay d:a Biov: tTovTo & Hy omororyoupevn)
Tupapvis, TO avuTrevOUVO THs povapyias TO aKata-
T AUGTOV mpoohaBovens" TL WLS dé Tas mporas
Kuxépeovos els THY Bovdny yparyartos, OV ALOS
yé THs avO por evov my To peyelos, Erepor ™poo-
TiOévtes vmepBoras Kal Stapidropevor Tpos ad-
dajprous efeipyacavto Kal Tots TpaoTar ous ena Oh
TOV avopa Kat ut pov yevecar Sra TOV OyKov
Kal THY atoTiay Tav Whdifopéevwv, ois ovdév
HTTOV olovTat avvaywvicacbat TOV KONAKEVOVTMV
Kaicapa tovs pucodvtas, OTws OTL TAELOTAS
KaT avUTOD Tpohdces Exwot Kal peTA pEeyiocTwV
eyxhnparov em uxerpelv Soxaaou. emel Ta YE
anna, TOV EudvAtov aVT@ 7 ONE LOY Tmépas eax
KOTOV, aveyKhyTov éavtov} Tapelxe Kal TO ye
THS 'Ereevcetas, lepov ouK amo TpoTrov SoKovat
Xaplarnptov éml TH TPQOTNTL Wnpicacbar. Kal
yap adie TOAOUS TOV TET ONE UNKOTOY T POS
auTov, éviows 6€ Kal apyas Kat Temas, WS Bpovte
cat Kaocig, TpoceOnker ETTPATIYOUV Yap aj-
porepor. kab Tas Tloprniov cata BeBrnpevas
ELKOVAaS OU Tepeider, ann' aver TnaeD, eh wv Kat
Kixépwv eirrev OTe Kaicap tovs Hourniov orjcas
avopiavtas Tous idious éxnte. trav 8€ dirov
1 QvéyxAntoy éavtéy Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske:
aveyKANToV.
574

to the people a victory in the civil wars, but had scrupulously put from him the fame arising therefrom.

LVII. However, the Romans gave way before the good fortune of the man and accepted the bit, and regarding the monarchy as a respite from the evils of the civil wars, they appointed him dictator for life. This was confessedly a tyranny, since the monarchy, besides the element of irresponsibility, now took on that of permanence. It was Cicero who proposed the first honours for him in the senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man; but others added excessive honours and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious even to the mildest citizens because of the pretension and extravagance of what was decreed for him. It is thought, too, that the enemies of Caesar no less than his flatterers helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be thought to have the best reasons for attempting his life. For in all other ways, at least, after the civil wars were over, he showed himself blameless ; and certainly it is thought not inappropriate that the temple of Clemency was decreed as a thank-offering in view of his mildness. For he pardoned many of those who had fought against him, and to some he even gave honours and offices besides, as to Brutus and Cassius, both of whom were now praetors. The statues of Pompey, too, which had been thrown down, he would not suffer to remain so, but set them up again, at which Cicero said that in setting up Pompey’s statues Caesar firmly fixed his own.! When his friends thought it

1 Cf. Cicero, xl. 4, p. 186.

ak vovvror avTov Sopudopeta ba Kab TONOY emt
TOUTO TapeXovT@V EavTous OVX Urréuever, ELT @V
WS Bédreov eo TW anak ato0avety 7) del ™ poo bo-
Kav. tiv ® evvotay ws KadMOoTOY aya Kai Be-
Bavotatov éavT@ mept Bard ope vos pudaxTy ploy,
aves ave ipBave TOV Ofjpou € éoTiaceot Kal o1Tn-
peaiors, TO 6€ OT PATLOTLKOY GTroLKiaLs, oY emt
paver tartar Kapyndov Kab Kopuv8os joav, ats
Kal mporepov THY ahootw Kal TOTE THY avadnyw
dua Kat Kare TOV AUTOV Ypovoyv auporépars ryevé-
ofa cvuveTuye.

LVIII. Tay dé duvara@v Tots pev Umatetas Kal
oTparnyias eis TOvTTLOV EMNYYENAETO, Tous &
array ticiv eEovciats Kal Tipais mrapepvbetro,
mao. be édmive évedidov, pvnotevopevos apyxetv
éxovtwy, ws Kat Makipou tod vmdtou TeXevT7-
TavTos els THY Tepodoay ETL TIS apxijs piav
n ME pay Dratov atrobetEat Kaviviov "PeBirtov.
T pos OV, WS EOLKE, TON Oov beErmoacbat Kal 7 po-

meppar BadiSovtwy O Kixeépan, ¢ Srevdwpev,”
edn, “ mpl hOdon THs vmateias éEehOwv o av-
Gpowrros.”
Eze 6€ TO ghicet peyaroupyov avtod Kat
dtrAoTLov at ToANAal KaTOpOwceEs OV POS aTrO-
Ravel ETpEeTOVY THY TreTOVNMEVWY, ANN UTEK-
Kavya Kal Oapoos ovcat mpos Ta pédAdOVTA
pecCovwy évétixtoy érivoias mpayuatwv Kal
Kawnhs EpoTa d0Ens ws ATrOKEX PN MEVY TH
Tapouen, TO pev TaOos ovdey 7) AV eTepov i) Cipdos
auTov Kabarep Grou Kat peroveria TUS uTrép
TOV MEAXOVTWY TAOS TA WETpaypéeva, TapacKeuy
576

CAESAR, tv. 4-LVUL 3

best that he should have a body-guard, and many of them volunteered for this service, he would not consent, saying that it was better to die once for all than to be always expecting death. And in the effort to surround himself with men’s good will as the fairest and at the same time the securest protection, he again courted the people with banquets and dis- tributions of grain, and his soldiers with newly planted colonies, the most conspicuous of which were Carthage and Corinth. The earlier capture of both these cities, as well as their present restoration, chanced to fall at one and the same time.!

LVIII. As for the nobles, to some of them he promised consulships and praetorships in the future, others he appeased with sundry other powers and honours, and in all he implanted hopes, since he ardently desired to rule over willing subjects. There- fore, when Maximus the consul died, he appointed Caninius Revilius consul for the one day still remain- ing of the term of office. To him, as we are told, many were going with congratulations and offers of escort, whereupon Cicero said: “ Let us make haste, or else the man’s consulship will have expired.”

Caesar’s many successes, however, did not divert his natural spirit of enterprise and ambition to the enjoy- ment of what he had laboriously achieved, but served as fuel and incentive for future achievements, and begat in him plans for greater deeds and a passion for fresh glory, as though he had used up what he already had. What he felt was therefore nothing else than emulation of himself, as if he had been another man, and a sort of rivalry between what he had done and what he purposed to do. For he

1 Both cities were captured in 146 B.c., and both were restored in 44 B.C.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

dé Kal youn oT patevely pev ert IldpOous,
KaTacTpeyapLevo 5€ ToUTOUS, Kal ov ‘Tpxavias
Tapa THV Kaontay Jaracoay Kat TOV Kavcacov
éxtreprenO ov tt TOV Tlovrov, els THY LacvB oxy éu-

Bareiv, Kat Ta Tepiywpa Veppavois cat Tep-
paviav avTHY emeépa pov bua KeAtov éravenOetv
els ‘Tradap, Kat cuvarra TOV KUKNOV TOUTOV THS
nryepovias 7 mavrax ober ‘Oxcav@ meptopia Bet-
ons. Ola perou d¢€ TIS oTpateias TOV TE Kopiv-
Grov "Ico é ETE XELpEL Cvackam TEL, "Avinvov éri
TOUT® T POXELPLE ULEVOS, kal tov TiBepuv ev us
aro Tis Toews vTokaBov Stwpuye Bubeia Kal
TEPLKhaTas é7ti tO KipKxaiov ep Barely eis THY
™ pos Tappaxivy Oadarttay, aap ddevay aya Kab
peotavny Tots OL epTropias poraow els ‘Popny
MNXAVOLEVOS* TpPOS be TOUVTOLS TA pev EAN TA
mept Ilwpevtivov Kat Snriav exTpewas medtov
dmoveiEae TorXrais évepyov avOpwTreav puplace,
TH 6é éyylora THS ‘Popns Garacan KrelOpa b1a
NO LUT ov eTayayor, Kal Ta TudAra Kal vo oppa
THs ‘Qottaviis niovos avaxaOnpapevos, ALpévas
éumoincacOat Kai vavroxa mpos TooavTny akco-
TioTa vavTiiiav. Kal TavTa pey ev Trapa-
TKEVATS iV.
LIX. ‘H 6éé 700 TEEpororiov dtaGeats Kai dtop-
Owats THS Tept TOV _Xpovov GVO LaANIAS dtdogo-
dnbeiaa XaprevTas ur avTov Kal TENS AaBodoa
yragupworarny Ta perXe npeta. ov yap povov
€v Tols Tandatotsy Tavu Xpovors TeTapaypevars
EXPavTO ‘Pepaioe Tals TOV MNVOV 7 pos TOV évt-
auTOv mepLooots, Hote TAS Guaias Kat Tas éopTas
UTopEepomévas KATA puKpoV eis évavTias éxTEeTTTO-
578

CAESAR, tvin. 3-LIx. 1

planned and prepared to make an expedition against the Parthians ; and after subduing these and marching around the Euxine by way of Hyrcania, the Caspian sea, and the Caucasus, to invade Scythia ; and after overrunning the countries bordering on Germany and Germany itself, to come back by way of Gaul to Italy, and so to complete this circuit of his empire, which would then be bounded on all sides by the ocean. During this expedition, moreover, he intended to dig through the isthmus of Corinth, and had already put Anienus in charge of this work; he intended also to divert the Tiber just below the city into a deep channel, give it a bend towards Circeium, and make it empty into the sea at Terracina, thus contriving for merchantmen a safe as well as an easy passage to Rome; and besides this, to convert the marshes about Pomentinum and Setia into a plain which many thousands of men could cultivate ; and further, to build moles which should barricade the sea where it was nearest to Rome, to clear away the hidden dangers on the shore of Ostia, and then construct harbours and roadsteads sufficient for the great fleets that would visit them. And all these things were in preparation.

LIX. The adjustment of the calendar, however, and the correction of the irregularity in the com- putation of time, were not only studied scientifically by him, but also brought to completion, and proved to be of the highest utility. For not only in very ancient times was the relation of the lunar to the solar year in great confusion among the Romans, so that the sacrificial feasts and festivals, diverging gradually, at last fell in opposite seasons of the year,

, a , Ca) A \ \ \ ,
2 Kéval Tols ypovolts Wpas, adAG Kal TEPL THY TOTE
U
ovaay HALAKNY OL pev AAAOL TAYTaTTAGL TOUTWY
A /
daurroylaTws elyov, ot O€ Lepets povot TOV KaLpOV

eLootes eEaidvns Kal mponoOnpévov pndevos Tov

> / Us A U >

éuBortpmov mpocéypagoy pinva, Mepxnoovior dvo-

ia A "~ € \ A 9 wn

pavovtes, Ov Nouas 0 Bactdevs patos éuBarelv

\ \ Y

NévyeTal, pixpav Kal dStaTeivovaay ov Troppw Bon-
\ cal \ \ >
Jeav é€evpmv Ths wept Tas amokatactdaceEls
, a \ /
TANM[LEAELAS, WS EV TOS TEPL eKEivOU YyéypaTrTal.

3 Kaicap 6€ Tois apictos THY dirocopwv Kal

A \ A
padnuatix@v TO TpOBAnMa TpoVeEls Ex THY UTO-
, BA / 4 3Q7 \ \
Ketevov On peOocwy Euikev idtav Tiva Kal bin-
4 A 3 , ?
cpiBwpevny padrrov érravop$wow, 7 Ypw@mevoe
péxpt viv 'Pwpatos Soxovow Artov étTépwv shar-
,

NecOar TEpl THV avMpariav. ov pnVv adda xal
TovTo Tots BacKkaivovot Kat Bapuvopévors tHv
pe A “ , aA ¢
Suva aitias jwapetye. Kixépwv yovy o pntwp,
e 54 , / ” > , i?
@S Eotke, PNTAVTOS TLVOS aUpLoY emLTEAXELY AUpaD,
GOING ee ae co 2 8 s >» e \ ie
Nat, eimev, ‘‘€x dlatayuaTos, ws Kat TOUTO
mpos avaykny Tay avOpaTrwv Seyopnévwn,
LX. To dé éudaves padtaota picos rai Java-
4 3 b b] \ e Cal ? 4 b] 7
Tnpopov ew avTov o THs Baciretas Epws éeFerpya-
a a , o
gato, Tols pev modXdols attia mpwTn, Tois be
UTOUAOLS TAAAL Tpophacls EvTpETETTATH yevo-
pevn. Kaitot Kat oyov Twa KaTéoTeELpay Eis
ol / ,
Tov Onpov ot TavTnv Kaicapt tiv tiny mpoke-
VOOVTES, WS EK YpapmadToV YBvAXrEiwY adwoiwa 736
/ € ? a
ta Ilap@wv gdaivorto Pwpators cu Bacirel
580

CAESAR, Lix, 2-Lx. 1

but also at this time people generally had no way of computing the actual solar year;! the priests alone knew the proper time, and would suddenly and to everybody's surprise insert the intercalary month called Mercedonius. Numa the king is said to have been the first to intercalate this month, thus devis- ing a slight and short-lived remedy for the error in regard to the sidereal and solar cycles, as I have said in his Life? But Caesar laid the problem before the best philosophers and mathematicians, and ont of the methods of correction which were already at hand compounded one of his own which was more accurate than any. This the Romans use down to the present time, and are thought to be less in error than other peoples as regards the inequality between the lunar and solar years. However, even this fur- nished occasion for blame to those who envied Caesar and disliked his power. At any rate, Cicero the orator, we are told, when some one remarked that Lyra would rise on the morrow, said: “Yes, by decree,” implying that men were compelled to accept even this dispensation.

LX. But the most open and deadly hatred to- wards him was produced by his passion for the royal power. For the multitude this was a first cause of hatred, and for those who had long smothered their hate, a most specious pretext for it. And yet those who were advocating this honour for Caesar actually spread abroad among the people a report that from the Sibylline books it appeared that Parthia could be taken if the Romans went up against it with a king,

1 At this time the Roman calendar wus more than two months ahead of the solar year. Caesar’s reform went into

effect in 46 B.c. 2 Chapter xviii.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TTpAaTEvomevols eT AVTOUS, AAAWS avédtKTa OvTA'
kal xataBaivovtos é& “AXBns Kaicapos eis tH
TOA éTOApnoaY avToY aotdoacbat Bactréa.
Tov dé Onuou d:atapayPevtos axybeabels exeivos
ovx én Bactrevs, GANA Kaicap xareicPat Kai
yevouéevns mpos TOUTO TavT@Y alwTHAS ov mavu
paid pos ove Evers map bev. év O€ ovyehyre@
Teas TLVaS umeppuels auT@ Wndicapevov éTuXe
ev virép TOV éuBodwv wabeLopevos, T Pog Lovr@y
d€ TaYv UTadTwY Kal TOV OTPATHYOY, dua 6€ Kal
THS Bours an acns ETOMEVNS, ovy vreLavacras,
GNX w@oTrep LOL@TALS teat yenpaTtiCon, amex pt-
VATO GUaTOAS parrov } Tpocbécews TAS TLLAS
Seic Oat. Kal TodTO ov povoy Hviace THY BovAny,
aXXa Kab TOV Onjov, as év TH BovrAn THs ToAEws
T pomnraKtlopevns, Kal pera dew hs KaTnpelas
amirGov evdus ols éEAv py TApapevery, @OTE KiL-
Kelvoy évvoncavTa tTapaypnua pev olxade Tpa-
mécOar Kal Body T pos TOUS pirous, amayaryovTa
TOU Tpax7}rov TO iparvov, WS Eromos ein T@ Bov-
NO Mevo THY opayny TApeNery, orepov dé mpopa-
oiler Pat TID vooov" ov yap eOehewy Thy aicOnow
at pepety TOV obras EXOVTOY, OTav LoTapevot Sta-
NéywvTac T pos OX AOD, GXXA ceLomevnv TAXY Kal
Te pipe po mevnv idiryyous emia ao Gat Kal KaTa-
AauBiver Bar. TO 6¢ ovx elyev oUTWS, GAA Kal
mavu Bovropevoy avtov uTeEavacthvat tH BovrAn
Aéyouow vm Tov TAY hirwv, wadXov b€ KONaKw)Y,
Kopyynrtov BarBouv, KatacxeO var pncavros:
Ou pemyynon Kaicap OY, ovde akiwces ws
xpeittova Oepatrever Oat ceavTov;”
582

CAESAR, Lx. 1-5

but otherwise could not be assailed; and as Caesar was coming down from Alba into the city they ventured to hail him as king. But at this the people were confounded, and Caesar, disturbed in mind, said that his name was not King, but Caesar, and seeing that his words produced an universal silence, he passed on with no very cheerful or contented looks. Moreover, after sundry extravagant honours had been voted him in the senate, it chanced that he was sitting above the rostra, and as the praetors and consuls

drew near, with the whole senate following them, he did not rise to receive them, but as if he were dealing with mere private persons, replied that his honours needed curtailment rather than enlarge- ment. This vexed not only the senate, but also the people, who felt that in the persons of the senators the state was insulted, and in a terrible dejection they went away at once, all who were not obliged to remain, so that Caesar too, when he was aware of his mistake, immediately turned to go home, and draw- ing back his toga from his neck, cried in loud tones to his friends that he was ready to offer his throat to any one who wished to kill him. But afterwards he made his disease an excuse for his behaviour, saying that the senses of those who are thus afflicted do not usually remain steady when they address a multitude standing, but are speedily shaken and whirled about, bringing on giddiness and insensibility. However, what he said was not true; on the contrary, he was very desirous of rising to receive the senate; but one of his friends, as they say, or rather one of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus, restrained him, saying : " Remember that thou art Caesar, and permit thyself to be courted as a superior."

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PLUTARCR'S LIVES

LXI. 'Ezreyiverat tovtots tots T poo Kpous pac ty
0 TOV Onpapxov TpoTrAKLG LOS. VY fev yap %
TOV Aovrepradtov E07}; mepl nS TOOL ypa-
hovoly ws ToLwevwv TO TaXaLOY eElyn, Kal TL Kal
T POT nKeL Tots A praduxots Aveatots. Tov ©
EVYEV@V veavioxoy Kal apxovTov TOAXNOL OLa-
Jéovow ava THY Toh yupvot, OKUTEDL Aacious
Tous éurrodwy él waded Kat yéAwTe Traiovtes:
ToAAal 6€ Kal Tov év TéXEL yuvatK@Y érriTNOES
UTavT@cAaL TapeXOVoLY WaTTEP EV d.6arKddou To
Xeipe Tais mAHyats, TeTeLo Meval pos evToKiay
Kvovoals, ayovots d€ mpos Kuno w ayadov elvat.
Tabra Katcap €@eato caOnpevos é ent TOV éuBorwy
emt dip pou xpvood, OprapPin@ KOo Lp 'KeKOT UN -
pévos. 'AvTw@vios oe TOV Geovtwy tov 'epov Spo-
pov els Ave Kal yap Umdrevev. @S Ov Els THY
ayopay évéBare kal to mARO0s avTo Oven,
péepov dradnpa orepavey dagvns me pemreTheyevov
epee TO Kaicapu- Kat yiveTar KpOTOS ov Aap
™ pos, GX bréLyos ex TApPad KEUTS. ATWO afLevou
5é Tov Kaicapos amas 0 Ofjjos aveK poTnaey'
abéis € 7 poo hépovTos oruryor, Kal ay, de€apévov
made amayres. ovTH dé THs melpas éfereyxXo-
pevngs Kaicap bev avioratat, TOV orepavov els
To Kamit@Atov amevexOivat Kxedevoas, wh0n-
cav 6€ avdptaytes avtob Sradnuacw avacece-

pevot Bacirsxois. Kal TOV Onpdpxov dvo, ra-
ovios Kal Mapun2ros, emer Oovtes arTréoTracay, Kal
TOUS doTATALEVOUS Bacthéa TOV Kaicapa T™ po-
TOUS éEeupovtes am iyyov els TO Seaport nptov. “)
dé Ojos eltmeto KpoTta@v, Kal Bpovtous atrexanret
Tous avopas, Ott Bpodros Hv 0 Katadvcas THY TOY
584

CAESAR, Lxi. 1-5

LXI. There was added to these causes of offence his insult to the tribunes. It was, namely, the festival of the Lupercalia, of which many write that it was anciently celebrated by shepherds, and has also some connection with the Arcadian Lycaea. At this time many of the noble youths and of the magis- trates run up and down through the city naked, for sport and laughter striking those they meet with shaggy thongs. And many women of rank also purposely get in their way, and like children at schoo] present their hands to be struck, believing that the pregnant will thus be helped to an easy delivery, and the barren to pregnancy. These cere- monies Caesar was witnessing, seated upon the rostra on a golden throne, arrayed in triumphal attire. And Antony was one of the runners in the sacred race; for he was consul. Accordingly, after he had dashed into the forum and the crowd had made way for him, he carried a diadem, round which a wreath of laurel was tied, and held it out to Caesar. Then there was applause, not loud, but slight and preconcerted. But when Caesar pushed away the diadem, al] the people applauded ; and when Antony offered it again, few, and when Caesar declined it again, all, applauded. The experiment having thus failed, Caesar rose from his seat, after ordering the wreath to be carried up to the Capitol ; but then his statues were seen to have been decked with royal diadems. So two of the tribunes, Flavius and Mar- yllus, went up to them and pulled off the diadems, and after discovering those who had first hailed Caesar as king, led them off to prison. Moreover, the people followed the tribunes with applause and called them Brutuses, because Brutus was the man who put

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Bacihéwv dcadox7v Kal TO KPaTOs eis Boudyy Kal
Ojuwov éx povapytas KaTACTHOAS. él TOUT@
Kaioap mapotuvets THY pev apx iy apeineTo TOV
Tepl TOV Mapunvov, év 6€ TO KaTnyopety AUTO
apa Kal TOV Of Lov éguBpivor ToAraKLs Bpovtous
re Kal Kupuatous aTreK ANE TOUS avopas.
LXII. Otto 64 tTpérovtat tpos Mapxov Bpod-
TOD ol TONNOL, ryevos pev éxeiOev eivat Soxobvta
7 pos TATEPOV, Kal TO pos puNnTpos O€ aro Zepoue-
Aiwy, oixias éTépas emepavovs, yapSpov 6¢ Kal
adehp ody | Kdtwvos. tovtov €& éavtod pep
oppijo at 7 pos. KaTaAXvoL THS povapxias ip Bruvov
ab Tapa Kaicapos TLpat Kat dpites. ov yap

povoy éawOn trepl Papoarov amTO THS Toparniov
ghuyis, ovdé TodXovs TOV erretnoetov ET Woe
eLartno auevos, ana Kal maT ete peyadny
Tap avT@. Kal oTpaTnyiav pev éy Tots TOTE THY
éxupavertarny édaBev, Umatevey O€ éuednrev els
TéTAPTOV 705, épioavtos Kaaciov TporrunOeis.
Neyerae yap o Kaicap elmety OS Sixaorepa pev
Néyor Kaaowos, avtos pévtot Bpodtov ove av
TapeOot. Kab TOTE Kal bcaBardovtov TLV@V TOV
dvopa, TPAaTTo“Erns 789 THS Tuvepogias, ov
™ pooerxer, andra TOU TwM"ATOS TH KELpt Guyav
eon 7 pos TOUS 6taBaddovtas . ‘Avapevel TOUTO
TO Séppa Bpodros, & OS afvov pev ovta TIS EOXAS
és apeTny, Oia O€ Thy apxny ovK av aydptotov
Kal Tovnpov yevomevoyv. ot d€ THs petaPorHs
ee ee ae ee ee

1 See the Publicola, i.-ix.

2 The word ‘‘brutus” in Latin signified stupid (cf. the Publicola, iii. 4); and the people of Cymé, in Asia Minor, were celebrated for stupidity (Strabo, p. 622).

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an end to the royal succession and brought the power into the hands of the senate and people instead of a sole ruler.! At this, Caesar was greatly vexed, and deprived Maryllus and Flavius of their office, while in his denunciation of them, although he at the same time insulted the people, he called them repeatedly Brutes? and Cymaeans.?

LXIJ. Under these circumstances the multitude turned their thoughts towards Marcus Brutus, who was thought to be a descendant of the elder Brutus on his father’s side, on his mother’s side belonged to the Servilii, another illustrious house, and was a son- in-law and nephew of Cato. The desires which Brutus felt to attempt of his own accord the abolition of the monarchy were blunted by the favours and honours that he had received from Caesar. For not only had his life been spared at Pharsalus after Pom- pey’s flight, and the lives of many of his friends at his entreaty, but also he had great credit with Caesar. He had received the most honourable of the praetor- ships for the current year, and was to be consul three years later, having been preferred to Cassius, who was a rival candidate. For Caesar, as we are told, said that Cassius urged the juster claims to the office, but that for his own part he could not pass Brutus by. Once, too, when certain persons were actually accusing Brutus to him, the conspiracy being already on foot,

Caesar would not heed them, but laying his hand upon his body said to the ac- cusers: “ Brutus will wait for this shrivelled skin,’ + implying that Brutus was worthy to rule because of his virtue, but that for the sake of ruling he would not become a thankless villain. Those, however, who

3 Cf. the Brutus, vii. 1-3.
4 Cf. the Brutus chapters vili., 1x.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

€ pre wevor Kat 7 pos Povey éxelvov 7) TP@Tov aTo-
BrérrovTes auT@ pev OUK éTOh pov diareyer Gat,
VUKTP dé kareriumdacay Ypappatov To BHya
Ka TOV Sip pov eh’ ov oTpaTny av expnparever”
@V HV TA TOAAG TOLAvTA* “Kadevders, a @ Bpovre,”
cat “Ov ef Bpodtos.” vd’ wv 0 Kaacios aicbo-
[LEVOS Sraxivovpevov NOUXT TO piroTLpuov avroo,
paAXov 7 TporEpov eVEKELTO Kal Tapwtvven, avToOs
idia Te eal picous EXeov 7 pos. TOV Kaicapa, be’
aitias as ev Tots Tept Bpovtov YE Pap pEvoss
edn woxaper, exe PEVTOL Kat ov brrowias o
Katcap avtov, wate Kai 7 pos TOUS pidous eLTreLy
more: * Ay paivetar Bovropevos Up Kacotos;
enol pev yap ov Mav apeo Kes May @YPOs wv.”
waru oé heyeTau, rept ‘Avt@vtov kat AodoBédra
SiaBorns pos avtov, ws vewtepiCorer, EXMovens,
“Od Tay,” hava, “‘rovrous dédorKka TOUS Taxets
Kal KOMNTAS, padXov O€ TOUS @Xpous Ka’ NETTOUS
Exeivous’” Kaoovov Aeyoou Kal Bpovtov.
Loree ANN: couKev ovx OUTS am poo SoKntov
@S apvnakTov elvau TO TeTpwpmevov, eTEL Kal
onpeta Oavpacra Kal pacpara pavivas Néyouae.
céka pev ovv ovpavia Kal KTUTOUS VUKT Op TOX-
haxov Suaepopevous Kab KataipovTas eis aryopav
épnysovs épvidas ouk aftov iows emi wade, THN-
KOUT® pvnpovevoar XTpaBwv 6é o prrooodos
to Topet TONKOVS LEV avOpwrrous dat vpovs emt-
pepopevous pavivar, oTpatiwtou é av8pos oiKe-
Tnv eK THS YELpos éx Baneip TONY proya Kab
Soxeiv xaicoOat Tous Op@dly, WS 6é eTAVTATO,
undev exe Kxaxov tov advOpwrov: avt@ be Kai-
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CAESAR, Lx. 4-Lxin. 2

were eager for the change, and fixed their eyes on Brutus alone, or on him first, did not venture to talk with him directly, but by night they covered his praetorial tribune and chair with writings, most of which were of this sort: “Thou art asleep, Brutus,” or, “ Thou art not Brutus.” ! When Cassius perceived that the ambition of Brutus was somewhat stirred by these things, he was more urgent with him than be- fore, and pricked him on, having himself also some private grounds for hating Caesar; these I have mentioned in the Life of Brutus.! Moreover, Caesar actually suspected him, so that he once said to his friends: “ What, think ye, doth Cassius want? I like him not over much, for he is much too pale.” And again, we are told that when Antony and Dolabella were accused to him of plotting revolution, Caesar said ; “ Tam not much in fear of these fat, long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale, thin ones,” meaning Brutus and Cassius.}

LXIII. But destiny, it would seem, is not so much unexpected as it is unavoidable, since they say that amazing signs and apparitions were seen. Now, as for lights in the heavens, crashing sounds borne all about by night, and birds of omen coming down into the forum, it is perhaps not worth while to mention these precursors of so great an event; but Strabo the philosopher says? that multitudes of men all on fire were seen rushing up, and a soldier's slave threw from his hand a copious flame and seemed to the spectators to be burning, but when the flame ceased the man was uninjured; he says, more-

1 Cf. the Brutus, chapters viii., ix.
? Probably in the ‘ Historical Commentaries” cited in the Lucullus, xxviii. 7.
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Gea

an

PLUTARCH S LIVES

, \ Q/ >] ~ , a
capt Ovovtse THVY Kapdtay adavi) yevéobas Tod
, ~ \ > \ , \ b ts
(epetov Kat etvoyv elval TO TEpas’ ov yap ay Pucet
A “ f 4 \ A
ye cuoTthvat Saov axdpoiov. ate d€ Kai TavTa
A wn id f ? n
TONAGY aKOUT at Cue ScovT wn, OS TLS AUT@ PavTis
nuepa Maprtiou pajvos, yy Eddous ‘Pwatos Ka-
LovaL, TpoetTroe peeyav pudattec Gat xivouvov
éerXGovans € Tis Huepas Tpoiwy 0 Kaicap eis tHhv
, , A
GUYKANTOV aoTacapEevos TpooTatieere TH pavTet
? ‘ce € \ oO? i f weé \ ie Pb Sty
hapevos: ‘ At pev on Maptiar Kudoi maperow, o
oe e aA \ 3 \ vw ce NT \ 4 3 3

€ NOU Tpos auTov eitrou ‘Nat wapeiotv, adr
; , ” \ a eee td ra
ov Tapernrvlact. mpo pias dé nuépas Mapxov
, la \ \ nw
Aemtoov Setrrvifovtos avtoy étuxe pev émTLaTOAtS
f ‘ i
Uroypapov, OTTED eve Oet, KATAKEL[EVOS* é Tr e-
cOvTOS d€ AOyou Toles dpa THY Oavatowv dplaTos,
émavTas peacas efeBonoer 2a) am poo 0oKijT0S.”
peTa TAavTa KOLLO@LEVOS, women ewle, Tapa TH
,
yuvakl, Taco dua tov Ovpdv tod Swpariov
A , 4
Kat TOV Oupiowy avaTetavyupévany, StatapaxGeis
¢ n 4 n f. wn
AUAaA TO KTUTM KAL TO HwHTL KATAXAUTOVENS THS
, wv \ , / \
cernyyns, noGeto tiv Kadrovpviav Babéws peév
, nw ‘ x \ \
xaGevdovaary, acadels 6€ havas Kat ctevaypovs
/ A e t
avap0 povs avaTéutrovoay €k TOY UTvwY: €dOKEt
, A \ A ,
d€ apa KNalELY Exelvoy ETt Tals ayKadals EvovTa
,
KaTteopayevov.
¢ 3 “ x f \
Or dé ob pace TH yuvatet Tavtyy yever ar THY
oyriy: arra IV yap Te TH Kaicapos oKig 7 poo
KElLEVOY OLOV ETL KOT LM Kat GE“VOTNTL TIS
/ 5 / ¢
Bovrrs vapioaperns CKPWTIPLOY, OS AtBtos
(atopel, TovTo dvap 1 Kadrovpria Peacapern
KaTappynyye pevov écoke worvriabar Kai Saxpvey.
nuépas © obv yevopevns édeiro tov Kaicapos,
02

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CAESAR, -Lxu. 2-6

over, that when Caesar himself was sacrificing, the heart of the victim was not to be found, and the prodigy caused fear, since in the course of nature, certainly, an animal without a heart could not exist. The following story, too, is told by many. A certain seer warned Caesar to be on his guard against a great peril on the day of the month of March which the Romans call the Ides; and when the day had come and

Caesar was on his way to the senate- house, he greeted the seer with a jest and said: * Well, the Ides of March are come," and the seer said to him softly: "Aye, they are come, but they are not gone." Moreover, on the day before, when Marcus Lepidus was entertaining him at supper, Caesar chanced to be signing letters, as his custom was, while reclining at table, and the discourse turned suddenly upon the question what sort of death was the best; before any one else could answer Caesar eried out: "That which is unexpected."' After this, while he was sleeping as usual by the side of his wife, all the windows and doors of the chamber flew open at once, and Caesar, confounded by the noise and the light of the moon shining down upon him, noticed that Calpurnia was in a deep slumber, but was uttering indistinct words and inarticulate groans in her sleep; for she dreamed, as it proved, that she was holding her murdered husband in her arms and bewailing him.

Some, however, say that this was not the vision which the woman had; but that there was attached to Caesar's house to give it adornment and distinction, by vote of the senate, a gable-ornament, as Livy says, and it was this which Calpurnia in her dreams saw torn down, and therefore, as she thought, wailed and wept. At all events, when day came, she begged Caesar,

So

el prev olov Te, TpoerOetv, arr' avaBarécOut
THY GUYKANTOVY: Eb O€ TOV exeivns ovelpwv éXd-
Xora ppovriver, oKxewacGat dua HavTeKns arAns
Kat Lepa@v TEpt TOU HEAROVTOS. eiye 5€ TUS, os
EOLKE, Kaxetvov uTowia Kal poBos. ovdeva yap
YUvaLKLa WOv év Serr Oarpovia TpoTEpov KATEYVO-
Ket THS Kadroupuias, TOTE O€ € ewpa mepimadovoar.
ws 6€ Kal TOANA KaTaBtaavTeEs of pavTEets Edpa-
gav att@ dvotepeiv, éyvo méuas *Avtwviov
adetvat THY cUyKANTOV.
LXIV. 'Ep &€ TOUT Acxipos Bpotros émTiKAN-
ow "AABiv0s, TLd TEVOLEVOS pev UTrO Kaicapos,
@oTe Kal SevTEpOS om AUTO KAN povosLos "ye-
ypapbat, Tois 6é€ TEpl Bpovrov TOV ETepov Kal
Kaoovov peTeX ov TIS TUVW{LOTLAS, poPnbeis
yn THY 7 ME par exetyny Stax povaapévov | TOU
Kaicapos EXTTUOTOS Y makes yevntat, TOUS TE
pavrers exrevate Kat Kann TeTo TOU Kaicapos,
as aitias Kat d1aBoras éavT@ KT@PEVOU ™ pos
THY oUyKAN ov evtpupaa bar donodcav KEY [Lev
yap avr KEhEVTAYTOS exelvou, Kal Tm po uous
elvat Wage rCeaOat TavTas omas TOV exTOS 'Itarias
errapxiav Bactrevs avayopevoito Kal hopotn dia-
dna THY adAnV éTtLov yHv Kal Odraccav: et &é
ppace Tis autos cabeCopevors yov peev amraNXat-

tea Oat, Tapetvat oe avdrs 6 OTaV evTUX Bedrioow
avetpous Kadroupvia, Tivas éseaBas Noyous Tapa
TOV PO ovouvT wv) TiVa TOV pirov dveEeaOau
di6acKovT@V os ovxt dovheta TAUTA Kat Tupavvis
€oTlv; GX et SoKet TAVTMS, épn, THY neepay
aporwaoacbat, Bérr1ov avTov tapedOovta Kat
mpocayopevoavta Ty BovrAnv uTepPécOat, Tavl”
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CAESAR, cx. 6—-LxIv. 4

if it was possible, not to go out, but to postpone the meeting of the senate ; if, however, he had no concern at all for her dreams, she besought him to enquire by other modes of divination and by sacrifices concerning the future. And Caesar also, as it would appear, was in some suspicion and fear. For never before had he perceived in Ca]purnia any womanish superstition, but now he saw that she was in great distress. And when the seers also, after many sacrifices, told him that the omens were unfavourable, he resolved to send Antony and dismiss the senate.

LXIV. But at this juncture Decimus Brutus, sur- named Albinus, who was so trusted by Caesar that he was entered in his will as his second heir, but was partner in the conspiracy of the other Brutus and Cassius, fearing that if Caesar should elude that day, their undertaking would become known, ridiculed the seers and chided Caesar for laying himself open to malicious charges on the part of the senators, who would think themselves mocked at; for they had met at his bidding, and were ready and willing to vote as one man that he should be declared king of the provinces outside of Italy, and might wear a diadem when he went anywhere else by land or sea; but if some one should tell them at their session to be gone now, but to come back again when Calpurnia should have better dreams, what speeches would be made by his enemies, or who would listen to his friends when they tried to show that this was not slavery and tyranny? But if he was fully resolved (Albinus said) to regard the day as inauspicious, it was better that he should go in person and address the senate, and then postpone its business. While

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

dpa Néywv o Bpodrcs tye tis xXerpos NaBopevos
TOV Kaicapa. Kal pbk pov pev auT@ TpoeOovTt
TOV Oupav olxeTns GNAOTPLOS évTuxety ™ pol upou-
HEVOS, WS 1)TTATO TOD mept éxetvov wbtapod Kal
ThiGous, Brac apevos els THY olxiav Tapedw@ner
éauTov ™) Kaaroupvig, puharre Kehevoas axpe
av éravenOn Kaisap, ws €yov pweydrXa Tpaypata
KATELTELY TPOS AUTOV.
LXV. ’Aptepidmpos 5é Kvidcios ro yévos, ‘ENX2)-
vikov AOywv codiaTiIs Kal bid TovTO yeryovws
éviois auynOns tav epi Bpodtov, wate Kai

yV@vat TA TELTTA TOV TPATTOMEVOD, HKE EV ev
BiBrsdie Komilov aqrep EMeA NE penvvery, opav dé
TOV Kaicapa Tay BiBredvev ExaoTov bexopevov
Kal tapad:oovta Tots TEpL avTOY banpérats, éyryus
opodpa mpocedOow, : Todt," ébn, " Kaicap,
dvayvot [0V05 Kat TAX EWS" yeypaTTat yap
ree Tpaypatov peyarwv Kat oot Srapepovtov."
deEdpevos ovv Oo Kaicap avayv@vat ev uTo
TrNOoVS THY EevTVyXaVvoVT@Y exwAVON, KaiTrEp
opprjaas TONAGKLS, év 6€ TH KeLpl KaTEX@V Kal
puratT wv HOvov EXELVO TrapirOev els THY ouy-
KAXyNTOV. EvLOL 6¢ dacty addov émidodvat TO
BiBrLov Todto, Tov & ‘’Aptepidwpov ovbé brAwWs
mpocerUetv, arr €xOrXUBivat Tapa wacav Ti
OOOv.
LXVI. "AdAd tatta pev 76n Tou pépel Kui
TO auToparoy o 6é deEdpevos Tov povoy éxeivov
Ka TOV ayova X@pos, els a7 a) TUYEANTOS nO poiaOn
TOTE, Tloumniov peév etkova, Kelpevny éyov, Lopu-
mniov o¢ avalnpa yeyovws THY mpoaKEeKoo pN-
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CAESAR, Lxiv. 4 -Lxvl. 1

saying these things Brutus took Caesar by the hand

and began to lead him along. And he had gone
but a little way from his door when a slave be-
longing to some one else, eager to get at Caesar, but
unable to do so for the press of numbers about him,
forced his way into the house, gave himself into the
hands of Calpurnia, and bade her keep him secure
until Caesar came back, since he had important
matters to report to him.
LXV. Furthermore, Artemidorus, 2 Cnidian by
birth, a teacher of Greek philosophy, and on_ this
account brought into intimacy with some of the
followers of Brutus, so that he also knew most of
what they were doing, came bringing to Caesar in a
small roll the disclosures which he was going to
make ; but seeing that Caesar took all such rolls and
handed them to his attendants, he came quite near,
and said: "Read this, Caesar, by thyself, and
speedily ; for it contains matters of importance and
of concern to thee." Accordingly, Caesar took the

roll and would have read it, but was prevented by the multitude of people who engaged his attention, although he set out to do so many times, and holding in his hand and retaining that roll alone, he passed on into the senate. Some, however, say that another person gave him this roll, and that Artemidorus did not get to him at all, ‘but was crowded away all along the route.

LXVI. So- far, perhaps, these things may have happened of their own accord; the place, however, which was the scene of that str ugele and murder, and in which the senate was then assembled, since it contained a statue of Pompey and had been dedi- cated by Pompey as an additional ornament to his

“A 5] , la ,
pévoy TO Oeatpw, TavtaTacty aTrepaive Saipovos 73
‘ é
Tivos Udnyoupévov Kal KaXrotvTos éexet THY TpaEuy
’ > t
Epyov yeyovévat. Kal yap ovv Kat éeyetTar Kao-
a a \ fal
auos eis Tov avdptavta Tov Llourniouv mpo Tis
éyxerpyoews amoB\éTwv eémixareicbat ciw77,
, > ’ / XN A b 4 f
KaLTEP OVK GANOTPLOS WY THY 'ExLKOUpoU NOywr"
GX’ 0 KaLpOS, Ws EorKev, HON TOD SeLvod TapEeTTO-
tos évOouctacpov évetroies Kal tados avtl Tav
TPOTEPWY NOYLT LOD.
> , BS 4 \ ¥ s \
Avr@viov péev ovtv mictov évta Katicapi Kat
Cal “a > ww
poparéov €Ewm tmapaxatetye Bpovtos “AdPivos,
éuBar@v éritndes opidiay pnKos €yovoav: eict-
f \ 4 e \ ‘ e ,
ovtos 6€ Kaicapos 7 Bovrn pev vmeEavéory
Gepamevovaa, Tav 5é mepit Bpovdtoy ot peév é€o-
micGev tov dippov avtod teptéatnaay, ot &é
A 4 ? a
anrnvrncav, ws dn Tehrdtw KiuSpw wept aderdod
, ,
duyados évtuyyavovtt cvvdencopevol, Kai ouve-
, “ 4 aA id
SéovTo péypt tov Sigpou tapakoXovOodvtes. ws

4 ,
Sé xabicas dtexpoveto Tas Senoets Kal TpocKel-
f ¢e
pévov BraroTepoy rnyavaxret mpos ExacTov, Oo mev
\ a a
TidALos thy THBEevvoy aUTOD Tals Yepoly audoré-
pais cvANaBwv aro TOU TpAXi)NOU KaTHYyev" Strep
nv cuvOnpa THS emLyetpnaEews. TpaTos 6€ KacKas
, \
Eipee Tater mapa Tov avxéva ANY ov Bavatn-
, > N a“ > 3 e 3 , 5] > wn
gopov ovdé Babeiav, aN, ws eEtKos, ev apyT
TOALNUATOS peyadrou Tapaxlels, BaTE Kal TOV
/ val
Katoapa petactpagevta tov éyyetpidiov ra-
1 These discouraged belief in superhuman powers,
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CAESAR, txvt. 1-4

theatre, made it wholly clear that it was the work of some heavenly power which was calling and guiding the action thither. Indeed, it is also said that Cas- sius, turning his eyes toward the statue of Pompey before the attack began, invoked it silently, although he was much addicted to the doctrines of Epicurus ;1 but the crisis, as it would seem, when the dreadful attempt was now close at hand, replaced his former cool calculations with divinely inspired emotion. Well, then, Antony, who was a friend of Caesayv's and a robust man, was detained outside by Brutus Albinus,? who purposely engaged him in a lengthy conversation; but Caesar went in, and the senate rose in his honour. Some of the partisans of Brutus took their places round the back of Caesar's chair, while others went to meet him, as though they would support the petition which Tillius Cimber presented to Caesar in behalf of his exiled brother, and they joined their entreaties to his and accom- panied Caesar up to his chair. But when, after taking his seat, Caesar continued to repulse their petitions, and, as they pressed upon him with greater importunity, began to show anger towards one and another of them, Tillius seized his toga with both hands and pulled it down from his neck. This was the signal for the assault. It was Casca who gave him the first blow with his dagger, in the neck, not a mortal wound, nor even a deep one, for which he was too much confused, as was natural at the beginning of a deed of great daring ; so that Caesar turned about, grasped the knife, and held it fast.

2 By Caius Trebonius, rather, as Plutarch says in the Brutus, xvii. 1. Cf. Appian, B.C. ii. 117; Cicero, ad fam. x. 25.
=»

oJ

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Bear Kal KaTac xel. dpa dé tas eEehwvnoav
O wey mAnyels ‘Pwpaicte: “ Mtapwrate Kaoxa,
Ti trovets;”> o 6€ mAnEaS ‘EAAnuatt pos TOV
adergov' ° Adergeé, Bon Gee.”
Totavtyns b€ THs apyis yevouenns TOUS pev
ovder TUvELooTas exTA ELS ele Kat ppixy 7 pos
Ta Spapieva, pnte pevyev pate apuvvewv, adda
punoe povny éxBadrew TOAPLOVTAS. TOV 6€ 7 a.pe-
oKEVAT PEVOY éml Tov povov EXO TOU yuuvor aTrO-
detEavtos TO Eidos, €v KUKA® TE PLEX OMEVOS Kai
7 pos 6 TL Tpéeere THY inbey TAHYyats aravTav
Kal oLerpe@ PEepopevwm Kal Kara TPOTWTOU Kal
KAT opGarpav SveR Avvo pevos OoTEp Onptov é €VEL-
AeltTo Tats mavToV Kepow" admavras yap éde
xatapéacbar Kat yevoacbar tov dovov. 610
cai Bpodtos avtT@® TANnyHY evéBare piav els TOV
BouBava. rRéyetat 5€ UO TWwY ws Apa TpOs
Tous dAdoUS aTopmaxKopuevos Kat dtadépwv Sevdpo
KAKEL TO TMA Kai KExpayas, OTe Bpodtov cider
€o TAG MeVvOV TO Eigos, edethxveato Kata TAS
Keparns TO (watvov Kal Taphev EAUTOD, ELTE aT6
TUXNS elite UTO TOV KTELVOVTWY aTTwobEis, TpOS
Ty Bacw éd fs o Touarniov BeBnxev avopids.
Kal TON Kady pager avTny O povos, ws doKxety
avTov épertavar 7H TUL pla TOU TONEMLLOU Hop-
aniov UTO TOOAS KEKALLEVOU Kal TEplLaTALpovTos
UT ™ArnGous Tpaupatov. elxooe yap Kat T pla,
da ety Aeyerau Kat TroAXal Katetpadnaay vr
GAAnAwY, els EV aATrEpEeldoMEevoL Toa TANYAS
TodavTas.
LXVII. Katetpyacpévou 6€ Tov’ avdpos 7 peév
yepoucia, Kaitrep €is pécov edOovtos Bpovtou ws
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CAESAR, -xvi. 5-Lxvn. 3

At almost the same instant both cried out, the
smitten man in Latin: “ Accursed Casca, what doest
thou?’’ and the smiter, in Greek, to his brother:
*‘ Brother, help!”

So the affair began, and those who were not privy to the plot were filled with consternation and horror at what was going on ; they dared not fly, nor go to Caesar’s help, nay, nor even utter a word. But those who had prepared themselves for the murder bared each of them his dagger, and Caesar, hemmed in on all sides, whichever way he turned confronting blows of weapons aimed at his face and eyes, driven hither and thither like a wild beast, was entangled in the hands of all; for all had to take part in the sacrifice and taste of the slaughter. Therefore Brutus also gave him one blow in the groin. And it is said by some writers that although Caesar defended him- self against the rest and darted this way and that and cried aloud, when he saw that Brutus had drawn his dagger, he pulled his toga down over his head and sank, either by chance or because pushed there by his murderers, against the pedestal on which the statue of Pompey stood. And the pedestal was drenched with his blood, so that one might have thought that Pompey himself was presiding over this vengeance upon his enemy, who now lay prostrate at his feet, quivering from a multitude of wounds. For it is said that he received twenty-three; and many of the conspirators were wounded by one an- other, as they struggled to plant all those blows in one body.

LXVII. Caesar thus done to death, the senators, although Brutus came forward as if to say something

Tt /Tepl TOV TET pay LEvov epobvTos, OUK dvacyxo-
péevn Ova Oupav efemimre Kal pevyouea KaTe-
TANTE TAPAXTS «al déous dm opou TOV dij pov,
@OTE TOUS pev oLKlas Krélew, TOUS 6€ aTroAEL TEL
Tpamevas Kal XPnpatic Tnpla, O popu b€ xo pely
TOUS Lev el TOV TOTOV orropevous TO mabos, TOUS
b¢ éxetOev € EWPAKOTAS. "Avtevios 6é Kal Aém6os
ol padiora iro Kaicapos Umexduvres els oikias
érépas Kkatéduyov. ot O€ TTeEpi Bpobrov, Oa TEP
Hoav ete Oeppot T@ pove, yupra Ta Ein
SercvuvTes, apa TAVTES amo TOU BoureuTnpiov
TVTTPAPEVTEs €X@povy els TO Kamitoduov, ov
pevryovaty €otKoTEs, GANA para pardpol Kal Jap-
panréor, TapaKkarovyTes emt Thy éhevdepiay TO
wAHG0s Kab T poo Sex opeVvoL Tovs api Tous TOY
eEVTUYXavOVTOY. EvLot be Kal cuvave Barvov av-
Tots Kal KaTepiryvuc ay EAUTOUS as HETETXNKOTES
Tov &pyou Kal T poem orovyTo Tv Ookav, wv ny
kat Vaios ‘Oxraovios cal Aévrrdos LariwOrp.
ovuTor pev ovv Ths aAralovetas Sixnv &dwxav
UoTEpoY UTTO ‘Avte@viov kal tov véov Kaicapos
avatpebevres Kal poe THS b0Ens, buy amréOyn-
oKOV, aTroAava aVTEs anwatia TOV AAAWY. ovdE
yap ov Kcodabovtes avrous Tis mpakews, GANG THS
BovrAncews THY Sixny éaBov.

Mc” jpyépav 5€ TaV Trept Bpodrov Kate OovTwv
Kal TOlNT apEVvOV ovyous, o pev Onuos ove duaxe-
paivev ovTe ws éTawov Ta TET pary Leva, TOUS
Aeyouevors 1 POooeLXeED, aXn vrednhov TH TONAN
ciwtn Kaicapa pev olxtetpwr, aiSovpevos Se
Bpodtov, 7 8€ cuyKAnTOs auynotias Twas Kal
600

740

CAESAR, txvir. 1-4

about what had been done, would not wait to hear him, but burst out of doors and fled, thus filling the people with confusion and helpless fear, so that some of them closed their houses, while others left their counters and places of business and ran, first to the place to see what had happened, then away from the place when they had seen. Antony and Lepidus, the chief friends of Caesar, stole away and took refuge in the houses of others. But Brutus and his partisans, just as they were, still warm from the slaughter, displaying their daggers bare, went all in a body out of the senate-house and marched to the Capitol, not like fugitives, but with glad faces and full of confidence, summoning the multitude to freedom, and welcoming into their ranks the most distinguished of those who met them. Some also joined their number and went up with them as though they had shared in the deed, and laid claim to the glory of it, of whom were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther. These men, then, paid the penalty for their imposture later, when they were put to death by Antony and the young Caesar, with- out even enjoying the fame for the sake of which they died, owing to the disbelief of their fellow men. For even those who punished them did not exact a penalty for what they did, but for what they wished they had done.

On the next day Brutus came down and held a discourse, and the people listened to what was said without either expressing resentment at what had been done or appearing to approve of it; they showed, however, by their deep silence, that while they pitied Caesar, they respected Brutus. The senate, too, trying to make a general amnesty and
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

, 4 A Fuel, \ ¢
cuuBaces mpadttovca tract Kaicapa pév ws
\ A lal ,
Oeov tipav eyndicato Kal xively pnd TO puKpo-
A tA n
TaTov wv éxelvos dpxwv éBovrevce, Tois dé TreEpt
a i \
Bpodrov évapyias te duéverpe Kal Tras aTrédwxe

e b) \
MpeTovcas, WaoTe TavTas ol~cPat TA TpayyaTa
/
KaTaoTacl eye Kal avyKpaciy aTeidnpévar THY
,
aptoTny.
LXVITI. ’Esel 56 trav dcaPneav tov Katoapos
9 A ¢ 4 4 € J e /
avayGerca@yv evpebn dedopevn Pwpaiwy éexaot@
na 3
docs aktoNoyos, kal TO c@ua KoutCopevov ou
bJ A b] ? “a nw ,
ayopas ¢Gedcavto Tais mANnyais brarerwBrypévor,
9 \ a a
OUKETL KOTMOV Eiyev OSE TAELY AVTaV TO TANOOS,
9 . an \ fal , 9 9 n
GArAa TO pev vexp@ Tepiawpevoavtes €& ayopas
, \ / \ , ¢ a ? A
Bapa Kal KuyKrt6as Kat TpaTélas Udiay avtov
Kal KaTéxavoav, apdpevot b€ darovs dLaTrUpoUsS
4 fa
€Geov emi Tas oikias TOV aYNpHKOTwWY ws KaTA-
J , an
hrEEovtes, AArou b€ Efoltwr TavTayoce TIS To-
News TUAAaBEV Kal dtacTacacGat Tovs avdpas
“A ia ld \
Cnrovvtes. ols éxeivwy pev ovdeis amnvTnceD,
4 /
ara ev Teppaypevor mavtes Hoav. Kivvas 6€
a ,
tis Tov Kaicapos étalipwy etTvye pév, OS hact,
THS TWAPWYNMEVNS VUKTOS OLY EWPAKwS ATOTOY
90 / \ e \ La / ae “ a
edoxer yap Uo Katcapos éml detrvov xareio bat,
\ 14 n ¢ >] n
mapattovpevos b€ ayecOa THs Yetpos UT avTov
\ , > > > , € >] BA
yr) BovrOpevos, GAN avtiTetvwv. ws 8 NKovoev
“~ A 4 A
év ayopa TO cMpa Katec0a Tov Kaicapos, dva-
\ b : , & > \ fal , e , ,
otas éBadiley emi tin, Kaitep vpopwpmevos TE
4 ,
Thy OWly Gua Kai TupéTTMOV. Kat TIs OPOEvTOS
a nan nn - , 3.

avTov T@Y TO\NBY EfpaceEy ETEPH TOUVOLA TUP-
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CAESAR, txvit. 4 LXvVIt. 3

reconciliation, voted to give Caesar divine honours
and not to disturb even the most insignificant
measure which he had adopted when in power ;
while to Brutus and his partisans it distributed
provinces and gave suitable honours, so that every-
body thought that matters were decided and settled
in the best possible manner.
LXVIIJ. But when the will of Caesar was opened and it was found that he had given every Roman citizen a considerable gift, and when the multitude saw his body carried through the forum all disfigured with its wounds, they no longer kept themselves within the restraints of order and discipline, but after heaping round the body benches, railings, and tables from the forum, they set fire to them and burned it there; then, lifting blazing brands on high, they ran to the houses of the murderers with intent to burn them down, while others went every whither through the city seeking to seize the men themselves and tear them to pieces. Not one of these came in their way, but all were well barricaded. There was a certain Cinna, however, one of the friends of Caesar, who chanced, as they say, to have seen during the previous night a strange vision. He dreamed, that is, that he was invited to supper by Caesar, and that when he excused himself, Caesar led him along by the hand, although he did not wish to go, but resisted. Now, when he heard that they were burning the body of Caesar in the forum, he rose up and went thither out of respect, although he had misgivings arising from his vision, and was at the same time in a fever. At sight of him, one of the multitude told his name to another who asked him

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Oavopéva, Kaxeivos GAN, Kal Ota TravT@V evOuS
HV WS ovUTOS é€oTLVY 0 avnp TaY avnpnKoTwV Kai-
gapa* Kal yap HY TLs Opwvupos éxeivm Kivvas év
Tots TVVOLOTAapEVOLS, OY TOUTOV Elvat TpoAaBovTES
oppnoav evOrs Kal dieoctacay év péow TOV ar-
Opwrov. TovTo padtaota SetoavTes of Tepi Bpod-
Tov Kat Kagowov ov TOAA@Y MEp@Y SiayEevomeva@V
aTeyapnoay €K THS TOdEwWS. a Sé Kal mpdé~ayTes
cal twabovtes éTENEUTHGAY, EV TOis TEL BpovTou
ye ypaTTat.
LXIX. Ovnoxe S€ Kaicap ta pév ravta ye-
yovws étn TevtnKkovta Kal €&, loprnio 6 émt-
Buwoas ov TOAD TAEOV éT@Y TEcTUpar, iy dé TO
Bio mavti apynv cal duvacteiay d1a Kwvdvvav
TOTOUT@Y OSLWKMY POLS KATELPyddaToO, TAaUTNS

ovdey OTL pn TovVoLAa povoyv Kal THY émridOovor
KapTwodapevos Cofav Tapa TOV TOMTAY. Oo Mé-
Tor wéyas avTov daipwv, @ Tapa Tov Biov éypn-
CATO, KAL TEAEVTICAVTOS ETNKOAOVONTE TLULWPOS
Tov dovou, dua TE YRS TAGS Kal OadaTTNs éXav-
VOV Kal aviyvEevoVv aYpL TOU pwNndéva LTE TAY
ATEKTOVOTM@V, UNXA Kal TOvS KAY OTLODY H YELpl
Tov Epyou Ouyovtas } yvwpuns peTacyovtas érre€-
edetv.
Oavpaciwtatoy d€ Tav pev avOpwrivwyv to
mept Kacovovy nrTnGeis yap é€v Pirimmrots exeivo
TO Eihidio SvePOecpey Eavtov @ Kata Kaicapos
éypjaato: tay 6€ Belwy 6 TE péyas KOmNTNS
(é€pdavn yap emi vuxtas émta peta THY Kaicapos
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CAESAR, cxvin. 3-Lx1x. 3

what it was, and he to another, and at once word
ran through the whole throng that this man was one
of the murderers of Caesar. For there was among
the conspirators a man who bore this same name of
Cinna, and assuming that this man was he, the crowd
rushed upon him and tore him in pieces among
them.!. This more than anything else made Brutus
and Cassius afraid, and not many days afterwards
they withdrew from the city. What they did and
suffered before they died, has been told in the Life
of Brutus.
LXNIX. At the time of his death Caesar was fully
fifty-six years old, but he had survived Pompey not
much more than four years, while of the power and
dominion which he had sought all his life at so
great risks, and barely achieved at last, of this he
had reaped no fruit but the name of it only, and a
glory which had awakened envy on the part of his
fellow citizens. However, the great guardian-genius
of the man, whose help he had enjoyed through life,
followed upon him even after death as an avenger of
his murder, driving and tracking down his slayers
over every land and sea until not one of them was
left, but even those who in any way soever either
put hand to the deed or took part in the plot were
punished.
Among events of man’s ordering, the most amazing was that which befell Cassius; for after his defeat at

Philippi he slew himself with that very dagger which he had used against Caesar; and among events of divine ordering, there was the great comet, which showed itself in great splendour for seven nights

1 Cf. the Brutus, xx. 5 f.

adayiny Siam pers, celta npavia On) Kal TO mept 741
4 TOV iALov dpavpopa THS avyns. 6XOV yap EKEL-
vov Tov eveauTov GX POs fev 0 KUKAOS Kal pappa-
puyas OUK eXov averennep, adpaves dé Kal dem Tov
aw avtTov KAT HEL TO Geppor, @OTE TOV pev aépa
dvopepov Kat Bapvv aadeveia THS Sax pivovans
auTov aréas emu epeo Gat, Tous 6€ Kaprovs 7 pe
TéT TOUS Kal atedets aravO haat Kab TApakLac at
5 da THY Wuxpornra TOU TEPLEXOVTOS. partoTa
dé To Bpovta ryevopLevoy pacpa THY Kaicapos £on-
Awae ThHayHVY ov yevouevyny Geots apeatyy: Hv 5é
TOLOVOE. pérhov TOV oT paTov ef 'AB d6ou dtaBt-
Bagew eis THY eT epay NIT ELPOV dveTt aveTo VUKTOS,
Oorep elwOer, KATA TKNUHY, ov cabevowr, anra
hpovTilwv Tepi Tov MéXXOVTOS' AéEyETAaL yap OUTOS
avnp yKlora 67) TOY oTPATH YOY Drvwdns yeve-
abat Kal TEL TOV EaVTO Ypovov eypnryopore pi
6 oar mepuKws* opou dé TWOS aicbécbat mept
Thy Ovpav édo€e, Kab 7 pos TO TOD hUxXvoU has non
KaTAapepopevou oKerapevos op eLO€ poBepav
avd pos exprov TO péyeBos Kal xarerrob TO eidos.
ext aryels dé TO 7 p@TOV, WS éwpa pene 7 PATTOVTG
Te pare POeyyouevov, anda eoTaTa ovyn Tapa,
ii THY Ki, NOwWTAa OOTLS cori, ATTOK PLVETAL
avT@ To dacpa: "'O aos, @ Bpovte, daipnwv
KaKOS" Owes 5€ we wept Pidimovs." TOTE pev
oy 6 Bpodtos evOapaas, " "Owpopat," ele: Kal
TO Satpovtov evOus ext oO@y amTne. T@ O tkvov-
pevep Xpove mept TOUS Pirirrovs dvritax Debs
"AvT@Vip Kab Kaicape TH pev TpoTn ayn Kpa-
Thoas To Kal EéavTov éTpéyrato Kab deEnXace
8 topGa@v to Katcapos otpatotedov, THy bé deuTé-

after Caesar’s murder, and then disappeared ; also, the obscuration of the sun’s rays. For during all that year its orb rose pale and without radiance, while the heat that came down from it was slight and ineffectual, so that the air in its circulation was dark and heavy owing to the feebleness of the warmth that penetrated it, and the fruits, imperfect and half ripe, withered away and _ shrivelled up on account of the coldness of the atmosphere. But more than anything else the phantom that appeared to Brutus showed that the murder of Caesar was not pleasing to the gods ; and it was on this wise. As he was about to take his army across from Abydos to the other continent, he was lying down at night, as his custom was, in his tent, not sleeping, but thinking of the future ; for it is said that of all generals Brutus was least given to sleep, and that he naturally remained awake a longer time than anybody else. And now he thought he heard a noise at the door, and looking towards the light of the lamp, which was slowly going out, he saw a fearful vision of a man of unnatural size and harsh aspect. At first he was terrified, but when he saw that the visitor neither did nor said anything, but stood in silence by his couch, he asked him who he was. Then the phantom answered him : “Tam thy evil genius, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi.” At the time, then, Brutus said courage- ously : “I shall see thee; ’’ and the heavenly visitor at once went away. Subsequently, however, when arrayed against Antony and Caesar at Philippi, in the first battle he conquered the enemy in his front, routed and scattered them, and sacked the camp of Caesar; but as he was about to fight the second

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PILLUTARCH’S LIVES

pav avT@ paxerbar peddovTe porta TO avTO pa-
oa THS VUKTOS avis, oux MOTE TL ‘T poo etre,
aNrG ouvels 7) Bpodros TO TET PW LEVOV eppipe
dhépwy éautoyv eis Tov Kivduvoy. ov pny em eg ev
arywvilopevos, arrAa THS TpoT Hs yevomerns ava-
duyov mwpos Tt K PN LVades Kal To Eider Yyupye
Tpoafarwv TO oTEpvoD, apa Kal gidov TLVOS, WS
pact, cvvevippwoavtos THY TANY)V, am éOaver.
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CAESAR, -xix. 8

battle, the same phantom visited him again at night, and though it said nothing to him, Brutus under- stood his fate, and plunged headlong into danger. He did not fall in battle, however, but after the rout retired to a crest of ground, put his naked sword to his breast (while a certain friend, as they say, helped to drive the blow home), and so died.!

1 Cf, the Brutus, xxxvi.; xlviii.; lii.

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A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Achillas, 559, one of the guardians of Ptolemy XII. (Dionysus), and commander of his troops when Caesar came to Egypt. See the Pompey, Ixxvii.-lxxx.

Afranius, 531, 543, 567, Lucius A., @ warm partisan of Pompey, and one of his legates in Spain during the war with Sertorius. as well as in Asia during the Mithridatic war. He was consul in 60 B.c. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.c.)

Agrippa, 215, Marcus Vipsanius A., fellow student of Octavius Caesar at Apollonia, and an intimate friend. He was one of the prominent and powerful men of the Augustan age. He lived 63-12 B.c.

Alcetas, 383, a brother of Perdiccas, whom he supported after Alexander's death. After the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.c., Alcetas forsook Eumenes, and was joined by Attalus, the brother-in-law of Perdiccas. They were defeated by Antigonus in 320, and Alcetas slew himself rather than fall into the hands of his enemy.

Alcidamas, 13, of Elea in Asia Minor, a popular rhetorician of the school of Gorgias, who resided at Athens 431-411 B.o.

Anaxarchus, 245, 307, 375 f., of Abdera, a philosopher who accompanied Alexander on his campaigns in Asia and won his favour by flattery. After the death of Alexander, Anaxarchus

fell into the hands of Nicocreon.
king of Salamis in Cyprus.
whom he had offended, and was
cruelly put to death.
Anaximenes, 71, 215, of Lampsacus,
a rhetorician and historian, who
lived circa 390-320 B.c.
Androcottus, 401 f., or Sandro-
cottus, an Indian prince who
achieved the conquest of northern
India after Alexander's death.
Seleucus waged unsuccessful war
upon him.
Anticleides, 357, of Athens, author
of a history of Alexander about
which nothing further is known
Antigenes, 357, otherwise unknown.

Antigonus, 437, surnamed the
One-eyed, king of Asia, and
father of Demetrius Poliorcetes.
Antiochus of Ascalon, 89 f., called
the founder of the Fifth Academy.
Cicero speaks of him in the high-
est and most appreciative terms
(Brutus, 91, 315.)
Antipater, 67-79, 219-437, regent
of Macedonia during Alexander's
absence, and of Alexander's
empire after the murder of
Perdiccas in 321 B.c. He died
in 319.
Antiphanes, 11, 25, of Rhodes, a
poet of the Middle Comedy,
who began his career in 383 B.c.
Antonius, 109 f., 121, 137, Caius A.,
uncle of Mark Antony the
triumvir. He served under Sulla
613

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in the Mithridatic war, and
was expelled from the senate
for plundering the allies and

wasting his substance. After the events here described, he went to his province of Macedonia, and in 59 B.C. was convicted of extortion there, in spite of the defence of his conduct by Cicero.
Apollonia, 195, 533 f., an ancient Greek city of Illyria. Towards the end of the Roman republic, it became a famous seat of learning.

Apollonius, 91 f., 447, son of Molon, and sometimes called Molon, a native of Alabanda in Caria, and a distinguished rhetorician. Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 90, 312; 91, 316.
Aristander of Telmessus, 227, 261, 905 f., 317,328, 369, 375, the chief soothsayer of Alexander, and probably the author of a work “On Prodigies ’’ referred to by Pliny and Lucian.
Aristobulus, of Cassandreia, 57, 261, 269, 273, 285, 357, 433, accompanied Alexander on his expedition and wrote a history of his campaigns, of which we know most from Arrian’s Anabasis.
Ariston, the Chian, 25, 75, a Stoic philosopher who flourished about 260 B.O.
Aristoxenus, 233, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school. Only fragments of his musical treatises have come down to us.
Arrhidaeus, 249, 437, a bastard son of Philip of Macedon. He was put to death by order of Olympias in 317 B.c.
Artemidorns, 595, of Cnidus, a teacher of rhetoric at Rome, and

a friend of Caesar.
Artemisius, 265, see Daesius.

Attalus (1), 247, 251, one of Philip’s generals. After Philip’s death he was assassinated by order of Alexander.
Attalus (2), 383, one of Alexander’s chief officers, and the brother-

in-law of Perdiccas. After the murder of Perdiccas, Attalus joined Alcetas, and was defeated and taken prisoner by Antigonus. See Alcetas.
B

Balbus, 583, Lucius Cornelius B.,a native of Gades in Spain, who came to Rome at the end of the war with Sertorius (72 B.C.). He served under Caesar both in Gaul and during the civil war, and was the manager of Caesar's property. After Caesar’s death Balbus was high in favour with Octavius. For the incident here noted, cf. Suetonius, Div. Jul. ie

Bessus, 349, 353, satrap of Bactria under Dareius III]., and commander of the Persian left wing at the battle of Arbela.
Bestia, 139, Lucius Calpurnius B., one of the conspirators with Catiline. Cicero was afterwards reconciled with him, and defended him unsuccessfully when accused of bribery in his candidacy for the praetorship in 57 B.C.

Bibulus, 473 f., Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.C., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He died in 48.
Boédromion, 69, 317, the Attic month corresponding to parts of our September and October.
Brundisium, 181 f., 529, 533, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East. and the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.
Brutus, 593, 597, Decimus Junius B., surnamed Albinus, was widely employed, highly esteemed, fully trusted. and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and
DICTIONARY OF

yet joined his murderers. He was put to death by order of Antony in 43 B.c.
C

Caecilius, 7, Caecilius Calactinus, a native of Sicily, a distinguished rhetorician at Rome in the time of Augustus.
Calanus, 409, 417, one of the Indian

philosophers called gymnosophists.
Calenus, 545, Quintus Fufius C., tribune of the people in 61 B.c., and praetorin 59 through Caesar' 8 influence, whom he ever afterwards faithfully served, holding high commands under him in Gaul and during the civil war. He died in 41 B.c.

Callias the Syracusan, 13, otherwise unknown.
Callisthenes, 303, 323, 327, 375-385, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.c. Besides an account of Alexander's expedition, he wrote a history of Greece from 387 to 357 B.o.
Callistratus, 11, 13, 33, a distinguished orator and statesman at Athens,who flourished from about 380 to about 361 B.c., when he was condemned to death and fled the city.
Carneades, 89, of Cyren¢, head of the Academy at Athens in 156 B.c. (when he was one of an embassy of philosophers to Rome) and until his death in 129. See the Cato Major, xxii.
Casca, 597 f., Publius Servilius C., at this time tribune of the people. He fought in the battle of Philippi, and died soon afterwards. His brother, Caius Servilius Casca, had also been a friend of Caesar,and was a fellow couspirator.
Cassander, 33, 429, f., a son of

Antipater the regent of Macedonia. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.c., when Demetrins Poliorcetes took possession of the city. He died in 297 B.A.
Catulus, Quintus Lutatius C., 83., 133,357, 495. f., a leading aristocrat of the nobler sort, consul in 78 P.C., censor in 65,

died in 60.
Chares (1), 215, a famous Athenian general, eeomne oe from 367 to 334 B
Chares (2), “581, 295, 357, 381, 385, 419, of Mitylené, court. chamberlain’ of Alexander, and author of an anecdotical history of Alexander’s campaigns.
Cicero, 503, Quintus Tullius C., younger brother of the orator, served as legate under Caesar in Gaul, but went over to Pompey in the civil war. He fell a victim to the proscription of the triumvirs in 43 P.c.
Cimber, 597, Lucius Tillius C,

had been a warm supporter of Caesar and was rewarded by him with the province of Bithynia, to which he retired after Caesar’s murder, and co-operated with Brutus and Cassius.
Cinna, 603 f., Caius Helvius C., see the Brutus, xx. 5 f. , and the Dict. of Proper ‘Names for Vol. vi.
Cithaeron, 57, the mountain range between Attica and Boeotia.
Citium, Citieans, 323, a city of Cyprus.
Cleitarchus, 357, a historian who accompanied Aléxander on his expedition to the East, and wrote a highly rhetorical account of it. He was the son of Deinon of Colophon, who was author of a history of Persia.
Cleitomachus, 87, 91, a Carthaginian by birth, ‘and a teacher of philosophy at Athens from about 146 B.c. to about 111. In 129 he succeeded Carneades as head of the New Academy.
Cleitus, 259, 267, 360-375, was

commander of one of the two
615

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companies of the ‘‘ companion ”
cavalry, and at the time of his
death had been made satrap of
Bactria by Alexander.
Cleopatra (1), 247, 251, 297, 415,
soon after this put to cruel death
by Olympias, together with her
infant child, who was regarded
as a rival of Alexander.
Cleopatra (2), 557 ff., queen of
Egypt. See the Antony, xxv. ff.
Clodius. 151-171, 463-467, Publius
Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher,
youngest son of the Appius
Claudius mentioned in the Su//a,
xxix. 3. He helped to de-
moralise the soldiers of Lucullus
(Lucullus, xxxiv.), and became a
venomous foe of Cicero.
Coenus, 397, son-in-law of Par-
menio, and one of the ablest of
Alexander’s officers. He _ died
shortly after the army had begun
its return from India.
Collytus, 29, an Attic deme, or
township.
Cornificius, 545 (Corfinius), Quintus
C., a quaestor under Caesar in
48 B.¢c., and a friend of Cicero.
In 45 Caesar made him governor
of Syria, and in 44 he had the
province of Africa, where he
fought against the second trium.
virate, and fell in battle.
Craterus, 345-383, one of the ablest
of Alexander’s officers, and a
man of noble character. He fell
in battle against Eumenes in
ae B.o. See the Eumenes,
vi. ff:

Cratippus, the Peripatetic, 143,
of Mitylene, a contemporary
and intimate friend of Cicero,
and a teacher of Cicero's son.
See the Brutus, xxiv. 1 f.
Ctesibius, 13, perhaps the Cynic
philosopher of Chalcis in Euboea,
who was the instructor of Anti-
gonus Doson, king of Macedonia
(229-221 B.C.).
Curio, 461, 515-519, Caius Scri-
bonius C., an able orator, but
reckless and profligate. He was
tribune of the people in 50 B.c.,
and sold his support to Caesar,
616

who made him praetor in Sicily
in 49. Thence he crossed into
Africa to attack the Pompeians
there, but was defeated and slain
(Caesar, Bell. Civ., ii, 23-44.)
D

Daesius, 265, 433, a Macedonian
month answering to the Attic
Thargelion. i.e. May-June. It
followed Arteniisius.
Dareius, 263 ff., Dareius IIT.,
surnamed Codomannus, came to
the throne of Persia in 336 B.c.
Deinon, 333, of Colophon, see
Cleitarchus.
Demaratus the Corinthian, 247 f.,
337, 385, known only from these
incidents.
Demetrius (1), 33, Demetrius
Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus
(cf. Plutarch's Demetrius, ix.).
Demetrius (2), the Phalerean, 23-27
35, 71, a celebrated rhetorician
and orator (346-283 B.c.). He

was guardian, or regent, of Athens for Cassander from 318 to 307.
Demetrius (3), surnamed Pheido, 383, son of Pythonax, one of the "'companion " cavalry (Arrian, Anab., iv. 12, 5).
Demetrius (4), the Magnesian, 39, 69, a Greek grammarian contemporary with Cicero.
Diogenes of Sinopé, 259, 409, a Cynic philosopher, born 412 B.o. He became a pupil of Antisthenes the Socratic at Athens, and changed from a dissolute to a most austere life. He died at Corinth in 323, according to Plutarch (Morals, p. 717 c) on the same day as Alexander the Great.
Dionysius of Magnesia, 91, a distinguished rhetorician. Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 91, 316.
Diopeithes, 215, an Athenian general, father of the poct Menander. He was arraigned by the Macedonian party at

Athens, and was defended by Demosthenes in the extant oration '' On the Chersonese."'
Dolabella, 191 f., 449, 563, 589, the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero, lived 70-43 B.c. He took part with Caesar in 49, but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He was outlawed and declared a public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.
Domitius (1), 179, 527 f., 545, 549, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus,

consul in 54 B.c. He was
Cato’s son-in-law, and one of the
ablest supporters of the aristo-
cratic party. He opposed both
Pompey and Caesar until their
quarrel, then sided with Pompey.
He met his death at Pharsalus.
Domitius (2), 547, 561, Gnaeus
Domitius Calvinus, consul in
53 B.C. He was a _ supporter
of Bibulus against Caesar in
59, but after 49 an active sup-
porter of Caesar. After the
battle of Pharsalus he was
Caesar’s lieutenant in Asia.
Duris, 47, 57, 261, 357, of Samos,
a pupil of Theophrastus, his-
torian and, for a time, tyrant,
oe Samos, lived circa "350-280
De eraehban. 181, 529, a city on
the coast of Illyricuin, opposite
to Brundisium, known in Greek
history as Epidamnus. It was
a free state, and sided with the
Romans consistently.
E

Eratosthenes, 23, 75, 229, 317, of
Cyrené, librarian at Alexandria,
most distinguished as geographer
and chronologist, a writer also
on philosophy and ethics, 275-
194 B.C.
Erigvius, 251. of Mitylené, an
officer in Alexander’s army.
He fell in battle 328 B.o
F

Favonius, 497, 525, 543, Marcus
F., called the ‘“‘ Ape of Cato,”
was aedile in 52 R.c.,and praetor
in 49. He joined Pompey in the
East, notwithstanding personal
enmity to him, and accompanied
him in his tlight from Pharsalus

(cf. the Pompey, \xxiii. 6 f.).
He was put to death by order of
Octavius Caesar after the battle
of Philippi (42 B.o.)
G

Gabinius, 157, 161, Aulus G., tribune
of the ‘people in 66 B.C. , praetor
in 61, consul with Piso in 58,
the year during which Cicero
was exiled. He was recalled
from his province of Syria in
55, prosecuted for taking bribes,
and exiled. He died in 48.
Granicus, 263 f., a river in the
Troad "emptying into the Pro-
pontis.
H

Hagnon, the Teian, 343, 383, after-
wards admiral under ” Antigonus.
Harpalus, 61 f., 243, 251, 333, 347,
Alexander’s faithless "treasurer.
Antipater demanded his sur-
render by the Athenians, who
put him in prison, whence he
escaped and went to Crete.
Here he was assassinated.
Hecataeus, of Eretria, 357, known
ouly from this citation.
Hegesias, the Magnesian, 231, a
rhetorician and historian who
flourished in the early part of
the third century B.C., and was
noted for his inane conceits.
Helicon, 323, son of Acesas, of
Salamis in Cyprus. Father and
son were famous weavers of
embroidered textures, probably
in the latter part of the fifth
century B.c.
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Hephaestion, 307, 341, 343, 347, 361, 367, 381, 383, 425, 433, officer and beloved friend of Alexander.
Heracleides, 299, of Alexandria, a historian who flourished under Ptolemy IV. (222-205 B.c.)
Hermioné, 333, a city in southern Argolis.
Hermippus, 13, 27, 71. 75, 381, of Smyrna, a distinguished philosopher and biographer who was active in the second half of the third century B.o.
Herodes, 143, probably the business Manager of Cicero’s friend Atticus. Cf. Cicero ad Att., vi. 1 ee
I

Idomeneus, 39, 57, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342-270 B.c.) author of biographical works entitled ‘‘ The Socratics’’ and ‘‘ The Demagogues.

folas, 429, 487, the time and manner of his death are unknown. He is last mentioned in connection with the marriage of hls sister to Perdiccas, in 322 B.c.
lon, 7, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.c., and author of a_ prose work entitled ‘ Sojourns,” in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.
Isaeus, 13, a professional writer of speeches for the law-courts 420—350 B.c., and numbered among the ten great Attic orators.
Isauricus, 457, 533, Publius Servilius Vatia I., deserted the

aristocratic party to support Caesar, but after Caesar's death returned to his former allegiance. He tried with more or less success to hold a middle course as between Antony and Octavius Caesar.

Isocrates, 13, 215, the celebrated Attic orator and _ rhetorician, 436-338 B.C.

Ister, 357, a slave, and afterwards a friend of Callimachus_ the Alexandrian grammarian and poet (250-220 B.c.), a voluminous writer, whose works are all lost.

L

Labienus, 181, 487, 527, fled to Africa after the battle of Pharsalus, and after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.0.), to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda, and was slain (45 B.C.).

Lacritus. the rhetorician, 71, of Phaselis in Pamphylia, a pupil of Isocrates about 350 B.c.

Laelius, 219, perhaps the Laelius Decimus who was prominent during the civil war as a partisan of Pompey, and held military command under him.

Lentulus (1), 513, 519, 525. Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, on the outbreak of civil war joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death

See the Pompey,

influence, but took the field for Pompey at the outbreak of civil war in 49. He also, like Lentulus Crus, fled with Pompey to Egypt, but got safe to Rhodes.

Lentulus (3), 123-127, 135 f., 141, 459, Publius Cornelius L.. surnamed Sura, was consul in 71 B.c., but in the following year was expelled from the senate. This led him to join the conspirators with Catiline.

Lentulus (4), 189, the name by which Dolabella was sometimes called after his adoption into the plebeian family of Gneius Lentulus in order that he might

become a candidate for the tribuneship. Dolabella was Tullia’s third husband. See Tullia.

Leonnatus, 283, 343, 405, one of Alexander’s most ’ distinguished officers. He fell in 322 B.C., while attempting to relieve Antipater at Lamia.

Leosthenes, 67, 215, an Athenian, general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. He died during the siege of Lamia.

Lepidus, 201, 591, 601, Marcus Aemilius L., joined the party of Caesar in 49 B.c., was Caesar’s magister equitum in 47 and 45, and his consular colleague in 46. After Caesar’s murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the second triumvirate received Spain as his province, then, in 40, Africa. Here he remained till 36, when he was

deposed from the triumvirate.
He: lived till 13 B.o.
Lucullus, 449, Marcus Licinius L., younger brother of the great Lucullus, also called by adoption M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul in 73 B.c., and afterwards a warm friend of Cicero. He died before the civil war.
Lysimachus, 357, 383, an officer of Alexander, not prominent during Alexander's life, but afterwards king of Thrace. He fell in battle with Seleucus, 281 B.c.
a

Maecenas, 215, Caius Cilnius M., the patron of poets and artists during the reign of Augustus, whose prime minister he was.
Marcellus, 195, 513 f., Caius Claudius M., consul in '50 Ce a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Caesar. But after the outbreak of the civil war he remained
PROPER NAMES

quietly and timidly in Italy, and was finally pardoned by Caesar. As husband of Octavia, the sister of Octavius Caesar, he had _ considerable influence. He is last heard of about 41 B.C.
Marsyas 43, of Pella in Macedonia, author of a history of his own country from earliest times down to 332 B.c.
Mazaeus, 321, 343, a Persian officer under Dareius III., afterwards made satrap of Babylon by Alexander.
Megabyzus, 349, probably a priest or keeper of the temple of

Artemis at Ephesus.
Menippus, the Carian, 91, the most accomplished rhetorician of his Bue in Asia. Cf. Cicero, Brutus,
Metellus ‘(), 119, 155, Quintus Caecilius M. Celer, consul in 60 B.C., and an influential aristocrat. He was a violent opponent of Caesar during the latter’s consulship in 59, in which year he died.
Metellus (2) 529 f., Lucius Caecilius M. Creticus, little known apart from the ee here narrated.
Metellus (3), 139, 147, f.. Quintus M. Nepos, a brother of Metellus Celer, a partisan of Pompey, and for a time a violent opponent of Cicero. As consul, however, in 57 B.c., he did not oppose the recall of Cicero from banishment. He died in 55.
Metellus (4), 479, Quintus Metellus Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.c., and one of Sulla’s most successful generals. Against Sertorius in Spain he was less fortunate. He died about 63.
Murena, 117, 171, 213, Lucius Licinius M., had been quaestor, aedile, and praetor, and had served under Lucullus against Mithridates (Lweullus, xix. 7). He was accused of bribery in his canvass for the consulship, was defended by MHortensius and Cicero, aud acquitted.
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N

Nearchus, 251, 411, 415, 427, 433f., the trusted admiral of Alexander.

Nicocreon, 309, king of Salamis in Cyprus. After the death of Alexander he took sides with Ptolemy of Egypt.
Nonacris, 437, a town in Arcadia, near which the water of the river Styx descended from a cliff.
O
oo 417, Dareius II., 424-404
Glens O97. 2314 247, 200s 20
341, 415, 437, 439, Alexander's mother. She was put to death in 316 B.c., by order of Cassander

Guscieritiia: 243, 261, 357, 395, 399, 409, 411, a Greek who accompanied Alexander in Asia and wrote an account of his campaigns. His work contained valuable information, but was full of exaggerations and falsehoods.
Oppius, 485, Caius O., an intimate friend of Caesar, "and author (probably) of Lives of Marius, Pompey, and Caesar.
Oricum, 533, a town on the coast of Epirus, 'north of Apollonia.
Oxyartes, 389, a Bactrian prince, father of Roxana. Alexander made him satrap of northern India. He supported EKumenes until the death of that officer, and then came to terms with Antigonus.
P

Panaetius, the philosopher, 33, chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, flourishing between 150 and 110 B.c.
Pappus, 75. otherwise unknown.

Parmenio, 231, 249, 265, 277, 285f.,
i oI BIT 327, 343, '361ff., 369,
620

an able and trusted commander
under both Philip and Alexander.
Pasicrates, 309, king of Soli in
Cyprus.
Patavium, 555, an ancient and
important city of Venetia, the
modern Padua.
Paulus, 515, Lucius Aemilius P.,
consul in 50 B.c. with Claudius
Niarcellus. He had been a
violent opponent of Caesar. Cf.
the Pompey, lvili. 1.
Pelops, of Byzantium, 143, not
otherwise Known.
Perdiccas, 79, 263, 347, 437, the
officer to whom the dying Alex-
ander is said to have given his
signet-ring, and who was regent
for the royal successors of
Alexander till 321 B.o.
Peucestas, 347f., 405, a distin-
guished officer of Alexander, and
satrap of Persia. It was chiefly
due to him that Eumenes met
with disaster in 316 B.c. See the
Eumenes, xiv. ff.
Pharmacusa, 445, a small island off
the coast of Caria, about 120
furlongs south of Miletus.
Philip (1), 195, Lucius Marcius
Philippus, consul in 56B.¢.,
married Atia, the widow of
Caius Octavius, thus becoming
the stepfather of Octavius Caesar.
He remained neutral during the
civil wars.
Philip (2), 399, made satrap of
India by Alexander in 327 B.C.
In the following year he was

assassinated by his mercenaries.
Philip (3), the Chalcidian, 357, known only from this citation.
Philip (4), of Theangela (in Caria), Soe. author of a history of Caria which 1 is cited by Athenaeus and fa

Philistus, 243, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.
Philo, the Theban, 357, known only from this citation.
Philon, the Academic, 87, 91, a native of Larissa in Thessaly, DICTIONARY OF

and a teacher of rhetoric and philosophy at Athens and Rome during Cicero’s lifetime. Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 89, 306.
Philotas, 249, 255, 317, 343, 361-369, the son of Parmenio.
Philoxenus, 243, of Cythera, one of the most distinguished dithyrambic poets of Greece (435-380 B.c.), resident at Athens and Syracuse.
Phylarchus, 67, an Athenian historian, author of a history of Greece from 272 to 220 B.c. Plutarch is heavily indebted to him in his Agis and Cleomenes, and Pyrrhus.
Piso (1), 127, 457, Caius Calpurnius P., consul in 678B.¢c., and a violent aristocrat. As pro-consul he plundered his province of Gallia Narbonensis. He must have died before the civil war.
Piso (2), 157, 475, 531, Lucius Cal purnius P., father-in-law of Julius Caesar. "He plundered his

province of Macedonia shamelessly, and was recalled in 55 B.c. He is covered with invective in Cicero's oration de Provine. Cons. He took no part in the civil war that followed.
Piso (3), 161, 189, Caius Calpurnius P. Frugi, married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63 B.c. He was quaestor in 58, and used every endeavour to secure the recall of Cicero from exile, but died before his father-in-law's return. Cicero mentions him often with gratitude.
Pollio, 523, 553, 567, Caius Asinius bare: famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.c.—4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Julius Caesar, fought under him in Spain and Africa, and after Caesar's death supported Octavius Caesar. After 29, he devoted himself entirely to literature, and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works are extant.
Polycleitus, 3857, of Larissa in Thessaly, one of the numerous

historians of uncertain date.
Poseidonius, 91, of Apameia in Syria, a Stoic philosopher, pupil of Panaetius of Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him. CT, Cicero, de Natura Deorum, 1, 3, 6.
Potamon, the Lesbian, 399, a rhetorician who enjoyed the favour of the emperor Tiberius (14-37 A.D.), and was an authority on the career of Alexander.

Potheinus, 557f., one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy when Caesar came to Egypt.
Ptolemy, 251, 337, 357, one of the

ablest of Alexander's officers, and afterwards king of Egypt. He wrote a history of Alexander's campaigns which is the chief authority for Arrian.
Pyanepsion, 71, 77, the Athenian month corresponding to parts of October and November.
Python (or Pithon), 435, son of Craterus, one of the seven select officers forming the immediate bodyguard of Alexander. After the death of Alexander he supported Perdiccas, but went over to Antigonus and Seleucus when they made war upon Eumenes.
Alexander, of

RK

Roxana, 359, 487, daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian prince. With her son by Alexander she was taken to Macedonia by Antipater. Mother and son were put to death in 311 B.c. by order of Cassander.
8

Samothrace, 227, a large island in the northern Aegean sea, about oy miles south of the Thracian coast.
621

DICTIONARY OF

Scaurus, 83, Marcus Aeinilius S. Father and son of this name were prominent in the Roman aris-

tocracy from 126 to 52 B.c., the former having been consul in 115. Both were venal, but the first was often highly praised, and the second was defended, by Cicero.
Scipio (1), 479, Publius Cornelius 8. Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal, 234-183 B.c.
Scipio (2), 481, 517, 519, 541, 545, 549, 563f., 571, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius, and therefore often called Metellus Scipio, was Pompey's colleague in the consulship for the latter part of the year 52 8.C., and a determined foe of Caesar. He killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and a father-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.
Seleucus, 349, 401, 435, founder of the Seleucid dynasty in Syria.
Silanus, 117, 127, 131f., Decimus Junius S., stepfather of Marcus Brutus, had been aedile in 70 B.C.

Sotion, 399, a native of Alexandria, who lived in the first part of the first century A.D.
Stateira, 419, 437, daughter of Dareius III., and wife of Alexander. Stateira was also her mother's name (pp. 311ff.).
T

Tanusius, 497, Tanusius Geminus, a Roman historian of Cicero's time (probably), the nature and scope of whose work is uncertain.
Telestes, 243, of Selinus in Sicily, won a dithyrambic victory at Athens in 401 B.c. A few of his

verses are preserved in Athenaeus (pp. 616 and 617, 626a, 637a).
Thapsacus, 415, an important town

comilanding a crossing of the Euphrates, east of Upper Syria.
Theodectes, 273, a distinguished rhetorician and tragic poet, a pupil of Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and an imitator of Euripides. He flourished in the time of Philip of Macedon, and lived for the most part at Athens.
Theodotus, 555, a rhetorician of Chios (or Samos), put to death by Brutus. See the Pompey, Ixxvii. 2; lxxx. 6.
Theophilus, 323, an artist in metal work, not otherwise known.
Theophrastus, 25, 41, 141, 233, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.c., at the age of eighty-five.
Theopompus, 9, 31, 35, 43, 51, 63, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394B.c., and of ay of Macedon from 360 to
Theramenes, 183, a brilliant Athenjan naval commander who cooperated successfully with Alcibiades during the closing years of the Peloponnesian was. He was one of the Thirty Tyrants, and favoured a moderate course, but fell a victim to the jealousy

and hatred of Critias.
Thurii, 71, a colony of Athens in Lucania, Italy, founded under Pericles.
Tralles, 555, a large and flourishing city 1n north-western Caria.
Tullia, 189, daughter of Cicero and Terentia, married Caius Calpurnius Piso in 63 B.C., was a widow in 57, married Furius Crassipes In 56, from whom she was soon divorced. In 50 she married MDolabella (Lentulus) from whom she was divorced in 46. She bore him a son in 45, but died soon after at her father's house in Tusculum.,
DICTIONARY OF

Vv

Varro, 531, the most learned Roman scholar, the most voluminous Roman author, and yet no literary recluse. He held high command under Pompey in the war against the pirates, the Mithridatic war, and in 'Spain with Afranius. "After the campaign in Spain he joined Pompey in Greece, but after the battle at Pharsalus threw himself on Caesar's Mercy, was pardoned by him, and restored to literary
PROPER NAMES

activity. He was at this time nearly seventy years old.
x

Xenocles, of Adramyttium, 91, a distinguished rhetorician, mentioned by Strabo (p. 614). Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 91, 316.
Xenocrates, 245, of Chalcedon,

396-314 B.c., an associate of
Aeschines the Socratic and Plato,
and head of the Academy at
Athens for twenty-five years.
623

a ee a

PLUTARCH’S LIVES.
®
VoLumeE I.
THESEUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.
Vouume II.
THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
CIMON AND LUCULLUS.
VouuME III.

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS.
NICIAS AND CRASSUS.
Vo.tumeE IV.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS.
LYSANDER AND SULLA.
VoLumME VY.

AGESILAUS AND POMPRY.
PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS.
VoLumME VI.

DION AND BRUTUS.
TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS PAULUS.
VoutumE VII.

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO.
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR.
PLUTARCH’S
- LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
Vill
SERTORIUS AND EUMENES

PHOCION AND CATO THE YOUNGER
LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN

NEW. YORK : G. P. PUTNAM’S SONS
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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agree- ment between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. None of the Lives presented in this volume are con- tained in the two oldest and best manuscripts—the Codex Sangermanensis (S*) and the Codex Seiten- stettensis (S), or in the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F*). Their text therefore rests principally on the Paris manuscripts Nos. 1671, 1673, and 1674 (ACD). No attempt has been made, naturally, to © furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical ap- paratus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo), or to the rather inaccessible text of the Lives by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner

PREFATORY NOTE

Library of Greek and Latin texts (Vol. III.,- Fase. I.
was published in 1915). In the present edition,
the reading which follows the colon in the brief
critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and
also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the
Tauchnitz Bekker.
All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and utilized, including those © of the Sertorius and Cato by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
October, 1919.
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(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
Comparison.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
Comparison.
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(9) ‘Aristides and Cato the

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Comparison. .
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.
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(11) bi and Caius Marius.
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' (19) Agis and Cleomenes, and

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ininus.
Comparison.

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) (24) Aratus.

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(2) Lycurgus and Numa.

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| (7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus,
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.

(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
(10) Philopoemen and Flamininus.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius,
(12) Lysander and Sulla.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.

(14) Nicias and Crassus.

(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.

(16) Agesilaiis and Pompey.

(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.
(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius
Gracchus.
(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
(21) Demetrius and Antony.
(22) Dion and Brutus.
(23) Weiesvee,

(24) Aratus. P

(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.

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SERTORIUS

VOL. VIII.

2

ZEPTOQPIO2R

I. @avpactoy pev lows ovK éorw, év ameipe

Paris
Edition)
TO xpove THS TUXNS GaNAOTE GANWS peovons, éml a. 1624, |

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oloy 6 dt. dvetv “Artewv yevopevey eupavar, Tob
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KUVvOV, 0 © UT TOY épac tap dveotraaOn, duety dé
LanTeaver, up’ ov pep évixnOnoay Kapyxndovoe
mporepov, U ug ov Oe aTepov dponv avnpeOnoay,
éadrw dé 7} "TAcov op’ ‘Hpaxréous dua Tas Aaope-
Sovtos immous Kal wo ‘Ayapépvovos dua Tov
Soupeiou mpocayopevOévtos immou, tTpitov & wre
1 The story of a Lydian Attis who was killed by a wild boar is told by Pausanias, vii. 17,5; that of the Arcadian Attis is unknown.
2 The Actaeon, son of Aristaeus, who saw Artemis bathing,

2

I. Ir is perhaps not to be wondered at, since fortune is ever changing her course and time is infinite, that the same incidents should occur many times, spontaneously. For, if the muJtitude of elements is unlimited, fortune has in the abundance of her material an ample provider of coincidenees ; and if, on the other hand, there is a limited number of elements from which events are interwoven, the same things must happen many times, being brought ~ to pass by the same agencies. Now, there are some who delight to collect, from reading and hearsay, such accidental happenings as look like works of calculation and forethought. They note, for example, that there were two celebrated persons called Attis, one a Syrian,! the other an Arcadian, and that both were killed by a wild boar; that there were two Actaeons, one of whom was torn in pieces by his dogs, the other by his lovers? ; that there were two Scipios, by one of whom the Carthaginians were conquered in an earlier war, and by the other, in a later war, were destroyed root and branch ; that Ilium was taken by Heracles on account of the horses of Laomedon, by Agamemnon by means of what is called the wooden was changed by the goddess into a stag and devoured b ai he his own dogs. An Actaeon, son of Melissus, was belov Archias of Corinth, who sought to take him away by Poise

The friends of Actaeon resisted, and jin the struggle Actaeon was torn to death (Plutarch, Morals, p- 772).

3
B 2
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Xapidnuov, tats tua iarirou Twos ELE OVTOS

aTOKNELo aL TaXy T@p, Idvéov pu) SuvnevTwy,

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II. Koivtm Yeptwpio yévos Hv ovK aonyota-
tov év mode Novocots tijs YaBivwv tpadels Se
4

SERTORIUS

horse, and a third time by Charidemus, because a horse fell in the gateway and prevented the Ilians from closing the gate quickly enough ; that there are two cities which have the same name as the most fragrant plants, Ios and Smyrna,! in one of which the poet Homer is said to have been born, and in the other to have died. I will therefore make this addition to their collection. The most warlike of generals, and those who achieved most by a mixture of craft and ability, have been one-eyed men,— Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and the subject of this Life, Sertorius ; of whom one might say that he was more continent with women than Philip, more faithful tohis friends than Antigonus, more merciful towards his enemies than Hannibal, and inferior to none of them in understanding, though in fortune to them all. Fortune he ever found harder to deal with than his open foes, and yet he made himself her equal when he arrayed himself against the experience of Metellus, the daring of Pompey, the fortune of Sulla, and the power of Rome, though he was an exile and a stranger in command of Barbarians,

With him we may best compare, among the Greeks,
Eumenes of Cardia. Both were born to command
and given to wars of stratagem; both were exiled
from their own countries, commanded foreign soldiers,
and in their deaths experienced a fortune that was
harsh and unjust ; for both were the victims of plots,
and were slain by the very men with whom they
were conquering their foes.

II. Quintus Sertorius belonged to a family of some prominence in Nussa,’ a city of the Sabines. Having

1 Violet and Myrrh.
* Nursia, in Latin writers, and in Amyot.
PLUTARCR’S LIVES

Koopios UTdO pnTpl XPS TaTpos ophavos vrep-
guas Soxei dirountwp yevéoOar. dvoua Tis
pntpos ‘Péay Aéyovowv. HoKxnto pev ovv Kal
mept Sixas ixavas, kai twa Kal Sivamw év TH
TOANEL PeLpaKLoy BV amd TOU AéryeLV éayer" ai dé
Tepl Ta oTpaTiwTiKa NapTpPOTHTES avTOD Kal
catop0wces évrad0a thy dirotimiav petéatnoav.
III. Ipa@rov péev odv KipBpov cai Tevtover
éuBeBAnkotwv eis Taratiav otpatevopevos v0
Kaitiou, Kakoas ayovicapévav trav “Pwopaiwr
Kal TpoThs yevonévns atroBeBAnKas Tov immov
Kal KaTaTETpwWLEVOS TO C@pa TOV ‘Podavoy S:er7é-
pacev, avT@ Te TH Owpaxi Kal Oupe@ pos évav-
Tiov peda ToAU vnXoMEVOs' OUTW TO copua
poparéov hv avt@ Kxalt Starovov tH aoKnoe.
Sevtepoy S€ TaV av’Tav érepyopévwy puplact
ToAnNais Kal Seivais aretNais, Mote Kal TO pévey
dvipa ‘Pwpaiov év taker rote kal To weiGecOau
TO OTpPAaTHY@ péya Epyov eivat, Madpios pev rryei-
To, Leptw@pios b€ KatacKoTHny UTécTH TOY TrOAE-
piov. écOAre dé Kerrixy oxevacdmevos Kal Ta
KowoTata THS Stanréxtou Tpos évtevkw emi Kas-
pov TaparaBar, avapiryvuTat Tobs BapBapous:
Kal Ta pev id@v, Ta & axon wvOopevos TéV éret-
yovtwy éravnrGe mpos Mdpiov. rote pev ovv
apicteiwy étuyev’ év O€ TH RAoiTH otpareia
TOAAG Kal cuvécews Epya Kal TOAUNS aTrodeaka-
peevos eis Ovopa Kal Tictl vUTd TO oTpaTHyoD
mponxOny peta be TOV KiuBpev kal Tevrovey
Tohepov extreupbets UTro Acdip TTPATHYD Xtre-
apxyos émt “IPnpias éy tH more Kacrraave
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SERTORIUS

lost his father, he was properly reared by a widowed mother, of whom he appears to have been excessively fond. His mother’s name, we are told, was Rhea. As a result of his training he was sufficiently versed in judicial procedure, and acquired some influence _ also at Rome from his eloquence, although a

mere youth ; but his brilliant successes in war turned his ambition in this direction.

III. To begin with, when the Cimbri and Teutones invaded Gaul,! he served under Caepio, and after the Romans had been defeated and put to flight, though he had lost his horse and had been wounded in the body, he made his way across the Rhone, swimming, shield and preastplate and all, against a strongly adverse current ; so sturdy was his body and so inured to hardships by training. In the next place, when the same enemies were coming up with many myriads of men and dreadful threats,? so that for a Roman even to hold his post at such a time and obey his general was a great matter, while Marius was in command, Sertorius undertook to spy out the enemy. So, putting on a Celtic dress and acquiring the commonest expressions of that language for such conversation as might be necessary, he mingled with the Barbarians ; and after seeing or hearing what was of importance, he came back to Marius. At the time, then, he received a prize for valour ; and since, during the rest of the campaign, he performed many deeds which showed both judgement and daring, he was advanced by his general to positions of honour and trust. After the war with the Cimbri and Teu- tones, he was sent out as military tribune by Didius the praetor to Spain,' and spent the winter in Castulo, a

1 In 105 B.c. 2 In 102 B.c.
3 In 97 B.c. Didius was then pro-consul.

4 mapexeipate THs KedtiBnpwv. émet S€ Tav
oTpaTLaT ay év adbovois UBpilovray Kal Ta
TOAAG MeOvovT@V Karadpovicavres ot BapBapor
pereneurpavTo VUKTOS émuxoupiay Tapa TOV
datuyetovov 'Opitavev cal cat' oixias émtovtes
e 9~ 7
ExTELvoy AUTOUS, UTTEKdSUS O LEepT@ptos pet' OALY@V
\
kal tous éxmimtovtas cuvayay@v KUKAw THY
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éxabov tmapeomecovTes avemypéevas etpwv, ov
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N '\ 4 \ / v
Kat xataraBov mavtayobev thy Tod ExTELvE
' > ar / , e oe > é0 > /
5 ToUs év HALKia TrayTas. @s bé avnpéOnaar, éxé-
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AevTE TOUS OTpaTLwWTAaS TdvTas Ta pev avUTOY
e \ \ b fo] , a \ A
érAa Kat Thy éoOATa KatabécOa, Tois dé TOV
BapBdpov évoxevacapévovs Erec0at mpos THY
modu éxelwnyv é& Ao amertdAncayv ot viKTwp
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émiTecovTes avTois. evoduevos S€ TH TOV

étwAwY det Tos BapBdpouvs tds Te WiAas ave-
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pévov arravTav ev TeTpaxoor pirows Kal ToNX-
a a e
Taius. 640 mAcioTo. péevy vO Tov ‘“Pwpaiwv
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Sovtes Eavtous érpabnaar.
b 4 , ? ~ ? ,
IV. Ex _ToUTOU LepTwpios év TH I8npig die-
BonOn: Kai 6Te wpa@tov. érravynxey ets Popny,
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Tapias atrodeixvutas THs wept Iadov Tadatias,
an \ le)
év SéovTt. Tov yap Mapocxod ToAguov cumota-
Mévov, oTpaTLM@Tas Te TpoTTAaYOEeY aUT@ KATAXE-
yew Kal OAa troveicBat, arrovdny Kal Taxos
8

~

SERTORIUS

city of the Celtiberians. Here the soldiers shook off all discipline in the midst of plenty, and were drunk most of the time, so that the Barbarians came to depise them, and one night sent for aid from their neighbours, the Oritanians, and falling upon the Romans in their quarters began to kill them. But Sertorius with a few others slipped out, and assembled the soldiers who were making their escape, and surrounded the city. He found the gate open by which the Barbarians had stolen in, but did not repeat their mistake; instead, he set a guard there, and then, taking possession of all quarters of the city, slew all the men who were of age to bear arms. Then, when the slaughter was ended, he ordered all his soldiers to lay aside their own armour and cloth- ing, to array themselves in those of the Barbarians, and then to follow him to the city from which the men came who had fallen upon them in the night. Having thus deceived the Barbarians by means of the armour which they saw, he found the gate of the city open, and caught a multitude of men who supposed they were coming forth to meet a successful party of friends and fellow citizens. Therefore most of the inhabitants were slaughtered by the Romans at the gate ; the rest surrendered and were sold into slavery.

IV. In consequence of this exploit the name of Sertorius was noised abroad in Spain ; and as soon as he returned to Rome he was appointed quaestor of Cisalpine Gaul, and at a critical time. For the Marsic war! was threatening, and he was ordered to levy troops and procure arms; to which task he brought such earnestness and celerity, as compared with the

1 Or Social War, 90-88 B.c.

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mpocbeis TH Epy@ Tapa THY TOV adN\jWY vévwY
Bpadutira xa paraxiav avdpos éumpdxtas Bio-
couévov dokav éaxyev. ov pny vdynKato THs
A 4 ’ 9 gs \
TTPATLWTLKHS TOAMNS Els aEiwpa MpoEeANnAVOaS
NYEHOVOS, GANA Kal yetpos emiderxvipevos Epya
Oavyacra Kal TO cpa Tois ayoow adetdas
? 4 Led bg > / \ | See >
éridtdous, TaV Oirewy améBare THY ETEpav éEx-
A 9 4 \ 4
KoTrétaav, emt touTm dé Kal KaddAwTLCopevos
> N 4 \ \ \ ” b 2 ON \
ae SueTédet, TOUS prey yap AAXoUS OVK det TA
papTtupia ToY apioTeLav Teptpéperv, GANA Kal
anotiWecGat otpenta kal Sopata Kal otepavous,
avt@ b€ THs avépayabias Tapapévery TA yvepi-
CMaTa, TOS aUTOUS ExoVTL THS apeTHS apa Kal
a Sa , 9 / \ \ e a
THS cuughopas Ocatds. amédwxe dé cai o SHpos
aUT@ Tyny TpéTovcav. eiceAOovtTa yap ets Oéa-
tpov é€edéEavTo Te KpoT@ Kal KaTevpnunoay, ov
\ a la , :
ovdé Tois mavu mponxovow nrKia Te Kal SoEn
Tuxely jv padtov. Snpapyiav pévrow peTiov
YY / 4 > \N 97 Py ‘
yvAAa KaTactaciacavtTos avTov éfemece’ O10
‘\ A , / > \ \ /
kat Soxet yevéoOat prcoavaras. érret dé Mdpuos
\ ¢ N St \ ” / \
pev bro SvAAa KpatnOeis Ehevye, BaAras é
MiOpiddtn tworeunowv annpe, Tov S€ vrdtwv
"OxtaBtos peév ert THs YvAXAa Tpoatpécews Epeve, |

, n
Kivvas 8 vewrepifov vaodepopévnv avexanreiro
\ , 4 «oN e
tnhv Mapiov ordow, TovT@ Tpocéverpeyv avTov oO
/ ” \ 9 , Coa
LepT@pios, GAAwS Te Kal Tov OxtaBuov opav
a ,
avrov péev apSrUTepov dvta, Tots dé Mapiou
le) \ “ e

pirows amioctobvta. ‘yevouevns O€ Tois UTaTOLS
10
570

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slowness and indolence of the other young men, that he got the reputation of a man whose life would be one of great achievement. However, he did not remit the activities of a daring soldier after he had advanced to the dignity of a commander, but displayed astonishing deeds of prowess and exposed his person unsparingly in battle, in consequence of which he got a blow that cost him one of his eyes. But on this he actually prided himself at all times. Others, he said, could not always carry about with them the evidences of their brave deeds, but must lay aside their neck- laces, spears, and wreaths; in his own case, on the contrary, the marks of his bravery remained with him, and when men saw what he had lost, they saw at the same time a proof of his valour. The people also paid him fitting honours. For, when he came into the theatre, they received him with clapping of hands and shouts of welcome, testimonials which even those who were far advanced in years and honours could not easily obtain. Notwithstanding this, when he stood for the tribuneship, Sulla formed a_ party against him, and he lost the election; for which reason, apparently, he became an opponent of Sulla. And so when Marius was overwhelmed by Sulla and went into exile,! and Sulla had set out to wage war against Mithridates,? and one of the consuls, Octavius, adhered to the party of Sulla, while the other, Cinna, who aimed at a revolution, tried to revive the drooping faction of Marius, Sertorius attached him- self to Cinna, especially as he saw that Octavius was rather sluggish himself and distrustful of the friends of Marius. A great battle was fought in the

1 In 88 B.c.
2 In 87 B.c. Cf. the Marius, xli. 1.
tl]

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

bd 9 ” 4 ir "0 4 ‘ 9 4
év ayopa payns peyadns ‘OxtdBuos pev éexparnce,
Kivvas 6€ cai Yepr@pios ob ToAA® eAaTTOUS TOV
, ? s ” \ a \ ‘\
pupiov amroBarovtes Epvyov: Kal TaY Trepl THY
"Ttadiay és Stectrappévav otpatorébwv mpoca-
/ nw a
youevoe Ta Treicta TweOoi tayd Katéctnoav
9 f a \ \ > ,
aftopayoe Tots mept Tov ‘OxrdBrov.
V. Mapiov &€ xatarrevoarvtos éx« AtBins Kat
a / , e \ eo»? , e +
T@ Kivva tpoctiOevtos éavtov ws LOveTnv UTaTe,
Tots pev adrots edoxet SéyerOar, Yeprwpios Se
amnyopevev, elite Tov Kivvav tTov oiduevos éav-
a \ , /

T@ tMpoaeEev avdpos nyE“oviKwWTEpouv TrapovTos,
¥ ‘\ 4 fe) , , \
elre thv Bapvtnta tov Mapiov Sedoxas, pr
\ / A /
TavTa Ta Tpadypata auyyén Ouu@ pétpov ovK
, el a ‘
Eyovtt, wépa dixns év TH Kpatetvy Wpoepyopevos.
\ » \ ¢€
Edeyev ovY pLKPOV ElvaL TO VITOAELTTOMEVOY EpryoVv
autos 46n xpatovot, deEapévwy 5é tov Mdpuov
a / a lo
TO ovptrav oicecOar ths SoEns éxelvoy Kal THs
Suvapews, YadeTroy dvTa mpos Kolvwriav apxis
a / le)
Kal dmictov. ettrovtos 6€ tod Kivva taidra pev
a ‘ a
6p0as vaonroyitecOar Tov Yeptwpiov, aideicOar
a \
5é nat Svaropeiy OTws at@cetat tov Madpiov
autos él KoWwvia TpaypatwV KEKANKOS, UrT0-
9
AaBeov o Leptwpros eitrev’ “”’AAN eyw@ pev avrov

“A \

ad’ éavtod Mapuov Frey vopifwv eis “Itadiav ro

\ \ \ \

aupdépov éoxkotrouy col dé THY apxynv ovdé Bov-

a A \ n

NevecOat Karas elyev HKovTos Oy autos édOeiv

A , A /

nkiwaas, adda xpncOar nai SéxecIar, THs Tri-
12
SERTORIUS

forum between the consuls, in which Octavius was
victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius took to flight, after
losing almost ten thousand men; and then, winning
over to their side most of the troops still scattered

about Italy, they soon made themselves able to cope
with Octavius.!
V. And when Marius sailed home from Libya ? and was proposing to serve under Cinna as a private citizen under a consul, the rest thought that his offer should be accepted, but Sertorius declared against it, either because he thought that Cinna would pay less attention to him when a man of greater military experience was at hand, or because he was afraid of the harshness of Marius, and feared that he would throw everything into confusion by a passion which knew no limits, and exceed the bounds of justice in the hour of victory. Accordingly, he said that little remained for them to do, now that they were already victorious, and that if they received Marius he would appropriate to himself all the glory and the power, since he found it hard to share authority and was not to be trusted. Cinna replied that these considerations of Sertorius were sound, but that for his part he had perplexing scruples about rejecting Marius after having himself invited him to join their cause. To this Sertorius answered: “Indeed, I for for my part thought that Marius was come of his own accord into Italy, and so I was trying to discover what was advantageous in the matter; but in thy case it was not well to deliberate at all after the arrival of one whom thou thyself didst ask to come ; nay, thou shouldst have received and employed him,

1 In 87 B.c. Cf. the Afarius, xli. 1.
2 Cf. the Marius, xli. 2 ff.
13

OTEWS pndevi hoytau@ Xwpay bidovens.” ovTasS
METATTEMTETAL TOV Mdpuoy Kivvas- Kal TALYh THS
Suvapews Staveunderans 7; Wpxov Ol Tpeis.
4 Acarronepunbévros 5é tov ToAéwov Kal T@v Trept
TO Kivvav kal _Mapioy éudopoupévav UBpews Te
Kal muxplas ardans, dare xXpvaov amobdeiEae
‘Peopaiors Ta Tou TONE MOU Kaxd, Leprapros ré-
yeTau povos ovTe amoKTeEtvai Twa ™ pos opyny
ovTe evuBpicat Kata, andra Kal TO Mapio
Suaxepaivery Kal tov Kivvay é evTuyxavev idia Kat
5 Sedpevos eT piw@Tepov moveiy. TENS 88 trav Sov-
Awv, obs Mdptos TULpLaXOUS pev ev 7 TOhew@
Sopupopous ¢ dé THS Tupavvidos é Ex cov taxyupous Kal
WAovaioUs énoinge, Ta pev pelo S:Sévr0s Kal
KeNevovTos, TA Se Kai Bia Tapavouourtay els TOUS
Seamoras, oparrovrav pep aUTOUS, Tais be dec-
Toivars TAnoalovT@y Kal Bralopever TOUS 1 ai-
das, ovK dvacxera TOLoUpEVOS O Leprwptos a atav-
TAS év TavT@ aTpatoTredevovTas KATNKOVTICED,
OvUK éXaTTOUS TET PAKLTXLALOV ovTas.
VI. "Emel dé Mapvos pev eTEAEUT ITE kat Kiv-
yas avnpéOn pK pov Uorepov, o b€ veavias Mapuos
AKOVTOS AUTO Tapa TOUS VOMOUS uTaTelay éraBe,

KdpBoves $é xal NapBavol Kal Lenmiaves em L-
ovTt vA KAKOS emohepouv, Kal Ta wey avavdpia
Kat paraxia TOY oTpPATHY GY épOcipero, Ta b¢ ot
2 mpodidovres ama@ddva ay, Epryoy 5é ovdév Hv avtod
TApoOvTos Tots Tpaywace pox Onpas she hin
vows 4a TO Yeipov poveiy Tous padAov duvapé-
1 That is, when the party of Sulla and the senate ceased to resist and Rome had surrendered.
2 Cf. the Marius, xliv. 6. 3 In 86 B.c.

since a pledge leaves room for no discussion.'' So Cinna sent for Marius, the army was divided into three parts, and the three men held command.

When the war had been brought to an end,! Cinna and Marius were filled with insolence and all bitterness, and made the evils of war appear as gold to the Romans; Sertorius alone, as we are told, neither killed any one to gratify his anger, nor waxed inso- lent with victory, but actually rebuked Marius, and by private interviews and entreaties made Cinna more moderate. And finally, there were the slaves whom Marius had used as allies during the war and as body-guards of his tyranny. They had thus become powerful and rich, partly by the permission and under the orders of Marius, and partly through their lawless and violent treatment of their masters, whom they would slay, and then lie with their masters' wives, and outrage their masters' children. Such a state of things Sertorius felt to be unendurable, and there- fore when the slaves were all encamped together he had them shot down with javelins, and they were as many as four thousand in number.'

VI. But presently Marius died ;3 and shortly after- wards Cinna was murdered ;* and the younger Marius, against the wishes of Sertorius and contrary to the laws, assumed the consulship ;° and such men as Carbo, Norbanus, and Scipio were unsuccessfully op- posing Sulla's advance upon Rome; and the cause of the popular party was being ruined and lost, partly through the cowardice and weakness of its generals, and partly by treachery ; and there was no reason why Sertorius should remain to see matters go from bad to worse owing to the inferior judgement of those

4 In 84B.c. Cf. the Pompey, chapter v. 5 In 82 B.c.

/ \ 4

vous, TéXos 5€ YaAAas LenTwiwve wapactpatoTe-

7
devoas Kal dirodpovovpevos, ws elpynvns écopéerns,
/ a

duepOerpe TO oTpadtevpa, Kal tavTa mpodréyor
4 \ 4 4 > 4
Lentiov. Kat diddoxwv Yeprw@pios ov« éererbe,
TavTadTacw atroyvous THY TOALY wpuNnoev eis
9 / ? \ a
IBnpiav, ws, eb POdoe Thy éxet Kpatuvdpevos
\ a a“ a
apxnv, xatagvyn tois mratovow eéevtad0a tav 571
hirwv écopevos.
a \ a / b /
3 Xeupwor S€ yareTois ypnodpevos ev ywpiots
> a e \ iA > 4 4 \
Gpetvois uma BapBapwyv émpatteto TéAn Kal
ce) a eqs
pucOovs tov trapedOeivy thy odov. dayavakTovv-
tov 6¢ Tav civ avT@, kal Sewvoroyoupévar et
A a
‘Pwpaiov avOvtatos tékn KataBaret BapRapots
orLO pois, piKpa PpovTicas Tov SoxovvTOS aia ypod,
Kat Katpov @vetoOar diyoas, ov oTraviwTEepov ov-
dév avdpi peydrwv édiepévo, tors ev BapBdpous
3 4 / \ > 9 / 3 \
EOepdrrevoe yYpnuact, tHv & “I Bnpiav éreryGeis
A \

4 xatéoxe. traparaBov dé €Ovn mAnOe pev Kal

nrtkia axpatovta, wAeovegia Sé kai UBpe Tav
a \
TeuTomevwy ExdoTOTE oTpaTHY@Y Mmpos SAV
a ,
Kaxas Siaxeipeva THY Hyepoviay, avehapuBavev
optria te Tovs Suvatovs Kal popwv avécer TOUS
ToANoUS. pardtota 6€ TeV émiotabmay aTrar-
4 > / \ \ / ? 4
AadEas nyatnOn TOvs yap oTpaTL@Tas HvayKalev
A / a
éy Tois MpoacTeios Yelwadia THyvUGIaL, TPwTOS
5 autos oUTW KaTacKnV@V. ov pny él TH TOV
a \
BapBdpov eivoia To wav érroujoato, ‘Pwpatiwr dé
16
~~

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who had superior power. And finally, Sulla encamped near Scipio and made friendly overtures, assuming that peace was to be made, and proceeded to corrupt his army.! Sertorius warned Scipio of this plainly, but could not persuade him. At last, therefore, altogether despairing of the city, he set out for Spain, in order that, in case he should succeed in firmly establishing his power there, he might afford a refuge to those of his friends who were worsted at Rome.

After encountering grievous storms in mountainous regions, he was asked by the Barbarians to pay them tribute and purchase his passage. His companions were indignant, and considered it a terrible thing for a Roman pro-consul to render tribute to pestilent Barbarians ; but Sertorius made light of what they thought a disgrace, and with the remark that he was purchasing time, than which nothing is more precious to a man bent on great achievements, he pacified the Barbarians with money, and then hastened on and took possession of Spain. He found its peoples strong in numbers and in fighting men, and since the rapacity and insolence of the Roman officials sent thither from time to time had made them hostile to the empire in all its aspects, he tried to win them over, the chiefs by his personal intercourse with them, the masses by a remission of taxes. His greatest popularity, how- ever, was won by ridding them of the necessity of furnishing quarters for soldiers ; for he compelled his soldiers to fix their winter-quarters in the suburbs of the cities, and he himself was first to pitch his tent there. However, he did not rely wholly on the goodwill of the Barbarians, but he armed all the

1 Cf. the Sulla, xxviii. 1-3.

TOV aVTOOL peToLKOUYTWY TOUS ev HALKia KADOTALoas, unXavas te tTravrodaTas Kal vavTnyias tTpinpwv wuToBaropuevos, did yeupos elye Tas TONels, Huepos pey wv ev tais eipnuixais xpetass, gdoBepos Sé TH TapacKevy Kata TOV ToAEuLoV hawopevos.

VII. 'Os 6€ SvAXAay pev érvvOdvero tis "Pons Kpateiv, Eppa dé tyv Mapiov Kal KdpBwvos oTdoly, aUTiKa TpocdoKay otpatiav SiatTroNEpncovoay avt@ pel Hryewovos apiEecOar ppayvuTas 7a Ilupnvaia épn da "lovAiov Yaduwvartopos é€axtoxXtALiovs omAitas ExovTos. Kal peT ov TOAD Tdios "Avvtos éxteupOels tro TvANa Kal Tov

"lovALov admpocpayov opav év amopw Kadjoto
2 mapa tais uimwpelats. Kadtovpviov Sé Tivos
émixrnow Aavapiov Sorodovncaytos tov *lov-
Mov Kai TOV OTpaTLwTaV Ta axpa Ths IlupHyys
éxdTrovTwv, UTepBarwv Avvios émrjer yetpl peya-
An TOUS eprrodev aviotds. Lepraptos 5é ove Ov
dE vopaxos peTa TPLTXLALwY Ets Kapyndova THY
véav Katapuyer, KaxeiOev émiBas TeV veov Kal
Siatepdaas To TrédXayos, AiBin xata tHv Mav-
3 povciay wpocéoyev. adudrdktots b€ Tols oTpa-
TL@mtTais Vdpevopevols TOV BapBdpwv émitecovTwr,
avyvors atoBarwrv adOis eis ‘IBnpiav amémnee:
Kal TavTns pev atroxpovetat, Kittooay dé Ano Tpt-
Swy avt@ mpocyevopévay Ilutvovaean vnow mpocé-
Bane, cat awéBn thv tap’ Avviov dpovpay Bra-
odpuevos. “Avuos 5¢ pet ov TodAv TrapHy vavoi
18

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Roman settlers of the country who were of military age, and by undertaking the construction of all sorts of engines of war and the building of triremes, kept the cities well in hand, being mild in the affairs of peace, but showing himself formidable by the preparations which he made against his enemies.

VII. When he learned that Sulla was master of Rome,! and that the party of Marius and Carbo was on the way to ruin, he expected that an army with a commander would come at once to fight the issue out with him. He therefore sent Julius Salinator with six thousand men-at-arms to bar the passage of the Pyrenees. And not long afterwards Caius Annius was sent out by Sulla, and seeing that Julius could not be assailed, he knew not what to do, and sat idly down at the base of the mountains. But a certain Calpurnius, surnamed Lanarius, treacherously killed Julius, whose soldiers then abandoned the heights of the Pyrenees; whereupon Annius crossed over and advanced with a large force, routing all opposition. Sertorius, not being able to cope with him, took refuge with three thousand men in New Carthage ; there he embarked his forces, crossed the sea, and landed in the country of the Maurusii, in Africa. But while his soldiers were getting water and were off their guard, the Barbarians fell upon them, and after losing many men, Sertorius sailed back again to Spain. From this shore too he was repulsed, but after being joined by some Cilician piratical vessels he attacked the island of Pityussa, overpowered the guard which Annius had set there, and effected a landing. After a short time, however, Annius came

1 In 82 B.c,

n ¢ N
Te TodXNais Kal TevTaKiaytALo“s OTALTALS, POS
a a a
Ov emexeipnae cv Stavavpayelv, Kaitrep édadpois
‘
Kal WpOs TAXOS, OV TWpds GAKHY, TeETOLNMEVOLS
Ul / 4 \ “A nn 4
oKxaheot ypwpevos, Cepvp@ Sé Aaurp@ TOD Treda-
b , a A
yous avictapévov Kal Ta TOAAG TOV TOU Lep-
ld 4 a
Twplov MAoiwy bmd KOoUhoTnTos TWAUaytAa Tas
e 4 / > A a / \ fol
paxtars meptBadXovtos, avTOS OAiyats vavol THs
\ A “A a
pev Oardoons bro TOD YELpavos eipyomevos, Tis
\ a \ a /
dé yAs Ud TOV ToAELLoV, Huépas Séxa TadevoV
\ ce)
Mpos évavtiov Kiya Kal KAVdwva TpaxyvY émLTO-
vos dvexaptépnaer.
VIII. ’Evdovros 5€ tod mvevpatos hepopevos
4
ynoois tialy évavrtleTat otropdow avudpo.s Kd-
a 4 \ \ \ “a
xetOev apas kal duexBarov tov Tadecpaiov ropd-
\ a a “A
pov év deEta Tots extos emiBadrrAe THs “I Bnpéas,
\ \ “A A a
puxpov vTép Tav Tov Baitios éxBorwy, os els THY
? \ a
AtXavtixny éxpepopevos OdrdatTav dGvoma TH
mept avrov I Bnpia tapéoyev.
a a > A
"Evrav0a vadtai tives evtvyydvovew avT@
/ “A a /
véov éx Tov “ATAAVTLK@Y VHTwWY avaTrETTAEVKOTES,
at Svo pév eict AeTTOS TavtTdtract TwopOn@ Siac-
4
povpevat, pupious 8 améyovor AuBins oradious
\

kal ovopalovta. Maxdpworv. suBpors dé ypwpevar
petpiols otraviws, Ta bé TAELoTA TYEVPAGL pada-
al A , b 4 b) fe) \ 7
xois Kat SpocoBodots, ov povov dpovv Kai puTeverv
/ \
mapéxovow ayabny Kal miova yopay, adda Kal
\ a a
Kaptrov avtopun dépovow atoxpavra mrHGer Kal
4 /
yAuniTntTe Booxew advev Tovey Kal wpaypateias
lA on aA de ” e ” 4
cxor\alovra Ojpov. anp O€ aAXuUTTOS WPwY TE Kpa-
20

a7

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with numerous ships and five thousand men-at-arms, and with him Sertorius attempted to fight a decisive naval battle, although the vessels which he had were light and built for speed rather than for fighting. But the sea ran high with a strong west wind, and the greater part of the vessels of Sertorius, owing to their lightness, were driven aslant upon the rocky shore, while he himself, with a few ships, excluded from the open sea by the storm, and from the land by the enemy, was tossed about for ten days in a battle with adverse waves and fierce surges, and with difficulty held his own.

VIII. But the wind subsided and he was borne along to certain scattered and waterless islands, where he spent the night; then, setting out from there, and passing through the strait of Cadiz, he kept the outer coast of Spain on the right and landed a little above the mouths of the river Baetis, which empties into the Atlantic sea and has given its name to the adjacent parts of Spain.

Here he fell in with some sailors who had recently come back from the Atlantic Islands.!. These are two in number, separated by a very narrow strait ; they are ten thousand furlongs distant from Africa, and are called the Islands of the Blest. They enjoy moderate rains at long intervals, and winds which for the most part are soft and precipitate dews, so that the islands not only have a rich soil which is excellent for plowing and planting, but also produce a natural fruit that is plentiful and wholesome enough to feed, without toil or trouble, a leisure folk. Moreover, an

1 Perhaps Madeira and Porto Santo, though these are forty miles apart. Features of the Canary Islands have doubtless crept into the description.

. 21

oe. kal peTaBorgrHs meTpLornte KaTéxKet TAS VHTOUS.
of pev yap évOdvde THs ys amomvéovtes EEw
Bopéat kat amnrdorar ba pixos éxtecovtes eis
ToTov axyavyn Stacteipovtat kal mpoatroneitrovat,
merayto. 5é mepippéovtes apyéctat nat Cépupor
Barnyxpovs péev vetovs Kal omopabdas éx Oardrrns
3 4 \ \ “a ? 4 b]
émayovtes, Ta 5€ TOAAA voTEpais aiOpiats émt-
uyovres navy Tpépovatv, WaTE wexpt ToV Bap-
/ A , b] \ > , \ 3 4
Bapov SiixOa trict ioyupav avto&. to *HAV-
oto elvat Tredtoy Kal THY TaV evdatmLovav olKnaL,
ny“ Opnpos tuvyce.
IX. Tad& o Sepra@psos axovaas épwra Gavpa-
\ v > A \ / \ fel b] e /
orev Exxev oixjoat Tas vHoOUS Kal Ch ev novyia,
4 ? ‘\ \ J ? ,
Tupavyidos atradXayels Kal TONé“oV aTravoTOD.
> 4 \ e J > \ > A 4
aicOopevot 5é ot Kirsxes, ovOev eipnvns Sedpevor
kal oxyorHs, dAAA wWrovTOV Kal Aadupwr, «Eis
AtBunv arémrevoar, *Acxadw tov “Id0a xata-
2 Eovres éri tiv Mavpovoiwy Bacirelay. ov pv
> / e , ? a \ N od
atréxapev 0 LepTwpLos, AANA Tois mpds Tov “Ac-
kadiv StatroNepodaw eyvw BonOeiv, ws of cov
x oA , , , 2 \ \
avT@ Kawny tiva AaBovTes EATriOwWY apxXnV Kal
, e 4 ef ; \ a eN a
mpatewy éTépov wroVecw pn StadrvOetev bro Tis
/ a
atropias. aapérots 5é tois Mavpoucio adixo-
pevos elxeto Epyou, Kal KaTtapayeodpevos Tov
3 “Ackadw érodtdpxe. Ara S€ Tlaxxiavov ék-
méurpavtos BonOjca: tois wept tov “AoKaduy
peta Suvduews, suuBadrov o Leptw@pios Tov pev
Tlaxxcavov amέxteave, Thv 5é otpatiavy Kpatynoas
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air that is salubrious, owing to the climate and the
moderate changes in the seasons, prevails on the
islands. For the north and east winds which blow

out from our part of the world plunge into fathomless space, and, owing to the distance, dissipate themselves and lose their power before they reach the islands; while the south and west winds that envelope the islands from the sea sometimes bring in their train soft and intermittent showers, but for the most part cool them with moist breezes and gently nourish the soil. Therefore a firm belief has made its way, even to the Barbarians, that here is the Elysian Field and the abode of the blessed, of which Homer sang.

IX. When Sertorius heard this tale, he was seized with an amazing desire to dwell in the islands and live in quiet, freed from tyranny and wars that would never end. The Cilicians, however, who did not want peace or leisure, but wealth and spoils, when they were aware of his desire, sailed away to Africa, to restore Ascalis the son of Iphtha to the throne of Maurusia. Nevertheless Sertorius did not despair, but resolved to go to the aid of those who were fighting against Ascalis, in order that his followers might get some fresh ground for hope and occasion for new enterprise, and so might remain together in spite of their difficulties. The Maurusians were glad to have him come, and he set himself to work, defeated Ascalis in battle, and laid siege to him. Moreover, when Sulla sent out Paccianus with an army to give aid to Ascalis, Sertorius joined battle with Paccianus and slew him, won over his soldiers after their defeat,

1 Odyssey, iv. 563-568.

s , , > A CVA
mpoonyayeTo, Kal Thy Tiryyu, es hv o "Aoxanis
4 \ a a) a bd ,
cuvéduye peta THV aderhav, éEeTTONOpKHCED.
"Evtav0a tov 'Avtaiov ot AiBves iatopodat
xetc0ar' Kat tov tdpov avtod Leptwpios d:é-
oxayye tois BapBapots amictav Sia péyeOos.
éytuyav 6€ TO copatt. tmHyav éEEnKovTa piKos,
as pact, KaTeTNAaYN, Kal oddytov évteu@v auve-
NOTE TO LVRpa, Kal THY TeplL avTOD TLUNVY TE Kal
dnunv avvnve—nce. Teyyitae 5é€ pu€oroyovouy
; ; a /
"Avtaiov teXeutTncavtos THY yuvaixa Tiyynv
"Hpaxret cuvenbeiv, Xodpaxa & ée& avtav yevo-
"a "A 4 :
pevov Bacirtedoar THs YwOpas Kal TONY ém@vupoV
" aA 4 a /
THS pnTpos atrodetEar, Lopaxos Sé maida ryevea Oar
s " lal 9 " e
Avodwpov, & modrka tov AtBuxav eOvav tb77-

xovoev ‘EXAnucoy éxovTs oTpdTevpa TOY avToOs
Katoxiopevovy bd “Hpaxréovs "OXABiavdv Kat
/ > \ oe) \ b , “
Muxnvaiwv. add\a TavTa pev avakeicw TH
"loBa xapitt, rod wavtwev totopixwtdtov Bact-
A€wv exeivov yap toTopovat Tovs MpoyovouS
A } , \ “i 9 4 9
todwpou Kat Lopaxos atroyovous elvat.
\ /
Leptwpios Sé wavtwv éeyxparns yevomevos ToVs
denbévras avTov Kal miaTevcavTas OVK NdiKNGED,
’ \ / \ 2 \ ’ \
ahha Kal Xpywara Kat Tonets Kab THY apXny
am@édwxev avtois, doa Karas elye SeEdpevos S:-
SovToVv.
af /
X. "Evtev0ev Stroe ypyn tpamécOat Bovdevo-
pevov éxddovy Avattavol mpéoBes tméurpavrtes
97? e / 4 \ ” + g/ /
ep mYEHoViG, TAVT@S MEY apXOVTOS atiopa peya,
Kal éumepiav &yovtos Seduevot mpos Tov atro
24

and forced to a surrender the city of Tingis, into which Ascalis and his brethen had fled for refuge.

In this city the Libyans say that Antaeus is buried ; and Sertorius had his tomb dug open, the great size of which made him disbelieve the Barbarians. But when he came upon the body and found it to be sixty cubits long, as they tell us, he was dumbfounded, and after performing a sacrifice filled up the tomb again, and joined in magnifying its traditions and honours. Now, the people of Tingis have a myth that after the death of Antaeus, his wife, Tinga, consorted with Heracles, and that Sophax was the fruit of this union, who became king of the country and named a city which he founded after his mother; also that Sophax had a son, Diodorus, to whom many of the Libyan peoples became subject, since he had a Greek army composed of the Olbianians and Mycenaeans who were settled in those parts by Heracles. But this tale must be ascribed to a desire to gratify Juba, of all kings the most devoted to historical enquiry ; for his ancestors are said to have been descendants of Sophax and Diodorus.

Sertorius, then, having made himself master of the whole country, did no wrong to those who were his suppliants and put their trust in him, but restored to them both property and cities and government, receiving only what was right and fair in free gifts from them.

X. As he was deliberating whither to turn his efforts next, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors and invited him to be theirleader. They were altogether lacking in a commander of great reputation and ex- perience as they faced the terror of the Roman arms,

25

~ PLUTARCH'S LIVES

'Pp 4 4 >? , 4 e '

wpatov hoBov, éxeivm S€ miorevovtes avrovs
ove wuvOavopevot Tapa TOV avYyEeyovoTwY TO
2 700s avtod. Réyetat 6€1 o LYeptaptos ote vd'
noovis ovte Ud Séous EevdrwTOS yevécIaL, duces
5é avéxtrAnnTos Oy Tapa Ta Sea Kal pérpLos Ev-
Tuxlay éveyxeiv: Kal mpos pev evOupaxiav ovdevos
aToAmoTEepos TaY Kal' éavTov Hyepovwr, doa Sé
KNwTrelas év ToNeuots Epya Kal mAeovetias Tepl
totous éyupovs xal daBdoces tayous Seopévas
atratns te cal wevdar év déovtt, codons Setvo- 573
3 tatos. éy b€ tails Tipais Tay avdpayabnpdtov
Sayrirns pawwopevos, wept Tas Tywpias éuerpiale
TOV dpaptnuatwv. Kaitou Soxei repli Tov éoxa-
Tov autov Biov wmpoTntos Kal BapvOupias TO 7rept
TOUS ou4npous wpaxOev Epyov emibdetEae THY Pio
OUK OVTAY HuEepov, GAN ETrapTrExXomEvnY NOYLT UO
4 Sua thy avaynny. éwot 8 dperny pev eidxpev7, Kal
KaTa NOYOY cuvEecTacay ovK av Tote SoKEel TUYN
Tis €xoTHoat Tpos TovvavTiov, GAXws Sé mpoatpé-
ces Kal duces YpnaTas UTO cuphopay pweyddrov
map atiav kaxwleicas ovx advvatov T@ Saipove
ovppetaBarelv 76 7005. 6 Kal Leprwptoy olpar
mwabeiv HOn THs TUXNS aUTOY eTLNELTTOVENS, ExT pPa-
Xuvopevov bro TOV Tpayparay ylvomévov TroVvn-
p@v pos Tovs adixodvras.
XI. Ov pov adda Tore ye TOV AvoiTavar
Karovvtav amhjpev ex AtBins. Kal rovrous cuvé-
tattev evOvs avToxpdtwp otparnyos, Kal TH
éyyos "[8npiay omnxoov émoteito, THY TWAELT TOY
ao Coraés and Bekker read ydp with one (inferior)
MS.
26

SERTORIUS

and they entrusted themselves to him, and to him alone, when they learned about his character from those who had been with him. And it is said that Sertorius was no easy victim either of pleasure or of fear, but that he was naturally unterrified in the face of danger, and bore prosperity with moderation ; in straightforward fighting he was as bold as any commander of his time, while in all military ac- tivities demanding stealth and the power to seize an advantage in securing strong positions or in crossing rivers, where speed, deceit, and, if neces- sary, falsehood are required, he was an expert of the highest ability. Moreover, while he showed him- self generous in rewarding deeds of valour, he used moderation in punishing transgressions. And yet, in the last part of his life, the savage and vindictive treatment which he bestowed upon his hostages! would seem to show that his mildness was not natural to him, but was worn as a garment, from calculation, as necessity required. In my opinion, however, a virtue that is sincere and based upon reason can never by any fortune be converted into its opposite, although it is true that excellent principles and natures, when impaired by great and undeserved calamities, may possibly change their character as the guiding genius changes. And this, I think, was the case with Sertorius when fortune at last began to forsake him ; as his cause grew hopeless he became harsh toward those who did him wrong.

XI. However, at the time of which I speak he set out from Africa on the invitation of the Lusitanians. These he proceeded to organize at once, acting as their general with full powers, and he brought the neighbouring parts of Spain into subjection. Most

1 See chapter xxv. 4. 27

e ld 4 4 \ PS \ \
éxovaiws mpooTiOepéevwv, pardtota pev ia TO
Mpaov avrov Kal Spactnpuoy, Ete O€ & Kal codt-
TTLKMS AUTOS Eis aTraTHY Kal KNANOLW eunxavato.
Kal TP@TOY ye TavTw@Y TO TEpl THY EXagoOV. HV
dé tovovee.
N > \ 4 "~ 9 \ , 4
Lravos avnp Snuotns Tav éml ywopas Brovytwv
éAddw veoroxm hevyovaon Kuvyyétas éemituyov
auThs pev atredrcihOn, THhv dé veBpov, éxmrraryels
ol / a" / a
Th KalwoTnTe THS KXpoas (AevKN yap hv aoa),
AapBave Sio€as. kata tHxYnv dé Leptwpiov Tos
TOTrOLS evaudicapévou, Kal wav & Tis eF aypas 4
yewpytas Hiroe Kouilwv SMpov acpévas Sexopuévov,
\ , 9 / \ 4
Kal diroppovws aperBouévou tovs Peparevortas,
3 , 4 > " \ , e \ ,
éyxerpiler hépwy avut@ tHv veBpov. o bé deEa-
pevos autixa pev oOn petpiws: ypovm 4é
Totnodpevos TUWacov ottTw Kal dirdvOpwrov

of N “ > , N / ,
@aoTe Kal KadovvTos dxovew, Kal Badifovri rot
nw wv N , N
mapaxorovleiv, dyAov Te Kal BopvBov maytos
avéyerOat otpatimtixov, Kata puiKpov é&eOciale
dacxwy "Apréudos Swpov Thy EXadgor eivat, cal
TokAa THOV aonArAwv érepnutteyv avT@ Snrodv,
,
ytwwooKkwy evarwrov eis Secodatpoviay elvar picet
to BapBapixov. o Sé xal wpocetexyvato To.ade:
yvous yap av kpuda Tovs Trodepuious euBeBANKOo-
o) /
TAS TOL THS UT avTOV Ywpas 7 TOALY agioTayTas,
Wpoceroreito THY EXahov aUT@ KaTa Tovs Uarrvous
, , > e , 4
duetr€xOar, xedevovoav év ETOipm Tas Suvdapes
éyew. avlis 5€ vicnv tia Tov éavTovd otpaTn-
28

of the people joined him of their own accord, owing chiefly to his mildness and efficiency ; but sometimes he also betook himself to cunning devices of his own for deceiving and charming them. The chief one of these, certainly, was the device of the doe, which was as follows.

Spanus, a plebeian who lived in the country, came upon a doe which had newly yeaned and was trying to escape the hunters. The mother he could not overtake, but the fawn—and he was struck with its unusual colour, for it was entirely white—he pursued and caught. And since, as it chanced, Sertorius had taken up his quarters in that region, and gladly re- ceived everything in the way of game or produce that was brought him as a gift, and made kindly returns to those who did him such favours, Spanus brought the fawn and gave it to him. Sertorius accepted it, and at the moment felt only the ordinary pleasure in a gift; but in time, after he had made the animal so tame and gentle that it obeyed his call, accompanied him on his walks, and did not mind the crowds and all the uproar of camp life, he gradually tried to give the doe a religious importance by declaring that she was a gift of Diana, and solemnly alleged that she revealed many hidden things to him, knowing that the Barbarians were naturally an easy prey to superstition. He also added such devices as these. Whenever he had secret intelligence that the enemy had made an incursion into the territory which he commanded, or were trying to bring a city to revolt from him, he would pretend that the doe had con- versed with him in his dreams, bidding him hold his forces in readiness. Again, when he got tidings of some victory won by his generals, he would hide the

29

yov axovoas Tov ev dry'yeXov ExpumTrTe, THY dé
EXadoy éotehavapevny én' evaryyeAiors T ponryen,
evOupeia Oa TapaKxarov kat Tois Beois Ovew ws
ayaov Ti mevaopevous.
_ XIL. Ottw 66 yesponbecs Touno a puevos airous

To Wpos atavra HETpLMTEpots, ou un' av-
Rit adrobatrov Aoyia way, GNA' bo oi oTpa-
Tnyeto Oat mreOopévors, Gua Kat TOV TpaypdTov
ETLLAPTUPOUYTWY TH Tapa _Aoyov Thy dSvvapuy
avEdveo Gar. SuaxXrAtous yap eEaxoatous obs
avouate 'Papatous, TUUpLKTOLS dé emtaxociots
AtBvor eis Avottaviay avT@ cvvdiaBaor meNTa-
aras TETPAKLTXLALOUS Avovttavov Kai tmreis
émTaxoatous mpoodaSov ETrONE WEL TeTTApoL "Po-
patov otpatnyois, bp: ols hoa qeCoy pev ba-
dexa pupiddes, tireis O€ éEaxroxidsor, Toforas 5é
Kal opevdovijrar Sta xidvot, TOKELS dé dvapiO untor
TO TAOS, QUTOS E€LKOGL TAS mao as ev apxi
KEKTNILEVOS. arn' Gos dadevns ovTw Kal puK pos
dpEapevos ov povoy eOvav é expaTynoe peyadov Kat
Toes EldE TONNES, ara Kat To avTiaTpatn-
yov Korrav pev ev 7 mept THY MeAAapiav
qopO ue KATEVAUYHAXNTE, Dovgidiov dé Tov dp-
YOVTA THS Bastuchis Tept tov Batre eTpeparo
dia xuAtous arroxreivas: 'Popaiwr, | Aopercov dé
Aevxtov! av@vTatov évra THs érépas "I Bnpias
dia Tov Tapiov KATAywViT dHEVOS, kal Owpduor,
ad)Nov nyewova TOV 1rd MerédAov wepnpbévtwv
PETG Suvdpews, avetrev, avrov re tov MéreAddop,
1 Aevxcoy the conjecture of Sint.?, after Amyot, for the MS.
kat Aovciov; Reiske, followed by Sint.! and Bekker, read
KaAoulouor.
30

messenger, and bring forth the doe wearing garlands for the receipt of glad tidings, exhorting his men to be of good cheer and to sacrifice to the gods, assured that they were to learn of some good fortune.

XII. By these devices he made the people tractable, and so found them more serviceable for all his plans ; they believed that they were led, not by the mortal wisdom of a foreigner, but by a god. At the same time

events also brought witness to this belief by reason of the extraordinary growth of the power of Sertorius. For with the twenty-six hundred men whom he called Romans, and a motley band of seven hundred Libyans who crossed over into Lusitania with him, to whom he added four thousand Lusitanian targeteers and seven hundred horsemen, he waged war with four Roman generals, under whom were a hundred and twenty thousand footmen, six thousand horsemen, two thousand bowmen and slingers, and an untold number of cities, while he himself had at first only twenty all told. But nevertheless, from so weak and slender a beginning, he not only sub- dued great nations and took many cities, but was also victorious over the generals sent against him : Cotta he defeated in a sea-fight in the straits near Mellaria ; Fufidius, the governor of Baetica, he routed on the banks of the Baetis with the slaughter of two thousand Roman soldiers ; Lucius Domitius, who was pro-consul of the other Spain,! was defeated at the hands of his quaestor; Thoranius, another of the commanders sent out by Metellus with an army, he slew; and on Metellus himself, the greatest Roman

1 Spain was divided into two provinces, Hispania Citerior (Hither) and Hispania Ulterior (Further), or Eastern and Western Spain. Fufidius was pro-consul of Western Spain.

” € 4 b A / ,
avdpa ‘Pwpaiwy év trois tote péytotov Kal Soxt-
, > b 4 4 N bd
H@TATOV, OVK OXLYOLS OhdApact TrepLBarwV Es
TocauTHY atropiay Katéatnoev Wate AevKLOV pev
MaAXov é€x ths wept NapBova Taratias érOeiv
avt@ BonOov, Uopumrniov 5€ Mayvov é« ‘Pomns
KATA TAaXOS aTocTAaAHvar peta Suvdpews.
Ov yap elyev 6 MéreAXOs 6 Te YpHoatTo Tpoc-

A“ > \ A , ? ,
TO\EL@v avdpt ToAUNTH Taons éFavadvopevw
pavepas payns, Tacay 5€ petaBaddopévg peta-
\ > 4 \ / a > a
Bornv evo Tanerg Kal Kouporyte THS IBnpicijs
OTPATLAS, AVTOS OTALTLKO@Y Kal vopipwv aoKNTHS
yeyovas ayovev kal atpatnyos éuBpiOods Kat
povipouv ddrayyos, waoacGar pev eis Yetpas
€\Povtas orepiovs Kal xataBareivy dapiocra
yeyupvacpévns, opetBately dé Kat ouvnptncbat
diwkeot nal gduyais atavotos avOpoTav brn-
, \ > / \ / v
veuiwy Kal ALuov avéyecOa kai Siattay amrupovy
Kal doxnvop, domep exeivor, pn Suvapevns.
XIII. "Ere 66 auros pev 70n mpeo Butepos HV

Kat TL Kat Tpos averpevny 76n Kal tpudepay di-
atTay ex TOMA@Y dyover Kal peydrwn evdeduxas,
T@ b€ Yeprwpio cuvecotynKes Wvevpatos akpatov
yé“ovTe Kal KaTecKevacpévoy ExovTse Oavpaciws
TO O@pa pwn Kal Taxer Kal ALTOTHTL. péOnsS
pev yap ovd€ pabupayv Arteto, movous bé peya-
Nous Kal paxpas odouropias Kai avveyeis dypu-
4 9 / ” \ 4 > 4
mvias oArLyos elOtoTO Kal havrols apKovpeEVvos
attiows Stadéperv, mAdvors O€é. Ypw@pevos det Kal
Kuvnyecious omote ayorala, mdons dtexdvoews
32

of the time and held in highest repute, he inflicted many defeats and reduced him to so great straits that Lucius Manlius came from Gallia Narbonensis to help him, and Pompey the Great was hurriedly dispatched from Rome with an army.

For Metellus was at his wits' end. He was carrying on war with a man of daring who evaded every kind of open fighting, and who made all manner of shifts and changes, owing to the light equipment and agility of his Iberian soldiers ; whereas he himself had been trained in regular contests of heavy-armed troops, and was wont to command a ponderous and immobile phalanx,! which, for repelling and over-powering an enemy at close quarters, was most excellently trained, but for climbing mountains, for dealing with the incessant pursuits and flights of men as light as the winds, and for enduring hunger and a life without fire or tent, as their enemies did, it was worthless.

XIII. Besides this, Metellus was now getting on in years, and was somewhat inclined also, by this time, to an easy and luxurious mode of life after his many and great contests ; whereas his op- ponent, Sertorius, was full of mature vigour, and had a body which was wonderfully constituted for strength, speed, and plain living. For in excessive drinking he would not indulge even in his hours of ease, and he was wont to endure great toils, long marches, and continuous wakefulness, content with meagre and indifferent food; moreover, since he was always wandering about or hunting when he had leisure for it, he obtained an acquaintance with every way

1 Cf. the Pompey, xvii. 2.

4 , 4 > Ul
dhevyovts cal Siwxovts cuxrocews aBdtwv Te Kal
/ N a)
Bacipwv toTwv éurretpiay mpocarndea. 610 TO
bev elpyopéva payns boa viKwpevo. TacyovoL
e fe!
avOpwrot BranrtecOar cuvéBarvev, 0 5é TO Hev-
a \
yew elye Ta TOV SiwxdvTwv. Kal yap vdpetas
wf
améxomrre Kal attoroyias elpye, Kal TpoiovTt pev
> \ 2 > / \ ¢ 4 ce)
éxtrob@y jv, éxives S€é idpuvOevta, modopKovyTe
5é AAXous emrihatvopevos avTeToNopKEL TAais TOV
dvaykaiwy amopiat, @aoTe TovS oTpaTLWTAs
amayopevetv, kal tov Leptwpiov povopayjaoar
™poxanoupévou tov MéreddXov, Body Kal xedeverv
payecOar otpatnyov otpatny@® Kal ‘Pwpaiov
€ , > 4 \ 4 e \ ,
Pwpaio, avadvopevoyv b& yrevaferv. 0 S€é Tov-
TOV péev, ev TOLMY, KaTEyéda: OTpaTNHYOU Yap,
e ” / ad , b / \
ws hn Geodpactos, det Odvarov arroOvnoxetv Tov
oTPATNYOV, OV WeATAGTOU TOV TUXOVTOS. opav 4é
tovs AayyoBpitas ov pixpa TO Deptwpio ova-
AapBavopévous, difen 6€ dvTas evadrwTous (év
yap qv adtois dpéap ev TH wore, TaY SB év Tos
\
mpoacteios Kal wapa Ta TEelyn va“dTwY oO TrO-
ALopKayériKpaTeiv Euendev), Hey Em) THY TWOALY
as juépats dual cuvaipycwv THY TToNLopKiay,
Ddatos ovK dvtos. 610 Kal révTe Huepav éemidé-
/ A
pecOat ovtia povov Tpoeipnto Tots oTpaTiwrats.
e
o Leptaptios 8 dkéws BonOyoas éxérevoe Sicyeri-
ous aoxous datos éuTAnoa, Kal’ Exactov acKov
? , \ 4 \ a“ \ > VA
apyuptoy cuxvoyv takas. Kali ToAA@Y pev '187-
“A \ 4 e , N
pov, morrdov 56 Mavpovoiwy tidiotapévwv Oo
”

Epyov, émireEdpevos avdpas evpwotous dua Kal
34

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of escape for a fugitive, or of surrounding an enemy under pursuit, in places both accessible and inaccessible. The result was, therefore, that Metellus, by being kept from fighting, suffered all the harm which visits men who are defeated; while Sertorius, by flying, had the advantages of men who pursue. For he would cut off his opponent's supply of water and prevent his foraging; if the Romans advanced, he would get out of their way, and if they settled down in camp, he would harass them; if they besieged a place, he would come up and put them under siege in their turn by depriving them of supplies. At last the Roman soldiers were in despair, and when Ser- torius challenged Metellus to single combat, they cried aloud and bade him fight, general with general, and Roman with Roman, and when he declined, they mocked at him. But Metellus laughed at all this, and he was right ; for a general, as Theophrastus says, should die the death of a general, not that of a common targeteer. Then, seeing that the Langobritae were giving no slight assistance to Sertorius, and that their city could easily be taken for lack of water (since they had but one well inthe city, and the streams in the suburbs and along the walls would be in the power — of any besieger), Metellus came against the city, intending to complete the siege in two days, since there was no water there. On this account, too, he had given orders to his soldiers to take along provisions for only five days. But Sertorius quickly came to the rescue and ordered two thousand skins to be filled with water, offering for each skin a considerable sum of money. Many Iberians and many Maurusians volunteered for the work, and after selecting men who were both sturdy and swift of foot, he sent them

35
p 2
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A a 4
TmobwKes érreure Sid THs Opewhs, Kekevoas, OTav
"A A fol A
Tapabaot Tovs aaKovs Tois év TH TodE, TOV
aypnotov wmeEayayely dyndov, Straws eEapKy Tots
Gpuvopévots TO ToTOV. exTvaTou b€ ToVTOU YyEvo-
/ \ \ 4 4 @ \ HO a
peévov mpos tov Meteddrov, nxGeto pev non T
EMLTNOELA TOY OTpPaTLWTaV UTavadwxoTor, é&é-
meprpe O€ él ottodoyiay "Axvivoy é€axioytdiwv
myoupevov. atcOopevos S¢ 0 Leptwpios Kal mmpo-
Aoxioas THY oddov erravepyonévm TE "Axvive
Tptoxtdious avdpas &« Twos svoxiou yapddpas
éraviotnow, autos b€ KaTa oTop"a TpocBadwv
4 \ \ \ / \ \
TpéemeTat, Kal Tous pev StadOeipe, rors 5é Nap-
Bave Cavras. "Axvivoy é peta Tav Grrov kal
Tov immov amtoBeBAnkota SeEdpwevos Méreddos

aigxpas amnel, ToAAa yAevalopevos bd TaV
"TBnpov.
v , an
XIV. “Ex re 57 tovtwv Gavpalopevos nyaTato
A UA e , A 4 €
mapa tois BapBapos o Seprw@pios, cat ort “Po-
paixots omAtcpois Kal td&eoe Kal ovvOnpacww
adatpav To pavixov Kal Onpiddes adtav Tis
aXKhs advtt NnoTNpiou peyddou otpaTov érotelTo
N 14 4 9 bd) 4, , 9 A
Thy diva, ett 8 apyip@ yYpwpevos adedas
Kal Xpvo@ Kpavn Te KaTexdoper Kat Oupeods
A / a
avTa@y dvemroiKidre, Kal yNapvow avOwais Kal
yita@ot xphobas SidaoKxwy cal yopnyav eis radTa
\ a“ > , 4 \
kal oupdiroxarav édnuaywoye. pdrotra Se
elkev avtovs Ta TV Taidwv.. Tors yap evrye-
vesTatous ato TaY eOvav auvayayev eis “OcKar,
TOW peyadny, SudacKarous émiotnoas ‘ENAn-
36

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SERTORIUS

by a route through the mountains, with orders that when they had delivered the skins to the people in the city, they should secretly convey away the unservice- able mass of the population, in order that the water might suffice for the actual defenders of the city. When Metellus learned that this had been done, he was annoyed, since his soldiers had already consumed their provisions, and sent out Aquinus, at the head of six thousand men, to forage. But Sertorius learned of this and set an ambush of three thousand men in the road by which Aquinus was to return. These sallied forth from a shady ravine and attacked Aquinus in the rear, while Sertorius himself assailed him in front, routed him, slew some of his men, and took some of them prisoners. Aquinus, after losing both his armour and his horse, got back to Metellus, who then retired disgracefully, much flouted by the Iberians.

XIV. In consequence of these successes Sertorius was admired and loved by the Barbarians, and especially because by introducing Roman arms and formations and signals he did away with their frenzied and furious displays of courage, and converted their forces into an army, instead of a huge band of robbers. Still further, he used gold and silver without stint for the decoration of their helmets and the ornamen- tation of their shields, and by teaching them to wear flowered cloaks and tunics, and furnishing them with the means to do this, and sharing their love of beautiful array, he won the hearts of all. But most of all were they captivated by what he did with their boys. Those of the highest birth, namely, he collected together from the various peoples, at Osca, a large city, and set over them teachers of Greek and

ViK@V TE Kal ‘Popainay pabnudrov Epy@ pev
eEwunpevoato, hoy dé érraidever, ws avdpaat
ryevowevors mWoNTElas TE peradacav Kal apxijs.
ot bé TAT Epes iSovro Javpactas TOUS maidas éy
TepiTop Upots OpwVTeEsS pada Koo Lis povravras
els Ta Oldackanreia, Kal TOV LepT@ptov imép
avTav pcos TedouvTa, Kal TOARGKus dmodei ters
AapBavovta, Kat yépa trois akiots ve povTa, Kal
Ta ypuvoad mepidépata Sw@povpevov a ‘Pewpaior
Bovhras Kadovow. EOous 8 OVTOS ‘TBnpixod TOUS
wept Tov dpxovta TET AY MEVOUS cuvaToOunc ety
avT@ TecovTl, Kal TovTO Tov exel BapBapav
KATAOTELOLY ovopalovren, TOUS pev arrows YE
foot odiryou TOV UTaoTioT@Y Kal TOV éTAipar,
DepTwpio be Todral pupiddes avO pwrmcov KaTE-
OTELKOTOY EauTOLS NKOAOVOOUD. Aéyerar dé ™ pos
Tie TOAEL TpoTrijs yevopevns Kal TOV TONE MLOY
ETrLKELLEVOV TOUS “T8npas Gpedjoavtas aura
TOV LepT@piov cater Kal Tois @mLoLs éemapapevous
dd Xous 7 po addov dvaxoudia at Tpos Ta Tel,
yevouévov & &v aopanrel TOU dpXovtos, ovTw
Tpérrec Oat 7 pos guyny exacrov avr av.
XV. Ov povov 5é rots "I Bnpow ay moUetvos,
ada Kal ois é& ‘TraMas OT PaTEvouEvoLs, Ilep-
mévva, yoov Ovévtwvos aro Tis aris LepTwpi@
oTdoews eis ‘T8npiav Taparyevouevov peta Ypn-
patov TONY Kal pmeyadns duvdpews, idia &é
Kal” éavtov éyvwKortos Toneuely Mpos TOV Méren-
Aop, Educ x épasvov ot TT PATLOTAL, Kab ToAUs ay
TOU LepTopiou oyos ev TO otpatomé}p, Tov
Heprévvay avedy evyevelg rar TOUT TeTupw-
pévov. ov pny arr érret Iloumnios nyyéAXero

Roman learning ; thus in reality he made hostages of them, while ostensibly he was educating them, with the assurance that when they became men he would give them a share in administration and authority. So the fathers were wonderfully pleased to see their sons, in purple-bordered togas, very decorously going to their schools, and Sertorius paying their fees for them, holding frequent examinations, distributing prizes to the deserving, and presenting them with the golden necklaces which the Romans call “bullae.” It was

the custom among the Iberians for those who were stationed about their leader to die with him if he fell, and the Barbarians in those parts call this a " consecration."' Now, the other commanders had few such shield-bearers and companions, but Sertorius was attended by many thousands of men who had thus consecrated themselves to death. And we are told that when his army had been defeated at a certain city and the enemy were pressing upon them, the Iberians, careless of themselves, rescued Sertorius, and taking him on their shoulders one after another, carried him to the walls, and only when their leader was in safety, did they betake themselves to flight, each man for himself.

XV. And not only were the Iberians eager to serve under him, but also the soldiers who came from Italy. At any rate, when Perpenna Vento, who belonged to the same party as Sertorius, came to Spain with much money and a large force, and was determined to wage war on his own account against Metellus, his soldiers were displeased, and there was much talk in the camp about Sertorius, to the annoyance of Perpenna, who was puffed up over his high birth and his wealth. However, when word

thv Iupnyny trepBdddor, dvaraBfovtes ot oTpa-
TioTaL Ta STAa Kal Ta onucia TOV Ta-ewV
avaprracavtes KaTteBonoav tov Lleprrévva, xedev-
OvTES @S TOY LepT@ptov adyev avtovs: ef Sé pn,
/ 9 a b 4 > \ a
KATANLTOVTES Exeivoy HTEiNOUY avTol BadteicAat
mpos avopa awlecOar nal acawlew Svvapevov.
avyyopnoas dé o Leprévvas tryayev adtovs, cal
ouvemte T LEeptwpieo meen eree Kal Tpeis
Eywu omeipas.
XVI. DEpTa@plos dé, tav évtos "IBnpos avtT@
TOTALOD TUVTWY OMOD TL TpoaTELEvwY, TANOEL
bev HY péeyas' eTréppeov yap ael kal auvedépovTo
ravraxolev mpos avTov: atakia 8 BapBapixy
\ , / 5 . A " :
Kal OpacuTntse TapaTTomevos émiyetpely Tols TONE-
picts Bowvtwr Kal thy TpLBnv SvcavacyeTovvToV
? La) A \ , e \ e¢/
2 émetpato wapapvbciabar d1a Aoywv. ws bé Ewpa
YareTraivovtas kat Brafouévovs axaipws, mpor-
KATO Kal TepLetoe TUUTAEKOMEVOUS TOIS TrOAEpIOLS 576
5 b a / > \ \
év ols ov TavTedos ovyTpiBévTas, GANA TWANYAS

AaBovtas HAmioe Tpos Ta OITA KATNKOOUS HAA-
4 et \ 4 / > 4
rov E€ew. av 5 eixale yevopévwr, éruBonOnoas
avéraBé te hevyovtas avtovs Kal KatéoTnoev
3 acparas els TO oTpaTOTedov. Bovrdpevos bé Kai

\ 9 , b a b] @e VA >] / 4
Thy adupiav adereiy, uel" nuépas orAtyas wavdn-
pov éxxAnoiay aOpoicas immous eianyaye Svo,
\ \ ' n / \ , 4 \
Tov pev acbevh TeXews Kal mpeaBuTepoy 76n, TOV
5é Erepov evpeyeOn pév avtov Kal ioyupor, Oav-
paothy Sé muKvoTnte Kal KddXrEL TPLYO@Y ovpaV
éyovTa. mTapeotnKe O€ TO pev aoevel péyas
40
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came that Pompey was crossing the Pyrenees, the soldiers caught up their arms and snatched up their standards and made an outcry against Perpenna, ordering him to lead them to Sertorius, and threatening, if he did not, to abandon him and go by themselves to a man who was able to save himself and save those under him. So Perpenna yielded and led them off, and joined Sertorius with fifty-three cohorts.

XVI. Sertorius, then, since all the peoples within the river Ebro were unitedly taking up his cause, had an army of great numbers, for men were all the while coming to him in streams from every quarter; but he was troubled by their barbaric lack of discipline and their overconfidence, since they called loudly upon him to attack the enemy and were impatient at his delay, and he therefore tried to pacify them by arguments. But when he saw that they were impatient and inclined to force their wishes upon him unseasonably, he let them take their way and permitted them to have an engagement with the enemy in which he hoped that they would not be altogether crushed, but would be severely handled, and so made more obedient for the future. Matters turning out as he expected, he came to their aid, gave them refuge in their flight, and brought them safely back to their camp. And now he wished to take away their dejection. So after a few days he called a general assembly and introduced before it two horses, one utterly weak and already quite old, the other large-sized and strong, with a tail that was astonishing for the thickness and beauty of its hair. By the side of the feeble horse stood a

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9 ' N @ , A \ 9? a \ ig
avnp kal pwoparéos, TO 5é ioyup@ puxpos ErEpos

\ v b , , de }
kal thy Orv evxatadpovntos. anpeiov dé do-
Oévtos avtots o péev iaxupos apporépas tais
xepol Tod tarmou Thy Képkov ws arroppntwv eldKe
Bia mpos avtov, o Sé aobevns tod ioxyuvpod Kata
, a“ “A 2¢/ 9 t de € \
piav Tov Tpiyov éereArNev. eel O€ O pmev
oux OAlya TWpayuaTa paTnvy éavtT@ Kal Todd
yédwrTa Tots Oewuévors Tapacywv arreitev, o bé
> \ bd \ A \ > N / A
dabevns axapel at ody ovdevi Tove Widny Tpt-
yav amébe&e thy ovpav, avactas o Yeptwptos,
‘ce ‘O a 9 9 co 6 / \ J N
pate, elev, ‘“avdpes cvppayot, THY éripmovny
dvuctpatépay TAS Bias odaay, Kal moAXNA TOV
b / bd , J / A \ ,
GOpows arnmrwov évdidovTa TO KaTa plKpov.
dpayov yap To éevdereyves, © TAacaY éTL@Y 0 XpovoS
aipet Kal Katepydberar Suvapuv, evpevns dv cvp-
paxos Tois Sexoudvors AoytoU@ Tov Katpov avTod,
tois 8€ axaipws émeiyouévots TroNE“LwWTATOS.”
TOLaUTa = ey O LepTw@ptos éExdotote mwAEKwV
4 A , , \
TmapapvOta tots BapBdpos Sverradaywryer Tov
Katpov.
XVII. Ovsevos 5¢ HrTov abrod Tay ToNELLKOV
” b] 4 \ \ ‘ / ,
Epywv eOavpacdn To wept Tovs Neyopévous Xapa-
kitavous. eal dé Sipos bmép tov Tayouov
WOTAMLOV, OUK AoTETLY OVE Kpats evoLKOvVTES,
/
GNA Addos early evpeyéOns Kal irpnrdos avTpa
Kal KotN@paTa TeTPaY BrérOvTAa mTpos Bopéav
Teptéxyov. 4 8 wvroKkeévn Taca Ywopa wHdOv
A e \
apythodn kat yy viro yauvotntos evOpuTrrov

man who was tall and robust, and by the side of the powerful horse another man, small and of a contemptible appearance. At a signal given them, the strong man seized the tail of his horse with both hands and tried to pull it towards him with all his might, as though he would tear it off; but the weak man began to pluck out the hairs in the tail of the strong horse one by one. The strong man gave him- self no end of trouble to no purpose, made the spectators laugh a good deal, and then gave up his attempt ; but the weak man, in a trice and with no trouble, stripped his horse’s tail of its hair. Then Sertorius rose up and said:

“Ye see, men of my allies, that perseverance is more efficacious than violence, and that many things which cannot be mastered when they stand together yield when one masters them little by little. For irresistible is the force of continuity, by virtue of which advancing Time subdues and captures every power; and Time is a kindly ally for all who judiciously accept the opportunities which he offers, but a most bitter enemy for all who urge matters on unseasonably.”} By contriving from time to time such exhortations for the Barbarians, Sertorius taught them to watch for their opportunities.

XVII. But of all his military exploits that which he performed in dealing with the people called Characitani is admired as much as any. They are a people beyond the river Tagonius, and they do not dwell in cities or villages, but on a large and lofty hill containing caves and hollows in the cliffs which look towards the north. The whole country at the base of the hill abounds in white clay and a soil that

1 The story is told also in Valerius Maximus, vii. 3, 6.

>] OLo # \. b) , > 4
avadidwalv, ote Tovs émiBaivoytas avéyecOas
Kaptepav, ral pixpov arrapévav, @oTep do BeaTov
aA? ’ \ , A ®
h Téppay, él Tov dtayeopévnv. Tav ovv Bap-
Bapov, ocaxis $d08@ Toréuov Katabvvtes eis TA
omnrala Kal THY Neiavy claw cuVayaryorTeEs aTpE-
Lal ” 3 4 e \ , \ \ ,
Hotev, 6vTwV adnwTwV bro Bias, Tov Sé Lepta@ptov
, , 3 N le) VA
ToTe Otaxexptuévov amo Tov MeréAAov cal xata-
oTpaToTEdevoavTa Tapa TOV AOhoy UTEepppovovv-
TOV @S KExpaTnpévory, elte Um’ opyns éexetvos el'Te
pn Soxety devyerv BovrAopevos au nuépa mpoce-
Adoas KaTETKEeTTTETO TOV TOTTOY. ovdapmoOev Se
mpooBornv éxovTos, GAAws advov Kal Kevais
A e n A 4, \
V P@MEVOS ATELNALS OPG THS hs exelvns KoviopToV
dvw Tony bro mvevpatos er’ avTovs pepomevov.
TéTpaTTar pev yap, ws pny, TA oTyAaLA TWpOS
Bopéav, o 5é aro Tis apxTov tvéwv! dvemos,
Karxiav @vor Kxarotow, éméyes pddtota Kat
WrEloTOS é€aTe TOY éxel Tvevpdtov, é€& sbypav
, \ J , 9 A ,
Tedtov Kat vipoBorAwv cupdvawpevos pov: TOTE
,
dé Kal Oépous axpafovtos iayvay Kal Tpepopevos
Th TOV UTapKTioy avéce TaywY HOvoTtos érétvEr
Kal KaTelxev avTous te Kal Bota Sv Huépas ava-

la) , e
wuxyov. tadta 6) suddoyilouevos 6 Yeprwpios
Kal Tapa Tay éyywpiwv axovwr, éxéXevoe TOUS
TTPATLOTAS THS apatas Kal Tepp@dous ys éxelvns
aTooTa@vTas Kal twapadépovtas KatavtiKpv Tod
4 “A “A A e 4 4 9 9°
Nopou Piva trosety, jv ot BapBapor yopatos ér
avTous elvas KaTaoKevny UirovoobyTes éxAevalor.
TOTE [ev OvV eEpyacapévous TOUS OTpATLMTAS ayXpt
1 wvéwy Van Herwerden: péwy.
44

is porous and crumbly ; it is not firm enough to bear the tread of man, and spreads far about if only slightly stirred, like unslaked lime or ashes. These Barbarians, then, whenever they were afraid of war, would hide themselves in their caves, take all their plunder in with them, and keep quiet, for they could not be taken by force ; and at the time of which I speak, when Sertorius had retired before Metellus and encamped at the base of their hill, they thought scornfully of him as a vanquished man, and he, either out of anger, or because he did not wish to be thought a fugitive, at break of day rode up to the place and inspected it. There was no attacking it anywhere, but as he was wandering about to no purpose and indulging in empty threats, he saw that dust from the soil which I have described was being carried up against the Barbarians in great quantities by the wind. For the caves, as I have said, faced the north, and the wind which blows from that quarter (some call it Caecias) is the most prevalent and the strongest of the winds in that country, being a confluent of winds from watery plains and snow-covered mountains; and at this time particularly, which was the height of summer, it was strong, was fed by the melting snows of northern regions, and blew most delightfully with continual refreshment for man and beast all day. So, reflecting on these things and getting information about them from the natives of the country, Sertorius ordered his soldiers to take some of the loose and ashy soil that I have described, carry it directly opposite the hill, and make a heap of it there. This the Barbarians con- jectured to be a mound raised for assaulting them, and jeered at their enemy. On that day, then, the soldiers of Sertorius worked until night, and were

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YUKTOS amnyaryev" dpa 8 nyépa TpPATOv pev apa
pardann mpoaTreT vel Siaxivotca Tis cuptrepopy-
pévns ys TO NecoTaTov GoTEp axyny oKLOvdpevor,
emerTa coBapov tov Karxiov ™ pos TOV HpAsov éx-
Neopevou Kal TOV opwv KOVL@ MEvOY CTLOTAVTES
ot TTPATLATAL TOV Te xobv dvérpeTrov bia Bdous
Kal TOV omihov ExomTov, Eviot 6é Kab TOUS immous
ave Kal KaTo SueEjAacav a GVLOTAVTES TO Xavvepa
Kal TH von peTEwpov mapadsoovres. ” 8° viro-

Nap Bdvovea TaVv TO Opumropevov Kal Kivoupevov
avo _mpoaéBarne TOUS ok pact TOV BapBaper,
kata Ouvpas Sexopevors TOV Karxiav. oi O€, ate
én TOV omnhatov play exeiyny dvarvony eXovT@v
a TO Ted ya T pooeMLTTE, TAXU pev ATrecKOTOUVTO
Tas Ovpes, TAaXY &° dverriwrhayto TvUy@oous
doO wars, Tpaxvuv aépa Kal TOA] KOVvet oUp-
Tepuppevov Exxovtes. SOev TpEpAS dv0 podas
avaTXopmevot TH TpiTy maped@xay EAUTOUS, OU
TOG OUTOV Leprooply Suudpews 6 Ssov doEns T poc-
Oevres, as Ta 8s STAwY dvarwTa copia KaTepya-
TAMEVO.
XVIII. Méxpe fev ovv Tots meph MereAAov
emone pel, Ta WAEtoTA KaTevTuxely edoxet, ynpa
Kat prac Spadurire TOU MerédAov ™ pos dvSpa
TOMMNT HY Kal ANoT piris pardov Y) TTPATLOTLKTS
nryOUjLevov Suvapens ouK avapépovTos® éqrel 6€ Kal
Tloprrnio tv Tupyvny bmepBarovte TapacTparo-
mededcas, Kal tacav dya pev S180vs, apa dé
AapBavov OT PATH YLK OD Tanaicpatwv Weipar,
AVTLTEXVOMLEVOS TE wal pudarTopuevos TELOV eixe,
Kopoy SieBonOn péxpe Paopns ws deworatos dy
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then led back to camp. But when the next day came, at first a gentle breeze arose, stirring up the lightest portions of the gathered soil and scattering them like chaff ; then, when Caecias was blowing strong with the mounting of the sun and covering the hills with dust, the soldiers came and stirred up the mound of earth to the bottom and broke up the lumps, while some actually drove their horses back and forth through it, throwing up the loosened earth and giving it to the wind to carry. Then the wind caught up all the earth thus broken and stirred and threw it up against the dwellings of the Barbarians, which opened so as to admit Caecias. And the Barbarians, since their caves had no other inlet for air than that against which the wind was dashing, were quickly blinded, and quickly choked, too, as they tried to inhale an air that was harsh and mingled with great quantities of dust. Therefore, after holding out with difficulty for two days, on the third day they surrendered, there- by adding not so much to the power as to the fame of Sertorius, since by his skill he had subdued what could not be taken by arms.

XVIII. Well, then, as long as he carried on the war with Metellus as his antagonist, he was thought to be successful for the most part because, owing to great age and natural slowness, Metellus could not cope with a man who was bold and headed a force composed of robbers rather than soldiers ; but when Pompey also crossed the Pyrenees and became his antagonist,! and each of them had offered and accepted every test of a general’s powers, and Sertorius had the advantage in counter-planning and watchfulness,

then indeed it was noised abroad as far

1 In 76 B.c.
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4 A ra)
TOAeLOY peTaxepicacbal THY TOTE TTPATHYODV.
Pp) 4 N = \ , > >
ov yap TL pixpov nv TO Iloumniov Kréos, aAXr
v , , \ Ul > A \
nvOe. toTe padtota mpos Sokav éx Tay .Tept
vara avdpayadnudrov, éd’ ols nat Madyvos vr’
avTov, TouTéoTe peéyas, éravoudcdn Timayv Te
OptauBixav ovtw yeverov Ervyev. Sev kal
A /, f
TOANaL TOY LTO LepTwpiw worEwv aTroBrAEacat
a 9 ?
Tpos avToV oppnv peTaBorANs ExyXov, eita émrav-
gavto, Tov epi Aavpwrva mafous Tapa Tacav
/ ,
éXmrida cuuBavros. ;
/ \ a“ bd \
Leptwplou yap rodLopKobvtos avtovs Axe Tlop-
Iau le! , 9 e \ 4
THis TavaTpaTig BonOjcwy elra o pep Aodov
ev dokobvTa tepuKéval KaTa THS Toews Tpo-
AnWopmevos, 0 S€ TOUTO KwAVTwY HITEi'yeTO. TOD
5é Leptwpiov dOdacavros émictncas Tov oTpaTov
e Sos »” A la , 3 4
O Top jios eXatpe TH ovvTUXia, vopitav éy perm
THS TWOMEWS Kal THS avTodD aoTpaTLas aTresAnpOas
Tov YepTwpiov: Kal wpos tovs Aavpwvitas cicé-
meme Oappety Kedevov cal xabjobar tepl ta
relyn Oewpévovs TodLopKovpevov LepT@ptov. eKel-
> 9 / > fs \ \ 4 \
vos 8 axovoas éyéXace, Kal Tov YUAAA pabnTHy
(otrTw yap tov Tloumrniov émicxamtwv tpocn-
/ > A ¥ 4 4 A N \
yopevev) avtos épn duddEew Ste Set Tov oTpatnyov
KaToTL paddov 7 KaTa Tpoowmoyv PrAérreuv.
Tavta dé Aéywv dua Tos ToALOpKOUpEevOLS érre-
Seixvuev EEaxtaxtrtous omditas bm’ avToD KaTa-
NerEtupéevous él Tov mpoTtépov yapaxos, SOev
, a

oppnOels, KaTretAnpe Tov Odor, Straws él adds
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as Rome that he was the ablest general of his time in the conduct of a war. For the fame of Pompey was by no means inconsiderable, nay, at this time his reputa- tion was in most vigorous flower in consequence of the valiant deeds which he performed in the cause of Sulla, deeds for which he was given the surname of " Magnus" (that is, Great) by Sulla, and received the honours of a triumph while he was still beardless. Therefore, too, many of the cities which were subject to Sertorius turned their eyes towards Pompey and felt inclined to change their allegiance ; they ceased to do this, however, after the disaster at Lauron, which happened contrary to all expectation.

For Sertorius was besieging that city, and Pompey came to its assistance with all his forces. Now there was a hill which was thought to afford a good command of the city, and this hill Sertorius strove to seize in advance, while Pompey sought to prevent him. But Sertorius got there first, where- upon Pompey, taking position with his army, was delighted with the way things had turned out, believing that Sertorius was caught between the city and his adversary's forces ; he also sent a messenger in to the people of Lauron bidding them be of good cheer and take seats along their walls for the spectacle of Sertorius undergoing siege. When Sertorius heard of this, he gave a laugh, and said that to Sulla's pupil (for thus he was wont to style Pompey in jest) he himself would give a lesson, namely, that a general must look behind him rather than in front of him. As he said this, he pointed out to his beleaguered troops six thousand men-at-arms whom he had left behind at their former camp, from which he had sallied forth to seize the hill; these, in case Pompey moved

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T peTropEr T® [loprnie Kata vero T pooTréa OLev.
& 67 Kal Hoprijios ore pada oupppovnaas emt-
Netpely pev ove eOdppet KUKAwow SedoLKas, aTTO-
Aurrely dé NOX UVETO KivOUVEvOVTAS avOparous,
Tapov be Kal aby pevos jvaryratero Opa aTroX-
Aupévous: atréyvwoav yap avrous ot _BapBapor
Kal T@ Lepraplo mapedwKay. o 6€ TOY péev ow-
patov epeioato Ka mavTas adie, THY 5é oA
KATET pnoeD, ovy vt opyns oud' @MOTNTOS, éXd-
Xora yap Soxel und apicacbas TOY oTparn-
you oUTOS avnp, GAN ér aio vv Kal Karnpela
TOV TeGaupaxorov Tlopmnion, t iva 7 oryos év Tots
BapBdpos 6 OTL Tapav éyyus Kab pHovovov Oeppas-
VOMEVOS TH Trupt TOV TUMBAX@Y Ov Tpoonmuver.
XIX. "Hrrau Bev ou To LepTopie TAELOVES
cuveBatvor, auTov pev ANTTNTOV Gael purat rove
Kal Tous Kal' aurov, Opavopeve dé epi TOUS

add dous nyepovas: éx S€ wv émnvwpOodTo Tas
HTTAS padrov eGaupatero VLK@VTOV TOV avri-
oTpaTHYyoY, oloy é év TH TrEept LovKpove paxn T pos
Hoparniov, Kal maduy év TH Tepl Tovpiav * 7 pos
TE TOUTOV onod cal MéredXov. a) pev obv tept
LovKpove paxn Aéeyerau yeverOar Tob Tlouaniou
KaTeTrelEavTos, @S 1) peTdaxor THS viKns MéreA-
dos. o 6é LEpTwptos éBovreTo pev TO Toprnic,
7 piv éemenbeiy TO MérteAXopr, SiaryovicacBas,
Taparyaryav dé éomépas 760 ouve Barer, olopevos
Eévous ovat Kal ameipors TOV Xeoptov TOUS TONE-
piots TO oxoTos éaecOar Kal hevyovow éprrodsov
1 Tovplay Sintenis*, after Ukert; Sintenis', Coraés and Bekker have Tovrriay. The MSS. reading is uncertain.

against the occupants of the hill, were to fall upon his rear. Pompey also became aware of this all too late, and did not venture to attack Sertorius for fear of being surrounded, but he was ashamed to go away and leave the people of the city in their peril, and so was compelled to sit there quietly and see them ruined; for the Barbarians gave up all hope and surrendered to Sertorius. Sertorius spared their lives and let them all go, but he burned down their city,1 not because he was angry or cruel, for he appears to have given way to passion less than any other general, but to put to shame and confusion the admirers of Pompey, in order that it might be said among the Barbarians that though he was near at hand and all but warming himself at the flames of an allied city, he did not come to its relief.

XIX. It is true that Sertorius suffered several defeats, and yet he always kept himself and his own forces undefeated, and got his crushing blows where other generals than he were in command ; and from the way in which he repaired his defeats he was more admired than the victorious generals opposed to him, as, for instance, in the battle on the Sucro against Pompey, and, again, in the battle near Turia against both Pompey and Metellus. Now, the battle on the Sucro? is said to have been precipitated by Pompey, in order that Metellus might not share in the victory. Sertorius, too, wished to fight the issue out with Pompey before Metellus came up, and therefore drew out his forces when evening was already at hand, and began the engagement, thinking that, since his enemies were strangers and unacquainted with the region, darkness would be a hindrance to

1 Cf. the Pompey, xviii. 3.

2 Cf. the Pompey, chapter xix. 51

3 nal Su@xovot. yevouevns 5€ THs pdyns ev yepoly
4 A b N Iu > / b) N
éruxye pev ov mpos Llopmrniov adtés, adAAa mpos
"Adpavioy év dpyn asvvertnxas éxovta TO aps-
oTepov, autos él Tov SekLod TeTaypévos. axovaas
Sé 7@ Llopmrnig tots cuvectatas broywpeiv
éyxepevm Kat xpateicOar, tro pev Se€iov ear
adXots €roujcato atpatynyois, mpos bé éxetvo TO
4 vix@pevovy autos éBondpope. Kal Tovs pev Hon
Tpetropéevous tous dé ért pévovtas ev takes cuva-
\ \ b) v4 3 e nA | eee 4 “A
yayev kal avabappovas, €€ uTapyns évéeBare TO
Tloprnieo didxovtt, cal duyny éroujoato ToAAHD,
¢ A Doe 3 \ 9 \ > al
dte xat oprnios éyyts éAOwv amobaveiy nat
Tpavpatiobels taparoyws Suépuyev. of yap peTa
/} , e bd A“ \ /
Leptwpiov AiBuves, os éXaBov avtov tov tmmov
Xpve®@ Kekoopunpévov Kal dardpav avatrAEwv To-
A b “A / \ , \
AUTEAOD, ev TO OtavépecOar nal SiadépecPar rpos
5 aNANXOUS TponKavTo THy Siwkw. *‘Adpdvios Sé
tous av0ecta@tas mpos avTov Gua TO Leprwptov
9 nn 9 \ , a 4 b] \
ameNety eri Oatepa BonOobvra tpeyrapevos evs TO
otTpatoredov Katnpake: Kal cuvecoTrecoy érropbet
aKoTous On dvTos, wnTe THY Tlopmniov duynv
ELO@S LTE TOUS OTPATLOTAS THS apTayHS emuayelv
Suvdpevos. év Toute dé Leptw@pios avéotpeve TO
Kal avtov verixnnas: cat trois “Adpaviov 8&0’
atakiay tapaccopévos émimec@v todXovs Sté-
6 pOepe. mpwt dé adfus é€ordobeis emi paxnv

A 9 / > 4 b \
katéBawev, elita MétedAdXov atcPopevos éyyvs
elvat AVaas THY Takw avétevEev, ciav: “’AAN
EyWYE TOY Traida TOUTOV, EL yn TAapHY 7H ypais
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them either in flight or in pursuit. When the fight- ing was at close quarters, it happened that Sertorius was not himself engaged with Pompey at first, but with Afranius, who commanded Pompey’s left, while Sertorius himself was stationed on the right. Hearing, however, that those of his men who were engaged

with Pompey were yielding before his onset and be- ing worsted, he put his right wing in command of other generals, and hastened himself to the help of the wing that was suffering defeat. Those of his men who were already in retreat he rallied, those who were still keeping their ranks he encouraged, then charged anew upon Pompey, who was pursuing, and put his men to a great rout, in which Pompey also -came near being killed, was actually wounded, and had a marvellous escape. For the Libyans with Sertorius, after getting Pompey's horse, which had golden decorations and was covered with costly trappings, were so busy distributing the booty and quarrelling with one another over it, that they neglected the pursuit. Afranius, however, as soon as Sertorius had gone off to the other wing with aid and succour, routed his opponents and drove them head- long into their camp; and dashing in with the fugi- tives, it being now dark, he began to plunder, knowing nothing of Pompey's flight and having no power to keep his soldiers from their pillaging. But mean- while Sertorius came back from his victory on the other wing, and falling upon the straggling and con- fused soldiers of Afranius, slew great numbers of them. In the morning, moreover, he armed his troops and came out for battle; then, learning that Metellus was near, he broke up his array and decamped, saying: " But as for this boy, if that old

éxelvn, mrnyais dy vovOernaas eis "Po&unv are-
oTaNKey."
XX. "HO dper dé devas 51a 70 pndapod pavepav
Thy érapov exeivny elvat: pnxavijs yap él Tous
BapBapous é éarépnto Javpacrhs, TOTE 57) pada
ma papubias Seouevous. celta pevror VUKTOS an-
AOS TAAVOMEVOL TUES emeTuyydvoue tv aura, Kal
yopiaavres a0 THS xpoas AapBavovow. axou-
cas 6€ o LepTwpros exeivous pep GMOOYNTEV, av
pndevi ppacwor, HUATA Toa dace, a7ro-
Kpiypas dé TH Tage Kal sada odiryas
Huepas mpones pdra patdpos an drpews él TO
Sijpa, Sumyotpevos Tots nyEHooe TOV BapBdpwv
OS aryabov tT péya Tob Geod 7 popnvuovTos avuT@
Kara, TOUS dmvous' elra avafas él To Bihpa Tots
évtuyxdvovow éexpnudriver. 1) dé éxados bre
TOV purAarTovT@y aur hy eyyus apedetoa Kal
catibotoa TOV Lepraptov € eX@pet Spopp TMepixapns
™pos TO Biya, Kal Tapactica THY Kepadiy
éréOnxe tals yovacw avdtod Kal TE oTOMATL THS
beEias épavev, elOua pévn Kal ™ poTEpov TOUTO
TOLELV. avtipthoppovoupéevov dé Tov Leptwplou
midavas Kal TL Kal Saxpicavros, ext Anes elye
TOUS TapovTas TO Tp@TOV, ELTA KpoTe@ kat Bon
TOV LepTdpiov @S Satpoviov dvdpa Kal Geots pirov
olxabe Wporéupartes év evOupiais Kal ypnotais

éXriow joav.
XXI. Ey b¢ Tots TeV Layourtivay medious eis
Tas éoyatas atropias KATAKEKNELKOS TOUS TTOAE-
pious, jvaycacOn oupBareiv avtots KataBaivou-
aw ép aprayny Kab auTonoyiav. nyovicdn 6é
Lapmpas map aphotépwv. Kal Méppos pév o
54

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woman had not come up, I should have given him a
sound beating and sent him back to Rome.”’
XX. He was now greatly disheartened because that doe of his! was nowhere to be found; for he was thus deprived of a wonderful contrivance for influencing the Barbarians, who at this time particularly stood in need of encouragement. Soon, however,some men who were roaming about at night on other errands came upon the doe, recognized her by her colour, and caught her. When Sertorius heard of it he promised to give the men a large sum of money if they would tell no one of the capture, and after con- cealing the doe and allowing several days to pass, he came forth with a glad countenance and proceeded to the tribunal, telling the leaders of the Barbarians that the Deity was foretelling him in his dreams some great good fortune. Then he ascended the tribunal and began to deal with the applicants. And now the doe was released by her keepers at a point close by, spied Sertorius, and bounded joyfully towards the tribunal, and standing by his side put her head in his lap and licked his hand, as she had been wont to do before. Sertorius returned her caresses appropriately and even shed a few tears, whereupon the bystanders were struck with amazement at first, and then, con- vinced that Sertorius was a marvellous man and dear to the gods, escorted him with shouts and clapping of hands to his home, and were full of confidence and good hopes.

XXI. In the plains of Saguntum, after he had reduced his enemies to the greatest straits, he was forced to give them battle when they came out for plunder and forage. Both sides fought splendidly. Memmius, the most capable of Pompey’s generals,

1 Cf. chapter xi. 55

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TOV VITO lloprnio otparnyev 1YEMOVLKOTATOS
éy T@ KaptepwTaTo THs paxns erecev, exparet
Q , , n A ty 4 ,
5é Deprwpios Kal hove TOAA@ Tov ett cuverTo-
tov éwOcito mpos avtov MéreAdov. o O€é Tap’
HrtKiay UTooTaS Kal Tepipavas aywvitouevos
, A n
maieTat Sopatt. TodTO Tovs pey LdovTas TaD

‘Pp , \ de ’ , (oa ” >]
wpaiwy, tous dé axovcavtas aidos éaxev éy-
KaTaXiTev Tov nye“ova, Kat Oupos Gua mpos
TOUS ToNEeuious TapéaTn. mpoOéguevor 5é Tov
Oupeovs Kai ovveteveyxovtes evpwatws éEwOodat
tous “IBnpas' Kat yevopévns ottTw TadwvtTpoTou
Ths vikns, 0 YepTwpios éxetvous te huyas adecis
LNnXavepevos Kat Teyvatov éTépay avT@ duvapty
auvedOeiy ef navyias, els ody opewny Kal
KapTepay avapuyov éppayvuTo Ta Teiyn Kal TAS
TUAAS W@KUpOvTO, TdvTAa paddov H ToALOpKiay
vmopmevety Stavoovpevos. GAN eEnirata Tovs To-
Nepious: éxeiva yap mpooKxaebouevot Kal To
/ A fa!
Ywpiov ov xYareTas AnYecOa mpocdoKarTes,
tous Te hevyovtas Tav BapBdpwy mpolevto Kral
Ths aOpoloméevns avOis TO Yeptwpio duvapews
> VA 10 , bY , e ,
npernoayv. nOpoivero €, méepurrayTos nyemovas
éml Tas Tones avTod, Kal KeXEVOYTOS OTaV HON
\ bd , 4 9 \ > 4
TONNOUS EXWOLV, AYYENOV ATTOTTELAAL TPOS AUTOV.
émel 6€ améotethav, crv ovdevl Trove Siextraiod-
4 la) ry
Hevos Tovs TroNEepious cuvéwEe Tois éavTod: Kal
wdadw émnet ods yeyoves Kal TWEpLexoTrT EV
AUTOV THY wey ATO THS yjs edtropiav évédpars Kal
KUKN@CETL Kal TO TavTaxyoce horrav GEvs ériar,
56

fell in the thickest of the battle, and Sertorius was carrying all before him, and, with great slaughter of the enemy who still held together, was forcing his way towards Metellus himself. Then Metellus, who was holding his ground with a vigour that belied his years, and fighting gloriously, was struck by a spear. All the Romans who saw or heard of this were seized with shame at the thought of deserting their commander, and at the same time were filled with rage against the enemy. So, after they had covered Metellus with their shields and carried him out of danger, they stoutly drove the Iberians back. Victory had now changed sides, and therefore Sertorius, con- triving a safe retreat for his men and devising the quiet assembly of another force for himself, took refuge in a strong city among the mountains, and there began to repair the walls and strengthen the gates, although his purpose was anything rather than to stand a siege. But he completely deceived his enemies; for they sat down to invest him and ex- pected to take the place without difficulty, and thus suffered the Barbarians who were in flight to escape, and took no heed of the force that was being collected anew for Sertorius. And collected it was, after Sertorius had sent officers to the cities, with orders that as soon as they had a large body of troops, they should send a

messenger to him. Then, when the cities sent their messengers, he cut his way through the enemy with no trouble and effected a junction with his new troops; and so once more he ad- vanced upon the enemy with large reinforcements and began to cut off their land supplies by means of ambuscades, flank movements, and swift marches in

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Ta © éx Oaratrns AnoTpLKOIs oKadect KaTéyov
THY TapaNdiayv, woTe HYayKdaOnoay ot oTpaTHyol
Suarvdevtes o pev eis T'adratiav azredOeiv, Top-
anios dé mept Baxxatous dSiaxerpacar poxOnpas
io aypnuatias, ypaddwv mpos THY svyKANTOV
@s amd&e. Tov oTparor, e& pn TéuTrOLEY apyupLoV
avT@' KaTavadwKévar yap dn Ta avTov po-
A A ? / \ = @ 9
jo\enov THS 'Itadias. Kal rors Hv OovTOS év
e lA , e 4 J > 4
Papn oyos, ws Llopmrniov mportepos ets 'Itadiav
apiEotto Yeptw@pios: els TOTOUTOY Tovs mpwTOUS
kat Suvatwratous THY TOTE TTPATHYAY LepTw-
ptov Seworns KaTéoTnoev.
XXII. 'EdnAwce 6€ cal MérerXos éxtemrAny-
pévos Tov avdpa Kal péyay hyovpevos. émexnpuke
yap, el tts avTov avérou "Pwpaios, Exatov apyv-
pov TddAavTa doce kal wAdbpa Stopvpia yas
> \ 4 4 3 ¢€ , e bd ,

et de huyds, Kabodov eis "Paynv, ws atroyvecer
davepas dwuvns avovpevos Tov avdpa ba mpobo-
alas. ére dé vixnoas wore waxn Tov Leptwptov
ottws érnpOn Kal THYv evTUYiaY HYdTnOEV WoTE
avtoxpatwp avayopevOjvat, Ovotats & avdtov at
, _ 9 A \ " 3Q 7 ,
TONES eTrLpotT@vTa Kal Bwpois edéyovTo. Rérye-
tat 6¢ Kat otedaverv avabécers tpocierOat Kal
Seirvwv coBapwrépwy wtrodoyds, év ols éoOfra
OprauBicnv éxov emuve, cal Nixas tretmounpévar ov'
opydvwv émidpopav Ypvicea TpoTTaLta Kal oTepd-
vous Ssadépoveat Katyyovto, Kal yopot taidwv
Kal yuvatkav émivixious tuvous noov eis avTov.
be ae > - A > /
éd' ols eixotws Rv KatayéXacTos, et Spamrétnv
53

every direction, and their maritime supplies by be- setting the coast with piratical craft; so that the Roman generals were compelled to separate, Metellus retiring into Gaul, and Pompey spending the winter among the Vaccaei. Here he suffered much from lack of supplies, and wrote to the senate that he would bring his army home unless they sent him money, since he had already exhausted his own re- sources in his war for the defence of Italy.1_ Indeed, this story was prevalent in Rome, that Sertorius would come back to Italy before Pompey did. To such straits were the first and ablest generals of the time reduced by the skill of Sertorius. XXII. And Metellus also made it clear that he was afraid of Sertorius and considered him a great leader. For he made proclamation that to any Roman who should kill Sertorius he would give a hundred talents of silver and twenty thousand acres of land, and to any exile, freedom to return to Rome ; implying his despair of openly defeating the man by this attempt to purchase his betrayal. Moreover, after a victory which he once won over Sertorius he was so elated and delighted with his success that his soldiers saluted him as Imperator and the cities celebrated his visits to them with altars and sacrifices. Nay, it is said that he suffered wreaths to be bound upon his head and accepted invitations to stately banquets, at which he wore a triumphal robe as he drank his wine, while Victories, made to move by machinery, descended and distributed golden trophies and wreaths, and choirs of boys and women sang hymns of victory in his praise. For this it was natural that men should laugh at him, since, while calling

1 Cf. the Pompey, xx. 1.

LwAra xal reirpavov tis KdpBwvos guyfs atro-
KANGV TOY YEPT@PLOV OUTW KEYAVYWTAL KAL TeEpt-
A /
Yapns yéyovev, UroywpncavTos avTov Tepiyevo-
[eEvos.
A A \
Meyadodpocuvns 5 tod Yeptwpiov mparTov pev
\ N , x \ ene \
TO Tovs devyovtas amo "Pwouns BovAevTas Kai
Tap avut@ dsatpiBovtas cvyxAnTov avayopedaat,
Tapas TE Kal oTpaTHyoUs EE exetvwr aTrodeKVU-
vat, Kal TavTa Tos TaTpioLs vomoLs TA TOLADTA
Koopmely émrettTa TO Ypw@pevoyv Otros Kal ypr-
\ ' "A > 4 > ,
pact Kat Todeot Tais IBnpwy pnd' aypt Aoyov
A " > 4 e / \ > UA ig
THS axpas éEovclas udierGar pos avtovs, 'Po-
paious 6€ caOtotdvar otpatnyovs Kal dpyovTas
avTav, ws "Pwpators dvaxtepevov Thy édcvOepiar,
oux éxeivous aifovta Kata "Pwpaiwrv. Kal yap
® > A / '\ \ v A a

qv avnp pirorratpis Kai tov éxwv ipepov Tod
KaTedOeiy? adr\a dvoTrpayav pev nvdpaydbe Kal
TaTrEeLvoV OvdéY EpaTTE TPOS TOvS TOAEMiOUS, eV
\ “a / / \ 4 \
5é€ tais vixats dveméumeto mpos MéreAXov cat
\ fw 4 KN ee /
mpos Uopmrniov érowpos Ov TA OTrAA KaTabécbat
kai Buody idtwrns Kadodouv tuyav waddXov yap
LA
eOédXev aonpuotatos év ‘Pan woritns h dhevywv
A le) A a
THY EAVTOU TAaVTwWY OOD TOY GAWY a’TOKPAaTwP
avayopevecOat.
/ \ 3 ¢ fo) a
Aéyerat 6€ ov FKtota Ths watpiSos émuOupeiv
\ \ , \ ? a
dia THY unTtepa, Tpadels oppavos br avTH Kal To
ocuuTay avakeipevos éxeivyn. KadrovvTwv Sé TOV
\ LY 9 , / > AN 24? e ,
mept tThv IBnpiav dirtwv avtov éf nyepovia,
60
580

SERTORIUS

Sertorius a runaway slave of Sulla and a remnant of the routed party of Carbo, he was so puffed up with pride and overjoyed merely because he had won an advantage over Sertorius and Sertorius had retired before him.

But the magnanimity of Sertorius showed itself, firstly, in his giving the name of senate to the senators who fled from Rome and joined his cause, appointing quaestors and praetors from their number, and making all such arrangements in accordance with the customs of his country ; and, secondly, in his using the arms, wealth, and cities of the Iberians without even pre- tending to yield to the Iberians themselves a portion of the supreme power, but selecting Roman generals and commanders over them, feeling that he was re- covering freedom for the Romans, and not strengthen- ing the inhabitants against the Romans. For he was a man who loved his country and had a strong desire to return home from exile. And yet in his misfortunes he played a brave man’s part and would not humble himself at all before his enemies; while as a victor he would send to Metellus and Pompey expressing his readiness to lay down his arms and lead the life of at private citizen if he could get the privilege of return- ing home, since, as he said, he preferred to live in Rome as her meanest citizen rather than to live in exile from his country and be called supreme ruler of all the rest of the world together.

We are told that his desire for his native country was due in large measure to his attachment to his mother, by whom he was reared after his father’s death, and to whom he was entirely devoted. When his friends in

Spain were inviting him to take the

1 Cf. chapter ii. 1,
61
PLUTARCRH'S LIVES

TUOOMEVOS THY TEAEUTHVY THS pNTPOS GALyov édé-
noev UTO AUTINS TpoécIat Tov Biov. émTa yap
nuépas ovTte avvOnua Sovs ovTe OpOeis Tie TOV
dirwv éxetto, Kal worLs of gvaTpdTnyot Kal ouo-
TLULOL THY OKHVHY TWeplaTayTEsS nYayKacav avTOoV
mpoeNOovTa Tois atpatiwTtais évyTuyeiy Kal TOV
TpaywaTov ev hepopévwv avtirAapBaverOa. S10
Kat qwodnois edokevy Huepos avip ducer yeyovas
Kab pos nouxiay éywv émuexas Ss aitias Tapa
yepny Tais otpatnyixais apyais xphoGau, xa
HN TuyXavav adeias, andra ouvehavvopevos v0
Tov €yOpav eis TA STAA hpovpav avayKaiay Tod
ToMpaTtos TeptBadrrEc Oat Tov ToNEpOD.
XXIII. "Hv 6€ cal ra awpos MiOpiddtny adtod
ToMTEevpaTa peyaroppocuvns. é7rel yap éx Tov
Kata Ywrrav odddrpatos o Mibpidatns dorreEp
eis TaXato pa SevTEpov auaTapevos avOts éerrexei-
pnoe TH 'Acia, peya Sé 70n TO Leptwpiov Kréos
éhoita tavraxoce Kal TOY Tept avTOD AOywY
@otep goptiov Eevxav ot mréovtes ato THs
éamépas dvamentAnxecav tov Ildvrov, dppunro
StatrpecBevecbat Tpos avTov, émnpuévos padtcra
tais TOV KoAdKeV adalovelats, ot TOY Mev YEepTa-
prov 'AvviBa, tov 6& MiPpidarnv Ilvpp@ mapeina-
Covres ov dv épacay 'Pwpaiovs pos Tn\KavTas
ouov pvoeas Te Kal Suvdwes emuyerpoupévous
d:yo0ev avtiaxetv, ToD SewvoTatov otpaTnyod TP
peyiot@ Tav Bactléwy Tpoayevouévov. Téutres
bn wpéoBers 0 MiOpiddrns eis "IBnpiav ypap-
62
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leadership there, he learned of the death of his
mother, and almost died of grief. For seven days
he lay prostrate in his tent without giving out a
watchword or being seen by any of his friends, and
it was only with difficulty that his fellow-generals
and the men of like rank with him who surrounded
his tent could force him to come forth and meet the

soldiers and take part in their enterprises, which were moving on well. Therefore many people were led to think that he was a man of gentle temper and naturally disposed to a quiet life, but was practically forced against his wishes into the career of a soldier, where, not achieving safety, but being driven by his enemies to have recourse to arms, he encompassed himself with war as a necessary protection to his person.

XXIII. His negotiations with Mithridates also gave proof of his magnanimity. For Mithridates, after the fall which Sulla gave him, rose up, as it were, for another wrestling bout and tried once more to get the province of Asia into his power. At this

4

time, too, the fame of Sertorius was already great

and was travelling every whither, and sailors from the west had filled the kingdom of Pontus full of the tales about him, like so many foreign wares. Mithridates was therefore eager to send an em- bassy to him, and was incited thereto most of all by the foolish exaggerations of his flatterers. These likened Sertorius to Hannibal and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and declared that the Romans, attacked on both sides, could not hold out against two such natures and forces combined, when the ablest of generals was in alliance with the greatest of kings. So Mithridates sent envoys to Iberia carrying letters

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pata Yeptwpim Kal Aoyous Kopitovtas, Oi' ov
AUTOS pev emNnyyéeAXETO YpHpaATA Kai vas Trapé-
Eew els tov moXenov, Um éxelvou 5é nEiov THY
9 , 9 A la! A e 4
Aciav avT@ BeBatovobat tracav, hs vreyopnoe
e , N N 4 lA
Pwpaious Kata tas mpos YvAAaY yevouevas ouv-
Onxas. aOpotcavtos 5é Yeprwpiov Bovarny, iv
avyKAnToY avoyate, kal TOV dAdXwv SéxecIat TAS
TpokAnoels Kal ayamav KedevovTav (dvoua yap
Kal ypdupa Kevoy altovpévous yepi TeV ovK
é6yT@v én avtots, avtl tovTwv AapRdvev wv
pedrsota Seopevos. Tuyxdvovow), ov' nvéoyeTo oO
Lept@ptos, dAAA Bidvviav pev bn wal Karma-
Soxiav AapBavovtt MiOpidatyn py POovetv, Evy
Bactrevopeva xal pndév mpoorjxovta '"Pwpaiors,
hv 6¢ t@ Stxatotdt@ tpoww "Pwpaiwv Kextnpe-

vov érapyiay aperopevos Kal KaTacxy@v Tone-
nA \ > / e N / ‘ \
pav pev éEérrecev Ud DipBpiov, orevdopevos 6é
Mpos YvAAaY adhe, TavTnv ovK hyn TeptowecOat
madw wm éxeivm yevouevnv: Seiv yap avféecOa
THY TOMY UT avTOD KpaTodYTOS, ovK éXaTTHCEL
Tov éxeivns Kpateiy avTov' yevvaip yap davébpt
PETA TOV KANOD vUKGaY aipeToY, aicypas 5é ovdé
cwlecbat.
XXIV. Tadta amayyenOévta MiOpidarns dia
OapPovs erovetto: Kal rNéyerar pev eEitreivy mpos
Tous pirous: “Ti dita mpoordte, Yeptwpios ev
Tlavatio xabelopevos, ef viv eis THY’ ATNaYTLKNY
éfewopevos Odraccav Gpovs nuav TH BactrgEla
B , b) p 4 1 a , ”
TlOnou Kat Tretpwpévors ’Acias arretret Trodepov;
64

and oral propositions to Sertorius, the purport of which was that Mithridates for his part promised to furnish money and ships for the war, but demanded that Sertorius confirm him in the possession of the whole of Asia, which he had yielded to the Romans by virtue of the treaties made with Sulla. Sertorius assembled a council, which he called a senate, and here the rest urged him to accept the king’s proposals and be well content with them; for they were asked to grant a name and an empty title to what was not in their possession, and would receive therefor that of which they stood most in. need. Sertorius, however, would not consent to this. He said he had no objection to Mithridates taking Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries used to kings and of no concern whatever to the Romans; but a province which Mithridates had taken away and held when it belonged in the justest manner to the Romans, from which he had been driven by Fimbria in war, and which he had renounced by treaty with Sulla,—this province Sertorius said he would not suffer to become the king’s again; for the Roman state must be in-

creased by his exercise of power, and he must not exercise power at the expense of the state. For to a man of noble spirit victory is to be desired if it comes with honour, but with shame not even life + itself.

XXIV. When this was reported to Mithridates he acted like one amazed; and we are told that he said to his friends: “ What terms, pray, will Sertorius im- pose when he is seated on the Palatine, if now, after he has been driven forth to the Atlantic sea, he sets bounds to our kingdom and threatens us with war if

200 pnv adda yivovtai ye cuvOjKat Kal Spxat,
Karasoxiav xat Biduviav éyew Me6pidarny
Leptwpiov otpatynyoy avT@ Kal otpatioras wép-
TovtTos, Yeptw@pioy sé mapa Midpiddrouv rAaPBeiv
3 TploxiALa TadavTa Kal TecoapdxovTa vads. Téu-
metas 5é€ Kal otpatnyos eis “Aciay tio Yepto-
piov tTav amd BovAns wepevyotwy mpos avTov
Madpxos Mdptos, 6 auveEeAX@y Tivas TONES TOV
"Aciddwy o Mipiddrns eiceXavvovTt peta pa-
Boar kai weréxewy abtos eiteto Sevtépav taku
4 Kat oxjpa Oepamevovtos Exovciws avetrAnpas. 0
5é Tas péev nrevOépou, tais 5é arérXerav ypadhwv
Vdpits Yeptwpiov KaTnyyerev, woTe THY *Aciav
avOis évoxyNoupéevny pev bro TaY TEeXwvaV, Ba-
puvopevny b€ tats mAeoveFiats Kal Urepnpaviass
TOV émickiverv, avatronOjnvat mpos thy éAtridba
kal wobeiy thy wpocdokwpévny petaBorAny THS
nryemovias.

XXV. Ev 0 "I8npia trav wept Yepra@pvov ovy-
KANTLKOY Kal LooTiLwV, WS TP@TOV Eis aYTiTTAaNOV
érmida xatéotynoav, éravévtos Tod doBov, 00-
vos HirteTo Kal Cros avontos THs éxeivou Suva-
pews. eviye 5é Leprévvas 80’ evyéverav érratpo-
pevos hpovnpate Kev@ wpos THY Hyenoviav, Kal
Noyous poxOnpovs Siedidov Kpvda Tots émitydel-
2 as: “Tis apa movnpos has UrocaBav éx Kaxav
els Yeipova, péper Saipav, ot LUANG pe omod Te
cupmacns apxovTe ys Kat Oararrys moteiy 70
TpooTaTToOMEevoy ovK nELovMEY OiKOL pméVOVTES,
Setpo 6€ POapévtes ws erEVOEpo. Riwcopevor

we try to get Asia?" However,a treaty was actually made and ratified with oaths. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, Sertorius sending him a general and soldiers, while Sertorius was to receive from Mithridates three thousand talents and forty ships. Accordingly, a general was sent to Asia by Sertorius, one of the senators who had taken refuge with him, Marcus Marius.! He was assisted by Mithridates in the capture of certain cities of Asia, and when he entered them with fasces and axes, Mithri- dates would follow him in person, voluntarily assuming second rank and the position of a vassal. Marius gave some of the cities their freedom, and wrote to others announcing their exemption from taxation by grace of Sertorius, so that Asia, which was once more harassed by the revenue-farmers and oppressed by the rapacity and arrogance of the soldiers quartered there, was all of a flutter with new hopes and yearned for the expected change of supremacy.

XXV. But in Spain, as soon as the senators and men of equal rank about Sertorius felt confident that they were a match for their enemies and dismissed their fears, they were seized with envy and foolish jealousy of their leader. They were encouraged in these feelings by Perpenna, whose high birth filled him with vain aspirations for the chief command, and he would hold malevolent discourses in secret among his associates: ‘ What evil genius, pray, has seized us and is hurrying us from bad to worse? We would not consent to remain at home and do the bidding of Sulla when he was lord of all the earth and sea to- gether, but we came to this land of destruction with the idea of living like freemen, and are now

1 Cf. the Luculus, viii. 5. 67

Sovevopev Exovalws THD Leptwptou Sopudo-
pobytes puyiy, 6 dvopa _Xrevalopevor UT TOY GKOU-
OvT@, TUYKANTOS, ovTes, bBpets dé xat Tpoo~
Taypwata Kal TOvOUS OvK érdTTOvaS TP ypov Kat
Avowtavay bmouévovtes;’ ” TOLOUT@V dvamiTd-
pevot AOYwY oF modnol pavepsrs fev ovK adi-
oT avTO, Sedouxotes avTov THv Suva, kpvda Oé
Tas Te mpatets éAupaivovto, Kal tous BapBdpous
éexdxouv Kordlovres Tixp@s Kal Sacporoyobrtes,
Os Leprepiov KENEVOVTOS. é& av am@roaTdaets
éyivovto Kal Tapaxat mepl Tas Tones. ot dé
TE WTO MEVOL tavta Oeparrevew Kat amon paivew
emavnpXovTo elovas eFerpyac uevot TOE LOUS
Kal Tas UTapxovcas NvEnxores amreBeias, Gore
TOV Leptwprov éx THS TpoTepas errleteelas Kal
TPQOTHTOS petaBadovra, mept tous ev “Ooky
Tpepopevous Tapavopija at maidas Ttav "I Bipwyv,
TOUS [Lev dvehovta, Tous &é arodouevov.

XXVI. ‘O 8 ob Tleprévvas mrelovas €v@ [L0-
Tous &yov ‘Tpos Thy em iBeow Tpoodyerat Kat
Manvuop, eva Tav édp nyepovias. ovTOS épav
TLVOS TOD éy wpa petpaxtov Kab prroppovoupevos
Wpos avTo pater THY émBoudip, Kehevov awed
cavTa Tay adXwv epac Tay avT@ pov TpoaexXety
@s évTds ME POY Od yoV pyar yevngouevo. TO
5é pecpdxvoy étépw til Tov épacray Adgedie
pandXov ™ poo merrovOos expépet TOV oyov. aKov-
aas 6é o Au idtos eEemAayn’ Kal yap auTos
pereixe THS emt LepTaptov oVVwpLoTiAas, Ov pévrou
TOV Maaduop eyivwo ne peTexovTa, Tlepmévvay
5é kal Tpaxivov cai twas adXous, Ov avTos 70Ee
68

voluntarily slaves in the body-guard of Sertorius the exile, being a senate, a name jeered at by all who hear it, and submitting to no lesser insults, injunctions, and toils than Iberians and Lusitanians.” Most of his hearers, their minds infected with such sentiments as these, did not, indeed, openly desert Sertorius, be- cause they were in fear of his power; but they secretly tried to vitiate his enterprises, and abused the Barbarians with severe punishments and exac- tions, on the plea that Sertorius thus ordered. Conse- quently there were revolts and disturbances among the cities. And those who were sent to assuage and cure these disorders brought more wars to pass before they returned, and increased the existing insubordination, so that Sertorius laid aside his former clemency and mildness and wrought injustice upon the sons of the Iberians who were being educated at Osca,! killing some, and selling others into slavery.

XXVI. Perpenna, accordingly, having now more accomplices in his attempt upon Sertorius, brought into their number Manlius also, one of those in high command. This Manlius was enamoured of a beau- tiful boy, and as a mark of his affection for him told him of the conspiracy, bidding him neglect his other lovers and devote himself to him alone, since within a few days he was to be a great personage. But the boy carried the tale to another one of his lovers, Aufidius, to whom he was more devoted. And Aufidius, on hearing the story, was astounded; for though he himself was a party to the conspiracy against Sertorius, he did not know that Manlius was. But since the boy mentioned by name Perpenna, Gracinus, and sundry others of those whom Aufidius knew to

1 Cf. chapter xiv. 2 f.
69

TVVO MOTD, ovopuatovtos TOU perpakiou, Svar apa-
xoeis 1 pos EXELVOV pev eFepravprte TOV Aoyor,
Kal mapexdrer TOU Ma))iou kaTadpoveiv @sS
Kevov Kal aralovos, autos 8é T pos TOV Tepreévvay
Tmopevbels Kal ppdcas THD ofurnta To Katpov

Kat Tov xivduvov exédevoev €muyerpety. ob O€
émeiGovTo, Kat TapacKevdaavres avOpwrov ypap-
pata Kouitovta T@ Leptaple T Poa iyaryov. é57-
Dov dé Ta ypaupara vixnv Twos Tov UT avTe
oT parnyav Kai dovov mroNvy TOV TOKE MOV. éd'
ols Tov Yeptwpiov meptxapous évT0s Kal Ovovtos
evaryyédia., Ilepmeévvas éoTiagw auT@ Kat Tots
mapodot pidous (ovTor 6é€ Hoav éx Tijs TUvw LO
aias) rnyyéAreTO, Kal TOAAA ALTTapHoas Etrevoev
EN Oeiv.
"Ael weév odv Ta pera Leprwpiou Seimva Toh-
aay elev aide Kat Koo MOY, obTe opav Tt TOY
aloXpw@Vv oUuTE dcovewy UTTOMEVOVTOS, GANA Kal
ToVS ouvoyTas EUTAKTOLS Kal avuBpicrots Tau-
Siais xpiio Gar Kat prrogppoavvais eOilovtos: TOTE
é, TOU TOTOU pecobvtos, apxnv anpyuaxias Cnrovv-
TES avapavoov dxoddaTous EXPAVTO pnyuac, Kal
TOAAG T poo Trotovpevot eve NOENYALVOVY WS
mapotuvobyres exeivov. o Oe elTe Sucxepaiver
THV aKxoo war, elTe THY Sudvoray avTov TH Opacv-
TTL THS AaNLAS Kal TH mapa TO ebwOds drAUywpia
cup povycas, peréBare TO oXHpa TAS Kdaovas,
Ur vov savels éavTov, @s ovTE T pore wv ouTE
KaTaKovmD. érrel 5€ 0 Tleprévvas piadnv TLva
NaBov axpatov peTakd mivev abhnev EK TOV
Yetpav Kal xrodov érroinaey, Strep Hv avTois ovp-
7°

SERTORIUS

be among the conspirators, Aufidius was confounded, and after making light of the story to the boy and exhorting him to despise Manlius as an empty brag- gart, he himself went to Perpenna, told him of the sharpness of the crisis and of their peril, and urged him to attempt the deed. The conspirators were persuaded, and after providing a man to act as the bearer of letters, they introduced him to Sertorius. His letters made known a victory of one of the generals serving under Sertorius, and a great slaughter of the enemy. At this Sertorius was overjoyed and offered a sacrifice of glad tidings, during which Per- penna proposed a banquet for him and his friends who were present (and these were of the conspiracy), and after much entreaty persuaded him to come. Now, the suppers at which Sertorius was present were always marked by restraint and decorum, since he would not consent to see or hear anything that was disgraceful, but held his associates to the practice of indulging only in mirth and merriment that was decorous and restrained. On this occasion, however, when the drinking was well under way, the guests, seeking occasion for a quarrel, openly indulged in dissolute language, and, pretending to be drunk, committed many indecencies, with the hope of angering Sertorius. But he, either because he was vexed at their disorderly conduct, or because he had become aware of their purpose from the boldness of their talk and their unwonted contempt for his wishes, changed his posture on the couch and threw himself upon his

back, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. But when Perpenna, after taking a-cup of wine in his hands, dropped it as he was drinking and made a clatter with it, which was

Boxoyp, "AvT@vv0s DIrEpKaTaKelLEVos Tae 7

6 Eien TOV LepTaptov. avactpeyavTos dé ampos
THY Ty. éxetvou Kal guveEavioTapevon, Trept-
TET OV els TO 7700s kaTéraBe Tas Yelpas auo-
Tépas, Bate unde Guvvopevoy ToAAwY TraLovTw@Y
at oGavety.
XXVII. Or pep ovv Teta Tor TOY "TBipav
evOus @XOvTO Kal mTaped@Kay EavTous émumpe-
a Bevo apevor Tous qept Hoparniov kat Méreddop:
Tous 6é€ cuppeivavTas 0 Ileprévvas avaraBov
émexelpet TL TpaTTEeLD. XpPneapevos dé Tais Yep-
Twpliov TmapacKevais dcop evarxXnuovijaat Kal
pavepos yevéoOar pnre dpxew pare apxer Ga
2 TEPUKOS, Hopmnio mpooeBane: Kal Taxv cup-
TptBeis v um avrou Kal YEVOMEVOS aixparwTos aude
THY éoxarny Ur épetve cuppopay TYE HOVLK DS,
Gna TaV Leptwpiov Yeapparav KUpLOS yeyovas
UTUrxXvElTo Topamnte Seifew tratixev avdpav
Kat péyeorov ép 'Poun Suva pévov avroypapous
emlaTonas, KaNovvT@y LEpT@prov es 'Iraniav,
@S TONA@Y moBouvTewy Ta mapovTa Jkovijoat Kal
3 petaBanreiv THY mohuTeiay. epyov ovv oO Toparn-
ios ov véas ppevos, GX' Ev para BeByxvias cal
KATNPTUBLEVNS epyacdapevos perydoov amnrrake
THD 'Paunv oBeov kal VEWTEPLT LOY. Tas pev
yap €mloToAas éxeivas Kat Ta ypampara, Tov
LepTwpiov cUvayaryov dmavra Katéxavoey ove
avTos dvaryvous * ove édoas Erepov: avrov be TOV
Tleprévvav KATO TAXOS aveine, poBnbeis pay TOV
OVOLATOV eFevex Devt Mpos Tivas aTooTaceELs
Kal Tapaxat yévwvTas.
1 girds avayvois Naber : dvayvods.

their signal, Antonius, who reclined above Sertorius on the couch, smote him with his sword. Sertorius turned at the blow and would have risen with his assailant, but Antonius fell upon his chest and seized both his hands, so that he could make no defence even, and died from the blows of many.

XXVII. Well, then, most of the Iberians imme- diately went away, sent ambassadors to Pompey and Metellus, and delivered themselves up to them; but those who remained Perpenna took under his command and attempted to do something. After using the materials provided by Sertorius just enough to cut asorry figure and make it clear that he was fitted by nature neither to command nor to obey, he attacked Pompey ; and having been quickly crushed by him and taken prisoner, he did not even endure this extreme misfortune as a leader should, but, being in possession of the papers of Sertorius, he promised to show Pompey autograph letters from men of consular rank and of the highest influence in Rome, in which they invited Sertorius to come to Italy, assuring him that there were many there who desired eagerly to stir up a revolution and change the constitution. Pompey, then, did not act in this emergency like a young man, but like one whose understanding was right well matured and disciplined, and so freed Rome from revolutionary terrors. For he got together those letters and all the papers of Sertorius-and burned them, without reading them himself or suffering any- one else to do so; and Perpenna himself he speedily put to death, through fear that seditions and disturb- ances might arise if the names of the correspondents of Sertorius were communicated to anybody.!

1 Cf, the Pompey, xx. 4.

4 Tov 6é 7@ Tleprévva cuvopocapévoy ot pév
2 \ ra’ ’ ps / © gy
ért Iloumniov avayévtes dSiepOapnoav, ot Sé
devyovtes eis AtBunv to Maupovoiwy xatn- |
4 VA b] b) \ A J ,
kovtiaOnaav. sséduye 8 ovdels mAnv Avddidzos
6 Tov MadXiou avtepacrns: ovtos 5é } AaDwv 7
TmapapednOels év tit BapBdpw Komn Tevopevos
Kal pLoovpEevos KATEYNpAaTeED.

Of Perpenna’s fellow conspirators, some were brought to Pompey and put to death, others fled to Africa and fell victims to the spears of the Maurusians. Not one escaped, except Aufidius, the rival of Manlius; he, either because men did not notice him or because they did not heed him, came to old age in a barbarian village, a poor and hated man. _

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EUMENES

EYMENH®2

I. Evpévn 6€ tov Kapdiavov iotopet Aotpis 583
TWaTpos pev apakevovtos ev Xeppovnaw Sia Treviav
, fel \ 3 4 b 4
yevéoOar, tpadjvar Sé éXevIepiws év ypadppact
Kal wept Tadaiotpav: ére dé matbds dvTOS avTod
Didimmov tmapenidnpodvta Kal oxornyv dyovta
Ta Tov Kapdiavav Oedoacbar Tayxpdtia petpa-
, \ ld , 9 > ,
Kiwv Kal tadaiopata taidwv, év ols evnpepn-
cavta Tov Kipevn nal davévta ovvetov cal av-
a / A a
Spetov apécar tH Dirirm@m cal dvarndOjvat.
a a /
Soxovar 5é eixoTa Aéyerv padXov of Sta Eeviav Kal
/ / ‘ 3 UA e N A
diriav tmatpwav tov Evpévn Aéyovtes vie Tov
Dirimmov mpoayOjva. peta 5é THY éxeivov
TEAEUTNY OUTE TUVETEL TLVOS OUTE TioTEL KeEtTE-
Oat Soxav tav tepit 'AréEavdpov éxareito pév
apxlypaupatevs, Tuuns Oé WoTrEep of pddLoTA
diror cal cuvidas étvyxavev, Bote Kal otpa-
\ 9 A \ A b] \ 979 @€ Aa
THYOS aTooTadHnvat Kata THY “Ivdinnv é’ éEavTod
peta Suvapews, Kal tHv Ilepdixxov tmaparaBeiv
e , e / ? / e
immapxiav, OTe Ilepdixxas, amroPavovtos ‘Hdar-
U > A > , “ , \ \
OTLWVOS, Els THY exetvou TrponAGe Takiy. 610 Kal
NeottoNéuov Tod apxytuTacTicToD peta THD
78

EUMENES

I. Eumenes of Cardia, according to Duris, was the son of a man whom poverty drove to be a waggoner, in the Thracian Chersonesus, but received a liberal education in literature and athletics. While he was still a boy, Duris says further, Philip, who was so- journing in the place and had an hour of leisure, came to see the young men and boys of Cardia exercising in the pancratium! and in wrestling, among whom Eumenes had such success and gave such proofs of intelligence and bravery that he pleased Philip and was taken into his following. But in my opinion those historians tell a more probable story who say that a tie of guest-friendship with his father led Philip to give advancement to Eumenes. After Philip’s death Eumenes was thought to be inferior to none of Alexander’s followers in sagacity and fidelity, and though he had

only the title of chief secretary, he was held in as much honour as the king's principal friends and intimates, so that on the Indian expedition he was actually sent out as general with a force under his own orders," and received the command in the cavalry which Perdiccas had held, when Perdiccas, after Hephaestion's death, was advanced to that officer's position. Therefore when Neoptolemus, the commander of the Shield-bearers, after Alexander's

1 A mixture of wrestling and boxing.
2 Cf. Arrian, Anab. v. 24, 6f

"AreEavdpov tedeuTHY AéyovTOS WS aUTOS pev
aomida Kal royxnv, Kipévns Sé ypadetov éyav
Kal tivaxidtov nKodov0e, KateyéXov ot Maxedo-
VES, META TOV GAAOV KaXO@V TOY Evpévyn Kal THs
KaTa TOV ydpov olKELOTNTOS U7TO TOV BacLréws
eloores aFiwOévta. Bapoivnv yap tiv 'AptaBa-
Cov mpwrnv év Acacia yvovs o "AdéEavpos, é& Hs
viov éoyev 'Hpaxréa, rav ravtns adderdav II70-
Acuaiw pev "Arduav, Evpéves 8¢ Bapoivnv é€é-
Swxev, Ste Kal Tas ddrAas Tlepoidas Seéverpe Kal
TUV@Ktioe TOLS EéTALpors.
II. Od pv adda Kal wpocéxpovae TroAAdKS
"ArcEdvipe, cal rapexivddvevoe 8s "Hdarotiova.
mpatov pev yap Evip t@ avAnrA rod "Hdaioti-
@VOS OiKiaV KaTavEipavToOS fy ob Taides ETUXOV
T@ Evpéver mpoxaretAndotes, eAOwy imo opyhs
mpos Tov AnréEavdpov o Evpévns éRoa pera Meév-
TOpos WS avAEly ein KpaTicToV Tpayodeiy TA
dma pivpavtas éx TOV Ye_pov, wate AdéEavdpov
avT@ cuvayavaxtely Kal ANotdopetc Oar TG "Hdai-
oTiwv. TaXY pévToL peTaTEc@V avOis elye TOV
Evpévyn 80 dpyis, ws BBpet waAXov pds éautov 7
Tappnoia mpos 'Hohatotiwva ypnodpevov.
"Errecta Néapxov éxméutrov peta veov emt thy
éEw Odraccay 7ret ypnuata Tovs pirous: ov yap
nv év TO Bacireio. Tov S Evpévous aitnbévtos
pev Tplaxoota tddavta, Sovtos 5é éxatov pova,
Kal TavTa yAicypas Kal pods avT@ cuverréxOat

death, said that he had followed the king with shield
and spear, but Eumenes with pen and paper, the

Macedonians laughed him to scorn ; they knew that, besides his other honours, Eumenes had been deemed worthy by the king of relationship in marriage. For Barsiné the daughter of Artabazus, the first woman whom Alexander knew in Asia, and by whom he had a son, Heracles, had two sisters; of these Alexander gave one, Apama, to Ptolemy, and the other, also called Barsiné,! to Eumenes. This was at the time when he distributed the other Persian women as consorts among his companions."

II. However, Eumenes was often in collision with Alexander, and he got himself into danger through Hephaestion. In the first place, for instance, when Hephaestion assigned to Euius the flute-player the quarters which his servants had already taken up for

'Eumenes, Eumenes, accompanied by Mentor, came in a passion to Alexander and cried out that it was best for him to throw away his arms and be a flute- player or a tragic actor. The immediate result was that Alexander shared his indignation and heaped abuse upon Hephaestion. Soon, however, he changed his mind and was angry with Eumenes, feeling that he had indulged in insolence towards himself more than in bold words against Hephaestion.

Again, when Alexander was sending out Nearchus with a fleet to explore the outer sea, he asked money of his friends, since the royal treasury was empty. Eumenes was asked for three hundred talents, but gave only a hundred, and said that even these had been slowly and with difficulty collected for him by

1 In Arrian, Anab. vii. 4, 6, the names of the sisters are Artacama and Artonis, respectively.
3 Cf. the Alexander, Ixx. 2. :

a 9 , , +O\ > /
dua TOV éTiTpOTMY hacKoVTOS, ovdey éyKaéoas
ovdé deEdpevos exéAXevoe Tos Taidas Kpvda TH
Aa A J 4 " b] A / > :
oxnvn tov Kvpevous trip éveivar, Bovdopevos éx-
copilouevav Tov ypnpatwv AaBeiv én' avtodwpe@
pevdopevov. &bO0n 5é) oxnvy catadrcxOeica,
Kal petevonoe TOY ypaypdtov diadOapévTwv o
"AréEavdpos. TO d€ cuyxubev Ypuciov Kal apyv-
A a /
ptov umo Tod mupos dvevpéOn TrEiovy 7) KXLALwv
TtaravTwv. édraBe Sé ovdév, GAAA Kal ypawas
Tols TavTayov caTpdtrats Kal otpaTnyois avti-

ypada trav SvepOappévav arooréAd\ev wdvtTa
/ > i N > /
TaparauBaverv exeXevoe Tov Kvpevn.
IIdduv &€ rrepi dwpeds Tivos ets S:adopay xata-
otas mpos tov “Hdatotiwva, nal moddAa pev
? 4 A \ \ b] 4 , \ >
Gkovcas KaAKOS, TOAAG 6€ EiTT@V, TOTE MEV OVK
M. 54 9 9, / * VA
éXaTToy oye: pet OrgLyov Sé TeAEUTHCAVTOS
‘H / O06 e \ } a
dato timvos tepirabav o Bactrev’s Kal tao

A 256 a \ ? / @ a ? , de
ovs edoxes CovTe pév exeivm POoveiv émiyaipey 5é
TeOvnkoTe TpaXéws OMLA@Y Kal yareTros OV, pa-
ATA TOV Edpévn bu’ drrowpias elye, Kal mpovdpepe
ToddaKls Tas Stagopas Kal Nodopias éxeivas. oO
dé mavodpyos dv nal miPavos éeyetpnoer ols
b] , 4 e 4 / > \
amTwdduTO owley éEavToV. KaTépuye yap eis THY
mpos ‘Hgatotiova didotipiav “AreEdvépov Kal
Yap, Udnyoupevos Te TLMAS al padtoTa Koo pELY
EueAXov Tov TteOvnKoTa, Kal yYpnuata TeXOV Els
THY TOD Tahov KaTacKEUNY Aperdas Kal Tpodvpws.
82
084

EUMENES

his stewards. Alexander made no reproaches, nor did he take the money, but ordered his servants secretly to set fire to the tent of Eumenes, wishing to take its owner in a manifest lie when the treasure was carried out of it. But before that could be done the tent was consumed, and the destruction of his papers made Alexander repent him of his orders. Still, the gold and silver that was melted down by the fire was found to be more than a thousand talents’ worth. Alexander took none of it, however, but actually wrote to his satraps and generals everywhere to send copies of the documents that had been destroyed, and ordered Eumenes to take them all in charge.

And still again, Eumenes had a quarrel with Hephaestion about a certain gift, and much abusive

language passed between them. At the time, indeed, Eumenes was no less in favour than before; but a little while afterwards Hephaestion died, and the king, in his bitter sorrow, dealt harshly and was severe with all who, as he thought, had been jealous of his favourite while he lived and now rejoiced at his death. Eumenes, in particular, he suspected of such feelings, and often reproached him for his former quarrels with Hephaestion and his abusive language towards him. But Eumenes, who was wily and persuasive, tried to make what threatened his ruin conduce to his salvation. He sought refuge, namely, in Alexander's ardent gratitude towards Hephaestion, suggesting honours which were most likely to adorn the memory of the deceased, and contributing money for the construction of his tomb lavishly and readily.
83
a 2
2

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

III. 'AzroBavovros dé *AreEdvipov ral tis ddrayyos SuectHons mpos Tovs ETaipous, TH wev yvaun TovtTois mpocévermev Eavrov o Kipévns, TO 5é Ady@ Kowvos Tis HY Tpds audorépovs Kal id10-TNS, @F ovdeéy ad'TO MpoahKov Eévm dvTt ToNv-mpaypoveiy év tats! Maxedovay diadopais. Kat TaV adXov éraipwv éx BaRvrAdvos avacKkevaca-, b \ e \ b] "A 4 fo Hévov autos Umodehbels év TH TOAEL KATET PAVE ToAAovs Tov Telav Kal mpos Tas Stadvces 7HOi-bd , > \ \ > / b) 4 e ous €mroinoev. érrel dé avamyPévtes adAHAOLS Ot oTpatnyol Kal KaTacTaytes éx TOV TPwWTwY Tapa-yvav Suevé"ovto catparetas Kal aotpatnyias, Ev-pévns NapBdver Karasoxiav cal Taddayoviay kal thy vroKkepéevnv TH Tlovtixg Cardtry péxpe Tpamelodvtos, ota tore Maxeddvar ovcar, "AptapdOns yap avtis éBacinevev, Arn' edeu Acov-4 \ ? / \ lA \ > / vatov Kat Avtiyovoy yep peyadryn Tov Evpévy KaTadyovtas arobeiEar THS K@pas caTpaTny. "Avtiyovos pev ovv ov Tpocéaye Tots ypadetou

e \ II bt / A 1 \ “
vmo Ilepdixxov, wetéwpos Ov 75n Kal Twepid povav
e f 4 \ , N v >
avavtwy, Aeovydtos dé xatéBn pev avober eis
Dpuyiav dvadeEouevos Eipéves tiv otpateiav:
‘Exartatou d€ tod Kapdvavav tupdvvov cuppikar-
1 éy rats Bekker, after Coraés: vais.

1 June 13, 323 B.c.

2The quarrel was over the succession to Alexander's throne. The officers, supported by the cavalry, proposed that the crown be reserved for the child of Roxana by

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EUMENES

III. When Alexander was dead! and a quarrel had arisen between the Macedonian men-at-arms and his principal officers, or companions,? Eumenes sided with the latter in his opinions, but in what he said he was a kind of common friend to both and held himself aloof from the quarrel, on the ground that it was no business of his, since he was a stranger, to meddle in disputes of Macedonians. Moreover, when the rest of the principal officers had withdrawn from Babylon, he remained behind in the city and mollified many of the men-at-arms and made them more dis- posed towards a settlement of the quarrel. And when the officers, having conferred with one another, brought their first tumultuous proceedings to an end, and were distributing satrapies and commands, Eumenes received Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the southern coast of the Euxine sea as far as Trapezus. It is true that at the time this territory was not yet subject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes held royal sway over it; but Leonnatus and Antigonus, with a great army, were to conduct Eumenes thither and declare him satrap of the country.

Now, Antigonus paid no heed to the edicts of Perdiccas, being already lifted up in his ambitions and scorning all his associates ; but Leonnatus came down from the interior into Phrygia in order to undertake the expedition in behalf of Eumenes. Here, however, Hecataeus the tyrant of Cardia joined him and be-

Alexander, if it should bea son, and that Perdiccas should be regent in the meantime ; the infantry demanded that Arrhi- daeus, the bastard brother of Alexander, should at once be

roclaimed king. In the end a compromise was effected, and Dordiccas became chief in command under Arrhidaeus, with whom Alexander’s son, when born, was to be joint king. Cf. the Alexander, Ixxvii. 5.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

| TOS avTo@ cal Seopevov Bon Beir paidrov ‘AvTimatpe

4

Kal Maxeddvev roils ev Aapig ToALopKoupevors,
@pULnTo diaBaivew cal rov Kipévn mapexdnet kal
dinate T pos tov ‘“Exataiov. jv yap avrois
TaTpLKy TLS ex TOAMTIKaY SLadopay vrowia TpOs
adAnhous* Kal morAAAKLS O Eopévns éyeryovel pa-
vepos KaTnyopav tov “Exatatov Tupavvodvros Kal
TapaKahay ‘Ad€Eavpov aTrodotvat Tois Kapéia-
vois THv éhevepiay. 606 wal TOTE TOU Evevous
Tapattoupeévou THY emt TOUS “EAAqvas oTpateiar,
cal dediévat bdoxovtos ‘Avtimatpov, LNTOS
‘Exatato Xapelomevos Kal madae pod auTov
avery, TLOTEUTAS o Aeovydros ovdey @v eppover
mpos avrov amexpuyaro. oyos ev yap hv 7
Bonbea Kal mpodhacts, éyvaner dé SiaBas evdus
avritroteta Oat Maxedovias: Kai TWAS emaTonas
ederfe Krcordtpas peTameprrouerns avrov els
ITé\Aav ws Yaunoouerns. 0 & Evpévns, elite tov
Avtimratpov dedorxas ebTe Tov Aeovvarov eu dn-
KTOV évTa Kal hopas peorov aBeBaiov | kat o€eias
aTroryvous, VUKT WP avévev&e THv éavtod AaBov
dmog Keuny. _eixe 6¢ TpLaKoatous pev tmmeis, Sva-
Koatous 6€ TOV Taidwv oTAOPOpous, ev 5é Ypuaots
eis apyuptou oyov TadNaVTa TEevTaKLaXidea. gu-
yav 6€ oUTwS TpdsS Hepdtcxay cal Ta Aeovvarov
Bovretpara KateuTa@v evOrs pev loxve péeya map
avuT@ Kal Tov ovvedpiov pereixev, OAryOY dé doTe-
pov eis Kammasdsoxiay xatnyOn peta Svvdpeos,

1 On the death of Alexander the Greeks had revolted from Macedonia, and had driven Antipater and his army into Lamia, a city of southern Thessaly.

2 The sister of Alexander, widow, since 326 B.c., of the

sought him to go rather to the assistance of Antipater and the Macedonians besieged in Lamia.! Leonnatus therefore determined to cross over to Greece, in- vited Eumenes to go with him, and tried to reconcile him with Hecataeus. For they had a hereditary dis- trust of one another arising from political differences ; and frequently Eumenes had been known to denounce Hecataeus as a tyrant and to exhort Alexander to restore its freedom to Cardia. Therefore at this time also Kumenes declined to go on the expedition against the Greeks, saying he was afraid that Anti- pater, who had long hated him, would kill him to please Hecataeus. Then Leonnatus took him into his confidence and revealed to him all his purposes.

Assistance to Antipater, namely, was what he alleged as a pretext for his expedition, but he really meant, as soon as he had crossed into Europe, to lay claim to Macedonia; and he showed certain letters from Cleopatra ? in which she invited him to come to Pella and promised to marry him. But Eumenes, either because he was afraid of Antipater, or because he despaired of Leonnatus as a capricious man full of uncertain and rash impulses, took his own equipment and decamped by night.? And he had three hundred horsemen, two hundred armed camp-followers, and in gold what would amount to five thousand talents of money. With this equipment he fled to Perdiccas, and by telling him of the designs of Leonnatus at once enjoyed great influence with him and was made a rember of his council. Moreover, a little while after he was conducted into Cappadocia with an army king of Epeirus. No less than six of Alexander's generals sought her hand in marriage.

3 According to Nepos (Humenes, ii. 4), Leonnatus, failing to persuade Eumenes, tried to kill him.

avtod Ilepdixxov mapovtos Kal otpatnyovros. 585

'Aptapdbov dé AnpOevtos aX maN@Tov Kal THs

YoOpas Umoxerpiou yevopevns amobeiKvuTar catpa-
7717S. Kal Tas fev TrOAELS Tous éavtob hiross
Tapédwxe, Kal ppoupapxous eykaTéaTya€ Kab du-

KQOTAS ATTENLTE Kal drown as ods éBovreTo, Tov

Tepdixxou pn dev éy TOUTOLS TouTrpayLovodVTos,

avr os dé ovvavétevEev éxeivov TE Ocpamrevov Kat

TOV Baciréwv amoneiTres Oat py Bovdopevos.

IV. Ov pny adr' o Tlepdixxas éf' & peév punto miatevwyv Ob avTOU mpoodtea Gar, TH O€ UTTOAELTIO-peva Seta Oar dpaarnpiov Te Kal musTOU puraros olopevos, dmérepapev éx Katieias TOV Evpevn, Oyo pev emi THv éavTod catpateiav, Eoyw &e Thv Ouopov A ppeviav Terapaypéevny bro Neorto-
2 Aéuov dea XEtpos &Eovra. TovTtov pev ovv o Kv-peévns, Kaimrep SyK@ Tw Kab ppovnpare Kev due Pappevor, émretpaTo tails OptrAcass Karexew" avros dé TH parayya TOV Maxedover é emnpwevny Kal Opaceiay elpoy, domep ayritayja Kater Keu-alev avrh Svvapiy immixcny, TOV pev eyXwpiov Tos (mmevel Suvapévors aveva popias 6i50us Kal

3 arehetas, Tav Oé mepl aurov ols pddora, emia Tevev avnrous Sravéwov iwqrous, prdorepiacs TE Kal bw-peais Ta ppovnpara Tapofuvev Kal Ta copara Kivjoeat Kal pedéraus diatrovav, Bote TOUS meV exTrhayivat, TOUS b¢ Gappioar TOV Maxedovwr, Opavras orAly@ ypov@m rept aitov nOpotcpévors

1 Arrhidaeus and the infant son of Alexander, both under the guardianship of Perdiccas. Eumenes thus ranged himself with the legitimists.

which Perdiccas commanded in person. There Ariarathes was taken prisoner, the country was brought into subjection, and Eumenes was proclaimed satrap. He entrusted the cities of the country to his own friends, appointed commanders of garrisons, left behind him such judges and administrators as he wished, Perdiccas not at all interfering in these matters, and then marched away with Perdiccas, desiring to pay court to that general, and not wishing to be separated from the kings.!

IV. However, Perdiccas felt confident of carrying out his projects by himself, and thought that the country they had left behind them needed an efficient and faithful guardian, and therefore sent Eumenes back from Cilicia, ostensibly to his own satrapy, but really to reduce to obedience the adjacent country of Armenia, which had been thrown into confusion by Neoptolemus.?. Accordingly, although Neoptolemus was a victim of ostentation and empty pride, Eumenes tried to constrain him by personal intercourse ; then, finding that the Macedonian men-at-arms were con- ceited and bold, he raised a force of cavalry as a counterpoise to them, by offering the natives of the country who were able to serve as horsemen immunity from contributions and tributes, and by distributing horses that he had bought among those of his followers in whom he placed most confidence; the spirits of these men, too, he incited by honours and gifts, and developed their bodies by exercise and discipline; so that a part of the Macedonians were amazed, and a part emboldened, when they saw that in a short time

2 One of the principal officers of Alexander, to whom Armenia had been assigned as a province. Cf. chapter i. 3

immets oux éXatTous é€aKicyiAiwy Kal TplaKo-oiwv.

V. ’Ezei 6é Kparepos Kat “AvTiTarpos TOV

“EAN jvov TEPUryEVOMEVOL S1¢Basvov els "Aciav THY
Tlepdicxov KATANUVGOVTES apxX ny, Kal T™poanyyen-
NovTo pédRovTes euBarelv eis Karraéoxiar, o
Tepdixxas avros él Irorenatov oTpaTeEvOV a1ré-
SecFe Tov Evpévn trav év ’Appevia xal Karra-
Soxig Suvdpewy avToxparopa orparnyév" Kat
mept TOUTWY émloTONAS emenwer, "ArKéTar peév
Kab NeomroAepov Kvpevee TpoaexXelv Kedevoas,
Edpevn dé xpho Gar Tots mpdry wa ST ws avros
eyveocer. “Adkéras pev oby avTUKpUS ateiTato
TY otparelay, @s tov vm atta Maxedover
‘AvTimat py ev aidoupever pdxeoOar, Kpatepov
5é cat déxerOar bu evvouay eT olen dvtwv: Neo-
TONE LOS dé Bovrevov fev étr’ Evpéver mpodoctay
OvK ehade, KANOUPEVOS dé ovy UmjKovey, aN
TAapeTaTTe THY Suvapuy. ev0a, Tp@Tov) Evpevns
aTrédave TiS EaUTOU mpovotas Kat Tapackevis®
HTT @{LEvOs yap 76n Kata TO TeCov erpépato Tots
iT Tevet TOD Neomrodepov kal THY amoaKeuny
édaBev avTod, Kal TH parayys Svea Tr appern mepl
THV Siwy a0 pous emehaoas nvayKace Ta oma,
Oécbat Kal Sovtas Kal raBovtas EpKxouvs avTo
ova Tpareven.
‘0 pev ov Neo rorepos odiyous TWAS cuva-
yayov ex Ths tpoTHns Epuye wpos Kparepov cat

1 One of the ablest of Alexander’s officers, who, in the division of the empire that followed Alexander’s death, was nee ruler, in common with Antipater, of Macedonia and

reece,

go

EUMENES

he had assembled about him no fewer than sixty-three hundred horsemen.

V. And when Craterus! and Antipater, after overpowering the Greeks,? were crossing into Asia? to overthrow the power of Perdiccas, and were reported to be planning an invasion of Cappadocia, Perdiccas, who was himself heading an expedition against Ptolemy,’ appointed Eumenes commander of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia with plenary powers. He also sent letters on the subject, in which he commanded Alcetas® and Neoptolemus

to look to Eumenes for orders, and Eumenes to manage matters as he thought best. Alcetas, then, flatly refused to serve in the campaign, on the ground that the Macedonians under him were ashamed to fight Antipater, and were so well disposed to Craterus that they were ready to receive him with open arms. Neoptolemus, however, plotting treachery against Eumenes, was detected, and when he was summoned would not obey, but drew up his forces in battle array. Here first did Eumenes reap the fruit of his forethought and preparation; for when his infantry had already been defeated, he routed Neoptolemus with his cavalry, and captured his baggage, and when the men-at-arms of Neoptolemus were scattered in pursuit of their enemies, charged upon them with his entire body of horse and compelled them ta lay down their arms and make oath with him to serve under him.
Neoptolemus, then, collected a few of his men from the rout and fled to Craterus and Antipater.
2 In the battle of Crannon, Aug. 7, 322, which put an end to the revolt of the Greeks and the war called the ‘‘ Lamian ” war. 3 In 321 B.o.
* Now governor of Egypt. 5 A brother of Perdiccas.

OI

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

’"Avtimatpov. tap éxetvwv Se améotaXrto Tpe-
a Beta Tos Evpévn Tapakanovdoa, perabécGar
Tpos avrous, KapToupmevov pev as ele ocatpa-
metas, mpoohaBovra be oT paTiay Kar Xopav Tap
avTav, AvtTimatpo pev avr éX9 pov pirov ryevo-
peevor, Kpatepo 8é pa yevopevov ex pidov TONE-
pcov. TaUTa Oo Evpevns axovoas ‘Avturatpe pe
ovK ay edn TANALOS Ov xO pos vov yevéoOar piros,
GTE AUTOV Opa TOIS Pirots wS éxO pois Xpwmevov,
Kparepov dé Tlepdixxe dtadraTTeEv & ETOLLOS elvau
Kal cuvdrye émt tots icous Kat Sixaious: apXovros
dé mreovetias TO adicouperp BonOncew peX pt ay
éumvén, kal wadXov TO o@pa Kal Tov Biov 7H THY
Tio TLY TponoerGat.
VI. Of pév ody mept TOV “Avtitrat pov mud opevot
Tava Kata axonny éBouhevovto Teph TOV OWD,

) NeomroAepos 5é pera THY puyny adiKxopevos
™ pos avrovs THY TE paxny annyyedre Kab Tmape-
kare Bonbeiv, partota pev apport epous, TAVTOS
dé Kparepov: mobeiab au yap UTEppuas exeivov
bro TOV Maxedoven, Kav povov idwou THY Kavo lay
avTov Kat THY povnv axovowst, pea TOV Om Av
HEew pepopevous. Kal yap ny OVTWS OvopLa TOD
Kparepob péya, Kal pera, THV “Arefavdpou TENEU-
THY TOUTOY eToOnaav ot TONNOL, PmpovevorTes
Stt Kat mpos ’AdéEavdpov omép auTa@y avedeEato
TOAAGKLS amex Geias TOANGS, UTrodEpojévou TpOs
TOV Tepovwov CnXov avTthapBavopevos, Kat Tots
Tar plous apivev dia tpupjy Kal dyxov 76n mEepiv-
Bprfopevors.
Tore & ody o Kpartepds tov pev ’Avtimatpov
Q2

But they had already sent an embassy to Eumenes inviting him to come over to their side; he would enjoy possession of his present satrapies, would receive additional troops and territory from them, would become a friend to Antipater instead of an enemy, and would not become an enemy to Craterus instead of a friend. On hearing this proposition Eumenes replied that he had been Antipater’s enemy from of old and could not now become his friend, when he saw him treating his friends as enemies, but that he was ready to reconcile Craterus with Perdiccas and bring the two together on just and equal terms; if, however, either undertook to overreach the other he would give aid to the injured party as long as he had breath, and would rather lose his life than his honour.

VI. Craterus and Antipater, then, after getting this answer, were taking deliberate counsel about the whole situation, when Neoptolemus came to them after his flight, told them about the battle he had lost, and urged them to come to his aid, both of them if possible, but at any rate Craterus ; for the Macedonians longed for him exceedingly, and if they should only see his cap and hear his voice, they would come to him with a rush, arms and all. And indeed the name of Craterus was really great among them, and after the death of Alexander most of them had longed for him as their commander. They remem- bered that he had many times incurred the strong displeasure of Alexander himself in their behalf, by opposing his gradually increasing desire to adopt Persian customs, and by defending the manners of their country, which, thanks to the spread of luxury and pomp, were already being treated with contempt.

At the time of which I speak, then, Craterus sent

els KiAtxiav aréotetrev, avdtos 5€ THs Suvdpews
dvaraBav Tord pépos emt TOV Every peTa TOD
Neomrodépou Tponyev, olopevos ov m poo Sex oper
Kal pera mpoodatoy vintny év atakia Kal Teph
TOTOUS éXovTe THV Suva pu émumeceioBar. TO pev
obv mpoatabéa bat thy Ehodov avtod Tov Edpevn
Kal TpoTapacKevdaas Jat vnpovans dy TI mye HO-
vias, ov pny akpas Dein Seuvornros TO O€ pH
fLOvoV TOUS Tonepious a a pa KANOS elev aicbécbat
Siaduyei, arra Kal Tous pet avTou oT paTevo-
pévous aryvoobytas @ paXovvras T poeve elaat TO
Kparep@ kal drroxptypas TOV avTiaTparnyor, 1Stov
OKEl TOUTOU Tou TYE HOVOS Epryov yevérOar. d1é-
Scone pev ovv Norvyov Os Neomrodepos avbis émlos
Kat Hiypns, é EYOVTES immets kat Kataboxapv cal
[laprayovev. vuKTos 66 avaledEat Bovrdpevos,
elta catrabapbov dyuv eidev GAXCKOTOV. éd0KEL
yap opav “AreEdvdpous Sto TmapacKevalouevous
adNANAOLS paxea Oar, pias EKATEpOV Hryoupevov pa-
Nayyos’ elta TO pev THY ‘AOnvav, To Oe Thy
Anpytpav BonBoicav enbein, ryevopmevou dé ayo-
VOS iaxupod KpatnOfvas TOV peTa THis "AOnvas,
T@ O€ VIK@YTE oTAX VOD Spetropévny thy Anuntpav
oupmréKew aTépavov.
Avrobev pev ovv 77 Oyu elxatey elvat ™ pos
avo, paxouevou wept YAS. apiotns Kal ToTeE
TONY Kal Karov éyovons év KANVKL ord:
dmaca yao Katéotaoto Kal wapeiyev eipnvy

1 Antipater, Craterus and Ptolemy had declared war against Perdiccas. The destruction of Perdiccas’ ally, Ku- menes, was a side issue. Perdiccas, taking with him Arrhi- daeus and Roxana and her infant son, had already invaded

Antipater into Cilicia,! while he himself with a large part of the forces advanced with Neoptolemus against Eumenes. He thought that he should fall upon him when he was off his guard, and when, after their recent victory, his soldiers were in revelry and dis- order. Now, that Eumenes should learn before- hand of his approach and get himself ready for it in advance, one might consider a mark of sober general- ship, though not of superlative ability; but that he should keep his enemies from getting any knowledge that would work him harm, and, besides this, that he should hurl his soldiers upon Craterus before they knew with whom they were fighting, and conceal from them the name of the opposing general, seems to me to have been an exploit peculiar to this com- mander. He gave out word, then, that Neoptolemus was

once more coming against him, with Pigres, and that they had a force of Paphlagonian and Cap- padocian cavalry. One night he was planning to decamp and then fell asleep and had a strange vision. He dreamed, namely, that he saw two Alexanders ready to give each other battle, each at the head of a phalanx; then Athena came to help the one, and Demeter the other, and after a fierce struggle the one who had Athena for a helper was beaten, and Demeter, culling ears of grain, wove them into a wreath for the victor.

At once, then, he conjectured that the vision was in his favour, since he was fighting for a country that was most fertile and had at that time an abundance of fine young grain in the ear; for the land had everywhere been sown and bespoke a time of peace,

Egypt in an attempt to destroy Ptolemy. Antipater was hastening to the aid of Ptolemy.
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3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

mpérrovaay opty, dupirapas TOV TESIWVY KOMODV- TwY" paddov dé ereppwa On mTvO opevos cvvOnpa TOUS Tohepiors "AOnvay | kal "AdéFavdpov elvat. Anpuntpav 8) Kal avtos édidov ocuvOnpa Kal ’AréEavdpor, avadetcOat TE mavTas ExéXEVE KAL KaTacTepey Ta OTAa TOV oTaXVoY AawBavoyTas.

Opyncas dé ToAdaKes eEayopetoat Kal paca Tots Tept avrov Hryewoot Kal oTpaTnyois 7 pos Ov EweAXev O ary av ever Oat, Kab my Hovos év auT@ Dé pevos amroxpurpat kal Katacxe aTroppntTov ob Tas avaycatov, bos évépewe Tois Aoyta pois kal Sueriotevce TH yvapn Tov Kivduvor.
VII. “Avrérage dé Kpatepo Maxedover pep ovdéva, dvo 5é immapyias Eevirds, ov PapvdBalos 6 "ApraBalouv xal DoimE o Tevédsos jryodvto, Siakehevodpevos op Devray TOV Tone pov éhavvery Kara TAXOS kal oupmréKer Oat, Ty) diovtas a ava- oTpopny pnde poviy, pnde enpuka TET OMEVOY TPOoLEMEVOUS. ededies yap ioYUpas TOUS Make- Sovas, pH yepicavres TOV Kpatepov oixavras peTaBaropevor T pos EKELVOD. avTOS d€ TOUS eppwmevertarous UMTEts Tpraxoatous ets dyna cuvTagas Kat Tapedaaas éml TO beEtov EMENE Tois Tept Neo roAenov émixetpelv. ws dé Tov ev péow ogov bmepBarovtes ap Oncav ofelay Kat pe” OpLiS apodporépas Trovovpevor THY epodor,

extrharyels 0) Kpatepos Kal ToAKa rodopncas TOV
Neomrodenov os éEnratnpuévos tn’ avtod trept
THs TOV Maxedovav petaBorrns, éyxedevoadpevos
avSpayabeiy trois wept avtTov nyepoow avreen-
AACE.
Tevopevns 5& tis mpetns cuppdEews Bapeias

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now that its plains were covered with a luxuriant growth ; and he was all the more strengthened in his belief when he learned that the enemy’s watchword was “ Athena and Alexander.” Accordingly, he too gave out a watchword, namely, “Demeter and Alexander,” and ordered all his men to crown them- selves and wreathe their arms with ears of grain. But though he often felt an impulse to speak out and tell his principal officers who it was against whom their struggle was to be, and not to keep hidden away in his own breast alone a secret so important, nevertheless he abode by his first resolution and made his judgment surety for the peril.

VII. However, he arrayed against Craterus not a single Macedonian, but two troops of foreign horse commanded by Pharnabazus the son of Artabazus and Phoenix of Tenedos, who had strict orders to charge at full speed when the enemy came into view and engage them at close quarters, without giving them a chance to withdraw or say anything, and without receiving any herald they might send. For he had strong fears that his Macedonians, if they recognized Craterus, would go over tohim. He himself, with a division of his best horsemen, three hundred in number, rode along to the right wing, where he purposed to attack Neoptolemus. When the forces of Eumenes had crossed the intervening hill and were seen coming on to the attack with a swift and impetuous dash, Craterus was dumbfounded and heaped much abuse upon Neoptolemus for having deceived him about the Macedonians changing sides ; but he exhorted his officers to act like brave men, and charged upon the enemy.
The first collision was severe, the spears were

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\ A 4 \ Ul “ ‘
Kat TaY Sopatwy tayv auvTpiBévtwv, tod 6é
ayavos év tois Eiheow Svtos, ov KaTaloxvvas Oo
Kpatepos tov ‘ArdéEavdpov, ada TroAdovs pev
, , \ , \ >
KataBanrwv, TodAdKs 5€ TpEYrapevos TOUS ayTL-
4 lA \ \ e \ N >
TeTaypevous, Tédos O€ mAnyels bro Opaxos éx
TrayiwY MpoceAacavTos atreppvn TOU tmou,
4 \ > A e \ BA / b
TecovTa O€ AUTOV Ol Mev AAXOL TApPHAAaATAY ayvo-
obvtes, Topytas 6¢ trav Evjpévous otparnyav &yve
Te Kal xataBas treptéotnce Ppovpav TO cwopaTt
KaKos Hon Staxetpévov Kal SvacPavarodvtos. év
U4 oe \ N ar Ee / 4

touT@m S€ Kai Neomrorcuos Evpéver cvrvrjpyero.
le) by J 4 A 9 3 fo]
pucoovres yap aAAnAOUS mMddae Kal Ou’ Gpyts
éyovtes év pev dbuclv dvactpodais ov Kxateidov,
év &€ TH Tpitn YyvwpicavTes EvOIS HravvOD,
omacdpevor TA éeyxetpiova Kal Boorvtes. TaV O
, S
intov é€& évavrias Bia cuptecovTwy woTep
,
Tpinpwv, TAS Hvias adévTes AAAHNAwY érredpd-
Eavto Tais Yepol, Ta TE KPdvNn TEptoTr@VTES Kal
mepippnyvuvtTes ex TaV éTwpidwy Tors Owpaxas.
mpos S€ TOY oTTapaypoy UrexdpapovTwoyv apa TOV
immwyv, amoppvévtes eis yhv Kal mTepiTecovTes
adAAnXoS ev ANaBais Hoav Kal Svewdratov. eta o
pév Eipévns trod Neorrodéyou mpoc~aviorapévov
\ > 4 e , > \ > > N 4
THY tyviay vTéKxoev autos eis OpOov dOdcas
KatacThvat, o dé Neorrorepos eis Oatepov éperoa-
J
pevos yovu, Odrepov S€ memnpwpévos, nuvveto
Heéev evpootas KaTwber, ob Oavacipous Sé TAN Yas
e lA \ \ N 4 ”
Uropépwv, mANyels b€ Tapa TOV TPaXNAOD ETTECE
\ / a > / > b \

Kal qwapetOn. tod dé Evpévous de opynv xal

picos tadatov Tad Te SirAa TEpLoT@VTOS avTOU

quickly shattered, and the fighting was done with the swords. Here Craterus did not disgrace Alexander, but slew many foes, and frequently routed the opposing arrays. At last, however, he was wounded by a Thracian who attacked him from the side, and fell from his horse. As he lay prostrate there all his enemies rode past him, not knowing who he was, except Gorgias, one of the officers of Eumenes; he recognized him, dismounted from his horse, and stood guard over his body, for he was now in an evil plight and struggling with death. In the meantime Neopto- lemus also was engaged with Eumenes. They had long hated one another with a deadly hatred, but in two onsets neither had caught sight of the other ; in the third, however, they recognized each other, and at once drew their swords and with loud cries rode to the attack. Their horses dashed together with the violence of colliding triremes, and dropping the reins they clutched one another with their hands, each trying to tear off the other's helmet and strip the breastplate from his 'shoulders. While they were struggling, their horses ran from under them and they fell to the ground, where they closed with one another and wrestled for the mastery. Then Eumenes, as Neoptolemus sought to rise first, gave him an undercut in the ham, and himself got to his feet before his adversary did; but Neoptolemus, support- ing himself on one knee, and wounded in the other, defended himself vigorously from underneath. He could not, however, inflict fatal wounds, but was himself wounded in the neck, fell to the ground, and lay there prostrate. His sword, however, he still retained, and while Eumenes, transported with rage and ancient hatred, was stripping off his armour and

Kal KaK@s Aéyovtos, ett TO Eihos Eywv Edabev
uTO Tov Owpaka Tpwoas, 7 Tapéavce Tov
BovBavos amoBas. 7 S€ TANY) parrov edoBycev
h Brave tov Etpévn, dv dobéverav apyvdpa
ryevoeévn.
Lavrevoas bé Tov vexpow elye pev YareTras
Ud TpavpaTwoy pnpovs Kal Bpayiovas Siaxexop-
' Cd \ 93 \ > \ \ ivf 207
pévos, Guws 56 avaBArAnbeis ert tov immov édiwoxe
mpos Odrepov Képas, ws ett cuvertoTwV Tov
ld ' \ \ "A A
ToAEuiov. muOopevos Se THv Kpatepod TteXeuvTHv
kal mpoceAdoas, ws eldev éwrrvéovta Kai cuviéevta,
KataBas ameddaxpuce Kal thy deEvav évéBare, Kal
TONAG pev eroLdopynae Tov NeowTorepov, TOAAA
5é éxelvov pév @KTicaTo TIS TUYNS, aUTOV Oé THS
avaykns, 8: hv avdpt dire cal curvnfer tadra
TEeLTopuEvos 7 Opdawy suvnvéxOn.
VIII. Tavrnv rnv paynv Edpévns népars Séxa

aoyedov TL meTa THY MpoTépay evixnoe Kal d0kn
pev p0n péyas am’ avtis, os Ta pev codia, TA
dé dvdpeia Katepyacpévos, POovov dé mroduv éxxe
a e aA lA a /

Kal picos oars apd TE TOs TUUpaxols Kal

“A / e 4 > A N / 4
TOUS TOAELLOLS, WS ETNANUS avnp Kat EEevos OTOL
kal yepot Tov Maxedovwy Tov mpatov avroy Kai
Soximw@ratov avnpnkws. aAr e pev €fOn Tlep-
Sixcas muOopevos tHY Kpatepod tereutnv, ovK
dy adAos érpwtevoe Maxeddvwrv: vuvi dé avnpn-
vA , \ 4 > 3 UA Py \
pévou Ilepdixxov Kata ordow év Aiyirt@ dvatv
NMEpALs TMpoTEpov Kev OvTOS O TrEepl THS payns
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EUMENES

reviling him, Neoptolemus surpiiéed him with a wound
under the breastplate, where it,24ches the groin.
But the blow gave Eumenes more i than harm,
since lack of strength made it feeble.’ .
After stripping the dead body, weak as he was from wounds received in legs and arms, Eumeries nevertheless had himself put upon his horse and hastened to the other wing, supposing that the enemy were still resisting. But when he learned of the tafe. of Craterus and had ridden up to where he lay, and’ saw that he was still alive and conscious, he dismounted, a wept bitterly, clasped his hand, and had many words - of abuse for Neoptolemus, and many words of pity -.. for Craterus in his evil fortune, and for himself in — the necessity which had brought him into a conflict with a friend and comrade, where he must do or suffer this harm.!

VIII. This battle was won by Eumenes about ten days after the former.” It lifted his reputation high, and he was thought to have accomplished his task alike with wisdom and bravery ; but it got him much envy and hatred as well among his allies as among his enemies. They felt that he, an alien and a stranger, had used the arms and might of the Macedonians for slaying the foremost and most approved of them. Now, if Perdiccas could have learned in time of the death of Craterus, no one else would have had chief place among Macedonians ; but as it was, he was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers in Egypt? two days before this report of the battle

1 According to Nepos (Himenes, iv. 4), Eumenes gave
Craterus worthy funeral rites, and sent his remains to his
wife and children in Macedonia.
2 Cf. chapter v, 3. 3 See the note on chapter vi. 3.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES
Aoyos eis TO oxpiirimedor, Kab ™ pos opyny evO vs
ot Maxedoves Odvurov TOU Evpevous KaTéyvooay.
daredeix On ae TOO TroNéu“ou TOU mpos avrov ’Avti-
yovos peta’: ‘Aeron dz pov oTpaTnyos.
"Erret $é-Kdpevns TOUS Bacrricois immodpopBiors
mept TV "Tdnv vewopevors EMLTUY@V Kal AaBov
irmous towv éypnte Tots emipedntais THY ypapiy
erreyithe, NéyeTas yerdoae TOV “Avtimart pov wal
direiv OTL Javpdter Tov Evpéevn THS TT povoias,
enigovta AOryov avrois am obec ew TOY Bacirt-
kav 4 Aneo Gat Tap aurav. Trepl dé Tas Ddpdecs
-,€Bovrero pev immoxpaTov O Edperns tois Av6éots
evayovicacbat mediow, aua Kal TH Krcomdtpg
THY Suvapuy érdetEar prrorepoupevos: aurijs be
éxelvns Sen Beions (epoBeiro yap aitiay twa
AaBeiv v v6 TOY TreEpt TOV ’Avtimatpov) é€nXNacev
els THY ave Ppvyiav Kal Stexeipater € ev KeXawvais:
Orrou TOV pev mept Tov "AAKeTay xat TlovXéuwva
Kab Aoxtpov vrép nyepovias Siaprdortpmoupevov
7 pos avtov, “ Toiro Vy ébn, “0 heyopevor,
‘"OnEO pou & ovdeis oyos.’ ” tots dé oTpaTLaOTals
UTOTXOMEVOS ev Tpioly Tue pas Tov peabov a amro-
dace émimpac kev avTois Tas Kara THY yYoOpav
émavners Kal _ TETpaTTUpyias oopdrov Kat Boonn-
pao yepovoas. o 8€ mptapevos TYE weOY Tay-
patos h Eevaryos 6 épyava cat pnxavas Tov Evpévous
TapeXovTos eEerroAopKer Kai wWpos TOV apetdo-
pevov pradov ot OT PATLOTAL SevewovTo TOV
adtcKkopéevwoy Exactov. éx 6) TovTov mdr oO
Evpévns nyarato: cat wote ypaupdatov évy TO
otpatoTréέw gavévtwy & Siéppiay ot TOV TrONeE-
JO?

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came to his camp, and his Macedonians, in a rage, at once condemned Eumenes to death. Moreover, Antigonus was appointed to conduct the war against him, in conjunction with Antipater.

When Eumenes fell in with the royal herds of horse that were pasturing about Mount Ida, he took as many horses as he wanted and sent a written statement of the number to the overseers. At this, we are told, Antipater laughed and said that he admired Eumenes for his forethought, since he evidently expected to give an account of the royal properties to them, or to receive one from them. Because he was superior in cavalry, Eumenes wished to give battle in the plains of Lydia about Sardis, and at the same time he was ambitious to make a display of his forces before Cleopatra!; but at the request of that princess, who was afraid to give Antipater any cause for complaint, he marched away into upper Phrygia and wintered at Celaenae. Here Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus strove emulously with him for the chief command, whereupon he said: “This bears out the saying, ‘Of perdition no account is made.’”» Moreover, having promised to give his soldiers their pay within three days, he sold them the homesteads and castles about the country, which were full of slaves and flocks. Then every captain in the phalanx or commander of mercenaries who had bought a place was supplied by Eumenes with implements and engines of war and took it by siege ; and thus every soldier received the pay that was due him, in a distribution of the captured properties. In consequence of this, Eumenes was again in high favour; and once when letters were found in his camp which the leaders of the enemy

1 See the note on chapter ii}. 5. 103

pov WYEHOVES, « ExaTov TdXavTa Kal TLLas OLdovTES
Tp KTELVAVTL TOV Evpevn, apodpa mapotvvOnoar
au Maxkeédoves, Kal Sopa. movobvrae VuALOUS TOV
NYE LOVLK OV Tept avTov det Sopupopotvras elvat
Kab purarrew év mepiodep Kal Tapavunrepevely.
ot be émetBovto, Kal TLS nyaT av jap avTov
AapBavovres as ot iro Tapa TOV Baciréwv.
éEnv yap Evpéves cal Kavatas aroupyets Kal
XAapvdas Stavéueww, ATs HY Swpead BacirKwTaTn
Tapa Maxeédoor.

IX. To peév ody evTuxelV Kal TOUS pucer
puxpovs cuvemixoupiler Tots ppovnpacty, date
paiver bai Te peyeOos mepl avtovs Kal OryKov
ex Tpayparov UmepexovTov amoPeopevous:
0 b€ arnOas peyaroppav Kat BéBatos év Tots
oddApact wadXov Kal Tais duvonpeplass avadepav
ylveTat xaTddnros, aomep Eodpévns. ampatov
pev yap é ép ‘Opxuviors THS Karmasdoxias HTT Oels
UT 0 "ApTeyovov da Tpodoaias Kat SiwKopevos ov

Taphre TOV mpodorny ex THS puyns SvaTreceiv
pos TOUS TOAEULOUS, ana curAdNaBov € expéuace.
hevryov S€ Thv évavtiav odov Tots SiwKovar pere-
Bare AaHav, Kat maparhdtas, ws NAGev emt Tov
TOTOV ov THY paynV cuveBn yevec Bau, kaTe-
oTpatoTrésevae, Kal cuvayayeov TOUS VEKPOUS Kal
TOV év KUKX@ KOO {LOY Ta Jupwpata KaTaoxioas
exavoev isi pev Tyyewovas, idta dé TOUS Todos,
kal todvdvpta Yoras dninrbev, ote nal Tov
1 Karly in 320 bc.
2 Antigonus had corrupted Apollonides, commander of a division of cavalry under Eumenes, and he went over to the

had caused to be scattered there, wherein they offered a hundred talents and honours to any one who should kill Eumenes, his Macedonians were highly incensed and made a decree that a thousand of the leading soldiers should serve him continually as a body-guard, watching over him when he went abroad and spending the night at his door. These carried out the decree, and were delighted to receive from Eumenes such honours as kings bestow upon their friends. For he was empowered to distribute purple caps and military cloaks, and this was a special gift of royalty among Macedonians.

IX. Now, prosperity lifts even men of inferior natures to higher thoughts, so that they appear to be invested with a certain greatness and majesty as they look down from their lofty state; but the truly magnanimous and constant soul reveals itself rather in its behaviour under disasters and misfortunes. And so it was with Eumenes. For, to begin with, he was defeated by Antigonus! at Orcynii in Cappadocia through treachery,? and yet, though in flight, he did not suffer the traitor to make his escape out of the rout to the enemy, but seized and hanged him. Then, taking the opposite route in his flight to that of his pursuers, he changed his course before they knew it, and, passing along by them, came to the place where the battle had been fought. Here he encamped, collected the bodies of the dead, and burned them on pyres made from the doors of the neighbouring villages, which he had split into billets. He burned the bodies of the officers on one pyre, those of the common soldiers on another, heaped great mounds of earth over the ashes, and enemy in the midst of the battle, with his division. Cf. Diodorus, xviij. 40, 5-8, |

Aytiyovoy taTtepov éreNOovta Oavpatev To Odp-

oS avTov Kal THY evo Tabetav.
“Erect Tas amoaKevais tov ’Avtiyovou ‘Tept-
Téecwv, Kal ra Beiv pasios Suvdpevos ToAdG pev
érevOepa oopara, TONNHY 5é Oeparretav Kal
TAOUTOV EK Toke nov TocovTwY Kal Aenhacvav
nO pots pevor, eee en caraTrAnabevtes aperetas
Kal Lad vpav ot ou avT@ Bapeis yéveovTae 7 pos
THY puyny, Ka paaxedrepor Tas mhavas v7r0-
pévety Kal Tov Xpovov, éy @ padicra Tov jokewou
Tas édrribas elyen, WS amoo Tpeyroy tov *Ayti-
yovov. eel Sé dvtixpus yaderrov Hp arrotpeTety
Maxedovas ypnuatov év efucTg TapovTov, € éxé-
Nevo Jepanedoavtas autovs Kal Tols: larmous
xedov éuBarovras obTw Babiferv é emt TOUS TONE-
pious. autos Oe TE MTEL Kpua mpos Tov él
THS drrogKevis TOV Tohepiov Mevavépov, @S
KndSopevos avTod pitrou yeyovotos Kal cuvndous,
purafacbar TrApaway Kal avaxwpijcat THY
TAaXLoT HY ex TOY emdpopay Kal TATELVOD T pos
THY eyyus UT@peLay abim Tov ovcav Kat KUKNO-
TELS OUK éxoucay. Tou Oé Mevdydpov TAXU cup
ppovnc avros TOV xivduvov Kal dvacKkevacapéevou,
KATAGKOTOUS Emre wTrev O Kopevns pavepars, Kal
Tapnyyetre Tots OT PATLOT ALS omAifecOar Kat
Tous itdrous _eyXadwoty as mpoaakwv Tols
Tohepiors. TOV de KATACKOTTOY anayyedavrav
6Tt mavTdanacty o Mévavdpos adntrtos ein Kata-
mepevryas els TOTOUS Narerrovs, ayer bar Tpoc-
TOLOUMEVOS o Evpévns ariyye THY oTpartedy.
NévyeTae dé, Tou Mevdyopou Tatra papTupncavTos
mpos Tov "Avtiyovov, kal trav Maxeddver érat-
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departed, so that even Antigonus, when he came up later, admired his boldness and constancy.

Again, when he came upon the baggage of Antigonus, and could easily have captured many free- men, many slaves, and wealth amassed from so many wars and plunderings, he was afraid that his men, if loaded down with booty and spoils, would become too heavy for flight, and too luxurious to endure wander- ings and lapse of time. In lapse of time, however, he placed his chief hopes for ending the war, feeling that he could thus cause Antigonus to turn back. But since it was quite a difficult matter to deflect his Mace- donians from good things which were within their reach, he ordered them to refresh themselves

and bait their horses before advancing upon the enemy. He himself, however, sent a secret message to Menander, who was in charge of the enemy's baggage, implying that he was concerned for him as an old time friend and comrade, and advising him to be on his guard and withdraw as quickly as possible from his low-lying and accessible position to the foot-hills near by, which could not be reached by cavalry or surrounded. Menander speedily comprehended his peril and decamped, and then Eumenes openly sent out scouts and ordered his soldiers to arm themselves and bridle their horses, as he was going to lead them against the enemy. But when the scouts brought word that Menander was altogether safe from capture now that he had taken refuge in a difficult region, Eumenes pretended to be vexed, and led his forces away. And it is said that when Menander bore witness of these things to Antigonus, and the Macedonians began to praise Eumenes and felt more

vouvtwy tov Evpéevn cal giravOpwrrotepov dia-

TO évtwv, tt Kal mraidas avtév avdparrodicacbat

a "A 4 A

Kal yuvaixas aioxivat trapov épeicato Kal Trapn-

a b) /

kev, "ANN éxetvos ye, ddvas tov 'Avtiyovor,

ce > e "A > 4 50 A ' >]

ovy ULoV, @ paxapiot, KnSopevos TaphKev, GAN

ait@ hevyovte Sedias repiOcivar médas tocav-
Tas."
X. Ex tovrov tAav@pevos o Evpévns cat
vrrohevywy Eretae TOUS TONNOUS TOV TTPATLWTOV
9 A w , > A 4 9 li
amenOeiv, etre KnSopevos avTav cite épérxecOat
\ / 4 \ ce) 4
pn =Bovdropevos éXaTTOvas pév ToD payecOat,
, A / v \
Treiovas 5€ Tov AavOavey GvTas. KaTaduyov
a 4
dé eis Napa, ywpiov év peOopiw Aveaovias xal
Kamrasdoxias, peta mevtaxociwy immévv Kal
, e A a "

dtakociwy omAttav, KavTedvbev adOis, Soot TaV
, A
dirwv edenOnoav adeOjvar Tod ywpiov THY yare-
s lol /

ToTnTa Kal THS Siaitns THY aVayKny ov hépovtTes,
TavTas dotacdpevos Kal dtrodpovnbeis aré-
Teuev. ows 6é éreNOwy o ’Avtiyovos eis NOYouS
avtov éxdder po THs ToALOpKias, aTreKxpivaTo
ToAXovs elvat Tovs “Avtiyovov didous kal peta
, “~
"Avtiyovoy nyenovas, ay Sé avTos mpoTroAEpEl [47-
9 4
Séva AetrecOar peT avTov: ounpous dé méurrecv
> / > , } \ , b) A , @
éxéXevoev, eb ypnter dia ANOywY avT@ yevecOar.

a \ 9 , 4 e , n
Tov O¢ AvTuyovou KENEVOVTOS WS KpELTTOVE NaNELD,
“Oz Sé » 4 oc? a / ,
vdéva, eltev, “ éuavtTov KpeitTova vopilo,

/ a ® a / 4 39 ef be ,
expe av w tov Eihous Kuplos. oOpws oe TeEL-
wavros tov ’Avtiyovou tov adeAgioody II ToXc-
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kindly towards him, because, when it was in his power to enslave their children and outrage their wives, he had spared them and let them go, Antigonus said: ‘‘ Nay, my good men, that fellow did not let them go out of regard for you, but because he was afraid to put such fetters on himself in his flight.”

X. After this,as he wandered about and sought to elude his enemies, Eumenes persuaded most of his soldiers to leave him,! either out of regard for them, or because he was unwilling to trail after him a body of men too small to give battle, and too large to escape the enemy’s notice. Moreover, after he had taken refuge in Nora, a stronghold on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with five hundred horsemen and two hundred men-at-arms, even there again, whatsoever friends asked to be dismissed because they could not endure the asperities of the place and the constraint in diet, all these he sent away, after bestowing upon them tokens of affection and kind- ness. And when Antigonus came up and invited him to a conference before the siege began, he replied that the friends of Antigonus and officers to succeed Antigonus in command were many, whereas those in whose behalf he was fighting had no one left to command them after him; and he bade Antigonus to send hostages if he wanted to have a conference with

him. Moreover, when Antigonus demanded to be addressed by him as a superior, Eumenes replied: “I regard no man as my superior so long as I am master of my sword.” Neverthe- less, after Antigonus had sent his nephew Ptolemy

1 Many deserted to Antigonus, according to Diodorus (xviii, 41, 1).

patov ets 70 Ywptov, @orep iEiwa ev 6 Evpevys,
xaTeBn, Kal meptBarovres addjrous HowacavTo
prricas kal OLKELWS, ATE 2) aGrAHAOLS KE pnpévor
TONG kal suvnbets yeyovores. hoyov é yevo-
pevov TONG Kat Tou Evpeévous ou”, vrép ao pa-
elas pepvnpevou Kat Siarvcews, ara Kal Tas
catparreias aEvovvTos avT@ BeBarotabat Kal Tas
Sw peds amobiboc ban, Gatipa TOUS mapovTas eixe
TO ppornua Kal THY evTOApLAY ayapévous. dua
be TodNol TUVETPEXOV TOV Maxedover ieiv 6 dots
éorl TOV _Evpevn mwoOouvtes* ov Yap érépou NOYos
qv ToaovTOS év TO TTPATD pera THY TOU Kpa-
TEpod TENET HD. Seiaas dé o “Av Tiryovos omép
avrob, pH Tt waOn PRiatov, T™ p@Tov pep amnyopeve
pe T poovevat Boav, Kal Tots ALBors éBarnre TOUS
emrupepopevous, TEAS dé Tals Xepat Tov _Ebpevn
meptBadov Kal Tov by Aov aTrepvKav tois Sopu-
gopors ports eis TO ao panes aTOKATETTHCE.
XI. Tovvredbev o pep TepiTerxioas Ta Napa
Kal ppoupay KaTadiTro@v avelevéer Eopeévns be
TONLOPKOUMEVOS eycpaTas, Tob Y@ pLov otrov Kat
ddwp AaPPovoy cai aras Kal ddr pndev € EXOVTOS
éd@6tp0v poe ovo pa IT pos TOV gitov, &x THY
TapovT@y Gps Katea Kevate Tols TuvovcLY thapav
THY Siartay, € év peper TE TaparapPavev TAaVTAas
emt THY. avrou tpametav, Kal TO cvociTioy omirig
Xap éxovon Kat prroppootyny epndvver. my
5é xal TO eldos 700s, OU TOAEMLKG Kal TETPLULBLEVD
b0’ 6rrrAwv eoLKes, anna yhadupos Kal veo peTrys,
Kal tjav TO oa a dinpOpwpévos ws uo TEXYNS
axptBas Tots pédeot OavpactHy ovppetplav Exov-
Ilo

into the fortress, as Eumenes had demanded, Eumenes went down to meet him, and they embraced one another with greetings of friendship and affection, since they had formerly been close associates and intimate companions. <A long conference was held, in which Eumenes made no mention of his own safety or of peace, but actually demanded that he should be confirmed in the possession of his satrapies, and that what was his by gift should be restored to him. At this the bystanders were amazed, and they admired his lofty spirit and confidence. But mean- while many of the Macedonians came running to- gether in their eagerness to see what sort of a man Eumenes was; for no one else had been so much talked about in the army since the death of Craterus. Then Antigonus, afraid that Eumenes might suffer some violence, first loudly forbade the soldiers to ap- proach, and pelted with stones those who were hurry- ing up, but finally threw his arms about Eumenes and, keeping off the throng with his bodyguards, with much ado removed him to a place of safety. XI. After this, Antigonus built a wall round Nora, left troops to guard it, and retired ; Eumenes, however, although closely besieged in a stronghold which had grain, water in abundance, and salt, but no other edible, not even a relish to go with the grain, nevertheless, with what he had, managed to render the life of his associates cheerful, inviting them all by turns to his own table, and seasoning the meal thus shared with conversation which had charm and friendliness. For he had a pleasant face, not like that of a war-worn veteran, but delicate and youthful, and all his body had, as it were, artistic proportions, with limbs of astonishing symmetry ; and

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ow, evTreiy dé ov SEetvos, aimurXos 5é Kal TiOavos,
@S €k TOV eTrLOTON@Y oupBdAXeELY éoTiv.
*"Eret 6é TOUS oUD auT@ ToALopKoUMEVvOUS 7
oTevoxXwpla padvora TAVTOV éBramren, év olKey-
pact pxpois Kal Tom@ dvoiv oradiouy é éXOvTt THY
T€pt wet pov dvacrpepopévous, Tpopny d¢ aryupya-
TOUS bev autos AapBavovras, apyois dé Tots
irmous Tpoogéportas, ov povoy Tov GAUY aUToY
vo TIS anpagias _ MApaLvoueveon amahrhagfat
Bovdopevos, GANG Kal pos puyny, €& TapaTécot
KaLpos, amas yé TOs ho KnpEvots xpnoacOar, 7 Tots
pev avO pwr ols oikop, Os ay PeYLoTOS év TO Yopio,
dexaTecoapwov TX GY To phros, améderke TeplTra-
TOD, Kara put pov emuTetvery THV Kivngw Kevan,
tov & inmmov Exactov puTipar peydrous eis THY
opopiy avadedepevors vrolocas éx Tay mepl Tov
avyéeva pEpav eneTewpute Kat Tapnyetpe bua
TpoxrAtas, @OTE TOS pev omioOiows oKENETLY emt
TAS vhs epeibeaBau, TOUS 6¢ eum poo Giors moow
axpavuxous emupaver. od o avnpTnUEvous
ol immoKopor TAPET TOTES apa Tais Te Kpauyais
Kal Tais pao ruby emnpeO Lov ot Oe Tomar Ad pEvor
Gupod Kal opyns tots pev omicbiots evn AAOVTO

Kat Sverkiptay oKEAEOL, tois Oe pETE@pots édie-
[evo arnpiaacbat Kal KpoToovTes TO edagos
KATETELVOVTO wav TO oo pa Kab mokvy nptecay
iopara Kal oTadaypov, ovTe T pos TaXOS ouTE
Mpos pony yupvatouevor KaKOS. Tas d€ xpiOas
evéBaddov avrois enTig pevas, iva KatepyalwvrTal
Garrov kat wétTTWOL Bédrov.
XII. “Hén S€ Tis modopKias ypovov Nap-

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though he was not a powerful speaker, still he was insinuating and persuasive, as one may gather from his letters.

But most of all detrimental to his forces thus be- sieged was their narrow quarters, since their movements were confined to small houses and a place only two furlongs in circumference, so that neither men nor horses could get exercise before eating or being fed. Therefore, wishing to remove the weakness and languor with which their inactivity afflicted them, and, more than that, to have them somehow or other in training for flight, if opportunity should offer, he assigned the men a house, the largest in the place, ’ fourteen cubits long, as a place to walk, ordering them little by little to increase their pace. And as for the horses, he had them all girt round the neck with great straps fastened to the roof, and raised them partly up into the air by means of pulleys, so that, while with their hind legs they rested firmly upon the ground, they just touched it with the tips of their fore hoofs. Then, while they were thus suspended, the grooms would stand at their sides and stir them up with shouts and strokes of the goad; and the horses, full of rage and fury, would dance and leap about on their hind legs, while with their swinging fore feet they would strike the ground and try to get a footing there, thus exerting their whole bodies and covering themselves with sweat and foam,—no bad exercise either for speed or strength.! Then their barley would be thrown to them boiled, that they might the sooner dispatch and the better digest it.

XII. But presently, as the siege dragged along,

1 This device of Eumenes is described also in Diodorus, xviii, 42, 3 f., and in Nepos, Humenes, v. 4 f.

Bavovons ‘Avtiyovos TeOvnxévat uv Oavopevos
“Avtimat pov év Maxedovia, Kal TeTapax Ga Ta
mpaypara Kacdvépou Kab Tlodvomépyovros dta-
pepopevorv, ovdey ET puKpov ermiton, aXna TH

youn TH dAnv meptBardopevos mryepoviay, éBov-
Aero Tov Evpévn pidov éxew Kal auvepyoy éml
Tas mpafers. 520 mépapas ‘Tepdyupov éaTrévdeTo
TO Evpever, mporeivas 6 Spxop, ov o Evpévns dcop-
Odcas émérpeyrev emexpivar Tois ToALopKovaLy
avTov Maxedoor, TOTEPOS Ein Sixasorepos. "Apti-
yovos pev yap apociwaews Evexev ép apXh TOY
Bactréov émipvnabets Tov owTrov Opxov eis €au-
TOV Bpxeter, Evévns dé mperny bev évéypawpe
Tous GpKows ‘Oduprredda per TOV aorheap,
érevta Gpvvev ouK ‘ApTuyov peovoy evvoncew
oud exelv TOV avTov éx0 pov éFew Kat pirov,
GANA Kal ‘Oruparidy Kal tois Bactrebowy. av
SixacoTépwv pavevtor, ot Maxedoves Tadta opKi-
TAVTES TOV Kuen THY TroMopKiay édvaav, Kal
T™pos TOV _Avtiryovoy améatedov, Straws Kal avros
amroo@ TP Evpéver tov Gpxov.
"Ky tovt@ 6é Kvpevns 6 da0US elev év Nawpots
TOY Kamradoxéy opnpous amedidov, AapBdavev
irmous Kal vrobiyta Kal oKxnvas Tapa Tov
Kopilopeveon, Kal cuviyye TOV OT PAT LOT OY boot
Lac mapevTes amo Tihs puyas | émTNava@vTo Kata
THY X@par, @oTE TEpl avToY barmets OMiy@ TOV
Niriwy atrodéovtas yevéoOar, pel’ wv éEeddoas
‘In 320 B.c. After the death of Perdiccas the supreme regency devolved upon Antipater, and he retired into Mace- donia with the two kings. On his death he left the regency

Antigonus learned that Antipater had died in Mace- donia,! and that matters were in confusion owing to the dissension between Cassander and Polysperchon. He therefore cherished no longer an inferior hope, but embraced the whole empire in his scheme, and desired to have Eumenes as friend and helper in his undertakings. Accordingly, he sent Hieronymus to make a treaty with Eumenes, and proposed an oath for him to take. This oath Eumenes corrected and then submitted it to the Macedonians who were besieging him, requesting them to decide which was the juster form. Antigonus, namely, for form’s sake, had mentioned the kings? at the beginning of the oath, and then had made the rest of it refer to him- self; but Eumenes wrote at.the head of the oath the names of Olympias and the kings,? and proposed to swear fealty, not to Antigonus alone, but also to Olympias and the kings, and to have the same enemies and friends as they. This was thought to be more just, and the Macedonians accordingly administered this oath to Eumenes, raised the siege, and sent to Antigonus, that he too, on his part, might take the oath to Eumenes.

Meanwhile, however, Eumenes gave back all the Cappadocian hostages whom he was holding in Nora,

and received from those who came for them horses, beasts of burden, and tents. He also collected all the soldiers who had become scattered by his flight and were now wandering about the country, so that he had a force of almost a thousand horsemen. With

to Polysperchon, a distinguished officer of Alexander, to the exclusion of his own son Cassander.

2 See the notes on chapter iii. 1 and 7. Olympias was the queen-mother, the widow of Philip, mother of Alexander.

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epuyer, opO ds poBnbels tov 'Avtiyovov. ov yap
povov EK ELVOV éxéheuoe ToNtopKelv avdis TeEptTet-
YigavTas, GAAa Kal Tots Maxedoor TLKPWS aVTE-
ypare deFapévors TOU GpKou TH d10pAwarv.
AITII. Pevyoure dé Edpéver ypappata Kopi-
Cerat twapa trav év Maxedovia THY "Avtiyovou
deSotxoTwv avfnow, "OrvpTiddos ev TapaKa-
ovens édbovra TO "AreFdvépov Tatciovy Tapa-
haBetv Kat Tpepery @S emBoudevopevor, TIoAv-
omépyovtos 6¢ Kat Pirjimrov tod Baciréws
KENEVOVYT OY "AvTuyove Tohepely THs év Kartra-
Soxia Suvapéws dpxovta, Kat Tav év Kovivdoss
Xpnpdireov MEVTAKOTLA [Lev Tahavta AaBewv els
THY TaV Ldiwy émavopAwcty, eis be TOV Tohepov
OTTOG OLS Botrerae xpijoB as. mept O€ ToUTwY Kal
"Avtuyéver Kal Tevtapp TOUS TeV apyvpacmidewy
Hryoupévors eyeypapercav. émet O€ AaPovTes
€xXElVOL TA ypappara TO pev ore prravd pworas
ebéFavro Tov Evpevn, POdvov 8& Kal prdovercias
é aivovto peoTol, Sevrepevery amak.ouvres é exci,
TOV ev pOovov O Kvpévns eGepamreve T@ Ta
NPHMATA pn ha Bei @s ovdey Seopevos, Tals dé
piNoverkiats Kal pirapxiass QUT@Y [LTE ayet-
bat dvvapévwv ponte ErrecOar Bovropévay éerr7ye
bevodarpoviar.
"Edn yap "Ad€Eavdpov avT@ Kata TOUS Dmvous
gavivat, Kat betEat TWA cKNUHY _KaTec kevac pe-
vay Bacitixas kai @povov év avtTh Kel [evov" ela
ELTTELY WS evrabéa ouvedpevovar avrois Kat
Xpnpatifovow avtos Tapéotay Kal cuvedpdrpetar

1 Philip Arrhidaeus (see the note on chapter iii. 1).

these he set out in flight, being rightly in fear of Antigonus. For Antigonus not only ordered his Macedonians to wall him in again and besiege him, but also wrote back bitter reproaches to them for accepting the correction of the oath.

XIII. While Eumenes was in flight, letters were brought to him from those in Macedonia who feared the growing power of Antigonus. Olympias invited him to come and take charge of Alexander's little son and rear him, feeling that plots were laid against his life ; Polysperchon and Philip! the king ordered him, as commander of the forces in Cappadocia, to wage war upon Antigonus, to take five hundred talents of the treasure at Quinda? in reparation of his own losses, and to use as much of it as he wished for the war. They had also written concerning these matters to Antigenes and Teutamus, the commanders of the Silver-shields. These men, on receiving their letters, ostensibly treated Eumenes with friendliness, but were plainly full of envy and contentiousness, dis- daining to be second to him. Eumenes therefore allayed their envy by not taking the money, alleging that he had no need of it; while upon their love of contention and love of command, seeing that they were as unable to lead as they were unwilling to follow, he brought superstition to bear.

He said, namely, that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, had shown him a tent arrayed in royal fashion with a throne standing in it, and had then said that if they held their councils and transacted their business there, he himself would be

2 Or Cyinda, better known as Anazarbus, a stronghold in Cilicia, whither Antigenes and Teutamus had brought the royal treasure from Susa.

Bovrrs TE maons Kat mpafews apxouevors an avrov. TavTa padios érecoe tov "Avtiyévn Kat Tov Tevrapov, ouUTE éxelvav Babifey Bovropévav mpos autor, ore avros akiay él Oupass éTépwv opacan. kal TUOévtes 08TH oKNvnY Baciruxny Kal Opovov "AdeEdvipo Karatredn pec pevov EKEL guveTropevorTo Bovrevopevor Tmepl TeV peyloTov. "Ere 5é Tpoiodaty avTois eis THY avw 'X@pay o Tevxéoras pera TOV GAXNwY CaTpaTaV aTnVYTNAE pidos ay Kal cuvepifarto TAS Suvdpes, mrnder ev OThov Kat Aapmpornte TapacKevijs émrép- pocav TOUS Maxedovas, avtol 5€ dvaywryor Tals efovatars Kat paraxol tais Suairacs ryeyovores

peta THY "ArcEdvdpou tereuTnv, cal ppoynpatra
TUPAVYLKa Kal TeOpappeéva BapBapixais arabvovel-
ass ert TavTo TuvEeveyKaLEvor, ™ pos pev GAANAOUS
Bapeis % oav Kal duvodppocro., tous 8¢ Maxedovas
KohacevovTes eXKEXULEVOS Kal KaTaxopnyourtes
eis Seirva eal Ouaias ddbyou Xpovou TO oTpa-
ToTredov dowtias maynyupifovens KAT Ary Cry LOV
erroinoay Kal Snparyeryoupevov émt aipecet
oT PATHYAY dyAop, BomeEp év Tais Snpwoxpatiats.
aiagOopevos dé o ar mare aAANAOY pev
KaTagpovouvTas, avrov poBoupevous Kat
TAapAapurdTTovTas ign el yévouTo KaLpos,
eoxmppato XPnMaTov detcOar Kal ouvebaveicaro
TadavTa TOA Tapa TOV padiora prcobvTov
avrov, iva kal miotevwot Kal aréyovtat repli
Oo

1 In 317 B.c., against Antigonus, who was in Mesopotamia. He had received the satrapy of Susiana. 2 One of the most distinguished officers of Alexander,

present and would assist them in every plan and enterprise which they undertook in his name. Eumenes easily convinced Antigenes and Teutamus that this was true. They were unwilling to go to him, and he himself thought it undignified to be seen at the doors of others. So they erected a royal tent, and a throne in it which they called the throne of Alexander, and there they met for deliberation on matters of highest importance.

And now, as they advanced into the interior of the country,! Peucestas,? who was a friend of Eumenes, met them with the other satraps, and they joined their forces, so that the number of their men and the splendour of their equipment raised the spirits of the Macedonians. But the leaders themselves had been made unmanageable by their exercise of power, and effeminate by their mode of life, after the death of Alexander, and they brought into collision spirits that were tyrannical and fed on barbaric arrogance, so that they were harsh towards one another and hard to reconcile. Moreover, by flattering the Macedonian soldiery extravagantly and _ lavishing money upon them for banquets and sacrifices, in a short time they made the camp a hostelry of festal prodigality, and the army a mob to be cajoled into the election of its generals, as in a democracy. Fumenes, however, perceiving that, while they despised one another, they feared him and were on the watch for an opportunity to kill him, pretended to be in need of money, and got together many talents by borrowing from those who hated him most, in order that they might put confidence in him and refrain from killing him out of regard for the money

who had been made satrap of Persia during Alexander's lifetime. ;
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Tav Savetwv aryOvE@vTEs" OOTE cuveBy TOV adro-
TpLov TANOUTOV avr@ puraa TOU TOLATOS éxelv,
kal T@v aAXNwV ert cwrTnpia didovtwv, povov éx
Tov ANaBetv etnoacbar THY acpanreav.
XIV. O08 pv adr ot Maxedoves adeias peev
ovans épOeipovro mpos Tovs StdovTas, Kat Tas
éxelvav Jupas eVeparevor, Sopupopoupeveor Kat
OTPATHYLOVTMDV: émel dé "Avtiyovos avtois Tape-
oTpaToT deuce pera TOAMAS Suvdpews Kal Ta
T pay wara povny apevra TOV arnOwvov EKGNEL
OTPATHYOV, ov povov ot oTpaTevopevot t@ Ev-
pevet 7 poaetxoy, ada Kal TOY é€v elonvy ral
TpUpH peyahov éxeivov Exaotos évédmxe Kal
mapeiyev éavTov CLwOTT THY do0cioay pudarrovTa
Tab. wa yap Tot Tept Tov Uaceriypu ToT apov
emixerpnoavTa dtaBaivew Tov 'Avtiyovoy Ot jev
dddor mapapuratrovres ovde Ha 0ov7o, povos 5é
Edpevns vréoTN, Kal cuvarras paxny TOAANOUS
pev katéBare ral vex pav eve noe TO pei@pov,
éhaBe 6é [TETPAKLTXUALOUS | aX WAdwTous. pa-
Mota 5é ot Maxedoves rept THY cup Bacay ap-
pooriay auT@ Katadavers éryévovTo TOUS pev
dddous éoTiav NapTpe@s Kat mavnyupicery, ape
bé Kal qoNeuety Ouvarov TYyOUpEVOL povov éxéivov.
O bev yap Tleveéoras év TH Tlepoids Aapmpas
avrous éotidoas Kal Kar dvSpa dtadovs Lepetov
els Puc iav amber elvat péyLaros: OArtyats dé
bo Tepov HMEpaLS TOV oTpATLOTODY ért TOUS TONE-
pious Badilovreap, eTUyxavev o Evpévns é« vooov
TLVOS emia parovs ev popeie Kopslopevos é&w Tob
otTpatevpatos év naovyia Sia Tas aypuTVias.
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they had lent him. The consequence was that the
wealth of others was his body-guard, and that, whereas
men generally preserve their lives by giving, he alone
won safety by receiving.

XIV. The Macedonians, however, while there was no danger, continued to take gifts from their corrupters, and hung about the doors of these men, who now had body-guards and wanted to be generals. But when Antigonus encamped near them with a large force and the situation called aloud for a real general, not only did the common soldiers attach themselves to Eumenes, but also those who were great only when peace and luxury prevailed, every man of them, gave in to him and consented without a murmur to hold the post which he gave them. And, indeed, when Antigonus tried to cross the river Pasitigris, none of the other commanders who were watching his movements was even aware of it, but Eumenes, and he alone, withstood him, joined battle with him, slew many of his men and filled the stream with dead bodies, and took four thousand prisoners. But most of all in connection with the sickness that befell him did the Macedonians make it clear that they considered the others able to feast them splendidly and hold high festival, but him alone capable of wielding command and waging war. For Peucestas, having feasted them splendidly in Persis, and having given every man a victim for sacrifice, was expecting to be chief in command; and a few days afterwards, as the soldiers were marching against the enemy, it chanced that Eumenes, in consequence of a dangerous illness, was being carried along in a litter outside the ranks, where it was quiet and his sleep would not be broken. But after they had

puxpov dé mpoeAOovoy avrtois aveo ogous tiwas 592
vrepBaddovtes éfebarnoay ob TORE LOL, KaTa-
Baivovtes eis To Trediov. ws ody ai TE TOY XpU-
cay StAwWY avyal pos TOV HALov éFéNau Way aro
TOV axpov Tob ay patos éy taker Topevopevary,
Kal TOV Onpiov TOUS. mUpyous dives Kal Tas TOp-
gupas elbov, domep tv adtois Kdapos eis paxny
ayopevots, ETL THO AVTES ob mpwrot Thy qTopetav
éBowyv Evpévn xareiv avtots, ov yap av mpoenOetv
éxelvou pn orparayouvTos, Kal Ta OTA TWPOS THY
yn épeioayres GdAgrots peévety SuexehevovTo, Kat
Tots nryewoo ty nouxiay exer, eat apis Eupévous
[T) payer Oar pnoe KuvOuvevely 1 POs TOUS Tone t-
ous. akovoas 5é 0 Edpévns Hike pos avTous
Spop TOUS xopivovras émiTaxuvas, Kat Tov
popetou Tas éxatépwOev avraias avaKarn as
mpouretve THY SeEvav yeynOas. of 8 as el ov,
evOus donacduevor MaxeSouorl Th povn tds TE
aomidas aveidovTo Kal tais capicats émBourr7-
TaVTES nrdvatap, Tpokadovpevor TOUS TroNEpLous
@S TOU Tyewovos avrois TApovTos.
XV. "AvTiryovos dé Tape TOV adic Komeveay
GKOvU@Y TOV Evpévy vooetv Kab Kopiler Oat KAKOS
Staxeievov, ov péeya Epyov nyetto ouytpinrar
TOUS addous éxetvou vooouvTos. 646 Kal omev-

Sav € emt THY waxy T poo fyyev. @s 6€ TOY Trode-
puleov els Tabu Kabla Tapevov Tapedacas Kateide
TO OKT pA kal THY Staxoounow, éxtraryels emeaTn
TrELW /Xpovov- elra whOn 76 hopetov amo Oarté-
pou KEpwS emi Oarepov diapepopevov. yerdoas
ody o ‘Avtiyovos, doTep cide, péeya, Kal pds
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advanced a little way, suddenly the enemy were seen passing over some hills and descending into the plain. The gleams of their golden armour in the sun flashed down from the heights as they marched along in close formation, and on the backs of the elephants the towers and purple trappings were seen, which was their array when going into battle. Accordingly, the foremost Macedonians halted in their march and called with loud cries for Eumenes, declaring that they would not go forward unless he was in command of them ; and grounding their arms they passed word to one another to wait, and to their leaders to keep still, and without Eumenes not to give battle or run any hazard even with the enemy. When Eumenes heard of this, he quickened the pace of his bearers toa runand came to them, and lifting up the curtains of his litter on either side, stretched forth his hand in delight. And when the soldiers saw him, they hailed him at once in their Macedonian speech, caught up their shields, beat upon them with their spears, and raised their battle-cry, challenging the enemy to fight in the assurance that their leader was at hand.

XV. Now Antigonus, hearing from his prisoners that Eumenes was sick and in such wretched plight as to be borne along in a litter, thought it no great task to crush the other commanders if Eumenes was sick. He therefore hastened to lead his army to battle. But when, as the enemy were forming in battle order, he had ridden past their lines and observed their shape and disposition, he was amazed, and paused for some time; then the litter was seen as it was carried from one wing to the other. At this, Antigonus gave a loud laugh, as was his wont,

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Tous girous ettrav, ‘‘Todro hv To opeiov, as
EouKe, TO dvrTeTapaTarTopevov npiv, evOvs amrnye
Thy Suva 6 orto Kat KATE TpATOTEdEVCED.
Oi bé pexpov dvamveva avres avOis édnuayo-
yoorTo, Kal TOLS Hrye“oo ey evtpupavres oyedov
oAnv eis Ta Nerpdora Karrevel wavTo THY PaBnvev,
dare TOUS eoxarous TOV T POTOY arroc xnvoby
O“ov TL L Xedious oTabious. Tatra yvous o ’Apvri-
ryovos Opunaev eEaipvns err’ avrous vmootpéyas
varenny odov Kal dvu8pov, TUYTOMOY dé Kat
Bpaxeiav, Exmrifwv, € Stea rappEevors emeTre gor
Tepl Ta Netmaoua, pnd dv cuvedOeiv ért T6 TAI-

Gos padias els TO avo Tots oTparnyois. éuBa-
NovTL 6 els yhv doixnroy avT@ Tvedpara TE
dewa Kal pun peydra SeAupaivero TH TopeLay
évoxroupévov Tov _OTPATEVLATOS. qv ovv avay-
Kata BonBeva Tupa TOAAG Kale: bev ovK érade
TOUS Toneptous, adda TOV BapBdpwv ou Ta
Brétrovta mpos THY aoiKntov 6pn vewopevot
Savpacartes TO TOV Tmupav TrIHOOS érreprnpav
immaarpiacs Kapnrols aryyéXOUS T pos Ileuxéorav.
6 8e OS Hxovcey, auros Te TAVTATAC LY Exppov
bao déous syevopevos Kal TOUS dddous opav Opotws
éexovras pyro pevyery, avaornaas Tovs Kal'
odov évTas avrois padiora TOV oTpAT LOT OY"
Edpevns be THY Tapaxny aby pet Kat TOV poBov,
UTLaxvoupevos em La T HO EW TOV TONE MLOY TO
TAXOS, @oTe Tpioly boTepov Tpépaes y) ™poado-
KovTa. Trapayevéo Gar. meta Gevrov é avrov
apa pwev ayyérXous treptémepme Tas Suvapers &x
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and after saying to his friends, " This litter, it would seem, is what is arrayed against us,' immediately retired with his forces and pitched his camp.! But the Macedonians opposed to him, after getting . a little respite, once more acted liked a capricious mob, and, mocking at their leaders, distributed them- selves in winter quarters over almost the whole of Gabene, so that the rear was separated from the van by almost a thousand furlongs. When Antigonus became aware of this, he set out suddenly against them, taking this time a road that was difficult and without water, but direct and short, hoping that, in case he fell upon them when they were scattered about in their winter quarters, it would no longer be easy for the mass of them to join their generals. But after he had entered an uninhabited country, dire winds and severe frosts gave trouble to his army and impeded their march. The only help, therefore, was to burn many fires, and this was what revealed his presence to the enemy. For the Barbarians living on the mountains which overlooked the uninhabited tract, amazed at the number of fires, sent messengers on dromedaries to Peucestas. And he, when he heard the news, being himself quite out of his mind with fear and seeing that the other officers were in a like state, set out to fly, after rousing up those of their soldiers especially who were quartered along the route. But Eumenes tried to put a stop to their confusion and panic fear, by promising so to check the speed of the enemy that they would come up three days later than they were expected. And when his hearers were persuaded, he sent round 1 These events are more fully and very differently described by Diodorus (xix, 24-32). 125

2

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TOY Xerpadion Ka TOUS dddous abpoivecOar Kata

TAXOS xehevor, dpa dé auras efum mac auevos
META TOV GAAWD HrYELOVOY, Kat TOTOv é& amomrou
KaTadavi Tots odevovct THY Epnuov meptBano-
HEVOS Kal Stapetpycas, éxéXeve Tupa Toda
Kalew ép Lac Tipac Ly, @omep ot _otparorredev-
ovTes. yevopevou dé TOUTOU kal Tov TUp@DV Tots
qept Avtiryovov éx THS opewviis catadavertov,
axOos é éoxe Kal Sua Oupia TOV ’Avtiryovov, olopevov
no Onpévous exTranau TOUS Toheptous aTravr ay.
iy ovv mn KaTaKoTros Kal TeT UMEVvOS éK Tropeias
dvarynatntar paxecbat 7 pos avOparous éToLpuous
Kal KaX@S KEXELMAKOTAS, TT Poe HEVOS THY o UY TOMOV
Arye Sia KO LOY Kal mwokewv, Kal’ novyiay ava-
AapBdvev TO oTpateupa. pndevos Se éumroowy
évTOS, Oomrep et@Oev avrixab never TONEMLWY,
tov é TEpLX@pov AeyovTe@v oTpaTevpa pndev
Opa, rrupov dé KeKaupeveoy pearov elvat Tov
rotrov, naGero KATETT PATNYNMEVOS v0 Evpevous,
Kal Baptas gépwov mpoonyey ws dhavepa paxyn
xpiOnoopevos.
XVI. "Ep TouTm oe THs Suvapews rept TO
Evpevn TO eto Tov nO pote peévov eGavpate THY
ouvert avTov, Kal povov éxédXevev dpxetv" ep
© AvTovpevor Kab pOovoivres ol TOV apyupacmi-
wy Hyyepoves, “Avreyerns Kat Tevtapos, émreBov-
Aevov auT®, Kat TOUS THELT TOUS TOV TE TAT PAT AY
Kal TOV oT parnyav cuvaryaryovTes: éBovXevovto
mote pn xal mas tov Kupévn SrapGeipar.
cvvdobay dé maou arroxpyaacbat Tpos THV
paxyny are, peta S5é thv paxnv evOds avereiv
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messengers with orders that the forces in winter quarters and elsewhere should assemble with all speed ; at the same time, too, he himself rode forth with the other commanders, took possession of a place which could be seen at a distance by such as traversed the desert, measured it off, and ordered many fires to be made at intervals, as in an encamp- ment. This was done, and when Antigonus saw these fires on the mountains, he was distressed and dis- heartened, supposing that his enemies had long been aware of his approach and were coming to meet him. In order, therefore, that he might not be forced to fight, when his men were worn and weary from their march, against those who had spent a comfortable winter and were ready for the conflict, he forsook the direct road and led his army through villages and cities, taking time to refresh it. But when no one tried to obstruct his progress, the thing which usually happens when

enemies are facing one another, and when the people round about said they had seen no army, but that the place was full of lighted fires, Antigonus perceived that he had been outgeneraled by Eumenes, and in deep resentment led his forces forward to try the issue in open battle.

XVI. But meanwhile most of the forces with Eumenes had assembled, and, admiring his sagacity, demanded that he should be sole commander. At this, Antigenes and Teutamus, the leaders of the Silver-shields, were filled with vexation and jealousy, so that they plotted against the life of Eumenes, and, assembling most of the satrapsand generals, deliberated when and how they might put him out of the way. They were unanimous in the decision to make every use of him in the ensuing battle, and after the battle

Eiédapos 0 Tav edepavrov NYE LOY Kal Paidipos
eFayyédAover Kpupa TO Evpever Ta Sedoypeva,
bc eUvo.ay uev oddepiav % yapwy, evra Bovpevor
dé un Tov XPnwar ov, a beSaveixeray auT@,
orepnacu. Evpevns dé TOUTOUS bev em nvEerer,
els be THY ony amehOav Kat mpos TOUS pirous
elTr@y @s év mavnyupet Onpiwv dvactpéporto,
SiabyKcas éyparpe kat Ta ypappareta KATETX LTE
Kat drépOerper, ov Bovdopevos adtob TENEUT HO AV-
TOS €K TOV aTroppyT@v aitias Kal cvxodaytTnuata
Tots yparpace yevéoOar. tadTa Sdtorxnodpevos
€Bovreveto THY viknv Trapeivat Tots évavTiots, f
guyov dua Mydias Kat "Appevias éuBareiv els
Kanmadoxiav. ovder dé Kupdoas TOV pirwy
TapovTwr, GD émt TONE TH yvopn mroduTpoTrp
mapa Tas TUXAS ovon unjoas aurov, eferarre
Thy Svvamy, TOUS pep "EXdAnvas Kal Tous Bap-
Bdpous Tapoppav, vo O€ Tis parayyos Kal tev
apyupacrrisey AUTOS Tapakaovpevos Gappeiv,
@s ov deFopévwv Tov TONE LIDDY. Kal yap joav
ot m peo BuTarou TOY Tepl Didurrov Kal "AXE
EavSpov, o domep aOdyTai TOhEWOV dij TNTOL Kal
amr eres eis exewvo xpovov, Tov\Aol pev éEBdoun-
KovTa én yeryOVvOTEs, VEDTEPOS bé ovoeis éEn-
KovTaeTous. 610 Kal Tots Tept TOV Avtiyovov
em LovTes €Bowy: "Eni TOUS TaTépas dpaptavere,
@ Karat Keparai" Kal per' opyns éurecovtes
ohny ond THY parayya cuverpipar, ovdevos
UTooTavTOS avToUs, TOY Sé€ TAELoTWY ev YeEpot
diapOapévrwr.

to kill him at once. But Kudamus, the master of the elephants, and Phaedimus, secretly brought word to Eumenes of this decision ; not that they were moved by any goodwill or kindness, but because they were anxious not to lose the money they had lent him.} These men Kumenes commended, and then went off to his tent, where he said to his friends that he was living in a great herd of wild beasts. Then he made his will, and tore up and destroyed his papers ; he did not wish that after his death, in consequence ot the secrets contained in these documents, accusations and calumnies should be brought against his correspondents. After this business had been finished, he deliberated whether to give over the victory to the enemy, or to take flight through Media and Armenia and invade Cappadocia. He came to no decision while his friends were with him, but after considering many expedients with a mind which was as versatile as his fortunes were changeable, he proceeded to draw up his forces, urging on the Greeks and the Barbarians, and himself exhorted by the phalanx and the Silver-shields to be of good courage, since, as they felt sure, the enemy would not withstand their attack. And indeed they were the oldest soldiers of Philip and Alexander, war's athletes as it were, without a defeat or a fall up to that time, many of them now seventy years old, and not a man younger than sixty. And so, when they charged upon the forces of Antigonus, they shouted: “ It is against your _ fathers that ye sin, ye miscreants ;” and falling upon them in a rage they crushed their whole phalanx at once, not a man withstanding them, and most of their opponents being cut to pieces at close quarters.

1 Cf. chapter xiii. 6.

Tavry pev obv O "AvTiryovos TT GTO KATA
Kparos, Trois é immevat emex paren: TO0 b¢ Ilev-
KéoTOU Tavrdmacty EKNEAUHEVOS kal aryevves
arywvitapevov Kal THY amooKeuny éraBe wacar,
avT@ Te ynpovTt XpNg dwevos Tapa Ta deuva Kat
Tov Torov auvepyoivtos. axaves yap hv TO
mediov, ote Babutepov obre aTrOK por ov rab
OTEPEOY, adnra Ouvardes Kal | beoTov ahpu pisos
avyyunpas, i) TocOUT@Y peV lrmey TOCOUTwY dé
avOparray Eatvopuévn Spopous t vo TOV THIS paxns
Katpov eEnvOer Kovey @omep aoBeortov, atroNev-
Kaivovoay TOV dépa Kal Tas dypels d:abonoicay.
4 Kal pedtov AaBorv o ’Avtiyovos Tis atrooKeuns
TOV TONEMiCn éxpatnae.
XVII. Ilavoapévns Sé tis pays evus ol
mept TOV Tevtapov émpea Bevovro TWepl THS atro-
oKEUTS. "Avtuyovou 6 Kal Taurny dmodwoew
UmirXvoupevou Tous apyupaotiat Kal TaN
xpncerOar giravOperws, €& maparaBoe Tov
Kvpévn, Bovrevpa Secvov ot dpyupaa Toes éBov-
NevoaVTO, eyxetpioar cavra Tois Trohepioes Tov
avdpa. Kat Tp@Tov peev dvuTrom Tas poo emTéAa-
Cov avrg Kal TapepUAaTTor, Ol ev atroSupopevot
TEpt Tis aTroo Kevys, ot oé Jappetv WS VEVEKNKOTA
KehevovTEs, ot dé TaY addov HYELOVOV Karn-
ryopourTes. émevta, T POT TETOVTES éiptacay TO
éryxerptovov avTOU Kal TH Sovn Tas Melpas amo-
or peavres eSnoav. érel S& vd “Avtuyovou
Nixdvep éréupOn mapadnrouevos aurov, edeiTo
oryou Tuyely aryopevos dia TOV Maxedovwr, OvUK
els d€now q TApatTnaLy, arn aos Trept TOV EKELVOLS
aupdepovrayv dSiareFopmevos.
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At this point, then, Antigonus was defeated over- whelmingly, but with his cavalry he got the upper hand; for Peucestas fought in a way that was al- together lax and ignoble, and Antigonus captured all the baggage. He was a man who kept cool in the presence of danger, and he was aided by the ground. For the plain were they fought was vast, and its soil was neither deep nor trodden hard, but sandy and full of a dry and saline substance, which, loosened up by the trampling of so many horses and. men during the battle, issued forth in a dust like lime, and this made the air all white and obscured the vision. Therefore it was easy for Antigonus to capture the enemy’s baggage unobserved.

XVII. After the battle was over, Teutamus at once sent an embassy to treat for the baggage. And when Antigonus promised not only to give this back to the Silver-shields but also to treat them kindly in other ways, provided they would deliver up Eumenes to him, the Silver-shields formed a dire design to put the man alive into the hands of his enemies. So, to begin with, they drew near him, without awakening his suspicions, and kept him in ward, some making complaints about their baggage, others bidding him to be of good courage, since he was victorious, and others still denouncing the other commanders. Then they fell upon him, snatched his sword away from him, and tied his hands fast with his girdle. And when Nicanor had been sent by Antigonus to receive him and he was being led along through the Macedonians, he begged for leave to speak to them, not with a view to supplication or entreaty, but in order to set forth what was for their advantage.

Tevopuévns 8€ ciwmijs év tnara@ tut Kataoctas
a A ’
kal tas yelpas Sedeuévas mpoteivas, ‘“ Iotov,
i cc 2 4 6 / 4 >
eltrev, ““@ Kaxtoto. Maxedovwy, tpoTatov ‘Avtt-
b] 4 A y > e¢ A ¢e A
yovos €ernaas av éotnce Kal” vp, oloy vues
Kad avT@v aviotate TOV OTpAaTHYOV aiypdrwTov
éxdsdovtes; ovx apa Sewov hv xpatodvras buds
e 3 A \ \ ? U e >
nttav é€oporoyercOasr Sia Tas AtTroaKEUS, WS eV
ToiS XpHnpacw, ovK év Tois OTAOLS TOU KpaTetY
OVTOS, GAAG Kab TOY HYyE“ova TéuTrETE AVTPOV THS
ATOCKEUHS. €yYW Lev OVY ANTTNTOS AyOmal, VLKO@V
TOUS TTOAEMLOUS, UTO TOV TULULAYwV ATOANUMEVOS”
vpeis dé, mpos Atos otpatiov kal Dewy opxior,
évrav0da pe Se avtav xteivate. mdavtTas KaKel
4
KTEWOomevos UméTEepov Epyov eiul. péurerar 5é
9 A a

ovdev Avtiryovos: vexpod yap Eipévous Seitas nai
bf io > \ 4 A a 9 /
ov Cavros. eb b€ heidecbe THY YeL_paV, apKéceEt
A > A ee f/f a “A \ 9 \
Tov éuav n ETEpa AVOEioa TpaEaL TO Epryov. eb OE
bd , 4 , ¢e / a ,
ov mateveTe poe Eidos, UTroppivate tots Onpioss
dedepévov. Kali tadta mpdkavtas byas adinut THs
én’ éuol Sixns ws avdpas oowwtatovs Kal Sixaco-
TATOUS TEPL TOY AUT@Y OTPaTNYOV yevopévous.”
XVIII. Tatra tod Evpévous Néyovtos To pev
A A
Gro WAHGos ayGer KaTeiyeTo Kal KrNaVOMOS Hy,
e \ ? 4 ” > 4 \ A
ot 5€ apyupaomtides ayev éBowy Kat pn pdva-
poovtt mpocéyew* ov yap elvat Sevov et Xeppo-
/ 4
yvncitns OdreOpos otpwkerar pvpiows yupvacas
qonrénois Maxedovas, avr ef tav ’AdeEavdpou
kat Pirimrmov otpatiwtav oi KpatiaTot ToTaiTa
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EUMENES

Silence was made, and standing on an eminence he stretched forth his hands, bound as they were, and said: “ What trophy, O ye basest of Macedonians, could Antigonus have so much desired to set up over your defeat, as this which ye yourselves are now erecting by delivering up your general as a prisoner? It is not a dreadful thing, then, that in the hour of your victory ye should acknowledge yourselves defeated for the sake of your baggage, implying that victory lies in your possessions and not in your arms, but ye must also send your leader as a ransom for that baggage. As for me, then, ye lead me away undefeated, a victor over my enemies, a victim of my fellow-soldiers; but as for you, by Zeus the god of armies and by the gods who hallow oaths, I bid you slay me here with your own hands. Even should I be slain yonder, it will be wholly your work. Nor will Antigonus find any fault; for he wants a dead and not a living Eumenes. And if ye would spare your own hands, one of mine, if released, will suffice to do the business. And if ‘ ye cannot trust me with a sword, cast me to the wild beasts, all bound as Iam. If ye do this, I will absolve you from your guilt towards me, holding that ye have shown yourselves most just and righteous in your dealings with your own general.”

XVIII. As Eumenes said this, the rest of the throng was overwhelmed with sorrow, and some _ wept, but the Silver-shields shouted to lead him along and pay no attention to his babbling; for it was not so dreadful a thing, they said, that a pest from the Chersonesus should come to grief for having harassed Macedonians with infinite wars, as that the best of the soldiers of Philip and Alexander,

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KajLovTes ev ype oTEpovTat TOV emdOhov Kal
Tpopny Tap ere pov Lap Bavovowy, at 5é yuvaiKes
avuTav on TpiTny vuKTA Tots Tohepioes ouyKa-
Gevdovo.v. dpa dé > iyo auTov émiTaXvvovTES.
“Avtiryovos 5é deiaas Tov byAov (arredeipOn yap
ovdels év T@ aTpatorTedy) déxa TOUS KpaTLaTEv-
ovTas _edepavtas eerreprpe Kal Noyxopopous
suxXvous Mydous Kal _Tlap@vatous 61axpovao-
HEvOUS TO TAHOOs. eit’ auTos pep Seip OuX UTeé-
pewve Tov Evpévn dia tHv 7 poryeryev nwevny prdiav
Kat curndecay, muvOavopevov 5é Tov Tmaperrngo-
TOY TO CHUA TAS huAd~ovoL, “OdTws,” etzer,
“@s éXéhavta 7 ws A€ovtTa.” peta puxpov Oé
cvpTradns ryevOMEVOS TOV te deap“av TOUS Bapeis
éxéNevoev aheneiv kal maida mapadeacbar TOV
cuvnbwr, 6 Sirws adeiypatto, ral TOV pidov eprne
T@ Bovrdopév@ ouvdunpepever Kal cowiterv Ta
emer pdeca. Bovrevopevos dé mrept avrob Trelovas
nuepas ™ po eto Kal oyous Kal UmoaxErets,
Nedpyouv te Tod Kpnros Kat Anuntpiou Tow viov
prdoripoupeveoy TOV Evpevn caoaL, Tov O€ adddov
O“ov TL TaVTwY évoTapévary Kal KeXEVOVTWY aVv-
arpety.
Aeyerat dé tov Evpévy Tob puddacovtos av-
TOV ‘Ovopdpxou Tub écOar ti dnote AVTiyOvOS
é Opov av6pa Kal TONE LLOV AaBov broxelptov
OUTE aATOKTLYYVOL TAXEDS OuUTE EVYEVOS adinge:
tou 6¢€ ‘Ovoudpxou mpos UBpw ELTTOVTOS as ov
vov, AX él Tis paxns éder ‘Tpos Gavatov é eyeuv
evPapaas, ne Nat pa tov Aia,” pavar tov Evyevn,
‘Kat TOTE elyov epod dé TOUS Els Xetpas édGov-
Tas GAN ovdevl KpeitTove Tpoatuyav olba. Kal
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after all their toils, should in their old age be robbed of their rewards and get their support from others, and that their wives should be spending the third night now in the arms of their enemies. At the same time they led him along at a quickened pace.

But Antigonus, fearing their multitude (since no one had been left behind in the camp), sent out ten of his strongest elephants and a great number of Median and Parthian spearmen to drive away the

throng. He himself could not endure to see Eumenes, by reason of their former intimate friendship, and when those who had received him asked how they should guard his person, he said: “ Just as ye would an elephant or a lion.’’ But after a little while he became compassionate and ordered the keepers to remove the prisoner's heavy fetters and admit one of his personal servants to anoint him, and permitted any one of his friends who wished to spend the day with him and bring him what he needed. Then he deliberated many days what to do with him, and considered various arguments and suggestions, Demetrius his son and Nearchus the Cretan being eager to save the life of Eumenes, while the rest, almost all of them, were insistent in urging that he be put to death.

We are told, also, that Eumenes asked his keeper, Onomarchus, why in the world Antigonus, now that he had got a hated enemy in his hands, neither killed him speedily nor generously set him free; and when Onomarchus insolently told him it was not now, but on the field of battle, that he should have faced death boldly, “ Yea, by Zeus,’ said Eumenes, “then, too, I did so; ask the men who fought with me; I know that none I met was a

Tov ‘Ovouapxor, “ Ovxodv én érrel vov, pdvat, ss TOV KpeiTTova eUpnKas, TL OvK avapevets TOV éKeivou Katpov;”

XIX. Os 5 owv eboke TP ’Avtuyov tov Evbev?) KTeLvELY, éxéhevo ev avTov THY Tpodny aperely. Kal dvo pev neépas q Tpels aoLtTos oUT@ T poonyeTo Tpos THY TENCUTID. aipvidsov 8é avacuyiis ryevoxevns elo TEU AVTES av0 pwtrov aTroapatrovaw autov. To S€ copa ois pirors mapadous 7) AvTiryovos emeT pewre Kavoat Kal Ta Neirava auvdevras els dpryupav vépiav Kop Cer’, amoboOnaopeva TH yuvaiki Kal Tots TALoLD. Obre dé amoBavovros Evpevous OUK éT arp Tul THY Ti@piay émolnoTato TOV TpooovT@y avTOV aryewover Kal OTPATLWTH@V TO Satpoviov, are AUTOS "Avtiyovos mpoBarNropuevos ws aceBels rai

Onpradders TOUS dpyupdomdas TrapéeowKe LBupriy
T@ S:otxobyte THY "Apaxwotar, mavra, T poTrov
ext pinpat Kal katapGeipas KEAEVTAS, OTWS padeis
avtay eis Maxedoviav ameiot pydé oweras TH
“EAAnviKny OdraTTaV.
SEPTOPIOY KAI EYMENOYS SYTKPISIS

I. Tadra éotw & mepl Kupévous Kal Septwpiou
ponens afta Taperhn paper. év O€ Th cuyKpices
KOLWOV Lev duo épors Umdpxet To Eévous Kal
aAdobatovs xai puydéas évtas €Ovav te TavTo-
1 According to Nepos (Eumenes, xii. 4), Eumenes was

better man.” ‘ Well, then,” said Onomarchus,
‘*since now thou hast found thy better, why canst
thou not bide his time?”
XIX. When, then, Antigonus had decided to kill
Eumenes, he gave orders to deprive him of food.
And so, after two or three days of fasting, the
prisoner began to draw nigh his end. But camp
was suddenly broken and a man was sent to dis-
patch him.! His body, however, was delivered to his
friends by Antigonus, who permitted them to burn
it and collect the ashes and place them in a silver
urn, that they might be returned to his wife and
children.
Eumenes thus slain, on no other man than Anti-
gonus did Heaven devolve the punishment of the
soldiers and commanders who betrayed him, but he
himself, regarding the Silver-shields as impious and
bestial men, put them into the service of Sibyrtius
the governor of Arachosia, ordering him to wear
them out and destroy them in every possible way,
that not a man of them might ever return to Mace-
donia or behold the Grecian sea.
COMPARISON OF SERTORIUS AND
EUMENES
I. Sucn are the memorable things in the careers
of Eumenes and Sertorius which have come down
to us. And now, as we compare the men, we find
this common to both, that although they were

strangers, aliens, and exiles, they were continually strangled by his keepers, without the knowledge of Antigonus.

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Satay Kai oTpatevpdtwv payipwv Te Kal peyauNwv! Hyoupevous Statereiv, idcov dé Yeptwpio pev TO Tapa TavTMY TOV cuupayorv Sedouévny exe
\ \N 3 ge \ > , > + \ \ a
51a TO akiwpa Thy apynv, Evpéver 5é TO ToNdN@Y
fe) 4
Siadepopévwv epi THs NyEu"ovias Wpos avToOP Ex
A \ a A \
Tov Tpakewy AapRavey TO Tpwreiov' Kai TO pev
y , , or nA §\
dpyec0at Bovropuevor Sixaiws eitrovto, T@ 5é ap-
. \
yew pn Suvapevor mpos TO oupdépov UmNKOVOY.
\ \ e \ >] 4 \ A ¢€ a
Kat yap o pev "[Bynpwv cat Avottavav Powpaios,
€ \ / / a ? e \
o 6¢ Xeppovnoitns Maxedovor ipyev, @v ov per
4 ¢e / b 4 e \ , ,
éxtranar Pwpatous édovrevov, of dé TOTE TaVTAasS
b] 4 b] A \ , \ > \
avOpwrovs édovrodvTo. Kal Septwpios pev ato
'BovrAns nal otpatnyias Oavpafopevos, Evpévns
9
Sé dua THVY ypaypateiav Katadppovovpmevos &p
A ,
Hyepoviay mpondOev. ov povoy Toivuy érdTTOGL
\ \ b) \ b] a ? \ \ , \
Mpos THY apyny adoppais, adrAa Kal pelCocet pos
THv av&now éxpnoato Kwrvpaow Evpevns. Kat
\ v
yap avTixpus Tovs évicTapévous Kal Kpuda TOUS
> / 9% 4 b] a "
emeBouXNevovtTas elye ToAXOUS, OVX WaTED TH
e / "A \ > / , \ o \
eTéepw havepas péev ovdeis, AXaMpa Oé HaTeEpov Kal
la la A
ON yoL TOY oUpLpayYwy érravéotncav. 610 TO pmev
, "a n /

HY TWEPAS TOD KLVOUVEVELY TO VLKAY TOUS TrOAELLOUS,
T@ O€ €x TOD WiKav Oo KivduVvos UT TOY POovovYTAD.
IT. Ta peév ody xata thv otpatnyiay épapirra
Kat TApaAANAa® TW 5€ GAAW THOT PiAoTFOAELOS
pev o Kvpeévns cai gidovetxos, yovyias b€ Kal
‘ > al e 4 e \ 4 ?
TPAOTHTUS oLKELOS O LEpTwpLOS. Oo peV yap, dopa-
1 neyadwy with Bekker : peydAwy duvapewy.

in command of all sorts of peoples and of armies that were large and warlike; but it was peculiar to Sertorius that he held a command which was given him by all his confederates because of his reputation, and to Eumenes that many contended with him for the leadership, and yet he took the highest place in consequence of his achievements. [urthermore, the one was followed by those who wished to be under a just command ; while the other was obeyed by those who were incapable of command and sought their own advantage. For the one, a Roman, com- manded Iberians and Lusitanians, who had long been in subjection to Rome; the other, a Chersonesian, commanded Macedonians, who at that time were holding the whole world in subjection. Besides, Sertorius rose to leadership when a career in senate and field had brought him admiration ; but Eumenes when his post as secretary had brought him con- tempt. Eumenes, therefore, not only had fewer advantages at the outset, but also greater hindrances as he advanced in his career. For there were many who directly opposed him and secretly plotted against him ; whereas Sertorius was openly opposed by no one, and secretly only in the latter part of his career, when a few of his confederates rose up against him. For this reason Sertorius could put an end to his peril by a victory over his enemies: while Eumenes, in consequence of his victories, was in peril at the hands of those who envied him.

II. In their capacities as commanders, then, they were very much alike; but in their general dis- positions Eumenes was fond of war and fond of strife, while Sertorius was a lover of peace and tran- quillity. For the one, though it was in his power to

ia \ \ fe) “A 3G 3 \ /
AOS Kal weTAa Tihs Brody éEov extrod@v yevopeva
a ,
TOS MpwTOLS, paYXowevos Kal Kivduvetwv SieTE-
Nece, TO O€ OvOeYV Seopévw Tpayudtov bTrép aALTHS
nw fel / \ a
THS TOD cw@puaTos dodadeias Tpos OUK EeoVTAS
> 4 ” La € / > 4 \ \
eipnvnv dye Hv 0 TroAeuos. Etpéver pev yap

"Avtiyovos éxotavt, TOV UTép TOU mpwrevey
ayovev ndéws av eyphto Thy pet aUTOV aya-
a 4 > , de e \ II fu Oe
TovtTe tTakiv, Veptwpio dé ot wept Ulopumrniov ovde
Chv ampayyoves émétpetrov. 610 TO peév ExovTi
cuvéBatve trodeyely er' apxh, TO 5é axovoiws
a /
dpxew Sia To TorepeicOat. gedoTrorEepos pev
nw \ / A
owv 0 THS aodadrcias THY TrEOveFLaY TpoTiMaV,
Q \ e a / , \ b /
TOAELLKOS OE O TO TOAEUM KTWpEVOS THY acda-
NElav.
\ \ a : , la! \ 9
Kail pny Oaveiv ye cuveBn TO pev ov mpoataBo-
/ a \ \ / \
pévm, TH Se Kal mpoadexopév@m THY TEAEUTHY, OV
/
TO pev emvetKeias, hirous yap edoKEL Tea TEVELY, TO
/ a
5é aaOeveias, Bovdopevos yap huyeiy cuvernpOn.
Kal TOU pév ov KaTHaoxXuVve TOV Biov o OdvaTos,
TATXOVTOS VITO TOV cULpaYoV & TOV TOM pPLOY
Pp] N bd N P] / ¢€ \ UA \ N
avtov ovdels émoincev: o 5é hevyety pev mpd
atyparwaias pn Suvnbets, Cav S€ pet alyparo-
" \
ciav BovrAnOeis, ote épurdEato nadws THY TE-
\ a
NeuTnv OVO' irrépervev, GANA TpocdLTAapaY Kal
/ A A A
Seduevos TOU T@pmaTOS poVvoU KpaTtety SoxodYTA TOV
TONEMLOY Kal THS Wruy7ys avTod KvpLov érroingen.
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live in safety and with honour if he kept out of the way of the leading Macedonians, was continually fighting them at the risk of his life; whereas the other, though he craved no participation in affairs, had to wage war for his very life against those who would not suffer him to be at peace. For if Eumenes had stood aside from the struggles for the primacy and been satisfied with the second place, Antigonus would gladly have given him that; whereas Ser- torius could not get permission from Pompey to live, even though in retirement. Therefore the one was ever waging war of his own accord for the sake of power;

while the other held power against his wishes because war was waged upon him. Now, that man is fond of war who sets greed above safety ; but that man is warlike who by war wins safety.

And further, the one met his death when he had no anticipation of it, the other when he was expecting the end. In the one case, death resulted from the man’s goodness of heart, since he appeared to trust his friends; in the other, from weakness, since he wished to fly, but was arrested. Moreover, death brought no stain upon the life of Sertorius, since he suffered at the hands of confederates what none of his enemies could inflict upon him ; Eumenes, however, who was unable to fly before being taken prisoner, but was willing to live after being taken prisoner, neither took good precautions against death, nor faced it well, but by supplicating and entreating the foe who was known to have power over his body only, he made him lord and master of his spirit also.
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PHOCION

POKION

I. Anpddns o 0 pijt@p icyvev pev év Tais “AOnvais 54a TO ™ pos yap TodtTever Oar Maxedover Ka L “Avtemdtpov, TOANG dé ypagetv Kal Aéyeu ivaynatipevos Tapa TO akioma THS Todews Kal TO 700s, EXeye ouyyveapuns Aévos elvat TodLTEVOHEvos Ta vavayia THs Toews. TouUTO 6€ € Kal 7@ PNTOpt Opacutepor elpyTas, Sofevev a av arn Ges elvat perevex ev emt THY Peoxiwvos TOMLTELAD. Anpdéns pév yap avros my vavarylov Tis Toews, oUTMS doenyas Bocas Kal TohsTevg aMeEVvOS OOTE Avtitrat pov eimety em avrov, yépovtos 5n yeyovoros, ore caddmep tepetou Seamrem parypévov yAOooa Kal Kotha povov GATONELTETAL THY d€ Dwxiwvos a aperny, WoTEp avTayoviarh Ba el Kat Brain Karp@ ovdAaxovcay, au TUXGL THS EAAaSos dpavpay Kal drdaprh ™ pos dofav emoinaay. ov Yap Lopokhel ye Mpooextéov agGevi) trovovvTt Thy apeTnv év ols hyo }
"AAN ov yap, avag, ovd Os av Braorn peéver vous Tos KaK@s mpdEacw, adr’ éFloratac:

Toc oUToOv dé TH TUXN doréov avr iTaTTomery T pos

TOUS ayabous avépas t loxvely, oop avti Tis akias

TiLAS Kal yapttos éviots Ypoyous Trovypovs Kat
1 Antigone, 563 f. (od yap wor', vat, KTA.).
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=~T

to

PHOCION

I. Demapes the orator, who was powerful at
Athens because he conducted affairs so as to please
Antipater and the Macedonians, and was forced to
propose and favour many measures which were at
variance with the dignity and character of the city,
used to say that he was excusable because he was in
command of a shipwrecked state. This may have
been too hardy an utterance for the orator, but it
would seem to be true when transferred to the-
administration of Phocion. Demades, indeed, was
himself but wreckage of the state, since his life and
administration were so outrageous that Antipater
said of him, when he was now grown old, that he
was like a victim when the sacrifice was over—nothing
left but tongue and guts. But the fame of Phocion's
virtue, which may be said to have found an an-
tagonist in a grievous and violent time, the fortunes
of Greece rendered obscure and dim. Surely we
must not follow Sophocles in making virtue weak,
as when he says :—
"Indeed, O King, what reason nature may have
given
Abides not with the unfortunate, but goes astray";
yet thus much power must be granted to Fortune in her conflicts with good men: instead of the honour and gratitude which are their due, she brings base

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\ b] / \ / ' /

dtaBoras eripépoveav thy tiactiv dabevertépar
TOLELY THS UpPETHS.
II. Katroe Soxodow of Shor padXov eis TOUS
b] \ > , o > A e ‘
ayadous éEuSpiley otav evtuyoow, bro mpa-
yuaTov peydrwv Kal Suvduews eTarpopevor’ aupm-
/ ? / €
Baiver 5€ Tovvavtiov. ai yap ouppopal mixpa
\ \ »” \ / \ b] A \
pev Ta nOn Kat pLxpoduTra Kal aKpoodarh pos
opyas motovat, SvaKxorov Sé THY aKony Kal Tpa-
yelav, bo TayTos NOyou Kal pyyaTtos Tovovy
EYovTos évoxAoupévny: o O€ émiTema@v Tots é€a-
\
paptavouevors é€overdivery ta dvaoTvynuata
2 doxel, kal natadpoveiy 0 tappnotalopevos. Kal
-cadatrep TO MéAL AUTEL TA TETPWLEVA Kal HAKW-
péva pépn TOD cwpatos, oUTwWS TOAAAKIS OL
arnOivot Kai vodv éyovtes Aoyor Sdxvovat Kai
, a \
mapofvvovet Tovs KaK@S TpaTTOVTas, €ayv pN
a e/

Tpoonvers Wat Kal GUVELKOVTES, DOTTED ApeNEl TO
nou ‘‘ mevoetnes” 0 TrOLNTHS KEXANKEV, WS TO
nooméevm THS uyis vmeixov Kal pn waxopevoy
3 pnd aytituTovv. Kal yap oupa preypaivoy
iy 4 a a \ ? , > ,
nOtora ToIs oKLEPO’S Kal GrAapTréowW evdiaTpLBer
Vpwopact, Ta 6€ avyny ExovTa Kal PWS aTTOCTPE-
etal, kat ToS ev TUXAaLs aBoUANTOLS YyevouEevn
} \ \ , ? 5 3 ? @ 4 ’ /
yropodecs Kal tpudepov eote Os acleveray uve-
yeoOat tappnoias, Ste padsoTa SeitaL, TAY Tpa-
’ ‘4
yuaTov avapopay apyaptnuatos ovK éxovTmv.
5:0 wavtTn opadepov 7 ToLavTN TroNTELa’ cUD-
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PHOCION

censure and calumny upon some, and so weakens
the world’s confidence in their virtue.
II. And yet it is commonly held that a people is more apt to wreak its insolence upon good men when it is prosperous, being then lifted up by grandeur and power; but the reverse is often the ease. For calamities

make men’s dispositions bitter, irritable, and prone to wrath, so that no one can say anything to please or soften them, but they are an- noyed by every speech or word that has vigour. He who censures them for their transgressions is thought to abuse them for their misfortunes, and he who is outspoken with them, to despise them. And just as honey irritates wounded and ulcerated parts of the body, so often words of truth and soberness sting and exasperate those who are in an evil plight, unless uttered with kindness and complaisance ; and therefore, doubtless, the poet calls that which is pleasant “ menoeikes,” on the ground that it yields to that part of the soul which experiences pleasure, and does not fight with it or resist it.1 An eye that is inflamed dwells most gratefully on colours which are dark and lustreless, but shuns those which are radiaut and bright; and so a city that has fallen on desperate fortunes is made by its weakness too sensitive and delicate to endure frank speaking, and that at a time when it needs it most of all, since the situation allows no shifting of the blame for the mis- takes that have been made. Therefore the conduct of affairs in such a city is altogether dangerous; for

1 As often, Plutarch’s etymology is amiably wrong. Homer uses ‘‘ pevoesxés” as a stock epithet of good things in such abundance as to be apirit-suiting, or satisfying.

aToAAVal yap TOV TpOS Kapiv AéyovTa Kal Tpo-
amodAvat Tov un yapCopmevov.
“Oomep obv Tov HArALov of paOnpatixol Aé€éyouct
LTE THY AUTIY TO ovpave hepopuevov hopav pyre
avTinpus évaytiav nal avtiBatixnv, addr\ja OED
Kal tjapeyxexdipév@m Topelas oXnpaTe Ypwpevov
iypav Kal evKayTrh Kal tepiediTTOuéevny edLKa
mov, 7 owlerat twavTa Kal AapBaver THY
apioTny Kpadowy, ovTws apa THS ToALTElas oO pev
dpOtos ayav Kal mpos aravta tots Snpoctors !
avtiBaivwv Toves aTnuns Kal oxANpos, WaTeEp av
Tadd émuchares Kal KaTavTes TO auvepEedno-
pevov ols Guaptavovatw ot ToAAol Kal cuveTip-
pétrov, 1) 6¢ avOuTretxovea Trevopevots Kai dtdovoa
TO Tpos Yapw, Elta aTatToVaAa TO GUuépon érre-
atacia Kal KuBépynots avOpworev ToAAa TPaws
Kal Xpnoi“ws vTrovpyouvT@v, Ee wn Tavta Sde-
OTOTLKOS Kal Biaiws AyouvTo, TwTHpLOS, Epywodns
dé xal yareTTn Kal TO ceuvoY Eyovaa TH errverKel
Svopixtov: éav 5é wyOH, TovTO éoTLY 4 TdvT@D
pev pO nov, Tacay 6é apyoviay éupereotaty Kal
fovaltKWTaTH Kpao.s, 7 Kal TOV KOcpOV Oo Oeds
rNéyeras Stoixetiv, ob Bralopevos, dAAA TeOot Kai

NOY@ Tapdyov Thy avayKny.
III. Tadra 5€ cai Katou te vév ovvéByn.
Kal yap ovros ov riWavov éoyev ovd€ Tpoadires
dyAw TO HO0S, OVSE BVOncTEY ev TH TrodLTELQ TpOS
1 §yuociots Bekker has dfyors, after Coraés.

she brings to ruin with herself the man who speaks but to win her favour, and she brings to ruin before herself the man who will not court her favour.

Now, the sun, as mathematicians tell us, has neither the same moticn as the heavens, nor one that is directly opposite and contrary, but takes a slanting course with a slight inclination,' and de- scribes a winding spiral of soft and gentle curves, thus preserving all things and giving them the best temperature. And so in the administration of a city, the course which is too straight, and opposed in all things to the popular desires, is harsh and cruel, just as, on the other hand, it is highly danger- ous to tolerate or yield perforce to the mistakes of the populace. But that wise guidance and govern- ment of men which yields to them in return for their obedience and grants them what will please them, and then demands from them in payment what will advantage the state,—and men will give docile and profitable service in many ways, provided they are not treated despotically and harshly all the time,—conduces to safety, although it is laborious and difficult and must have that mixture of austerity and reasonableness which is so hard to attain. But if the mixture be attained, that is the most con- cordant and musical blending of all rhythms and all harmonies; and this is the way, we are told, in which God regulates the universe, not using com- pulsion, but making persuasion and reason introduce that which must be.

III. These principles found an illustration in Cato the Younger also. For his manners were not winning, nor pleasing to the populace, nor was he eminent in

1 «4.¢, to the plane of the ecliptic.

yap adr' o pév Kixépwv dyoiv avtov warep
év tH Udadte@vos rrodteia Kai ovx ev TH Pwptrov
TONTEVOLEVOY UTOT TAO UN THS UTaTtelas exec ety,
éuot dé tavTo Soxei mrabeiv toils pn Kal' wpav
exhavelot Kaptrois. ws yap éxeivous Hdéws Opav-
res Kai Oavyalovtes ov ypa@vtat, ottws 7 Kdto-
vos apyatoTpoTria 1d YpdveEY TOAKMY ETruyevOMEVH
Biots SvehOopooe nat tovnpois Gear So€av pev
elye peyadnv nal Kré€os, ovK évnppoce S€ Tals
xpetats Oud Bapos ral péyeBos THs apeTas aovp-
petpov toils Kabectaat Katpois. Kal yap avTos
ov KEexrALpevns pev HON THS TaTpidos, ®omwep o
Powxkiwv, modu é yetwava Kal sdrov éxyovans,

Soov iotiwy Kat Kkddwv éemiriaBécOar Kai Trapa-
oTHvar Tois mAéov Suvapévots TroALTEVodpEVOS,
oiaxay € Kai kuBepyncews atrwoDets, Suws péyav
ayava TH TUXy TWeptéoTncev. eElrXe pey yap Kal
xaTéBare Thv TodtTetay Ot' AdAovsS, morALs Sé Kat
Bpadéws Kal ypovm ToAA@ Kal Tapa puKpov
EMovoav tepiyevécOa. Sa Katwva al thy
Kdtovos apetnv' 4 trapaBdAdopev thy Poxio-
vos, OU KATA KoLVas OpmoLoTNTAsS, ws ayabaV Kat
TOMTLK@Y avdpav' ExTL yap apéAEL Kai avdpeias
Stadopa mpos avopeiav, as THs AdKtBiadov pos
thy Erapewovdov, cai ppovycews mpos ppovn-
rm nr ee —

1 Cicero, ud Att. ii. 1, 8, where, however, there is no allusion to Cato's loss of the consulship. Dicit enim

his public career for popularity. Indeed, Cicero says it was because he acted as if he lived in Plato's commonwealth, and not among the dregs of Romulus, that he was defeated when he stood for the consulship;! but I think he fared just as fruits do which make their appearance out of season. For, as we look upon these with delight and admiration, but do not use them, so the old-fashioned character of Cato, which, after a long lapse of time, made its appearance among lives that were corrupted and customs that were debased, enjoyed great repute and fame, but was not suited to the needs of men because of the weight and grandeur of its virtue, which were out of all proportion to the immediate times. For his native city was not already prostrate, like that of Phocion, but struggling with great tempest and surge, and though he could only serve her by putting hand to sails and ropes and by supporting men of greater influence, but was repulsed from rudder- sweeps and pilotage, he nevertheless gave Fortune a hard contest. She did, indeed, seize and over- throw the commonwealth by means of other men, but with difficulty, slowly, after a long time, and when it had almost won the day through Cato and the virtue of Cato. And with this virtue we com- pare that of Phocion, though not for their general resemblances, but on the ground that both were good men and devoted to the state. For there is surely a difference between the bravery of one man and that of another, as, for instance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; between the wisdom of one man and that of another, as,

tamquam in Platonis woArrefa, non tamquam in Romuli
faece, sententiam.
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ou, @S THS Beproroxdréous mpos tHhv Aptoteisou,
Kat Sixavocvvns 7 pos Sixavocvyny, as THS Nopé.
™ pos THY ’Aqnovdaov. ToUT@V O€ Tov avdpav ai
aperal pexX pe TOV TehevTalov Kal aTopov dia-
popav éva XapaxThpa Kal popdny Kal Npopa
KOLVOV nOous ery KEK papevoy expépovown, @orep
lo@ Het PD Hepiyuevou Mpos TO avaTnpov Tob
grravOperov Kab T pos TO acpanes Tou av6peiov,
Kal THs vmeép addov pev ndenovias, vIrép aAUT@V
dé agoBias, . Kal pos per TO aiax pov evraPeias,
7 pos dé To dixatoy evTovias oUVNpLoG Wévns
opvoiws: Hore Nem Tou mavu doyou Sei Oa xaba-
ep opydvou mpos Staxptow Kkal avevpeciv TOY
Siahepovter.
IV. To pev ovv Kdtevos @LONOYNTAL yévos ex
AapT pay Draper, as hex Ono eras Poxiova dé
TEKMLALPOMAL Ln TAVTAT ALD eivar syévous ari pov
Kat KATAMENTOKOTOS. él yap 7 Ys OS pyow "Td0-
peveus, Soducorrotod TAT OS, ovK dv év T@ oye
Pravaimros 6 O “Tarepetdou pupia oUvELhoY@s Kal
ELONKOS Kat avTov KaTa THY Suaryevevav waph-
Kev, ovd av odTws ehevBepiou Biov Kat owppovos
mavdeias peTéaxev Bare THs T1Adtevos ¢ ere pmeupa-
KLov @v, VaTepov 5€ THS Eevoxpatous Siar prijs,
év ‘Axadnpetg peTacyelv, Kal TOV apiotwy é&
apxXns émurmbevpdrav nharns ryeverOau. Doxi-
wva yap oUTEe yeNaoavTa Tos ovTe KNavoayTa
padiws ‘AOnvaioy elev, odd év Baraveto dnpoot-
evovTt , Nova dpevon, WS toropnke Aoiprs, ovee
ExTOS éxovta THY YElpa THS TmepiBorns, 6 Ore TUYOL
mepuSeBAnuévos. émrel KaTa ye THY X@pav Kal
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PHOCION

between that of Themistocles and that of Aris-
tides; between the justice of one man and that of
another, as, between that of Numa and that of
Agesilaiis. But the virtues of these men, even
down to their ultimate and minute differences, show
that their natures had one and the same stamp,
shape, and general colour; they -were an equal
blend, so to speak, of severity and kindness, of
caution and bravery, of solicitude for others and
fearlessness for themselves, of the careful avoidance

of baseness and, in like degree, the eager pursuit
of justice. Therefore we shall need a very subtle
instrument of reasoning, as it were, for the discovery
and determination of their differences.
IV. That Cato's lineage, then, was illustrious, is generally admitted, as will be said later; but Phocion's, as I judge, was not altogether ignoble or lowly. For had he been the son of a pestle- maker, as Idomeneus says, then Glaucippus the son of Hypereides, in the speech wherein he collected -countless evil things to say against him, would not have omitted his mean birth; nor would Phocion have lived on so high a plane or enjoyed so sound an education as to have been a pupil of Plato when he was still a stripling, and later a pupil of Xenocrates, in the Academy, and to have cultivated the noblest behaviour from the very beginning. For hardly any Athenian ever saw Phocion in laughter or in tears, or making use of a public bath, as Duris tells us, or holding his hand outside his cloak,—when he wore a cloak. Since in the country, at least, and on his

Tas oTpatelas avuToontos ael Kal yupvos éBa-
biter, eb pn oyos vmepBaddov ein kal ducKap-
TEPNTOV, WATE Kal mailovras On TOUS oT paTevo-
péevovs avpBordov peydrou TroveicOar yewpavos
évdedupévov Paoxiwva.
V. To &é ner T PoonVverTaTOs ay Kat dirav-
Opwmoraros amo TOU Tpoawmov dua Eup Boros
epaivero Kat oxvpwrds, | OTE UN padtws ay Twa
jLovov évruxeiv auT@ TOV dovnbov. 610 Kal
Xdpnti tote mpos Tas odpis avtod AeyouTs TOV
"AOnvaiwy emuyehovTor, ae Ovdev," elrren, " arn
Upas NehvrrnKer 7 op pus: o 6€ TovUTwY yews
TOAAA KAavaaL THY modty TeTrolNKeD. " Opmotws
dé mas Tod Pooxiavos kal o NOyos HY eri xen-
oTOUS eUTUX IMATE Kal Sravonpace TWTNPLOS,
TPOoTAKTLKHY Twa Kal avotnpav Kal avSvvTov
EXov Bpaxvroyiay. | @S yap o Znveov éreyev ott
dei TOV pidoaopoy els vooy anoBanrovra 7 poge-
pesdar Thy NéEW, oTwS O Poxiwvos ayos Trei-
oToV ev édaxXiory refer voov elye. Kal mpos
TOUTO Eounev ambav J Lp rLos TlovAvevetos
elmeiy STL pHTwP ev dpiaros ein Anpoabevns,
elmety d€ dewortatos O Pooxiov. as yap 4 Tov
vopic WaTos afia TELOTHY €v OyK@ Bpaxvtatp
Stvapmi é EXEL, ote Noryou devvorns edoxer TOA
onpaivery am' odiywov. Kal EVTOL Kai avrov
WOTE TOV Dooxiovd pact TANpovpevou TOD Gea-

Tpov TepiTrateiy vmro oKNUTY avToyv dvTa Tpos
EaUT@O THY Stavoay' ELT OVTOS dé Tevos THY pirwv,
ZKET TOME, Poxiov, corKas," "Nal pa tov
Aia," davaz, " TKETTOMAL el Te Suvapas Tov do-
you agerciy by pédArAw A€yerv pds "AOnvatovs."
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campaigns, he always walked without shoes or outer garment, unless the cold was excessive and hard to bear, so that presently his soldiers used to say in jest that it was a sign of severe winter when Phocion wore a cloak.

V. Though his nature was most gentle and most kind, his countenance made him seem forbidding and sullen, so that hardly any one of those who were not on intimate terms cared to converse with him alone. Therefore, when Chares once made the Athenians laugh by speaking of Phocion's frowning brows, " No harm,' said Phocion, "has come to you from this brow of mine; but these men's laughter has cost the city many a tear.'' And in like manner Phocion's language, also, was salutary in its excellent inventions and happy conceits, although it had a brevity which was rather imperious, severe, and un- pleasant. For, as Zeno used to say that a philosopher should immerse his words in meaning before he utters them, so Phocion's language had most mean- ing in fewest words. And this is probably what Polyeuctus the Sphettian had in mind when he said that Demosthenes was a most excellent orator, but Phocion a most powerful speaker. For, as a valuable coin has greatest worth in smallest bulk, so effective speech would seem to indicate much with few words. Indeed, it is said that once upon a time, when the theatre was filling up with people, Phocion himself was walking about behind the scenes lost in thought, and that when one of his friends remarked: " You seem to be considering, Phocion," he replied : " Yes, indeed, I am considering whether I can shorten the speech which I am to deliver to the Athenians."' And

dé Anpoobevns TOV pev adAAwv Katedpovet
TON pntope, avig Tapevou dé PDaxiwvos et@det
eve aTpeua T POs TOUS pirovs, «"H TOD emev
Aoyou Kors maperTiy." Gdra TOUTO pep lows
7 pos To 9005 avototéov: émel Kal pha Kal veopa
jLOvov avdpos ayabod pupiors évOvuunuact Kat
TEPLoooLs av Tippotrov éxet TioTLD.
VI. Néos be « ov XaBpia mpoa eter éauTov T@
oTpaTnyp Kal mapelmero, TOAAG per ets eprres-
piay TOV TORE MLK OY apehovpevos, € €ote O€ ep ols

érravopOovpevos THVY éKeivou puow dveparov
ovaav Kal axpatov. vwlpos yap av o XaBpias
Kal SuaKivntos arArXws év avtois Tois dry eo w
apya kat duerrupovTo TH Oup@ Kat ouvekerim re
Tous Opacutarous mrapaBorwrepor, Oa TEp apénet
at KaTéoTpeve TOV Biov é éy Xiw TPATOS elo edd-
cas TH Tpinper Kal _Bralopevos Tos THY am o-
Baowv. aapanrns obv dua Kat dSpactnptos o
Pwxiov parvopevos THY TE peXM OLD dvebeppatve
TOU XaBpiou, Kat Wad. apnper THY aKALpov
ofvTnTa TAS oppiis. o0ev EUpEVT)S ov 0 XaBpias
Kat XPNTTOS, nyama Kal T poryev avrTov eml mpd-
Eeus Kal yyepovias, yy @ptwov Tovey TOUS "Eddnot,
Kal Ta TELTTNS abva aTouoys éxeivep XP@MEVOS.
KaK THS wept Na€ov vaupayias évoma Kal dofay
ov puxpay Dwxiwrt TepleTroinae Tov yap evvu-
pou KEpwS am edwnev avT@ THY myepovian, Kad’ 0
Kal THY paxnv ofelay elyev O aryov Kal Kplotv
évroinge Tayelav. mpwTny ody éxeivny vavpaxiav

1 Cf. the Demosthenes, x. d.

Demosthenes, who held the other orators in great contempt, when Phocion rose to speak, was wont to say quietly to his friends: “ Here comes the pruning- knife of my speeches.” ! But perhaps this must be referred to Phocion’s character; since a word or a nod merely from a good man is of more convincing weight than any number of elaborate periods.

VI. When he was a young man, Phocion attached himself to Chabrias the general as a close follower, profiting much thereby in military experience, and sometimes also rectifying that general’s temperament, which was uneven and violent. For though Chabrias was sluggish and hard to move at othe: times, in actual battle his spirit was excited and all on fire, and he would rush on with the boldest at too great a hazard, just as, without doubt, he actually threw away his life at Chios? by being the first to drive his trireme to shore and trying to force a landing. So then Phocion, who showed himself at once safe and active, would put ardour into Chabrias when he delayed, and again would take away the unseasonable intensity of his efforts. Wherefore Chabrias, who was a good-natured and worthy man, made much of him and advanced him to enterprises and commands, making him known to the Greeks, and employing him in most affairs of moment. Especially in the sea-fight off Naxos® he conferred no little name and fame upon Phocion; for he gave him command of the left wing, and here the battle raged hotly and the issue was speedily decided. Accordingly, as this was the first sea-fight which the

2 In 357 B.c. Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium had revolted from Athens.

8 In 376 B.c. The Athenians defeated the Lacedaemonian fleet and regained the mastery of the sea.

TONS avTH OL aUTHS ayovoapevn THis" EAA noe
peta THY Gdwow, Kal KaTaTVYOvGAa, Tov Te Xa-
Bpiav vrepnyamrnoe kai ToD Pwxiwvos ws avdpos
nYyEMoviKOD Aoyov Eaxev. evixwy O€ peydroLs
pvoTnpioiss Kat Trapetyev oivoyonua Xapias
"AOnvators xa' Exacrov émavtov tH Extn emi
déxa Tov Bondpopmtavos.
VII. 'Ex tovtou Aéyetas mwéutrovtos avtov émi
TAS VnoLwTiKas cuvTdeets TOU XaBpiov Kal vads
elxoot StddvTos Eelreiy, EL MEV WS TOAELNOOY TEL-
jwo.To, peifovos Sety dSuvdpews, eb 5€ @S Tpos
TULUAYOUS, -apKely vaiy pilav' Kal TEVTAVTA TH
avtod tpinpe cai SuareyOévta tais modeot Kal
ovyyEVvOpEVvoY TOIS ApYovaty eTLELKaS Kal AapEdas
KATATAEVTAL META TOAXWY VEOV, aS aTéaTELAaY
of oUmpayot Ta xXpHpwata Tos "AOnvaious Komt-
fovcas. ov povov o€ Cavta tov XaPpiay Oepa-
Tevmv OLETENEL KAL TLUL@V, GANG Kal TENEUTNTAVTOS
aUuTOvU THY TpOTHKOVTWY Kars érrEepedeiTO, Kal
Tov maida Krnowirov éBovreto wev avdpa trovety
aya0ov, éumAnkrov Sé op@v Kal avaywyov duos
ouK amettreyv émravopOovpevos Kal aTroKpUTTTMY TA
alayn. wry arak NéyeTat, TapevoxrodvTos ev
oTpaTela Til TOU veavioKoU Kal KOTTOVTOS avTOV
épwtnuacw axaipos Kal cvpPovriass oloy érav-
opJovpévov Kal mapactpatnyovrtos, elteiv
"?1) XaBpia, XaBpia, peydrdnv yé cou yapev
éxtive THs hidias bropévwv cov Tov viov."

Athenians had fought with the Greeks on their own account since the capture of their city,! and as it had succeeded, they made exceeding much of Chabrias, and came to look upon Phocion as a man fit for command, 'They won the victory during the celebration of the great mysteries; and therefore Chabrias used to furnish the Athenians with wine for the festival every year on the sixteenth of the month Boédromion.

VII. Afterwards, we are told, when Chabrias sent him to get their contributions from the islanders and offered him twenty ships, Phocion said that if he was sent to wage war, he needed a larger force, but if to confer with allies, one ship was enough; and after sailing out with his own trireme and discussing matters with the cities and dealing with the magis- trates considerately and in a straightforward manner, he returned with many ships, which the allies sent off with money for the Athenians. And not only while Chabrias was alive did Phocion continue to show him attention and honour, but also after his death he took good care of his relatives, and es- pecially of his son Ctesippus, whom he wished to make a good man; and although he saw that the youth was capricious and intractable, he nevertheless persisted in correcting and covering up his disgrace- tul conduct. Once, however, we are told, when the young man was troublesome to him on an expedi- tion, and plied him with unseasonable questions and advice, like one making corrections and sharing in the command, he cried: “O Chabrias, Chabrias, surely I make thee a large return for thy friendship in enduring thy son.”

1 At the close of the Peloponnesian war (404 B.c.).

3

PLUTARCH’S ee

‘Opa be TOUS Ta KOLWa ™ pac cov: as TOTE » O'n-
ee BOOTED amo KANpov TO o7 par nyLov Kat
0 Biya, Kat TOUS pep héyovras ev 7 byu@ Kai
ypddovras pLovop, ov EvBovndos hv Kat "Apia topav
kal Anpoobévns Kat AvKodpyos Kal ‘Trrepeidys,
AvotreiOny &é Kat Mevecdea kat NewoOevny kai
Xdpyra T@ otpatnyel Kal Tohepety avlovras
éavTous, éBovreTo THY Tlepuxd€ous Kat A pio ret-
Sou Kal Lorwvos ToAtreiav @oOTEP odGKANpOV
Kal Sinppooperny € ev apdotv avaraeiv Kat amro-
dovvar. Kal yap TOV avopay éxeivwv EXATTOS
épaiveto KaTa TOV "Apytroyon,!
"Apdortepor, Oeparrwv pev ’Evvadioto Oeoio,
kai Movoéwv epatay dapov émiatapevos:
Kal THY Oeov éwpa TONE LY Te Gua Kal TONLTE-
Knv ovcav Kal T pocaryopevouerny.
VIII. Otte be cuvTdéas éavrov émrohiTeveTo
fev adel mpos eipnyny Kat nouxiay, eo TpaTHYNTE
dé Treia ras ov pLovov TOY Kal EQUTOV, GANA Kal
TOV ™ po QUuTOU TTpATHYIAS, ov TapayyéAAwY OvdE
pETLor, Grn’ ovde pevyov ovoe arrobibpac Kav THs
TONES Kahovons. om“oroyelTas yap StL WévTe
Kal TecoapaKkovta otpatnyias ékaBev ovd’ arak
apKatperiots TApaTUxX oY, GAN amrovta, peTamep-

>
Topevwv AvTOV del Kab NELpoTOvOULTwD, dare
Oavyaley tovs ovK ev hpovovvtas Tov Ofjpov Ort,
TrELTTA Tod Paxiwvos GVTLKPOVOYTOS AUTO Kal
pndev el@OvTos TOTOTE pode mpatavTos mpos
yapw, @oTrep aktovat Tovs Bactreis Tois KoNaEL
1 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, ii.4, p. 383 (eiul 8 @ym Oepdarwy

. €pardy).

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PHOCION

He saw that the public men of his day had dis- tributed among themselves as if by lot the work of the general and the orator. Some of them merely spoke before the people and introduced measures,— men like Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Ly- curgus, and Hypereides; while such men as Dio- peithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chabrias advanced themselves by holding the office of general and waging war. He therefore wished to resume and restore the public service rendered by Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, which was equally apportioned in both fields of action. For each of those men showed himself to be, in the words of Archilochus,

“ As well a squire of Enyalius god of war,
As versed in the lovely Muses’ gifts.”
He also saw that the goddess Athena was a goddess of war as well as of statecraft, and was so addressed.

VIII. Having taken this stand, his civil policies were always in favour of peace and quiet; and yet he held the office of general more frequently than any man, and I speak not only of the men of his own time, but also of those who came before him. He did not seek the office or canvass for it; nor, on the other hand, did he flee or run away when his city called him. It is generally admitted, indeed, that he held the office of general forty-five times, although he was not even once present at the election, but was always absent when the people summoned and chose him. Therefore men of little understanding are amazed at the conduct of the Athenian people. For Phocion opposed them more than anybody else, and never said or did anything to win their favour; and yet, just as kings are

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~ : \ ” 2
xpjnocbat pera TO KaTa xELpos Vowp, éxpHTO ovTOS
Tos wey Koprvorépots Kat trapots ev Trasdias pépet
n \ N

Snpaywyots, émi 5é Tas dpyas ael vndwv Kal
aomovoatwy Tov avaTnpoTaToy Kal PpoviwrTatov
éxadvet TOV TOMT@Y Kal povoy 4 padXov Tais
n a /
BovAnceciwv avtTod Kai oppais avtTiraccopevor.
~ \ \ ? a > 4 ve
Vpnopov pev yap ex AcAhay dvayvwobévTos Ott,
A bi > 4 ig 4 J \
TaV adXdov 'APnvaiwy opodpovovytwr, els avnp
4 a /
évavtia dpovoin TH ode, TwapedOwv o Paxiwv
’ a > ff e > _\ A ¢ /
aperely exeXevoEev, WS AUTOS WY Oo CnTOUMEVOS'
ove yap avT@ pndev apéckey TOY TpaTTOMEeVvwn.
érrel 5€ Néywr TroTé yuwpNnv mpos Tov Shpuov ev-
Soxiper Kal TdvTas OMarws EWpa TOY AOYoV a7ro-
Seyopévous, émeatpadels mpdos Tovs hirous eltrev:
“ Ov bn mov Tt Kaxov A€éyou éwauTov AéANGa ;”
IX. IIpos 8€ Ouciavy tia trav “AOnvaiwy ai-

4 b] J \ al w > v
TOUVTWY ETLOOCELS, KAL TOV AAAwY ETLOLOOVTOY,
KAnOels TodrAdKs pn: .“ Tovtous aiteite Tovs
, J \ \ > , 5A b] 4 \
Trovatous éyw 5é aicyuvoimnv av, Et TOUT@ py
amrod.bovs byiv émidoinv,” detEas Kaddcxdréa tov
Savetatnv. ws & ovK émavovto Kexpayortes Kai
a 4 ed > Cal aA cc? \
KkataRowvtes, Noyov elev avtots ToUTOV' “’Avnp
Secdos emi moreuov éEner, POeyEapévwv Sé xopa-
\ bd \ e 4 : ed ? \
Kkwv Ta Ora Geis novyalev’ cita avadaBov
addis éEne, Kal POeyyopévwv wWarw bTréctn, Kal
TéXos eltrev: ‘ “Tyeis xexpdkecOe pev péytotov ws

supposed to listen to their flatterers after dinner has begun, so the Athenians made use of their more elegant and sprightly leaders by way of diversion, but when they wanted a commander they were always sober and serious, and called upon the severest and most sensible citizen, one who alone, or more than the rest, arrayed himself against their desires and impulses. Indeed, when an oracle from Delphi was read out in the assembly, declaring that when the rest of the Athenians were of like mind, one man had a mind at variance with the city, Phocion came forward and bade them seek no further, since he himself was the man in question ; for there was no one but he who disliked everything they did. And when, as he was

once delivering an opinion to the people, he met with their approval, and saw that all alike accepted his argument, he turned to his friends and said: “Can it possibly be that I am making a bad argument without knowing it?” IX. The Athenians were once asking contribu- tions! for a public sacrifice, and the rest were con- tributing, but Phocion, after being many times asked to give, said: “ Ask from these rich men; for I should be ashamed to make a contribution to you before 1 have paid my debt to this man here,” pointing to Callicles the money-lender. And once when his audience would not cease shouting and crying him down, he told them this fable. “A coward was going forth to war, but when some ravens croaked, he laid down his arms and kept quiet ; then he picked them up and was going forth again, and when the ravens croaked once more, he stopped, and said at last: ‘You may croak with all

1 Cf, the Alcibiades, x. 1.

U 9 a“ \ 5] 4 999 Ul 4
Suvaroy, é€wov O€é ov yevoedOe. Tar. é€ TrOTE
A , a
trav "AOnvaiwv éEayayety autov émi tovs TroXe-
‘\
pious KeXNEVOVTY, ws & ovK éBovrAETO, Setdov Kal
wv > a, (<3 # e a 9 9
dvavdpov amoxadovvtav, “Ovte wpeis, elrrer,
ss 28 Si f) a 6 t ” 2» \ ff 4
éue Ouvace Troincat Oapoanréov ote éyw Upas
detdovs. ov pny GAN iopev GAAnAOUs.” ev Sé
Kaipois émiopanréot tpayuvopévou tod Snpou
mpos avTov apodpa Kal THs otpatnyias evOvvas
dma.toovros, “ XwOeinte, elev, “@ paxaptot,
TpO@TOV. E7TEL OE TTONELOUYTES eV HOaY TaTreLVol
Kat tepioecis, yevoméevns Sé eipnvns eOpacuvoyto
Kal KkateBowv Tod Dwxiwvos ws adnpnpévou THv
vinnv autov, “ Evruyeite,” elmev, “ éxovtes
\ PINE e aA ? \ 4 ? ,
oTparnyov eidoTa vas: eel madar dv aTwro-
bf a n a
nerte. Tois 5€ Botwrois ov Bovropévwv avTtav
/ a A
duxalecOar epi THs Xwpas, AAA TrodEpeElD,
4 \ A
auveBovreve bia THV Adywr, ev ols eiot KpEiTTOUS,
py Sta THY StrrwD, év ols ciowv Arrous, wayecOar.
Aéyovta Oé avrov ov Tpoctepévwy OvdSE UTopeEvor-
’ , ? sy ¢ fA \ ,

twy axovev, “ Eye,’ elev, ‘upets & pn Bov-
Aopat Trovety Bidoacbar Svvacbe, rAéyew Se & py
ef Tapa yvounv ovx avayKdcete.” tav Sé
aVTLTONTEVOLEVWY avT@® pyTopwv Anpoabévous
A > 4 “? a _s ’ aA
pev evrrovtos, “’Amroxrevodoi ae AOnvaia, Pw-
4 A A 9 ed 66 \ bé A A ”
Kiwov, dv pavoow, elie “dé dé, Av cwhpovace
TIloAvevatov dé tov Xdyttiov opay év Kavpatt
4 a ? , a \
oupBovrevovta tots ‘AOnvaiots rodepety mmpos
Pirurov, celta vm’ doOpatos ToANOD Kal idpo-
Tos, ate 57 Kal Uméptayuy dvta, WoANaKIs erip-
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PHOCION

your might, but you shall not get a taste of me.’”’ And at another time, when the Athenians urged him to lead forth against the enemy, and called him an unmanly coward because he did not wish to do so, he said: ** Ye cannot make me bold, nor can I make you cowards. However, we know one another.” And again, in a time of peril, when the people were behaving very harshly towards him and demanding that he render up accounts of his generalship, “ My good friends,” said he, “ make sure of your safety first.” Again, when they had been humble and timorous during a war, but then, after peace had been made, were getting bold and denouncing Phocion on the ground that he had robbed them of the victory, “Ye are fortunate,” said he, “in having a general who knows you; since otherwise ye had long ago perished.” Once, too, when the people were unwilling to adjudicate with the Boeo- tians a question of territory, but wanted to go to war about it, he counselled them to fight with words, in which they were superior, and not with arms, in which they were inferior. Again, when he was speaking and they would not heed or even consent to hear him, he said: “Ye can force me to act against my wishes, but ye shall not compel me to speak against my judgement.” And when Demos- thenes, one of the orators in opposition to him, said to him, “The Athenians will kill thee, Phocion, should they go crazy,’ he replied: “ But they will kill thee, should they come to their senses.” Again, when he saw Polyeuctus the Sphettian, on a hot day, counselling the Athenians to go to war with Philip, and then, from much panting and sweating, since he was really very corpulent, frequently gulp-

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popowvra tov vdatos ““A€wov,” &dy, “ TrovT@
4 e a , \ ‘
mic revoavtas vas YndicacBar Tov Todepor, Sv
ti oleaOe trounce ev TO Owpant nal TH aoTrid,
TOV TOAELLODV eyyUS OVTMV, OTE AEyOU POS Upas

& éoxerrrat xivduvever mrviynvat;” tod 6¢ Auxovp-
you tjoA\a BAadodnua mpos avtov elmovtos év
éxkrnoia, Kal mpos aac Ott, Séxa TOV TOAL-
tav éEartouvtos ‘AXeEdvdpov, cuveBovrevev éx-
Sodvat, eime: “ TloAXNa eym cuuBeBovrevKa xara
N la 7 6) b b) 4 ld ”
Kai cupdépovta TovTols, GAN ov TreiMovTai pot.
X."Hv 8€ tis “ApytBiadns émixadrovpevos
Aaxouorns, me@yovd te Kaberpévos vrepdhuh
, / wn 9 N ,
peyéeOet Kal TpiBwva hopav dei cat cxv0pwralov:
a) b] “A 4 e , 9
tovtov év BovrAn OopuRovpevos 0 Pwxiwy érre-
“ a / , bu \ 4 e
KarelTo TH AOYO wdpTuY dua Kai BonBov. as dé
. a \ a
dvaoTas éxeivos & pos xYdpiv jv tots ‘AOnvaiors
4 e 4 > a a / oct
auvveRovreverv, arapevos avtov Tav yeveiwv: ‘°O,
"A 10 ” 9 66 , @ > 9 / ri
pxeBiddn, elie, “tL ody oUK arrEKEtpu;
’"Aptotoyeitovos 5€ Tov auKopavTov TodEpLKOU
pev dvtos év tais éxxAnotias Kal twapokvvovtos
9 \ \ , \ a ? \ a ,
émt tas mpakes tov Shpov, ev 5€ TO KaTadoyo
4 > \ / \ 4
mpoceNOovtos émi Baxtnpia Tw oKEedXn KaTade-
Seuévov, ToppwHev avTov amd Tov Bnpatos towy
e / > /f oc 4 \ ? 4
0 Dwxiwy avexpaye ‘‘Ipade cat Apiotoyeitova
A , 99 @ 4 @ \
yodov Kal Tovnpov. aote Oavydlew Straws Kal
omobey Tpayvs odTws avnp Kal oxvOpwros éxT1-
ATO THY TOD KpnoTov Tpocnyopiav.
4
“Bore 5é, ola, yaretrov, od pay advvaror,

ing down water, Phocion said: “It is meet that ye should be persuaded by this man to go to war; for what do ye think he would do under breastplate and shield, when the enemy were near, if, in making you a premeditated speech, he is in danger of choking to death?” At another time Lycurgus heaped much

abuse upon him in the assembly, and above all because, when Alexander demanded ten of the citizens of Athens,! Phocion counselled their surrender ; Phocion, however, merely said: “I have given this people much good and profitable counsel, but they will not listen to me.”

X. There was a certain Archibiades, nicknamed Laconistes, because, in imitation of the Spartans, he let his beard grow to an extravagant size, always wore a short cloak, and had a scowl on his face. Phocion was once stormily interrupted in the council, and called upon this man for testimony and support in what he said. But when the man rose up and gave such counsel as was pleasing to the Athenians, Phocion seized him by the beard and said: “O Archibiades, why, then, didst thou not shave thyself?” Again, when Aristogeiton the public informer, who was always warlike in the assemblies and tried to urge the people on to action, came to the place of muster leaning on a staff and with both legs bandaged, Phocion spied him from the tribunal when he was afar off, and cried out: “ Put down Aristogeiton, too, as lame and worthless.” So that one might wonder how and why a man so harsh and stern got the surname of The Good.

But though it is difficult, it is not impossible, I

1 Cf. chapter xvii. 2 f.

Ld 9 \ » \ > A eg e
@omrep olvov, Kal avOpwrov Tov avToy ndvy dua
\ > \ 4 4 lé
kal avotnpop elvat: Kaatrep Erepo Wary, hawo-
” Ul A
pevor yAvKeis, andéotatot Tois xpwpévors eiol
\ , , ‘ e la
kat BraRepwrator. Kattoe daciv ‘Trepetdnv
a \ nA a
Wore eiteiv mpos Tov Shpov, ““Avdpes *AOnvaior,
A a a 4 ? “A
[1] OKOTELTE LOVOY EL TLKPOS, GAN EL TPOiKG Elpt
sf “A / la aA

TLKpOS, WoTEp TH WrEoveELa povoy éTrayOeis Kal
ANumNpovs GvTas, ovXl pmaAXOY, Boot pos DBpiv
f a ? \ A / \ a“
cat POovov 4h opynv 7 piroverxiay twa ypavrat
a lA Ud / \ /
T@ Svvacbai, rovtovs SedtoTwy Kal mpoBarrope-
A A /
vov TOY TOMMY. PwxKiwy towvy ExOpa peév
A aA “” 4
OVSEVA TOV TONTOAV KAKS ETroincev, OVOE EVvO-
> 4 ? >@ 4 , A 3 4
putev éxOpov' add’ Soov de povoy TaV EenoTtapeé-
a ,
vov ols émpartrev uTép THS Tatpidos KareEava-
A 4
oTnvat tpaxvs ov Kal ducexBiactos Kal amapai-
TNTOS, ELS TOY AAXOV Biov evpevn Tact Kal KoLVOV
kat gdtravOpwrov éavToy mapeixev, WoTE Kal
mraicact BonOeiv cat xuvduvevovot ovvetetate-
a a] 4
aOat Trois Suaghopors. éeyxaXovvtwy dé Tav didwv
OTL TOVNnP@ TLL KpLVOMeV@ GUvElTE, TOUS XPN-
‘ ” \ a , ? 4
atous edn un Seta Bar BonBeias. “Aptoroyeitovos
5é€ Tov cuxoddvrou peta THY KaTadiKkny Tréppay-
4 a ,
Tos Kal denBevros éNOeiv mpos avTOY, UTaKOvaas
3 , > \ 4 > > 7 \ A
éBadifev cig To Seaopwryplov: ovK ewvTwy O€ TAV
: 73 9 4 9 9 66 @ , “A A
dirwv, “’Edaoate, elmev, “ @ paxdpioe tod yap
” 4 9 4 / ”?
dv tts HOtov Apiotoyeitove cupBarou;
XI. Kal pny of ye cvppayor Kat o1 vyowmras
4
tous "AOnvndev amoatodous éTépov pev ex7rdEov-
A / 4
TOS OTpAaTHYOU TrOAEuioUs vouiCovTes EppayvuVTO

think, for the same man, like the same wine, to be at once pleasant and austere; just as others, on the contrary, appear to be sweet, but are most un- pleasant to those who use them, and most injurious. And yet we are told that Hypereides once said to the people: “Do not ask, men of Athens, merely whether I am bitter, but whether I am paid for being bitter,” as if the multitude were led by their avarice to fear and

attack those only who are troublesome and vexatious, and not rather all who use their power to gratify their insolence or envy or wrath or contentiousness. Phocion, then, wrought no injury to any one of his fellow citizens out of enmity, nor did he regard any one of them as his enemy ; but he was harsh, obstinate, and inexorable only so far as was necessary to struggle successfully against those who opposed his efforts in behalf of the country, and in other relations of life showed himself well-disposed to all, accessible, and humane, so that he even gave aid to his adversaries when they were in trouble or in danger of being brought to account. When his friends chided him for plead- ing the cause of some worthless man, he said that good men needed no aid. Again, when Aristogeiton the public informer, who was under condemnation, sent and asked him to come to him, he obeyed the summons and set out for the prison; and when his friends sought to prevent him, he said: ‘“ Let me go, my good men; for where could one take greater pleasure in meeting Aristogeiton ?”’

XI. And certainly the allies and the islanders re-
garded envoys from Athens under the conduct of
any other general as enemies, barricading their
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Teiyn Kal ALpévas aTrexwvyvaay Kal KareKoptCov
aTo THS Ywpas eis TAs TONES BooKkhpata Kal
avdparoda Kal yuvaixas Kal raiéas: et 8€ Daxiov
Hyoito, Toppw vavoly idiars atavt@vtes éote-
havwpévor nal Yaipovtes ws avTOvS KaTHYOD.
XII. Tlapadvopévov Sé es tHv EvRorav tod
Dirimrov Kal Siva éx Makedovias d:aBiBa-
Covros Kal Tas ToAELs OiKEeLoupévou Ota TUpavYwr,
TIAourdpyou Sé tod ‘Eperptéws xadodvtos Tovs
"AOnvaious Kal Seouévou tyv vijcov ékeréoOae
KatadapBavoyerny vo Tod Maxedovos, arecta-
An TTpATHYOS Oo Poxiwy Eyov Sdvapuv ov TONAIY,
¢ “A 3 a e b
OS TOY éxel TUaTHGOLEVOY ETOLLWS TPOS AUTO.
evpwy 5é mpodotayv aravta pecta Kai vocodvTa
cat Siopwpuvypéva Swpodoxiais ets xivduvoy peyav
KatéoTn Kai tia AOhov yapadpa Babeia tavV
mep) tas Tapivas émimédoy amoxpuTTopevov
KataraBov ovveiyev év TOVT@ Kal TUVEKpaTEL TO
paxiuweotaroy THs Suvdpews. tov 5é atdKTov
Kal Addwv Kal Trovnpov SiadidpacKkovtwy ex Tov
oTpatovédov Kal arroxwpovvTwy éxéXevcey ape-
Ney TOUS Hyemovasy Kal yap évtadOa duaxpy-
orous wire atakias écecBar nai BraBepovs Tots

paxopuevots, KaKkel ToLavTa auveldotas avtois
Hrtov avtov KataBoncecOat Kal pn wavy cuKo-
pavTnoery.
XIII. ‘Os 8 errnecav ot moréusot, KeXevoas év
tots Sols atpeuety axpt Av abros ohayiaonta,
Treio SétpeBe xpovov Svorepo@v 7 BovAopevos
éyyuTépw Tovs oAveulous eéemaondcacbar. S10
mpa@tov pev 6 Ildovrapxos oldpevos azrodereay
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PHOCION

gates, obstructing their harbours, and bringing into their cities from the country their herds, slaves, women and children; but whenever Phocion was the leader, they went far out to meet him in their own ships, wearing garlands and rejoicing, and conducted him to their homes themselves.

XII. When Philip was stealing into Euboea and bringing a force across from Macedonia and making the cities his own by means of tyrants, and when Plutarch the Eretrian called upon the Athenians and begged them to rescue the island from its occupation by the Macedonian, Phocion was sent out as general with a small force,' in the belief that the people of the island would rally readily to his aid. But he found the whole island full of traitors, disaffected, and honeycombed with bribery, and was therefore in a position of great peril. So he took possession of a crest of ground which was separated by a deep ravine from the plains about Tamynae, and on this assembled and held together the best fighting men of his force. To the disorderly and worthless triflers who ran away from the camp and made their way home he bade his officers give no heed, for in the camp their lack of discipline would make them use- less and harmful to the fighting men, while at home their accusing consciences would make them less liable to cry down their commander, and would keep them entirely from malicious accusations.

_ XIII. When the enemy came up against him, he ordered his men to remain quietly under arms until he should have finished sacrificing, and then waited a considerable time, either because the omens were bad, or because he wished to draw the enemy nearer. Therefore, to begin with, Plutarch, who

1 In 350 B.c. 171

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PLUTARCH’’S LIVES

Kal KQTOKVELY EXELvOV Spaye peta trav eévwv:
érretta TOUTOY LOOVTES ot tamets OvK EkapTepnaay,
GAN’ HAravvoy evVOUs eis TOUS TOAEpioUS aovYTA-
KTOL Kal oTropddes €x TOD oTpaToTédou TpoahEpo-
pevol. vorccopevery dé TeV TPOTOV AT AVTES éoKe-
ddcOnoav Kal o TAovrapyos épuye: Kal TO
Xapace m poo pi€avres Evol TOV TONE LLeOV €KKO-
TEV em etp@VTO Kal Siacm av as amravTov Kekpa-
THKOTES. ev TOUT@ S€ TOV Lep@Y yevopéevor, TOUS
poev evOus éx TOU oTparom@édov mpooTecovTes ot
“AOnvaior Tpémovat Kal cataBdaddovar Tous
TELE TOUS mepl Tois epupact devyovtas, o 5é
Poxiwv ty pev Parayya wpocétakev ed edpevery
dvadapBdvoveay apa Kal mpoo EXOMEDNY TOUS
év TH guyn ™ poTepov Siac mapevtas, avtos 6€
TOUS eTrUNEKTOUS EX ov éveBane Tous Tohepiors.
Kat paxns KapTEpas yevopévns TrayTes pev éxOv-
pos Hyovicayto kal apetdas, Odrros dé 0 Kuvéov
Kat Praveos) Tlorvpndous qept ayrov TeTarype-
vot TOY oT parhyov jpiarevoay. ov pny GNA Kal
Kreoparns aE tov meio TOU Tapéaxev éautov év
éxelvy Hh paxn. TOUS yap immrets AVAKANOUPEVOS
ex THS TpOTHS kat Bow cat Staxehevopevos Kw-
duvevovtt TO oT pPATHY® BonGeiv, émroinaey ava-
atpépavras émrupp@a at TO VIKNMA TOV OTTALTODV.
"Ex tTovrou Tov TE TTAovrapyxov efeBanrev ex
THs "Epetpias, kat Zapnrpa ppovptov eo eT b-
KaLlpoTaron, 7 padiora cuvehavveTat TO TAATOS
eis Bpayv Sudlopa THS vig ov ohuyyopuerns éxa-
Tepwbev tais OaXdooais, doous éda Bev aly wanre-
TOUS “EXAnvas adie, poBndeis TOUS pytopas
TOV "AOnvaiov, jut) 1 POS opynv te Budowvrat Tov
Sjpoyv ayvwpovijcat TEept avTous.
172

thought that Phocion’s delay was due to cowardice, sallied forth with his mercenaries. Next, the horse-men, catching sight of Plutarch, could not restrain themselves, but rode at once into the enemy, hurry- ing out of the camp in a disorderly and scattered fashion. The foremost of them were conquered, and then all of them dispersed and Plutarch took to flight, while some of the enemy gained the ramparts and tried to cut them away and destroy them, sup- posing themselves to be entirely victorious. But at this point the sacrifices were completed, and the Athenians, bursting out of their camp, routed their assailants and slew most of them as they fled among the entrenchments. ‘Then Phocion ordered his phalanx to halt for the

reception and support of the troops which had been scattered in the previous flight, while he himself with his picked men fell upon the main body of the enemy. A fierce battle ensued, in which all the Athenians fought with spirit and gallantry ; but Thallus the son of Cineas and Glaucus the son of Polymedes, whose post was at their general's side, bore away the palm. However, Cleophanes also did most valuable service in that battle. For, by calling back the cavalry from their flight and exhorting them with loud cries to succour their general in his peril, he made them turn back and confirm the victory of the men-at-arms.

After this, Phocion expelled Plutarch from Eretria, took possession of Zaretra, a fortress most advantagéously situated where the island is reduced to its narrowest width by the sea, which hems it in on both sides, and released all the Greeks whom he had taken prisoners. For he was afraid that the orators at Athens might drive the people, in some fit of anger, to treat them with cruelty.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XIV. 'Evei 5€ tatdra Stampakdpevos ame-
hd U \ \ > / e ,
Trevcev 0 Daoxiorv, rayv pév érroOnoay ot cup-
payor THY XpnoToTnTa Kal Sixarocvvny auto,
Tayv bé éyvwoav ot AOnvaio: thy éutretpiav Kal
@¢s a~ 3% & c € \ > 9» a > Aa 2 \
popmnv tov avdpos. o yap pet exeivov éXOwv ETL
\ 4 \ ef > 4 ed
Ta mpdypata Modogads obTws érrodéunoey WaTE
Kal Cov adros brroyeiptos yevésOas Tois TONELMLOLS.
3 A \ 4 a , A e '4
émrel O€ peydAa Tals éArrict Trepivow@y o PirsTrTos
eis "EXAHowovTov HAGE pera Taans THS Suvapews,
e , ? x» A \ t 4 \
a@s Xeppovyncoy év tavt@ Kai IlépwOov éEwv Kat
Bulavriov, oppnpévorv Sé Tov' AOnvaiwy Bonbeiv
of pyTopes Hywvicavto Tov Xdpyta otpatyyov
amoctannvat, Kal mwrevaas éxeivos ovdéev aEtov
a / 4 2 Q\ e / 9Q/
Ths Suvdpews Empatrev, ovdé ai roves edéxoVTO
.' Ul > b] e¢ A An 9 A
TOV oTOAOV, AAN VTOTTOS WY Trac EeTAVATO
xenpatilopevos amo TOV cuppaywY Kal KaTa-
dpovovpevos vrd THY TrodEpiov, O bé SHpuos VITO
TOV pnTopey TrapoEvvopmeEvos NyavaKTEL Kal METE-
la A 4 / \ 4 >
voet Tois Bufavriows wéuras tHv Bondecav, ava-
aotas 0 Doxiwv elev Sti Set py Tois atictovow
opylter Oar Tay ovppdywyv, GAA TOls aTLTTOU-

pévots TOV oTpatnyav: ‘‘OdroL yap bas Trotovat
gpoBepovs Kai tois yopis vudv calerBat py
Suvapevots.”
e A “A
Kun bels obv 0 Sipos 76 Tod AOyou Kal peTa-
Teawy éKéAcvey avTov exeivoy érépav mpocda-
Bovra Sivamw Bonbeiv trois cuppdyots eis TOV
‘EAX 4 A ? € \ > , N
nomovTov: 0 peyioTny pony émolinoe pos
174
748

PHOCION

XIV. After these things had been accomplished, Phocion sailed back home, and then the allies speedily felt the absence of his probity and justice, and speedily did the Athenians recognize the experience and vigour which had been shown by him. For his successor in command, Molossus, conducted the war in such a way as actually to fall alive into the hands of the enemy. And now Philip, cherishing great anticipations, went to the Hellespont with all his forces,! expecting to get the Chersonesus, and at the same time Perinthus and Byzantium, into his power. The Athenians were eager to give aid to their allies, but their orators strove successfully to have Chares sent out as commander, and he, after sailing thither, did nothing worthy of the force under his orders, nor would the cities even receive his armament into their harbours. On the contrary, he was held in suspicion by all of them, and wandered about exacting money from the allies and despised by the enemy, so that the people of Athens, instigated by their orators, were incensed at him, and repented of having sent aid to the Byzantians. Then Phocion rose in the assembly and declared that they must not be angry at their allies who showed distrust, but at their generals who were distrusted ; “ For these,” said he, “make you to be feared even by those who can be saved only by your help.”

Accordingly, moved by his words, the people changed their minds again and ordered him to take another force and go himself to the help of their allies on the Hellespont ;2 a commission which con- tributed more than anything else to the salvation of

1 In 340 B.c. 2 In 339 B.c.

4 70 owOhvar 7o Bufavriov. fv pev yap 757

peydrn Soka tod Paxiwvos: eet b€ nai Aéwr,}
avnp Bufavtiwy mpa@tos apetn xal Te Poxiovs
yeyovas ev "Axadnueia ouvyOns, avedé—ato tHv
miatty UTép avTOD TpOS THY TONAL, OVK elacaY
é&w stpatotrededcat Bovropevor, adr’ avoiEavtes
Tas muAas édéEavto Kal KatéwEay éavtois Tovs
"AOnvaious, ov povov aveykAnTous Tais Svaitrats
Kal aoppovas, GAXa Kal mpoOvpotatous éy Tots
ay@ou Sia THY TiatL Yyevomévous. odTH péV oO
@idirmos é&érrece tov ‘EXXnotortov ToTE Kal
cateppovndn, Sox@v amayos Tis elvat Kal dvavTa-
youotos, 60 6€ Daxiwv Kxai vads tivas elrev
avrov Kal gdpovpovpévas Troves avérdaBe, Kat
moAAayoh: Tis xYwpas atoBaces ToLlovpevos
érop0e Kal Katétpexe, mEX pl OU Tpavpata AaBov
vTo TaV TpoaBonOovvTwy améT eve.
XV. Tav 6 Meyapéwv érixaroupévwr xpvda,
doBovpevos 6 Paxiwy tovs Bowwtovs un mpoaia-
Oopevor POdowot tHv BonBeav, éxxdnotay cuv7-
yayev éwOev, Kal mpocayyeiAas Ta Tapa TwV
Meryapéwy tois "AOnvaiors, ws éreyrndicarto, TH
canmiyyt onunvas evOvs amo THs éxxdAnoias
Wyyev avtovs ta Oda AaBovtas. SeEapévwr 5é
tov Meyapéwv mpodvpws thv te Nicaray érei-
yice, Kal Sta pécou oxédrAn Svo mpos TO érrivetov
1 xa Aéwy Sintenis’ correction of the MSS. KAéwy ; Bekker

has Aéwy, the correction of Wachsmuth.

1 See the Nicias, xxii. 3.

Byzantium. For already Phocion was held ih high repute there ; and when Leon? also, a man who was first among the Byzantians for virtue, and had been a familiar companion of Phocion in the Academy, went surety for him with the city, they would not suffer him to go into camp outside the city, as he

wished, but threw open their gates and received the Athenians into close companionship with themselves. This mark of confidence caused the Athenians to be not only discreet and blameless in their general conduct, but also most spirited in the struggles for the city’s defence. In this way Philip was expelled from the Hellespont at this time and brought into contempt, although men had thought there was no fighting or contending with him at all; moreover, Phocion captured some of his ships and recovered cities which he had garrisoned. He also landed in many parts of Philip’s territory and plundered and overran it, until he was wounded by those who rallied to its defence, and sailed back home.

XV. The people of Megara once made a secret appeal to Athens for help,? and Phocion, fearing that the Boeotians might get early knowledge of the appeal and anticipate Athens in sending help, called an assembly early in the morning and an- nounced to the Athenians the message received from Megara. Then, as soon as the requisite decree had been passed, he ordered the trumpeter to give the signal and led them, under arms, directly from the assembly. The Megarians received him eagerly, and he enclosed Nisaea ? with a wall, built two long walls

2 Against a faction in the city which would have delivered it into the power of Philip. The date of these events is un- certain (perhaps 344-343 B.C.).

3 The sea-port of Megara, about a mile away.

J \ ~ be 4 \ A ~ ,
aro TOD dares eveBanre, Kal curvy we TH OaratTy
ca A ~ , 3 ,
THV TONY, WATE TOV KATA YHV TONEMLLWY OALYOY
, fol a
76n ppovrilovaay éEnptncOas Tav "APnvaiwr.
wv A ‘6
XVI. “Hén 6é wpos Didurrrov éxtreToA\cuwpe-
YOV TAVTATAGL, Kal OTPATHY@VY avTOD MN Trap-
OvTos éETEpwv emt TOY TOAELOY NONLEVOV, WS KATE-
TAEVTEY ATO TOV VHTwY, TepaTov pev ErreOe TOY
A n A ,
Sjpov eipnuixas Exovtos tov Pirimov Kai go-
, ‘ , A
Bovpévov tov kivduvov iaxvpas déyecOar Tas
4 , a n
Siadvoels’ Kai TLVOS aYTLKpovaaVTOS aUT@ TAY
, a ,
etwPotwy xudwvbeicbar wept thy “Hdaiav cai

“A N > , “Se de a @
ouvkodavtTeiv, Kat evTrovTos, v 0€ TOALGS, w
A
Doxiwv, atotpérayv *AOnvaiovs bn Ta Ora
dua yetpav Exovtas;” “"Eywye,’ ele, “ kai TavTa
OG ee 4 \ v 2 AN “A ? 4 be
elO@s OTL TrONé“OU peV OVTOS eyw God, ELpHUNS Oé
, A J A » 99 e é > 4 @
yevouerns ov éeuov ap—eas. ws 6 ovKk emreGer,
3 > e 4 bd] 4 rf e
GXr o AnpooBévns éexpate: KeXevwWY ws TrOPpw-
4 A 3 A , , \. 3 ,
Tato TAS ArTiKns OécOar paxyny tovs AOnvatous,
66 70 A 33 bY 4 ‘cc \ A , @ A
Tay, én, “pn Tov paywopela cKoTaper,
a A
GANA TAS ViKHTwWLEV. OUTW yap ~oTAaL paKpay
A \
O TOAELOS, NTTwWpmévots 5é Wav aei detvoy éyyvs
mTdpectt. yevouerns 5€ THS ATTns! Kal Tov
JopvBoToav Kai vewtepitotav év adorer® Tov
, fo] al
Xapidnuov érxovtwv ért To Bjwa Kal oTparnyeiv
A
aftovvray, épokynOncav ot Bértictoe Kal thy éF
b) , U \ ¥ > A 4 4
Apetov mayou BovAny éyovtes ev T@ SHu@ Se0-
1 sis fr7rns Bekker, with CF®: frrns.
2 év &ore: Coraés and Bekker have ray év &ore, after
Stephanus.
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down to the sea-port from Megara, and thus united
the city with the sea, so that she need now pay
little heed to enemies on land and could be in close
connection with Athens by sea.

XVI. Presently! the relations between Athens and Philip were altogether hostile, and, in Phocion’s absence, other generals were chosen to conduct the war. But when Phocion returned with his fleet from the islands, to begin with, he tried to persuade the people, since Philip was peaceably inclined and greatly feared the peril of war, to accept the terms of settlement which he offered. And when one of those who haunted the law-courts in the capacity of public informer opposed him, and said, “ Canst thou dare, O Phocion, to divert the Athenians from war when they are already under arms?” ‘I can,” said he, “and that, too, though I know that while there is. war thou wilt be under my orders, but when peace has been made I

shall be under thine.’ When, however, he could not prevail, but Demosthenes carried the day and was urging the Athenians to join battle with Philip as far from Attica as possible, “ My good Sir,” said Phocion, “let us not ask where we can fight, but how we shall be victorious. For in that case the war will be at a long remove; but wherever men are defeated every terror is close at hand.’ But when the defeat came,? and the turbulent and revolutionary spirits in the city dragged Chari- demus to the tribunal and demanded that he be made general, the best citizens were filled with fear ; and with the aid of the council of the Areiopagus in the assembly, by dint of entreaties and tears,

1 In 340 B.c.

2 In 338 B.c., at Chaeroneia, where Philip defeated the allied Greeks and put an end to their independence.

pevol Kat SaxpvovTes pmoAls Etretcay émiTpéyrat
T@ Dwxiwve THY Tov.
‘O 86 tTHv peéev GAXnV Tod Dirdimmov wortetav
cat diravOpwriav weto Seiv mpocdséxesOar: An-
peddov 8é ypdwpavtos Strws 4 ToALS peTeXOL THS
KOWAS ELpnYNnS KaL TOU avvedptov Tois “EAAnawy,
ovuK ela TPO TOD Yyvavat Tiva PirdiTTos avTO
yevéoBat Tapa Tay ‘EAAnvev akioce: kpatnOeis
dé tH yvoun b1a Tov Katpov, ws evOus Ewpa Tors
"AOnvaiovs petapeXopévous, Ott Kal Tpinpets Eder
mapéyew TO Piditr@ xal inmeis, “ Tadta,”
épn, “hoBovpevos nvavriovpny: érel 56 cuveé-
Geade, det un Bapéws dépery unde advpeiy, peyvn-
févous Ott Kal of Tpoyovor TroTé péy ApyovrTes,
mote d€ apyopuevolt, Karas Sé audhotepa tadta
TOLOUVTES KAL THY TOALY Eowaay Kal Tous “EX-
Anvas.” Dirdiamouv Sé amoPavovtos evayyéNia
Ovew tov Shwov ovK cla: Kal yap ayevves elvat
emixaiperv, Kal THY év Xatpaveig mapatatawevny
mpos avrovs Suvayiy évt ow@pate povoy éXdTTMw
yevéo Oat.
XVII. Anpoobévous S€é NotdopobvtTos Tov ’AXé-
Eavdpov 76 tpocdyovta tais OnBars Edn:
“ SyeTre, Tir7 eOérers epeOCéuev dyptov avdpa
cat do&ns peyarns opeyopuevov; 7) BovNer trupKaias
THALKAUTNS OvoNS eyyUs pitticat? THY Tod;
1 Sirloa: Bryan’s correction of the MSS. fipa: (to hurl),

which Coraés and Bekker retain.

1 The congress of Greek states summoned by Philip to meet at Corinth. It voted for war against Persia under the leadership of Philip.

they persuaded them at last to entrust the city to the guidance of Phocion.

In general, Phocion thought that the policy and kindly overtures of Philip should be accepted by the Athenians ; but when Demades brought in a motion that the city should participate with the Greeks in the common peace and in the congress,! Phocion would not favour it before they found out what demands Philip was going to make upon the Greeks. His opinion did not prevail, owing to the crisis, and yet as soon as he saw that the Athenians were re- penting of their course, because they were required to furnish Philip with triremes and horsemen, " This is what I feared," said he, " when I opposed your action ; but since you agreed upon it, you must not repine or be dejected, remembering that our an- cestors also were sometimes in command, and some- times under command, but by doing well in both these positions saved both their city and the Greeks.' And on the death of Philip,? he was opposed to the people's offering sacrifices of glad tidings; for it was an ignoble thing, he said, to rejoice thereat, and the force which had been arrayed against them at Chaeroneia was diminished by only one person.

XVII. Again, when Demosthenes was heaping abuse upon Alexander, who was already advancing against Thebes, Phocion said: "'Rash one, why dost thou seek to provoke a man who is savage,' 3 and is reaching out after great glory? Canst thou wish, when so great a conflagration is near, to fan the city into flame? But I, who am bearing

2 In 336 B.c. See the Demosthenes, chapter xxii.

* Odyssey, ix. 494, Odysseus, to a companion, of Polyphe- mus the Cyclops.

> a \
GNX nets ovdé Bovropévots atrodécOat TovTots émitpéirouev, of Sta TovTo oTpaTnyely vTrope-
99 e 1 2? , € An \ ¢
vovtes. @s O€ amTwr@reLcav ai OABar nai o "AnréEavdpos éEnteito tous mept Anpuoobévny nai

le) €
Avxotpyov Kati “Trrepeidny nat Xapidnpov, 7 dé
éxxAnoia mpos éxeivoy améBreTrev, ovopacti
, , > sf \ a“ ‘é
ToNAaKls KadoUpEVOS avertn Kat ToOY diriov
é&va TapacTnodpevos, @ waddicTa ypwpevos dieTé-
Net Kal wiaTevwv Kal dayarra@v, “Eis totaita,”
” ESN , e , o> »
epy, “‘ THY TOALY OUTOL TAPAYNOKYactY WaT EyWYE,
av Nixoxréa tts tovTov éEarrH, Sidovar Kedevow.
TO fev yap avTos UTép Dua@v ardvtTwv atroOavetv
> , A 9 na VA 9 “~ 439 =
evTuyiay adv éuavtov Ocipnv. ére@ Sé,” elcrev,
“avdpes “AOnvaiot, nai tovs é« OnBav Sevpo
, > a \ \ / 4 a
mepevyotas, apxer S€ Tas OnBas Kraiew ois
\ A
BAAnoe. 610 Bérriov éotw brép auoty treiPew
Kal wapatteicOat Tovs KpatobovTas 7} paxerOas.”
To pév ody tmpatov Whdiopa éyerar Tov
> A a
AnréEavépov, as édaBe, piyar nal duyeivy arro-
, \ VA N \ 4 IQ SK
otpadevta tovs mpéeaBes: to de Sevtepoy édé-
Eato, coutcbev bd Pwxiwvos, Tav TpecButTépwr
> lA ef / > 4 \ bd
axovoyv ott Kat Didirmos eOavpale tov avdpa
TovTOV’ Kal ov povoy THy évtevEw vrrépevev av-
A \ \ , > \ \ 4
Tov Kat THhv Sénow, adAa Kal cupBovrEvovToOS
BY 4 4 } e @ 4 > \ e
nKovoe. cuveBovreve 8 0 Daxiwr, ei pev naov-
,
vias opéyetat, OécOar Tov Todepov: et dé S0Ens,
\ a
petabécOat, mpos tovs BapBdpous amo tay ‘EX-
/ \ \ \
AnVwOY Tpatropevov. Kal Toda Kal mTpos THY
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PHOCION

the burdens of command with this object in view,
will not suffer these fellow citizens of mine to
perish even if that is their desire.” And when
Thebes had been destroyed! and Alexander was

demanding the surrender of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hypereides, Charidemus, and others, and the assembly turned their eyes upon Phocion and called upon him many times by name, he rose up, and drawing to his side one of his friends, whom he always cherished, trusted, and loved most of all, he said: “These men have brought the city to such a pass that I, for my part, even if this Nicocles should be demanded, would urge you to give him up. For if I might die myself in behalf of you all, I should deem it a piece of good fortune for me. And I feel pity,” said he, “men of Athens, for those also who have fled hither from Thebes; but it is enough that the Greeks should have the fate of Thebes to mourn. Therefore it is better to supplicate and try to persuade the victors for both you and them, and not to fight.”

Well, then, we are told that when Alexander got the first decree which the Athenians passed, he cast it from him and ran with averted face from the envoys; the second, however, he accepted, because it was brought by Phocion, and because he heard from the older Macedonians that Philip also used to admire this man. And he not only consented to meet Phocion and hear his petition, but actually listened to his counsels. And Phocion counselled him, if he sought quiet, to make an end of the war ; but if glory, to transfer the war, and turn his arms away from Greece against the Barbarians. And

1 In 335 B.c.

\
’AreEdvipou dicey Kai BovAnow evo ToXws elTa@V
S \ a
otTw petréBare Kal Kxaterpdaivey avToy wore
eireiy OTrws mpocéEovar Tov vodv "AOnvator Tots
/ 4
TpAayLAcL, WS, El TL yévoLTO TrEpl auUTOV, ExELVOLS
a \ / ,
dpyew mpoojxov. idia dé tov Pwxiwva toinaa-
e a / \ / 2 , 4
pevos avrod dirov xai Eévov, eis tocautny Eero
a 4
Tiny Bony elyov OdjLyot THY del cUVOYTMV. O
a a / /
youov Aovpis elpnxev ws péyas yevouevos Kal
a ca) a“ \
Aapetov xpatnoas ddeiie tov émicToN@Y TO

yaipe mrAnV ev Soa &ypade Paoxiwre> todTov
dé povov, wotep ‘Avtitatpoy, weTa TOD yaipew
mMpoonyopeve. TovTO dé Kal Xdpns ioropnke.
XVIII. To pévroe rep) Trav ypnedtwv oporo-
youpevov é€otiv, Ott Swpeav avT@ Karétreprwev
e N 4 tf / ? ? VA
EXATOV TaNaAVTA. TOUTwWY KomLcbevTwY eis ’AO-
9 , e 4 \ / / /
vas, npetnoey 0 Paxiwv tovs dépovtas ti 87
Tote TONN@Y 6vTwVv AOnvaiwy aiT@ povm Tocav-
/
ta Sidwow *AréEavSpos. citrovtwy Sé éxeivwr,
7
“Ort oé xpive povov dvdpa Karov Kai ayabov,”
ce O % % s. , @ e @ , sc? , \
vxovv, ‘eitev 0 Pwxiwv, “éacdtw pe Kal
} A 2 A A 3 eo] 99 e \ bd
oxely adel Kal elvat ToLodTov.” ws &€ aKxodov-
s A
Onoavres els OlKoV AVT@ TOAAHY EWpwv EVTENELAY,
\ a
THY pev yuvaixa pdtrovcay, 0 5€ Paxiwy avros
/ @ a
avipnoas Ddwp éx Tod ppéatos atrevirrreto Tovs
, 4 A
jwodas, ETL paAdov eévéxewto Kal nyavaKtour,
9 f. A
Secvov elvat éyortes et diros Ov Tod Bacthéws
1 Of. the Alexunder, xiii. 2.

by saying many things that suited well with Alexander’s nature and desires he so far changed and softened his feelings that he advised the Athenians to give close attention to their affairs, since, if anything should happen to him, the leadership of Greece would properly fall to them.! In private, too, he made Phocion his friend and guest, and showed him greater honour than most of his constant associates enjoyed. At any rate, Duris writes that after Alexander had become great and had conquered Dareius, he dropped from his letters the word of salutation,

“ chairein,’ except whenever he was writing to Phocion; him alone, like Antipater, he used to address with the word “chairein.” This is the testimony of Chares also.

XVIII. The story about the money, indeed, is generally admitted, namely, that Alexander sent him a present of a hundred talents.2. When this was brought to Athens, Phocion asked the bearers why in the world, when there were so many Athen- ians, Alexander offered such a sum to him alone. They replied : “ Because Alexander judges that thou alone art a man of honour and worth.” “In that case,” said Phocion, “let him suffer me to be and be thought such always.’’ But when the messengers accompanied him to his home and saw there a great simplicity,—his wife kneading bread, while Phocion with his own hands drew water from the well and washed his feet,—they were indignant, and pressed the money upon him still more urgently, declaring it an intolerable thing that he, though a friend ot

2 The talent was equivalent to about £235, or $1,200, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.

ao

obra SvarrnoeTas Topas. iSeov ovv oO Doxiov Twévnta mpeo BuTny &v TpiBevig puTap@ Topevo- pevor, nparncev el TOUTOU Xelpova vopitovary auTov. edpnpeiv 6é € exetvav Seopeven, “ Kai pny OUTOS,” elrren, _ an ear Tovey épod oH Kat dpxet- tat. To dé dArov BN XPOMEVOS, ebm, “ parqy ew TOC OUTOV xpuaiov, n GMEVOS é“auTov apa xaketvov d:aBar® T pos THV TOA. OTH peV émravinnoe Tdi TA YpHpata & "AOnvan, émrubei - favra Tots "EAAgat Tova LOT Epov tov didovTos Tocabra TOV py) Seopevov. émel O€ "Are£avdpos HyavaKTnoe Kal may éypawe T@ Poxiwr di- ous V7) voi fe Tous pnodev autod Seopuévous, xpmyara ev ovd & Daxiwrv éraBer, ddeP hvac nEiwoe TOV copia Thy “Exexparidyy Kal Tov "T uBprov ‘AOnvodwpov xat ‘Podtous duo, Anpa- parov Kal Lraptwva, TUVELANMLEVOUS én aitiass teat Kal xaderpypévous € év Yapbect. TovTouvs pev ovv evOus amehuoev) “AréEavépos, K parepov dé arog TEAM eis Maxedoviay éxéXevoe TETTAPODY movkewv év ‘Acta, age DepyiBov, MvAdowr, "Eralas, piav, iv adv aipiras, Tapabobvat TO Poxiovt, Siatervdpevos & €TL parrov OS Xarerravel

un NaBovtos. GND ouTe Doxiov éraBer, 6 TE
"AdeEav6pos TAXES améBavev. 1 5é& oixia Tod
Doxiwvos Erte viv ev Menritn Setxvurat, xaraais
Neiot Kexoounuévn, Ta Se GAKA ATH xKal
agers.

———————

1 In 324 B.c., when Craterus was commissioned to lead the veteran soldiers of Alexander back to Macedonia. See the Alexander, chapter 1xxi.

the king, should live in such poverty. Phocion, accordingly, seeing a poor old man walking the street in a dirty cloak, asked them if they considered him inferior to this man. “ Heaven forbid!” they cried. “And yet this man,’ said Phocion, “has less to live upon than I, and finds it sufficient. And, in a word,” said he, “if I make no use of this great sum of money, it will do me no good to have it; or, if I use it, I shall bring myself, and the king as well, under the calumnies of the citizens.’’ So the treasure went back again from Athens, after it had showed the Greeks that the man who did not want so great a sum was richer than the man who offered it. Alexander was vexed and wrote back to Phocion that he could not regard as his friends those who wanted nothing of him. But not even then would Phocion take the money; he did, however, ask for the release of Echecratides the sophist, Athenodorus of Imbros, and two men of Rhodes, Demaratus and Sparton, who had been arrested upon sundry charges and imprisoned in Sardis. These men, then, Alexander set free at once, and at a later time,! when he sent Craterus back into Macedonia, he ordered him to turn over to Phocion the revenues from whichever one of four cities in Asia he might select,—either Cius, Gergithus, Mylasa, or Elaea,—insisting still more strongly than before that he would be angry if Phocion did not take them. But Phocion would not take them, and very soon Alexander died. And even to the present day Phocion’s house is pointed out in Melité,? adorned with bronze disks, but otherwise plain and simple.

2 A deme, or ward, in the S.W. part of Athens. See the Themistocles, xxii. 2.

XIX. Tov dé yuvarkay as eynue, Tept THS
TpoTepas ovbev toTopetrau, TANv Ore Kn¢gico-
SoTos Hv oO TATTHS aderpos auras, THs O€
SevTépas ovuK eAdTTOV € emt coppoo wy Kab adeheia
Noyos my Tapa Tois "AOnvaios 4 Pwxiwvos ert
OTOTHTL. Kat TOTe Oewpévov KaLvous Tparye-
dous ‘AOnvaiwy, o O pe Tparypoos elovévar péALOV
Baotnridos mpoowrov qree Kekoo pnpevas Todas

OT ad0US TONUTEADS TOV Xopnyov: Kab p1) Tape-
Xovros Hyavaxte: Kal KaTeixe TO Oéatpov ov
Bovdopevos mpoenGeiv. o 6é Xopmyos MeAdv@cos
ada avTOV €lS TO péoov éBoa: s Thy Poxiwvos
ovx opas yuvaixa mpoiodaay del META [Las Gepa-
matvisos, aN” aralovevn Kal Stapdeipers THY
YyUvaltK@viTiv; * ” éaxovarou dé THs pwvijs yevo-
pévns edéEato KpoT@ TroAAW Kali BopvB@ To
Oéatpov. avtn dé i] yur", Eévns Tivos "Teovers
émiderEaperns Xpucovy Kal MOoxor.AnTov KO Lov
ev TAoxious al mepioepaios, sei "Epot Oé,” Ep,
- HOG 10S éott Dwxiwy eixootov Eros 45n oTpatn-
yav “AOnvaiwv.”
XX. Poxe 5é¢ T@ vie Bovropéeve ayovicacbas
ava@nvaiors drroBdrny épjxev,! ovxt THiS viens
Gperyouevos, ann’ Ores emtpedn Gets Kal aonnoas
TO copa Berrian é égolro" Kal yap Hy ahs gtdo-
TOTNS kal ATAKTOS 0 vEeaVvio Kos. ViKTAYTOS dé
Kal TOAK@D aiToupevoy éoTiacae Ta viKNT NpLa,
Tovs GAXous Doxiov TAparTna apevos évl rH
prroripiay TAUTHY TUvEXWPNTEY. Os dé éXOav
émt to Seitrvoy ddAAnv te coRapav éwpa trapa-
1 dnp... BovrdAopévy... épixevy with Coraés, Sintenis?, and Bekker, after Fa; @anov... BovAdpuevov . ..
apixev.

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XIX. As for his wives, nothing is told us about
the first, except that she was a sister of Cephiso-
dotus the sculptor; but the reputation which the
second had among the Athenians for sobriety and
simplicity was not less than that of Phocion for
probity. And once when the Athenians were wit-
nessing an exhibition of new tragedies, the actor
who was to take the part of a queen asked the
choregus to furnish him with a great number of
attendant women in expensive array; and when he
could not get them, he was indignant, and kept the
audience waiting by his refusal to come out. But
the choregus, Melanthius, pushed him before the
spectators, crying: ‘ Dost thou not see that Phocion’s
wife always goes out with one maid-servant? Thy
vanity will be the undoing of our women-folk.”’

His words were plainly heard by the audience, and were received with tumultuous applause. And this very wife, when an Ionian woman who was her guest displayed ornaments of gold and precious stones worked into collars and necklaces, said: “ My ornament is Phocion, who is now for the twentieth year a general of Athens.”

XX. When Phocus his son wished to compete at - the Panathenaic festival as a vaulting rider of horses, Phocion permitted it, not because he was ambitious for the victory, but in order that care and training of the body might make his son a better man; for in general the youth was fond of wine and irregular in his habits. The youth was victorious, and many asked him to their houses for the victor’s banquet ; but Phocion declined the other invitations and granted the coveted honour to one host only. And when he went to the banquet and saw the general

OKEUNY KaL TrodaviTTHpas olvov Ot apwuaTwv
mpoadepopmevous Tots Elotovat, KaXécas Tov VioD,
“Ov rravoes,” edn, “ Tov éTaipov, ® Daxe, dia-
hUcipovra cov tHy vienv;” Bovdropevos Sé Kat
xaQoXou peTacthicar TO pmetpaxtoy éx THs Stairns
éxeivns, amnyayev eis Aaxedaipova cai xarépike
TOUS AYOMEVOLS THY NEYOLEVHVY aya veavicKots.
kat todto Tovs "AOnvaious éAvUTyTEV, WS UTEP-
opavTos Kat dTrepppovodvTos Ta oixeta TOD Paxiw-
> 7 \ a s \ > fgg PV
vos. ettrovtos € tod Anpddou mpos avtov, “ Tt
ov teiGoperv, @ Pwoxiwov, “APnvaiovs thv Aaxo-
A , a 9\ \
yuxnv mpocdéEacOar TrodTEiav; eav yap av Ke-
Uf > A , \ , ef , >] 29
Aeuns, ey@ ypadew Kal Reyer EToLmos Ebpt,
“Tldvu yoo,” Edn, “ mpéyrerey av cot pvpov
tocovTov olovte Kai yAavida ToravtTyny PopodyTt
oupBovrever “AOnvaiors trept giditiwv Kab Tov
Avxodpyov érrawvetv.”

XXI. [pdyavros 5€ trod *AreEdvdpov epi
Tpinpwv, STs amooTEiAwotV aUT@, Kal TOV pN-
Topwy évictapevwnv, THS 5é BovAns Tov Pwxiwva
Xré x , “ce Aé / e a %
éyely KxeNEvOvoNS, éyw Toivuy wpiv,” etrev,
‘9 tots SaAows Kpately } Tois KpatovdaL dpidous
® 99 \ \ 4 > f 4 A

elvas. ampos dé IIlu@éav apyouevov tote mparTov
évruyxavew “AOnvaiois, dn Sé Addov Svta Kal
Opacvy, “Ov ciwomnoes,” Edn, “Kai TadTa vew-
yntos @v T@ Snuw;” eet Sé “Apmados peta
Xpnudtwv woNNe@v amodpas ’AréEavdpov ex THs
A a ,
"Acias tH Artix mpocéBanre, kat Tay ciwOoTwr
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magnificence of the preparations, and particularly the foot-basins of spiced wine that were brought to the guests as they entered, he called his son and said: “ Phocus, do not let thy companion ruin thy victory.” Moreover, wishing to remove the young man entirely from that style of living, he took him off to Sparta and put him among the youths who were following the course of discipline called “agoge.’! This vexed the Athenians, who thought that Phocion despised and looked down upon the native customs. And once Demades said to him: “ Phocion, why shouldn't we try to persuade the Athenians to adopt the Spartan polity? For if thou sayest the word, I am ready to introduce and support the requisite law.” But Phocion replied: “ Indeed it would very well become thee, with so strong a scent of ointment upon thee, and wearing such a mantle as thine, to recommend to the Athenians the public mess-halls of the Spartans, and to extol Lycurgus.”’

XXI. When Alexander wrote asking the Athen- ians to send him triremes, and the orators opposed the request, and the council bade Phocion speak upon the matter, “I tell you, then,” he said, “ either to be superior in arms or to be friends with those who are superior.”” To Pytheas, who at that time was just beginning to address the Athenians, but was already loquacious and bold, Phocion said: “‘ Hold thy peace, thou who art but a newly bought slave of the people!’’ And when Harpalus, who had run away from Alexander out of Asia with great sums of money, landed in Attica,? and those who

1 See the A gestlaiis, i. 1.
2 See the Demosthenes, chapter xxv.
Ig!

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

b 4 “ , / , @ \
ato tov Bnyatos xpnuarivecOar Spouos mv Kai
bi , \ > 7 Ul \ > \
apuihra Pberpopévav pos avtov, TOVTOLS ev aTrO
TOANOY wixpa Sereadlwv mponxato Kal dréppie,
» 6€ Doxi g dsd0vs é)
T@ 6€ Dwxiwve mpocéreue Sed0vs émtaxdora
TaXNavta, Kal TANNA TayTa, Kal peTa TaVTOV
éavTov éxeiva povm TwapaxatatiOéuevos. atro-
xpwapévou 6€ tpaxéws TOD Pawxiwvos oipwkecOar
‘ a > N 4s , \
tov “Aptanov, eb pn tmavoeta Siadpbeipwr tiv
, , \ \ > , > 3 , ‘
TOALY, TUTE HEV TVTTANELS ATEGDTN, MET OALVOV bE
, > s e/ A A >
Bovrevopévov *“AOnvaiwy éwpa tovs pév eidXn-
potas Ta Ypnpata Tap avTov petaBaddopévous
Kai Katnyopotvtas, iva pn pavepol yévevtas,
Pwxiwva Sé tov pyndev AaBovta peta Tov Kowwod
acuudépovtos dua Kal tHv éxeivou catnpiav &y
s 4 4 @ > \ > \ XN
tive NOy@ TLIOéuevov. Mads ovv évexOels emi TO
Oepatrevety éxeivov, avTov pev ws Epupa tavta-
yobev dvddwtov bro Tod ypuciov Tepiodedwv
e7 , \ \ \ > A ,
éwpa, Xapixréa dé Tov yauBpov avtod trounod-
/ \ U J A 56 A“
pevos cuvnOn nai pirov, averrAnoe OoEns Trovnpas,
TAVTA TLOTEVOY KAL TAVTA YPWMEVOS eKELVO.
XXII. Kai $7 «cai Wudoviens tis éraipas atro-
4 a J cd 2 A \
Oavovons, iv eityev 0” Apirados épav Kai Ouya-
tpiov twatnp é€& auThs yeyovel, puvnpetoy amo
f A > / @ 4 4
Xpneatwv ToNNWY eEmitTecoar VeAnoas mMpoceE-
take T@ Xapexrel tHy emipérerav. ovoav dé THv
bmoupyiay TavuTny ayevyh) MpooKaTHaxXvvEY oO
, if , , \ v A ?
Ttados avvtTedecOeis. Stapéver yap Ete viv ev
1 éxelvp with Coraés and Bekker : én’ éxelvy.

were wont to make merchandise of their influence
as orators came running to him at breakneck speed,

to these men he dropped and scattered small mor-
sels of his wealth by way of bait; but he sent to
Phocion and offered him seven hundred talents,
and everything else that he had, and put himself
with all his possessions at the sole disposition
of Phocion. But Phocion answered sharply that
Harpalus would rue it if he did not cease trying
to corrupt the city, and for the time being the
traitor was abashed and desisted from his efforts.
After a little, however, when the Athenians were
deliberating upon his case, he found that those who
had taken money from him were changing sides and
denouncing him, that they might not be discovered ;
while Phocion, who would take nothing, was now
giving some consideration to the safety of Harpalus
as well as to the public interests. Again, therefore,
he was led to pay court to Phocion, but after all his
efforts to bribe him found that he was impregnable
on all sides like a fortress. Of Charicles, however,
Phocion's son-in-law, Harpalus made an intimate
associate and friend, trusting him in everything and
using him in everything, and thus covered him with
infamy.

XXII. For instance, on the death of Pythonicé the courtesan, who was the passionately loved mis- tress of Harpalus and had borne him a daughter, Harpalus resolved to build her a very expensive monument, and committed the care of the work to Charicles. This service was an ignoble one in itself, but it acquired additional disgrace from the com- pleted tomb. For this is still to be seen in Hermus,

'Epper,' % Badilouev €& adoteos eis 'EXevoiva,
pnodey Eywv TOV TpLdKovTa TadavTwY akiov, doa
nae nA
T® Aptrdr AoyicOjvai hac eis TO Epyov vio
tov Xapixréovs. Kat pévtoe cal TerevTHoavTos
aA A A A
avTov TO TaLdapLov UTO ToD XapixAéovs Kat Tov
Dawxiwvos avaryndpbev éruyyave wacns emipenreias.
Kptvouévou pévtoe Too Xapixréovs est tois "Ap-
manretos, Kal Seouevou Bonbetv avt@ tov Pwxiwva
kal aouvercerbeiy eis TO Sixactiptov, ovn 70é-
> 2 "ce? ,) / > a
AnoEV, ELTTOV: Eyo ae, @ Xapterets, ETL TAGL

a /
Tois dixatos yauBpov érrornodpny.”
4 fa)
IIpwrou d€ "A@nvaios ‘AckrAnmiddov tod ‘Ir-
Ul 4 ‘4 > /
mapyou TeOvavat mpocayyeiAavtos ‘AdXéEavdpor,
e
o pev Anuddns éxédeve un Tpocéxerv’ dda yap
dv SrAnv oCerv vexpov THv oixovpévny: o b€ Paxiwv
émnpuevoy op@ayv mpos TO vewtepiley Tov Srwov
éretpato Tapnyopeiv Kal Katéyev. avaTnd@ovTwv
oe Le) b] \ N nw : \ 4 > On
€ TWoNNwY emt TO Anya, cat Bowvtwy arnO7
\ 2 A b) lA \ lA N
tov AokAnmiddnv amayyéAXrew Kal teOvavar Tov
AnreEavdpor, VKoUV, eElirev, ‘El onpEpoV TE-
4,
Ovnke, kal avpiov éorar Kal eis TpitHy TEOYnKOS,
icf e aA 3 e J 4 “A be 9
WOTE NAS ev novxla BovrevoacBat, “adrov de
peTa aodaneias.”
¢
XXIII. ‘Os 5€ hépwv evécercey 0 Acewobevns
Thv Todw eis Tov Aaptaxov® mrodepmov, Kal TOD
/ , A ,
Dwxiwvos dvcyepaivovtos npwta KaTayeAov TL
1 “Eoue: Bekker, after Coraés: ‘Epyely.
2 3¢ Bekker, after Coraés, corrects to xa. 3 Aauiaxdy Coraés and Bekker, after Xylander : ‘EAAnukdy.

1 See Pausanias, i. 37, 5, with Frazer’s notes. Pausanias speaks of it as ‘‘the best worth seeing of all ancient Greek: tombs.”
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on the road from Athens to Eleusis, and it has nothing worthy of the large sum of thirty talents which Charicles is said to have charged Harpalus for the work.! And yet after the death of Harpalus him-self,? his daughter was taken up by Charicles and Phocion and educated with every care. However, when Charicles was brought to trial for his dealings with Harpalus, and begged Phocion to help him and go with him into the court-room, Phocion refused,

saying: “I made thee my son-in-law, Charicles, for none but just purposes.”’
Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus was the first one to bring to the Athenians the tidings that Alexander was dead. Thereupon Demades urged them to pay no heed to the report, since, had it been true, the whole earth would long ago have been filled with the stench of the body. But Phocion, who saw that the people were bent on revolution, tried to dissuade them and restrain them. And when many of them sprang towards the bema, and shouted that the tidings brought by Asclepiades were true and that Alexander was dead, “ Well, then,” said Phocion, “if he is dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow and the day after. Therefore we can deliberate in quiet, and with greater safety.”’
XXIII. Leosthenes, who had plunged the city into the Lamian war * much to Phocion’s displeasure, once asked him derisively what good he had done
2 Antipater demanded his surrender by the Athenians, and Harpalus fled to Crete, where he was assassinated.

3 323-322 B.c. So named because the confederate Greeks held Antipater and his forces for some time besieged in Lamia, a city of 8.E. Thessaly (§ 4).

mwetroinxey ayabov THv TONY éTH TOTADTA OTpA-
TOYO, “Od puxpov,” py, “7d Tovs ToriTas év
Tois iStoes pynpace OantecOar. trodrga bé Opa-
ouvopévou Kal Koutralovtos év TO SHuw tod Acw-
aBévous, 0 Pwxiwv, ‘Oi Aoyou cov,” eliev, “@
petpaxcov, éolKact KumapiTrous: peydrou yap
dyTes Kal _dypnrot KapTovs ov pépovow.” as dé
€TravacTas 0 ‘Trepetdys npwtnae, “ lore obv, @
Pwxiwv, cupBovrevcers worepueiv "AOnvaioss; ”
“"Orav,” elie, “ Tous pev véovs ido thy Takw
Bovdopévous purarreLy, Tous 6€ Touatous ela Pé-
pewv, Tous 5€ pytopas améyecOar Tod KrNEwTELY TA
Snpoota.”
@avyualovrwy dé ToAROv THY v7o tov Aew-
aOévous curnypévny Svvaptv, Kai tod Paxiwvos

TuvOavowevov mas tet maperxevac Gat doxod-
ow avTe, “ Kanés,” Epn, “ pds TO aTabuov" TOV
dé Séduxov TOU ToAé pov poBotpat, pate Xprpara
THS TOAEWS erepa prjre vas bate omhiTas exou-
ons. 7 epapTuper dé avT@ Kal Ta epya. TT PG)TOV
pev yap o Aewa Gévns Aaprpos pn Tais mpakeot,
tov te Botwrav payn Kparnoas Kal TOV Avtina-
Tpov eis Adpiav cuvenaoas: OTe Kat pace THV
pev TOMY ehmidos * peyanrns ryevowevny éoptatery
evayyedua TUVEX OS Kat Ovew Tots Geois, TOV dé
Poxiova ™ pos TOUS éNeyxery aurov olopévous,
kat truvOavopévous é: Tadra ovK dv nOedev AUTO
mempaxOas, fy avy pev ov,” bn, = BeBovred-
cOat dé éxeiva.” Kai wddwv adAXwv érr ado15
evayyertov ypadouévwv Kal gepopévwy aro
1 ads rt Bekker, after Coraés, corrects to mas. 2 éanlSos Bekker, after Coraés, corrects to én’ éArl5os.

the city during the many years in which he had
been general. “No slight good,” said Phocion, “in
that its citizens are buried in their own sepulchres.”’
Again, when Leosthenes was talking very boldlv
and boastfully in the assembly, Phocion said: “ Thy
speeches, young man, are like cypress-trees, which
are large and towering, but bear no fruit.” And
when Hypereides confronted him with the question,
“When, then, O Phocion, wilt thou counsel thc
Athenians to go to war?’ “ Whenever,” said
Phocion, “I see the young men willing to hold their
places in the ranks, the rich to make contributions,
and the orators to keep their thievish hands away
from the public moneys.”
When many were admiring the force got together by Leosthenes, and were asking Phocion what he thought of the city’s preparations, “They are good,” said he, “for the short course ;! but it is the long course which I fear in the war, since the city has no other moneys, or ships, or men-at-arms.” And events justified his fear. For at first Leosthenes achieved brilliant successes, conquering the Boeotians in battle, and driving Antipater into Lamia. Then, too, they say that the city came to cherish high hopes, and was continuously holding festivals and making sacrifices of glad tidings. Phocion, however, when men thought to convict him of error and asked him if he would not have been glad to have performed these exploits, replied: “ By all means; but I am glad to have given the advice I did.”’ And again, when glad tidings came in quick succession by letter and messenger from the

1 The short course in the foot-races was straight away, the length of the stadium ; the long course was ten times back and forth.

/ 9 ,
otpatotédou, '"Ilote apa, hava, " ravoopeba
VLKOVTES;
XXIV. 'Esrei 6€ trod Aewodévous atrobavovtos
' 4 '
ot poBovpevoe Tov Poxiwva, pn otpatnyos éx-
\ U4 \ / " ,
Tweupbets Katarvon Tov TodEpOV, avOpwroy Tiva
A "" 4
TOV ovK émipavav év ExXKNHOLa TapEecKEevacay
> 4 / cd lé A "~ , \
dvactavtTa Néeyev Ste hiros ov TOV Dakiwvos Kat
cupTrepolTnk@s tapaier deidecBar Tov avdpos
\ 4 e v7 vd 3 "
Kat dudaacelv, ws adAOY OmoLloV ovK ExOVTAS,
3 / \ 9 4 > AN \ Ul \
éxtréutrety 5é "Avtidirov éri TO otpatevpa, Kal
n a - \
tavta tots "AOnvaios acuvedoxet, tmrapedAOav o
/ # a
Dwoxiwvy Edeye ponte cuptehoirynKévat ToTé TO
: , v t
avopwir@ unte AdNAWS yeryovévat yuwpLLos } TUVN-
> "A A
Ons» "Ada vov," elrev, "ato THS onMEPOV
, , A >] a a \
nuépas Kat dirXov ce TroLovpal Kai olKEioV: & yap
@ > \ / , 39
nv é"ol cupdepovTa cvpPeBovrEvxas.
e / \ A b] , > \ \
Oppnpuévon b€ tov "A@nvatav éri tovs Boww-
, A a A
TOUS OTpaTEvELY TP@TOV peVv avTelye' Kal TOV
v4 U A a
dirov Aeyovtwv ws atoPaveitat TpocKpovw TOOLS
bf / A
A@nvaiots, "'Adixws," elev, "av Told TO oUL-
/ A \ 4 4 bP] J \ bY

dépoyvy dv 6€ tapaBaiva, dixaiws.” éret Oé€
e “ b] b / > \ a : ee A \
opav ovx avevtas, adda Bowvtas, exeNevoe TOV
a , \ ” ,
Knpuxa avetrety “AOnvaiwy rods aypt eEnxovtTa
b] ~ > > ef J e an 4 s
érav ad nBns wévte huep@v oitia AaRovTas
b] ‘ 3 aA > N “~ >] / /
evOus axorovleiy ato THs éxxAnaotas, JopvBov
TOAAOU yevouévou Kal TV TpeaBuTépwy BowvTav
A > \
Kal avarrndorvtav, “ Ovdév,” edn, “ dSeevovy eyo
f 4 4
yap 0 otparnyos oySonKooTov Exwy ETOS Evopat
a 4
peO tpov.” -cal Tote pev ovTwS KaTEeTaVCEDV
\ é
auTovs Kal meTé Bare.
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camp, “ When, pray,’ said he, “will our victories
cease?”
XXIV. But Leosthenes was killed, and then those who feared that Phocion, if he were sent out as general, would put a stop to the war, arranged with a certain obscure person to rise in the assembly and say that he was a friend and intimate associate of Phocion, and therefore advised the people to spare him and keep him in reserve, since they had none other like him, and to send out Antiphilus to the army. This course was approved by the Athenians, whereupon Phocion came forward and said that he had never been intimately associated with the per- son, nor in any way familiar or acquainted with him ; “‘ But now,’ said he, “ from this very day I make thee a friend and close companion, for thou hast counselled what was for my advantage.”

Again, when the Athenians were bent on making an expedition against the Boeotians, at first he opposed it; and when his friends told him that he would be put to death by the Athenians if he offended them, “ That will be unjust,” said he, “if I act for their advantage ; but if I play them false, it will be just.” Afterwards, however, seeing that they would not desist, but continued their clamour, he ordered the herald to make proclamation that every man in Athens under sixty years of age should take provisions for five days and follow him at once from the

assembly. Thereupon a great tumult arose, the elderly men leaping to their feet and shouting their dissent. “It is no hardship,” said Phocion, “ for I who am to be your general am in my eightieth year.’ For the time being this checked them and changed their purpose.
199

XXV. HlopAoupévns S€é THs maparias vo Me-
a ,
xiwvos cuxvois Maxedoot kai prcbodopos aro-
a \
BeBnxotos eis ‘Papvodvta cal catatpéyovtos THhv
4 9
yopav, éEjryaye tovs ‘AOnvaiovs ém avTov. @s
\ , ? Li ¥ ,
5é€ mpootpéxyovres adrayobev adros dtecTpaTn-
A \
youv kal auvveBovrevoy avtod Tov AOpov KaTa-
aA A VA A
AaBetv, éxet wepitréurpar Tovs imméas, évTad0a
A e >
mapepBaretv, “°O, “Hpdxrets,” elev, “ws ToA-
AOVS OP® aTpaTnyous, Griyous 5é oTpaTLMTas.”
érrel 5€ trapatdEaytos avtovd Tous omAitas els
\ \ A Mv na a , 9
TOV TPO TOV ANAwY m™ poner, celta d€icas avTi-
4 > \ 4 lA > \ /
otavros avépos todeulov maduw eis thy takev
b U4 ec? , 393 J ‘ce ? Qa
aveywpnaoev, “QO, petpaxiov,’ elmrev, “ovK aid7
4 / BJ 4 > 4 e \ “~
dvo tafers amro\edorTTWS, iv eTaXOns vo Tov
aA \ lA 779 A \ 54 b> ie)
oTpaTnyou Kai radu éd’ hv ceavrTov étakas;” ép-
\ A A 7 \ \ lA ,
Baroy d€ Tots ToNEuiots Kal KaTa KpadTos TpEYra-
b a \ J \ \ v
pevos, autoyv Te Tov Mexiwva Kai ToAXOVS AAXOUS
amexteve. TO 5é€ “EXANVIKOY év OeTTAXIa aTpa-
Teva, cuppiFavtos ‘Avtimdtp@ Acovvatov Kat
A 3 > , / > 7 / \
tav é€& “Acias Maxedovar, évixa payopevov: Kal

/ a
Aeovvdtos érecev, Hryoupévov THS pév hdrayyos
"Avtidirov, tav dé immévwv Tod Beccarod
Mévwvos.
> / \ ed / a
XXVI. Oduye dé DaTepov Xpovp Kpartepod
Dz a \
SsaBavtos é& “Acias peta moddns Suvapews Kai
yevomevns madw év Kpavyavr tapatakews, 4TT7-
7
Onaoav pév ot “EXAnves oUTE peyadny hrTav ovTE
a 4 \
TOAXaY TecovTwy, amretOeia Sé Tpos TOS apxov-
Tas émueixels Kal véovs ovtas, Kal Gua Tas To-
200

XXV. However, when their sea-coast was being devastated by Micion, who landed at Rhamnus with a horde of Macedonians and mercenaries and overran the adjacent territory, Phocion led the Athenians out against him. And as they marched, men would run up to their general from all sides and show him what to do. He was advised to seize a hill here, to send his horsemen around thither, or to make his attack upon the enemy there. “O Heracles,” said Phocion, “how many generals I see, and how few soldiers!’’ Again, after he had drawn up his men-at-arms, one of them went out far in advance of the rest, and then was stricken with fear when an enemy advanced to meet him, and went back again to his post. “Shame on thee, young man,” said Phocion, “for having abandoned two posts, the one which was given thee by thy general, and the one which thou didst give thyself.” However, he attacked the enemy, routed them utterly, and slew Micion himself together with many others. The Greek army in Thessaly, also, although Leonnatus and his Macedonians from Asia had joined Antipater, was victorious in battle, and Leonnatus fell ; the Greek men-at-arms were led by Antiphilus, their cavalry by Menon the Thessalian.

XXVI. But a short time afterwards Craterus
‘crossed from Asia with a large force,! and there was
another pitched battle at Crannon. Here the Greeks
were defeated. Their defeat was not severe, nor
did many of them fall, but owing to their lack of
obedience to their commanders, who were young
and soft-hearted, and because at the same time
1 Cf. chapter xviii. 5.

20!

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Aes avTa@v repovTos ‘Avtimarpov, Stappvévtes
¥ / \ , > \ 9
2 aloyicta mponxavto thy edevOepiav. evOvs odv
b] A N\ > J 54 a > 4 A
émt tas “A@nvas ayovros tod ‘Avtim@atpov THv
dvvayuv ot pev rept Anuoobévnv cat ‘Trrepetdnv
amrnd\raynoav éx THS ToAEws, Anuddns Sé, unOév
pépos wv wpeare Ypnuatov él tais catabdixas
> a a or PS 4 e , a e \
éxticat TH Toda Suvapevos (jAwKEL yap érTa
ypadas tmapavonwv Kat yeyovms atipos éEeip-
yeTO TOU Aéyelv), AdEtay EvpopeEevos TOTE, ypadet
Whdiopa éxtéutrev! mpos ‘Avritatpov obrép
bf 4 4 > / , \
3 eipyvns mpéoBers avToxpatopas. goBoupévou Sé
tov Snwov Kal Kadovvtos Poxiwva, cal povy
, 2 7 , oc? > ov : ,
WloTEvELy EXELV@ ANEyovTOS, “ANA Ele erLTTEVO-
” 9 co 2 N / eon > A A
unv,” elmev, “ éyo cuuBovrevov vpiv, ovK dv viv
éBovrevopea Trepi TpayLaTwV TOLOUT@V. oUTw
a /
5é tod Whdicpatos éemixupwOévtos amectadn
4 A
mpos “Avtimatpov év tH Kadueta otpatoredev-
ovTa Kal TapacKevalopuevoy evOus eis THY ’ATTE-
nv Badiferv. Kal todTo TpwTov HTEL, TO LévovTa
4 KaTa ywpav TroincacOar Tas diadvoes. Tod dé
Kpatepod Aéyovtos ws ov dixata reife. Pwxiwv
Has, THY TOV cuupdyov Kai ditwv caOnpévous
YOpav KaKaS ToLety Suvapévous ex THIS TOV
ToAcwiov apercicbat, AaBopevos avdrod THs SeEvas

e 3 , 6c , > i J “c 4 lA
o Avtitratpos, “ Aoréov, etre, “ Dwxiwre tavtTnv
A Ul ”? \ \ A #. > + > a
THY yap. epi d€ TOV AAXrAwWY exédevEY avTOIS
> / \ b , 4 > ,
émitpémey tors ‘AOnvaiovs, waomep ev Aapia
AewaoOevns éxeivov.
1 éxwéurery with Doehner ; the MSS. have xa! réume:, which Bekker retains: wéure:v, after Coraés.

Antipater made tempting overtures to their several cities, their army melted away and most shamefully abandoned the cause of freedom. At once, there- fore, Antipater led his forces against Athens, and Demosthenes and Hypereides left the city. De- mades, however, though he was unable to pay any portion of the fines which had been imposed upon him by the city (he had been seven times convicted of introducing illegal measures, had lost his civic rights, and was therefore debarred from speaking in the assembly), obtained immunity at this time, and brought in a bill for sending to Antipater ambas- sadors plenipotentiary to treat for peace. But the people were fearful, and called upon Phocion, de- claring that he was the only man whom they could trust. “ But if I had been trusted,” said he, “ when I gave you counsel, we should not now be deliberat- ing on such matters.”” And when the bill had thus been passed, he was sent off to Antipater, who was encamped in the Cadmeia,! and was making prepara- tions to march into Attica at once. And this was the first request that Phocion made, namely, that Antipater should remain where he was and make the treaty. And when Craterus declared that it was not fair in Phocion to try to persuade them to remain in the territory of their friends and allies and ravage it, when they had it in their power to get booty from that of their enemies, Antipater took him by the hand and said : “ We must grant Phocion this favour.” But as for the other terms of the peace, he ordered the Athenians to leave them to the conquerors, just as, at Lamia, he had been ordered to do by Leosthenes.

1 The citadel of Thebes.

XXVITI. ‘Os odv érravprbev 0 Pwxiwy eis 76
” \ A 3 4 A 4 e >» 3 /
aotu Kal Tots “A@nvaios tabvta okey tn’ avay-
Kens, avis eis OnBas éBadile peta TaV adv
mpéeaBewv, Revoxpatnv tov derocogov tav ’AOn-
valwy Tpocedopévwy. ToaovTov yap Hv akiwpa
A A un /
THS apeTHs TOU Hevoxpatouvs xai d0Fa Kai royos
Tapa Tac wate olecOar pnte UBpu elvar pre
, a
@poTnta unre Oupov év avOpetrivn Wuyn pudpe-

* _— 4 I b] } > A > le!
vov, @ evoxpatous povov opGévros ovK av aidods
TL Kal TULAS éyyévotto mpos avTov. améBn Sé
> 4 b) 4 \ A / aA
Tovvavtiov dyvepootvy Twi Kal pucaryabia TOD
AvTiTaTpOV. TPWTOV pEev Yap OVK NOTdCGaTO TOV
= 4 \ ” } 4 Lee) t
Elevoxpatnv tovs adAous SeFtwodapevos: ed @
ghacw eiteiy éxeivov ws Avtimatpos KaX@s Trowel
povov avTov aliayuvouevos éf ols ayvapoveiv
/ \ \ 4 v , b] 4
peArNeL Trpos THY ToL ErretTa NEyev apEapeEvov
? e / > > 93 lA \ la
OvX vVIropévwv, AN avtTixpovav Kal ducKoraivov
éroincey atociwmjcat. tav dé Twept Tov Do-
, / > , J 4
Kiava StareyOevtwv amexpivato diriav EcecOar
tois A@nvaiow Kai cuppayiav éxdovor pev Tovs
\ / \¢ / 4
mept AnpooBevnv cat “Trrepetiny, mrodttevopévots
4
dé THY TaTpLoY amo Tiunpmatos! qodTelav, deEa-
/ \ \ 9 \ , 4 \
peévors 5€ dpovpav eis tHv Movvuyiav, err Se
XpPHUaTa TOD ToAéuou Kal Enuiav mpocexticacw.
e \ LZ ¥ / b 4 e
Ou. pev ovv adrot tpecBets NyaTncay ws
nn
grravOpwtrous tas S:advces, ANY TOU Hevoxpa-
\ nw
Tous: édn yap ws pev SovAoLts peTpins Kexphabau
1 amd riuquaros Coraés and Bekker, with most MSS.: ard Tiunpdrov.

XXVII. Accordingly, Phocion. returned to Athens with these demands, and the Athenians acceeded to them, under the necessity that was upon them. Then Phocion went once more to Thebes, with the other ambassadors, to whom the Athenians had added Xenocrates the philosopher. For so high an es- timate was set upon the virtue of Xenocrates, and so great was his reputation and fame in the eyes of all, that it was supposed the human heart could harbour no insolence or cruelty or wrath which the mere sight of the man would not infuse with rever- ence and a desire to do him honour. But the result in this case was the opposite, owing to a certain ruthlessness and hatred of goodness in Antipater. For, in the first place, he would not salute Xeno- crates, although he greeted the other ambassadors ; at which Xenocrates is said to have remarked: ‘‘ Antipater does well to feel shame before me alone of his ruthless designs against our

city.”” And again, when the philosopher began to speak, Antipater would not listen to him, but angrily contradicted him and forced him into silence. But when Phocion had made his plea, Antipater replied that the Athenians could be his friends and allies on con- dition that they delivered up Demosthenes and Hypereides, reverted to their earlier constitution with its basis of property qualification, received a garrison into Munychia,! and, in addition, paid the costs of the war and a fine.

The rest of the ambassadors were satisfied with these terms and considered them humane, with the exception of Xenocrates, who said that Antipater dealt with them moderately if he held them to be

1 The acropolis of Peiraeus.

tov Avtitratpov, ws b€ éAevOépors Bapéws. Tov
\
5é Dwxiwvos wapattoupévov tHv gdpovpay Kai
, Ul \ bd / b a cc*
deouévou AéyeTat Tov ‘Avtimatpoy etmety ‘OD,
A ,
Pwxiwv, jets mavta cor yapilerPar Bovropela
\ “ \ A b / \ e “A > e \
TAnY TOV Kal oé aToAOVVTMV Kal nuas.” ot 5é
> ef 4 > \ b] fo! \ 3 ,
ovy ovTws daciv, adda EpwThicat Tov AvTi-
TaTpov et THY Ppovpav avévtos avtod tois ’AOn-
/ a ’ a a
vatots 6 Pawxiwv éyyvatat THY TOALY Eupevely TH
eipnvn Kal pnOev ToAUTTpaypoVngELY? TLwWT@VTOS
\ 3 / \ / b] ,
dé éxeivou kat d:apédAovos, avaTrndnoavta Kad-
AwédovtTa Tov KdpaBov, avipa Opacvy Kai piao-
} 6] A ‘ce? \ be ka e 9 ,
nuov, evmety: “Kav b€ ovtos, ® ’AvTitaTpe,
A \ , \ J 4 A /
drvapyn, cv miatevoets Kal ov mpakes a dué-
yuwKkas;”

XXVIII. Odtw pev edéEavto dpovpav Make-
/ ’ a \ / e / ~
Sovwv ’A@nvaio. cai Mévurrov ajyenova, tev
emletK@Y Tia Kal TOD Pwxkiwvos eémitndeiwv.
> 4 \ e / \ , \ a
éhavn 5é UTrepjdavoy TO TpdcTaypa, Kal waddov
/ e
éEovcias UBper ypwpmevns éemriderkis 1) Tpaywatov

évexa yiyvouevpn Katadn is. ov puxpov b€ TO
wda0e. tpocéOnKev 0 KaLpos. eikadds yap 1) ppov-
pa Bondpout@vos etonyOn, pvotnpiwy dvtTwv, 7
\ Ww >] v ’ a 4 /
tov “laxyov é& doteos ’EXevoivade Twéutrovow,
LA A a , b] /
WOTE THS TErAETHS TUyyVOEions avaroyilerOat
TOUS TrOANOLS Kal TA TpecBUTEepa ToV Ociwv Kai
\ a
Ta Tpochata. Marat pev yap ev Tots apiotors }
eEVTUXH MATL TAS puoTLKAas dels Kal dovas Tapa-
1 Qpioros Bekker adopts G. Hermann’s conjecture of
anlorots (ancredtble).
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T54

slaves, but severely if he held them to be freemen. Phocion, however, besought Antipater to spare them the garrison, to which Antipater, as we are told, replied: ‘“‘O Phocion, we wish to gratify thee in all things, except those which will ruin thée and us.” But some tell a different story, and say that Antipater asked whether, in case he indulged the Athenians in the matter of the garrison, Phocion would go surety that his city would abide by the peace and stir up no trouble; and that when Phocion was silent and delayed his answer, Callimedon, surnamed Carabus,! an arrogant man and a hater of democracy, sprang to his feet and cried: “ But even if the fellow should prate such nonsense, Antipater, wilt thou trust him and give up what thou hast planned to do?”

XXVIII. Thus the Athenians were obliged to re- ceive a Macedonian garrison, which was under the command of Menyllus, an equitable man and a friend of Phocion. But the measure was held to be an arrogant one, and rather a display of power which delighted in insolence than an occupation due to stress of circumstance. And it came at a time which added not a little to the distress of the people. For the garrison was introduced on the twentieth of the month Boédromion, while the celebration of the mysteries was in progress, on the day when the god Iacchus is conducted from the city to Eleusis, so that the disturbance of the sacred rite led most men to reflect upon the attitude of the heavenly powers in earlier times and at the present day. For of old the mystic shapes and voices were vouchsafed to them in the midst of their most glorious successes,

1 Stag-beetle.

yever Oat ovv éxrrnée cal OapBer Tov Torepior,
vov o€ Tols avTots lepols Ta Sucyepéotata abn
THs 'EArdbos ericKoTety Tous Oeovs, Kal Kabv-
BpilecOar Tov ayiwtatov Tod ypovov Kal Adsorov
AUTOS, ETM@VULOV TOV LEYLOTOV KAKOV yEevomevon.
,
TpOTEpov pev OvV OAtlyoLs ETEaL Ypnaopov é&-
e 5 is A , '7 ? t
veykav at Awdwvides TH TOdEL "TA aKpwTHpLa
THs Aptéuisos hurAdooev," Stas aAXoL 1) Aa-
A
Boo tore 5é rept Tas Huepas éxetvas ai Tawviat
pév, als eptedtTTovo. Tas. puoTLKAaS KOtTAaS,
Bartopevat Oarypivov avti gowixod ypa@pa Kal
a a \
vexpaoes avnveyxay: 6 bé peifov hv, Ta TmapaBa-
TTOMEVA TOV LOLATLKOY TAVTA TO TpoatKoV avOos
" 4 \ t / > /
gxxve. pvaoTny O€ NoVoVTAa yotpidtov év KavOape@
Aupeve KATOS ocuvérXaBe Kal Ta KaTw pépN TOD
TWOMATOS Apt THS KotdLas KATETTLE, TPOOELKVUVTOS
avtTois tov Oeod mpodhavas ott Tav KdtTw Kal
N , / \ v /
mpos Oaracan otepnOevtes THY avw TOoALY Stadv-
Aa€ovewv.
/
'H pev ovv dpovpa ba Mévuardov ovdév jnviace
Tovs avOpwrous: tav dé ato ndicbévTwy Tov
TOMTEVMLATOS Sta Treviav UTép pupious Kal dioxe-
Aious yEevouevwv of TE pévovTes EdoKOUY TYéETALA
a \ ,
Kal aTina mdcyew, of te Sua TOUTO THY ToALW
> U \ lA > , 3 4
éxdeTrovTes Kal peractavTes eis Opaxny, Avtimd-
1 See the Themistocles, xv. 1.
2 Artemis was the patron goddess of Munychia.
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and brought consternation and affright upon their enemies ;! but now, while the same sacred cere- monies were in progress, the gods looked down with indifference upon the most grievous woes of Hellas, and the

profanation of the season which had been most sweet and holy in their eyes made it for the future give its name to their greatest evils. Indeed, a few years before this the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona bidding them “ guard the summits of Artemis,’? that strangers might not seize them ; and now, during the days of the festival, when the fillets with which they entwine the mystic chests were dyed, instead of purple they showed a sallow and deathly colour, and, what was more signi- ficant still, all the articles for common use which were dyed along with the fillets took the natural hue. Moreover, as a mystic initiate was washing a pig in the harbour of Cantharus,? a great fish seized the offering * which he held and devoured the lower parts of its body as far as the belly, by which Heaven clearly indicated to them in advance that they would be deprived of the lower parts of the city which adjoined the sea, but would retain the upper city. Now, the garrison, owing to the influence of Me- nyllus, did no harm to the inhabitants; but the citizens who were deprived of their franchise be- cause of their poverty numbered more than twelve thousand, and those of them who remained at home appeared to be suffering grievous and undeserved wrongs, while those who on this account forsook the city and migrated to Thrace, where Antipater

3 Part of the harbour of Peiraeus.
‘ Intended for Demeter, the chief divinity of the mys-
teries.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tpov ynv Kal woALY AUTOS TapacxXoVTOS, éKTreE-
TOALOPKNMEVOLS E@KETAD.
XXIX. 'O 6€ Anpocdévous ev Kadaupia cai
‘Tarepeisov mpos Krewvais Oavatos, wept ov év
Grows yéeypamrrat, povovovK épwta Kal mdo0oyv
"AOnvaios “AXeEdvdpov cat Pidrimrov tapiotn.
Kat TovtTo! Srep Vorepov, avatpeOdvtos * Avtiyo-
vou kal TaV averdovTwr éexeivoy apEapévwyv Bid-
CecOat cal AvTreEty TOs avOpweTrOUs, aVnp dy PoLKOS
év Dpvyia xwptov opyTtwv Twudopévou Twos, “Ti
motets; otevdtas, ‘“’Avtiyovoy,” eire, “ Enta:”
TovuTo! roAXNois emer Néyery Stauynwovevovar
Tov éxelvav Tov Baciréwr Oupov, os TO péya Kal
yevvaioyv evrrapairntov elyov, oy wamTep AvTi-
TATpos LOL“wTOV TpocwT@ Kal davrAoTnTL YAa-
pevdtou Kal Siaitns evTedeia KATELPwWVEVOMEVOS THY
é£ouciav eax GeoTepos 7 Tots maoxouet KAKOS
Seomorns kal TUpavvos. dSpuws 8 odv 0 Paxiwv
kal muyns arnd\Aake Todos denBels rob ’Apti-
TaTpov, Kal devyouct dverrpaEatro wn KaOdtrep ot
Roetrot TOV peOroTapévav UTép TA Kepavvia dpn
cat Tov Taivapov éxreceiv tis “EXXdébos, GAG ev
TleXotrovvno Katotxetv, av cat ‘Ayvavidns jy o

acuKxopavTns. émipedopevos S€ TOY KaTa THY
TOMY Tpaws Kal vouipws TOs wey doTeious Kal
Vapievtas év tais apyais del ouvetye, Tovs dé
ToAuTpaypwovas Kal vewTEptoTds, AUT@ TO 1)
1 rovro retained in both places by Bekker; the first is deleted by Coraés, after Reiske; the second is corrected to tére by Sintenis'.
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furnished them with land and a city, were like men driven from a captured city.

XXIX. Moreover, the death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hypereides at Cleonae, about which I have written elsewhere,! made the Athe- nians yearn almost passionately for Philip and Alex- ander. At a later time, after Antigonus had been slain,? and those who slew him began to oppress and vex the people, a peasant in Phrygia who was digging on his farm was asked by someone what he was doing, and answered: "I am looking for Antigonus."' So now many were moved to speak, as they called to mind how the greatness and generosity of those illustrious kings made their wrath easy to appease ; whereas Antipater, although he tried to conceal his power under the mask of a common man of mean attire and simple mode of life, was really a more burdensome tyrant and master to those who were in trouble. But nevertheless Phocion successfully pleaded with Antipater for the exemption of many from exile, and for those who went into exile he obtained the privilege of residing in Peloponnesus, instead of being driven out of Hellas beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Taena- rum like other men in banishment. Of this number was Hagnonides the public informer. Furthermore, by managing the affairs of the city with mildness and according to the laws, he kept the men of edu- cation and culture always in office, while the busy- bodies and innovators, who withered into insignifi- cance from the very fact that they held no office and

1 See the Demosthenes, chapters xxvili.—xxx. 2 Antigonus was defeated by Seleucus and Lysimachus at Ipsus, in Phrygia, in 301 B.c., and fell in the battle.

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p Q
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dpxew unde OopuBeiy atropapatwvopévous, edidake
piroxywpety Kal ayarayv yewpyobvtas. opav dé
\ 4 fa) N V4 > 4
Tov Elevoxpatny teXovvTa TO peToixtoy éBovrETO
lA lA e b A , > A
ypayrat toditny: o 6é ameimre,-pyoas ovx av
n 4 A

peTacXely TAaUTNS THS ToNtTELas Tepl Hs emmpé-
oBevev iva pn yévntat.
XXX. Tot 5&€ MevidArgouv dwpeav ait@ kal
, , >] 4 4 9 > A b]
vpnuata didovtos, atexpivato unt éxetvov ‘AXe-
Eavdpou BeAtiova eivat wnTe KpeLTTOVA THY aLTiaV
eh’ 4 Aneta viv oO ToTEe pn SeEdpevos. GANA
Poxw ye TO Tatdl NaBetv Seopévov tod Mevva-
Xx ce @® 4 lA 93 J ce 2\ \ ; ipl
ou, wm pév, eéltev, “éay pev awdppovn
petaBaropmevos, apkéoes Ta TOU TaTpos’ ws 8
V4 “A J \ e , > 39 > 4 \
Eyes viv, ovdey ixavov éotiw.’ "Avtitatp@ é
4
TpaXvTEpoy amexpivato PBovropévp te yeverBas
A A Q 4 3
ds avtov Tav pn mpeTvovtay: “Ov duvatat yap,”
8 ‘6c? 4 ee \ / \
ELTITED, AvtTimatpos apa pot Kali Pirm Kat
, a ” N \ > 4 J \
KoAaKke ypnoOar. tov dé “Avtimatpov avtov
eimrety Aéyouow ws dveiy avT@ dirov ’AOnvnow
5) \ “
dvtav, Paxiwvos cai Anpddov, tov pev AaBetv
b , N \ A > > / \
ov meémeiKe, TOV dé Std0US OUK Eu“TréeTANKE. Kal
pévtoe. Paxiwy pev ws apetnv éredetxvuTo THY
;
Teviav, év 7 TocavTaKs “AOnvaiwv otpatnyncas
a 4
Kail Baoirevor dirois yYpnoduevos éyxaTeyynpace,
Anpadns 66 T@ TAOUT@ Kail Tapavopwrv éxadrw-
A cy
mwiteto. vosov yap ovtos “AOnynot tote pH
yopever E€vov 7) yiAlas atroTtivey Tov Yopnyor,
dmavras eicayayov Eévovs Tovs yopevoytas
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raised no uproars, were taught by him to be fond of home and to delight in tilling the soil. When he saw that Xenocrates paid the resident alien tax, he offered to enrol him as a citizen; but the philosopher refused, saying that he could not take part in an ad-

ministration for the prevention of which he had served on an embassy.!

XXX. When Menyllus offered Phocion a gift of money, he replied that neither was Menyllus better than Alexander,? nor was there any stronger reason why the man who would not accept it then should take it now. Menyllus, however, begged him to take the money for his son Phocus at least, whereupon Phocion said: " For Phocus, should he be converted to sobriety of life, his patrimony will be enough ; but as he is now, nothing is sufficient." Again, when Antipater desired him to do something that was not seemly, he gave him a sharper answer, saying: " Anti- pater cannot have from me the services of friend and flatterer at once." And Antipater himself once said, as we are told, that he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades; one he could never persuade to take anything, the other he could never satisfy with his gifts. And verily Phocion displayed as a virtue the poverty in which, though he had been so many times a general of Athens and had enjoyed the friendship of kings, he had come to old age ; whereas Demades made a great parade of his wealth, even though he was violating the laws to do so. For instance, there was a law of Athens at this time forbidding a choregus to have a foreigner in his chorus, under penalty of a thousand drachmas; but Demades presented a chorus of a hundred members

1 Cf. chapter xxvii. 2 Cf. chapter xviii.

ExaTOv dvTas cpa Kat THY onulay ava xirtas
vmep éxdarou elarjvey Kev eis TO Jéatpov. Anpeg
be 76 vi@ yuny aryopevos, " "Eyob per," elev,
'@ Tail, THY ONY UNTEPA. yapobvTos 0vde o yeltov
¥oBero tots b€ cots yapous Kat Baowrets Kat
duvaotat cvyxopnyovaor.
"Evoxhow Tov be TO Doxiorr TOV 'AOnvatov
6TwS amarrakn THY ppoupav mwetoas Tov 'Avti-
TaTpov, elTe wn TpocSoKay metoew elTE paiddov
opay owppovobvra, TOV Sfjwov Kal 'TONTEVOpEVOY
eUTAKTOS dua TOV PoBov, éxelyny HED det dmb ito
THY mpeo Beiay, Ta O€ Ypynuata pn TparTew, aN
pednewp Kal dvaBadrecbat Tov "Aprimatpov
ETrELoE. petaBavtes ouv Anpaday Tapexdhovv.
o d€ mrpodvpas bt bran Kal TOV vioV eXov amrijpev
eis Maxebdoviay, v7 Satpoves TLWOS;, Os couxev,
els TOUTO KaLpov Kop Gels év & KATELXETO poev
'Avtimratpos nn yoo, Kdeav8pos bé Tay mpa-
YUaTOV eyKPATNS yeryoves eUpev emLaToNay Anud-
ov yeypampéevny T pos '"Avtiyovoy «is 'Actay,
TapaKanrodyTos avTov emupavijvar TOUS Tept THY
"Edda, Kal Maxedoviay, ¢ eK Tada.od Kat cam pou
K pepapevors TT PLOVOS, TOV 'Avtimatpov ovT@

TKOpavTos. @s ovr eiSev auTov Gi try LEVOV 0
Kdaavépos, cuvehaBe, Kat TparTa fev TOV vito
éyyus T pocaryaryev aréapager, Gare xatadefa-
cOat Tots KOMTOLS TO alua TOV TmaTépa Kal Kata-
TAnaOhvar Tou povou, peta Tadta bé ets ayapi-
ortay avrov Kal m poboatav TOAAA AoLdopHaas
kat xaOuBpicas améxrecvev.
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all of whom were foreigners, and at the same time brought into the theatre his fine of a thousand drachmas for each one of them. Again, when he was bringing home a wife for his son Demeas, he said to him: “ When I married thy mother, my son, not even a neighbour noticed it; but to thy nuptials kings and potentates are contributing.”

When the Athenians importuned Phocion to go and persuade Antipater to remove the garrison, whether it was because he despaired of persuading him, or because he saw that the people were more sensible and conducted public affairs with more de- corum when they were thus under the influence of fear, he continually rejected that mission; he did, however, persuade Antipater not to exact the moneys due from the city, but to delay, and postpone their payment. The people, accordingly, transferred their importunities to Demades. He readily undertook the mission, and taking his son with him set out for Macedonia. He arrived there, as some heavenly power, doubtless, would have it, precisely at the time when Antipater was already afflicted with sick- ness, and when Cassander, who had assumed control - of affairs, had found a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, beseeching him to present himself suddenly in Greece and Macedonia, which hung by an old and rotten thread, as he facetiously called Antipater. When, therefore, Cas- sander saw Demades after his arrival, he arrested him, and first slaughtered his son, whom he had brought so near that the folds of his father’s robe caught the blood of his murder and were filled with it, and then, after heaping much insult and abuse upon him for his ingratitude and treachery, slew the father too.

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XXXI. "Ezret dé ’Avtimatpos atrobetEas IloAv-
om epXovTa oTpaTnyoy, Kdoavépov dé xiALapxov,
éFédutrev, evOds Siavacras O Kdoavdpos Kal
TpoxaTarapBaveov Ta Tpaypata Twéurer KaTa
taxos Nexdvopa To Mewar» duddoxov Tis
ppouvpapyxias, Tp éxdnrov TOV “Avturatpov
Odavarov yevéa Pa Kedevoas THY Mouvuxiap mapa-
AaBeiv. yevopevou S€ TouvTov, Kat pel nuépas

oriryas mudopeveov TOV "AOnvator 6 bru TeOunKev O
"Avtitatpos, é€v aitiais 0 Dwxiwy hv Kat Kaxas
Tcovev @s tpoatcOopevos Kal KaTacLwTioas
xapure tod _ Nuxavopos. o 6€ TOVTM@Y pév OvK
eppoviter, € evTuyX avov dé T@ Nixdvope kal dva-
Aeyouevos els TE Tada TOLs 'AOnvatous ™pGov
avTov Kal KeXapto uevov mapeixe, Kal prroripias
Twas émetce kal datrdvas brootivat yevouevoy
arywvoderny.
XXXII. "Ev tovr@ Sé Kal [lorvamrépxov, THY
TOU Baciréws érripedevay eyav ud éauT@ Kat
KAT ATOMTEVOMEVOS Tov Kacavépor, emeprpey
émiaToANY Tos év doret YEYPALpEVND, @s TOU
Bac iréws amobibavros avrois THV Snwoxpatiav
Kal ToNrLtTever Oat Kara Ta maT pla mavras "AOn-
vaious KeXevovTos. mV dé TOUTO Kara TOU Dooxio-
v0s émtBouny. cvaKevalouevos yap eis éavtov,
OS pix pov DaTepov éderEe Tots Epyats, 0 Ilodvorép-
yov THY TOMY, ovdev rrr e Tepatvery pa Tov
Pwxiwvos éxmecovtos: éxmeceiaOar Se éxeivov

1 Not to be taken in its literal meaning of commander of a thousand, but in the general sense of lieutenant-general, second in command. Antipater vainly sought to deprive his son of the succession.

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XXXII. And when Antipater died, after appointing Polysperchon general-in-chief, and Cassander chiliarch,! Cassander at once became rebellious, promptly took the government into his own hands, and sent Nicanor with all speed to relieve Menyllus from the command of the garrison at Athens, bidding him take over Munychia before Antipater's death became known. This was done, and when, after a few days, the Athenians learned that Antipater was dead,? they blamed Phocion severely, alleging that he had known about it before and had held his peace as a favour to Nicanor. Phocion, however, paid no heed to these charges, but by interviews and discussions with Nicanor rendered him in general mild and gracious to the Athenians, and, in particular, persuaded him to undertake sundry

expensive exhibitions as director of games.
XXXII. In the meantime, too, Polysperchon, who had the king? in his own personal charge and was seeking to thwart the schemes of Cassander, sent a letter to the citizens of Athens, announcing that the king restored to them their democracy and ordered that all Athenians should take part in the administration of the city according to their earlier polity. This was a plot against Phocion. For Polysperchon was scheming (as he plainly showed a little later) to dispose the city in his own interests, and had no hope of succeeding unless Phocion was banished ; he was sure, however, that Phocion would be banished if the

3 In 319 B.c.

3 The imbecile Philip Arrhidaeus, half-brother of Alexan- der. The other king, the little son of Alexander by Roxana, was in Epeirus with Olympias, the mother of Alexander. See the Humenes, iii. 1 and 7, with the notes.

a a ? 4 bd f a
dua tov atevndicpévoy ereyv0évtwv TH TWoN-
, / A Aa A /
Telg Kai wdadw To Biya dnuayoyav KaracxovTov
Kal TUKOPAVYTOV.
¢€ / \ \ A A b 4
Trroxtvovpéverv S€ pos tavbta tev 'AOnvaiwr,
/ > a > a) e 4 >
Bovropevos evtuxety avtois o Nixavwp, ev Ilee-
pases BovArAns yevouévns, TapnrOe, TO Poxiworvi
9 , \ a Us Q c A > \
éumirtevoas To capa. Aepxvrrov oé Tov émi
THS K@pas oTpaTnyod cudAAaBeEiv avTov émriye-
a /
pnaoavtos, éxeivos pev mpoatcOopevos é&erndnce,
\ \ A\ 9 , \ n e
kal havepos Hv evOvs apuvovpevos THY TOALY, O
\ 4 > \ A 4 X wv \ \
5é¢ Dwxiwv eri T@ TpoécOar Tov avdpa Kai py
KaTacxel éyxanrovpevos pn TioTEevey pev TO
Nixavops: cai pndév an' adtov mpoadoxav Sevov:
ef O€ p11}, waAXrov eOérXeww AdsKotpevos 7 abieav
ghavepos yevéecOar. Todto Sé€ brép avrod pev av
Tit oKoTrovvTt SoKoin KadoKayabiKads NErAEXOat
kal yevvaiws: o S€ ets tartpidos atroxivduvevwrv
cuTnpiay, Kal tav'Ta otpatnyos Kal apyYwv, ovK
oda py peiCoy Te wapaBaiver nal mpecBvtepov

TO Tpos TOUS TroAiTas Sixatov. ode yap éxeEivo
” 3 a a 4 \ > ,
éotiy evtrety, Gtt hoRovpevos pev Els TToAEMOV
3 a N U e / b U fe)
éuParety thy wordt o DPwxiwyv amecyeto Tov
Nixavopos, GAAws 5é mpovBadrrA€cTO THY TiaTLY
kal To Sixatov, Strws aidovpevos exeivos novxiav
ayn cat pndév abdixn tovs ‘AOnvatovs: add’ dvtws
Gotxev toxyupa Tis ad’t@ Tept Tov Nexavopos éy-
A /
yevéoOat triatis, dv ye TOAN@Y TrpodtaBaddorTwY
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disfranchised citizens overwhelmed the administration, and the tribunal was again at the mercy of demagogues and public informers.

Since the Athenians were somewhat stirred by these communications, Nicanor wished to address them,[1] and after a council had been convened in Peiraeus, he came before it, relying upon Phocion for the safety of his person. But Dercyllus, the Athenian general in command of the district, made an attempt to arrest him, whereupon Nicanor, who became aware of the attempt in time, dashed away, and was clearly about to inflict speedy punishment upon the city. Phocion, however, when assailed for letting Nicanor go and not detaining him, said that he had confidence in Nicanor and expected no evil at his hands; but in any case, he would rather be found suffering wrong than doing wrong. Now, such an utterance as this might seem honourable and noble in one who had regard to his own interests alone; but he who endangers his country’s safety, and that, too, when he is her commanding general, transgresses, I suspect, a larger and more venerable obligation of justice towards his fellow citizens. For it cannot even be said that it was the fear of plung- ing the city into war which made Phocion refrain from seizing Nicanor, but that he sought to excuse himself on other grounds by protestations of good faith and justice, in order that Nicanor might respect these obligations and keep the peace and do the Athenians no wrong; nay, it would seem that he really had too strong a confidence in Nicanor. For though many gave warning against that officer and

1 Nicanor, acting in the interests of Cassander, wished to expose to the Athenians the designs of Polysperchon.

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Kal Katnyopouvtwv émitiOecOar Te Uetparet cat
dtaBuBalew ets Tarapiva Eévous nal d:apOeipew
tivas Tov év Ilespatet xatouxovvtwy, od tpoo7-
>
KATO TOV AOYoV ovo éeriotevaEV, GAAA Kal Pido-

/ a / 9.7 /
pnrov tov Aaumtpews Wydiopa ypawavtos
"A@nvaious arravtas év tots StXots elvat Kai TO
atpatny@® Paxiww mpocéxe, nuernoev, aypt
e a
ov mpocdyav o Nixavwp éx tHs Movuvuyias ta
ed \ A /
oma Tov Ileipara treptetadpevce.
XXXTII. Tparropévwy b€ tovtwv o pev Do-
4 b] A \ aA \ > ,
xiwv éGopuBetto xai cated poveito tous AOnvaious
Ul 3 e /
éEdyew Bovropevos, AréEavdpos dé o Hovvorrép-
\
YovTos vies Ke weTa Suvduews, Noyo ueyv etl Tov
/ a 3 ¥ 4 4 \ ‘\
Nixdvopa tots év adotet BonOyjowyr, Epyo Sé tTHV
, > 4 / > \ e fo
Tod, €& SvvatTo, KaTAaAnYomevos avTHnY éauTA
TepiT@EeTH yevouevnv. ot Te yap puyddes avTo
auvetaBarovtes evOus Hoav év dotet, Kal TOV
/ A
Eévov dua nal TOV aTipwv mpos avTovs etadpa-
/
hovrTwy éxxrAnoia Trappyns nOpoicOn Kat data-
KTOS, é€v 4 TOV Pwxiwva THs apyfs atrodvoayTes
étépous etNovTo oTpaTnyous. et b€ wy oUYL@D Ets
A \
Aoyous o ’Adé~Eavdpos tO Nexdvope povos Tapa
To Telyos WhOn, Kai TodTO ToLodYTES TrOAAaKLS
e / A b / f > N e
uToviay tots "AOnvaiow trapéoyov, ovK av 7
/
woAts Ovepuye Tov Kivduvov. érret dé ‘Ayvavidns
0 pyTwp evOvs errehveTo Tos Trept TOV Poxiwva
kal KaTnyopes Tpodocias, ot pev wept KarrLpe-
/ an A
Sovta kai Xapixréa hoByOévtes amHnrOov éx THs
, e \ , b 9 A a f-
Tronews, 0 66 Daxiwy cal pet avtov Tav dirov
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accused him of hostile designs against the Peiraeus, in that he was sending mercenaries across to Salamis, and tampering with some of the residents in Peiraeus, Phocion would not give heed to the story nor believe it at all. Indeed, even after Philomelus of Lamptrae brought in a decree that all Athenians should stand under arms and await orders from Phocion their general, he paid no attention to the matter, until Nicanor led his troops forth from Munychia and began to run trenches around the Peiraeus.

XXXII. In this state of affairs, Phocion, who now wished to lead the Athenians forth to battle, was stormed at and held in derision, and Alexander the son of Polysperchon came with an armed force. His ostensible design was to bring aid to the citizens against Nicanor, but he really wished to seize the city, if he could, now that she was ruinously divided against herself. For the exiles who had burst into the country with him were at once in the city, strangers and disfranchised citizens ran in to join them, and a motley and turbulent assembly was gathered together, in which Phocion was deposed from his command and other generals were chosen. And had not Alexander been seen in close confer- ence with Nicanor near the walls, and had not their interview, which was often repeated, rendered the Athenians suspicious, the city would not have escaped its peril. Moreover, Hagnonides the orator! at once assailed Phocion and denounced him as a traitor, whereupon Callimedon and Charicles? took fright and left the city, while Phocion, and with him those

1 The same as the public informer of xxix. 3.

3 Prominent partisans of Antipater, who had transferred their allegiance to Cassander, the son of Antipater, rather than to Polysperchon, the succéssor of Antipater.

ot TrapapeivaytTes @yovTo pos IloAvaTépyovTa.
Kat avveEnrOov avrois yapitt ToD Dwxiwvos o
TIvataseds Yorwv cat Acivapyos o Kopivdsos,
émitndecot Tov IloAvomépyovtos eivat Soxodvtes
, aA
kat ovvndes. appwotia S& xpnoapévov tod
9
Aewapxou cvxvas juépas év "Enarela Ssérpuar,
év als 'Ayvewvidou meicavtos, 'Apyeotpatou bé To
Whdiopa yparpavtos, éreute mpecBetav o dSHuos
KaTnyopjycovcay tov Daxiwvos. dua dé Kal
cuvémstav aupotepor te IloAvorépyovte peta
tov Bacthéws Tropevopévw trepl Kony Twa TIS
Dwxidos, Papvyas, Kespévnv b7ro To *AKpovpiov
épos, 6 vov T'aXrarny Kadodour.
"Evradéa 89 Beis o Tlodvaortépywr tov ypucody
oupavionov, Kal Kabicas it' av'T@ Tov Baciréa

\ A 4 N N 4 > A b
kat Tous girous, Tov péev Aeivapyov evOvs éx
mpoodov AaPely ExéXevoe Kai otpeBX\WoarTas
> “A A \ b] 4 b] 4 S
amoxteivat, tots 6€ AOnvaios amwédwxe Royov.
a@s 5¢€ OdpuBov Kai Kpavynv érotouy dvtiKatn-
a 3 t 3 A 4 \
yopouvTes GAAHAwY ev TH auVEdpi~, Kal TpocEd-
dav o ‘Ayvewvidns citev, “"Arraytas nas eis
, 5] J 4, > , b] /
piav éuBarovtes yaredypav ’AOnvaios avatrép-
S e , 99 e \ A > VA
rate Noyov vpéfovtas, o pev Bactreus éye-
Nacey, of dé TepreaT@Tes TH cuvedpim Maxedoves
kai Eévoe oxoAny dyovtes éreOvpouy axovetv, Kal
Tovs mpéaBets TapexdAouy amo vevpatos évTad0a
qoteiobar tTHv KaTnyopiav. hv dé ovdév gov,
GANA TO pey Poxiwvie TodrAdKis aytéxpovcev oO
J 4 / @ A ,
LloAvorépxwv Aeyovtt, méxpt ov TH Baxtnpia
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of his friends who remained faithful, set out to go to Polysperchon. There went forth with them also, out of regard for Phocion, Solon of Plataea and Deinarchus of Corinth,! who were reputed to be intimate friends of Polysperchon. But Deinarchus fell sick, and the party therefore tarried many days in Elateia, during which time the people of Athens, in accordance with a decree brought in by Archestratus and supported by Hagnonides, sent an embassy to denounce Phocion. Both the parties fell in with Polysperchon at the same time, as he was marching with the king near Pharygae, a village of Phocis lying at the foot of Mount Acrurium, which is now called Galata.

Here, then, Polysperchon, after setting up the golden canopy and seating beneath it the king and his friends, as soon as Deinarchus came forward, ordered him to be seized, tortured, and put to death,? and then gave audience to the Athenians. But they raised a tumultuous shouting with their denuncia- tions of one another in the council, and at last Hag- nonides came forward and said: “ Throw us all into one cage and send us back to Athens to render an account.” At this, the king burst out laughing; but the Macedonians and foreigners who were gathered about the council, having nothing else to do, were eager to listen, and nodded to the ambassadors to make their denunciation there. But there was no fairness in the

conduct of the case, since, when Phocion tried to speak, he was frequently interrupted by Polysperchon, and at last, smiting the ground with

1 Antipater’s chief agent in Peloponnesus, ? In order to maintain himself in power, Polysperchon was forced to treat Antipater’s friends as his own enemies,

matatas Thy ynv améotn Kal KatTectwrnoev.
€ A A
Hynpovos 5€ dijcavtos Ste waptus aVTO THS POS
Tov Sipov evvoia;s TloAvorépywr éoti, kab Tov
TloAvorépyovtos aroxpivayévov mpos opyny,
A N lA
“Tlatcat pou mpos tov Bactdéa Kxatarpevdo-
b>] 3 & 4 e A a /
pevos, avamrnoncas o Baatrevs wpunoe NOYXN
‘N ¢ 4 4 \ A A
tov Hyrova marafar. tayv dé rob lodvotrép-
, > N 4 Py , \
VovTos meptkaBovTos auTov ovTw dteXvOn TO
ouvédptov.
4 > A
XXXIV. Tov d¢ Poxiwva kai tovs pet avtov
puArakhs Tepieyovons, door Tv éTalpwv ETVYoV
ouUK éyyus éoTa@TeEs, @S TOUTO eldov, éyxadud-
evo. kal Stadvyovtes eowOnoav. éxetvous dé
A fo) ,
Knreltros ets “AOnvas aviye AOyo pev KptOnoopme-
vous, épyw o€ amobaveiy KataKxexpimévous. Kat
Tpoonvy TO oXnwa TH KouldH Avtrnpov, ed’
apdktats couCopévwmv avta@v d:a tov Kepapecxov
\ a e
mpos TO Oéatpov: éxel yap avTovs Tpocayayav o
Kyeitos cuvetyev, a Y THy éxxAnotav érX7-
vev, axpt ov THY éxKANolay éTA7
e A
pwoav ot apyovtes, od SovAov, ov Févov, ov«
ATtwov aTrokpivayTes, AAAA TaGL Kal Tacals
avaTeTTapévov TO Siua Kal To Oéatpov trapa-
t 3 \ \ a > 9» \ n 4
ayovTes. émet O€ T éemtoToAn Tod Bactréws
aveyvacOn, Néyovtos avT@ pev éyv@abat mpodo-

¢
Tas yeyovévat Tovs avdpas, éxetvors dé dedovar
/
THv Kptow érevOépors -te 57 Kal avTOVOmOLS Ov~CL,
kat tovs avdpas o Kyeitos eionyayev, ot pev
f a A > , A J
BérrTicTo. THY TodtT@Y odGEvTOs TOU PwxKiwvos
J 4 \ 4 7 3 4
évecadvwavto kal Kato Kuavtes eddxpvor, els
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his staff, he retired and held his peace. Moreover, when Hegemon! said that Polysperchon could bear witness to his good will towards the people, and Polysperchon replied in wrath, “Cease telling lies against me in the presence of the king,” the king sprang to his feet and would have smitten Hegemon with a spear. But Polysperchon quickly threw his arms about the king, and thus the council was dissolved.

XXXIV. A guard was now placed about Phocion and his associates, and at sight of this all of his friends who were standing at some remove covered up their faces and sought safety in flight. Phocion and his party, however, were taken back to Athens by Cleitus, ostensibly to be tried, but really under sentence of death. And besides, the manner of their return to the city was shameful, for they were carried on waggons through the Cerameicus to the theatre. For thither Cleitus brought them and there he kept them, until the magistrates had made up an assembly, from which they excluded neither slave, foreigner, nor disfranchised person, but allowed all alike, both men and women, free access to theatre and tribunal. After the letter of the king had been read aloud, in which he said that according to his . judgement the men were traitors, but that their fellow citizens, who were freemen and self-govern- ing, should pronounce sentence upon them, Cleitus led the men in. Then the best of the citizens, at sight of Phocion, covered their faces, bent their heads, and wept. One of them, however, rose up

1 One of Phocion’s party, and, like him, under accusation of treachery, 3.e. of favouring Cassander rather than Poly- sperchon.

dé dvac ras eToApnoev elmrely Ott, _THMKAUTHY
Kplow ey KEXELPLKOTOS T® See tov Bactréws,
KarOS exer tovs Sovdous wat TOUS Eévous amren-
4 Oetv éx THiS exkAnatas. ovK GvATXOMEVOD | 6é TOV

TOAD, ann’ avaxpayovray Barrew TOUS OXL-
Yapxecous Kal pa odnpous, adros peev ovdels
vmép TOU Peoxiwvos émexelpnoey eitrety, autos 5é
Nahe as Kat HOLS eEaxovobeis, “ Tlorepov,”
elTrev, “ adixws q Sixaiws aTroKTeivat BovreoGe
nas; drroxpwapevov 6€ Tver ore Oucalas, 758
“Kal tovto,” épn, “ Tas yuooerOe 7 akovoar-
5 Tes; émel dé ovév padAXov irovov, éyyuTépw

a 6? A 4, ” 3 cc ? A e

mpocedOav, “'Eyo pév, elirev, “ adtxety opo-
Noyo, Kal Gavdrou TLLGMAL TA TETOALTEVLEVA
evauT@: Toutous 6é, avdpes "AOnvaior, bua TL
AMTOKTEVELTE pLNoeV adixodvras; ° crroxpwapevov
bé TONY, “Ore col Pirov elo, o pev Pw-
Kiwy aTrooTas novxiav iyyer, 0 dé Ayvenidns
Whpiopa Yeypappevov EX ov aveyva, Kad & Tov
SHpov edet Xetporovely Tept TOV avdpeav et doxov-
ow ad.xety, tous 5é dvdpas, av KaTayetpoTovn-
Oacuv, amroOuna Kew.
XXXV. ‘Avayvad Vévtos dé Tob Wn dio paros
nEtouv tives Tpocypaderv Srrws Kal aTpeBrwOeis
Pooxiwr amroBavor, Kal Tov TPOXOV elo pepey Kat
TOUS varnpetas canelv 7 pooeTaTT OV. o 6¢ “Aqve-
vidns kal Tov Kyetrov opav Bvoyepaivorra Kal
TO mpary wa BapBaptxov elvat Kal p1apov nyou-
pevos, “"Oray,” &bn, Kadrrpébovta tov pactt-
1 In cases where the penalty was not fixed by law, the accuser proposed a penalty, and the accused had the right to

and had the courage to say that, since the king had put a case of such importance into the hands of the people, it were well that slaves and foreigners should leave the assembly. This the multitude would not tolerate, but cried out to stone the oligarchs and haters of the people. Therefore no one else under- took to speak in behalf of Phocion, but he himself, with great difficulty, at last made himself heard, saying: “Do ye wish to put us to death unjustly or justly?” And when some answered, “Justly,” he said: “ And how will ye determine this without hearing me?” But they were not a whit more willing to hear him, and therefore, drawing nearer, he said: “I admit my own guilt, and I assign death as the penalty! for my political conduct; but these men with me, men of Athens, are not guilty at all, and why will ye put them to death?” “ Because they are thy friends,’ answered many, whereat Pho- cion retired and held his peace. But Hagnonides read aloud an edict which he had prepared, in ac- cordance with which the people were

to vote by show of hands whether they thought the men to be guilty, and the men, if the show of hands was against them, were to be put to death.

XXXV. After the edict had been read aloud, some demanded an additional clause providing that Phocion should be tortured before he was put to death, and insisted that the rack should be brought in and the executioners summoned. But Hagnonides, who saw that Cleitus was displeased at this, and considered the measure abominable and barbarous, said : “ When. ever we catch that rascally Callimedon, men of Athens, propose a counter-penalty. The court then chose between the two penalties. Phocion waived all the advantage of this right, as Socrates, in a different way, had done.

yiav AdBoper, a avdpes “AOnvaior, otpeBdwao-
bev mept bé Deoxiwvos ovdey eyo ypapw rTotov-
TOV. evraiba TOV em vereey TLS UTepwvncer
“’Op0as ye av TOLD" dv yap Poxiwva Bacavi-
TMpEV, TE ti TOLNTOMEY ; “ émixupwbevTos dé Tov
vaio patos Kal Ths xetporovias arrodobeians,
ovdeis Kab nuevos, Gra tavres éEavacravtes, ob
dé Treio Tou Kal arepavwodpevol, KATEXELPOTO-
vnocav avtav Oavatov. joav 56 avy Te Paxiworve
Nixoxdijs, @ovdinros, ‘Hyjpov, Tlvdonrjs° An-
pntpiou dé Tod Parnpéws Kal KadaArpedovtos Kat
Xaptxréous Kal TMV GOV aToVTMY KaTeEWn-
dicOn Oavatos.
XXXVI. ‘Os obdv dtadvcavtes THY éxKAnciav
ipyov eis TO Seo parnplov TOUS dvdpas, ot pep
adnot, TEpUT NEKOMEVOV TOV pirov auTois Kal
oixeton, odupopevot Kal catabpnvobvtes eBdd.Cov,
TO 5€ Dwxiwvos ™p0g wTrov olov Ste TT pPATHYOY
an excAnotas I POUTréELTETO Brérovtes, édav-
pavov THY amdaBevav Kal peyarouxiav TOU
avopos. ob 6é ex pot KaK@s Edeyov TapaT pexXov-
TES" els dé Kat 7 poo én Tua ev eevartias T poo ed-
Gov. Ore Kal TOY PDoxiova Aéyerar Brepavra
T pos TOUS apxovras elmrely “Ov mavoe Tis
do xnwovovrTa ToUTOV;” éret dé Oovdirrros év
T@ Sea paTnpi yevopevos Kal TO KevELov opa@v
TptBdpevov nyavaKrel Kal KaTéxXae THY cUp-
popar, @S OU TpognKovTws TO Poxiov TUvAT ON
upevos, “ Kita ove ayardas,” elev, ‘Ste pera
Poxiwvos amobvija Kets; ‘ epopevou bé TLVOS TOV
dirwv ef te mpos Paxov réyet Tov viov, “ Tdvu

we will put him to the torture ; but I cannot make
any such motion in the case of Phocion.’”” Here some
decent fellow called out in response: “Right thou
art; for if we should torture Phocion, what would
be left for us to do to thee?” So the form of the
edict was approved, and when the show of hands
was taken, no one keeping his seat, but all rising to
their feet, and most of them wreathing themselves
with garlands, they condemned the men to death.
Now, there were with Phocion, Nicocles, Thudippus,
Hegemon, and Pythocles; and Demetrius of Pha-
lerum, Callimedon, Charicles, and sundry others,
were condemned to death zn absenitd.

XXXVI. When, accordingly, the assembly had been dissolved and the men were being led to the prison, the rest of them, as their friends and rela- tives clung about them, walked along lamenting and shedding tears; but the countenance of Phocion was the same as it used to be when he was escorted from the assembly as general, and when men saw it, they were amazed at the man’s calmness and at his grandeur of spirit. His enemies, however, ran along by his side and reviled him; and one of them actu- ally came up and spat in his face. At this, as we are told, Phocion looked towards the magistrates and said : “ Will not someone stop this fellow’s unseemly behaviour?”’ Again, when Thudippus, on entering the prison and seeing the executioner bruising the hemlock, grew angry and bewailed his hard fate, declaring it not fitting that he should perish with Phocion, “Is it no satisfaction to thee, then,” said Phocion, “that thou art put to death in company with Phocion?” And when one of his friends asked him if he had any message for his son Phocus,

fev ovr,” edn: “Aéyo put) pyynorxaxeiv ’AOnvai-
os. tov dé Nexoxréous, bs Hv avT@ TLcTOTATOS
Tov dhitwy, TapaKkaXdodvTos STrws avToY édon TO
ddppaxov muciy mpotepov, “Bapv pév, elzrev,
“& Nexoxdes, éuol To aitnua Kal AUTNpor, érret
dé ovdé GAO OvdéTroTE GOL Tapa Tov Biov ovdéev
nXaploTnca, Kal TOUTO GUYYwWPa. TETWKOTWY
5é 46n mdavreyv To dappuaxov érréNutTre, Kat 0 Snpo-
aos oun edn Tpixpe Erepov, ei uy NABot Swdexa
Spaxpuds, dcov thy odKHy a@veirat. ypovou bé
yevopevou Kal SiatpiBis 6 Pwxiwv Kadécas TiWa
tov dirwv, cal eirra@v ei unde aTroBaveiv ‘AOnvnet

Swpeay éotiv, éexédevoe TO avOpar@ Sodvat TO
KEpUaTLov.
XXXVIT. "Hy S€ jpuépa pnvds Movyvyravos
évatn én déxa, Kal t@ Aut thy ToT TéwTrovTeEs
oi immeis TapeEnecay' Ov of pev adelrovTo Tovs
orepavous, of 5é mpos tas Oipas Sedaxpupévot
THs etpxTns dréBrevav. épavn Se tots py
Tavramacw w@pois Kai SiePOappévors br' opyis
kal POovou tHv Wuyry, avootwTaTov yeyovévas TO
pnd erioxeiv tHv Huépav éxeivnv, pndé xadaped-
cat Snuociov dovov tHv Tod éoptatovcay. ov
pny adr wdotrep évdcéatEepovy nywviapevots Tots
éyOpois Soke nal To cHpa TOD Pwxiwvos éEopi-
gat nal pndé wip éevadoat pndéva tmpos THY
tagmy 'AOnvaiwy. b10 diros pev ovdeis erorpunoev
apacOat tov cwpatos, Kovwriwr $€ Tis, vrroup-
yelty eOtopevos Ta ToradTa ptcbod, xouicbévTa
230
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PHOCION

"' Certainly," said he; "my message is that he cherish no resentment against the Athenians." Again, when Nicocles, his most faithful friend, begged the privilege of drinking the drug first, "O Nicocles," he said, "thy request is grievous to me and painful; but since I have never in all my life denied thee any other favour, I grant thee this one also." But when all the rest had drunk of it, the drug ran short, and the executioner refused to bruise another portion unless he were paid twelve drachmas, which was the price of the weight required. However, after a delay of some length, Phocion called one of his friends, and, asking if a man could not even die at Athens without paying for the privilege, bade him give the executioner his money.

XXXVII. It was the nineteenth day of the month Munychion,! and the horsemen conducting the procession in honour of Zeus were passing by the prison. Some of them took off their garlands, and others gazed at the door of the prison with tears in their eyes. And it was thought by all those whose souls were not wholly savage and debauched by rage and jealousy, that an impious thing had been done in not waiting over that day, and so keeping the city pure from a public execution when it was holding festival. However, his enemies, as if their triumph were in- complete, got a decree passed that the body of Phocion should be carried beyond the boundary of the country, and that no Athenian should light a fire for his

obsequies. Therefore no friend of his ventured to touch his body, but a certain Conopion, who was wont to perform such services for hire,

1 Karly in May, 318 B.c.
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a

A

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TOV vexpoy uTép tHv *EXevoiva, wip AaBav éx
TAS Meyapixijs, éxavaev. n be yuvn Tapodoa
pera, TOY Geparraividwr & Eywoe prev avTohe youa
Kevov Kal KATETTELTED, evenevn 6¢ T@ KONT@ 7: Ta
ooTa Kal Kopicaca VUKT@p els THY olxiay KaTo-
puke Tapa tHy éotiav, eitrovca: “Zoi, @ Pirn
éotia, TapaxaTaTibepat TavTa avd pos ayabod
eiypava: av 6€ avTa Tois TaTppors a7r060S
nplots, Stav "A@nvaior coppovyowa..
XXXVIII. Kai PEVTOL \V povou Bpaxéos dva-
“yevopevou, Kal TOV Tpaypnatwv OtdacKovTwv olov
emlioTaThy Kal PurAaKA Twppocurns Kat Sixatog v-
yns 0 bf] 10s amr@Xécev, avdpiavta pev avTov
Xarxooy aver Tnaay, eayav dé Snpociors Téheot
Ta OoTa. ToV O€ KaTHYyOpwv ‘Ayvwvidny yey avTol
Oavarov KaTAXELpoTOVHT aves am éxTewvay, "Ent-
Koupov dé Kal Anpopirov dmodpavras € ex THS To-
AEws dvev pov 0 TOV Dwxiwvos vids eTLMepnTato.
Tobrov ovTe TaAXA omoudatov dvdpa yevéo Oars
gaci, Kat mardiakns épavra mapa mropvoBorK@
Tpepoperns Kara TUYNY Geodapp TO abeep Tapa-
yever Oar hovyov ey Auxei@ Staheyouerep TOLOUTOV'
as Ei TO pirov AvoacOat pn aiaxpov EoTLD, oude
TO inp opolws: et be wn TO eraipon, ovoe TO
éraipay” ” Oéuevov ovv éavt@ pos THY em Oupiay
Tov AOYov as ev éxovta, AvaacOat TH éraipav.
"AAG Ta pev Tmepl Poxiova mpaxévra TOV
mept Leoxparny mad avéwynoe TOUS "EAAqvas,
WS omororarns exeivy THS dpaptias TtauTns Kal
Svotuxias TH ToNEL yevopuevns.
1 Cf. chapter xix.

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carried the body beyond Eleusis, took fire from the Megarian territory, and burned it. The wife of Phocion,! however, who was present with her maid-servants, heaped up a cenotaph on the spot and poured libations upon it; then, putting the bones in her bosom and carrying them by night to her dwelling, she buried them by the hearth, saying: “To thee, dear Hearth, I entrust these remains of a noble man; but do thou restore them to the sepulchre of his fathers, when the Athenians shall have come to their senses.”

XXXVIII. And indeed, after a short time had passed, and when the course of events was teaching them what a patron and guardian of moderation and justice the people had lost, they set up a statue of him in bronze, and gave his bones a public burial. Moreover, as regards his accusers, the people themselves condemned Hagnonides and put him to death; while Epicurus and Demophilus, who had run away from the city, were found out by Phocion’s son and visited with his vengeance.

This son of Phocion,? we are told, turned out to be a man of no worth in general, and once, being enamoured of a girl who was kept in a brothel, chanced to hear Theodorus the Atheist discourse in the Lyceium as follows: “If there is no disgrace in ransoming a man beloved, the same is true of a woman loved ; what is true of a comrade, is true also of a mistress.’ Accordingly, his passion leading him to think the argument sound, he ransomed his mistress.

But Phocion’s fate reminded the Greeks anew of that of Socrates;* they felt that the sin and misfortune of Athens were alike in both cases,

2 Cf. chapters xx. and xxx.]. 3 In 399 B.c.

KATON

I. Katou dé TO pev yévos px emipaveias
érxaBe Kal S0Ens amo TOU ™pomammou Kdravos,
avd pos év SoEn Kat Suvdpe padora, Popaiov
ryevopevou dz) apernv, ws év Tois mept éxelvou
yéypamras, KarereipOn 6¢ ryovewy oppavos per”
aderpoi Kauriwvos! cat Io Klas aderdas. Av
5é Kal LepBirtia Kdrwvos OMOpLIT LOS aberoy.

Kal WAVTES ovrot Tapa AtBieo A povaw Tpopyy
Kal Stavtav elxov, Geip peév GyTt TpOs LNT POS,
dyovre O€ THY moheTelav TOTe’ Ka yap elTrety
ServoTatos iv, Kal TaAXNa cadpwv avnp év Trois
pddora, kat dpovnpatos ovdevi “Pwpaiwy
Upcepevos.
Aéyerau dé Karo evd Us ex maidiov T) TE
pwv"yn Kat T@ Tpooan Kal tals mepl Tas TraLduds
Siar psBais Oos bropaivery at pen Tov xal an ades
BeBacov évy Tracw. loxov Te yap elxov
avTov Tap puctay TeXeTLOUpYOY al oppad, Kal
TOUS KohaKevouct Tpaxus @v Kat Tpooavrns, ert
parrov éxpates tav éxpoRovvrav. Av dé Kal
7 pos yehora Komeoy dvaKivnros, apt pecdud-
HaTOs oTravies T@ Tporame Staxeopevos, Kat
apos Gpynv ov Taxus ovde OrALTONpOS, GpytcDels
dé Svotrapairntos.
1 Ka:wlevos with Coraés and Bekker: Kazlwvos.

2 xpds with Coraés and Bekker, after Xylander : ris

CATO THE YOUNGER

I. Cato’s family got its first lustre and fame from his great-grandfather Cato (a man whose virtue gained him the greatest reputation and influence among the Romans, as has been written in his Life), but the death of both parents left him an orphan, together with his brother Caepio and his sister Porcia. Cato had also a half-sister, Servilia, the daughter of his mother.! All these children were brought up in the home of Livius Drusus, their uncle on the mother’s side, who at that time was a leader in the conduct of public affairs; for he was a most powerful speaker, in general a man of the greatest discretion, and yielded to no Roman in dignity of purpose.

We are told that from his very childhood Cato displayed, in speech, in countenance, and in his childish sports, a nature that was inflexible, imper- turbable, and altogether steadfast. He set out to accomplish his purposes with a vigour beyond his years, and while he was harsh and repellent to those who would flatter him, he was still more masterful towards those who tried to frighten him. It was altogether difficult to make him laugh, although once in a while he relaxed his features so far as to smile; and he was not quickly nor easily moved to anger, though once angered he was inexorable.

1 By her second husband, Q. Servilius Caepio, who was also the father of Cato’s half-brother Caepio.

3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

‘Os odv eis TO pavOdvew Ke, vwOpos Hv ava-
AaBeiy Kal Bpadvs, dvadkaBov Sé Kdtoyos Kal
, A \ 4 ” A \
pevnpovexos. 6 dy nal mépuxev GAXwS, TOUS péV
EVPVELS AVaLVNTTLKOUS MAaAXOV Elvat, pYNMOVEKOUS
5é Tovs peta Trovou Kal TpaypuaTtelas Tapadeyo-
pévous: yivetat yap oloy éyxavpa TIS Yuyns TOV
pabnpatwv Exactov. éoixe b¢ cal To SvamTerotTov
T@ Katou toeiv épywdeorépay thy padnow:
Tacxew yap Te TO pavOdvew atexvas éort, Kal
To weiOecOat Tayv Tos Arrov avrtéyey Suvape-
vors aupBéBnne. 810 weiOovtat parrov véot
yepovtev Kal vocobvtes bytatvovtav, Kal drAws Ev
ols 10 dmopoty acbevéotatov éott, paatoyv Td
mpoaTiéuevov. TO méevtot Tatdaywy@ tov Kad-
tava weiecOar pév Aéyouot Kal Troteiy atrav TO
mMpocTtaTTopevoy, ExdoTtou O€ THY aitiay amraiTety
\ \ / 4 @ /
Kal ro dia Ti truvOdverOat. Kai yap Hv yapies
0 Tavaywyos avToD Kal Noyov éywv TOD KovdU-
Nou mpoyerporepoy, Gvona LapTrndov.
II. "Ere &€ rracdds tod Kdtawvos évtos érpar-
Tov ot cvUppayo TOV “Pwpaiwy Sires pebéEovct
a > € 4 , 4 /
ths év “Peon tordsteias’ Kat tis Tlopraidios
a > \ N \ / 54 > g/
LiAAWY, AvP ToNEwLKOS Kal péytoTov Eywv aki-
“a \ 4 4 , +] b “A
wpa, Tov 6€ Apovoov didos, xatéXuce Tap avT@
Wrelovas nuépas, ev als yeyovwms trois tratdioss
50 cov A 99 9 co? e \ e ” PY /
ocuvynOnes, ye,” elev, “ Oras UTép nuav Sen-
aeabe Tov Deiov auvaywvicacbar trepi Tis qoX-
, 99 e ‘ = , 4 3 ,
tetas. o pev ovv Karriwov diapedidoas ée-
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CATO THE YOUNGER

When, accordingly, he came to study, he was slug- gish of comprehension and slow, but what he comprehended he held fast in his memory. And this is generally the way of nature: those who are well

endowed are more apt to recall things to mind, but those retain things in their memory who acquire them with toil and trouble ;! for everything they learn becomes branded, as it were, upon their minds. It would appear, too, that Cato's reluctance to be persuaded made his learning anything more labo- rious. For, to learn is simply to allow something to be done to you, and to be quickly persuaded is natural for those who are less able to offer resistance. Therefore young men are more easily persuaded than old men, and sick folk, than those who are well, and, in a word, where the power to raise objections is weakest, the act of submission is easiest. However, we are told that Cato was obedient to his tutor, and did everything that was enjoined upon him, although in each case he demanded the reason and wanted to know the why and wherefore. And, indeed, his tutor was a man of culture, and more ready to reason with a pupil than to thrash him. His name was Sarpedon.

II. While Cato was still a boy, the Italian allies of the Romans were making efforts to obtain Roman citizenship. One of their number, Pompaedius Silo,? aman of experience in war and of the highest po- sition, was a friend of Drusus, and lodged at his house for several days. During this time he became familiar with the children, and said to them once: "Come, beg your uncle to help us in our struggle for citizenship.'"' Caepio, accordingly, consented with a

1 Cf. Aristotle, De Mem. i. 1, 2, 24. ? Erroneously called Publius Silo in the Marius, xxxiii. 2.

a \ , Oe bd / \
vevoe, TOU 5€ Kdtwvos ovdéy aroxpiwapévov Kat
Brémovtos eis Tous Eévous atevés Kat Brooupor,
e Ul 8 66 D0 bé " * co fA @ /
0 Tloptraidcos, 'Xv 5é," etzrev, '' jpiv, @ veavia,
TL A€yets; ov olos ef Tots Eévors cvANapBave-
N \ a (c4 e 3 , 2? A
Oat wpos Tov Oeiov, BaTrep 0 adeAPOs;" pwn POey-
, de A / > a a A \ A
youevou o€ TOU Katwvos, ANNA TH GLWTH Kal TO
mpocwT@ Soxovvtos amoréyecOat tiv dénow,
b) 4 bd N e '4 e \ , e
apdauevos avtov o Llopmraidsos tbrép Oupidos ws
3 , e ra) > #f A 7 ww
apnowy o-oroyew exedevey 7H pivrery ehacker,
A "A / a
dua TH TE povi TpaxXuvTépa Ypwpmevos Kal Tats
\ > N\ A 4 \ fe}
NEepoly arnpTNuévoy TO THUA TrOAAGKES UITép THS
Oupidsos xpadaivwv. émel dé wodvv ypovov odtw
Stexaptépnoey o Katav dvéxmdnktos cai adens,
, x A , e A \ \

_Katabéuevos avrov Toumaidios jyovyh mpos Tovs
6

dirous eitev: “Oloy evtvynpua ths ‘Iradias Ott
mais ovTos éotiv ef b€ avnp Hv, piay ovK ay olpat
Wwipov juiv év Toe Snuw yiverOat.”
Tlavuv 5€ cuyyevots tivos év yeveOdXLous Kanré-
cavtos émt Seirvov GAXous Te Traidas Kal Tovs
mept Katava, oyorny ayovtes ev tive pépet THS
oixias érafov avtot Kal éavtovs dvapeptypévot
vewtepo. Kat mpecButepo, To Sé traclopevov Hv
Sixat kal xatynyopiat Kal aywyai Tov adcKo-
pévav. els ov TOV EaXwKOTWV Taidwy EvTTPETTIS
Thy Ow bd mperButépov trados axGeis eis Te
Swudtiovy Kal eipxGeis érexareito Tov Kdtawva.
Tax 57 TO yLvopevov auvels Heev emi tas Ovpas
0 Kadtoyv, cal Siwoduevos tovs wpoectatas Kat
dtaxwrvovtas é€Enyaye TOV Traida: Kal pet opyns
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smile, but Cato made no reply and gazed fixedly and fiercely upon the strangers. Then Pompaedius said : ‘But thou, young man, what sayest thou to us? Canst thou not take the part of the strangers with thy uncle, like thy brother?’’ And when Cato said not a word, but by his silence and the look on his face seemed to refuse the request, Pompaedius lifted him up through a window, as if he would cast him out, and ordered him to consent, or he would throw him down, at the same time making the tone of his voice harsher, and frequently shaking the boy as he held his body out at the window. But when Cato had endured this treatment for a long time without showing fright or fear, Pompaedius put him down, saying quietly to his friends: ‘“‘ What a piece of good fortune it is for Italy that he is a boy; for if he were a man, I do not think we could get a single vote among the people.” !

At another time a relation of his who was cele- brating a birthday, invited Cato and other boys to supper, and the company were diverting themselves at play in a separate part of the house, older and younger together, their play being actions at law, accusations, and the conducting of the condemned persons to prison. Accordingly, one of those thus condemned, a boy of comely looks, was led off by an older boy and shut into a chamber, where he called upon Cato for help. Then Cato, when he understood what was going on, quickly came to the door, pushed aside the boys who stood before it and tried to stop him, led forth the prisoner, and went

1 This incident must have happened, if at all, in 91 B.c., when Cato was four years old; but it need not be inferred

that he had already formed an opinion on public affairs. The story is told also in Valerius Maximus, iii. 1, 2.

éywv amnrOev oixade, nal maides Erepoe cvvn-
Korovbnaap.
III. Oita & hv repiBontos wot’, émredy DA-
Aas THY Tadicny Kal lepav immodpopuiayv, Ay
kadovot Tpotav, eri Oéa SidaoKxwv nal cuvaya-
yav Tous evyevels taidas améderEev nyepovas
dvo, Tov pev Erepov ot traides eéEavto dia THY
pnrépa (MerérdrAns yap Ww vides, tis YaAra
yuvarxos), Tov dé Erepov, adeAdtdobv dvra Tlop-
aniov, {éETov, ovK elwy ovbdée éBovAovTO peXeTav
ove érrecOat, wuvOavopévov Sé Tov YUAAa Tiva
, / 10! ce , . a2
BovXowrTo, travtes éBonoay “ Kdtwva, Kai 6 ye
LéETos avtos el~as wapixey ws KpeitToM Ti
derorepiay.
"Eruye 6¢ xal piros dv o YvAAas tatpiKos
avTois, Kai TOTE Kal TpooNnyayerTo Kal TpoTwpi-
ANGeEV, OdLiyols Tdvu véwor THY ToLA’THY ptdo-
dpoowvny, dia Bdpos Kal OyKov HS elyey apyYs
Kal duvdpews. péya 69 Trotovpevos o Lapirndwv
TOUTO T pos TopHY cpa Kat dopdneay, ipyev
aomvacopevov Tov Kdtwva avveyas eis THY ot-
kiav tou YvAAa, pndeyv TOTE Tpocdelvy aceBav
yaopou Siapépovaar, bro ARGOS TaY ayopévay
Kal otpeBAroupévov. Hv pev ovv Etos éxeivo TO
Kdrwv trecoapecxaidéxatov: iiov 8 xeparas
eripavav avipav Neyouévoy éxxoptCopévas, Kat
Kpuda Tous Tapovras ériotévovtas, npwTnaE TOV
Tmatoaywyov 6 te 59 TOUTOY Tov AvOpwTroV ovbeEls
arroxrivyuow. eitrovros 8é éxeivov, “ PoBovvrar
yap auTOV, @ Trai, waAXOY, } ptocovat, “ Ti ody,”
elev, “ ovx épuol Eigos euxas, iva avtov dvedav
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CATO THE YOUNGER

off home with him in a passion, followed by other
boys also.

III. He was so celebrated that, when Sulla was preparing for exhibition the sacred equestrian game for boys! which is called “Troja,’’ and, after assembling the boys of good birth, appointed two leaders for them, the boys accepted one of them for his mother’s sake (he was a son of Metella, Sulla’s wife), but would not tolerate the other (who was a nephew of Pompey, named Sextus), and refused to rehearse under him or obey him; and when Sulla asked them whom they would have, they all cried “Cato,” and Sextus himself gave way and yielded the honour to a confessed superior.

Now, Sulla was friendly to Cato and his brother ? on their father’s account, and sometimes actually asked them to see him and conversed with them, a kindness which he showed to very few, by reason of the weight and majesty of his authority and power. So Sarpedon, thinking that this conduced greatly to the honour and safety of his charge, was continually bringing Cato to wait upon Sulla at his house, which, at that time, looked exactly like an Inferno, owing to the multitude of those who were brought thither and put to torture. Now, Cato was in his fourteenth year ; and when he saw heads of men reputed to be eminent carried forth, and heard the smothered groans of the bystanders, he asked his tutor why no one slew this man. “Because, my child,” said the tutor, “men fear him more than they hate him.” “Why, then,” said Cato, “didst thou not give me a

1 Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, v. 553 ff.

2 Both here, and in i. 1, Plutarch carelessly speaks as

ee Caepio were own brother, and not half-brother, of
ato.
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R 2
4

5

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annrrata Sovdelas THV marpisa;” ToDTOV TOV
Aoryov axovoas 0 Laprndov, & dpa 5é kal To Breupa Kal TO Tmpocwmov avTov ToT Nd wevov opyns
Kal pévous KaTLoav, oTws eercev BaTE TO Aovrov
non T poo exe axptBas Kal wapagpuratrew, “7
TL TokuHoD mapaBohwtepov.
“Ere pev ouv TaLoaptov @Y pKpoV, atrexpivato
Tots EPWTACL Tiva pret partoTa, TOV adehgov-
“wa Sevrepor, opotars TOV adedpor, Kal TplTov,

4 “Xpe ov TONAGKLS AeyovTos ameitev 0o EPWT OV.
ryEvopevos 5 év preci pardov éBeBaiou THY m™pos
TOV adehpov ebvoway. érn yap elkoot yeyoves
vwptis Karrriwvos ouK edeimynaer, OvK amredn-
PNOEDV, ELS aryopap ov mponrve. pupov 8 exelvov
AapBavovros avT OS T apyTetTor Kal Tadha Ta
Treph tHy siaitay jv axptBns Kal oUVTOVOS. O
youv Kautriwy ért cwppoovry Kat peTpLoTnte
Javpalouevos a@uodoryet TOLOUTOS elvac 7 pos TOUS
addous éferalouevos, «°AXN Grav,” ep, * ‘Tapa
Tov Kadtawvos Biov mapaBardrgw Tov éuov, ouder
cuavt@ paivopar Lummiov Siapéperv,” Tov emi
Tpudf Tia Kai paraxia TeptBonray o ovopacas.
IV. ‘O 6é Katav erred) THY lepwavuny éraBe
TOU "ATOAVOS, peToLK Tas Kal VELMA [EVOS jLot-
pav TOV TatTppov éxarov elKool TANAVYTWY ‘yEVO-
pevny, Thy pev Startav ett paddov ouvéer tether,
‘Avtimatpov dé Tu Upiov TOY amo THS oTOaS Ptdo-
code poo eTarpra dpevos, Tots nOvKois padsora
Kal TOMTLKOLS évep vero Soypact, jTept wacav
joey aperiy domwep émimvoig Tit KaTdaxeros
yeyovws, Stapopws Sé Tod Kadod To Teph Tip
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sword, that I might slay him and set my country free from slavery ?’’ When Sarpedon heard this speech, and saw also the look on the boy’s face, which was full of rage and fury, he was so frightened that in future he kept him under close watch and ward, lest he should venture on some rash deed.

When he was still a little boy, and was asked
whom he loved most, he answered, “ My brother”;
and to the question whom he loved next, likewise, ' © My brother ” ; and so a third time, until, after many such answers from him, his questioner desisted. And when he came to maturity, he maintained all the more firmly this affection for his brother. Indeed, when he was twenty years old, without Caepio he would not take supper, or make a journey, or go out into the forum. But when his brother used perfume, Cato would decline it; and in his habits generally he was severe and strict. At any rate, when Caepio was admired and praised for his discretion and moderation, he would admit that he had _ those qualities when tested by reference to most men; “ But when,’ he would say, “I compare my life with that of Cato, I seem to myself no better than Sippius,’—mentioning one of those who were cele- brated for luxury and effeminacy.

IV. After Cato had been made priest of Apollo, he took a house apart, accepted his share of the patrimony, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents, and began to live yet more simply than be- fore. He made a close companion of Antipater the Tyrian, a Stoic philosopher, and devoted himself

especially to ethical and political doctrines. He was possessed, as it were, with a kind of inspiration for the pursuit of every virtue; but, above all, that

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Suxavoovvny ateves, kal Akaptrrov eis érrveixerav
2% yap, vepnyarnkes. none 8 Kal tov
épyavixov eis mwAHOn Royov, aEiav waTep ev
TONEL peyaAn TH TortTiKH ptdrocodia Kal pd-
Xiwov elval TL Tapatpepopuevov. ov pévTor pe
érTépwv érroveiro Tas pereras, ovd HKpodoaTto
NévyovTOsS ovdEis, GANA Kal Tpos TLVa TOV ETAipwr
eltrovta, " Méudovtai cov, Katoy, oi avO perro
TY own, " Mévov," en, "un tov Biov.
apEopat dé Aéyewv, Stay pw BeNNe Aéyeww akia
cwwmhs."
V. 'H 6é Kahovpern Tlopxia Baoidxn Ton
TLKOY HV avdOnua Tov Twadaiod Kdtewvos. et-
wOores otv éxel ypnparive ot Shwapxot, Kal
xiovos tots Sidpots éptrod@y elvat SoxodrTos,
éyvacay udereiy avTov peTactioar. TovTO
Kdrova mpatov eis ayopay axovra mponyayev'
avrtéotn yap avtois, Kal teipav awa Tov AdyoU
xal rod gpovnpatos Sovs eBavyacbn. Kal yap o
AOyos vEeapov péev ovdey OVE KoprpoY Elyerv, GAN'
iv 6pOvos Kal repimrAnOns Kal tpaxvs. ov phy
GANA Kal yd pis aywyos aKons eréTpEXE TH TPAXU-
THTL TOV vonudtwv, Kat TO 7005 avTOD KaTapt-
yvupevoy nOovny tia Kal petdiayua TO cELV@
mapelyev ovx amravOpwrov. 4 dé pawvn peyéeder
pev amoxpaca Kat Svapxns eis tooodTov é€tKe-
abat Sipov, iaxdy 5é Kal Tovoy dppyerov etxe Kat
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form of goodness which consists in rigid justice that will not bend to clemency or favour, was his great delight. He practised also the kind of speaking which is effective with a multitude, deeming it right that in political philosophy, as in a great city, a certain warlike element should also be maintained. However, he did not perform his exercises in

company with others, nor did any one ever hear him rehearsing a speech. Indeed, to one of his companions who said, “Men find fault with thee, Cato, for thy silence,” he replied: “Only let them not blame my life. I will begin to speak when I am not going to say what were better left unsaid.”

V. The Basilica Porcia, as it was called, had been dedicated by the elder Cato while he was censor.! Here, then, the tribunes of the people were ac- customed to transact their business; and as one of the pillars was thought to be in the way of their seats, they determined to take it down or move it to another place. This brought Cato for the first time, and against his wishes, into the forum ; he opposed the tribunes, and was admired for the proof of elo- quence and high character which he gave. For his speech had nothing about it that was juvenile or affected, but was straightforward, full of matter, and harsh. However, a charm that captivated the ear was diffused over the harshness of his sentiments, and the mingling of his character with them gave their austerity a smiling graciousness that won men’s hearts. His voice was sufficiently loud and pene- trating to reach the ears of so large a multitude, and it had a strength and tension which could not

1 Of. the Cato Major, xix. 2. This was in]82 B.c.

dit puTov npépav yap OAnv eit@y TroAAdKIS OUK amrnyopevae.

Tore S ov KpPATneas THS dixns mda éavtov els THY oor hy Kab THY aonnow cuvéctetre: Kal SueTrOvel TO oO pa. yunvaciors evepyois, eO.Couevos avéyecOat Kal KAU LATO. Kal vierov axarinre Kepanrg, Kal Babdive éy Tals odois Tacay wpav aTEp 8X7 HATS. TOV dé pirdov oi guvecdnpoodvres im Trous EXPaVTO, Kal TOAAaKLS ExadoT@ TrapéBad- rev O Karo € ev pépet m poo Stadeyopuevos, TepiTra- TOY auros dX oupevor. Oavpacrh b¢ Kab Tepl Tas vocous UTromovy; per’ éyxpareias ex pitro" TUPETTOV yap. HOvos. éh éavTov Sunuépeve pndeva TPOGtELEVOS, aX pe ov BéBarov aicBovro paotevny Kal petaBorHy Tov voonpatos.

VI. "Ev &€ tots Servors éxAnpobro Tmept TOV

pepidwy: et dé atrodXayxot, Tp@rov aipew TOY bi- |

Aw KEAEVOYTWY, Edeye pn Kadas exer, axovans THiS "Agpodirns. Kal Kat apyas pev drat ént- Tiw@y TO Seimvov avédue, mpotovre é TO Xpov padiora TpoaieTo TO tively, dare TONAGKES év

oive Sudryew eis OpOpov. aitiav $e Eeyou ot
pirou TovTOV THY ToT ELay Kal Ta Snpocta
T parypara, mpos ols Nas Tov Kdtova Tas npépas
Syra, Kal @ NUVOMEVOV prroroyeiv, VUKT Op Kat
mapa TOTOV ovyyiver Bat TOUS prrocogors. 510
Kal Meppiov tevos év cudhoyp dynaavrTos Nas
Tov Katova peDvanxer0at TAS VUKTAS, vrohaBav
o Kixépov, "'Exeivo 5é ov Aéyets," elarev, " dre
Kal Tas Huépas Oras xuBever;"
Kadonrou 8€ trois tote Biows nal rots érurndev-

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be broken or worn out; for he often spoke all day
without getting tired.
At this time, then, after winning his case, he went back again to his silence and his discipline. He built up his body by vigorous exercises, accustoming himself to endure both heat and snow with uncovered head, and to journey on foot at all seasons, without a vehicle. Those of his friends who went abroad with him used horses, and Cato would often join each of them in turn and converse with him, although he walked and they rode. In sickness, he had wonderful patience, as well as self-control; for instance, if he had an ague, he would pass the day alone by himself, admitting no visitor, until he was conscious of lasting relief and the departure of the disease.

VI. At suppers, he would throw dice for the choice of portions; and if he lost, and his friends bade him choose first, he would say it was not right, since Venus! was unwilling. At first, also, he would drink once after supper and then leave the table; but as time went on he would allow himself to drink very generously, so that he often tarried at his wine till early morning. His friends used to say that the cause of this was his civic and public activities; he was occupied with these all day, and so prevented from literary pursuits, wherefore he would hold inter- course with the philosophers at night and over the cups. For this reason, too, when a certain Memmius remarked in company that Cato spent his entire nights in drinking, Cicero answered him by saying: 'Thou shouldst add that he spends his entire days in throwing dice."

And, in general, Cato thought he ought to take a

1 The highest throw at dice was called the '' Venus-throw,"
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pacw o Karov thy évaytiay 6ddv oldpevos Seip
/ e @ UA \-: A A
Badifev, as ovat havros Kai peyarns Seopévors

peraBorrs, éret toppupay éwpa Thy KaTaKopas
épvOpayv nal ofelay ayatapévnv, adtos édoper
\ A ; 4 b > A
Thy péAavav. oddXaKis & avuTodntos Kal
axitwy eis TO Snuootoy mpones per’ Aptotov, ov
d0Eav €« ravtns THs KawvoTnTtos Onpw@pevos, GAAA
eOilwy éavtov emt toils aicypols aicyvverBat
f “A \ ww» ? , a \
povos, Tov bé GAAwy abdEwv xatadpoveivy. Kal
KAnpovoptav Sé avT@ Tpocyevopevny averiod
Katwvos éxatov TaXavTwy eis apyvptov avvaya-
yov tTapetyey avev toKwv ypjacOar T@ Seopévm
tav dirwy. évcoe € Kal ywpia Kal Oepdrovtas
> A , \ a e , \
avtov didovtos Kai BeBatobvtos vTébevto mpos
To Snootov.
VII. *Ezrei 5€ dpav @eto mpos yapov Exew, ov-
Sed yuvanit auvednrv0es, jppocato Aeriday,
, \ 2 a“ , 4
mpotrepov pev éyyunbcioay Uxynriwy. Merérdr,
Tote 5€ aTevTapévou TOU Yxnmiwvos Kai THs ey-
yuns AvOeions cxorAalovcay.’ ov puny adda TPO
TOU Yydmou petapeAnGeis maddy Oo Lentiov Kal
, , wv A f e \ 4
jwavTa troincas édaBe Thy Kopny. o S€ Katov
Lae \ i) \
opodpa trapokuvbels cai Ssaxaels éreyelpnoe pev
érreFeNOety Sia Sixns, ws 5é of hiror TodTO éxwXv-
gav, opyn Kal veornre Tpéras EauTov eis tauPBous
TOAANA TOV LKynTriwva KabvBpice, TO TLKP@ Tpoc-
, a 4 N \ > 4
ypnodpevos tov ’ApyiNoxou, TO S€ axoNac Tov
adels cal mradapi@des. eynue 5¢ Atiriav, Lep-
pavov Ouvyatépa, cal TavTn mpa@Tov acvvydOev, ov
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course directly opposed to the life and practices of the time, feeling that these were bad and in need of great change. For instance, when he saw that a purple which was excessively red and vivid was much in vogue, he himself would wear the dark shade. Again, he would often go out into the streets after breakfast without shoes or tunic. He was not hunting for notoriety by this strange practice, but accustoming himself to be ashamed only of what was really shameful, and to ignore men’s low opinion of other things. When an inheritance worth a hundred talents fell to him from his cousin Cato, he turned it into money, and allowed any friend who needed it to have the use of it without interest. And some of his friends actually

pledged to the public treasury both lands and slaves which he offered for this purpose himself, and made good his offer.

VII. When he thought that he was old enough to marry,—and up to that time he had consorted with no woman,—he engaged himself to Lepida, who had formerly been betrothed to Metellus Scipio, but was now free, since Scipio had rejected her and the be- trothal had been broken. However, before the marriage Scipio changed his mind again, and by dint of every effort got the maid. Cato was greatly exasper- ated and inflamed by this, and attempted to go to law about it; but his friends prevented this, and so, in his rage and youthful fervour, he betook himself to iambic verse, and heaped much scornful abuse upon Scipio, adopting the bitter tone of Archilochus, but avoiding his license and puerility. And he married Atilia, a daughter of Serranus. She was the first woman with whom he consorted, but not the only

povn 5é, caOatrep Aaidtos, 0 Xentiwvos éraipos:
GAN' evUTUXETTEpOS ExEtvos, ev TrOAXOIS ols éBiwce
xpovoss piav ty &ynpev €& apxis yvovs yuvaixa.
VIII. Tot S€ SovrAccod woréu"ou auvertaros,
Oy Lmraptaxeov éxddovy, TérrAgLos pev eortpartn-
yet, Karwv d€ tis otpateias peteivey eBeXovTis,
dia tov adedgov éxihidpyes yap 0 adeddos av-
tod Kaitriwov. xal ypicac8ar pev eis dcov éBov-
NeTO TH TpoOupia Kal doxynoe THs apeTAs ovy
vanpeev avt@, Sia TO wn KAAwS TTPATHYyELCIaL
TOV TrOAEwov' GAAWS Oé, Tapa TOAANY padaKiav
xal tpudnv trav éxel orpatevopevwy émiderxvu-
pevos evtakiav Kal éyxpdteay cal 76 Oapparéov
év waar xal Evverov, eddxer pnOev atrodeiv rod
mwaratod Karwvos. o 5€ T'évdXtos dapioreia Kat
Tuas avT@ Stampereis &yparypev, As éxeivos ovK
ékaBev ovdé mpoonxato, dnoas akiov pnOéev
eipydcOar tiynwv. &« tre 8) TovTwY AdXOKOTOS
édcxet, Kal vouov ypadévtos Saws toils tapay-
yéAAovol eis apXnv dvowaToAoyor p47) Trapact,
Xiktapyiay peti@y povos éeiOeTo TO vouw: Kal
5: attov womaduevos épyov aomdtecOar Kal
Tpocayopevery Tovs évtuyydavortas, ovdé avTois
averraXOns hv toils éraivovotw, Socov marXopv évo-
Ouv TO KaNOov ov éerrerndeve, TO Svapintoy avTav
Bapvvopévors.

1 In 73-71 B.c. Cf. the Crassus, viii. ff.

2 Lucius Gellius Publicola, consul in 72 B.c. with Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus. Both consuls were

defeated by Spartacus.

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one, as was true of Laelius, the friend of Scipio Africanus ; Laelius, indeed, was more fortunate, since in the course of his long life he knew but one woman, the wife of his youth.

VIII. When the servile war was in progress,! _ which was called the war of Spartacus, Gellius? was commander, while Cato took part in his campaign as a volunteer, for the sake of his brother; for his brother Caepio was a military tribune. Here he had not the opportunity to employ as much as he wished his zeal and discipline in virtue, because the war was not well conducted ; but notwithstanding, amidst the great effeminacy and luxury of those who took part in that campaign, he displayed such good discipline, self-control, courage in all emergencies, and sagacity, that men thought him not one whit inferior to the elder Cato. Moreover, Gellius assigned to him prizes of valour and distinguished honours; but Cato would not take them nor allow them, declaring that he had done nothing worthy of honours. And so, in consequence of this, he was thought to be a strange creature. For instance, a law was passed forbidding candidates for office to be attended by nomen- clators,? and in his canvass for the military tribune- ship he was the only one who obeyed the law. He made it his business to salute and address without help from others those who met him on his rounds, but he did not avoid giving offence even to those who praised his course; for the more clearly they saw the rectitude of his practice, the more distressed were they at the difficulty of imitating it.

3 Attendants whose duty it was to tell the candidate the names of those whom he was going to meet, that he might appear to be acquainted with them.

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IX. "Arrodery Geis de XedLapxos eis Maxedoviay €1réLTTETO T pos ‘PouBprov TOV oTpAaTHyov. ev0a Oy) éyerar Tis yuvaceos axPopuens kal Saxpvov- ons eva TOV pirov tov Kdtwvos Movvdrvop é- mew “"O "Atidla, Odpoet TOUTOV éyo aot purago,” “ Tlavu pev oop, ” pavat TOV Kdrova, kal poe ovrav peas npépas odor, evOvs etzreiv pera TO Setmvor- "Arye, OTwS, @ Movvdree, TH "Aridta THY Dmoaxyerw éumedaaers,) pate mHEpas é4100 pajre VUKTOS aia Tapevos.” éx dé TovTou dv0 Kdivas els TAUTO Sw@partvov éxédeve tiBecat,

kal tov Movupdriov odTws ae xadevdew peta
macolas puraccopevov t UmTO TOU Kdravos.
Eitrovto 5é auT@ Tmevrexaidena, pep olxérat, bv0
dé ater ev epor, pirot dé Téa apes. ov dX OUpE-
yov im-mous avros ael TEPLTATOY éxdoT@ TWapé-
Barnev é év péper m poo diaheyopevos. émel be Kev
elS TO OTPaToOTEsoOY, TELOVOY Tay LaTOY évT@D,
évos dpxov aroderx Gels t vd TOU atparnyod, TIS
peev idtas a aperis, pas ovens, pcx pov épryov Hryetro
Kal ovK dvvatpov" THY emiderEev, aut@ oé ToLnoat
TOUS apxouevous opotous padwora pidoripovpevos
ov TOV oBov adeinre Tis, éEoucias, adda Tpooé-
Onke tov Aovyou" @ met Dev Tmepl éxdoTov Kal
Siddoxwy, é ETOMEVNS TUS Kal KoNaTEWS, Xarerov
nV evretv TOTEpOV elpnvixovs HGAXNOV 7 -IToONeE-
piKous Kal _Tmpoduporépous i) Siearotépous ma pe-
oKEVATE TOUS dvdpas: ovTaS épaivovro poBepol pep
Tots Trodeplots, Huepoe Se Tois Tuppdyots, ATOA-
1 éuwedéces Sintenis*®, after Cobet; éuweddons Sintenis!,
Coraés, Bekker.
a Litota Sintenis' correction of the MSS. Baa:Arkdy
(kingly), adopted by Bekker.
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IX. Appointed military tribune,! he was sent to Macedonia, to serve under Rubrius the praetor. At this time, we are told, his wife being full of grief and in tears, one of Cato's friends, Munatius, said to her: ‘“‘ Take heart, Atilia; I will watch over thy husband." “ Certainly he will,' cried Cato, and after they had gone a day's journey on their way, immediately after supper, he said: "Come, Munatius, see that you keep your promise to Atilia, and forsake me neither by day nor by night." Then he gave orders that two couches be placed in the same chamber for them, and thus Munatius always slept—and that was the joke—watched over by Cato.

He had in his following fifteen slaves, two freed- men, and four friends. These rode on horses, while he himself always went a-foot ; and yet he would join each of them in turn and converse with him.2. And when he reached the camp, where there were several legions, and was appointed to the command of one of them by the general, he thought it a trifling and useless task to make a display of his own virtue, which was that of a single man, but was ambitious above all things to make the men under his command like unto himself. He did not, however, divest his power of the element which inspires fear, but called in the aid of reason ; with its help he persuaded and taught his men about everything, while rewards and punishments followed their acts. Consequently, it were hard to say whether he made his men more peaceful or more warlike, more zealous or more just ; to such a degree did they show themselves terrible to their enemies but gentle to their allies, without

1 About 67 B.c.
2 Cf. chapter v. 3.

poor S€ pos TO aduKeiv, heroTLpoe dé mpos Tovs
bf , e \ @ 4 bd / "A
4 émraivous. ov dé hxtota Kdtwv érrepernOn, TovTo
WrElo Tov UIApKYev avTO, Kal d0£a Kat ydpts Kal
vmepSaddXrovea Tin Kal duroppocvvyn Tapa TeV
oTpaTiwtav. & yap étépots émétattev Exovciws
S:atrovay, kal orodny pév cal Siarray Kal Tropeiav
éxeivous waAXov f) Tots apKYovacy opotovpevos, HOt
5é cal hpovipare nai Aoym TWdvtas UTepaipwv
TOUS avTOKpaToOpas Kal TpaTHYOUS po ayopeuo-
/ Py \ , ud \ \ e_N
pévous, €Xabe dua ToVTwY aya THY Tpos avTov
5 ebvoltay évepyaadpevos Tots avopactww. apeTis yap
? ' > b 4 a A ? 4 A
arnOuvos ovn éeyyiveras Chros 7 8s axpas Tov
jmapadtdovros evvoias Kal tins: ot 5é avev Tod
direivy érrawvovvtes tovs ayabods aidodyvras THv
Sofav abtav, ov Oavydlovar 5 thy dpetnv ovde
pupLovuv Tat.
X. Tv@opevos 5é "APnvodwpov, tov émixadov-
/ , rd ? a o a
pevov Kopovariwva, peydrny é€wv ev tois Yrwixois
Noyous Exovta, dtarpiPew epi Uépyapov, 457 -
ynpatov dvta Kai tmdcats éppwpyevéotata Ttais
e "~ \ "A , Q ,
nryepovixats Kat Baotintxais cuvnbeiats Kal pir-
, 2>Q\ v , \ ,
aus Svapepaynpevov, ovdey wero méewTov Kal ypa-
pov Tepaivery Tpds avTOV, GANA éxwy Tapa Tov
vopov Sedopévny arrodnpiav Sveivy pnvev éwrevcev
els THY "Aciay él tov dvdpa, wiotevwv Tois év
a a" \ ? 4 nA wv /
2 aAUT@ KaXois pH aTUYXNTELW TIS aypas. cuyyeEvo-
4 b]
pevos S€ xal Kataywvicdpevos Kai petactynaas éx
THS Tpoatpecews AUTOV HKEv Aywv eis TO TTPATO-
medov, Tepryapns Kal peyadoppovav, @s TL Kd)-

courage to do wrong but ambitious to win praise. Moreover, that to which Cato gave least thought was his in greatest measure, namely, esteem, favour, sur- passing honour, and kindness, from his soldiers. For he willingly shared the tasks which he imposed upon others, and in his dress, way of living, and conduct on the march, made himself more like a soldier than a commander, while in character, dignity of purpose, and eloquence, he surpassed all those who bore the titles of Imperator and General. In this way, with- out knowing it, he produced in his men at the same time the feeling of good will towards himself. For a.. genuine desire to attain virtue' arises only in conse- quence of perfect good will and respect for him who displays virtue ; those, on the other hand, who praise good men without loving them may revere their reputation, but they do not admire their virtue or imitate it.

X. On learning that Athenodorus, surnamed Cor- dylion, who had a large acquaintance with the Stoic philosophy, was living at Pergamum, being now in his old age and having most sturdily resisted all intimacies and friendships with governors and kings, Cato thought it would be useless to send messengers or write letters to him. Instead of this, since he had a furlough of two months allowed him by law, he sailed to Asia to visit the man, relying upon his own good qualities to make him successful in the chase. He held converse with the philosopher, conquered his objections, drew him from his fixed purpose, and took him back to the camp with him. He was overjoyed and in high spirits, feeling that he had made a most noble capture,.and one more

MLoTOv npNKaS Kal AapTpoTepoy wv Lloptrnios
TOTE Kal AevicoAXos eOvav kal Bactierov xate-
aTpépovto ou drrhous meptiovTes. .
XI. "Ete dé aurou mepl TV oTpareiay OVTOS 0
abedpos els THY "Agiav, BadiSer évoonce epi
Opaeny é év Aivg. Kal ypdppata wey evdus hice 764
Tos , TOV Kartova: XELpavos 66 TOANOD KaTe-
Novos THv Oddarrav Kal vews ixavis poeryeOe py
Tapovans, els bixpay oAKaba povov dv0 pious
Kal Theis oixétas avadaBov éx Beccadovixns
Sih * Kal map' ovdev eOav catamovtTwOjvat,
TUN Tit Tapahoye cw0els apte TEOKOTOS Tov
Kaurriwvos, Eunabéarepor edofev } ptrocodo-
TEpov éveyxely THY Tuppopar, ou povov chav ots
Kat TepuTTy €OL TOU VvEeKpov Kal Bapurnte AUTAS,
arra nal dardavn rept THY raphy Kat mpa-
yuareiats Oupiaparov Kab ipatioy ToAVTEAOY
guykataxaévtay Kal pynuatos Eectod AiOwv
Baciwr amo Taddvrov 'OKT@ KataaKevacbévtos

€v TH Aivioy ayopa. TavTa yap évot eouKxopar-
TOUY Tpos THY aN Aqv atugiay TOU Kadrvos, ov
calopavres 6 daov ev TO 7 pos ndovas Kal poBous
kat Senoets a dvaraxuvTous ayvapnre Kat oTEPP®
Tod avdpos TO Hl epov evi Kal diroaTopyov. eis
dé TavTa al TOAELS AUT@ Kal Suvde Tat TOMA
Kara TEmHY Tov TeOve@Tos eTeuTor, @y éKxetvos
Xpywara, pev Tap ovdevos edéFaro, Ouyuduata bé
Kal KOO LOV érduBave, THY Tony * dmodibovs Tots
TEMTOUCL. Tis dé KAnpovouias els AUTOV TE xal
Ouyadtpiov tod Karriwvos nxovaons, ov0ev av
1 rhv tyuhv Bekker, after Reiske: riuhy.

illustrious than the nations and kingdoms which Pompey and Lucullus at that time were subduing with their marching armies.

XI. While Cato was still in military service, his brother, who was on his way to Asia, fell sick at Aenus in Thrace, and a letter came at once to Cato advising him of this. A heavy storm was raging at sea and no ship of sufficient size was at hand, but nevertheless, taking only two friends and three servants with him in a small trading-vessel, he put to sea from Thessalonica. He narrowly escaped drowning, and by some unaccountable good fortune came safe to land, but Caepio had just died. In bearing this affliction Cato was thought to have shown more passion than philosophy, considering not only his lamentations, his embracings of the dead, and the heaviness of hits grief, but also his expenditure upon the burial, and the pains that he took to have incense and costly raiment burned with the body, and a monument of polished Thasian marble costing eight talents constructed in the market-place of Aenus. For some people cavilled at these things as inconsistent with Cato's usual free- dom from ostentation, not observing how much—tenderness and affection was mingled with the man's inflexibility and firmness against pleasures, fears, and shameless entreaties. For the funeral rites, more- over, both cities and dynasts sent him many things for the honour of the dead, from none of whom would he accept money; he did, however, take incense and ornaments, and paid the value of them to the senders. Furthermore, when the inheritance fell to him and Caepio's young daughter, nothing

9 4 \ \ , 9 / 3 A 4
avadwoe TEept TOY Tahov amnTnaev ev TH veunoet.
(e) : ” e
Kal tabra mpaEavros avtod Kal TpdtTOVTOS, HY O
yparvras Ste kooxiva thv Téppav Tov vexpod perTeé-
Bare nai dinOnce, ypvciov Snrav KataKxexav-
/ ¢ b aA / ‘ bd \ \

Hévov. ovTws ov To Eider povov, adrAa Kal
T@ ypadeiw TO dvuTevOuvoy Kal TO avuTrodiuoV
€mrioTEVOED.
2 \ \ , ? e , “
XII. "Ewe 5€ tédos elyev 4 orpatela To
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ovd émaivots, adAa SdKpvot Kat meptBorais
: a e
amAnoTots, UToTiévTwy Ta iwatia Tois Toalv 7
Badifor.xnat xatadirovvtwy tas YXelpas, & ToV
avTokpaTopwv dAtLyous ports émoiovy of Tore
‘Pwpaior. Bovrnbeis dé wpd Tod TodLTELa Trpod-
a iu \ P a > ¢ / a
eNOeiy aua pév wravnOjvar Kal toropiav THs
"Actas kal yevéoOar Geatns O@v Kai Biwy Kat
Suvdpews HS wept Exdotny érapytiay, dpa 6 ro
4 ee , N _ f \ / ,
Paddrn Aniorapp dua Feviay Kat pidtay Tatpway
Seoevw impos avtov éNMey pn ayapiotiocat, Tov-
a /
Tov TOV TpOTOY érroLEtTO THY aTroOnuiaVv. mpov-
>
TeuTrEV A uépa TOY apTOTrOLOY Kal TOV pdyELpoV
4 4 : ” e \ la
Svrov xatadvoew Enerrev. ot d€ wdyv Kooplas
‘ > oe , ’ , A > \ f
kai we Hovyias etoeNOovtes av els THY TOY,
bd \ 4 “A 4 , A > I
eb pndels tuyor TO Kdtww didros dv avtoOs
TATPOOS 7) yvwpipos, év Tavdoxeip THY LITObOKY HY
a A }
auT@ Twapecnevalov, évoxdovvTes ovdevt: aavdo-
xeiov dé py dvtos, o}Tws mMpos ToOvs apxovTas
Tpatropevor. Eeviay éAduBavov, ayara@vres tHv
do0cicay. trodAdxKts 5€ amricTOUpEVvoL Kai TrEpLopw-
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that he had expended for the funeral was asked
back by him in the distribution of the property.
And although such was his conduct then and after-
wards, there was one! who wrote that he passed the
ashes of the dead through a sieve, in search of the
gold that had been melted down. So confidently

did the writer attribute, not only to his sword, but also to his pen, freedom from accountability and punishment.

XII. When the time of Cato's military service came to an end, he was sent on his way, not with blessings, as is common, nor yet with praises, but with tears and insatiable embraces, the soldiers casting their mantles down for him to walk upon, and kissing his hands, things which the Romans of _that day rarely did, and only to a few of their im- perators. But before applying himself to public affairs he desired to travel about in a study of Asia, and to see with his own eyes the customs and lives and military strength of each province; at the same time he wished to gratify Deiotarus the Galatian, who had been a guest-friend of his father, and now solicited a visit from him. He therefore arranged his journey as follows. At daybreak, he would send forward his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge. These would enter the city with great decorum and little stir, and if Cato had no family friend or acquaintance there, they would prepare a reception for him at an inn, without troubling anybody; or, in case there was no inn, they would apply to the magistrates for hospitality, and gladly accept wliat was given. But frequently they were distrusted and neglected, because they

1 Julius Caesar, in his ‘‘ Anti-Cato." See the Caesar, chapter liv. ve

a2

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

pevot Sta 76 Ln FopuBo pnde amen TavTa
mpaccew 1 pos TOUS adpxovras, UTO TOD Kdrtwvos
ampaxrot katedapBavorto, Kal paidrov avTos
opOels WALYWPELTO, Kal Tapeixev éml TOV poptioy
oLwmh cabelopevos t Umrovotay avél pomrou TATELVOU
Kal mepideods. ov pay arra Kal mpooKanou-
[EVOS avTous etwOer Neyer? °° O, poxOnpoi, peTa-
Bdarecbe tavrns tis kaxofevias. ov Tavres Upiy
adifovras Kadrwves. apPr0uvare Tals prroppoau-
vais THY eEouciav TOV Seomevav Tpopacews, iva
Bia AapBavocw, @S Tap éxovTwy py TUYXd-
VOVTES.

XIII. 'Ev 6é¢ Lupia Kal yehotor Te éyerau
mabeiv. Babifwyv yap eis Avtidyetav cide rept
Tas mudas &&o TAH OS avO pwrrav éxarépwoer,

THS ob0b TapaKexpl Lever, év ols &pnBot pev
xepis év yAapvae! Kal maides érépwOev Koo Liws
elaTHnKET aD, éaOjras dé kabapas é éveot Kal orepa-
vous elon, Lepeis Gedy 6 OVTES 7) dpxovres. mavTay
ouv Haddov oinBels 0 Karoyv auT@ TLva 7 par-
tec Oat ToD kat deEiwow obo THs TONEWS,
apyileTo pev Tots tpoTreuPUeion THY Ldiwy, WS LH

KwAvoaaly, exédevoe 5é KataBivat tovs didous,
Kal meth pone per’ avT av. es 5 eyyus: HoaV, O
wavTa Siaxoapiy é éxeiva Kal TOV dxAov els Tabi
cabiotas, avnp mpeaButepos non, paBdov év TH
xetpt Kal orépavov KpaT@v, amrivrnce TO Kdrwve
7 po T@V GAXAwY, Kal pide doTrac auevos pera,
mov Anpunrtptov amonehoiTac Kal myviKa. mape-
aorat. Uloparniov Sé Hv yeyovms o Anpunrptos
1 yAautos MSS. and most editors: xAavlo: (mantles), after
Cobet.
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ps

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raised no tumult and made no threats in their dealings with the magistrates. In such a case Cato would find their work not done when he arrived, and he himself would be more despised than his servants when men saw him, and would awaken suspicion, as he sat upon the baggage without saying a word, that he was a man of low condition and very timid. However, he would then call the magistrates to him and say: “ Ye miserable wretches, lay aside this in- hospitality. Not all men who come to you will be Catos. Blunt by your kind attentions the power of those who only want an excuse for taking by force what they do not get with men’s consent.”’

XIII. In Syria, too, as we are told, he had a laughable experience. As he was walking into Antioch, he saw at the gates outside a multitude of people drawn up on either side of the road, among whom stood, in one group, young men with military cloaks, and in another, boys with gala robes, while some had white raiment and crowns, being priests or magistrates. Cato, accordingly, thinking that this could only be some honourable reception which the city was preparing for him, was angry with his servants who had been sent on in advance, because they had not prevented it; but he ordered his friends to dismount, and went forward on foot with them. When, however, they were near the gate, he who was arranging all these ceremonies and marshalling the crowd, a man now well on in years, holding a wand and a crown in his hand, advanced to meet Cato, and without even greeting him asked where they had left Demetrius and when

he would be there. Now, Demetrius had once been
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3 , , \ 4 e 4 3 a > ,
oixéeTns: Tore O€ TavtTwy, ws eros elTetv, avOpo-
>] ian > 4 > 4
mov eis Tlouaniov aroBveTrovrwv, éOeparrevero
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map akiav, péeya Tap avT@ duvdpevos. Tois pev
bd h a / / > * a
ovv dirols tov Katwvos yéXws evetrece TOTOVTOS
C4 > a € \ ? 29 7 fe)
@atTe avadraBeiy éavtovs ovK édvvaytTo ba Tod
mrn0ouvs dua Baditovtes, 0 S¢ Katwyv tote pev
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ioxupas Statparreis, "0. tis KaKxodaipovos,"
bf
edn, "'morews, adro S€ ovdéev ePOéyEaTO, ypov@
\ @ 27 A \ 9 N > A , XN
dé darepoy eiw@Oer yerXav Kal avTos eri TOUT, Kal
Sunyoupevos Kal v2movevov. ;
XIV. O8 pv adda Lloprrnios avros éréorpeve
Tovs avOpw@rous ovTwH TANEpEAOUVYTAS Eis TOV.
Kdtwva 50' dyvorav. ws yap eis "Edecov €-Mav
ETOPEVETO TIPOS AUTOY aaTrTacOMEVOS TpEeaBuTEpoV
ébvta, Kal do—n wodv mponKxovta, kal Suvapewy
, *
TOTE peyioTwVv nyovpevoy, toov o [loparnios ovK
Ewewvev, ovde elace xabelouév mpocedOety, arr'
WS TLL TOY KpELTTOVWY avafopwY amHnYTNGE, Kat
thy SeEvav évéBare. Kal worda pev evOds ev TO
diroppovetcbat nal adomdlerOas trapovta, TAEiw
dé Ts peractavtTos éyxwpma SunrOev avtov Tis
apETHS, OTTE TavTas éeTiaTpepopmévous Kai Tpodé-
" A 4 4 Pb] Lg /
xovTas On TO Kdtov, Oavpater é€ ov mpotepov
a , A ,
kareppoveito, Kal mpgoTnTa Kat peyarowuxiay
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avabewpeiy. xal yap % Tlopmantov orovdy crept
avrov ovx éddvOave OepatrevovTos ovaa pAadXov 7
tNovvtos, AAN éeyvwoay Sti Oavpaler pev Trap-
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a slave of Pompey, but at this time, when all mankind, so to speak, had their eyes fixed upon Pompey, he was courted beyond his deserts, since he had great influence with Pompey. Cato's friends accordingly, were seized with such a fit of laughter that they could not recover themselves even when they were walking through the crowd; but Cato was greatly disturbed at the time, and said: "O the unhappy city!" and not a word besides. In after times, however, he was wont to laugh at the incident himself also, both when he told it and when he called it to mind.!

XIV. However, Pompey himself put to shame the men who were thus neglectful of Cato through ignorance. For when Cato came to Ephesus and was proceeding to pay his respects to Pompey as an older man, one who was greatly his superior* in reputation, and then in command of the greatest forces, Pompey caught sight of him and would not wait, nor would he suffer Cato to come to him as he sat, but sprang up as though to honour a superior, went to meet him, and gave him his hand. He also passed many encomiums upon his virtue even while he was present and receiving marks of kindness and affection, and still more after he had withdrawn. Therefore all men, being put to shame and now directing their attention to Cato, admired him for the traits which before had brought him scorn, and made a study of his mildness and magnanimity. And indeéd it was no secret that Pompey's attentions to him were due to self-interest rather than to friendship ; men knew that Pompey admired him when he was present, but was glad to have him go

1 This story is told also in the Pompey, xl. 1-3.

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3 ovta, Yaipe: dé atepyopév@. Tovs yap aAXOUS véous, da0t Tap avtTov adixvobvto, dPtdoTipovpevos KaTeltye Kal TOOG@Y avT@ cuvetvat, Tov 5é

A >
Katwvos ovdév éde79n rowodtTov, GAN @oTeEp OUK
dvuTevOuvos apxywv éxeivov tapovtos é&éreurrev
\ n ¢
dopevos, povm axedov éxeivm tav els “‘Papunv
\ a
TAEOVTMOY TA TéxVA Kal THY yUVAaiKa TapaKxata-
A \
Oéuevos, AAXNWS AUTO TpodjKovTa Kal dia auy-
ryéveray.
"Ex tovtou S0&a Kai omovdy Kai dutdra epi
3 A = A“ 4 \ a A vA 3
avTov nV TaV TOAEwWY Kal Selva Kal KXHoELS, eV
\ /. b] / 4 b a” ‘ ,
ols Tous Pirous exeXeve TpOTEXELY AUT@, wn NAOy
, e
4 BeBatwoas tov Kovptwvos dAoyov. o yap Kov-
~ a a le f
piov axOopevos TO avatnp@ Tod Kdtwvos, didou
Kal cuvnfous dvtos, npwrnoev avTov et tpoOupos
; a f_:
éoTt peTa THY otpateiavy yevéoBar tis “Acias
f) / 5 3 \ ’ ; ‘RS rE ”
€aTnsS. TOU 0€ Kal Travu dnaarTos, “‘ Ku NEeyers,
3 e / “ 53/ \. 93 , Pen)
eltrev o Kovupiwv, “ ndiwv yap éravntas éxeibev
n 99 n
kal paGAXov Hwepos, ovTw Tas Kal TO pratt
Vpn amevos.
XV. Aniotapos 5€ o Tantdrns petetéupato
\ \ , 4 A v
pev Tov Katrwva mpeoButepos dv nbn trapadécbar
A a 4 \
Tous maidas av’t@ BovAopevos Kal Tov olKov, éd-
Oovrt 5é mpocdépwv Spa TravtobaTra Kal Tretpav
, @
Kat Seopevos TadVTa TpoTrOV OUTW TrTapwELVEY WoTE,
a ,
SetAns €XMovta Kal vuKtTepevoarta, TH voTEpaig
/ a \ a
2 wept Tpitnv @payv awapar. tmpoedOwv pévTor mas
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away. For all the other young men who came to him were retained by Pompey, who showed an eager longing for their companionship ; of Cato, on the contrary, he made no such request, but, as if he must render account of his command while Cato was there, he was glad to send him away. And yet Cato was almost the only person among those bound for Rome to whom Pompey commended his wife and children, although it is true that they were relatives ef his.

As a consequence of all this, the cities eagerly vied with one: another in showing Cato honour, and there were suppers and invitations, at which times he would urge his friends to keep close watch upon him, lest he should unawares confirm the saying of Curio. For Curio, annoyed at the severity of Cato, who was his intimate friend, had asked him whether he was desirous of seeing Asia after his _ term of service in the army. “Certainly I am,” said Cato. “That’s right,’ said Curio, “for you will come back from there a more agreeable man and more tame,’—that is about the meaning of the word he used.!

XV. But Deiotarus the Galatian sent for Cato, being now an old man, and desiring to commend to -his protection his children and his family. When Cato arrived, however, Deiotarus offered him gifts of every sort, and by tempting and entreating him in every way so exasperated him that, although he had arrived late in the day and merely spent the night, on the next day about the third hour he set off. . However, after proceeding a day’s journey, he found

1 Plutarch is seeking a Greek equivalent for the Latin ‘* mansuetior.”

e 4 QA @ b a , A
nuépas odoy evpev ev Llecowvotvts mieiova Tov
éxel Sopwov avlts adtoyv vropévovta, Kal ypap-
pata tov T'adatou Seopévov, AaBetvy autos et
A le a
un mpoOuuos eotiv, GANA Tors didrous éacat,
Tavrws pev akiovs ovtas eb trabeiv Su éxeivors
oux dvtrav dé Tav iditwyv tov Kdtwvos tocovTov.
9 9 ION / > / e 4 ,
Grr’ ovdé rovTas evédwxey 0 Kadtwv, xaitep

> 2 a } 4 \ ¢
EvLOUS TOV dirtwy paXragcopevovs Kal UTOLEUgo-
/ ea b \ , ud a ,
pévous opav, adr\Aa gdyoas Ott Twaca Swpodoxia
mpopacews av evtopyaeev, ot dé hirou peGéEou-
ow ov dv éxn Karas Kat Sexaiws xTnodpevos,
’ / nw A A oS
amvrétremye ta S@pa wpos Tov Aniorapov.
> \ \ / b / > \ /
Emel 5€ wédXovtos arraipey eis to Bpevréovov
@ovto Sety of Piro Ta Aeipava Tov Kauriwvos
3 a 4 A ’ \ a a “
els Erepoy OéoGat mrolov, eit@y Ste THS WuyAs
/ a a 4 > 4 \ ,
peOnoetat padrAov 7 ToOvTaY, avnYOn. Kat pévToL
AéyeTat KaTAa TUYNHY emiaharéoTAaTa TEpacal, TOV
/
adAXwv petpiws copuCopeven.
XVI. ’EzavenrOav Sé eis “Pony tov pev adXov
, > 8 ’ , a
Xpovoy Kat’ oixov "AOnvodepm suvev,’ 7 Kat
ayopav ois giro waptotapevos SueTédecev.
é iB tAXr v de 7 A \ \ b \
mwiBddXovoay b€ avT@ THY TameUTLKnY apyYnv
9 , “ 4 , b
ov mpotepov peTHrAGey 4 TovS TE VYomoUS ava-
yvavat Tous Tapevtixovs Kal diatrvOécOar Tav
éuteipwov Exacta Kal tur@ til THS apxXhs THY
Svvayiv trepirraBeiv. GOev evOds eis thy apxny
KatacTas peydAny érroince petaBorAny Tav Tept
1 guvev supplied by Sintenis?.
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at Pessinus more gifts again awaiting him than those he had left behind him, and a letter from the Galatian begging him, if he did not desire to take them himself, at least to permit his friends to do so, since they were in every way worthy to receive benefits on his account, and Cato’s private means would not reach so far. But not even to these solicitations did Cato yield, although he saw that some of his friends were beginning to weaken and

were disposed to blame him; nay, he declared that every taking of gifts could find plenty of excuse, but that his friends should share in what he had acquired honourably and justly. Then he sent his gifts back to Deiotarus.

As he was about to set sail for Brundisium, his friends thought that the ashes of Caepio should be put aboard another vessel; but Cato declared that he would rather part with his life than with those ashes, and put to sea. And verily we are told that, as chance would have it, he had a very dangerous passage, although the rest made the journey with little trouble. :

XVI. After his return to Rome, he spent most of his time at home in the company of Athenodorus,! or in the forum assisting his friends. And though the office of quaestor was open to him, he would not become a candidate for it until he had read the laws relating to the quaestorship, learned all the details of the office from those who had had experience in it, and formed a general idea of its power and scope. Therefore, as soon as he had been instated in the office,? he made a great change in the assistants and

1 Cf. chapter x. 2 In 65 B.c.

”

TO Taptetov UTNpeTaV Kal ypaupatéwv, of dia vetpos ael Ta Snudota ypadupata Kal Tovs vopous ExovTes, Elta véous dpxYovTas TapadapBavovtes be' atreipiav kal ayvotay ateyvas SidacKddowv éré- pov cal tadaywyav Seopévous, ovx iievto THs J 4 9 4 b \ 2 ¥ b 4 éfovcias €xelvois, GAAA Hoav apxovTes avtoi, péxpt ov Kadtwv émiotas trois mpdypact veavi- KOS, OUK Svoua Kai Tiuny Eywy apYovTos, GANA kat voov Kal ppovnpa Kai NOyor, UINpéTais, STEP noav, nEiov xpjoBat toils ypaypatedot, Ta pev éFeXéyywv Kaxoupyobovtas avtovs, Ta 5€ duaptd- vovtas atreipia SiddoKkwv. ws 5é hoay itapol Kai \ ¥ b] 4 @ / > , A Tous adXous €Ow@mevoy vrotpéyovtes, éexeiva Se émroX€mouv, TOY ev TPOTOV avT@V KaTayvods wept miortw év KANpovopmia yeyovévat tovnpov amnrace Tod tTamsietov, Sevtépw Sé tive padiovp- yias mpovOnxe xpiow. & Kdrrdos Aoutatios o Teuntyns avéBn BonOjcwv, dvnp péya Oo TAS

apxns eéxwv dkiwpua, ro Oé THs aperis éxov!
péytotov, ws TavTwy Stxatocvrvn Kal cwdppootvy
€ , lA 9 \ N “A 4
Pwpaiwy duagépwv. jv b5€ nai tod Kadtevos
DJ , 4 XN \ , e Ld
émaiverns Kal auvvnOns dia tov Biov. ws ovv
nTT@pmevos Tois Stxators eEnteito Pavepa@s Tov
avOpwroyv, ovK ela tavtTa Tovey avTov o Kadrtov.
éru 6€ paAdAov mpocdttTrapodvTos, “ Aioxpor,”
9 “eo 9 4 \ ‘ A ‘ \ e
ecmrev, “a Karnde, o€ Tov TintTny Kal Tous nmeE-
4 , b / , e LY A e
Tépous Bious odeirovra Soxipalery bo TOV HyLeE-
1 ¥xwy bracketed by Bekker, after Coraés.

clerks connected with the treasury. These were fully conversant with the public accounts and the - laws relative thereto, and so, when they received as their superior officers young men whose inexperience and ignorance made it really needful that others should teach and tutor them, they would not sur- render any power to such superiors, but were superiors themselves. Now, however, Cato applied himself with energy to the business, not having merely the name and honour of a superior official, but also intelligence and rational judgement. He thought it best to treat the clerks as assistants, which they really were, sometimes convicting them of their evil practices, and sometimes teaching them if they erred from inexperience. But they were bold fellows, and tried to ingratiate themselves with the other quaestors, while they waged war upon Cato. Therefore the chief among them, whom he found guilty of a breach of trust in the matter of an inheritance, was expelled from the treasury by him, and a second was brought to trial for fraud. This person Catulus Lutatius the censor came forward to defend, a man who had great authority from his office, but most of all from his virtue, being thought to surpass all Romans in justice and discretion; he also commended Cato’s way of living and was in- timate with him. Accordingly, when Catulus had lost his case on its merits and began to beg openly for the acquittal of his client, Cato tried to stop him from doing this. And when Catulus was all the more importunate, Cato said: “It would be a shameful thing, Catulus, if thou, who art the censor, and shouldst scrutinize our lives, wert put out of

Tépwv wirnpetav éxBddrAccOat.” rTavTnvy THY
bs) > , A , e vA ,
govyv adpévtos tod Kadtrewvos, o KdtXos mpoce-
\ > ‘ e J s 9 \ 9 4
Bree pév avtrov ws aperropevos, eltre 5é ovdér,
> bd ” e 9 ’ A w e b ’ 4 J ol
GW’ elite bm’ opyns cite Un’ aicyvvys amnrOe

o.wmh Sintropnuévos. ov pny HrAw ye o avOpwTos,
GAN’ éerrel ped Wndw tas adieicas vrepéBadXov
€ A , 4 /
at xa@atpodoa, Kat AodAXos Mapxos els, cvvap-
le) 4 @ \ 2) / > } “
yov tov Katwvos, to aobeveias amedédetTT0
ths Sixns, wéumet pos TovToOv o Kardos Seopevos
BonOjaat t@ avOpwr@ Kaxeivos év hopei@ Kopt-
obeis peta thy Sixny Eero Thy arrodvovcav.. ov
pay éxypnoato ye TO ypappatet o Kdtwy, ovdé
Tov pucOov arédwxev, ovbé Grws évdpiOpov tod
AoAXlov tH Widov éryev.
XVII. Odtw Sé rovs ypaupartels Tatrewwoas
Kal Trowjoas UTroyxetpious, Kal Tots TPdypLaAcLY WS
> A >] 4 , > / , \
autos €BovreTO YpwpeEvos, OALYH Ypovw TO TA-
petov awédecEe tod Bovreutnpiov cEpvorEpor, WS
kal réyerv Kal dpovety atravtas bre Katwv vra-
> gs A 4 ’ A \
relas afiopa Th Tapueia mepeOnne. mp@rov pep
yap etpwv ypéa taraa TH Snuooim TodXous
9 J wn \ , @ . A
opetAovtas Kal moAXois TO Snuoctov, aya THY
Tod éravoev adiKoupevny Kal adixovcay, TOUS
pev evtovas Kal atapaitntws amait@v, Tots
5¢ tayéws azrodsb0vs Kal mpoOvpws, doTe Tov
Sjpov aideicOat Tovs pév olopévous atrootepnaety
éxtivovtas opavta, tous 5é & pun mpoceddcxwy
avo\apBavovras. émeita ypaupara tToAA@Y ov
Mpoonkovtws avadepovtwv, cal Soypata wWevd7
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CATO THE YOUNGER

court by our bailiffs.’ When Cato had uttered
these words, Catulus fixed his eyes upon him as
if he would make reply ; he said nothing, however,
but either from anger or from shame went off in
silence, much perplexed. However, the man was
not convicted, but when the votes for condemnation
exceeded those for acquittal by a single ballot, and
one Marcus Lollius, a colleague of Cato, was kept by
sickness from attending the trial, Catulus sent to

him and begged him to help the man. So Lollius was brought in a litter after the trial and cast the vote that acquitted.. Notwithstanding this, Cato would not employ the clerk, or give him his pay, or in any way take the vote of Lollius into the reckoning.

XVII. By thus humbling the clerks and making them submissive, and by managing the business as he himself desired, in a little while he brought the quaestorship into greater respect than the senate, so that all men said and thought that Cato had invested the quaestorship with the dignity of the consulship. For, in the first place, when he found that many persons were owing debts of long stand- ing to the public treasury and the treasury to many persons, he made an end at the same time of the state being wronged and wronging others; from its debtors he rigorously and inexorably demanded payment, and to its creditors he promptly and readily made payment, so that the people were filled with respect as they saw men making payments who thought to defraud the state, and men receiving payments which they had ceased to expect. In the next place, though many used improper methods to get writings filed with the quaestors, and though

UA 4 \ / a /
mapabexyec. Gat yapiTe wat dSenoer TY TPOTEpwY
> , 2 Oar oN , A .
elwOorav, ovdev avtov EXade ytvdpuevov toLovton,
> x e \ @ , / > 4 b] tA
GXN' Uirép évos TroTe SOypaTos evdotdaas et KUpLOV
yéyove, TOAX@Y papTUpovYTMY OvK érriaTEUCE)D,
ovdé xatrérake mpotepov 4 TOUS UTraTouUsS éTOpocat
mapayevopméevous. dvtwv S€ moAdA@v ols LUAXas
a " fol
éxeivos atroxteivact avdpas éx mpoypadis yépas
" 9 4 , , @
éSwxev ava pupias Sioytrias Spaypuds, aravtes
pev avtovs ws évaryeis Kal puapovs épicour,
apivacbar S€ ovdels éroAwa, Kdtwv S€ mpoo-
Kadovpevos Exactov Exovta Snudo.ov apyvptov
LOL, ~2/ ef 0 A \ / N nA
adixas é&érpartev, dua Ouu@ Kal rNoy@ TO THs
A > 4 / > , e
mpakews avoovoy Kal Twapavopov ée€overdifwv. ot
n , > & } 4 ,
5é rodto Trafovres evOrs Hoav evoyor Pove, Kal
TpOTov TLVa MponAWKOTES ATHYOVTO TPOsS TOUS
dtxaotas Kal Sixas .étivoy, ndouéevoyv Travtov Kal

vouCovTwv avveEarciperOar THY TOTE TUpavvida
kal SvAXav avtov éepopav Koralopevor.
XVIII. “Hepee 5€ rovs rrodXovs ral 7d évderexes
avTov Ths émipereias nal atputTov. ovTe yap
mpotepos tis avéBn TOY oUvapyxoVTwY Eis TO
taptctoy Katwvos olte torepos amndOev, €x-
KAnoiav 5é cat Bovrny ovdepiav trapj«e, Sede
Kai jwapaguAdtTwv Tovs ETOipws Kal Tpdos yap
odrAnpatov cal TeXov dvécets 7 Sdcets ols Eruyev
erindifopévous. émridecxvupevos S€ TO Tapetov
274

previous quaestors had been accustomed to receive false decrees at the request of those whom they wished to please, nothing of this sort could be done now without Cato finding it out. Indeed, on one occasion when he was doubtful whether a certain decree had actually passed the senate, though many testified to the fact, he would not believe them, nor would he file the decree away until the consuls had come and taken oath to its validity. Again, there were many persons whom the famous Sulla had rewarded for killing men under proscription, at the -rate of twelve thousand drachmas. All men hated them as accursed and polluted wretches, but no one had the courage to punish them. Cato, however, called each one of these to account for having public money in his possession by unjust means, and made him give it up, at the same time rebuking him with passionate eloquence for his illegal and unholy act. After this experience they were at once charged with murder, were brought before their judges con- demned beforehand, one might say, and were pun- ished. At this all men were delighted, and thought that with their deaths the tyranny of that former time was extinguished, and that Sulla himself was punished before men’s eyes.

XVIII. Moreover, the multitude were captivated by his continuous and unwearied attention to his duties. For no one of his colleagues came up to the treasury earlier than Cato, and none left it later. Besides, no session of assembly or senate would he fail to attend, since he feared and kept close watch on those who were ready to gratify people by voting remissions of debts and taxes, or promiscuous gifts. And so by exhibiting a treasury which was inacces-

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T 2

v / A a \ ,
aBarov te kat kaBapov cuvxopavtTav, wAHpEs Fé
Npnuatwv, édiSacnev Ste TH Tore TrovTED
4 \ ’ ’ b] > \ \ “A
éEeote wy abdixovon. Kat apxas 6€ Tov ocvvap-
’ > 7 ’ \ \ \ \ ¢
YovTwy eviots émrayOns nal yadeTros haves do-

n a a \
TEpov nyaTato, Tais éx Tod pH yapilecOar Ta
a A
Snpoora unde xpivery Kanes areyOeiats bTroT Els
EavTOY avTi TdvTwv, Kal Tupéxywy atrodoyeraBat
mpos Tous deopuévous kal Bialopévous exeivous, ws
Ul
apunyavov éotiv, dkovtos Katwvos.
a \ oe a a / \ e \ /
Tov dé nuepov TH TeXNcUVTALa oYEdOY Ui Trav-
A A > 3 v
TOY TOV TONTOY TpoTE“POEis Ets OlKOV, HKOU-
aev OTe MapKédAr@ ToAAG cuvyGers Kal Suvarot
TpoomerovTes év TO Tamei@m Kal TepréyovTes
exBialovrat ypdwar tiva Soow ypnudtwv odei-
4
Lopevwy. Av 5€ 0 Madpxedros éx« Taidwy diros
A / ‘ ‘\ b , 4 LA
T® Katww, cai ovv éxeiv@ BérATLOTOS apxyor,
> AN \ > e A > 4 e > by “A wn
autos 5€ Kaé’ avtov aya@yijmos Ur aidods Tois
Seopévors, Kal KatdvTns pos Tacav Yap. eEv-
dus obv o Kdtov émiotpéyras xai rov MdpxedXov
e \ > , 4 \ 4 W
eupwv éxBeBiacpévoy ypawar thv Soow, nTnceE
\ / \ 9 , 9 n A
Tas SéXtovs Kai dmnrEWev, adToD TapecT@TOS
ow Kat tovTo mpakas KaTHyayev avTov éx
n ,
Tov Tamweiov Kal Katéotycev els gixov, ovTE TOTE
4 ww a 3 > b , fo!
peprpdevoy ovte VaTtepov, AN eppeivavta TH
ournfeia Kai pidia péypt Tavtos.
Ov pny ovdé aradAayels HS Taptelas adjKe
a a A 9 /
THS Ppoupas Epnuov TO Taptefov, GAN olKérat

sible to public informers and free from their taint, but full of money, he taught men that a state can be rich without wronging its citizens. At first some of his colleagues thought him obnoxious and troublesome, but afterwards they were well pleased with him, since he took upon his own shoulders ex-

clusively the burden of the hatreds arising from refusal to give away the public moneys or to make unjust decisions, and furnished them with a defence against people who tried to force requests upon them. They would say, namely, “It is impossible ; Cato will not consent.”

On the last day of his term of office, after he had been escorted to his house by almost the whole body of citizens, he heard that many friends of Marcellus and men of influence had closely beset him in the treasury, and were trying to force him to register some re- mission of moneys due. Now, Marcellus had been a friend of Cato from boyhood, and when associated with him had been a most excellent magistrate. - When acting by himself, however, he was led by a feeling of deference to be complaisant towards suppliants, and was inclined to grant every favour. At once, then, Cato turned back, and when he found that Marcellus had been forced to register the re- mission, he asked for the tablets and erased the entry, while Marcellus himself stood by and said nothing. After this had been done, Cato conducted Marcellus away from the treasury and brought him to his house, and Marcellus had no word of blame for him either then or afterwards, but continued his intimate friendship up to the end.

However, not even after he had laid down the quaestorship did Cato leave the treasury destitute of

pep avrov Kal’ nuépav arroypapopevot TAS b100- :

KNOELS maphoay, AUTOS 5é BiPrLa Aayous Tepte-
Xovra Snpoolay oLKOvOMLeDV amo TOV LAra
Xpovery els THY EavTOU Tapweiay UNO ALEVOS TEVTE
TaravTov ael Sta YeLpos elev.
XIX. Kis &¢ ovyKhnTov Elones TE Tp@TOS Kat
TEANEUTALOS aNNANETTETO® moNNaKs O€ TOY an-
AwY TXONF cuvaryoueveny cabelouevos aveyive-
o KEV NOVY, TO iatiov Tod BiBXiou Tpoiaxo-
HEvOS. anednunoe dé ovd€érore BovrRs yevoperns.
émel 5é & ba Tepov ol qept Hopaniov ewpeov | aurov
év ols éorovdalov adikws apetatetotov Kal
ducexBiac tov aéi, Sepnxavavro perixais Tit
ournyopiass 0) Stairacs 7 i) T parypwareiacs efo Tmept-
omap. cuvels ov Taxu THY émiBoudny am ettre
Tact Kal maperafato Bourjjs aryomevns pn dev
ao TpaTTeL. ouTe yap o&ns yapiy ovTe
mreovefias obre avToMaTWS Kal Kara, TUYNY,
domwep Erepoi TUES, eM TrET OV eis TO WPaTTEW Ta
Tijs TONEWS, GAN ws idtov é Epyov avdpos ayabob
THY ToATELaV ENOpEVOS, faddov Geto deity T pooe-

Xew tois Kowois n To Knplp THY péeALT TAD, 6S ve
Kat Ta TOV eT apXLav mpaypara Kal Soyuata Kat
Kpioets Kal mpakes Tas peyioras Epyov wemotinro
bia, TOV éxactaxobe Eévav cai dirov wéprrecbar
7 pos avrov.
"Evotas 5é rote KiAwdio TO Snuaywy@ Kivodr-
Tt Kal TapattovTe peyddov apyas VEWTEPLO [Lov
cat S:aBddXovte mpos Tov O7jpov Lepets Kal tepeias,
1 éépwy Sintenis, with one Paris MS.; Coraés and Bekker
have dpavres, with the other MSS.
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his watchful care, but slaves of his were there every day copying the transactions, and he himself paid five talents for books containing accounts of the public business from the times of Sulla down to his own quaestorship, and always had them in hand.

XIX. He used to be the first to reach the senate and the last to leave it; and often, while the other senators were slowly assembling, he would sit and read quietly, holding his toga in front of the book. He never left the city when the senate was in session. But afterwards, when Pompey and his friends saw that he could never be prevailed upon or forced from his position in any unjust measures which they had at heart, they would contrive to draw him away by sundry legal advocacies for friends, or arbitrations, or business matters. Accordingly, Cato quickly perceived their design and refused all such applications, and made it a rule to have no other business on hand while the senate was in session. For it was neither for the sake of reputation, nor to gain riches, nor accidentally and by chance, like some others, that he threw himself into the management of civic affairs, but he chose a public career as the proper task for a good man, and thought that he ought to be more attentive to the common interests than the bee to its honey. And so he was careful to have the affairs of the provinces and decrees and trials and the most important measures sent to him by his connections and friends in every place. |

At one time he opposed Clodius the demagogue, who was raising agitation and confusion as a prelude to great changes, and was calumniating to the people priests and priestesses, among whom Fabia, a sister of

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év ols cat DaBia Tepevrias aderpy, THs Kexeé-
pevos YUVALKOs, cuwvdivevae, TOV peev Krwdcov
alaxyuvn TEeptBarov nvayKacey UTEKoTHVaL THS
modews, tov b€ Kixépwvos evyaptarodvtos, TH
mone. Sety Exeww Epyn xdpwy avtov, was éxeivns
EVEKA TAVTA TOLOY Kal TONLTEVOLMEVOS. €K TOU-
Tov peyarn Soka epi avToyv Hv, w@oTE pyTOpA
pév, Sixn tivi paptupias puas hepopévns, eimeiv
mpos Tous Sixactas ws Evi papTupodyTt 7 poce-
yew, ovde Kdtwu, caras exer, woddovs Sé 75n
wept TaV atriotwy Kal tapabo—wv, woTrep év
Tapotula Twi, Neyety STL TOVTO pev OVdEe KaTwvos
Néyovtos WiOavov éott. poxOnpod &é avOpwrrov
Kal moAvTEedNods Adyor év cuyKAnT@ SiaBeuévou
mpos euTéAetav Kal owdpoviopoy eTavactas
"Apvaios, “"O avOpwme," elme, “ris avéEetai
cou Sevtvovvros pev ws AevKdddXov, oixobopovr-
tos 5€ ws Kpdoaou, dSnunyopodvtos 5é jpivy ws
Katevos;" cal tov adrwv 8€ tors havrous cal
axoXdaotous, Tos Aoyots b€ Geuvovs Kal avorn-
pous xAevdlovtes exaddouy Katrwvas.
XX. TloAA@y 5€é adrov emi Snuapyiav Kanrovv-
TWV OUK WETO KANOS Eye peyarns éEoucias Kal
apxiis, @omep loxupov papydxou, Suvapey éy
mTpayuaci ovx dvayxaios é€avarooat. rat
dpa, cxYorrs ovens tov Snuociwyv, waparaBov
BiBrla nal dirocdgpouvs éBabdsev eis Aeveaviar,
aypous avToOt Kextnwévos ExovTas ovK dvEedev-
Gépovs SvarpiBas: elta Kab' odov toddXois Tice
brrotuylois Kal oxevert Kal axodrovOots arravTn-
cas kal muOdpuevos Nérwta Méteddop eis 'Pony
émavépyecOar Snpapyiay uetiévar TwapecKeva-
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Cicero's wife Terentia, was in danger of conviction. But Cato put Clodius to such shame that he was forced to steal away from the city; and when Cicero thanked him, Cato told him he ought to be thankful to

the city, since it was for her sake that all his public work was done. In consequence of this he was held in high repute, so that an orator, at a trial where the testimony of a single witness was introduced, told the jurors that it was not right to give heed toa single witness, not even if he were Cato ; and many already, when speaking of matters that were strange and in- credible, would say, as though using a proverb, “ This is not to be believed even though Cato says it.”” Again, when a corrupt and extravagant man was expatiating in the senate on frugality and self-restraint, Amnaeus sprang to his feet and said: “ Who can endure it, my man, when you sup like Lucullus, build like Crassus, and yet harangue us like Cato?”’! And other men also who were degraded and licentious in their lives, but lofty and severe in their speech, were mockingly called Catos.

XX. Though many invited him to become a tribune of the people he did not think it right to ex- pend the force of a great and powerful magistracy, any more than that of a strong medicine, on matters that did not require it. And at the same time, being at leisure from his public duties, he took books and philosophers with him and set out for Lucania, where he owned lands affording no mean sojourn. Then, meeting on the road many beasts of burden with baggage and attendants, and learning that Metellus Nepos was on his way back to Rome prepared to sue for the tribuneship, he stopped without a word, and

1 Cf. the Ducullus, xl. 3.

/ 9 4 A \ \ \ > ff ©
THEVOV, ETETTN LOT], KAL SiadiTrav pLxpov exe-
ANevoey dvactpédery oTriaw TOUS éavTov. tay oé
pidov Javpacdvrer, “QOux tote,” elwev, “Ott
kat xa? avtov vo éumAnkias hoBepos éote
MéreAXos, kal viv é« rs Llopmrniov yvapns
ap sry wEv0S els THY moMtTeLay éumeceitas Sixny
oKNTTOU TWavTa Tpaypara TapaTTay; OUK ouv
TXOAS ovde aTroonmias KaLpos, anra bei Kpari-
cat TOU av6pos, n KaOS arroBaveiv omep THs
érevbepias arywrifouevov.” Gos dé Tav theov
| TapatvesdvTay adixeto 7 P@TOV els Ta xwpra Kat
Suet peypev ov jToXvy xXpovoy, elta émraviicev els
Tow. éomépas dé éXOwv evOus Ewbev els ayopay
xatéBatve Snwapxiav peTLOY, as avritabopevos
7 pos TOV MéredAov. TO yap taxupov uy apXn
m pos TO Keohvew éxel padDov i] 7 pos TO Tpar re’
Kav TavTES ol AOLTTOL Trap éva nbicwvras, Tou
p71) O€XNoVTOS pnde é E@VTOS TO Kpatos éoti.
XI. To pep obv Tp@Tov orLryou Tepl TOV
Kdrwva TOV pirov jj oav" havepas 6 THS yveoins
avdrob YEVOMEDTS, dAdryou YpOovou TAVTES Ob xen
oTol Kal yva@piwor a UveTpeXov Kal Ta,pexddouv
Kal Taped dppuvov avrov, WS Ov AapBavovra

yapwy, GNA THY peyioTny didovTa TH mar piou
Kal Tots emvetKer TAT OLS TOV TrOMLT OY, OTL TrOA-
Adis am parywoves ap&at mapov ou Jedjoas, yov
Umrép THS édevOepias Kal toXLTelas drycoveovpevos
OUK AKLVoUVaS KaTELoL. RéyeTat Oé, Toa vmod
omoudis kal tho poo buns @0oupeveor Tpos av-
TOV, év cvduvp ryevopevos mores e&txéacBar did
WAHOos eis THY ayopdv. amrodery Gels Sé Snpapyos
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after waiting.a little while ordered his company to turn back. His friends were amazed at this, whereupon he said: “ Do ye not know that even of himself Metellus is to be feared by reason of his infatuation ? And now that he comes by the advice of Pompey he will fall upon the state like a thunderbolt and throw everything into confusion. It is no time, then, for a leisurely sojourn in the country, but we must overpower the man, or die honourably in a struggle for our liberties.”” Nevertheless, on the advice of his friends, he went first to his estates and tarried there a short time, and then returned to the city.! It was evening when he arrived, and as soon as day dawned he went down into the forum to sue for a tribuneship, that he might array himself against Metellus. For the strength of that office is negative rather than positive ; and if all the tribunes save one should vote for a measure, the power lies with the one who will not give his consent or permission.

XXI. At first, then, Cato had only a few of his friends about him; but when his purpose became known, in a little while all the men of worth and note flocked to him with exhortations and encourage- ments. They felt that he was not receiving a favour, but conferring the greatest favour on his country and the most reputable of his fellow citizens; for he had often refused the office when he could have had it without trouble, and now sued for it at his peril that he might contend for the liberties of the state. It is said, moreover, that he was in peril from the many who crowded upon him in their zeal and affection, and could hardly make his way through the crowd into the forum. He was declared

1 In 63 B.c.
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ou érépos, cal TO MerédArdm, Tas trartixds
apyatpesias opav wvious ovcas, éteTtiinoe TO
Syu@ Kal xatatravwv Tov AOyov éT@pmoTE TOU
Sovtos apyuptov, Sotis av 7, Katnyopnoeyv, &va
N b
Leravov wmreEedomevos dt otxevoTnta. LepBrriav
yap dbergpav Kdravos o teraves elye. 510 Tod-
N A 4 / 2997

Tov pev trapnxe, Aevecov 5€ Movpnvay édiwxerv
? / 4 ” \ “a
apyupio Sat paEdpevov apyovta meta TOD YtdNa-
vod yevéoOar. vom dé tive Tov’ hevyovtos aet
pvrAaka TO K ppm odo A n Aabe!i
» KaTnyop@ Sidovtos, @oTe 7 AaOety
& ovvaye nat wapacKkevaletat wpos THY KaTN-
UY e A K 4 5 @ \ e \ “A /
yopiav, 0 T@ Katww dofeis vireo tov Movpnva
A A , e es
jTapaxo\ovlav Kat tapapudXatTav, ws éwpa
4
pnbev emiBovrAws mpdttovTa pndé adixws, ara
yevvaiws Te Kal hiravOpoTras atTAnY TWA TIS
KaTnyoptas Kal Suxaiay oddv topevopevov, odTaS
? / Ne , ~ \ #4 a +)
Cavpale to Ppovnua Kal To 7005 wate KaT
dyopav tpoci@v Kai hovtav emi Ovpas aruvOd-
veoOat tov Katwvos e¢ péddXee Te oNpEepoy mpa-
a /
ypatevoacbar TOY Trepl THY KaTnyopiav: eb Sé py
pain, misTrevwv amrnet.
Ths Sé déens Aeyouévns o Kixépwv, daratos av
Tore Kal T@ Movpyva cuvd:ndv, Todda Sa Tov
Kdtwva tots 2twikods pidocopous Kai tadta 67
A , 4 o 4 \
Ta Twapdooka KaXovpeva Soypata xrevdlwv Kai
Tapackantwv yékwTa Trapeiye Tots Stxactais.
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' tribune with others! (including Metellus), and see-
ing that the consular elections were attended with
bribery, he berated the people; and in concluding
his speech he swore that he would prosecute the
briber, whoever he might be, making an exception
only of Silanus because of their relationship. For
Silanus was the husband of Cato’s sister Servilia.
For this reason he let Silanus alone, but he pro-
secuted Lucius Murena on the charge of having
secured his election to the consulship with Silanus
by bribery.2, Now, there was a law by which the
defendant could set a man to watch the prosecutor,
in order that there might be no secret about the

~ material which he was collecting and preparing for the prosecution. Accordingly, the man appointed by Murena to watch Cato would follow him about and keep him under observation. When, however, he saw that Cato was doing nothing insidiously or unjustly, but was honourably and _ considerately following a straightforward and righteous course in the prosecution, he had such admiration for Cato’s lofty spirit and noble character that he would come up to him in the forum or go to his house and ask him whether he intended that day to attend to any matters connected with the prosecution; and if Cato said no, the man would take his wore and go away.

When the trial was held, Cicero, who was consul at that time and one of Murena’ s advocates, took advantage of Cato’s fondness for the Stoics to rail and jest at length about those philosophers and what were called their “ paradoxes,” thus making

1 At this time the number of the popular tribunes was ten. 2 Silanus and Murena were consuls in 62 B.C.

tov ov Kdtava hact Stapedsacavta mpos tous TapovTas elrreiy" e"Q) av6pes, as yehotov bma- Tov EXOMED.” anopuyav dé 0 Moupyvas ou movnpod wdBos ovde appovos émabev av parrov mpos tov Katwva: kai yap UTaTevov EXPHTO cupBovr TOV peyioron, Kal Taha TLUL@Y Ka Tig TEveY dveTéAEeD. aitvos 5é¢ wv o Katav av- TOS, émi Tov Bnpatos Kal rod ouvedpiov Xareros av Kal poBepos imép tov Sixaiwv, eita waow evvoiKas Kal pravd pores 7 poo pepopevos.

XXII. IIply b¢ els Thy Snuapxiav xaliora- cGat, Kixépevos t UTaTtevovTos, adrows Te ToNNois ayaot THV apxny apOwcer avrov Kal Tais qepi Karidivay mpateae peyiotats Kal KadrLo Tas yevouevats TEAOS eméOnxev. autos péy yap o Karidivas on€O tov Te Kal TavTen} peraBodny errdryov Trois ‘Popaiov T paypace Kal ardoels opob Kat qoXéuous TAPATTOV eFereyx Gels bao TOU Kuxépovos eferere TIS TOAEWS, Aévtros dé xal KeOnyos Kal per’ aur ay Ere por cuxvol beEdpevor HV cuvaporiay, kal T@ Karidiva Secdiav Kal

puxpoAroyiay TOY Tonpn drop émuxanoovres, avrol
devoobyTo THY wonky apdnv avatpeiv Tupl Kal
THY yyepoviay eOvav ajoatTacect Kal ToEMoLs
arog vrows dvatpéeren. pavepas dé Ths el a
OKEUHS auTov ryevopevns, wat Kixépavos * ev
BovrAh yvapunv wpobévtos, o pev TpPATOS el TT @V
Lravbs arepnvaro Soxeity avT@ Ta éoxara
eee Xphvat tovs avdpas, oi Sé wer avtov ede-
1 xal Kixépwvos so Sintenis? for the corrupt MSS. ds é&
Tors wept Kixépwvos yéyparra:; Coraés and Bekker adopt the
early anonymous correction wal Kixépwyos, as év rois wept
éxeivou yéypawrat.
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the jurors laugh. Cata, accordingly, as we are told, said with a smile to the bystanders: “My friends, what a droll fellow our consul is!” And after Murena had been acquitted, he did not feel towards Cato as a base or senseless man might have done; for during his consulship he asked his advice in the most important matters, and in other ways constantly showed him honour and trust. And Cato himself was responsible for this; on the tribunal and in the senate he was severe and terrible in his defence of justice, but afterwards his manner towards all men was benevolent and kindly.

XXII: Before he entered upon his tribuneship, and during the consulship of Cicero,! he maintained the authority of that magistrate in many conflicts, and above all in the measures relating to Catiline, which proved the most important and most glorious of all, he brought matters to a successful issue. Catiline himself, namely, who’ was trying to bring about a complete and destructive change in the Roman state, and was stirring up alike seditions and wars, was convicted by Cicero and fled the city; but Lentulus and Cethegus and many others with them took over the conspiracy, and, charging Catiline with cowardice and pettiness in his designs, were them- selves planning to destroy the city utterly with fire, and to subvert the empire with revolts of nations and foreign wars. But their schemes were dis- covered, and Cicero brought the matter before the senate for deliberation.? The first speaker, Silanus, expressed the opinion that the men ought to suffer the extremest fate, and those who followed him in

1 63 B.C.
* Cf. the Caesur, vii. 4-v ii. 2; and the Cicero, x. ff.
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A “a \
4 Ens neorovOnoav, aypt Kaicapos. Kaicap 6é
avaotds, ate 57 Kal Sewos eitrety Kai Tacay év
a , \ \ / C4 ef
TH Torte. petaBoArAnv Kal KivnoLY WoTEp UANHV
? > A a , ” ; a
@v autos Stevocito BovrAopevos avery padrdov
a / a 9 \ N ‘ 770
i) oBevvupernv epiopav, érraywya Toda Kat
a /
diravO pwira StareyGels atroxtetvar pevy akpiTous
“ 4
oux ela Tovs avdpas, eipxOévtas Sé Typety éxe-
5 Nevoev, otTw Sé Tas yvwOpas peETéoTNOE TIS
A , \ aA @ \
Bovrns, poBnGeians tov Shpov, Bote Kat L-
N 4 3 \ / e #09 > AN
ANavov &Eapvoy elvat Kai Aéyetv ws Od’ aUTOS
ry) , > \ e ‘ v ‘ > \
elrot Oavatov, ada eipypov: Exyatov yap avdpt
‘Pwpat@ TodTO KaKOY aTravTwv.
XXIIT. Tevopévns S€ troravrns THs Tpowhs Kat
admdvtwv émt To mpaotepoy puévtTwv xai pidav-
‘
Opwrotepov, o Kdtwy pos Thy yvounyv avactas
A / A
evOus iero TO AOYD pet Opyns Kal wdOous, Tov
te 2travov Kaxilwv THs petaBorjjs, Kal xaba-
“i A “A
mropevos TOD Kaicapos os oynuate dnyeTix®@ kal
2 Xo Davo pa } DALY a : y
yo piravOpor@ thy Tod avatpétovTos, Kal
4 \ ‘ 9499 > A v
dedutTopevov THY BovAnv éf’ ols avtov Edeu de-
duévat Kat ayaTav eb Tov yeyovdtwv aO@os
aTadrAdéet Kal avuTroTrTos, oUTwS Trepipavas Kal
? “A
tTau“as Tous Kowous éEaprralwy trodeuious Kat
\ > 2QO\ bf a“ > / /
THY Tap ovdev éXOovaay amorécOat Tratpiba
Uf \ a, e “ \ “ b] bd
TOLAUTNY Kal TOTAUTHY OMoOAOYaV pn) EAEEtY, GAX
A ” \ , y “ 4 \
ods ede pn. yevéoOar unde hodvat Saxpiwv Kai
avaKNaLopEvos, Eb hovwv peydrwv Kal xivdvvev

> / \ , ’ ,
aTadXafovat THY TOALY atTroPavorTes.
3 Tovtov povov dv Katwyr elite d:acwtecdai
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turn were of the same mind, until it came to Caesar. _ Caesar now rose, and since he was a_ powerful speaker and wished to increase every change and commotion in the state as so much stuff for his own designs, rather than to allow them to be quenched, he urged many persuasive and humane arguments. He would not hear of the men being put to death without a trial, but favoured their being kept in close custody, and he wrought such a change in the opinions of the senate, which was in fear of the people, that even Silanus recanted and said that he too had not meant death, but imprisonment ; for to a Roman this was the “ extremest’’ of all evils.

XXIII. After such a change as this had been wrought and all the senators had hastened to adopt the milder and more humane penalty, Cato rose to give his opinion, and launched at once into a passionate and angry speech, abusing Silanus for his change of opinion, and assailing Caesar. Caesar, he said, under a popular pretext and with humane words, was trying to subvert the state; he was seeking to frighten the senate in a case where he himself had much to fear; and he might be well content if he should come off guiltless of what had been done and free from suspicion, since he was so openly and recklessly trying to rescue the common enemies, while for his country, which had been on the brink of ruin, and was so good and great, he confessed that he had no pity; and yet for men who ought not to have lived or been born even, he was shedding tears and lamenting, although by their deaths they would free the state from great slaughten and perils.
This is the only speech of Cato which has been

\ 4 / le e / ‘
dace tov Royov, Kixépwvos tov viatouv Tous
Stadhépovtas ofvTnTt TAY ypadewy onpeia Tpode-
“a J la)

SdEavtos év puxpois kat Bpayéot TvIToLs TOANOY
, 4 Uy % Mv >
ypapydatwv éxovta Suvapiv, eita adXov adda-
/ A : / , > f
yooe tov BovdrevTnpiov oopddny éuBadovtos.
ovTw yap HoKxovv ovd éxéxTnvTO TOvs KadoupE-
\ , a
VOUS ONpELoypahous, GAAG TOTE TpwToOY eis LyVvOS
A e
Tl KatTacThvat Aé€yovow. éexpatnae & ovv oO
Kadtov nal peréotynce Tas yvopas, @ote Oavatov
/ n > A
katandicacbat Tav avdpav.
XXIV. Ei b€ det unde ta pixpa trav nOadv
a a , , a
onpeia tmapadirety @oTrEp ELKova rvuyns vTrO-
4 / , \ e? \
ypadopmevous, NEyeTal, TOTE TONANY autrAdXaVY Kal
a \ “~
péyav ayava mpos tov Kdtwva tod Kaicapos
a , A /
EyovTos Kal THS BovAts els exeivous avnptnuévns,
SeAtdpiov te puxpov EEwOev eioxoutcOjvar TO
4 A
Kaicapt. tod dé Katwvos eis vrroyiay dyovtos
\ A N 4 ted U ‘
TO Tpaypna Kal dtaBadrXovTOS Elvai TLVas TOUS
KLvoUpévous, Kal KeXNEVOVTOS avayiWocKELY Ta
yeypappéva, Tov Kaicapa te Kdtwu mpocdovvar
To OeATdpLov éyyus éot@Tt. Tov dé avayvorTa
LepBirias THs adeAdHs emictoNov dKoXacTOV
mpos Tov Kaicapa yeypappévov, épwons Kal
, e bd > A a , “A ,
dtehPappervns UT avtov, mpocpiai te 7@ Kat-
\ > ow &é , l “99 \ /
capt nai evmetv, ‘ Kpater, péOvoe,” cat warw,
e > \ \ b] b] n , ,

oUTwS emt Tov €€ apyns Aoyov TpaTEc Oat.
Daiverac b€ GAws atvynua yevéoOar Tod
Katwvos 1 yuvatxwvitis. attn pev yap emt

preserved, we are told, and its preservation was due to Cicero the consul, who had previously given to those clerks who excelled in rapid writing instruc- tion in the use of signs, which, in small and short figures, comprised the force of many letters; these clerks he had then distributed in various parts of the senate-house. For up to that time the Romans did not employ or even possess what are called short- hand writers, but then for the first time, we are told, the first steps toward the practice -were taken. Be that as it may, Cato carried the day and changed the opinions of the senators, so that they condemned the men to death.

XXIV. Now, since we must not pass over even the slight tokens of character when we are de- lineating as it were a likeness of the soul, the story goes that on this occasion, when Caesar was eagerly engaged in a great struggle with Cato and the attention of the senate was fixed upon the two men, a little note was brought in from outside to Caesar. ‘Cato tried to fix suspicion upon the matter and alleged that it had something to do with the con- spiracy,! and bade him read the writing aloud. Then Caesar handed the note to Cato, who stood near him. But when Cato had read the note, which was an unchaste letter from his sister Servilia to Caesar, with whom she was passionately and guiltily in love, he threw it to Caesar, saying, “Take it, thou sot,”’ and then resumed his speech. :

But as regards the women of his household Cato appears to have been wholly unfortunate. For this

1 Plutarch’s ambiguous words here mugt be interpreted by comparison with the Brutus, v. 2 f., where the same story is told.

Kaicapt xax@s jeovoe ta Sé THs érépas Lep-
Birias, aderdjns b€ Kadtwvos, aoynpovéctepa.
AevxorAr\o yap yaunbcioa, tmpwtevoavtt ‘Po-
paiwy cata dofav dvdpi, nat texodoa tratdiov
éEémece Tov oixov 6: dxoraciav. To b€ aloyt-
oTov, ovd 7 yuvn Tod Kdtwvos ’Atidia To.ovT@V
éxabapevoev aduaptnudtwy, ddArAa KaiTep é&F av-
THs dvo tratdia Tetoinuévos avdyKknv éaxev éx-
Bareiv acynpoyovoar.
XXV. Elta énue Ovyarépa Pidirmov, Map-
xiav, emernn Soxovoav elvas yuvaixa, Tepl ts 0
TAEetoTOs Aoyos: Kai KaOatrep! ev Spdpate TH
Bim tovtTo TO pépos TpoBAnpaT@bes yéeyove Kal
atropov. émpaxOn dé tovtTov Tov TpoToY, ws
istopet Opacéas, ets Movvatiov, dvdpa Kdrwvos
éraipov kal oupBiwtyy, avadépwv THY TioTev.

év tToAXois épactais Kal Oavpactais tov Ka-
TwVvos oav érépwy Erepot uGAXrov ExdnrAoL Kat
Siadavets, av nat Koivtos ‘Opryotos, avnp a&io-
patos Te Aapmpod Kal Tov TpoTrov ériecKns.
émiOupov ody T@ Katou py auvnOns eivar pndé
éTaipos movov, GAN apes yé Tas Eis OlKELOTHTA
catapifat Kai KoLywviav TdvTa TOV OLKOY Kal TO
yévos, emexeipnoe ovptrei\Oew Orws THY Ovyatépa
Tlopxiav, BuBAw avvoixodcav nai wemoinpévny
éxeivym 5v0 traidas, aiT@ Tad woTEp Eevyerty
ywpayv evTexvocacbat trapacyn. do6&n péev yap
avoporwy atoTov elvat TO ToLodTov, duce. dé
KaNOV Kab TONTLKOY, EV Mpa Kal akph yuvaixa
unte apyely TO yovlmov atocBécacay, pte
1 «al xaddmwep the wal is supplied by Sintenis; Bekker has xa0anep yap, after Coraés,
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~

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sister was in ill repute for her relations with Caesar ; and the conduct of the other Servilla, also a sister of Cato, was still more unseemly. She was the wife of Lucullus, a man of the highest repute in Rome, and had borne him a child, and yet she was banished from his house for unchastity.1. And what was most disgraceful of all, even Cato’s wife Atilia was not free from such transgressions, but although he had two children by her, he was forced to put her away because of her unseemly behaviour.

XXV. Then he married a daughter of Philippus, Marcia, a woman of reputed excellence, about whom there was the most abundant talk ; and this part of Cato’s life, like a drama, has given rise to dispute and is hard to explain. However, the case was as follows, according to Thrasea, who refers to the authority of Munatius, Cato’s companion and intimate associate. Among the many lovers and admirers of Cato there were some who were more conspicuous and illustrious than others. One of these was Quintus Hortensius, aman of splendid reputation and excellent character. This man, then, desiring to be more than a mere associate and companion of Cato, and in some way or other to bring his whole family and line into community of kinship with him, attempted to persuade Cato, whose daughter Porcia was the’ wife of Bibulus and had borne him two sons, to give her in turn to him as noble soil for the production of children. According to the opinion of men, he argued, such a course was absurd, but according to the law of nature it was honourable and good for the state that a woman in the prime of youth and beauty should neither quench her productive power and lie idle, nor yet, by bear-

"1 See the Lucullua, xxxviii. 1.

4 A “~ A
TAELOVA TOV iKaVOY emitixToVaaV, evoyrEeiy Kal
KaTtantTwyevery ovdev Seduevov,! Kowvovpévous 5é
Tas dtadoxas akiows dvdpdat Thy Te apeTny adpOo-
vov Toteiy Kai TroAvXUTOY Tos yéveot, Kal THY
/ a
TOALY aUTHY TpOSs AUTHVY avaKepavvevat Tais ol-
, A
KELoTNoUW. eb O€ TadVYTWS TEPLEXOLTO THS YyUVALKOS
e , ? , AN A 3 ,
0 BuPAos, atroba@cew evOds Texodoay, oiKELoTEpos
J a , N 4 , /
avut@ te BuBdXw xai Kdtrow xowwvia traidov
; é
rYEVOMEVOS.
b] lA \ “A 4 e e ,

Arroxpwapévou 5€ tod Katwvos ws ‘Optyo.ov
pev ayaTa Kat Soxipdfee Kxotvwvov otxerorntos,
” \ oe a a / \ 4
atotrov dé Hyeltat trotetaPat AOyov TWept yasov
‘ e h67f 4 \ b] a
Ouyatpos érépm Sedopmévns, petaBarwv éxeivos
a“ \ a
ovK WKYNTEV ATrOKaAUWapEVos aiTteiy THY aAUTOV
aA "4 \ ‘\
yuvaixa Katwvos, véay pev ovoay Ett pos TO
tixtev, éxovtos Sé€ tov Kdtwvos amoxpacay
diadoynv. Kal ovn éotw Eltety WS TavTA ETpaT-
i ;
Tey edws ov mpocéyovta TH Mapxia tov Katwva:
\ ,
KvOVTaY yap aUTHVY TOTE TUYXdVELY Aéyouvd LY. OO

o] 4 , e a’ A ai c¢ , A
8 ovtv Katwv opav tnv tod ‘Optnaiou omovdiny
\ , ’ ’ a ’ > A \
Kal mpoOupiay ovK avteitrev, GAN Edy Seiv Kal
/ “A f A fo /
Ditirr@ tabta cuvdoEat T@ watpt THs Mapxias.
e 2 e / 9 \ v \ ,
@s obv o Pidurmos evtevxPeis Eyvo THhv cuyyo-
b M” 9 , \ , a

pnotv, ovk adrdAwWs eEveyyunoe THY Mapxiav 7
mapovtos Tov Kdtwvos avtod Kal cuveyyvavTos.
“a / e
TavTa pev ov, EL Kal YpovoLs VaTEpoy éeTpayOn,
aA a a 54
puna Oévte pol TO TOV yuvatka@v TporaBeiv edoke.
1 Seduevov Coraés supplies olxoy.
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ing more offspring than enough, burden and im-
poverish a husband who does not want them. More-
- over, community in heirs among worthy men would
make virtue abundant and widely diffused in their
families, and the state would be closely cemented
together by their family alliances. And if Bibulus
were wholly devoted to his wife, Hortensius said he
would give her back after she had borne him a child,
and he would thus be more closely connected both
with Bibulus himself and with Cato by a community
of children.

Cato replied that he loved Hortensius and thought highly of a community of relationship with him, but considered it absurd for him to propose marriage with a daughter who had been given to another. Then Hortensius changed his tactics, threw off the mask, and boldly asked for the wife of Cato himself, since she was still young enough to bear children, and Cato had heirs enough. And it cannot be said that he did this because he knew that Cato neglected Marcia, for she was at that time with child by him, as we are told. However, seeing the earnestness and eager desire of Hortensius, Cato would not refuse, but said that Philippus also, Marcia’s father, must approve of this step. Accordingly, Philippus was consulted and expressed his consent, but he would not give Marcia in marriage until Cato himself was present and joined in giving the bride away.! This incident occurred at a later time,? it is true, but since I had taken up the topic of the women of Cato’s household I decided to anticipate it.

1 It is plain that Cato divorced Marcia; otherwise her
father could not have given her in marriage to Hortensius.
2 Probably in 56 B.c.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XXVI. Tav é epi Tov Aevthov dvarpeOev-
TWV, KAL TOU Kaicapos mept @v elonyyend Kal
deBANOn aWpos THY obyKdyTov els TOV Sfjwov
Katagduyovtos Kal Ta TOMA vooobvTa Kat
StepOappéva THS ToNTELas pepn TAPATTOVTOS

Kal TUvaryovTos 7 pos aUTOV, O Katwv poBnGeis
émeroe ™HY Boudny avahaBeiv TOV amropov Kat
avéuntov 6x Aov els TO oLTnpeccor, Gvarwparos
pev 6vTOs évavaiou yYidiwv Kal diaxociwy xal
TEVTNKOVTA TANAVTOD, Tepipavas d€ TH prdav-
Opwrria (TAUTD Kat YapeTe TiS ATELANS jexceivns
diaru elons. éured0ev eis THY Snuapyiav ép-
Tec@v oO Mérehdos éxxAnoias te OopuvBodeas
TUVIYE, Kal | Popov éypanpe Toparnjiov Mdyvov
teva KaTa TAXOS META TOV Supdpewy ELS ‘Tradtav
kal maparaSovra owtev THY TOMY, @S vUTr0
Katihiva Kevduvevovaay. mV bé TOUTO oyos
eUT peTrns, epyov 5é Tov vomou Kal TédoS eyxetpt-
oat Ta Tpay ware Toprnip Kat mapadsodvar THD
myeHoviav. Syevoperns dé Bovis kal tov Ka-
TOVOS ovy, Gomep elaben, TO Mgrédro apodpais
EMT ET OVTOS, GNX’ ETTLELKT) Toa "cad pétpLa Tap-
atvéravTos, TEROS dé Kai 7 pos denoers Tparro-
peévou Kab THY Meréd dw oixtay ael yevouevny
dpaToKpaTiKny errawwe avtos, ETL pandrov éfap-
Geis Kat KaTadpovicas) MeredXos @s évdsddvTos
avTov Kal TTHNTTGOVTOS Ets Umepnpavors GTrELNAS
kal rAoyous Opaceis eferecen, as Bia tavra TAS
Bovxrjs diam pakopevos. oUTw on petaBarov 0
Kadtov «al ox Apa Kat dovnv Kat ovov, ETELTIOV
5€ waot Ttois aAdots Statetapévws Ste Ca@vtos
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XXVI. Lentulus and his associates were executed, and Caesar, in view of the charges and accusations made against him to the senate, took refuge with the people and was stirring up and attaching to himself the numerous diseased and corrupted elements in the commonwealth. Cato was therefore alarmed and persuaded the senate to conciliate the poor and land- less multitude by including them in the distribution of grain, the annual expenditure for which was twelve hundred and fifty talents.!_ By this act of humanity and kindness the threatening danger was most successfully dissipated. Then Metellus, who hastened to take up the duties of his tribuneship, began to hold tumultuous assemblies of the people, and pro- posed a law that Pompey the Great should hasten with his forces to Italy ? and undertake the preserva- tion of the city, on the ground that it was imperilled by Catiline. Now, this was a specious proposition ; but the end and aim of the law was to put matters in the hands of Pompey and hand over to him the supreme power. The senate met, and Cato did not, as was his custom, attack Metellus with vehemence, but gave him much fitting and moderate advice, and finally, resorting to entreaties, actually praised the family of Metellus for having always been aristocratic in sympathy. Metellus was therefore all the more emboldened, and, despising Cato as a yielding and timorous opponent, broke out in extravagant threats and bold speeches, intending to carry everything through in spite of the senate. So, then, Cato changed his looks and voice

and words, and con- cluded a vehement speech with the declaration

1 Cf. the Caesar, viii. 4.

2 Pompey had just finished his conquest of Mithridates and was on the way home from Asia (62 B.c.).

avtov Iloumnios ov mapéota: pel' GtrAwD Els THY
TOALY, Exetvo TH BovAn TapéaTynoev, ws ovdéTEpOS
pev KabéotynKxev ovdE ypnTat Aoytopois aadaré-
ow, ott O€ 7 pev MeréAAou TohuTela, pavia bu
brepBorqy KaKias pepowern pos OreO pov Kal
ouyXuoy andvrwv, n O€ Kdtwvos apeths évOou-
Tag 105 UTép TOV KaXoV Kal dSixalwy aywrvito-
pévns.
XXVITI. 'Evel 5€ ray pipov Umép TOU vojou
pépety O Shuos EMENE, MeréAA@ pev Orda Kal
Eévou Kal povoudyor Kal Oepdrovres. emt tH
ayopav TeTarymevot Taphoay, Kat TO Tododv
petaBonijs erm oe Hopanjiov vIrHpXE TOD SHpov
pépos ouK OAbyov, mV Oé peyarn Kal amro Kai-
Tapos pon TTPATNYOUVTOS TOTE, Kdtou dé of
TMp@ToL TOV Toker av cuynyavaxtouv Kal ouvn-
Sixobvto paddov n ouvnyoviforTo, Tomy dé Ty
oixiay avTod karnpea Kat hoBos eixev, Hore
TOV pideov évious dairous StaypuTrvyja ae per
dAAnXrwv év atropas dvTas UTrép avTOD Aoyto pots,
Kal yuvaixa Kat ddeAdhas totviwmpévas Kal da-
Kpvovoas. autos 8 does Kai Tedappnkoras
evTUXOV maae Kat Tapnyopycas, Kal yevopevos
Tept Seimrvov, & BoTep etw@0er, Kal VUKTEpEvTAS, U
évos TOV TUVApYOVTMY, Muvuxiov Oe€ppyov, Babéws
Kadevowv emnyepOn Kal kaTéBnoay els aryopay,
OAV pev avTovs mpoTeuTovTwv, jodkA@y dé
amavT ave Kal purarredOas TApaKehevopevav.
@s ow émustas o Katwv kareive TOV VE@VY TOV
Avooxovpav Sirrdots TEPLEXOMEVOY Kab Tas ava Ba-
TELS ppoupoupevas um povopaxwr, avrov 6é
KaOnpevov avw peta Kaicapos tov Méreddop,

that while he lived Pompey should not enter the city with an armed force. The senate was thus led to feel that neither man was in his right mind or using safe arguments, but that the policy of Metellus was madness, which, through excess of wickedness, was leading on to the destruction and confusion of all things, while that of Cato was a wild ebullition of virtue contending in behalf of right and justice.

XXVII. When the people were about to vote on the law, in favour of Metellus there were armed strangers and gladiators and servants drawn up in the forum, and that part of the people which longed for Pompey in their hope of a change was present in large numbers, and there was strong support also from Caesar, who was at that time praetor. In the case of Cato, however, the foremost citizens shared in his displeasure and sense of wrong more than they did in his struggle to resist, and great dejection and fear reigned in his household, so that some of his friends took no food and watched all night with one another in futile discussions on his behalf, while his wife and sisters wailed and wept. He himself, how- - ever, conversed fearlessly and confidently with all and comforted them, and after taking supper as usual and passing the night, was roused from a deep sleep by one of his colleagues, Minucius Thermus; and they went down into the forum, only few persons accompanying them, but many meeting them and ex- horting them to be on their guard. Accordingly, when Cato paused in the forum and saw the temple of Castor and Pollux surrounded by armed men and its steps guarded by gladiators, and Metellus himself sitting at the top with Caesar, he turned to his friends

emia peas 7 POs TOUS pirous, oO Opacéos,"
elmrev, " avO pwrrov Kat dethod, o os Kal" évos avo-
ov Kal yupvov TOTOUTOUS eat patohoynaey."
apa & evOvs éBadite pera TOU O€ppov. Kal dué-
org ay avtois! of Tas avaBdcets KATEXOVTES,
a&NXov be ovdéva Taphay, n pores emianmdaas
THS yerpos o Katov TOV Movvadtiop a donyaye Kal
BadiSeov ev us as elye Kcabiver pécov éuBadov
éavtov tod MeréAXov Kat TOU Kaicapos, OOTE
Siaxopat THY Kowonoyian. KAKELVOL pev 5271 0-
pnoay, ot dé Xapievtes Jeac dpevor Kal avpa-
GavTes TO _TpoowToy Kat TO dpovnua xa 70
Oapoos tov Katawvos eyyutépo mpoonrOov, Kal
Bon dvexeNeVoaVvTo TO pev Kadtove Gappeiv,
péverv S€ GNI AOLS Kal cvaTpeped ba Kat yn
mpodidovat Thy érevOepiav nal tov brép avdTis
dry wviSopevov.

XXVIII. "EvOa or) TOU Uarnpérou Tov vowov
T poxerpioapévov, Tov 6€ Katwvos ovx éavtos
avayiwadKew, Tov 6€ MeréAAou mTapadraPovtos
aurov Kal avayWaarKOVTOS, o ev Karo eEnp-
Tae TO BuBAtov, o Oe O€ppos dro TTOMATOS TOU
Meréddou TOV vopov emia Tapevou Kal AeyouTos
ETETNVE TH Yetpt To oTOMa Kab TH peony am é-
KNELT EDs axpt ov, apayov opav ayova TOUS
dvdpas o O MéredXos ayovelopevous, | Kal TOV | Ofjpov
NT TO LEvov 7 pos TO oupépor Kal T PeTrOpLEvoy,
éxéXNevoev dmobev" OTMITAS peTa poBou Kal
Kpauyijs eTreT pexely. yevopevou 6e TOUTOU Kat
wavrwv dsackedacbévtwy UroatdyTa povoy Tov
1 abrots followed in the MSS. by éxetvo:, which Coraés and Bekker delete ; Sintenis corrects to éxelvots.

2 wrodev Kaltwasser : ofcoBev (from his house).

and said: ‘ What a bold man, and what a coward, to levy such an army against a single unarmed and defenceless person!’’ At the same time he walked straight on with Thermus. Those who were oc- cupying the steps made way for them, but would allow no, one else to pass, except that Cato with difficulty drew Munatius along by the hand and brought him up; and walking straight onwards he threw himself just as he was into a seat between Metellus and Caesar, thus cutting off their communi- cation. Caesar and Metellus were disconcerted, but the better citizens, seeing and admiring the counte- nance, lofty bearing, and courage of Cato, came nearer, and with shouts exhorted him to be of good heart, while they urged one another to stay and band themselves together and not betray their liberty and the man who was striving to defend it. XXVIII. And now the clerk produced the law, but Cato would not suffer him to read it; and when Metellus took it and began to read it, Cato snatched the document away from him. Then Metellus, who knew the law by heart, began to recite it, but Thermus clapped a hand upon his mouth and shut off his speech. At last, seeing that the men were making a struggle which he could not resist, and that the people were giving way and turning towards the better course, Metellus ordered men-at-arms, who were standing at a distance, tu come running up with terrifying shouts. This was done, and all the people dispersed, leaving Cato standing his ground alone

Katova xal PBaddopevov Aas Kal EvrAos
Mv 3 a / e \ / N
dvwbev ov twepteid6e Movpnvas o thy dixcny duyov

‘e) ld aN
bm’ avtov kal xatynyopnbes, adda THY THREevvov
Tpoiayopuevos Kal Body avacyeiv tois Baddovat,
ages
Kal téXos autov tov Kdtwva reiOwv nai tept-
n 4
MTVITWV, ELS TOV VEDV TOV Atos Kobpov daripyaryev.

"Ezrel 66 xatetdev 0 MéteAXos épnuiav Tept TO

Bijua Kai duyny du dryopas TOV evavtioupévery,

mavrdnact weobels Kpatety éxéXevoev atreévat
, \ e / \ \ id
Tadty Tovs oTAOPOpoUs, Kai TpocTEeNOwy Koo Mis

avros éTeyVelpel TWPATTELY TA TEPL TOV VOmOV. ot
, / a
5é évavtios Tayéws avadraBovtes éavtovs éx TIS

a /
Tpomns émnecav ailis éuBoncavtes péya Kal
Oapparéov, @ate Tois mept tov MéreAXov ép-

a“ \ \ , > , ee \
Tecely Tapaxny Kai Séos otopévors OTrX@V - TOBeY
evtropyaavtas avtavs émipépecOar, cai pnOéva
4 > \ 4. ¢ ? \ “ /
pévery, Ada hevyew atTravtas atro Tov Bnyatos.
LA A , 9 4 A \ /
ovTw 67 aoxedacbévtwy éxeivwr, Tov 6é Kadtavos
x ’

mpoceAOovtos Kal Ta pev étrawéoavtos, Ta 6

2 , ai a vd ,

émippwacavtos Tov Shwov, ot TE TroANOL TapeTa-

\ , . “A N lA C4

Eavto travti TpoT@ Katadvoat Tov MeérteddXop, 7

Te auyKAnTos aOpocbeioa TapnyyeAey apxnOev

a A \
Bonbeiv rO Katou nat Siapdyecbar mpos Tov
4 n
YOMOV, @S oTdoW eTEeLcayovTa TH wee Kat
ToAEuoVv EupvALov.
XXIX. ‘O dé Mereddos avTos Hep my arpem Tos
kat Opacds Ett, opa@v 5é€ Tovs Tepl avTov éxTe-
wANyLévous Koon Tov Kadtwva xal vopmilovtas
302
173

and pelted with sticks and stones from above. Here Murena, who had been denounced and brought to trial by him,! came to his relief, and holding his toga before him, crying to those who were pelting him to stop, and finally persuading Cato himself and folding him in his arms, he led him away into the temple of Castor and Pollux.

When, however, Metellus saw the spaee about the tribunal? empty and his opponents in flight through the forum, being altogether persuaded that he had won the day, he ordered his armed men to go away again, and coming forward himself in orderly fashion attempted to have the law enacted. But his opponents, quickly recovering from their rout, ' advanced again upon him with loud and confident shouts, so that his partisans were overwhelmed with confusion and terror. They supposed that their enemies had provided themselves with arms from some place or other in order to assail them, and not a man stood his ground, but all fled away from the tribunal. So, then, when these had dispersed, and when Cato had come forward with commendation and encouragement for the people, the majority of them stood prepared to put down Metellus by any and every means, and the senate in full session announced anew that it would assist Cato and fight to the end against the law, convinced that it would introduce sedition and civil war into Rome.

XXIX. Metellus himself was still unyielding and bold, but since he saw that his followers were completely terrified before Cato and thought him utterly

1 Cf. chapter xxi. 3-6.
2 The steps of the temple of Castor led down to a platform, from which the people were often addressed.
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dpayov kai dvacxBiactov, aidvidsov éEerndnoev
> \ > , \ \ \ a wv
eis THY ayopay, Kal auvayaywv Tov SHpov adrja
Te TOAAa rept Tod Kautawvos éridpOova binrOe,

Kat gevyelv tiv Tupavvida Boav Thy éxelvou Kal
Thv Kata Lloprniov cuvwpociay, éd’ } petavon-
Ew TAXU THY TOA aTiualovaav avdpa Toaod-
Tov, @ppnoev evOvs ets “Aciav, ws Tav’Ta pos
éxelvov KaTnyopnawy. nv ovv do€a peyadyn TOU
Katwvos ay8os ov pixpov atecxevacpévov TIS
Snpapyxias, Kat TpoTrov tiva THY Tloumniov dvva-
py év MerédrXXr@ KaOnpnKotos. ere dé padrov
eVdoxipinoe THY TUYKANTOV @p_uNnuevnV ATLMODY
kat ato wndiverOar tov MéteAdXov ovK édoas,
Grr évavtiwbeis Kal Tapattnodpevos. ot Te
\ \ ld 9 “ ‘ ,
yap Tool diravOpwrias érrovodvTO Kai peETPLO-
THTOS TO wy eTrEUBHVAL TO EXOP@ pwNdé evuBpioar
KATA KpaTOS TreEpiyevopmevov, Tois TE Ppoviposs
° fal ’ “ A
opbas épatveto Kal cupdepovtws pn trapokivar
Tour niov.
"Ex tovtrov AeveorXos érravedbav éx Tis
, e ” \ , N A , >
oTpateias, ns €b0€e TO TéXOS Kai THY SdEav adn-
“~ Sun 9 7 = nw ‘
pnoOat Llopmrnios, ets xivdvvoy AOE Tod py
nm mA ‘4
OptapBevoar, Tatou Mepptov xatacracidlovros
avrov év TO SHuw xai Sixas émdyovtos, eis THY
Tloparniov ydpw padrov 7 Kata éyOos idtov. o
A , ’ ’ / \ ? 2 A
5é€ Katwv, oixecotntos te mpos AevxoAXov avT@
yeyevnpeévns, Exovta LepBirLav tiv aderddny av-
an a \
Tov, Kal TO Tpayua Sevov nyoupevos, avtéctn
A / \ \ e , \
T® Meppiw, kat todas vireperve StaBoras Kat
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invincible, he suddenly rushed off into the forum, assembled the people, and made a long and invidious speech against Cato; then, crying out that he was fleeing from Cato’s tyranny and the conspiracy against Pompey, for which the city would speedily repent in that it was dishonouring so great a man, he set out at once for Asia, intending to lay these accusations before Pompey. Accordingly, Cato was in high repute for having relieved the tribunate of a great burden, and for having in a manner overthrown the power of Pompey in the person of Metellus. But he won still more esteem by not allowing the senate to carry out its purpose of degrading Metellus and deposing him from his office, which course Cato opposed, and

brought the senate over to his views. For the multitude considered it a token of humanity and moderation not to trample on his enemy or insult him after prevailing completely over him, and prudent men thought it right and advantageous not to irritate Pompey.

After this, Lucullus, having come back from his expedition,! the consummation and glory of which Pompey was thought to have taken away from him, was ‘in danger of losing his triumph, since Caius Memmius raised a successful faction against him among the people and brought legal accusations against him, more to gratify Pompey than out of private enmity. But Cato, being related to Lucullus, who had his sister Servilia to wife, and thinking the attempt a shameful one, opposed Memmius, and thereby exposed himself to many

1 He came back in 66 B.c., and had to wait three years before being allowed to celebrate a triumph. Cf. the Lucullus, XXXvil.

a oe /

4 xatnyopias. téros dé, THS apyns exBadropevos @s Tupavvidos, ToaovTOV éxpitnoevy WaTE TOV Méppuov avrov avayxaoat Tov Sixk@v aroaThvat n \ 6 “A 4 Ly duyeiy tov ayava. AevKorAXos pmeéev ovv OptapBevoas Ett waddov evedveto TH didia Tod , \ Kdtovos, éyov pupa cai mpoBAnpa péya mpos tnv Woprrniou Suva.

e : an , XXX. Tloprnios 5€ péyas aro THs oTpateias] 4 N a , \ , __ A érTravueov, Kal TH AamTpOTHTL Kal TpoOupia TIS Ag ol \ QA A \ 2 A umoboxns weTolWas ovdév dv denbels atroruxetvy a A a \ TOV TOMTO@V, TpovTEeuev akiav Tas UraTiKas ? / > ld \ 4 e A apyatpecias avaBanrécbat THY ovyKANTOY, ws av

2 autos tapwy Iletcwvt ocvvapyatpeoidon. TaV

\ 4 e , > \ > \ /
6€ mNeloT@V vTELKOVTwWY, ov THY avaBorAnY pEé-
yotov o Kdtawv iyovuevos, adda THY Telpay
amoxowat kat Thy éXrrida tov [lopaniou Bovroc-
pevos, avtTetme Kal petéatnce tHv Bovarnpv,
ef bf , le) \ Pee >
DOTE anoynpicacbat. TOUTO TOV Topargiov ovx
Hovxy duet apage: Kat vouilwv ov pipe mpoo-
mraicev Te Katou wa hiro yevopery, peTeTreu-
rato Mourdriov, éTaipov autov: Kai dvo Tod
Kadtwvos adergpidas émiydpous Exovtos Aree THY
pev TpecRutépay éavt@ yuvaira, Thy 56 vewTépav
3 TO Vid. Tives € hac ov TaY abeXPLOaV, AAG
tav Ouvyatépwv thy pynoteiav yevéoOar. Tod Se
Movvatiov tadta mpos tov Kdtwva xat tiv
a ‘ \ > \ / e \
yuvaixa Kat Tas adeAdas Ppdcavtos, ai pév
UTEepnyadTnoay THY oiKELoTHTA Tpos TO péyeOos
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slanderous accusations. Finally, however, though he was on the point of being ejected from his office on the ground that he exercised tyrannical power, he so far prevailed as to compel Memmius himself to desist from his accusations and shun the contest. Lucullus, accordingly, celebrated his triumph, and therefore clung still more closely to the friendship of Cato, finding in him a great bulwark of defence against the power of Pompey.

XXX. And now Pompey returned with great prestige from his expedition,! and since the splendour and warmth of his reception led him to believe that he could get whatever he wanted from his fellow citizens, he sent forward a demand that the senate postpone the consular elections, in order that he might be present in person and assist Piso in making his canvass. The majority of the senators were inclined to yield. Cato, however, who did not regard the postponement as the chief matter at issue, but wished to cut short the attempt and the | expectations of Pompey, opposed the measure and changed the opinions of the senators, so that they rejected it. This disturbed Pompey not a little, and considering that Cato would be a great stumbling- block in his way unless he were made a friend, he sent for Munatius, Cato’s companion, and asked the elder of Cato’s two marriageable nieces to wife for himself, and the younger for his son. Some say, however, that it was not for Cato’s nieces, but for his daughters, that the suit was made. When Munatius brought this proposal to Cato and his wife and sisters, the women were overjoyed at thought of the alliance, in view of the greatness and high repute of

1 In 62 B.C.

3°97
x 2
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kal TO afiopa Tod avopos, o b¢ Katwv ovr ért-
oX@v ovte Bovrevaodpevos, GAN TAnyels evOus
eltre> “ Babube, Mouvatte, Badbube, kal déye pos
Iloparniov as Katwv ovx éort bia LTis yuvasco-
viTL6os ANWCLLOS, arnra THY pev evvotav ayamd,
Kal Ta Sixava Tovovyre piriav ma peter Taons
La TOTEPAY oiKELoTNTOS, Gunpa dé ov mponcerat
TH Topaniov b0&n xaTa Tijs marpisos.”
‘El TOUTOLS iixGovro ev at yuvaixes, HTLBVTO
5é of pirou Tob Katwvos @S Gypotkov apa Kat
bmepnpavov THY aTroKptaty. eita pévTo mpar-
TOY Tet TeV pirov Umatetav O Tloparnios ap-
yuptov ets Tas punras érreutre, Kat areptBonros 0
Sexacpos tv, év knTrous exeivou TOV Xpnwarav
aprOpoupevery. elm OvTos ovv tov Kdtavos T pos
Tas yuvaixas OTe TOLOUT@D my Kowwveiv Kal ava-
wipmracOas T parywaTov avayKn Llopani ouva-
poevra de’ oixeroTn TOs, @moAOyouv éxetvat Kadduov
auTov BeBovretobat Staxpovadpevov. el 6é det
Tpos Ta aupBavra Kpivery, Tov TAVTOS EotKev 0
Kdtov dpapteiv THY OLKELOTNTA [LI Sef dpevos,
GND édaas 7 pos Kaioapa Tpam éa ae Kal yhpae
yd pov Os THD Tlopmniov Suvapuy Kal Kaica pos
eis TavTO oUvEvEeyKOY oAtryou Ta pev ‘Pwpatwr
avér pee mpaypara, THY dé TmoheTevay dveinen,
Ov ovdev adv iows ouveémecev, et a) Kdtwv Ta
puxpa tov [lopmrniou poBnbels apapThwara, TO
péytotov Tepuetoev, auTov éTépm Svvayuv tpoo-
ryevopevov.
XXXT. Taira pév odv Eyerrev Err, Aeuxor-
ov 6€ tepi tav év Tlovtm dvatdEewy otacia-
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CATO THE YOUNGER

Pompey ; Cato, however, without pause or delibera- tion, but stung to the quick, said at once: “Go, '

Munatius, go, and tell Pompey that Cato is not to be captured by way of the women's apartments, although he highly prizes Pompey's good will, and if Pompey does justice will grant him a friendship more to be relied upon than any marriage connec- tion ; but he will not give hostages for the glory of Pompey to the detriment of his country.''

At these words the women were vexed, and Cato's friends blamed his answer as both rude and over- bearing. Afterwards, however, in trying to secure the consulship for one of his friends,| Pompey sent money to the tribes, and the bribery was notorious, since the sums for it were counted out in his gardens. Accordingly, when Cato' told the women that he must of necessity have shared in the disgrace of such transactions, had he been connected with Pompey by marriage, they admitted that he had taken better counsel in rejecting the alliance.2~ However, if we are to judge by the results, it would seem that Cato was wholly wrong in not accepting the marriage con- nection, instead of allowing Pompey to turn to Caesar | and contract a marriage which united the power of the two men, nearly overthrew the Roman state, and destroyed the constitution. None of these things perhaps would have happened, had not Cato been so afraid of the slight transgressions of Pompey as to allow him to commit the greatest of all, and add his power to that of another.

XXXI. These things, however, were still in the
future. Meanwhile Lucullus got into a contention
1 Lucius Afranius, elected consul in 61 B.c. for the year 60 3s.c. Cf. the Pompey, xliv. 3. 2 Cf. the Pompey, xliv.

‘ lon gs \ > 4
cavros mpos Llopmrniov (n€iouy yap toxyve
e 4 \ e b] @ “A , \ s
EXaTEpOS TA Up avTOU yevopyeva), Kat AevKO\A@
Kdrwvos adixouvpévp tepipavas mpocapmuvoytos,
éXatroupevos 0 Iloumnios év cuyxAnt@ cal Snp-
aywyaov, emi vounvy yopas éxdder TO oTpaTLw-
, e \ > fe) l4 bd “ ll
2ttxov. ws 6€ xavtav0a Katwv évotdpevos
2¢e/ \ 4 ef 4 ,
éféxpovoe Tov vouov, ovtw Kdwédiouv te meptet-
ce , A a
YeTo, TOU ToTe OpacuTaTou TaY Snmaywyav, Kai
Kaicapa mpoonyeto, tpotrov twa Kdtwvos avtov
\ a, A
TapacxovTos apynv. o yap Kaicap amo tis év
"TPnpia otpatnyias éravykwv dua pév vrrateiav
wv
éBovrAeTO Trapayyédre, Gua 5é nre OpiayBov.

U
3 émel S€ xaTa vopoy eet TOVS pév ApXNV pETLOVTAS
an \ \ A ? / f
Tapewvat, TOUS d€ weXAOVTAS ELoeAavvetY OpiauPBov
, , n na
&Ew Telyous viropéverv, nEiov mapa tis BovAgs
9 A a oJ e / > “A A > 4
avt@ SoOhvar bu’ -érépwv aitetoOar thy apyny.
a \ “ > lA e
Bovropévwy 5€ TodA@y avTérXeyev 0 Katwv: ws dé
/ A
naOero xaptlouevovs TH Kaicapi, Aéywv SAV
Katavddwoe THY Nuépav Kal THY BoudnY ovTwS
3g / , La > 7 \ , e
4 €€éxpovce. ‘yaipey ovv éacas tov OpiauBov o
Kaicap eicerOwv evOvs elyeto Loumrniouv cat ris
e / > \ \ a , >) 4
uTateias. atroderyOels 5é Urratos Thy te lovAiav
> lA b] A \ 4 wv b > 4
éveyyUNoev aVT@, Kal avoTavTes ON eT GANT-
\ , e 4 a .'
Awv él THY TOA O peV EloéhEpE VYOLOUS ToS
: ,
mévnot KAnpovxiav Kal vouny yopas S.ddvTas, 6
aA “ / A
5 5€ mapnv tots vopots BonOav. ot Sé arepi Aev-
/ 4 “n ¢ ry
_«odXov Kal Kixépwva BuBA@ TO éTép@ TAY UTTA-
\ , P)
Tov cuvtakavtes éavTovs avtTémpattov, wadtoTa

with Pompey over the arrangements in Pontus (each of them, namely, demanded that his own proceedings should be confirmed), Cato came to the aid of Lucullus, who was manifestly wronged, and Pompey, worsted in the senate and seeking popular favour, invited the soldiery to a distribution of land.!- But when Cato opposed him in this measure also, and frustrated the law, then Pompey attached himself to Clodius, at that time the boldest of the popular leaders, and won Caesar to his support, a result fer which Cato himself was in a way responsible. For Caesar, on returning from his praetorship in Spain,? desired to be a candi- date for the consulship, and at the same time asked for a triumph. But since by law candidates for a magistracy must be present in the city, while those who are going to celebrate a triumph must remain outside the walls, he asked permission from the senate to solicit the office by means of others. Many were willing to grant the request, but Cato opposed it; and when he saw that the senators were ready to gratify Caesar, he consumed the whole day in speaking and thus frustrated their desires. Accordingly, Caesar gave up his triumph, entered the city, and at once | attached himself to Pompey and sought the consul-

ship. After he had been elected consul, he gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey, and now that the two were united with one another against the state, the one would bring in laws offering allotment and distribution of land to the poor, and the other | would be at hand with support for the laws. But the party of Lucullus and Cicero, ranging themselves with Bibulus, the other consul, opposed the measures,

1 Cf. the Lucullus, xlii. 6; Pompey, xlvi. 3 f. 2 In the summer of 60 B.c. 3 Cf. the Caesar, xiii. 1 f.

dé Kdrop, non pep Upopapevos THY Kaicapos xal
Tloparniov diriav Kai cvotacw én ovdevt Sicaip
ryervyernuerny, poBeto bar 6 packov ov TV vomny
THS X@pas, arr' Ov avril TAUTNS aTrarTioouatl
pabov oi Yaprtouevor Kal dehedlovres TO TAHOOs.
XXXII. Os dé tabra éyoor THY TE Bouvdny
oporpnpov elye, Kal TOV EKTOS av para ovK
odiryou TapiaTavTo dua xepaivovtes THY aToTriav
Tob Kaicapos: & yap ot Gpacvrato Sr papxor
Kal dALy@poTaToL TpO0s xa pov | erro TEVOVTO TOV
TONY, TavTa an' éfoucias UTaTiKis, aiax pas
Kal TATELVOS Umodvopevos Tov Shop, empatte
poBnbevres oup éX@ pour dia Bias, Kal Tp@Tov
pév avT@ TO Buprg | cataBaivovre KOT piwv
éreakedaaOn Kopuvos, éretta Tots paRsovxors
7 poo Tes OvTES avTov Katéx\acay Tas paBsdous-
Tédxos bé Kal Bedrov pepopever Kat TOMKOY
TUVTLTPWTKOMEVOY Epuyov é& aryopas Spopep pe
ot NoTrol mrdvTeEs, EcYaTOS Oé Kartwv a amnet Baddny,
pera Tpepopevos Kal wapTupopevos) rovs tronditas.
OU MovoY ovY THY Lavopiyy exvpwa.ar, aAXa Kal
mpoceyrnpiaavto THY a vyKANTOV Opocas Tracay
y} pny emBeBarocenv TOV vowov, Kal BonOncew
av TLS Tavavtia TpaT7Tn, peyara Tagavres eT t-
Tia KATA TOV 11) GUOTAVT@V. WpVUCay ovv aTrav-
TES ef avdyKns, TO MeréAAov Tod Traha.od mdbos
ev v@ NapRavoytes, dv els vopov Guovov Omooas
py Jednoavra meptetoey o OHpos extrecovtTa huyh
1 poprupduevos Bekker and Sintenis?, after Emperius ;
Coraés and Sintenis' adhere to the MSS. xarapdépevos
(cursing). '
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and above all Cato, who now suspected that the friendly alliance between Caesar and Pompey had been made for no just purpose, and declared that he was afraid, not of the distribution of land, but of the reward which would be paid for this to those who were enticing the people with such favours.

XXXII. By these utterances he brought the senate to unanimity, and many men outside the senate supported him out of displeasure at the strange con- duct of Caesar; for whatever political schemes the boldest and most arrogant tribunes were wont to practise to win the favour of the multitude, these Caesar used with the support of consular power, in disgraceful and humiliating attempts to ingratiate himself with the people.! Accordingly, the opponents of Cato were alarmed and had recourse to violence. To begin with, upon Bibulus himself, as he was going down into the forum, a basket of ordure was scattered ; then the crowd fell upon his lictors and broke their fasces ; and finally missiles flew and many persons were wounded.? All the other senators fled from the forum at a run, but Cato went off last of all at a walk, turning about and protesting to the citizens. Accordingly, not only was the law for the distribution of lands passed, but also a clause was added re- quiring the whole senate to swear solemnly that it would uphold the law, and give its aid in case any one should act contrary to it, and heavy penalties were pronounced against such as would not take the oath.? All took the oath, therefore, under compulsion, bearing in mind the fate of Metellus of old, whom the people suffered to be banished from Italy because

1 Cf. the Cacsar, xiv. 1. * Cf. the Pompey, xlviii. 1.

2 Cf. the Caesar, xiv. 2 f.

“ \ \
4 THs ‘Iradias. 610 nal tov Kdtova mova pév
ai yuvaixes. oixot Saxpvovaoa Kxadixérevoy clEac
Kal duocat, TOAAA 5é of hiroe Kal cuvyes. oo
dé uddiota cuptreicas Kal ayayov éml Tov SpKov
nv Kexépwy o pytwp, twapawav nal diddoKwy ws
Taya pév ovdé Sixarov é€ote Tois éyvwopéevots
a U ¥ a b a b] \ 3 ,
Kowwn povov olecOar, Sev amrecOeiv, év 5€ advvdt@
TO PETATTH Cal TL TOV yeyovoTwv adeoety éavTod
5 TavTdtTacw dvontov Kai pavixov: Eayatov 5é
A > >] ee , / J \ \
Kaxov, eb Ov iy atavra wpatTe. TONY adeis Kal
Mpoém“evos Tois emiBovrAEvovaLY WoTEP ATMEVOS
atadvrakerat TOV UTép a’THAS aywvev: Kal yap
et yn Kadtov tis ‘Pouns, arr’ 7 ‘Poyn Setrat
Katavos, Séovras dé Kal ot didor wavtes: ov
e \ 9 a e / Mv 3

auTov elvat Tpwrov o Kixepwv éreyev, emtBov-
Aevopevoy vO Krwdtov dia Snpapyias avte-
>» 9 >» N , e \ , A
6 xpus én’ avtov Badifovtos. bo tovTwyv daat
kal totovtwyv tov Katwva droyov kai Senoewv
paXraccopevoy oixot Kal Kat’ ayopav éxBiacOjvae
porns, Kal mpocedeivy mpos Tov GpKov éxyaTov
e / \ e oN , A , A
amdavrwv mAnv évos Pawviov tav dirov kai
cuvnbav.
a Vv
XXXIII. “EmapGeis ody o Kaicap ardov
> Ff , \ / \ e
elaépepe vopov, tv Kapraviay oxedov oAny
a ,
MpockaTavés“ovTa Tois amopos Kal Tévnaow. avT-
4 \ > \ \ a 4 \ a
éxeye O€ ovdEls ANY TOV Kdtwvos. Kal TovTOY
b) \ A / e ad > ,
ano tov Byuatos o Kaicap elrAxev eis Seo pwrn-
A 4 a
ptov, ovdéy Te paAXov vdtéevov THs Tappyoias,
arr ev to Badifery dua epi Tov vopmov s&a-
pa mep po
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he would not swear to asimilar law.! For this reason, also, did the women of Cato’s family earnestly and with tears beseech him to yield and take the oath, earnestly, too, did his friends and intimates. But the one who was most successful in persuading and inducing him to take the oath was Cicero the orator, who advised and showed him that it was possibly even a wrong thing to think himself alone in duty bound to dis- obey the general will; and that his desperate con- duct, where it was impossible to make any change in what had been done, was altogether senseless and mad; moreover, it would be the greatest of evils if he should abandon the city in behalf of which all his efforts had been made, hand her over to her enemies, and so, apparently with -pleasure, get rid of his struggles in her defence; for even if Cato did not need Rome, still, Rome needed Cate, and so did all his friends; and among these Cicero said that he himself was foremost, since he was the object of the plots of Clodius, who was openly attacking him- by means of thetribuneship. By these and similar argu- ments and entreaties, we are told, both at home and in the forum, Cato was softened and at last prevailed upon. He came forward to take the oath last of all, except Favonius, one of his friends and intimates. : XXXIII. Elated by this success, Caesar introduced another law, which provided that almost the whole of Campania be divided among the poor and needy. No one spoke against the law except Cato, and him Caesar ordered to be dragged from the rostra to prison. Cato did not any the more remit his bold utterances, but as he walked along discoursed about

1 In 100 B.c. Cf. the Marius, xxix.

"a Ul
Neyouevov Kal Tapatvovvta TravoacOa ToLavTa
2 moAtTevopevovs. éemnxodrovber 5é 7 BovdAn peta

, \ a / ' 4 b]
KaTnpeias, cal tov Sdnyov to BéATLCTOY aryava-
a a ef 4
KTobv alwmn Kal ayOopevov, OoTe Tov Kaicapa
Hy NavOdverv Bapéws hépovtas. GArAAG dtdAover-
a N a /
K@v Kal Tepiuévoy Dro TOU Katwvos érixAnow
yevéoOat kat Sénaw mpohyev. érret dé exetvos Hv
fol bd / a) e \ e \
d7Aos ode peAANTwWY TL TroLEtY, HTTNOELs LITO
aicxuvns kai adokias o Kaicap aités tia tev
, e a , ? , '\ ,
Snpapyov udnKe tretoas éEeNéoOar Tov Katova.
Tos pevToL vopots éxeivors Kal Talis ydpiot TLOa-
4 \ v7 > 4 , \
gevoartes Tov OxXAOY, erndicavto Kaicapi pév
a : \
Trvpr@v cat Taratias apynv amaons Kai téc-
gapa Taypata oTpatias els TevtaeTiav, Tpo-
e /
Aéeyovtos Kdtwvos ws ets axKpoTroNLY TOY TUpavvoY avtot tais éavtav Widois idpvovart,
Tlomdsov Sé

/
Kr a@biov éx tmatpiximy ets SnuotiKods TapavopLes
4 petaotnoavtes atrédetEav Sypapyov, éri picd@

fel , > 4 4 N , > 4
Th Kexépwvos éEeAdoet tavra mpos ydpwv exeivots
4 ¢e / A U ,
TONLTEVOMEVOY, UTATOUS dé Teicwvad te Kand-
\ a /
moupviov, ds Hy Twatnp THs Katcapos yuvatxos,
kal TaBiviov Adrov, éx tev Tlopaniou nodrwv
e \ a"
dvO pwirov, @s pacw ot TOY TpoTTOV avToU Kal Tov
Biov eiddres.

\ /
XXXIV. “AAAa Kattrep odTws Ta TPdypaTa
KaTEIAnpotes eyxpaTas, Kal TO pev YapiTLe TIS
, \ A / / e > e \ 54
Toews, TO OE HOBw pépos Ud’ EavTods eyxovtTes,
buws époBodvtTo tov Kdtwva. xal yap év ols
a “ / A
Tepijoav avtod TO ye YadeTas cal peta Tovar
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the law and advised the people to put a stop to such legislation. Moreover, the senate followed him with downcast looks, as well as the best part of the people in silence, though they looked annoyed and troubled, so that Caesar could not fail to see that they were displeased ; but he was obstinate, and expected that Cato would resort to appeal or entreaty, and therefore had him led along. However, when it was clear that Cato did not so much as think of doing anything of the sort, Caesar was overcome by.the shame and in- famy of his course, and by his own secret persuasions induced one of the tribunes of the people to rescue Cato. Nevertheless, by these laws and by other favours Caesar's party so cajoled the people as to get a vote passed giving to Caesar the government of Illyria and all Gaul, with an army of four legions, for five years, although Cato warned the people that they them- selves by their own votes were establishing a tyrant in their citadel. They also unlawfully transferred Publius Clodius from patrician to plebeian rank and got him elected tribune of the people, a man who, in order to secure Cicero’s banishment as his reward, was using all his political influence for the gratification of the people. For consuls, too, they secured the elec- tion! of Calpurnius Piso, who was Caesar’s father- in-law, and Aulus Gabinius, a man from the lap of Pompey, as those say who knew his ways of life. XXXIV. But although they had in this way usurped the power, and although one part of the citizens was made submissive to them by gratitude and the other part by fear, nevertheless they were afraid of Cato. For even when they did prevail against him, it was with ditliculty and toil and not

1 For the year 58 B.c.
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Kal un Ywpls aioyuvns, adr’ éXeyxopévous Bra-
tecOar poris aviapov Fw Kal mpdcavtes. oO 8é
Kr.odi0s ode Kixépwva xatarvoev Armile Ka-
TwWVOS Tapovtos, GAAa TOTO Staynyavapevos
TPOTOV, WS ELS APXHY KATETTN, peTETEU“WATO TOV
Kdtova Kal Noyous avT@ TpoanveyKev Ws TAVTOV
> a e 4 A e ld ry s :
éxeivov nyovupevos avdpa Pwopaiwov xcabapa@tarov
Epy@ Sidovat tiotw Erowuos éott’ ToANOVY Yap
aitoupévay tHv él Kumpov xat U-rorepaitov
apynv Kal deopévwv aroatadjvat povov aEvov

éxeivov HyetcOar Kat Sidovae tHv ydpw Hdéws.
dvaxpayovros 6€ tov Kdtawvos as évédpa To
Tpaywa Kal mpomnraKtopos, ov yadpis eatin,
uTepnpavas 0 Krwdzi0s5 kal drduyopas, ‘‘ OvKodv,”
elmev, “et py yapw exes, avimpevos mrEvoN,”
Kat mpoceNOav evOus eis Tov Sjwov éxvpwce vou~@
Thy éxtrepapi tov Katewvos. é&sovte dé ov vadv,
ov oTpaTLMTHY, OVY UInpérny ESmKE TANV Hh SvO
YPapparels povov, OY O pev KNETTNS Kal Tap-
movnpos, atepos 5€ KAwdiov meradtns. as dé
puxpov épyov aut@ Kuapov xat Irodrepaiov
avabeis, éte kat Bufavtiov duydbas xatayew
mpocétake, PBovrAcpevos Ste WrEioTOv ypovov
éxTrod@y apxovTos avtTov yevécOar tov Kutova.
XXXV. Tovavtyn 6 catarngdeis avayin Keré-
pov pév éXavvouevm Tapyvece 1) TTacltdcat
pndé eis Orda Kal dhovovs THv Trodw éewBanreir,
GAN vrexotavTra TO Kaip@ Tadwv yevérOas
318 |
776

without the shame of exposure that they forced their measures through at last, and this was annoying and vexatious to them. Clodius, too, could not even hope to overthrow Cicero while Cato was at Rome, but since he was scheming for this above all else, when he had come into office he sent for Cato and made proposals to him. He said that he regarded Cato as the purest man of all the Romans, and that he was ready to prove this by his acts. Therefore, though many were soliciting the commission to Cyprus and the court of Ptolemy! and begging to be sent upon it, he thought Cato alone worthy of it, and therefore gladly offered him this favour. But Cato cried out that the thing was‘a snare and an insult, not a favour, whereupon Clodius haughtily and contemptuously replied: ‘“ Well, then, if you don’t think it a favour, you shall make the voyage as a punishment,’ and going at once before the people _ he got an edict passed sending Cato on the mission. Moreover, when Cato set out, Clodius gave him neither ship, soldier, nor assistant, except two clerks, of whom one was a thief and a rascal, and the other a client of Clodius. And as if he had put a slight task upon him in the mission to Cyprus and Ptolemy, Clodius enjoined upon him besides the restoration of the exiles of Byzantium, being desirous that Cato should be out of his way as long as possible while he was tribune.

XXXV. Subjected to such constraint as this, Cato advised Cicero, whose enemies were trying to banish him, not to raise a faction or plunge the city into war and bloodshed, but to yield to the necessities of the times, and so to become again a saviour of his

1 A younger brother of Ptolemy Auletes the king of Egypt.
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a “ , / A “a
cwTHpa tHS Tatpioos, Kavidsov b€ twa tev
pirov mporrepypas els Kumpov émeOe tov Irone-
paiov dvev payns ele, as ovTeE Xpnparov ouTe
Tops évdead Biwodpevov: lepwo vuny yap avT@
THs év Tldd@ Oeod dSwcew tov Shpov. avTos ry
/ y b e U s [ud \
duérpiBev év “Podm mapacKevalopevos apa Kal
/

TAS ATOKpiCELS AVapevwr,

"Ev 6€ trovt@ Utorepaios o Aliyurrov Bac-

A a \
evs Um opyyns Tivos Kal dSeadhopas mpos Tovs
moXitas aroAeAoTras pev "AreEdvdpesav, eis 5é
€ , , e of \ , o
Popny trA€Ewv, as Wopmrniov cal Kaicapos adds
avrov peta Suvapews xatakovtwy, évtuxeiv TO
/ A
Kadtwve Bovrndeis mpooereprpev, érriCwv éxetvov
e > NX 54 e \ 4 >] / \ A
@s avtov HEev. o 6€ Katav éruyyave wey dv
, \ 4 4 4 : \ \
TOTe Tept Kotdias KdOapoty, Kew dé tov IItoXe-
A 9 4 4 N 3 U e \
patov, ef BovAatTO, KeXEvVTasS pos auToV, ws 5é
& A > , ¥ e , > ?
WAGev, ovVTE aATTaYTHACasS ov’TE UTEEaVaTTUS, AAX
as éva TOY ériTUXOVTMOV acTracdpeEvos Kal Kabi-
Gat KéXEVoAaS, TP@TOV avTois TovTOLs SeeTapake,
’ \ a

Oavydtovta mpos TO SnpotiKov Kal ALTOV avTOD
Ths KaTacKkeuns Thy UTrepoiay Kat Baputynta Tov
” ? \ \ \ / \ “ >]
nOous. emet 6€ nat SvaréyerOar wept tav Kad
avrov apEdpevos nxpodcato NOywy voiy ToADY
éYovT@V Kal Tappynoiav, émitiw@vTos avT@ TOD
Katwvos cat duddcKovtos Gonv evdatmoviay aro
Aur@v Goats éavtTov vrroTiOnat RAaTpeiats Kal
Tovolts Kat dwpodoxiats Kal mreoveEiats tav év
‘Popyn Suvvatov, ods ports éEapyupicOetcav épu-

wrjoev Aiyutrrov, cupBovrevovtos 5é mdeiv
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country. He also sent Canidius, one of his friends, to Cyprus in advance,! and tried to persuade Ptolemy to yield his kingdom without fighting, promising that his future life should not be without wealth and honour, since the Romans would give him a priesthood of the goddess in Paphos. He himself, however, tarried at Rhodes, making his preparations and awaiting his answers.

Meanwhile Ptolemy the king of Egypt, who had quarrelled with the citizens of Alexandria and for- saken the city in wrath, and was now on his way to Rome in the hope that Pompey and Caesar would restore him again with an armed force, wished to have an interview with Cato, and sent a messenger to him, expecting that Cato would come to him. But Cato, as it chanced, was taking a course of medicine at the time, and bade Ptolemy come to him if he wished to see him. And when Ptolemy had come, Cato neither went to meet him nor rose from his seat, but greeted him as he would any ordinary visitor and bade him be seated. At first Ptolemy was confounded by the reception itself, and was amazed at the contrast between the haughtiness and severity of Cato's manners and the plainness and simplicity of his outfit. But after he had begun to converse with Cato about his own situation, words of great wisdom and boldness fell upon his ears. For Cato censured his course, and showed him what great happiness he had forsaken, and to how much servility and hardship he was subjecting himself in dealing with the corruption and rapacity of the chief men at Rome, whom Egypt could scarcely glut if it were all turned into money. Cato also advised him

1 Cf. the Brutus, iii. 1.
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oTiaw Kat dtadXaTTEcOat TOis TOALTALS, AUTOD be Kal oupTnely Kal cuvdiadarrery ETOLMOS EXOVTOS, olov €x pavias TLVOS 7) Tapaxon ys vIrO TOV NOyeov éuppav cabardpevos, Kat KATAVOOY THY arnOecav cat THY ouveow Tov avdpos, & Bpynce pev Xphabar rois éxetvou hoya pois, dvatpamets 5é wrro THY pidov abdus a dpa T@ wp@Tov év 'Poun yeverdar Kat Gupass EVOS apXovtos mpoaenGeip éoteve THY avToD KaKxoBovrar, as ovK avopos ayaGot rAoywv, Geod Sé pavreias xatadpovnoas.

XXXVI. 'O de é ev Kurpp I tonepaios euTuxig

Twi Tov Karavos éavtov happuaxos arexteuve.
TONED dé yonudtrov arronenei par Eeyouevon,
autos pev éyvw wheiy eis Bufartious, mpos 5é THY
Kumpov éEémeprpe TOV aderdudobv Bpodttov, ov
WAVY TL TLTTEVOY TO Kandip. TOUS dé guyddas
biadrd£as Kal KaTadiTe@v év opovoia TO _Bular-
TLor, odTws els K vrrpov émevoev. avons Oé
TOrATS Kal Bacwruxis év exTr@pact Kal Tpamelars
kat ALGos Kal mopdvpais KaTacKevijs, ny eee
mT pabetoay eEapyupia Ova, T avr, Bovdopevos
eFax ptBoov Kal mavra Karateively els dx pay TLLHY
xal Tac avros ‘Tapeivas Kal T poo aye TOV
éaxarov exdoyia or, ovdé Tots eOdar THs aryopas
emia Tevev, GNA t UTOVOOY opod mavTas, Uanperas,
KnpUKas, @vntas, pirous, TEAOS auTos idta Tots
@VOUPEVOLS Stareyopuevos Kal mpooBiBdtwv éxa-
OTOV, OUTW TA TAELTTA TOV dryopac waTov €mwNEL.
5:0 Tois TE ad Xots dirors ws aria TeV ™ po é-
Kpouce, Kal Tov cuvnféctatov amavtwv Movvd-
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17

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to sail back and be reconciled with his people, holding himself ready also to sail with him and help effect the reconciliation. Then the king, as if brought to his senses by Cato’s words after a fit of madness or delirium, and recognizing the sincerity and sagacity of the speaker, determined to adopt his counsels; but he was turned back to his first purpose by his friends. However, as soon as he reached Rome and was approaching the door of a magistrate, he groaned over his own evil resolve, convinced that he had slighted, not the words of a good man, but the prophetic warning of a god.

XXXVI. But the Ptolemy in Cyprus, fortunately for Cato, poisoned himself to death. And since the king was said to have left much treasure, Cato deter- mined, while sailing himself to Byzantium, to send his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, since he did not altogether trust Canidius. Then, after reconciling the exiles and citizens of Byzantium and leaving the- ‘city in concord, he sailed to Cyprus. Now, there were many furnishings of a princely sort, such as beakers, tables, precious stones, and purple vest- ments, which had to be sold and turned into money. So Cato, wishing to treat everything with the greatest exactness, and to force everything up to a high price, and to attend to everything himself, and to use the utmost calculation, would not trust even those who were accustomed to the market, but, suspecting all alike, assistants, criers, buyers, and friends, and at last talking privately himself with the purchasers and encouraging each one to bid, he thus succeeded in selling most of the merchandize. For this reason he gave offence to most of his friends, who thought that he distrusted them, and Munatius, the most

TLov eis Gpyiyv Orjiyou Seiv avnKxertov yevouéevny
> / Lf 4 , / \
evéBarev, aote kal Kaicaps ypadorte Aoyov Kata
Tov Kdtwvos mixpotatny rodTo TO pépos THS
Katnyopias OvaTpiByny Trapacyeiv.
XXXVII. 'O pévtor Movvdtios ovx atiotia
" / PJ > 3 4 \ 3 / \
tov Kadtwvos, adr éxeivou peéev OrALYWPLA TPOS
€ t e wn / , \ N '4
avtov, avrov dé tive CnroTuTria pos TOV Kavidsoy
iatopes yevéoOar thy opynv. Kal yap autos
avyypaupa tmept tov Kdtwvos éFédwxev, @ pa-
Mata Opacéas érnxorovOnae. Révyes 5é SaTEpos
pev eis Kompov adixécOas nal AaBeiv mapnuedn-
péevny Eeviav, Pav Sé emi Ovpas atracbjvat,
aKevwpovpévov Tt ToD Karwvos olxot avy TO
, , 4
Kavidio, peurrdpevos Sé petpiws ov peTpias
a b] , 4 4 \ , a)
TUXELY aTOKpLTEwWS, OTL KLVdUVEVEL TO ALaY Hireiv,
e U v le) A /
as dnot Mcoppactos, aitiov Tod pucetv yiverOar
modAdks: "'Eqei cal cv," davai, "T@ padsoTa
A v a7 A , lal
Pirely NTTOV oLopevos 7 TpotHKer TLLacIat Yare-
/ a
maivers. Kavidio 5é xai bd: éumespiay ypapae
\ \ 4 ¢ Ul Lal b] b aA \
Kal Ota qiotTl éeTépwy padrov, €E apyjs pev
? / a \ / 99 el ,
adiypévy, kabap@ Sé hawopévm." Tadta pévTot
a Ud
povov avT@ pove diarexOévta tov Katwva mpos
\ , : a ' ' * >A
tov Kavidsov éFeveyxetv. atadopevos ovv avtTos
bd > a " a " 4 e
ovre éml Seimrvoy Ett hortav ovte atpBovros vrra-
4 V4 ' A \ an VA
Kovely KaXovpmevos. atretdodvTos 5é ToD Katwvos,
(4 97 n > 4 > / : 4

@oTep ei@Pace Ta atreovyTwr, évéyupa A7-
\ / 2 “ \ \
yrecfar, pndev dhpovticas éxTAeEIoaL Kal TroNUY

intimate of them all, he threw into a rage that was well nigh incurable. Hence Caesar also, when he wrote a discourse against Cato,! dwelt most bitterly on this part of his denunciation.

XXXVII. Munatius, however, states that his anger arose, not from Cato’s distrust of him, but from his inconsiderate conduct towards him, and from a cer- tain jealousy which Munatius himself felt towards Canidius. For Munatius himself also published a treatise about Cato, which Thrasea chiefly followed. Munatius says that he came to Cyprus after the others, and found that no provision had been made for his entertainment; he says, too, that on going to Cato’s door he was repulsed, because Cato had some engagement inside with Canidius. He says, further, that his measured protest met with no measured reply, for Cato told him that excessive affection, according to Theophrastus, was likely to become a ground for hatred in many cases. “And so thou too,” said Cato, “by reason of thine especial affec- tion for me, art vexed to think thyself less honoured than is meet. Canidius I employ more than others both because I have made trial of him, and because I trust him; he came at the very first, and shows himself to be incorrupt.’’ This private conversation, however, between himself and Cato, Munatius says was reported by Cato to Canidius, and that therefore, when he heard of it, he would no longer go to Cato’s table, or visit him, or share his counsels, when he was invited. Further, Munatius says, when Cato threatened to take security from him, as the Romans do in the case of those who refuse to obey orders, he paid no attention to the threat, but sailed away,

1 See chapter xi. 4, and note.

4 ypovov év opyn Staterciy: eita tHS Mapsxtas (éte yap cuvexe TO Kdtow) SvarexGeions, tTuyxetv
A e XN B 4 , 3. ON 5 a 3
pev otro Bapxa Kexdrnpévous eri Setirvov, eicer-Oovra 5é batepov tov Kdtava, Tay GdAwV KaTa-Keiévav, épwrav Orrov KatakAOcin. tod 4é Bapxa KxeXevoavtos brrov Bovrerat, TepiBrEYra-pevop eitrety OTe Tapa Movvdtiov: Kal repieAOovta TAnalov avTov KatakNOnvar, mrAéov Sé pnOev 5 diroppovncacbat Tapa To Setrvov. adda Tad
“ , / \ \ 4 /

THS Mapxias dSeopévns tov péev Katwva ypavar
A \ \
Tpos aUTOV, ws évTUYely TL BovAdpLEVOY, avTOS be
¢ a ? AN 9 , N e N nA lé
Hey EwOev els THY Olxiav Kal vo THs Mapxias
KatacyeOjnvar méxpt TavtTes amTNnAXaynoay, OUTW
\ ? ' \ / \ 4 \
dé eiceNOovta Tov Katwva xal weptBarovta tas
a ? ’ ’ / \
yetipas auhotépas aomdcacOa, Kai dtrodpo-
veloOat. Tadta peéev ody ody ATTOV olopevol TOV
e , \ , pie 2 \ ”
vraibpwv kal peyadrov mpodktewy mpos eévderEv
’ \
nOous Kat Katavonow éyew tivda cadyverav eri
awréov SinrOopev.
A \ , / \ 3
XXXVIII. T@ 6é Katove cuvnyOn pev apyu-
/ , > /
plov TdXavrTa pixkpoy értaxicytAtwy arrodéovTa,
\ \ a a N a > a \
dedia@s S€ TOD TAOD TO pHKOS ayyela TOANG KaTA-
\
oKxevacas, way éxactov éywpe Svo tadavtTa Kat
\
dpaypas Tevtaxocias, Kadkwdiov ExaoT@ pakpov
a a , \
Tpoonprncev, ov TH apXh MpoceryeTo Heddos
b] 2 4 > e , \ A 4 } \
evpeyeOns, Smras, et payein TO TAOtOY, ExwV da
a \ / \ \
2 Bv@od To aptnua onpaivot Tov ToOTOV. Ta peEv
ovv YpnpaTa TAY odiywv TLVdY aoparas diE-

and for a long time continued to be angry with Cato. Then, Munatius says, Marcia, who was still living with Cato,! spoke with her husband about the matter; and when it chanced that both men were invited to supper by Barca, Cato, who came late and after the others had taken their places, asked where he should recline; and when Barca told him to recline where he pleased, Cato looked about the room and said: “I will take my place by Munatius.” So he went round and reclined by his side, but made no further show of friendship during the supper. Marcia, however, made a second request in the matter, Munatius says, and Cato wrote to him, saying that he wished to confer with him about something. So Munatius went to Cato’s house early in the morning, and was detained there by Marcia until all the other visitors had gone away. Then Cato came in, threw both arms about him, kissed him, and lavished kindness upon him. Such

incidents, now, in my opinion, quite as much as deeds of greatness and publicity, shed considerable light upon the per- ception and manifestation of character, and I have therefore recounted them at greater length. XXXVIII. Cato got together nearly seven thou- sand talents of silver, and fearing the long voyage home, he had many coffers provided, each one of which would hold two talents and five hundred drachmas, and attached to each of them a long rope, to the end of which a huge piece of cork was fastened. This, he thought, in case the vessel were wrecked, would hold to its deep mooring and indicate the place where the treasure lay. Well, then, the money, except a very little, was safely transported ;

1 Cf. chapter xxv. 5,

ome

xoptaOn, Noyous Sé TavToyv av StwKnoe yeypap-

ba u Y ” ? \ wy, a ts 7P .
pevous éripedas Exyov év Svat BeBrAtLots ovdérEepov
” » \ “ \ ? 4 b) A ,
Egwoev, UANA TO ev aTrENEVOEPOS avTOD KOmilwY
bl 4 3 A“ > \ 3
ovona Diddpyvpos éx Keyxpeav avaydeis ave-
TpaTN Kal cvvaTr@NecE TOs hopTials, TO Sé AUTOS
aype Kepxvpas durdtas év ayopa xatecxnvace
Tov dé vavtay dia TO piyobv mupa TOoAAa KaLov-
Twy THS vuxTos HdOnoav ai oKnval Kat to
/ > 4 \ A = > \ \
BiBrtov ndavicbn. Tovs pev ovv éexOpous Kai
/ b] a v e \
cuxopavtTas émiaTome Huedrov ot BacrKol
Siorxntal mapovtes, aAAXws 6€ 7@ Katove To
wpayya Snywov Hveyxev. ov yap eis miotev
Umrép aUTOD TOUS AOYoUS, GAAA Tapdbeypa Tots
v b] / b a 4 b
arros axpiBetas eEeveyxely diroTipovpevos éve-
peonOn.
XXXIX. ITleparwGeis 5€ trais vavaoiv ovx érabe
tous ‘Pwpaious, addAdAa mavtTes pev ApxovTes Kal
€ a A \ ¢ , ‘\ A fe) , 4
iepets, Taca Sé 4 Bourn, ToAv dé Tov SHmou pé-
pos amnvTwv Tpos TOY ToTapOV, BaTE Tas oxYOas
> 4 3 4 \ / A
apdotépas atoxexpudO0ar kat OpidpBov pyndév
dyer nal ptroTipta ReiwecOar Tov avarrovr
auTov. KaiTot oxaLoy éviots TOUTO éedaiveto Kal

av0ades, tt THY UTdTwY Kal TOV GTPATHYOV
TapovTwv ovte améB8n mpos avtous ovte érrécye
TOV TAODY, GANA pobim THY GyOnv TrapeEEXavVOY
émi vews éEnpous Bacthixns odK avaKe TpoTEpoV
kadoppioat Tov OTOXOY Eis TO VEewWpLOV. Ov pV
GANA TOV XpnudTwY Tapakomlopmévwv St wyopas
5 te Shuos eOavpale To mAHO0s, H Te RBovrAn
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but although he had the accounts of all his administration of the estate carefully written out in two books, neither of these was preserved. One of them a freedman of his, Philargyrus by name, had in charge, but after putting to sea from Cenchraeae he was capsized and lost it, together with his cargo; the other Cato himself had safely carried as far as Corcyra, where he pitched his tent in the market-place. But because it was so cold the sailors built many fires during the night, the tents caught fire, and the book disappeared. It is true that the royal stewards who were at hand were ready to stop the mouths of Cato's enemies and traducers, but nevertheless the matter gave him annoyance. For it was not as a proof of his own integrity, but as an example to others of scrupulous exactness that he was eager to produce his accounts, and he was therefore vexed.

XXXIX. The Romans did not fail to hear of his arrival! with his ships, and all the magistrates and priests, the whole senate, and a large part of the people went to the river to meet him, so that both banks of the stream were hidden from view, and his voyage up to the city had all the show and splendour of a triumph. Yet some thought it ungracious and stubborn that, although the consuls and _ praetors were at hand, he neither landed to greet them, nor checked his course, but on a royal galley of six banks of oars swept past the bank where they stood, and did not stop until he had brought his fleet to anchor in the dock-yard. However, when the treasure was carried through the forum, the people were amazed at the great amount of it, and the

1 In 56 B.c.

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a |

cuvayxbcioa peta TOV TpeTTOVTMY éTraivarv éyrn-
dicato T@ Katwu otpatnyiav éEaipetov S00Fvat
\ 4 b) ‘ b] 3 A 4 4
xal tas Oéas avrov év écOATL Twepitophip@ Oea-
cac8at. tavta pev otv o Katwv trapytncato,
Nexiay 5é Tov otxovopxov Trav Bactdtxay édevOepov
” \ \ 6 a , b /
érecce THY BovrANY adeivar, paptuphnaas émipé-
Netavy Kal Tiotw. wUmdteve b€ PidiwTos oO
\ a \ / \ 2 gos
Tmatnp THs Mapxias, kai Tpotov Twa To akiopa
Ths apyins Kal H Svvapis eis Katova epider,
) , a , > 9 \ A 9

oux éAdTTOvVa TOD auVdapyovTos bt’ aperny Hh Ot
>] U fe , aA 4 \
ouxecoTnta Tov Piditrmov TO Katove tipnv
m poot Oevtos.
XL. ’Ezrel 5¢ Kixépov ex rhs puyis, iv epuyev
uTo KAwdiov, catedOav cai Suvdpevos péya Tas
Snuapxexas SéXTOus, as o KAwdsos EOnxev ava-
, > N , > J , \
ypavras ets to Kamitwdov, améeorrace Bia Kal
xcabeitrxe TOD KrXwbiov py trapovtos, él rovtots
5é Bours aOporcBeions kal tod KdXwdiou xatn-
yopodvtos éAeye trapavonws TO Krwdio Tis
Snuapylas yevopéevns ater kal dxupa Seiv elvat
Ta TOTe TWpaxOevTa Kal ypapEevTa, Tpocéxpova ev
6 Kdtwyv ait@ réyovTt, Kal TéXOS avacTtas Edy
Ths pev Krwdiov morsteias pndev tyes pnde
XpyoTov GAws vopilev, eb 5é dvatpet TLs doa
Snuapyav émpakev, avarpetcoPar macav avtod
\ /
Thv tept Kumpov wpaypateiay Kai pwn yeyovevar
‘
THY ATOTTOANY vops“ov aApXoVTOS TAapaVvouou

senate in special session voted, together with the appropriate praises, that an extraordinary praetorship should be given to Cato, and that when he witnessed the spectacles he might wear a purple-bordered robe. These honours, now, Cato declined, but he persuaded the senate to bestow freedom upon Nicias, the

steward of the royal household, after bearing witness to his care and fidelity. Philippus, the father of Marcia, was consul at the time, and the dignity and power of his office devolved in a manner upon Cato; the colleague of Philippus, also, bestowed no less honour upon Cato for his virtue than Philippus did because of his relationship to him.

XL. But Cicero had now come back! from the exile into which he was driven by Clodius, and, relying on his great influence in the senate, had forcibly taken away and destroyed, in the absence of Clodius, the records of his tribuneship which Clodius had deposited on the Capitol. When the senate was convened to consider the matter, and Clodius made his denunciation, Cicero made a speech in which he said that, since Clodius had been made tribune illegally, all that had been done or recorded during his tribunate ought to be void and invalid. Cato contradicted Cicero while he was speaking, and finally rose and said that, although he was wholly of the opinion that there was nothing sound or good in the administration of Clodius, still, if everything which Clodius had done while tribune were to be rescinded, then all his own proceedings in Cyprus would be rescinded, and his mission there had not been legal, since an illegal magistrate had obtained it

1 In 57 B.c., after an absence of sixteen months. Cf. the Cicero, chapters xxx.-xxxiii.

chy

Wnpicapevov- T apavops pev ov | Onpapxov
aipeOnvat' tov KA.@dcoy éx TaTpiKloy peTa-
OTAVTA vopov dudovto0s ets Snporuxcoy olKov, et b¢
pox Onpos, aoTep arnro, yeyovep dpxov, QuTov
Cob ied TOV abuxioavta, pH AVELY THY ouvase-
KnBeio av apxny elvat T poonKov. ex TOUTOV be
opyiis) Kixépov eoxXe tov Kdtwva, xa pir
YP@mevos ETAVTATO Ypovoy Troduy: EiTa pmévTOL
dundAaynoav.
XLI. ’Ex ToUTOU Tloprnios Kat Kpdocos
brepBadorte Tas "AXrets Kaicap: ovyyEevopevot
yropmny émrorna avTo KOU devTépav Umatetay
METLEVaL, Kal KATAOTEYTES Els AUTH Kaicape pev
THS apXis adXov Tog OUTOV emipngiverbar xpo-
vov, autos b¢ TOV emapxeav TAS peyloras Kal
Xenpara Kat TTPATLWOTLKAS Suvdpets. orrep my
em vepnoet THS Hyepwovias Kab KaTanrucer THS
TOALTELAS cuvepod ia. TOANGY 5é nal ayabav
avdpev pereevas THV apyiy TOTE _Tapacxevato-
Hever, TOUS [ev addous opbevtes év tais mapary-
yehiass am étpewar, povov dé Aevxtov Aopittov

Mopxta uvotkouvTa TH adeNGf Kdtov emeure
pry exoTivar ynde ipéoOas, TOU ary @vos ov mept
apxis 6VTOS, GNA Tmepl THS ‘Papatov édevbepias.
Kal peVTOL Kal Noyos exper 51a Tod ow povoby-
TOS ére THs TOAEWS pépous, @S ov TEpLOTTEOY, Ets
TaUTO THs Kpdocou Kat Toparniov Suva pews
uve Bovans, TavTanacw Um époyKov Kal Bapeiav
THY apYXnY yevouevny, Ar’ adaipetéov adbris Tov
1 ev ob 3. afpebjvac Sintenis, after Schaefer, for the MSS. pev ody 8. alpeOjvac; Bekker has nev obv ph 5. aipedjvat.

for him; but it had not been illegal, he maintained, for Clodius to be elected tribune after a transfer from patrician to plebeian rank which the law allowed,! and if he had been a bad magistrate, like others, it was fitting to call to an account the man who had done wrong, and not to vitiate the office which had suffered from his wrong doing. In consequence of this speech Cicero was angry with Cato, and for a long time ceased friendly intercourse with him; afterwards, however, they were reconciled.”

XLI. After this, Pompey and Crassus had a meeting with Caesar,? who had come across the Alps, in which they laid a plan to canvass jointly for a second con- sulship, and, after they were established in the office, to get a vote passed giving to Caesar another term in his command, of the same duration as the first, and to themselves the largest provinces, money and mili- tary forces. This was a conspiracy for the division of the supreme power and the abolition of the constitu- tion. And although many honourable men were getting ready to canvass for the consulship at that time, they were all deterred by seeing Pompey and Crassus announce themselves as candidates, excepting only Lucius Domitius, the husband of Cato’s sister Porcia. Him Cato persuaded not to withdraw from the canvass or give way, since the struggle was not for office, but for the liberty of the Romans. And indeed it was currently said among those citizens who still retained their good sense, that the consular power must not be suffered to become altogether overweening and oppressive by the union of the in- fluence of Pompey and Crassus, but that one or the

1 Cf. chapter xxxiii. 3. 2 Cf. the Cicero, xxxiv. 3 At Luca, in 56 B.c. Cf. the Pompey, li.; the Caesar, xxi.

érepoy. Kal ocuviotavto tmpos Tov Aopitiov
Tapopiavres Kat wapalappuvovtes avTtAauBa-

veoOau ToAXNOUS Yap AUT@ Kal TOY GLwTT@VTWY
\ , b a / ° ,
dua déos ev Tais yypos UTapEev.
r “A \ , e \ N 4a

Todro 6% detcavtes of rept tov Llopmniov
e a > £ “a s 4 4
upeicay evédpay T@ Aomtip KkataBatvorts dp-
Opiov Ue Naptrddwv eis TO Tediov. Kal TP@TOS
pev o Tpopaivwy émictas T@ Aopttio amdnyels |
Kat Tecw@y amréBave: peta dé TovTOV Hon Kal TOY
v / > 74 b) \
ahXwWy GUVYTITPWOKOLEVWY EyiveTO huyn WANY
Kdtwvos cat Aouitiov. Kxatreiye yap avtov o
Kdtov, xaimep autos eis Tov Bpayiova teTpw-
MEVOS, KAL TWApEKEAEVETO pévety Kal un TPOALTELY,
Ews éeumrvéwot, Tov uTrép THs éAevOEpias ayava
Wpos TOvS TUpayvous, ol Tiva TpOTOY YpHooYTAL
a 3 nv “A \ UA +> , > 9
TH apxX7n Snrodae Sta THALKOVTWY adiKnuaTwDY éT
autny Babdivovtes.
XLII. Ov~y vroordavtos 5€ tot Aopetiou To

4 b] > 3 \ > #f , € J

Setvov, aA eis THY oixiay KataduyovTos, npé-
Onoav pev brratot Wloumnios cat Kpdoaos, ovx
améxape 5€ 0 Kadtwv, ard avtos mpoedOav
oTpatnyiav metner, Bovdopevos opunthpioy Exeww
TOV Mpos éxeivous aywvav Kal mpos apyovTas
> , \ > , e \ A
avticabictacOat pn idssoTns. of 5€ Kati TovTo
Seicavtes, ws THS oTpatnyias dktopdyou Sia
Kdtwva pos thy bTrateiay yevnoopévns, Tpa@ToV
\ > ’ a “a bd 4
pev éEaiguns cal trav TOANwY ayvoovyTwy Bov-
Any guvayayovTes Evrnhicavto Tovs aipeHévTas
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other of these men must be deprived of it. So they
joined the party of Domitius, inciting and en-
couraging him to persist in his opposition ; for many,
they said, who now held their peace through fear,

would help him when it came to voting.
This was precisely what the partisans of Pompey feared, and so they set an ambush for Domitius as he was going down at early morning by torchlight into the Campus Martius. First of all the torch-bearer who stood in front of Domitius was smitten, fell, and died ; and after him the rest of the party were presently wounded, and all took to flight except Cato and Domitius. For Cato held Domitius back, although he himself had received a wound in the arm, and exhorted him to stand his ground, and not to abandon, while they had breath, the struggle in behalf of liberty which they were waging against the tyrants, who showed plainly how they would use the consular power by making their way to it through such crimes.

XLIT. But Domitius would not face the peril, and fled to his house for refuge, whereupon Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls.! Cato, however, would not give up the fight, but came forward himself as candidate for a praetorship, wishing to have a vantage- point for his struggles against the men, and not to be a private citizen when he was opposing magistrates. But Pompey and Crassus feared this also, feeling that Cato would make the praetorship a match for the consulship. In the first place, therefore, they suddenly, and without the knowledge of the majority, got the senate together, and had a vote passed that the praetors elect should enter upon their office at

1 For the year 55 B.c.

oTpaTyyous evOvs dpyew Kat pH Svademovras TOV VO pL pov xpovov, év @ Oixas Tots dexdoac' TOV pov hoav. éreta bia Tob Wndicpatos TO b.60- vat ‘ davuTrevOuvov KatacKevdoavres UTNpeTas aura Kat pirous emt TH oTpaTnyiay T potyyov, avTou pev didorTes apyuvpLor, aurol be Tals v7- pots Pepopevars epertares. WS bé Kal TOUT@V 4 Kdtevos dperi kai do€a mepinv, oT aidovs TaV TOAN@Y EV dew TON TU epevenv atroboa Gat Kaztwva tais Wwadors, OV KAANBS ElxeE m plac at TH TONEL oT parnyon,) TE TpPOTH KrOeica TaY puX@v exetvov am everken, eLaidvns 0 LTopmnios Bpovrijs dKntoevat yrevadmevos aloyiota diéhuce THY exe Anotar, eva weveov apoatovcbat Ta TOL- adTa Kal pndev émexupoov Svoonpias yevoperns. avOis 6é TOA XPNT apevor TO dexacu@, TOUS Bertiarous doavres éx tod mediov Bia Scverpa-

Eavto Bativiov avi Karwvos aipeOivas oTpa-
Tnyov. &vOa 51) Néyerat Tovs pev odTw Tapavo-
pws Kai adixws Oeuévous THY pas evOs BaTrEp
anodpavras oixer au, Tois 6€ AdXNOLS GUYLOTA-
PEVOLS Kal ayavaxTovat Snudpxov TWOS avro™r
TAaparXovTos éxxdnaotav KatacTavTa Tov Kdreva
atavra bev @omep éx Oewv érimvouy Ta per-
AovTAa 7H Tronet Tm poecTrety, Tapoppnoat 5é TOUS
mwoNitas én Tlopmniov Kal Kpdocov as Tovavra
guvelootas avTtois, xal ToLtavTns dmrTouevous
TomuTelas bu iy éderoav Karova, pa oT pATHYOS
aura mepiyevnTau. Tédos 6é amovTa eis. THY
oixiay tpovTepe ANOS tTocodTOV Gaov ovdé
1 +d :5dvar Sintenis, after Schaefer, for the MSS. 7d d:5d6yar 5{xas ; Coraés and Bekker delete also d:ddvai.

once, without waiting for the time prescribed by law to elapse, during which time those who had bribed the people were liable to prosecution. In the next place, now that by this vote they had freed bribery from responsibility, they brought forward henchmen and friends of their own as candidates for the praetorship, themselves offering money for votes, and themselves standing by when the votes were cast. But even to these measures the virtue and fame of Cato were superior, since shame made most of the people think it a terrible thing to sell Cato by their votes, when the city might well buy him into the praetorship ; and therefore the first tribe called upon voted for him. Then on a sudden Pompey lyingly declared that he heard thunder, and most shamefully dissolved the assembly, since it was customary to regard such things as inauspicious, and not to ratify anything after a sign from heaven had been given. Then they re- sorted again to extensive bribery, ejected the best citizens from the Campus Martius, and so by force got Vatinius elected praetor instead of Cato. Then, indeed, it is said, those who had thus illegally and wrongfully cast their votes went off home at once like runaways, while the rest of the citizens, who were banding together and expressing their indig- nation, were formed into an assembly there by a tribune, and were addressed by Cato. As if inspired from heaven he foretold to the citizens all that would happen to their city, and tried to set them against Pompey and Crassus, who, he said, were privy to such a course and engaged in such a policy as made them afraid of Cato, lest, as praetor, he should get the better of them. And finally, when he went away home, he was escorted on his way by a greater

cay

cuunTavTas aya Tors arodederypévous oTpa-

Tnyous.

XLII. Taiou dé _ TpeBoviov ypaypaytos vowov
urep vounys emapxeav Tois UTaToLs, Gore TOV pev
‘I 8npiav éxovra kat AtBunv id avbt@, tov 4é
vplav Kal Alyurrop, ols Bovrouro ToNELELY
Kat kaTaorpepea Oar VaUTLKaLS al meCiKais Suvd-
pew emiovTas, ot mev Grow THY avrimpagev Kat
K@AVTW ATEYVMKOTES éFéhurrov Kal TO avrevmeiy,
Katrove be avaBayte Tpo THS Yvnpopoptas émt TO
Bijpa Kat Bovropevep Aéyev podas apav dveiy
Loyov éwxav. ws 6€ ToAAa Aeyon Kal biddoKav
Kat m podea mlScov KaTavadwoe Tov Xpovov, OUKETL
eye avTov eiwy, GAN emipévovta KaTeoTrAC EY
uTnpéTns TpoceNOw@v. ws O€ Kal KatwOev iorda-
pevos €80a Kal Tovs axovovtas Kal avvayava-
KTobvTas eixe, TaNALV o DINpETns émtraBopevos Kal
deyaryov autov &&w THs dyopas KATETTHGE. Kat
ovK EpOn 7 perrov apedeis, Kal 1wadw avacT peas
ieTo ™ pos TO Biya. peta Kpavyijs éyxehevdpevos
Tots ToNiTars dwuverv. moAAdKis € TOUTOU ye
vopévou Trepitrabav o TpeBwuvios éxéXevoev avdTov
eis TO Seopwtypioy ayeoOat: Kal wAnOos érn-
Kohovdet NEevyouTos cpa ouv Tp Badiferv aK pow-
HEVvOY, WOTE beivavra TOV TpeBavior ageivac.
Kdxeivny pev odtw THY Tipe pav o Kdtwv xart-
avarwoe tais 8 épekis obs pev debi Edpevor TOV
TOALTO@V, ods SE TVTKEVAT A [EVOL Xapiae Kal dwpo-
Soxiats, éva dé Tov Snudpxeov "AKUNALOV Grrhoes
elpfavtes éx Tov Boureutnpiou T poerOeiv, avrov
5é tov Kdtwva Bpovtny yeyovévas Boavta Tis
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throng than accompanied all the elected praetors
together.
XLII. And now Caius Trebonius proposed a law for the assignment of provinces to the consuls, where- by one of them was to have Spain and Africa under him, the other Syria and Egypt, and both were to wage war on whom they pleased, and attack and sub- due them with land and sea forces. The rest of the opposition were weary of their efforts to prevent such things, and forbore even to speak against the measure; but Cato mounted the rostra before the vote was taken, expressed a wish to speak, with

difficulty gained permission, and spoke for two hours. After he had consumed this time in long arguments, expositions, and prophecies, he was not allowed to speak any longer, but an official went up to him as he sought to continue, and pulled him down from the rostra. But even from where he stood below the rostra he kept shouting, and found men to listen to him and share his indignation. So the official once more laid hands on him, led him away, and put him out of the forum. Then, the instant that he was re- leased, he turned back and strove to reach the rostra, shouting, and commanding the citizens to help him. This was repeated several times, until Trebonius, in a passion, ordered him to be led to prison; but a crowd followed listening to what he said as he went along, so that Trebonius took fright and let him go.

In this manner Cato consumed that day ; but during the days that followed his adversaries intimidated some of the citizens, won over others by bribes and favours, with armed men prevented one of the tribunes, Aquillius, from leaving the senate-chamber, cast Cato himself out of the forum when he cried out that there

ayopas éxBaXovtes, ovK GAliyous S€ Tpwoartes,
éviov 5é Kai Trecdvtwv, Bia Tov vowov éexvpwaar,
@OTE TOANOVS GVaTpahEevTas opyn Tovs Lloumniou
Barrew aviptavtas. adda TovTO pév érredOwv oO
Kdtov dexorAvce TO S¢ Kaiocape wadwv vopov
ypadopeévov rept Tov éTrapyL@v Kal TOV OTpATO-
wédwv, ovxéTt mpos Tov Shpov o Kdtwv, adda
Tpos avTov Tpatropuevos Ilopmrniov euaptupato Kat
mpovreyey ws él TOY avTOD TpdyYnrov avarap-
Bavov Kaioapa viv pév ov« older, dtav dé dpyn-
tat BapiverOar Kai xpateioBas pyre atroBécOat
Suvdpevos pnte héperv vtropévev, ets THY TWodw
éumecettas ovv avtT@, Kal pepvnoetat TOTE TOV
Kadtwvos tapawécewv, as ovdév HrTov év avtais
To Ilopmniov cupdépov evavy 7 TO Kadov kal
Sixatov. TavTa qToANdKis axovwv o Lloumnios
npérer Kai Tapéreutev amiotia this Kaicapos
peTaBoAns Sia wiotw edtuxias THS éavTod Kal
Suva pews.
XLIV. Eis 6€ ro é&js Eros aipeBels 0 Kdtwv
atpatnyos ovdev &boke mpootiOévas TH apyn Toc-
oUTOV cis GEeuvoTnTa Kai péyeOos adpywy Karas,
doov adaipely Kal Kataroxyuvery avuTrddnros Kal
aXiTwv TodNaKes él 76 Bia mpoepyopevos Kat
Oavatixas Sdixas émipavav avipav ottw Spa-
Bevwv. évioe 5€ hace cai per' apictov oivov
mweTwKxoTa Ypnuativey: dNNA TOUTO peEVv OVK AAN-

Aas Néyerat. StapOerpopévou dé Tov Sypov rais
dwpodoxiais Ud TaY dtrapyYouvtwy Kai xpwpé-
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had been thunder, and after a few of the citizens had been wounded and some actually slain, forced the passage of the law. Consequently, many banded to- gether and wrathfully pelted the statues of Pompey. But Cato came up and stopped this. However, when once more a law was introduced concerning Caesar's provinces and armies, Cato no longer addressed him- self to the people, but to Pompey himself, solemnly assuring and warning him that he was now, without knowing it, taking Caesar upon his own shoulders, and that when he began to feel the burden and to be overcome by it, he would neither have the power to put it away nor the strength to bear it longer, and would therefore precipitate himself, burden and all, upon the city; then he would call to mind the exhortations of Cato, and see that they had sought no less the interests of Pompey than honour and justice. Pompey heard these counsels repeatedly, but ignored and put them by; he did not believe that Caesar would change, because he trusted in his own good fortune and power.

XLIV. For the next year} Cato was elected praetor, but it was thought that he did not add so much majesty and dignity to the office by a good admini- stration as he took away from it by disgracing it. For he would often go forth to his tribunal without shoes or tunic, and in such attire would preside over capital cases involving prominent men. Some say, too, that even after fhe mid-day meal and when he had drunk wine, he would transact public business; but this is untruthfully said. However, seeing that the people were corrupted by the gifts which they received from men who were fond of office and plied the bribery of

1 54 B.C.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

vov TO dexalea Bat Kad drep épyacia ovvnber TOV
TONAWY, Bovdcpevos éxxowpat TAaVTATAGL TO voo-
npa TOUTO THis TONEWS, ETELoE Soya Géc bat THY
cUyKnTOY Srws ot katacradevres dpxovres, rr
pndéva KaTHYOpOV éxorev, avrol maptovres €&
avdryens eis & évopKov SixaaTiploy evOuvas bidaou.
emt TOUT® Karen as pev EaYoV ot peTLovTes apxas,
ere dé xademebrepov o picbapvev ox/ros. Ewbev
ovp éTl TO Bia rod Katwvos mpoedOovtos a6 poor
T poa'TEd OVTES éBowy, éBracdnpovy, éBarrop,
dare pevryery amo Tov Biparos amavtas, avrov
dé éxeitvov €Ewobévta TO Tr OE Kal mapadepo-
pevov poms éridapécbar TOV éuBorwv. évredbev

dvacTas T@ pev iTap@ Kai Oappodvte Tis GWwews
evOus éxparnae Tob BopiBou Kal THY Kpavyny
ETAVTEV, ELTOV bé Ta TpémovtTa Kal pe? Houxias
dKoua Gels jTwavTaTact dvéhuge THY TAPAXiV.
errawvovons dé THs Bovdijs avtov, ‘Kyo 0g,”
elzrev, ‘ ‘Duds ou. eTaLva KxwwOuvevovTa oTpaTnyov
éykaTadsrrovTas Kal py TpocapuvavTas.
Tov € petiovtwy apynv Exactos amop@ wdaber
ouvetyeto, poBovpevos prev avTos Sexalev, poBov-
pevos 5é érépov TovtTo mwpakavtTos éxteceiy THs
apxis. eokev odv avrois els TAUTO cuveMoiat
mapaBaréa as Spaxpmer € éxao Tov dpyuptov Sexa-
dSvo Huov pupidoas, elTa peTiévar THY apXnv
mavras opOas Kal Otxatws: tov dé mapaBdvra,
Kal Xeno dpevov Sexaou@ oréperOas TOU dpyu-
piov. TavTa oporoyro artes aipodyras puhaxa
Kab BpaBevrny Kat Hdptupa tov Katova Kal Ta
XpHwata, pépovtes exeLvep mapeTiberto: Kal Tas
auvOnkas éypaypayto mpos éxeivov, avtl Tav XpN-
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the masses as they would an ordinary business, he wished to eradicate altogether this disease from the state, and therefore persuaded the senate to make a decree that magistrates elect, in case they had no accuser, should be compelled of themselves to come before a sworn court and submit accounts of their election. At this the candidates for offices were sorely displeased, and still more sorely the hireling multitude. Early in the morning, therefore, when Cato had gone forth to his tribunal, crowds assailed him with shouts, abuse, and missiles, so that every- body fled from the tribunal, and Cato himself was pushed away from it and borne along by the throng, and with difficulty succeeded in laying hold of the rostra. There, rising to his feet, by the firmness and boldness of his demeanour he at once prevailed over the din, stopped the shouting, and after saying what was fitting and being listened to quietly, brought the disturbance completely to an end. When the senate was praising him for this, he said: “ But I cannot praise you for leaving an imperilled praetor in the lurch and not coming to his aid.”

Now, all the candidates for offices were at a loss what to do; each one was afraid to use bribes him- self, but was afraid of losing his office if another used them. They decided, therefore, to come together and deposit severally one hundred and twenty-five thousand drachmas in money, and that all should then sue for their offices in fair and just ways; the one who transgressed and practised bribery forfeiting his money. Having made this agreement, they chose Cato as depositary, umpire, and witness, and bringing their money, offered to deposit it with him; they even drew up their agreement in his presence. Cato

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padtov eyyunTas AaBovra, Ta dé Xpnwara 1)
Sefdpevov. as 5é Aicev Kupla THs avabeifews,
TapacTas oO Karey TO BpaBevovre Snuapye@ kat
mapapuratas THD ior, éva TOY mapaBaro-
pevov amrepyve Kaxoupyobvra Kal mpooéragev
arrodotvat TOUS ad Xots TO apyvpiov. aXn’ EXELVOL
bev eTTALveaaVTES avTou Thy opOornra Kal Javua-
caves avetNov TO TPdTTLMOY. WS ieavny Stnv
EXOvTES mapa Tob adixnoavros” TOUS bé ad ous
érvrrnoev 0 Katwv xai hOdvov é eEaxev amo TOUTOU
TELA TOV, WS Bours Kal Sixacrnplov Kal apyxov-
tov dvvayw avT@ TeplTroNnTapevos.
Ovdemsas yap aperis Sofa Kab triotis emi Oo-
vous Tout padrov 7H THS Stxatoovvys, Ste Kat
Svvauis avTH Kal miotis Emetar paddiota Tapa
TOV TOAA@Y. OU yap TEMATL povor, @S TOUS av-
Spetous, ovde Javpdlovew, @> TOvs hpovipous,
adda Kat prrotor TOUS Suxatous cat Oappovow
avrois Kai Tua Tevovaw. éxeiywv 6 TOUS wep
poBodvras, Tots dé amiotovet' ™ pos dé TovToLS
éxeivous pév olovrar dices Pad Dov 1) T@ Bovnre-
oOaut Siapépery, avdpetav Kal hpovnoty, Tv pev
o€vTNTAa TWA, Tv Oo evpwariay puxiis TiO émevot,
Sicaie dé & Umdpyovtos evdus elvau T@ Bovropev@
padiora, tiv adixiay os Kaxlay ampopdo.cTov
ais xvvovran.
XLV. Aco Kal t® Kdtove maytes ot peydror
T pooe Toh Lov | OS éXeyxouevou: Lloparnios 5é cal
Katdhuaw Ths éauTov duvdpews TH éxelvou d0£av
nyoupevos ael Tivas TpotéBaddev avTt@ AoLdopn-
copevous, ay Kat KrAwdzsos Hv 0 Snpwaywryos, avOts
ets Tloprniov urroppvuets cai KataBoay Tov Kato-
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took pledges for their money, but would not accept the money itself. When the day appointed for the election came, Cato took his stand by the side of the presiding tribune, and after watching the vote, declared that one of the depositors was playing false, and ordered him to pay his money over to the others. But these, after admiring and praising Cato’s upright- ness, cancelled the penalty, feeling that they already had sufficient satisfaction from the wrong-doer. In the rest of the citizens, however, this conduct of Cato caused more vexation and odium than anything else ; they felt that he was investing himself with the

powers of senate, courts and magistrates.

For no virtue, by the fame and credit which it gives, creates more envy than justice, because both power and credit follow it chiefly among the common folk. These do not merely honour the just, as they do the brave, nor admire them merely, as they do the wise, but they actually love the just, and put confidence and trust in them. As for the brave and wise, however, they fear the one and distrust the other; and besides, they think that these excel by a natural gift rather than by their own volition, con- sidering bravery to be a certain intensity, and wisdom a certain vigour, of sou), whereas any one who wishes can be just forthwith, and the greatest disgrace is visited upon injustice, as being inexcusable baseness.

XLV. For this reason all the great men were hostile to Cato, feeling that they were put to shame by him; and Pompey, who considered Cato's high repute as a dissolution of his own power, was always egging certain persons on to abuse him, among whom was Clodius the demagogue especially, who had again drifted into Pompey's following. He

vOS, WS TOAAG pev ex Kurrpou ypnpata vordioa-
pévov, Tlopmniw Sé rodepodvtos amakiwoavtt
ydapov avtovd Ouyatpds. o 5é Katawv édeyer ote
Npnuata pev é« Kumpov tocaita Th ToAeE cuva-
yayou ute inmov éva pnte otpatiwTyy AaBwv,
daa [lopmnios é« Tmodéuwv TocovTev Kal Opidp-
Bwv tHv oixoupévny Kuxnoas ovK aynveyKe, KN-
Seaotny 5& pndétote mpoeréaOat Tloprniov, ovx
avdaEvov nyovpevos, GAN' opav THv év TH ToALTELG
Siagopav. " AvTos pev yap," én, "' didopévns
fol peTa THY oTpaTnYylav érapyias aTréaTHY, ov-
Tos O€ Tas pev ever AaBav, Tas bé Sidwawv érépots'
vuvi d€ Kal rédos EEaxtoxXtALov oTduTaV Kaicaps
xéxpncev eis Tadariav: 3 ob7' éxeivos ArnTE TAP
Uuav ovTEe ovTOS edwxe pe" Kuav, adrAQ Suvapets
THALKaDTAaL Kal OmdAa Kal imoL YXapiTés ELoLD
idtwT@v Kal avtidoces. Karovpevos 5é€ avTo-
Kpatwp Kal otparnyos adAXoLs TA oTpAaTEvLaTA
Kal Tas émapyias rapadédaxev, avtos 5é TH TOdEL
Tapaxdbnrat ordcets aywvobeTar ev Tais Tapay-
yeriats xal BopvBouvs pnxyavwpevos, ¢E ay ov
NEANOe br' dvapyias povapyiav éavT@ pvnorevo-

pévos.” |
XLVI. Odtes pev nuivato Tov Tlopmniov. jv
5é Mdpxos Pawvios étaipos avtod nal tnrwrns,
olos o Dadnpeds *"ArrorAddSwpos iatopettar tepi
Lwxpdtnv yevécOat Tov taratov, éumans Kat
TAPAKEKLUNKWS TPOS TOV AOYOY, Ov ayédnv OvdE
TPaWs, GAN axpatov avTov Kadaapevov woTep

loudly denounced Cato for having appropriated much treasure from Cyprus, and for being hostile to Pompey because he had declined to marry his daughter. But Cato declared that, without taking a single horse or soldier, he had got together from Cyprus more treasure for the city than Pompey had brought back from all his wars and triumphs after stirring up the habitable world; and that he never chose Pompey for a marriage connection, not because he thought him unworthy of it, but because he saw the difference in their political tenets. “I, for my part,” said Cato, “when a province was offered me after my praetorship, declined it, but this Pompey took provinces, some of which he holds himself, and some he offers to others; and now he has actually lent Caesar a body of six thousand legionaries for use in Gaul. This force neither did Caesar ask from you, nor did Pompey give it with your consent, but armies of this great size and arms and horses are now the mutual gifts of private persons. And though he has the titles of general and imperator, he has handed over to others his armies and his provinces, while he himself takes up his post near the city, managing factions at the elections as though he were directing games, and contriving disturbances, from which, as we clearly see, by way of anarchy, he is seeking to win for himself a monarchy.”

XLVI. With such words did Cato defend himself against Pompey. But Marcus Favonius was a companion and ardent disciple of his, just as Apollodorus of Phalerum is said to have been of Socrates in olden time. Favonius was impulsive, and easily moved by argument, which did not affect him moderately or mildly, but like unmixed wine, and to the point of

2 olvov Kat paviKeTepov. OUTOS aryopavopiay per-
LWY NTTATO, TULTTAPOY dé o Kate Tpoaéaxe
Tais déhroes peg xerpr Yeypappevars® Kat rnv 782
Kaxoupytiav eFereyEas TOTE per ET LKANC EL Snpdp-
Xov éXuoe THY avdbeEtv, o Datepov 5é tod Daw-
viov kataorabévtos a aryopavopou Ta TE ada Ths
apXns émepedetTo wal tas Oéas Sieirev ev TH
Jedrpe, dudous Kat Tots Oupedixois a repavous
3 ev ov Xpucods, aX’ woTrEp eV ‘Odupria oTi-
vov, dopa 5é dyri TOV TOAUTEAOY TOES pev "EA-
Anow tebTra Kal Opidaxas Kat pagpavidas «al

am-tous, Tois O€ ‘Pepators oivou Kepayita, Kal Kpéa
Deva Kal avKa Kai oLxvous ral EvAwy aryKxanioas,
Ov THV evTeAELay ob pev éyéXwy, ot dé nO0dvTo TOU
Karevos TO avaTnpov Kal KATES TUL LEVOD opav-
4 TES NOUXT petaBarrov els Sidyvory. Téhos dé 0
Pawvi0s els Tov OY AOV euBarov € éavTov Kat Kade-
Copevos év ois Jearais exporter tov Kdtova Kal
did0vat Tots eUnpepodat Kat Tebay éBoa, Kat
Tupmapexdne TOUS Jearas, OS éxelv tv éEov-
ovav Tapasedwxws. éy 5€ TO ETEpep Ocadtp@
Koupiwv o Pawviov cuvdpywv exopmryet ToNv-
TEAMS’ GAN’ éxetvov dmonet moves of avOpwrtrot
peréBatvor evraida, Kal ouvérrattov T pod vums
UTTOK pivopevep T@ Pawvie Tov itaTny Kal TO
5 Kdrove TOV dryavod erny. émTparre be tavra Sta-
oupwv TO Tpayua, Kal biSdoKxwr bts mailovra
det 7H Tada xpiie Pac Kat xapere TapaTréwTrety
aripe padrov 7) Tapackevals Kat mohuTeneiars,
eis Ta pondevos akia gpovtidas peyddas xal
oTrovoas KataTiOépevov.
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frenzy. He was being defeated in a candidacy for the aedileship, but Cato, who was present, noticed that the voting tablets were all inscribed in one hand; and having exposed the foul play, at the time he stopped the election by an appeal to the tribunes. Afterwards, when Favonius had been appointed aedile, Cato both discharged the other duties of the office and managed the spectacles in the theatre. He gave to the actors crowns, not of gold, but of wild olive, as was done at Olympia, and inexpensive gifts,—to the Greeks, beets, lettuce, radishes, and pears; and to the Romans, jars of wine, pork, figs, melons, and faggots of wood. At the practical simplicity of these gifts some laughed, but others conceived respect for Cato when they saw his severe and solemn manner gradually relaxing to pleasant good-humour.! And at last Favonius, plunging into the crowd and taking a seat among the spectators, applauded Cato and called to him in a loud voice to give presents to the successful performers and to honour them, and helped him to exhort the specta-

tors, as though he had delegated his powers to Cato. Now, in the other theatre, Curio, the colleague of Favonius, was managing things with a lavish hand ; but the people left him and went over to the other place, and readily shared in a sport where Favonius was playing the part of a private citizen and Cato that of master of the games. But Cato did all this in disparagement of the usual practice, and with an effort to show that in sport one must adopt a sportive manner and conduct matters with unostentatious gladness rather than with elaborate and costly preparations, where one bestows upon trifling things great care and effort.

1 Cf. chapter i. 2.

XLVII. "Errel 5é, LanTiwvos Kal "Typaiov Kal Mirwvos t UTATELAY METEPYOMEVWY OU povov éxeivots Tots TUT popots 76n Kat TUL TOMTEVOMEVOLS adiKnpact, S@podoxiass kar dexac pois, GAN' avTicpus | be 6mAwY Kal povey ets éupurdcov TONE Lov w0ovpéveov TOMMY Kai atrovoia, Tlopmijiov TUVES nEtovy eTLaTHVaL Tals dpxatpeciass, TO pev Wp@ToVv aytelirey 0 Karo, ov Tous vopots €K Hopmntov papevos, ANN' éx TOV vOMev Lopmni Seip unep Xeuv THY ac parear, @s O€ ToNuy Xpovor ava xias avons xal T PLOY oTpaToT édcy THV aryopay oonpéepat TEplLeXOVT OY odLYyov am éhemev avetriaXeTov yeyovevar TO KAKOV, éyvo Ta Tpaypata To TIS eax ans GaVvayKns ets Toprijiov éxovci@ xapere THS Bours TEPLO THO At, Kal T) eT pieTAT TOV TApavounparav Xpns dpevos idpare THS TOV peyioTwV KATATTAS EWS THY povapxtay emayayér bau paArANov 1 mepuidety Thy oTaow eis povapxiav' TEMUTMT AY. eltrev ovp ep TH Bovdy yvepny Bv8nros oixetos av Kdrwvos, os xpN peovov éeheodar Toparnioy imatov: i yap &Feuv KaAXNOS Ta Mpayuara éxelvou KATATTHGAVTOS, a T? Kpatiore Sovdevoew THY TOMY. dvac Tas 6€ 6 0 Kdrwy ovdevos av Tpoodoxycartos € emqvece THY yvopunv Kal acuveBovreuce macav apXnv @S avapxias KpelTrova, Tloumrniov dé Kai mpoaSoKay dptota tois twapovor XpnoecOar Tpaypace Kai purdkew Starioctev0evta thy TOA.

XLVIII. Odt@ 8 amrodety Gels Umaros o Tlop-
anios édenOn tod Karwvos é\deiy mpos avroy
1 povapyfay Sintenis' and Coraés, with the MSS.; Sintenis? and Bekker adopt the dvapxflay of Emperius.

XLVII. But presently Scipio, Hypsaeus, and Milo sought the consulship.) They not only used those illegal means which were now a familiar feature in political life, namely, the giving of gifts and bribes, but were openly pressing on, by the use of arms and murder, into civil war, with daring and madness. Some therefore demanded that Pompey should pre- side over the elections. Cato opposed this at first, saying that the laws ought not to derive their security from Pompey, but Pompey from the laws. However, when there had been no regular government for a long time,! and three armies were occupying the forum daily, and the evil had well-nigh become past checking, he decided that matters ought to be put into the hands of Pompey by the voluntary gift of the senate, before the extreme necessity for it came, and that by employing the most moderate of unconstitutional measures as a healing remedy for the conservation of the greatest interests, they should themselves introduce the monarchy, rather than allow faction to issue in monarchy. Accordingly, Bibulus, a kinsman of Cato, moved in the senate that Pompey should be chosen sole consul ; for either matters would be rectified by his settlement of them, or the state would be in subjection to its most power- ful citizen. Then Cato rose up and, to everyone's surprise, approved the measure, advising any govern- ment as better than no government at all, and saying that he expected Pompey would handle the present situation in the best manner possible, and would guard the state when it was entrusted to him.

XLVIII. After Pompey had in this way been ap- pointed consul, he begged Cato to come to him in the

1 For the year 52 B.c. Riots in Rome prevented any election. Cf. the Pompey, chapter liv.

eis TO mpodaoTteov. édAOdvTa Se dSeEdpevos ptdo-
dpovws aacmacpois Kal SeEraoccot Kal yap
Ou“oroynoas tmapexdder avpSovrovy avT@ Kal
lol a € \
mapedpov ela. ths apxns. o S€ Katwr arre-
la) \ a
Kpivato pnTe Ta WpaTa mpos améyOerav ecirety
A \ b]
Tlopwrniov pnte tavta mwpos ydpw, arr emi
/ a / 20/7 \ 9
cupdépovts. mavra THs TWodews: idia péev ovv
? a“ A 4 4 /

avT@® TapakaroovTs svBovros EceaOat, Snwocia
/ A \ a 4 a \ ,
dé, xav un TapakaAnTat, TavTws épely TO hatvo-
pevovy. Kat Tadta émpattey ws eElme. mMpwToVv
pev yap émi rovs Sexdcavtas 8n tov Siow
> 4 \ \ ld UA “A of.
€TlTipua Kawa Kab dixas peyadas Tov Lloutniov
vowoOeTovvTos apercty éxéXevoe TOV YeyovoTwV
Kal Tpocéxyew Tois péXdNOVTLY’ OTE yap Grou
“ t ,
OTHOETAL TO TA TponwapTnuéva Cnteiy opicat
padiov, édv Te vewtepa ypddntat Tov adiucnuatoy
émutipia, Seva TeicecOas Tovs, Sv ov TapéBa.vov
br’ ndixovy vopov, Kata TovTOv Koralopévous.
ETELTA TOAA@Y Kplvopévwy eTipavav avdpar,
2» / \ \ 4 le) of. \ >] /
éviov bé Kal dirwv tov [loummniov Kai oixeiwr,
cia > AN 9 5 50 74 A \ ,
op@v autov évdudovta év! TodXols Kal KapmTTo-
pevov emetina opodpas Kai Siryerpev. érret dé
vow tovs eiwOotas rAéyecOar Trepl TaY Kpivo-
4 bY , ’ \ b] , / 4
evar eTraivous autos adeXwyv, Movvatiw IIXaynm
A 4
acuyypaas errawov éri tis Sixns edwxev, éme-
/ ® a / ¥
axouevos 0 Kdtwv ta @ta tais yepoiv (éTvyXe
\
yap ducdlwv) ex@rvev avaywooKxerOar THY pap-
/ € \ A b , > NX ? la)
tupiav. o 66 IIldkayxos amédeEev avtov éx Tav
1 é@v Coraés and Bekker, with most MSS.: rots, with M.
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suburbs. And when Cato was come, Pompey gave him a friendly welcome with salutations and hand-clasps, acknowledged his obligations to him, and invited him to be his counsellor and associate in the government. But Cato replied that he had neither spoken as he did at first out of enmity to Pompey, nor as he afterwards did to win his favour, but in every case in the interests of the state; in private, therefore, upon his invitation, he would be his coun- sellor, but in public, even without his invitation, he would certainly say what he thought was best. And he did this, as he said he would. In the first place, for instance, when Pompey was proposing to fix by law fresh penalties and heavy punishments for those who had already bribed the people, Cato urged him to ignore the past and give his attention to the future; for,

he said, it would not be easy to fix the point at which the investigation of past transgressions should stop, and if penalties should be fixed subsequent to the crimes, those would be outrageously dealt with who were punished in conformity with a law which they were not transgressing when they committed their crime. In the second place, when many promi- nent men were on trial, some of whom were friends and relations of Pompey, Cato saw that Pompey was giving in and yielding in many cases, and therefore rebuked him sharply and tried to spur him on. More- over, though Pompey himself had made illegal the customary panegyrics upon men under trial, he wrote a panegyric upon Munatius Plancus and handed it in at his trial; but Cato (who chanced to be one of the jurors) stopped his ears with his hands and pre- vented the reading of the testimony.! Plancus got

1 Cf. the Pompey, lv. 5.

Sixactav peta Tous Noyous, Kal ovdey Hrrov HrAw.
Kal SAws aTropoyv hv wpadyna Kal dvcpeTayeipt-
orov 0 Katwy tots devyouct, pnte Bovropévois
avrov atronitreivy SixactHny pijte amoXEeyely TOA-
HOoW. HAwoav yap ovK oAlyou TO Katova
a a > /
gevyey SoEavtes od Oappeiv ois Sixaiots €viors
5é kal mpovdepov oi AowdopodvtTes ws Gverdos péeya
To pn déEacIa Kpitnvy Kdrova mpotevopevov.
XLIX. 'Ered 5€ Kaicapos a'rod pév éuredv-
KOTOS Tots oTpaTevpacw ev Tadatia Kal THV St-
Aw éyopuevov, Swpois Sé Kal ypjpace kal dirous
parsoTa pos THY év TH Wore Ypwpévou Svvamy,
46n pév ai Kdrwvos mpoayopetoess avépepov Tov
Tloptrniov é« movrhs nbn THs wpocbev amiotias
overpoTroAobvTa TO Sewov, ere bé Hv dKvov Kat
PEAAHTEWS ATOAMOU TpPdS TO KWAVELY Kal émLXeEL-
pety vtroTAEws, Opunoev o Kdtwv bratetay Tap-
/ e > 4 b] \ a eo . A
ayyéArNew ws adatpnoopevos evOus Ta OTAA TOD
Kaicapos thv émiBovanv éferéyEwv. of 8
dytTimapayyéAXovTes avT@ YapievTes péev Hoav
b s , hy: \ \ A a
dpupotepot, YovArmixios S€ Kal ToAAA THs TOD
Karavos év rh mode Sokns te Kal duvapews atro-
AeAauKws: OU péeTpLOV OvY edoKEL TPaYpLA TroLety
0 b] , > A a , b] 4
ovd evxaploTov' ov pny O ye Katav évexdree
"Ti yap," Edn, " Davpacrev et 6 Tes vopiter TOV

9 A e \ / ” / \
ayabav péytotov évép@ pn Tapinot;” meicas dé
\ \ , Q \ a \ >
thv BovrAny ndicacbar Tovs petiovtTas THYy ap-
A ? \ 5 a A on > e ff A
“nv avrous SeEtovcOar Tov Simo, de’ Erépou bé yy
SetcOar pndé evtuyxdvew virép avTa@Y TepLLoVTOS,
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him removed from the jury after the speeches were over, and was convicted none the less. And altogether Cato was a perplexing and unmanageable quantity for defendants; they neither wished to allow him to be a juror in their cases nor had the courage to challenge him. For not a few of them were convicted because their attempted rejection of Cato made it appear that they had no confidence in the justice of their cases; and some were bitterly assailed by their revilers for not accepting Cato as juror when he was proposed.

XLIX. But Caesar, though he devoted himself to his armies in Gaul and was busy with arms, nevertheless employed gifts, money, and above all friends, to increase his power in the city. Presently, therefore, the admonitions of Cato roused Pompey from the great incredulity which he had indulged in up to this time, so that he had forebodings of his peril. However, he was still given to hesitation and spirit- less delay in checking or attacking the threatening evil, and therefore Cato determined to stand for the consulship, that he might at once deprive Caesar of his armed forces, or convict him of his hostile designs. But his competitors were both acceptable men, and Sulpicius had actually derived much benefit from Cato’s repute and power in the city, and was there- fore thought to be acting in an improper and even thankless manner. But Cato had no fault to find with him. “Pray, what wonder is it,” said he, “if a man wil] not surrender to another what he regards as the greatest of all good things?” However, by persuading the senate to pass a decree that candidates for office should canvass the people in person, and not solicit nor confer with the citizens through the

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Mv “A b S A 9 tA 9 A ‘
ért padrov €Enypiave tous avOpwrrous, et pn so-
vov TO AaBeiv picOov, ddrAdXrAa Kal TO Siddvae Yap
A ‘\

avrovs adnpnuévos Atropov Kal AtLpov ood Tov
Sipov tretroinxe. mpos 5 TovT@ pHnTE AUTOS évTL-
“A e \ e le) \ v b] % 9 wv \ “
vey vIréep avtou TiBavos MY, AAN ev 70EL TO TOU
Biov padrov akiwwa BovAdcuevos duddccew 7
mpocraPely TO THS apYAs Trovovpevos Tas SeEww-
TEs, pHTE TOUS pirous éaaas ols SyAOS GALoKETAL
Kat Oeparreverat troteiy, amrétuXE THS APKTS.
L. Dépovtos 5é tod mpdypatos ovK avtots po-
A > A >] A 4 > A
VOLS TOLS ATTOTUXOUCG LD, ana Kal pirous AUTWV
Kal oixelols avy aloxyuVy TLVi KaTHnpeLay Kal Trév-
os ep’ yépas TOAAGS, OdTws HveyKe Padvpws TO
N [4 > , N\ ? le! ld
oupBeBnKos OoTe areipapevos pev évy TO Trediw
4 9 A 4 C4 ¥
adatpioa, pet’ aptotov dé Tddw, BoTrEp clOcoro,
xkataBas eis dyopay dvuTobyntos nal dxitwv Tept-
TaThnoat peta TOV cuvnOwv. aitidtar dé Kixépwv
STL, TOV TpayLaTwWV ApKoVvToS ToLovToUv Seopévar,
b 9 4 A 3 N e fa) e /
ovK émotncaTo oTrovdny ovde vmrndOev opmrtLa
diravO poe tov Sipov, dAAa Kal pods TO NowTrOV
éféxape kal amnyopevae, Kaito THY oTpAaTNHYLaAV
avs €& bmapyis weteNOov. EXeyev odv o Kdtwv
OTL THS pev oTpaTHYyias ov KaTa yvopuny éFérece
TOV TOAKOY, GANA BracGevtwv 7} StapOapévtwr,
év 5€ tais UTratixais Whdos pndemtas Kaxoupyias
yevopuevns yyw nal te Sy mpooKexpovews dia
TOV aUTOU TpoTOY, bY oUTE pweTabéacDat Tpos éETE-
pov Yap ore Ypwpevoy opoim maddy Spora 784
madetv voor éxyovtos avdpds éore.
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agency of another going about in their behalf, Cato still more exasperated the common folk, in that he deprived them, not only of getting money, but also of bestowing favour, and so made them at once poor and without honour. And besides this, he was not per- suasive himself in canvassing for himself, but wished to preserve in his manners the dignity of his life, rather than to acquire that of the consulship by making the customary salutations; neither would he permit his friends to do the things by which the multitude is courted and captivated. He therefore failed to obtain the office.

L. Though the matter brought, not only to the unsuccessful candidates themselves, but also to their friends and relatives, dejection and sorrow tinged with considerable shame for many days, Cato bore so easily what had happened that he anointed him- self and practised ball in the Campus Martius, and after the

mid-day meal, again, as was his wont, went down into the forum without shoes or tunic and walked about there with his intimates. But Cicero finds fault with him because, when affairs demanded a man like him for office, he would not exert himself nor try to win the people by kindly intercourse with them, but for the future also ceased to make any effort and gave up the contest, although he had re- newed his candidacy for the praetorship. Cato replied, accordingly, that he had lost the praetorship, not because the majority wished it to be so, but because they were constrained or corrupted; whereas, since there had been no foul play in the consular elections, he saw clearly that he had given offence to the people by his manners. These, he said, no man of sense would change to please others, nor, keeping them unchanged, would he again suffer a like disaster.

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a

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LI. Tob 5é Katcapos éuBarovtos ets EON pa-
Xepeas Kat TapaBorws KpaTnoavTos, Deppavois b¢
Kal omrovdav yevopeveoy Soxodyros. éemieaOat Kal
KataPanetv TpldkovTa pupiadas, ol ev AADOL Tov
Sjpov neiovv evaryyéehua Qvev, o 5€ Kdtov éxé-
Aevev éxdiSovae TOV Katcapa TOUS Tapavouneiar
Kal pay Tperrewy els avToUS pnde avadexer Oar TO
ayos eis THY ToAwW. "Ov pay arra Kal Tous
Jeois," épn, " Ovmpev, éTt THS Tod otpatnyou
pavias Kab aTrovoias THY Siny els TOUS OT aTLe-
Tas ov TpéTovolv, ANG peldovras THS TOAEWS."
ex TOUTOU Kaicap ema Tohny ypanras amréaTeELrNeV
els THY oUyKANTOV as dé aveyvac On Brac dnpias
Todas éxouca Kal karnyopias tov Kadtwvos,
dvacras exeivos ovX um opyns oudé pudoverkias,
GND' Gomep éx Loyia woo Kal TApacKEeyys TQ pev
els €avTov éykAnuatTa owopiars Kal TKO PAT LW
Spota kal Tradiav Tia Kal Boporoxtar tod Kai-
capos amederEev, axpdpevos dé Tav éxetvou Bov-
Aeupatov an apxiis Kal waoay avrod THY bud-
vo.ay, aTEp OUK exOpos, ara TUVOLOTNS Kat
Kolv@vos, exkahvyas, Kal bidafas @s ov Teppa-
vay ovdé Kertav maidas, adr' éxeivoy avtov, et
sop povoiat, poBytéov éorlv avtois, ob ws éré-
otpevre xal mapwEvver @S TOUS pidous TOU Kat-
capos peTavoein, 6Tt Thy ema toMy avaryvorres év
TH Bourn KaLpOV TO Kdrov Aoyov Sixaiov wal
KaTnyoplay arnbav Taper Xov. exupoOn peev oop
ovdév, GAN' eréyOn povov bre Karas é exer d.ddoxov

Kaicapt Boda. tav o€ pirwv aFtovv Tov Kat
Tloparniov é& tcou ta btrAa Katabécbat Kal atro-
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LI. After Caesar had fallen upon warlike nations and at great hazards conquered them, and when it was believed that he had attacked the Germans even during a truce! and slain three hundred thousand of them, there was a general demand at Rome that the people should offer sacrifices of good tidings, but Cato urged them to surrender Caesar to those whom he had wronged, and not to turn upon themselves, or allow to fall upon their city, the pollution of his crime. ‘“ However,” said he, “let us also sacrifice to the gods, because they do not turn the punishment for the general’s folly and madness upon his soldiers, but spare the city.” After this, Caesar wrote a letter and sent it to the senate; and when it was read, with its abundant insults and denunciations of Cato, Cato rose to his feet and showed, not in anger or conten- tiousness, but as if from calculation and due prepara- tion, that the accusations against him bore the marks of abuse and scoffing, and were childishness and vulgarity on Caesar’s part. Then, assailing Caesar’s plans from the outset and revealing clearly all his purpose, as if he were his fellow conspirator and partner and not his enemy, he declared that it was not the sons of Germans or Celts whom they must fear, but Caesar himself, if they were in their right minds, and so moved and incited his hearers that the friends of Caesar were sorry that by having the letter read in the senate they had given Cato an opportunity for just arguments and true denunciations. However, nothing was done, but it was merely said that it were well to give Caesar a successor.2, And when Caesar's friends demanded that Pompey also, as well as Caesar, should lay down his arms and give up his provinces,

1 Cf. Caesar, Bell. Gall. iv. 12-15; Plutarch, Caesar, xxii. 2 Cf. the Caesar, xxx.; the Pompey, lviii. 359

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a 4 ” ”
Sodvat ras érapyias 4 unde Katoapa, viv éxeiva
Boov o Kdrowv & mpotreyev avtois fre, Kat
, N ” @ b] hy nO a 5 s
BialecOat tov avOpwrov avadavoov non TH duva-
pet Ypwpevov hv éxxev cEaTratav Kal pevarilov
Thy Tod, é&w pev ovdev érrépatve, TOD Sypov
4 9% \
Pérovros aet tov Kaicapa péytotov elvat, tv 5é
Ul % 4 \ / N
auyKAntov eiye TweOopéevny Kat poBovpevny tov
O7jwov.
LIT. ‘Os 6€ ’Apipevov xareiAnrro Kai Kaioap
KaTNyyéAXETO peTa oTpaTLas eXNavvELY err THY
4 ? “ \ 7 > 3 9 aA J lA id
ToAw, evtav0a bn mavrtes én’ éxeivoy apewpwr, ot
Jae e / \ b] ’ “

Te TodAol Kal Ilopmnios, ws povoy pev €F apxijs
jTpoatcOopevov, WpaTov 5é Pavepa@s mpoerTrovTa
thv Kaicapos yvopnv. elmev ovv o Kdrov:
“7AXAG ef ye ols ey mpovAeyov det Kal ouve-
4 > / e a ” vo> A a
Bovrevov érreicOn Tis bpav, avdpes, oT dv Eva
époBetobe viv ovre év évt tas Edzidas elyere.”
Tloumniov S€ eirrovtos pavtTix@tepa pév eipjabas
Katou, diric@repa S¢ avt@ tmempayOar, cuve-
lA e A ean f. \ 4
Bovrevey o Katov evi Hoprrnio ta mpdaypata
THY TVYKANTOV eyyELpicaL’ TOV yap avTaY elvat
Kal Totely Ta peyadAa Kaka Kal Tavelw. oO ev
® fee A / ” e / LA
ovv Lloprrnios ove Suvayuv Exwv Etotpuny ove ods
, , 4 Cc a 9 ‘ € 4
KarTéXeye ToTe TpoOvpous opwv é&éduTre THY ‘Po-
pny, o 8é Kdtav érecbar cai cupdevyew éyvwxes
eA > /
Tov pev vewtepov viov ets Bpertious virekébeto
\ 4 \ \ U4 9 \
mpos Movvdriov, tov de mpecButepov eiye ovv
A A / A
éauT@. THS dé olxias Kal TOV OvyaTtépwv Knde-

or else that Caesar should not do so either, “ Now,” shouted Cato, “those things are come to pass which I foretold to you, and the man is at last resorting to open compulsion, using the forces which he got by deceiving and cheating the state.” Outside the senate-house, however, Cato could accomplish nothing, since the people wished all along that Caesar should have the chief power; and although Cato had the senate under his influence, it was afraid ot the people.

LILI. But when Ariminum was occupied! and Caesar was reported to be marching against the city with an army, then all eyes were turned upon Cato, both those of the common people and those of Pompey as well; they realised that he alone had from the out- set foreseen, and first openly foretold, the designs of Caesar. Cato therefore said: “ Nay, men, if any of you had heeded what I was ever foretelling and advising, ye would now neither be fearing a single man nor putting your hopes in a single man.” Pompey acknowledged that Cato had spoken more like a pro- phet, while he himself had acted too much like a friend. Cato then advised the senate to put affairs into the hands of Pompey alone; for the same men who caused great evils, he said, should put a stop to them. Pompey, however, who had no forces in readiness,

and saw that those which he was then enrolling were without zeal, forsook Rome; and Cato, who had determined to follow him and share his exile, sent his younger son to Munatius in Bruttium for safe keeping, but kept his elder son with himself. And since his household and his daughters needed someone to

1 In 49 Bc. Cf. the Caesar, xxxii. fin.; the Pompey, lx. 1.

povos Seopévwv avédNaBe mad thv Mapkiav
4 b] \ lA aA e \ € 4
Ynpevovoay ETL YoHnpact ToANNois' o yap Opt7-
otos OunoKxwy éxeivny amédtTre KANPOVOpOV. Ets 6
57) padtota NoLdopovpmevos 0 Kaicap r@ Katour
4 A / > a
gtroTAovTiay mpopéper Kal pucOapviay eri TO
yao. Th yap ev tapaxwpelv Sedpevoy yuvai-
KOS TL p71) Oeopevov avis avarayBavey, eb pn
/ 9 9 "~ e / A / € / \
déreap €£ apyins vpeiOn To ydvatov 'Optyci@ xat
véeav éxpnoev, iva Tovciay aToAaBn; mpos péev
ody TavTa peTpiws Ever TO Kvpumidecoy exetvo'
TPOTOV ev OVV TAaPPHT ev appHToat yap
\ \ / l4 9 ¢ ,
THY onv vopitw Setriav, ® Hpaxres:
Gpotov yap éott TO "Hpaxret paraxiav overdivew
Kal KaTnyopeiy atoyponépderay Kdtwvos. et b€
GAN 1 pL) KANOS Témpaxtat TA TWepl TOV yapon,
émiskeTrtéov. éyyunodpevos yap thy Mapxiav o
Katev, cal tov oixov érmutpéwas éxeivn Kai Tas
Ouyatépas, avtos édiwxe Topurijiov.
LITT. Am' éxeivns dé Aéyerat THs juépas pte
ceparnpy ett Keipacar unre yévera pte orépavov
émOéo Oat, 1évOous Sé Kal xatndelas cat Bapirn-
Tos éml Tais cuupopais tHS TwaTpibos év oyApa
VIKOVT@OVY OMOlwWS Kal viKwWLévWY AyYpL TEEUTHS
SiadvrdEar. tote S€ KANpw AaxYoVv BKerLav
SiéB8n pev eis Yupaxovoas, muOopevos Sé 'Aciv-
viov IloAAiwva Tapa Tay Todepiov apiyOas peta

look after them, he took to wife again Marcia, now a widow with great wealth; for Hortensius, on his death,! had left her his heir. It was with reference to this that Caesar heaped most abuse upon Cato,? charg- ing him with avarice and with trafficking in marriage. “For why,” said Caesar, “should Cato give up his wife if he wanted her, or why, if he did not want her, should he take her back again? Unless it was true that the woman was at the first set as a bait for Hortensius, and lent by Cato when she was young that he might take her back when she was rich.” To these charges, however, the well-known verses of Euripides? apply very well :—

“ First, then, the things not to be named; for in

that class
I reckon, Heracles, all cowardice in thee ;”
for to charge Cato with a sordid love of gain is like reproaching Heracles with cowardice. But whether on other grounds, perhaps, the marriage was improper, were matter for investigation. For no sooner had Cato espoused Marcia than he committed to her care his household and his daughters, and set out himself in pursuit of Pompey.

LILI. But from that day, as we are told, Cato neither cut his hair nor trimmed his beard nor put on a gar- land, but maintained the same mien of sorrow, de- jection, and heaviness of spirit in view of the calamities of his country, alike in victory and in defeat, until the end. At the time, however, having had Sicily allotted to him as a province, he crossed over to Sy- racuse, and on learning that Asinius Pollio had come

1 In 50 s.c. Cf. chapter xxv.

2 In his treatise entitled ‘‘ Anti-Cato.” Cf. chapter xi. 4. 3 Hercules Furens, 173 f. (Kirchhoff).

Suvapews ets Meoonvny éreue, Noyov atrattov

2 tap avtov THs StaBdoews. avtatraitnbelis Sé
ANoyou Un’ éexeivouv Tis THY Tpaypatwv peTaBorRs,
kal Tloprniov axovaas éxXNEXOLTIOTA TaVTENBS
"Iradiay é €v Avppaxio orparomedeveww, TONDY &bn
meph Ta, Ocia ™dvOv elvat Kal acadesav, et Top-
mniov év ols oyves ovdev ovdé Sixasov em patrev
ANTTNTOV ryevopuevov vov, ote THV martpiba Bov-
AetTat owlerv Kat THs édevdepias Umepyd ETAL,
3 Tporéehoure TO evTuyelp. "Acivutov pév ovv épn
Suvatos elvat YKerias exBanreiv, adrns be pet-

Covos émrepxXopernys Suvdpews ov Bovrer ae THY
pijoov EM TONE LOD amroNéoal, xwpetv 5é mpos TO
Kpatoby kal cwlecbar Tapatvécas Yupaxovatots
eérdevoev.
’Adsxopevos dé pos Toparniov Gael pev elyero
plas yvouns, XpovotprBeiv TOV moheuon, emia
Siadvoets Kat pn Bovdopevos ev dry ave xelpe
yevopevny THY TOA auTny ud’ aurijs malety Ta
4 érxara, oon pw Staxpietcav. ara 8€ rovTwv
adehpa Tloprniov é eTreoe Kal TOUS guvedpous Wn-
gicacbat, pnTe TwOALY UarjKoov ‘Pwpaiwy Siap-
matew pare avdpa ‘Pepaior ee TapaTazews
d.vaupeiy a nal d0€ay qveyre Kat mpoanyaryeTo
ToNNovs TH Toparniov pepios, THY émetKerav
avTov Kal TO HMEpoV dom ac apevous.
LIV. "Exreug dels dé eis “Aciav, ws Tois Exel
ouvayouat Troia kal oTpaTiay OpEd MOS yevorTo,
LepBiriav emnyaryero THY adehpny kat to Aev-
KovAnrou Tratdiov é& éxeivns yeyoves. nKorovOnae
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to Messana with a force from the enemy, he sent and demanded a reason for his coming. But having been asked by Pollio in turn a reason for the con- vulsion in the state, and hearing that Pompey had abandoned Italy altogether, and was encamped at Dyrrhachium, he remarked that there was much inconsistency and obscurity in the divine government, since Pompey had been invincible while his course was neither sound nor just, but now, when he wished to save his country and was fighting in defence of liberty, he had been deserted by his good fortune. As for Asinius, indeed, Cato said he was able to drive him out of Sicily; but since another and a larger force was coming to his aid, he did not wish to ruin the island by involving it in war, and therefore, after advising the Syracusans to seek safety by joining the victorious party, he sailed away.

After he had come to Pompey, he was ever of one mind, namely, to protract the war; for he looked with hope to a settlement of the controversy, and did not wish that the state should be worsted in a struggle and suffer at its own hands the extreme of disaster, in having its fate decided by the sword. Other measures, too, akin to this, he persuaded Pompey and his council to adopt, namely, not to plunder a city that was subject to Rome, and not to put a Roman to death except on the field of battle. This brought to the party of Pompey a good repute, and induced many to join it; they were delighted with his reasonableness and mildness.

LIV. When Cato was dispatched to Asia, that he might help those who were collecting transports and soldiers there, he took with him Servilia his sister and her young child by Lucullus. For Servilia had

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yap auT@ Xnpevouca, Kal ToAv TOV Els TO aKo-
Aacrov auTns §:aBorov adetrev Urodvaa TV
bro Kdreove ppoupay Kat mAdvnv Kat Stavray
éxovaiws. GAN 6 ye Kaicap ovéé trav én’ éxeivy
Brac dnc TOU Karovos épeicaro.
II pos pév odv Tanna, tov Kdtwvos ovdér, @S
Goixev, edenOnaav oi Topmrniou oTpaTHyol, ‘Po-
dtous dé reOoi Tporaryaryopevos Kal thy YepBe-
Atay avToOt nal To Tatdtoy atroNTra@v éemavijnOe
pos Topmrnior, Hon melixts Te Aapmpas Kal
vauTixis duvapews Tepl avTov ovons. év0a 67)
«al pddorTa THS yeuns KaTapapos édo£e yeyo-
vévat Toparnios. Opunce pev yap. eyxXetpioas T®
Karove THY TOV vEwY nryepoviav noav 5é TevTa-
Kooiwy bev OUK ehaTrous at paxipor, UBupviKa
dé xal KATAGKOT IKE Kat adpaxra Tapa rn Oi
TaXy b¢ évvoncas 7 dbax Gels bie TOV pikwy
as & éott Kepddatov Kdtevt waons ToONTELAS
enevOepaoat THV marpioa, | Kav yevntar KUpLOS
TNALKAUTNS Suvdpews, Hs ay jpépas KaTaryovi-
oWVTAL Kaicapa, THS AUTHS exelyns afioces Kat
Iloparniov Ta émrda katabecBar Kab Tots YOmors
erea Oa, peTéyva, Kaitrep nen Sierderypevos avrTa,
Kat Burov arréderte vavapxov. ov pny noOero
ye mapa TodT0 Tis mpoupias Tob Kdtwvos d Gp
Brurtepas: avAra Kal AevyeT at Tpos Tia paynv
7 po TOU Auppaxiou avrod TE Tloumniou 7 apop-
HOVTOS THY Suvapuy, Kal Tov GrAdwv ExacTov
Tye woveov elTrety TL Kal mpotpewacbar KehevovTos,
apyas Kal cuwrhH Tovs oTpatiwTtas dKovew, Kd-
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followed Cato, now that she was a widow, and had put an end to much of the evil report about her dissolute conduct! by submitting to Cato’s guardianship and sharing his wanderings and his ways of life of her own accord. But Caesar? did not spare abuse of Cato even on the score of his relations with Servilia.

Now, in other ways, as it would seem, Pompey's commanders in Asia had no need of Cato, and therefore, after persuading Rhodes into allegiance, he left Servilia and her child there, and returned to Pompey, who now had a splendid naval and military force assembled. Here, indeed, and most clearly, Pompey was thought to have made his opinion of Cato mani- fest. For he determined to put the command of his fleet into the hands of Cato, and there were no less than five hundred fighting ships, besides Liburnian craft, look-out ships, and open boats in great numbers. But he soon perceived, or was shown by his friends, that the one chief object of Cato's public services was the liberty of his country, and that if he should be made master of so large a force, the very day of Caesar's defeat would find Cato demanding that Pompey also lay down his arms and obey the laws. Pompey therefore changed his mind, although he had already conferred with Cato about the matter, and appointed Bibulus admiral. Notwithstanding, he did not find that in consequence of this the zeal of Cato was blunted; nay, it is even said that when Pompey himself was trying to incite his forces to a battle before Dyrrhachium, and bidding each of the other commanders to say something to inspire the men, the soldiers listened to them sluggishly and in silence;

1 Cf. chapter xxiv. 3.
2 In his '* Anti-Cato." Cf. chapter xi. 4.

tovos oé pera, mavras Goa Katpov elxe TOV ATO
ptrocopias axovew Aeyouévoy wept érevOepias
Kal apeTas Kal Oavarov Kal dofns deh ovros
auton alas, Kat TENEVTOVTA TpEwavtos Tov Aoyov
els Jed avaxdnolv, ws TapovT@y Kai epopevTor
TOY vrep THIS TWATpLOOS aryava, THALKODTOV ana-
Day mov yever Oar Kal TocobTov Kina THS oTpa-
Tuas éerrapOeians aote TavTas EXTLOMY [ET TOUS
emt Tov xivdvvor o opufoat Tous mYEHOVAS. Tpera-
pévery 6é Kal Kpatnoavtay adeireTo THY TavTent
viknv oO Kaicapos Saipwv, Th Topmrniou xpnod-
HEvOS evhafeig Kal amiatia mept TO evTUX NLA.
Tara peev ovv ev Tobs wept Lloumniouv yeypamrrae.
Xatpovtev 5é mdvrwyv Kal peyahuvovT@v 70
epyov O Karo ameddxpve TV Tatpiba, Kal THv
dd€O prov Kal Kaxodaipova pirapxiav adupero,
Toous Kal ayaovs op@v troditas UT" adAAnOV
TETTWKOTAS.
LV. 'Exei dé Katcapa Si@Kwv Topmnios els
Ococanriav avelevyvve TONG KATANT OY TEpt
Avppaxiov Omha Kab Xenwara Kal TopaTa ovy-
yer Kat oixela, mavTov améderEev nyewova Kab
duraxa Tov Katwva mevrexaibera ameipas ExovTa
OT PATLUOT OD bia ior apa Kat poBov TOU av-
5pos. HTTO MEV OD mer yap mavToov elvat BeBato-
TATOV évopstev, et Se vuKgn, IT) émeTpewetv Ta-

povTa xeyoacar Tois Wpdywacw ws TPONPNT al.
TodNol dé xal tov emupavanv avipav ameppibn-
cay éy Avppa i@ peta Kadravos.
Tevopevns O€ THS Kara Papoarov 7} TTS OUTWS
éoTn Tois Aoyto pois 0 Katwv ws, et pev TeOvyjKot
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but that when Cato, after all the other speakers, had rehearsed with genuine emotion all the appropriate sentiments to be drawn from philosophy concerning freedom, virtue, death and fame, and finally passed into an invocation of the gods as eye-witnesses of their struggle in behalf of their country, there was such a shouting and so great a stir among the soldiers thus aroused that all the commanders were full of hope as they hastened to confront the peril. They overcame and routed their enemies, but were robbed of a complete and perfect victory by the good genius of Caesar, which took advantage of Pompey's caution and distrust of his good fortune. These details, how- ever, have been given in the Life of Pompey.! But while all the rest were rejoicing and magnifying their achievement, Cato was weeping for his country, and bewailing the love of power that had brought such misfortune and destruction, as he saw that many brave citizens had fallen by one another's hands.

LV. When Pompey, in pursuit of Caesar, was breaking camp to march into Thessaly, he left behind him at Dyrrhachium a great quantity of arms and stores, and many kindred and friends, and over all these he appointed Cato commander and guardian, with fifteen cohorts of soldiers, because he both trusted and feared him. For in case of defeat, he thought that Cato would be his surest support, but in case of a victory, that he would not, if present, permit him to manage matters as he chose. Many prominent men were also ignored by Pompey and left behind at Dyrrhachium with Cato.
When the defeat at Pharsalus came, Cato resolved that, if Pompey were dead, he would take over to

1 Chapter Ixv. Cf. the Caesar, xxxix.

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Iloprjios, eis "Itadiav tovs avy atT@ Tepaio-
owv, autos S€ woppwratw THs Tupavvidos émi
A /
huyn Biwoopevos: et 5é cwlotto, Tavrws éxeiv@
StaduvrdEwy thy Sivauv. obttw 57 diaBadrov eis

Képxvpav, Strov To vavtixoy hy, éEiotato pév
Kixépwvt THs apyns @S UTaTiK® oTpaTnyLKos,
ov deEapévov b& Kixépwvos, aA atraipovtos es
‘Itariav, idov tov Topmrniov im’ av’Oadeias Kal
, 9 , , 4 ‘\
dpovnpatos axatpov BovANopevoy Kordfev Tous
atroTAEovTas, mpwaT@ Sé pédXrAOVTA TO Keixépwvr
mpoapépe Tas yeipas, évovbéTnoev idia Kal KaTe-
mpduvev, @aote TOV Kixépwva tepicdaat aadas
b] 4 \ A ” ” a
éx Oavdtou Kai Tots adds Adetay Tapacyxeiv.
LVI. Texparpopevos dé Tlopaniov Mdyvov eis
Aiyurrov AtBunv StexrreccicOa. nal orevdov
\ >] aA > , \ 4 a "4 \
Mpos exeivoy avnyOn pev Exwv atrayTas, ewer Oé
a) > J \ \ ec / \ >
mpa@tov amtévat Sidovs Kal vrodcitecOas Tovs ov
4 / e , \
TpoOvpws svoTtpatevopevous. arrapevos Sé At-
, / b 4 / A
Bins nal tapatréwv éevtvyyaver LéET@ TO vew-
/ “a . / > li \ > 3
tép@ trav Iloutrniov traidwy ayyéAXovte THY ém
Alyumrov Tov jTaTpos TeNeUTHV. TWaVvTES pEv OUV
/ A > \ \ Jo > ws
Bapéws fveyxav, ovdets S€ pera Toparniov n&tiou
Kadtwvos mapovtos ovdé dxovery AdXov Hyepova.
N \ , ? 4 N > / wv
S10 kai Kdtwv aidovpevos kal oixteipwv avdpas
3 \ , lj ” b] \ 4
ayabous xal tictews Sedwxotas teipav émt Eévns
épnmous Kal airopous atroNTeiv, UTéaTH TE THY
apxnv kat wapndOev eis Kupnynv: édéEavto yap
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Italy those who were with him, but would himselt live in exile as far as possible from the tyranny of Caesar ; if, on the contrary, Pompey were alive, he would by all means keep his forces intact for him. Accordingly, having crossed over to Corcyra, where the fleet was, he offered to give up the command to Cicero, who was of consular rank, while he himself had been only a praetor. But Cicero would not accept the command, and set out for Italy. Then Cato, seeing that the younger Pompey! was led by his obstinacy and unseasonable pride into a desire to punish all those who were about to sail away, and was going to lay violent hands on Cicero first of all, admonished him in private and calmed him down, thus manifestly saving Cicero from death and pro- curing immunity for the rest.

LVI. Conjecturing, now, that Pompey the Great would make his escape into Egypt or Libya, and being eager to join him, Cato put to sea with all his com- pany and sailed away, after first giving those who had no eagerness for the expedition leave to depart and remain behind. After reaching Libya, and while sailing along its coast, he fell in with Sextus, the younger son of Pompey, who told him of his father's death in Egypt. All, of course, were deeply dis- tressed, but no one, now that Pompey was gone, would even listen to any other commander while Cato was at hand. For this reason also Cato, who had compassion on men who were brave and had given proof of fidelity, and was ashamed to leave them helpless and destitute in a foreign land, under- took the command, and went along the coast to Cyrene, the people of which received him kindly,

1 Gnaeus Pompey, the elder son of Pompey the Great. Cf. chapter lix. 5.

9 a 9, 7 e 4 4 b ,
Exetvov, OALyaLS Népats EuTrpodOEY aTroK\Eicay-
; / b a) 4 /
3 tes AaBinvov. évtav0a truvOavopevos YxnTriwva
\ eh \ e \ oF 7 " 4
tov Iloumniov tev@epov vio 'loBa tov Baciréws
averrAnpOat, cat Ovapov "Artiov, bs hv Uo Tlop-
oh Ul > A ¢€ , 9 \
amniov AtBuns atrodedevypévos Hyeuov, elvat avy
avtois peta Suvdpews, eEwpunoe meth Yetmavos
@pa, ToAXovS pev vous Udwp Kopito v 787
pa, pe § VOWP KomLgovTas auvaya- 7F8i
, A) \ 4 b] / 4 \@ A
yov, ToAAnY Sé Aetay ELavvor, Ett SE Appata Kai
\ / 4 bd / OA 4
Tous KaNoupevous VudXous etayopevos, ol Ta TE
Siypata Tav Onpiwv i@vTat Tots oTdopacw éd-
KovTeS Tov tov, auvTa Te Ta Onpia Katemradovtes
> , \ A" e 4 A fa)
4 apBrvvovet Kail Knrovow. nuépas S€ suvEYas
ETTA THS TWopeias yevouevns MpaTos Hynoaro
pnte inne pyre bTrolvyio ypnodpevos. édeimver
dé KaOnpevos ad hs juépas THY Kata Pdpoarov
HTTaY éyvw* Kal ToUTO TS AOLT@ mpocéOnxe Tév-
Jet, To wn KatakALOnvar wAHY Kabedvdwrv. év dé
AtBvn S:ayaywv rod yepmavos éEnyaye THY oTpa-
Tidy' joav Sé pupiwy orjLyov atrodéovTes.
LVII. Ta d€ wpdypata xaxas elye Tois tepl

Lxntiova kat Ovapoy, éx Stapopas Kal ordcews
wrrodvopévots nat Oeparrevovat tov “loRav, ovn
avextov dvta Baputnte ppovnpatos Kal dyno bia
TAOVTOY Kal Suvamy: bs ye Kdtwve mpatov év-
Tuyyaver pédrwy péecov One Tov éavTov Opovov
2 Tov YKntiwvos kal Tod Katrwvos. o péevtot Katov

1 Now a partisan of Pompey, anda fugitive from Pharsalus. Cf. the Caesar, xxxiv. 2. 2 Cf. Herodotus, iv. 173.

although a few days before they had closed their gates against Labienus.! There he learned that Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, had been well received by Juba the king, and that Attius Varus, who had been appointed governor of Libya by Pompey, was with them at the head of an army. Cato therefore set out thither by land in the winter season, having got together a great number of asses to carry water, and driving along with him many cattle. Besides, he took with him chariots, and the people called Psylli.2 These cure the bites of serpents by sucking out the venom, and charm and deaden the serpents themselves by means of incantations. Though the march lasted for seven days consecutively, Cato led at the head of his force, without using either horse or beast of burden. Moreover, he used to sup ina sitting posture from the day when he learned of the defeat at Pharsalus; yes, this token of sorrow he added to others, and would not lie down except when sleeping. After finishing the winter in Libya, he led forth his army ;3 and it numbered nearly ten thousand.

LVII. But matters were in a bad way with Scipio and Varus. Their dissension and quarrelling led them to pay court to Juba in efforts to win his favour, and the king was unendurable for the severity of his temper and for the arrogance which his wealth and power gave him. When he was going to have an interview with Cato for the first time, he placed his own seat between that of Scipio and that of Cato. Cato, however, when he saw the arrangement, took

* The text of this sentence is uncertain: Sintenis an Bekker assume a lacuna. Libya means here the Koma province of Africa.

e % A N e a 4 9 A 4
ms eldev, Apas Tov éauvTod peTeOnxev eri Oartepa,
, Ul \ , 4 9 ‘
pécov AapBdvev Tov Yentiwva, Kaimep éyOpov
/
évTa Kai tt Kal BiBMov éxdedwxota Bracdnpias
éyov tov Kdrwvos. elta rotro pev eis oddéva
ld
TiPevtat Aoyov, et 5€ DirAdotparoyv év BKedrtta
A ,
pécov elye mepimatav éml tiny idocodgias,
9 a , >] 9 ‘ 97 7 Mv
éyxanovot. Tote & ovv cal tov loBay éravoe
povovovyl catpdtas temomnpéevov éavtod Tovs
Tept Tov {KnTriwva, Kakeivous SunrAdakev. aksovv-
Tov S¢ TavTwY apyew avToY, Kal TPwWTaV TOV
N / ‘ Ww b] N
Tept Yxntiwva Kat Ovapov éfiotapévwv xa
Tapaosoovray THY Hyepoviay, ovK epn KaTadAVoELY
TOUS vOpOUS Tepl OY T@ KaTadVoVTL TOAELOVOLY,
ovdé EavTov avtioTpaTnyov oyra trapovtos avbvu-
,
mwatov twpotatew. avOvTatos yap o Yxntriwv
? , \ , * e \ ”
amredédetxTo, Kal Odpaos elyov ot modXoi bua Tov-
4
voua, KaTopOace apyovtos év AtBin UKnTiwvos.
LVIII. "Evel pévtoe trav apynv o Yknriev
\ b \ > / 7 /
TmaparaBov evOus éBovreto ‘loBa yapifopevos
’ , N > a :
Ituxaiouvs Bndov amoxtetvat Kal KataoKkdwat
‘ , e N la a“ 3 e ,
THY TOALY ws TA Kaicapos dpovotcar, ody treé-
pewvey 0 Kdtwv, adrd paptupopevos Kal Kexpayas
é A PS / \ @ x “ Xv. $2 aN A
vy T@ ouvedpio nal GeoxruvTav pods eEeiAETO THs
@LOTHTOS avT@Y Tovs avOpwrous: Kal TA per
>, A , \ ‘N A / ? A
autav Senbévrwr, Ta Sé TOD Lantiwvos aktobvvTos,
? / / \ / € , ”

avedéEato hpoupyoety THY TOL, WS NTE akovaa
pntre éxodoa Kaicap: mpocyévoito. Kal yap hp
9 tu , 4
eis AtavTa TO Ywpioy wpértpov Kat SrapKés
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up his own seat and moved it over to the other side, thus placing Scipio in the middle, although Scipio was an enemy, and had published a book which contained abuse of Cato. And yet there are those who give Cato no credit for this, although they censure him because, in Sicily, as he was walking about with Philostratus, he placed him in the middle, to show his respect for philosophy. But at the time of which I speak, Cato actually put a check upon Juba, who had all but made Scipio and Varus his satraps, and reconciled the two Romans. And though all thought it meet that he should have the command, especially Scipio and Varus, who resigned and tendered to him.the leadership, he refused to break the laws to support which they were waging war with one who broke them, nor, when a pro-consul was present, would he put himself, who was only a propraetor, above him. For Scipio had been made proconsul, and the greater part of the army were emboldened by his name; they thought that they would be successful if a Scipio had command in Africa.

LVIII. When Scipio, however, after assuming the command, straightway desired to gratify Juba by putting all the people of Utica to death and demol- ishing their city, on the ground that it favoured the cause of Caesar, Cato would not suffer it, but by ad- jurations and loud outcries in the council, and by invoking the gods, with difficulty rescued the people from this cruelty; and partly at the request of the people, and partly at the instance of Scipio, he undertook to watch over the city, that it might not, either willingly or unwillingly, attach itself to Caesar. For the place was in every way advantageous for

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" 4 w \ lal e N a 4
Tois éyovow* éTt dé pGAXov UTO TOD Katwvos
9 , \ A > 4 e Ul
éppwaOn. xabyap citov eaonyayey UTrepBddAXovTa
mwAnGe Kal KatecKevate TA Tey TUpyous eTaLpo-

pevos Kal Tappous oxXupas Kal Yapax@pata po
THs Twokews Baddopevos. “ItuKaiwv dé tovs pév
nBovras év Tois Yapaxopacw érakev oixeiv, Ta
xg 56 > A \ \ es” b lo
StAa tapadovtas avT@, Tos 5é aArXous ev TH
TONEL TUVELYEV, loXUPaS EmLpEdOMEVOS Ln aOL-
KeicOar unde Tadcyew Kaxas dO TOV ‘Popatov.
67rAa 5é ToAAa Kal ypnpata Kal citoy éFérepe
Tots emi oTpatotédou, Kal Grws elye TOU TrOAguOU
\ 4 a A \ of UA
THY TOA Tasuetov. & dé Tloumnip cvveBovrAeve
mpoTepov Kal ToTe Lenriwv, wy paxyecOar Tpos
” \ \ , ? a ,
dvipa Torguotny Kal Sevov, adda TO Ypovm
NphoOat Tacay axunv Tupavyls icyver papat-
vovTt, TOUTwY O LKnTiwv vO avOadeias KaTe-
4 / A 4 / ’ ,
dpovers Kat mote TO Kdtwve derrAtay overdifwv
Eyparpev, eb un povovy avTos ayamd Kxabnpevos év
mode Kal TEeLyveotv, GANA pNde ETEpoUS ea TIPO
L Terxeouy, a pn épous €& pos
Tov Katpov evdapoas xpncGat Tois Aoytopois.
\ aA e
mpos tavta o Kadtwv avréypawev ws Erotpos
> A.» 2A ’ / € , \
éativ ods Hyayev avTos ets AtBunv omditas Kal
imteis traparkaBov eis “Itadiav tmepaobv, Kal
Kaicapa peOiotdvat wal tpémev ar’ éxetyvwv
mpos auTov. ws b€ Kal tovTwy o YxnTiwv KaTe-
yéra, mavu diros hv ayOopevos 6 Kdtov rH
4 a ’ a A
TAPAXWPHTE THS APXHS, @S OTE TH TOAEUO
a \ ,
KANGS TOY ZKNTiwva ypnoomevor, odte, dv Tapa-
/ > / , aA a
NOYHS EVTUXHTN, METPLOV EV TH KpaTeEty TpOS TOUS
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those who held it, and fully capable of defence; and it was still further strengthened by Cato. For he brought in a great abundance of grain, and perfected the walls by building towers and by running formidable trenches and palisades in front of the city. To the men of Utica who were of military age he

assigned the palisades for quarters, and made them give up their arms to him; the rest he kept together in the city, taking great pains that they should not be wronged or suffer harm at the hands of the Romans. Moreover, he sent out great quantities of arms and stores and grain to the Romans in their camp, and, in a word, made the city a store-house for the war. But as for the advice which he had given Pompey before and now gave Scipio, namely, not to give battle to a man who was versed in war and of for- midable ability, but to trust to time, which withers away all the vigour which is the strength of tyranny, —this advice Scipio, out of obstinate self-will, des- pised. And once he wrote to Cato reproaching him with cowardice, seeing that he was not only well content to sit quietly in a walled city himself, but would not even allow others to carry out their plans with boldness as opportunity offered. To this Cato wrote in reply that he was ready to take the legion- aries and the horsemen whom he himself had brought to Libya and cross the sea with them to Italy, thus forcing Caesar to change his plan of campaign, and turning him away from Scipio and Varus against himself. When Scipio mocked at this also, it was very clear that Cato was distressed at having declined the command, being convinced that Scipio would neither conduct the war well, nor, in case he should have unexpected good fortune behave with moder-

6 mroAtTas éoopevov. S10 Kal yvoOpunv elyev 6 Karov,
N \ V4 4 b)
Kal mTpos Tous cuvynders Edeyev, OV ypnoTas pév
bd / ” e “A / > 9 ,
édmidas éyey vrrép Tov ToAguou Sv arreipiay Kat
OpacvTnta TeV Hyepmovwr, et S odv evTYYia TLS
yévotto Kat KxatadvOein Kaicap, ov peveiv év
‘Paun, pevEerOar é thy yareTroTNTa Kal TeKpiaV
Tov YKnriwvos, 75n ToTe Sewas Kat brepndavous
TOLOUJEVOU KATA TOAAQV ATPELAGS.
7 ‘AmwéBn 5€ padXrov 4 Tpocedoxa: Kai cept
e / a , 9 \ ,
éotrépay Babeiay Ke Tis amo aoTpatoTrédou Tpi-
Talos ayyéANwy GTe payns peydAns pos Ode
yevouerns SrépOaptrar tavtdtac. Ta wpdypara
Kal xpatet Kaicap trav otpatorédov, Yxntriwv
5é «al “loBas adv drjiyos éexredpevyacu, % 5é
GAAn Svvayts aTrodAWDE.
LIX. Tovtrwy mpootrecovrwy 1 pev Tods, olov
eixos ev vuKTl Kal TroAéu@, T pos TOLODTOV ayyeApa
pxpov Sety Exppwv yevouévn ports éauTny évtos
Tevyav Katetxyev, 0 6¢ Kdtov mpoeav tore pév,
@s éexaotos amnvtTa Stabéovar Kal Bowouv, éme-
AapBavopevos Kal rrapauvOovpevos adnper tod
déous TO TweplOauBes Kal rapayades, ws ov TN-
4, ” / 9 b “a ?

KovTwY tows yeyovoTwv, GANA éml petloyv aipo-
pévav TO AOYO, Kal KaTéotnoe Tov BopuBov-
uf \ , A a
2 dua 8 iuépa Tovs tpiaxoatous ols éxphro Bourg,
‘*P l4 \ 4 3 Oe A , /
w@patous pev dvras, ev dé ArBin moayuatevope-

ation towards his fellow citizens in the hour of victory. Therefore Cato made up his mind, and said to his intimate friends, that there were no good hopes for the war owing to the inexperience and rashness of the commanders; but that if, then, by any good fortune, Caesar should be overthrown, he himself would not remain in Rome, but would fly from the harshness and cruelty of Scipio, who was even then making extravagant and dreadful threats against many.

But his fears were realized more fully than he ex- pected ; for late one evening there came a messenger from the camp who had been three days on the road, announcing that there had been a great battle at Thapsus, that their cause was utterly ruined, that Caesar was in possession of their camps,! that Scipio and Juba had escaped with a few followers, and that the rest of the force had perished.

LIX. These things coming suddenly upon the city, the people, as was natural at night and in time of war, were almost beside themselves at such tidings, and could with difficulty keep themselves within the walls. But Cato came forth, and for the present, whenever he met people running about and shouting, would lay hold of them one by one, and with en- couraging words would take away the excessive wild- ness and confusion of their fear, saying that perhaps the defeat was not so bad as reported, but had been magnified in the telling, and thus he allayed the tumult ; but as soon as it was day, he issued pro- clamation that the three hundred who made up his senate (they were Romans, and were doing business

1 Scipio had separated from his allies and was encamped apart. Cf. the Caesar, liii.

vous amo éumopias Kat Savero wav, els tepov Atds
exnpUuTTE ouleva, Kal 6 boot raphoay amo ouy-
KAHTOU, Kal tratdas avTav. étt dé oUAAEYOMEDO D
exelvov mpoceNav aboptBas Kal Mera evoTa-
Ocias, Gomep oudevos Kawvoo YeyOvOTOS, BuBrtov

éxov év rais Xepoty dveyivwokev. iv 6& ava-
ypapn TOV Tos. TOV Toe {Lov opydvan, STrov,
citov, tokwv, omduTov.! érrel dé ouvnrdor,
apEdpevos amo TOV TpLaxog tov Kal behav 7r0-
Nov Etratvoy THS mpodupias avuTav Kal THis Tia TeEws,
iv éredetEavto Kal Xpnwace Kal coMaTt Kal
BovXais Ope WOTaT ou rYyevOpmevot, mapexdret pn
SiarvOhvat Tais édtmiow éxacTov avuT@ puyny
iSiav 7 i) amodpaciv Twa moptlopevor. dv yap év
TAUT@ CUPLPEVOOL, KAL TONEMOVYTMY ATTOV KaTA-
gpovnoav Kaicapa, nai deicerOar parrov Se0-
peveov. BovarevecOar & éxéXevev avrous bre
QuTaV, ovdérepa HEprpopevos, GX’ et pev Tpé-
TOWTO TH YVOuN TpOS THY TUXNY, THS avaryKns
Ono dpevos THY peraBorrv- loTapevov 5é mpos Ta
Seva Kat Sexopevov Tov UTrép THS edevOepias
KivOuvov, OvK émauves omevos Hovon, adda Kal
Javpacopevos THY aperqy, Kat mapeEwv éau Tov
dpxovra Kal cuvarywvilopevor, aX pt ov THV éaxd-
Thy TUXNY THs TAT PLOOS eFeheyEwow, iy OUK
"I tdKeny ovee "Adpovpntov ovcap, adda, ‘Pouny,
TONNGKLS EK YadEeTrWTépwV oparparev t UTO pmeryé-
Jous avapéped Ban. TONY &° aUTOLS ELS owTN-
piav nal aoddreav broxepévwv, Kal peryiotov
mpos avopa trodreuetvy et woAAa Tos Katpots
1 $xdtra@v bracketed by Bekker.

in Libya as merchants and money-lenders) should assemble in the temple of Jupiter, as well as all the senators from Rome who were present, with their children. And while they were still coming together, he advanced quietly and with a composed counte- nance, and as if nothing unusual had happened, with a book in his hands from which he was reading. This was a register of his military engines, arms, grain, and men-at-arms. After they had come together, begin- ning with the three hundred and commending at great length their zeal and fidelity, which they had manifested by making themselves most helpful with their means and persons and advice, he exhorted them not to ruin their good prospects by trying to procure for themselves severally some separate flight or escape. For if they should hold together, he said, Caesar would despise them less as foes, and show them more mercy as suppliants. Moreover, he urged them to deliberate upon their future course, declaring that he would have no fault to find with either de- cision which they might make. If they should turn their allegiance to the fortunate side, he would attribute their change to necessity; but if they should face the threatening evil and accept danger in defence of liberty, he would not only praise them, but would admire their valour and make himself their leader and fellow combatant, until they had fully tested the ultimate fortunes of their country; and this country was not Utica, nor Adrumetum, but Rome, and had many times by her greatness re- covered from more grievous disasters. Besides, he said, many things favoured their salvation and secur- ity, and chiefly the fact that

they were waging war against a man who was drawn in many opposing

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avberxopevov, Tnpias TE pos Topmniov ade-
TTWONS TOV véor, auTns TE THS 'Popns ovTrw oe
anQJeav Tavtdtact Sedeyperns TOV xarsvor, Garr'
avakiorabovans Kat ouvelaviaTaperns pos Ta-
oav peta Bory, ovde TOV xivduvov elvat deux téov,
adr exeuv biddoKkarov TOV TONE [Lov apedotyta
Tis Wuxijs em tals peyiorass adixiats, ovx
WoTEp cauTois eis TOV eUTUXETTATOV Biov Kat-
opPovery 7) mraiovot els Tov evKAEéoTATOV
Gdvarov THY adnrornta Tou TONE MOU TeNEUTaY.
ov pny GD' €XELVOUS ye dety épn Bovrever Oar.

Kal éavTous, TUVEVXOMEVOS avri THS «awpoabev
apeTis Kat mpoOuuias avtois ta Sokavta ouve-
veyKetv.
LX. To.adta Tov Karwvos el TTOVTOS, 70 av pep
Oi Kal Tots ovyors aryO evo Tpos TO Oappeiv, ot
dé amdelotoe mpos TO abeés Kal yevvaiov avtov
Kat pir.dv6 pwr ov ddiryou deity exAaGopevor TOV
Ta.povTor, @S {ovo évTa, TOUTOV anTTnTOV Ye
pova Kal TAaoNS KpeiTrova TUXNS, €d€0vTO xen
Oat Kal Topacty aura Kal Xenpace Kat 7r-
Rois, Gmrws avTos EyvwKxe: KpEtTTOV yap éxElv@
mecOomevous aToQavetv 1 awlecbat mpodévras
aperhy TOTAUTHD.
Eimovros 5é TLvOS QS xpn Wndicacbat Sovhous
edevOepiar, Kal TOV TET TOV cwvETraivEed dvTOV,
ovK épn TovTO ToLnoew) Karov: ov yap elvat
YO pt pov ovee Sixacon, QAUT@VY "EVTOL TOV Sea mora
adévTov TOUS ép Wrst déverOau. YEVvOLEVOOV
be TOAN@Y UTOTXETEDY Kedevoas dtroypabecOat
Tov BovAdpevov amnAAdTTETO. Kal peTa puLKpOV
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directions by the exigencies of the times. For Spain had gone over to the younger Pompey, and Rome

herself had not yet altogether accepted the bit to which she was so unaccustomed, but was im- patient of her lot and ready to rise up unitedly at any change in the situation. Nor, he assured them, was danger a thing to be shunned, but they must learn a lesson from their enemy, who spared not his life in perpetrating the greatest wrongs, while in their own case, so different from his, the uncertainties of war would end in a most happy life, if they were successful, or in a most glorious death, if they failed. However, it was for them to deliberate by themselves, he said, and in return for their former bravery and zeal he joined them in praying that what they decided might be for their advantage.

LX. When Cato had thus spoken, there were some whom his words merely restored to confidence, but the majority, in view of his fearlessness, nobility, and generosity, almost forgot their present troubles in the conviction that he alone was an invincible leader and superior to every fortune, and they begged him to use their lives and property and arms as he himself judged best; for it was better to die as his willing followers than to save their lives by betraying such virtue as his. |
And now someone proposed that they should pass a vote giving freedom to the slaves, and the majority approved ; but Cato said he would not do this, since it was not lawful or right ; if, however, the masters ot their own accord gave up their slaves, those slaves who were of military age should be accepted. Many promises to do this were made, and after ordering a list to be made of all who were willing, Cato with-

HKev avT@ ypaupara Tapa "loBa Kal Lantriavos,
'loBa pev év Gpee KEK PUJLLEVOU per' dAiywv épw-
TOVTOS 6 Tt mparrey déd0xtat T@ Kdtove Kal
yap Trepimevety 'Trunny éxAuTrovTa Kal TroALopKou-
pevep pera oTpatlas emtBonOnaev, Lenmiwvos dé
pos axpq Tet vavhoxoivTos ov mroppw THs "ITv-
KNS emt Tois avrois Kapadoxobrtos.
LXI. "Edofev obv TO Karove TOUS Pap paro-
gopous emia xelv, adxpt ob BeBaroon Ta mapa TOV
| T pLaxoa tov. ot pev yap atro Bovrijs hoa 7 po-
Oupot, Kal TOUS oiKéTas ev Us adtevres éXevOépous
amAlovy Tav Sé TpLaKociw?, ate on TOTLKOY
kal SaveraTixay avOparrav Kat TO Tela TOV ev
Tots OLKETALS THS ovolas exovTon, ov TOAVY OL
Kdtwvos oyou Xpovov éupetvavres eFeppunoar:
xabatrep yap TOV ToOMATOY Ta pava dexerar
padios Thv Oeppotnta Kat mad pinot, Tod
mupos array dévros puxovpeva, Tapa Ano ios

ExeLvOUS O peV Kartov Opwpevos dvelwm vpet Kat
Sie Dépparver, avtous dé éavTois Aovyou didovras
0 Kaicapos hoBos éfexpovoe THS ™ pos Kdtova
Kal TO Karov aidods. “ Tives yap, éhacar,
“ OvTeEs, rive TO TpoaTacaopevov Tmovety anaftov-
peD ; ouxt Kaioap bev ovTos els dv » ‘Pwpatov
araca TE plea TNKEV loys ; nav sé Lucy Lov
ovdels ovde Ilopmrnios ovde Kdrov. arre év ols
Katpois TAVTES avOpwrrot TaTELvOTEpa TOV T poo
NKOVT OV bua poBov ppovotow, év TOUTOLS NMELS
UTeppaxobyTes THs “Pwyaiwy édevOepias trode-
poduev é& “Irvens & Kdrtov pera Tlopaniou
Mayvou devywv idetro THs ‘Iradias; Kat dov-
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drew. After a little while there came to him letters from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who was hidden ona mountain with a few men, asked what Cato had de- cided to do; for if he abandoned Utica, Juba would wait for him, and if he underwent a siege, Juba would come to his aid with an army. Scipio, who was stationed with his fleet off a certain headland not far from Utica, awaited Cato’s decision in the same way. | LXI. Accordingly, Cato decided to detain the bearers of the letters until he felt sure of the at- titude of the three hundred. For the Romans of senatorial rank were eager in his cause, and after promptly manumitting their slaves, were arming them; but as for the three hundred, since they were men engaged in navigation and money-lending and had the greater part of their property in slaves, the words of Cato did not long abide in their minds, but lapsed away. For just as porous bodies readily re- ceive heat and as readily yield it up again and grow cold when the fire is removed, in like manner these men, when they saw Cato, were filled with warmth and kindled into flame ; but when they came to think matters over by themselves, their fear of Caesar drove away their regard for Cato and for honour. ‘“ Who, pray, are we,” they said, “and who is he whose commands we are refusing to obey? Is he not Caesar, upon whom the whole power of Rome has devolved ? And not one of us is a Scipio, or a Pompey, or a Cato. But at a time when all men are led by fear to think more humbly than they ought to think, at sucha time shall we fight in defence of the liberty of Rome, and wage war in Utica against a man before whom Cato, with Pompey the Great, fled and gave up Italy? And

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a
a / > io
Nous eAevOepodpev xata Kaicapos, ols avrois
A 6) >]

éXevOepias, daov av éxeivos OérAn, méTETTLV ; ANN
x w“ lA
Ere vov, @ poxOnpol, yvovTes EavTo’s TapalTo-
le) A -
pea Tov Kpatodvta kal wéprypwopev tors den-
oOjevous.
” e , “A : pea 4
Taira of peTpidTaToL THY TpLaKociwy Tapn-
e a a) “A
your: ot 6€ TWAElaoTOL TOs GUYKANTLKOIS E7rE-
4 e bd / 4 e t
BovxXevorv, ws, EL ToVTOUVS TVANaBoLEV, LNaATOpMEVOL
THY Tpos avToUs opynv Tod Kaicapos.
LXII. ‘O 6€ Karawv trovodyv tiv petaBorAnv
OUK HAEYYE, TH pevTo. Vantiwv. cal t@ “loBa
Ul 7 YX, : / ? B on 4 > ? ee
ypawras améyecGar ths ‘ItTUKns amiotia TOV
Tptaxooiwy éEérepre TOUS ypaupatopopouvs. TaY
5é immévv ot Ssaghuyovtes ard THs wayns, api wos
ovuK evKatadppovntos, mpoceddoartes TH ‘ItvKY
méumovat pos Tov Kdtwva tpeis avdpas ov thy
QUTHY Youn amo TavTwY ExoVTAaS. ob Mev yap
anvévat mpos “loBav, ot dé T@ Kdtwvt tpocyo-
petv @punvto, Tovs dé Kai déos elyev ets “ItuKnv
Taptévat. tavta o Kadtwy axovoas Tots peév
, > / , Ul € ,
Tplakootows €KéXevoe Trpocexyey Mapxov “Pov- 790
Bptov, atpéua tas atroypadas Tov éXevOepovvTav
,
Sexouevoyv Kat m1 mpooBialopevov, avtos Sé Tovs
ouykAntixous avaraBav mponrev Ew ths “Itv-
Kns, Kal Tols immdpyois évétruxe Seopevos fi
/ e 4 ” b) N A ,
apoécbar ‘Pwpaiwy avdpas amo BovAjs Ttocov-
\ 3 ‘ e , N > \ 4
tous unde loBav éXéc8at otpatnyov avti Kata-
> N 4 fo) N 4 /
vos, dAAa owlerbat Kown Kat owlev, TapedOov-
Tas els TOALY OUTE KATA KpaTOS arAwWoLpoV Ets
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shall we give our slaves freedom in opposition to
Caesar, we who ourselves have only as much

freedom as he may wish to give us? Nay, before
it is too late, poor wretches, let us know our-
selves, crave the conqueror's grace, and send men
to entreat him."
This was the course which the more moderate of the three hundred advised ; but, the majority of them were laying a plot against the men of senatorial rank, in the hope that by seizing these they might mitigate Caesar's wrath against themselves.

LXII. Cato suspected their change of heart, but would not tax them with it. However, he wrote to Scipio and Juba advising them to keep away from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be trusted, and sent away the letter-bearers. And now the horsemen who had escaped from the battle, in numbers quite considerable, rode up to Utica and sent three of their number to Cato. These men, how- ever, did not bring the same proposition from the whole body. For one party among them was bent on going off to Juba, another wanted to join Cato, while a third was prevented by fear from entering Utica. Onhearing their views, Cato ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the three hundred ; he was to accept quietly the lists of those who gave freedom to their slaves, and was to use no compulsion. But Cato himself took the men of senatorial rank and went forth outside of Utica. Here he conferred with the leaders of the horsemen, entreating them not to abandon so great a number of Roman senators, and not to choose Juba as their commander instead of Cato, but to save others as well as save themselves by coming into a city which could not be taken by storm,

eTn TE TapToNa aitov Kat THY aXAnv Tapa-
oKEUnV éxougay. TadTa bé Kal TOV TUYKANTLKOY
deomevav Kal Saxpvovrov oi pev larmrapxoe Suede-
yovtTo Tos inmevat, o 6€ Katov éri Xo paros
TIVOS Kabicas METAR TOV GUYKANTLKOVY avéepErveE
TAS arroxpic ets.
LXIII. "Ev dé rovr@ maphy o "PovBptos ou
opyn KATHYOPAY TOV TplaKooiov dxog piay TOX-
Anv Kal BopuBor, WS aia rapeveov Kat dvata-
parrovTay THv TOL. eg' ols ot ev GdGe
TavraTacw aTroyVvorTEs EAUTOV eis baxpva Kal
aduppous éferecor, 0 e Karo éxeivous te Oap-
ouvey errerparo Kal 7 pos TOUS TpLaKog tous Emenev
avapeivat Kedeveor. ot 6€ amo TOV immévwy HKOV
ov méTpLa TpooTarTovTes' épacay yap ovre "loBa
Seta Bat praGodoroivros ovTE Kaicapa poBeic bart
Katovos avtév apxortos, Itucatous d¢, Pointe
avOpwr ous evperaBonors, ouyxabeipyvuc bat Set-
vov elvau: Kal yap é viv atpepovdow, STav
Kaiocap émin, ocvverrtOnoecOat xat mpodacerv.

elmep ovv Seitat TLs aUT@Y TULTONELOVYTMOV Kal
cuutapovrav, éxBarwv atavtas “ItyKxaiouvs 7
S:apGeipas, ottws eis Tod Kabapay TOhepov
Kat BapBdpov Kaneito. TavTa o Karey arypta
pev devas nryetto cal BapBapa, Tpaas 5é drre-
xpivaro Bovrevoec Oat pera, TOY Tptaxocion.
Kat mapenfav aibes eis THY TWOALY éveToryxave
Tois avdpdow ouKére oKinpers ode Tapayaryas
TAT TOUEVOLS Om’ aidods Tos autov, avtikpus 5é
Yareraivovory et tes avtovs Bialorro Tone perv
Kaioape un dvvapévous undé Bovropévous. eveot
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and had grain-and other requisite provision for very
many years. In these entreaties the senators also
joined, and with tears ; whereupon the leaders of the
horsemen discussed the matter with the horsemen,
while Cato sat down on a mound with the senators
_ and awaited the answers.

LXIIL. At this juncture Rubrius came up, wrathfully denouncing the three hundred for great disorder and tumult, inasmuch as they were falling away and throwing the city into confusion. Thereupon the other Romans altogether despaired of their case and burst into tears and lamentations; but Cato tried to encourage them, and sent to the three hundred bidding them await his coming. And now the spokesmen of the horsemen came with immoderate demands. They said they neither wanted Juba for a_pay- master, nor feared Caesar if Cato were their leader, but that to be shut up with the people of Utica, a fickle Phoenician folk, was a fearful thing; for even though they were quiet now, whenever Caesar came up against them they would play the traitor and aid him in his attacks. If, therefore, any one wanted their aid in war and their presence, he must first drive out or destroy all the people of Utica, and then invite the horsemen into a city that was free from Barbarians and enemies. This proposal Cato regarded as ex- cessively barbarous and cruel, but he returned a mild answer, saying that he would advise with the three hundred.

So he went back into the city, where he found the men no longer manufacturing pretexts or evasions out of regard for him, but downright angry that any one should try to force them to war with Caesar when they were neither able nor willing. And some of

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dé cal TrapepBeyyovto Tept TOV TVYKANTLKDY, @S
xabextéov év Th wonet Kaicapos 1 pod LovTos.
andra TOUTO pev! ws obK axovoas 0 Katov map-
AKe Kal yap. ay UToKxwporepos® OS 5é TUS avT@

mpoceNOaov arrnyyerre TOUS Lev irarets amvevat,
hoBnOeis un Tavratacw ot TpLaxdctot Kara, TOV
TUYKANTUROY drrovonOeatv, éBadile pera tov
pidov efavacras: Kal Jearduevos non T™ poKexa-
pnkoras i irmrov AaBov édiwKe pds avrous. ot 6é
iOovTes aopevot Tpogehavvovra. | Kat ebéfavro Kal
mapexddovy owvecOar per' auTav. Tote Kal oa-
Kpioas Tov Karova hac t vmép TOV TUYKANTLKOY
Seopevov Kal TpoTeivovTa Tas xeipas, éviav 6é Kat
TOUS birtrous dvaatpépovTa Kat TOV Orrhov avtt-
AapBavopevov, EX pt ov KaTepydaaro THY yoov
nuépav éxetyny em tpelvavTas aagary toils av-
Space puyny Tapacxeiv.
LXIV. Os ovv EXOV avTOUS aixero wat TOUS
pev ert tas mvAas KaTéaTyGE, Tots be THY axpav
ated mapédwxer, éSevmav ot TpLaKoatot Tr)
veny Sact THS petaBorijs- Kal Tpos Tov Kdtova

TEUTOVTES édéovTo mdvtas adixéodar 7 pos au-
Tous. ob b€ auyKAnTLKOL meptxvbevres OUK Elwv,
ovoé épacay mponcea Bar TOV wndewova Kal oo-
Tijpa Tots amictou Kal Tposorass. capeartarn
yap, @S EouKev, aiaOnots TOTE Tapéorn Kat m 000s
Kat Oaijpa. Tis ToD Kateavos aperiis Tact Opa
AOS Tos ev TH "ItvKy ryevouevors, @s ovdéy apa
KiBdnrov | obdé amatnhov €"eu"tKTO TOs TpatTo-
pévors UT' avTov.
mene 5é avOpwrros éavtov éyvaxwas avereiv

1 nev bracketed by Coraés and Bekker.

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them actually muttered that the men of senatorial rank ought to be detained in the city while Caesar was approaching. But this Cato let pass, as though he had not heard it (and indeed he was somewhat deaf) ; when, however, men came to him with tidings that the horsemen were going away, he was afraid that the three hundred might become altogether desperate in their hostility to the senators, and there- fore rose up and set out on foot with his friends ; and when he perceived that the horsemen had already gone on, he took a horse and hastened after them. The horsemen were glad when they saw him riding up, and greeted him, and exhorted him to save him- self with them. Then, it is said, Cato actually burst 'into tears as he begged with outstretched hands in behalf of the senators, even trying to turn back the horses of some of the horsemen and laying hold of their arms, until he prevailed upon them to remain there that day at least, and to make the flight of the senators safe.

LXIV. Accordingly, when he came to the city with them, stationed some of them at the gates, and committed the citadel to others to guard, the three hundred were afraid they might be punished for their change of allegiance, and sending to Cato they begged him by all means to come to them. But the senators crowded about him and would not let him go, de- claring that they would not give up their saviour and guardian to treacherous and faithless men. For by that time all the inhabitants of Utica alike most clearly perceived and fondly admired the virtuous qualities of Cato, convinced that nothing deceitful-or spurious entered into what he did.

But for a long time the man had determined to

detvous movous em over Kal ppovTioas Kat adivas
elev vrép dAAwY, OTS els aapanres KATAOTHOAS
dmavras amarrd£arto Tov chy. ov yap iy adn-
Ros 7) Wpos TOV Odvarov avTou popd, Kaimep ov

pda Kovtos. barijKovaev OUY TOTE TOES Tplaxoatols
TrapapvOno dpevos TOUS TUYKANTLKOUS® Kab paves
KE TTPOS avTovs Xap Eve opohoyodvras Kat
Seopevous Ta pev ara pio Gas Kal TLOTEVELY, Eb
dé Katwves ovK eloly ov é TO Katwvos Ppovnpa
Xwpovory, olKn TEL pel THY aa Géverav aura: eyveo-
KOTES 5 ov Kaicapos Seta bau Kal TEMTELY TOS
auTov, Umrép exelvou padtoTa Kab TPMTOV TOLnoe-
Oat dénow* é b¢ pn metOouev, ovd avrois 6160-
peevnv béfeo Oar THY xapw, GX' aypt av éurrvéwot
TOAEMNTELY UTEP éxeivou.
IIpés tadra o Karov emarveras THY edvoray
Epn Xphvar THS aut av cwTnpias &veka Téurewv
Kata TAX OS, brép autou 6é€ uN deta Par: KeKpatn-
pevov yap elvat denow Kat adiKovvToV Tapat-
THOW" avr os b¢ ov povoy aNTTNTOS yeyovevar
Tapa Tava TOV Biov, GANA Kat vinay éf' Gcov
éBovreTo Kal Kpa.teiv Kaicapos Tos KAAOIS Kat
Sixators® éxeivov & elvat Tov éahwxora. Kai vevi-
Knuévov' & yap jpveiro 7 parTwv KaTa THS Ta-
Tpioos TaXat, viv ebnréyxIac Kat mepwpaa bat.
LXV. Totairta diarex Geis TOUS Tplaxog tots
amrnAdatreTo® Kat mud opevos Kaioapa Twacav

dryovta THY orpaTiay on Kad odov elvat, * Tla-
mal, elev, ‘ ‘as én’ avdpas as éxetvos.” «al
TPATTopEVvos Tpos TOUS TUYKANTLKOUS éxéXeve 7)
pérrELY, GAN Ews Trapapévovoty of immets owte-
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destroy himself, and he was undergoing dreadful toils and suffering anxiety and pain in behalf of others, that he might put them all in the way of safety be- fore he took his leave of life. Indeed, there was no secret about his resolution to die, although he said nothing about it. Accordingly, after comforting the senators, he obeyed the call of the three hundred. He came alone to them, and they thanked him, and _ begged him in all other ways to trust and make use of them, but if they were not Catos and could not carry the large thoughts of Cato, to have pity on their weakness; and now that they had determined to send to Caesar and pray for his mercy, for Cato first of all they would make their prayers; and if they could not prevail with Caesar, they would not accept the grace which he might offer to them, but

as long as they had breath would fight for Cato.

In reply to this, atter praising their good will, Cato said that to secure their own safety they ought to send to Caesar with all speed, but they must make no prayer for him; prayer belonged to the conquered, and the craving of grace to those who had done wrong; but for his part he had not only been unvan- quished all his life, but was actually a victor now as far as he chose to be, and a conqueror of Caesar in all. that was honourable and just ; Caesar was the one who was vanquished and taken ; for the hostile acts against his country which he had long denied, were now detected and proven.

LXV. After this discourse to the three hundred, he withdrew ; and on learning that Caesar with all his army was already on the march, “Aha!” he said, “he thinks we are men!’’ Then turning to the senators he bade them not delay, but save themselves

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES |

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Oat. Kal Tas pev adXas am éxeuoe Ovpas, pod
dé TH 7 pos Odrvacoav depovan’ Ta Te TOA Tois
vg’ éauTov Sréverpe kat Tafews mre eA ELTO, Tavov
Tas adixias kai diadvwv Tovs DoptBous, kal TOUS
aropas éXovras epodialonv. éret 56€ Madpxos
"‘OxrdBuos a ayov duo Taypara TANaiov KATEOT pO
ToTredeuce at Te TTOV nEtou TOV Kdtova Tepe

apis Svopicacbar 7 POs avrov, exelvp bev ov0év
amex pivato, T pos b€ TOUS pidous elev “ Kiva
Javpuafopev draws dm ohwre Ta mpayyara, THY
dirapyiay opavres mpiy év avT@ T@ OrCOp
BeBnroat jrapapévovaay;”
"Ey tovr@ 6 TOUS vameis dKxovaas amvovTas
78n hépew Kal dyev Ta TOV ‘Irvcatwv Oamep
Aagupa, Sponm guvéererve Tpos autos Kal Tois
TPWTOLS EVTU av adypeito, Tov dé dAXNwv Exa-
TOS épbave pimrov Kal KaTarbeuevos, TAVTES
b¢ tr aloyuvns LOTT Kat KATO Brérovtes
amnecav. o bé Karov ets THY TON TOUS ‘Ttv- 7
Katovs cuvayayov éseito Tept THY TpLaKocion,
Th) rapofivar Kaicapa war avTav, adda Kal
Koln THY owTNpiay _mparretv GNF OLS. eira,
modu T PATTOpLEVOS ™ pos THY Oadnratrav é emeaKOTEL
TOUS euPaivovras, Kal TOV pirov Kal Eeveov 6 cous
emretoev notmatero Kal T pourreprre. TOV dé -viov
OUK €7rELoeE NaBetv Toiov, ovde ETO dSety amor pé-
TEL TEplex opEevor Tob Tat os. Ww 5é TUS 2Ta-
TUAALOS, aVNP TH ev HAtKLa véos, iayupos bé TH
1 pepovon after this word one Paris MS. (C) has éxpijiro
wpos EEodov (he used as an exit). Bekker adopts what other
editors regard as a gloss, adding also cai; Sintenis? assumes
a lacuna.

while the horsemen were still there. He also closed the other gates of the city, and stationing himself at the one leading to the sea, he assigned transports to those under his command, and tried to keep things in order, stopping deeds of wrong, quelling tumults, and supplying stores to those who were destitute. And when Marcus Octavius with two legions encamped near by and sent to Cato demanding that he come to terms with him about the command in the province, Cato would make no reply to him, but said to his friends: “Can we then wonder that our cause is lost, when we see that the love of command abides with us though we are standing on the brink of destruction ?”’

At this juncture, hearing that the horsemen, as they went away, were already plundering the people of Utica as though their property was booty, he ran to them as fast as he could; from ‘the first whom he met

he took away their plunder, but the rest, every man of them, made haste to lay down or throw away what they had, and all felt so ashamed that they went off in silence and with downcast looks. Then Cato, after calling the people of Utica together into the city, begged them not to embitter Caesar against the three hundred, but to unite with one another in securing safety for all. Next, he betook himself again to the sea and superintended the embarcation there, embracing and escorting on their way all the friends and acquaint- ances whom he could persuade to go. His son, how- ever, he could not persuade to take ship, nor did he think it his duty to try to turn the young man from his purpose of clinging to his father. But there was one Statyllius, a man who was young in years, but minded

yvoun Bouvdopevos civar cat tov Katwvos atropi-
5 petoOar tHhv amdQeav. tovtov nkiov wei
Kai yap hv Katadhavns picoxaicap: ws dé ovK
nOerev, "AtrorAdwvidn Te LUrwik@e Kai Anpn-
, a "A e ,
tpim te Ilepererarntin@ mpocBréas o Kdrtov,
"Tuétepov, eltev, "épyov oidodvTa TovTov
pardkat Kal Katapticat mpos TO cupdépov."
avros Sé€ Tous NouTrods cuvexTeuTroY Kal ypnpa-
titwrv tots Seopévors thy Te vinta SuétpiBe Trepi
tadTa Kal THs emriovons Huépas TO TrEloTOY
Epos.
LXVI. 'Emet d€ Aevxios Kaicap, otxetos pév
ay Kaicapos éxeivov, péddwv 6 mpea Reve vrrép
TOY Tptaxociwy, Tapexddet Tov Kdtwva doyov
auT@ avvuTrobécOar TiOavov @ XpHoEeTat wept
exeivwv, "umép cov pév yap avTov Kai yetpav
€uol Kadov arpacOat Kxat yovace mpoomeceiv
Kaicapos," ov« efa tabta trovety 0 Kadtwv avtov. 792
2 "'Kuot yap," elev, "ei cwleo8ar yapite Kai-
aapos éBovArcuny, ait@ Badsoréov Av impos éxet-
vov sovov. ov BovArAopar S€ T® TUpavYm YapLY
éxew omép av Tapavopei. Tapavopel dé cwtov
OS KUpLOS OY AUTO Searoter oudey mT poatixev.
61rwsS pévTOL TapaLTnoN TOvS TPLaKoGiovs KOLA
3 oxoma@pev, ef BovrAE." yevopuevos Sé pos TOUT@
pera ToD Aevxiou Tov viov auT@ cuvérTyce Kat
Tous éTaipous dmiovtTt: Kal mpoTéuas éxeivov
cal deEwwodpevos eravijdOev oixade, Kai Tov viov
Kal tovs dhirous cuvayayov addda TE TOANA OLe-
AEYOn Kal TorLTELas atrelrrev GrpacBat TH pelpa-
cio: To pev yap akiws Kdtwvos odxéte TA tpd-

-

to be strong in purpose and to imitate Cato’s calmness. This man Cato insisted should take ship; for he was a notorious hater of Caesar. But when Statyllius would not consent, Cato turned his eyes upon Apollon- ides the Stoic and Demetrius the Peripatetic, saying : “It is your task to reduce this man’s swollen pride and restore him to conformity with his best interests.”’ He himself, however, continued to assist the rest in getting off, and to supply the needy with ways and means, and was thus engaged all through the night and the greater part of the following day.

LXVI. Lucius Caesar, a kinsman of the great Caesar, was about to go on an embassy to him in behalf of the three hundred, and requested Cato to suggest to him a convincing speech which he might employ in the case ; “ for,” said he, .“ in thine own behalf it were well for me to fall down at Caesar's knees and clasp his hands.” But Cato would not suffer him to do this. “ For if,” said he, “I were willing to be saved by grace of Caesar, I ought to go to him in person and see him alone ; but 1 am unwilling to be under obligations to the tyrant for his illegal acts. And he acts illegally in saving, as if their master, those over whom he has no right at all to be the lord. However, if it is thy wish, let us consider jointly how thou mayest obtain mercy for the three hundred.”’ After his conference with Lucius on this matter, he presented his son and his companions to him as he was going away ; and after escorting him on his way and bidding him farewell, he came back home, called together his son and his friends, and discoursed with them on many subjects. In particular, he forbade the young man to engage in political matters ; for to do so worthily of a Cato was no longer possible, as

yara befac0an, TO be GANS aiox pov éivar. Kat
Tept éomrépay Hn Tpémerat mpos TO Badavetov.
Ev 5é TO Aover Oat TOV YratvArov pna Geis
Kal peya $eryEdpevos, - "BEéreupas,” elev, “@
‘AroA@vidn, TOV 2 TaTUANOV aro TOU ppovn-
patos éxelvou cabehav; kal TET ANEUKEV 0 avnp
pyndé aomacapevos NAS 5 ” «Tlo0ev;” eimev o
“Atrohrwvidys: “ Kaitou TOAAG SuehExOnpev adAG
dynos éoTt Kal aT peTTOS, Kab péveuv gnot Kat
mparrew & Te ay ov mparrys. - _T pos TavTa pace
TOV Kdrova pediacat kal eirety: “”’AXXA TOTO
bev avtixa pavetrat.”
LXVIT. Aovo dpevos bé pera modnav edeirrver
xaOnpevos, do mep el@Oer peta THY payne: ou
yap KaTexMan may xabevdorv ouvedeimvouy dé

TaVTES oi éraipot Kal TOV Truxaiwv ot apXovres.
Kal pera To Setmrvov o TOTOS eoxe povoav TONY
Kat Xapw, adov én adXows Loyov piroc opar
KUKNOUYTOD, aypt ov mepiirbev a) _Snrnots Ets
Taira 8) Ta mapdsoka Kadovpeva TOV Yrwixor,
TO Hovov elvat TOV ayabov édevepor, Sovdous de
TOUS pavrous avavras. évrad0a 5%, as eiKos,
avttBavtos Tob Ileperrarntixod, opodpos éusreca@y
o Kdrov Kal TOVOY mpoaGels Kal TpaXUTnTa
hovns arrérewe Toppwtata TOV ROYor, ary Ove
Gavpacte XPNT apevos, woTe pndoeva AaOeiv Ste
Te Bip TEpas éyvoxev émiOeis atradratrec Oat
TOV TapovTov. 510 Kal pera TOV AOYOY TLwIT IS
Kal xatnpeias ryevomerns év waow, avarapuBdvov
avTovs Kal am dycov THS wmowias O Kare addus
umTép Tov Tapovrwy évéBarrAEy epwrypata Kat
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things were going, and to do so otherwise would be disgraceful. And presently, towards evening, he betook himself to the bath.

But while he was bathing he bethought himself of Statyllius, and called out in loud tones, saying: “ Apollonides, didst thou send off Statyllius? And didst thou bring him down from that lofty purpose of his? And has the man set sail without even bidding me good-bye?” <“ By no means,” said Apollonides ; : ‘although we reasoned much with him; but he is lofty and unbending, and says he will remain and do what- ever thou doest.” At this, we are told, Cato smiled, and said : ‘“‘ Well, we shall see about that presently.”

LXVII. After his bath, he took supper with a large company, sitting at table, as was his wont after Pharsalus ; indeed, he lay down only when he slept ;} and there were at supper with him all his companions, and the magistrates of Utica. After supper, there was much literary and genial discourse over the wine, and one philosophical tenet after another made the rounds, until there came up the enquiry into what were called the “ paradoxes’ of the Stoics, namely, that the good man alone is free, and that the bad are all slaves. Here, as was to be expected, the Peripatetic made objections, whereupon Cato broke in with vehemence, and in loud and harsh tones maintained his argument at greatest length and with astonishing earnestness, so that everyone perceived that he had made up his mind to put an end to his life and free himself from his present troubles. Therefore, as all were dejected and silent after his discourse, Cato tried to revive their spirits and remove their suspicions by once more putting questions and expressing anxiety about what was going on, implying that he feared for those

1 Cf. chapter lvi. 4. | 399

, e \ \ e \ ~ ,
dpovridas, ws Sedios wey vrép Tav TrEovTWD,
“ e .
dediw@s S€ brép TOV odevdvTwY eEpnuiav dvudpov
kat BapBapov.
LXVIII. Odtw 5€ dtadrvoas ro cvvderTrvor,
Kal wepimatnoas peta TaV hirtwv Tov cuvynOn
peta TO Seimrvoy Tepitratov, Kai Tois dpyovet TOV
guraxwv & Katpos hv mpootdtas, amiwy eis TO
Swudtioy dn, Tov te traida Kal Tov dirov
ExaoTov. uadXov 7 TpoTEepoy eiwber Tpocayayo-
pevos Kal drrodppovnbets, Tard Urowiay Tapéoye
Tov péAXovTos. elaeNOwyv S€ nal KataxdyOeis
9 A A , , ‘
éxaBev eis yetpas tov IINdtwvos dtadoywy Tov
N a“ \ \ “A , A nn
mepi wuyns Kat dueNOwv tod BuBALov To 7EtoTOV
\ 3 / e A “A e 3 9 4
kai avaBréWas v7rép Keparrs, ws ovK elde KpEeud-
e a A
pevov TO Ethos (udypyto yap o mais éte Seurrvovv-
ToS avTov), Kadéoas olKeTny HpwTnoEy BaTIS
AdBot TO éyyetpisiov. aiwma@vtos Sé éxetvou
aA ld
Tad WY Tpos TO BiBAio Kal pixpov SiarLTrev,
4 9 / > \ > , 4 N
@oTEep ov amrevdwy ovedé érretyopevos, GANws 5é
70 Eidos emifnrav, éxérevce kopioa. SearpiBys
dé yivouevns kai pndevos xopifovros, éEavayvous
N\ , a > / > o A bd A
To BiBAtov av&is éxdrer xa’ va Toev olKEeTaV
\ A > # \ \ \ ’ > a
Kab wadXov EeveTerve THY Pwvnv To Evhos aTraitwv:
évos 6€ nal mvE 7d otTopa Tratdéas juake THV
av’Tov Yelipa, xXadeTTaivwy Kai Boov dn péya
TapadidocBat TO TrOAEHLIO YyUmVOS UO TOD TraLdos
fo) la) “A e e
avTod Kal TOV OiKET@Y, AYpL OV KNaLwWY O Vids
aA 4
cic edpape peta TOY didwv Kal TeptTET@Y WOUPETO
€
kat Kabixérevev. o S¢ Katworv é€avactas évé-
” \
Brewé te Secvov cai “lore, elmrev, “éy@ xal

mov AéANOa trapavoias HAwKOS, STL SiddoKE pev
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who were going away by sea, and feared, too, for those
whose path lay through a barbarous and waterless
desert.
LXVIII. Thus the supper came to an end, and after walking about with his friends as he usually did after supper, he gave the officers of the watch the proper orders, and then retired to his chamber, but not until he had embraced his son and each of his friends with more than his wonted kindness, and thus awakened anew their suspicions of what was to come. After entering his chamber and lying down, he took up Plato's dialogue "On the Soul,' ! and when he had gone through the greater part of the treatise, he looked up above his head, and not seeing his sword hanging there (for his son had taken it away while Cato was still at supper), called a servant and asked him who had taken the weapon. The servant made no answer, and Cato returned to his book ; and a little while after, as if in no haste or hurry, but merely looking for his sword, he bade the servant fetch it. But as there was some delay, and no one brought the weapon, he finished reading his book, and this time called his servants one by one and in louder tones demanded his sword. One of them he smote on the mouth with his fist, and bruised his own hand, angrily crying now in loud tones that his son and his servants were betraying him into the _ hands of the enemy without arms. At last his son ran in weeping, together with his friends, and after em- bracing him, betook himself to lamentations and entreaties. But Cato, rising to his feet, took on a solemn look, and said : "When and where, without my knowledge, have I been adjudged a madman, that no

1 The Phaedo.

40%
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ovdeis ovdé peraTreiOer rept wv S0K@ kaxas BeBou-
NevoOar, KwAVOpaL 5é ypHaOaL Tots éuavtov
Roya pois Kal Tapomhilopat; ti & ovyt cat
ouvocis, @ yevvaie, Tov watépa Kal Tas Yelpas
doar pépets, bey pe av éN wv Kaicap eUpy me
5 pndé apuvac bar uvdwevov; ov yap én éuavrov
ye Séopar Eigous, brrov wal TO mvev pa Bpaxov
\povov ema XOvTA Kal THY Keparny ama Tata-
Eavra mpos Tov ToiYyov amoGaveiv € ever Tt.
LXIX, Taira NEVOVTOS avtoo TO pev peipdxtov
éEnrOe pera, Kravd pov kal amdvtes ot Aovrroi: TQ
dé Anuntpio Kat T@ 'Atrod\Awvidy povots UTro-
AerPGeiar 7 PZOTEPOV non har, "°H arov- «al

vpiv, ’ €67, s béboxrat Bia Karexew dvSpa Tocov-
Tov nrKias éy 7® Bio Kal xanpevous avrTou
oLwT Tapapuhaa cet, 7 a} hovyov ieee Kopitovres |
@S OU Seuvov ovee aiaxpov cot amopobvTa
corn pias _STépas Kdtova THY amo TOU Tmoheuiou
2 TEpLpevery; TL ovv ov heryere meiBovres npas
TAaUTAa Kat peradiddaxovtes, iva Tas 7 poTepas
Sofas éxetvas kal | doyous, ols oupBeBroxaper,
éx Badovres kal Yevomevor dua Kaicapa TopwreEpot
peilova Xapuw etd @pev AUTOS xaitot BeBovrAcupat
pev ovden & eyorye Trepl euautod: dei € pe Bovrev-
3 odpevov elvat KUptov ols & éyvoxa xpHaOat. Bov-
Nevropas dé TpoTrov Tia ped LOY, Bovdevopevos
peta TaOV AOYywV ols kat vets prrocopovvtes
xpija Ge. Sappodytes oby admire, Kat KEAEVETE TOV
viov & wn Suvatat Tov maTépa meiOew pn Bid-
CecOat.”
LXX. IIpés TavtTa pnOéev avrevtrovrTes ot trept
tov Anpuntptov, adda daxpvoavtes vmeEnnOov.
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one instructs or tries to convert me in matters wherein
I am thought to have made bad decisions, but I am
prevented from using my own judgement, and have
my arms taken from me? Why, generous boy, dost
thou not also tie thy father’s hands behind his back,
that Caesar may find me unable to defend myself
when he comes? Surely, to kill myself I have no
need of asword, when I have only to hold my breath
a little while, or dash my head against the wall, and
death will come.”’

LXIX. As Cato said these words the young man went out sobbing, and all the rest also, except Demetrius and Apollonides. These alone remained, and _ with these Cato began to talk, now in gentler tones. ‘<I suppose,” said he, “that ye also have decided to detain in life by force a man as old as I am, and to sit by him in silence and keep watch of him: or are ye come with the plea that it is neither shameful nor dreadful for Cato, when he has no other way of salva- tion, to await salvation’ at the hands of his enemy? Why, then, do ye not speak persuasively and con- vert me to this doctrine, that we may cast away those good old opinions and arguments which have been part of our very lives, be made wiser through Caesar's efforts, and therefore be more grateful to hime And yet I, certainly, have come to no resolve about myself ; but when I have come to a resolve, I must be master of the course which I decide to take. And I shall come to a resolve with your aid, as I might say, since I shal] reach it with the aid of those doctrines which ye also adopt as philosophers. So go away with a good courage, and bid my son not to try force with his father when he cannot persuade him.”

LXX. Without making any reply to this, but burst- ing into tears, Demetrius and Apollonides slowly

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elo We UTETAL bé bua mratdiou putxpov 70 chara
Kal raBeov €amdaato Kat KATEVONTED. dé
eloev € éoTara TOV abépa Kat Thy away alien:
cay, eltrav, “ Nov é €[05 elt, TO pep Eidos EOnxe,
To 6€ BiBAXlov avOis aveyivwoxe, Kal NéyeTat dis
Ghov bieFer Geir. celta xoupnbels Umvov Badin,
@ote Tous éxtos aicbécOan, rept péras vUKTAS
éxaret TOV amedev0épov — KrcavOnv Tov itaTpoy
Kat Bovray, @ padiota T pos Tas TOMTLKAS
mpagers eXprTo. Kat TovUTOY Bev emt Oddatrav
erreprpen, dws oKeyauevos el TAVTES any pevoe
TuyXavovat, ppacot ™ pos avtov: T@ 5é LaTpe THV
xetpa preypaivove ap vIrO THs mys iy erdnte
TOV OLKETHY, énibijoas TAaperye. Kal TOUT émrotn-
ev notous amavras, OS Swrixas é EXOVTOS autob.
per’ OALyov 5¢ raphy o Bovtas dmayyéd\Xwy TOUS
pev adXous aviny Gar, Kpdooov bé AetTrec Oat vie
daxoMas Tivos, Gaov 5é obmp Kat TovTOV euBai-
vel, qoAvy Oé Xerava Kal peya mrvedpa KaTexewy
THY OdratTav. TovTO aKxovaas o o Katwv ea revagev
olKT TeV TAEOVTWY, Kat mary Grreprpe Tov
Bovtay ént Oararray, el Tes apa. Tadwopouna as
Sé0:T6 TLWOS TOV dvayKalwv, aTrayyeXovvTa TpOS
avrov.
"Hdn bé Spies n00v, Kal pax pov avis Katn-
vexOn ™pos darvov. émaveOovtos be Tob Bovrta
Kal ppdcaytos TONANY hovxiay Tept Tovs ALpe-
vas elvat, mpooérager avT@ THY Oupav kreioan,
Kal Kabijxer € éauTov eis TO KALviOwov @S TO AOLTTOV
ere THS vuKTOS avaTravaopevos. é£eAOovTOs 5é
tod Bovta oracapevos TO Ethos Ewoe pév UTT0 TO
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withdrew. Then the sword was sent in, carried by a little child, and Cato took it, drew it from its sheath, and examined it. And when he saw that its point was keen and its edge still sharp, he said: ‘“‘ Now I am my own master.” Then he laid down the sword and resumed his book, and he is said to have read it

_through twice. Afterwards he fell into so deep a sleep that those outside the chamber heard him. But about midnight he called two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas, who was his chief agent in public matters. Butas he sent down to the sea, to find out whether all had set sail success- fully, and bring him word ; while to the physician he gave his hand to bandage, since it was inflamed by the blow that he had given the slave. This made everybody more cheerful, since they thought he had a mind to live. In a little while Butas came with tidings that all had set sail except Crassus, who was detained by some business or other, and he too was on the point of embarking; Butas reported also that a heavy storm and a high wind prevailed at sea. On hearing this, Cato groaned with pity for those in peril on the sea, and sent Butas down again, to find out whether anyone had been driven back by the “ray and wanted any necessaries, and to report to im.

And now the birds were already beginning to sing, when ‘he fell asleep again for a little while. And when Butas came and told him that the harbours were very quiet, he ordered him to close the door, throwing himself down upon his couch as if he were going to rest there for what still remained of the night. But when Butas had gone out, Cato drew his sword from its sheath and stabbed himself below

aTiOos, TH xerph KOUPOTEpov bua THY preywovny
Npnaapevos ovK evOus annrrakev éautov, ana
dva0avaTov eFéreae THS KAivns Kal ~rodov érot-
Noe, cataBadov aBarvov TL TOV Yew peT piK@y
TAapakel Levon, Gore TOUS Oeparrovras aia Bopévous
avaBojjoat Kal tov viov avtixa Kral TOUS dirous
émrero en Oetv. iSovres 5é mepuppévov aipate Kat
TOY éVTEPWY TA TOAAG TpoTETTTwWKOTA, CavTa Oo
avTov ére Kal Brérovra, devas pev dmavtes
EoXov, O 6é i taTpos mpocedOav erretparo TOV év-
TEpOv aT parTey Stapervavrwy Tata Te cabiaravat
Kal TO Tpavpa Stappamrewy. @S ooy avnveyKev O
Karov kal Tuveppovynce, Tov pev iatpov amrew-
gato, Tais xepal é Ta évrepa omrapakas Kai To
Tpavpa éemravappytas arr €Bavev.
LXXI. "Ey 4) b€ OUK GV TLS @ETO _Xpovp TOUS
KATH THV oixtay mavras no OjjBat TO 7 dos, eri
Tais Ovpaus 7 Hoav ob Tplakoatot, Kat pox pov vote-
pov) Shpos 70 potato TOV "ITuxatov, pad pov7
Tov evepyeTny Kal owTipa Kal povov érevOepov
Kal povov a ant Tntov KadouvTov. Kai TavTa empar-
TOV dry YeXAopEvov mpoovéva Kaicapos: arn’ ore
poBos QUTOUS OUTE KOAaKEiA Tob KpaTovvTos ote
n Tm pos adAn hous Sradopa Kal otdots apFrurTé-

pous éroinge THS 7 pos Kdtova TUmns. KOG [Ln-
CAVTES 6 TO COpa NapT pas Kal Tommy émipavi
Tapa xovTes Kal Oarpavres Tapa THD Oddaccay,
ob. viv avdpias épéatnner avrod Evprjpys, odTwWS
€TpaTrovtTo mpos TO awMlELY EavTOUS Kal THY moALv.
LXXII. Kaicap 6é muvOavopevos Tapa TOY
adixvoupéevoy vrranéeveey ev ‘ItvKn tov Kdtava
unde hevyerv, GAAA Tovs AANOUS mMpoTéuTreLy,
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the breast. His thrust, however, was somewhat feeble, owing to the inflammation in his hand, and so he did not at once dispatch himself, but in his death struggle fell from the couch and made a _loud noise by overturning a geometrical abacus that stood near. His servants heard the noise and cried out, and his son at once ran in, together with his friends. They saw that he was smeared with blood, and that most of his bowels were protruding, but that he still had his eyes open and was alive; and they were terribly shocked. But the physician went to him and tried to replace his bowels, which remained uninjured, and to sew up the wound. Accordingly, when Cato recovered and became aware of this, he pushed the physician away, tore his bowels with his hands, rent the wound still more, and so died.

LXXI. Before one would have thought that all in the house could learn of the event, the three hun- dred were at the door, and a little later the people of Utica had assembled. With one voice they called | Cato their saviour and benefactor, the only man who was free, the only one unvanquished. And this they continued to do even when word was brought that Caesar was approaching. But neither fear of the conqueror, nor a desire to flatter him, nor their mutual] strife and dissension, could blunt their desire to honour Cato. They decked his body in splendid fashion, gave it an illustrious escort, and buried it near the sea, where a statue of him now stands, sword in hand. Then they turned their thoughts to their own salvation and that of their city.

LXXII. When Caesar learned from people who
came to him that Cato was remaining in Utica and
not trying to escape, but that he was sending off the
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> N \ \ \ e 4 \ N NX 9 A
autoy 6€ Kal TOUS ETalpouvs Kal Tov vidV abEeas
avactpépecOat, Svatéxpaptov nyetto THY yvOmnv
Tov avdpos, ate b€ Tov mreioTov Oyov Eywv
, n “~
_éxetvou tpoonye peta Ths Suvdpews errevyopevos.
a@s 5€ HKovae TOV OdvaTov avTod, NéyeTAt TOTOD-

> We 66 70 K 4 0 a a 0 Ud ‘
TOV eLTrELY atv, P9ova cot tod Oavarou
\ \ \ “A A , , ,
Kal yap é“ol ov THs GavTOv cwTnpLas epPovnaas. °
T@ yap ovt. cwOnvar Kadtwv avacyopevos v7r0
Kaicapos ovx av ottw Soxet Katatoxovar thy
avtov dofav, @ Koopioat tHv éexeivov, TO Sé
\ A ww 3 4 \ \ ,
mpaxOéev dv adnrov’ eixalerar 5€ Ta ypnoToTepa
4
mapa Kaicapos.
LXXIII. ’Ererevtnce 5€ Kadtwv érn dvetv 6€-
ovta trevtnkovta BeBiwxws. o b€ vies avtod
e N a, \ 27OQV\ 3 , , \
vmo Kaicapos pév ovdév nouxnOn: réyetar Sé
pabupos yevéerOat Kai rept yuvaixas ovK avert-
AntTos. ev b€ Kamasdoxia Eévm tii yxenoa-
pevos Mapdadatn trav Bacidixadv éyovtt yuvacov
evTpeTrés, Kal TWAElova Tap avTois 7 KaXOS ElXe
diatpiSwv Xpovov, éoxwmteto ToLav’Ta ypahovTwv
elS aUTOV"
avptov Katoyv Badifer peta tptadxov0’ apmépas:

,

Kal,
, \
Tlopxvos nat Mapdaddrns, dvo pirdot, puxn pia.
\ a a
WVuyn yap éxareito rod Mapdaéadtov To yuvacov.
Kal €Tt,
evyevns Kal Naputpos o Kdrwvy Bacidtuxny

pouyny Exee.

rest, while he himself, his companions, and his son, were fearlessly going up and down, he thought it diffi- cult to discern the purpose of the man, but since he made the greatest account of him, he came on with his army in all haste. When, however, he heard of his death, he said thus much only, as we are told: “O Cato, I begrudge thee thy death; for thou didst be- grudge me the sparing of thy life.” For, in reality, if Cato could have consented to have his life spared by Caesar, he would not be thought to have defiled his own fair fame, but rather to have adorned that of Caesar. However, what would have happened is

uncertain ; though the milder course is to be con- jectured on the part of Caesar.

LXXIII. When Cato died,! he was forty-eight years old. His son received no harm at the hands of Caesar, but he was of an easy disposition, as we are told, and in his relations with women not blameless. In Cappadocia he enjoyed the hospitality of Marpha- dates, one of the royal family, who had a comely wife ; and since young Cato spent more time with them than was seemly, he was satirized in such writings as these :

“On the morrow Cato journeys,—after a good

round thirty days ;’

and,

‘* Marphadates and Porcius, two friends with but a

single Soul.”

For the wife of a was named Psyche (souw/).

And again:

“ Nobly born, iilustriaus, our Cato hath a royal Soul.”

1 In 46 B.c. A single letter of his to Cicero is extant (ad div. xv. 5): cf. chapter xxiii. 3.

*

3 ad\\a Waoadv ye THY ToLaUTHY eEn ere Kab npdvice T@® Oavato Svodeav. aryeovtlopevos yap év Bidiarrois T pos Kaicapa kal ’Avt@viov vTrép Ths érevdepias, Kal KALvopmévns THs panrary- yos oUTE puyelv ovte Aabeivy akiwoas, ara 7 po- KAaXOULEVOS TOUS TroNELLOUS EuTrpocOev EavToOV é-- davifwv rat cuvefoppav TOUS guppévovTas erEce, Jatpa THS ApETHS Tots EVAVTLOLS TapacXev.

4 “Ere de pai dov » Ovyadrnp tod Katrwvos ove awppoavvys ovte avdpeias arronerpbeioa (Bpovr@ yap CUVOKEL TO KTELVAYTL Kaicapa) auras TE THS gvv@pocias. peter é, kal T™ponKato tov Biov akiws THs evryevelas Kal apeTns, @s év Tois trept Bpovrov yéypam ra. LrarTvrduos éé pyoas pus- petcOat Kdtwva TOTE pev vTO TOV prroaopov

exon Bovdopevos éauTov avenety, Dotepov b¢
TO Bpovte TLS TOTATOV €auTov Tapacyov Kal
Xpnotwotarov év Didrimros areBavev.
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But all such ill-report was blotted out and removed by the manner of his death. For he fought at Philippi against Caesar and Antony, in behalf of liberty ; and when his line of battle was giving way, he deigned not either to fly or to hide himself, but challenged the enemy, displayed himself in front of them, cheered on those who held their ground with him, and so fell, after amazing his foes by his valour.

And still more true is it that the daughter of Cato was deficient neither in prudence nor courage. She was the wife of the Brutus who slew Caesar, was privy to the conspiracy itself, and gave up her life in a manner worthy of her noble birth and her lofty character, as is told in the Life of Brutus.! Statyllius, too, who declared that he would follow Cato’s ex- ample,” was prevented at the time by the philosophers from destroying himself, as he wished to do, but afterwards gave most faithful and efficient service to Brutus, and died at Philippi.%

1 Chapters xiii. and liii. |? Cf. above, chapter Ixvi. 4.
2 Cf. the Brutus, li. 4.
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
PROPER NAMES
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF

PROPER

A

Adrumetum (or Hadrumetum), 381,
a Phoenician sea-port on the
coast of northern Africa, a few
miles south of Carthage.
Afranius, 53, Lucius A., a warm

isan of pOmDey. and one of

legates in Spain during the
war with Sertorius, as well as in
Asia during the Mithridatic war.
In 55 B.o. he was sent by Pompey
with Petreius, to hold Spain for
him. He was killed after the
battle of Thapsus (46 B.0.).
Annius, 19, Caius A. Luscus, had

served under Metellus Numidicus in the Jugurthine war (108 B.o.).
Antaeus, 25, a fabled Libyan giant and wrestler, son of Poseidon, whose strength was invincible as long as he remained in contact with his mother Earth. Heracles discovered his secret and slew him.

Antigonus, 5, 85, 211, 215, surnamed the One-eyed, a general of Alexander who received the provinces of Phrygia, Lycia and Pamphylia in the division of ‘Alexander’s empire, and _ succeeded in making himself king of all Asia. He fell in the battle of Ipsus (301 B.c.).
_ Antipater the Tyrian, 245, died shortly before 44 B.C., according to Cicero (de off. ii. 86).
Antipater, 87, 91-95, 145, 185, 197, 201-217, regent of Macedonia during Alexander’s absence in the East, and of Alexander’s empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.O. He died in 319.
PLUT. VHT.

NAMES

Antiphilus, 199, 201, an Athenian general known only from these events of the Lamian war
‘Antonius, 78, known only from this

incident.

Apollonides the Stoic, 397, 399, 403, known only from these incidents.
Aquinus, 37, known only from these

cidente.

Archilochus, 161, 251, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionian lyric poets, flourishing In 650 B.o.
Ariminum, 361, an important city of Umbria, on the sea-coast, about nine miles south of the Rubicon.
Aristophon, 161, of the Athenian deme Colyttus, a® prominent orator and politician contemporary with Demosthenes.
Athenodorus (1), of Imbros, 187, an Athenian of Imbrian family, and a@ mercenary captain in the East, who attained political power in Thrace in 359 B.o. He was a supporter of Persia against Alexander, by whom he was captured at Sardis in 334.
Athenodorus (2), surnamed Cordylion, 257, 269, a Stoic philosopher, born at Tarsus. e was keeper of the library at Peramum, whence he removed to me in 70 B.0., and lived there with Cato.
B
21, $1, the southern district of Spain; traversed by the great river Baetis.
Barca, 327, not otherwise known.
415

Baetica,

_ DICTIONARY OF

Bibulus, 298, 295, 311, 318, 351, 367, Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.O., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of 5 ulius Caesar. He died in 48
Boédromion, 207, the Attic math corresponding to parts uf our

September and October. —
Butas, 405, «+known also as an
author from the Romulus. xv‘ 3.
Cc

Caepio (1), 7, Quintus ~c, vilius C.,
consul in 106 B.0., and pro-consul
in Gallia Narbonensis for the
following year. Ten years after
his defeat by the Cimbri (Camil-
lus, xix. 73 he was brought to
trial for misconduct of the war,
condemned, and thrown into
prison.
Caepio (2), 237, 239, 243, 245, 253,
uintus Servilius C., half-
brother of Cato.
Caesar, 397, Lucius, not otherwise
known.

Callimedon, 221, 227, 229, surnamed
the Crab, one of the Athenian
orators who favoured the Mace-
donian interest.
Canidius, 321-325, not otherwise

known.

Carbo, 15, 19, 61, Gnaeus Papirius
C., one of the leaders of the
Marian party. After his flight
to Libya (Sulla, xxix. 8) he was
taken prisoner by FOmpsy. and
cruelly put to death (Pompey,
chapter x.).

Cardia, 79, 85, 87, one of the chief
towns of the Thracian Cher-
sonese.
Cassander, 215, 217, a son of
Antipater the regent of Mace-
donia, to whom his father refused
the succession. He was master
of Athens from 318 to 307 B.0o.,
and .died in 297.

Castulo, 7, an important city in the
southern part of Hispania Tarra-
conensis, on the upper waters of
the Baetis.
416

PROPER NAMES

Catiline, 287, Lucius Sergius, the
famous conspirator in the consul-
ship of Cicero (63 B.0.). See the
Cicero, chapters x.-xxii.
Catulus, 271, 273, Quintus Lutatius
C., a leading aristocrat of the
nobler sort, consul in 78 B.c.,
censor in 65, died in 60.
Cenchraeae, 329, the eastern har-
bour-town of Corinth.
Cephisodotus, 189, a celebrated
Athenian sculptor. In 871 B.c,
he executed for the Athenians a
group of Peace holding Plutus
the god of riches in her arms.
Ceraunian Mountains, 211, some-
times called Acroceraunian, a
range in the northern part of
Epirus.
Chabrias, 157-161, an able and
successful Athenian general,
prominent from 392 B.o. till his
allant death at the siege of
hios in 357.
Chaeroneia, 181,
manding the entrance from
Phocis into Boeotia, celebrated for
the number of important battles
fought in i neighbourhood.
Here Philip of Macedon defeated
reeks in 338 B.o.

155, 175, a famous .

enian general, prominent
from 367 to 334 B.o.
Chares (2), 185, of Mitylene, court

chamberlain of Alexander, and
author of an anecdotical history
of Alexander’s campaigns.
Charicles, 193, 195, 221, 229,
known only from these incidents.
Charidemus, 5, 179, 183, an
Athenian general and a roving
soldier of fortune, prominent
from 867 to 349 B.o.
Cinna, 11-15, Lucius Cornelius C.,
leader of the Marian party during
Sulla’s absence in the East
(87-84 B.O.). He was consul in
87, 86, 85, and 84. He was slain
in a mutiny of his soldiers at
Brundisium, where he hoped to
revent the landing of Sulla.

a town com-

the Pompey, v. 1.
Cleanthes, 405, known only from
this passage,
DICTIONARY OF

Cleitus, 225, 227, successfully com-
manded the fleet of Antipater in
the Lamian war (323 B.0.), and
later (318) that of Polysperchon
at Byzantium, but was surprised
oy, Anblgonue, defeated, and
8
Clodius, 279, 281, 311, 315-319,
331, 333, 345. Publius Claudius
(Clodius) Pulcher, youngest son
of the Appius Claudius mentioned
in the Sulla, xxix. 3. He helped
to demoralise the soldiers of
Lucullus (Lucullus, xxxiv.), and
became a venomous foe of
Cicero.
Corcyra, 329, 371, an island in the
Ionian sea, opposite Epirus ; the
modern Corfu.
Cotta, 31, possibly the Marcus

Aurelius Cotta who became consul with Lucullus in 74 B.c. now a legate under Caius Annius (pp. 19 f.).
Crassus, 405, not otherwise known.

Craterus, 91-95, 187, 201, 203, one of the ablest of Alexander's officers, and a man of noble character. He fell in battle against Eumenes in 321 B.C. See the Eumenes, v. ff.
, Ctesippus, 159, not otherwise known.
Curio, 267, 349, probably the Calus Scribonius Curio who was consul in 76 B.c. He was a steadfast opponent of Julius Caesar, and a friend of Cicero and Cato. He was pontifex maximus in 57, and died in 53.
Cyrene, 371, the most important Greek colony on the northern coast of Africa, almost directly south of Crete. It was founded in 631 B.c.
D

Deiotarus the Galatian, 261, 267, 269, tetrarch of Galatia in Asia Minor, and an old man in 54 B.c. (Crassus, xvii. 1 f.). He was a faithful friend of the Romans in

PROPER NAMES

their Aslatic wars, and in 63 was rewarded by the senate with the title of King. Caesar could never be brought to pardon him for siding with Pompey.
Demades, 145, 181, 191, 195, 213, 215, an Athenian politician and orator of Macedonian sympathies,

and bitterly hostile to mos-
thenes.
Demetrius the Peripatetic, 397, 403,
not definitely known.
Demetrius of Phalerum, a _ cele-
brated rhetorician and orator
(346-283 B.c.). He was regent of
Athens for Cassander from 318
to 307.
perenne 233, not otherwise

own.

Didius, 7, Titus Didius, consul in
98 B.o. He fell in battle during
the Marsic war (89 B.0o.).
Diopeithes, 161, an Athenian

eneral, father of the poet
enander. He was arraigned
by the Macedonian party at
Athens, and was defended by
Demosthenes in the _ extant
oration ‘‘ On the Chersonese.”
Dodona, 209, a town in Epirus,
famous in earlier times for its
oracle of Zeus, the influence of
which among the Greek states
was later assumed by the oracle
of Apollo at Delphi.
Domitius (1), 31, Lucius Domitius
Ahenobarbus, known only from
this defeat, in which he was
killed.
Domitius (2), 333, 335, Lucius
Domnitius Ahenobarbus, consul
in 54 B.C. He was one of the
ablest supporters of the aristo-
cratic party. He opposed both
Pompey and Caesar until their
quarrel, then sided with Pompey.
He met his death at Pharsalus.
Drusus, 237, 239, ‘Marcus Livius
D., at first an able and ardent
supporter of the _ aristocratic

party and the senate, but afterwards an agitator like the Gracchi. He was assassinated in 91 B.O.
Duris, 79, 153, 185, the Samian, a

pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, lived circa 350—280 B.C.
Dyrrhachium, 365-369, a city on the coast of Illyricum, opposite to Brundisium, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently. :
E

Ebro (Iberus), 41, a large river the basin of which forms the northeastern part of the peninsula of Spain.

Echecratides the sophist, 187, not otherwise known.
Elateia, 223, a city of Phocis in a plain commanding passes into southern Greece.
Epicurus, 233, not otherwise known.

Eubulus, 161, a leading Athenian orator and statesman, highly successful as a minister of finance. He was of the party opposed to Demosthenes.
F

Favonius, 315, 347, 349, Marcus F., called the ‘‘ Ape of Cato,” was aedile in 52 B.c. and praetor in 49. He joined Pompey in the East, notwithstanding personal

enmity towards him, and accompened him in his flight from harsalus (cf. the Pompey, 1xxiii. 6 f.). He was put to death by order of Octavius Caesar after the battle of Philippi (42 B.c.).
Fimbria, 65, Caius Flavius F., a partisan of Marius. He won important successes against Mithridates in 85°B.c., but was defeated and brought to death by Sulla in 84. See the Sulla, xxiii.-xxv.
Fufidius, 31, a creature of Sulla, mentioned also in the Sulla, xxxi. 3.

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G

Gabinius, 317, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was in exile. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48.
Glaucippus, 153, not otherwise known.
Gracinus, 69, not otherwise known,

H

Hagnonides (or Agnonides), 211, 221, 223, 227, 233, an Athenian sycophant and demagogue, whose tae is known mostly from this ife.

Harpalus, 191-195, the faithless treasurer of Alexander. Antipater demanded his surrender by

the Athenians, who put him in prison. Thence he escaped and went to Crete, where he was assassinated.

Hegemon, 225, 229, a minor | Athenian orator of the time of Demosthenes, who supported the interests of Macedon.

Hephaestion, 29, 81, 83, officer and beloved friend of Alexander.

Hortensius, 293, 295, 363, the great oratorical rival of Cicero, a man of high character, brilliant parts, and great wealth. He died in 50 B.C.

Hypereides, 153, 161, 169, 183, 197, 203, 205, 211, a great Athenian orator, who stood with Demosthenes at the head of the anti-Macedonian party. .

Hypsaeus, 351, Publius Plautius H., tribune of the people in 54 B.C., and candidate for the consulship two years later. He was accused of corrupt practices, tried, and convicted. Pompey, whom he had devotedly served, forsook him in the hour of need.

DICTIONARY OF

I

Iberians, 69 and passim, a general name for the original peoples of . the Spanish peninsula.

Ios, 5, an island in the eastern Aegean sea, one of the Sporades, south of Naxos.

J

Juba (1), 373-379, 385-389, Juba I.,

ing of Numidia, and a supporter

of Pompey, to whom he owed his

throne. He _ followed Cato’s

example and put an end to his own life.
Juba (2), 25, Juba II., king of Mauretania, son of the preceding. After his father’s death in 46 B.c., he was taken as a child to Rome by Caesar, where he was educated. He became a learned and voluminous writer, and among his works was a History of Rome.
L

Labienus, 373, though a trusted officer of Caesar in Gaul, he went over to Pompey in the Civil War, fled to Africa after the battle of Pharsalus, and after the battle oF Thapsus (46 B.c.) to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda, and was slain (45 B.C.).
Laelius, 253, Caius L., a brilliant

- commander’ and _— statesman, whose deeds _ are inseparably interwoven with those of his friend and companion, the elder Scipio. He died about 170 B.o.
Laomedon, 3, a mythical king of Troy, the father of Priam.
Lauron, 49, a small town in the S.E. part of Spain, south of Valentia, near the sea.
Leonnatus, 85, 87, 201, one of Alexander’s most distinguished officers.
PROPER NAMES

Leosthenes, 161, 195-203, an Athenian, general of the league for expelling the Macedonians

from Greece after the death of Alexander.
poms 2 273, Marcus L., not further

Lusitanians, 25-31, 69, the people of mer western district or province oO
Lounge th, 191, the great Spartan lawgiver.
Lycurgus (2), 161, 167, 183, an able Athenian orator and a highly successful minister of finance (396-323 B.c.), one of the noblest specimens of old Attic integrity and virtue in a degenerate age.
M

Manlius (1), 33, Lucius M., pro-consul in Narbonese Gaul in 78 B.C. He was badly defeated by one of the generals of Ser-torius.
Manlius (2), 69, 71, 75, not other-wise known.
Marcellus, 277, perhaps the Caius Claudius Marcellus who was consul in 50 B.c., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Caesar.
Marius, 15, an adopted son of the elder Marius. He became consul at the age of twenty-seven, and was as merciless and cruel as his father. His death by his own hands is noted in the Sulla, xxxii. 1.
Mellaria, 31, a small town on the southern coast of Spain.
Memmius (1), 55, Caius M., a brother-in-law of Pompey, and his pag? in Spain. f. the Pompey, xi.
Memmius (2), 305, 307, Caius M.-Gemellus, tribune of the people at this time (66 B.c.), and two

years later an unsuccessful candidate for the consulship. He left Rome under impeachment for
419

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corrupt practices, and spent the rest of his life in Mitylene.
Menestheus, 161, a son of the famous Athenian general Iphicrates by a Thracian princess. He was distinguished for his military skill, and was prominent with his father in the Social War (356 B.0.). Nothing is heard of him after 325 B.c.
Menon the _ Thessalian, 201, a citizen of Pharsalus, and a man of great influence and reputation. His cavalry bore themselves well in the battle of Crannon. In 321 he was defeated and slain by Polysperchon.
Mentor, 81, not further known.
Menyllus, 207, 209, 213, 217, known only from these passages.
Metellus (1), 5, 31-61, 73, Quintus Caecilius M. Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.o., and one of his most successful generals. After Sulla's death in 78 Metellus was sent to Spain as pro-consul to prosecute the war against Sertorius. He died about 63.
Metellus (2), 281-285, 297-305, Quintus M. Nepos, a partisan of Pompey, and for a time a violent opponent of Cicero. As consul, however, in 57 B.c., he did not oppose the recall of Cicero from exile. He died in 55.
Metellus (3), 313, Quintus Caecilius - M. Numidicus, victor over Jugurtha in 109 B.c., but supplanted

by Marius. He was censor in 102, was unjustly expelled from the senate, and went into exile, from which he was recalled in 99 B.O., largely through the efforts of his son, Metellus Pius.
Micion, 201, known only from this peat.

Milo, 351, Titus Annius Papianus, a ruffian and swashbuckler, tribune of the people in 57 B.o., and from that time on involved in a flerce quarrel with Clodius, which ended with the murder of Clodius. Milo was impeached for the crime, defended by Cicero in an extant oration, condemned, and

sent into exile. Attempting to en by force in 48, he was slain.
Mithridates, 11, 63-67, the sixth king of Pontfis bearing this . hame, commonly called the Great, 120-63 B.o., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.
Molossus, 175, not otherwise known.

Munatius, 255, 293, 301, 307, 309, 323-327, 361, the bosom friend of Cato.
Murena, 285, 287, 3803, Lucius Licinius M., had served under Lucullus (Lucullus, xix. 7). On his trial he was defended by Hortensius and Cicero (in an extant oration), and acquitted.
N

Nearchus, 81, the able and trusted

admiral of Alexander.
Neoptolemus, 79, 89-101, an officer of Alexander.
New Carthage, 19, a famous colony of Carthage on the south-eastern coast of Spain.
Nicanor, 217-221, held the Peiraeus for Cassander, and afterwards served him successfully as naval commander in the Hellespont. but awakened his jealousy and was put to death by him.
Nicocles, 183, 229, 231, not otherwise known.
Norbanus, 15, Caius N., consul in 83 B.c. After his defeats by Sulla and Metellus, he fled to ‘ Rhodes, where he put an end to his own life.
O

Octavius (1), 11, 13, Gnaeus O., consul with Cinna in 87 B.0. His oan is described in the Marius, xiii.
DICTIONARY OF

Octavius (2), 395, Marcus O., consul in 54 B.C.,-and a supporter of Pompey in the Civil War. He fled to Africa in 47. He is last heard of as_ serving under rae fa at the battle of Actium
Osca, 37, 69, a Roman colony in north-eastern Spain.
“ ?

Paccianus, 23, not otherwise known.
Pella, Fae the capital city of Macedonia.

Perdiccas, 79, 85, 89-93, the officer to whom the dying Alexander is said to have given his signet-ring, and regent for the royal

successors of Alexander till
321 B.O.
Perpenna, 39, 41, 67-75, Marcus P.

ento, a leading partisan of
Marius. On the death of Sulla
(78 B.c.) he joined Lepidus in his
attempt to win the supreme
power, and failing here, retired
to Spain and served under
Sertorius.
Pessinus, 269, an important town
in the west of Galatia, famous
for its cult of Cybele.
Pharsalus, 369, 373, an ancient
town in southern Thessaly, near
which Caesar finally defeated
Pompey.

Philip, 5, 79, Philip of Macedon,
father of Alexander.
Philippi, 411, a city of Macedonia
on the river Strymon, formerly
called Crenides, but renamed by
Philip IT.
Philippus, 293, 295, $31, Lucius
Marcius P., consul in 56 B.o., and
step-father of Octavius Caesar.
He remained neutral in the civil
wars, and lived to see his step-son
master of the world.
Philostratus, 375, the Aegyptian, a
ag but degenerate fol-
ower of the Academy, after-
wards associated with Antony
and Cleopatra (Antony, 1xxx. 2).
PROPER NAMES

Phocus, 189, 19], 213, 229, 238,
the son of Phocion, not otherwise
known.
noe 95, an officer not otherwise

own.

Piso, 307, 817, Lucius Calpurnius P., father-in-law of Julius Caesar. He plundered his province of Macedonia shamelessly, and was recalled in 55 B.c. He is covered with invective in Cicero's oration de Province. Cons. He took no ~ part in the Civil War.

Pityussa, 19, the name of two islands (often spoken of as one) lying off the southern coast of Spain.

Plancus, 353, Titus Munatius P. Bursa, tribune of the people in 52 B.c. and largely responsible fer the riots of that year, for complicity in which he was tried and condemned. He was restored to civil rights by Julius Caesar, and served under Antony.

Plutarch the Eretrian, 171, 173, sought the aid of the Athenians age nst his rival, the tyrant of

Chalcis, who had allied himself

with Philip of Macedon.

Pollio, 363, 365, Caius Asinius P. a famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.c.-4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Julius Caesar, fought under him in Africa and Spain, and after Caesar's death supported Octavius Caesar. After 29, he devoted himself entirely to literature, and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works are extant.

Polyeuctus the Sphettiam, 165, an Athenian of the deme Sphettus, a political friend of Demosthenes, and an orator of some note.

Polysperchon, 217, 221-225, a distinguished officer of Alexander, appointed by Antipater to succeed him in the regency. He connived at some of the worst crimes of Cassander.
Pompeius (1), 371 (‘‘ the younger

- Pompey ’’), Gnaeus P., the elder son of the triumvir by his third

wife, put to death by the troops of Caesar after the battle of Munda in Spain (45 B.c.).
Pompeius (2), 371, 383, Sextus P., the younger son of the triumvir by his third wife, escaped after the battle of Munda and was active against the triumvirate until his death in 35 B.c.
Porcia (1), 333, Cato’s own sister, died in 46 B.c., ten years after her husband.
Porcia (2), 293, 411, Cato’s daughter, married first to Bibulus, Caesar’s consular colleague, in 59 B.O. Bibulus died in 48, and in 45 Porcia married Brutus the conspirator.
Ptolemy (1), 81, 91, Ptolemy Lagus, the most far-sighted and successful of the officers of Alexander, afterwards Ptolemy I. of Egypt.
Ptolemy (2), 321, Ptolemy XI. of Egypt, commonly known as Ptolemy <Auletes. After many disappointments he was at last restored to his throne in 55 B.c., through the influence of Pompey, but never regained the goodwill of his people.
Ptolemy (3), 319, 321, younger

brother of Ptolemy Auletes, and king of Cyprus. He incurred the enmity of Clodius, who, as tribune cf the Roman people, brought in a decree depriving him of his kingdom.
Pytheas, 191, an Athenian orator chiefly known for his unreasoning hatred of Demosthenes. He was a man of no fixed character, and in the Lamian War became a renegade from Athens. See the Demosthenes, xxxii.
Pythocles, 229, not otherwise known.
R

Rubrius (1), 255, known only from this allusion.
Rubrius (2), Marcus R., not otherwise known.
422

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S

Saguntum, 55, a rich commercial city on the east coast of Spain, near the sea.
Salinator, 19, Julius, not otherwise

own.

Scipio (1), 3, 253, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major (234-183 B.C.), the conqueror of Hannibal.
Scipio (2), 3, Publius Cornelius S. Aemilianus Africanus Minor (185-129 B.c.), the destroyer of Carthage.
Scipio (3), 15, 17, Lucius Cornelius S. Asiaticus, belonged to the Marian party in the civil wars, and was consul in 83 B.c., the

year when Sulla returned from the East (cf. the Sulla, xxviii. 1-3). He was proscribed in 82, and fied to Massilia, where he died.

Scipio (4), 251, 351, 375-379, 385, 387, Publius Cornelius S. Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius and therefore called Metellus Scipio, was made Pompey's colleague in the consulship late in the year 52 B.c., and became a determined foe of Caesar. He commanded Pompey's centre at Pharsalus, fled to Africa, and killed himself after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.c.). Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and the father-in- law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.
Serranus, 251, probably the Sextus Atilius S. Gavianus, who was quaestor in 63 B.c. and favoured by Cicero, but as tribune of the people in 57 opposed the recall of Cicero from exile.
Servilia (1), 285, 291, half-sister of Cato, and faithless wife of Silanus.
Servilia (2), 293, 305, 365 f., another half-sister of Cato, the faithless wife of Lucullus.
Silanus, 285-289, Decimus Junius S., consul in 64 and 62 B.c.
Silo, 239, 241, Pompaedius S., leader of the Marsi in the Social
DICTIONARY OF

War, and_ confederate. with Drusus. He _ displayed great military ability in the war, but was finally defeated by Metellus Pius in 88 B.C., and died in battle.

Statyllius, 395-399, 411, only from tHese passages.
Sucro, 51, a river in south-eastern Spain, between Valentia and Lauron.
Sulpicius, 355, Servius 8. Lemonfia Rufus, a friend and _ fellow-student of Cato, and a successful competitor against him for the consulship in 51 B.c. He supported the cause of Caesar, and died in 43.
known

T

Taenarum, 211, the promontory at the extreme south of Laconia.
Tagonius, 48, a tributary of the river Tagus, in south-western Spain.

Thapsus, 379, a maritime city of northern Africa, south of Carthage.
Theodorus the Atheist, 233, a philosopher of the Cyrenaic school, banished from his native city of Cyrene, and resident at Athens during the regency of Demetrius the Phalerian (318—-307 B.C.).
Theophrastus, 35, 325, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.c., at the age of eighty-five.
Thermus, 299, 301, Minucius, not otherwise definitely known.
Thessalonica, 259, the capital of the Roman province of Macedonia, situated at the head of the Thermaic gulf.

Thoranius, 31, not
known.
otherwise

PROPER NAMES

Thrasea, 293, 325, Publius T.
Paetus, a noble Roman who fell
a victim to the hatred of Nero in
66 A.D. In his youth he was
devoted to the Stoic philosophy,
and wrote a study of the life of
Cato the Younger.
ehodippue, 229, not otherwise

re)

wn.

Trebonius, 339, Caius T., tribune of
the people in 55 B.c., and an
instrument of the triumvirs. He
was afterwards legate of Caesar
in Gaul, and was loaded with
favours by him, but was one of
the conspirators against his life.
Turia, 51, a small town near tho
upper waters of the Sucro, in
south-eastern Spain.
U

Utica, 375-407, a Phoenician colony
from Tyre, older than Carthage,
on the northern coast of Africa
twenty-seven miles north-west
of Carthage.
V

Vaccaei, 59, an important people in
the interior of Hispania Tarra-
conensis, or north-eastern Spain.
Varus, 373-377, Publius Attius V.,
a zealous partisan of Pompey.
When Pompey forsook Italy in
49 B.c., Varus took possession of

Africa, where he had formerly
been pro-praetor. In conjunc-
tion with King Juba he crushed
Curio, the legate of Caesar. He
fell in the battie of Munda (45).
Vatinius, 337, Publius V., a leading
partisan of Caesar, praetor in
55 B.c., after which he served
Caesar as legate in Gaul, and in
important commands during the
igre War. He is last heard of
n 43.

423

cr

DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

x ; Z
Xenocrates, the philosopher, 205, Zeno, 155, probably the Stoic
218, a native of Chalcedon in philosopher is meant, who taught
Bithynia, and a disciple at at Athens in the third century
' Athens of Aeschines the Socratic. B.c., and wrote on law and
He lived 396-314 B.c. government. :
Peed

”

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BR. CLAY AND SONS, LTD., BRUNSWICK STREET,
STAMFORD STREET, 9.B. I, AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

PLUTARCH’S
" LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
- IX
DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY
PYRRHUS AND CAIUS MARIUS
LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM’S SONS
MCMXX
PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agree- ment between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any © important deviation from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Piutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. Of the Lives presented in.thig Yolume, the last part of the Antony (from chapter lxxvii.), and the Pyrrhus and Marius are contained in the Codex Sanger- manensis (S*), but none in the Codex Seitenstet- tensis (S). These are the two oldest and most authoritative manuscripts. The readings of the excellent Paris manuscript No. 1676 (F*) are not accessible for any of them. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader inust be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846, 4 voll., 8vo', or to the new text of the Lives by Lindskog and Ziegler, in the Teubner Library of Greek and Latin texts (now

half published). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless other- wise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

The Siefert-Blass edition of the Pyrrhus, in the
Teubner series of annotated Greek and Latin texts,
has been of great service.
All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and_ utilized, including those of the Antony and Marius by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.
June, 1920.

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DEMETRIUS

VOL, IX.

AHMHTPIO2

a) a > /
T. Ot mp@tou tas téyvas éouxdvar Taig aicOn-
a \
ceow vTovaBovtes ovy HKtotd pot Soxovor THY
J al a , @
Tept Tas Kpioets aAUT@V KaTavonoat Suvaml, 7
A / e ; , ,
ToV évavTimvy opolws év ExaTépm! yéver Tredu-
A \ > ”“
Kapev avtitiauBavecOar. tTovTo yap avrTais
, A \ A lA
Kotvov éote TH O€ TPOS TA TEAN TOY KpLVOLEVWD
bd aA / e \ \ ”

avaghopa diadratTovelw. péev yap aiaOnous
ovdéy TL “aAXOY El NevKOY 7 pEerXavaY Siayvo-
A > Q\ , A A OV
GEL yéeyovev, ovOE YAUKEwWY f TIKpOY, ovde wada-
a \ 02> 2 ry a \ 2? , 9 9
K@V Kal EixovT@V 7 okKANPOY Kal avTLTUTO@V, GAN
Epyov auTns éExdotols évTUyyavovcay vTo Tav-
a N A
Tov Te KivetcOar Kal KivoupévyY pos TO Ppovody
> , e la 3 e \ lA \ /
avadépey ws wétmovOev. ai dé Téeyvat weTa Noyou
le) A , 4
TVVETTHCAL TPOS Aiperw Kal AAYLY oiKELOU TLVOS,
/ \ \ ?
ghuynv € xal Sudxpovoty addoTpiov, Ta pev ad
ea , \ Ve ey an ,
AaAUT@Y Tponyoupévas, TA Oé UTrép TOD dPvdaEad bar
la) \ \ 9 “A
Kata cupBeBnds éemiBewpovor Kal yap taTpiKy
\ a \ . , cid 4
TO vooepov Kal appmoviKH TO expedEeS, OTrMS EXEL,
a / \ \ /
oKxoTre cupBEBnKe Tpos THY TAY évavTioY aTrEp-
6 a 4 la)
yaciav, at TE TATwY TEdELOTATAL TEXVOV, TWh-
poovyyn Kal Stxaiocvyn Kai dpovnats, ov xadov
1 év éxarépp Coraes and Bekker, after Reiske: éxarépy.

DEMETRIUS-: :
I. Tose who first assumed that the arts are like
the bodily senses, seem to me to have perceived very
clearly the power of making distinctions whick, both
possess, by which power we are enabled to apprehend
opposites, as well in the one case as in the other.
For the arts and the senses have this power ‘ia-
common; though in the use to which we put the |
distinctions made, they differ. For our sense- ~
perception has no greater facility in distinguishing
white objects than black, or sweet things than bitter,
or soft and yielding substances than hard and re-
sisting ones, but its function is to receive impressions
from all objects alike, and having received them, to
report the resulting sensation to the understanding.
The arts, on the other hand, which proceed by the
use of reason to the selection and adoption of what

is appropriate, and to the avoidance and rejection of
what is alien to themselves, contemplate the one
class of objects with direct intent and by preference,
and yet incidentally contemplate the other class also,
and in order to avoid them. For instance, the art
of healing has incidentally studied the nature of
disease, and the art of harmony the nature of
discord, in order to produce their opposites; and
the most consummate arts of all, namely, temper-
ance, justice, and wisdom, since their function is
to distinguish, not only what is good and just
3
B 2
co

PLUTARCH'S: LIVES

poovov Kal dixaiwv wat Bherlper, GNA Kab Bra- 88
Bepav Kal aiay pay. Kal aotKov Kpioets oveat,
THY arretpia. TOV Mi COD Kkaddoreloperny dxaxiay
ovK emawoialy,. QXr' aBeXrepiav nyouvTat Kat
ayvotay ov: partiora yeveoa ew TpoanKel TOUS
4 opO ds Bipeopévous. ot yey ovy madavol 2rap- TLATAL,TOUS cidwras € év Tals éopTais Tohvv
avary- naboyres. givew & dixpatov elotyov els TA TULTOOLA, Tois- _véots olov éoTt TO peOvery
émderxvovtes"

ueig- de THY pev éx diacrpopiis éTEp@V émavop-
Oaciv ov mavu piravO pwrrov ovodé TOMTLRNY
_ 5. yobpeba, Ttav oé KeX pnLevorv doKxemTOTEpOV au-
ae "+ TOIS Kal yeyovoTwV ev éfouciars Kal Tpaypace
a peydrous emipavav ets KaKiav, ov Yeipov lows
" éotl cubuyiay play q 6vo mapepBareiv eis Ta
mapadely para TOV Bion, ouK ép 1dovh, pea Ata,
wal rayon TOV evTUYXavovT@V TOUKLANOVTAS
6 THY ypadny, GAN wamTeEp "Topnvias 0 On Baios
em Serkvopevos Tois pabnrais kal Tovs ev Kal
TOUS KAKOS avAODVTas EiwOer NéyetV, "OBTAS
aunely def," cat mars, $¢ Obras avAely ov ei,"
0 8 'Avteyevioas Kal jdcov @ETO TOV aya dv
dxpodicBas TOUS vVéOUS addytév éav Kal Tov
pavhov Tetpay AapBavocw, ovUTw joe doxovpev
Kal 7 [LETS mpoOuporepor TOV Bedriovey éceoOat
kali Geatai Kat poyntal Biwv el unde TOV havrAwY
Kal peyopuevav avec TopyT@s EXOLMED.
7 Tlepréfeu 57) TovTO TO BiBrLov TOV Anpntpiov i

TOU TloXopxntod Biov kat “Avtwviov Tod avTo-
KpaTopos, javopay paMoTa 57) TO I\drove |
paptupnodvTwy dtr Kal Kaxias peyddas, @oTrEp
4

DEMETRIUS

and expedient, but also what is bad and unjust and disgraceful, have no praises for a guilelessness which plumes itself on its inexperience of evil, nay, they consider it to be foolishness, and ignorance of what ought especially to be known by men who would live aright. Accordingly, the ancient Spartans would put compulsion upon their helots at the festivals to drink much unmixed wine, and would then bring them into the public messes, in order to show their young men what it was to be drunk. And though I do not think that the perverting of some to secure the setting right of others is very humane, or a good civil policy, still, when men have led reckless lives, and have become conspicuous, in the exercise of power or in great undertakings, for badness, perhaps it will not be much amiss for me to introduce a pair or two of them into my biographies, though not that I may merely divert and amuse my readers by giving variety to my writing. Ismenias the Theban used to exhibit both good and bad players to his pupils on the flute and say, “ you must play like this one,” or again, “you must not play like this one” ;.and Antigenidas used to think that young men would listen with more pleasure to good flute-players if they were given an experience of bad ones also. So, I think, we also shall be more eager to observe and imitate the better lives if we are not left without narratives of the blameworthy and the had. |

This book will therefore contain the Lives of
Demetrius the City-besieger and Antony the Im-
perator, men who bore most ample testimony to the
truth of Plato’s saying! that great natures exhibit
1 It is uncertain what passage in Plato is meant.

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

aperds, ai peyara pvaoes éxpépovar. EVO [EVOL
5 opoiws épwrexol, rotixol, oTpaTioTtKol, peya-
hodwpor, TonuTenets, Apical, | kal Tas Kare
TUXxNY Opovorntas axorovbous Ea Xov. ov yap
povov év TO NoiT@ Bie peyara pev catopboivres,
peyara dé opadropevo1, Treiotwv O€ émixpa-
ToUvTES, WAELaTA dé amoBddrovtes, am poo SoKjTes
dé mraiovtes, avedTiaTws dé made avaépovTes
dueTéhec ay, adda Kal katéatpeway, O pev adovs
vTo TOV TONE LLO, o O€ éyyiota Tov Taleciv
TOUTO ‘yevopeEvos.
II. "Avtuyove Toivuy dveiy vidy ex =tparovi-
Kkns TAS Kopparyou ryevopeveov, TOV pep éml Ta-
Scho Anpntptov, TOV 5° ént TP Tatpb Pircrrov
avopacey. ovTOs éoTLV O TOV TrAELTTOY ROYOS.

Evioe O€ TOV Anuntptov ovy viov, dAXr’ adeddrdobv
ryevéc Bat Tov ‘Apteyovou Aéyouow" ert vytrio
yap avTe Tavratract ToD TAT pos TEAEUTHTAYTOS,
cite THIS PNT POS evOvs TO ‘Avriyove yapnbetons,
viov exeivou vouso Ofvat. Tov Lev OvV Dirsrov
OV TOANOLS ETETL TOD Anpntptov VEWTEPOV évTa
cuveBn TENUTHTAL Anpatptos € peyeder pee
nv TOU TAT pos eXdt TOV, KaiTrep av peyas, iSéq
6é Kal KaddXEL Tpooa)Tov Oavpacros Kat TEpLTTOS,
@OTE TOY TraTTOVTOY Kal ypapovrwy pnbeva
THis OMOLOTHTOS epicea Oar, TO yap avrd xapev
Kal Bapos kal poBov Kal Bpay elxe, Kal TUVEKE-
Kpato T® veap@ Kal Tape Suc pwiuntos jpoiry
TUS émipdvera Kat Bactrsxn cEMvoTnS. ott oé
TOS Kal 70 nOos emepuxel T pos cx bev ap-
Opwrev dua Kal yapw. Hua 705 yap OV ouy-
yeverOat, axordlov Te wept wotous Kal Tpudas
6

great vices also, as well as great virtues. Both alike were amorous, bibulous, warlike, munificent, extravagant, and domineering, and they had corresponding resemblances in their fortunes. For not only were they all through their lives winning great successes, but meeting with great reverses ; making innumerable ‘conquests, but suffering innumerable losses ; unex- pectedly falling low, but unexpectedly recovering themselves again; but they also came to their end, the one in captivity to his enemies, and the other on the verge of this calamity.

II. To begin, then, Antigonus had two sons by Stratonicé the daughter of Corrhagus, one of whom he named Demetrius, after his brother, and the other Philip, after his father. This is what the majority of writers say. But some have it that Demetrius was not the son, but the nephew of Antigonus; for his own father died when the boy was quite young, and then his mother immediately married Antigonus, so that Demetrius was considered to be his son. Well then, Philip, who was a few years younger than Demetrius, died. Demetrius, the surviving son, had not the height of his father, though he was a tall man, but he had features of rare and astonishing beauty, so that no painter or sculptor ever achieved a likeness of him. They had at once grace and strength, dignity and beauty, and there was blended with their youthful eagerness a certain heroic look and a kingly majesty that were hard to imitate. And in like manner his disposition also was fitted to inspire in men both fear and favour. For while he was a most agreeable companion, and most dainty of princes in the leisure devoted to drinking and

cat dtaitas dBpoBiwtatos Bactréwy, évepyoratov
q , 7 5 , \ \ ao 4
av wadw Kal cpodpotaroy To wept Tas mpakers

évderexes elye xal Spactiypiov' 4 Kal padiora
w Ce) 9G / N , e ,
tav Oeav é€yrov tov Atovycov, ws ToNEL@ TE
aA ,
xphoGar Sewvoratov, eipyvnv te adOus éx TONEWOU
4 \ > 4 \ 4 ? 4
Tpéar pos evppocuvny Kal Kapev eupedeotarov.
IIT. "Hv pév ody cai girorrdatwp d:adepovtws:
TH 5é qwepl thy pntépa orovd7n Kal Tov Tratépa
Tiav éepaiveto de' ebvoray adnOwnv padrov 7
Gepatreiav THs Suvdyews. Kai tote mpeoBeia
\ a? ' , > \ gS e
Tit tod 'Avtuyovou ayordlovtos aro Onpas o
Anpntptos éréotyn Kal mpoceNav TO TaTpl Kar
dirnoas, womep elye TAS Boridas, éxdbice trap'
> 4 e \ ? / 9 4 v \ ,
avtov. o d€ 'Aytiyovos amovtas 45n Tovs mpé-
v \ J , , a
oBes exovTas Tas aTroKxpices peyadn hor7a
i; ce } - aerns f cM XY }
mpooayopevoas, " Kal tovro," elzrev, " @ avdpes,
amayyéenreTE TEept Hudv, STL Tpds GAANAOVS Ov-
Tas Eyopev, ws ioxuy Tia Tpaypdtwv Bacidt-
Kav kai Suvdpews éridecE otvcav THY mMpos vidv
ouovolay Kal TiatTsv. odTws Apa TavTn SvoKoWwa-
VNTOV 7 apxKXy, Kal peoTtov atLatias Kal dvavotas,
@oTe ayaddrcobar Tov péytotov tav 'AreEdvdpou
Siadoxyov cat mpecRvtatov Ste 1) hoReitat Tov
viov, GANA Mpocierat THY AOYYNY ExovTA TOD
, , ? \ > \ , e
TWOUATOS TANGLOV. OV wHnY AAA Kal pLoVOS, ws
eimely, 0 oiKos ovTOs éml mréiotas Siabdoxas
TOY ToLOvTwY Kax@v éxabdpevce, padrov Sé els
/ aA > 99 / / 9 a er
povos Tov am Avtiyovouv PirstrTos avetrev viov,
8

§90

DEMETRIUS

luxurious ways of living, on the other hand he had a
most energetic and eager persistency and efficiency
in action. Wherefore he used to make Dionysus
his pattern, more than any other deity, s®Mce this

god was most terrible in waging war, and on the other hand most skilful, when war was over, in making peace minister to joy and pleasure.

III. Moreover, Demetrius was also exceedingly fond of his father; and from his devotion to his mother it was ‘apparent that he honoured his father also from genuine affection rather than -out of de- ference to his power. On one occasion, when Antigonus was busy with an embassy, Demetrius came home from hunting; he went up to his father and kissed him, and then sat down by his side just as he was, javelins in hand. Then Antigonus, as the ambassadors were now going away with their answers, called out to them in a loud voice and said: “O men, carry back this report also about us, that this is the way we feel towards one another,’ implying that no slight vigour in the royal estate and proof of its power were to be seen in his harmonious and trustful relations with his son. So utterly unsociable a thing, it seems, is empire, and so full of ill-will and distrust, that the oldest and greatest of the suc- cessors of Alexander could make it a thing to glory in that he was not afraid of his son, but allowed him near his person lance in hand. However, this house was almost the only one which kept itself pure from crimes of this nature for very many generations, or, to speak more definitely, Philip was the only one of the descendants of Antigonus who put a son to death.!

1 Philip V., King of Macedonia. Cf. the Aemilius Paulus, vill. 6, 9

4 aui dé dArat oxedov dmacas Siadoyai TOAA@Y per éyovet Taidor, TONKGY 5é pnrépav povous Kat yuvarn ay TO pev yap abedpovs avatpety, GoTep ot yewper par Ta aitipara hapBdvovowy, oUTH cuvexw@peito Kowoy TL voptCopevov aitnpa Kat Bacirtxdv & vmép doganeias.

IV. Tod PEVTOL Kat prravOpwmov pice. Kat prreraipov yeyovevar TOV Anpnt prov év apyn Tapa ELypLa TOLOUTOV éotwy elTreiy. - McOpidarns 0 ‘AptoBaptdvou mais éraipos Hv avtTod Kai Kad? nrtxiav 1 cuvnOns, eOepatreve Sé *Avriyovoy, ote @v ovte Sox@v trovnpos, éx &é épuTrviou TLVvOS 2 Drowpiay "Avteyove Tapéa ev. édoKel yap péya kal Kadov medtov é em voy 0 Avtiryovos viypd TL” puctov KaTao Tel pew" €& avrob be Tparov pev vTropver Gar Dépos xpucoby, oAiy@ S Dartepov érr- aveNOwy ideiv ovdév Ar 7 TET UN LEVNY Karhduny. AvToUpEvos be kat TepiT ab ev aKodaat TLVOY Aeyoutay @S dpa. M.Opisarns eis Ilovrov Ev- Eewoy oixerat, TO Ypucouv Dépos eFaunaapevos. 3 éx TOUTOV Svatapay Geis cat TOV viov opxwaas TLOT TEL, éppace tHv ov avT@, Kal STL Idv- TWS TOV avO pwrroy ex TroO@Y mroveia Oat Kat da-

pOciper é ENVOKED. dxovoas 5é o Anunrptos 7x0€-
acOn apospa, Kal Tod veaviaKou, cabdmep etoGer,
ryevosLevou Tap avT@ Kat cuvovtos ét TX ONS,
pbey Ear bar peev ovK eTOAunao ev oude TH povi)
Karevmety dua TOV GpKov, Dmaryayov bé Kata
putx pov aro TOV pidov, OS eyeryover av povoe Kad
avTovs, TH TTUpAKL THS AOYXNS KaTéypadey Ets
1 kal na@ HAclay Ziegler: nae' nAuclay Kai.
2 Wiiyuda re Ziegler: Whypari.
Io

DEMETRIUS

But almost all the other lines afford many examples of men who killed their sons, and of many who killed their mothers and wives; and as for men killing their brothers, just as geometricians assume their postulates, so this crime came to be a common and recognized postulate in the plans of princes to secure their own safety.

IV. In proof that in the beginning Demetrius was naturally humane and fond of his companions, the following illustration may be given. Mithridates the son of Ariobarzanes was a companion of his, and an intimate of the same age. He was one of the courtiers of Antigonus, and though he neither was nor was held to be a base fellow, still, in consequence of a dream, Antigonus conceived a suspicion of him. Antigonus dreamed, namely, that he was traversing a large and fair field and sowing gold-dust. From this, to begin with, there sprang up a golden crop, but when he came back after a little whilg, he could see nothing but stubble. In his vexation and dis- tress, he heard in his dream sundry voices saying that Mithridates had reaped the golden crop for himself and gone off to the Euxine Sea. Antigonus was much disturbed by this vision, and after he had put his son under oath of silence, told it to him, adding that he had fully determined to destroy Mithridates and put him out of the way. On hearing this, Demetrius was exceedingly distressed, and when the young man, as was his wont, came to share his diversions with him, though he did not venture to open his lips on the matter or to warn him orally, because of his oath, he gradually drew him away from his friends, and when they were by themselves, with the sharp butt of his lance he wrote on the

I!

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Thv yv opavtos avrod, " Dedye, MiOpiddta."
N \ 3 a 9 4 \ > a,
cuvels 5é éxelvos amédpa vurtos eis Kamrrradoxiav.
A A) b) , 4 4 ad
kal taxyuv thy "Avtiyove yevoperny ori trap
auT@ auveTédes TO YpEwV. TOAATS yap Kal arya-

Ons exparnoe xopas, cal To Tov Ilovtixay Baot-
éwy yévos aydon Tou diadoxy Tava dpevoy ure
‘Pwpaiov éxeivos TrapeaXe. TavTa pe ouv €v-
dulas Seiypata tod Anuytpiov mpos érruetcetav
Kal duxacocvvny.
V. ’Evel 5é, @omep ev trois ‘Eptredoxdéous
, SA \ “ \ \. / ”
atotyelos Sua TO velKos Kat THY didiav evertt
Siahopa mpos aAAnAA Kal modEpos, wardov 6é
a ? A e f \ 4 LA
Tois GAANA@Y aTTopevolts Kat TEAaCOVGLY, OVTw
“ A b
Tov mwaot tois “AXeEdvdpou d:adoxoats pos aAX7-
Aous OvTa cuVEYh TWOdELOV ai TOY TpayydTav
kal TOV TOTwY ouVaderat mpos eviovs érrotouy
bd / \ A Igo 7° @ >
emipavéeatepov Kat pardov é€éxgov, womep Avtt-
, a /
yov@ tote pos IItodepaiov, adros pév “Avtiryovos
3 , / “A >] 9 4 b
év Dpvyia SuérpsuBe, Ttodeuaiov & axovwv éx
U4 4 A , ,
Kurpov d:aBdvra tropbeiv Supiav Kat Tas woAELs
b>) 4 \ 4 l4 A eN
amayew kat BialecOar, xarétreprye tov viov An-
pntptov, dv0 Kal eixoow étav dvTa Kal otpateias
TOTE TPWTOV AUTOTEADS ET’ Wpadyyact peyaXots
admropevov. ola dé véos Kal detpos avdpt cup-
n 9
qwecwv ex THs ‘AdeEdvdpou Tadaiotpas nOAnKOTE
\ \ 4 > e_N b A 9 ,
ToANOUS Kal peyddovs Kal’ avTov ayovas, éodd-
‘4
An twept wokw Tdlav nrrndets, oxtaxicytAtov
/
aXovTwv Kal TevtaxicxXtAiwy aToOavovtwv. arreé-
12
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ground so that he could see it, “Fly, Mithridates.” Mithridates understood, and ran away by night to Cappadocia. And soon the vision of Antigonus was accomplished for him by fate. For Mithridates

made himself master of a large and fair territory, and founded the line of Pontic kings, which, in the eighth generation, was brought to an end by the Romans. This, then, is an illustration of the strong natural bent of Demetrius towards kindness and justice.

V. But just as among the elements of the universe, according to Empedocles, love and .hate produce mutual dissension and war, particularly among those elements which touch or lie near one another, so the continuous wars which the successors of Alexander waged against one another were aggravated and more inflamed in some cases by the close proximity of interests and territories, as at this time in the case of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus himself was tarrying in Phrygia, and hearing there that Ptolemy had crossed over from Cyprus and was ravaging Syria and reducing or turning from their allegiance its cities, he sent against him his son Demetrius, who was only twenty-two years of age, and was then for the first time engaging with sole command in an expedition where great interests were at stake. But since he was young and inexperienced, and had for his adversary a man trained in the training-school of Alexander who had independently waged many great contests, he met with utter defeat near the city of Gaza,? where eight thousand of his men were taken prisoners and five thousand were slain. He

1 In 63 B.c., when Pompey conquered Mithridates VI. and dismembered his RIDEAOMM 3 In the spring of 312 B.c.

Bare S€é cal oxnyny cat ypnpata Kal ddws ovp-
Tacav THy Tept TO c@pa Oepareiay. ara TATA
fev avT@ IItoANeuatos améreu we peta TOV dirov,
evyvapova kai dirdvOpwrov averrav Noyov, ws
ov qept mavTwyv apa, tept dSo—ns b€ Kai apyis
/ 9 \ > " , \ "
Toveuntéoy éativ avtois. Anpunrptos bé de€a-
wv a) a) \ Ld > ,
pevos edEato Tots Oeois un ToNdY Ypovoy oetré-
, 4 4 > \ l4
thv yevéoOar IItodewaim yapitosradrAa TAaXEwWsS
apeipacbar Sia Tov opoiwy. Kal mdbos ov
petpaxiov Tradev év apyn wpdkews avatpatrévTos,
arr' éuBprOods otpatnyoo Keypnuévov mpayya-
Tov petaBorais, avdpav TE TUAAOYHS Kal KaTA-
oxeuns OmAwy émepedcito Kal Tas trodes bua
Netpos elye Kal Tovs AOpotCopévous éeyupvatev.
VI. 'Avriryovos 8 tHv waxnv uO opevos ItoXe-
patov pev aryevetous verixnxota épn viv avlis
Siaywvieiabar pds avdpas, Tod bé€ viod To dpo-

vnua Kabenety Kal KoXovcat py Bouvdopevos ovK
évéstn wad aitovpevm payecOar Kal" avrov,
GX' adie. al, pet ov oA Xpovov adixto
KidAns, Lrodvepaiou otparnyos, meta Napmmpas
Suvapews, ws ekeddoov Yvpias Anuyntpioyv ama-
ons, T mponttncOa, Katadpovovpevov. o 8
? / ? \ > / /
éEaibuns émimecav ov mpoatcbopevy cal poBnoas
éiaBev avt® otpatnyp To oTpatoTedov: Kat
oTpatioTas pev émtaxioxidiovs Cavtas etre,
Npnudtov Sé tapmoANwy éxupievoev. Exaipe
dé vixnoas ovy ols ev, adr ols arrodwcer
14

lost also his tent, his money, and in a word, all his personal effects. But Ptolemy sent these back to him, together with his friends, accompanying them with the considerate and humane message that their warfare must not be waged for all things alike, but only for glory and dominion. Demetrius accepted the kindness, and prayed the gods that he might not long be indebted to Ptolemy for it, but might speedily make him a like return. And he took his disaster, not like a stripling thwarted at the outset of an undertaking, but like a sensible general acquainted with reverses of fortune, and busied himself with the levying of men and the preparation of arms, while he kept the cities well in hand and practised his new recruits.

VI. When Antigonus learned of the battle, he said that Ptolemy had conquered beardless youths, but must now fight with men;! however, not wishing to humble or curtail the spirit of his son, he did not . oppose his request that he might fight again on his own account, but suffered him to do it. And not long after, up came Cilles, a general of Ptolemy, with a splendid army, intending to drive Demetrius out of all Syria, and looking down upon him because of his previous defeat. But Demetrius fell upon him suddenly and took him by surprise, put him to rout, and captured his camp, general and all; he also took seven thousand of his soldiers prisoners, and made himself master of vast treasures. How- ever, he rejoiced to have won the day, not by reason of what he was going to have, but of what he could

1 The competitors at the great games were divided into three classes : boys, beardless youths, and men (Plato, Laws, 833 c).

Ewerre, Kal THs viens OV TOY WAOVTOV OUTwS OVSE
tHv Sofav, as THY SiddAvow Tod didavO pwrrev-
3 patos éxeivou Kal Thy Yapw Hyadtnoev. ov pHV
avtoyvapoves taita émpakev, adr éypawe TO
matpi. Sovtos & éxeivou xa Kedevoavtos dv
BovrAetat tact xpicacbas TpOTrov, AUTOV TE TOV
Kidrnv cat pidrous avtov Swpnodpevos adOdvas
amémeppe. todTo To mdOos Zupias é&nXace
IIrovepnaiov, Avtiyovoy 5é xatnyayev ex Kerar-
YOVv Yaipovta TH vitn nal twoOodvta Dedcacba
TOV vioV.
VII. "Ex tovrov 5 trav “ApdBav tovs cadov-
pévous NaBartaiovs tmayayécOar meudbels o
Anpnrptos éxwvduvevoce pev eis TOTOUs avudpous
éutecov, TO Sé py SvatapaxOnvar pnd éexara-
yivat katatrAnEdpevos Tors BapBdpous, réiav Te
AaBeov worAAnY Kal KapynArovs éEwtaKoclas Tap,
AUTOYV aveywpnoen.
2 Emel S€ LéXrevxos, éxtrecwv pev vo ’Avtuyovou
THs BaBvXwvias mpdtepov, daTepov 5 dvaraBov
Thv apyny bv avTod Kat Kpatav, avéBn peta
Suvdpews, Ta’ auvopovvta ois “Ivdois eOvn «al.
tas wept Kavxacov émapyias mpocakopevos,
ehnigey Anya ptos épn ov evpyaew tHv Meao-
Tora play Kal wepdoas apve TOV Evdparny els
THY BaBvrwviav Tapera med wy epOn, Kat THs
érépas akpas (S00 yap haoav) éxxpovoas THY TOD
Ledevxou dpoupayv Kal Kpatnoas idious éyxat-
3 éoTnoev éemtaxicxytriovs avdpas. éx S€ THs

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DEMETRIUS

' restore, and was delighted, not so much with the
wealth and glory which his victory brought, as with
the power it gave him to recompense the kindness
and return the favour of Ptolemy. And yet he did
not do this on his own responsibility, but first wrote
to his father about it. And when his father gave
him permission and bade him dispose of everything
as he liked, he sent back to Ptolemy both Cilles
himself and his friends, after loading them with

gifts. This reverse drove Ptolemy out of Syria, and brought Antigonus down from Celaenae ; he rejoiced at the victory and yearned to get sight of the son who had won it.

VII. After this, Demetrius was sent to bring into subjection the Arabs known as Nabataean, and incurred great peril by getting into regions which had no water; but he was neither terrified nor greatly disturbed, and his demeanour overawed the ° Barbarians, so that he took much booty and seven hundred camels from them and returned.

And now Seleucus, who had once been expelled from Babylonia by Antigonus, but had afterwards succeeded in recovering the realm and was now wielding the power there, went up with an army, designing to annex the tribes on the confines of -India and the provinces about Mount Caucasus. Demetrius, accordingly, expecting that he would find Mesopotamia unprotected, suddenly crossed the Euphrates and invaded Babylonia before Seleucus could stop him. He expelled from one of its citadels (there were two of them) the garrison left there by Seleucus, got it into his power and established in it seven thousand of his own men. But

xapas Soa dépev 7 aryew NOVVAVTO TOUS OTpA-
TLOTAS apeneio bar kal AapBavew Kedevoas,
emaviGev émt Oddacouy ReBasorépav Lerevucw
THY dpxny GTOALTF OV efiaracbas "yap éd0xet TO
xa.cody os pnxéts mpoonkovaoay avtois. IItone-
paiouv pévrot TohtopKowvTos 'Adtcapvacoy oféws
BonOnoas éEnprace thv Tod.

VIII. 'Evdd£ou S€ tis durotipias TavTns yevo-
pévns, opun wapéotn Oavydatos avtots éXevOepody 89
\ ¢ , a _ \ , \
Thv 'EXXaba tacayv vTo Kacadvépou cai IItone-
paiov KaTtadedovAM@péevnv. TovTOU TOAELOY OvOELS
? w a t , \ ,
émoNeunoe TOV Bactréwy KadXiw Kal dixatoTepov:
'as yap aya tovs BapBapous tarewvodvtes evrro-
ld 4 > A A e XN > ,
pias ouvyyayov, ets Tovs "EXAnvas brép evdokias

kal Tihs avnAtcKov. ws O€ TpwToV eddoKeL TAELY
9 \ \ > , “A , 3 ld \ \
ért tas “AOnvas, Tov hidwv eimovtTos TUvds TpOS >
\ b s (4 “A a, \ ,
Tov Avtiyovoy ote det Tavtny THY TOALY, dv EXwot,
katéye 6: avtav, émiBdbpay tis “EAXAdbos5
@ > / e 9 , > b >
ovoav, ov mpoceayvev o Avtiryovos, aXN €7t-
/ \ ” \ \ > 4 \
Bab pav peéev bn xarnv cal doddevtov elvat Thy
_evvotay, Tas 6é’AOnvas, OoTEep axoTHY THS oiKOU-
pévns, Taxv tH S0—n Starrupcevey eis AravtTas
9 , \ 4 4 \ /
avOpwrous tas mpakes. érrer 5€ Anuytpios
éywv dpyuptov wevtaxioxiba TddavTa Kal otd-
Nov vewv wevtynxovta Kal Staxociwy én tas
> 4 \ \ ” , “a /
A@nvas, To pév aotv Anpntpiov tod Parnpéws
Kacavép@ dtotxoivtos, ev b€ TH Movvuxia ppov-
pas xabectwons. evtuyia 5€ dwa Kal tpovoia
vpnoapmevos érepaivero T@ Iletpaved wéuarry

after ordering his soldiers to take and make booty of everything which they-could carry or drive from the country, he returned to the sea-coast, leaving Seleucus more confirmed than before in his possession of the realm; for by ravaging the country Demetrius was thought to admit that it no longer belonged to his father. However, while Ptolemy was besieging Halicarnassus, Demetrius came swiftly to the aid of the city and rescued it.

VIII. The glory won by this noble deed inspired father and son with a wonderful eagerness to give freedom to all Greece, which had been reduced to subjection by Cassander and Ptolemy. No nobler or juster war than this was waged by any one of the kings ; for the vast wealth which they together had amassed by subduing the Barbarians, was now lavishly spent upon the Greeks, to win glory and honour. As soon as father and son"had determined to sail against Athens, one of his friends said to Antigonus that they must keep that city, if they took it, in their own hands, since it was a gangway to Greece. But Antigonus would not hear of it; he said that the goodwill of a people was a noble gangway which no waves could shake, and that Athens, the beacon-tower of the whole world, would speedily flash the glory of their deeds to all man- kind. ~ So Demetrius sailed, with five thousand talents of money and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, against Athens, where Demetrius the Phalerean was administering the affairs of the city for Cassander and a garrison was set in Munychia. By virtue of forethought combined with good fortune, he appeared off Piraeus on the twenty-sixth of the

4 dbivovtos Mapyndavos, mpoatcOopevov pév ov-
, 3 \ \ " f- e , e-. ff
Sevos, érrel 5€ BhON WANTioy 0 aTOAOS, amTdvT@V
e -~ \ \ a e ,
ws I[rodepaixas tas vais vrodéyec8at trapa-
/ 2 \ , bd , e
oxevalopévwy, oe supdpovncavres éBonGovv ot
otpatnyol, cal BdpuvBos jv, olov eixos év ampoc-
Soxnt@ Twodeulovs amroBaivovras avayxalopévay
autvecOa. Tois yap oTopact TOY ALLEVMY
b / b \ e / \ ,
akreLoTos erituy@v o Anuntptos Kat dveEeXaoas
évtos Hv non Katadavys tact, Kai dteonunvev
amTdo THS vews aitnow ovyias Kal owris
5 yevouévov O€ TOVTOV KNpUKA TapacTnaodpEVOS
avettev Ott wéurpetey avTOY Oo TaTHp ayaOn TYXN
\. 3 / 1 , \ \ \
tous A@nvaious! éXevOepwoovta Kai Thy ppovpav
éxBarovvta Kat Tovs vosous avtois Kal THv
TaTplov aTobwcovTa TOALTELAY.
IX. "AvappnOévrwy 5€ tovTwv of pév moddXot
Tapaxyphya tas domidas Oémevor po THY TOOw@Y
dvexpotnoav Kat Bowvtes éxéXevoy atroBaivey —
Tov Anunrplov, evepyérny kal owthpa wpocayo-
pevovtes' of 5é mepi tov Dadnpéa twavTws pév —
@ovto deiv déxec0at Tov KpatodvtTa, Kav pndéev Ov
émrayyérAeTat médrdn BeBasody, Sus 5€ mpécBets
Seopuévous® dméatetAay, ols o Anuntptos évtuyov
diriavOpwrws cuvéteuye tap éavtod tev Ta-
, . A

2 tpwwv dirwy tov Midrnorov 'Aptotodnpov. tod
5é Darnpéws b1a THY petaBorAnv THs TortTelas
aA \ la A A , } ,
HGXXov TOUS TOALTAS 7) TOUS TOAEmLLOUS SedaLKOTOS,
> > / e 4 > \ \ \ '
ove nuedryoev o Anuntptos, ava Kat tThv do€av

1 robs 'A@nvaiovs Sintenis and Ziegler : 'A@nvafous. 2 Seouévous Bekker has denaouévous, after Coraés.

month Thargelion.1 Nobody knew beforehand of his approach, but as soon as his fleet was seen in the vicinity, everybody thought that the ships belonged to Ptolemy and prepared to receive them. At last, however, the generals discovered their mistake and came to the rescue, and there was confusion, as is natural when men are compelled to defend themselves against enemies who are making an unexpected landing. For Demetrius, finding the entrances to the harbours open and sailing through them, was presently inside and in view of all, and signalled from his ship a demand for quiet and silence. When this was secured, he proclaimed by voice of herald at his side that he had been sent by his father on what he prayed might be a happy errand, to set Athens free, and to expel her garrison, and to restore to the people their laws and their ancient form of government.

IX. On hearing this proclamation, most of the people at once threw their shields down in front of them, and with clapping of hands and loud cries urged Demetrius to land, hailing him as_ their saviour and benefactor. The party of Demetrius the Phalerean also thought they must by all means receive the conqueror, even though he should con- firm none of his promises, but nevertheless sent ambassadors to supplicate his mercy. These Deme- trius met in a friendly spirit, and sent back with them one of his father’s friends, Aristodemus of Miletus. Now the Phalerean, owing to the change of government, was more afraid of his fellow-citizens than of the enemy. Demetrius, however, was not unmindful of him, but out of regard for the man’s

1 May-June, 307 B.c.

aidea Bets Kal THD apeTny Tob avd pos eis @nBas avrov, dorep éBounero, pera aopanrelas ouvelémepnper. autos S€ thy pev TONY, OK ay Eby, Kaimrep em Oupan, iSeiy mpotepov 4 TavTatracw erevdepocat THIS poupas damaddd£as: ™ O¢ Mowvuxia Xapareopa Kat Tad pov mreprBadiov bua pécou, Meyapors émémNevoev bd Kaodvdpov ppoupovpevots.

Tv@opevos dé Thy ‘AreEdvdpov Tov IloAuméprOvTos yevomevnyv yuvaina Kpatnoitonu év Ila-

Tpats d:atpiBoucay OvK ay anders yevéo Bat per’
avrov, meptBonrov ovcav éml KAAXNEL, KaTANLTO@V
THY. Svvapw € év TH Meyapinh Tm pon ev evlwvous
TWAS EXov avy avT@. Kal TOUTM@Y TaN amro-
oT peyras ATETKNVOTE Xwpis brép Tov Aabety Thy
yuvaixa cuverOovcav avt@. TovTO TLVEs aicBo-
Hevot TOV ToAEuiwy éEaidvns KaTédpapov én
avTov. o 6¢ PoBnbels Kal rAaBov xrapvdrov
eVTENES Spoup pevyor eLepuyer, OXiryou dejoas
aia xiarny ddwow é& axpacias aN@VvalL. THY be
oKNVIV PETA TOY YPNUaTwY @myovTO AaBovTEs of
TONEMLOL.
Tov dé Meyapwr ahovTa@v Kal TOV OT PATLWOT OV
éf” aptayny Tpamropeveov ‘AOnvaior TapyTyo Avro
TOAAT Senoes ToVs Mervyapeis: cat THY ppoupav 0
Anpnr ptos éxBahov nrevdepwae THY TOMY. €TL
5é TovTO 7 paTTov TOU pirocogov 2TiAm@vos
enya On, SoEav Eyovtos avdpos nonpévov TOS év
novxia KataBiavac. peTaTeprpdapevos ouv av.
TOV NPWTA LH TLS eine TL Tap éxeivou. Kal o
Lrikmev, “ Ovdeis,” elmrev: “ovdéva yap eidov
émiatauav aopépovta. tav &é OepatovTwy
22

good reputation and excellence, sent him and his friends under safe conduct to Thebes, as he desired. As for himself, he declared that, although he desired to see the city, he would not do so before he had completed its liberation by ridding it of its garrison ; meanwhile, after running a trench and a palisade - round Munychia, he sailed against Megara, where a garrison had been stationed by Cassander.

But on learning that Cratesipolis, who had been the wife of Polyperchon’s son Alexander, was tarrying at Patrae, and would be very glad to make him a visit (and she was a famous beauty), he left his forces in the territory of Megara and set forth, taking a few light-arrhed attendants with him. And turning aside from these also, he pitched his tent apart, that the woman might pay her visit to him unobserved. Some of his enemies learned of this, and made a sudden descent upon him. Then, in a fright, he donned a shabby cloak and ran for his life and got away, narrowly escaping a most shameful

capture in consequence of his rash ardour. His tent, together with his belongings, was carried off by his enemies.

Megara, however, was captured, and the soldiers would have plundered it had not the Athen- ians made strong intercession for its citizens; De- metrius also expelled its garrison and gave the city its freedom. While he was still engaged in this, he bethought himself of Stilpo the philosopher, who was famous for his election of a life of tranquillity. Accordingly, Demetrius summoned him and asked him whether any one had robbed him of anything. “No one,” said Stilpo, “for I saw nobody carrying away knowledge.” But nearly all the servants in

\ e 4 / b] \ 4 bp) \
oyebov dtavtwv StakXNaTévtwr, eet Tadty avTov
o Anunrptos éptrodpovetro cal téXos arraddaT-
Topevos elmer: “’EXevOépay buav, ® YriArror,
aoXeiT wo THY modu, ‘’Opdas,” én, * Néyeus*
ovdéva yap auav Sovrov dmonrehovmras.”
X. *Esrel 6€ wddw érraverOav mpos tHv Mov-_
vuylav Kal orpatotredevaas éFéxoe THY Ppoupav
, XN / C4 ¥ a“ 9
Kal Katéoxare TO hpovptoy, ovTws 7dn TAY’ AOn-
vaiwy Seyopévar kat Kadovvtwyv TapeNOwv ets TO
dotv Kat ouvayayov tov Sjpov amédwxe THv
TaTplLov TONTELAY: Kal TpocUTécXETO TAPA TOU
matpos avtois abikecOat citov TevTexaidexa
pupiddas pedimvov nal Edw vavIrnynoipev
aA b] z \ lA b A \ >
mAnOos ets ExaTov TpLApELs. A@nvaioe 5é atro-
haBavres THY Onwoxpatiay eres mevTeKxardecaTy,
TOV 6€ pécov Xpovov amo TOV Aapaxdy Kal THs
mwept Kpavvava payns dNOy@o pév orALyapyeKts,
Epym O€ povapyiKns KaTacTacews yevopévns Sid
\ a t Y ? \ ’
thv tov Dadnpéws Sivayy, ovTw AapTpov ev
Tais evepyeciaus Kal péyav havévta tov Anpn-
Tpiov émayxO7n Kal Bapdy éroincayv trav Tinev
a 4 A
Tais apetpliats as Endicavto. mpator péev yap
av0porev amavrwv tov Anpyntpiov Kat ’Avri-
a b , v b 4
yovov Bactreis avnyopevoay, ad\riws adhootovpe-
vous Tovvoya, Kat TovTO! 8) povoy TaVv BaciN-

“a ” a
KOv étt Tols amo Didimmov nal ’AreEdvSpou
meptetvas Soxody dOiKTov étépots Kal axoww@vntov:
1 «al rovro Coraés and Ziegler delete the xa; Bekker corrects to ws, after Schaefer.
24

the city were stolen away, and when Demetrius once more tried to deal kindly with the philosopher, and finally, on going away, said: “ Your city, Stilpo, I leave in freedom,’ “Thou sayest truly,’ replied Stilpo, “for thou hast not left a single one of our slaves.”

X. Coming back again to Munychia and encamp- ing before it, he drove out the garrison and demol- ished the fortress, and this accomplished, at last, on the urgent invitation of the Athenians, he made his entry into the upper city, where he assembled the people and gave them back their ancient form of government. He also promised that they should receive from his father a hundred and fifty thousand bushels of grain, and enough ship timber to build a hundred triremes. It was fourteen years since the Athenians had lost their democratic form of govern- ment, and during the period which followed the Lamian war and the battle at Crannon! their government had been administered, nominally as an oligarchy, but really as a monarchy, owing to the great influence of the Phalerean. And now that Demetrius had shown himself great and splendid in his benefactions, the Athenians rendered him odious and obnoxious by the extravagance of the honours which they voted him. For instance, they were the first people in the world to give Demetrius and Antigonus the title of King, although both had up to that time shrunk from using the word, and although this was the only royal prerogative still left to the descendants of Philip and Alexander which it was thought that others could not assume or share ;

1 323-322 B.c. See the Phocion, xxiii.; xxvi. 1.
. 2 5
é

, \ a > fs , \ _\. 9
povot 6€ cwrnpas avéyparyav Oeovs, Kal Tov érrw-
yupLov Kal TaTpLOV apXoVTA KaTaTavoaVTES lEepea
awTnpwv éyepotovovy Kal’ Exactov évavrov:
\ “A 9 \ “A , . \ “

Kal TOUTOY eT TOV WhdiopatwY Kat Tov cvuUBo-

, “A 4,

ANaiwy mpoéypaghov. évupaivecOar Se TO TéTA®

ve) cal \ ,

peta TOV Oe@v avTors endicayto: Kai TOY TO-

Tov Omov wpa@Ttov amréBn Tov appatos, Kabtepa-

\ \ 3 4 4

cavTes Kal Bopov émiOévtes Anuntpiov Karar-

Barou mpoonyopevoay: tais b€ dudais dv0 mpoceé-

\

Oecav, Anuntpidda Kat ‘Avtiyovida, cai thy

BovAnyv tTav TevTaxociwy mpoTepoy éFaKxociwv

éroinaav, ate 6) hudAns éxaotns TevTnKovTa
Bovreutas Trapeyouevns.
\ A

XI. To 8 wwepdhvéctatov éevOvpnpua tod
Ltparokréous (ovTos yap Rv o THY Godav Tov-
TWY Kal TEPLTT@Y KaLvoupyos apeoKkevpaTw”),
¥ fad e U \ 4
eypawrey omws ol Teutopevot Kata Whhlopa
/ N b 4 aA J, b \
Snuocia mpos ‘Avtiryovoy 4 Anuntpiov avti mpe-
“ 4 4 e w
aBevrav Oewpol réyouto0, xaOdtrep ot IIvO0t wai
3 4 \ , , e \ “ ,
Odvuptriate tas tratpiovs Oucias birép TaY To0-
2 7 3 ne ae a e
Aewy avayovtes ev Tais EAAnviKais Eoptats. Hv
dé kal TaAAa TapdToApos Oo LtpatoKAys, Kat
BeBiwxws acerxyas cal thy Tod madalod Kre-
@vos atroptpeicbat Soxav Bwporoxiay ral Bde-
/ a \ N A > / ” \ \

Auplay TH Wpos Tov Shwov evyepeia. Eaxe 5€é THY
e , , 9 , , > A
eTaipav PvuraKioy aveiknpws’ Kal OTE aUT@

—

1 Every fifth year, at the Panathenaic festival, a sacred robe was carried in solemn procession and deposited with

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DEMETRIUS

moreover, the Athenians were the only people to give them the appellation of Saviour-gods, and they put a stop to the ancient custom of designating the year with the name of the annual archon, and elected every year a priest of the Saviour-gods, whose name they prefixed to their public edicts and private contracts. They also.decreed that the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus should be woven into the sacred robe,! along with those of the gods; and the spot where Demetrius first alighted from his chariot they consecrated and covered with an altar, which they styled the altar of Demetrius Alighter ; they also created two new tribes, Demetrias and Antigonis; and they increased the number of the senators, which had been five hundred, to six hundred, since each of the tribes must furnish fifty senators.

XI. But the most monstrous thing that came into the head of Stratocles (he it was who invented these elegant and clever bits of obsequiousness) was his motion that envoys sent by public decree and at public expense to Antigonus or Demetrius should be called sacred deputies, instead of ambassadors, like those who conducted to Delphi and Olympia the ancient sacrifices in behalf of the cities at the great Hellenic festivals. In all other ways also Stratocles was an audacious fellow ; he lived an abandoned life, and was thought to imitate the scurrility and buffoonery of the ancient Cleon in his familiarities with the people. He had taken up with a mistress named Phylacion ; and one day when she had bought

the goddess Athena on the Acropolis. On it were represented the exploits of the goddess, particularly in the Battle of the Giants.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

\ a 9 bd ” , b eed
mpos dettvov é€ ayopas wptapevns éyxepadous
\ / “ a) PP as
Kat tpaxynrous, “Ilarai,” elie, “ Towatta ye

b] , 4 e ‘ 99
weavnkas ols odatpifowev of rodsTevopevot.
THs 5é€ mept Apopyov itTns Tov veav guuBdaons
an 3 , , ee l
tots “A@nvaias, Pbdcas tovs amrayyéXXovTas
elonracey éeatepavwpévos Sia Tov Kepaperxoi,
Kal mpooayyeiAas STL vevixnxacw, evayyédta
Ovew éypawe kal xpewdaiciay Twa Kata hurry
étoinoev. orjg&y@ 8 totepov TaY Ta vavayla Ko-
plovTwv amo THS maXnNsS Tapayevopévwv Kal Tov
Syou pos opynv KadodvTos avTor, itauas bro0-
otras Tov OopuBov, “Kita,” édy, ‘tt wemrovOate
Sewov, ef Sv0 nyépas ndéws yeyovate;” ToravTy
fev 4 TOU YTpaToKAé€ous OpacuTns.
XII. "Hv 6€ dpa Kai crupds érepar Gepporepa
Kata tov ‘Apiotopavn. ypaper yap Tis adXos
bmepBadropevos dvedeuBepig Tov Yrparokréa,
SéxecOar Anuntptov, oodKis av adixnrat, Tois
Anuntpos xat Atovicov Eeviopois, TO 8 brrep- —

Baddopévp Raptpornte Kal ToArvTEACia THY
e \ b] 4 9 3 UA , 4
Urodoxnyv apytptov eis avdOnua Snpocia - 8ido-
, N lal “A \ ~
aOat. tédos b€ TOV TE pynvav Tov Movevyiwva
Anpntptava cat Tov Huepav THY Evnv Kal véay
Anpntpidda tpoonyopevcar, kal TeV éopTav Ta
Avovvcva petwvopacav Anpuntpia. érecnpnve
dé Trois mAeloTos TO Ociov. o pev yap TérXos,
@tep endicavto peta Tod Atos nal rhs “AOnvas
mpocevudyvat Anunrpiov Kat ’Avtiyovov, trep-
28 :
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DEMETRI US”

in the market-place for his supper some brains and neck-bones, “Aha!” he cried, “thou hast bought just such delicacies for me as we statesmen used to play ball with.” Again, when the Athenians suffered their naval defeat near Amorgus,! before the tidings of the disaster could reach the city he put a garland on his head and drove through the Cerameicus, and after announcing that the Athenians were victorious, moved a sacrifice of glad tidings and made a generous

distribution of meat to the people by tribes. Then, a little later, when the wrecks were brought home from the battle and the people in their wrath called him out, he faced the tumult recklessly and said: “What harm have I done you, pray, if for two days ye have been happy?” Such was the effrontery of Stratocles.

XII. But there are things hotter even than fire, as Aristophanes puts it.2 For some one else, out- doing Stratocles in servility, proposed that whenever Demetrius visited the city he should be received with the hospitable honours paid to Demeter and Dionysus, and that to the citizen who surpassed all others in the splendour and costliness of his reception, a sum of money should be granted from the public treasury for a dedicatory offering. And finally, they changed the name of the month Mounychion to Demetrion,. and that of the last day of a month, the “ Old and New,” to Demetrias, and to the festival called Dionysia they gave the new name of Demetria. Most of these innovations were marked with the divine displeasure. The sacred robe, for instance, in which they had decreed that the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus should be ‘woven along with those of Zeus and

1 In 322 B.c. A Macedonian fleet was victorious.

‘ :
Knights, 382. 29
PLUTARCH’S LIVES.

, \ wae a / 2 4 4
TOHEVOS bia roi Kepapercod pécos Eppayn Oven
Ans eutrecovans Tept 5é Tos Bwmovs Tous Exel-
vow e&vOnoev) Yi KUKA@ TOAD K@VELOV, ANAWS
\ a a a .
pnde THS Ywopas ToAdaxod dudpmevovy TH 6é
A / \
nuepa 4 Ta TOV Atovyciwy éyiveto, THY TOmTHY
a C4
KaTéAvoay iayupav wdywv yevouévay Tap wpav.
/ ,
kal raxvns Badeias érttecovans ov povov apire-
a 4 a
Nous Kal auKads atacas atréxavoé TO odxos,
9 \ \ a“ / N a 4
Gra Kal Tov citov Tov mWAEclotov KaTépOetpev
éy xdon. Sto wal Didsrridns éxOpos wv Tod
4 b] / N 2 A ? a
LtpatoxrAéovs ey Kwpwdia mpos avTov eroince
TAUTA’
2 a > 4 e , A bf 4
5: by amréxavoev 7) WAXY TAS’apTEXOUS,

“A e
5. bv aceBodvl’ o trétXos Eppayn pécos,
Tas TOV Oeav Tias TroLodVT’ avOpwrivas.
TavTa Katadvet Sjpov, ov Koppdoia.
"Hv & 6 Pirsrmidyns Avoimayou diros, Kat

modAa os avtov o Sihuos eb Erabey vo Tov

/ 907 \ \ \ A > a \
Bacitréws. éddxer 5€ Kai mpos mpakiv avT@ Kai
mpos atpateiay evavpuBoros amavrncas elvat
kai opOeis. adrAws 5€ Kal dia TO HOS evdoxiper,
\ b A ? 9 aA , b

pnOev évoxr@v pnd avrLKHs Tepiepylas ava-

4 A
Tiumrapevos. dirodpovovpévou Sé€ rote TOU
Avotwpmdyou mrpos avtov Kal eitrovtos, “OQ. PidsT-
io l4 A 9 fe) a 99 ce , 99
mwion, Tivos aot TOY éuav petad@; ‘‘ Movop,
4 73 aA \ a 3 / ” an \
én, “ Bacired, un TMV aTroppHTwY. ToUTOY MEV
30

DEMETRIUS

Athena, as it was being carried in procession through the midst of the Cerameicus, was rent by a hurricane which smote it;! again, all around the altars of those Saviour-gods the soil teemed with hemlock, a plant which did not grow in many other parts of the country at all; and on the day for the celebration of the Dionysia, the sacred procession had to be omitted on account of severe cold weather that came out of season. And a heavy frost followed, which not only blasted all the vines and fig-trees with its cold, but also destroyed most of the grain in the blade. Therefore Philippides, who was an enemy of Stratocles, assailed him in a comedy with these verses * ;:—
“ Through him it was that hoar-frost blasted all the vines,
Through his impiety the robe was rent in twain,
Because he gave the gods’ own honours unto men.

Such work undoes a people, not its comedy.”
Philippides was a friend of Lysimachus, and for
his sake the king bestowed many favours on the
Athenian people. Moreover, when he was about to
undertake anything or make an expedition, he
thought it a good omen to meet or catch sight of
Philippides. And in general the character of
Philippides gave him a good repute, since he was no
busybody, and had none of the officious ways of a
courtier. On one occasion Lysimachus wished to do
him a kindness, and said: “ Philippides, what have
I that I can share with thee?” “O King,” said
Philippides, “ anything but one of thy state secrets.”
1 The ‘‘peplos” was spread like a sail on the mast of the

sacred Panathenaic ship.
2 Cf. Kock, Com. Att. ‘Frag. iii. p. 308.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

® 9 7 5 , / “A] ‘ a
ovv émitndes éxeiv@ trapeOnkapev, TO aTrO TOD
Bnparos Tov amo ths Oupéerns.
XIII. “O 8 padtora tev Tiwav brreppves Fv
Kat adXoxoToy, éypare Apopoxreidns 6 LPytreos
eo A a ? / 3 / 3 \
imép THS TOV aoTridwyv avabécews eis Aeddovds
\ , A , >» A \
wapa Anpntpiov AaBeiv yonopov. avtnv Sé
/ \ A 3 A / 4
Tapaypayw Thy rNEEw ex TOV WndiopaTos oUTWS
éyovoay: “'Ayadn tixn. SedoxOar TO Shum
A \ A ov ws 1 ? ee
Netpotovnca Tov Ojpov Eva avdpa e€ “AOnvator,
— OoTLs ALKGmEvos Tpds TOV DwTHpa Kal KadALEpn-
Tapevos eTEepwTHoEt TOY YwTHpa Tas av evoeBé-
oTaTa Kat KadNoTAa Kal THY TayioTHV oO SHpos
THY aWOKaTadCTAGW TolncatTo TaVv avadnudtav:
6 1. 8 av xXphon, tadta wpdrrew tov Shpyov.”
OUT KATapwKewpeEvot TOD avOpwTrov TpocbsepOer-
> f 2Q\ e I \ 4
pav avtov, o00é GAXAWS Dytaivovta THy Sudvotav.
XIV. "AAN’ ev ye tais "AOnvass tore oXOAALw
? 4 A 3 , 4 A

nyayeto xnpevovoav Evpudixny,) Merriddou peév
@ 9 4 A : “ / de 9 UA 1
Hv aTrOyovos TOU TadaLod, cvvoixnoaca 5é Odéra
T@ Kupnyns apEavts peta THv exeivou TeXeUTHV
b) Vi 4 9 \ >] / e \ =
adixeto wadw eis tas “AOnvas. ot péev ovv
"AOnvaioe Tov yapov TodTov eis ydpty EOevTo Kat
\ A / ” \ ¢ 4 b V4
Tin THS TOAEWS’ GAAwS dé 0 AnuntpLos Eevyepns
Tls Hv rept yauous, Kal moAXNais aa ovvav
yuvakiv, wy akiwpa péyiotov elye nal - tiny
Dira d¢ “Avtimatpov tov twatépa Kat dua TO
mpocuvvexnkévat Kpatep@, T@ mAeioTHY evvoLaD
1 'OpéAag Ziegler, after Wilamowitz: *OpéAza.
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DEMETRIUS

Such a man, then, I purposely compare with Stratocles, the man of the stage with the man of the bema.

XIII. But there was one honour proposed for Demetrius which was more strange and monstrous than any other. Dromocleides the Sphettian moved, when the dedication of certain shields at Delphi was in question, that the Athenians should get an oracle from Demetrius. And I will transcribe his very words from the decree ; they run thus: “ May it be for the best. Decreed by the people that the people ‘elect one man from the Athenians, who shall go to the Saviour-god, and, after a sacrifice with good omens, shall enquire of the Saviour-god in what most speedy, decorous, and reverent manner the people may accomplish the restoration to their places of the dedicatory offerings ; and that whatever . answer he shall give, the people shall act according thereunto.” With such mockery of adulation they finally perverted the man’s mind, which even before was not wholly sound.

XIV. Furthermore, while’ he lingered in Athens at this time, Demetrius took to’ wife Eurydicé, a widow. She was a descendant of the ancient Miltiades, had married Ophelas the ruler of Cyrené, and after his death had come back to Athens. The Athenians, accordingly, took this marriage as a graceful compliment to their city; but in general Demetrius made a rather light matter of marriages, and had many wives at the same time, of whom Phila enjoyed the greatest esteem and honour, both because of her

father, Antipater, and because she had been the wife of Craterus, the one of all the successors of Alexander

1 A pious formula prefixed to important documents.

avTov mapa Maxedoor TOV "AreEavdpou Siadoyov
GTONTOVTL. TAUTNY, WS EouKe, Kopeon véov évTa
Tov Anpuntpioy éretOev 0 TATHP, OVK OVTAY AUT@
Kae' par, ara ape Butépay, AaPeiv amrpo-
Ovpas & éxovte A€yeTaL Wpos TO ovs TO Evperi-
Secov evmrety"
67rov TO Képb0s, Tapa puowy yapnréop,+
opotomTwrTov Te TH SovrAeuTéoy evluppnuovycas.
TOLAUTH pev ouv Tus Hy TOU Anpntpiov Tem
Wpos TE Pirav Kal Tas addras yapetas woTe
ToAAats pev avédnv éraipas, moAXats Oe: édev-
Gépats cuveivar yuvarkt, cat parsota b17 tept THY
HOOVNY TAUTNY KaKwS akovca, THY ToTEe Bact-
Newry.
XV. *Ezei 5é 0 TaTNp avTov éxanet Irorewaip
mepl Kurpov TONEMMTOVTA, mreiBea Bau pev qv
avaryKaiov, ax Pouevos 5é OTL TOV brrép Ths "EXXa-
dos TONEHOD, évTa KaAXNI® Kal Nam porepov,
amroneitret, tpocéteupe KXewvidyn TO LtoAepaiov
cTpaTny@ ppovpobyTe Siucvava Kah Kopi ov
Xpnwara Tporeivoy, OOTE édevdépas adeivac Tas
Torels. ov tpocdeEapévou 5é éxetvou, dia TaXéwy
avaxGeis Kal TpoohaBov Stvapiw émémdevae
Kurpy. kal MevédXaov pen, aderpov IItorepaiou,
pany cuvarbas ev0us € évinnoev™ avTov 6é IIroAe-
patov peTa Suvdpews melixis dpa Kat VaUTLCAS
peyadrns emipavevTos, éyevovTo pev aTELNaL TLVES
kal Ssedroyou Kopmr@ders, TOD wey atrocity An-
1 BAA eis 7d Képdos mapa puaw SovdAeuvtéov, Phoenissae, 396 (Kirchhoff).

who left behind him the most goodwill among the Macedonians. This woman, as it would appear, his

father had persuaded Demetrius to marry when he was quite young, although she was not of his age, but older; and when his son was disinclined to the match, it is said that Antigonus whispered | in his ear the verse of Euripides:

“ Where there is gain, ‘gainst nature’s dictates must one wed,”

substituting off-hand “ must one wed ” for the similar inflection ‘‘ must one serve.”” However, so slight was the respect which Demetrius paid to Phila and to the rest of his wives, that he consorted freely with many courtesans, as well as with many women of free birth, and as regards this indulgence he had the worst re- putation of all the kings of his time.

XV. And now his father summoned him to wage war against Ptolemy for the possession of Cyprus. He must needs obey the summons, but was loth to abandon the war for the liberation of Greece, which was a nobler and more glorious war, and therefore sent to Cleonides, the general of Ptolemy who was occupying Sicyon and Corinth with a garrison, and offered him money to set the cities free. Cleonides, however, would not accept the bribe, and Demetrius therefore put to sea in haste, and taking additional forces, sailed against Cyprus.1 There he joined battle with Menelaiis, a brother of Ptolemy, and promptly defeated him ; but Ptolemy himself appeared on the scene with a large land and naval force combined, and there were sundry interchanges of threats and boasts, Ptolemy ordering Demetrius to

1 In 306 z.c.

pT ptov KéAEVOYTOS Mply Ure THS duvapews
maons AbpoicGeians KaTaTaTnO nvat, Anpntptov
bé éxetvov apeivat dacKkovtos, av Oporoynon
LuKvava Kal K opwOov aTranrracev THs ppoupas.
6 56 a dryanv ou jLovov avrots exeivors, AAXNG Kal Tots
arrows atract duvdo ras TOANHY eixe mpog Soxiay
THS eT LK pea weVTS adnrornTOs, WS ov Kurpov
oude Lupiav, GNA TO péryearov evOvs elvat Tav-
TOY TO KpAaTODVTL THS vixns TpoaTiWeEians.
XVI. AUTOs pev aUV Oo Hi todepaios EM EMTNEL TEV-
THKOVTO Kai éxatov vats éyov, ex be Larapivos
exéhevoe Mevédaov efjxovta vavoiv, OTav pa-
Mora cvoTacw) dryeov ex, T poo pepopevov Tas
Anpuntpiov Kxomreyv éEoricbev cat Stataparrew
THY taki. Anpntptos S€ tais pev éEjKovra.
TAUTALS average béxa vais (rocabras yap i 7) pkouv
oTEvov évTa TOU ALMEVOS enppatar Tov éxtrAov),
autos dé To welov éxtakas Kal Tois avaTeivovaew

eis THY OdXacoay dxpwtnpiots TEeptXedpevos, ov-
TOS aunyxn vavalv € éxaTov dySonKovTa: Tpoopikas
be poun kai Bia TOM Kara KPaTOS eTpéyraTo
TOV Ttodepaiov, aro per, as évixnOn, dua
TAX ECV puyovra, vavoly OKT@ povas (rocabras
yap ék TAagaV mepterwOnaar, Tav 6€ aAXAwY at
pev év TH vavpayia SuepIapnoay, éBSopunxovra dé
jAwoay airavdpor), Tou 6€ év okKdot Tapop-
pobytos 8xdov Oepam ovray Kab pidov Kat yuvas-
KV, eTL Oe OTM Kal Xpnpatrov Kal pnyavnudtov
amas ovdev ebepuye TOV Anpntptov, GaN' éraBe
mavra Kal KaTnyayev els TO aTparomeco. éy b¢
TOUTOLS 1) meptBonros nv Aapia, TH pev apxny
omovoacbeioa Sia thy Téyvny (edoKet yap avActy
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sail away before the entire force should assemble and crush him, and Demetrius offering to let Ptolemy go if he would agree to withdraw his garrisons from Sicyon and Corinth. And not only Demetrius and Ptolemy themselves, but also all the other potentates, awaited with great expectancy the uncertain issue of the impending struggle ; they felt that not Cyprus, nor yet Syria, but the absolute supremacy would at once be the prize of the victor.

XVI. Well, then, Ptolemy himself sailed to the attack with a hundred and fifty ships, and ordered Menelaiis to put.out from Salamis with sixty ships, and when the struggle was fiercest, to assail the ships of Demetrius in the rear, and throw them into confusion. But to these sixty ships Demetrius opposed only ten ships (for that small number sufficed to block the narrow exit from the harbour), while he himself, after first drawing out his land forces and encompassing the headlarids that extended into the sea, put out to battle with a hundred and eighty ships. He made his onset with great impetus and force, and utterly routed Ptolemy. Ptolemy himself, after his defeat, fled swiftly with eight ships only (for that small number were left from his whole fleet; of the rest, some had been destroyed in the sea-fight, and seventy had been captured, crews and all), but of the throng of attendants, friends, and women which lay.in ships of burden close at hand, and further, of all Ptolemy's arms, money, and engines of war, absolutely nothing escaped Demetrius, but he took everything and brought it safely into his camp. Among this booty was the celebrated Lamia, originally held in esteem for her artistic skill (she was thought to play the flute quite admirably),

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OuK evxaTappovytas), datepov 5€ Kal Tois épwrt-
4 ols AauT pa ryevomenn. TOTE yoov non hipyouea,
Ths Opas Kai TON VEWTE POV eau is AaBodca TOV

Anpit prov expaTnoe T™) xapere Kat KATETXED,
Hore éxeiyns elvat wovns épactnv, Trav & adrAov
épepevov yuvaiKay.
Mera dé THY vavpaxiav ouvdé Oo Mevédaos

avTeaXer, ara THY TE Zarapiva mapedwxe T@
Anuntpio | Kal Tas vavs Kal 70 meCov, ¢ lameis Te 896
xedious Kal dtaxocious Kal pupious Kai dioxXiALous
Om ALTAS.
XVII. Obra dé apm pay Kal Kady THY viKNY
yevomevny ETL pad ov eT KOT MOV 0 Anpntpios
evyVopoo vy Kab prravd pwrrig TOUS vexpous TOV
Tore pio EOarbe peyaho TpEeTaS Kab TOUS aly a
AwTous abjcey: "AOnvaious 6€ xurAtias Kal da-
koalas amo T@V Aapipov edwpijcato mavorrhias.
2 Avrayyedov &é TAS viKns TO Tatpb TOV Miry-
o Lov "Apiarodnpov emreprpe, mpwTevovTa Kohaxela,
TOV AUNLKOV ATAVYTWY, Kal TOTE mapeoxevacpéevor,
OS Eouxe, TOV KOhaKeUpaTOV TO péyLatou emrevery-
Kelty TOUS mpdywaccy. as yap emépacey ato THS
Kurpov, T poo éxety [ev OUK elace TH Yn TO moior,
aryKupas 6 a eivat Kedevoas kal KaTa vady exeuv
3 at pépa. mavras, avTos éuBas els TO épodxvov ef Oe
povos Kal m1pos Tov "Avtiryovoy avéBarve, [eT éwpov
évta Th mpoa Soxia THS pays «al Sraxeipevov
ss eixos éote Staxciobau TOUS wept ™parywarov
THALKOUTOY GYOVLOVTAS. - TOTE ye pny aKovaas
EXELVOV Hucew ETL “adXov 7 TpoTEpov ErVE Tapa-
woas, Kal pores bev avrov oixou KaTELXED,
aAXous 8 em adds Ereutev UTNpéTas Kal
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DEMETRIUS

but afterwards becoming illustrious in the annals of
love also. At this time, at any rate, although she
was past her prime and found Demetrius much
younger than herself, she so mastered and swayed
him by her charms that he was a lover for her alone,
but a beloved for all other women.
After the sea-fight, Menelaiis also made no further
resistance, but handed over Salamis to Demetrius,
together with his fleet, and his land forces, which
comprised twelve hundred horsemen and_ twelve
thousand men-at-arms.

XVII. This victory, which was so fair and brilliant, Demetrius adorned still more by his humanity and kindness of heart. He gave the enemy's dead a magnificent burial, and set his captives free; moreover, upon the Athenians he bestowed twelve hundred suits of armour from the spoils.

As his special messenger to carry word of the victory to his father, Demetrius sent Aristodemus of Miletus, the arch-flatterer among all his courtiers, and ready now, as it would seem, to crown the achievement with the grossest of his flatteries. For when he had crossed over from Cyprus, he would not suffer his vessel to come to land, but ordered the crew to cast anchor and remain quietly on board, all of them, while he himself got into the ship's small boat, landed alone, and proceeded towards Antigonus, who was anxiously awaiting news of the battle, and was disposed as men are apt to be disposed who are struggling forso highastake. And now, indeed, when he heard that Aristodemus was coming, he was more disturbed than before, and, with difficulty keeping himself indoors, sent servants and friends,

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

pirovs mevaopévous Tov 'Apiotodnmou Tepi TeV YEYOVOTMY. ATOKpLVOLEVOU SE pndey AUTOD uNdevt, Badnv &€ xal cuveotate TH TpocwT@ peETAa MOAAHS TlLWTHS TMpodLovTos, éxmAaryels Kody Kab pnkéts Kaptepav o 'Avtiyovos émi tas Oupas aTrnvTnoe, TOAOU TapaTréTOVTOS On TOV 'Aptotodnuov SyAov Kat auvtpéyovtos emi TO Bacireov. ws ovyv éeyyils HAOev, extewvas THV defray aveBonoe peydrAn TH pov7 ' Xaipe, Bactrev 'Avtiyove, uxa@pmev Itodewatov vavpayia nat Kuzpov éxouev kal otpatioras aly wahwrous puptous é€axtoyxtAtous oxtakociovs. o b€ 'Avtiyovos, "Kai ov, vy Alia, yaipe, elmev " odTw dé nuas Bacavioas dixnv vdéees: Boddsiov yap atohy yn TO evayyeALtov." ;

XVIII. "Ex rovrov mpwtov dvedwvnoe TO wrAnGos ~Avtiyovov xat Anpyntpiov Bactréas. "Avtiyovoy pev ody evOus avédnoay ot didrot, Anpntpio dé 0 matnp ereuwe Suddnpa rat ypabov émuctoAnv Baciréa mpoceirev. of & ev Alyinrt@ TovtTwy dtayyedX\opévov cal avrot Baoiréa tov Titodepaiov davnyopevoav, as pn

Soxeivy Tov dpovipatos bdiecIar dia THy Hrrav. emreveiuato 6€ o0Tws TO TPayua TO bnrAw TOUS Siaboyous. Kai yap Avaoipayos iipEato dopetv Siddnua, xal Yérevxos éevtuyydvev tois “EXXn- alv, eel Tots ye BapBdpots mpotepov ovTOS ws Baotnrevs éypnuatile. Kacavdpos dé, Trav dAXwY a’tov Bacihéa kai ypadovtwy xal Kadovvtov, autos, waTEp mpoTepov elwOeL, Tas éeMLTTOAAS éypade. |
40

one after the other, to learn from Aristodemus what had happened. Aristodemus, however, would make no answer to anybody, but step by step and with a solemn face drew near in perfect silence. Antigonus, therefore, thoroughly frightened, and no longer able to restrain himself, came to the door to meet Aristodemus, who was now escorted by a large throng which was hurrying to the palace. Accordingly, when he had come near, he stretched out his hand and cried with a loud voice: “ Hail, King Antigonus, we have conquered Ptolemy in a sea-fight, and now hold Cyprus, with twelve thousand eight hundred soldiers as prisoners of war.” To this Antigonus replied : “ Hail to thee also, by Heaven! but for torturing us in this way, thou shalt undergo punishment; the reward for thy good tidings thou shalt be some time in getting.”

XVIII. Upon this, the multitude for the first time saluted Antigonus and Demetrius as _ kings. Antigonus, accordingly, was immediately crowned by his friends, and Demetrius received a diadem from his father, with a letter in which he was addressed as King. The followers of Ptolemy in Egypt on their part also, when these things were reported to them, gave him the title of King, that they might not appear to lose spirit on account of their defeat. And thus their emulation carried the practice among the other successors of Alexander. For Lysimachus began to wear a diadem, and Seleucus also in his interviews. with the Greeks ; with the Barbarians he had before this dealt as king. Cassander, however, although the others gave him the royal title in their letters and addresses, wrote his letters in his own untitled name, as he had been wont to do.

41

3

Tobto dé ov TmpoaOyKny ¢ évéparos xa TX MATOS
éEadrayny ele plovov, adda Kab Ta ppovnpara
TOV avd pe exinae Kal TAS yopmas émnpe Kat
rots Biors Kal Tals opirtats aUTOV GyKov éveToinae
cal Baputnta, xabarep tpayitxav bToxpiTOVv dua
TH oKevn cuppetaBarrAovTwv Kal Badiopa Kal
gwvyv kal kataxdow Kal mpocayopevotv. éK
5é rourwy éyevovto Kat qTrept Tas Sixaracets
Bacorepor, THY els TOANA mapéXxovoav avTous
edad porépous Kab padarwTépous Tois vmnNKooLs
7 pote pov elpavelay THS éfoucias adehortes. TO-
oovTov loxuoe KONAKOS dovy pia Kal tocauTns
éveTTANTE THY oloupevny petaBoris.
XIX. "AYTiYOVOS dé Trois TET pary WEVvOLS v6
Anpntpiou qept Kuzpov émrapbels ev0us éoTpa-
Tevoev emi Irorepatov, avuTOS pev dry ween
THY Sivapuy, Anyntpiov be peydre OTOAM oUpL-
Tapam NEovTOs. Ov O€ TpoTrov Ewedde xpivecOar
Ta TpayLara, Myjox0s, "Avtuyovou piros, Oyruv
elde Kata Tous Brrvovs. done yap auTov “Avti-
ryovov ayoviterOat pera THS oT paras amdans
dtavdov EUPWOTWS Kal TAYXU TO T pao, cita Kata
puck pov BbiSbvat THY Suvapuy adre: Kal TéEXOS,
WS exaprper, acbevh "yevopevov Kal pear ov aaO pa-
TOS ov padios avadepev. auTOs TE obv evTuX@v
KaTa ynv troddais aropiass, xat Anpunrpiov
Kerpwave peyar Kat Krydove KLVOUVEVTAYTOS
els TOTTOUS GNLpEVOUS Kat Xarerovs explpnvar,
TOANAS d€ tav vewov atrodécartos, émavnAbev
QM PAKTOS.
"Hy dé tore puxpov amoAcirroyta yeyovws eT

pusKep yeyovas érn

42

89

DEMETRIUS

Now, this practice did not mean the addition of a name or a change of fashion merely, but it stirred the spirits of the men, lifted their thoughts high, and introduced into their lives and dealings with others pomposity and ostentation, just as_ tragic actors adapt to their costumes their gait, voice, posture at table, and manner of addressing others. Consequently they became harsher in their judicial decisions also; they

laid aside that dissemblance of power which formerly had often made them more lenient and gentle with their subjects. So great influence had a flatterer’s single word, and with so great a change did it fill the whole world.

XIX. Antigonus, elated by the achievements of Demetrius at Cyprus, at once! made an expedition against Ptolemy; he himself led his forces by land, while Demetrius with a great fleet coéperated with him by sea. How the enterprise was to issue, Medius, a friend of Antigonus, was warned by a vision in his sleep. He dreamed, namely, that Antigonus himself, with his whole army, was compéting in a race over the course and back ; he ran vigorously and swiftly at first, then, little by little, his strength failed him; and at last, after he had made the turn, he became weak, breathed heavily, and with difficulty made the finish. And conformably to the vision, Antigonus himself encountered many difficulties by land, and since Demetrius also encountered a great storm and a heavy sea and was cast upon a rough coast which had no harbours, losing many of his ships, he returned without accomplishing anything. ;
Antigonus was at this time almost eighty years

1 During the same year, namely, 306 B.C.

9 P) , l , be Y , ,
oyOonxovtTa,’ peyées 5é€ Kat BapuTnte cwpatos
a“ . n \
MaAXov 7 Sta TO yijpas éml Tas oTpareias yeyovws
wn A 2)
Svotapaxopmtotos éxphto T@ Tradl Kal di évtuxiay kai dv éwrepiay nbn Ta péytota Kaos
n I
Stoccoovtt, Tpupas O€ Kal ToAvTEXELas Kal TOTOUS
a U / \
avtod pn Bapvvopevos. eipnvns yap ovons adv-
“A n \
Bprtev eis taita Kat ayordlwv éxypito pos
Tas noovas avetmévas avT@ Kal KaTaKkopws, €v

\ a“ / e e / , v
5€ Tots TodEwors ws of Guoet swdpoves Evnhe.
AévyeTas 6€ THs Aapias avadavdov nbn Kpatovons,
‘ ’ , e.\N a , ; ,
tov ’Avtiyovoyv wire tod Anpntpiov Kxatadinov-
pevov Hkovtos aro &Eévns eiveiv Gua yedrovTa,
‘‘Aoxeis Aapmav, ® Tai, katadiAciv.” madi dé
(a
Tote WAelLovas Nuépas ev TOTOLS yevopuévou, Kal
mpopaci A€yovTos ws pedua StoxAnoELEeY aUTOY,
/
“’KarvOouny,” ddavac tov Avriyovor, “ddXa TroTe-
/ A wn > \ [re) 99 , \
pov @dcrov 4} Xiov jv to pedua;” muPopevos 8é
e P) wn ” b] N 9 ; , 9 ,
atOis dcbevas Eyew avtov éBadiSev ovropevos,
Kal TOV KAA@Y Tie TEpl OUpas amrnYTNGEV EioEr-
\ \ \ lA 9 b ‘ (vd nw v
Owv 5é Kal KaOtoas tap avtov Hato THs KeELpos’
/ A
éxeivou 5é eltovTos OTL viv oO TupETOS ATrOKEXa-
pyncev, “’Apéret, tracdiov,” én, ‘Kal éuol viv
mept Ovpas amiwv amnvTnke.” tata dé odtw
ws édhepe tov A (ov Ola THY AAXr
T Paws p nuntpiov dua thv aAAnv
a e \ \ , /
mpakw. ov pev yap YxvOae Tivovres cal peBv-
: a ?
oKouEevol TapawdrXovor Tas vevpas TaV Tokwr,
olov éxAvopevoy vo THs HOovis avaxaNovpevor
1 6yd5ohxovra MSS. and most editors; trav dydohxoyra.
44

DEMETRIUS

old, and his great size and weight, even more than his old age, made it difficult for him to conduct expeditions. He therefore made use of his son in- stead, whose good fortune and experience now enabled him to conduct the greatest affairs success- fully, and whose luxuries, extravagances, and revelries gave his father no concern. For although in time of peace Demetrius plunged deep into these excesses and devoted his leisure to his pleasures without restraint and intemperately, yet in time of war he was as sober as those who were abstemious by nature. And we are told that once, after Lamia was known of all men to be in complete control of Demetrius, he came home from abroad and greeted his father with a kiss, whereupon Antigonus said with a laugh, “One would think, my son, that thou wert kissing Lamia.’’ Again, on another occasion, when De- metrius had been at his revels for several days, and excused his absence by saying that he was troubled with a flux, “So I learned,” said Antigonus, ‘but was it Thasian or

Chian wine that flowed?’’ And again, learning that his son was sick, Antigonus was going to see him, and met a certain beauty at his door ; he went in, however, sat down by his son, and felt his pulse. “The fever has left me now,’ said Demetrius. “No doubt, my boy,” said Antigonus, “I met it just now at the door as it was going away.” These failings of Demetrius were treated with such lenity by his father because the young man was so efficient otherwise. The Scythians, in the midst of their drinking and carousing, twang their bow-strings, as though summoning back their courage when it is dissolved in pleasure; but

Tov Oupov, éxetvos 5é Ta pep O0V7 d:50us aT Mes
éavTov, ta 6€ omrovdj, Kal Odrepa TOD érépwv
axpara perayerprlopevos, ovr HTTOV Hv Sewvos ev
Tals TOU TONEHLOV mapacxevais.
XX. ’AAAG cal TapacKevacaa bat _Ovvapuy 7
xpncac ba. Bedtiov « edoxet TTPATHYOS elvat, mara
pev ex meptovatas. Umdpxew Bovdopevos emi Tas
vpeias, THS O€ Tepl Tas vavs Kal Ta pnXavnpara
peyahoupyias kal Kal qdovny Teva Tov Gewpetv
aTAHTTOS é Ov. evpuns yap Ov Kat Dewpntixos
OUK Els Tau tas ovd els Siayoryas aX PHATOUS
éTpewre TO prdorexvov, @oTEp addov Bacwnéis
avdovvTes kal CoypadovvTes Kal TOpevovTeEs.
"Adpotros yap o Maxedeor tpanévia pxpa Kai
Auxvidva TEKTOLVOMEVOS, omroTe axXordfor, Suijryev.
"Attanros 6€ 0 Prrountwp éxnmeve TAS pappa-
KWOELS Bordvas, ou pLovov. vooKvapov Ka éXXE-
Bopov, aXe Kal K@VvELOV Kal aKOVLTOY Kal Sopu-
KvLoy, AUTOS ev Tots Bactretous omel pov Kab
putevor, OTOUS TE Kal Ka prov AUT OV epyov Té-
Toinpevos eidévat Kal KomilerIat Kal” @pay. ot
dé ITdp0ev Baatnreis evenvuvovTo Tas axivas
TOV Bedav VapaTTovTes avrol Kat mapabnyovres.
anna, pny Anpntplov Kal To Bavavoov jj ay Baotre-
KOv, Kab péyelos 7 1 pe0000s eixen, apa TO TEPLTT
Kal purorexvep TOV epyov Dypos Tt Siavoias Kab
ppovnwaros cuvexpepovTan, Gare pa povov ya
ns Kab Teptovaias, adda Kal _Xetpos aka dat-
vera Baoitucgs. peyeder pep yap eben ntTe
Kal TOUS pirous, xadnet dé Kal Tous ToAepious
Erepire. TouTO O€ ETL waNdOV eee 7 KoLOs

Demetrius, giving himself up completely, now to pleasure, and now to duty, and keeping the one completely separate from the other, was no less formidable in his preparations for war.

XX. Nay, he was actually thought to be a better general in preparing than in employing a force, for he wished everything to be at hand in abundance for his needs, and could never be satisfied with the largeness of his undertakings in building ships and engines of war, or in gazing at them with great delight. For he had good natural parts and was given to speculation, and did not apply his ingenuity to things that would afford useless pleasure or diversion, like other kings who played on the flute, or painted, or chased metals. Aeropus the Macedonian, for in- stance, used to spend his leisure time in making little tables or lamp-stands. And Attalus Philometor used to grow poisonous plants, not only henbane and hellebore, but also hemlock, aconite, and dorycnium, sowing and planting them himself in the royal gardens, and making it his business to know their juices and fruits, and to collect these at the proper season. And the kings of the Parthians used to take pride in notching and sharpening with their own hands the points of their missiles. But with Demetrius, even the work of his hands was kingly, and his method had grandeur about it, since what he produced displayed ‘loftiness of purpose and _ spirit combined with elegance and ingenuity, so that men thought it worthy, not only to be designed and paid for by a king, but actually to be wrought by his hand. For its magnitude terrified even his friends, and its beauty delighted even his enemies. And this has still more truth in it than elegance of

4 elpntar. nal tas pev éxxadexnpers avTod Kal
Tas TEVTEKALOEK TELS eOavpalov ETTOTES OL B98
TONE MLO Tapa THV viv avT@Vv Eos, ai oe
éherrohers as Géapa Tots ToAopKoupEevoLs OAV,
as avra, Ta mpaypara apTupel. Avoipaxos
pev yap, éxOtaT0s av Anyntple TOV Bacthéwr
Kal TONOpKOYTL Lorous Tors KiAcxiovs avrete-
TaryHLEVOS, em eure Tmapakarev émrdeiEat Tas &N-
; xavas avT@ Kal tas vads TAEOVCAaS: emdeiEavTos

5 o€ Oavpdoas am7jrde. ‘“Podsor dé tmodvv xpovow
vm’ avTov TromopxnGevtes, érret KATENUTAYTO TOV
TOELOD, NTS avTO TOV pNXavev évias, OT ws
vropynywa THS éxeivou Suvayews aya kal THS av-
TOV avdpayabias é EXWOLY.

XXI. "Emondeunoe dé ‘Podious Irodepatov oUp-
payors ovat, Kal THY meyloTHnV éXETrONLY Tots TEL-
xeoe 7 poonyaryen, Hs edpa bev WY TETPaywvos,
ExaoT gy éyouca Tov KaTW TTAatciou meupav
OKT® Kal Teg oapaKovTa TNX OY, ef dé Kal e&n-

KovTa (TIX OV infos elyen, els Kopupny ouvvevovca
2 tais ave Trev pais OTEVWTEPAY THS Bdcews. év-
Sofev pév oby areas Sverréppakto Kal xwpars
Todas, TO Oe WTpos TOUS Tohepious QUTNS peToO-
Tov ave@KTo Kal" éxdotny otéynv Oupiow, Kat
bua TOUTWY eferume Bern TavTooaT a' perry yap
4 avopov payouevwy mac av idéav podyns. Kat
TO BN Kpada.vopevov auras pnoe KALVOMEVOY év
Tats KWITETL, arr' opbov é €V espa Kal aoadAeuTon,
icopporrws apa poily Kal TOV@ TOAND 7 pox@-
pouy, Ga uBos aya Th Wun Kal Yapw Tiva TH
Owes TOV Few peveov Tapetye.
3 IIpos d€ todToy Tov ToAEMov avT@ Kai Owpaxes

diction. His enemies would stand on shore and admire his galleys of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars as they sailed along past, and his " city-takers " were a spectacle to those whom he was besieging, as the actual facts testify. For Lysimachus, although he was the bitterest enemy Demetrius had among the kings, and had arrayed himself against him when he was besieging Soli in Cilicia, sent and asked Demetrius to show him his engines of war, and his ships in full career ; and when Demetrius had shown them, Lysimachus expressed his admiration and went away. The Rhodians also, after they had been for a long time besieged by Demetrius and had come to terms with him, asked him for some of his engines of war, that they might keep them as a reminder of his power as well as of their own bravery.

XXI. Now, he made war upon the Rhodians?} because they were allies of Ptolemy, and brought up against their walls his greatest ‘‘city-taker."' Its base was square, and each of its sides measured at the bottom forty-eight cubits. It rose to a height of sixty-six cubits, and tapered from base to summit. Within, it was divided off into many storeys and chambers, and the side of it which faced the enemy had windows opening out of every storey, and out through these issued missiles of every sort; for it was full of men who fought in every style of fighting. Moreover, it did not totter or lean when it moved, but remained firm and erect on its base, advancing evenly with much noise and great impetus, and this astounded the minds and at the same time greatly charmed the eyes of those who beheld it.

For his use in this war there were brought to

1 In 305-304 B.c. The siege lasted about a year.

éxopiaOnoav éx Kumpov dv0 otdnpoi, py@v odKTS

éxadtepos teaoapdxovta. Svardbeav dé Kal po-
pny avrav éridecxvupevos o Texvitns Zwiros éxé-
A \
ANevoev €F elxooe Bnudtwv adeivar catamreNTiKov
/
BéXos, o8 trpocmecovtTos appayns Siéuevev o Gi-
Snpos, duuvxny dé pworss éoyvev awPreiay, obov azro
fe) \
ypaetov. TtovTov autos épope tov 5’ Erepov
oY J 9 , b \ , ; “A
AAkipuos 0 Hiretpwrns, avnp Todepixwtaros TOV
oUV avT@® Kal pwparewtatos, bs povos éeypHTo
Sitaddvt@ TavoTAla, TOV ad\AWY XpwLEéVwOV TA-
4 ‘ \ 4 b e 4 \ \ 4
Aavtiaia’ Kai payopmevos év “Pod trepi 76 Oéatpov
4
errecev.
XXII. Etdpworws 5é xal trav ‘Podiwy apvvo-
4 QA wv , . 4 e /
pévwov, ovdév akiov AOyou mpdatrwv o AnpuntpLos
4 ? / \ ? 4 4 , ”~
Guws eOvpopaye: mpos avtous, dtt, Piras Tis
YUVALKOS AUTO ypdupata Kal oTpw@pata Kal ima-
Tia Teprpdons, ANaBovtes TO THOLOY, WoTTEp ELXe,
apos Irovenaiov améoterav, cal thy ’AOnvaiwv
’ ? / , A ,
oux éutunoavTo diravOpwriay, of Piritrov Tro-
NEMOVYTOS aUTOLS ypappaTtohopous EArOVTES TAS
\ ” > « b / ‘ \ \
pév AdXrNaS avéyvwoay émictoAds, povny b€ THY
"Odupriddos ovK EAXvaaY, aA’, OoTEp BV KaTa-
cEeonpacmévn, Wpos éxelvoy aTécTElAay. Ov pH
4 /
aNd, Kaltrep él TovT@ apddpa SnxOels o Anun-
IAN
Tptos, evOus Trapacyovtas AaBnv oby Urépecver
avTiAuijoat tous ‘Podious. éruxe yap avtois o
4
Kavvtos Upwtoyévns ypddwv thy rept rov ‘laXv-
cov Oudbeotv, Kai TOY Tivaka piKpov aTrodEiTOVTA
5°

DEMETRIUS

Demetrius from Cyprus two iron coats of mail, each of which weighed only forty pounds. Wishing to

show their strength and power of resistance, Zoilus their maker gave orders that a catapult's missile should be shot at one of them from a distance of twenty paces, and in the place where it struck the iron remained intact, although it did get a faint scratch, such as might be made by a graver. This coat of mail Demetrius wore himself; the other was worn by Alcimus the Epeirot, the sturdiest and most warlike of all the men under him, and the only one whose suit of armour weighed a hundred pounds (the rest used suits of fifty pounds weight) ; he fell in battle at Rhodes near the theatre. |

XXII. But the Rhodians on their part made a vigorous resistance, and Demetrius, although he was accomplishing nothing worthy of mention, neverthe- less kept up the fight against them in a rage, because, when Phila his wife sent him letters, bedding, and clothing, the Rhodians had captured the vessel containing them, and had sent it, just as it was, to Ptolemy. In this they did not imitate the con- siderate kindness of the' Athenians, who, having . captured Philip's letter-carriers when he was making war upon them, read all the other letters, indeed, but one of them, which was from Olympias, they would not open; instead, they sent it back to the king with its seal unbroken. However, although Demetrius was exceedingly exasperated by this, when the Rhodians soon after gave him a chance 'to retaliate, he would not allow himself to do so. It happened, namely, that Protogenes the Caunian had been making a painting for them which illustrated the story of Ialysus, and this picture, nearly finished,

Tov Tédos Every Ev Tie TOV T™ poaaTelwy édaBev o
Anuntptos. TeuavTov dé Knpuka TOV "Podioy
Kal Seopeveoy getcacbat cai pn dtapOetpar TO
epyov, dmexpivato Tas Tod TaTpos elxovas ay
3 eum pio au pardov 7 n TEXYNS Tovov TOGOUTOV. énTa
yap ETECL héyeTat TUVTERET AL THV ypagny 0 IIpw-
Toyevns. Kai gnaw 0 'Arrehrfis obras exTT Aa
ynvat Geacdpevos TO epryov Gore kai povnv ere
Aemeiy auTov, Oe be elrrety ore "' Meéyas O TOvos
Kat Javpacrov TO épyon, ov pay exe ye Xa pe-
tas ov as ovpavov pavew Ta UT avTou ypado-
4 peva. TAUTNY ev OV THY ypadny ELS TavTo Tats
adrats cuvwa Beicay év 'Pamun TO Top eTEvEL LATO.
tav dé 'Podiwy cateFaviaTapevov TOU TrOAELOV, 899
deo uevov | Tpopacews TOV Anpaytptov "AOnvaior
Taparyevopuevot Oup\raEav € emt TO oumpaxely "Po-
dtous "Avtiyova cat Anuntpio wry eri IroXe-
peatov.
XXIII. 'Exddrouv b€ rov Anpyrpiov ot *AQOn-
vaior Kacdvépov TO doTU TONLOpKOdVTOS.) bé
vavolw érimdevoas TpLaKog Lats TpidKovTa Kal
Toots OTALTALS, OU povov ef))Aace THS "ATTLKAS
tov Kdaavédpor, andra kal pevyovta pEX pL @cp-

MOTTUA@V diwEas Kat _TpeYrapevos, ‘Hpdketav
éXaBev, éxouvciws auT@ poo Genevny, Kab TOV
Maxedovey éEaxcoxidous peraBarouevous pos
2 avrov. emaviwy d€ TOUS evTds Tlvva@p * ‘EdAqvas
nrevBépov, cal Botwrovds éroinocato cuppdyous,
1 When Strabo wrote, during the reign of Augustus, the painting was still at Rhodes, where it had been seen and admired by Cicero (Orat. 2, 5); when the elder Pliny wrote,

had been captured by Demetrius in one of the suburbs of the city. The Rhodians sent a herald and begged Demetrius to spare and not destroy the work, whereupon he replied that he would rather burn the likenesses of his father than so great a labour of art. For we are told that it took Protogenes seven years to complete the painting. And Apelles says he was so smitten with amazement on beholding the work that his voice actually failed him, and that when at last he had recovered it, he cried, “ Great is the toil and astonishing the work,” remarking, however, that it had not the graces which made the fame of his own paintings touch the heavens. This painting, then, crowded into the same place with the rest at Rome the fire destroyed.1 As for the Rhodians, they continued their strenuous resistance in the war until Demetrius, who wanted a pretext for abandoning it, was induced to make terms with them by a deputation of Athenians, on condition that the Rhodians should be allies of Antigonus and Demetrius, except in a war against Ptolemy.

XXIII. And now the Athenians called upon Demetrius because Cassander was besieging their city. So Demetrius sailed to their help with three hundred and thirty ships and a great number of men-at-arms, and not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but actually pursued him in his headlong flight as far as Thermopylae, and then took Heracleia, which joined him of its own accord, and six thousand Macedonians, who also came over to him. On his return, he gave their freedom to the Greeks on this side of Thermopylae, made the Boeotians his allies, a generation or two later, it had been carried to Rome and placed in the temple of Peace (cf. Strabo, xiv. p. 652; Pliny, N.H, xxxv. 10, 36). és

Kal Keyxpéas elXe* Kab Dury Kal Ilavaxrovp,
em iTeLXio waa, Ths CArtixijis t7r6 Kaodvdpov
poupotpeva,, KaTaaTpeyrdpevos amedwxe Tots
“AOnvaiors. ot O€ KaiTrep eX KEXUPEVOL 7 POTE POV
Eis arov Kal KaTaKEey pnpuevol Tacay prot ipusay,
eEebpov 6 Suws Kal TOTE mpoaparot Kal Katvot Tals
KoNakelas havivat. Tov yap omc odopov Tov
HapGevaivos dmréderEav avuT@ Katddvoww KaKet
diartav eixe, Tis FAOnvas hevyouerns vmodexer Oat
Kab Eevitew avrov, vu Tavu KOo [Lov Eévov ovee
WS mapbevep Tpaws érictad uevovra. KatTou TOV

adehpov avTou DtrAurrov aia opevds TOTE 0 Tra-
THp ev oiKig KaTadvovTa Tpets exovon véas yuvai-
Kas, Tpos éxeivoy pev ovdev épbéyEato, mapovTos
5é éxeivou, TOV arab pwodorny peTatrepyapevos,
“ Odtos,” elev, ‘ ‘oun éEdFers mou Tov viov éx Tis
OTEVOYWpPLAS ;"
XXIV. Anat ptos dé, THY “AOnvay avUT@ 7 poa-
hKov, eb St aAAO pNdév, OS Ye Tm peo Butépay
aderdny aia xuves Oat (robTo yap éBovreTo dé-
yeoOat), TOTAUTHY UBpw eis traidas éhevd épous
Kal yuvaixas aotas Kxatecxébace THS akpo-
TOAEWS dare Soxeiy tote padtota KaBapeueev
Tov TOTrOV, STE X puaib. kal Aapia cat Anpot
Kab "Avtexupa, Tais mopvats éxeivais, cuvaKo-
Aacraivot.
Ta pev ody addAa cadas atrayyéAXEw ov TpeTrEt
dua THY TOAD, THY dé Anpoxéous apetny Kat
Twp poo vny afvov €oTe pn mapenbeiv. EKELVOS
yap Hy ért trais dvnBos, ovK habe Oé TOV Anpn-
Tpiov Exwv THs evpopdias THy éTMVUmLLAY KAaTH-
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and captured Cenchreae ; he also reduced Phyle and Panactum, fortresses of Attica in which Cassander had garrisons, and gave them back to the Athenians. And they, although before this they had used up and exhausted all the honours that could be bestowed upon him, nevertheless devised a way to show themselves then also the authors of new and _ fresh flatteries. For instance, they assigned him the rear chamber of the Parthenon for his quarters; and there he lived, and there it was said that Athena received and entertained him, although he was no very orderly guest.and did not occupy his quarters with the decorum due to a virgin.’ And yet on one occasion when his father understood that his brother Philip was quartered in a house occupied by three young women, he said not a word to Philip himself, but in his presence said to the quartermaster whom he had summoned, “See here, wilt thou not remove my son from his narrow quarters? ”’

XXIV. But Demetrius, who ought to have revered Athena, if for no other reason, at least because she was his elder sister (for this was what he liked to have her called), filled the acropolis with such wanton treatment of free-born youth and native Athenian women that the place was then thought to be particularly pure when he shared his dissolute life there with Chrysis and Lamia and Demo and Anticyra, the well-known prostitutes.
Now, to give all the particulars plainly would disgrace the fair fame of the city, but I may not pass over

the modesty and virtue of Democles. He was still a young boy, and it did not escape the notice of Demetrius that he had a surname which indicated

1 Since the Athenians had made him a ‘‘ Saviour-god.”

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yopov: éxanreito yap Anpwoxdjs o Karos. ws bé
TOAAG TetpwovtTav Kai Svovtwv Kal dhoRovvtwv
Um’ ovdEevds HALoKETO, TéAOS 5é hEevywy Tas Tra-
Aalotpas Kal Td yupvdotoy eis te RBadaveiov
isuwtixov éhoita Nova opmeEvos, emLTNPHTAS TOY Kas-
pov o Anpunrptos émecondOev. adit@ pove. Kal o
mais, @ cuvetde THY Tepl avTov épnuiav Kat THY
dvayKnv, aperX@v TO TALA TOD YAaAKwpaTOS Els
téov bdwp évnrato cal SvépOerpev avrov, dvakia
pev tradev, aka 5é THs Tatpidos Kal Tov KddXOUS
ppovncas, ovy ws Kreaivetos o KXeopuédorros, ds
@dAnKoTe TE Tarpl dinny TevTnKOVTAa TaXdvTwOV
adeOnvat Siamrpakdpevos Kal ypappata Tapa
Anpntpiov Kopicas mpos tov Shyov ov povov
éavTov KaTnoxuvev, GAAA Kal THY TOY GuUDE-
tdpake. Tov pev yap Kreouddovta tis Siens
apjxay, eypadyn Séwydiopa undéva tov ToALTOV
émictoAny trapa Anpuntpiov Kxopitew. érrel dé
axovaas éKetvos ovK jveyice peTpios, GX nya-
VAKTNOE, Seicavres abbus ov povov TO Pipe pa
xabeirov, GNA Kal TOV elo mynoapeveov Kal ouvel-
TOVTWY TOUS fev ATEKTELVAD, TOUS 5é Epuyadevaa);
ére O€ tmpocendicavto dSedoxOat TO SHuw TaV
"AOnvaiwy wav, 6 te dv o Bactrevs Anuntptos
KeXevon, TOUTO Kal mpos Oeovs Sotov Kal pds
avOpwtous elvat Stxatov. eitrovtos 8€ Tivos TOY
Karov kayadav dvipav paiverOar tov Xtpato-
Kréa TOLAVTA ypadovta, Anwoydpns 0 Aeveovoeds
“Maivotto pévtav,” eltrev, “el pn paivotto.”
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his comeliness; for he was called Democles the Beautiful. But he yielded to none of the many who sought to win him by prayers or gifts or threats, and finally, shunning the palaestras and the gymnasium, used to go for his bath to a private bathing-room. Here Demetrius, who had watched his opportunity, came upon him when he was alone. And the boy, when he saw that he was quite alone and in dire straits, took off the lid of the cauldron and jumped into the boiling water, thus destroying himself, and suffering a fate that was unworthy of him, but show- ing a spirit that was worthy of his country and of his beauty. Notso Cleaenetus the son of Cleomedon, who, in order to obtain a letter from Demetrius to . the people and therewith to secure the remission of a fine of fifty talents which hgd been imposed upon his father, not only disgraced himself, but also got the city into trouble. For the people released Cleomedon from his sentence, but they passed an edict that no citizen should bring a letter from Demetrius before the assembly. However, when Demetrius heard of it and was beyond measure incensed thereat, they took fright again, and not only rescinded the decree, but actually put to death some of those who had introduced and spoken in favour of it, and drove others into exile; furthermore, they voted besides that it was the pleasure of the Athenian people that whatsoever King Demetrius should ordain in future, this should be held righteous towards the gods and just towards men. And when one of the better class of citizens declared that Stratocles was mad to introduce such a motion, Democharesof Leuconoé said: ‘“ He would indeed be mad nat to be

e “A “A
TOAAA yap O UTPATOKAHS MPerelro Sia THY KOAa-
, e \ , 2 \ , \
xeiav. o d€ Anuoxydpns émlt tovtm d:aBrnbels
? UA a 4 9 “A
ehuyadevOn. Toradta érpattov ‘A@nvaio: dpov-
a ’ a, \ \ > , ”
pas amnr\rAdyGae cat thv édrevOepiav Exew So0-
KOUVTES.
XXV. Anpntpios Sé taperOwv eis TWedorov-
? ‘\ e 4 A b / bd \
vnaov, ovdevos Uptatayévov TOY évayTiov, AAA
hevyovTwy Kal Wpoiewévwv Tas WodEs, TpoTn-
/ , , ’ \ >? n
yayeto Tv Te KaXoupevnv “Axtnv cal ’Apxadiay,
A id Vow \ > A : \
mAnv Mavtiveas, cat “Apyos nal 2tkumva Kat
\ “a
KopiwOov édvoato tddavta Sovs éExatov ois
a A “ 4
ppovpovov. éy “Apyes pev ody THs TOY Hpaiwy
EOPTHS xabnxovons,, aryavober av Kal ouptrayn-
‘yupiSov TOUS "Edrnow, é éynue THY Ataxidou Ouya-

Tépa, tod Modrottrav Baciréws, aderAdnv dé
oe A :
Ilvppov, Anidaperav. Xuxvwviovs 5é dycas Tapa
THV TWOALV OLKELY THY TOALY, ETELTEV OV VOV OLKODCL
petotxicacOar: To Sé€ TOT Kal TovvoNa THY
, nw >] \ A
Tok cuppetaBarovoav avtTl Xuxvavos Anpun-
Tpiada tTpoonyopevoev. - ev 5é “IoPu@ Kowod
cuvedpiou yevoyévou Kat ToAA@Y avOpwray auV-
; fo} € j
erXOovtav, nryewwv avnyopevOn tis “EXXdOos, ws
mportepov ot wept Pirermov cat "AréEavdpov: wv
éxetvos ov Tapa puixpov évopiley éavrov elvas
/ A A “
Bertiova, TH TUX TH Tapovon Kal TH dSuvaper
TOV Tpaypdtwv eTratpopevos. ‘“AréEavdpos yoov
> / ~ ” 4 b] / “
ovdéva TaV aAAwY Baciéwv atrectépnoe THS
e 4 +Q\ e_eN ? a VA /
Omwvupias, ovde avTOV aveime Bacthéwy Bactréa,
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mad.” For Stratocles reaped much advantage from his flatteries. Democharés, however, was brought under accusation for this and sent into exile. So fared it with the Athenians, who imagined that because they were rid of their garrison they therefore had their freedom.

XXV. And now Demetrius proceeded into Pelo- ponnesus,! where not one of his enemies opposed him, but all abandoned their cities and fled. He received into allegiance Acte, as it is called, and Arcadia (except Mantineia), and freed Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth by paying their garrisons a hundred talents. At Argos, then, where there was a cele- bration of the festival of Hera, he presided at the games and attended the solemn assemblies with the Greeks, and married Deidameia,? the daughter of Aeacides king of the Molossians, and the sister of Pyrrhus. As for the Sicyonians, he told them their city was in the wrong place, and persuaded them to change its site to that which it now has; moreover, with the site he also changed the name of the city, calling it Demetrias instead of Sicyon. And at the Isthmus of Corinth, where a general assembly was held and throngs of people came together, he was proclaimed Commander-in-chief of the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been proclaimed before him; and to these he considered himself in no slight measure superior, lifted up as he was by the good fortune and power which he then enjoyed. And certainly King Alexander never refused to bestow the royal title upon other kings, nor did he proclaim himself King of ee although many

1 Karly in 303 B.c
? Although both Eurydice and Phila were still living.

Kaito ToAXOls TO KaXEicOat Kai evar Bactréas
> AN , b] la) \ , \ fe)
autos Sedwxas: éxeivos S€ yrevafwv Kal yedov
Tous GAXNov Tiva TANVY TOU TaTpOS Kal avTOD
Baotréa tpocayopevovtas, HOéws HKOVE THY Tap
moTov émuyvces NapBavovtwoy Anuntpiov Bact-
Aéws, Derevxou Oe erehavtapyou, [rorepatou Sé
vavapyov, Avotpdyouv dé yatopvXaxos, "Ayabo-
Kr€ous O€ TOU YKEALwTOU VnoLapxYoU. TovTwV Se
\ A a b / e \ ”
mpos Tovs Raatnrels exhepopevwy ot péev GAXOL
Bactreis xateyéXov, Avaoipayos 8 nyavaxtes
povos et aomddovta vopites Anpnrptos avtov:
émieck@s yap eiwmbercav evvovyous eye yato-
gdvraxas. Hv 56 kal mavtwv arexyOéotatos o
Avoipaxos avT@, kal rAodopav eis Tov épwra
tHs Aaptas éXeye viv mp@Tov ewpaKxévat Topyny
wa lol e
Tpoepyouevnv ex TpayiKhs axnyys: o dé Anuntptos
A , a
éhn THY éavTOv TOpynV cwhpovertépay eEivat TIS
éxeivou IInveXorns.
XXVI. Tote & obv avafevyviwr els tas *AOn-
4 e 4 / ’ \
vas éypawev Ste BovrAeTar Trapayevopevos evOvs
punOjvar Kal THY TerETHY AtTacay ato TeV
pixp@v aypt ToV éToTTLKaY TapadaBeEly. TOTO
\ ’ \ 9 2O\ \ / ’ \
5é ov Oepitov jv ovdé yeyovos TpoTepov, addrAda
Ta puxpa Tov ’AvOeotnpi@vos éteXodvTO, TA Sé
peydra tov Bondpopiavos: ére@mrevov 5é Tov-
AaYXLoTOV aTo TAY peyadXwv éviavTov dade TovTes.
avayvwobévtwy 5é TOV ypappdtwev povos éTOr-
‘ a e A
noe avretrety Lv@0dwpos 0 Sadovyos, émépave

\ > , 9 \ Ul , >] a
dé ovdév: GANA Ltpatokr€ovs yvopnv eitrovTos
-60

kings received their position and title from him; whereas Demetrius used to rail and mock at those who gave the title of King to any one except his father and himself, and was well pleased to hear revellers pledge Demetrius as King, but Seleucus as _ Master of the Elephants, Ptolemy as Admiral, Lysimachus as Treasurer, and Agathocles as Island Governor of Sicily. When this was reported to these kings, they all laughed at Demetrius, except Lysimachus; he was incensed that Demetrius con- sidered him a eunuch (it was the general practice to have eunuchs for treasurers). And of all the kings Lysimachus had most hatred for Demetrius. He was once reviling the man's passion for Lamia, and said that this was the first time he had ever seen a harlot coming forward to play a great tragic part; Demetrius, however, declared that his own harlot was more chaste than the Penelope of Lysimachus. XXVI. But to resume the story, when Demetrius was getting ready to return to Athens, he wrote letters to the people saying that he wished to be initiated into the mysteries as soon as he arrived, and to pass through all the grades in the ceremony, from the lowest to the highest (the "epoptica''). Now, this was not lawful, and had not been done before, but the lesser rites were performed in the month Anthesterion, the great rites in Boédromion ; and the 'supreme rites (the "epoptica'') were celebrated after an interval of at least a year from the great rites. And yet when the letter of Demetrius was read, no one ventured to oppose the proposition except Pythodorus the Torch-bearer, and he accom- plished nothing; instead, on motion of Stratocles, it was voted to call the current month, which was

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"AvOcotnpiava tov Movvvytava Wnydiocapévous
a \ , > 2 "A ; , A
Kanely Kal voller, eréeXovy TO Anuntrpiw Ta
\ " \ \ a , fe »
mpos Aypav: kal peta tavta madw e& <Av-
Jestnpi@vos o Movvvyiwv yevousvos Bond popiwv
9Q7 \ \ / 4 \ \ ?
édéEato Thy NoLrny TereTHV, Gua Kal THY éTro-
mreiav Tov Anuntpiov mpocemtAaBovtos. 610 Kat
Diditmidns Tov Yrpatoxréa NoLdopav Erroinaer:
° e N a ?
0 TOY éviavTOV GUYTELWY Els LAV eva,
\ \ a 9 A A ,
Kat Tept THs év T@ LlapOevane xatacKnvadews:
e / "A '

0 THY axpoTrOALY TravooKeiov UTOAAaB@V
\ / a VA
kal Tas éTaipas cioayaywv TH Tapbévo.

XXVII. TlodAr@v S€ yevouévwy ev tH Tore
TOTE TANMLMEANMLATOY Kal TapavoynuaTay éxeivo

, 4 a \ > , isd
partota AéyeTat AUTHGaL Tovs ‘AOnvatous, STL
Siaxooia Kal TevTHKOVTA TaXavTa Topica TaYd
Kal dSovvat tpoctayGév avtois Kal THs elompa-
Eews cuvtovov Kal dmrapaitntou yevopévns, Lowy
b] , \ 9 4 > + , \ a
nOpoicuévov TO apyvptov éxéXevoe Aapia Kal Tais
Tept avTny ETaipats eis opHypa SoOhva. 1 yap
aicyuvn THS Enuias Kal TO phya TOD Tpayparos
A b] , ‘ b] , »” \ Le)
PadXov nvaxrANGE TOUS avVOpwTrOUs. Evior 5é TOTO
Betrarois, ovn "AOnvaios, vr avdtod cupBivat
/
Néyouot. yYwpis bé TovTwY av’Tn Kal’ éavTHY 1)
Adama t@ Bactrhet trapacxevatovoa Setmvov
>] ld 4 \ ‘ “A 4
npyupoXoynoe moNAovs. Kat to detrvov ovTwS
62 °

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Munychion, Anthesterion, and so to regard it, and the lesser rites at Agra were performed for Demetrijus ; after which Munychion was again changed and became Boédromion instead of Anthesterion, De- metrius received the remaining rites of initiation, and at the same time was also admitted to the highest grade of “ epoptos.” Hence Philippides, in

his abuse of Stratocles, wrote ! :—
“ Who abridged the whole year into a single month,”
and with reference to the quartering of Demetrius
in the Parthenon :—
‘‘ Who took the acropolis for a caravansery,
And introduced to its virgin goddess his court-
esans.”
- XXVII. But among the many lawless and shocking things done by Demetrius in the city at this time, this is said to have given the Athenians most displeasure, namely, that after he had ordered them to procure speedily two hundred and fifty talents for his use, and after they had levied the money rigorously and inexorably, when he saw the sum that had been collected, he commanded that it should be given to Lamia and her fellow courtesans to buy soap with. For the shame they felt was more intolerable to the people than their loss, and the words which accompanied it than the deed itself. But some say that those who received this treatment were Thessalians, not Athenians. Apart from this incident, however, Lamia, when she was preparing a supper for the king, exacted money on her own account from many citizens. And the costliness

1 Part of the fragment cited at xii. 4.

mvOnoe TH So€n Sia THY TodUTEéAELAY WoTE LTO
Avyxéws Tod Yapiov avyyeypadOar. 810 nal Trav
KwOpLKoY TIS ov davrtos THY Aduav 'EXérrodev
arnOas wpoceime. Anuoxydpns & o YorLos tov
/ 9 A > + a > \ 2 A
Anuntpiov avtov éxddet MiOov: eivar yap avto
cai Adusav.
Ov povov dé tats yapetais, GAXA Kal Tois
diros tov Anpuntpiov Chrov xalt POovov evy-
fepovoa Kal otepyouévn tapetyer. adixovTo
yovv tives tap avtov Kata mpecBeiav ampos
Avoipayor, ols éxeivos aywv ayornv émédeckev ev
Te TOLS Npois Kal Tois Bpaxioow wreras Babeias
ovuywv Reovteiwy: Kal Sunyeito THv yevowévnv
b] "~ , A \ / e A ? 4
auT@ paynv mpos TO Onpiov, bo '"AndeEdvdpou
ovyxaberpyOévts ToD Bacidéws. ot S€ yerwvTes
bY 4 \ « AN e fa) lA A ,
épacav cal Tov avTav Baciréa Sevod Anpiov
Snypata hépay év TO Tpaxnro, Aamtas. jy 5é
Oavyactov Ste tTHS Diras év apyyn TO pn Kal"
ye jj PX TO pry
e lé , is4 la \
nruxiav dSvaxepaivor, ATTnTo THs Aaptas, Kal
TOTOUTOY i}pa Kpovoyv, Hn TapnKpakvias. Anpw
yoov, 7» émuKadousévn Mavia, wapa Seimvov av-
Aovons THs Aapias Kai Tod Anuntptov rvGopévov,
"Ti cot Soxel;" "pais," elev, "o Bactred."
madi dé TpaynuatTwoyv TapatebévTwy KaKeivou
\ > \ > 7 eee A " ,
Tpos autnv eimovtos, " Opds oca por Aama
wéutret; "IIdeiova," epn, " weupOnoetat coe
Tapa THs éuns untpds, éav Oédns Kal per avTis
cadevoev." atropyvnuovevetar 5é THs Aaptas Kal

of this supper gave it so wide a renown that it was
described in full by Lynceus the Samian. Hence
also a comic poet not inaptly called Lamia "a
veritable City-taker.""1 And Democharesof Soli

called Demetrius himself ‘“ Fable,” because he too, like Fable, had a Lamia.?
And not only among the wives of Demetrius, but also among his friends, did the favour and affection which he bestowed on Lamia awaken envy and jealousy. At all events, some ambassadors from him once came to Lysimachus, and Lysimachus, in an hour of leisure, showed them on his thighs and shoulders deep scars of wounds made by a lion’s claws; he also told them about the battle he had fought against the beast, with which he had been caged by Alexander the king. Then they laughingly told him that their own king also carried, on his neck, the bites of a dreadful wild beast,—a Lamia. And it was astonishing that while in the beginning he was displeased at Phila’s disparity in years, he was vanquished by Lamia, and loved her so long, although she was already pasther prime. At all events, when Lamia was playing on the flute at a supper, and Demetrius asked Demo, surnamed Mania, what she thought of her, “O King,” said Mania, “I think her an old woman.” And at another time, when some sweetmeats were served up, and Demetrius said to Mania, “Dost thou see how many presents I get‘from Lamia?’’ “My mother,” said Mania, “will send thee more, if thou wilt make her also thy mistress.’’ And there is on record also Lamia’s
1 See chapter xx. 4.
* The name of a fabulous monster reputed to eat men’s flesh.

‘\ \ , , , b) ,
mpos THv NEyopévnv Boxywpews xpiow avTippn-
aw. érel yap tis épav év AiyiTrrTe@ ris évaipas
? a :
Owvidos nreito suyvoyv ypuciov, celta Kata TOUS
imvous Sofas avtH auyyevéoOar THs émiupias
9 4 , ” @ \ b) A la) s
éravaato, dicny EXaxyey 7 Qwvis avT@ Tov wL00-
> , \ \ 4 e , > /
6 watos. axovoas 6€ Tov AOyov o Boxywprs éxé-

N Nd @ 9 / / >
Nevoe TOV aVOpwroyv dcov nTHOn Kpvaotov HpLOun-
pévoyv ev TH ayyei@ Siadhépev Sedpo Kaxeioe TH
xerpi, THY Sé éTaipay execOat THs oKLaS, ws THY
Sofav tis adnOeias oxiavy ovoay. ovK @eTo
TavTny elvas THY Kpiow 7 Adwa Stxaiav: ov yap
amTréNuoev h oKLa THS éeTiOupias TOD apyupiou THY
éTaipay, TO 6é dvap érraucev EpOYTa TOV vEeavioxKoD.
TavTa pev ovv Trept Aapias.
XXVIII. Try &é Senynow, dorep ex xwpixys
TKNVIS, Taw eis TpayiKnY peTayovoty ai TUYaL
kal at mpakews tov avdpos bv Sinyoupeda. Tav
\ ¥ , e / A
yap add\wv Baciiéwv atrdvtwy cuyioTapevov
éml tov ’Avtiyovov kal cupdepovtwy eis TavTo
4 9 A e / ? A € ,

Tas Suvdpes, amhpev o Anuntpios é« tis “EXXa-

\ a \ / 4 ?
dos, Kai T@ Tatpi cuppiEas diroTipovpévw Trap
e / \ \ / ” : A > \
NALKLAY POS TOV TrONEMOV, ETL ANNOY AUTOS
2 émeppwoOn. Kaitoe Soxet ye “Avtiyovos, ei pt-
Kpov tivev udeito Kal THS ayav dirapytas éyd-
Nae, péeype TravTos av avT@ SiadvAdkat Kaxetve
A N “A ° 4 \ \
KaTadiTrely TO TpwTov evar. guace dé Bapvs dv
Kal UTEpoTTns, Kal TOls NOYoLs OVY HTTOV Hh Tots
TpayLact TpaXUsS, ToAAOUS Kal véouvs Kal duva-
v
tous avopas éEnypiawe xal mapwkuve Kal thy 902
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comment on the famous judgment of Bocchoris.
There was, namely, a certain Egyptian who was in
love with Thonis the courtesan, and offered a great
sum of money for her favours; then he dreamed
that he enjoyed those favours, and ceased from his
desires. Thereupon Thonis brought an _ action
against him for payment due, and Bocchoris, on
hearing the case, ordered the man to bring into
court in its coffer the sum total demanded of him,
and to move it hither and thither with his hand,

and the courtesan was to grasp its shadow, since
the thing imagined is a shadow of the reality.
This judgment Lamia thought to be unjust; for
though the dream put an end to the young man's
passion, the shadow of the money did not set the
courtesan free from her desire for it. So much, then,
for Lamia.

XXVIII. But the fortunes and achievements of the man whose Life I am narrating, brings my narrative back, as it were, from the comic to the tragic stage. For all the other kings leagued themselves together against Antigonus and united their forces, and so Demetrius set forth from Greece,} and finding his father eager beyond his years for | the war, he was himself still more encouraged. And yet it would seem that if Antigonus had made some trifling concessions and had slackened his excessive passion for dominion, he might have always retained — the supremacy for himself and have left it to his son. But he was naturally stern and haughty, and was harsh in what he said no less than in what he did, and therefore exasperated and incited against him- self many young and powerful men; and their

1 Late in 302 B.c.

ye ToTe avoTaciy Kal Kowwviay avrav éNeyev
@oTep opvidwy omepporoyav cvvdpouny évl rLO@
Kal rodeo cuvdiara pager.
"Hye dé melous pev ET TAaKLOpUpiwY TAéious,
immets bé pupious, erépavras dé éBdounnovta,
TEVTE, TOV evavti@y eXOVT OV meCous pev éEaxio-
pupious Kal TeTpaxiaxtrLous, immets 6é trev-
TA&KOCLOUS TOV éKxeivou mhelovas, éerepavras dé
TETPAaKOTLOUS, Gppata dé éxaTov elkoat. yevo-
pevep & éyyvs avtav TpoTny eaxev n Otavola TIS
édmidos paddov h TIS Wwouns. tpn ros yap
elvat Kal yaupos ew0as év Tois ary Got ral y~po-
pevos pwvn Te peyary Kal Aoryous coBapots,
TOANGKLS 88 kal T@ TapacKkayat TL Kal yeXoLov
elTrely TOV TONE MOY év xepoty ovT@V emiderEa-
PEvOS | evoT aBevav Kat Kata povnoty, TOTE ouv-
vous éwpato Kal cum mnros Ta 'TONG, Kal Tov
VioV anederfe T@ wAHO EL Kal TUvETTITE diddoyxor.
6 6€ pardtoTa TavTES eGavpacar, ev TH oKNVT
povos bie€ xn T pos aurov, ovK eiDiopevos & exetv
ovoé mpos éxetvov drroppyrous KotvoXoyias, ana
i6vos @v yvoun, elra TporTaTT ay pavepas Kat
Npwpevos ols Bovrevoarto Kad EauUTOY. héyerae
ryouv perpaxvov ért Ovta tov Anunrtptov avrow

mubécOar TOTE peédAovawy avalevryvue TO dé
eLTrEty pos opyny: ““Aywuds py movos ov THS
CAaNTTLYYOS OUK aKxovons;”
XXIX. Tore pévrou Kal onpeta ox Onpa KATE-
SovdobTo TH yrepny avTay. Anyntptos poev
yap édofe Kata TOUS Umvous "AdeEavdpov OT LG -
pévov NauTpas épwradv orroioy Te ovvOnpua 81d0-
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combination and partnership at this time he said he would scatter asunder with a single stone and a single shout, as if they were a flock of granivorous birds.

He took the field with more than seventy thousand infantry, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants ; while his adversaries had _ sixty-four thousand infantry, five hundred more horse than he, four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty chariots. After he had drawn near them, the cast of his expectations rather than of his purposes underwent a change. For he was wont to be lofty and boastful as he engaged in his conflicts, making pompous speeches in a loud voice, and many times also by the utterance of a casual jest or joke when the enemy was close at hand he would show the firmness of his own spirit and his contempt for them; but now he was observed to be thoughtful and silent for the most part, and he presented his son to the army and pronounced him his successor. But what more than anything else astonished everybody was his conversing alone in his tent with his son, although it was not his custom to have secret conferences even with him; instead, he made his own plans, followed his own counsels, and then gave his orders openly. At all events, we are told that Demetrius, when he was still a stripling, asked his father when they were going to break camp ; and that Antigonus replied in anger: “ Art thou in distress lest thou alone shouldst not hear the trumpet ?”’
XXIX. At this time, moreover, bad omens also subdued their spirits. For Demetrius dreamed that Alexander, in brilliant array of armour, asked him what watchword they were going to give for the

vat mTpos THY pwaynv péd\XAOvoLW: avTod Sé g7-
cavtos, “‘Aia kal Nixnv” “Arrest totvuy,”
ddvat,’ mpos tors évavtigus' éxeivor yap “pe
, ”» » ’ x
TaparapBavovow. ‘Avtiyovos S€ twapatatto-
pévns 46n THS hadrayyos eEtov mpocérracer,
@ore meoeww GrAws él otoua cat diateOjvar
yareTTas avactas Sé Kal Tas yelpas avateivas
Mpos TOV Ovpavoy YTHGATO viKnY Tapa TaV Oeav
} Oavatov avaicOnrov po Ths ATTNS.
Tevopévns 5€ ths payns év yepot Anpurjtptos
Exar Tos TAELoTOUS Kal KpaTioTOUS TY imréwv
’AvTioy@ TO YerevKov ouvétece, nal péypt
TPOTHS TOV TOAELIWY AAMT PAS aywvicdpevos ev
a , a 4 \ \
TH Siwker coBapa Kal gdidoTiv~@ apa Katpov
N
yevouévn THY vicny SiépOecpev. avTos pev yap
ovx éoxye Tddw avactpéas cuppit-ar ois
a a / A
melois tay éAehavTwy ev péow yevouévwy, THY
5é darayya yupvny immέwy Kxatidovtes ot trept
ZéXevcKov ov“ évéBarov pév, ws 56 éuBarodbvtes
époSovy Kal mepinravvov, petaBadrcoPar du-
Sovres avtoiss 5 Kal auvéBn. Tord yap pépos
atroppayey éExovoiws peTey@pnoe pos EKxeivous,
To &€ Noutrov €rTpdmrn. epopéevav 5é trorAXrA@Y ET
tov Avtiryovov nat Tivos TOV Tept avTOY ELTrOVTOS,
bs a > |
“Kart o& ovtor, Bactred, “ Tiva yap,’ elte,
“arnv éuov ocxotroy éyovow; adda Anpuntptos
> 4 “~ 99 \ “ / AN
agi€erat Bonfav.” Kai tTovTo pexYpt TrayTos
, \ ” \ eN 4 wn
éxmitwy Kal wepicxoTa@yv Tov viov dua ToAN@V
7°

battle ; and when he replied, “Zeus and Victory,” Alexander said: “Then I will go away and join your adversaries; they surely will receive me.” } _ Moreover, Antigonus, when his phalanx was already

forming and he was leaving his tent, stumbled and fell prone upon his face, injuring himself severely ; but he rose to his feet, and stretching out his hands towards heaven prayed that the gods would grant him victory, or a painless death before his defeat. After the armies had engaged,? Demetrius, with the largest and best part of the cavalry, clashed ' with Antiochus, the son of Seleucus; he fought brilliantly and routed his enemy, but by pursuing him too fiercely and eagerly he threw away the victory. For he himself was not able to turn back and rejoin his infantry, since the enemy's elephants were thrown in his way; and Seleucus, observing that his opponents' phalanx was unprotected by cavalry, took measures accordingly. He did not actually charge upon them, but kept them in fear of a charge by continually riding around them, thus giving them an opportunity to come over to his side. And this was what actually came to pass. For a large body of them, detached from the rest, came over to him of their own accord, and the rest were routed. Then, as throngs of his enemies bore down upon him and one of his followers said, "They are making at thee, O King," " Who else, pray, said Antigonus, "should be their mark ? But Demetrius will come to my aid.'' This was his hope to the last, and to the last he kept watching eagerly for his son; then a whole cloud of javelins

1The watchword should have been '' Alexander and Victory."
2 Near the village of Ipsus, in Phrygia, 301 B.c.

tb -

axovTicpatwv eis aurov adeOévtwry emece Kai TaVv adA\AwY aTroNLTOVYTwY oTradov Kal dirov povos Trapépewve TO vexp® Owpak o Aapiccaios.
XXX. Odrw Sé xpiOcions THs pdyns, ot pev verrxnkotes Baotreis thy wT' "Aytiyovm Kal Anpntpim wacav apynv @oTrep péya oopa KataxontovtTes éhapPavov pepidas, Kal mpocdie-veipavto Tas éxeivwv érapxias als elyov avrot apotepoy. Anpnrpsos 5é peta trevtaxioxtrcwv metov Kal TeTpaKLa yx LAL@Y inméwy ghevywv Kat cuvTovas éddaas eis "Edecov, oiouévav atravtwv atropobvTa xXpnpatav avrov ovK adéEecOar rod iepov, poBnOels tors oTparew@tas py TOOTO ToLN-awa, avéotn Sia tayéwy, Kal Tov mrodv én THs 'EXAados érroteiro, TOV NouTaV EeATribwY eV "A@nvaios éxwv tas peylotas. Kal yap Kal vais) éxel Kal ypnpata nal yuvaixa Aniddpecav éTuyxave KaTtanedourreas, Kal BeBatorépay ov« évopile Katapuynv elvar trois mpdypact Tihs "AOnvaiwy evvoias. SOev érret yevouévw rept tas KuxArddas atta mpéoBets 'AOnvaiwy amnv-Tnoav amréxecOar THS WoAEwS TapaKaNdodytes,

as evyndiopénov tov Syyou pndéva béyer Oar Th
woke. Tav Bactréwv, tTHhv 5é€ Anidapear eis
Méyapa eféreurpay peta tins Kal troymrys wpe-
movons, ToU KRaDeatnKOTOS éFéorn St opyny av-
Tov, KaiTrep Evnvoyws paoTa THY aAXnV atvyiay
Kal yeyovas év ToravTn petaBorn mpayudTwv ov
TamTretvos ovd ayevyns. adda TO Tap édrrida
Sievreta0ar trav 'AOnvaiwy Kal tv Soxodoav
ebvotay éEednreyxGat Tois mpadypace Kevnv Kal
TeTAATMEVHY OVTAY GdUYNpOY HY AUTO.
1 «al vavs Ziegler, with all the MSS. but one: vais.

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were let fly at him and he fell. The rest of his friends and attendants abandoned him, and one only remained by his dead body, Thorax of Larissa. XXX. The battle having been decided in this manner, the victorious kings carved up the entire domain which had been subject to Antigonus and Demetrius, as if it had been a great carcass, and took each his portion, adding thus to the provinces which the victors already had, those of the vanquished kings. But Demetrius, with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, came in unbroken flight to Ephesus. Here everybody thought that his lack of resources would lead him to lay hands upon the temple!; but he, fearing lest his soldiers might do this, departed speedily, and sailed for Greece, putting his chief remaining hopes in Athens. For he had left ships there, and moneys, and his wife Deidameia, and he thought that in his evil plight no refuge could be more secure than the goodwill of Athens. Therefore when, as he drew near the Cyclades islands, an embassy from Athens met him with a request to keep away from the city, on the ground that the people had passed a vote to admit none of the kings, and informing him that Deidameia had been sent to Megara with fitting escort and honour, his wrath drove him beyond all proper bounds, although he had borne his other misfortunes

very easily, and in so great a reversal of his situation had shown himself neither mean-spirited nor ignoble. But that the Athenians should disappoint -his hopes and play him false, and that their apparent good-will should prove on trial to be false and empty, was painful to him.
1 The rich temple of Artemis (Diana).
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To yap havrctatov, ws eoixev, evvoias byw Baotnedot nal Svvdotats texpnptov éotiw vireEp-Bor timev, Hs év TH Mpoatpéce TV atrodLOOp-Tov éyovons TO Kadov ahaiper THY TioTW Oo hoBos ra yap avta cal Sedir0tes Andifovras Kal dtrovvres. Stomrep of voov exovTes ovUK Eis av-Spidvtas ovdé ypadas ovde amolewaes, adda PaAXov eis Ta Epya Kal Tas mpdkets tas éavTav aroBNérovtes 7) Miorevoval, WS TLiMLais, 7) aTE-TTOVLY, WS aVayKaLS: > of ye Shot TrOAAdKES éy avtais waddtora Tails Timais picovot Tovs apeé-Tpws Kal wirepoyxws Kal trap' axdvtayv AapBa-vovTas. |
XXXI. 'O yodv Anpnrpios rote Serva pév nryovpevos maayetv, advvatos Sé dv apvvacban, mpocéreuve tots "AOnvaios éyxarav perpios, akiav S€ ras vads atodaBeiv, év als Hv Kat. 1 Tpioxatdexnpns. Kxopicdpuevos Sé Tmapémreuvcev ets 'IoOpov, cal tov TpaypdtwY avT@ KaKOS éxovtwy (éFémimrov yap éxactaydbev at ppovpat kat peBiotato mwavtTa mpos TOUS TroAEpoUS) atohiTmay émlt tis "EXXabdos Lvppov atvtos adpas éml tHv Xeppovnoov émrevoe Kal Kaxas aya moav Avoipayov wpérer Kal ovvelye Thy Trept aurov Svvawmy, adpyopévnv avadapBavew Kal yi-veoOar madly ovK evKatadpovynrov. o de Avat-paxos U0 TOY GAAwY Baciréwv nuereiTO, wndev
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And verily the least cogent proof, as it would seem, of a people's goodwill towards a king or potentate is an extravagant bestowal of honours ; for the beauty of such honours lies in the purpose of those who bestow them, and fear robs them of their worth (for the same decrees may be passed out of fear and out of affection). Therefore men of sense look first of all at their own acts and achievements, and then estimate

the value of the statues, paintings, or deifications offered to them, putting faith in these as genuine honours, or refusing to do so on the ground that they are compulsory; since it is certainly true that a people will often, in the very act of conferring its honours, have most hatred for those who accept such honours immoderately, ostentatiously, and from unwilling givers.

XXXI._ Be that as it may, in this case Demetrius thought himself grievously wronged ; but since he was unable to avenge himself, he sent a message to the Athenians in which he mildly expostulated with them, and asked that his ships be given back to him, among which was also the one having thirteen banks of oars. These he obtained, and then coasted along to the Isthmus, where he found his affairs in a sorry state. For his garrisons were everywhere being expelled, and there was a general defection to his enemies. He therefore left Pyrrhus in charge of Greece, while he himself put to sea and sailed to the Chersonesus.1 Here he ravaged the territory of Lysimachus, thereby enriching and holding together his own forces, which were beginning to recover their spirit and to ‘show themselves formidable again. Nor did the other kings try to help Lysimachus ;

1 The Thracian Chersonesus, the modern Gallipoli.

bJ 4 J 4 a“ 9? A \ A
émrvetxéaTepos éxeivov Soxay elvat, T@ S€ pwadXov
lboxyvew kai doBepwrepos.
Ov ToAA@ S€é Botepov YérevKos euvato trép-
\ / : t 4 y
mov thy Anpntpiov kal Piras Ouyatépa Utpa-
/ ” \ 5 > , : a , eX
Tovixny, éxwv pev €E “Amrdapas tis Uepoidos viov
"Avtioyov, olduevos 5€ Ta tpdypata Kal dado-
vos aprely wreloot, Kal SetoOar THs pos éxeivov
oixetoTntos, émel nal Avoipayov éwpa trav IIto-
Nepatou Ovyatépwv thy pév éauT@, tHv bé "Aya-
Goxret TH vid AapBdvovta. Anpnrpio 8 Fv
avénniatos evtuyia Kndedoar Yerevew. Kal Thy
Kopnv dvaraBev érde tats vavol mdoats eis
Lupiav, TH Te AAAH YR Tpocéywv avayxaiws Kal
”~ , e , , 9
THs Kedextas amropevos, jv Wnetotapyos eiyve
peta THY mpos Avtiyovoy payny éEaipetoy avT@
So0cicay vrd tav Bacthéwy Hy 5€ Kacdvdpou
IInkeiorapyos adergds. adineicOar Sé tiv yopav
avrod vopifwv bro Anuntpiov Kata tas atroBda-
ces, Kal péurracbat Bovropevos tov YérevKov
6tt TH Kow@ StadddtreTat Trorepio Siya TeV
ar\Xrxwv Bactréwv, avéBn pos avrov.
XXXII. AtcOopevos S€ tovro Anuntptos awp-

> N 4 ? \ a“
Hnoev amo Baraoons éml Kuivdorvy xal tov
Xpnudtwv evpov ért AoiTa Yidtia Kal Staxdola
Taddavta, TavTa ovoKevacdpuevos Kal dOdoas
bf 4 BS / > 4 \ ,
éuBanréecbar Sia taxéwv avnyOn. Kal mapovons
wv 4 A \ 2 eo) ve \ > 4
non Diras THs yuvateos avT@ wept ‘Pwooor anny-
tnoe dédNevKos. Kat THv evrevEiv evOvs adorov
Kal avutrortoy Kat Baoidixny étrotovvto, tTpo-
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they thought that he was no less objectionable than Demetrius, and that because he had more power he was even more to be feared.
Not long afterwards, however, Seleucus sent and asked the hand of Stratonicé, the daughter of Demetrius and Phila, in marriage. He had already, by Apama the Persian, a son Antiochus; but he thought that his realms would suftice for more successors than one, and that he needed this alliance with Demetrius, since he saw that Lysimachus also was taking one of Ptolemy’s daughters for himself, and the other for Agathocles his son. Now, to Demetrius, a marriage alliance with Seleucus was an unexpected piece of good fortune. So he took his daughter and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. He was obliged to touch at several places along the coast, and made landings in Cilicia, which country had been allotted by the kings to Pleistarchus, after their battle with Antigonus, and was now held by him. Pleistarchus was a brother of Cassander. He thought his territories outraged by these descents of Demetrius upon them, and besides, he wished to upbraid Seleucus for making an alliance with the common enemy independently of the other kings. So he went up to see him.
XXXII. On learning of this, Demetrius set out from the sea-coast for the city of Quinda; and finding twelve hundred talents of its treasure still left, he packed them up, got them safely on board

ship, and put to sea with all speed. His wife
Phila was already with him, and at Rhosus he was
met by Seleucus. Their intercourse was at once put
on a royal footing, and knew neither guile nor
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Tepoy pev YérevKos éotidaas él cxnvijs ev TO
otpatoTrébm Anuntpiov, avOes 8€ Anpntptos
éxeivov év TH TptaKxadexnpet SeEdpevos. joav 5é
kat cyonal cal Kotvoroyiat Kal cuvdinpepevoes
9 4 \ 9 , wv @ 4 '
addpovpwv Kal dvotAwy, axypt ov LédevKos THY
Lrtpatovicny avaraBov Aaumpas eis 'AvTtoyerav
avéBn. Anunrptos 5€ Kidsxiav xarécye, nat
Dirav tiv yuvaixa pos Kaoavdpov éreue tov
9 , 9 , \ /
adergor, atroAvaopevnv tas Ikecotdpyou xatn-
yopias. év dé rouTm Aniddpera trevoaca Tpos
> A 9 \ A e / A 4 ld
avtov amo THs 'EAAdSos Kal ovyyevoméevn Ypovov
ov ToAuy é€& appwoTias Tuvds éTEeNEUTNTE. 'yEvo-
/ A N a A , ,
pévns 5& mpos Irovepatov d1a Lerevaou dtrias
avT@, @poroynOn Iitorepaida thy Irodeuaiov
Ouyatépa NaBeiv adtov yuvaixa.
Kal tadta péev aorteia tod Serevxov. Kers-
/ \ J A" 4 / ce)
kiay b€ aktov xpnuata NaBovta trapadodvat
Anpntpiov, @s oun érreOe, Yoava xat Tupov
aTALT@Y Wpos opyny édoKer Piatos elvat nal Seva
move, et THY aw 'Ivydav aypt THS KaTa Yupiav
Pardoons aracayv vd avT@ tretroinpévos obTwS
évoens dori éTt TpayLaTav Kal TTwWYOS WS UITrép
Svety movAcwv avdpa Kyndeotny Kai petaSorr
TUYNS KEXpNMEvoy éAXaUVELY, NayTpav To ITAa-
Twve paptupiay Sidouvs Staxedevopéevm pon THY
> / , A A 9 , aA 4
ovciav TWrEiw, THY 5é ATrANnOTIaY TroLeivy éAdoocw
4 a, e 9 la) 4 ig
Tov ye BovAopevov ws adnOas elvat mrovctoy, ws
6 ye py Tavoy diroTrAovTiay, ovTOS OUTE TEViaS
oUTE aTropias amnANAKTAL.
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suspicion. First, Seleucus entertained Demetrius at his tent in the camp, then Demetrius in his turn received Seleucus on board the ship with thirteen banks of oars. There were also amusements, long conferences with one another and whole days spent together, all without guards or arms; until at length Seleucus took Stratonicé and went up in great state to Antioch. But Demetrius took possession of Cilicia, and sent Phila his wife to Cassander, who was her brother, that she might bring to naught the denunciations of Pleistarchus. In the meantime, Deidameia came by sea from Greece to join Demetrius, and after being with him a short time, succumbed to some disease. Then, by the intervention of Seleucus, friendship was made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, and it was agreed that Demetrius should take to wife Ptolemais the daughter of Ptolemy.

So far all was courtesy on the part of Seleucus. But presently he asked Demetrius to cede Cilicia to him for a sum of money, and when Demetrius would not consent, angrily demanded Tyre and Sidon from him. It seemed a violent and outrageous proceeding that one who had possessed himself of the whole domain from India to the Syrian sea should be so needy still and so beggarly in spirit as for the sake of two cities to harass a man who was his relative by marriage and had suffered a reverse of fortune. Moreover, he bore splendid testimony to the wisdom of Plato! in urging the man who would be truly rich, not to make his possessions greater, but his inordinate desires fewer ; since he who puts no end to his greed, this man is never rid of poverty and want.

1 The passage cannot be determined.

XXXIII. OF pny vrérrn&e Anuntptos, ad\ra
lA 9399 4 e A ’ oY 2 9
gdnoas ovd’ av pupiacis HTrTNOH waxas adras ev
Ww \ > , 9 A A lA
Two yau8pov ayanrncocew éri picO@ Léreveov,
Tas pev Todes expativato dpoupais, avtos Sé
, / / b , 9
mv0opuevos Aayapn otacidlovaow A@Onvaiots ére-
Oéwevoy tupavveiv, HrmibEe paciws émidavels d2-
pe p » Hrmile padiws éemrihavels A
\ , \ \ \ / > le)

WeoOat THY TOMY. Kal TO pev TréAAYOS aaharas
StetreparwOn peydd@ otorw, Tapa dé rny Ar-
TUKNY TWapaTrAéwy exermacOn Kal Tas TrEioTAS
> / A a \ / (e) >
améBanre TOY veov, Kat cuvdrepOapn wrHO0S av-
Opemey ovK OXLyov. abros 56 cwlels invato
pév TLVOS TOAELOU TPOS TOUS ‘AOnvaious, as &
ovdey émrépaive, méuas vautixov avOis aépot-
gcovtas avtos eis TleAorovyncov wapnrGe Kat
Meconvny érondopKet. Kal mpoopayopevos Tots
Telyeow exivduvevoe, KaTaTrEATLKOD BéXoUS Eis TO
TpOTwWMOY AVT@ Kal TO oTopa Sua THs aLaryovos
3 , > N \ \ 4 \
éumecovtos. avarnpbels bé€ xai mores Ttivas
ahectacas Tpocayayopnevos rdadw eis THY ’AT-
\ > 7 \ fic. 8 -
tTiuxny évéBare, Kat Kpatnoas EnXevoivos Kat
‘Papvodvtos épOerpe Thy yopav, Kai vadv tiva
AaBav éyoveay cirov Kal ciaayovoay tois ’AOn-
vatows éexpéuace Tov éutropov Kal rov KuBepynrny,
Vv a ” bd / PS \ / ,
@aoTe TOY aAXwV arroTperopevwy Sa PoBov auv-
Tovov ALtmov év date: yevéoOat, rpos 5é TH ALO
kal tav aAAwY atropiay. adadv youv pédtyvov
avodvto TeTTApaKovTa Spaxpeov, o O€ THY TUPaV
podtos w@vtos HV Tplakociwy. uKpav Sé Tois
"AOnvaios avarvony tapéoxoy éxatov TevTy-
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XXXIII. Demetrius, however, was not cowed, but declared that not even if he should lose ten thousand battles like that at Ipsus would he consent to pay for the privilege of having Seleucus: as a son-in-law. Then he strengthened his cities with garrisons, while he himself, learning that Lachares had usurped sovereign power over the Athenians in consequence of their dissensions, thought to appear upon the scene and make an easy capture of the city. So he crossed the sea in safety with a great fleet,! but as he was sailing along the coast of Attica he encountered a storm in which most of his ships were lost and a great number of men perished with them. He himself, however, escaped alive, and began a petty war against the Athenians. But since he could accomplish nothing, he sent men to collect another fleet for him, while he himself passed on into Peloponnesus and laid siege to Messene. Here, in an attack upon the walls, he came near losing his life; for a missile from a catapult struck him in the face and passed through his jaw into his mouth. But he recovered, and after restoring to their allegiance certain cities which had revolted from him, he invaded Attica again, got Eleusis and Rhamnus into his power, and ravaged the country. He also seized a ship laden with grain for Athens, and hung its supercargo and its master. All other ships were thus frightened into turning back, and famine became acute in the city, where, besides lack of food, there was dearth also of other things. At any rate, a bushel of salt sold there for forty drachmas, and a

peck of wheat was worth three hundred. A slight respite was afforded the Athenians

1 In 297 B.c.

Kovta vies haveioa mept Alywav, ds ereprpev
émixoupous auvtois IlroAeuaios. elta Anyntpip
TmoA\Na@v pev éx IleXorovyncov, woAXN@Y 5é amo
Kumpov veav tapayevopévav, @oTe cuuTacas
aOpotcOnvat tpiaxocias, Epuyov apayres ot Iro-
Aeuaiov, cal Aaydpns 6 Tvpavvos amédpa mpoé-
pevos THY TOALY.
XXXIV. Oi 5é€ "AOnvaio, Kxaimep >Whdiod-
pevoe Odvatoy et pynoOein Tis eipnyns Kal dtar-
Aayns mpos Anunrptov, evOds ave~yvucay tas
éyyus mudAas Kal mpéoBers Emeptrov, ovdey pev
an' éxeivouv ypnaotov wpocboxavtes, éxBralouevns
5é THs atopias, év 7 Svayepav TOAXwY cUpETE-
covT@Y NéyeTai TL Kal ToLOvTOY yevéoOaL TaTépa
Kat viov év oiknuat. KabélecOar ta Kad' éavTovs
atreyvaxortas, ek S€ THS OpodHs piv vexpov éxTeE-
aeiv, tous dé, ws eldov, dvarndjncavtas apudorté-
povs StapdyecOat epi avdtov. ToTe Kai Tov
dirocopov "Erixoupoy icropoict Siabpéwat Tovs
auvnfers xuduous mpos apiOwoy pet avTav
Stavepwopevov.
Oitws otv THs Werdews exovons eicedOwy oO
Anpnrptos, Kat Kedevoas eis TO Oéatpoy aOpot-
oOjvat wavtas, OTAOLS pev cuvéedpake THY aKNYHY
xat Sopupopors TO Noyetov trepiéraBev, avdTos 5é
xataBas, ooTrep ot Tpay@ool, Sia TeV dvw Trapo-
Swy, rt pwarrov éxrreTANypéevov Tav 'AOnvaiwv
THhv apYnY TOD Aoyou Téepas errotnoato Tov déous
avTov. Kal yap Ttovov gdavis Kal pnudtev
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by the appearance off Aegina of a hundred and
fifty ships which Ptolemy sent to assist them. Then
. numerous ships came to Demetrius from Peloponnesus,

and many from Cyprus, so that his entire assemblage numbered three hundred, in consequence of which the ships of Ptolemy put off to sea in flight, and Lachares the tyrant abandoned the city and ran away. 3

XXXIV. Then the Athenians, although they had decreed death to anyone who should so much as mention peace and reconciliation with Demetrius, straightway threw open the nearest gates and sent ambassadors to him. They did not expect any kindly treatment from him, but were driven to the step by their destitution, in which, among many other grievous things, the following also is said to have occurred. A father and a son were sitting in a room and had abandoned all hope. Then a dead mouse fell from the ceiling, and the two, when they saw it, sprang up and fought with one another for it. At this time also, we are told, the philosopher Epicurus sustained the lives of his associates with beans, which he counted out and distributed among them. .

Such, then, was the plight of the city when Demetrius made his entry and ordered all the people to assemble in the theatre. He fenced the stage- buildings round with armed men, and encompassed the stage itself with his body-guards, while he himself, like the tragic actors, came down into view through one of the. upper side-entrances. The Athenians were more than ever frightened now; but with the first words that he uttered Demetrius put an end to their fears. For avoiding all harshness of tone and

mex pias pero apevos, édkagpas o€ Kal PtrALKs pe pay apevos autovs dnAXdacero, cal Séxa pu- peddas giTou pedipvor érédwxe, Kal KaTET TNE” apxas at padota ™@ On poo dineis Toav. ouvidev 5é Apopoxretdns 0 0 PHTwWP L716 xapas TOV Ojpov é év te pwvais évTa mavrodamais Kal TOUS amo tov Bnpatos étraivous Toy Snpayaryav eae Aapevov dmepBaréaGar, yvaunv eva © nen - tpl T@ Baotret Tov Tletpavé qwapacoO fjvau Kat THY Movvuyiav. émupndia evra dé TovTwY oO Anpnrptos autos éd’ éavTov mpocevéBanre dpov- pay ets TO Movaeiov, ws pa Wad dvaxauriaavra, TOV Sfjpov doxYodlas avT@ mpaypatwv étrépwv mapac yep.

XXXV. "EXopévav b€ TOY "AOnvav evOus érre-
Bovreve tH Aaxedaipont. Kal mepl Marriveray
"ApyiSdpov Tov Baotréws dmavTnaavTos aur®
vuKnoas pax Kal Tpepdpevos els THY Aaxwvicny
éveBare. Kal Tos avTn TH Lmdorn Wad €K
mapaTatews ed@v TEVTAKOGLOUS kal d:apOeipas
Staxoaious, daov ovum THY TONY exery edoxet
pexpe TOV Xpoverv éxelvwy avddwTov ovgay. GND'
v) TUX Wepi ovdéva TOV Bacthéwv ouxey ovr
TpoTras AaBeiv peydras kal Taxeias, avd év
érépots Tparypac TocauTaxis pupa Kal madey
peyarn eat TATE pev éx Aap pas, loxupa, 6é
avdis € eK pavrns yevéoOar. 810 Kat pacwy avTov
év tais Xetpoor peraBorais mpos thy TUXNVY
avapbéyyerBar To Atoxunevov"
«

av TOL vaoas, ov pe KaTaiOey pou! Soxeis.
&
1 uot doxets Ziegler, with some MSS.: Boxers.

bitterness of speech, he merely chided them lightly — and in a friendly manner, and then declared himself reconciled, gave them besides a hyndred thousand bushels of grain, and estdblished the magistrates who were most acceptable to the people. So Dromocleides the orator, seeing that the people, in their joy, were shouting all sorts of proposals, and were eager to outdo the customary eulogies of the -public speakers on the bema, brought in a motion that Piraeus and Munychia should be handed over to Demetrius the king. This was voted, and Demetrius on his own account put a garrison into the Museium! also, that the people might not again shake off the yoke and give him further trouble.

XXXV. And now that he was in possession of Athens, he at once laid plans against Sparta. Near Mantineia, where Archidamus the king confronted him, he conquered and routed his foe, and then invaded Laconia. And after he had fought a second pitched battle hard by Sparta itself, where he captured five hundred men and slew two hundred, it was thought that he as good as had the city in his power, although up to this time it had never been taken. But with none of the kings does Fortune appear to have taken so great and sudden turns? and in the career of no other did she so many times show

herself now small and now great, now resplendent and now abased, now insignificant and now all powerful. For this reason, too, we are told that in his worst reverses Demetrius would apostrophise POTNDE? in the words of Aeschylus :—

“ My flame thou fannest, indeed, and thou seemest to quench me, too.” 2

1 A hill S.W. of the Acropolis.

? Nauck, Trag, Graec, Frag.* p. 107 (w’ épveas). 85

3

Kal yap ToTE Tay TpaypaTayv ovUTwS eUTOpoL

avT@ pos apxny Kal Suvapey Emr tOLOOVT@V aryyeneras Avoipaxos bev wp@tos adnpnuévos AuTov Tas ev "Acia wondets, Kumpov Sé IIltoXepaios npNK@S avEev pmlas TONEWS Larapivos, év dé arapive TONLOPK@VY TOUS maidas avTov Kai THY pyTépa KATELANMBEVOUS. ou pay avra Kal 7 TU UP cab amep n Tap “ApXeroxp yur) TH pev iy wp epoper dodo ppovéovea xecpt, Th © érépn tip, setvois abtov obtw Kai oBepois dryyéhpacwy atootncaca Ths Aaxedaipovos, evOus étépas TPAYLATWV KALVOY Kal peyarov emnveyxev éXTridas €x ToLaUTNS aiTias.

XXXVI. Eset Kaocdvdpou terevtycavtos o mpecButTatas auto Tay taidwv Pidsrios ov moAuv xpovoy Bacirevoas Maxedovwv arébaver, oi Aovtrol Svo mpos addjrous éoraciatoy, Garépou 5é avutav “Avtumdtpou THY pyntépa Gecoahovinv povevoartos, aTEpOS exaret BonBous éx pev "Hireipou I1uppov, éx bé Tledorrovynou AnHapTpLov. EpOace Sé Iluppos ENO, Kab ToD pépos Maxedovias ATOTEMOMEVOS THS BonGeias picBov hoBepos ev Hy non TApouK@v *AreEdvipy Anpntpiou 5€, ws edéEaro Ta ypappara, pera THS Suvapews T POaLovTos, éTt paddov o veavias ToUTOv poBnbels ba TO akiwopa Kal rH boFav amnvrnoey avT@ tept Aiov, domalopevos pev Kal Pirogpovaiuenn, ovdev 5é dackwv er Tis éxeivou eioOat Ta Tpaypara Tapoucias. Ho av oop éx TOUTWY vrowpias T™ pos adANOUS autots, Kal Badilovte Anynr pip pos Seimvor t umd

Tov veavioxov TapaxexAnpEev@m pnvUer TIS éT4-
86
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And so at this time, when events so generously favoured the increase of his dominion and power, word was brought to him, first, that Lysimachus had deprived him of his cities in Asia, and next, that Ptolemy had taken Cyprus, with the exception of the single city of Salamis, and had shut up in Salamis under siege his children and his mother. However, even Fortune, who, like the woman in Archilochus, "in one deceitful hand bore water, and in the other fire," ! while by tidings so dreadful and terrifying she drew him away from Sparta, at once inspired him with other hopes of new and great achievements, and on this wise.

XXXVI. After Cassander's death, the eldest of his sons, Philip, reigned for a short time over the Macedonians and then died, and the two remaining brothers quarrelled with one another over the succession. One of them, Antipater, murdered his mother, Thessalo- nicé, and the other, Alexander, summoned to his help Pyrrhus from Epeirus, and Demetrius from Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus was first to answer the summons, and after cutting off a large part of Macedonia as a reward for his assistance, was already a neighbour whom Alexander feared. But Demetrius, who, when he received Alexander's letters, had set out with his forces to join him, inspired the young man with still more fear because of his high position and reputation, and he therefore met Demetrius at Dium, and gave him a friendly welcome, but declared that the situation no longer demanded his presence. Owing to these circumstances, then, the men were suspicious of one another, and besides, as Demetrius was on his way to supper at the young man's invi-

1 Fragment 93 (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graect, ii.4 p. 410).
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, e b] > Led A 4 f > \
Bournyv, ws ev aUT@ THO TOTP peANOVT@Y aUTOV
avereiv. 6 5é pndev StatapayOeis, GArAG pLxpov
bets THS Topeias, exédNevoe TOUS pev HYyEWovas Ev
a 4 ' \ " > 0 be
Tols SiAots THY oTpaTiay Exe, axodroVOous dé
\ to ef N > \ ® ® de \
Kat traidas, doo. Trepi avTov jaoav (noav 5é modv
mrelous tav 'AdeEdvdpov), cuvercedOeiv eis TOV
advipava Kai trapapéverv aypt dv éEavacth. Tov-
To detcavres ot mrept tov "AréEavdpov ovK éTorA--

pnoav émixyepyoat. Kai o pev Anunrpios ovK
éyery avT@® TO owpa TroTLKaS oKyn WdpeEvos dia
Taxéwv amnrOe 1H Se votepaia wept avaluyny
elye, TpdyuaTa vewTepa mTpoomenTwKevar pa-
Hevos aUT@, Kal TrapynTEtTo ouyyvepuny ExeLv TOV
> Ul > 4 b) / , \
AréEavdpop, et tdyvov atraiper cvvécerOar yap
AUT@ padrov arroTE TKXOAdLwY. Eyarpev odv oO
"AréEavdpos, ws ov mpos EyOpav, addr' Exouaiws
Ex THS YOpas aTaipovtTos avTov, Kal wpoéteEptTev
" ® 4 > \ de 9 4 e
aypt @errarias. ere dé es Aadpiscav Kop,
avOis GAANAOLS eTNyyeAXNOV éoTIdceElsS avTeETt-
Bovrevovtes: 6 89 pddsota Tov, 'AréEavdpov
e , b] , a 4 if
viroxelploy érroince TS Anpntpio. gudrdrrecbas
\ A ww
"yap OKYOY, @> pH KaKElvoy avTibuvdNaTTecBaL
5:8dEn, Tadwv &pOace (Spav pérXovtos avtovd py
diaguyeiy éxeivov) 5 éunyavato. KAnOels yap
> a
émt Seltrvov AOE mpos Tov Anunrtpiov. ws dé
> a) > fe)
éxeivos éEavéotn petakd Seurvav, doBnOels o
> / A"
Aré€avdpos ouveEavéotn nal nata rédas abT@
o

$8

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tation, some one told him of a plot to kill him in the very midst of the drinking. Demetrius was not at all disturbed, but delayed his coming a little, and ordered his offrcers to have their troops under arms, and all the attendants and servants in his train (and they were far more numerous than the retinue of Alex- ander) to go with him into the banqueting-hall and to remain there until he rose from the table. This frightened "Alexander, and he did not venture to attempt anything. Demetrius also made the excuse that he was not in condition to take wine, and went away very soon. On the following day he busied himself with preparations for departure, telling Alexander that unexpected troubles had arisen, which demanded his attention, asking his pardon for leaving so quickly, and assuring him that he would pay him a longer visit at another time when his affairs permitted it. Alexander was therefore well pleased, convinced that Demetrius was leaving his territories, not in hostility, but of his own free will, and escorted him on his way as far as Thessaly. But when they came to Larissa, once more invitations to entertain- ments passed between them, and each plotted against the life of the other. This, more than anything else, put Alexander into the power of Demetrius. For he hesitated to take measures of precaution, that he might not thereby

teach Demetrius also to take counter-measures, and he was forestalled by meeting the doom he was himself devising (since he delayed measures to prevent the other from escaping out of his hands).1 And so, when Demetrius rose up from table before supper was over, Alexander, filled with fear, rose up also and followed close upon his heels

1 The Greek of the parenthesis is hopelessly corrupt.

6 mpos Tas Oipas cuvnKorovOe. ‘yevopevos odv oO

“

e

Anpyrptos mpos tais Ovpais nara tous éavTod
Sopudopous Kat TovTo povov eitray;, “ Komre Tov
émOmevov, autos pev UTeEnAG ED, o O€ ’AdXéEavdpos
Um’ éxeivwv KaTexoTn Kal TaV dirwv ot ‘1pocBon-
Oobvtes, av Eva Aéyovot ohattopevoy eiTrEety WS
npepa pa POdceev avtovs o Anunrptos.
XXXVII. “H pév odv vvF olov eixos OopuBov
éxyev. dua dé huépa tapatropmévois tois Make-
Sect xai hoBoupévois tHu ToD Anuntpiov Suva,
@s émner pev ovdels hoBepos, o dé Anpunrpios
éqeurre Bovropevos evtvyety Kxal Tept TaV TeE-
mTpaypévwv arodoyjcacOa, Oappeity mapéotn
kal déyecOat diravOpwoTras avtov. ws dé HrAOev,
ov paxpov éénoev avT@ NOywr, GAAA TO puceiv
pev tov ’Avtitatpov, dovéa pntpos dvra, Ber-
tiovos 5é€ amopeiv, éxetvov avnyopevoay Bacthéa
Maxeddvwrv, cai maparaBovtes evOds Kathyov
ets Maxedoviav. nv dé Kat tots olkot. Maxedoow
OUK dKovaLos 1) peTaBoArAr, pEeuvnpévots adel Kal
pecovow & Kacavépos eis ’AdéEavdpov teOynxora
Tapnvounoev. et Oé Tis Ett pvnpn -THS Avtita-
Tpov Tov TWadalovd peTpLoTHTOS viEXEiTETO, Kal
tavTnv Anpytpios éxaprrovtTo Pika cuvotxav
cal tov €& éxetyns viov Exwv Ssadoxov THs apy,
non TOTE pelpaxioy byTa Kal T@ TaTpl ovoTpa-
TEVOMEVOD.
go

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towards the door. Demetrius, then, on reaching the door where his own body-guards stood, said merely, ‘«Smite any one who follows me,” and quietly went out himself; but Alexander was cut down by the guards, together with those of his friends who cathe to his aid. One of these, we are told, as he was smitten, said that Demetrius had got one day’s start of them.

XXXVII. That night, then, naturally, was full of tumult. But with the day the Macedonians, who were in confusion and afraid of the forces of Deme- trius, found that no enemy came against them, but that Demetrius sent to them a request for an interview and for an opportunity to explain what had been done. They therefore took heart and promised to receive him in a friendly spirit. When he came to them, there was no need of his making long speeches, but owing to their hatred of Anti- pater, who was a matricide, and to their lack of a better man, they proclaimed Demetrius king of the Macedonians, and at once went down with him into Macedonia.!_ Furthermore, to the Macedonians at home the change was not unwelcome, for they ever remembered with hatred the crimes which Cassander had committed against the posterity of Alexander the Great. And if there still remained any kindly memories of the elder Antipater’s moderation and justice, of these also Demetrius reaped the benefit, since he was the husband of Phila, Antipater’s daughter, and had a son by her to be his successor in the realm, a son who was already quite a youth, and was serving in the army under his father.

1 In 294 B.c.

¢ \ a , ’
XXXVITII. Odtw 6é Aapurpa Keypnuévos ev-
, 4 \ A a
Tuyia tuvOaverat mev Tepl TY Téxvwvy Kal TIS
pntpos ws peOetvrat, d@pa Kai Tyas ItoNepaiou
mpocGévros avrois, muvOdverat Sé€ rept Tihs
, , \ ee.» 2 a
Yerevew yaunPetons Ouvyarpos: ws ‘Avtioy@ TO
Ledevaov cuvoixel kal Baciticoa tav dvw Bap-
U
Bdpwv avnyopevtat. acuvéByn yap, ws Eotxe, Tov
"Avtioyoy épacévra Tis Utpatovixns véas ovons,
70n 6€ tratdiov exovons éx Tod Lerevxou, Siaxei-
Oat Kaxa@s Kal TOA TroLely TO Trader Stapayo-
pevov, TéXOs 8 éauvTOU KaTayvovta Sewav pev
ériOupetv, avnxesta Sé vooeiv, xexpatnobar 5é
A nw / b A A nw
TO AOYLT LO, TpoTov aTradAayHs tov Biou Cnteiv
\ ,) f \ / 9 >
kat Trapavew arpewa Kal Oepatreias apeherg

Kat Tpopys aroxXyn TO THp"a, vooEelv TLvVAa VvooOY
oxnmTomevov. *“Epaciotpatoy S€ tov tatpov ai-
cBécbat pev ov yareTTas épa@vTos auvTov, TO dé
2 , ee. , ae ? a“ ,
ouTivos épa duototactov dv éEaveupeiv Bovdo-
pevoy det pev ev TO Swpatio Sunpepeverv, et é
> 2 A 9 o , A a
tts eloioe TOv ev dpa pelpaxiov 7 yuvaikav,
. aA ol , “ 4 \ N
éyxabopay Te T@ TpocwT@ Tov AvTioyou Kat Ta
a A /
cuuTacye padota TH WuxH TpeTOMEvy TrEdu-
KOTQ Lepn Kal KLVHpaTa TOV TMpaATOS erLoKOTELD.
n e , A
@S OU TOV pev GANDY ElTLOVTWY Opmoiws ELYE, THS
> \ a
Sé Xtpatovixcns nal cal” éavrny Kal peta rod
Ul , / > / \ ”~
Lerevxou orrwons Words eyiveto Ta THS
le) a a /
Lamgovs éxeiva twept avtoy tavta, pwvas émi-
, A /
oxeots, epvlnua Tupades, dyrewy vTodeiets,
g2

XXXVIII. While Demetrius was enjoying a good fortune so illustrious as this, he had tidings con- cerning his children and his mother, namely, that they had been set free, and that Ptolemy had given them gifts and honours besides; he had tidings also concerning his daughter who was wedded to Seleucus, namely, that she was now the wife of Antiochus the son of Seleucus, and had the title of Queen of Upper Asia. For it came to pass, as it would seem, that Antiochus fell in love with Stratonicé, who was young, and was already mother of a little boy by Seleucus. Antiochus was distressed, and resorted to many means of fighting down his passion, but at last, condemning himself for his inordinate desires, for his incurable malady, and for the subjugation of his reason, he determined to seek a way of escape from life, and to destroy himself gradually by neglecting his person and abstaining from food, under pretence of having some disease. But Erasistratus, his physician, perceived quite easily that he was in love, and wish- ing to discover who was the object of his passion (a matter not so easy to decide), he would spend day after day in the young man’s chamber, and if any of the beauties of the court came in, male or female, he would study the countenance of Antiochus, and watch those parts and movements of his person which nature has made to sympathize most with the inclinations of the soul. Accordingly, when any one else came in, Antiochus showed no change; but whenever Stratonicé came to see him, as she often did, either alone, or with Seleucus, lo, those tell-tale signs of which Sappho sings ! were all there in him,— stammering

speech, fiery flushes, darkened vision,

1 Fragment 2 (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gracet, iii.+ pp. 88 ff.).
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iSparres ofeis, atakia Kab Bopufos év tois o vy-
pois, Téhos 6e THS Wuxis Kara KpaTos HTTHpEVNS?
amopia Kal AapBos Kal wypiacts, én TOUTOLS
Tpoghoy.lopevoy TOV "Epaciatparov Kara TO €-
KOs @s ovK av érépas pay Bactrtéws vids évexap-
Téper TO cron ay expe Pavarou, Xanerov pev
Hyeta Oat TO ppac as Taira Kal Katevreiy, ov pay
GAA Tietevovta TH T pos Tov viov evvoig TOU
ZedevKov mapaxwSuvebcat TOTE, kab evrrely @S
Epws ev ein Tou veavioxow TO MdOos, & Epws dé
advvatos Kal aviatos. ExT ayevTos dé éxeivou
Kal Tmudopévov TOS aviatos, oo 'Ore vy Aia,"
pavae TOV "Epaciatparop, " épa Tis éuns yuvas-
Kos. 'Elta ov« ay, elmrety TOV LérevKon,
éndoins, "Epactotpare, TO Eup mavol piros Ov
TOV yapov, Kal TavTa opay pas éml TOUT@ pove
cahevovtas; i " vse yap dv av, " pdvau, " TOUTO
TaTnp @v eroingas, éL Lrparoviens "Avtioxos
emeBuunoe." eal Tov éAevxov "Kidde yap,
eTaipe,' elmreiy, "Tayv peTaatpeyrat Tes énl
TavTa Kat petaBanor Geav 7 avOpar wy TO Ta-
Qos: ws éuol Kat THY Bactreiav adeivat xadov
"Avteoxou TEplEeXOMEVD.. TavTa éuTradas oho-
Spa tov Yedevkov pera TONY Sax pov ré-
YyOVTOS, éuBarovra THY beFtav avT@ Tov "Epaat-
oTpaTov ecmrety as ovdev "Epacvatpdrou d€orTo°
Kat yap TATHP Ke Kal avnp Op Ke Kal Bacihevs auros
dua xal latpos ein THs. oixias dptotos. éK TOVTOU
TOV LéhevKov exxAnolay abpoicavra mdvOnpov
elTrety ort Bovrerat Kal Stéyvoxe TOY Gvw Tay-
Tov toTwv 'Avtioyov arrodeiEar Baoitéa kal
1 yrrnpévns Ziegler, with two MSS.: #rrwpévns.
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sudden sweats, irregular palpitations of the heart, and finally, as his soul was taken by storm, help- . lessness, stupor, and pallor. And _ besides all this, Erasistratus reasoned further that in all probability the king's son, had he loved any other woman, would not have persisted to the death in refusing to speak about it. He thought it a difficult matter to explain the case fully to Seleucus, but nevertheless, relying on

the father’s kindly feelings towards his son, he took the risk one day, and told him that love was the young man’s trouble, a love that could neither be satisfied nor cured. The king was amazed, and asked why his son’s love could not be satisfied. ‘* Because, indeed,” said Erasistratus, “he is in love with my wife.” ‘Then canst thou not, O Erasi- stratus,” said Seleucus, “since thou art my son’s friend, give him thy wife in addition to thy friend- ship, especially when thou seest that he is the only anchor of our storm-tossed house?’’ ‘“ Thou art his father,” said Erasistratus, “and yet thou wouldst not have done so if Antiochus had set his affections on Stratonicé.” “ My friend,” said Seleucus, “ would that someone in heaven or on earth might speedily convert and turn his passion in this direction ; since I would gladly let my kingdom also go, if I might keep Antiochus.” So spake Seleucus with deep emotion and many tears, whereupon Erasistratus clasped him by the hand and told him he had no need of Erasistratus; for as father, husband, and king, he was himself at the same time the best phy- sician also for his household. Consequently Seleucus called an assembly of the entire people and declared it to be his wish and purpose to make Antiochus king of all Upper Asia, and Stratonicé his queen,

>

Xtparovicny Bactrida, addAHrOLs GUVOLKODYTAS
” \ ‘ \ eN b / ¢ ,
olecOas Sé tov pev viov etOtopévoy atraytTa Tet-
JecOat wal xatnkooy dvta pnbév avrepety avT@
Wpos TOV ydapov: ei & 1 yur TO py vevoutrpéevm
SucKxoAaivot, Tapaxarely tous hirous Omrws bu-
Sdoxwow avtny Kal retOwot xara Kat Sixata Ta
Soxovvta Bacirel pera TOU cuppépovTos Hyeia Oat.
Tov wey ody ’Avtioxou Kat Ytpatovixns reer éx
TotauTns yevéerOat Tpopacews heyoust.
XXXIX. Anuar ptos dé pera Maxedoviay xat
Octradiav Hv wapearAnpos. éEywv 5é cai Iledo-
Tovyvnoov Ta wWAeloTa Kal Tav éxtos “IoOpod
Méyapa xai ’AOnvas éri Botwrovs éorpdteuce.
Kal Wp@Tov pev éyévovtTo cupBaces péTpLat Tepl
Vd \ bd) 4 4 4 A
dirias mpos avrov: érerta KXewvipou tod Yrap-
, a“
TiadTov TapaBanrovTos eis @nBas peta orpatias,
> / e , \ 4 @ fe)
érrapbevtes ot Botwrtot, xat Tltovdos aya rod
@coméws, bs émpwrteve SoEn cai dSuvaper Tore,
TULTApPOPLaVTOS auUTOUsS, améaTncav. ws 4é
tais O@nBats érrayayav tas pnyavas o Anpunrptos
eTrodopKes Kal poByGels vrreERAOEV o KrAewvupos,

KkatatAayevtes ot Botwrol mapédwxav éavtovs. 0
5é tais modeow éuBarwv dpovpay Kal mpakd-
Hevos TOAAG YXpHMaTa, Kal KaTaNITT@V avToOis
emiperntny Kal appootny lepwvupov tov iotopt-
, ” b , a \ 4 \

xov, ed0kev nrriws Kexpno8a, nai pariora dia

\
Iliow. éX@v yap avtov ovdéy KaKxdv érroinoey,
G\Aad Kal wpocayopevoas nail dirodpovnbeis
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the two being husband and wife; he also declared it to be his opinion that his son, accustomed as he was to be submissive and obedient in all things, would not oppose his father in this marriage; and that if his wife were reluctant to take this extraordinary step, he called upon his friends to teach and persuade her to regard as just and honourable whatever seemed good to the king and conducive to the general welfare. On this wise, then, we are told, Antiochus and Stratonicé became husband and wife.

XX XIX. As for Demetrius, after Macedonia he became master of Thessaly also. And now that he had most of Peloponnesus, and, on this side the Isthmus, Megara and Athens, he turned his arms against the Boeotians. These at first made friendly agreements with him on reasonable terms; after- wards, however, when Cleonymus the Spartan made his way into Thebes with an army, the Boeotians were lifted up in spirit, and since at the same time Pisis of Thespiae, who was their leading man at this time in reputation and influence, added his in- stigations to the step, they revolted. But when Demetrius brought up his engines-of-war against Thebes and laid siege to the city, Cleonymus took fright and stole away, and the Boeotians, in terror, surrendered.! Demetrius put garrisons in their cities, exacted large sums of money from them, and left as their overseer and governor Hieronymus the historian, thereby getting a reputation for clemency, and particularly by his treatment of Pisis. For after capturing him Demetrius did him no harm, but actually greeted him, showed him kindness, and

1 In 293 B.c.

Tohewapyov év @comtais am eserkev. ov. TOAG
dé 0 vo Tepov ahioKerat Avotpayos vo Apopeyai-
Tov: Kal Tpos TovTO Anpntpiou | Kara, TAYXOS
éfopynaavros émrt Opgeny, OoTep épnua } KaTa-
Anyopevou, jTwadw atéotncay oi Botwroi, Ka
Avoipayos & apa Sverpevos amrnyyerrero. TAXES
oop Kal T pos opyny dvactpewas o Anpntptos
epev HTTNMEVOUS wrod TOU ma.dos *Avtiyovou
paxn tovs Bowwtovs, cal tas @nBas adOes
émroAopKet.
XL. Tldppov 5¢ @cocadiav KATATPEXOVTOS Kal
EXPL Oeppotudhov mapapavertos, "Avtiryovov
emt TIS mohsopKias ATrONLTIOV aT Os Gpyncev € én’
éxeivon. oFews dé puyovtos, év @cocania xata-
oTnoas: puptous omAitas Kal Xertous immeis,
avOis évéxetto Tais O7Bars Kal Tpooiye THY
Aeyopevny EhErrohuy, TOAUTOVWS Kal KATA pL pov
vo BpwOous Kal peyeous MoxXNevoperny, ws WOALS
év duct pat bv0 oradious mpoerdeiv. tov oé
Bowwtav eppwmevens dpuvopeveov Kat Tov Anun-
Tplov TONAGKLS prroverxias évexa faddov n
“peas payer bas Kat cuvduvevetv TOUS oTpATLOT as
dvaryxalovTos, op@v oO ‘AvTiyovos | TiMTOVTAS OUK
odious Kat mepiTrab an, “Ti, @ qWatep, (edn,
“‘ mapavadio Komevous ovK avayKaiws TovTOUS
T EpLop@pen ; "0 bé mapotuvbeis, “Sv 6,” épn,
“ri duo xepaivers; a Ord pet pov dpetrers Tots
anobvnckovaw;’ " ov py adra Kal Bovdcpevos
ye pn Soxeiy érépwy adedeiy povov, adda Kal
1 %onua Bekker adopts Reiske’s correction to edpnua (trea-
sure-trove).

appointed him polemarch in Thespiae. Not long
afterwards, however, Lysimachus was taken prisoner
by Dromichaetes, and in view of this Demetrius set
out with all speed for Thrace, thinking to occupy
a region destitute of defenders. Thereupon the
Boeotians revolted again, and at the same time word

was brought that Lysimachus had been set free.
Quickly, therefore, and in wrath, Demetrius turned back, and finding that the Boeotians had been defeated in battle by his son Antigonus, once more laid siege to Thebes.

XL. But Pyrrhus now overran Thessaly and was seen as far south as Thermopylae ; Demetrius there- fore left Antigonus to conduct the siege of Thebes, and himself set out against this new foe. Pyrrhus, however, made a swift retreat, whereupon Demetrius stationed ten thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen in Thessaly and once more devoted him- self to Thebes. Here he brought up against the city his famous City-taker,! but this was so laboriously and slowly propelled, owing to its weight and great size, that in the space of two months it hardly advanced two furlongs. Besides, the Boeotians made a stout resistance, and Demetrius many times, out of contumacy rather than from need, forced his soldiers to risk their lives in battle. Antigonus saw that they were falling in great numbers, and in great concern said: “Why, my father, should we suffer these lives to be squandered without any necessity for it?’ But Demetrius was incensed, and said: “ Why, pray, art thou disturbed at this? Are rations due from thee to the dead?”’ However, wishing not to be thought reckless of other lives

1 Cf. chapter xxi. 1.

, A / 4 \
auyKivouvevery Tois payopévors, SteNauveTaL TOV
, 9 a le \ v)
tpadynrov ofuPerct. xal devas pev Eoxev, ov
pny avicev, GANA elrNe Tas OnBas wardey. Kal
,
mapedOwy avataciw pev Kal poBov ws ta detvo-
,
TATA Teicopévoars Tapécyer, avedwy 5é TpLioKal-
Sexa Kal petactynaas Tivas adhe Tods adXovS.
a \ @ , Ww / 9 4
tais pev ov OnBars obrw Séxatov oixovpévars
éros adNa@vas Sis év TO Ypov@ TOUT TUDETECE.
Tov dé TvOtwv xa€dnxovtwy mpaypya Kawvo-
TaTov émréTpeev avT@ Trorety o Anunrpios. émrel
yap AirwAol ta rept AeAdhovs oreva Katetyov,
év AOnvats avtos Hye TOV ayOva Kal THY Tavy-
yup, ws 67 mpochnKoy avToht pddtoTa Tiacbar
Tov Oeov, ds Kal mwatp@ds éaTt Kal AéyeTas TOD
yévous apynyos. |

XLI. ’EvretOev éraverOav eis Maxedoviav xat
unre avros ayev novyiay mepux@s Tovs Te
dAXouvs opav ey tais otpateiais paddov avT@
mpocéyovTas, oxo 5€ Tapaxywders Kal ToNUTpa-

ypovas OvTas, éatpatevoey er AitwXous: Kal
TY yopav Kaxwooas cai Ildvravyov év adti
pépos éxovta THs Suvdpews ovK Griyov amoXLTT@V
> 4 oN b] , \ A > > 3 a
évt Tlvppov autos éywpet nat Ilvppos én' éxetvor:
GvArAnrov S€ Svapaprovtes, o pev éropber tH
e
"Harecpov, 0 Sé¢ Ilavravy@ mepirecav Kal paynv
4 9 AX. \ w" A A a
cuvawas avroyv pev axpt Tov dSodvar Kal NaBeiv
1 In 290 B.c. The siege lasted nearly a year.

only, but also to share the perils of battle, he was pierced through the neck by 4: cetapult-bolt. And yet, sore wounded as he was, he 'did' not give up, but took Thebes again.! His entry ints the city filled the citizens with acute fear; théy:. thought they were to suffer the most dreadful punishments ; but he put to death only thirteen of them, 'banished a few, and pardoned the rest. And so it was-the fate of Thebes, which had been occupied less'than. ten years," to be captured twice during this time. .°°. '

Furthermore, the time for the Pythian games 'being now at hand, Demetrius ventured upon a most un... heard of proceeding. Since, namely, the Aetolians —

occupied the passes about Delphi, he conducted the' —

games and the festival in person at Athens, declaring it to be especially fitting that Apollo should be honoured there, since he was a patron deity of the Athenians and was said to have been the founder of their race. _

XLI. From Athens Demetrius returned to Mace- donia, and since he was himself not prone by nature to keep quiet, and since he saw that his followers were more devoted to him when they were on a campaign, but at home were turbulent and meddle- some, he made an expedition against the Aetolians. After ravaging the country, he left Pantauchus there with a large part of his forces, while he himself moved against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus also moved against him, but they missed one another on the march. Demetrius therefore plundered Epeirus, but Pyrrhus fell upon Pantauchus, and after a battle in which the two commanders came to close quarters and

* Cassander began the restoration of the city (after its utter annihilation by Alexander in 335 B,c.) in 315 B.c.

jor

TAny HY év xEpor, 'ys wevov érpéyrato, tav dé

GANwv ToANoOUs. . pay ATEKTELVED, éCaypnoe é
TEVTAKLEXtALAUS.” “wal TOUTO pddiora Anpijrptov
exdnwoev’ Qu yap ota ponbeis 0 Iluppos ap’
Ov én pakev ‘tbs Jaupacbels 51a TO WrEloTa 7H
xeupl karepydcacbat, heya Te Kat ape pov
EaYev “ATO Tis payns éxeiyns évopa mapa Tots
Mawedéav Kai trodnois emrnet Aéyerv Tov Maxe-
Sdvcau, ds ev povep TOUT@ TOV Baothéav elo ov
éyopGr0 THS “Aref avdpov TOAMNS, ob 6 aNXot,
-. Kar padicta Anpirptos, @s ert TKNVIS TO Bapos
"4. broxpivowro kal Tov GyKov Tob avdpos. ny Oe
oe bs GANOGs tpaypdia peyddn mept rov Anunrprov,

cf
.
ov pLovov aurexyopevov Kal S:adovpevov TEPLTTAS
Kavotats Stpir pous Kal Xpucorrapupors adoupyi-
ow, GAA Kal wept tois tocly é« mopdupas
‘axparov . cumTentAn Levys xpucoBadeis We€TrOLN-
pévov éuBdoas. nV: 6é TUS Uparvopern Xraris
avrT@ modu xpovov, epyov Srrepypavor, elxacpa
Tov KOTMOU Kai TOV KaT ovpavov gaivopévwv 6
KarencipOn pe mpTenes év TH petaBonrg Tay
Mpaywarer, ovdels bé éTohpnoev avr; Xprjoa-
cat, Kxaitep OuK OAdry@V Dorepov év Maxedovia
coPBapav YEvOMEVOY Bacirewr.
XLII. Ov povov Sé TOUTOLS Tols Jeapacw éXvu-

‘Wel TOUS avO parrous anbes dvtas, GNA Kal Tpu-
a aie Kat Siavray €Bapvovto: Kal padiora 57 TO
voopthov avrou Kal Svampocodov. 7 yap ov
mapeixe KaLpov evruxeiy, 7 Xareros my oa TPAXVS
evTvy dvovow. ‘AOnvatwv poev yap, wept ods
é€omrovodKet pddtota tav ‘EAAnver, é éT7 duo 7 pe-
oBeiav xatécxer ex Aanedaipovos 5¢ évos mpe-
102
909

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wounded each other, routed him, took five thousand of his men prisoners, and slew many of the rest. This wrought the greatest harm to the cause of Demetrius. For Pyrrhus, who was not so much hated for what he had done as he was admired for making most of his conquests in person, acquired from this battle a great and splendid name among the Macedonians, and many of them were moved to say that in him alone of all the kings could they see an image of the great Alexander's daring; whereas the others, and

particularly Demetrius, did but asseme Alexander's majesty and pomp, like actors on a stage. And there was in truth much of the theatrical about Demetrius, who not only had an extravagant array of cloakings and head-gear—double-mitred broad-brimmed hats and purple robes shot with gold, but also equipped his feet with gold-embroidered shoes of the richest purple felt. And there was one cloak which was long in the weaving for him, a magnificent work, on which was represented the world and the heavenly bodies ; this was left behind half-finished when the reversal of his fortunes came, and no succeeding king of Macedonia ventured to use it, although not a few of them were given to pomp and luxury.

XLIT. And not only by such displays did he vex his subjects, who were unused to them, but his luxurious ways of living were also offensive, and above all else the difficulty of getting access to him or conversing with him. For either he would give no audience at all, or he was stern and harsh with his auditors. For instance, he kept an embassy from the Athenians, for whose favour he was more solicitous than for that of any other Greeks, two years in waiting ; and when a single envoy came to him from

aBevrod rapayevopévov Kxatadpoveiobar Soxav
nyavaxTnoev,. aateiws pevtot kal Aaxwuinds
2. a > 7 > neg' Aye "
éxeivos, eirovtos avtou "Ti ov Aéyes ; va Aaxe-
§ , Low > 6 yy 9
atpoviot mpeaBeutTny Erepryap ; Nai," eltrey,
Ce 9 le) \ (4 99 60 &e b) a"
w Bacirev, Tpos eva, ofavtos 6€ avTov Tote
Snuotixnw@tepov eFeXavvey, eal mpos évrevEev exer
ovUK andas, avvédpamov tives éyypadous afwwoets
bd , , \ , A lol 4
avabibovtes. Se€apévou 5é rdcas cai TH YNapu-
, @ em \

84 aurraBovtos HoOncav oi avOpwrot Kai Twapn-
KkodovGouv: ws b€ HAGEv eri thy Tov 'A€tod yé-
gdupav, avartitas thy xNapvbda wdacas eis TOV
\ 9ge7 N a N " > /
motapov éFéppie. nai todto 6 devas jnviace
tous Maxedovas vBpitecOar Soxodvras, od Bact-
NeverOat, nat Diriwrov pvnuovevovtas,) TaV
pvnpovevovT@Y GKOVOVTAS, WS METPLOS TY TeEpl
TavTa Kal KoLvos. KaietroTe mpecBuTépov yuvatou
KOTTOVTOS aUTOV év Trapod@ Tivi Kal Seopévou
, 9 A Va \ lA 9
TovANaKkis axovaOjnvar, Pycas pn syVoNalew, éy-
, » 7 "<M? , 9 9

KpayovrTos é€xetvou Kat » Bacidreve’ eitrovtos,
dnxXGels apodpa Kal mpos TovT@ yevomevos ave-
otpewev els THY olKiav, Kal TdaVvTAa TrOLNoOapEVOS
votepa, Tols éevruyelvy BovNopevois, dpEdpevos aro
A 4 ? / o \ \ e ff
THs mpecButidos éxeiyns, emi woAANas Hmepas
éoyvoNacev.
Ovdséev yap ottws Bacidel wpoajKov ws TO THS
Sixns épyov. “Apns pmev yap Tupavvos, os dyae
Tipo0eos, vouos 5é mdvrwy Bactrevs cata Iliv-
s > \ a ‘4 9
Sapo éott Kal trovs Bactrets’ Ounpos dnow oux

Sparta, he thought himself despised, and was incensed. However, when he cried, “ What meanest thou? Have the Spartans sent but one envoy?” he got the neat and laconic reply, “ Yea, O king, to one man.” On one occasion, when he was thought to be riding abroad in a more affable mood than usual, and seemed to encounter his subjects without displeasure, there was a large concourse of people who presented him with written petitions. He received them all and folded them away in his cloak, whereupon the people were delighted and escorted him on his way; but when he came to the bridge over the Axius, he shook out the folds of his cloak and cast all the petitions into the river. This was a great vexation to the Macedonians, who thought themselves insulted, not ruled, and they called to mind, or listened to those who called to mind, how reasonable Philip used to be in such matters, and how accessible. An old woman once assailed Demetrius as he was passing by, and demanded many times that he give her a hearing. “I have no time,’ said Demetrius. “Then don’t be king,’ screamed the old woman. Demetrius was stung to the quick, and after thinking upon the matter, went back to his house, and postponing every thing else, for several days devoted himself entirely to those who wished audience of him, beginning with the old woman who had rebuked him.

And surely nothing so befits a king as the work of justice. For “Ares is tyrant,’ in the words of Timotheus,! but “ Law is king of all things,’ accord- ing to Pindar;? and Homer speaks of kings as

1 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graect, til. +p. 622. Cf. the Agesilaiis, xiv. 2, Bergk, op. cit. i.* p. 439.

éXeTTONELS OVde vas Narn pets, ava Géwirras
Tapa TOU Atos NapBavovras prec Bar Kal purdc-
OELV, KAL TOD Atos ov TOV TONE MLKOTATOV ovudé TOV
adixworarov Kal povinwratoy Tov Bactréwr, andra
Tov StKaLoTaTOV O daptaTny Kal hadnt ny mpoonyo-
peurev. adna Anyntptos EX ape tT@ Bactnret
TOV Jed dvopovoTarny érey pao pevos T™ poo -
yupiav' o pev yap Tlodevs Kal TloAsobyos, © 0 bé
Tlodsopenrns: emixdnow eaxev. ovTws él Thy
Tov KaXou x@pav TO aioy pov vTr0 Suvdpews a apa-
Gods érenOov quvexcioae tH S0&n THY ad.Kxiay.
XLII. ‘O & ov Anuntptos emiagahegrara
voonoas ev IléXXn prxpod tote Maxedoviay a amé-
Bane, KaTadpapovTos oF€ws Tldppou Kal ex pes
’Edéoons m poe Boros. dpa oe 7 Kouporepos
yevérOar wavy padios eFeddcas auTov erounoaro
Tivas oporoyias, ov Bovdopevos éumroday ovrt
ouvex.ds wpoomrTaiwv Kat TOTOMAX OV HT Tov elvat
™ pos ols Stevoeiro. Srevoetto Sé ovdev orion,
GNAG maoay dvahapBaverv THY UTrO ™@ TwaTpl
yevopevny apxny. Kal Tis earidos TauTns Kal
THS emBoris OUK aTreNElTrETO Ta THS TapacKevis,
aNANA oTpaTLas pwev HON ouveTréTaKto TECHS pwupLa-
bas déxa | Ouaxiriov avdpav amobeovcas, Kar
Nwpis imméas orLyo SioxAtcov Kat puptov éXat-
Tous. oToAov 6é veav apa TEVTAKOG Lov KaTa-
Rardopevos Tas pev éy Ilecpavet Tpotrets &BerTo,
tas b€ épv Kopiv0e, Tas be éy Xarxibs, Tas dé
Tept Ilenray, auras eT L@v exacTaxoce kal dcdd-
oKOY a xPn Kal TVVTEXVW[EVOS, ex ANTTOPEVOY
amavTov ov Ta TANON Movov, GANA Kal TA peyeOn
Tov epywv. ovdeis yap eldey avOpwrwy ovTeE
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receiving from Zeus for protection and safe-keeping, not city-takers nor bronze-beaked ships, but “ ordinances of justice’’;! and he calls a disciple and *‘ confidant” of Zeus, not the most warlike or unjust or murderous of kings, but the most just.2, Demetrius, on the contrary, was delighted to receive a surname most unlike those given to the king of the gods; for Zeus is surnamed City-guardian, or. City-protector ; but Demetrius, City-besieger. Thus a power devoid of wisdom advances evil to the place of good, and makes injustice co-dweller with fame.

XLITI. But while Demetrius lay most dangerously sick at Pella, he almost lost Macedonia; for Pyrrhus swiftly overran it and advanced as far as Edessa. As soon, however, as Demetrius had somewhat recovered his strength he easily drove Pyrrhus out of the country, and then came to a kind of agreement with him, being unwilling that continual collisions and local conflicts with this opponent should defeat his set purpose. And his purpose was nothing less than the recovery of all the realm that had been subject to his father. Moreover, his preparations were fully com- ° mensurate with his hopes and undertakings. He had already gathered an army which numbered ninety- eight thousand foot, and besides, nearly twelve thousand horsemen. Atthe same time, moreover, he had laid the keels for a fleet of five hundred ships, some of which were in Piraeus, some at Corinth, some at Chalcis, and some at Pella. And he would visit all these places in person, showing what was to be done and aiding in the plans, while all men wondered, not only at the multitude, but also at the magnitude of the works. Up to this time no man had seen a ship of

1 Iliad, i. 238 f, 2 Minos, Odyssey, xix. 179.

TevTEKaLoEKHpN vavY TpoTEpov ovUTE Exxatdexnon,
? > @ 4 a e
aXX vorepoy teacapaxovTnpn IIroXepatos o Pi-
AoTaTwp évauTNynaaTo, pHKos Staxociwy oydon-
Kovta mnxa@v, Dros 5é &ws axpootodiov mevTH-
xovra Sveiv Seovtwv, vavtats dé ywpls éperav
éEnprupevnv tetpaxociows, épérars bé€ Tetpaxic-
/ \ \ 4 e / / > /
xidLots, Kwpis dé ToUTwY omAitas Seyopéevny éri
Te TOY Tapddwy Kal Tod KaTaoTpwMpPATOS OALY@
/ > , > \ , 4 9° 3
TptaxXtNiwy amrodéovTas. aAAA Oéay povny éxeivn
Tapéoxe Kat pxpov Scov Stadépovea Tay povi-
pov oixodounuatwv, pavivat mpos éeriderEy, ov
ypeiav, emioparas cat Sucépyws exivyOn. TaVv
dé Anunrtpiou vedv ovK RY TO KaXOV avaywuvicTop,
ovde TH WEPLTTO THS KaTacKevns atreatEepovvTo
A 4 9 \ \ f \ mw 9
THY XpELayv, ANNA TO TAaXOS Kal TO Epyov afiobea-
TOTEpoV Tov peyeDous TapEtxor.
XLIV. Aipopuévns ody trocavrns duvduews eri

tnv ’Aciav bonv per "AréEavdpov ovdels Exe
MpoTepov, oi TpEls cuveaTHaav él Tov Anurtprov,
déreveos, roveuaios, Avoipayos éreta Kow?7
N , 9 4 > + > ,
apos Iluppov amroaretNavtes éxéXevov éEarrecOat
Maxedovias nat py vouite orovdas als Anpun-
TpLos ovK exeiv@ TO 7 TOAEMELTOaL SédwKeEV, GAN’
etAnghev Eavt@ 76 ToNepetv ols BovdrAEeTat TporeEpor.
SeEapévou S5¢ [lvppov modds mepiéotn modus
” } / ud \ \ \ ¢€
eT LENAOVTA Anpuntplov. aya yap thv pev ED-
Nada WArEevoas oTOAM peyadrAw IIToNEpaios adi-
atn, Maxedoviav bé¢ Avoipayos éx @pdens, ex 5¢
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fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. At a later time, it is true, Ptolemy Philopator built one of forty banks of oars, which had a length of two hundred and eighty cubits, and a height, to the top of her stern, of forty-eight; she was manned by four hundred sailors, who did no rowing, and by four thousand rowers, and besides these she had room, on her gang- ways and decks, for nearly three thousand men-at- arms. But this ship was merely for show; and since she differed little from a stationary edifice on land, being meant for exhibition and not for use, she was — moved only with difficulty and danger. However, in the ships of Demetrius their beauty did not mar their fighting qualities, nor did the magnificence of their equipment rob them of their usefulness, but they had a speed and effectiveness which was more remarkable than their great size.

XLIV. Accordingly, while this great force, the like of which no man had possessed since Alexander, was getting under way against Asia, the three kings, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, formed a league against Demetrius. Next, they sent a Joint embassy to Pyrrhus, urging him to attack Macedonia, and not to regard a truce by which Demetrius had not given him the privilege of having no war made upon him, but had taken for himself the privilege of making war first on the enemy of his choice. Pyrrhus granted their requests, and a great war encompassed Demetrius before his preparations were completed. For at one and the same time! Ptolemy sailed to Greece with a great fleet and tried to bring it to revolt, while Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from ‘Thrace, and Pyrrhus from the neighbouring

- } In the spring of 287 B.c.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

THS Opopou Ivppos _euBarortes éhenhdrour. 0
dé Tov pév viov émt Tis ‘EdAd605 KATEALTEV, AUTOS
56 Bondar Maxedovia Tp@rtov epyunoev emt Avoi-
paxov. deyyéderas 5é auT@ IIvppos TPNKDS
TONY Bépocav. Kal TOU ovyou TAXEWS els TOUS
Maxedovas éumerovt.0s ovdev € ért TO Anyntpio

Kara Oo OV elyen, ¢ ANA Kab éSuppav cal oak-
puwv Kal mpos éxeivoy opyns Kal Pracdnusay
peoTov Hy TO oTpaTomesoy, Kal TUMMEVELY ovK
70¢dov, arn' aTrLevat, T@ peev oye pos Ta oixot,
TH dé adnBeia mpos Tov Avoipa ov. édofev ou
TO Anpntpio et eae pev amoaTivar qrop-
porate, 7 pos 5é lvppov tpérecOar' tov pév yap
opopunov elvas Kal ToNNOIS ouvidn és "Are£ar-
Spov, énnduv dé cai Eévov avdpa Tov IIvppov ovuK
dv avrov TpoTiwhaae Maxedovas. TOUTED pevTor
TOAD Suepeva On TOV NOYLTUOV. Ss yap eyyus
éfov T@ Tluppe TapeaT paTomresevaey, del pev
auTov THY év Tots dm daLs hapmpornta Oaupa-
Covtes, &« TE Tov TaXatotdTov Kai Baotiixa-
TaTov elOta pévor vopiCerv TOV év Tois Smrots
patio Tov, Tote 6€ Kal Tmpdws Kexpio Gar Tots
ado Kopevors muvOavopevor, mavrws 5€ Kal mpos
Erepov Kai Tpos TOUTOV amradXayhvat tov Anpn-
Tplou Cntobvres, amex @pouv ra Opa Kat Kar oni-
yous TO Ye mpatov, eita pavepars Gmav elxe Kivy-
ow Kat Tapayny TO \oTparomeson, tédos 5€ TO
Anpnt pio ToAmHTavTEs TUVES mpoaedOetv éxéAevov
amvévat kal owtew avtov' amepnxévar yap Hn
4 «al BaoiAindmraroy Coraés and Sintenis, with the best
MSS.; Bekker omits the raf.
IIo

"

DEMETRIUS

Epeirus, and both plundered the land. But Deme- trius left his son in charge of Greece, while he himself, hastening to the rescue of Macedonia, set out first against Lysimachus. But tidings came to him that Pyrrhus had taken Beroea. The report quickly came to the ears.of the Macedonians, and then Demetrius could no longer maintain discipline, but his camp was full of lamentations and tears, coupled with wrathful execrations against himself, and the soldiers would not hold together, but in- sisted on going away, ostensibly to their homes, but in reality to Lysimachus. Demetrius therefore de- termined to put as much distance as _ possible between himself and Lysimachus, and to turn his arms against Pyrrhus; for Lysimachus, as he thought, was a fellow-countryman and congenial to many of the Macedonians because of Alexander; while Pyrrhus was a new-comer and a foreigner, and would not be preferred by them before himself. In these calculations, however, he was greatly deceived. For he drew nigh and pitched his camp by that of Pyrrhus; but his soldiers had always admired that leader's brilliant exploits in arms, and from of old they had been wont to consider the man who was mightiest in arms as also the most kingly ; besides this, they now learned that Pyrrhus treated his prisoners of war with mildness, and since they were seeking to be rid of Demetrius whether it took them to Pyrrhus or to another, they kept deserting him, at

first secretly and in small companies. Then the whole camp was in open agitation and disorder, and at last some of the soldiers ventured to go to Demetrius, bidding him to go away and save him- self; for the Macedonians, they said, were tired of

III

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Maxedovas t vmrép THS éxelvou Tpupys TOhEMODVTAS. 911
ovrot PETPLOTATOL TOV NOYwV éepaivovro TO. Anpun-
tpi ™ pos THY TOV adiwv TpAaXUTnT a: wal Tmap-
eNOov er oKNU TD, @omrep ov Bactneus, GD UTrO-
KpLTNS, peTapprevvutar xrapuda parav avrl THS
Tpayichs éxeivns, cat dtarabov UmEexopnoey.
opynadvTov 5é TaY TAELTTAV EOS ep' apmayny
Kat wpos aAANAOUS Siapaxopevery Kal THY oKnUaY
StacTrovTw, emupavels O I1¥ppos expaTnaey av-
ToBoet Kal KaTéaXe TO otpatoresor. Kal yiverat
7 pos Avaipaxov auT@ cULTATNS Maxedovias
veunots, értaetiav UTo Anpunrpiov BeBaiws apy-
Geions.
XLV. Otto be Tou Anynrtpiou : TOY TPaYWaTwV
exTreTOvTOS Kat KaTapuyovtos els Kacdvdpeay,
n yun Pira mepuTrabns yevouevn mpoa wWeiv pev
oux Urréwervev av0is idtorny nat gduydda Tov
TANMOvEeD TATOV Bactréwy Anunrpror, drrevmawevn
b€ wacapv édrida Kal puonoaca THY TUXNY auTou
BeBavorépar € €v Tots KaKOls OVaaY 7 TOLS aryabois,
Tlovca papparov awéGave. Anpnrptos dé ert
TaD ovum ay vavayiov exer Oa Seavonbels amrnpev
ets THY "EXXdda Kai Tovs éxet aotTpatnyous Kal
idous ouviryer.
"Hy obv) Loporheous MevéAaos etxova tais
auTov TYYaLs TapaTiOnaty,
aX' ovpos ael TOT HOS éy tuxv@ Oeod

TPOXD KuKAEtTAL Kal peradrrdacer puay,

OaTrEp cEAnYNS © ois evgpovas * dvo

otivar Suvatr' dv ovtror ev popdh m4,

1 ebppdvas Sintenis with Nauck, after Brunck ; Coraés and Bekker retain the ebppdvais of the MSS,

waging war in support of his luxurious way of living. Demetrius thought this very moderate language compared with the harshness of the rest ; so he went to his tent, and, as if he had been an actor and not a real king, put on a dark cloak in place of his stage-robes of royalty, and stole away unnoticed. Most of the soldiers at once fell to pillaging and tearing down his tent, and fought with one another for the spoils; but Pyrrhus came up, mastered the ‘camp without a blow, and took possession of it. And all Macedonia was divided between Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, after Demetrius had reigned over it securely for seven years.!

XLV. When Demetrius thus lost his power and fled for refuge to Cassandreia, his wife Phila was- full of grief and could not endure to see her husband, that most afflicted of kings, once more in private station and in exile; she gave up all hope, and in hatred of his fortune, which was more secure in adversity than in prosperity, she drank poison and died. But Demetrius, determined to cling still to what was left of his wrecked fortunes, went off to Greece, and tried to assemble his friends and generals who were there.

The Menelaiis of Sophocles? applies this simile to his own fortunes :—

“ But my fate on the swiftly turning wheel of God
Goes whirling round forever and ever changes shape,
Just as the moon’s appearance for two kindly nights
Could never be identical and show no change,

1 From 394 to 287 B.c.

2 Nauck, T'rag. Graec. Frag.” p. 315. -

Gdn’ €£ adjrou mpatov Epyetat véa
TpocTwTAa KAAXUVOVGA Kal TWANPOVLEVN,
VNOTAVTEP AUTHS evyeveotaTn havy,
maddy Siappel Kets TO pndey Epyxerat,

3 Tavtn paAXov av Tis atretxdcat Ta Anpntpiou
a ee \ e ‘ , ou p /
Ul \ 9 >
Tpaywata Kat Tas Tept avTov avEnoes Kai pOi-
oes KaL avaTTANPw@OELS KAaL TaTrELWOTNTAS, Ov YE
Kal TOTe TavTdtractw aroXeiTey Kal KatacBe-
“A b] th Ld e ? ,
vucbar Soxobvtos avédaputTrey adOis 7 apy, Kal
\
Suvdpets tives emippéovoat KaTa puKpov aveTAn-
pouv tHv éAmrida. Kat TO ye! mpa@Ttov idiorns
‘Kal tov BaoiwwKav Kxoopiwv epnuos éredhoita
Tais modeol, Kai Tis avTov év @nBais TotodTov
Ocacdpevos expyiaato Tois Evpimidou ariyots ovK
andas:
popdny apetras ex Geo Bpornciay
4 ? Ul > a) A > @
mapeate Aipens vapar’ lopnvod 0 ddwp.
XLVI. ’Enel 5€é dtraé dotrep eis obov Bacidcxny
Thy éATiba KaTéoTH Kal ouvicTaTO TdALW copa
Kal oxhwa wept autov apy7ns, O@nBaiors péev aré-
Swxe THY ToNtTelav, AOnvaio: S€ aréotnoav av-
Tov. Kati Tov te Aiduror, d¢ Rv lepevs TOV Yory-
pov avayeypappévos, éx TOV éTwVUpwV ayveEtro)?,
apxYovTas aipeiaOar mardw, woTEp BY TaTpLoy,
Wndiodpevor, Tov te Iluppov €x« Maxedovias pere-
as ae ye Sintenis : Coraés and Bekker retain the rére of the

But out of darkness first she comes forth young
and new,
With face that ever grows more beautiful and full,

And when she reaches largest and most generous
phase,
Again she vanisheth away and comes to naught.”

This simile might be better used of the fortunes of
Demetrius, now waxing and now waning, now full-
orbed and now diminished, since even at this time,
when his power seemed to fail altogether and suffer
extinction, it shot forth new rays of light, and

sundry accessions of strength little by little filled
out the measure of his hopes. At first he went
about visiting the cities in the garb of a private man
and without the insignia of a king, and one who
saw him thus at Thebes applied to him, not inaptly,
the verses of Euripides! :—
“Exchanging now the form of god for that of man, He visits Dirce’s rivulets and Ismenus’ flood.”’

XLVI. But as soon as he had entered upon the
path of hope, as upon a royal highway, and had
gathered about himself a body and form of sove-
reignty, he restored to the Thebans their ancient
‘form of government; the Athenians, however, re-
volted from him. ‘They voted to elect archons,
as had been their custom of old, and took away from
Diphilus, who had been appointed priest of the
Saviour-gods, the privilege of giving his name to the
current year;? and when they saw that Demetrius
had more strength than they expected, they sum-
1 Bacchae, 4 f., with adaptation from the first person.
2 See chapter x. 3.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

A A , > 4 \
TépTrovtTo, WaANOV } Tpodedoxnoay laxyvovTa TOV
ce aw (a A
Anpntptov opavtes. 0 5€ opyn péev emnrAOev av-
Tois Kal TodopKiay Tepl TO doTU GuUvETTHTATO
xaptepav, Kpdtntros dé tod didocopou rep-
, e \ A , N > a > \ 9 ,
hOEvtos UO TOD Sypou Tpos aUTov, avdpos évdoEou
kat dvvatod, Ta pev ols vrép tav *AOnvaiwv
éSeito mewoOeis, Ta 5é €& wy édidacKe wept TaV
éxelv@ ocupdepovtTwy vonoas éXVGE THY ToAOP-
Kiav, Kal cuvayayev boat vies Hoav avT@, Kal
oTpaTt@tas pupiovs Kal yxtdLovs oUY imredow
éuBiBacas, émt tv ‘Aciav érra, Avotudyou
Kapiay xait Avédiav atmootycey.
Aéyera, 5& adtov Evpudien wept Midrntor,
aderXon Piras, ayovca tev avutTAs Kai IIToXe-
paiov Ouyatépwy Urordeuaida xabwporoynnervnv
éxeivm mwpotepov Sua LedevKov. TavTynv yapet
, b) , DJ 7 \ \ ‘\

Anpytptos Edpudixns éxdudovons. xat peta Tov
ydapov evOus éml tas modes TpéreTat, TrOAA@Y
\ e / @ s \ be ‘
pev Exovaotws TpooTiOeuévav, ToANAaS Oé Kai PBL-
atopevos. édaBe S€ nal Yapdeus- Kai tives Tav
Avotudyou otpatnyav arexepnoay mpos avTov.

Npnpata Kal orpatiay Kopilovtes. étrEepyomévou
dé "AyaboxXéovs tov Avoipadyou peta Suvduews
avéBa.vev eis Dovyiay, éyvwxws, avirep "Appevias
éminaBnrat, Mydiav xivety Kal Tov avw Tpaypid-

\
twv éyecOat, ToAAds éEwOoupévm Trepipuyas Kal
> / 5 / € / \ 9 /
avaxwpnoes éyovtwyv. émopévou 5€é ’Ayabonne-
ous év Tals cupmdoKais trepinv, émsoiticpod Oe
116
912

DEMETRIUS

moned Pyrrhus to their aid from Macedonia. Demetrius came up against them in a rage, and began a strenuous siege of the city. But the people sent to him Crates the philosopher, a man of great repute and influence, and Demetrius, partly because he was induced to grant the ambassador's appeals in behalf of the Athenians, and partly because he was convinced when the philosopher showed him what would be an advantageous course, raised the siege, and after assembling all the ships he had,! and putting on board eleven thousand soldiers, together with his cavalry, he sailed for Asia, to wrest Caria and Lydia from Lysimachus.

He was met at Miletus by Eurydicé, a sister of Phila, who-brought with her one of her daughters by Ptolemy, Ptolemais, who had been betrothed to Demetrius before this? through the agency of Seleucus. Demetrius married her now, and Eurydicé gave the bride away. After the marriage Demetrius at once turned his arms against the cities, many of which, attached themselves to him of their own accord, and many also he forced into submission. He took Sardis also; and some of the

generals of Lysimachus came over to him bringing money and troops. But when Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, came against him with an army, Demetrius retired into Phrygia; he had determined, if once he could reach Armenia, to bring Media to revolt and attempt the upper provinces, which afforded an ejected commander many refuges and retreats. Agathocles followed him, and though Demetrius had the advantage in their engagements,

' See chapter xliii. 3.

2 As early as 301 B.c. Cf. chapter xxxii. 3.

2

Kal T povopdry eipyopevos HyTropetro, Kal Tois oT paTL@rars be" vrowpias Hv ws én’ Appeviay kal Mn diav extomitev. dpa oe paddov O cmos éré-tetve, kal Stapaptia Tis yevouévn Tept THY TOU Avxou diaBaow TrA00s av0poHTrwv aptracbev wd Tob pedparas aTorerev. duos be Tob oxa@mrety OvK ameixovTo" mpoypaer b¢ tts auto Tpo THS aKnyyns THY Tod Oiditrodos} apynv puuxpov Tapan-Ad€as:

TEKVOV Tuprov yépovtos “Avtuydvou: tivas yapous apiypeda ;

XLVII. Tédos &€ cai. vocou TO ALLO SUVETTLTL-Oepeuns, domep eleoBev, ent Bpwcess avaryKaias TPETFOMEDWY, TOUS TavTAS ovK eAdaaovas 6 OKTAKLO-XeMteov amr oBadov aviryev oTrlo TOUS RNottrovs: Kal caTaBas eis Tapooy éBovuXeTo pep améxer Oat THS X@pas, ovaons UT LedrevKw TOTE, Kal 7 po-pacw éxeive pn deuia Tapacxeir, as 6€ 7) HV apn-Navov, €v Tals eoxaraus OVTM@V ar opiass TOV oTpaTiwTay, Kat TOU Tavpou Tas wvuepBoXras “Ayabo«his aTrETELX LTE, paper T pos DéXevKov emia TONNY paKpov Twa THis avToo TUXNS oduppop, eita TmONdyy ikegtay Kal dénouw éxovoav avdpos oixetov NaBeiv oixtov, aEta Kai ToAepmlots cUVAar-ynjoat TremovOoros.

"Enrixdaa Bevros 5€ Tas Ledevxou, Kat ypa-aravtos Tois éxel otparnyois Oras aUT® TE TO Anyntpip yopnyiav Baowkueny Kal TH Suvdpet

tpopiy apBovoyv twapéywatr, ere Owyv Tatpoxrjs,
1 Sophocles, Oedipus Coloneus, 1 f. (’Avriyovn).

he was shut off from getting provisions and forage, and was in great straits; besides, his soldiers were suspicious that he was trying to make his way towards Armenia and Media. And not only did famine press them harder, but also some mistake was made in crossing the river Lycus, and a large number of men were carried away by the current and lost. But nevertheless they would have their pleasantries ; and one of them wrote up in front of the tent of Demetrius the opening words of the “ Oedipus,” slightly changed :—

“O child of blind and aged Antigonus, what are
These regions whither we are come?”

XLVII. But at last sickness assailed them as well as famine, which is wont to happen when men have recourse to foods which they must eat to save their lives, and after losing no less than eight thousand men in all, Demetrius retraced his steps with the rest and came down to Tarsus. Here he would gladly have spared the country, which was then under Seleucus, and so have given its ruler no ground of complaint ; but this was impossible, for his soldiers were suffering extreme privations, and Agathocles had fortified the passes of the Taurus against him. He therefore wrote a very long letter to Seleucus, bewailing his own misfortunes, and then begging and beseeching him to take pity on a man who was allied to him by marriage, and had suffered enough to win sympathy even from his enemies.

Seleucus was somewhat softened by this appeal, and wrote to his generals in that province that they should furnish Demetrius himself with royal main- tenance, and his troops with abundant supplies. But

avip auvetos elvat Soxa@v cal Yerevew iros
/ 9 N A lA ” al 9
muaTos, ov TOTHS Satrdavns py TreloToy elvat
tov Anpntpiov otpatiwTayv tpepopévwyv, adr
éviiatpiBovta tH yopa Anpntptov ov Karas
meplopay avTov, ds det BiaroraTos @y Kal peyado-
mpayyovéertatos BactNéwy viv évy tUyats yéyovev
at xal tous hivce: petpious éEdyovot ToApmay Kal
adixeiv. éx tovTou trapokuvOels o DéXeuKos éEwp-
? / \ an 4 e
pnoev eis Kersxiav peta moddAns Suvadpews. 0

dé Anuntptos éxrrayels TH Ov GAlyou peraBorn
A 4 \ / e / A 9
Tov Lerevxou Kal poAnGeis, Uméa Terre Tois GyUpW-
TatTois Tov Tavpou, cad Statreprropevos nEiouv pa-
ALoTa pév avTOY Treptidely TOY avTOVOLwWY TLVa
BapBdpev xrnodpevoy apxny, év } xataBi@ceras
TAaYNS ‘Kal huyhs wavodpevos, et 5é py, TOY
yeywava Orabpéar thy Sivamy adToOL, Kal pn
4 ? la) \ ‘ b 4 N 4
mavtTwy évdea Kat yuuvov éEeXauvew ral mpoBar-
NEY TOLS TroNEmLOLS.
XLVIII. *Ezrei dé Yérevxos tadta wavta- bro-
4 > Sf > 4 > 4 4 lol
TTEevov exéXevoey avTov, ci BovrA*ETaL, dUo pHvas
év 77 Kataovia yemacat, Sovta tovs mpwTous
A 4 e 4 @ \ > , > ,
TaV diiwv ounpous, dua Sé Tas eis Lupiay arretet-
vivev uTepBodds, éyxAelopevos, Wamep Onpiov, o
Anpntptos KuKd@ Kat meptBaddopevos, UT’ av-
GYKNS TpéTETAL TPOS GAKHVY, Kal THY TE Ywpay
KQTETPEXE KAL TO Lerevnw TpoaRadrdovts cup-
) WAEKopEvOS ae mrAéoY Elye. Ka’ ToTe TOV Spe-
Tavnpopwr ets avtov apelévtwy vroatas TpoTrny
120
913

DEMETRIUS

Patrocles, a man in repute for wisdom, and a trusted — friend of Seleucus, came to him and told him that the expense of maintaining the soldiers of De- metrius was a very small matter, but that it was unwise for him to allow Demetrius to remain in the country, since he had always been the most violent of the kings, and the most given to grand designs, and was now in a state of fortune where even natur- ally moderate men are led to commit deeds of daring and injustice. Incited by this advice, Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a large force. Then De- metrius, filled with amazement and alarm at the sudden change of attitude in Seleucus, withdrew to the strongest fastnesses of the Taurus, and sending messengers to Seleucus, asked that above all things he might be permitted to acquire a petty empire among the independent Barbarians, in which he might end his days without further wanderings and flights; but if this might not be, he begged him to give his troops food for the winter there, and not | to drive him forth, stripped and destitute of all things, and cast him into the hands of his enemies. XLVIII. But Seleucus was suspicious of all this, and. told Demetrius that he might, if he wished, spend two months in winter quarters in Cataonia, provided he gave the chief among his friends as hostages; and at the same time he fortified the passes into Syria against him. Then Demetrius, like a wild beast, hemmed in and attacked on all sides, was driven to defend himself; he overran the country, and when Seleucus attacked him, engaged with him and always had the advantage. Once in particular, _ when the scythe-bearing chariots were dashing down upon him, he avoided the charge, routed his

émoijoato, Kal TOY eis. Lupiay vmrepBor@v TOUS arroretyifovras efeddoas ex paznce. Kat ddws erhipto TH youn, Kal TovS OTpaTLMOTAS avateOappykoras opa@v Tapea KevateTo Siayovicacbar 7 pos Tov Sérevrov et TOUS peyia Tous aPrors, nropnHévov non Kal avutov. amréaTpewe pep yap TY Tapa Avoipdxov Bondevay a aT LOT OV kal poBovpevos, autos bé€ Kal” éavTov @KvEL T@ Anynt pico cuvarpat, dedtas THY arrovouay avtToo Kal THY adel petaBorny é éx TOV €aXATWY ATOPLAY TAS peyioTas evTuylas em ipépovoay.

Oo0S pévTOL Bapeia TOV Ant puov ép TOUT@ xataraBoica TO Te TOA OELWas exdnwae wal Ta mpaypara TavTanact SepOerper. oi pev yap amex w@pno ay ™pos TOUS Toneptous, ot bé Steppvnoay avrob TOV TTPATLOT ED. Modus dé év nyuepacs Tecoapaxovra patoas | Kal Tous UrrohoiTous avaAaBary, Kal oppycas, Sa ov ideip Kab SoFdoas TOUS Toneptous, eq Kiduxias, eita YUKTOS avev odnTuyyos apas éml Gdrepa Kal TOV “Apavov UTrEpBarov erropbet THY KaTwW Yopay aypt THS KuppnoteKns.

XLIX. "Emepavertos dé Tob Ledevcou ral TroLousLevou Tas KaTaruaels eyyus, dvactHa as 0 Anuntptos TO oT paTevpa VUKTOS éBadeSev én avTov ayvoobyta, ey pt Toddod Kal KOLO [EOD aUTOMONOY 5€ TiwWep Taparyevopevov Kat dpaCavT@Y TOV Kivduvov,. ceTrayels Kal avarnonoas éxéXeuce€ oNMaLvery, apa Tas _kpnribas UmrodovHEvOS Kal Boay Mpos Tovs éTaipous OS Onpio derv@ TUMTETAEKTAL, Anuar pros be T® OopvBo TOV TOAELioV aicOopmevos OTL pmepnVUTaL, KATA

assailants, drove away those who were fortifying the passes into Syria, and made himself master of them. And now he was completely lifted up in spirit, and seeing that his soldiers had recovered their courage, he made ready to fight to the finish with Seleucus for the supreme prizes. Seleucus himself was already in perplexity. For he had refused the assistance offered by Lysimachus, whom he distrusted and feared ; and

by himself he hesitated to join battle with Demetrius, fearing the man's desperation and the perpetual change which brought him from the extremest destitution to the greatest affluence. _

However, a grievous sickness seized Demetrius at this juncture ; it wrought terrible harm to his body, and utterly ruined his cause. For some of his soldiers went over to the enemy, and others dispersed. But at last, after forty days, he recovered strength, and taking the soldiers that remained, set out, so far as his enemies could see or conjecture, for Cilicia; then, in the night and without signal by trumpet, he set out in the opposite direction, crossed the range of Amanus, and plundered the lower country as far as Cyrrhestica.

XLIX. When Seleucus made his .appearance there and encamped near by, Demetrius set his army in motion by night and advanced against him. Seleucus was ignorant of his approach for a long time, and lay sleeping. But when some deserters came and told him of his peril, he was astounded, and leaping up ordered*the trumpets to be sounded, at the same time pulling on his boots and shouting to his companions that a terrible wild beast was upon them. But Demetrius, perceiving from the noise which his enemies made that they had been informed

2 taxos amnyev. aya 8 neepa mpoowerpevor Tov Leheveou, meppas TLVa TOV rept avrov émt Od-TeEpov Képas érroinaé Tiva Tpomiy TOV évayTiov. elta pévToe DéAEuKOS AUTOS adels Tov taTov Kal TO Kpdvos dtroPépevos Kat AaBov wéATHVY aTrnVTA Tots praOopopots, émridecxvvpevos avToyv Kal peTa-Baréc0at rapaxarov, dn woTé cuudpovncaytas bre devddpuevos exeivov, ov Anuntpiqu, xpovoy 3 woAvuy OtaTeTéNEKEV. €k TOUTOU TaYTEs aoTrato-pevot Kal Bactréa mpocayopevovtes peOioTavto. Anunrptos 6€ Todo peTaBorov aicPopevos éaxatny éxeivny HKeovoay én' avtov, éxxrLvas ém} Tas 'Apavidas Epvye muAas, cai KataBarov es - DAnv tia cuvnpedh peta girtwv Tiwev Kal aKoNovOwy oN ywv TavTaTractw GyTwY TpocéuEeveE THv vuKxta, Bouropevos, et Svvatto, THS émi Kad-

vov od0v0 AaBecOar kal Stextrecety érl tHv Odrac-
4 cav, o8 TOV vavoTabpoy evpnoew ATLCEY. ws
dé éyva pndé éxeivns THs nuépas epodvov Eyovras
avtous, ér ddAXwv éyéveTo NoyiopaVv. clita pév-
Tot Ywouyéyyns éemHdrAOev, ETaipos avTod, ypuvaous
TeTpaxocious urretwapmévos' Kal aro TOUT@Y éNTi-
Covtes axpr Oardoons StayevnoeoOat, mpos Tas
uTepBords éyxw@pouy oKoTaio. mupav 5é Katope-
YOV pos avTais WoAreuliwy amoyvovTes exelyny
THY Oddy avOis avex@pnoay eis TOV avTOV TOTFOD,
ovte waves (éviot yap atrédpacav) ode opoiws
"6 ol TWapapévovtes mpoOvuot ToALHaavToS O€ TLVOS

ElTrely TL, WS YeXEVKM YXpy TO TOpa Trapadadvas

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° | DEMETRIUS

of his approach, drew off his troops with all speed. When day came, however, Seleucus was pressing him hard, so he sent one of his officers to the other wing, and partially routed the enemy. But at this point Seleucus himself, quitting his horse, doffing his helmet, and taking a light shield, went to meet the mercenaries of Demetrius, showing them who he was, and exhorting them to come over to him, since they must for some time have been aware that his long forbearance had them in view, and not Demetrius. Consequently they all welcomed him, hailed him as king, and went over to him.

Then Demetrius, perceiving that the last of many reversals of fortune was now come upon him, left the field and fled to the passes of Amanus, where he plunged into a dense forest along with sundry friends and followers, few all told, and waited for the night. -He wished, if possible, to take the road to Caunus and make his way through to the sea, where he ex- pected to find his fleet. But when he learned that the party had not provisions enough even for the coming day, he tried to think of other plans. At this point, however, Sosigenes came up, a companion of his, with four hundred pieces of gold in his belt ; so hoping that with this money they could make their way through to the sea, the party set out to- wards the passes, in the darkness of night. In the passes, however, the enemy were burning fires, so the fugitives despaired of this road and once more returned to their place in the forest—not all of them, for some had run away; nor was the remnant as willing as before. And when one of them ventured to speak out boldly and say that Demetrius ought to

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES — .

Anpnrpiov, @punoe pev to Ethos otracapevos
) aA e , e \ , 4 N
avereiv éavtov, of Sé girdoe wepiotavres Kat

rmrapapuvOovpevor ouvéTeicay oUTw Trotnoat. Kal
\ 9
Téumet pos YéAevKov emitpétav exeitve Ta Kad
éauTov.
L. "Axovcas 5é Yérevcos ovK Epyn 7H Anuntptov
4 , 4 > \ lo e le) a
Tuxyn cwlecGar Anunrpiov, aAAXa TH avVTOV, eT
TOV GAAwWY KAaN@Y aUT@ dirtavOpwtias Kai Xpn-
aoToTntos émiderew Std0ovcn. Kadrécas Sé TOUS

3 \ 4 4 ‘ > 7
ETLMEANTAS CKNVHV Te THYyVUVaL BaciNLKNY exe-
Nevee, KAL TAAAA TavTa ToLeiy Kai TapacKevd-
Cewv eis UTrodoynyv Kal Oepareiay peyadompEeTTras.
nv 5é tus "Arroddwridns Tapa TO Lerevaw, Tov
Anpntpiov yeyovas suvnbns: todtov evOvs é&é-
Teprpe TPOS AUTOV, BTrws HdlwY yévntat Kal Oap-
p@yv ws pos oixeiov avdpa Kal KndeotHy atravTav,
Davepas Se tijs. yvouns avtod yevouevns dAtyou TO
Tp@Tov, elta ol mAcioTOL TaV dirtwv éEeTHSOV
* \ \ , e , N 4
qapa tov Anuntptov, dusrr@pevoe Kat POdvovTes
aAAHAOUS: HATivETO yap EVODs Tapa TO Dedevew
péytotos évecOar.
Tovdro 6é éxeiv pev eis POovovy peréBare Tov
EXeor, Tos 6€ xaxonOeot Kal BacKdvos rapéoxev
? / “ \ / fo)
amvotpé wat kal dsapOeipar thy piravOpwriay tod
/ > / b] , e > > ?
Baciréws, éxpoByncaciv avtov, ws ovK cis ava-
Bonds, GAN dpa TO Trp@tov ohOHvar tov avédpa,
peyarov ecopevwv ev TH otTpatoTréd@ vewTEptc-
pov. apte d7 Tod AzroAXwvidou pos Tov Anun-
Tpiov adiypévou Teptyapods, Kal TOV aAXAwWD
126
914

DEMETRIUS

surrender himself to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his sword and would have killed himself; but his friends encompassed him, and with encouraging words per- ‘suaded him to do as the man had said. So he sent to Seleucus and put himself at his disposal.

L. When Seleucus heard of it, he declared that it
was not the good fortune of Demetrius that brought

him safety, but his own, which, in addition to her other blessings, gave him an opportunity to show generosity and kindness. Then he called his overseers and bade them pitch a royal tent, and to make all other arrangements and preparations for a magnificent reception and entertainment. There was also with Seleucus a certain Apollonides, who had been an intimate friend of Demetrius; this man was at once sent to him by Seleucus, to give him cheerfulness and confidence by reminders that he was coming into the presence of a man who was a friend and relative. When this purpose of Seleucus be-— came evident, first a few of his friends, then the greater part of them, went off hot foot to Demetrius, vying with one another in their efforts to reach him first; for 4t was expected that he would at once be a very great personage at the court of Seleucus.

“ But this behaviour of his friends turned the king’s pity into jealousy, and gave malicious and mischievous persons an opportunity to thwart and put an end to his generosity. They frightened him by their insin- uations that without any delay, but at the first sight of Demetrius, there would be a great revolution in the camp. And so it came to pass that at the very time when Apollonides had come to Demetrius with a joyful countenance, and while the other courtiers

eT EPX OMEVOV Kat oyous Gavpac tous dmaryyedovr wept Tov YedevKov, kal rob Anyntpiov pera THMKAUTNY dvaruxiav Kat KaKoT payiay, él ar TpOoTepov ed0xee THY ‘mapadoow Tou CDLATOS aliax pay meTrorhaOae, TOTE peteyvmnxotos b1a TO Jappeiv Kal mo TeveLy tals édmiow, MrOe | Ilavcavias EX@Y TTPATLATAS omov melous Kat imaeis Tept xedtous. Kab ToUTOLS TEpLaX@v tov Anpr- Tptov adve, | Tous 6€ adddous aTrorTHaas, Lehevicw pev aurov els Oyruy ov KaTeTTH TED, ets 6€ Xeppoynaov THY Lupraxny am nyaryer, Strov TO Aovrrov toxupas PUVAAKHS émarabetans Oeparreta pep Kev ixavn Tapa Lehevcou kal Xpnwata Kal diaita mapeocevateTo Kal’ nuépav ov peuTrTn, Spopoe dé Kal TWéepiTaroe Bactrexol Kat mapadetcot Onpas EYovTES anedeixOnoay: 7 qv dé xal tov didrov TOV cuppuyovT@DY T@® Bovdopevp ovvelvar, Kal Tap

avtov + tives Guws em port aves aro Tob DeXevKov
HKov Kopitovres emveuxets Aoyous Kab Gappetv
Twapaxarobvres, ws, OTav mpatov Avtioxos adi-
KNTAL OUV Lrpatovixn, dteO no opevov.
LI. ‘O 6éé Anprtptos év TH TOLAUTH TUX
yeyoves emécTELAE TOIS mept TOV viov Kal Tois
mept "A@nvas Kal KopwOov Hryemort Kat pirors ®
pare ypappac wy avrod prjre opparyide TiS TEVELY,
an domep TeOyNKOTOS "Avtiyov@ Tas modes Kal
Ta Moura Tpayyara Stapudarrewy. "AvTtyovos
Sé Hv ToD TaTpos GVAAN WY TuOdpEvos Kal Bape-
1 wap aurdy Coraés and Bekker, with the MSS.; Sintenis corrects to wap’ abrov and deletes awd tov ZeAevcov.

2 rois. .. piAos Sintenis, with the best MSS. and Ste- phanus ; Corats and Bekker retain apos... plaous.

were coming: up and telling him wonderful tales about Seleucus and his generosity, and when Demetrius, after all his disasters and misfortunes, even if he had once thought his surrender a disgraceful act, had now changed his mind as a result of his courage and hopefulness, up came Pausanias at the head of a thousand soldiers, foot and horse together. With these he surrounded Demetrius on a sudden, and after sending off everybody else, conducted him, not into the presence of Seleucus, but away to the Syrian Chersonese. Here, for the rest of his life, a strong guard was set over him, a sufficient number of attendants came to him from Seleucus, while money and maintenance was provided for him day by day which was not to be despised, nay, royal courses for riding and walking, and parks with wild game in them, were set apart for his use; any friend also who shared his exile and wished to visit him could do so, and notwithstanding his captivity sundry people kept coming to him from Seleucus bringing kindly messages and exhorting him to be of good cheer, since as soon as Antiochus came with Stratonicé, he was to be set at liberty.

LI. Demetrius, however, finding himself in this plight, sent word to his son and the friends and commanders who were at Athens and Corinth, bid- ding them put no trust in letters or seal purporting to be his, but to treat him as dead, and to preserve for Antigonus his cities and the rest of his power. When Antigonus learned of his father’s capture, he

, :
ws éveykov kal mevOiunv avaraBov écbjta wpos
A“ \ \ > N

Te Tous dAAous Bacireis Eypawe Kal mpos avTov
A N aA
Léreuxoy, Seopevos, cal wav 6 te Nottrov Hy avtois
e 4 A
Tapadioous, Kal TPO TrayTOS OpNpEvErv ETOLLOS VY
auTos Uumép tod Tatpos. Kal cuvedéovto Tabta
\. UA
modes Te TOAAaL Kal Suvacras TwANnY Avotpayou.
\ /
Avoipayos 5é kal xpynpata Toda TépTrOY UTLC-
Cal , e A a
yvetro Sedevew xteivavT. Anuyrpiov. o O€ éxei-
‘ ” A
vov pev Kal adArAwS mpoRaddAopevos ETL paddoOV
\ A \ b] ,
érl ToUT@ papov nyetTo Kat BapBapov, ‘AvtTioy»
dé 7@ mwatdt cat XYrpatovicn pvdrdtrrav Anpn)-
€ 3 lj p 4 a me"
e fol
TpLoV, WS EKELYWY 1) YapLS yevoLTO, TapHye Tov
ll
V povov.
e e A ‘ /
LIT. ‘O 6é€ Anpnrpios, ws év apyn Thy TUXNY
aA ~ s
TpooTrecovaay UTépelve, Kal Padov Hon Péperv eLOi-
a A Ul
CeTo TA TAPOVTA, TPWTOV MEV ALAS YE TWS Exivel
To capa, Onpas, éf’ doov Hy, Kal dpopwy atro-
N
Hevos, €TetTa KATA puLKpoV Gkvou TpOS auTa Kal
/
vwbeias éripmrrato, Kal dépwv éavtov ets TroToUs
\ 4 4 \ fe) / \ a
xat xuBovs KaTéBare Kat Tov ypovou Tov TAE«i-
aotov év tovras Sunyev, elite Tous ev TH vydhew
avadoytopovs TOV TapovTwy aTrobiipacKeY Kal
a ,
TapaxaduTTomevos TH weOn THYv Stdvotay, elTe
\ A “A \
ovyyvous éavT®@ TovToy eivat Tov Biov, dv ExTranat
Ae mY } 4 ” € > 9 , ‘ A
TOU@Y KAL OlWKwWY AANWS UT aVoLaS Kal KEVIS
, b , \ \ a \
SoEns émAdlero nal moddNa péev éavT@, TOAAA

\ e / a
dé étépors mpdypata tapelxev, év Smrols Kal
/ le)
oTOkOLS Kat otpatomédots TO ayabov lnTav,
a le) b ? , \ a >
0 vUY €v atpaypLoovrn Kal oyoX\n Kal ayva-
130

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DEMETRIUS

was deeply distressed, put on mourning apparel, and wrote to the other kings and especially to Seleucus himself, supplicating him, and offering to surrender to him whatever was left of his own and his father's possessions, and above everything else volunteering to be a hostage himself for his father. Many cities ~ also and many rulers joined in these supplications. But Lysimachus did not; he sent to Seleucus the promise of a large sum of money if he killed De- metrius. But Seleucus, who had always had a feeling of aversion for Lysimachus, all the more for this proposal thought him abominable and barbarous, and continued to keep Demetrius under watch and ward for Antiochus his son and Stratonicé,, that the favour of his release might come from them.

LIT. But Demetrius, who in the beginning bore up under the misfortune that had come upon him, and presently grew accustomed to it and endured his situation with a better grace, at first, in one way or another, exercised his body, resorting to hunting, so far as he could, or riding; then, little by little, he came to have the greatest indifference and aversion to these sports, took eagerly to drinking and dice, and spent most of his time at these. This was either because he sought escape from the thoughts on his present condition which tormented him when he was sober, and tried to smother his reflections in drunk- enness; or because he had convinced himself that this was the real life, which he had long desired and striven to attain, but had foolishly missed it through folly and empty ambition, thereby bringing many troubles upon himself, and many upon others; he had sought in arms and fleets and armies to find the highest good, but now, to his surprise, had discovered

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K 2
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 mavoe py TpocdoKknaas avevpnKe. Ti yap adXO
TOV TOAGLOY Kal TOV KwvOvvov Tépas éoTl TOS
pavrous Bactrevor, KaKOS Kal avonras Staxes-
pévors, ovx 6te povov Tpudiyy Kal ndovav avtt
THS apeTns Kal tod Kadov Siwxovary, GX'
OTe «pnde Hdec0ar pndé tpudav as adrAnOads
ead,
'0 5° ovv Anpntptos éT0s Tpitov éy tH Xep-
povnaw KabetpyLevos on dpyias Kal TANT HOVAS

Kal olvou voonoas am eBaver, ern Téaoapa meal
4 TEVTNKOVT A BeBroxds. Kal Lehevicos Heouce Te
KAKOS Kal peTevonaey ov peTpios éy uTrowia Tov
Anuntptov Oépevos TOTE, Kal pnde Apopuyairny,
avépa Ba pBapov Opaxa, pina dpwevos ovTw pur-
avOpwrrws Kal Bacihixds arovTe Avotpayw
NPN apevov.
LITT. “Eoye peevroe Kal Ta mepl THD Tapny
auTov Tparytecny Tiva Kal Jeatpreny ddequy. 0
yap vios ‘Avtiryovos, as qadeto Ta helyrava
Kopilopeva, Tacats dvaxGels Tals vavoly emt
ynowv ar nvTn ce kal deEdpevos ets THY peryi-
oTny TOY vava.pxidov EOeto TH véplav Xpvan-
2 Aarov ovoav. at dé Tore als mpoceixov, TovTO
pep atepdvous émépepov TH vdpia, TovTo be
dvipas év oynpate mrevOi pep owOdrpovras Kat
cupmapaTeurpovTas daméaTedhov. eis 5é Kopw-
Gov Tov oTOAOU KATATEOVTOS y) Te KANTS éx
mpuyyns wepipavns éwpato Toppupa Bacthucy Kal
Siadnpare KeKOo UNMEVN, Kal TAPELOTHKELTAY év
SrrAoLs veavioxot Sopupopodbvres. o 5é TY TOTE
AaUANTOV EhNOYLLWTATOS EevohavTos eyyvds Kafe
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DEMETRIUS

it in idleness and leisure and repose. For what
other end than this can worthless kings seek to
attain by their wars and perils? Wicked and foolish
indeed are they, not only because they seek after
luxury and pleasure instead of virtue and honour,
but also because they do not even know how to enjoy
real pleasure or true luxury.
So, then, Demetrius, after an imprisonment of
three years! in the Syrian Chersonese, through in-
activity and surfeit of food and wine, fell sick and
died, in the fifty-fifth year of his life. Seleucus was
in ill repute for this, and repented him bitterly for
having cherished such suspicions against Demetrius,
and for allowing himself to be outdone even by
Dromichaetes, a barbarous Thracian, who had given
Lysimachus,” his captive, a treatment so humane and
royal.
LIII. Moreover, there was something dramatic and theatrical even in the funeral ceremonies of Demetrius. For his son Antigonus, when he learned that his remains had been sent home, put to sea with his entire

fleet and met them off the islands. They were given to him in a golden urn, and he placed them in the largest of his admiral's ships. Of the cities where the fleet touched in its passage, some brought garlands to adorn the urn, others sent men in funeral attire to assist in escorting it home and burying it. When the fleet put in at Corinth, the cinerary vase was conspicuous on the vessel's poop, adorned with royal purple anda king's diadem, and young men stood about it in arms as a body- guard. Moreover, the most celebrated flute-player then living, Xenophantus, sat near, and with the

1 From 386 to 383 B.c. 2 Cf. chapter xxxix. 3.

3 Copmevos mpoanunet TOV pedo TO lep@Tarov® Kab
T pos tovTo Ths elpeaias dvahepoperns pera, pud-
pod TLvos, annvra ay Sk Gaorep éy KOTETO, tabs
TOV avrnpatov Te pLo ous" Tov 5é awAeiotov oix-
tov' Kal odopuppov avtos 6 "Avtiyovos Tots
nO pous pévors éml Thy Gddacoay opbels Tameuvos
Kat SeSaxpupevos Tapéa xev. érrevex Dera Gv dé
TLLeoV Kal oTepavav meph KopivOov els Anuntpia-
ba kopioas éOnxe Ta Aetpava, TONY em @vupov
éxeivou, auvoixtcOeioay éx pikpa@v TaY Tepl THY
"TwAKov TOMXvior.
4 "AmeéALTE dé yeveav O Anurfrpios "Avriyovoy
ev én Piras Kal Ztparovicny, dvo dé Anynrpi-
ous, Tov ev Aerop, é§ "TrXupioos yuvatkos, TOV
dé apfavra Kupnvns éx IItorepaidos, € éx bé Ani-
Sapeias 'Ar€Eavepop, OS ev Alyorrp cateRioce.
Aéyeras 6é Kal Koppayov viov €& Evpvdicns auT@
yeverGar. xatéBn O€ Tais diadoyais TO yév0s
avtov BactXevor eis Tlepoéa TeNeuTaiov, ed' ov
"Pwpatoe Maxedoviavr & UmnyayovTo.
Anyovicpevou dé tod Maxedovixod Spdapartos
@pa To 'Pwpaixov émeccayayeiv.

most solemn melody upon his flute accompanied the rowers ; to this melody the oars kept perfect time, and their splashing, like funereal beatings of the breast, answered to the cadences of the flute-tones. But the most pity and lamentation among those who had come in throngs to the sea-shore was awakened by the sight of Antigonus himself, who was bowed down and in tears. After garlands and other honours had been bestowed upon the remains at Corinth, they were brought by Antigonus t6 Demetrias for burial, a city named after his father, who had settled it from the small villages about Iolcus.!

The children left by Demetrius were these:

Antigonus and Stratonicé, by Phila; two named Demetrius, one who was surnamed the Thin, by a woman of Illyria, and one who ruled Cyrené, by Ptolemais ; and, by Deidameia, Alexander, who lived and died in Egypt. It is said also that he had a son named Corrhagus, by Eurydicé. His line came down in a succession of kings to Perseus, the last, in whose reign the Romans subdued Macedonia.
And now that the Macedonian play has been performed, let us introduce the Roman.
1 Cf. chapter xxv. 2.

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ANTONY

ANTQONIOZ

I. “Avteviou TATTOS pev nV oO pntop "AvTo-
vL0S, Ov THS 2UANa ‘yevopevov aotacews Mdpios
ATEKTELVE, TaTHp 5€ 0 Kpnrtixos - emucdn bets
"Avtevios, Ov oUTM® Zev evOoKt Hos ép Tois
TONTLKOLS avnp ovee hapm pos, evryve pov 66 Kat
Xpnaros, addws Te Kal Tpos Tas petadoces
ehevd Epos, OS ag’ év0s ay TUs Epyov caTapdbor.
KEKTHMEVOS yap ov ToAAA Kai dia TOUTO Th
puravOpwria xpioGac K@AUO[LEVOS vTo Tis yu-
VaLKos, EME TLS adixeto TOY cuvndov mpos avTov
apyupiou Sedpevos, dpyuptov pe OUK eixe, Tat-
Sapiw dé mpocéraker eis dpyupoby oKupov vdwp
euBanrovte Kopio at Kal kopicavos, as EvpecOat
pENwY KxatéBpexe Ta yévera. Tov dé mavOapiov
Kad éré pay mpopacw Ex TTOOWD YEvOpevov, Tov
pev oxvdoyv edwxe @ pire xphoGas Kehevoas,
Entn sews dé TOANs €v Tois oixéracs ovens oper
xarerraivovoay THD yuvaixa Kal Bovdopevny . Kal”
éxactov ée&etdlery Mpmoroynoe, TUyyvapuny eExeu
denBeis.
II. "Hv 6é avr@ yor ‘TovAta Tov Katcdpwv
olKoU, Tats apiarats TOTE Kal cmppovertatats
évapthros. vo TAUTNS o vids ‘Avrwvios érpady
peTa THY TOU TraTpOS TEeAEUTHY Kopynrio AévTrA@
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ANTONY

I. Antony's grandfather was the orator Antonius, who joined the party of Sulla and was put to death . by Marius;! his father was Antonius surnamed Creticus, a man of no great repute in public life, nor illustrious, but kindly and honest, and particularly a liberal giver, as one may see from a single instance. He had not much property himself, and therefore was prevented by his wife from indulging his kindly feelings. When, accordingly, one of his intimates came to him with a request for money, money he had not, but he ordered a young slave to put water into a silver bowl and bring it to him, and when it was brought, he moistened his chin, as though about to shave. The slave was then sent away on another errand improvised for the occasion, whereupon Antonius gave the bowl to his friend and bade him dispose of it. Later, when a careful search was made for it among the slaves, seeing that his wife was angry and proposed to put them to the torture one by one, Antonius confessed what he had done, and by his entreaties gained her pardon.

Il. His wife was Julia, of the house of the Caesars, and she could vie with the noblest and most discreet women of her time. By this mother her son Antony was reared, after the death of whose father she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero

1 Cf. the Marius, xliv. 1-4.

yapunOetons, bv Kixépov amex Tewve tav Katiriva TVVOMLOTODV yevopevov. aitn Soxet ris shodpas ex Opas "AvTwvi@ Tpos Kixépova mpopacis Kal apy?) eyevéa Bau. dnaol yoov "AvT@VLOS ovee TOV vex pov avTois amrobob vat Tov Aévrhou T pOTepov THS yuvateos tod Kixépwvos tHy pytépa SenOhvat. TobTo fev ovv opodoyoupevars webbdos éoriy: ovdels yap elpxn Tapas TOV TOTE xoracbévrwy bm6 Tou Kirépavos: "Avtwvio &é Aapmp@p Kad’ @pav yevomevep TH Koupiavos pudiav Kal cuvndear oi domep Twa Kipa TpoaTe-oct Aéyouarn, avtod Te TWEpl TAS ndovas aTraidev-TOU yevopevou, Kat TOV ‘AvTo@vtop, @S paddov ein yverponOns, ets woTous Kal yuvata Kal dSaravas qoAuTeENEls Kal axohda Tous euBadrovtos. é& ov dpAnua Bapv Kal Tap mB MeKtav avT@ ovvyxOn TEVTKOVTA Kal Stakootoy TANAYTOD. TOUTO Tay éyryunoapéevov TOU Koupiwvos o O TATNHp aicdopevos éEnXace TOV “AVT@VLOY éx TIS otKias. o Se

Bpaxvy pev Tiva Xpovov TH Knwdiov tot Opacv-
TaTOU Kal Adehupwrdrou TOV TOTE Onmaryory av
pop mavra Ta mpaypara TapaTrovan T poo €-
pagev éavTov' TAXY dé TIS éxelvou pavias peaTos
YEVvOLEVOS, Kai poBnbels TOUS TUVLTTALEVOUS emi
TOV Krwdvov, amhpev €K TAS. 'Itarias els THY
'EdAd6a, Kal dueTpeBe TO TE copa, yupvatov 7 pOs
TOUS TTPATLOTLKOUS ayavas Kat Néryerv peer ov.
EXphTo bé TO Kahoupevep ev "Acta opp TOV
hoya, avOovvrt padiora Kat exetvov Tov Xpovoy,
EXOvTL dé ToANay omotornta 7 pos TOV Biov auto,
Kopmwdy Kat ppvaypariav évTa Kal Kevod yav-
pidpatos Kal drroTipias dvwpdarov peorop,
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put to death for joining the conspiracy of Catiline.' This would seem to have been the origin and ground of the violent hatred which Antony felt towards Cicero, At any rate, Antony says that not even the dead body of Lentulus was given up to them until his mother had begged it from the wife of Cicero. This, however, is admittedly false; for no one of those who were punished at that time by Cicero was deprived of burial. Antony gave brilliant promise in his youth, they say, until his intimate friendship with Curio fell upon him like a pest. For Curio himself was unrestrained in his pleasures, and in order to make Antony more manageable, engaged him in drinking bouts, and with women, and in immoderate and extravagant expenditures. This involved Antony in a heavy debt and one that was excessive for his years—a debt of two hundred and fifty talents.2, For this whole sum Curio went surety, but his father heard of it and banished Antony from his house. Then Antony allied himself for a short time with Clodius, the most audacious and low-lived demagogue of his time, in the violent courses which were convulsing the state ; but he soon became sated with that miscreant's madness, and fearing the party which was forming against him, left Italy for Greece, where he spent some time in military exercises and the study of oratory. He adopted what was called the Asiatic style of oratory, which was at the height — of its popularity: in those days and bore a strong resemblance to his own life, which was swashbuckling and boastful, full of empty exultation and distorted ambition.

1 Cf. the Cicero, xxii.

2 An equivalent, roughly, of £60,000, or $300,000, with four or five times the purchasing power of modern money.

III. 'Evet S€ TaBivios dvnp wtmatixos eis
Supiav wréwv avéreOev avtov opunoar mpos THY

/ b) a A b) A ” an
oTpatelay, iOiwTns pev ovK av Epyn ovveEedOeiv,
aTrobeyOeis 5€ THY irmévwy ApYwY cUvETTpaTEvE.
\ A \ > 9 9 St b] 4
kal mpatov pev én ‘AptatoBovrov ‘lovdaious
b , ‘\ > AN \ > 2 a ,
agiotavra tweupbeis avtos pev eéBn TOU peyt-
OTOU THY Epu“dTwY TpPATOS, éxeivoy 6€ TaVYTwY
DJ 4 3 4 , \ ,
eEnNacey’ eita paynv ovvaas Kal Tpeirapevos
~, 7 a“ ‘ e Ha ‘\ ? , /
oALyOLS TOLS TUV AUT®@ TOUS EexelvoU TONNATAAaCL-
b4 9 / \ > , ef > N
ous OVTaS ATEKTELVE TANY OALywV ATravTas’ AUTOS
5é peta Tod Tratdos "AptoToBovdos Aw.
\ “~ / > N , ,
Mera tavta TaPivioyv emi puptos tadXavtos
IItovepaiouv meiOovtos eis Alyutrtoy apa ovvep-
Bareiv atte xai thv Bacireiav avadaBeiv, ot
fev TAEioTOL TV HyE“OVOY NHvaVTLODYTO, Kat
TaBivov 5é dxvos tis elye Tod modéyou, Kaitrep
éEnvdpatrodic wévov Kopud7 Tois puptots TAAAVTOLS,
b 4 \ \ / 4] , \
Avte@vios ¢ kai wpatewy peyddov édséevos Kat
T® IItoAcuaim yapilouevos Seopévp cvvérretce
pev xal ovveEwpunoey emi thy otpateiav Tov
TaBinor, évet 5é tod qroXéwou padrrov epoBovvTo
\
thv ert TO Indovctoy odor, ate 57 Sid Wdappov
, \ > 4 \ \ em” \
BaGetas nai dvvdpouv tapa To “Expnypa cal ra
“A / ; a A
THS LepBuwvidos Ey yevouevns avtois Tis wopelas,
a “ \ b \ > 7+ a a
as Tudavos pev éexmrvoas Atyvmriot kadodat, Tis
2) > “ A
& épvOpas Oardoons brovocrnats eivat Soxei
N 4 . e ’ /
kat dunOnors, 4 Bpaxutatry Siopiferar mpos THv
> \ @dadxr ? 0 A @ \ \ a e
€VTOS acaav toOuo, Teudleis peta TOV LT-
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(

III. When Gabinius, a man ot consular dignity, was sailing for Syria, he tried to persuade Antony to join the expedition. Antony refused to go out with him in a private capacity, but on being appointed commander of the horse, accompanied him on the campaign.1. And first, having been sent against Aristobulus, who was bringing the Jews to a revolt,? he was himself the first man to mount the highest of the fortifications, and drove Aristobulus from all of them; then he joined battle with him, routed. his many times more numerous forces with his own small band, and slew all but a few of them. Aristobulus . himself was captured, together with his son.

After this, Ptolemy tried to persuade Gabinius by a bribe of ten thousand talents to join him in an invasion of Egypt and recover the kingdom for him.' But the greater part of the officers were opposed to the plan, and Gabinius himself felt a certain dread of the war, although he was completely captivated by the ten thousand talents. Antony, however, who was ambitious of great exploits and eager to gratify the request of Ptolemy, joined the king in persuading' and inciting Gabinius to the expedition. But more than the war the march to Pelusium was feared, since their route lay through deep sand, where there was no water, as far as the Ecregma and the Serbonian marshes. These the Egyptians call the blasts of Typhon,' although they appear to be a residual arm of the Red Sea, helped by infiltration, where the isthmus between them and the Medi- terranean is at its narrowest. Antony was therefore

1 In 58 B.c. 2 Cf. the Pompey, xxxix. 2.

* Cf. the Cato Minor, xxxv.; the Pompey, xlix. 5 ff.

4 The evil deity of the Egyptians, buried under the Nerbonian marshes (Herodotus, iii. 5).

wéeav o Avt@vios ov povoy Ta oTEVa KaTETYED,
arrAa Kai [Indovotoy éXwv, TOALY peyarnV, Kal
Tov év avTn Ppovpeav Kpatnoas, dua Kal THY
ean ' lol A 4 \ \ 3 4
odov acdady T@ oTpatrevpatt Kal tH édrrida
THs viens eroince TO oTpaTHny@ BéRaiov. arré-
Aavaav S€ THS hiroTipias avtod kal ot worémor.
IIroNeuaiov yap dua To wapedOeiv eis To IInrov-
giov wm opyns Kal picous wpyunuévov doveverv
\ > , > / \ , > \
tous Aiyumtious évéotn cal Stexwdrvoev. ev O€
Tais padyas Kal Tots dy@ou peyddous Kal cvyvois
ryevopuévars TWOAAG Kal TOALNS épya Kal qTpovoias
Hyeuovexns atroderEdpevos, éudhavéctata bé T@

4 \ a“ 4 ‘
cuxd\@oacbat Kai weptBanrelv KaTOTLY TOUS TONE-
pious THY viKnv Tois KaTa oTOMAa Tapacywn,
dptotela Kal tepas EraBe mpetrovoas. ov d:é-
Aabe Sé Tovs ToAAOUs ovdEe 4 mpds “Apyédaov
avtov teOvnxota diravOpwria yeyovas yap
avt@ auvnOns Kai Eévos érrodéwet pev avayKaiws
Cavrt, TO dé c@pa Tweoovtos ékevpwy Kal Koopy-
cas Bacttixas éexndevoev. emi tovtots ’AdeFav-
Spevot Te mrEloTov avTovU AOyoy KaTédITTE, Kal
€ , aA , b] N wv
Pwyaiwy tois otpatevopévors avnp edoke Aap-
MpOTAaTOS élvat.
IV. Ilpoohy 5é cai popdijs érevOépiov akiwpa,
Kal TwyoV TLs OK ayevyns Kal WAAaTOS pET@TrOU
Kal ypuTrotns puKthpos edoxe: Tois ypadopévors
Kai mraTTOMEvats ‘HpaxAréous rpocwrros éuepes
4 \ > 4 2 \ \ “ \
éyeww TO appevwrrov. mv Sé Kal Noyos maXdatos

sent with the cavalry, and he not only occupied the narrow pass, but actually took Pelusium, a large city, and got its garrison into his power, thus rendering its march safer for the main army and giving its general assured hope of victory. And even the enemy reaped advantage from Antony’s love of distinction. For Ptolemy, as soon as he entered Pelusium, was led by wrath and hatred to institute a massacre of the Egyptians; but Antony intervened and prevented him. Moreover, in the ensuing battles and contests, which were many and great, he displayed many deeds of daring and sagacious leadership, the most conspicuous of which was his rendering the van ot the army victorious by outflanking the enemy and enveloping them from the rear. For all thjs he received rewards of valour and fitting honours. Nor did the multitude fail to observe his humane treat-ment of the dead Archelaiis,! for after waging war upon him of necessity while he was living, although he had been a comrade and friend, when he had fallen, Antony found his body and gave it royal adornment and burial. Thus he left among the people of Alexandria a very high reputation, and

was thought by the Romans on the expedition to be
a most illustrious man.
_ IV. He had also a noble dignity of form; and a
shapely beard, a broad forehead, and an aquiline
ose were thought to show the virile qualities
pe to the portraits and statues of Heracles.
Moreover, there was an ancient tradition that the
1 The pretended son of Mithridates, who had married
Berenicé, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, and queen of Egypt
after the expulsion of her father. His death occurred in
DO B.C.

‘Hpaxreidas elvar tovs "Avtwvious, av “Avrwvos,
2 tmatdos Hpaxdéous, yeyovotas. Kat trodtov weto
TOY AOyov TH TE MopdH TOU TwpmaTos, Wowep
elpntalt, Kal TH oToAnH BeBatoiv. adel yap, ote
pédAoL WAEloow opacbal, yuTaVa «is pnpov
elwaro, Kal paxatpa pmeyahy TmapnpTyTo, Kal
oaryos TEpLEKELTO TOV OTEPEDY. OV NV anna, Kal
Ta TOs aAXOLS poptixa Soxovvra, peyadauyia
kal oxoppa Kal KwoOwv éeudarns xai xabioar
mapa tov éabiovta Kat dayeivy emiotdvta Tpa-
métn otpatiwtixn, Oavpactov bcov edvoias Kal
qo0ouv mpos avTov éveTroiet TOs OTPAaTLWOTALS. HV
Sé fou xal Td épwrixdv ov dvadpoditov, adAa
Kal TOUT@ TOANOUS EONMaAywWYEL, TUULTTPATTWY TE
Tos €p@oL KaL-oxwMTopEvos OvK aNdas Els TOUS
idtovs Epwtas.
‘H & énevOepsorns nat ro pnddv drLyn yeupi.
pndé gerdopévn yapilecOar otpatiwrais Kat
dirows apyijy re AapTpay él TO toyvery avT@
mapéaxe, Kal peyadou yevouévou thy Svvapuv
émt waAelov émfpev, ex pupiwy adArAwY dpapTn-
pdtwov avatpeTrouevny., év dé Te Tov peyaXodwpou
jmapaserypa Sinynoouat. tav dirwv tivi pupid-
Sas éxéXevoe mévte Kat elxoot So0nvat' tovTo
‘Pwpaios Sexins Kadovat. tov & émitpomov Oav-
pacavtos Kai iva Sei—En TO TAROOS avT@ KaTa-
Barovtos ev péom TO apyvpiov, npwarnce Taptov
6 te bn TovTo ein. tov & émirpoTou dycavtos ws

Antonii were Heracleidae, being descendants of Anton, a son of Heracles. And this tradition Antony thought that he confirmed, both by the shape of his body, as has been said, and by his attire. For whenever he was going to be seen by ma people, he always wore his tunic girt up to his thigh, a large sword hung at his side, and a heavy cloak enveloped him. However, even what others thought offensive, namely, his jesting and boastfulness, his drinking-horn in evidence,.his sitting by a comrade who was eating, or his standing to eat at a soldier's table,—it is astonishing how much goodwill and affection for him all this produced in his soldiers. And somehow even his conduct in the field of love was not without its charm, nay, it actually won for him the favour of many; for he assisted them in their love affairs, and submitted pleasantly to their jests upon his own amours.

‘Further, his liberality, and his bestowal of favours upon friends and soldiers with no scant or sparing *hand, laid a splendid foundation for his growing strength, and when he had become great, lifted his power to yet greater heights, although it was hindered by countless faults besides. One illustra- tion of his lavish giving I will relate. To one of his friends he ordered that two hundred and _ fifty thousand drachmas should be given (a sum which the Romans call “decies”). His steward was — amazed, and in order to show Antony the magnitude of the sum, deposited the money in full view. Antony, passing by, asked what that was; and when

1 That is ten times 100,000 sesterces, or 250,000 denarii. For the Roman denarius Plutarch regularly uses the nearly

equivalent Greek drachma (which had about the value of the French franc).

PLUTARCH’S LIVES :

5 xeXevoete SoOjvar, cvpBarwv adtov Thy KaKon-
¢ A v v
Gecav o “Avravios, “’Eyo mAgciov @pny,” épn,
“ 4 Lf
“ro Sexins elvat’ tovTo bé pixpov éeotiy’ wate

Vv: , >) a A 99
ado mpoabes avT@ TocovTOv.
-V. Tatra péev obv torepov: éret é ta “Po-
patoyv mpaypara SiéoTn, TOY péev ApioTOKpAaTLK@Y
Tlopant@ mapovte rpocbepévwv, tev 5é Synpore-

kav Kaicapa xcadrovwtwv é« Taratias év tots
ef v , «? / lé bd
S7rAas Gvra, Kouptwyv o Avtwviou diros éx peta-
Bors Oeparevwv ta Kaicapos 'Avrdviov rpocn-
ydyeTo, Kal peydAnv pev aro TOD Aéyelv ev Tois
qwoNNots exov ioxur, Xp@pevos dé Kal Samdvacs
aperdars ad’ av Kaicap exopmryet, Snpapxov a aTreé-
SecEe tov "Avtrwvioy, elra trav én otwvois epéwy,
obs Auryoupas Kadodow. 0 dé evOus eis THY apyny
mapedOw@y ov pixpov nv dpedros Tois ToXLTEVO-
pévors brrép Kaicapos. adda mpa@tov pev Map-
Ui nA ¢ 4 oh 4
KéAXov Tov vTratov Iloumnio rovs te cuvetrey-
pévous On OTpAaTLWTAaS TrapeyyUa@VTOS Kal KaTa-
Aéyery Erépous SiddvT0s eurrodav éorn, Siataypya
yparas Orws 7 pev HOpotcpévn Svvapis eis
Luptav wAén cal BUBAw BonOH woreuodvre Mdp-
Bots, obs Sé Tloprrnios xaradéyet, un mpocéxwow
avt@ Sevtepov 5é tas Kaicapos émictonds ov
Tpocteévwv ovdé ewvTwv dvaywooKecOar TaV
TUYKANTLKOY, AUTOS LaXvwV Sia TO ApYey avéeyva,
Kal ToAAous petéeoTycE TH yvwun, Etxata Kal
, / ’ aA 3939 @ » ,
pétpta Katioapos aftoby ad’ av éyparve Sofavtos.
TéXos b€ Suey Eepwrncewy ev TH BovAy yevouevon,
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his steward told him it was the gift which he had
ordered, he divined the man’s malice and said: “I
thought the decies was more; this is a trifle ; there-
fore add as much more to it.”’ |

V. This, however, was at a later time. But when matters at Rome came to a crisis, the aristocratic party attaching itself to Pompey, who was in the city, and the popular party summoning Caesar from Gaul, where he was in arms, then Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides and was now favouring the cause of Caesar, brought Antony over to it. Curio had great influence with the multitude from his eloquence, and made lavish use of money. supplied by Caesar, and so got Antony elected tribune of the people,! and afterwards one of the priests, called augurs, who observe the flight of birds. As soon as Antony entered upon his office he was of great assistance to those who were managing affairs in the interests of Caesar. In the first place, when Marcellus the consul proposed to put under Pompey’s control the soldiers already collected, and to give him power to levy others, Antony opposed him by introducing a decree that the forces already assembled should sail for Syria and give aid to Bibulus, who was carrying

on war with the Parthians, and that the troops which Pompey was then levying should not belong to him. In the second place, when the senate would not receive Caesar's letters nor allow them to be read, Antony, whose office gave him power, read them himself, and thereby changed the opinion of many, who judged from Caesar's letters that he was making only reasonable and just demands, And finally, when two questions were

1 Tn 50 Bc.
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PILUTARCH'S LIVES

nw \ >] "A Foe 9 a \ 4
THs pev et doxet Ilopmrniov adeivar ta otpatev-
pata, THs S€ ef Kaioapa, cai Tloprniov pév
9 / \@o@ , 4 \ ,
OAriywv Ta Stra nataGécBa, Katcapa S€ mavtwv
b »,/ , bd 7 \ > ,
Tap oAlyous KedeVOYTWY, avactas -AVTWVLOS
nparnoev e¢ Soxet cal Llopmniov ood cai Kai-
\ a 4 N \ 4
capa ta ora Katabécba Kai tas Suvdpets
9 a 4 2Q 7 a \ ,
adeivat. tavTny édéEavto AauTpas THY yvouny
@ \ \ "A 3 "a N > ,
ANTTAVTES, KAL {ETA Bons ETTALVOUVTES TOV AvT@viop -
, / ' "
névouv émipndifecOar. pn Bovropévwy dé tav
e 4 q e , e , , ow
vratov, avOis érépas ot Kaicapos diror mpoi-
"rewav émecxeis elvat Soxovaas afiwoets, als 6 Te
Kdtev avréminte cai AévtXos trratevwr &FéBare
a a f \ \
THs Bours tov "Avr@mov. o d€ TroAXNa ev av-
a 3 \ > , \ \ 4
tois é€iwv émnpacato, AaBov sé OEepdtrovtos
? a \ 4 \ / of.
éc Ona Kat pwicOwodpevos peta Kaociov Koivtov
ra) 9 N , \ ,
Cedryos, eEwpunoe mpos Katcapa: xal xateBowv
> \ ' , e) , , w" A DJ
evOus odOévtes ws ovdeva Koopov Ett Tov év
'Poun mpaypatov éxovTav, dte pwndé Snudpyous
qappynaias pérectiv, GAX éedAavveTat Kal KiWdv-
vever TAS oO PUeyEduEvos UTrép TOY Sikaiwv.
b] \ "n
VI. Ex trovtov AaBav tnv otpatiay o Kaicap

> “a
eis “Itadiav évéBare. 81d kal Kexépwv ev rots
Didimmixois Eypawre tod pév Tpwixod rroréuov
¢ A 4 \
tiv ‘EXévnv, tod & éudvariov tov Avtwviov apynv
4 a 4 > N a
2 yevéoOar, Trepipavas vrevdouevos. ov yap ovTws
\ 9 a . A a
evxyepns jv ovdé padios Um Opyns éextecely TaV
Noytopav Ddios Kaicap wate, ei wn TadTa wdaAae
Eyvworo TpdTTEW, oUTWS av éml KaLpov TOV KaTa

before the senate, one, whether Pompey should dismiss his forces, and the other, whether Caesar should do so, and only a few were for having Pompey lay down his arms, and all but a few were for having Caesar do so, then Antony rose and asked whether it was the opinion of the senate that Pompey and Caesar alike should lay down their arms and dismiss their forces. This proposal all accepted with alacrity, and with shouts of praise for Antony they demanded that the question be put to vote. But the consuls would not consent to this, and again the friends of Caesar put forward fresh demands which were thought to be reasonable. These Cato opposed, and Lentulus, in his capacity of consul, drove Antony from the senate. Antony went forth heaping many impreca- tions upon them, and putting on the dress of a slave, and hiring a car in company with Quintus Cassius, he set out to join Caesar. As soon as they came into Caesar’s presence they cried loudly that everything was now at loose ends in Rome, since even tribunes of the people had no freedom of speech, but everyone who raised his voice in behalf of justice was persecuted and ran risk.of his life.!

VI. Upon this, Caesar took his army and invaded Italy. Therefore Cicero, in his “ Philippics,’’ wrote that as Helen was the cause of the Trojan war, so Antony was the cause of the civil war.? But this is manifestly false. For Caius Caesar was not a pliable man, nor easily led by anger to act on impulse. Therefore, had he not long ago determined upon his course, he would not thus, on the spur of the moment,

1 For the events narrated in this chapter, cf. also the Pompey, lviii. f.; the Caesar, xxx. f.
2 Phil. ii, 22, 55: ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic rei publicae belli causa, causa pestis atque exitii fuit.

THS mar pisos éfeveynety Tohepnor, 5Tt pavhws
nudtecpevoy eldev *Avtwvioy Kat Kado atop éml
Cevryous pa Otou mepevyoras Tpos avon, adda
tavta wdadaL Seamer Tpopacews ox hye Kal
oryov eum peTri} Tov TroNépmou Tapéaxev. ipye de

avtov ént mavras avOpeérovs a Kal 7 poTepov
’Ar€£avdpov Kab Tanase Kipop, € Epws arrapnyopn-
TOS apxXns Kal TEplwavns émOupia Tou ™p@rov
elvau Kal péyiotov: @y tuxeiv ovK hy un Iop-
mnlov KcaTarvOevros.
‘Os & obv éredOav exparnae THS ‘Pouns Kat
Topmniov éEnrxace THS ItaXtas Kal ™ pos Tas év
TBnpig Toumntov duvdpecs emia Tpepewv éyva
7 poTEpor, elta ovTwS Tapackevac duevos oTONOV
émt Tloparniov dtaBatve, Aetrid@ ev oT parn-
yoovTt THY ‘Popny, “Avtovip dé Snwapxoivre Ta
oTpaTevpaTa Kat thy “Iradtav emérperpev. o o€
Tos mev oTpaTLorats evOus poo purns Vv ouy-
yupvatopevos Kai ouvdrart @pevos Ta TOAAA Kal
Sw povpevos ex TOV TWAapoVvTor, Tots oe aot
énaxOns. Kat yap aSixoupevav v0 _peOupias
aduyaper, cal Tmpos opyny nKpoG.to TOV évruy-
NavovTeov Kal KAKOS émt yuvartiv ardor piawy
NKOVE. cal dAws THY Kaicapos apy, TavrTa
paiddov Tupavvida 60’ avrov éxetvov paveicay,
ot pido b1éBandov, av *AvTevios an eFovaias
peylarns dpapravew péytota Sokas thy wrelo THY
aitiav éhaBev.
VII. Ov pay aNd” etraveOwv o Kaicap éx Tis
"T8npias TQ ev eyeAjpara mapeidey avrod, pos
dé TO TONELOY ws évepy@ Kat aydpeiw Kat ne "0- 919
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have made war upon his country, just because he saw that Antony, meanly clad, with Cassius, on a hired car, had come in flight to him; nay, this merely afforded a cloak and a specious reason for war to a man who had long wanted a pretext for it. And that which led him to war against all mankind, as it had led Alexander before him, and Cyrus of old, was an insatiable love of power and a mad desire to be first and greatest; this he could not achieve if Pompey were not put down.

And so he came up against Rome and got it into his power, and drove Pompey out of Italy; and determining first to turn his efforts against the forces of Pompey which were in Spain, and afterwards, when he had got ready a fleet, to cross the sea against Pompey himself, he entrusted Rome to Lepidus, who was praetor, and Italy and the troops to Antony, who was tribune of the people. Antony at once gained the favour of the soldiers by sharing their exercises, living with them for the most part, and making

them presents as generously as he could ; but to everybody else he was odious. For his easy disposition led him to neglect the wronged, he listened angrily to those who consulted him, and he was in ill repute for his relations with other men’s wives. In a word, Caesar’s power, which proved to be anything rather than a tyranny so far as his own course was concerned, was brought into odium by his friends; and of these Antony, who had the greatest power and was thought to be the greatest transgressor, incurred the most blame.

VII. However, when Caesar came back from Spain, he ignored the charges against Antony, and since in the war he found him energetic, brave, and a

vK@ Xpwpevos ovoa Ly Sunpaprev. AUTOS [ev ovv per odiyeov- amo Bpevteciov Stavepdcas TOV "Toviov em eurpev OTlo@ Ta Toia, Tafwip Kat “Avto@vig TAS Suvapets éuBiBalew nal meparovy Kara TAXOS els Maxedoviav emia Teihas. Pafi- viov 5é pos Toy wAodY xarer ov ovTa Xelpervos wpa KaTaceALdaavTos Kat mech paxpay oOov TEpLaryovTOos TOV oTparon, "AvtT@vios vmép Kat- oa.pos év Toros ATPELAN LMEVOV Tonepiors po8n- eis AtBova pev epoppouvra T@ oTopate TOU ALpLEVvOS _amexpovaato, TOANG TOY NeTTOY aka- TiMV TALS TPLNPETLY AVTOV TreptaTHaas, éuBLBacas 5é tals vavoly ines oxTaKoatous rat Sic wupious omAtTas avnx9n. Kal yevowevos Karapavns Tots moAepmions Kal SwwKopevos TOV pev Ex TOUT@D xivduvov dtéduye, Aap pod VOTOU Kopa péeya Kab KoiAnv OaratTav Tais Tpinpeo wv aura Te ptar- TAVTOS, expepopevos dé Tals vavat wpds kpnuvous Kal papayyas ayx-Babeis ovdepiay enmiba TwTN- pias eixen. ave 5é ‘Tod KONTrOV TONY éxTrvev- TavTOs AiBa, ral TOU KAVdwVvOS aTO THS ris els TO TrEdaryOS Sraxeopevon, petaBaropevos amo THS ys Kat TEOV coBapas opa vavaryiov Tept- TEWY TOV aiytanrov. évradda yap eféBare TO mvevpa Tas Stwxovaas avTov Tpunpers, Kat dvepOa- pnoav OUK Oriya Kal TwpaTov TOAA@Y Kal Xpnparov expaTnoev ‘AVvT@vLos, kal Atocov elne, Kat perya. Kaicape Tapéoxe Odpaos év Kalp@ peta TNALKAUTNS APLKOMEVOS Suvapews.
VITTI. Hoda be yivouevov Kat ouvex av ayo- Vwv ev TACL meV Hy Stamper ys, dis dé evryovTas

mpotpoTdony tovs Katicapos amavtnaas avé-
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capable leader, he made no mistake. Caesar himself, then, after crossing the Ionian sea trom Brundisium with a few soldiers,! sent back his transports with orders to Gabinius and Antony to embark their forces and come with all speed into Macedonia. But Gabinius was afraid to make the voyage, which was difficult in the winter time, and started to lead his army a long way round by land. Antony, therefore, fearing for Caesar, who was hemmed in among numerous enemies, beat off Libo, who was blockading the harbour of Brundisium, by surrounding his galleys with a great number of small skiffs, and then, embarking eight hundred horsemen and twenty thousand legionaries, put to sea. Being discovered by the enemy and pursued, he escaped the danger from them, since a violent south wind brought a heavy swell and put their galleys in the trough of the sea; but he was carried with his own ships towards a precipitous and craggy shore, and had no hope of escape. Suddenly, however, there blew from the bay a strong south-west wind, and the swell began to run from the land out to sea, so that he was able to reverse his course, and, as he sailed gallantly along, he saw the shore covered with wrecks. For there the wind had cast up the galleys which were in pursuit of him, and many of them had been destroyed. Antony took many prisoners and much booty, captured Lissus, and inspired Caesar with great confidence by arriving in the nick of time with so large a force.

VIII. The struggles which followed were many and continuous, and in all of them Antony distinguished himself. Twice, when Caesar’s men were

1 Early in 48 B.c. Cf. the Cuesar, xxxvii. 2.

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oTpee Kal oTHvat Kat oupBareiv avis Tots Stw-

Koval avayKkdaas é évixnoey. ‘WY ovv avrou pera
Kaicapa Teta Tos év TO oTpatoTedep aryos: éb7-
age dé Kaicap 7 iy xoe rept avrob dofav. érret
yap Ewedre THY TehevTaiay Kal Ta dha kpivacay
ev Papadryp paxnv paxec Ga, TO pev befcov
auTos elye Képas, TOU e EUMVUJLOV THY myewoviay
“Avtavig mapeowKer, QS TONEMLLKWTAT@ TOV U
eave. pera 5é THY viKnY Sictdtwp avaryopev Bets
autos pev édtwxe Toprniop, “Avr@vioy dé in-
Tmapxov ENO MEVOS eis “Popny erreprpev. Erte 5€ 7
apy devtépa Tob Sixt aTopos TApovTos: dv Sé py
Taph, T POTN kat m“ovn oxedov" v) yap Snpapxia
tapévet, Tas 5€ AXXNaS KaTadAvoveLr Tdaas SiKTa-
TOpOS aipeévros.
IX. Ov pny anna TOTE Snpapxav Aodoferras,
veos avnp Kat véwy mparyparov Gperyopevos, elon-
yeiTo Xpeay arroxoTds, Kal Tov ‘Avraveov avT@
TE pidov dvTa Kal Bovdopevov det TOLS Tro ois
apéaKey érreOe cupmparreL Kal KoLveveiy Tob
TOMTEDLATOS. ‘Aowiov bé Kal TpeBeddiov Ta-
vavTia TapaKarovvT ov Umrovoum Sev) KaTA TUXNY
T@ “Avravicp ™pooéTerev @S abucouperp Tepl TOV
yapov v6 Tov AodoBérra. Kat TO ™ pary ja
Bapéws eveyKav THY Te yuvaika Tijs oixias ef
Nacev aveyroav ovaayv auTov (Ouyarnp yap Hv
Taiov “Avtoviou Tov Kixépwuve TUVUTATEVTAYTOS),
kat tous tept ’Acivov beEdpevos emohe pet TO
AoroBerrg. xaTédaBe yap THV aryopav exeivos
as Bia xvpwowv Tov vO"ov. Avr@vios OE, Kat
ths Bours Wndicapevns Sar hov Seiy émt ray
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in headlong flight, he met them, turned them back, forced them to stand and engage again their pur- suers, and won the victory. Accordingly, next to Caesar, he was the man most talked about in the camp. And Caesar showed plainly what opinion he had of him. For when he was about to fight the last and all-decisive battle at Pharsalus, he himself took the right wing, but he gave the command of the left to Antony, as the most capable officer -under him. And after the victory, when he had been proclaimed dictator, he himself pursued Pompey, but he chose Antony as his Master of Horse and sent him to Rome. This office is second in rank — when the dictator is in the city; but when he is absent, it is the first and almost the only one. For only the tribuneship continues when a dictator has been chosen ; all the other offices are abolished. IX. However, Dolabella, who was tribune at this time—a newcomer in politics who aimed at a new — order of things, introduced a law for the abolition of debts, and tried to persuade Antony, who was his friend and always sought to please the multitude, to take common action with him

in the measure. But . Asinius and Trebellius advised Antony to the con- trary, and, as chance would have it, a dire suspicion fell upon him that he was wronged as a husband by Dolabella. Antony took the matter much to heart, drove his wife from his house (she was his cousin, being a daughter of the Caius Antonius who was Cicero's colleague in the consulship), made common cause with Asinius and Trebellius, and waged war upon Dolabella. For Dolabella had occupied the forum in order to force the passage of his law ; so Antony, after the senate had voted that arms

~

Ul ,
AoroBérxXay, erredOwv Kal padxnv cuvarpas arre-
KTELVE TE TLVAS TOV exeivou Kal TaV idiwy arré-
A N @ aA ¢ 9 ,
Bare. Tots pev ody TroAXois éx ToUTwWY amnxOd-
a A vad \ , \ \ ”
veto, Tots d€ YpnaTois Kal cwhpoct dia TOV AXXOV
, ’ e) , e ’ , ’ ’
Biov ovn jv apeotos, ws Kixépwv dnaoiv, adr
? “ , Le) / 774
éutcetto, BdeAuTrouévay abrov wéBas awpous Kal
A ,
Samdvas émayGeis nai xvrwdnoes év yuvaioss,
9
kat wel repay pév Uarvous Kal Tepitatous adv-
OVTOS Kal KpatTaN@vTos, vuKTwp 5€ Kwpmous Kal
\
Oéatpa xai dtatpiBas év ydpots pipwv rai yedro-
ToTOL@V. A€yeTat your, ws év ‘Imariouv troTé Tov
, , Sf
pio yapuos éotiadels Kal wimy dia vuKtos, elta
A. “~ a
Tpwt ToD Onpov KaNovVTOS Eis ayopay tTpocdOav
54 “ a
Ere TpodTs peaTos éuécete, TOV hirtwv TLVOS UITO0-
, ed a
aXOVTOS TO iudtiov. Av b€ Kal Yépytos o pipos
a , > le!
TOV péeyLoTOY Trap avT@ dSuvvapevov, Kal KvOnpis
\ A aA
a0 THS AVTHS TAaXaLOTpPAS YUVALOY ayaTTw@pEVOD,
0 6 Kal Tas TroAES emiwy ev dope }

ue $ Toes ETLwY EV HopEeilw TrepiLNnyeETo,
a 6 , A \ A \
Kal TO hopetov ov EXATTOUS 7 TO THS MNTpPOS av-
Tov eplétovTes yKoXOVOoUY. éAUTTOVY dé Kal
Npvc@y exTrWUaTwY @oTeEp ev ToumTais Tais aTro-
‘
Snpiars Stadepopévwn Srres, Kal otdoets evodzot
oxnvev, Kal mpos aAgeot Kal TWoTapois apiotwv
a“ / \ / ¢ e
ToAuTEeA@Y Stabécets, Kal Néovtes Appacw we-
/ A A
Cevyuévor, cat cadpovwv avdpav Kat yuvaikav
>
OlKiar yapatTUTrats Kal cauPuKotpiats émicTad-
/ \ “ \
pevopevat. Sevoy yap érovovvto Kaicapa pev
o AN 4 A 9 / a \ 4
avtov é&w ris “Iradias Oupavrety, Ta TreptovTa
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must be employed against Dolabella, came up against him, joined battle, slew some of his men, and lost some of hisown. This course naturally made him odious to the multitude, and to men of worth and uprightness he was not acceptable because of his life in general, as Cicero says,' nay, he was hated by them,-. They loathed his ill-timed drunkenness, his (heavy expenditures, his debauches with women, his / spending the days in sleep or in wandering about with crazed and aching head, the nights in revelry or at shows, or in attendance at the nuptial feasts of mimes and jesters. We are told, at any rate, that he once feasted at the nuptials of Hippias the mime, drank all night, and then, early in the morning, when the people summoned him to the forum, came before them still surfeited with food and vomited into his toga, which one of his friends held at his* BIB service. Sergius the mime also was one of those who had the greatest influence with him, and Cytheris, a woman from the same school of acting, a great favourite, whom he took about with him in a litter on his visits to the cities, and her litter*was followed by as many attendants as that of his mother. Moreover, people were vexed at the sight of golden beakers borne about on his excursions from the city as in sacred processions, at the pitching of tents when he travelled, at the laying out of costly repasts near groves and rivers, at chariots drawn by lions, and at the use of honest men and women’s houses as quarters for harlots and psaltery-players. For it was thought a monstrous thing that, while Caesar himself was lodging under the skies outside of Italy

1 The second Philippic pictures Antony’s excesses.

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Le 4 4 4 ?
TOU TrOAgmoU peyddous qovots Kal xivdvvols ava-
xabarpopevor, € érépous 5€ dz' éxeivov Tpupav TOUS
qmoXtTats évuBpivovras.
X. Tadta cal thv ordow avfijcat Soxel xal TO
otpatiwtixoy eis DBpes Seevas xal wrAcovekias
> a \ A ? \ ,
aveivat. 610 Kal Kaicap éravedOwv AodroBédXr.a
TE ouyyvopuny Edwxe, Kai TO TpiTov aipeDels drra-
tos ovx Avt@viov, adda Aémidov eiretTo cuvap-
A \ f. 4, > ?»

2 yovta. thy Sé€ Tloumniov mwdovpévny oixiav
avncato pev 'Avtwvos, atartoupevos 8& tHV
Tiny nyavaKrers Kal mynow autos da TodTO py
petacyeiy Kaicape tijs ets AtBinv otpareias,
éml Tois mpotépars KaTtopOwpacww ov TUX@Y apol-
Bis. Eouxe pévtoe To trod THs GBEeATEptas avTod
\ 3 / 9 a" e a ? b ,
Kal dowtias adereivy o Kaicap, ovx dvaicOnras
N / , 2 \ \

3 Ta TAnppeAnuaTta SeEduevos. atradraryels yap
éxeivou Tow Biov yao TpoceaXe, PovdrBiav
dryaryopevos thy KrAwdio ™@ Snuayors ovvoLKn-
saga, ob radaciay obdé oixoupiav ppovoov yu-
yatov, ovdé avdpos idi@tov Kpateiy aktobv, ard'
apxovTos apyew Kal orpatnyoovtos otpatnyety
?
BovAopevoy, date KXeotrdtpav didacxddia Povd-
Bia tis "Avtwviou yuvatcoxpatias odeirey, wavy
yverponOn kat wenadaywynpevov am apyns axpoa-
oOat yuvatcav TapadaBodaav avtov.
4 O08 pny GddG Kaxeivny éeretpato Tpocraivwry

/ Aa e
Kal metpaxrevomevos thapwrTépay toteity o "AvTa-
vos' olov 6te, Kaicaps 1odX@y adraytwvTey peta
A 3 >] ? , \ > \ Ifen 9
Thv év "1Bnpta vinny, Kal autos é&ndOev. elra

and clearing away the remnants of the war at great toil and peril, his adherents, by virtue of his efforts, should revel in luxury and mock at their fellow citizens.

X. These things are also thought to have augmented the discord, and to have incited the soldiery to deeds of violence and rapacity.. For this reason, too, when Caesar came back, he pardoned Dolabella, and, on being chosen consul for the third time, selected: Lepidus as his colleague, and not Antony. The house of Pompey, when put up for sale, was bought by Antony; but when he was asked to pay the price for it, he was indignant. And he says himself that this was the reason why he did not go with Caesar on his African campaign, since he got no recompense for his previous successes. However, it would seem that Caesar cured him of most of his prodigality and folly by not allowing his errors to pass unnoticed. For Antony put away his reprehensible way of living, and turned his thoughts to marriage, taking to wife Fulvia, the widow of Clodius the demagogue. She was a woman who took nothought for spinning or housekeeping, nor would she deign to bear sway over a man of private station, but she wished to rule a ruler and command a commander. Therefore Cleopatra was indebted to Fulvia for teaching Antony to endure a woman's sway, since she took him over quite tamed, and schooled at the outset to obey women.

However, Antony tried, by sportive ways and youthful sallies, to make even Fulvia more lighthearted. For instance, when many were going out to meet Caesar after his victory in Spain, Antony himself went forth. Then, on a sudden, a report

ave Pnyns ets THY ‘Itadiap é émtrerovons as err iacw ot TONE [LOL Kaicapos TeOvnKoTos, avérTpeE‘pev els ‘Popny. Aa Pov dé Geparrovtos éa0jra VUKT@OP emt THY oixiay AOE, Kal pynoas emia TONY PovrPia map *Avtwviov _ kopitery elanxOn 7 pos avTny eyxexaruppévos. elta 7 pev éxTradns ovea,

mpl 7 Ta ypappata AaBeiv pana Ev et oF O
"Avtavios: 0 66 THY emLaToAny cLwmh jwpotelvas
apfapevny Ave Kal dvayiwecKkev TreptBadrov
KaTepihnae.
. Tatra peév ovv odiya ToANwY dvTwV Evera Seiy-
PATOS efevnvoyaper.
XI. "Ex dé ‘[8npias emaviovTe Kaicape TavTes
pev ot TpATOL TOG 7 MEp@V o60v aT VTOY,
éripnOn b€ ‘Apraveos € ERT PETOS UT auTod. KOpe-
Copevos yap emt Cevryous dua THS "Tradias Avto-
viov elye pe” éEavtod TUVOXOU[EVOY, om. Bev Oe
Bpotroy “AABivoy Kal tov tis aberpidjs viov
‘Oxraoviavor, 6 Os peta TaiTa Kaicap avouda On
Kal ‘Popaioy npke wheiarov _Xpovov. émret S€ TO
T EMT TOV atredetyOn Kaicap traros, TpooetAeTo
pev evd vs cuvapxovTa tov ’Avt@ov, éBovreTo
dé THY apxny aT ELT A BEVOS AodoBerr@ mapery-
yujcas Kal TovUTO pos TV ovyKAnTOV é&7-
VeyKED. ‘Avtoviou 5é Tpayéws avTuTEecoVTOS Kal
ToNAa ev elTrovTOs Kana AodoBérrap, ouK
éAaT Tova bé d aKovcayTos, TOTE Lev aloxuvdeis THY
aKxoopiay oO Kajoap amnrrayn. peta S€ TavTAa
7 poehOa@v dvaryopevaat tov AodroPéAdapy, *Av-
TWViOU TOUS oiwvovs évavtiovabat Bowyvtos, ele
kat mponxato AodoBéAXAay axOopuevov. eddxer
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burst upon Italy that Caesar was dead and his enemies
advancing upon the country, and Antony turned
back to Rome. He took the dress of a slave and
came by night to his house, and on saying that he
was the bearer of a letter to Fulvia from Antony, |
was admitted to her presence, his face all muffled.
Then Fulvia, in great distress, before taking the
-letter, asked ‘whether Antony was still alive; and
he, after handing her the letter without a word, as
she began to open and read it, threw his arms about
her and kissed her. .
These few details, then, out of many, I have
adduced by way of illustration.
XI. When Caesar returned from Spain,’ all the principal men went many days’ journey to meet him, but it

was Antony who was conspicuously honoured - by him. For as he journeyed through Italy he had Antony in the same car with himself, but behind him Brutus Albinus, and Octavius, his niece's son, who was afterwards named Caesar and ruled Rome for a very long time. Moreover, when Caesar had for the fifth time been appointed consul, he immediately chose Antony as his colleague. It was his purpose also to resign his own office and make it over to Dolabella ; and he proposed this to the senate. But since Antony vehemently opposed the plan, heaped much abuse upon Dolabella, and received as much in return, for the time being Caesar desisted, being ashamed of their unseemly conduct. And after- wards, when Caesar came before the people to pro- claim Dolabella, Antony shouted that the omens were opposed. Caesar therefore yielded, and gave up Dolabella, who was much annoyed. And it

1 In 45 B.c.

dé xdxeivey ovdev HT TOv tov 'Avtwviov B8ervr-
recOat. NéyeTat yap OS, apporépous TLVOS opod
d:aBdddovtos 1 pos aurov, €LTrol, un dedtévar TOUS
maxets TOUVTOUS Kal Kountas, ANAG TOUS OX pous
Kat demos éxeivous, Bpobtov kat Kdaootov
aTrodetxvvpevos,' vd' wv euerrev émeBovarcvbeis
avatpetoOat.
XII. Kaxeivors dé THY eum perred TAT HY Tpo-
pacw aKOv Taper xev " AVT@VLOS. vy pev yap 7
tav Aveaiwv éoptn 'Popains, F hy Aovmepkadia
kahovat, Kaicap 6é KEKOG HN MEVOS eoOFre Gptap-
Bucy Kai KaOnpevos vrép Bnyatos év ayopa TOUS
Siabéovras eearo- d:abéovar dé Tov ebryevdv
véot mronnol kat TOY apyYoVTOD, GAnAtUPEVOL
Aima, oKUTESL Aac iors Kadixvovpevot peta T at-
dias TOY evTuyXavovTwv. ° ev TovTOLS o 'Avrovi0§
diabéwy Ta pev TaTpla. Natpewv clace, Siddqua
5é dddvns oTepavey mepredi€as Tpocédpape TO
Byatt, xai auvekapOeis bo Tov ourbedv Tov
éméOnne TH kepary Tod Kaicapos, as 67)
Bactreverv avT@ TpoonKov. éxelvov dé OpuTrto-
pévou Kal Siaxdivovtos naGeis o OAmos dveKpo-
Thoe Kal TddLY Oo "AvT@vios em Tye, Kal mahuv
éxetvos amet piBero. Kal Tokvy xpovoy ovTw
dtapayopéevov Avtovio pep OrLyoL TOV pirov
Bialopeve, Kaicapr be apvoupevep TAS o Ofjpos
émexpotet peta Bons: 6 Kal Oavuaotoy jv, tt
Tois Epyous Ta TOV Bacirevopéevwv iropévorTes
Toivoua tov Baciiéws ws KaTadAvoL THS édEv-

1 anodexvduevos Coraés and Sintenis, after the Aldine edition ; Bekker omits, with the MSS. In the Morals, p. 206 F, Plutarch has deltas.
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would seem that Caesar abominated Dolabella also no less than he did Antony. For we are told that when a certain man was accusing both of them to him, he said he had no fear of those fat and long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale and thin ones, indicating Brutus and Cassius, by whom he was to be conspired against and slain.?

XII. And it was Antony who also unwittingly supplied the conspirators with' their most specious pretext. For at: the festival of the Lycaea, which the Romans call' Lupercalia, Caesar, arrayed in a triumphal robe and seated in the forum upon the rostra, was viewing the runners to and fro. Now, the runners to and fro are many noble youths and many of the magistrates, anointed with oil, and with leathern thongs they strike in sport those whom they meet. Antony was one of these runners, but he gave the ancient usages the go-by, and twining a wreath of laurel round a diadem, he ran with it to the rostra, where he was lifted on high by his fellow runners and put it on the head of Caesar, thus intimating that he ought to be king. When Caesar with affected modesty declined the diadem, the people were delighted and clapped their hands. Again Antony tried to put the diadem on Caesar's head, and again Caesar pushed it away. This con- test went on for some time, a few of Antony's friends applauding his efforts to force the diadem upon Caesar, but all the people applauding with loud cries when Caesar refused it. And this was strange, too, that while the people were willing to conduct themselves like the subjects of a king, they shunned the name of king as though it meant the abolition of

1 Cf. the Caesar, lxii. 5; the Brutus, viii. 1.
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4 Oepias édevyov. avéotn péev ody o Kaicap
> 6 ;, re ee a , \ ‘ ¢ +
ayGecbeis amo tov Bnyatos, cal To ipatiov
9 4 9 \ A / ”~ ,
andadyov amo Tov tpaxndov te Bovropéve
, A \ 5 4 ‘ A A ey
Tapéxew thy ahaynv éBoa. tov 5é ctépavov évi
Tov aviptdvtwy avtod TepiTeOévta Sypapyol Ties
e aA A
Katéorracay, ods o SHwos eddnuay peTa KpoTou
mapeiteto, Kaicap é tis apyis améotyoev.
XIII. Taira tovs rept Bpotrov cat Kdoovoy
A 4 : ;

éméppwoe’ Kal Tov dirwv Tos TicTOUs KaTa-
Néyovres ert thy mpakw éoxémrovto mTmepl
7A / a de ¥ , \ ¥ 6
VTWVLOU. TMV O€ ANAWY TPOTLELEVwWV TOV aVvOpA
TpeBavios dvteimev’ ébn yap vd’ ov Ypovoy
> / 9 ? , > , , A
annvrwv é€& IBnpias éravovte Kaicapt, tov
"Avtwviov avaKxnvotytos avtT@ Kai cuvodevorTos,
a 3
dipacOa: tis yveuns atpéua mos Kai pet
a . \
evraBeias, rov d€ vojoar pév, ov déEacBar dé thy
n 4 : a
Téipayv, ov pnv ovdé mpos Kaicapa xarereiv,
’ \ ” a ‘\ 4 ?
2 ad\r\d TWisTwas KaTacLwHfjcat TOV Royo. €K
UA 4 9 4 a 4
‘TovToU mdaAtv éBovArevovto Kaicapa xteivaytes
> 4 ? 4 > , \ “~
éemiogpatteyv “Avtwvov: éxwrvce Sé Bpodtos,
3 “ A w“ ,
akiav thv bmép tov voywy Kat tav SiKaiwv
, A > a \ \ J
ToApopéevny mpakiw eiixpiy Kat xaOapay ad-
xias elvat. ghoBovpevoe. 5é THY TE pwpnv ToD
"Avtwviou Kat To THS apyns akiwpa, TaTTOVELY
én’ avtov éviouvs TaV éx THiS TUYwWpOCIas, STAs,
rd ? a \ \
dtav eain Kaicap eis thy BovAnv Kat pédAdn
é a @ \ ” ” 5 , ,
pacba. to épyov, é&w Siareyopevot te nal
omovdalovtes KaTéYWo LV AUTOV.
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their freedom. At last Caesar rose from the rostra
in displeasure, and pulling back the toga from his
throat cried out that any one who pleased might
smite him there. The wreath, which had been hung
upon one of his statues, certain tribunes of the
people tore down. These men the people greeted
with favouring cries and clapping of hands; but
Caesar deprived them of their office.!
XIII. This incident strengthened the party of Brutus and Cassius; and when they were taking count of the
friends whom they could trust for their enterprise, they raised a question about Antony. The rest were for

making him one of them, but Trebonius ‘opposed it. For, he said, while people were going out to meet Caesar on his return from Spain, Antony had travelled with him and shared his tent, and he had sounded him quietly and cautiously ; Antony had understood him, he said, but had not responded to his advances ; Antony had not, however, reported the conversation to Caesar, but had faith- fully kept silence about it. Upon this, the con- spirators again took counsel to kill Antony after they had slain Caesar; but Brutus prevented this, urging that the deed adventured in behalf of law and justice must be pure and free from injustice. But the con- spirators were afraid of Antony’s strength, and of the consideration which his office gave him, and there- fore appointed some of their number to look out for him, in order that, when Caesar entered the senate- chamber and their deed was about to be done, they might engage Antony outside in conversation about some urgent matter and detain him there.

1 Cf. the Caesar, cha; ter Ixi.

XIV. Toure dé T par Tomeveoy @s auverédn,
Kal TET OVTOS év tH BovrAn rod Kaicapos, evOvs
per O "AVT@VLOS éoOiira Depdzrovros petahaBoy
expurpev avrov. as 5° éyvw Ttovs avdpas emuxet-
potvtas ev ovdent, cvvnd potapévous dé eis TO
Kamitwruop, é em euae wataBivac AaBovras Gunpov
Tap’ avTov tov viovr Kai Kadootov peév auTos
édeiTrvice, Bootrov bé Aéni6os. cuvayayov oé
Bournv auros pev UT Ep apynotias elre Kal
Sravopijs € emapXav Tous Tept Kdootov Kal _Bpov-
Tov, 7 O€ ovyKAnTos éxvpooe TAUTA Kal TOV LTO
Kaicapos yeyovoTay eyndicarto pendev adXNAT-
TEL. eEnet dé Tihs Bovrjjs Aamir poraros dvOpoérev
) "AvT@vos, avnpnxévat Soxdv éuch VALOV Toh eHOV
Kal Tpdypace SucKxoAias Exovot kal tapayas ov
Tas TUXoVTAS éuppoveotata KexpncOar xat
TOMTLKMTATA.
Toure pEVTOL TAaXD TOV OyLC wav éFécecev
avTOY 7 Tapa TOV oxo 50£a, a 7 p@Tov emicavra
BeBaiws éceo Oat Bpovtou KaTarvievtos. ETUXE
pep oy éxxopeCopevou Kaicapos, _@orep éGos
jv, ev ayopa SeEov eye@piov- ope dé tov
Ofjpov vireppuas ayouevov Kal an ovpevov eve mite
Tots ematvous OLKTOV Gea Kal Seiya emt TO
madet, Kal TO NOYO TENEUTOVTE * TOUS TE YLTO-
vio Kous TOU re ynKoros nparyLevous Kab Sraxexop-
pévous ToIs Eipeowy avaceiwy, Kal Tovs eipyac-
pevous TavTa Kad@v Tadapvaiovs Kab | dvdpodovous,

TOG OUTOV opyns eveBare Tols avOpwrrots WOTE TO -

lag Adyp redevravr: Sintenis, after Bryan; redevray
Bekker, with the MSS., bracketing r¢@ Adyq ; Kal Trav Adywr
tedevrov Coraés ; nal rg rbyy. TeAevtay Te Tobs xiTwvloKovs
«rd. Stephanus,
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bo
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_ XIV. This was done as planned, and Caesar fell in

the senate-chamber. At once, then, Antony put on the dress of a slave and hid himself. But when he learned that the conspirators were laying hands upon nobody, but were merely assembled together on the Capitol, he persuaded them to come down by giving them his son as hostage; moreover, he himself entertained Cassius, and Lepidus entertained Brutus. Besides, he called the senate together and spoke in favour of amnesty and a distribution of provinces among Brutus and Cassius and their partisans, and the senate ratified this proposal, and voted that no change should be made in what Caesar had done.! So Antony went out of the senate the most illustrious of men; for he was thought to have put an end to civil war, and to have handled matters involving great difficulty and extraordinary confusion in a most prudent and statesmanlike manner.

From such considerations as these, however, he was soon shaken by the repute in which he stood with the multitude, and he had hopes that he would surely be first in the state if Brutus were overthrown. Now, it happened that when Caesar's body was carried forth for burial, Antony pronounced the customary eulogy over it in the forum. And when he saw that the people were mightily swayed and charmed by his words, he mingled with his praises sorrow and indignation over the dreadful deed, and at the close of his speech shook on high the garments of the dead, all bloody and tattered by the swords as they were, called those who had wrought such work villains and murderers, and inspired his hearers with

} Of. the Caesar, Ixvii, 4; the Brutus, xix. 3.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

fev copa Tob Katcapos éy aryopa kabayioat,
TuveveyKapevous Ta _ Babpa Kal Tas Tpamelas,
aprrdlovtas dé TOUS aT THS mupas dadous eri Tas
ovxias Oeiy TOV aTEKTOVOTwY Kal TporpuaxeaGar,
XV. Ata taita TOD mrepl Bpodrov EK THS
TOAEWS amrenGovtav ot TE pirou TOD Kaicapos
cuvioTavTo qWpos TOV 'AvT@viov, 4 Te yuvn

Kadzroupvia TUT TEVO A.0 O. TOV XpnudTov Ta
TrEeloTa KatéOero mpos avtov éx TAS oixias, es
Ayo Ta cupmayta, TETPAKLTXtML@Y Tahdvrv.
éraBe d€ Kal Ta BiBrLa Tou Kaicapos, év ols
Uropynwata Tay KEK PL LEVOV Kat Sedoypever 7 Hy
avaryeypappeva Kal TOUTOLS mapeyypddeav obs
éBovrero, ToAXous ev apxovras arredeixvue,
ToAXovs O€ Bovreutds, évious d€ xal Kariyye
Tepuyadeupevous Kal Kcaderpypevous Edvev, WS
on TavTa TO Kaicape bofavta. 816 rTovrous
aTavTas €MtoK@TTOVTES Ob ‘Pawpaior Xapwviras
éx dour: eheyxXopuevor yap els TOUS Tov vexpov
Katepevyov UTOMYNLATLC WOUS. Kal TaN 6é
EMPATTEV AUVTOKPATOPLKAS O "AvT@MV08, aT OS pev
UTatevan, Tous 6é \adedpovs EXwov cuvdpxovtas,
Taiov pev otpatnyov, Aevxcov Oe Snpapxov.
XVI. ’Evravéa S€ trav mpayyatav syTov O
véos aixvetras Kaicap «is ‘Pony, aderpudijs
pev OY TOU TeOYNKOTOS vi0S, @S elpnTat,
KAN Povo Los dé THS ovcias ATONE ELL BEVOS, ev
“ATroAovig dé Svat piper bp’ dv xpovov avnpnto
Kaicap. ovtos evdus “Avtwrior, ws 7 TaTp@ov
dirov, do Tac devos TOY TapaxaTabnkay éué-
pYyTO. Kal yap apetre Penaeus éxdoT@ Spaypas
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such rage that they heaped together benches and tables and burned Caesar’s body in the forum, and then, snatching the blazing faggots from the pyre, ran to the houses of the assassins and assaulted them.

XV. On account of these things Brutus and his associates left the city, the friends of Caesar united in support of Antony, and Caesar’s wife, Calpurnia, putting confidence in Antony, took most of the treasure from Caesar's house and put it in his charge; it amounted in all to four thousand talents. Antony received also the papers of Caesar, in which there were written memoranda of his decisions and decrees ; and making insertions in these, he appointed many magistrates and many senators according to his own wishes. He also brought some men back from exile, and released others from prison, as though Caesar had decided upon all this. Wherefore the Romans in mockery called all such men Charonitae ;?

for when put to the test they appealed to the memo-
randa of the dead. And Antony managed every-
thing else in autocratic fashion, being consul himself,
and having his brothers .in office at the same time,
Caius as praetor, and Lucius as tribune of the
people.

XVI. At this state of affairs the young Caesar came to Rome, a son of the dead Caesar's niece, as has been said,' who had been left heir to his property. He had been staying at Apollonia when Caesar was assassinated. The young man greeted Antony as his father's friend, and reminded him of the moneys deposited with him. For he was under obligation to

1 Cf. the Cicero, xlii. 2 ff.; the Brutus, xx. 3.

2 In Latin, Orcini, from Orcus, the god of the lower world,

to whom the Greek Charon is made to correspond. |
3- Chapter xi. 1.
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e , , , a , : b a
éBdounxovta mévte dodvat, Katoapos év tats
, , ' , \ \ \
Siabnxars ypaypavtos. 'Avtwyios 5é TO pep
"" a a" :
TPOTOV WS petpaxiov Katadpovav Edeyev ovyx
e 4 > ' > A \ fa! 9 Ga '
Uytaivery avtTov, addAa Kal dpevav ayabav Kai
diroy épnpuov dvta poptiov adBactaxtov aipec bat
A , / \ , \
tyv Kaicapos Sitadoyyv: pr meopevov dé
, bd b] > a \ 4 \
TOUTOLS, GAN aTraLtTOVYTOS TA KpnpaTa, TOAAGa
\ , N C4 b "A \ 4 ,
Kal Néywv pos DBpiv avrovd cai mpadtrwy dvetéret.
yt, , =
Snpapxiav te yap évéotn petiovtTe, Kai didpov
le) A ef
Ypucody TOD TaTpos, WaTTEp erndiaTo, TLOEVTOS
b] li' > A "9 , > \ ,
nreiAnoev eis hudrakny amdaFev, et 7 TWavoatto
A ' e
Snuaywyav. éret péevtoe Kixépwve Sovs éavtov o
4 \ an 4 (4 \ b] a -

veavias Kat Tois adAAots boot Tov “AvTw@vor
éuicouv, bu éxet ey wKELoD nv BovAy
i , Os éxeivav péev @xevodto thy BovAny,
> A \ N a > , ae \
avros 5é€ tov Sjpov avedduBave Kai Tovs otpa-
TIWTAS aTO TOY KaTOLKLaOY GuVAye, Seicas oO
"Avr@vios eis NOyous avT@ auvndOev dv Kamt-
TOMO, Kal SienrArAdynaoav.
be a b] la nw N wv 3
Elita xowpwpevos exeivns THs vueTos Ow elder
” e 3 , 29 7 A e a A : \
atotov o Avrwvios, doce: yap avTod thv Seklav
a a a \ > e 4
yeipa BeBAncOar Kepavv@. Kat pel npuépas
oAiyas évétreve NOYos ws émtBovrAevar Kaicap
3 n a) \. 3 la) / 3 w” ll
avT@. Kaioap dé aredoyeito pév, ov Erebe Sé
Kal madwv hy éevepyos 4» exOpa, cat twepiOéovtes |

> , A 9 ‘4 \ \ e , bd nm

apdotepoe thy “Itadiav To péev idpupévoy ev Tats

Katotkiats dn TOU aoTpaTiwTiKoD peydadots
, ; a \
avictacay pucbois, To & év StrAaLS ETL TETAY EVO

e 4 > 4 ,

vropOdvovtes GAAHAOUS TpoTHyoVrTo.

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give every Roman seventy-five drachmas, according to the terms of Caesar’s will. But Antony, at first despising him as a mere stripling, told him he was out of his senses, and that in his utter lack of good judgment and of friends he was taking up a crushing burden in the succession of Caesar. Aud when the ‘ young man refused to listen to this, and demanded the moneys, Antony kept saying and doing many things to insult him. For instance, he opposed him in his canvass for a tribuneship, and when he attempted to dedicate a golden chair in honour of his father by adoption, according to a decree of the senate, Antony threatened to hale him off to prison unless he stopped trying to win popular favour. When, however, the young man made common cause with Cicero and all the other haters of Antony, and with

their aid won the support of the senate, while he himself got the goodwill of the people and assembled the soldiers of Caesar from their colonies, then Antony was struck with fear and came to a conference with him on the Capitol, and they were reconciled.

Afterwards, as he lay asleep that night, Antony had a strange vision. He thought, namely, that his right hand was smitten by a thunder-bolt. And after a few days a report fell upon his ears that the young Caesar was plotting against him. Caesar tried to make explanations, but did not succeed in convincing Antony. So once more their hatred was in full career, and both were hurrying about Italy trying to bring into the field by large pay that part of the soldiery which was already settled in their colonies, and to get the start of one another in winning the support of that part which was still arrayed in arms.

XVII. Tov & év tH more Kinépov péytorov Suvdpevos, Kal mapokvvar emt tov ’Avtwviov dmavras avOparous, TéXos eémetce THY BovrAnv Exeivov ev TONE MLOV YnpicacBan, Kaicape dé paBSovyiav Tey av Kat oTpaTAyiKa Kooua, IIdvoap bé Kab "Tpteov mooted ew efedavras ‘Avrevioy é éx THs "Itadtas. obtoe dé Hoav vratot ToTe’ Kal cvpBarovres ‘Avtavie Tept moMty Mutivyy, Katcapos TapovTos Kal TUMPAXopLEvor, TOUS pev Trohepious EVLKWV, AUTOL be at éQavov. pevyovTe de "Avtovio TONAG OUVETLTTE TOV amopwv, 6 Oe Atpos aTropwTarov. annra pice Tapa Tas KaxoT paryias eyivero Bérr1oTOs € éavob Kal va TuXar OMOLOTATOS 7 ny arabe, Kowov pev | GvTOS TOU aiaGavecbar THIS aperiis ToIs be amopiay Tia aparropevors, ov pay andavrwyv & onrotor prpeta Oa Kal devyetv a L dua'xepaivovery eppopévery év Tats petaBorais, anna Kat adov éviwy Tots éOecw evdtOovT@Yv v7rd daGevelas Kab Opavopever Tov _ Noryea Mov. o 8 obp “AVT@VLOS TOTE Oavpactov Hy mapaderypa Tois oTpATLOT acs, amo Tpupys TooavTns Kal ToduTEAELas vdwp Te mivev StepOappévor evKoAws, Kal KapTrous ayplous Kab pitas Tpoo Pepopevos. éBpwbn dé Kat

protos, @S héyeTat, kat Cdwv ayevoTwv mpoTEpov
ppavto Tas “Adrets tepBadrovtes.
XVIII. "Hv be open Tots eméxetva oTparev-
pact evtuxely, ov Aémidos _WPXE diros elvas
Soxay ‘Avtwviou Kal TOMNe THs Katoapos grrias
amoNeNauKcévae dt’ avtov. eM wy dé Kal Tapa-
aoTpatotredevoas mwAnciov, ws ovlev amnrvta
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XVII. But Cicero, who was the most influential man in the city, and was trying to incite everybody against Antony, persuaded the senate to vote him a public enemy, to send to Caesar the fasces and other insignia of a praetor, and to dispatch Pansa and Hirtius to drive Antony out of Italy. These men were consuls at that time, and in an engagement with Antony near the city of Mutina, at which Octavius Caesar was present and fought on their side, they conquered the enemy, but fell themselves.!_ Many difficulties befell Antony in his flight, the greatest of which was famine. But it was his nature to rise to his highest level when in an evil plight, and he was most like a good and true man when he was unfortunate. For it is a common trait in those whom some difficulty has laid low, that they perceive plainly what virtue is, but all have not the strength amid reverses to imitate what they admire and shun what they hate, nay, some are then even more prone to yield to their habits through weakness, and to let their judgment be shattered. Antony, however, was at this time an amazing example to his soldiers, after such a life of luxury and extravagance as he had led drinking foul water contentedly and eating wild fruits and roots. Bark also was eaten, we are told, and animals never tasted before were food for them as they crossed the Alps.

XVIII. They were eager to fall in with the troops in those parts which Lepidus commanded, for he was thonght to be a friend of Antony, and through him had reaped much advantage from Caesar’s friendship. But when Antony came and encamped near by, he met with no tokens of friendliness, and therefore de-

1 In 43 B.c. Cf. the Crcero, xlv. 3.
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diravOpwrov, éyvw tapaBarécbar. Kal Koun
pev arnuedns Kab Babds Trayov peta THY HTTav
evs Hv avT@ Kabeipévos, AaBwv Sé gatov
iudrvov eyyes mpoonye TH Yapaxt tod Aeridou
Kat rAéyew npEato. ToAN@Y dé Kal mpos THY Oypuv
emikAwpevov Kal Tols Aoyols ayopévwy, Seioas Oo
Aémidos tas oddtuyyas éxéXevce ouvnyovoas
aperéoOat To KataxovecOar Tov "Avtw@mov. ot
5é otpaTi@tat padXov @OxTEetpay Kai SvedeyorTo
xpvpa, Aaidtov Kal Kndwdvoy amootetNavtes
mpos avtov, éoOnras AaBovtas éTatpevopéevov
yuvaixav, of Tov ‘AvTw@vioy éxédevov emuyerperv

Oappotvta T@ yapake: TroAXOUs yap elvar Se£o-
pevous! Kal tov Aémidov, ef BovrotTO, KTEvoovTas.
"Avra@vios 5é Aemidou pév ovx elacev dyracbat,
pe" jmépav O€ TOV oTpaToY éxwV aTrEeTTELPATO TOD
ToTapod. Kal Tp@TOS AUTOS. éuBas émropevero
mpos THY avtitépas byOnv, opav dn TOAXOVS
tov Aetridov otpatiwtav Tds Te YElpas opéyorTas
av'T@ xal Tov ydpaxa Siaora@vtas. eicvedOav be
Kal Kpatnoas atravtTav npepwtata AeTid mpoo-
nvexOn. jwatépa yap Tpoanyopevaey avTov
aoTacapevos' Kal T@ pev Epy@ TavTwv avTos
qv KvpLos, éxeiv@ 8 dvoua Kal Tiny avToKpaTopos
SuetéXes huvAdTT@v. TodTo Kal IAdyxov avtTe@
Mouvdtiov émoinoe trpocbécBar, KaOnpevov ov
mpocw peta suxris Suvdpews. ottw dé péyas
apbels adOis trepéBare tas "Adres, eis THY
"IraXiay dyov érraxaideca Tédn TeCOV OY AUTO
Kal pupious immeiss ywpis 5¢ ppovpay Tadarias
1 sobs Sefouévous Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske: defo-
pévous with the MSS.
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termined upon a bold stroke. His hair was unkempt, and his beard had been allowed to grow long ever Since his defeat, and putting on a dark garment he came up to the camp of Lepidus and began to speak. Many of the soldiers were melted at his appearance and moved by his words, so that Lepidus was alarmed and ordered the trumpets to sound all at once in order to prevent Antony from being heard. But the soldiers felt all the more pity for Antony, and held a secret parley with him, sending Laelius and Clodius to him in the garb of women of the camp. These urged Antony to attack their camp boldly ; for there were many, they said, who would welcome him and kill Lepidus, if he wished. But An- tony would not permit them to lay hands on Lepidus, and next day began to cross the river with his army. He himself was first to plunge in, and made his way towards the opposite bank, seeing already that many of the soldiers of Lepidus were stretching out their hands to him and tearing down their ramparts. After entering the camp and making himself master of everything, he treated Lepidus with the greatest kindness. Indeed, he embraced him and called him father; and though in fact he was in full control him- self, still he did not cease to preserve for Lepidus the name and the honour of imperator. This induced Munacius Plancus also to join him, who was encamped at no great distance with a considerable force. Thus raised again to great. power, he crossed the Alps and led into Italy with him seventeen legions of infantry and ten thousand horse. And besides these, he left to

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é& tdyuwata DeXoimret peta Ovdapiov twos Tor
auvnBwv Kal ouptrotav, by KotuAwva tpoc-
nyopevov. :
XIX. Kaioap dé Kexépwur pév obxéte mrpocetye,
THS édevOepias opa@v mepteyouevov, Avtwvov dé
mpovxanreito dia TaV pirwy eis Siarvocis. Kal
avvenOovtes ot Tpeis Els vnotda ToTAaLe@ TrEpLppEo-
pévnv érrl Tpels uépas auryndpevaayv. Kat Tada
pev eTrLetK@S @podoyelTo, Kal StevelpavTo THY
cUpTacay apxnv @oTrep ovciay TaTpway adX7-
hors, 9 S€ Tepl TeV aTroAOUpEenwv avdpav
audiaBnrnows avtois wrelota Tpdyuata Tape-
axe, TOUS pev eyOpovrs avedeiv ExdoToV, THcaL
5é tovs mpoonkovtas aktodvtos. TédAos S€ TH
Tpos TOvS pLaoupévous Gpyh Kal cuyyevav Tiny
kal dirtwv evvotavy mpoéwevor, Kixépwvos ev
"Avtwovio Kaicap ébéorn, tovtT@ 5é ‘Avrwvios
Aevxiov Katoapos, os Hv Oetos adt@ impos pntpos
é500n dé xait Aemido Tlatdov avery tov
aderdov: ot S€ hacw éxkorhvat tov TlavxXov Tov
Aémidov éxeivots atroBaveiy avtov aitnoapévots.
ovdey WpOTEpOV OVSE aypLwTepoy THs Stapeirrews
TavTns Sox® yevéoOat. dhovwv yap avTiKaTtan-
Aacaopuevor Hovovs opoiws pev ols éXNauBavov
avnpovy ovs édidocav, adixwtepos Sé TEpt TOUS
dirous jaoav, ods atrextivvucay unde piocodvtes.
XX. "Est & ody tais SuaddXayais tavtats of
OTpaTwwTat TepiotavTes nkiovy Kai yao Tove
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guard Gaul six legions with Varius, one of his in-
timates and boon companions, who was surnamed
Cotylon.
XIX. Now, Octavius Caesar no longer held with
Cicero, because he saw that Cicero was devoted to
liberty, and he sent his friends to Antony with
an invitation to come to terms. So the three men
came together on a small island in the midst of
a river,! and there held conference for three
days. All other matters were easily agreed upon,

and they divided up the whole empire among themselves as though it were an ancestral inheritance; but the dispute about the men who were to be put to death gave them the greatest trouble. Each demanded the privilege of slaying his enemies and saving his kinsmen. But at last their wrath against' those whom they hated led them to abandon both the honour due to their kinsmen and the goodwill due to their friends, and Caesar gave up Cicero to Antony, while Antony gave up to him Lucius Caesar, who was Antony's uncle on the mother's side. Lepidus also was permitted to put to death Paulus his brother; although some say that Lepidus gave up Paulus to Antony and Caesar, who demanded his death. Nothing, in my opinion, could be more savage or cruel than this exchange. For by this barter of murder for murder they put to death those whom they surrendered just as truly as those whom they seized; but their injustice was greater towards their friends, whom they slew without so much as hating them.

XX. To complete this reconciliation, then, the soldiers surrounded them and demanded that Caesar

1 Cf. the Cicero, xlvi. 3.

Thv didtiavy ouvaryar Kaicapa, AaBovta tH PovrAPias tis "Avtwviov yuvaikos Ouyatépa Krwotav. oporoynbévtos &€ xal tovtov Tpia-Kootot pay ex tTpoypadyns eOavat@Oncayv ba avutav' Kixépwvos 5¢ opayévtos éxédevoev *Av-TWVLOS THY TE KEpAAHY aToKOTVaL Kal THY XeEipa «nv deEvav, 4 Tovs Kat avToD Aoyous éypae. Kal Koptobévtwyv eOcato yeynOws Kal avaxay-vdtwv oo yYapds moAdNaKis: Elta éutAnobels éxéXevoev vrép Tov Aypatos év ayopa TeOjva, xaOarrep eis Tov vexpov UBpivwv, ovy avTov évuBpifovra Th TUxn Kalb KaTaLtoyivovTa THY éfovatav émiderxvipevos. 0 5é Oeios avtod Kaicap Cntovpevos Kal SiwKxopevos Katépuye mpos THY aderpnv. 7 S€, Tov oshayéwv éetictavTwv Kal talopevwr ets TO Swpdtiov avTis, év Tats Ovpats otdoa Kal dtacxyovca Tas Yelpas é8oa TOAANGaKIS* "Ove aoxtevetre Kaicapa Aevxiov, éav pn

MpOTEpov ewe aToKTElvNnTE THY TOV a’TOKPaTOpa
Texovaav. éxelyn pev ovv TolavTn yevomervn
duéxrewe xal Stéswoe Tov aderdov.
XXI. "Hy 8€ cai ta TOAAG ‘Pwpaiows~e7raxOns
n TOV TPLOV.apKXn Kal TO reiaTov o "AvT@Vvios
THS aitias elye, mpeaBuTepos pev wv Kaicapos,
Aemridou 66 ea ets 6€ Tov Biov éxeivoy
av0is tov nduTa0hH Kal akoNacTOV, @> TpeTOV
AVEXALTLTE TOV TpaypaTov, éxKEeXupEvoS. Tpoc-
qv 8€ TH Kown xaxodokia to Sia TH oixiay od
puKpov picos, jv @xet, Tlopaniov rod Meyddou
ryevouevny, avdpos ovx Hrtov eri cwdhpoctvyn Kat
T@ TeTaypéevws cal Snuotixas Ssartacba. Gav-
~

’ should also cement the friendship by a marriage, and should take to wife Clodia, a daighter of Antony’s wife Fulvia. After this also had been agreed upon, three hundred men were proscribed and put to death by them; moreover, after Cicero had been butchered, Antony ordered his head to be cut off, and that right hand with which Cicero had written the speeches against him.! When they were brought to him, he gazed upon them exultantly, laughing aloud for joy many times; then, when he was sated, he ordered them to be placed on the rostra in the forum, just as though he were putting insult upon the dead, and not rather making a display of his own insolence in good fortune and abuse of power. His uncle, Lucius Caesar, being sought for and pursued, took refuge with his sister. She, when the execu- tioners were at hand and trying to force their way into her chamber, stood in the doorway, spread out her arms, and cried repeatedly: “Ye shall not slay Lucius Caesar unless ye first slay me, the mother of your imperator.”” By such behaviour, then, she got her brother out of the way and saved his life.

XXI. Now, for the most part, the government of the triumvirate was odious to the Romans; and Antony bore most of the blame, since he was older than Caesar, more powerful than Lepidus, and threw himself once more into his old life of pleasure and dissipation as soon as he had shaken off some of his troubles. And to his general ill-repute there was added the great hatred caused by the house in which he dwelt. It had been that of Pompey the Great, a man no less admired for sobriety and for the orderly and democratic disposition of his life than because of

1 Cf. the Cicero, xlviii. 4.

pac bevros a] bia TOUS. T pets O pid Bous. AX Oovro
yap opa@yres auTHY Ta Toh KexNeto méevny ev
Wryewooe wal oTpatnyois Kal tpéo Seow, adov-

pévols T pos bBpiv atro TOV Jupav, peathy Oe
pipov Kal Javpatorot@v Kal KoAdKwv Kpattra-
AovTor, els ods Ta Thetora KaTaynnis KeTo TOY
Xpnwarav TO Bravorare Kal adeTOTAT ED TpoT@
TopuSopeveny. ov yap povov ET@AOUY ovaias To
povevopevr, emit uKopavroovtes oixelous Kat
yuvaixas aura, ovodé TEA@Y TAY Exivnoav yévos,
a\Aa Kal mapa ais ‘Eottace mud opevor map-
Oévots TapaxataOyxas Tivas Keio Oar Kal Eéveov
Kal TOMT@Y éhaBov érreNOovtes. ws dé ovdey 7 iv
ixavov "AvTovig, Kaicap ngiwoe veipac Gar Ta
Xpnwara pos auToOv. évelwavTo Kal Tov
TTparov, él Bpodrov kat Kdootoy es Maxe-
Soviay Alicia aphotepot, Aerido dé THv
“Pounv émeTpeyap
XXIT. ‘Os pévror Sta Bavres ippavro Tohépou
Kal Tapeatpatonédevaay Tois TrodXepiors, AvtTovi-
ov pep ayTut eT aypéevov Kacciy, Bpovr@ dé Kai-
Tapos, ovbeév epryov épavn peya TOU Kaioapos,
GNX "AVT@VLOS my O viKay TaVvTa Kal xaTop0an.
TH pév ¥¢ mpoTépa payy Kaicap v7r0 Bpotrou
Kara, KpaToS arrndels atéBare TO oTparorredop,
Kal juke pov epOn TOUS SudKovTas vmexpuyav" @S
dé auros év Tots Uropyypace Y éypage, TOV pidov
tuvos dvap idovtos aveywpnoe 7 po THS paxns.
‘AVT@VLOS 5é Kdoouoy évienoe Kaitou yeypadacw
EvLoe p21) maparyevéaOac TH payn Tov "AVTWVLOD,
aNAa Tpoayevér Oat peta THD paxnv dn dt0-
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his three triumphs. Men were distressed, therefore,
to see the house closed for the most part against
commanders, magistrates, and ambassadors, who
were thrust with insolence from its doors, and filled
instead with mimes, jugglers,.and drunken flatterers,
on whom were squandered the greater part of the
moneys got in the most violent and cruel manner.
For the triumvirate not only sold the properties
of those whom they slew, bringing false charges
against their wives and kindred, while they set on
foot every kind of taxation, but learning that there
were deposits with the Vestal Virgins made by both
strangers and citizens, they went and took them.

And since nothing was sufficient for Antony, Caesar demanded to share the moneys with him. They shared the army also, and both led their forces into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius, entrusting Rome to Lepidus.

XXII. However, after they had crossed the sea, taken up war, and encamped near the enemy, Antony being opposed to Cassius, and Caesar to Brutus, ‘no great achievements were performed by Caesar, but it was Antony who was everywhere victorious and successful. In the first battle, at least, Caesar was overwhelmingly defeated by Brutus, lost his camp, and narrowly escaped his pursuers by secret flight; although he himself says in his Memoirs that he withdrew before the battle in consequence of a friend’s dream. But Antony conquered Cassius ; although some write that Antony was not present in the battle, but came up after the battle when his

tu

KOUCL. Kdootov dé TlivSapos TOD TLoTOV TUS GTreE-
AevOEpwov avtob Seopévou Kal KedevovTos éopa-
fev" ov yap éyvw VEVLKNKOTO, Bpodrov. OMryeoY
5é Hyepav Stayevopéveov maw eMaxetavto Kat
Bpodtos pev nrrGels éauTov aveinev, “AvT@vtos
dé THS viKns nveyKarto tn S0& TO TreEtoTOV, ATE
5 Kal vooovvtos Tov Kaicapos. ema Tas dé T@
Bpovrov vexp@ purxpa pev aveidicev virép Tis
Daiov TOU adeh pod TENEUTHS (avnpynet yap éKxel
vov 0 Bpovtos év Maxedovia Kuxépove TLULWPOY),
pycas 5é wadXov ‘Oprijcvov 7 n Bpobrov aitiacbat
THS TOD adehpod ohayijs ‘Optactov pev exédevoev
-ervopakar T@ PY LATL, Bpovre dé 7H avTou

owiKioa ToNNGY XPnparov afiav ovoav ém ép-

pipe, Kal TOV amedevd epwv TUL TOV EavTOU 7 poo-

étake THs tapas emipednO hvac. TOUTOV vote-
pov yous ov ouyKaTaKavaayTa, THY howtxioa
T@ vEexpO Kal TOAAa THS eis THY Tadny Samdvns
Upnpnuevov GTEKTELVED.

XXIII. ’Ex TOUTOU Kaioap pev eis ‘Popny exopifero, Sona ou meptécer Bar TONY Xpovov ex Tis dppwatias, "Avtwuos bé Tas ™ pos &w wacas érTrapxXias apyuporoyiowv | b1éBawvev eis THY ‘EX-

Adba, TONANY oTpatiay ayov: Umer ynpevot yap
éxdot@ otpatiatyn Spaypyas TEVTAKLTX ALAS édé-
ovTo cuvroverépov Xpnwatia pov Kal dag poXo-
ylas. Tots pev ovy “EAAgow OUK ATOTTOS ovee
popTeKos guvnvex On TO ye Tp@TOV, GNAA Kal TO
mailov avrod mpos axpodoets Prrohoyeov Kal Beas
dyavev wal MUnoeEts étpere, Kal mept Tas Kpioess
Hv emrvetkns, Kal PirerArAnv axkovwv Eyaspev, Ete dé
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men were already in pursuit. Cassius, at his own request and command, was killed by Pindar, one ot his trusty freedmen; for Cassius was not aware that Brutus was victorious. After a few days had inter- vened, a second battle was fought, and Brutus, being defeated, slew himself; but Antony won the greater credit for the victory, since, indeed, Caesar was sick. And as he stood beside the dead body of Brutus, Antony chided him a little for the death of his brother Caius, whom Brutus had executed in Mace- donia to avenge Cicero, and declaring that Hortensius was more to blame than Brutus for his brother's " murder, he ordered Hortensius to be slaughtered on his brother’s tomb; but over Brutus he cast his own purple cloak, which was of great value, and ordered one of his own freedmen to see to the burial of the body. And learning afterwards that this fellow had not burned the purple cloak with the body of Brutus, and had purloined much of what had been devoted to the burial, he put him to death.

XXIII. After this, Caesar repaired to Rome, since it was thought that he would not live long in consequence of his illness; but Antony, that he might levy money in all the eastern provinces, made his way into Greece with a large army ; for since the - triumvirate had promised every one of their soldiers five hundred drachmas, they required a more vigorous policy in raising money and collecting tributes. Toward the Greeks, then, Antony conducted himself without rudeness or offence, at least in the beginning, nay, he indulged his fondness for amusement by listening to literary discussions and by witnessing games and religious rites. In his judicial decisions also he was reasonable, and delighted to be called a

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BaAXov dirabrvaros mpocayopevopevos, Kal TH

3 TOAet TAELaTAS Swpeds Ebwxe. Bovdropéver SE Tt
cat Meyapéwv xadov avtetidei~EacOar tais ’AOn-
vats Kal to BovAevTyptoy ideiy avtov aktwodvTov
avaBas xalt Qeacdpevos, ws émuvOavovto ti bo-
coin, “ Mixpov pév,” &pn, “campo é.” Kal Tov
tod IIvO@iov vewv xatepétpnocev ws ovvTedéowv
TOUTO yap UTéTYETO TPOS THY TUYKANTOD.

XXIV. ’Emel 6€ Aetxiov Knvowpivov émi tis
“EAXados Katadura@v eis "Aciav &éB8n Kal tov
éxei tAOUT@Y FAbato, Kal Bactreis emi Bvpas
édoitwy Kai Baciiéwv yuvaixes apiAropevat dbo-
peais ampos aAAnAas Kal KaddrAXcoLY éedO¢ipovToO
mpos autov, ev ‘Papn b€ Kaicapos ordcect Kal
TONELOLS ATTOTPUYOLEVOU TOAATY AUTOS AywV oXO-
Any Kal elonvnv avexvkAEiTo Tos abecww Eis TOV
2 cuvnOn Biov, ’Avaknvopes S¢ xeBOap@bot cai Bod-
Got yopatrar Kai Mntpddwpos tis opynotns Kal
TolovTos addos ‘Aciavav dxpoauatav Oiacos,
uTepBadrAopévwv Napuupia kal Bwporoyig Tas amo
THs Itadias Kjpas, eiceppin Kal Si@xer THY ad-
Anv, ovdév Hv avextov, eis TadTa popoupévon
3 amdvreav. yap Acia maca, cabdrep 7) Xopo- 926 KAELOsS Exeivn TroALs, OMov pev OvpiapaTorv
Eyeper,

omov O€ TaLdvaV TE Kal OTEVAYLATODV.

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eis youv "Edecoy eiatovtos avTod yuvaixes pev eis
f Ld a
Baxyas, avdpes 5€ nat twaides eis Zatipous Kat

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Philhellene, and still more to be addressed as Phil-
athenian, and he gave the city very many gifts. But
when the Megarians wished to show him something
fine to rival Athens, and thought that he ought to
see their senate-house, he went up and took a view
of it; and when they asked him what he thought of
it, “It is small,” he said, “but rotten.” He also
had measurements taken of the temple of Pythian
Apollo, with the purpose of completing it; indeed,
he promised as much to the senate.
XXIV. But presently he left Lucius Censorinus in
charge of Greece, and crossing over into Asia! laid
hands on the wealth that was there. Kings would
come often to his doors, and wives of kings, vying
with one another in their gifts and their beauty,
would yield up their honour for his pleasure; and

while at Rome Caesar was wearing himself out in civil strifes and wars, Antony himself was enjoying abundant peace and leisure, and was swept back by his passions into his wonted mode of life. Lute-players like Anaxenor, flute-players like Xanthus, one Metrodorus, a dancer, and such other rabble of Asiatic performers, who surpassed in impudence and effrontery the pests from Italy, poured like a flood into his quarters and held sway there. It was past all endurance that everything was devoted to these extravagances. For all Asia, like the famous city of Sophocles,? " was filled alike with incense-offerings,
Alike with paeans, too, and voice of heavy groans."

At any rate, when Antony made his entry into Ephesus, women arrayed like Bacchus, and men and
1 In 41 B.c. * Thebes, in the Oedipus Rez, 4.
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Ilavas jyobvto Ssuecxevacpévor, Kitrov bé Kal Oup-
pee , \ , 9 A e
cov Kat adNtnpiwy Kal cupiyyov Kal adrov 7
, 4 , / 9_N 9 ,
Tors nv mea, Atovvcov avTov avakaXoupevov
xapidoTny kal petrixytov. tv yap auéret ToLovTOS
éviows, Tots S€é moAXols wpnoTHS Kal ayptwvios.
adnpetro yap evyeveis avOpwTrous Ta dvTa pacTi-
yiats kal xoraks yapilouevos. trodAda@v 5é xal
s
Covrwv ws TeOvnKOTaV aitnoapmevoi TiVvEes ovoias
ExaBov. dvédpos 5€ Madyvntos oixov édwpncato
payetpm tept é&v, ws AéyeTat, Seirvov evdonipn-
cavtt. Tédos bé, Tais Toreot SevTEepov émuBar-
AovTos Popov, éToApNoev 'TBpéas brrép THs Acias
Aéywv eltrety ayopaiws pév éxeiva Kal Tpos Tov
'"Avtwviov Chrov ote andas, "Ei Stvacar Sls
AaBeiv évos éviavtod dopov, Svvacat cal dis Hyiv
moijnoacbas Bépos Kai Sis o1wpay," mpaxTiKas Sé
Kai TapaBorws cuvayaywy ote pupsabas elxoct
taravrav 7 Acia bébwxe, "tadta," elmev, "et
\ > J , N Led , ?
pep ovK elAnhas, atraires Tapa tov AaRovTwv: ei

5é AaBwv ovn eyes, aToAw@Aapev. éTpéraTo
, a \. 9 , ? / - A \ \
TouT@ dewwas Tov Avtwviov’ nYyvoEl yap TA TOAAG
TOV yiyvounevav, ovy ovTw padbupos wy, ws OL
f a
GNNOTHTA Tle TEVWY TOLS TEpl AUTOV.
3 A @ , lal wv \ ” A
Eviv yap amdorns Te Oe Kai Bpadeia pev
aic@notws, aicbavopévm S€ THY dpapTavopéver
ioxupa petavoia Kal mpos avtovs éEoporoynots
\ 9 ,
Tous ayvapovnbévtas, péyeOos S€ Kal qepl ras

boys like Satyrs and Pans, led the way before him, and the city was full of ivy and thyrsus-wands and harps and pipes and flutes, the people hailing him as Dionysus Giver of Joy and Beneficent. For he was such, undoubtedly, to some; but to the greater part he was Dionysus Carnivorous and Savage. For he took their property from well-born men and bestowed it on flatterers and scoundrels. From many, too, who were actually alive, mén got their property by asking him for it on the plea that the owners were dead. The house of a man of Magnesia he gave to a cook, who, as we are told, had won reputation by a single supper. But finally, when he was imposing a second contribution on the cities, Hybreas, speaking in behalf of Asia, plucked up courage to say this: “Tf thou canst take a contribution twice in one year, thou hast power also to make summer for us twice, and harvest-time twice.” These words were rhe- - torical, it is true, and not unpleasant for the high spirit of Antony ; but the speaker added in plain and bold words that Asia had given him two hundred thousand talents; “If,” said he, “thou hast not received this money, demand it from those who took it; but if thou didst receive it, and hast it not, we are undone.” This speech made a powerful im- pression upon Antony ; for he was ignorant of most that was going on, not so much because he was of an easy disposition, as because he was simple enough to trust those about him.

For there was simplicity in his nature, and slow- ness of perception, though when he did perceive his errors he showed keen repentance, and made full acknowledgement to the very men who had been unfairly dealt with, and there was largeness both in

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aporBas Kai Trept Tas Tiwpias. padroV ye HY
éSoxer yaptlopuevos rorabwv trepBarreuw TO pé-
Tplov. 7 O€ TEpt Tas Tablas Kal Tas émLoKMWets
LA > ec A ‘ , 3 A
dBpis év aitH To ddppaxov elyev. dvticxa yar
yap é&fv Kal avOvBpicat, ral yeropevos ovx 7T-

Tov yerov éxatpe. Kal todTo SveXupnvato Ta
TOANG TOY TpayuaTwVv. Tous yap év To traileww
mappnatatouevous ovx dv oinbels omovdatovtas
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KONAKEVELY AUTOV NALTKETO Padiws LITO THY é7rai-
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gov Aovopa TH Kodaxeia TrapamyvivTes apypouv
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TO TANT MLOY, TH Tapa THY KVALKA OpacUTHTL Kal
Nada Svaunyavopevor THY ert TOY TpaypaTov
\ e
igeow Kal ovyxatrdleow pn mwpos Yap opu-
NovvT@V, GAAA TH hpovely Hrrwpévwv paiver Oar.
XXV. Totovte 8 ody dvti tay hicw ’Avtovie
a Ul
TeXeutaiov Kkaxov 0 Kdeomdtpas épws érriyevo-
pevos, Kal TOAAGa Tov ért KpUTTTOMéevMY ev AUTO
Kat atpepovvtayv Taba éyeipas al avaBaxyev-
gas, el TL XpnoTov i) cwTnptoy Suws ayTetyer,
29 7 \ 141Q ey 7 be a
npavice Kai tpocdiepOeipev. arjioxetat 5é Tov-
Tov TOY TpOTTOV. aTmTo“Evos Tod IlapOLKod Troné-
pov émepryre pos auTny, KeNevov eis Kedrcxiav
aTravTnaat Noyov bdéEovcay wv éevexareito Tots
mept Kdacowov Sobtvat woAda Kal cupBaréobae
\ ;
mpbos Tov moXeuov. o S€ Tweudbels AéAXLos, OS
\ " a
ede THY Ow Kal Katéuabe thy év Tois AOyoLS
‘
Sewornta Kai travovpyiav, evOds aicOopuevos Ste

his restitution to the wronged and in his punishment of the wrong-doers. Yet he was thought to exceed due bounds more in conferring favours than in in- flicting punishments. And his wantonness in mirth and jest carried its own remedy with ih For a man might pay back his jests and insolénce, and he delighted in being laughed at no less than in laughing at others, And this vitiated most of his undertakings. For he could not believe that those who used _ bold speech in jest could flatter him in earnest, and so was easily captivated by their praises, not knowing that some men would mingle bold speech, like a piquant sauce, with flattery, and thus would take away from flattery its cloying character. Such men would use their bold babbling over the cups to make their submissive yielding in matters of business seem to be the way, not of those who associate with a man merely to please him, but of those who are vanquished by superior wisdom.

XXV. Such, then, was the nature of Antony, where now as a crowning evil his love for Cleopatra supervened, roused and drove to frenzy many - of the passions that were still hidden and quiescent in him, and dissipated and destroyed whatever good and saving qualities still offered resistance. And he was taken captive in this manner. As he was getting ready for the Parthian war, he sent to Cleopatra, ordering her to meet him in Cilicia in order to make answer to the charges made against her of raising and giving to Cassius much money for the war. But Dellius, Antony's messenger, when he saw how Cleopatra looked, and noticed her subtlety and cleverness in conversation, at once
1QI

a KO pev ovde peddrjoet Tt Trovei yuvaina Tovau-
THY "AvTavios, é Extat Oé peyiorn Tap auT@, Tpé-
METAL TPOS TO Geparrevewv Kat TpoTpeTrEr a THY
Aiyurtiav, TOUTO 57) To Opnpixor, érXOeiv eis
Kidcxiav ed éevtivacay & aitny Kal wn poBetcOa
tov "Avrw@vor, 76va Tov nYyEHOvOV dvTa Kal pur-
avOpwnoratov. n O€ Kal Acrrio mevabeioa, Kal
TOUS T pos Kaicapa Kal Tvaiov Tov Tloprniov
jwaida wpoTepov aura ryevopevors ag’ apas oup-
Bodators TeKUaLpoMeVn, pdov 7 HpAmbev vmafea bat
TOV “AvT@voy. éxeivou pev yap aur ay ere Kopny
Kal Tpary WaT ov diretpov éyvocay, T pos: 5é Tovrov
EwedAe poitncey év o padiora Karpov yuvaiKes
Gpav TE Naympordrny éxoucr kat TO dpoveiv
axudtovat. 610 TOAAG peey cwvEerKevacaro da@pa
Kal Xpnwara Kal Koopov olov eixos HV a0 mpary-
(pata peyddov Kal Bacireias evdaipovos Kopi-
Ceuv, Tas 6€ TAeloTAS ev éavtH Kal Tots Tept
auTny paryyavevpact Kal hirrpots érribas Oenevn
TAperyeveTo.
XXVI. Tova &é Kal Tap avrov Kat Tapa
TOV pidov Sexopevn ypdppara KahovvTo, obTw
KaTeppovnce kal KaTeyéhace Tov avdpos DOTE
whet ava TOV Kudvov ToT aWov év mopO pet \ pu-
TOTTpPULYe, TOV ev totioy adoupyav exTETTETAC-
pévev, TAS dé eipecias a dpyupais KOTEALS avapepo- —

peévns T pos avrov dpa ovpuyes Kat «rBdpats ouv-
Tppoc pevor. autn oé KATEKELTO pev v0 oxide
pvootacT@ KeKOo UNMevy ypapiras Gaomep
Agpodirn, maides dé tois ypadixois “Epwouy el-
Kacpeévot map éxatepov Ext ates EppimiCov. opoiws
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perceived that Antony would not so much as think of doing such a woman any harm, but that she would have the greatest influence with him. He therefore resorted to flattery and tried to induce the Egyptian to go to Cilicia “ decked out in fine array ’’} (as Homer would say), and not to be afraid | of Antony, who was the most agreeable and humane of commanders. She was persuaded by Dellius, and judging by the proofs which she had had before this of the effect of her beauty upon Caius Caesar and Gnaeus the son of Pompey, she had hopes that she would more easily bring Antony to her feet. - For Caesar and Pompey had known her when she was still a girl and inexperienced in affairs, but she was going to visit Antony at the very time when women have most brilliant beauty and are at the acme of intellectual power. Therefore she provided herself with many gifts, much money, and such ornaments as her high position and prosperous kingdom made it natural for her to take; but she went putting her greatest confidence in herself, and in the charms and sorceries of her own person. |

XXVI. Though she received many letters of summons both from Antony himself and from his friends, she so despised and laughed the man to scorn as to sail up the river Cydnus in a barge with gilded poop, its sails spread purple, its rowers urging it on with silver oars to the sound of the flute blended with pipes and lutes. She herself reclined beneath a canopy spangled with gold, adorned like Venus in a painting, while boys like Loves in paintings stood on either side and fanned her. Likewise also the

1 Iliad, xiv. 162, of Hera, decking herself for a meeting with Zeus.

5é cal Oepatravides ai Kaddotevovca Nypnidwv
éyovca kal Xapitwv crodras, ai pev pos oiakiw,
at 5€ mpos Kado Foav. odpal bé Oavyactal
Tas 6yOas amo Ovplauadtwy moAXA@V KaTeEiyov.
3 tov dé dvOperwy ot pév evOds ard Tov TroTapLod

Tapwydaptouy éExatépwlev, ot 5é ard THS TodEWS
xatéBawov émt thv Oéav. éxyeopevov Sé tov
Kata THY uyopay dyAoy TédOS aUTOS Oo AvT@VLOS
él Bnyatos KabeComevos amredeihOn povos. Kat
Tis Aoyos éywpe: dua wavtav was 7» ‘Adpodity
kwpato. wapa tov Avucov én’ aya0@ Tis
*"Acias.
"ErrepwWe pev ody KaXa@v adtiy él 7o Setmrvov:
n S€ padrrXov éxeivoy HnEiov ampos éauTny Hee.
4 evOus ovv tivda BovArAopmevos evKoNlayv émideixvu-
cat xal diroppoovvny virjxouce kal HAGEV. évtv-
xov 5é mapacKeun Aoyou KpeitTOVL WaMaTA TOY
gotav To TAOS éEeTAGyH. Tocaita yap Aé-
yetat xabiecOat Kai dvagaiverBar Tavtaydbev
dpa, Kat toravtats mpos GAAnNa KAlcect Kal
Gécect Staxexoopnpéva Kal cuvtetaypeva TraL-
ciwy Kal he as nd TPOT@, BETE TOV ev OdLyOLS
akiobedtav nal Kkarav éxeivny yevéer Oar THY Ove.
XXVII. TH & botepaia radu avOeotiav av-
Thy éptroTinOn yey vTEepBarécOat THY NawT po-
TnTa Kal Thy eupérerav, ado Sé AetTropevos,
Kat Kparovpevos év avTois exeivots, TP@TOS ETKW-
mTTEv els AVXpov Kal aypoiKiay Ta Trap avTe.
qwoduv 6€ 4 Kreorrdtpa cat tois ox@ppact ToD
"Avtwviov Tov otpatiaTny évopdaa xal Bavavaop,
EYpHTO Kal TOUT@ TpPOS aUTOV avEmevWs HON Kal
2 xatateBappynKotws. Kal yap jv, wos Aé€youawy,
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fairest of her serving-maidens, attired like Nereids and Graces, were stationed, some at the rudder-sweeps, and . others at the reefing-ropes. Wondrous odours from countless incense-offerings diffused themselves along the river-banks.. Of the inhabitants, some accom- panied her on either bank of the river from its very mouth, while others went down from the city to be- hold the sight. The throng in the market-place gradually streamed away, until at last Antony him- self, seated on his tribunal, was left alone. And a rumour spread on every hand that Venus was come to revel with Bacchus for the good of Asia.

Antony sent, therefore, and invited her to supper ; but she thought it meet that he should rather come to her. At once, then, wishing to display his com- placency and friendly feelings, Antony obeyed and went. He found there a preparation that beggared description, but was most amazed at the multitude of lights. For, as we are told, so many of these were let down and displayed on all sides at once, and they were arranged and ordered with so many inclinations and adjustments to each other in the form of rect- angles and circles, that few sights were so beautiful or so worthy to be seen as this.

XXVII. On the following day Antony feasted her in his turn, and was ambitious to surpass her splendour and elegance, but in both regards he was left behind, and vanquished in these very points, and was first to rail at the meagreness and rusticity of his own arrange- ments, Cleopatra observed in the jests of Antony much of the soldier and the common man, and adopted this manner also towards him, without re- straint now, and boldly. For her beauty, as we are

> \ \ 0d e_ AN \ / > A > 4 \
avTo pev Kal' avTo TO KadXOS auTns ov Tavu
SvoTrapaBrntov, ovee oloy exTrrHEae TOUS idovras,
apny & elev y ovvd.aitnats aPvKTOY, Fj TE Hopi
peTa THS ev T@ diareyea Gas midavorntos Kat Tob
mepiOeovTos & dua jaws mepl THY outriav WOous ave-
pepe TL KEVT POV. noovn O€ Kal POeyyoperns € emhy
TO 7X@" kal Thy yrOrray, Oaomep Spyavov TT
ToAUXopoor, EVTTETOS Tpémovaa Kal? jv Bovdorro
dudex ov Ohiyots Tavrdmact be EpUNvEDS | éve-
TUYyXaveE BapBapas, Tots bé TwrELsTOLS auTH ou
auras amedioov Tas amoxpicets, olov Aion,
Tpwyrodurass, 'EBpaiots, "Apaypt, Lvpors, M»n-
Sats, TapOvaioss. ToAN@V Oé Aeyerau kal GAXNov
éxpabeiy yAwrras, TOY po auTis Baciréwv
ovdeé THY Aiyumtiav avac YoMéeveov mapanraBeiv
Sudrextov, éviwy 5&€ Kal To paxedovilery éxd-
TOVTODY.
XXVIII. Otro & ovv tov 'AvT@vioy hptracev
OTE, TorEpovans pep év 'Poeun Kaicape Povr-
Bias THS yuvatkos vmrép T@V éxeivou Tpayuara,
aiwpoupevns dé TapOcxhs aTpartas mepl Tv Meao-
ToTapiay, Hs AaBtnvov oi Bacthéws oTparyyor
TapOucov dvaryopevcavTes avuToKpatopa uplas 9

émtBatevoew éweAAor, oixer as pepopmevov un
avrijs els 'AnreEdvdpesay, € exe' O€ perpakiov oXohny
aryovTos SiatpiBais Kal maouais Xpwmevov ava-
MaKe cal wadnouTrabeiv TO TOAUTENETTATOD, as
'Avripav eltrev, dvddwpa, TOY Kpovoy. Hy yap
TLS avrois guvodos apiunto Blov Neyouevn Kat
Kal nwépav elo TiOV GNA AOUS, drtarov Tlva
ToLoupevol TMV avadicKopevwY apeTpiav. din-
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told, was in itself not altogether incomparable, nor such as to strike those who saw her; but converse with her had an irresistible charm, and her presence, combined with the persuasiveness of her discourse and the character which was somehow diffused about her behaviour towards others, had something stimu- lating about it. There was sweetness also in the tones of her voice ; and her tongue, like an instrument of many strings, she could readily turn to what- ever language she pleased, so that in her interviews with Barbarians she very seldom had need of an interpreter, but made her replies to most of them: herself and unassisted, whether they were Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes or Parthians. Nay, it is said that she knew the speech of many other peoples also, although the kings of Egypt before her had not even made an effort to learn the native language, and some actually gave up their Macedonian dialect.

XXVIII. Accordingly, she made such booty of Antony that, while Fulvia his wife was carrying on war at Rome with Caesar in defence of her husband’s interests, and while a Parthian army was hovering about Mesopotamia (over this country the generals of the king had appointed Labienus Parthian com- mander-in-chief, and were about to invade Syria), he suffered her to hurry him off to Alexandria. There, indulging in the sports and diversions of a young man of leisure, he squandered and spent upon plea- sures that which Antiphon calls the most costly out- lay, namely, time. For they had an association called The Inimitable Livers, and every day they feasted one another, making their expenditures of incredible profusion. At any rate, Philotas, the

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

yetto you nuav T@ wanT® Aapmpia Pirwtas o
> \ > \ 9 2 b | 4
Apiocers ear poy eluate pev io Anrefavdpeig
Tore, pavOdver thy TéexYnY, yevomevos SE TUE TOV
Bacittxay ootro@y cuvnOns avatretcOjvat véos
dy um avtod tHv moAdvTédeay Kal THY TTrapa-
axeuny Tov Seitvou Oedcacbat. trapecayels odv
els TOUTTAVELOY, WS Ta TE AXA TapTOAXA éEWpa
Kal ads aypious om@Twpévous oKT@, Oavpacat TO
TAHVos Tav SetrvotvTwV. Tov 5é dYroTroLoy yEAG-
‘gat Kal eitreiv Ste TroANOL pev OvK eioly ot Set-
mvoovtes, ANXA Tepl Sadexa: Sei & anny Eyer
TOY TapaTiOepnévwy ExacTov, iy axapés Wpas pa-

paive. xal yap avtixa yévot av >Avtwvov
Seimrvou SenOjvar nai peta puxpov, av O€ ovTw
TUX], Tapayayeiv aitncavta ToTnpLoy 7} Noyou
Twos éumecovtos. SOev ovy Ev, adrAA TOAAAM,
davai, Seimva cuvrétaxtar Succtoyaatos yap o
Katpos. TavtTa ovv o Pirwras édeye, cal ypovov
mpoiovros év tois Oepamrevovat yevécOat Tov Tpe-
aoBvratov tav Avrwviou trraidwv, dv éx PovrABias
elye, kal cuvdeirveiy Tap avT@ pEeTa TOV GA\XNWY
éraipwy émetnas, omdte yy SevTvoin peta Tov
TaTpOS. tatpoyv ovv tote Opacuvopevoy Kat Tmpa-
yeata TOAAa Trapéyovta Setrvodew auTois ére-
aTopica, TolovT® codicpate “T@ Tws TupeT-
tovtt Sotéov vuxpov: mas dé 0 TupéTTMY TAS
TUpPETTEL’ TrAVYTL Apa TupeTTovrTe Sotéov vuypov.”
mAnyévtos 5é Tov avOpwrov Kal otwrnoavTos,
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physician of Amphissa, used to tell my grandfather, Lamprias, that he was in Alexandria at this time, studying his profession, and that having got well acquainted with one of the royal cooks, he was easily persuaded by him (young man that he was) to take a view of the extravagant preparations for a royal supper. Accordingly, he was introduced into the kitchen, and when he saw all the other provisions in great abundance, and eight wild boars a-roasting, he expressed his amazement at what must be the number of the guests. But the cook burst out laugh- ing and said: “ The guests are not many, only about twelve ; but everything that is set before them must be at perfection, and this an instant of time reduces. For it might happen that Antony would ask for supper immediately, and after a little while, perhaps, would postpone it and call for a cup of wine, or en- gage in conversation with some one. Wherefore,’ he said, “not one, but many suppers are arranged ; for the precise time is hard to hit.” This tale, then, Philotas used to tell; and he said also that as time went on he became one of the medical attendants of Antony’s oldest son, whom he had of Fulvia, and that he usually supped with him at his house in com- pany with the rest of his comrades, when the young man did not sup with his father. Accordingly, on one occasion, as a physician was making too bold and giving much annoyance to them as they supped, Philotas stopped his mouth with some such sophism as this: “To the patient who is somewhat feverish cold water must be given; but everyone who has a fever is somewhat feverish; therefore to everyone who has a fever cold water should be given.” The fellow was confounded and put to silence, whereat

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noOevTa tov Ttatda yeAdoat Kal etrretv, “ Tatra,
,
® Diora, yapifopat mavta aot,” detEavra Trod-
NOV TLVaY Kal peyddov ExTOLATwY pEcTHY TPA-

9 fe) \ AS \ , >
metav. avtTov € thy pev wpoOumiay atrodcE~a-
+ ce) 9
pévou, Troppw & ovtTos Tov vopuivey éEovaiay elvat
UA “A le
TaLol THALKOUT® SwpEeic Oat TOTadTA, META [LKPOV
ayrdpevov tiva Tov Traidwy év ayyeio Ta éexTo-
pata mpocdpépev Kal onunvacbar KerXeverv. ado-
vou 6€ avTov Kal SedotxoTos AaBeww, ‘Ti
gtoupévouv O€ auTov Kai dSedotxotos AaBPei, 5
° , ” , \ ” «2? a. 9°
® wovnpe, pavat tov avOpwrrov, “ oxveis ; ovK
9 e e \ > 4 a > et “
oldas ws 0 btd0vs ‘Avtwviov trais éaotiv, @ Toaad-
Ta Tdpeott yYpvoa yYapicacGar; éyol pévTor
\ “
mevOopnevos mravtTa Sudpenpar mpos apyupicy Hpiv:
e wn
laws yap ay cal moOnceev o Tatnp gia TOV
Tadaav dvta Kal orroviatopevwy Kata THY TEX-
99 A wn e
pny Epywv. TavTA pEev OdY Huty EXeyev oO TATTOS
¢ 2 a \ , :
éxaotote OunyetoOar tov Pirwrav.
XXIX. “H 6¢ KAeorratpa thy Kxodaxeiay ovy;
e / A fel .
@otrep o IlAdtwy pyoi, teTpayy, moddayyn be
SueAodaa, Kal orovdns amtopéev@ cat mabias aei
A
Twa Kawny noovnv émupépovoa Kal ydpwv, Sdte-
\
qmaaywye. Tov "AvT@vLoy OUTE VUKTOS OUTE T)ME-
pas aveioca. Kal yap avvexvBeve cai ouvérive
4 \ , 9 i b] a
Kal ouveOrpeve Kal yupvalopevov év Srrros Oea-
To, Kal vuKTwp TpoctcTapév@ Ouvpats Kal Oupicr
a \ as
OnmoTtav Kal oxwmtovtt Tovs évdov auveTrAAVaTO
, \ ‘
kal cuvndrve Oeparratvidiov otoAny ANauRavovaa.
Kal yap éxetvos oUTws éretpato oKxevadley EauTor.
4 > N a lA ‘ \ n
S0ev adel ckoppatwv, trodddKis b€ Kal TAnyOV
200

Antony’s son was delighted and said with a laugh: « All this 1 bestow upon thee, Philotas,” pointing to a table covered with a great many large beakers. Philotas acknowleded his good intentions, but was far from supposing that a boy so young had the power to give away so much. After a little while, however, one of the slaves brought the beakers to him in a sack, and bade him put his seal upon it. And when Philotas protested and was afraid to take them, “You miserable man,” said the fellow, “ why hesi- tate? Don’t you know that the giver is the son of Antony, and that he has the right to bestow so many golden vessels? However, take my advice and ex- change them all with us for money ; since perchance the boy’s father might miss some of the vessels, which are of ancient workmanship and highly valued for their art.”” Such details, then, my grandfather used to tell me, Philotas would recount at every opportunity. XXIX. But Cleopatra, distributing her flattery, not into the four forms of which Plato speaks,! but into many, and ever contributing some fresh delight and charm to Antony’s hours of seriousness or mirth, kept him in constant tutelage, and released him neither night nor day. She played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and watched him as he exercised himself in arms; and when by night he would station himself at the doors or windows of the common folk and scoff at those within, she would go with him on his round of mad follies, wearing the garb of a serving maiden, For Antony also would try to array himself like a servant. Therefore he always reaped a harvest of abuse, and often of blows, before coming back

1 Gorgias, p. 464.

amohavaas éeravnpyeto: Tois 5é mAEtaToLs HY Se
UTovolas. ov pny dAXA Tpocéyalpoy avTOD TH
Bwporoyxia cal ouvéralov ovx appvOpws ovde
dpovows Ot AreEavdpeis, ayatravres Kal NéyorTes
as TO TpayiK@ ™pos TOUS ‘Papaious NphtTas Tt poc~
OTTO, 7 5é dope ™pos abrous.
Ta pév ovv TOAAA ToaY Un’ avTod Tratlopévar
SinyetaOat trodrvs av en prvapos: erel Sé ddcevwv
Tote Kal ducaypav nxXGeTo mapovens TAS Kreomrd-
> + AY e a e , Ul

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T@ ayKiaTpy mepicadam rey ixGis TOV Tm poeadwo-
KoTwv, kat dis 7 tpls dvacmacas ovx édAade THY
Aiyurtiayv. mpoomotouvpevn S€ Oavpafey tots
dirous Sunyeiro, Kai Tapenade, TH VaoTEpaia yeve-
cOai Geatas. éuBavrwv dé ToAXNOY eis Tas adLG-
das xal.tovd ’Avtwviov thy opusav xalévtos,
éxéXevoe Tiva TOY aUTHAS bTopOdacavta Kal Tpoc-
ynfapevoyv TO ayxiotpe@ wepitretpar Llovtiwoy ta-
pixos. ws 5é éxeww Teabels o Avt@vos avetdxe,

/ z > , : 4 rT} 10 ec oA ”
yéAWTOS, Olov eLKos, yevouevou, “ Ilapados nuiv,
wv ‘ \ / 9 , A 4
ébn, “ Tov Kddapov, avToKpatop, Tois Papitais
kal KavwBirais adedouv") 4 5é on Onpa worets
etal Kat Baciretar Kat HTeLpoL.
XXX. Toradra Anpodvta Kal petpaxtevopevov
tov "Avtw@viov ayyeriat Sv0 cataXapBavovour, 7
‘ 5) xv ¢ , 4 \ 9 \ > A A
‘pev atro ‘Popns, Aevxcov tov aderdov avtod ral
PovrABiav thv yuvaixa mpO@tov aAXAnNOLS TTacta-
/ a 9
cavtas, elra Kaicaps troveunoartas, aTroBeBXn-
1 arcetow Bekker, after Hiillman : BacsAciow,

home; though most people suspected who he was. However, the Alexandrians took delight in his coarse wit, and joined in his amusements in their graceful and cultivated way; they liked him, and said that he used the tragic mask with the Romans, but the comic mask with them.

Now, to recount the greater part of his boyish pranks would be great nonsense. One instance will suffice. He was fishing once, and had bad luck, and was vexed at it because Cleopatra was there to see. He therefore ordered his fishermen to dive down and secretly fasten to his hook some fish that had been previously caught, and pulled up two or three of them. But the Egyptian saw through the trick, and pretending to admire her lover’s skill, told her friends about it, and invited them to be spectators of it on the following day. So great numbers of them got into the fishing boats, and when Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her own attendants to get the start of him by swimming to his hook and fastening on it a salted Pontic herring. Antony thought he had caught something, and pulled it up, whereupon there was great laughter, as was natural, and Cleopatra said: “Imperator, hand over thy fishing-rod to the fishermen of Pharos and Canopus; thy sport is the hunting of cities, realms, and continents.”

XXX. While Antony was indulging in such

triles and youthful follies, he was surprised by reports from two quarters: one from Rome, that Lucius his brother and Fulvia his wife had _ first quarrelled with one another, and then had waged war with Octavius Caesar, but had lost their cause
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‘Kevau Ta Tpaywara Kal pevyetv é& ‘IraXas, érépa dé tavrns ouder emerkerTépa, AaBinvoy emdyovTa Tldp8ous Tv an Ev¢pdrov kal Lupias aype Avdias wal "Iwvias ‘Aciay xata- orpeperbar. pods ody @ormep éEurvicbels Kab amokpaimadnaas adpynce pev TlapOos évi- oracOat Kal péxpe Powixns mponnroe, PovaBias dé ypaupara _Fpniver peora TEWTOVINS e7ré- oTpepev els THY ‘IraAay, & ayov vais Staxoctas. avaraBav dé Kata trovy Tov pirav TOUS Tepevyoras émuvO avero TOD TOE HOU thv Dovr- Biav aitiay yeyovevat, duce pev ovoayv ToAv- mpaypova Kal Opaceiav, éhmrifovcay be THS KyXeotrdtpas arakew tov “Avt@moy et te yévotto Kivnua mept tHv ‘Iradiav. cup Pacver be amo Tuyns Kal | PovrBiav Wéovcay Tos avrov év LuKvave vor TENEUTHO AL’ 610 Kal padrov at T pos Kaicapa Siadrayal _kaupov Eaxov. WS yap Tpooe ute 77 ‘Itadia Kai Kaicap mv avepos exeivp pev ovGev éyearaon, avTos 8 ov evexaretTo Tas aitias TH PovdBia mpoa TptBopevos, OUK ELwY efedeyxeuv oi dirou THY mpopacw, adda buéAvov appor epous a tnpouv THY nyepoviar, Spov TOLOUMEVOL TOV "Lovtoy, Kal Ta pev E@a véporTes Avtavig, Ta & om épua Kaicapt, “Aémidov 8é AtBiny every e@vTes, Dmarevery bé ra€avtes, bre pn Sokevey avtois, dirdovs exatépwy Tapa pépos.
XXXI. Taira exeuv Karas Soxobvra TLTTEWS edeiTo cpodpotépas, 7, iy nh TvyN Tapes Xev. "Ox- Taovia yap mv aderdn Cera vire pév, OVX opo-
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ANTONY

and were in flight from Italy; and another, not a whit more agreeable than this, that Labienus at the head

of the Parthians was subduing Asia from the Euphrates and Syria as far as Lydia and Ionia. At last, then, like a man roused from sleep after a deep debauch, he set out to oppose the Par- thians, and advanced as far as Phoenicia;! but on receiving from Fulvia a letter full of lamentations, he turned his course towards Italy, at the head of two hundred ships. On the voyage, however, he picked up his friends who were in flight from Italy, and learned from them that Fulvia had been to blame for the war, being naturally a meddlesome and headstrong woman, and hoping to draw Antony away from Cleopatra in case there should be a dis- turbance in Italy. It happened, too, that Fulvia, who was sailing to meet him, fell sick and died at Sicyon. Therefore there was even more opportunity for a reconciliation with Caesar. For when Antony reached Italy, and Caesar manifestly intended to make no charges against him, and Antony himself was ready to put upon Fulvia the blame for whatever: was charged against himself, the friends of the two men would not permit any examination of the proffered excuse, but reconciled them, and divided up the em- pire, making the Ionian sea a boundary, and assigning the East to Antony, and the West to Caesar; they also permitted Lepidus to have Africa, and arranged that, when they did not wish for the office themselves, the friends of each should have the consulship by turns. XXXI. These arrangements were thought to be fair, but they needed a stronger security, and this security Fortune offered. Octavia was a sister of Caesar, older than he, though not by the same

1 Towards the end of the year. 40 B.c.

pntpia dé Kaicapu: eryeyover yap e& "Ayxaptas, 6
6é tatepov €§ "Arias. éorepye 5° breppuas THY
aderdyp, Xpy pa. Javpacrtov, ws AéyeTat, yuvarros
yevoperny. arn, Taiov Mapxédnovu TOU YI MAaVTOS -

avTny ov mada teOvnKoTOS, eX pever. edoxet b€
Kal Povdfias aTrotxouerns Xnpeverv ‘AvT@vLOS,
exetv pev OUK dpvovpevos Kneordrpay, yape dé
oux opohoya, GAn’ étt TO oye Tepi ye TOUTOU
7 ps Tov épwra HS Aiyurtias PaXouevos.
TOUTOV aTavres eLanyoovTo Tov yapor, éxmrifovtes
THY ‘Oxraoviay emi KaNAEL TOTOUT® ceuvornta
Kal voov Exoveay, eis TaUTOY TO “Avtovi
Taparyevouerny Kat orepxGeicar, Qs eLKOS TOLaU- THY Yyuvaixa, TaVvTOY T paryuarov avTois
TwTnpiav

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pots, dvaBavtes Ets ‘Pony emer éNouy Tov
Oxraovias ydmov, OUK é@vTOS péeyv vopou 7 po
Séca pnvev avdpos TENET IO AVTOS yapeio Oar, Tis
Se cuyKArjrouv Soypate Tov xpovov éxelvols avei-

ons.
XXXII. LéFrou Sé Tloparniov Xuxediav pev
EXOvTOS, ‘Irahiav 6é sropOoivros, Anetpict dé
vaval TodNais, Ov Mnvas 0 TeipaTys Kat Meve-
Kparns TPXOV, admXouv tTHv OdNacoay TWETOLNKOTOS,
"Avravio 6é Kexpio Oat Soxobvros prravbpomas
(wredéEato yap avTov THY pntépa Th Povr Bia
ouverTrecovoav), edoke Kal Tm pos ToUTOY Siadv-
Ojvat. Kat ouvt Pov els TavTov KaTa THY év
Meonvois axpav Kal To Xo pear, Tlopant fev Tov
oTONOV TapoppLOUYToOS, “Avrovig be Kat Kaicape
TOV melov Tapakexpipevor. éret 6¢ cuvéberto
Tlopmrniov é exovTa Lapoova Kal Yrerlav cabapay
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o

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ANTONY

mother; for shé was the child of Ancharia, but he, by a later marriage, of Atia. Caesar was exceed- ingly fond of his sister,“-who was, as the saying is, a wonder of a woman. Her husband, Caius Mar- cellus, had died a short time before, and she was a widow. Antony, too, now that Fulvia was gone, was held to be a widower, although he did not deny his relations with Cleopatra; he would not admit, however, that she was his wife, and in this

~matter his reason was still battling with his love for the Egyptian. Everybody tried to bring about this marriage. For they hoped that Octavia, who, besides her great beauty, had intelligence and dignity, when united to Antony and beloved by him, as such a woman naturally must be, would restore harmony and be their complete salvation. Accordingly, when both men were agreed, they went up to Rome and cele- brated Octavia’s marriage, although the law did not permit a woman to marry before her husband had been dead ten months. In this case, however, the senate passed a decree remitting the restriction in time.
XXXII. Now, Sextus Pompeius was holding Sicily, was ravaging Italy, and, with his numerous piratical ships under the command of Menas the corsair and Menecrates, had made the sea unsafe for sailors. But he was thought to be kindly disposed towards

Antony, since he had given refuge to Antony's mother when she fled from Rome with Fulvia, and so it was decided to make terms with him. The men met at the promontory and mole of Misenum, near which Pompey's fleet lay at anchor and the forces of Antony and Caesar were drawn up. After it had been agreed that Pompey should have
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Te AnoTHpiov TapexeLy THY Oddarray kal citov TL TETAYMEVOV amootéAXrew els "Pounv, éedrouv ent deimrvov addnrous. kAnpoupevov dé TP@TOS éoreay avtovs éhaye Toprrios. épopévou bé auTov "Avtwviou, Tow deumynaovaty, - "Evratéa," a beiEas TH otparnyiba vabv ovoav efnpy

' TaTp@os yap olxos abtn Hopmnip AeevrraL." tavTa 5é ets TOV 'AvT@viov overdiSoov éneyen, € émel THY Tloprniov rob TAT POS ryevomeévny oixiay exel- vos elyev. oppioas &é THV vavy err' _ ayKupav Kal didBaciv Twa yepupwaas ard THIS axpas avendp- Bavev avTous mpoOupos. axpalovons dé Ths guvovatas Kal Tov els Kycoratpay ral "Avraviov avOovyTwv TKOULATOY, Mnvas O TeLparns TO Hoparnio mpocehO wv as pa KaTaKovel Exelvous, . Bovneu," dat, 'Tras ayxvpas THIS VEWS UTOTE LO Kal Troinow oe By ZuKedias Kat 2a pdovos, anna Tis Popator KUpLov Hyepovias ; " 0 6€ Tloumrnios axovoas Kal T pos avuT@ yevopievos Bpaxdy 0- vov, "Eder oe, pyatr, « e Mnva, TOUTO €4L0b pr, mpoevréyra Tounoa port 6é Ta TapovTa orép- youe" em vopKety yap ouK euov." ovToS HEV ouv wad avOectiabeis Um audotépwv eis THY LKE- Nay arémevcev.
XX XIII. "AvTe@vtos dé pera Tas Starvoes Ovevtidvoy pev ets "Aciapv mpouTremtre Tapas éumrodany eo opevov TOU Tpoow wpeiy, autos 6é€ Kaicape xapilopevos lepevs are el On Tov Wpo- Tépov Kaicapos: nal Tara OWES Kat PrruKas év Tots TONTLKOIS Kal peylaTous émpartov. ai oe mept Tas Tatdsds GtArXat Tov "AvTw@vioy éXvroUV
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Sardinia and Sicily, should keep the sea clear of robbers, and should send up to Rome a stipulated amount of grain, they invited one another to supper. Lots were cast, and it was the lot of Pompey to entertain the others first. And when Antony asked him where the supper would be held, “ There,’ said he, pointing to his admiral’s ship with its six banks of oars, “for this is the ancestral house that is left to Pompey.”’ This he said by way of reproach to An- tony, who was now occupying the house which had belonged to the elder Pompey. So he brought his ship to anchor, made a sort of bridge on which to cross to it from the-headland, and gave his guests a hearty welcome on board. When their good fellow- ship was at its height and the jokes about Antony and Cleopatra were in full career, Menas the pirate came up to Pompey and said, so that the others could not hear, “Shall I cut the ship’s cables and make thee master, not of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire?’’ Pompey, on hearing this, communed with himself a little while, and then said: ‘ Menas, you ought to have done this without speaking to me about it beforehand ; but now let us be satisfied with things as they are ; for perjury is not my way.” Pompey, then, after being feasted in his turn by Antony and Caesar, sailed back to Sicily. XXXIII. After this settlement, Antony sent Ven- tidius on ahead into Asia to oppose the further progress of the Parthians, while he himself, as a favour to Caesar, was appointed to the priesthood of the elder Caesar ;1 everything else also of the most important political nature they transacted together and in a friendly spirit. But their competitive diversions gave

1 That is, he was made Pontifex Maximus.

2 ae Tob Kaicapos ENaTTOv pepopevor. qv yap
TOs avnp ovv auTe PavTLKos an Alyorrou TOV
Tas yevérers eTLTKOTIOVYT OY, Os elTe KAcorarpg
xapulouevos elTE Xpwpevos arn Geta Tos Tov
Avt@viov emappnotatero, Aeyov THY TUXND aurov
AapTrpoTAaTHY ovaav Kal peyloTny vTo THs Kai.
capos apavpoba Gat, kal cuveBovreve TOppwoTarw
Tov veavioxou Trotely éautov. “‘O yap aos,"
épn, “Saipov TOV TOUTOU poBetrar Kal yaupos
av Kal iypndos éTay i cal? €éauTov, um’ éxelvov
yiveTat TATELVOTEPOS eyyicavtos Kal ayevvéote-
3 pos.” Kal pévroi Ta yevopeva TO Aiyurrtip

paptupelv edoxet. Aéyerau yap bre _KANpoUpevary
peta tabias ép’ Tw TUX OLED éxda rote Kal
xuBevovrov éXatrov éywv o ’AvTwvos amr net.
TONAGKIS b¢ cupBarovtav GdexT pvovas, TONAG-
Kus 6é Paxipous optuyas, évixwv ot Kaicapos.
Eg’ ols av lerpevos adios 0 “AVTOVLOS cal

paddov Tl TP AiyuTrig Tpoaexwr, arrijpev ex
tis “ItaXas, eyxerploas Kaicape Ta oiKxeta THY
dé ‘Oxraoviay axe Tis "EAXabos éernyero Ou-
4 yatpiov yeyovoros aurois. Staxeruafovre 6é
aut@ tept’ A@nvas arraryyédheTar Ta mpara TOV
Ovevtdiov Katopapdarov, 6 OTe pax tous Ilap-
Gous KpaThaas AaBenvov airexTovot Kal Papva-
TwaTny TYE MOVLK@TATOV TeV ‘Tpadou Bactréws
oTparnyay. érl Tovrois eioTtia TOUS "EAAnvas, 931
eyupvacidpyxer dé "AOnvaioss, xal Ta THS nyepovias
Tapacnpa, KATA TOD oiKou pera TOV yupvaciap-
Xena paBdwv év iparrte kal hatxaciow mponer
cat SarapBdvev rovs veavioxous érpaynrbev.
ANTONY

Antony annoyance, because he always came off with
less than Caesar. Now, there was with him a seer
from Egypt, one of those who cast nativities. This
man, either as a favour to Cleopatra, or dealing truly
with Antony, used frank language with him, saying
that his fortune, though most great and splendid,
was obscured by that of Caesar; and he advised
Antony to put as much distance as possible between
himself and that young man. “For thy guardian
genius,” said he, “is afraid of his; and though it
has a spirited and lofty mien when it is by itself,
when his comes near, thine is cowed and humbled by
it.” And indeed events seemed to testify in favour of
the Egyptian. For we are told that whenever, by
way of diversion, lots were cast or dice thrown to
decide matters in which they were engaged, Antony
came off worsted. They would often match cocks,
and often fighting quails, and Caesar's would always
be victorious.
At all this Antony was annoyed, though he did not show it, and giving rather more heed now to the Egyptian, he departed from Italy, after putting his private affairs in the hands of Caesar; and he took Octavia with him as far as Greece (she had borne him a daughter). It was while he was spending the winter at Athens that word was brought to him of the first successes of Ventidius, who had conquered the Parthians in battle and slain Labienus, as well as Pharnapates, the most capable general of King Hyrodes. To celebrate this victory Antony feasted the Greeks, and acted as gymnasiarch for the Athen- ians. He left at home the insignia of his command, and went forth carrying the wands of a gymnasiarch, in a Greek robe and white shoes, and he would take the young combatants by the neck and part them.

2u1
p 2

XXXIV. ’E&sévas 5é wérArXwv él tov rodepov
A A /
aro THS Lepas éXatas orépavov édaPe, Kal kata
TL AOyLoy amo THS KAeYvdpas Udaros éumAnod-
prevos ayyetov éxopstev. év tovrm Sé Idx«opov
tov Bactdéws traida, peydrw otpat@ Idpbav
avOis eat Supiav édXav’vovta, cupmrecwmv OQuvev-
, DJ “a A , N ,
tidtos év TH Kuppnotixy tpétetat, cai dvadOerper
, ,
jTapuTodXous, év mpwtors LIlaxdpou ecovtos.
TOUTO TO Epyov év ToiS doLdtuwTAaTOLS yEevomevor
¢€ “A :
Pwpaios te tav cata Kpdooov atuynpdtov
54 \ / \ , 9 ¥
ExtrAcw Trowny Tapecye, Kal IldpOous avOes ciow
Mndias xat Meoorotapias ovvéoretre, tpl
4 > “A \ 4 e , %- /
payass edeEns Kata xpadtos Hrtnuévous. Ovévti-
5:05 b¢ TlapOovs wév mpocwtépw Si@xey aréyvo,
4. b] , / \ \ 9 ”
dOovov ‘Avrwviov deicas, tTovs b€ adectatas
3 N , \ ‘ N\ b | é
eriav Kateotpepeto Kal tov Kopupaynvov ‘Avtt-
oxov év TodEL Dapoodrors érroALopKet. SEeopévov
\ li 4 le) ‘ a b] 4 N
dé ytALa Tadavta Sodvar Kai Troveiy ‘AvTwVi@ TO
Ul
TpocTaTTo-eEvoy, exéXeve TrEwTrELY TrPOS AVTWVLOV.
” Ne Nd ee Ge . _\ ’ , >
non yap éyyus Hy éwi@v, kal Tov Ovevtidvov ove
ela otrévdeoOa. TO ’Avtioy@, Bovropevos Ev ye
TOUTO TaV Epyav émMvupOY avTOD yevéoOaL Kal pH
/ \ 3 , le) A \
mwavra Sa Ovdevtidiov xatropOoicbar. rhs 5é
moALopKias pcos NapBavovons Kal TOV Evdov, WS
, /
aTréyvwoav tas Siadvoets, Tpos aAKTY TpaTrope-
,
VOV, TpaTTwY ovdEér, év aicyvyn bé Kal peTayvo-
f A / /
GEL YEVOMEVOS, AyaTNTaS emt TpiaKociots o7réevde-
ANTONY

XXXIV. When he was about to go forth to the war, he took a wreath from the sacred olive-tree,! and, in: obedience to a certain oracle, filled a vessel with water from the Clepsydra? and carried it with him. In the meantime Pacorus, the king’s son, advanced again with a large army of Parthians against Syria; but Ventidius engaged and routed him in Cyrrhestica, and slew great numbers of his men.’ Pacorus fell among the first. This exploit, which became one of the most celebrated, gave the Romans full satisfaction for the disaster under Crassus, and shut the Parthians up again within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia, after they had been utterly defeated in three successive battles. Ven- tidius, however, decided not to pursue the Parth- ians further, because he feared the jealousy of Antony; but he attacked and subdued the peoples which had revolted from Rome, and besieged Antio- chus of Commagené in the city of Samosata. When Antiochus proposed to pay a thousand talents and obey the behests of Antony, Ventidius ordered him to send his proposal to Antony, who had now advanced into the neighbourhood, and would not permit Ven- tidius to make peace with Antiochus. He insisted that this one exploit at least should bear his own name, and that not all the successes should be due to Ventidius. But the siege was protracted, and the — besieged, since they despaired of coming to terms, betook themselves to a vigorous defence. Antony could therefore accomplish nothing, and feeling ashamed arid repentant, was glad to make peace with

1 In the Erechtheium, on the Acropolis.

2 A sacred spring just below the ancient portal of the Acropolis (Pausanias, i. 28, 4).
8 In 38 B.c. See the Crassus, xxxiii. 5, with the note.

Tal TANGYTOLS Trpos TOV “Avtioyor" Kat PLiKpa TOV
éy Yupia xatactnodpevos ets AOnvas éravnnrbe,
kat tov Ovevridiov ols Emperre Tiunoas ereprpev
él tov OpiauBov.
5 Odtos dro IldpOwv ayps Sedpo reOpcayBevKe
HOvos, avnp yévet pev adpavys, atroravaas Sé TIS
"Avtowviou didias 7O AaBelv adopyas mpakewv
peydrwv, als xadAdoTa ypnodpevos éBeBaiwce
tov mepi Avtwviou Neyouevov cat Kaicapos o-
yov, @ evTuyéoTepor St Erépwv Hoav 7 Sv abrav
6 otparnyev. Kal yap Yoootos "Avtwviov otpa-
TnYyos €v Yupia TWoAAa Sverrpatreto, cat Kavidsos
atrorehbels vr’ avrovd Tepi Appeviav Tovtous TE
vixav Kal tous IBypwv cai ’AXBavav Baciréas
aypt tov Kavedcov mpondOev. ad’ dv ev rois
BapRapos dvopa nat xr€os nbEeto tis "Avrwviou
Suvdpes. |
XXXV. Adtos S€ wadiy & tivwv S:aBor.ov
mapotuvlels mpos Kaicapa vavol tpiaxocias

érdet mpos THY “Itadiav: od SeEauévwv 88 trav
Bpevrecivav rov orodop eis Tdpavta weptmppicev.
évtadda tv ‘Oxtaoviay (cuvérrer yap amo THs
“EAXdSb0s avt@) SenPeicay amoméumet mpos Tov
aberpor, &yxvov péev ovoav, dn 5é cat dSevTepov
2 €£ avrov Ouyatpioy Exovoav. 17 Sé amavrncaca
xa’ odov Kaicapt, cai wmaparaBovoa trav éxeivou
gditov “Aypimmayv cat Mauxnvav, éveriyxave
TOANG TOTVLMpEVH Kal TOAAA Seomévyn pi TeEpti-
Sety avtnv éx paxapiwtarns yuvatkos aOM\wra-
THY yevonevnv. vov pev yap atravras avOpwrrous
cis avtny admoBvérey av’toxpatopwy Svely, tov
3 pev yuvaixa, ToD b€ adeAdny ovcav: “ei Sé ta

Antiochus on his payment of three hundred talents.
After settling some trivial matters in Syria, he
returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius home, with
becoming honours, to enjoy his triumph.
Ventidius is the only man up to the present time
who ever celebrated a triumph over the Parthians.
He was a man of lowly birth, but his friendship with
Antony bore fruit for him in opportunities to perform
great deeds. Of these opportunities he made the
best use, and so confirmed what was generally said of
Antony and Caesar, namely, that they were more
successful in campaigns conducted by others than by
themselves. For Sossius, Antony's general, effected
much in Syria, and Canidius, who was left by Antony
in Armenia, conquered that people, as well as the
kings of the Iberians and Albanians, and advanced
as far as the Caucasus. Consequently the name and
fame of Antony’s power waxed great among the
Barbarians.

XXXV. But Antony himself, once more irritated against Caesar by certain calumnies, sailed with three hundred ships for Italy; and when the people of Brundisium would not receive his armament, he coasted along to Tarentum. Here he sent Octavia, who had sailed with him from Greece, at her own request, to her brother. She was with child, and had already borne Antony two daughters. Octavia met Caesar on the way, and after winning over his friends Agrippa and Maecenas, urged him with many prayers and many entreaties not to permit her, after being a most happy, to become a most wretched woman. For now, she said, the eyes of all men were drawn to her as the wife of one imperator and the sister of another: “ But if,’’ she said, “the worse

xelpeo KpaTnoecer, Epn, “ nal yévorTo TONEHOS,
Umav pev adnrov 6 OT@ Kparety 7 kpateiabat Té-
TpwrTat, Ta ema 5 duporépas Orta.” TovTots
émuxhacdels o 0 Kaioap HEV elpnuiKas eis Tdpav-
Ta, Kal Géapa KadMor ov ot Tapovres eJewvro,
TONUY pev ex yHs oT parov nouxatovra, Todas
5é vads arpéya ™ pos Tols airyeanois éxoveas, av-
TOY b¢ Kab pidov aTrAVvT TELS Kal piroppocvvas.
etatia 6€ “AvT@vios T pOTEpos, Kal ToUTO TH aded-
on Kaioapos Sovros. érrei bé @poroynTo Kai-
capa pev "Avtavig Sobvas dv0 Tdyuata mpos TOV
TlapOcxov TONELOD, "Avroviov 5é Kaicapt XaNK-
enBorous ExaTOv, 'Oxraovia TOV Gpororynmeveny
Xwpis iTHTaTo TH per adeAg@ Tapa rob _avdpos
elkoot pvomrdpwvas, TO S dvdph Tapa TOU aoed-
gov oTPATLATAS xXurious. ovtTw 6é adhrAnrov
Stax pibevres o pev evdds elyeTo Tov T pos Tlop-
mHiov TONE HOU, Lixehias eprepevos, ‘AvTovios be
"Oxtaoviay pera TOV é& éxeivns xal TOUS ex
Dovafias maidas avT@ Tapaxatabéuevos eis THY
"Aciav atrerépacev.
XXXVI. Eédoveoa & n dev cuppopa Xpovov
TONUY, o KnXeordtpas épas, Soxa@v Kxatevvdobat
Kat KaTaxexnrijo Gat tois BeAtioct Aoyio pots,
ates avédaprre Kal ave dppev Lupia WwANGLG-
Covros avTov. Kal TENOS, @oTTEp nat 6 TWAdtov
70 SvoTreOés Kal axoXacTov THs puxiis vmotv-
ytov, amoNaKtioas TA Kaka Kal cwTHpLla TavrTa
Karitwva Dovrniov emeprpev afovra KAcomdtpav
els Zupiav. ErXOovan 5é xapiver at Kal mT poo Ti-
Onot puxpov oddev od8 ominnaM arrAa PDowirny,
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should prevail and there should be war between you, one of you, it is uncertain which, is destined to conquer, and one to be conquered, but my lot in either case will be one of misery.”” Caesar was overcome by these words, and came in a peaceful manner to Tarentum. Then the inhabitants beheld a most noble

spectacle—a large army on land inactive, and many ships lying quietly off shore, while the commanders and their friends met one another with friendly greetings. Antony entertained Caesar first, who consented to it for his sister's sake. And after it had been agreed that Caesar should give to Antony two legions for his Parthian war, and Antony to Caesar one hundred bronze-beaked galleys, Octavia, independently of this agreement, obtained twenty light sailing craft from her husband for her brother, and one thousand soldiers from her brother for her husband. Thus they separated, and Caesar at once engaged in the war against Pompey, being ambitious to get Sicily, while Antony, after putting Octavia in Caesar's charge, together with his children by her and Fulvia, crossed over into Asia.

XXXVI. But the dire evil which had been slumber- ing for along time, namely, his passion for Cleopatra, which men thought had been charmed away and lulled to rest by better considerations, blazed up again with renewed power as he drew near to Syria. And finally, like the stubborn and unmanageable beast of the soul, of which Plato speaks,! he spurned away all saving and noble counsels and sent Fontéius Capito to bring Cledpatra to Syria. And when she was come, he made her a present of no slight or insignificant addition to her dominions, namely,

1 Cf. Phaedrus, 254 a,

KoiAnv Xupiav, Kumpov, Kirsxias woddyjv: ete
dé tHs te "lovdaiwy tiv rd Badrocapov dépovcay
Q A , 9 a 4 \ \ 3 \
kat ths NaBatatwy ApaBias don pds tTHv éxTOS
9 , , e / e ,
atrokAtvet Odracoav. adtar paddtota 'Pwpaious |
nviacav at Swpeai. Kaitot TroAdols éexapifero
, \ 4 A 6 ? ,
TeTpapxias Kat Bactreias eOvav peyarov, id10-
Tats ovot, ToAdovs 8 adnpeitro Bacirelias, os
"Avtiyovov tov 'lovdatov, by xal mpoayayov
bf / > \ s e. / f
€TENEKLTEV, OUOEVOS TWpoTEpoy éTépov Racirews
e , 5) \ \ ' \ = a
ovTw KoNacOévToS. AANA TO alaxpov HY Tov
KyXeorrdatpas tuay aviapotatov. nienoe Sé tH
StaBornv tatdas é& adtis Sidvpuous avedopevos,
4 \ ' > / \ \
kal mpocayopevcas tov pev AréEavdpov, thv Sé
KyXeordtpay, érixrnoww Sé tov pev" HrLov, rHv 5é
Lernvynv. ov pny GAN ayabos av éyxadrAwmTI-
cacOat tois aicypois édXeye THS pev "Popaiwv
Hryepovias ov dk av AapBavovow, Grr ev ols
yapitovra: paiverOar 7d péyeOos- Siadoyais dé
' ¢ A , /

Kal Texv@oECL TOAN@Y Bactiéwy TwraTUVEDOaL
\ > / 4 A e,r¢ ,
Tas evyeveias. oTw yoov vd ‘Hpaxdéous texva-
a \ e a , 9 2 A : \
Ofvar Tov attod mpdoyovov, ode év mug yaotpl
Gepévov tHv Staboyny ovdé vopous YoAwvetous Kai
kunaews evOuvas SedotxoTos, adda TH Hvoe
\ A b] \ \ \ 3 “A
ToAAaS yEevrav apyas Kal xataBoXras azroNTretv
epyéevros. |
XXXVII. ’Emel 5¢ Ppadrov xreivavtos ‘Tpo-
Snv tov watépa Kai tHhv Bacideiavy KatacyYovTos
arro te lldpOwv aredidpackov ovK orjiyot, cai
Movaions, avnp émipavns cat Suvatos, Axe pev-

Phoenicia, Coele Syria, Cyprus, and a large part of Cilicia ; and still further, the balsam-producing part of Judaea, and all that part of Arabia Nabataea which slopes toward the outer sea. These gifts particularly annoyed the Romans. And yet he made presents to many private persons of tetrarchies and realms of great peoples, and he deprived many monarchs of their kingdoms, as, for instance, Anti-_gonus the Jew, whom he brought forth and beheaded, though no other king before him had been so punished. But the shamefulness of the honours conferred upon Cleopatra gave most offence. And he heightened the scandal by acknowledging his two children by her, and calling one Alexander and the other Cleopatra, with the surname for the first of Sun, and for the other of Moon. However, since he was an adept at putting a good face upon shameful deeds, he used to say that the greatness of the Roman empire was made manifest, not by what the Romans received, but by what they bestowed ; and that noble families were extended by the successive begettings of many kings. In_ this way, at any rate, he said, his own progenitor was ' begotten by Heracles, who did not confine his succession to a single womb, nor stand in awe of laws like Solon’s for the regulation of conception, but gave free course to nature, and left behind him the beginnings and foundations of many

families.
XXXVII. And now Phraates put Hyrodes his father to death and took possession of his kingdom,} other Parthians ran away in great numbers, and par- ticularly Monaeses, a man of distinction and power,

1In 36 B.c. Cf. the Crasaus, xxxiii. 5.

yov mpos 'Avtwvor, Tas pev éxeivou TUYas Tais
Wepuictoxréous eixadcas, Tepiovoiav bé THY éav-
Tov Kal peyarodppocvvny tots Ilepcav Bacirevor
TapaBarav, ébwpyjoato Tpeis wodes avT@, Ad-
piccav Kxat 'ApéGovcay Kai 'Tepav oduv, ty
BapBvnnv mpotepov éxarouvv. tod bé Wdpbwv
Baotréws t@ Movaion SeEiav xataréppartos,
da pevos avrov amréatetrev o AvtTwvios, éEarratav
pev éyvaxas tov Ppadrny, ws eipnvyns éaopévns,
akvav 5é tas addovoas eri Kpdooouv onpaias Kat
Tov avopov aovaBely Tovs TwepiovTas. autos dé
Krcomdtpav es Aiyurrov datoméupas éxope 8:
"Apafias cai 'Appevias, d7rov avveNOovons avT@
THs Suvapews Kal TOV cuppaywv Baoiréwy (Tap-
qodAo. O€ Hoav ovTaL, wéyioTos 5é TWaVTwY oO TIS
"Appevias "Apraovacsins, éEaxioytrtous. imreis
cal metovs EmTaKrax tedious Tapéywv) éEjtace Tov
otpatov. joav dé 'Pwpaiwoy pev adtav éEaxic-
"puptot melol xal tro '"Pwpaiors oUVTETaY LeEvOY
inmixov, "1Bypwv xat Kertrav pupio, tov Se
Gd\rwv COvav éyévovto tpeis pupiddes ovv itred-
olv omov Kal Werois.:
Tocavtny pévtot tapacKevny Kal dSvvapty, 4)
kal tous wépav Bdxtpwv 'lvdovs époBnce xat
Tacav éxpddave tTHv "Aciav, avovntov avT@ da
Kvreorrdarpayv yevéoOar Aéyovot. omevdovta yap
éxeivn ovvdiayepdoat, Tov wodepov é£eveyxeiv
Mpo Kalpod Kal Taot ypnoacbat reTapaypévos,
ovK dvTa TOV éEaUTOD AOYLTUOY, GAN ws UIT!
hapuaxov tiwav i yonteias Tamrtaivovta mpos
05 . 1 ws bxd Naber : ind.

who came in flight to Antony. Antony likened the fortunes of the fugitive to those of Themistocles,! compared his own abundant resources and magnan- imity to those of the Persian kings, and gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis, which -used to be called Bambycé. But when the Parthian king made an offer of friendship to Monaeses, Antony gladly sent Monaeses back to him, determined to deceive Phraates with a prospect of peace, and de- manding back the standards captured in the campaign of Crassus, together with such of his men as still survived. Antony himself, however, after sending Cleopatra back to Egypt, proceeded through Arabia and Armenia to the place where his forces were assembled, together with those of the allied kings. These kings were very many in number, but the greatest of them all was Artavasdes, king of Armenia, who furnished six thousand horse and seven thousand foot. Here Antony reviewed his army. There were, of the Romans themselves, sixty thousand foot- soldiers, together with the cavalry classed as Roman, namely, ten thousand Iberians and Celts; of the other nations there were thirty thousand, counting alike horsemen and light-armed troops.

And yet we are told that all this preparation and power, which terrified even the Indians beyond Bactria and made all Asia quiver, was made of no avail to Antony by reason of Cleopatra. For so eager was he to spend the winter with her that he began the war before the proper time, and managed every- thing confusedly. He was not master of his own faculties, but, as if he were under the influence of certain drugs or of magic rites, was ever looking

1 See the T’hemistocles, xxix. 7.

cxelvny dei, Kai m™ pos TO TaXLOV éTraveNOety wadrov
i Tpos TO KpaTioat TOV Tone pico rYevopevov.
XXXVIII. [Ipétov péev ody adrod Séov eév
"Appevig Staxerpacar kal Stavatratoat Tov
oTparoy, oKTaKtoxiNay oTadiov droreT pupevov
mopeia, Kal mplvy 7) Kiely ex TaY YeLpadiov
IldpOovs éapos apyhn Mydiay xatarafelv, ovK
nvéxXeTO TOV Xpovov, GAN’ EvOds Hryev ev aproTepa
rAaBov “Appeviav, cal tis “Atpotratnvis dypd-
pevos émropOer THY yopav. éerrevta pnKXavnuatov
avT@ mMpos TrohopKiay dvayKaiwy TplaKociass
apakais Tapa emmopeverr, év ols xat KpLos Hv
oySonKkovTa TrooM@Y pijKos, &v ovdév évexwper
StadOapev eri xatpod mari yevéoOar Sia ro THY
dvw ywpay wav Evrov ayevves eis pos Kar
panrOaxov éexdhéperv, errevyouevos ws éurrddsa ToD -
Tayvvew améditre, PuvdAaKnY Tiva Kal YTaTLavo
nYyewova Tov apakov émictnoas, autos 66:
@Ppadtra peyadnv tod, év 7 Kal téxva Kal

yuvaixes Hoav Tov tis Myédias Bactréws, €ro-
ALopKet. THS 5é ypElas evOLs Boov HwapTe Tas
enyavas atodTav éFeheyyovons, opoce Yopav
Exou Tpos THY TOMY YO"UA TYOAH Kal ToAVTOVWS
dvictapevov. év tovtp 5é xataBaivwv otpatia
peyarn DPpadrns, ws HKovee THY drrohenpu TOV
pnxavopopwv apnatan, erreur e TOV lIrmTéwy TOA-
Novus em auras, bp oy mepurnpbeis o Lrarvavos
amroOvnoxe: pev avtos, atoOvnaxovot Sé€ puptot
Tav pet avtov. tas S€ pnyavas édovTes ot
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eagerly towards her, and thinking more of his speedy
return than of conquering the enemy.
XXXVIII. In the first place, then, though he . ought to have spent the winter in Armenia and to have given his army rest, worn out as it was by a march of eight thousand furlongs, and to have occu- pied Media at the opening of spring, before the Parthians had left their winter quarters, he could not hold out that length of time, but led his army on, taking Armenia on his left, and skirting Atro- patené, which country he ravaged. Secondly, his engines necessary for siege operations were carried along on three hundred waggons, and among them was a battering ram eighty feet long. Not one of these, if destroyed, could be replaced in time to be of use, because the upper country produced only wood of insufficient length and hardness. Neverthe- less, in his haste, he left these behind him, on the ’ ground that they retarded his speed, setting a con- siderable guard under the command of Statianus over the waggons, while he himself laid siege to Phraata, a large city, in which were the wives and children of the:king of Media. But the exigencies of the case at once proved what a mistake he had made in leaving behind him his engines, and coming to close quarters he began to build a mound against the city, which rose slowly and with much labour. In the meantime, however, Phraates came down with a great army, and when he heard that the waggons carrying the engines had been left behind, he sent a large number of his horsemen against them. By these Statianus was surrounded and slain himself, and ten thousand of his men were slain with him. Moreover, the Barbarians captured the engines and

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BapBapor SiépOetpav. elrov 5é wapmoddAovs, év
ols xat TloXguwv Hv o Bactrevs. |
XXXIX. Toito wdvras pév, @S EiKos, Hviace
Tous mepl “Avta@vioy avedtriotws év apxXh m7-
yévtas: o 8€ "Appévios "Apraovaadns amroyvous
Ta ‘Pwpaiwy @xeTO THY avTOD oTpaTLay avada-
Bev, kaitep aitiétatos Tod Trodéwov yevopevos.
érupavévtwy Sé AapTpPas Tots TodOpKOvaL TAY

TladpOwv cal ypwpévwv arerais mpos bBpuv, ov
Bovdopevos ’Avtovi0s javydlovTe TO TTPAT@ TO
SucOupoiv Kal KatatremAnypévoy éupéevery Kal
avfeoOat, Séxa taywata dAaBov Kai pels
otTpatnyloas aomreipas omdTa@V, Tous 8 cvmraels
admavras, é€&nyaye mpos ottoAoyiay, olopevos
ovtas av émicrracbévtwy padioTa TOV TOAEMIOV
éx tapatdfews pdynv yevérOa. mpoedOwv é
plas oddov nuépas, ws éwpa tovs IldpBous KuKrw
Tepuyeomevous Kal mpooteceiy Kal’ odcyv avT@
Cntovvtas, &EéOnxe pev TO THs mayns cvpBodrov
éy TO oTpatoTédo, Kaderov Sé Tas aKNVAS ws OV
paynoopmevos, GAN amrdEwv, tapnuciBeto ToV
BapBdpwv thy takw otoav pnvoedy, Kedevoas,
6Tav of MpO@ToL Tois oWALTaLs év épixT@ Sox@ory
clvat, Tovs immeis éevaytious eicedavvely. TOS
5é [dp8ors mapaxexpipévors AOyou Kpeittoy 1
Takis édaivetro tov ‘Pwpatwrv, cal xatebedyto
mapeflovtas év Stactnpacw loos abopvBws Kat
aiwmTn Tovs vacovls Kpadaivovtas. ws 5é TO
onuetov 1p0n Kat mpocepepovto peta Kpavyis
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destroyed them. They also took a great number of prisoners, among whom was Polemon the king. XXXIX. This calamity naturally distressed all the followers of Antony, for they had received an unexpected blow at the outset; besides, Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, despairing of the Roman cause, took his own forces and went off, although he had been the chief cause of the war. And now the Parthians presented themselves to the besiegers in brilliant array, and threatened them _insultingly. Antony, therefore, not wishing that the inactivity of his army should confirm and increase among them consternation and dejection, took ten legions and three praetorian cohorts of men-at-arms, together with all his cavalry, and led them out to forage, thinking that in this way the enemy would best be drawn into a pitched battle. After advancing a single day’s march, he saw that the Parthians were enveloping him and seeking to attack him on the march. He therefore displayed the signal for battle in his camp, and after taking down his tents, as though his purpose was not to fight but to withdraw, he marched along past the line of the Barbarians, which was crescent-shaped. But he had given orders that when the first ranks of the enemy should appear to be within reach of his legionaries, the cavalry should charge upon them. To the Parthians in their parallel array, the discipline of the Romans seemed to beggar description, and they watched them marching past at equal distances from one another, without confusion, and in silence, brandish- ing their javelins. But when the signal was given, and the Roman horsemen wheeled about and rode down

2 2 5
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fy |

eMLaT peWavTes ot tmrrets, TOUTOUS bev NuvVOVTO
deEduevor, Kaimep evOus évtos TofevpaTos ryevo-
pévous, TOY b€ oTNLTOV TUVATTOVTOY Gua Bo7
Kat Taraye TOY OTAWV, Ot Té inarot TOUS
Ta pOots éfiaTavto TapRovvtes Kal avtol mpi ets
Xetipas eNOeiy Epevyov.
‘O &é ‘AvT@VLOS eveKELTO rf Simkar, Kal
peydras ely ev édmidas @S TOU TOAEMOU TO
oUpTray) 70 TELA TOV ExElVN TH paxn diame pay-
[EVOS.. emel 66 Tis SiaEews YEvouerns Tots Bev
mebois em TEVTHKOVTG, ordoua, tows O€ immedou
él Tpls TOTAUTA, TOUS TETTWKOTAS TOV TONELLWD
Kal TovS HAwWKOTAS émLoKOTODYTES EvpoY alx-
pardrous pev TpudKovTa, vexpous 6é dySonKovta
povous, amopia Kal dvcOuuia Tact mapéoTn,
devvoy elvat oyeFopevors el VUK@VTES yey ovTWS
odiryous KTELVOVOLY, NTT LEVvoL oe oTEpHTOVTAL
Too OUTP dcous dméBanrov mept Tals apakats.
Th S vorEpaig cur Kevac dpevot Ty emi Dpadror
Kal Tob atpatonédou mporyyov. EVTUXOVTES dé
Kara THY OdOV Tp@Tov jeev OriyoLs TOV TOhELLov,
erecta, TAEiocl, TéAOS O€é TAGLY Gomwep ANTTHTOLS
Kal veareot 7 poxadoupevots Kat m™poaAdddovet
Tav7ax bev, poxOnpas Kat TOAUTFOVUS amre-
cwOncav els TO oTpatomesoy. Tay de Mydov
éxSpomnv TWA TOUnaapevov éml To youa Kal
TOUS Tpopaxopévous poBnaavrer, opyicbecis o
VT@VLOS éXpyoato TH NEeyouevy dexateia pos
TOUS amroberhtdcavtas. biehov yap eis Sexddas
TO TAGS ag’ exdaTns éva TOV Aaxovta KANPD
SrepOerpe, Tots d€ AddOLs ayTl wupav éKxédeveE
xptOas petpeta bat.
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upon them with loud shouts, they did indeed receive their onset and repel them, although their foes were at once too close for them to use their arrows ; when, however, the legionaries joined in the charge, with shouts and clashing of weapons, the horses of the Parthians took fright and gave way, and the Parthians fled without coming to close quarters.

Antony pressed hard upon them in pursuit, and had great hopes that he had finished the whole war, or the greater part of it, in that one battle. His infantry kept up the pursuit for fifty furlongs, and his cavalry for thrice that distance; and yet when he took count of those of the enemy who had fallen or had been captured, he found only thirty prisoners and eighty dead bodies. Despondency and despair therefore fell upon all; they thought it a terrible thing that when victorious they had killed so few, and when vanquished they were to be robbed of so many men as they had lost at the waggons. On the following day they packed up and started on the road to Phraata and their camp. As they marched they met, first a few of the enemy, then more: of them, and finally the whole body, which, as though unconquered and fresh, challenged and attacked them from every side; but at last, with difficulty and much labour, they got safely to their camp. Then the Medes made a sally against their mound and put its defenders to flight. At this Antony was enraged, and visited those who had played the coward with what is called decimation. That is, he divided the whole number of them into tens, and put to death that one from each ten | upon whom the lot fell.1 For the rest he ordered rations of barley instead.of wheat.

1 See the Crassus, x. 2. 227

Q 2

PEUTARCHS LIVES

XL. Xaneros bé ie ere nV Oo TohELOS, Kal TO péeAAOY avTOU poBepwrepor, “Avrovic pep mpoa Soxavre Atuwove oUKETL Yap HY avev Tpavpatov Kal vexpov TOAA@Y emiaitiaacbat: Ppad-A dé ‘Tous TdpOous CEMLOTAMEVOS -TAVTA LaNKOV 7) Xetposvos &Ew TpooTadrarT wpe Kar upavnreiv Suvapévovs, egpoBeiro pa) TOV Popaiwr eyxaptepovvTwy Kat TApapevovT ov ATOMTWGLY aUTOD, 75n Tob aépos UVLO TALEVOU peta POtvoTrwpevny tonpepiav. odor ouv cvyTiOnar TOLOVOE. [lapAov ot yWepiwdTaror Tept Tas auTohoyias Kal Tas

advXas arravT noes pahaKorepov Tots ‘Popaiots
mpoaep€epovTo, _ dap Bavery TE TapLerTes avTots
évia Kal THY apeTHV éTralvodVTEsS WS TrOAELLKO-
tatwov avdpov Kal Oavpalouéevwy wo Tov
adeTépov Bacthews Sucaiws. éx 6€. ToVTOU
mMpocerAavvovtes eyyuTépw Kal TOUS immous
aT péwa tapaSdaddovtes éNotSopouv Tov “AvT@vLOD,
Ste Bovropeve Dpadrn Siadrayhvat Kat pei-
cac0at TOLOUT@Y avdpav Kal ToooUTwY adoppny
ov dldwow, adra TOUS Narerous Kat _Heydhous
KaOnrar Tohe pious dvapeveor, ALpov Kal Xetpova,
du” ov épyov éott Kal T POTTELTOMEVOUS uae
TldpGov arropevyety. ToAA@v b€ Ta’Ta 7 pos TOV
"AvTw@viov dvapepovTor, paracaopevos v7 THS
édmidos 6 Guws oU TpoTEpoy eTreKNpUKEVTATO Tpos
TOV Ilap0ov 7 mu érOau TOV prroppovovpevay
éxeivoy BapBapev él Tov Baoidéws tabta dpo-
vouvTos SiaréyouTo. pacKovTov dé xal mapa-
Kadovvtwy pn Sedtévar pndé amtoteiv, Errepé
Tivas Tov éTAaipwy Tadiv Tas onpaias akiov
228

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XL. The war was full of hardship for both sides, and its future course was still more to be dreaded. Antony expected a famine; for it was no longer possible to get provisions without having many men wounded and killed. Phraates, too, knew that his Parthians were able to do anything rather than to undergo hardships and encamp in the open during winter, and -he was afraid that if the Romans persisted and remained, his men would desert him, since already the air was getting sharp after the summer equinox. He therefore contrived the fol- lowing stratagem. Those of the Parthians who were most acquainted with the Romans attacked them less vigorously in their forays for provisions and other encounters, allowing them to take some things, prais- ing their valour, and declaring that they were capital fighting men and justly admired by their own king. After this, they would ride up nearer, and quietly putting their horses alongside the Romans, would revile Antony because, when Phraates wished to ‘come to terms and spare so many and such excellent men, Antony would not give him an opportunity, but sat there awaiting those grievous and powerful en- emies, famine and winter, which would make it difficult for them to escape even though the Par- thians should escort them on their way. Many per- sons reported this to Antony, but though his hope inclined him to yield, he did not send heralds to the Parthians until he had inquired of the Barbarians who were showing such kindness whether what they said represented the mind of their king. They assured him that it did, and urged him to have no fear or dis- trust, whereupon he sent some of his companions with a renewed demand for the return of the standards

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amro\aBeiv Kal tovs aixparwrous, ws 67 p71
jqavraracw ayarav To cwOnva Kal Svadvyety
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voutcbein. tod dé Ilapfov tattra pev éav
a 3 , \ 3 \ > / > ,
KeNevovTos, amrrovTe bé EevOUS Etpnynv Kal aodd-
‘ t
Nevay elvat dyoavtos, oArAlyals jmepats TvaKEva-
\
odpevos avelevyvuer. dv 6é€ Kal Shum miOavos
“a >
évruxeiy Kal orparov ayev dia Aoyou map
ovtivoby tay ToTEe TepuKws, éFéAUTEY avTOS
A“ \
aicxuvyn Kat Katndeia TO tapadappivar To
wrAHOo0s, Aopitiov 5¢’AnvoBapBov éxédXeve TodTO
TOMjoal. Kai TiVES ev HYAVaKTYHOAY OS UTrEpopa-
\ \ a“ b] 4 \ ,
pevot, TO b€ TAEia TOV eTrEKAATON Kal cUvEedpovndeE
\ > 7 \ \ a“ w A b) a
THhYv aitiay’ 610 Kal waAXov @ovto Seiv avtadet-
Oat xai TreiPec8at TO oTpaTHnye.
XLI. MéAdovtos S€ avtod tHv avTny odor
¥ bd , N bd 9 7 A
aye oTriow trediuvny Kal adevdpov ovoayv, avip
T@ yéver Madpoos, moAda tots IlapOwv HOeorv
9 , Ww ve / N > “a 4
evo@pirAnnas, 75n dé ‘Pwpatois miotos év TH ayy
Th Tept Tas pnyavas yeyoves, “Avtwviw mpoc-
eXOwv éxédreve gevyev ev SeEia TaY opav
5 , \ A \ e , \
émiuhaBomevov, Kal pn oTpaTov omditTnv Kal
Bapvv év Spopots yupvots Kal avatreTtapévois
€ A v4 4 \ , A \
uToBanely imam tocavtTn Kal tokevpacw, 0 87
Teyvopevoy TOV Ppadtny advaothaa. THS ToALop-
/ > \ € _ , ¥ \
Kias avTOY Oporoyials hiravOpwroas ~cecOar Sé
> AN e \ ¢ a , \ “a
autos Hyeu@v od00 BpayvtTépas Kai padrov
evTropiay Tay émitndetwv exovons.
230

and the captives,! that he might not be thought altogether satisfied with an escape in safety. But the Parthian told him not to urge this matter, and assured him of peace and safety as soon as he started to go away; whereupon, within a few days Antony packed up his baggage and broke camp. But though he was persuasive in addressing a popular audience and was better endowed by nature than any man of his time for leading an army by force of eloquence, he could not prevail upon himself, for shame and de- jection of spirits, to make the usual speech of en- couragement to the army, but ordered Domitius Ahenobarbus to do it. Some of the soldiers were incensed at this, and felt that he had held them in contempt; but the majority of them were moved to the heart as they comprehended the reason. There- fore they thought they ought to show all the more respect and obedience to their commander.

XLI. As he was about to lead his army back by the road over which it had come, which ran through a level country without trees, a man of the Mardian race, who had great familiarity with the Parthian habits, and had already shown himself faithful to the Romans in the battle over the engines of war,? came to Antony and urged him in his flight to keep close to the hills upon his right, and not to expose an encumbered army of legionaries to so large a force of mounted archers, in bare and extended tracts ; this was the very thing, he said, which Phraates had designed when he induced him by friendly conferences to raise the siege; he himself, he said, would conduct the army by a way that was shorter and furnished a greater abundance of provisions.

1 See chapter xxxvii. 2, 2 See chapter xxxviii. 3.

ce) e 9 .
Tatra axovoas o Avta@ios éBoudeveto, Kat
/ A a“
TlapOors pev ov éBovreto Soxeiv amioteivy peta
/ ~ e n 5)
omovdds, THY dé TvYTOULAY THS Odod Kal TO Tapa
Kopas olxoupevas écecOat THY Tropeiay érratvav
, v \ M A 5 . ¢ be oF a
miotw ret Tov Mdpdov.' o dé Shoat trapetyev
.
avTov adxpt ov KaTacTHon Tov oTpaTov eis ’Ap-
7 \ \ e “A , @ A > @
peviay, kat SeBels nryetto dv0 juépas Kal’ jovyt-
av. 1H 8€ Tpitn mwavtaract tovs IldpOous ate-
4 ? / \ / b) \
yvoxotos Avtewviou cat Babifovros avetpévas. dia
“a ‘ e 4 “A
To Oappeiv, idwy o Madpdos aroywow éuBoris
A 4 a

ToTaLov vewoTl SveoTrTacpmEéevny Kal TO pedpa. TOAD
A , n
Tpos THY OOOY, 7} TOpEUTEOY HY, EXYEOMEVOY, TUVT-
e A , ” ¥ A ld
kev Ott Tov IlapAwy Epyov ein tovto SuvcKonias .
éveca kal SvarpiBis éumrodmy avtois Tov ToTapov
bd | ae)
TWemevwv, Kat tov ‘AvT@vov opav éxédeve Kat
A ,
TPOTEXELV, WS TOV Torepiwv eyyus GvTwv. ape
\ 3 A / > , \ ef \ 9
dé avTot Kaliotaytos eis Tae Ta OTAAa Kal Su
avT@Y Tos akovTtaTais Kal odevdovytats éxdpo-
pny emt Tous TodEptovs TrapacKevaloyTos, érepa-
ynoav ot [ldpOo nat repinravvov as KUKAwWOO-
‘
pevot Kal cuvtapdtovtes wavtayolev Tov oTpaTov.
a a \
exdpapovtwy 5€ TaVv Yirav ém avTovs, Todas
\ 4 > \ , > 4, A aA
pev SLd0vtes ato ToEwv, ovK éXaTTOVas bé Tats
poruBbios kal Tots axovtiots WAN YAS NapwBavovTes
avey@pouv: celta émiyov avis, axypt ob avaTpé-
raves oi KeXtot tous tamovs évéBanrov Kal dte-
Ll me ;
axédacav avtovs ovKéeTe THS Nuépas exeivyns Ur0-
Seywa yevopevous.
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On hearing this, Antony took counsel with himself. _ Hedid not wish to have the appearance of distrusting the Parthians, now that a truce had been made, but since he approved of the shorter road and of having their march take them past inhabited villages, he asked the Mardian for a pledge of his good faith. The Mardian offered to let himself be put in fetters until he should bring the army safely into Armenia, and he was put in fetters, and led them for two days without their encountering trouble. But on the third day, when Antony had put the Parthians en- tirely out of his thoughts, and was marching along in loose order because of his confidence, the Mardian noticed that a dike of the river had been recently torn away, and that the stream was flowing out in great volume towards the road over which their | march must be made. He comprehended that this. was the work of the Parthians, throwing the river in their way to obstruct and delay the Roman march, and urged Antony to look out and be on his guard, as the enemy were near. And just as Antony was setting his legionaries in array and arranging to have his javelineers and slingers make a sally through them against the enemy, the Parthians came into view and began to ride around the army in order to envelope and throw it into confusion on all sides. Whenever the Roman light-armed troops sallied out against them, the Parthians would inflict many wounds with their arrows, but sustain yet more from the leaden bullets and javelins of the Romans, and therefore withdraw. Then

they would come up again, until the Celts, massing their horses together, made a charge upon them and scattered them, so that they showed themselves no more that day.

XLII. 'Ex« rovrov padov 0 'AvTavLos 0 moveiv
édet, moAnois dKxovTir ais Kal opevdoviracs ou
pLovov THV ovparyiar, arra Kal TAS ™ eupas éxarTe-
pas CTOMOTAS év WAaLci@ TOY oTpaTOY aye, kal
TOUS immoTals elpnto m poo BddAovTas Tpemea Ban,
Tpevrayévous S€ pn Toppw SiwKewv, WoTE TOvS
IlapOous tas eheEns tréacapas npépas ovbev mré-
ov Spdcavtas a mabovras auPSduTEpous ryeyovevat
Kal Tov Yeiuova ToLoupevous mpopaci amevat
SiavociaBat,
Th 6€ méumtn Praovios T'addXos, avip trode-
pikes Kat dpactnpios é€ Hryewovias Teraypévos,
atnoev "Avrwviov mpoceOav mretovas rtNovs
am oupas, Kal T@Y aro TOU oTOpmaToOS imTéwV
TIVaS WS Méeya Kat opha pa TOLTwY. Sovros bé
poo Bdddovtas dvéxonre TOUS Tonejiious, Ovx,
as Tporepoy, t brary apa 7 pos TOUS omAiTas Kal
avaxwpor, avnra ipurTapevos Kal oupT hexopevos
mapaBohwrepov. opavTes S€ avTov ot THS oupa.-
ylas tiyewoves aTroppnyvipevov éxdouy 1€LTrOV-
tes: 0 6€ ovw emreiOeTo. Titsov 5€ dace Tov Top
av Kal TOV onpatay émthaBopevov or pépew omri-
ow Kal owopelv tov 'd\Xov ws atroANUVYTA TOA-
ous Kat aryaous avdpas. avtihoSopobytos be
éxelvou wal Staxedevopevou Tots Tept QUTOV pé-
VEL, 0 per Tittos d amex ape' tov 6¢ TdAAov wOov-
jLevoV els TOUS KaTa& otona NavOdvovat TroddOL
TEpLa-XOVTES éx TOV omiaev, Barropevos 5é
mTavTax olev exddet mépmroy dporyiy. ot dé TOUS
omTAiTas &yovTEs, WV Kal Kavidsios 7 WV, avinp Tapa
"Avrwviw dSuvapuevos péyiorov, ov pixpa SoKxovct
Siapapteiv. Séov yap aOpoay émiotpéyar thy 936
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XLII. Having thus learned what he ought to do, Antony covered not only his rear, but also both his flanks, with numerous javelineers and slingers, led his army in the form of a hollow square, and gave orders to

his horsemen to rout the enemy when they at- tacked, but after routing them not to pursue them further. Consequently the Parthians, during four successive days, suffered greater loss than they in- flicted, became less eager, and made the winter an excuse for thoughts of going away.

On the fifth day, however, Flavius Gallus, an effi- cient and able soldier in high command, came to Antony and asked him for more light-armed troops from the rear, and for some of the horsemen from the van, confident that he would achieve a great success. Antony gave him the troops, and when the enemy attacked, Gallus beat them back, not withdrawing and leading them on towards the legionaries, as before, but resisting and engaging them more hazard- ously. The leaders of the rear guard, seeing that he was being cut off from them, sent and called him back ; but he would not listen to them. Then, they say, Titius the quaestor laid hold of his standards and tried to turn them back, abusing Gallus for throwing away the lives of so many brave men. But Gallus . gave back the abuse and exhorted his men to stand firm, whereupon Titius withdrew. Then Gallus forced his way among the enemy in front of him, without noticing that great numbers of them were enveloping him in the rear. But when missiles began to fall upon him from all sides, he sent and asked for help. Then the leaders of the legionaries, among whom was Canidius, a man of the greatest influence with Antony, are thought to have made no slight mistake. For when

darayya, réurrovtes KaT' GrjLyous ertBonOovvras,
kal Tad nTTw@Léevwvy TovVTwY ETépovs aTrOTTEN-
AovTes, EXaOoy oriryou Seely HrTns Kal dvyjs Srov
dvaTAnoavTEes TO OTpAaTOTEdOY, Ei TAaXY pev
autos "Avrwvios peta TOV OTAWY ATO TOV OTO-
patos hKev UTavtTialwov, Tay bé TO TpiTOY Taypha
51a trav hevyovtwpy él tos ToAepious w@adpevov
éxye TOD Tpdow Siw@Keuv.
XLII. 'AwéOavoy 5é tpioyxiAiwy ov édatTOvs,
éxopicOnoay Sé éri oxnvas tpavyatiat Tevra-
Kioxiroe Kat T'adXos Hv év tovtos, TéTTApoww
évavtiow SiaTreTrappevos Tokevpacw. adr ovTOS
bev éx TOV Tpavudtwv ovK avnveyKe, Tors 8
adXous treptiov o Avtwmos érecxore: Kal Tape-
Odppuve Sedaxpupévos Kat tepitabarv. of Sé
gaidpot ths SeEtas avtov AauBavopevot Trapexd-
Aouv amiovra Oeparrevewy avTov Kal mi) KaKoTra-
Ociv, av'toxpadtopa Kadodbvtes, nal cwlecOar ré-
yovtes av éxetvos bytaivn. Kxadorgov pev yap oT
ankals ote UTomovais olTE NALKia NAT POTEpOV
aAXos avTOKpaTwp oTpaToy éxeivou SoKel cUvaya-
yelv év Tots TOTE Xpovots: 1) dé TPdS avTOV aidas
Tov nyewova Kal TweOapyia pet edvoias, Kal To

mavTas oparas, évdoEous, adokous, dapyovras,
ididtas, THY Tapa “Avtwviou Tiny Te Kal ydpur
padXov aipeioOar THs cwtnpias Kal THs drda-
NeLas, OSE Tots Taras ‘Pwpaiors dmédTrEV UVirEp-
Bornv. rovrov Sé€ aitiat mdeloves oav, ws
MpocipnKapev' evyévera, Aoyou Suvayuts, aTAOTNS;
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they ought to have wheeled their entire line against the enemy, they sent only a few men at a time to help Gallus, and again, when one detachment had been overcome, sent out others, and so, before they were aware of it, they came near plunging the whole army into defeat and flight. But Antony himself speedily came with his legionaries from the van to confront the fugitives, and the third legion speedily pushed its way through them against the enemy and checked his further pursuit.

XLIII. There fell no fewer than three thousand, and there were carried to their tents five thousand wounded men, among whom was Gallus, who was pierced in front by four arrows. Gallus, indeed, did not recover from his wounds, but Antony went to see all the others and tried to encourage them, with tears of sympathy in his eyes. The wounded men, however, with cheerful faces, seized his hand and exhorted him to go away and take care of himself, and not to be distressed. They called him Imperator, and said that they were safe if only he were un- harmed. For, to put it briefly, no other imperator of that day appears to have assembled an army more conspicuous for prowess, endurance, or youthful vigour. Nay, the respect which his soldiers felt for him as their leader, their obedience and goodwill, and the degree to which all of them alike—men of . good repute or men of no repute, commanders ‘or private soldiers—preferred honour and favour from Antony to life and safety, left even the ancient Romans nothing to surpass. And the reasons for this were many, as I have said before: his high birth, his eloquence, his simplicity of manners, his love of

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\
TO PLAGOwpov Kal peyarodwpov, 7) Tept Tas Tat-
\ A A e , > / , be A

dias Kal Tas oOpiAtas EevTpamreAia. TOTE OE Kab
cuLTovaY Kal auvanyav Tois KaxoTrabovct, Kal
petadsoous ov tis Senbein, mwpoOupotépovs Tav
a ,
éppwuévoy Tovs voorovvTas Kal TEeTPwWpLEVOUS
érroinae.
XLIV. Tovs pévros trodepiovs atrayopevovtas
A /
76n Kal xapvovtas ottTws émjpev 1) vinn Kal
A A /
TocovTov TaVv Pwuaiwy KaTeppovnoay adore Kal
vukTos éravNicacIa, tO otpatoTrédw, mpocdo-
a , :
K@VTAS AUTLKA pada oKNVAS épnuous Kal ypPN-
pata Siaptdacey arodidpackovrwy. dua & hepa
\ / > / \ 4
moAu TrAeioves émnOpotlovto, Kal éyovTar TeE-
,
Tpaktapupiov ovK éAdtToves immoTar yevécOaL,
Bactréws Kal rovs wept avTov del TeTaypévous
e > \ a \ , / la
ws emt cael cat BeBaim xatopPwpati Tréurav-
A \ a 4 /
TOS’ avTos pév yap ovdemla payn tmapétuyen,
> 4 \ A \
Avtovios S5é BovAdmEevos Wpocayopevaat Tos
, \
TTPATLOTAS NTNTE Palov ipaTLov, WS OiKTPOTEPOS
? , aA \ / >, , ’ a
op0ein. tav dé dirtov evavtiabdvtay ev TH
A ,
oTpaTnyiKy powixids mpoedOwy ednunyopnce, TOUS
, n
bev vevixnkotas éTraivarv, overdifwy bé tors duy-
/ fa) “
ovtas. Tov S€ ot pwéev TapexedXevovTo Oappeir, oi
5é drrodoyovpevor abas avtovs mapetyov, elite
BovroTto Sexatevev, elite ANAM TPOTH KoAdLELY:
“A
povoy travoacbar dvogopodvta Kal AvTrOvpmEVvoY
, \ A \ A
édéovTo. mpos TatTa Tas Yelpas avateivas érev-
Eato tots Oeois, et tis Apa véweots tas TpocOer
, “~ A A
EVTUXLAS AUTOV péTELOLY, Els avTOV éNOciv, TO SO

A /
ANNM TTPATO@ cwTnpiav Sdovat Kat vinnv.
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giving and the largeness of his giving, his complaisance in affairs of pleasure or social intercourse. And so at this time, by sharing in the toils and distresses of the unfortunate and bestowing upon them whatever they wanted, he made the sick and wounded more eager in his service than the well and strong.

XLIV. The enemy, however, who had been already worn out and inclined to abandon their task, were so elated by their victory, and so despised the Romans, | that they even bivouacked for the night near their camp, expecting very soon to be plundering the empty tents and the baggage of runaways. At day- break, too, they gathered for attack in far greater numbers, and there are said to have been no fewer than forty thousand horsemen, since their king had sent even those who were always arrayed about his person, assured that it was to manifest and assured success; for the king himself was never present at a battle. Then Antony, wishing to harangue his soldiers, called for a dark robe, that he might be more pitiful in their eyes. But his friends opposed him in this, and he therefore came forward in -the purple robe of a general and made his harangue, praising those who had been victorious, and reproach- ing those who had fled. The former exhorted him to be of good courage, and the latter, by way of apology for their conduct, offered themselves to him for decimation, if he wished, or for any other kind of punishment ; only they begged him to cease being © distressed and vexed. In reply, Antony lifted up his hands and prayed the gods that if, then, any re- tribution were to follow his former successes, it might fall upon him alone, and that the rest of the army . might be granted victory and safety.

1 See chapter xxxix. 7.

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; A A / 4
XLV. TH S€ vortepaia ppakdpevor BértLOV
a“ \ a / > a * \
mponyov: Kal trois Idp8os émeyerpotat toAvs
, >)
amnvTa Wapaddoyos. olopevor yap ep aptrayny
Kal Nenraciay, ov payny, édhavverv, elta TOANOIS
Béreow évtuyyavovtes, éppwpuévous b€ Kai veareis
“a e A
tais mpoOvyiats opavtes, avis eEéxapvov. érret
: a /, a“
dé kataBaivovow avtois aro Nopwv Tie émt-
Krwov érébevto at Bpadéws bteEdyovtas EBan-
,
Nov, ériotpéeiravtes ot Oupeodpopor cuvéxrercav

v “a Lad \ uA BJ \ A /
claw TaV GTAwWY TOUS Yidovs, avTol dé KalévTeEsS
? / b] , \ A e \ mM
eis yovu mpovBdarovTo Tovs Oupeots: ot 5é daricOev
UTEepécVov avTay Ta SirAa KaKElvwV OpoLws ETEpOL.
\ \ aA , > 7 , 4
To 8€ oxjpa TapatAnotov épéetres yevopevov OrYruv
te Oeatpixny Tapéyet, Kal Tov TpoBAnLAaTwV
TTEYAVWTATOV ETTL TPOS TOUS diaToUS aTroALGOai-
. \ , a
vovtas. ot péevtot Ildp0oe tv eis youu KALowW
a € £ , ,
tav ‘Pwpaiwyv amrayopevol Hyovmevo, Kal Ka-
4
patov eivat, Ta pev ToEa KatéOevTo, Tovs 5é Kov-
2 , 4 ¢€
tous dtaraBovtes éyyds mpocéuEav. ot dé Pw-
a , b > fF \
paiou cuvaradatavres éEaldvns avéPopov, Kat
Tois Vaools malovTes €x yELpos ExTELVaY TE TOUS
WPWTOUS Kai TpoTIY CEevTO THY GANwY aTrdvTOY,
/ a A
éyivero 5€ tadTa Kal tais Adrals Huépats ert
puLKpOV avuoVT@Y THS Odod.
\ \ a A a
Kai \upos Hateto Tod otpatod airov Te Bpayov
\ \ : a
kat va payns troptfouévou nai tev pos aAEToV
TKEVOVY OVK EVTOPOUVTOS. TA Yap TrOAAa KaTE-
‘4 a
NelTrETO, TOV pev aToOvncKovTay wrotuyioD,
937

“A \ \ “a
tav o€ TO’S vorovyTas Kal TpavpaTias hepovTaV..
240

ANTONY

XLV. On the following day they went forward under better protection ; and the Parthians met with a great surprise when they attacked thém. For they - thought they were riding up for plunder and booty, ‘not battle, and when they encountered many missiles and saw that the Romans were fresh and vigorous and eager for the fray, they were once more tired of the struggle. However, as the Romans were descend- ing some steep hills, the Parthians attacked them and shot at them as they slowly moved along. Then the shield-bearers wheeled about, enclosing the lighter armed troops within their. ranks, while they

themselves dropped on one knee and held their shields out before them. The second rank held their shields out over the heads of the first, and the next rank likewise. The resulting appear- ance is very like that of a roof,! affords a striking spectacle, and is the most effective of protections against arrows, which glide off from it. The Par- thians, however, thinking that the Romans dropping on one knee was a sign of fatigue and exhaustion, laid aside their bows, grasped their spears by the middle and came to close quarters. But the Romans, with a full battle cry, suddenly sprang up, and thrusting with. their javelins slew the foremost of the Parthians and put all the rest to rout. This hap- pened also on the following days as the Romans, little by little, proceeded on their way.

Famine also attacked the army, which could pro- vide itself with little grain even by fighting, and was not well furnished with implements for grinding. These had been abandoned, for the most part, since some of the beasts of burden died, and the others

1 [t was the testudo, described in Dio Cassius, xlix. 3.

NEeyeT aL bé yoimE "Artix Tupav TEVTHKOVT,
dpax may GvL0s ryeveaOau: tous 5€ KxpiBivous dp-
TOUS 7 pOs dpryiptov iordvres amredLoovTo. Tparro-
pevor 5é T™ pos AdyYava Kal pitas orLyoLs per
évervyXavov TOV ournov, dvaryxalouevor 5é wee-
pacbar Kal TOV AYEVTTWOY TpOoTEpov ipavro TLVOS
moas émi Odvarov dua pavias ayovans. 0 yap
payor ovodev é eméuvnto TOV ANNWV OVE é eyivecken,
ev 5 épyov eixe, Kiev Kal or pepe mwavra rior,
Os TL peyarns amovdns a£vov Sua patTopuevos.
Wy 5é pectov TO Tedtov Kexugotoy yauate Kal
Tous AiOous TEpLopuTTOVT@DY ral peOiatavrov:
TEAOS dé xoray enobvTes €OvnoKkov, émel Kal TO
povoy avrimraes, oivos, efedurre. pO etpopevav dé
TOAA@Y Kal TOV TapOwv OUK adiata ever TON-
NAKLS avapbeyEacbar TOV "AvT@viov Eig TOpGR ar,
«°C, puptot," Oavpalovta Tous peta Hevodpartos,
éTt Kal wAclova KataBaivovtes odov x THS BaBvu-
Awvias Kal ToAAaTAaCIONs wayopevot TrOAELLOLS
atrecwOnaav.
XLVI. Ot &é€ TlapOor StamréEat pév od duva-
fevoL TOV oTparov ovee Stactacas THY Tak, H6n
6 TOMNEKLS HTT HMEVOL kal Tepevyores, avis
ELPNVLKOS avepiryvuvto Tots emt Kirov he otTov
T poEpXopevors, kal Tov Tok@y Tas veupas émiet-
KVUYTES dverwevas, EXeyov @S avrot pev aniacty

oTiaw Kal TOUTO TrOLODVTAL Tépas apuvns, oALyot
dé Mydav axorovbncovow ett pias 7 deutépas
o6ov npépas ovdev mapevoxobves, arAa Tas
aT wTépw Kopas purarrovres. TOUTOLS TOLS Ao-
yous domacpot Te Kal diroppocvvat Tpocjaayr,
242

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had to carry the sick and wounded. It is said that one attic choenix! of wheat brought fifty drachmas ; and loayes of barley bread were sold for their weight in silver. Resorting, therefore, to vegetables and roots, they could find few to which they were accus- tomed, and were compelled to make trial of some never tasted before. Thus it was that they partook of an herb which produced madness, and then death. He who ate of it had no memory, and no thought for anything else than the one task of moving or turning every stone, as if he were accomplishing something of great importance. The plain was. full of men stooping to the ground and digging around the stones or removing them; and finally they would vomit bile and die, since the only remedy, wine, was not to be had. Many perished thus, and the Parthians would not desist, and Antony, as we are told, would often cry: “O the Ten Thousand!” thereby expressing his admiration of Xenophon’s army, which made an even longer march to the sea from Babylon, and fought with many times as many enemies, and yet came off safe. XLVI. And now the Parthians, unable to throw the army into confusion or break up its array, but many times already defeated and put to flight, began once more to mingle peaceably with the men who went out in search of fodder or grain, and pointing to their unstrung bows would say that they them- selves were going back, and that this was the end of their retaliation, although a few Medes would still follow the Romans one or two days’ march, not molest- ing them at all, but merely protecting the more outlying villages. To these words they added greetings and acts of friendliness, so that once more

1 About a quart.
243
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

CA a
wate Tadwy Tous ‘Pwapaious evOapcets yevécbat
\ \ * , 9 4 “ , ? ld
kal tov “Avt@viovy axovoavta Tov Tediwv édie-
Oat warXov, dvudpou Aeyouevns eivat THs Sid TOV
s A @ de a) / 2 > \ > \
OpwVv. OUTW movely £eXNOVTOS NKEV aVNP ETL
\ a
TO OTpaTOTEOOY Ex THY ToAELioy dvoua Mibpi-
5 / ? \ M , A > "A ld
atns, avetrtos Movaicov tov tap VTWOVL®
yevopeévou Kal Tas Tpeis Toes Swpeav AaBEvTos.
néiov 6€ a’t@ mpocedMeciv tia tov Tapbsori
diarexOjvar Svvapéevwv 7 Yupiocti. Kat mpoced-

Oovtos ’AreEdvdpov tod ’Avtioyéws, ds Fv Av-
ld , e \ aA ” N , \
Twovi@ suvnOns, vrevT@v Os ein, Kal Movaton tiv
, bd , > , ‘ ? LU } bd ,
Vapi avartov, npwrnae Tov AreEavdpov et Xo-
a \ ¢ A fc a , t
gous cuvexeis cal IYrynrovs opd mpdcwbev. h7-
LC A gg 2 > 2 > » Pr
cavtos 5é opav, “ “Tr éxeivous, é&pn “ TavoTtpa-
A , A e “A \ \ 4
tia IIdp@or rAoy@ow tas. Ta yap peydra
, nw , 4 b , \
media TOV Nopwy TouTay éEnpTHTAaL, Kal Tpodbo-
a a“ / > A A
Kaow vuas éEnratnmévous UT avTav évTadba
/ \ \ a 2 A > , ? /
tpéirec Oar, THY Sia THY Gp@v aTroNLTrOVTas. éxeivn
\ 9 ” ju \ / e a 0 a,
fev ov éxet Oinvos Kal Tovov Upiv cuvnOn, TavTy
dé yopav ’Avtovos iota tas Kpdooou tiyas
avrov éxdeyopévas.”
XLVII. ‘O pév odtw dpacas arnrOev: ’Avto-
yios 6€ akovaas Kal SiatapayOeis ouvexdret TOUS
“A € A
dirous xal Tov nyenova THS 0600 Mdpbov ovdé
2 \ ” a \ \ A /
auTOV aXAWS PpovovvTa. Kal yap avev TrodEuLwv
a2 \ \ A , ’ , ’
éyivwore Tas bia TOY Tediwv avodtas Kal TAdvas
yareTras kal Svotexpdptous ovcas, THY Sé Tpa-
a J / yOe wv } \ aA “A
xeiav amrépaivey ovdéy adro duvay Epes fH pas
244

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the Romans became full of courage, and Antony, when he heard about it, was more inclined to seek the plains, since the way through the mountains was said to be waterless. But as he was about to do this, there came a man to the camp from the enemy, Mithridates by name, a cousin of the Monaeses who had been with Antony and had received the three cities as a gift! Mithridates asked that someone should come to him who could speak the Parthian or Syrian language. So Alexander of Antioch came to him, being a close friend of Antony, whereupon Mithridates, after explaining who he was, and attri- buting to -Monaeses the favour now to be shown, asked Alexander if he saw a range of lofty hills on beyond.

Alexander said he did see them. ‘“ Under those hills,” said Mithridates, “the Parthians with all their forces are lying in ambush for you. For the great plains adjoin these hills, and they expect that you will be beguiled by them into turning in that direction and leaving the road through the mountains. That road, it is true, involves thirst and hard labour, to which you are now accustomed; but if Antony proceeds by way of the plains, let him know that the fate of Crassus awaits him.”

XLVII. After giving this information the man went away, and Antony, who was much troubled by what he now heard, called together his friends and his Mardian guide, who was himself of the same opinion as their visitor. For he knew that even were there no enemy the lack of roads through the plains would involve them in blind and grievous wanderings, and he showed them that the rough road through the mountains had no other annoyance

1 Cf. chapter xxxvii. 1,

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2 uépas avudpiay éyovocav. odtw 61) TpaTropevos
4 , Cd b) eee 4
TauTyy Hye vuxtos, Vdwp éemipépecOar Kedrevoas.
’ a \ © b) 4 al A \ N \
ayyeiwv Sé Av atropia Tots woNXots: 610 Kal Ta
Kpavn miyumravtes UdaTos exopurlov, ot 5é dupG-
€ ,
pats vroNapBavortes.
"Hdn S€ mpoxwpav ayyérreTat Tots TdpGoes
\ \ ‘ J N ” A 3Q7 ey / N
Kal Tapa TO ELWOOs ETL VUKTOS Ediwxov. HAtou 5é
aT XYOVTOS HwrtTovto TOY €axYaTwY aypuTVia Kal
TOV® KAKOS StaxelpévwOV? TEToAaPaKOVTA yap Kat
Staxocious év TH vuKti oradiovs KaTnVUKELcaY’
Kal TO pn TpocdoK@aty odTwW TaxXéws emedOew
3 Tous TroAeulous aOupiav Twapelye. Kal to Sivos
eTETELVEY 0 GY@V" AuUvopEVaL yap Awa Tporyov.
“ 4 A
oi 8€ mpa@toe Badilovtes évTuyydvovet TOoTAaL@
N \ 4 \ 4 e \ \
wuypoyv yey ExovTs Kai Stavyés, adpupdv é Kal
pappaxaddes Bdwp, 6 wodev edvOds odvvas éEdko-
“A “A ,
péevns THS Kolrias Kal Tod Sipous dvaddeyopévouv

map xe. Kal tadta tov Mdpdou mporéyovTos
xO\ 2 3 4 \ b) , M”
ovdev Arrov éxBialopevor tovs dveipyovtas Eruvov.
b) , \ ow \ b a \ ? : ”~
4 "Avtovios 5é treptioy édeito Bpaydy éyxaprephaas
‘
ypovov’ EtEpoy yap ov Toppw TroTamov elvat To0-
2 ra
Tuov, Elta THY NOLTHY adiTTOY Kal TpaxXetar,
[4 4 >. 4 A ,
@oTe TavTaTac atTrootpéewacGat Touvs Trohepi-
ous. dua 6€ Kal trols payopuévous avexadeito
\ 4 ? / e a a 4
Kal catatevéw éonpaivev, ws oKlLas your “eTaAa-
Botev ot orpatiorat.
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than lack of water for a single.day. Accordingly, Antony took this route and led his army along by night, after ordering his men to carry water with them. The greater part of them, however, had no vessels, and therefore some actually filled their helmets with water and carried them, while others took it in skins.

But word was at once brought to the Parthians that Antony was advancing, and contrary to their custom they set out in pursuit while it was yet night. Just as the sun was rising they came up with the rear-guard of the Romans, which was foredone with sleeplessness and toil; for they had accomplished two hundred and forty furlongs in the night. More- over, they did not expect that the enemy would come upon them so quickly, and were therefore disheart- ened. Besides, their contest intensified their thirst ; for they had to ward off the enemy and make their way forward at the same time. Those who marched in the van came to a river, the water of which was clear and cold, but had a salty taste and was poison- ous. This water, as soon as one drank it, caused pains, accompanied by cramping of the bowels and an inflammation of one’s thirst. Of this too the Mardian had warned them, but none the less the soldiers forced aside those who tried to turn them back, and drank. Antony went round and begged the men to hold out a little while; for not far ahead, he said, there was another river which was potable, and then the rest of the way was too rough for cavalry, so that the enemy must certainly turn back. At the same time, too, he called his men back from fighting and gave the signal fer pitching the tents, that the soldiers might at least enjoy the shade a little.

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o

XLVIII. Un yvupévor oby trav oxnvarv, Kai TOV

TlapOwv evOus, dorep eiwbercay, dtraddraTToOpé-
e a
vov, nKev avis o MiOpidarns, Kal trod "ArdeEdv-
/ ,
Spov mpocerPovTos trapyver pixpov navyacavTa
N
TOY oTpaToy daviotavar Kal orrevdery emt Tov
, e > / , ¥ \
TwotTapov, ws ov SsaBnoopévoy WdpOwv, dype 5é
a“ \
éxeivou StwkovTwv. TavTa amayyeiias pos
9 4 9 / > Ul b > aA “~
“Avreoviov AréEavdpos éxpépes tap’ avtov ypvca
4 4 \ 4 2 > a 4
ToTnpla TapuToNAa Kat hiaras, wy ExElvos, Oca
a“ 3 A , \ N b) ,
tH éoOnte Kataxpuvat duvatos hv, NaB@v amrn-
” \ e¢ 4 wv >? 4 >
Aauvev. Ete 5 Huépas ovans avalevEavtes érro-
A 4
PEVOVTO, TMV TroAELioV Ov TapEevoXAOVVYTMD, avTol
~ a 4
d€ éavTois vuKTAa YahEeTwWTAaTHY TAaca@Y EKELynv
\
kat ghoRepwratny adepyacdpevot. tovs yap
¥ 4
EYovTas apyvploy 7) ypvoiov atoxtivvurTes, eov-
\ A
wv Kal Ta YpnuaTa TaY UToluyiwy adnprraloy’
Tédos 6€ Tois “Avtwviov oxevoddposs émeyerpr-
cavtes éxTr@pata Kal tpaTélas woAvTeAcis KaTE-
KOTTTOV Kal Steve wovTo.
@opuBov Sé wood Kal wAAVOU TO OTPaTEVLA
“A / A
way éméyovtos (@ovTo yap eTiTETTWKOTOV TOV
, :
TOAELioY TpoT)Y yeyovevat Kal Siacracpov) ’Av-
, a
T@viOs Eva Kadécas TaV SopupopovyTwY avToV
€
amerevbépwv, dvopa “Pdpuvov, @pKxwcev, . dtav
\ aA a
Kerevan, TO Eidos avTov Sreivar Kal Thy Keharny
J a , “A “
aTTOTEMEL, WS UNnTE ALON Cov UTd TOV TrOAELLOY

, a
pente yvooOein teOvnkas. éxdaxpvodvtwy dé TaV
4 e
dirwy o Mdpdos éOdppuve tov “Avta@vor, ws
> ‘\ v lel le)
éyyus OvTos Tov moTamov: Kal yap apa tis

XLVIII. Accordingly, the Romans went to pitching their tents, and the Parthians, as_ their custom was, at once began to withdraw. At this point Mithridates came again, and. after Alexander had joined him he advised Antony to let the army rest only a little while, and then to get it under way and hasten to the river, assuring him that the Parthians would not cross it, but would continue the pursuit until they reached it. This message was carried to Antony by Alexander, who then brought out from Antony golden drinking-cups in great numbers, as well as bowls. Mithridates took as many of these as he could hide in his garments and rode off. Then, while it was still day, they broke camp and proceeded on their march. The enemy did not molest them, but they themselves made that night of all other nights the most grievous and fearful for themselves, For those who had gold or silver were slain and robbed of it, and the goods were plundered from the beasts of burden; and finally the baggage-carriers of Antony were attacked, and beakers and costly tables were cut to pieces or distributed about.

And now, since ‘there was great confusion and straggling throughout the whole army (for they thought that the enemy had fallen upon them and routed and dispersed them), Antony called one of the freedmen in his body-guard, Rhamnus by name, and made him take oath that, at the word of command, he would thrust his sword through him and cut off his head, that he might neither be taken alive by the enemy nor recognized when he was dead. Antony’s friends burst into tears, but the Mardian tried to encourage him, declaring that the river was near;

> / wn
aTroppéovea voTepa Kal uypoTEpos anp aTravTav

aches
nolo THY avamvonv éroie, Kal Tov ypovov épn
a ,
THS TopEelas oUTW TUUTEpaivery TO MéTPOV" OVKETL
\ * A A , “A , bud 3
yap Hv ToXU TO NELTTOMEVOY THS VUKTOS. Apa 8
b) , ¢ A / ? a \ e
annyyerXov Erepot Tov OopuBov ex THs pos av-
Tovs dduxias Kal mreovetias elvat. 810 Kal Kata-
a \ A bd 4 b a 4 N
otTnoat TO TAROOS eis TaEw ex THS WraVNS Kal
tov dtaotracpov BovAopmevos éxéXevce onpatvery
xcataltevEw. .
” le)
XLIX. "Hén & dbrédaptrev jyépa, cal tod
oTpatTov Koomov apyYouévouv tTiva AauBave Kal
novxiay mpocéminte Tos TeXeUTAiols TA TOV
, 4 \ , A wae
lldp0wv rofedpata, cal payns onpetov €d00n
aA wn e \ e nn , e ,
Tous wWirots. ot S€ omAiTat TadLVY Opoiws KaTe-
, J V4 “a “ e 4 \
péyravtes adXdHAOUS Tois Oupeocis véuevov Tovs
BarXovtas éyyls ov TorApavras auvedOety.
UTayovtTwy 5€ KaTa pLKpPOV OUTaS TOV TPATwY
0 TroTamos épavn Kal tods tmmets er abT@
A ,
mapatatas ‘Avtwvios évavtiovs Tots TroNEuiots
dieBiBale tovs daGeveis wpptovs. dn && Kal
Tots paAXOpMEevols Adela Kal pacT@vn TOU Tey HV,
@s yap eloov of IldpOo. toy aorapov, tds Te
veupas avnxav Kal Oappobvtas éxédXevov Siatrepav
tous ‘Pwpatous, ToAXa THY apEeTHVY avTaV éyKo-
pudlovres. StaBavtes ody xa? jovyiayv avrovs
dverapBavov, eira @devorv, ov Tavu Te Tois
4 Uf ¢ 3 e 4 \ \
IlapGous meorevovtes. extn & Hepa peta tHv
7 4 > A ‘ ’ 4 \ K
TedeuTAlay payny emi Tov ApakEny trotamov Kop,
opiCovra Mydiav nai ’Appeviav. épdavn Sé Kat
250
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‘for a breeze blowing from it was moist, and a cooler air in their faces made their breathing pleasanter. He said also that the time during which they had been marching made his estimate of the distance conclusive ; for little of the night was now left. At the same time, too, others brought word that the tumult was a result of their own iniquitous and rapacious treatment of one another. Therefore, wishing to bring the throng into order after their wandering and distraction, Antony ordered the signal to be given for encampment.

XL1X. Day was already dawning, and the army was beginning to assume a certain order and tranquillity, when the arrows of the Parthians fell upon the rear ranks, and the light-armed troops were ordered by signal to engage. The men-at-arms, too, again covered each other over with their shields, as they had done before, and so withstood their assailants, who did not venture to come to close quarters. The front ranks advanced little by little in this manner, and the river came in sight. On its bank Antony drew up his horsemen to confront the enemy, and set his sick and disabled soldiers across first. And presently even those who were fighting had a chance to drink at their ease ; for when the Parthians saw the river, they unstrung their bows and bade the Romans cross over with gocd courage, bestowing much praise also upon their valour. So they crossed without being disturbed and recruited themselves, and then resumed their march, putting no confidence at all in the Parthians. And on the sixth day after their last battle with them they came to the river Araxes, which forms the boundary be- tween Media and Armenia. Its depth and violence

Baber cat TpayXUTnTe Xareros: Kat Novos &ndAOev évedpevovtas avTobt TOUS ‘Torepious err OncecOat SiaBaivovow avrois. émet dé arpanres StatrepacavTes éemeBnoay THS A ppevias, Gomep apt. yhv exelvny isovres éx meddyous, 7 poo eKUvouv Ka ™ pos Sdxpva Kai teptBoras ahha ov UT xapas eTpémrovro. mpoiovTes dé 61a yopas evdatpovos Kal Xpwmevor Taotw avédnv ex TONANS aropias, wSepixois Kat KotdaKois TepléeMiMTOY appwotnpact.

L. "Evtata TOLno 4pLeVvOsS eferacwy avUTOV | “AvTavios evpe dtc wupious melous Kat TeTpaKicXertous iT Tels amokwdoTas, ov TAVTAS m6 TOV TONE LLOYD, ann Umép jploes VOT HT AVTAS. ddevoay pev ouv amr} Ppadrev npepas ENTA KAL elKoot, paxass dé oxTa Kal béKa IIap@ovs évixnoav, ai 5é vixat Kparos ovK elxov ovde

BeBarornta piKpas ToLoupMéevwv Kat areneis Tas
dt@Eets. ® Kal pddiota KaTadnros np “Apta-
ovdadns 6 0 "A puévios “Avra@veov éxeivou TOU ToNe-
fou TO TENS apehopevos. él yap ovs annyarye
éx Mndias LT ITELS éFaxvaxtdtous Kat pupious
Taphray, Eo KEVAC LEVOL Tapamrna ws Tldp0ous
Kal cunders payerBat 7 pos avTous, ‘Po pateov
pev TOUS payopévous TpeTromeveny, éxetvav 5é Tous
pevyovTas aipovTov, ovK av vmnpeev avrois
HTTOMEVOLS dvadépety Kat avatonpav TooauTakes.
amavres ovv opyn mapwEvvov emi THY TLuLwpiav
Tov “Appeviou TOV "AvTw@veov. o 6€ oyro wp
XpPNT apevos ovTe éuéuato THY mpodociay ovTe
ageire THs auvynfovs dirodppocvvns Kat Tits
252

made it seem difficult of passage; and a report was rife that the enemy were lying in ambush there and would attack them as they tried to cross. But after they were safely on the other side and had set foot in Armenia, as if they had just caught sight of that land from the sea, they saluted it and fell to weeping and embracing one another for joy. But as they advanced through the country, which was pros- perous, and enjoyed all things in abundance after great scarcity, they fell sick with dropsies and dysenteries.

L. There Antony held a review of his troops and found that twenty thousand of the infantry and four thousand of the cavalry had perished, not all at the hands of the enemy, but more than half by disease. They had, indeed, marched twenty-seven days from Phraata, and had defeated the Parthians in eighteen battles, but their victories were not complete or lasting because the pursuits which they made were short and ineffectual. And this more than all else made it plain that it was Artavasdes the Armenian who had robbed Antony of the power to bring that war to an end. For if the sixteen thousand horsemen who were led back from Media -by him had been on hand, equipped as they were like the Parthians and accustomed to fighting with them, and if they, when the Romans routed the fighting enemy, had taken off the fugitives, it would not have been in the enemy’s power to recover themselves from defeat and to venture again so often. Accordingly, all the army, in their anger, tried to incite Antony to take vengeance on the Armenian. But Antony, as a measure of prudence, neither reproached him with his treachery nor abated the friendliness and respect usually shown to him,

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mpos autov, acbevns TO oTpaT@ Kali aTropos
yeyoues. Da tepov plev Toe madwy éuBarwv eis
A ppeviar, Kal Todas Umocxerert Kal ampo-
KANT ETL meloas avTov ebeiv EUS Xetpas,

cuvéraBe, kai déoptov Karayayav Ets “AreEav-
Spevav, eO pidBevoev. d padiota “Pwpatious
éXuTN GED, @S TA KANA Kal cEeuVa TIS mat pidos
Aiyumrioss dia KXeordtpav xaptlopevos. tavta
peév ovv bo Tepop émpayOn.
LI. Tore bé dua TOAD XELpervos non Kat
vigeTov atavoTov eTTELyOMEVOS oKTaKLaXtALOUS
améBane Kad? o6ov. avTos d€ kataBas 6ALYOOTOS
emt Oaraccav éy Yopio tivi perakv Byputot
KELMEV ED Kat Lavos, Avan KON Kadelrat,
Kr<comdtpav Te pLepeve’ Kal Bpadvvovens aodn-
Hovey HaAve, TAaXv pev els TO Tivev Kat peOv-
oxecOas d:500s éavrTov, ov KapTepav dé Kara
KELLEvOS, anrra peTage TLVOVT OY avi TApLEVvOS
Kab avanndav TONXAKLS emia KoTrely, éws éxelvn
KaTéem hevaey, éoOijra TORN Kat Npnwara Kop
fovea, Tots OTPATLUTALS. etal dé ot Aéyovres 6 bre
THY Mev ecOhira Tap excels AaBov, TO 6
dprytptov éx tav idiwyv éauvtod, Sdréverpev as
éxeivns dido0vens.
LIT. Te 6€ Baotre? TOV Mydov yivetat
Siadopa 7 POs Ppacpray tov IlapGoy, apEauevn
per, QS pace, Virép TOV ‘Popaikar Ladupov,
Umovoray 5é TO Moo Kal poBov adarpécews TIS
dpxijs TapacXobca. 5:0 Kal wéurrewv éxdret TOV
"AVT@VMOY, etraryyedd opevos oupTohepno ety pera
THS EAUVTOD SuVapEWS. yEevopxevos ovY ém’ éXTriOOS
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being now weak in numbers and in want of supplies.
But afterwards, when he once more invaded Armenia,!
and by many invitations and promises induced
Artavasdes to come to him, Antony seized him, and
took him in chains down to Alexandria, where he
celebrated a triumph. And herein particularly did
he give offence to the Romans, since he bestowed
the honourable and solemn rites of his native country
upon the -Egyptians for Cleopatra’s sake. This,
however, took place at a later time.
LI. But now, hastening on through much wintry weather, which was already at hand, and incessant
snow-storms, he lost eight thousand men on the march. He himself, however, went down with a small

company to the sea, and in a little place between Berytus and Sidon, called White Village, he waited for Cleopatra to come; and since she was slow in coming he was beside himself with distress, promptly resorting to drinking and intoxication, although he could not hold out long at table, but in the midst of the drinking would often rise or spring up to look out, until she put into port, bringing an abundance of clothing and money for the soldiers. There are some, however, who say that he received the clothing from Cleopatra, but took the money from his own private funds, and distributed it as a gift from her.

LIT. And now the king of the Medes had. a quarrel with Phraortes the Parthian; it arose, as they say, over the Roman spoils, but it made the Mede suspicious and fearful that his dominion would be taken away from him. For this reason he sent and invited Antony to come, promising to join him in the war with hisown forces. Antony, accordingly,

1 In 343.c. Cf. chapter liii. 6,

peyarns o 'Avravues (6 yap édoxer hove Tou
Katerpyac Gas Ilap@ous atronstrety, immévv TON-
Nev Kal TofoT ay évdens éAOw@v, tovToO _ capa
T poarytvopevov auto Naprlomevep paddov 7 deo-
HEV®) mapecxevdtero &e "A ppevias ads ava-
Baivew Kat TVYYEVOMEVOS ™@ Md trepi, ToTtapov
"Apa€&nv obt@ xivety Tov ToAELOV.
LIT]. "Ev éd€ 'Popuy Bovropevns 'Oxraovias
Thedoat ™ pos 'AvTa@viov, emer pewe Kaicap, WS
ob MTANELOUS NYOUGLY, OVK éxeivy yvaptlopevos, aD
Omrws TmeptuBpto beioa Kat KaTapednJeioa 1 p0s
TO TONE Lov aitiay evmpeTry Tapacxoe. ryevo-
pévn dé év AOnvats édéFato ypappata Tapa
"Avtoviov KeXevovTos avToOL T poo wevetv Kal Ta
mept Tv avdBacw dnhowvtos. 7 86, kaiTrep
axOopévn Kal voodoa THY Tpopacty, us eypanpe
muvdavopern moi Kenevel TEeupOnvar Ta Kop-
Comeva ampos avrov. exouete 5é TOMMY pev
eoO fra TT PATLOTLENY, TOA 6é broluyia Kal
Xpnpara Kal dapa Tots wept aurov HryEHoo Kat
pirous: exTOS dé TovTwY oTPATLATAS €mrtNEKTOUS
Sia xudtous els TTPATHYLKAS omeipas KEKOT [LN-
pévous exmpeTreat TavoTTrALAts. Tatra. Néypos TLS
"Avtoviou piros arog taneis Tap auris edpate,
kat mpocetiOe. tovs akiovs Kal mpérovtas
émaivovs.
AicBopévn, dé 7 _Kneorarpa THY 'Oxraoviav
OMoce Xwpotcav AUTH, Kal poPnbeioa pi) TOU
TpomTou TH cepvornte kat tH Katoapos Suvdpuer

mpoocxTnoapevn TO Kal’ Sovny optrelv cab
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was in high hopes. For the one thing which he thought had prevented his subjugation of the Parthians, namely, his lack of a large number of horsemen and archers on his expedition, this he now saw supplied for him, and he would be granting and not asking a favour. He therefore made preparations to go up again through Armenia, effect a junction with the Mede at the river Araxes, and then prosecute the war.

LIIT. But at Rome Octavia was desirous of sailing to. Antony, and Caesar gave her permission to do so, as the majority say, not as a favour to her, but in order that, in case she were neglected and treated with scorn, he might have plausible ground for war. When Octavia arrived at Athens,! she received letters from Antony in which he bade her remain there and told her of his expedition. Octavia, although she saw through the pretext and was dis- tressed, nevertheless wrote to Antony asking whither he would have the things sent which she was bringing to him. For she was bringing a great quantity of clothing for his soldiers, many beasts of burden, and money and gifts for the officers and friends about him; and besides this, two thousand picked soldiers equipped as praetorian cohorts with splendid armour. These things were announced to Antony by a certain Niger, a friend of his who had been sent from Octavia, and he added such praises of her as was fitting and deserved.

But Cleopatra perceived that Octavia was coming into a contest at close quarters with her, and feared lest, if she added to the dignity of her character and the power of Caesar her pleasurable society and

1 In 35 B.c.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Geparrevew "Avra@veov dpaxos yevnrat Kat KpaTHO TavrTanact Tov avdpos, é épav avr T poceWovettTo ToD ‘Avtwviou, Kat TO copa Aerrrais Kadnpet daira TO b¢ Brénpa TpoatovTos exTreTAny MEVOV, aTrepyopévou dé TKO pevov Kal TATEWOUMEVOY vrrepaivero. T paywarevomern bé TOANGKLS od Ofjvas Sax pvovea Taxv tav daxpvav adn pet Kal dméxpumrev, as 87) Bovdopevy Aavddvel éxeivov. émpatreto 0€ TAaUTA HédNovTos TOU avdpos éx upias avaBaiverv mpos Tov M76or. of 5€ KoAaKkes orrovddloytes virép avTns édot-

Sopouy Tov ’Avr@viov ws oxAnpov Kai aTrabh Kal
Tapato\AuvTa yUVvaLov Eis éva Kal fLovoy éxeivov
aunpTnwevov. ’"Oxtaoviay pev yap T paryudrov
Evexa Sia tov aderAdov’ cuvedOciv Kai TO THs
yameThs dvopua caprovaGat- Kreorrdtpay dé
TtocouTwv davOpwrwr Bactrevoveay epwopevny
"Aytwviov KareicOat, Kal Tovvopa ToUTO pn
pevryerv pnd amatobv, Ews opav exeivov éFeote
Kal avn: amrehavvopevny 6€ TOUTOU bn) ‘Tept-
Biwcec Oat. TENS & ovp OUT TOV dvOpwmov
ébérnEav Kal ameOnhuvay, Gore deicavTa pn
KnrXeotratpa mpontas tov Biov, eis “AdeEdvdperav
évraveN bet, TOV bé M7Sor els @pay Etous ava-
Baréo Bau, KaiTrEp €y OTAGEL TOV HapOicav Elvat
Aeyouevan. vv pny adda TOUTOV pev dvaBas
avds eis pidiav mpoonyayero, Kal daBov évt
tov ex Kyeorratpas viav yuvaira “play avrou
tav Ovyatépwyv tt puxpay ovoay eyyunoas
éravnrGev, non mpos Tov éeupvdAcoy TroAELOY
TET PAf[LLEVOS.
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her assiduous attentions to Antony, she would be-
come invincible and get complete control over her
husband. She therefore pretended to be passionately
in love with Antony herself, and reduced her body
by slender diet; she put on a look of rapture when
Antony drew near, and one of faintness and melan-
choly when he went away. She would contrive to
be often seen in tears, and then would quickly wipe
the tears away and try to hide them, as if she
would not have Antony notice them. And _ she
practised these arts while Antony was intending to
go up from Syria to join the Mede. Heer flatterers,
too, were industrious in her behalf, and used to
revile Antony as hard-hearted and unfeeling, and
as the destroyer of a mistress who was devoted to
him and him alone. For Octavia, they said, had
married him as a matter of public policy and for
the sake of her brother, and enjoyed the name
of wedded wife ; but Cleopatra, who was queen of
so many people, was called Antony’s beloved, and
she did not shun this name nor disdain it, as long ©

as she could see him and live with him; but if she were driven away from him she would not survive it. At last, then, they so melted and enervated the man that he became fearful lest Cleopatra should throw away her life, and went back to Alexandria, putting off the Mede until the summer season, although Parthia. was said to be suffering from internal dissensions. However, he went up and brought the king once more into friendly relations, and after betrothing to one of his sons by Cleopatra one of the king's daughters who was still small, he returned, his thoughts being now directed towards the civil war.

LIV. 'Oxtaoviay $€ Kaicap bBpicbat doxov-
TAY, @S émaviOev AOnvav, éxéXevoe al?
éautTny oixeiv. 1 5é ovK pn Tov olKov atroneirety
la) ? 4 > \ 9 A > a > A > e lA
Tov avodpos, GXAG KaKeElvoY auToY, Et yy du' ETEPAS
aitias éyvwmKe Todeuety AvTwvio, Tapexanrer TA
> e \ IA e > \ > a , >] nw :
xa cathy €av, ws ode axovoat KaXop, éL Toy
peyioTov auToKpaTopwy o pev Os épwra yuvaiKos,
o 6é da Sndorumiay els €udvrArov trodepnov 'Pw-
paious -xatéotnce. Tavta b€ Néyouca padXov
9 , 5 > } \ Ld \ > 7
éBeBaiov &: épywv. Kal yap @xet THY oixiap,
wn s > "
omep avtTov mapovTos éxeivov, kal Tav téxvwv
"A n 9 \ \ A
ov povov Tav €& cauTAS, adda Kal ToY é« Dovdr-
, n~ nw
Bias yeyovoTwv, KaXa@s Kal peyaXorpeTas érre-
a \ A
perelTo* Kal TOUS TeuTOMEvOUS Eri apYas TiVaS
a > 4
h wpaypata tov Avtwviov dirwv vrodeyouevn
\ "
ouvérpatrev ay Tapa Kaicapos dSenOciev. dxovca
ed PS) \ 4 "A , > A \
Sé Batre d1a TovTwy 'Avtwyov: éutceiro yap
"A "~ 4

adtK@v: yuvaixa TorauTny. éutonOn dé cal dia
, , a
tnv Stavéunow tv éromoato toils téxvois év
"AX PS 4 \ \ e , t
eEavopela, Tpayixny Kat viepndavoy Ka
pucoppwyatov daveicav. eumdnoas yap dxAou
TO yupvdotov Kat Oéwevos ert Bnywatos apyupod
“ N “A
Sv0 Opovovs xpvaots, Tov pev éavT@, Tov bé
KyXeorratpa, Kat tois matow étépouvs tatre-
a \ > A
4 voTépous, mpatov pev atépnve Knreorartpav
Bacittocav Aiyittov cal Kvrpou nat AtBuns
\ , / 7 3 “a
Kal KoiAns Yupias, cvupBaoirevovtos avtny Kar-
, b , 207 a ,
TAaplLwyos, os éx Katcapos édoxer tov TpOTEpou -
yeyovévat Kyeotratpay éyxvovy Katanstrovtos:

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LIV. As for Octavia, she was thought to have been treated with scorn, and when she came back from Athens Caesar ordered her to dwell in her own house. But she refused to leave the house of her husband, nay, she even entreated Caesar himself, un- less on other grounds he had determined to make war upon Antony, to ignore Antony's treatment of her, since it was an infamous thing even to have it said that the two greatest imperators in the world plunged the Romans into civil war, the one out of passion for, and the other out of resentment in behalf of, a woman. These were her words, and she confirmed them by her deeds. For she dwelt in her husband’s house, just as if he were at home, and she cared for his children, not only those whom she her- self, but also those whom Fulvia had borne him, in a noble and magnificent manner; she also received such friends of Antony as were sent to Rome in quest of office or on business, and helped them to obtain from Caesar what they wanted. Without mean- ing it, however, she was damaging Antony by this conduct of hers; for he was hated for wronging such a woman. He was hated, too, for the distribution which he made to his children in Alexandria ; it was seen to be theatrical and arrogant, and to evince hatred of Rome. For after filling the gymnasium with a throng and placing on a tribunal of silver two thrones of gold, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra, and other lower thrones for his sons, in the first place he declared Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coele Syria, and she was to share her throne with Caesarion. Caesarion was believed to be a son of the former Caesar, by whom Cleopatra was left

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Sevtrepov 8 tous é& abtod wal KXeorarpas viovs
a“ , b) , XA , \
Bacirets Bacthewy avaryopevaas Andefavopy peep
Appeviav atrévetrpe nat Mndiay nai ra Tlapdwv,
e e , , \ , \
étav vrayaynrat, Utovepai@o 8€ Dowixny kal
Ss V4 \ 4 oe be i V4 “A
Lupiav cai Kirsxiav. dua b€ cal mponyaye Tov
maidwv “AréEavdpov pév éoOqte Mndexy tedpav
kat Kitapw opOnv éxovon, IroAveuaioy 5é KpnTice
\ / , ,
Kal xravids Kal Kavoia Stadnpatodop@ KeKoo p17-
, ee \ @ AY a 3 + i) ,
pévov. altn yap Hy oxevn Tov am ‘AdXeEdvdpou
, ? / be 10 \ > /
Baciréwv, éxeivn 0€ Mndwv xat Appeviowr.
a \ ‘ “a
aoTtacapévay S€ TOV Traidwy TOUS yoveEts, TOV [ev
"Appevioy puraxn treptictato, Tov dé Maxedover.
Kreor arpa ev yap Kal Tote Kal tov dAXov
xpovor eis TAGs éEtotca oToAny iepay “Tovdos
éxaduBave cal véa "lous éypnparite.
LV. Tatra 8€ es cvyKdnTov éxpépwv Kaicap
“A / a
Kal TOAAdKLS ev TO ONU@ KaTHYOpaV TapwtUVE
' ‘ a > > dA. , ” \ \ 9
To TAHOoS er’ “Avt@uov. émeutre dé eat ’Av-
TWOVLOS aVTEyKAA@Y Exeivo. péylota & Fv Ov.
? f a f cf af oh > /
évexdrel, Tpatrov pév, Ott Uoprrniov YxKeriav
aderopevos ovK evetme pépos AVT@ THs vyoou:
Sevtepov, OTL Xpnodpevos vais tap’ avtod pds
TOV TON pOV aTeaTépnoe? TpiTOY, 6TL TOY TUVdp-
yovta Aémidov éxBarov tis apyns Kal tmoimjoas
ATimov avTos Exel OTPATOV Kal XKMpaV Kal TPOGO-
Sous Tas éxeiv mpocveunbeioas: eri maou, Ste
Tois avToU aotpatiwTats Aatacav orjiyou Seiv
9 , , \ \ a
Iradtav KataxexXnpovy ke, pndévy NuTr@V Tots
éxetvov. pos tadta Kaiaap azrenXoyeira Aémudov
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pregnant. In the second place, he proclaimed his own sons by Cleopatra Kings of Kings, and to Alexander he allotted Armenia, Media and Parthia (when he should have subdued it), to Ptolemy Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time he also produced his sons, Alexander arrayed in Median garb, which included a tiara and upright head-dress, Ptolemy in boots, short cloak, and broad-brimmed hat surmounted by a diadem. For the latter was the dress of the kings who followed Alexander, the former that of Medes and Armenians. And when the boys had embraced their parents, one was given a bodyguard of Armenians, the other of Macedonians. Cleopatra, indeed, both then and at other times when she ap- peared in public, assumed a robe sacred to Isis, and was addressed as the New Isis.

LV. By reporting these things to the senate and by frequent denunciations before the people Caesar tried to inflame the multitude against Antony. Antony, too, kept sending counter-accusations against Caesar. The chief accusations which he made were, in the first place, that after taking Sicily away from Pompey, Caesar had not assigned a part of the island to him; in the second place, that after borrowing ships from him for the war he had kept them for himself; thirdly, that after ejecting his colleague Lepidus from office and degrading him, he was keeping for himself the army, the territory, and the revenues which had been assigned to Lepidus: finally that he had distributed almost all Italy in allotments, to his own soldiers, and had left nothing for the soldiers of Antony. To these charges Caesar replied by saying that he had deposed Lepidus from office

bev UBpifovta Kataraioa THs apxns, & Sé
EoXNKE Trodkeunoas, veunoeoOat pos Avtwviov
6tav Kdxeivos "Appeviav mpos avtov' tots bé
otpatiotais "Iradias pwn petelvary Mndiay yap
éyew xal IlapOiav avrovs, as mpocextncavto
'Pwpaios Karas aywviodpevot peTa Tov. avTO-
KpaTopos.
LVI. Tadra év 'Appevia dtatpiBov *Avtovos
neovoe Kal Kavidsoy ev0us éxérevcev exxaidexa
Tern AaBovTa xataBaivey émt POaratrav. avTos
dé KXcomdtpav avaraBov eis "Edecov hee. Kai
TO vauTiKOV éxet ouVnEer TravTaydOeVv, OxTAKOCLAL
ou oAKaot vies, @v Kdeotrdtpa mapetye Sia-
kooias Kal tddavta diopvpia Kal tpodiyy TO
oTpaT@ tavti mpos Tov moéAcuov. "Avtewvios Sé
mevabels vo Appitiov Kai Tiwwv addXwv éxédevE
KAcordrtpav wrelv em' Aiyvrrou xaxei dtaxapa-
Soxeivy tov moAcuov. % 5é hoBoupévn ras de
"Oxraovias mad avtod Stadvoes Eretce TON-
Nois Kavidscov xonpacw 'Avtwvig diarexOjvas
Tept avTys, ws ovTe Sixatoy ameravverOat Tod

ToNEuou yuvaixa cuuBoras THALKAUTAS Stdo0dCa)D,
ovte aupdépov abuporépous Troteity Tovs Atyutr-
TiOUS péya pépos THs vauTLKHAS Suvapews OvTas:
Grrws bé unde opav obtivos TAY TUaGTpAaTEVOYTOV
Bactéwv atonreitrotto to hpovetv KXeoratpa,
jwonvy pev xpovoy & abtas xuBepvdca PBact-
ANelav TocavTnv, ToAvY 5é éxeiym auvotca Kal
pavOavovoa ypncOat rpdypact peyaros. TadTa
(de yap eis Kaicapa mavta tepiedOeiv) évixa'
kal avyiovoay tov duvapewyv revaavTes es
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because he was abusing it, and as for what be had acquired in war, he would share it with Antony whenever Antony, on his part, should share Armenia with him ; and Antony's soldiers had no claim upon Italy, since they had Media and Parthia, which countries they had added to the Roman dominion by their noble struggles under their imperator.

LVI. Antony heard of this while he was tarrying in Armenia; and at once he ordered Canidius to take sixteen legions and go down to the sea. But he himself took Cleopatra with him and came to Ephesus. It was there that his naval force was coming to- gether from all quarters, eight hundred ships of war with merchant vessels, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred, besides twenty thousand talents, and supplies for the whole army during the war. But Antony, listening to the advice of Domitius and sundry others, ordered Cleopatra to sail to Egypt and there await the result of the war. Cleopatra, however, fearing that Octavia would again succeed in putting a stop to the war, persuaded Canidius by large bribes to plead her cause with Antony, and to say that it was neither just to drive away from the war a woman whose contributions to it were so large, nor was it for the interest of Antony to dispirit the Egyptians, who formed a large part of his naval force; and besides, it was not easy to see how Cleo- patra was inferior in intelligence to anyone of the princes who took part in the expedition, she who for a long time had governed so large a kingdom by herself, and by long association with Antony had learned to manage large affairs. These arguments (since it was destined that everything should come into Caesar's hands) prevailed ; and with united forces

4 Lapov év evrabeiass Foav. dotep yap Bact-

Nevot Kal Suvdorais Kal retpdpyais EOveci re
Kal qwodect doa Tais peraklY Xvupias Kal
Mawwrtidos cat’ Appevias xai "TAAupi@v mrpoeipnro
méutrev Kal xoustley Tas els TOV TOAEMOY Tapa-
oKeuads, oUTW Waa Tois Tepi tov Atovucov Te-
xvirars emadvaryKes HY eis Yapov atavray’ Kai
THS ey KUKAM oxedoY aTracNs oiKoUpEévNs TreEpt-
Opnvovpévns Kal tepiotevalomevns, pia vioos ep
nuépas ToAAas KaTnVAEiTO Kal KaTeYrddXETO
mAnpoupevwy Oeatpwv Kal yopav aywulopéevov.
5 ouveOve 5é€ Kal mods Taca Boty Téurovea, Kat
Baotnreis SunsAX@vt0 Talis UTroboxais Kat Swpeais
mpos G@AAnAOUS. wate Kal Aoyos SineEt, TiveEs
écovtat KpaTnoavres év Tots émwwikiots ot TOU
TONELOU TAS TAPATKEVAS OUTW TOAUTEADS EoPTA-
Sovtes.
LVII. Tevopuevos 5¢ aro tovTwy tots wey rept
tov Arovucoy texyvitats Ipinvny edwxev otxn-
tnptov, autos dé mAevoas eis "AOnvas mad év
matdtais Hv Kal Oedtpow. nroTvTovca Sé
Knreotatpa tas ’Oxraovias év TH Tove Tipds
(nyanrnOn yap oo tav ’"AOnvaiwy 4 ’Oxraovia
padiota) woAdais avedauBave didrotipiats TOV
2 Sipov. ot dé Tyas avTA ndiodpevor Tm péa Bets
érreurpav er THy oixiay TO Wwodtopa KopiCovtas,
ov els qv ’Avtwvios, ws 89 wodirns "AOnvaiwr:
kal 6) Kataotas éw avtTns AOyov Umep THS
morews dicEnHrAOev. eis Sé “Pwopny Erreur we tovs
3 "Oxtaoviay éx THs oixias éexBadovytas. amredOetv
dé dacw avtiv ta pev téxva mdvta ‘AvtTwviov
pe? Eautiis Eyovoay avev tov mpeoButratov TAY

they sailed to Samos and there made merry. For just as all the kings, dynasts, tetrarchs, nations, and cities between Syria, the Maeotic Lake, Armenia, and Illyria had been ordered to send or bring their equipment for the war, so all the dramatic artists were compelled to put in an appearance at Samos; and while almost all the world around was filled with groans and lamentations, a single island for many _days resounded with flutes and stringed instruments ; theatres there were filled, and choral bands were competing with one another. Every city also sent an ox for the general sacrifice, and kings vied with one another in their mutual entertainments and gifts. And so men everywhere began to ask : “ How will the conquerors celebrate their victories if their prepara- tions for the war are marked by festivals so costly?”

LVII. When these festivities were over, Antony gave the dramatic artists Priene as a place for them to dwell, and sailed himself to Athens, where sports and theatres again engaged him. Cleopatra, too, jealous

of Octavia's honours in the city (for Octavia was especially beloved by the Athenians), tried by many splendid gifts to win the favour of the people. So the people voted honours to her, and sent a depu- tation to her house carrying the vote, of whom An- tony was one, for was he not a citizen of Athens? And standing in her presence he delivered a speech in behalf of the city. To Rome, however, he sent men who had orders to eject Octavia from his house. And we are told that she left it taking all his chil- dren with her except his eldest son by Fulvia, who

e

a

;

ex DovrBias (exelvos yap wv mapa TO warp),
Kdatovoay 5é kal dvadopodcay et So€et pia TOV
ait iay Tou TORE Lov Kat avrn ryeryovevan. "Pwpaios

dé @KTELpOV OUK éxelvny, ar 'AvT@voy, Kae
PadXov ot Krcomatpav E@PAKOTES ovTe KdANeEL +
THs Oxraovias ove dpa Siadépovoay.
LVIII. Kaicap e 70 TAXOS KQL TO péyeDos
THS Tapacxeviis axovaoas é€OopuvBnOn, pn ToD
Oépous éxeivou SvaTrohepeiy avayxacOn. Kat yap
évedet TONG, xal tous avOpw@mous éXUTrouY ai
TOY NaTwV elom pagers" dvaryxalopevor yap ot
pev AAXoL TA TéTapTa TOV KapTr Oy, oi bé eFedev-
Depuxol TOV KTNATOV avTa@Y TAS oySoas amro-
Pépery cateBowv avroo, kal Tapaxal KaTelyov
eK TOUTOY dmacav thy "IraXiav. o0ev éy Tots
peylarors a papT Hpac ty "AvTw@viov Thv avaBornv
TOU qoNémou TiPevTar. Kat yap wapackevdcacbat
Xpovov éwxe Kaiocaps xai tas Tapaxas TOV
avOpwrwyv é€éduce. T par Topevol yap nyptac-
vOVTO, m pax Déevres dé Kal dovtes novxacor. Ti-
TLos 6€ Kal IIddyxos, "Avtwviou piroe TOV UTA-
TLKOYD, vo KyXeoratpas mpoTrnraKtlouevor (arNeEt-
oTa yap jvavtieaOnaay avrTn Tept TOU cvoTpa-
TEVELV) _amoopayres @YOVTO 7 pos Kaicapa, Kal
Tepl TOV 'Avtoviov diaOnav éyévovTo pnvur a,
Ta yeypappéva ouveootes. amréxewto 8 avrat
qapa tais 'Eoridot trapbévois, nat Katoapos

aitovvtos ovx édwxav: et 6 BovrotTo AapBavew,
éenbety auTov exédevon. ExaBev ovv erOoy: Kal
TP@TOV Lev ares idia Ta yeypappmeva duprGe,
Kal Tapeonunvato TOToUs TLVas EvKaTHYOpHTOUS' 943
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was with his father; she was in tears of distress that she herself also would be regarded as one of the causes of the war. But the Romans felt pity for Antony, not for her, and especially those .who had seen Cleopatra and knew that neither in youthful- ness nor beauty was she superior to Octavia.

LVIII. When Caesar heard of the rapidity and extent of Antony's preparations, he was much dis- turbed, fearing lest he should be forced to settle the issue of the war during that summer.! For he was lacking in many things, and people were vexed by the exactions of taxes. The citizens generally were compelled to pay one fourth of their income, and the freedmen one eighth of their property, and both classes cried out against Caesar, and disturbances arising from these causes prevailed throughout all Italy. Wherefore, among the greatest mistakes of Antony men reckon his postponement of the war. For it gave Caesar time to make preparations and put an end to the disturbances among the people. For while money was being exacted from them, they were angry, but when it had been exacted and they had paid it, they were calm. Moreover, Titius and Plancus, friends of Antony and men of consular rank, being abused by Cleopatra (for they had been most opposed to her accompanying the expedition) ran away to Caesar, and they gave him information about Antony's will, the contents of which they knew. This will was on deposit with the Vestal Virgins, and when Caesar asked for it, they would not give it to him; but if he wanted to take it, they told him to come and do so. So he went and took it; and to begin with, he read its contents through by himself, and marked certain reprehensible passages; then

1 The summer of 32 B.c.

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Gretta THY Bovdny aOpoicas dveyivwoke, TOV

4 ThELa TOV anoas éxovTwv. ad AoKoTov yap édofev
elvat cal dewvov, evOuvas Twa didova Cavra mept
av éBovryOn yever Oar pera THY TedevTHV. eTe-
veto 6é TAY Yeypappevev uddaTa TE Trept Tis
tadis. éxédeve yap avrob TO copa, Kav év
'Popun TENEUTION, du ayopas mopmevdev els
'AreEdvSpevav WS Kyeomatpav arocrahiva.
5 Kandoviatos 5é Kaicapos éraipos ért kal tavTa
tav eis Kyeordtpay eyehnpatov "AvTovip
mpoupepe: Xapicacbar pev aura ras é« lep-

YyajLov BiBrroOnKas, év als elxoot pupiddes
BuBrALov amrhav Hoav: év 5é ouvdeirve TOAN@Y
TapovTw@y dvactavra TpiBecv auTns TOUS m00as
éx TLVOS optapod Kab cuvdnkns ryevowevns” "Ege-
aious dé avacyérbat TapovTos avtou Kupiay Thy
6 Kyeordrpav domagapévous" Sicadfovta b€é ToA-
AaKUS TeTpapxals Kab Bacihedow émt Anpatos
deATapia TOV EpwT LK ovvxiva ral KpvoTad\Auwva
dexer Iau map" avTAS | Kal avaryivad Key’ Poup-
viov Oé€ AéyovTos, Os Hv aErapatos peyddou Kat
dewvoTatos elarety ‘Popaiwr, THY pev Kyeomatpav
év opeip Sia ris ayopas Kopiler Oat, Tov bé
"AvT@VLOV, @S elev, avannojcavTa THY pep
dixnv aronumeiy, éxxpewavyupevoy S€ TOU popetov
WapatréwTrew éxelyny.
LIX. ’AAAa TovTwY pév edoxet Ta WrEloTa
katanpevoea Gar Karoviovos- ot b¢ trot Tob
‘Avteviov TmepriovTes éy ‘Pwyn tov Shpmov ixé-
Tevov, eva dé é& avTay érreupay Tepiviov deopuevor
tov "Avrwviou pn meptidety abtov arrorndia Bévra
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he assembled the senate and read it aloud to them, although most of them were displeased to hear him do so. For they thought it a strange and grievous matter that a man should be called to account while alive for what he wished to have done after his death. Caesar laid most stress on the clause in the will re- lating to Antony’s burial. For it directed that An- tony’s body, even if he should die in Rome, should be borne in state through the forum and then sent away to Cleopatra in Egypt. Again, Calvisius, who was a

companion of Caesar, brought forward against Antony the following charges also regarding his behaviour towards Cleopatra: he had bestowed upon her the ‘libraries from Pergamum in which there were two hundred thousand volumes; at a banquet where there were many guests he had stood up and rubbed her feet, in compliance with some agreement and compact which they had made; he had consented to have the Ephesians in his presence salute Cleopatra . as mistress; many times, while he was seated on his tribunal and dispensing justice to tetrarchs and kings, he would receive love-billets from her in tablets of onyx or crystal, and read them; and once when Furnius was speaking, a man of great worth and the ablest orator in Rome, Cleopatra was carried

through the forum on a litter, and Antony, when he saw her, sprang up from his tribunal and forsook the trial, and hanging on to Cleopatra's litter escorted her on her way.

LIX. However, most of the charges thus brought by Calvisius were thought to be falsehoods; but the friends of Antony went about in Rome beseeching the people in his behalf, and they sent one of their number, Geminius, with entreaties that Antony

THS apxns Kal TorewLov Pwpatwy avayopevOévra,
Tepivios 6€ rrevoas els tTHhv "EXAdba KXeomdtpa
bev Hv Oromtos, ws UTép Oxtaovias wpdtTov,
oxwmrTopevos 5€ Tapa Setmvov ae Kali KrArciats
ATiMOLS TpOTTNAAKLEOMEVOS NVELYETO KALPOV évTEv-
> / \ N / 74? (s4
Eews avapévov: xerevobels dé rAéyewv ed' ols hres
\ N "A \ \ v " /
Tapa To OEixvoyv, THY pev adANV Edn vIdovTos
3 ¢ a \ ' , bd 4 \
elvas Oidreky, Ev 5€ Kat vidwv ériotacba Kai
4 (ed A 4 , 4 >]
peOvav, Ste Karas E€et mavta Kreomdtpas eis
Alyurtov amadXayeions. mpos rovTo Tov 'Av-
Twviov yarernvavtos 7 KAeordtpa ' Kanda,"
y PP , ° , \ », 7 "
ébn, "erroinxas, © Vepine, tnv adnOerav avev
Bacdvev éEoporoynadpevos." Tepivios pev ovv
peT OAdLyaS nuépas atrodpas els "Pwunv wyero.
moAAous 6€ Kal TOY GAXwv dirwy ot KreoTrdtpas
xoraxes €&éBadov Tas trapovias cal Boporoxias
ovx UTropévovtas, ov Kal Mapxos hy Xwravos Kai
v] e ¢@ , r @ \ \ a ,
AédrALos 0 tatopiKos. "ovTos 5é Kal detoai dnow
émuBovrnv éx Kreordtpas, [AavKov tod iatpov
ppdcavtos avT@. mpocéxpovae de Knreordtpa
mapa Seimvov eimav avtois pev o€ivnv éyyeio@at,
, \ 2 9 ¢ , na € Q
Lappuevtov oé€ miverv ev "Pwopyn Parepivov. o dé
Ldppuevtos Hv tov Kaicapos maryviwv waiddpuoy,
ry , e a a

& dndixta ‘Pwpaio: carovorv.
LX. ’Ezet 5€ wapecxevacto Kaicap ixavas,
Wngiferar Kreordtpa trodepueiv, adperécOar bé
Ths «apyns “Avr@mov hs éFéorn yuvatki. Kal
mpocereime Kaicap ws Avtwvios péev rd pap-
4 A nw nA
pakwy ovdé avTOU KpaToin, TroNEpLovGL 8 avTois
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would not suffer himself to be voted out of his office and proclaimed an enemy of Rome. But Geminius, after his voyage to Greece, was an object of suspicion to Cleopatra, who thought that he was acting in the interests of Octavia; he was always put upon with jokes at supper and insulted with places of no honour | at table, but he endured all this and waited for an opportunity to confer with Antony. Once, however, at a supper, being bidden to tell the reasons for hi’ coming, he replied that the rest of his communica- tion required a sober head, but one thing he knew, whether he was drunk or sober, and that was that all would be well if Cleopatra was sent off to Egypt. At this, Antony was wroth, and Cleopatra said: ‘“‘ Thou hast done well, Geminius, to confess the truth with- out being put to the torture.” Geminius, accordingly, after a few days, ran away to Rome. And Cleopatra’s_ flatterers drove away many of the other friends of Antony also who could not endure their drunken tricks and scurrilities. Among these were Marcus Silanus and Dellius the historian. And Dellius says that he was also afraid of a plot against him by Cleopatra, of which Glaucus the physician had told him. For he had offended Cleopatra at supper by saying that while sour wine was served to them, Sarmentus, at Rome, was drinking Falernian. Now, Sarmentus was one of the youthful favourites of Caesar, such as the Romans call “ deliciae.”’

LX. When Caesar had made sufficient preparations,
a vote was passed to wage war against Cleopatra, and
to take away from Antony the authority which he
had surrendered to a woman. And Caesar said in
addition that Antony had been drugged and was
not even master of himself, and that the Romans
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Mapdiwv o evvoiyos cat [lofeves cal Hipas
e 4 4 \ , @ > 2
n. KXeomrdtpas xoupevtpia. cat Xaputov, vp ov
Ta peyltota Storxei Tar THS Hryepovias.
> ww be N A / 10. , @

neta S€ po Tov ToAépov Tade yevéoOar
4
Aéyerar. Letcavpa pév, "Avtwviov mods KdN-

povxia, wxicpévn Tapa tov 'Adpiav, yaopdtov
e / / a \ \ wv
UroppayévTwy KxateTtoOn. trav bé epi “AASav
” / / ? / e.N ¢ \ ? /
Avtoviov AUOivev avdptavtwv évds idpws averti-
Svev Huépas odds, aTopaTTOvT@Y TeV ov
/ a
mavopevos. év 5é€ Ildtpais dsatpiBovros avtov
Kepavvois éverpnaOn TO “Hpdxreovy nal ris
"AOnynos yeyavtopaxyias UTd mvevpaTtwv o ALo-
yuoos éxcetabels eis TO Oéatpov KxatnvéxOn:
: / \ ¢ . 9 , ¢ ~ \
mpooweiou d€ éautov "Avtwvios “Hpaxret cata
/ \ , \ \ A , A
yéevos xat Atovvom xara tov tov PBiov CHrov,
U
@otrep elpntat, Atovucos véos Tmpocayopevopevos.
» 6€ aut OveAAa Kal Tovs. Evpevots Kal
> 4 \ > 4 bf
AttdXov Kodoocous emiyeypaypevovs Avto-
vetous AOnunow éumecovaoa povovs éx ToAAOY
avétpewre. 1 5€ KrXeomrdrpas vavapyis éxaretto
? a
pev “Avtwvids, onpetov 5é amept avtny Sewvov
épavn: xXedboves yap uo THY ™ pupvay éveoT-
Tevoay’ érepat 6é émehOodcat kal tavtas é£1j-
Nacay Kal TA veoTTLA drep Getpav.
LXI. Luviovrey dé Tpos Tov ToAenov Avravi@
poev joav ai pax wor Vijes OvK ehaT Tous TevTa-
xociwy, év als OKT APES moAnral Kal Sexnpers
KeKoo unpévar coBapos Kal TaVvNnyUpPLK@S, OT PATO
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were carrying on war with Mardion the eunuch, and Potheinus, and Iras, and the tire-woman of Cleopatra, and Charmion, by whom the principal affairs of the government were managed.

The following signs are said to have been given before the war. Pisaurum, a city colonized by An- tony situated near the Adriatic, was swallowed up by chasms in the earth. From one of the marble statues of Antony near Alba sweat oozed for many days, and though it was wiped away it did not cease. In Patrae, while Antony was staying there, the He- racleium was destroyed by lightning; and at Athens the Dionysus

in the Battle of the Giants! was dis- lodged by the winds and carried down into the theatre. Now, Antony associated himself with Hera- cles in lineage, and with Dionysus in the mode of life which he adopted, as I have said," and he was called the New Dionysus. The same tempest fell upon the colossal figures of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens, on which the name of Antony had been inscribed, and prostrated them, and them alone out of many. Moreover the admiral's ship of Cleopatra was called Antonius, and a dire sign was given with regard to it. Some swallows, namely, made their nest under its stern ; but other swallows attacked these, drove them out and destroyed their nestlings.

LXI. When the forces came together for the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred fighting ships, among which were many vessels of eight and ten banks of oars, arrayed in, pompous and

1 One of the groups of figures at the south wall of the Acropolis dedicated by Attalus I. of Pergamum. See Pausanias, i. 25, 2, with Frazer's notes.

2 Chapters iv. 1 f. and xxiv. 3.

3 As Cleopatra was called the New Isis (liv. 6).

dé wupiddes dea, Sir Xidwoe 5 immeis emi pupiors.
Bacireis 6é UTNKOOL ouveudXouv Boxyos 0
AtBiwv kal Tapeovdnpos o THs avo Ker«xias,
cat Kamzasdoxias pev "Apyédraos, Haddayovias
dé DirAdderdos, Koppaynviis dé Mc8piddrns,
Ladaras dé Opaxns. obroe pev avrot Taphnoay,
éx 6é€ Tovrov ITodépeov oTpatov emeutre, Kat
Manxos é& 'ApaBias Kal 'Hpwdns 0 'Tovdaios,
ére Oe "Apuvtas 0 Aveaovwvy xal Tadatov
Baotnevs: ay dé cal trapa tov Mydov Bactréas
dmreaTahpevy Bondeua. Kaicap dé viajes oav
T pos anny TEVTHKOVTA kal dtaxoc.at, otparod
5€ OKT@ pupidées, immeis 6€ WapamrAnoLoe TO
THOS Tots TONEMLOLS. npxov oe AvToveos pev
THs ar Evdparou kat Appevias Hex pe ™pos TOV
"Toviov «al TAuptous, Kaicap 8€ aa' Ddupi@y
Tis emt TOV éoméptov a@Keavov Kadnkovans Kal
THS at w@Keavod TdadLv él TO Tuppnvexov Kal
DLKEALKOV TELaYOS. AtBuns dé tay "Itadta Kat
Tararig Kab TBnpia péy pe orn hav 'Hpaxhelov

avTimapnico voav ele Kaicap: Ta, 66 amo Kupnyns
péxpis AOcorias ‘AVT@VLOS.
LXII. Odrw 6é dpa mT poo Onkn THS yuvarros mV
DOTE T@ mel@ TOD Stag épwv éBovreTo TOU vau-
TLKOU TO Kpatos elvat 61a KXcoratpar, Kal Tatra
TANpPw aT ov arropia cvvaprratopévous op@v vTrO
TOV TpinpapXav ex Tis TONKA On TAAGTNHS
7 ‘EAAd805 odoumopous, ovnddras, Jeptatas, ep7j-

Rous, Kal 0vdé odTw TAnpoupevas Tas vads, GAda
Tas TreloTas arrodecis Kat poxOnpas TAEoVeas.
Kaicap &é ob mpos trros ov8é Syxov erBerxtixas
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festal fashion; he also had one hundred thousand infantry soldiers and twelve thousand horsemen. Of subject kings who fought with him, there were Bocchus the king of Libya, Tarcondemus the king of Upper Cilicia, Archelaiis of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Sadalas of Thrace. These were with him, while from Pontus Polemon sent an army, and Malchus from Arabia, and Herod the Jew, besides Amyntas the king of Lycaonia and Galatia; the king of the Medes also sent an auxiliary force. Caesar had two hundred and fifty ships of war, eighty thousand infantry, and about as many horsemen as his enemies. Antony’s authority extended ,over the country from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian sea and Illyria; Caesar’s over the country reaching from Illyria to the Western Ocean and from the ocean back to the Tuscan’ and Sicilian seas. Of Libya, the part extending opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Iberia as far as the pillars of Hercules, belonged to Caesar; the part extending from Cyrene as far as Armenia, to Antony.

LXII. But to such an extent, now, was Antony an appendage of the woman that although he was far superior on land, he wished the decision to rest with his navy, to please Cleopatra, and that too when he saw that for lack of crews his trierarchs were haling together out of long-suffering Greece wayfarers, mule-drivers, harvesters, and ephebi,! and that even then their ships were not fully manned, but most of them were deficient and sailed wretchedly. Caesar’s fleet, on the other hand, was perfectly equipped, and

1 Young men approaching full military age, enrolled for

preliminary training and service.
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TeTrnyvLaLs vavoiv, edorpddors dé xal Taxelacs
Kat TeTANpwpévats axptBas éEnptupévov éy
Tépavre Kal Bpevtecip TEX OV TO VaUTLKOD,
ET EMTEE Tpos "Avr@vioy akiav p17 Stat piBeu TOV
Xpovor, GAN Epxer Oar PETA TOV Suvdpewy:
AUTOS be TO pev aoTOAw TrapéEey 6 dppous aKwnv-
TOUS Kal dupévas, bmoxwpyoew bé 7@ elo Ths
maparias” iarmou Spopov ams Oaddttns, expt
dv acdandas atroBy Kal oTpaTomedevonTat. TOv-
TOLS avtixopmagov "AvTa@vtos aurov pev els
povopaxiay Tm povkaneiro, xaitep av Tm peo Bu-
TEpOS" eb 5€ pevyor TOTO, mept Papoanov n&tou
Tots TTPATEVLATLY, as mddat Kaicap nai Top-
mnios, Siaywvicac bat. pOdver 5é Kaicap, "Avto-
viov mept To “Axtiov OpmovvTos, év @ TOT@ viv
7 NixomroXts iSputas, SiaBaraov rov “Iévov at
THS "Hareipov xwplov 0 Topuvy KarelTar KaTa-
oXev" JopuBoupevey dé Trav Tept Tov "Avr@viov
(va reper yap o trelos avrois) v) pev Krcomdtpa
oxontovaa, “Ti dewvov,” Erevyer, “eb Kaicap émi
Topuvn KdOnra: ”
LXIIL. "Avtwvios 8é, a apa mMepa TOV Tohepiov
eruTeovTa, poBnbets Bn TOV emtBatav € ép7pous
EXwot Tas vais, TOUS meV épéTas omhioas emi TOV
KATAOTPOLATOV mapéragev drpews évena, TOUS be
Tapoous TOY vEdy éyetpas Kal TTEPWTAS éxare-
pober é év TO oT opaTe Tept To “AKTLov a avTiTp@pous
cuvEetyev, WS évnpEts Kal Taper Kevac weévas av-
verOat. Kal Kaicap bev 00TH Kataatparnyndels
amexwpnoev. &doke 5é Kal Td Bdwp edunyavas
1 wapadlas Xylander’s correction of the MSS. ’IraAlas,
adopted by both Sintenis and Bekker.
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consisted of ships which had not been built for a display “of height or mass, but were easily steered, swift, and fully manned. This fleet Caesar kept assembled at Tarentum and Brundisium, and he sent to Antony a

demand to waste no time, but to come with his forces; Caesar himself would furnish his armament with unobstructed roadsteads and harbours, and would withdraw with his land forces a day’s journey for a horseman from the sea-shore, until Antony should have safely landed and fixed his camp. This boastful language Antony matched by challeng- ing Caesar to single combat, although he was an older man than Caesar; and if Caesar declined this, Antony demanded that they should fight out the issue at Pharsalus, as Caesar and Pompey had once done. But while Antony was lying at anchor off Actium, where now Nicopolis stands, Caesar got the start of him by crossing the Ionian sea and occupying a place in Epeirus called Toruné (that is, ladle); and when Antony and his friends were disturbed by this, since their infantry forces were belated, Cleopatra, jesting, said: “ What is there dreadful in Caesar’s sitting at a ladle?”

LXIII. But Antony, when the enemy sailed against him at daybreak, was afraid lest they should capture his ships while they had no fighting crews, and there- fore armed the rowers and drew them up on the decks so as to make a show; then he grouped his ships at the mouth of the gulf near Actium, their ranks of oars on either side lifted and poised for the stroke, and their prows towards the enemy, as if they were fully manned and prepared to fight. Caesar, thus outwitted and deceived, withdrew. Antony was also thought to have shown great skill in enclosing

épvpact TLoOW eumepthaBav aerer bar TOUS
TOAEULOUS, TOY ev KUKL@ X@piov ddryov Kal
Tovnpov €YovTwv. evryva pores dé xat Aopurion
mpoanvexOn Tapa TV ‘Krcomatpas woepny.
érel yap éxeivos n0n TUPET TOV Els peux pov éuBas
axdtvov pos Kaicapa peTeoTn, Bapéws € éveyKov
0 “AVT@VLOS bos Taoay auT@ THY aTrooKeuvny
pera TOV piiov cal TOV Ocpamovrav am eTenyye.
«al Aopirios HED, domep ért TO py AaOeW THY
am.iatiav avtod Kal tpodociav weTaBarropevos,
evOus éreXevTYCEV.
’"Eyévovto 5€ cal BactNewv atroctacets, “Apuy-
tov xat Aniotdpov, mpos Kaicapa. to 6é
vauTixoyv év travtt dvampayouv Kal mpos a&tracav
barepivov BonGeav avdis invdynate T@ TWEC@
TpoaexeLy tov "Avrwviov. éaxe Sé Kal Kavidiov
Tov apyovTa tov melov peTaPorr yrouns mapa
7a, Sewvd kal cuveBovreve Kvcomatpav pev
ATOTELT ELD, dvaxwpnoavta dé els Opaenv 1
Maxedoviay melouaxia Kpiva. Kal yap Arxouns
o Terav Bacthets UTLOXVELTO TONG oTpatig
BonOjoew: OvK elvat bé aicKpov et Kaicapt
yeyuuvacuév@ .trepi Tov DLxeeNLKOv TONE MOV
exoTHo OvTaL THIS Gardcons, adda, Sewvov eb TOY

mela aryoveov epTELpoTaros av “AvT@vLOS ov
XpHoeTat pomp Kal TapacKevyy TOC OUTWY omhe-
TOV, eis vads Stavéuov Kal KaTavadickwv THY
Suvapty.
Ov pny drda eEevinnae Kyeordrpa dua TOY veo
xpiOjvas Tov TOAEHOV, 75n ™ pos puyny opaca,
Kai tiOcwevn ta Kal? éavtny, ody Omou mpds
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the potable water within certain barriers and thus de- priving the enemy of it, since the places round about afforded little, and that of bad quality. He also be- haved with magnanimity towards Domitius, contrary to the judgment of Cleopatra. For when Domitius, who was already in a fever, got into a small boat and went over to Caesar, Antony, though deeply chagrined, nevertheless, sent off to him all his bag- gage, together with his friends and servants. And Domitius, as if repenting when his faithlessness and treachery became known, straightway died.

There were also defections among the kings, and Amyntas and Deiotarus went over to Caesar. Besides, since his navy was unlucky in everything and always too late to be of any. assistance, Antony was again compelled to turn his attention to his land forces. Canidius also, the commander of the land forces, changed his mind in presence of the danger, and advised Antony to send Cleopatra away, to withdraw into Thrace or Macedonia, and there to decide the issue by a land battle. For Dicomes the king of the Getae promised to come to their aid with a large force ; and it would be no disgrace, Canidius urged, for them to give up the sea to Caesar, who had practised himself there in the Sicilian war; but it would be a strange thing for Antony, who was most experienced in land conflicts, not to avail himself of the strength and equipment of his numerous legionary soldiers, but to distribute his forces among ships and so fritter them away.

However, Cleopatra prevailed with her opinion that the war should be decided by the ships, although she was already contemplating flight, and was dis- posing her own forces, not where they would be

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TO viKaV éora XPHTLWL0s, arr’ bOev arrest pgora
TOV TpayLatTwv aTrohhupEever. nv oe papa
oKEAN KaTarelvovTa 1 pos Tov vavotaOmov THs
aTparoTredeias, 52’ av o “AYTOVLOS etw@det Taptevar
6 pndev Upopaipevos. oixérou o€ Kaicapr dpd-
TAVTOS WS Suvarov ein KaTlovTa dua TOV oKEX@V
ovrAapely avrov, emepure TOUS évedpevoortas.
ot O€ Tapa TocobTov nrAOov date cuvapT dca TOV
T ponyoupevov auTov Roce evarmaunes: autos 6é

Spopm porss vreFepuyev.
LXIV. 1Os dé vavpaxeiy &é8oxro, Tas pep
addas évétr pnoe vais TwANV éEjcovra TOV Al-
yuTrTiov, Tas 5é€ dpictas xal peyiotas aro
Tpinpous HEX pe Sexnpouvs éarAnpov, Stopuptious
éuBiBalwv omrj(tas Kal duoytrious toforas.
év0a melouayov avdpa TOV Taftapy ev héyouat,
TALTOAXOUS ny@vig pevov ayavas “AvTo@vie Kal
KQTOTET PLL LEvOY TO capa, Tob "AvT@viou Tapt-
2 oVvTos dvaxhavoad Gat Kab elTreiy “"Q, av’to-
KpaTop, Tl TOV Tpavpatov TOUTO@Y uv tou Eihous
KaTayvous ev Evrous Tmovnpois Evers Tas EATIOAS ;
Airybmrvot Kal Doivixes € év Oardoon paxées Owoar,
npiy oé& yh bos, ep nS elaBapev EgT@TES aTro-
Ouija Kew 7 vexdy TOUS TrohEpious. pos TavTa
pndev a ATFOK PLVALEVOS, GANG TH XEepe Lxal T@ mpoo-
OT @ povov olov éyweevodpevos Tov av pa Gap-
pety, mapirbev, ov Xpneras EXov éxridas, ds
¥e Kal TOUS cuBepynras Ta lotia BovAopévous
aronurrety nvayKacev éuBarecdar Kal Kopitern,
Aéywor Ste Set pndéva hevyovta TeV TodEepiov
diaduyeiy.
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helpful in winning the victory, but where they could most easily get away if the cause was lost. Moreover, there were two long walls extending down to the naval station from the camp, and between these Antony was wont to pass without suspecting any danger. But a slave told Caesar that it was possible to seize Antony as he went down between the walls, and Caesar sent men to lie in ambush for him. These men came near accomplishing their purpose, but seized only the man who was advancing in front of Antony, since they sprang up too soon; Antony himself escaped with difficulty by running.

LXIV. When it had been decided to deliver a sea battle, Antony burned all the Egyptian ships except sixty ; but the largest and best, from those having three to those having ten banks of oars, he manned, putting on board twenty thousand heavy-armed soldiers and two thousand archers. It was on this occasion, we are told, that an infantry centurion, a man who had fought many a battle for Antony and was covered with scars, burst into laments as Antony was passing by, and said: ‘ Imperator, why dost thou distrust these wounds and this sword and put thy hopes in miserable logs of wood? Let Egyptians and Phoenicians do their fighting at sea, but give us land, on which we are accustomed to stand and either conquer our enemies or die.” To this Antony made no reply, but merely encouraged the man by a gesture and a look to be of good heart, and passed on. And he.had no good hopes himself, since, when the masters of his ships wished to leave their sails behind, he compelled them to put them on board and carry them, saying that not one fugitive of the enemy should be allowed to make his escape.

, A
LXV. 'Exeivny pév obv thy jpépay Kal Tpets
\ *~
Tas épeEns peydro mvevpate Kupavlév to Té-
\ , 9? , , \ ,
Naryos THY MaXNY éweaXe, TMEuTTD be vqvenias
Kal yaAdnvns axdvoTOU yevopévns cuvnecar, 'Av-
t \ N } N la bY 4 \ 4
Twvios pev TO SeEvoy Képas éxwv kat [lomdexoXas;,
4 e A N > A 9 , \ 4
Kointos 8€ ro evwvupor, év péow Sé Mapxos
9 és a %
OxrdBios nat Mapxos 'Ivornios. Kaicap 8
éri tov evwvupov tafas '"Aypimmav avTo Td
deEiov xatédiTre. tov dé mwelav tov pev *Apv-
la , \ A , A > y
twviov Kavidios, tov- 6¢ Katoapos Taipos én
ths Oardtrns wapard~avtes novyalov. attav
a 4
dé Trav nyepovwy "Avrw@vios pev éredoita Tavra-
NOTE KOTTHPEL, TOVS TTPaTLwWTAS TapaKadwY Tro
A nw ef aA
Bpidovs tev veav watrep ex ys Edpaiovs paye-
a0at, tots 5é KuBepyntats StaxedXevopevos WaTeEp
oppovaats atpéua tais vavol SéyerOar Tas
9 N "a 4 \ \ 4
éwBoras TOV TOAGLwY, THY Tepl TO oTOMa buC-
ld 4 4 be é Q
xYopiay durdtrovras. Katcape dé NEyeTaLt pev
4 A a o
€TL GKOTOUS ATO THS TKNVAS KUKA@ 'TrEepLioVTL
mpos Tas vads avO pwrros éNavvwv 6vov aTavThaat,
mulopéve Sé Tovvopa yvwpicas avToy eiTreiv.
a \ ,
"'Ryot pev Kitvyos dvoua, TO 5é dvm Nixov."
610 Kal tots éuBoros Tov TOTOY KoTpaV UVaTEpoV
»" A v \ " 3 N .
értnae YarKovv dvov cat avOpwrov. ériday &é
A " / 9 4 N \ } N
THY aXANnY TapaTakiy, év wWNOLW pos TO dEeELov
Kopicbels COavpacev atpesovvras év Tots aTEVOIS

TOUS ToNemous: » yap ous HY TOV veav ér
b 4 e A a / nn
ayKupats opphovoa@y. Kal TovTo pméxpt TodXOU
/ na a
TETELTHEVOS AvElYe TAS éaUTOU TrEpl OKT@ TTAbLA
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LXV. During that day, then, and the three follow- ing days the sea was tossed up by a strong wind and prevented the battle ; but on the fifth,! the weather becoming fine and the sea calm, they came to an engagement. Antony had the right wing, with Publicola, Coelius the left, and in the centre were Marcus Octavius and Marcus Insteius. Caesar posted Agrippa on the left, and reserved the right wing for himself. Of the land forces, that of Antony was com- manded by Canidius, that of Caesar by Taurus, who drew them up along the sea and remained quiet. As for the leaders themselves, Antony visited all his ships in a row-boat, exhorting the soldiers, owing to the weight of their ships, to fight without changing their position, as if they were on land; he also ordered the masters of the ships to receive the attacks of the enemy as if their ships were lying quietly at anchor, and to maintain their position at the mouth of the gulf, which was narrow and difficult. Caesar, we are told, who had left his tent while it was yet dark and was going round to visit his ships, was met by a man driving an ass. Caesar asked the man his name, and he, recognizing Caesar, replied: “ My name is Prosper, and my ass’s name is Victor.”” Therefore, when Caesar afterwards decorated the place with the beaks of ships, he set up bronze figures of an ass and a man. After surveying the rest of his line of battle, he was carried in a small boat to his right wing, and there was astonished to see the enemy lying motionless in the narrows ; indeed, their ships had the appearance of riding at anchor. For a long time he was con- vinced that this was really the case, and kept his own ships at a distance of about eight furlongs from the

1 Sept. 2, 31 B.c.
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TaV évaytTiov adecta@aas. Extn Sé Hv dpa, cal
TVEVLATOS alpopévov Teraylov SucavacyeToovTeEs
ot Avtwviou mpos thy SiarpiBnv, Kal Tois Br Weot
Kat peyéecs TOV oixeiwy vedy TeTroiOoTes ws
ampoopaxols, TO evwvupoy exivncay: idav é
Kaicap fjc8n nai rpvpvav éxpovoato To deka,
Bovropevos ert pGAXov éx Tov KoATOUV Kal Tov
atevav é€w Tovs TroAEmious éTioTracacbat, Kut
TEepiTAEWY EUnpEeat GKAadEcL TOIs éavTOD oUL-
mTréKETOaL TrpdS Vads UT’ OyKoU Kal TANpwpaToV
OrLYOTNTOS apyas Kal Bpadeias.
LXVI. ’Apyopévou dé tov ayavos ev yepoly

elvat, éuPoral ev ovx joav ovdé avappntes
veav, Tov pev “Avtwviov d:a Bdpos piynv ovK
éyouga@v, 4) padtoTa Tole Tas TeV éuBorov
TAnyas évepyous, Tov 6€ Kaicapos ov povoy avtt-
Tpepwv cuuhépecbar mpos YadkwopaTta oTEeped
Kal tpaxéa pvraccopévwv, arAdAa pnde KaTa
mAeupav éuBoras Sidovar Oappovaodrv. ameOpav-
ovto yap Ta EuPora padiws 4 mpoomécore oKd-
geo TeTpaywvorv Evrov peyddrov oldnpw ocuvnp-
pocpévov mpos GAAnAa Sebepévors. Hv ovv
meCouaxig Tpoapepns 0 ayer TO dé arnBéarepov
evmely, Terxouayia. TpEls yap apa Kal Técoapes
Tept pilav tav ‘AvTwviov auvetyorTo, yEppots
kat dopact Kal KovTois ypwpmevwy Kal mupoBoXous"
ot &€ ’"Avtwviov cal xataréXtass ato EvXivov
mupywv éBarxrov.
"Aypi 5€ Oartepov Ké is KUKAwWOoLD

ypimmou dé Epov Képas els KU
éxteivovtos, avtavdyew TlomdKorXas avayxato-
Hevos atreppyyvuTO TaV pécwv. OopuBoupévwn dé
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enemy. But it was now the sixth hour, and since a wind was rising from the sea, the soldiers of Antony became impatient at the delay, and, relying on the height and size of their own ships as making them unassailable, they put their left wing in motion. When Caesar saw this he was delighted, and ordered his right wing to row backwards, wishing to draw the enemy still farther out from the gulf and the narrows, and then to surround them with his own agile vessels and come to close quarters with ships which, owing to their great size and the smallness of their crews, were slow and ineffective.

LXVI. Though the struggle was beginning to be at close range, the ships did not ram or crush one another at all, since Antony’s, owing to their weight, had no impetus, which chiefly gives effect to the blows of the beaks, while Caesar’s not only avoided dashing front to front against rough and hard bronze armour, but did not even venture to ram the enemy’s ships in the side. For their beaks would easily have been broken off by impact against vessels constructed of huge square timbers fastened together with iron. The struggle was therefore like a land battle; or, to speak more truly, like the storming of a walled town. For three or four of

Caesar's vessels were engaged at the same time
about one of Antony’s, and the crews fought with
wicker shields and spears and punting-poles and
fiery missiles; the soldiers of Antony also shot with
catapults from wooden towers.
And now, as Agrippa was extending the left wing with a view to encircling the enemy, Publicola was forced to advance against him, and so was separated from the centre. The centre falling into confusion

TOUT@Y Kal TUpTAEKOMEVOY Tots Trept Tov Appovy-
TLov, axpttou 6€ Kab Kowijs Ere THS vaUpaxias cuve-
oe aipvidsov at Kreomatpas efnxovra vijes
op) noav aipopevat T pos amon Novy Ta iotia Kal
bua pécou pevyovoat TOV paxopeveoy™ qoav yap
oTiTw TETAYHEVAL TOV peyarwv, Kat Srextrinr-
Tovoal Tapayny émrotouv. ot O€ évayTiou Oavpa-
Covres eGeavro, T@ TVEVLATL Xpopevas Op@vres
Kat emexovoas TOs THY TleXorovvngor. éva 67)
pavepov avrov "AvT@Vos eTrointey OUTE ApYovTOS
OuUTE avépos ore brAws Lolo. Aoyea pois dcocov-
pevor, GAN’ Omrep TU Taisen elie, THY puxiy
TOU Ep@VTOS év ardor pip cwpate Cry, ENKOMEVOS
UTO THS yuvatKos aorep TUMLTEPYKDS kal oUp-
peTadepopevos. ov yap EPOn Thy eKxeiVvns idev
vaov amom ova ay, Kal TavTOV exabopevos Kal
mpodous Kab arroépas TOUS brrép avrTov Haxopevous
Kat Ounoxovras, els TEevTNPN HeTeu Bas, "Areka
Tov Xvpov. Kal LKehdALov povev avT@ UvEp-
Bavrov, edimxe THY amokwrexviay 4Sn cal
TpogamoXovg ay avrov.
LXVII. ‘Exeivn dé Wopicaca onpetov amo
THS vEews avéc e Kal TpoaevexOels ott Kal
avarnpdets exelvny Mev ouTe eldev ouTe when,
mapeav dé Lovos els mpppav éf’ éav Tou Kalijato
oLWTH, TALS XEpalv appotépars exOpLev0s TNS
Keparns. ev TOUT dé AuBupvides dp Onoav
SumKovaat mapa Kaicapos:) be avtim pppov
ema pepetv Tv vavv Kehevoas Tas bev anras
aveaTELrey, Evpuenijs oo AdKov eveKeLTO go-
Bapas, AOyyNY TiVa xpadaivey amo Tov KaTa-

and engaging with Arruntius,! although the sea-fight was still undecided and equally favourable to both sides, suddenly the sixty ships of Cleopatra were seen hoisting their. sails for flight and making off through the midst of the combatants; for they had been posted in the rear of the large vessels, and threw them into confusion as they plunged through. The enemy looked on with amazement, seeing that they took advantage of the wind and made for Pelo- ponnesus. Here, indeed, Antony made it clear to all the world that he was swayed by the sentiments neither of a commander nor of a brave man, nor even by his own, but, as someone in pleasantry said that the soul of the lover dwells in another's body, he was dragged along by the woman as if he had become incorporate with her and must go where she did. For no sooner did he see her ship sailing off than he forgot everything else, betrayed and ran away from those who were fighting and dying in his cause, got into a five-oared galley, where Alexas the Syrian and Scellius were his only companions, and hastened — after the woman who had already ruined him and would make his ruin still more complete.

LXVII. Cleopatra recognized him and raised a signal on her ship; so Antony came up and was taken on board, but he neither saw her nor was seen by her. Instead, he went forward alone to the prow and sat down by himself in silence, holding his head in both hands. At this point, Liburnian ships were seen pursuing them from Caesar's fleet; but Antony ordered the ship's prow turned to face them, and so kept them all off, except the ship of Eurycles the Laconian, who attacked vigorously, and brandished a

1 The commander of Caesar's centre, as Plutarch should have stated at Ixv. 1. 289

oTpHpAaTOS WS adnowy eT avUTOV. eItTTAVTOS
dé 7H mpe@pa tov 'Avtwviov nai "Tis obtos,"
elmrovtos, "o Stwoxwov "Avtwvov;" "'Eyo,"
ceimrev, " Kvpuxrns o Aaydpovs, TH Katoapos
TUYN Tov TOU TaTpos éxdic@v Odvarov." Oo Oé
Aaydpns im' *Avtwviov Anoteias aitia Tept-
meow érercKiaOn. amrnv ov« évéBarev o- Evpu-
KAns eis THY "Avtwviov vaiv, adda THY éETépav
Tov vavapyidwv (dv0 yap joav) TO Yarkopuate
matakas wepteppouPnoe, Kal Tavtny Te TAaYiaY
Tepimecovcay elke cal ToY GAAwY piav, ev 7
qToAXuTeEnNEls oKEVAL T@V Tepl Siaitav Hoayv. aTrar-
Nayévtos 5é trovTov wad oO "Avt@vios els TO avTO
oxipa -xabels éavtov aaouxiay frye Kal tpeis
fuepas Kal' éavtov év apwpa Svartneis, ei?
im opyns, elt aidovpevos eéxetvnv, Tatvap@

mTpocéayev. evravéa 8 avrovs ai auvnbes yu-
yaikes Tp@Tov pev els Adyous aAANXNOLS TUY-
yayov, eita ouvderTrvely Kal cuyxabevoey Errercav.
"Hd b€é cal trav otpoyyvAwy TWrOiwY ovK ddirya
Kal tov dirwy. tives ex TIS TpoTHAS HOpoifovTo
pos avTous, ayyéAAovtTes ATOAWAEVAaL TO VaUTI-
Kov, ovecOat 6€ TO Telov auvectdvat. *“AvT@VLOS
5é mpos péev Kavidsov dyyéXous éreprev, ava-
yopety 51a Maxedovias eis "Aciay To otpaT@
KaTa Tdyos KeXEvwY, adTos dé pédArAwWY aro
Ta:vdpov mpos thv AtBinv si:aipew, odrdgKdda
piav, TOAY pev Voutopa, ToAdAod Sé akias év
apyup@ Kal ypvo@ KatacKevas tov BaciuKav
xopivovaav, é&eAopevos Tois giros érédwxe
Koh, velwacOar nat owlew éavtous xedevoas.
apvovpévouvs S€ Kal KAaiovTas evpevas Tavu
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spear on the deck as though he would cast it at Antony. And when Antony, standing at the prow, asked, “Who is this that pursues Antony?” the answer was, “Iam Eurycles the son of Lachares, whom the fortune of Caesar enables to avenge the death of ,his father.”” Now, Lachares had been beheaded by Antony because he was involved in a charge of robbery. However, Eurycles did not hit Antony’s ship, but smote the other admiral’s ship (for there were two of them) with his bronze beak and whirled her round, and as she swung round sideways he captured her, and one of the other ships also, which contained costly: equipment for household use. When Eurycles was gone, Antony threw himself down again in the same posture and did not stir. He spent three days by himself at the prow, either because he was angry with Cleopatra, or ashamed to see her, and then put in at Taenarum. Here the women in Cleopatra's company at first brought them into a parley, and then persuaded them to eat and sleep together.

Presently not a few of their heavy transport ships and some of their friends began tu gather about them after the defeat, bringing word that the fleet was destroyed, but that, in their opinion, the land forces still held together. So Antony sent messengers to Canidius, ordering him to retire with his army as fast as he could through Macedonia into Asia ; he himself, however, since he purposed to cross from Taenarum to

Libya, selected one of the transport ships which carried much coined money and very valuable royal utensils in silver and gold, and madea present of it to his friends, bidding them divide up the treasure and look out for their own safety. They refused his gift

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Kat prroppoves TapapvOnadpevos Kat _5en-

7 Geis amréotenre, ypaypas T pos @eodurov Tov év
Kopivép Stovent hy d1as ac ddevav exTropion
Kal atroxpiwn Tous dvdpas ay pt dv indcacOau
Kaicapa SuvnP dow. OUTOS TY Oedprros 'I7r-
mdpxov maTnp Tob Tela TOV mapa 'Avravicp
Suvnfévtos, mpwtov 5& awpos Katcapa TOY aTre-
hevdépeov petaBaropévou Kal KatoiknoayvTos
vaotepov év KopivOo.
LXVIII. Tatra pev ovv Ta KATA TOV 'AyT@-
yiov. ev "Axtio bé TONY 0 oTOXOS avTLaX@y
Kaioape xpavov, cat peyearov Bra Bels UTO TOU
KAVOWVOS vypnrov . KaTa Tmpapav ioTapevon, pores
pas Sexatns areime. Kat vexpol fev ov WAeious
éyévovTo MEVTAKLTXIALODY, Edrwoav 6é TplLaKoo Lat
2 wipes, @S AUTOS aveyparpe Kaioap. naOovro dé
ov TONAL mepeuryoros 'Avtevion, Kat Tots mvu0o-
pévors TO 7 parTOV amtaros my O oyos, et déxa Kal
évvea TAY paTa, melav anTTATOV Kal Sia yuALous
emt pupiors im mets aromtmav olyerat, Kabdmep
ov TONAEKLS én dpporepa T) TUX KEY PNMLEVOS
oude pupiov - GYaveOV Kat TONE LOY peta Boras
3 eyyeryunvas pevos. ot 6¢ oTpanarar Kal moO ov
Tia Kal poo doxiap elyov as avtixa oev
emipavnaouevou: Kal TogauTny émredeiEavto
miotiw Kal dperny Gare Kal THs puyiis avTou
pavepas yevouerns npépas entra TuppElvat, TrEpLto-
pavres émiTrpeo Bevopevov avrors Kaicapa. réXos 948
bé, Tov oTpaTHyoU Kavdtov YUKTWP drrodpavtos
Kat KATANIT OVTOS TO atparomesov, yevopevor Tav-
Tov épnuot kal mpodobévtes rd TaV apxYoVTwr,
T@ KpaTouvTL TpoTEywpnoay.
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and were in tears, but he comforted them and be- sought them with great kindness and affection, and finally sent them away, after writing to Theophilus, his steward in Corinth, that he should keep the men in safe hiding until they could make their peace with Caesar. This Theophilus was the father of Hipparchus, who had the greatest influence with Antony, was the first of Antony's freedmen to go over to Caesar, and afterwards lived in Corinth.

LXVIII. This, then, was the situation of Antony. But at Actium his fleet held out for a long time against Caesar, and only after it had been most severely damaged by the high sea which rose against it did it reluctantly, and at the tenth hour, give up the struggle. There were not more than five thousand dead, but three hundred ships were captured, as Caesar himself has written. Only a few were aware that Antony had fled, and to those who heard of it the story was at first an incredible one, that he had gone off and left nineteen legions of undefeated men-at-arms and twelve thousand horsemen, as if he had not many times experienced both kinds of for- tune and were not exercised by the reverses of countless wars and fightings. His soldiers, too, had a great longing for him, and expected that he would presently make his appearance from some quarter or other; and they displayed so much fidelity and bravery that even after his flight had become evident they held together for seven days, paying no heed to the messages which Caesar sent them. But at last, - after Canidius their general had. run away by night and forsaken the camp, being now destitute of all things and betrayed by their commanders, they went over to the conqueror.

"Ex tovtov Kaicap pev én' "AOnvas émrdeuce,
cai Siadrrayels Tots "EXAnot Tov TweptovTa oirov
éx TOU TONE WOV Suéverpe Tats TOAETL TpAaTTOvG ALS
aOriws Kal TEpLKEKoppevars XPnpearav, avdpamo-
Swv, brrofuyiwy. o yoov mporan Tos nya Ni-
Kkapyos Sunyetro Tovs ToAttas amavtas avayKd-
CecOat trois mmo KaTtapépery péTpnua mrupav
TeTaypevoy émi tHv mpos "Avtixupay Oddraccap,
UNTO pacTiywy émitaXuvomevous: Kal piav pev
otTw hopay éveyxeiv, thy 5é Sevrépav 4dn pepe-
Tpnpévots Kab pédAovow alpecOar vevixnpévov
"Ayt@viov ayyeAnval, Kal TovTo dStacwoat TT?
T ayyeAnvat, rue
Tow: evOus yap Tav 'Avtwviov Suatkntav xal

° "~ , "a
TTpAT LOT ay guyovtwy Staveiacbat Tov aitov
avTous.
LXIX. "AVT@MOS dé AiBins "dvpdsevos ral
Kyeordtpav ets Aiyumrov éx Ilapattoviou mpo-

4 > AN b) 4 9 / > , \
mwéppas avtos améAavev épnuias adOovov, .cw
dual dirors ddvwv cal trAava@pevos,”"EAAnve pev
a ¢
"Apiotoxpates pntoptx@, Pwpuato dé Aoveirrio¢,
‘ e > e¢ 7 / ¢ > ,

mepi ov du érépwv yeypadpapev ws ev Pirjirrois,
umép Tov Staduyeity Bpodrov, avtos avtov, ws 87
Bpodtos ov, eveyeipioe Tois Suwxovat, Kai d:acw-
Gels tr’ ’Avtwviov d:a TodTO, TLaTOS avT@ Kal
BéRBavos axpt Tav éoydTwv Kaipwv Trapépetver.
3 \ \ \ \ > / 4 e
éret 6¢ xal thv év AtBin Svvau o Temiotev-
pévos aréatnoev, oppnoas éautoyv avedey xal
StaxorvGels Uo Tav dirwv Kai Kxoptcbels eis
"AreEduSpecav ecbpe Kvreotratpayv émitodkpacay
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In consequence of this, Caesar sailed to Athens, and after making a settlement with the Greeks, he distributed the grain which remained over after the war among their cities; these were in a wretched plight, and had been stripped of money, slaves, and beasts of burden. At any rate, my great-grandfather Nicarchus used to tell how all his fellow-citizens were compelled to carry on their shoulders a stipu- lated measure of wheat down to the sea at Anticyra, and how their pace was quickened by the whip; they had carried one load in this way, he said, the second was already measured out, and they were just about to set forth, when word was brought that Antony had been defeated, and this was the salvation of the city; for immediately the Stewards and soldiers of Antony took to flight, and the citizens divided the grain among themselves.

LXIX. After Antony had reached the coast of Libya and sent Cleopatra forward into Egypt from Paraetonium, he, had the benefit of solitude without end, roaming and wandering about with two friends, one a Greek, Aristocrates a rhetorician, and the other a Roman, Lucilius, about whom I have told a story elsewhere.! He was at Philippi, and in order that Brutus might make his escape, pretended to be Bru- tus and surrendered himself to his pursuers. His life was spared by Antony on this account, and he remained faithful. to him and steadfast up to the last crucial times. When the general to whom his forces in Libya had been entrusted brought about their defection, Antony tried to kill himself, but was pre- vented by his friends and brought to Alexandria. Here he found Cleopatra venturing upon a hazardous

1 See the Brutus, chapter 1.
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” , \ j , a \ v

Epy@ tapaRorX Kal peyado. Tov yap eipyovTos
icO nov tHhv épvOpay aro Ths nat’ AiyuTrrov Oa-
Adoons Kal Soxobvtos Aciav nat AiBunv opifery,
4 opiyyerat pddtota Tols meAadyeot Kal Bpayv-
TaTOs Epos €oTL, TplaKOTiwy aTadiwy dvTwP,
éveyeipnoev Apaca Tov oTOXOY UTEpvewWAKT CAL, Kal
kaleica tas vais eis Tov ’ApaBixoy KoXTOV peTa
Ypnuatwv tod\Aav Kal duvduews Ew KaTtoxely,
atropuyovoa Sovrciay Kal mroAeuov. émret 5d Tas
TpWTAS avEeXKopéevas TOV vewv ot Tept THv ITé-
” D v 9 ay \
tpav “Apafes xatéxavaay, étt 5é ‘“Avtw@vios Tov
éy ’Axti@m orTpatov geto ouppéverv, emavoato,
\ \ 3 \ bd UA b] 4 \
kal tas éuBoras édvrattev. “Avtavios dé tTHV
TOALY éxALT@V Kal Tas peTa TOV didrwv Sia-
, el
TpuBas, olxnow evarXov Katecxevaley avT@ rept
\ > a
tThv Ddpor, eis tHv Odraccay Kapa TpoBarov:
\ a > 7 \ ’ , 1.9
kal Stiyev avtob. gduvyas avOp@rev, Kal tov
Tipwvos ayarav kal Cnrovv Biov épacker, ws
\ \ @ \ \ > A 9 N e \
69 wetrovOas Gola’ Kal yap avTos abixnGeis Ure
girwv Kal ayaptotnOeis, dia TovTO Kal TaoL
avopwrroas atiote Kal duayepaiverv. ,
e A
LXX. ‘O 6€ Tipov Rv 'AOnvaios, cal yéyovev
€ , 4 \ \ ,
n\tkia padoTa kata Tov IleXorovvnotaxov 1o-
Aepov, ws ex TaV ‘Aptotodavous Kal IIXdtwvos
Spapdteav rAaBeiv ott. xopmdettar yap év éxei-
vows ws duopevns Kal procavOpwros: éxkrjL(vov dé
\
kal StwOovpevos adrracay évrevEw, "AdXxiBuddnpy,
,
véov dvta nal Opacuv, nomdleto Kal xatediret
4
mpoOvpws. ‘Amnudytou 5€ Gavpdoavtos Kal mv-
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and great undertaking. The isthmus, namely, which separates the Red Sea! from the Mediterranean Sea

off Egypt and is considered to be the boundary be- tween Asia and Libya, in the part where it is most constricted by the two seas and has the least' width, measures three hundred furlongs. Here Cleopatra undertook to raise her fleet out of water and drag the ships across, and after launching them in the Arabian Gulf} with much money and a large force, to settle in parts outside of Egypt, thus escaping war and servitude. But since the Arabians about Petra burned the first ships that were drawn up, and An- tony still thought that his land forces at Actium were holding together, she desisted, and guarded the ap- proaches to the country. And now Antony forsook the city and the society of his friends, and built for himself a dwelling in the sea at Pharos, by throwing a mole out into the water. Here he lived an exile from men, and declared that he was contentedly imitating the life of Timon, since, indeed, his exper- iences had been like Timon's; for he himself also had been wronged and treated with ingratitude by his friends, and therefore hated and distrusted all mankind.

LXX. Now, Timon was an Athenian, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian War, as may be gathered from the plays of Aristophanes and Plato. For he is represented in their comedies as peevish and misanthropical ; but though he avoided and re- pelled all intercourse with men, he was glad to see Alcibiades, who was then young and headstrong, and showered kisses upon him. And when Apemantus

1 By Red Sea Plutarch here means the upper part of the Arabian Gulf.

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/ N 9 #7 "A " \ ,
Oouévov THY aitiav, directv Epn Tov. veavioxoy
29 \ 0 a? , a v "
eldws Ste ToAA@Y AOnvalots Kax@v aitios évotTo.
' \ 93 4 ¥ , e nd b] "~ \
tov d¢€ 'AmnpavTov jovov ws Gmotoy avT@ Kal
le) \ ined Ww id , /
tnroovTa THY Oiattav Eat Ste TMpocieTo: Kai
mote THS TV Xo@y ovans éoptHs eiaotiavTo Kal'
e 4 NY re ad. , , "ce
auTous ol dvo, TOV 0 ~Amnuavtou dncavtos, " Os
, @ lA A Ul e "A b> (e9 ¥
Kadov, w» Tipwrv, To cuptrociov nuov, "* Kirye
, \ A ? ,
av, ébn, "un wapis." Réyerar 5é "AOnvaiwv
b / 9 \ ? \ a ol
éxxAnotatovtwav avaBas éml ro Bua tomoar
\ \
clwmny Kat wpoadoKiay peydAnv 1a TO Tapa-
9 9 a co" N 9 ,

dofov: eita eitreiv: “““Kore poe utKpov otKxomredor,
bs 2 5A bd a \ A b 9 ” ,
@ avopes "A@nvaio, Kal avn tis év avT@ Te-
b] ? ” \ “ “ 9 4
guxerv, €& As HON cuXvol TOV TOALTOY amrnyEaVTO.
, @ >] w AN “4 ,

péAXY oOvY oOtKOdomEty TOY ToTrov éBovrANnOnv
, a / f
Snpocia mpoetetv, tva, av dpa tives €OéX\wow
A a A A b) 99

ULV, ply exKkoTHVAaL THY TUKHY, aTrayEwvTat.
, \ 9 A \ 4 € A
TeXeuTnoavtos S€ avTov Kal tadévtos “Adfjot
\ \ a
jTapa tiv Odraccav wordtcb_e Ta TpovyovTa Tov
> a) \ N a \ ” \
aiysadXov, Kal To Kidpa mrepleNOov aBatov Kai
/
ampooTéxaotov gvOpwr@ memoinxe tov Ttdadov.
nv © érruryeypappévov:
b] 7&9 / , a

ev0ad’ atroppntas yuxynv Bapudaipova xeipat.

wv A

Tovvoua & ov mevoecbe, Kaxol 5é KaK@s aTo-

roa Oe.

\ A \ > N ” a ,
Kat TovTO Mev AuUTOV €ETt Sovra TETTOLNKEVAL
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was amazed at this and asked the reason for it, Timon said he loved the youth because he knew that he would be a cause of many ills to Athens. This Apemantus alone of all men Timon would sometimes admit into . his company, since Apemantus was like him and tried sometimes to imitate his mode of life; and once, at the festival of The Pitchers,! the two were feasting by themselves, and Apemantus said: “Timon, what a fine symposium ours is!” “It would be,’ said Timon, “if thou wert not here.” We are told also that

once when the Athenians were holding an as- sembly, he ascended the bema, and the strangeness of the thing caused deep silence and great expectancy ; then he said: “I have a small building lot, men of Athens, and a fig-tree is growing in it, from which many of my fellow citizens have already hanged themselves. Accordingly, as I intend to build a house there, I wanted to give public notice to that effect, in order that all of you who desire to do so may hang yourselves before the fig-tree is cut down.” After he had died and been buried at Halae near the sea, the shore in front of the tomb slipped away, and the water surrounded it and made it com- pletely inaccessible to man. The inscription on the tomb was :

“ Here, after snapping the thread of a wretched life,
I lie. ;
Ye shall not learn my name, but my curses shall
follow you.”
This inscription he is said to have composed

1 Choes-day, the second day of the great festival in honour of Dionysus called Anthesteria. It was a day of libations to the dead,

Aéyouct, To Sé tepipepopevov Karrdipayerov
éoTe" |
Tipewv proavOpwios évoixéw. GAA Twapedbe,
9 , ” \ 4 (
oipeter elas ToAXa TapedOe povov.
LXXI. Taira pév wept Tipwvos amo toddov
9 4 fel \ 9 4 / , “A >
Oriya. To 5é€° Avtwvim Kavidids te THs ato-
Bors tov év’Axtip duvdpewy avtayyeros HrG¢,
kat Tov lovdaiov Hpwénv éxovtd tiva taypata Kal
4
omeipas jKovoe Katoaps wpooxeywpynkéva, nal
A LA e / , 9 / \
Tous adAXous opoiws duvdotas adiotacbat Kat
pndev Ere cuppévery Tov extos. ov pv Srerapaké
4 > , b) \ a ww \ > ,
TL TOUTMV AUTOV, AANA WoTTED AT MEVOS TO EATL-
Ce aroteOermévos, iva Kal to dpovtigeyv, tHv
\ ” b , , , b) ,
bev évarov éxeivny Siartav, ivy Tywvercov wvo-
4 \ A
pater, éFérurrev, avarndels 5é€ bro THs Kyeo-
\ a
mwatpas eis Ta Bacirea mpos Setrva Kal métous

\ \ Mv \ 4 b £ \ b
kal Stavopas Etpee THY TrOdLY, Eyypapaw pev eis
épnBSovs tov KXeordtpas maida nal Kaicapos,
\ \ > / > Y 4 e 4 »] UA
TO 6€ atroppupov Kat TédXeLov twatioy ‘AvTVAA@
na 9 , , 93? / \
T@ €x DovrAPRtas TwepiTiOets, ep ols Huépas ToNAaS
4 A “A A , \ b] 4
cuptoota Kal Kk@pot kat Oarias trhv ‘“AreEdr-
dpevay Katetyov. avtol dé THY pev TOV aptbun-
4 b] , 4 A e - \
ToBiwy éxeivnv auvodoyv Katédvaay, Erépav Sé
4
cuvetafay ovdév Te Nectropéevny exetvns aBpornte
N A
kat tpudais kal TrodvTedeias, vy suvvatrobavou-
, 9 4 9 4 \ e +
péevwv exaNovv. ateypadovtTo yap oi diroe ouv-
atroBavoupévous éavTovs, Kal dSefyov evradobvtes
? 5 4 U , \
év Oeitvav mepiodois. Kreoratpa 5é dap-
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himself, but that in general circulation.is by Calli-
machus :
‘‘ Timon, hater of men, dwells here ; so pass along ;
Heap many curses on me, if thou wilt, only pass
along.’
LXXI. These are a few things out of many con- cerning Timon. As for Antony, Canidius in person brought him word of the loss of his forces at Actium, and he heard that Herod the Jew, with sundry legions and cohorts, had gone over to Caesar, and that the other dynasts in like manner were deserting him and nothing longer remained of his power out- side of Egypt. However, none of these things greatly disturbed him, but, as if he gladly laid aside his hopes, that so he might lay aside his anxieties also, he forsook that dwelling of his in the sea, which he called Timoneum, and after he had been received into the palace by Cleopatra, turned the city to the enjoyment of suppers and drinking-bouts and distri- butions of gifts, inscribing in the list of ephebi! the son of Cleopatra and Caesar, and bestowing upon Antyllus the son of Fulvia the toga virilis without purple hem, in celebration of which, for many days, banquets and revels and feastings occupied Alex- andria. Cleopatra and Antony now dissolved their famous society of Inimitable Livers,? and founded another, not at all inferior to that in daintiness and luxury and extravagant outlay, which they called the society of Partners in Death. For their friends en- rolled themselves as those who would die together, and passed the time delightfully in a round of suppers. Moreover, Cleopatra was getting together collections

1 See the note on lxii. 1. Caesarion was to be educated as a Greek, Antyllus as a Roman. 2 Cf. chapter

xxviii. 2.

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pdiccov Gavacipar ovVHye eleveeSimeis duvapess,
Ov exdorns TO. avw@duvov édNeyxoura mpouBarnre
Tots emi Oavato@ Ppoupoupevors. érret 5€ EWpA
TAS ev @KULOpoUS THY ofvTnTa Tob Savdrou 6’
aduv7s emipepovoas, Tas dé 7 PQOTEpas TAXOS | OUK
exouaas, TOV Onpiwv a AMET ELPATO, Few pevns abriis
érepov évTép@ Tpoa PepovTwv. émrovet dé _TovTO
Kad Tmépay" Kal a xedov év Tract povov eUptoKe
TO Ofrypa THS aomidos dvev ora nod Kal orteva-
you Kapov vTvadn Kal Katapopay epeduopevor,
LOp@Te parax@ Tov mpoowmou, Kal TOV aia On-
TNpiov dpavpocer Tapadvopevev padios kal
dua xepatvovT wv ™ pos tas é€eyépoets Kal avaknrt-
oELS, domep oi Babéws cabevdorres.
LX XII. “Apa dé Kal ™ pos Kaicapa mpéa Bees
Emre jTroV. ELS ‘Agiay, v per aitoupévn tHv év
Aiyorre@ TOS mato apyny, 0 6é a&iav AOnvnouw,
él pn Soxotn meph Alyumrop, idearns cataSravar.
pirav 6€ a arropia, Kal amiotia bia Tas avtopondias
0 TOY TraidwD ‘Bi8dowaos eméuhOn mpea Bevav
Ev¢povios. kal yap Arekas o Aaobdixets, yvo-
praGels pep év ‘Pon bia Teparyévous Kal wAELo TOV
Eddijvev durmbeis, ryevopLevos dé TOV Krcordtpas
én "Avr@viov opyavav To Bratorarov Kal TOV
vmép ‘Oxraovias tora peverv év avT@ Aoyec perv
dvatpomevs, € emeupOn pev “Hp@dny TOV Bacthéa
THs peTaBonijs epefor, avtoo oé kaTapeivas Kal
Tm podous "Avt@vov éroApnoev els Oyu eGeiv
Kaicapos, ‘Hpwdy meTroOws. aynce 5é avtov
ovdév ‘Hpwdns, adr’ evs eipyOels cal xopiabets
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of all sorts of deadly poisons, and she tested the painless working of each of them by giving them to prisoners under sentence of death. But when she saw that the speedy poisons enhanced the sharpness of death by the pain they caused, while the milder poisons were not quick, she made trial of venomous animals, watching with her own eyes as they were set one upon another. She did this daily, and tried them almost all; and she found that the bite of the asp alone induced a sleepy torpor and sinking, where there was no spasm or groan, but a gentle perspira- tion on the face, while the perceptive faculties were easily relaxed and dimmed, and resisted all attempts to rouse and restore them, as is the case with those who are soundly asleep.

LXXII. At the same time they also sent an em- bassy to Caesar in Asia, Cleopatra asking the realm of Egypt for her children, and Antony . requesting that he might live as a private person at Athens, if he could not do so in Egypt. But owing to their lack of friends and the distrust which they felt on account of desertions, Euphronius, the teacher of the children, was sent on the embassy. For Alexas the Laodicean, who had been made known to Antony in Rome through Timagenes and had more influence with him than any other Greek, who had also been Cleopatra’s most effective instrument against Antony and had overthrown the considerations arising in his mind in favour of Octavia, had been sent to keep Herod the king from apostasy ; but after remaining there and betraying Antony he had the audacity to come into Caesar's presence, relying on Herod. Herod, however, could not help him, but the traitor was at once confined and carried in fetters to his own

b] \ e le) 4 , 9 A ,
els THY éavTov TwaTpida Séoptos éxet Katoapos
a, b A 4 \ b “ 4
KeXevoavTos avypéOn. TtoravTnv pev Areas ett
la) , fo
Cavre Stxny Avrwovie Ths amiotias é€étice.
LXXIIT. Kaicap &€ rovs pév trép ’Avrwviov’
NOyous ovK Hvéc KETO, KACoTaTpay O€ aTreKpivaTo
pndevos aduaprncecOar Tov éTietK@Y avedovcaD
"Avraviov éxBarotdoav. auvérweue 5€é xKal
Tap avtov Twa TaV atedevOépwv Ovpaor, ovK
9 ‘ ” b) \ b] 4 A] b e
avontov avOpwrov ovbé amiOdvas av ad nye-
\ wn
povos véou SiarexPévta mpos yuvaixa coBapav
\ N id >] N A nw
kat Oavuacrov doov émi KadrAe dpovovcav.
e ‘ Z

ovTOS evTUyYaV@V avTH MaKpoTepa TOV arAwWD
4 a ? ,
Kal Tim@pevos Stahepovtws UTovotav TO AvTwvio
mapéoxe, Kal cvAAaBwv avTov éuactiywcer, cita
> A \ , / e 2 a N
agjxe pos Kaicapa ypawas ws évtpudav Kat
n S
Tepippovav tapokvverey avrov, evapoEvytov vTro
a ” “2y de > \ / \ a 99
KAK@V OVTA. v 0€ eb UN Phepers TO TPaypa,
en, . peTpios, EVELS ELOV amehevOepov’ ‘Immapxov.
4
ToUTOY Kpewacas pacrirywcor, iva ioov EXcopen. -
éx Tovtou KXeorratpa pev atrodvopevn Tas aitias
kat wutrovoias éGepatevey avtov mepitTas: Kal
Thy éauTns yeveOdLov TaTrevas dSiayayovoa Kat
“a 4 ”
Tals TUYALS TIPETOVTWS, THY ExelvOU TAGAD UTTEpP-
Badronevn NaprpoTnta Kal TodvTédEtay Ewp-
A ,
TATEV, WOTE TOAAOUS TOV KEKANpEVwY éTL TO
wn , , 9 nA tA
Setrvov méevntas éAOovtas amedOeivy twrovotous.
U \ 3 , > ” 4 > N
Kaicapa 6¢ ’Aypimmas avexaneito ToNAaKLS aro
‘Pouns ypadwv as TOV éxEel TpayyaTeY THY
A 4
jTapovoiay autov toGouvTwy.
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country, where he was put to death by Caesar's orders. Such was the penalty for his treachery which Alexas paid to Antony while Antony was yet alive.

LXXIII. Caesar would not listen to the proposals for Antony, but he sent back word to Cleopatra that she would receive all reasonable treatment if she either put Antony to death or cast him out. - He also sent with the messengers one of his own freedmen, Thyrsus, a man of nomean parts, and one who would persuasively convey messages from a young general to a woman who was haughty and astonishingly proud in the matter of beauty. This man had longer inter- views with Cleopatra than the rest, and was conspicuously honoured by her, so that he roused suspicion in Antony, who seized him and gave him a flogging, and then sent him back to Caesar with a written message stating that Thyrsus, by his insolent and haughty airs, had irritated him, at a time when misfortunes made him easily irritated. “ But if thou dost not like the thing,” he said, “thou hast my freedman Hipparchus!; hang him up and give him a

flogging, and we shall be quits.” After this, Cleo- patra tried to dissipate his causes of complaint and his suspicions by paying extravagant court to him ; her own birthday she kept modestly and in a manner becoming to her circumstances, but she celebrated his with an excess of all kinds of splendour and costliness, so that many of those who were bidden to the supper came poor and went away rich. Meanwhile Caesar was being called home by Agrippa, who frequently wrote him from Rome that matters there greatly needed his presence.

1 See chapter Ixvii. 7.
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LXXIV. “Eayev ovv avaBornv o TOE HOS TOTE
tol dé XELELaVvOS Taped OovTos avs em net dua
Suptas, ot dé oTpatnyol 61a AuBuns. adrovtos Se
IInAovatou NOyos 7 evdobvar LéNevKov ovK
axovans tijs Kyrcordtpas. m O€ éxelvou pév
yuvaixa Kal maidas “AvTovig KTelvas Tapelxer,
avutn 5€ OnKas éxouca Kal punpara Kate-
oKEevac méeva TEPLTT OS els Te KdAXOS Kal Dypos, &
T POT @KOOOMLNTE TH vag THs “lowdos, évtadda Tav
Baoihucav ouvepopet Ta WAELOTNS aka omovons,
Xpuaor, dpyupov, opaparySov, papyapiTny, éBevon,
éreparta, KLvd peo wor’ émt mact 6€ bgba _TONHY
Kat OTUTTTELOV, adore deicavra Tepl taY XpN-
parov Kaicapa, p17 Tpamopevy 7 pos aTOYVOCtY
yun) diapdeion Kat Karapreen Tov TwOUTOD,
dei Twas eXmidas avri piravOparous ™ pod -
Te LTrELY dua Tw oTpaTe _Topevopevov éml Thy
TON. iS pv évtos dé avrou mepl TOV immodpopov,
"AvT@VLOS eneFehOov Hyeviaaro Aapmpas Kau
Tpomny TOV Katcapos immévwy émoince, Kal
Karedi@ber axpt Tov oT paToTEedou. peyaduvo-
pevos d€ TH viKn maphrev els Ta Bacinea, Kal
THY Kreomdrpav Karepirnaev ev Tous SirAols, Kab
TOV nyovia wévov mpobupotara Tay OT PATLOTAY
cuverThoED. 7 5€ aptotetoy auT@ Jwpaxa x pu-
covv Kxal Kxpavos édaxev. éxelvos pev ouv oO
av0 pwrros AaBav tadta Sia vuKros nvTomoAnce
wpos Kaicapa.
LXXV. Hadw 8 “Avtwros emeuTre Kaicapa
povouaxfoat Tpokahovpevos. drroKpLva,peévou dé
€KELVOU TTOAAAS Obovs "AvTwvig wapeivat Oavatwv,
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LXXIV. Accordingly, the war was suspended for the time being; but when the winter was over, Caesar again marched against his enemy through Syria, and his generals through Libya. When Pelu- sium was taken there was a rumour that Seleucus ~ had given it up, and not without the consent of — Cleopatra; but Cleopatra allowed Antony to put to death the wife and children of Seleucus, and she herself, now that she had a tomb and monument built surpassingly lofty and beautiful, which she had erected near the temple of Isis, collected there the most valuable of the royal treasures, gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon; and besides all this she put there great quantities of torch-wood and tow, so that Caesar was anxious about the treasure, and fearing lest the woman might become desperate and burn up and destroy this wealth, kept sending on to her vague hopes of kindly treatment from him, at the same time that he ad- vanced with his army against the city. But when Caesar had taken up position near the hippodrome, Antony sallied forth against hith and fought brilliantly and routed his cavalry, and pursued them as far as their camp. Then, exalted by his victory, he went into the palace, kissed Cleopatra, all armed as he was, and presented to her the one of his soldiers who had fought most spiritedly. Cleopatra gave the man as a reward of valour a golden breastplate and a helmet. The man took them, of course,—and in the night deserted to Caesar.

LXXV. And now Antony once more sent Caesar
a challenge to single combat.!_ But Caesar answered
that Antony had many ways of dying. Then Antony,
1 Cf. chapter lxii. 3.
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4 id “ 4 > ” b] fo!
cuudpovncas Ott ToD dia pays ovK EoTLY avT@
BeAtiov Oavatos, éyvw Kal Kata ynv apa Kal
Odratrav émiyepeiy. Kal wapa Seimvov, as
NeyeTal, TOUS oiKéTas EéKxéXevoev HTroxEly Kal
‘4 “A ,
mpoOupotepoy evwxety avTov: addnrov yap, e
TOUTO Toinopvow avpiov 7) Seatrorais éErépols
UmnpeTncovatv, avTos 5é KeloeTat oKEAETOS Kal
N \ (‘\ \ , > N ,
TO pndev ryevopevos. Tous 5é Pirous eri TovToLs
ec on \ ane
daxpvovras opav épy pon mpoakew em) tHv paynr,
> e ean , 9 a a a ,
cE 5 aUT@ Gavatov EevKAEA PaddAOV 7} TwTNpiaVv
tnreiy Kal vienv.
b] , a \ UA 4 60
Ev ravtn TH vucti rEeyeTaL, wecovans axedor,
a / \ /
éy novxia Kal xatndeia tis Todews dtd PoBov

\ , a VA Ww > 4
kal mpocdoxiay Tod pérXOVTOS ovaNS, alidvidiov
le) a \
opydvev Te TavTodaTa@v éuperets tivas dwvas
axovaOnvar kat Bony dyNov peta evacpav Kal
“A ¢ .
THONTEWY TATUPLKa@Y, wWotrep Otacov Tivos OvK
9 U4 >] 7 J \ \ e A e “
aBHopvBws éEeXavvovtos: eivas dé THY Opunv opod
\ A ’ ?; > \ ‘ y) ” \
Te Ota THS Todews Eons El THY TUAHY EEW THY
4
TETPAUpLevNVY TMPOS TOUS TrOAELLOUS, Kal TAUTH TOV
OopuBov éxmeceiv mreiaTov yevopevov. édoKxet O€
Tois avanroyilouévoits TO onmEetov aTroAEiTTELY O
Qeos “Avtwviov, @ paddtota aovveEopotmv Kat
TUVOLKEL@Y EaUTOV StEeTEAETED.
io \ ¢@ / N \ x A > \
LXXVI."Apa 6€ nuépa tov wefov avros émt
A \ a / / € 4 b a \
TOV TPO THS TOAEWS AOhwY Ldpvaas eGEadTO Tas
A A fa) 4
vaus aynyuévas Kal Tals TOV ToAELiWY Trpog peEpo-
, > a
Hévas: Kal treptuévwv Epyov te Tap’ éxetywy Loety
navyatev. ot dé ws éyyvs éyévovto, Tais KwTraLs
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conscious that there was no better death for him than that by battle, determined to attack by land and sea at once. And at supper, we are told, he bade the slaves pour out for him and feast him more - generously; for it was uncertain, he said, whether they would be doing this on the morrow, or whether they would be serving other masters, while he him- self would be lying dead, a munimy and a nothing. Then, seeing that his friends were weeping at these words, he declared that he would not lead them out to battle, since from it he sought an honourable death for himself rather than safety and victory.

During this night, it is said, about the middle of it,
while the city was quiet and depressed through fear
and expectation of what was coming, suddenly certain
harmonious sounds from all sorts of instruments were
heard, and the shouting of a throng, accompanied by
cries of Bacchic revelry and_satyric leapings, as if

a troop of revellers, making a great tumult, were going forth from the city; and their course seemed to lie about through the middle of the city toward the outer gate which faced the enemy, at which point the tumult became loudest and then dashed out. Those who sought the meaning of the sign were of the opinion that the god to whom Antony always most likened and attached himself was now deserting him.

LXXVI. At daybreak,! Antony in person posted his infantry on the hills in front of the city, and | watched his ships as they put out and attacked those of the enemy; and as he expected to see something great accomplished by them, he remained quiet. But the crews of his ships, as soon as they were near,

nomacavTo TOUS Kaicapos, é éxetvav TE avTacTa-
capeéveov peteBadovto, Kal Tacals ipa Tals
vavoly 0 a TONS els YEVvopevos €TréTNEL TPOS Thy
TOALY GYTITP@POS. ToUTO "AVTO@VLOS iO@v arre-
AEeihOn ev EVOVS Ud TOV bart éwy peTaBaropevor,
nr7neis dé Tots mrelois aveywpnoen eis THY Ton,
uTr0 Kyeordtpas mT podedéaba Boay ols du' éxeivny
emoneunoen. nH O€ TH opyny avTov poPnGeica
Kal TH arrovovay els TOV Ta pov Katépuye Kal
TOUS KaTappaKTas adie KretO pots Kal Hoxots
KapTEpous évTas" ampos 6¢ AvT@viov alas Gk TOUS
anayyehobvras Ste TeOvnke. TuaTevaas 6€ eKEl-
vos Kal elroy pos avrov, "Te ére pmérXeus,
"AvTovie; THY poVnY n TVYN Kal NoLTTAY adi pnke
TOU prrowpuxeiv mpopacty," elonrGev ets 70
Swparvov, eat Tov Owpara Taparvev kal
dStactéArwy, "*°O 'Krcomdrpa," elrrey, "ov
dx Popat gov oTEPOUPLEVOS" auTixa yap eis TavTov
apifopat GNX' OTe yuvarnos 0 THMLKODTOS auTo-
Kpatwp evpuxia mepapapat Nett opevos."
y &é Tis oiKérns adTod ToTds "Epws dvopa.
TOUTOV ex TOAAOD TAPAKEKANKOS, El denoeser,
averely avTov, amyret THY UTogXEow. 0 be onma-
odpevos TO Eidos aveaxe pev os Taio wv exeivon,
aoa péeyras 6é TO 7 poo wmov EQAUTOV GATEKTELVE.
'TET OVTOS dé avrod pos TOUS Todas o O "AvTavios
"« Kove," elrrey, ' '@" Epos, Ste pon Suvnbels adros
ewe troteiv 5 Set StddoKxes'" Kal mraicas Sta TIS

KotALas éavTov adjKey eis TO Kdividzov. Hv Oe
ovK evOv@dvatos 4 wANYyH. 810 Kal THs popas
ToD aipatos, émel KatexriOn, mavoaperns,
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saluted Caesar's crews with their oars, and on their returning the salute changed sides, and so all the ships, now united into one fleet, sailed up towards the city prows on. No sooner had Antony seen this than he was deserted by his cavalry, which went over to the enemy, and after being defeated with his infantry he retired into the city, crying out that he had been betrayed by Cleopatra to those with whom he waged war for her sake. But she, fearing his anger and his madness, fled for refuge into her tomb and let fall the drop-doors, which were made strong with bolts and bars; then she sent messengers to tell Antony that she was dead. Antony believed the message, and saying to himself, “Why dost thou. longer delay, Antony? Fortune has taken away thy sole remaining excuse for clinging to life,’ he went into his chamber. Here, as he unfastened his breast- plate and laid it aside, he said ; ‘‘O Cleopatra, I am not grieved to be bereft of thee, for I shall straight- way join thee; but I am grieved that such an imper- ator as I am has been found to be inferior to a woman in courage.”

Now, Antony had a trusty slave named Eros. Him Antony had long before engaged, in case of need, to kill him, and now demanded the fulfilment of his promise. So Eros drew his sword and held it up as though he would smite his master, but then turned his face away and slew himself. And as he fell at his master’s feet Antony said : “Well done, Eros! though thou wast not able to do it thyself, thou teachest me what I must do”; and running himself through the belly he dropped upon the couch. But the wound did not bring a speedy death. Therefore, as the blood ceased flowing after he had lain down, he

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dvahaBov éeito Tov mapovtay emioparrey
adr ov. ot Oé Epevyov ex TOU Seopatiov Boavrtos
Kat cpadatovtos, a ay pt ov Tapa Kreorrdtpas Ke
Aroundns o O ypampateds, Koutley avTOV ws exelyny
eis Tov Tahov Kerevaeis.
LXXVII. Tvous ouv ort Cn, mpodupas éxé-
Nevoev Apacbat Tots DIN pET ALS TO copa, Kal bua
Xerpev mpoceropian tais Ovpats Tov OLK NAT OS.
" O€ Krcoratpa Tas pev Ovpas. oux avéméev, éx
33 Oupidwy tiav daveica ceipas Kat Kanodua
aie. Kat rovtos évardvtwy tov ’Avtw@viov

avetAKev avtn Kal dvo yuvaixes, as pwovas ébéEaTo
pe” aurhs els TOV Tapov. oveev éxeivou Aéyouow
ole poTepov yeveOar ot Taparyevopevot Oéapa.
TEPUPLEVOS yap aipare Kat dva8avarév ethxeTo,
TAS xelpas opeyav els éxetyny Kal Trapace pou-
HEvOS. ov yap hv yuvacki padsov TO Epyov, adda,
ports 4 Kycordtpa Taw Xeporv euTrepucvia Kat
KATATELVOMEVY T® TporaT® Tov Secpov averap-
Bavev, ET LKENEVOMEVOY TOV catwbev auTh Kal
TUVAYOVLOVTOD. deEapévn Oe avrov ovTwWS Kal
KaTaxdvaca mepreppyéato Te TOUS TETAOUS er’
auT@, KaL Ta oréepva TUTTTOMEDN | Kal orapattovaa
Tais xepat, Kal T@ Tporane Tob aipatos dvapar-
TOMEVN), Seomorny éxdnrer Kal dvbpa kal avTo-
Kpatopa: Kal px pow dety émth€Ana To TOV QuTAS
KaKQv oiKT@ TOV éxelvou. KaTaTavoas b¢ Tov Op7-
vov QUTHS “AvT@vios 7} NTNGE TLE OLVOD, ElTE Supa,
el Te TUVTOMMTE POV edmri Sov aronv joer Oat. Tay
dé Trapyverev auth Ta pev éautis, av 7 “May
per aiaxuvns, catnpia TiWecOat, padwora, Tov
Katcapos étaipwv Upoxdnio miatevovcar, avtov
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came to himself and besought the bystanders to give
him the finishing stroke. But they fled from the
chamber, and he lay writhing and crying out, until
Diomedes the secretary came from Cleopatra with
orders to bring him to her in the tomb.

LXXVII. Having learned, then, that Cleopatra was alive, Antony eagerly ordered his servants to raise him up, and he was carried in their arms to the doors of her tomb. Cleopatra, however, would not open the doors, but showed herself at a window, from which she let down ropes and cords. To these Antony was fastened, and she drew him up herself, with the aid of the two women whom alone she had admitted with her into the tomb. Never, as those who were present tell us, was there a more piteous sight. Smeared with blood and struggling with death he was drawn up, stretching out his hands to her even as he dangled in the air. For the task was not an easy one for women, and scarcely could Cleo- patra, with clinging hands and strained face, pull up the rope, while those below called out encourage- ment to her and shared her agony. And when she had thus got him in and laid him down, she rent her garments over him, beat and tore her breasts with her hands, wiped off some of his blood upon her face, and called him master, husband, and imperator ; indeed, she almost forgot her own-ills in her pity for his. But Antony stopped her lamentations and asked for a drink of wine,either because he was thirsty, or in the hope of a speedier release. When he had drunk, he advised her to consult her own safety, if she could do it without disgrace, and among all the companions of Caesar to put most confidence in

be \ a 9 AN a e , a
é pn Opnveiv eri tais votdtas petaPorais,
GAA paxapilew wv éruxe KadOv, emipavértatos
avOpotav yevouevos Kal mreioTov icxvcas Kal
vov ovk ayevvas “Pwpaios td ‘Pwpaiou xpa-
TnOeis.
LXXVIII. “Ocoy &€ dtrodurévtos avtod Tpo-
fw \ / > N \ e A
KAnios Axe tapa Kaicapos. émel yap éavrTov
, e 69 4 W \ VA
mwataéas o ‘Avtwvios @yeTo mpos KXeordtpav
koptComevos, Aepxetaios tis Tov Sopudopwr AaBov
\ b / b) aA. \ b 4 e A
TO éyyerpidiov avdtod Kal amoxpipas veFRNOe,
kat Spaye@v mpos Kaicapa mparos Hyyetke tH
"A , 4 \ \ , £5 €
vrwviov TerevTHV, Kal TO Eidos Eakev nuay-
pévov. o b€ ws HKovaev, évdoTépw THS oKNVTS
atroagTas amedaxpucev avdpa KndeaTHy yEevowevov
Kal cuvapyovTa Kal TOAA@Y ayovev Kal mpay-
, 4 td \ b \ \ \
HaTwY KOLVMVOY. ElTa Tas eTLaTOAAS AaBwv Kal
Tous didous Karéocas dveyivwcKey OS EvyVapmova
ypapovtos avtod Kai dixata goptixos Hv Kat
umepndavos ae tepl Tas atroKpicets éxeivos. éK
\ , N Bos ” 4 A
5é rovrov tov Ipoxdniov Ereuryre xerevoas, Hv
dvvnta, pddota tHS KrXeotrdtpas Seons Kpati-
ca Kai yap éfoPeito mept Tov ypnudtar, Kal
péeya mpos Sofav nyetto Tov OptduBov Kataya-
yety. éxeivnv. els pev ody yapas TO IIpoxAnio
a ? ns 2° \ , a
auvenGeiy ovx nOéAncev’ éyitvovto b€ AOYOL TO
> , , wv” > A \ ,
olKnuatt.mpoceOovtos EEwOev avtod Kata Oupas
€mimTedous, aToKeKAELmévas pev oXUPaS, Pavy dé
/ b] v4 / e \ 5]
dvéEodov éyovoas. Kal dvehéxOnoay 7 pév aitov-
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Proculeius, and not to lament him for his last reverses, but to count him happy for the good things that had been his, since he had become most illustrious of men, had won greatest power, and now had been not ignobly conquered, a Roman by a Roman.

LXXVIII. Scarcely was he dead, when Proculeius came from Caesar. For after Antony had smitten himself and while he was being carried to Cleopatra, Dercetaeus, one of his body-guard, seized Antony's sword, concealed it, and stole away with it; and running to Caesar, he was the first to tell him of » Antony's death, and showed him the sword all smeared with blood. When Caesar heard these tidings, he retired within his tent and wept for aman 'who had been his relation by marriage, his colleague in office and command, and his partner in many undertakings and struggles. Then he took the letters which had passed between them, called in his friends, and read the letters aloud, showing how reasonably and justly he had written, and how rude and over- bearing Antony had always been in his replies. After this, he sent Proculeius, bidding him, if possible, above all things to get Cleopatra into his power alive ; for he was fearful about the treasures in her funeral pyre, and he thought it would add greatly to the glory of his triumph if she were led in the procession. Into the hands of Proculeius, however, Cleopatra would not put herself; but she conferred with him after he had come close to the tomb and stationed himself outside at a door which was on a level with the ground. The door was strongly fastened with bolts and bars, but allowed a passage for the voice. So they conversed, Cleopatra

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pévn Tois Tatot THY Bactrelav, o 5é Oappety Kai wavTa miotevery Kaicapt Kerevov.

LXXIX. 'Os 6¢ KaTiO@v TOV TOTOY dariyryethe Kaicapt, T'adros per €réuhOn mdr, évrev£o- HEVvos auTh Kai T pos: TAS Oupas éNav émitndes éunxuve TOV AOyov. év TOUT@ dé IIpoKAnios «d- paKxos mpoctebeions bia THs Oupidos eianrAOev 7 tov "Avtwviov ai yuvaixes edé€avto. Kat pos Tas Oupas avtas! evOus, als 4) KXeomatpa rape- oTHKEL T poo éXoua a. T@ PddX, catéBacvev vanpe- Tas exon dvo peO" avtov. tap bé cuycabecpry- pévov Th KyXcordtpa yuvaicav THs érépas ava- Kpayouons, "Tddawa Kyeordtpa, Corypei," peTa- otpaeica kal Geacapévn Tov IIpoxdniov & Gpunoe peev auTny mataéal' 1 apelwa evn yap eruyxave Tt Tey AnoTpixepy Evpidiwv- poo Spapyev é Taxy

Kab TEPLTXOV avTny Tais Xepoty _tuporepass O
II poxdnios, a “Aduxeis,” elev, ““@ Krcordrpa,
Kai weauTHy Kal Kaicapa, peyadyy agharpoupéevy
XpnaToTHTOS émiderEw avrod, Kal S:ahdddovea
TOV TpgoraTov TYE HOveDY OS amiarov Kai adian-
Aaktov.” dua dé Kal TO Eihos avtis TapeireTo,
Kat thv écOATa, wn KpuTrTOL T pdppaxor, é€e-
cetcev. éméudhOn 5é Kal Tapa Kaicapos TOV
amrehevd épov "Erragpooitos, ¢ o T Poo eTETAKTO oa
cay avrny purdrrewy t Laxupas eT yeh operon, Tan-
Aa dé" apds TO paotov évdidovat Kal Hour rov.
LXXX. Avros dé Kaicap eLonNauvev eis THY
moruy, ‘Apeiw TO prrocope T POT Oia eyouevos
Kal THhv oes évdedwxas, iva evOvs év tois Tonri-
avras bracketed by Bekker.
2 raAAa Se Bekker, after Solanus: 7dAAa.

asking that her children might have her kingdom,
and Proculeius bidding her be of good cheer and
trust Caesar in everything.

LXXIX. After Proculeius had surveyed the place, -he brought back word to Caesar, and Gallus was sent to have another interview with the queen; and com- ing up to the door he purposely prolonged the conversation. Meanwhile Proculeius applied a ladder and went in through the window by which the women had taken Antony inside. Then he went down at once to the very door at which Cleopatra was standing and listening to Gallus, and he had two servants with him. One of the woinen imprisoned with Cleopatra cried out, “‘ Wretched Cleopatra, thou art taken alive,’ whereupon the queen turned about, saw Proculeius, and tried to stab herself ; for she had at her girdle a dagger such as robbers wear. But Proculeius ran swiftly to her, threw both his arms about her, and said: “O Cleopatra, thou art wrong- ing both thyself and Caesar, by trying to rob him of an opportunity to show great kindness, and by fix- ing upon the gentlest of commanders the stigma of faithlessness and implacability.”’’’ At the same time he took away her weapon, and shook out her clothing, to see whether she was concealing any poison. And there was also sent from Caesar one of his freedmen, Epaphroditus, with injunctions to keep the queen alive by the strictest vigilance, but otherwise to make any concession that would promote her ease and pleasure.

LXXX. And now Caesar himself drove into the city, and he was conversing with Areius the philosopher, to whom he had given his right hand, in order that Areius might at once be conspicuous among the citizens, and

Tats meptBremros ein Kat Javpalouto TLL@{LEVOS
Um avTou Sram peT as. eis 6€ TO yusvdotor Eio-
eXOav Kat avaBas ert Biya TL TrETOLNMLEVOD, EK.
TETANY KEVOV ume Séous TOV avO parr wv Kal T™poo-
Ti TOVTOY, avac That KENEVTAS eon Taos ai-—

Tlas Tov SHwov adtévat, mpa@Ttov pev dua TOV
KTLOTHY “AnreFavdpov devTEpov dé THs TONEWS
Gavpatov TO Kaos Kal TO péyeBos: Tpitov oé
A pet | TO éraipo xapilopevos. TAUTNS 61 TAS
TULAS ETuXe Tapa Kaicapos _ Apetos, Kal TOV
adNwv efnTna ato _ouxpous: ov mv Kal Prdo-
OTpaToOs, avnp eimrety pev €F emidpouns TOV TH-
TOTE copia Tey iKav@TaTOS, elotrotav O€ 11) Tpoc-
NKOVTMS EQUTOV TH "Anabnpeta. 610 Kal Kaioap
avtTov Bdedurropevos TOV Tpomrov ov mpoaieTo TAs
denoers. o 6€ Toyova, moAov Kabels Kat paov
ipateov TeptBaropevos efor Gev "Apeim trapn-
Kodovbet, ToVTOV del TOV aTixoy dvadleyyopevos:
cool copors calovowv, dv mow codot.

mvO6pevos dé Kaicap, cai tov d0ovov padrov
“Apeov 4} Toi déovs Didootpatov amadrd£at
Bovdopevos, dujKe.
LXXXI. Tév &€ ’Avtwviov raidwy o pév éx
PovdBias "AvtvAXos ve Geodapov TOU maiba-
yeoryou Tmapabobeis am éOave- Kat THY Kepaday av-
TOU TOY oTpATLOTaD amorepovTay, O mardayaryos
aderwv Sv epwper TEpl TO TpAXnep TONUTLILO-
Tatov ALBov els Thy Covnv Katéppayer dapynad-
pevos 6€ Kal popadeis averTaupabn. Ta 6é
Krcoratpas Tatoia , Ppoupovpeva, PETAR TOV TPE-
ghovtwv édevOépiov eiyve Siartav. Katcapiwva dé
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be admired because of the marked honour shown him by Caesar. After he had entered the gymnasium and ascended a tribunal there made for him, the people were beside themselves with fear and _ prostrated themselves before him, but he bade them rise up, and said that he acquitted the people of all blame, first, because of Alexander, their founder ; second, because he admired the great size and beauty of the city ; and third, to gratify his companion, Areius. This honour Caesar bestowed upon Areius, and pardoned

many other persons also at his request. Among these was Philostratus, a man more competent to speak extempore than any sophist that ever lived, but he improperly represented himself as belonging to the school of the Academy. Therefore Caesar, abominating his ways, would not listen to his entrea- ties. So Philostratus, having a long white beard and wearing a dark robe, would follow behind Areius, ever declaiming this verse :—

‘¢ A wise man will a wise man save, if wise he be.” !

When Caesar learned of this, he pardoned him,
wishing rather to free Areius from odium than Philo-
stratus from fear.

LXXXI. As for the eiiidben of Antony, Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, was betrayed by Theodorus his tutor and put to death; and after the soldiers had cut off his head, his tutor took away the exceeding precious stone which the boy wore about his neck and sewed it into his own girdle; and though he denied the deed, he was convicted of it and crucified. Cleopatra's children, together with their attendants, were kept under guard and had generous treatment.

1 An iambic trimeter from an unknown poet (Nauck,
Trag. Graec. Frag.” p. 921).

TOV ék Kaicapos yeyovevar Aeyouevov n pep pyTnp
éFérrepre pera xen MATWV TOAKOD Ets THY Tyvdcxnv
dc Ai@tomrias, Erepos 5€ rradaywyds Gpotos Bco-
Sapo ‘Podwv avérercev érraveOeiv, as Kaicapos
> AN J / Le) ,
autov él Bactreiav Kandovvtos. PBovAEevopevov
5é Kaicapos “Apetov ettreivy Aéyouow:
3 > \ 4 1
ovux ayabov TroAvKatcapin.

LXXXII. TPodrov pév ody dotepov aéxrtewve
peta tHV KXeomrdtpas teXeut nv. Avrwviov O€ Trod-
NOY aitouséver Parra Kal Bactréwv Kai otpatn-
yov, ovx adetreTo KXeordtpas to capa Kaicap,
ara éOarreto Tals éxelyns YEpal TwoduTEeAws Kal
Bacidces, maow QS éBouneTo xpiic Pac AaBovons.
éx 6€ AvTIS apa ToTaUTNS Kat oduvns (avepreyp-
nve yap auTis Ta orepya TUTTOMEDNS Kat HpAKw@TO)
TUpET OV émudaBovrov nyannae THY Tpopacty,
OS adeEouern Tpopijs dua TOUTO Kal Tapahvoovaa
tov Cnv axwrvTWS EQUIV. nv oe tat pos aura
auvnOns “Oduprros, @ ppacaca Tarnes eXpijto
cupPovre Kat ocuvepyp Ths cabatpécews, @S av-

TOS) “Oduprros elpnrev laToptay Tuva TOV Tpay-
pare TOUT@Y exdedwKas. vrrovonaas dé Kaicap
arrethas pév Tivas auth Kal hoBous rept TOY
TEKVODV mpoaeBarnev, ols éxeivn cabdmep eNnXavn-
pace Umnpeimero Kal tapedidov To capa Oepa-
mevelv Kal Tpédery ToLs xpnvovew.
LXXXIII. ‘Hee 6é Kal auros Lepas odiyas
SiadiTrav evr evEopLevos avTn Kat TApHyopnawv.
n 68 étvye ev ev attBade KaTaKeLwevn TATELVOS,
1 An adaptation of oix ayabby woAukotpayin (the rule of
many), Iliad, ii. 204.

But Caesarion, who was said to be Cléopatra’s son by
Julius Caesar, was sent by his mother, with much
treasure, into India, by way of Ethiopia. There
Rhodon, another tutor like Theodorus, persuaded
him to go back, on the ground that Caesar invited
him to take the kingdom. But while Caesar was
deliberating on the matter, we are told that Areius
said :—
“ Not a good thing were a Caesar too many.”
LXXXII. As for Caesarion, then; he was after-
wards put to death by Caesar,—after the death of
Cleopatra; but as for Antony, though many generals
and kings asked for his body that they might give it
burial, Caesar would not take it away from Cleopatra,
and it was buried by her hands in sumptuous and
royal fashion, such things being granted her for the
purpose as she desired. But in consequence of so
much grief as well as pain (for her breasts were
wounded and inflamed by the blows she gave them)
a fever assailed her, and she welcomed it as an ex-
cuse for abstaining from food and so releasing herself
from life without hindrance. Moreover, there was a
physician in her company of intimates, Olympus, to
whom she told the truth, and she had his counsel
and assistance in compassing her death, as Olympus
himself testifies in a history of these events which he
published. But Caesar was suspicious, and plied her
with threats and fears regarding her ¢éhildren, by
which she was laid low, as by engines of war, and
surrendered her body for such care and nourishment

as was desired. .
-LXXXIIL. After a few days Caesar himself came to talk with her and give her comfort. She was lying on a mean pallet-bed, clad only in her tunic,
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elo Love 8 aite povoxitor dvanndng ac a, Tpoo-
minret, Sewvdss pev eEnypropevy Kcepariy Kal
TpoewTor, Dror popos é Th povy Kal oUVTE-
Thxvia Tals byrerwv. jv 8€ ToAAa Kal THs Tepi
TO oTEpvov aixias _Katapaviy kal bdrAws ovbev
2 edoxet TO capa Ths uxiis exetv Bedteov. y
pévtoe Yapts éxelvy Kai TO THs. Gpas irapov ov
KatecBeoto tTavrataciv, adda KaiTep OUTS
Svaxerpevns évdo0ev qm o0ev éfehaurre Kat cuven-
epaiveTo Tois Kivnpact TOU mMpoowToV. KEnEv-
cavtos 6é Tob Kaicapos auTny KaTaxriO ivan Kat
wANoiov auTod xabiaavos, Jinparo pev TLVOS
Sixatoroyias Els avaryKny Kal poBov “Avt@viou
Ta TET pary weve. TpeTrOvaTNS, évistapeévou Oé ™pos
exag Tov auTH Tov Kaicoapos éfedey one Tayv
7 pos olKTOV peOnppocaro Kal denow, « @s 67 TLS av
3 padiota TOU chy TEpleXoperT). TéhoS dé TOU
wAnOous TOV XPnpareov avaypagny é éxoura ™ poce-
dwxev aro ZeevKov 5é Tivos Tov emit poTr@V
EASY KOVTOS @s évia xpuTTovaay Kal OraKdeTTov-
cay, avanndijcaca Kal rev TpLXav avTod haBo-
4 pévn trodAas evepopet TO poo wma mryyas. TOU 95}
dé Kaicapos perdevTos ea KaTaTavovTos aurHy,
“"AXX ov Sewovr,” eirev, “@ Kaioap, eb av pev
nkiwaas adixécBat mpos ua Kal mpocetrety 00TH
TpaTTovaay, oi dé SovAGL pou KaTHYyopovery et TL
TOV yuvatkelwy amcOéuny, ovK euauTH SyrovOev,
n Tdadawa, koa por, arn S7res ‘Oxraovia Kai
AtBia rH of puxpa Sovoa bu éxeivav thew oou
5 TUX OLE Kal mpgorépou;” ” ToUTOLS 0 Kaicap Hoero,
mavTaT acu aQuT hy prropuxeiv olopevos. elr@y
oy 6tt Kal Tadta émitpéeTer Kal TANNA Taos
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but sprang up as he entered and threw herself at his feet ; her hair and face were in terrible disarray, her

voice trembled, and her eyes weresunken. There were also visible many marks of the cruel blows upon her bosom; in a word, her body seemed to be no better off than her spirit. Nevertheless, the charm for which she was famous and the boldness of her beauty were not altogether extinguished, but, although she was in such a sorry plight, they shone forth from within and made themselves manifest in the play of her features. After Caesar had bidden her to lie down and had seated himself near her, she began a sort of justification of her course, ascribing it to necessity and fear of Antony; but as Caesar opposed and refuted her on every point, she quickly changed her tone and sought to move his pity by prayers, as one who above all things clung to life. And finally she gave him a list which she had of all her treasures ; and when Seleucus, one of her stew- ards, showed conclusively that she was stealing away and hiding some of them, she sprang up, seized him by the hair, and showered blows upon his face. And when Caesar, with a smile, stopped her, she said : ‘But is it not a monstrous thing, O Caesar, that when thou hast deigned to come to me and speak to me though I am in this wretched plight, my slaves . denounce me for reserving some women’s adornments, —not for myself, indeed, unhappy woman that I am, —but that I may make trifling gifts to Octavia and thy Livia, and through their intercession find thee merciful and more gentle?’ Caesar was pleased with this speech, being altogether of the opinion that she desired to live. He told her, therefore, that he left these matters for her to manage, and that in all

, 2 A / ia Ww
éxridos aven xpnoetas NapmpoTepoy, @yeTO
aniov, éEnrrarnkévar pev ovopevos, €Enratnpévos
—~6€ waAXov.
LXXXIV. "Hv 6€ Kopyynrtos .AodoBéAXas
eripavis veavicxos év tots Kaioapos étaiposs.
ovTos elye mpos THY KXcordtpay ovK dndas: Kal
rote yapilouevos auth denbeion Kpuda mépipas
éEnyyerrev ws autos pev 0 Kaicap avalevyvvat
meth Sia upias, exetvqy b€ pera T@V TéXVOY
GTOGTEXNELY ELS TpiTny muépay éyvaxev. 1 O€
aKxovoaca TavTa ™ p@rov pev eden On Kaicapos.
Srws avTny é€don Yoas érreveyxeity "Avtwviw Kat
auyxepyaavtos émri Tov Ttapoyv Komucbecioa cal
TepiTEecTovTa TH TOPH peTAa TOV aGuVnOwY yuval-
Kor, “"O, dire "Avr@ve,” eitrev, “ amtov pév oe
mpeony étt xepaiv erXevOépats, amrévdw O€ viv aiy-
pdrwTos ovaa, Kal Ppovpovpévn pute KoTrETOtS
pnte Opnvos aixicacOat To SovAOV ToOvUTO Cama
Kat Tnpovpevov él tovs Kata cov OptauBovs.
Gdrras b€ py mpoadéxou timas Yodss GAN
_avtai aou teédrevtaiat Krcomdtpas ayopmévns.
“A \ \ e ~ AN 3 / /
CavrTas pev yap nuas ovlév adrANAWY StéoTHCE,

, \ A / , A
xivduvevopev 58 TO Oavdt@ Stapeiipacbat tovs
TOToUs' ov pev 0 ‘Pwpaios évtavba xeipevos,
eyo &§ 4 dvatnvos év “Itadia, TocovTo THs os
: “A , , 9 bf > , a
petaraBovoa ywpas povov. adr et On TiS TOV
b] A “ 3 sy N 4 e \ :9 Le)
éxel Oe@v arxn Kal Svvapis (ot yap évTavda
mpovdowKav nuas), un wpon Saoav Thy ceavTov
yuvaixa, pnd év épot treptidns OpiapBevopevoy
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other ways he would give her more splendid treat-
ment than she could possibly expect. Then he went
off, supposing that he had deceived her, but the
rather deceived by her.
LXXXIV, Now, there.was a young man of rank among Caesar’s companions, named Cornelius Dola- *
bella. This man was not without a certain tenderness

for Cleopatra; and so now, in response to her request, he secretly sent word to her that Caesar himself was preparing to march with his land forces through Syria, and had resolved to send off her and her. children within three days. After Cleopatra had heard this, in the first place, she begged Caesar that she might be permitted to pour libations for Antony ; and when the request was granted, she had herself carried to the tomb, and embracing the urn which held his ashes, in company with the women usually about her, she said: “Dear Antony, I buried thee but lately with hands still free; now, however, I pour libations for thee as a captive, and so carefully guarded that I cannot either with blows or tears dis- figure this body of mine, which is a slave's body, and closely watched that it may grace the triumph over thee. Do not expect other honours or libations ; these are the last that Cleopatra can bring thee. For though in life nothing could part us from each other, in death we are likely to change places; thou, the Roman, lying buried here, while I, the hapless woman, lie in Italy, and get only so much of thy country as my portion. But if indeed there is any might or power in the gods of that country (for the gods of this country have betrayed us), do not aban- don thine own wife while she lives, nor permit a |

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GEavTov, GA évtavOd pe Kpuov peta ceavTod
kal cvvOawov, ws éuol pupioy Kaxav dvtwv ovdéev
odTw péya nal Sewov eoti ws 0 Bpayvs ovdros
Xpovos by cod ywpls EnKa.”
LXXXV. Totadta orodupapévn Kai oréyraca
Kal Katacracapévn tTHv copoy éxéXevoev AUTH

Noutpov yevéoOar. Rovoapevn Sé€ Kal Kata-
KX\Ocioa Naptpov apiotoy npiata. Kai TIS KEV
at’ aypov Kiotny tiva Kopilov: tav S€ pudAdKwv
C4 , 4 > , \ > \ \
6 tt hépoe truvOavopévwv avoi~as Kai adedrov ra
Opia cixwv étimrewy TO ayyeiov GbetEe. Oavpa-
4 N N a ‘ \ 4
cavrwy bé TO KaXXOS Kal TO péyeBos petdsiadoas
4 n e \ 4 9 ,
Tmapexare. NaBetv of S€ mictevoavtes exédXevoV
eloeveyxetv. eta d5€ TO aptatov 7 Kreomdrpa
SéXrov Eyovoa yeypaypévny Kai Katacernpac-
, > 4 \ / \ A
péevny atréatetAe pos Kaicapa, cal rovs addous
EXTOO@Y Tolncauéevn mAnVY Tav Suely exeivav
yuvatkav tas Oupas Exdrewce.
Kaicap 5é Avoas THhv SéXTOV, ws evérvxXe ALTAIS

\ 9 A V4 >’ \ \ 9 l4
kal droduppois Seopévns adtny adv >Avtwvie
Oaypar, Tay cuviKe TO TeTpaywevoY. Kal TPGTOV
pev avtos wppnoe BonOetv, éretta tovs aKeo-"
/ , ” 9 , > DgN\ \
pévous Kata Taxos Erreprev. éeyeyover 8 o£v. 70
mabos. Spoum yap éMovtes Kal tovs pev pudrat-
IQN bd 4 , \ \
tovtas ovdév yoOnpuévous KatadaBovtes, Tas 5é
Oupas avoikavtes, etpov avtny TeOvnkviav év ypvoH
KaTakeméevny KAivn, KEexoopnuévnv BacidtKas.
tay dé yuvatcav 7 pev Eipas Neyouévn mpos rots
Tool améOvnoxev, 7 5€ Xappiov Hdn ohadrrgopevn

triumph to be celebrated over thyself in my person,
but hide and bury me here with thyself, since out
of all my innumerable ills not one is so great and
dreadful as this short time that I have lived apart
from thee.”’
LXXXV. After such lamentations, she wreathed . and kissed the urn, and then ordered a bath to be prepared for herself. After her bath, she reclined at table and was making a sumptuous meal. And there came a man from the country carrying a basket ; and when the guards asked him what he was bringing there, he opened the basket, took away the leaves, and showed them that the dish inside was full of figs. The guards were amazed at the great size and beauty of the figs, whereupon the man smiled and asked them to take some ; so they felt no mistrust and bade him take themin. After her meal, however, Cleopatra

took a tablet which was already written upon and sealed, and sent it to Caesar, and then, sending away all the rest of the company except her two faithful women, she closed the doors.

But Caesar opened the tablet, and when he found there lamentations and supplications of one who begged that he would bury her with Antony, he quickly knew what had happened. At first he was minded to go himself and give aid; then he ordered messengers to go with all speed and investigate. But the mischief had been swift. For though his mes- sengers came on the run and found the guards as yet aware of nothing, when they opened the doors they found Cleopatra lying dead upon a golden couch, arrayed in royal state. And of her two women, the one called Iras was dying at her feet, while Char- mion, already tottering and heavy-headed, was

Kat xapnBapoica KQTEKOG pel To Siddnua to
epi THY Kepadiy auThs. etmovtos 5é TLVOS opyn
«Kaka tadra, Xdppwov: m,n Kadota pep ob,"
épn, "Kat TpeTovTa TH TOT OUT@Y atroryove
Bacirewv." 1 N€OV S88 obday elrrev, GAN avrov
Tapa tiv KAivyny érrece.
LXXXVI. Aéyerau dé THY domida KoutaOnvat
GUY TOS TUKOLS éxeivous Kat Tois Opiows avwbev
émixarudpbeioay, ovT@ yap THY KXcomdtpay
Kenevoal, nse avTns émeaTaperns TO TOpaTe
7 poo Trea ety TO Onpiov: @s 6é adaipodoa TOV
cuKwv eldev, eitrety: '"'Evtav0a Fv dpa TovTo"
Kat Tov Bpaxtova Tapacxeiy TH Onyware
yunvocacav. ot oé Thpela Bar pev év vépia THY
aoTida Kaberpywevny pdoKovalp, prakary b¢
TUE Ypuch THs Krcomdtpas éXKANOUHEVNS avrhy
Kat Svaypratvovans oppncacav eupivar 7
Bpaxiovt. TO dé arGes ovdels oldev: érret Kat
pappaxov adrny ehex On popelv év Kunoribu Kotha,
thy dé xvnorioa KpuTTEW TH (oun TAHY OUTE
xynrls €EnvOnce Tot c@patos ovTEe AXXO happaKou
onpeiov. ov pny oveé TO Onpiov évtos @ On,
cuppous O€ TLVvas avrob Tapa Odraccav, 7 TO
Swpartov apewpa kat Oupides 7 joav, iSeiv Epacon.
éviot bé Kal TOV Bpaxiova Tis Kreoratpas
opOhvar dv0 poy was éxovTa NeTTTAS Kal apudpds:
ols éorxe Tiotevoa Kal oO Kaicap. év yap TO
GprauPey Tijs Krcordtpas aurijs eldwAov éxo-
pitero Kat TAS domidos éumeduxuias. TadTa pev
ouV OUTw éyEeTat ryevéa Oar.

Kaicap 6é, KaiTrep axJeaeis emi TH TedeuTh
Ths. yuvatxos, Cavpace tHv evyéveray auTiis:
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trying to arrange the diadem which encircled the queen's brow. Then somebody said in anger: "A fine deed, this, Charmion!"' "It is indeed most fine,' she said, "and befitting the descendant of so many kings." Not a word more did she speak, but fell there by the side of the couch.

LXXXVI. It is said that the asp was brought with those figs and leaves and lay hidden beneath them, for thus Cleopatra had given orders, that the reptile might fasten itself upon her body without her being aware of it. But when she took away some of the figs and saw it, she said: "There it is, you see,' and baring her arm she held it out for the bite. But others say that the asp was kept carefully shut upin a water jar, and that while Cleopatra was stirring it up and irritating it with a golden distaff it sprang and fastened itself upon her arm. But the truth of the matter no one knows; for it was also said that she carried about poison in a hollow comb and kept the comb hidden in her hair; and yet neither spot nor other sign of poisofi broke out upon her body. More- over, not even was the reptile seen within the chamber, though people said they saw some traces of it near the sea, where the chamber looked out upon it with its windows. And some also say that Cleo- patra's arm was seen to have two slight and indis- tinct punctures; and this Caesar also seems to have believed. For in his triumph an image of Cleopatra herself with the asp clinging to her was carried in the procession. These, then, are the various accounts of what happened.

But Caesar, although vexed at the death of the — woman, admired her lofty spirit ; and he gave orders

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Kat tadjvar tO cOua ovv 'Avtaviw AauTpas
kat Baoitixas éxédevoev. evtipov Sé Kal ta
yuvata xKnoeias etvyev avTod mpoortatayTos.
érexeutnoe O€ Knreordtpa pev évos Séovta
Tecoapaxovra érn Biwcaca, cai tovTwv dvo Kal
elxoat Bacikevoaca, cuvdptaca &é "Avtovio

Trciw Tov Sexatecodpwrv. *Avtwvioy Sé ot pév
&&, ot b€ tptot Ta TevtnKovta bTepBarelv hacw.
ai pév ovv Avtwviov xabnpéOncav eixoves, ai &é
KyXeotatpas xata xwpav Eyewav, ’ApytBiov
TLVOS TOV pirwv avTis Sioxidva TdXavTa Kaicape
Sovtos, va wn TO avTo rais ’Avtwviou wabwowy.
LXXXVII. ’Avtwviov &€ yevedy atrodTrovTos
€x TPLOV yuvalKay érta Traidas, 0 TpecBUTaTOS
“AvtuAXros vmod Kaicapos avnpéOn poves: tous
Nostrovs dé ‘Oxtaovia traparaBoica peta trav é&
éautis EOpewe. xal Kreotrdtpav pev thy éx
KxXeorrdtpas “lo8a Oo Yapiectdt@ PBacthéwv
TUVPKLTEY, "Avro@viov 88 TOV ék PovaBias obt@
péyav erroincey Mote THY TpwTHY Tapa Kaicapt
tuny ’Aypirmou, tiv dé devtépavy trav ArBias
Taidwv éxovtTwy, tpitov elvat Kat doxety
"Avrovov. é« 5 Mapxérdou Sveiv adtA Ouya-
Tépwv ovaoay, evos 5é€ viod Mapxéddov, rodTov
pev apa traida nal yapBpov éroncato Kaicap,
Tov dé Ovyatépwv ’Aypimma thy érépav dwxev.
émel 5€ Madpxerros éererevTnoe Kopidh veoyapos
kai Katoape yauBpov éyovta miotw ovK edrropov
nv €x TOV addoV dhirtwov éErA€cAaL, AOYOV 1
"Oxraovia mpoojveyxeyv ws xp THY Kaicapos

Ouyatépa NaBeiv Aypinmay, apévta thy éavTijs.
lA na
meva0evros b€ Kaicapos rp@rtov, elta ’Aypintou,
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that her body should be buried with that of Antony in splendid and regal fashion. Her women also received honourable interment by his orders. When Cleopatra died she was forty years of age save one, had been queen for two and twenty of these, and had shared her power with Antony more than fourteen. Antony was fifty-six years of age, according to some, according to others, fifty-three. Now, the statues of Antony were torn down, but those of Cleopatra were left standing, because Archibius, one of her friends, gave Caesar two thousand talents, in order that they might not suffer the same fate as Antony’s.
LXXXVII. Antony left seven children by his three wives, of whom Antyllus, the eldest, was the only one who was put to death by Caesar ; the rest were taken up by Octavia and reared with her own chil-. dren. Cleopatra, the daughter of Cleopatra, Octavia gave in marriage to Juba, the most accomplished of kings, and Antony, the son of Fulvia, she raised so high that, while Agrippa held the first place in Caesar's estimation, and the sons of Livia the second, Antony was thought to be and really was third. By Marcellus Octavia had two daughters, and one son, Marcellus, whom Caesar made both his son and his son-in-law, and he gave one of the daughters to Agrippa. But since Marcellus died very soon after his marriage and it

was not easy for Caesar to select from among his other friends a son-in-law whom he could trust, Octavia proposed that Agrippa should take Caesar’s daughter to wife, and put away her own. First Caesar was persuaded by her, then Agrippa, where-

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THY bev auTiis arroraBodca TUV@KLTED “Avrovig,
THY dé Kaicapos “Aypimtas eynpev. aTONELTFO-
pévav é TOY ‘Avtwviov kat "Oxtaovias Sdveiv
Ouyarépov THV pev Aopittos "AnvoBapBos éraBe,
THY dé coppoovvy Kal Kadnet meptBonrov
"Avtwviav Apoiicos, O AtBias vies, mWpoyovos dé
Kaicapos. é« tovtwv éyévero Teppavixos Kat
Knravétos: wv Kravédzios HEV Darepov Hpte, Tav
bé Deppavixod Taidov [dios pév apfas ETLPAVAS
ou ToNUY “povov avnpé 7 META TEKVOU Kal
UVALKOS, “Aypiniva de viov é& *"AnvoBdapBou
Kedeson Aopirtov éxouea Kravdie Kaicape
TUVHKNTE. Kal Gépevos TOV viov avTAS Knravdzios
Né épwva Teppavixoy Tpogovopuacen. OUTOS dpfas
ep’ nudv améxrewe THY. pyTépa Kal pupov
édénoev vTrd eu An ELas Kat Tapadpoawns
“ dvatpeyrat THY “Pwpaiwv Hryewovian, T ELT TOS
amd "Avtwviov cat apiOpov Sradoyhs yevopevos.
AHMHTPIOY KAI ANTONIOY 2YTKPISIS

I. ’Esret rotvuy peryarar rept apupotépous yeryo-
yact petaBonrai, 7 paTov Ta Ths Suvdpews ral Tis
émipaveias TKOTG LEV, dT TO pev Hy TAT ppa Kab
TPOKATELPYAT LeVa., peyeaTov laxvoavtos “Avte-
yovov TOV Siadoxov Kal mwpo TOU Anyntptov év
nrLKia yever ar Ta Wrelota. THS "Acias émren-
Aovros Kal KPATNOAVTOS" ‘AvTwvtos dé Xaptevros
per dAXos, dTrohe wou dé Kaul peya pndev els b0fav
avT@ KATANLTOVTOS yevomEVvoS TraTpOs, éeml THY
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upon she took back her own daughter and married — -her to young Antony, while Agrippa married Caesar's daughter. Antony left two daughters by Octavia, of whom one was taken to wife by Domitius

Aheno- barbus, and the other, Antonia, famous for her beauty and discretion, was married to Drusus, who was the son of Livia and the step-son of Caesar. From this marriage sprang Germanicus and Claudius ; of these, Claudius afterwards came to the throne, and of the children of Germanicus, Caius reigned with distinction, ‘but for a short time only, and was then put to death with his wife and child, and Agrippina, who had a son by Ahenobarbus, Lucius Domitius, became the wife of Claudius Caesar. And Claudius, having adopted Agrippina’s son, gave him the name of Nero Ger- manicus. This Nero came to the throne'in my time. He killed his mother, and by his folly and madness came near subverting the Roman empire. He was the fifth in descent from Antony.

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I. Since, then, both these men experienced great reversals of fortune, let us first observe, with regard to their power and fame, that in the one case these were acquired for him by his father and inherited, since Antigonus became the strongest of Alexander’s successors, and before Demetrius came of age had attacked and mastered the greater part of Asia; ‘Antony, on the contrary, was the son of a man who, though otherwise gifted, was yet no warrior, and -could leave him no great legacy of reputation ; and

Kaicapos eTOAMNTEY apXTY, ovdey auT® Kata
ryévos TpogjKovaay, nein, Kal ToIS éxeiv@ TTpo-
TeTTOVNLEVOLS avTos éauTov eloevroinae Srddoxov.
kal TocovTov iaxucer, Kx Hovey TOV mept auTov
UTapYovTwv OPLa[UEvos, Gore dv0 poipas 7a
CUMTAVTA TOLNTALEVOS THY ‘érépav éréoOar Kal
AaPeiv THY émupavertépay, a atra@v S€ AUTOS vrn-
péerars Te Kal UmootparHyots IldpOous te vixjoa
ToAAdKs Kal Ta Tept Kavxacov é6vn BadpSapa
héxpe THs Kaorias dcacar Oar ons. map-
TUpta 5é Tod peyeBous aUT@ kal be a, KAKOS
aKovel. Anpuntpio pev yap 0 TaTnp nyamnoe
THD ‘Avtumdtpou Dirav ws KpelTTova TUvOLK Ta aL
Tap nruKiay, ‘Avtovip dé o KnXeoratpas ya pos
dvedos Hv, yuvarkos bmepBadoperns Suvdper Kal
Aapmpornte TavTas mY /Apodxov TOUS Kad?
abrny Bactreis. GX ovTAS eroinre peryay
éauvtov wate Tois aAXots petlovey 7 éBovreETO
Soxety aftos.
II. ‘H pévTor ™poaiperts, ad’ 4s EXTHTAVTO
THY apxXny, apeptrros él! rob Anunrpiov, xpatety
kal Baotrevew av pwrev elOto pevonv KpateiaOac

Kal BactheverOar Entovvtos, 7 & ‘AvTo@viou Xare-
Tn Kal Tupavyenn, caTadoudoupevov Tov “Pwpatov
Sjpuov a dpre Suaguyovta THY v0 Kaicape povap-
Xiav. O68 ovv péyloTov avT@ Kal Nam porarov
coTL TOY EipyacpEvar, Oo Tpos Kdootov kal
Bpodrov TOAELOS, ert 7? Thv TaTpiba Kal TovsS
WoNLTAS adpereoOar THY édevOepiav émronennOn.
Anuntptos dé, al? piv eis tUXas éOEty avay-
1 éw) Bekker reads 4, with a single MS.
2 xal deleted by Bekker, after Schaefer.

yet Antony had the courage to seek the power of Caesar, to which his birth gave him no claim, and to all that Caesar had wrought out before him he made himself the rightful successor. And so great strength did he attain, in reliance upon his own resources alone, that, after forcing a division of the empire into two parts, he chose one, and took the more splendid one of the two; and though absent himself, through his assistants and lieutenant-generals he defeated the Parthians many times, and drove the barbarous tribes about the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea. Moreover, even the things that brought him ill-repute bear witness to his greatness. For Antigonus was well pleased to have his son Demetrius marry Phila, the daughter of Antipater, in spite of her disparity in years, because he thought her a greater personage ; whereas Antony’s marriage to Cleopatra was a dis- grace to him, although she was a woman who surpassed in power and splendour all the royalties of her time except Arsaces. But he made himself so great that men thought him worthy of greater things than he desired. ,

II. As regards their resolution to win empire, this was blameless in the case of Demetrius, who sought to subdue and reign as king over men who were accustomed to subjection and kings; but in the case of Antony it was harsh and tyrannical, since he tried to enslave the Roman people when it had just escaped from the sole rule of Caesar. Moreover, as regards the greatest and most brilliant of his achievements, namely, the war against Cassius and Brutus, it was to deprive his country and his fellow citizens of their liberty that the war was waged. But Demetrius, even. before he felt the constraints of adversity, kept on

Kaias, ehevdeparv Thy “EAXaba Kal tov TONEWY
éfehauver TAS ppoupas dreTtéXEcev, oux, @oTreEp
"AVT@ONOS, OTL TOUS éeevdepaoartas thv ‘“Papny
améxtevev év Maxedovia, ceuvuvopevos.. év Tot-
yuv é€otl TOV ET ALVOUPLEVOY | ’Avtoviou, 76 prro-
Swpov Kal peyarodwpoy, év @ TocovTov Umepaiper
Anpytpvos dare xapicacbar Tots Toheious éaa
TOUS pirous ovx Edwxev “AvT@vios. KatTot Taphvat

ye Kal mepiotadjvat Kerevoas Bpovrov éxeivos
evdokipnaev ovTOS b€ Kal Tos amTroPavorTas TAY
ToAeiwy mavras éxndevoe Kal Tovs aAoVTAS
IItoveuaim peta ypnudtwv Kail Swpedv arré-
Trew YeD.
III. ‘TBpioral pev edtuxodvres dpporepot, Kab
™ pos Tpudas averpevor Kal ¢rohatcess. OvK av
el7rot bé TIS WS Anpntptov év evTrabetas Kat
ouvovatals évta mpakewv Katpos eFepuyer, GNA
Hh meptovota THIS TXOATS emreLa tye TAS bovas,
kal thy Adprav domep THY puOeenv aTEXVOS
mat Sev kal yuoTavov éToLetTo Svayaryiy. év O€
Tais ToD TONE MOV mapas Kevais ouK elyev avTou
To Sopu KiTTOv, ovde _bopev abodes 70 Kpdvos,
ovde yeyavapevos Kal avOnpos éml Tas paxas
éx THS yuvarcoviteoos T ponel, Koupilov dé TOUS
Otacous Kal Ta BaxxXeta KaTATTAUMDY auditrodos
“Apeos avtepou, KATA TOV Evpuriéyy, € éryiveTo, Kat
du ndovny 4 padupiay oudev ATAWS em Tatoev.
"Avroviov 86, Gomep éy tais ypadats op@pev
TOU “Hpaxdéous Thy "Opdarny upatpovoav — TO
pomranov Kat THY NEovTHY dmodvovaay, ovTwH
modAaKs KXeowatpa tapowAicaca Kal Kxata-
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liberating Greece and expelling their garrisons from her cities, unlike Antony, whose boast was that he had slain in Macedonia the men who had given liberty to Rome. And besides, as regards their love of giving and the largeness of their gifts, one of the things for which Antony is lauded, Demetrius far surpassed in this, and bestowed more, upon his enemies than Antony ever gave to his friends. It is true that for ordering the body of Brutus to be robed and buried Antony won a good name ; but Deme- trius gave obsequies to all hisenemy’s dead, and sent his prisoners back to Ptolemy with money and gifts.}

III. Both were insolent in prosperity, and aban-
doned themselves to luxury and enjoyment. But it
cannot be said that Demetrius, for all his pleasures
and amours, ever let slip the time for action, nay, it
was only when his leisure was abundant that he
introduced his pleasures; and his Lamia, like the
creature of fable, he made his pastime only when he
was sportive or drowsy. But when he got ready for
war, his spear was not tipped with ivy, nor did his
helmet smell of myrrh, nor did he go forth to his
battles from the women’s chamber, sleek and bloom-

ing, but quieting down and stopping the revels and orgies of Bacchus, he became, in the words of Euripides,? a “minister of unhallowed Ares,” and got not a single slip or fall because of his indolence or pleasures.

Antony, on the contrary, like Heracles in paintings where Omphalé is seen taking away his club and stripping off his lion’s skin, was often disarmed by Cleopatra, subdued by her spells, and persuaded to

1 See the Demetrius, xvii. 1.
2 Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 679.

Oérfaca oUvETrELaeD apévra peydhas mpaters én
TOV YELPa@v Kal oTPATELAS avayKaias € €y Tais Tepl
Kav Bov kal Tagooupw axrais advew Kal Tat-
Gew HET QUTAS. TEXOS 8é, as o Ildpus, éx TAS
paxyns atrodpas els TOUS éxelyns KaTedueTo KOn-
mous’ maddov 5é 0 pev Ilapes nrrnOeis epuyev els
TOV Oddapov, "AVT@VLOS be Knreorratpav dvaKxwv
epuye kat 7 ponKkato THY ving.

IV. "Ere Anpntpvos pév, ov KEK@AUHEVOD, ann’
avo Purimmov cai "AdreEdvdpov yeyovos év Ce
Tois Maxedover Bacvretory, ery a wet ydpous qhet-
ovas, @onTrep Avaipaxos cat IItonepaios, € éaxe dé
bia TUBS écas ey npev® "AVT@VLOS my: Tp@Tov
pev onod dv0 yuvainas nyayero, mparyya pndevi
‘Pwpaiw teTroApnpevov, erecta Hv aorny Kal
Sicatas yapndeicar éfnrace Th févg Kal pn Kata
vOHOUS cuvoven Xapulopevos: dOev éx ydpou T@
pev ovdév, Te O€ TA péytoTa TOV KaK@Y aTHy-
TNOEV.

"AoéBnua MéeVvTOL TogovTor bu ao ehyevay ovév
Tals ‘Avt@viou mpateow 6oov tals Anpntptov
™ poorer Tw. ot pev yap ioTo tKol dace Kal TiS
axpoTrovews GANS elpyer Oat Tas Kuvas, dia 70 THY
pike eupavi amore, tovTo TroteiaOat TO Seov-
o 6€ év auT@ TO Tapbevart Tals Te Tmopvats
ouviy eal. TOY aoTav KaTETPOpVEvTE Todas Kal
ov TLS ay Herre Tas ToLavTas Tpudas al amtro-
Aavoets oloLTo peTexeLv KaKov, THS WLOTNTOS,
TOUTO éveote Th Anyntpiov prndovia, meptidovros,

padrov dé avayxaoavTos, oiKT PAS amoOavety Tov
Kado Tov kal cwdpovéotatov ‘AOnvaiov, pev-
yovta To KabuBpicOivar. cuverovre dé evtrety,
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COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY -

drop from his hands great undertakings and necessary campaigns, only to roam about and play with her on the sea-shores by Canopus and Taphosiris. And at last, like Paris, he ran away from the battle and sank upon her bosom; although, more truly stated, Paris ran away to Helen’s chamber after he had been de- feated; but Antony ran away in chase of Cleopatra, and thereby threw away the victory.

IV. Further, Demetrius, in making several mar- riages, did not do what was prohibited, but what had been made customary for the kings of Macedonia by Philip and Alexander ; he did just what Lysimachus and Ptolemy did, and held all his wives in honour. Antony, on the contrary, in marrying two wives at once, in the first place did what no Roman had ever dared to do; and in the second place, he drove away his Roman and lawfufly wedded wife, in order to gratify the foreigner, with whom he was living con- trary to law. Hence marriage brought no harm to Demetrius, but to Antony the greatest of his evils.

. On the other hand, the lascivious practices of An- tony are marked by no such sacrilege as are those of Demetrius. For historians tell us that dogs are excluded from the entire acropolis, because these animals couple without the least concealment; but the very Parthenon itself saw Demetrius cohabit- ing with harlots and debauching many Athenian women. And that vice which one would think least associated with such wanton enjoyments, namely, the vice of cruelty, this enters into Demetrius’ pursuit of pleasure, since he suffered, or rather compelled, the lamentable death of the most beautiful and the most _ chaste of Athenians, who thus sought to escape his shameful treatment. In a word, Antony wronged

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

"Avr@vios pev éavtov 1a THY axpaciav, Anpy-
Tpuos dé ddXous noixnoe.
V. IIpos pevroe yoveis dpepmrov éauTov eis
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adehgov THS JT pos efedcoxev emt 7 Kixépova
arroxreivas, mparypa Kab Kad éavTo ptapov Kab
@UOV, QS HOS av "Avtoviov én avT@ ovyyvouns
TUyYElV, Eb cwTNpias Tod Oeiou pia0os 7 Hy 0 Kexé-
pavos avatos.
“A toivup _emL@pxngay auporepor Kat 7 ape-

orovonoay, O pep “AprdBalov cudraBwv, 0 | be
“AréEavdpov atroxteivas, "AvTwvig pmey exer THY
wl dota Oporoyouuerny™ arrenei hy yap .év
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Tptov 5é€ ToAXol A€youat pevbets aitias, éd’ ols
édpace, TWAacdpevov Katnyopeiy abixnOévra, ovK
adixnoavTa auvvacbat.
IIddev 5€ trav pev KatopOwydtav avToupyos o
Anpntptos yéyove: Kat tovvavriov o “AvtTwvios,
év ols ob tapi, Kadroras Kal peyioras ba TOV
oTparnyav avn petro vixas.
VI. "EEémecov b¢ TOV T pay WaT CoV ap orepot
fev Se avtouvs, ov pny Gpoiws, GAN’ Oo pev éyxaTa-
AetpOeis, améaTnoay yap avTou Maxedaves, O
bé éyxatradirer, epuye yap TOUS rep avrob
xivduvevovTas: dore TOU pev éyxAnwa elvat TO
duc peveis obTw ™ pos auTov amepyacacGas TOUS
paxouevous, tov dé 16 TapecKxevacpéevny cdvotav
ToLavTny Kal TiaTLW éycatahureiy.
Tov de Odvarov ovderépov pev éotev émaivéoat,
wextos 5é 0 Anuntpiov paGANov. UANWTOS TE
yap iméueve yevérOat, Kat par he nydmrnaev
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COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY

himself by his excesses, while Demetrius wronged
others.
V. Again, towards his parents Demetrius was in al] respects blameless; whereas Antony surrendered his mother’s brother for the privilege of killing Cicero, a deed in itself so abominable and cruel that Antony ' would hardly have been forgiven had Cicero’s death been the price of his uncle’s safety.

Further, as regards violations of oaths and treaties
by both, in the seizure of Artabazus by the one, and
the killing of Alexander by the other, for Antony
there is the excuse which men admit to be valid,
namely, that he had been deserted in Media by
Artabazus and betrayed; but Demetrius, as many
say, invented false accusations, upon which he acted,
and denounced one who had been wronged by him ;
the murder was not retaliation for wrongs done
to him.
And again, Demetrius was himself the author of
his suceesses; Antony, on the contrary, won his
greatest and fairest victories through his generals, on

fields where he was not present.
VI. But the downfall of both was due to themselves, though the manner of it differed. Demetrius was deserted by others, for the Macedonians went away from him; whereas Antony deserted others, ‘for he ran away from those who were risking their lives for him. Demetrius may therefore be blamed for making his soldiers so hostile to him, and Antony for abandoning a goodwill and confidence which was so much in evidence.
As for their deaths, neither is to be commended, but that of Demetrius is the more to be censured. For he suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and

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Ta faa xetponOns yevouevos. "Avtwuos 5€é Setras
> “ \ > , > A 3 “A 4
pey kal oixtp@s Kal atipws, ov py GAA TPO ye
Tov KUptoyv yevéoOar TOY ToAEmLOY TOU TwpaTOS
éautov éEnyaryev.

was well content to add to his life three years of imprisonment. He was tamed, like a wild beast, by way of his belly and by wine. Whereas Antony took himself off,—in a cowardly, pitiful, and ignoble way, it is true, but at least before his enemy became master of his person.

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ITYPPO2

E Georpwrav kal Moroocwy peta Tov KataKAvo pov iaropodar Daébovra Baotredoas 7 paTOD, éva TOV pera TleXaoyod Taparyevoueveov els

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elo apevous TO Tept Awderny i tepov avtToOt xaTot-
xetv €v Modoacois. Xpove dé Uarepov Neorro-
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X@pav KaTerXe Kal Sradoyny Bacthéov ad’ au-
Tou Kaede, ITuppisas emixadovpevous: Kal yap
avt@ Ilvppos jy maruxov eTr@vupmcon, Kal TOV
yvnotov Taidev ex Aavdcons Tips Kreodaiou
Tob “TAXov ‘YevopEveoy éva Ivppov avopacer. éx
TOUTOU dé cal “Ayirrevs év "Hreipo Timas toobe-
ous éaxen, “Aametos emixmple povi mpoca-
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avdpos ebdoxipov qept Tov Aapranoy TONE WOv
yevouévou kal péytotov akiopya TOY cuppaxyor
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PYRRHUS

I. Historians tell us that the first king of the Thesprotians and Molossians after the flood was Phaethon, one of those who came into Epeirus with Pelasgus ; but some say that Deucalion and Pyrrha . _ established the sanctuary at Dodona and dwelt there among the Molossians. In after time, however, Neoptolemus the son of Achilles, bringing a people with him, got possession of the country for himself, and left a line of kings descending from him. These were called after him Pyrrhidae ; for he had the surname of Pyrrhus in his boyhood, and of his legiti- mate children by Lanassa, the daughter .of Cleo- daeus the son of Hyllus, one was named by him Pyrrhus. Consequently Achilles also obtained divine honours in Epeirus, under the native name of Aspetus. But the kings who followed in this line soon lapsed into barbarism and became quite ob- scure, both in their power and in their lives, and it was Tharrhypas, historians say, who first introduced Greek customs and letters and regulated his cities by humane laws, thereby acquiring for himself a name. Alcetas was a son of Tharrhypas, Arybas of Alcetas, and of Arybas and Troas, Aeacides. He married Phthia, the daughter of Menon the Thes- salian, a man who won high repute at the time of the Lamian war! and acquired: the highest authority

1 323-322 B.c. See the Demosthenes, xxvii. 1.
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peta Aewabévnv AaBovtos.. ex 5€ Tis PDOias
T@ Alaxidy yivovTas Ouyatépes Aniddpyea cai
Tpeas, vios Oé I] uppos.
. II. ‘Evel 6é oTacdoavres ot Mohdocaol Kal
tov Alaxidny éxBarovtes érrnyayovto tovs Neo-
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dsepOapnaav cararnpbertes, TOV dé Ivppov ére
vaTuoV évTa Kal CnTovpevov vmod TOY Trohepiov
exxdepravTes ol Tept "Avpornetdnv. Kat “ AyyeXov
epevyor, oixéras dALyous Kal yovata TLOnvovpeva
TO Ta.dtov dvaryKaiws epehcopevot. Kat Sua
ToUTO THS puyhs avtois yevomevns ducépyou Kal
Bpadetas KaTahapBavouevor TO pev mavdtov
éyxerpilovary "Avdpoxhetove cal Iarmia cat Nedv-
Spe, veavic Kors ovat motos Kal poparéors,
ava Kpdtos pevyew Kai Meydpov éxerOat xwpiov
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deopevot, Ta bé aTopa omevor ToIs Siaxovow
éprrod@v Hoav axpe detAns oypias. aTroT pam o-
pévey 5€ worss éxeivov peréOeov TOUS TOV Il vppov
Kopivovtas. non O€ TOU ALOU KaTadebuKoros
eyyus yevopevot THS énridos eaidvns aTreKko-
THoaY, evTUXOVTES TD Tapa THY Tok Tapap-
péovTe TOTALO, XaAETS pep op Ojvar Kal aypip,
TEcpeopevous dé Sia Baivey travtdtacw aTropwTa-
T@. TOU TE yap efemumrre pedpa al Oodepov
6uBpav éruyevopevor, Kal To TKOTOS emotes wavra
poBepwrepa. xa’ avtous ev ovv ibaa
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povra TO mrasdtov, aiaBopevor dé TOY emtx@plov
Tivds év TO Tépav Ext@tas edéovTo cuddraBécOar 384
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PYRRHUS

among the confederates after Leosthenes. Phthia
bore to Aeacides two daughters, Deidameia and
Troas, and a son, Pyrrhus.
II. But factions arose among the Molossians, and expelling Aeacides they brought into power the sons of Neoptolemus.! The friends of Aeacides were then seized and put to death, but Pyrrhus, who was still a babe and was sought for by the enemy, was stolen away by Androcleides and Angelus, who took to flight. However, they were obliged to take along with them a few servants, and women for the nursing of the child, and on this account their flight — was laborious and slow and they were overtaken. They therefore entrusted the child to Androcleion, Hippias, and Neander, sturdy and trusty young men, with orders to fty

with all their might and make for Megara, a Macedonian town ; while they themselves, partly by entreaties and’ partly by fighting, stayed the course of the pursuers until late in the evening. After these had at last been driven back, they hastened to join the men who were carrying Pyrrhus. The sun had already set anf they were near their hoped-for refuge, when suddenly they found them- selves cut off from it by the river which flowed past the city. This had a forbidding and savage look, and when they tried to cross it, proved altogether im- passable. For its current was greatly swollen and violent from rains that had fallen, and the darkness made everything more formidable. Accordingly, they gave up trying to cross unaided, since they were carryihg the child and the women who cared for the child ; and perceiving some of the people of the country standing on the further bank, they

_A brother of Arybas, and therefore uncle of Aeacides.

mpos tTHy SiaBacw, Kal Tov Iluppov avedeinvucav
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d:atpiBn TaY pév Bowvtwv, tav Sé wn cuviévTar,
wv] , ‘ ‘ \ \
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évéypawe twoptn ypappata ppdlovta tHy TE
4, A 7
Npelay Kal THY TUXNY TOD TaLdOs, Eira ALOM TOV
\ 4
gprovov arepredhiEas xal ypnodpevos olov éppate
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ths Bodrhs adijxev eis TO tépav Evtor 5é hace
la
cauvi wepirntavtas axovticat Tov droLov. ws
& ovv avéyvwcav of wépay Ta ypdupata Kal
a) \ bd UA A A i 4
auveldov thy GEvTHTA TOD Katpod, KOTTOVTES EVAG
\ \ ” A 2: a
Kat Mpos aAANAA ouvdéovTes ErrEepatodyTO. Kal
KaTa TUXNY O TPwTOs avTaY Trepatwbels "Ayir-
A
Nevs TOUVoO“a Tov IIlvppov édéEaTo: Tovs 5é GAXOVS
a
as Etuxov aAXot SrexopuCov.
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Ill. Otto b€ owévtes cai POdcavres thv
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o Ilvppos am’ avtopatov mpoceptricas Kati NaBo-
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mpos Ta yovata tov TAavxiou yéAwTa mpaorTor,
2 ed
eitTa OlKTOVY Tapéoyev, WoTrEp TIS iKéTNS eXO-
35°
PYRRHUS

besought their help in crossing, and showed them Pyrrhus, with loud cries and supplications. But the _ people on the otber side could not hear them for the turbulence and splashing of the stream, and so there was delay, one party shouting what the other could not understand, until some one bethought himself of a better way. He stripped off a piece of bark from a tree and wrote thereon with a buckle-pin a message telling their need and the fortune of the child; then he wrapped the bark about a stone, which he used to give force to his cast, and threw it to the other side. Some say, however, that it was a javelin about which he wrapped the bark, and that he shot it across. Accordingly, when those on the other side had read the message and saw that no time was to be lost, they cut down trees, lashed them together, and made their way across. As chance would have it, the first of them to make his way across was named Achilles ; he took Pyrrhus in his arms, and the rest of the fugitives were conveyed across by others in one way or another.

IfI. Having thus outstripped their pursuers and reached a place of safety, the fugitives betook them- selves to Glaucias the king of the Illyrians; and finding him sitting at home with his wife, they put the little child down on the floor before them. Then the king began to reflect. He was in fear of Cassander, who was an enemy of Aeacides, and held his peace along time as he took counsel with himself. Meanwhile Pyrrhus, of his own accord, crept along the floor, clutched the king’s robe, and pulled himself on to his feet at the knees of Glaucias, who was moved at first to laughter, then to pity, as he saw the child clinging to his knees and weeping like a formal

Hevos xal Saxptwv. ior Sé gacw ov Te
4 a) an A
[Aaveia mpooteccty avtov, ddAa Bopov Dear
: 4
Mpocarrapevov éotavar pos avTov weptBadovTa

na. xX \ “A A tA n
Tas xYeipas, kal TO mpaypa TO Draveig Geiov
A \ 7 >]
gavnvat. 610 nai twapavtixa tov Ilvppov éve-
, fe) A
VElplLae TH yuvaiki, KedAevVoas Apa Tois TéKVOLS
V4 \ \ A
tpépecOat, kal puxpov Daotepoy eEattoupéevwrv TOV
EME Kacavéd 66 kat dsaKo 4
TONEMLWY, Kacavopou 0€ Kal dlaxoclta TaXavTa
,
d:d0vtas, ov« e&éSmxev, AAXA Kal yevoyevov Svo-
la A
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duvapyews Baciiéa xatéctyoev.
3 be e 4, “~ N A? “A an
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hoBepwrepoy Exwv 7 ceuvotepov To BactidtKov,
qodXovs S€ ddovtas ovK elyev, GAN’ Ev. doTéoV
auvexyes Hv avwOev, olov NetTais apvyais Tas
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omAnuacw édoxer Bonbeiv, arextpvova Ovwv
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iatpetas Senbeis. éradpBave dé Kal tov anre-
4 4 \ vn
xtpvova Ovoas, Kai TO yépas TovTO HdtaToV HY
avuT@. Néyetas 5é Tov trodes exeivou Tov petfova
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Sdxturoy éxew Svvayw Oeiav, @oTe peTa THY
TeAEuTHY TOD AOLTOD TWMATOS KATAKAEVTOS
anata kai GOtktov bo tod mupos ebpeOfvat.
TAUTAa MeV OvV VaTEpoV.
IV. Tevopévm 5 wept értaxaibexa i gat
fe) \ ,
Soxobvts thy apyny éxew BeBaiws arrodnpia Tis
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PYRRHUS

suppliant. Some say, however, that the child did not supplicate Glaucias, but caught hold of an altar of the gods and stood there with his arms thrown round it, and that Glaucias thought this a sign from Heaven. Therefore he at once put Pyrrhus in the arms of his wife,' bidding her rear him along with their children; and a little while after, when the child's enemies demanded his surrender, and Cassander offered two hundred talents for him, Glaucias would not give him up, but after he had reached the age of twelve years, actually conducted him back into Epeirus with an armed force and set him upon the throne there.

In the aspect of his countenance Pyrrhus had more of the terror than of the majesty of kingly power. He had not many teeth, but his upper jaw was one continuous bone, on which the usual intervals between the teeth were indicated by slight de- pressions. People of a splenetic habit believed that he cured their ailment; he would sacrifice a white cock, and, while the patient lay flat upon his back, would press gently with his right foot against the spleen. Nor was any one so obscure or poor as not to get this healing service from him if he asked it. The king would also accept the cock after he had ' sacrificed it, and this honorarium was most pleasing to him. It is said, further, that the great toe of his right foot had a divine virtue, so that after the rest of his body had been consumed, this was found to be untouched and unharmed by the fire. These things, however, belong to a later period.

IV. When he had reached the age of seventeen years! and was thought to be firmly seated on his

1 In 302 B.c.

ouvéruye, TOV TAXavxiov Traidwy évos, ols cvverté-
Oparrto, yuvaika AapBdvovtos. mdadw ovv oi
Modortol ovaotdytes €&éBarov tovs didrous avtov
Kal Ta Xpnuata Sinptacav Kat Neomroréup
TmapédwKkav éavtovs. o 6 Ilvppos ovtw -THv
\ \ ,
apxnv amoBarov Kat yevouevos tmavtwv épnpos
/ a 9 4
Anpntpio t@ 'Avtiyovou mpocémkev éavTor,
4 le) «
EyovT, thy aberdny avtod Aniddpeav, iy ert

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Oévrwy dpav Exoveay adtny éynuev 6 Anurrtptos.
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Baowreis nywvicavto, tapwv o Ilvppos tots sepl
Anprjtpiov cuppetelye petpaxtoy dv ért, Kal Tovs
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Kal’ éavtov etpérato, Kal Srepdvn Naptrpos ev
Tois payopévats. mraicavra 5 Anuntptov ovK
éyxatéduTrev, GAX@ Kal Tas év tH ‘EXAdSL TOAES
muatevlels diepvdAake, xal acuuBdoewv avT@
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yevouevwy mpos IlroNepatoyv errevoev eis Aiyu-
m@Tov opnpevowv. Kal IItodepaim pev ev Te
Onpats kal yupvacios ériderEw aris Kal xap-
Tepias Tapetye, THY 5é Bepevixny opav péytorov
Suvayévny Kal mpwtevovaay apetn kal hpovnce
A , Le) 3 4 7
tav IIrovepatev yuvarxav, eBepamreve pddorta:
\ ‘\ A e a 39 9 , ‘ /
kat Sewvos @y varedOeiv er whedreia tovs Kpeit-
Tovas, @oTrEp UTEpoTTNS TOY TaTELVOTEpw)Y,
, \ \ , \ , b] A
Koopuos 6€ Kat cwdpwv trepi Siattav, ex TOANOV
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throne, it came to pass that he went on a journey, when one of the sons of Glaucias, with whom he had been reared, was married. Once more, then, the Molossians banded together, drove. out his friends, | plundered his property, and put themselves under Neoptolemus.! Pyrrhus, thus stripped of his realm and rendered destitute of all things, joined himself to Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who had his sister Deidameia to wife. She, while she was still a girl, had been nominally given in marriage to Alexander, Roxana’s son ; but their affairs miscarried, and when she was of age Demetrius married her.? In the great battle which all the kings fought at Ipsus® Pyrrhus was present, and took part with Demetrius, though still a stripling. He routed the enemy opposed to him, and made a brilliant display of valour among the combatants. Moreover, though Demetrius lost the day, Pyrrhus did not abandon him, but kept guard over his cities in Greece which were entrusted to him,‘ and when Demetrius made peace with Ptolemy, sailed to Egypt as hostage for him. Here, both in hunting and in bodily exercises, he gave Ptolemy proof of his prowess and endurance, and seeing that among the wives of Ptolemy it was Berenicé who had the greatest

influence and was foremost in virtue and ‘understanding, he paid especial court to her. He was adept at turning to his own advantage the favour of his superiors, just as he was inclined to look down upon his inferiors, and since he was orderly and restrained in his ways of living, he was selected from among many young

1 A grandson of the Neoptolemus mentioned in chapter ii. 1.

2 See the Demetrius, xxv. 2.

3 In 301 B.c.* Cf. the Demetrius, chapters xxviii. f.
4 Cf. the Demetrius, xxxi. 2.

vey TY EMOVLK@Y mpoexpiOn haPeiv | “Avtuyouny
yuvaixka Tov _Bepeviens Ouyatépwv, 7} iy Eoyev éx
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V. Meta 5é-TOv ydayov todTov éTt parddov
evdoKi wav, Kal yuvatkos ayabas Tips "Avtuyovns
mept auTov ovons, Stepafaro XpHwara ra Rov
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2 Xpovov bé Tpoiavtos Hoav ot -mapoktvovres aUTOUS
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pmeévTot padiota Kujcaca tov Ilvppov aitia
Déyerau TOLAUTHY apynv AaBeiv.
E:@bevcav ot Bactreis év Haccapan, Xeopio
TAS Mohortibos, “Apeio Ait Oucavres 6 opKwporeiy
Tots ‘Harewporacs Kal opxicer, avrol peev apfew
KATA TOUS vopous, éxeivous dé THY. Bactrelay
3 dsadvrd£ev Kata Tos vomous. TavT ovdv édpato
auporépov TOY Bactréwv jTapovTwy, Kal ouvioay
GANAS peta Tov didrwv, Sapa TOANa TA peEV
didovres, 7a dé AapBavorres. évtadda bn Tédovr,
avnp TLoTOS NeomToA€uq, defiwadpevos pido-
dpovws Tov Tuppov edwpraato Bow apoTnpav
dual Gevryerc. tavta Muprtidros o emt Tov olvou

Tmapav nret Tov ILvppov' éxelvou dé pe) 6:60vT0s,
arn’ eTEpy, YaNneTras éveryeov o Muprtiros ovK
4 @abe tov TVédwva. xadrécas ov avtov émi

1 rots moAAots With Coraés and Blass: woAAois.

princes as a husband for Antigone, one of the
daughters of Berenicé, whom she had by Phikp?
before her marriage with Ptolemy.
V. After this marriage he was held in still greater esteem, and since Antigone was an excellent wife to him, he brought it to pass that he was sent into Epeirus with money and an army to regain his king- dom. Most people there were glad to see him come, owing to their hatred of Neoptolemus, who was a stern and arbitrary ruler. However, fearing lest Neoptolemus should have recourse to one of the other kings, he came to terms and made friendship with him on the basis of a joint exercise of the royal power. But as time went on there were people who secretly exasperated them against one another and filled them with mutual suspicions. The chief ground, however, for action on the part of Pyrrhus is said to have had its origin as follows.

It was customary for the kings, after sacrificing to Zeus Areius at Passaro, a place in the Molossian land, to exchange solemn oaths with the Epeirots, the kings swearing to rule according to the laws, and the people to maintain the kingdom according to the laws. Accordingly, this was now done; both the kings were present, and associated with one another, together with their friends, and many gifts were interchanged. Here Gelon, a man devoted to Neoptolemus, greeted Pyrrhus in a friendly manner and made him a present of two yoke of oxen for ploughing. Pyrrhus was asked for these by Myrtilus, his cup-bearer; and when Pyrrhus would not give them to him, but gave them to another, Myrtilus was deeply resentful. This did not escape the notice of

1 An obscure Macedonian.

Seirrvov, @S bé gacw evo, cat XPNTapEvos Tap
olvov Bpay EyovTt, hoyous Tpoa7veyKe ‘Tapa-
Kadav érécOar ra Tou Neomrohépou Kab pap-
paKols SrapFeipas TOV Tuppov. o 6é Muprinros
édéEaro wey THY TELpaY WS eTAaLWaV Kal oUpTe-
TELT LEVOS, éunvuce bé T@ Ilv pe” Kai Kedev-
gavtTos éxeivou TOV adpxvotvox oor “AreEtcparny
T@ Térouvr cuvérTncED, @S én peeEovra THS

mpagews avrois éBovreTo yap év Wreiouty o
Tuppos TOV EXeyXov yeveo Oat Tov adixnparos.
oUTw be tov TéXwvos eLarratwpévou ovvetaTraTo-
fevos oO Neorronepos, Kal THDv emBournv 05@
Badifeuv olopevos ov Kateixer, aD’ uTro Yapas
ebepepe pos TOUS pirous. Kad OTe Kopao as
mapa Thy adergnv Kadueiav EXpHTO Aaa mepl
TOUTWY, ovdéva cuvaxovely olopevos* oddels yap
Hy mAna tov addos y Paivapéry yun Ldpwvos
Tov Ta Totuvia Kal Ta, Bovxoda TP Neomrorép@
Stotxobvros, arn b¢ dmreaT paypevn 1 pos TOV TOL-
xov} em Krivns TLVOS edoxer cadevderv. vv KOS
6é mavTwy ryevopern Kat Naovca pel npepav KE
T pos” "Avtuyovny THY Tuppou yuvaixa, Kal TavTa
KaTeimev dca tod Neowto\euou mpos THY adehpny
nKxovae AeyovTos. mudopevos 5é€ oO I1uppos Exel
pev nouxiay nryev, ev Oé€ Ouaia Kadéoas etl
detmvov Tov NeomroAepov aT EK TELVED, aia Aopevos
tov ’Hrretpwrav tovs Kpatiorous mpocéxovTas
auT@, Kal Tapacehevopévous amrarhayhvas Tov
"Neomrovépou, Kal pI) pepioa pexpav éyovTa
Baotnetas ayaTayv, adda TH guce vpnoacbat
1 roy rocxov with Coraés, Blass, and C: rotxov.

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Gelon, who therefore invited Myrtilus to supper, and even, as some say, enjoyed his youthful beauty as they drank ; then he reasoned with him and urged him to become an adherent of Neoptolemus and to destroy Pyrrhus by poison. Myrtilus accepted the proposal, pretending to approve of it and to be persuaded, but informed Pyrrhus. He also, by the king’s orders, presented Alexicrates, the king’s chief cup-bearer, to Gelon, assuring him that he would take part in their enterprise; for Pyrrhus wished to have several persons who could testify to the intended crime. Thus Gelon was thoroughly deceived, and Neoptolemus as well, and as thoroughly, who, supposing that the plot was duly progressing, could not keep it to himself, but in his joy would talk about it to his friends. Once, in particular, after a revel at the house of his sister Cadmeia, he fell to prattling about the matter, supposing that no one would hear the conversation but themselves ; for no one else was near except Phaenarete, the wife of Samon, a man who managed the flocks and herds of Neoptolemus, and Phaenarete was lying on a couch with her face to the wall and seemed to be asleep. But she heard everything, and next day went unobserved to Antigone the wife of Pyrrhus, and told her all that she had heard Neoptolemus say to his sister. When Pyrrhus learned of it, he kept quiet for a time, but on a day of sacrifice invited Neoptolemus to supper and killed him. For he was aware that the chief men among the Epeirots were devoted to himself and were eager to see him

rid himself of Neoptolemus; also that they wished him not to content himself with having a small share of the kingdom, but to follow his natural bent and

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

petCovoy Tpaypatov avriiauBavopevor, Kal TLVOS
UToWias Gua mpoacyevouévns tov Neomrodrepov
hOdaas! avereiv.
VI. Mepynpévos 5é€ Bepevinns cal UWrodepatou
mas6iov pev avT@ 'yevomevov ef "Avreyouns I rone-
paiov @vopacev, oikiaas 5é Tod év Th XEppovna ep
TAS "Hrreipou Bepovixibda T poanyopevoey. éx O€
TOUTOU TOAAG ev Tepivomy Kat peydra TH
yvoun, tais 5é éAmiot padiota Kal 7 P@T OV
avriiauBavopevos THY WANatov, evpev eudhovar
tois Maxedcvwv mpdypacw éx toidodé Tivos
Tpopacews. .
Tov Kacdvdpov TatSer o o m pea Butepos "Avti-
TATPOS THY TE pntépa @eroarovinny avethe Kab
TOV abeddov "AréEav6 pov HAaUYEV. 0 b¢ T pos TE
Anpnt prov émepie Seouevos Bondeiv cat Ivppor
ex anet. Anpunrtpiov d€ wird aa XOnay Bpadv-
VOVTOS éme Ooo o Tuppos HTNTE paOov THS
TULpAXias THY TE Lruppaiav Kal TV Tapavatay
THs Makedovias, cal Trav eT LK THT OV éOvav "Ap
Bpaxiav, 'Akapvaviay, "Apdiroyiar. 1 pOepLevou
dé Tov veavioKov TadTa mév avros elye ppoupais
cataraBov, ta 6€ Roa KT@LEVOS éxelvep
mepléxomrre Tov 'Avtimartpov. Avoipaxos dé o
/ Baotreds avtos pév Hv év aayorlats mpoOvmov-
pevos 'Avtitrdtp@ Bonbeiv, etdms 5é Tov I vppov
ovoev axaprorety oveée dpveicbar Irorepaip
Bovropevov émreprpre TrAaoTaA ypaupata Tpos
AUTOV, WS Itodepatov KehEvOVTOS amanda rec Gar
THS oTpateias TpLAKooLa Tahara Tapa TOU
"Avtimatpov AaBovta. dAvGas Oé THY éiTTOAHY
1 p@doas Coraés and Blass, with most MSS.: ¢@dca:.
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attempt greater things, and, now that some suspicion had added its weight to other motives for the deed, to anticipate Neoptolemus by taking him off first.

VI. And now, in honour of Berenicé and Ptolemy, he gave the name of Ptolemy to his infant son by Antigone, and called the city which he had built on the peninsula of Epeirus, Berenicis. After this, he began to revolve many large projects in his mind; but his hopes were fixed first and more especially on undertakings close at hand, and he found a way to take direct part in Macedonian affairs, on grounds something like the following.

Of Cassander's sons, the elder, Antipater, killed his mother Thessalonicé and drove away his brother Alexander.! Alexander sent to Demetrius begging for help, and also called upon Pyrrhus. Demetrius was delayed by matters that he had in hand; but Pyrrhus came, and deinanded as a reward for his alliance Stymphaea and Parauaea in Macedonia, and, of the countries won by the allies, Ambracia, Acar- nania, and Amphilochia. The youthful Alexander gave way to his demands, and Pyrrhus took possession of these countries and held them for himself with garrisons ; he also proceeded to strip from Antipater the remaining parts of his kingdom and turn them over to Alexander. Now Lysimachus the king, who was eager to give aid to Antipater, was fully occupied himself and could not come in person; but knowing that Pyrrhus was desirous to do Ptolemy every favour and refuse him nothing, he sent a forged letter to him which stated that Ptolemy urged him to give up his expedition on payment of three hundred talents from Antipater. As soon as Pyrrhus opened the

1 Cf, the Demetrius, xxxvi. 1 f.

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6 IIvppos etOuvs To padiovpynua tod Avoiwpdyov ouveloev? ovde yap Av 7H auvnOns yeypaypévn mpocayopevots, "'O wratnp To vie xalipev:" avrd, ' Baotreds I tovepatos Baciret Ivppo yaipev. Rosdopjoas Se tov Avatpaxov dus érroveito THY eipnvnv, Kal ouvyecay @s KaTa odhayiwy opkwmpotncovTes. émet S€ Tavpouv Kai Kam@pov Kal xptod mpocayOévtos 0 KpLos avTopatos améBave, Tols ev GAXots yeAav ernHet, TOV 5é Ilvppov o pdvtis Beodotos opocat duexoruvee, dnoas TO Sarpovioy évi wpoonpaivey Tov TpLOVv Baciréwv Odvatov. o pev ov Iluppos obras ANETTN THS ELpnVNS.

VIL. Te 5é "ArcEdvSpm tav mpaypdtov 76n

KaTactaclv éxovtTwy Sums o Anuntpios adixerto:
kal SnrAos péev Hv evVOds Hxewv py Seopévw, Kal
foBov tapeixer, orjyas & Huépas ovyyevopevor
&:’ amiatias émeBovrevcav adrAXHAOLS appoTeEpor.
Katp@ 6 ypnoapevos Kai POdoas atroxtivyveL o
Anpntptos TO pwetpadxcov, kat BactrEvs avnyopevOn
Makedovias. Rv pév ody Kal mpotepov avT@
mpos Tov Iluppov éyxAnpata, Kal catadpopat THs
@cocarias éyeyovecay wn’ eéxeivov, Kal Td
ovpdutov voonua tais duvacteiats, 1) mAcovetia,
Thy yerTviaow avTois eémridoBov Kal amirtoy
Tapetye, Kal waAXov Ere peta THY THS Anidapeias
TedevTHV. rel S€ Kal KaTaayovTes auporepot
Makedovias cuvémimtov eis TO avTO Kat petlovas
édapBave mpopacas 7 Stadopa, Anuntptos pév

letter he perceived the fraud of Lysimachus; for the letter did not have the customary address, “ The father, to the son, health and happiness,”’ but instead, “King Ptolemy, to King Pyrrhus, health and happiness.” Pyrrhus reviled Lysimachus for the fraud, but nevertheless made the desired peace, and they all met to ratify it with sacrificial oaths. However, after a bull, a boar, and a ram had been brought up for sacrifice, of its own accord the ram fell down dead. The rest of, the spectators were moved to laughter, but Theodotus the seer prevented Pyrrhus from taking the oath by declaring that Heaven thus betokened in advance the death of one of the three kings. In this way, then, Pyrrhus was led to renounce the peace.

VII. Thus Alexander’s affairs were already settled with the help of Pyrrhus, but nevertheless Demetrius came to him; and as soon as he arrived it was plain that he was not wanted, and he inspired only fear ; and after they had been together a few days their mutual distrust led them to plot against each other. But Demetrius, taking advantage of his opportunity, got beforehand with the young prince and slew him, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.! Now, even before this there had been differences between him and Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus had overrun Thessaly ; ? and greed for power, the natural disease of dynasties, made them formidable and suspicious neighbours, and all the more after the death of Deidameia. And now that both of them had occupied part of Mace- donia, they came into collision, and their quarrel was furnished with stronger grounds. Demetrius there-

1 Cf. the Demetrius, xxxvi. 2-6, xxxvii.
2 Cf. the Demetrius, xl. i

ém’ AitwAous oT pateva dpevos Kal Kparnoas,
Tavravyov avToOt peta ToAATS Suvdpuews KaTA-
MeTrov avTOS éBadulev él Hvppov, kal Iluppos
ém’ éxelvov, ws taGero. yevonevns Sé Stapaptias
Kal? oOov adAnous mapnddafav- Kab Anuntpios
pev éuBarov eis “Harevpov éXenrarel, Huppos, bé
Hlavravyy repitec@y eis wayyy Katéorn. Kal
TOY OT PATLOT OY TUpTrET ovT@V Setvos nv kal
péyas ayov, uaddLoTAa KaTa TOUS myewovas. 6 TE
yap Hdvravyos avépeia Kal xeupt Kal pawn
TW"UATOS aptoTosS MV Omohoryoupeveas Tey mepl
Anpnt prov oT pATHYyaD, Kal Papaos éxov Kat
ppovnya, TpovKanreito TOV Tuppov els xeipas, 6
TE Lvppos ovdevi TOV Bactréov Up réwevos adKijs
Kal TONS, Kal THY “AXtAAEwS bofav auT@ bv
apeTnv paddov n kata yevos UvoLKeLouv Bovné-
pevos, €vayTios exwper dia TOV T pomaxeov émt TOV
Hadvravyor. iy dé Soparic pos TO _™paroy, celta
év Xepoty YEvopevor peta TEXYNS dpa Kab Bias
expavto Tois Eidect. aBov be o Ilv¥ppos év
Tpatpa, Sous dé dv0, TO pev Els TOV pnpov, TO bé
Tapa TOV Tpaynrov, éTpewato Kai KatéBare Tov
Ildvravxov ov pny aveidev, avnprrayn yap v v6
TOY pirov. ot 6€ “Hrrep@tar tH vikn Tod
Baatrews érrapOévres Kal Javpdcartes Th
apeTnv éBideavTo kal duéxowav THhv parayya TOV
Maxedovwr, Kal dhevyovtas SiwKovtes amréxtewvay
TE TOAXNOUS Kal mevrakiaxhious Covras elAov.
VIII. ‘O &€ a aryov GUTOS ov Tog obTov opyiis QV
Eradov ovdé picouvs évérAnoe tovs Maxedovas
mpos tov Iluppov, donv S0€av avtod cai Oadpa
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fore made an expedition against the Aetolians and conquered them, and then, leaving Pantauchus there with a large force, he himself moved against Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus, when he heard of it, against him. Owing to a mistake in the way, however, they passed by one another, and Demetrius, throwing his forces into Epeirus, plundered the country, while Pyrrhus, encountering Pantauchus, joined battle with him.! There was a sharp and terrible conflict between the soldiers who engaged, and especially also between the leaders. For Pantattchus, who was confessedly the best of the generals of Demetrius for bravery, dexterity, and vigour of body, and had both courage and a lofty spirit, challenged Pyrrhus to a hand-to-hand combat; and Pyrrhus, who yielded to none of the kingsin daring and prowess, and wished that the glory of Achilles should belong to him by right of valour rather than of blood alone, advanced through the foremost fighters to confront Pantauchus. At first they hurled their spears, then, coming to close quarters, they plied their swords with might and skill. Pyrrhus got one wound, but gave Pantauchus two, one in the thigh, and one along the neck, and put him to flight and overthrew him; he did not kill him, however, for his friends haled lini away. Then the Epeirots, exalted by the victory of their king and admiring his valour, overwhelmed and cut to pieces the phalanx of the Macedonians, pursued them as they fled, slew many of them, and took five thou- sand of them alive."

VIII. This conflict did not fill the Macedonians with wrath and hate towards Pyrrhus for their losses, rather it led those who beheld his exploits

1 Cf. the Demetrius, xli. 1 f. 2 Cf. the Demetrius, xli. 2

THS apeThs Kal Noyov évetpydoato Tos iOovat Ta
Epya Kal cvvevexGeiot kata THY maxny. Kai yap
¥ bd \ 4 ? / \ , a
Gpiv @ovto Kal Tdyos écotxévat Kal Kivnua Tois
b 4 fe) A ,
AreEdvdpov, cal tis popds éxeivov cal Bias
Tapa TOUS ayavas év TOUTH oKLdS TLVAS OpacBaL
\ / fo \ Ld / bd
Kal plunpata, TOV wey AAXKwWY Baciréwy Ev Trop-
Ul
dupais kai Sopygopors Kal Kroes TpaxYnAov Kai
a he } rE @ 4 oe Iv a
T@ petvov dtaréyeoOar, povov dé Ilvppov ois
id } A oF) b 5 / \
OmAots Kal Tais Yep Em LOEeLKVU{LEVOU TOV
"AréEavdpov. .
This 5€ rept takes nal otpatnyias émiotHnmns
avtov kal Sewvorntos éveots Seiypata NaBelv ex
TOV Yypappatwy & wept TovTwY aTroOAéAOLTTE.
/ \ 9 , /

Néyeras b€ Kal 'Avtiyovos épwrnels Tis dpirtos

A A bd)
TOV -oTpaTnyav, pavat, “‘Ilvppos, av ynpaon,’
\ a :
Tept Tov Kad’ avTov odTws aTopNVapeEvos povov.
? , \ A A
AvviBas 6 cuptavtay anépnve THY oTpaTNyaV
al \ > / \ , /
Tp@Tov ev eutretpia Kat Sewotnte Tvppov,
/ A 4 e \ \ / b]
Lentiwva Sé Sevtepov, éavtov S& tpitov, ws év
Tots wept Yxnmiwvos yéypamtat. Kal brws TovTO
pereT@v Eotxe Kal dirocopa@v del dvaterev o
/ e , , \ \

Iluppos, @s paOnpatwv Bactdtxwtatov, tas 6é

/ e
adras yAaduptas év ovdevl Noy TiWecOar. é-
\ U
yeTal yap ws epwrnbeis Ev tive TOT@, TrOTEPOV
a 4 4
avT@ daiverat Ilv@wv avrAnTns apetvov 7} Ka-
guotas, ettreitvy Gtt Wodtvorépywv otpatnyos, as
Tavita T® Bacirei Enrety uova xal ywooKev
T poonKov.
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and engaged him in the battle to esteem him highly and admire his bravery and talk much about him. For they likened his aspect and his swiftness and all his motions to those of the great Alexander, and thought they saw in him shadows, as it were, and imitations of that leader’s impetuosity and might in conflicts.1_ The other kings, they said, represented Alexander with their purple robes, their body-guards, the inclination of their necks,? and their louder tones insconversation; but Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus alone, in.arms and action.

Of his knowledge and ability in the field of mili- tary tactics and leadership one may get proofs from the writings on these subjects which he left. It is said also that Antigonus, when asked who was the best general, replied, “ Pyrrhus, if he lives to be old.” This verdict of Antigonus applied only to his contemporaries. Hannibal, however, declared that the foremost of all generals in experience and ability was

Pyrrhus, that Scipio was second, and he himself third, as I have written in my Life of Scipio.® And in a word, Pyrrhus would seem to have been always and continually studying and meditating upon this one subject, regarding it as the most kingly branch of learning; the rest he regarded as mere accomplishments and held them in no esteem. For instance, we are told that when he was asked at a drinking-party whether he thought Python or Caphisias the better flute-player, he replied that Polysperchon was a good general, implying that it became a king to investigate and understand such matters only.

1 Cf. the Demetrius, xli. 3. 2 See the Alexander, iv. 1. 3 The ‘‘ book” containing the Lives of Epaminondas and Scipio Africanus the Elder has been lost,

3 de \ ‘ \ / : \ \
Hy 6€ «ai mpos tovs cvvyiOes émiexns Kat
ampaos opynv, apodpos 5é Kai mpoOuvpos év tais
yaptow. *Aepotrov yobv amobavovtos ovK jnveyKe
, ra)
petpiws, éxeivov pev avOpwmiva terrovOévat

4 e€ \ \ ‘ \ A 4
dacKkev, éavtov 5€ peuhopevos Kal xaxilwv OTe
, > \ \ , / > 3 lA
HéAXwY det Kal Bpadvvwy yapiv ovK amédwoxev
avT@. Ta pev yap xXpéa Kal KANpovopols éeoTiv
arodoivar Tav Savecavtwr, ai dé TAY Xapitwv
‘ 9 nw
aporBai pn yevopevat pos ataPavomevous avioct
TOV otov Kxat Sixarov. év b€ "ApuBpaxia
xpn , pBpaxie
4 bY N 4 wv -9
KakoNoyov tiva Kai Bracdnpov avOpwrov oto-
pévov Seiy petaotica, tov Ilvppov ‘ Avtod
Y 9° ce “ € A b) 9 , Aa wow
pévov, edn, “ “adrov Nuas ev OALYOLS 7 TrEpLioV
mpos atavtas avOpwrovs Kaxas NeyéTW.” Kai
Tous map olvoy avtov AoidopHnaavtas, elta édEey-
3 le)

Yomévous HpwTycev et Tavta elmov' arroxKptva-
/ A An , e 7 6 aA @ nA
pévou b€ TOY veavioxwy évos, “Tadta, @ Bactred:

? > A wv 4 ? 4, > ,
mreiova 8 adv étt TOVTwY ElpnKElpEV, EL TrAELOV
A n bd A
jTapHy oivos nuiv, yedaoas adie.
IX. Tuvaicas 5€ wpayudtwv évexa cai duva-
pews TAEiovas éynue peta THyv “Avtiyovns Te-
, Aa
NeuTHV. Kal yap Avtoréovtos tot Llasover
4
Bactrtéws édaBe Ouyatépa, cai Bipxévvay thv
4 fe) A
BapdvaAros tod “TAAupidv, nai Aavacoay tH
? le) A
AyafoxrXéous tod Yvpaxovaiov, mpotxa mpoc-
4 > A \ a
pepomevny avt@ THY Kepxupatwy rod nrwxviav
e \ 6 /
uo ‘“Aya@oxdéous. ex pev ov “Avtuyorns
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He was also kind towards his familiar friends, and mild in temper, but eager and impetuous in returning favours. At any rate, when Aeropus died, he was distressed beyond measure, declaring that Aeropus had indeed only suffered what was common to human- ity, but that he blamed and reviled himself because he had always delayed and moved slowly in the matter and so had not returned his friend’s favour. For the debts due to one’s creditors can be paid back to their heirs ; but if the favours received from friends are not returned while those friends can be sensible of the act, it is an affliction to a just and good man. Again, in Ambracia there was a fellow who denounced and reviled him, and people thought that. Pyrrhus ought to banish him. “ Let him remain here,” said Pyrrhus, “and speak ill of us among a few, rather than carry his slanders round to all mankind.” And again, some young fellows indulged in abuse of him over their cups, and were brought to task for it. Pyrrhus asked them if they had said such things, and when one of them replied, “ We did, O King ; and we should have said still more than this if we had had more wine.’’ Pyrrhus laughed and dismissed them.}

IX. In order to enlarge his interests and power he married several wives after the death of Antigone. He took to wife, namely, a daughter of Autoleon, king of the Paeonians; Bircenna, the daughter of Bar- dyllis the Illyrian; and Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, who brought him as her — dowry the city of Corcyra, which had been captured by Agathocles. By Antigone he had a son Ptolemy,

1 The story is found also in Plutarch’s Morals, p. 184d, and in Val. Max. 5, 1, ext. 3.

I rohepatov uLov erxev, éx Oé Aavdoons ”AXe-
Eavdpor, ' ‘Erevov dé TOV VEWTATOV EX Bipxévyns.
2 Kal TavTas dryaBous éV TOUS OmrAots EOpépato Kal 388
Siamrupous, evOus éx yeveT As él TOUTO Onyouevous |
ie avroD. heyerau yap ws épwtnbels vd’ év0s
QUT@Y éTL TaLoos OvTOS, | Tit Katanetrper THY
Baciréiar, elmreiy, ate ‘Qs av tov thy paxatpav
akutdrny* exn. TOUTO dé ovdév arodet tis
TPAyYLKTS apas éxetyns: Onxre aioynpw Sapa
Siadayeiv’ . TOUS aderpous. OUTWS APLKTOS EoTL
Kal.Anpiwdns 7 THS. mreovetias bro0eats.
X. Mera 6€ tH paxny TAUT HD 0 Tvppos
emravenOow olxade apm pos | v6 dokns Kai dpovn-
HaTos eXaupe: kal ’Aeros v0 Tov "Hiretpwr av
TT po ary OpEevofLevos, “AY vas,” édeyev, ‘ ‘ deTos
Ely? TAS yap ou pedro, Tous DueTEpous 6m ous
Gamep @KUTTEpols eTaLpouevos;” oriyw Oe
botepov muOopevos vooeiy Tov Anurrptov e7rt-
oparsas évéBare pev eaiduns eis Maxedoviav
@S em Opouny TLva Kab Aenhaciav TOLNTOMEVOS,
2 Tap OdyoU 6 7re TAVTOV onod KPATHoaL Kat
ra Bev apayel THY Bactretar, éXacas axpe
"Edéacons pndevos apuvvopévov, tmodA@v 6e Kal
T port eweveov Kal ovo QaTevovT@y. avTov Te
87 Tov Anpyt prov 0 xivduv0s efaveotyce mapa
Svvaper, ot Te giro. Kai Tyyepoves Ory YpOVve
TOAAOUS a6 poicavtes Epp@mevans Kal m pod vpas
éml Tov TIvppov Bpynoav. o &é AnoTpiKwTepov
a uy mevos ovK émervev, ara hevywy pépos Te
THS oTpaTias amTéBare nal’ odov éeriOepévwr TaVv
Maxedover.
1 dturdrny with Blass: dgurépay.

37°

PYRRHUS

Alexander-by Lanassa, and Helenus, his youngest son, by Bircenna. He brought them all up to be brave in arms and fiery, and he whetted them for this from their very birth. It is said, for instance, that when he was asked by one of them, who was still a boy, to whom he would leave his kingdom, he replied: “To that one of you who keeps his sword the sharpest.”

This, however, meant nothing less than the famous curse of Oedipus in the tragedy ;! that “ with whetted sword,” and not by lot, the brothers should « divide the house.” So savage and ferocious is the nature of rapacity. ee

X. After this battle Pyrrhus returned to his home rejoicing in the splendour which his fame and lofty spirit had brought him; and when he was given the surname of “ Eagle”’ by the Epeirots, “Through you,” he said, ‘‘am I an eagle; why, pray, should I not be? It is by your arms that I am borne aloft as by swift pinions.” But a little while after, learning that Demetrius was dangerously sick, he suddenly threw an army into Macedonia, intending merely to overrun and plunder some parts of it. Yet he came within a little of mastering the whole country and getting the kingdom without a battle; for he marched on as far as Edessa without opposition from anyone, and many actually joined his forces and shared his expedition. And now Demetrius himself was roused by the peril to act beyond his strength, while his friends and commanders in a short time collected many soldiers and set out with zea] and vigour against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, however, had come more for plunder than anything else, and would not stand his ground, but fled, losing a part of his army on the march, under the attacks of the Macedonians. eae

Euripides, Phoenzssae, 68. 371

BB 2

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Ov pry ote padiws Kal tayvd tov Tvppov ébéBare THs ywpas o Anpnrptos nwérnoer, éyvaxws b€ peyddwv tmpayudtev avtTiNapBaveoOat Kal Thy TaTpwav apynv avaxtacbat Séxa pupidot otpatod Kal vavol mevtaxociais ovK éBovreto +@ Ilupp@ mpoomtaicar, ovdé arroNerrety Maxedoot mapoixov épywdn Kal yaderov, GAN’, érrel pn eaxorale rroAepely mpds avrov, Starvbels xal Oéwevos eipnvyv ottws emi Tovs GAXrovs Bacireis tparrécOar. yevouévwy bé dea TAUTA TOV OmoAoYLaV, Kal THS yvouns apa TO

peyeOer THS TapacKeuhs éexpavetons tov Anun-
tpiov, poyOévtes ot Bacircis Sreméutrovto pos
Tov Ilvppov ayyéXovs Kal ypappata, Oavpdleev
pdcKovtes et TOV avTOU TpoemEVOS KaLpoV, ev TO
Anuntpiov toteunoa, treptpéver, nal Suvdpevos
Maxedovias éxBareiy avtov moda mTpdtTovTa
Kal TapaTTopevoy, exdéxetas Kal ayordlovte Kal
peyar@ yevouevm trept Tov év Mondogaois tepav
Kai tapwv dtaywvicacbar, cai tadtra Képxupav
évayxos adnpnpévos vm' avTov peta THS yuvat-
Kos. 1 yap Aavacoa pepyapuevn tov Iluppov
@s "adrov mpocéexovta tais BapBapous yuvarkiv
eis Képxupav dmeywpnoe, nai Seopévn yadpov
Bacitixav éxdrer Anpunrpiov, érictapévn pa-
MoTa TOV Bactréwn EvKOAWS EYOVTA T POS Ya{LOUS
yuvarxov. éxeivos dé Wrevoas TH Te Aavaoon
cuvnrOe kal ppoupav év TH Troe KATEALTTE.
372

However, because Demetrius had easilyand speedily driven Pyrrhus out of the country, he did not leave him to his own devices, but now that he had deter- mined to undertake a great enterprise and to recover his father's realm with a hundred thousand soldiers and: five hundred ships, he-did not wish to have collisions with Pyrrhus, nor yet to leave behind in him an enterprising and troublesome neighbour for the "Macedonians. He wished, rather, since he had no time to wage war against Pyrrhus, to come to terms and make peace with him, and then turn his arms against the other kings. But after an agreement had been made between them for these reasons, the pur- pose of Demetrius became apparent, as well as the magnitude of his preparations, and the kings, in alarm, kept sending to Pyrrhus messengers and let- ters,! expressing their amazement that he should let slip his own opportunity for making war and wait for Demetrius to seize his; and that when he was able to drive Demetrius out of Macedonia, since he was now much occupied and disturbed, he should await the time when his adversary, at his leisure and after he had become great, could wage a decisive struggle with him for the sanctuaries and tombs of the Molos- sian land, an adversary who-had just robbed him of Corcyra, and his wife besides. For Lanassa, who found fault with Pyrrhus for being more devoted to his barbarian wives than to her, had retired to Cor- cyra, whither, since she desired a royal marriage, she invited Demetrius, understanding that he, of all the kings, was most readily disposed to marry wives. So Demetrius sailed thither, married Lanassa, and left a garrison in the city. os

. 1 Cf, the Demetrius, xliv. 1. —

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XI. Taira wpos tov Tlvppov ot Bacireis ypa-
9 wn
govres agua nal ds éavt@y éte pédAXOvTA Kal
Tmapackevatopevov Tov Anuntpsov éxivovy. IIro-
ANeuatos ey yap emimdevoas pmeydr@ TOAD TAS
4 4
‘EAAnvidas adiorn mores, Avoipayos 5& Hv
dvw Makedoviay é« @paxyns éuBarov éropbe.
7 \ 4 (4 N 9 \ 4
IIvppos € rovrows dpa ovveEavactas émi Béporav
nrAavve, tpocdsoxav, Strep auvéBn, Anpunrtpiov
ttravtiabovta Avowudyw thy KdTw Ywpay atro-
, bY) 9 , \ A QA ”
Neirpery Epnuov. éxeivns 5é€ THs vuKros eboke
\ \ 4 e \ 9 , a A
Kata tous Umrvous vo AdeEavdpov xaretabat Tod
peydXou, kal Tapayevouevos KALWNpN pev avToV
9 a , \ wn“ A“ \ ‘4
ideiv, Noywv S€ YpnoTa@v Tuyeiv Kal Prrodpoav-
yns émayyeAXopévov tpobvpws BonOnoew. avtov
, lal A A
d€ ToAuNnoarTos eltrety, ‘‘ Kal ras dv, @ Bactred,
A \ oY) b] \ nA 99 3 A V4 A
voowv duvaros eins éuot BonOetv;” avdte davat TO
ovopatt, Kal weptBavta Nicaiov immov nyeto bat.
Tavrny idov tiv dw éreppwacOn: taxes 5é
Xpnoapevos Kal Stadpapwv ta petrakd Kata-
, \ A \ \ A 9 v
AapBaver Thy Bépotay: Kat TO wrEtoTOV avTobe
THS oTpaTias LOpvaas Ta AOLTA TpoanyeTo Sia
Tov aotpatnyav. o 5€ Anuntpios érel tadta
nKovoe Kal Tovnpov év TH otTpatroTédm OopuBov
naOetTo Tav Maxedover, ederce troppwrépw mpo-
A \ 7 ‘ , ,
ayayeiv, un TwAnaLoV yevopuevot Bactréws Maxedo-
\ 2
vos xal doFav éxovtos petaBdrwvtae pos avTov.
50 9 VA > A N 4 9 e lA
OGev emiatperas emi tov Iluppov nyev ws Eévov
\ “
Kat picovpevov wtTro Tav Maxedovwyv. érret dé
Tapectpatomedevoey aVTOOL, TOAXAOL TOV eK TIS
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XI. Such letters the kings kept sending to Pyr- rhus, and at the same time on their own part they assailed Demetrius while he was still waiting to com- plete his preparations. Ptolemy sailed up with a great fleet and tried to bring the Greek cities to revolt, while Lysimachus invaded upper Macedonia from Thrace and ravaged the country. So Pyrrhus, taking the field at the same time with these, marched against Beroea, expecting, as proved to be the case, that Demetrius would go to confront Lysimachus, and thus leave the lower country unprotected. That night Pyrrhus dreamed that he was called by Alex- ander the Great, and that when he answered the call he found the king lying on a couch, but met with kindly speech and friendly treatment from him, and received a promise of his ready aid and help. " And how, O King," Pyrrhus ventured to ask, " when thou art sick, canst thou give me aid and help?" " My name itself will give it," said the king, and mounting a Nisaean horse he led the way.

This vision gave Pyrrhus great assurance, and leading his army with all speed through the inter- - vening districts he took possession of Beroea; then, stationing the greater part of his forces there, he proceeded to subdue the rest of the country through his generals. When Demetrius heard of this, and became aware of a pernicious uproar in his camp on the part of the Macedonians, he was afraid to lead them farther on, lest on coming into the neigh- bourhood of a Macedonian king of great renown they should go over to him. Therefore he turned back and led them against Pyrrhus, with the idea that he was a foreigner and hated by the Macedonians. But after he had pitched his camp over against Pyrrhus, many

we

Bepoias adixvoupevor TOV Ilvppov éveroomiator,
OS dua ov pev év tots 6trAaLs Kal apn pov dvipa,
mTpaws O€ Kai diravOpwrrws Tots HrwKoct Xpo-
pevov. hoav oé€ TUVES ods avTos oO Tluppos
éyxabier T POT TOLOV{LEVOUS elvar Maxedovas, Kal
AeyovTas Ore viv Katpos éote THs Anpntpiou
Bapirntos aTadrayivat, pos avdpa OnportKov
Kal prdoot patiorny petaBadopevous TOV Iuppov.
ex TOUTOU TO THELaTOV avnpeLaTO THS oTpATLAS,
cal tov Ivppov elyroup TEpia KoTOUVTES. éruxe
yap apypnpevos TO kpavos, axpt ov cupppovncas
Kat qari TeptBépevos eyvaaOn 7 TE ogo
Stamrpérovte Kal Tois TpaytKois Képacwy, dare
tous Maxedovas ouvOnpwa TpooTpeXovTas aireiv,
addous dé Kr.dbous Spvos dvaarépecOar dia TO
Kal TOUS Tmepl éxeivov eo TepavaHevous Opa" 707
6é Kal mpos avrov TLVES ETON MOV eyew TOV

Anpntptoy ws UTexaTas Kal Tpoémevos Ta mpary-
para, Kaos dofer BeBovretoGau. TOUTOLS TOIS
Aoyors Spooy op@y TO Kivynua TOD oTpatoTédou
kal hoBnOels xpvda dueEerrece, Kavoig Tul Kab
TO Xra puydie mepiarethas éauTov. érrenOooy be
0 Tl¥ppos dpaxel TmapéhaBe TO OTpaToTredov Kal
Bactreus avnyopevOn Maxedover.
XII. "Emigavévros 5é Avowpaxov Kat Kowvov
Epryov auoiv TOLOUMEVOU THY Anpntpiov KaTa-
Avow Kal véwer Oat THY Bactnreiav afvodvtos,
OUT@ Tavu BeBatws TOLS Maxedoor TLOTEUWY O
Iuppos, add apupiBoros @p ev avrois ébéEato
tov Avotmayou thy TOK NIGP, Kai dveveipavTo
- 1 Before mepideuevos, with Blass: mdéAw ovugporheas.

Beroeans came thither with loud praises of Pyrrhus ; they said he was invincible in arms and a brilliant hero, and treated his captives with mildness and humanity. There were some also whom Pyrrhus himself sent into the camp; they pretended to be Macedonians, and said that now was the favourable time to rid themselves of Demetrius and his severity, by going over to Pyrrhus, a man who was gracious to the common folk and fond of his soldiers. In con- sequence of this, the greater part of the army was all excitement, and went about looking for Pyrrhus ; for it chanced that he had taken off his helmet, and he was not recognised until he bethought himself and put it on again, when its towering crest and its goat's horns made him known to all. Some of the Macedonians therefore ran to him and asked him for his watchword, and others put garlands of oaken boughs about their heads because they saw the soldiers about him garlanded. And presently even to Demetrius himself certain persons ventured to say that if he quietly withdrew and renounced his under- takings men would think that he had taken wise counse]. He saw that this advice tallied with the agitation in the camp, and was frightened, and secretly stole away, after putting on a broad-brimmed hat and a simple soldier’s cloak. So Pyrrhus came up, took the camp without a blow,-and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.

XII. But now Lysimachus made his appearance, claimed that the overthrow of Demetrius had been the joint work of both, and demanded a division of the kingdom. So Pyrrhus, who did not yét feel en- tire confidence in the Macedonians, but was still ~ doubtful about them, accepted. the proposition of

Tas odes Kal THY Ywpay mpos GAAHAOUS.
ToUTO 5€ wvNoeE ev Ev TO TrApOVTL Kal KaTéTmrAUGE
TOV TOANEMOY AUTOS, GrAIy@ 5é VaTEpoy éyvwoap

oux amadraynvy &xOpas, GAN éeyerAnpaTwv Kal
Stahopas apynv teroinuévor thv véunorv. ols
yap ov TéXNayos, OUK Gpos, OvK aoixynTos épnuia
4 > \ , -3Q9 e le) +) ,
mépas éotl mreovetias, od’ ot Statpodvtes Evpo-
anv Kat Actay téppoves opifovar tas émiOupias,
Le A e / \ U4 > lA >
TOS av amrTouevot Kal \ravovTes GAAHAWY ATpeE-
potey év Tois Tapovot pn adsKobvTes, OvK EoTLW
bd a 9 \ fe) \ > / \ 9 4
evTrelv, AANA TroNEMOvGL meV aéi, TO ETT1BouvrEvELY
kat POoveiy Eudutov exovtes, dveiv 5é dvoydror,
@OOTEP VOpLoU“aTwY, TOAg“ov Kal eipnYyys, TO
, A
TWAPATUXOVTL YPWVTAL TPOS TO TUUpéepov, OV pds
\ , > \ , : a e rol
TO Sixasov, Emel BeXTioUS rye TrodELEtY OpoNOYOUV-
i. ? A n ’ , \ 9 a \ ,
Tés elolv 7} THS abtkias TO apyodv Kal ayoddlov
duxarocvvny Kai dirdiav ovopalovtes. edynrdwoe Se
€ aA b \ \ > , a 4
o IIvppos: éurrod@v yap avfoudve To Anpuntpio
TAMMY lLOTAMEVOS, KAL KMAVOY THY SUVapLY OaTeEp
ES » / / > , ? s
e& appworias peyddyns avarapBSdvovaar, éBonbe
tots “EdAnoe cal tapnrOev eis tas *AOjvas.
> \ \ 3 \ > / \ , a a
avaBas 6€ es THY axpoTrodkly Kai Ovaas TH Oe@
Kat kataBas avOnpepov ayarav pev Epnoe rod
Synuou THY Wpos avToVv edvotav Kai Tioti, av
pévtoL cawppovact pndéva tav Baciréwv Ett
, >A ’ \ ! \ a y,
TAPNTELY AVTOUS ELS THY TOALY pNdée TAS TUAAS
avoitews éx TovTov Kai mpos Anuntpiov eipnyny
éroujoaTo, Kal per ortyov xpovoyv, ets "Aciay 390

Lysimachus, and they -divided the cities and the territory with one another. This availed for the present, and prevented war between them, but shortly afterward they perceived that the distribution which they had made did not put an end to their ‘enmity, but gave occasion for complaints and quarrels. “For how men to whose rapacity neither sea nor ‘ mountain nor uninhabitable desert sets a limit, men to whose inordinate desires the boundaries which separate Europe and Asia put no stop, can remain content with what they have and do one another no wrong when they are in close touch, it is impossible to say.’ Nay, they are perpetually. at war, because

plots and jealousies are parts of their natures, and |

they treat the two words, war and peace, like cur- rent coins, using whichever happens to be for their advantage, regardless of justice; for surely they are better men when they wage war openly than when

they give the names of justice and friendship to the |

times of inactivity and leisure which interrupt their work of injustice. And Pyrrhus made this plain; for, setting himself to hinder the growing power of Demetrius, and trying to prevent its recovery, so to speak, from a serious illness, he went to the help of the Greeks and entered Athens. Here he went up to the acropolis and sacrificed to the goddess, then came down again on the same day, and told the people he was well pleased with the confidence and goodwill which they had shown him, but that in future, if they were wise, they would not admit any one of the kings into their city nor open their gates to him. After this, he actually made peace with De- metrius, but in a little while, when Demetrius had

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bo |

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

b] Ul b aA 4 ‘ € \ ,
am dpavtos avrov, Tadw Teabeis bd Avotpayou
@ertariav adiorn Kal tais “EAAnuxais ppovpais
mpooeTrorepet, BeATiocs Ypwpevos Tots Maxeddar
oTpatevopevols 7) oxXOAaLOVaL, Kal GrAwWS aUTOS
ouUK ev pos Novylay. TEpuKUs.
Va
Téros 5é Anpunrpiov -KatatroXeunOévtos év
/ , ’ , .
Lupia Avoipayos én’ adeias yevopevos Kal axo-
\ > AN \ 4 e
Adlwy evOvs emi tov Ilvppov @punoe. Kal
cadnpévov rept THY “Edecoav avtov tais ayopais
Kopelopévars éerimecov xal Kpatnoas amopiav
TPOTOV aVT@ TepltéoTnoev, eiTa yodupact Kal
U VA \ , A ,
Aovyors StépOetpe tovs mpwrovs tov Maxedovor,
9 ld 9 J ” \ / > A
overditwy et Eévov avopa Kai mpoyovwv ael dedov-
4 “ , € , \
Aevxotwv Maxedoor. Seotorny édopevor ToUs
"AreEdvdpov didrovs Kat ouvnbets amwbodor
, a e

Maxedovias. avarreOopévor 5é TordAOY Seicas Oo
Iluppos amrnddayn peta tHS "Hreipwtixys cal
A 4 ’ N , ct
cuppayikns Suvayews, atoBarwv Maxedoviay @
, 4 fd »>Q)> > a \
Tpomw tapédaBev. d0ev ovd aitiadcOat Tous:
\ v e a 4
jodXous éXovow ot Bactreis petaTiPepevous
mpos TO cuudépov’ éxeivous yap avTous TavTa
pimovvTaL ToLtovuvTEs, amLoTIas Kai mmpodoctas
d:6acKarous évtas, Kal wrEeicTa vouilovtas wde-
NeloOat Tov eAdyLoTA TO Sikaiw ypw@pevov.
XIII. Tore & ovv eis “Hrrecpov éexrecovrt te
/ \ : , 4 e \ ,
IIlvppw kai mpoeuevm Maxedoviay 7 pev tuyn
Tapetye XpHoOat Tois Tapovow aTpayyovws Kat
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PYRRHUS

set out for Asia, he once more took the advice of Lysimachus and tried to bring Thessaly to revolt, besides waging war upon the garrisons of Demetrius in the Greek cities. For he found that the Macedonians were better disposed when they were on a campaign than when they were unoccupied, and he himself was by nature entirely averse to keeping uiet.

‘ But at last, after Demetrius had been wholly over- thrown in Syria,! Lysimachus, who now felt himself secure, and had nothing on his hands, at once set out against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was in camp at Edessa, where Lysimachus fell upon his provision trains and mastered them, thus bringing him to straits; then, by letters and conferences he corrupted the leading Macedonians, upbraiding them because they had chosen as lord and master a man who wasa foreigner, whose ancestors had always been subject to Macedonia, and were thrusting the friends and familiars of Alexander out of the country. After many had thus been won over, Pyrrhus took alarm and departed with his Epeirots and allied forces, thus losing Macedonia precisely as he got it.2~ Whence we see that kings have no reason to find fault with popular bodies for changing sides as suits their inter- ests; for in doing this they are but imitating the kings themselves, who are their teachers in unfaith- fulness and treachery, and think him most advantaged who least observes justice.

XIII. At this time, then, when Pyrrhus had been driven back into Epeirus and had given up Mace- donia, Fortune put it into his power to enjoy what he had without molestation, to live in peace, and to

1 At the battle of Ipsus, 301 B.c. Cf. the Demetrius, chapter xliv. 2 Cf. chapter xi.

ony ev elonyy Bactrevovta Tow oixeiov" O be TO
pH mapéxew € érépois Kaka pnde evel vp éTépwv
duv TLVA vauTew@on vopitwv, womep o AxedrrEvs
OUK Edepe THY oxo,
GNA POivvberKe pidov Kip
avO. pévwv, ToOéecKe & avTHY TE TTOAELOV TE.
Seduevos 8 ody EXaBe mpayuaTov Kaivov Tolav-
THY vm obeow. ‘Peopaior Tapaytivots éTrohewouy:
of O€ pnre pé perv TOV Ode HOV Suvapevoe pnre
Oéc8ar Opacvtyntt Kal Hox Onpia dnpaywyav,
éBourevorTo Tmoveto Oat Tuppov nryeHova. Kat
Kanreiv émt Tov TONE MOV as axon aryovTa
TrELTTHY TOV Bactréov Kal oT parnyov évTa
deworarov. TOV be mpeo Butepav Kal vovv
ex ov Toy TONTOY ot ev avr ixpus evioT dpevot
7 pos THY yVoOunv efemumrov v0 Kpavyns Kat
Bias TOV TOMELOT OLA, of O€ TavTa opavres
dm éXeuTov Tas exxdyatas. els 6€ Tis avnyp
émecxns, Métwv dvopa, tis uépas éexeivns ev
) TO Soyua Kupody Ewedrov evotdons Kal Tov
dypou Kaelouévov, AaRov orédavoy TaV éEOXMV
Kal Aapmasiov, OoTep ob peOvovtes, avrnTpidos
Upyyouperys AUT@ Tpos THY exchyoiay exopater.
ola, bé € év oxy onpoxpatias Oo Lov OUK €xovons
Ol ev éxporouv idavres, ot dé eyehoor, exodve dé
ovoels, aAXNa Kal 70 ryuvatoy aunetv KaKeivov
adew éxéXevon Ets peoov * mpoedOovra® Kal TOUTO
Tomnowy émidoeos jv. yevopéevns 5€ olwmTris
1 ¢is uéoov with Blass and most MSS : péoov.
xpoeAOdyra Blass, after Reiske: wpocedO@dyta.

reign over his own people. But he thought it tedious to the point of nausea if he were not inflicting mischief on others or suffering it at others’ hands, and like Achilles could not endure idleness,

“but ate his heart away
Remaining there, and pined for war-cry and battle.” }

Filled with such desires, then, he found ground for fresh undertakings in the following circumstances. The Romans were at war with the people of Taren- tum, who, being able neither to carry on the war, nor yet, owing to the rashness and villainy of their pop- ular leaders, to put an end to it, wished to make Pyrrhus their leader and summon him to the war, believing him to be most at leisure of all the kings, and a most formidable general. Of the elderly and sensible citizens, some who were directly opposed to this plan were overborne by the clamour and vio- lence of the war party, and others, seeing this, ab- sented themselves from the assembly. But there was a certain worthy man, Meton by name, who, when the day on which the decree was to be ratified was at hand and the people were taking their seats in the assembly, took a withered garland and a torch, after the way of revellers, and came dancing in behind a flute-girl! who led the way for him. Then, as will happen in a throng of free people not given to decorum, some clapped their hands at sight of him, and others laughed, but none tried to stop him; nay, they bade the woman play on her flute and called upon Meton to come forward and give them a song; and it was expected that he would do so. But when silence had been made,

1 Tlad, i. 491 f.

«"Avdpes, én, " Tapavivor, Kadws 7roletTe
matte Kal Kwpalery, Ews éFeotl, TOS Bovdo-
pévors pn POovovvres. éav b€ cwdpovite, nai
jTavTes amoNavoete Ett THS edevOEpias, ws ETEpA
Tpaypata Kat Biov cai dtartav Ekovtes Stay
Iluppos eis thy tTodW Trapayévyntat." TavTa
pnQévta tovs todXouvs Eretce Tov Tapartiver,
kat Opovs Sédpape tis exxAnoias ws ev Aeyo-
pévov. ot 5é Tovs 'Pwpaiouvs SedsoTes, 7H yevo-
pévns elpyvns éx500@o1, Tov TE Sjpov édo.Sopour
et pépet T paws err ex wpa.lopevos oUTWS aoenyas
Kal Trapowvovupevos, Tov Te Métrwva ovotpadévtes
é&éBanov.
Odtw Sé tod Soyparos Kupiov revo peévov T pé-
o Bers émep yay els "Haretpov, ovy avtTa@v povov,
andra Kal TOV 'Tradorar, ddpa to Ivppe@
Kopilovras Kal Aéyovras @s Hyenovos Euhpovos
Séovtar Kal Sofav EXOVTOS, Suvapes Sé avrobev
UmapEovot. peydratr Trapa TE Aeveavay Kat
écoaTriov al avverav Kal 'Tapavtivey ets
Sia pupious imrrets, melo dé opod TEVTE Kal
TpldKovTa upiadas. tadra ov povov avTov
émnjpe tov Ilvppov, ddAdrAa Kal tois "Hrrecpw@ras
mpoOupiayv évéBare Kat opuny THs oTpaTeias.
XIV. "Hp 6€ tes Kweéas, Geccands dviip, TO
pev ppovetv Soxday iKxavos elvat, Anpoabevous 58
Tou pyTopos aKNKODS edoxer povos ev paMora :

T@v ToTe AEyovTwY oloy év eEixove THS EéxEivoU
Suvayews Kal Sewornros avapimvyoKev Tous
1 udvos ed uddiora Sintenis, with S&; Bekker corrects e@ .

to 4 (alone or most), after Bryan and Reiske, and is followed by Blass ; AC have padtora eb udvos.

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he said: “Men of Tarentum, ye do well not to
frown upon those who wish to sport and revel, while
they can. And if ye are wise, ye will all also get
some enjoyment still out of your freedom, assured
that ye will have other business and a different life
and diet when Pyrrhus has come into the city.”
These words brought conviction to most of the
Tarentines, and a murmur of applause ran through the
assembly. But those who were afraid that if peace
were made they would be given up to the Romans,
reviled the people for tamely submitting to such
shameless treatment from a drunken reveller, and
banding together they cast Meton out:}
And so the decree was ratified, and the people sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus,? not only from their own number, but also from the Italian Greeks. These brought gifts to Pyrrhus, and told him they wanted a leader of reputation and prudence, and that he would find there large forces gathered from Lucania, Messapia, Samnium, and Tarentum, amounting to twenty thousand horse and three hundred and fifty thousand foot all told. This not only exalted Pyrrhus himself, but also inspired the Epeirots with eagerness to undertake the expedition.

XIV. Now, there was a certain Cineas, a man of Thessaly, with a reputation for great wisdom, who had been a pupil of Demosthenes the orator, and . was quite the only public speaker of his day who was thought to remind his hearers, as a statue might, of that great orator’s power and ability. Associating

1 Cf. Dionysius Hal., Excerpta ex lib. xiz., 8.
2 In the summer of 281 B.c.
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axovovTas. ouvay dé TO Tlvppe Kal qwewTo-
pevos él tas woras éBeBaiov to Evpirisecov,}
dtu “‘mav éEatpei NoYos
A \ , , 4 v 99
0 Kal aiOnpos TroAEpiov Spdceey av.
0 yobv II vppos éNeye qXELovas Tones vo Kuvéou
Tois Novos 7) Tots Sm dots vp’ éavTou mpoonyGar:
Kar dteTédNer TO dvdpa TLMGD év Tos padiora Kal
XPwmevos. ovTos ovv TOV I1vppov @PHNMEVOY TOTE
opav éri tyv “Itadiay eis Royous emnyayeTo
TOLOUTOUS, tO@v oxoddlovra. fs TloAeweorat ev,
@ Tluppe, | “Pw patos AéyovTas Kat ToAAa@v ebvav
Haxi pov dpxovres: et dé Soin Geos Tmepuyever Gar
TOV avopav, TL pnoopeba Th vicn; Kato Ilup-
pos, ‘ ‘'Epords, eltrep, ‘ ‘o Kuéa, mpayya pavo-
pevov" ouTE BapBapos jpiv €xet ods ovUTE
“EAAnvis afvopaxos “Peopatov Kcparndevto, XX’
eo mev evd bs "Itariav amacay, nS péyebos Kat
dperny Kat dvvapep ane Tou Tut padrov aryvoeiv
ool TpoonKer. "3 px pov ov eTLaX@V Oo Kuvéas,
’ ‘Iradav dé,” elmren, “a Bacthei, AaBortes, Tt
monoouev;' kat o Ilvppos otrw THY dudvoray
avTou cabopav, «"Eyyus,” elrrev, ‘ ‘9 DKerLa
xelpas opeyet, VHRooS evdai mov Kal L wokvavOpwrros,
arava é paora ordaus yap, ® Kivéa, wavta
vov éxelva Kat dvapxia Todewyv Kal dSnuaywyav
d£vrns ‘Ayadoxr€ous exdeouT TOS.” “ Eixora,”
én, réyers,” o Kivéas: “add 4 TobTO Tépas
nity THS oTpateias, NaBelvy SeKediav;” “ @eds,” -
wav yap éfaipe: Adyos
8 kal olSnpos roAeulwy dpdoesev Kv.
(Phoenissae, 517 f., Kirchhoff.)

himself with Pyrrhus, and sent by him as ambassador
to the cities, he confirmed the saying of Euripides,
to wit, “all can be won by eloquence
That even the sword of warring enemies might
gain.”
At any rate, Pyrrhus used to say that more cities had been won for him by the eloquence of Cineas than by his own arms; and he continued to hold Cineas in especial] honour and to demand his services. It was this Cineas, then, who, seeing that Pyrrhus was eagerly preparing an expedition at this time to Italy, and finding him at leisure for the moment, drew him into the following discourse. “ The Romans, O Pyrrhus,

are said to be good fighters, and to be rulers of many warlike nations; if, then, Heaven should permit us to conquer these men, how should we use our victory?" And Pyrrhus said: "Thy question, O Cineas, really needs no answer; the Romans once conquered, there is neither bar- barian nor Greek city there which is a match for us, but we shall at once possess all Italy, the great size and richness and importance of which no man should know better than thyself." After a little pause, then, Cineas said: "And after taking Italy, O King, what are we to do?"' And Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his intention, replied: 'Sicily is near, and holds out her hands to us, an island abounding in wealth and men, and very easy to capture, for all is faction there, her cities have no government, and demagogues are rampant now that Agathocles is gone." '" What thou sayest," replied Cineas, " is probably true ; but will our expedition stop with the taking of Sicily ?"' " Heaven grant us,' said Pyrrhus,

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épn o IIvppos, "windy S:d0n Kal xatopOobv
Tovtoss 5&€ mpodywour ypnooueba mpaypaTtov
, s A b 4 4 N
peydrdwov. Tis yap av amooxoto AtBins Kat
Kapyndovos ev épuxt@ yevopuevns, iy 'AyaborAjs
atrodpas éx Yupaxoveayv xpida Kal mepdoas
\ ~~, 7 a > IQA a ud \
vavoly Orjyats AaBeiv trap ovdev 7HAOEv; Ste dé
TOUTWY KpAaTHoAacL Hiv ovdEels GYTLATHOETAL TOV
A e 4 4 V4 , >
viv wBpilovtwy morepiwy, Ti av réyou TIS;
" Ovdév," o Kuvéas cie: " dAXov yap Ste Kal
Maxedoviay avadaBeiv xai tis "EXAdbos apyetv
e€ 4 / > \ 4 Ul
urap—e BeBaiws amo tyrtKavTns Suvdpews.
yevouevmv 5€ travtwv vd' Huiv, TL ToLncopev;"
cat o Ilupposériyerdoas, "Xyornv," én,
" aEouevy TrorAAnY, Kal KoOwY, @ paxaple, xa0n-
\ " \ \ 4 U 9 UA
pepwwos Eotat, Kai da NOywv cuvovTEs GAANAOUS
evdpavoipev." évtadda 81 Tav AOywv KaTATTHOAS
tov IIvppov o Kuvéas, "Eiza," ébn, "ti viv
5] , 9 eC A A , A
éutrodwy eat nuiv Bovropévors KoOOwYL ypHaBat
y > >» , ? a]
kal oxyorale per adAANAWY, EL TAVTA EXOMEV
Ww 4 3 4 >. > 4
76 Kal Tapeotiy ampaypoves ed' a ds aipatos

\ , 4 \ 4 , ? ,
kal Tovey peyadov kat xivdvvev pérXopEv adi-
Eec@at, toda xal Spacavtes éEtépovs Kaxa Kal
mabovres;”
Tovrows Tots Adyots Hviacwe waddOv 7H peTéeOnKe
tov IIvppov o Kuvéas, vojncavra pev bony aré-
re 06 av, my be wpé us €XTTiO
iTev evdarmoviav, my dé wpéyeto Tas éATridas
ageivar un Suvdpmevov.
XV. Iperov pév obv déotetne tov Kivéav
tois Tapavtivos otpatio@tas ayovta Tpicyidious:
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“ victory and success so far; and we will make these contests but the preliminaries of great enterprises. For who could keep his hands off Libya, or Carthage, when that city got within his reach, a city which Agathocles, slipping stealthily out of Syracuse and crossing the sea with a few ships, narrowly missed taking? And when we have become masters here, no one of the enemies who now treat us with scorn will offer further resistance; there is no need of saying that.” “None whatever,’ said Cineas, “ for it is plain that with so great a power we shall be able to recover Macedonia and rule Greece securely. But when we have got everything subject to us, what are we going to do?”’ Then Pyrrhus smiled upon him and said: ‘We shall be much at ease, and we'll drink bumpers, my good man, every day, and we'll gladden one another’s hearts with confi- dential talks.” And now that Cineas had brought Pyrrhus to this point in the argument, he said: “Then what stands in our way now if we want to drink bumpers and while away the time with one another P Surely this privilege is ours already, and we have at hand, without taking any trouble, those things to which we hope to attain by bloodshed and great toils and perils, after doing much harm to others and suffering much ourselves.”

By this reasoning of Cineas Pyrrhus was more
troubled than he was converted; he saw plainly
what great happiness he was leaving behind him,
but was unablé to renounce his hopes of what he
eagerly desired. |
XV. First, then, he sent Cineas to Tarentum with
three thousand soldiers; next, after numerous
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éretta ToAXov inanyoav Kal Katappaxtev ral
TmopOpeiwy travtodatrav éx Tdpavtos Koutcbévtwv

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irmets, qmevovs Sé Sicpupiovs Kal dsrytdLous
tofotas xal odevdovnras mevtaxocious. yevo-
pévov S€ mavtwv éroipwv avayOels Emre nal
pécov Exwv tov ‘Idvioy dpmaveta: Bopéa avéuo
Tap w@pav éxpayévtt. Kat BracGels avtos peév
apety Kat mpobupia vavte@y Kal xvBepyntav
éEavédepe Kal Mpocavynye TH YH ToAUTTOVMS Kat
‘ 4 A \ ms , lA
jmapaBorws, Tov dé adXoV oTOAOV ovyxvOévTOS
kal Tov vewav oxedacbeicay ai pév atroodaréiaat
fo! b] , 9 , >] \ \ A
THs ‘Itadias é€ewoOnoay eis to AtBuKov Kat
> \ I \ be e x ~ \
txedtKOv WéNayos, Tas dé v7epBarely pH
b
SuvnBeicas axpav ‘lamvyiay vuF te KatedauBave,
kal jwodAn Kal yareTT) Oddacca Talovca Tpds
xwpia Sicoppa nal Tupra racas bépOerpe AHV
THs Bactdtxns. atrn 6é mrayiou! pe Ere dvTos
Tov KUpatos nuvveto Kal diépevye peyéber Kal
es \ > \ fel 4 > \
poun tas émiBoras THs Badrdoons: erel dé
mepierOov amo ys amrnvtTa TO mvedpa Kal
n o
xivduvoy etyev 4) vads avTimp@pos ioTtapévn pds
KAvowva ToALY Stappaynvat, To bé edévTas aves
nyptwpéev@ merddyet Kal mvevpaTt TpoTras Aap-
Bavovtt travtodaras déper Oar hoBepwrepov éedpai-
A A e 4
VeTO TOY TapoVTwY KaKaY, dpas o IIvppos avTov
apdjnxey eis OddAaccay, Kai TOV dilwv Kal Tov
4 > \ 9 a A 4
Sopupopwv ev0vs Fv auidrta kal mpodvpia
LU fe)
mepl avtov. 7 S€ vvE Kal TO Kdpa pera
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aropou peydXov Kal Tpaxelas dvaxoThs Yaderny
la
érroies Thv BonOerav, @aoTE pods Hmepas HON
1 xAaylov with Sintenis', Blass, and the MSS.: weAaylou.
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cavalry-transports, decked vessels, and passage-boats of every sort had been brought over from Tarentum, he put on board of them twenty elephants and three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers. When all was ready, he put out and set sail ; but when he was half way across the Ionian sea he was swept away by a north wind that burst forth out of all season. In spite of its violence he himself, through the bravery and ardour of his seamen and captains, held out and made the land, though with great toil and danger ; but the rest of the fleet was thrown into confusion and the ships were scattered. Some of them missed Italy and were driven off into the Libyan and Sicilian sea; others, unable to round the Iapygian promontory, were overtaken by night, and a heavy and violent sea, which drove them upon harbourless and uncertain shores, and destroyed them all except the royal galley. She, as long as the waves drove upon her side, held her own, and was saved by her great size and strength from the blows of the water ; but soon the wind veered round and met her from the shore, and the ship was in danger of being crushed by the heavy surges if she stood prow on against them. However, to allow her again to be tossed about by an angry open sea and by blasts of wind that came from all directions, was thought to be more fearful than their present straits. Pyrrhus therefore sprang up and threw himself into the sea, and his friends and bodyguards were at once emulously eager to help him. But night and the billows with their heavy crashing and violent receil made assistance difficult, so that it was not until day

papatvomevouv Tov mvevpatos exteceivy avToy ert
THY YhV, TO ev CMOpaTL TaytTaTaciw advvaTtas
éyovTa, TOAMY O€ Kal pwun THS Wuyys avTaipovTa
Tpos THY atropiay. apa dé ot te Meoodmion,
cal” obs é&e8padc8n, cvvébcov BonOodvtes ex trav
mapovTwy mwpodvpws, Kal mpocepépovto Tav
cwlopéevoy Eviat vewv, év als joav immeis pev
OAiyo. TravTamact, Tefol 5é Stoxtdiwv éAdtToUs,
érehavtes 5é dvo.
XVI. Tovtovs avarkaBav o Ilvppos éBaditev
eis Tdpayta. Kal tod Kuwvéov rpoayayortos eis
andaviTnow, was no0eTo, TOVS TTpATLwWTAS, TApEA-
Oav ovdév dxovtwy ovdé mpos Biav érparte Tav
Tapavtivoy, Ews averwOnoav ai vies éx THs
Oaratrns Kal curnrOev 4 TrEloTH THS SUVdpews.
tnuixadta 8€ op@v To ARGOS avev peydrns
avaykns pnte colecbar Suvapevov pnte cote,
adn’ olov éxeivou mpoTroAemouvTos oiKxor KabnaOat
mept AovTpa Kal auvOVEtas yevomevor, aTrEKXELT E
pev Ta yupvdowa Kal tovs mepitrdtous, év ols
advovTEs UTrép TOY TpaypaTav AOy@ SiecTpaTN-

youv, Totous 5é Kal K@pmovs Kat Oadias axaipous
avetnev, exadre. Sé pds Ta Ora, Kal Tepl Tovs
KaTaXoyous TOY aTpaTevouéevwy atrapaiTnTos
jv xal AvITNpOS, Wate ToAXOUS ex THs TOAEwWS
ateNeciv anbeia tov apxecOar Sovrciav Td pH
mpos nOovny Chv KaXovvTas.
"Evel 5€ AatBivos o Tav ‘Pwpaiwy iratos
NYYVEAAETO TOAATH oOTpAaTLA Ywpelv én alTov dua
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had already come and the wind was dying away that he succeeded in gaining the shore, in body altogether powerless, but with boldness and strength of spirit still making head against his distress. The Messapians, among whom he had been cast forth, ran together with eager offers to assist as well as they could, and at the same time some of his ships that had escaped the storm came up; in these there were but a few horsemen all told, less than two thousand footmen, and two elephants. ’ XVI. With these Pyrrhus set out for Tarentum, where Cineas, on learning of his approach, led out his soldiers to meet him. Entering the city, he did nothing that was against the wishes of the Tarentines, nor did he put any compulsion upon them, until his ships came back in safety from the sea and the greater part of his forces were assembled. Then, however, seeing that the multitude were incapable, unless under strong constraint, of either saving themselves or saving others, but were inclined to let him do their fighting for them while they remained at home in the enjoyment of their baths and social festivities, he closed up the gymnasia and the public walks, where, as they strolled about, they fought out their country’s battles in talk; he also put a stop to drinking-bouts, revels, and festivals, as un- seasonable, called the men to arms, and was stern and inexorable in his enrolment of them for military: service. Many therefore left the city, since they were not accustomed to being under orders, and called it servitude not to live as they pleased.

And now word was brought to pymhas that
Laevinus the Roman consul was coming against him
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\ , . A 2Q/ \ e ,
tiv Aevxaviav’ dtarropOav, ovdéra pey ot cup-
a a \
ayo. Tapnoav aut@, Sevoy dé rocovpevos
os a“ o
avacxyécOat Kai weptidety Tovs TodEpLoUS eyyu-
Tépw mpoiovtas é&nAOe peta THs Suvapews, Tpo-
, ? ‘ A e , > f
Téprpas Knpuka mpos Tovs ‘Pwpaious, et pidov
éotiy avtois 1po ToAémou Sixas AaRely Tapa TaV
b “A b] A A \ A

Iradwwtar, avT@ SixactH Kal drarr\anTH Xpnoa-
pévous. aroxptvapévouv S€ tov AaBivou pte
A , e A e / 4
dtadrAanTHv ITvppov aipeta0ar “Pwpaious pnre
dedouxévat odéutov, mpoeNwv Katectpato-
, b A \ , l4 ,
médevoev ev TH peTakv rrediw Ilavdocias movews
e e
kat ‘Hpaxrelas. aruOopuevos 5€ Tots ‘Pwpaious
éyyus elvat kal wépav Tod Liptos toTapyov Kata-
oTpaToTedevely, Mpocimmevoe TH ToTau@ Oéas
Evexa® kal xatidav tafiw te Kat dudraKxas Kal
Koopov avTay Kal TO oXHuUA THS oTpaTOTEdElasS
4 “~ .
€Oavpace, Kal tav dirtwy mpocayopevoas TOV
b / 66 4 39 2 oc 2? 4
eyyutato, “Takis pev, elmev, “wo Meyaxrrers,
of a , > / \ \
aitn tav RBapBapwy ov BdpBapos, To dé épyov
elcoucOa. xat dia dpovtidos éywv dn TO
HéAXOV Eyvw ToOvS TUppaYoUS avapévetv, ToIs bé
‘Pwpaiots, av mpotepov éemiyepaot StaBaivewy,
éméstnce dvAaKny wvimép Tov moTayod THY
elpEovaav. ot 5€, dep exeivos éyvm Tepiméevery,
POjvat atrevoovtes, evexeipovy TH SiaRdoet, cata
mopov pev of melot, moddayobey 5é of imnets
dieEeXavvovtes TOV ToTapmov, WaTE SetaavTas THY
KUKAwWoLW avaxywpey Tors “EXAnvas, aicOopuevov
5é tov Tvppov xai StatapayOévta ois pev
4 A fe) A
nryepwoot Tov metov trapeyyvav evOds eis Take
4 A
KkaSictacbar nat trepipévery év Tots OTAOLS, AVTOV
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with a large army and plundering Lucania as he came. Pyrrhus had not yet been joined by his allies, but thinking it an intolerable thing to hold back and suffer his enemies to advance any nearer, he took the field with his forces, having first sent a herald to the Romans with the enquiry whether it was their pleasure, before waging war, to receive satisfaction ~ from the Italian Greeks, employing him as arbiter and mediator. But Laevinus made answer that the Romans neither chose Pyrrhus as a mediator nor feared him as a foe. Pyrrhus therefore went for- ward and pitched his camp in the plain between the cities of

Pandosia and Heracleia. When he learned that the Romans were near and lay encamped on the further side of the river Siris, he rode up to the river to get a view of them; and when he had observed their discipline, the appointment of their watches, their order, and the general arrangement of their camp, he was amazed, and said to the friend who was nearest him: “The discipline of these Barbarians is not barbarous; but the result will show us what it amounts to.”’ He was now less. confident of the issue, and determined to wait for his allies; but he stationed a guard on the bank of the river to check the Romans if, in the meantime, they should attempt to cross it. The Romans, however, anxious to anticipate the coming of the forces which Pyrrhus had decided to await, attempted the passage, their infantry crossing the river by a ford, and their cavalry ' dashing through the water at many points, so that the Greeks on guard, fearing that they would be surrounded, withdrew. When Pyrrhus saw this, he was greatly disturbed, and charging his infantry officers to form in line of battle at once and stand

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5é€ tois immetot twapeFeAadoat TpioxLALots ovow,
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éxritovta diaBaivovtas éte kal Sveotracpuévous
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atdxtous AyecOat tors ‘“Pwpaiovs. ered 5
er 4 A e , “A
éwpa Oupeovs TE ToANOUS VIrEeppatvopmevous TOU
ToTapmov Kab TOUS immmets eTEeNavvoVTas év TakeL,
aovotpéwas évéBare mpatos, avTobev Te TEpioT TOS
“A bid 4 \ , ,
Q@v oTK@Y Kade KAL NALTIPOTNTL KEKOTPNLEVOYV
TEPLTTOS, Kal THY SoEav ériderxvdpeEvos Epyols OvK
amodéoveay avTov Ths apeTHs? padsota O€ GT TAS
Netpas Kal TO copa TapexwY TH ayavt Kai TOUS
xa? avTov duvvopevos Eppwpévas ov acuveyetto
TOV AOyLapov OVSe Tov dpoveivy eEEmuTTEV, aAN
@ ? “ 4 N U
aotep EEwSev ehopav dsexvBépva Tov trodEmop,
autos petabéwy éxactayooe nal trapaBonOav
tois éxBiatecOas Soxodarv.
"EvOa 5% Aeovydros o Maxedwv avépa xatidov
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avtitrapeEdyovra Kal cuppeOrotapevov ae Kal
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auyxivoupevov, ‘ Opds, elmev, a Bactred, Tov
A e
BapBapov éxeivor, dv 6 péXas irmos 0 NEVKOTTOUS

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pepe; péya te Bovrevopéevm Kai Setvoyv Gporos
€oTt, ool yap évopa Kat mpos oé TétaTae
/ ‘\ A a \ \
Tvevpatos mectos av Kal Avpod, Tovs dé AAXOUS
é@ yaipev. arrAa od hvdAdtrov tov avdpa.”
N e , > , ce A \ e 4 2
kat o Iluppos arexpivato, “To peév elpappévov, @
Aeovvate, Staduyety advvatov: yaipwy 5 ovte
La vw ” 9 A 9 a e¢ a
ovTos our adXdos Tis Itadk@v eis yeElpas Hiv
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cuveiow. Tt Tavita mpocdtareyouevwv oO
9 N
Itaros StaraBeav ro dopv Kal cvotpéas Tov
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under arms, he himself rode out with his three thousand horsemen, hoping to come upon the Romans while they were still crossing, and to find them scattered and in disorder. But when he saw a multitude of shields gleaming on the bank of the river and the cavalry advancing upon him in good order, he formed his men in close array and led them to the attack. He was conspicuous at once for the beauty and splendour of his richly ornamented armour, and showed by his deeds that his valour did not belie his fame; and this most of all because, while actively participating in the fight and vigorously repelling his assailants, he did not become confused in his calculations nor lose his presence of mind, but directed the battle as if he were surveying it from a distance, darting hither and thither himself and bringing aid to those whom he thought to be overwhelmed.

Here Leonnatus the Macedonian, observing that an Italian was intent upon Pyrrhus, and was riding out against him and following him in every movement from place to place, said: ‘Seest thou, O King, that Barbarian yonder, riding the black horse with white feet? He looks like a man who has some great and terrible design in mind. For he keeps his eyes fixed upon thee, and is intent to reach thee with all his might and main, and pays no heed to anybody else. So be on thy guard against the man.” To him Pyrrhus made reply: ‘ What is fated,O Leonnatus, it is impossible to escape ; but. with impunity neither he nor any other Italian shall come to close quarters with me.” While they were still conversing thus, the Italian levelled his spear, wheeled his horse, and

10 larmov Hpynaev émrt TOV T1uppov. celta pa Tales
pev avros 7? Sopare TOU Bacthéws Tov imrrov,
maiet S€ TOY éxEivouv TapaBadov O Aeovvdros.
aupotépwv Se Tov immreov mea ovTov TOV ev
Iuppov ot piror TEpiaYovTEs dvnpracay, TOV dé
"IraXov pay opevov dtepOerpav. Hv dé TO yévet
Ppevravos, ins Hnyepov, "Omhaxos 6 Gvopa.
XVII. Todto dé edidafe TOV TIvppov paddov
purarredBar: Kal Tous immeis opay évdidovras
peter éwmeTo Thy ddrayya Kal TapeTarrer, av-
TOS 6 THY Vrapmvea Kal Ta Stra Tapacous évt
TeV éTaipwv Meyaxnei, trois 5é éxeivou Tpomrov
TWa KaTraxpiyas éavTov emnye Tots ‘Pepaiors.
defapevey 6é exervov Kat cup PBarovray Xpovov
TE ToADy elo TH KEL Ta THS PaXns dx pita, Kal
TPOTAS émTA REvETAaL pevyovtav avatradw Kal
2 Su@xovTeov yever Oa, Kab yap 7] Orders TO)
SirrAwy év Kalp@ 0¢ GwTNpiay avTOv yeyouvia
Tou Bactréws ONLY OV edénaev avatpéeyat Ta
Tedywata Kat drab Jeipar THY viKny. TOAN@Y
yap épiepéevav tov Meyaxnéovs, o 0 Tp@Tos TaTa-
fas Kal cataBadwv avrov, évopa Aec£oos, apap-
maoas TO Kpavos Kal THY xrapvea T AatBive
™pooimmeva ev avadecvowy a apa «al Body avnpn-
3 xévas Tov ILvppov. Hy ou Tapa Tas takers TOV
Aad vpwv Tapadepopevoy Kal avaderxvupevov
Tots TE “Pewpators Xapa per’ drararypod Kal Tots
if "EAAgow aOupia Kal catamhngts, a aype ov b paar
0 Iluppos 70 ry-voevov , Tapydauve YURY@ “T@ 394
TpoowmTe thy Te deEvay opéryov TOUS paxopevors
Kat tT) dovy onpaivwy éavtov. tédos S€ TAY
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charged upon Pyrrhus. Then at the same instant the Barbarian’s spear smote the king’s horse, and his own horse was smitten by the spear of Leonnatus. Both horses fell, but while Pyrrhus was seized and rescued by his friends, the Italian, fighting to the last, was killed. He was a Frentanian by race, captain of a troop of horse, Oplax by name.!

XVII. This taught Pyrrhus to be more on his guard ; and seeing that his cavalry were giving way, he called up his phalanx and put it in array, while he himself, after giving his cloak and armour to one of his companions, Megacles, and hiding himself after a fashion behind his men, charged with them upon the Romans. But they received and engaged him, and for a long time the issue of the battle remained undecided ; it is said that there were seven turns of fortune, as each side either fled back or pursued. And indeed the exchange of armour which the king ‘had made, although it was opportune for the safety of his person, came near overthrowing his cause and losing him the victory. For many of the enemy assailed Megacles, and the foremost of them, Dexoiis by name, smote him and laid him low, and then, snatching away his helmet and cloak, rode up to Laevinus, displaying them, and shouting as he did so that he had killed Pyrrhus. Accordingly, as the spoils were carried along the ranks and displayed, there was joy and shoufing among the Romans, and among the Greeks consternation and dejection, until Pyrrhus, learning what was the matter, rode along his line with his face bare, stretching out his hand to the combatants and giving them to know him by his voice. At last, when the Romans were more than

1 Cf. Dionysius Hal., Hxcerpta ex lib. xix., 12.

Onpiwv éxBralopévoy pddora tous ‘Pwpaious,
Kat TOY imtwv, TpW eyyus yevecBa, ducavacyxe-
TOUVTM@Y Kal TapapepovTov TOUS éemiBaras, € eT a-
yayov THY Gerrarsany i immov avTols Tapacoo-
pévous eTpeparo TOG Ova.
Atoviatos Mev OvV OrjiY@ TOV TEVTAKLTXIALOY
Kab puptov éAdooovas mec eiv taropel ‘Popaiov,
‘lepdvupos be povous ETTAKLO LAious, Tav 6é
mepl T1vppov o o pev Acovictos Mupious Kab TpLoxe-
rious, o de ‘Tepdvupos éXarrovas TOV TeTpaKi--
XrLeov KpaTloToL 6€ Hoay ovTo" Kal TOV pirwy
0 IIvppos nai trav oTpATHyOv ols padiota Xpo-
pevos Oceréhee kal mictevwov améBadev. ov pny
ara Kal TO oTparomedoy éXaBe TeV ‘Popaiwy
exArmovTav, Kal TONELS cuppayioas avuTav ™ poo -
NyayeTo, Kal xwpav TOANIY SteropOyc¢, Kal
7 pon Oev Soov pn) TWAéov aTadiwy TplaKxoola@v
amoaxeiv Tis ‘Pouns. adixovTo 6 auT@ Aev-
Kavay TE TOANOL Kab Zavvirév pera, THY payny,
obs euepaparo pev voTepyoavTas, ny oé. dios
7)80pL€V05 Kal péya povey ort povors Tots per’
avtod xat Tapavtivows éxpatnoe Tis PEND
‘Popaiwv Suvd pews.
XVIII. ‘Po patos bé AaiBivov pév ovK amnr-
Aafav THS apxiis. KaiTOL AéyeTat Taiov Pafpi-
Ktov evTrety as OUK ‘Hresporat ‘Popaious, anna
Tuppos vevixnKot AaBwov, olopevov ov THS duva-

pews, aNNG TIS oTpaThyias yeyovevar THY qTTayv
avar hnpobvtes dé Tas rages Kal TWWTATTOVTES
érépas Tpodvpes, kat Noyous abeeis Kal coRapovs
mept TOU ToNé“oU héyovres, Exar Ew TO [upp@
Tapetyov. conte OvY aAUT@ TéeuavTe TpoTEpoY
400

‘PYRRHUS

ever crowded back by the elephants, and their horses, before they got near the animals, were terrified and ran away with their riders, Pyrrhus brought his Thessalian cavalry upon them while they were in confusion and routed them with great slaughter.

Dionysius states that nearly fifteen thousand of the Romans fell, but Hieronymus says only seven thousand ; on the side of Pyrrhus, thirteen thousand fell, according to Dionysius, but according to Hieronymus less than four thousand. These, however, were his best troops; and besides, Pyrrhus lost the friends and generals whom he always used and trusted most. However, he took the camp of the Romans after they had abandoned it, and won over to his side some of their allied cities; he also wasted much territory, and advanced until he was within three hundred furlongs’ distance from Rome. And now, after the battle, there came to him many of the Lucanians and Samnites. These he censured for being late, but it was clear that he was pleased and proud because with his own troops and the Tarantines alone he had conquered the great force of the Romans.

XVIII. The Romans did not depose Laevinus from his consular office; and yet we are told that Caius Fabricius declared that it was not the Epeirots who had conquered the Romans, but Pyrrhus who had conquered Laevinus, Fabricius being of the opinion that the Roman defeat was not due to their army, but to its general; but they lost no time in filling up their depleted legions and raising others, used fearless and vehement language about the war, and thus filled Pyrrhus with consternation. He decided, therefore, to send to them first and find out whether they were

Sidmrevpay AaBeiv TOY avdpav, el cupBatiKds
exover, Tryouper TO per Enel THY Tov Kal
KpaTijoas Tavramact ov pipov epyov ovee TAS
Tapovens Suvd pews elvat, THY dé piriay Kal Tas
dradruvoers KadALoTa é EXE 7 pos bokav avuT@ pera,
vixny. treuhOels ovv o Kuvéas eveToyXave TOIS
vvarois, Kal ddpa Tato avt@yv Kal yuvackiv
emeurpe mapa Tou Bactréws. éraBe dé ovdeis,
GNX dmrexpivayTo TUVTES Kal maoae étt Synpocia

oTovoay yevouéveay Kal Ta Tap avrav bmdpker
™po0upa, T@ Baciret Kal KeXaplopéva. 7 pos be
THY TUYKANTOY éraywya TOU Kuvéov TOA Kal
prravOpwra stareyOévros, dopevor pev ovdev
ovee éToLwcs édéyorTo, Kattrep dvdpas TE TOUS
AwKoTas év TH “ayn dina AUTpwY adiévTos av-
tots tov Iluppov Kai ovyxatepydcacBar (Tay
"Iradday emayyeAAouevov, girjiav dé avr TOUT@Y
EaUT@ Kai Tots Tapavrivots aberar, Erepov 8é
pndev aiToupevov. dfrob rye bay hoav évdtdovTes
Ot qwornot pos THY Elpnvny, TT NWEVOL Te peyarn
paxn Kal poo doxayres érépay amo petSovos
duvapews, TOY "IradtKav TO Tuppe mT poaryeryove-
TOV. évba 67 Knravduos "Anmtos, avnp emipavns,
vo dé Y7PHS dpa Kal TIpwTEws Oppatoy amet-
PNKWS TpOS THY ToNtTeLav Kal TET AUUEVOS, amrary-
yedoueveov TOTE TOV mapa tov Bactréws Kal
NOyou KaTaTXOvTOS WS perret Wwngpiserbar TAS
Siarvoers) OUYKANTOS, OUK exapTEepnaer, adra
TOUS Geparrovras dpacBat Kehevoas auTov exopi-
cero pos TO Bovreutnpiov ev popeip be ayopas.
‘yevouevov dé pos Tais Oupats OL pev matdes a Gua
Tois yapBpois wmovtaBovtes Kai teptoxovTes
402

disposed to come to terms, for he regarded the cap- ture of their city and their complete conquest as a large task and one that. was beyond his present force, whereas a friendly settlement with them after a victory would greatly enhance his reputation. Accor- dingly, Cineas was sent to Rome, where he had con- ferences with the men in authority, and sent their wives and children gifts in the name of his king. No one, however, would accept the gifts, but all re- plied, men and women alike, that if a peace were publicly concluded they also, on their part, would show goodwill and kindness to the king. Moreover, though Cineas made many kind and alluring proposals to the senate, not one of them was received there with alacrity or pleasure, although Pyrrhus offered to - restore without a ransom their men who had been captured in the battle, and promised to assist them in the subjugation of Italy, and in return for these favours asked only friendship for himself, immunity for the Tarentines, and nothing else. Nevertheless, most of the senators were plainly inclined towards peace, since they had been defeated in one great battle, and expected another with a larger army, now that the Italian Greeks had joined Pyrrhus. At this point Appius Claudius, a man of distinction, but one whom old age and blindness had forced to give up all public activities, now that the message from the king had come and a report was rife that the senate was going to vote for the proposed cessation of hostilities, could not restrain himself, but ordered his attendants to take him up and had _ himself carried on a litter through the forum to the senate- house. When he had reached the door, his sons and sons-in-law took him up in their arms and brought

eLotyov, 4 5é BovAy oLwomny aidoupévn tov avdpa
PETA TLLAS EoxeD.
XIX. ‘O 6& avdtodev xataotas, “ Iporepov
, 99 66 ‘ \ a bd a ? a)
pév,” épn, “Tyv tepl Ta Gupata TYYNY aNapas
Epepov, @ ‘Pwpaior, viv b€ axyOouat mpos TP
Tupr0os eivas pn Kal Kwpos wy, aA’ axovwv
9 \ a N a e A 9 /
aiaxypa Bovrevpata Kai Soypata buoy avatpé-
qovta THS ‘Pans TO KNEOS. Tov yap bpav o
N td > 4 4 > 4
mpos &travras avOpwrrous OpuNovpevos del NOxos,
e ’ a > a ? b] 4 e , > Va
@S, €t Traphy éxetvos ets Itadtay o péyas “AXe-
EavSpos nal cuvnvéxOn véows piv Kai Tots Tatpa-
ow nav axpuatovow, ovK av vpveito viv avi-
KNTOS, GAN huyov av 7} Tov Twecwv éevtav0a
a \ e 4 b] 4 b) 4 fa) /
thv ‘Pwpunv évdokotépay atréditre; Tavita pévTot
\ >? 4 \ Ul b] J ,
kevyv adraloveiav Kal Kxoptrov amodcixvute, Xd-
ovas Kal Modoaaots, tHv adel Maxedovwr deiar,
Sedsotes, nal tpéuovtes ILvppov, bs tav *Ade-
Eavdpov Sopudopwv eva your aei Treptérrwy Kal
Gepatrevwy Swaterédrexe, Kai viv ov BonOav ois
évtav0a parrov “EdAnow 7) devywv tovs éxet
joNepious TAavaTat Trept THY ITadiav, émayyer-
AOmEVOS uly THY HYyEeKOoViay ato TavTNS TIS
Ls A / \ be) , b
Suvapews 7) pépos pixpov avt@ Makedovias ov«
Ww 4 \ la)
npkece StadvAdéar. pn TovTov otv atradda£ev
vouilere Tromnodpevot pirov, aAAG exeivous érd-
Eeadat xatadppovncavtas vuav ws Taow ev-
Katepyaotwy, et Iluppos atretot un Sovs Sinny av
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him inside, and the senators, out of regard for the
man, kept respectful silence.
_ XIX. Then Appius raised himself up where he was and said: “Up to this time, O Romans, I have regarded the misfortune to my eyes as an atiiction, but it now distresses me that I am not deaf as well as blind, that I might not hear the shameful resolutions and decrees of yours which bring low the glory of Rome. For what becomes of the words that ye are ever reiterating to all the world, namely, that if the great Alexander of renown had come to Italy and had come into conflict with us, when we were young men, and with our fathers, when they were in their prime, he would not now be celebrated as invincible, but would either have fled, or, perhaps, have fallen there, and so have left Rome more glorious still? Surely ye are proving that this was boasting and empty bluster, since ye are afraid of Chaonians and Molossians, who were ever the prey of the Macedonians, and ye tremble before Pyrrhus, who has ever been a minister and servitor to one at least of Alexander’s bodyguards,! and. now comes wandering over Italy, not so much to help the Greeks who dwell here, as to escape his enemies at home, promising to win for us the supre- macy here with that army which could not avail to preserve for him a small portion of Macedonia. Do not suppose that ye will rid yourselves of this fellow by making him your friend ; nay, ye will bring against you others, and they will despise you as men whom anybody can easily subdue, if Pyrrhus goes away without having been punished for his insults, but

1 Referring paroneuiealy to his relations with Ptolemy and
Demetrius.

UBpicev, dAdrAa Kal TpocrkaBov pucbov 1To} érey-
, ¢€ , T , \ >, , 9
yeraoas ‘Pwpyators Tapavtivouvs cat Lavviras.
A A : /
Totadta Tod ‘Ammiov dvarexOévtos opun tapé-
OTN Mpos Tov TOAELOY avTois, Kal Tov Kivéay
amoméutovaw atroxpivapevot Ilvppov é&eOovra
A > / ef > , \ , \
THs ‘Itadas, odTws, et dSéorT0, Tept dirdias Kal
‘ouppaytas SraréyerOar, péypt 66 ob tdpectiy év
StrAols, Tore“noELY avT@ Pwpaiovs Kata KpaTos,
av pupiovs ett AatBivous tpéyntrat payopevos.
Aéyerat 5é Kivéav, €v © tavta émpattev, apa
Tolnoapevov Epyov Kal omovddacavtTa TaV Te Biwv
yeveoOat Oeatnv Kal TiS TodtTElas THY apEeTHV
Katavonoat, Kal da AOyov €AOovTa Tots apioTots
, AXNa A Il 4 , N 9 a e e
Ta TE a T@ Iluppw Ppacat, Kai evtretvy ws 7
4 x A J a /
avykAnTos avT@ Bacidtéwv Trod\dOv auvédptov
, \ \ A 4 4 A /

gavein, tept dé Tod TANnOovs Sedsévat, un TWPds
twa pavoct Aepvaiay vdpav payopevoe Sirda-
, \ a A
cious yap On TO UdT@ TOV TapaTeTaypéevor
mpotepov nOpoicOat, Kai mrodAaKis elvat Tocov-
” a ¢ / ¢ / /
Tous éTt TOY Pwyaiwy dTrAa hépew Suvapevous.
xx "E , 4 > / \ a
. Ee tovtov mpécBers adixovto tept tov
aixyparwtwv ot rept 'aiov PaBpixtov, ob mrei-
‘¥ € / , ” € / ¢
atov én Pwpaiovs dNoyov éyew o Kivéas ws
avdpos ayaGod Kal troveuiKod, mévntos bé iayu-
A A ® e v4 9Q7/ 4
pas. tovtov ovv o Ivppos iota dirodpovovpevos
” a , » 9 b \ a ? A
évretDe NaBeiv ypvaiov, én’ oddevi SHOev aicype,
, A
pirias O€ Te Kal Eevias érrovopalov todto cup-
? / \ a , , \
Borov. amwoapévov 6é tod PaBpixiov rote péev
1 +d with Blass: roi,

actually rewarded for them in having enabled
Tarantines and Samnites to mock at Romans.”
After Appius. had thus spoken, his hearers were seized with eagerness to prosecute the war, and Cineas was sent back with the reply that Pyrrhus must first depart out of Italy, and then, if he wished, the Romans would talk about friendship and alliance ; but as long as he was there in arms, they would fight him with all their might, even though he should rout in battle ten thousand men like Laevinus. It is said, too, that Cineas, while he was on this mission, made it his earnest business at the same time to observe the life and manners of the Romans,- and to understand the excellences of their form of government ; he also conversed with their best men, and had many things to tell Pyrrhus, among which was the declaration that the senate impressed him as a council of many kings, and that, as for the people, he was afraid it might prove to be a Lernaean hydra for them to fight against, since the consul already had twice as many soldiers collected as those who faced their enemies before, and there were many times as many Romans still who were capable of bearing arms.

XX. After this, an embassy came from the Romans to treat about the prisoners that had been taken. The embassy was headed by Caius Fabricius, who, as Cineas reported, was held in highest esteem at Rome as an honourable man and good soldier, but was inordinately poor. To this man, then, Pyrrhus privately showed kindness and tried to induce him to accept gold, not for any base purpose, indeed, but calling it a mark of friendship and hospitality. But Fabricius rejected the gold, and for that day Pyrrhus

NOUVKACE, TH 5 votepaia BovXopevos auTov eK-
THEA pyTe Jeatny erégavros ryeyevnpévor,
éxéhevoe TOV Onpiceov TO peyiorop eLoria dev
avTots Twapactno at KOWONYOUMEVOLS, avratav
TapareivavTas. éyéveo $9 TavTa: Kat onpeLov
d00évros 7 jpev avrata mapnxon, TO b¢ Onptov
adve tHv TE Tpovopaiay dpdpevov UTEpeT XE Ths
Keparns Tov PaBprciov Kal hovny adnre poRepav
kal Tpayeiav. o e npewa peraatpadels Kab
dra perdudo-as 7 pos TOV Tluppov elev: : Oure xOés
pe TO xpuatov exivnoev oUTe onpepov TO Onpiov.”
év 6€ TO Seine Aoryov mavrodaT ov rYevopevo,
Trelorav b¢ TWEpl THS ‘EdAdbos Kal TOV ptroao-
povvTwy, eTUXe Tos oO Kwvéas émipynabels Tob
"Enrexovpou, Kal Ouirev a a Aéyouat wept Oewv Kat
jontTeLas Kal TéXoUS, 70 pev ev ndov7} Te Epevor,
ToATElav be pevyovres WS BraBnv ral ouyyvow
Tob paxapion, To 6€ QOetov arwTara Xapetos
Kal opyiis Kat TOU pérewy Tpeov els amrpaypova
Biov eal pea Tov evmaberdv arrouxitovres. ett
dé avrov AEyovTOS avaxpayav) PaBpixcos,
ee?) ‘Hpdknes,” eltre, “ Iluppp Ta doypata
pErOL TavTa kal Yavvirats, €ws TWodewovat pos
Hpas.”
Oita én Javpdcas TO ppovnpa TOU avdpos Kat
To 4005 oO Ilvppos eTL paddov apeyero pirtav
aytt _TWOREWOV T pos THY TOALY aiT@ ryeveo Bau:
Kaxelvov idia mapekdanet Touno dpevov tas d0a-
Avoels EreaBau Kal aula per’ avtod, mpaTov
dvTa TAVTOV TOV éTaipov Kal TOV OTPATHYOV. O
dé navy AéyeTat wWpos auTov eitreiv, “’AAN ovdée
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let him alone; on the following day, however, wishing to frighten a man who had not yet seen an elephant, he ordered the largest of these animals to be stationed behind a hanging in front of which they stood conversing together. This was done; and at a given signal the hanging was drawn aside, and the animal suddenly raised his trunk, held it over the head of Fabricius, and emitted a harsh and frightful cry. But

Fabricius calmly turned and said with a smile to Pyrrhus: ‘ Your gold made no impression on me yesterday, neither does your beast to-day.” Again, at supper, where all sorts of topics were discussed, and particularly that of Greece and her philosophers, Cineas happened somehow to mention Epicurus, and set forth the doctrines of that school concerning the gods, civil government, and the highest good, explaining that they made pleasure the highest good, but would have nothing to do with civil government on the ground that it was injurious and the ruin of felicity, and that they removed the Deity as far as possible from feelings of kindness or anger or concern for us, into a life that knew no care and was filled with ease and comfort. But before Cineas was done, Fabricius cried out and said: “O Hercules, may Pyrrhus and the Samnites cherish these doc- trines, as long as they are at war with us.”

Thus Pyrrhus was led to admire the high spirit and character of the man, and was all the more eager to have friendship with his city instead of waging war against it; he even privately invited him, in case he brought about the settlement, to follow his fortunes and share his life as the first and foremost of all his ‘companions and generals. But Fabricius, as we are told, said quietly to him: “Nay, O King, this

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aot tovTo, Bacired, AvotTEAES EoTLY? AVTOL yap
ot viv ce Tima@vtes Kal Oavudlovtes, av épov
meipay AdBwow, bw éuov padrXrov eGerncovery 7
cov BactrevecOau” Ttovodtos pev 0 DaBpixtos.
o 5€ IIuppos ob mpos dpynv ovdé tupavutKas
edéEato Tov Noyov, GANA Kal Tois Hirots amny-
yetke ToD DaBpixiov tv peyarodpocvrny, nal
TOUS aliyparwrous éxeivm pore Setiorevoeyr,
étrws, et wn ndicatto THv eipnvnv 1%) cvyKANTOS,
aomTacdmevol TOS mpoonkovTas Kal ta Kpovia
ducoptdcavtes atroTreupUeiev maddy pos avTov.
Kat atreTréupOnoay peTa THY EopTHY, TO UrodEL-
Pbévtt THs Bours Cnpiay Odvatroyv Wyndicapévys.
XXI. Mera tadra tod PaSpixiov tHv apyny
TaparaBovTos HKev anp eis TO OTPATOTESOY TPOS
avrov émictoAny Kopivwv, iv éyparev oO Tov
Bactréws iatpos éeTrayyeAAopevos happaxots avat-
pyoew tov Iluppov, et ydapis av’T@ wap éxeivoy
oporoynOein AVoavTL TOV TOAELOY aKiWdUVwS. ©
dé DaBpixios Sucxepdvas mpos THY adiKiav Tod
avOpwrov, kal Tov auvapyovta Siadeis opoiws,
émepe ypaupata mpos tov IIlvppov xata tayos
gurdtrecOar thv émuBourny Kerevwv. elxye dé
ovTws TA yeypaypeva: “I'dios DaBpixios Kal

.Koivtos Alpidtos tmaroe ‘Pwpaiwy Ilvpp@
Bacthet yatpew. obte pidwv evtuy7s Eolxas
élvat xpttns oUTE TroAEuioY. yvwon Sé THY TEpL-
Pbcicav Hpiv émictorAny avayvous, drt ypnoTtois

would not be to thy advantage ; for the very men who now admire and honour thee, if they should become acquainted with me, would prefer to have me as their king rather than thee.” Such a man was Fabricius. And Pyrrhus did not receive the speech with anger or like a tyrant, but actually reported to his friends the magnanimity of Fabricius, and entrusted his prisoners of war to him alone, on condition that, in case the senate should not vote for the peace, they should be sent back again to him, though they might first greet their relatives and celebrate the festival of Saturn. And they were so sent back after the festival, the senate having voted a penalty of death for any that stayed behind.

XXI. After this, and when Fabricius had assumed the consulship,! a man came into his camp with a letter for him. The letter had been written by the physician of Pyrrhus, who promised that he would take the king off by poison, provided that the Romans would agree to reward him for putting an end to the war without further hazard on their part. But Fabricius, who was indignant at the iniquity of. the man, and had disposed his colleague to feel likewise, sent a letter to Pyrrhus with all speed urging him to be on his guard against the plot. The letter ran as follows: “Caius Fabricius and Quintus . Aemilius, consuls of Rome, to King Pyrrhus, health -and happiness. It would appear that thou art a good judge neither of friends nor of enemies. Thou wilt see, when thou hast read the letter which we send, that the men with whom thou art at war are

1 The chronology of the story is at fault here. Fabricius and Aemilius were consuls in 278, the year after the battle at Asculum described in §§ 5 ff. |

kat Stxaios avdpdot tmorepeis, adixas Sé Kat
KaKots miotevers. ovdeé yap tadTa of VapeTe
, >] oe A A Q\ 4 e A
nvuopev, GAN GTas wn TO cov dO mip
StaBornv évéyrn Kai dorm doEwpev, as apeTn pH
Suvapevot, Katepydcacbar Tov modepov.” év-
TUX@Y TOUTAS TOS ypdupactw Oo Ilvppos Kal THY
éemtBovrAny é&eréyEas rov pév latpov éxoXace,
DaBpirim dé Kai “Pwpaiors aporBnv édwpetro
a “ > , 4 Mv .Y
TPOlKa TOUS aiyparwTous, Kal dru erepre Tov
Kuvéay S:arpakopevov ait trhv eipnvyv. of 8é
‘Pwpator, unte eb yapts éotl mapa TrodEemiov, unTe

et ptoOos Tod py adixnOjvat, NaReiv Tpotka Tovs
w 9 4 v b 4 > ray
avdpas akwwaoavres toous arédvoay avt@ Tapar-
, fa) \ \ , b 4
rivev Kal Yavvitav, Twept 5é ptrdcas Kal eipyvns
ovdev elwy dtaréyeoOar mplv apdpevos Ta Sra
kal tov aotpatrov é& ‘Itadias als 7dAOe vavoly
anothevon tad. ets “Harespov.
9 4 la Mv fe) , 9 la)
Ex tovrov payns adAxS TOY TPAypLAaTwY avT@
Seomévwv avaraBov tiv otpatiay éywpe, Kat
wept” AokXov Tod Tois ‘Pwpatos cuvaryas xal
Bialopevos mpos xwpia dvourTa Kal totapoy
trwdn Kal tpayvv, Epodov tev Onpiwy ob NaBov-
Tov woTe Tpocpi-at TH Parayyt, TpauvpaTev
TOAAQY yevopevay Kal vEXpa@V TETOVTWY, TOTE
pev SrexptOn péypt vuxros aywuoapevos. tH 8
voTepaia otpatnyav Ou’ ouarod THY udynv DécOau
N A , 9 A ed ‘4 A
Kal tous édepavtas év Tois StrNoLs yevéoOar Tav
4i2
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honourable and just, but that those whom thou trustest are unjust and base. And indeed we do not give thee this information out of regard for thee, but in order that thy ruin may not bring infamy upon us, and that men may not say of us that we brought the war to an end by treachery because we were unable to do so by valour.” When Pyrrhus had read this letter and got proof of the plot against his life, he punished the physician, and as a requital to Fabricius and the Romans made them a present of his prisoners of war, and once more sent Cineas to negotiate a peace for him. But the Romans would not consent to receive the men for nothing, either as a favour from an enemy, or as a reward for not committing iniquity against him, and therefore released for Pyrrhus an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites whom they had taken; on the subject of friendship and peace, however, they declared they would allow nothing to be said until Pyrrhus had taken his arms and his army out of Italy and sailed back to Epeirus on the ships that brought him.

Consequently, Pyrrhus found himself obliged to fight another battle, and after recuperating his army he marched to the city of Asculum, where he engaged the Romans. Here, however, he was forced into regions where his cavalry could not operate, and upon a river with swift current and wooded banks, so that his elephants could not charge and engage the enemy’s phalanx. Therefore, after many had been wounded and slain, for the time being the struggle was ended by the coming of night. But on the next day, designing to fight the battle on level ground, and to bring his elephants to bear upon the ranks of the enemy, Pyrrhus occupied betimes the

TONE LLOYD, Tm poéhaPBe TAS duvaxwpias pudach, Kat
TONAG catapitas dxovtiapara Kal rofevpata
tois Onpiots emhrye pEeTa pouns Kal Bias TUKYHY
«al OUVTETAYMEVNY THY Suvapu. ot de ‘Pwpatos
TAS Seaxhioers Kal Tas avTiuTaparyoryas TAS 7 po-
TEPOV OUK EXovTes, €& émrimédou suvepéepov7o Kata
oTOpa Kal omevoovres aoac at TOUS om Aitas
mpl emeBivar Ta Onpia, Secvous trept Tas capicas
TaY Expav ayavas elyov, aedoivres é éauTov Kat
TO Tpwcat Kal cataBanreiv op@vres, TO 5é maGetv
els ovder Te Emevo. Xpove dé TOAAP NeveTae pep
apxn Tponijs Kar’ avuTov yeverBar Tov I vppov
émepeioavra Tots aVvTITET ary MEVOLS, To 6é hela Tov
aXKn Kat Big TOV éhed avTowv wateipydaato,
xphoacbas TH apeTh m pos THY paxny TOV ‘Po-
palwy pay Suvapéver, aD olov épod@ xvpaTtos 7
cera nob KATEPELTOVTOS oiopevev detv eEiatrac8at,
pndé vropéve aT paKxTous amoOvnaKkey, év T@
pndey wadereiv wavta Tadoxovtas Ta yadeTTo-
TaTa.
This dé guyis ov pax pas els TO otpatonedov
yevopuerns éLaxurxthious drroBavetv gnat Tov
‘Pwpaiwy ‘Lepavupos, tov 5é epi Iluppoy év rois
Baowdtxois brropynpacw avevexOjvar Tpirxedtous
TEVTAKOTLOUS Kal mwevte teOvnKotas. oO pévTot
Atovuctos ote duo mepl “AcKkdov paxas ote
omohoyouperny TTav laTOpet yever Bar ‘Popaiwy,
drat dé péexpe dua pay ALOU paxerapevous pois
amadraynvat, TOU Tuppou Tpabevtos voo@ Tov
Bpaxiova nal thy damooxevny dua Aavviwv?
1 Aavviwy with Blass, in agreement with Dionys. Hal. xx.
3: Zapmrar,
414

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unfavourable parts of the field with a detachment of his troops; then he put great numbers of slingers and archers in the spaces between the elephants and led his forces to the attack in dense array and witha mighty impetus. So the Romans, having no oppor- tunity for sidelong shifts and counter-movements, as on the previous day, were obliged to engage on level - ground and front to front ; and being anxious to re-

pulse the enemy’s men-at-arms before their elephants came up, they fought fiercely with their swords against the Macedonian spears, reckless of their lives and thinking only of wounding and slaying, while caring naught for what they suffered. After a long time, however, as we are told, they began to be driven back at the point where Pyrrhus himself was pressing hard upon his opponents ; but the greatest havoc was wrought by the furious strength of the elephants, since the valour of the Romans was of no avail in fighting them, but they felt that they must yield before them as before an onrushing billow or a crashing earthquake, and not stand their ground only to die in vain, or suffer all that is most ‘grievous without doing any good at all.

After a short flight the Romans reached their camp, with a loss of six thousand men, according to Hierony- mus, who also says that on the side of Pyrrhus, according to the king’s own commentaries, thirty- five hundred and five were killed. Dionysius, however, makes no mention of two battles at Asculum, nor of an admitted defeat of the Romans, but says that the two armies fought once for all until sunset and then at last separated ; Pyrrhus, he says, was wounded in the arm by a javelin, and also had his baggage

Stapracdvrwv, amoOaveiy 5é xal Ilvppov xat
‘Pwpaiwy avdpas vrép pupiovs tmevtaxtoxeAtous
exatépwv.
ArervOnoay 5é dudoteporr wat réyeTat Tov
Ilvppov etzretv pos twa tov cuvndopévwy avTe,
““Av éte plav paxynv ‘Pwpaiovs wxenowpev, atro-
10 AovpeOa TravTEeAws.” Tord pey yap aTrwrONXeEL
pépos Hs ayewv hxe Suvduews, piror 6€ Kal otpa-
THYyOl TANY OAiywy Atravtes, peTaTréuTrecOas Sé
ovx joav Etepolt, Kal Tovs avToOs ouppctyous
auBrutépous éwpa, Tots 5é ‘Pwpaiots wotep éx
anyns olxobev émtppeovaons avamAnpovpevov EvTro-
pws Kal taxv TO otpatomedov, Kal Tails ATTALs
ovx atroBdAXovtas TO Oappeiv, GAAA Kai pwunv
Kal dirovetkiay U7’ opyns él Toy TroNEMOY Tpoc-
NapBavovtas.
XXII. ‘Ev rovavrars 58 dy atropias ets éXrridas
av Tadw Kawwas évétrece Kal Tpaypata SvyooTa-
ciay €YovTa THS yvouns. Gua yap Hrov x peév
Lucerias avdpes "Axpdyavra xat Yvpaxovoas Kat
Aeovtivous éyyetptfovres adte@, ral Seopevor Kap-
yndovious te auvexBareiv Kal TaY TUpdvvwY
atradrra£~at THY vncov, éx dé THS ‘EAXdOos ayyér-
rovres ws IItovcuatos o Kepavyos arorwr€
cuutecov Taddrats peta THs Suvapews, Kal viv

av év xaip@ partaota Seopévors Baoiréws Maxe-
2 S00 mapayévorto. trodXa On THY TUYNY wEeprrd-
pevos OTL Tpdkewv peyadwv vroléces els eva
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PYRRHUS

plundered by the Daunians;! and there fell, on the
side of Pyrrhus and on that of the Romans, over
fifteen thousand men. _
The two armies separated ; and we are told that Pyrrhus said to one who was congratulating him on his victory, “If we are victorious in one more battle with the Romans, we shall be utterly ruined.” For he had lost a great part of the forces with which he came, and all his friends and generals except a few ; moreover, he had no others whom he could summon from home, and he saw that his allies in Italy were becoming indifferent, while the army of the Romans, as if from a fountain gushing forth indoors, was easily and speedily filled up again, and they did not lose courage in defeat, nay, their wrath gave them all the more vigour and determination for the war.

XXII. But while he was involved in such per-
plexities, new hopes once more inspired him, and
projects which divided his purposes. For at one and
the same time there came to him from Sicily men
who offered to put into his hands the cities of
Agrigentum, Syracuse, and Leontini, and begged
him to help them to drive out the Carthaginians and
rid the island of its tyrants; and from Greece, men
with tidings that Ptolemy Ceraunus? with his army
had perished at the hands of the Gauls, and that
now was the time of all times for him to be in
Macedonia, where they wanted a king. Pyrrhus
rated Fortune soundly because occasions for two
great undertakings had come to him at one time,
1 Auxiliaries of the Romans from Arpinum in Apulia. .

2 The son of Ptolemy I. of Egypt. In 280 B.c. he had
basely assassinated Seleucus, and made himself king of
Macedonia.

KaLpov auT@ ouniveyKe, Kat woultavie @S auporépev

DrapyxovT ov amodAuvat Oarepov, SinvexOn TOUS
Aoyispois ToAVY Xpovor. elTa Tois YuKedcKois
perCovav UmroxeiaGat Tpaywatov Soxovvrwp, At-
3 Buns eyyus elvat Soxovons, emt taita tpévas
Kivéav prev evO0s eFerrepape mpodiare£opevor,
daTrep elw0er, Tais ToAEaLW, avTOS Oé ToS Tap-
avTivols dvcavacyxerobow éuBarev ppoupay, ral
afiovow 7H n Ta pexey éd' ols Hike, cupTrodepobyTa
'Papatous, n Thy Xwpay 7 poe wevov auTOV amr o-
Aetrety TH TOoAW Olav TapéAaBe, pnoev é eTLelKes
droxpwapevos, GNA mpooratas nouxiav ayetv
Kat Tepipevelv TOV éavTod KaLpov, eFérrAevoev.
4 'Awapévy 8¢ adr Zexehias & peév ipdmioev
ev0ds amrnvTa RéBaa, Kab Tapetyov Qi qToXeEs
éautTas mpodupes, TOV dé ary @VOS kat Bias ben-
Oévrwv ovder d avretye TO TPATOV, GAA , Tpta wuptoes
metots Kal Seoxedions mevTaKoa tots immevat Kal
Siaxogiats vavoly émi@y Tous TE Poivixas ej per
Kal KaTEaTpepeTo THY eT LK PGTELAD avTav. tovd
"Epucos éexupwtarov TOV Xwpicov dvTos Kal TOn-
ous dmuvopevous EXOVTOS éyvey Bidber Oar 7 pos
5 Ta TELYN. Kal Tis otpatias yevouerns éToiuns
évedvoato THY TavoTr diay, Kat mpoeOary * ebEaro
T@ 'Hpaxhei TroLno ew ayava Kal Ouciav a dpiateiov, 398
dp Tob yévous Kal Tov UTapXOVT@Y a€vov ayou-
aTnv autov atrodeiEn Tots 2ucedav oikovaw
"EAAnae: TH SeoddTiyyt onunvas Kal Tots Bédect
TOUS BapBapous avacKedacas Kat Tas KAipaKas
6 mpodayaywyv wpwtos ém@éBn TOU TElLyous. avTt-

1 xpoeAOcy with Blass: xpooeAOuy.

and thinking that the presence of both meant the loss of one, he wavered in his calculations for a long time. Then Sicily appeared to offer opportunities for greater achievements, since Libya was felt to be near, and he turned in this direction, and forth- with sent out Cineas to hold preliminary conferences with the cities, as was his wont, while he himself threw a garrison into Tarentum. The Tarentines were much displeased at this, and demanded that he either apply himself to the task for which he had come, namely to help them in their war with Rome, or else abandon their territory and leave them their city as he had found it. To this demand he made no very gracious reply, but ordering them to keep quiet and await his convenience, he sailed off.

On reaching Sicily,! his hopes were at once realized securely; the cities readily gave themselves up to him, and wherever force and conflict were necessary nothing held out against him at first, but advancing with thirty thousand foot, twenty-five hundred horse, and two hundred ships, he put the Phoenicians to rout and subdued the territory under their control. Then he determined to storm the walls of Eryx, which was the strongest of their fortresses and had numerous defenders. So when ' his army was ready, he put on his armour, went out to battle, and made a vow to Heracles that he would institute games and a sacrifice in his honour, if the god would render him in the sight of the Sicilian Greeks an antagonist worthy of his lineage and resources ; then he ordered the trumpets to sound, scattered ‘the Barbarians with his missiles, br ought up his scaling-ladders, and was the first to mount

' Early in the year 278 B.c.

4 \ nA >] U \ A bd A
otavtwy O€ TOAA@Y auuvopmevos TOUS pev eFéwoe
A , > > 9 , \ . 4 4
TOU TELYOUS ETT appotrepa Kal KaTeBanre, WrEl-
atous 5é Trept avTov TO Ether Ypwpevos éowpevoe
a, wv \ > \ 9 a >] N \
vexpous. émade 5é avtos ovdév, GANA Kal Tpoc-
A \ 9 ’ A 4, \ \
wWety Seuvos ehavn Tots modrepiows, Kal Tov
“O $y bd Aa \ \ b] ,]
pnpov ederEev opOas Kal peta éeurretpias azro-
daivovta Tov apEeT@y povnv THY avdpeiay hopas
modAradkis évOovorwders Kal pavixas pEepopévny.
drovons Sé THs WOAEwS EOUGE TE TH De@ peyaro-
mpeTr@s Kat Oéas dyevev TavTodbaTa@v tTapéc xe.
XXIII. Tov dé wept Meconvny BapBdpwv,
Maupeptivwrv &¢ xadoupévwv, trodda Tois “EAAD-
aw évoxrovvTwr, évious 5é Kai hopou TreTompevwn
UToTENEIS, TOAA@Y 5é Kal payipov dvTwv, 516 Kal
> oo A
mpoonyopevOnaav ‘Aprios yAwoon Th Aativor,
N \ , \ b] 4 b]
Tous pev hoporoyous auvAdAaBov aéxtewev, av-
\ \ 4 , \ “A la
tovs b€ wKnoas pdyn Toda TeV PpoupiWwY
éFéxoye. Kapynédoviows 5¢ cvpBatixas éxovot,
Kat xpnpata BovAopévots TerEiv, Eb yévorTo pidia,
N A 3 lA > , 4 9 ,
Kal vads atroaTéAXELy, aTrexpivaTo TAELOVwWD epte-

, 9 lA \ l4 \ > 4
pevos piay elvar dudAvaow Kal dircav pos avTous,
3 A ? , 4 @ A A
él Tacav éexdiTrovTEs BexeALav Opw yp@vTo TH At-
A , \ \ Cf > / \
Bunn Pardoon mpos tovs”"EXAnvas. evTUXia de
i a4 A ’ , \ 4,
Kal p@un TOV TapovTwY éTratpopevos, Kal diwxwv
la A
Tas érTridbas ép als am dpxyns érdevce, TPWTNS
4 nm
5é AtBuns épi€uevos cai vads éywv TWoddas TAD-
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the wall. Many were the foes against whom he strove ; some of them he pushed from the wall on either side and hurled them to the ground, but most he laid dead in heaps about him with the strokes of his sword.’ He himself suffered no harm, but was a terrible sight for his enemies to look upon, and proved that Hom as right and fully justified in saying that valour, alone of the virtues, often displays transports due to divine possession and frenzy. After the capture of the city, he sacrificed to the god in magnificent fashion and furnished spectacles of all sorts of contests.

XXIII. The Barbarians about Messana, called Mamertines, were giving much annoyance to the Greeks, and had even laid some of them under con- tribution. They were numerous and warlike, and therefore had been given a name which, in the Latin tongue, signifies martial. Pyrrhus seized their collectors of tribute and put them to death, then conquered the people themselves in battle and de- stroyed many of their strongholds. Moreover, when the Carthaginians were inclined to come to terms and were willing to pay him money and send him ships in case friendly relations were established, he replied to them (his heart being set upon greater things) that there could be no settlement or friendship between himself and them unless they abandoned all Sicily and made the Libyan Sea a boundary between themselves and the Greeks. But now, lifted up by his good fortune and by the strength of his resources, and pursuing the hopes with which he had sailed from home in the beginning, he set his heart upon Libya first ; and since many of the ships

1 As in Iliad, v. 185; vi. 101; ix. 238.

, >] de la) # 9 , : b 9 la’

pwpatwv émidecis Tryerpev épéras, ovK émrlEeLKas
9 ‘ a
evtuyydvwy ovdé mpdws tais modeow, aA
A“ \ ? 4 e
SeoTroTiK@s Kal mpos Opynv Bialopevos Kat Kora-
? Or A yy F) 9 a a oe) \
Cov, ove evOus wv ovde ev apy ToLovTOS, ANAA
\ lal e , . A N 4 e aA \
Kal MadXOY ETEPWY TH TPOS YKaptv omtrEiy Kal
TavTa TioTevew Kal pnodev upOoVAELy UTaryoevos,
9 ‘ nm 7
elta ytvopevos ex Snuaywyod TUpavvos axaptotias
A ‘ A b } , 4
™T XareTroTHnTL Kal amloTias tTpocwhALoKave
d0Fav. ‘
Ov pny adda TATA MEV. WS avayKaia auUVEYo-
, n 9 \ \ 4 \
pouy, xaitrep Suadhopovytes: eézret dé Qoivwva Kal
Lwoatatpatov, avdpas nyen“ovixous év Supaxovoais,
ra) “~ \ b N 9 “A ¥ b ,
ot Tpa@Toe péev avTov édAOety érretcay eis YuKedlay,
N / \ ,
EXGovre 5é tTHv TorAw evOds evexeipicav Kal
TAELTTA TVYKATELPYATAVTO TOV UKEALKOY, “NTE
” ‘ e a 4 > , a 9
ayelv avy avT@ pnte atroneitrety BovAopevos év
,
uTrowiais elye, Kal Ywototpatos pév aréaty
\ \ a
pokes, Boivwva S€ Ta avTa dPpoveiv aitiaca-
N
HEVOS GTréKTELVEV, OV KATA pLKpOV Ovde Ka” ep
auT@ peSiotato ToY TpayudTav, adXrAa Sevod
A A
TLVOS pLoous eyyevouevou Tais TroAETL TPOS AUTOV
e N 4, J e N > 4
at mev TpoceTiOevto Kapynoovioss, ai dé érnryovto
@€ A :
Mauweptivovs. daiootdces 5é opav adrayta Kal
vewTEepiapovs Kal avaTacL tayupayv éd’ avror,
édéEato ypdupata Lavrov cai Tapavtiver
lA wn 4 A \ AN
pods avTeXovTwY Tals TodEoLY AUTAis Tpos TOV

that he had were insufficiently manned, he began to collect oarsmen, not dealing with the cities in an acceptable or gentle manner, but in a lordly way, angrily putting compulsion and penalties upon them. He had not behaved in this way at the very beginning, but had even gone beyond others in trying to win _men's hearts by gracious intercourse with them, by trusting everybody, and by doing nobody any harm. But now he ceased to be a popular leader and be- came a tyrant, and added to his name for severity a name for ingratitude and faithlessness. Nevertheless the Sicilians put up with these things as necessary, although they were exasper- ated; but then came his dealings with Thoenon and Sosistratus. These were leading men in Syra- cuse, and had been first to persuade Pyrrhus to come into Sicily. Moreover, after he had come, they immediately put their city into his hands and assisted him in most of what he had accomplished in Sicily. And yet he was willing neither to take them with him nor to leave them behind, and held them in suspicion. Sosistratus took the alarm and withdrew ; but Thoenon was accused by Pyrrhus of complicity with Sosistratus and put to death.! With this, the situation of Pyrrhus was suddenly and entirely changed. A terrible hatred arose against him in the cities, some of which joined the Car- thaginians, while others called in the Mamertines. And now, as he saw everywhere secessions and revolutionary designs and a strong faction opposed to him, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, who had been excluded from all their territories, could with difficulty maintain the war

1 Cf. Dionysius Hal., Hxcerpta ex lib. xx., 8.

, a
ToXEpoV, eipyouéevwv S€ THS Y@pas amrdaans Kat
Seouevov Bonbeiv. todto Sé hv evmpérmeta py
ghuyny elvat nde aroyywow Tov atroTAovy TOV
> , , \ \ > \ b] 4,
avToO. wpaypdtwv: to dé adnOés od Suvapevos
a 4 @ N , > >
Kpatety YwuKedias @oTEp vEews TapaxGeions, arr
éxBaow Cnrov, avis epprypev € éautov els "Itadiav.
Aéyerar & dara Topevos Hon Tpos THY Vhoov
amid@v elmeiv tois qept avtov: " Olav atrodei-
= , , v,e¢ ,
Topev, @ phiror, Kapynooviots cat "Pwpaiors tran-
aistpav." Kal todTo pév, Womep eixacOn, pet ov
ToXUY Ypovoy eyéveTo.
XXIV. Tav d¢ BapBapwv cvoravtwy én av-
tov atromrAéovta, Kapynooviots pév €v TO TopO ww
vavpaynoas améBare TaV vedy TOAXGS, Tais &
+] a
adArXats Katépuye mpos tHv Itadtav, Mapeptivos
,
dé pupiwv ov éXaTTOvs WpodiaBavres avtitata-

\ 9 / 9 \ a ld
cBar pev éepoBnOncay, év dé tais dvaxwpiats
émutiOéuevot Kal wpoomimtovres Atav TO oTpa-
Teva ouvetdpakay, émece Sé dvo Onpia xal
auxvol Tav omtcbopvrAaKovvtwy dréOvnoKov.
QUTOS OY ATO TOD GTOMATOS TrapEeAadaas NuUvVETO
Kal dvexcvduveve mrpos avdpas noxnpévous payec-
Oar nal Ovpoedets. adryyels bé THY Keharny Eider
Kal puxpov €k TOV payopévav atroaTas ETL UaNAOV
€mnpe TOUS TroAcuious. els 6€ Kal TOAD TPO TOY
GArXwv eridpapov, avnp TO TE TOMATL péeyas Kal
“A 54 ‘ b] nA _ Rn A iA
Tots OwAoLs AauTrpOS, EXpTO TH Pwvy Opacutépa
\ a 39 7 >" 9 wa \
Kal mpoeNOety exéXevev autor, ev Cn. wapotuvOeis
5é o Iluppos éméctpepe Bia tav bTacTICTOAY, Kal
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even in their cities, and begged for his assist- ance. This gave him a fair pretext for his sailing away, without its being called a flight or despair of his cause in the island; but in truth -it was because he could not master Sicily, which was like a storm-tossed ship, but desired to get out of her, that he once more threw himself into Italy. And it is said that at the time of his departure he looked back at the island and said to those about him: “ My friends, what a wrestling ground for Carthaginians and Romans we are leaving behind us!” And this conjecture of his was soon afterwards confirmed. XXIV. But the Barbarians combined against him as he was setting sail. With the Carthaginians he fought a sea-fight in the strait and lost many of his ships, but escaped with the rest to Italy; and here the Mamertines, more than ten thousand of whom had crossed in advance of him, though they were afraid to match forces with him, yet threw his whole army into confusion by setting upon him and assailing him in difficult regions. Two of his elephants fell, and great numbers of his rearguard were slain. Accordingly, riding up in person from the van, he sought to ward off the enemy, and ran great risks in contending with men who were trained to fight and were inspired with high courage. And when he was wounded on the head with a sword and withdrew a little from the com- batants, the enemy were all the more elated. One of them ran forth far in advance of the rest, a man who was huge in body and resplendent in armour, and in a bold voice challenged Pyrrhus- to come out, if he were still alive. This angered Pyrrhus, and wheeling round in spite of his guards, he pushed

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES ‘

3 9 n ¢ , A \ > A
HET Opyns aipatt weduppévos Kat devvos 6POjvar
TO TpogwTov w@odpevos St avtav Kai dOdacas Tov
BapBapov émdnke cata tis Kxeparis to Eider
; a \ a a
TANYHY pon TE THS KELtpos Gua cat Badijs aperH
Tov atdnpov péeXpt TOV KATH Stadpapoicar, waTE
e s a e / / a
évl ypovm mepiTecciy éxatTépwoe TA pépyn TOD
cwopatos StyotounPevros. todTo Tous BapBapous
ETETVE TOD TPOTW YwpPELV, OS TWA TAY KPELTTO- -
vov Bavpdcaytas Kal xatatrayévtas Tov Tup-
pov. o d€ THY GAAnV oddoy adeds SieFeAD@v rev
ets Tapavta, ducpupious melovs Kai tpiaytAtous
e a 4 > N \ A 4
immets Kxopilwov. avaraBov oé tav Tapartivev
TovVS Kpatiatous, evOds érri “Pwpaious Hyev ev TH
—Savuvitids otpatotedevovtas.
XXV. Tov 5 Savutayv rd Te wpdypata S.E-

pOapto, Kal tod dpovnpatos vdeivro, Kexpatn-

, , a“ e \ “ e , 7 A

pevot paxats TodXais vio TAY Popatwy. éviv
a \
dé te Kat mpos tov Ilvppov opyns bia tov els

LuxeXtay mwrovv GOev ov ToAAOL TOUTWY a’TO

A Ul \ 4 , \ \ >

auvndOov. tavtas 5€ veisas diya Tovs pév eis
\ , ”) , “A ees
thnv Aevxaviav Ereprpev avtirnwopevous Tod éré-
pov Tay viratwv, as py BonOoin, tovs bé iyev
> \ > \ 4 / \ ? \
avros emt Maviov Kovpuov trepi trod Beveovevrov
idpupévoy év dodandel Kal trepipévovta TH ex THS
Aeveavias Bonfecav: éott & Ore Kal pwavTewy av-
a . a ,
TOV Olwvots Kal lepois amoTperrovTwy naovyate.
, e e / ’ / , \
omevowy ovv o IIuppos émsBécOas rovtots, mpiv

€xeivous érredOeiv, dvdpas te ToUs KpaTtiatous Kal
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his way through them—full of wrath, smeared with blood, and with a countenance terrible to look upon, and before the Barbarian could strike dealt him such a blow on the head with his sword that, what with the might of his arm and the excellent temper of his steel, it cleaved its way down through, so that at one instant the parts of the sundered body fell to either side. This checked the Barbarians from any further advance, for they were amazed and confounded at Pyrrhus, and thought him some superior being. So he accomplished the rest of his march unmolested and came to Tarentum,! bringing twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Then, adding to his force the best troops of the Tarentines, he forthwith led them against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

XXV. But the power of the Samnites had been shattered, and their spirits were broken, in con- sequence of many defeats at the hands of the Romans. They also cherished considerable resent- ment against Pyrrhus because of his expedition to Sicily ; hence not many of them came to join him. Pyrrhus, however, divided his army into two parts, sent one of them into Lucania to attack the other consul, that he might not come to the help of his colleague, and led the other part himself against Manius Curius, who was safely encamped near the city of Beneventum and was awaiting assistance from Lucania ; in part also it was because his sooth- sayers had dissuaded him with unfavourable omens and sacrifices that he kept quiet. Pyrrhus, accord- ingly, hastening to attack this consul before the other one came up, took his best men and his most

1 Jn the autumn of 276 B.c.
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TOV Onpiwv Ta waXiwwTara Aa Bev VUKTOS @ppn-
oev emt TO otpatorresov. mrepriove bé auT® paK-
pay cal Saceiav bras odov OuK dvreaxe Ta para,
Kal TAdvaL Tous OT PATLWOTALS _guveTU yoy" Kat trept
TavTa ryevowerns Sra peBis 7 iy TE vue éméhutre ral
KaTapavys 7 ny Gp’ pEPD TOLS TrONEMLOLS em epxo-
fevos amo TOV akpov, aote OopuBov morvv rai
Kino w mapacxetv.
Ou pany GAA TOV iepoav TO Maviw yevopevwr,
Kal Tov Katpov Bonbeiv avayxdtovtos, éFeA Dav
évéBane Tots TPWTOLS Kat TpeYrapevos epoRyce
TaVvTAS, WOTE kal METELVY OUK OAL'yoUS Kal TOY
édepavTov TLvas arava katarepbévras. avTn
Tov Manov y viKN KaThyarye paxoupevov els TO
medtov’ Kat cupBarwv é €x mT podj ov TO fev eT peé-
rato Tov ‘TonEpion, & eore 8 ni BvacBels bro TOV
Onpiwy cal avaotanrels T pos TO arpatoredoy TOUS
puranas éxdet cuxvous eperTaras T@ Yapakt

pera TOV Omhov Kat _axpiras. ot O€ émepavertes
éx TOMMY ox Upav Kal Ta Onpia Baddovres nvay-
Kacav amoatpépes Oat Kat puyn YwpovvtTa bua
Tay TUMMAXOV OTT Tapayny arrepyacacbas
Kal ouyXualy, v) 70 vin wa. Tapédwxe Tots ‘Pw-
patots, Gia, 6é Kal TO KpaTos Ths myepovias. Kal
yap ppovnpua Kab Suvapmuy Kat dofav @s dpaxoe
mpoohaBovres éx THiS apeThs exelvns Kal TOV
ary @vev "Tradiav pev evOus, ordiyw Sé dotepov
Dicedtav KaTETXOV.
XXVI. Odtw pev é&étrece TOV ‘Tradicav Kat
DLKEALK@V O o IIvppos eAridwn, efaerh V povov ava-
NWTAS Trepl TOUS Exel TOAE“OUS, Kal TOis! IMpdy-
1 rots Coraés and Bekker have rots nev, after Muretus.

warlike elephants and set out by night against his camp. But since he took a long circuit through a densely wooded country, his lights did not hold out, and his soldiers lost their way and straggled. This caused delay, so that the night passed, and at day-break he was in full view of the enemy as he advanced upon them from the heights, and caused much tumult and agitation among them.

Manius, however, since the sacrifices were pro- pitious and the crisis forced action upon him, led his forces out and attacked the foremost of the enemy, and after routing these, put their whole army to flight, so that many of them fell and some of their elephants were left behind and captured. This victory brought Manius down into the plain to give battle ; here, after an engagement in the open, he routed the enemy at some points, but at one was, overwhelmed by the elephants and driven back upon his camp, where he was obliged to call upon the guards, who were standing on the parapets in great numbers, all in arms, and full of fresh vigour. Down they came from their strong places, and hurling their javelins at the elephants compelled them to wheel about and run back through the ranks of their own men, thus causing disorder and confusion there. This gave the victory to the Romans, and at the same time the advantage also ‘in the struggle for supremacy. For having acquired high courage and power and a reputation for invinci- ' bility from their valour in these struggles, they at once got control of Italy, and soon afterwards of Sicily.

XXVI. Thus Pyrrhus was excluded from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after squandering six years’ time in his wars there, and after being worsted in his

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pacw édXaTTwOHeis, TO 5é€ avdpetov avixnrov év
tais ATTats StadvAdéEas: Kat voyuicbels éuTrerpia
ais Hrras Siaguddtas: «al vomabels éurerpig
HEV TOAEMLLKY KAL YELPL KaL TOALN TOAY TIPWTOS
9 a ? ¢€ \ A A \ A 4
eivat Tav Kal’ avrov Bacidéwv, & Oé tais mpdake-
ov éxTaTo Tais EXtrigLY ATroANUVAL, bu EpwTa TOV
atrovtwy ovdev eis 6 Set OécOat Tov bTapYovToV
fOdcas. dO0ev ameixaleyv avtov o ‘Avtiyovos
xuBevtn moda Bdaddovtt wal Kadrd, ypjoBar é
OvUK émioTapéve@ TOS TrEeTovCL.
Kopioas 5€ eis "Hrretpov oxtaxiaxtdLous treCovs
Kal jwevtakootous imeis, ypnuata 69 ovK exov
>] VA ‘ e J N 4 4
etntes TroAewov @ Opéwet TO oTpdTevpa. Kat
tiwov Varatov avTe rpooyevopévav évéBarev eis
Maxedoviav Avtiyovov tov Anuntpiov Bactrev-
OVTOS WS apTayn Kal Aenracia Ypnoopmevos. érrel
5é kal trodes éAdpBave cvyvas Kal otpati@TaL
4
Siryirsoe petéoTnTay WS avTOD, éXTricas TL WAéov-
: \
apunoev ert rov’Avtiyovoy Kat nept Ta oteva
Tpootec@myv auvetdpake THY oTpaTiay atracav.
ot O€ eri ths ovpayias Tov Avtiyovou TeTaypmévot
Tardta, svyvol to wARGos dvres, UTéotncav
EUPWOTWS* Kal KAPTEPAS MAYS yevopévns TOVTWY
Mev Of TAGioTOL KaTEKOTTNO AY, Of 5é TaV éXEepar-
Tov nryemoves éyxatadapBavouevo. tapédwxay —
e A A v4 , A \ e
EauvTovs Kat Ta Onpia mavta. mpocraBwv 6é o
Ilvppos tydtxadta, Kal TH TUYN paddrov H Tots
Noytopois ypwpmevos, emriye TH adrayye TOY
Makedovwv avarremAno névn Tapayns Kal poBov
PS) a A 50 PD] xn N wv ‘
ta thy HTTav. dev éuBorys pév Exyovto Kat
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undertakings, but he kept his brave spirit uncon- quered in the midst of his defeats; and men believed that

in military experience, personal prowess, and daring, he was by far the first of the kings of his time, but that what he won by his exploits he lost by indulging in vain hopes, since through passionate desire for what he had not he always failed to establish securely what he had. For this reason Antigonus used to liken him to a player with dice who makes many fine throws but does not under- stand how to use them when they are made.

He returned to Epeirus! with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, and since he had no money he sought for a war by which he could maintain his army. Some Gauls joined him, and he thereupon made an incursion into Macedonia, where Antigonus the son of Demetrius was reigning, designing to strip and plunder the country. But after he had taken a great number of cities and two thousand Macedonian soldiers had come over to him, he began to hope for greater things, and set out to attack Antigonus, and falling upon him in a narrow pass, threw his whole army into confusion. The Gauls who formed the rearguard of Antigonus, a numerous body, made a sturdy resistance ; but after a fierce battle most of these were cut to pieces, while those who had charge of the elephants were hemmed in and surrendered themselves and all their animals. Then Pyrrhus, thus greatly strengthened, and consulting his good fortune rather than his judgment, advanced upon the phalanx of the Macedonians, which was filled with confusion and fear because of their previous defeat. For this

1 Late in the year 274 B.c.

pans mpos aurop, Thy é deEeay ™ poTelvov Kal oTpPATHYOUS Kal TaELdpxous dvaKahoupevos, amav- Tas Mares ame TNO TOUS mECous TOU , Avtuyovov. KAKELVOS pev bmopevyov Gpwagepy. im éav dAdtyors * TOY mapadiov TLVas TONEWY KatéoXev, 6 0 dé IIvp- pos év evTUX NHAC TOT OVTOLS peyrtov auT@ 7 pos d0fav olopevos Siavren pax Oar To mept tous Ta- AadTAS, TA Kaddora, Kal Aan porara, TOV Napv- pov aveOnrev els TO lepov TH Itwvidos 'AOnvas, TOE TO EAEyElov éemLyparpas:
Tovs Oupeods o 0 Modoaoes oI Ta@vioe Sapov A bdva Tluppos a amo Opacéwy € éxpéuacev Tararav, mavta tov Avtuyovouv KabeXwy aTparov: ov péya

Oadpa:
?. \ \ A N 4 bd /
@xXentat cai viv cai wapos Ataxida.
pera, THY paynv dé evdus dvedapBave TAS TONELS.
TOV 66 Atyatev KpaTnaas Td Te adda Naren es
expngaro TOUS avO parrots, Kal ppoupav Tanratixcny
év TH TONE KaTtéXLTre TOY per avTOU oTpaTevo-
ever. of dé Tanatat yévos aTANTTOTATOV xpn-
faTwVY OVTES eméBevto TOV Bactrhéwv avToOe
Kexndevpevav TOUS Tapous opuTTew, Kal Ta meV
XP LATA Sinptacay, Ta 0€ ooTa T pos bBpuw btép-
perpar. TOUTO Koupas coke Kal oALywpws everyxety
o I1¥ppos, nH ov daxonas TLWas UmepFépevos 7 n
mapels Sdws Sta hoBov Td KoAdoar Tous BapBap-
ous: OOev Heovce Kaxas wre Tov Maxedovor.
ove Sé TaY TpayunaTwv avT@ BeBaoTnTa Kal
TVUTTACL EYXOVTMV OVLMOV, NwPELTO TH Yyvapuy
1 ray inwéwy oAlyos supplied by Blass, in conformity with the translation of Amyot: dua ray waparlwy.

reason they refrained from engagement or battle with him, whereupon Pyrrhus, stretching out his right hand and calling upon the generals and captains, brought over to him all the infantry of Antigonus in a body. So Antigonus took to flight with a few of his horsemen, and occupied some of the seaboard cities; while Pyrrhus, thinking that amid so many successes his achievement against the Gauls con- duced most to his glory, dedicated the most beautiful and splendid of the spoils in the temple of Athena Itonis, with the following elegiac inscription :

“These shields, now suspended here as a gift to
Athena Itonis, Pyrrhus the Molossian took
from valiant Gauls, after defeating the entire
army of Antigonus; which is no great wonder ;
for now, as well as in olden time, the Aeacidae
are brave spearmen.”’

After the battle, however, he at once proceeded to occupy the cities. And after getting Aegae into his power, besides other severities exercised upon its in- habitants he left as a garrison in the city some of the Gauls who were making the campaign with him. But the Gauls, a race insatiable of wealth, set themselves to digging up the tombs of the kings who had been buried there ; the treasure they plundered, the bones they insolently cast to the four winds. This outrage Pyrrhus treated with lightness and indifference, as it was thought; he either postponed punishment because he had some business on hand, or remitted it altogether because he was afraid to chastise the Barbarians ; and on this account he was censured by the Macedonians. Moreover, before his affairs were securely and firmly established, his thoughts swung

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‘ e , , \ \ ‘ 3 ,
may pos érépas éAtridas. nal Tov pev “Avtiyo-
vov épuBpilwv avaiayurtoy éxdret 1) NaBavovtTa
e / bd > \ 4 a
Goiwariov, adr Ett THY Twopdvpayv dopovvta.
Knrewvipou 5é rod {raptidtov Tapayevopévou Kat
KaXovvTos avtov eri tHv Aaxedaipova mpobvpws
UIFNKOVGED.
‘O 5€ KrAew@vupos Fv pév yévous Baciduxod,
Soxay 5é Biatos eivar cal povapytKos obT’ evvorav
oUTe Tiatw elyev, GAN “Apevs éBacinreve. Kal
ToUTO pep Ev HY KoLWoY EyxAnpa Kal mpeoBuTEpov
avT@ Tpos TOUS ToAtTas’ yuvaixa 5é KaNyV Kal
yévous Bacirixod Xirwvida tyv Aewtvyidov
/ a ” e A € \
mpecButepos av éynuev 0 Krewvupos. 7 5é
"Axpotat@ TO “Apews émipaveioa, pepaxio Kad”
” > , \ x A A 4
@pav axuatovtTt, AvINnpov epavTe TO Krewvvuyow
€ a a
kal adoEov opod trapeiye TOV yauov- ovdéva yap
éxdvOave XTaptiatav Katadpovovpevos vO THs

yuvatcos. ottTw Sé tTav KaT olKov duiapav Tois
TOALTLKOLS Tpoayevoumevwvy UT opyns Kal Bapv-
Oupias éaiye tH YBraptn tov Iluppov, éyovta
Sic puptous Kal TmevTaKioXthious melous, Sta xtdious
& imeis, er€pavras 5é elxootTécoapas, QOTE TO
peyedes THs TapacKeuns evs elvar KaTtadnrov
ov KrXewvipo tiv Lardptny, adda Thv Wedorov-
vncov éavT@ KTwpeEvor, éTrel TO ye NOY Kal pos
b) \ ” ® \ 4 V4
autous éEapvos Hv tous Aaxedatpoviovs mpeaBev-
>] , , ¥ \ ? 4

cavtas eis MeyaAnv modu. ébn yap érevbepacwv
tas bt ’Avtiyovm mores adixGa, nal vy Aia
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again towards new hopes. He railed at Antigonus and called him a shameless man for not laying aside the purple and wearing a common robe ; and when Cleonymus the Spartan came and invited him to come to Lacedaemon, he readily listened to him. Now, Cleonymus was of royal lineage, but because he was thought to be of a violent and arbitrary temper, he enjoyed neither goodwill nor confidence at home, but Areus was king there. This was one general ground of complaint which he had against his fellow citizens, and it was of long standing. Besides, Cleonymus in his later years had married Chilonis the daughter of Leotychides, a beautiful woman of royal lineage; but she had fallen desper- ately in love with Acrotatus the son of Areus, a young man in the flower of his age, and thus rendered his marriage distressing to Cleonymus, since he loved her, and at the same time disgraceful ; for every Spartan was well aware that the husband was despised by his wife. Thus his domestic vexations added themselves to his political disappointment, and in indignation and wrath he brought Pyrrhus against Sparta.! Pyrrhus had twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand hogse, besides twenty-four elephants, so that the magnitude of his preparations made it clear at once that he was not aiming to acquire Sparta for Cleonymus, but the Peloponnesus for himself. And yet his professions were all to the ' contrary, and particularly those which he made to the Lacedaemonian ambassadors themselves when they met him at Megalopolis. He told them he had come to set free the cities which were sub- ject to Antigonus, yes, and that he was going to

“1 In 272 poo.

\ / a
TOUS vewTépous Tatidas eis Lwdptyny, et pn TEL
7 A b / a a
KwNvEL, TED evTpadya opévous Tols AakwvtKols
4 ° a
EJeawv, ws ToUT@ Tréov Exotey HSN TOY TaVTOY
4 a
Bacitewv, tadta mraTTUpEVOS Kal TApaywY TOUS
>] A A
évTuyxavovtas avT@ Kal’ oddv, ws mpaTov IrpaTo
le! nm Ld \ “A
THs Aakovixns aptrayny éoeito Kal Nendaciay:
> / A
éyxadourtwy 5é€ Tov mpécBewv, StL pwn KaTAay-
/ 4 /

yelXNas trodepov éEevnvoye mpos avtous, “’AXX’
2Q9 ©¢ A 97>
oud’ was, edn, “ To’s Saaptidtas topev 6 tT av
/ a) ° A
PéAANTE Trovety ETépots Mpor€eyovTas.” els dé TaV
qmapovtwy, dvowa Mavédpoxreidas, eire TH hova
Naxovitwv: “Ai pev éoot TU ye Geos, ovdev py
4 9 9 A ’ > Ww ”
mabwpev’ ov yap abdixeduev’ ai & avOpwrros, éo-
aeTat Kal TeD Kappwv AAXos.”
>? / /
XXVII. ’Ex rovtouv xatéBawev éri thy Aaxe-
Py , \ A , 7 ?
aimovas Kat tov Krewviyou xerevovtos &&
al e
épodou mpocBareciv poBnbeis o Ilvppos, ws reé-
yeTal, un StapTdowotl Of oTpaTI@Tat THY TOALY
éy vuxtl mpoomecovTes, ETeTXEV, ELTT@Y STL TAUTO
\
Toincovat ped nucpay. avToL TE yap Hoay oALyot
\ 3 / N 9 / @ ” >
Kal dtrapdoKevot Sta TO aidvidsov, 6 Te Apeus ovK
9 , , ? >] b / /
éruyyave trapwv, adyX ev Kpntn Topruviors
, “a ‘ fe) \ 4 ‘
ToXenoupevots Bonfav: kat todto 87 padiota
\ 4 ww > 9 , \ 3 4
THY Tod éowoe Su Epnuiav Kai daoBEeveray KaTa-
A e A N II 4 0 / “ @
hpovneicav. o pev yap Iluppos ovdeva payxeic Bar
, / A \ 4 \
vopitwy KaTnudicato, Tod dé KrAewvupou tHy
> JS A 4 N fi > 4
oixiav of Te Piro Kai elAwTes oUTWS ExoTpUNoAY

send his younger sons to Sparta, if nothing pre-
vented, to be brought up in the Lacedaemonian
customs, that so they might presently have the ad-
vantage over all other princes. With these fictions
he beguiled those who came to meet him on his
march, but as soon as he reached Laconian territory
he began to ravage and plunder it. And when the
Spartan ambassadors upbraided him for making war

upon them without previous declaration, he said :
“Yet we know that you Spartans also do not tell
others beforehand what you are going to do.”” Where-
upon one of those who were present, Mandrocleidas
by name, said to him in the broad Spartan dialect :
‘If thou art a god, we shall suffer no harm at thy
hands; for we have done thee no wrong; but if a
man, another will be found who is even stronger.
than thou.”
XXVII. After this, he marched down against the city of Sparta. Cleonymus urged him to make the assault as soon as he arrived, but Pyrrhus was afraid, as we are told, that his soldiers would plunder the city if they fell upon it at night, and therefore re- strained them, saying that they would accomplish just as much by day. For there were but few men in the city, and they were unprepared, owing to the suddenness of the peril; and Areus was not at home, but in Crete, whither he was bringing military aid for the Gortynians. And this, indeed, more than anything else, proved the salvation of the city, which its weakness and lack of defenders caused to be despised. For Pyrrhus, thinking that no one would give him battle, bivouacked for the night, and the friends and Helot slaves of Cleonymus adorned and furnished his house in the expectation

Kal Tapecxevacay ws Setrvncovtos tov Iuppou
Tap avT@.
Tevopévns 5é vuxtos ot Aaxedatpoviote mpw@rov
pev €BovrAevoavto Tas yuvaixas eis Kpntny aro-
oréAAey, at S€ avtéctncav. ‘Apytdapia Sé nal
Eipos Exouca mpos THY yepouaiay 7AGEV eynadoidca
Tois avopaaw vumép TOY yuvaiKkarv, eb Env avtas
akiover THs Ywraptns amovopévns. Ererta TO
OTPATOTED@ TOV TOAEMLWY TAPAaAANAOY éyvwoaVv
éuBarovtes tadpov évOev cai évev adtas srjaat
Tas apatas, wéypte Tov pécov TaY TpOYaV KaTaA-
yooavtes, Straws Edpav éyoucar dvoexBiactov
éumod@y @at ToIs Onpiots. apxopmévots b€ TadTa
MpPaTTELW HKOV AUTOS TOV TrapHEevwY Kal yuVaLKaY
ai pev ev ipatio, catalwoapevar Tovs YiTwvi-
GKOUS, al dé povoyiTwres, TUvVEpyacopmEvaL TOS
mpecBurépois. Tous dé wayecOas pédXrovTas exé-
Nevoy Hovydle, eal NaBodoat pétpov aital Kal’
autas éFerpydoavro THs Tappouv TO TpiToV pépos.
hv S& TO pev WAdTOS avTHS mHxYewv EE, TO Se
BaOos tettapwv, To dé pHKos oKTdTreOpor, ws
iaotopes DvrAapxos, ws 5 “Iepw@vupos, EXatTov.

dua 8° huépa Kivoupévwv Tav Todepiov TA Ota
‘Tois véols Opéyoucar Kai wapadidotca, THY
Ttadpov apvver kal pudrdttrey éxédevov, ws dV
pev vay év dp0arpois ris martpidos, evKrEés
5é Ounoxew ev yepot pntépwr Kal yuvatxav akiws
THs Sadptns tmecovtas. n 5é Xtdwvis, éxtrodov
ovca Kal’ éavtny, Bpoyov eixev evn pévoV, OTTWS
emt TO Krcovipm pn yevoito Tis TONEWS
anovons.
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PYRRHUS

that Pyrrhus would take supper there with its
owner.
When night had come, the Lacedaemonians at first took counsel to send their women off to Crete, but the women were opposed to this; and Archidamia came with a sword in her hand to the senators and upbraided them in behalf of the women for thinking it meet that they should live after Sparta had perished. Next, it was decided to run a trench parallel with the camp of the enemy, and at either end of it to set their waggons, sinking them to the wheel-hubs in the ground, in order that, thus firmly planted, they might impede the advance of the elephants. When they began to carry out this project, there came to them the women and maidens, some of them in their robes, with tunics girt close, and others in their tunics only, to help the elderly men in the = ~ work. The men who were going to do the fighting the women ordered to keep quiet, and assuming their share of the task they completed with their own hands a third of the trench. The width of the trench was six cubits, its depth four, and its length eight hundred feet, according to Phylarchus ; according to Hieronymus, less than this. When day came and the enemy were putting themselves in motion, these women handed the young men their armour, put the trench in their charge, and told them to guard and defend it, assured that it was sweet to conquer before the eyes of their fatherland, and glorious to die in the arms of their mothers and wives, after a fall that was worthy of Sparta. As for Chilonis, she withdrew from the rest, and kept a halter about her neck, that she might not come into the power of Cleonymus if the city were taken. |

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XXVIII. Autos pev ovv 0 IT dppos éBudtero
KaTAa oTOMNa Tous omAitats 1 pos aarribas TOdAaS
TOV 271g priatav avTiTrapaTeTaypLEevas, Kal Tap pov
ov TepaTny ovde Baow aapary Tois paxopevots
Tapéxovaay vo Xavvornros. o 6é mais TI roAe-
patos, Exwv Sioxedious Tadartas Kat Xaovev
Aoydabas, eer Eas TV fa te €TELPATO Kara Tas

apatas vrepBaivev. a o€ bm Babous Kal TTuK-
VOTNTOS OU [LOVOV TOUTOLS THY epodor, arra Kal Tots
Aaxedarpoviots Stcepyov émoiovvy tHv BonOeav.
avaotevtwy 56 tav Tadatav tovs Tpoxous Kat
UTocupovrwy Tas auakas eis TOV TOTapMOY, KaTi-
Swv tov Kivduvov o veavias "AKpoTaTos Kat THY
Todt Swabpapov pera _Tplaxoaicv mepinr de TOV
Ilrodepaior, ov TUVOPwLEVOS on' avrod dud TWAS
cuykhuvias, éws mpooéBare ToIs eaxdrous Kat
peraBanrovtas qwarynace paxec Bau 7 pOs EauTov,
aoupevous vr adn ov els TE THY Tadpov Kat
TEpt Tats apakaus wimTovTas, AYpt ov pove TON-
Ao pores avexonnaay. éOedvro 5é of Te Tm pea
Burepor Kal TOV yUuvaLK@V TO TAO 0s apiaTevov-
ta tov Axpotatov. érrel dé ane madi dia THs
TONEWS ETL THY AUTOD TakW, AaipwaTos KATATAEWS
Kal yadpos, Urd THs viens emnppévos, Kai peitov
éboke yeyovévar nat KadXiwv tais Aaxaivats, cal
THv Xidovida Tov épwros eCnrovv. trav dé mpec-
Butépav TLves émnxonovbouy Bowvres: " Olve,
| "Axporate, kal oide Tay Xirwvidas povov Bs
ayabous Ta LrapTa Tole.
Kara S& top Ilvppov avrov taxXupas payns
cuverTwONS AdrOL TE AaTIPAS HywVvilovTo, Kal
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XXVIII. Pyrrhus himself, then, with his men-at- arms, tried to force his way directly against the many shields of the Spartans which confronted him, and over a trench which was impassable and afforded his soldiers no firm footing owing to the freshly turned earth. But his son Ptolemy, with two thousand Gauls and picked Chaonians, went round the trench and tried to force a passage where the waggons were. These, however, being so deeply planted in the earth and so close together, made not only his onset, but also the counter-efforts of the Lacedaemonians, a difficult matter. The Gauls pulled the wheels up and were dragging the waggons down into the river ; but the young Acrotatus saw the danger, and run- ning through the city with three hundred men got round behind Ptolemy without being seen by him, owing to some depressions in the ground, and at last fell upon his rear ranks and forced them to turn about and fight with him. And now the Barbarians crowded one another into the trench and fell among the waggons, and finally, after great slaughter, were successfully driven back. The elderly men and the host of women watched the brilliant exploit of Acrotatus. And when he went back again through the city to his allotted post, covered with blood and triumphant, elated with his victory, the Spartan women thought that he had become taller and more beautiful than ever, and envied Chilonis her lover. Moreover, some of the elderly men accompanied him on his way, crying: "Go, Acrotatus, and take to thyself Chilonis; only, see that thou begettest brave sons for Sparta."'

A fierce battle was also waged where Pyrrhus
himself led, and many Spartans made a splendid
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PLUTARCRH'S LIVES

PurANos emi mrEioTOv avTicyov Kal TeEicroUS
aTroxteivas TaVv Bialopévov, ws oOeTo Tpav-
patov TwANnOE TWapadvopevoy EavToOV, EXoTAS TLVE
TOY eTiTeTAaypeVvaY THS yopas Erecev EvTOS TOY
StAwY, Bote wn yeverOar Tov ti UmoO TOL
TONE MLOLS.
XXIX. Nuxtos 6€ 7 uayn Sveepibry Kat Kot-
Ld
pepevos 6 Ilvppos dw elde toravTnv. éddxee
4 a e 69 ? a \ /
BadXrcq8at Kepavvois br' abtod thy Aaxedaipova
\ 4 " > A \ 4 e \ \
Kal préyecOar tracav, avrov 6é yaipev. wo b€
THS Yapas éEeypopevos Tovs TE HryEewovas Exédevev
év TapacKevy Tov otpatov Eye, Kal Tols Pirots
a A /
Sunyeito Tov Gvetpov ws AnYropevos KATA KpaTOS
\ 4 e \ 9 w: , b] 4
THY TOALY. OL Lev OV AAXOL Oaupaciws erreiOovTo,
Avotpay@ 8€é ov« jpecnev 7 OYrts, ANN pn Sedz€-
vat pn, xabatep Ta Baddopeva Tois KEepauvois
avéuBata péver ywpia, cal To Lvpp@ mpoonpaivy
70 Ociov aveicodov écecOar tH ody. o 5é ILvp-
pos elrrwy Ste Tav'Ta pév éott TuAaiKhS oYAAa-
, \ 9 , 4 4 J " \ "
yorylas Kal acodiav éxyovta Todd, éxetvo Sé Set
Ta OTe Sia Yetpav Exovtas UroBdAXew éavtois,
Els olwvos adpiotos apvvecOar wepi uvppou,

A > \ /
éEavéotn Kal mpoonyev du nuépa TOV oTparov.
"Hpdvovto 6€ mpodupia cat dpetn Tapa diva
pivovro dé mpobupig nal dperh mapa divap
e \ fol e Ca) ' ,
ot Aaxedatpovior' Kal Tapnoay ai yuvaixes opéy-
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fight, but particularly Phyllius, who surpassed all in the tenacity of his resistance and the numbers of the on-rushing enemy whom he slew ; and when he perceived that his powers were failing from the multitude of the wounds he had received, he made way for one of his comrades in the line, and fell inside the ranks, that his dead body might not come into the hands of the enemy.

XXIX. Night put an end to the battle; and Pyrrhus, as he slept, had the following vision. He dreamed that Sparta was smitten with thunderbolts from his hand and was all ablaze, and that he was filled with joy. His joy waked him from sleep, and he commanded his officers to get the army ready for action, and narrated his dream to his friends, convinced that he was going to take the city by storm. Most of them, then, were fully persuaded that he was right, but Lysimachus was not pleased with the vision; he said he was afraid lest, as places smitten by thunderbolts are kept free from the tread of men, the Deity might be indicating in advance to Pyrrhus also that the city was not to be entered by him. But Pyrrhus declared that this was nonsense intended for the crowd, and great folly, and calling upon his hearers to take their arms in their hands and act upon the belief that

“One is the best of all omens, to fight in defence of Pyrrhus,’’}

rose up, and at day-break led forth his army.

But the Lacedaemonians defended themselves with an alacrity and bravery beyond their strength; the

1 An adaptation of Iliad, xii. 243, by substituting ‘‘ Pyr- rhus” for ‘‘ one’s country ” (Mvppov for wdrpys).

+ Y , 4 \ a /
ovcat BédXn, Kal ortia Kal totov Tois Seopévots mpoopepoveat, cal avarayBdvovoat Tovs TITPw- aKopévous. Thy Te Ttadpov ot Maxedoves yoov b] ce) \ lel (4 € 9? ETELP@VTO, TOAATNY GUpudopodvTes DANY, Up Hs 6TAa Kal TMpATAa VvEXpaV ETLYEoLeVNS ATrEKPU- N “ a ,

TTETO. Kal pos TovTO TaY AaKedatpoviwy Bon- Oovvtwv OPOn Twapa tHv Tadpov kal Tas apakas o Ilvppos tmmr@ Bralopevos eis THY TOMY. KpavyHS 5é€ TaY KaTa TOUTO TETAYyHéVWV yEevomerns Kat dpo t oOAON D TO DV, Hon pouwov Kal dAoAUVYypLOD TeV yuvatKav, On dtEk-

eravvovte TO Ilvppw Kal mpooKerpév@ tois Kata
mpoowtov é&nAato Kpnrix@ Béder mAnyels o
immos vio THY yaoTépa, Kal KatéBare ducbava-
tav tov IIuppov ets tomous ortcOnpovs Kal
xkatavrets. OopvBovpévwy S€ rept TovTovy Tav
e a

éTaipov érédpapov ot Xraptiatar, al ypw@pevor
tots Bédcow éFéwoay dravtas. é« d€ TovTOU Kai
Thv adAnY paxny Eravev, oidpevos evdwcetv &
tous Aaxedatpoviouvs axedov amdavrwy Katate-
TpwuévwV avTois, TeTTMKOTAY 5é TOoAAOY. 78
ayabn TUXN THS TONES, ETE TELpaY apETHS Aap-
Bavovoa tav avipov, ei0’ éauths, Banu év atropoats
v 4 b) , “~ \ Ww
éyer Suvamy, amroderEwy Sid0vca, poxOnpas 45n
” , 9 , \ 4 9
tav Aaxedatpovioy éyovtwv Tas édTridas "Apecy-
iav te Dwxéa, tav *Avtuyovou atpatnyav, éx
,
Koptv6ov BonOnoovra rapeonyaye peta Edvov,
Kat Tovtov apte Sedeypévwv o Baorirevs avtois
Apeuvs Heev ex Kpnrns dioxytdiouvs otpatiotas
/ wn
Kopitwv. ai te O12 yuvaixes evOUs emi Tas otxias
444

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women, too, were at hand, proffering missiles, dis- tributing food and drink to those who needed them, and taking up the wounded. The Macedonians tried to fill up the trench, collecting and throwing into it great quantities of materials, beneath which the arms and dead bodies were hidden away. And when the Lacedaemonians tried to put a ‘stop to this, Pyrrhus was seen forcing his way on horseback past the trench and the waggons into the city. But the men stationed at this point raised a shout, and there was a concourse and shrieking of the women, and just as Pyrrhus was riding through the waggons and attacking the men in front of him, his horse was wounded in the belly by a Cretan javelin and leaped to one side, and in his death agony threw Pyrrhus upon steep and slippery ground. His companions were thrown into confusion around him, and the Spartans, running upon them and making good use ot their missiles, drove them all off. After this, Pyrrhus brought the fighting to a stop at other points also, thinking that the Spartans would make some con- cessions, now that almost all of them were wounded and many had fallen. But now the good fortune of the city, either because she was satisfied with the bravery of its men, or because she would show forth the great power which she herself has in desperate crises, brought to their aid from Corinth, when the hopes of the Spartans were already sorry, Ameinias the Phocian, one of

the generals of Antigonus, with mercenary troops; and no sooner had he been re- ceived into the city than Areus the Spartan king came from Crete, bringing with him two thousand soldiers. So the women at once dispersed to their

éoxedaaOna ar, ovdév Ett ToAUTIPAy LOVELY UEtovaaL
T@V TONMLKOY, Kal TOUS Tap ALKiay év Tots
Sardots UT' avayKns yevopevous adhévtes abtovs em?
Thy paxyny étafav.
XXX. Tov &€ Tvppov éoye pév tis aden Kal
dirotiwia padrov Ska Tovs mpooyeyovetas Kpa-
THoaL THS TOAEws: ws Sé ovdey érrépaive, TWANYAaS
AaBov anéotn Kat Thy Ywpav érropOe S:avoov-
pevos avToOt xYeipdoat. TO Sé ypewv Fw apuKtov.
év yap "Apyet otdots hv Aptotéouv mpos Apiotitr-
tov. éeme dé 0 Apiotimmos edoxe ypjncOar hiro
T® "Avtiyove, POdacas o 'Aptotéas éxdder Tov
IIvppov eis to" Apyos. o 8é éArridas é& eAtridwy
del xudrivdwr, nal tais peéev evtuyiass én' adXasS
Npwpevos apoppais, & bé Emracev Erépors Bovro-
pevos avatAnpody mpdypacw, obte Hrrav ove
vixny pov émoveito Tov TtapatrTecOat Kal Tapar-
Tetv. evOvs ovv aveCevyvver emi to "Apyos. o &é
"Apeus évédpas te trodXdas vdels xal eataraBov
Ta YadeTwTaTa THS od00 TepltexoTTTe Tos Ta-
Aadtas Kai Tovs Modrogaods omic PodvAaxodvtas.
To Sé Ilvppe wpoeipnto per ex THY iep@v adoBwv
yevouéeva Ud TOD pavTews amoBoAn Tivos TOV
dvayxaiwv, wapa 6€ tov Katpov Tote TH OopvBo
Kal T@ Kivnpatt Tov Aoytopov exKpovabels éxé-
Nevo Tov viov IItoNEpaiov AaBovta Tovs éEraipous
mapaBonOeiv, avtos b€ Oattov éx TeV aTEevoV
épeXKopuevos THY oTpatiay UmHyev. ofetas 6é Tept

homes, since they no longer thought it meet to
busy themselves with the work of war, and the
men, after dismissing from their ranks those of
unmilitary age whom necessity had brought there,
arrayed themselves for battle.
XXX. Pyrrhus, too, was more than ever possessed by a fierce ambition to become master of the city, now

that reinforcements had come to it; but since he could accomplish nothing, and met with fresh losses, he went away, and fell to ravaging the country, purposing to spend the winter there. But Fate was not to be escaped. For at Argos there was a feud between Aristeas and Aristippus; and since Aris- tippus was thought to enjoy the friendship of Anti- gonus, Aristeas hastened to invite Pyrrhus into Argos. Pyrrhus was always entertaining one hope after another, and since he made one success but the starting point for a new one, while he was deter- mined to make good each disaster by a fresh undertaking, he suffered neither defeat nor victory to put.a limit to his troubling himself and troubling others. At once, therefore, he broke camp and set out for Argos. But Areus, by setting frequent ambushes and occupying the most diffi- cult points on the march, kept cutting off the Gauls and Mobossians who brought up the rear for Pyrrhus.

Now, it had been foretold to Pyrrhus by his seer, in consequence of sacrifices where no liver could be found, that he was to lose one of his kindred; but here, unhappily, owing to the agitation and tumult among his rear-guard, he forgot himself, and ordered his son Ptolemy with his comrades to go to the rescue, while he himself drew his army more quickly out of the narrow pass and led them forward. A

tov Illroveuatov paxns yevouevns, Kal T@V éTe-
Aéxtwov Aaxedatpoviov, av KiadKxos yetto, Tots
payouévors mpo avtodD cuuTrEKopévwv, avip
TANKTHS Kai Spapeiv o€vs, "Opvacos dvopa, Kpns

"Amtepaios, €x mAayiov tTapadpayov aywrvito-
pevov éxOvpws TOV veavioxov ématake kal Katé-
Bare. wecovtos Sé éxeivov Kal Tpomwns yevomévns
T@V Tept avTov, of Aaxedaipovuo SimKovtes Kat
Kpatoovres €dabov eis To Tediov cuveuBarovTes
Kat aroAnp0évtes UO TAY oTFALT@V, ef ods O
Illvppos apts tov Oavarov tod tados axnKxows
Kal mepirabav éméotpefre tovs immeis Tov
Modoccav. Kal mpwtos eiceddoas éverripTAATO
te tav Aaxedatpoviwy, del pév TIS dwaxos Kat
elvos év TOs OTAOLs Hatvopevos, TOTE 5é UTEp-
BadXwv rorAun Kat Bia Tovs mpotépous ayavas.
érrel 6¢ érréBare tra EvddKxw tov ior, o pev éx
wrayiov Tapactas pexpov édénoe TO Eiher THv
éml THs vias yeipa Staxdyat tod IIvppou, rhv 8é
nviav matakas améxowev. 0 8€ Ilvppos apa TH
TANYH TOU Sopatos Suedacas Exeivoy atreppuNn TOD
larmov, kat wetos on mavtas él To Evdadno
paxopévous améxteive TOUS Noydbas. Kal péya
TOUTO TH LwapTn Tapavarwpa Tov Todéuou Wé-

pas Exovtos émoince 1) prdotiia Tay apxovTwv.
XXXI. ‘O &€ Ilvppos dorep évaytopov tiva
T® Tradl TEeAéoas Kal AapuTpOY emiTadtoy aywut-
TAMEVOS, KAL TOAD THS AUTNS Ev TH Mpos TOVS
Todepnious adels Oup@, mponyev emt ro “Apryos.
kat tov *Avtiyovoy 45n muvOavopevos én Tav
axpwv rep Tov mrediou KaOjcbat, wept tTHv Nav-
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fierce battle raged where Ptolemy was, and while a band of picked Spartans under the command of Evalcus engaged the soldiers who were fighting in front of him, a man of stout arm and swift foot, Oryssus by name, of Aptera in Crete, ran up on one side of the young prince as he was fighting spiritedly, smote him, and laid him low. Upon Ptolemy’s fall and the rout of his company, the Spartans pursued, carrying all .before them, and before they were aware of it had dashed out into the plain and were cut off by the infantry of Pyrrhus. Against this band of Spartans Pyrrhus, who had just heard of the death of his son and was in 4nguish, turned his Molossian horsemen. He himself charged at their head, and sated himself with Spartan blood. He had always shown himself invincible and terrible in arms, but now his daring and might surpassed all previous displays. When he set his horse upon Evalcus, the Spartan stepped aside and had almost cut off with his sword the bridle-hand of Pyrrhus ; as it was he hit the rein and severed it. Pyrrhus transfixed the Spartan with a thrust of his spear, and at the same instant fell off his horse, and fighting on foot, at once proceeded to slay all the picked band which was fighting over the body of Evalcus. This great additional loss to Sparta when the war was already at an end was due to the ambition of the commanders.

XXXI. So Pyrrhus, after accomplishing as it were an expiation for his son and celebrating his obsequies with a brilliant contest, having also vented much of his grief in his fury against the enemy, led his army on towards Argos. And when he learned that Antigonus was already posted on the heights com-

mALav éaTpatomedeuce. ™ 8 batepaig KnpuKa
7 pos TOV "Avtiryovov érrepmrpe, AUME@VAa TE KAX@Y
Kat TPOKANOVLEVOS els TO Tredvov kataBdvra dia-
yovicac bat Tepl THS Bacrrelas. o 6 a amexpivaro
THY pev avTov oTparnyiay ovxX OmAwr Haddov v7]
Katpov elvat, T@ O€ Tluppe TOANas od0us avew-
yévat T pos Oavaroy, et Sv pa oxonaber. pos dé
Guporépous Tpéa Bets Hcov e& “Apyous, amadXar-
tea0at deoevor Kal TH Tod éav pnder épov
ryevoperny, evvouv b€ ovoav dpxporépots. O pev oop
"AvTiryovos éemeiBero Kal tov viov édidou Tots
"A pyetous & Gpunpov, .0 9 be Tlvppos @pohoryet ev amran-
Naynoes Oar, un Tapéywv S€ Tioctiv UTromWTOTEpOS
nV.
Piverac dé onpeiov avT@ Te 7H Tvppe péya,
TOV yap Body TeOupevoy ai kepada) Keiwevat Vo-
pis 7On Tas TE yorTas apOnaav ™poBdddoveat
Kal TEPiAtX Ww MEVvat TO EQUTOV pévor, éy TE TH
mode tav ‘Apyeiwy 1 Tov Auxeiov Tpophres
"ATOANWVOS eFedpape Boca vEKp@V opay Kai
povov KATATTNEW THY TONY, TOV & Getov emt Tov
ayova xwpodvta, eita povoop elvat.
XXXII. ZKorous bé WoAAOD TpoamiEas o o Il vp-
pos Tots TelXect, Kal mUdnY eUpov Hy Acapmrepés
Kadoboty avemy wevny vmO TOU "Apioréou avrois,
ax pu pev Tov mapera mec eiv tovs Taddtas tovs
Tap’ avtov Kal THY dryopay cataraBeiv ehavOave-
THs be mUANS TOUS éerépavras ov dexopmerns Kal
dia ToUTO TOUS TUpyous avTav aatpovvrwr, elra
mad éy oxotet Kal JopuBp mepitevteov Kal
‘yevoperns dat prBis, ov “Apyeior cuvaraGopevor
mpos tHv ’Aotida Kal Tovs oXUpovs ToTOUS
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manding the plain, he pitched his camp near Nauplia. On the following day he sent a herald to Antigonus, calling him a robber, and challenging him to come down into the plain and fight with him for the kingdom. But Antigonus replied that in conducting a campaign he relied more upon opportunities than upon arms, and that many roads to death lay open to Pyrrhus if he was tired of life. And now to both kings came ambassadors from Argos, entreating them to go away and allow the city to be neutral, but

well-disposed towards both. Antigonus, accord- ingly, consented, and gave his son to the Argives as a hostage ; Pyrrhus also agreed to go away, but since he gave no pledge, he remained under suspicion.

Moreover, Pyrrhus himself had a significant portent;
for the heads of his sacrificed cattle, though they
already lay apart from the bodies, were seen to put
out their tongues and lick up their own gore. And
besides this, in the city of Argos the priestess of
Apollo Lyceius ran forth from the temple crying
that she saw the city full of corpses and slaughter,
and that the eagle which visited the scene of combat
presently vanished away.

XXXII. At dead of night Pyrrhus came up to the walls of the city, and finding that the gate called Diamperes had been thrown open for them by Aristeas, was undiscovered long enough for his Gauls to enter the city and take possession of the market- place. But the gate would not admit his elephants, and therefore the towers had to be taken off their backs and put on again when the animals were inside, in darkness and confusion. This caused delay, and the Argives, taking the alarm, ran up to the Aspis and other strong places of the city, and sending

> 7 N N 9 , ,) , Ul
avéOeov, kai toy Avtiyovoy éxdXouv wéutrovtes.
e \ > AN \ 9 \ , .] v4 AY
o O€ aUTOS péev eyyUS TpoceAdaas éprydpeve, TOUS
5é atpatnyous Kal Tov viov eioérempe ouxXvnY
, SA Ad \ Voy ”
Bonbeay ayovras. mre 5é cai “Apeus éxor yxI-
, A \ , LY 3 14
rious Kpiras nat Yaraptidtas tous éXadppotdrous.
Kal mavres Gua tots Tadatats mpooBadortes ets
\ g S > y id \ Y
qwoXrvuv GopuBov Katéotncay avtous. o 6é Iluppos
eioi@y pet adadaypnov Kal Bons Tapa Thy
KvAdpaBuv, as ot Tadrdrac tots mrepi avtov avTn-
, 5) 9 Y IAN “y Y)
AdAak~ay ovK ttapoy ovdé Bapparéov, cixace
TapaTTopéevwy eivar THY dwvyv Kat TrovovyTwY.
ériyev otv OatTov, @®Oav Tovs TmpOo avTOD TaV
inwéwv dvcododvtas ev Tos OYETOIS, WY 7 TOALS
€oTt peoTH, Kal KtvduvEvoYTas. HY O€ Kal acddea

TOAAN TaV SpwLéevav Kat TapayyeNNOmevon ev vVUK-
a
Topayia, Kal TAAVaL kat Sitaoracpuot rept Tous
\
OTEVWTTOUS, KaL OTpaTHYLas OvdeV Epyor UTO TKO-
A A > ay \ , 9 \ S
Tous Kat Bons axpitov Kal otevotntos, aAAa dté-
ww , 9 , \ Cd 4
TptBov adrws TreptmévovTes auportepoe THY Nuépav.
"Hdn 6€ Staraurovtos 4H te ’Aotis STAY
mepitAews Tovepiwv odVeica tov Ivppov de-
tapake, nai THs ayopas évy TodXois avabnpact
A aA A
KaTLow@y AVKOY YaXKOUY Kai Tavpov olop Eis "aYNY
+) t , 9 , g N
adrnrLs cuviovtas eEeTNAYN, KYPNO Lov TLVva TT POS
\ a“ A
éauTOV aveveyK@V Tandalov, ws atodaveiy avT@
a S
wempwpuevoy Stay AvKov ibn TaYPW payopeEvoD.
travta be Apyeiot mdfous viropynpata tada.od
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to Antigonus called upon him for help. Antigonus marched up close to the city, and lying in wait there himself, sent his generals and his son inside with a considerable relief-force. Areus also came, with a thousand Cretans and Spartans (the most lightly armed). All these troops united in an assault upon the Gauls and threw them into great confusion. And Pyrrhus, who now entered the city with shouts and cries by way of Cylarabis,! noticed that the Gauls did not answer his men with any vigour or courage, and therefore conjectured that their response was that of men confounded and in distress. Accordingly, he led on faster, pushing along the horsemen in front of him, who were making their way with difficulty among the water-conduits, of which the city is full, and were in peril of their lives from them. And now, in this night-battle, there was great uncertainty as to what commands were given and how the commands were carried out; men straggled and lost their way among the narrow streets, and generalship was of no avail owing to the darkness, confused shouting, and confined spaces; both parties therefore were unable to accomplish anything and waited for the day.

But when at last it began to grow light, the sight of the Aspis filled with armed enemies greatly disturbed Pyrrhus; moreover, among the numerous votive-offerings in the market- place he caught sight -of a wolf and bull in bronze, represented as closing with one another in battle, and he was dumbfounded, for he called to mind an ancient oracle regarding himself which declared that it was fated for him to die when he saw a wolf fighting with a bull. Now, the Argives say that these figures were set up in

1 A gymnasium just outside the city towards the East.

a ? 9 a Va af ev
yevevqoOa tap avtois Néyovot. Aava@ yap, ote
mpatov éTméBn THS Ywpas Kata Ta Ilupapwia tijs
" a
@vpedtidos, ets" Apyos tropevopeve AVKov havijvar
, \ \
Tavpw payopuevov: Oéuevov S€ tov Aavacoy ws o
NUKOS ein POS AUTO (Eévov yap dvTa Tols éyKo-
/ ? cf / > 7] a \
plots émitiOecOar xabdtep avtov), épopav tH
paxynv, cal Tod AVKOV KpaTnoayvTos "ATOAN@VI
AvKeig mpocevEdpevov éemiyepjoat Kat Tept-
yevér Oat, orace: Veddvopos, ds Tote Tov "Apyetwy
éBacirevev, éxtrecovTos. TO peév ovv avdOnua
TovTov elye TOY AOYov.

XXXIII. pos 5€ thy dyev o [lvppos dua Kat

A be Aa wv] -~ aé aA > ,
T@ pnoev wv nrATibe' mpoywpeiv aGupav avacT pé-
dev Svevoeito: tas dé wvdNas oTevds ovcas po-
, " \ \ CN of \ "A
Bovpevos Eee mpos tov viov" EXevov peta TIS
TOAAHS Ouvapews Ew KaTaredetupméevov, KeNEV@V
Tov Tetyous SiacKkdmrey Kat SéyerOar Tous éxTris-
TovTAas, GV EVOYABMGLY Ol TOAEULOL. TTrOVSH Sé Kai
GopuBo Tov weupOévros ovdév capes atrayyédXov-
\ , a ,
ToS, AAA Kal dvapaptias yevouevns, Ta Onpiwy Ta
NLT KaLoTpaTLOTas dvadaBov TOS KpaTioToOUS
0 veavioKos clow Sia TOV TUAGDY Exwpet TO TraTpl
4 " \, e¢ 4 > , 4 \
BonOnowv. érvye dé 0 Ilvppos avactpépwv Hon. Kat
MEX pl ev 7) Ayopa Trapetyev UreEdyovTL Ywpav Kal
paxoueveo, ex petaBor(ANs nuvvero Tovs éemipepo-
pévous: ere -6€ THS ayopas els TOV oTEVwTTOV
éEwobeis Tov emi THY WUANY avnKOVTAa CUVEeTITTTE
tois émtBonOovow &€& évavtias mpocdpepopéevors, ot
1 #ami(e Coraés, Bekker, and Blass, with the MSS.: #amee.

their market-place as memorials of an ancient event. Namely, when Danaiis first landed in the country, near Pyramia in the district of Thyreatis, and was on his way to Argos, he saw a wolf fighting with a-bull ; and conceiving that he himself was represented by the wolf (since both were strangers and were attacking the natives), he watched the battle to its end, and when the wolf had prevailed, paid his vows to Apollo Lyceius (the wolf-god), attacked the city, and was victorious, after Gelanor, who was at that time king of Argos, had been driven out by a faction. This, then, was the significance of the dedication.!

XXXIII. Dejected at this sight, as well as because none of his hopes were being realized, Pyrrhus purposed to retreat; but fearing the narrowness of the gates he sent to his son Helenus, who had been left outside the city with the greater part of the forces, ordering him to tear down part of the wall and succour those who rushed out through the breach, in case the enemy molested them. Owing to the haste and tumult, however, the messenger brought no clear orders, but actually made a mistake, and the young prince, taking the rest of the elephants and the best of his soldiers, marched through the gate into the city to help his father. But Pyrrhus was already on the retreat. And as long as the market- place afforded him room for withdrawing and fighting, he would turn and repel his assailants; but after he had been driven out of the market-place into the narrow street which led up to the gate, and en- countered those who were rushing to his aid from the opposite direction, some of these could not hear

1 Cf. Pausanias, ii. 19, 3.

\ 9 e , e ra) A 9 a Q
fev ovY vIrnkovoy UTroywpety BowyTos avTod, TOUS
dé xal mavu mpoPupous dvtas eipyov ot KaToTLV
\ ” e
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‘ > a“ 4 , ‘ \
edehas €v TH WUAN WAayLOS Tapatrecwy Kat Bov-

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“A , 4 4 4 @
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aTroppvevTa Tov émrtaTaTny VITO Tpavpdrav Cntav
avaraBeiv Kal Pepopevos ™mpos TovvavTiov Tots
umeEayovowy, avéurte hirouvs o“ov Kal qoAEuLous
@Ooupévous br avTod: Kal TeptémuTToV dAAHAOLS,
Ews eupmy vexpov avetreTo TH TpoBooKic:, Kat
A 9 ce) b 4 e \ > -
Tots ddovc apdorépos vrokaBav avéotpede
/
Tad OoTep é“pavnys, avatpéTron Kal drapOelpwv
Tous évtuyydvovtas. ovTw 5é OrArBouévwv xal
/ \ J f > \ 3 OA e@ A
TULTLAOUPLEVOY POS AAAAOVS OVdELS OvdSEeY EAUTO
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la) ,
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Ketmévous omicbev, mrciota b€ EéauTovs cipya-
Covto kakd. omacapevoyv yap To Ethos 7) KAivavTa
NOYXNY ove Hv avaraBeiv ovdé catabécOar Tarxy,
9 % 9 a 9 ? 4 \ “~ , \
GAN’ éywper Ou’ wy Eruye TH TOLavTAa TTavTa, Kal
, > 4, ”
TepiTimTovTes GAANnAOLS EOvyTKoD.
“A \
XXXIV. ‘O dé Ilvppos éfopay tov weptéxovra
Yetuava cal Krvdwva, THY wev aoTepavny, 7) Sud-
@ X. , 9 \ 64 / fe) e s
onpov hv TO Kpavos, aherov EdwKé Tive TOV ETAi-
pov, avros 5€ To imm@ tetoOas els ToOvs
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PYRRHUS

him when he called out to them to withdraw, and those who did, even though they were very ready to obey him, were kept from doing so by those who were pouring in behind them from the gate. For the

largest of the elephants had fallen athwart the gate- way ! and lay there roaring, in the way of those who would have turned back; and another elephant, one of those which had gone on into the city, Nicon by name, seeking to recover his rider, who had fallen from his back in consequence of wounds, and dashing in the face of those who were trying to get out, crowded friends and foes alike together in a pro- miscuous throng, until, having found the body of his master, he took it up with his proboscis, laid it across his two tusks, and turned back as if crazed, over- throwing and killing those who came in his way. Thus crushed and matted together not a man of them could act at all for himself, but the whole multitude, bolted together, as it were, into one body, kept rolling and swaying this way: and that. Little fighting could be done against those of the enemy who were continually being caught up into their ranks or attacking them from the rear, and they wrought most harm to themselves. For when a man had drawn his sword or poised his spear, he could not recover or sheathe his weapon again, but it would pass through those who stood in its way, and so they died from one another's blows.

XXXIV. But Pyrrhus, seeing the stormy sea that surged about him, took off the coronal, with which his helmet was distinguished, and gave it to one of his companions ; then, relying on his horse, he plunged in among the enemy who were pursuing

1 «De travers tout au beau milieu de la porte " (Amyot).

ET OMEVOUS TOV. TONEMLOY évéBare, Kat Sopare mnyels 51a Tov Owpaxos ov Katpiay wnynY ovde peyadny emeaT pewe KaTa TOU mardtavros, 6 OS Hy "A pryeios, ov Tay eTrLepaver, adda Teviypas Kal mpeaButépas vids yuvairos. airy TOTE Jew- evn THY payny domep at Routrat yuvaires a6 Tou TEYOUS, WS em eyven cuver TATA 7@ Lvpp@ tov viov, exTradns 'yevopevn pos Tov Kivduvor, apaca Kepapioa Tais Yepotv auporEepais apnev emt TOV Ilvppov. eumecovans dé T7 Kepanij KATA TOU xpavous, Kal TOV cpovdurwv 7 pos Tv Baow Tov TpaX7rov curt pBevTor, ai Te dypets cuvexvOnoav autov Kal 7 ponkavTo Tas jvias at Xetpes. aurTos b¢ KATEVE Geis Tapa TOV Tov _Acxupviou oNKOV Emeoev VITO TMV TOO dryvooupevos. Zur upos 5é TEs TOV Tapa "Avtuyov@ oT paTevopEevo" Kal Sv0 7) Tpeis ETE pot pod Spa.movTes kat KaTavon- TayTeEs els tiva* Oupa@va TapelAKvoay auTov ap- Xopevov EK THS TANYHS avapeper Oar. TTATApLEVvov 686 «TOD Lom vpov" paxarpav "TAdupenny OS THY Keharny atroTEewovvtos évéBrewe devvor, dare Tov

Zamupov mepipoBov ryevouevor, Kal Ta pev Tpe-
fovra Tais xepst, Ta bé € emixerpoovTa, PopvBou dé
Kal Tapaxiis plea TOV ovta, pay xat op0ov, drdXr.a
mapa TO cron kal TO syeverov aTrOoTeuvovTa Bpa-
déws Kai pores amoon da at THY Keparnv. dn dé
a uvdndov Hv TO ‘yeyoves WhEloct, Kal mpoc Spay
o’AXxvoveds nTNoE THY ceparny as ay KaTavor-
cwy. AaBov be apinmevoe MT pos TOV TaTépa, Kal
KcabeConévep pera TOV pirwv 7 poo éBare. Jeaca-
pevos 6€ Kal yvovs o ’Avtiyovos tov pév viov
“

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him. Here he was wounded by a spear which pierced his breastplate—not a mortal, nor even a severe wound—and turned upon the man who had struck ° him, who was an Argive, not of illustrious birth, but the son of a poor old woman. His mother, like the rest of the women, was at this moment watching the battle from the house-top, and when she saw that her son was engaged in conflict with Pyrrhus, she was filled with distress in view of the danger to him, and lifting up a tile with both her hands threw it at Pyrrhus. It fell upon his head below his helmet and crushed the vertebrae at the base of his neck, so that his sight was blurred and his hands dropped the reins. Then he sank down from his horse and fell near the tomb of Licymnius,! unrecognised by most who saw him. But a certain Zopyrus, who was serving under Antigonus, and two or three others, ran up to him, saw who he was, and dragged him into a door-way just as he was beginning to recover from the blow. And when Zopyrus drew an Illyrian short-sword with which to cut off his head, Pyrrhus gave him a terrible look, so that Zopyrus was frightened ; his hands trembled, and yet he essayed the deed; but being full of alarm and confusion his blow did not fall true, but along the mouth and chin, so that it was only slowly and with difficulty that he severed the head. Presently what had happened was known to many, and Alcyoneus, running to the spot, asked for the head as if he would See whose it was. But when he had got it he rode away to his father, and cast it down before him as he sat among his friends. Antigonus, however, when he saw and recognised the head, drove his son

1 Cf. Pausanias, ii. 22, 8.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

? , a 4 4 ‘ “ ; ol

amnrace TH Baxtynpia Traiwy Kat Kadov évayn
\ 4 > AN A \ U 4
xai BapBapoy, avtos bY THY XAapmvda TpODEpLEVOS
: “ b) “
Tois Oupaci édaxpvoev, Avtiyovou Tov TamTrov
pvnobels Kal Anuntpiov tov matpos, oixeiwy
wapaderypatwy eis TUXYNS peTABOANY.
Q fo) “~
5 Thy pév ody xeharnv nal to capa Tod Ivppou
9 a
xoopnoas éxavoevy émei S€ 6 ‘Adxvoveds TO
‘EXr€v@ Tepituy@y TaTrewv@ Kal YAapmvdsoy ALTO
dpmreyopéevp diravOpwrws évetvye kat TO TaTpi
, e
mpoanyuyev, av o Avtiyovos “ BeXtiova pep,”
cimev, “@ Tat, TAUTAa THY TpoTépwY,' aX’ OvdE
pov op0as TO hn TWeptereiv THv ec OHTA TavTHY, 7}
padXov nas KaTaloyuUveEL TOUS KpaTety SoxodvTas.”
6 éx TovTov diroppovnadpevos Kal KoopHnoas TOV
” > >” ek A ,
ExXevov ameéorerrev evs “Harecpov, nai tots didors
tov Ilvppov mpaws eveT UY XY avE Tov oTpatomédou
Kal THs Suvdpews aos KUpLOS yevopeEvos.
1 xporépwy Bekker adopts the wxpdérepov of Muretus.

away, smiting him with his staff and calling him impious and barbarous ; then, covering his face with his cloak he burst into tears, calling to mind Antigonus his grandfather and Demetrius his father, who were examples in his own family of a reversal of fortune.

The head’and body of Pyrrhus, then, Antigonus caused to be adorned for burial and burned; and when Alcyoneus found Helenus in an abject state and wearing a paltry cloak, and spoke to him kindly ‘and brought him into the presence of his father, Antigonus was pleased with his conduct, and said: “‘ This is better, my son, than what thou didst before ; but not even now hast thou done well in allowing this clothing to remain, which is a disgrace the rather to us who are held to be the victors.’ Then, after showing kindness to Helemus and adorning his person, he sent him back to Epeirus, and he dealt mildly with the friends of Pyrrhus when he became - master of their camp and of their whole force.

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CAIUS MARIUS

rAIOZ MAPIOZ

I. Tatov Mapiov tpirov ovx EXomeY EvTTELY
ovopa, xabamep ovdé Koivrou Leptwpiov TOU
KATATXOVTOS "T8npiar, ovde Aevxiov Moppiou
-od Kopuvdov éhovTos") yap "Ayaixos TouT@ ye
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olov tov Kapthrov Kal TOV Mdpxedaov Kal Tov
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b€ é éautov ott TOUT® TO NOYO TAAL avros ave-
yujmous Totel” Tas yuvaixas: oddemed yap yuvackd
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Tov dé adAwy To pev KOLVOV GTO ouryyeveias, TOUS
Topmnious kai tous Maddious Kal TOUS Kopyna-
tous (Borep a av ‘Hpakreidas Tes elmo Kal Tedo-
midas), TovTO b¢ T poo nyopLeov ef émBérov pos
Tas duces iH) TAS mpates i Ta TOU TH UATOS edn
Kal ™aOn Tie Ga, TOV Maxpivov eal TOV Toup-
KovaTov Kal tov YvAXayv (olov éotiv o Myynpov 7
o I‘purros o KadnXivxos). eis pev ody Tatra
1 dy a dvwydpous Ziegler, after Schaefer : d&vwvupous. * wovet Bekker and Ziegler, after Coraés: mocetra:.

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I. Or a third name for Caius Marius we are ignorant, as we are in the case of Quintus Sertorius the subduer of Spain, and of Lucius Mummius the captor of Corinth ; for Mummius received the surname of Achaicus from his great exploit, as Scipio received that of Africanus, and Metellus that of Macedonicus. From this circumstance particularly Poseidonius thinks to confute those who hold that the third name is the Roman proper name, as, for instance; Camillus, Marcellus, or Cato; for if that were so, he says, then those with only two names would have had no proper name at all. But it escapes his notice that his own line of reasoning, if extended to women, robs them of their proper names; for no woman is given the first name, which Poseidonius thinks was the proper name among the Romans. Moreover, of the other two names, one was common to the whole family, as in the case of the Pompeii, the Manlii, or the Cornelii

(just as a Greek might speak of the Heracleidae or the Pelopidae), and the other was a cognomen or epithet, given with reference to their natures or their actions, or to their bodily appearances or defects, Macrinus, for example, or Torquatus, or Sulla (like the Greek Mnemon, Grypus, or Callinicus).!_ However,

1 The full name of a Roman citizen consisted of a praeno- men (the ‘‘ given,” or ‘‘ proper” name), a nomen designating his family or gens, and a cognomen, which was also heredi-

ditary. Women rarely had a praenomen, or ‘‘ proper” name, but bore the family name only.

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avopata.
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ketpevnv év “PaBévvn tis Tadarias eeopcda
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TONEMLKOS YEVOMEVOS, KAL OTPATLWTLKAS [LaAXOV 7)
TOALTLKHS Traldelas petadaBov, axpatov év tais
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para pabeiy ‘EXAnvica pte yA@TTyH TpOS pNndev
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ToATelals apoppotatnyv éméOnne xopwvida, vd

Ovpov Kai dirapxias awpou Kal reoveEL@v arra-
PNYOPHTwWY Els @poTaTOY Kal aypLwTaTOV yapas
éEoxeiNas. TadTa peév ovdv eri TaY Tpakewy avTaY
eVOvs Oewpeicbw.
III. Tevopevos 5€ yovéwy mavtatraci Bbokwr,
avToupyav 5€ Kal TeviTwY, TATPOS MeV OMwVUpOU,
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pntpos 6¢ Povrxuvias, owe tote. Twodw elde Kal

in these matters the irregularity of custom furnishes
many topics for discussion.
II. As for the personal appearance of Marius, we have seen a marble statue of him at Ravenna in Gaul, and it very well portrays the harshness and bitter- ness of character which are ascribed to him. For since he was naturally virile and fond of war, and since he received a training in military rather than in civil life, his temper was fierce when he came to exercise authority. Moreover, we are told that he never studied Greek literature, and never used the Greek language for any matter of real importance, thinking it ridiculous to study a literature the teachers of which were the subjects of another people ; and when, after his second triumph and at the consecration of some temple, he furnished the public with Greek spectacles, though he came into the theatre, he merely sat down, and at once went away. Accordingly, just as Plato was wont to say often to Xenocrates the philosopher, who had the reputation of being rather morose in his disposition, ‘‘ My good Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces,” so if Marius could have been persuaded to sacrifice to the Greek Muses and Graces, he would not have put the ugliest possible crown upon a most illustrious career in field and forum, nor have been driven by the blasts of passion, ill-timed ambition, and insatiable greed upon the shore of a most cruel and savage old age. However, his actual career shall at once bring this into clear view.

III. Born of parents who were altogether obscure —poor people who lived by the labour of their own hands (Marius was his father’s name, Fulcinia that of his mother), it was not till late that he saw the city

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TmoduTeAcias SuepOappévois ETirye Tois oTparev-
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Bane ev der tov atpatnyov. d10 Tals Te AAAAaLS
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jTapovtwy évos elite GAnO@sS SiaTropynaavTos eEtTe
Tpos noovny épomevov Tov Lentiwva iva 67
A b] n~
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n a“ a
0 ‘Pwpaiwy Shpuos, virepxataxetpévov tov Mapiou
“A ‘ e ,
TH Yelp TOY @mov npéua tratd~as o XKntiwv,
ome Se aA » 8 ef >p rN @ © A
Taya 6€ TrovTov, eimrev. ovTws evpuns Tv o pep.
J, “~ e A >) “A
éx perpaxiov davynvar péyas, o 5€ amo THs apyns
TO TEAOS VOCAL.
IV. Tov & otv Mapiov iro tavrns Aéyerae
4, A A (4 e ‘ , : 4
padtota THS hwvis, @owep UTO Oeias KANSOVOS,
A “A N
érrapOévra Tais éXtricly OpenoaLt TpPOS THY TrOAL-
i" lA
Telav, Kal Tuxety Snwapyias Kextrliov MetédXov
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CAIUS MARIUS

or got a taste of city ways. Inthe meantime he lived at Cirrhaeaton,} a village in the territory of Arpinum, in a manner that was quite rude when compared with the polished life of a city, but temperate, and in harmony with the rearing which the ancient Romans gave their. children. His first service as a soldier was

in a campaign against the Celtiberians, when Scipio Africanus was besieging Numantia,? and he attracted the notice of his general’ by excelling the other young men in bravery, and by his very. cheerful acceptance of the changed regimen which | Scipio introduced into his army when it was spoiled by luxury and extravagance. It is said, too, that he -encountered‘and laid low an enemy in the sight of his general. Therefore he was advanced by his commander to’ many honours; and once, when the talk after supper had to do with generals, and one of the company (either because he really wished to know or merely sought to please) asked Scipio where the Roman people would find any such chieftain and leader to follow him, Scipio, gently tapping Marius on the shoulder as he reclined next him, said : “Here, perhaps.” So gifted by nature were both men ; the one in showing himself great while still a young man, and the other in discerning the end from the beginning.

IV. So, then, Marius, filled with high hopes, we are told, by this speech of Scipio in particular, as if . it were a divine utterance in prophecy, set out upon a political career, and’ was made tribune of the people? with the assistance of Caecilius Metellus, of

1 Probably a corruption for Cereatae.
2 134-133 B.C.
7 In 119 B.c., at the age of thirty-eight.

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EVLT TAMEVOS Korras 6 0 UTraToS TUVETTELTE tTnv Bov-
ANY TO Lev vom paxesBau, Tov dé Mdpvoy Kanetv
Noryov udéEovta. Kal Tob Soypiaros ToUTOU ypa-
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ai meTéTrerta mpagets édwxar, yreirnoe tov Kor-
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nyopel T@ UTrdTo, Mapuos dé TOV vmNpeTNY peta.
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app orépous @S pnoeTépors Tapa To ovpdépov

Xapelopevos.
V. Mera 6é€ thy Snpuapxiav aryopavopiay THY
peitova trapnyyetre. Svo ydp eiot takes aryo-
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whose house he had always been an hereditary

adherent. While serving as tribune he introduced a --~

law concerning the mode of voting, which, as it was' thought, would lessen the power of the nobles in judicial cases; whereupon Cotta the consul opposed him and persuaded the senate to contest the law, and to summon Marius before it to explain his pro- _ cedure. The senate voted to do this, and Marius

appeared before it. He did not, however, behave like a young man who had just entered political life without any brilliant services behind him, but assumed at once the assurance which his subsequent achievements gave him, and threatened to hale Cotta off to prison unless he had the vote rescinded. Cotta then turned to Metellus and asked him to express his opinion, and Metellus, rising in his 'place, concurred with the consul; but Marius called in the officer and ordered him to conduct Metellus himself to prison. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, but none of them came to his support, so the senate gave way and rescinded its vote. Marius therefore came forth in triumph to the people and got them to ratify his law. Men now thought him superior to fear, unmoved by respect of persons, and a formidable champion of the people in opposition to the senate. However, this opinion was quickly modified by another political procedure of his. For when a law was introduced providing for the distribution of grain to the citizens, he opposed it most strenuously and carried the day, thereby winning for himself an equal place in the esteem of both parties as a man who favoured neither at the expense of the general good.

V. After his tribuneship, he became a candidate for the higher aedileship, For there are two classes

pavouiav, 7 péev ato Tav didpwy tav ayKu-
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A a b]
éyovoa Tovvopa TIS apyns, THY 8 Umodeectépav
Snpwotixny Kkarovow. Grav dé Tovs évTipoTépous
A , \ A
EXwvTal Tept TMV ETENwWY TAY THY Hdov Aap-
° \ 4
Bavovowv. was otv o Mapios havepos hv Nectropevos
év éxeivyn, TaXU peTacTas avdis Aree THY éTépav.
’ \ 2: \ 2 > 4 \
Sofas b€ Opacus eivat kai avOddns amétuye Kat
\ > e , a AY 9 J A
Suow év nuépa pad wepimecwv arrotevéectv, 6
” wv > \ \ e / “
pndels Erradev Ardross, oV5E pixpov UdHKato TOD
ppovnpatos, totepov 5é ov TOAA@ oTpaTnyiay
‘ > / 7 2 a ” \
peTeAOwy Oriyov édénoev éxtrecciv, Exyatos bé
Tavrwv avayopevbels Sinn Exye Sexac pov.
é ,
Mandiora dé broiav mapéoxye Kacotov Xa-
, > 7 > A\ > A A ,
Baxwvos otKérns ofOels évtos tav Spuddxtay
a / \ , e DS
avapepsywéevos Tots pépovar Tas wndous’ oO yap
A a“ /
LaBaxwv jv éraipos év trois padtota Mapiov.
\ S a e \ a A ” A \
KrANOels odv OUTOS UO ToY SixacTaY Epyn Sta TO
n , e \ > A N N
Kkabpa Sipnoas bdwp uypov aitjoat Kat Tov
/ a
oixérny éxovTa ToTnplov eizedAOeivy pos avTor,
9 9 3 \ v , t N 9 e \
eit evOUS olyecOat TLovTos. ovTOS peVv OdVY UTFO
“A \ A a a a“
TOV peTa TAVTA Tinta e&érEecve THS BovA‘s,
? , 3 aA na 4 A A AY
émuTnoetos elvar traQety tovTo Sofas 7 Sta THY
4, A N \ > , 9 AY \ \
Wevdouaptupiav 7 Sta THY dxpaciav: émi 5é Tov
Mapuov cai Mdios “Epéviios paptus eiaaxPeis ovn
épn TdaTploy civat KaTapapTupely TEAAT@V, d\AA
TOV vosov adiévat tavTns THS avayKns TOUS
Tat pwvas (oUTwWS yap ot ‘Pwuaios Tovs TpooTaTas
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of aediles, one taking its name of " curule"' from the chairs with curving feet on which the magistrates sit in the exercise of their functions, the other, and the inferior, being called " plebeian.'' When the superior aediles have been elected, the people cast a second vote for the others. Accordingly, when it was clear that Marius was losing his election to the higher office, he immediately changed his tactics and applied for the other. But men thought him bold and obstinate, and he was defeated ; nevertheless, al- though he had met with two failures in one day,a thing which had never happened to any candidate before, he did not lower his assurance in the least, but not long afterwards becante a candidate for the praetorship + and narrowly missed defeat; he was returned last of all, and was prosecuted for bribery. Suspicion was chiefly aroused by the sight of a ser- vant of Cassius Sabaco inside the palings among the voters ; for Sabaco was an especial friend of Marius. Sabaco was therefore summoned before the court, and testified that the heat had made him so thirsty that he had called for cold water, and that his servant had come in to him with a cup, and had then at once gone away after his master had drunk. Sabaco, how- ever, was expelled from the senate by the censors of the next year, and it was thought that he deserved this punishment, either because he had given false testimony, or because of his intemperance. But Caius Herennius also was brought in as a witness against Marius, and pleaded that it was contrary to estab- lished usage for patrons (the Roman term for our representatives at law) to bear witness against clients, and that the law relieved them of this necessity ; and

1 In 115 B.c.

Kanovct), Tov © 'Epevviov oikou TOUS Mapiou
yoveis kat Madpuov avrov é& axis yeyovevar
mehadTas. amrodeEapevwv 5é THY aTroppna tv THS
papTtupias TOV Sicacrey avTos a avreimev O Mdpuos
Wpos Tov 'Epévviov @s, OTE TpPWTOY adpxov avn-
yopevn, Tov mwedxatnv éxBeRnxws: Srep Hv ov
TavTanacw anrnbes. dpxn yap ov Taoca TOV
ve wel mpooTarny aTaANGO TEL TOUS TuxXovTas
avTOUS kal yévos, GND' a TOV dyxuroroba Oippov
0 vO [10S didwatv. ov pny addra Tals Tporass 7 pe
pats €v TH dixn KAKOS TOdTTWV Oo Mapvos wal
Xarerrois XPwpevos TOUS dixactais, TH TeAEUTALa
Taparoyws amépuyey iowy tav >Andwy yevo-
pévov.

VI. "Ep pev ow TH orpatnyia HET pis err au-
voupevov éauTov Taper xe. peta, é Tv oT patn-
ylay KANP@ AaBov THY exTOS TAnplav eyerau
xabapar AnaTnpiov THY érrapyiav av7}wepov ovoav
ére Tois Otc pois Kal Onpisdn, Kal TO Ano reverv
ovme TOTE trav "lBnpwv ouxt nadia Tov myou-
weve. év &¢ Th ToALTELa YEvopevos ovK elyev

ouTe TOUTOV ovTe Aovyov, ols 7 MYOV | ol TOTE padiora
Tepe wevoL TOV Ofpov. auTHy dé THY avdtaow Tov
Ppovnwaros Kal TO Tepl ToUs movous évdehexes
auTov Kai TO) SnworiKov THs Staitns év tet omToven
TiBenéevwv TOY TrOAT@Y NUEdVETO TH TLL Tpos
duvapiv, Bote Kal ydpov yhyas AapTpov oixias
émipavods THs Katodpov ‘lovAlav, Hs mv aden-
gidods Kaicap o Xpavous DaTepov ‘Po paior pérye-
TOS YEVOMEVOS Kal TL Kar’ olKelornTa fnrt\ooas
Mdpuop, ws év Tots epi éxeivou yéypamrat.
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not only the parents of Marius but Marius himself had originally ‘been clients of the house of the Herennii. The jurors accepted this plea in avoidance of testimony, but Marius himself contradicted Herennius, declaring that as soon as he had been elected to his magistracy he had ceased to be a client; which was not altogether true. For it is not every magistracy that frees its occupants {as well as their posterity) from their relations to a patron, but only that to which the law assigns the curule chair. However, although during the first days of the trial Marius fared badly and found the jurors severe towards him, on the last day, contrary to all expectation, there was a tie vote and he was acquitted.

VI. Well, then, for his praetorship Marius got only moderate commendation, After his praetorship, however, the province of Farther Spain was allotted to him, and here he is said to have cleared away the robbers, although the province was still uncivilized in its customs and in a savage state, and robbery was at that time still considered a most honourable occu- pation by the Spaniards. But when he returned to political life, he had neither wealth nor eloquence, with which the magnates of the time used to influence the people. Still, the very intensity of his assurance, his indefatigable labours, and his plain and simple way of living, won him a certain popularity among his fellow citizens, and his honours brought him increasing\influence, so that he married into the illustrious family of the Caesars and became the husband of Julia, who was the aunt of that Caesar who in after times became greatest among the Romans, and in some degree, because of his relationship, made Marius his example, as I have stated in his Life.!

1 See the Caesar, v. 1 f.
475

3 Te dé Mapio cal cwdpocivny paptupoicr Kai
4 a \ \ \ ,
Kaptepiav, Hs Seiya Kal TO TeEpl THY YEeLpoupyiav
éotiv. i€tav yap, ws Eorxe, peyddXwy avarrews
\
dudw Ta GKéAn yeyovws Kal THY dpop-
Ta N ~
gdiav ducyepaivwy éyvw tapacyel éavtov TO

iatp@’ Kal twapéoyey adetos Oatepov oKéXos,
+ O\ \ + QA 4 > \ “ “
ovdev xivnbeis ovdé otevdEas, Adda KabecTaTL TO
TpocwnT@ Kal peta aiwmrns vrepBorus Tivas
” A A 2
dryndovwy év Tais Touats avacyopuevros. tov §
A 4
taTpov peTiovTos emit Oarepov ovKéte Tapécye,
dycas ‘opayv to émavopOwpa Ths adryndovos ovK
a€vov.
VII. ’Enet 5€ Kextdsos Méreddros arrodery eis 409
\ 9
emt tov kata louyoupOa todepov itratos otpa-
N > tA > 4 \ 4
tnyos ets AuBunv émnyayeto tpecBeuvtnvy Mapuov,
évrav0a mpdkewv peydrwy kai AauTpaV ayovwy
\ , .
émidaBopevos TO wev avéery Tov MéteAXOv, WotrEp
.Y 4 n~
ot AoLTrol, Kal TroNtTEvVedOaL Trpos éxeivoV claceE
yaipev: uaktav dé ovy ro MerédXov KexaArjo bas
4 N a
mpeaBevtns, uTo o€ THS TUXNS Els EdpUéaTAaTOY
‘ ¢ A :
Kalpov opov Kal péytoTov eiadyecOat mpakewy
4 A
2 Oéatpov, éemedetxvuTo Tacay avdpayabiav. Kai
\ a / A a
TOAAG TOU TrOAéuou SucyepH HépovTos ovTE TAV
\ , e a A
eyadwv TiVa TOVwWY VIroTpécas OUTE TAY LLiKPaDV
’ , > \ N N ¢ , > ,
atraEiwaas, GNA TOUS MeV OmoTipmous evBouMa
\ i a : , e ,
kal mpovog Tod cuppépovtos vmepBadrAopevos,
N \ , e \ ,
mpos S€ TOUS oTpaTLwTas UTép eEvTEAELAS Kal
, 6 , v7 v7 \
KapTEplas OlaptdrAwmEevos EUVOLaAY eae TrOAAHY
> “A oe A
3 Tap a@uTois. OAWS Ev yap EoLKE TOU KapveLY
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CAIUS MARIUS

There is testimony both to the temperance of Marius, and also to his fortitude, of which his be- haviour under a surgical operation is a proof. He was afflicted in both legs, as it would appear, with varicose veins, and as he disliked the deformity, he resolved to put himself into the physician's hands. Refusing to be bound, he presented to him one leg, and then, without a motion or a groan, but with a steadfast countenance and in silence, endured incred- ible pain under the knife. When, however, the physician was proceeding to treat the other leg, Marius would suffer him no further, declaring that he saw the cure to be not worth the pain.

. VIE. When Caecilius Metellus the. consul was ap- pointed commander-in-chief for the war against Jugurtha,! he took Marius with him to Africa in the capacity of legate. Here, in essaying great exploits and brilliant struggles, Marius was not careful, like the rest, to enhance the glory of Metellus and conduct himself in his interests; and deeming that he had not so much been called by Metellus to the office of legate as he was being introduced by Fortune into a most favourable opportunity as well as a most spacious theatre for exploits, he made a display of every sort of bravery. And though the war brought many hardships, he neither shunned any great labour, nor disdained any that were small, but surpassed the officers of his own rank in giving good counsel and foreseeing what was advantageous, and vied with the common soldiers in frugality and endurance, thereby winning much goodwill among them. For as a general thing it would seem that every man finds

1 In 109 B.c.

e ,
EXAaCTO TapapvOia TO-cUyKapVOY Exovaiws elvat:
Soxei yap adarpeivy thy avayknv: 'Adtotov be
e ,
Pwpaio Béaya otpatiatn otpatnyos éobiwy év
N " l4
Owes KoLvoY apTtov 7 KaTaKeipevos él attBdados
a \
EVTEAOUS 7 TeEpL Tadpeiav TiVa Kal yapdKwoLv
/ \ n
Epyou cuveparTouevos. ov yap oUTws TOUS TLLAS
4
Kal ypnudtov peradidovras as Tous Tovouv kal
KLVOUVOU peTahapBavovras 1 nryepwovas Oavpdlovow,
ava Haddov ayaT act TaY pabupety ET lT peTrov-
Twv TOUS supTovel EOéXoOVTAS,
T A , aA € M 4 \ } a ,
4 QUTQA TAVTA TOLWY O Maplos KaL OLA TOUTwWY
Tovs aTpaTiwotas Snpaywyav Tay mev évérrrANTE
\ y \ \ \ ¢h' > 7 \
Thv AtBonv, tayo dé THv 'Pwpny, ovopatos Kal
d0€ns, THY amo aTpatotrédou Tois oiKot ypadov-

TOV WS OUK éEaTL TEpas OVSE aTradXaAyN TOU TpdS
tov BapBapov troréuou wn diov Maprov éXopévors
vTatov.
VIII. ’Ed@’ ofs 4X0 Hv o MéteAXos ayOopevos.
4 \ b \ > 7f XN \ b | /
padiata € avtov nviace TO Tepi ToupmiAduoy.
oUTOS yap 0 avnp AY pev ex Tratépwy Eévos TO
MeréAA@ Kal ToTe THY eri TOY TeExTOVwWY ExwV
apxynv cuvertpatreve: gpovpav 6é Bayav, modu
peyadArnv, kal TO pndev adixety TOs évoiKovrTas,
G\rAa paws Kal diravOparws avtois mpoc-
pépecOar mia tevor, Erabev btroyxeiptos Tots TrONE-
b] 4
pots yevouevos. trapedéEavto yap Tov louvyoupbay,
A a
tov 6€ Toupmidrtov ovdey noixnoav, ad\rAa oT@ov
2 éEartnodpevon Sinjxav. éEoxev ovv aitiay mpo-
, \ \ e 4 n , 4
Socias: xai trapwv o Madpios TH xpioes cUpBouros
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CAIUS MARIUS

solace for his labours in seeing another voluntarily share those labours; this seems to take away the element of compulsion; and it is a most agreeable spectacle for a Roman soldier when he sees a general eating common bread in public, or sleeping on a simple pallet, or taking a hand in the construction of some trench or palisade. For they have not so much admiration for those leaders who share honour and riches with them as for those who take part in their toils and dangers, but have more affection for those who are willing to join in their toils than for those who permit them to ead an easy life.

By doing all these things and thereby winning the hearts of the soldiers, Marius soon filled Africa, and soon filled Rome, with his name and fame, and men in the camp wrote to those at home that there would be no end or cessation of the war against the Barbarian unless they chose Caius Marius consul.

VIII. At all this Metellus was evidently displeased. But it was the affair of Turpillius that most vexed him. This Turpillius was an hereditary guest-friend of Metellus, and at this time was serving in his army as

chief of engineers. But he was put in charge of Vaga, a large city, and because he relied for safety on his doing the inhabitants no wrong, but rather treating them with kindness and humanity, he un- awares came into the power of the enemy; for they admitted Jugurtha into their city. Still, they did Turpillius no harm, but obtained his release and sent him away safe and sound. Accordingly, a charge of treachery was brought against him; and Marius, who was a member of the council which tried the case,

> » , e \ a \ A ” ,

auTOS TE Ol TrLKpOS RY Kal TOY GAXwV TrapwEUVE
‘ , C4 A \ 4
TOUS wWwAELoTOUS, WaTEe aKkovTa Tov Meérerdov
b] A / , a
exBiracOnvar kal xataWndicacbat Oavatov tod
bd , > %wH 7 \ A > #0 a
avO porrrov. per’ Odtyov dé THs altias peudois
paveions, ol ev GAXoL guvnxGovto T@ Merédrw
Bapéws pépovre, Mdptos be Xaipov Kal TOLOUMEVOS
idtov TO Epryov ovK NIXVVETO Déryerv meptioy @S
auros ein TpoaTeTpLupevos GXaoTopa T@ MerérAXr@
FevoxTovov.
"Ex TovTov pavepas arnxGavorto Kab Aéyerat
MOTE TOU Mapiov mapovtos olov epuBpilov)
MéreAAos elTreiy, < ay 5) KaTahiTray LAS, @
yevvaie, meiv em oixou davon Kal maparyyen-
dew UTaTElav; ov yap aya ng ets, dv TOMB Ta.
TOUT@ TUVUTATEVTNS ; ap be O mais TOTE Tou
MeréAXov mavtdract petpaxtov. ov pny adda
tod Mapiov oTrovdalovtos adeOfvat, Todas
avaBoras Tong dpevos, ert Swdexa ReutTropéevwy
npepav eTl THY TaV UIraTtwy avabe—iv, adynKev

> , e \ \ b \ / \ > A
avTov. oO bé TOMMY G76 oTpatomédov Thy él
Odraccav eis "“Itvaeny o60n 7) ‘Hépas duct Kal (ua
vuKth TUVENOY é0ve T™ po Tov mob. Kal heyeTa
Tov "wave ELITELY OS dmriaTous Tivas TO peyeOos
Kat KpelTTovas édridos amrdons evrpakias ™ po-
gaivot ™@ Mapio to Sarpoviov. o &€ TOUTOLS
érrapbels avnxOn. kal TO TENaYOS TETAPTALOS
oUpi@ TrvEvpPAaTL mepda'as avrtiKa, TE TO. Sn T0-
Pewvos Oh9n, Kal mpoayGels U UTrO TLVOS TOV Snudp-

NOV Els TO TAHGOS emt Todas kara Too Meréa-
hou 6a Borats NTELTO THY apxny, Umea xvoupevos
n xtevetv CaovTa AnecOat Tov ‘Jouvyoupbav.
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was himself bitter, and exasperated most of the others against the accused, so that Metellus was reluctantly forced to pass sentence of death upon him. After a short time, however, the charge was found to be false, and almost everybody sympathized with Metellus in his grief; but Marius, full of joy and claiming the condemnation as his own work, was not ashamed to go about saying that he had fastened upon the path of Metellus a daemon who ‘would avenge the murder of a guest-friend.

In consequence of this there was open enmity be- tween the two men; and we are told that on one occasion when Marius was present Metellus said to him as if in mockery: ‘“ Dost thou purpose to leave us, my good Sir, and sail for home, and stand for the consulship? Pray will it not satisfy thee to be fellow-consul with this my son?’’ Now the son of Metellus was at this time a mere stripling. However, Marius was eager to be dismissed, and so, after making many postponements, and when only twelve days re- mained before the election of consuls, Metellus dis- missed him. Marius accomplished the long journey from the camp to Utica and the sea in two days and one night, and offered sacrifice before he sailed. And the seer is said to have told him that the Deity revealed for Marius successes that were of incredible magnitude and beyond his every expectation. Elated by this prophecy he put to sea. In three days he crossed the sea with a favouring wind, and was at once welcomed gladly by the populace,and after being introduced to the assembly by one of the tribunes, he first made many slanderous charges against Metellus, and then asked for the consulship, promising that he would either kill Jugurtha or take him alive.

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IX. "AvayopevOeis S€ Aapmrpas evOvs éotpa-
TOAOYEL, TAP TOV VOLOY Kal THY cUYnOELaY TrONDY
Tov arropov kal pavrov'! Kataypaday, TaV Tpo-
alev nyepovey ov tpocbexopévwy Tovs ToLovTOUS,
ann, domep AXXO TL TOV Kariv, Ta OTAa here
TUmhis Tots akios vEewovTar, evexupov THY ovciay:
éxadotou TiOévat Soxobyros. ov pnv tavTd ye
udrdota StéBare tov Madpiov, adr’ of Rovyos

“A v e , \ oo ‘\ ,
Opaceis OvTES bmepowig Kal bBpet TOUS mpw@rous
A “A “A e
éXvtrovy, axvAGY Te Bo@VTOS aUTOU THY UTTaTELaV

n aA n , ,
héper Oar Tis TOV EvyEevOY Kal TAOVOLWY padakias,
Kal Tpavpacwy oiKelots Tpds TOV SHwov, ov pynpacL
vexp@v ovdé addXoTpials eixoot veavieverOat.
ToAAaKis 6€ Kal ToUs atuynoavtas év ALtBun
A A \ , A \ 9
oTpatnyous, TovTo wéev Bnotiav, tovTo && ’AA-
Bivov, avOp@Trous oixwr pev érripaver, avtors Sé
4 , b / A > b] 4
TUYn odparévtas, atrodéuous Kal 8: aetpiav
TraicavtTas ovopatwv, érurOaveto TOV TapoVYTwY
el fy) KaL TOUS exEi\vwY OlovTaL TpOoyOVOUS avT@
“ WW , > , b]
faAXop av cvEacOat TapamAncious exyovous aTro-
ALTrety, Gre dn unde avTous be’ evyéverav, AAN OT
apeTns Kal Karov Epywv éevdokous yevopévous.
Tavita 5é ov Kevas ovde aralovixads ErXeyev ovde
patny amexyOdavecOar tois dSuvatois Bovdopevos,
9 2 e a > 7 eg , A a
GAN’ 0 OHpos avTov, nOopEevos Te TH BoVAH Tpo-
, / / A
moraxitopevn kai Noyou KopTr~@ BeTpaw ael ppo-
vnpatos péyeOos, eEexovdite, cal cvveEdppa Hn
1 gatdoy van Herwerden: So0vAop.

IX. He was triumphantly elected,! and at once began to levy troops. Contrary to law and custom ° he enlisted many a poor and insignificant man, al- though former commanders had not accepted such persons, but bestowed arms, just as they would any other honour, only on those whose property assessment made them worthy to receive these, each-soldier being supposed to put his substance in pledge to the state. It was not this, however, that brought most odium upon Marius, but the boldly insolent and arrogant speeches with which he vexed the nobles, crying out that he had carried off the consulship as spoil from the effeminacy of the rich and well-born, and that he . had wounds upon his own person with which to vaunt himself before the people, not monuments of the dead nor likenesses of other men. Often, too, he would mention by name the generals in Africa who had been unsuccessful, now Bestia, and now Albinus, men of illustrious houses indeed, but unfortunate themselves, and unwarlike, who had met with disaster through lack of experience; and he would ask his audience if they did not think that the ancestors

of these men would have much preferred to leave de- scendants like himself, since they themselves had been made illustrious, not by their noble birth, but by their valour and noble deeds. Such talk was not mere empty boasting, nor was his desire to make himself hated by the nobility without purpose ; indeed the people, who were delighted to have the senate insulted and always measured the greatness of a man's spirit by the boastfulness of his speech, encouraged him, and incited him not to spare

1 For the year 107 B.c., at the age of fifty.

peideoOar trav akioroywv, yapilopevov ois
"ToANots.
X. 'Os b€ SeémrAevcev els AtBunv, MéreAXos
pev HTT@OY TOU pOovov Yevopevos, Kal meprTabay
OTL, KATELPYAGHEVOD ° TOV TONE MOV avrov Kai pndev
Umrohovtrov i) TO cpa Tob "louyoupOa AaBeiy
EXOVTOS, cee Mapuos em Tov orepavov kal Tov
OpiauBor, é éx Tips pos. éxetvov axapratias nugn-
HEvos, ovy Uméuetvey eis TO AUTO ouvenbeiv, GNX'
aUuTos pev umelexapnce, "PouvtiAsos bé Td or pa-
Tevpa T@ Mapio Tapedwxe, peo Bevtis yeyovas
tov MeréAAov. «al TEpLyrnGE TLS VEMETUS ev Te
TENEL TOY mpakewy Mapvov: agnpcOn yap TO
Zura THY Tou Kat opOdparos Sofav, @s UT'
éxetvou Méteddos: Sv TpoTrov dé, adnynaopar
Bpaxéos, emel Ta Kal' éxactov padrXov ey Tots
Tmept Lwrra yéypanrat.
OKYOS 0 TOY aVw BapBépov Bacirevs 7 ty Tev-
Pepds 'lovyovp0a, nat ToNELOYTL pév ov Tavu Te
ovAhap avery edoxet, mpoBarropevos avrov THY
amariay, Kat TI abinaw Sedouxas: émrel 5é hev-
yov kal wAavopeEvos exelvov un' avaryKns eVero
TOV énmridcov TedevTatov Kal KaTipe 7 pos auron,
aicyivn pmadXov as iMéTny Hn Ov edvotav vrro-
deEduevos dua XeLpos elye, pavepas per Uméep
avrod TAPALTOULEVOS Mapuov Kal ypadwv @S OUK
av éxdon Kai mappyoralopevos, xkpuda bé€ Bov-
Aevov mt podociay eq auT@, wal ET OLTFEMTEOLEVOS
Aevxcov LwAXav, Tapiav ev ovta Mapiou, xpr-
aipov Oé TO Bony yevEVTLEVOV emt oTpareias.
as 5& mictevcas avéBn mpos avTov 6 SvAXas,
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men of high repute if he wished to please the multitude.

X. When he had crossed to Africa, Metellus, now become a victim of jealousy, and vexed because, after he had brought the war to an end and had nothing further to do except to-seize the person of Jugurtha, Marius was coming to enjoy the crown and the triumph,—a man whose ingratitude towards his benefactor had raised him to power,—would not consent to meet him, but privately left the country while Rutilius, who had become his legate, handed over the army to Marius. And in the end a retribution fell upon Marius; for Sulla robbed him of the glory of his success, as Marius had robbed Metellus. How this came to pass, I will narrate briefly, since the details are given more at length in my Life of Sulla.!

Bocchus, the king of the Barbarians in the interior, was a son-in-law of Jugurtha, and apparently gave him little or no assistance in his war, alleging his faithlessness as an excuse, and fearing the growth of his power. But when Jugurtha in his flight and ‘wandering felt compelled to make him his last hope and sought haven with him, Bocchus received him, more out of regard for his position as a suppliant than from goodwill, and kept him in his hands. So far as his open acts were concerned, Bocchus entreated Marius in behalf of his father-in- law, writing that he would not give him up and assuming a bold tone; but secretly he planned to betray him, and sent for Lucius Sulla, who was quaestor for Marius and had been of some service to Bocchus during the campaign. But when Sulla had come to him in all confidence,

1 Chapter iii.

e

éoxe pep TLS Tpom yveouns Kar peTavora TOV BapBapoyr, npepas TE TUXVAS SunvéxOn T@ hoya uP, Bovrevopevos 7) mapa odvat TOV ‘lovyoupGay i) pn dé Tov {vAAaY apeivar: TéXos 5€ THY TrpoTépay Kupecas mpodociay, évexeipice TH LUAAG CovTA ‘Tov ‘louyoupOav.

| Kai TOUTO ™pw@Tov Umipgev autos oréppwa THS _aynnéotou Kal xahenijs exeivns TTATEWS, 7) ptK-pov édénaev avatpeyat TY “Pony. WOAXOL yap éBovXovto Tob Lwrra TO Epyov elvat TO Mapip — POovobvtes, autos TE 2wAdas oppayioa Tong d-

HEVOS epoper yrugnpy é exovcay éyxerpelopevor U vo
Tob Boxyou TOV ‘lovyoupOav EavT@. Ka TAUTH
XPwmevos adel SueTéder Prdorepov avdpa cal mpos
Kowwoviay S0Ens aryvaova Kat dvcepty épebifor
TOV Mapuor, é evaryovT@v padiata TOY éxOpav TOV
éxelvon, Kal Ta pep mpoTa Tov Tohé wou eat
peytora ™@ MerédA@, Ta 8 éoyata Kal TO Tépas
avTov {vANa mpootiBevtwn, QS TavaaiTo Gav-
pavwv xal mpocéywv exeivp padiota TavT@V oO
d7uos.
XI. Taxd pévtoe tov POovov tovTov Kat Ta
pion Kal TAS d:aBodas aed Kebace TOU Mapiou
Kal peTéaTnoev 0 KATATXOY THD Iradlav GTO THS
éomrépas Kivduvos, & dpa T@ Tparov év y pela peyddou
oTparnyod D yevéo Oar Kai TeptaxéacOa THY TONY
@ Xpwmevn xuBepyntn drapev§éras KAvSwva TOAE-
pov TocoUToP, ovdevos dvacxopevov TOY a0
ryévous peydAwpy 7 mhovaiwy OlKw@D emt TAS vTa-
TLKAS KATLOVTOV apxarpecias, ard QTOVTa TOV
Mdpuop a avaryopeva dvTwv. aptt yap gibi he
avtots THs ‘lovyoup8a curd ews ai epi
. 486

41)

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the Barbarian experienced a change of heart and felt repentant, and for many days wavered in his plans, deliberating whether to surrender Jugurtha or to hold Sulla also a prisoner. Finally however, he decided upon his first plan of treachery, and put Jugurtha alive into the hands of Sulla.

This was the first seed of that bitter and incurable ‘hatred between Marius and Sulla, which nearly brought Rome to ruin. For many wished Sulla to have the glory of the affair because they hated Mar- ius, and Sulla himself had aseal-ring made, which he used to wear, on which was engraved the surrender — of Jugurtha to him by Bocchus. By constantly using this ring Sulla provoked Marius, who was an ambitious man, loath to share his glory with another, and quarrelsome. And the enemies of Marius gave Sulla most encouragement, by attributing the first and greatest successes of the war to Metellus, but the last, and the termination of it, to Sulla, that so the people might cease admiring Marius and givipg him their chief allegiance.

XI. Soon, however, all this envy and hatred and slander of Marius was removed and dissipated by the peril which threatened Italy from the west, as soon as the state felt the need of a great general and looked about for a helmsman whom she might employ to save her from so great a deluge of war. Then the people

would have nothing to do with any- one of high birth or of a wealthy house who offered himself at the consular elections, but proclaimed Marius consul! in spite of his-absence from the city. -For no sooner had word been brought to the people of the capture of J ugurtha than the

1 For the year 104 B.c.

TOVOV Kal KipBpov Pijpat TPOTEMLTTOV, ATLOTLAY
pev €v apxX7 mapac Xovo at TraBous TE Kal pouns
TOY eTEepYo“evwy oTpaTwv, VaTEpoy Oé THs adn-
Oeias Urodcéotepar paveicar. pupiddes peéev yap
ai waXLwor TPLdKovTAa GUY STAOLs EexwpoUY, SyAOL
5é traidwy Kai yuvatcay €dyYovTO TOAA@ TAEioUS
ouprreprayer Oa, yns xpnovres) Opérres toaod-
Tov TAHGos, Kai TroAewy ev als idpvOévTes Bi@cov-
Tat, Kabdtep mpo avtav éruvOavovto KeXrrtovs
Ths “Itadias THY apiorny Katacxeiy Tuppyvav
9 / b \ \ \ > J A a°
apehopevovs. avToL pev yap apekig Th mpos
ETEpoUS, pNKEL TE YWPAS HY EeTHNOOD, HYyVvooUVTO,
tives dvtes avOpwrwy 7 ToOEv opunOévtes HoTEp
végos éwrécotev Varatia cai' Iradia. cal udduora
pev eixalovto Veppavixa yévn Trav KaOnKovtov émt
Tov Popetov w@keavov eivar Tois- weyéBect TaV
TWMATWOV KALTH KapoTOTHTL TOV OppaTov, cal Ore
KiwBpous érovoudafover Teppavol tovs AnoTas.
Eiot Sé of trav KeAtixny da Babos yepas Kal
péyeOos aro THs €Ew Oardoons Kal Tov bTapKTiov
KAuLaTwOY Tpos HALoY dvicyovTa KaTa THY
Maariv émiatpéhovoav antecbat ths Tlovrixys
ZaxvOias A€youvct, KaxeiOev ta yévn peputyOa.
tovtous éEavacravtas ovK éx plas opps ovde
TUVEXOS, ANAG ETOUs WOpa Kal' Exactov éviavTov
eis ToUptpocOev del YwpodvTas Trodé“M Kpovots
ToAXois eredOciv tiv Hetpov. 510 Kali moddds
KATA wépos éeTiKANHoELS eyovTwv Kon Kertooxd-
Gas Tov otpatov wvopuator.
488 :

reports about the Teutones and Cimbri fell upon their ears. What these reports said about the num- bers and strength of the invading hosts was dis- believed at first, but afterwards it was found to be short of the truth. For three hundred thousand armed fighting men were advancing, and much larger hordes of women

and children were said to accompany them, in quest of land to support so vast a multitude, and of cities in which to settle and live, just as the Gauls before them, as they learned, had wrested the best part of Italy from the Tyrrhenians and now occupied it. They themselves, indeed, had not had intercourse with other peoples, and had traversed a great stretch of country, so that it could not be ascertained what people it was nor whence they had set out, thus to descend upon Gaul and Italy like a cloud. The most prevalent. conjecture was that they were some of the German peoples which extended as far as the northern ocean, a conjecture based on their great stature, their light-blue eyes, and the fact that the Germans call robbers Cimbri.

But there are some who say that Gaul was wide and large enough to reach from the outer sea and the subarctic regions to the Maeotic Lake on the east, where it bordered on Pontic Scythia, and that from that point on Gauls and Scythians were mingled. These mixed Gauls and Scythians had left their homes and moved westward, not in a single march, nor even continuously, but with each recurring spring they had gone forward, fighting their way, and in the course of time had crossed the continent. Therefore, while they had many names for different detachments, they called their whole army by the general name of Galloscythians.
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"Addo 5é pact Kipupeptov rd peD mpw@Tov vd
‘EAAqv@y | TOV mada yuoadev ov peya syeveo Bar
Tov TavTos poptov, GAAd puyny q ordat TLva
Biacbeicay tro XKv0av eis ‘Agiay an6 Tis
Mauwridos SiaTepicat Avyddpuos iryoupevon, TO
bé aheéto Tov aut ay Kat pax WOTaToV em éaydrots
olxoby ‘mapa Thy €&o Oddaccay viv pev vewer Oar
avoKwov Kal UVAwWON Kal Suan ALov TavTn d1a Babos
Kab TUKVOTHTA Spupay, obs HEX pL Tov ‘Epxuviwv
cio dunxecy, ovpavod dé eiAnyévar Kae? 0 doxel
peya AauBavev o O TONOS éFappa dua THV eyo
TOV Tapardnrwv OAdryou dmronei Tew TOU Kara
Kopup ny ioTapévou onpetov 7 pos THY olknow, at
TE Lépat Bpaxurnre Kal nket Tpos Tas vUKTAS
ioat KAT avewer at Tov xpovor 510 Kal THY
evTopiay Tov pvdetpatos ‘Ounp@ yeveo bau I pos
THY vexviay. évev obp Thy épodov elvas TOV Bap-
Bdpav TOUT@Y él tH | ‘Iradav, Kippeptov pev &&
apyiis, Tore dé KinBpov OuK amo ‘TpoTou Tpoca-

‘Yo pevopeveoy. anra TavTa fev ELKATU@ PbaAXOV
n Kata BéBacov t ioroptay NéyeTat.
To 8 TAOS ouK éXarTop, adda, mNéov elvat
TOU NE Jévros t vo TONN@Y toropyTac. Oupov be
Kal TOhpay dvuToorarot Kat eLpav Epya mapa
Tas payas ofvrnTe cal Bia Tupos eoukores ém né-
cap, ovdevos AVTEXOVTOS QuTo@V T pos THY édodon,
GdrA TaVTwV Lev, OaouS éTAADOY, ev NOY@ Elias
ayopevov Kal pepopevar, Toho 6€ kal peydhov
‘Pwpaixav oTpaTom ew Kal TTpATH Yay, boot
mpoexdOnyto THS exTOS "Adem Taxarias, : avnp-
TacLevav akrews? of Kal pardtoTa THY hopav
490

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Others, however, say that the Cimmerians who - were first known to the ancient Greeks were not a large part of the entire people, but merely a body of exiles or a faction which was driven away by the Scythians and passed from the Maeotic Lake into Asia under the lead of Lygdamis; whereas the largest and most warlike part of the people dwelt at the confines of the earth along the outer sea, oc- cupying a land that is shaded, wooded, and wholly sunless by reason of the height and thickness of the trees, which reach inland as far as the Hercynii; and as regards the heavens, they are under that portion of them where the pole gets a great elevation by ‘reason of the declination of the parallels, and appears to have a position not far removed from the spectator’s zenith, and a day and a night divide the year into two equal parts; which was of advantage to Homer in his story of Odysseus consulting the shades of the dead.1 From these regions, then, these Barbarians sallied forth against Italy, being called at first Cimmerians, and then, not inappropriately, Cimbri. But all this is based on conjecture rather than on sure historical evidence.

Their numbers, however, are given by many writers as not less, but more, than the figure mentioned above. Moreover, their courage and daring made them irresistible, and when they en- ‘gaged in battle they came on with the swiftness and force of fire, so that no one could withstand their onset, but all who came in their way became their prey and booty, and even many large Roman armies, with their commanders, who had been stationed to protect. Transalpine Gaul, were destroyed ingloriously; indeed,

1 Odyssey, Book XI. See vv. 14 ff., describing the Cim-
merians,
49!
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

auTaY KaK@s aywvicdpevoe Kata THS “Pwouns
émeaTacavTo. vixnoavrTes yap ols évéruyov, cai
XPNMATWVY TONY KpaTHCAYTES, Eyvoray wndapod
ys Eavtovs iSpvev, rpiv dvatpéyrwo thy ‘Pony

\ 4 \ b] ,
cat ScatropOjowat tTHv Lradiav.
XII. Taira ‘Pwpaios ruvOavopevor torArNaXo-
Bev, éxdrovv Mapiov eri rHhv otpatnyiav. Kai To
Sevtepoy diratos dedetyOn, tod pév voyou
KwAVOYTOS aTrovTa Kat wn SvadtTovTa ‘Xpovoy
e lA @ e al “A \ , \
a@ptopévoy avlus aipetcBar, tov dé Sypov rovs
> , > ‘ e “ \ wv
avtTiéyovtas éxBaXdovtos. nyotvto yap ovTeE
vov mpartov elEew TH TUuhepovTe Toy vomov, OVTE
adroywtépav elvat thy Tapovoay aitiav éxeivns
5c’ iv tov Yenriwva Tapa tovs vopovs Umatov
amrédetEav, ov hoBovpevor THY éavTav atroRaneip,
arya thy Kapynooviwy émriBvpobvtes avendeiv.
tavta édofe: Kal Maptos éx ArBins peta rod
4 b) A 4
atpatevpatos Staxopicbels adtais Kanravédats
"Tavovapiais, fy érovs apynyv ayovat “Pwpaio.,
4 e 4 > / \ N 4 b 4
THY Te UTaTeiav avéraBe Kai Tov OpiauBov eion-
Aacev, amictov émidetEdpevos Béaya “Pwpaiors
9 4 > 4 k 9 a“ 10 a
lovyovpSav atypuddwtov, ov Cavros ovd ay els
AMLTE TOAELL@Y KpAaTHaat' oUTW TLS Hv TroLKinrOS
a , a
avyp TUXat oOpmAnoaL Kal tavoupyla ToAAT
4 ” \ , 9 > ye7
peptypevov Exwv TO Oupoedés. arr eEeotn ye
—d.

-

1 See chapter xi. 1. Marius was still in Africa.

by their feeble resistance they were mainly in-
strumental in drawing the on-rushing Barbarians
down upon Rome. For when the invaders had
conquered those who opposed them, and had got
abundance of booty, they determined not to settle
themselves anywhere until they had destroyed Rome

and ravaged Italy.
XII. Learning of these things from many quarters, the Romans summoned Marius to the command. And he was appointed consul for the second time,! although the law forbade that a man in his absence and before the lapse of a specified time should be elected again; still, the people would not listen to those who opposed the election. For they considered that this would not be the first time that the law had given way before the demands -of the general good, and that the present occasion demanded it no less imperatively than when they had made Scipio consul contrary to the laws,? although at that time they were not fearful of losing their own city, but desirous of destroying that of the Carthaginians. This course was adopted, Marius came across the sea from Africa with his army, and on the very Calends of January, which with the Romans is the first day of the year, assumed the consulship and celebrated his triumph, exhibiting to the Romans Jugurtha in chains. This was a sight which they had despaired of beholding, nor could any one have expected, while Jugurtha was alive, to conquer the enemy ; so versatile was he in adapting himself to the turns of fortune, and so great craft did he combine with his courage. But we are told that when he had —

2 In 147 B.c., when Sqipio had not reached the age required by law.

fs

mopumevOeis, Os Aéyouat, ToTe TOU gpovety* Kal meTa Tov OpiapBov eis TO Seo pao} piov éumecor, @S ol pev avTod Bia meptéppnEav Tov XeT@vicKor, oi S¢ amevdovTes dgereaOar Bia to xpuaoby éX-AoBrov Gua TO roRov ouvatréppntar, acdels 8e yupvos eis TO Bapabpov xcateBrNOn, pearos @v Tapays kal Sdtaceonpas, “ ‘Hpdxvers,” elrrev, ‘os Puxpor t UL@V TO Baraveiov.” anna roUTov HED eg npé pars Cuyouaxnoavta TO Mep— Kat MEX pt TNS eoxarns adpas éxxpepacOevta THs TOU Hy emOupias elyev aia dixn ToY aceBnpatov.
"Ep dé 7? 3 Bondy Be copia Ofvac héyouat Xpuaod pev émta Kal Tpio tras Aitpas, apyupov oé aonpou TEVTAKLTXLALAS émraxootas éBSouncovta TEVTE, vopia Lat os 5é Spaxpas em naNHEXINAGs én pupidow oxTe Kat elxoat.
Mera be THY WORTHY oO Madpuos obyKAnTov nO porcev ép Karerwrin Kal mapirbe bev ete habav auTop elite TH TUYN Xpapevos drypouxaTepov éy TH OptapRicn KatacKevy, TAXD bé tHv Boudnv ay GeaGeiaar ais Odpevos eEavéotn Kal peradaBov Th TepiTroppupov avis rev.

XIII. ’Ev 6€ 1H orpateia thy Sivamuw Sverrover
kal’ 68ov eEacKav Spopors TE Tavrodamois Kal
paxpais odorrropiats, é EaUTO be axJogopeiv a avay-
Kalov ral avToupyety Ta mpos THD Siarrav, @aTe
Kal peta Tatra TOUS ptrorrovous Kal olor péeT
evKoALas Ta Tpoo Taco opeva TmovobvTas iuudvous
Mapravous Kaneio Gat. Kaito. TLVves atTiav érépav
TOU NOYoOU TOUTOU Vouitovel. Lxnriwvos yap, OTE
Nopavtiay érontopxet, BovrnOévtos érridety pi)
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been led in triumph he lost his reason; and that. when, after the triumph, he was cast into prison, where some tore his tunic from his body, and others were so eager to snatch away his golden ear-ring that they tore off with it the lobe of his ear, and

’ when he had been thrust down naked into the

dungeon pit, in utter bewilderment and with a grin on his lips he said: “Hercules! How cold this Roman bath is!” But the wretch, after struggling with hunger for six days and up to the last moment clinging to the desire of life, paid the penalty which his crimes deserved.

In the triumphal procession there were carried, we are told, three thousand and seven pounds of gold, of uncoined silver five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and in coined money two hundred and eighty-seven thousand drachmas.

After the procession was over, Marius called the senate into session on the Capitol, and made his entry, either through inadvertence or with a vulgar display of his good fortune, in his triumphal robes ; but perceiving quickly that the senators were offended at this, he rose and went out, changed to the usual robe with purple border, and then came back.

XIII. Setting out on the expedition, he laboured to perfect his army as it went along, practising the men in all kinds of running and in long marches, and compelling them to carry their own baggage and to prepare their own food. Hence, in after times, men who were fond of toil and did whatever was en- joined upon them contentedly and without a murmur, were called Marian mules. Some, however, think that this name had a different origin. Namely, when Scipio was besieging Numantia,! he wished to inspect

1 Cf. chapter iii. 2.

-

povov Ta oma pndeé TOUS immrous, ada Kal TOUS
opeis Kal TAs dapatas, 6 ST WS exdarous eEnoxhpéva
Kal Tapeakevacpeva TUyXavot, mpoayayety Tov
Mdpuov im-mov TE KaAMoTa Tel papevov vr
auTou Kal 7)LLovov evelia Kab WpaoTntt Kat
poun Stapepovta Todv TaY adrdrAwy HabEvTos
ovv Tov oTparnyou ‘Tots TOU Mapiov Opéupace
Kal TONNAKES aura puna devros, ovTwS apa
TOUS TKOT TOVTAS éy émaive Tov evdedexi) Kat
TA nova, Kat gtroTovoy Mapiavor nuiovov mpoca-
ryopeverv.
XIV. Evruynpa de doxet 7 Mapio peya
ryever Oa. Tay yap BapBapev Garep TLva Tanip-
potay Tijs opus AaBovtoy Kal pvévT@y TpoTEepov
ert THY "IBnpiav, Xpovor éaxe Kal Ta copara
yupvdoat Tov avOpav Kat Ta ppovipara T™pos TO
Oappety avappaaat, To dé peyeoror, AUTOS olos 7 my
catavonOjvac. TO yap é év apyn oxvOpwrov avrovd
Kat ‘tepl Tas Tipwpias Suc peide ov eO.abeice
pndev apaptdavew pndé aeeiv Gua 1a. dixaio
wT HpLov épaivero, THY TE TOU Oupod apodpotnta
Kal To Tpaxy Ths Pwvas Kal aypeamov ToD ‘po-
OWTOU ocuvTpepopevoy KATA piKpov OvX avTois
évouitov elva poBepor, andra Tots TONE "LOLS.
pasar bé 7 mepl Tas Kpicess ép8arns avrov
Tots OTPATLWTALS NpEeTKeV’ Hs Kal ToLOVdE TL Setypa
Neyeras.
D'dios Aovatos ade gidois avTou TETAYHEVOS
ep’ myepovias éaTparevero, Tarra pev avnp ov
Soxa elvat Tovnpos, iTre@v be petpaxiay KaN@D.
OUTOS pa vEeavioKou THY UP AUTO oTpatTevomevey,
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not only the arms and the horses, but also the mules and the waggons, that every man might have them in readiness and good order. Marius, accordingly, brought out for inspection both a horse that had been most excellently taken care of by him, and a mule that for health, docility, and strength far surpassed all the rest. The commanding officer was naturally well pleased with the beasts of Marius and often spoke about them, so that in time those who wanted to bestow facetious praise on a persevering, patient, laborious man would call him a Marian mule.

XIV. And now, as it would seem, a great piece of good fortune befell Marius. For the Barbarians had a reflux, as it were, in their course, and streamed first into Spain. This gave Marius time to exercise the bodies of his men, to raise their spirits to a sturdier courage, and, what was most important of all, to let them find out what sort of a man he was. For his sternness in the exercise of authority and his inflexibility in the infliction of punishment appeared to them, when they became accustomed to obedience and good behaviour, salutary as well as just, and they regarded the fierceness of his temper, the harshness of his voice, and that ferocity of his countenance which gradually became familiar, as fearful to their enemies rather than to themselves. But it was above all things the uprightness of his judicial decisions that pleased the soldiers; and of this the following illustration is given.

Caius Lusius, a nephew of his, had a command under him in the army. In other respects he was a man of good reputation, but he had a weakness for beautiful youths. This officer was enamoured of one of the young men who served under him, by name

dvona TpeBwviov, Kai trodAdKIs TEeLp@Y OvK
,
4 éruyyave: tédos O€¢ vUKTWp banpeTnY aTrocTEi Nas
peterréumreto tov TpeBwmov- o dé vegvias Ke
, ra A
Hév, avtettrety yap ove éERv KadXovpevor, eicay-
‘ a A
els S€ b1ro THY TKNVYHY POS adTov émiyepopyTa
BiafeoOar orracapuevos 76 Eihos atéextewe. TadTA
> , a , \ LU b \
émpayxOn trod Mapiov uy tapovros: éravedOov
5 dé mpovOnKxe TO TpcBwvi xpiciv. eet Sé TOANOY
KaTnyopovvTwy, ovdevos b€ surnyopodyTos, avTos
evlapoas Kataotas Sunynoato TO Tpaypa Kal
paprupas Exyev Ott Tetp@vTL TOANGKLS aVTELTTE
“A ; \ 4 4 > % > ‘
T@ Aovaoiwm Kai peydrAwv Sibopévay én’ ovdeve
mponkato TO capa, Oavpacas o Mdpios Kal
noOels éxéNevoe TOV TaTpLOV eri Tais apioTetats
Ul “A \ \ > A > /
atépavoy xomcOjvat, Kal NaBwv avdtos éeotepa-
\ , e 4 ” 9 A
vooe Tov TpeBwvioyv ws KaNLoTOV Epyor ev KaLp@
Tapaderyuatwv Seopéevw Karov atrodedery péevov.
nv J ‘ e 4 9 \ > 4

6 Tovdto eis thy ‘Paunv arayyerOey ovy RKiota
7T@ Mapio avvérpake thy rpitny iratelay. apa
\ a“ lA ” C4 ;
5é xai tav BapBdpwv érovs dpa tmpogdokipwr
é 5 A \ 5 \ v “A
yrwv EBovNovTo peta pndevos aAXNOU oTpPATHYOU
KLVOUVEDTAL IPOS AUTOUS. OV [NV KOV WS Tpoc-
edoxavro Taxews, ara rari SiArOe TH Mapi
e “A “n
7 oTHs brateias Ypovos. évictapévwr b€ THY ap-
Yatpectav Kal TOD auvdpyovTos avTov TedeuvTN-
cavTos, aToduT@v émt tav dsuvayewr Maviov
"AkvAALOY adTos Heev els ‘Pounv. peTiovtay é
To\N@Y Kal aya0av tiv wtatetav, AovKios
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e

Trebonius, and had often made unsuccessful attempts to seduce him. But finally, at night, he sent a servant with a summons for Trebonius. The young man came, since he could not refuse to obey a summons, but when he had been introduced into the tent and Caius attempted violence upon him, he drew

his sword and slew him. Marius was not with the .

army when this happened; but on his return he brought Trebonius to trial. Here there were many accusers, but not a single advocate, wherefore Tre- bonius himself courageously took the stand and told all about the matter, bringing witnesses to show that he had often refused the solicitations of Lusius and that in spite of large offers he had never prostituted himself to anyone. Then Marius, filled with delight and admiration, ordered the customary crown for brave exploits to be brought, and with his own hands placed it on the head of Trebonius, declaring that at a time which called for noble examples he had displayed most noble conduct.

Tidings of this were brought to Rome and helped in nosmall degree to secure for Marius his third consul- ship ;! at the same time, too, the Barbarians were expected in the spring, and the Romans were un- willing to risk battle with them under any other general. However, the Barbarians did not come as soon as they were expected, and once more the period of Marius’s consulship expired. As the consular elections were at hand, and as his colleague in the office had died, Marius left Manius Aquillius in charge of the forces and came himself to Rome. Here many men of great merit were candidates for the consulship, but Lucius Saturninus, who had more

1 For the year 103 B.c.
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K K 2

Laropvivos o padora tav Snuapyov aywy 70
Trios, urd TOD Mapiov TeDepamrevpevos é6n-
pnyoper, xeXevwv éxeivor Dmarov aipetoOas.
6 pumropévov 5é€ Tov Mapiou Kal mapatteioBat
THY ap mv pacKortos ws 57 pn Seopevov, 7 po-
Sotny avrov o Laropvivos aren ane THS matpisos
év Kevduvep ToToUT® pevyovta 76 atpatnyeiv. Kal
pavepos prev my andvas CUYUTFOK PLYOMEVOS TO
TpooTroinpa T@ Mapi Tov € Kaupov opa@vTes ot
mono Tis éxeivou beadrnros dpa Kal TUXNS
Seopevov eynpicavro THY TeTapTHy vmaretay, Kal
cuvapxovra Karhov auT@ Aoutattoy KaTégThoay,
dvdpa Kal TL@LEVOY UTO TOY apioTt@v Kal Tots
WoNNols OUK énax 07.
XV. Tluvavépevos dé TOUS TONE MLOUS o Mdpuos.

éryryus elvac bua TAX EDD uTepeBare tas “AXtrets:
Kal Tetxlaas oT paToredov mapa T® ‘Podave
TOTaL@ TUViyev els auTo xopnytay apOovov, ws
pndeTrote Tapa TOV TOU TUE PoVTOS Aoyio pov
éx Brac Bein 5: évdeiay TOV dvaryxatov els ayn
KaTaoThvar. ig 6¢ KouLony av édeu! T® oTpa-
Tevparte paxpayv Kal TohuTeAy ‘TpoTepov odcay
T pos THY Oddaccap, autos elpyaoaro padiav. wal
Taxetay. Ta yap oropata tov ‘Podavod, T pos Tas
avakoTas THS Oardrrns, ivy TE TOAANV hap-
Bavovta Kai Giva 1nrd\@ Babet oupmTeT An Mevyy
umo TOU KrUdavos, Xaherov Kal émimovov Kat
Bpadvropov TOUS orTaywryors emrotet TOV élomrNouD.
o 5é Tpepas évrav@a Tov oTpaTov oxordlovra
Tad pov peyadnv éveBanre, Kal TAUTD TOAU pépos
TOU TOTAaLOV pEeTATTHOAS TEpLNyayeY cis ETrUTH-

1 %e: Coraés, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Reiske; é8¢iro.

influence with the people than any other tribune,
was won over by the flattering attentions of Marius,
and in his harangues urged the people to elect Marius
consul, Marius affected to decline the office and
declared that he did not want it, but Saturninus called

him a traitor to his country for refusing to command her armies at a time of so great peril. Now, it was clear that Saturninus was playing his part at the instigation of Marius, and playing it badly, too, but the multitude, seeing that the occasion required the ability as well as the good fortune of Marius, voted for his fourth consulship,! and made Catulus Lutatius his colleague, a man who was esteemed by the nobility and not disliked by the common people.:

XV. Learning that the enemy were near, Marius rapidly crossed the Alps, and built a fortified camp along the river Rhone. Into this he brought to- gether an abundance of stores, that he might never be forced by lack of provisions to give battle contrary to his better judgment. ~The conveyance of what was needful tor his army, which had previously been a long and costly process where it was by sea, he rendered easy and speedy. That is, the mouths of the Rhone, encountering the sea, took up great quantities of mud and sand packed close with clay by the action of the billows, and made the entrance of the river difficult, laborious, and slow for vessels carrying supplies. So Marius brought his army to the place, since the men had nothing else to do, and ran a great canal. Into this he diverted a great part of the river and brought it round to a suitable place

1 102 B.c.
§o1
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decoy airyvadrov, Badu pév cab vavol peydrats érro-
yov, Netov 5é€ kal axAvoTOV cTOLa AaRovaay ITpos
Thy OdrXacoayv. avtn pev ovv étt am' éxeivou
Thy émovupiay murdtTE.
Tap dé BapBdpov dueAovTwy adhas avTous bixa
KiuSpot pev értayov 8a Nopixov dvwbev éri
KatXov ywpeiv cal tHv mapodov éxetyny Bidte-
oat, Tevtoves 5€ cat "ApBpeves da Acyvwv eri
Madptov rapa Odratrav. cal KipBpots pév eyivero
wrciwov 7 StatpiByn Kat pérAXnats, TevToves 5é Kal
"ApBpoves apavtes evOds cai StedOovres tHv év

U 4 bd , / " N
becom Yopav édaivovto mwrAnOet Te aTreipor Kat
Svompocorro: ta eldn, POoyyov te Kat OopvBov
ovyx éTEpois Gwotor. treptBanropevor Sé Tod mrediov
péya pépos! Kal otpatomedevoavtes mpovKa-
_ hodvTO TOV Mdpuov els waxny.

XVI. 'O &€ rovTwr pev OUK eppovriter, € év d€
T® YXapaxe Tovs _OTpaTworas auvetxe, eal Kabn-

TTETO TIKPOS TOV Opacuvoméevwy, Kal TOUS po-
mimrovtas 87d Oupod Kal pdyerOat Bovdopevous
MpoooTas aTrEKarEL THIS tra pibos. ov yap dmép
OprapBov TV prroripiay elvat Kal TpoTraiay,
GAN Srrws vehos ToToUTOY TroAEpou Kal aoKNnTTOV
@odpevot Stacwcover Thy ‘ITadiav. tadta pev
idia mpos Tovs Hyenovas Kal TOUS OpoTipous EXeye,
tous 5€ otpatiotas brép Tov yYapaKxos toTas ava
pepos Kal OedcBar Kerevwv clOle tiv popdyy
avéxerOat THY TOkELLoV Kal THY Pwovny Uromévery
1 uéya wépos Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske: yéya.

on the coast,a deep bay where large ships could float,
and where the water could flow out smoothly and with-
out waves to the sea. This canal, indeed, still bears
the name of Marius.!
The Barbarians divided themselves into two bands,
and it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to proceed through
Noricum in the interior of the country against
Catulus, and force a passage there, while the Teu-
tones and Ambrones were to march through Liguria
along the sea-coast against Marius. On the part of
the Cimbri there was considerable delay and loss of
time, but the Teutones and Ambrones set out at
once, passed through the intervening country, and
made their appearance before Marius. Their numbers
were limitless, they were hideous in their aspect,
and their speech and cries were unlike those of other
peoples. They covered a large part of the plain,
and after pitching their camp challenged Marius to
battle.
XVI. Marius, however, paid no heed to them, but kept his soldiers inside their fortifications, bitterly rebuking those who would have made a display of their courage, and calling those whose high spirit made them wish to rush forth and give battle traitors to their country. For it was not, he said, triumphs or trophies that should now be the object of their ambition, but how they might ward off so great a cloud and thunder-bolt of war and secure the safety of Italy. This was his language in private to his officers and equals ; but he would station his soldiers on the fortifications by detachments, bidding them to observe the enemy, and in this way accustomed them not to fear their shape or dread their cries,

1 Cf. Strabo, iv. 8 (p. 183).

dXws ovcav adXcKoTOv Kat Onpiwdn, oxeuny re Kai
xivnow avTav KkatapavOdvey, dua TH Ypovp Ta
pawvopeva Seva trovoupévous TH Stavoia yerponOn
“A w a) ,
Sid Tis Oyews: Hryeito yap ToANa pev emirpev-
SecOar THY ov TpocdvT@Y THY KaLVdTNTA Tots
dhoBepois, év dé TH ouvnbeia Kal TA TH hice Seva
“~ 4
thy éxmrAnkiy aroBdadd\ev. tav dé ov povoy 7
cal’ nuépav ous adnper te TOD OauBous, adAd
\ \ \ > \ “” 4 ; \
kat mpos tas areiras tTav BapBapwv Kai Tov
KOuTrOV OvK avexTov dvTa Ovpos avTOis TraptoTa-
pevos é&cOépuaive Kal dvépreye tas wuyds, ov
povoy ayovtwy kal depovrwv ta mépe amavtTa
TOV TOAEMLWV, GAAA Kal TO Yapakt Trovoupévwv
\ \ “A 9 / \ 4
mpoaBoras peta TorANS ageryelas Kal Opacu-
TnT0S, @aTe dwvas Kal Stayavaxtynoces TOY
A \ \ / b] lA ce 4
oTpatiwta@v mpos tov Mdpiov éxdépecOat. “ Tiva
59 Katayvous avavdpiay nuav Mdpuos eipyer
HaXNS BoTEp yuvaixas b1r6 KAEtol Kal Ouvpwpois;
Ul 4 9 ~ , , > ,
dhépe, wadovres avdpav maos édevOépwv épwpueda
TWoTepov GAXNovs avapevet paxovpevous brép THs
> , ¢ on a ,
Iradtas, nyiv dé Nevroupyois ypynoetar Sia qrap-
tos, Stav Séntrat tadpous dpvccew Kal mnrov
éxxabaipey xal Totapmovs Tivas Tapatperety; emt
TavTa yap, ws EoLKeV, HaoKEL Tots TONNOLS TrOVOES
nas, Kal Tabta Tov UTaTEeLav atrodeaEdmevos
4 A
Epya rots mwodtTals émdvacw. Ta KdpBwvos
b] \ a \ / > J e
avtov poBet nat Kaurriwvos, obs évixnaay ot
4 “
TOAEMLOL, TOAV fev aUTOUS THS Mapiou Sons Kal

which were altogether strange and ferocious; and to
make themselves acquainted with their equipment
and movements,. thus in course of time rendering
what was only apparently formidable familiar to their

minds from observation. For he considered that their novelty falsely imparts to terrifying objects many qualities which they do not possess, but that with familiarity even those things which are really dreadful lose their power to affright. And so in the case of his soldiers, not only did the daily sight of the enemy lessen somewhat their amazement at them, but also, when they heard the threats and the intolerable boasting of the Barbarians, their anger rose and warmed and set on fire their spirits ; for the enemy were ravaging and plundering all the country round, and besides, often attacked the Roman fortifications with great temerity and shamelessness, so that indignant speeches of his soldiers reached the ears of Marius. ‘ What cowardice, pray, has Marius discovered in us that he keeps us out of battle like women under lock and key? Come, let us act like freemen and ask him if heis waiting for other soldiers to fight in defence of Italy, and will use us as workmen all the time, whenever there is need of digging ditches and clearing out mud. and diverting a river or two. For it was to this end, as it would seem, that he exercised us in those many toils,! and these are the achievements of his consulships which he will exhibit to his fellow-citizens on his return to Rome. Or does he fear the fate of Carbo and Caepio, whom the enemy defeated ?? But they were far behind Marius in reputation and excellence, and

1 Cf. chapter xiii. 1.

2 Carbo in 113 B.c., Caepio in 105 B.c. See the Dictionary of Proper Names. —

9 A 9 ‘ ‘ \ S N
apeTns atrodeovtas, TovAv 5é xYelpova oTpaTov
w 9 \ \ a a e bd “A
ayovras; ada cal Tabet te Spavras, ws éxeivot,
Ul a fo , A Ul
Kaddov 7 Kabjcba TopPovpEevay TAY TULMLaYeV
Oeatas.”
XVII. Tait’ axovwv o Madptos Ser, cai care-
fw 9 \ e ? J 4 td " Le) b) >
MT PAUVEV AUTOUS WS OUK EXELVOLS GTLATOYV, GANA’ Ex
TLVwY NOYiwY TOY THs viKns Gua KaLpov Kal TOTFOV

9 / \ 4 UA A Ul
éxdexouevos. Kal yap twa Lvpav yuvaica, Map-
” 4 U 9 ld
Oav dvopa, pavreverOat A\eyouevnv év opeio
/ A 4 ,
KATAKELMEVNY TELVaS TrEepinyeTo, Kat Ovaias EOvev
> , , 4 \ J 4
éxelvns KEeNEVOVENS. 1Y TpOTEpOV wey aTHnAATED
) avyKAnTos évruyely wep TovT@v BovrAoLévny
\ \ / / > \ \ \
Kai Ta pédAXOVTA TpolcaTifovaay, ere 5é mTpos
\ a 9 “a , 307 4
Tas yuvaixas elotovoa Sidtretpay édidou Kal pars-
a , , \ /
ora TH Mapiou tapaxadifovea Tapa Tous Todas
TOV povoudyov eTLTUYaS Tponyopeve TOV pMéA-
NovTa viKav, avaTewdbeicoa mpos Mapiov tr
éxeiuns COauyalero. Kal Ta ToANG ey ev hopeiw
mapexopitero, mpos dé Tas Oucias Karner os-
/ A 9 ; / >
vixida Surry éutmetropirnuevyn Kal AOyyny avase-
Sepevny Tawiats Kal oTrepavwpaci pépovaa. TODTO
bev ovv TO papa TroAXois adic BnrnoL Tapetyer,
elre Tremevapevos ws GANnOas elite TWAATTOMEVOS Kal
” ;
cuvuTroKpLvomevos emedeixvuTat THY AVO pwTroV.
To 6€ wept tous yitras Bavpatos aéiov ’AXé-
€ 4 ef 4 \ b ,
Favdpos o Muvédios iatdpnxe. Ovo yap épatvovto
Tpo TOV KaTopOwudTwy ael Tepl Tas oTpaTEias
506
419

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led an army that was far inferior to his. Surely it
is better to do something, even if we perish as_
they did, rather than to sit here and enjoy the
spectacle of our allies being plundered.”
XVII. Marius was delighted to hear of such expressions, and tried to calm the soldiers down by telling them that he did not distrust them, but in _ consequence of certain oracles was awaiting a fit time and place for his victory. And indeed he used to carry about ceremoniously in a litter a certain Syrian woman, named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy, and he would make sacrifices at her bidding. She had previously been rejected by the ’ senate when she wished to appear before them with reference to these matters and predicted fature events. Then she got audience of the women and gave them proofs of

her skill, and particularly the wife of Marius, at whose feet she sat when some gladiators were fighting and successfully foretold which one was going to be victorious. In consequence of this she was sent to Marius by his wife, and was admired by him. As a general thing she was carried along with the army in a litter, but she attended the sacrifices clothed in a double purple robe that was fastened with a clasp, and carrying a spear that was wreathed with fillets and chaplets. Such a performance as this caused many to doubt whether Marius, in exhibiting the woman, really believed in her, or was pretending to do so and merely acted a part with her.

The affair of the vultures, however, which Alex- ander of Myndus relates, is certainly wonderful. Two vultures were always seen hovering about the armies of Marius before their victories, and accompanied

Kal mapncorovdovy yw prlouevor Yadois Tmepide-
paiows: tavta 5é ot OTPATLOTAL cvdhdaBovres
avTovs Tepin wav, elta ad iar éx 8€ tovTou
yraopifovres nomagovro avTous ob oTpaTi@rat)
Kat pavertov émi tats éEodots éxarpov ws ayabov
Tl mpagovTes.
TloArA@v Se onpeloy Tpopaivopever Ta pev
ara NapaxThpa xowvoy eiyev, éx dé Apepias wal
Tovdéptov, Tohewy "Tradixov, amnyyenOn YUKTOS
apOas KaTa TOV ovpavov aixpds Te hroyoebets
Kal Oupeous Stapepouevous TO Tp@Tov, elta oup-
mimrovTas, ANANAOLS Kat oxXnmaTa Kal Kwnpata
AapBdvovtas ola, rytveTaL paxouevov avdpar,
TEAOS dé Tay pev évd.SovTov, TOV 6 eT LpEepopuevov,
TavTas él duopas p pufvar. meph TouTov O€ Tas
Tov Xpovov adbinero Kal Bardxns € ex Heacwoivros
0 THs peyanns pT pos tepeus, amraryyehov @S y
Geos € éx TOV dvaxTopav epdeyEato avuT@ vinny Kat
Kpdros Trokéuou "Papatous _Umdpxew. THS be
TUYKAHTOU TpogEepEvns Kal TH Oe@ vaov emrevixtov
isptoacbat Vapucapevns, TOV Batdeny els TOV
Onpov mpoerOovta kal tadTa Bovdopevov elmrety
éxwAuce Snpapx.aov Addos Hopanios, aryupTny
'aTroKahav Kal '7 pos vBpw ameavvey tod Bn-
patos. 0 On Kal padiota TO ae Tow avOpamou
wioTw Taper Xev. ou yap | EPO THS éexxArHolas
dvOeions o AvAos els olKov éemavenbeip, Kar
mupetos e&nvOncer avT@ TOO OUTOS dare Tact
Karapavi) ryevoplevov Kal teptBonrov évros éR80-
Bens Huépas atrodaveiv.

1 gbrovs of orpari@ra: with Reiske: robs orpariéras, which

Bekker and Ziegler bracket.
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them on their journeys, being recognized by bronze rings on their necks; for the soldiers had caught them, put these rings on, and let them go again; and after this, on recognizing the birds, the soldiers greeted them, and they were glad to see them when they set out upon a march, feeling sure in such eases that they would be successful.

Many signs also appeared, most of which were or the ordinary kind ; but from Ameria and Tuder, cities of Italy, it was reported that at night there had been seen in the heavens flaming spears, and shields which at first moved in different directions, and then clashed together, assuming the formations and movements of men in battle, and finally some of them would give way, while others pressed on in pursuit, and all streamed away to the westward. Moreover, about this time Bataces, the priest of the Great Mother,! came from Pessinus announcing that the goddess had declared to him from her shrine that the Romans were to be victorious and triumphant in war. The senate gave credence to the story and voted that a temple should be built for the goddess in commemoration of the victory ; but when Bataces came before the assembly and desired to tell the story, Aulus Pompeius, a tribune of the people, prevented him, calling him an impostor, and driving -him with insults from the rostra. And lo, this did more than anything else to gain credence for the man’s story. For hardly had Aulus gone back to his house after the assembly was dissolved, when he broke out with so violent a fever that he died within a week, and everybody anew and talked about it.

1 Cybelé, Mother of the Gods.
5°9
2

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XVIII. Of 8 Tedroves éreyeipnoay pev navxatovtos Tod Mapiov moXdtopKeivy TO oTpaTo-mecov, Bédeoe 5 ToAXois evTUXOVTES aro TOU xaparos pepopevors Kat twas ¢€€ avTav atro-Barovtes &yvwoav eis TovptpocOev yYwpety ws vmepBadovvres adea@s Tas “AXreis: Kal cuvcKeEv-acdmevor TapnuerBov ro otparoTredov tav ‘Pa-paiwy, Tore 87) pddtcTa TrapTAnGeis pneer Kal xporm THS wapodov davevtes’ uepais yap &F NEyorTas Tov Yadpaxa Tov Mapiov tapapeiya-cat cuvexas odevovtes. érropevovto dé éyyus, muvOavopmevo, TOV Pwpaiwy peta yédAwTos el TL

mpos Tas yuvaixas émioté AXolev? auvTol yap
, 9 > a ,] N \ / ‘
EcecOas taxéws Tap avtais. eet 5é mapnrAda-ay
ot BapBapot Kai mponecav, apas cal avros én-
4 A b] \ A J 9 bf \
KorovOer ayédnv, éyyus pev del Kal trap’ avTovs
Exeivous tOpuopevos, Oyupais O€ Yp@pmevos oTparo-
medelals Kal Ywpia KapTepa TpoRadrAopEVos, OoTE
“A «of
éy acdanrel vuxtepevey. odtw 57 mpoiovres
éyevovTo mpos Tols KaXoupevors Bdace YeETiors,
ef ” , > \ COX 2 a
60ev eee tropevOevtas ov qoAAnY odov ev Tais
“Adreow elvat. 616 bn .cal Mdpwos évraiéa
4 4 \ , a
mapeoxevateto pdayecOar, nal xatéhaBe TO
/ , > \ UA e \ ”
oTpatoréde ToTov taxupov pév, Ddwp 5¢ apOovov
oux éxovra, Bovdropevos, Os act, Kal TovT@
mapokivat TovUs aTpatiwtas. WoAA@VY Ye TOL
dua xepatvovTar Kat dSipnoerv Neyovtov, SeiEas TH
XElpl ToTapoy Tia péovTa TAnciov Tod Bap-
Bapixotd xdpaxos, éxeiPev avtois Edpnoev elvar
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XVIII. But the Teutones, since Marius kept quiet, attempted to take his camp by storm ; many missiles, however, were hurled against them from the forti- fications, and they lost some of their men. They therefore decided to march forward, expecting to cross the Alps without molestation. ‘So they packed up their baggage and began to march past the camp of the Romans. Then, indeed, the im- mensity of their numbers was made specially evident by the length of their line and the time required for their passage; for it is said they were six days in passing the fortifications of Marius, although they moved continuously. And they marched close to the camp, inquiring with laughter whether the Romans had any messages for their wives ; “for,” said they, ‘‘we shall soon be with them.” But when the Barbarians had passed by and were going on their way, Marius also broke camp and followed close upon them, always halting near by and at their very side, but strongly fortifying his camps and keeping strong positions in his front, so that he could pass the night in safety. Thus the two armies went on until they eame to the place called Aquae Sextiae, from which they had to march only a short distance and they would be in the Alps. For this reason, indeed, Marius made preparations to give battle here, and he occupied for his camp a position that was strong, but poorly supplied with water, wishing, as they say, by this circumstance also to incite his soldiers to fight. At any rate, when many of them were dissatisfied and said they would be thirsty there, he pointed to a river that ran near the barbarian fortifications, and told them they could get water there,

but the

5 i

TOTOV wvtovy aipatos. ‘Ti ody,” épacay, “‘ ovK
"Or @e A Mv > bd 3 4 a e N \
evOus- nas ayes err auTtous, ws Uypoy TO alua
> n A fol
Exouev; ' KaKelvos npéua-TH hovn, “ Iporepov,”
elrev, “ OyUpwTéov Huivy TO oTpaToTeEsoV.”
XIX. Ot peév oty orpati@rat Knaitep aoyar-
Novtes ereiOovto: THs. Sé Gepareias TO WAROOS
w 9 > \ N 50” € ¥, / ” b) /
oUT avtol toTov ov0” btrotuyios Exovtes aO poor
t ? \ / e \ > gos 2 \
kaTéBawov eri Tov ToTapmoy, oi pev akivas, ot dé
4 ” \ \ l4 \ ; buf ”~
Teréxels, Evia Se Kat Eipn nal Noyxas aya Tots
e / 9 4 e \ \ 4 e 4
Udpiots avadaBovTes, ws Kal dia payns vdpevoo-
Mevol. TOUTOLS TO TPHTOV OrjLYOL TpOTELAaYoOVTO
TOV TOAELiOY: ETUXOY yap apLloTw@VTES Oi TONAL
A / e 4 ¢ / b /
peTa NouTpor, ot 5é ENoVOYTO. PHyvUcL yap avToOt
vapatov Oeppav mnyas 0 Y@pos' Kal pépos Tt
jwept taita tovs BapBapouvs evtabotvtas Kat
mavnyupivovtas noovn xal Oavuatt tod toTou
, ee a \ \ \ \
ckatérxaBov ot “Pwpaiot. mpos dé THY Kpavynv
TAELOvaY oUYTpEYoYTwY T@ TE Mapip yarerov Hy
éTL TOUS OTpaTLWTAS éTioxXelyY TEPl THY OLKET@Y
dedcoras, cal Ta@VY TokEeulwoy TO paytuwTaToD
, e 7? ® , ¢ A \
pépos, uh ov mponttnvtTo Pwpator pera Mad-
Aiov kab Kausriwvos mpotepov (""“AuBpwves wvo-
pavtovto Kal wAnOos virép Tptapupious avTol Kad”
éavtovs joav), aval€avtes eri tas mavoTXias
éy@pouv. Ta ev ov cwpata TANG MOVH BeBapn-
A ce) /
pévot, Tots 6€ Ppovnpact yavpor cal draxexupévot
Mpos Tov AKpaTov, OVK ATdKTOLS OvSE paviwbeat
U , > \ v > \ er
depopevor Spopors ovde avapOpov adadaypov tev-

TES, GAA KpovovTes puOu@ Ta Girra Kal ouvad-
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_ price of it was blood. “ Why, then,” they said,
“dost thou not lead us at once against the enemy, °
while our blood is still moist?” To which Marius
calmly replied: “We must first make our camp
strong.”
XIX. His soldiers, accordingly, though reluctant, obeyed ; but the throng of camp-servants, who had no water either for themselves or their beasts, went down in a body to the river, some taking hatchets, some axes, and some also swords and lances along with their water-jars, determined to get water even if they had to fight for it. With these only a few of the enemy at first engaged, since the main body were taking their meal after bathing, and some were still bathing. For streams of warm water burst from the ground in this place, and at these the Romans surprised a number of the Barbarians, who were enjoying themselves and making merry in this wonderfully pleasant place. Their cries brought more of the Barbarians to the spot, and Marius had difficulty in longer restraining his soldiers, since they had fears now for their servants. Besides, the most warlike division of the enemy, by whom at an earlier time the Romans under Manlius and Caepio had been defeated ! (they were called Ambrones and _ of themselves numbered more than thirty thousand), had sprung up from their meal and were running to get their arms. However, though their bodies were surfeited and weighed down with food and their spirits excited and disordered with strong wine, they did not rush on in a disorderly or frantic course, nor raise an inarticulate battle-cry, but rhythmically clashing their arms and leaping to the sound they

1 Cf. chapter xvi. 5.
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_ Aopevor TWAVTES dua THY avTav epeyyovro
” IOANUEKLS ™poonyopiav "ApBpoves, elre ava-
Kanrovpevot opas avrous, elTeE TOUS TONE Lous TH
mpodnracet m poexpoBobvres. TOY dé "Traducdy
TpOTOL cataBaivovtes ér autovs Atyues, as
ieove ap Bowvtay Kai cuvixay, dvtepavouy Kal
avrot MA maT ptov emixAnow avrTav eivary opas
yap aurous odTws KATA YEVOS évopdtovar Adyves.
WUKYOKL ovY Kal TapadAnrov avrnxer mpl ets
Xelpas ouvedbeiy TO dvadwvnua: Kal TOY TTPATOV
ExaTépos avd pépos cuvava ery youeveav Kat
prdoTipmoupEvery Tp@Tovy addAndOUS TP poeryedes
TAS Bons vmrepBaréea Oar, mapwetuve cat Sinpebrbe
TOV Oupov 9 n Kpavy7.

Tovs Hep ovv "ApBpavas diéoTrace 70 petO pov:
ov yap épPacay ets TaEW KaTacTHVaL diaBarres,
ahha Tots mparors evOvs pera Spopou rav Ac-
yvov T pooTed ovTwy éy Xepaly Wy 7 paXn Tots
dé Atyver TOV ‘Pepatov emiBonOovvtwv Kat
pepopevery avolev é éml TOUS BapBapous Brac bév-
Tes €TpdTrovTo. Kal Theta rot pe avrov Tept 70
petOpov @Oovpevor Kat’ aA AwY emaiovTo Kal
KareTTi“T\acay povov Kal vex pav TOV TOTapov,
tous O€ Sia Raves ot ‘Peopator By TOAMavTaS ava-
orpéedev Extewov axXpt Tov oTpatoTrébou Kal TAY
apatev pevyovtas. évraida, 5€ al yuvaixes atr-
avTacaL pera Echav Kal TreAEKEWY Sewvov TET pt-
yuiae Kat mepiOupov 7 LVVOVTO TOUS pevryovtas
opolos Kal TOUS StwKOVTAS, TOUS LEV WS mpodoras,
TOUS dé ws ToAepious, avarreduppévat paxomevors
Kat Xepal yupvais tovs te Oupeovs TaV “Poopator
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would frequently shout out all together their tribal name Ambrones, either to encourage one another, or to terrify their enemies in advance by the declaration. The first of the Italians to go down against them were the Ligurians, and when they heard and understood what the Barbarians were shouting, they themselves shouted back the word, claiming it as their own an- cestral appellation ; for ‘the Ligurians call themselves Ambrones by descent. Often, then, did the shout echo and reecho from either side before they came to close quarters; and since the hosts back of each party took up the cry by turns and strove each to outdo the other first in the magnitude of their shout, their cries roused and fired the spirit of the com- — batants.

Well, then, the Ambrones became separated by the stream; for they did not all succeed in getting across and forming an array, but upon the foremost of them the Ligurians at once fell with a rush, and the fighting was hand-to-hand. Then the Romans came to the aid of the Ligurians, and charging down from the heights upon the Barbarians overwhelmed and turned them back. Most of the Ambrones were cut down there in the stream where they were all crowded together, and the river was filled with their blood and their dead bodies; the rest, after the Romans had crossed, did not dare to face about, and the Romans kept slaying them until they came in their flight to their camp and waggons. Here the women met them, swords and axes in their hands, and with hideous shrieks of rage tried to drive back fugitives and pursuers alike, the fugitives as traitors, and the pursuers as foes; they mixed them- selves up with the combatants, with bare hands tore

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LL 2

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aTrooTaca Kai trav Evbav émiiapBavopevat, cal
Tpavpata Kat Staxomas TopaTov UTropévoucat,
péxpe TEAEUT IIS anTTNTOL Tots Oupois. THY pev
ou TapaTroT dpov payny odTw Kata TUYNY Uar-
Nov youn Tob oTpaTayou yevéoOat deyovary.
XX. "Evel 6é ToAAoUS Ta "ApBpavev. ot
‘Peopaior StapOeipartes dvexepnaay orice Kat
TKOTOS éméaxen, ovx, domep én evTUXn HATE
TOTOUTH Tov oTpatoy édéFayTo TraLaves émwvixtot
car TOTOL Kara oKnvas Kal pedroppocvvar epi
detrrva Kal TO TavTOV ndvarov dvdpdow EUTUX OS
pepaxnpevoss, dirvos Hrvos, GAN éxeiyny pamorTa
THY vuRTO poRepay at Tapaxwon Senryayov. wy
per yap avtots aYapacwtov TO otparoredop Kas
ateixiaTov, amehelTrovTo 1 $é Tov BapBapov é ere
modal pupiddes anrTntot, Kal CUpLpeLiry Levey
TovTots Soot SiaTrepevyerav tov ‘ApBpeover,
aduppos Hv da VUKTOS, ov KAavO ois ovde orevary-
pois avOpwrrav é coLKws, GANA Onpopeyns TUS opyyn
Kal Bpvynua pre pesry wévov amethais Kal Opryvors
avarre [iT OWevov x mnBous TOTOUTOU Td TE mépug
épn eal Ta KotNa TOU TOT ALOU Teprepovet. Kal
Kateixe dpixwdns Yos TO Tediov, Tovs 5é ‘Po-
patous dé0s, avrov te tov Mapuov éxtrdnees a-
KO Ov Twa Kal _Tapaxadn VUKTOMAX LAY ™poo-
Sexouevov. ou pny émnrOov obre VUKTOS ovTe THS
émLovens npépas, GANA cuYTaTroVTEs EavTOUS Kas
Tapac evalopevot SteréXoup.
"Ep TOUT® dé Mdptos, joav yap éx Kepahis
tav BapBdpwv vdtrar Twepixrivels Kal KaTaoKsos
1 gwredclwovro, Bekker adopts Coraés’ correction to dweAel-
ToyvTo,
516

41%

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away the shields of the Romans or grasped their
swords, and endured wounds and mutilations, their
fierce spirits unvanquished to the end. So, then, as
we are told, the battle at the river was brought on
by accident rather than by the intention of the
commander. |

XX. After destroying many of the Ambrones the Romans withdrew and night came on; but in spite of so great a success the army did: not indulge in paeans of victory, or drinking in the tents, or friendly converse over suppers, or that sweetest of all delights for men who have fought and won a battle, gentle sléep, but that night more than any other was spent in fears and commotions. For their camp was still without palisade or wall, and there were still left many myriads of the Barbarians who had met with no defeat. These had been joined by all the Am- brones who survived the battle, and there was lamentation among them all night long, not like the wailings and groans of men, but howlings and bellow- ' ings with a strain of the wild beast in them, mingled with threats and cries of grief, went up from this vast multitude and echceed among the surrounding hills and over the river valley. The whole plain was filled with an awful din, the Romans - with fear, and even Marius himself with consternation as he awaited some disorderly and confused night- battle. However, the Barbarians made. no attack either during that night or the following day, but spent the time in marshalling their forces and making preparations.

Meanwhile, since the position of the Barbarians was commanded by sloping glens and ravines that were

‘Spupois avraves, evtradda Kravdsov Mapxedrrov
€xTéumel peta TploxtALwv omrALTaY, évedpedoat
Kerevoas Kpvpa Kal payopuévors, éEoTricbev éme-
pavivat. tovs 5€ ddXrous Sertvncavtas év dpa
\ t o> es , \ a
eal Kouunéevras au’ quepa cuvératte mpo Tod
Napaxos ayayov, cal mpocEémepte TOUS lirTeas
9 \ id 4 <A e , ?
els TO Tedtov. Oeacayuevor 5é of Tevroves ov
nvésxyovto xataBaivovtas avtots é€ tcov dia-
4 Q \ ‘Pp , b a \ 4 AN
yovitesVar Tous Pwpatous, aXvAa@ ouv TayYel Kal
9 9? a e , A / , e
du’ opyis omAtodpevot TS AOHM TpocéBarov. oO
5é Mdpus éxactayod Staréurav tovs jyepovas
écTaval Kal KapTepeiy TapeKare, TeAacavTwv Oé
eis eduxtrov éEaxovricat tovs vacous, elta xph-
Oat Tais paxaipais Kal Tots Oupeots avtepeicar-
a / a
tas BidlecOau Trav yap ToTeY émucharov ovTOY
\
éxeivous ovTE Tovoy eew Tas TANYAS OTE pon
TOY cuvacTiCMOY, ev TeptTpoTH Kal cad@ Tov
cwpatov dvrov dia THY avopariay. TadTa dua
mapnve. Kal Spav éwpato mpwTos: ovdevos yap
HOKNTO YElpov TO GMa, Kal wavTas ToAV TH

, / ;
TOALN TrapnANATTED.
XXI. ‘Os otv avtictaytes avtois ot “Pwpator
” /
Kal ouptecovtes éxyov avw depopevous, éexOr«-
Bopevor kata pixpov wrexy@povy ets to Trediov
Kal Tov TpeTwY Hon KaOtoTapévwr eis Takiv ev
A x \
Tots émumédors Bon Kat Stactacpos Hv tept Tovs
v e \ \ > \ ,
omtaev. 0 yap Katpos ovn EXaGe Tov Mapxerrdon,
GANA THS Kpavyhs Urép Tovs Nopous avw depo-
> wn
pévns avaoctncas Tovs pet avTod Spoym Kal

shaded by trees, Marius sent Claudius Marcellus thither with three thousand men-at-arms, under orders. to lie concealed in ambush until the battle was on, and then to show themselves in the enemy’s rear. The rest of his soldiers, who had taken supper in good season and then got a night’s sleep, he led out at day-break and drew up in front of the camp, and sent out his cavalry into the plain. The Teutones, seeing this, could not wait for the Romans to come down and fight with them on equal terms, but quickly and wrathfully armed themselves and charged up the hill. But Marius, sending his officers to all parts of the line, exhorted the soldiers to stand firmly in their lines, and when the enemy had got within reach to hurl their javelins, then take to their swords and crowd the Barbarians back with their shields; for since the enemy were. on precarious ground their blows would have no force and the locking of their shields no strength, but the uneven- ness of the ground would keep them turning and tossing about. This was the advice he gave his men, ‘and they saw that he was first to act accordingly; — for he was in better training than any of them, and in daring far surpassed them all.

_ XXI. Accordingly, the Romans awaited the enemy's onset, then closed with them and checked their upward rush, and at last, crowding them back little by little, forced them into the plain. Here, while the Barbarians in front were at last forming in line on level ground, there was shouting and commotion in their rear. For Marcellus had watched his opportunity, and when the cries of battle were borne | up over the hills he put his men upon the run and

J “a , , 4 \
GNANAYU@ TPOTETIMTE KATA VWTOU, KTELVOY TOUS
éxyatous. of 5é Tovs Wpo avTaY état w@pevot
TAXU TaY TO OTpaTevpa Tapayns évérANoav, ov
ToNUY TE Ypovoy nvécyovTo Tratopevor Sty oOen,

9 \ \ 4 4, w e Ve al
adry.a Thy Tak AVoavTeEs Efevyov. of 5é ‘Pwpaior
St@xovtes avtav pev UTrép Séxa pupiadas 7 Covras
a / a“ \ \ ¢ a \
etkov 7 KatéBarov, oxnvev 5€ xai apakov Kai
Yenuatwv kpatnoavres, doa wy dtexramn, Maptov
rAaBeiv epndicavto. Kat Swpeads TavTns NaptTpo-
D2
TaTns Tuy@v ovdev akiov exew @v éotpa-
tTHynoev evoyicOn Sia TO Tov KLVdUVOU péyeOos.
7 \ “A aA a 4 b
Erepot dé rept tis Swpeas Tov ANadvpwv ovy
OMoroyovaLV, OVdSE Tept TOU TANOOUS TeV TETOD-
tov. Maocarinras pmévtot rA€youvet Tois GoTéoLs
TweplOptyx@oat Tovs autredA@vas, THY 6 YyhV, TOV
A \ A
vexpov Katavarwlevtwv ev avtTh Kat Sia Yetmavos
ouBpov émrimecovtwy, obtws éxdTravOnvar Kat
/ \ 4 / fol ‘
yevéerOar da Bd0ous wepitrAew TIS anmeddvos
évovons @aTeE KapT ay brepBadrov cis @pas
mr os eEeveyKety Kat Haptupioat TO “ApXiroyp
eyourt Tiaiveo Oat Trpos Tov ToLOvTOU Tas apoUpas.
érucixas 5€ Tails peyddais pdyats éEatcious
veTovs émixatappnyvucOat Aéyovow, elte Sat-
poviov Tivos THY yhv KaBapois Kal Stimeréow
ayvitovtos béact Kal KataxruUlovtos, elite Tov
a ee
gdovov xal THs aontedovos éEavieions bypay Kal
Bapeiav avadupiaci, * Tov aépa ovviornow
eUTpemTov OdvTa Kal paditov peraBdArew aro
P / > N A Pe 3 a
TMLKPOTATNS ETL WAELTTOV apyYyNs.
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fell with loud shouts upon the enemy’s rear, where
he cut down the hindmost of them. Those in the
rear forced along those who were in front of them,
and quickly plunged the whole army into confusion,
and under this double attack they could not hold
out long, but broke ranks and fled. The Romans

pursued them and either slew or took alive over a hundred thousand of them, besides making themselves masters of their tents, waggons, and property, all of which, with the exception of what was pilfered, was given to Marius by vote of the soldiers. And though the gift that he received was so splendid, it was thought to be wholly unworthy of his services in the campaign, where the danger that threatened had been so great.

There are some writers, however, who give a different account of the division of the spoils, and also of the number of the slain. Nevertheless, it is*said that the people of Massalia fenced their vineyards round with the bones of the fallen, and that the soil, after the bodies had wasted away in it and the rains had fallen all winter upon it, grew so rich and be- came so full to its depths of the putrefied matter that sank into it, that it produced an exceeding great harvest in after years, and confirmed the saying of Archilochus! that “fields are fattened”’ by such a process. And it is said that extraordinary rains generally dash down after great battles, whether it is that some divine power drenches and hallows the ground with purifying waters from Heaven, or that the blood and putrefying matter send up a moist and heavy vapour which condenses the air, this being easily moved and readily changed to the highest degree by the slightest cause.

1 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graecs, ii.4 pp. 428 f.

XXII. Mera &é THY pany O _Maptos TOV BapBapicav Om ov Kat Aad upwv Ta pev EXT PETA kal odkoKANpa Kal Tow LK AY Oyu T@ OprduBe Suvdpeva Tapacyxetv éréne£e, TOD dé adXNwv esl mupas meyarns KaTacwpevcas TO TrIIOS éOuce Ouaiav peyaron perry. Kai Tov oTpaTov Tape- TTATOS ey Srrdos ea repavepevov TreptSwadpevos autos, domep GOos éativ, avahaBav THY TepuTrop- g@upov Kat AaBov dada KaLomevny Kal be apudorepav TeV Xe~pav dvacxeov Tos TOV ovpavov ewer Aev vpnoev 7H Tupa: «al TpogedavvovTes iarmous EwpOVTO pirou OUD Taxet Tos autor, dare Tomy yevér Gat oeomny Kal mpocdoxiay amdvtwy. eet dé éeyyls hoav, atorndncaytes edeEtodvro TOV Mapuor, evaryyeMtCopevor TO WéuTr- Tov aurov dmratov nphoba., Kat ypappata Trept TOUT@Y arrédoaap. _beyadns ov Xapas trois ET LVLKLOLS T poaryevoperns 6 Te oTpaTos ud’ ndoviis evo ip Twi KPOT@ Kat TaTay@ ovvndrddakay, Kal TOV HyEHOvey TOV Mépvov avis avadovyt oy Sadyns arepadvots évnwe tiv Twupav Kal thy

vata éreTeNeiwcer.

XXII. ‘H dé ponder éaoa TOV peyddov €U-
TUXNLATODV AKPAaTov Ets noovny Kal caapor, arra
pifer KaKaV xal ayabav Toixihhovca, TOV av0 par-
TLvov Biov 7 uy tTUyn Te 7 veweots n T parywaT ov
dvayKata puous ov TrohAais UoTEepov nuépaus
emnyarye @ Mapiy THy mept KdtaAov Tob oup-
dpxovtos aryyedav, GoTep év evdia Kat yarn
vemos, avtis & Erepov gpoBov rat yetwava Th Popun
TEeploTnaaca. o yap 5 Kadtdos dvrixadnpevos
tots KiuBpos tas pev brepBords tov “AXrewy
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XXII. After the battle, Marius collected such of the arms and spoils of the Barbarians as were hand- some, entire, and fitted to make a show in his triumphal procession ; all the rest he heaped up on a huge pyre and set on foot a magnificent sacrifice. The soldiers had taken their stand about the pyre in arms, with chaplets on their heads, and Marius himself, having put on his purple-bordered robe and girt it about him, as the custom was, had taken a lighted torch, held it up towards heaven with both hands, and was just about to set fire to the pyre, when some friends were seen riding swiftly towards him, and there was deep silence and expectancy on the part of all. But when the horsemen were near, they leaped to the ground and greeted Marius, bringing him the glad news that he had been elected consul for the fifth time,! and giving him letters to that effect. This great cause for rejoicing having been added to the celebration of their victory, the soldiers, transported with delight, sent forth a universal shout, accompanied by the clash and clatter of their arms, and after his officers had crowned Marius afresh with wreaths of bay, he set fire to the pyre and completed the sacrifice.

XXIII. However, that power which permits no great successes to bring a pure and unmixed enjoy- ment, but diversifies human life with a blending of evil and of good—be it Fortune, or Nemesis, or Inevit- able Necessity, within a few days brought to Marius tidings of his colleague Catulus, which, like a cloud in a calm and serene sky, involved Rome in another tempest of fear. For Catulus, who was facing the Cimbri, gave up trying to guard the passes of the

1 For the year 101 B.o.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

arréyuw puraoce, 17) KATA TONKA THY SUVA
pépn Seaipeiv avayxalopevos aabevns yévotto,
xataBas & evdus eis tHv "Itadiav Kal rov ’Att-
cava TOT apov NaBov po avTov Kai ppafdpevos
™ pos tas diaBadcers éxatépwber i tayupots Xapa-
KO LAT LY, éleufe TOV Topoy, as émrtBonbety ein Tots

mépav, el _ pos Ta ppovpra Budlowro Sia ray
OTEVOY Ob BdpRapor. Tots dé TocovTov Tmepthy
vrepowpias Kai Opacous Kata TOY Trohepdery dove
popny Kat TOhmay em erxvupevor paddov 7 mpar-
TovTés TL TOY avaryKatov yupvol pep nvelXovTo
vicpopevot cai 51a maywv Kal yvovos Badeias Tots
aK pots mpoaéBawwor, avo bev dé Tous Oupeovs :
wrateis Drorievres Tois cdpacty, elra aduévtes
aurous Umepepovro Kata Kpnpvav orducOnpata
kal ALoaddas dyaveis eX OvTe@v. ws de Tapa-
oTparomesevaavres eyyus cai kaTaoKeyapevor
TOV Topov ipEavro Xovv, Kal Tous qépue Aogous
avappnyvuvres, @orep ot yiyartes, apa bevdpa
mpoppita Kal Kpnpvav amapdyparta Kal ys
KOM@VOUS épopouy els TOY TOTAMOP, éxOri Bovres
TO pevpa Kal Tois épetSovar Ta Cevypata BaOpors
erévres Bapyn peydra cupopeva, Kata poov xal
TlWaTTovTa tails mrnyais THY yepupay, amrobes-
Mdoartes Ol TAELOTOL TOD TTPATLOT OY é&éNstrov
TO péya oTpaToTredov Kal dvex@povv.
"Ev0a 57 Kdrios éderEev éauvTov, waomTrep
TO | arya ov Kal TéXelov apyovrTa, THY avTov dokav
éy Daren TOV TOT OY a. Déuevov. érrel yap ove
éretOe TovS oTpatim@tas péverv, AXX' éwpa Tept-
Ses avatevyvivtas, dpacOat Kedevoas Tov aeTov 41!
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Alps, lest he shopld be weakened by the necessity of dividing his forces into many parts, and at once descended into the plains of Italy. Here he put the river Atiso between himself and the enemy, built strong fortifications on both banks of it to prevent their crossing, and threw a bridge across the stream, that he might be able to go to the help of the people on the other side in case the Barbarians made their way through the passes and attacked the fortresses. But these Barbarians were so contemptuous and bold in following their enemies that, more by way of displaying their strength and daring than because it was necessary at all, they endured the snow-storms without any clothing, made their way through ice and deep snow to the summits, and from there, putting their broad shields under them and then let- ting themselves go, slid down the smooth and deeply fissured cliffs. After they had encamped near the , stream and examined the passage, they began to dam it up, tearing away the neigbouring hills, like the giants of old, carrying into the river whole trees with their roots, fragments of cliffs, and mounds of earth, and crowding the current out of its course; they also sent whirling down the stream against the piles of the bridge heavy masses which made the bridge quiver with their blows, until at last the greater part of the Roman soldiers played the coward, abandoned their main camp, and began to retreat.

And now Catulus, like a consummately good com- mander, showed that he had less regard for his own

reputation than for that of his countrymen. For finding that he could not persuade his soldiers to re- main, and seeing that they were making off in terror, he ordered his standard to be taken up, ran to the

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Ss TOUS TPWTOUS TAY ATEpYoLEeVWY Opunoe Spdpw
Kal patos nyeito, BovAopevos avTov TO atoxpoy,
b) 'N ' fo] 4 / \ a A
adra py THS TaTpidos yevéoOar, kai Soxety pr
dhevyovtas, dvr érropévous TH OTPAaTHY@ Trovet-
\ bd , e de 4 \ \
aOat thy atroxwpnot. ot dé BapBapor ro pév
mépav Tov Aricavos ppouvplov éredOovtes EXaBop,
Kal tovs autToGr 'Pwyaious avipav Kxpatiotous
yevouevous Kat mpoxiwoduvevoavtas akiws Tis
matpioos OGavydacavtes vToomTovdous adjxay,
OpocavTes TOY YaXKodY Tadpor, dv DaTEpoy dXovTA
\ \ , bf A 4. > 2
peta thy paynv ets tHy KdtArov dacly oixiay
@omep axpoinov Tihs vixens KoptcOjvat. thy Sé
yaepay Eonuov Bonletas émiyvbévtes émopOouv.
XXIV. 'Esi tovros éeareito Mdptos eis thy
'Poynv: cal mapayevopevos, wavtTw@v avTov oio-
, , " a a
pévav OptapBevoew nal tis BovrAts mpoOvpws
Wndicapévns, oun nEiwoey, cite TOUS oTpaTLWTAS
kal auvayovicTas amootepjoat THS PiAroTLLLias
pu) BovAdpevos, eltre mpos Ta Tapovta Bappvvwy
TO TAHOOS, @S TH TUYN THS TWoAEWS TAapaKaTaTt-
Oéwevos THY TOV TpeTwY KaTOpOwpdToy So-ay év
tois Sevtépots Aaprpotrépay arrodoOncopevny.
SiarexOeis 5€ Ta wpéTovTa TH Katp@ Kal mpos
tov KdtXov éEopunoas, tovTov te tapeOdppuve
kal Tovs avuTod peTeméuTeTo oTpatiwtas éx
Tanatias. ws 8€ adixovto, SiaBas tov Hpsdavov
elpyery éretpato THs évTds 'Itadias tovs Bap-
, e \ / b 4
Bapovs. ot d€ tovs Tevtovas éxdéyerOat . Kal
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foremost of the retiring troops, and put himself at

their head, wishing that the disgrace should attach to himself and not to his country, and that his soldiers, in making their retreat, should not appear to be running away, but following their general. The Barbarians attacked and captured the fortress on the further side of the Atiso, and they so much admired the Romans there, who showed themselves bravest of men and fought worthily of their country, that they let them go on parole, making them take oath upon the bronze bull. This was subsequently captured, after the battle, and was carried, we are told, to the house of Catulus as the chief prize of the victory. But the country was now destitute of defenders, and the Barbarians inundated and ravaged it.

XXIV. In view of these things Marius was sum- moned to Rome. When he had arrived there, it was the general expectation that he would celebrate the triumph which, the senate had readily voted him. But he refused to do so, either because he did not wish to deprive his soldiers and comrades-in-arms of their due honours, or because he would encourage the multitude in view of the present crisis by en- trusting the glory of his first success to the fortune . of the state, in the hope that it would be returned to him enhanced by a second: Having said what was suitable to the occasion, he set out to join Catulus, whom he tried to encourage, while at the same time he summoned his own soldiers from Gaul. When these had come, he crossed the Po and tried to keep the Barbarians out of the part of Italy lying this side of the river. But the Barbarians declined battle, alleging that they were waiting for

Oavydlew ws Bpadvvovtwv pacKovtes aveBar-
NovTo Thy payny, elite ayvoobvTes SvTwWS THY
9 , , w , "A 9 "
exetvwv POopav, elte Bovromevor Soxety arioreiv.
9 , > A , A
wal yap Tous ayyéAXovTas nKiSovTo Seas, Kal Tov
Mdpiov nrovy méuWaytes éavrois Kal Tois aber-
pois ywpay nal modes ixavas évotxetv. épopévov
"~ la \ , \ "~ 9 nw
5é rod Mapiou rovs mpécBers mept Tav adeXdor,
KaKelvVOY ovopacdvtTwy tous TevTovas, of pmeév
ado dvtes éyéAacay, o 5€ Maptos éoxwwev
> 2 cE , \ 9 / ¥ A
eirr@v: "Kate tolvuy tous adergous: Exovor yap
yn éxeivot kat Ota tmavtos E€ovot wap jmav
AaBovtes." ot b¢ rpéc Bees THY Elpwveiav cuvevTeEs

éXoLdopouy avrov ws dicny upéfovtra, KipSpoes
\ > , 4 \ @ S, 66
bev avtixa, Tevroos dé Stay rrapayévwvtar. “ Kal
\ / ”» e / “) ’ o
pny mdapeow, ébn o Maptos, “Kali ovy ees
A e a 9 na 4 a ‘ 9
KAANOS Luly aTadAayhvat TpoTEpov 7) TOUS adEA-
govs adomdcacba.” Kal Tavita citrwv éxédevce
TOUS Bacireis tov Tevtovev mpoaxOjvat dede-
pévous: édiwoav yap év tais “AXtrect pevyovres
vmTo YnKovavov.
XXV. ‘Os S€ aanyyérXOn tadta Tois KipSpors,
* 3 9 fa) b] , > \ \ 4 e€ 4
avlis €E apyis éxwpouy éti tov Mapioy novya-
\ 4 \ Ud 4
Covra xal dsahvAdttovtra To otpatotresov. NEyeT at
dé eis éxetyny thy payny mpatov bo Mapiou
a \ \
KatvorounOnvas TO Tept TOS VaaoUs. TO yap Ets
\ U v A 4 a \
Tov aidnpov éuBAYpa Tod EvrAou mpoTepov peév Hv
a \
Svol mepovars KaTetAnppévov aidypais, Tote Sé oO
4
Mdpuos rnv per, dorrep elyev, elace, THY 8 évépav
éFexov EvAwov roy evOpavotoy avt avtis
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their brethren the Teutones and wondered why they were so long in coming; this was either because they were really ignorant of their destruction, or because they wished to have the appearance of disbelieving it. For they terribly mishandled those who brought tidings of it, and sent to Marius de- manding territory for themselves and their brethren and enough cities for them to dwell in. When Marius asked their ambassadors whom they meant by their brethren, they said they meant the Teutones. At this, all the other Romans who heard them burst out laughing, and Marius scoffingly said : « Then don’t trouble yourselves about your brethren, for they have land, and they will have it forever— land which we have given them.” The ambassadors understood his sarcasm and fell to abusing him, declaring that he should be punished for. it, by the Cimbri at once, and by the Teutonés when they came. “ Verily,” said Marius, “they are here, and it will not be right for you to go away before you have. . embraced your brethren.” Saying this, he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be produced in fetters ; for they had been captured among the Alps, where they were fugitives, by the Sequani.

XXV. When these things had been reported to the Cimbri, they once more advanced against Marius, who kept quiet and carefully guarded his camp. And it is said that it was in preparation for this battle that

Marius introduced an innovation in the structure of the javelin. Up to this time, it seems, that part of the shaft which was let into the iron head was fastened there by two iron nails; but now, leaving one of these as, it was, Marius removed the other, and put in its place a wooden pin that could easily

° 66 , ' \ e \ A
2 evéBare, Teyvalwy tpoomecovtTa Tov vacoyv TO
Oupe@ Tod ToAEuiou pun pévetv opOov, adda TOU
o / (4 \ / \
EuXtvov xracbévtos Nov Kaprny yiverOa. Tept
' , \ / \ , A A
Tov aidnpov Kai mapédXKecOat To Sopu, &a THv
oTpeBAOTHTA THS aiypns eveyopevov. |

BosapeF 5é 0 tav KipBpwv Bacrrevs orLyooros
Tpocimmevaas TH oTpaToTédw@ MpovKanreito Tov
¢ td "~
Madpuoy, nuépav opicavta Kat Torrov, mpoeAOeiv
xat StaywricacBa epi THs xwpas. Tod bé
Mapiov dycavtos ovdérote "Pwpaious supBov-
rots KexpHoOat Trepi paxns Tois TroAEuioLs, Ov LHV
> \ "A A , e , \
adda Kal yaptetcOat rodTO Kip Spots, nuépav pev
EOevto Thy am éxeivns tpitnv, yopav é TO 7re-
, \ } e ld \ b 4
Stov 76 wept BepxédXXas, Pwpaiors pev émitydecov
évinnacacbar, trav 5€ avadyvow TO TAHOE
Tapacyely.
Typycavtes ovy Tov wpiopevoy Xpovoy avTt-
mapetdaaovto, KdtXos pev Exywv dtcpupious Kal
Tptaxoctous atpatiatas, ot dé Mapiou dsoxidsoe
pev ent tpropupions éyévovTo, teptéaxov 5é Tov
Kdrdov év péow veunbévtes eis éexatepov Képas,
e , ? ; > 7 \ /
@> LwaAdAas, Hywvicpévos exeivnv Thy payny,

Ul , ' M 4 x , a
yéypabe. Kai dnot tov Mdptoy éAtricavta ois
dxpows padtota Kal KaTa Képas cuptreceiy Tas
ddrayyas, Srrws iSios 4 inn Tov éxeivou otpa-
TLWTOY YyevolTo Kal pn METAaTYXOL TOU aywVOS Oo
a 4

KatnXos nde mpocpi€ese Tots TroAeuiols, KOATOMA
TOV pécov, WaTrep clwOev ev peydrols pEeTwTrOLS,
NapBavovtwv, odtw Svacthoa: Tas duvdpers.
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be broken. His design was that the javelin, after striking the enemy's shield, should not stand straight out, but that the wooden peg should break, thus allowing the shaft to bend in the iron head and trail along the ground, being held fast by the twist at the point of the weapon.

And now Boeorix the king of the Cimbri, with a small retinue, rode up towards the camp and challenged Marius to set a day and a place and come out and fight for the ownership of the country. Marius replied that the Romans never allowed their enemies to give them advice about fighting, but that he would nevertheless gratify the Cimbri in this matter. Accordingly, they decided that the day should be the third following, and the place the plain of Vercellae, which was suitable for the operations of the Roman cavalry, and would give the Cimbri room to deploy their numbers.

When, therefore, the appointed time had come, the Romans drew up their forces for battle. Catulus had twenty thousand three hundred soldiers, while those of Marius amounted to thirty-two thousand, which were divided between both wings and had Catulus between them in the centre, as Sulla, who fought in this battle, has stated.1_ He says also that Marius hoped that the two lines would engage at their extremities chiefly and on the wings, in order that his soldiers might have the whole credit for the victory and that Catulus might not participate in the struggle nor even engage the enemy (since the centre, as is usual in battle-fronts of great extent, would be folded back) ; and therefore arranged the

1 In his Memoirs; cf. the Sulla, iv. 3.

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dpora 5€é eal Toy KdtAov avtov atrovoyelcOac trepi
TovTwY iotopovat, ToAANY KaTNYyopourTa Tov
Mapiou xaxonOecav mpos autov.
Tots 5¢ KiwSpors ro yey relov ex TaV épupata@v

xa’ novyiay mpone, Babos icov TO peToT@
ToLovpevoyv. Exaorn yap éréaye TWAEUPA oTAdioUS
TpiaxovtTa THs tapatakews: ot dé imeis puvptot
nal tevraxioyidto. To TAHOoS dvtes e€)jNacav
Naptrpol, xpavn pev eixacpéva Onpiwy PoBepaov
xdopact Kal mpotopais tScopoppois éxovtes, as
eTraLpopevot ANOHoLs TrEpwTois Eis Orvos EhatvovTo
peivous, Owpaks Sé xexoounpévor ctdnpois, Oupeois
d€ NevKois oTiABovtTes. dKovticpa Se Wy éexdoT@
S:Borjia: cuptrecovtes b€ peyddas eypavtTo Kat
Bapeiass paxatpats. |
XXVI. Tore d€ ovxl cata otopa Tpocepépovro
tots ‘Pwpaiots, AX’ éxxAvovtes él Seva brHyov
avTovS KaTa pixpov, éuBdrXovtes eis TO pécoV
auT@y Te Kal Tav melav éF apiotepas TapaTteTay-
Hévov. Kal cuvetooy pev of Trav ‘Popaiwy orparn-
yot tov Sorov, émicyety 5€ tods orpatiwras
oun EpOnaav, adr’ évds exBonaoavtos Sti hevyou-
ow ot Todéutot, TavTes Opunoay Sioxew. Kal
To welov ev ToUT@ TaV BapRapwv émne Kaddtrep
TéAaryos ayaves Kivovpevov. eévTad0a vinpdpevos
o Mdpios tas yelpas Kal mpos Tov ovpavoy ava-
oxyev evEato Tos Geois kata éExatouBns. evEaTo
Sé xal Katnos opoiws dvacyav tas yelpas xate-
pace THY TUX NY THS Nwépas exeivns. Tov dé
Mapiov cal Ovcavra éyerat TOY Lep@v avT@
dry Pevtav péya POeyEduevoy cirety “Kun 7
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ViKN.
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forces in thismanner. And we are told that Catulus
himself also made a similar statement in defence of
his conduct in the battle, and accused Marius of
great malice in his treatment of him.
As for the Cimbri, their foot-soldiers advanced
slowly from their defences, with a depth equal to
their front, for each side of their formation had an
extent of thirty furlongs; and their horsemen,
fifteen thousand strong, rode out in splendid style,
with helmets made to resemble the maws of frightful
wild beasts or the heads of strange animals, which,
with their towering crests of feathers, made their

wearers appear taller than they really were; they were also equipped with breastplates of iron, and carried gleaming white shields. For hurling, each man had two lances; and at close quarters they used large, heavy swords.
XXVI. At this time, however, they did not charge directly upon the Romans, but swerved to the right and tried to draw them along gradually until they got them between themselves and their infantry, which was drawn up on their left. The Roman commanders perceived the crafty design, but did not succeed in holding their soldiers back; for one ot them shouted that the enemy was taking to flight, and then all set out to pursue them. Meanwhile the infantry of the Barbarians came on to the attack like a vast sea in motion. Then Marius, after washing his hands, lifted them to heaven and vowed a hecatomb to the gods; Catulus also in like manner lifted his hands and vowed that he would consecrate the fortune of that day. It is said, too, that Marius offered sacrifice, and that when the victims had been shown to him, he cried with a loud voice: “ Mine is the victory.”
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Tevouévns 6€ rhs épodov mpaypua veyeonrov maeiy tov Mdpiov of wep YvAXrav loTtopodcs. xovtoptod yap apbévtos, olov eixos, dmA€éTOU Kal TOV OTPATOTéOWY ATrOKEKPULpLEVOY, EKElVOV ED, @$ TO TP@TOY WpyNnoe pos THY Siwkw, émioTa- odmevov Thy SivauLy aoTOXnoaL TOV ToAELIOV kal tapeveyOevta THs pPdrayyos év TO Tediv SiahépecPar trodvv xpovov, T@ 5&€ Katr@ Tovs BapBdpovs amo tuyns cuppayhva, Kai yevérbar TOV ay@va KaT éxeivov Kal TOUS exéivou padLoTA otpatiotas, év ols avdtos o YwAAas TeTdyPar gnci: cuvaywvicacba: 5é tots ‘Pwpuaios Td Kadpa Kal TOV HALO avTtAdpTrovTa Tois KipBpais. dewol yap Gvres wmopetvas xpvn, Kal Toros évteOpappévor oxrepois, ws NéAEKTAL, Kal Wruypois, avetpérovro mpos To OdAros, idp@ta Te peTa

adoOuatos Twodvy éx TOV CMpaTwY adlévTes Kal
Tovs Oupeovs mpoBarXropmevot pO TOV TpoTwTaY,
ate 5) kai peta tpotras Oépous THs payns yevo-
pévns, as dyovot ‘Pwpaiot mpd tpiav uepav
THS vouunvias Tod vov pév Avyovotou, Tote dé
LeETvALov pnvos. a@vynoe 5é Kal wpdos TO Oappelv
0 KOVLOpTOS aTroKpUvas TOUS TroAEpioUsS. Ov yap
KaTeloov €k TOAKOD TO TAOS, GAAa Spouw Tots
Kat avtovs Exacto. Tpocpitartes ev YEpaiv joay,
bd THS Brews py TpoexpoRnOévtes. otto &
Hoav SiaTrovet Ta a@pata Kal KkatnOAnKoTes as
pntTe \OpodvTa tiva pte doOpaivovta ‘Powpaiwv
opOjnvat S:a Tviyous Tocovrov Kat peta Spopov
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After the attack had begun, however, an ex- perience befell Marius which signified the divine displeasure, according to Sulla. For an immense cloud of dust was raised, as was to be expected, and the two armies were hidden from one another by it, so that Marius, when he first led his forces to’ the attack, missed the enemy, passed by their lines of battle, and moved aimlessly up and down the plain for some time. Meanwhile, as chance would have it, the Barbarians engaged fiercely with Catulus, and he and his soldiers, among whom Sulla says he himself was posted, bore the brunt of the struggle. The Romans were favoured in the struggle, Sulla says, by the heat, and by the sun, which shone in the faces of the Cimbri. For the Barbarians were well able to endure cold, and had been brought up in shady and chilly regions, as I have said.1 They were’ therefore un- done by the heat; they sweated profusely, breathed with difficulty, and were forced to hold their shields before their faces. For the battle was fought after the summer solstice, which falls, by Roman reckoning, three days before the new moon of the month now called ‘August,? but then Sextilis. Moreover, the dust, by hiding the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For they could not see from afar the great numbers of the foe, but each one of them fell at a run upon the man just over against him, and fought him hand to hand, without having been terrified by the sight of the rest of the host. And their bodies were so inured to toil and so thoroughly trained that not a Roman was observed to sweat or pant, in spite of the great heat and the run with which they

1 Chapter xi. 5 f.
2 a.d. III. Kalendas Augusti.
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THS cuppatews YEVOMEDNS, @S TOV KadrXov aurov 421
toTopety Aéyouor peyaduvovta TOUS oTpaTiOTas.
XXVIII. To pev ovv m)helarov pépos Kal paxe-
parrarov TOV ToAE Mio avTov KaTeKOTN” Kab oe
Hoav urép Tov BT Stacraaba THY réku ot

Tpopaxor paxpais advoeot pos AGAANAOUS ouveE-
NOpevor Sua TeV Swati pov avadedeuevais: Tous S€
pevyovtas OoavTes ™pos TO Naparcopa Tpaytka-
TaToLS éveTuyxavov mafecw. at yap yuvaires
ETL TOV apatov peravelpoves epec Taras TOUS TE
pevyovtas & ExTELvon, at Hey avdpas, al : O€ aderpous,
ai S€ Tarépas, eal Ta vinta, TOV TEKVOY andy-
Xoveat Tais Xepoly éppimrouy x) TOUS TpoXoUS
Kat TOUS m0oas TOV vrro luton, auras dé anéo pat-
_ TOV. piav 5é pact é& axpov pupov kpepapevny
Ta TaLdia TOV AUTHS opupav adnupéeva Spoxors
éxatépw bev Hpria Gat: Tous 6€ avdpas arropig
devdpav Tois Képact TOV Body, tous 8é Tots
oKéhert ™ poo deiv TOUS avUTOV Tpaxnrous, celta
Kévtpa Tpoo pepovTas eFaddopevov TOV Bow
epehxopevous Kal TATOULEVOUS atroAAva Oat. my
Kaimep OUTS avr ay Stapapevror, éddwoay virép
&& pupiddas: ai 5€ TaY TecovTwY éXéyoVvTO Sis
TogavTat ryever Oar.
Ta pev ou Xpipara Sinprracay ot Mapiov
oTpaTiaran, Ta be hapupa Kat Tas onpatas Kai
Tas cadTuyyas Els TO Kdrhov’ otpatoTedoy a ave-
veyOnvat Aeyoug wy" @ Kat padiora Tex unpip
xpra Gar TOV Kdrhov ¢ @S Kat auTov My vin yevorTo.
Kal pévtoe Kal Tois oTpaTLWTaLs, WS EoLKEV, EuTreE-
aovons éptdos, npéOncay olov diartntai mpéo Bets
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came to theencounter. This is what Catulus himself is said to have written! in extolling his soldiers. XXVII. The greatest number and the best fighters of the enemy were cut to pieces on the spot; for to prevent their ranks from being broken, those who fought in front were bound fast to one another with long chains which were passed through their belts. The fugitives, however, were driven back to their entrenchments, where the Romans beheld a most tragic spectacle. The women, in black gar- ments, stood at the waggons and slew the fugitives —their husbands or brothers or fathers, then strangled their little children and cast them be- neath the wheels of the waggons or the feet of the cattle, and then cut their own throats. It is said that one woman hung dangling from the tip of a waggon-pole, with her children tied to either ankle; while the men, for lack of trees, fastened. them- selves by the neck to the horns of the cattle, or to their legs, then plied the goad, and were dragged or trampled to death as the cattle dashed away. Nevertheless, in spite of such self-destruction, more than sixty thousand were taken prisoners ; and those who fell were said to have been twice that number. Now, the enemy’s property became the booty of the soldiers of Marius, but the spoils of battle, the standards, and the trumpets, were brought, we are told, to the camp of. Catulus; and Catulus relied chiefly upon this as a proof that the victory was won by hismen. Furthermore,.a dispute for the honour of the victory arose among the soldiers, as was natural, and the

members of an embassy from Parma were

1 Catulus wrote a history of his consulship, of which Cicero speaks in terms of high praise (Brutus, 35, 132 ff.).

Uappttav mapovres, obs of KatdXov Sa Tov
TOAEMLWY VEKpwV ayovTEs éredcixvUYTO ToOiS Eéav-
TaYV Vooots StatreTTappévous: yv@ptpot 8 Haoav Uo
ypaypatwv, Tovvoua Tov KatrXov grapa to EvXov
5 auT@y éyyapdEavtos. ov pay adddr\a To Mapio
mpooeTiOeTo aUuTaV TO Epyov H TE TpoTépa VviKN
kal TO Tpocynua Tihs apyYns. parttota Hé ot
TOAXOL KTiotTHY Te Pwpns TpiTOV éxelvoy aYNyo-
pevoy, ws ovx ATTOva Tov KeAtixod TovTOV a7reo)-
opévov Tov Kivduvov, evOupovpevoi TE "ETA TALdwV
Kai yuvaikov Exacto. Kat olkov dua Tots Oeois
cat Mapio Seimvov nat AuBAs amaynpxYovTo, Kat
OprapBevev povov nEiovy audorépous Tovs Opiadp-
6 Bous. ov pny eOpiduBevoey obtws, GAA pera
tov Kadtvov, pérpiov éml tThrAtKavTas evTUYtats
Bovdomevos trapéxye éavtov: Eats S€ 6 Te Kai
Tovs otpatiatas hoBnOels mapateraypevous, et
Kdtvos dreipyorto THs TLhs, undé exeivov éav
OprapBeverv.
XXVIII. Wéuarrny pev ody tratetav Sdcetrre-
rhs 6 Exrns ws ovdé els mpwrtns wpéyero, Oepa-
melas Tov Sipov avadapBdvev Kal mpos Xapty
évdid0vs Tois ToAXois, OV movov Tapa TOV SyKoV
kal TO Kowvov akiwpa Tihs apXTs, AAA Kal Tapa
THY avToD dvaw bypos tis elvat BovdAopevos Kal
2 Snuorixos, Yxtrta ToLovTos TepuKws. GAN Hp,
@$ A€yovet, Mpos ToALTElay Kal Tovs év OXAOLS
1 Marius was consul still, while Catulus had not been re-elected, and was only pro-consul.

chosen to act as arbitrators. These men the soldiers of Catulus conducted among the dead bodies of the enemy, which were clearly seen to have been pierced by their javelins ; for these could be known by the name of Catulus which had been cut into the shaft. However, the entire success was attributed to Marius,

both on account of his former victory and of his superior rank.1 Above all, the people hailed him as the third founder of Rome,' on the ground that the peril which he had averted from the city was not less than that of the Gallic invasion ; and all of them, as they made merry at home with their wives and children, would bring ceremonial offerings of food and libations of wine to Marius as well as to the gods, and they were insistent that he alone should celebrate both triumphs. Marius, however, would not do this, but celebrated his triumph with Catulus, wishing to show himself a man of moderation after a course of so great good fortune. Perhaps, too, he was afraid of the soldiers, who were drawn up and ready, in case Catulus were deprived of his honour, to prevent Marius also from celebrating a triumph. . XXVIII. Thus, then, his fifth consulship was coming to an end; but he was as eager for a sixth as another would have been for his first. He tried to win over the people by obsequious attentions, and yielded to the multitude in order to gain its favour, thus doing violence, not only to the dignity and majesty of his high office, but also to his own nature, since he wished to be a compliant man of the people when he was naturally at farthest remove from this. In confronting a political crisis or the tumultuous

2 With Romulus and Camillus. See the Camillus, xxxi. 2.

PopvBous id girodokias atodporatos, Kai TO
mapa Tas pdyas avéxm@AnKtovy Kal oTactpov
> a b 4 9 lA 9 N € N le)
€vy Tals ExXkAnOLaLS aTrédXELTTEY AUTOV UTTO TOV
TUXOVT@VY éTaivwy Kal wWoywv éfoTdpevov.
/ 4 , v e " J
xaitot réyerat Kapepivwv davdpas opovd ytALovs
a le! 4
StampeTras aywvicapévovs év T@ TrOAEL SwpT-
odpevos TrodTela, SoxodvTOS Elva TOVTOU Trapa-
vosou Kal Tiwv éyxaXovvTwv, eimety Ste TOU
, \ N " cd , > 4
vouou O1a Tov TOY STAY roo ov KaTaKovVoELEY.
: \ A
ov pny ANAG padAov eouxey ExTrAHTCEDOaL Kal
Sedtévar THv év Talis exKANclats Kpavynv. év pév
A ad > a \ , A \
ye Tots GrrAos akiwua cai Sivamy elye Sia THv
ypetav, év S€ TH TWodtTELa TEpiKOTTTOMEVOS TA
aA ' \ le) nw
Tpwteia KaTépevyey ert THY TOV TOAAOY edvOLAY
LY 4 e \ fe) , , \ VE
Kal yapl, VIréep TOU péeyLaTOS yeverBat TO Béd-
oJ fal
Tia TOS Elvat TrPOiEMEVOS. Traot Lev OUV TpOTEeKpOvE

Tois apioToKpatiKols, padtota Sé dppwdav Tov
MéredAov nrYaptatynpévoy UT’ avtod Kal dioe Sv
apeTny arnOh TodenovvTa Tois ov Kata TO Béd-
e 5 , \ » Wi)) \ ‘5 \
TLoTOY UTrodvopevors TA TANON Kal mpds Hdoviy
“ 9 , nn ‘ 9 A
Snpaywryovo, emeBovreve THS Trodews exBareiv
\ v \ \ “ la LY
Tov avopa. Kai mpos rovto T'Aavxiay xal Yarop-
wn , nw
vivov, avOpatrous OpacuTatous Kal WAGs atopov
: N > a_
cat OopuBotrocov br avrois ExovTAs, OLKELWaGLEVOS
, A
eloépepe vouous S82 avta@v’ Kal TO oTpaTLWTLKOY
émapas KaTepiryvue Tais exxdAnoLals Kal KaTEoTA-
\ € A
ciate tov Mérerrov. ws dé Poutirsos taropel,
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throng, we are told, his ambition made him most timorous, and that undaunted firmness which he showed in battle forsook him when he faced the popular assemblies, so that he was disconcerted by the most ordinary praise or blame. And yet we are told that when he had bestowed citizenship upon as many as a thousand men of Camerinum for conspicuous - bravery in the war, the act was held to be illegal and was impeached by some ; to whom he replied that the clash of arms had. prevented his hearing the voice of the law. However, he appeared to be in greater fear and terror of the shouting in the popular assemblies. At any rate, while in war he had authority and power because his services were needed, yet in civil life his leadership was more abridged, and he therefore had recourse to the goodwill and favour of the multitude, not caring to be the best man if only he could be the greatest. The consequence was that he came into collision with all the aristocrats. It was Metellus, however, whom he especially feared, a man who had experienced his ingratitude, and one whose genuine excellence made him the natural enemy of those who tried to insinuate themselves by devious methods into popular favour and sought to control the masses by pleasing them. Accordingly, he schemed to banish Metellus from the city. For this purpose he allied himself with Saturninus and Glaucia, men of the greatest effrontery, who had a rabble of needy and noisy fellows at their beck and call, and with their assistance would introduce laws. He also stirred up the soldiery, got them to mingle with the citizens in the assemblies, and thus con- ‘trolled a faction which could overpower Metellus. Then, according to Rutilius, who is generally a lover

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Ta pev adda htradrnOns avnp cal xXpnotos, idia
5¢ 7@ Mapiw mpocKexpovews, kal tis éxTNS
éruyey UTateias apyUplov els Tas duAaS KaTAaBa-
N@Y TOU Kal mptapevos TO MéreAXOV éxxpodoatr
Ths apxyns, Ovardrgprov b€ PrAdKKxov banpétnv
padXOY 7 GuVadpxyovTa THS bmateias AaBeiv.
3 4 “ \ > ~ ‘ 4 lj
ovdevi pévTor TOY TPO AUTO TAY wovm KopBive
— Ovadr€pi@ tocavtas irartetas Eaxev o Sijpos,
> ? > ld \ ? N wn , 3 ‘
aXX €xeww@ Mev ATO THS TPwWTNS ELS TY TEAEU-
Talay érn mévte Kal teacapaxovta yevéeoOat
Aéyouot, Maptos 5é peta THy TpwTHY Tas TévTE
puun ped tuys dvédpape.
XXIX. Kal padtota wept tHv Tedevtaiav

5] A \ 4 “ N \
EpOovetto, ToANA cuveEapapTavwy Tois TEpi Tov
Ss n Co 9 1, © , , a b)
Latopvivoyv. av nv kat 6 Nwviou dovos, dv dvti-
/ 4 > 4 e
mapayyédNovTa Snuapyiay atéopakey 0 Latop-
vivos. eta Onmapyav émiye Tov TEpl THs yYwopas
VOMOV, @ Tpoteyéypamrto THY GUYKANTOY OfocaL
mpoaeMovaar, 7) unv éupevety ols av o Shpos
Wnpicatto Kai mpos pndey tbrevavtiocecOa.
TOUTO TOU VOMOV TO Epos TpoaTroLOvmEVvOS ev TH
Bovarn Sv@axev o Maptos ovn épn SéFeoOar! tov
4 7Q\ YW v A \ \
SpKov, o0dé AdXXov olecOat Gwhpovodyta’ Kai yap
ei 1) “OXOnpos Tv Oo vopuos, DBpuw elvar Ta ToLavTa
thv BovrAnv d:dovac Bralopévnv, dAAAa py TeLOoi
pnodé Exodaav. Tradra dé ovy obrws dpoven Edeyev,
aNrNa-TH MeréerArAM amrdtny TepitiOeis AhveToy.
1 Séfec8a: Coraés, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Reiske
5éfac Gat. ,
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of truth and an honest man, but had a private quarrel with Marius, he actually got his sixth consulship by paying down large sums of money among the tribes, and by buying votes made Metellus lose his election to the office, and obtained as his colleague in the consulship Valerius Flaccus, who was more a servant than a colleague. -And yet the people had never bestowed so many consulships upon any other man

except Corvinus Valerius. In the case of Corvinus, however, forty-five years are said to have elapsed between his first and his last consulship; whereas Marius, after his first consulship, ran through the other five without a break.

XXIX. In this last consulship! particularly did Marius make himself hated, because he took part with Saturninus in many of his misdeeds. One of these was the murder of Nonius, whom Saturninus slew because he was a rival candidate for the tribuneship. Then, as tribune, Saturninus introduced his agrarian law, to which was added a clause providing that the senators should come forward and take oath that they would abide by whatsoever the people might vote and make no opposition to it. In the senate Marius made pretence of opposing this part of the law, and declared that he would not take the oath, and that he thought no other sensible man would ; for even if the law were not a bad one, it was an insult to the senate that it should be compelled to make such concessions, instead of making them under persuasion and of its own free will. He said this, however, not because it was his real mind, but that he might catch Metellus in the toils of - fatal

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fbévra nal yy SeEdpevov Tov dpKov eis avnxertov
9 a \ ‘\ on v A \ a
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Barely éavrov émitipiows avnkéatots, & KaTa TOV

pn Gpvuovtayv 6 Yaropvivos eiaédepev, ovy vp7-

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trick. For he himself regarded lying as part of a man's excellence and ability, made no account of his agreements with the senators, and did not intend to keep them; whereas he knew that Metellus was a steadfast man, who thought with Pindar that " truth is the foundation of great excellence,'! and he therefore wished to bind him beforehand by a state- ment to the senate that he would not take the oath, and then have his refusal to do so plunge him into a hatred on the part of the people that could never be removed. And this was what came to pass.

_ For Metellus declared that he would not take the oath, and the senate broke up for a while; but after a few days Saturninus summoned the senators to the rostra and tried to force them to take the oath. When Marius came forward there was silence, and the eyes of all were fastened upon him. Then, bidding a long farewell to all his boastful and insincere ex- pressions in the senate, he said his throat was not broad enough to pronounce an opinion once for all upon so important a matter, but that he would take the oath, and obey the law, if it was a law; adding this bit of sophistry as a cloak for his shame. The people, then, delighted at his taking the oath, - clapped their hands in applause, but the nobles were terribly dejected and hated Marius for his change of front. Accordingly, all the senators took the oath in order, through fear of the people, until the turn of Metellus came; but Metellus, although his friends earnestly entreated him to take the oath and not subject himself to the irreparable punishments which Saturninus proposed for those who should

_) Fragment 221 (Boeckh).

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6 Kato Tov dpovnpatos ovdé wpmocev, AAX éupevav
Oe kat wav tradew Secvov emt TO pnOev
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ex THS ayopas, Stareyouevos Tois _Treph avrtov as
TO Kaxov TL paar pavrov cin, TO dé Kahov pen,
dxwvduvers dé, KoLvon, Lovov bé avdpos ayabod TO
pera KwdUvav Ta KaAA TpacoELV. eK TOUTOV
papiverat Zaropvivos emexnpvtar Tous Vrdrous
U
d7rws Tupos kal ddatos Kal areyns elpyntar
MéreAXos' Kal TO pavdorarov avrois TOU 7 a)-
Gous Taphy ETOLMOY ATOKTLVYUVaL Tov avdpa. Tav
493

5é Berria tw mepiTaouvTey Kat TUVTPEXOVTODY

T pos TOV Mérehdov ovK ¢éla oTactd few du autor,
anrra amnrlev € Ex THS TOAEWS Eup pove oyte LO
Xpno apevos. TA yap apewovay, ébn, “ av
TparyuaTov yevouevayv kal Tov Srjpou HET avory-
TAVTOS adifopat Tapakaoupevos, v7) HEVOVT OV
opotay amnrrax Gas KpaTia Tov. anAra yap bans
pev améhavoev evvoias mapa THY puyny Kal TEAS
MéreAnos, Sv dé Tpomov év ‘Pod prrocopar
Sent 9n, BéXriov év rots Tept éxeivov ypagopévors
elpnoeTa.
XXX. Maptos dé Tov Lar opvivov avtt Ths
vroupyias TAUTNS éml may wpoiovTa ToApNS Kal
Suva pwews Teptopav dvaryKalopevos, éradev OUK
GVEXTOY amrepyacdpevos KaKoV, GAN avTiKpUS
drrA0s Kal odhayais emt tupavvida Kal TodTEias
dvarpotny mopevouevov. aidovuevos dé Tovs Kpa-
TLaTOUS, Geparrevov b¢ Tous TOAXOUS, épyov ave-
AevOe pov eax dros UTE MELVE kal TaripBorov.
€XMovtwv yap ws avToyv UO vUKTa TOV TPOTwY
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refuse, would not swerve from his purpose or take the oath, but, adhering to his principles and prepared to suffer any evil rather than do a shameful deed, he left the forum, saying to those about him that to do a wrong thing was mean, and to do the right thing when there was no danger was any man’s way, but that to act honourably when it involved dangers was peculiarly the part of a good and true man. Upon this, Saturninus got a vote passed that the consuls should proclaim Metellus interdicted from fire, water, and

shelter; and the meanest part of the populace supported them and was ready to put the man to death. The best citizens, however, sympathised with Metellus and crowded hastily about him, but he would not allow a faction to be raised on his account, and departed from the city, following the dictates of prudence. “ For,’ said he, “either matters will mend and the people will change their minds and I shall return at their invitation, or, if matters remain as they are, it is best that I should be away.’’ But what great goodwill and esteem Metellus enjoyed during his exile, and how he spent his time in philosophical studies at Rhodes, will be better told in his Life.}

XXX. And now Marius, who was forced, in return for this assistance, to look on quietly while Saturninus ran to extremes of daring and power, brought about unawares a mischief that was not to be cured, but made its way by arms and slaughter directly towards tyranny and subversion of the government. And since he stood in awe of the nobles, while he courted the favour of the multitude, he was led to commit an act of the utmost meanness and duplicity. For when the leading men had come to him by night

1 No such Life is extant. 547

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érépats Ovpats éexeivoy wiredéEato TovTwY ayvo-
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BovAns Kat TOY iTTéwy ovvictapéevov Kal aya-
vaxtovyvtwy é&nveyxev eis ayopay Ta Stda, Kal
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avnpeOnaay, éx tovtov tois te Suvatois dua Kal
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Taratiav, \oy@ pev atrodwcwv as evEato TH
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and were trying to incite him against Saturninus, without their knowledge he introduced Saturninus into the house by another door ; then, pretending to both parties that he had a diarrhoea, he would run backwards and forwards in the house, now to the nobles and now to Saturninus, trying to irritate and bring them into collision. However, when the senate and the knights began to combine and give utterance to their indignation, he led his soldiers into the forum, forced the insurgents to take refuge on the Capitol, and compelled them to surrender for lack of water. For he cut off the water-conduits; whereupon they gave up_ the struggle, called Marius, and surrendered themselves on what was called the public faith. Marius did all he could to save the men, but it was of no avail, and when -they came down into the forum they were put to death. This affair made Marius obnoxious alike to the nobles and to the people, and when the time

for electing censors came he did not present himself as a candidate, although everyone expected that he would, but allowed other and inferior men to be elected, for fear that he would be defeated. However, he tried to put a good face upon his conduct by saying that he was unwilling to incur the hatred of many citizens by a severe examination into their lives and manners.

XXXI. When a decree was introduced recalling Metellus from exile, Marius opposed it strongly both by word and deed, but finding his efforts vain, at last desisted; and after the people had adopted the measure with alacrity, unable to endure the sight of Metellus returning, he set sail for Cappadocia and Galatia,! ostensibly to make the sacrifices which he

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XXXII. 'EmavenrOav 8é eis 'Pwyny oixiay édei-Hato THS ayopas TANaIOV, ElTe, WS aUTOS rere, tous OeparrevovTas avTov évoxrciobat wn Bovro- 424

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pevos elvat ToD pn TAELoVaS AAAwY ETL Dupas
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had vowed to the Mother of the Gods, but really having another reason for his journey which the people did not suspect. He had, that is, no natural aptitude for peace or civil life, but had reached his eminence by arms. And now, thinking that his influence and reputation were gradually fading away - because of his inactivity and quietude, he sought occasions for new enterprises. For he hoped that if he stirred up the kings of Asia and incited Mithri- dates to action, who was expected to make war upon Rome, he would at once be chosen to lead the Roman armies against him, and would fill the city with new triumphs, and his own house with Pontic spoils and royal wealth. For this reason, though Mithridates treated him with all deference and respect, he would not bend or yield, but said: “O King, either strive to be stronger than Rome, or do her bidding without a word.” This speech startled the king, who had often heard the Roman speech, but then for the first time in all its boldness. . XXXIT. On returning to Rome, he built a house for himself near the forum, either, as he himself said, because he was unwilling that those who paid their respects to him should have the trouble of coming a long distance, or because he thought that distance was the reason why he did not have larger crowds at his door than others. The reason, however, was not of this nature ; it was rather his inferiority to others in the graces of intercourse and in political helpful- ness, which caused him to be neglected, like an in- strument of war in time of peace. Of all those who eclipsed him in popular esteem he was most vexed and annoyed by Sulla, whose rise to power was due to the jealousy which the nobles felt towards Marius,

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PLUTA RCH’S LIVES

TOV duvaT@v Kal TAS T pos éxeivov diapopas

apynv TONTELAS TOLOUMEVOS. émrel dé Kat Boxxos
0 Nopas TULMLAKOS ‘Popaiov aVAYEY PAU MeEvOs
éoTnoer év Karretworip Nixas TpoTraropopous Kal
Tap avrais ev elkooe Vpucais "Touyoup0av éry-
a UmTo avTov YAAa, TovTO éFéotnoev
opyh Kal Prrovereia Mépuor, as DvANa Tepe-
om @YTOS eis EauTov Ta Epya, Kal maper kevalero
Bia Ta avabnpata cataBannrery. dvredtdoveixer
b¢ LAAas, Kal TH ordow dcop obTw Pepomevnv
Els peor éméo Xev 0 TUMMAYLKOS : TONE [OS éfat-
guns eri THY TON dvappayels. Ta yap payee
TaTa, Ttav Iraduxov eOvav Kal movavi pwmoTata
KaTa THs ‘Pons cuver TNT ay Kal “MK pov edénoay
ouyxeae THD nryepoviav, ov movov O7rAoLs eppapeva
Kal c@uaciy, adhe Kal TOAMmaLS TT PATH YOY Kat
Sewotno. ypnodpweva Oavpactais Kat ayvti-
TANOLS.
XXXIII. Odros) TONELOS Tois mdOect TOLKi-.
Aos yevouevos Kal Tais TUXaLS TOAUTPOTWTATOS
Scov ZVAAa mpocéOynxe SoEns Kai duvdpews,
TOC OUTOY dpeire Mapiov. Bpados yap epavy
Tals éniPorais, é Gxvov TE mept TaVTa Kal peAAN-
Tews UromAEws, ele Tob ynpws TO Spactyptov
exeivo Kal Pepmov év aur@ catac Bevvivros (€&n-
Koo TOV yap 760 Kal TE um TOV €TOS bmepéBadrev),
elite, Qs autos éderye, Tept veupa yeyovas voowdns
Kal Tomar! Svcepyos Ov Um epeve Tapa Sdvapey

alaxuvn TAS oTpateias. ov piv AAA Kal TOTE
paxn TE peyary VLKNOAaS éFaxvaxidMous aveine
TOV TOAEuioV, Kal AABnY ovdauA Trapéoyev av-
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and who was making his quarrels with Marius the
basis of his political activity. And when Bocchus
the Numidian, who had been designated an ally of
the Romans, set up trophy-bearing Victories on the
Capitol, and by their side gilded figures representing
Jugurtha surrendered by him to Sulla, Marius was
transported with rage and fury to see Sulla thus
appropriating to himself the glory of his achieve-
ments, and was making preparations to tear down
the votive offerings. But Sulla too was furious, and

civil dissension was just on the point of breaking out, when it was stopped by the Social War, which suddenly burst upon the city.1 That is, the most warlike and most numerous of the Italian peoples combined against Rome, and came within a little of destroying her supremacy, since they were not only strong in arms and men, but also had generals whose daring and ability were amazing and made them a match for the Romans.

XXXIII. This war, which was varied in its events and most changeful in its fortunes, added much to Sulla's reputation and power, but took away as much from Marius. For he was slow in making his attacks, and always given to hesitation and delay, whether it was that old age had quenched his wonted energy and fire (for he was now past his sixty-sixth year), or that, as he himself said, a feeling of shame led him to go beyond his powers in trying to endure the hardships of the campaign when his nerves were diseased and his body unfit for work. However, even then he won a great victory in which he slew six thousand of the enemy; and he never allowed them to get a grip upon him, but even when he was

1 90-89 B.c. See the Sulla, vi. 1 f.

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Tos, GANA KaL TepiTadpevopevos NvecyeTO Kal
yvAevalopevos wal xarovpevos ov tapwkivbn.
Aéyerat dé Tlowdlov Sirwvos, bs péytotov elxe
TOV Tonepiov akiwmpa Kal Sivapwy, elrovTos 7 pos
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avtov, "Ki péyas ef aotpatnyos, @ Mapre, diayo-
7.9 3 / 66 > \ \ 9 >
vicat xataBas, atoxpivacbat, U pév OUY, EL
péyas el oTpaTnyos, avayKxacoy pe Siaywovicacbar
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pn BovAopmevoy. mad 5€ Tote TOY peVv TOdE-
piwy KaLtpov emuyerpnoews TrapacovTwy, Tav Sé
'Pwopaiwy atobeuacavtwv, os aveywopnoay ap-
PoTepol, cvvayayaov els exKANTLAY TOUS TTPATLO-
tas, "'Amopa," dyat, " woTepov elm TOUS TrOAE-
4 a) a
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XXXIV. 'Evei 66 76n tev "ItadKa@v éyKexX-

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guTatos, Tapayaywv Mdpioy amedeixvvey avOv-
e ~
Tatov otpatnyov éwt MiOpidatnv. Kai o dipos
duéoTn, TOV pév aipovpévwv ta Mapiov, trav dé
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SvAAav KaXdovvTwy Kat Tov Madpuov emi Oeppa
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hemmed about with trenches bided his time, and was not unduly irritated by their insults and challenges. We are told that Publius Silo,! who had the greatest authority and power among the enemy, once said to him, “If thou art a great general, Marius, come down and fight it out with us”; to which Marius answered, ‘‘ Nay, but do thou, if thou art a great general, force me to fight it out with you against my will.’ And at another time, when the enemy had given him an opportunity to attack them, but the Romans had played the coward, and both sides had withdrawn, he called an assembly of his soldiers and said to them: ‘I do not know whether to call the enemy or ‘you the greater cowards; for they were not able to see your backs, nor you their napes.’’ At last, however, he gave up his command, on the ground that his infirmities made him quite incapable of exercising it.

XXXIV. But when the Italians had at last made their submission, and many persons at Rome were suing for the command in the Mithridatic war, with the aid of the popular leaders, contrary to all expectation the tribune Sulpicius, a most audacious man, brought Marius forward and proposed to make him pro-consul in command against Mithridates. The people were divided in opinion, some preferring Marius, and others

calling for Sulla and bidding Marius go to the warm baths at Baiae and look out for his health, since he was worn out with old age and vheums, as he himself said. For at Baiae, near Cape Misenum, Marius owned an expensive house, which had appointments more luxurious and effeminate

1 Pompaedius Silo, leader of the Marsi. Cf. the Cato Minor, ii. 1-4.

Or

cal diairas Ondurépas Kat' dvdpa Todemov TocouTav Kal oTpaTer@y avroupyov. TauTny ré-yeTaL pupddov émra, jpiaous Kopvnvdia mpt-acbat: Xpovev 5 ou mdvu Toddov yevouéevov Aevxtos AevKodnos avetra pupiddov TEVTNKOVTA Kat diaxoctwv: ovTws TAX EWS avédpapev TONU-TéNELA Kat TOTaUTHY émidoaty Ta Tpdrypata pos Tpupny éraBev. ov pny addr\a Mapios prroripas mau wal perparodés amor ptBopevos TO Yijpas eal THv ao Géverav oonwepar KkatéBatvev eis TO wediov, Kal peta TOV veavicKav yupvalopuevos €medelLKVUE TO THUG Kodpov pep S7Xots, émoxXov dé Tats immaciacs, Kaimep ovK evoTarns yeyovas év ¥Npe Tov GyKov, aAXr Eis odpka mepiTrAnO7 Kat Bapeiav evdedwnas.

"Evtoes pev ovv pea Ke TavTa TPaTTOV, Kal KaTuovTes COe@vTO THY prrdorimiay avrod wal Tas dpidras, tois Oe Bertioros op@aty oixTetpety émnet THY wreovebiav Kat THY prrodofiar, ort TAOVTLOTATOS ex TEVNTOS Kat péytatos éx puxpod yeyovas 6 pov OUK oldev evTUXLaS, ouoe Gavpalope-vos ayarg Kal aTTONAVOD év ovxXia Tov Tap-OvTMD, GND domep EvdENS am dvray els Kar7ra-Soxiay Kai Tov Kvgewvor [lovtov a apas éx OpiduBov kal do&ns éxpéper toaovTov yijpas, "Apxerdeo Kab Neorrroréup Trois MiOpiddrov TaTpaTaLs d1apa-Novpevos. ai dé 7 pos TavTa TOU Maptov Suxae-oNoytat TavTaT acw épaivovro Anpaders: épn Yap éOédery Tov vidv doxjoa. Tapwy avtos emt oTpaTeias.

XXXV. Taira THD TohLy ék TOAAQY Ypovev imovhoy yeyevnuévnv Kat vocodaav avéppnéev,

than became a man who had taken active part in so many wars and campaigns. This house, we are told, Cornelia bought for seventy-five thousand drachmas ; and not long afterwards Lucius Lucullus purchased it for two million five hundred thousand. So quickly did lavish expenditure spring up, and so great an increase in luxury did life in the city take on. Marius, however, showing a spirit of keen emulation that might have characterized a youth, shook off old age and infirmity and went down daily into the Campus Martius, where he exercised himself with the young men and showed that he was still agile in arms and capable of featsof horsemanship, although his bulk was not well set up in his old age, but ran to corpulence and weight. | .

Some, then, were pleased to have him thus en- gaged, and would go down into the Campus and witness his emulation in competitive contests; but the better part were moved to pity at the sight of his greed and ambition, because, though he had risen from poverty to the greatest wealth and from obscurity to the highest place, he knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune, and was not content to be admired and enjoy quietly what he had, but as if in need of all things, and after winning triumphs and fame, was setting out, with all his. years upon him, for Cappa- docia and the Euxine sea, to fight it out with Archelaiisand Neoptolemus, the satrapsof Mithridates. And the justification for this which Marius: offered was thought to be altogether silly ; he said, namely, that he wished to take part personally in the cam- paign in order to give his son a military training.

XXXV. These things brought to a head the secret disease from which the state had long been suffering,

+ , e , w , \ ‘\
eugdveotatoy evpovros opyavov Maptov mpos Tov
xowvov OdeOpov TO YovAmixiov Opacos, bs Sea
Tada Tavra Oavpdlwv cal Snrav tov Yatopvi-
vov aToAplay émrexddeL TOS TOALTEvLACTLW AaUTOD
Kal pédAXdgnow. avtos dé un péd\Xrov éEEaxocious
pep elye Tepl avTov Tay immiKav olov Sopydopous,
\ a b] Uf b) , b \ \
Kal TOUTOUS aVTLcUYKANTOV w@vopater, éTEeAOav Sé
> @ > J a e , nm QA
pel StrrX@v exxrAnotalevalt Tos UTaTOLS TOD péev
eof , 3 ? A \ eX b N

eTepou duyovTos €& ayopas Tov viov éyxaTadaBov
améoghake, YwAdras 6€ Tapa THY oiKiay TOD
,
Mapiouv diwxopevos, ovdevos dv mpocdoxncavtos,
elaémece’ Kal rods pev Sioxovtas dade Spopw
/ ee. 63 > ce) \ , /
TmapevexOevtas, bw autod dé Mapiou réyeras
Kata Oupas étépas dodardas arrorepdhbels Suextre-
ce els TO oTpaToredov. autos dé LvAXaS ev
Tois UTopynuacw od dnot KaTaduyeiy Tmpos TOV
Mdpioy, adr’ amadrdAaxOjvat Bovrevodpevos
e e a ? , 9 \ y¥

trép av Lovrmixuos nvaycatev avtov adxovra

, \ b 4 , n

Wndicacbat, repicyav év KvKr@ Evheot yupvots
, \ ‘ / ” z
Kal ovveNdoas mpos tov Madpiov, aypt od mpoed-

Gav éxeidev eis ayopav, ws néiouv éxcivor, Tas

> , / ; \ 4 0
anpafias éAvoe. yevopévwv 5é TovTwv 6 Te
Yovatixios On KpaTav emeyeporovyse TO
Mapi@ thy otpatnyiav, 6 te Madptos ev rapa-
a fol 9g/ / \ 4 vA
axevy THs éEodou KaberoTnKer, Kai Svo yLALap-
yous eLerreurype-traparnopevous TO SUAAA oTpa-
558

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and Marius found a most suitable instrument for the destruction of the commonwealth in the audacity of Sulpicius, who was in all things an admirer and an imitator of Saturninus, except that he charged him with timidity and hesitation in his political measures. Sulpicius himself was not a man of hesitatién, but kept six hundred of the Knights about him as a body-guard, which he called his anti-senate; he also made an attack with armed men upon the consuls as they were holding an as- sembly, and when one of them fled from the forum, Sulpicius seized his son and butchered him; Sulla, however, the other consul, as he was being pursued past the house of Marius, did what no one would have expected and burst into the house. His pur- suers ran past the house and therefore missed him, and it is said that Marius himself sent him off safely by another door so that he came in haste to his camp. But Sulla himself, in his Memoirs, says he did not. fly for refuge to the house of Marius, but withdrew thither in order to consult with Marius about the step which Sulpicius was trying to force him to take (by surrounding him with drawn swords and

driving him to the house of Marius), and that finally he went from there to the forum and rescinded the consular decree for the suspension of public business, as Sulpicius and his party demanded.! When this had been done, Sulpicius, who was now master of the situation, got the command conferred upon Marius by vote of the people ; and Marius, who was making his preparations for departure, sent out two military tribunes to take over the command of Sulla's army.

1 These proceedings are much more clearly narrated in the Sulla, chapter viii. Cf. also Appian, Bell. Civ, i. 55.

i \ \ , ,
Tevpa. SvAAas b€ Tovs TTPATLOTAS mapofuvas
(hoav dé Tpiapuploy Kat _TEVTAKLOXLALOY ov
petous omhirat) ™ porjryaryev érl thy 'Papnv. rovs
bé XLALdpxous, obs érremepape Mdputos, mpoa7re-
GOVTES Ob OT PATLOTAL b1épOerpay.
Toddous de Kat Madpuos éy 'Pon TOY Ua
pirov dupe, cai SovrAos éhevOepiay € exnpurT rev
emt TUppaxia" Aéyovrat 5é Tpeis povoe 7 poaryeve-
o8at. puxpa & avtictas eiceddoavtt TO LUANG
Kat Taxéws exBiacbels epuye. Tov dé wepl avTor,
@S |TpOTOV eFerece THS TONEWS, SiacTapévtav,
aKoTous bvTOS els TL TOV erraurov avtov YoXwviov
KaTepuye. KaLTov pev vio erreprper e ek TOV Movxiov
Tod TrevOepod Xeopiov ov paKpav ovT@V Ta emery
dea Anypopevov, autos 6é kataBas ELS 'Qeriav,
irov TLVOS Novpepiov Toiov avT@ TapacKevd-
TAVTOS, OUK avaweivas Tov VLOV, Ord I'paviov
EX@V pe? avrod tov 7 poryovov eférhevoey. o 66
veavias, @S 7AGev eis TA Xepia Tob Mouxiov,
AapBavev TL Kal oxevalopevos nuépas KaTada-
Bovons ov travtatmact Tous TrodEmious édaler,
9 > * e "A ? 4 > , > AN
arr 70 ov imaets EAaUVOVTES Kal vrrovotay ért
TOV TOTTOV' OS 0 TOV ary pay emripehntys m poido-
HEvos expuvpe TOV Mdptov ev apaky kudpous
aryovrn, Kat Boos vrovevEas d annvra TOUS immeda ww
eis TOALY EXaUYOY THY GuaEav. ovTw bé Tpos THY
Oixiay THS yuvatcos o Madptos Staxopicbels Kat
AaBov dcwv ébeito vuKtos émi Odracoay HKE Kal
ves ériBas eis AtBinv mreovons aren épacev.
XXXVI. 'O 8 mpea Burns Mdpuos os avixOn,

mvevpaTe Pop@ xoutlopuevos mapa tHv ‘itadiav
560

Sulla, however, called upon his soldiers (who were no fewer than thirty-five thousand legionaries) to resent this, and Jed them forth against Rome. His soldiers also fell upon the tribunes whom Marius had sent and slew them.

Marius, too, put to death many of Sulla’s friends in Rome, and proclaimed freedom to the slaves if they would fight on his side. It is said, however, that only three of them joined his ranks, and after a feeble resistance to Sulla’s entry into the city he was speedily driven: out and took to flight.1_ As soon as he had made his escape from the city his companions were scattered, and since it was dark, he took refuge at one of his farmsteads, called Solonium. He also sent his son to get provisions from the estate of his father-in-law, Mucius, which was not far off, while he himself went down to the coast at Ostia, where a friend of his, Numerius, had provided a vessel for him. Then, without waiting for his son, but taking his step-son Granius with him, he set sail. The younger Marius reached the estate of Mucius, but as he was getting supplies and packing them up, day overtook him and he did not altogether escape the vigilance of his enemies ; for some horsemen came riding towards the place, moved by suspicion. When the overseer of the farm saw them coming, he hid Marius in a waggon loaded with beans, yoked up his oxen, and met the horsemen as he was driving the waggon to the city. In this way young Marius was conveyed to the house of his wife, where he got what he wanted, and then by night came to the sea, boarded a ship that was bound for Africa, and crossed over.

XXXVI. The elder Marius, after putting to sea, was borne by a favouring wind along the coast of

1 Cf. the Sulla, chapter ix. 561

7 / ~
€po81j0n Vepinoy tiva tay év Tappaxivy duvatav
éyOpov avrod, xal tails vavTats mpoeitev eipye-
a e bd , \ > n
a0at Tappaxivyns. ot dé éBovrovTo pev avT@
A A lA
yapilerOat, Tov O€ TvEvpaTOS Els TreddyLov pEOt-
oTapévou Kal KAvOwWVAa KATAYOVTOS TrOADY OTE TO

al , , “A
mopOpeiov édoxe: meptxrAuomevoy avOékev, Tov TE
Mapiov dvcdopoivtos Kai Kax@s ExyovTos vie
, od n ‘
vautTias mOALS avTLAauBdvovTat TOV Tept TO
A a) A /
Kipxatov aiyradov. tov 5é yeuadvos avEavopevov
A 4
Kal TOY oLTioy émiNELTTOVTMWDY exBayres érAAlovTO
\ 3 / / ? b / ~
mpos ovdéva aoxoTrov, GAX ola oupBaivet tais
peydAas atropiats del hevyev éx Tod TapovTos
@> Yanerwratov Kal tas édAmidas Exel ev Tots
3 / b 4 \ b / e a ,
adnrols. Eel TONEMLA MEV EXELVOLS 17) YH, TOAEMLLA
dé 7 Oddaoaca, hoBepov 5é Hv avOpwrrots Tept-
a \ \ nA > “A
Twecev, hoBepov Sé x tepitreceiv Ou Evderav TaV
? 4 > N > b J A iol
dvaykaiwv. ov pyv arr ove tov Botnpow
driryous evTuyydvovawy, ot Sodvar pév ovdév EoxXoV
A ,
avtois Seopévors, yuwpicavtes Sé€ tov Maptoy
2 + > , \ , b] 4
éxé€Nevov avradraTTecIar THY TaXiaTHVY’ OdLYyOD
, \ nw
yap éumpocBev avTobs kata Cntnow avtod avx-
A e / 3 na 4 > \
vous imméas obOjnvat SieEeXavvovtas. év tayri
\ A b] , , \ / ~
57) yeyovws dropias, padvoa b¢ moreia tev
TEP AVTOV ATAYOPEVOYTOY, TOTE MEV EXTPATOMEVOS
A e A A \ e \ 3 a a
THS 000 Kal KataBadwv éavTov eis BAnV Babeiav
b , , A »,¢ ,
emreTrovas OvevuKtépevoe. TH O vaTEepaia ouvny-
U e > 9» , \ A , \ bd tA
fevos uT evdelas Kal T@ ow@paTe Tpiv exrAEAVTOAaL
,
Twavramrac. ypnoacbar BovrAopevos eywper Tapa
\ 9 /
TOV altylanov,ériPapovverv Tors éETropévous Kal
562

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Italy ; but since he was afraid of one Geminius, who was a powerful man in Terracina and an enemy of his, he told his sailors to keep clear of Terracina. The sailors were willing enough to do as he wished, but the wind veered round and blew towards the shore, bringing in a heavy surge, and it was thought that the vessel would not hold out against the beating of the waves ; besides, Marius was in a wretched plight from sea-sickness, and therefore they made their way, though with difficulty, to the coast near Circeii. Then, as the storm was increasing and their provisions were failing, they landed from the vessel and wandered about. They had no definite object in view, but, as is usual in cases of great perplexity, sought always to escape the present evil as the most grievous, and fixed their hopes on the unknown future. For the land was their enemy, and the sea an enemy as well; they were afraid they might fall in with men, and they were afraid they might not fallin with men because they had no provisions. However, late in the day they came upon a few herdsmen ; these had nothing to give them in their need, but they recognized Marius and bade him go away as fast as he could; for a little while before numerous horse- men had been seen riding about there in search of him. Thus at his wits' end, and, what was worst of all, his companions fainting with hunger, he turned aside for the while from the road, plunged into a deep forest, and there spent the night in great distress. But the next day, compelled by want, and wishing to make use of his strength before it failed him altogether, he wandered along the shore, trying to encourage his companions, and begging them not to

Seomevos 4 TpoaTroKamvEeLMTHS TeAXEUTALaS EArri-
dos, ed Av éauTov pudarret pavrevpact madatois
TLaTEvoY. veos yap ay étt TAVTEADS kal dzarpi-
Bov Kar drypov brobeEacBat TO imation xatade-
poperny aerou VEOTTLAV ema veoTTous EYoucay'
(Sovtas dé Tous yoveis Kat alr by Seta
OavecOar tav pavTev: TOUS 6 elrrety Oo eT t-
pavérTaros avOparrav é EgouTo Kal THY peytotrny
myewoviay Kal apxyny éwrdxis avtov AaBeiv avay-
"

xaiov ein.

Tatra ot pev arn) as To Mapi cuyTuxelp
ovTw Aéyovow: ot Oé TOUS TOTE Kal Tapa THY
anv puyny axovoavTas avTod Kal micTevoap-
Tas dvaypayras mparyya Koulon pd ddes. GETOS
yap OU TUKTEL TELOY TOV dveiy, aNAG Kai Mov-
caiov éyreda Oat Néyoucwy eitrovTa wept TOU aETOU,
OS

Tpia pev rites, S00 8 éxrérret, dv 8 areytfer.}

TO pévroe TONAGKLS EV TH puyn Kal Tais eoxdtars
arropiats Mdptop eiveiv ws axes éBSouns wra-
TEeLas T poELaw, OpoNoyoupevov éeoTiv.
XXXVII. "H6y dé Mwrtouprns, TOAEWS Ira-
MrKijs, 6oov elxoot otadiov dm éxovres opaauw
ima éwv ihqy mpoawev éXavvovrTas én avrous Kal
Kara, TUYnY orKddas bv0 pepopevas. @s ouv
ExacTos TOO@Y ElXeE Kal pans katadpapovres
ert THY Qaraccav Kai cataBanoves éavTous
™ pocevnj}yovTo Tals vavot. "kal AaBopevor THS
érépas ot mrept tov [pdmov aemépacay eis tHv
1*Os rpia ev xrdA., as cited in Aristotle, Hist. An. vi. 6 (p. 5638, 17).
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give up the struggle before his last hope could be realized, for which he was still reserving himself in reliance on ancient prophecies. When, that is, he was quite young and living in the country, he had caught in his cloak a falling eagle’s nest, which had seven young ones in it; at sight of this, his parents were amazed, and made enquiries of the seers, who told them that their son would be most illustrious of men, and was destined to receive the highest command and power seven times.

Some say that this really happened to Marius; but others say that those who heard the story from him at this time and during the rest of his flight, believed it, and recorded it, though it was wholly fabulous. For, they say, an eagle does not lay more than two eggs at one time, and Musaeus also was wrong when, speaking of the eagle, he says:

“Three indeed she layeth, and two hatcheth, but one
only doth shé feed.’’!
However, that Marius, during his flight and in his ex- tremest difficulties, often said that he should attain to a seventh consulship, is generally admitted. XXXVII. But presently, when they were about twenty furlongs distant from Minturnae, an Italian city, they saw from afar a troop of horsemen riding towards them, and also, as it chanced, two merchant vessels sailing along. Accordingly, with all the speed and strength they had, they ran down to the sea, threw themselves into the water, and began to swim to the ships. Granius and his party reached one of the ships and crossed over to the opposite

mexgiient 21 (Kinkel, Hp. Graec. Frag., p. 229).
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PLUTARCRH’S LIVES

2 avtixpus vncov: <Aivapia Kadeitar avtrov Sé
Mapuov Bapvy 6vtra TO cwpatt Kai dvopetayxet-

ptorov oixérat Svo ports Kal Yadrerras UTép TIS Jararrns: éfdpavres eis THD eTépav éSevto vad», non TOV tTTéwy eperToTav Kal Staxehevopeveoy amo ys Tols vavTais Kat dryely TO TAotov n TOV Madpiov éxBadovtas aUTOVS amom het 61 XpH-Gouev. ixetevovTos b€ Tob Mapiov Kat SaxpvovTos, ot KUpLot THS ohKdbos @s éy odiye ToAas én auporepa THS yeouns TpoTas NaBovtes Guws amexpivavto Tois immebat wz) mpoeabar TOV Mdpvov. éxeivav S&€ mpos dpynv atredacdyTwy avdus ETE pov YEvopevor oyta peav KarepépovTo pos THY yqv: «al jwept tas éxBodas TOD Aiptos ToTapov dudyvow Arpvody AapBavortos a ayKtpas Baropevor Tapexddouv avrov éxByvat nat Tpodny emt vas, raBeiv Kal TO Tapa Jepanebo as KeKaKO-pévov, ax pi ov popa yevntat: yiryverOas dé THY etwOviav Gpay Tov qTeéXayiov paparvopevov Kat TOV EX@V avpay avabioovTwy émieKas SvapKy. Tavita tetabeis o Mépuwos emparre: Kal TOV vav-TOV éFehopevov avrov émrh THY yay KaTaxhivels év Tit Toa ToppwTaTw TOU HENAOVTOS elXe THY Sudvoray. ot b€ EvOs ériBavtes ert THY vabv Kal Tas ayKvpas avadraBovtes Epevyov, @S ovTE KaXov exdobvat TOV Mapuov avrois ovTe awlery ao panes. ovTw 69 wavrTev Epnp10s dronerp Gets TONUY meV Ypovov dvavéos emt Tis aris EXELTO, pores dé Tas dvaraBov € éauTov em OpevETO Tahal TOPWS avodtais Kal bteEeMO av &xn Babéa al Tadpous bdaros Kal ™nrod yenovoas emiTuyx aver KarvBn ALuvoupyod yépovTos, bv TeEpiTrec@V iKé-

island, Aenaria by name; Marius himself, who was heavy and unwieldy, two slaves with toil and difficulty held above water and put into the other ship, the horsemen being now at hand and calling out from the shore to the sailors either to bring the vessel to shore or to throw Marius overboard and sail whither they pleased. But since Marius supplicated them with tears in his eyes, the masters of the vessel, after changing their minds often in a short time, nevertheless replied to the horsemen that they would not surrender Marius. The horsemen rode away in a rage, and the sailors, changing their plan again, put in towards the shore; and after casting anchor at the mouth of the Liris, where the river expands into a lake, they advised Marius to leave the vessel, take some food ashore with him, and recruit his strength after his hardships until a good wind for sailing should arise; this usually arose, they said, when the wind from the sea died away and a tolerably strong breeze blew from the marshes. Marius was persuaded to follow their advice ; so the sailors carried him ashore, and he lay down in some grass, without the slightest thought of what was to come. Then the sailors at once boarded their vessel, hoisted anchor, and took to flight, feeling

that it was neither honourable for them to surrender Marius nor safe to rescue him. Thus, forsaken of all men, he lay a long time speechless on the shore, but recovered himself at last and tried to walk along, the lack of any path making his progress laborious. He made his way through deep marshes and ditches full of mud and water, until he came to the hut of an old man who got his living from the water. At his feet Marius fell

TEUVE yever Bar cwTipa kat BonOov avdpos, et
Stapvyor Ta Ta,povTa, petCovas éhariBeov aporBas
adrrodwcovtos. 0 de dvO pws, elTe WANA ytv@-
oKkwv elTe POs THY ope @S KpelT rove, Javpacas,
avarravaad bat poev eon deomevyp TO oKnvudprov
eFapxeiv, el b€ Tevas dropevyov wAdLorTO Kpoypety
avTov év TOT@ pahhov nouxtay EX Ove. Tob be
Mapiov Send évros TOUTO TroLety, aryaryov avrov Els
TO Edos Hau wT Eat Kerevoas ev Ywopio Koii@
Tapa Tov ToTa pov éméBare Tav TE _weadd prov
TOANNOUS Kal THS AdAANS emrihépwv DANS don Kovgn
kal jwepitéccev aBraBas duvapevn.
XXXVITI. Xpovov dé ov TOAD Ssaryevopévov

opos auT@ Kal OopuBos a are THS KadvBns T poo-
émrecev. 0 yap. Tepivios éx Tappaxivns émreprpe
TOAAOUS éml TH Siwkey, Ov évtot Kata TUXNY
excel mpoa éenfovtes eEepoBour Kal xateBowy Tod
YEpovTos WS Umrodedey Levov Kab ataxpuBovtos |
ToAéutov 'Pwpaiwv. eEavacras obp O Mdpuos Kat
dmrobuadpevos xabiixev éauTov eis THY AiuYnV
vdwp TAaXD kal TEApAT ADEs éxovaar. d0ev ov
dréXabe Tovs Entouvras, GX' avacraabeis Bop-
Bopov KATATE NEWS yupvos Els Muvtovpvas avnxOn
Kat mapedodn Tois dpxovow. Hv yap els amracav
On Trodw éFevnveypevov mapdryyedpa. mept TOU
Mapiov Snpocia, di@xetv Kal KTeLvelv Tous a-
Bovras. Buws 88 Bovrevoacbat ™poTEpov édoxet
Tots dpxovac: Kat cataribevtat TOV Mapuov ets
oixiay Pavvias yuvarKos ovx evpevas Soxovans
éyewv pos avtov €& aitias TaXatas.

down and besought him to save and help a man who, in case he escaped his present perils, would recompense him beyond all his hopes. Then the man, who either knew Marius from of old or saw that in his face which won the regard due to superior rank, told him that if he merely wanted to rest, the cabin would suffice, but that if he was wandering about trying to escape pursuers, he could be hidden in a place that was more quiet. Marius begged that this might be done, and the man took him to the marsh, bade him crouch down in a hollow place by the side of the river, and threw over him a mass of reeds and other material which was light enough to cover without injuring him. |

XXXVIII. Not much time had elapsed, however, when a din and tumult at the hut fell upon the ears of Marius. For Geminius had sent a number of men from Terracina in pursuit of him, some of whom had chanced to come to the old man's hut, and were frightening and berating him for having received and hidden an enemy of Rome. Marius therefore rose from his hiding-place, stripped off his clothes, and threw himself into the thick and muddy water of the marsh. Here he could not elude the men who were in search of him, but they dragged him out all covered with slime, led him naked to Minturnae, and handed him over to the magistrates there. Now, word had already been sent to every city that Marius was to be pursued by the authorities and killed by his captors. But nevertheless, the magistrates de- cided to deliberate on the matter first; so they put Marius for safe-keeping in the house of a woman named Fannia, who was thought to be hostile to him

on account of an ancient grievance. o

a , ,
"Hy yap avnp 7H Pavvia Tetivvios: tovtou d:a-
a \ \ ) / MN ° e \
oTaca THY phepvyv amrnte: AauTpay ovaav. oO Oé
potyeiay évexdde' Kat yiverat Mapios bratevwv
\ @ / > \ A " , ,
To €xtov duxaorys. émrel dé THs Sixns Aeyouevns
2 , \ \ , > / ,
épaiveto kat tv Pavviay axoNacToy yeyovévat
\ 'N v 4 2*Q 7 " \
Kat Tov avdpa TolauTny evdota AaPeEly Kal ovp-
Bi@cat trodvy xpovov, audorépovs Sucyepavas
\ \ v N \ > + 3 fe)
Tov pev avdpa tv dhepynv éxédrevoev atrododvat,
~ \ N b 4 ig ~ 4
THs O€ yuvatKos aTipias Evexa TH KaTAadiKn yanr-.

Kovs Tégcapas TpoceTipnoev.

Ov pny 7 ye Pavvia rote wados yuvatkos
novenuéevns EraBev, adr ws elde tov Mapror,
ToppwTdTw yevouéevn TOU pvnoLKaKelVv, ex TOV
TAapovTwy ETEMENELTO Kat TrapeOdppuveY aUTOV. oO
5é Kaxeivny emnver Kal Oappeiv Epacne: onpetov
yap auT@ yeyovévat ypnatov. Hv dé rosodrov.
‘Og ayopevos mpos TH oixia tis Pavvias éye-
yovet, Tov Oupav avoryPercav vos évdo0ev eyaper
Spou@, Tuopevos amrd Kpnvns eyyus aroppeovons:
mpoo Breas 5¢ 76 Mapio Aapvpov Tt Kal yeyn-
Oo; éorn mwpatov évavtiov, eita gavnv adiKe
AapTrpay Kal Tapeckiptnoe Tap avTov Ud yav-
potntos. é& oF cupBadrav o Madpios packer ws
dia Oadacans avT@ wadXAov 7h bia ys btrodeinvuct
cwTnpiav TO datpovov' Tov yap dvov ov mTpocé-
xyovra TH Enpad tpodn mpos tO Bdwp am’ avtod
TpatécOat. |
Tavta diareyOels tH Davvia cal’ abrov dve-
57°
4

8

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Fannia, that is, had been married to Titinnius; but
she had separated herself from him and demanded
back her dowry, which was considerable. Her
husband, however, had accused her of adultery; and
Marius, who was serving in his sixth consulship, had
presided over the trial. When the case was pleaded,
and it appeared that Fannia had been a dissolute
woman, and that her husband had known this and
yet had taken her to wife and lived with her a long
time, Marius was disgusted with both of them, and
decreed that the husband should pay back his wife's
dowry, while at the same time he imposed upon
the woman, as a mark of infamy, a fine of four
coppers.
However, at the time of which I speak, Fannia did
not act like a woman who had been wronged, but
when she saw Marius, she put far from her all resent-
ment, cared for him as well as she could, and tried

to encourage him. Marius commended her, and said he was of good courage; for an excellent sign had been given him. And this sign was as follows.

When, as he was led along, he had come to the house of, Fannia, the door flew open and an.ass ran out, in order to get a drink at a spring that flowed hard by; with a saucy and exultant look at Marius the animal at first stopped in front of him, and then, giving a magnificent bray, went frisking past him triumphantly. From this Marius drew an omen and concluded that the Deity was indicating a way of escape for him by sea rather than by land; for the ass made no account of its dry fodder, but turned from that to the water.

After explaining this to Fannia, Marius lay down

vy on

maveto, tv Ovpav tov Swpyatiov mpocbetvar KeAevoas.

XXXIX. Bovrevopevors dé Tots dpxovat Kat guvEedpors TOV Mwrtoupyncioy édo0Fe pn pédrew, anna Siaxpycacbar TOV dvdpa. _ kat TOV peev TOALTOV ovdels bméoTN TO Epryov, LTTTTEVS bé Tardrns To yévos y) KiuBpos (auporepas yap ioTopetrat) AaBov Eidos errata AOev auT@. Tob dé otk Mar os év @ eTuxe péper KATAKELUEVOS ov wavu apm pov $s EXOVTOS, GNN dvTos émtoxiou, NeyeTaL Ta pev o Cupata Tov Mapiov prAoya ToA-An éxBadXovta T@ TTPATLOTY pavijvar, hovnv 5é peyarnv ex Tov TtadtcKiov ryevéa Bar, «Zu bn TOAMGS, avO pwrre, [Tdiov Mapuov dveneip ; 3° ebAh-Jev ov evdds o BapBapos puyn, Kal TO Eidos év péow xataBarov € eX@pe bua Oupav, TOUTO povov Boa, " Ov dvvapar Tdiov Mdptov amroKreivat, WavTas ovv éxTrAngss € EaXeV, elTa olin Tos Kat peTa-vola THS yvouns Kal KaTapeprpes eauTav @S Bovheupa BeBourevnoror a avo Lov Kat ayapltorov a

én avdpl corp THiS 'Tradias, @ LN BonOijcat Sewov Av. "'Itw 8 ovv darn xpnter puyas, ava-

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yupvov éx Tis TOAEWS éxBarovow. w76 TOLOUTE@V
ANoyiaua@Vv elotreaovTes AOpoor Kal mTepioyovTes
_autov é&fyov ért tTyv OdAaocav. addov dé aX
Te 7 podvpers UmrnpeTovyTos Kat omevdovTay am av-
TOY éryiveto TpBn Tou Xpovov. TO yap Ths Nexyo-
pens Mapixas ddrcos, 6 céBovtar nat Tapa-
gduratrovor pnOev éxeiOev exxopusrcOjvas Tav
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to rest alone, after ordering the door of the apart-
ment to be closed.
XXXIX. Upon deliberation, the magistrates and councillors of Minturnae decided not to delay, but to put Marius todeath. Noone of the citizens, how- ever, would undertake the task, so a horseman, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian (for the story is told both ways), took a sword and went into to the room where Marius was. Now, that part of the room where Marius happened to be lying had not a very good light, but was gloomy, and we are told that to the soldier the eyes of Marius seemed to shoot out a strong flame, and that a loud voice issued from the shadows saying : " Man, dost thou date to slay Caius Marius?" At once, then, the Barbarian fled from the room, threw his sword down on the ground, and dashed out of doors, with this one cry: "I cannot kill Caius Marius." Consternation reigned, of course, and then came pity, a change of heart, and self-reproach. for having come to so unlawful and ungrateful a decision against a man who had been the saviour ot Italy, and who ought in all decency to be helped. '"'So, then," the talk ran, "let him go where he will as an exile, to suffer elsewhere his allotted fate. And let us pray that the gods may not visit us with their displeasure for casting Marius out of our city in poverty and rags.'"" Moved by such considerations, they rushed into his room in a body, surrounded him, and began to lead him forth to the sea. But although this one and that one were eager to do him some service and all made what haste they could, still there was delay. For the grove of Marica, as it was called, which was held in veneration, and from which nothing was permitted to be carried out that had ever

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ov TOV mpec Burépav TUS éxBonaas épn pndeuiav
aBatov pnd amropeutov o60v elvat ou' Hs owleras
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Copévay ert vadv Sa Tov TOTO SueE ANG €.
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Kara THY "Epvnivyy ™pocéaXov. éruye O€ qepl
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gvAdcowr, Kal peKpod fev avtov atroBavTa TOV
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Udpevoueveor. Mapuos 5é xara amovdny avay Geis
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Tpos tov Bacidéa Tov Nopddov Tdpapay, den-
Co OMEVOL BonOeiv. ep ols ex pov avamvevoas
éOdppnoev amo THS vHoov Tpos THY Kapynooviay
m poo Baneiv.
'Eo tparayet be THs AtBons TOTE LeFrinuos,
avnp 'Pwpaios, ote pairov ovdev obre xpnorov
éx Mapiov Tpoerrnpas, arn' daov an olkToU Tt
TpoaSoKapevos a@bernoev. aptt dé avTod per
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CAIUS MARIUS

been carried in, lay between them and the sea as they were going, and if they went round it they must needs lose time. At last, however, one of the older men cried out and said that no path could forbid men's steps and passage if it were the path of safety for Marius. And the speaker himself was the first to . take some of the things that were being carried to the ship and pass through the holy place.

XL. Everything was speedily provided through such readiness as this, and a certain Belaeus furnished . a ship for Marius. Belaeus afterwards had a painting made representing these scenes, and dedicated it in the temple at the spot where Marius embarked and put to sea. Favoured by the wind he was borne along by chance to the island of Aenaria, where he found Granius and the rest of his friends, and set sail with them for Africa, But their supply of fresh water failed, and they were compelled to touch at Erycina in Sicily. In thisneighbourhood,as it chanced, the Roman quaestor was on the watch, and almost captured Marius himself as he landed; he did kill about sixteen of his men who came ashore for water. Marius therefore put out to sea with all speed and crossed to the island of Meninx, where he first learned that his son had come off safely with Cethegus, and that they were on their way to Iampsas the king of Numidia, intending to ask his aid. At this news Marius was a little refreshed, and made bold to push on from the island to the

neighbourhood of Carthage.

The Roman governor of Africa at this time was Sextilius, a man wlio had received neither good nor ill at the hands of Marius, but whom, as it was expected, pity alone would move to give him aid. Hardly, however, had Marius landed with a few companions,

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oAlyov aroBeBnKoTos umNpeTns atTavTnaas Kat
KATAG TAS évavtiov eltrev, " A traryopever ool mek-
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el dé un, pnaoly a apuveiv Tots THS Bovnijs Soypaow,
@S 'Popaiwy Tone pi pepevos. Tavta axov-
cavra TOV Mdpiov vo AumNS Kal Bapvdupias
amopia Loyeov éoxe, Kal TONY Ypovov nouxiay
TYE Sevov els TOV UmnpeTny arroPheTrav. €popevou
6é € éxeivou Ti ppater Kab Ti héyet pos TOV OTpaTN-
yor, amexpivaro pera. orevatas, "Ayryedne ToLvuv
67. [dio Mapuov éy TOUS Kapyndovos epermr cous
puydda xabelonevov cides," ov KAKOS apa, THY TE
TIS TONEDS éxeivns TUYNY Kal THY éavTod peTa-
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"Ev tovt@ 5é° Taprpas o O Bactrevs TOV Nopader
érapporepitov Tots Noryla oes év TUL pev Arye
TOUS mep TOV vEov Mdpwov, amvevat oe Bov-
Nopévous ex TLVOS adel Tpopdcews KATELXE, - Kat
djAOS Hv é én ovdevi XpnoT@ TOLOUMEVOS THY ava-
Borgy. ov pny adr oupBatver TL TOV elcOT ov
avrois T pos cwTnplay. 0 yap VEOS Mdptos eUTTpe-
TS OV THY Oxi jvia TLva, TOV Tarranidary rou
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Topevouevor Tapa, THY Oahacaav evTuyxavovat
oKopTriots paxopévors' Kal TO onpetov epdvn TO
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when an official met him, stood directly in front of him, and said : “ Sextilius the governor forbids thee, Marius, to set foot in Africa; and if thou disobeyest, he declares that he will uphold the decrees of the senate and treat thee as an enemy of Rome.” When he heard this, Marius was rendered speechless by grief and indignation, and for a long time kept quiet, looking sternly at the official. Then, when asked by him what he had to say, and what answer he would make to the governor, he answered with a deep groan: “Tell him, then, that thou hast seen Caius Marius a fugitive, seated amid the ruins of Carthage.” And it was not inaptly that he compared the fate of that city with his own reversal of fortune. Meanwhile Iampsas the king of Numidia, hesitating which course to take, did indeed treat the younger Marius and his party with respect, but always had some excuse for detaining them when they wished to go away, and clearly had no good end in view in thus postponing their departure. However, something occurred which, though not at all extraordinary, led to their escape. The younger Marius, that is, being a handsome fellow, one of the concubines of the king - was pained to see him treated unworthily, and this feeling of compassion ripened into love. At first, then, Marius repelled the woman’s advances; but when he saw that there was no other way of escape for him and his friends, and that her behaviour was based on a genuine affection, he accepted her favours ; whereupon she helped him in getting off, and he ran away with his friends and made his escape to his father. After father and son had embraced one another, they walked along the sea-shore, and there they saw some scorpions fighting, which the elder

7 Mapip movnpov. evus ou ad1abos emt Barres Els
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nyretpou- Kal toaouTov EpOacay Gaov avrrypéevov
auTa@v immeis opac bat Tapa Tou Baatrhéws éXav-
vovtas él tov torov Sbev avn Onoav. TouTov
oudevos éAdtTova Kivduvoy eEdokev expuyety o
Mapuos.
XL. "Ev 6€ ‘Peépn YWaAAas pay nKOvETO Tots
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Gépwv xata bofay avrob TVYTpEXOVT@Y em THY
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pais oAtyats Xetpa peyaAnv nOpoice Kal Teo-
capakovTa vas emAjpwcer.
3 Eddas dé tov pev "OxtdBrov a dpea rov avdpa Kal TO
SixacoTarey TpoTe Bovdopevov dpyew, Tov &é
Kivvay drromrov Te TO LANA Kal TOAELODYTA TH
1 avhxOn. wpooBadrdwy 8 with Coraés: pel dv dvhxOn,
npooBadov.
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CAIUS MARIUS

Marius regarded as a bad omen. At once, therefore, they boarded a fishing-boat and crossed over to the island of Cercina, which was not far distant from the mainland; and scarcely had they put out from land when horsemen sent by the king were seen riding towards the spot whence they had sailed. It would seem that Marius never escaped a greater peril than this.

XLI. But in Rome, Sulla was heard of as waging war with the generals of Mithridates in Boeotia, and the consuls quarrelled and were resorting to arms. A battle took place, Octavius won the day, cast out Cinna, who was trying to be too arbitrary in his rule, and put Cornelius Merula in his place as consul ; whereupon Cinna assembled a force from the other parts of Italy and made war anew upon Octavius and his colleague. When Marius heard of these things, he thought best to sail thither as fast as he could; so taking with him from Africa some Moorish horse- men, and some Italians who had wandered thither, the number of both together not exceeding a thousand, he put to sea. Putting in at Telamon in Tyrrhenia, and landing there, he proclaimed freedom to the slaves ; he also won over the sturdiest of the free farmers and herdsmen of the neighbourhood, who came flocking down to the sea attracted by his fame, and in a few days had assembled a large force and manned forty ships. |

And now, knowing that Octavius was a most excellent man and wished to rule in the justest way, but that Cinna was distrusted by Sulla and was making

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xadectwan TohsTELa, TOVT@ TMpoovépew EéavTOV

eyvm peTa THS Ouvapews. Emreurrev ody erayyer-
NOmEvos WS UTdT@ TaVTa TroLnoELY TA TpoTTAac-
coueva. OeFapévov 6€ tod Kivva xai mpoca-
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Tada Tapdonpa THs apYns atoaTetAavTos, ovK
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éaOnre pavrAn Kexpnuévos Kal Kopav ad' fs Epu-
yey nmepas, uTép EBSounKxovta yeyovws érn Babyy
mpoanet, BovAropevos pev édeewvos elvat, TO dé
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mwréov TO hoPepov, Kai Stéhaivev 4 KatTnhea TOV
Oupov ov TeTaTrEetvMpéevov, Ar eEnyptopévov UTrd
THs peTaBorNs.
XLII. 'Acrwacdpevos 5€ rov Kivvay nai roils
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peyadAnv petaBorAnv Tov TpaynaToY étroince.
TPOTOV Lev yap Tals vavol Ta GLTNYA TEPLKOTT TOV
Kal Tous éumopous AniCopevos expaTnae THS ayo-
pas, érerta Tas Tapadtous TroNes eriTréwY Hpel.
rérXos b€ THY OQotiav adTny XaBov é« mpodocias
Ta Te Xpnpata OinpTrace Kal TOV arOpwrwy TOUS
ToAXous atéxteve, Kal yepupwoas TOV ToTapoV
atréxowe Kouioyn Tas é€x Oardoans evrropias TaV
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éywper Kal To KaXovpevov 'lavodeXov pos Kateé-
oXEV, ov ToTovTOY aireipia Tod "OxtaBiov Ta
mpaypata BXdtTovtos, dcov axpiBeia Tov Sixat-
@V Tpoig"evov Ta YpELwdn Tapa TO GUEéepor, Os
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war upon the established constitution, he determined
to join Cinna with his forces. Accordingly he sent
to Cinna and offered to obey him in everything as
consul. Cinna accepted his offer, named him pro-
consul, and sent him the fasces and other insignia of
the office. Marius, however, declared that these
decorations were not suited to his fortunes, and in
-mean attire, his hair uncut since the day of his flight,
being now over seventy years of age, came with slow
step$ to meet the consul. For he wished that men
should pity him; but with his appeal for compassion
there was mingled the look that was natural to him

and now more terrifying than ever, and through his downcast mien there flashed a spirit which had been, not humbled, but made savage by his reverses.

XLII. After greeting Cinna and presenting him-. self to Cinna's soldiers, he at once began his work and greatly changed the posture of affairs. In the first place, by cutting off the grain-ships with his fleet and plundering the merchants, he made himself master of the city's supplies ; next, he sailed to the maritime cities and took them ; and finally, he seized Ostia itself, which was treacherously surrendered to him, plundering the property there and killing most of its inhabitants, and by throwing a bridge across the river completely cut off the enemy from such stores as might come by sea. «lhen he set out and marched with his army towards the city, and occupied the hill called Janiculum. Octavius damaged his own cause, not so much through lack of skill, as by a too scrupulous observance of the laws, wherein he unwisely neglected the needs of the hour. For though many urged him to call the slaves to arms

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covtos Kev els 'Pwuny cat wodv tov 'OxtaBiou
TTPATHYLKWTEPOS EpaiveTo, KATANLTOVTES OL OTPA-~
Tatar Tov 'OxtdBiov eov ws éxelvov apyeL
Seouevor Kal owlew Thy Tok Ev yap aywvtel-
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cOat Kai Kkpatnoev eurepov nyesnova Kat Spa-
aoTnptov AaBovTes. ayavaxtnoavtos 5é ToD MeréA-
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Nov Kal KeAevovTOS amLévat pos TOV UaTov,
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evpeOjvat. Kal TO Tpayua TOAAHY adoyiay Eiye,
TO dvely Hyeuovov émipaveotdtov Madpiov pev
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under promise of freedom, he said he would not make bondmen members of the state from which he was trying to exclude Marius in obedience to the laws. Moreover, when Metellus(son of the Metellus who had commanded in Africa and had been banished through the intrigues of Marius) came to Rome, it was thought that he was far superior to Octavius as a general, and the soldiers forsook Octavius and came to him, entreating him to take the command and save the city ; for they would make a good fight, they said, and win the victory if they got a tried and efficient leader. Metellus, however, was indignant at them and bade them go back to the consul ;. whereupon they went off to the enemy. Metellus also left the city, despairing of its safety.

But Octavius was persuaded by certain Chaldaeans, sacrificers, and interpreters of the Sibylline books to remain in the city, on the assurance that matters would turn out well. For it would seem that this man, although he was in other ways the most sensible man in Rome, and most careful to maintain the dignity of the consular office free from undue in- fluence in accordance with the customs of the country and its laws, which he regarded as unchangeable ordinances, had a weakness in this direction, since he spent more time with charlatans and seers than with men who were statesmen and soldiers. This man, then, before Marius entered the city, was dragged down from the rostra by men who had been sent on before, and butchered ; and we are told that a Chaldaean chart was found in his bosom after he had been slain. Now, it seems very unaccountable that, of two most illustrious commanders, Marius

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5€ atonéoat.
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aTrokpices é Ke TOUS peo Rect, Maptos 6é TO
Sibp@ TapelaTHKEL POeyyopevos pev ovder, t vTro-
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2 hover THY mou. évrel 6€ avactavtes éBab.lov,
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Tapa Tais muAals & UroaTas elpmveveTo Ipos opyny,
gduyas elvau Aéyoou Kal THIS marpidos elpyeoOar
Kara TOV vopoy, el O€ xpntor Tes avrou TapovTos,
érépa vide AuTéOV Elvat THY éxBdddovcay, WS
7) vomtmos Tis OV avnp Kal KATLOV Ets TOMY

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po Tov TpEis i) TéeTTApAS pudas: éveyxely THY
Wiov adels TO mide wa, Kal THY puyadcany
-€K ELV NV bixarohoyiay KaTNEL, Sopudopous EXeov
Noydbas ex TAY T poaTEeporTnKoT ov dovAw?, ods
Bapdvaious mpoanyopevaer. ovToL TodAovs pev
amo pws, ToAXOUs dé a7ro VEU MATOS avnpouv
T pOoTaG aOVTOS avrob: kal Téhos "AyXaptoy,
avdpa Bovreuthy Kat TT PATHYLKOY, évtuyXavovra
T@ Mapip kai py _mpocaryopevOevra cataBan-
ovat eum poo Gev avroo Tais paxaipacs TUTTOV-
4 TES. éx 6€ TovTouv Kal TOY a\XNwv Gaous aoTa-
TApévous 7) Mpocayopevoete wNde dvTAGTde alto,
TOUTO avTO cUuBoAroY HY atroadaTrTew EevOds ev
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should succeed by regarding divinations, but
Octavius should be ruined. |
XLIII. Matters being at this pass, the senate met and sent a deputation to Cinna and Marius, begging them to enter the city and spare the citizens. Cinna, accordingly, as consul, seated on his chair of office, received the embassy and gave them a kindly answer ; but Marius, standing by the consul's chair without speaking a word, made it clear all the while, by the heaviness of his countenance and the gloominess of his look, that he would at once fill the city with slaughter. After the conference was over they moved on towards the city. Cinna entered it with a body- guard, but Marius halted at the gates and angrily dissembled, saying that he was an exile and was excluded from the country by the law, and if his presence there was desired, the vote which cast-him out must be rescinded by another vote, since, indeed, he was a law-abiding man and was returning to a free city. So the people were summoned to the forum; and before three or four of the tribes had cast their votes, he threw aside his feigning and all that petty talk about being an exile, and entered the city, having as his body-guard a picked band of the slaves who had flocked to his standard, to whom he had given the name of Bardyaei. These fellows killed many of the citizens at a word of command from him, many, too, at a mere nod; and at last, when Ancharius, a man of senatorial and praetorial dignity, met Marius and got no salutation from him, they struck him down with their swords before the face of their master. After this, whenever anybody else greeted Marius and got no salutation or greeting in return, this of itself was a signal for the man's

a A A /
Talis od0ts, WoTe Kal TOY dirwv ExacToY aywvias
¢ "A
peoTov elvat Kat Ppixns ooadKis aoTacdmevot TO
Mapio werdboev' xrewopmévor dé ToAXr@Y Kivvas
\ b) \ a \ '\ " ce ,
pev auBrAvs Hv Kal perros 75n Tod doveveup,
Mdpuos 5é nal' éxdorny nuépay axpalovte TO
Oup@ cal Sipavre da ravrav éyaper TOV OTTWa-
" 9 e / t A A N e ,
ouv év bmowig yeyovorwv. Kal aca pev 060s,
"A Y "a \ a
waca Sé modus Tav SwwKovTwy Kal KUynyeTouVTm@V
Tous wropevyovtas Kal Kexpuppévous éyepuev.
nreyyeto 5é wal Eevias cal dirrias miotis oddév
v \ x V4 / 7 \
éyouca tapa tas tuyas BéBatov' orLyor yap
eYEVOVTO TAVTATACLY Ob [42) TPOCOVTES AUTOIS TOUS
a / " @ bd
Tapa opas xatapuyovtas. atv ody ayacba
kat Oavydoat Tovs Tov Kopvovrou Sepamrovtas, ot
Tov SeotroTny atroxpuravres olxot, vexpov Oé TLVa

TOV TOANAGY avapTioavTes Ex TOD TpaXHAOU Kal
mepllévres avT@ ypucody Saxrurov érredeixvvov
tots Mapiouv Sopvdopois nal xoopycavtes as
9 a » A 4 e s \ b] / bd >)
éxeivov avrov Gbarrov. wrevonae bé ovdeis, AAX
oe \ e le) e \ a b) a 9
otw AaOav o Kopvodtos bro TaY oiKxeTaV Eis
Tanartiav dvexopic6n. |
XLIV. Xpynor@ 5 wat Mdpxos ‘Avtavios o
pntwp Pirim ypnodpevos HTVYNTEV. O yap aD-
/
Opwrros Hy pev trévns Kat Snuotexos, UTobeEdpEVOS
\ A wv € / \ 0
5é mpatov dvdpa ‘Pwopaiwy cal drrodppovovpevos
éx TOV TApOVTMD, OLKETHY ErreprApe TPOS TLVA TOV
:
éyyus Karndov AnYropevoy olvov. Siaryevopévou
dé émipedéotepov Kal BeAtiova peTphoat KEeNEvOr- .
ToS npwTnoey Oo KaTrndoS 6 TL TAOaY ov! Tov

slaughter in the very street, so that even the friends of Marius, to a man, were full of anguish and horror whenever they drew near to greet him. So many were slain that at last Cinna’s appetite for murder was dulled and sated; but Marius, whose anger increased day by day and thirsted for blood, kept on killing all whom he held in any suspicion whatsoever. Every road and every city was filled with men pur- suing and hunting down those who sought to escape or had hidden themselves. Moreover, the trust men placed in the ties of hospitality and friendship was found to be no security against the strokes of Fortune; for few there were, all told, who did not betray to the murderers those who had taken refuge with them. All the more worthy of praise and admiration, then, was the behaviour of the slaves of Cornutus. They concealed their master in his house ; then they hung up by the neck one of the many dead bodies that lay about, put a gold ring on its finger, and showed it to the guards of Marius, after which they decked it out as if it were their master’s body and gave it burial. Nobody suspected the ruse, and thus Cornutus escaped notice and was conveyed by his slaves into Galatia.

XLIV. Marcus Antonius also, the orator, found a faithful friend, but it did not save him. For this friend, who was a poor plebeian and had received into his house a leading man of Rome, whom he wished to entertain as well as he could, sent a slave toa neighbouring innkeeper to get some wine. As the slave tasted the wine more carefully than usual and ordered some of better quality, the innkeeper asked ‘ him what was the reason that he did not buy the

véov, wamrep etwbev, wvettar Kal Snuotixov, adXrAa
Tov oTovdaiov Kal ToAuUTENOUS. aTAds Sé TwsS
éxeivou ppdaavros as mpos auvnOn Kal yvoptpon,
6tt Mdpxov ’Avtwuov o Searrotns éotiad trap
avT@® KpuTTouevov, aceBns Kal puapos ay oO
KaTNNOS awa TO Tov olKérnv arerOcivy avros
cuvéretve pos Mdptov 75n trept Setrvov évra, Kat
mpocaxlels @poroynoe Trapad@cev at’T@ Tov
"AVT@VLOV. GKOVGAaS OvY ExElvosS ExxpayelVy NéyETAL
péya cal tais yepoly bd Hdovis avaxporhaar
Kal puxpovd pev edenoev €Eavactas avtos éml Tov
totrov depecOa, Tov O€ ditwv KaTacyovTwv ”Av-
viov repre Kal oTpaTiwTas pet avTOD KErEvCaS
KaTa TaYoS THY KEeharny Tod AvtTwviov KoptCev.
@S ovv HKov él THY oixiav, o pev Avvtos birécTy
mapa Tas Oupas, ot dé otpati@tar bia KALLAaKOV
avaBavtes eis TO Swpuadtiov Kal Peacdpevoe Tov
"Avtrwvov addAos GAXOV eri THY shaynv avl’
éavToU TrapeKdnrer Kai mpovBadrr.cTO. TotavTn dé
TLS WV, @S EoLKe, TOU avdpos 7 TOV AOYV aELpNY
kal ydpis, ote ap~apévou Aéyev Kal Trapaitei-
cOat tov Oavatov Gyacba pév ovdels éTOAUNoEV
ovdé avTiBrear, xdtw 5é Kvvpavtes eddxpvor
drravtes. SvatpiBys §€ yevonerns avaBas o” Avvios
opa tov pev ‘Avtwvov diareyopuevov, tors fe
oTpatiotas éxmeTANyLEevous Kal KaTAKEKNANpE-
vous Um avTov'. Kakioas ody éxeivous Kal Tpos-
Spapov avros amrorémver THY Kepadnp.
KdtiXos 56¢ Aovtdtios Mapio avvdpEas kai
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new and ordinary wine as usual, instead of wanting some that was choice and expensive. The slave, in his great simplicity, conscious that he was dealing with an old acquaintance, told him that his master was entertaining Marcus Antonius, who was concealed at his house. As soon as the slave had gone home, the innkeeper, who was an impious and pestilent fellow, hastened in person to find Marius, who was already at supper, and on being introduced, promised to betray Antonius to him. When Marius heard this, as we are told, a loud cry burst from his lips and he clapped his hands for joy; he actually came near springing from his seat and hurrying to the place himself, but his friends restrained him; so he sent Annius and some soldiers with him, ordering them to bring him the head of Antonius with all speed. Accordingly, when they were come to the house, Annius stopped at the door, while the soldiers .climbed the stairs and entered the room. But when they beheld Antonius, every man began to urge and push forward a companion to do the murder instead of himself. So indescribable, however, as it would seem, was the grace and charm of his words, that when Antonius began to speak and pray for his life, not a soldier had the hardihood to lay hands on him or even to look him in the face, but they all bent their heads down and

wept. Perceiving that there was some delay, Annius went upstairs, and saw that Antonius was pleading and: that the soldiers were abashed and enchanted by his words; so he cursed his men, and running up to Antonius, with his own hands cut off his head.

Again, the friends of Catulus Lutatius, who had been a colleague of Marius in the consulship, and

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aovvOpiauBevoas amo KiuSpwv, éret mpos rovs
Seouévous Umrép avtob Kal mapatroupévous o Madp-
los TocovTov povov elmev, "'Amofaveiy Sei,"
a, > v \ \ "
KATAKNELTApEVOS Els OLANMA Kal TrONANOUS avOpaKas
éxCwmupnoas arremviryn.
/ a ee
"Purroupéevoy 5€ TOV cwpaTwY axedarov Kal 432
"a e a
TaToupévwv €v tais odois éXeos OUK HY, GANA
pixn Kal tpopos amrdvrwy mpos thy iv. nvia
5é puddtota Tov Shyov 7 THY Kadoupévov Bap-
dvaiwy doérxyea. Tous yap Seororas év tais
oixiats aoddtrovTes yoXuvoy pev avTav Taidas,
éuiyvurto 6é Bia tais Serrroivats, axatdoyxerot Sé
Hhoav aptalovTes Kat puapovoivtes, Ews ot trepl
Kivvay xat Yeptr@ptov suphpovyncavtes éméPevto
KOLMLOLEevols AUTOS ev TH oTpaToTédw Kal KaTN-
KovTioay aTavTas.
XLV. 'Ev tovtrm 6€ domep 'tpotraias Tivos
3 U4 , Mv 4 e
apetBovons époitwy ayyedo. travtayoley as
, \ \ \ , \
ywvAAas cuvnpnKas Tov MiOpidatixov Trodepov Kat
Tas éTapxias averngas errimdéor meTa TOANTS
Suvdpews. cal todto Bpayeiay érriayeciy éroince
A "A 9 4 3 4 n e "
kal wavAav oriyny addtov Kaxav, Gcov ovTTH
TOV TrONEMOV HKeLV em' aUTOUs Oloméevwv. HraTos
pev ody amredeixOn To EBdSon0v Mdpios, nal mpo-
\ b A 4 , 4 " > A

eXOav adtais Kardvdats lavovapiass, érous apy7,
LéErov tia Aovuxivoy xatexpnuvicev’ 0 KaxKeivots
Kal TH TodE Tov avOis eddKEr KaK@V Yyeyovéevas
ONMELOV MéeyLoTOV. |
59°

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with him had celebrated a triumph over the Cimbri, interceded for him and begged Marius to spare his life ; but the only answer they could get was: “He must die.’’ Catulus therefore shut himself up in a room, lighted up a great quantity of charcoal, and was suffocated. :

But headless trunks thrown into the streets and trampled under foot excited no pity, though everybody trembled and shuddered at the sight. The people were most distressed, however, by the wanton licence of the Bardyaei, as they were called, who butchered fathers of families in their houses, outraged their children, violated their wives, and could not be checked in their career of rapine and murder until Cinna and Sertorius, after taking counsel together, fell upon them as they were asleep in their camp, and transfixed them all with javelins.}

XLV. Meanwhile, as if a change of wind were coming on, messengers arrived from all quarters with reports that Sulla had finished the war with Mithridates, had recovered the provinces, and was sailing for home with a large force. This gave a brief stay and a slight cessation to the city’s unspeakable evils, since men supposed that the war was all but upon them. Accordingly, Marius was elected consul for the seventh time, and assuming office on the very Calends of January,? which is the first day of the year, he had a certain Sextus Lucinus thrown down the Tarpeian rock. This was thought to be a most significant portent of the evils that were once more to fall both upon the partisans of Marius and upon the city.

1 Cf. the Sertorius, v. 5. 2 86 B.C.

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(2

Autos 5é 75 Tois Te Tovots aTretpNnKaS Kal TaAis
/
dpovtiow oloy brépavtAos Oy Kal KaTatrovos, THY
A A
uxnv mpos Tocavtny aiOis érrivovay véov Trode-

pov Kal Kawav aydvev Kai poBwy bro éurretpias

davav Kal Kauarou Tpé“ovoay OvK avédepe, NOYE-

Comevos ws ov mpos OxraBiov odd MepovaAdrav

, e , Ul WwW
avyKAvOos opirov Kal ctacimdous dyAOU oTpAaTN-
\ e / ” UA \ > “ v
yous 0 kivduvos Evotto, SVANas b€ éxetivos Erretouy

£ ~ - > \ bd , 3 / A \

0 THS Tatpioos avtov é€eAdoas dda, viv 4é

MiOpidatnv cuvecrarxas eis tov KvEevoy Iov-

Tov. wv7ro ToLlouTwy Opavopevos NOYLa MOV, Kab THV
\ ” ¢e A XN \ # \
Hakpav adnv avtod kal duyas Kal Kxiwwddvous bia

ys xat Oaratrns éXavvopéevov NauBdvwv po

b] A“

opOarpav, ets aTropias évérimte Seas Kal vuK-
\ /
Tepiva Seiata Kal Tapaxy@dets Gveipous, del TLVOS

> A

axovew POeyyouévou Soxav

: ia ; ,
dewval yap Koirar Kal arrovyopévoto AéovTos.
pariota bé rdavtav hoBovpevos Tas aypuTrvias

évéBanrev eis trotous éauvTov Kal pébas aw@pous Kai map nAkiav, dowep aTodpacw Tav ppovTidwy Tov dmvov pnyaveapevos. Tédros 5é ws Ke TIS atrayyéAAwv aro Oadacons, véot WpoomimrovTes avt@ doBor, ta pev Séee Tod péAXovTOS, Ta Se @omrep ayOer Kal Kop@ TOV TrapoVTaY, pons Bpa-Nelas eTuyevowévns els vooov KaTNvéxOn TrEupiTey, ws totopet Locerdauvios 6 pidrocodos, avtos eiaed-
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‘But Marius himself, now worn out with toils, deluged, as it were, with anxieties, and wearied, could not sustain his spirits, which shook within him as he again faced the overpowering thought of a new war, of fresh struggles, of terrors known by experience to be dreadful; and of utter weariness. He reflected, too, that it was not Octavius or Merula in command of a promiscuous throng and a seditious rabble against whom he was now to run the hazard of war, but that the famous Sulla was coming against him, the man who had once ejected him from the country, and had now shut Mithridates up to the shores of the Euxine Sea. Tortured by such reflections, and bringing into review his long wandering, his flights, and his perils, as he was driven over land and sea, he fell into a state of dreadful despair, and was a prey to nightly terrors and harassing dreams, wherein he would ever seem to hear a voice saying :—
“Dreadful, indeed, is the lion’s lair, even though it be empty.” !
And since above all things he drealed the sleepless nights, he gave himself up to drinking-bouts and drunkenness at unseasonable hours and in a man- ner unsuited to his years, trying thus to induce sleep as a way of escape from his anxious thoughts, And finally, when one came with tidings from the sea, fresh terrors fell upon him, partly because he feared the future, and partly because he was wearied to satiety by the present, so that it needed only a slight impulse to throw him into a pleurisy, as Poseidonius the philosopher relates, who says that he

1 A hexameter verse of unknown authorship.

Oeivy cai StarexOjvar epi av éempéoBevev 7dn
vooovvTt dackwy ait. Taios dé tis Teton,
A QA
advnp toropixds, tatopet tov Madptov amo. deimvouv
A fal ‘ /
TepiTaATOOVTA peTa TOV dirwv ev Noyots yevér Oat
a) \ ‘)
Twept Tov Kal éavtov mpaypatov, avwlev apta-
\ \ > 9 9 , , \
pevov: Kai Tas ém’ audotepa TroAXaKs peTaBoras
wn n ¥
adnynaapevoy eitrety ws ovK.éaTL vouv ExoVTOS
avdpos ET TH TUX WiaTevey EavTtov: éx O€ ToUv-
TOV TOUS TapovTas dowacduevoy Kal KaTAaKNe-
Oévra auvexas nuépas ErTa TeXEUTHTAL. TLVvES OE
la A fo! S
Thy pirotipiav avtov hacw ev TH voow wavta-
Tacw amroKarudlcicav eis atotov é€oKxetNar
Tapakomny, olopévov tov MiOpidarixoy otparn-
A > A “A
yety woAeuov, celta, WoTrep em avTov Ei\wber TAY
ayovwv, oxXnpata wavTodaTa Kal Kivnpata
TWOMATOS PETA GUVTOVOU Kpavyns Kal TuUKVOY
bd 4 b , ed \ b) *
addarayydtwv amobidovTos. ovTws dSeuvos avT@
\ , 3 J \ /
kal dvatrapapvOntos éx pirapyias Kai CnrotuTias
A vA A tA
Epws évtetnxes TaV mpdkewy exeitvwv. 610 ETN
N e , / ed N fa)
pev EBSounKxovta BeBtwxas, brratos 86 mpwros
avOparev émtaxis avnyopevpévos, olxov TE Kal
la! 3 “~ : , e A n
TNOUTOV apKovvTa PBacireiats opov moAXais
KEKTNMLEVOS, WOUPETO THY EavTOD TUXNY ws évdenS 433
> ‘ Ld 9 4 ,
Kal arerns av érobe: wpoaTroOvicKav.
XLVI. [Adtav pév odv 46n mpos TO TerAeuTaV
4 \ n ,
yevojevos Duvet Tov avTOD Saipova Kal THY TYYND,
4 A \ v 3 ad 9 ,
Ste wp@toy pev avOpwmos, eita” EXXny, od Bap-
an tA tA \
Bapos ovéé aXNoyov TH hvaet Onpiov yévorto, mWpos

fay J
5é rovTors, OTL Tois ZWKpaToUs Ypovols aTHYTNGEV
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went in personally and conversed with Marius on the subjects of his embassy after Marius had fallen ill. But a certain Caius Piso, an historian, relates that Marius, while walking about with his friends after supper, fell to talking about the events of his life, beginning with his earliest days, and after recounting his frequent reversals of fortune, from good to bad. and from bad to good, said that it was not the part of a man of sense to trust himself to Fortune any longer; and after this utterance bade his friends farewell, kept his bed for seven days consecutively, and so died. Some, however, say that his ambitious nature was completely revealed during his illness by his being swept into a strange delusion. He thought that he had the command in the Mithridatic war, and then, just as he used todo in his actual struggles, he would indulge in all sorts of attitudes and gestures, accompanying them with shrill cries and frequent calls to battle. So fierce and inexorable was the passion for directing that war which had been in- stilled into him by his envy and lust of power. And therefore, though he had lived to be seventy years old, and was the first man to be elected consul for the seventh time, and was possessed of a house and wealth which would have sufficed for many kingdoms at once, he lamented his fortune, in that he was dying before he had satisfied and completed his desires.

XLVI. Plato, however, when he was now at the point of death, lauded his guardian genius and Fortune because, to begin with, he had been born a man and not an irrational animal; again, because he was a Greek and not a Barbarian ; and still again, because his birth had fallen in the times of Socrates.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

e 4 > A \ \ / \ / 4
n yéveotsavTov. Kai vn Aia tov Tapoéa Aéyoucw
9 , e , e N \ \ >
AVTLTATPOV WOAVTWS VITO THY TEXEUTHY avado-
tp! ? 4 , \ A > 9 4
yiCopevoy ov TUYOL paKapiov pndé THs ets AOnvas
olxofev evtrAoias émirabécOa, Kxaddrep dido-
YpHaTou Tis TUXNS amacay Soow eis peyadrnv
yap TWépevov Kat owlovta TH uvnun Sua TédOUS,
hs ovdéy éeotiv avOpwor@ Tapteiov ayadav Be-
Baotepov. Ttovs d5€ auvnuovas Kal avontous
a A 4
UTEKpEL TA Yiyvopeva peTa TOV Ypovou: do wnOev
oTeyovTes unde Statnpobvtes ael Kevol pev ayabar,
\
mAnpers d€ é€Amidwy mpos TO péAAOV aTrOBXE-

oe \
jouvol, TO Tapoy Tpoiéuevor. Kaito. TO péev av
e 4 A , \ \ 9? f 4 >
n TUXN KwWrdCaL SUVaLTO, TO b€ dvadhaipeTov éoTLW:
GAN pws TodTO THs TUXNS @s GAXOTPLOV éxBar-
Novres exeivo TO AONAOY GVELPWTTOVALY, ELKOTA
TaaKovTes. ply yap éx Noyou Kai Trardeias Edpav
vroBarés0at Kal xpnirida tois &EwOev ayabois,
GuvayovTes avTa Kal cuugopobytTes EuTAHoAL THS
an /
wouyijs ov Svvavtat TO axopec Tov.
/
"Arobvnckxe 8 ovv Mdpios 7 1épas emtaxaideca
“A e 60 e / > 4 l / 4
Ths eBoouns UTratelas eTtAaBwv. Kal peya eave
e€ , 4
Tapautixa THY “Pwouny xdpua Kai Oapoos ws
a ‘6 ? / 9 7 de
vaheris Tupavyicos amndAaypevny’ odiyats O€
>
fpépats naoOovto véov avTnd\\aypévot Kal axpa-
4 e
Covta avtl mpecRutov Seamotny: toaavTny o
eN > “a / b] / \ , ? & ,
vios avtov Maptos wpotnta Kal mixpiav aTredet-
Faro, Tovs apiatous Kal Soxipmwrdtous avatpov.
/ bd
Sofas 5é kal toAuntrns Kal dtdroKivduvos eivat
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And indeed they say that Antipater of Tarsus, when he was in like manner near his end and was enumerating the blessings of his life, did not forget to mention his prosperous voyage from home to Athens, just as théugh he thought that every gift of a benevolent Fortune called for great gratitude, and kept it to the last in his memory, which is the most secure storehouse of blessings for a man. Unmindful and thoughtless persons, on the contrary, let all that happens to them slip away as time goes on ; therefore, since they do not hold or keep anything, they are always empty of blessings, but full of hopes, and are looking away to the future while they neglect the present. And yet the future may be prevented by Fortune, while the present cannot be taken away ; nevertheless these men cast aside the present gift of Fortune as something alien to them, while they dream of the future and its uncertainties. And this is natural. For they assemble and heap together the external blessings of life before reason and educa- tion have enabled them to build any foundation and basement for these things, and therefore they cannot satisfy the insatiable appetite of their souls.

So, then, Marius died, seventeen days after enter- ing upon his seventh consulship. And immediately Rome was filled with great rejoicing and a confident hope that she was rid of a grievous tyranny; but in a few days the people perceived that they had got a new and vigorous master in exchange for the old one; such bitterness and cruelty did the younger Marius display, putting to death the best and most esteemed citizens. He got the reputation of being bold and fond of danger in fighting his enemies, and

Mpos Tous ToAEulovs ev apy Tats "Apeos wvopa-
Cero, tayv dé Tois Epyous édeyyoperos avOis
b] , en ? " / N
Adpoditns vies éxaretto. Téros bé Kataxrerabets
eis paweorov bo YUAAa Kal, ToAAA dhiroWv-
XNTAS MATHY, OF HY ApvKTa Ths woAEws arALTKO-
MEVNS, AUTOS AUTOV ATEKTELVED.
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in the beginning was called a son of Mars; but his deeds soon showed what he really was, and he was called instead a son of Venus. And finally he was shut up in Praeneste by Sulla, and after many vain attempts to save his life, when the city was captured and he could not escape, he slew himself.1

1 See the Sulla, xxxii. 1.

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A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF
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A

Actium, 279, 293, 297, a promontory of Acarnania in northern Greece, at. the entrance of the Ambraciot gulf.

Aeacides, 59, 347, king of Epeirus

and father of Pyrrhus. He was
driven from his kingdom in
317 B.c., and recalled in 313,
during which year he was defeated
and slain by the forces of
Cassander.
Aegae, 433, a town in central Mace-
donia, the burial place of the
royal line.
Aemilius, 411, Quintus Aemilius
Papus, consul in 282 and 278 B.c,
and censor in 275. In all these
offices he had Caius Fabricius
as colleague.
Aéropus, the Macedonian, 47, 369,
not otherwise known.
Agathocles (1), 61, 369, 387 f.,
tyrant of Syracuse, 210-289 B.c.
He also assumed the title of King
of Sicily.
Agathocles (2), 77, 117 f., a son of:

Lysimachus the king of Thrace,
sent against Demetrius in 287 B.c.
murdered in 284.
Agrippa, 215, 285 f., 305, 331 f.,
arcus Vipsanius A., fellow-
student of Octavius Caesar at
Apollonia, and an_ intimate
friend. He was one of the lead-
ing men of the Augustan age.
He lived 63-12 B.0.
Agrippina, 333, Agrippina the
Younger, daughter of Germanicus
PLUT, IX.

and grand-daughter of Agrippa.
In 28 A.D. she married Domitius
Ahenobarbus, who died in 40. In
49 she married her uncle, the
emperor Claudius.
Ahenobarbus, 333, see Domitius (3).

Albinus, 483, Spurius Postumius A.,
was consul in 110 B.C. and con-

ducted the war against Jugurtha unsuccessfully. He was condemned for treasonable relations with Jugurtha. é

Alcyoneus, 459 f., a son of Antigonus Gonatas, not otherwise mentioned.

Alexander (1), 355, Roxana's son by Alexander the Great, born 323 B.O., and taken to Macedonia by Antipater in 320. On the death of Antipater in 319, Roxana fled with her son to Epeirus, where he was betrothed to Deidameia, the daughter of King Aeacides. After his restoration to Macedonia by Aeacides in 317, he was imprisoned with his mother by Cassander, and both were murdered in 311.

Alexander (2), 87-91, 341, 361f., 381, a son of Cassander by Thessalonicé, the sister of Alexander the Great.

Alexander (3), 371, a son‘of Pyrrhus and lLanassa, not otherwise mentioned.

Alexander (4), 135, a son of Demetrius and Deidameia, not otherwise known.

Alexander (5), 23, son of Polysperchon, was sent by his father in 603

318 B.C. to wrest Athens from the power of Cassander (see .the Phocion, xxxiii.). He was assassinated at Sicyon in 314.

Alexander (6), 219, 263, son of Antony and Cleopatra, graced the triumph of Octavius Caesar at Rome, and was there reared by pcan (see the Antony, 1xxxvii.

).

Alexander (7), 245, 249, of Antioch, a friend of Antony, not otherwise known.
Alexander of Myndus (in Caria), 507, a Greek writer on zoology, of uncertain date.
Alexas the Laodicean, 303 f., not otherwise known.
Alexas the Syrian, 289, not otherwise known.
Amanus, 132 f., a range of mountains between Cilicia and Syria, at the head of the gulf of Issus.
Amorgus, 29, an island in the Aegean Sea, south-east of Naxos.
Amphiasa, 199, the chief town of the Ozolian Locrians, about seven miles west of Delphi.
Ancharia, 207, first wife of Caius Octavius. Plutarch erroneously identifies her daughter Octavia with the Octavia who was the daughter of Atia.
Anthesterion, 61 f., the eighth month of the Attic calendar, answering to parts of February and March.
Anticyra, 295, a town in Phocis, on a bay of the Corinthian gulf.
Antigenidas, 5, a celebrated Theban flute-player and poet in the times of Alexander the Great.
Antigone, 357 f., 369, daughter of Berenicé and first wife of Pyrrhus.
Antigonus (1), 7—77, 333 f., 367, 431, surnamed the One-eyed, king of Asia, father of Demetrius Poliorcertes. He fell in the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.).
Antigonus (2), 99, 111, 129, 133 f., 431 ff., 445 f., 449 f., 459 f., son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Macedonia 283-239 B.c., Anti-

gonus Gonatas.
Antigonus the Jew, 219, king of

Judaea. His rival, Herod, was made king of Judaea by the Roman _ senate, through the influence of Antony. Antigonus was then defeated and captured by Herod (with the assistance of the Roman general Sosius), and delivered over to Antony, who had him executed (37 B.0.).
Antiochus (1), 71, 77, 93-97, 129 f., Antiochus I., son of Seleucus and king of Syria, killed in battle with the Gauls 261 B.c.
Antiochus (2), of Commagené, 213 f., established in power by Pompey (64 B.c.), and a supporter of Pompey against Caesar. He died shortly before 31 B.c.
Antipater (1), 33, 91, 335, regent of Macedonia during Alexander's absence in the East, and of Alexander's empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 B.c. He died in 319.
Antipater (2), 87, 91, 361, son of Cassander by Thessalonicé the sister of Alexander the Great. After the death of his brother Alexander, Antipater fled for refuge to Lysimachus, who had him put to death.
Antipater of Tarsus, 597, a Stoic philosopher who was flourishing in 144 B.o.
Antiphon, 197. It is uncertain which of the many men of this name is meant.
Antonia (1), 333, elder daughter of Antony and Octavia. Her son by Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus

Cneius Domitius, was the father of Nero.

Antonia (2), 333, younger daughter of Antony and Octavia. She lived to see her grandson Caligula emperor in 37 A.D.

Antonius (1), 587 f., Marcus Antonius the orator, grandfather of the triumvir, 143-87 B.c. He was consul in 99, censor in 97, and a partisan of Sulla. Cicero often speaks of him as one of the greatest of Roman orators.

Antonius (2), 139, Marcus Antoninus Creticus, father of the triumvir.

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In 74 B.C. he was given command of the Roman fleet in order to clear the Mediterranean of pirates but he failed ignominiously and was defeated in an attack upon Crete. His surname was given him in derision. He was avaricious and rapacious.

Antonius (3), 157, Caius Antonius, uncle of the _ triumvir. He served under Sulla in the Mithridatic war, and was expelled from the senate for plundering the allies. He was Cicero's colleague in the consulship in 63 B.C., and in 59 was convicted of extortion in his province of Macedonia, in spite of the defence of his conduct by Cicero.

Antonius (4), 171, 185, Caius Antonius, elder brother of the triumvir. After his praetorship he received the province of Macedonia, where he was put to death in 42 B.c. See the Brutus, XAV.—-XXViii.

Antonius (5), 171, 203, Lucius

Antonius, younger brother of the triumvir. He was _ consul in 41 B.O., and was besieged by Octavius Caesar in Perusia, and compelled to surrender. His life was spared, however, and he was even given command in Spain. Nothing more is heard of him.

Antonius (6), 331, 338, Julius Antonius, younger son of the triumvir by Fulvia. He received great favours from Augustus, and was consul in 10 B.c. But in consequence of an intrigue with Julia, the daughter of Augustus, he was condemned to death in 2 B.c., and took his own life.

Antyllus, 301, 319, 331 (cf. 199 f.), a name given by Greek writers to Marcus Antonius, the elder son of the triumvir by Fulvia. The name is probably a corruption of the diminutive Antonillus. According to Dion Cassius (li. 8, 4), Antony sent Antyllus to appease Octavius Caesar after the battle of Actium.

Apama the Persian, 77, daughter of

Spitamenes the Bactrian prince, and married to Seleucus in 325 B.C., when Alexander and his principal officers took oriental wives.

Apelles, 53, the most celebrated of Greek painters. He flourished at the courts of Philip and Alexander of Macedon.

Apemantus, 297 f., not otherwise

known.

Apollonia, 171, an ancient Greek city of Illyria. Towards the end of the Roman republic it became a famous seat of learning.
Aquae Sextiae, 511, a Roman colony in southern Gaul, founded in 122 B.c., and named from its hot and cold springs, and from its founder, the pro-consul Sextius Calvinus. It is the modern Aix.

Aquillius, 499, Manius A., consul in 101 B.Cc., and in 88 one of the consular legates to prosecute the war against Mithridates. He fell into the hands of Mithridates, who put him to a cruel death.
Archidamia, 439, mentioned only in this connection.
Archidamus, 85, Archidamus IV., king of Sparta. It was in 296 B.C. that he was defeated by Demetrius. .
Archilochus, 87, 213, of Paros, one of the earliest Ionian lyric poets, flourishing in 650 B.C.
Areius, 317, 321, a philosopher of the Stoic school, is said to have been a teacher of Augustus.
Areus, 425 f., 445 f., 453, Areus I., king of Sparta 309-265 B.c. He fell in a battle with the Macedonians at Corinth, and was succeeded by his son Acrotatus.
Ariobarzanes, 11, Ariobarzanes II., © king of Pontus 363-337 B.c.
Aristeas, 447, 451, a citizen of Argos who invited Pyrrhus into the city. His rival, Aristippus, favoured Antigonus Gonatas.
Aristobulus, 143, a prince of Judaea, captured and carried to Rome by Pompey in 63 B.c. In 57 he escaped and stirred up war

anew in Judaea, but was again captured and sent to Rome by Gabinius. In 49 he was released and sent home by Julius Caesar but was poisoned to death on thé journey by emissaries of Pompey.
Aristocrates, 295, not otherwise known.
Aristodemus, 21, 39, 41, a friend and flatterer of Antigonus I., sent eA him in 315 B.o. to maintain interests in Peloponnesus against Cassander. The mission for Demetrius in 306 is the last we hear of him.
Arpinum, 469, an ancient city of the Volscians, on the river Liris, the birth-place of Marius and Cicero.
Arruntius, 289, perhaps the Lucius Arruntius who was consul in 22 B.O. ,
Arsaces, 335, probably Arsaces XV. (Phraates 1V.), king of the Parthians 37-2 B.c.
Artabazus, 341, clearly an error for Artavasdes (cf. the Antony, 1. 4).
Artavasdes, 221, 225, 253 f. (341), king-of Armenia 55-30 B.c. After the battle of Actium, Cleopatra had him put to death, and sent his head to his inveterate enemy, Artavasdes of Media.
Asculum, 413 f., a city in the interior of Apulia.
Asinius, 157, a friend of Antony, otherwise little known.
Atia, 207, daughter of Marcus Atius Balbus and Julia (the sister of Julius Caesar). She was married to Caius Octavius, by whom she was the mother of Octavius Cae-

sar, afterwards Augustus.
Attaius (1), 275, probably Attalus I., king of Pergamum 241-197 B.o.
Attalus (2), 47, Attalus III., surnamed Philometor, king of Peramum 138-133 B.o. In his will e made the Romans his heirs.
Axius, 105, the principal river of Macedonia, flowing past Pella into the Thermaic gulf.
B
Baiae, 555, a watering place on the

coast of Campania, in the bay between Cape Misenum and Puteoli.
Beneventum, 427, one of the chief cities of Samnium, in central Italy, east of Capua. It was called Maleventum until 268 B.o., when a Roman colony was established there.
Berenicé, 355 f., 361, came to Egypt from Macedonia in attendance on Ptolemy's bride Eurydicé, the daughter of Antipater. She secured the succession for her son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, who paid her divine honours after her death. Theocritus celebrates her virtues in Idyll xvii.
Beroea, 111, 375 f., a city in the northern part of Macedonia, about thirty miles from Pella, the capital. Cf. Acts, xvii. 10, 14.
Berytus, 255, a Phoenician city on the coast north of Tyre and Sidon. It became a Roman colony, and was favoured and adorned by Agrippa.

Bestia, 483, Lucius Calpurnius B.,

tribune of the people in 121 B.c., and consul in 111. He made a disgraceful peace with Jugurtha, for which he was tried and condemned in 110.
Bibulus, 149, Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65 B.O., praetor in 62, and consul in 59, in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He was Pompey's admiral in 49, and died in 48, before the battles at Dyrrhachium.
Bircenna, 369 f., wife of Pyrrhus, not otherwise mentioned.
Bocchoris, 67, an ancient Egyptian king and legislator, of the ninth century B.O.
Bocchus, 485 f. king of Mauretania, and betrayer of Jugurtha to the Romans in 106 B.C.
Boédromion, 61 f., the third Attic month, answering nearly to our September.
Brundisium, 155, 215, 279, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural
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'point of dapactas from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic.
Brutus, 163, Decimus Junius B., surnamed Albinus after his adoption by Aulus Postumius Albinus, the consul of 99 B.o. He was widely employed, highly esteemed and richly rewarded by Julius Caesar, and yet joined his murpedal After Caesar's death he pupocce Antony successfully, but fell a victim to the coalition between Antony and Octavius in 43 B.C.

cae, 505, 513, Quintus Servilius
sg consul in 106 B.C., and pro-
eet in Gallia Narbonensis for
the following year. Ten years
after his defeat by the Cimbri (cf.
the Camillus, xix. 7) he was
brought to trial for misconduct
in the war, condemned, and
thrown into prison.
Caesar, 179 f., Lucius Julius C.,
uncle of Antony, consul in 64 B.C.,
legate of Julius Caesar in Gaul in
52. He took no active part in
the struggle between Pompey and
Caesar, but sided with the
aristocracy against Antony. After
his life was saved by his sister
we hear nothing of him.
Caesarion, 261, 301, 321, according
to Cleopatra, her son by Julius
Caesar, He was born in 47 B.c.
Caius, 333, Caius Caesar Caligula,
youngest son of Germanicus,
emperor 37—41 A.D.
Callimachus, 301, a celebrated
grammarian, critic, and poet of
the Alexandrine period, chief
librarian at Alexandria from about
260 B.C. till his death about 240.
Calpurnia, 171, daughter of the
Lucius Calpurnius Piso who was
consul in 58 B.c. She became the
wife of Julius Caesar in 59. See
the Caesar, Ixiii.
Calvisius, 271, Caius C. Statianus,
one of the legates of Julius Caesar

in the civil war, and governor of
Africa in 45 B.c. He com-
manded the fleet of Octavius
Caesar in the war with Sextus
Pompeius

Canidius, 215, 235, 265, 281, 285, 201 f., 301, Lucius Canidius Crassus, brought about a union between Antony and Lepidus in 43 B.O., and was consul in 40. After the battle of Actium he bet put to death by Octavius aesa.

Ganopua. "203, 339, a town in Egypt, about fifteen miles east of Alexandria, on one of the mouths of the N. ile.
Capito, 217, Caius Fonteius C., had been sent in 37 B.c. to restore friendship between Octavius and Antony.
Cappadocia, 13, a central district of Asia Minor
Carbo, 505, Gnaeus Papirius C., was consul with Cinna in 85 B.o. On Sulla’s return from the East and victorious advance upon Rome, Carbo fled to Libya, but was taken prisoner by Pompey and cruelly put oe co (see the Pompey, chapter x.).
Cassander, 19, i. 53, 77 f., 87, 91, 351 f., 361, a son of Antipater the regent of Macedonia. He was master of Athens from 318 to 307 B.O., when Demetrius Poliorcetes took possession of the city. He died in 297.
Cassandreia, 113, a city founded by Cassander on the site of the ancient Potidaea, in the Chalcidic peninsula of eastern Macedonia.
Cassius, 151 f., Quintus C. Longinus, tribune of the people with Antony in 49 B.c., and made governor of Further Spain, by Julius Caesar, where he had been ea and quaestor in 54. Here e renewed the most shameless

exactions. He was lost at sea
in 47.
Cataonia, uy one of the divisions
of Cap pps ocia,
vets, 01, 503, 523 ff., 527, 531-
9, 589, Quintus Lutatius ‘Catu-
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lus, consul in 102 B.c. - with
Marius, a highly educated man,
author of orations and poems,
and of a history of his consulship
and the Cimbric war.
Celaenae, 17, a city of Phrygia at
the sources of the Maeander
(Xenophon, Anad. i. 2, 7).
Cenchreae, 55, the eastern harbour-
town of Corinth.
Caunus, 125, a city in southern Caria
with a commodious port.
Censorinus, 187, Lucius Marcus C.,
a partisan of Antony, praetor in
43 B.C., consul in 39, and after-
wards governor of Macedonia.
Cerameicus, 29 f., the Inner Cera-
meicus is meant, which extended
from the Dipylum gate through
the agora between the Areiopagus
and the Hill of the Nymphs.
Chaonians, 405, 441, one of the
chief tribes of Epeirus.
Chersonese, Syrian, 129, 133, a
hame given to the valley of the
Orontes about the
Apameia
cineas, 385 f., 389, 393, 403, 407 f.,
413, 419, minister and faithful
friend of Pyrrhus, and the most
eloquent man of his day. His
mission to Sicily is the last we
hear of him, and he must have
died before pans returned to
Italy in 276 B.C

Cinna, 597 f., 585 f., 591, Lucius Cornelius C., leader of the Marian party during Sulla’s absence in the East (87-84 B.0.). He was consul in 87, 86, 85 and 84. He was slain in a mutiny of his soldiers at Brundisium, where he had hoped to prevent the landing of Sulla.
Circeii, 361, a maritime town of Latium, at the foot of Mons Circeius
Claudius (1), 403 f., 407, Appius Claudius Caecus, censorin 312 B.C. and consul in 317 and 296, in in which last year he was victori-ous over the Samnites. His speech in reply in reply to Cineas was extent in Cicero’s time (Cicero, Brutus, 16, 62).
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city of

_Cleopatra (1),

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Claudius (2), 333, Tfbherius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus, fourth Roman emperor (41-54 A.D.).
Cleon, 27, the Athenian demagogue and leader of the war party 428-422 B.C. See the Nicias, chapters vii. f.
Cleonymus, 97, 435 ff., younger son of Cleomenes Il. king of Sparta, excluded from the throne on his father’s death in 309 B.c.
161-339 passim, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes the king of Egypt, born about 69 B.c. On the death of her father in 51, she became queen of Egypt in conjunction with her younger

brother Ptolemy.
Cleopatra (2), 219 ¥331, daughter of Antony and C Cleopat: tra, born in 40 B.c. By Juba she had a son Ptolemy, who succeeded his father as king of Numidia.
Clodia (or Claudia), 181, daughter of Clodius by Fulvia. She was betrothed to Octavius Caesar in 43 B.C., but he never regarded her as his wife, and sent her back to her mother at the outbreak of the Perusian wee anuuced to in the Antony, 1).
Clodius, MAL 181, Publius Claudius (Clodius) Pulcher, son of the Appius Claudius mentioned in in the Sulla, xxix. 3. He became the most venomous foe of Cicero (cf. Cicero, chapters xxix.—XXXV.)
Coelius (or Caelius), 285, the text is corrupt, and the name should probably be Sossius (or Sosius).
Commagené, 213, 277, the northern-most district of Syria.
Corcyra, 369, 373, an island in the Jonian Sea opposite Epeirus, the modern Corfu.
Cornelia, 557, daughter of Scipio Africanus the Elder, mother-in-law of Scipio Africanus the Younger, and mother of the Gracchi.
Cornutus, 436, probably the Marcus Cornutus who had served with distinction in the Marsic war (90 B.C.).
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Corrhagus (or Corrhaeus), 7, a Macedonian otherwise unknown.
Corvinus, 543, Marcus Valerius C., 371-271 B.c., five times dictator and six times consul.

Cotta, 471, Lucius Aurelius C.,
consul in 119 B.c.
Craterus, 33, one of the' ablest
officers of Alexander the Great,
and a man of noble character.
He fell in battle against Eumenes
in 321 B.c. See the Humenes,
chapters v. ff.
Crates, the philosopher, 117, of
Athens, became head of the
Academy about 270 B.c. His
writings are not preserved.
Curio, 141, 149, Caius Scribonius C.,
an able orator, but reckless and
profligate. He was tribune of
the people in 50 B.c., and sold his
support to Caesar, who made him
praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence
he crossed into Africa to attack
the Pompeian forces there, but
was defeated and slain (Caesar,
Bell. Civ., ii. 23-44).
Curius, 427 f., Manius Curius Denta-
tus, consul in 290 B.c., during
which year he celebrated two
triumphs, one over the Samnites
and one over the Sabines. -He
was consul again in 275, when
Pyrrhus returned to Italy from
Sciily. In 274 he was consul for
the third time, and continued the
war against the allies of Pyrrhus
Then he retiréd to his Sabine
farm for-the remainder of his
days, dying in 270.
Cydnus, 193, a river in eastern
Cilicia, on which was the city of
Tarsus.
Cyrené, 135, a Greek city on the
northern coast of Africa, in
commercial relations with Carth-
age, Greece, and Egypt.
Cyrrhestica, 123, 213, a district in
northern Syria, south of Com-
magené,

Danaiis, 455, mythical ancestor of

PLUT. IX.

the Danal, migrating from Egypt
into Greece.
Deidameia, 59, 73, 79, 135, 349, 355,
363, sister of Pyrrhus, and one of
the many wives of Demetrius.
She died in 300 B.C.
Dellius, 191 f., 273, a Roman knight
transacting business in Asia,
where he joined Dolabella_ in
44 B.C., and afterwards Antony.
He wrote a history of Antony's
war with the Parthians, to which
Plutarch is indirectly much in-
debted. Horace dedicated to
him the third Ode of Book ii.
Dometrias, 135, a city at the head
of the Pagasaean gulf, founded by
Demetrius Poliorcetes about 290
B.C.

Demetrias the Phalerean, 19 f., 25
a celebrated rhetorician and
orator (346-283 B.c.). He was
regent of Athens for Cassander
from 318 to 307.
Democharés (1), of Leuconoé, 57 f..
was married to the mother of
Demosthenes.
Democharés. (2), of Soli, not other-
wise known.
Deucalion, 347, a mythical king of
Phthia in Thessaly, the Noah of
the Greek legend of the flood.
Dexoiis, 399, known only from this
exploit, which, in Frontinus,
Strat., ii. 4, 9, is attributed to
Laevinus.
Dicomes, 281, king of the Getae, not
otherwise mentioned.

Dionysius, 401, 415, of Halicarnassus, came to Rome in 29 B.C., where he published his great work on the history of Rome in 7 B.C.
Dium, 87, an important maritime town in S.E. Macedonia.
Dodona, 347, a town in Epeirus, seat of the most ancient oracle of Zeus.
Dolabella (1), 157-165, Publius Cornelius D., the profligate and debt-ridden son-in-law of Cicero. He took part with Caesar, but approved of his murder, and gained the consulship for the remainder of the year 44. He ‘was outlawed and declared a

public enemy on account of his extortions in Asia, and committed suicide.
Dolabella (2), 325, Publius Cornelius D., son of the preceding. He was consul in 10 A.D.
Domitius (1), 231, 265, 281, Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of the Ahenobarbus_ who fell at Pharsalus (see the Pompey, Ixix.1) pardoned by Caesar, but a follower of Brutus and Cassius, reconciled to Antony in 40 B.c.
Domitius (2), 333, Lucius D. Ahenobarbus, son of the preceding. He was consul in 16 B.C., and afterwards celebrated a triumph for campaigns in Germany. He died in 25 a.p.
Domitius (3), 333 (Ahenobarbus), Cnaeus D. Ahenobarbus, son of the preceding, and father of the emperor Nero. He was consul

in 32 A.D. His life was filled with flagrant and unnatural crimes.
Domitius (4), 333, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the original name of the emperor Nero. After his adoption by the emperor Claudius he was called Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus.
Dromichaetea, 99, 133, king of the Getae, known only from his victory over Lysimachus.
Dromocleides the Sphettian, 33, 85, not otherwise known.
Drusus, 333, Nero Claudius D. Germanicus, son of Livia by Tiberus Claudius Nero, born in 38 B.C., a younger brother of the emperor Tiberius. He conducted great campaigns against the Gauls and Germans, and died in the field at the age of thirty-one.
E

Edessa, 107, 381, a city in northern Macedonia, the ancient capital of the country.
Empedocles, 13, a famous philosopher and poet of Acragas (Agrigentum) in Sicily, flourishing in 440 B.C, °
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Epicurus, 83, 409, founder of the philosophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.c.
Erasistratus, 93 f., one of the most celebrated physicians of antiquity. After his residence at the court of Seleucus, he lived at Alexandria in the practice of his profession. He was still living in 258 B.C.

Eumenes, 275, probably Eumenes II. is meant, king of Pergamum 197-159 B.c.
Eurycles the Laconian, 289 f., not otherwise known.
Eurydicé (1), 33, 135, one of the wives of Demetrius, not otherwise known.
Eurydicé (2), 117, daughter of Antipater and wife of Ptolemy Lagus. Jealous of Berenicé, she withdrew from the court of Egypt and was now (287 B.C.) residing at Miletus.
F

Fabricius, 401, 407 f., 411 f., Caius F. Luscinus, consul in 282 and 278 B.C. with Aemilius Papus, and censor with him in 275. A fine example of old Roman simplicity and integrity.
Flaccus, 543, Lucius Valerius F., colleague of Marius in the consulship of 100 B.c:, and censor in 97 with Marcus Antonius the orators In 86 he was made consul with Cinna and sent to Asia to conduct the war against Mithridates. Here he was murdered by Fimbria (see the Sulla, xii. 9, with note).

Frentanian, 399, the Frentani were a hardy people of central Italy, allied to the Samnites, by whom they were bordered on the West.
Fulvia, 161 f., 181, 197 f., 203-207, 217, 261, 267, 301, wife of Antony. She had _ previously been the wife of Clodius the demagogue, and of Curio, the friend and legate of Julius Caesar.
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She redeemed what had been a dissolute life by her passionate devotion to Antony.

Furnius, 271, Caius Furniug, tribune of the people in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero, and yet a faithful adherent of Antony. After the battle of Actium he was reconciled to Octavius Caesar, by whom he was highly honoured.

G

Gabinius, 143, 155, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66 B.C., praetor in 61, and consul with Piso in 58, the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking pees and exiled. He died in —

Gallus (1), 235 f., Flavius G., not otherwise known

Gallus (2), 317, Caius Cornelius G., distinguished poet and orator ‘at Rome who stood in high favour with Octavius Caesar, and served him in high command. After Cleopatra’s death he was made prefect of Egypt. He afterwards fell from the emperor’s favour, nee to escape exile, took his own

Gaza, 13, an ancient city and stronghold in southern Palestine.

Germanicus, 333, Germanicus Caesar, son of Nero Claudius Drusus, nephew of the emperor Tiberius, and brother of the emperor Claudius. His extraordinary fame and popularity at Rome awakened the jealousy of ae and led to his death in A.D.

Glaucia, 541, Caius Servilius G., presto in 100 B. 0., a partisan of

arius, and a partner of Satur-
pular tumults of
that year. e perished with
Saturninus. Cicero compares
him to the Athenian demagogue
Hyperbolus (Brutus, 62, 224).
ninus in the

PROPER NAMES

H

Halae, 299, a town in N.E. Boeotia,
near the sea.
Halicarnassus, 19, a large and strong
Dorian city in S.W. Caria.
Helenus, 371, 455, 461, son of
Pyrrhus by Lanassa, the daughter
of Agathocles (erroneously by
Bircenna, 371). Nothing further
is known of him.
Heracleia, 395, a Greek city in
Lucania on the gulf of Tarentum.
It was at this time in alliance
with Tarentum against Rome.
Hercynii, 491, tribes in central and
southern Germany.
Herennius, 473 f., Caius H., tribune
of the people in 80 B.O. . and
opposed to Sulla. After the
death of Sulla he joined Sertorius
in Spain whale B.O.). See the
Pompey, xviii.
Herod, 277, 301 f., iterod the Great,
made king of Judaea in 40 B.c.
by the Roman senate, at the
behest of Antony. His ‘title was
confirmed by Augustus, to whom
he remained loyal till his death
in4B.0. Cf. Matthew, chapter ii.
Hieronymus, 97, 401, 415, of Cardia,
a historian of the times following
the death of Alexander the Great.
He was a friend and companion
of Eumenes (cf. the Eumenes, xii.)

and after the death of Eumenes
became a friend of Antigonus,
then of Demetrius his son, and
finally of Antigonus Gonatas.
The death of Pyrrhus (272 B.c.)
is mentioned in his history.
Hipparchus, 293, 305, a friend of
Antony, not otherwise known.
Hirtius, 175, Aulus H., a warm
friend and supporter of Julius
Caesar, consul in 43 B.C. He fell
in gallantly leading an assault
upon Antony's troops (cf. the
Cicero, xlv. 3 f.).
Hortensius, 185, Quintus H. Horta-
lus, son of the great orator Hor-
tensius, though apparently cast
off by his father on account of his
dissolute habits. He joined
Caesar in 49 B.C., and served under

him in important commands (cf.
the Caesar, xxxii. 2). In 44 B.c.
he held the province of Mace-
donia, and Brutus was to
succeed him.
Hybreas, 189, of Mylasa, in Caria,
reputed to be the greatest orator
of his time. His works are lost.
Hyrodes, 211, 219, another form of
Orodes, Orodes I., the same as
Arsaces XIV., the king of the
Parthians who defeated Crassus
in 53 B.c.

I

Ialysus, 51, mythical founder of the
city of Ialysus in Rhodes.
Iampsas (Hiempsal), 575 f., king
of Numidia. He was expelled
from his kingdom by Domitius
Ahenobarbus, the leader of the

Marian party in Africa, but was
At eeeagets by Pompey in 81 B.c.
Cf. the Pompey, xii. 4.
Iapygian promontory, 391. Iapygia
was a Greek name of the S.E.
district of Italy, called Calabria
by the Romans.
Iolcus, 135, an ancient and famous
city at the head of the Pagasaean
gulf, the assembling place for
Jason’s Argonauts. It was
merged in Demetrias.
Ipsus, 71, 81, 355, a village in
southern Phrygia.
Isis, 263, 307, an Egyptian goddess,
identified with the Demeter of
the Greeks. ,
J
Juba, 331, Juba II., king of
Mauritania. “He lived from
50 B.c. to about 20 A.D., was
educated at Rome, and became
a learned and voluminous writer.
Among his works was a History
of Rome.
Jugurtha, 477, 481, 485 f., 493, 553,
king of Numidia 112-106 B.c.
He was brought a prisoner to
Rome, and starved to death in
104.
Julia, 139, 181, daughter of the
612
Lucius Julius Caesar who was
consul in 90 B.c., and mother of
Antony. She fied from Rome in
41, but returned to Italy with
her son in 39, after she had aided
in reconciling him with Octavius
Caesar.
L

Labienus, 197, 205, 211, son of the
Labienus who fell at Munda in
45 B.c. After the murder of
Julius Caesar he joined the party

of Brutus and Cassius, and was sent by them into Parthia, where he proved a formidable enemy of Octavius and Antony. He was not slain in his battle with Ventidius, but fled in disguise to Cilicia, where he was discovered and killed by a freedman of Octavius.

Lachares, 81 f., an Athenian demagogue who made himself tyrant of the city in 296 B.c. According to Pausanias (i. 25, 7), he was murdered at Coroneia in Boeotia shortly after his flight from Athens.

Laevinus, 393 f., 399 f., 407, Publius Valerius L., one of the consuls in 280 8B.C., known only from this rae Poe against Pyrrhus. The tradition is through Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who copied Hieronymus, who had access to the Memoirs of Pyrrhus.

Lamis, 37, 45, 55, 61-67, mistress of Demetrius. :

Lamprias, 199 f., the grandfather of Plutarch, a convivial soul.

Lanassa, 369 f., 373, daughter of Agathocles, wife of Pyrrhus, and then of Demetrius.

Lentulus (1), 139 f., Publius Cornelius L. Sura, was consul in 71 B.c., but in the following year was expelled from the senate. This led him to join the conspiracy of Catiline.

Lentulus (2), Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, consul in 49 B.C., and author of the violent measures which

drove the tribunes, Antony and Curio, to Caesar at Ravenna. On the outbreak of civil war he

joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt. See the Pompey, 1xxx. 4.
Teonnatus the Macedonian, 397 f., known only from this incident.
Leosthenes, 349, an Athenian general of the league for expelling the Macedonians from Greece after the death of Alexander. He died during the siege of Lamia (323 B.C.).

Leotychides, 435, son of the Spartan king Agis II., excluded from the throne by Lysander (cf. the Lysander, chapter xxii.).
Lepidus, 158, 161, 169, 175-183, 205, Marcus Aemilius L., joined the party of Caesar in 49 B.c., and was Caesar's consular colleague in 46. After Caesar's murder he sided with Antony, and as member of the triumvirate received Spain and Narbonese Gaul as his provinces, then, in 40, Africa, where he remained till 36. He was then deposed from the triumvirate. He lived till 13 B.c.
Lernaean hydra, 407, a fabled monster haunting the marshy district in south-eastern Argolis, slain by Heracles in his second labour.

Libo, 155, Lucius Scribonius L., an adherent of Pompey in the civil war, and legate of Bibulus on Pompey's fleet, succeeding Bibulus in the supreme command. He afterwards served under Sextus Pompeius, but deserted him for Antony in 35 B.c. He was consul with Antony in 34.
Licymnius, 459, a mythical person-

age, half-brother of Alcmené the mother of Heracles. He was slain by Tlepolemus the son of Heracles.
iris, 567, one of the principal givers of central Italy, flowing S.W. into the sea near turnae.
Lissus, 155, a coast-town in southern

Illyria.

PROPER NAMES

Livia, 323, 221 f., Livia Drusilla, married first to Tiberius Claudius Nero, but in 35 B.c. Octavius took her in marriage from her husband. To her first husband she bore Tiberius (afterwards emperor) and Drusus. She bore Augustus no children, but had unbounded influence over him. She died in 29 A.D.
Lucania, 385, 395, 401, 427, a district of southern Italy, west of Apulia and north of Bruttium.
Lucinus, 591, Sextus L., not otherwise known.
Lupercalia, 165, a shepherds' festival in honour of the rustic god Faunus, held in Rome aA eat f 15. Cf. the Caesar xi. 1.
Lygdamis, 491, leader of the Cimmerians in their invasion of Lydia in the seventh century B.c. Cf, Herodotus, i. 15.
Lynceus the Samian, 65, distinguished as comic poet and historian, brother of Duris the historian, and contemporary with Menander in the latter half of the fourth century B.O.
Lysimachus (1), 31-133 passim, 339, 361 f., 375-381, an officer of

Alexander the Great, not prominent during Alexander's life, but afterwards king of Thrace., He fell in battle with Seleucus, 281 B.C.
Lysimachus (2), 443, a companion of Pyrrhus, not otherwise known.
Lutatius, 501, 589, see Catulus.

M

Macrinus, 465, a cognomen denoting leanness.
Maecenas, 215, Caius Cilnius M., the great patron of literature and art during the reign of Augustus, whose prime minister he was.
Mamertines, 421-425, '' Children of Mars,'' mercenary troops from Campania in the employ of Agathocles tyrant of Syracuse.

They seized Messana in 310 B.c. and became a formidable power. They passed finally under the dominion of Rome.
Manlius, 513, Cnaeus Manlius Maximus, consul in 105 B.c. He obtained Transalpine Gaul as his province, where he was defeated by the Gauls, chiefly owing to quarrels with his Servilius Caepio.
Marcellus (1), 519, Marcus Claudius M., fromene later (90 B.c.) in the Marsic war, and an orator of some merit (cf. Cicero, Brutus, 36, 136).
Marcellus (2), 149, 207, 331, Calus Claudius Marcellus, consul in 50 B.c., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising

foe of Julius Caesar. He took no part in the civil war, and was percouct by Caesar. As husand of Octavia, the sister of Octavius Caesar, he had considerable influence. He is last heard of about 41 B.c.

Marcellus (3), 331, Caius Claudius M., son of the preceding, born in . 43 B.c. He married Julia, the daughter of Augustus, in 25, and was also adopted by Augustus. He died in 23. Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, vi. 860-886.

Massalia (Massilia), 213 a town in southern Gaul, east of the Rhone, the modern Marseilles,

Megacles, 399, known only from this incident.

Menelatis, 35-39, a brother of Ptolemy Lagus, and commander of his fleet. He is not otherwise known,

Meninx, 575, an island off the north coast of Africa, near Carthage.

Merula, 579, 593, Lucius Cornelius M., chosen consul in 87 B.c., after Cinna had fled the city, by the partisans of Sulla. On the retura of Marius and Cinna in the same year, he was summoned to trial for illegally exercising the consulship, and committed suicide.

Messapia, 385, 393, like Iapygia, a name given by the Greeks to the

colleague, _

south-eastern district of Italy, called Calabria by the Romans.

Metellus (1), 465, Quintus Caecilius M. Macedonicus, was praetor in 148 B.c., and received Macedonia

as his province, where he was superseded by Lucius Mummius before he could complete the conquest of Greece. He celebrated a triumph, however, in 146, was consul in 143, and died in 115.

Metellus (2), 469, Lucius Caecilius M. Dalmaticus, consul in 119 B.c., and winner of a bloodless triumph over the Dalmatians.
Metellus (3), 477 ff., 485f., 541-547, 549, 583, Quintus Caecilius M. Numidicus, consul in 109 B.c., and conqueror of Jugurtha, but supplanted by Marius. He was unjustly expelled from the senate, and went into exile, from which he was recalled in 99, largely through the efforts of his son, Metellus Pius.
Metellus (4), 583, Quintus Caecilius M. Pius, son of the preceding. He was consul with Sulla in 80 B.c., and one ofshis most successful generals. After Sulla’s death in 78, Metellus was sent to Spain to prosecute the war against Sertorius. He died about 63.
Meton, 383 f., known only from this incident.
Minturnae, 565, 569, 573, a town of Latium, on the river Liris, about three miles from the sea.
Misenum, 207, a promontory and ae on the coast of Campania. t was a station for the Roman fleet in the times of Augustus and the Empire.
Mithridates, 11 f., Mithridates II., king of Pontus 337-302 B.c. At the time here noted (318 B.c.) he was at the court of Antigonus as a subject vassal.

Mithridates (2), 245, 249, not otherwise known.
Mithridates (3), 551, 555 f., 579, 593, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly called Mithridates the Great, 120-63 B.c., DICTIONARY OF

the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.
Mithridates of Commagené, 277. not otherwise known.
Molossians, 405, 447 f., one of the ' chief tribes of Epeirus.
Monaeses, 219 f., 245, not otherwise own.

Mummius, 465, Lucius Mummius Achaicus, consul in 146 B.C., conqueror of Greece, destroyer of Corinth, establisher of the Roman province of Achaia. He was also censor in 142, with Scipio Africanus the Younger.
Munychia, 19, 23 f., 85, the acropolis of the Peiraeus.
Munychion, 63, the tenth month of the Attic calendar, answering to parts of April andMay.
Musaeus, 565, a mythical personage, to whom various poetical works were assigned.
Mutina, 175, an important city in Cisalpine Gaul, south of the Po, the modern Modena.
N

Nero Germanicus, mitius (4).
Nicarchus, 295, Plutarch’s great-grandfather, not otherwise known. .

Numantia, 469, 495, a strong city in north-eastern Spain, memor-

able for its siege and destruction
by Scipio Africanus the Younger
in 134 B.C.
333, see Do-

O

Octavia, 205 f., 211, 215 f., 257-261,

« 265 ff., 273, 303, 233, 331 f.,
daughter of Caius Octavius by his
second wife Atia, and own sister
of Octavius Caesar (Augustus).
She died in 4 B.c. Her son
Marcellus was destined to be the
successor of Augustus, but died
untimely in 23 B.c.
Octavius (1), 479-585, 593, Cnaeus
Octavius, consul in 87 B.c. with
PROPER NAMES

Cinna, and supporter of the
aristocratic party while Sulla
was absent in the East.
Octavius (2), 285, was an adherent
of Pompey in 49 B.C., and served
successfully on Pompey’s fleet.
After the battle of Pharsalus he
fled to Africa, and after that of
Thapsus claimed joint command
with Cato (see the Cato Minor,
Ixv. 2). He is not heard of after
the battle of Actium.
Olympias, 51, mother of Alexander
the Great, put to death in 316 B.0.
by order of Cassander.
Olympus, 321, a physician and
historian, not otherwise known.
Omphalé, 337, a mythical queen of
Lydia, whom Heracles served for
three years.
Ostia, 561, 581, a city of Latium at
the mouth of the Tiber, the sea-
port of Rome.
P

Pandosia, 395, a small city of Lucania near Heracleia, to be distinguished from the city of Pandosia in Bruttium.
Pansa, 175, Caius Vibius P., a devoted friend of Julius Caesar, who made him governor of Cisalpine Gaul in 46 B.c., and consul for the year 43 with Hirtius.
Pantauchus, 101, 365, had been an officer of Alexander the Great.
Patrae, 23, 275, a town on the coast of Achaia near the entrance to the Corinthian gulf, the modern Patras. :
Patrocles, 121, a Macedonian Greek in the service of Seleucus I., the king of Syria. He was author of a trustworthy geographical work on India and other eastern regions, which is cited by Strabo.
Paulus, 179, Lucius Aemilius Paulus (or Paullus), brother of Lepidus the triumvir. He was consul in 50 B.c., and a determined foe of Julius Caesar. But Caesar bribed him into allegiance (see

the Caesar, xxix. 3). After Caesar’s death, Paulus returned to the aristocratic party, and was proscribed by the triumvirs. He escaped death, however, and fied to Miletus, where he died soon afterwards.
Pelasgus, 347, mythical ancestor of the Pelasgians, the earliest inhabitants of Greece.
Pella, 107, was made the capital of Macedonia by Philip II., and was

the birthplace of Alexander the Great. It was west of the river Axius, and some fifteen miles from the sea.
Pelusium, 143 f., 307, a strong frontier-town on the eastern branch of the Nile.
Pergamum, 271, in Mysia, capital of the kingdom founded by Eumenes in 263 B.C.
Perseus, 135, the last king of Macedonia, 179-168 B.c. See the Aemilius Paulus, x.—xxxvii.
Pessinus, 509, a town of Galatia in Asia Minor, famed for its rich temple of Cybelé.
Petra, 297, chief city of the district of Arabia which borders Egypt on the N.E. It lay about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Arabian Gulf.
Pharos, 203, 297, an island off Alexandria, artificially united with the mainland.
Pharsalus, in Thessaly, the scene of the decisive battle between Pompey and Caesar in 48 B.C.
Phila, 33 f., 51, 65, 77 f., 91, 113, 117, 135, daughter of Antipater and wife of Demetrius, a virtuous and gifted woman, faithfully devoted to Demetrius in spite of all his marital sins.
Philip, 51, 59, 105, Philip II. of Macedonia, father of Alexander the Great, reigned 359-336 B.c.
Philippides, 31, one of the principal poets of the New Comedy at + Athens, flourishing in 325 B.o.

Philotas, 197 f., 201, known only from these incidents.
Phylarchus, 439, of Naucratis and Athens, a historian flourishing in 616

215 B.c., to whom Plutarch is much indebted in his Agis and Cleomenes, and his Pyrrhus.
Phraata, 223, 227, 253, a place somewhere in ancient Media which served as a residence for the Parthian kings. It was probably named from Phraates.
Phraates, 219, 223, 229 f., Phraates IV. or Arsaces XV. (this latter name continuing that of the founder of the line), king of Parthia, a man of cruelty and treachery. His son was stolen and carried to Rome, and was surrendered to his father by Augustus on condition of the return of the Roman standards and prisoners captured from Crassus. These were actually returned to Rome in 20 B.c.
Phraortes, 255, apparently an error for Phraates.
Piso, 595, Caius P., not definitely known.

Plancus, 177, 269, Lucius Munatius P., a friend of Julius Caesar, serving under him in Gaul and during the civil war. After Caesar's death he went over to Antony, was consul in 42 B.C., and governor of Syria in 35. He deserted Antony for Octavius Caesar in 32. It was on his proposal that the title of Augustus was conferred upon Octavius in 27.

Pleistarchus, 77 f., son of Antipater and brother of Cassander. After the battle of Ipsus (301 B.c.) he received the province of Cilicia. After his expulsion from

this by Demetrius nothing further is heard of him.
Polemon, 275 f., Polemon I., made king of Pontus about 36 B.0o. by Antony. He ransomed himself from the Parthians, and continued to co-operate with Antony. After the battle of Actium he made his peace with Octavius, and was by him confirmed in his kingdom. He died about 2 B.o.
Polysperchon, 23, 367, a distinguished officer of Alexander the
DICTIONARY OF PROPER

Great, appointed by Antipater to succeed him in the regency. He connived at some of the worst crimes of Cassander. He is last heard of in 303 B.c.
Pompeius (1), 509; Aulus P., not otherwise known.
Pompeius (2), 207 f., 217, 268, Sextus P., younger son of Pompey the Great by his third wife, escaped after the battle of Munda (45 B.c.), and was active against the triumvirate until his death in 35.

Poseidonius, 465, 593, a famous Stoic philosopher, of Apameia in Syria, a contemporary of Cicero, taught at Rhodes, and was resident at Athens and Rome.
Potheinus, 275, one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy when Caesar came to Egypt. He was put to death by Caesar (cf. the Caesar, xliviii. f.). The name must therefore be used oratorically here.
Priené, 267, one of the twelve Ionian cities in Asia Minor, north of Miletus.

Proculeius, 315 f., Cornelius P.
(Plutarch calis him Procleius), a
wealthy Roman _ knight, after
wards highly honoured by
Augustus. Horace mentions him
with praise (Carm. ii. 2, 5 f.).
Protogenes, 51 f., of Caunus in
Caria, one of the most celebrated
of Greek painters, contemporary
with Apelles, flourishing in
330 B.C,
Ptolemy (1), 13-117 passim, 227 f.,
355, 361, 375, Ptolemy Lagus,
king of Egypt 306-283, the most
far-sighted and successful of the
officers of Alexander the Great.
Ptolemy (2), 109, Ptolemy IV., sur-
named Philopator, king of Egypt
222-205 B.C.
Ptolemy (3), Ptolemy XI., com-
monly known as Ptolemy Auletes,
restored to the throne of Egypt
in 55 B.c. through Pompey’s
influence. He never regained
the goodwill of his people, and
died in 51.
NAMES

Ptolemy (4), 361, 369, 441, 449, son
of Pyrrhus and Antigone, was
left in charge of his father’s
kingdom at the age of fifteen,
when Pyrrhus set out for Italy
in 280 B.C.
Ptolemy (5), 263, son of Antony and
Cleopatra, surnamed Philadel-
hus. After the death of Antony
life was spared by Octavius
Caesar, and he was brought up
by Octavia with her own children.
Nothing more is heard of him.
Publicola, 285 f., Lucius Gellius P.,
deserted to the side of Octavius
and Antony from that of Brutus
and Cassius, and was made consul

in 36 B.o. He probably perished at the battle of Actium.
Pyrrha, 347, mythical wife of the mythical Deucalion (cf. Horace, Carm. i. 2, 8).
Pythodorus, 61, the Torch-bearer, an official in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. See the Alcibiades, xxii. 3.
Q

Quinda, 77, a city of Cilicia, later called Anazarbus.
R

Rhosus, 77, probably a place on the N.W. coast of Syria, below the gulf of Issus.
Rutilius, 541, Publius Rutilius Rufus, statesman and orator, consul in 105 B.c. He was convicted of peculation in his proconsulship of Asia (99 B.c.), and retired to Smyrna for the rest of °

his days. He wrote a History of Rome in Greek.
8
Sabaco, 473, Cassius S., not otherwise known.
Sadalas, 277, king of Thrace, not otherwise known.
617

DICTIONARY OF

Salamis, 37 f., 87, a city on the eastern coast of Cyprus.
Samnium (Samnites), 385, 401, 407f. 407 f., 413, 423, 427, a mountainous district in central Italy, east of Latium and Campania. The Samnites did not make final submission to Rome until 272 B.c.

Samosata, 2138, the royal residence of the district of Commagené, situated on the upper Euphrates.
Saturn, 411, Italian god of agriculture. For the festival of the Saturnalia, see the note on the Sulla, xviii. 6.
Saturninus, 499 f., 541-549, 559, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, a Roman noble who allied himeelf with Marius and the popular party, tribune of the people in 102 and 100 B.O., in which last year he perished at the hands of a& mob.

Scipio (1), 465, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder, 234-183 B.O.
Scipio (2), 469, 493 f., Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus the Younger, son of Aemilius Paulus, adopted by Publius Scipio the son of the COR ADSEDE of Hannibal, 185-129
Seisugua (1), 17-183 passim,
Seleucus 1., surnamed Nicator, founder of the Syrian dynasty, king of Syria 306-280 B.c.
Seleucus (2), 307, apparently an officer serving under Antony and Cleopatra.
Sextilius, 575 f., not otherwise known. Cf. Appian, B.C. i. 62.
Sicyon, 205, a city of Achaia in Northern Peloponnesus, near the Corinthian Gulf
Sidon, 255, a Phoenician city on the coast of ’Palestine, north of Tyre.
Silanus, 273, Marcus S., not otherwise kno
wn.

Siris, 395, a river of Lucania flowing east into the gulf of Tarentum.

Sosigenes, 125, not otherwise definitely known.
Sossius (or Sosius), 215, Cornelius 8 , consul in 66 B.c., followed the 618

fortunes of Antony, who made him governor of Syria and Cilicia in place of Ventidius. He commanded the left wing of Antony's fleet at Actium, escaped from the battle, and was pardoned by Octavius.
Statianus, 223, Oppius §&., otherwise known
Stilpo, 23 f., foundar of a Megarian school of hilosophy. Little is known of life.
Stratocles, 27-33, 57-63, an Athenian orator and demago ogue of disreputable character, but persuasive speec
Stratonicé, tL. f., 93-97, 129 f., 135, daughter of Demetrius and Phila.
Sulla, 465, see the Coriolanus, xi. 2-4, with the note.
Sulpicius, 555, 559, Publius S8. Rufus, one of the most famous orators of his time. He was at first an aristocrat in politics, and as such was made tribune of the people in 88 B.c. But he became the creature of Marius, and was put to death by Sulla (cf. the Sulla, x. 1).
not

T

Taenarum, 291, the southern promontory of Laconia, in Peloponnesus.
Taphosiris, 339, a town in Libya

about twenty-five miles west of Alexandria. It contained a * Tomb of Osiris."

Tarentum, 215 f., 279, 383 f., 389 f., 318, 401 f., 407, 413, 419, 423, 427, a wealthy and powerful Greek city in S E. Italy, at the head of the gulf named from it. It was a Spartan colony, founded about 708 B.c.

Taurus, 119, an extensive mountain range of southern Asia Minor.

Taurus, 285, Statilius T., a distinguished general under Octavius, consul in 26 B.c., and prefect of Rome during the absence of Augustus in 16.

DICTIONARY OF

Telamon, 579, a city on the coast of Etruria (Tyrrhenia).

Terracina (Tarracina), 563, 569, a maritime city of Latium, about ten miles from Circeii.

Thessalonicé, 87, wife of Cassander, and sister of Alexander the Great.

Timagenes, 303, of Alexandria, carried prisoner to Rome in 55 B.c., where he regained his freedom and taught rhetoric successfully, enjoying the favour of Augustus for a while.

Timon the Misanthrope, 297 ff., is said to have died in consequence of refusing to have a surgeon set a broken limb.

Titius, 235, 269, Marcus T., owed his life to Sextus Pompeius, but when Sextus was captured in Asia, Titius put him to death. He deserted Antony for Octavius Caesar, by whom he was made consul in 31 B.o.

Torquatus, 465, a cognomen formed from ‘‘ torques,’’’’ a chain stripped

from a fallen foe.
Trebellius, 157, Lucius T., tribune of the people in 47 B.C., and a colleague of Dolabella. He afterwards, to pee Antony, tried to carry the very measures in which he had opposed Dolabella.
Trebonius, 167, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.c., and an instrument of the first triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul, and was loaded with favours by him, but still joined his murderers. He was

sent out as pro-consul to Asia in 43, where he was slain by Dolabella, who was acting for Antony against Brutus and Cassius.
U

Utica, 481, a Phoenician colony from Tyre, older than Carthage, on the N.W. coast of Africa, about twenty-seven miles from Carthage.
Vv

Varius, 179, Lucius Varius, surnamed Cotylon (or Cotyla), had been aedile in 44 B.c., and had served Antony during the siege of Mutina in 43.
Ventidius, 209-215, Publius V. Bassus, a native of Picenum, and brought to Rome as prisoner of war in 89 B.c., where he was manumitted. He served with distinction under Julius Caesar in the civil war, and after the death of Caesar joinied Antony. arent his triumph nothing is heard of him.

Xenocrates the Philosopher, 467, a native of Chalcedon in Bithynia, and a disciple at Athens of Aeschines the Socratic. He lived 396-314 B.C.
619

PLUTARCH’S LIVES.

VoLumE I.
THESEUS AND ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS AND NUMA.
SOLON AND PUBLICOLA.
Vouume II.
THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS.
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR.
CIMON AND LUCULLUS.
VotumE ITI.

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS.
NICIAS AND CRASSUS.
VouumE IV.

ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS.
LYSANDER AND SULLA.
Vouume V.

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY.
PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS.
VoLumeE VI.
DION AND BRUTUS.
TIMOLEON AND AEMILIUS PAULUS.
VoLumeE VII.

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO.
ALEXANDER AND CAESAR.
VoLuME VIII.

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES.
PHOCION AND CATO THE YOUNGER.
VoLUME IX.

DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY.

PYRRHUS AND CAIUS MARIUS.
~PLUTARCH'S
" LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
X
AGIS AND CLEOMENES, AND TIBERIUS
AND CAIUS GRACCHUS
PHILOPOEMEN AND FLAMININUS

LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN

NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXXI
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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agree- ment between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the Parallel Lives has been taken as a basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any im- portant deviation from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. No attempt has been made to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846) or to the new text of the Lives by Lindskog and Ziegler (Teubner). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless stated in the note, that of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

In May, 1920, Professor Perrin put the finishing touches upon the eleventh and last volume of this series of the Lives of Plutarch for the " Loeb Clas- sical Library," a task which he had undertaken nine years before. On August 31, 1920, he died after a brief illness, having nearly completed his seventy- third year. During the nine years, of which he

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PREFATORY NOTE

devoted the leisure hours to the translation of his favourite author, the very magnitude of the task, and the inspiration of the hope that he might leave behind him a version of the Lives that would make the famous men of ancient Greece and Rome, so wonderfully depicted by the great biographer, as

familiar to the next generation as they were to the youth in his own boyhood, seemed to sustain and strengthen his powers. The wide and discriminating experience with modern men of action which the ' translator possessed, combined with the classical historian’s special knowledge of the times which he was called upon to interpret after Plutarch, an author whom he had studied with sympathetic interest for many years, gave Professor Perrin peculiar qualifications for the task ; and the English-speaking world already knows with what eminent success he achieved it.

The American Editor, who had been called in constant consultation by Professor Perrin during the progress of the work, has by the wish of his family undertaken to see the present and final volume through the press. Volume XJ, which will contain an extensive General Index, will, it is hoped, be published in 1922.

THE EDITORS.

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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

VOL. X. |

ATIZ KAI-KAEOMENH®

i. ATIS -

~- 7

I. Ovw-ateras tives ov8é pavrws ouyxeio Gat weet 1 pos TOYS dirodd£ous é UTovoovaL Toy él TH "[Evove a. 16% pibor, ‘as 8% NaBovte TP vedéednv avti THs "Hpas 79% _ Seal TOV Kevravpov olTws

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xorovbodvtes, Strep of Yopoxréovs Borijpes emi
TOV Totmvimv Aéyovetv:
4 \ v U 4
Toutos yap ovtes Sertrotar SovrAEvopuer,
Kal TOVd avayKn Kal cLwTreVvTwY KAVELD.
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2 Gmrep adNOas ot Tpos EmLOumIas 6yYXwWY Kal Oppas
TOALTEVOMEVOL TaayYovat, SovAEvoyTEes Kal dKo-
Aovbodrres iva Snparywyol cal adpyovtes dvoud-
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yous Kal TO TpocTacaomeEvoy UT ExeivwY TOLOvGLY,
e fa!
odTWS Ol TodLTEVvopEvot Kat mpos Sofay opartes
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UTNpPETAL MEV TOV TOAD Eiowy, dvowa Oé apxov-
Tw &yovoly.)
2 |

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

AGIS

I. Nor without rhyme or reason is the supposition of some writers that the tale about Ixion—how it was the cloud that he embraced instead of Hera and begat from thence the Centaurs—has an application to lovers of glory. For such men, consorting with glory, which we may call an image of virtue, produce nothing that is genuine and of true lineage, but much that is bastard and monstrous, being swept now along one course and now along another in their attempts to satisfy desire and passion. The herdsmen of Sophocles say,} in speaking of their flocks :—
“ Of these, indeed, though masters, we are yet the

slaves, |

And to them we must listen even though they’re
dumb.”
And this, in truth, is the experience of public men who act in conformity with the desires and impulses of multitudes, making themselves attendants and slaves in order that they may be called popular leaders and rulers. For just as a ship’s lookout, who sees what lies ahead before the ship’s captain does, nevertheless turns to him for orders and does what he ordains, so the public man whose eyes are fixed on glory is a servant of the multitude, although

he has the name of ruler.
1 Probably in the lost ‘‘Poimenes,” or Shepherds (Nauck,
Trag. Graec. Frag.”, p. 249).
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fo

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n 2

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Il, ‘O pév yap airnepsBopévos Kal rereiws
dyabos ovd dv Grws Sokns Séorto, ANY Gon
mapoooy éml tas moadteas Sia tod morevecOar!
Sidmaur véw Se ere Gyre Kal dirotiu@ Sotéov amo
Tav Kadov epywv nat S0&n Te KaddwtricacBat
kal KopTrdcat. guopevas yap év Trois THALKOUTOLS
ai apetal Kal Bractdvovaa To Te KaTOpOoUpevor,
as dnot Beodpactos, éxBeSasodvrat rots érraivots,
Kal TO NotTroyv abfovrat peta hpovnpatos émai-
popevas, to d€ dyay mavytaxov wey émicpanées,
év 6€ rais trodutixais dirotepiars GAEOpLov: éxpé-
per yap eis paviay xal trapadpocvvny UracOpov
éEoucias peyddns éminaBopévous, dtray pn TO
xanov évdoFov elvat OéXwaty, GAN aryabov nyavrat
70 &vookor elvar. Strep? otv Pwxiwy pods ’Avti-
matpov afiovyvta Tt Tap avTov TOY pn KaAwY
“Ov divaca,” elev, “dua nai dito Poxiorv
xphaIac Kal KONAKL,” Tobro NexTéov y) 6 motov Tt
TOUT@ TMpos Tovs ToANovs' “Ov Sivacbe Tov
avroy éyev Kal apyovta Kal axorovOor.” érret
Fuiealee ye kal odTws TO Tod SpdKovtos, ov
dnaow o pi0os THhv ovpay TH KEhary cTacidcacay
aktoby iyeicOar Tapa pépos Kal pur da TavTos
axonrovleiv éxeivn, AaBodcav Sé thy Hyepoviay
QUTHY TE KAKMS ATAaAAAaTTEWW avoia TropevomevnY

Kal Thy Keparny catakaivey, tuprois Kal Kwgpois
pépeciy avayxalopévnvy rapa dvow érecOa.
TOUTO TONAOUS THY TOS KapLy ATavTA TeTONLTEV-
pévov opapyev tretovOoras: éEaptncavtes yap
2 3:4 rod w., Coraés, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan: xa)

dia Tov mw.
? 8rep Blass and Ziegler (with S& p.m.) : Samep,
4

II, The man, indeed, whose goodness is complete and perfect will have no need at all of glory, except so far as glory gives him access to achievenient by reason of the confidence men have in him; but a man who is still young and is fond of honours may be allowed to plume and exalt himself somewhat even upon glory, provided that glory is the outcome of noble deeds. For the virtues, which are incipient and budding in the young, are confirmed in their proper development, as Theophrastus says, by the praises ot men, and complete their growth under the incentive of pride. But excess is everywhere harmful, and in the case of men who cherish political ambitions, it is deadly ; for it sweeps them away into manifest folly and madness as they grasp after great power, when they refuse to regard what is honourable as glorious, but consider that what is glorious is good. There- fore, what Phocion said to Antipater, who demanded from him some dishonourable service, “ Thou canst not have Phocion as thy friend and at the same time thy flatterer,” this, or something akin to this, must be said to the multitude: “Ye cannot have the same man as your ruler and your slave.”” Since in this case also one certainly can apply the fable of the serpent whose tail rebelled against its head and demanded the right to lead in turn instead of always following ; so it took the lead, and by the folly of its progress got itself into mischief and lacerated the head, which was compelled, contrary to nature, to follow a part that had neither eyes nor ears. This, as we see, has been the experience of many of the men whose whole political activity is directed towards the winning of popular favour; they made them-

selves dependent on the multitude, which is borne

avtovs SyAwy eixn depopévmv ot avaraBelv
datepov ovT émioticat thy atakiay éduvyOncav.
Tatra Sé jpiv eis thy Tapa TOV TroAdN@Y Sokav
9 A 9 a 9 , ey / ¥ ,
érnrOev eizreiy evvonjoacw Hrixny exer Svvayuy
9 A / eh a ,
éx tav TiBepio cai Taip rois Tpdyxous cuptre-

covtay, obs KaAMoTAa pev huvtas, KdANOTA be
, , \ A ld e (
tTpadpevras, KadAloTnv O€ THS TrodTElas UTOOEC LY
AaBovras, am@drecev OVX ovTas emiOupia SoEns
detpos, ws po8os abokias éx mpodacews ovK
ayevvous TebuKas. peyadny yap evvolay TpoeEtdy-
poTes Tapa Tav ToMTaY noxyUVOnoaDY éyKaTaXL-
TEly MOTE Kpeos' auLAAGpevor O' del TOALTEVPAGL
Xpnatois Tas Tias UIrepBarXco Oat, Kal TLMLwpEVoL
a DJ A 9 4 . , \
HaNdov €€ wy ETrOALTEVOYTO KEXapPLopMEeVvWsS, Kat
TovTov Tov TpoTroy ion iroTimia TWpos TE TOV
Sipov éEavtovs xal tov Sipov mpos éavtovs exxav-
e 4 4 > > 4 9
caves, EXabov arypapevor tTpayudtov év ols ovKéT
® \ 9 a , ' \ >» \ ,
Rv TO émipetvat Kadov, aioxpov & dn TO Tav-
cacbau.
Taira pév ovv émixpivets avtos éx THs Sinyn-
4 \ 9 cad \ A
cews' trapaBarwpev b€é avtois Aaxwyixov Sedyos
Snpayoyav, Ayiv Kal Kreouevnv tovs Bacireis.
Kal yap ovto. tov Sipov avkovtes, MaTrep éxeivot,
\ a4 \ \ 4 b a
Kal mrodtTélay Kadnv Kai dtxaiav éxdeNOuTTVIaY
mov Ypovoy dvarayBadvortes, opoiws amnyOd-
vovto tots Suvatots ur Bovropévors adetvar tHv
auv7i0n mreoveEiay. adedhoi péev ody ovK Foav
6
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

about at random, and then could neither recover
themselves nor put a stop to the progress of
disorder.
These remarks upon the glory which comes from
the favour of the multitude I have been led to make
because I was reminded of its great influence by the
fortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They
were men of most generous natures, and had a most
generous rearing, and adopted most generous political
principles ; and yet they were ruined, I will not say
by an immoderate desire for glory, but rather by a
fear of losing it. And this fear had no unworthy
origin. For after they had enjoyed great kindness
from their fellow citizens, they were ashamed to

leave it unpaid, like a debt of money ; and so they were forever striving by the excellence of their political services to surpass the honours conferred upon them, and were honoured all the more in consequence of their grateful political services. In this way, after kindling an equal ardour in themselves towards the people and in the people towards themselves, they engaged in enterprises wherein, though they knew it not, it was no longer honourable for them to persist, and already disgraceful for them to stop.

As to this matter, however, my reader will judge for himself from my narrative ; and I shall compare with the Gracchi a pair of popular leaders in Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes the kings. For these also tried to exalt the people, just as the Gracchi did, and tried to restore an honourable and just civil polity which had lapsed for a long time ; and like the Gracchi they incurred the hatred of the nobles, who were unwilling to relax their wonted greed. It is true that the

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

GAnAoV of Aaxawves, cuyyevods 5é xal aderdijs
irbavto TroMTelas, 4pynv TocavTny AaBorTes.
III. *Evred ssaanes TP@TOv els THY TOAD
apyupou Kal Xpuaod Cros, Kal cvvynxorovOnoe Tov
wAoUTOU TH Mev KTNTEL TAEOVEELA Kal pLxporoyia
7H S€ xpnoe Kal dtroAavoe tpydy Kal paraxia
Kal TroduTéAELa, THY TAELoTwY éFerEecEY 1) UTAPTN
KaX@v, Kal TaTrewa Tpattovaa Tap aktay duetérer méexXpt TOY ypovwy éxeivwy év ols "Ayis Kat
hesvlbas éBacinrevov, "Ayis pev Evpuravtiéns
kat Evdapisa mais, Extos amo 'Aynotddaov tov
SiaBavros eis tHv 'Aciay Kal péytotov "EXAnvev
Suvnbévros: hv yap "Aynoidtdov pev "Apyidapos
o mept Mavdupioyv tis Itadias bro Meooatiwy
arofavev, Apyidauou Sé mpecBitepos pév vids
"Ayes, Eddapibas dé vewrtepos, 6s, "Aytdes taro
"Avrimatpouv tept MeydAny odkw avatpeDévtos
atéxvou, thv Bacireiay Exxe, TovTou bé 'ApyiSamos, Apxtddpou Sé Erepos Evdapidas, Evdautba
dé *"Ayis, mepl ov rdde yéypamrary Aewvidas Sé
6 Krewrdpou tis pev érépas oixias jv "Ayiddns,
dySo0s Sé amo Ilavaaviov Tov wxnoavtTos év

IIkatatais paxyn Mapdonov. Taveavias yap
viov éoxe TIkecotwvaxta, Wreotavak dé Iav-
caviav, ov duyovtos eis Teyéav éx Aaxedaipovos
6 te mpecButepos vios ‘Aynoitrons éBactirevoe
Kal TovTou TeXeuTHoavTos atéxvou KreduSporos
6 vewtepos. éx b&€ KreouSpotov mad addos
"Aynotrous Hv Kal Kreopévns, ov *Aynotronris
pev ovte Hoke tmroAvy ypovoy ote Traldas Eoxe,
KnXeouevns 5¢ Bacthevoas peta Aynoitody tov
AGIS AND CLEOMENES -°

Spartans were not brothers; still, they adopted political courses which were kindred and brother to one another. The occasion was as follows.

WI. When once the love of silver and gold had crept into the city, closely followed by greed and parsimony in the acquisition of wealth and by luxury, effeminacy, and extravagance in the use and enjoyment of it, Sparta fell away from most of her noble traits, and continued in a low estate that was unworthy of her down to the times when Agis and Leonidas were kings. Agis was of the Eurypontid royal house, a son of Eudamidas, and the sixth in descent from the Agesilaiis who crossed into Asia and became the most powerful Greek of his time. For Agesilaiis had a son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandurium in Italy1; Archidamus had an elder son Agis, and a younger son Eudamidas, who, after Agis was slain by Antipater at Megalopolis? leaving no issue, became king; Eudamidas was succeeded by Archidamus, Archidamus by another Eudamidas, and Eudamidas by Agis,® the subject of this Lefe. Leonidas, on the other hand, the son of Cleonymus, was of the other royal house, the Agiad, and was eighth in descent from the Pausanias who defeated Mardonius at Plataea. For Pausanias had a son Pleistoanax, and Pleistoanax a son Pausanias, upon whose exile and flight from Sparta to Tegea‘ his elder son Agesipolis became king; Agesipolis, dying without issue, was succeeded by a younger brother Cleombrotus, and Cleombrotus, in turn, had two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes, of whom Agesipolis reigned only a short time and left no sons, while Cleomenes, who became king after him, lived to

1 In 338 B.c. 2 In 330 B.c. 3 In 244 B.c.
4 In 305 8.c. See the Lysander, xxx. 1.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

a Aa Ca 9 i _M “
pev mpecRurepov Tav viav 'Axpotaroy éte Cav
améBane, vewrepov Sé Kreovupov xaténrstrev, 5s
oux éBacirevoev, adr’ “Apeus viwvos dv Kreo-
, 9 ¢ >] a4 wv t
pevous, Axpotatov 8 vies: “Apews S€ trecovtos
mept KopivOov vids wv Axpotatos tHv Bactrciav
Kkatéoyev. atréBave 6 Kat obtos nrtnOels paxn

\ , U e \ 3 , a f
mwept Meyadnpy trodu Ure Aptotoonpou Tov TUpay-
VOU, KATANLT@Y eyKULOVA THY yuvaiKa. ‘Tratdiou
5 dppevos yevouévou Aewvidas o KXewvipou tHv
émiTpomny éaxev, elta mplv év nrxia yevéo Oar
TENEUTHTAVTOS, OUTWS Els aUTOY BactrEia TrEpt-
nrAOev ov wavu Tois ToAiTals evappooTtoy dvTa.
/ \ > , ww A A le)
Kaimep yap éyxexdxoTwoy nbn tH StapOopa rod
TOALTEULATOS OMANOS ATravTwOV, HY Tis ev TO
Acovida tav Tatp@av éemipavns éxdiaitnots, are
57 xpovoy nrLvdnpéev@ TroAvy ev avrAais caTpamtt-
Kats Kat teOepatrevxote LédevKor, elta Tov éxeiOev
Ww ’ € i“ 4 ? \
dyKov ets EAAnUUKA Tpaypata Kal voptmov apynv
OUK EUpENOS peTadéporTt.
IV. ‘08 "Ayis od tw trodv rapyndAXNaTTeEv evpvia

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éPacirevaar, date unde yeyovas eixoaTov éTos,
évteO pappévos 5€ mAovVTOLUS Kal TpUpais yuvarKav,
THS Te eNnTpos "Aynototpatas Kal THs pappns
"Apxbapias, al treiota ypnpata Aaxedatpovior
> , € 92. 9 /
éxéxtnvro, mpos te Tas NOovas evOus amicyxupi-
cacbat, Kal roy émimpéar padiota TH XapiTe
10
797

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

lose his elder son Acrotatus, but left behind him
a younger son Cleonymus; Cleonymus, however, did
not come to the throne, but Areus,! who was a
nephew of Cleomenes and son of Acrotatus; Areus
fell in battle at Corinth,” and his son Acrotatus came
to the throne; Acrotatus also was defeated and
slain at Megalopolis, by the tyrant Aristodemus,
leaving his wife with child; and after she had given
birth to a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus was
made the child’s guardian. But the young king
died before reaching manhood, and the kingship
therefore devolved upon Leonidas,’ who was al-

together unacceptable to the people. For although the destruction of the constitution had already led toa general decline in manners, there was in Leonidas a very marked departure from the traditions of his country, since for a long time he had frequented oriental courts and had been a servile follower of Seleucus, and now sought to transfer the pride and pomp which prevailed abroad into Hellenic relations and a constitutional government, where they were out of place.

IV. Agis, on the contrary, far surpassed in native excellence and in loftiness of spirit not only Leonidas, but almost all the kings who had followed the great Agesilaiis. Therefore, even before he had reached his twentieth year, and although he had been reared amid the wealth and luxury of women, namely, his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia (who were the richest people in Sparta), he at once set his face against pleasures. He put away from his person the adornments which were thought to

1 See the Pyrrhus, xxvi. 8 ff.

2 In 265 B.c., in battle with Antigonus Gonatas,
3 About 256 B.c.
UI

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

THS mopoyns wpaicpov SoxovyTa tweptomacas Tov TWUATOS, Kal Tacay exdvs Kal Ssahvywv modvTeENecay, éyxadrAwTrilerOar THO tTpLBwvi¢, Kad Seirva Kal Nouvtpa Kal dvaitas Aaxwuixds bnretv, Kat Aéyew ws ovdev SéorTto THs Bactrelas, ef py Sv auTny avaryyorto TOUS vomous Kal THY TaTpLoY aryuryny. |

V. "Apxnv pev ody dSiapOopads nai tod voceiv gaye Ta Tpdypata Tov Aaxedatpovioy oyedov ad' ob thy 'AOnvaiwy Kxatadvoavtes Hyepoviav xpuciov te Kal apyupiov KarémAnoay éavTots. ov nv adda Kal TOV oixwv dy o AuKotpyos wpice guAratrovrwy apiOuov év tais Stadoyais, xai Tatpos mavdt TOY KANpoY atroNelTOVTOS, GLAS Yyé Twos h Takis atrn Kal icdtns Stapevovea tH Tow é€x Tov GAXNwY avédhepey apapTnpaTov. épopevoas 5é tis avnp Suvatos, avOadns dé cat xadetros Tov TpoTrov, Ezutrddevs Svopya, pds Tov vioy avT@ yevouevns Siadopas pytpay éyparrev é£eivar Tov olxov avtTov Kal TOV KAHpoy @ TIS eOéror xal Covta dSodvat nai nataditreiy dtatide-

pevoy. ovTOS pev ody avTov Ttiva Bupov arro-
TipTAAS LOtov ELanveyKe TOV Vomov: of 5é GAXot
mreoveEias Evexa SeEduevor Kal kupdcayTes aTo-
Necav THY apiotny KaTdotacWw. éxTa@VTO Yap
apedas 76n tapwhodbvres ot Suvatol Tovs mpoo7-
Kovtas ex Tay dtadoyov' Kai tTayd Tis EvTrOpias
eis ONLyous cuppuEtians Tevia THY TOMY KaTéoxXED,
doYyodav TOY KaNOV Kal dvenevOepiay éripépovca
12

- befit the grace of his figure, laid aside and avoided every extravagance, prided himself on his short Spartan cloak, observed sedulously the Spartan customs in his meals and baths and general ways of living, and declared that he did not want the royal power at all unless by means of it he could restore the ancient laws and discipline.

V. And here I may say that the Lacedaemonian state began to suffer distemper and corruption soon after its subversion of the Athenian supremacy filled it with gold and silver. However, since the number of families instituted by Lycurgus! was still pre- served in the transmission of estates, and father left to son his inheritance, to some extent the con- tinuance of this order and equality sustained the state in spite of its errors in other respects. But when a certain powerful man came to be ephor who was headstrong and of a violent temper, Epitadeus by name, he had a quarrel with his son, and in- troduced a law permitting a man during his lifetime to give his estate and allotment to any one he wished, or in his will and testament so to leave it. This man, then, satisfied a private grudge of his own in introducing the law; but his fellow citizens welcomed the law out of greed, made it valid, and so destroyed the most excellent of institutions. For the men of power and influence at once began to acquire estates without scruple, ejecting the rightful heirs from their inheritances; and speedily the wealth of the state streamed into the hands of a few men, and poverty became the general rule, bringing in its train lack of leisure for noble pursuits and occu- pations unworthy of freemen, along with envy and

1 See the Lycurgua, viii. f.

13

peta dO0ovov nai dvapevetas mpos Tous éxovtas.

4 dtredeipOnoay ody értaxogiwy ov mreloves Lrrap-
TtaTal, Kal TovTwy lows éExaTov joav ot yHy
Kextnpévor Kal KARpov' 6 8 aAXos GxXoS ATropos
Kal attuos év TH mode mapexadOnto, Tovs pév

&Ewev trodkéuous apyas Kal ampoOvpws apuvo-
pevos, del dé Teva Katpov émitnpav petaBorj7s
Kal peTacTdcews TOY TAapoVTwY.
VI. Ava raita 6) xarov o *Ayis, OoTep Hp,
Tovovpevos ¢Eto@oat Kal avaTrAnpwo as THY TOMY,
emepato TaYv avOpwmwv. ol péev ovv véot TayU
Kal wap' éArridas virncovaoay avTa, Kal cvvatredv-
CAYTO TPOS THY apeTHY, OaTrEp caOHTA THY SiatTay
2 én' édevOepia cuppetaBdddovtes. tTav Sé mpeE-
aButépwv, ate 6 Twoppw StapOopas yeyovorar,
ouvéBatve toils mreiotos woTrep ei Seorotny
dryomevous éx Spacpod Sedsévar nal tpémew Tov
Avxoipyov, kat KaOirrovto tod "Aydos ddupo-
pévov Ta Tapovta mpdyyuata Kal To Tadatov 798
akiwpa tis Yraptys émimoPovvros. Avoavdpos
5é o AiBvos nal Mavdporrcidas 0 'Exdavovs, étt
5é "Aynotdaos dredéEavto nal cuvprapwpyunoay
3 avtov THv didotimiav. jv 5é Avaavdpos peév ev
d0&n pwadtora TOY TrodLTOY, Mavdpordeidas Se
Seworatos 'EA jvev Tpayhata cvoKevacacbat
Kal TO cuveTov TovTO Kal Sodepov TOALN _Mepey-
pévoy Exwv: 'Aynathaoy dé Oetov dyra tod Baot-
Aéws kal Suvatoy eizeiy, aN Awos be paraxoyv Kat
diroypnuatov, éupavas pev 6 vids 'Tamopésav
14

Bm A

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

hatred towards the men of property. Thus there were
left of the old Spartan families not more than seven
hundred, and of these there were perhaps a hundred
who possessed land and allotment; while the ordin-
ary throng, without resources and without civic
rights, lived in enforced idleness, showing no zeal or
energy in warding off foreign wars, but ever watching
for some opportunity to subvert and change affairs at
home.
VI. Agis, therefore, thinking it a noble achieve- ment, as it was, to equalize and restore to full numbers the body of citizens, began to sound the inclinations of people. The young men, as he found, quickly and beyond his expectations gave ear to him, and stripped themselves for the contest in behalf of virtue, like him casting aside their old ways of living as worn-out garments in order to attain liberty. But most of the older men, since they were now far gone in corruption, feared and shuddered at the name of Lycurgus as if they had run away from their master and were being led back to him, and they upbraided Agis for

bewail- ing the present state of affairs and yearning after the ancient dignity of Sparta. Lysander, however, the son of Libys, Mandrocleidas the son of Ecphanes, as well as Agesilaiis, approved of the king's aspirations and supported him in them. Lysander was in the highest repute among the citizens, and Mandrocleidas was the ablest Greek of his time in setting schemes on foot, and his sagacity and craft were mingled with daring; Agesilaiis, who was the king's uncle on his mother's side, and a powerful orator, though otherwise effeminate and avaricious, was openly urged on and encouraged by his son

T5

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exives kat TrapeOappuver, evdoximos év TodXots
ToNEuots avinp Kai péya ds evvotay TaY vévwv
, e \ 39 a ? "s \ 9 ,
4 Suvdapevos: 7 5¢ adnOas avatreicaca Tov 'Aynai-
Aaov aitia THY TpaTTomévoy peTacyxeiv ohANUA-
twv TAOS Hv, ov Amey atradrA\aynoecOas
petaBadrAwv THY TodTElay. wS odY TaXLOTA
mpoonydayeto TovTov o Aris, evOvs émeyetpel pet
avrov Thy pnrépa TeiMew, adeApnyv ovcav TOD
"Aynotvdov, wANGe Sé TWeAaTa@Y Kali dirwy Kai
"A 4 , > A Ld \ \
Npewotav péya Suvapévny ev TH TONE Kal TOANA
TOY Kowa StaTrTpaTTOMevny.
VII. 'H 6é dxovcaca 76 pév trpatov éFeTTAAdyN
Kal KaTémave TO petpaKiov ws ovTe SuvaTa@v ovTE
AvatTeA@y eprévevov' érret S€ Tadta pév o Ayn-
lé 9Q7 e A 4 \ 4
airaos edidacKey ws Karas EFet cal mpaxOnoeras
cupdepovtTws, autos 5é o Bacirers edeito Tis
ent pos émidodvar pos So€av abe cal prrottpiav
TOV TWAOVTOV, WS ypnuace ev ov Suvdpevos pos
2 tous ddAXous Bacireis éEtowOjvar (catpar ay yap
oixétas Kai SovArous émetporewv IroNeuatiou Kai
Serevnou KextnacOat mreiova ovupmavtwv opov
Tay év Lardptn Bactréwv), cay 5€ cwppocvvy Kai
LTO d adowuyla tas éxelvwv drrep-
eTOTATL Ka peyarowuxig as ep
Banropuevos tpugas icotnta xal Kowwviay Kata-
4 A , w \ , e ? a
oTHon TOS TOTALS, Ovopa Kal Sofay ws arnOas
Baciréws peyddou KTycopevos, oUTW peTéTETOY
Tais yvwpats ai yuvaixes bro THS Pidoripmias
érapOeicat tod veavioxov, Kal tocavTy KarTe-
3 axyéOnoay olov émumvoia mpos TO KaXdOV, WoTE TOV

Hippomedon, who had won fair fame in many wars, and had great influence because he stvuod in favour with the young men. But what really induced Agesilaiis to take part in the king’s enterprise was the multitude of his debts, of which he hoped to rid himself by changing the constitution. As soon, then, as Agis had won over Agesilaiis, he straightway sought with the aid of his uncle to persuade his mother, who was a sister of Agesilaiis, and owing to the multitude of her retainers, friends, and debtors, had great influence in the state and took a large part in public affairs.

VII. When she heard her son’s plea, she was at first amazed, and tried to stop the young man from attempting what she thought was neither possible nor profitable; but Agesilaiis tried to show her that the king’s project would be feasible and its accom- plishment advantageous, and the king himself besought his mother to contribute her wealth for the advancement of his ambition and glory. For in the matter of property, he said, he could not equal the other kings (since the servants and slaves of the satraps and overseers of Ptolemy and Seleucus had larger possessions than all the kings of Sparta put together); but if in self-restraint, simplicity, and magnanimity he should surpass their luxury, and thereby establish equality and community of posses- sion among his citizens, he would win the name and fame of a really great king. The women, lifted up by the young man’s high ambition, were so changed in their purposes, and possessed, as it were, by so great an inspiration to take the noble course, that they joined in urging and hastening on the projects of

1]

“a

pev Ay cuveEopuay nat ovverritaxvvew, peTa- Teptroméevas O€ TOUS dirovs Tapaxaneiy Kal Tais Garrats StaréyecOar yuvarkiv, ate 6 tovs Aaxedat- povious émictapévas KaTnKoous dytas del Trav yuvatxcav, Kal TAéelov éxeivars TaV Snuocioy 7 Ta@Y Ldiwv autos ToAUTTpaypovety SidovTas.
"Hy 6 tote tov Aakwvixay trrovTwY év Tais yuvaél TO mAEioTOY, Kal TovTO THY Tpakw TA
v a \ > / b

Aytd: Svcepyov Kal yarerny érroincev. avteé-
oTnoay yap ai yuvaixes ov povoy tpudas éxri-
mrovoat dt atretpoxanriav evdatpovtomevns, GAA
Kal tinny cal Svvapiy, iv ex Tod TrovtEiy éxap-
TOUVTO, TEPLKOTTTOMEVNY AUT@V OpMaat. Kal pos
tov Acwviday tpatrouevas Tapexddouy byta Tpeé-
aButepov émikapBavecOat tov “Ayidos cal ta
mpatropeva StakwArverv. éBovreTo pev ovv oO
Aewvidas Trois wrAovctiots Bonbeiv, Sedias dé Tov
Sjuov éridupobvta tis petaBorHs ovdev avré-
mpatte havepas, AdOpa Sé thy mpakw étnre
Kaxoupyev Kal diapGeipew évtuyydvwy Trois ap-
xovot Kal dSiaBarAXov tov "Ay ws Ttupavvidos
piaOor tots Trévnot TA TOV TWAOVOLwY TrpoTEivoyTa,
Kal yhs petaddcect Kal ypeav adécect trodXovs
@voupevov éavt@ Sopudopouvs, ov TH Yrdpty
ToALTas.
VIII. Od pay adda StampaEdpevos o "Ayis
épopov yevéoOas tov Avaavédpor, evOvs eiaépepe bu’
QaUTOD pyTpay eis TOUS yépovTas, hs Hy kepadraia
eay péev adeOjvar Tovs opetrovtas, THs Sé yis
avabacbeions tTHv pev amo Tod Kata TleAXnvny
Yapddpov mpos TO Taiyetov nal Manréav xai
18

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Agis, sent for their friends among the men and invited them to help, and held conference with the women besides, since they were well aware that the men of Sparta were always obedient to their wives, and allowed them to meddle in public affairs more than they themselves were allowed to meddle in domestic concerns.

Now, at this time the greater part of the wealth of Sparta was in the hands of the women, and this made the work of Agis a grievous and difficult one. For the women were opposed to it, not only because they would be stripped of the luxury which, in the general lack of higher culture, made their lives seem happy, but also because they saw that the honour and in- fluence which they enjoyed in consequence of their wealth would be cut off. So they had recourse to Leonidas, and besought him, since he was an older man, to withstand Agis and hinder what he was trying to accomplish. Leonidas, accordingly, was desirous ot aiding the rich, but he feared the people, who were eager for a revolution. He therefore made no open opposition to Agis, but secretly sought to damage his undertaking and bring it to nought by slandering him to the chief magistrates, declaring that he was purchasing a tyranny by offering to the poor the property of the rich, and by distribution of land and remission of debts was buying a large body-guard for himself, not many citizens for Sparta.

VIII. However, Agis procured Lysander’s election as ephor, and at once employed him to introduce a bill into the senate,! the chief provisions of which were that debtors should be relieved of their debts, and that the land should be divided up, that which lay between the water-course at Pellene and Taygetus,

1 About 243 B.c. 19

c 2

PLUTARCH’’S LIVES

Ledaciav ie yevérOar rerpaxiaxidious Tev-
TaKkoa tous, thv © eco pupious TEVTAKLTXLALOUS*
Kal TaUTHY pév toils Oda _ pépey Suvapévoes 799

TOY TrEptoikay peptoOjvat, THY dé EevTos avrots
LrapTiarats: avaTrrnpwO hvac 5€ TovTous ex TE
Teptoikey Kal fever, 6 daa Tpodis HETETXNKOTES
éhevbepiou Kat Xapievres GAdws Tois cHpace
Kal Kal? Wp ciay axpavovtes elev: ovvtakiv be
TOUT@Y els mevrexaivena yeveaOae pudirea Kata
TETPAKOlOUS cat dwaxocious, cal diartav iv elyov
ot mpoyovat Startao Oat.
IX. Tpadetons db¢€ TAS. pytpas, Kat TOY yEepov-
Twv eis TAaUTO Tails yvapars ov cuppepopeveny,
éxxAnotav cuvaryaryov O Avaavopos avros Te
dtehex On rois mohirars, Kat Mavépoxheidas ral
‘Aynathaos edéovro ea bu" dAdryous evrpupartas
avtois mepuidei € épptypévov To atiopa THS Lwap-
TNS, GAAA TaV TE TpoTéepav XPng nay myn
povevoal, THY piroxXpnuoovvnY ws dO prov Th
Lmdpty purdrrecBac Stakehevopevor, Kal Tov
evaryXos éx Iacipaas KEKOMLT HEVOV | avrols.
‘Tepov bé Tlacipdas Kal pavtetov ay év @ada-
Haus TLu@pevor, ip TLvES ev ioropodat Tov "Ar-
AavTideoy piav ovoav én Atos Tov "Appova texeiv,
tives O€ Kacdvipay THY II pedpou TehevTHTATAV
evtavda Kai bia To maoe paive Ta pavreia
Taoupaav TpoaayopevOeicav. o dé PDvrapyxos
"Apukha Ouyarépa, Addynv Tovvoua, ono t w7ro-
pevryouoay "ArroAhova Bovdopevov auTh puyivat,
Kal petaBarovoay els TO huToy, év TLun TOD Beod
yevéoOat kal pavrixny aBeiv Sivauw. epacar
20

Malea, and Sellasia, into forty-five hundred lots, and that which lay outside this into fifteen thousand ; that this larger land should be apportioned among those of the provincials who were capable of bearing arms, and the smaller among the genuine Spartans; that the number of these Spartans should be fillea up from the provincials and foreigners who had received the rearing of freemen and were, besides, of vigorous bodies and in the prime of life; and that these should be formed into fifteen public messes by four hundreds and two hundreds, and should practise the mode of life which the ancient Spartans had followed.

IX. The “rhetra’’ was introduced in the senate, and the senators were divided in opinion. Lysander therefore called together a general assembly and discussed the matter himself with the citizens, and Mandrocleidas and Agesilaiis begged them not, to suffer the insolent opposition of a few to blind them to the prostration of Sparta’s dignity, but to call to mind the earlier oracles which bade them beware of the love of riches as a fatal thing for Sparta, as well as the oracles which had lately been brought to them from Pasiphaé.

Now there was a temple of Pasiphaé at Thalamae, and her oracle there was held in honour. Some say that Pasiphaé was one of the daughters of Atlas, and the mother of Ammon by Zeus, and some that Cassandra the daughter of Priam died at Thalamae, and was called Pasiphaé because she declared her oracles to all, Phylarchus, however, says that she was a daughter of Amyclas, Daphne by name, and that, fleeing the embraces of Apollo, she was changed into the tree of like name, after which she was honoured by the god with the gift of prophetic power. Be

\ aA ’
ov Kai Ta Tapa tav’Tns pavTela TpocTaTTELW
Tois Lmrapttatats toovs yevéoOar mavtas Kal” bv
e a 9 b) a a A “~ x, ©
o Avxodpyos €& apyis érake vopov. él maa 5é o
Bacireds *Ayis eis pécov mrapedOwy cai Bpayéa
StarexOcis Epn cupBorads Sidovar tH TortTeLa
peyiotas iy xadiotnot THY yap avTod mpaTtov
ovciav eis pécoy TiWévat, TOAAHY pev OvcaV eV
Tois yewpyoupévors Kal vepopévots, dvev b Tov-
tov é€axoola TdAavTa vopmiopatos ~xovcav: TO
5é avTd Kai Tas pntTépas Troleiv Kab Tovs diraus
Kal oiketous, WAOVoLwTAaTOUS OyTas YTapTLaTav.

X. ‘O pév odv Siyos eEerrayn Thy peya-
AoWuyiay Tov veavioxov, Kal Treptyap?s hv ws
d2° érav ood te d:axoclwy'! rednvoros akiouv Tis
Sadptns Bacthéws: o S5€ Aewvidas tote 69 pa-
ALoTA TpOS ToOvvavTiovy édiroveinnoe. Roybo-
Mevos yap OTL TavTAa pev dvayxacOnoeTas TroLeiD,
ov thy auTny b€ yapw é€er mapa Trois woXitass,
GANA TavTwV opoiws & KéexTHVYTAL KaTaTOELEVOY
hove te apkapévm mpocOncovor THY TLmNy,
? , N 9 ’ , wv A
npwra tov “Ay et dSixatoy avdpa Kal otrovdaiov
Hryettas yeyovévas Auxovdpyov. oporoynoavtos o
9 , 66 “A , 3. 6c A A A
exeivov, “Ilov towvy, edn, “ Avcovpyos 7 ypewv
A
amoxotras ébwxev Eévous xatérakey eis tH
, aA 2Q\ oo > ? e 4 \
TodTeiayv, Os ovdé SAWS évomstley HKytaivery THY
A
oA un Kpwopéevny Eevnraciats; ”
‘O &@ *Ayis daexpivato pn Oavpatew Tov
,
Aewviday, ef teOpappévos év Eévn xal tretratdo-
2) bu08 rt Staxoclwy Blass (Fuhr); 540d rptaxoolwy,
22
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

this as it may, it was now said that the oracles brought from this goddess ordained that all Spartans should be on an equality according to the original law made by Lycurgus. , And finally, King Agis came forward and after a brief discourse said that he offered very large contributions to the constitutions which he was trying to establish; for in the first place he put into the common stock his own estate, which included extensive tillage and pasture, and apart from this six hundred talents in money ; and, besides, his mother and his grandmother did likewise, together with their relatives and friends, and they were the wealthiest among the Spartans.

X. The people, accordingly, were filled with amazement at the magnanimity of the young man, and were delighted, feeling that after a lapse of nearly two hundred years a king had appeared who was worthy of Sparta; but Leonidas, now more than ever, strove in opposition. For he reasoned that he would be compelled to do as Agis had done, and that he would not get the same gratitude for it among the citizens, but. that if all the rich alike made their property a part of the common fund, the honour for it would be given to him alone who had led the way. He therefore asked Agis if he thought that Lycurgus had shown himself a just and worthy man, and when Agis said that he did, “ When, then,” said Leonidas, “did Lycurgus either grant abolition of debts or admit foreigners into citizenship—a man who held that the state was in no healthy way at all if it did not practise expulsion of foreigners ?”

But Agis replied that he was not astonished to find Leonidas, who had been reared in foreign lands and

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TOLNMLEVOS éx yapeov TAT PAT LKD ayvoet Tov
AvKovpyoy, StL TO pev Opetrew Kat Saveilew & apa
TS voulo mare ovvebéBarer é éx THS TWONEWS, TOV 6
éy tais modeot E€vwv Tovs Tols émitnSevpact Kat
TALS Siairars aouppurous paddov educa y épacve:
Kal yap exelvous HAavvey ov Tots TOpac ToNe-
pov, ada tous Bious aut ev Kar TOUS TpoTrous
Sedia@s, 41) suvavayYpwrvrupevor Tots Todi ats
Tpupis Kal paraktas Kal Treovefias evTeKa@oe
Snrov: érret Téprravdpov ye Kal Odryra Kal
Depexvdny Eévous dvtas, dre Ta aura t@ Av-
Koupy@ SteréXouv Bdovtes Kal dtaoccododrtes,
év LXwaptn mop Bia StapepovTas. «So de
'"Exarpérn bev,' " épyaer, ' 'ématveis, bs epopevoor
Ppividos Tov movaotKod oKeTapre Tas duo TeV
évvéa xopoay eféreue, Kal TOUS ert Tepod ew
Tad TO AUTO TOUTO mpafavras, pas dé penn
Tpupay Kar TOAUTENELAY at araloveav &x TAS
Lmraptns avaipobvTas, @omep ovyi kaKelvov
TO ep povorky goBapov Kal TeplT Tov ST ws
evraida py Tpoery purarropévor, 6 Orrov yevo-
péveav Biov Kal TpOT@DV aper pia Kal Tnppereca
THY Todt acvpudwvov Kal avdppoatoy éauTH
memoinkev.
XI. 'Ex rovtov T@ pév "Aytds 76 A005 érrn-
KorovOnoev, of S€ wAovotot tov te Aewviday
Tmapexddovy un opas m poe Oat, Kal TOUS yépovTas,
ols TO KpaTos Rd éy TO ,TpoRovrevey, Seopevor
Kab meiBovres i ioxuvoav, doov evl Telovas yeve-
cOat Tous aroynpicapevous THY pitpav. o 6€
AvcavSpos ete THY apyny Exwv Opunce tov Aew-
24

800

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

had children by an oriental marriage, ignorant that Lycurgus had banished from the state debts and loans along with coined money, and that foreigners in the cities were held by him in less displeasure than men

to whom the Spartan practices and ways of living were not congenial; these, indeed, he sought to drive away, not because he was hostile to their persons, but because he feared lest their lives and manners should contaminate the citizens, and breed in them a love of luxury, effeminacy, and greed; for certainly Terpander and Thales and Pherecydes were foreigners, and yet, because the teachings of their songs and philosophy always ac- corded with those of Lycurgus, they were held in surpassing honour at Sparta. “Thou praisest Ectrepes,” said Agis, “who, as ephor, cut out with an edze two of the nine lute-strings of Phrynis the musician, and likewise the magistrates in the time of Timotheus, who did the same thing in their turn, but thou blamest me for trying to remove luxury, extra- vagance, and ostentation from Sparta, as if those magistrates also were not on the watch to prevent the pompous and superfluous in music from making such advances here that the consequent excess and discord in lives and manners would render the state dissonant and incongruous.”

XI. After this, the common people took sides with Agis, but the men of wealth entreated Leonidas not to abandon them. And by prayers and arguments with the senators, whose power lay in their privilege of presenting all measures to the people, they so far prevailed that by a single vote the proposed rhetra was rejected. Lysander, however, who was still ephor set on foot an indictment of Leonidas by virtue of

viday Stwxew cata 54 tTiva vopovy madatov, ds
ove €& Tov ‘Hpaxrgeidny é« yuvaicos adrodarris
texvovoba, Tov S¢ aeNOovta tis Ladpryns émi
HeTOLKLOM@ Mpos étépovs atTroOvncKEY KErEVEL.
TavTa Kata Tod Aewvida Neyer Etépovs SeddEas,
auTos TapepvAaTTEe peTa THY TUVAapYoYTWY TO
on petov.
"Eore 5¢ rotovder 8&0’ érav éevvéa NaBovtes ot
épopot vuxra xabapay Kal acérnvoy, ctoTmn Kalé-
Covrat mpos ovpavov amroBAétrovtes. éav ovy
éx pépous tives eis Erepov pépos aotnp didkn,
Kpivovot tovs Bacireis ws epi TO Oeiov éeEa-
paptavovtas, Kal Katatravovet Tis apyis, uéype
dv éx Aerdhav h ‘Odvuprrias xpnopmos EXOn Tois
nAwkoot TaV Bactrhéwv BonOav.
Todrto 5 To onpetov avT@ yeyovévar AéywV O
AvcavSpos xpiow t@ Aewvida mpovOnKe, rat
faptupas Trapetyev ws éx yuvatcos ‘Actavys, ny
TOV LedevKou TLVOS UTAPKwV avT@ cuvoixicavtos
éxye, Texvwcatto S00 Tratdia, Svoyepatvopevos Sé
Kal pLoovpevos UO THS yuvatKos érraverOor Tapa
yvounv oixade, kal diadoyns Epnpov avérotto TO
| Bacinerov. dpa 5é tH Sinn KreduBporov érreibe
THs Bacttelas avtitroteicOar, yauBpov dvta Tod

Aewvida, yévous 5€ trod Bactixod. doBnbels obv
o Aewvidas ixérns yiverat tis Xad«vwoixov, Kar
ouvéreveyv 4 Ovyatnp Te Tatpi, Tov Kredp-
Bporov amodmotca. Kxaroupévov 5é mpds tiv
Sienv, avrod nal pm xataBaivovtos, éxeivov
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

an ancient law which forbade any descendant ot
Heracles to beget children by a foreign woman, and
ordained that anyone who left Sparta to settle among
foreigners should be put to death.' After instructing
others to spread these charges against Leonidas, he
himself, with his colleagues, proceeded to observe
the traditional sign from heaven.
This is observed as follows. Every ninth year the ephors select a clear and moonless night, and in silent session watch the face of the heavens. If, then, a star shoots across the sky, they decide that their kings have transgressed in their dealings with the gods, and suspend them from their office, until an oracle from Delphi or Olympia comes to the succour of the kings thus found guilty.

This sign Lysander now declared had been given him, and indicted Leonidas, and produced witnesses showing that he was the father of two children by a woman of Asia who had been given him to wife by one of the lieutenants of Seleucus; and that owing to the woman's dislike and hatred of him he had come back home against his own wishes, where he had assumed the royal dignity, to which there was then no direct successor. Besides bringing this indictment, Lysander tried to persuade Cleombrotus to lay claim to the royal dignity. Cleombrotus was a son-in-law of Leonidas, and one of the royal line. Leonidas, accordingly, took fright, and fled as a sup- pliant to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House. His daughter also forsook Cleombrotus and became a suppliant with her father. When Leonidas was summoned to his trial and did not appear, he was

1 Plutarch here merges two separate laws. Cf. the Lycur-
gus, xxvii. 3,
27 -

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

= _
aroyndiodpevor tTHv Bactrelav tH KreouSpot@
TapeowKar.
XII. 'Ev rovrm 5€ tis apyijs o Avoavépos
dmrndrayn TOV ypovou SteNOovTos. ot 5é xata-
, " \ \ / 7
otabevtes Epopot tov pev Aewviday dvéornoay
ixerevovta, T@ S€ Avodvipw xal te Mavdpo-

, , > a e \ \ , mn
Krelda Sixny émiryov ws Tapa Tov vomov Ypewy
> \ A > 4 ,
amroxoTas Kal ynv avaddcacBa Whdicapévors.
KLVOUVEVOVTES OUY éexEtvot Trei{Bovalt TOUS BactXeEts
Opod yevouevous yaipey av Ta TOV efpopwr Bov-
A \ a
NevpaTa’ TOUTO yap TO apxeElov ioxyvew ex dia-
wn “A tA A
gopas tav Bacihéwv, TH TA BerTiova A€yorTL
la \ aA Sad @ > 7
mpooriOéuevov THY Whpov, Gtav arepos Epify
mpos TO aupdhépov’ apudoiy dé tavtd Bovdevo-
\
pévov GAvTov elvas Thy éEovaiay, Kal Trapavopws
ra \ \ a
payetofae mpos tovs Bactreis, av payopévwry
Siattav xat BpaBevey avtois elvat mpoojxor,
A e
ovyl moAuTpaypovely opodpovovytwy. odtw bn
mevoOevtes apotepor Kal peta Tov dirov eis
ayopav kataBavtes avéotnoay pev éx Tav didpwr
Tous épopous, adXous 8 ay’ ab’tav amédeEar,
av els Hv "Aynoinaos. omdicavtes 5é TOY véwr
\ N , \ , > /
moNAOUS Kal AVoaVTES TOUS Sedepévous éyévorTo
goBepol toils vrevavtiows ws ToAXNOUS aTroKTeE-
voovtes. améBave 5é ovdeis Ur avTa@Y, ANNA Kal
Aewvidav eis Teyéav vmekcovta BovrAnOévtos
SiapOetpar rod ’Aynotdaov, Kal méuavtos én
b ee > \ €Qr wv 4 ¢ 9?
aurov eis tHv odov avdpas, tuOopevos o “Ayes
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

deposed, and Cleombrotus was made king in his
place.!

XII. At this point, Lysander’s term expired and he went out of office. The new board of ephors encouraged Leonidas to leave his suppliant’s asylum, and brought an indictment against Lysander and Mandrocleidas for violating the law in proposing an abolition of debts and a distribution of land. Thus put in legal peril, Lysander and Mandrocleidas persuaded the two kings to act together and disregard the edicts of the ephors; for that board of magistrates, they said, derived its power from dissension between the two kings, by giving their vote to the king who offered the better advice, whenever the other was at variance with the public good ; but when the two kings were in accord, their power was indissoluble, and it would be unlawful for the ephors to contend against them, although when the kings were in contention

with one another it was the privilege of the ephors to act as arbiters between them, but not to interfere when they were of one mind. Persuaded by these arguments, both the kings went with their friends into the market place, removed the ephors from their seats, and appointed others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaiis.? Then they armed a large body of young men and set free all who were in prison, thus striking fear into their opponents, who thought they would put many of them to death. No one, however, lost his life at their hands; on the contrary, when Agis learned that Agesilaiis had plotted to make away with Leonidas as he was trying to withdraw to Tegea, and had sent men to assault him on the road, he sent out another company of

1 About 242 B.0. 8 See chapter vi. 3 f.
29
PLUTARCH'S a

érépous amTéorTetne TLa TOUS, ot tov Aewviday
TepLoxXovTes acparas eis Teyéav KATETTIT AD.
XIII. Obra dé TIS mpafecws avtois 06@ Bad:-
Covons Kat pndevos évia ra uevou pnde Siarc-
AvovTos, els avnp, Aynairaos, avéerpewe wavTa
Kal Siehupnvato, Kado TOV diavonua kat Aaxo-
VLKOTATOV aigxiat® voonpare Th pidomovtia
SiapGeipas. emerdn yap éxéxtTnTo pév ev Tois
| padora TOAD kal ayabny ywpap, aperre b¢
TwduTonra, pate Siadioat Suvdpevos Ta xpéa
pire THY X@pav mpoéa Gar Bovropevos & rere TOV
"Agu @S apporépeov pev dua T PAT TOMEv@VY peyas
€o.To Tepl THY WOALV O VE@TEPLG 1108, ei dé Th
TOV Xpedy apéoet Jeparrevdeiev ot KTNWaTLKOL
Tporepov, evKoAws ay aura kal Kal" houxiav *
varepov evdefopévor tov avadacpov. tavta be
Kal tots mepl _Advaavipor eddxet, ouvefaTraTo-
pévots wd TOU 'Aynotdaou, kal Ta mapa TOD
Xpewor av ypappareta, ouvevéyeavres eis aryopay,
a KAapia KaXovol, Kal TravTa ouvdévres eis éy
ouverpnoar. apbeians Sé proyds of péev TroOv-
olor Kat Saveratexol mepimrabovvtes am7jrOov, o
dé Aynathaos domep epufpivov ovK pn hap-
TpoTepov éwpaxévat das ovdé wip éxeivou Kaba-
pwrepov.
"Aktouvtwy 5¢ Trav moAA@Y Kal THY yHY EvOUS
vewerOau Kal Top Bactréav ovTw tmovety Ke-
NevOYTMY, aoYoNLas TLVAS éuBadrov o "Aynai-
aos deb Kal Tpopdcers Aéyov mapiyye TOV
Xpovoy, aypt ov orparela auvéBn T@ "Aytss,
tile kd aetadd tav "Ayalov ouppayov dytwv
1 nal nad' hovyxlay Coraés and Ziegler: xa@ jovxlay.

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eee a

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trusted followers who took Leonidas under their
protection and brought him safely to Tegea.
XIII. Thus the enterprise of the kings was making good progress and no one tried to oppose or hinder them, when one man, Agesilaiis, upset and ruined everything. He allowed a most shameful disease of avarice to wreck a most noble and most truly Spartan plan. For since he was an exceedingly large owner of valuable land, but owed huge sums of money, being unable to pay his debts and unwilling to give up his lands, he persuaded Agis that if both his projects should be carried through at the same time the resulting convulsion in the state would be great; but that if the men of property should first be won over by a remission of their debts, they would afterwards accept the distribution of land contentedly and quietly. This was also the opinion of Lysander, who was deceived in like manner by Agesilaiis. So they caused the mortgages (the Spartans call them klaria," or allotment pledges) to be brought into the market-place, heaped them altogether, and set fire to them. As the flames rose, the men of wealth and the lenders of money went away with heavy hearts; but Agesilaiis, as if in mockery of them, declared that his eyes had never seen a brighter or purer flame than that.

And now the multitude demanded also that the
land should at once be divided, and the kings
gave orders that this should be done; but
Agesilaiis would always interpose some obstacle or
make some excuse, and so consumed time until it
became the duty of Agis to head a military expedi-
tion, when the Achaeans, who were their allies, sent
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ra

Bonberav éx Aaxedaipovos. Aitwrol yap hoav
émido€ot dea THs Meyapixis éuBaroovtes eis ILe-
NOTOVYNTOY: Kal TOTO KwWAVawY "ApaTos Oo TAY
"Ayatav otpatnyos HOpote Svvayty Kal Trois
epopots &ypadev.
XIV. Of 5€ rov "Ay evOvs eFérep Tov érnp-
pévov TH ptrotipia Kal mpoOvpia THY ovaTpA-
Tevopévwv. véot yap dovtes of mrEloTOL Kal

mwévntes, Kal THY pey aTO TOV ypewv aderav
Eyovtes 70 Kal NeAUpévot, TOUS Se aypovs EAzi-
Covres, av érravédOwow éx THs oTpaTeias, vewnOn-
ceabat, Oavpaotors To “Ayide Trapetyov éavtous:
Kai Oéapa tais morNeow Aoav aBdraBos kai
mpaws cal povov ovn arpodntt Siatropevopevor THY
TleXorovvnoov, ote Oavypatay nal dsarori-
Cecdar tovs “EAAnvas olos Fv apa Koopos
Aaxwvixod otpatevpatos ’Aynoinaov éxovtos 7
Avcavépov éxetvov 4 Aewvidav tov manatov
Nryoupevov, Otrov mpos perpdxvoy oAiyou Seiy
vewTaTov aTdvTwv adws ToravTn Kai PoBos éoTi
TOV TVaTpaTEevopévwov.' Kal pévtot Kal avdtos
0 VEAVLOKOS EVTEAELA Kal diroTrovia Kal T@ pndev
iStwtov AapmpoTepoy yudiecOar nal wrricOa
cepuvuvopevos aftoPéatos jv Kal CnArAwtos v9
TOV TOAAOY: Errel TOLS YE TAOUVGLOLS OVK NpETKEY
0 vewTepiapos auvTov, Sediooe pn Kivnua Kat
mapaderypa Tots TavTaxoce Srpors yévnrat.
XV. SupptEas 5¢ ro “Apat@ wept KopivOor o
"Aris Ett Bovdevopévm trepl puayns Kal wapatd-
Eews mpos Tous moAdeplous, éredeiEato Kal mpo-
Oupiav moddAny kal ToApay ov paviKny ovde
1 guotparevondvwy Blass: orparevoudvwr.

for aid from Sparta. For the Aetolians were expected to invade Peloponnesus by way of Megara; and Aratus, the general of the Achaeans, in an effort to prevent this, was assembling a force and wrote a letter to the ephors.

XIV. These at once sent out Agis, who was exalted in spirit by the ambition and ardour of the soldiers under him. For being young men for the most part and poor, and having now immunity from their debts and absolution, and expecting that they would receive allotments of land if they returned from the expedition, their devotion to Agis was astonishing. And they were a spectacle to the cities as they marched through the Peloponnesus without doing any injury, without rudeness, and almost without noise, so that the other Greeks were amazed and asked themselves what must have been the discipline of a Spartan army under the command of the great Agesilaiis, or the famous Lysander, or Leonidas of old, since towards a stripling who was almost the youngest of the whole army so great reverence and fear were felt by his soldiers. And indeed the young man himself, owing to his simplicity, his love of hardships, and the pride he took in clothing and arming himself with no. more splendour than a common soldier, won the admiration and devotion of the multitudes; for to the rich, certainly, his innovating ways were not

pleasing, owing to a fear that they might prove a disturbing force and set a bad example among the common people everywhere.

XV. Aratus, when Agis joined him near Corinth, was still deliberating whether or not to meet the enemy in open battle. Here Agis displayed great ardour, and courage which was sane and calculating.

aroytctov. épn yap aut@ pev Sone diapa-
yeoOat Kai pn tTaptévat TOV TOAEMOV Elow, TAS
murxas THS LleAorovyncov mpoepéevous, trounce
5é 16 Soxotv "Apatw: Kal yap mpeoButepov te
elvat xal otpatnyeiy "Axa, ols ovyt mpoo-
TtaEwv ovdé Hynoouevos, GANA GUETPATEVTOLEVOS
not Kal BonOnowv.
'O &€ Sevwreds Batwyv avdtov ov eOérew pa-
yecOai dnoe tov "Ayw 'Apatou Kedevovtos, ovK
évtetuxnxws ols "Apatos yéypade mepl tovTwr,
amroANoytCouevos Ste BédXtLov HyEiTO, TOUS Kap-
mous oxedov aravtas cuyKexopucpevwy Aon TOV
yewpyav, maperbeiy Tovs todeutous waxy Sia-
xivduvevoas trept TOV ddov.
"Exel & ody "Apatos aréyvo pdyecOar nat
TOUS cuppayous érrawéoas SiadjKe, Oavpacbels
o "Ayis dvelevyvuev, 45n tTav Evdov ev Yrdptn
OopuBov trodvy éxovtwv Kai weraBornv.
XVI. 'O yap Aynotdaos épopevwr, amndray-
Hévos ols Tatrewvos Hv mpoTepov, ovdevos épeideTo
hépovtos apyuptov adianpatos, NAG pHva TpLo-
Kav0éxaTov, OVK aTraLtTovoNsS TOTE THS TeEptooou,
Tapa THY vevouopéevnv TakLy TOV Kpovwy évéBare
Tois téXeot Kal mapérpatte. Sediwas Sé Tovs
adixoupévous Kal pucovpevos vTo Tavtwv etpede
paxatpopopous, Kal dudrAaTtTopevos vTO TOvTwY
katéBatwvev els TO apyeiov. Kai Tav Bactréwv
Tov pev ONWS KaTadpovety, Tov 5é "Ay éBovrETO

For he declared that in his opinion it was best to fight a decisive battle and not to abandon the gate of the Peloponnesus and suffer the enemy to pass inside : '"' However,' he said, "I will do as seems best to Aratus, for Aratus is an older man, and is general of the Achaeans; I did not come hither to be their leader

or to give them orders, but to give them aid and share their expedition.”

Baton of Sinopé, however, says that Agis himself was unwilling to give battle although Aratus urged it; but Baton has not read what Aratus wrote about this matter,! urging in self-defence that he thought it better, now that the husbandmen had gathered in almost all their crops, to suffer the enemy to pass by, instead of risking everything in battle.

When, therefore, Aratus decided not to give battle,
and dismissed his allies with praises for their proffered
aid, Agis, who had won universal admiration, led his
forces back to Sparta, where there was already much
commotion and a revolution.

XVI. For Agesilaiis, who was one of the ephors, being now freed from what had kept him in restraint before, shrank from no injustice that brought him money, nay, contrary to the customary arrangement of the calendar, and when the time for it had not yet come, he inserted a thirteenth month? and exacted the taxes for it. Moreover, in fear of the victims of his injustice and hated by all men, he kept an armed bodyguard, and would go down to his magistracy under their protection. And as for the kings, he wished men to think that he utterly despised the ene,

1 In his ‘‘Commentaries.”” See the Aratus, iii. 2.

2 This was regularly done thrice during a period of nine

years, but in distinctly specified years. The object was to
equalize the lunar and solar years.

Soxety Ssa THY ouyyeveray paddrov 7 Sta THv
, wv” A , , \
Bactreiav ev tin tip TiWecOar. Siédwxe Se
NOyov ws Kal avOis épopevowr.
Avo nal Odooov aroxivduvedcartes ot &xOpot
\ 4 > y , > \ \ ,
Kai ovotdavtes ex Teyéas avagavddy Tov Aewvidarv
ent THY apyny KaTHYyayor, Hoéws Kal TOY TOAKOY
Ocacapévov wpyilovto yap mepevariopévor TIS
, \ , \ \ ° ’ 4
yopas wn veunBetons. tov pev ovv Aynatraov
6 vidos ‘Immopuédwv, Seopevos tav TodtTav Kai
A \ A > 9 , e ,
waot tpocdiAns av Se’ avdpayabiav, vreEnyarye
\ , fal \ / e \ 9 Pb] ‘
Kal Stécwoe: Tav 5é Bacidéwy o pev "Ayis emt

thv Xadxtocxov xatéeduyev, o 6€ KXeouBportos ets
\ A a e. . \ e 4 \
To tov Tlocerd@vos iepov éeOwv ixéreve’ Kal yap
éSoxes ToUT@ parrdov o Aewvidas yarerros elvae,
Kat mapels Tov "Ayw ert TovTov avé8n otpario-
\ , a
Tas éxywv’ Kal KaTynyoper pet opyns Ste yauBpos
4 a
dv émeBovrevoey avt@ xal thy Bacirelay adei-
Neto nal ouveteBare THs tratpiédos.
e \
XVII. ‘O pév otv KnreouBpotos ovdév elyev
a 9 / fa)
elev, GAN NHropHnmevos exdOnTo Kal ciwTaV’ 1
4 A
dé XiAwvis, 4 Tov Aewvidou Ouvydarnp, mpotepov
\ / A A A
pev adixovpevm TO TatTpl cuvndixetto, Kal Tov
, \
Knreoufpotou tnv Bacireiav twrapadaBovtos atro-
A A A \
oTadca THY TOU TaTpOS cuuopay eOepdrreve, Kal
\ 4 a
TapovTt ev suvixeteve, hevyovtos dé mevOovca
An 4 \
Kal xareTa@s Exovoa mpds tov KreouBportov
, \ 2 a
Sueréder, TOTE S€ av Tad Tals TYXAaLS TUPpETA-
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

and held Agis in some slight honour more because of his near relationship than because he was king. He also spread reports that he was going to be ephor again.

For this reason his enemies lost no time in taking the great hazard, and banding together, openly brought home Leonidas from Tegea to exercise the royal power. Even the common people were glad to see this done, for they were incensed at their decep- tion in the promised division of the land. Agesilaiis, accordingly, was taken out of the country and saved by his son Hippomedon, who entreated his fellow-citizens, and was beloved of all because of his valour ; and as for the kings, Agis fled for refuge to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, while Cleombrotus went as a suppliant to the sanctuary of Poseidon ;! for Leonidas was thought to be more bitter against him, and in fact he left Agis unmolested and went up against Cleombrotus with soldiers. And when he arrived he denounced Cleombrotus angrily because, though a son-in-law, he had plotted against him, robbed him of the royal power, and helped in

driving him from the country.

XVII. Cleombrotus, on his part, had naught to say for himself, but sat perplexed and speechless; Chilonis, however, the daughter of Leonidas, who before this had felt herself wronged in the wrongs done to her father, and when Cleombrotus was made king had left him and ministered to her father in his misfortunes, —sharing his suppliant life while he was in the city, and in his exile continually grieving for him and cherishing bitter thoughts of Cleombrotus—at this

1 On the promontory of Taenarum. See the Cleomenes, xxii, 5. :

BadrXovea pera TOD avdpos iKeTes apOn xade-
Comer, trepiBeBAncuta Tas Xstpas éxeiv kal TOV
ma iwy To pev évOev, To 8 évdev ud' avThy
éxouca. Javpatovtwr 5€ mavtwry Kal Saxpvovt@v
él TH XpncroryTe Kal ptroaTopyia THS yuvarKos,
anpapévy TOV mem OV Kal THS Kouns aTNHEGs
eXOVTMY, e Tobto," elrev, " ay TarTep, éuot TO
oXAA Kal THY Oypev oux O Kycop,Sporov TeptTé-
Oerxev EXdeEos, arr' ame TOV OWDV KAKO Kal THS
ons guyns pemevnne pot curt popov Kal ovVvotKov
70 wévOos. TOTEPOV ovv det pe aov Baotrevovtos
év Lrapty Kal ViKR@VTOS éyxataBiavar TavTals
Tais ovpdopais, 7 NaBetv éaOijra Aapmpay Kat
Bao iruKny, emdovoav Um6 gov TOV mapOeviov
avdpa povevopevor; Os pa mapaireitat ce pndé
meiOet TEKVOV Kal yuvarnes ddxpvat, Xarerre-
Tépav 7) ov Bovree Stan upeter THS KaxoBovrias
eudeby € epe THY hirtarny avT@ mpoaTroGavoicay.
Tim yap eye Set Civ rappynoia mpos Tas dAdas
yuvaixas, 7 pyre Tap avi pos deomevy pare Tapa
maTpos €Xeos eoTUW; GANA Kal yuvy Kat Juydrnp
cuvartuxely Kal cuvatipaterbar Tois euauTiis
eyevouny. TOUT bev ovv ei Kai TU nv oyos
EUTPETNS, YO TOUTOV aperdouny TOTE gol ouv-
eferacdeioa Kat KaTapaptTupncaca TOV wvITr0
TOUTOU yevomevenr" ov bé avT@ TO adixnpa Trovels
evaTrodoynToy, 00TH péya Kab Tepiway Tov aTr0-
patveov TO Bactrevew ob OOTE bc" auto Kal yauBpovs
govevewv Kal TEKVOY apenreiv elvar Sixatov."
XVIII. 'H pev Xerovis TolavTa TOTVLM Mev?)
TO TE T™ poow Tov emt Thy Keparnv éréOnxe TOU

KnreouBpotov, nal to Bréupa SiepOappévov cat
38

time changed back again with the changed fortunes of the men, and was seen sitting as a suppliant with her husband, her arms thrown about him, and a little child clinging to her on either side. All beholders were moved to wonder and tears at the fidelity and devotion of the woman, who, touching her robes and her hair, alike unkempt, said: “This garb, my father, and this appearance, are not due to my pity for Cleombrotus; nay, ever since thy sorrows and thine exile grief has been my steadfast mate and companion. Must I, then, now that thou art king in Sparta and victorious over thine enemies, continue to live in this sad state, or put on the splendid attire of royalty, after seeing the husband of my youth slain at thy hands? That husband, unless he persuades and wins thee over by the tears of his wife and children, will pay a more grievous penalty for his evil designs than thou desirest, for he shall see me, his most beloved one, dead before he is. For with what assurance could I live and face the other women, I, whose prayers awakened no pity in either husband or father? Nay, both as wife and as daughter I was born to share only the misfortune and dishonour of the men nearest and dearest to me. As for my husband, even if he had some plausible excuse for his course, I robbed him of it at that time by taking thy part and testifying to what he had done; but thou makest his crime an easy one to defend by showing men that royal power is a thing so great and so worth fighting for that for its sake it is right to slay a son-in-law and ignore a child.”

XVIII. Uttering such supplications Chilonis rested her face upon the head of Cleombrotus and turned

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Lr

GUYTETHKOS VITO AvITNS TeptyveyKey Eis TOUS
mapovras. o d€ Aewvidas d:arexGels tois pirors
A \ / > 2 9 4 sf
tov pev KreduB8porov éxéXevoev avactavta dev-
yew, THS 5é€ qratdos pévew edSeito Kal pn KaTa-
ALTrEty EauToV OUTW dirodYTA Kal SedwxoTAa YdapeV
THY TOU avopos AUTH awTnpiav. ov py érretcer,
aXN avuotapévm TO avédpl Oatepov trav Tradiwv
éyyetpicaca, Batepov 8 avaraBoioa Kal mpocKv-
vioaca tov Bwopov tod) Geod auveEnrOev, GoTe
el pn mavu duebOappévos Hv vto Kevns Sons o
, > +f A e / \ ‘\
KnreouSporos, evtvynua av nynoato thy puynv
avT@ Ths Baotreias petloy elvas d1a THY yuvaixa.
Metaornyodpevos 5é tov KrXeopSporov o Acwvi-

Sas nal tovs mpwrtous épopouvs éexBadrov Tis
> le e / A VA > \ > 4
apxns, érépous 8€ tornodpevos, evOvds éreBovrAEve
To “Ayidt. Kal mpa@tov pév ereOev avtov ava-
oThvat Kai cvupBactr€veuv, ws SedwxoTwV auyyve-
nv Tov TOMToY: cuveEntaTncOat yap UTO TOU
’ / , 4 \ , b ,
Aynothaouv veov ovta Kat dtAoTimov. ExeELVOU
dé tdhopwpéevov Kal KaTa Ywpav pévovTos avTos
bev erravoato dhevaxitwy Kal KaTetpwvevopevos,
"Audapns dé nal Aapoydpns cai ’ApKxecinaos
’ ld bs > A , 4
avaBaivovtes eimfecayv aiT@ SiaréyecOar: Kat
mote Kal mapadaBovtes émt AouvTpOY ad TOU
iepod KaTHYyayov Kal NovedpeEevov madd Eis TO
iepov Katéotnoay. Kal joav mdavtes’ peév avTo
10 e oe "A 4 t , 2 ”
avynbes, 0 6é "Audapns cal Keypnuevos? Evayxos

1 rov Geo) Coraés, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan; tis Geov. 2 Kal xexpnuévos Coraés and Bekker delete kal.

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her eyes, all melted and marred with grief, upon the bystanders. Then Leonidas, after conference with his friends, bade Cleombrotus leave his asylum and go into exile, but begged his daughter to remain, and not to abandon him, since he loved her so much, and had made her a free gift of her husband's life. He could not persuade her, however, but when her husband rose to go she put one of her children in his arms, took up the other one herself, and went forth in his company after an obeisance to the altar of the god; so that if Cleombrotus had not been wholly corrupted by vain ambition, he would have con- sidered that exile was a greater blessing for him than the kingdom, because it restored to him his wife. After removing Cleombrotus from his asylum, Leonidas expelled the officiating ephors from their office, appointed others in their place, and at once began to lay plots against the life of Agis. To begin with, he tried to persuade Agis to leave his asylum and share the royal power with him, assuring Agis that the citizens had pardoned him, because, being a young man and ambitious, he had been one of those whom Agesilaiis had completely deceived. But Agis continued to be suspicious and would not leave his asylum. So Leonidas himself stopped trying to cheat and play tricks upon him, but Amphares, Damochares, and Arcesilaiis did not. They were wont to go up to the temple and con- verse with Agis; and once they actually took him in charge and brought him down from the temple for a bath, and after he had bathed, restored him again to the temple. They were all comrades of his, but Amphares had also borrowed recently some

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(MaTia Kal TOTHpLaA TwY TOAUTEA@Y Tapa TIS
"Aynototpatas éreBovreve Oia Tadta TH Bactret
kal tais yuvartly ws amootepncwv. Kai udduoTa
ye avtos Uraxovoa: to Aewvida AéyeTar Kat
mapokovas Tous epopous, wy Kal autos els Hp.
XIX. ‘Eset 5€ 0 "Ayts Tov pev GrXov ev TO
‘ep@ SierprBe Xpovor, eimBer dé cataBaivery Ore
TUX OL 7 pos TO NOUT pop, éxel ouvAdaBeiy auTov
éyvwcay, Otay &Ew Tov iepov yévntat. Kal apa-
durdEavtes AEAOUMEVOY ATHVYTNTAY Kal joTG-
cavrTo, Kal ouppotyov dua Sssareyopevos cai
maitvovtes ws wpos cuvnOn Kal véov. éxtpomny
d€ Tia THS Od00 TAAaYiaY Tpds TO SecuwTHpLOV
éxovons, ws éyévovto Kar avtny Badilovtes, o
pev Auddpns d1a 10 dpyeww ayydpevos Tov” Ayidos,
““Ayw oe, elrrev, “emt tovs épopous, @ “Aye,
Aoyov UdéEovTa tTav TemodtTevpevwv:” oO bé
Aapoyapns, eipwotos dy Kal péyas, TO imaTtov
meptBadwv rept Tov Tpaxnrov elrAxev. Gdrov OE
érwbovvtwy émricbev éx mapackeuis, ovdevos
a 9 6 bd / v b] 4
BonOobvtos, arr’ éepnpias ovaons, éuBaddovowy
avtov eis TO Seopwtyptov. evOvs 5é Traphy o pev
Aewvidas picbodopovs éywv TrodAovs, Kal TO
olxnpa tepteoxev EEwOev, ot 5€ Ehopoe mrpos TOV
"Ayu elonrOov, Kai TOY yEepovTwY Eis TO olKNLA
peTatreurpauevoe Tovs Tavta BovAopévous, ws 57
Kpioews auT@ yevoperns, éx€hevov UTEP TOY Te-
T pay weve arronoryeia Gat. yehdoavtos be TOU
VEaAVLO KOU TPOS THY Elpwvelay avTav,o ev Apuda-
pns ot wort omevov exanet kal dixny vpéEovta Tihs
itapoTntos: addos b€ Tay édopwy, olov évdsdovs
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costly vestures and beakers from Agesistrata, and
therefore plotted to destroy the king and the
women, that he might not have to return what he
had borrowed. And he, certainly, more than any-
one else, as we are told, followed the counsels of
Leonidas and embittered the ephors, of whom he

was one, against Agis.
XIX. Now Agis spent most of his time in the sanctuary, but was wont to go down from time to time to his bath. There, then, they determined to seize him, when he was outside the sanctuary. So they waited till he had finished his bath, and then came to meet him with friendly greetings, and walked along with him, conversing and jesting with him after the manner of youthful comrades. But at a certain point the road branched off towards the prison, and when they were come to that place, Amphares, by virtue of his office, laid hands on Agis and said: “I shall lead thee, Agis, to the ephors, to answer for thy measures of state’ ; and Damochares, who was tall and robust, threw his cloak about the king’s neck and dragged him along. Others pushed him along from behind, as had been agreed, and since he had no helper but was without a friend, they thrust him into the prison. At once Leonidas was at hand with a large band of mercenaries and surrounded the prison, while the ephors went in to Agis. After sending for those of the senators who were of the saine mind as themselves, as though the king were to have a trial, the ephors ordered Agis to defend his conduct of affairs. The young king laughed at their dissimulation, whereupon Amphares threatened that he would rue the day and be punished for his temerity; but another ephor, as

t@ “Ayids Kat Sexvimvy amopuyny THs aitias,
npatnoev et tabta émpakey bro Avadvdpou rat
"Aynotkdov Biaceis. aroxpwapévov 5é Tov
"Agidos @s Btacbels pev wr’ ovdevos, Cnrav Se
Kal ptpovpevos tov Auxodpyov émi thy adtny
€XOor wodtTeiav, TadLy Oo avTOS HnpwTncey Et
peTavoet Tois Tetpaypuevots. hynaavtos b€ Tov
VEAVITKOU fy MEeTAVoELV eT TOs KAANOTA BeBov-
Aevpevols, KaV TA ETXaATA TELTOpEVvOY avToY Lén,
Odvarov avtov Kateyndicavto, Kal Tovs UTnpéTas
éxéXNevoy aye eis THY KaXovpevnv Aeydda. TodTO
5é dori oixnpa THs ElpxTHs év & Oavarovat Tors
xatadixous arotviyovTes. opav dé Tous UirnpéTas
o Aapoxapns ov toApavtas ayvac0at Tov” Aytdos,
e , A la) , \ A
opotws dé Kai Tov picOodpopwy Tors TWAPETTOTAS .
atroatpepopévous Kal hevyovtas TO Epyov, ws ov
Oeuttov ovdé vevoytcpévovy Bacirtéws cwopate Tas
xeipas mpoopepev, StatretAnoapevos avTois Kal
Datdopnbels elAxev avTos els TO Olanua Tov Ayey.
non yap yoOnvto moAXol THy cvrAANYL, Kal
OopuBos hv eri tats Ovpats cal dota ToAXA, Kai
Taphoav } Te pntnp Tov “Ayioos Kal 7 payyn
Bo@cat cat deopevat tov Baciréa Tov Yrapriatav
Noyou Kal xpicews Tuyely ev Tois Troditats. S20
Kal padiota Katntretay THY avaipecw, as éEap-

jwaynoopévou vuxtos dv mreloves éTéN wor.
XX. ‘O pév ody *Ayis ert tHv otpayydAnv
TOPEvVOUEVOS, wS ELE TIVa THY UTNpeT@Y SaxKpv-
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though plainly offering Agis a way of escape from the charges against him, asked him if he had done what he did under compulsion from Lysander and Agesilaiis. And when Agis answered that he had suffered compulsion from no one, but that in admira- tion and imitation of Lycurgus he had adopted the same public policy as his, the same ephor asked again if he repented of what he had done. But the young king declared that he had no repentance for what he had most excellently planned, and would not have, even if he saw that he was to suffer the extremest penalty. So they condemned him to death, and ordered the officers to lead him into the “ Dechas,” as it was called. This is a chamber of the prison in which they strangle those who are under sentence of death. But Damochares, when he saw that the officers did not dare to lay hands on Agis, and like- wise that even the mercenaries who were there shrank from the deed and were loth to do it, feeling as they did that it was contrary to the laws of God and man to lay hands upon the person of a king, heaped threats and abuse upon them and himself dragged Agis into the chamber of death. For already many people were aware of the arrest, and there was a noisy throng at the door and many torches, and the mother and grandmother of Agis were there, with cries and prayers that the king of the Spartans should have a hearing and a trial before the citizens. For this reason especially the ephors hastened on the king’s execution, believing that he would be taken out of their hands in the night if the concourse should increase.

XX. Agis, then, on his way to the halter, saw one of the officers shedding tears of sympathy for him.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ovtTa Kat mepitrabobvta, “ Ilavaai pe,” etter, “aw
avO poe, KAaiwY* Kal yap OUTwWS TTapavoyws Kal
adixos dT oNNUPEVOS KpeLTT@V elu TOV avatpovv-
Tov” Kal Tavt’ elroy ma,pedmne Te Bpoy@ Tov
TpdxXnrov éxougiws. o 6€ ‘Auddpns mpoedOwv
emt Tas vpas, Kal a ‘Aynovatpatay T™poa-
Teo OUT ay auT@ da cuvnGevav kal didrtay ava-
oTnTaS, ovdey épn mept TOV "Ay éveo Oa Biasov
aude a avnKed Tov: ExXéNEVE be KaKelvny, el Bovnarto,
T pos TOV viov eiaerOeiv. éexeivns 5€ cal THY pytépa
HET QUTHS Tapeivar Seopevns ovdev edn KoOrUELY

) 0 “Appdpns: Kat ded pevos apporepas, Kal wad
ereioat Tas Gupas tov Secpwtnpiov Kedevoas,
T poTépav bev THv “A pxi6apiav TapéOwKer, 78
cpodpa pea Birw ovcav Kat KaTayeynpaxviay
év afiwpate peyote TOV TomTidwr, am oBavov-
ons 6é éxelvns éxéXNevoe THY ‘Aynotatpatay é éow
Badifer. as bé ceive Boia TOV TE viov éGedoaro
Xapat Kelpmevov Kal Thy pntépa vexpav éx Tod
Bpoxov xpepapevny, exewvny pev avr Tois Umnpe-
TALS ovyxadeire Kal Tapexreivaca T@ "Ayi6e TO
oa pa TEpLEaTELNE Kat KaTexahupe TO O€ BAL
™poonecovaa Kal prqoaca TO Tpoawrroy, ‘ OH
TOAAT oe, ElTrEV, ‘'@ TAL, evrAdBera Kal TO m™ pgov
Kal piravO pwrrov am@here pel! pave”) be
‘A papns aro THs Oupas opav 70, ‘Yevopeva Kai
Tas povas aKo ov emrera nde, Kat Tpos THY vAy1-
aio TpaTay per’ Opyns elev" “ Ei Toivuy,” eon,
s Tava eSoxipates TO ue, TauTa Kat melon.
kal 1) ‘Aynototpata mpos tov Bpoyov avuota-

“My man,’ said he, “cease weeping; for even though I am put to death in this lawless and unjust manner, I have the better of my murderers.” And saying these words, he offered his neck to the noose without hesitation. But Amphares went to the door of the prison, where Agesistrata fell at his feet in an appeal to his friendship and intimacy. Amphares lifted her up and assured her that Agis was not to suffer violence or death; and he bade her, if she wished, go in to her son. And when Agesistrata begged that her mother might .go in with her, Amphares said there was nothing to prevent. So he admitted both the women, and after ordering the door of the prison to be locked again, delivered Archidamia first to the executioners. She was now a very aged woman, and had lived all her days in very high repute among her countrywomen. After she had been put to death, Amphares ordered Agesistrata to enter the chamber of execution. So she went in, and when she saw her son lying dead upon the ground, and her mother’s dead body still hanging in the noose, with her own hands she helped the officers to take her down, laid her body out by the side of Agis, and composed and covered it. Then, embracing her son and kissing his face, she said: “My son, it was thy too great regard for others, and thy gentleness and humanity, which has brought thee to ruin, and us as well.’ Then Amphares, who stood at the door and saw and heard what she did and said, came in and said angrily to her: ‘If, then, thou hast been of the same mind as thy son, thou shalt also suffer the same fate.” And Agesistrata, as she rose to present her neck to the

pévn, “ Movov,” dy, “cuvevéyear tatta TH
Lawaprn.”
XXI. Tot dé wadous eis thv wodw é€ayyer-
Oévtos Kal TY TpLOY TwpdTwV ExKOplopéevaY OUK
Rv 0 PoBos odTw péyas, WaTE 7 KaTapavels elvat
Tous ToAitas adyouvTas pev emi Tols yeyovoct,
A \ \ 4 A ‘ +) ,
pucodvtas 6€ Tov Aewvidav nat tov Apddpny,
\ ‘ \ >) , b] @ a
pndev Secvotepov nde dvooiwrtepov é€ ob Awpteis
TleXorovynooy otxovotv olopévous ev Yraptn tre-
A a lA e 54 4
mpaxOa.. PBacirei yap, ws Eouxe, Aaxedatpovimv
ovbe of Trodépmtor padiws év Tals wdyats aTraVT@VTES
mTpowépepov TAS YElpas, ANN’ atreTpétrovTo SedvoTes
\ , \ J l4 \ A
kat ceBopevor TO akiwpa. 610 Kal TodAd@D yeryo-
’ , > . @
votwy Aaxedaipovios ayeverv mpos”EXXAnvas els
4 b 4 \ A A 50
Bovos avnpeOn po Tav Pidirmixav Sopate wAN-
yels wept Acdxtpa KreouBpotos. Meoonviwn dé
cat @eotrroutrov UT ’Apiotopévous Trecety NeyovTwY
ov dace Aaxedatpoviot, wANyHVvas Sé povov. adda
Le) \ ¥ \ b) , 2 \ ,
TavTa pev ever Tivas apdiroyias. év dé Aaxedai-
A ? 4 e \ A 9 ,
pout tpwtros Ayis Bactkevwy vio twv éepopwr
b] 4 \ \ v \ 4 A 4
améOave, eara pev Epya Kal mpérrovta TH UTapTy
MpoEAopMEVvoS, HALKias Sé yeyovws év 7 apuapTa-
votes avOpwrrot cuyyvapuns TUyYavouct, pend Geis
5é vT0 TaV didwv SixaoTepoy 7} TAY eXOpar, OTL
\ , , \ a ” bY ,
kat Aewvidav trepiécwoe Kai Tois addXols erri-
OTEVTEV, HuEpwTaToS Kal MpaoTaToS YEvopEvos.
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noose, said: “ My only prayer is that this may bring
good to Sparta.”’
XXI. When tidings of the sad event had been carried to the city and the three bodies were carried forth for burial, the fear felt by the citizens was not so strong as to prevent them from manifesting sorrow over what had been done, and hatred for Leonidas and Amphares. It was thought that nothing more dreadful or

heinous had been done in Sparta since the Dorians had dwelt in Peloponnesus. For against a king of the Lacedaemonians, as it seems, not even their enemies would willingly raise their hands if they met him in battle, but they would spare him, out of fear and reverence for his dignity. And for this reason, although there had been many conflicts between Lacedaemonians and other Greeks, only one Spartan king had been slain up to the time of Philip of Macedon, namely, Cleom- brotus, who was smitten by a spear at Leuctra.! The Messenians, however, say that Theopompus also fell in battle, at the hands of Aristomenes; but the Lacedaemonians deny this, and say that their king was only wounded. This matter may be disputed ; but Agis was certainly the first king of Sparta to Le put to death by the ephors. And yet he had chosen a line of conduct that was noble and worthy of Sparta, and was of an age in which men are usually pardoned for their errors, and his friends could with more justice blame him than his enemies, because he spared the life of Leonidas, and, most mild and gentle man that he was, put faith in his other foes.

1 See the Pelopidas, xxiii.

KAEOMENHS,

I, ’ArroBavovtos 6€ avtTod Tov pep aderdov 805
"A pxidapov ovx éfOn curraBeiv o) Aewvidas evOs
expuyorta, THY be yuvaixa ratoiov éxouray
veoryvov ex Tis oixias am aryaryov Big Kreopeéver
™@ Vi@ TUVMKLOEV OV TavU yapov @pav EXovTt,
Thy be vO pwrrov arp SoA jvat Ta) Bovdopevos.
ny yap ovatas TE peyadns emixAnpos 7 “Aylares
[TvAtmrouv tod tatpos, Opa TE Kal Kadnet TONV
Tav “EdAnvidwr diadepovea Kat TOV TpoTt ov
EMLeLKNS. OLO TOAAG peév Erroincey, as pact, |
BracOjvat Seouevn, cuvehBovoa dé eis TaUTO To
Kreopever TOV pev Aewviday é epioe, mept dé auTov
TOV veavic Kov Hy ayabn yun Kal pidooropyos,
EPOTLKAS apa T® AaBeiv pods aur HY Siatebevra
Kai Tuva TpoTrov oupmabodvra TH T pos TOV "Aye
evvoia Kal pynen THS yuvarnos, OOTE kat Tuv-
OdveoOar TONAGKLS TEplL TOV ryeyovor@y Kal
T po exe CT LULENDS Sunryouuevns éxelyns iv o
"Ayes éoxe Sidvotay Kat T poaipeaty.
"Hv &€ xal prroripos pev Kal peyarogpav 0
Krcopevns Kal Tpos é eyKparevay Kal adehevav oux
HT Tov TOU “Ayidos: ev TepuKas, To 6€ evraes
ayav éxéivo Kal Tpgov | OUK elyev, andra KévTpOV TE
Gupod Th pucer ™ pocéxetTo Kal pera apodporn-
TOS open pos TO pavopevov d aet Kanov. epaivero

dé KaddtoTov fev avT@ Kpatety éxovTav, KaXov
5é xal pn teOouévwy mrepteivar mpos To BéXtLOV
éxBialopevov.

5°

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

CLEOMENES

I. Upon the death of Agis! his brother Archidamus at once took to flight, and thus escaped arrest at the hands of Leonidas; but his wife, who had an infant son, was taken from her home by Leonidas and compelled to marry his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was too young for marriage, but Leonidas was unwilling to have Agiatis marry anyone else. For she was heir to the great estate of her father Gylippus, in youthful beauty she far surpassed the other women of Greece, and she had an excellent disposition. Therefore she begged most earnestly, we are told, that she should not be forced into this marriage, but after she was united to Cleomenes, though she hated Leonidas, to the young man himself she was a good and affectionate wife. And he, as soon as Agiatis was his, became passionately fond of her, and in a way sympathized with her devotion to the memory of Agis, so that he would often ask her about the career of Agis, and listen attentively as she told of the plans and purposes which Agis had formed.

And, besides, Cleomenes was aspiring and magna- nimous, and no Jess prone by nature than Agis to self-restraint and simplicity. He had not, however, the scrupulous and gentle nature for which Agis was remarkable, and his natural courage was always goading him on, as it were, and fiercely impelling him towards that which in any case appeared to be the honourable course. He thought it a most excellent thing to rule over willing subjects, but a good thing also to subdue such subjects as were disobedient, and force them towards the better goal.

1 About 241 B.c.

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E 2

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II. Ov« pete pev ody aut Ta KaTa THY
Tony, ampaypLoauvn Kat ndov7 KATAKERNATHEVOY
TOV TOMTEY Kat Tou Bactrews mavra Ta mpary-
pata Xatpev €@VTOS, Eb pn dels avrov evox doin
oxorale év ap Oovors Kal tpudav Bovdcpevov,
dpéehoupevenv dé Tav KOLWOV, KAT oixiay éxda Tou
™pos auTov ENKOVTOS To Kepdanéov: doxnoews
dé Kal cop poo urns véwy Kaul Kapteptas Kal too-
THTOS Ovde ardanrés HY TovTw@y Tay wept “Ayr

ATTONWNOT MV pynpovevew.
Néyerau dé Kal hoyov eared tov Kn2eo-
Méevn peTaryeiv eTL perpaxcov outa, Xhaipov tov
Bopue Bevirou mapaBarovros els THD Aaxebaipova
Kal TEpt TOUS veous Kal TOUS epnBous ouK GMer@s
bat piBovros. o 6é Xpaipos é éy Tols Tpwrals erye-
yover TOV Zyvevos tov Kutréws padnrav, Kal Too
Krcopévous core THS pioews TO dvdpades arya-
Thocai Te wat _Tpocexkavaat THY prroripian.
Aewvidav pev yap Tov Tanratov réyovowy, émepa-
T0évra TOUS TIS aUT@ paiverat TOLNTNS ye-
ryovevat _Tupratos, eltreiy® ‘ “Ayados vewy wuxas
KaKKaviy. eMTrUT AG LEvor yap v6 TOY Troln-
patov evdovarac poo mapa Tas payas npeldovy
éavtav' o o€é Lrwixos ayos eye Te ™ pos TAS
peyaras duces Kal dfeias ema pares Kal Tapa-
Boxor, Badet Oe Kat ™mpaw KE pavyvueEVOs HOee
padtata eis TO olxelov ayabov émidiSwow.
III. *Ezrel 8€ teXeutncavtos rod Acwvidou tiv
Baotreiay trapédkaBe wal tovs toditas Tote 817
TAVTATACLY EKAEAUMEVOUS EWPA, TOV pev TrOV-
giwy xa’ Adovdas idias Kal mreoveFias tapo-
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II. Ot course, then, the condition of the city was not pleasing to him. The citizens had been lulled to sleep by idleness and pleasure ; the king was willing to let all public business go, provided that no one thwarted his desire for luxurious living in the midst of his wealth ; the public interests were neglected, while every man was eagerly intent upon his own private gain; and as for practice in arms, self-restraint in the young, hardiness, and equality, it was even dangerous to speak of these now that Agis was dead and gone.

It is said’ also that Cleomenes studied philosophy when he was still a stripling, after Sphaerus of Borysthenis had made a voyage to Sparta and busied himself sedulously there with the youth and young men. Sphaerus had become one of the leading disciples of Zeno of Citium, and it would appear that he admired the manly nature of Cleomenes and in- creased the fires of his high ambition. For Leonidas of old, as we are told, when asked what manner of poet he thought Tyrtaeus to be, replied; ‘A good one to inflame the souls of young men.”’ And indeed they were filled with divine inspiration by his poems, and in battle were prodigal of their lives. However, for great and impetuous natures the Stoic doctrines are somewhat misleading and dangerous, although when they permeate a deep and gentle character, they

redound most to its proper good.

III. But at the death of Leonidas! Cleomenes came to the throne, and saw that the citizens were by that time altogether degenerate. The rich neglected the common interests for their own private

1 In 236 n.c. Cleomenes was then about twenty-four years of age.

pavray Ta Kowd, TOY 66 TOAAQY bua TO Tparrery KAK@S TrEpt Ta oieta wal T pos TOV TONE LOV am pobupov Kal Tpos THY ayoyny adidoripwv YeyovoTey, avTou dé évoua Bacdevovtos Wy povov, n O€ apxn TAO tTav épopwv, evOvs bev ets vouy eGero Ta mapovTa peOrotdvar Kal Kuvety, dvtos 6¢ avT@ dirou Fevdpous, épactov yeyovotos (rovTo dé eumrveia Oat Aaxedatpoviot Kadovotv), aTeTeLpato TOUTOU S:arruvOavopevos TOV Aye, oTroios yévotTo Bacirevs Kal tive TpoT Kab meTa Tive@DY él TaUTNY EXOoe THY odo. 5 8 | Rlevapns TO pev Tpw@rTov ouK anoos éméuynto TOY Tpay-patov € exeivon, @S empaxOn Kal' &xaota pd odo-ya@v Kal dinyoumevos: ws 6€ Hv catapavns 0 Knreopévns éumradéa Tepov T poaeXwv Kal Kivov-pEvos UTEPPUMs ™ pos Hy KatvoTopiay Tov "Aytos Kal TaUuTa, TOAAGKLS aKoveLy Bovropevos, émemhn-Fev avtT@ wpos opynv o Fevapns ws ovy vytaivovte, Kab TENS aTrésTN Tod Siaréyer Oat Kal pouray Wpos avTov, ovdevi HEVTOL THY aitiay Eppace THS Svadopas, arr autor Edn yeveoa Kev exeivov. OvrTw b¢ Tov Fevapous avTixpovaavTos 0 Kreo-pévns Kal TOUS aXous opotas Eye MYOUMEVOS, auTos ev eauT@p cuveriber THY mpagv. olomevos & av ev TONED padXov Kar etpnyny peTtaoTi-oa Ta TapovTa, Tuer OUCdE 7 pos tous 'Ayatous THY TONY, avTous B.dévras eYKANMATOD 7 po-paces. 0 yap "A patos toxve perytaTov év Tots "Ayxatois éBovreto pev && apy iis eis piav cuvtTakiy aryaryety Tedorovyycious, Kat TOUTO TO TONY OTPATHYLOY AUT@ Kal THs paKpas TodtTElas Hv

pleasure and aggrandizement; the common people, because of their wretched state at home, had lost all readiness for war and all ambition to maintain the ancient Spartan discipline; and he himself,Cleomenes, was king only in name, while the whole power was in the hands of the ephors. He therefore at once determined to stir up and change the existing order of things, and as he had a friend, Xenares, who had been his lover (or znsptrer, as the Spartans say), he would make trial of his sentiments by inquiring in detail what sort of a king Agis had been, and in what way and with what assistants he had entered upon the course of action so fatal to him. At first Xenares was quite glad to recall those matters, and rehearsed the events at length and in detail; but when it was apparent that Cleomenes took an unusual interest in the story, and was profoundly stirred by the innova- tions of Agis, and wished to hear about him over and over again, Xenares rebuked him angrily, calling him unsound in mind, and finally stopped visiting and conversing with him. To no one, however, did he tell the reason of their variance, but merely said that Cleomenes understood it.

And so Cleomenes, finding Xenares averse, and thinking that everybody else was of like mind with him, began to arrange his project all by himself. And because he thought that he could better bring about his reforms in time of war than in the midst of peace, he embroiled the state with the Achaeans, who were themselves giving grounds for complaint. For Aratus, the most powerful man among the Achaeans, was from the outset desirous of bringing all the Peloponnesians into one confederation, and this was the end pursued by him during his many

TENOS, HYOupeV@ poves ay oUTws dvemiXerpnTous
écecOau Tots EXTOS TorEpiols. erret bé TOY GAXN@V
oyedov amdvrwyv avT@ _Tpoayeyovotmy amreNet-
TOVTO ANanedarpoveot kal ’Hreztou Kal boot Aake-
Saipoviors *Apxadav T™ poaetxor, dia, 7@ TOV
Aewvidar anoBaveiv mapnveyret Tots ‘Apxaat Kal
TepleKomTey avTa@Y padtota Tous Tois ’Axatots
omopobvyTas, aTroTEtpwpeVvos TOV Aaxedatpovior,
cat tod KrXeopévous ws véou cal dmeipov Kata-
ppovev.
IV. "Ex tTovtou Krcopevn TpwrTov ot épopot
TéEWTOUCL KaTadnypopevov TO TWepl T2V Ba Bwap
"A@rjvawov. éuBory 5é Tis Maxovicis TO Xepiov
€oti, Kal TOTE T pos TOUS Meyanoronitas 7 my émi-
dtxov. cataraPovros d€ TovTo Kal TELXITAVTOS
TOU Kreopévous 0 O “A paros over éyxaréoas, arre
VUKTOS exo TpaTEvaas emeyetpnoe Teyeatais Kai

‘Opxoneviars. TOV dé mpoborbs aTrOOELALAT aVT@Y
o wev “Apatos dvexwpnoe AeAnEvar vopiSov, O
be Krcopevns eipwveta Xpwpevos éyparre _T POs
aurop, ws 67 Tapa pidou muvbavopevos mob Ths
VUKTOS eer Gor. Tov ¢ ayTiypayaytos @S EKELVOV
Ber Swap mérAXELY Teuxifelv aKkovoas cataBain
TOUTO Kohvawy, maduy o KrXeopévns dmoatethas
TOUTO pev obras éxeuv eon memeio Ga: “Tous dé
Sant Kal Tas KAiMaKas, ” elrrev, ‘ ‘el pn Ti oot
raéper, yparfov Huiv, el Ti co Ta pnkodov-
our. TOU é ‘Aparovu T pos TO OKC) [L440 yera-
cavros kai muvOavouévou Toids Tis 0 veavioxos
ein, Aapoxparns 0 Aaxedatponos guyas, “Ee
Te TpaTTes, é&pyn, “mpos Aaxedatpovious, wpa
56

generalships and his long political activity, since he was of the opinion that in this way alone would they be safe from the attacks of their enemies without. Nearly all the other Peloponnesians adopted his views, but the Lacedaemonians, the Eleians, and the Arca- dians who sided with the Lacedaemonians, held aloof. Therefore, as soon as Leonidas was dead, Aratus be- gan to harass the Arcadians, and ravaged the territories of those especially who were adjacent to Achaea. His object was to put the Lacedaemonians to the test, and he despised Cleomenes as a young and in- experienced man.

IV. Upon this, the ephors began operations by sending Cleomenes to occupy the precinct of Athena at Belbina. This commands an entrance into Laconia, and was at that time a subject of litigation with the Megalopolitans. After Cleomenes had occupied and fortified this place, Aratus made no public protest, but led out his forces one night and tried to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. Those who were to betray the places to him, however, played the coward, and Aratus withdrew, thinking that his attempt had escaped notice. But Cleomenes wrote him an ironical letter, inquiring, as from a friend, whither he had marched out in the night. Aratus wrote back that hearing of Cleomenes’ intention to fortify Belbina he had gone down there to prevent it. Whereupon Cleomenes sent back word again that he believed this story to be true; “but those torches and ladders,”’ said he, “if it is all one to thee, tell me for what purpose thou hadst them with thee.” Aratus burst out laughing at the jest, and inquired what manner of youth this was. Whereupon Damocrates, the Lacedaemonian exile, replied: “ If thou hast designs

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gor TAXUVELY @po Tov Kévtpa dicate TovTOY TOV
yeooaov.

"Ex TouTou Krcopéver peTa iTTEéEwWY OALywY Kal
mweCov TplaKoalay év ‘Apradia oTpaToTedevoperep
mpooéTatay dva wpety ot edopor, poBovpevor TOV
TONE MOV. érrel dvaxwpnaavros avTov Kadvas
éda Bev) “Aparos, avdrs éreptrov TOV Kyr<0-
evn. AaBovros d€ avtTov MeOvdpiov Kal Thy
"A pyoneny Katadpapovtos, éfeotpdrevoay ou
"Axatol dio wupioss melois Kal iAlols immredaoL
“Aptaropdxou oT paTnyouvTos. aT avTnoavTos dé
wept Ila\Adytiov Krcopevous Kal Bovdopevov
paxer Gar, poRnbels TH TOApaV o “Aparos OvK
elace Staxwduveioar TOV oTpaTHyoy, arr’ arnnrOe
Aowopovpevos péev UTrO TaD "Axarar, VAevalo-
pevos 56 Kai KATAppovovpEVos UTro TOV Naxedac-
poviov, ovde mevraxtaxi Mov 70 TAOS évTwD.
Héyas ovv TO Ppovjpare myeyovas 0 Kreopevns
eOpacuvero ™ pos TOUS moniTas, Kab TOV Tadaev
TLWOS avrous dvepipvnoxe Bactréwy el OvTOS ov
patny Ste! Aaxedatponot truvOavovTat Trept TeV
TONEMIWY, OV TOTOL EiaiY, ANAL Tov Eiawy.
V. ’Emet 5€ tots ’'Hredors _ToAEwoupEevors UT oO
TOY “AXaLav BonOjoas, Kal qept To AvKatov
aT Lovo non Tots "Ayatois émiBarwv, & dav pev
éTpewaro Kat Serr ronoev avT@v TO oT pdrevpa,
gTuxXvovs dé dvetre Kal Sovras éraBev, & aaoTe kat
tepl "Apdrov pnpny Ex TTEC ELV els TOUS "EdAqvas
WS TeOVNKOTOS, O Oo wep “Apatos dpota T KaLp@
Npnoduevos €x THS TpoThs éxeivns 2300. emt
1 eimdvtos ov udrny 8t. Sintenis (com.) and Blass, after
Stephanus: cirdyros tt wdtny (MSS.).
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

upon the Lacedaemonians, see that thou hastenest,
before this young cock grows his spurs.”
After this, when Cleomenes with a few horsemen and three hundred foot-soldiers was making an expedition in Arcadia, the ephors, fearing the issue of the war, ordered him to come back home. After he had returned, however, Aratus seized Caphyae, and the ephors sent Cleomenes forth again. He seized Methydrium and overran the territory of Argolis, where- upon the Achaeans marched out with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen under Aristo- machus as general. Cleomenes met them at Pallan- tium and offered battle, but Aratus, in fear of this boldness, would not suffer his general to hazard the issue, and retired. For this he was reproached by the Achaeans, and jeered at and despised by the

Lacedaemonians, who were less than five thousand strong. Cleomenes was therefore greatly lifted up in spirit and began to show a bold front to the citizens ; and he would often remind them of one of their ancient kings! who said, and not idly either, “The Lacedaemonians are wont to ask, not how many, but where, their enemies are.”

V. After this, he went to the aid of the Eleians, upon whom the Achaeans were making war, and falling upon the Achaeans near Mt. Lycaeum, as they were withdrawing, he put their entire army to panic flight, slew great numbers of them, and took many prisoners, so that even Aratus was widely reported among the Greeks to be dead. But Aratus, making the best use of his opportunity, immediately after

1 Agis IT, (427-398 n.c.)3 cf. the Morals, pp. 190c;
215 d.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Maptiverav AOE Kai pndevos av wpocdoxjcavtos
\ f \ UA a \ ,
elXe THY TOA Kal KaTéaxe, TOV O€ Naxedatpoviwy
mavTamact Tais yvopmas avatecovTwy Kai TO
Kreopéves pos Tas otpateias évicotapévarv, wp-
pnoe petatréurrecOas Tov Aytdos abderdov ’Apyi-
dapov ex Meconvns, BactXeverv ato THs Erepa
auov HVS, G is érépas
> 9 a 7 9 lA A A
olKlas Hv mpoonKov, oopevos auBrvTEpav THY TOV
épopwv apyny écecOat THs Bacirelas icopporou
Kal ONOKANpoU yevouevns. ot Sé aYNpNKOTES TpO-
‘ 9 b] 4 A \ /
tepov Tov "Arytv ataBopevor TovTo, Kai poBnbévtes
un Stxnv S00 tod ’Apyidapou KatedOovtos, édé-
EFavro peéev avTov eis THY TOMY TrapayevopevoV
pupa Kat avyxatiyov, evOus Se aréxtewvay, cite
dxovros Tov Kyeopévous, ws oleras DvrAapyos,
elite TetaOévtos Ure TOY hirwy Kal TpoELevou TOV
aA A , a
avO pwrrov avTois. THs yap aitias TO WAEloTOY eT’
éxeivous HAGE BeBtacbar Tov Krcopévn Soxovvtas.
VI. Ov pny adda Kuveiv evOds éyvoxws Ta KATA
THY TOALV, ETELcTE TOUS EpoOpoUs YprpaAcLW STrwsS
avTe@ Wnhdiowvta otpateiav. €éOcpdmrevoe Sé Kai
TOV adAwY suyvors Sia THs pyntpos Kparnat-
J > fe) 4 \
KrElas apedas suyyopyyovans Kal cvppidroTipov-
pévns, H ye Kal yadpou pn Seopévn réyerar dra

N eX v a / / \
Tov viov avdpa AaBeiy mpwrevovta S0Fn Kal
Suvayet THY TodLTa@Y. éEayayov Sé THY oTpa-
relay KaTanapBaver THS MeyadorronritLO0s Ywptov
AedxtTpa: Kat yevouévns mpos avtov o€eias Tov
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this defeat marched to Mantineia, and to everybody's surprise captured and held the city. At this the Lacedaemonians were altogether disheartened and opposed any further expedition on the part of Cleomenes. He therefore determined to summon from Messene the brother of Agis, Archidamus,! who was the rightful king from the other royal house, thinking that the power of the ephors would be diminished if the royal power were restored to its full strength so as to counterbalance it. But those who had formerly murdered Agis comprehended this design, and fear- ing that they would pay the penalty for their crime — if Archidamus was restored, they did indeed receive him when he came secretly into the city, and assisted in his restoration, but immediately put him to death. Cleomenes may have been opposed to this, as Phylarchus thinks, or perhaps he was persuaded by his friends to abandon the hapless man to his murderers. For the greater part of the blame attached itself to them, since they were thought to have constrained Cleomenes.

VI. However, having determined to attempt at once his reforms in the state, Cleomenes bribed the ephors to send him on an expedition. He also won the favour of large numbers of the citizens with the help of his mother Cratesicleia, who assisted him liberally in providing ways and means, and shared his ambitions. It is even said that although she had no desire to marry again, for the sake of her son she took a husband who was foremost among the citizens in reputation and influence. So Cleomenes led forth his forces and occupied Leuctra, a stronghold of Megalopolis. The Achaeans, under the command of

1 See chapter i, 1.

“Axara Bon Betas "Apdtrov otparnyovrtos, vTro
THY ONLY auTny mapatabapevos 7779 péper
Til TOU OTPATEUHATOS. érrel O€ xapd pay Tia
Babciav ovx elace SiaBivar TOUS “Axatous 0
"A patos, aXN éneatnoe THhv Siwkwv, ayavanT ay
dé Avédidéas o 0 Meyanorronitns ouveFdpunce TOUS
Tepl aurov imtreis Kat Se@oKwv Ets Xwptov apmédov
Kal Tappwv Kal TELY OV peatov évoeiaas Kal
diac tad Gels mrepl Taira KaKaS anjrarre, Kar
dw@v oO Krcomevns avijxe Tous Tapaytivous Kal TOUS
Kpijras én auroy, id’ wy o Avdsddas apvvopevos

EUPWOTWS ETTECE. _Tpos TOUTO Oappycavres ot
Aaxedarpovior pera Bons évéBaXov Tots “Axawois,
Kal Tpomny éNov Tov TT PATEVLATOS émoinaay.
aTroBavovtwy dé TUXVOY TOUS pe G&Xous UTr0-
amovdous o 0 Kr¢ouévns an édwxe, tov 6€ Avéstaday
vex pov axOhvat TpOs avTov Kehevoas, Koo unoas
moppupioe Kal or épavov érreis, T pos Tas wvAas
TOV Meyanorrodurav améaTetnNev. oTOos nv Avota-
das o Kat abEpuevos THY Tupavvidd Kat Tots TohiTaLS
amrodous THv édevGepiay Kal THY TWoY TpocKo-
pioas “Ayasots.
VII. "Ex TOUTOU Krcopevns peya ppoverw non,
Kal twemreopévos av as Bovderat TOLS mpdypace
popevos TONE TPOS TOUS "Axatous, padiws
eT LK PATHOL, edidacxe TOV Tis PNT pos avd pa.
Meyiorovouy @S xen TOV epopav amahraryevTas
els pécov Ocivar Ta KT NATO Tots TOMT ALS Kal
THY Lrapryy i lonv ryevopmevny éyetpecv Kai Wpoayetv
emt THY THS ‘Edd dos myepoviay. | metaJevros S
éxetvou S00 TOV AANwY hitwv 7 TpeEls Tpodé-
AaBe.
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Aratus, came swiftly to the aid of their allies against him, and Cleomenes, after drawing up his forces under the very walls of the city, was worsted at one point. But Aratus would not permit the Achaeans to cross a certain deep ravine, and brought his pursuit to a stop. Lydiadas the Megalopolitan, however, chafing at this, dashed on with the horsemen under his com- mand, and pursuing the enemy into a place full of vines, ditches, and walls, had his ranks broken and thrown into disorder thereby, and began to fall into difficulties. Cleomenes, observing this, sent against him his Tarentines and Cretans, at whose hands Lydiadas, defending himself sturdily, fell. At this the Lacedaemonians took courage and with a shout fell upon the Achaeans and routed their entire army. Great numbers of them were slain, and their bodies Cleomenes restored at the enemy’s request; but the body of Lydiadas he asked to have brought to him, arrayed it in a purple robe and put a crown upon the head, and then sent it back to the gates of Megalopolis. This was the Lydiadas who renounced the tyranny, gave back to the citizens their freedom, and attached the city to the Achaean league.

VII. After this, Cleomenes, being now greatly elated, and persuaded that if he could keep thie control of things entirely in his own hands during the war with the Achaeans, he would easily obtain the mastery, began to instruct his mother’s husband, Megistonoiis, that they must needs get rid of the ephors, put the property of the citizens into a common stock, and rouse and incite the Spartans, thus put upon their old footing of equality, to assume the supremacy in Greece. Megistonoiis was convinced, and enlisted in the cause two or three of

his friends besides. 63

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

WV , \ \ \ e 4 b] 4 ‘ A
XuvéBn d€ Tept Tas nuépas exewas Kat TwDv
we oe ,) , wv. IQA
epopwv eva Kotmwpevov év Ilacipdas dvap idety
, 20 / A; b e / a 2, /
Oavpactov: éd0xer yap €v @ TOT Tots Eepopots
4 bd \ / , 4 li
Gos éati nabelouévors ypnpativeav Eva didpov
KetaOal, tous 6¢ réTTapas avnphnaOar, Kai Oavpd-
Covros avtod dary éx Tov lepod yevéoOas dpda-
a a <i a
Covcay @s TovTO TH LTapTyn A@oV éoTL. TAaUTNV
thy ory Sunyousévou tov édopov mpos Tov Kyreo-
pévyn, TO pev mp@tov SuerapdxOn xa’ btrowWiav
\ 4 @ PS A e de 9 , 8 \ ,
twa treipavecGat doxay, ws o€ EemTrelcOn pH Wev-
\ 4 5] 4 \ \
SeaBar tov Sunyovpevov, éOdppynce. Kal AaBov
dcous UTa@TTEVE UdNLTTA TOV TOALT@Y evayT.LO-
\ N A € , \ 9 id
ceaOar mpos tTHy mpakw, “Hpaiav xai ’Adcatay
Tas modes TaTTouévas Td Tots “Ayatois etre,
\ a 3 , b) 4 \ ld
Kat oiTov eonyaryer Opxopeviors, war Mavtweia
mapecTpatomédevce, Kal GrwWs avw Kal KaTw
paxpais tropelats atrotpvcas Tovs Aaxedatpovious
> / > A 4 \ \ ?
anvéximev avutav Senbévtwy tovs amoddAous épy
"Apxadia, tovs 5€ pscOodpopous éxywv adtos eri
vP a > , a \ p »> ¢ x > ,
Thv Uraptny éywpe. Kai xa’ odov ols éeriateve
PadLoTa KaNOS POs aUTOV éyELY aVEKOLVODTO THY
yvouny, Kal mpone aoxédnv, ws mept to Setmvoy
ovat Tots Epopots érimécot.
, A
VIII. Tevoyevos 8€ tis wordews eyyis, Evpu-
, > A
KrelOay pev els TO TMV éepopwyv auacitioy arré-
oTELNEY WS TWA Tap avTOU AOyov dO oTpaTLas

xopuivovta, @npuxiwy dé nal PoiBis cal dvo tav
cuvtpopwv tod Kreopévous, ods wo0aKxas Kadov-
aiv, emnxodovOovy otpatiwtas odrtLyous ExovTEs.
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Now, it came to pass about that time that one of the ephors, who was sleeping in the precinct of Pasiphaé, had an astonishing dream. He dreamed that in the place where the ephors were wont to sit for the prosecution of business, one chair only stood, but the other four had been taken away; and that in his amazement at this a voice came to him from the temple saying that this was better for Sparta. This dream the ephor related to Cleomenes, who at first was much disturbed, and thought that the other had some suspicion of his design and was making trial of him; but when he was convinced that the relater spoke the truth, his courage revived. So taking all the citizens who, as he suspected, would be most opposed to his designs, he seized Heraea and Alsaea, two cities belonging to the Achaean league, intro- duced supplies of food into Orchomenus, and en- camped by Mantineia, from whence he made long marches up and down the land, and utterly wore out the Lacedaemonians, so that it was at their own request that he left most of them in Arcadia, while with his mercenaries he himself set out for Sparta. On the march he imparted his design to those whom he believed to be most favourably disposed to him, and went forward slowly, that he might fall upon the ephors while they were at supper.

VIII. When the city was close at hand, he sent Eurycleidas to the mess-table of the ephors, osten- sibly to carry some message of the king from the army; but Therycion, Phoebis, and two of the Helots, who had been bred up along with Cleomenes! (they call them ‘“mothakes’’), followed after with a few

1 Such Helot companions afterwards became freemen, and
sometimes even citizens in Sparta.

ért 5é rod Evpucreida diareyopévou Trois épopous émidpapovres €otracpmévais Tais payaipars Erracov

b) 4 e @ ” 9 4 e > ,
avtous. 0 pev ovv patos ‘AyuXaLos, ws errAnyn,
mecwv Kal TeOvavar Sofas atpéua cuvayayov rai
TapérK@y éautov €x TOU oixnpmatos Edabey eis TE
Swudtiov eicepmvaas puxpov, 5 poBov péev Hv
iepov, dAdXws Sé xexderopévoy ael, TOTE Ex TUXNS
dvewypevov éruyyavev. eis ToUTO TUvELTEVEYKwV
€avtov améxretce TO Oupiov. of 5é técoapes
avnpéOncayv, cal trav érsBonOovvtwy avtots ov
mreloves 7 S€xa. TOUS yap novylay ayovTas OvK

EXTELVAY, OVSE TOUS GTLOVTAS eK THS TOAEWS EKW-
Avov. édheicavto S€ Kal Tod "AyvrAaiov pel”
nuépav éx Tov iepov wpoedOovTos.
IX. "Eore 5¢ Aaxedarpoviors od doBov povor,
9 \ \ 4 \ / \ Ul
aAXa Kal Oavatov Kai yéXwtos Kal ToLoOVTwWY
¥ 4 e , A \ ,
GrAXwv tanuatov iepd. tiudos Se tov doBov
ovy wamrep obs atroTpéTrovTar Saipovas, HyovpeEvot
BraBepov, adda THY TodTEiaY paddtoTAa ouvE-
xecOar po8w@ vouifovres. 810 Kal mpoexnpuTrov
ot &popor Tots qwoNitats els THY apXnV EloLovTes,
e 9 lA 4 , \ ,
as "Aptororérns dyoi, xeipecbat Tov puotaKka
Kal mpocéxew Tois vomots, iva pn YareTrol Mov
auTois: TO Tod pvaoTAaKoOS, Olwat, WpoTeEtvoyTeEs,
Strws Kal Tepi TA pLxpoTaTa TOUS véous TrELOapyety
2fh/ \ A >? , lA “ >
E0ifwor. Kal rhnv avdpetay bé poe Soxovow ov«
apoBiayv, drrAa PoBov rvpoyou Kal Séos adokias ot
manratol vouiterv. of yap SeAoTaToL Tpds TOUS
vouous Oapparewraror mpos Tovs TodEpious Eiat-
66

soldiers. These men, while Eurycleidas was still making his report to the ephors, ran in upon them with drawn swords and smote them. The first of them, Agylaeus, on receiving the blow, fell and lay still as though dead ; but afterwards he quietly pulled himself together, dragged himself out of the room, and crept unobserved into a little building which was a temple of Fear. Usually it was closed, but at this time it chanced to be open. Into this building he betook himself and locked the door. But the other four were slain, and also about ten of those who came to their aid. For the people who kept quiet were not killed, nor were those who wished to leave the city prevented. And even Agylaeus was spared when he came out of the temple next day.

IX. Now, the Lacedaemonians have temples of Death, Laughter, and that sort of thing, as well as of Fear. And they pay honours to Fear, not as they do to the powers which they try to avert because they think them baleful, but because they believe that fear is the chief support of their civil polity. For this reason,

too, when the ephors enter upon their office, as Aristotle says, they issue a proclamation command- ing all men to shave their moustaches, and to obey the laws, that these may not be severe upon them. They insist upon the shaving of the moustache, I think, in order that they may accustom the young men to obedience in the most trifling matters. And the men of old, in my opinion, did not regard bravery as a lack of fear, but as fear of reproach and dread of disgrace. For the men who feel most dread of the laws have most courage in:

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cal To wadeiv Hetota Sediacw 0: padota poBov-
pevol TO KAK@S aKovcat. 516 Kal KAaADS O ciTe@D:
.. . Wa yap Séos, &v0a ab aides.
cat "Ounpos,
aidoies Té pot éaat, hire éExupé, Seuvos Te
Kab
A , VA
ouyn Sevdiotes onpdytopas.
\ A > 4 , 4 \ A
TO yap aicxvvecOat pardiota cupBaiver Tpos ods
A N U A Ca) \ \ \ N
Kai To dedotxévat Tois ToAAOts. 610 Kai Tapa TO
TOV épopwy avacitiov tov poBov iSpuytar Aaxe-
Saipoviol, wovapyias éyyuTdtw KaTacKevacdpéevot
TO apxetov.
X.'O & obv Krcomévns nuépas yevouévns
lA ? 5 , A A A £5
mpoéypayrev oySonkovta TaV ToAdLT@Y ods édet
peracthvat, Kat rovs Sidpous dvetre TOV épopwv
\ e 27 P] e / 4 > N
TAnv Evos, EV @ KAOnmEvos EuEedrev avTOS XPN-
parila. éxxrnoiav 5é rojoas aTreXoyetTo Tept
TOV TeTpayuévwv. e&pn yap vro Tod Auxovpyou
tois Bactrevor ouppeyOnvat Tovs yépovtas, Kat
A , 4 a \ / QA
Todvv Xpovoy oTw Siotxeto Oar THY ToALW ovdéeY

érépas apyns Seouévnv, borepov Sé Tov mpos
Meconviovs mrodéuov paxpov yevopévou Tovs Ba-
avnrels, ta Tas oTpatelas aoxXOAOUS GYTAas aUTOUS
mpos TO Kpivewv, aipeicOai tivas ex TeV Pidrwv
2 / a 4 ? > ¢ A >. /
kal atroneitrey Tots TrodiTats av' éauvTa@y, Epopous
mpocayopevOévtas, nal Siaterely ye TovTOVS TO
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

facing their enemies; and those shun death least
who most fear ill fame. Therefore it has been well
said!: |
". . . for where dread is, there also is reverence."
And Homer says ?:
'Revered art thou by me, dear father-in-law, and
dreaded too; "'
and
'" Without a word, in dread of their leaders.? "

For by the multitude reverence is most apt to be felt towards those whom they also fear. For this reason, too, the Lacedaemonians erected a temple to Fear alongside the mess-hall of the ephors, after they had endowed this magistracy with almost absolute powers.

X. And now to resume; Cleomenes, when day came, published a list of eighty citizens who must go into exile, and removed all the ephoral chairs except one; in this he purposed to sit himself for the transaction of public business. Then he called a general assembly and made a defence of his proceedings. He said that Lycurgus had blended the powers of senate and kings, and that for a long time the state was administered in this way and had no need of other officials. But later, when the Messenian war proved to be long, the kings, since their campaigns abroad left them no time to administer justice themselves, chose out some of their friends and left them behind to serve the citizens in their stead. These were called ephors, or guardians, and as a matter of fact they

1 By Stasinus of Cyprus. Cf. Plato, Huthyphro, 12a; Kinkel, Hp. Graec. Frag. i. p. 30.
2 Iliad, iii. 172, Helen to Priam.
3 Iliad, iv. 431, of the Achaeans marshalled for battle.
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aA e 4 A 4 wv °

mT pa@tov vIrnpéTas TOY Bactréwy ovTas, eita KaTa
puxpov eis éavtovs Thy éEovciay émiotpedhovtas
ovtTws AaGeiv idvov apxetov KaTacKevacapévous.
onpetov S€ TovTOU TO péxpL VV peTaTrEe“TrOMEevOD
\ , A 5 , \ A ? 4
Tov Bacthéa tov épdpwy TO Tpa@Tov avTiAéyerv
kat TO Sevtepov, to S€ tpiToy KaXovvTwV ava-
otavta Badifery mpos av’tovs: Kat Tov mpwToV
éricpodpuvavTa thy apynv Kat avatevdpevov
"Actepwrov nrALtKials Uaotepov tmoArdais e&dopov
yevécOar. petpidfovtas pév ovv autos, épn,
a 9 e / > 4 A 9 , ‘
kpeirrov iy vTopevewv, éfovatg dé emer THY
WAaTpLov KATANVOYTAS apYnY, OoTe TOV BaciNéwy
Tous pev éEeXavveayv, Tors dé arroxtivyve axpt-
Tous, atretArety 5€ Tois TOOovaLY avOts émidety THY
V4
KaddMorny Kat Oevordtny év Ywdaptyn KaTaotacwy,
, \ A
OUK GVvEKTOV. eb péev ovv duvaTov Hy avev ohayns
L) UU A 5 4 A /
amradrakar tas éreicaxtous tHS Aaxedaimovos
a \
Khpas, tpupas nal qonrutereias nal ypéa xal
Saveropovs Kal Ta mpecBitepa TovTwY Kaka,
meviay Kat TrovTOY, EvTUYéaTATOV AV HyetcOaL
4 e \ C4 > A J ,
mavrwy Bactréwy éavTov MoTrEp LaTpov avwdvves
lacdpevov Thy TaTpiOa: viv 5é THs avayKns Exe
, \ ) a ” \ A
acuyyvepova tov Autodpyop, os ovte Bacirevs Ov
” ¥ Col
ouTe apywr, idiwrns é Bacirevery emriyerpav ev
Tols Oras mponADEY cis ayopay, Wate SetcavTa
4 ry
tov Bacikéa Xadpirrov eri Bwopov xatadvyeiv.
> b 3 A \ Ld A 4
GNX €xetvov pev OvTAaA YpnoTOY Kal dtdroTraTpLY
taxyu Te AvKovpyp TeV mpaTToMévwy peTacyeiv
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continued at first to be assistants of the kings, but then gradually diverted the power into their own hands, and so, ere men were aware, established a magistracy of their own. As proof of this, Cleomenes cited the fact that down to that day, when the ephors summoned a king to appear before them, he refused to go at

the first summons, and at the second, but at the third rose up and went to them ; and he said that the one who first added weight to the office, and extended its powers, Asteropus, was ephor many generations later. As long, then, he said, as the ephors kept within bounds, it had been better to bear with them; but when with their assumed power they subverted the ancient form of government to such an extent as to drive away some kings, put others to death without trial, and threaten such as desired to behold again in Sparta her fairest and most divinely appointed constitution, it was not to be endured. If, then, it had been possible without bloodshed to rid Sparta of her imported curses, namely luxury and extravagance, and debts and usury, and those elder evils than these, namely, poverty and wealth, he would have thought himself the most fortunate king in the world to have cured the disease of his country like a wise physician, without pain; but as it was, he said, in support of the necessity that had been laid upon him, he could cite Lycurgus, who, though he was neither king nor magistrate, but a private person attempting to act as king, proceeded with an armed retinue into the market-place, so that Charillus the king took fright and fled for refuge toan altar. That king, however, Cleomenes said, since he was an excellent man and a lover of his country, speedily concurred in the measures of Lycurgus and accepted

Kat rnv petaBorny déEacbat THs ToALTELas, Epyp
Sé papruphoar tov Avxodpyov St wodTelav peTa-
Badeiv dvev Bias nat poBov yarerov éotwy, ols
auTov épn petpiotata Kexphabat, Tovs émota-
pévous TH owtnpia THs Aaxedaipovos éxrrod@y
qwomoapevov. Ttois dé aAAOLs Edn Tact THY TE
ynv atracav eis pécov tiWévar, cal ypew@y TOUS
>] lé > 4 " / ,
OpetAovtas amadAdtrev, Kal Tav Eévwy Kptow
moveiy Kal Soxtpaciav, Srws of KpatiotoL yevo-
pevoe Yrapridtat cwlwot THv TOA Tois Srrdots,
\ , A \ 9 le)
kat tmavcwpcla tiv Aaxovixny Aitor\av Kat
b A , @ b] a A ? 4
ThAvptoy Aelay ovcay Epnuia TOY apUVOYTwY
EehopwvTes.
b , a \ 9 _N ? /
XI. "Ex tovtov mpe@tov pev autos eis pécov
Thv ovciav One xal Meyiorovous o Tatpwos
? A \ a wv li' 4 " A
avTOU Kal TOY AAwY hirwy ExacTOS, ETELTA Kal
€ A 4 e , ,
ot ANovrrol TwoNtrat mavtes, 7 5é yopa SrevepnOn.
KAnpov bé Kal tay br' adrod yeyovorwv duyddav
amrévemev éxdot@, Kal katate atravTas wpo-
, Sal 4 ? e / /

hoynge Tov TmpaypaTav év Haovxia ‘yevouerwn.
avaTAnpwoas S€ TO TONLTEVpLA TOS YapLEaTaTOLS
TOV TEPLOLKMY OTALTAS TETPAKLTXLALOUS ETrOiNncE,
kal diddaEas avtovs avtl Sdpatos ypjoOat capion
> »? / A N > 4 La) 9 9 4,
8c’ audorépwrv cai tHv domida popeiy Sv oxavys,
un Ova toptaxos, érl thy Tadeiavy TOV véwV
érpamn Kal THY AeyomEVNY aywynV, hs TA TKEiTTA
e a A
Tapov 6 Xdaipos avtT@ cuyxabiatn, taxd Tov
TpoonkovTa ToV Te Yyuyvaciwy Kal TOY avC-
, > f \
aitiwy Kéopov avadapBSavovtwy, Kal cuvoTedXo-
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the change of constitution; still, as a matter of fact Lycurgus by his own acts bore witness to the difficulty of changing a constitution without violence and fear. To these, Cleomenes said, he had himself resorted with the greatest moderation, for he had but put out of the way the men who were opposed to the salvation of Sparta. For all the rest, he said, the whole land should be common property, debtors should be set free from their debts, and foreigners should be examined and rated, in order that the strongest of them might be made Spartan citizens and help to preserve the state by theirarms. “ In this way,’ he said, “‘ we shall cease to behold Sparta the booty of Aetolians and Illyrians through lack of men to defend her.”

XI. After this, to begin with, Cleomenes himself placed his property in the common stock, as did Megistonoiis his step-father and every one of his friends besides ; next, all the rest of the citizens did the same, and the land was parcelled out. Cleomenes also assigned a portion of land to each man who had been exiled by him, and promised to bring them all home after matters had become quiet. Then he filled up the body of citizens with the most promising of the free provincials, and thus raised a body of four thousand men-at-arms, whom he taught to use a long pike, held in both hands, instead of a short spear, and to carry their shields by a strap instead of by a fixed handle. Next he devoted himself to the training of the young men and to the “ agoge,’ or ancient discipline, most of the details of which Sphaerus, who was then in Sparta, helped him in arranging. And quickly was the proper system of bodily training and public messes resumed, a few out

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peveov odbyeov pev t Un avayKns, éxovaiws 5€ TaV
TrELOTWY els TH evTedij Kal Aaxevexny éxetynv
diarrav. Gpuws 5€ To Tis povapyxias évoma Tapa-
pubovpevos atrédecke pel” éauTov Baciréa tov
aderd ov Evxreidar. Kal ToTe povov Lmapridrass

éx pas oixias avvéBn Sv0 oxeiv Bactnréas.
XII. AicBopevos dé TOUS 'Axatous Kat Tov
“A patop, @S eTLTPARWS auT@ TOV T parywaTeov
é€yovtwy da Tov vewTeptopov, ovK av Olopevous
a poe ety eo TAS Aaxebdaipovos ovee amomTeiy
peTéwpov év Kivnpare THMKOUTD THY TOALV, OVK
aryEvves ode axpnorov NYTaTO THY m podupiav
TOU OTPATEVHATOS émdeiEat Tots Tohep.iors. €[-
Barov ouv eis THY Meyadoronerixny awpenreias TE
peydras 710 powre Kal pOopav TONY arreipyd-
caTo THS xeopas. TédXos € Tous Tept Tov Atovucoy
Texvitas éx Meoonyns Starropevopevous AaBav,
Kal mtd pwevos déatpov é€v Th moneuia, Kal ™ po-
Deis amo TeTTAapdKovTa pv@V ayova, play % npépay
€Ocato KaOnpevos, ov Seopevos Oéas, arr olov
evTpupar Tois TONE ULOLS Kal Teptovaiay Tiva Tov
Kpateiy TON T@ Katadpoveiy ETLOELKVULEVOS.
émret adds ye TOV ‘EdAnuixav Kal Bacirttxov
oT pAaTEvLaTaV exetvo Hovoy ov plpous Tapaxo-
AovGobyTas elyev, ov Javparorovovs, OUK opYn-
atpioas, ov yahtpias, GANA maons dxodactas
Kat Bewporoxias Kat Tavnyupto wou xabapov 7 ny,
T& pev ToAXNa PETOVTOY TOV vévD Kab TOV
mpeo Butepwv bidacKovtan, Tas d€ matdids, o o7roTe
oxoraloven, Tals curnbecty eUTpaTreMaus Kat T@
éyery Te Yaptev kal Aakwrixoy mpos adAoOUS
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pire — eee ee ee ee eee - ee ee ee oe o—ene = Se ee —ee— een

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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

of necessity, but most with a willing spirit, subjecting themselves to the old Spartan regime with all its simplicity. And yet, desiring to give the name of absolute power a less offensive sound, he associated with himself in royal power his brother Eucleidas. And this was the only time when the Spartans had two kings from the same house.
XII. Learning that Aratus and the Achaeans believed that this revolution had jeopardized his position, and therefore did not think that he would venture forth outside of Sparta, or leave the city while it was still in the suspense of so great an agitation, he thought it a fine and helpful thing to make a display of the ready zeal of his army to his enemies. Accordingly, he invaded the territory of Megalopolis, collected large

booty, and devastated the country far and wide. And finally arresting a company of actors who were passing through the country from Messené, he built a theatre in the enemy's territory, instituted a contest for a prize of forty minae, and sat spectator for a whole day; not that he felt the need of a spectacle, but in exultant mockery, as it were, of his enemies, and to show to the world by his contempt for them that he held com- plete control of affairs, with something, as it were, to spare. For at other times, the Spartan alone of Greek or Macedonian armies had no players in attendance, no jugglers, no dancing-girls, no harpists, but was free from every kind of licence, scurrility, and general festivity ; while for the most part the young men practised themselves and the elder men taught them, and for amusement, when their work was over, they had recourse to their wonted pleasantries and the interchange of Spartan

StaTiOenévwv. iy bé é exe TO TOLOUTOV Tis TALOLAS eldos wpéXevay, ev TO Avkoupyou Bio yéypatrrac.

XIII. Iavrwy 5' avros eyiryvero biSdoKaros,
evTEnh Kat apedt cat popricov oudev ode i vmrép
TOUS WoAXOUS éXovTa Tov éauTov Biov domep
mapaderypa ca@ppor ws ev péow Bépevos:) Kal
1 pos TAS 'EAAnuicas mpatecs pomny TiWa /Tape-
OYEV AUT@. ToOIs pev yap adRows evTuyXavovTes
ol avOpwrot Bactredowy OvY ovUTw KATETANTTOVTO
TOUS TOUTOUS Kal Tas TOAUTEAELAS, QS €Bderur-
TOVTO THY Dmrepowpiay avTav Kal Tov GyKov
TaxGas Kat TPAX ews T poo pepopevov Tots ép-
2 Tuyydvovet pos dé Knreopevn Badivovres, 8 évra
TE n Bacrréa Kal Kaoupevor, elra opavres ov
rropdtpas Twas ov YAaivas meph avTOV oudé KXEL-
vidiov kal popetwov KaTaoKevds, ove bn ayyehov
6xXov Kal Oupwpav 4 dua Ypauparetov xenwari-
Covra Kader os Kat MOMS, GNX' aurov év ipariop
TO TUYOVTL ™pos tas SeEtwooess amavTa@vta Kal
Stadeyopevov kal oayordlovta ois xpuvovorw
thapas Kal grravdpworws, éxnodvTo Kal KaTe-
SnparycoryobvTo, kat povoyv ad' "Hpaxréous éxetvov
Epacay yeyovevat.
Tov &€ detrrvwy avtod To pév xa Onpepivov Hv
év TpiKdive a podpa TVET TAAPEVOV Kal Aako-
yixov, et d5€ wpéaBeus 7) févous déxotTo, dv0 pev
aGdrat T poomapeBdddovto KAWat, pox pp dé pan
Novy ob UIrnpeTar THY Tpamelav émeh aT puvov, ov

KapuKelars Tioly oude Té“pactv, GAN waTE
apBovarépas elvac TAS mapadécers Kat prravO pw-
MoTepov Tov olvoy. Kal yap éretipnoé TVA TOV
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witticisms. Of what great advantage this sort ot amusement is, I have told in my Life of Lycurgus.!

XIII. In all these matters Cleomenes was himself a teacher. His own manner of life was simple, plain, and no more pretentious than that of the common man, and it was a pattern of self-restraint for all. This gave him a great advantage in his dealings with the other Greeks. For when men had to do with the other kings, they were not so much awed by their wealth and extravagance as they were filled with loathing for their haughtiness and pomp as they gave offensive and harsh answers to their auditors; but when men came to Cleomenes, who was a real as well as a titled king, and then saw no profusion of purple robes or shawls about him, and no array of couches and litters ; when they saw, too, that he did not make the work of his petitioners grievous and slow by employing a throng of messengers and door-keepers or by requiring written memorials, but came in person, just as he happened to be dressed, to answer the salutations of his visitors, conversing at length with those who needed his services and devoting time cheerfully and kindly to them, they were charmed and completely won over, and declared that he alone was a descendant of Heracles.

His usual supper was held in a room which had only three couches, and was very circumscribed and Spartan ; but if he was entertaining ambassadors or guest-friends, two more couches would be brought in, and the servants would make the table a trifle more brilliant, not with sauces or sweetmeats, but with more generous dishes and a kindlier wine. And indeed he censured one of his friends, when he heard

1 Chapter xii.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

‘4 > 4 4 , e “~ \ b] “
diriwy axovoas OTe Eévous éeotimy Cwpov avtois
, \ , 4 4 9 > “A
péAava Kai palav, waomep 00s Hv év Tots didu-
, , > bd fa) > , b] XN
Tiots, mapeOnKev’ ov yap edn Seiv ev rovTats ove
\ \ / / > a /
mpos tous Févous Atav axptBas RAaxwvilerv.
A ,
atrapleians 5é THS Tpatrélns elaexopileTo TpiTrous
Kpatipa xXarKobv éywv olvov peotov Kal diddras
apyupas SixorvAous bv0 Kai mornpia TOV apyu-

a 34 / , b ? 4 € S
p@v orjiya wavtatTactiy, €& wy éeivey 0 Bovdo-
pevos, axovte 5é€ ovdels aoTypioy mpooédpeper.
9 , \ #7 9% ® Ww 9 9 a ? ,
axpoapa dé ovT’ Hy ovT érelnteito’ erratdaywryer
yap autos omirta Tov TOTOY, TA pEV EpwTOV, TA
\ a a
5é Sunyovpevos, ovtre Thy amovdny andyH Tov
ACyor THy TE Tadtay eTiyapl Kal aaoXoLKOY
> / a A \ e \ A / > A
EXOVTWY. AS meV yap ot NoLTrOL TAY BactNEwv ETL
4 “
Tovs avOpwrovs Onpas érovodyTo, ypnpwact Kat
a / 3 \ \ ,
Swpeais Seredlovres avtovs Kal SiadpGetpovtes,
? , \ 297 > 7 Sd N \ ¢ ,
aTéyvous Kat adixous évouslev elvat: TO dé optdia
, fe)

kal Noym yYdpw eyorte Kal ToT otxevcodcIar
Kal mpocdyecOar Tos évtuyxdvovtas épaiveto
s ? A \ , e ? \
KdAMoTOY avT@ Kai Bactdtkwratov, ws ovdevt
4 P4 \ A a ‘\ \ ww
dirouv Ssadépovta picOwrov 7) To Tov pev Bee
‘ XO \ de e \ , LAL 0
Kat AOy@, Tov b€ UTO YpNudTwY aricKerOaL.
A e A

XIV. IIperov pév odv ot Mavtiveis avtov érn-
yayovTo, Kal vUKTwP Els THY TOALY TApELaTECOVTL
\ \ \ > ” / bf ,
Thv ppovpav thy 'Ayatwv ovvexBadovtes éveyet-
pisav avtous. o S€ kal Tovs vopmous avtois Kal
\ ,) \ > ‘ I oA >
Tv TodtTeLay atrodovs avOnpuepoy amndOev eis
Teyéav. oriyo 8 botepov éxmeprerOoy &:° *Ap-
4 / > \ \ > ~ ,

xadias naTéBawev émi tas “Ayaixas Pepas,

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that in entertaining guest-friends he had set before them the black soup and barley-bread of the public mess-tables; ‘‘ for,’ said he, “in these matters and before foreigners we must not be too strictly Spartan.” After the table had been removed, a tripod would be brought in on which were a bronze mixer full of wine, two silver bowls holding a pint apiece, and drinking cups of silver, few all told, from which he who wished might drink; but no one had a cup forced upon him. Music there was none, nor was any such addition desired; for Cleomenes entertained the company hinself by his conversation, now asking questions, now telling stories, and his discourse was not unpleasantly serious, but had a sportiveness that charmed and was free from rudeness. For the hunt which all the other kings made for men, ensnaring them with gifts and bribes and corrupting them, Cleomenes considered unskilful and unjust. In his eyes it was the noblest method, and one most fit for a king, to win over his visitors and attach them to himself by an intercourse and conversation which awakened pleasure and confidence. For he felt that a hireling differed from a friend in nothing except that the one was captured by a man’s character and conversation, the other by a man’s money.

XIV. To begin with, then, the Mantineians invited him to help them, and after he had made his way into the city by night, they expelled the Achaean garrison and put themselves in his hands. Cleomenes restored to them their laws and constitution, and on the same day marched away to Tegea. Then, shortly afterwards, he fetched a compass through Arcadia and marched down upon the Achaean city of Pherae. His

fr

Bovropevos 7 udynv Oéc8ar mpos tous 'Axatovs
4 SiaBddrew Tov” Apatov ws adrrodibpaocKovTa Kat
Mpolem“evov AUTO THY Ywpav. eoTpaTHyE: mev yap
Fs os ’ a ’ , \ a ®
TrepBatas tote, tov d€ ‘Apdrov To av tv

, 9 A > “”~ 3 , de 5 .
xpdtos év Tots "Ayatots. é£eAOovtwy dé ravdnpet
trav Axyatav cal otpatoTredevoapévwn ev Avpats
mept To ‘ExatopBatov, érecOwv o Kreopuévns
éoke péev ov Karas év péow Ths te Avpaiwv
Toews, TorAEpiAas ovaNS, Kal TOU oTpaTEvpATOS
a ? a) 95 / a“ \ 4
tav Ayaiav avr(j.icac bat, ToNwnpas 5é 1 poKandov-
pevos Tos ’Ayatols jvayxace ovpBanreiv, Kat
vuenoas KaTa Kpatos Kal Tpefrdpevos THv pa-
Nayya ToAXoUs pev ev TH payn StépOecpev abrar,
jmodAav 5€ Kal Sovrwy éxupievoev. érrerOwv 5é

Adyyou. kal trav "Ayatdv Tovs Ppovpobytas
éferaoas amédwxev Hrelors thy modu.
XV. Odtw 5é cuvrerptupévors Tois "Axatois o
pev “Apatos, etwOas map éwavrov del otparn-
yety, ameimato THY apxnv Kal wapynTncaTo Ka-
AovvT@Y Kal Seopévwy ov KadOs, olov ev Yetmave
mpaypatov peilovt, peleis éetépm Tov oiaxa
\ ? 4 e \ ,
Kal mpoéuevos thy éEovciav. o 5€ KaAécopuevns
Tp@Tov pev péeTpLa Tols Ayasois eOoxet Tpéo Reoey
émiTatrew, eétépovs b€ méumav éexédXevevy avT@
qwapac.dovat THY Hyenoviay, ws TaAAA py SL0LC0-
HEevos Tpos avTOUS, GAAA Kal ToOvs alypadwTous
9 \ ? / \ \ / / \
evOus atrodwowy Kal TA yYwpia. Bovropévwy Sé
a ? a 2 \ U4 / \ /
Tav Axaav emi rouvtois déyecOas Tas Stadvoets
\ \ / 4 > , ef
kal tov Kreopévn xarovvtwy eis Aépvay, Srrov
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desire was either to fight a battle with the Achaeans, or to bring Aratus into disrepute for running away and abandoning the country to him. For although Hyperbatas was general at that time, Aratus had the entire power inthe Achaean league. Moreover, after the Achaeans had marched out with all their forces and pitched their camp at Dymae, near the Hecatom-baeum, Cleomenes came up against them. He did not think it well, however, to pitch his own camp between the city of Dymae, which was hostile, and the army of the Achaeans, and therefore boldly challenged the Achaeans and forced them to engage. He was completely victorious, routed their phalanx, slew many of them in the battle, and took many prisoners also. Then he went up against Langon, drove out the Achaean garrison, and restored the city to the Eleians.

XV. The Achaeans having been thus utterly over- whelmed, Aratus, who was wont to be their general every other year, refused the office and declined to listen to their invitations and prayers ; thus unwisely, when the ship of state was in a heavy storm, handing over the helm to another and abandoning the post of authority. Cleomenes, on the other hand, at the first was thought to impose moderate terms upon the Achaean embassy, but afterwards he sent other en- voys and bade them hand over to him the leadership

among the Greeks, assuring them that on other points he would not quarrel with them, but would at once restore to them their captives and their strongholds.! The Achaeans were willing to settle matters on these terms, and invited Cleomenes to come to Lerna,

1 Cf. the Aratus, xxxviii. 5 f.

Thy éxxdrnotav Ewerdrov & exe, éTUXe TOV Krcopevn
guvToves odevoavTa ka no awevov Tapa KaLpov
tdporrocia aiwatos wribes _dveveyxeiv Kal THY
hoviay aTroKon jvat, 510 TOY pev aX padorov
amr émeure tots 'Axatois Tous emipavea Tatovs,
Tov d€ avAAOyov UTEpOéuevos aveyapynoey «eis
Aaxedaipova.
XVI. Toto SveAupyvaro Ta mpdryyara THS
'EdAd6os, dpdis yé mows éx TOV TapovT@v avana-
Bety autny és cal Sstaduyeiv THY Makedovev
UBpw kal meovefiav duvapevns. O yap "Aparos,
eire amtoctia Kal poBop TOU Kreopevous, cite
PO ovéav euTUXobVTL Tap énmiéa Kat vouilon é érn
Tpia Kal TpidKovTa TPWTEVOVTOS avtov Servov
elvat thy Sokav dua Kal Thy Ovvapty émipuyta
véov avbpa xabeheiv, Kal TwaparaPeiv T payLaT@v
nv&npeveov Ur autov Kat KEKpAaTnLEVoV Xpovev
TOTOUTOY apxXnVv, WpaTov pev émretparo TOUS
"Axasovs TrapaBidlecGat Kal Siaxwdverw ws Sé
ov Tm poo eixov QUT@ TOU Kreopevous exTreT ANY-
pévor TO Opacos, ara Kal Sixaiay érrotobvTo
THY akimot TOV Aaxesatpovioy, els TO maT pLov
oXhpwa Koo LoUvTw@DV THY TleAomovyncor, TpéMeTaL
Tm pos Epryov ovdevt pev TOV "EAAnVOV T™poonKoy,
aicxXvoTov & éxeivp xat tov tet aypevery or
avtov kal TetroNTevpévov avatiwratoy, 'Avti-
yovoy emt thy 'EAAdéba Karey cat Maxedovor
eumimAdvar TH Ilehorrovynaor, ods autos ék
TleAorrovy cov petpaxcov av éfnhacev éevepar-
oas TOV 'AxpoxoptvOov, Kal tao | paY Tois Ba-
othevow Urontos Kat Suddopos yevomevos, TovTove
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where they were about to hold their assembly.
But it fell out that Cleomenes, who had made a
strenuous march and then too soon had drunk water,
brought up a great quantity of blood and lost his
speech. For this reason he sent back to the
Achaeans the most prominent men among their
captives, but postponed the conference and went back
home to Sparta.

XVI. This ruined the cause of Greece, at a time when she was still able in some way or other to recover from her grievous plight and escape Macedo- nian greed and insolence. For Aratus (whether it was through distrust and fear of Cleomenes, or because he envied the king his unlooked for success, and thought it a terrible thing after three and thirty years of leadership to have his own fame and power stripped from him by an upstart of a young man, and the authority taken over in a cause which he himself had built up and controlled for so long a time), in the first place tried to force the Achaeans aside and hinder their purpose ; but when they paid no heed to him in their consternation at the daring spirit of Cleomenes, but actually saw justice in the demands of the Lacedaemonians, who were seeking to restore the Peloponnesus to its ancient status, Aratus took a step which would have been unmeet for any Greek to take, but was most shameful for him and most unworthy of his career as soldier and statesman. For he invited Antigonus into Greece and filled the Peloponnesus with Macedonians, whom he himself had driven out of Peloponnesus when, as a young man, he delivered Acrocorinthus from their power ! —he who had incurred the suspicion and hostility of all the reigning kings, and of this very Antigonus had

1 §ee the Aratus, xvi. ff. 83

Ga 2

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

dé avurov “ApvTiyovoy elonKkas Kana pupia &° ov

4 dm oNEdou Trev DTOMNMATwD. Kaitou TOAAG Tabety Kal mapaBaréabat gyoly avros uTrép 'AOnvaiwr, S7res a) TONS amranrraryein ppoupas calMaxedover: elra TOUTOUS émrl THY marpisa, cal THY éoTiav THY éavTov pe? StrAwv elonyayev ay pt Tis yuvaicavi- TLS0s' Tov dé ap ‘Hpaxdéous yeyovora Kal Baot- 812 AevovTa SraptTiatov, Kal THv TAT pLov ToALTeLay, BoTeEp appwoviav exAehuperny, davaxpovopevovaddis ert TOV cwppova Kat Awptov € €XELVOY TOU Avxoup- you vouov Kal Biov, ovx n&iov LiKvaviey 7 Hryewova

5 Kal Tpetacéov ypaperOau, pevyov be TH pavay
Kal Tov TpiBova, kal To Sewvotatov wy KaTnyopet
KAcomévous, avaipecty wrovTOU Kal Tevias érap-
opbwaw, S:adnpate xal Toppupa kat Make-
Sovixois kal caTpariKois TpooTdypacty breéppirpe
pera THS "Ayalas avrov, iva pn Krcopeéver ToLety
Soh TO TpOTTATTOMEVOY, ‘Avtuyovea Ovov Kat
Tatavas adwv autos eatepaveapwevos ets AvO pwtrov

U7r0 $0ns KATAONTOMEVOY.

6 6 6’AAAd tTaitTa pev atx “Aparou Bovdopevor
KaTmyopeiv ypadopev (ép Trodnois yap 0 avnp
ovtos ‘EAAnviKOS yéyove Kal péyas), oixTetpovres
b¢ TIS avOpomivns pucews Thy acbéveray, et nde
év nbecww ovTWS aktoroyors Kal Stapopors pos
apeTny sig gd Suvatat TO KaXOv dvepéanrov.
XVII. EN Oovtev 6é Ayarav ets “A pyos avbus
éml Tov avAXNOYoV Kal TOD Krcopévous éx Teryéas
cataBeBnxoros éArris ny TONAH Tov avOpwrav
éveaIat THV OudAvowr. 0 68 "A patos, 76n Sto p0-
Noynwéevav avT@ mpos tov ‘“Avtiyovoy Tov pe-
84

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

said countless evil things in the commentaries which he left behind him. And still, though he had incurred many hardships and dangers in behalf of Athens, as he says himself, in order that the city might be set free from its garrison of Macedonians, he afterwards brought these Macedonians, under arms, into his own country and into his own home; aye, even into the apartments of his women ;! but he would not consent that the man who was a descen- dant of Heracles and king of Sparta, and was seeking to bring its ancient polity, now like a decadent melody, back again to that restrained and Dorian law and life which Lycurgus had instituted, should be entitled leader of Sicyon and Tritaea. Instead of this, to avoid the Spartan barley-bread and short-cloak, and the most dreadful of the evils for which he denounced Cleomenes, namely, abolition of wealth and restora- tion of poverty, he cast himself and all Achaea down before a diadem, a purple robe, Macedonians, and oriental behests. And that he might not be thought to obey Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to Antigonus and sang paeans himself, with a garland on his head, in praise of a man who was far gone with consumption.

1 write this, however, not with any desire to
denounce Aratus, for in many ways he was a true
Greek and a great one, but out of pity for the weak-
ness of human nature, which, even in characters so
notably disposed towards excellence, cannot produce
a nobility that is free from blame.
XVII. When the Achaeans came to Argos again
for the conference, and Cleomenes had come down
from Tegea, there was strong hope that the two men
would come to an agreement. But Aratus, since the
most important questions between him and Antigonus
1 See the Aratus, xlix. 1. 8«

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

/ 4 ‘ f A 4
yiotwv, poBovpevos tov Knreouevn pn travTa
4 v4 \ A A A
Ssampakentar KxaboutrAnocas To TAROOs H Kal
Bvacdpevos, 7Eiov AaBovtTa TpLaKocious opnpous
fovoy éiolévat Mpos avTOUS, 7 KATA yupYdoLoy
w” \ 4 ‘4 \ fol
éEwOev tro KudndapaBtov apoceNOovta peta TIS
2 duvapuews SiaréyecOar. tavr’ axovoas o K2eo-
/ v7 , 4 a twa a)
pévns Adina macxew Epacke Selv yap evOds
auT@® TOTE MpoeTEty, OV VUY, HKOVTOS eT TAS
Ovpas tas éxelvwv, amioteiv Kal amedavverv.
ypawas 5€ wept TovTwy émicToAnY mpos TOUS
’ ? = ‘ a : , ,
Axyatovs, is jv TO WAeloTOV ’Apdtouv KaTnyopia,
morrad S€ xal tod "Apdtov Aotbopnaavtos avTov
\ \ A > lA \ lA \ ,
mpos TO TWANOOS, avelevEe Sia TaxXéwv Kai KnpvKa
TOAELOV TpoepodvTa Tos ’Axatois Emeurpev, ovK
eis “Apryos, adr’ eis Alytov, as dnow “Aparos,
Strws POdon THY TWapacKeuny avTov.
A a \
3 ‘Kyeyovee 6¢ xivnua tav ’Ayaiov, nal mpos
a 4
amocTacw @ppnoav ai qodes, Tov pev Shpov
vounv Te Ywpas Kal ypeav aTroKoTras éhiricavTwV,
ce) A ww
tov dé mpwtev trodAXaxov Bapyvopévwr Tov Apa-
tov, éviwv é Kal Sv dpyns éxovTwv ws érayovTa
a , ‘4 \ , b
Th IleXorrovynow Maxedovas. 610 TovTows érrap-
Oels o Knreopévns eis "Ayalav évéBare Kal
a \ / b , b 4
mpwrov pev elre TlerArnvnv éEativyns émiteocov,
kat tovs dpovpovyvtas é€éBare Tav ‘Ayatov’ }
peta 5€ Tavdta Devedy mpoonyayeto nal Ilevte-
4 Neo. erred d€ hoByOevtes ot "Ayatol mpodociay
Tia wpattopevny év KopivO@ nat uxvare tovs
1 ray’ Axatav with Blass: pera ray "Axara.
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had already been settled, and because he was afraid

that Cleomenes would carry all his points by either winning over or constraining the multitude, demanded that Cleomenes, after receiving three hundred hostages, should come into the city alone for his conference with them, or else should come with his army as far as the gymnasium outside the city called Cyllarabium, and treat with them there. When Cleomenes heard this, he declared that he had been wronged ; for he ought to have been told of this when the conference was first proposed, and not be distrusted and driven away now, when he had come to their very doors. Then, after writing a letter to the Achaeans on the matter, most of which was denunciation of Aratus, and after Aratus on his part had abused him at great length to the multitude, Cleomenes broke camp with all speed and sent a herald to declare war upon the Achaeans, not to Argos, but to Aegium, in order, as Aratus says, that he might anticipate their preparations for defence.!

Now, there had been agitation among the Achaeans, and their cities were eager for revolt, the common people expecting division of land and abolition of debts, and the leading men in many cases being dissatisfied with Aratus, and some of them also enraged at him for bringing Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Therefore Cleomenes, encouraged by these conditions, invaded Achaea. First, he took Pellené by a sudden assault, and drove out the Achaean garrison ; next, he brought over to his cause Pheneus and Penteleium. Presently the Achaeans, who were afraid that some treachery was afoot in Corinth and

1 Cf. the Aratus, xxxix.

immets nai rous Eévous améaotetnkav &€& "Apyous éxet mapapuAdkovtas, avtol 5¢ ra Névera xata-Badvres eis "Apyos iryov, éArrioas, Sirep hy, o Krcoueévns, GyXov tmaynyupixod Kal Oeatav thy ToAtv yé"oucayv ampoadoxntas émeOav padrov tapakew, vuxtos tye mpos Ta TEelyn TO oTpa-Tévpa, Kal Tov mept thy 'Aorida ToTov KaTa-AaBwv vrép tov Oedtpov yarerov ovTa Kal Suvampocodov ottws tovs avOpwrous é&érdnkev @oTe pndéva TparrécOat mpos addKnv, adddga Kal dhpovpay NaBeiv, cai Sovvat TOY TOALTA@Y O-NpoOUS elxoot, Kal yevécOar cuppdyovs Aaxedaipoviwy,

EXoVTOS ExEelvou THY HYyEpLoViaV.
XVIII. Ov puxpov odv todto cat mpos Sokav
avT@ cal Sivamw imnpyev. ote yap of wddat
Baotreis Aaxedatpoviwy roAAa mpaypatevod-
pevot mpocayayécbat To “Apyos BeBaiws nduvn-
Onoav, & te Seuvotatos TaY otpatnyav Ilvppos
eiceXOav kai Bracdpevos ov xatéoye THY TOMY,
aX anéBave kal Todv ovvdiehOdpn pépos avT@
THs Suvapews. SOev eOavpaloy tHv o€uTnta Kal
Stavoray Tod KXeopévous: at ot mporepoy avtod
Tov Yorwva nat Tov AvKodpyov atoutmnoacbat
packovres év TH THY xXpEe@v adécer Kal TH TOV
KTNLATOV EELTMOEL KATAYENDVTES, TOTE TAVTENDS
éretGovto TodTo aitiov yeyovévat THS TEpt TOUS
Lraptidtas petaBorhs. oltTw yap émpattov Td
mpiv TaTrewa Kai Bonbeiv aitois aduvdtas elyov,
@ore TévTe pupiddas avdpatodwy éuBadrovras eis
thv Aaxwvixny AitwArovs atrayayeiv, Ste hacly
eimely tia Tov mpecBuTépwv XraptiaTav ws
a@Vnoav ot troréutor THY AaxwuKny arroxoudi-
88

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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Sicyon, sent their horsemen and their mercenaries out of Argos to keep watch over those cities, while they themselves went down to Argos and began celebrating the Nemean games. So Cleomenes, expecting, as was the case, that while the throng was holding festival and the city was full of spectators, his unexpected approach would be more apt to cause confusion, led his army by night up to the walls, occupied the region about the Aspis overlooking the theatre, a region which was rugged and hard to come at, and so terrified the inhabitants that not a man of them thought of defence, but they accepted a garrison and gave twenty citizens as hostages, agreeing to become allies of the Lacedaemonians, and to give Cleomenes the chief command.

XVIII. This greatly increased the reputation and power of Cleomenes. For the ancient kings of Sparta, in spite of numerous efforts, were not able to secure the abiding allegiance of Argos; and the most formidable of generals, Pyrrhus, although he fought his way into the city, could not hold it, but was slain there, and a great part of his army perished with him.! Therefore men admired the swiftness and intelligence of Cleomenes ; and those who before this had mocked at him for feebly imitating, as they said, Solon and Lycurgus in the abolition of debts and the equaliza- tion of property, were now altogether convinced that this imitation was the cause of the change in the Spartans. For these were formerly in so low a state and so unable to help themselves, that Aetolians invaded Laconia and took away fifty thousand slaves. It was at this time, we are told, that one of the elder Spartans remarked that the enemy had helped Sparta

1 See the Pyrrhus, xxxii. ff.

4 cavTes. _OMbyou be povou bre GovTos ayypdpevor
povov Tov maTpiov éO av ral KATATTAVTES eds
iyvos éxeivns Ths dyayhs, Oorep mapovrt eat
TUMTPOALTEVOMEV YD TO Avoupye ToD émiderEcy
avbpeias émTotouvTo Kai meBapyias, THY THS
“EAXAd6os avahapBavovres nryepoviay ™ Aaxe-
daipove Kal dvaxt@pevos Thy TleXotrovynaoy.
XIX. ‘Earwxoros 5¢”Apyous cal KATOTLW evOus
m poo Gewevey TO Krcopuever Krewvev Kal Pr.-
ovvTos, eTUYXaveE pev o “Apatos év Kopivdy ToLov-
HEVOS TWA TOV Aeyouevey Aakwvi lew éFéracw:
aryyedas be Tept TOUTWY TpooTer ovens Siatapay-
Geis Kal THY TON arroxMvouaay aia Bopevos T POS
TOV Krcopevn Kal TOV "Ayaav amarrayivar
Bovropevny, éxdnrer pev els TO Bovdeutnprov TOUS
TodiTas, érabe 6é doc Bov axpe THS TUANS.
éxel 5€ tod tmmov TpoaaxGevtos avaBas épuyer
2 els Lixcvova. TOV dé KopwGier Gpiddopevov
els “Apyos mpos TOV Kr«opevn pnatv) "Apatos
Tous imous TavTas payivat, TOV 5é KrXcopévn
pémperar TOUS Kopiw@iovs 7 cvrddaBovras
avrov, adn’ édgavras Srapuryeiv: ov pv adrXria
Kal T pos avtov éAeiy Meytorovouy Tapa Tov
Kyreopévous Seopevou maparafeiv TOV "Ax pokopwy-
Oov 0 yap ppoupay ’"Ayaov) Kal TONG, xPIi-
para Sovtos: amroxpivac Oat be QUTOV ws OUK
exer Ta Tparypara, parrov dé Ud TOY Tpayearov
avTos éyeTal’ TadTa MeV 0 “Aparos yeypa ev.
3 ‘Oée Krcopevns €x TOU “Apyous éeTmeN Cov Kal
Tpocaryaryopevos Tportnvious, "Emdaupious, “Ep-
pLovéas, Hyecev ELS KopevOov- Kat THY pev axkpav
meptexapaxwoe, Tov ‘'Ayatay ov Bovropévov
go

by lightening her burden. But now only a little time had elapsed, and they had as yet barely resumed their native customs and re-entered the track of their famous discipline, when, as if before the very eyes of Lycurgus and with his co-operation, they gave abun- dant proof of valour and obedience to authority, by recovering the leadership of Hellas for Sparta and making all Peloponnesus their own again.

XIX. Thus Argos was taken by Cleomenes, and immediately afterwards Cleonae and Phlius came over to him. When this happened, Aratus was at Corinth, holding a judicial examination of those who were reputed to favour the Spartan cause. The unexpected tidings threw him into consternation, and perceiving that the city was leaning towards Cleomenes and wished to be rid of the Achaeans, he summoned the citizens into the council-hall, and then slipped away unnoticed to the city gate. There his horse was brought to him, and mounting it he fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were so eager to get to Cleomenes at Argos that, as Aratus says, all their horses were ruined. Aratus says also that Cleomenes upbraided the Corinthians for not seizing him, but letting him escape; however, Megistonoiis came to him, he says, bringing from Cleomenes a request for the surrender of Acrocorinthus (which was held by an Achaean garrison) and an offer of a large sum of money for it; to which he replied that he did not control affairs, but rather affairs controlled him. This is what Aratus writes.

But Cleomenes, marching up from Argos and
taking over Troezen, Epidaurus, and Hermioné, came
to Corinth. Its citadel he blockaded, since the
Achaeans would not abandon it, and after summon-
QI

exdurreiv, tov oé€ 'Apdrou Tovs pidous kal Tous
em UTPOTrOUS peTaTreLapevos éxéNevoe THY OiKiay
Kal Ta Xpnuara ha Sovras purdrrewy Kal dvorxety.
4 Tpetupadrov dé mdadsy TOV Mecanvioy améaTetne
pos autov, aki uTo TOV "Axacdy Kat TOV
Aaxedatpoviov opod pudarreaOa TOV "AK poko-
pwv8or, idia 5é To 'Apat@ Sudip eTrary'YENKOMEVOS
THY obvragw AS éAapBave Tapa II todepatov TOU
Bactréws. émel dé o "Aparos ovx UMHKOUCED,
GNAA TOV TE vioY _erreppe TOs TOV 'Aptiyovov
peTa TOV adwv ounpav Kab vngicacBat TOUS
"Ayatovs émreoev 'Avtuyovm mapadioovat TOV
"AxpoxoptvOor, oUTwWS 0 Krcopévas THY Te Yexu-
wviav éuBarov érropOnce, Kal Ta XpnwaTa TOU
"A patov, tav Kopwiiov alte wndicapévon,
Swpeav EXaBe.
XX. Tod &é "Apreyovou peta TOMAS Suvdpews
THY Tepdvevav vmepBdadXovTos ouK @eto Seiv Tov |
"ToO pov, ddAXa Ta "Overa Napaxwoas wa TeLxioas !
guratreay, Kat TOTFOMAX GY amor piBecBae TOUS |
M axedovas MGXXov 7 Y cupTréKeo Gat T pos parayya
cunoKnweny. Kal TOVTOLS Xpepevos Tots Aoyir-
2 mois els drropiay cabiarn TOV "Avriyovov. OuUTE
yap otTov elev éx TapacKevis ie avon, ouTE
Biacacbat TV mapocor, xaOnpevou tov Kyeo-

pevous, hy pasdior: emixerpnaas be mapadverGar
dua Tov Aexatou VUKTOS ebémece Kal TwWas amréBare
TOV OTPATLWTOY, dare TavTaTract Gappio at TOV
Krcopévy Kal Tous Tepl auTov ern ppevous 7H 814
vinn tpatréa Oar 7 pos. TO deirvop, adupeiv dé Tov
‘Avtiyovov ELS OUK evTropous KaTaKheLopevov vmod
3 THs avayKnns Roytopovs. éBovreveTo yap én

Q2

_—

ing the friends and stewards of Aratus, ordered them to take the house and property of Aratus into their charge and management. Then he sent Tritymallus the Messenian once more to Aratus, proposing that Acrocorinthus should be garrisoned by Achaeans and Lacedaemonians together, and promising Aratus personally double the stipend which he was receiving from King Ptolemy.! Aratus, however, would not listen to the proposition, but sent his son to Antigonus along with the other hostages, and persuaded the Achaeans to vote the surrender of Acrocorinthus to Antigonus. Therefore Cleomenes invaded the territory of Sicyon and ravaged it, and accepted the property of Aratus when the Corinthians voted it to him as a gift.

XX. When Antigonus with a large force was crossing the mountain-range of Geraneia, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify thoroughly, not the Isthmus, but the Oneian range of hills, and to wear out the Macedonians by a war of posts and positions, rather than to engage in formal] battle with their disciplined phalanx. He carried out this plan, and thereby threw Antigonus into straits. For he had not a sufficient store of provisions, and it was no easy matter to force his passage while Cleomenes sat entrenched. Moreover, when he attempted to slip past his enemy in the night by way of Lechaeum, he was driven out and lost some of his soldiers, There- fore Cleomenes was altogether encouraged, and his men, elated by their victory, betook themselves to supper; but Antigonus was dejected, since he was shut up by necessity to difficult plans. For he was

1 Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, king of Egypt 247-222 B.c. See the Aratus, xli. 3.

TY axpay avalevyvivas TO ‘Hpaiov KaxeiBey eis
Lixvdva Wrolow Tepadoas THY Siva 8 Kal
“povou ToANOU Kat (mapacKevis HY ov THS TUXOU-
ons. 6n dé 7 pos éomépay Hov é& “ Apyous Kara
Oddarrav dvdpes "Apdrov piror, KadovyTes aUTOY
aS adiorapévev TOY "Apyetov tov Kvreopévous.
o 6é TpatTTov iy THY amoaTacw “Aptororedns:
Kal TO TAGs ov Xarerras érreicev, aryavaxTooy
ort Xpedy GToKOTAS OUK emoing ev auTots o Ke0-
pevns éXrrigact. AaBov ovv o “Apatos Tap
‘Avteyovou oTpaTL@ras XiALous wal WevTAaKoaious
Tapémevaev els ’Ezridaupov. 0 5é ‘Aptatotedns
€xelvov ov TE pLeMEvED, aAXa Tous ToMTas Tapa-
raBov T poce“axero Tois ppoupodat THY axpo-
ToAlW Kal tTraphny var Tipofevos META TOY
"Ayatav éx Sexvavos BonOav.
XXI. Tadra rept devtépav PvAraKHY THS VUKTOS
daKxovaas 0 Krcopéevns peTeTeuyaro Meytorovour,
Kal 7 pos dpyiy exéhevoev evOus eis “Apyos BonGeiv
0 yap vrép TOV "Apysiov padora KATATILOTO-
TAPeEVOS T pos avrov éxelvos Ty, Kal Svexa Avo ev
éxBarely Tous UmromTous. amoNvaas ovv TOV
Meytorovouy peta dio xtAtoov OTpaTioTay QvTOS
Mpoceive TH “Avtiyorg, Kat Tovs _Kopw8 ious
mapeO appuvev @S ovdevos peyarou mept To “Apyos,
adda Tapaxis TLVOS amr ’ avO pwtrov OAL YOU yeyern-
pevns. émret 5€ 0 Meytorovous TE TApELa TET OV
els TO “A pyos avnpebn pax opevos Kat poryts avt-
etyov ot ppovpol Kal SterépmovTo TUXVOUS 7 pos
TOV Krcopevn, poRnbels py) TOD “Apyous Ol TroNé-
plot KpaTnoayvtTes Kal Tas Tapodous aTrOKAELTAaYTES
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planning to march off to the promontory of the
Heraeum, and from there to put his army across to
Sicyon in transports—an undertaking requiring much
time and extraordinary preparations. But when it
was already towards evening, there came to him
from Argos by sea some friends of Aratus, who sum-
moned him to the city, on the ground that the
Argives were ready to revolt from Cleomenes. The
author of the revolt was Aristotle; and the multitude
were easy to persuade, being incensed because

Cleomenes had not brought about the abolition of debts which they expected. Accordingly, Aratus took fifteen hundred soldiers from Antigonus and sailed to Epidaurus. Aristotle, however, did not await his coming, but at the head of the citizens made an attack upon the garrison of the citadel ; and Timoxenus came to his aid from Sicyon with the Achaean army.

XXI. It was about midnight when Cleomenes heard of these things, and summoning Megistonoiis, he angrily ordered him to go at once to Argos with assistance; for it was Megistonoiis who had given him most assurances of the fidelity of the Argives, and had thereby prevented him from expelling the suspected citizens. After sending off Megistonaiis, then, with two thousand soldiers, he himself kept watch upon Antigonus and tried to encourage the Corinthians, telling them that there was no great trouble at Argos, but only a slight disturbance made by a few men. However, when Megistonoiis, who had made his way into Argos, was slain in battle, and the garrison held out with difficulty and kept sending frequent messengers to Cleomenes, he was afraid that if the enemy made themselves masters of

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avtol TropOacww adeas thy Aaxwvixny Kai TodLop-
K@ot THY Lraptyy Epnpov ovaay, atiryev €x Kopiv-
Jov To orpatevpa. Kal tavTns péev EvOus éeorépnto
THS Worews elaeAOovtos "Avtiyovou xal ppovpav
Katactncavros: émtBarwv 5é TO Apyet KaTa TO
Telos émre xelpnoe per elaréoOar kal ouvert peer
éx Ths Topeias THY Svvapmuy, sisi a dé Tas VITO
nv “Aorida vraridas avé8n nat ovvémke Trois
évdov rt mpos Tovs 'Axatovs avtTéxovat, Kal Tav
évTos évia KNipaxas TpocGels KaTéXaBe, Kal Tovs
TTEVOTOUS Epynpovs TroAEuLwY erroinae, TOIS BéAECt
ypynoacbat mpoatdagtas tous Kpfras. ws 66 Kat-
eide Tov Avriyovoy aio THY akpwy Eis TO TredtoY
xkataBaivovra peTa THS Padrayyos, TOUS Sé imareis
non pudnv éXavvovtas eis THY TOALY, aTéyvo
Kpatnoev Kal cvvayayov amavtas mpos avTov
adaparas xatéBn Kal wapda TO TELyos amrndAAaT-
TETO, peyiaT@y pev ev édX\ayYioT@ xpovep mpay-
patoy emiKpaTnoas, Kal META pLxpov OANS oMov
TL pad mepiodm Iledorrovyncov xuptos yevéoOar

Sejoas, Taxyv 8 avis éexrrec@y aravtwy. ot péev
yap ev0ds amrexopnoay avtod TOY aTpaTEevoLéven,
of Sé dAiyor Uatepov TO 'Avtiyovm Tas ToAELS
TapeowKav.
XXII. Oitw & adt@ wempayore Kata tH
otTpateiay Kal arayayovte thy Siva, éotrépas
non wept Teyéav adixovto tives ex Aaxedaipovos
oux éXaTToOva THS év Yepat dvotvyxiap amayyén-
Novtes, TeOvavat THV yuvaixa, ds HY ovdé Tats
mavu KaTopOoupévars éxeivos évexaptépes oTpa-
Telats, GAAA auveyas KatéBatvey eis Yrdpamy,

Argos and shut up the passes, they might ravage at will the Laconian territory and lay siege to Sparta, which he had left without defenders. He therefore led his army away from Corinth. This city was at once lost to him, for Antigonus entered it and set a garrison there; but Cleomenes, on reaching Argos, made an attempt to scale the walls, and with this in view drew his forces together from their march, and cutting his way through the tunnels running under the Aspis, or citadel, he made the ascent and effected a junction with his garrison inside, which was still holding out against the Achaeans. He actually got possession of some portions of the city by using scaling-ladders, and cleared the streets of the enemy by bringing his Cretan archers into action. But when he saw Antigonus with his phalanx descending from the heights into the plain, and his horsemen already streaming into the city, he gave up trying to master it; and gathering all his troops about him he made his way safely down from the citadel and with- drew along past the city wall. He had made the greatest possible conquests in the briefest possible time, and had come within a little of making himself master of all Peloponnesus by a single march through it, but had quickly lost everything again. For some of his allies left him at once, and others after a little while handed their cities over to Antigonus.

XXII. Such was the result of his expedition, and he was leading his ,army home, when, as it was already evening and he was near Tegea, messengers from Sparta came with tidings of a fresh and even greater calamity, the death of his wife. It was because of her that even in his most successful campaigns he could not endure to the end, but would

épayv THs ‘Ayidridos Kat mept wNelo Tou Towov-
HEVOS éxelyny. érdynyn ev ody Kal HAYNCEY, ws
eixos Tv véov dvdpa Kaddiorns Kal owpove-
oTATNS adnpnpevov yuvatkos: ov pay KaTHS vey
ovoe TponkaTo TH wader TO ppovnpa Kal TO
péyeOos Tis puyiis, 4 GvXAa Kal doviy cai oX Twa.

Kal popdiy év @ TMpoTepov | elev 70eu Sagurar-
TOV TA TE MpooTayyaTa Tots nryewooty édidou Kal
Tepl THiS. aapaneias TOV Teyeat av éhpovtiter.
Gua 5é€ nuépa xatéBawvev els Aaxedaipova, Kat
peTa THS pnTpos olKot Kal TOY Tmaidwv drrady7-
cas To wévOos evOds Fv év Trois wept TaV GrAwY
Aoylo Lots.
"Erret 5é Il roAepatos 0 THS Alytmrou Bactnrevs
emaryyeXRopevos avuT@ Bond eva nfiov | raBetv
Gunpa TOUS maisas Kal THY pntépa, Xpovov pey
ouxvov NO YUVETO ppacas Th nT pl, Kat TOAAAKLS
elo eh Oo Kal 7 pos auTe yevopevos TO OY
KATETLOT ITED, @oTE KaKkelyny Umrovoeip Kal tra ih
TOY pidov avrob StarruvOdver Oar By Te KaToKvEl
Bovdopevos evtuxeiy aur ih. TédXos O€ TOD Kreo-
pévous ATOTOAMNT AVTOS elmeiv, eeyédace Te peya
Kal, “Tovdro Hv, elev, ‘5 TOAAGKLS opunaas
Aeyety amedethiacas; ov Garrov npas vO éuevos
els m hotov amroareneis, dirov MOTE TH 2ndpry
voulfers TO capa TobTo Xpyoymwwrarov écecOat,
mptv wre YIpwos avrob Kan pevov ScarvOfvar; ’ ”
Ilavtwy ody éroipoy yevopevor adixovto pev
eis Tatvapov meth kal mpouTeprpey n Sivapss
avrous éy Tous Sirdous* Hédovea dé Tis VES
értBalvery 7) v) Kparnoixdea TOV Krcouevn pLovoy
ets Tov vewy Tov Tlocedavos amnyarye, Kal Tept-
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

continually be coming home to Sparta, out of love for Agiatis and in supreme devotion to her. Of course, then, he was smitten with grief, as was natural for a young man who had lost a most beautiful and most sensible wife, but he did not allow his suffering to shame or betray the loftiness of his thought or the greatness of his spirit. He maintained his usual speech, dress, and bearing, gave the customary orders to his captains, and took thought for the safety of Tegea. Next morning he returned to Sparta, and after duly mourning his loss with his mother and children at home, he at once engaged in the measures which he planned for the public good.

Now, Ptolemy the king of Egypt promised him aid and assistance, but demanded his mother and his children as hostages. For a long time, therefore, he was ashamed to tell his mother, and though he often went to her and was at the very point of letting her know, he held his peace, so that she on her part became suspicious and enquired of his friends whether there was not something which he wished to impart to her but hesitated to do so. Finally, when Cleomenes plucked up courage to speak of the matter,

his mother burst into a hearty laugh and said: “ Was this the thing which thou wast often of a mind to tell me but lost thy courage? Make haste, put me on board a vessel, and send this frail body wheresoever thou thinkest it will be of most use to Sparta, before old age destroys it sitting idly here.”

Accordingly, when all things were ready, they came to Taenarus by land, while the army escorted them under arms. And as Cratesicleia was about to embark, she drew Cleomenes aside by himself into the temple of Poseidon, and after embracing and kissing

“Of

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PLUTARCR’S LIVES

Banrotca Kal KaTacTracapeéevy dtadyoovra Kal oup-
6 TeTaparyuevon, “Ae,” ettrev, ““@ Bacired Aaxe-
Satpovior, 6 Gres, étrav é&w yevaruela, pndels dn
Saxpvovtas 7pbas pnde avd£ tov TL THS Sardprns
movobvtas. TobTo yap ép piv povov: ai TuxXaL
bé, bras dv 6 daipwy 656, tapes.” taidTa &
emodoa eal KaTaoThoaca TO Tpoownov, énl THY
vaiv éxwper TO matoiov € éxovca, kal did Taxous
éxéNevoev amraipew TOV xuBepynrny. émrel 5é eis
Alyurrov adixero Kal Tov Irodenaiov émvdeto
Noyous wap’ Avtuyovou Kal mpecBeias Seyopevoy,
mept O€ Tov Knr«opevous jeoucer bt, av Axaray
T pokadoupevay avtov eis Stadvoers, poBotro be
éxelyny avev TItoXepaiou xataBécbar Tov tode-
pov, érréarerdev avT@ Ta TH Lrdpry TpéeTTovTa
Kal cuppépovTa mpatrew cal pn dad piav ypaiy
Kal madaptov d ael bediévae IItoAcuaiov. aitn pév
ovy Trapa Tas TUXaS TOLAUTN Aéyerar yeyerfjo an.
XXIII. Tod de “Avtuyovou Teyéav pev Trapana-
Bovtos, ‘Opxopevor dé xal Mavtiverav S.apma-
TaAvTOs, éls auThy THY Aakwvenny TUvETTAAMEVOS
o Krcopévns trav péev etrotay Tors TevTE pas
"ATTUKAS xataBanovtas edevBépous érroiet Kal
TaNAYTA TEVTAKOTLA owenee, Suxedtous dé T™ poo
Kabotrricas Maxedounas dyritayya Tois Trap
“Avteyovov AEvKdOTLALY, € €pyov ent vouv Barrera
péya Kal mao. ampoadonntov. 1% MeydXn mons
hy wev Tore kal Kal? éautny ovdév tt petoy ode
aadevertépa THS Aaxebainovos, elye 5€ TH amo
tov ‘Axyaav Kal tov ’Avtiyovouv Bonfevav, éy
maupais Kabefouévov Kar doxodvros umd TOV

"Ayatav émixexrdAnocbar pddtota tav Meyando-
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

him in his anguish and deep trouble, said: ‘Come, O king of the Lacedaemonians, when we go forth let no one see us weeping or doing anything unworthy of Sparta. For this lies in our power, and this alone ; but as for the issues of fortune, we shall have what the Deity may grant.’* ‘After saying this, she composed her countenanc# and proceeded to the ship with her little grandson, end bade the captain put to sea with all speed. And WHen_ she was come to Egypt, and learned that Ptolemy was entertaining embassies and proposals from Antigonus, end heard that although the Achaeans invited Clzomenes to make terms with them, he was afraid on {rez atcount to end the war without the consent of Ptolemy, she sent word to him that he must do what was fitting and advantageous for Sparta, and not, because of one |

old woman and a little boy, be ever in fear of a

Ptolemy. Such, then, as we are told, was the bearing
of Cratesicleia in her misfortunes.
XXIII. After Antigonus had taken Tegea by siege, and had surprised Orchomenus and Mantineia, Cleomenes, now reduced to the narrow confines of Laconia, set free those of the Helots who could pay down five Attic minas (thereby raising a sum of five hundred talents), armed two thousand of them in Macedonian fashion as an offset to the White Shields of Antigonus, and planned an undertaking which was great and entirely unexpected. Megalopolis was at that time of itself fully as large and strong as Sparta, and could have assistance from the Achaeans and from Antigonus; for Antigonus was encamped near by, and it was thought that the Megalopolitans were chiefly responsible for his being called in by the

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3 moMTaY orovdacdrTw. TAUTHY Saprdcat dia-
vonbeis 6 Krcopévns (ov yap. oti o paddov
Gouxe TO Taxy kal ar pogdoxnrov éxeivns TAS
mpafews), 7 LEp@v méevre. gitta Aa Beiv Kedevoas
éEnye thy Svvapy emt may Leraciav ws THY
"A pyohueny Kaxoupyifegsy’ éxeiOev 5é xataBas
érl Hv MeyanromoNurixny Kal Sevrrvorroinad -
HEvos jwept TO, “Pai pecov evs emopeveTo THY 5:
4 ‘Edxobytos én: any TmOMy" aToTX@v 5’ ov modw
Tavréa .peV “.ggovra S00 taypata Tov Aaxedac-
povio, amaTetnre, cataraBed bar Kedevoas peco-
Tupyow, O° TaY TEevyav épnporatoy elvat Tots
MeytAprontrats érruvOdvero, TH 5€ addy Suvdpee
.gXehatas emncorovder. TOU bé Tlavtéws ou povov
. eelvoy TOV ToTroOD, adra Kai TONY HEpos TOU

*, “Ltelyous advhaxrov eUpovtos, kal Ta pev Kabat- “ podvros evd us, TA bé Siacxdmrovtos, Tav 5é dpov-

pov ols évéTuxe TAVTas aTroKTEivavTos, épace 816
mpoo pi€as oO Kreopevns, Kat mplv aicbécOat Tous
MeryanorroAltas évdov 7 my peTa THS Suva pews.
XXIV. Pavepod dé pons TOU KaKOD ryevopievou

TOUS Kara THY OAL, of pev evOus eferrumrov 6 doa
TUYXavot TOV XPNMAT OY AapBavovtes, ot Oe
guvertpEpovTo peta TAY StrAwY, Kal Tois ToNe-
ploss eva rduevot Kal mpoaBdrrovtes € exelvous MeV
ovK loxuoay éxxpovaat, Tois Se pevyouar TOY
TONLTOV aoparss amenOeiv trapéoyov, Gore BY)
relova TOY Xerieov eycatarnpOjvar oM"aTa,
Tous d€ aAXousS aravrTas opod pera Téxvov Kar
YyUVaLK@V pbacar dsadvuyovras els Meconyny.
2 éaw0n 6 Kal Tov poo Bonbovvray Kat paxo-
pévov TO TWAHGOS: Griyou 5¢ TavTaracw HArAwWcar,
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-AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Achaeans. This city Cleomenes planned to snatch away (for nothing else could better describe the speed and unexpectedness of his famous achievement), and ordering his men to take five days’ rations, he led them forth to Sellasia, as though he would ravage the territory of Argos. But from there he descended into the territory of Megalopolis, and after giving his men their supper at the Rhoeteium, he marched at once by way of Helicus against the city itself. When he was not far away he dispatched Panteus with two divisions of Lacedaemonians, ordering him to seize a portion of the wall between two towers which he had learned was the most unprotected part of the walls of Megalopolis, while he himself with the rest of his army followed slowly after. Panteus found not only that particular spot, but also a great part of the wall, undefended, and at once tore down some portions of it, undermining others, and slaying all the defenders whom he encountered. Cleomenes promptly joined him, and before the Megalopolitans were aware of it, he was inside the city with his army.

XXIV. At last the disaster became clear to the citizens, and some of them at once fled the city, taking with them what property they could lay hands on, while others banded together under arms, resist- ing and assaulting the enemy. These they were not strong enough to eject from the city, but they af- forded a safe escape to the citizens who wished to flee, so that not more than a thousand persons were taken in the place ; all the rest, together with their wives and children, succeeded in escaping to Messene. Moreover, the greater part of those who tried to save the city by fighting got off alive ; but a few of them,

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av iv Avoavdpidas tre nal Beapidas, dvdpes év-
d0£or Kal duvarol pardiara, Tov Meyadoronurav.
610 Kal AaBovtes avTovs evOds of oTPATLOTAL
T@ Krcopever T poanyyov. o 6é Avoavépibas @S
elde Tov Krconévn moppwdev, avaBonaas, ‘‘“KE-
earl got vov,” elmev, “@ Bactheb Aaxedacpovior,
Epyov amroderEapév@ Tod Tempayuevou KaNDLOV
Kal Bacthinaratov evdokorare yevea Bas.”)
Krcopévns b¢ vroToTnTas avtTou THV évrevgev,
“Ti 36,” elrev, “o Avoavépisa, Néyets ; Ov
yap 6) mov pe THY Tod vply aodobvaL
KEAEVELS ; ;” Kato Avoavépisas, “ Auto pev
ov, " épn, “ Neyo Kal cvpBovrevw pn) Srapeipac
TONW THAKAUTNY, aXn’ eUTAHO aL pidov Kal
TULA ov TLo TOV Kal BeBalov, amvrodovra Merya-
horrohiTass THY TaTpioa Kal cwTipa Syuou To-
govTov ‘yevopuevoy.” pK pov ovv oO Krcopevns
Stacwwmjicas, : Xanerov,” épn, “TO mio revoas
TAUTA, VIKATW 6¢ 70 _Tpos Sofav ael pardov y TO
AVOLTENES Tap Hpiv.” Kal radta elroy anre-
oTEUnE TOUS avdpas eis Meoonyny Kal KnpvKa
Tap eavToo, Tots MeyadoroAirats arrodibous THY
TONY emt TO TUppayous elvat Kal dirovs arro-
oTavTas "Axardy.
Oita dé rod Kieopévous evyvopova Kat dirav-
Opmra mpoteivavtos ovK elace Tovs Meyado-
moAditas 0 Pidotroiwny éyxatadstrety THY Mpos
rovs ‘Ayatovs tiotw, aA KaTNnyopav Tod
KXeouévous as ov Enrodytos atrododvat thy T0-
Aw, Ga Toot aBely Tovs Toritas, éFéBare Tov
eapldav cal rov Avoavipibav é« tis Meoonvns.

all told, were captured, among whom were Lysandri- das and Thearidas, men of the greatest reputation and influence in Megalopolis. Therefore the soldiers had no sooner seized them than they brought them to Cleomenes. Then Lysandridas, when he saw Cleomenes from afar, cried out with a loud voice and said: “It is in thy power now, O king of the Lacedaemonians, to display an action fairer and more worthy of a king than any that has preceded it, and thereby win men’s highest esteem.’’ But Cleomenes, conjecturing what the speaker wished, said: “ What meanest thou, Lysandridas? Thou surely canst not bid me give your city back again to you.”” To which Lysandridas replied: “ Indeed, that is just what I mean, and I advise thee in thine own interests not to destroy so great a city, but to fill it with friends and allies who are trusty and true by giving back to the Megalopolitans their native city and becoming the preserver of so large a people.”” Accordingly, after a short silence, Cleomenes said: “It is difficult to believe that all this

will happen, but with us let what makes for good repute always carry the day, rather than what brings gain." And with these words he sent the two men off to Messene attended by a herald from himself, offering to give back their city to the Megalopolitans on condition that they renounce the Achaean cause and be his friends and allies. However, although Cleomenes made this benevo- lent and humane offer, Philopoemen would not allow the Megalopolitans to break their pledges to the Achaeans, but denounced Cleomenes on the ground that he sought, not so much to give their city back to its citizens, as rather to get the citizens with their city !; then he drove Thearidas and Lysandridas out

1 See the Philopoemen, v.
105
ii

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

¢ 4 e , ee
ovtos Av PiroToipny o mpwtevoas torepov
"Ayatov nal peyiorny xrnodpevos év Tots "EX -
/ e 207 9 A 4
Anat do€ay, as idia rept abtod yéyparras.
XXV. Tovtwy 6@ amayyeévtwv r@ Kreo-
pével, TETNPNKwS THV TOALY AOtKTOV Kal aKxépacov,
dote undéva rabeiv unde TOVAAYLOTOV AaBovTa,
TOTE TavTatTact Tpaxyvvlels Kal ayavaxtnoas
Ta pev xpnuata Sinptracev, avdpiavtas 6 Kal
\ ? 4 bf / a \ 4
ypagas dairéorerev eis Yrdaprnv, rhs S€ wodews
Ta TreloTa Kal péyiota pépn KatacKkawas Kal
Stapeipas dvétevEev err' oixov, poRovpevos tov
2 'Avtiryovoy cal rovs 'Ayatovs. émrpaxOn é oddév
? b] b) A bd 4 \ ] > / '
at' avtav. éruyyavov pév yap év Aiyi@ BovAny
éyovres: eel 5€ "Apatos avaBas él to Biya
\ \ U " \ 4 /

ToNuy péev Ypovov Exdare THY KAapvba Oépevos
mpo Tov mpocwmov, Oavyatovrwy Sé Kal réyeuv
KeXevovtwv elrrev Gtt MeyddXn Trods aTroA@)EV
vmTo Kvreopévous, pev asuvodos evOvs Sdrervdn
tov "Axaov xatatAayévtrav thy o€vtTnta Kal
3 70 péyeOos tov maQous, o Sé *Avtiyovos ém-

/ 0 a 3 dé ? A A 5 lA
yetpnoas BonOeiv, eitra Bpadews aut@ THs duva-
pews ex TOV Yemadioy aviotapévns, TaUTHY bev
avOis éxéNevoe Kata Ywpay péverw, avTos Sé

a > ww b \ 4 4
mapnrOev eis “Apryos, ov trodXous Eywv oTpaTLo-
Tas peO” éavTod.
Aso Kal Td Sevrepov éyxetpnua ToD Kreopuévous
édofe péev teToAuHoOar TrapaBorws Kal pavKas,
9 4 a 4 C4
émpayOn 5é peta TodARS Mpovoias, ws Por
4 TloruvBtos. eidms ydp eis Ta yeruddia Steorrap-

of Messene. This was that Philopoemen who afterwards became the leader of the Achaeans and won the greatest fame among the Greeks, as I have written in his own Life.

XXV. When tidings of these things were brought to Cleomenes, although he had taken strict care that the city should be inviolate and unharmed, so that no one took even the least thing without being detected, he was now so incensed and embittered that he plundered it, and sent its statues and pictures off to Sparta; then, after completely demolishing most and the largest portions of the city, he marched back towards home, being in fear of Antigonus and the Achaeans. But these did nothing. For they were holding a general assembly at Aegium; and here Aratus, after mounting the bema, wept for a long time, holding his mantle before his face; and when his audience was amazed and bade him speak, he told them that Megalopolis had been destroyed by Cleomenes. Then the assembly at once broke up, the Achaeans being filled with consternation at the swiftness and magnitude of the calamity. Antigonus at first attempted to give aid, but afterwards, since his forces came up to him but slowly from their winter quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, while he himself proceeded to Argos, having only a few soldiers with him.

And this was the reason why the next attempt of Cleomenes, which was thought to be a deed of extravagant and frantic daring, was really made with great forethought, as Polybius says.!_ For Cleomenes

1 **Most people thought this a hazardous and foolhardy step ; but those who were capable of judging regarded the measure as at once safe and prudent” (ii. 64, 1).

pévous Kata Todt } TOUS Maxedovas, nat Tov 817
"Avtiyovoy ov troAXovs éyovTa psa Dopopous ép
“A pyee Siaxerualovra peTa TOY pidor, évéBanev
eis THY "Apyetay, AoyeComevos Hoe aicxovny Tob

’Avtuyovev mapofuvdevros em iKpaTHaELY q pn
TONMHGAVTA payer bat dtaBanrety m™ pos TOUS
"A pyetous. 5 kat avveBn. StapGerpoperns yap
THS Xwpas ber’ avrob Kal TavTey ayonévey Kal
pe ouevor, ol ev “Apyetor ducavacxerobvtes
émi tas Ouvpas suvEerTpEPovTo TOU Bacthéws Kal
xateBour, paxerBar KehevovTes H Tots KpelTToow
éFictacbat TAS nryemovias: 0 Sé “Avtiryovos, ws
ées oTpautnyov Eup pova, TO xuvduvetoat mapa-
Aoryeos Kal Tpoéa Gat THY aopanrerav aloxpov, ov
TO KAKOS axodcat Tapa Tots ex os NYOUMEVOS, Ov
mpon\Gev, ann’ _ eve EVE Tois avTOU Loyea pois. 0
5é Kreopévns axype tov TeLX av TP OTpATH Tpoc-
eXOwv xal «abvBpicas Kat Svadrupnvdapevos
adens dvexwpnaer.
XXVI. ‘Ordiyep be Do TEpov adds, Els Teyéav
dxovoas mpoievat Tov ‘Avtiryovov @s exeiOev ets
thy Aakwvixny euBadobrra, TAXU TOUS oT pari
Tas dvahaBov kal Kal” érépas od0us maparndagas
a nHEPG. ™ pos TH monet TOV "Apyetov avepayn,
mopOav TO Trediov Kal TOV girov ov Keipav, domep
ot AOLTTOL," Opemavars Kat paxaipats, adda KOTTOYV
Evhors peydrous eis OX Hwa poudaias am eipyac-
pevois, ws emt maroig Xpwmevous év T@ Tmopeve-
oAat ovy pn devi TOV@ mayTa ovycararpiyras xa
StapOeipar Tov KapTov. ws pévToL KaTa THY
1 xara xédw Blass and Ziegler, after Schoemann: xara
mwodw &s ono.

knew that the Macedonians were dispersed among the cities in their winter quarters, and that Antigonus had only a few mercenaries with him at Argos, where he was spending the winter with his friends. Cleomenes therefore invaded the territory of Argos, calculating that Antigonus would either be shamed into fighting and would be overpowered, or, in case he did not venture to fight, would incur odium among the Argives. And this was what actually came to pass. For while Cleomenes was wasting the country and robbing it of all that was there, the Argives, in distress, kept thronging the doors of the king and calling upon him with loud voices either to

fight or yield the leadership to his betters. But Antigonus, as became a prudent general, considering that disgrace lay in taking unreasonable risks and throwing away his security, rather than in being abused by the outside rabble, would not go forth from the city, but stood by his previous plans. So Cleomenes came up to the very walls of the city with his army, wrought insolent havoc, and then withdrew unmolested.

XXVI. A little later, however, hearing that Antigonus had advanced to Tegea with intent to invade Laconia from that city, Cleomenes quickly took his soldiers, marched past the enemy by a different route, and at daybreak appeared suddenly before the city of Argos, ravaging the plain and destroying the grain, not cutting this down, as usual, with sickles and knives, but beating it down with great pieces of wood fashioned like spear-shafts. These his soldiers plied as if in sport, while passing by, and with no effort at all they would crush and ruin all the crop. When, however, they were come to the

Kuardpafw ryevopevo TO yupvac tov émrexelpouy
mpoo pépety mop, ex@duaey, @S wal TOV mept
Meyarnv TOAW UI' Opyns PaAXOY Hh KAS avTO
TET PAY MEVOY.
Tod be" Avtuyovou 7 p@TOV peev evOus eis "Apyos
dvaxwpnravros, éeiTa Ta Opn Kat TAS UTrepBoAras
waoas dvAakais kataraBovtos, apedeiy Kal KaTa-
ppoveiv 7 poo TroLoupevos érreprpe KijpuKas Tas KNEtS
akvav TOU 'Hpaiov AaBetvy, G6Tws aradXatTTOLTO
Th be@ Gucas. ouTw@ dé maitas kal KaTetpm@vev-
TapUEvos, Kal Th ep Ovaas t vmod TOV ve@y KEKNELO-
evo, am iyaryev eis DALOD byt Tov aTpaTtov: éxeiOey
5é Tous ppovpoivtas Tov 'Ordyuprov eFehdoas
KatéBn Tapa Tov 'Opxopevoy, ov povov Tots Tron
Tats ppovnpa Kal Gapoos euTeTOUNKes, adhe Kal
Tots Toneptots aviip 1YEMOVLKOS Soxay elvat Kal
mpayparov Meyahov a£tos. 70 yap é« suas
TONES Oped wevov omod Th Maxedover duvapes
Kat Tedorrovvnaiors & aract Kal xopnyia Baoding
Trohepely, Kal pn povov adurov Sagpuddrrovra
THY Aaxovixny, aN Kal apay KAKOS TovovvTa
THY exelvany Kal ToXeELs aipovyTa THMKAUTAS, ov
THS TUXOVE'NS eddxer Secvorntos elvar Kat peyando-
fpocurns.
XXVII. "ANN) T POT OS Ta Xpnpara vevpa

TOV Tpaywarov T poo eum ay eis Ta Tow trodémou
ely pddiora Breras TOUT eLvTrety coue.
Anpaéys, TAS Tpunpers pev Kabérxety Kal
oben TOTE TO "AOnvaiwy KENEVOVTOD, xen
para 5 ovK eXovTav “TIporepoy dori,” ebm,
‘ro mpodedoat Tod dupacas. | Réyeras dé Kal
17d mpodedoa: rod gupaca: Bekker and Blass, after
TIO
AGIS AND CLEOMENES

Cyllarabis and attempted to set the gymnasium on
fire, Cleomenes stopped them, feeling that his work
at Megalopolis had been done to satisfy his anger
rather than his honour.
As for Antigonus, in the first place he went back at once to Argos, and then occupied the hills and all the passes with outposts. But Cleomenes pretended to despise and ignore all this, and sent heralds to the king demanding the keys to the Heraeum, that he might offer sacrifice to the goddess before he went away. Then, after this jest and mockery, and after sacrificing to the goddess under the walls of the temple, which was closed, he led his army off to Phlius. From thence, after expelling the garrison of Oligyrtus, he marched down to Orchomenus, not only infusing high spirits and courage into its citizens, but also leading his enemies to think him a man capable of leadership and worthy to wield great power. For he drew his resources from but a single city, and yet waged war against the Macedonian power, all the Peloponnesians, and the treasures of a king together, and not only kept Laconia inviolate, but actually ravaged his enemies’ territory and took cities of great size; and men thought this a proof of no ordinary ability and largeness of purpose.

XXVII. But he who first declared that money is the sinews of affairs would seem to have spoken with special reference to the affairs of war. And Demades, when the Athenians once ordered that their triremes should be launched and manned, but had no money, said: “Dough must be moistened before it is kneaded.” It is said also that Archidamus of old,

Schoemann: rod wpwparetoa: rd pupaca (before the lookout- man comes the bread-maker) with the MSS.

III

ff ™

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

"Apxldapos 0 TaXaLos UTr0 THY apxnv rou IleXo-
TOVvUNTLAKOU TOEuOU, KeNEVOVT@Y eva popas Taka
TOV TULLaXov auTOV, eiTreiy os O TOKE LOS ov
TETAYHEVA oLTElTaL. xabamep yap ov Teo wMAT-
Knkotes a0Antal T@ Xpovp cataBapovar Kat
KataryovivovTas TOUS evpud pous cat TexviTas,

ottws Kal 0 “Avtiryovos ex TOANTS avapéepov
duvapews Tm pos TOV TONE MOV eFerover Kal caTnOreu
tov KrXreouévn yMaxpas Kat pores moptfovra Tous
Fevous picOov Kat tpopnv Tots moniTats. TEL
TaNNG rye ™pos TOU Krcopévous 6 O Xpoves mY; TOV
olKoL Tpayparov dviaravrov Tov "Avtiryovov.
BapBapor yap Te pueKomrT Ov aTOVTOS kat Katé-
Tpexov nv Maxedoviapr, rat TOTE 67 TOADS avwbev
"TAAupiav eu BeBrjner oT paros, vp’ ov TropBovpevor
HETETEMTOVTO TOV “Avtiryovov OL Maxedoves. Kal
Tap ONyOV Tpo THS paxns gUVETUXE TavTa Ta
ypappata Kopab hvac 1 pos auTov" @v Kop
abévrwy evOus ay anfroe papa Xatperv ppacas
"Axasois. ann’ 7 Ta peyote TOY T paywaTav
xpivovea 7@ wapa pix pov TU n THMAKAUTHY aTre-
deiEaro porn Kalpov Kal DS iuin, WOTE, THS
paxns év Yeracla yevouerns xal Tov Krcopevous
arroBeBAnxoros THV Sivayu Kal THY ToALy, evOus
mapetvar TOUS KaXovvTas Tov "Avtiryovoy. 6 Kal
padiata THY Svatuxiay Tob Krcopévous olKT po-
Tépav é émroincey. ei yap Tpépas bv0 povas eméaXe
Kal Tapiryarye puyopaxar, oun dv edénoev avT@
paxns, arr éd ols éBovrero dimhrayn Tpos
TOUS "Axauovs amredOovT@v TOV Maxedovev vov
bd, Womrep eipyntat, Sia THY axpnuatiay év Tois
I1l2

towards the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies ordered their contributions for the war to be fixed, said: “ War has no fixed rations.” ! And indeed, just as athletes who have taken a full course of training, in time bear down and overpower those who are merely graceful and skilful, so also did Antigonus, who engaged in the war with large resources, wear out and prostrate Cleomenes, who could only meagrely and with difficulty provide pay for his mercenaries and sustenance for his citizen- soldiers. And yet in all other respects, certainly, time was on the side of Cleomenes; for affairs at home demanded the presence of Antigonus. During his absence Barbarians had been overrunning and devas- tating Macedonia, and at this particular time a large army of Illyrians from the interior had burst in, and in consequence of their ravages the Macedonians summoned Antigonus home. Their letters came within a little of reaching him before the decisive battle. If they had so reached him, he would at once have gone away and left the Achaeans to their own devices. But Fortune, who decides the most impor- tant affairs by a narrow margin, favoured him with so slight a preponderance in the scale of opportunity and power, that no sooner had the battle at Sellasia been fought, where Cleomenes lost his army and his city, than the messengers summoning Antigonus arrived. And this more than anything else made the misfor- tune of

Cleomenes to be greatly pitied. For if he could have held out only two days, and continued his defensive tactics, he would not have needed to fight a battle, but the Macedonians would have gone away and he could have made his own terms with the Achaeans. But now, as I said before, his lack of

1 See the Crassus, ii. 7. ois

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SerXots TO Trav Oéwevos jvayxdaOn Siopupiors, ws
TIoAvBios pnot, mpos rptopupiovs avtimapata-
Eac8au.
XXVIII. Kal davpacrov pév dv ro xwdivm
TwapacYav éavTov otpatnyoy, exOvpots 5é ypnod-
pevos ois troAiras, ov pny ovdé Trav Eévwv
PELTTTOS Aywvicapevov, TH TPOTH THS OTALcEWs
Kai To Baper THs oTALTEKHS Parayyos éEeOALBn.
Dvrapyos 5 cal mpodociav yevécOar dno tHv
parota TO Knreopéves Ta mpdypata Stepyaca-
pévnv. tod yap 'Avtiyovov tovs "IdAvpsods Kal
tovs "Axapvavas exrreptenOety xpuda KerevoavtTos
Kal Kukrwoacbat Odtepor Képas, ep' od TeTaypEVOS
jv Ev«reidas 0 tod Kreopévous aberdos, elta tH
GXnv em) payn Sivapey extatrovtos, aT TKOT|S
Oewpav o Kreopévns, ds ovdapod Ta StrAa TOV
"Trvpiay nat rev "Axapydver xatecider, époBnOn
pe) pds TL TOLOUTOY aUvToOis o AvTiyovos KéxpnTat.
karécas 5é€ Aaporérn tov eri THiS KpuTTeias
TeTaymévov, Opay éxédXevoe Kal Enreiy Srrws Eevee
Ta KaTa voToU Kal KUKAM Ths Tapatakews. Tov
5¢ Aaporérous (jv yap, @s A€yeTal, Ypnpacty
mpotepov wm' "Avtiyovou SvepOappévos) aperetv
éxeivwv eitrovTos @s Karas éeydovTwr, Tois 8é
cuvarrovow é€& évaytias mpocéyev Kal TovToUS
apuveoOat, miatevaoas él tov Avriryovov éywpet,
Kat TH pon THY Tepl avTov YrapTiaTav wod-
Hevos THY darayya tav Maxedovwv éml trévte
jou otadious ttoxywpovvtwyv éxBralopevos Kal
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resources forced him to stake the whole issue on a
battle where, as Polybius says,'! he could oppose only

twenty thousand men to thirty thousand.
XXVIII. He showed himself an admirable general in the hour of peril, his fellow countrymen gave him spirited support, and even his mercenaries fought in a praiseworthy manner, but he was overwhelmed by the superior character of his enemies' armour and the weight of their heavy-armed phalanx. Phylarchus, however, says that there was treachery also, and that this was chiefly what ruined Cleomenes. For Antigonus ordered his Ilyrians and Acarnanians to go round by a secret way and envelope the other wing, which Eucleidas, the brother of Cleomenes, commanded, and then led out the rest of his forces to battle; and when Cleomenes, from his post of observation, could nowhere see the arms of the Illyrians and Acarnanians, he was afraid that Antigonus was using them for some such purpose. He therefore called Damoteles, the commander of the secret service contingent,? and ordered him to observe and find out how matters stood in the rear and on the flanks of his array. But Damoteles (who had previously been bribed, as we are told, by Antigonus) told him to have no concern about flanks and rear, for all was well there, but to give his attention to those who assailed him in front, and repulse them. So Cleomenes, putting faith in what he was told, advanced upon Antigonus, and by the sweeping onset of his Spartans drove back the phalanx of the Macedonians for about five furlongs,

1 Hist. ii. 65.2 and 7. The battle of Sellasia was fought in June of 22] B.c.
2 A rural police with the special duty of watching the Helots, or slave population.
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Kpatav nrorovOncev. elta tav trept rov Kvedei-
Sav amo Barépou cukrAwbévrwr émiatas nal Kati-
Swv tov xivduvov, " Oixn por, dirtate aderpé,"
elm@ev, "olyn, yevvaios dv Kal tatcl lnrwTos
Lraptiarav Kal yuvatély aotd:yos." odtw dé Tav
wept Tov Kv«reidav avarpeévtwr, kat Tov éxeiOer,
Os éxpatouv, eirihepopevwvy TapaTTomévouvs opeav
Tovs oTpaTi@tas Kal pévely OVKETL TOAL@VTAS,
géswlev éautov. aroGavely 5é cal trav Févov
qoNAous Aéyouct kat Aaxedatpovious amavtras
TAnY Staxociwv, éEaxtoytrious GvTas. |
XXIX. 'Emet dé eis tiv modw adixeto, Tots
pev atravTncact TOV TodLT@Y Trapyver SéyerOat
tov Avtiryovoy, autos Sé elev eite Cav elite atro-
avov, 6 pédrroe TH Yrdptyn auvoicewv, tovTo
mpdtew. opav 5é tas yuvaixas Tols pet avTod
mepevyoot Tpoatpexovcas Kal deyopévas Ta Stra
Kal TwoTov mpoodepovaas, avTos eiamAOe pev Ets
THY oikiay THY EavTOU, THs 5é TaLdiokns, Hy elyer,
éxevOépav otcav éx Meydrns Torews avetiyngas
peta THY THS yuvaLKds TerXEUTHY, wS ElOtoTO,

mpoctovans Kat Bovropévns amo aotparteias HKovtTa
Oeparrevety, ote mieiv éxdedupynxws vrréuewwev
ovTe Kabicas Kexunkos, adr Wotrep éeTVYKAvE
TeOwopakia peévos TOV KLOVOY TiVl THY YElpa TpoT-
Badov wrayiav Kal TO Tpdcwrtroy éml Tov WiXUY
émiBeis, Kal xpdvov ov ToAvy obTw Svavatravaas
TO cua Kal TH Savoia qwepispapov amavtas
TOUS AOYLa MOUS, Wpunoe peta Tov hirov els TO
TvOvov. xaretOev értBavres én' adto robo trape-
aKevacuévoy Totwv avnyOnaav.
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and followed after them victoriously. Then, after Eucleidas with the other wing had been encircled, he came to a stop, and seeing their peril, said; "I have lost thee, my dearest brother, I have lost thee, thou noble heart, thou great example to Spartan boys, thou theme for a song to Spartan wives!' After Eucleidas and his forces had in this way been cut to pieces, and the enemy, after their victory there, were coming on against the other wing, Cleomenes, seeing that his soldiers were in disorder and no longer had courage to stand their ground, took measures for his own safety. Many of his mercenaries fell, as we are told, and all the Spartans, six thousand in number, except two hundred.

XXIX. When Cleomenes came to the city, he advised the citizens who met him to receive Antigo- nus; as for himself, he said he would do whatever promised to be best for Sparta, whether it called for his life or death. Then, seeing the women running up to those who had escaped with him, relieving them of their arms, and bringing drink to them, he went into his own house. Here his concubine, a free woman of Megalopolis whom he had taken to him- self after the death of his wife, came to him, as was her wont upon his return from the field, and wished to minister to him; but he would neither drink, though he was faint with thirst, nor sit down, though he was worn out. Instead, all in armour as he was, he put his arm aslant against one of the pillars of the house, dropped his face upon his forearm, and after resting himself in this way for a short time, and running over in his thoughts all possible plans, he set out with his friends for Gythium. There he went on board of vessels provided for this very purpose and

ut to sea,
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XXX. 'O &é "Avriryovos ef épodou TaparaBov
THY TOA, Kal Xpng devas Tots Aaxedatpoviors
prravOparas, Kal 76 akiopa Tis mdorns ov
TpoTnhakiaas oud evuBpicas, GANA Kal vOMOUS
Kab moNeTelay atrobous Kal ToS Geis Ovcas, ave-
Xopycev nuepa TpiTn, Tu opevos éy Maxedovig

TOAUY TONE MOV elvas Kal mop0eiabat THY épav
tro TeV BapBapov. non 6€ Kal To voonpa
Karelyev avrov, els bbiow exBeBnnos ioxupay
Kal KaTappouv gUrTOVoD. ou pny _ameirey, aD
dy TnpKede 7 pos Tous olKeious aryavas 6aov émi
viKY peyiorn kal hove TrELoT TOV BapBapav
eUKA EET TEPOV damobavety, OS pev ELK os éore Kal
Aéyouawy ot mepl Dvrapxov, adr tH mept Tov
aryava Kpavyh TO Tp mpooavappitas: ev dé
tals axXonais iy aKovewv ore Body pera THY viKnv
vo xapas, «0, Karis Tpépas,” * wjOos aiparos
avynyaye Kat mrupéEas ouvToves éreXeUTHOE. TADTA
pev Ta Tepl ’Avtiyovov.
XXXI. Krcopévns dé méwD are Kv8npwv els
vnoov érépay, Aiyadiay, KATETXED. bbe «is
Kupqyny mepatoba Bac HEANOVTOS auton, Tov pirwv
els évopa Onpuxiwr, avnp T pos Te TAS m pagers
ppovnpare KEXPNLEVOS peyarhy Kal tots oyous
yeyoves TUS inynros ael rai beyarauxos, evTUX@V
avT® Kat’ idiav, “ Tov pev Kaddorov,” el7rev,
“@ & Bactred, Odvarov TOV év TH paxn Tm ponkapeba:
KQLTOL TAVTES jKovoay MeaV AeYOVT@VY WS ov
bmepRyoerat TOV ' Bacthéa TOV VTAPTIATOV “Avti-
ryovos €b un vexpov. o 6é Sevtepos ofn Kal aperh
vov éTs Tapectiv Hiv, trot WréopeEV AdOYioTOS,
1.8

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XXX. Antigonus marched up and took the city
without resistance. He treated the Lacedaemonians
humanely, and did not insult or mock the dignity of
Sparta, but restored her laws and _ constitution,!
sacrificed to the gods, and went away on the third
day. For he learned that there was a great war
in Macedonia and that the Barbarians were ravaging
the country. Moreover, his disease was already in
full possession of him, having developed into a
guick consumption and an acute catarrh. He
did not, however, give up, but had strength
left for his conflicts at home, so that he won a.
very great victory, slew a prodigious number of the
Barbarians, and died gloriously, having broken a
blood-vessel (as it is likely, and as Phylarchus says)
by the very shout that he raised on the field of battle.

And in the schools of philosophy one used to hear
the story that after his victory he shouted for joy,
“O happy day!” and then brought up a quantity
of blood, fell into a high fever, and so died. So
much concerning Antigonus.

XXXI. As for Cleomenes, he sailed from Cythera to Aegialia, another island, and put in there. As he was about to cross from thence to Cyrene, one of his friends, Therycion by name, a man who brought a large spirit to the conduct of affairs and was always somewhat lofty in his speech and grandiloquent, came to him privately and said: ‘‘ The noblest death, O King, a death in battle, we have put away from us ; and yet all men heard us declare that Antigonus should not pass the king of Sparta except over his dead body. But a death that is second in virtue and glory is now still in our power. Whither do we

1 As they were before the reforms of Cleomenes.

? 4 ? A a \ y \ ,
atropevyovtes éyyus ov Kaxov Kai paxpav d.10-
KovTes; eb yap ove aicypoy éote Sovrevey Tois
amo Piritmov nal "AreEdvSpou tovs ad’ ‘Hpak-
Néous, WAObY TOAD Kepdavodpev “AyTiyov@ Trapa-
Sovres éautous, dv einds éore II toveuaiou Stadéperv
4 3 , , % \ @ > #
Scov Aiyurriwv Maxedovas. et S¢ td’ Oy KEexpa-

/ n 5:4 > ? A v /
TypeOa Tots Birdos ovK akioduev apyerOat, Ti
TOV py verxnKota SeoTroTHY TrotovpeV AUTO, iva
? ean a / a ? / \
av@ évos Sveiv kaxiouvs havapev, “Avtiyovoy pév
ghevyovres, IltoXepwatov S€ Koraxevovres; Hh Sa
A) 4 A 9 v N
Thy untépa dyoopev eis Alyurrrov AKew; Kadov
pevtav avth Oéapa yévoto Kal Endrwrov éridernve-
pévyn tais TIroveuaiou yuvackly aiypddrwrov éx
/ \ UA N ev 9 a 4 “
Baoiréws cai huyada tov viov. ovy ews ete TOY
iStev Eupav dpyopev cal thy Aaxwvixny adopo-
pev, éevtad0a THs TUYns amaddrakavTes éavTOvs
atronoynoopea rots év YerXacia Ketpévots bre
Lie ee > 9 ? > 4 7 B 4 p
Ths Xmaptns, GAN ev AlyuTrm Kxabedovpcba
muvOavonevoe tia THS AaKxedaipovos cat pamnv

b] , ? lh 9
Aytiyovos amroAéXolTe;
Towadra tod O@npvxiwvos eimovtos o Kyeo-
pévns atrexpivato, “Tov avOpwrtivav To paoror,
@ Tovnpé, Kal waow év étoipm Stoxwv, atro-
Oaveiv, avdpetos elvat Soxeis, hevyov aicyiova
huyny THS WpoTepov; TroNepiors pev yap évédwxay
Hon al Kpeitroves Huav, h TUXYN oharévTes 7}
, € ‘\ / € \ 4 , N
BiacBévtes bd wAHGovS’ oO 5é pos Tovous Kai
Tarattrwpias 7 Woyous kai Sofas avOpaTwv ama-
T20

unreasoningly sail, fleeing an evil that is near and pursuing one that is afar off? For if it is not shame- ful that the descendants of Heracles should be in subjection to the successors of Philip and Alexander, we shall spare ourselves a long voyage by surrender- ing to Antigonus, who is likely to surpass Ptolemy as much as Macedonians surpass Egyptians. But if we cannot consent to be ruled by those who have conquered us in arms, why should we make him our master who has not defeated us, thus showing ourselves inferior to two instead of one by running away from Antigonus and joining the flatterers of Ptolemy? Or, shall we say that it is on thy mother’s account that we come to Egypt? Surely thou wilt make a noble spectacle for her, and one to awaken envy, when she displays her son to the wives of Ptolemy, a captive instead of a king, and a runaway. Let us rather, while we are still masters of our own swords and can gaze upon the land of Laconia, here rid ourselves of Fortune’s yoke, and make our peace with those who at Sellasia died in defence of Sparta, instead of sitting idly down in Egypt and asking every now and then whom Antigonus has left as satrap of Lacedaemon.”’ |

Such were the words of Therycion, and to them Cleomenes replied: “It is the easiest possible step thou urgest, wretched man, and one that any man may take, this dying; and dost thou think thyself brave when thou art making a flight more shameful than the one preceding it? Better men than we have given in to their enemies before this, having been betrayed by Fortune or overwhelmed by numbers. But he who in the face of toils and hardships, or of the censorious judgments of men, gives up the fight,

fal

‘yopevov HTTATAL THS airod paraxias. Sei yap
Tov av0alpetov Oavarov ov huyny elvat mpdafewr,
adhe, _mpakiy. alax pov yap Kal Civ > povols
éautois Kai amobunc Kev: ép 6 viv ob mapaxa-
Nels nas, oTrevdwv aTrahhayhvar TOV TapovTov,
Kadov bé ovdev ovde Xpio pov aXXo Stam parro-
HEVOS. eyo dé xal oé cal ewauTov olopat Sety

TAS brép THS mart pidos éxmldas pt Kataneteiy:
dtrou & av yuas exeivar KaTadiTrwot, paora Bov-
Nomévors aTroOavety Urapeet.”
II pos tatra Onpuxior ovdey avTerTa@v, OTE
mp@Tov a xe Ka.upov arog That Tov Krcopévous,
ext parr ouevos Tapa Tov airyuadov eadafer é éavTov.
XXXII. ‘O &é Knyeopévys amo tév Aliytadov
avaxGels TH AtBon mpoaéBare, Kal 61a tav Bact-
MKOV TAPATréLITOMLEVOS Hey eis ‘AreFdvdpecav.
aGels 8¢ 7H ItoNeuaiw, kat " dpyas pep eruyxave
KOWWOS prravOpwrov Kab peTpiov T pos auTov
émel O€ yvauns b:50vs areipav avnp épaivero
Euhpov, Kat THIS Kal’ npépav opmtnrias avTod TO
Aaxwvexoy Kal agpeneés THv yap édrevOeptov elye,
Kab THY evryéveray vba KATAULTX WEY oude
KALTT OMEVOS Umrd THS TUXNS, TOV TTpOS ndovny
Kal KoNaKelay _Stareyopevav mifavare os édpai-
véTO, TONM) pev aidas Kal peTavova TOY I rone-
paiov elxev avdpos apedjcavTa ToLoUTOU Kal
T poe Mevov TO “Avtiyove, Sokay apa KERTH LEV OD
THAKAUTHY Kal Sivamy, avarapBavay dé Tiais
Kal ptroppoouvars Tov Krcouevn mapeOappuvev
as pera vewVv Kal Xpnmaroy amroaTeh@y avurov
els tTHv “EAXdba Kal KatactTHowy eis THY Bact-
1 «al (jv Blass and Ziegler, after Richards.

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is vanquished by his own weakness. Fora self-inflicted death ought to be, not flight from action, but an action in itself. For it is shameful to die, as well as to live, for one’s self alone. And yet it is to this that thou now invitest me in thine eagerness to be rid of present troubles, though beyond that thou wilt effect nothing that is honourable or useful. I, however, think it right that neither thou nor I should abandon our hopes for our country ; when these abandon us, death will be very easy if we wish it.”

To this Therycion made no reply, but as soon as he got an opportunity to leave Cleomenes, he turned aside along the sea-beach and slew himself.

XXXII. But Cleomenes, putting tosea from Aegia- lia, landed in Libya, and under the escort of the royal officials came to Alexandria. After coming into the presence of Ptolemy, at first he met with only ordinary and moderate kindness from him; but when he had given proof of his sentiments and shown himself to be a manof good sense, and when, in his daily intercourse, his Laconian simplicity retained the charm

which a free spirit imparts, while he in no wise brought shame upon his noble birth or suffered the blows of Fortune to bow him down, but showed himself more winning than those whose conversation sought only to please and flatter, then Ptolemy was filled with great respect for him, and deeply repented that he had neglected such a man and abandoned him to Antigonus, who had thereby won great glory and power. Ptolemy therefore sought to regain Cleo- menes by honours and kindnesses, and kept encour- aging him with assurances that he would send him back to Greece with ships and treasure and restore

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3

3

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Neiav. édidou 6 cal cuvrakw aire téccapa Kal
elxoat Tadavra Kal? Exacroy éviautov. ad' ov
éxetvos avtov Kal Tovs dirous evTEAaS Kal co-
dpoves Siovna@v, Ta mreloTta KaTayndtcKev eis
diravOpwornias kat petaddcets TOV amd Ths 'EXAG-
dos eis Aiyumrov éxrerrwxotwv.
XXXII. 'O pév obv rpecBvrepos Ttorepaios
mp éxtereoar T@ Kreopuéver thv exrreurp éte-
NeuTnoe THS S€ Bacirelas eEvOUS eis TrOAAHY
aoéNyelav Kal trapowiay Kal yuvatkoxpatiav
éutresovans nuereito Kal ta Tov Kreopévous. o
pev yap Bactrers avtos ottw SiébOapto riv
Wwuxnv vo yuvaikdv Kal woTrwy waTE, OTOTE
vndos partota Kal otrovdatoTatos avToD yévotro,
TedEeTAaS TEAEiY Kal TUUTaVOY éyov év Tois Bact-
Nels aryeipew, TA 5é péytota THS apyns mpay-
pata Stoxety 'Ayaboxrecavy thy epwpéevny Tod
Bactréws Kal thy ravtns pntépa Kal ropvoBocKov
OivavOnv. spas & ody e0ké tis ev dpyy Kal Tod
Kycopévous ypeia yeyovévar. Sedias yap Mayay
Tov adergov IIrodepuatos, ws icxvovta Sia Tis
MNTpos €v TO oTpatTiwTLK@, Tov Krcopéevn mpoo-
erduBave cai wetedioou Tay aTroppntwv avvedpior,
RBovrevopevos avedeiv Tov adergov. oO é, Katrrep
GNWAVTWY TOUTO TPATTELY KEAEVOVTMY, LOVOS aT7-
yopevoev, eiTr@v ws paddov, e Suvatov Hy, eet
hicat Te Bactrel TrELovas abdeXdovs pos aoda-
Netay kal Stapovny tav Tpaypatov. LworBiov
5é Tod WAEloToy ev Tots hirous Suvapévouv PyocavTos
ovK elvar Ta TaY picboddpav avtois BéBata Tod

Maya Cavros, apereity éxérevcey 0 Kreopévns
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him to his kingdom. He also gave him an annual pension of twenty-four talents. With this money Cleomenes maintained himself and his friends in a simple and modest manner, and spent the greater part in good offices and contributions to the refugees from Greece who were in Egypt.

XXXIII. Well, then, the elder Ptolemy! died before sending Cleomenes off as he had promised ; and since the court at once plunged into excessive wantonness and drunkenness, and women wielded the power, the affairs of Cleomenes were neglected. For the king himself was so corrupted in spirit by wine and women that, in his soberest and most serious moments, he would celebrate religious rites and head processions in his palace, timbrel in hand, while the most important affairs of the government were managed by Agathocleia, the mistress of the king, her mother, and a pimp, Oenanthe. But in spite of all this, at the outset Cleomenes seemed to be of some use. For Ptolemy was afraid of his brother Magas, believing that Magas had a strong following among the soldiers owing to his mother's influence, and he therefore took Cleomenes into his following and gave him a place in his privy council, all the while plotting to kill his brother. But Cleomenes, although all other counsellors urged the king to take this step, alone advised against it, saying that it were better, were it possible, to get the king more brothers to increase the security and stability of his affairs. And when Sosibius, who had the most influence among the.king's ministers, declared that they could not be sure of the mercenaries as long as Magas was alive, Cleomenes bade him have no concern on that

1 Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, died in 220 B.c., and

was followed by Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator.
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évexd ye Tovtou' maAelous yap f TpLayLALous TOV Eévwv eivat IleXorrovynciovs mpocéxyovtas avTa@, Kay povov vevton, mpoOvpas peta TaY OT@Y Waperopevous. oVTOS o NOYOS TOTE EV OV piKPaV T® Kreopévee kal wiotw evvoias cal Soxnow iaxvos mpocéOnxev, totepov Sé, Tod LtoNepaiov THs aaleveias emitevovons THY SetAlay, Kal Kad-diep eiwOev év tO pndey dpoveiv, Tov mdvTa Sedouxévas nal waow amioteiy achadectarou Soxodvtos elvar, poBepoy érroies Tov KXeopévn Tots avrLxois, ws ioyvovta mapa Tots Eévouss Kal TOANGY Rv axovey Aeyovtwv Ste " Odros oO Néwv éy tovtTots toils mpoBdtos dvacrpépetar." TQ

yap dvrt TotovTov Stéhawwev 7005 év tots Bact-
ALKols, UTOBAETOY aTpé“a Kal TapeTioKOTOV TA
TpPaTTopeva,
XXXIV. Nats pev otv aitav Kal otpatiav
ameime: muvOavopevos b€ teOvdvar tov *Avti-
yovov, AitwrAn@ 6 Twodéum cupreTrrAkdEyOat rovs
"Ayatous, ta 5 mpdypata wobeiv avtov Kat
Tapakanew,) év tapayn cal Ssacracp@ THs
IleXorovyncou yeyevnuevns, nEtov ev povos atro-
oTadhvat peta TaV dirov, EreOe 5é ovdéva, TOD
pev Baciréws ovK eicaxovovTos, adr év yuvarki
nal Odoos Kat Kopors cuvéxovTos EavTov, o 6é
TOV GAwWY TpoecTnKws Kal TpoBovrAEvoY Lwai-
Bos pévovta pév tov Knreopévn mapa yvouny
nryetro Sucpetayeipiatoy elvat Kal hoBepor, ade-
Oévra &€ rorpnpov, dvdpa Kal peyanorpdaypLova
Kat THs Bactreias vooovaons Geatny yeyevnpévov.
1 wapaxadety Ziegler ; wapaxadety éxeitoe Bekker: rapa-
Kadeiy éxeivoy (with the MSS.).
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point at least; for more than three thousand of the mercenaries were Peloponnesians and attached to himself, and if he but gave them a nod they would readily come to his side in arms. At the time this speech won for Cleomenes no little faith in his good will and belief in his strength; but afterwards, when Ptolemy’s weakness intensified his cowardice, and, as is wont to happen where there is no sound judgment, his best course seemed to him to lie in fearing every- body and distrusting all men, it led the courtiers to be afraid of Cleomenes, on the ground that he had a strong following among the mercenaries; and many of them were heard to say: “There goes the lion up and down among these sheep.” And such, in fact, he clearly was among the courtiers, eyeing with quiet contempt and closly watching what was going on. XXXIV. For ships, therefore, and an army, he gave up asking; but on learning that Antigonus was dead } and that the Achaeans were involved in a war with the Aetolians, and that affairs yearned and called for him now that Peloponnesus was rent asunder and in confusion, he demanded to be sent away with his friends merely; but he could persuade no one. The king would not give him a hearing, but was absorbed with women and Dionysiac routs and . revels; and Sosibius, the prime minister and chief counsellor, thought that if Cleomenes remained against his will he might be hard to manage, in- deed, and an object of fear, but that if he were sent away he would make some bold attempt, being a man of large undertakings, and one who had been an eye-witness of the distempers of the realm.

1 Cf. chapter xxx. 2.

oude yap ai Swpeat KaTemTpauvoy autor, GND’
@otep tov “Ami év ap Govors SiarTwpevov Kal
Tpupar Soxotyta Tou Kata piow Biov Kat dpopeov
apérov Kat TKIPTHTEDY ipepos &yet, Kat Sires
éore ducavacxeray THY év tats xEpat Tov iepéwy
SiatpiBnv, odtws éxeivov ovdev Hpeane TOV par-
Gaxor,
GNA POwvvOEcKe Hirov Kip,
a@omep Ayirnrevs,
> eo
avr pévav, moPéecxe S avtTyv TE TTOAE-
pov Te.
XXXV. Torovtwv S& Trav Kat’ auTov évTov
T par waTov agixveitat Nixarydpas 0 Meoonvios
eis "AdeEdv6perar, a avnp po ev pev TOV Kyreopévn,
TpooTovovpevos dé pidos elvat' Xwptov be swore
KaOY aUT@ TET PAKS cai bv aaxoniay, as EorKe,
Sia TONE MOUS OUK aTrEANPos TO apyuptov. Tob-
tov ov éxPaivovta TOTE Ths ornddos id@my o
Krc0pévns (éruxe yap év TH xpnrrise Tob Atwévos
TeplTaT ov) nom agero 7 p0 vEws Kal tis avTov
els Alyumrov aryot T popacts npwra. Tob dé
Nixayopou prroppoves avtacmalopevov Kat p7-
GavtTos immous ayew T@ Bacrrel KaXovs TOY
ToAEuLaTnpLOY, yerdoas O Krcoperns, “<*EBov-
Noun av,” edn, “oe paddov KEW dyovta oap-
Buniotpias Kal xuvaidous* TavTa yep vov padora
KATETTELYEL TOV Baowrea.” Kal o 0 Nexaryopas TOTE
pev éperdiacev® 1) nuépas 5é torepov OrbyaLs vmo-
puncas Tov Xwpiou TOV Kreoperny viv yoov
édeiro Thy Tuyny aTroNaBelv, ws ovK dv evoyAnaas,

For not even gifts would soften him, but just as the
sacred bull Apis, though living in plenty and believed
to be having a luxurious time, feels a desire for the
life that was his by nature, for coursings without
restraint, and leaps and bounds, and is manifestly

disgusted with his treatment at the hands of the
priests, so Cleomenes took no pleasure in his life of
ease and luxury,
—‘“ but kept pining away in his dear heart,”
like Achilles,}
“ As he lingered there, and kept yearning for war-
cry and battle.”
XXXV. While matters stood thus with him, Nica- goras the Messenian came to Alexandria, a man who hated Cleomenes, but pretended to be a friend. He had at one time sold Cleomenes a fine estate, and owing to the constant demands of war upon the king, as it would seem, had not received the money for it. And so now, when Cleomenes, who chanced to be taking a walk along the quay, saw Nicagoras landing from his vessel, he greeted him heartily and asked what errand brought him to Egypt. Nicagoras returned his greeting in a friendly manner, and said that he was bringing horses for the king, some fine ones for use in war. At this, Cleomenes gave a laugh and said: “I could wish that thou hadst rather brought sambuca-girls and catamites; for these now most interest the king.’ At the time Nicagoras merely smiled; but a few days later he reminded Cleomenes of the estate, and asked that now at any rate he might get the money for it, saying that he would not have troubled him about the matter if he had not

1 Thad, i. 491 f.

ef py Tepl THY TaY doptiwy SiaBeow perpiws!
é&nutodto. Tov Sé Knreouévous dicavtos ovdéy
avuT@ wepteivat Tav Sedouévov, AuTNOels o Nixa-
yopas éxdépes TO YworBiw Td cKOppa TOD Kreo-
pévous. 0 O€ Kal TovTO péev aopévas EraBev, ex
5é peifovos aitias Tov Bactdéa twrapoktvas Enrav
Eretoe TOY Nixayopay émiatoAny ypawavTa Kata
tov Kyeopévous arrodrety, ws éyvwKoros, &é
AdBou tpinpers Kal otpatiwtas wap avtod, Ku-
pnunv Kkatacyxely. o pev ovv Nixaydpas tadta
yparpas atrémXevce’ Tod 8 YwotRiov peta Téc-
capas nuépas THv émiaTOAnY mpos Tov IltoAe-
patov aveveyxovTos Ws apTtiws avT@ Sedopévyny Kal
mwapokvvavtTos TO perpdxiov, edokev els otKiay
peyadrny eicayayety tov Kreouéevnv, cal tiv
GAAnV opoiws mapéexovtas Siavtay efodwv elpyetv.
XXXVI. "Hv pev ody cal tadta AvTHpAa TO
Knreopéver, poyOnpotépas dé tas wept tov pér-
NovTos éeAmidas éoyev x ToLavTNS auVTUyias.
Iltoveuaios 0 Xpucéppou didos dv tod Baciréws
WavTa Tov Xpovoy émiexas Stetrexto TO Kreo-

péver, Kal cuvned Tis UTApXev avTois Kal Tap-
pnoia mpos aAdAnAoUS. ovTOS ovy TOTE, TOU
Knreopévous Senbévros éAOeiv mpos avtov, 7rOe
pev Kal duedéyOn pétpia, To Uromroy éfaipav Kal
mept tov Bactr\éws atodNoyoupevos' atiav é
Tad Ex THS oKias, Kal un Tpovonaas éEoTriaOer
aypt tov Oupav émaxorovbodvra tov Krcopévn,
muKpas émeTipnoe tois pudrakw ws oy péya
Onpiov nal dvotynpynrov aueras huddttTovat Kal
1 werplws Bekker and Blass correct to ob perplws, after
Reiske.
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met with a considerable loss in the disposition of his cargo; and when Cleomenes declared that he had nothing left of the moneys that had been given him, Nicagoras was vexed, and reported to Sosibius the pleasantry of Cleomenes. Sosibius was glad to get even this matter, but he desired to have some larger accusation with which to exasperate the king, and therefore persuaded Nicagoras to write and leave behind him a letter accusing Cleomenes of planning, in case he got triremes and soldiers from Ptolemy, to seize Cyrene. So Nicagoras wrote a letter to this effect and sailed away ; and Sosibius, after four days had passed, brought the letter to Ptolemy, pretending that he had just received it, and so exasperated the young man that it was decided to remove Cleomenes into a large house, and while treating him in other ways just as before, to prevent his egress. |

XXXVI. Even this usage was grievous to Cleomenes, but his hopes for the future received a greater shock from the following incident. Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, a friend of King Ptolemy, had all the while been on friendly terms with Cleomenes, and they were quite intimate and outspoken with one another. This Ptolemy, then, now that Cleomenes begged a visit from him, came and conversed in a

reasonable way with him, seeking to remove his suspicions and excusing the conduct of the king; but when he was leaving the house and did not perceive that Cleomenes was following on behind him as far as the doors, he bitterly reproached the guards for the careless and easy watch they kept upon a great wild beast that was so hard to keep.
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3 padupws. TovTwy Oo Krcopévs QUTIHKOOS ryevo-
pevos, Kal imply aicGécbat tov [I roAepatov ava-
Xopiacas eppace Tots diros. evOvs ovdv TAVTES
S 7 por epov elyvov édrridas éxBadortes, pos
opyny éBovdevoavto tod IIroNenatou THY adixtav
apuvdpevot cal THY bBpev aFlas THS LrapTns
amvroOaveiv, Kai Bn TE pLjLevery Gor Ep lepeia may-
4 Oévtas Kataxorhvar Seuvov yap, éi TAS Tpos
‘Aprityovoy, avdpa TORE MLE THY kal Spactypiop,
diarvaers br eplowy Kreopevns KaOnrar pnt pa-
ryuptou Bacthews oYXONnV dvapevenr; Srav ™ p@Tov
amoOnrat TO TUMTAVOV Kal Katatavon Tov Gia-
COV, ATOKTEVODVYTOS aUTOY.
XXXVI. "Emel d€ édofe Tavta Kal Kata
TUXNY o IItonepaios eis KaywBov eEwpunce,
7 p@TOV bey dréd@xav Oyor ws * qapadvorro THS
guranhs vro Tov Baciréws émerta ex TLVOS
EJouvs BacirtKod Tots péddovow e£ eLpK TAS arro-
AveoOar Setrrvov te TEM TOMEVOU kal Eevion, of
giro ToAAa ToladTa TH Krcopéver mapac Kevd-
TAaVTES éFwbev eloemreprpar, eLamraravres TOUS
puraxras olopevous v0 TOU Bactréws aTEeCTan-
2 Oat. Kal yap EOve xal peredidov TOUTWY ad Boves
avrois, Kat emir Bets orepavous Kal xaTaxrbels
ELOTLATO pera, TOV hirov. NeyeTat dé Taylov 7
Steyvones pos THY am pate oppijcat, ovvaic6o-
PEVvOS oixérny &va Tav cuvedotav thy mpakw é&w
mapa yuvatkt Keno unpevov His pa. Kal poBndels
pnvua, éretd7 pécov Hépas iv Kal TOUS le
Kas na Gero xadevdovras t uno THS pHéOns, € évovaed-

pevos TOY XLT@Va Kal THY padny é« Tod Seftod
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Cleomenes heard this with his own ears, and without Ptolemy's being aware of his presence went back and told his friends. At once, then, they all aban- doned the hopes they had been cherishing and wrathfully determined to avenge themselves on Ptolemy for his injustice and insolence, and die in a manner worthy of Sparta, instead of waiting like sacrificial victims to be first fattened and then smitten down. For it was an intolerable thing that Cleomenes, after scorning to come to terms with Antigonus, a man who fought well and wrought much, should sit idly down and await the leisure of a beggarly priest of a king, who, as soon as he could lay aside his timbrel and stop his dancing, would slay him.

XXXVII. Such being their resolve, and Ptolemy, as chance would h&ve it, making a visit to Canopus, in the first place word was sent about that Cleomenes had been set free by the king; and next, in view of a custom which the king had of sending presents and a banquet to those who were going to be released from imprisonment, the friends of Cleomenes in the city prepared and sent in to him an abundance of such things, thus completely deceiving the guards, who thought the king had sent them. For Cleomenes — made a sacrifice and gave the guards a bountiful share of his provisions, and then took his place at table with garlands on his head and feasted with his friends. We are told, too, that he set out upon his ° enterprise sooner than he had intended, because he learned that a slave who was privy to it had passed the night outside in company with a mistress. So fearing that his plans would be revealed, when noon came and he perceived that his guards were sleeping off their wine, he put on his tunic, opened the seam

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Tapahvadpevos Gpuou, yuuVe TO Eider pera, TOY
pirov eberrongev ever kevag wevory opotws, bexa-
tpiav dvtwy. 'Imritas 6é xwros oy TH wey
mpwotTn cuve-emeccy open mpodupos, ds 88 Ew pa
TXoAaLTEpov Topevopevous bu! avrov, éxédevoev
avenreiv nal pn SiadOeipew tHv mpakwy, ax pno Tov
avOpwrov TEpLwevOVTAs. ETUNXE é tay 'AdeEar-
péwv tes immov ayov Tapa Tas Oupas: TOUTOV
aperopevor kab tov 'Inmitav avaBarortes, épe-
povTo Spome bua TOV CTEVWTOV KAL 1 a,peKadouv
Tov Ox Aov él THV ehevOepiav. tois 6€ ToTovTOD,
WS couxen, Gres meThy Scov éTraivety kal Oavpd-
Cew Thy ToD Kdeopévous toApav, axorovbeiv dé
ral BonOeiv ovdels edpper.
Tov pev ody rob Xpucéppov Hrodepaiov ex THS

QUANS éfvovta Tpets evdus 7 poo TET ovTeEs aneé-
KrTewvay" érépou dé Il roAepatou TOU pudrdacovTos
THV TOMY ehavvovTos Gppare pos auTous, oppn-
GayvrTes evayTtot Tous pep Virnpétas Kal Sopupopous
dierxedacay, avrov 6€ KataoTacavtes amo Tob
Gipwaros améxtevav. Elta T pos THY akpav éxo-
pov», avappngas Siavoovpevor TO S€OMwWTPLOV Kab
XpncacGat TH wAHGE THY bedeuévo. fp Gacav
d€ PpaFdpevor KAN@S Ob puraxes, @oTE Kal
TAVTNS am oxpova0evTa THS TELpAS TOV Knreopevy
diadé eo Oa. kal mwAavacOat KaTa THY TONY,
ovdevos avT@ TpooxXw@pobvTos, ana _pevyovTwy
Kal poBoupeveor amavrwv. oUTws ovp amoaTas
Kal 7 pos TOUS pidous eitrav, “Ovdév qv apa
Oavpacrov dpxeuw yuvaiKas avO pwmrov pevryovta@y
THY edevdepiay,” Tapexarece TAVTAS asios avrou
Kal TOV TeTpayLevWV TEAEUTAV. Kal TPWTOS pev
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over his right shoulder, and with drawn sword sprang forth, accompanied by his friends, who were likewise arrayed, thirteen in number. Hippitas, who was lame, joined in making the first onset with all his soul, but when he saw that he was a hindrance to the progress of his companions, he bade them kill him, and not ruin the enterprise by waiting for a useless fellow. As it chanced, however, an Alexan- drian was leading a horse past the doors, so they seized the animal, put Hippitas on its back, and then rushed at full speed through the narrow streets of the city, summoning the throng to win their freedom. These had enough courage, as it would seem, to admire and praise the daring of Cleomenes, but not a man was bold enough to follow and help him. Well, then, as Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus was coming out of the palace, three of them straightway fell upon him and slew him; and as another Ptolemy, who had the city in his charge, was driving towards them in a chariot, they rushed to meet him, scattered his servants and mercenaries, dragged him from his chariot, and slew him. Then they proceeded to the citadel, purposing to break open the prison and avail themselves of the multitude of prisoners. But the guards were too quick for them and barred the way securely, so that Cleomenes, bated in this attempt also, roamed up and down through the city, not a man joining with him but everybody filled with fear and flying from him. So, then, he de- sisted from his attempt, and saying to his friends, “It is no wonder, after all, that women rule over men who run away from freedom,” he called upon them all to die in a manner worthy of their king and their past achievements. So Hippitas first, at

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‘Iarmitas Ud TOY vewTépwy TEvdS eTANYN Sen Geis,
émevra TOY GAXwY ExacToOs evKOAWS Kai adeds

éauTop arog parrel, mrnv Ilavréws tot mpworTov
Meyaanv TONY Katara Bovros. TouToy 5€ KaA-
Morov apa wal Tpos THDV ayaryny | eupuertarov
TOV vévy yevopevov ép@pevov EOXNKOS o BactXevs
exéhevaer, éray avutov te Kal Tovs aAdous dy
TET TWKOTAS, OUT TedeUTav. non oe rerpévov
amdvTwv ET LT OPEVOMEVOS 6 [avtevs Kal T@ Exqu-
di@ wapatTopevos Kal’ Exaorov amemetparo BY
TU SiahavOdvor Cav. érret dé xal Tov Krcopevn
viEas Tapa To opupoy eide cua Tpéyyayta TO pod -
wTroy, epidnoey avtov, elta mapexdOice Kal
tédos ExovTos 76 TeptBarwv TOY vexpov éavToV
gr isarlodaee
XX XVIII. Krcopévns bev ovv éxxaidena * THS
Lmdprys Bacthevoas érn Kal rovodtos dvyp ye-
vOMevos odtw KaTéotpewe. Tis bé dnuns eis tH
money OAnY oxedaabeions " pe Kparngoixhea,
Kaitrep ovea yevvaia yuvn, mpovdwKe To ppovnpa
Wpos TO THS cuppopas péryeos, Kat meptBarovoa
Ta Traidia ToD Kreopévous @Aropupero. tav &e
Tawiwy TO Tm pea Burepov aronndicay, ovdevos
dy mpoaboxjaavtos, a amo Tod Téyous emt Kepadny
Eppipey éavTo: Kal Kaxas pev oxen, ou pay are
Oavev, arr 4p0n Bowy Kal ayavaxtovy éri TO
Staxwr,vcoOat TENEUTAY.
‘O 86 IIroAeuaios, ws eyvo Tavita, mpocétake
TO pey copa Tob Krcopevous | Kpeudoas Kara-
upawoartas, dTroKTeivar bé Ta Tradia xal THY
pntépa nal tas mepi avtnv yuvaixas. ev dé
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his own request, was smitten down by one of the younger men, then each of the others calmly and cheerfully slew himself, except Panteus, the man who led the way in the capture of Megalopolis.! He had once been the king’s favourite, because in his youth he was most fair, and in his young man- hood most amenable to the Spartan discipline ; and now his orders were to wait until the king and the rest of the band were dead, and then to die himself. At last all the rest lay prostrate on the ground, and Panteus, going up to each one in turn and pricking him with his sword, sought to discover whether any spark of life remained. When he pricked Cleomenes in the ankle and saw that his face twitched, he kissed him, and then sat down by his side; at last the end came, and after embracing the king’s dead body, he slew himself

upon it.

XXXVIITI. Such, then, was the end of Cleomenes, who had been for sixteen years king of Sparta, and had shown himself the man whom I have described. The report of his death spread over the entire city, and Cratesicleia, although she was a woman of noble spirit, lost her composure in view of the magnitude of her misfortunes, and throwing her arms about the children of Cleomenes, wailed and lamented. But the elder of the two boys, forestalling all prevention, sprang away and threw himself headlong from the roof; he was badly injured, but did not die, and was taken up crying out resentfully because he was not permitted to end his life.

But Ptolemy, when he learned of these things, gave orders that the body of Cleomenes should be flayed and hung up, and that his children, his mother, and the women that were with her, should be killed.

1 See chapter xxiii. 4.

tavrais jv Kal Tlavtéws yurn KadXiorn Kai yev-
vatoTatn 70 €ldos. ért 5€ avdtois veoydmots ovow
éy axpais épwtwv ai tixat ovvéBnoav. evOds
pev ovv ouvextrrAcvoae T@ Ilavtet BovAropéevny
avTny ovK élacay ot yoveis, ANAA Bia KaTaKnei-
oavres epuratrov: oAty@ 5é Satepoy immov éauTT
TapacKkevdcaca Kal xpuaidioy ov mod vuKros
amédpa, kal dswtaca ourrovws éml Taivapor,
éxelOev éréBn vews eis Alyurrov mrAeovaons Kal
StexouicOn mpos tov dvdpa Kal cuvdunveyxer
avT@ tov émi Eévns Biov aduTas Kal idapds.
avtTn tote THY Kparnoixvciay bTd TOV oOTpaTLO-
tov eFayouevny éyetpaywye, Tov Te TémAov
avuThs vToN\auBdavovaa, Kai Oappeiy trapaxa-
Novoa pndév te pnd adtny éexewAHyMEVNVY TOV
Qavatov, adr' é&y povov aitovyévnv, mpo TeV
matotwv arolaveiv. émel dé HAOOY Eis TOV TOTTOV
év ® tadta Spay eiw@Becay ot brnpétas, TmpaTov
pev Ta wraidia, THS Kpatnoixrelas opwons, éc-
gartoy, celta éxeivnv, &v TovTo povoy él tHrL-
, / , cc? / a
Koutots POeyEapevnv mabecw, "OQ. réxva, rot
éuorete ; 7 O€ Tlavréws yun, mepilwoapevn To
ipatiov, evpwatos ovoa Kal peyadAn TeV aTo-
Ovnoxovo@y éxdotny ciwTH Kai pe" navyias
éOepamreve Kal Twepréctteddev ex TaV évdexouevar.

TéXos b€ peTa Wdoas éauvTHY KoouHnOAaAGA, Kal
KaTayayovoa tHv TeptBoAnV, Kat pndéva mpoc-
eGeiy ddoaca pnoé idety GAXov Hh Tov érl Tis
ahayns TeTaypevov, npwikas Katéotpever, ov-
Sevds SenOeioa Koopobvtos Kal wepteadvTTovTos
peTa THY TEeAEUTHV. OUTW TapéuEevVe TH DavdT@
TO KOopLoy THS Wuyis, Kal Siepvrakey fv Coca
dpovpayv TO cwpate TEpLeOnKev.
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Among these women was the wife of Panteus, most noble and beautiful to look upon. The pair were still but lately married, and their misfortunes came upon them in the hey-day of their love. Her parents, indeed, would not permit her to sail away with Pan- teus immediately, although she ‘wished to do so, but shut her up and kept her under con- straint; a little later, however, she procured herself a horse and a small sum of money, ran away by night, made all speed to Taenarum, and there embarked upon a ship bound for Egypt. She was conveyed to her husband, and with him bore their life in a strange land without complaint and cheerfully. She it was who now took the hand of Cratesicleia as she was led forth by the soldiers, held up her robe for her, and bade her be of good courage. And Crate- sicleia herself was not one whit dismayed at death, but asked one favour only, that she might die before the children died. However, when they were come to the place of execution, first the children were slain before her eyes, and then Cratesicleia herself was slain, making but this one cry at sorrows so great: “O children, whither are ye gone?’’ Then the wife of Panteus, girding up her robe, vigorous and stately woman that she was, ministered to each of the dying women calmly and without a word, and laid them out for burial as well as she could. And finally, after all were cared for, she arrayed herself, let down her robes from about her neck, and suffer- ing no one besides the executioner to come near or look upon her, bravely met her end, and had no need of anyone to array or cover up her body after death. Thus her decorum of spirit attended her in death, and she maintained to the end that watchful care of her body which she had set over it in life.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XXXIX. ‘H pay ouv Aaxedaipov, epapirroos
dryovira evn 7? ryuvarnetep Spapare ™ pos TO ay-
Speion, éy Tos éaxdrous KaLpois émedetEe THY
aperiy vBproO hvac By Suvapevny o UI THS TUXNS.
odiryaus bé o doTepov npépacs oi TO capa TOU Kyeo-
pévous aver TaupapLevov mapapuAdrrovtes eldov
evpeyedn Spaxovta TH Kepany TEpLTrEeT Aey WEVOY
Kal GTOKPUTTOVTA TO TpPogwTroy, WOTE pn dev
dpveov épimracOa capKopayov. Kx bé TOUVTOU
Seto datpovia, TpoceTETe TP Baowrei Kat poBos,
aAXwv Kadapyiv Tals yuvaitiy a apxny TaApacxeon,
as avdpos avypnuevov eogirovs kal KpelTTOvos

Thv vat. .ot é ‘AdeFavdpeis Kat T pooet pe-
TOVTO porrevres él Tov TOTrOY, Hpoa Tov Kre0-
pevn kat Oewv maida _Tpoaaryopevovtes, ax pu ov
karénavoay avTovs of copwrepor, 6:5ovtes NOyOV
@sS peditras pev Boes, opjxas 5é tarot Kara
catrévtes éEavOodor, xavOapor bé dvwv To avTo
mabovtov Swoyovodvrat, Ta be avOpwmiva ow-
pata, TOY wept TOY puEdoY iX@pov ouppony Tia
Kat avotaci év éavtois AaBovTwv, pers ava-
didwot. Kal TodTO KaTLOovTES Of TaXaLol padioTA
Tov Cowy Tov Spdxovta Tols Howat cvvmKeiwoav.
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES

XXXIX. So, then, Sparta, bringing her women’s tragedy into emulous competition with that of her men, showed the world that in the last extremity Virtue cannot be outraged by Fortune. And a few days afterwards those who were keeping watch upon the body of Cleomenes where it hung, saw a serpent of great size coiling itself about the head and hiding away the face so that no ravening bird of prey could light upon it. In consequence of this, the king was seized with superstitious fear, and thus gave the women occasion for various rites of purification, since they felt that a man had been taken off who was of a superior nature and beloved of the gods. And the Alexandrians actually worshipped him, coming frequently to the spot and addressing Cleomenes as a hero and a child of the gods; but at last the wiser men among them put a stop to this by explaining that, as putrefying oxen breed bees, and horses wasps, and as beetles are generated in asses which are in the like condition of decay, so human bodies, when the juices about the marrow collect together and coagulate, produce serpents. And it was because they observed this that the ancients associated the serpent more than any other animal with heroes. |
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TIBERIUS AND CAIUS

GRACCHUS ,
tw

oS

TIBEPIOS KAI TAIO>
CPAVXOI
T. PPAPXO>

I, ‘Hyets 8¢ tHv aperny ictopiay dobedw-
KoTes Exouev ovK éAdtTova wdOn TovTwv ev TH
‘Pwpaixn oufuyia Oewpijcar, tov TiBepiov Kat
Tatov Biov avtimapaBddxrovtes. obtor TrBeptov
Tpayyouv maides Hoav, © tinthn te ‘Pwpatior
yevouevp kal Sis btrarevoavtt Kat OprayBous dvo0
KaTayayovTe NapMpOTEpov Hv TO ard THS apeTHs
akiwpa. 86 nal tv Yentiwvos Tod Katarone-
pnaoavtos ’AvvlBav Ovyatépa Kopynndiav, ovx av
diros, GrAra Kal dSiadopos TO avdpl yeyovas,
NaBety nEiwOn peta thy éxeivov TEerAEUTHVY. éE-
yerat 5€ mote cuANaBelw avTov emt THs KALYNS
fedryos Spaxovrwy, tovs 5é pavrers cKevrapévous
TO Tépas audpw pév ovK éav avedety ovde adeivat,
wept S€ Oarépov Sratpeiv, ws 0 pev appny TP
TiBeplm hépos Odvaroy davaipebeis, 7 5é Onreva
7H Kopyydig. tov oby TrBépiov nai didodvra
THY yuvaixa, Kal padrdXov avT@ mpoonKew syvtt
mpeaButép@ TedeuTay Hyovpevoy Ett véas ovons
éxelyns, Tov pev Appeva Krelvas Tov dSpaxovTwr,
adeivas Se tiv Onrcav elra borEepov ov TOAAG
al

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS
GRACCHUS
TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

I, Now that we have duly finished the first part of our story, we have to contemplate fates no less tragic than those of Agis and Cleomenes in the lives of the Roman couple, Tiberius and Caius, which we set in parallel. They were sons of Tiberius Gracchus, who, although he had been censor at Rome, twice consul, and had celebrated two triumphs, derived his more illustrious dignity from his virtue. Therefore, after the death! of the Scipio who conquered Hannibal, although Tiberius had not been his friend, but actually at variance with him, he was judged worthy to take Scipio's daughter Cornelia in marriage. We are told, moreover, that he once caught a pair of serpents on his bed, and that the soothsayers, after considering the prodigy, forbade him to kill both serpents or to let both go, but to decide the fate of one or the other of them, declaring also that the male serpent, if killed, would bring death to Tiberius, and the female, to

Cornelia. Tiberius, accordingly, who loved his wife, and thought that since she was still young and he was older it was more fitting that he should die, killed the male serpent, but let the female go. A short time afterwards, as the story

1 In 183 Bc.

xpovm Tereurjoat, Sexadvo traidas éx Tihs Kopvn-
Alas avT@ yeyovoras KaTaNurovra.
KopynAia 5¢ dvaraBoica tovs maidas Kab Tov
olxov, otTw cwdpova Kal gidrcTexvoyv Kal peya-
, L | A 4 A A ,
AOpuyYov auTny Tapécyev Bote pn Kaxaos Sofas
A \ , > \ 4
BeBovrcdcbar rov TiBéproy avti rovavtns yu-
A 9 a ey, / C4 \ ,
vakos arroOavely éXopevov, 4 ye Kal ItoXepaiouv
Tod Baciréws xotwvoupévov To Siddnua Kal pvo-
pévou Tov yduov avtis npvyncato, Kal ynpevovoa
Tous pév GAXous awéBare Taidas, piav 5 Tav
Ouyarépwv, 7) Lentiov. TH vewTépw cuvexkyee,
\ 4 | eee \ ? 4 / 4
Kat dvo viovs, mept ay Tade yéypamrtat, TrBéprov
kal [‘diov, dsayevouévous otto gdidrotipws é&€-
Opeppey Bore Tavrwav evpvertdtouvs “Pwopaiwy
OmoAoyoupEevws yeyovotas memadedac0at Soxeiv
Bérrtov 4} wepuxévas pos apeTnv.
II, Evel 8, domep) TOV TAATCOMEVWY Kal
e A
ypapopévwy Avooxovpwv opororns exer Tuva Tov
a \ a a
TUKTLKOD Tpos TOV Spoytxov él THs popdijs Sra-
dopay, odtw TaV veavioxwy éxeivav ev TOAND TH
mpos avopetav cal awppoovvny, ere 5é édXevOepso-
TNTa Kab AoyLoTNTA Kal peyarowvyiav éudepeia
7) : ylorn é bey : xX ie Peg
peyddat mepl Ta Epya xal ras qoXtTeias olov
éEnvOnoav Kat Stepdvnoayv avopotornres, ov
Neipov elvat por Soxet tavtas mpoexOéoOar.
A A 9 9 / , A ,
Ilp@rov péev ovv idea mpoawmou Kal Br€éupare
, A \ e

goes, he died,! leaving Cornelia with twelve children by him.
Cornelia took charge of the children and of the estate, and showed herself so discreet, so good a mother, and so magnanimous, that Tiberius was thought to have made no bad decision when he elected to die instead of such a woman. For when Ptolemy? the king offered to share his crown with her and sought her hand in marriage, she refused him, and remained a widow. In this state she lost most of her children, but three survived; one daughter, who married Scipio the Younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives I now write. These sons Cornelia reared with such scrupulous care that although confessedly no other Romans were so well endowed by nature, they were thought to owe their virtues more to education than to nature.
II, Now, just as, in spite of the likeness between Castor and Pollux as they are represented in sculpture and painting, there is a certain difference of shape between the boxer and the runner, so in the case of these young Romans, along with their strong resem-

blance to one another in bravery and self-command, as well as in liberality, eloquence, and magnanimity, in their actions and political careers great unlike. nesses blossomed out, as it were, and came to light. Therefore I think it not amiss to set these forth before going further.
In the first place, then, as regards cast of features

and look and bearing, Tiberius was gentle and sedate,

1 He was consul for the second time in 163 B.c. The year of his death is unknown. This story is told and commented on by Cicero in De divinatione i. 18, 36; ii. 29, 62.

2 Probably Ptolemy VI., surnamed Philometor, king of Egypt 181-146 B.c.

aig ae évropyos 6é Kal a podpos 0 Tdios, doe
L Snunyopetv Tov pep ép pad xXepa AeBnnora
eae tov 6¢€ ‘Pwpyaiwy TP@TOV émi Tov Bn-
paT0s TEPLT ATW Té XpicacGat rat TEpla TAT AL
THY Tn Bevvov ef apov Néyovta, KadatTrep Kréava
TOV ‘AOnvaiov loTopytat TEploT ag aL TE THY
meptBorny Kal TOV pnpov arojnaat Tp@Tov THv
NENYopowT wy. ETeLTa 0 Novos TOU pev Tatov
po Epos Kal mepimabns els Seivwory, nOteov dé 0
TOU TeBeptou Kal paARov €maywyos olxtov’ TH
bé AéEet xaapos xal Stare ovnpevos axpiBas
éxeivos, O be Laiou muOavos Kat yeyavapevos.
obTe 6é kat mepl dvavtay Kal tpdnetay EUTEANS
Kal adergs o TiBépros, 0 Oo be Daios Tots pev adro1s
mapa Barely cwppwov kal avoTnpos, Th dé T pos
TOV ade gov Siagpopé VEOT PETS Kab Teplepyos, @S
of Tept Apotcor Hreyxov 6 ott dehpivas ? apryupovs
émpiato TLS Ets exaorny Aitpay_ pax pov Xe
iw kal dtaxociwv TEVTIKOVTA. T@ 5e nOet KaTa
THY TOU Aoyou Stagopay o 0 pev eTTLELKNS Kat ™pGos,
o 6€ Tpaxus Kat Oupoedys, WaoTE Kal mapa ye-
pny ev TO every expe popevov TOAAAKLS UT opyiis
THY TE poviy Grofuvew Kal Pracdnpetv Kat
ocuvtTapatte tov Aoyov. GOev cai BonOnua THs
éxTpom hs eroina aro TAUTNS TOV Atxtvnoy, olKeTny
OUK aVvONTOY, ds Exav hwvackikor 6 Spyavor, ¢ @ TOUS
POoryous avaBiBalovary, omeaGev ésT@S TOU
Taiov AéyovTos, omnvixa TPAXUYOMEVOV ala0otto
TH pov Kat Tapappyyvupevov 8’ Opyyy, | évedidou
TOVOY paraKor, @ TO shodpov EvOUs éexelvos awa
1 SeAgivas Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, with the MSS. :
5éAgixas (Delphic tables, or tripods), after Amyot.
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Or

while Caius was high-strung and vehement, so that even when haranguing the people the one stood -composedly in one spot, while the other was the first Roman to walk about upon the rostra and pull his toga off his shoulder as he spoke. So Cleon the Athenian is said to have been the first of the popular orators to strip away his mantle and smite his thigh.! In the second place, the speech of Caius was awe-inspiring and passionate to exaggeration, while that of Tiberius was more agreeable and more conducive to pity. The style also of Tiberius was pure and elaborated to a nicety, while that of Caius was

persuasive and ornate. So also as regards their table and mede of life, Tiberius was simple and plain, while Caius, although temperate and austere as compared with others, in contrast with his brother was ostentatious and _fasti- dious. Hence men like Drusus found fault with him because he bought silver dolphins at twelve hundred and fifty drachmas the pound. Again, their tempers were no less different than their speech. Tiberius was reasonable and gentle, while Caius was harsh and fiery, so that against his better judgment he was often carried away by anger as he spoke, raising his voice to a high pitch and uttering abuse and losing the thread of his discourse. Wherefore, to guard against such digressions, he employed an intelligent servant, Licinius, who stood behind him when he was speaking, with a sounding instrument for giving the tones of the voice their pitch. Whenever this servant noticed that the voice of Caius was getting harsh and broken with anger, he would give out a soft key-note, on hearing which Caius would at once remit the vehemence of his passion and of

1 See the Nicias, viii. 3.

TOU maQous cal Tis povis avuels érpavvero Kai
Tapelyev éauTov evavdKdnTov.
III. Ad pev ody Siapopat Toadral TIVES OAV
Quran avipayabia 5é mpos Tous Tonepious Kal
pos TOUS bankoous Sucatoouvn Kat mpos TAS
apxas €mriperera xal Mpos Tas Hnoovas éyepareta,
dmapdddaxros. qv oe mpeaBurepos éyravTots
evvea 0 TiBéptos: Kat TovTO THY éxaTépou TOM
Telay aarnpTnwevay TOS Ypovots emoinge Kab TAS
mpakes ovy Kicta Stehupyjvaro, pn ouvaKpa-
cavTwy pede cvpBarovtov els TO avro THY
Svvapey, peyaany av é& appoiv opov Kal avuTrep-
Arxntov yevouerny. Aexéov obv idta mept éxaTépou
Kal Tmept Tov mpea BuTépou m porepov.
IV. _Exeivos ToLvUY eves éx Twraidwy SYEVOMEVOS
obTws Hv meptBontos & MOTE THS TOY Ad Uyoupwv Aeyo-
pevns lepwovrns ak iwOjvar Se' dperny parrov f dra
THY euryéveray. edprwce dé "Armt0s Kravdcos, avnp
UTaTLKOS Kal TELNTEKOS Kal T POryey pa, wpLEvos Kar
afiopa THS 'Popatav Bovdijs Kal TOND ii as
TOUS Kad auTov UTEpaipwv. éoTL@pévery yap é
TAUT@ TOV Lepéor, Tpog ayopevaas TOV TiBeprov
Kat pirop ovnbeis, aQUuTOS éuvaro 7h Ouyar pi
vupepior. betayévov dé dopévas éxeivou Kal THS
KATAWETEWS odTwH yevoperns, eiciwy o "Arrmuos
oixade T pos avTov amo rhs Ovpas evOus éxanres
THY yuvatKa peyanry TH dwovn Boar, *°O 'Avriotia,
thy Kravoiay nov dvdpl Kad@poroynna. ; xaxel-
vn Oavpdcaca, "Tis," € TeV, a) orroven 4 "

To Taxos; e& 5é TiBéprov adrn Tpayyov evpyces}
2 cl be... eipheess Bekker has ei uh... edploxes; Blass

aud Fuhr ci uh edphxes (unless thow hadst found), after
Stephanus,
LEO

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

his speech, grow gentle, and show himself easy to
recall,
III. The differences between them, then, were of this nature ; but as regards bravery in the face of the enemy, just dealings with subject peoples, scrupulous fidelity in public office, and restraint in pleasurable indulgence, they were exactly alike. Tiberius, however, was nine years older than his brother; and this ‘set a different period for the political activity of each, and more than anything else vitiated their undertakings. They did not rise to eminence at the same time, and so did not combine their powers into one. Such an united power would have proved irresistibly great. We must therefore give an account of each by himself, and of the elder first.

IV. Tiberius, then, as soon as he got past boyhood, was so widely known as to be thought worthy of a place among the priests called Augurs; and this was due to his virtues rather than to his excellent birth, as was clearly shown by Appius Claudius. For Appius, who had been consul and censor, had been made Dean of the Roman senate! by virtue of his dignity, and in loftiness of spirit far surpassed his contemporaries, at a banquet of the augurs? addressed Tiberius with words of friendship, and asked him to become the husband of his daughter. Tiberius gladly accepted the invitation, and the betrothal was thus arranged, and when Appius returned home, from the - doorway where he stood he called his wife and cried in a loud‘voice: “ Antistia, I have betrothed our Claudia.” And Antistia, in amazement, said: “ Why so eager, or why so fast? If thou hadst only found

1 Princeps Senatus.
2 Presumably at the induction of Tiberius into office.

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

3 vupdior.” ovK aryvom 5é Ste TovTd tives éml Tov
Tarépa TOV Tpayyov Tee prov Kal Lanmiova,
TOV "Ad pixavor avaépouaty, GN’ Ob TAEloUS ws
npeis yeadopuev toTopovat, Kal TloAvBtos pera,
THY Zn eovos "Adptixavod TéeheuTH TOUS olKElous
dad ex TAaVTOV TpoxpivarTas TOV TiBéptov
ovvat THY Kopyndiav, @S UIT TOU TaTpOS avéK-
dotov Kal avéyyvov atrored Oeioav.
4 ‘O © ody VEGTEPOS TeSépsos oT PATEVOMEVOS év
AtBin pera, Tov deutépov LKNTLWVOS, EXOVTOS

avrou THY adehpry, opod ouvdiaiTaevos v0
oKNVHY TO orparny® TAX” pep avrou THhV puaow
katépade, TOA Kal peyada 7 pos CHrov aperijs
kal pipenovy ert TOV mpabewy exépovaar, TaXU
bé Tay vewy mavTwy émparrevev evtatia Kab
5 avdpeig: Kal TOU YE TELXoUS éeméBn TOV Trohepiov
TpOTOS, as pyot Pavios, A€you Kal avr os To 826
TeBepip ovventBivat Kat TuMpEeTaay ely éxeivns
THS apiareias. ToAAny oe Kal Tapov evvotay
elev ev TO oTpatoTéedep Kat wo0ov amaddatTO-
HEeVvoOsS AUTO KaTénenee.
V. Mera de THY orparetay éxelyny aipebels
Tapas edaxe tav vuratov Tat@ Maykive ov-
oTparevelv én Nopavrivous, avO pdm pev ov
ToVnp®, Bapunotpotatp dé ‘Popaiwv oTpaTny®.
510 Kat padrov év TUXaLS Tapanroyos Kat mpary-
paw evar ious Tov TeBepiou béAaprrev ov povov
TO guveToV Kal avdpetov, arr’, o Gavydovov HV,
aides TE ToNhy Kal Top Tov ap ovTos, vo TOV
KaK@V OVS éaUTOY, EL oOTpaTNYOS éoTLY, erLys-
2 vwoKovtos. HTTNOEls yap wayats peydAas érre-

Tiberius Gracchus for betrothal to her!”’ I am aware that some! refer this story to Tiberius the father of the Gracchi and Scipio Africanus Major, but the majority of writers tell it as I do, and Polybius says” that after the death of Scipio Africanus the relatives of Cornelia chose out Tiberius in preference to all others and gave her to him, as one who had been left by her father unaffianced and unbetrothed.

The younger Tiberius, accordingly, serving in Africa under the younger Scipio,’ who had married his sister, and sharing his commander’s tent, soon learned to understand that commander’s nature (which _pro- duced many great incentives towards the emulation of virtue and its imitation in action), and soon led all the young men in discipline and bravery; yes, he was first to scale the enemies’ wall, as Fannius says, who writes also that he himself scaled the wall with Tiberius and shared in that exploit. While he remained with the army Tiberius was the object of much good will, and on leaving it he was greatly missed.

V. After this campaign he was elected quaestor, and had the fortune to serve in a war against Num- antia under the consul Caius Mancinus,! who was not bad as a man, but most unfortunate of the Romans as a general. Therefore in the midst of unexpected misfortunes and adverse circumstances not only did the sagacity and bravery of Tiberius shine forth all the more, but also—and this was astonishing—the great respect and honour in which he held his commander, who, under the pressure of disasters, forgot even that he was a general. For after he had

1 Cf. Livy. xxxviii. 57. 2 Cf. Polybius, xxxii. 13. * In the campaign of 146 B.c., which ended with the destruction of Carthage. * Consul in 137 B.c.

, N 3 4 , 2 A \
xNeipnoe prev avalevyvivar vuKtos, éxduTr@v Td
otparotredoy aicBopévar 5é rav Nopavtivey cab
N . s 5 3 \ 4 A A
TO pev aotpatroredov evOvs AaBovtwy, Tots 4é
avOpwrots émimerovtwv gevyovet cal Tous éoxd-
Tous hovevovtwy, To 5é may éyxuxXovpévwy oTpa-
Teuvpa Kal cvvwOovvTwy els TOTTOUS yaderrovs Ka}
SiadevEty ovK Exovtas, amoyvols THY éx TOU
BidlecOat awrnpiavy o Marykivos émrexnpuKxeveto
mept omovoay Kal Siadvcewy mpos avtouvs: ot Sé
, ” > \ 4 , N
muoteve Epacav ovdevt mrAnY pov@ TiBepie, cat
ToUTOV éKkéAevov atroaTéAAELY POS AUTOUS. ée7rE-
movOecav dé tovTO Kai dt avTov Tov veavioKov
(hv yap avtod mAEiaTos NOyos él oTpaTtas), Kal
pepvnpévoe tov watpos TuBepiou, bs moAeunoas
"IBnpow nat qodXovs xatactpedpevos eipnyny
&ero mpos tovs Nowavtivous xal tavtny éurre-
Sodvta rov Sijpov opOas Kai Sicaiws del rapécyev.
4 \ e A a
ovTw 59 weudbels o TiBéptos Kal ouyyevopevos
A > 4 \ / \ ,
Tois avdpdot, Kal Ta pev reicas, Ta Oe SeEdpue-
vos €otreicato, cal Sucpupiovs ~cwoe mepipavas
‘Pwpaiwv toditas, dvev Oepameias cal trav é&w
takews éropévav.
VI. Ta &é év 7 ydpaxt AnPOévta ypnpata
wavta Katéoxov ot Nopavtivor cat dSierropOnoav.
éy 5€ tovtots Kal mivaxides oav tov TiBepiov,
ypdupata Kat AOYous éxyovcas TIS TapLevTLKTS
b] A \ A 4 9 a
apxns, & mepb TodXOD trotovpevos atroAaBeiv,
H8n TOU oTpaTod TpoKEYwpNKOTOS avéaTpEYrE TrPOS
THY Tod, éxwv pel” éavTod Tpeis H TéTTapas

been defeated in great battles, he attempted to abandon his camp and withdraw his forces by night ; but the Numantines became aware of his attempt and promptly seized his camp. Then they fell upon his men as they fled, slew those who were in the rear, encompassed his whole army, and crowded them inta regions that were full of difficulties and afforded no escape. Mancinus, despairing of forcing his way to safety, sent heralds to the enemy proposing a truce and terms of peace; but the enemy declared that they had confidence in no Roman save only Tiberius, and ordered that he should be sent to them. They had this feeling towards the young man not only on his own account (for he was held.in very high esteem by the Numantine soldiery), but also because they remembered his father Tiberius, who waged war against the Spaniards,! and subdued many of them, but made a peace with the Numantines, to the observance of which with integrity and justice he always held the Roman people. So Tiberius was sent and held conference with the enemy, and after getting them to accept some conditions, and himself accepting others, effected a truce, and thereby manifestly saved the lives of twenty thousand Roman citizens, besides attendants and camp followers.

VI. However, all the property captured in the camp was retained by the Numantines and treated as plunder. Among this were also the ledgers of Tiberius, containing written accounts of his official expenses as quaestor. These he was very anxious to recover, and so, when the army was already well on its way, turned back towards the city, attended by

In 180-179 B.C.
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

2 éraipous. éxxarécas 5¢ tev Nopavtivev rovs
dpyovras nkiov KopicacBar tas SéXrovs, @S py)
, a 9 a \ 9 ” J
mapacyxot Tots €xOpots SuaBorny ovK Exwv atrodo-
yioac Oat trept TOV @kovoynpevov. naoOévtes obv
of Nopavrivos th ovvtuxia THs ypEeias Tapexddovy
9 AN >’ A b \ / e \ e ,
auTov eioedOetv eis Thy Todt: ws b€ elaoTHKeL
BovXevopevos, éyyus mpoaeAOovtes evedvovto tais
yepal, cal ALTrapeis Hoav Seduevor wnere vopifery
>] \ a >] 9 id 4 ray A
avTovs TroAEuious, GAN @s dirows ypnoOa Kal
mirteverv. edokev ovv TO TiBepio taita mroveiv,
tov te SéATwY Treptexopevw Kal SedorxoTt Tapo-
Evvewv ws atria toupévous Tovs Nopavtivous. eicer-
Oovre Sé eis THY TOoALY Tp@TOV péev AptoToy
mapélecav, kal Tacav érroincavto Sénow éuda-
n A b A
yely TL KOWT peT aUT@V KaOnpevov’ Eretta Tas
déXT0vs amédocayv, cal trav adXwy & BovXotTO

, a > 7 e 9 IO\ A ‘
xenuatav ANaBely exédevov. Oo 8 ovdevy TOV
\ , A
ALBavwrov © pos Tas Snuooias éxpHTO Ovaias
AaBowv, awnrdGev domacdpevos Kal dirodppovnbeis
Tovs avdpas.
VII. *Enret 5€ ets ‘Pony érravnrOev, 4 ev OA
mpakis ws Sewn kal Katatoxvvovca tHy “Pony
aitiav elye kal Katnyopiay, of 5é TOV OTPATLWTOV
oixetoe Kab diror péya pépos dvres tod Sypyov
auvétpexov mpos tov TuBépiov, Ta pev aiaypa
TaY yeyovorwy avadéeporTes eis Tov apyorta, Sv
avtov 5é cwlerOas TorovTous TOXiTas dacKorTes.
oi pévtoe Svoxepaivortes TA Tempayueva ptpel-
aQat Tovs mpoyovous éxédevoy' Kal yap éexeivor
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three or four companions. After summoning forth the magistrates of Numantia, he asked them to bring him his tablets, that he might not give his enemies opportunity to malign him by not being able to give an account of his administration. The Numantines, accordingly, delighted at the chance to do him a favour, invited him to enter the city; and as he stood deliberating the matter, they drew near and clasped his hands, and fervently entreated him no longer to regard them as enemies, but to treat and trust them as friends. Tiberius, accordingly, decided to do this, both because he set great store by his tablets, and because he feared to exasperate the Numantines by showing them distrust. After he had entered the city, in the first place the Numantines set out a meal for him, and entreated him by all means to sit down and eat something in their company; next, they gave him back his tablets, and urged him to take whatever he wanted of the rest of his property. He took nothing, however, except the frankincense which he was wont to use in the public sacrifices, and after bidding them farewell with every expression of friendship, departed.

VII. When he came back to Rome, the whole transaction was blamed and denounced as a ter- rible disgrace to the city, although the relatives and friends of the soldiers, who formed a large part of the people, came flocking to Tiberius, imputing the disgrace in what had happened to his commander, but insisting that it was due to Tiberius that the lives of so many citizens had been saved. Those, however, who were displeased at what had been done urged for imitation the example of their ancestors, who flung to the enemy unarmed the generals

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Tous ayannoavtas bird Lavrov apePjvar orTpa-
THYOUS AUTOUS TE TOIS TOAELLOLS yULLVOUS Tpoc-
éppirav, cad rovs ébawapévous Kal peracyovrTas
TOV oTrovdar, oloy Tapias Kal yedudpyYous, dpoiws
mpovBanrov, eis éxeivous thy émiopKiay Kal Thy
Siddrvowv tev wporoynpévov Tpétrovtes. &vOa Sy
\ f 4 \ \ wv \
kal paddsora THY Tmpos Tov TtBéptoy edvorav Kal
\ 907 e A ‘ A \ ad
omovdny e&édnvev o Stjpos. Tov péey yap braroy
éebndicavto yupvov Kal Sedepévov rrapadodva
n , A wv 9 , 4
tois Noxavrtivors, Tov 6é ddXwv edeicavto TavTwv
Sia TrBéprov. Sone? S¢ nal Lenriwv BonOjaat,
péytotos @y TOTEe Kal mreioTov Suvapevos “Pw-
4 9 > 9 A 9 > @ * @ N
paiwy: adr’ ovdey Hrrov év aitriaws Hv Ste Tov
Mayxivov ov mepréowoer, o0d5é Tas oTrovddas éptre-
SwOjvat tots Nopavtivos éaroviace &:’ avdpos
=) , , a , , \ \
oixetou Kal dirou Tod TiBepiou yevopévas. TO Sé
wWAélo Tov éorKev Ex didoTipias Kal TOV érratpovTw@Y
Tov TiBépiov dirwv nat codictav éxyevécbar Ta
A nw 9 > ("4 \ 9 ‘ b J ,
THs Stapopas. adr adn ye mpos ovdev dvnkertov
ovdé havarov e€étrece. Soxet 8 dv poe pndapmas
mepeteccly o TiBépios ols érrabev, ef raphy avrov
“ 4 , € 9 s “A A
Tois ToAtTevLact Yentiwv o Adpixavos viv Se
éxeivou rept Nopavtiav dvtos on Kal roAepobvTos
HYaATO THs TEpl TOUS VOMOUS TOALTELAS EK TOLAUTNS
aitias.
VIII. ‘Pwpaios tis tev dortuyertovwY ywpas
Sonv arrerépovto tTrokéuo, THY pev érimpacKoy,
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themselves who had been satisfied to be let go by the Samnites, and in like manner cast forth those who had taken hand and share in the treaty, as for instance the quaestors and military tribunes, turning upon their heads the guilt of perjury and violation of the pact.1 In the present affair, indeed, more than at any other time, the people showed their good will _ and affection towards Tiberius. For they voted to deliver up the consul unarmed and in bonds to the Numantines, but spared all the other officers for the sake of Tiberius. It would seem, too, that Scipio, who was then the greatest and most influential man at Rome, helped to save them; but none the less he was blamed? for not saving Mancinus, and for not insisting that

the treaty with the Numantines, which had been made through the agency of his kinsman and friend Tiberius, should be kept inviolate. It would appear that the disagreement between the two men arose chiefly through the ambition of Tiberius and from the friends and sophists who urged him on. But this disagreement certainly resulted in no mischief past remedy. And in my opinion Tiberius would never have met with his great misfor- tunes if Scipio Africanus had been present at Rome during his political activity. But as it was, Scipio was already at Numantia § und waging war there when Tiberius began to agitate for his agrarian laws. The occasion of this was as follows.

VIII. Of the territory which the Romans won in war from their neighbours, a part they sold, and a

1 In 321 B.o. Cf. Cicero, De off, iii. 30, 109.

2 By Tiberius and his friends.

® Scipio was sent against Numantia in 134 B.0., and took and destroyed the city in the following year, in which year also Tiberius was killed.

thy dé trotovpevor Snuociav ediSocav véuecbat Tols axtnuoct Kal aTropots TOY ToALTOY, aTro- gopay ov todAnv eis ro Syudoiov tedovawv. ap~apévwv 5¢ tav wWrovoiwy brepBadrew TAS atropopas Kal Tous Tévntas eEeXauvovtTwr, eypadn vomos ovK é@y TAC pa ys Exe WrElova TAY Tevtaxociwv. xa Bpayiv pev yxpovov érécxe THY Wreovetiav TO ypadupa TOvTO, Kal Tots Trév7N- aw éBonOnoe Kata Ywpay pévovow emi TaY pE- picbwpévorv Kal vepouévors tv Exaatos €& apxis elye potpav. atepov dé TaY yerTVs@YTwY TAOV- ctwv wToBAnToLs TpocwTos petapEepovTwy Tas picOwces eis éavtouvs, TéeAos S¢ havepas 76n Se éavrav Ta Wrciota Katexovtav, éEwobertes ot Tevnres oUTE Tals oTpaTeEials ETL TpOOUpoUS TrapeEl- Nov éavTovs, HuéAovy Te Taidwv avaTpop7s, @OTE Tayv thy Itadiav adracay odyavdpias éXevOepwv aicBécbar, Secpwrnpiwy S¢ BapBapixov épre- wAnobar, 8 ay éyewpyouv oi TAOVaLOL TA Ywpia, Tous toNitas éFeXdoavtes. emrexeipyoe pev ovv TH StopOwcer T'aios Aaidtos 0 LKnTimvos ETaipos, dvtixpovodvtwy $& tav duvatav poknOeis Tov OopuBov Kat mavadpevos érexAjOn coos 7} ppo- vipos' éxdrepov yap édoxer onpuaivew 0 camTinvs.

6 TiBépios 8& Sypapyos atrodeayOels evOds er’
auTny opunoe THy mpakiv, as pév ol TWretoToL
Aéyover, Atopdvovs rod pytopos nai Brooatov
Tod dtrocopou TapopuncavtTwv avTov, @Y Oo meV
Avopdyns guyds Fv Mutvanvaios, 6 8 avrodev
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part they made common land, and assigned it for occupation to the poor and indigent among the citizens, on payment of a small rent into the public treasury. And when the rich began to offer larger rents and drove out the poor, a law was enacted forbidding the holding by one person of more than five hundred acres of land. For a short time this enactment gave a check to the rapacity of the rich, and was of assistance to the poor, who remained in their places on the land which they had rented and occupied the allotment which each had held from the outset. But later on the neighbouring rich men, by means of fictitious personages, transferred these rentals to themselves, and finally held most of the land openly in their own names. Then the poor, who had been ejected from their land, no longer showed themselves eager for military service, and neglected the bringing up of children, so that soon all Italy was conscious of a dearth of freemen, and was filled with gangs of foreign slaves, by whose aid the rich cultivated their estates, from which they had driven away the free citizens. An attempt was there- fore made to rectify this evil, and by Caius Laelius the comrade of Scipio; but the men of influence opposed his measures, and he, fearing the disturbance which might ensue, desisted, and received the surname of Wise or Prudent (for the Latin word “sapiens” would seem to have either meaning). Tiberius, however, on being elected tribune of the people, took the matter directly in hand. He was incited to this step, as most writers say, by Diophanes the rhetorician and _ Blossius the philosopher. Diophanes was an exile from Mitylene, but Blossius

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é€ "Itadias Kupaios, "Avtitutpou tov Tapoéws
yeyovws €v dotee auvnOns Kat TeTLNpevos UT
avtod Tpocpwrncect ypappdtwov dtdocddgav.
éviot S¢ xat Kopyniiay cuvetratti@vtat thy pn-
Tépa TodAdKIS TOUS Viors ovetdifovcay Ott “Pw-
patio. XKnriwvos autyv Ett TevOepav, ovmrw de
pntépa Tpayyev mpocayopevovow. addot be
Lropiov twa Lloorovpioy aitvoy yevéoOar NEyou-
olv, HruKL@Tny ‘rod TeBepiou Kxat mpos dogay
ébuptdrdov avT@ mepl tas cuvnyopias, Ov, ws
érravirOev ad Tis TTpAaTLAs, EUpwv TOAD TH SoEN
Kal TH Suvdper wapnrXayora Kal Oavyalopevor,
HOéANGEV, ws Eotxev, UTEpBaréa Oat TrodiTEvpaTos
mapaBorov Kal peyddnv mpoadoxiay éyovtos
arvyduevos. 0 & adedpos avtod Tdios & tive

BuBrie yéypadev ets Nopavtiav tropevopevov 1a
THs Tuppnvias tov TiBépiov, cal tHv épnulav ths
Yapas opavTa Kal Tovs yewpyourTas } véworTas
oixétas éretoaxtous Kal BapRdpous, ToTe TPATOV
émt votv BaréoOar thy pupiwov Kaxav aptacay
avtois modtteiavy. Hv dé wrEoTHY avTos oO 8%-
pos opuny Kal dirotipiay éFippe, mpoxadovpevos
Sia ypaypatwv adtov év atoais Kai toixots Kal
pynpact KaTaypapouevwy avadaBely Tots Téevyct
Thy Snpociay ywpay.
IX. Ov pnv ed' abtod ye auvéOnxe Tov vopor,
Tois 6€ mpwrevovaw apeth kal SoEn Tov TOMTODY
aupBovros ypnodpevos, dv nal Kpdooos Fv 6
apxtepevs Kal Movetos YearBoras o vowodeierns
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was a native Italian from Cumae, had been an intimate friend of Antipater of Tarsus at Rome, and had been honoured by him with the dedication of philosophical treatises. But some put part of the blame upon Cornelia the mother of Tiberius, who often reproached her sons because the Romans still called her the mother-in-law of Scipio, but not yet the mother of the Gracchi. Others again say that a certain Spurius Postumius was to blame. He was of the same age as Tiberius, and a rival of his in reputation as an advocate; and when Tiberius came back from his cam- paign and found that his rival had far outstripped him in reputation and influence and was an object of public admiration, he determined, as it would seem, to outdo him by engaging in a bold political measure which would arouse great expectations among the people. But his brother Caius, in a certain pamphlet, has written that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and observed the dearth of inhabitants in the couutry, and that those who tilled its soil or tended its flocks there were imported barbarian slaves, he tlien first tonceived the public policy which was the cause of countless ills to the two brothers. However, the energy and ambition of Tiberius were most of all kindled by the people themselves, who posted writings on porticoes, house-walls, and monuments, calling upon him to recover for the poor the public land.

IX. He did not, however, draw up his law by himself, but took counsel with the citizens who were foremost in virtue and reputation, among whom were Crassus the pontifex maximus, Mucius Scaevola the

1 Probably a political pamphlet in the form of a letter. Cf. Cicero, de div. ii. 29, 62.
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UTatevwv Tote Kai KrXavdsos "Amarios 0 KndeotIs

Tov TeBepiou. Kat Soxet vopmos eis abixvav Kai
mreovefiay TOTAUTHY pndemore mpgore os ‘ypa-
dijvat xat pahaxw@rTepos. ous yap det Bieny THS
arreDeias Sodvae Kat pera, Cnpias iv mapa TOUS
vopous éxapTovvTo Xwpav agdelvat, TOUTOUS éxe-
Nevere TOMY TpoohapBavovtas éxBaivew av
aOdLKws EXERTHVTO, Kal mTapadexea Bat TOUS Bon-
Oeias Seopévous TAY TONTODY. ana Kaitrep ovTw
THs eravop0acews ovens eVYV@MOvOS, O pev Of mos
nyara, Tapes TA yeyernueva, mavoacbat 70
NoLTrov abiKxovperos, ot dé TovaLOL «al KTNMATtKOL
mrcovetia bev TOV VoLOD, opyh dé xal piroveria.
TOV vopobérny u éxOous exovTes, emex el pouv
aTroT péTrELy TOV jipov, as Ys avasac wov emt
TvyXUTEL THS monTelas eladyovtos Tod TeBepiou
Kal TaVvTa mpaypata KtvoovTos.
"AAN’ ovdev émépatvov- 0 yap TeBéptos 7 pos
Kany vrdGeow Kal dccaiav arywvetopuevos ovo
Kat pavrorepa Koo puhoas duvapevep mpaypara
Seuvos Hv Kal Gwaxos, oroTe TOD Sjpou TO Anpare
TEpLKeXYMEVOU KATAOTAS Aéyou Tepi TOV TWEvyTOV,
@S Ta pev Onpia Ta THY "ItaXiav vewoueva Kal
pwreor éyer Kal KovTatov éore altay éxdoT@
Kat carakvoets, Tots O€ UTEP THs ‘Iradias paxo-
pévors cal an oBviaKxovaw dé pos Kat Poros,
aAXouv Oe ovdevos peTEaTW, arr’ dowKot Kal avi-
Sputor peta TEKVOV TRAVOVTAL Kat yuvarnar, ot
dé _auToK paTopes pevoovrat TOUS OTpaTLaTas ev
Tals payais Tapaxadobvytes uTép Tddwy Kal
1 xaradvoe:s Bekker and many other editors have xard8ucis,
after Stephanus and Reiske.
164

jurist, who was then consul, and Appius Claudius, his father-in-law. And it is thought that a law dealing with injustice aud rapacity so great was never drawn up in milder and gentler terms. For men who ought to have been punished for their disobedience and to have surrendered with payment of a fine the land which they were illegally enjoying, these men it merely ordered to abandon their injust acquisitions upon being paid their value, and to admit into owner- ship of them such citizens as needed assistance. But although the rectification of the wrong was so considerate, the people were satisfied to let bygones be bygones if they could be secure from such wrong in the future; the men of wealth and substance, however, were led by their greed to hate the law, and by their wrath and contentiousness to hate the law-giver, and tried to dissuade the people by alleging that Tiberius was introducing a re-distribution of land for the confusion of the body politic, and was stirring up a general revolution.

But they accomplished nothing; for Tiberius, striving to support a measure which was honourable and just with an eloquence that would have adorned even a meaner cause, was formidable and invincible, whenever, with the people crowding around the rostra, he took his stand there and pleaded for: the poor. “The wild beasts that roam over Italy,’’ he would say, “have every one of them a cave or lair to lurk in; but the men who fight and die for Italy enjoy the common air and light, indeed, but nothing else ; houseless and homeless they wander about with their wives and children. And it is with lying lips that their imperators exhort the soldiers in their battles to

€ a ? , \ , bd 4 b
fep@av apvverOat Tovs Todepiovs: ovderl yap éativ
ov Boos TATPHOS, ovUK ploy TpoyovtKov TAY
4 € J > e 9 a, lol
tocouTtav ‘Pwpaiwy, addr’ vTép adXNoTpias Tpud7s
kal wAOUTOU TrOAELODaL Kal aTroOYNnaKOVGL, KUpLOL
THs olxoupevns eivat Aeyopevot, piay dé BadXov
idiav ovK éxovTes.
4 Ul
X. Tovtovs amd dpovnpatos peyadov xal
a a ,
aa0ous arnOivod Tovs Aoyous KaTLovTas! eis Tov
Siuov evOovaravTa Kai suveEaviotapevov ovdeis
ipictato TeV évavTiwv. édoavTes OdV TO aVTI-
> “A
Néyerv ert Madpxov ‘OxraBiov tpérovTa trav
Snuapywov eva, veaviav éuBpi0n 16 780s Kal
Koo pov, eraipov S¢ tov TtBepiov cal auvnOn. 816
TO MeV TPOTov aldovpevos Exetvov avedveto* ToA-
Nov bé Kal duvarav Seopévov nal ALTrapovvTwY
(4 9 @ i > 61 A T f \
aotrep éxBiabeis avtixabiotato TH TiBepio Kat
\ / “A
SuexpoveTo Tov vowov. éate d€ TOU KwAVOVTOS év
Tots Snudpyors TO Kpdtos: ovdéy yap oi moAXol
,

KeXevovTes Tepaivovoty évos évictapmévov. pos
A e
tovTo mrapotuvOecis o TiBéptos tov pev pirav-
, “A
Opwroy éraveieto vouov, Tov dé Hdiw TE TOIS
a \ / > A bd a
qWoANois Kat ahodpotepov eri tovs adixodvTas
> / v 7 9ge/ A ,
etoépepev dn, Kedevwn eEiotacbar THS Ywpas Hy
EKEXTNVTO TTAPA TOUS TPOTEPOUS VOLOUS.
? e A bd wn
Hoap ovv opod tt Kal!’ éxadotny jpépay ayaves
A \ \ ’ A
avT@ mpos tov ‘OxrdBiov émi rod Bnyatos, év
/ ¥ a
ols, xaitep €& axpas aotrovdns Kal dtrdoverkias
, b > a
avrepeloovres, ovdey eitreiv AéyovTat Tepl aAAN-
A ca a
Awy havrov, ovde pHa tpoTeceivy Oatépov pos
1 ~xatidvras Bekker has xararelvovra, after Coraés, from the variant xararelvoyras.
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defend sepulchres and shrines from the enemy; for not a man of them has an hereditary altar,not one of all these many Romans an ancestral tomb, but they fight and die to support others in wealth and luxury, and though they are styled masters of the world, they have not a single clod of earth that is their own.”

X. Such words as these, the product of a lofty spirit and genuine feeling, and falling upon the ears of a people profoundly moved and fully aroused to the speaker’s support, no adversary of Tiberius could successfully withstand. Abandoning therefore all counter-pleading, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the popular tribunes, a young man of sober character, discreet, and an intimate companion of Tiberius. On this account Octavius at first tried to hold himself aloof, out of regard for Tiberius; but he was forced from his position, as it were, by the prayers and supplications of many influential men, so that he set himself in opposition to Tiberius and staved off the passage of the law. Now, the decisive power is in the hands of any tribune who interposes his veto; for the wishes of the majority avail nothing if one tribune is in opposition. Incensed at this procedure, Tiberius withdrew his considerate law, and introduced this time one which was more agreeable to the multitude and more severe against the wrongdoers, since it simply ordered them to vacate without compensation the land which they

had acquired in violation of the earlier laws.

Almost every day, therefore, there were forensic contests between Tiberius and Octavius, in which, as we are told, although both strove together with the utmost earnestness and rivalry, neither abused the other or let fall a single word about the other which

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TOV Erepov Ov opyny avert jSevov. ov yap jLovov
év Baxxevpace,' os €oucev, GAAG Kal ev prro-
Tipiats Kal dpyais TO TepuKevar KAN@S Kal TreE-
Trabebabar cod poves epiarnat kal KaTAKOG Wet
Thy Sidvotay. errel bé € ewpa TOV 'OxraBrov é évexo-
pevoy TH vow Kal KATEXOVTA THIS Snpoctas
YOpAs cuxyny o T tBépros, edeiTo Tapeivat Thy
tAovErKiay, UptoTapevos auT@ THY ToNY atro-
wo ely éx TOY dior, Katmep ov AayT pay éyTwv.
ouK dvacxouevou be Tob 'OxtaBiou, Staypappare
Tas dddas apxas amdcas éxobhuce xpnuarifer,
axpe dy 7 mept Tov vomou Suevex OH Pigos TO bé
TOU K povou va@ ohpayidas idias éméBanrev, tras
ou Tapiae pndev é& avrov hap Bavorev pnd eloge-
povev, Kal TiS areOjaact TOV OTPATHYODY | Cnpiav
émexnpu ev, OTE mavTas UTode.oayTas adetvar
THY EXao TO ™poonkovaay oixovopiar. éevrev0ev

Ob KTnpaTLiKOl Tas pev éoOATas peréBarov Kal
Tepiyecav olxTpoL Kal TaTELVoOl KaTa THY ayopay,
émeBovrevov be 76 TiBepio xpuda Kal cuvi-
oTacay eT aur ov TOUS avaipngovTas, OTE Kd-
Keivoy ovdevos ayvoodvTos Uirotwvvvabat Ergidiov
AnarpiKor, 6 doAwva Kxarovou.
XI. 'Evotdons be THs nuépas Kal tov dhpov
avtTov KaXovvtos él thy Wihdov, npracOncay
bro TOV Trova toy ai vopias, Kat Ta yevopeva
TOAAHY ElXe ovyXUaLY. ov pny adda TOY Tept
TeBéptov mAnOet Bidoac Bar Suvapéveov Kat ouo-
Tpepopevwv emi tovto, MadXNos kat PovrABros,
: kal yap év Baxxevuaciy
obo" } ye cwppwy ov Siapbapjoerat
(Kuripides, Bacchae, 310f. (Kirchhoff)).

anger made unseemly. For not only “ in Bacchic revelries,” as it appears, but also in the exercise of rivalry and wrath, a noble nature and a sound train- ing restrain and regulate the mind. Moreover, when Tiberius observed that Octavius himself was amenable to the law as a large holder of the public land, he begged him to remit his opposition, promising to pay him the value of the land out of his own means, although these were not: splendid. But Octavius would not consent to this, and therefore Tiberius — issued an edict forbidding all the other magistrates to transact any public business until such time as the vote should be cast either for or against his law. He also put his private seal upon the temple of Saturn, in order that the quaestors might not take any money from its treasury or pay any into it, and he — made proclamation that a penalty would be imposed upon such praetors as disobeyed, so that all magis- trates grew fearful and ceased performing their several functions. Thereupon the men of property put on the garb of mourning and went about the forum in pitiful and lowly guise; but in secret they plotted against the life of Tiberius and tried to raise a band of assassins to take him off, so that Tiberius on his part—and everybody knew it—wore a con- cealed short-sword such as brigands use (the name for it is “ dolo’’).

XI. When the appointed day was come and Tiber- ius was summoning the people to the vote, the voting urns were stolen away by the party of the rich, and great confusion arose. However, the supporters of Tiberius were numerous enough to force the issue, and were banding together for this purpose, when

¥ e , ‘ A , \
avdpes umatiKol, mpoatrecovTes TH TeBepip Kal
Yetpav amTouevot Kal daxpvortes éSdovtTo Travca-
cOat. tov dé Kal TO éAXOY Goov ovTrH SeLvoY Hd
cupudpovodvtos, cat de aide Tav avipav muo-
pévou TL KeNEVOVEL TPATTELY AUTOV, OUK Epacav
akioypew elvyat mpos THALKaUTnY oupRovAcaD,
9 , \ fa) fo) V4 \ 4
émetpeirar 5€ TH BovrAn KedrevovTes kal Sedpevor
ocuveTrecay.
‘Os 5€ ovddév érépatvey Bovrn cuvedOoica
Sua Tovs mAovatlous taxyvovTas ev AUTH, TpéemETaL
\ v b) , b A 9 / 9 4
Wpos Epyov ov voutpov ovde éemiecxés, aperéobat
fo) 9 A \ b , > “A . 9
THS apxns tov OxraBiov, apnxYavav aNrws é7ra-
yayely TO vou@ THY Whdov. Kal mparov péev
éSeiro ghavepas avtov, Noyous Te mpordépwv
diravOpwrovs nal yeipav amropevos, évdodvat

nal yapicacGa THe Shum Sixaca pev akcovyts,
puixpa 5é avti peyadwv Tovey Kal Kwwdvvev AnWo-
/ 5 @ / de a? / \ v
peeve. SiwOoupévorv 6é tod "OxraBiou thy évtevéty,
urevmav o TrBépios ws ovx Eotiv apyovtas apgo-
Tépovs Kal Tepl wpayudtev peyddwv an’ tons
éFoucias Stadepopévous avev rroréuou SreEenGeiv
Tov xpovov, &v laua TovTov povoy copay épn TO
wavoacbat THS apyis Tov Etepov. Kal TEpt avTOD
/ \. 9 4 > / fe) , A
ye mpotépou tov 'OxraBuoy éxédrevoe TO Sum Wi-
gov avabobvar: xataBnoecOas yap evOus idvatns
ryevopevos, dv Ttovto So&n Trois mroditats. Tov dé
"0 / A) Gé > A 4 \ > ,
xraBiov un Bérovros avtos edn repli éxeivou
Wipov avabacetp, édv un weTayv@ Bovrevadpevos,
XII. Kai tore pev él tovtos duédvoe rv
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TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell down before Tiberius, clasped his hands, and with tears besought him to desist. Tiberius, conscious that the future was now all but desperate, and moved by respect for the men, asked them what they would have him do. They replied that they were not competent to advise in so grave a crisis, and urged him with entreaties to submit the case to the senate. To this Tiberius consented.

But the senate in its session accomplished nothing, owing to the prevailing influence of the wealthy class in it, and therefore Tiberius resorted to a measure which was illegal and unseemly, the ejection of Octavius from his office; but he was unable in any other way to bring his law to the vote. In the first place, however, he begged Octavius in public, ad- dressing him with kindly words and clasping his hands, to give in and gratify the people, who demanded only their just rights, and would receive only a trifling return for great toils and perils. But Octavius rejected the petition, and therefore Tiberius, after premising that, since they were colleagues in office with equal powers and differed on weighty measures, it was impossible for them to complete their term of office without open war, said he saw only one remedy for this, and that was for one or the other of them to give up his office. Indeed, he urged Octavius to put to the people a vote on his own case first, promising to retire at once to private life if this should be the will of the citizens. But Octavius was unwilling, and therefore Tiberius declared that he would put the case of Octavius unless Octavius should change his mind upon reflection.

XII. With this understanding, he dissolved the

exKhnotay' TH Oe baTepaig TOU Snpov cuvedfovros
avaBas emt TO Bijua | muy emretparo meiGew TOV
"OxrdBiov. @s Sé Fw dapetateatos, elaonveyxe
vOHOv aarpovpevov avrod THV dnuapyxitay, Kal
TOUS Ton TAS evdus exdre THv Wwhpov emipépovTas.
ovoay b¢ mévre Kal TpidxovTa purer, as ai bexa-
ENTA THY igpav emevnvoxeta av Kal pas ere
T pooyevouerns édee tov "OxtdBtov iSiornv ryeve-
a0a, Kedevoas ema xety addes édeito Tov Oxra-
Btov Kai trepréBarev aurov év dyet TOU Spou Ka
KaTnomacero, MTapov Kal Seopevos pie éauT ov
direpov meprideiy ryeVO{LEVOV par éxeivep Bapéos
ovTw Kal cxv0Opwirod TroNLTEvpATOS alTiay mpoc-
aypat.
Tovtwy tav Senoewv ov TAVTENDS aTEeyKTOV
ove arevh Néyouowy axpoacbat TOV 'OxraBrov,
arra Kal Saxpuwv Uromiumiac bat Ta Cupara
Kal olwTray ert moNUy \povov. as HévTOL T pos
TOUS WAOvatoUs Kal TOUS KTNpaTLKOvS TWWETTOTAS
améBrerper, aidecOels Sonet Kat poBnbels THY
Tap exelvous ado€kiav UTooTHvat wav devvov ovK
ayEevvas Kal Keredo as mparrew 7) Bovrerat TOV
TiBéprov. ovtTw 87 Tov vopou xupodevtos o pev
TeBéptos TOV arredevdépov Tut mpooeratev amo
Tob Bipatos EXKVoAaL TOV 'Oxra Bron: EX pijTo dé
vrrnpéeTacs amehevdepors idiots, Kal TOUTO THV Oxpu
OlKTpoTepay Tob 'OxtaBiov Taperxev Ehucomevou
pos DBpw. o 5é Sipuos epopynoev avT@, Kal
TOV Tovotwv cuvopapovrwy Kal SiacxovTwv Tas
xelpas, O pev 'Oxra Bros erwOn HOALS eCapraryels
kai dtahbuyov Tov dxov, otxétny 5€ avTod TLaTOV
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assembly for that day; but on the following day,
after the people had come together, he mounted the
rostra and once more attempted to persuade Octavius.
When, however, Octavius was not to be persuaded,

Tiberius introduced a law depriving him of his tribuneship, and summoned the citizens to cast their votes upon it at once. Now, there were five and thirty tribes, and when seventeen of them had cast their votes, and the addition of one more would make it necessary for Octavius to become a private citizen, Tiberius called a halt in the voting, and again entreated Octavius, embracing and kissing him in the sight of the people, and fervently begging him not to allow himself to be dishonoured, and not to attach to a friend responsibility for a measure so grievous and severe.

On hearing these entreaties, we are told, Octavius was not altogether untouched or unmoved ;_ his eyes filled with tears and he stood silent for a long time. But when he turned his gaze towards the men of wealth and substance who were standing in a body together, his awe of them, as it would seem, and his fear of ill repute among them, led him to take every risk with boldness and bid Tiberius do what he pleased. And so the law was passed, and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to drag Octavius from the rostra; for Tiberius used his freedmen as officers, and this made the sight of Octavius dragged along with contumely a more pitiful one. Moreover, the people made a rush at him, and though the men ot wealth ran in a body to his assistance and spread out their hands against the crowd, it was with difficulty that Octavius was snatched away and safely rescued from the crowd; and a trusty servant of his who

éumpoobev éota@ta Kai mpotetaypevov éEeTv-
drwoav, axovtos tov TiBepiov, xai mpos Tov
OdpuBov, os fao0ero TA yiwomEva, TOAAH oTrOVoT
KATAOPAaLOVTOS.
XIII. "Ex rovtov xvpodta: pév o tepl tis
Ywpas vo"os, aipodytar S€ rpeis aAvdpes eal tH
4 / > A 4 \ ,
diaxpiow Kal dtavopnyv, avtos TiBéptos nat Krav-
v e N \ fw , e
dios "Amrmios o mevOepos xat T'dios Tpdyyxos o
9 4 9 \ v 9 \ e '\ ,
adeAdos, oV mapwy ovTos, GAAA bo Yentiove
mpos Nopavtiay orpatevopevos. tadta rod Tr-
Bepiov dvarpatapévov xa' jovxyiav pndevos
évic Tapévou, Kal 1pos TovTots Snwapyov avtikata-
/ b VA "a b A > \ A ,
oTnoavTos ovdéva TaV émihavav, GAAA Modxtov
TwWa, TEAATHY avTov, mods TavTa SvaxYEpaivorTeEs
e \ U4 fe) / \ v

ot Suvatol Kal doBovpevor tod TiBepiov tHv ab-
Enow év tH Bovrn mpoernrdxslov avtov, aitov-
pévp pv, ws os éativ, éx Snuooiov cxnvyr,
Strws Exot Stavépwv Thy Ywpav, ov doves, éETépwv
én éAadTTOoL ypElats TroAAdKEs AaBovTwWY, dvd-
\ > e 4 e 4 > / 9 \ 4
Awwa dé eis Exdotyny nuépay évvéa oBorovs TAE-
avTes, Elonyoupnévou tavta IlowAtov Naotxa kal
SedwxoTos éautTov eis THY mpos exeivoy éxOpav
? “ , > / A 4
apedas? mreiotny yap éxéxtynTo ynv Snpociar,
Kal yxanretras Epepev exBaivery avdtis dvayKa-
Co mevos.
e “A wv a) 9 Ul \ l4
O 5 dros Ett madrov éEexaero: Kal didou
Twos T@ TrBepi NeuTH LPVLOL t
oS TG piw TedeuTnoavTos atpvidios Kal
, A A a 4
onpelwy TO vexp@ poxOnpav émidpayovtwv, Bo-
@vtTes UTo happaxwy dvynpjobat tov avOpwrov

stood in front of his master and protected him, had his eyes torn out, against the protest of Tiberius, who, when he perceived what was going on, ran down with great haste to appease the tumult. |

XIII. After this the agrarian law was passed, and three men were chosen for the survey and distribu- tion of the public land, Tiberius himself, Appius Claudius his father-in-law, and Caius Gracchus his brother, who was not at Rome, but was serving under Scipio in the expedition against Numantia. These measures were carried out by Tiberius quietly and without opposition, and, besides, he procured the election of a tribune in the place of Octavius. The new tribune was not a man of rank or note, but a certain Mucius, a client of Tiberius. The aristocrats, however, who were vexed at these proceedings and feared the growing power of Tiberius, heaped insult upon him in the senate. When he asked for the customary tent at public expense, for his use when dividing up the public land, they would not give it, although other men had often obtained one for less important purposes; and they fixed his daily allow- ance for expenses at nine obols.!_ These things were done on motion of Publius Nasica, who surrendered completely to his hatred of Tiberius. For he was a very large holder of public land, and bitterly resented his being forced to give it up.

But the people were all the more inflamed; and when a friend of Tiberius died suddenly and his body broke out all over with evil spots, they ran in throngs to the man’s funeral, crying out that he had been poisoned to death, and they carried the bier them-

1 That is, in Roman money, nine sestertii, equivalent to

about twenty pence, or forty cents.
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yA A ’ \ / \ ’ ”
emt THY Expopav cuvédpamov Kal TO A€XOS HpavToO
cat Oarrropéeve TapecTynaay, ov Pavrws UTrovojaat
Thv pappanetay Sokavtes. eppayn yap o vexpos
\ , e fe] n 1¢/ @
cat dStepOopotay vypav mwAHVos éFéBAUCEV, OoTeE
amoaBécas THY prOya’ Kal hepovTwy AAXANV avOts
ouK €xaeTo Tpiv els ETEpov TOTTOY pmeTAKO-LaOAVaL,
\ 4 / (4 \
kal TWoAAa Tpaypatevoapevwy pods HYyaTo TO
Top aUTOD. Mpos TAUTA TOUS TOAAOUS ETL UAAXOV
e , , / A bd fo \
o TiBéptos trapoEvywy petéBare thy éoOirta, Kat
Tous traidas mpoayayawy éeito Tov Sjyov TovTwY
xkndecOat Kai THS pNTpPOS, WS avTOS aTreyvaKaS
éauToOv.
XIV. ’Ezrel 6¢ rod Biropnropos ’ AttaXov Terev-
4 ¥ e \ 9 , 4
tnaavtTos Evénpos o Llepyaunvos avnveyxe d1a0n-
knv év 4 KXnpovopos éyéypatrto Tov Baathéws o
‘Pwpaiov Shyos, evOds o TrBépios Snpayoyav
clonveyke voyov Stws Ta Bacitixd yprnpara
xkoptabevta Tois Thy ywpav SiadayYavover TAY
TONTOY UTaPXOL Wpos KaTacKevTY Kal yewpyias
by) 4 \ ” 4 bud aA 9 4
adopunv. epi 6€ Tav TorEwY, doa THS ’AtTa-
Aov Bacireias joav, oddév En TH TUYKATTO
Bovrever Oar mrpocnkey, GAA TO SHuw youn
autos mpoOnceav. éx tTovTov pddtoTa mpocé-
xpovoe TH Bovdy: cal Tloumrnios pév avactas
Edn yertviav TO TeBepip cal d1a todTO ywwecKety
Evénuoyv avt@ tov Tepyaunvoy trav BaciuKcov
diddnua Sedwxota Kat tophipay, ws péAXovTt
Bacireve ev “Pon, Koivtos 5¢ MétedXos awvei-
dice tov TeBéptov btt tod pév watpos avTov
176

selves, and stood by at the last ceremonies. And their suspicions of poison were thought to be not without reason. For the dead body burst open and a great quantity of corrupt humours gushed forth, so that the flame of the funeral pyre was extinguished. And when fresh fire was brought, again the body would not burn, until it was carried to another place, where, after much trouble, the fire at last took hold of it. Upon this, Tiberius, that he might exasperate the multitude still more, put on a garb of mourning, brought his children before the assembly, and begged the people to care for them and their mother, saying that he despaired of his own life.

XIV. And now Attalus: Philometor died,! and Eudemus of Pergamum brought to Rome the king's last will and testament, by which the Roman people was made his heir. At once Tiberius courted popular favour by bringing in a bill which provided that the money of King Attalus, when brought to Rome, should be given to the citizens who received a parcel of the public land, to aid them in stocking and tilling their farms. And as regarded the cities which were included in the kingdom of Attalus, he said it did not belong to the senate to deliberate about them, but he himself would submit a pertinent resolution to the people. By this proceeding he gave more offence than ever to the senate; and Pompeius, rising to speak there, said that he was a neighbour of Tiberius, and therefore knew that Eudemus of - Pergamum had presented Tiberius with a royal diadem and purple robe, believing that he was going to be king in Rome. Moreover, Quintus Metellus upbraided Tiberius with the reminder that whenever

1 In 133 B.c.

, \ nm ,
TLULNTEVOVTOS, OTUKLS AVadvOL pEeTa SEiTVOY oiKkade,
Ta pata Kater Bevyvvcay ot TroXiTal, PoBovmevor
py Toppwrépw Tov peTpiov SoEwaty ev avVovotats
elvat Kal TOoTOLS, TOUT@ 5é Tapadaivovar vuKTOS
of Opacitato. Kai amopwtato tav SnpoTar:
Tiros & "Avvtos, ovw émieckns pev ovd€ cadpwv
A
dvOpwtros, év dé OyoLs Mpos TAS epwTHaEls Kal
Tas aTroKpicElts auayos elvat SoxwY, Els Optapov
a e %
TLva TpovKaretTo Tov TiBépiov, 7) ny iepov dvTa
a \
Kal dovNov ek TOY voLwY HTLLwKEeval TOV GUVdp-
4 be a 9 6 4 e
xovta. OopvBovvtwy dé roAd@v exTNdnoas o
TiBéptos tov te Shpyov cuvexdre Kai Tov "Avwov

axOnvar Kedevoas éBovreTo KaTnyopely. o Sé Kai
a / \ “ / \ , 9 A
TO AOY@ Kal TH So—N TOAD REeLTTOMEVOS Els THY
éavtod Sewotnta xatedveto, Kal Tapexdre pixpa
A / ’ /
Tpo TOY Noywv atroKpivacOa Tov TiBépiov. auy-
A a 4 a
yapodvTos 6€ épwrav éxelvou Kai oLwT IS yevopwévns
3 co coe Oe a Z,
einev o “Avutos, ‘Av av pév atipovy we Bovr
/ \ a a ;
cal mpomnrakitery, éyw 5€ Tia TOY CoV éTLKA-
N€owpar cuvapyovtwy, o bé dvaBh BonOynawr, ov
A A \ 4 99
5é opyic Ons, apa ye avtod THY apxyny adpaipyon;
, A 4
Tpos TAUTHY NEyETAL THY EpwWTNALY OVTW SLaTrO-
pnOnvar tov TiBéprov wate TavTwY dvTa Kal TO
Neyer ETOLMOTATOV Kal TO Oappety tTap“wTaToY
ATOCLWTHTAL.
XV. Tote pév ovv Siérvoe tay éxxdrnolav
aicOavopevos 5é TOY TOALTEVLdTwWY TO TEpL TOV
"0 f bd a PS a / ’ \ \ a
KTaBov ov Tos OvvVaTOLS MOVOY, AANA Kat ToOIS

a 9 4 / , ‘\ \
jmoNNols extrabéatepov (péya yap TL Kal KaNov
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TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

his father, during his censorship, was returning home after a supper, the citizens put out their lights, for fear they might be thought to be indulging immoder- ately in entertainments and drinking bouts, whereas Tiberius himself was lighted on his way at night by the neediest and most reckless of the populace. Titus Annius, too, a man of no high character or sobriety, but held to be invincible in arguments carried on by question and answer, challenged Tiberius to a judicial wager,! solemnly asserting that he had branded with infamy his colleague, who was sacred and inviolable by law. As many senators applauded this speech, Tiberius dashed out of the senate-house, called the people together, and ordered Annius to be brought before them, with the intention of denouncing him. But Annius, who was far inferior to Tiberius both in eloquence and in reputation, had recourse to his own particular art, and called upon Tiberius to answer a few questions before the argument began. Tiberius assented to this and silence was made, whereupon Annius said : “ If thou wish to heap insult upon me and degrade me, and | invoke the aid of one of thy colleagues in office, and he mount the rostra to speak in my defence, and thou fly into a passion, come, wilt thou deprive that colleague of his office ?” At this question, we are told, Tiberius was so disconcerted that, although he was of all men most ready in speech and most vehement in courage, he

held his peace. 7

XV. For the present, then, he dissolved the assembly; but perceiving that the course he had taken with regard to Octavius was very displeasing, not only to the nobles, but also to the multitude (for

1 Cf. the Cuto Major, xxii. 5.

éSoxet TO TAY Snudpyov akiwpa péxype THS Nuépas
a /
éxeiyns Statetnpnpevovy avnpnobat cai xabuBpi-
aOat), Noyov ev TO SHum SeEAAGEV, oF ptKpa
mapabécOat TeV émixelpnudtwY ovK AToTOY HV,
@oTe UTovonOnvar thy miOavoTnta Kal TuKVO-
TnTa Tov avdpos. ée&hn yap iepov tov Synuapyov
elvat kal dovrop, 6tt TO SHuw Kabwoiwtat Kat
ToD Onuov mpoéoTnxev. Av ody petaBarXopevos
Tov Sypov adicn Kal thy iayvdy KOON Kat
Tapaiphntrar THY Wihov, avTos éavToV atreaTEpnKe
a A 249 " > A J \ \ \
THS Tens ep ols EXaRev ov Tolwv: ETE Kal TO
Kamet@Xov xatacxdmrovra Kai TO vewptov ép-
winmpavta Sipapyov éav Senoe. Kat TavUTA pev
Tomy Snpapyos éatt Tovnpos: éay 5é Katadun
tov Sipov, ov SHuapyos éott. Tas obv ov
\
Sevov e+ tov pev Umatov o Snuapyos ake,
\ be 5 , > 9 4 A >
TOV nuapyov ove adatpnoetar thv efou-
/ a a a
ciav o Onpos Stay avTH Kata Tov dedwKorTos
Npitat; Kal yap tratov Kal Snpapyov
e A a
opoiws o Ojos aipetrar. Kal pnv h ye Bactreia
Tpos TH TWacav apynv exyew év éavtH osvdAda-
Sovca kai tais weyiotats iepoupyiats Kadwoiwtar
\ aA
mpos TO Oeiov' adda Tapxvov é&éBarev 1 Torts
adixodyvta, kai &:' évos dvdpos bBpw 4 matpros
9 \ \ / \ e , UA / \
apxXn Kal xticaca THY "Pwopny KcatervOn. ti dé
ovTws adyoy év 'Pwyn Kal ceuvov ws al Tepte-

, \ , \ ”
Tovoat twapbévot Kal durdtrovaa TO adpOeTov
mvp; dAX el Tis dv apaptyn avtav, aoa KaTo-

it was thought that the high and honourable dignity of the tribunate, so carefully guarded up to that time, had been insulted and destroyed), he made a lengthy speech before the people, a few of the arguments of which it will not be out of place to lay before the reader, that he may get a conception of the man’s subtlety and persuasiveness. A tribune, he said, was sacred and inviolable, because he was consecrated to the people and was a champion of the people. “ If, then,” said Tiberius, “he should change about, wrong the people, maim its power, and rob it of the privilege of voting, he has by his own acts deprived himself of his honourable office by not fulfilling the conditions on which he received it; for otherwise there would be no interference with a tribune even though he should try to demolish the Capitol or set fire to the naval arsenal. If a tribune does these things, he is a bad tribune; but if he annuls the power of the people, he is no tribune at all. Is it not, then, a monstrous thing that a tribune should have power to hale a consul to prison, while the people cannot deprive a tribune of his power when he employs it against the very ones who bestowed it? For consul and tribune alike are elected by the people. And surely the kingly office, besides comprehending in itself every civil function, is also consecrated to the Deity by the performance of the most solemn religious rites; and yet Tarquin was expelled by the city for his wrong-doing, and because of one man’s insolence the power which had founded Rome and descended from father to son was overthrown. Again, what institution at Rome is so holy and venerable as that of the virgins who tend and watch the undying fire? And yet if one of these

, \ \ v b 4 >
pvocetal' TO yap aovrov ov dudaTTOVOW ace-
a bd \ , A \ \ \ 54
Bodaat eis tovs Oeovs, 5 da Tods Beovs Eyovcwy.
LA yO 5 , 7 “ \ fo! 1 »
5 ovKovY ovdé Snuapyos adic@v tov Shyov! éxecv
‘ \ \ fo > 4, 4 U 9 ? A
thy dia Tov OHwov acvaAtay Sixatos éotiv' 7 yap
ioyver Suvdpet, TavTny avapel. Kal pnv ev oe-
U Ye \ 4 A ,
kaiws édaBe tHy Snuapyiav, Tov TAELoTwY
pvrav Whdicapévwv, was ovyl Kav adarpebein
6 Ouxatorepov Tacay arondicapéevwv; tepov dé 832
\ LA CNB! e ? \ e A a a
Kal acudXov ovdey ottws éotly ws Ta TaV Oewv

avabnpata: ypinocOar Sé TovToLs Kai KivEly Kal
, e , \ on >) \ ,
petaghepery ws BovreTal, Tov Onpwov OvoELS KEKO-
Ifon @ > «A \ \ V4 e
AuKevr. EE ody a'To Kal THY Snuapyiay ws
avaOnua peteveyxety eis Erepov. Ste Sé OvVK
¥ > \ tJ / e 9 / A 4 > A
davvrov ovdé avadaipetov 7 apy, SHrov: €oTe TO
4 " > / ge / \
modAaKis éxovtas apynv twas éEopvucbat Kat
mapaiteioOat Ot' avTav.
XVI. Totatta pev iv ta Keparata THs Tov
TiBepiov Sixacoroyias. érret S€ auvopavtes ot
4 \ > \ \ A 4 wv A
iro. Tas ametAas Kat THY avoTacLY @ovTo Seiy
e_ / 4 4 bf \ f
évépas trepiéyecOar Snuapxias eis TO pmédAor,
avOts addXots vopots aveNduBave TO TAOOS, TOD
TE Ypovov TY aTpaTeLav adaipav, Kal Sidovs
a \ A A A
émixaretabat tov Sipov amo Tay SuxacTaY, Kat
A 4 a
Tois Kpivovat TOTE, TUYKANTLKOIS OvaL, KaTA-
2 puyvus éx tev immévv Tov tcov apiOuov, Kal
4 / 4 fe A \ 9 \ ,
TavTa TpoTOV HON THs BovAns THY taXvY KONOVWY
1 roy dju0v Cobet: djmor.

breaks her vows, she is buried alive ; for when they sin against the gods, they do not preserve that inviolable character which is given them for their service to the gods. Therefore it is not just that a tribune who wrongs the people should retain that inviolable character which is given him for service to the people, since he is destroying the very power which is the source of his own power. And surely, if it is right for him to be made tribune by a majority of the votes of the tribes, it must be even more right for him to be deprived of his tribuneship by a unanimous vote. And again, nothing is so sacred and inviolate as objects consecrated to the gods; and yet no one has hindered the people from using such objects, or moving them, or changing their position in such manner as may be desired. It is therefore permis- sible for the people to transfer the tribunate also, as a consecrated thing, from one man to another. And that the office is not inviolable or irremovable is plain from the fact that many times men holding it resign it under oath of disability, and of their own accord beg to be relieved of it."

XVI. Such were the chief points in the justifica- tion of his course which Tiberius made. And now his friends, observing the threats and the hostile combination against him, thought that he ought to be made tribune again for the following year. Once more, therefore, Tiberius sought to win the favour of the

multitude by fresh laws, reducing the time of military service, granting appeal to the people from the verdicts of the judges, adding to the judges, who at that time were composed of senators only, an equal number from the equestrian order, and in every way at length trying to maim the power of the senate

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

7 pos opyny Kal prdoverkiay parddov i Tov TOU
dixatou xal TUE povTos Noytopov. émrel bé THs
nou pepomevns noOovro TOUS évavtious Kpa-
TOUVTaS (ov yap Tapny amas o Shpos), T P@TOV
Mev ets Bracdnpias T PATO MEVOL TOV TuvapXoVTwV
elAxov TOV Xpovovr' émerta THY éxxdnotav adjcay,
els THY voTepaiav amavTay KehevoavTes. Kat
™ p@T ov pev ets THY ayopav KataBas c TuBéptos
ixéteve Tovs avOpwrovs tamevos Kai Sedaxpv-
[évos, émeira deSorKevar dyaas pa VUKTOS éK-
Kopoo THY otxiay or €xOpol Kai diag Geipwory
avrov, obTH TOUS avO pwrrous b€O nev @OTE Trept
THY oixiay avtTod TapTroNdous Tivas avrAtcacbat
Kat Scavunrepetoat TapapurdtTovras.
XVII. "Apa 8 nMEpa maphy o Tas dpviOas als
Stapavtevovtat Kopiter, Kab mpocBarre Tpopnv
aurais. at & ov mponrbov, eb en pia Hovn, ta-
TELTaVTOS ev para TOU avOpwrov TO aryyeiov"
ovde airy 5é THs Tpopijs EOuyen, XX' emdpaca
THY dpiotepay mTEpuya Kal mapareivaca TO
oKENOS mada ELS TO ayyetov KaTepuye. TOUTO Kat
Tob T™ poTépov onpetov TOV TeBépcov dvéuvnoer.
Hv yap avT@ Kavos @ Tpos TAS maxXas eXpHro,
Kekoo unpévov éxTpeT@s Kal Sidonpov eis TOUTO
KaTaduvres opers éXadov évTexovTes @da, Kal
TavTa eeyhurparto. 610 Kal baddov 0 TuBepros
Tois mepl tas dpriOas éraparrero. Toone sé
6uws, dvw Tov O7jpov 70 pois Gat Wept TO Kamero-
ov muvOavopevos" Kal piv eFer Geir 1 poo érr-
TALCE T pos TOV ovdor, opoopas ovTw TANYHS
yevouévns ote TOV pey Gvuya TOU peyddov Oak-
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from motives of anger and contentiousness rather than from calculations of justice and the public good. And when, as the voting was going on, the friends of Tiberius perceived that their opponents were getting

the better of the contest, since all the people were not present, in the first place they resorted to abuse of his fellow tribunes, and so protracted the time; next, they dismissed the assembly, and ordered that it should convene on the following day. Then Tiberius, going down into the forum, at first suppli- cated the citizens ina humble manner and with tears in his eyes; next, he declared he was afraid that his enemies would break into his house by night and kill him, and thereby so wrought upon his hearers that great numbers of them took up their station about his house and spent the night there on guard.

XVII. At break of day there came to the house the man who brought the birds with which auspices are taken, and threw food before them. But the birds would not come out of the cage, with the exception of one, though the keeper shook the cage right hard ; and even the one that came out would not touch the food, but raised its left wing, stretched out its leg, and then ran back into the cage. This reminded Tiberius of an omen that had happened earlier. He had a helmet which he wore in battle, exceptionally adorned and splendid ; into this ser- pents crawled unnoticed, laid eggs there and hatched them out. For this reason Tiberius was al] the more disturbed by the signs from the birds. But nevertheless he set out, on learning that the people were assembled on the Capitol; and before he got out of the house, he stumbled against the threshold. The blow was so severe that the nail of his great toe

TuAXov paynvar, To b€ alua dua Tov vTodnpaTos
éEw épecOar. pixpov dé avtovd mpoedOovtos
apOncav vmép Kepduov paxouevot Kopaxes év
dpiatepg: Kat TOAD, os eikos, avOporev trap-
Eepyopévov, Kat avutov tov TeBéptov riOos
atwabeis bro Oatépou THY KopaKkwy érece TAPA
Tov Toba. TovUTO Kal TOUS OpacuTaToUs TAY Trept
avtoy éméatncev’ adda Broaatos o Kupaios
Tapwv aicyuvny ép>n cal xatndeav av elvart
moAAny e& TrBépios, Tpayyou peév vies, ‘Adpr-
kavod 5€ LKyriwvos Ouyatpibovs, mporrdarnys Sé
Tod Pwpaiwy Snpov, copaxa Seicas ovy UTaxov-
aele TolsS ToAiTals KaNovGL' TOUTO MéVTOL TO
aiaxpov ovn ev yédwte OnoecOar Tovs éyOpovs,
GAN ws Tupavvodvtos Kal tpupavtos bn KaTa-
BoncecOat mpos Tov Sjpov. apa dé xal mpocébeov
modAol To TiBepio mapa trav év Karetorio
dhirwy, émeiyerOar KeNEVvoVTES, WS TAY exEl KAS
e€yovTwy. Kal Ta ye TPATA NapTpaS amnvTa
To TiBepio, davévte pev evOvs apapyévwv Bony
dirtov, avaBaivovta bé mpodipws Sexouévwv
kal mepi avutov, ws pnoels meAdceey ayves,
TAPATATTOMEVWY.
XVIII. “Ap£apévov 6 mddw rod Mouxiou

Tas guras avaryopevev, ovdév émrepaivero TaY 833
eiwOoTwy Sia tov amo tav éaydtwv OopuBor,
wOovpévoy Kat wO0ovvTwv Tovs évavtious etic fia-
Couévous nat advayiyvupévous. év dé TovT@ PovarA-
Bios @PradxKos aro BovrAts avnp eis eudaves
Katactds, @s ovK Hv POeyyouevoy éedixécOa,
1 &y elvac Cobet and Fuhr: [wap]eivai.

was broken and the blood ran out through his shoe. He had gone on but a little way when ravens were seen fighting on the roof of a house to his left hand ; and though there were many people, as was natural, passing by, a stone dislodged by one of the ravens fell at the foot of Tiberius himself. This caused even the boldest of his followers to pause; but Blossius of Cumae, who was present, said it would be a shame and a great disgrace if Tiberius, a son of Gracchus, a grandson of Scipio Africanus, and a champion of the Roman people, for fear of a raven should refuse to obey the summons of his fellow citizens; such shameful conduct, moreover, would not be made a mere matter of ridicule by his enemies, but they would decry him to the people as one who was at last giving himself the airs of a tyrant. At the same time also many of his friends on the Capitol came running to Tiberius with urgent appeals to hasten thither, since matters there were going well. And in fact things turned out splendidly for Tiberius at first; as soon as he came into view the crowd raised a friendly shout, and as he came up the hill they gave him a cordial welcome and ranged themselves about him, that no stranger might approach.

XVIII. But after Mucius began once more to sum- mon the tribes to the vote, none of the customary forms could be observed because of the disturbance that arose on the outskirts of the throng, where there was crowding back and forth between the friends of Tiberius and their opponents, who were striving to force their way in and mingle with the rest. Moreover, at this juncture Fulvius Flaccus, a senator, posted himself in a conspicuous place, and since it was impossible to make his voice heard so

Sueonunve TH Yeupt Ppdoar te BovAopevoy avrov

2 idia Te TeBepio. xal Kxerevoavtos éxeivov d:a-
axeiv TO TAOS, avaBas porus Kal TpoceOwv
amnyyerev OTe THS BovrAnS ouyxabeCopevns o1
TAOVCLOL, TOY UTaTOV my WeiOovTeEs, avTol dia-
vooovtat KaQ’ avtovs aroxtivvivat Tov TuBépior,
moNAous él tovTo Sovrouvs Kal dirovs wrdL-
opeévous ExovTes.
XIX. ‘Os otv tatta tots wepi avtov éEny-
yetrev 0 TuBéptos, odo pév evOds Tas Te THBEv-
vous TwepieC@vvurTo, Kal Ta TaY UIrnpetav Sopata

ovykrA@vtes ols aveipyovat Tov dyAov, dredap-
Bavov ws apvvovpevot Tots KAaTMAGL TOUS éTEP-
2 youevous. Tav dé atwrépw Oavyafovtwy Ta
ywopueva kal muvOavopévwv, 0 TiBépios ato
TH XElpt THs Keharijs, évdecevvpevos TH OYree Tov
xivduvov, éret THS Povis ovK émyjxovov. ot dé
évavtio. tovTo iddvtes EOeov mpos tiv RBovrnp,
amayyédXovtes aitety Stuadnua tov TrBéprov: Kal
TOVTOV onmeloy Elvat TO THS KEeharns émiOiyya-
3 ve. mdvtes pev ovv eOopuBnOncav: o && Na-
ouas n&iov tov Uratov tH Toe BonOety Kal
KaTAaVELY TOV TYPAaVVOY. aTroKpiWVapévou Oé TPAws
éxeivou Bias pev ovdemas bmdpEew ovdé avaipn-
cew ovdéva TOY TONTOY AKpLToV, EL péVTOL
Wwndicatto Te TOY Tapavouwy o SHpos UTd TOD
TrBepiov mecobels Biacbeis, todTo KUptov py
durdtew, avarndnoas o Naouxas, “Eset roivuy,”
én, “ mpodiéwav 0 apywv thy ToALY, ot BovdAdc-
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far, indicated with his hand that he wished to
tell Tiberius something meant for his ear alone.
Tiberius ordered the crowd to part for Flavius, who
made his way up to him with difficulty, and told him
that at a session of the senate the party of the rich,
since they could not prevail upon the consul to do
' so, were purposing to kill Tiberius themselves, and
for this purpose had under arms a multitude of their
friends and slaves.

XIX. Tiberius, accordingly, reported this to those who stood about him, and they at once girded up their togas, and breaking in pieces the spear-shafts with which the officers keep back the crowd, distri- buted the fragments among themselves, that they might defend themselves against their assailants. Those who were farther off, however, wondered at what was going on and asked what it meant. Where- upon Tiberius put his hand to his head, making this visible sign that his life was in danger, since the questioners could not hear his voice. But his opponents, on seeing this, ran to the senate and told that body that Tiberius was asking for a crown; and that his putting his hand to his head was a sign having that meaning. All the senators, of course, were greatly disturbed, and Nasica demanded that the consul should come to the rescue of the state and put down the tyrant. The consul replied with mild- ness that he would resort to no violence and would put no citizen to death without a trial; if, however, the people, under persuasion or compulsion from Tiberius, should vote anything that was unlawful, he would not regard this vote as binding. There- upon Nasica sprang to his feet and said: “Since, then, the chief magistrate betrays the state, do ye

4 pevot tois vopots Bonbeiv axorovbeite.” Kal
TavTa Aéywv Gua Kal TO Kpactedoy Tod ipatiou
Oéwevos eri THs Keharis, exwper pos TO Karre-
T@ALOV. ExacTos bé TOV ETOLEVOY AUTO TH KELpt
Thy tHRBevvoy tepiediEas ewOes Tovs euTrodwr,
ovdevos evictapévou Trpos TO akiwpa Tov avopar,
GNA hevyovtwv Kal TaTovvTwY aAAnXOUS.
5 Oc peév ovdv trepl avtous potrara Kai oxuTddas
exoptlov olxobev: avtol 5é tay Si¢pav Katayre-
Hévov vo Tod hevyovtos GyXov TA KAdopATA
kab Tovs modas NapBavovtes avéBawov émi tov
TiBépiov, dua aiovtes Tovs mpotetaypévous.
Kal TOUTMY LEV HY TpOTH Kal Povos: avToOU 5é TOD
TiBepiov devyovros dvrTeddBero Tis TOV ipatiov.
60 6é€ THv THBevvov adels kal devywv ev Tois
xitdow éopddrn Kal catnvéxOn rept Twas THY
™po avTod TemTwKOTAS. avLaTdpevov dé avrov
0 péev euhavas Kal Tp@TOS Eis THY KEehadny
matdkas Todt Sippou Ilordos Av Latupnios els
TOV cuvapyYovTwv’ THS Oé Sevrépas avTETroLEtTo
TAnyns Aevevos ‘Poddos, as éml Karo Tim
aEuvuvomevos. Tav O€ dAAwV aTréOavor UTép TpLa-
koaious EvAots kal AiLMars cuyKotrévtes, otd2p@ SE
ovdels.
XX. Tavrny rpetny iotopovow év Pwpn otd-
ow, ad ov TO Bacirever Oar KaTtédXvaay, aipate
cat dove moritav StaxplOnvar: tas O€ adXas
OUTE piKPasS OUTE mepl puKpav yevouévas avOurrei-
Kovtes ddAAOLS, PoB@ pév ot SvvVaTOL T@Y TrOd-
Aa, aidovpevos Sé THY Bovrnv o Simos, Emavov.
edoxer 5é xal TOTE wy YareTras Av évdodvar Tapn-
Igo

who wish to succour the laws follow me.” With
these words he covered his head with the skirt of his
toga and set out for the Capitol. All the senators
who followed him wrapped their togas about their
left arms and pushed aside those who stood in their
path, no man opposing them, in view of their dignity,
but all taking to flight and trampling upon one

another.
Now, the attendants of the senators carried clubs and staves which they had brought from home; but the senators themselves seized the fragments and legs of the benches that were shattered by the crowd in its flight, and went up against Tiberius, at the same time smiting those who were drawn up to protect him. Of these there was a rout and a slaughter; and as Tiberius himself turned to fly, someone laid hold of his garments. So he let his toga go and fled in his tunic. But he stumbled and fell to the ground among some bodies that lay in front of him. As he strove to rise to his feet, he received his first blow, as everybody admits, from Publius Satyreius, one of his colleagues, who smote him on the head with the leg of a bench; to the second blow claim was made by Lucius Rufus, who plumed himself upon it as upon some noble deed. And of the rest more than three hundred were slain by blows from sticks and stones, but not one by the sword.

XX. This is said to have been the first sedition at Rome, since the abolition of royal power, to end in bloodshed and the death of citizens ; the rest, though neither trifling nor raised for trifling objects, were settled by mutual concessions, the nobles yielding from fear of the multitude, and the people out of respect for the senate. And it was thought that even

Igl

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yopnOels o TrBépios, ers 5é paov elEar diya hovou
2 xal Tpauudtov émiodow: ov yap Tretoves 7
/ \ > N ® bd b) 4 9 aA
TploxXtALoL TrEpL aUTOV Noav. AAN EOlKEY OPYH
aA / \ / / A > A ? ,
TOV Wrovoiwy Kal pice. mAEoY fh) Ov As éoxKNT-
TOVTO Tpopacets 7) aUaTAGLS én’ avToV yevér Oat:
Kal TOUTOU méya TEKUNPLOY Mas Kal TrapAavopLws
UBpiabels o vexpos. ov yap érétpeway averécOat 834
N a “A > fa! 4 \ 4 Ul
TO COMA TH AdEAD@ Seopévm Kat Garrat vueros,
b] \ A a v a > \ N
GNNa PETA TV ANrAWY VEKPwWY ELS TOV TOTAaMOY
¥ \ A / b @ ? \ \ A
3 éppiupav. xal TodTo wépas ovK HV, Adda Kal TOV
hirwv avtod tovs péev éEexnputTtov axpitous, ToUs
5é€ cudAXNapBSavortes atrextivyvvcav: év ols kai
Avopavns o pntwp amwrero. Taiov 8é tia
Bidrtov ets ayyeiov nabetpEavtes Kal cuveuBa-
AovTes extdvas Kal Spadxovtas otTw SépOetpar.
o 5€ Kupaios Brdootos avnyOn peév én tovs
UTaToUs, Epwrapevos 5é€ Tepl TaV YyEeyoveTwV
e 4 VA ‘ ld 4
@pmoNoyel TeTOWNnKEeval TavTa TuBepiou KEeNEVOVTOS.

> 7 \ aA a \ > f gonne 4 y
4 elqrovtos 5é tot Naowxad mpos avrov, “Tt ody, €
4 > ff > A N 4 39
oe TuBépios exeNevoer Eumrpnoar TO Katrer@dutov;
\ \ A b) LA e > “a
TO fev TPWTOY aYTérEYEY WS OUK av TovTO TLBe_E-
piov KedevoavTos moAAdKis 5€ Kal TOAN@Y TO
>_\ f) , ee? > 9 2 ,
auto tuvGavopevwy, “© AXX éxeLvou ye TpOoTTac-
” ae ee A a melee
govTos, én, “Kapol todTo mpakar Karas elyev
> \ a T / A , > \ a
ov yap av TiBéptos Tovto mpocéra€erv, eb wn TO
?
Snuw auvéedepev. ovTos pev ovv Stadvywv bote-
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on this occasion Tiberius would have given way without difficulty had persuasion been brought to bear upon him, and would have yielded still more easily if his assailants had not resorted to wounds and bloodshed; for his adherents numbered not more than three thousand. But the combination against him would seem to have arisen from the hatred and anger of the rich rather than from the pretexts which they alleged; and there is strong proof of this in their lawless and savage treatment of his dead body. For they would not listen to his brother’s request that he might take up the body and bury it by night, but threw it into the river along with the other dead. Nor was this all; they banished some of his friends without a trial and others they arrested and put to death. Among these Diophanes the rhetorician also perished. A certain Caius Villius they shut up in a cage, and then put in vipers and serpents, and in this way killed him. Blossius of Cumae was brought before the consuls, and when he was asked about what had passed, he admitted that he had done everything at the bidding of Tiberius. Then Nasica said to him, “ What, then, if Tiberius had ordered thee to set fire to the Capitol? ”’ Blossius at first replied that Tiberius would not have given such an order; but when the same question was put to him often and by many persons, he said: ‘Tf such a man as Tiberius had ordered such a thing, it would also have been right for me to do it; for Tiberius would not have given such an order if it had not been for the interest of the people.” ! Well, then, Blossius was acquitted, and afterwards went to

1 For the story of Blossius, cf. Cicero, Deam. 11. 37; Valerius Maximus, iv. 7. 1.

¥ A 9 , ’ ’ U 4 a“
pov myeto mpos Aptorovexoy eis Actav, Kai Tav
éxelvou wpayudtwv diapOapévrwy éavtov avetrev.
XXI. ‘H 6€ BovArAn Oeparrevovoa Tov Siyov éx
TOY Tapovtwv ovTe Tpos THY Siavouny ere THS
Yopas nvavtiovto, Kal dvti tod TiBepiov mpov-
One Tots moAXols optatny éX€cOar. AaBovTes
5é tas Wdous etrovto TlowAtov Kpdacop, oixetov
4 V4 4 A tL) le) 4
ovta Lpayye: Guyatnp yap avtod Arxivrvia Tato
i} , 4 4 4 e / ,
Tpayyo ovvexe. xattot Nérws o Kopyndios
> / 4 de A @ /
gdnow ov Kpdocov, Bpovtouv 5é tod OptapBev-
aavtos amd Avoitavay Buyatépa yhyat dior:
? e ¢ e e A ‘ e a
GANA OL WrELoUS wS Hels ypahopmev taTopovowy.
émel 5é yarerras wey o Shpos elye TO Oavato
tov TiBepiov nal davepos fv auvvns Tmeptsévov
katpov, Hon S€ Kai Sixas tT@ Naotxad mpoave-
aelovto, deicaca TEepi ToD avdpos 7 BovarArn Wndi-
Cera pndev Seouévn méurey avtov eis ‘Aciav.
ov yap airexpUTTOVTO KaTa Tas ATraYTHTELS Ob
v \ 4 b) > 9 / \
avOpwrirot thy dvapéverav, GAN éEnypraivorvTo Kal
xateBowy Sirov mpootuyoley, evaryh Kal TUpavvor
Kal pemayKora povm awuatos agvrou Kal lepov
TO ayiwratoy Kal ppixwdéoTtatov év TH Trondet
TOV (Ep@v atoKkaXovdvTes. oTw pev vTEEnN.E
“A > / a a
Ths Itadtas o Naouxds, xaitrep évdedepévos tais
peyioTaus lepoupyiats: mv yap o péytotos Kal
a vad € , wv ‘9 U \ A
TOWTOS THY tepéwy. E€w 5é adVOY Kal TrAVO-
LNB > \ ‘ / /
pevos adoEws ov peta todvy ypovoy KaTéoTpeEe
mept Tlépyapov. ov de? 8¢ Oavydtew ef Naoixarv
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TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Aristonicus! in Asia, and when the cause of Aristo-
nicus was lost, slew himself.
XXI. But the senate, trying to conciliate the people now that matters had gone so far, no longer opposed

the distribution of the public land, and proposed that the people should elect a commissioner in place of Tiberius. So they took a ballot and elected Publius Crassus, who was a relative of Gracchus; for his daughter Licinia was the wife of Caius Gracchus. And yet Cornelius Nepos? says that it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of the Brutus who triumphed over the Lusitanians, whom Caius married; the majority of writers, however, state the matter as I have done. Moreover, since the people felt bitterly over the death of Tiberius and were clearly awaiting an opportunity for revenge, and since Nasica was already threatened with prose- cutions, the senate, fearing for his safety, voted to send him to Asia, although it had no need of him there. For when people met Nasica, they did not try to hide their hatred of him, but grew savage and cried out upon him wherever he chanced to be, calling him an accursed man and a tyrant, who had defiled with the murder of an inviolable and sacred person the holiest and most awe-inspiring of the city's sanctu- aries. And so Nasica stealthily left Italy, although he was bound there by the most important and sacred functions ; for he was pontifex maximus. He roamed and wandered about in foreign lands ignominiously, and after a short time ended his life at Pergamum. Now, it is no wonder that the people so much hated

1 The pretender to the throne of Attalus Philometor (xiv. 1).
He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Romans in 130 B.c.
2 In a lost biography.

peptonkey oTwS o SHuos, GTov Kal LenTiwv o
"Adptixavos, ob Soxodct 'Pwpaios wndéva Sixaco-
TEpov nde MAAXOY ayaThoal, Tapa pKpov HrAOev
éxtrecely nal orépecOat tis mpos Tov Spor ev-
voias, tt mpatov péev ev Nouavtia tHv TeXevTHv
tov TtBepiov mudouevos dvepwrncev ex TaY
'Opnpixav:
@$ ATrONOLTO Kal GAXOS 6 Tis TOLADTA ye péCoL,

éreita tev wept T'aiov cal PovrABrov avrod. 8'
éxxrAnoias wuvOavopévwv ti dpovoin mepl THs
TiBepiov rereutis, ovn apecxopévny ois vi
éxelvou qremoATevpéevolts aToKploly EdwKev. €K
Toutov yap o pev Simos avréxpovcey avT@ Xé-
yovtt, pndémw TovTO Tolnoas WpOTEpov, avTOS
de tov SHpov eitrety Kax@s mwponxOn. epl pev
ToUTay év TH Lxntiwvos Bim ta Kal' exacta
yeypamras.
lr. CTPAPXO®

I, Tdios 5€ Tpdyxos ev apyn pev 7 dedeas
Tous éyOpous 7) POovoy cuvadyav em' avtovs trre§-
éoTn Te THS ayopas Kal Kal" éavrov novytav

éxyov Seérptbev, ws av tis & te TH Tapovtt
TaTeWwda TpaTTwWY Kal TO AOLTOV OUTwS amTpay-
povws Biwodpevos, wate Kal AOyov Tict Kal'
avtov tmapacyeiv ws duvoxepaivoytos Kal mpoBe-
BAnpévov thy tov TeBepiov morstelav. Av Se
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TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Nasica, when even Scipio Africanus, than whom no one would seem to have been more justly or more deeply loved by the Romans, came within a little of forfeiting and losing the popular favour because, to begin with, at Numantia, when he learned of the death of Tiberius, he recited in a loud voice the verse of Homer !:—
"So perish also all others who on such wickedness

venture,

and because, in the second place, when Caius and Fulvius asked him in an assembly of the people what he thought about the death of Tiberius, he made a reply which showed his dislike of the measures advocated by him. Consequently the people began to interrupt him as he was speaking, a thing which they had never done before, and Scipio himself was thereby led on to abuse the people. Of these matters I have written Mlcumetaauany, in my Life of Scipio.?

CAIUS GRACCHUS

I. Caius Gracchus, at first, either because he feared his enemies, or because he wished to bring odium upon them, withdrew from the forum and lived quietly by himself, like one who was humbled for the present and for the future intended to live the same inactive life, so that some were actually led to denounce him for disliking and repudiating his brother's political measures. And he was also

1 Odyssey, i. 47 (Athena, of Aegisthus).

* One of the lost biographies.

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Kal pelpaxioy TavTamaciw: évyéa yap eveauTois
éhelrreto Traderpod rad’ nrtclav, éxetvos Se oumra
TpidKovTa yeyovas am éGavev. érrel dé m poioyos
Tob Xpovov Tov Te TpoTrOV NOUXT, Srépawwev a dpyias
Kab padaxias «al TOTOV Kal XPnpaTic wav anXo-
Tpioy ovTa, Kal Tov ovyov domrep anim Tepe
KatacKevalopevos em Thy TONLTELAV bfjAos WV
3 ovK TpEpna wy, Siany Té Ti TOV dirov pevyovTe
Bertio TUVELT OD, Tov Onwou cuverOova rary Tos bd’
ndovijs Kal Baxxevovtos mept avutov, améderke
TOUS ddrdous pHropas Tatoo pndev dtapéporras,
eis poBov adOts ot Suvarol cabiotavro, «al TOAUS
Hy év avtots Novos ws OvK edcovaty émi Snpap-
xiav tov Tdiov mpoenGeiv.
4 Luvruyxdver dé aro TAUTOMATOU haxeiy auTov
els Lapse tapiav ‘Opéoty TO vrata Kal TodTo
Tols pev ex pois Kal’ ndovny éryeyovel, TOV bé
Tdiov ovx eMuTngeD. aTeE yap av TONE MLKOS Kai
xelpov ovdev 7 pos oTpatelas Ho KNMEVOS v7] dixas,
ére O€ THY ToALTELaY Kai TO BHpma ppitrer, avTé-
yew Oé Kahobvre TO Sym Kal Trois pirous ou
duvdpevos, TavTanace Tip arro8nuiay éxelvny
5 nyaT NTE. xaitot xpatret S0&a Toray TOUTOU
dxpatov yevérOar Snpayaryor, Kal TONW tov Te-
Beptov hap porepov Tpos THY amo TOV x Awv
doEav. OvK Exel 5é od Tw TO adn des: GNX’ Eouev
vm avaryKns TLVOS paddov odTOS un T poatpéc ews
6 eumecciv els THY mohTeiay. iaropel 5é Kal Kuxe-
pwv o pyTwp as dpa pevyove magay apynv T@
Paty Kal pe” novyias npnwerep Chv o adedpos
é6vap gaveis xal mpocayopevoas, “Ti Sia,”
198

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TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

quite a stripling, for he was nine years younger than
his brother, and Tiberius was not yet thirty when he
died. But as time went on he gradually showed a
disposition that was averse to idleness, effeminacy,
wine-bibbing, and money-making ; and by preparing
his oratory to waft him as on swift pinions to public
life, he made it clear that he was not going to
remain quiet; and in defending Vettius, a friend of

his who was under prosecution, he had the people about him inspired and frantic with sympathetic delight, and made the other orators appear to be no better than children. Once more, therefore, the nobles began to be alarmed, and there was much talk among them about not permitting Caius to be made tribune.

By accident, however, it happened that the lot tell on him to go to Sardinia as quaestor for Orestes the consul.! This gave pleasure to his enemies, and did not annoy Caius. For he was fond of war, and quite as well trained for military service as for pleading in the courts. Moreover, he still shrank from public life and the rostra, but was unable to resist the calls to this career which came from the people and his friends. He was therefore altogether satisfied with this opportunity of leaving the city. And yetastrong opinion prevails that he was a demagogue pure and simple, and far more eager than Tiberius to win the favour of the multitude. But this is not the truth; nay, it would appear that he was led by a certain necessity rather than by his own choice to engage in public matters. And Cicero the orator also relates ? that Caius declined all office and had chosen to live a quiet life, but that his brother appeared to him in a dream and addressed him, saying: ‘‘ Why, pray, dost

1 In 126 B.c. ? De dir, i. 26, 56. 199

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i
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES
pain, és V'die, Bpadvvers; ovx éotiv atrodpacts,
adh els bev 7 Weep duxporépars Bios, els dé Gavaros
birép Tov Sjpou TodeTEvopevors mémporat.
II. Tevopevos odv o D'dios év Lapdow wacav
aperis arroberkty édidou, «al TON mare Sie pepe
TOV vévy ev TOIS ‘pos TOUS TOAEMLOUS ayaae Kat
év Trois. 1 pos TOUS UmnKous Sucators kal év th
7 pos TOV oTpaTyyov evvoia Kal TULA, coppoowvy
dé Kat ATOTHTL Kal girorovia TAPHAAATTE KAL
TOUS mpeaButépous. iaxupod dé Kal vor adous
apa Xetmdavos éy Yapodovr yevouevov kat Tov
oTpaThnyou TAS TWOAELS oO ira Tots TTPATLOITALS
aiTouvTos, errepypay els “Peuny TapatTovpevor.
Sefapevns dé THS Bovrns thy Tapaitnow aAuTa@V
Kal TOV oTparnyov adrobev aueelery TOUS oTpa-
TLOTAS Kehevovons, amropobvros 5é é exeivou Kal TOV
TTpATLOTOV kaxoT abouvTav, émehOov TAS TOAELS
o Tdios avTous ad éavtov émroinaev éaOfra
mépyat Kxat BonOjoat trois “Pwpaios. tadra
warty els ‘Popny atrayyedAopeva Kal Soxodyra
Snuaryoryias T podryaves elvat dverdparrte Thy

Bouniy. cal mp@tov pev ex AtBuns Tapa Mexinva
TOU Bacrréws mpéa Bets Taparyevouevous, Kat
Aéyovtas as) Bactrevs Xapere Tatou Tpayxov
Téprpecev els ZapSova, cirov Te oTpATHY®, dvaxe-
paivovres e€éBanov emevta Soypa Totovyrat Tots
pev otpatiwtats diadoxyny amooTadhvat, Tov be
‘Opéarny eTrLpevely, sn 5) Kal Tou Tatov Sea thy
apxny Tapapevoovros. o bé TOUTO@Y aUT®@ Tpoc-
TeTOVTO@V evus eFérrhevoe Tpos opyny, kal daveis
év ‘Pawn tap édrridas ov pdvoy UTrd TaV éxOpav

thou hesitate, Caius? There is no escape; one life
is fated for us both, and one death, as champions of
the people.”

II. After reaching Sardinia, then, Caius gave proof of every excellence, and far surpassed all the other young men in conflicts with the enemy, in just dealings with the subject peoples, and in the good will and respect which he showed towards his commander, while in self-restraint, frugality, and industry, he excelled even his elders. The winter in Sardinia proved to be rigorous and unhealthy, and the Roman commander made a requisition upon the cities of clothing for his soldiers, whereupon the cities sent to Rome and begged to be relieved from the exaction. The senate granted their petition and ordered the commander tw get clothing for his soldiers in some other way. The commander was at a loss what to do, and the soldiers were suffering ; so Caius made a circuit of the cities and induced them of their own free will to send clothing and other assistance to the Romans. This was reported to Rome, where it was thought to be a prelude to a struggle for popular favour, and gave fresh concern to the senate. So, to begin with, when ambassadors of King Micipsa came from Africa, and announced that out of regard for Caius Gracchus the king had sent grain to the Roman commander in Sardinia, the senators were displeased and turned them away. In the second place, they passed a decree that fresh troops should be sent to relieve the soldiers in Sardinia, but that Orestes should remain, with the idea that, Caius also would remain with him by virtue of his office. But Caius, when this came to his ears, straightway sailed off in a passion, and his unexpected appearance in Rome

aitiay elyev, GANA Kal Tots ToANOIS GAROKOTOV
éd0xet TO Tapiay dvra wpoaTroo THvat TOD apYovToS.
ov nv AANA KaTNyOpias aUT@ yevouevns emi Tav
TLULNTOV, alTnadmEVvos AGYoV OUTwW pETETTNGE TAS
yvouas TOV axovaavtwy as amedOely ndixjo bar
a 4 50 9 A @ \ a 54
Ta péeytota Sofas. éotpatevoOar pev yap éedy
Swdexa ETn, TOV AAXNwY Séxa oTpaTevomevwry év
avayxats, Tausevwv S€ TO oTpaTHY@ Tapape-

le) , \
pevnkevat TpLeTiav, TOD vomoU eT EvLaUTOY éTrav-
eXOeiy Seddvros: povos 5é tav otpaTevoapévonv
“a \ 4 9 A \ b
awAnpes TO Badrdvtiov eicevnvoyas Kevov éfevnvo-
yévar, Tos 5é aAXous exridvtas by elonveyxav
olvov, apyupiov Kal ypuciou pectovs Setpo rovs
apdopeis rev KoutCovras.
III. "Ex tovrov madw addas aitias avT@ Kal
Sixas eriyov @s TOVs cuppayous adtotarTe Kal
, A / ? a

Kexolvarncote THS tept Dpéyerrav évderyPeions
cuvwpocias. o 6¢ Tacap UTroWiay aToNvadpLEVvos
Kat \ @ N "Ov > \ 6 4 Lf
t haveis xa0apos evOvs ert dnuapyiay wpunce,
TOV ev yvopipeov avdp@v owadras dirayvTwv
évavTlounévmy mpos autov, dyAou dé TocovToU
guppéovtos els THY Todkw é€x THS ITadias Kal
cuvapxarpeatalovros ws TOANAOIs ev OLKNOELS ETTL-
Autrety, ToD Se mediov py SeEapévou Td TWAROOS
GTO TOV TEYOV Kal TOV KEepduwv Tas Pavas cuvT-
a y ~
yetv. tocodroy 8 obv éfeBidoavro Tov Spor ot
duvatot nal rhs éXaridos Tod Taiou caetrov, cov
202 .

not only was censured by his enemies, but also made the people think it strange that he, quaestor as he was,. had left his post before his commander. However, when he was denounced before the censors, he begged leave to speak, and wrought such a change in the opinions of his hearers that he left the court with the reputation of having been most grossly wronged. For he said that he had served in the army twelve years, although other men were required to serve there only ten, and that he had continued to serve as quaestor under his commander for more then two years, although the law permitted him to come back after a year. He was the only man in the army, he said, who had entered the campaign with a full purse and left it with an empty one; the rest had drunk up the wine which they took into Sardinia, and had come back to Rome with their wine-jars full of gold and silver.

III. After this, other fresh charges and indictments were brought against him, on the ground that he had caused the allies to revolt and had been privy to the conspiracy at Fregellae,! information of which was brought to Rome. But he cleared himself of all suspicion, and having established his entire innocence, immediately began a canvass for the tribuneship. All the men of note, without exception, were opposed to

him, but so great a throng poured into the city from the country and took part in the elections that many could not be housed, and since the Campus Martius could not accommodate the multitude, they gave in their voices from the house-tops and tilings. So far, however, did the nobility prevail against the people and disappoint the hopes of Caius that he was not

' Fregellae revolted, and was destroyed in 125 B.c.

' e / a 3 ,
OUX, WS WpocedoKnoe, TPA@TOV, GAAA TéTapToV
avayopevOnvat. traparaBav 8 thy apyny evus
hv atravtT@v TPATOS, iaYvwY TE TO A€yelv, WS
Gros ovdets, Kal Tod madovs ai'T@ Tappyciav
ToAAnY StOovTos avakAatopévp Tov abderddv.
évrav0a yap é£ amdons mpopacews tepimye Tov
Sipov, avapluyynoKkwv TOY yeyovoTwy Kal Tapate-
Jels Ta TOY Tpoyover, ws éxeivor pev Kal Dari-
é |
oKoLs érrodeunoay vTrep L'evuxiov Ttivds Snudpxov
, \ Af , , /,
NoLdopnGevros, cai ['aiov Beroupiou Odvarov xaré-
yvocay, OTe OnuapxY@ Topevopeve Se ayopas ovy
e t , gee a 1 ©. > ©
vreEésTN jwoVvos: Tuav b€ opwrvtar," edn,
"TBéptov Evrors auvéxotrrov odTot, Kal ba péons
a f > 7 \ 3 ' ¢
THS TOAEwWS EgUpeTo vexpos éx KatretwdXiov pidy-
TOMEVOS eis TOV TroTamOV: ot Sé aALOKOMEVOL TOV
dirwv amwéOnvoKoy dxptro. Kaito. watpLov eoTu
npiv, eb tes Exov Sixnv Oavatexny py vrraxove.,
/ \ \ , rd bd , \
TovTou mpos Tas Ovpas EwOev EXOovta carmiyKTHy
avaxanretcOar TH oarmTUyyt, Kal un WpoTEpov éme-
UA A > fe) \ 4 (4 >
héperv Wihov avT@ tous dixactds. ovTwS evAa-
" \ / \ 4 9 99
Beis nat mepvdNaypévoe Tepl Tas Kpicels Hoav.
4 U / \ A
IV. Totovrous Aoyous tpoavaceicas Tov Sipov
¢ \ \ , \ e ,
(Hy d€ Kal peyaropwvotatos, cal poparewtatos
év TH Névetv), SVO vopwous eicéhepe, Tov pév, et
TLVOS APXOvTos adnpHro Thy apyny o Shpmos, ov'
é@yra Toute dSevrépas apyis petovoiav elvas Tov

returned first, as he expected, but fourth. But after entering upon his office! he was at once first of all the tribunes, since he had an incomparable power in oratory, and his affliction gave him great boldness of speech in bewailing the fate of his brother. For to this subject he would bring the people round on every pretext, reminding them of what had happened in the case of Tiberius, and contrasting the conduct of their ancestors, who went to war with the people of Falerii on behalf of Genucius, a tribune whom they had insulted, and condemned Caius Veturius to death because he was the only man who would not make way for a tribune passing through the forum. “ But before your eyes,” he said, “ these men beat Tiberius to death with clubs, and his dead body was dragged from the Capitol through the midst of the city to be thrown into the Tiber; moreover, those of his friends who were caught were put to death without trial. And yet it is ancient usage among us that if anyone who is arraigned on a capital charge does not answer to his summons, a trumpeter shall go to the door of this man’s house in the morning and summon him forth by sound of trumpet, and until this has been done the judges shall not vote on his case. So careful and guarded were the men of old in capital cases.”

IV. Having first stirred up the people with such words as these (and he had a very loud voice, and was most vigorous in his speaking), he introduced two laws, one providing that if the people had deprived any magistrate of his office, such magistrate should not be allowed to hold office a second time ;

1 For the year 123 B.c., ten years after Tiberius had entered upon the same office. :

be, et Tus dpxwy a@eputov exKExnpuxor ToALT HD,
2 Kar’ avTou di6ovta Kplow TO Snug. TOUT@Y TOV vO meov dytupus tr) pev Médpkov ‘OxraBrov nT mov TOV bro TeBeptou THs Snuapxias exTreg ovTa, ™@ éveiXeTo IlomiAAsos: obtos yap aTparnyay TOUS Tov TeBepiov didous eFexnpute. cat Ilomiddtos pev ov brocras THY Kpiow Epuyev ef "Irarias: Tov 6é Erepov vouov dios autos émaveidero, pncas TH pntpl Kopynvig denDeion xapiver Bar
3 Tov 'OxrdBror Kal o Sijpos nydaOn Kat ouvEexw-pNce, Teme THY Kopyn diay ovder 7 TTOV are Toy Tmaidov 7 rod TAT pos; As ye «al Naraiy elxova oTHTAS Vatepov émreyparpe Kopyy dav pnrépa Dpdyxev. arropynpoveveT at be wal tov Vatov TON-ra PuTopiKas Kal ayopatws bmrép auris eLpnueva mpos tia Tov éyOpav. “Xu ydp,” épn, “ Kopvn-
4 Alay AoLdopets TY TeBéptov TeKxovaay; ” érret Se

81a Be SAnpevos hy ets padraxtav 0 Aowdopn Geis:
“Tiva 66,” elrrev, EXeov Tappynatav auryKpivers
Kopynrig TEAUTOD; éTexes yap WS éxeivn; wal piv
TAVTES loace ‘Popaior TrELW povov exelvny ar
avd pos odcav 7 ae Tov avbpa.” TOLAVTN peVv 1
mexpia TOV Aoyov iy avrov, kal mo\Na ANaBelv
ex TOV VEY Pa Mpeveov éotiy Gpowa.
. Tév dé vOpeoy ods elaeepe TO Sipe xapeto- 837
pevos Kat KaTahvev THe. oUYKANTOD, o ev Hv
KAnpoux exes dvavewor ToS TEeVNGL THY Snpociay,
o 6€ otpatiwtixos éoOATA Te KedNevwv Snuooia
1 dvavéuwy Coraés and Bekker, after Du Soul, for the MSS.
nue véuwy. Ziegler adopts d:avéuwy, proposed by Sint.? and
obet.
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and another providing that if any magistrate had banished a citizen without trial, such magistrate should be liable to public prosecution. Of these laws, one had the direct effect of branding with infamy Marcus Octavius, who had been deposed from the tribunate by Tiberius; and by the other Popillius was affected, for as praetor he had banished the friends of Tiberius. Popillius, indeed, without standing his trial, fled out of Italy; but the other law was withdrawn by Caius himself, who said that he spared Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people were pleased at this and gave their consent, honouring Cornelia no less on account of her sons than because of her father; indeed, in after times they erected a bronze statue of her, bearing the inscription : “Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi.” There are on record also many things which Caius said about her in the coarse style of forensic speech, when he was attacking one of his enemies: “ What,” said he, “dost thou abuse Cornelia, who gave birth to Tiberius? ’’ And since the one who had uttered the abuse was charged with effeminate practices, “ With what effrontery,’ said Caius, “canst thou compare thyself with Cornelia? Hast thou borne such children as she did? And verily all Rome knows that she refrained from commerce with men longer than thou hast, though thou art a man.” Such was the bitter- ness of his language, and many similar examples can be taken from his writings.

V. Of the laws which he proposed by way of gratifying the people and overthrowing the senate, one was agrarian, and divided the public land among the poor citizens ; another was military, and ordained that clothing should be furnished to the soldiers at

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Xopnyeto Oat Kai undev eis TodTO THs prsPopopas
Upatpeic Gat TAY STPAaTEVOMEvwY, Kal VEwTEpOY
éray értaxaivena py KataréyecOar otpatiotny:

o 6é cuppaytKos icorrnhous Trot@v Tots ToAdiTaLs
tous “Iraduwtas. 0 6€ aitiKos erevavit@y Tots
wévnot THY ayopdav. oO 5é SuxactiKes, @ TO TEi-
aTov améxowe THIS TOV TUYKANTLK@Y SuvapEws.
povas yap éxpivov tas Sixas, Kai 54a TodTO poBepor
T@® Te Onum Kal Tols immevow joav, o b€ tpia-
xogious TaV immévy wpocKaTédekev avTois over
Tptaxociots, Kal Tas Kpicers KoLWas TaY éEEaKooiwV
€roinae. TovTov TOV vomoy ELahépwy Ta TE AANA
Aéyerar orovddcat SvadepovTws, Kal Ta@Y poe
QaUTOU TavT@Y Snuaywyav Wpos THY aUYyKANTOV
adhopwrvtwy Kal TO KaNOUpEVOY KOMiTLOV, TPATOS
Tore otpadels é&w mpos thy ayopav Snunyophoat,
Kal TO NoLTrov OUTW TroLety CE exEivov, piKPa Tap-
eyxAioe: kal petabéce: oxXnpatos méya wpaypya
Kivnoas Kal peTEveyK@DV TPOTFOY TLVA THY TrOALTELAY
éx THs aptotoxpatias eis THY Snwoxpatiay, ws TOY
jTokA@y Séov, ov ths Bovrns, ctoyalecGar Tous
Néyovras.
VI. ’Enred 5é od povov dé€aTo Tov vouov TovTOY
o Sipos, GAA Kaxeivp Tovs Kpivoyvtas é« TeV
immévy éwxe xataréEar, povapxicyn tis boys
éyeyove qept avtTov, W@oTe Kal THY oUYyKANTOV
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the public cost, that nothing should be deducted from their pay to meet this charge, and that no one under seventeen should be enrolled as a soldier ; another concerned the allies, and gave the Italians equal suffrage rights with Roman citizens ; another related to the supplies of grain, and lowered the market price tothe poor ; and another dealt with the appointment of judges. This last law most of all curtailed the power of the senators; for they alone could serve as judges in criminal cases, and this privilege made them formidable both to the common people and to the equestrian order. The law of Gracchus, however, added to the membership of the senate, which was three hundred, three hundred men from the equestrian order, and made service as judges a prerogative of the whole six hundred. In his efforts to carry this law Caius is said to have shown remarkable earnestness in many ways, and especially in this, that whereas all popular orators betore him had turned their faces towards the senate and that part of the forum called the “ comitium,” he now set anew example by turning towards the other part of the forum as he harangued the people, and continued to do this from that time on, thus by a slight deviation and change of attitude stirring up a great question, and to a certain extent changing the constitution from an aristocratic to a democratic form; for his implication was that speakers ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

VI. The people not only adopted this law, but also entrusted to its author the selection of the

judges who were to come from the equestrian order,
so that he found himself invested with something
like monarchical power, and even the senate
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Nw

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4
avéyesOat cupBovrevovtos avTov. auveSovreve
\ > / A b , , 5 4 ,
d€ del Te TaV éxElyn TpETTOYTWY ebonryoupevos
\ \ "A , /

olov Wy Kal TO wept Tov aitov Soya pETPLwWTATOV
Kal KaddAaTOY, Ov Ereprpe pev EE IT Bnpias DaBros
avttatpatynyos, éxeivos 8 éerece thy Bovarny
dtrodopévny tov aitov avatréyar tais ToAEct
TO apyuplov, Kal mpoceTraitidcacba Tov PaBrov
e a a \ a
ws érayOn cal apopnroy ToiodyTa THY apynY TOIS
b , 94? g 4 " / \
avOpwros: ép @ peyddnv éoye Sokav peta
evvolas év Tais émapyiass.
"Eypawe 5€ xai trodes arrotxidas éxméptrecbar
Kal tas odovs troteicBat Kal KatacKkevdlea ba:
aitToBodta, TovTOLS ATact MpatTomEevors avTov
dpxovta kai dioxntny édtotds, Kal mpos ovdev
ATOTPVOMEVOS TWV TOTOUTM@V Kal THALKOVT@Y, ANNA
A , a
Kat Oavpact@ Tit TayEr Kal TOV@ TAY y.WopévaVv
t
@s povov Exactov é€epyalouevos, @aTE Kal TOUS
wayu picoovtas avtTov Kxal SedoxoTtas éxmdnT-
tecOat To Ota TWavT@Y avicimoY Kal TENETLOUPYOD.
ot 5é qwoddot Kal trav dyuw avtny eBavpalor,
b] lA ec a ' a" A 2 ,
éEnptnuévov opa@vtTes avtov mARGos épyoAdBov,

a A ' ra)
TEXYVLTOV, TpEeTBEeVT@V, APXOVTWY, TTPATLWTOY,
diroroyov, ols maaw évtuyyavev peta evKoAas
\ A 4
Kal TO cepvor ev TO dhirtavopwrr@ SiapvAdtror,

A , ,
Kal véuwv adtov TO appuoTToY oikeiws éExadoTe,
\ > , 4 \ \
YareTTrovs amedeixvue cuxopavras Tors PhoRepov
> a \ ¢ A , 9 ce)
avrov » goptixov drws 7) Blatov atroxaXovvtas.
ovTw dSewvorepos Hv év tais omtdiars Kal Tails
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consented to follow his counsel. But when he counselled them, it was always in support of measures befitting their body; as, for instance, the very equitable and honourable decree concerning the grain which Fabius the pro-praetor sent to the city from Spain. Caius induced the Senate to sell the grain and send the money back to the cities of Spain, and further, to censure Fabius for making his government of the province intolerably burden- some to its inhabitants. This decree brought Caius great reputation as well as popularity in the provinces.

He also introduced bills for sending out colonies, for constructing roads, and for establishing public granaries, making himself director and manager of all these undertakings, and showing no weariness in the execution of all these different and great enter- prises ; nay, he actually carried out each one of them with an astonishing speed and power of application, as if it were his sole business, so that even those who greatly hated and feared him were struck with amazement at the powers of achievement and accomplishment which marked all that hedid. And as for the multitude, they were astonished at the very sight, when they beheld him closely attended by a throng of contractors, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and literary men, with all of whom he was on easy terms, preserving his dignity while showing kindliness, and rendering properly to every man the courtesy which was due from him, whereby he set in the light of malignant slanderers those who stigmatised him as threatening or utterly arrogant or violent. Thus he was a more skilful popular leader in his private intercourse with men

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Pp 2

mpatecw % Tois ato Tov Bnuatos oyos Syya-
rywryos.
VII. 'Eorrovdéace 5¢ padota trepi THv odoTotiav,
THS Te Kpelas Gua Kat TOU pos Yaply Kal KAU
emripennbets. evOetar yap iryovtTo Sua TOV ywpiwv
arpepeis, Kal TO prev €otopvuTo Trétpa EeoThH, TO

dé Aupou yopact vakTis émuKvovTo. Tmipma-
péevav &é TaV Koitwv Kal Cevyvupevarv yedupats
Soa yeluappos Stéxotrrov pdpayyes, ios Te TAY
éxatépwOev icov Kat TapddXAnrov AapBavovTwr,
oparny Kal Kadrnv dvi elye 5s’ GXov Td Epyov.
mpos 6€ TovTots Stapetpyjaas Kata pidtov odo
Tacav (To b€ pidtov OKT cTAdiwy OALyoY aTrobel)
kiovas ALOivous anpeia Tod pétTpov KaTéoTnCED.
adNous S€ AiGous EXaTTOY aTéxYOoVTAaS AANAWY
exatépwlev Tis 0600 SiéOnxev, ws ein padiws Tois
immous éxovow émiBaivew am’ avtav avaBoréws
pn Seopévors.
VIII. ’Evi tovros tod Shou peyadruvovtos
avrov Kal Trav oTtody éEroipws ExovTos évdeixvucIar
Tpos evvotay, Epn TroTe SnuNnyop@v avTos aiTHa EL
xapw, vy AaBov pev avr tavtos ee, ef Se
aTroTUYoL, undey exeivois peuripopnoev. TodTO
pnOev &okev aitnots vrareias elvat, nal mpoc-
Soxiav Twadow ws Gya pev vrateiav, dua 8é
Snuapylay petiov Tapécxev. evotavtay 6é TOV
UTATIKOY APYALPETLWY KaL METEWPWY GYTwWY aTrAY-
tov apn Vdiov Puvyiov xataywv eis TO Tediov
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and in his business transactions than in his speeches
from the rostra.
VII. But he busied himself most earnestly with the construction of roads, laying stress upon utility, as well as upon that which conduced to grace and beauty. For his roads were carried straight through the country without deviation, and had pavements of quarried stone, and substructures of tight-rammed masses of sand. Depressions were filled up, all inter- secting torrents or ravines were bridged over, and both sides of the roads were of equal and correspond- ing height, so that the work had everywhere an even and beautiful appearance. In addition to all this, he measured off every road by miles (the Roman mile falls a little short of eight furlongs) and planted stone pillars in the ground to mark the distances. Other stones, too, he placed at smaller intervals from one another on both sides of the road, in order that equestrians might be able to mount their horses from them and have no need of assistance.

VIII. Since the people extolled him for all these services and were ready to show him any token what- soever of their good will, he said to them once in a public harangue that he was going to ask a favour of them, which, if granted, he should value supremely, but if it were refused, he should find no fault with them. This utterance was thought to be a request for a consulship, and led everybody to expect that he would sue for a consulship and a tribuneship at the same time. But when the consular elections were at hand and everybody was on the tip-toe of expecta- tion, he was seen leading Caius Fannius down into the

Campus Martius and joining in the canvass for

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Kat cuvapxatpectdtwy éexeivm peta Tav dirov.
TOUTO pony nveyne TO Pavvi peyadrAny. KaKEtvos
pev dratos, dios bé€ Syuapyos amedeixyOn To
Sevrepov, ov TrapayyéAXwv ovde peTL@V, GNAA TOU
dnuouv atrovddacarTos.
> V Qi ¢7 \ \ /) \ w
Emel 5€ éwpa thy ev ouyKAnTov éyOpay ayTt-
? \ \ A N > \ b ' \ S
Kpus, aro Se TH Mpos avTov evvoia Tov Pavuroy,
avOus érépors vouots amnptycato TO mAOos,
9 , ? 4 4 ,
atroikias pev eis Tapavta Kal Karinv réurecOar
/ a \ > \ , / \
ypabav, carav Oé él Kowwvia TrortTElas TOUS
Aativouvs. 1 d¢€ BovrAn deicaca wn Tavtamacwy
Apayos yévntat, kawny Kai aavvynOn Treipar émiye
Tois TroANOLs aATroTpOTHS, avTinuaywyovaa Kal
, \ \ 9 \ a
yaptlopevn rapa to BéXtTicTOV. Hv yap els tov
tov Tatov cuvapxovtwy AiB8tos Apovaos, avip
€
ovTE 'yeyovws Tivos Pwpaiwy ote TeOpappévos
xeipov, HOe! dé Kal NOy@ Kai TAOVTH TOS paddLoTA
Tiumpéevors Kal Suvapevolts aro TOUTwWY évdpLNXrOS.
él robrov ovv Of yvwpl~wTaToL TpeTOVTAaL, Kai
4 b) ' ft fo) oh \ ,
mapexddrouy avtoy ayyacBa tov Taiov nai per
avTav él tov dvdpa avathvat, un Brafopevov
\ b) 4 vn "A > \ \
pndé avrixpovovta Tots modXois, GANA Tpos
noovay apxovTta Kal yapilopevov vmép av Kai
ameyOaverOat Karas elyev.
> \ @ e , 9 ol A a
IX. 'Emidovs otv o AtBuos ets tadta tH BovvAR
A 4 n
Thy éavrod Snuapyiay vomous &yparyrey ote TOY
1 #0e: Coraés and Bekker retain the old vulgate 45n.
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him along with his friends. This turned the tide strongly in favour of Fannius. So Fannius was elected consul, and Caius tribune for the second time, though he was not a candidate and did not canvass for the office; but the people were eager to have it so.

However, he soon saw that the senate was hostile to him out and out, and that the good will of Fannius towards him had lost its edge, and therefore again began to attach the multitude to himself by other laws, proposing to send colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and inviting the Latins to a participation in the Roman franchise. But the senate, fearing that Gracchus would become altogether invincible, made a new -and unusual attempt to divert the people from him ; they vied with him, that is, in courting the favour of the people, and granted their wishes contrary to the best interests of the state. For one of the colleagues of Caius was Livius Drusus, a man who was not inferior to any Roman either in birth or rearing, while in character, eloquence, and wealth he could vie with those who were most honoured and influen- tial in consequence of these advantages. To this man, accordingly, the nobles had recourse, and invited him to attack Caius and league himself with them against him, not resorting to violence or coming into collision with the people, but administering his office to please them and making them concessions where it would have been honourable to incur their hatred.

IX. Livius, accordingly, put his influence as tribune at the service of the senate to this end, and drew up laws which aimed at what was neither honourable

a aA A \
KaXN@Y TLWOS OUTE TOY AVELTEA@Y EXOMEVOUS, ANA
éy povov, uTepBaréabat tov Vdiov ndovq7 Kat
, A a av 6 éL >)
YAPLTL TWOV TOAXOD, WATTED EV KWUWOLA, OTEVOWY
cat StaptrArAwpevos. @ Kal KaTahavertaTny
eroinaey éavTnyv } avyKANTOS Ov ducyEpaivovaaLr
tots Tov L'afov modtTevpaci, GAXA avTor éxeivov
9 A A A s /
avercivy TaTelvacat TavTaTact BovAopevnv.
N XN \ > , , / \ \
Tov peéev yap atrocias dvo0 ypayyavtTa Kai Tous
YaAplescTaTOUS TOV TOMLTOY ELaadyovTa SnmoKoTrely
nriavto, AtBiw 8 dwdexa xatoxifovTe Kal Tpto-
, > e 4 > / Le) b] ,
NiNLouS ELS EXaoTHY ATOTTENAOYTL THY ATTOPwY
, ’ , / sd , ; ,
cuvedauBavovto. KdKeiv@ pév, Tt yopay Svéverpe

Tots wévnot mpootakas éxdot@ TErCly ATropopay
els to Synpoctoyv, ws KOAAKEVOYTL TOUS TOAXOUS
amnxGavovto, AiBuos 5€ Kal Thy dtrodhopay TavtTny
TOV VElmapevwy ahatpav pecker avTois. Ete Se
o pev Tots Aativas ico wndiay S500 édXvTreEL, TOD
4 @ \ 9 A , ISA ,
5é, Srws pundé eri otpatetas é&f twa Aativor
paBdos aixicac bat ypawavros éBonbovr TO voy.
kat pévtor kal adtos o AiBios det Synunyopav
EXeyev ws ypadoe tavta TH BovAT Soxodvta Kndo-
4, “ lal] d \ “A
pévyn TOV TOAA@Y’? 6 67 Kal “ovoy aro TeV TOK-
TEULATWY AUTOD xpHolwov bIrApyev. TuepwTEepoy
yap eoye mpos tHv Bovrny o Shpos’ Kat rors
yvwpiwtatous avtov mpoTtepov vpopwpévou Kal
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nor advantageous; nay, he had the emulous eager- ness of the rival demagogues of comedy to achieve one thing, namely, to surpass Caius in pleasing and gratifying the people.t In this way the senate showed most plainly that it was not displeased with the public measures of Caius, but rather was desirous by all means to humble or destroy the man himself. For when Caius proposed to found two colonies, and these composed of the most respectable citizens, they accused him of truckling to the people; but when Livius proposed to found twelve, and to send out to each of them three thousand of the needy citizens, they supported him. With Caius, because he distributed public land among the poor for which every man of them was required to pay a rental into the public treasury, they were angry, alleging that he was seeking thereby to win favour with the multitude ; but Livius met with their approval when he proposed to relieve the tenants even from this rental. And further, when Caius proposed to bestow upon the Latins equal rights of suffrage, he gave offence ; but when Livius brought in a bill forbidding that any Latin should be chastised with rods even during military service, he had the senate’s support. And indeed Livius himself, in his public harangues, always said that he introduced these measures on the authority of the senate, which desired to help the common people; and this in fact was the only advan- tage which resulted from his political measures. For the peopie became more amicably disposed towards the senate; and whereas before this they had sus- pected and hated the nobles, Livius softened and

' An allusion to the rival demagogues in the Knights of Aristophanes.
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wf!

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pucouvtos é€éXuceE Kat KaTETPaUVE THY pYNnOLKa-
\ , 3, e / @
klav xal yanrerotnta tavTnv o AiBtos, ws éx

THS EKELVWY OPLwpEVvos yvauns él TO Snwaywryety
Kal yapilec Oat Tois TroNDNoOIS.
X. Meyiorn 8€ rd Apovow miatis evvoias
mpos Tov Ojpov éeyivero Kal Suxaroovvys TO pundev
e A > e \ e le) , 4
auT@ pnd wvmreép éavtov gaiverbar ypadorta.
Kal yap oinurtas érépous éFémeutre THY TOEwY
Kat Stotxnoeot xpnudtwv ov mpoone, tov Tatov
Ta WreloTa Kal péyiota TOY ToOLOVTWY aUT@
/ b Ve 4 “A ,
mpoatiOévtos. éarel dé ‘PovBpiov tay auvapyov-
e \ > Sf / , 9
Twv évos oixilesOar Kapyndova ypawavtos avnpy-
, e \ / 4 \ e Ju
pevnv wo LKnriwvos, KAnp@ Aaxav o Taios
297 ? 4 92--N N , v
éFérdeucev eis AtBiny él tov Katotxiopor, Et
A ? \ ¢ fe) 9 , > “A \
MaGAXov émtBas o Apodoos atovTos avrov Tov
Sipov UTeAduBave Kal MpoonyeTo, padoTAa Tais
Kata tov DovrAPtov b:aBorgais. o 6€ PovrABi0s
z 2 A of. 4 4 > \ \
odTos Hv Tod Taiou didros, kal ovvdpxywy eri thy
Savopnv Tis Yw@pas npnuevos: hv 6€ PopyBoédns,
Kal picovpevos pev vo THs BovAns avtixpus,
Uaromtos S€ Kai TOS AGAXNOLS WS TA TUEpAYLKA
Siaxiwav Kai tapokvver xpida tovs ‘Iradwras
mpos atootactw. ols avatrodeixtws Kal averéy-
4 N
KTWS AeEyouevors autos mpoceTiber iat Oo
PovrABio0s ody vytatvovans ovdé eipnuixhs dv mpo-
aipécews. Toto paddioTta KatédXve tov Tdiov
b ? wn i A e , e
amoNavovta tov ploovs. xai dre Sentiwy o
218
839

dissipated their remembrance of past grievances and
their bitter feelings by alleging that it was the
sanction of the nobles which had induced him to
enter upon his course of conciliating the people and
gratifying the wishes of the many.
X. But the strongest proof that Livius was well disposed towards the people and honest, lay in the fact

that he never appeared to propose anything for himself or in his own interests. For he moved to send out other men as managers of his colonies, and would have no hand in the expenditure of moneys, whereas Caius had assigned to himself most of such functions and the most important of them. And now Rubrius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, brought in a bill for the founding of a colony on the site of Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, and Caius, upon whom the lot fell, sailed off to Africa as superintendent of the foundation. In his absence, therefore, Livius made all the more headway against him, stealing into the good graces of the people and attaching them to himself, particu- larly by his calumniations of Fulvius. This Fulvius was a friend of Caius, and had been chosen a commissioner with him for the distribution of the public land ; but he was a turbulent fellow, and was hated outright by the senators. Other men also sus- pected him of stirring up trouble with the allies and of secretly inciting the Italians to revolt. These things were said against him without proof or inves- tigation, but Fulvius himself brought them into greater credence by a policy which was unsound and revolutionary. This more than anything else was the undoing of Caius, who came in for a share of the hatred against Fulvius. And when Scipio Africanus

"Adpixavos é& ovdevos aitiov mpodavois éredev-
Thee Kal onpeld TiVa TO vEKpO TANYaY Kal Bias
énruSpapely edokev, ws ev Tois mepi exelvov yé-
yparral, TO pev WAELa TOY ert TOV PovABtoy HOE
A a ? \ 4 ‘ e / ? ,
THS StaBorrs, éxOpov dvta Kal THY Huépay exeivny
ért tov Byuatos T@ LKnrriwv AeXordopypevor,
oe N \ “A e , \ 5 \
Arvato Sé€ xai tod Tatouv bmovora. Kai dewvov
olTws épyov ém avdpl T@ TpwWT@ Kal peEeyloTH
e 4 \ eb) ” , b \ 9
Pwpaiwv torunOéev ovx Ervye Sinns ovd€ eis
i A > Sf A e A \
éXeyyov mponrOev eveatncay yap ol ToNKOL Kat
, \ / e \ fo) Af ,
KatédAvoav THy Kplow vTép Tod Taiou PoBnOevtes,
uy wepiTeTns TH aitia tod dovov &ntTovpévov
YEVNTAL TAUTA MeV OvY eyeyovE: TrPOTEpOV.
XI. "Ev 88 rH AsBvn wept tov tHs Kapyndovos
catotxiapov, iv o Taios “lovvwviav, direp éotiv
‘Hpatav, @vopace, ToAXNA KwrAvpaTa yevécIat
Tapa Tov Saipoviou Aéyovow. H Te yap TpwTN
onpata, wvevpatos ahapralovtos avTny, tov bé
hépovtos éyxpatas avtTexyouevou, suvetpiBn, Kai
¢€ “ al > 4 b ,
Ta lepa Tois Bwpots emixeipeva dStecxédacery ave-

pov Ovedra wai dréppirev bré Tovs Spous Tis
yeyernuevns vioypadis, avtous 5€ Tovs Gpous
avéorracay émedOovtes AVKOL Kal paKpav wWyYoVTO
dépovres. ov pny addAa mdvta cuvtdtas Kal
Siaxoopunoas o Taios nuépats EBdounKovta Tais
macas enavnOey ets “Pawpny, miélecbae tov
PovrABiov bre tov Apovoov rruvOavopevos, xal
TOY TpayuaTwY THS avTOD Trapovatas Seomérwy.
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died without any apparent cause, and certain marks of violence and blows were thought to be in evidence all over his dead body, as I have written in his Life,} most of the consequent calumny fell upon Fulvius, who was Scipio’s enemy, and had abused him that day from the rostra, but suspicion attached itself also to Caius. And a deed so monstrous, and perpetrated upon a man who was the foremost and greatest Roman, went unpunished, nay, was not even so much as probed; for the multitude were opposed to any judicial enquiry and thwarted it, because they feared that Caius might be implicated in the charge if the murder were investigated. However, this had hap- pened at an earlier time.?

XI. In Africa, moreover, in connection with the planting of a colony on the site of Carthage, to which colony Caius gave the name Junonia (that is to say, in Greek, Heraea), there are said to have been many prohibitory signs from the gods. For the leading standard was caught by a gust of wind, and though the bearer clung to it with all his might, it was broken into pieces; the sacrificial victims lying on the altars were scattered by a hurricane and dis- persed beyond the boundary-marks in the plan of the city, and the boundary-marks themselves were set - upon by wolves, who tore them up and carried them a long way off. Notwithstanding this, Caius settled and arranged everything in seventy days all told, and then returned to Rome, because he learned that Fulvius was being hard pressed by Drusus, and be- cause matters there required his presence. For

1 See the Tiberius Gracchus, ad fin., and cf. the Romulus, XXvii. 4 f.
2 In 129 B.c., six years before Caius became tribune.
22!

, q , 3 \ > \ \

Aevxtos yap ‘Oripsos, avnp odLyapxiKos Kal

A A , /
Suvatos év tH BovAn, mpotepov pev e&étrecey
e 4 , A of, \ ,
Umatelav TapayyéAdwv, tov Taiov tov Pavroy

mMpoaryaryovtTos, éxeivov b€ KaTapyatpectacaytos:
Tore 6€ ToAA@Y BonGovvTwy émidokos Hy UTraTeEv-
ig 4 \ , N Ju . 4

cew, UTatevov 5€ Katadrvoev Tov Tdiov, 467
Tpomov twa THs Suvdpuews avTOdD papatvouervns
kal tov Snuov pectod yeyovotos T@Y ToLovTwY
ToALTeULaTwWVY Sta TO TOANOUS TOUS POS YapLV
Snuaywyovvras eivar nal thv BovrAnv vTeiKxey
éxoucav.
XII. *EsraverOav Se mp@tov pev éx tod Ilada-
Tiov peToKnoev els Tov UTO THY ayopav TOTOY
ws SnwoTiK@TEpov, OTOU WAEiDTOUS TOV TaTELVaOY
Kal TevntTwv cuvéBaer oiKely: ErrErTa TOV VOMWY
éEéOnKxe Tovs AoLTOUs ws emdE~wy Hy Whdor
avtois. OyAov de Tavtayodey avT@ cuvtovTos
éreccev 7 Bovrn tov bratov Davyov éxBareiy
\ ¥ \ e 4 e ,
TOUS G@AXNous TARY Pwpaiwy atravtas. ‘yevopevou
5é xnpuypatos anBous kal dAXoxKdTov, pndéva
“ 4 \ “ 4 > e , fol
TOV TUppaxov unde TAY dirwv ev Poun pavivar
mept Tas Huépas éxeivas, avreEeOnnev o Vaios
Sidypampa KaTnyopav tod viraTou, Kal Tois oUp-
payos, av pévwor, BonOyjcew émayyerdopevos.
ov piv éBonOnoev, GdAdrAA opav &va tav Eévor
“A / “A a
avTod kal cuvyiOewv EXKopEvoY UTO TOY LIrNnpETaV
Tav Tov Pavviov, maphnrOe kai ov tpoonpuver,
¥ \ > \ b] 4 4 \
elite THY LaxuV émiAreitrovaay Hn Sedim@s éAEyKeLDY,
222

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TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

Lucius Opimius, a man of oligarchical principles
and influential in the senate, who had previously
failed in a candidacy for the consulship (when Caius
had brought forward Fannius and supported his can-
vas for the office),! now had the aid and assistance
of many, and it was expected that he would be con-
sul, and that as consul he would try to put down
Caius, whose influence was already somewhat on the

wane, and with whose peculiar measures the people had become sated, because the leaders who courted their favour were many and the senate readily yielded to them.

XII. On returning to Rome, in the first place Caius changed his residence from the Palatine hill to the region adjoining the forum, which he thought more democratic, since most of the poor and lowly had come to live there; in the next place, he pro- mulgated the rest of his laws, intending to get the people's vote upon them. But when a throng came together from all parts of Italy for his support, the senate prevailed upon the consul Fannius to drive out of the city all who were not Romans. Accordingly, a strange and unusual proclamation was made, to the effect that none of the allies and friends of Rome should appear in the city during those days; where- upon Caius published a counter edict in which he de- nounced the consul, and promised the allies his sup- port, in case they should remain there. He did not, however, give them his support, but when he saw one of his comrades and guest-friends dragged off by the lictors of Fannius, he passed by without giving him any help, either because he feared to give a proof that his power was already on the decline, or because

1 See chapter viii. 2.

\

v \ ‘ e . e , 9 \
cite 4n BovAropevos, ws erXeyev, ariayias AUTOS
kal ouptroxs dapyas (lnrovor Tois éxOpois
Tapacyety.
Luvéruye 5é adT@ Kai mpos Tovs suvdpyovTas
5] 9 “ ‘ 4 b , V4
év opyn yevecOar dua Tocavtny attiav. émeddev
o Shuos OeacAat povoydyous év ayopa, kal Tov
apxovTwy ot TrEtoToL OewpnTnpia KUKAw KaTA-
oKxevaoavtes eEenicAovy. tata o Vdios éxéNevev
avtous Kabatpeiv, Grrws of TevyTES ex THY TOTTWY
3 / 3 \ 4 4 ‘ \
éxetvwrv aptcOi Dedoacbar Svvwvtar. jundevos Sé
mTpocéyovtos dvapeivas THY po THs Oéas vuKTaA,
\ “a a ig 9 > 4 ey?
nal Tov Texvit@v Saous elyev épyoraBous td
éavT@ trapadaBwv, ta Oewpntnpia Kxabetre Kai
A / , > @ / b / \
To Snum axordlovta pel’ Huépav améderEe Tov
/ 799 @ a \ a > A ” 3
ToTrov: €p @ Tols pev TOAAOIs avip eoker eivat,
\ \ LA e 9 \ \ , /
tous 6€ cuvdpyovTas ws ttamos Kat Biatos édv-

mnoev. €K TovTOV Kal THY TpiTnY edoke SnpapyLav
b “A , N ’ A /
adnpnolar, Widwv pev avt@ wWreiotwv yevo-
pévov, adixnws 5é Kal Kaxovpyws Tay cvvapyov-
TOY TOLNTApEVOY THY avayopevow Kat avadeEry.
Gna Tadta pev dudiahnrnoww eiyev. Hveyxe dé
ov peTpLws aTrOTUX@Y, Kal pos ye TOUS éxOpous
€TEeyyEN@VTAS AUT@ NéyeTar Opacuvtepoy Tov s€-
ovTos eltreiy @s Yapdoviov yéAwTa yeAWouv, ov
ylyv@oKovTes OooY avTois aKoTOS ex TOY avTOD
WEPLKEXUTAL TONLTEULATOD.
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he was unwilling, as he said, by his own acts to
afford his enemies the occasions which they sought
for a conflict at close quarters.
Moreover, it chanced that he had incurred the anger of his colleagues in office, and for the follow- ing reason. The people were going to enjoy an exhibition of gladiators in the forum, and most of the magistrates had constructed seats for the show round about, and were offering them for hire. Caius ordered them to take down these seats, in order that the poor might be able to enjoy the spectacle from those places without paying hire. But since no one paid any attention to his command, he waited till the night before the spectacle, and then, taking all the workmen whom he had under his orders in public contracts, he pulled down the seats, and when day came he had the place all clear for the people. For this proceeding the populace thought him a man, but his colleagues were annoyed and thought him reckless and violent. It was believed also that this conduct cost him his election to the tribunate for the third time, since, although he got a majority of the votes, his colleagues were unjust and fraudu- lent in their proclamation and returns. This, how- ever, wasdisputed. But he took his failure overmuch to heart, and what is more, when his enemies were exulting over him, he told them, it is said, with more boldness than was fitting, that they were laughing with sardonic laughter, and were not aware of the great darkness that enveloped them in consequence of his public measures.!

1 Blass compares the laughter of the doomed suitors in Odyssey, xx. 346 ff.—the fatuous smile of men whose fate is sealed, though they are unaware of it.

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XIII. ’Evet 5é€ wal rov "Omipmov xataotn-
cavtes Uratov TOY vo“wy TOAXOUS Stéypadov Kai
thy Kapynddvos éxivouv Saraki, épeBifovres tov

Tdiov, ws dv aitiay opyns mapacyav avaipedein,
TOV peyv mpa@Tov xpovov éxapréper, Tov 5é hidov
\ , ce) 4 4 @

Kal padiota tod PovABiov wapoEvvovtos wpynce
wad ouvayey tous avtitakopévous mpos Tov
Uratov. évradv0a cai tTHv pntépa Aéyovow avT@
cvotaciacal, pwcOoupéevny amo Tis Eévns Kpvda
, 3 e , wv e \
Kal wéutovaay eis ‘Paunv avdpas, as 57 Oept-
aortas’ Taira yap év Trois émiatoNlols avTAS nvey-
péva yeypadpOat mpos tov viov. érepoe b€ Kat
mavu ths Kopyndias Svoxepaivovens tadta mpdat-
terOat Néyouaty.
e 2 9 ” e / \ , 4 e

He 8 obv éuehdov nwEpg TOUS vowous duel ot
wept tov ‘Orripov, KaTeiAnTTO pev VITd aphorTe-
pov Ewbev evOds Td Karrerodov, Ovcavtos 8é Tod
UmaTOU THY UTNpeT@Y TLS avTOD Koivros ‘AvtuA-
Mos Siahépwv Erépwoe TA oTAaYYVA TpPOS TOUS
. A , ? Ad , ’ a
mept tov DovAPtov eime: “ Aote toTov ayabois,
\ a 2) \ 4 ef A A
KakKol ToNTaL. tives 5€ hacw aya TH pov7
Tavtn kat tov Bpaxiova yupuvov olov éd DBpe
oxynuarilovTa tmapeveyxeiv. amoOvicKes your
evOus o “AvTvAdos éxei peyddots ypadetors
KevTOUpEvOS, em AUT@ ToUTw TeTotHaBaL deyo-
pévous. Kal TO pev TAOS StetapdyOn mpos Tov
,
povoy, evavtia dé Tovs Hyemovas eoxe StdBeats.
e Ps a Tr fue] 6 } a FN \
Oo pev yap I'dios HyPeTto Kal Kanas éreye TOs

XIII. The enemies of Caius also eflected the election of Opimius as consul, and then proceeded to revoke many of the laws which Caius had secured and to meddle with the organization of the colony at Carthage. ‘This was by way of irritating Caius, that he might furnish ground for resentment, and so be got rid of. At first he endured all this patiently, but at last, under the instigations of his friends, and especially of Fulvius, he set out to gather a fresh body of partisans for opposition to the consul. Here, we are told, his mother also took active part in his seditious measures, by secretly hiring from foreign parts and sending to Rome men who were ostensibly reapers; for to this matter there are said to have been obscure allusions in her letters! to her son. Others, however, say that Cornelia was very much displeased with these activities

of her son.

Be that as it may, on the day when Opimius and his supporters were going to annul the laws, the Capitol had been occupied by both factions since earliest morning, and after the consul had offered sacrifice, one of his servants, Quintus Antyllius, as he was carrying from one place to another the entrails of the victims, said to the partisans of Fulvius: “Make way for honest citizens, ye rascals! ’’ Some say, too, that along with this speech Antyllius bared his arm and waved it with an insulting gesture. At any rate he was killed at once and on the spot, stabbed with large writing styles said to have been made for just such apurpose. The multitude were completely confused by the murder, but it produced an opposite state of mind inthe leaders of the two factions. Caius was distressed, and upbraided his followers for

1 Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 58, 211. -

\ > \ e > Ss s 4 > ¢ a
Tept aVTOY ws aitiay Seomevots Trddat KAD EavTOY
aA 3 @ A 5 5 4 ec. de "0 , 4
tots éxOpois Sedwxoras, 0 5é ‘Ozripos worrep
9 , ‘ b] “A , \ A
évdootpov AaBwv érijpto cal Tapw£uve tov Shor
emt Thy amuvav.
XIV. Kai rote pev GuBpov yevopévov dierv-
- bu \ ec. 7 A \ \ c oe
Onoav apa be nue THY pev Bourny 0 dmaros
ouvayayav évdov éxpnudtiler, Erepor S€ to Tod
? , A \ > \ / /
AvtvAXNLov c@ua yuuvov él KNvns TpoBEuEvot
5.’ dyopas Tapa To Bovrevtypoy éritndes Trape-
KOmeCov, olpwyn xpwpmevor kal Opnve, yiyveoKor-
Tos péev Tov 'Omipiov ta mpatTopeva, TpooTrotov-
, \ , @ \ \ \
pévov b€ Oavydlew, @ate Kal Tovs Bovarcutas
mpoerOeiv. xatateOcions 56 THs KALVNS Els peo
e \ > l4 e o \Q A N 4
oi pev éoxetrAialov ws eri Serv@ kai peyddr@
/ a \ a > U - \ 4
wader, Tots dé ToAXOls ener piceiy Kal mpoBar-
NecOar Tovs OrLyapytKoUs, ws TrBépioy pév
Tpayyov év KatretwXi@ govevoavtes avtol 67-
papyYov ovta Kal Tov vexpov mpoaeEéBanor, o 8’
e / 9 4 > 4 N ¥
vanperns AvrTvrALos, ov dSixata pév lows tretrov-

Aas, tiv Sé wreiotny aitiav eis TO TADeiy abTa
Tapacywv, év ayopa mpoKeTal, Kal TEpleaTNKEV
» ‘Pwpaiwv BovrAn Opnvoica Kat cvvexxopilovea
pucOwrov avOpwrov, éri to Tov ETL ELTrOpEevov
dvereiy tav tod Snuov xndouevwy. éx TOUTOU
\
mad es TO BovreuTnpioy amedOovtes eyrndi-
9 A
cavto Kat mpocétatay Oripio 7O UTrate cave
tThv ody Stas Svvarto, Kal Katadvew TOUS
Tupayvous.
, A
"Exeivou dé mpoemovros émi Ta dTAa yopely
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having given their enemies ground for accusing them which had long been desired ; but Opimius, as though he had got something for which he was waiting, was elated, and urged the people on to vengeance.

XIV. A shower of rain fell just then, and the assembly was dissolved ; but early next morning the consul called the senate together indoors and pro- ceeded to transact business, while others placed the body of Antyllius without covering upon a bier, and carried it, as they had agreed to do, through the forum and past the senate-house, with wailings and lament- ations. Opimius knew what was going on, but pre- tended to be surprised, so that even the senators went out into the forum. After the bier had been set down in the midst of the throng, the senators began to in- veigh against what they called a heinous and mons- trous crime, but the people were moved to hatred and abuse of the oligarchs, who, they said, after murder- ing Tiberius Gracchus on the Capitol with their own hands, tribune that he was, had actually flung away his dead body besides; whereas Antyllius,a mere servant, who perhaps had suffered more than he deserved, but was himself chiefly to blame for it, had been laid out in the forum, and was surrounded by the Roman senate, which shed tears and shared in the obsequies of a hireling fellow, to the end that the sole remaining champion of the people might be done away with. Then the senators went back into the senate-house, where they formally enjoined upon the consul Opimius to save the city as best he could,! and to put down the tyrants.

The consul therefore ordered the senators to take

1 The formal decree of martial law: consul videret ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet (Cicero, In Cat. i. 2, 4).

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TOUS GUYKANTLKOUS, Kal TOV iam ey EXATT@
Tapayyedpa Sovtos dyew €wlev oixéras dvo
Kaleo HEvOUS, o 0 pev DovrABtos avTimaped xevd-
Gero Kal ouvivyev bxdovr, 0 bé dios é éx THS ayopas
am@Epxopevos earn KATA TOV TOU maT pos avdpidvra,,
Kal ToNvy xpovov euBreyras eis auTov ouder ég-
DéyEaTo, daxpvoas dé Kat orevdtas annet. TovUTO
ToAdols THY (Sovrwv oixteipar Tov Tdiov éwArde
Kat Kaxioavres AaUTOUS @S éyxaTadelTrovTes TO
avdpa Kal mpodidovres HKOV ET THY oixiay Kab
T apevuKTepevov emt To Oupav, ovx omotcos Tots
TOV DovrBrov pudattovaty. EXELVOL pev yap év
Kpotots Kal addararywois TivovTes Kab Opacuve-
pevot SteténXecav, avtov tod PovABiov mpwtov
peOvaKopévou wal TONG popTiKas Tap preclay
POeyyouevov Kab T pat TovTos: ot 5€ mept Tov
Tdiov, ws émt cuupopa Kowh THs matpibos nov-
xtav aryov Tes Kab TEepla KOT OUpEvoL TO méAXov, ev
peepee pudrdrrovres xa dvaTravopevoe Suijyov.
XV. “Apa 6é 9 NHEPS TOV pev PovrAPiov é€x Tov
TOTOU cabevsovra | ods émeyelpavtes ewmnifovto
TOUS mepl THY oixiay avToU agupors, & a Padaras
VEVLKNKOS ore vm aTevev ethjpet, Kal pera TONS
amehijs Kal Kpavyns éxwpour KaTadnyopevot TOV
‘ABevtivov hopov. 9 dé Ddios omrdicacbat pev
ouK nOednaen, ann’ ado mep els aryopay é€v THBevvw
Tponet, pLcpov Urrelwo wevos éyverpidcop, _eFcovte
5€ avT@ Trept Tas Oupas 7 a) yur Tpoorecovca Kat
nepmTitaca TOV xerpav Th peév avrov exeivov, 7
dé TO masdio, “Ou émi ro Bijud Ge, elev,
Tdie, rpotréumra Onpapyov, os mpoTepor, Kal joie:
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up arms, and every member of the equestrian order was notified to bring next morning two servants fully armed; Fulvius, on the other hand, made counter preparations and got together a rabble, but Caius, as he left the forum, stopped in front of his father’s statue, gazed at it for a long time without uttering a word, then burst into tears, and with a groan departed. Many of those who saw this were moved to pity Caius; they reproached themselves for abandoning and betraying him, and went to his house, and spent the night at his door, though not inthe same manner _ as those who were guarding Fulvius. For these passed the whole time in noise and shouting, drink- ing, and boasting of what they would do, Fulvius him- self being the first to get drunk, and saying and doing much that was unseemly for a man of his years ; but the followers of Caius, feeling that they faced a public calamity, kept quiet and were full of concern: for the

future, and passed the night sleeping and keeping watch by turns.

XV. When day came, Fulvius was with difficulty roused from his drunken sleep by his partisans, who - armed themselves with the spoils of war about his house, which he had taken after a victory over the Gauls during his consulship, and with much threaten- ing and shouting went to seize the Aventine hill. Caius, on the other hand, was unwilling to arm him- self, but went forth in his toga, as though on his way tothe forum, with only a short dagger on his person. As he was going out at the door, his wife threw her- self in his way, and with one arm round her husband and the other round their little son, said: ‘‘ Not to the rostra,O Caius, do I now send thee forth, as formerly, to serve as tribune and law-giver, nor yet to

Gérny, ovd' éml TOA HOV evdo£or, t ba poe Kal Ta-
Oeov Tt TOY KOLVOY arronimys TLUL@LEVOV youv Trév-
Dos, ahha TOUS TuBepiou hovetow vmoBdadndets
éavTor, dvoTthov ev KANO, iva TaOns Te paddov
v7) dpdons, pos ovdéev dé Tois Kowols dpehos drronel.
KexpaTynKkev On Ta YElpo’ Bia Kat avdnpe Tas
dias mpatTovov. él wept Nopavriav 0 0S
adedos emeceD, Uroamoveos av npiv drreb0On
veK pos” viv dé lows Kayo moTawod Tivos Oa-
AdTTNS (KEeTES ev omar Pival ToTeE 76 oov capa
ppoupovpevor. ah yap i) vopots érs TioTov 7
Oeois pera TOV TiBepiou povov; ’ ” roladta THIS
Acxivvias adupoperns, aT péua Tas mrepuBoras
aTrohvadpevos aUTHS o T'dios EXWPEL OLWTT META
TOY hirwv. uD dé Too {patio AaBEo Gar YAuxo-
evn KaTappvetoa Tos Tovdados EXELTO mony
Xpovov avav6os, HEXpe ov NerroPupicacav aur ny
ot Geparrovres apduevor mpos Kpdoaoov @xovto
TOV adehpov KouiCovtes.
XVI. ‘O & PDovdPr0s, WS eyévovTo mares
a0 poot, Teva Geis vIro TOU Taiou TéuTet TOV VIMY
TOD vewTEpov EYOVTAa KnpUKELOD Eis aryopay. ny be
KaAMaTOS 0 veaviaKos ohOnvat kal ToTE KaTa-
aTas Koopiws cai pet’ aidods Sedaxpupévos érroun-
aro oupBaticous Aayous pos TOV Umarov Kal
THY TUYKANTOV. ot sg ouv modNol TOV mapovT@y
OvUK anos pos Tas Stadvoes elyov" o 66 ‘Oni-
[2105 ov ou aryryehooy ébn xXpivae mee THV
oUyKANTOD, andra kaTaBavras QS brevOuvous
ToniTas él Kpiow Kat mapadovras avrous obras
mapatretobas THY opryny TO O€ perpaxio Kal

Sinyopevoev eri TovTots Katiévar mad H py
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a glorious war, where, shouldst thou die (and all men must die), thou wouldst at all events leave me an honoured sorrow ; but thou art exposing thyself to the murderers of Tiberius, and thou doest well to go unarmed, that thou mayest suffer rather than inflict wrong; but thy death will do the state no good. The worst has at last prevailed ; by violence and the sword men's controversies are now decided. If thy brother had only fallen at Numantia, his dead body would have been given back to us by terms of truce ; | but as it is, perhaps I too shall have to supplicate some river or sea to reveal to me at last thy body in its keeping. Why, pray, should men longer put faith in laws or gods, after the murder of Tiberius?"' While Licinnia was thus lamenting, Caius gently freed himself from her embrace and went away without a word, accompanied by his friends. Licinnia eagerly sought to clutch his robe, but sank to the ground and lay there a long time speechless, until her servants lifted her up unconscious and carried her away to the house of her brother Crassus.

XVI. Whenall were assembled together, Fulvius, yielding to the advice of Caius, sent the younger of his sons with a herald's wand into the forum. The young man was very fair to look upon ; and now, in a decorous attitude, modestly, and with tears in his eyes, he addressed conciliatory words to the consul and the senate. Most of his audience, then, were not disin- clined to accept his terms of peace; but Opimius declared that the petitioners ought not to try to per- suade the senate by word of messenger ; they should rather come down and surrender themselves for trial, like citizens amenable to the laws, and then beg for mercy ; he also told the young man plainly to come

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3 xatiévat. dios pev ody, ds dacw, éBovrAETo
Badifey cal reiOev thy cvyKAnTov ovdevds 5é
TOV AXNWY aUYYwpodYTOS, avOts Ereurev o DovrA-
Beos rov traida drareEopevoy trép adtav Smo.a
Tots mporépots. 0 Se "Orripuos orrevdwov pdyny
cuvawat TO pev petpakiov evOds auvédaBe Kat
Tapedwkey els PuraKny, Tots 56 Tept TOV PovABiov
€TNEL META TOAAOY OTALTOY Kal TOEOTaY Kpyrar,
4 of paddorTa BadXovTes avtovs Kal KaTATpavpaTi-
Covres cuverdpakay. yevouévns 5€ THs TpoTAs o
pev DovrABros els te Baravetov nuernpévov xata-
guyov Kal peta pixpov aveupeDels xaterpayn
peta tod wpecRutTépov sraidos, o b€ Tdios whOn
pev vr' ovdevos paxyopevos, ddrAa Sucavacyer av
Tols yivopevors dvexw@pnaey eis To THs Apréuidos
tepov: éxet dé BovAomevos éautov avedety 1rd TAY

TioToTaTwY étaipwv éxwrVOn, Tlouawviov Kai
Auxevviov: mapovtes yap ovo. TO Te Eidos adel-
5 NovTo Kal Tadwy hevye erfpav avrov. &vOa b7
NeyeTar KabecOeis eis youu Kal Tas yelpas ava-
teivas mpos THv Oeov éemevéacBar tov ‘Pwpaiwr
Sipuov avtl rhs ayaptotias éxeivns Kal mpodocias
pndérote tavaacOat Sovrevovta: davepas yap
oi qWAeloTo. peteBddrXovTO KnpUypaTt SoOELans
adeias.
XVII. Devyovrs & ody TG Talo trav éyOpav
émipepouévov Kal KxatarayBavovtwy tmepi TH
Eudivny yédupav, ot pev Svo diros mpoxwpety
Exelvoy KeNEVTaVTES AUTOL TOUS StwKOVTAS UTé-
oTncav Kal payopevoe TPO THs yepvpas ovdéva
“~

2 maphxav Ews améBavov. te dé Taiw ovvéhevyev

back again on these terms or not come back at all. Caius, accordingly, as we are told, was willing to come and try to persuade the senate; but no one else agreed with him, and so Fulvius sent his son again to plead in their behalf as before. But Opimius, who was eager to join battle, at once seized the youth and put him under guard, and then advanced on the party of Fulvius with numerous men-at-arms and Cretan archers. And it was the archers who, by discharging their arrows and wounding their opponents, were most instrumental in throwing them into confusion. After the rout had taken place, Fulvius fled for refuge into an unused bath, where he was shortly discovered and slain, together with his elder son. Caius, however, was not seen to take any part in the battle, but in great displeasure at what was happening he withdrew into the temple of Diana. There he was minded to make away with himself, but was prevented by his most trusty companions, Pomponius and Licinius ; for they were at hand, and took away his sword, and urged him to flight again. Then, indeed, as we are told, he sank upon his knees, and with hands outstretched towards the goddess prayed that the Roman people, in requital for their great ingratitude and treachery, might never cease to be in servitude ; for most of them were manifestly changing sides, now that proclamation of immunity had been made. XVII. So then, as Caius fled, his foes pressed hard upon him and were overtaking him at the wooden bridge over the Tiber, but his two friends bade him go on, while they themselves withstood his pursuers, and, fighting there at the head of the bridge, would suffer noman to pass, untilthey were killed. Caius had with him in his flight a single servant, by name

els oLKeTnS ovopa DPrroxparys, TAVTWV MEV, dorep

ev dpidy, Tapaxedevopueven, ovdevos dé Bon-
Godvros, ove i (arrov alroupeve Tapacxelv é0edn-
CAaVTOS em EKELVTO yap eyyus ot Suwmxovtes. o b€
pGaver pix pov els (epov adoos "Epevyvev Kara-
puyov, Kaxel SiapGeiperar, TOU Piroxparous a ave-
AovTos éxeivov, elta EauTov emapatartos. as 5é
Evol gdaciv, appotepor pev UTO TOV TONE LOY
KaTehnpOnaar Cavres, tov dé GepamovTos TOV
Seon oTnv meptBarovros ovdels éxeivov nduvnOn
matatat wpoTepov 7) TOUTOV UO TWONA@Y TaLo-
jevov avatpeOfva. Thy oe Keparny tov Taiou
Néyovoty aAXNov pev aTroxoyar Kal xopiCery,
dagedéo Bas 5é ToUTOU idov ‘Orripiou TWvd, Ler-
Toupovdyiov® Hy yap T poKeKnpury WEVvOY év apxi
Tis payns igoatdovov Xpvalov Tols aveveyxovot
THY Tatov cai PovrABiouv cedharnv. avnvexn dé
bro Tob Lemroupovdnlov meprTeTappern opare
apos Tov ’Orriptov, Kat curyou Kouea evros évTE-
Oeica AiTpas éemtaxaidera Kal dt motpov el AKuge,
Tob LemToupoudniov Kat tTept TOUTO puapod yevo-
pévou Kal Kaxoupyncavtos: éfehov yap TOV eryKe-
parov évern ke poruB6ov. ot de Tob PovdBiov
THY Keparnv KopioavTes (joav yap TOV aonpo-
TEpwv) ovdev éda Rov. Ta 0€ Topara Kal TOUTMY
Kal TOV aANwWY Eis TOV TOTAMOV eppibn, Tpto -
yerteov dvaipeBevtrar: Kab Tas ovotias avTav
amédovTo Tpos TO Snuoctov. arreitay bé mevOetv
Tas yuvarti, THY dé Tatov Atxwviav Kat THS
qT POLKOS area TEpnaay. @MOTATOV dé mpogerpya-
cavto tod PovABiov Tov vewrTepov viov, ovTE
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Philocrates; and though all the spectators, as at a race, urged Caius on to greater speed, not a man came to his aid, or even consented to furnish him with a horse when he asked for one, for his pursuers were pressing close upon him. He barely succeeded in escaping into a sacred grove of the Furies, and there fell by the hand of Philocrates, who then slew himself upon his master. According to some writers, however, both were taken alive by the enemy, and because the servant had thrown his arms about his master, no one was able to strike the master until the slave had first been dispatched by the blows of many. Someone cut off the head of Caius, we are told, and was carry- ing it along, but was robbed of it by a certain friend of Opimius, Septimuleius ; for proclamation had been made at the beginning of the battle that an equal weight of gold would be paid the men who brought the head of Caius or Fulvius. So Septimuleius stuck

the head of Caius on a spear and brought it to Opim- ius, and when it was placed ina balance it weighed seventeen pounds and two thirds, since Septimuleius, besides showing himself to be a scoundrel, had also perpetrated a fraud; for he had taken out the brain and poured melted lead in its place. But those who brought the head of Fulvius were of the obscurer sort, and therefore got nothing. The bodies of Caius and Fulvius and of the other slain were thrown into the Tiber, and they numbered three thousand; their property was sold and the proceeds paid into the public treasury. Moreover, their wives were for- bidden to go into mourning, and Licinnia, the wife of Caius, was also deprived of her marriage portion. Most cruel of all, however, was the treatment of the younger son of F ulvius, who had neither lifted a hand

Nelpas avTapapevov ovT ev Tos paxopmEvols yEvo-
pevov, adra él orrovdas EXMovta mpo THs waxns
aovrraBortes Kal peta THY waynV avedovTes. Ov-
nv adda Kal tovTov Kal TOV GA\wWY aTravTwY
HaXXNOV Hviage TOUS TOAXNOUS TO KATATKEVATOEY
"Opovotas tepov bro Tov 'Oripiou: cepvuverOar
yap éoxer kal péya gpovety Kal tporoy tiva
OptapBevery emi hovors tocovtots woditav. 810
Kal vuKros bro THY eriypadny Tod vew Trapeve-
ypaypdy Teves TOV atixov TobTov: ""Epyov atro-
voias vaoy opovotas trotet.
XVIII. Odtos pévtoe mp@tos éEouvcia Suxtd-
Topos ép brarea Xpnodwevos Kat Kara Telvas
axpttous él TplaxiALoes TodiTaLs Ddaiov Tpayxov
xal PovrABiov Prakxov, OY 6 pev Hv brratixds cal
OptapBexos, 0 bé THs Kal abrov ArLKlas apeTH
cal do&n mempwtevxws, ovx améoyeTo KAOTAS,
adda Treuhbels ws 'lovyoupOav tov Noudda mpeo-
Beurns StepQdpn xpnuaci bn' adtod: cat Sienv
dprov aiayiotnv Swpodoxias év atipia KaTeyy-
pace pucovpevos Kal mpotnraKiCopmevos vd Tov
Sypmou, Tap avuTa pev ta mpayOévta Tamewov
yevopévou Kal avatarévtos, ddiyo 5é taTepov
éxpnvavtos Soov elyev ipépov cal modov trav
[pdyxyov. etxovas Te yap avtav avabeiEavtes év
dhavep@ mpevTiPevto, Kai Tous TOTovs év ols édo-
vevOnoav apiepwoavtes aTrnpKXovTO pev Vv wpat
dhépover travtwy, €Ovov Sé Kal nad' Hyépav rrod-
rol Kal mpocénirtov, Worep Oedv iepois éemidpot-
TOUTES. |
XIX. Kal pévror cat 4 Kopynria Aéyerat ra

against the nobles nor been present at the fighting, but had come to effect a truce before the battle and had been arrested; after the battle he was slain. However, what vexed the peuple more than this or anything else was the erection of a temple of Concord by Opimius!; for it was felt that he was priding him- self and exulting and in a manner celebrating a triumph in view of all this slaughter of citizens. Therefore at night, beneath the inscription on the temple, somebody carved this verse :—“ A work of mad discord produces a temple of Concord.”’

XVIII. And yet this Opimius, who was the first consul to exercise the power of a dictator, and put to death without trial, besides three thousand other citizens, Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, of whom one had been consul and had celebrated a triumph, while the other was the foremost man of his genera- tion in virtue and reputation—this Opimius could not keep his hands from fraud, but when he was sent as ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian was bribed by him, and after being convicted most shamefully of corruption, he spent his old age in infamy, hated and abused by the people, a people which was humble and cowed at the time when the Gracchi fell, but soon afterwards showed how much it missed them and longed for them. For it had statues of the brothers made and set up in a conspicuous place, consecrated the places where they were slain, and brought thither offerings of all the first-fruits of the seasons, nay, more, many sacrificed and fell down before their statues every day, as though they were visiting the shrines of gods.

XIX. And further, Cornelia is reported to have |

1 Opimius restored the temple of Concord which had been built by Camillus (see the Camillus, xlii. 4).

(Te GAXa Tis cumhopas evyevas Kal peyaroyuyos
éveyxeiy, kat tept Tav tepav év ols avnpéOnoav
eitrety ws aEtous of vexpol Tdpous éxyovaw. aiTn
5€ wept tous KaXoupévous Mianvors d.érpeBev,
ovdevy petarrAd~aca tis cuvnBous Svaitns. Hv
dé rodvdiros Kai dua pirokeviay evtpamelos, ael
pev “EXAjvov Kai diroroyor tepl avTny dvtav,
_atravtwy 5¢ tav Baotdéwy xal Seyopevwv trap
auTns Sapa Kal tjepmovtTwyv. notaTn mev ovv HY
aitn trois adixvoupévors Kal cuvodar denyoupéevn
Tov tov tratpos ‘Adpixavov Biov nai diartay,
Oavpactwtatn 5€ Tov Taidwv amevOns Kal add-
KpuTos pyvnpovevovaa, Kat maOn Kal mpdtes
auT@Y, wWoTEp apxaiwy tivav, é—Enyoupuévn Tois
muvOavomevots. O0ev edoEev éviots Exvous Uo

ynpws peyéOovs Kax@v yeyovévat Kail Tov
atuxynudtwv avaicOntos, avrois ws drnbds
avatcOntos ovaw Goov €€ evdhulas Kai Tov yeyo-
vévat kal tetpadOar Kares operos éeate mpos
ddutiav avOpwrots, Kal Ste THS apeTns 7 TUXN
dvratroméevns wey TA KAKA TOANGKIS TeplEecTLY,
év &€ 1@ mraicas TO dépetv eEvAOYioTas ov
TAPALPELT at.

ATIAOS KAI KAEOMENOYS KAT I'PArXON
SYTKPISIS

I. ‘Hyiy 5€ nal raurns wépas éxovons THs
dunyjoews vrodetretat AaRely éx TapadrnAOV
Tav Biwy tHv aTodewpnatv. Ttovs pév ovv I'pay-

borne all her misfortunes in a noble and mag-
nanimous spirit, and to have said of the sacred places
where her sons had been slain that they were tombs
worthy of the dead which occupied them. She re-
sided on the promontory called Misenum, and made
no change in her customary way of living. She had
many friends, and kept a good table that she might
show hospitality, for she always had Greeks and
other literary men about her, and all the reigning
kings interchanged gifts with her. She was indeed
very agreeable to her visitors and associates when
she discoursed to them about the life and habits of
her father Africanus, but most admirable when she
spoke of her sons without grief or tears, and nar-
rated their achievements and their fate to all en-
quirers as if she were speaking of men of the early
days of Rome. Some were therefore led to think
that old age or the greatness of her sorrows had
impaired her mind and made her insensible to her
misfortunes, whereas, really, such persons themselves
were insensible how much help in the banishment of
grief mankind derives from a noble nature and from
honourable birth and rearing, as well as of the fact
that while Fortune often prevails over virtue when
it endeavours to ward off evils, she cannot rob
virtue of the power to endure those evils with calm
assurance.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE
GRACCHI COMPARED

I. Now that I have brought this story of the Gracchi also to an end, it remains for me to take a survey of all four lives in parallel. As for the Gracchi,

yous ovd of Tavy TadAA KaKwWS EYOVTES Kal
pucovvres éTOApNoay eitrety ws OVK EvpverTaToL
mpos apeTnv éyévovto 'Pwpaiwy atavtwv, Kai
Tpopns Te Kal madevoews exmpeTrovs ETUXOV' 7
\ , / b 4
dé "Ayidos cal Kreopévous pias éppwpeveotépa
A >
dhaiverat THs exelvwv yevouéevn, wap dcov ovTeE
4 , 9 A 4 4 X ,
ma.deias peTaraBovtes GpO7s, Ceci Te Kal Sraitats
évtpagevtes bp' ov of mpeaButepoe Trarat dtepOo-
pétcay, AUTOVs HyEm"ovas EUTEAECLAS Kal owopo-
avvns mapéaxov. ére 68 of pév, OTE NauTrpoTarov
elyev 7) 'Poun cal péyiotov akiwpa Kal Kadov
Epyov. Cnrov, Waomep Siadoyny apeths TaTpwmas
Kal mpoyovuKnns noxuvOncav éyxataditrety' ov Sé
Kal TaTépwy Tavavtia Tponpnpévwv yeyovores, Kal
Thy TaTpiba poxOnpa mpdtrovoay Kal vooodcav
, Os a \ \ \
maparaBovtes, ovdey tt d1a tTadTa THY wWpds TO
Kadov amnuSdruvvay opunv. Kal piv ths ye
Tpdyxov adiroypnuatias Kal mpdos apyvpiov
éyxpateias péytotov oti Ste Anppdtov adixwv
\ 3 3 a ' , 4
xka0apovs év apyais nab toduteiats dvepvrAatav
e 4 J \ , > \ A
éautous: "Ayis 5€ Kav Sunyavaxtnoev éri TO
pndev addXotpiov AaBetv ératvovpevos, bs THY
, nn a
ovolayv THY EaUTOD TOS TOTALS érédwKeV, aVEU
A " , e 4 / /
TOV ANNOY KTHLaTwY EFaKOTLA TaddaVTA Vvopic-
54
patos EXovoav. amnyAiKov ovy évoutble Kaxov elvat
\ 8 , asi e \ 5 / , "
TO Kepdalvely adikws o nal Sixaiws TwAéov exe

érépou mreovefiav ryoupevos;
/ \ : A
TI. "H ye puny ériBovrAn cal torApa TOY Katvo-
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then, not even those who utterly revile and hate them on other grounds have ventured to deny that of all Romans they were best equipped by nature for the practice of virtue, and enjoyed a rearing and training which were preéminent; but Agis and Cleomenes would appear to have had even sturdier natural gifts than theirs, in so far as, though they did not receive a correct training, and were reared in those customs and ways of living by which their elders had long ago been corrupted, they nevertheless made themselves leaders in simplicity and self-restraint. And further, the Gracchi, at a time when Rome had her greatest and most splendid repute and an ardour for noble deeds, were prevented by a sense of shame from abandoning what was like an inheritance of virtue from ancestors near and remote ; Agis and Cleomenes, on the other hand, though they were sons of fathers who had adopted opposite principles to theirs, and found their country in a wretched plight and full of distempers, did not suffer these things to blunt the ' edge of their zeal for what was noble. Moreover, the chief proof that the Gracchi scorned wealth and were superior to money lies in the fact that they kept themselves clear from unrighteous gains during their official and political life; whereas Agis would have been incensed to receive praise for not taking anything that was another's, since he freely gave to his fellow citizens his own property, which amounted to six hundred talents in ready money alone, to say nothing of other valuables. How great a baseness, then, would unlawful gain have been held to be by one in whose eyes even the lawful possession of more than another was rapacity ?

II. Again, the enterprise and boldness of their

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

, A A J V4 “5
TOMOLPEVWY TOAY TO peyebes TapHAAATTEV. €TrO-
ALTEVOVTO yap oO pév Cd@Y KaTaGKEVaS Kal TOAEwY
KTLOELS, KAL TO TAVTwWY vEeavrixwTaTov HY TuBepio
pev avacdcat Snpociovs aypovs, Taio Sé pitas
Ta Sucacty pla mpocewBarovte TOY imTTLIKaY TpLAa-
e

Koatous: 0 6é”Aytdos al KXeopevous vewtepic pos,
TO pikpa Kal KaTa pépos TAY HuapTnmevwn lacGar
Kal atroxoTrrey bdpay Tia TéuvovtTos, o> dyow
o Wndtwv, nynodmevos elvat, Thy aya mavta
amanrd~ar Kana kal peracKxevacar Sdvuvapeévnv
petaBorny éemriye Tois mpdypacw. adnOéotepov

& tows etrreiy dot Sti THY wavTa atepyaca-
pévny Kana petaBorAnv éEnrauvev, araywv Kat
xcabiatas eis TO olKEelov OXHMA THY TOA. é7rel
Kat TOTO ay TLS ElTroL, TH Mev Tpayyov todureva
\ , > & ¢ s \¢?
Tous peyiotous éevictacbar Pwpaiwr, ols dé “Ayes
> U , \ N wv 9 4 nn
evexetpnace, Kreouévns 5é To Epyov ééOnke, Tav
4 N 4 e 4 \
TApPAdelypaTov TOKAGAMOGTOV UTrEKELTO KA eyaXo-
M PETESTATOY, Ai WaTpLOL PHT pat Wept swppocvvys
A 4
Kal laoTntos, @Y TovToLs péev o Auxodpyos, éxeive ! dé o [IvOst0os BeBarwrns. 6 5é péytotoy, Stet
Tots

\ 9 4 a b] Oe ee 4 aA
pev €xetvwy TroAtTevpacwy eis ovdev 7 Pwoun petlov
> 7 a e ’ ’ \ @ e
érédwxe TOV UTrapxovTwr, ex dé ay o Kreopévns
empakev, odvyou ypovou THv Yraptnv tis Tedo-
jwovyncou xpatovaav » ‘EXdas érreide Kat Tots
Tote péyiotov duvapévors Staywouilopévny ayava
1 éxelvy Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, after Madvig: éxeivois.

attempted reforms were certainly very different in magnitude. For in their political activities Caius had in view the construction of roads and the founding of cities, and the boldest of all the projects of the Romans were, in the case of Tiberius the recovery of the public lands, and in that of Caius the reconstitu- tion of the courts of justice by the addition of three hundred men from the equestrian order; whereas Agis and Cleomenes in their reforms, considering that the application of trifling and partial remedies and excisions to the disorders of the state was nothing more than cutting off a Hydra’s heads (as Plato says 1), tried to introduce into the constitution a change which was able to transform and get rid of all evils at once ; though perhaps it is more in accordance with the truth to say that they banished the change which had wrought all sorts of evils, by bringing back the state to its proper form and establishing it therein. Besides, this also can be said, that the policies of the Gracchi were opposed by the greatest Romans, whereas those which Agis instituted and Cleomenes consummated were based upon the fairest and most imposing precedents, namely, the ancient rhetras or unwritten laws concerning simplicity of life and equality of property, for which Lycurgus was voucher to them, and the Pythian Apolloto Lycurgus.2 But the most important consideration is that through the political activity of the Gracchi Rome made no advance in greatness, whereas, in consequence of the achievements of Cleomenes, within a short time Greece beheld Sparta mistress of the Peloponnesus and carrying on a struggle for the supremacy with those who then had the greatest power, the object of

1 Republic, p. 426 e. 2 See the Lycurgus, xiii.

TOV TEpl THS Hryepwovias, ov TéXOS HY ATraNNayelaav
"Trrupixay Strrwv cal Taratixov thv ‘EdXaba
coo peic Oat Tradwv vp “Hpaxarectdacs.
III. Oipas S€ wai tas rerevtas tav avdpav
éudaive tiva ths apeths Stadhopav. éxeivoe pev
yap waxopmevot pos TOUS TroAtTas, elra hevyovTes
9 , 4 \? \ ° \ a ,
érenevtTnoav: TouTev dé’ Ayis pev vTép TOU wndéva
KTELVaL TOV TOALTG@V OAriyou Sety éExwv aTéave,
Krecopévns 5€ mpornraxicbels nal adixnbeis ap-
pnoe pevaptvacbat, Tov dé Katpod pn TapacyYovTos
e_sAN > f b a , \ 9 4
QUTOV EVTOAMMS avetAe. TWaALY O€ TdvaVTiA oKO-
“A ? \ x QN 3 4 4
movow "Ayis pev ovdev aredeiEato otparnyias
” b \ 4 a \ /
Epyov, adAa mpoavnpéOn, tais 5é Kreopevous
vixals ToAXais Kal Karais yevopévas tapaBanrelv
” 4 \ ’ A /
éott TiBepiov thy é€v Kapynéoove tod Teiyous
lf 3 N ” 4 \ J 4
KaTadynYiy, ov uixpov eEpyov, cat tas ev Nopavtia
otovods, als diopupious ‘Pwopaiwy otpatiwtas
ouK éyovTas aAAny eATrIba GwTNpias TEpLETTOinae’
kat Taios 5é€ roAAnv pév avtoOs, worAAnY 5é év
Lapdou otparevomevos avdpayaltav Epnvev, WaTE
Tols TpwTos av évamirrous ‘Pwopaiwy yevéoOar
oTpaTHyoIs, Eb un TpoavnpeOnaav.
IV. Tis 8€ rrondcTeias o peév "Ayes Eotxev dracdar

-paraKkwtepov, exxpovabets vo "Aynaotdaou Kat

wrevoduevos Tov avadacpoy Tois TrodiTals, Kal
ef 3 \ \ 9 N e I. \ 4
OAWS EXALTFNS KAL ATEANS WY TPOELAETO Kal KATHY-
yetrev UTro aToApias Sia THY HALKiaV ryEevopmevOS:
> bé Kreope ; Lov Opacu y
o 6¢ KAeopévns todvavtiov Opacvtepov Kal Bvato-
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which struggle was to set Greece free from Illyrian

and Gaulish troops and array her once more under
descendants of Heracles,
III. I. think, too, that the way in which the men died makes manifest a difference in their high excellence. For the Gracchi fought against their fellow citizens, and then died as they sought to make their escape; but in the case of the Greeks, Agis would _not kill a single citizen, and therefore died what one might almost call a voluntary death, and Cleomenes, after setting out to avenge himself for insults and wrongs, found the occasion unfavourable and with a good courage slew himself. Butagain, when we take the opposite view of their relative merits, Agis displayed no deed worthy of a great commander, but was cut off untimely, and with the many honourable victories won by Cleomenes we can compare the capture of the wall at Carthage by Tiberius, which was no trifling deed, and his truce at Numantia, by which twenty thousand Roman soldiers who had no other hope of salvation were spared; and Caius, too, manifested great bravery in military service at home, and great bravery in Sardinia, so that the brothers might have vied successfully with the foremost Roman generals, had they not been cut off untimely.

IV. In their civic activities, however, Agis would seem to have taken hold of things with too little spirit; he was baffled by Agesilaiis, and broke his promise to the citizens about the re-distribution of lands, and in a word abandoned and left un- finished the designs which he had deliberately formed and announced, owing to a lack of courage due to his youth. Cleomenes, on the contrary, undertook his change of the constitution with too

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tepov emi thy petaBornv AGE Tis TodtTELas,
‘ id A
amoxreivas Tovs épopovs trapavopws, ods Kal
TpocayayeaOat Tois OTAOLS. KpaTodYTa Kal peTa-
A e7 a ea > 3, / ”
oThoa, padiov Hv, waTeEp OVK OduYOUS GAXOUS
; a ! \ \ ” a
petéotyncev ex THS Worews. TO yap avev TAS
doyarns avdykns emupépery oidnpov ove tatpixoy
bd 4 J bd) b 4 \ > “4
OUTE WONLTLKOV, GAN aTexyvias pev apuhoTepa,
A /
TouT@ 5é Kal TO Gdixely peT WMOTNTOS TpocECTL.
a \ / 3Q?7 \ w A
tav d¢ Tpdyxav ovdérepos pev npEato ohayijs
éuduriou, Tdios 6€ Aéyerae pndé Bardopevos
Opuncat pos apuvav, AANA AaptrpoTaTos adv ev
Tois TONEpLKOLS ApyoTaTos ev TH oTdoe yevérOar.
Kal yap mponOev dotAos Kai paxouévwy avexo-

pnoe, Kal SAWS TWAELOVA TOU UH TL Spadaat TpovoLaY
h Tov wy wabeiv Eywv Ewpato. S16 Kal thy duynv
QUT@Y OUK aToAuias onpetov, AaAN eEvrAaBPelas
mwountéov. édet yap vuiretEas Tois émipepopévors
7) wévovras UTép ToD un Tabeiv To Spav apvvacOas.
V. Tov toivuy éyxAnudtwv Tav Kata TuBepiou
peylotov €otw OTL Tov auvapyovTa THS Snuapyias
eféBare nai Sevtépav avtos Snpapyiay pernec:
Taiw dé tov “AvtuvAdiov dovov od SiKxaiws ovdé
annOas mpocetpiBovto: S2ehOdpn yap axovros
a“ \ 93 “~
aUTOU Kal ayavaKTodyTos. Kreopévns 5¢, iva Tas
\ “a b] 4 +7 ? , \
adayas Tov épopwyv édcwpev, nrevOepwoe pev
A > / a
atavtas Tous otKéTas, éBacinevoe S¢ TH pev Epye
id a de 9 ld 4 9 , ‘
Hovos, T@ Oe dvouate Sevtepos, Evreiday Tov
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI

much rashness and violence, killing the ephors in unlawful fashion, when it would have been easier to win them over to his views or remove them by superior#ty in arms, just as he removed many others from the city. For a resort to the knife, except under extremest necessity, is not the mark either of a good physician or statesman, but in. both cases shows a lack of skill, and in the case of the statesman there is added both injustice and cruelty. Neither of the Gracchi, however, initiated civil slaughter, and Caius, we are told, would not resort to self-defence even when his life was threatened, but though he was a most brilliant soldier in the field, he showed himself most inactive in civil strife. For he went forth from his house unarmed and withdrew when the battle began, and in a word was seen to be more intent upon not doing any harm to others than upon not suffering harm himself. Therefore we must hold that the flight of the brothers was not a mark of cowardice, but of caution. For they were obliged either to yield to their assailants, or, in case they held their ground, to defend themselves actively against harm.

V. Again, the greatest of the accusations against Tiberius is that he deposed his colleague from the tribuneship and canvassed for a second tribuneship himself; and as for Caius, the murder of Antyllius was unjustly and falsely attributed to him, for it happened contrary to his wishes and much to his dis- pleasure. But Cleomenes, not to mention again his slaughter of the ephors, set free all the slaves, and was king by himself in point of fact, though nomin- ally with another, after he had chosen his brother Eucleidas, a man from the same house, as his col-

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5) \ 9 “A 9 / e A , 9 a
aderov ék juas olKlas AUT@ TMpocedAopevos, Apyi-
Sapov S€, & mpocjKov iv amo rhs évrépas oixias
wv UA 54 \ b /
dvre oupBacireve, émerce pev ex Mgoonvns
a > La \ , > >
katerOetv, atroOavovtos Sé Tov hovov ovK ére€-
\ bd , A > / 9 e a a
ellav éBeBaiwoe THY aitriav Kal’ avTovd Tis
dvatpécews. Kxaitot Avxovpyos, dv mpocetrotetro
pipetcOar, THY pev Bacirgciav éxwv atrédwxe TO
qatot Tov adeAdod XapirAro, ghoBovpevos Sé p71,
¥ > , \ , > 7 > 9
Kav GrAXwS atroPdvn TO petpdKLov, aitia Tis ém
avrov €dOn, TroAvv ypovoy Ew mravnOels ov mpo-
Tepov éravnrOev 7) traida TO XapirrA yevéoIat
Siddoyov tis apxyns. adda Aveovpym pév ovdé
ddros tes “EXAHvwv mapaBAnTos ovdels: Ste Sé
tots KyYeopmévous modtTevpact KawvoTopias Kat
jmapavomiat peitoves éverat, SedyjAwTat. Kal pyv
, A
of ye TOV TpoTroV avTaV wéyovTEs TOUTOLs pev eF
apyns Tupavyuxov Kal trodeyotroloy aiti@vTat
/ A \ 9» 4 4 4 9
yevéoOar, TH Sé exeivayv hioe PiroTipias aper-
piav, AdrXo &é ovdev ot POovoivres errixarely elyov:
éxpimicOévtas Sé TH Wpos Tovs évicTapmévous
ayou. Kal Oup@ Tapa thv avtav diow waoTreEp
mvoats, épeivat wept Ta EoyatTa THY ToALtTEiaDY
@pmoroyouv. émel THS ye TpwTns UVTOBéTEws TL
/ “a , a > \ \ , A
KaNALOV 7 SiKaloTEpoy iv, eb pn KaTa Biay Kat
duvacteiay éemixyerpnaavtes éE@oat Tov vopoy ot
TWAOUVGLOL TEPLETTNTAV ALPOTEPOLS AYOVAS, TP pev
goBoupevm vrép avTod, T@ Sé éxduxobvTe Tov
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AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI

league ; and he persuaded Archidamus, who belonged to the other house and should have been his colleague on the throne, to come back to Sparta from Messene, and upon his death, by not following up the murder, he fixed upon himself the blame for his taking off. And yet Lycurgus, whom he professed to imitate, voluntarily surrendered the royal power to Charillus his brother’s son, and because he feared lest, if the young man should die by another's hand, some blame might attach to himself, he wandered a long time in foreign parts, and would not come back until a son had been born to Charillus who should succeed

to his office.1 However, with Lycurgus no other Greek is worthy to be compared; but that the political measures of Cleomenes were marked by greater in- novations and illegalities than those of the Gracchi, is evident. And indeed those who are inclined to crit- icize their characters accuse the two Greeks of having been from the outset over fond of power and strife, and the two Romans of having been by nature im- moderately ambitious, though their detractors could bring no other charge against them; nay, it was agreed that they were caught up by the fury of the contest with their opponents and by a passion contrary to their own natural bent, as by blasts of wind, and so let the state drive into extremest danger. For what could be more just and honourable than their original design? And they would have succeeded in it, had not the party of the rich, by their violent and partisan attempts to abrogate the agrarian law, involved both of them in fierce struggles, Tiberius through fear for his own life, and Caius in an effort to avenge his brother, who had been slain without justice or

1 See the Lycurgue, iii. 5.

> '\ " / \ / QV C > wv
aderdhov avev dixns Kat Soypwaros ovde UT' apYovTos
avaipeOévta;
Luvopads pév ov Kal avros ex TaY eipnuévwnv

A 4 > \ " \ bd bd /
Thv Stadhopav: et O€ dei Kai Kal' Exactov atropn-
vac Oat, TiBéptov ev apeTH Trempwrevxévat TION
TavTwyv, éhaxiota O€ nuapTnKévat TO pELpaKiov
7A 4 de i '4 fon 9 9 ,
ylv, mpage. d€ Kat torpn Taiov ove odyw
Knreopévous ba tepov yeryovevat.

senatorial decree and without the concurrence even
of a magistrate.
From what has been said, then, my reader will perceive for himself the difference between these men; but if I am to express my opinion of them individually, I should say that Tiberius led them all in exemplary virtues, that the youthful Agis com- mitted the fewest errors, and that in. achievement and courage Caius fell far short of Cleomenes.

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et

®IAOIMOIMHN

I. KXéavdpos jv €v Mavtiveta yévous te mpwrou 356

cal SuvnOeis év Tois paddtota THY TOMTOV, TUXN
dé yYpnodpevos Kal THY éavTodD huywy Kev eis
MerydAny modu ovy RKtota 51a Tov PrdroTroipevos
matépa Kpaiyiv, avdpa mdavrwy &vexa Naptpor,
ova O€ mpos éxeivoy oixeiws Eyovta. CavrTos pév
ovv avTov TavTwy éTUyXave, TeNeUTHCTAVTOS Sé
Thy apoBny THs ptroFevias atrodibovs EOpeyrev
avTov TOY viov opdavoy dyta, Kabdrep dyaoly
“Opunpos v6 Tod Doiuxos tov AxytAd€a Tpadjvac,
yevvaiav tia Kal BacirKny tov iOous evOds &&
apxns tTAdow Kai ab—Enow AapBdvovtos. dn dé
A 4 9 la v ” \
Tov Dirorroipevos avtitaidos Gyros "Exdnpos Kai
Meyarodavns ot Meyadoronita: duedéEavto THY
bd 4 » , V4 9 bY 4
émipedecav, Apxeothaw auvydes év “Axadnueia
, \ / , a 5
yeyovotes xat gtrdocodiav pdadtota tov Kab
éauTous éml TrodTelay Kal mpakets TpoayayovTes.
ovToL Kal Thy éavTaV TraTpida TUpavvibos a7rn-
Nakav, Tovs atoxtevodvtas ‘Apiatodnuov Kpuda
‘ /
jwapacKevdcavtes, Kat Nixoxréa Tov SuKvwviov
4
tupavvov ’Apdt@m avvebéBarov, nal Kupnvaiois
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PHILOPOEMEN

I. CLeanper was a man of the highest lineage and greatest influence among the citizens of Mantineia, but he met with reverses and was exiled from his native city. Hethen betook himself to Megalopolis, chiefly because of Craugis, the father of Philopoemen, aman in every way illustrious, and attached to him by ties of personal friendship. As long as Craugis lived, Cleander’s wants were all supplied, and when Craugis died, Cleander, wishing to requite him for his hospitality, undertook the rearing of his orphan son, just as Homer says that Achilles was reared by Phoenix,! so that the boy’s character took on from the very outset a noble and kingly mould and growth. But as soon as Philopoemen had ceased to be a boy, Ecdemus and Megalophanes, of Megalopolis, were putin charge of him.? They had been comrades of Arcesilaiis at the Academy, and beyond all men of their day had brought philosophy to bear upon political action and affairs of state. ‘They freed their own native city from tyranny, by secretly procuring men to kill

Aristodemus ; they joined with Aratus in expelling Nicocles the tyrant of Sicyon;? and at the request of the people of Cyrene, whose city was full

1 Cf. Iliad, ix. 438 ff.

2 A brief biography of Philopoemen may be found in Pausanias, viii. 49-51. It agrees, in the main, with that of Plutarch. Philopoemen was born about 252 B.c.

3 See the Aratus, ii.-x.

a A \ , \

SenOetiot, TeTapaywevwv TOV KaTa THY TOA Kal
/
vooovvTwy, TAEvaavrTes Evvopiav EOevTo Kal dSvexo-
Opnoav apiota Thy ToALY. avToL ye pny év Tots
Garros Epyos nal tHv Dirorroipevos érrototvTo
matdeva ty, as Kowov Operos TH 'ENAGEL Tov avdpa
TOUTOV VITO dirogopias atrepyacopevor. Kal yap
a@otep orpiyovoy év ynpa Tals TOV TaNaLav TryEewLo-
A a A e
vov émitexovaa ToUTOV apeTais 7 EXXas Hyarnoe
Stadepovtws Kal cuvnvénoe TH S0En thy Svvayuv.
e , 4, J A 4 > N e 4
Pwpatiwy S€ Tis Errawva@v éoxyatov avTov EXAnvev
MpOceElrev, WS OVdEVA péyay ETA TOUTOV ETL Tis
"EAA dbos avépa yetvapévns ovd€ avtns aksov.
II. "Hv S€ 76 pév elds ove aiaypos, ws ios
vouifovow: eiKova yap avrov Siapévovoay épv
Aerdois opapev: tHv 5é ths Eévns THs Meyapixijs
" a 4 > > / \
dyvoiav aupPyva réyouvot Ot evKoNlay Tivda Kal
adpédeav avtod. wuvOavopévn yap épyec Oat pos
auTous Tov otpatnyov tav '"Ayadv éBopuBetTo
mapacKkevalovaa Seitrvov, ov TapoVTOS KATA TUX NY
a »% , ? / \ A / >
Tov avdpos. é€v ToUT@ dé TOU Piromroipevos eioen-
Oovtos xAapvdiov evTerts ExovToOs, olopévyn Tiva
TaV UTNpETaY elvas kal mpddpomoy TrapeKdreEL THS

Siaxovias cuvedaacOa. Kal o pév evOvs atrop-
4 A
piipas thy xdAapvda tov Evrdov Eoyilev' o Se
4 bd rGa A @ , 6c , A 99
Eévos émeaceav cai Ocacduevos, “Ti todto,
@
épn, “a Dirotroipny;” “Ti yap adAro,” edn
/ a A
Swpilwy éxeivos, “4 xards Oews Sixas didwpe;”
A be ” 4 \ Ul > , e

Tov d€ adXOv cwpaTos THY HYoW ETLOKOTTOV O

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fod
i
PHILOPOEMEN

of confusion and political distemper, they sailed
. thither, introduced law and order, and arranged
matters in the city most happily. They themselves,
however, counted the education of Philopoemen also
among their many achievements, believing that their
philosophical teachings had made him a common
benefit to Greece. For since he was the child, as it
were, of her late old age and succeeded to the virtues
of her ancient commanders, Greece loved him sur-
passingly, and as his reputation grew, increased his
power. And a certain Roman, in praising him, called
him the last of the Greeks, implying that Greece
produced no great man after* him, nor one worthy
of her.

II. In looks he was not, as some suppose, ill- favoured ; for a statue of him is still to be seen at Delphi ; and the mistake of his Megarian hostess was due, as we are told, to a certain indifference and simplicity on his part. This woman, learning that the general of the Achaeans was coming to her house, in great confusion set about preparing supper; besides, her husband chanced to be away from home. Just then Philopoemen came in, wear- ing a simple soldier's cloak, and the woman, thinking him to be one of his servants who had been sent on in advance, invited him to help her in her housework. So Philopoemen at once threw off his cloak and fell to splitting wood. Then his host came in, and seeing him thus employed, said: “What does this mean, Philopoemen?’’ ‘ What else,’ said Philopoemen in broad Doric, “than that I am paying a penalty for my ill looks?’’ And once Titus Flamininus, making fun of certain parts of his

1 See the Aratus, xxiv, 2

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PLUTARCH’S Bee

Tiros elev, nO) Dirorroipwny, Os Kands Xetpas
exes Kal axédy yaorépa 8 ove éxeus:” Hy yap
ex TOV METWY ATEVWTEPOS. TO pevToL oKep pa
7 pos Thy Suva auTou paidDov eXex On. Kat
yap omhitas EXeov ayadous Kat imaeis Xenpatav
TONAGKLS ovK evTropet. TavTa pev ovy év Tais
oxonats mept TOU PidoTroipevos eyeTar.
III. Tod & Hous ro prdorepov ovK Hy mavTd-
Tact prdovercias xaapov ovd opyns annddary-
pevor- GAA KaiTrep "Exrapewvovdov Bovdopevos
elvat pamota nrwrns, TO dpacrnprov kal ouverov
avrov Kal bro XPnwar ev anaes t loXUPAS EUspEiTo,
To O€ mpey cai Babei Kat prravOpame Tapa TAs
ToMTUKaS. Ssadhopas éeupévery ov Svvapevos be
opyny Kat prroverciay paddov edoxer oT PATO
TLRS 7) TOALTLKNS APETHS OlKELOS Elva. Kal yap
€x qTalowy ev0 us my proc tpatiatns, Kat Tots
T pos TOUTO Xpnstwors pabnpacty vIrnkove Tpo-
Ovpes, omhopaxeiv Kat immevely. émel 56 Kal
mahaiety EVPUAS edoxet Kat Tmapexadovv auTov
emt THD GOrnow € évot TOV pirov Kal TOV emt-
TpOoTraY, iparncev auTous fn TL pos THY oTpa-
TLOTLRND aoKnow v7r6 THs abrjoews BaByacotro.
trav 5é hapévar, Strep hv, dOANTLKOY OTpPaTLWTLKOD
capa Kal Biov Siapéperv Tois Tact, padiota bé
diartapv érépav Kat adoxnow elvat, TOV pep orvep
Te TOAD Kat TANopovais evdehexert Kat KLVAT ETL
TeTAyMevaLs Kal novxiars avgovt ov te kal Svagv-
AaATTOVTOV THY éEiv ud Taans poms Kar TApec -
Bacews TOU cvvndous daxpoopari 1 pos peraBodny
ovoav, ta dé tdons péev mAaYyns Eptretpa Kai
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figure, said : ‘“‘ Philopoemen, what fine arms and legs
thou hast; but belly thou hast not”; for Philo-

poemen was quite slender at the waist. This piece of fun, however, was aimed the rather at his resources. For though he had excellent men-at-arms and _ horse-men, he was often at a loss for money. However, these stories are told of Philopoemen in the schools of philosophy.

III. But the love of distinction which marked his character was not altogether tree from contentiousness nor devoid of anger; and although he desired to pattern himself most of all after Epaminondas, it was. the energy, sagacity, and indifference to money in Epaminondas which he strenuously imitated, while his proneness to anger and contentiousness made him unable to maintain that great leader's mildness, gravity, and urbanity in political disputes, so that he was thought to be endowed with military rather than with civic virtues. For from his very boyhood he was fond of a soldier’s life, and readily learned the lessons which were useful for this, such as those in heavy- armed fighting and horsemanship. He was also thought to be a good wrestler, but when some of his friends and direetors urged him to take up athletics, he asked them if athletics would not be injurious to his military training. They told him (and it was the truth) that the habit of body and mode of life for athlete and soldier were totally different, and particu- larly that their diet and training were not the same, since the one required much sleep, continuous surfeit of food, and fixed periods of activity and repose, in order to preserve or improve their condition, which the slightest influence or the least departure from routine is apt to change for the worse ; whereas the

Tdons avwparias mpoonKoy elvat, padtoTta dé
‘hépew padiwos ev evderav eiOropéva, padiws 5é
aypurviav, axovaas 0 PiroTroipny ov povov avTos
Epuye TO mpayua Kal xateyékacev, GANA Kal
oTpaTnyav VaTEPOY ATiMials Kai TPOTNAAKLO LOLS,
Saov Hy er avTo, wacav GOrAnow é&éBarev ws
TA XPNTLLMTATA TOV TWOPLATWYV Eis TOUS GvayKaLoUS
ayavas aypynota tolovaav.

IV. ’Azraddayels 5é€ dtdacxddwv xai matéa-
yoyav év péev tais qodTiKais otpatelats, as
€TrOLOUVYTO KAwWTeElas Evexa Kal NENrNacias els THY
Aaxovixny éuBaddovtes, elOicev. avtov mparov
pev éxotpatevovtwy, totatov dé amepyopevav
Babifev. axorrs dé ovaons 7 KUYnyav SveTrover
TO o@pa Kat KateoKevale Koddov dua Kal popa-
Aéov, } yewpyav. hv yap aypos avT@ Kados aro
cTadiwy elkoot THS TOAEwWS. els TOUTOV éBadLle
Kal’ huépay peta TO aptotov 7 peta TO Seimvor,
kat cataBadov éavtov ert ottBadtou Tov TUYOVTOS
@oTrep ExacTos TOY épyaTa@y dveTraveTo. Tpwt dé
avactas Kat cuveharrdapevos Epyou Tois aptre-

Aoupyovoty 7 BonrarTovaw, avOts ets TrodLY aTrnEL
Kat jepl Ta Snwoota Tois Pirdois Kal ToOls apxYovet
cvvno xYoNEtTO.
Ta pev ovdv ex TOY OTpaTELMY TpocLOVTAa KaTaV-
aduoKev els imtovs Kal STA Kai AVTOES alxpa-
AwTwY, Tov 5é olxovy amo THs yewpylas avkew
émretpaTo OLKaLoTaT@ TOY XpHnpaTLa “eV, OVE TOUTO
TOLOUPEVOS TApEpyoV, GAAA Kal Tdvu TpooHKery
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soldier ought to be conversant with all sorts of irregularity and all sorts of inequality, and above all should accustom himself to endure lack of food easily, and as easily lack of sleep. On hearing this, Philopoemen not only shunned athletics himself and derided them, but also in later times as a commander banished from the army all forms of them, with every possible mark of reproach and dishonour, on the ground that they rendered useless for the inevitable struggle of battle men who would otherwise be most serviceable.

IV. And when, set free from teachers and tutors, he took part in the incursions into Spartan territory which his fellow-citizens made for the sake of booty and plunder, he accustomed himself to march first as they went out, but last as they came back. And when he had leisure, he would give his body hard exercise in hunting, thus rendering it agile and at the same time sturdy, or in cultivating the soil. For he had a fine farm twenty furlongs from the city. To this he would go every day after dinner or after supper, and would throw himself down upon an ordinary pallet-bed, like anyone of his labourers, to sleep for the night. Then, early in the morning, he would rise and go to work along with his vine-dressers or his herdsmen, after which he would go back again to the city and busy himself about public matters with his friends or with the magistrates.

As for what he got from his campaigning, he used to spend it on horses, or armour, or the ransoming of captives; but his own property he sought to increase by agriculture, which is the justest way to make money. Nor did he practise agriculture merely as a side issue, but he held that the man who purposed to

4 ~ a“ Q , b a
olopevos otxeta KexTHaOat Tov addoTpiwv adeto-

) ~ QA a Qa td
Hevov. nxpoato 5€ Aoywv Kai avyypappact ptro-
a b + @ Ld
copuwv évetuyYavev, ov Tact, GAN ad wv edoxer
A > A > “~ N “ ‘;O “ 4
™pos apeTnyv @perctcOar. xaitTav Ounpixav ooa
¢ 9 t
Tas pos avopeiay eyeipey Kat tmapokuvew evouute
davtacias, Tovras mpocetxe. TaV 8 adrAwV ava-
yvwopatwv partota trois EvayyéXov taxtiKois
9 4 A N ‘ > tA id av
evepueTo Kai tas mept ‘Ar€Eavdpov totoptias
KQTELYE, TOUS OYOUS ETL TA TpdyynaTa KaTA-
4 a4 ’ \ “~ ad ‘ A
TTPEPELY OLOMEVOS, EL LN TKOANS Evexa Kal Nadas
aKapTrov TepaivowTo. Kat yap TOY TAKTLKOV
Oewpnuatwv tas émi tois mivaxio Staypadas
é@v Yalpev, emt TAY ToTwY av’TaY édapBavev
ro ,
EXeyxov Kal pedétnv erroteito, ywpiwv ovyKduvias
kal mediwy amoKxomds, Kal boa mepl pevOpors 7
Tappots 7) oTevwtrois TAON Kal oxnpata SwactTa}-
4 \ 4 A 4 >
Hevns Kat Tad avoTtedXopevns Parayyos. Emt-
TKOTOV AUTOS Tpos avToV ev Tals OdoLTrOpiats Kat
a > +e a , ” cA ?
toils we éavtov mpoRddAdAwy. EolKEe yap ovTOS
e ‘ ‘ A “
0 avnp TéEpaitépw THS avayens éudioxarjoat
TOLS OTPATLWTLKOIS, Kal TOV TOAELOY WS TOLKLAW-
TaTny uToleow Ths apeTns aomdcacba, xal
dws KaTadpovety TOV aTONELTOMEVWY WS aTpG-
KTOD.
Ww \ b le / Ld ,
V. "Hén 6€ adtovd tpraxovta én yeyovorTos
/ e
KrXeouevns o Baotrevs Aaxedatpovioy vuKtos
b / \ a / / \ \
eEaiduns mpoorecav tH Meyddn tore Kal tas
Ud > \ “a \ \ bd
gurakas Biacdpevos évtos waphnrAGe xal THV ayo-
pav katérxaBev. éxBonOnaas S€ Piromoipnv tovs
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keep his hands from the property of others ought by all means to have property of his own. He also listened to the discourses and applied himself to the writings of philosophers-—not all of them, but those whom he thought helpful to him in his progress towards virtue. And as for the poems of Homer, whatever in them was thought by him to rouse and stimulate the activities of the soul which made for valour, to this he would apply himself. Among other writings, however, he was most of all devoted to the ‘Tactics’ of Evangelus, and was familiar with the histories of Alexander, thinking that literature was conducive to action, unless it were prosecuted merely to while away the time and afford themes for fruitless small talk. Indeed, he would ignore the charts and diagrams for the illustration of tactical principles, and get his proofs and make his studies on the ground itself. The ways in which places slope to meet one another, and level plains come to an abrupt end, and all the vicissitudes and shapes of a phalanx when it is elongated and contracted again in the vicinity of ravines or ditches or narrow defiles, these he would investigate by himself as he wandered about, and discuss them with his companions. For it would seem that he brought more zeal than was necessary to the study of military science, setting his affections on war as affording a most manifold basis for the practice of virtue, and despising as unsuccessful men those who left it to others.

V. He was now thirty years of age, when Cleomenes, King of the Lacedaemonians, suddenly attacked Megalopolis by night, forced the guard, made his way into the city, and occupied the market-place. Philopoemen came to the help of the citizens, but had not

pev Troeuious ov KatioXxuaey éFeAdoa, KalmEep
Eppwpevars Kal mapaBorws Stayoviaduevos, TOUS
dé Toi Tas Tpomrov TWa THS TONES eFexrerpe,
T POG WAX OMEVOS Tots értOL@Kouat kat tov Kyeo-
pevny TepioTrav ed éavTov, ws Karem as Kal mods
VETATOS amrendeiv, arroBarwv Tov liov Kal
Tpavyarias ‘YEVOMEVOS. emet Oe ™ poceTepapev
aUTOLS O Kreouevns els Meconynv amerBodar THY
TE TOLD pera TOV Xenparov amrodLoous kal TH
YOpav, opav 0 Dirorroipny Tovs modiTas aa pévers
dexomevous Kal omrevdovTas emraven Gein € éveoTn Kal
Svexwruce TO hoy, disdoKwv ws ovK amrobiswat
THY TOALY Krcopevns, TpooKTaTat dé TOUS Toditas
el TO Kal THY TONW yeu BeBarorepo ov yap
éFerv avtov Straws oixias Kat Tetyn Keva purdger
Kad npevos, aAXa Kal TOUTOD un epnpias éKTEG EL -
cOat. tadra réywr Tous pev TON TAS amétpewe,
TO dé Kreopéver mpopacty Taper € Aupnvac Bar
Kal xataBare Ta TWAELOTAa THS Toews Kal x pn-
paTov eUTropya ave peydhov amen Bein.

VI. ’Exel 6 Avtiryovos O Bactreus Bonfov
em Tov KXeopévny peta TOV ‘Axatay € ecoTparevce,
Kat Tas wept LedAaciav axpas Kal Tas éuBoras
KATEXOVTOS avtov tapétrake tiv dSvvapty eyyus
émrexerpely Kal Bidteo Oat Stavoovpevos, Hy pev év
Tots iirrevot pera TOV éautod TONLT OV TETAYMEVOS
0 Prrorroipny, Kal “Twapactaras elyev ‘TAAupious,
ols Ta AnyovTa THs Tapatakews auveTTéehpaxto
1 See the Cleomcnea, xxiv.
2 Cf. the Cleomenes, xxvii. and xxviii. The battle of Sellasia was fought in 221 n.c.

force enough to drive the enemy out, although he fought with vigour and daring. He did, however, steal the citizens out of the city, as it were, by attacking their pursuers and drawing Cleomenes against himself, so that with the greatest difficulty he got away last of all, after losing his horse and receiving a wound. Moreover, when Cleomenes sent to them at Messene, whither they had gone, and offered to give them back their city with its valuables and their territory, Philopoemen, seeing that the citizens would be glad to accept the offer and were eager to go back home, opposed and dissuaded them from it, showing them that Cleomenes was not so much offering to restore their city as he was trying to win over to himself its citizens, that so he might have the city also more securely in his possession ; for he would not be able, Philopoemen said, to remain there and guard empty houses and walls, but the solitude would force him to abandon these also. By this speech Philopoemen diverted the citizens from their purpose, but furnished Cleomenes with an excuse for devastating and demolishing the greater part of the city and marching off loaded with booty.’

VI. Soon, however, Antigonus the king marched with the Achaeans to give aid against Cleomenes, and finding that his enemy was occupying the heights and passes about Sellasia, he drew up his forces near by with the purpose of attacking him and forcing a passage.” Philopoemen was stationed among the Macedonian cavalry with his own fellow-citizens,’ and had as a support the Illyrians, a large body of

3 According to Polybius, ii. 66. 7, a thousand Achaeans and as many Megalopolitans were stationed with the ~Macedonian cavalry.

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2 moAXois ovat Kal payipos. elpnro dé avtois
9 , ° a 4 Ww ? \ 4
épedpevovotv nouvxiav exe axpt dv atro Oarepou

Képws vTro tov Baciréws apOn dotvixis trrep
captions Svatetapevn. Tav Sé aWyEe“ovwv ois
"TAAuptots tretpwpévwv exBialerOar tovs Aaxedar-
povious, Kai tav “Ayatav, ooTep tpocetéTaxTo,
Thv epedpetav ev Taker Stapvratrovtwv, Ev«reidas
o ToD KXeopévous adeAdos Katayabwv To ytvopevov
Sudotracpa epi Tovs TroAEpLLOUs TaYU TOUS é€Aa-
ppotatous Trav Widow mepreTrepev, eEoTLa ev Tots
"T\Xupcots éesritreceiv KeAEVoas Kal TEpioTray Ep7-
fous TOV immévwy ATrOAEAELULPEVOUS.
3 Tevopevov dé TrovTwy Kal Tov idav Tous IAdv- 359
ptous TEploTaVTOV Kal StataparrovTey, ouvio@v
) Drdoroiunv ov peya dv épyov éemiBécbat Trois
irots Kal Tov Kalpov Upnyovpevoy TOUTO, TPATOV
A 4 a a e s\ > w
pev Eppate trois BactrLKois, ws € ovn Errecber,
’ N 4 an nA 5 o
adda patwerbar Soxav Kateppovetto, ovdérw
peydarns ovbé aktoriorou pos THALKOUTO OTpAT?}-
4 \ 2 A ” > \ b] 4
ynua do0&—ns epi avtov ovans, autos éuBdadrEK
4 ouveTrioTacUdpEvos Tovs ToXiTas. ‘yevouevns bé

a \ A A a
TAPAYTS TO TPATOV, Elta Puvy7ns Kal povou ToAXoD
“ a ‘ 4 a) J A
Tav Wide, Bovdopevos Ett pAadXov émippaca
tous BaotrtKous Kal mpocpitar Kata TayXos Oopvu-
Bovpévots Tots troNemios TOV péev immov adjxev,
\
autos S€ mpos Ywpia oKxodla Kal peata peiO pwr
Kal dapayyev melos ev immix@ Oopaxt Kal oxevh
Baputépa yareT os Kal TadaiT@pws aulAropmEVvos
dieAauvetar Siaptrepes OMod TOvS uNpoOvs ExaTépous
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good fighters, who closed up the line of battle. They had been ordered to lie quietly in reserve until, from the other wing, a signal should be made by the king with a scarlet coat stretched upon a spear. But the Illyrians, at the command of their officers, tried to force back the Lacedaemonians, while the Achaeans, as they had been ordered to do, kept quietly waiting at their post. Therefore Eucleidas, the brother of Cleomenes, who noticed the gap thus made in the enemies’ line, quickly sent round the most agile of his light-armed troops, with orders to attack the Iilyrians in the rear and rout them, now that they had lost touch with the cavalry.

These orders were carried out, and the light-armed troops were driving the Illyrians before them in confusion, when Philopoemen perceived that it would be no great task to attack the light-armed troops, and that the occasion prompted this step. At first he pointed this out to the king’s officers. Then, when they were not to be persuaded by him, but looked down upon him as a madman (since his reputation was not yet great enough to justify his being entrusted with so important a maneuvre), he took matters into his own hands, formed his fellow-citizens into a wedge, and charged upon the enemy. At first the light-armed troops were thrown into confusion, then put to rout with great slaughter. And now Philo- poemen, wishing to encourage still further the king’s troops and bring them swiftly upon the enemy thus thrown into disorder, quitted his horse, and with grievous difficulty forced his way along on foot, in his horseman’s breastplate and heavy equipment, towards ground that was irregular and full of water-courses and ravines. Here he had both his thighs pierced

evt peraryKvne, Kaiplas pey ov yevomerns, toxupas
66 TIS TANYAS, adore THY aiyunv él Odtepa
5 diaoat. TO bev obv 7 p@rov eva xebeis Oarep
Seon TWAVTATAGLW amr opws ele 70 yap évappa
THS aryxudns ane ny émroies TOU GKOVTLO MATOS
VEAKOMEVOU 51a THY Tpaupdta@v THY maposov: @S
be Gevouv ot TapovTes aypacGat Kal THS MAXNS
akpny dfeiav exovans éopabater vio Oupod Kat
prroripias T pos TOV ayava, TH TapaBacet Kal
Th Taparrager Tov ckedov dia pero KMdoas TO
GKOVTLG pa Xepis éxéNevoev EAXKVTAL TOV ayparov
6 éxdte ov. ovTw dé aTradharyels Kal oT aTdpevos
TO Eidos ex wper dua TOV Tpopdyeov éml TOUS
ToAepwLous, OTE TONY mpoOupuiav Kal CiAov
aperijs Tapacyxety TOUS arywvtFouevors. ViKNoAS
ovv oO "AvTiryovos ametretpato TOV Maxedover,
épwTav 51a Tl, py KeNEVTAYTOS avrob, 70 iaraeKov
7 éxwnoap. TOV dé aTrodoryouLEvary @S Tapa yvounv
Brac beter Els Yelpas ENOeEtY Tots TroNEpLOLS peipa-
Kiov Meyarorrondutixod mpoepBarovros, yehaoas
0 ‘AvTiryovos ‘Exeivo Toivuy To betpaxiov, ” eltrey,
“« Zoyov TYEHOVOS perya ou TeTroiNnKeD. .

VII. ’Ex ToUTOU b0fav axe, @otrep eikos, 0
Didroroipnv. Kal TOU pee Apriyovou oTovodd-
cavTos bras TTPATEVOLTO per aurou, kal didovros
wryepovian | Kal xXpnuata, TapyTngaro, padioTa
THY éauTOU pvow Kata pa Ov pos TO apxecBar

SutTKOAWS Kal Xareras éxougar, apyety dé wal
axon ery ov Bovdopevos aoKnoews &vexa xa
pererns TOV TONELLKOY els Kpyrqy émhevoev emt
2 oTpateiav. KdKel cvyVvoY Kpovoy eyyupvacdpeEvos

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through by a thonged javelin. The wound was not fatal, though severe, and the head of the weapon came out on the other side. At first, then, he was held fast as by a fetter, and was altogether helpless ; for the fastening of the thong made it difficult to draw the weapon back through the wound. But since those about him hesitated to attempt this, and since, now that the battle was at its hottest, the ardour of his ambition made him impatient to join in the struggle, by moving his legs backward and forward he broke the shaft of the weapon in two in the middle, and then ordered each fragment to be drawn out separately. Thus set free, he drew his sword and made his way through the front ranks against the enemy, thereby greatly animating the combatants and inspiring them with a desire to emulate his valour. After his victory, therefore, Antigonus put his Macedonians to the question, and asked them why, without his orders, they had brought the cavalry into action. They defended themselves by saying that they had been forced against their will to attack the enemy, because a young man of Megalopolis had first led a charge against them. At this, Antigonus gave a laugh and said: “Well, then, that young man behaved like a great commander.”

VII. This naturally brought Philopoemen into high repute. Antigonus was eager that he should take service under him, and offered him command and pay. These Philopoemen declined, chiefly because he well knew that it was naturally unpleasant and hard for him to be under another man’s orders, Not wishing, however, to be inactive and idle, for the sake of training and practice in war he sailed to Crete in search of military service. In Crete he practised

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

avopdot maxipots Kal Trouiros peTaxelpicacar
TONEMOY, ETL DE GWHpoct Kal KexoAaTpEvoLS TeEpi
diattav, eravnrOev odtw Naptpos eis TOVs "Axat-
ovs wate EVOUS immapyos aTrobetyOjvar. mapa-
AaBov Sé€ Tous imreis PavAs pév imaptors
€x TOD TpooTtuvyorTOsS, 6TE oupBaivor oTparTeia,
TpoaxXpwpévous, autos bé Tas TOANAS TOV OTpA-
TeL@Y aTrooLOpdoKovTas, éTépouvs dé TréutrovTas
av@ éavtav, Sewnv Sé ateipiay peta atroApias
TdvTwY ovcay, TeptopwvTas 5é TadTa TOvs dpxov-

tas del did Te TO TAEioTOY ev ToIs 'Axatois TOUS
inteis SuvacOat Kal padrdtota Kupious elvat Timis
Kai KoNadoEwWS, OVX UrretEev ovdE AYjKEV, GNAG Kal
Tas TONES eTi@Y Kal Kat avdpa TOV vévy Exac Tov
érl thy dirotipiay cuveEoppav, Kal KorXabwv Tovs
avayKns Seopévous, meAeTats TE Kab Tomas Kal
Wpos GAAAOUS ApiAraLS YpwpEVOS, OTroUV TELA TOL
Ocacbatr pérrorev, ev OALy@ Ypovp Tact pouny Te
Jdavpactny cat mpoOupiay tapéotnoe Kai, 6
péytorov hv év Tos TaKTLKOLs, EXadpovds Kat o€eis
Wpos TE TAS KaT ovAamOV emMLGTPOpas Kal TeEpt-
omacpous Kal tas nal' immov émistpopas Kat
KNioets aTretpydoato, Kai cuveiOicer ws Evi cwpart
xwwoupéeve Kal" opunv éxovotov éotxévat THY SAOU
Tov cvaTH patos év Tals petaPorais evyépecav.
Luoraons Sé THs wept Tov Adpiocov avtois
ToTapov icxyupas paxns mpos Aitwrovs xal
"Hrelous, 6 Trav 'Hrelwv immapyos Aapodartos
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himself for a long time among men who were not only warlike and versed in many kinds of warfare, but also still moderate and restrained in their ways of living, and he came back to the Achaeans with such distinc- tion that they at once made him commander of their cavalry.!. But he found that the horsemen whom he was to command used worthless animals acquired at random, whenever a campaign was to be under- taken ; that they shirked most campaigns themselves, and sent others out in their places; that they were all characterized by a shocking lack of experience, together with its resultant cowardice ; and that their commanders always overlooked these things because the knights had the greatest power and influence among the Achaeans and the chief voice in the assignment of rewards and punishments. Philo- poemen, however, did not yield or give way to them. He went round to the different cities and roused the spirit of ambition in each young man individually, punished those who needed compulsion, introduced drills, parades, and competitive contests in places where there would be large bodies of spectators and thus in a short time inspired them al] with an astonishing vigour and zea], and, what is of the greatest importance in tactics, rendered them agile and swift in wheeling and deploying by squadrons, and in wheeling and turning by single trooper, making the dexterity shown by the whole mass in_ its evolutions to be like that of a single person moved by an impulse from within.

Moreover, in the fierce battle which they fought at the river Larissus against Aetolians and Eleians, the commander of the Eleian cavalry, Damophantus,

1 For the year 209-208 B.c.

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ev . A ‘ , y)
oppnoev emt tov Diromoiueva mpoefeXdaas.
deEdpevos b€ THY Opunv éxetvos avtou Kai POdacas
T@ Sopate Tate xal KataBaArre Tov Aapodavtov.
> \ 4 4 ” e a .
evOus dé rovtov meadvTos Epuyov of Trodémtou, Kat
N @ e , e ” \ ra]
Naptpos nv 0 Dirorroiuny, ws ovTE KaTAa YElpa
“ , \ ”
TOV vewy TiIVOS ovTE oUvécEL TOY TMpEeaRuUTépwrY
ATONELTOMEVOS, GANA Kal payecOat Kal oTpa-
TNHYELY (KAV@TATOS. |
VIII. To 3€ xowov trav ‘Ayarav mpatos pév
"Apatos eis d€iwpa nat Suvayuy jpev, ex TaTrervod
kat Oteppumpévov Kata mores ouvayayov Kai
TwodtTevoduevos ‘EXAnvinny Kxal giridvOpwrov
qoNwTelay’ émrerta, MoTTEep ev Tos Ydacw, apka-
pévwy oriywv Udioracbat Kai pixpoYv cwpaTov,
non Ta éewippéovTa Tots TpwTos evioyomeva Kat
TepiTintovta mkv ioyupav Kal oTepeotnTa
motet d¢ GAAHAWY, OUTW THS “EAAdSos aaevois
\ 70 4 / \ 4 > a 4
Kal EVOLAAUTOU HEPpOMEVNS KATA TONELS EV T@ TOTE
Ypovm mpwTovy avatdavTes oi ‘Axatoi, Kal Tov
, , \ 29 a a \ ,
KUKAW TrOhEwWY TAS pev ex TOV BonOEiy Kai auVe-
NevOepodv amo TAY TUpdvywy UToAapPBavortes,
tas 5€é oovoia Kal qodTEla KaTamyVUYTES Ets
éauTous, év cpa Kal piav duvamw KatacKevdoat
A A ‘ 9 be) 4 A
Scevoodvto Thy IleXorrovvnaov. adr Apadrtou pev
A ww a 4 4 e , \
Cavtos étt Tots Maxedovwv OrXols UiredvovTo Ta
, , a 9 » @ 9 ,
ToAAd, Geparrevovtes Il roNepuaiov, elt’ avOus 'Avti-
yovov kal Dirsutrrov év pécats avactpehopévous
tats “EXAnvicais mpdkeoww émret dé Prdrorrotuny
els TO WpwTevery MponrOev, dn Kal’ éavTovs
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rode out from the ranks and charged upon Philopoemen. But Philopoemen received his onset, was first to drive home a spear-thrust, and threw Damophantus to the ground. Their leader fallen, the enemy at once took to flight, and Philopoemen was in high renown, as one who yielded to none of the young men in personal prowess, and to none of the elder men in sagacity, but both in fighting and in commanding was most capable.

VIII. The commonwealth of the Achaeans was first raised to dignity and power by Aratus, who consolidated it when it was feeble and disrupted, and inaugurated an Hellenic and humane form of govern- ment. Then, just as in running waters, after a few * small particles have begun to take a fixed position, others presently are swept against the ‘first, adhere and cling to them, and thus form a fixed and solid mass by mutual support, so the Achaeans, at a time when Greece was weak and easily dissolved and drifting along by individual cities, first united them- selves together, and then, by receiving into their number some of the cities round about which they had aided and assisted in shaking off their tyrants, and by uniting others with themselves in a harmonious civil polity, they purposed to form the Peloponnesus into a single political body and one power. As long, however, as Aratus lived, they were dependent for the most part on Macedonian armies, paying court to Ptolemy, and then again to Antigonus and Philip, all of whom busied themselves in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopoemen was advanced to leadership among them,! they were at last capable of contending

1 In 207 z.c. ; Aratus had died in 213.

aktopaxyot Tois iayvovet wretotov dvTEs eTrau-
TAVTO KPWmMEVvOL TpoTTUTals ETELTAKTOLS. “ApaTos
pev yap, apyotepos elvas Soxa@v mpos Tous ToXe-
puxods ayavas, outdia Kal mpaoTynTe Kal diriats
Bacinixais Tra mretoTa KaTELpyacaTto TAY Tpay-
pdtwv, ws év Tols Trepi exeivou yéypaTrtat, Piro-
toiuny S€ dyabos todkemotys av nat did TOY
StAwv évepyos, Ere & evtuxns Kal xkatopOwtixds
evOvs ev Tais TpwTats yevopevos payxats, dua TH
Suvduet To dpovnua trav "Ayaav niEnoe viKav
eOccbévtwy pet adtovd Kal xateutuyely ev Tots
TAELTTOLS UYWCL. ;

IX. [Ipe@rov péev otv ta mepl tas takers Kai
Tous oTALcpovs davrAws Exyovta Tois “Axatois
exivnoev. éypwvto pev yap Oupeois pév evrretéat
Sia AetrToTHTA Kai oTEevwTépols TOU TEpLaTéANELY
Ta owpata, Sopact Sé puxpotépos modu ToD

capicay: Kal dia TovTO WAHKTAL Kal paxtpot
Toppwhey yoav wre Koudoryntos, mpoopiavtes
S€ trois moAdepiows EXatTov elyov: eldos be Ta€ews
Kai TXHMATOS ELS TTELpAY OK Hv ovYNOES, Parayyt
5é ypw@pevoe unte mpoBorAny éyovon pte oupv-
acticpov ws) Maxedovav, pabiws é&eOXiBovto
kat dseota@vto. taita o Pirotroipny didd£as
emeioev avTous avtt pev Oupeod cat Sopatos domida
AaBely nal captoay, kpdveot 56 Kai Oopaks wai
TEpLKYniot TeppaypjLevous povesov Kal BeBnxviav
avtl Spopinns Kal meATACTIKAS paynv aoxeiv.
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alone with their most powerful neighbours, and ceased to rely upon foreign protectors. Aratus, indeed, who was thought to be too sluggish for warlike contests, accomplished most of his under- takings by conference, urbanity, and royal friendships, as I have written in his Life ;1 whereas Philopoemen, who was a good warrior and effective with his weapons, besides proving himself fortunate and successful in his very first battles, increased not only the power but also the courage of the Achaeans, who were accustomed to be victorious under him and to win success in most of their contests.

IX. In the first place, however, he changed the faulty practice of the Achaeans in drawing up and arming their soldiers. For they used bucklers which were easily carried because they were so light, and yet were too narrow to protect the body ; and spears which were much shorter than the Macedonian pike. For this reason they were effective in fighting at a long distance, because they were so lightly armed, but when they came to close quarters with the enemy they were at a disadvantage. Moreover, a division of line and formation into cohorts was not customary with them, and since they employed a solid phalanx without either levelled line of spears or wall of interlocking shields such as the Macedonian phalanx presented, they were easily dislodged and scattered. Philopoemen showed them all this, and persuaded them to adopt long pike and heavy shield instead of spear and buckler, to protect their bodies with helmets and breastplates and greaves, and to practise stationary and steadfast fighting instead of the nimble movements of light-armed troops. After

1 Nee the Aratus, x.

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3 metaas de KabotrAicacOas Tovs év HrALKLa TPw@TOV
pev érrinpe Oappety ws apwaxous yeyovotas, éresta
Tas Tpupas avTa@v Kal Tas ToAuTEAElas apiota
peTeKoopnoev. adedev yap ovK hv TavtTdtracw
€k TONAOV VOTOUYTMY TOV KEVOY Kai watatov CHrOD;
éoO tas ayaTovtwv TepiTTas oTpwpuvas Te BaTTTO-

pévwv aroupyeis Kal rept Setrva PidoTipoupevwv
nat tparévas. o dé apEdpuevos extpérey aro TOV
oUx dvayKaiwy éul Ta yYpyolwa Kal KAA THY
didoKkoo piav, TAX TaVTAaS ETELTE Kal TApwWPLNCE
tas Kal')pépay rept capa daTravgs KoNOvoaVTAS
EV TALS OTPATLWTLKAIS KAL TOMELLKALS TApAacKEDv-
ais Stampetrets opacOat Kexoopunuévous. hv ovv
LOety TA pev epyagTiipia peTTAa KATAKOTTTOMEVOY
KUM Kw Kal Onpixreiwy, ypua oupéevon b€ Owpanwv
Kal Katapyupoupevwy Ouped@y Kai yarivav, Ta 5é
oTd0la TwdwWY Sapalomévwry Kal veavicKkwy oTAO0-
payouvtwv, év de tails yepol Tay yuvatKav Kpdvy
Kat wrepa Badais Koo povpeva Kal YtTMVwY LTTI-
KOV Kal oTpaTlwTiKaV YAapvowy SinvOicpévor.
7 8 dus attn TO Odpaos avEovca Kai Tapaxa-
ova THY opuny érroie GiroTrTapdBoXov Kal Tpo-
Oupov emi tovs xivdivous. 7 pev yap év Trois
Gros Oedwact rorvtéXera tpudyy éerdyerat cat
parariay evdidwor toils yYpwpévos, Botrep wd
puyphav Kal yapyadopav Tis atcOnoews ouveTt-
KrAwons THY Stdvotay, nO Eis TA TOLAVTA povvVaL
Kal peyadvver tov Oupov, waTrep "Ounpos éroince
tov "AxiAdéa TeV Kawav STAwWY TapaTeDévTwV
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he had persuaded those of military age to arm them- selves in this manner, in the first place he inspired them with confidence that they had thus become invincible, and then made most excellent reforms in their luxurious and extravagant ways of living. For it was not possible to remove altogether their empty and idle emulation from a people long addicted to it. They were fond of costly apparel, the coverings of their couches were dyed purple, and they vied with one another in banquets and table array. But he made a beginning by diverting their love of show from what was unnecessary to what was serviceable and honourable, and speedily persuaded and incited them all to check their daily expenditures upon bodily wants, and to find their chief adornment in military and warlike equipments. And soone might have seen the workshops filled with goblets and Therycleian plate 1 which were being broken up, with breastplates being gilded, with shields and bridles being silvered over, while in the places of exercise colts were being broken in and young men were learning the use of heavy armour, and in the hands of women there were helmets and plumes for dyeing, and horsemen's tunics or soldiers' cloaks for 'em- broidering. The sight of all this increased men's courage, called forth their energies, and made them venturesome and ready to incur dangers. For extra- vagance in other objects of display induces luxury and implants effeminacy in those who use them, since something like a pricking and tickling of the senses breaks down serious purpose ; but when it is seen in the trappings of war it strengthens and exalts the spirit, just as Homer

represented Achilles, when his

1 See the Aemilius Paulus, xxxiii. 2,

wn ' A \ /
éyyus 0776 THs Gypews olov opyavTa Kal PrEeyouevov
mpos THY du avTa@v éevépyerav.
Co ' 4 \ Uj 3 4 Q
Ottw S€ Koopnoas Tous veous éyupvale Kat
Suevrovet, Tais Kivnoeot TpoOvpws v7TaKovoYTAS
Kai dtArotipas. Kal yap 4 takis Bavpactas
HyaTato aOpavoTov Te NapBdvew wiKVwpa 6o-
KOVO, Kal TAOTAA TOS TWpacLD eyivEeTO YEeLponOn
Kal xovda, pel' ndovijs Sa RapmpoTnTa Kat
KAaNNOS aTTopévwv Kal hopovvtTwr, éevaywricacbat
te Bovropevov kal StaxpiOjvar Taxtota mWpos
TOUS TOAEpMLOUS.
X. "Hv 8é rote tois Ayatois o mpos Mayavidav
/ \ 4 / b) N nw
ToAepLos Tov AaKkedatpovimy TUPAVYVOY, ATO TOANNS
N 4 , b 4 wn
Kal peyarns Surapews emtBoudNevovtra tract leXo-
qovyyctos. ws ovy eis thy Mavtiveray éuBe-
BrAnnas amrnyyérOn, Kata taxos o PiroToipny
éEnyaye TV oTpatiay ér avtov. éyyus b€ THs
, 4 an \ / e Ul
ToOAEwWS TapeTaeavTo TONNOLS pev EEvors EXATEPOL,
iaais 5é ood Te Tais moNdTLKais SuVdpece.
yevonevou 6€ Tov ayavos ev yepatv, 0 Mayavidas
tois Eévors tovs Tav "Ayai@v mMporeTaypévovs
dxovristas Kat Tapavtivovs tperdpevos avi
TOD xwpeiy evOds emi Tovs payopmévous Kal
mTapappynyvivat To ovvertyKos e€éTrEce Si@KwVv Kal
I \ " "A A
wapnrr\ake Thy darayya tav "Axatav év rake
, e \ 4 4 /
pevovtwv. o 5€ Dirotroiuny tHrALKOUTOV TTAIc-
patos é€v apXy yevouévov Kal TeV TpaypaTor
aTroAwAévar xoudn Kai dScehOdpOat Soxovyrwr,
A \ a" a
TOUTO MEV OMWS TPOTETOLELTO Tapopay Kal pundEev

new armour was laid down near him, as exulting at the sight and all on fire to get to work with it.4

After he had thus arrayed and adorned the young men, Philopoemen exercised and driJled them, and they eagerly and emulously obeyed his instructions. lor the new order of battle pleased them wonderfully, since it seemed. to secure a close array that could not be broken; and the armour which they used became light and manageable for them, since they wore or grasped it with delight because of its beauty and splendour, and wished to get into action with it and fight a decisive battle with their enemies as soon as possible.

X. At this time the Achaeans were carrying on war with Machanidas the tyrant of Sparta, who, relying upon his large and strong forces, was scheming to get control of the whole Peloponnesus. Accord- ingly, when word came that the tyrant had invaded the territory of Mantineia, Philopoemen quickly led his army out against him. They drew up in battle array near the city, both parties having many mer- cenaries and almost all their citizen soldiery. When battle was joined, Machanidas with his mercenaries routed the javelineers and Tarantines who had been stationed in front of the Achaean line, and then, instead of advancing directly against the main body of the enemy and breaking up their close array, he dashed off in pursuit of the fugitives, and so- passed by the phalanx of the Achaeans, which remained drawn up in position. Then Philopoemen, although so great a disaster had occurred at the outset and his cause was thought to be utterly lost and ruined, pro- fessed to ignore and make light of it, and seeing what

1 Ihad, xix. 15 ff.

nryeta Oa Secvor, KaTiowy € TOUS TONELLOUS, Ocov npapravoy év TH bo£et, THS pararyyos amop- pnyvupevous Kal Kevnvy Ywpav didovras, ovK amy THOEV OVO ever rn hepopmevars aurois émi Tous pevyovTas, ann edoas mapenOeiv Kat Sudo Tac pa TOLoaL péeya 7 pos TOUS omAiras EvOus 7; nye TOY Aaxedatpovior, opaiy THY parayya yupeny amo- ehetmpevny, Kat KaTa Képas Tapa pape év€- Bare, pte dpxovtos avrois _TapovTos pare paxerbar TpoadexXomevols' viKav yap NryouvTo Kat Kpateiy TavTdTract, Su@KovTa TOV Mayavidar

Opa@vres. Qo duevos d€ TOUTOUS pove TONN@ (A€E-
yovrar yap vmep TOUS TeTpAKLaXLALOUS drrobaveiv)
Gpunoev éml Tov _Maxyaviday éx THS St@kews
dvacTpepovTa pera TOV Eévwv. tadpouv oé pe-
yarns Kat Babeias év péo@ sordid a mapeEn-
Navuvov adrd#rous éxatépaben, © O ev SiaBivas Kat
puryeiy, 0 6€ TOUTO KwWAVCAL Bovdopevos. Rg dé
dYres ovy Os oTpaTnyav HaXopevov, GD WomrEp
Onpiw mpos ahany Um avayKns TpEToMEveD dewvod
Kuvyyerou Tov Prrorroipevos TUVETTOTOS. év0a o
pep iarmros Tod Tupdvyou pouanr€os av Kal l Oupoerdns
Kal Tois pve ai pay Gels éxaTépwev eTreTOA-
noe TH StaBace, Kal mpocBarwyv tH Tappy To
arhdos éBidlero trois mpoa Oiors mépav epeicacOau
oTKEedEowW. év 66 TOUT@ Luplas Kal TloAvacvos,
olmrep del T@ Pidomoipevt Taphoav HaXomEre Keo Kal
cuvnamivov, omou Tpoandavvov dor epot Tas
aixpas KAivavTes évavtias. Odvet dé avrous 0
Piromoiwny amTavTnaas TO Maxyaviéa, Kal TOV
immo avTOU petewpitovta THY Kepadny Tpo Tov
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a great mistake the enemy had made by going off in pursuit, thus breaking away from his phalanx and leaving a vacant space there, did not oppose or resist their chase after the fugitives, but let them pass him by and make a great gap. Then he led straight against the Lacedaemonian heavy-armed, seeing that their phalanx had been left exposed, and fell upon them in a flank attack, while their commander was away and they were not expecting to fight; for they thought they were victorious and getting the upper hand altogether, since they saw Machanidas pursuing. After Philopoemen had routed these with great slaughter (more than four thousand of them are. said to have fallen), he set out against Machanidas, who was returning with his mercenaries from the pursuit. But a broad and deep ditch stretched between them, along which the two leaders rode opposite each other, one wishing to get across and escape, the other to prevent this. The spectacle was not that of two commanders fighting, but that of a powerful hunter attacking a wild beast that has been forced to turn at bay, and Philopoemen was the hunter. And now the tyrant’s horse, which was vigorous and high-spirited and felt the bloody spurs in his sides, essayed to make the leap across, and striking against the edge of the ditch with his breast, was struggling with his fore-feet to extricate himself. At this point Simmias and Polyaenus, who were always at Philopoemen’s side when he was fighting and protected him with their shields, rode up both at the same time and levelled their spears at the horse. But Philopoemen was before them in attack- ing Machanidas, and seeing that the tyrant’s horse was lifting its head up in front of its rider’s body, he

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TWMATOS opa@v puKpov even dive Tov idtov, Kab Ota-
AaBov To Evotov ex yetpos wOEr Kal TEpLT PETEL
TOV avdpa cuveTepelaas. TobTo eX cov TO oXHpa
xarrovs év Acrdois EaTyKev UTO TOV “Ayata
Javpacaytoy pddiaTa kat thy wpakw adtod Kal
THY oTparnyiay exelyny.
XI. Aeysrat b€ THs TOV Newelov Tavyyupens
TUVETTOONS oTparnyobvTa TOV Prromoipeva TO
devrepov Kal vevixnKora pev ov midat Tv €v
Mavtweig pany, TOTE dé oyorny dyovra da
THY EopTny, 7 POTOV pev émrvdelEar TOLS "EAAgoe
KexoopNuevny THY dadrayya Kal KLVOUMEDND,
Gomep elOtaro, TOUS: TaKTLiKOUS puOpovs peTa
taxous Kai pouns: ETrelTa KBappoan arywvito-
pevov els TO Géarpov mrapenOeiv éxovra TOUS
veavioxous ev Tails TTPATLWOTLKALS yAamvor Kal
Tots powixois Umodurats, ax walovt ds Te Tots
cwpaciy atavtas Kal Tals mrceiaus TAapard-
Rous, aida dé TONNHY T pos Tov dpxovra Kal
ppovnya veaviKov Umopaivortas é€x TOAAQD Kal
Kad@v ayovev: apTt & avuTo@v cio eAmudoray
kata TUYnY IluXadny tov KLOap@ddv adovra Tous
Tipobéou Ilépoas éevapEacbat
Knewvov érevOepias Tevywv péyav “Endaou

KOO OV’

dpa dé Th Lapmrpory Te THs povis tod mepi Thy
moinow dyou TupmpéeavTos emi Breve syevéa Oar
TOU Geatpov mavrTaxobev els TOV Prrorroipeva Kat
KpOTOV META YapPas, TOV “EXAnvoY TO Tadatov
1 guveoroons Bekker has éveoréons, after Bryan.

gave his own horse a little swerve to one side, and
then, clasping his spear firmly in the middle, pushed
it home with all his weight and overturned his enemy.
This is the attitude in which he is represented by a
bronze statue set up at Delphi by the Achaeans, who
admired especially both his deed of prowess and his
generalship on that‘day.

XI. Moreover, we are told that at the celebration of the Nemean games,! when he was general of the Achaeans for the second time and had recently won his victory at Mantineia,? but was at leisure the while on account of the festival, Philopoemen in the first place displayed before the assembled Greeks his phalanx, with its splendid array, and performing its tactical evolutions, as it was wont to do, with speed and vigour. Then, while the minstrels were con- tending for the prize, he came into the theatre with his young men. ‘hey wore their soldiers’ cloaks and their purple tunics, were all in the prime of their strength and of the same age, and showed not only great respect for their commander, but also that high spirit which young men have after many honourable contests. And just as they made their entrance it chanced that Pylades the minstrel was chanting the opening verse of the Persians of Timotheus—

‘‘ Glorious the crown of freedom which he fashioneth
for Hellas’”’ ;
whereupon, as the splendid voice of the singer fitly sustained the majesty of the poet’s words, all the spectators turned their eyes upon Philopoemen and gave him glad applause; for in their hopes the

1 In the summer of 205 B.c.
2 In the spring of 206 B.c.
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akiwpa tais édmiow avarapBavovtwy Kat Tov
TOTE Ppovnpatos eyy.ota TO Oappety yivopevov.'
XII. Tapa 6 tas pdyas Kal rovs xevduvous>
@omep ot Tao Tos cuvides ém@iBdtas _To-
Godvres, éav GAXov dépwot, mTVpovtar kal Eevo-
Twabovow, odtws 7 Svvayis Tav ’Ayaav érépou
oTparnyouvTos Ove Kal mpos éxeivoy eraTTaLve
Kal povov opOévtos evOvs op0n Kal Spactnptos
jv ba 70 Oappeiv, are dn Kai tovs évavTious
aicOavopevot mpos Eva TovTOY TAY oTpaTNYaV
avTtBr€érrevy ov Suvapévous, ara Kal THY dSofav
avTod Kat Tovvopa SedorxoTas, ws Hv pavepov é£
2 av émpacaov. Pidiros pev yap o tov Make-
Sdvwv Bacirgevs oidpevos, adv éxtrobwv o Pido-
Toluny yévntat, madtv vTomTHkey avT@ TOUS
"Ayarous, éreuev eis “Apyos xpuda tous avaipy-
govtas avtov' émruyvwabetons 5é THs éemeuBovdrs
Tavratvacw éFeucnOn Kal dceBAHOn mpos ToVvs
3"EXAnvas. Botwrot 5é rodropxodytes Méyapa rat
AnWvecOa, tayéws Ermilovtes, eEaigyns RAoyou

TpoameaovTos avtois, ds. ovx Hv adnOns, Dido-
moimeva BonOoivta toils TmodtopKoupévors eyyvs
elvat, Tas KAiwaKas adévtes On Wpocepynpec-
4 pévas Tois Teiyeow wyovTo pevyovtes. NaPtdos
dé tod pera Mayaviday rupavvodvtos -Aaxedat-
poviov Meconvny addvw xatadraBovtos, érvyxave
pev idi@tyns Ov Tore 0 Diromoipny cai dvvduews
ovdeuas Kuptos, émel Sé Tov oTpaTnyoUvTAa TOY 363
"Ayatov Avoitrov ovx érebe Bondeiv tots Mec-
1 ywomevwy Bekker after Coraés: yevouevwr.

Greeks were recovering their ancient dignity, and
in their courage they were making the nearest
approach to the high spirit of their fathers.
XII. But when it came to perils and battles, just as young horses long for their accustomed riders, and if they have others on their backs, are shy and wild, so the Achaean army, when someone other than Philopoemen was commander-in-chief,! would be out of heart, would keep looking eagerly for him, and if he but came in sight, would at once be alert and efficient because of the courage he inspired. For they perceived that he was the one general whom their enemies were unable to face, and whose name and fame they feared, as was evident from what they did. For Philip the king of Macedon, thinking that if Philopoemen could be got out of the way the Achaeans would again submit abjectly to his sway, secretly sent men to Argos who were to assassinate him; but the plot became known, and Philip was utterly condemned and hated among the Greeks. Again, the Boeotians were besieging Megara and had hopes of its speedy capture, when suddenly a report reached their ears (and it was a false report) that Philopoemen was coming to the aid of the besieged and was close at hand; so they abandoned their scaling-ladders, which were already planted against the walls of the city, and fled away. And once again, when Nabis, who succeeded Machanidas as tyrant of Sparta, suddenly seized Messene, it chanced that Philopoemen was out of office and had no force under his command; but since Lysippus, the commander-in-chief of the Achaeans, could not be persuaded by him to go to the rescue of the

1 As a rule, the same man could not be general of the
Achaean league two years in succession,
287 7

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iby)

onvivis, aTOAWAEVAL KouLdy hagKoVTAa THY TOMY

évdov yeyovoroav THY TodEpiwv, autos éBonbeEr
\ e A , ’ \ v ‘ ww
TOUS EauTOU TONTAS avadaBwv oUTE VOsoY OUTE
YEelpoToviay TeptmeivavTas, GAN ws ba TavTos
adpYovTt T@ KpeiTTOVE Kata vow émopévous.
” b] b A , ww b UA e lA
non & avtovd wrAnciov évros axovaas o Nafis
ovy uméatn, Kaiwep év TH ToL OTPATOTEsEvOD,
> pd) e \ A A e , XN ,
arr viekdus bia TUA@Y ETépwY KaTa TAXOS
amnyaye tThv Siva, evTUyia Xpncacba Soxav
ei Suadhvyou: Kai duépuye, Meconvn & jrEvepwro.
XIII. Taira pev otv xara 10d Dirorroipevos:
n 8 ets Kpnrny adOus amodnuia Vopruviwy ben-
Oévtwyv, WS YpHoalwTO TrodkELoUpEVOL aTpaTNY®,
SiaBornv Exyev, STL THS TaTpidos avTov Tode-
pougevns uma Nafidos ami gdvyopayov 7
diroTipovpevos aKaipws Tpos EtTépous. KaiTor
, ey ’ , : a
TUVTOVWS OUTwWS ETrONELNONcaY MeyaroToNiTas
KaTa TOY Xpovoy éexEivoy BaTE TOS ey TELYEoLY
évouxely, aometpey Sé€ TOUS GTEvwTrOUS, TEpLKE-
xoppevns! THs Ywpas Kal TOV TOAELioY oXEdOV
év tais wuAats otpatoTredevovtwv. o 5é€ Kpnat
TON LOV THYKA’TA Kal oTpaTnywv StaTroVTLos
éyxArjpata tTaperye Kab’ EavTov Tots EXOpois ws
amrobispdaKwVv TOV oiKOL TOAEMOY. Hoav Oé TLVES
oi déyovTes, éTépovs TeV "Axalav npnLévev
5) /
dpxovtas, SiaTyv ovta Tov Dirotroipeva yphoat
tiv éavtov axoArnv eh jryewovia SenBeice ois
1 repixexoupevns Coraés and Bekker, with the vulgate:
MEpiKEKOMpEVOUS.

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Messenians, because, as he said, the city was utterly lost now that the enemy were inside, Philopoemen himself went to their rescue, taking with him his fellow-citizens of Megalopolis, who did not wait for any law or commission, but followed the man whom nature had made superior as though he were always . in command. And when Nabis heard that Philo- poemen was already close at hand, he did not wait for him to come up, although he was encamped in the city, but stole out by an opposite gate and led his forces off as fast as he could, thinking that he would be fortunate if he should escape; and he did escape, and Messene was set free.

XIII. All these things, then, made for the honour of Philopoemen; but his going away to Crete again at the request of the Gortynians, who wanted him to be their general in their war, brought calumny upon him, and it was said that when his native city was at war with Nabis, he was away, either to avoid fighting or to show kindness out of all season to others. And yet so continuously were the Megalo- politans under hostile attack all that time that they lived upon their walls and planted their grain in the streets, since their fields were ravaged and the enemy were encamped almost in their gates. Philo- poemen, however, was waging war in Crete all that while, and serving as general across the sea, and so afforded his enemies a chance to accuse him of run- ning away from the war at home. But there were some who said that since the Achaeans chose other men as their generals and Philopoemen was without public office, he merely put the leisure which belonged to him at the service of the Gortynians when they

3 Topruviow. hv yap adXdotptos cxoANs, Kabatep
a \
GAO TL KTHA THY OTpATHYLKNY Kal TrOAEmLKNY
apetny éxev S:a mavros év xpnoe Kai TteLBH
a ,
Bovropevos, ws cal TQ wept IIroNewatiouv aroté
e 7 a , b) / 27m \
pnGévte Tod Bactréws aredndocev. éxelvoy yap
a a XN
éyxomtalovTwy Tay was ev pev éEacKovvTa TO
otpatevpa Kal" yuépav, ed 5é yuuvdlovTa Kat
A "A ,
diroTovas d1a tov EtrAwWY TO capa, "Kal tis
adv," &ébn, "Baciriéa Oavpdceev ev TovT@ Tis
NALKias py eTLdELKVUMEVOY, GAA peAETO@VTA;"
4 Xareras & otv ot Meyanroronritar péportes
2 \ Us N U , 9 ,
él ToUT@ Kal mpobedoa Oat vomilovTes ETE XELPNTAaV
atroEevovv autov: oi & 'Ayarol Svex@ducay 'Api-
/ ' / / ,
TTALVOV TELWAVTES ELS MeryaXnp trod oTPATHYOV,
a , ba} , a 4 \ '
ds Kaitrep dv Stdhopos To Dirotroipert trepl THY
TodtTEelay, oUK elace TeXcoOHVaAL THY KaTAdiKNDY.
5 é« S€ TovTOV Tapopwpevos TO TOV TOMTOY oO
Diroroiuny awéornoe Todds TaY TreptotKidwy
Kopov, réeyerv SbaEas' ws ob cuveTéXouy OvdE
=} A n~

noav €€ apyns éxeivav, xal \\eyovoais TavTa
pavepws cuvnywrvicato Kal cuyxatectaciace THY
, a A “A
Tod ert Tov Ayaiav. Ttadta pev ovv DaTepov.
3 A a
6 ‘Ev 6é rH Kpntn cuverronéuet rois Topruvios,
9 e fo
ovx ws ILeXotrovynotos dvip nal "Apras amdobv
TLVa Kal yevvaiov morenov, AAA TO Kpntixov
‘ A
HO0s évdus Kad roils exelvwv codicpace kal Soros
/ A
KAwWTELALS TE Kal NOXLT MOIS YpwpmEvos err avTOUS
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asked him to be their leader. For he was averse to inactivity, and wished to keep his skill as a commander in war, like any other possession, all the while in use and exercise. And he made this evident by what he once said about King Ptolemy. When certain persons were extolling that monarch because he carefully drilled his army day by day, and carefully and laboriously exercised himself in arms, “ And yet who,” said Philopoemen, “can admire a king of his years for always practising but never performing anything?’

The Megalopolitans, nevertheless, were displeased at this absence, and looking upon it in the light of a betrayal, undertook to make him an exile; but the Achaeans prevented this by sending to Megalopolis Aristaenus, their commander-in-chief, who, although politically at variance with Philopoemen, would not suffer sentence of condemnation to be passed upon him. In consequence of this displeasure, Philopoemen was ignored by his fellow-citizens, and therefore induced many of their outlying villages to secede from them, instructing them to say that they were not tributary to the city and had not originally belonged to it; and when they made this plea, he openly supported them in their contention and helped them to raise a faction against the city in the assembly of the Achaeans. This, however, was at a later time.

In Crete he waged war in the service of the Gortynians ; not the straightforward and honourable warfare

of a Peloponnesian and Arcadian, but one in which he adopted the Cretan practices, and turning their tricks and wiles and stolen marches and am- buscades against themselves, speedily showed them

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u 2
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Tayxv waidas amédecEev avonta Kal Keva mpos
éuretpiay ddnOuviny tavoupyobvtas.
XIV. 'Eml rovtos 8 Oavpacbeis nat Aapmpos
mapa tov éxei mpakewv avaxomicbels ets IleXo-
movynaov evpe Tov pev Pirstrov UTO Tov Titov
KaTamTeTroNeunpevoy, tov o€ NaBw tro Tev
"Ayaov Kai tov "Pwpaiwy roreuovpevov. é¢'
dy evOvs aipebels apxywv Kai vavpayia tapaBa-
Aopevos TO TOD Errapewavdou wabeiv édoke, OAD
THs wept avtov apeths Kal do€ns ev rH Oaradoon
KaKLov aywvicdpevos. tmAnV Emapewovdav pmév
éviot A€youolv GxvodVTA yedoaL TOY KaTa Odrac-
cav wperer@v Tovs ToAditas, Twas avTo py
AaOwotv avTi povipwyv omrALTaV, KaTa T]AdTova,
vadrar yevopevor nat d:apOapévtes, Ampaxtov ex
Ths "Actas xal trav vnowy amedOely Exovciws:
Pirorroipyny b€ tHv év rois melois émiotHpny Kat
Sia Oaratryns aprécey ad'T@ Wpos TO KAS
aywvicac0a, memecpevos, eyva THY aoKnoL,
HALKOD pépOS éoTL THS apeTns Kal moony emt
mavTa Tos eOccbeict Svvapv tpoctibnow. ov
yap povov év tH vavpayia bd. THY arreiptay
éXatrov écyev, GAG Kal vadv Twa, Tadatay
peév, EvdoEov Oé, b¢ érav Teccapdxovta Kata-
omdoas éwAnpwoev, WoTE pn TTEyovCNS KiVdU-
veDoal TOUS TEOVTAS.
ad

1 In the battle of Cynoscephalae, 197 B.c. See the Flamininus, xiii.
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that they were children opposing foolish and vain mischievousness to genuine military experience. XIV. Having thus won admiration, and having come back to Peloponnesus with a brilliant re- putation from his

exploits in Crete, he found that Philip had been defeated and subdued by Titus Flamininus,! and that the Achaeans and the Romans were waging war upon Nabis. He was at once chosen general against Nabis, and by hazarding the issue on a naval battle would seem to have fared as Epaminondas once did, since he fought on the sea in a manner which fell far short of his great reputation. Epaminondas, however, as some say, was reluctant to give his fellow-citizens a taste of the advantages accruing from naval superiority, in order that they might not surprise him by becoming, instead of " steadfast hoplites," to use Plato's words,? degenerate mariners; and therefore he purposely came back from Asia and the islands without achieving any- thing. Philopoemen, on the other hand, was per- suaded that his skill in handling land forces would suffice to give him success in fighting also on the sea, and theretore learned to his cost how large a part of superior excellence consists in practice, and how much additional power it gives to men who have accustomed themselves to all methods of fighting. For not only was he worsted in the sea-fight, owing to his lack of experience, but he actually launched an old but famous ship after forty years of disuse, and manned her, the result being that her seams took in water and her crew came into peril of their lives. 2 Laws, iv. p. 706. Cf. the Themistocles, iv. 3.

3 In 364 B.c., two years before his death, Epaminondas successfully inaugurated a naval policy for Thebes, which

enabled her to cope with Athens on the sea. fo "gill

J

IIpos tadta yiwweoKkwv xatadpovovvtas avtov
/ a
TOUS TrOAELLOUS WS TaVTaTrTagL TepEVyOTOS EK THS
Oaratrns, Kab todtopxotvtas wrepnpdvws TO
Tvdov, evOvs émémrevoev avtots ov mpocdoxaawy,
b b b / \ \ , \ N
GX' éxrerdupevois Sta THY ViKNY. Kat vuUKTOS
4
éxBiBaoas Tovs oTpaTiwtas Kal Tpocayayor,
Top évike Tails oxnvais Kal TO oTpaTOTEdoV KaTé-
Kavoe Kai TroAAous béPOetpev. oriyats 8 daTEpov
/ "A
nuépars Kal? odov év dvaxywpias tTiciv advo Tod
NaBidos éridbavévtos adt@ cal doByaavros Tovs
"Ayatovs avéXmiatoy Hyoupevovs THY cwTNpiav
éx TOT@V YaXreETOV Kai yeyovoTwY UTOXELpioV
Tots TOAEpLOLS, GALYOV Kpovoy emiaTAaS Kai TeEpt-
AaBav Set THY TOD yYwpiov duvow érédecEe THY
\ aA A fo]

TAKTLKNY TOV AKPWV TIS TroAEMLKTS TEXVYNY OlcaY
\ aA
oUTM LiKpa KLWnoas THY éavTOD dddayya Kal WpOs
Ta Trapovta peOappocas dbopvBws Kal padiws
\ , \ a
Siexpovoato tHv adtropiav, Kai mpocBadwv Tots

,

Tonepios TpoTHY laxXupay erroincev. émrel O€ OV
\ \ , e7 4 > \ A 4
Mpos THV ToALY ewpa hevyovTas, adhrAa@ THS Ywpas
GXXov GAN Stactrecpopevov (VAwWSyS Sé Kai TreEpt-
a ‘4
Bovvos tv maca Kat dvourmos bo petOpwv Kai
dhapayyov), Thy pev Siw éméoyxe Kal KaTeoTpa-
TomTédevcev ETL HwTos GyTOs' TEexpatpomevos dé
, A an b]
TOUS TroAemious ex THS Pvy7js Kal eva xa dvo
\ \ / e , / 3 / A
pos THY Tod UITakey oKOTAaLOUS, EhNOYICEL TOLS
N \ ww e / \ 4 \ 4
mept TO dot petOpors Kal NOpots TOANOUS EXOVTAS
éyyerpiiva Tav Ayaiov. évtavda TrEtoTOUS aTro-
a / “A wn , 7 \ b]
Oaveity cuve8n tav tov NaBidos: ate yap ovK
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Understanding that in consequence of this disaster his enemies despised him, thinking that he had altogether given up activity on the sea, and that they were insolently besieging Gythium, he promptly sailed against them when they did not expect it and were careless because of their victory. He landed his soldiers by night and led them to the attack, set fire to the enemy's tents, burned down his camp, and slew many of his men. A few days afterward, as he was marching through a rough country, Nabis came suddenly upon him and threw the Achaeans into a fright; they despaired of saving themselves from a position which was difficult and already commanded by the enemy. But Philopoemen waited a little while, surveyed the nature of the ground, and then demonstrated that skill in drawing up an army is the crowning feature in the art of war. For by changing his order of battle a little and adapting it to the present exigency, with no confusion and no trouble he evaded the difficulty, and charging upon the enemy put them to utter rout. Then, observing that they were not fleeing towards the city, but scattering themselves hither and thither through the region (which was woody, entirely surrounded by hills, and impracticable for cavalry owing to water- courses and ravines), he checked his pursuit and encamped while it was still light. But judging that the enemy after their flight would steal back to the city by ones and twos under cover of the night, he placed large numbers of his Achaeans armed with swords in ambush among the

water-courses and hills about the city. Here very many of the followers of Nabis met their death; for since they did not make

9 4 4 A > , 3 9 e e Lf
aOpoav TroLotpevor THY avaYwpnolV, GAN ws éxd-
aTois at guyal cuvervyxavoyv, @aoTep dpyiles
e , \ \ U b] A " 'A
NMOKOVTO TEPL THY TOALY ELS TAS THY TOAELLOV
yelpas KaTAIpoVTES.
b \ 4 ? a \ ?
XV. 'Emi rovtos -ayar@pmevos Kal TL@pEvos
9 " e \ aA e , 9 a" A
extrpeT@s vireo Tov EdXAnvav év trois Oeatpots
diroTimov dvta tov Titov novyn mwapervTes. Kal
. \ e € , e J ' + 4 2g?
yap @s "Pwpaiwy dratos avdpos 'Apxados nétou
OavyatlecOat warXov vrd tav 'Ayaldv, Kal Tais
evepyetiass UmrepBddXELy OV Tapa puKpOY TyEtTO,
bv évds xnpvypatos édevPepwcas thy "EXAdOa,
bon Pirira@ cai Maxedoow edovrevcev.
9 A , 4 A e , "A

Ex 6€ rovrov xatadverat pev o Titos Te
NdB.6s tov roAenov, arroOvnaKes dé 0 NaBus oro
Aitwrav_ Sorogovnbeis. tetapayuévns S€ Tis
Lmaptns 0 Pirorroipny apracas Tov Kaipov ért-
mimtet eta Suvdpews, Kal TOV Lev AKOVTWY, TOUS
5é cuumeloas mpoonydyeTo Kal peTexopicey eis
tous 'Ayatovs THY TrOALY. Ov yevouévov Oavpa-
oT@s pev evdoxipnoe Tapa Tois 'Ayatois, Tpoc-
KTnoauLEvos avTois akiwpa Trordews THALKAUTNS
\ 4 9 \ \ ? lA
cat dvvapiv (ob yap Hv pixpov 'Ayaias pépos
yeveoOat tHv Lardprny), avédaBe bé nal Aaxedat-
/ A > 7s , a b] ,
poviwy Tovs apiotous, gduvrXaxa THs éNEevHEpias
éxetvov éAmiaavtas é€ev. 810 Kai thy NaBedos
oixiay Kal ovciav éEapyupicbeioay Kal yevouévny

1 Cf. the Flamininus, chapter x.
2 Cf. the Flamininus, ix. 5.

. their return in a body, but as the chances of flight disposed them severally, they fell into the hands of their enemies and were caught like birds about the city.

XV. In consequence of this exploit Philopoemen was beloved by the Greeks and _ conspicuously honoured by them in their theatres, thus giving secret umbrage to Titus Flamininus, who was an ambitious man. For as Roman consul he thought himself more worthy of the Achaeans' admiration than a man of Arcadia, and he considered that his benefactions far exceeded those of Philopoemen, since by a single proclamation he had set free all those parts of Greece which had been subject to Philip and the Macedonians.!

After this Flamininus made peace with Nabis,? and Nabis was treacherously put to death by the Aetolians.? Sparta was therefore in a state of confusion, and Philopoemen, seizing his opportunity, fell upon the city with an armed force, and partly by compulsion, partly by persuasion, brought it over to his purposes and made it a member of the Achaean league. This achievement brought him an amazing repute among the Achaeans, since through his efforts they had acquired a city of so great dignity and power (and indeed it was no slight matter that Sparta had become a member of the Achaean league); moreover, Philopoemen carried with him the principal men among the Spartans, who hoped to have in him a guardian of their liberties. Therefore, after they had confiscated the house and property of Nabis and obtained thereby a

3 In 192 3.c, Nabis had called in the Aetolians to help him against the Achaeans and Romans (Livy, xxxv. 35-37).

lé
elxoot Kal éxaTov TardvTwy endicavTo Swpeay avt@ Sodvat, tpeaBeiav Urép TovTwY TéuavTes.

” A \ Ul A 9 “A e x9 AN >
évba 8 nai diepdvn xabapads éxeivos o avnp ov
Sox@Y povov, GAAa Kal Mv aptoTos. MmpeToV pev
yap ovdels éBovreTO THY Uraptiatay avdpl ros-
4
ovTw Staréyer Oat rept Swpodoxias, addra SedotKo-
\ 93 4 A N , b] “
Tes Kal avadvopevot TpoeBaXovTo Tov Eévoy avTov
e
Tiporaov. émevta 5é avtos o Tiporaos, ws AOE
eis Meyadnv trod, éotiabeis mapa t@ PiroTroi-
A e A
eve Kal THY cEem“VvoTHTAa THs o-trias adtod Kai
\ 9 , a Py / \ \ ¢ b ,
Thy adérerav THs Staitns Kat to HO0s eyyvOev
b A \ b] \ 3 7 e \ 4
ovdapyn Tpoottov ovdé EvddAwTOV bTd YpNnUAdTOV
KaTavonoas, amectwmnae Trept Ths Swpeas, éTépay
dé twa wpopaciw Tis mpos avTov ob00 Totnoa-
HEevos @yYETO dmiwv. Kal mddw é« Sevrépov
Tweuplers tavtov émabe. tpitn b€ 060 porss
> \ 3 V4 \ 4 a 4 e
évruxayv édnAwoe THY Tpodvmiay THS TOAEWS. 0
\
Sé DiroToipnv 7déws axovoas Kev avTos ets
zs a \
Aaxedaipova, cat auveBotrNevcey avTois pn TOUS
/ \ 9 ‘\ 4 ® A na
ghirous al ayabovs Sexdlew, ov mpoika THs
b] n ” bJ 4 b] N \ N
apetns e£eoTLv amrodNavelty, GXXA TOUS TrOVNpOUS
4 a
Kal THY Tod év TO cvvEdpio KaTacTacidlovTas
avetobat cal dapdeipev, iva TO NaBely eriato-
/ a a
pucbevtes Arrov évoydotev avtois’ BéATLov yap
J a le) A
elvar Tav éxOpav TapatpetcOar tiv Trappnoiav
1 See the Aristides, iii. 4.

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hundred and twenty talents, they voted to make a present of the money to Philopoemen, and to send an embassy to Megalopolis on the matter. Here, indeed, it became perfectly clear that Philopoemen not only seemed to be, but actually was, a most excellent man.) For, to begin with, no Spartan was willing to

confer with a man of his character about the acceptance of a gift, but they were all so reluc- tant and afraid to do it that they entrusted the business to a guest-friend of his, Timolaiis. And in the second place, Timolaiis himself, when he came to Megalopolis, having been entertained at the house of Philopoemen, and having learned thoroughly how dignified he was in his converse with others, how simple his ways of living, and how his character was nowhere to be approached and much less easy to be overcome by bribes, held his peace about the gift of money, and after giving some other excuse for his visit to him, went back home. And when he was sent a second time on the same errand, he did as before. On his third visit, however, he at last got so far as to acquaint Philopoemen with the earnest desire of his city. Then Philopoemen, who was pleased by what he heard, went in person to Sparta, and counselled the people there not to try to bribe good men who were their friends, and by whose virtues they could profit without payment of money, but rather to buy up and corrupt the bad men who were ruining the city by their factious conduct in the assembly, to the end that such might have their mouths stopped in consequence of their venality, and so be less annoying to their fellow- citizens; for it was better, he said, to take away freedom of speech from their enemies rather than

h Tov dhirov. otTws pev Hv mpdos ypnpata
Nam pos.
XVI. 'Ewei 6€ wadwv tovs Aaxedatpovious
e aA 3 A
vewrepifery axovaas 0 otpatnyos Tav 'Ayaov
Atohavns éBovreTo Koralerv, ot Sé€ eis ToAEMOV
Ka@iotapevor Stetdpaccov tv TleXorrovvncor,
émepato mpavvey Kal KataTvavey tov Awodavy
a) a € _ 4 , A '
Ths opyns 0 Pidrotroipny, SidacKnwv Tov Katpov,
e ? 4 " / ve a > a
ws 'Avtioyou tod Bactiéws cai "Pwpaiwr ev rH
¢ , , 2 , ,
FAAS THALKOUTOLS Aiwpoupevwy aTpaTorébots
a \
exelae Ypn TOV ApyovTa THY yvouny exe, Ta SE
n A A A
Oikela 2) KLVvElv, AAG Kal Trap.oety TL Kal Tapa-
KovcaL TOY auaptavopévwv. ov mpocéxovTos bé
tod Atopavous, adr' eis tHv Aakourny éuBa-
a 4
AovTos dua TO Titm nal Babslovrwy evObs eri
e ,
THY TOA, ayavaKtncas 0 Piroroipny, Epyov ov
, 909 9 / 3 A / >] \
voptpmoy, ovd amrnkptBwpévoy ex TOV StKaiwVv, adrAa

péya Kal peyad@ hpovnpats ToAunoas, Ets THY
AaxeSaipova mrapnrOe Kai Tov Te oTpaTHYyOY TOV
a A € ,
"Ayatav cal tov drarov tov Pwpaiwv idtorns
av amréxrece, Tas 8 év 1H Tore Tapayas ETavae
,
Kat Kateotynoe Tous Aaxedatpoviovs TadLy els TO
Kowvov, aaTrep €& apyAs Haav.
Xpove bé vatepov éyxaréoas tt tots Aaxedar-
, nn A A
poviows otpatnyav o PiroToiuny tas pev huyas
KaThnyayev eis THV TOALY, Gydonkovta b€ Yrap-
4 > 4 e 4 4 e .
Tidtas amextevev, ws IlorvBios dyno, ws dé
1 Philopoemen was for the sixth time general in 188 B.c.

from their friends. Such was his splendid spirit in matters of money.

XVI. Soon, however, Diophanes, the general of the Achaean league, hearing that the Lacedaemonians were once more agitating for a change, determined to punish them, and the Lacedaemonians, determining upon war, were throwing the Peloponnesus into confusion. Here Philopoemen tried to mollify Diophanes and put a stop to his wrath, showing him what the occasion demanded, and that since King Antiochus and the Romans were hovering about in Greece with armies so great, it behoved the general of, the league to pay attention to them, and not to stir up domestic troubles, but even to be somewhat oblivious to the transgressions of his colleagues. Diophanes, however, paid no heed to this advice, but invaded Laconia along with Titus Flamininus, and marched directly upon the city of Sparta. Incensed at this, Philopoemen ventured upon an act which was not lawful, nor even exactly just, but great and prompted by a great spirit. He went on past them into Sparta, and, private man though he was, shut out therefrom both the general of the Achaean league and the Roman consul, put an end to the disorders in the city, and brought the Lacedaemonians back again into the league, as they were at the outset.

At a later time, however, when he had some ground for accusation against the Lacedaemonians, as general of the league! Philopoemen brought back its exiles to the city, and put to death eighty Spartans, according to Polybius,® or according to

2 In a passage not extant. Livy gives the same number (xxxvili. 33).

4 "Aptotoxpdtns, wevTyKovTa Kal Tpiaxocious. Ta
‘ , a , \ \ b /
bé Tetyn Kadeire, Ywpay Sé TOAAHY aTrOTEMOMEVOS
, ra , ad y @
mpoceverme tots MeyanrotroAitas, door Sé jHoav
UNO TOV TUpavvwy aTrodederypmévoe TONITAL THIS
, / @ > , > 9
Lraprns, petw@reter dmavras amaywv eis Axalav
TANY TpLaXLALwY: TovTOUs 5€ aTreOovvTas Kal pH
BovAopévous amenOeiy éx tis Aaxedatpovos éra-
ef? > ‘4 9 XN a ,
Anoev, 10 olov ehuBpilwy amo TaV xpnLaTwr
4 ? / 4 \ > ‘4
touTwy év MeyddAn modes otody wKodouncen.
3 , \ aA , \ 9
5 éumumrauevos 5€ tav Aaxedatpoviwy xai Tap
afiav rerpayoow énmeuBaivwy, To T*ept THY TOAL-
Telav épyov @potaroy éFeipydcato Kai Trapavope-
> N ‘N 4 \ tf
Tatov. «aveire yap nat diépOetpe tHv Avxovpyetov
aywynv, avayKxdaas Tovs Traidas avTa@v Kal Tous
ay 7 13 oN > Via , ,
épnBous thy Ayaixny ayti ths watpiov madeiay
petaBanrelv, ws ovdémote pixpov év Tots Auxavpyou
vopots Ppovnoovtas.
, \ 2 €.. XN a , ee
6 Tore pév ovv bd cupdopay peyddov woTeEp
veipa THY TroAEwS ExTEepely TH PiroToipevt Tapa-
oVXOVTES, eyévovTo YetponBets Kal TamrELvol, Ypove
S vatepov aitnodpevor wapa ‘Pwpaiwy thy pev
"Ayainny Epvyov modtteiav, avéraBov b€ Kat
KATECTHOAVTO THY TATPLOV, WS HY avuaTOY éx
xkaxaov Kat POopas TyrtKaUTHS.
XVII. ’Enrei 5é ‘Pwpaiors 6 pos Avtioyoy ev 366

a ¢
TH Edad: cuvéotn mrodemos, Hv pev tdtwTNS Oo
Dirorroiunv, opav S€ tov "Avrioyov avtov épv
Xarxids xaOnyevov tepl ydyouvs Kal tapbévev
1 In 184 B.c. (Livy, xxxix. 34).

Aristocrates, three hundred and fifty. He also tore down the walls of the city, and cutting off a large part of its territory, annexed it to Megalopolis ; moreover, in the case of those who had been made citizens of Sparta by the tyrants, he removed them all into Achaia, with the exception of three thousand who would not obey him and were unwilling to go away from Sparta. These he sold into slavery, and then, as if in mockery of their fate, erected a portico in Megalopolis with the money which they brought. And now, glutting his anger at the Lacedaemonians and unworthily trampling upon them in their misery, he treated their constitution in the most cruel and most lawless fashion. For he took away and abolished the system of training which Lycurgus had instituted, and compelled their boys and their young men to adopt the Achaean in place of their hereditary discipline, being convinced that while they were under the laws of Lycurgus they would never be humble.

For the time being, then, owing to their great calamities, the Spartans suffered Philopoemen to cut away, as it were, the sinews of their city, and became tractable and submissive; but a while afterwards,! having obtained permission from the Romans, they abandoned the Achaean polity, and resumed and re-established that which had come down from their fathers, so far as was possible after their many misfortunes and great degeneration.

XVII. When the Romans went to war with Antiochus in Greece,? Philopoemen was without command, and seeing that Antiochus himself was sitting idly down in Chalcis and spending his time
* In 191 B.c. Cf, the Flamininus, xv.

to

Epwtas ov Kal’ dpav cxordlovta, Tous 5é Yupous
év atakia moAdH Kat xwpls nyepovov év tais
/ , \ A wv \
modeot TAALOmEevous Kal Tpudavras, XGeTo py
oTpatnyav ToTe Tov Ayaiay, cai “Pwpaioes érexye
hOovety tHS vixts. ‘“"Eyo yap av,” épn, “ otpa-
Tny@v €v Tols KamrNnAEiols KaTéxoYa ToOvTOUS
/ a
qTavtas. émel O€ vixnoavtes ot “Pwpatoe rov
a ¢ A “A
"Avrioxov évepvovto Tois EAXnviKots waddov 76n,
\ / vol Ps) , \ ? ‘
Kat tepieBurXrovTo 7H Suvawer Ttovs ‘Ayatovs
UToKaTAKALVOpEéVOV avTots TOY Snuaywyav, 7 S
iaxus ért mdvta ToAAN peta Tod daipovos éyapet,
Kal TO TEAOS eyyus WY ets O THY TUynY EdeL Trept-
Ul 3 / , bd \ ,
dhepopevny eEixécOat, cabamep ayabos KuBepyntns
a \
mpos Kdua dieperdopevos 0 PiArotroipny ta pev
, wn nA
évd.dovat Kal Trapetxery nvayKateTo Tots KaLpois,
\ \ n 4, f \ a ,
mept 6€ TOV TAELaTOY SLahEepopmeEvos TOUS TW NEyeLY
Kal WpatTew ioxXvovtas dvTioTay éTEeypato WpOS
Thy édevOepian.
"Aptataivou 6é Tov MeyaXoTroAitov duvapévou
a ? a ¢€
pep ev tots Ayatois péytotov, tous 5é Pwpaious
del Oepatrevovtos Kai tos "Axyaiovs pn olopévov
dety évavtiovabar pndé dyapiateiv éxeivous, év
a 4 \ A
T@ guvedpiw Aéyetar tov Diroroipyeva oiwtrav
b] / \ / , , \ e 9 9 A
axovovta Kat Bapéws péperv, tédos Sé br” dpyis
dugavacyxetobyvta mpos tov "Apiotavoy ei7rety:
TRA 6) ¥ Q / 16 A , a
av@pwre, TL oTrevders THY TrETpHLeVNY THS
e “A aA
EXAdbos emdeiv;” Maviou dé 100 ‘Pwpaiwy trd-
U

Tov vevikneotos pev ‘Aytioyov, aitoupévou Sé
304

in a courtship and marriage which were not suited to his years,! while his Syrian troops, in great disorder and without leaders, were wandering about among the cities and living luxuriously, he was distressed because he was not general of the Achaeans at that time, and kept saying that he begrudged the Romans their victory. “For if I had been general,” he said, “I would have cut off all these fellows in their taverns.” But soon the Romans, after conquering Antiochus, applied themselves more closely to the affairs of Greece. They encompassed the Aqhaean league with their power, since the popular leaders gradually inclined to their support; their strength, under the guidance of the heavenly powers, grew great in all directions; and the consummation was near to which the fortunes of Greece must come in their allotted revolution. Here Philopoemen, like a good helmsman contending against a high sea, was in some points compelled to give in and yield to the times; but in most he continued his opposition, and tried to draw to the support of freedom the men who were powerful in speech or action.

Aristaenus the Megalopolitan 2 was a man of the greatest influence among the Achaeans, but he always paid court to the Romans and thought that the Achaeans ought not to oppose or displease them in any way. As this man was once speaking in the assembly, we are told that Philopoemen listened to him a while in silent indignation, but at last, over- come by anger, said to him: “My man, why art thou eager to behold the fated end of Greece?”’ Again, Manius, the Roman consul, after his victory

1 Cf. the Flamininus, xvi. i. 2 Cf. chapter xiii. 4.

-

\ la) b] ”~ 4 > 7 A }
Tapa tov Axaltov ows éagwot tous Aaxkedat-
, UA A N 4 b] \ “A

povioy guydbas xatedOetv, cai Titov tavTo Te
Mavi rept trav duyddwv afvodvtos, dvex@Xvo ev
0 Dirotoipny ov tois pvyaot ToAcuav, adda
, 9 e “ Q fa) 9 A 9 QA A
Bovropevos bs’ avtod Kai trav ‘Ayaiav, adda py
Titov wndé ‘Pwpaiwy yapite todTo mpayOjvar:
Kal oTpaTnyay eis TOUTLOY AUTOS KaTHYayE TOUS
ghuydbas. obtws elyé te mpos Tas éEovcias wre
dpovnparos Svcept Kal pudovercov.
XVIII. "H8y 5é yeyovas eros éBoounnoarov,
BySoov 6é Tov Axatay orparnyar, nrmilev ov
povoy éxetyyv THY apynv atrodépes Sidkew, adrAa
xal tov Biov To NouTOY avT@ ped’ Hovyias KaTa-
Bidvat Ta Tpaypata Tapé-ew. ws yap ai vooot
Tais TOV cMOpLaTMOY Pomals oVVATOMapaiverBaL
Soxodat, odtws év tais “EXAnviKais ToAEow Errt-
NeLTOVaNS THS Suvdpuews EAXNYE TO HiAOVELKOY. Ov
\ b] \ / 4 Lf > A) >
pny adr\9a Népecis tis womep AOAnTHV evdpo-
pobyTa Tpos Tépuact Tov Biov KaTéBare. éyerat
yap é& Tit cvAAOY TOY TapOYTHY ErralvoUYTaY
dvipa Sevov eivat Soxodvta wept otpatnyiav
b] ” \ @D / ce A “A wv 3 4
eiwety Tov Pirorroipeva, “ Kai was aktov éxetvou
Noryov Eyew TOV avdpos, doTis HAw Cov bro TaV
, ” > e Ff \ 34 / 4
Toneuiwv; uel nuépas b€ orLyas Aewvoxpatns
e / ¥ 29N/ a 4
0 Meoonvios, avOpwros idta te TO PiroTroipert
TpooKkexpouKws Kal Tois Addo errayOns ba
4 4 9 , / 4, 9 [4
jovnpiav Kat axoraciav, thv te Meconvny arré-
od

1 Cf. chapter xiii. 3.

over Antiochus, asked the Achaeans to permit the exiles from Sparta to go back home, and Titus Flamininus joined Manius in making this request. But Philopoemen successfully opposed the request, not out of hostility to the exiles, but from a desire that they should owe this favour to himself and the Achaeans, and not to Flamininus and the Romans;

indeed, as general for the following year he restored the exiles to their city.1 To such a degree did his lofty spirit lead him to strive and contend against men in power.

XVIII. But being now seventy years of age, and for the eighth time general of the Achaeans,? he hoped not only to pass that year of office without war, but also that affairs would permit him to spend the rest of his life in peace and quiet. For as our diseases seem to lose their virulence as our bodily strength declines, so among the Greek cities the spirit of contention lapsed as their power waned. Nevertheless, some divine displeasure threw him down, like an all but victorious runner, at the very goal of his life. For it is recorded that at some conference, when others present were lavishing praise upon one who was reputed to be a redoubtable general, Philopoemen contemptuously said: “ Yet why should any account be made of this man, who has been taken alive by his enemies?’ And a few days afterwards Deinocrates the Messenian, a man who had a private quarrel with Philopoemen?® and was obnoxious to everybody else because of his baseness and unbridled life, induced Messene to

2 In 182 p.c. Plutarch passes over the years 187-183, during which the Achaean league and Philopoemen came

increasingly into collision with the Roman power.

3 Cf. the Flamininas, xvii. 3. '

oTnoe Tov AxYatov, Kal Kony THY KaNoupevny
Kodovida mpoonyyérXOn pédAXwv catradrapBaverv.
e \ li 4 \ > wW lA
o 6€ Didotoiuny Ervye pev ev” Apyet rrupécowr,
‘ \ “ 4 ’ 4 Ul
mu0omevos € TavTa cuvetetvev cis MeyaXnv Troduy
Huepa pid otadiovs MrElovas 7) TeTPAaKOTioUs.
b a ? \ ? 4 A e a > id
kaKketOey evOus éBonber tovs immeis avartaBov,
¢/ @ b) / \ “ A“ / \
oimrep Hoav évookotato: péev TOV ToALT@D, véok Se
(ol >] v “ S, PY A
xopidn, dt evvocav tov Pirotroipevos cat Cirov
€PeXovtai avaTpatevovtes. immacupevor 5€é Tpos
\ , ‘ \ ‘ os f
tThv Meoonvnvy xai mepi tov Evavdpov dodov
atravravrTe T@ Aewwoxpate: cuptrecovTes exetvov
bev éTpéeivavTo, Tav Sé TevTAKOciW»Y, of THY Yopav
tov Mecaonriwy tapepvrarrop, cEaiguns émripepo-

HévOV Kal TOY TWPOTEPOY ATTHUEvOV, WS TOUTOUS
Kateioov, avlis ava tovs Aogovs AOpolopévwr,
deicas 6 Diroroiuny cverwOjvac kai tev imTéwv
perdopevos aveywpe ia TOTMY YareT@V, avTOS
b] a \ / b] , n
ovpayov Kai ToAAaKLs avTe~eXaUYwY TOs TOXE-
plots Kat Sdrws emict@pevos é€h EauTOoY, ov
, b] a > , bd “A
TOApL@VTOY avTEe“Barely exEeivwV, AAAA Kpavyais
Kat Tepiopopats Ypwpevav arolev. adiatdpevos
oby ToAAdKIS 61a TOUS veavioxous Kal Kal” &va
UA ” 3 al b 4
mTaparéuTwv édAabev év Tokhots arropovwbels
Torepiors. Kal cuvdryrar pev eis xeipas ovdels
éroApnoev aur, TmroppwGev dé Badr opevos Kat
Brafopevos tpos ywpia wetpwdyn nal Tapaxpnpva
Xarer ds perexerpifero cal xarefawve Tov (irtov.
avt@ dé To pep Yhpas UT aoKHaEWs TONS
€Xadpov Av «al mpos ovdévy éuroduov eis TO
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36%

PHILOPOEMEN

- revolt from the Achaean league, and was reported about to seize the village called Colonis. Philopoemen at the time lay sick of a fever at Argos, but on learning these facts, he hastened to Megalopolis in a single day, a journey of more than four hundred furlongs. From there he at once set out for the rescue, taking with him the horsemen. These were the city’s most prominent men, but altogether young, and serving as volunteers under Philopoemen out of good will and admiration for him. They rode off towards Messene and encountered Deinocrates, who came to meet them at Evander’s hill. Him they put to flight; but the five hundred men who were guarding the open country of Messene suddenly attacked them, and when those who had before been worsted saw this, they collected together along the hills. Then Philopoemen, fearing that he would be enveloped, and trying to spare his horsemen, withdrew over difficult ground, bringing up the rear himself and frequently riding out against the enemy, and trying to draw their attacks entirely upon him- self. They did not venture, however, to return his attacks, but merely shouted and threatened his flanks. Withdrawing from the line frequently, then, to spare his young men, and sending them one by one into safety, before he was aware of it he was left alone among numerous enemies. Even then no one ventured to come to close quarters with him, but he was pelted with missiles from a distance and forced upon rocky and precipitous places, so that he had difficulty in managing his horse and kept tearing him with the spur. His age, owing to his generous exercise, was not burdensome, and in no way impeded his escape; but at that time his bod

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

cwOivat, tote b€ Kal dia THY appwartiav Tod
TWMATOS évdeods YEYOVOTOS kat da THY odotTo-
play KaTaKxorou, Bapuv évtTa Kat duvaKxivntov dn
opaneis 0 tam os els THY viv xatéBane. oxANpov
6é TOD TT {LAT OS YEvopevov Kal TIS xeparijs
madovons & EXELTO TOLD Xpovov dvav60os, & MOTE KAL
TOUS Toe pLous TeOvdvat Sofavras aurov emixet-
pei aoTpepely TO Tapa Kal oxvreverv. érret 5é
THY Kepariy émdpas dréBrewer, GO poor TeplTre-
OOVTES amea Tpepov auto Tas yelpas omiow Kal
djoavtes Hyov, UBpe Xpwpevor TOXAT Kal Aotbo-
pia xat avdpos ovdé dvap av tote tradeiv bro
Aewvoxpatous Tatra poo SoxynaarTos.
XIX. Ot & €v rH rode TH pev aryyedia Gavpa-
oTOS émapOevtes nOpoitovro Tept Tas TUAaS: ws
5é eidov Eh comevov TOV Diromoipeva Tap afiav
THs te SoEns Kal TOY éumpocbev Epywv Kai Tpo-
mato, nrenoav ol rela ToL Kal ouvnrynoav,
date Kab Saxpioar KaL THY avOpamivny expdav-
pioar Suvapuy WS dma Tov Kal TO pndev ovaav.
obtw b€ Kata px pov Ets Toddous pirdvOpwrros
exwper Aoyos as pvnpovevtéov ely TeV 1 poa ev
EVE Yer Loy, Kal THS ehevOepias iy atrédwxev
avrois Naw éfeAXuaas Tov TUpavvor. GAiryor 5€
hoav of TO Acwoxparer Xapelopevor otpeBrobv
TOV avpa ‘Kal xreivew exe€hevov ws Bapuv trode-
pov Kat dvopeidtxtov, avT@ Te Aetvoxparec
goBepwrepov « Staduyot xaduSpicpévos ba’
QUTOU Kal yeyovas alxypddwTos. ov pny dda
KopioavTes aUTOV Els TOV KaAOUpLEVOY Anaaupon,
olxnua KaTtayelor ote Tvetua AapBavoy ovTE
pas €Ewlev ove Oupas Exov, drAAa peydrw ALGw
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was enfeebled by sickness and worn out with
a long journey, so that he was heavy and stiff,
and at length his horse stumbled and_ threw
him to the ground. His fall was a heavy one and
his head was hurt, and he lay for a long time
speechless, so that his enemies thought him dead
and tried to turn his body over and strip it of its
armour. But when he raised his head and opened
his eyes, they threw themselves in a throng upon
him, tied his hands behind his back, and led him

away, treating with great insolence and contumely aman who could never have even dreamed that he would suffer such a fate at the hands of Deinocrates. XIX. The people of Messene, wonderfully elated at the news, gathered in throngs at the gates. But when they saw Philopoemen dragged along in a manner unworthy of his fame and of his former exploits and trophies, most of them were struck with pity and felt sympathy for him, so that they actually shed tears and spoke with bitterness of the inconstancy and vanity of human greatness. And so, little by little, many were led to say humanely that they ought to remember his former benefactions, and especially how he had restored to them their freedom by expelling the tyrant Nabis. But there were a few who, to gratify Deinocrates, urged that the captive should be tortured and put to death as a stern and implacable enemy, and one more than ever to be feared by Deinocrates himself in case he made his escape after having been taken prisoner and loaded with insults by him. However, they carried Philopoemen into the Thesaurus, as it was called, a subterranean chamber which admitted neither air nor light from outside and had no door,
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Teplayouev@ KaTaxAEopevor, évtav0a xaTéBevto,
‘ , 3 4, ww > 2
kal tov diOov émippakavtes avdpas évomAous

KUKA@ TEpléa THaaD.

Oi & immeis trav “Axatav éx tis puyfs avada-

, e 4 e > “ \ @ e
Bovres avtovs, a> ovdapod davepos tv o Pido-
/ 9 >» 2907 4 ‘ A ,
Toiunv, GAN edoKxet TeOvavat, TOAUY peEV YpovoV
éméaTnoay dvaxadovpevot Tov avdpa Kai doves
> 4 U e >? \ , \ ws
GAANAOLS AOYOY WS alaxYpay cwrnpiay Kai adexov

cwlovTar Tpoéuevor Tots TrOAELLOLS TOV OTPATNYOY
apednoavra tov Civ dv avtouvs, Emerta mpotovTes
dua Kal Tov paypovobvres emvOovto THY cVAAN-
wiv avtod Kai SunyyeAdov eis Tas ToS TOY
"A a ¢ Se \ , /
Vatov. ot 0€ ouuhopay Trocoupevor peyadnv
atraiteiy pev éyvwoav tov avopa Tapa Tav
Meconviwy mpecReiav wéurpavtes, avtot S€ Trape-
oxevalovTo oTpateveuv.
XX. Odtor pev ovv tadra émpattov. ‘O &é
Aeivoxpatns padtoTa TOV Ypovoyvy ws TwWTHpLOV TO
Pirorroipeve Sedoixas xai POdcat Ta Tapa Tav
>? fa! U ? \ \ b] fo) . N \
Ayatav Bovropevos, émei vuE émHr\Oe Kal TO
TANOos ateywpnoe TOV Meconviwy, dvoi~as 70
4
Seopwtyptov eicéteurve Snpootoy oixérnv pdppa-
xkov KopilovTa, mpoceveynety Kal tapacTHvat
wéxpe av éextrin KeXevoas. éetuye pev odv év 7O
, / ‘
Yrapvdim Kataxeipevos, ov KaGevdwv, GAXa AUTEN
, a
cal GopvBo xatexopevos, idwv 5é das xal tape-
oT@TAa TAHGLOY TOV avOpwirov ExoVTA THY KUALKA
TOU dappdxov, cuvayaywv ports éavToyv br’
’ @g , > 1@ \ 5 4 > , wv
agGeveias avexadile. Kat deEdpevos npwrycer et
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PHILOPOEMEN

but was closed by dragging a huge stone in front of it. Here they placed him, and after planting the stone against it, set a guard of armed men round about.
Meanwhile the horsemen of the Achaeans recovered themselves after their flight, and when Philopoemen was nowhere to be seen, but was thought to be dead, they stood for a long time calling aloud upon their leader and reproaching one another for having won an unlawful and shameful safety by abandoning to the enemy their general, who had been prodigal of his life for their sakes. Then they went forward in a body, and by diligent effort learned of his capture, and sent word of it to

the cities of the Achaeans. The Achaeans felt that they had suffered a great calamity, and determined to send an embassy and demand Philopoemen from the Messenians, while they themselves prepared an expedition against the city.

XX. The Achaeans, then, were thus engaged. But Deinocrates, who feared that delay was the one thing most likely to save Philopoemen, and wished to forestall the efforts of the Achaeans, when night came on and the multitude of Messene had dis- persed, opened the prison and sent in a public official with poison, ordering him to give it to Philo- poemen and to stand by his side until he had drunk it. Now, Philopoemen was lying down wrapped in his soldier's cloak, not sleeping, but overwhelmed with trouble and grief. When, however, he saw a light and a man standing by him holding the cup of poison, he pulled himself together as much as his weakness permitted and sat up. Then taking the cup he asked the man if he had heard anything

TL mept TOV imméay Kat padtora AvKxopta tremv-
o UEvOS eoriv. ELT OVTOS 6é tavOperrrov Stamrepev-
yéval TOUS TOAOUS, éméveuce TH Kepargy, Kai
diaPreyas mpaws mpos TOV dO peorrov, - Eo
héyers,' " eltrev, "' €¢ By TAVTA KAKOS mem pixaper."
andro bé pndev eiTr@v unde POeyEdpevos ferme Kat
Tart avTov amex ruven, ov TOAXNG mpaypata TQ
pappane Tapacyov, arr' aroaBeabels tayv bra
tThv acGéveav.

XXI. 'Os ody o wepi Tis TeNeUTAS NOyos Kev
eis TUS 'Axatovs, Tas pev Tohets QUT@Y own
Karnpera Kat trevOos eixev, o O év nrLKia pera
TOY mpoBovhov cuvedovtes eis MeydAnv Tohev
ovd quTwody avaBorny é emToljoavtTo THs. TLULMW PLAS,
adh EXO MEV OL oT patayov Avxopray ets THY Meoon-
viav évéBadov Kal Karas emrolouv THY xXepar, axe
ov TumppovncavTes edéLavto tous Axyatovy. Kal
Acwoxparns ev avTos avrov $0acas dleypynoaro,
To 5é ddAwy Soots péev averety bboge Prdo-
Tmoimeva Ot avtav! améOvnoKov, Soo 5é€ Kat
Bacavicat, TOUTOUS ém atkiats amroXovpmevous
cuvehdpBavev) Avxoptas. To 5€ capa Kav-
cavTes avtov Kal Ta eirava ouvdevtes ELS
vopiav avelevyvucay, ouK aTaKT@s ovde ws ETUYED,
arr errevixtov Tom HD Tia apa tais tadpais
pifavres. iy pev yap ea Tepavwpevous idety, Av
53 TOUS avTovs Kal Saxpvovtas, 7; nv be TOUS ex9pous

dea pious aryouevous. aurny dé THY vopiay wre
mwAnGous Tarvia@y Te Kal oTEPaYwY OMS OpwLevnY
éxousleyv 0 TOU aoTpatnyod Tav ’Ayatav trais
1 $ abra» Bekker and Blass have &:’ abray (died by their
own hands), with Stephanus.
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about the horsemen, and particularly about Lycortas, and on being told by him that the greater part of them had escaped, he nodded his head, and with a kindly look at the man said to him: “That is good news, if we have not wholly lost.’ Without another word and even without a sigh he drained the cup and laid himself down again. He did not give the poison much to do, but breathed his last speedily, so weak was he.

XXI. Accordingly, when the report of his death reached the Achaeans, their cities were filled with general dejection and grief, and the men of military age, together with the members of the council, assembled at Megalopolis. With no delay whatso- ever they proceeded to take revenge. They chose Lycortas general, invaded Messenia, and ravaged the country, until the Messenians with one consent received them into their city. Deinocrates antici- pated their vengeance by making away with himself, but all the others who had voted to put Philopoemen to death they slew, and as for those who would have had him tortured also, these Lycortas seized and held for a more excruciating death. Then they burned Philopoemen’s body, collected his ashes in an urn, and set out for home, not in loose or pro- miscuous order, but with a blending of triumphal procession and funeral rites. For their heads were wreathed with garlands while their eyes were full of tears, and they led their foes along with them in chains. The urn itself, almost hidden from sight by a multitude of fillets and wreaths, was borne by Polybius, the son of the Achaean general, and about

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4 lo] fo) “A
TlorvBios Kai trepi avrov oi mpatot Tov 'Aya.av.
e . wn “
oi O€ OTpaTL@TaL WIrrALTpEVOL eV aUTOL, Tois S
4
immo Kexoopunuevots émnxodAovOouy, oUTE, olov
Ul a lol
émt mévOer TocovTe@, KaTnhets ovTE TH viKy
yaupi@vtes. é€x b€ TOV Sta pécov Trorewv xal
A la) \

KOLO ATAVTWVTES, MATEP AUTOV ATO oTpaTElas
, A
émaviovtTa SeEtovpevor, THS Udpias édnmtovTo, Kai
wn fn:
auptponyov eis MeyaAnv tod. ws ovv avvave-
a \ nw
eixOncav avtois ot mpecBUTEpor peta yuvatKayv
\ , 9 ") \ \ 2 -»
Kal taldwrv, dropuppos Hon dia travTds éx@per
fo) 4 \ fe)

TOU OTpaTEvMATOS Eis THV TOMY éerLTOOOVGADY TOV
avépa nai Bapews pépovoay, oiouévnv ovvatro-
, \ A a
BeBAnkévat To mpwteverv év tois "Axasois.

b 4 \ h id ’ 4 b , \ \ \
_"Eradn pev ovdv, ws eixos, evdoEws, xai trept TO
pvnpetov ot Trav Meconviwy aiyuddwrto KaTedev-
A al 4 A
cOncav. ovcav 5€ ToAA@Y pev ElxOVOV avToOd,
A , ,
peydrwy S€ TYL@v, as ai mores éyrndicarTo,
wn \ A ,
‘Pwpatos avnp év tots mept KopivOov atvynpace
Aa le , 9 , 9 a e , \

THs ‘EXXados érexerpnoey averety amdoas Kal
4 “A
Sudxety avtov, évderxvupevos, @aTrep Ett Cavra,
e , , U
Pwpaiots Tovémiov Kai Kaxovouv yeverOat. Noyov
&€ Ae Bévtwv xai TloduBiov mpos tov cuxopavrny
? / ”~? e / Ld e /
avtTectovtos ov o Mopptos ovte ot mpéofBees
es 8 \ 2 Oo” . 2 , ,
UTréuevav avodpos évdoEou Tipas apavicat, caiTrep
> 3 7 a \ , \ , >
ovK OAlya Tois rept Tutov nat Mawov évavtiw-
ra] , tAr N A 4 \ > \ 2 n \ *
EVvTOS, GNAG THS KpElas THY apeTHy ExElvol KAL TO

1 In 146 B.C., at the close of Rome’s war with the Achaean league.

him were the chief men of the Achaeans. The soldiers followed after, in full armour themselves, and with their horses decorated ; they were neither dejected in view of their great affliction nor exultant over their victory. Moreover, the people from the cities and villagesson the way came to meet them, as if receiving Philopoemen on his return from an expedition; they laid their hands upon his urn, and accompanied him to Megalopolis. And so when they had been joined by the old men and by the women and children, a lamentation at once spread through the entire army and into the city, which longed for the presence of Philopoemen and was grievously cast down at his death, feeling that with him it had lost its supremacy among the Achaeans. He was buried, then, as was fitting, with con- spicuous honours, and at his tomb the captive Messenians were stoned to death. Many statues of him were erected and many honours decreed him by the cities. All these a Roman, in the disastrous days of Greece following the fall of Corinth,! attempted to have removed, and he attacked the memory of Philopoemen himself, accusing him, as if still alive, of having been a malevolent enemy of the Romans. After the proposal had been discussed and Polybius had spoken in opposition to Philopoe- men’s detractor, neither Mummius nor the members of the commission? would consent that the honours paid to an illustrious man should be obliterated, although he had made no little opposition to Flami- ninus and Manius. These judges distinguished, as

2 A commission of ten, appointed by the Roman senate to settle the affairs of Greece. It was before this body that Philopoemen’s memory was attacked and defended.

KaXov, @S EotKke, TOD AVoLTENO’S Siwpilov, opOas
Kal mpoonkovTws Tois wey wmperovat picOov Kal
Xap Tapa tav ev Tabovtwy, trois 8 ayaois
\ 9 / A > fo! > \ ,
Tuinv odeiecOat trapa tov ayaday ae vopt-
Cortes.
Tadra mepi Piroroipevos.

it would appear, between virtue and necessity,
between honour and advantage. They rightly and
fitly considered that benefactors ought always to
receive reward and gratitude from their beneficiaries,
and good men honour from the good.
So much concerning Philopoemen.

i

TITUS FLAMININUS

VOL. X. Y

TITOZ

I. “Ov 8€ mapaBdArdcuev adt@, Tiros Koivyreos 36%
A a 4
Prapuvivos, idéav pév o7roios Hv wapeot Oeaca-
a a ¢ fol
aBat tots BovAopévots aro THs ev Pwopn Yarns
> / a \ \ / 9 / N
ELKOVOS, 1} KetTaL Tapa Tov péeyay ’ATOANwVA TOV
éx Kapxndovos avtixpy tod imodpopovu, ypapypa-
ow ‘EXAnvixois émrvyeypappevn, TO b€ 7005 avs
ANéyeTas yevérOat cai mpos Opyny Kal mpos Xapev.
OU NV opoiws, GAN’ EXadpos pev ev TO KorAaLEev
\ > b , N y 4
kal ovK érijovos, mpos S€ Tas YapuTas TEAECL-
oupyos Kal Tois evepyeTnOcion Sta travtos woTrEp
> , ” N 4 € 4
EVEepyeTaLs EvVOUS, Kal mpoOuMOS, WS KdANCTA
TOV KTNMATWY, TOUS ev TeTOVOOTAs UT avTOv
/ bn \ , , XN \
mepieTrey det Kal awlev. gidroTiuotatos Oé Kai
girodofotatos wv éBovreTO TeV dpictwy Kal
peyiotwr mpakewy avtoupyos elvar, Kal Tois Seo-
pévoats ev Tradeivy padrAov 7} Tots ev TrotHaaL Suva-
Mévols Exatpe, Tors pev DANY THs apetis, Tors be
4 J , \ 4 e UA
woTEp avtitdnous pos Sokav Hyovpevos.
TlasdevGeis 5€ mraideiav thv da tay dav taY
A \ , \ , “
OTPATLWTLKWV, TONAOUS TOTE Kal peyarous TIS
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TITUS FLAMININUS

I. In parallel with Philopoemen we shall put
Titus Quintius Flamininus. What his outward
appearance was may be seen by those who wish it
from the bronze statue of him at Rome. It stands
by the side of the great Apollo from Carthage,
opposite the Circus,! and has upon it an inscription
in Greek characters. As to his disposition, he is

said to have been quick to show anger as well as to confer favours, though not in like extent. For he was gentle in his punishments and not persistent, whereas in his favours he was unremitting, always well disposed towards his beneficiaries as though they were his benefactors, and eager to protect at all times and preserve those who had ever met with kindness at his hands, as though they were his choicest possessions, But since he was covetous of honour and fame, he desired that his noblest and greatest achievements should be the result of his own efforts, and he took more pleasure in those who wanted to receive kindness than in those who were able to bestow it, considering that the former were objects upon which he could exercise his virtue, while the latter were his rivals, so to speak, in the struggle for tame.

From his earliest years he was trained in the arts. of war, since at that time Rome was carrying on

1 The Circus Flamininus is meant, which was erected in 221 B.c. by the censor Flamininus Nepos.

"Pwpas ayovifopevns ayavas Kai Tay vévy evOus éF apyins év T@ otpatever Oat atpatnye SidacKo-Hévwv, Tpa@Tov wéev év to pos 'AvviBay troréuo NiMapyos umatevovte MapxédXrAw ouvertparev-\ , \ 3 ‘
gato. Kai Mapxerros pév éevédpa repttecov
9 , , A "~ \ 4 ,
éreXeutnoe, Titos d€ tis wept Tapavta ywpas cat Tupaytos avtod To Sev Tepoy nAwKOTOS Era pKos dtrodeyGeis evdoxiunoev ody HtTov émi Tots Sexat-ols 7) KaTa THY oOTpaTelav. 510 Kal TrEepTrOpévor
b] la 9 7 ’ , 4 Q\ a
atroixwy eis dvo modes, Ndpveray te cal Kovoap, apywy npeOn Kai oixtotys.

II. Todto 5€ avtov émnpe padtota tas dua pécou Kai ovvnlers Tots véows apyas brepBavra, Snpapxiay cal otpatnyiav Kai ayopavopiar, evOvds avroy uUTateias aktobv: Kai KaTHEL TOUS amo TAY KAnpovxytav Exwov wpoOvpous. tov Sé epi DovrABiov cai Manov Snpapxyworv émorapévwr ai

,
Secvoy elvar Aeyovtwy avipa véov eis THY peyioTyy
apyny eiaBialecPar Tapa Trovs vopous, olov areé-
NETTOY ETL THY TPWTOY lEepay Kal pUaTNPiwY TIS
TOALTELAS, 1) peey GUYKANTOS aTédwxe TO SHpw
\ aA e A lol 9 , > N ¢
Thy Whdov, o dé Sjpmos amébeckev avdtov Stratov
3 a , w , ”
peta XéErou Ainiov, xaimrep ow TpidKovra éTn
, 4 4 ‘ QA ,
yeyovoTa. KAnpm bé Nayydver Tov pds Pidemcrov
A / , ? , \ a“ € ¢
cat Maxedovas Trodepoy, evtuxia Tivi TOV Pwpai-
wy cvAAayov mpdypact Kai avO perros ov mavTa
ToAéum Kai Bia xpwpévov Seopmevors apxovtos,
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many great contests and her young men from the very outset were taught by service as soldiers how to command soldiers. To begin with, then, he served as military tribune in the war against Hannibal under Marcellus the consul. Marcellus fell into an ambush and lost his life,! but Titus was appointed governor of the country about Tarentum and of Tarentum itself, now captured for the second time. Here he won a good name, no less for his administration of justice than for his conduct in the field. For this reason he was also chosen director-in-chief of the colonists sent out to the two cities of Narnia and Cosa.

II. This success more .than anything else so exalted his ambition that he ignored the intervening offices which young men generally sought, the offices of tribune, praetor, and aedile, and thought him- self worthy at once of a consulship ; so he became a candidate for that office, with the eager support of his colonists. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manius opposed his course, and said that it was a monstrous thing for a young man to force his way into the highest office contrary to the laws, before he had been initiated, as it were, into the first rites and mysteries of government. The senate, however, referred the matter to the votes of the people, and the people elected him consul? along with Sextus Aelius, although he was not yet thirty years old. The lot assigned him to the war with Philip and the Macedonians, and it was a marvellous piece of good fortune for the Romans that he was thus designated for a field of activity where the people did not require a leader relying entirely upon war and

1 In 208 B.c. Cf. the Marcellus, xxviii. f. 2 In 198 B.c.
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ada weGot Kai omlria padrdrov ddrwWaipos.
Pirinry yap hv cropwpya pev eis payny amo-
xpav 1) Maxedovwy apyn, pon Sé morémov
tpiBnv Exovtos Kai yopnyia nal xatagduyn Kat
dpyavov drws THS dadrayyos 7 TaVv “EAAnVwY
Svvayis, av py StarvOévrwyv aro tov Pidiwmov
pas PaYNS OvK Hy Epyov o Tpos avTOY TOAELOS.
7 8 ‘EdAas ow TOAAA cuvernveypEevn ‘Pwpaiots,
GXAG TOTE TP@ToY emipweyvupevn Tais mpdkeory,
el pn) hvoer TE YpNOTOS. RY Oo ApxYwy Kal rOY@
HaAXOV 7) TOAEU@ XpwpEvos, EevTUYYKavoVTL TE
mpoony wiOavoTns Kal mpaotns évtuyyavopéve
Kal tovos mAeiotos Urép Tov Sixaiwy, ovK av
oUTWS padiws avTi THY cuVnOwY ddAXrdodUNOY aPXNVY
nyaTnoe. TavTa pev ovv eri TOY wpakewy avTOU
dnrovTat.
TIT. TvvOavopevos S€ o Titos tovs mpo éavtod
oTpatnyous, TolTo pév LovaAmixiov, tovto sé
IlowAcov, owe THs Bpas éuBarovras ets Maxe-
Soviay xat tod orXeuwov Bpadéws aryrapévous
KataterpipOar ToTopayovvtas Kat SvaTrAnktLfo-
pévous axpoBoric pois vrép ob@v Kal aiTOAOYias
mpos Tov Pirstov, ovK @eTo Seiv, WaTrEp ExEtvot
KaTavarwoavTes olxot Tov éviauToy év Tipals Kat
ToALTElats UoTepoy EEwpunoav emi Tas oTpaTteas,
obtws Kal avtos éviauToy émixepddvat TH apxXy,
Tov pev UTraTevaas, TO Sé ToAEp OAS, GAN ofov
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3i(

violence, but were rather to be won over by per-
suasion and friendly intercourse. For the realm of
Macedonia afforded Philip a sufficiently strong force
for actual battle, but in a war of long duration his
phalanx was dependent for its vigour, its support,
its places of refuge, and in a word for its entire
effectiveness, upon the states of Greece, and unless
these were detached from Philip, the war with him
‘would not be a matter of a single battle. Greece,
however, had not yet been brought into much
contact with the Romans, and now for the first time

was drawn into political relations with them. Unless, therefore, the Roman commander had been a man of native goodness who relied upon argument more than upon war, and unless he had been persuasive when he asked an audience and kind when he granted one, ever laying the greatest stress upon what was right and just, Greece would not so easily have been satisfied with a foreign supremacy instead of those to which she had been accustomed. However, this will be made clear in the story of his achievements.

III. Titus learned that the generals who had preceded him in this field, first Sulpicius, and then Publius Villius, had invaded Macedonia late in the season, had prosecuted the war slowly, and had wasted time in manceuvring for position or in long range skirmishes with Philip to secure roads and provisions. ‘These men had squandered the year of their consulship at home in the honours and political activities of their office, and afterwards had set out on their campaigns. But Titus did not think it right to imitate them and thus add a year to his term of office, acting as magistrate during one, and

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~ \ A

PiroTiovpevos evepyov TH Tworeum THY apynV
Tmapacyelv, Tas pev ev TH WOAEL TYMas Kal Tpo-
edplas adjcev, aitnodpuevos Sé tapa tHs BovAns
Tov abergor avt@ Acvxtov apxYovTa vewv ovaTpa-
TEvELV, KAL TOY pEeTa Lenriwvos év “IBnpia pev
9 , 9 , \ 9 , ’ ‘ ‘
AadpovBav, év AtBun &€ ’AvvtBav avrov Kkata-
pewaynuéveon Tos axualovtas Ett Kat TpoOvwous
3 “ Cad , , .
avartaBov wonrep oTOoLwp"a, TpiaxXLALOUS ‘yEVO-
4 » ‘ ” 9 a 5 4
pevous, ets tnv “Hrretpov aodardros dvevépace.
cat tov IlomXov etpwyv pera ths Suvdpews avti-
A \
otpatomedevovta TQ Dirimm@ Tas Tepi Tov
"Awrov motapmov éuBoras xal ta oteva puddt-
TOVTL TrOALY HON xpovov, ovdéey 5é TrEepaivovTa
Sia THY OXUpOTHTA TOY Yepiwv, wapér\aBe TO
otpatevya Kat tov IlomAov aroréuyas nate-

aKeTTETO TOUS TOTroUS. eElat Sé dyUpOL MEV OVY
Hrtov Tov wept Ta Téurrn, xadAn 6é Sévdpawr, ws
exelvol, Kal YAwpoTnTa Ans Kal StatpiBas Kat
Aetw@vas Hdeis OUK Exovaly. opav bé pEeyador
A e A e 4 > la ,

Kat uvynrav exarépwlev eis piav papayya e-
yiotnv Kai Babeiay cupdepopevov Srextrimreav
” A A
o "Aros kai cyjpua Kai tdyos eEopovodrar mpos
tov IInveov, tv pev AAANY atacay atroxpUT THY
uTwMpELay, exTouny O€ KPNnUVadN Kal oTEVHY Tapa
\ ec A 3 4 9 ‘ IQ ” @
TO petOpov atroreiTwv aTpaTrov, ovde AANWS pa-
ou ?, 5 g a > \ \ lA .
tay otpatevpars dedOeiv, eb 6€ Kat pvAadTTOLTO,
TAVTEA@S ATrOpOV.
IV. "Hoav pev ody ot tov Titov dyew xvKro
dia tHS ~Aacoapytides xata Avxov ettopov
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TITUS FLAMININUS

as general fur a second. On the contrary, he was ambitious to prosecute the war at the same time that he served as consul, and therefore renounced his honours and special privileges in the city, and after asking the senate that his brother Lucius might accompany him on his expedition as naval commander, he took with him as the main part of his force those of Scipio's soldiers who were still in full vigour of body and spirit after conquering Hasdrubal in Spain and Hannibal himself in Africa (they were three thousand in number), and crossed safely into Epirus. He found Publius Villius encamped with his forces over against Philip, who for a long time now had been guarding the narrow passes along the river Apsus. Publius was making " no progress, owing to the strength of his adversary’s position, and ‘Titus therefore took over his army, sent Publius home, and began an examination of the ground. It has no less natural strength than the Vale of Tempe, but is without the beautiful trees, green woods, agreeable haunts, and pleasant meadows which there abound. Great and lofty mountains on either side slope down and form a single very large and deep ravine, and through this the Apsus dashes with a volume and speed which make it the equal of the Peneius. Its water covers all the rest of the ground at the foot of the mountains, but leaves a cut, precipitous and narrow, for a path along past its current ; this path would not be easy for an army to traverse at any time, and when guarded, it would be utterly impassable.

IV. There were some, therefore, who tried to have Titus lead his forces by a roundabout way through

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

odov Kat padiay é emixetpodvTes. O 5¢ Sedorx@s m7)
Topp daddrrns éuBarov €avTov €iS ToOTFOUS
yAtoypous xal o TELPOMEVOUS Tovnp@s Tov Pirtrr -
Tou puyouaxovvtos aropnon olTiov Kal mahev
dmpaxtos, @aTep 0 po avrob oTPATNYOS, dva.-
ywpev avayracO7 7 pos THY Oaraccar, eyva
poo Baroy ava KpaTos dua TOV ax pov Biaoa-
oOat thy mapooov. érret. S€ Ta Opn Tov DirjLtraov
TH parayye KATEXOVTOS, éx Tov Trayiov Tavta-
x00ev émri tous “Pwpaious aicOVTLeoV eal Tofev-
patov Pepopevay, TANYAL poev éyivovTo Kat
WYOVES ofeis Kat vexpol map dppotépwv é EWLTrrov,
ovdev b€ TOU ‘ToAEMOV Tépas épaivero, poo rO ov
avOpwrrot Tov avrotr VewovToV ppatovrés Teva
KUKNW@OLY dwehouperny UTo TOV TOAEMLOY, n TOV
oTpaTov afew UmuaxvobvTo Kab KATAGTHO ELV
pidtara TpiTaiov ert TOY aK pov. yyaarny 5é THs
TLOTEWS 7a perXovTo Kal BeBatwrnv Xdpora TOV
Maxara, TpwrEevovTa pev "Hreipwtav, evvouv dé
“Pwpatos dvta xa Kpupa poo TOU Pedirrmov
cuvaryovilouevon. @ TT TEVTAS o Titos ex éuaret
xeMapxov éva metods éXovTa TETpAKLG XtNLOUS
Kat i1mrets TplaKoaious. nyoovTo 5é ob vowels
éxeivor Oedepévor’ Kal Tas pev neépas aveTravoVTo
KoiXous mpoBardopevor Kat wvrAwodets TOTOUS,
@devov O€ rUKTWP TPOS THY TEAnVHY’ Kal yap Hv
Sexounvos.
‘O dé Tiros TOUTOUS dmoorelhas Tas pev GAXasS
neepas Stavétrave Tov oTpaTov Soa pn) TEeptoTrav
TOUS axpo8oric pois TOUS TONEMLOUS, Kal’ iv dé
EmerXov Urephavyces at TOV aKpwv of TreptiovTes,
@

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TITUS FLAMININUS

Dassaretis towards Lycus, a safe and easy road. But he was afraid that if he went far away from the sea and got into regions that were poorly tilled and barren, while Philip avoided a battle, lack of pro- visions would compel him to come back again to the sea with his task undone, like the general who had preceded him. He therefore determined to attack with all his might, and force his passage through the heights. But Philip was occupying the mountains with his phalanx, and on the flanks of the Romans javelins and arrows came flying from all directions against them. Sharp encounters took place, men were wounded and

men fell dead on both sides, and no end of the war was in sight. But at last some herdsmen of the vicinity came to Titus and told him of a roundabout path which the enemy was neglect- ing to guard; over this they promised to lead his army and bring it, in three days at the farthest, to a position on the heights. As surety and voucher for their good faith they brought Charops the son of Machatas, a leading man in Epirus, who was well- disposed to the Romans and was secretly co-operating with them through fear of Philip. In him Titus put confidence, and sent out a military tribune with four thousand foot-soldiers and three hundred horsemen. They were conducted by the herdsmen, who were in bonds. By day they rested under cover of caves or woody places, and they travelled in the night, by the light of the moon, which was at the full.

After sending off this detachment, Titus kept his army quiet for two days, except so far as he drew off the enemy's attention by skirmishes; but when the day came on which the enveloping party were ex- pected to show themselves on the heights, at daybreak

ev e , a \ 4 A \ , "\
au npépa wav péev Bapv, wav b€ yuyynrixov
OmAov exiver Kal TPLYH vetmas THY SUVauLY AUTOS
fev els TO OTEVOTATOY Tapa TO peiMpov opOias
x A \ , s e N "A
aviyye Tas aometpas Baddopevos Utro Tav Makxe-
Sovwy Kal oupTAEKopevos TOS aTavT@oL TeEpt
\ , a \ A .- , e
Tas Suoxywpias, Tov b€ ad\dNwV ExaTéepwhev aya
Tetp@pevwv apiNrAGc8ae Kai Tais TpayvTnaeV
éupvonevwy mpolvuws, 6 TE HALOS avéoye Kal
N 9 , b ? ? Ld e , U
xamvos ov BeBatos, aAX olov SpEros OMLYAN Trop-
? / ' Lg \ \
pwHev avatérrAwv Kat Stadatvopuevos tovs pev
Todeptous éAadvOave, KATA VwWTOUV yap HV avTois,
.Y] a v ? , e de e a 50
70n Tav axpwv éexopevwy, ot O€ "Pwpaior doEav
Exxyov audiBorov év ayau kal move thy éAmriba
mpos To BovAcpevoy ANapBavoytes. érrei 5€ war-
Nov avEavopevos Kai SiapeXaivwy Tov aépa «at
\ ¥ A J A \ 9 é
TWOAUS AVW YwpeVv €dNrODTO TrUpaoOS eElvat Pirtos,
e \ ' 4 9 4 9 4 \
ol pev adadukavtes eTeBatvov eppwpyevws Kat
TUVETTEAXOD ELS TA TPAXUTATA TOUS TrOAELLOUS, OL
6€ Omta0ev atro THY Axpwy avTnrAdratap.

V. Dury uéev ody Hw evOvs o€eta mavtav, ere-
\ ? b) 4 b A \ e
gov 5€ dicytrdiwy ov meElovs: adpnpovvTo yap ai
Svayopiat thy Siwkiv. ypnuata b€é nal oxnvas
kat Oepdtrovtas ot ‘Pwpuaio: Stapracavres éxpa-
TOUV TOV TTEVOV, Kal Si@devov THv “Hretpov otTw
Kogpiws Kal pet’ eyKpateias ToTaUTNS MOTE, TAY
Trolwv Kat TIS Oardoons paxpay éytas avTous,
Kal TOV €ripnvioy oiToV pr) wEeLETpHEevous OVO
TITUS FLAMININUS

he put all his heavy-armed and all his light-armed troops in motion. Dividing his forces into three parts, he himself led his cohorts in column formation “up into the narrowest part of the ravine along the stream, pelted with missiles by the Macedonians and engaging at close quarters with those who con- fronted him at each difficult spot; the other divisions, one on either side, strove to keep pace with him, and grappled eagerly with the difficulties presented by the rough ground. Meanwhile the sun rose, and a smoke—not clearly defined, but re- sembling a mountain mist—lifted itself and came into view from afar. The enemy did not notice it, for it was behind them, where the heights were already occupied, and the Romans were of doubtful mind about it, but as they struggled and laboured on, they let their wishes determine their hopes. But when the smoke increased in size and darkened the air, and ascending in great volume was clearly seen to be a fire-signal from their friends, then the Romans below raised shouts of triumph and dashed upon their foes and crowded them together into the roughest places, while the Romans behind the enemy sent down answering shouts from the heights.

V. At once, then, the enemy fled precipitately, but not more than two thousand of them fell;! for the difficulties of the ground made pursuit impossible. However, the Romans made spoil of their money, tents, and slaves, mastered the pass, and traversed all parts of Epirus, but in such an orderly manner and with so great restraint that, although they were far from their fleet and the sea, and although their monthly rations of grain had not been measured out

1 So Livy, xxxii, 12.

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evTupobyTUsS Wwypopas, améxyerAat THS Ywpas ap-
pirageis wpereias éyovans. o yap Tiros mupv-
Gavopevos Tov Pirirrov, ws Gpota hevyovTs TH
@ertariav diepyopevos tovs pev avOpwrrovs &x
TOY TOMwY avicTnaW cis TA Gon, TAS Sé ToNELS
Katatipmpnot, Tov S€ ypnudTwv Ta NerTrOLEva
51a AROS 7 Bdapos aprayny mpotiberat, TpoTroy

TIWa THS ywpas éEtotdpevos 76y “Pwpaiors, édi-
NoTUMELTO KaL TrapEKAaAEL TOUS OTPATLWTAS WaTrEP
oixelas Kal Tapaxeywpnuévns Knodopévouvs Badi-
Ce. xat pévto kal wapetyev avtois Ta ywopeva
Ths evtakias alcOnow ev0us. mpocexwpouy peév
yap ai mores aapévors Bettaréias, oi 8 évros
Tlurdy “EXAnves éerofouv xal dSserronvro tais
oppais mpos tov Titov, "Axazot dé tv PerLTarov
Tuupayiay amemduevor Todepety éendicayto
peta “Pwpaiwy mpos avtov. “Ormovytia &é, xac-
wep Aitwrav tote ‘Pwpaios cuvaywrifouévwy
mpoOupyotata Kal thy ToAW aktovyTwY Tapada-
Beiv cai durdtreEw, ov TpoTéa YOY, ANAG PETATEL-
Wapevoe tov Titov éxeivm dueviotevoay éavtous
Kat TapédwKay.
IIvppov pev ody Aéyovow, STE TPwWTOV atro
oxomTns Kateide TO oTpaTevpa Tav ‘“Pwpaiwy
Siaxexoopnpévov, eimety ov BapBapixny ‘abt@e
davivar thy tov BapBdpwv wapatakw: oa 8é
Titw mp@tov évtuyydvovtes nvayxalovto Tapa
TAnoLas adtevat dwvds. axovovTes yap TeV
Makedovar ws avOpwros dpywy BapBdpov atpa-
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tu them and they could buy little, they nevertheless refrained from plundering the country, which offered abundant booty. For Titus had learned that Philip, in passing through Thessaly like a fugitive, was driving the inhabitants from their cities into the mountains, burning down the cities, and allowing his soldiers to plunder the wealth which was too «abundant or too heavy to be carried away, thus in a manner ceding the country already to the Romans. Titus was therefore ambitious, and exhorted his soldiers accordingly to spare the country in march- ing through it, and to treat it as though it had been handed over to them and were their own. And indeed the results showed them at once the advan- tages of this orderly conduct. For as soon as they reached Thessaly the cities came over to them, the Greeks south of Thermopylae were all eagerness and excitement to find Titus, and the Achaeans, renounc- ing their alliance with Philip, voted to join the Romans in making war upon him. The Opuntians, moreover, although the Aetolians, who were at that time fighting most zealously on the side of the Romans, asked permission to take Opus in charge and protect the city, would not grant the request, but sent for Titus and gave themselves with the | fullest confidence into his hands.

Now, we are told that Pyrrhus, when for the first time he beheld from a look-out place the army of the Romans in full array, had said that he saw nothing barbaric in the Barbarians’ line of battle ;} and so those who for the first time met Titus were compelled to speak in a similar strain. For they . had heard the Macedonians say that a commander

1 Cf. the Pyrrhus, xvi. 5.

A Ww > ow 4 ,

Tlas éTetot Ot OTAWY TaVTa KaTaoTpEpopmeEvos
cai Sovrovpevos, eita atravTavTes avodpl THY TE
Hrckiay véw nat thy Ow dtravOpwre@, povnv
te Kat StdrexTov "EAAnve cai tins ad Pods
5) a , > a \ \ ,
épactn, Gavpaciws éxnrodvTo, xal tas Toes
amovres éveTriumwAacay evvotas Ths Wpos avTOV
e b , e U a by 4 b] \ \
@S €yovaas nyepova THs eXevOepias. mel 5é Kal
Dirinmr@ Soxobvte cupBatixas Exe eis TAvTOY
9 \ w J , , x AQ A N
éNM wy mpovtevev eiprjynv Kal diriav éml Te TOUS
EXAnvas avrovopous éav Kai Tas ppovpas amrad-
NaTtTev, o 5 ove edéEaTO, TavTadTac Hn TOTE
Q A 4 A 4 lA
kal tois Oeparrevovo. ta Tov DPiriaTov TapéoTy
'Poowatous ToAEunoovTas Kew ovy "EXAqour,
aX vIrép Se laut Maxeédoct.
VI. Ta pév ody ddXa Tpoceywpe Kal' Hovyiav
avT@, THY b€ Botwrtiay atrorXéuws éemiropevopeve
QnBatwv arnvtncav oi mpatot, dpovodvtes péev
Ta Tov Maxedovos Sia BpayvrAnv, aorafopevor
dé xal tiu@vtes Tov Titov, ws dirtas pos apo-
tépous bTrapxovons. o 8 évruyov avtois girav-
Opwrws cai deEtwoduevos mponyey novyn Kad
od0v, TA pev épwrav Kal truvOavopevos, Ta 5é
3 , 4 > 7 wv \
Sinyoupevos, nal tapaywv émitndes aypt Tovs
, ' a 9 A , 4 \
otTpatiwtas avaraBeiv ex THs mopetas. ovTw dé
, a A 4, >] \ '
mpoaywv cuveanre trois O@nBators eis THY Toru,
> , \ e€ , 9 A \ 4 b]
ov mavu pév dopévots, oxvotar Sé KwAUVELY, é7rel

of a barbarian host was coming against them, who

subdued and enslaved everywhere by force of arms ; and then, when they met a man who was young in years, humane in aspect, a Greek in voice and language, and a lover of genuine honour, they were wonderfully charmed, and when they returned to their cities they filled them with kindly feelings towards him and the belief that in him they had a champion of their liberties. After this Titus had a meeting with Philip (who seemed disposed to make terms), and proffered him peace and friendship on condition that he allowed the Greeks to be independent and withdraw his garrisons from their cities ; but this proffer Philip would not accept. Then at last it became quite clear even to the partisans of Philip that the Romans were come to wage war, not upon the Greeks, but upon the Macedonians in behalf of the Greeks.

VI. Accordingly, the other parts of Greece came over to the side of Titus without any trouble; but as he was entering Boeotia without hostile demonstra- tions, the leading men of Thebes came to meet him. They were in sympathy with the Macedonian cause through the efforts of Brachyllas, but welcomed Titus and showed him honour, professing to be on friendly terms with both parties. Titus met and greeted them kindly, and then proceeded quietly on his journey, sometimes asking questions for his own information and sometimes discoursing at length, and purposely diverting them until his soldiers should come up from their march. Then he led them forward and entered the city along with the Thebans, who were not at all pleased thereat, but hesitated to oppose him, since a goodly number of

oTpaTia@rat rye peTpeot TO mribos elmrovro. Kat pévToe TrapeAOwy o Tiros, ws ovx éxov my ToAty, éretOev érNeoOar Tae Popaiwy, "AttaXov Tob Baor- News guvaryopevovTos avTa Kal cuvefoppavros TOUS OnBatous. arr’ “Arrados pev, WS Eoure, TOD Yyipws mpoOuporepor € éavTov T@ Tirp pitopa mapacxetv prroripovpevos, ev auT@ T Aéeyew 1 POO TED OVTOS idiryyou TLVOS 1) pevpatos apves THY aicOnow emerngpdels & érrece, Kal per’ OU TOAU Tais vavoly eis ‘Acta dtroxoptadels éreAXeUTNTEY Of 5¢ Bowwrtot TpoceXw@pyaay TOS ‘Peopaiors.

VII. Dirtwrov be mpéeo Bets TeurpavTos eis ‘Pouny daméaTethe cai o Tiros Tap Q@UTOU TOUS mpafovras Omrws emupnpionrat n ruyKAyTos xpovov auTe Tov TONE MOV HEVOVTOS, et be LN, oe’

éxelvou Thy eipnvnv yevecOat. peror1U08s yap ay
laxupas édedles meppOevros éml Tov ToXELov
éTépou oTpatyyoo THY d0fav adatpeDvat. dia-
mpafapever dé Tov pirov auTe@ pare TOV Pirer-
Tov av expnce TuYely Kai Tov TONE MoU THY
Hyepoviay exelv@ gurayxGijvar, bed pevos TO dor
Ka Tals éXriow émapOeis evOus eis Gerrariav
él Tov Pidirrov TONE MOV dpunoey, vmép eFaxto-
xedious kai Stopupious EXeov TTPATLWOTAS, Ov
Aitwhot melous efanto tAtous Kat lrrqreis TET pa.-
koa tous Taperxov. ay Bs Kat tov Dirimmov To
oT paTevpa T@ THOe! TapaT Ajo toy.
‘Exret S8 Baditovres ém’ GAAHAOUS Kab yevopuevor mTepl THY ZKoTovcay evtadvOa
Siaxcvdvvevery Ener-

—

1 Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 1 f.
* So Livy, xxxili. 4.
wr

TITUS FLAMININUS -

soldiers were in his following. ‘Titus, however, just as though the city were nut in his power, came before their assembly and tried to persuade them to side with the Romans, and Attalus the king seconded him in his appeals and exhortations to the Thebans. But Attalus, as it would appear, in his eagerness to play the orator for Titus, went beyond his aged strength, and in the very midst of his speech, being seized with a vertigo or an apoplexy, suddenly fainted and fell, and shortly afterwards was conveyed by his feet to Asia, where he died. The Boeotians allied themselves with the Romans.

VII. Philip now sent an embassy to Rome, and Titus therefore dispatched thither his own representatives, who were to induce the senate to vote him an extension of command in case the war continued, or, if it did not, the power to make peace. For he was covetous of honour, and was greatly afraid that he would be robbed of his glory if another general were sent to carry on the war. His friends managed matters so successfully for him that Philip failed to get what he wanted and the command in the war was continued to Titus, On receiving the decree of the senate, he was lifted up in his hopes and at once hastened into Thessaly to prosecute the war against Philip. He had over twenty-six thousand soldiers, of whom six thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry were furnished by the Aetolians.! Philip’s army also was of about the same size.”

The two armies advanced against each other until they came into the neighbourhood of Scotussa, and there they proposed to decide the issue by battle.3

> On the same battlefield Pelopidas had been defeated and
slain by Alexander of Pherae, in 364 B.c. Cf. the Pelomidaa,

oTpATLaTaAL ye eT prot TO mhidos elqrovro. Kat
pevTou mapeddwv o 0 Tiros, ws ov« EXov ry Tort,
érretOev ErécOat Ta ‘Pwpatoy, "Artadovu tod Bact-
A€ws TuvayopevorTos auT@ Kal avveEoppavros
TOUS OnBaious. ann’ “Arranos pev, @S Eouxe,
TOD yI1pws mpobuporepop é éavTov T@ Tire prropa
Tapacyety prroripovpevos, ey QUT ep TO héyew
TT POO TET OVTOS iddryyou TLVvOS 7) pevpatos adveo THY
aicOnoww erirnpeeis é ETET E, KAL per’ OU TOAU Tals
vavoly eis ‘Aciav atroxomobels éreXevTHaOEV: 01
bé Bowwrol mpocexwpnaar tots ‘Peopaiors.
VII. Dirimrov sé mpea Bets TeLWavTos ets
‘Poyny dméorerre kal o Titos Tap avTov Tous
mpagovtas dmrws emipnplantas 7) 7 iryKATOS
xpovov aur Tou Ton wou HEVOVTOS, et bé UE be
éxelvou THv eb ayy yevéoOan. Ptdori wos yap av
ia upas édedter meppbevros emt Tov wodepLoy
2 érépou oTpaTnyoo THY bofav aparpeO vat. dia-
mpafapevay dé Tay pirov aura pare TOV Pirer-
Tov av expnte TuXYEly Kal TOD ToAEpov THY
myepoviay exelv purayOjvat, beEdpevos TO boyy
Kal TALS éAtriow emapOeis evOus els @errariav
él TOV Prdimrov TOAELOV WpLNnceY, Umrép éfaxto-
xUrLous kal Siopuptous EXeov oTpPATLWOTAS, @y
Aitwroi meCous efaxto vALous Kal bmTrets TeTpa-
Kogious TaperXov. ay Bs Kai tod DPiriwmov ro
aTpdTeupa Te ThOet TapaT hija tov.
3 ‘Errel dé Baditovres é €m GAXAHXOUS Kab yevopuevot Tepl THY ZxoTovoay évtaiOa
Staxivdvveverv Ewenr-

i] -

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1 Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 1 f.
2 So Livy, xxxiii. 4.
CPt eters
-_ 7
a re — dines
stohchers were mony ope use co

To dh ts San ane

plar the oratur in * uy my: :
Strength, amd ow ine ver ig
seized with a VETUEC YF 45 age
“ef Dye teat get
and fell, and BUUTI atiorm em 4
fleet to Asta wires 10 Oat, ve doe
themselves with <1 Bunes:,
VII. Philip sow ear a: -, rs ore
Titus therefore Ostet tte fy Pen)
sentatives, why were uw sa. . ee

him an extension Uf Gnas ae ae
tinued, or, if it did
LU tise bOI 8 te ate
For he was COVetuU Of srs:
aur 3 tote
afraid that he would i TOWNE is i we :
general were seut tw TN A A ee Ss nk
managed matters wu sucess; Se oe
failed to Set what ue wan, oy
the war was COiuver ig
decree of the OMIM es 9g
and at once hasteuee nr St, peek
War against Phe: $4s say yt
w beg a7 the seme «A ge at we
hundred cava'rs
om hah #

2 gga - r

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there they Propact stew +, ce a a ee
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slain by Alezanier sy ol ae 2
*XXXii,

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Lov, ovy, Grrep eiKosS Hy, mpos Séovs éAraSov oi
OTparol THY GAAnNEY yeLTViaTLY, GANA Kal “wad or

opps kal prdoripias emrnpobvro, ‘Pwpaios per,
et Maxedovav Kpatijcovoty, av dvopa St "ANE-
avOpov aXns Kal Suvdpews wrEloTOVv av map
avrois, Maxedoves Se ‘Papaious Tlepoay iryou-
pevot Svadépery Hrmevov, él TrEpiyévotvTo, apm po-
Tepov atrodetEety * AneEavdpov @idummoy. o per
otv Titos wapexddes TOovs otpatiotas dvdpas
ayadous yevéoOat Kai mpoOvmous, ws ev TO
xadXNiote Oedtpw TH ‘EddAdbt péAXOVTAS ayori-
Cea Oat mpds TOvs apiaTous TOY avTayaMaTaY oO
5¢ Pidsartros, elite amo tUYNs elite UO aTOVdIS
Tapa TOY KaLpoY ayvonoas, hy yap Tt ToAUavOopLoY
innrov é&w Tod ydpaxos, él TodTo mpoBas
npEato pév, ola mpo paxns gdirct, SvaréyerOar
Kat Tapoppay, aOusuas Sé Sewis mpdos Tov otwvor
éumecovons SiatapaxGels erécye THY nuépav
éxelyny.
VIII. Ty 8 totepaia rept tov dp8pov, éx
parakns Kal votiov vuKros, eis omlxydAnv Tov
vepav tpeTouévav, averiptrato Copou Babéos
mav TO Tedlov, Kal KaTHEL TaXUs eK TOV aKpwr
dnp els TO peTakd TOV oTpaToTrédwy, evOds apxo-
péevns npépas atroxpuTtwy Tovs ToTrous. ot 5é
im’ audorépwv amoatanrévtes epedpeias evera xai
KatacKoTns év wavy Boaxel mepitmerovtTes aXAN-
Nous eudyovto rept Tas Kadoupévas Kuvos xeha-
as, at AOhwv ovoat TUKVa@Y Kai TAapadrAnrAwWY
34°

TITUS FLAMININUS

Their mutual proximity did not inspire them with fear, as might have been expected ; on the contrary, they were filled with ardour and ambition. For the Romans hoped to conquer the Macedonians, whose reputation for prowess and strength Alexander had raised to a very high pitch among them; and the Macedonians, who considered the Romans -superior to the Persians, hoped, in case they prevailed over them, to prove Philip a more brilliant commander than Alexander. Accordingly, Titus exhorted his soldiers to show themselves brave men and full of spirit, assured that they were going to contend against the bravest of antagonists in that fairest of all theatres, Greece ; and Philip, too, began a speech of exhortation to his soldiers, as is the custom before a battle. But, either by chance or from ignorance due to an inopportune haste, he had ascended for ' this purpose a lofty mound outside his camp, beneath which many men lay buried in a common grave, and a dreadful dejection fell upon his listeners in view of the omen, so that he was deeply troubled and refrained from battle that day.

VIII. Towards morning on the following day, after a mild and damp night, the clouds turned to mist, the whole plain was filled with profound darkness, a dense air came down from the heights into the space

between the two camps, and as soon as day advanced all the ground was hidden from view. The parties sent out on either side for purposes of ambush and reconnaissance encountered one another in a very short time and went to fighting near what are called the Cynoscephalae, or Dog's Heads. These are the sharp tops of hills lying close alongside one another,

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

dxpat rewrat &: opototnTa TOU OXNpATOS OUTAS 31).

9 U s \ > AN > '
avonacOncayv. 'yevopévwy Sé olov etxos Ev TOOLS
oxXnpots peraBorov xara tas puyas xat duw€ers,
EXATEPOL TOIS TrovOovGLY GEL Kat UTTOYwpOvCEY ET -
a , b] ~~ 4 \
méurrovtes BonOeav éx Tov otpatoTéder, Kat 777
Tov aépos dvaxadatpopévov xaBopavtes Ta ytVO-
peva TavoTpatia cuvéBanov.
To pev odv &e&ia mwepiqy o Piditrmos, €x TOTeV

a" a 9 , LY 4 a

Katagepav orn EeTTEpeicas THY Parayya Tots
'Pwpaios, To Bapos Tov avvacmicpod Kai Tv
TpaxvrTnra THs MpoBor(Ns THY Taptowy OVX UTFO-
pevavtov Tov & evwvipou Svactacpoy dva Tous
ogous Kal tepixrAacw AapRavorrTos, o Titos, TO
ev NTTwWpEVOY UTTOYVOUS, Tpos 5é Odtepov okéws
mapéerAdoas, TpowéBare Tots Maxedoot avoTHvat
pev eis ddrayya Kat wuKv@car Thy Taew ets
4 ef @ > A a" 9 , ,
Bados, Hrrep hy adn THs éxeivwv Svvapews, KWAVO-
pévors Sta THY avwpadiay Kal TpayvTNTAa TeV
/ N + b ww ,

Ywpiwv, mpos S€ TO nat avdpa cuprréxecOat
Bape cal ducépyo ypwpévors oT LO. Com yap
e Ul ww ? 4 \ 9 c 4 0 >
n parayE éoxev apayw thy toxuy, Ews & Eat
THA Kal THpEL TOY GUvacTLOopoOY év Takes jue.
Siarvbecions b€ kai thv nal' &va popny arorAdvar
T@Y paxopuévwv Exactos Sia Te TOY TpOTTOY THIS
id , \ @ s) oe A » 9 A
omTALTEWS KAL OTL TAVTOS OXOU TOLS Tap ANANA@Y

pépert padrov 7 Ot avroy ioxver. Tpatropévwy
Sé¢ rovtwy ot pev ediwxov rors hevyovtas, at 8€
Tous paxyouéevous TOV Maxedovwy trapexdpamovTes
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TITUS FLAMININUS

and got their name from a resemblance in their shape.
As was natural on a field so difficult, there were
alternations of flight and pursuit, each party sending
out aid from their camps to those who from time to
time were getting the worst of it and retreating, until
at last, when the air cleared up and they could see
what was going on, they engaged with all their
forces.!
With his right wing, then, Philip had the advantage, since from higher ground he threw his entire phalanx upon the Romans, who could not withstand the weight of its interlocked shields and the sharpness of its projecting pikes; but his left wing was broken up and scattered along the hills, and Titus, despair- ing of his defeated wing, rode swiftly along to the other, and with it fell upon the Macedonians. These were unable to hold their phalanx together and maintain the depth of its formation (which was the main source of their strength), being prevented by the roughness and irregularity of the ground, while for fighting man to man they had armour which was too cumbersome and heavy. For the phalanx is like an animal of invincible strength as long as it is one body and can keep its shields locked together in a single formation; but when it has been broken up into its parts, each of its fighting men loses also his individual force, as well because of the manner in which he is armed as because his strength lies in the mutual support of the parts of the whole body rather than in himself. This wing of the Macedonians being routed, some of the Romans pursued the fugi- tives, while others dashed out upon the flank of the

1 For a fuller description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxiii. 7-
10 (Polybius, xviii. 20-27).
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ék Trayiwv ExTELVOV, OOTE TAYY KAi TOUS VIKOVTAS
a Uf \ 54 ft
mepioTacba: xal devye ta SAA KataBad-
NovTas. eErecov pev odv OKTAKLTXIAiwY OvK
éXdTTOUS, Eddwoav O€ TEpi TeVTAaKLTYLALOUS. TOU
dé tov Pikurmoy dadaras aredOeiv thv aitiayv
»: 9 / \ e \ , \
éxaBov AitwaAol, epi aptrayny yevouevor Kai
mopOnaw Tod xapaxos éTt TOY 'Pwpaiwy di0-
KovTwv, @oTe unOev evpeiv éexeivous émavenOovTas.
IX. pa@rov pev ovv éyévovto Aodopias Kal
S:ahopal mpos adAnAOovs avTois: ex 5é TOvTwY

A > AN \ 37 4 e A > ,
MadAOv aet Tov Titov édXvtrouy éEavTois avaTiOevtes
TO viknpa Kal TH pin mpoxatarapPavovtes TOUS
ef
"EdAnvas, Wate kal ypaderOat nal adecOar Tpo-
Tépous éxeivous Ud TrounT@Y Kal idiwrav buvovv-
\ ?
Twv TO épyov. wv pddota Sia oTOpaTos Hy ToUTt
i
TO éTiypappa’
“Akravotot kai abarrot, odotrope, TOS él VOT @D
@cocarins tpiccai KeipeOa pupiddes,
Aitwrav Sunbevtes tr’ “Apeos 75é Aativer,
A , > , ” > 9 be 4
ovs Tiros evpeins ryay an’ ‘Iradins,
"Hyabin péeya ria. 70 6é Opacv xeivo Piri rou
mvevpwa Oowy éhagdwy @yeT’ eXadportepov.
A , \ a
Tov érroinae pev Adxaios épuBpilov Pirinme
\ \ > \ a
kal tov aptOporv tav amoPavovtwy éemipevadpevos,
4 \ A a a
Neyouevov S€ TOAAAXOD Kal Od TOAA@Y padAOV
>. ?- A 4 “a \ b. e \ \ bd
nvia tov Titov) Tov Pidsrmov. 0 wey yap avtt-
A N 9 aA A
Kopupdoav tov Adxaiov T@ édeyeiw wapéBanev:
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enemy who were still fighting and cut them down, so that very soon their victorious wing also faced about, threw away their weapons, and fled. The result was that no fewer than eight thousand Macedonians were slain, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Philip, however, got safely away, and for this the Aetolians were to blame, who fell to sacking and plundering the enemy’s camp while the Romans were still pur- _ suing, so that when the Romans came back to it they found nothing there. 7

IX. This, to begin with, gave rise to mutual quarrels and recriminations; but afterwards the Aetolians vexed Titus more and more by ascribing the victory to themselves and prepossessing the minds of the Greeks with the fame of it, so that they were mentioned first in the writings and songs of poets and historians who celebrated the event. Of these the one most in vogue was the following

epigram in elegiac verses :—
“‘‘Unwept and without graves are we, O traveller,
who on this ridge of Thessaly lie dead, in number
thirty thousand, subdued by the sword of the
Aetolians, and of the Latins whom Titus led from
spacious Italy, Emathia’s great bane. And the bold
spirit that Philip had displayed was gone; it showed
itself more agile than swift deer.”
This poem was composed by Alcaeus in mockery
of Philip, and its author exaggerated the number of
the slain; however, being recited in many places
and by many persons, it gave more annoyance to
Titus than to Philip. For Philip simply made fun of
Alcaeus with an answering elegiac distich :—
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

“Ad dotos Kai ApvArdAos, odotTropE, THO ETL VOTE
"AAKaiw otaupos TiyvuTas nALBaTos
tov d€ Titov dtdoTipovpevov mpos Tous” EXAnvas
ov peTpiws tapwtuve ta Ttotavta. 616 Kal Ta
UTONOLTA THY Tpayudtwv empaTrte Kal’ éavrov,
éedaytota ppovtifwy tov Aitwrav. ot 5é 7xGovro,
Kat mpoodeEapévov Aoyous avTov Kal mperBetay
éml aupBacect twapa tod Makedovos, tovTo
? a 1 of > \ \ ” / b) s
éxeivot’ teptiovtes éri Tas adXas trodes EBowr,
a \ > 2 , \ > /
TorecOar Thy eipnynv Piriame, wapov éxxoyrar
\ 4 wv > a 9 \ e b e
Tov qWoAEnov aponv Kal avedeivy apynv vd’ 1s
mpaTns edovAwOn To “EAAnviKOV. TadTa TOV
AitwrAav RAeyovrwv Kai ss:atapatrovtwy Tovs
, > \ ¢ 4 : ‘ \ N
guppayxous, avTos 0 Dirimmos eAOwv mpos Tas
, b] A \ e , b 4 “
dtadvoes avetrAe thy vroiav, émiTpépas TO
Titm nai ‘Popaio ta xa abtov. Kal odte
Ud N U e 4 \ \ \
Katadvetat Tov tTodenov o Titos' Kat THY pev

Makedovixny arédwxey ato Bactreav, THs dé
‘EAXabos mpocérakey atoctivat, xtdiows 5€ Ta-
4 bd , \ N Le) 4 /
Advtos eCnpiwae, Tas 5€ vais Wacas TrapeiAETO
\ , “a , N 4 ,
TAY Séxa, ToY 5é maidwy Tov Etepov, Anprtpsor,
e 4 \ » ¢ , b] 4 ”
ounpevoovtTa AaRwv eis Paynv arécrerrev, aptota
TO KALPO Ypnodpevos Kal mpotaBov To pwéedXOV.
, A ~<
’AvviBouv yap rod AiBvos, advdpos éxOiorov te
4
‘Pwpators cal huyddos, 75n ToTe mpos ’AvTioxov
nKovtTos Tov RBactréa Kal TwrapoEvvovtos avrop ets
1 rouro éxetvo: Coraés, with the MSS. : rotro éxeivo after
Reiake.
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TITUS FLAMININUS

“ Leafless and without bark, O traveller, on this ridge A cross is planted for Alcaeus, and it towers in the

sun ;

but Titus was ambitious to stand well with the Greeks, and such things irritated him beyond measure, For this reason he conducted the rest of his business by himself, and made very little account of the Aetolians. They on their part were displeased at this, and when Titus received an embassy from the Macedonian king with proposals for an agree- ment, they went round to the other cities vociferously charging him with selling peace to Philip, when it was in his power to eradicate the war entirely and destroy a power by which the Greek world had first been enslaved. While the Aetolians were making these charges and trying to make trouble among the Roman allies, Philip himself removed all grounds for suspicion by coming to terms and putting himself and his realm in the hands of Titus and the Remans. And in this manner Titus! put an end to the war ; he returned to Philip his kingdom of Macedonia, but ordained that he should keep aloof from Greece, exacted from him an indemnity of a thousand talents, took away all his ships except ten, and taking one of his sons, Demetrius, to serve as hostage, sent him off to Rome, thus providing in the best manner for the | present and anticipating the future.

For Hannibal the African, a most inveterate enemy of Rome and an exile from his native country, had already at that time? come to the court of King

1 Rather, the ten commissioners sent from Rome to settle
the affairs of Greece (chapter x. 1). Cf.- Livy, xxxiii. 30

(Polybius xviii. 44).
: In 196 B.c., according to Nepos, Hannibal, vii. 6. According to Livy (xxxiii. 47), it was in the following year.

TO mpoodev mpoiévar TH TUX) Tis Suvdpews €U-
poovans, Hon Kar ral' éauTov UT Mpaywatov
peydrwv, a KaTEpyacdpevos peéyas emavouaa On,
Tpos THY am avTe@v nyenoviay droBhémovta, pa
Arora 8é KATO 'Peopatar dvig TaMevov, él pay
TOUTO mpoidwy o Tiros _ Eup povess évedw@xe Tpos
Tas Siadvoes, ANNA TOV Dedummiov 6 'AvTio-
XeKOs KaTerArnget TONE MOS éy TH 'Edda81, Kat
ouvert TaV vn aireep d:pxpor por KOLV@V al
péyear Toe TOV TOTE Kal duvaTératot Baairewv € én
THY 'Popny, éoxev ap ayavas €& UTapyijs Kal
KvOvVOUS TOV T pos "AvviBav ovbk €AATTOUS. vov
6é TOV TONE Lev peony Kara KQLpOV éuBadov THY
elpnuny O Tiros, Kat mpiv apfacbat TOD HedovTa
Siaxowpas TOV mapovTa, ToD pev THY éaxXaTny
éedmida, Tob dé Thy mporny Upet rev.
X. 'Enrel S€ ot déea rpéoBers, ods r) oUyKANTOS
Emeue TH Tit, avveBovrevoy TOUS ped dAdous
EdAnvas érevOeporr, Kopw Aor dé xal bXarxida Kal
Anyntpiaba Scatnpeiv eu povpous evexa THs pos
"Avtioxov dodpaneias, évravba 57 Tats KaTnyo-
piats Nam pot Lapmpas Tas TOAELS aveppryvucay
Aitwaroi, tov pev Titov KedevovTEs Tas Tédas Tis
'EAAdbos vey (ott yap o Pirurros elder Tas
Tpoerpnpevas TONELS dvopatery), tovs 6 "EAXqvas
cpwTavres et KAoLOY EXOVTES Bapbrepov Mev,
NecoTepov 5é Tov mara TOV viv, Xaipovat, Kat
avpdtovar tov 'Titov Os evEpryeTny, OTL TOU TOOdS
Avoas THY "EAAdOa Tob TpAXNroV dédexev. eg'
ols ax Oopevos o Tiros xat Bapéws pépwr, Kal
Sedpevos Tov i aed TéXos eFérretce Kai TAUTAS
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Antiochus, and was trying to incite him to further achievements while fortune gave his power successful course. Antiochus himself also, in consequence of the magnitude of his achievements, by which he had

won the title of Great, was already fixing his eyes on universal dominion, and had a particular hostility to the Romans. Therefore, had not Titus, in view of all this, made favourable terms of peace, and had the war with Antiochus in Greece found the war with Philip still in progress there, and had a common cause brought these two greatest and most powerful kings of the time into alliance against Rome, that city would have undergone fresh struggles and dangers not inferior to those which marked her war with Hannibal. But as it was, by interposing an oppor- tune peace between the two wars, and by cutting short the existing war before the threatening war began, Titus took away the last hope from Philip, and the first from Antiochus.

X. And now the ten commissioners, who had been sent to Titus by the senate, advised him to give the rest of the Greeks their freedom, but to retain Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias under garrisons, as a safeguard against Antiochus. Thereupon the Aetolians stirred up the cities with the most vociferous denunciations, ordering Titus to strike off the shackles of Greece (for that is what Philip was wont to call these three cities), and asking the Greeks whether they were glad to have a fetter now which was smoother than the one they had worn before, but heavier; and whether they admired Titus as a benefactor because he had unshackled the foot of Greece and put a collar round her neck. Titus was troubled and dis- tressed at this, and by labouring with the commission

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TAS TWodEls avetvar THS Ppovpas, Gmws OAOKANPOS
) xapis UrapEn map avtov trois "EAA.
"TcOpiwv odv ayopévoy TAOS pev avOpworwv
év T@ aTabim KaOnoto Tov yuuMKoY ayava Jew-
pévor, ola 8 Sta ypovwv weTravpévns pév Tronée-
pov THs ‘EAXdSos er’ éAtriow eNevOepias, cadet
dé elpnvn tavnyupitovans: tH odATyyt 5é aLw-
mis els Atravtas StadoPetons, mpoeOor eis wécov
o Knpve aveitrev Ott “Pwyaiwv 7 avyKANTOS Kat
Titos Koivtios otparnyos bmatos Kcatato\eun-
cavtes Bacthea Piritrmov xal Makeddovas,
agidotv adpovpytous. Kal éXevOépouvs Kai ado-
poroynTous, vou“ots YXpwuevous Tois TaTpio.s,
KopwvOiovs, Aoxpovs, Pwxeis, EvBoéas, Axatovs
POiwras, Mayvntas, Mettarovs, TepparBovs. to
fev OvY TWPATov ov mavu ravtTes ovdé cadas
émynxovcav, Grr aveparos cat JopuBodns xivn-
ais Wy év T@ atadio Oavpalovtwy Kat dtaTrur-
Oavopévov kab madLw daveutrety KeXEVOVTOV: ws &

avbis jaovyias yevouevns avayayeav o Kypv& thy
gdwvnv mpoOvpotepoy eis atravtas eyeywver Kal
dup AOe TO Kpvypa, Kpavyn pmev aTTLOTOS TO péyeE-
Bos dua yapav éywper péxpt Oaradtrns, dpOov dé
avecaotnket TO Béatpov, ovdels S€ AOYos Hv TeV
aywuiCouevwv, Eatrevdov b€ TayTes avaTndjoat
cal SeEt@oacOat Kai mpocetreiy Tov GwTipa THs
‘EAAaSos Kal mpopayov.
To 6€ modAdxts Neyouevov eis UrepBornv Tis
gwvijs xai peyeBos whOn ToTe. Kopaxes yap
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TITUS FLAMININUS

finally persuaded it to free these cities also from their
garrisons, in order that his gift to the Greeks might
be whole and entire.
Accordingly, at the Isthmian games, where a great throng of people were sitting in the stadium and watching the athletic contests (since, indeed, after many years Greece had at last ceased from wars waged in hopes of freedom, and was now holding festival in time of assured peace), the trumpet signalled a general silence, and the herald, coming forward into the midst of the spectators, made procla- mation that the Roman senate and Titus Quintius Flamininus proconsular general, having conquered King Philip and the Macedonians, restored to free- dom, without garrisons and without imposts, and to the enjoyment of their ancient laws, the Corinthians, the Locrians, the Phocians, the Euboeans, the Achae- ans of Phthiotis, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perrhaebians. At first, then, the proclamation was by no means generally or distinctly heard, but there was a confused and tumultuous movement in the stadium of people who wondered what had been said, and asked one another questions about it, and called out to have the proclamation made again; but when silence had been restored, and the herald in tones that were louder than before and reached the ears of all, had recited the proclamation, a shout of joy arose, so incredibly loud that it reached the sea. The whole audience rose to their feet, and no heed was paid to the contending athletes, but all were eager to spring forward and greet and hail the saviour and champion of Greece.

And that which is often said of the volume and
power of the human voice was then apparent to the
35!

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

UTEPTTETOMEVOL KATA TUXHY ErrEecon Els TO OTAOLOD.
> 4 Y e a 90 Ca 4 \ € ‘\
aitia b€ TOU aépos pHkts' Stay yap 7 povn

A \ , / , e. 6°
TOAAH Kai peyaddn épyntat, Stactwpevos var
2. A b > 4 aA 4 9 > b ,
avThs ove avtepeides Tois tetopévots, GAN’ Or-
cOnpa trot xadarep KevepBatovdo.r, € pn V1)
Aia wAnyn Tie WadAXOV ws Ud Bédous dveXavv0-
peva wrimte. Kat atroOvncxe. Svvatar dé Kat
Tepidivnais e€lvat Tov dépos, olovy édtypov ep
4 \ 4 A , \ ,
merayel Kal Tadippuyny Tod aadov bia péyeOos
NapBavovTos. |
XI. ‘O & ovv Tiros, ef py tayrota ths Oéas
Siarvbetons vridopevos THY hopav tov mAjOovs
\ \ , ge / J “A an 7
kat tov Spopov éFéxAvev, ovx dv édoxet trept-
yevéoOat tocovTwy ood Kat tavtodev avT@
Teptyeonevwv. ws 6 atréxapov rept THY oKNVHY
avtov Bowvtes 5n vuxtos ovans, aves obaTtivas
¥ A 4 A , + , \
idorev 1) hirous woAiTas daotralopevoe Kal Tept-
a 4
TAexopevot, mpos Seimva Kat ToTOUS eTPéTOVTO
a > 7F
eT GAANAWY. €v & Kal MAaAAOP, ws ELKOS, 7d0-
, 9 ! 4 \ . , \ aA
pévols emnet NoyilecOar Kai SiaréyeoOar TEpt Tis
‘EdAabos, Gaous TOAEUHnTAGA TroAcmoUS bia THY
édevlepiav obtrw TUx0t BeBarotepov ovdé Hdrov
a , ra
auTns, éEtépwy Tpoaywvicapevwy odiryou Seiv
dvaipaktos avty Kal arevOns hepopévn TO Kad-
NoTOY Kal TeplmaynToTaToy aBrov. Hv 8 apa
, 4
omdviov pev avdpeia kat dpovnots év avOpwrras,
otmaviwratov 5€ TaY adrAwY ayaday o dixatos.
oi yap Aynaoidac nal Avoavdpoar cat ot Nexiar
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eye. For ravens which chanced to be flying overhead fell down into the stadium. The cause of this was the rupture of the air; for when the voice is borne aloft loud and strong, the air is rent asunder by it and will not support flying creatures, but lets them fall, as if they were over a vacuum, unless, indeed, they are transfixed by a sort of blow, as of a weapon, and fall down dead.! It is possible, too, that in such cases there is a whirling: motion of the air, which becomes like a waterspout at sea with a refluent flow of the

surges caused by their very volume.

XI. Be that as it may, had not Titus, now that the spectacle was given up, at once foreseen the rush and press of the throng and taken himself away, it would seem that he could hardly have survived the ‘concourse of so many people about him at once and from all sides. But when they were tired of shouting about his tent, and night was already come, then, with greetings and embraces for any friends and fellow citizens whom they saw, they betook them- selves to banqueting and carousing with one another. And here, their pleasure naturally increasing, they were moved to reason and discourse about Greece, saying that although she had waged many wars for the sake of her freedom, she had not yet obtained a more secure or more delightful exercise of it than now, when others had striven in her behalf, and she herself, almost without a drop of blood or a pang of grief, had borne away the fairest and most enviable of prizes. Verily, they would say, valour and wisdom are rare things among men, but the rarest of all blessings is the just man. For men like Agesilaiis, or Lysander, or Nicias, or Alcibiades could indeed

1 Cf. the Pompey, xxv. 7.

to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

kat ot "ArdxcBiddar rrodéwous pev ed Siérreny cai
pPaxas windy xatd te yhv cal Odraccav apyov-
Tes HTLoTavto, xpjcOar S& mpos xdpw evyertj
Kat TO Kanrdv ols Katw@pOovv ovk eyvacay, aXX’
et TO MapaOwuov tis epyov abédor cal tH
év Zarapive vavpayiav nai Nvatards nai @ep-
pomvAas Kai Ta mpds Evpupédovts cat Ta Tepi
Kumpov Kipwvos épya, macas tas payas %
‘EdAds eri Sovrcia peudynrar mpos abthy, Kai
wav TpoTaLoy avThs cuudopa Kai dverdos én’
auTny éoTnKe, TA TrEloTA KaKia Kal dtdoverxia
TOY Hyoupévwr mepitparetans. adrAdpvAGL Se
avdpes, evavopata piKpa Kal ydloxXpa KoLwVr-
pata Taraiod yévous exe Soxobvtes, ad’ Ov
Kal oym Te Kal yroun TOY Xpnoipwev brapEa
Th EXAd& Oavpacrov Hv, oboe Tots peyiaTous
xivduvots Kat movois éFersuevor thy ‘EXAdSa
deatoTav Xarerav xal tupdvvwv édrevbepodat.
XII. Tatra 89 tovs “EXAnvas bane nal ra
TOV Epywv o“oroyobrvtTa Tois KNpvyuacw. apa
yap éEéreumev 6 Titos Aévtdov pev eis ’Aciav
Bapyvrujtas édevbepwmcovta, Steptivnov 8 ets
@paxnv tas ab’toOs ores Kal vnoovs aTaddd-

Eovta tiv Dirirmov gpoupav. Tldmduos Se
OvirrALos emhee Starefouevos ’Avtidy@ mept THs
Tov vm autov EdAnven édevOepias. avtos dé 6
Tiros ets Xandxida maperOov, elta mrevoas
3 a) ? AN a
exeiJev émi Maryvnaiav, éFirye tas dpoupas nai
Tas ToATElas dmredidou toils Syuots. dywovodérns
6 Nepetwv droderybels ev “Apyer tiv Te Tavn)-
yup apiota SiéOnxe, kal mddww éxet tors
"Eddnot tiv édevOepiay bard knpuxos dvetrev.
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conduct wars well, and understood how to be victori- . ous commanders in battles by land and sea, but they would not use their successes so as to win legitimate favour and promote the right. Indeed, if one excepts the action at Marathon, the sea-fight at Salamis, Plataea, Thermopylae, and the achievements of Cimon at the Eurymedon and about Cyprus, Greece has fought all her battles to bring servitude upon herself, and every one of her trophies stands as a memorial of her own calamity and disgrace, since she owed her overthrow chiefly to the baseness and contentiousness of her leaders. Whereas men of another race, who were thought to have only slight sparks and insignifi- cant traces of a common remote ancestry, from whom it was astonishing that any helpful word or purpose should be vouchsafed to Greece—these men under- went the greatest perils and hardships in order to rescue Greece and set her free from cruel despots and tyrants.

XII. So ran the thoughts of the Greeks; and the acts of Titus were consonant with his proclamations. For at once he sent Lentulus to Asia to set Bargylia free, and Stertinius to Thrace to deliver the cities and islands there from Philip's garrisons. Moreover, Publius Villius sailed to have a conference with Antiochus concerning the freedom of the Greeks who were under his sway. Titus himself also paid a visit to Chalcis, and then sailed from there to Magnesia, removing their garrisons and restoring to the peoples their constitutions. He was also appointed master of ceremonies for the Nemeian games at Argos, where he conducted the festival in the best possible manner, and once more publicly proclaimed freedom to the

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ETLPOLT@VY TE Talis TOAETLY EvVOMLaY apa Kal
Sicny modAnv -opovoray te Kat dtAdoppoovyny
mpos GAAyAous Trapelye, KaTAaATAVwWY pEev TAS
oTdces, Kataywv bé Tas duyds, ayadXopevos Sé
To Tree Kat Siadraccew Tous "EAAnvas ovyx
HTTOv 7) TO KEexpatnxévar TOV Maxedover, date

puxpotatov dn Thy érevOepiay Soxeiy wy eveprye-
TOUVTO.
Eevoxpatny pev obv tov -dirocogor, te Av-
xodpyos avTov oO pyTwp vie TeV TeAwVaV ayoLeE-
VOV Tpos TO pEToLKLOY adelAETO Kal Tols ayovoLY
éméOnxe Sixny THs acedyeias, AéyeTaL TOIS Tato ly
anavtncavta tov Aucovpyou, ‘ Kadnv ye tuor,
® waides,” havat, “Te Twatpl yapw azrodidope:
mavTes yap auTov émawovow éd' ols émpake,”
Titm 8€ cat ‘Pwpators wv tovs "EXAnvas evepryé-
Tnaav ovx eis éraivous pmovoyv, aAAA Kai TioTeD
€v Tac avOpwrros Kal Svvapiv 7 Yapis aTrHnvTA
Sixaiws. ov yap mpoodeyopevot povoy Tous
HYEMOVAS AUTOY, GANA Kal peTATETrOMEVOL KAL
Kanrobvres éveyetpitov avTovs. ovde Ojpor Kai
modes, GAAa Kal Baotreis bd Etépwy abdiKxov-
pevot Bacitéwy xatépevyov eis Tas éxeivwv
xelpas, wote ev Bpayet ypovw, Taya Tov Kai
Geo cuvehbatrtopévov, wavta avtois virnKtoa
yevéoOar. Kal avdtos Sé péytotov eppovnoen er}
TH THs “EXAdbos EXevBepwoe. davaTieis yap eis
Aerovs dotidas dpyupas nal tov éavtod Oupedy
eméypawe:
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TITUS FLAMININUS

Greeks. Then he visited the different cities, estab-
lishing among them law and order, abundant Justice,
concord, and mutual friendliness. He quieted their
factions and restored their exiles, and plumed himself
on his persuading and reconciling the Greeks more
than on-his conquest of the Macedonians, so that their
freedom presently seemed to them the least of his
benefactions.

Xenocrates the philosopher, as the story runs, was once being haled away to prison by the tax-collectors for not having paid the alien’s tax, but was rescued out of their hands by Lycurgus the orator, who also visited the officials with punishment for their impu- dence. Xenocrates afterwards met the sons of Lycurgus, and said: ‘“ My boys, I am making a noble return to your father for his kindness towards me ; for all the world is praising him for what he did.” In the case of Titus and the Romans, however, gratitude for their benefactions to the Greeks brought them, not merely praises, but also confidence among all men and power, and justly too. For men not only received the officers appointed by them, but actually sent for them and invited them and put themselves in their hands. And this was true not only of peoples and cities,

nay, even kings who had been wronged by other kings fled for refuge into the hands of Roman officials, so that in a short time—and perhaps there was also divine guidance in this— everything became subject to them. But Titus him- self took most pride in his liberation of Greece. For in dedicating at Delphi some silver bucklers and his own long shield, he mp them with this inscription :—

Znvos tw xpattrvaiar yeyabotes immoauvaict
Kovpot, iw Swraptas Tuvéapidas Bactreis,
Aiveddas Titos tupty vréptatoy wrace Spor,
e Ld 4 '\ ? ld
EXAnver tevEas tratciy €dAevGepiav.
7 aveOnxe S€ Kai ypvaovvy To ATOAAWNML CTéEhavor
émeypawas.
Tovde tot apBpocioar éri mroxdpotow Eorre |
xetaOat, Aatoléa, ypuvcopan atépavor,
ov? opev Aiveadav tayos péyas. GAr,
"Exdepye,
arxas TO Dei xidos dtrale Tite.
s TH 8 ovv? Kopi iw more mpos tous" EXAAnvas
\ > N A w , \ \ , >
To auto dis dn cupBéBnKe: Kai yap Titos év
- , ' \ , e > ea 9
Kopw0@ tore xai Népwv avis xa? nyas ev
>
KopivO@ wapamaAnoiws 'Icbuiwr ayopévwv tovs
"EdAnvas édevOépous Kal avtovduous adjKay, o
pev ba KypuKos, ws elpntat, Népwy 5é€ abtos érri
THS ayopas amo Byyatos év TO TANOEL SypNyo-
pyoas. adda tadta pev dotepov.

XTIT. 'O 6€ Tiros tote xadXiotou Kai dixato-
Ttatov tov mpos NaBiv apEapevos toNémou, Tov
Aaxedatpoviov éEwréotatTov xal Tapavopwtarov
Tupavvon, ev TH TérEL OvefrevaaTo Tas THs 'EAAabos
édmidas, édeiv tapacyov ovK eOednoas, adda
oTELTAaMLEVOS Kal Tpoe"EVOS THY LTapTny avakios
Sovrevovaay, elite Setcas 7) Tov TroNé"oUv pHKOS
AapuBavovros Adros aro 'Pwpyns ereOwv otpa-
1 Zouce an anonymous correction adopted by Sintenis? and Blass ; Coraés and Bekker retain the vulgate &@nxe.

2 tv Bekker corrects to 8s, after Jacobs.

* 8 ody Bekker and Blass: yoor.
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TITUS FLAMININUS

““Q ye sons of Zeus, whose joy is in swift horse-
manship, O ye Tyndaridae, princes of Sparta, Titus,
a descendant of Aeneas, has brought you a most
excellent gift, he who for the sons of the Greeks
wrought freedom.”
He also dedicated a golden wreath to Apollo, and it
bore this inscription :— ,
“ This will fitly lie on thine ambrosial locks, O son of Leto, this wreath with sheen of gold; it is the gift of a great leader whose descent is from Aeneas. Therefore, O Far-darter, bestow upon the god-like Titus the glory due to his prowess.”

It follows, then, that the city of Corinth has twice now been the scene of the same benefaction to the Greeks; for it was in Corinth that Titus at this time, and at Corinth that Nero again in our own times—in both cases at the Isthmian games—made the Greeks free and self-governing, Titus by voice of herald, but Nero in a public address which he delivered in person, on a tribunal in the market-place amidst the multitude. This, however, came at a later time.!

XIIT. Titus now began a most honourable and righteous war, the war against Nabis, that most pernicious and lawless tyrant of Sparta, but in the end he disappointed the hopes of Greece. For though it was in his power to capture the tyrant, he refused to do so, and made peace with him, thus leaving Sparta to the fate of an unworthy servitude. He was led to this step either by his fear that a protraction of the war would bring another general from Rome

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

4 \
THrYyos aveAntat thy dokay, eite Piroverkia Kal
4 ”~ ‘ “ 4 a
CnrotuTia Tay Pirotroipevos Tiwov, dv Ev TE TOS
, “~ € ,
aAXots atracw avdpa Sewvoratoy tav EAAnver
“A ‘
byTa Kai Trept exeivov Tov ToAELOY Epya Oavpacta
‘’ AY e 9 4 Ww “~ a
TOABNS Kat SeLvoTnTos amoberFapevov iva tp Term
‘ “” “A
xvdaivovtes Axatot Kal TLL@VTEs ev TOS Deat pats
a “A ,

é\urrouv éxeivov, ovx aktovvta “Pwpaiwyv vate
mpoToNenouvTe THS ‘EAAdSos avOpwrrov "Apxaéda,
[LKp@V Kal opopwrv wore“mwov aoTpatryov, Smog
, 9 b) ”“~ b \ ? b >) N e
Oavyalerbar trap avtois. ov pnv ard autos o
Tiros imep Tovtwy amredoyeito, xataflécBar Tov
, e es \ “A 4 ”~ w
TOAELOVY WS EWPA TUY KAK®@ peyad@ TwWY adrwv
Vraptiatav atTroAoupevoy Tov TYpavvoV.
Tov 6€ “Ayatay atit@ Todda Tpos Tiny
\ , \
Wndicapévoy ovdev édoxer mpos Tas evepyecias
éEccovobar wAnv plas Swpeds, Hv éexeivos avi
, > 7 « \ , e ’ e
TwTavtTwy nyarnoev. mv dé torade. “Pwpaiwy oi
Svatuxynaavtes é€v two mpos ‘AvyiBay Troréue
aA \ w Ud ,
TWOANAKOU ev wHLOL yevouevot Kal dtacTrapEVTeEsS
at ‘
edovrevov év d€ TH EXAdS yidsoe Kat Staxoctot
‘ “ ? > \ \ > \ fo! ~
To TANnIOS Hoay, del pév OixTpol THS peTaBorARs,
Ul \ A e > , b lA ¢
tote 6€ Kal MaAXOV, WS ElKOS, EVTUYYaVOPTES Of
pev lots, ot dé adeAdois, of 5€ cuvnOeaty, edevOE-
pots SovrA0L Kal viKwow alypdrwToL. TovTOUS Oo
pev Titos ov« adeireto TOY KEexTnLévwV, KaiTrEp
9 / 9 % b) A e \ 9 ,
aviwpevos em’ avtots, ot 6¢ 'Ayatol AUTPwCapEVOL
1 Cf. the Philopoemen, xv. 1-3.

to succeed him and rob him of his glory, or by his jealous displeasure at the honours paid to Philopoemen. For in all other matters Philopoemen was a most capable man among the Greeks, and in that war particularly he displayed astonishing deeds of ability and daring, so that he was extolled by the Achaeans | as much as Titus, and equally honoured in their theatres. This annoyed Titus, who thought it out of keeping that a man of Arcadia, who had held command in small border wars, should receive just as much admiration from the Achaeans as a Roman consul, who was waging war in behalf of Greece.}

However, Titus himself had this to say in defence of his course, namely, that he put an end to the war when he saw that the destruction of the tyrant would involve the rest of the Spartans also in serious disaster."

The Achaeans voted Titus many honours, none of which seemed commensurate with his benefactions except one gift, and this caused him as much satis- faction as all the rest put together. And this was the gift: The Romans who were unhappily taken prisoners in the war with Hannibal had been sold about hither and thither, and were serving as slaves. In Greece there were as many as twelve hundred of them. The change in their lot made them pitiful objects always, but then even more than ever, natur- ally, when they fell in with sons, or brothers, or familiar friends, as the case might be, slaves with freemen and captives with victors. 'These men Titus would not take away from their owners, although he was distressed at their condition, but the Achaeans

* Titus offered this defence of his course to the congress of Greek states at Corinth (Livy, xxxiv. 48 f.).

TEvTE evan éxaaTov dvépa Kal sUvaTyaryovTES els TAUTO mavras non mept wAovv GvTt 7@ Tit Tape- dwxay, @ dare aurov evppacvopevov amo hei, amo KaXav € epyav KaNaS dporBas Kat TpeTrovaas avopt peyary Kal prrorrohiry KEKOpLG MEVOV" 0 57 Soxet ™pos TOV OpiauBov avT@ TavTav vmapEar Lape po- TaTov. ot yap. avdpes ovtrot, xaOatrep EBos éati Tots OlKEeTaLS érav édevdepwOaow, EvpecOat re Tas Keparas Kal midia hopeir, TavTa dpacavtes autot OprauBevorti TO Tite TapelTrovTo.

XIV. Kadri 8€ cai ta Addupa TOMTEvouEva maperyev oyu, "1 AAgvena xpavy Kat TENT AL Maxedovirat Kat odpicat. TO TE TOV Xenpat av TAOS ovK oALyov WV, @S avaypadovoety ot Trepl Tovd:tavov ev T@ OptduBo Koyo Ojvar Xpua tov pev TVYKEX VEL LEVOV ALTpas TpLOXLALAS ewra- Koolas dexatpeis, apyupouv 6é TET PAKLG MUpLas TpLrXALAS Siaxocias éBSounxovra, pudimaetous dé ypucots puptous Tetpaxia xudious TEVTAKOTLOUS dexatércapas, yopis 6€ TovTwy Ta xidia tddavTa Pirvraro0s aiperrev. aAv\a TavtTa pev DaTepov érreia Onaav - Popaior, padiata Tov Titov cupmpa.- Eavros, apeivas T@ irinre, Kat o Umpaxov eynpicarto, Kal Tov vioy amnddrAatav avT@ Tis opnpetas.

XV. "Emel d€ 0 "AVTLOXOS els thy ‘“EAAdéba
vavat ToAAais Kal oTpaT@ meparoeis apiorn
Tas odes Kal dsuectaciaverv, AitwrAwv avT@
ouveTriiapPavopéevay Kal marae Sraxetpevwv Trpos
en a AG, CTT

1 The mina was one sixtieth part of a talent, or one hundred drachmas,

ransomed them all at five minas! the man, collected them together, and made a present of them to Titus just as he was about to embark, so that he sailed for home with a glad heart; his noble deeds had brought him a noble recompense, and one befitting a great man who loved his fellow citizens. This appears to have furnished his triumph with its most glorious feature. For these men shaved their heads and wore felt caps, as it is customary for slaves to do when they are set free, and in this habit followed the triumphal car of Titus.

XIV. But a more beautiful show was made by the spoils of war which were displayed in the procession —Greek helmets and Macedonian bucklers and pikes. Besides, the amount of money exhibited was large. Tuditanus records that there were carried in the procession three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds of gold bullion, forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy pounds of silver, and fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen gold coins bear- ing Philip's effigy.2 And apart from this money Philip owed his fine of a thousand talents.? This fine, however, the Romans were afterwards persuaded to remit to Philip, and this was chiefly due to the efforts of Titus; they also made Philip their ally, and sent back his son whom they held as hostage.

XV. Presently, however, Antiochus crossed into Greece* with many ships and a large army, and began to stir the cities into faction and revolt. The Aetolians made common cause with him, a people which had long been most inimically disposed towards

° These ‘‘ Philips” were nearly equivalent to sovereigns. Cf. Livy’s description of the triumph (xxxiv. 52). 3 Cf. chapter ix. 5. 4 In the autumn of 192 r.c.

tov Pwpatwy Sipov éyOpas rai trodkeunas, Utro-
Jeaw tov Trodéuou Kai tpodaciy SidovtTwr é€dev-

Depovy tous ”"EddAnvas ovdev Seopévous (EAevOepar
9 \ @) Xr > , > 2 ’ ” =
yap noav » a EUTT PETTED TEPAaS AtTtLas aTropta Tm@”
3

KaAXNoT@ TOV ovopatwv xpncOat SidacKorTwr,

Kat apodpa Seioavres ot ‘Pwpato: thy avactacty

xat So€av avrov ris Suvdpews, otTpatryor per

VTarov Tov ToAEwov Maviov' Axidoy catérepray,

/

mpeoBeutnv d€ Titov d:a tous” EAAnvas, Ov Tovs

pev ev0us opOeis éroince BeBatotépous, tous de

dpKXomévous vooeivy MaTrep TL’ ev Katlp@ hapsaxov

evdiSous Thy mMpos avtov evvotay Eotnce Kai

Suex@Avoev eEapapteiv. odyou 5é avtov éFépuryov

\
non TooxarerAnpmevoe Kal StepOappévoe travra-
n “ la
mac wmro Tov AiTwAav, ods Kaitrep opytaOeis
\ A
Kat twapokvvOels Guws peTa THY paxnY TreEpte-
4 b ld \ Cy \ 9 UA
mwoinoev. Avtioxos yap nT TnGeis ev BeppotruNacs

Kat duyov evOvs eis “Aciay amémdevoe, Marios

, ¢ ‘ A ~

5 0 bratos Tous pev avTos ériwv tav AitoXov

, A aA

emToNLopKel, Tovs dé TH Bactrel Didi cuveyo-

pnoev éEarpeiv. dyouevwy S€ xal hepopévwv wo

A , A \ “4 \ ‘4
Tov Maxedovos toto péev AordoTrwr Kai Mayvyrop,
“ \ 9 , \ 3 ~ > a \
routo € 'A@apdvev nai ‘Arepavtav, avtov sé
a 4 A \ ¢ , ‘4
tov Maviou tiv péev Hpdxrerav d:atrerropOnxotos,
A \ 2 > A 9 4 ~
tnv d€ Navzraxtov AitwXav éxovtwy todLopKovr-

TOS, olKTELpwY TOUS "EXAnvas o Tiros StérAevcev

1 Gowep 1: Coraés, Bekker, and Blass, after Stephanus ;

WOanEp TES.

the Romans, and they suggested to him, as a pretext that would account for the war, that he should offer the Greeks their freedom. The Greeks did not want to be set free, for they were free already; but for lack of a more appropriate ground for his action the Aetolians taught Antiochus to make use of that fair- est of all names. The Romans, greatly alarmed by reports of defection among the Greeks and of the power of Antiochus, sent out Manius Acillius as consular general for the war, but made Titus his lieutenant to please the Greeks. The mere sight of him confirmed some of these in their loyalty to Rome, while to others, who were beginning to be infected with disloyalty, he administered a timely medicine, as it were, in the shape of good will towards himself, and thus checked their malady and prevented them from going wrong. <A few, however, escaped his influence, having been already won over beforehand and totally corrupted by the Aetolians, but even these, in spite of his vexation and anger, were spared by him after the battle. For Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylae ! and put to flight, and at once sailed back to Asia; while Manius the consul went against some of the Aetolians himself and besieged them, leaving others to King Philip to destroy. And so it came about that the Dolopians and Magnesians here, the Athamanians and Aperan- tians there, were harried and plundered by the Macedonians, while Manius himself, after sacking Heracleia, was engaged in the siege of Naupactus, which the Aetolians held. Then Titus, out of pity for the Greeks, sailed across from Peloponnesus to

1 In 191 B.c. For a description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxvi, 14-21.

to

€x [leXotovvijcou mpos tov imatov. Kat TpaTov

\ > , 3 \ > a ” @ o
bev erretiunoen el vevixnkw@s autos Ta ETADKA TOU
moréuou Dirirrov é& hépecOa, cai tprBopevos
epi pa more KaOnras Se dpynv, GOvn Sé ove
ddirya nal Bactreias Maxeddves aipodow. étrevta
TOV TrOALOpKOULEevwY, @S Eldov avTOY, amo TOU
Telyous avakanovvTwy Kal xElpas OpeyovTwY Kai
Seopévwv, TOTE pev ovdev EiTr@v, AAA oTpadels
cat Saxpvcas amndOev, datepov 5é SiarexPeis TO
Maviw nai xatarravoas Tov Ovpov adbtod dverpa-
A A a ,
Eato tois AitwAois dvoxas SoOjvat, Kal ypovov
év @ mpeaBevoartes eis “Payny petpiov Tivos
Tuxely aFi@covat. |
XVI. Wdeiorov 5é dyava Kxal rovov avT@
maperyov ai epi Xadxidéwy Sejoets mpos Tov
/ > A s >
Manop, év opyn yeyovotwy Sia Tov yapoy by Trap
a) 4 ? a)
autay éeynuev Aytioyos On Tov Trodkémou ouve-
” 9 ’ e SOA , > >
oTWTOS, ov Kab wpay ovdé KaTa KaLpov, AX
> N >) \ 4 Ul 4 Q
épacbeis uvnp mpeaButepos xopns, 1) Ouyatnp pev
nv KdeotrroA€puou, cardrioty b€é AéyeTat trapbevwy
yevéoOar. tTovto Tovs Xadxtbets éerroince Bactnri-
cat wpoOupotata Kal THY ToALY aUT@ Tpos TOY
TONELOV OpLYNTIpLov Tapadyxelv. exEivos pev ovV
WS TAXLOTA ETA TiVY pay hevywv mpocéuske
™ Xadkidt, tTHv Te Kopnv avadraBav Kat ra
Xpnmata Kat tovs dirous eis "Aciav arém\evce:
‘\ be M / "Ov > \ a \ ? A
Tov 6€ Mdwov evOvds emi tovs Xadkideis. ody opyty
8

TITUS FLAMININUS

the consul. At first he chided Manius because,
although the victory was his own, he was permitting
Philip to carry off the prizes of the war, and to
gratify his anger was wasting time in the siege of a
single city, while the Macedonians were subduing
many nations and kingdoms. Then, when the be-
sieged citizens caught sight of him from their walls
and called aloud upon him and stretched out their

hands to him imploringly, he turned away, burst into tears, and left the place, without saying anything more at the time; afterwards, however, he had an interview with Manius, put an end to his wrath, and induced him to grant the Aetolians a truce, and time in which to send an embassy to Rome with a plea for moderate terms.

XVI. But the hardest toils and struggles fell to Titus when he interceded with Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. They had incurred the consul's wrath because of the marriage which Antiochus had made in their city after the war had already begun, a marriage which was not only unseasonable, but unsuitable for the king's years, since he was an elderly man and had fallen in love with a girl (the girl was a daughter of Cleoptolemus, and is said to have been most beautiful among maidens).! This marriage in- duced the Chalcidians to take the king's side most zealously and allow their city to be his base of opera- tions for the war. Antiochus, therefore, fleeing with all speed after the battle at Thermopylae, came to Chalcis, and taking with him his girl-wife, his treasure, and his friends, sailed back to Asia; but Manius immediately marched against Chalcis in a rage. He was accompanied, however, by Titus, who

t Cf. the Philopoemen, xvii. 1}.

Topevopevov o Tiros mTapaxodovd wy euaharre Kau
TapnTéito Kal Téhos émerce Kal Kxatetpauver,
avtov Te kai Tav év TédAEL 'Pwpaiwy Sedpevos.
3 Odtw dtacwbévtes ot Xadrxideis Ta KdddCTA
Kal péeytota Tov map auTOts avadnpatav TO
Tire xabrépwaar, Ov emrvypapas gore TOLAUTAS
ax pe viv opay- "O Shuos Tite cat '"Hpaxdrei 70
yupvdstov," érépwOt dé madLy, '0 Ojos Tit
4 Kat "AtroAAwve TO Acrpiviov." ére b€ Kal Kal?
7mas lepeus Xetporovytos amedeixvuto Titov, xai
vaoavTes avTo TOV orrovdey yevomevay adovot
Tatava TET OLNLEVOD, ov Tada 61a pijKos Tyyets
Taperres dveypaayev & ravopevoe Ths @Oijs
Aéyouat:
miotw dé 'Po pater oéBopev,
Ta MeyadevKTOTA TAY Opkots guraacev

péMere Kovupat,

ZLinva peyav Popayp Te Tirov 0 dpa 'Pwpaiwv

TE TLOTLY"
inie Ilarav, @ Tite o@tep.

XVII. "Heap dé Kal Tapa TOV adov 'EAMivov!

Topal T peTrovg at, Kat TO Tas THbas arnOivas
TmoLobv, evvola Gavpacrn bu emueiKeray jOous. Kat
yap el Tow &€x mpaypaTov } pirotipias évera,
xadarep PDrdrorroipert Kai maduy Avopaver oTpaTn-
yourTe TOV "Axaon, 7 pog éxpovcey, OUK nv Bapus
ove' els Epya Siateiveov 0 Oupos, arn' ev Aoy@
mappnotap Tuva TONLTLANY éXovTe TrAvO"EVOS.
2 miKkpos pev ody ovdevi, TOAAO!s O€é OFS eOoKEL Kad

1 gav BAAwy 'EAAfvwyv Coraés and Blass, after Bryan: ta» .
"RAAAva.
368

TITUS FLAMININUS

Lried to mollify and intercede with him and at last
won him over and calmed him down by entreaties
addressed both to him and the other Romans in
_ authority.

Having been thus saved by Titus, the Chalcidians
dedicated to him the largest and most beautiful of
the votive offerings in their city, and on them such
inscriptions as these are still to be seen: " This
gymnasium is dedicated by the people to Titus and
Heracles," and again in another place, "This Del-
phinium is dedicated by the people to Titus and
Apollo."" Moreover, even down to our own day a
priest of Titus is duly elected and appointed, and
after sacrifice and libations in his honour, a set hymn
of praise to him is sung: it is too long to be quoted
entire, and so I will give only the closing words of
the song:
"And the Roman faith we revere, which we
have solemnly vowed to cherish; sing, then, ye
maidens,'to great Zeus, to Rome, to Titus, and
to the Roman faith: hail, Paean Apollo! hail,
Titus our saviour !"'
XVII. He also received from the rest of the. Greeks fitting honours,and these were made sincere by the astonishing good will which his equitable nature called forth. For even if the conduct of affairs or the spirit of rivalry brought him into collision with any of them, as, for instance, with Philopoemen, and again with Diophanes the general of the Achaeans, his resentment was not heavy, nor did it carry him into violent acts, but when it had vented itself in the outspoken language of free public debate, there was an end of it. However, he was never bitter,

Kovgos elva. THv duaw, arArAwWs Se auvyyever Bat
mdavTwv HnotoTos Kal eimrety émiyapis peta Setvo-
tntos. ‘Axatovs pev yap aodetepifopévous thy
ZaxvvOiwv vicov atotpérav ébn xuvdvvevoey, av
@OTED al YEAM@vat ToppwTépw THY Kearny TIS
[leXorrovynaov mpoteivwot' Diritrov 4é, omnvixa
a Aa 4
Tépt oTropowyv Kal elpnvns TO TpwToV Els OYOUS
TUYHETAY, ELTOVTOS META TrOAA@Y HKELY ExELVO,
a e \ , >
avtov 5€ povov, UToAaBwv o Titos, “ AvTov yap,
y elt > ’ , \ ,
eon, ‘‘povoy étoinoas amoKxtelvas Tous pidous
“a e ,
Kal ovyyeveis.” érel dé Aetvoxpdtns o Mecanuos
’ e , \ , \ bY V4 \
€v Pawn rapa troroy peOvabels apynoato NaBov
ipuatiov yuvaixetov, TH 8 baTepaia Tov Titov nEtou
“A A 4 \
BonOeiv ait@ Stavoovpevm thy Meoonvny adr-
, a 9 a a \ ” 4
otavat tov Ayalov, Tavta pev edn oxérecOar,
Oavpdlew dé éxeivor, et tHrALKaAVTALs émLKEYeL-
enxas mpakeow opyeto0at Sivatat Tapa ToTov
kai ade. mpos d€ tovs ‘'Ayatovs TeV Trapa
"Avtioxouv mpéaBewy AROS te! THs BactdKAs
oTpaTlas KatadeyovTwv Kai KxatapiOpoupévor
\ la e , # aA
moAANas poonyopias, o Titos épyn Seemvodvtos
’ an \ a , \ / \ “~
avTod mapa Te Eévm Kai peudopuévou To TAHOos
Tay Kpe@v Kai Oavydlovtos tobev otTw ToiKirns
ayopas evtropyaey, eitrety tov Edvov, ws Dera tTravta
DJ \ “A , / a.’ A e ,
cori TH oxevacia dtapépovra wai rois Sto pas.
” e A /
“My town, edn, “ unde dpets, @ dvdpes ‘Ayaroi,
1 gAHjOos ts Coraés and Bekker have wAj@os re, after
Bryan.
37°

although many imputed hastiness and levity to his nature, and in general he was a most agreeable companion and able to say a graceful thing with force. For instance, when he was trying to dissuade the Achaeans from appropriating the island of Zacyn- thos, he said it would be dangerous for them, like a tortoise, to stick their head out of its Peloponnesian shell! Again, when he held his first conference with Philip concerning a truce and peace, and Philip remarked that Titus had come with many attendants while he himself had come alone, Titus answered, " Yes, thou hast made thyself alone by slaying thy friends and kindred." 2 Again, when Deinocrates the Messenian, who had taken too much wine at a drinking-party in Rome, and after putting on a woman's robe had executed a dance, on the following day asked Titus to assist him in his plan to separate Messene from the Achaean league, Titus said he would consider the matter ; " But I am amazed,"' said he, "that when thou hast matters of so great moment in hand, thou canst dance and sing at a drinking- party."'% And once more, when an embassy from Antiochus was recounting to the Achaeans the vast multitude of the king's forces and enumerating them all by their various appellations, Titus said that once, when he was dining with a friend, he criticised the multitude of: meats that were served, wondering where he had obtained so varied a supply; where- upon his host told him they were all swine's flesh, and differed only in the way they were cooked and dressed. 'And soin your case," said he, 'men of

1 Cf. Livy, xxxvi. 32; Plutarch, Morals, p. 197 b. * Cf. Morals, p. 197 a (Polybius, xviii. 7). 3 Cf. the Philopoemen, xviii. tf. (Polybius, xxiii. 5).

37!
BB 2
to

Javpatete tHv. Avtioxou Stvapuv AoyXopapous Kat
Evatopopous cai weferaipovs axovovtes: TavTes
\ @ 4 > \ e 4 } , 99
yap ovtTot Lupo. evotv oTAaplols dvadeporTes.
XVIII. Mera &€ tas "EXAnuixas mpakews Kat
\ ' ' / ? , 4 es
tov AvtioxeKov TOAEMOY aTredeLyOn TiLNTHS, ATES
€otiy apxn peyioTn Kal TpdTov Tiva TIS TWoN-
Teas emiTEAEiwals. Kal cuvnpye ev ad'T@ Map-
, a , e* , er 2g /
KéAXOU TOU TEVTaKLS UTAaTEVaaVTOS ViOs, EFEBaXov
d€ Ths BovArs TaY ovK ayay éripavav Téccapas,
mpoaedéEavto dé ToAITAS AToypahopévous TavTas,
door yovéwy érevOépwy Haoav, dvayxacbévtes vrr0
A , , , & b] ¢
tov Snudpyou Tepevtiov KovAéwvos, ds emnpeatwv
Tois apioToKpatixois Emerce TOv SHyov tadTa

Wwndicacbac.
Ta de 4 > > A ? } a Q
av S€ yywpipwratwv KaT avTov avdpav Kat
peylatwy évy TH Tore StadhEepopéevwy mpos adrA7-
Dous, Adpixavod Sxynmiwvos cai Mdpxov Katwvos,
Tov pev Tpoeypawe THs Bours, ws aptotoy avdpa
\ a , » ~#»9 Y] 2 a
Kai mpwtor, Katwu 6 eis ExOpav nrAOe cupghopa
4 . 4 J \ = rvs ,
ToLavTN Ypnodpevos. adeAddos jv Titw Aevetos
Praptvivos, ote Ta ANA TpoceoiKas éKxEivH
‘ 4 ” a e a > / fe)
Tv gdvow év TE Tais HOovais avedevOepos Servas
Kai OALyYwWpoTATOS TOU TpEeTTOVTOS. TOUTM TUVHV
petpakioxos épw@pevos, by Kal oTpaTias apywv
émnyeto Kat duétwv éetapyias eiyev dei epi
aurov. év ovv TOT TLVi OpuTTToOpEevos pos TOV
1 Cf. Morals, p. 197 ¢ (Livy, xxxv. 49).
372
379

TITUS FLAMININUS

Achaia, do not be astonished when you hear of the Spear-bearers and Lance-bearers and Foot-companions in the army of Antiochus; for they are all Syrians and differ only in the way they are armed.” !

XVIII. After his achievements in Greece and the war with Antiochus, Titus was appointed censor.” This is the highest office at Rome, and in a manner the culmination of a political career. ‘Titus had as colleague in this office a son of the Marcellus? who had been five times consul, and the two censors ejected from the senate four men of lesser note, and received into citizenship all who offered themselves for enrolment, provided they were born of free parents. To this step they were forced by the tribune Terentius Culeo, who wanted to spite the nobility and so persuaded the people to vote the measure.

The two men of his time who were most notable and had the greatest influence in the city, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were at variance with one another. Of these, ‘Titus appointed Scipio to be Dean of the Senate,‘ believing him to be its best and fore- most nian; but with Cato he came into hostile relations, owing to the following unfortunate circum- stances. Titus had a _ brother, Lucius, who was unlike him in all other ways, and especially in his shameful addiction to pleasure and his utter contempt of decency. This brother had as companion a young boy whom he loved, and took him about and kept

him always in his train, whether he was commanding an army or administering a province. At some drinking party, then, this boy was playing the coquet

* Tn 189 B.c. 3 Cf. chapter i. 3.
4 Cf. the Wtherius Gracchus, iv: 1; Cato the Elder, xvii. 1.
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So]

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Aevxiov ottws pn chodpa pireiv avtov, ware
Oéay povopayor atroXTrety ovTH yeyovws avOpw-
mou povevouevov Oeatis, To pos exeivov ndv TOD
\ Cd ‘ ’ 4, ‘ , id N ,
Tpos avTov ey mAElovt Noy Oéuevos. o Se A€eveios
e A 66 > 7. 99 69 66 6 , +7 \ 9 ,
nabeis “ Ovdev,” Epn, “ detvov idcopar yap eyo
cou Thy emiupmiav.” Kat Kedevoas eva THY KaTA-
Sixov €x Tod Secpwtnpiov tpoayOjvat, Kat Tov
UITNPETNY PETATEUWA[LEVOS, EV TO TVUTIOGL@ TpoG-
érakev atroxowat Tod dvOpwrouv tov tpayndrov.
’ , \ 9 , b) b] VA , 9 9
OvarrE€ptos 5é ‘Avtias ovK epwpéva pyaiv, adr
épwuévn ToUTO yapicacOar tov Aevxiov. o dé
AiBtos év Aoym Katavos adrod yeypad0at dyaiy,
e , > , , \ 4 N
as Tadatnv avtoporov éMovta peta traidwy Kai
yuvaros emt tas Oupas deEdpevos els TO TUpTOGLOV
o Aevxios améxtewver idta YeLtpt TH Epwpevy Yapt-
Copevos. TOUTO Ev ovv ELKOS Els Seivwown elphabat
THS KaTHYyoptas Uiro tov Katwvos: ote b€ ov«
9 4 ” ? \ , e ’ \ ‘
avTomoros nV, adda SeapwTns 0 avaipeOeis Kai
éx ToY KaTadixwy, adrOL TE TOAXOL Kai Kexépav
6 pytwp év THe wept yipws avt@ Kdtow ry
Sunrynow avabets etpnxev.
XIX. “Emi rovtrm Kadtov tipntyns yevouevos
Kai Kabaipwrv thy cuyKAnTOV arnArace THS BourTs
tov Aevxtov, UtTratixod pev aki@patos bvtTa, cuva-
ripovabar bé tod adedpod Soxodytos avT@. S10
, > N on ? ‘, Q
Kal mpoeNOovtes ets TOV Ojpoy audoTEepot TaTrewot
1 Cf. Livy, xxxix. 43.

with Lucius, and said he loved him so ardently that he had come away from a show of gladiators in order to be with him, although he had never in all his life seen a man killed; and he had done so, he said, because he cared more for his lover's pleasure than for his own. Lucius was delighted at this, and said : “ Don’t worry about that! I will give thee thy heart's desire.” Then ordering a man who had been condemned to death to be brought forth from his prison, and sending for a lictor, he commanded him to strike off the man’s head there in the banquet-hall. Valerius Antias, however, says it was not a lover, but a mistress whom Lucius thus sought to gratify.1. And Livy says that in a speech of Cato himself it is written that a Gaulish deserter had come to the door . with his wife and children, and that Lucius admitted him into the banquet-hall and slew him with his own hand to gratify his lover. This feature, however, was probably introduced by Cato to strengthen the force of his denunciation; for that it was not a deserter, but a prisoner, who was put to death, and one who had been condemned to die, is the testimony of many others, and especially of Cicero the orator in his treatise “On Old Age,” where he puts the story in the mouth of Cato himself.?

XIX. In view of this, when Cato became censor 3 and was purging the senate of its unworthy members, he expelled from it Lucius Flamininus, although he was a man of consular dignity, and although his brother Titus was thought to be involved in his disgrace. Therefore the two brothers came before the people in lowly garb and bathed in tears, and

2 Cf. Cato the Elder, xvii. 1-4; Livy, xxxix. 42.
3 In 184 B.c.
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nat Sedaxpupévor pétpia Setobar Tov TodTOV
eSoxour, aEtovvtes aitiay eitrety Tov Katwva Kai
Noyov, @ ypnadpevos olxoy Evdokov atipia TocavT})
meptBeBrAnkev. ovd€ev ody UTroaTEtAapevos 0 Katay
mponrOe, Kal KaTATTAS PETA TOU TUVaPYOVTOS
ypwTnae tov Titov eb yivwoKet TO oUpmTrOcLOD.
’ , \ bd , , > € Q 7
apvoupevou O€ éxeivou, Sinynoamevos evs opto pov
ad \ U ¥ 4 nA 9 4
mpoexaneiro Tov Aevxioy ét Tidnol TaV EipnLevav
\ b \ 9 fe) \ , 4
un adnOes eivar. tod dé Aevxiov aiwrnoavtos,
o pev Sjpos yum Sixaiay yeyovévat THY atipiav
\ Y , , “A 3 \ nA

Kat tov Kdtwva mpoermeuwe Aap pas aro TOU
» a a a a
Biypatos, o b€ Titos tH acvpdopa tod ddedrpod
mepiTa0a@y ouvéotn PETA TOY TWaraL pLcovVTOV
tov Kdtwva nai maocas peév as éxetvos érrotnoato
tav Snuociwy éxdoces Kal pwicOw@ces Kal wvas
nevpwoe xal avéduvoev év tH BovAn KpaTnoas,
\ \ ¢ , J b] fo)
movNas 5€ Kal peyddas Sixas Kat’ avdtTov Trape-
oKEevacev, ovK O15 Sirws ev Kal TOALTLK@S pds
apYovTa vousmov Kal moritnv aptotou wmép
\
avépos otxeiov pév, avakiou 5€ Kai Ta TpoanKkovTa
: ,
metrovOotos avnxectov ExOpay apapevos. ov nv
’ \ ae , \ , , 4 b]
ara TOD Pwpaiwv tote Snwou Oéav Exovtos év
A 6 , \ A A @ yv ‘
7@ Geatpy cai tis Bovdns, waormep clwOe, KoopLM
4 > \ e , > 9 9 ,
mpokabnpévns, opOeis o Acvxtos én’ éoyatots trou
KaOnpevos atiuws Kal TaTretvas oixTov éoye Kal
\ fol ‘
TO WAHOos ovK nvéaxeTo Thy Oe, adr éBowv
2 A 4 4 4 ,
peraBivat xerevovtes, Ews petéSn, SeEapéevev
avrov eis EauTovs TOY UTATLKOD.

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made what seemed a reasonable request of their fellow citizens, namely, that Cato should state the reasons which had led him to visit a noble house with a disgrace so great. Without any hesitation, then, Cato came forward, and standing with his colleague before Titus, asked him if he knew about the banquet. . Titus said he did not, whereupon Cato related the incident and formally challenged Lucius to say whether any part of the story told was not true. But Lucius was dumb, and the people there- fore saw that he had been justly disgraced, and gave Cato a splendid escort away from the rostra. Titus, however, was so affected by the misfortune of his brother that he leagued himself with those who had long hated*Cato, and after getting the upper hand in the senate, revoked and annulled all the public rentals and leases and contracts which Cato had made, besides bringing many heavy indictments against him.! That he acted the part. of a good man vr a good citizen | cannot affirm, in thus cherishing an incurable hatred against a lawful magistrate and a most excellent citizen on account of a man who, though a kinsman, was nevertheless

unworthy and had suffered only what he deserved. However, as the Roman people was once enjoying a spectacle in the theatre, and the senate, according to custom, had seats of honour in the foremost rows, Lucius was seen sitting somewhere in the rear among the poor and lowly, and excited men's pity. The multitude could not bear the sight, but kept shouting to him to change his place, until he did change his place, and was received among their own number by the men of consular rank.

1 Cf. Cuto the Elder, xix. 2; Livy, xxxix. 44..

XX. To & obv dvces Titov dirotipov, aype pev
iKavny eiyev UANV TEpL TOUS ELpnuévous TrOAELOUS
SiatpiBovtos, evdoxipers Kai yap éxidudpynoev
av0is pera thy Umateiav, ovdevos érreiyovTos:
9 ' \ a" Sd \ , A
amadAayeis 5€ TOU apyelv Kal mpezBUTEpos av
9 , wn" 3 ' "¥ 4 ww a
nAEYXETO UANXOV, EV OVK ExyovTL mpakes ETL TO
AaT@ Biw srapyavra mpos do€av Kal veavifovta
To Ta0e Katéyvev éavTov ov Suvdpevos. ToravTy
, A N \ 93 ' ~ 9 ' ,
yap Tivt Kat To wept AvuBav dopa édoxer mpakas
9 \ / a a e N >] ,
emraxOns yevéoOar Tots mWodAois. 0 yap AvviBas
ry) \ 9 ' e \ 9 ,
oixoGey pev éx Kapyndovos virexdpas 'Avtioxo
cuvi, éexeivov dbé peta tHv ev Dpvyia payny
Elpnuns ayamnTas TuxovTos, avOis devywv Kal
\ n
mravnbeis TorAra Tédos ev TH BeOvvia Kxaréorn
e
Ilpovciavy Oepamrevov, ovdevos 'Pwpyaiwy aryvo-
ovVTOS, AAA TapopevTay atravTwy Su' acbéverav
Kal yijpas @oTmeEp eppippévoy bro THS TUYXNS.
Tiros d€ mpecBevtns de étépas by tTivas mpakes
e ' n le 4 \ 4 ' 4
vo ths BovAns mpos tov Ipovciay adixopevos
\ \ b , ON > Ul , > ,

kai tov AvviBav id@v avtToOe Start@pevov, nyava-

2 A \ \ fe) , ,
KtTyoev eb Cy, Kai rorda Tov IIpovatov Seopévou
Kal NTaApOUVYTOS UTEP avdpos ixéToU Kab auynOous
ov TaphKe. xpnopod O€ TiVOS, ws EoLKE, TAaNXAaLOU

wept THs AvviBou TereuTis ots ExovTos,
AtBvoca xpues BOXos ’AvviBou Sépas,

1 The battle at Magnesia, in Lydia, 191 B.c. Under the terms of peace, Antiochus was to deliver Hannibal to the Romans. Cf. Livy, xxxvii. 45.

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TITUS FLAMININUS

XX. Now, the native ambition of Titus, as long as it had sufficient material to gratify it in the wars which I have mentioned, met with praise, as, for instance, when he served a second time as military tribune after having been consul, though there was no necessity for it; but after he had ceased to _hold office and was well on in years, he met the rather with censure, because, although the portion of life which still remained to him did not admit of great activity, he was unable to restrain his passion for glory and his youthful ardour. For by some such fierce impulse, as it would seem, he was led to his treat- ment of Hannibal, which made him odious to most people. Hannibal had secretly fled from his native Carthage and spent some time at the court of Anti- ochus; but when Antiochus, after the battle in Phrygia,' had gladly accepted terms of peace, Hanni- bal took to flight once more, and after many wander- ings, finally settled down at the court of Prusias in Bithynia. Noone at Rome was ignorant of this, but all ignored him on account of his weakness and old age, regarding him as a castaway of Fortune. Titus, how- ever, who had been sent by the senate as ambassador to the court of Prusias on some other business,? and saw that Hannibal was staying there, was incensed that he should be alive, and although Prusias made many fervent intercessions in behalf of a man who was a suppliant and familiar friend, would not relent. There was an ancient oracle, as it would appear, concerning Hannibal’s death, and it ran as follows :—

“‘ Libyssan earth shall cover the form of Hannibal.”’

2 According to Ny (Xxxix. 51), Hannibal’s presence in Bithynia was part of Rome’s complaint against Prusias.

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

° 4 6d / e , \ N f
o pev dpa AtBunv vrevoee Kai Tas ev Kapyndov
’ ° “4 a) , 3 \ 4
tagus, ws exe KataBiwoomevos’ év bé Biduvia
, 9 ‘ , > \NQ , \ \ a!
Tomes éati Oivwdns eri Oaradoans Kai Tpos avTO
Kon tis weyddAn AiBvooa Kanetrat. epi tav-
¥ , b] , > A \ ? ”

tnv etuxe SsatpiBwv AvviBas. det b€ admicrov
tH tod IIpovciov paraxia Kai doBovpevos tous
‘Pwpaious thy otxtay étt mpotepov ée€odos éwta
KaTayelols auVTETpHLEevnV ex THS EavTOD StaiTns
a ,
elyev, @AXov Kat GAO TOV VTrovopwy, TOppw dé
TaVvrTmv AdnAWS EXPEPOVTWY. Ws ODY HKOUGE TOTE
TO Tpoataypa Tov Titov, pevyew pev @punoe dia
la) e , 9 \ \ - : “A
TOV UTovopmwr, evtuyav de dudaxais Bacidtxais
éyuw 6 avuTov TeAXeuTay. Evioe pév odv A€éyovGLD
ws (MaTLOY TO TPAXNA® TEpLBarwy Kal KeXevoAS
oixétny Omicbevy epeicavta Kata Tov iaxiov TO
youu Kat opodpas avaxdA\doavta avyteivat Kal
, ‘ A b] / N nw
Teptotpéewar, pexor av éxOrjtar TO Tvedua,
StapOetpeey avtov’ Evior 5é ptpnodpevov Bem-
aotoxvéa Kai Miéday ala tavpeov mueiv: AiBtos
5é dnot happaxoy Eyovta Kepacas kai THY KUALKA
deFupevoy etvrety: “’ Avatravowpev 4dn woTé TV
\ 4 ¢ / A ‘\ e 4
ToAANY hpovTiba “Pwyaiwy, of paxpov HrynoavTo
cat Bapv ptcoupevou yépovros avapeivar Oavatov.
’ ‘ xO ‘ b) , b] , ld
ov pnv ovdé Tiros dktofnXwrtov aroicetas vinnv
9Q\ a 4 2 gs “a , “A
ovde Tav mpoyover akiav, ot vpp@ mroAenobvre
Kai xpatovvTs THY méAAOVEaY UTroTé“Wartes KaTE-
byvucayv pappaxeiav.”
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Hannibal thought this referred to Libya and a burial at Carthage, and believed that he would end his days there ; but there is a sandy tract in Bithynia on the sea-Shore, and on its border a large village called Libyssa. Near this village Hannibal was living. But he had always distrusted the weakness of Prusias and feared the Romans, and therefore even before this time his house had been provided with seven underground exits leading from his own chamber. These ran in different directions beneath the surface of the ground, but all had secret issues far away. Accordingly, when he now heard of the behest of Titus, he set out to make his escape by way of the underground passages, but encountered guards of the king, and therefore determined to take his own life. Some say that he wound his cloak about his neck and then ordered a servant to plant his knee in the small of his back, pull the rope towards him with all his might until it was twisted tight, and so to choke and kill him; some, too, say that he drank bull’s blood in imitation of Themis- tocles! and Midas; but Livy says? that he had poison which he ordered to be mixed, and took the cup with these words: “ Let us now at last put an end to the great anxiety of the Romans,

who have thought it too long and hard a task to wait for the death of a hated old man. Nevertheless, Titus will not bear away an enviable victory, nor one worthy of his forefathers, who sent secret information to Pyrrhus, when he was at war with them and a victor over them, of the poisoning that was going to be attempted.” 3

1 Cf. the Vhemistocles, xxxi. 5.
2 Livy, xxxix. 51, 3 Cf. the Pyrrhus, xxi. 1-3.
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XXT. Otte pev tov ‘AvviBarv aroPaveiv de-
yovowv. «amayyedOévrwy dé tovTwy mpos Thy
, > %y, 7 b \ ” e ,
avyKANTOV, ovK OALyos eTaYOns Edokev 0 Titos
Kal jTepitTos ayay Kal wmos, @oTep Spry vO
Ynpws anTHva Kai Kodoupoy adetpévov Chv yer-
ponOn tov ’AvviBav amoxtetvas, ovdevos érret-
b] \ \ 4 e J , a Ul
yovtos, dAAG bra Sokay, ws err@vupos TOD Oavartou
yévoito. Kai thy "Adpixavod Xntiwvos éxtt-
Gévtes mpaotyta Kat peyadouyxtay Tt pardov
9 4 e > / Ld \ ‘\ >
Cavualov, ws antrntov ovta Kai poBepoy ev
AtBvn Kxatatonepnoas ’AvviBav obte é&nracev
oute €EntnoatTo Tapa THY TOMTO@Y, GANA Kai Tpo
“ 4 9 , \ bd] 4 . \
THS paxns els NOyous EAOay edeEtHocaTto Kal peta
Thy payny omevdopevos ovdéy ereToAunoev ovd’
’ / A 4 A b 4 , 2
émevéBn TH TUXN TOU avdpos. Aéyerar Sé ads
ev Edéow cupBareiv avtovs: Kai mpa@tov pev év
A “ a?
TO cupTEepiTatei TOU AvviBou THY TpoonKovcay
b] > ‘ 4 > , 1 , 9 ,
év d&wwpatt tak éxetvw! mporaBovtos avéxe-
aOat xal mepitateiy adedras tov 'Adpixavor,
éretTa NOYyoU Trepi OTPATHYaY EuTrETOVTOS Kal TOU
"AvviBou Kpatiatov atrodnvapévou yeyovévar TaV

“ 9 4 9 ? , \
atpatnyav AdéE~avdpov, eita Iluppov, tpitoy dé
autor, novxn metdidoavta Tov Adptxavoy eitrety,
«cps or 9 2 > \ , ” es ee ,
Ti &', et un) oe €yw veuxnnev; Kat rov AvviBayr,
6c QO 9 ” e > , b>] 4 6s , 9 ,
uk av, @ ZKnTiwv, gdavat, ‘ TpiTov EwavToy,
A “ nn >
GANA TpOTov emocovpny TOV oTpATHYODV.
Tadta 57 Tod Yantiwvos ot ToAAOL Oavpalortes

1 éceivm Coraés and Bekker, after Reiske: elva:r. Blass corrects to mpohwovaay év a. Tabi.

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AAI. Such are the accounts of the death of Hannibal. When the story of it was brought to the senate, many of them thought the conduct of Titus odious, officious, and cruel; for he had killed Hanni- bal when he was like a bird permitted to live a tame and harmless life because too old to fly and without a tail, and there had been no necessity for his doing this, but he did it to win fame, that his name might be associated with the death of Hannibal. Men also pointed to the clemency and magnanimity of Scipio Africanus and admired it all the more, since after defeating a Hannibal who had not been conquered before and was filling Africa with fear, he neither drove him from the country nor demanded his surrender by his fellow citizens, nay, he actually gave him a kindly greeting when he held conference with him before the battle, and after the battle, in making terms of peace, he did not insult or trample upon the fortunes of his foe.! Moreover, we are told that the two men met again at Ephesus, and in the first place, that when, as they were walking about together, Hannibal took the side which more properly belonged to Scipio as the superior, Scipio suffered it and walked about without paying any heed to it; and again, that when they fell to discussing generals and Hannibal declared Alexander to have been the mightiest of generals, and next to him Pyrrhus, and third himself, Scipio asked with a quiet smile, “ And what wouldst thou have said if 1 had not conquered thee?”’ To which Hannibal replied, “In that case, Scipio, I should not have counted myself third, but first of generals. ”’ ?

Such conduct on the part of Scipio most people

1 Cf. Livy, xxx. 29 @. 2 Cf. Livy, xxxv. 14.

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baal |

exaxitov tov Titov ws adXoTpl@ vEexp@ Tpoce-
’ Q a v 1 @ : e -
veyxovTa Tas xeipas. Eveoe SE Hoay of TO WemTpa-
4 > ~ . NX > 4 av td
yuévov etaivourtes xat Tov ‘AvviBav, éws éCn,
Tip iyyouuevor Seopevov Tod piTriCovtos: pndé yap
axuavovtes avtov TO capa “Pwpaios Kai thv
yetpa hoBepay, adra Thy Sevorynta Kat THY éuTec-
piay yeyovévat peta THs éupvtTov mixpias Kal
s e >) A > “ N n > >
Suocpevetas, @Y ovdéy adatpety TO yHpas, GAXr
e Ul N , b] aM \ \ Ld b
UTopévery THY hvaow ev TO WHat, THY b€ TUXNY Ov
Sitapévery opoiav, dd\dXa petarintrovoay éxKxanei-
aOat tais éXrict Wpos Tas emiécets TOUS del TO
ptcety Todepouvtas. Kat ta voTEepa Tas ETL
“~ bd , “ ‘4 ” ‘ > ,
HadrXov euaptupyce TO Tite, Tov'ro pev Apioto-
e A A \ \ b) a ,
vixos 0 Tov KiOap@mdov Sia thy Evdpevois Sofa
éumAncas ATacay aTocTdcewy Kai TO LwWY THY
"Aciav, tovto 5é MiOpiddrns peta YvArav Kat
@ipBpiav Kai tocovtov drAcOpov otparevpatwv
N a @ 9 AN 4 9 A e ~
Kal otpatnya@v avOis emi AevKoAXoy Ex ys Op“ov
‘ 4 > \ “A
xai OaXaTTns avactas THALKOUTOS.
Ov pny ovdé Paiov Mapiouv tareotepos ’Avvt-
w a \ A ‘ 4 e ”
Bas éxerto. tT@ pev yap Bactrevs piros uTApye
\ , @ , ‘ \ \ aA \
Kai Bios iv auvnOns cai StatpsBai wept vas Kat
oF N A > s XN \ ,
immous Kai oTpaTi@Tor éripedecav’ tas 6é Mapiou
TUXas ‘Pwpatos yeA@vTes AXwpévou Kal TTWYEU-
> ? A N > € a’ o
ovtos ev AtBun peta puxpov €v Pwpn odpatto-
Hevot Kal pactiyoupevol MpoceKvvouy. ovTwS
1 Tn 131-130 B.c. ? In §8-84 B.c.

admired, and they blamed Titus for having laid violent hands on one whom another had slain. But some there were who praised what he had done and thought that Hannibal, as long as he was alive, was a consuming fire which needed only to be fanned ; for

when he was in his prime, they said, it was not his body nor his arm that had been formidable to the Romans, but his ability and experience coupled with his ingrained bitterness and hostility, and from these naught is subtracted by old age, but the natural characteristics remain unchanged : whereas fortune does not remain the same, but changes sides, and summons with hope to fresh undertakings those whom hatred makes perpetual foes. And _ sub- sequent events were perhaps still more a justification - of Titus; for Aristonicus, the son of a harpist's daughter, used his reputed connexion with Eumenes to fill all Asia with wars and rebellions,! and Mithri- dates, notwithstanding his defeats by Sulla and Fimbria and his great losses in armies and generals,? rose once more to be a formidable antagonist of Lucullus by land and sea.'

However, not even Hannibal was reduced to a lower level than Caius Marius. For Hannibal had a king as his friend, and his days as usual were occu- pied with ships and horses and the care of soldiers ; whereas Marius in his misfortunes was a laughing- stock to the Romans as he wandered about and begged his way in Africa, though after a little while he was in Rome with his axes at their necks and his rods at their backs, and they were humbly begging his mercy. So true is it that nothing in the present

3 In 74-67 B.c. The argument is that if so great dangers to Rome were latent in Asia, the presence of Hannibal there was a menace.

A i
ovdcy oUTE piKpov OUTE MéyAa TOY TrAPOYTwWY Tpds
TO péAXOv é€aTiv, GAAA pia TOU peTraBadrew
A \ aA @ \ , " ,
TEAEUTN Kal TOU Elvar. 16 Kai hac Evo Titov
ou" ap éavTou Tavta Tpakar, TeuPOAvar Sé wpec-
A \ , 4 2 @\ " A
Beuvrny pera Acvxiou XKniwvos, ovdév AdXO THs
, b 4 bd A N b] , ?
mpeo Betas éyovons éEpyov 7) Tov AvviBov Odavarov.
? \ ' , w , , "
Evet 6@ ovdeuiav Ett tovUTwy KaToTLW ovTE
TOhuTURHY tov Titov mpakiv ovte Troe weeny ig To-
pheapen, GAG Kal TehevTHs Etvyev eipnuiKiys,
Opa THv cvyxpiow emtoKorely.
@IAOIIOIMENOS KAI TITOY SYTKPISIS

I. MeyéOee ev oty tav els tous "EXAnvas
evepyectav ovTe Piroroipeva Titm tapaBdrrew
oUTE mavu ToAXOUS TOY PiroTrOipevos apmetvovav
9 a ¥ s ? a \ \. « '

avopov aktov éott. Tois péev yap” EXXAnat pos
“EAAnvas ot Trodepot, TO O€ ovYEAANM Kal vrrép
e , \ i. , bd A a“
EAAnvav? Kat ore DiroToiwnv aynyavey tois
EauTOU TOALT ALS GpmUvELY TOAELOUpEVOLS Ets Kpnrny
9 A , , Ti b] / a ¢ ,
amnpe, ToTe vixnoas Tiros év péon TH ‘EAXNASe
@Didirmov nrevSépov xait ta eOvn Kal ores
e ? ? J > , \ id e
amdoas. e O€ Tis é€eralor Tas pdyas éxa-
Tépov, wAeious “EAAnvas Pirovoipnv "Ayaav
otpatnyav 7) Maxedovas Titos “EdXdAnot Bonbarv
avetne.
Ta troivuy dyaprnpata tod pév gtdroTUWIas,

is either smal] or great in view of what may happen in the future, but change, like life, can only end with death. Eor this reason some say that Titus did not take this step on his own account, but that he was sent as ambassador with Lucius Scipio, and their embassy had no other object than the death of Hannibal.

We do not find that Titus was active after this, either as statesman or soldier, and his end was a peaceful one. It is therefore time to think of our comparison.

COMPARISON OF PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS

I. Accorpinaty, in the magnitude of their benefactions to the Greeks, neither Philopoemen nor any one of the Greeks who were better men than Philopoemen is worthy of comparison with Titus. For they were Greeks and waged their wars against Greeks; whereas Titus was not a Greek and waged war in behalf of Greeks ; and at a time when Philopoemen was unable to defend his own countrymen from the attacks of their enemies, and had gone off into Crete, at that very time Titus won a victory over Philip in the heart of Greece and set her peoples and all her cities free. And if we examine into the battles which each fought, we shall find that the Greeks slain by Philopoemen as general of the Achaeans were more in number than the

Macedonians slain by Titus as helper of the Greeks.
And then as to their errors, in the one they were

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tov Sé diroverxias yéyove, Kal Tpds opyiy oO mev
evxivntos, 6 S¢ nal Svomapaitntos. Tiros pev
yap xat Piriarp to dkiwpa Tis Bactretas
épvrake xal wpds Aitwrovs evryvmpovnae, Prdo-
moiuny 5&é THS TWaTpidos bu dpynv adeideto THY
meptoikiba auvtTédecav. Ete 56 O pev Tois ev
maQodaw det BéBatos, o b€ Ouu@ ATDoat yapry
éroipos. Aaxedatpoviwy yap evepyéTns mpotepov
ay vatepov Kal Ta Tetyn KaTéoxawe Kal TiVv
Nwpav Teptéxowe xai TéXoS auTHY peTéBare Kal
SiépOerpe THY wodtTeiav. éSoxer bé Kal tov Biov
Opyh mpoéc0ar Kal diroverxia, pn KaTa KaLpov,
GXN ofvTepoy tov Séovtos eis Meaanvny emery Geis,
ovy wotrep Titos mravta NoyLone@ Kal pos acda-
NELav OTPATHYNTAS.
II. "AAG ANGE ye ToAgLwY Kal TpoTTAiwY 7
@idoToipevos eumeipia BeBatotépa. TH ev yap
Ta mpos Pidirmov éxpibn Svoiv aywvo, o 6é
pupias payas xatopOecas ovdemav augia yt now
TH TUXN Tpds THY ETLaTHUNVY arrONEAOLTTEV. ETL
dé 0 pey TH "Papaiwy daxpunv éexovon durdpec
xpnodpevos, 0 Sé THs Eddddos dn POiwovans
érmaxpacas, dofay Exyev, Wate TOU pev Ldvov, TOD
dé xo.vov épyov elvat Td KatopOovpevov: o pev
yap jpxev ayabav, o S¢ dpywv ayadous érroier.
kal pny To ye mpos" EXAnvas TovT@ yevéaOas ToOvs
GY@vasS OUK EVTUXH MEV, Laxupay Sé THs aperis
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due to ambition, in the other to a spirit of conten- tion. For Titus preserved Philip's royal dignity and . showed favour to the Aetolians; whereas the anger of Philopoemen led him to rob his native city of its supremacy over the surrounding villages. And further, the one was always constant towards his beneficiaries, while the other, to indulge his wrath, _ was ever ready to cancel a kindness, For instance, though he had once been a benefactor of Sparta, he afterwards tore down her walls, reduced her territory, and finally altered and destroyed her very constitution. And it would appear that he threw away his

life in a fit of anger and contentiousness, by hastening to attack Messene before occasion offered and more quickly than was feasible; for he did not, like Titus, conduct all his military opera- tions with deliberation and a due regard for safety.

II. But surely the multitude of his wars and trophies put the military experience of Philopoemen on a firmer basis. For the campaign of Titus against Philip was decided by two conflicts, whereas Philopoemen was successful in countless battles and left no room for the claim that his victories were due to fortune rather than to skill. And besides, Titus, in his quest of fame, availed himself of the culminating power of Rome; whereas Philopoemen flourished when Greece was already in declension. Therefore the success of Philopoemen was his own work, while that of Titus was the result of a com- munity of effort; for the latter was commander of good soldiers, while the former, as commander, had to make his soldiers good. And surely the fact that Philopoemen's conflicts were with Greeks furnished a proof of his valour which was convincing even

amodeEw mapeivyerv: ols yap Guota TadAA, TO
mpovxyey apeTn Kpatovor. Kal yap 57 TroXe-
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& ddKipwratrav torn TEepleyevero.
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raBe, Piroroiuny 5€ avros éreceveyxav Kat
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vientixwtatov ud od pev ovK by evpjabat, Ta Sé
imdpyov Bonbeiv. Kxata xelpa toivyy PiroTot-
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yap av NdBw éFéBarev éx Meconvns cai Meoon-
vlous nrevOepwoev, idswtns 5é Atopayny tov
otpatnyov Kai Titov éwepyopévous atréxderce THs
Zmdprns xai Aaxedatpovious Stécwoev. obtws
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though unfortunate: for where other things are equal, they prevail who surpass in valour. And so it was that although he carried on war with the most warlike of the Greeks, namely, the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, he surpassed the first in wiles, though they were most crafty, and the second in daring, though they were most brave.

In addition to this it may be said that Titus won his victories by using what lay ready to his hand, since he availed himself of styles of armour and formation which had come down to him, whereas Philopoemen won his successes by making contributions and changes of his own in these matters, so that in the one case what was most essential for victory did not exist and had to be discovered, while in the other it lay ready for service. “In the way of personal prowess, moreover, Philopoemen performed much that was great, but Titus nothing at all; nay, an Aetolian named Archedemus mocked at him because, when he himself had drawn his sword and was running at full speed against the Macedonians who were holding together and fighting, Titus was standing with his hands stretched up towards heaven and praying for help.

IlI. And further, Titus was either a commander or an ambassador when he did all his noble deeds, whereas Philopoemen showed himself no less active and effective for the Achaeans when he was a private citizen than when he was their general. For it was as a private citizen that he expelled Nabis from Messene and set the Messenians free, and as a private citizen that he shut the gates of Sparta against the coming of Diophanes the general and Titus, and so saved the Lacedaemonians.

NYEHoViKNY Hvaty EXWV OV KATA TOUS VOMLOUS, AANA
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ov Seopevos Tapa Tv apyopuévwy AaBeiv TO apxetv,
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GNA KPHLEVOS AUTOLS, OTTOU KAaLPOS ELN, TOV UTED

“~ ~ a A e
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Tevvaia pév odv Titov ta pos tous” EXAnvas
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Tov Sikaroovvns Kal YpnoToTNTOS aTrodLdovTEs ov
A I
davrws Siartav Sofopev.
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Having this natural gift of leadership, he not only knew how to use it in accordance with the laws, but also how to dominate the laws for the common good ; he did not think it necessary to be appointed commander by the people, but took them under his command when occasion required it, considering that he who took wise counsel in their behalf, rather than he who had been elected by them, was their real general.

Nobly generous, then, was the clemency and humanity which Titus showed to the Greeks, but more nobly generous was the firmness and love of freedom with which Philopoemen opposed the Romans; for it is easier to confer favours on suppliants than it is to vex with opposition those who are more powerful. But since, after this examination, the difference between the two men is hard to define, I leave it to my reader to say whether, if we award to the Greek the crown for military experience and generalship, and to the Roman that for justice and goodness of heart, we shall not make a fair decision.

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PROPER NAMES

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Pe tontae tt dson of abo
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Agesipolis, Mor ing? of th Lace

pous, ® g O © ba
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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE CORNWALL PRESS, LTD., PARIS GARDEN,
STAMFORD STREET, LONDON, 8.8. I.

PLUTARCH’S
LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
“Xi
ARATUS, ARTAXERXES, GALBA AND OTHO

INDEX TO ALL THE LIVES BY
J. W. COHOON
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
MOMLXIT

First printed 1926
Reprinted 1943, 1954, 1962
Printed in Great Britain

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with inferior MSS.
2 Pyth, vill. 44f. (gud . . . éx warépwy maiol Anja).
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but as he thought better :—
‘Who will praise a father, except happy
sons?”
But Dionysodorus of Troezen corrects him, and
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“Who will praise a father, except unhappy
sons? ”’
And he says that the proverb stops the mouths of those who, being worthless in themselves, take refuge in the virtues of certain ancestors and are forever praising them. But surely for a man in whom, to use Pindar’s words, “the noble spirit naturally displayes itself as inherited from sires,” and who, like thee, patterns his life after the fairest examples in his family line,—for such men it will be good fortune to be reminded of their noblest progenitors, ever and anon hearing the story of them, or telling it themselves. For it is not that they lack

1 A friend of Plutarch, not otherwise known, to whom he thus dedicates this Life. See the note on the Vheseus, i. 1.

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Tov KXerviay ameéxterve kai Tov dirwv Kal oiKelwv
Tous pev é&éBare, tous b€ avetrev. efntea Se
Kal Tov viov auTov, "Apatoyv, avedetv, éEmtaeTi
KaTanererupevoyv. é€v S€ TH Tept THY OlKiaY Ta-
1 In 264 B.c,

noble qualities of their own and make their reputa- tion dependent on their praises of others, nay rather, they associate their own careers with the careers of their great ancestors, whom they hail both as founders of their line and as directors of their lives. And therefore, now that I have written the life of Aratus, who was thy countryman and forefather, and to whom thou thyself art no discredit in either reputa- tion or influence, I send it to thee, not as though thou hadst not been at pains from the beginning to have the most precise knowledge of thy great an- cestor's career, but in order that thy sons Polycrates and Pythocles may be reared, now by hearing and now by reading, after examples found in their own family line—examples which it well becomes them to imitate. For it is the lover of himself, and not the lover of goodness, who thinks himself always superior to others.

If. The city of Sicyon, as soon as it had fallen away from its pure Doric form of aristocracy (which was now like a harmony dissolved) and had become a prey to factions and the ambitious schemes of demagogues, was without cease distempered and agitated, and kept changing one tyrant for another, until, after the murder of Cleon, Timocleides and Cleinias were chosen chief magistrates, men of the highest repute and influence among the citizens. But no sooner did the government appear to be somewhat settled

than Timocleides died, and Aban- tidas the son of Paseas, attempting to make himself tyrant, slew Cleinias,! and, of the friends and kinsmen of Cleinias, banished some and killed others. He tried to kill also the son of Cleinias, Aratus, left fatherless at the age of seven. But in the confusion

5

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

payn TUVERTET OY Tols evyovaw o mrais, Kal
TAVWMEVOS ev Th TONEL mepipoBos Kat aBon8n-
TOS, Karta TUN NV eradev els olxiav mrapedOov
yuvacKos, aderdas pev 'ABavtidov, Tpopavre dé
TO Krexviou a0EXPO yeyapnpernys, dvopa Lwaods.
auTn 6€ Kal TO 710 05 ovca yevvaia Kal avy Gee
TW TO Taldtov olopevn KaTATEPEVY EVAL 7 pos
auTny améxpuiev évdov, eita vuKtos els "'Apyos
umeEemeurpev.
III. Obte & éxxraTrévt TO 'Apate Kat oua-
puyovte Tov Kivduvov evdus ev évep veTo Kal
cunveeTo TO ahodpov Kal dsamupov pioos én
TOUS TUpdvvous. T PEPO/LEVOS d€ mapa Tots ev
"Apyet Eevors Kat iro TAT pepors edevdepins,
Kal TO copa Bracravov op@y els evefiav Kal
péeyebos, emedwnen € EAUTOV AoKHOEL TH TeEpl mahat-
oTpav, @oTe Kal TévTaOXov aywvicacGa Kal
2 oTrepavwyv tuyeiv. eémridaiverar 8 apérer Kai
Tais eikoow a@dAnTLK TIs idéa, Kal TO TUvETOV
Tob Tpocwmov Kal Bacthixov ov TavTaTacw
apvetTat THY aon garyiav KaL TO oKxaetor. 60ev
evdeéaTepor i LTWS 1) TOALTLK@ ™ poo hiKov Hy avdpi
mept tov Adyov eorovsace KaltoL ryeyovévat
Kopryore pov evmreiv i) Soxet Teo ex Tov UTOMYNLa-
T@Y Kpivovaty, a TapEepyos KQL UTrO YEipa Ora TOV
emUTUXOVT@Y ovoparov Aphno dpevos KATEMITE,
Xpove 6 tatepov "ABavtiday pév ot mepi Ae-
viav kal "AptaototédXn Tov SiarextiKOV, etwOoTa
Tots NOYOLS AUT@V KaT Wyopav cyoralovTwr Exd-
1 A contest involving the five arts of running, leaping, hurling the spear, boxing, and wrestling.

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ARATUS u. 3-111. 3

which prevailed about the house the boy made. his
escape with the fugitives, and wandering about in

the city, full of fear and helpless, by chance got unnoticed into the house of a woman who was a sister of Abantidas, but had married Prophantus the brother of Cleinias. Her name was Soso. This woman, who was of a noble nature, and thought it a divine dispensation that the boy had taken refuge with her, hid him in the house, and at night sent him secretly off to Argos.

III. Thus was Aratus stolen away from the peril that threatened him, and at once that vehement and glowing hatred of tyrants for which he was noted became a part of his nature and grew with his growth. He was reared in liberal fashion among the guests and friends of his father's house at Argos, and since he saw that his bodily growth promised high health and stature, he devoted himself to the exercises of the palaestra, going so far as to win wreaths of victory in contesting the pentathlum.! And indeed even his statues have plainly an athletic look, and the sagacity and majesty of his countenance do not altogether disown the athlete's full diet and wielding of the mattock. Wherefore his cultivation of oratory was perhaps less intense than became a man in public life; and yet he is said to have been a more ornate speaker than some think who judge from the Commentaries which he left; these were a bye-work, and were composed in haste, off-hand, and in the words that first occurred to him in the heat. of contest.

- Some time after the escape of Aratus, Abantidas was slain by Deinias and Aristotle the logician. The tyrant was wont to attend all their public disputations

OTOTE Tapeivat Kal TuudtAroverxelv, éuPadovtes ets TotauTnv statpiBnvy Kal KaTacKevacaytes éeriBovrny avetrov, Ulacéay 6€ tov 'ABavtidov TaTepa THV apxinyv UToraBovta Nixoxrs Soropovncas éauToV avecerte TUpavvoY. TovUTOV eppepertarov Neyouse THY oyptv Tlepravopy TO Kuyeérou yevea Gat, cabamep 'AAKpai@ve bev T@ "Apudidpew Tov Iéponv 'Opavtny," 'Exropt d€ TOV Aaxedatpoviov veariaKon, Ov LaTopel Muptinros

varo TtANnOovs TaV Gewpévwrv, WS TOTO éyvwaar,
KaTataTnOnvat.
IV. Too be Nukoxreous Téa capas pnvas: Tupav-
voovTos, €v ots TONG KAKA TV TOALW épyacd-
pevos extvduvevcev UT AlTwrA@Y et Bovrevomevny
avTiy amoBareiv, 75n petpdxcov o “Apatos av
aftwopa Naprrpov elxe bu evyéveray Kal doovnma,
O duepawey ov puck pov ovee apyov, éuBprbés b¢ Kal
Tap nrcKeaY daharertepg von KEKpapLevov.
d0ev of Te puyades pariara, TOV VOOY ExEeiv@ TpoG-
elXov, 6 te Nexoxd.5 ovK nwErEL TOV 7 PAaTTO-
pEévov, Grn eros am eBewper Kal TapehvAaTTeEV
QUTOU THD oppyny, TOAPLNLA pev ovdev THALKODTOV
dedims oVSE Epyov ovdév oUTW TapaKexKivduveEv-
MevOY, UTOTTEVMY be Tots Bactredow auTov dta-
AéyeOar dirous ovot Kal E€vois TAT POLS. Kal
yap arnbas o “Apatos eTEXVELNNTE THY odon € éxet-
ynv Babditewv. os dé “AvTiryovos pev Umax vov-
fevos nuédXet Kal Taphye tov ypovor, ai dé at
1 wapiye Coraés and Ziegler, with S&8: wapiice (let the time

pass).

1 95] B.c.

ARATUS m1. 3-1v. 3

in the market-place and to take part in them; they encouraged him in this practice, laid a plot, and took his life. Paseas also, the father of Abantidas, after assuming the supreme power, was treacherously slain by Nicocles, who then proclaimed himself tyrant. This man is said to have borne a very close resemblance to Periander the son of Cypselus, just as Orontes the Persian did to Alemaeon the son of Amphiaraiis, and as the Spartan youth mentioned by Myrtilus did to Hector. Myrtilus tells us that when the throng of spectators became aware of this resemblance, the youth was trampled underfoot.

IV. Nicocles was tyrant of the city for four months, during which he wrought the city much harm, and narrowly escaped losing it to the Aetolians when they plotted to seize it. By this time! Aratus, now a young man, was held in marked esteem on account of his high birth, and of his spirit. This was showing itself to be not insignificant nor yet unenterprising, but earnest, and tempered with a judgement safe beyond his years. Wherefore the exiles from Sicyon had their minds fixed most of all upon him, and Nicocles was not neglectful of what was going on, but kept secret watch and ward over his undertakings, not because he feared any deed of so great daring and hazard as that in which Aratus finally engaged, but because he suspected that Aratus was in com- munication with the kings who had been on terms of friendship and hospitality with his father. And in truth Aratus had attempted to travel along that path. But since Antigonus? neglected his promises and prolonged the time, and since the hopes derived

* Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia 283-239 B.c.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Aiyurtov kal wapa IrtoNewaiov paxpav ijaoav
ENTILOES, eyve dv avrTov KaTANvELY TOV TUpavvon.
V. II parors dé KowodTat THY yrapny ‘A picto-
HaX® Kal ‘Eedy A. TOUTWY O pev éx SuKV@vos
a puyas, ° dé "ExSydos ‘Apkas éx Meyarns
TOXEWS, avn p hirocogos Kat TPAKTLKOS, "A pKe-
atidov Tov “Axadnptaxod yeyovws év doter ouv-
nOns. SeEapévov b€ ToUTwY TpoOvmas StEdXéyETO
Tols aNrXOLS Huydatv, Ov oriryou pev ataoyuvevtTes
éyxaTanriTety TY éATiOa pEeTEeLyov TOY TpaT-
Tomevwv, of S€ ToAAOL Kal Tov” Apatow érretp@VvToO
- e > , ld ,
KATAKMAVEL WS aTELpLa Tpayudtwv Ppacuvo-
pevov.
BovAevopévou & avtov Xwptov TL TNS Lixvevias
KataraPeiv, o0ev CppnwEevos SvaTrohepo et ™pos
TOV TUpavvor, KEV ELS "A pyos dvnp LiKva@vios éx
THIS ELOKTHS ATOOEO PAKS" iy dé Tov dvydsov
EVOS Eevoxhéous aoEX pos" Kal TO ‘Apat@ 7 poo-
axOeis uo tod Fevoxdéous Erxeye Tod TELVYOUS
cab’ Ov uTepBas avTos éow@On TOTOV, évTOS meV
Oréryou Oetv émizrecon Elval, TpogTEPYKETA YW piots
TET pwobert Kab byynrots, TO 6€ &Ewlev tros vm
KNLLAK OY ov Tavu aVvEPLKTOD. @s 6€ TAUTA HKOU-
oev 6 “Apatos, éxméutret pera ToD =Evoxréous
oixéTas Lotous ovo, SevOav te Kat Téxveova, KaTa-
a Kerrop.evous TO TELXOS, eyVOKOS, et Suvatto,
Kpuda Kal pos &va xivOuvov o&€as TO Tay avap-
pirat fadXrov 7) paKp@ TONEL® Kal pavepois
ary a@oww LOLoTNS dvrixabiatac Bat 1 Pos TUpavvor.
ws © émavidOov of wept Tov Hevoxréa Tod peév
TeLyous etAnhoTes METPA Kal TOU TOTOU THY pvaw
} Fe)

1029

ARATUS Av, 3=v. 5

from Egypt and Ptolemy! were a long way off, he resolved to overthrow the tyrant by his own efforts.

V. The first to whom he imparted his design were Aristomachus and Ecdelus. Of these, the one was an exile from Sicyon, and Ecdelus was an Arcadian of Megalopolis, a student of philosophy and a man of action, who had been an intimate friend of Arcesilaiis the Academic at Athens. These men eagerly adopted his proposals, and he then began conversations with the other exiles. A few of these took part in the enterprise because they were ashamed to disappoint the hope placed in them, but the majority actually tried to stop Aratus, on the ground that his in- experience made him over-bold.

While he was planning to seize some post in the territory of Sicyon from which he might sally forth and make war upon the tyrant, there came to Argos a man of Sicyon who had run away from prison. He was a brother of Xenocles, one of the exiles; and when he had been brought to Aratus by Xenocles, he told him that the part of the city's wall over which he had climbed to safety was almost level with the ground on the inside, where it had been attached to steep and rocky places, and that on the outside it was not at all too high for scaling-ladders. When Aratus had heard this, he sent with Xenocles two servants of his own, Seuthas and Technon, to make an examination of the wall ; for he was resolved, if he could, to hazard the whole enterprise on one secret and swift attempt, rather than in a long war and in open contests to match his private resources against those of a tyrant. So when Xenocles and his party came back with measurements of the wall

1 Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt 283-247 B.c.

ATAYYENNOVTES OUK ATTOPOV OVE YarETNHV, TO SE
Aadety mpoceNOovtas epyades civat PadcKovrTes
UTTO KNTOUPOD TLVOS KUVAPLWV, LEX POV MEV, EXTOTOS
be payipov Kat arapnyopitwv, evOvs évictato
THY m pacwy.
Vi ev ovv TOV Om hov TapacKeun ouvnOns
WY, TAVTOD, @s éros ELT eiy, TOTE KN@TELALS Xpo-
[LEV@OV KAL KaTacpopats én aNXdajNOUS" Tas b€ KDE
[aKkas Kug¢pivep o O HNXaVOT OLOS avagavéov € em)-
Earo, Tis TEXYNS AVT@ TO avUTOT TOV Odovans, € TEL
Kal avr os WV TOV guryidav. av6pas b€ aUT@ TOV
pev év "A pyet pirov é EXATTOS €& Od YoV déxa Tap-
éayev, autos 6€ TaY lotwr oiKeT@r TpidKovTa
KADwWTALTED. epic baoato dé xal dea Tpwrou
= evopidov TO) dpXtxhom wv ov TrodXous oT parow-
Tas, ois 61e609 NOyos ws el TAS tnmous TAS
BaotdtKas eis THY Luxcvoviav &€oo0s ev 0lTO. Kal
m poet éupO noay ol ToAAOL orropdbes ert Tov IIo-
AUYVWTOU TrUpYor, exet Kereva Devtes Teptpweiva.
mpoereupon b€ Kal Kaduicias vm' av'tod peta

Teacdpwv arAdXkgwv evfwvos, ods Ede pos Tov
KN TOUpOV adixeabat axotatous, ddaKovras obot-
Topovs eElvat, Kal KATAUALTAMEVOUS GUTOV TE
TuyKrEloar Kal TOUS KUVas* OU yap yy adn Tap-
ei ety. Tas d€ KAAS dtaXuTas ovcas éuBa-
NovTES Els Aydvas Kal KaTaKkaduYayTes Eh
apat@v tpoaTréatetiav.
’Ep rovtm 6€ KatacKoTrwy Tiveav év Apyet Tod
Nixoxréous havévtwy Kai Trepti€vas eyouévwv
adyrws Kal twapahvAattev tov “Apatov, ap
12

ARATUS v, 5=vI. 4

which they had taken, and with a report that the place was by nature not impassable nor even difficult (although they declared that it was hard to get to it undetected owing to a certain gardener's dogs, which were little beasts, but extraordinarily fierce and savage), Aratus at once undertook the business.

VI. Now the laying in of arms was nothing unusual, since almost everybody at that time indulged in robberies and predatory forays; and as for scaling-ladders, Euphranor the engineer made them openly, since his trade screened him from suspicion; and he too was one of the exiles. As for men, each of the friends of Aratus in Argos furnished him with ten out of the few they had, and he himself equipped thirty of his own servants with arms. Through Xenophilus, the foremost of the robber captains, he also hired a few soldiers, to whom it was given out that a foray was to be made into the territory of Sicyon to seize the horses of Antigonus. And most of them were sent on ahead in small bands to the tower of Polygnotus, with orders to wait there. Aratus also sent on in advance Caphisias, lightly armed, with four companions; their orders were to come to the gardener’s when it was dark, pretending to be travellers, and after taking up quarters there for the night, to shut up him and his dogs; for there was no other way to get past them. The scaling-ladders, which could be taken apart, were packed in boxes, and thus concealed were sent on ahead in waggons.
In the meantime some spies of Nicocles appeared in Argos and were reported to be secretly going about and watching the movements of Aratus. As soon as it was day, therefore, Aratus left his house

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TE Pe ™poeh Benv Kal pavepos & @V €V ayopg dueT pie
pera TOV pirov: elt ddewpapevos € év TO yupvacio
Kal Taparasav Teas éK THS madaisTpas TOV
elwOoTwV ive Kal pabupetv per avrou veavi-
TKMV amie oixade Kab pera pox pov ewpato TOV
oikeT@V avTov ot’ ayopas o pév aTEhavous hépoy,
o 6€ Aapmadas @vovpevos, oO bé TOis EiOiopévots
Tapa ToTOv Wadrew Kal avrA<€iv yuvaiots Staneyo-
pevos. Tavuta S€ ol KaTaCKOTOL TAVTA OP@VTES
€ENTaTNVTO KAL TOOS AAANHAOUS AVAVEN@VTES EAE-
) q p) Of
you: “ Ouvdev Hv apa tupavvov SetdoTepor, et Kal

NixoxAs tyrALcKavUTHY Tod EYwWY Kal TOoTaUTHY

SvvapLy Oppwoel etpaKLov eis NOovas Kal TrOTOUS

peO nmepivovs Ta THs huyns épodta xataypo-
b
pevov.

VII. Ot pev ody obtw maparoyicOévtes amn)d-
Aaynoay’ o 6€ "A patos evOvs peT aptotov éFen-
Owv Kai cuvarpas 7 pos TOV [loAvyverou TUpYyov
Tots atpatiotais eis Neuéav ™ poner, 61rov Thy
m™ pagev eLeprve TOUS TONS TOTE TPOTOV, UT0-
oXETELS TE KAL TAPAKrAN TELS €TO!NTATO' KAL cuD-
Onpa mapasovs ‘AT OAN@va bmepoetvov 7 potpyev
emt THD TOLD, TUMMET POS TH mepupopa THS oe-
Aqvns eT LTAX VOD Kab TadLV aviels THY TopeElay,
@OTE TO pev pari xphobar Kal? odor, 700 be
Suopévns mepl Tov Kirov etvae TANnGiov Tov TEél-
Nous. evtadba Kaguoias am VT NT eV aUT@, TOV
jev Kuvapiov ou Kpatnaas (EpOn yap dmomns1}-
cava), Tov O€ KNTOUpOY eyKecherkns. ad vpous
dé TOUS mWAEiaTOUS YEVOMEVOUS Kab KENEVOVTAS
amaddaTtecVar tapeOappuvev 0” Apatos, os at-
aEwy, av ol Kuves ayay évoyA@aw adtois. apa
14

1030

and showed himself openly in the market-place, conversing with his friends; then he anointed himself in the gymnasium, took with him from the palaestra some of the young men who were wont to drink and make holiday with him, and went back home; and after a little one of his servants was seen carrying garlands through the market-place, another buying lights, and another talking with the women that regularly furnished music of harp and flute at banquets. When the spies saw all this, they were completely deceived, and with loud laughter said to one another: ‘Nothing, you see, is more timorous than a tyrant, since even Nicocles, though master of so great a city and so large a force, is in fear of a stripling who squanders on pleasures and mid-day banquets his means of subsistence in exile.”

VII. The spies, then, thus misled, left the city; but Aratus, immediately after the morning meal, sallied forth, joined his soldiers at the tower of Poly- gnotus, and led them on to Nemea. Here he dis- closed his design, to most of them then for the first time, and made them exhortations and promises. Then, after giving out as watchword “Apollo Vic- torious,” he led them forward against Sicyon, quickening or retarding his progress according to the revolution of the moon, so as to enjoy her light while on the march, and as soon as she was setting to be at the garden near the wall. There Caphisias came to meet him; he had not secured the dogs (for they had bounded off before he could do this), but had locked up the gardener. Most of his men were disheartened at this and urged Aratus to retire; but he tried to encourage them, promising to lead them back if the dogs should prove too troublesome for

6€ TOUS Tas KripaKas pépovras T poTreuyras, @v
"Exdnros nyeito Kab Mvaaideos, autos emnKko-
Novdet TxXohalws, ON TOV Kuvaptov evTOvOS vra-
KTOVVTOV Kat TULTAPAT pEeXOVT MY TOUS mepl TOV
“Exdmhov. ov mn ana T poo éuiav TE TO TEelKXet
Kal Tpoonpetaay Tas KhipaKas dopards. ava-
Ba.vovtwy 5é€ TOY TPWTwY, oO THY EwOLViPY puraxny
mapaci0ous epwdeve kwdwu, Kal Sata TOANG Kal
OopuBos ay TOV ET LT OPEVOMEVOY. at oé, Oomep
eLXyov, avTou atneavrTes emt TOV KNLLAKWY TOU-
TOUS pev ov Xahemas éradon, arrays be puraxis
évavtias TavTn Tpocepyomevns Els TOV ~ayaToV
kivouvov HrAOov. ws b€ KaKeivny dStéehuyov Trap-
erXGodaar, evOus avéBatvov oi tpw@tot Mvaaideos
kat “Exdnros, Kal tas éxatépwOev odovs Tod
TELXOUS dtaraBovtes améoterrXov Téyvwva mpos
"A patov erretryed Oat KENEVOVTES.
VII. "Hy 6€ ov TOND OuiaTn wa amo Tob Kr) TOU
Tpos TO TELyos Kat TOV mupyov, ev w KU@Y péyas

ep pou per Onparixos. avTOS pev OvV OvK 0 Gero
THY éposor, cite puaet voOns wv, EiTe ped Typepay
KATUKOTOS yeyovws. Tav oe Tob KnToupod Kuva-
piwv Kat wdev ex Ka OVLEVOY avr ov umed Deyyero
Tupror Kat donpoy TO Tpatov, Elta pandrov ér-
ETELVE TAapEepXopever. Kat Kateixev 0 ToAUS
DAayLOS TO YWPLOV, WOTE TOV Trépav puhaka
Kpavy} peyady TU Gaverbat Tov KuVNnyod, 7 pos
TLVA TPAYEWS OUTWS O KUWY VAAKTEL, KaL pn TL
1 The sentries who had formed the night-watch came up at
the sound of the bell, to be inspected, and then relieved by
the morning-watch.
16

ARATUS vit. q-vil. 2

them. At the same time he sent forward the men who carried the scaling-ladders, under the comimand of Ecdelus and Mnasitheus, while he himself followed after them slowly, the dogs already barking vigorously and running along by the side of Ecdelus and his party. However, they reached the wall and planted their ladders against it without mishap. But as the first men were mounting the ladders, the officer who was to set the morning-watch began making his rounds with a bell, and there were many lights and the noise of the sentries coming up.!_ The invaders, however, crouched down just where they were on the ladders, and so escaped the notice of this party without any trouble; but since another watch was coming up to meet the first, they incurred the greatest danger. However, they escaped the notice of this guard also as it passed by, and then the leaders, Mnasitheus and Ecdelus, at once mounted to the top, and after occupying the approaches to the wall on either side, sent Technon to Aratus, urging him to hasten up.

Vill. Now it was no great distance from the garden to the wall, and to the tower, in which a huge dog was on the watch, a hunter. The dog himself did not notice their approach, either because he was naturally sluggish, or because during the day he had become tired out. But when the gardener’s whelps challenged him from below, he began to growl in re- sponse, faintly and indistinctly at first, then bayed out more loudly as they passed by. Presently the whole place resounded with barking, so that the watch- man opposite called with a loud cry to the hunts- man asking why his dog was baying so savagely and whether some mischief was not afoot. The hunts-

17

PLUTARCR’S LIVES

,
yieTat KALVOTEPOD. 0 & amo TOD m Upyou avT@ ?
dvtepovnee ponder eivat Sewvov, AAA Tov Kvva
Tpos TO POS THY TELYopUAdKwY KaL TOV Wwodor
TOU KWOWVOS TapwEvvOa. TOUTO pudtora TOUS
“Apatou (oTpaTLMT As eT Eppwaer, oLomevous “Tov

Kunyov enix puT TEV KOW@VvovrTa TH mpage, elvat
dS€ woANAXous Kat dX ous éy 7H TONEL TOUS oUD-
EpyouvTas. ov pny GAAXA TO TELX EL m™ poo Banrov-
TOV Karem os Av Oo Kivduvos Kal fiKOs chap ave,
TOV KML AKOV Kpadawwopmevav El 1) Kad éva Kat
oVoAains avaBaivorev' 1) 66 WPA KaTHTrELYEV, HON
POeryyopevev aexTpvorwn, Kat door ovr TOV
e& aypov TL pepe elw0 oT wv 7 pos ayopav emepXo-
pévov. Oto Kab omevdwoy o "Apatos aveBawe,
TeToapaKovTa TOV TaVTWY avaBeBnnotev 7 po
avTOv' Kal Tpoadesapevos ere TOV catobev 6Ai-
yous él THY olKiay TOD Tupavvov kal TO oTpa-
TIYLOV avi Gev- évtavda yap ot pra Gopopor
TApeVvUKTEPEVOV. advo oe eT LT ETO autois Kal
ovA\afav amayvtas, ovdeva 5€ atroxtetvas, evOus
dueTéuTeTO mpos Tovs gdirovs avakadotpevos
éxaoTov am' oiKias. Kab ouvdpapovTov Tav-
taxobev, 7 "Epa pev UTELA MT EV On Kal TO Géat pov
ip dxAov peo TOV, ETL TpOS TV adndov a.icpov-
[EVO pnenv Kal capes ovdev elOor op uTép TOY
TPATTOMEVOY, T piv 7¢ 57 mpoedOav o np elqrev
ws "Apatos 0 KyXeuviov mapaxadel tovs Toditas
érl tTHv édevOepiav.
IX. Tore 6€ mictevcavtes ee a Tarat
TpocEedoKay, Wpuncav aOpoot Tpos Tas Ovpas Tod
18

ARATUS vir. 2-1x. 1

man answered him from the tower that there was nothing to fear, but that his dog had been excited by the lights of the sentries and the din of the bell. This more than anything else gave heart to the soldiers of Aratus. They thought that the huntsman was privy to their design and was trying to conceal it, and that there were many others also in the city who would assist them. However, when the rest of the company essayed the wall, their peril was grievous and protracted, since the ladders shook unless they mounted one by one and slowly ; moreover, time was pressing, since cocks were already crowing, and directly the people who brought produce from the country to the market-place would be coming up. Therefore Aratus also mounted the wall in haste, after forty in all had mounted before him; and when he had been joined by a few more of those below, he went up against the tyrant's house and the praetorium, where the mercenary soldiers passed the night. And after falling upon these suddenly and capturing them all, but killing none, he straightway sent messages to his friends summoning them all from their homes, and they ran together from all quarters. Day was now breaking, and the theatre was thronged with people who still were in suspense because of the un- certain rumour that prevailed and in utter ignorance of what was afoot, until the herald came forward and made proclamation that Aratus the son of Cleinias invited the citizens to secure their freedom.

IX. Then, convinced that what they had long expected was come, they rushed in a body to the
1 ard... ate bracketed by Sint.?; Ziegler reads mpds aurév, with Stephanus.
19

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Tupavvou Tp emipepoy Tes. npOn be prok peyarn
KaU KaTrapavns péexpt Kopiv@ov THS otKias avaPOevons, wore Javpacavras Tous ép Kopivé@
mapa [LK POV Opuaat pos THY Bonevav. O pev
oy Nixoxds erabe Sta TWOY UTovopwv UTEKOUS
Kat am obpas ex THs. TONEWS, ot oe€ oTpPATLATAL
KATATAVTGLTES beta Tov Lixveoviwy TO Tuvp
Siunptalov Thy otKiav. Kal oUTE TAaUTA ex@AVEEV
o "Apatos, Ta TE NOLTTA YPHMAaTAa TMV TUPaVYwD
els pécov €OnKe Tois ToNtTats. améGave dé ovdels
ovde éTpwOn TO TapaTray TaY émreAOoYTOY OLOE
TOV TOAEMLOV, GAAG KaBapay Kal aOLKTOV alwaTos
éuduriou thy mpakw 7 Tvyy Stepvrake.
Katnyaye 5€ guyadas tovs pev vo NixoKNEOUS EXTETTWKOTAS GYSoONKOVTA, TOUS 6€ éml TAY
eum poo Gev Tupavyey OUK EXATTOUS TEVTAKOTLWY,
ols paKpa pev WAGV) Kal O"oD TL TEVTNKOVTAETIS eryeryovee. ated Bovres 6€ of mrEtoTOL
TEVNTES, DY KUPLOL TPOTEPOV Hoav éTEeNauPavovTo,
rat Badilovtes emi Ta xopta, KaL TAS OiKLas SeLv7)Y
am optay TO "Apateo Tapetxov, émtBovrevopevny
pev dwbev Kal PGovoupevny UT 'ApTuyovou THY
Tod op@vTe Ova THY édXEVOEpiav, TapaTTOMEeVHY
de Up' avTis Kal ctactafoveap.
"Oev éx TOV TapovTwy apioTa Kpivas Tpocépuuev avTny dépwv tots *Ayatoiss cat Awprets
OvTes umédvocav ExovaiWws Ovo"a Kal TOALTELAD
TH Axara ourTE adFiopa NauTpov ovTE peyadny
1a XUV eXOV TOV TOTE. HiKxpoTrortTa yap Hoav ot
TOANOL, KAL yy ovTEe YpnoTHVY ovTE adOovor
20

1031

ARATUS Ix. 1-4

residence of the tyrant, carrying firebrands. A great flame arose as the house caught fire, and it was

visible as far as Corinth, so that the people of Corinth were astonished and were on the point of sallying forth to help. Nicocles, then, slipped out unnoticed by way of certain underground passages, and ran away from the city, and the soldiers, after extinguishing the fire with the aid of the Sicyonians, plundered his house. Nor did Aratus prevent this, but put the rest of the wealth of the tyrants at the disposition of the citizens. And not a man was killed or even wounded at all, either among the assailants or their enemies, but fortune preserved the enterprise free from the taint of civil bloodshed.

Aratus restored eighty exiles who had been banished by Nicocles, and those also who had fled the city during the reign of former tyrants, to the number of five hundred. These had long been wanderers, yes, for close to fifty years. And now that they had come back, most of them in poverty, they laid claim to the property which they had formerly held, and by going to their farms and houses threw Aratus into great perplexity. For he saw that the city was plotted against by outsiders and eyed with jealousy by Antigonus because it had regained its freedom, while it was full of internal disturbances and faction.
Wherefore, as things stood, he thought it best to attach the city promptly to the Achaean League; and so, though the people of Sicyon were Dorians, they voluntarily assumed the name and civil polity of the Achaeans, who at that time had neither brilliant repute nor great strength. For most of them lived in small cities, owned land that was
2!

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

€EKEKTIVTO, Kal Gararry 7 poo @KOUY aNLWEVEY, Ta
TOAAA KATA paxylas ex Pepowevy 7 pos THY irevpov.
anra partota 6n dédecEav ovToe THY “EXAnViKHY
GXKNVY ATpoOTpLayov ovaar, OGdKLS TUYOL KOG MOU
Kat ouvtakews opoppovovans Kai vovv éyovtos
YELOVOS, OL THS pev Tara TOV “EARN ivOV aKuAs
ovdév, ws eltreiy, wépos dvTes, év O€ TH TOTE pas
a€tohoyou TOAEWS TUT AVTES omod Obvapuy ouK
EXovTEs, evBourig Kab omovoia, Kal OTL T@ TPOTY
Kar GpeTHV eduvayTo By pOoveiv, GNA meiber Oat
Kal akoXovdely, ov povov avTous év peo@ TONWY
Kab Ouvapewy THALKOUTMY Kal TUpavvidwy Sedu-
Nakav édevOépous, adArAG Kal TOV GrXwv “EXA?-
vov ws TAEoTOUS EAXEUVEpOvVTES Kal owCoVTES

dteTéAOUY.
X. "Hv 6€”Apatos TO TpOT TONTLKOS, peya-
Aodpor, axptBéaTepos els Ta Kova parXov TOV
Lolwy, TKpaS pucotbpavvos, Ex9pas opm Kai
prrias del TO KOLVO ouppepovTe VY PWLEVOS. d0ev
ovy obT ws Soxei yeyovevar piros axpyans, @S
éxO pos evyVoLov Kal TPGos, vO THS TONTELAS
em appotepa TO KaLp@ pera Badropevos, 6 omovoias
éOvav Kal Kowwvias TOAEwWY Kal ouvedpiov Kal
Geatpou piav povny apevTos as ovdevos addou
TOV KAA@Y épacTns, TONE LD Kal ay@ve xXpnoa-
Fat pavepas adapons Kal duvoeXTLs, KrEYra dé
mpaypara Kat ouoKxevacacGa. Kk pupa TOXELS
Kal tupavvovs éemnBorwTaTos. ae Kal TONKA
TOV avedtiatwy KaTtopbwaas év ols éTOAmNcE?,
ovK é\aTTova SOoxet Tov SuvaTav éyKaTaNwTELDV
22

ARATUS ix. 4-x. 3

neither fertile nor extensive, and were neighbours to a sea that had no harbours and for the most part washed a precipitous and rocky shore. But this people more than any other showed the world that Greek prowess was invincible, whenever it enjoyed good order, harmonious discipline, and a sensible leader. For though they had taken almost no part in the ancient glories of Greece, and at this time, though counted all together, had not the power of a single considerable city, still, owing to their good counsels and their concord, and because they were able, in place of envying, to obey and follow the one who was pre-eminent among them for virtue, they not only preserved their own freedom in the midst of so great cities and powers and tyrannies, but also were con- tinually saving and setting free very many of the other Greeks.

X. Aratus was by natural bent a statesman, high- minded, more exact in his public than in his private relations, a bitter hater of tyrants, and ever making « regard for the public weal determine his enmity or his friendship. Wherefore he seems to have proved not so much a strict friend, as a considerate and mild enemy, changing his ground in either direction according to the exigencies of the state, loving concord between nations, community of cities, and unanimity of council and assembly, beyond all other blessings. It was manifest that he resorted to open warfare and strife without courage and with little confidence, but that in stealing advantages and secretly managing cities and tyrants he was most proficient. Therefore, though he won many unex- pected successes where he showed courage, he seems to have lost no fewer favourable opportunities through

23

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

bu evAaBevay. ov yap pov'ov, Os EOLKE, Onpicov

Tivav ders évepyol dia GKOTOUS ovCat pe 7H pe-
pay anoTuphovvTat Enpotnte Kal NeTTOTNTL THS
mepl TOV op Oa pov UYPOTNTOS [7 gepovens THY
7 pos TO das TUyKpacL, dna Kat deLvoTns TUS
éotiv avOowrou Kat TUvETLS év Tols uTalOpors Kal
SraxexnpuyLevors evTapaKtos mhuaet, pos b€ TAS
erixpupous kal AaB patous avalapoovca mpagers.
vp € TowauTny avopaniav évdea oyou prroao-
pou epi Tas evgvias damepyaterar, THY caper iD,
OTTEP KapT ov avropui Kab dyew@pyntor, exd €pou-
cas_OiXa THS éTiatTHUNS. TavTa pev ovv é€eTa-
CécOw Tots Tapaceiypacty.
XI. “O é6€”"Apatos, ével xatéuske Tots “A xatois
EAUTOV Kal THY TOAD, év TOLS immEvaL GTPATEV-
OMEeVvOS HYATATO Ot EvTEOELaY LTO TOY apYovTwD,
6TL, KaiTrep TULBOXAS TO KOLVO peydras bedwKas
THY éavtod bofay Kat THY THS maT pi6os uvapey,
ws ev TOV €TLTUXOVTOY Xpijo Par Tmapelyev AUTO
TOV Gel aoTpaTnyouvTa TOV ‘Ayatov, cite Av-
paios, ELTE Tpetavevs, etre Hix poTepas TLVOS WY
TUX aL TOAEWS. nKe O€ avT@ Kal Xpypar ov Swpea
Tra. pds TOU Bactrews TEVTE Kal ElKocL Tahavra.
Tavta édaBe pev 0” Apatos, X\aBa@y b€ Tots EavToOd
ToNrtiTals eTédwKev atropoupévols els TE TAaAXNA
Kab AUTpwWOLY aX padwTov.
XII. ’Esret 6€ of puyaces Hoav arra.py'y opr Tou
Tols EXovGL Tas KT ELS evoxrodvtes, 1} TE TONS
exivduvevev avaaTtatos yevéecOat, piav opav €ATriba
Thv lItodepaiou diravOpwriav apyunoev éxTred-
1 roy del orpatrnyovrra Ziegler, with Sint.! and the MSS. :

TS ael oTparnyovrti.

24

10°

ARATUS x. 3-xul. 1

over-caution. For not only in the case of certain wild beasts, as it would seem, is the vision strong by night but wholly blinded in the day-time (since the humour in their eyes is too dry and delicate to bear contact with the light), but there is also in some men a cleverness and sagacity which is prone to be confounded in transactions that are carried out under the open sky and proclaimed abroad by public criers, but when confronting hidden and secret enterprises recovers its courage. Such unevenness a lack of philosophy may cause in men of good natural parts ; they produce virtue without scientific knowledge,

and it is like spontaneous and uncultivated fruit. This can be proved by examples.

XI. Aratus, now, after uniting himself and his city with the Achaeans, served in the cavalry, and was beloved by his commanders on account of his ready obedience. For although he had made great contributions to the commonwealth in his own reputation and the power of his native city, he gave his services like those of any ordinary person to the onc who from time to time was general of the Achacans, whether he was a man of Dyme or of Tritaea, or of a meaner city. And there came to him alsoa gift of money from the king of Egypt, five-and-twenty talents. These Aratus accepted, but gave them at once to his fellow-citizens, who were in want of money, especially for the ransoming of such as had been taken prisoners.

XI. But the exiles were not to be dissuaded from molesting those who were in possession of their property, and the city was in danger of an upheaval. Aratus saw that his only hope was in the generosity of Ptolemy, and therefore determined to sail to

to

\ a A / 7 b ~
cat Kat den@nvat tod Bactriéws Orws avT@
4
Ypnuata cupPdadyntat pos Tas Stadvaels. ay-
, \ a ’ ‘ M @ id € \ M / e fal
WVOn pev ody ato Mofwrvns vrép Manréas, ws TO
, ie
61a Topov Spopw xXpynoopevos. mpos b€ péya
(a) 4 b] ?
TVEDLA Kal TOAANY Oadagoay EK TENAYOUS KaTt-
aA fal ,
odaav évdovtos Tov KuBepyntou, Tapaepopevos
, fod a > S _/ / ” b
LoALs Mato THS Adpias TroNEeulas oVaNS. €exkpa-
“ A e ‘3 , x a 9S A
tetTo yap uo Avtiyovov Kai dvrakny eiyev: tv
pOdcas améBn, Kai THY vady KaTadiTwY aT-
\ \ A

EXwopyoe paxpav ato Oadacons éywov Eva tov
dirtwv ovv avtTe TiudvOnv. Kai xataBadovtes
e ’ , a
EAUTOUS El$ TLVA TOTTOY VANS Ye“ovTAa YareTas
b , xy 7 \ ef e ,
évuxtépevov. oriywm b€ Baotepoy o povpapxos
9 \ \ A . bla e \ A
éemendav xat nrav tov’ Apatov vo tav Oepa-
3 , a
movtwy é€EnmratijO) tov éxeivov, dedtdaypmevwv
ANéyetv ws EvOUS a7rodpas eis EvBotav éFéwXevce.
\ f fa)
TA MEVTOL KopLComeva Kal THY vabv Kal ToUs Oepa-
TOvTas aTegpnve Torkeua Kal KaTéoyXe.
Mera 6€ 1)€pas ov TroAdas ev Atropols bvTL TA
’ , 4 £ ¢ Lf - ~
ApatT@ yivetar Tis evTvxia, “Pwpaixns vews
, \ e
TapaBaXrovens Kata Tov ToTOV év WTA bev eT
\ ‘ \ \ i A
TKOTHY AVLOY, TA SE KOUTTOMEVOS SiAyev. Eardet
‘ 5 e@ a“ > Ss / 3 f be , \
fev OVY N VaAUS Els Yuplav, éTEBN O€ TELGAaS TOV
4 ¥ a , “ XN
vavkrnpov aypt Kapias d:axopicO rar: Kal Stexo-
td i
piaOn xivduvots avOis ovk éXaTTOGL YpNoameEVos
‘: f > \ rie iA id n
kava Ouarattav. é€« 6€ Kapias ypovm Torro
@ \ bd At bg a a a
mepalwleis es Atyurrroy avtobev te T@ Ractrel
4
OLAKELLEV@ TPOS AUTOV OiKElLws eveTUYXE, Kal TEOEPA-
26
ARATUS x11. 1-5

Egypt and beg the king to furnish him with money for the settlement of these disputes. So he put to sea from Mothone above Malea, intending to make the shortest passage. But the steersman could not make head against a strong wind and high waves that came in from the open sea, and being carried out of his course got with difficulty to Adria,? which was a hostile place. For it was in the power of Antigonus, and held a garrison of his. Aratus an- ticipated arrest by landing, and forsaking the ship withdrew a long way from the sea, having with him one of his friends, Timanthes. They threw them- selves into a place that was thickly covered with woods, and had a grievous night of it. A little later the commander of the garrison came to the ship in search of Aratus, and was deceived by his servants, who had been instructed to say that he had run aw ay at once and had sailed off to Euboea. The ship, however, with its cargo and

the servants of Aratus, was declared a prize of war and detained.

After a few days, while still in this helpless plight, Aratus met with a rare piece of good fortune, for a Roman ship put in at the place where he was staying, sometimes on a lookout-place, and sometimes hiding himself. The ship was bound for Syria, but after going on board Aratus persuaded the master of the vessel to convey him as far as Caria. Thither he was conveyed, encountering fresh perils by sea and perils as great as before. From Caria, after a long time, he made his way across to Egypt, and found the king both naturally well disposed towards him, and much grati-

1 The text is probably corrupt. Bergk suggested Hydrea, an island off the N.E. coast of Peloponnesus. Others think of Andros, an island 8.E. of Euboea.

ou

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Teupevep ypapais Kat wivakiw amo THs 'EXXabos,
év ols xptow eXov OvK dpovcov o "Apatos aet
TL TOV TEXVLKOY Kal TEPLTTOY, pada re or ap-
pidrov Kat MeXavOov, cuvaywv Kal KT@MEVOS
améotennev.
XIII. "HvOer yap ert bo€a THs Lexvwvias pov-
ons Kat xpnotoypadias, os peovns ab.apPopov
eyovons TO Kadov, WaTE Kal "Ameddiy ex eLVvOL!
76n avpatoperor abies Bat Kal auryyeverbat
TOUS avdpacwv érit Taravtw, THs SoFns HaXQov
y THS TEXINS d€opevor per rara Bei. 610 Tas [ev
addas elKovas T@Y TUpdvywy «avelrev evdus 0
"Apatos, 6 OTe THV TONY prevdepase, wept b€ THS
Apiotpatou Karta Dirurmov UK LAT AVTOS | €Bou-
NeVT ATO Toy Xpovov. eypagpn pev yap UTO TdV-
TOV TOV mept TOV MédavOor dippate viknpopw
TAPETTMS O "Apia Tpatos, Arerov cuvefawa-
peevou THS ypadns, QS Tlonepov) TEPLNYNTHS
(OTOPNKED. yy bé 70 epyov ak :oBeator, OTE
yvapTtTecOae Tov" Apatov ume THS TEXVYNS, ALES
Te plcel TH TpOs TOUS TUpavvous é£aryouevoY
Kerevety KaGatpetv. Tov ody Cwypadhov Neddxn
dhirov dvta tov Apdatou tmapaitetcbat gaci Kai
Saxpvev, ws O ovK EvrecOev, etveiv OTL TOLs TUPAv-
VOLS TONELYTEVY, OV TOls TAY TUpavvwDV. " Kaow-
pev ovv TO apa Kat THY Neixnv, avtov Oé aot
mapéEw tov Aplotpatov éyw Tapaywpovvta Tov
Twivakos. émitpéwavtos ody tov 'Apatou 6:-
—_—

1 Philip IL, 382-336 n.c.

28

103:

ARATUS xm. 5-x1. 3

fied because Aratus had sent him drawings and paintings from Greece. In these matters Aratus had a refined judgement, and was continually collecting and acquiring works of artistic skill and excellence, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus. These he would send to Ptolemy.

XIII. For the fame of Sicyon's refined and beautiful paintings was still in full bloom, and they alone were thought to have a beauty that was indestruct- ible. Therefore even the great Apelles, when he was already admired, came to Sicyon and gave a talent that he might be admitted into the society of its artists, desiring to share their fame rather than their art. Hence it was that Aratus, although he at once destroyed the other portraits of the tyrants when he had given the city its freedom, de- liberated a long time about that of Aristratus (who flourished in the time of Philip of Macedon). For it was the work of Melanthus and all his pupils, and Aristratus was painted standing bya chariot in which was a Victory; Apelles also had a hand in the painting, as we are told by Polemon the Topographer. And the work was a marvellous one, so that Aratus was moved by the artistic skill therein; but after- wards, such was his hatred of the tyrants, that he ordered it to be removed and destroyed. Accord- ingly, the painter Nealces, who was a friend of Aratus, interceded with him for the picture, as we are told, and with tears, and when he could not persuade him, said that war should be waged against the tyrants, but not against the treasures of the tyrants. "Let us therefore leave the chariot and the Victory, but Aristratus himself I will undertake to remove from the picture." Aratus

29

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

nrerev o Neadxns tov "Aptatpatoy, eis b& THY yopav gotvika povov évéyparev, ado bé ovddév éroApnoe wapaBaretv. tors b€ modas éEare- dhouévov tod Apiotpatou diadalety bird To appa A€éyoua ty.

"Ke te 6 ToUTwY oO" Apatos nyaTraTo, Kal dLO0vs Teipay éTl warrov Hyaro tov Baciréws, Kal Swpeav EXaBe TH TWOAEL TEVTIKOVTA Kal ExaTOV TaXavTa. Kal TovTwY TeccapdKoyvTa pev EevOus pe?" éEavtod Koutfwy els IleXomovyvncov KaTipe, Ta O€ NoLTrA CrEedwY Els SogEts 0 Baatreds VaTEpo

KATA [Epos UTETTELNED.
XIV. °Hy peév otv péya nat to Xpypata To-
gavTa Topicat Tois ToNtTaLs, OowY puLKpOY pépos
dAXot atpatnyot Kat Snparywyol NapBdvovtes
Tapa Bacitéwy ndixovy Kai KatedovrodvTo Kai
Tpoémwov avtois Tas maTtpioas, peiCwv Oe 1) dca
TOV YPHUATwY TOUTwWY KaTacKEvadbetca TOLS jEV
aTOpols Mpos TOUS TAOvaLoUs didAvatS Kal Opo-
volta, T@ 66 Onuw TavtTl owTnpia Kat dodarea,
Javuactn b€ 1) Tod avdpos év duvaper tocauTy
perploTyns. amroceryGels yap avtoxpdtwp dan-
AaKTIS KAaL KUPLOS GrAwS eT TAS huyadiKasS CiKOVO-
pias povos ovyY Uméwenvev, GAA TevTEKaideca
TOV TOMTOY TpogKaTéArckEV EavT@, MEO wv Trove
TOAN@ KAL weyarats Tpaypatetats KaTELpyadoaTo
Kal cuvyppoce hiriav Kal elpiyny tots mwodtTaLs.
ef’ ols ov povoy KoWwh ovpTavTEes OL TodiTaL
Tyas aTébocav a’T@ TpEeTTaVaas, GAAA Kal KaT
3°

ARATUS xu. 3-XxIv. 2

therefore yielded, and Nealces erased the figure of Aristratus, and in its place painted a palm-tree merely, not daring to introduce anything else. We are told, however, that the feet of the erased figure of Aristratus were left by an oversight beneath the chariot.

In consequence of this love of art Aratus was already beloved by the king, and in personal inter- course grew yet more upon him, and received for his city a gift of a hundred and fifty talents. Forty of these Aratus took with him at once and sailed to Peloponnesus; the rest the king divided into instal- ments, and sent them to him afterwards one by one.

XIV. Now it was a great achievement to procure so large a sum of money for his fellow-citizens ; other generals and leaders of the people had taken but a fraction of this sum from kings in payment for wronging, enslaving, and betraying to them their native cities. But it was a far greater achievement by means of this money to have effected a harmonious adjustment of the disputes between rich and poor, and safety and security for the entire people. Moreover, we must admire the moderation of the man in the exercise of so great power. For when he was ap- pointed independent arbiter, with absolute powers for settling the money affairs of the exiles, he would not accept the office alone, but associated with himself fifteen of his fellow-citizens, by whose aid, after much toil and great trouble, he established peace and friendship among his fellow-citizens.1_ For these services not only did the entire body of citizens bestow fitting public honours upon him, but the exiles also on their own account erected a bronze

1 Cf. Cicero, De Of. ii. 23, 81ff.

31

3

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

IN? ¢ f 3 / A) t2

idiay ot duyades etKova yadknv avactycartes
/ “
érréypawrav TOE TO éXeryeELor:

Bovrai pev Kal dcOXa Kat a epi “EXAd6os aXKa
Tovd avopos oTarats TAGOeTAaL Hpakdréous-
dyes O eixoy’, “Apate, TEAv VOoTOLO TUXOVTES
oTdcapev avt apeTas nde Sxarocvvas
gwTHpos cwTHnpot Geots, Ste TaTpior Ta CA
daimovioyv! Oetay 7 dmracas evvopiav.
6 a“ f ¢ Sf a \
XV. Tatra dtarpakdpevos 0 “Apatos Tov pep
a , / bd f \ AS i
TontTiKod POovou peiCwy éyeryover bia TAS KaptTas,
ay: , » ¢ \ ’ , >» 2 A \
Aptiyovos 5 0 Baciiets avimpevos eT avT@ Kal
BovrOopevos 7) peTayety OAS TH HiALa TPOs aUTOV
Bovnoyevos i) werdvyew Bos 78 idle pis
7) OcaBarrew pos tov IIToNepaiov, adXas TE
4
piravOpwrias évedeixvuTo pun Tavu mpocepéevo,
\ 4 n“ > / i > la)
kat Ovav Oeois ev KopivOw pepidas eis Yexvava
TO Apdtw dueTepe. Kal Tapa TO Seimvov, éote-
/ a
WLLEVOV TOAAWY, ELS WETOV POEeyEdmEVos, “”"OQupuny,”
> \ Sy , A
Eby, “ Tov LKU@VLOV TODTOY Veavioxoy EhEevOépLov
s a 7 f \ / e \ \
elvat TH pvoe povov Kal dedoToNITHY: oO Oé Kat
f , la \
Biwv éorxe Kai mpaypatayv Baciiikav (Kavos
clval KPLTYS. TWPOTEPOY yap Nuas VIrEepewpa Tals
f \
ertricow é&w Br(éTTwv Kat Tov Atyurtoy €Oavpa€e
a“ xy 7 \ t \ by \

mAovUTOV, éNehavTas Kat aTONOUS Kat auras
akouUwY, vuvi dé Uiro oKNYNV EWPAKOS TavTa Ta
éxel Tpayyata Tpaywoiay évta Kal oxnvoypadiay
OAOS HuLY TPOTKEYMPNKEVY. AUTOS TE Ov AaTO-
Séyouat TO pelpaKtoy eyvwKws els ATavTa Yph-
1 Sa:udviov Sint.? and Ziegler, after Zeitz: d5aluovr' toov.

statue of him, and inscribed thereon the following elegiac verses :—

"The counsels, valorous deeds, and prowess
in behalf of Hellas, which this man has dis-
played, are known as far as the Pillars of
Heracles; but we who achieved our return
through thee, Aratus, for thy virtue and justice,
have erected to the Saviour Gods this statue of
our saviour, because to thy native city thou hast
brought a sacred and heavenly reign of law."

XV. These successful achievements placed Aratus beyond the jealousy of his fellow-citizens, owing to the gratitude which he inspired; but Antigonus, the king, was annoyed by the policy of Aratus, and wished either to bring him over into complete friend- ship with himself or to alienate him from Ptolemy. He therefore showed him many kindnesses which were not at all welcome, and especially this, that as he was sacrificing to the gods at Corinth, he sent portions of the victims to Aratus at Sicyon. And at the banquet which followed, where many guests were present, he said, so that all could hear: " I thought this Sicyonian youth was merely free-spirited and a lover of his fellow-citizens ; but he would seem to be a capable judge also of the lives and actions of kings. For formerly he was inclined to overlook us, fixing his hopes elsewhere, and he admired the wealth of Egypt, hearing tales of its elephants, and fleets, and palaces ; but now that he has been behind the scenes and seen that everything in Egypt is play-acting and painted scenery, he has come over entirely to us. Therefore I both welcome the young man myself, having determined to make every possible use of

Xx ce. an b A f. , 33 , \
oat, cat vas aki Pirov voutCerv.. TovTOVS TOUS
Aoyous UTOGeow AaBovTes ot hOovepot KQAL KAKO-
nOers SinuthA@vTO Tais émiaToAais AAX)XOLS,
TONAG Kat duayeph kata Tou Aputov T@ [I ToXe-
palm ypudhovrTes, MOTE KAKEWOY éyKadodDYTAa Tépu-
Wat. Tals pev ovv TepipayryTos Kal dtaTrUpols

4 by 4 ga , \ a
tofevopevats Epwat didrdtats Sacidéwy Kal Tupay-
vwov TocovToV Tpoaiy PUovou Kal KaxonOetas.
XVI. ‘O é€”Apatos aipeets otpatnyos TO Tpa-
Tov vTo TaV AxXatov THY per avtitrépas Aoxpisa
kat Kadvdwviav érop@noe, Botwrois 6é peta pv-
plwv otpatiwtayv Bonbav totépnoe THS pwaxns,
iv vmo Attw\@y rept Xaipwveray ntTnOncav, 1034
v, ¢ a , ¢ \
ABotwxpitou te ToD Botwrapxov Kal xiAiwy avy
2 avT@ TEcOvTMY. EviavT@ 5€é UaTepoyv avOts oTpa-
THYOV éevicTaTo THY TEpt TOY AKpoKxoptvOov Tpa-
E.v, ov Luxvwviwy ovd "Ayar@v xnddopuevos, AXA
Ko.vijy tiva THS “EXAdSos SANS TUpavrida, THY
4 wn
Maxedovwy dpovpav, éxeiev éFeAdaat Stavoov-
ene 2 \ \ C79 a v tA
3 wevos. Napyns pev yap o ‘A@nvaios év tive wayn
N A /
mTpos tovs Bacthé€ws otparnyous EUTUXNTAS
éypawe TO Onuw tov AOnvaiwy ws vevixnkol Ths
>] a na
ev Mapadau payns aderpyy: tautny oe THY
mTpakiv ovx av agaptoe Tis adeAhHY TpoTELT@V
THs IleXomidov tod OnBaiov cai OpacvBovrov
a 9? v4 , \ ef A A
tov AO@nratov Tupavvoxtovias, TANV OTL TO py
. Ch x 5] \ 9 oY , N ,
mpos KiXXyvas, ada eraKTOY upxnV yEeyovevat
4 Kal ddrOpvrsy avTyn Sinveyxev. 0 pev yap Io8-
34
ARATUS xv. 3-xvI. 4

him, and 1 ask you to consider him a friend.”” These words were seized upon by the envious and malevolent, who vied with one another in writing to Ptolemy many grievous charges agaist Aratus, so that the king sent an envoy and upbraided him. So great malice and envy attend upon the friendships of kings and tyrants, for which men strive and at which they aim with ardent passion.

XVI. Aratus now, having been chosen general of the Achaean League for the first time, ravaged the opposite territories of Locris and Calydonia, and went to the assistance of the Boeotians with an army of ten thousand men. He came too late, however, tor the battle at Chaeroneia, in which the Boeotians were defeated by the Aetolians, with the loss of Aboeocritus, their Boeotarch, and a thousand men. A year

later, being general again, he set on foot the enterprise for the recovery of Acrocorinthus,? not in the interests of Sicyonians or Achaeans merely, but purposing to drive from that stronghold what held all Hellas in a common subjection,—the Macedonian garrison. Chares the Athenian, having been suc- cessful in a battle with the king's generals, wrote to the people of Athens that he had won a battle which was "sister to that at Marathon''; and this enter- prise of Aratus may be rightly called a sister of those of Pelopidas the Theban and Thrasybulus the Athenian, in which they slew tyrants, except that it surpassed them in being undertaken, not against Greeks, but against a foreign and alien power. For

1 In 243 B.c., two years later. The office of general in the League could not be held by the same person in successive years. Cf. chap. xxiv. 4.
2 The citadel of Corinth,

HOS euhpucowy TAS. Jaraccas, ELS TAUTO ouvaryet
T@® toTw) Kal cuvaTrrel THY i) Tet pov near, o 6€
'AxpoxoptvOos, Uwnrov dpos, éx péons dva-
TEPUKWS TAS 'Edd dbos, 6 éTav AaB ppovpav, évi-
CTATAL KAL GT OKOT TEL THD evTos 'Ia Opob maoay
em iprEl@v TE Kal Tapoowy Kal oTparecay épyacias
TE Kata vay Kal KaTa Odharrav, Kal éva xUpLov
Tovel Tov dp xovra Kal KatTéyovta ppoupa TO
Xwpior, MOTE pn) matCovra, doxely Tov VEWTEPOV
Pirurroy, Grn' Bie, EXACT TOTE medas Ths' EA-
Ad6os THY Kopu dev TOMY Tpocaryopevery.
AVH. Ilaot peév oby TEplwaynTos my 0 TOTFOS
ael Kal Bacthevor cal dvvactais, 7 bé "AvTLyOvOU
o7movd!) TEP AVTOV OvdeV UTéALTIE TADEL TaV épu-
paver taT@y epworor, GX' OAOS avipTITO Tats
ppovriow é OT WS adaipnoetar Ookw TOUS éxovras,
érrel pavepas AVENTLTOS 7 MV 7) emexelpnars. "AXeE-
avdpov yap, vd ov To Xwptov Ys amodavovtos
(@s NEyeTat) happaxots vr avTov, Nixaias 6é
TS éxetvou yuvatkos érrl TOY T pay LaTov
yevouévns Kal pudatrovens Tov "Ax poxopwOov,
evOvs Uronéumov Anpayt prov TOV vloV aUuTh, Kal
yAuUKELAS éeAmidas evd.60v5 Yapov Bacidexow Kal
cupBimcews 7 pos OvK andes _evTuxeiy yuvaiki
mpea Butépa petpaxtor, avuTny pev NPKEL, T@ TALL
NPNTAapLEVOS OO TEP add Tie TOV Scheac pdtv
ér' avTH, Tov O€ TOTOY OU TpoiemEerns, aXN eyKpa-
TOS purdatrovens, a jLeetv T poo ToLoupEvos é0 ve

yauous avtav év Kopivée, nai Oéas éreréder Kar
1 re ténw Capps: TE rb7@,

36

ARATUS xvi. 4-xvil. 3

the Isthmus of Corinth, forming a barrier between the seas, brings together the two regions, and thus unites our continent; and when Acrocorinthus, which is a lofty hill springing up at this centre of Greece, is held by a garrison, it hinders and cuts off all the country south of the Isthmus from inter- course, transits, and the carrying on of military expeditions by land and sea, and makes him who controls the place with a garrison sole lord of Greece. Therefore it is thought that the younger Philip of Macedon? uttered no jest, but the truth, whenever he called the city of Corinth " the fetters of Greece."

XVII. Accordingly, the place was always an object of great contention among kings and dynasts, but the eagerness of Antigonus to secure it fell nothing short of the most frenzied passion, and he was wholly absorbed in schemes to take it by stratagem from its possessors, since an open attempt upon it was hopeless. For when Alexander,? in whose hands the place was, had died of poison given him (it is said) in obedience to Antigonus, and his wife Nicaea had succeeded to his power and was guarding the citadel, Antigonus at once sent his son Demetrius to her in furtherance of his schemes, and by inspiring her with pleasant hopes of a royal marriage and of wedded life with a young man who would be no disagreeable company for an elderly woman, he captured her, using his son for all the world like a bait for her. The citadel, however, she did not give up, but kept it under strong guard. Pretending, therefore, indifference to this, Antigonus celebrated the nuptials of the pair in Corinth, exhibiting

t Philip V., 237-179 B.c.
2 The tyrant of Corinth.
37

or

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

TOTOUS ouvirye Kad neEpar, OS av TIS partota
mage Kab axon ler THY dudvotay ud' noovins
Kat puroppoavyns APELK WS. evel de Katpos mY,
ASOVTOS 'AporBews € ev TO Gear py, TapeTreE pe7r € THY
Nixavay abtos én) tHv Bay év popeip KEKOG [uN-
bev Bacthixas, ayarropevny TE TH Tey) Kal
TOPPOTATO Tou HERAOVTOS | ovoay. ryevopevos db€
TiS. od0v KaTa 7 EXT POT NY THY avo Pepovear,
exelyny pev exehevoe mpoayew eis TO Oéar TpOv,
avTOS be Xaipew bev "AporBEa, Natperv 5€ TOUS
/apous edoas GVNEL TPOS TOV 'A kpoxopwOov cyutr-
AWHEVOS map mpruKian' Kal Kexheta pevny Ty TU-

day EUPWV, EXOTTE TH Baxrnpia KEhEvOY avouyew.
ot 6 évdov avews “av KATATAAYEVTES. oUTw ¢ TOU
TOoToVU KPATHTAS, ov KaTETXEV QuTOV, GAN emuve
matter uno ‘“apas ey Tols OTEVWTOIS, Kal bu
ayopas aurnTploas eXov Kab aTepavous TEPLKEL-
fLEVOS, VIP YEpwVv Kal TYHNLKAUVTALS T™ pay aT ov
peTaBorais KEXPNHLEVOS, exwpate beFvoupevos Kal
Tpog ayopEevov TOUS GTAVT@VTAS. OUTWS apa Kab
AuT NS Kat oSov HadAov | eLiornat Kal oaXov
Tapexes TH Wuy TO xXalpev avev Roytopod
Tapary.vopevov.
NVIUI. “AdAG yap "Artiyovos pe, @o TEP elpn-
Tat, KTnoadpEvos Tov AxpoxopivOov épvrAaTTE,
peta TOV ad deov obs emloTeve padtora cat Lep-
catov emeaTnoas dpyovta TOV pirdoogor. (b¢
“Apatos ETL pev Kal ‘AeEavopov Cav TOS emexel-
ules Th mpaket, YEVOMEVNS dé ouppaxias Tots
2 ’Ayatois mpos tov ’AX€Eavdpov emavoato. Tote
38

1035

ARATUS xvi. 3-xvitl. 2

spectacles and giving banquets every day, as one
whom pleasure and kindliness led to think chiefly
of mirth and ease. But when the crucial moment
came, and as Amoebeus was about to sing in the
theatre, he escorted Nicaea in person to the spectacle.
She was borne in a litter which had royal trappings,
plumed herself on her new honour, and had not the
remotest suspicion of what was to happen. Then,
arrived at the diverging street that led up to the
citadel, Antigonus gave orders that Nicaea should
be borne on into the thea atre, while he himself,
bidding adieu to Amoebeus, and adieu to the
nuptials, went up to Acrocorinthus with a speed
that belied his years; and, finding the gate locked,
he beat upon it with his staff and ordered it to
be opened. And the guards within, stupefied,
opened it. Thus master of the place, he could not
contain himself for joy, but drank and disported
himself in the streets, and with music-girls in his
train and garlands on his head, old man that he
was and acquainted with so great vicissitudes

of fortune, revelled through the market-place,
greeting and clasping hands with all who met him.
Thus we see that neither grief nor fear transports
and agitates the soul as much as joy that comes
unexpectedly. ;
XVIII. Antigonus, then, having got Acrocorinthus into his power, as I have said, kept it under guard, putting men there whom he most trusted, and making Persaeus the philosopher their cnaanden Now Aratus, even while Alexander was still living, had set his hand to the enterprise, but an alliance was made between the Achaeans and Alexander, and he therefore desisted. At the time of which I speak,

dé avdlis e& UTapxijs étépav édraBe THs mpakews
umobecty TOLAUTNY.
*Hoav év KopivOw téccapes aderdot Svpot te
ryévos, wv els dvopa AtoxXhs év TO Hpovptiw piabo-
pope bier pt Bev. Ol 6é Tpets KrEeWanTes Bact-
ArKov Xpuatov HrOov Els Luxvava 7 pos Alytav
Tia TpaTeliTny, o dua TiV épyactav oO VA patos
eXpiiro. Kal HLEpOS peep evOus d1éGevto Tov Xpuoiov,
TO O€ AOLTOY Els avr ay ‘Epyivos emreportav HOUXT
KATHANATTED. éx 6€ TOUTOV evopevos TP Atyig
avv7ns, Kal Tpoax Geis els AOYov UT avTOU Tept
TS ppovpas, Edn 7 pOs TOV abeXpov avaSaivev
™ pos TO Kpnuvaces évtouny Kadewpaxevat TAa-
yiav, dyovcav 7 XOapadwtatov éTw@Kodountat
TO hpovpiw To Tetyos. mpootatEavtos b€ avT@
Tov Atyiov Kal etmovtos: “ Kita, @ BédXTLOTE, dia
puxpov o0T® yp puctov aacmate tas Bacthixas
mpagters, Surd pevor play Opav TOAA@Y aTobos bat
XPNLATOD ; h yap ovyt kat TOLXWPUXOLS Kal
Tpodorats drotow anak avobareiv UTAPXEL $
yeracas oi pytvos Tote ev MpoAOYyNGEN ATOTEL-
paabar Tov Atord €ous (Tots yap addXots dder pois
[L1) WAVY TL TLTTEVELY), ONryaLs dé 0 bo TEpov nuEpas
éevmave Gov our Tera TOV “A patov afer mpos TO
TELYOS, O7rou To Uros ov petfov Hy TEVTEKALOEKA
TOOWV, Kal TANNA CULT am pabew peTa TOU AvoxXéous.
NIX. ‘O 6€ "Apatos éxetvors péev é&€nKovTa
Taravta doce Katopbwaas wporoyncev, tv be
aToTUYN, TwOn Sé eT EexElvwr, OiKiav ExaTép@
Kal Tadavtov. émet b€ Eee Tapa TO Alyia Ta
éEnxovta Tadarta KetoOat Tots TEpt TOV 'Epyctvor,

however, a new and fresh basis for the enterprise was found by him in the following circumstances. There were in Corinth four brothers, Syrians by race, one of whom, Diocles by name, was serving as a mercenary soldier in the citadel. The other three, after stealing some gold plate of the king’s, came to Aegias, a banker in Sicyon with whom Aratus did business. A portion of the gold they disposed of to him at once, but the remainder was being quietly exchanged by one of them, Erginus, in frequent visits. Erginus thus became well acquainted with Aegias, and having been led by him into conversa- tion about the garrison in the citadel, said that as he was going up to see his brother he had noticed in the face of the cliff a slanting fissure leading to where the wall of the citadel was at its lowest. Thereupon Aegias fell to jesting with him, and said: “ Do you, then, best of men, thus for the sake of a little gold plate rifle the king’s treasures, when it is in your power to sell a single hour's work for large sums of money? Don’t you know that burglars as well as traitors, ifthey are caught, have only one death to die?”’ Erginus burst out “laughing, and as a first step agreed to make trial of Diocles (saying that he had no confidence at all in his other brothers), and a few days afterwards came back and bargained to conduct Aratus to the wall at a spot where it was not more than fifteen feet in height, and to aid in the rest of the enterprise together with Diocles. XIX. Aratus on his part agreed to give the men sixty talents if he was successful, and in case he failed, and he as well as they got off safely, to give each of them a house and a talent. Then, since the sixty talents had to be deposited with Aegias for

o 6€ “Aparos ovte av’tos elyev ovTE eBovrAETO
dave Sopevos aic@notv éTépw THs tpakews Tapa-
oxXelv, ha Bov TOV EXT OD LAT OV Ta TONKA Kal Ta
xpucia THS puvarKes UT éOnKe To Aiyta 7 pos TO
dpyupiov. oUTw yap éenpTO TH yoxs Kal TOG OU-
Tov épwTa TOY Karov m7 pakewy ELXeV, @oTe TOV
Dwxiwva Kal Tov “Evrapervovoay eTLTTAMEVOS
"EAAnvOY OLKALOTUTOUS Kal KpaTiaTous yeyorevat
Soxodytas e771 TO btwcacbat Swpeas peydras Kal
jin Wpoealat XpuBaT oy 70 KaXov, avTos eis TADTA
SaTravaa bat Kpupa Kal Tpoetahepev, ev ols €Xty-
duveve jeovos UT Ep TavTav ovee eidoroy Ta 7 par-
TOMEVA, 7)petTo. Tis yap OUK av Oavpacee Kal
Tvvayw@vig alto ETL VUV 7H peyahowunia TOU «ap-
dpos, @VOUHLENOU Xpnpear TOY TOTOUTMY KLYOUVOY
TN ALKODTO?, Kal Ta TIPLLOTATA SoxouVTa TOY KTN-
ato uToTiOévtos, OTF asS Tapercax Peis VUKTOS

els TOUS TONE {LLOUS Crayovirntat TEPL THS uxt,
evexXUpOV AaBav Thv édTriba TOD KAAOD Tap avTOr,
GAAO S€ OVOED $
NN. Ovdaav ce kad’ avtny emia pans) THD Wpa-
En eT. apareorépar évolnoer eee TUS ev0us
ev apXn oupSaca or pvolay. 0 yap OlKETNS Tou
“Npdtov Teyver eT enbOn peev WS pera tov Ato-~
KAEOUS KAT AT KEY O [LENS TO TIX 0S, ovr oO 7 yy TO
Aroxhet 7 p07 €epov EVTETU YI K(OS KAT ovney, dra
THY poppy auToU Kat zo i605 Soxdv KaTEXEW ef
OV O ‘Bpyivos ET ET HLNVED ovAOKOLNY Kal perdy-
ypovy Kal ayevetov. €\Owv odv} Grov ouperé-
1 gyéveroy. €dXOav ovv Coraés and Ziegler, with the MSS:
ary ivesov, €AOay.
42

ARATUS xix. 1-xx. 2

Erginus, and Aratus neither had them himself nor was willing by borrowing them to give anyone else a suspicion of his undertaking, he took most of his plate and his wife’s golden ornaments and deposited them with Aegias as security for the money. For he was so exalted in spirit and had so great a passion for noble deeds that, knowing as he did that Phocion and Epaminondas were reputed to have been the justest and best of Greeks because they spurned great gifts and would not betray their honour for money, he elected to expend his own substance secretly, as an advance, on an enterprise in which he alone was risking his life for the whole body of citizens, who did not even know what was goingon. For who will not admire the magnanimity of the man, and yearn even now to lend a helping hand, who purchased at so high a price so great a danger, and pledged what he thought the most precious of his possessions in order that he might be introduced by night among his enemies and contend for his life, receiving as his security from his countrymen the hope of a noble action, and nothing else?

XX. Now the enterprise was dangerous in itself, but was made more dangerous still by a mistake which occurred at the very beginning through ignorance. For Technon, the servant of Aratus.

had been sent to inspect the wall with Diocles,
and had not yet met Diocles face to face, but
thought he would know how he looked because
Erginus had described him as curly-haired, of a
swarthy complexion, and without a beard. Having
come, therefore, to the place appointed, he was
+35

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

\ QypN a e > ' \ ~
taxto, Tov Epyivov ws adtEeuevov peta Tov
A , \ "A
LOKNEOUG AVEMEVE TPO TIS TOAEWS TPO TOU KaXOU-
A NE i
f vw bd s ¢ " 24 \
pévov "Opvidos. é€v 6€ TovTw TP@TOS adEeAXHos
Im 4 \ f v f b
Epytvou cat AtoxdXeous Gvopa Atovvatos ov aup-
ELO@S THD mpakw ovee KOW@VOY, Guotos oe T@
Atoxnei, T poo yet KATO TUXNDY. 7) be Téyvev mpos
Ta onpeia tis pophys TH OMOLOTNTL Kv Geis
NPOTNTE TOV av pwr ov ef Te cuuPoratov auT@
mpos 'Epyivov ein. prcavtos b€ adedpor eivat,
TAVTATATL 0 Teyver emetic On TO Atoxnet d:anre-
yerOar Kal pujte ToUvouna TuO6pEVos unt adAXo
pincer Tpogpetvas Texunploy euBurrer Te THY
beElay AUTO KAL TEPl TOY GUyKELLEeVwY TPOS TOV
+40 a 3 , 9 a ' , e \ 4
Kpyivoy éharer Kaxetvov avéxpivevr. o b€ be&d-
flevos QUTOU THY GuapTiav Travovpyws WpLoNOyEL
' , , fod
TE TAVTA KAL TPOS THY TWOALY dvadTpe as UTIyEv
, / 3
dvuTomT@s Stareyouevos. 1)6n 6€ TANGO 3vTOS
n f e
avtov Kal pwédXoOvTOS GaoVv OovTw TOY Teéxveva
dtarapBarev, amo Tvyns av TadW oO 'Epyivos
lal % ,
avutois am@yvrncev. aicbopevos 6€ THY aTUTHV Kal
.Y , X , y lal ,
TOV KLvOUVOV OLA VEULATOS ednhaoe TO Texveove
pevryerv' KaL aTromndrnaavTes dpddrepor S pop
7 pos TOV "A patov aneswOnaav. ov pn AT EK ALLE
vais édatow EKELVOS, aNr emreupev, evdus Tov

Epyivov Xpuatov TE TO AMovvate Komiovta Kal
€1] OfLeVOV avTou ovarian. o O€ Kal TOUTO eTroinae
Kat Tov Atovictoy aywv pe? éavtod mpos Tov
uv 3 by , OA h fine oY > a
Apatov nA\OGev. édXOovta 6é avTov ovKeTe SunKaD,
3 \ , 3 ia Db] 9 /
arra Syoavtes éfvXatTov év oiktaK@m KaTAKeE-
KrELaMEVOV: AUTOL Oe TaperKevalovTo mpos THY
émiGectv.
XNT. ‘Eve: b¢ jy €troupa tavta, thy pev ANAnV
44
1036,

POUR Cl XK OoNRT: 7

waitiny tor Erginus to come there with Diocles,
just outside the city, mear what was called the
Ornis. As he was waiting, however, the oldest
brother of Erginus and Diocles, named Dionysius,
who was not privy to the enterprise and took no
part in it, but resembled Diocles, chanced to come
up. So Technon, moved by the similarity in the
marks of his outward appearance, asked him if he
was connected at all with Erginus; and on his saying
that he was a brother, Technon was altogether
convinced that he was talking with Diocles, and
without inquiring his name, or waiting for any other
proof whatever, gave him his hand and began
chatting with him and asking him questions about
what had been agreed upon with Erginus.
Dionysius took cunning advantage of his mistake,
assented to all that he said, and turning his back
towards the city led him along in unsuspicious
conversation. But just as he was near the city,
and was at the very point of seizing Technon, by
a second chance Erginus met them. Erginus
comprehended the trick and the danger, motioned
Technon to fly, and both of them ran off and got
safely to Aratus. Aratus, however, would not give
up hope, but at once sent Erginus to bribe Diony- |
sius and beg him to hold his tongue. Erginus not
only did this, but actually brought Dionysius with
him to Aratus. And now that Dionysius was there
they would not let him go, but bound him and kept
him indoors under lock and_ key, while they

themselves prepared for their attack.
XXI. When all things were ready, Aratus ordered

45

i)

PLUTARCH Saely s

duvauw éxédXevoeyv ETL TOV OTA@Y VUKTEpEvELY,
avaraBov 5€ Noyddas TeTpAaKoctous ovd avTOUS
elooTas TA TpaTTOmEVva, TANY OALYwY, AYE TTpOS
Tas wUNas Tapa TO ‘Hpaiov. ay b€ Tov étous 1)
mept Oépos axpuafov wpa, Tov O€ pNVvos Tavce-
Anvos, 9 O€ VUE avéperos Kal KaTadavns, wWaTeE
Kal poBor Ta oma, _TApeX ely dvTindwTovTa pos
THY wed, Tay Tous puraKas ov Aadbwotv. On
dé TOV T POT ov eyyus ovToy aro Jaracons av-
edpape veo Kal KATE XE TY TE TOALY AUTH Ka
TOV éFo TOTOV ETLOKLOY ryevopmevov. evraida d€
ot pev GAOL GuyKxabicavtTes UTEAVOYTO TAS KPN-
midas: ote yap wodov motovot modvy oT’
OALc Or uaTa AawBavoval yuUsvots TOLs TOOL aVTI-
Aap Bavopuevo, TOV KALLaKwY' Oo bé Epytvos érta
AaBov veavia KOUS éo TAApPEVvOUS OdoLTrOpLKaS EdaOeE
TH TUAD TpoopuiEas, Kal TOV TUAWPOV GTrOKTLV-
yUOUGL Kal TOUS MET AUTOU puraKas. apa o€ ai
Te KNipakes TpoceTiCevTO Kal KATA GTrOVdNY O
"Apatos umepiiBacas éxatov dvdpas, tovs &
adXous Ereo Gar Kehevoas ws av dvywrTat TaYLoTA,
TAS KAiwaKaS avapTdcas eXwpeEL Le THS TOAEWS
META TMV EXATOV ETL THY aKpay, On TEepryapns
d1a TO Aav@avery ws KaTtopov.
Kai res étt mpdcwbev abtois amyyta ov dwt
@uvrakn Tecodpwv avdpwyv ov KkaGopwpévois: Ere
yap hoav ev T@ cxtalopévn THs TEANYNS* ExELVvOUS
dé mpoctovras €& évavtias xaQop@ot. urxpov od
UTOTTELAAS TELYLOLS TLOL Kal OLKOTrEdOLS, EVEespaY
éml tous avdpas Kadifer. Kal Tpeis pev avtav
éumecovtes aToOraKxovaty, 0 b& TéTAapTOs TAN-
yels Eider tHv Keharny Epuye, Bowv Evdov eivas
46
ARATUS xx. 1-4

the rest of his forces to pass the night under arms,

and taking with him four hundred picked men, few of whom knew what was on foot themselves, led them towards the gate of Corinth near by the temple of Hera. It was midsummer, the moon was at its full, and the night was cloudless and clear, so that they feared lest the gleam of their arms in the moonlight should disclose them to the sentinels. But just as the foremost of them were near the wall, clouds ran up from the sea and enveloped the city itself and the region outside, which thus became dark, Then the rest of them sat down and took off their shoes, since men make little noise and do not slip if they are barefooted when they climb ladders; but Erginus, taking with him seven young men equipped as travellers, got unnoticed to the gate. Here they slew the gate-keeper and the sentries who were with him. At the same time the ladders were clapped to the wall, and after getting a hundred men over in all haste, Aratus ordered the rest to follow as fast as they could; then he pulled his ladders up after him and marched through the eity with his hundred men against the citadel, being already full of joy at his escape from detection and confident of success.

A little farther on they encountered a watch of four men with a light; they were not seen by them, being still in the shade of the moon, but saw them coming up in the opposite direction. So they drew back a little for shelter beneath some walls and buildings, and set an ambush for the men. Three of them they killed in their attack, but the fourth, with a sword-wound in his head, took to flight, crying

47

5

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

TOUS TONE pLOUS. Kal mera pexpov ai Te TATU YES eT ET NUALVOD, H TE TONS eEaviorato Tpos Ta yevopeva, mAnpEls TE no av ot oTEVWTOL dab eov-Tov, Kal dota Tord, TA pev KAaTwWUEY On, TA d€ avobev aTo THS aKpas TEplEeAapTe, Kal Kpavy) TUVEPPHYVUTO mavraxyobev a aon Los.

XXII. ‘Ey TOUTH é€ 0 ev “Apatos éudus TH mopetg Tapa TO kpnpvddes HPUNdG-TO, Bpabdéas Kal TaharTr@pos TO _Tp@Tov, ou KATAKPATOD, ann’ amroTAXavwpevos TOU TpiBov TavtaTacw évdedv-

KOTOS Kal TeovoKialomévov Tails TpayvTNnol Kal
bua TONABY EXiyHOv Kal TapaBor\@y TeEpaivoyTos
7 pos TO Telyos. Elta Oavpacvov olov 1) aweAnVN
AEeryeTat OvagTE\NoVTA Ta VvEhH Kal vrodaumovaa,)
Tis 0600 TO Xaherorarov cadnviger, & EWS ipyaro
TOU TeLXous xaQ ov eer Tomov: éxet O€ Tad
cuverkiagce Kal aTéeKpUWE vehov cuvedOovTwv.
Oi d€ epi tas wUAas EEw mepl to ‘Hpaioy
aTronerPOevres TOU ‘A pdtov TTpATMT aL, Tpla-~
«0a Lot TO TWANOOS GVTES, WS TOTE TaperseT er ov
els THY TOMY GopUBou Te TavTObaTrOD Kal PwrTwy
yé“oucar, ov Ou Bevtes efaveupety TOV aut ov
tpiBov ovo eis iXvos euBivar THs exeivov Topelas,
extn gay ab poor 1 pos Tw mariwonty Aayovt TOU
KPyLVOU TVaTELAAVTES eavtous, Kal “‘Suexaptépouy
evTav0a mepim ab ov Tes Kal duo avacxeTouyTes.
Baddopevov yap a7ro TIS axpas HON TOV mepl TOV
"A patov ral [a YO Mevor, ddahary [0s EVaYOVLOS
eX wpel KAT@, Kal Kpavy) TEPLIXEL, Ola Thy amo
TOV Op@y avdkracw cuyKeyvpevn Kal adndos
+ §rodaurovea Coraés and Bekker, adopting an anonymous
conjecture : broAaBoitca.
48

1037

ARATUS xxi. 4-xxul. 3

out that the enemy were in the city. And presently the trumpets were sounding, the city was in an uproar over what was happening, the streets were full of people running up and down, many lights were flashing, some in the city below and some in the citadel above, and a confused shouting broke forth on all hands.

XXII. Meanwhile Aratus was struggling up the steep with all his might, slowly and laboriously at first, unable to keep to the path and wandering from it, since it was everywhere sunk in the shadows of the jutting cliffs and had many twists and turns before it came out at the wall of the citadel. Then, marvellous to relate, the moon is said to have parted the clouds and shone out, making the most difficult part of the road plain, until he got to the wall at the spot desired ; there the clouds came together again and everything was hidden in darkness.

But the soldiers of Aratus whom he had left at the gate outside near the temple of Hera, three hundred in number, when once they had burst into

the city and found it full of lights and manifold
tumult, were unable to discover the path which
their comrades had taken or follow in their steps.
So they crouched down and huddled themselves
together in a shaded flank of the cliff, and there
remained in great distress and impatience. For
Aratus and his party were now assailed with missiles
from the citadel and were fighting, the shouts of
the combatants came down the slopes, and cries
echoed round about which the reverberations from
49

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ed " \ > f in) '4 \ > Lo
d0ev eine THY apx7v. CLtaTropovyTwY O€ avTaV
> > o \ , f > , ¢ A
ép Oo Te XpN TpaTécOat pépos, ApyédXaos oO TOV
Baoiktk@v ayenov otpatiwtas EXwY TOAXOUS
an \ / /
peTa Kpavyns avéBatve kal cadXTiyywr, émipepope-
vos Tols Tept Tov *Apatov, Kal TrapiANATTE TOUS
TptaKkoalous. ot d€ MaTeEp €& evédpas avagTaVTES
éuBdrrovaty avtTw Kal dtapbeipouvaw ols éréPevto
, 4 \ 4 \ XN bd ,
MpwTous, Tous O€ aAXous Kal Tov "Apyédaov do-
, , a
Bioavtes étpéavto Kat KatediwEayv ayps tod
a \ \ , / ld
oKxecacOnvat wept tTHy Tod diarvOévtas. aptt
/ A \ a
S€ tTovTwy verixnxotoy 'Epyivos ato Tav ave
/ s > ff , a
paxomévov rOev, ayyéAXwy auuTETTAEYOaL ToLs
\ Y
Toneutors Tov Apatov auvvopévols EevpwoTOS, Kal
fa) N a
HEYAY GYOVA TEPL AUTO TO TELVOS Elva, KAL TAX OUS
a wn / e \ > \ b / ¢ "
deity THs BonOetas. ot d€ evOds éxéXevov yeia Oat:
/ A
Kat mpoo BatvovTes dua dwvn duet nuatvov éautous,
? / ¢
emtBappvvovres tous dirous? 7) Te TavoéAnvos
> id \ of f f A

uTéepatve TA OTAA TAELOVA Hhalrvopeva TOS TrOXeE-
ec \ \ a a , \ a
pLLols OLA TO LNKOS THS Topelas, Kal TO THS vUKTOS
9 n \ ? \ > \ , a
ny@OES TOY aahaypov amd TOANATTAAGLOVwY 4)
, ~
TocouTwp emotes Soxety hépecOat. TédOS O€ TUP-
epetcavtes eEwfotar tovs mrodeuiovs Kal Ka-
/ a ¥ 9
UTEPTEPOL THS Akpas Hoav Kal TO Ppovpiov Elyor,
e / 0 6 - ee ef ? ‘ > /
nuepas 116 Stavyovons, O TE HALOS EVOUS éréXapTreE
a 7 ‘ a "he a
TO Epy@, Kal Taphy é€x Xtxv@vos 7 Noe? Svvapes
na? / / \ , a a /
TO Apato, dexouévoy kata TUAas TOV Kopiwbiwr
a, \ 2
mpoOvuws Kat Tovs BacidtKkous cvAXAapParovTwv.
NNIII. Evel é€ dogadas eboxes ravta exe,
, > \ s > \ n ” ;
xatéBarvev es TO P€atpov aro THs akpas, TAHGOUS
5°

ARATUS xxl. 3-xXxtil. 1

the hills rendered confused and of uncertain origin. Then, as they were at a loss which way to turn, Archelatis, the commander of the king’s forces, having many soldiers with him, made up the ascent amid shouts and the blare of trumpets to attack Aratus and his party, and thus passed by the three hundred. These, rising up from ambush as it were, fell upon him, slew the first whom they attacked, put the rest, together with Archelaiis, to panic flight, and pursued them until they were scattered and dispersed about the city. And just as this victory had been won, Erginus came from the party fighting on the heights, with tidings that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, that these were defending themselves vigor- ously, that a great struggle was going on at the very wall, and there was need of speedy help. The three hundred at once ordered him to lead the way; and as they took to the ascent their cries signalled their coming and encouraged their friends; the light of the full moon also made their arms appear more numerous to the enemy than they really were, owing to the length of their line of march, and the echoes of the night gave the impression that the shouts proceeded from many times the number of men there really were. At last, with a united onset, they repulsed the enemy, mastered the citadel, and held its garrison in their power. Day was now breaking, the sun at once shone out upon their success, and the rest of the forces of Aratus came up from Sicyon, the Corinthians readily re- ceiving them by the gates and helping them to seize the king’s soldiers.

XXIII. When everything appeared to be safe
Aratus came down from the citadel into the theatre
51

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ameipov TUppEoVTOS émOupia THs TE dYrews avTov
Kal TOV Aoyov ols é“eAXrE xpiedar am pos Tous Ko-
pious. eT LOT TAS dé Tats Tapodous exatépob ev
Tous ’Axatovs, avTos amo THS oKNVis els pegov
Tm poirbe, TEOwmpacia peEvOs Kal TO Tporwn@ dua
TOV KOTOV Kal THD arypuTviay AoLeopévos, dare
THS exis TO yaupoupevov Kal Yalpov viTo Tis
Tept TO copa Baputntos Kataxpateia Gat. TOV
dé avOporrav & aya TO mpocenbety avTov exxvdev-
TWY Tais pidop poo tvacs, peTaraBov els THY
defray TO dopy, Kal 78 yoru Kal TO capa Th porn
px pov eyKALVaS Kal ATEPELTAMELOS, ELOTIKEL TrO-
ALY Ypovov aiwmTH SexouEvos AVTOV TOvS KPOTOUS
Kal TAS éemtBonoess, eT aLvOUVTO@Y fev THY apeTHDy,
CnhovvTov dé TH TUXND. ws OE émavaavTo Kal
KaTeaTnaay, cuvayayov EQUTOV OveEN Oe Aayov
brrép TOV “AXavov 7 Tm pagel TpeTovTa., Kal oup-
éMELTE TOUS Kopwdious "Axasovs yevéoOan, Kal
T@V TUAMY TUS KAETS aT eOw@Ke TOTE TP @TOV ano
Tov Diriamikov Katp@v um’ éxelvots yevopévas.
tov 6€ “Avtiyovou aotpatnyav “Apxédaov pév
ad ixey vToxeiptov yevopevov, Meoppactoy 6é av-
etXev ov BovrAcpevov aTraddrattecGau THepcaios dé
Tis aKpas Gada KOwEVNS ELS Keyxpeas due Eémrecev.
baTepov ce AeyeTat oxohalav ™ pos TOV elTrovTa
povov avT@ doxety oTparnyov elvat Tov copon,
‘ AXXa v7) Geovs,” havat, “ TODTO wadALtoTA Kajol
scrote TOV Liyvwvos npecKe Soypatwy viv dé weTa-
BadXopat vovbetn Geis b7r0 TOD Xexvewviov veaviov.”
Tavta pev ep Ilepoaiou mActoves taTopovau.
52

ARATUS xxi. 1-5

whither an immense multitude streamed with an eager desire to see him and hear what he would say to the Corinthians. After stationing his Achaeans at both the side-entrances, he himself advanced from the back-scene into the orchestra, with his breastplate still on and his countenance altered by toil and loss of sleep, so that the exultation and joy of his spirit were overpowered by the weariness of his body. Since the multitude, when he came forward to address them, were profuse in their friendly ex- pressions, taking his spear in his right hand and slightly inclining his knee and his body, he sup- ported himself upon it and

stood thus for a long time silently receiving their applause and ac- clamations, their praises of his valour and_ their congratulations on his success. But when they had ceased and quiet had ensued, he summoned his strength and in behalf of the Achaeans made a speech which befitted their exploit, and persuaded the Corinthians to join the Achaean League. He also gave them back the keys to their gates, of which they then became possessed for the first time since the time of Philip of Macedon. Of the officers of Antigonus, he dismissed Archelaiis, who had been taken prisoner, but Theophrastus, who would not quit his post, he slew; as for Persaeus, on the capture of the citadel he made his escape to Cenchreae. And at a later time, as we are told, when he was leading a life of leisure, and someone remarked that in his opinion the wise man only could be a good general, “ Indeed,”’ he replied, “ there was a time when I too particularly liked this doctrine of Zeno’s ; but now, since the lesson I got from the young man of Sicyon, I am of another mind.” This story of Persaeus is told by many writers.

XXIV. ‘0 dé "A paros evus TO TE ‘Hpatov up
EauT@ Ka to Aéyatov eTOL1TUT0" Kab vewv wev 1038
€: KOTLTEDTE Race exuplevoer, immous 6é
mevtaKootious Kal Lvpous TET paKoatous aTEOOTO™
TOV TE ’AxpoxopuGov epudattov ol “AXavol
TeTpaKootoLs omhitais Kat TEVTKOVTD KUL Kab
Kuynyols io ols év TO ppoupi Tpepopevots.
Oi pév odv ‘Papatoe tov Bidoroipeva Oav-
palovtes “EAAHVOV Eo NATOV ™ poonyopEvon, @S
ju devas peyddou pet éxeivoy év tois “EXXAnot
yEVvOMEVOU' eY@ Oe TOV “EXAqv ERY mpatewv
TAUTNV eoXaTyy Kal vEwTATHY painv ay eT pa-
xIat, TOUTO peV TON, TOUTO O€ TUXD Tais apt-
TTAL évapthror, Os edn Awa ev evOus Ta yiwoueva,
Meryapeis te yap avootavtes Avtiyovou T@ Apd-
TO Tpoaeevto, Kal Tpoekyveot peta “Lredaupiov
auvetaxOnoav ELS Tous ‘Axatous, é£odov Te T po
thy Oewevos els THY "ATTiKNY eveBanre, Kat THY
Yarapiva biaBas éehenrhatnoev, wotrep €& elpKTis
LeAUMEVY) a Suvapes tov “Ayatwv éd 6 te Bov-
NoLTO XPOMEVOS. “AOnvatoes dé TOUS edevdépous
apfixey avev AVTPWY, apxyas: aTOOT doews EvOLdous
avrets. IT tohepatov bé CULL aXOV eroinge TOV
“A yatar, nyepoviay eXovTa TONE MOU Kal KaTa
te Kab Oaratray. ovr be ioxvoer ev Tois
‘Axatois, WOT, Eb pl) KAT eviauTov ebny, map
EVLAUTOV aipeta bas oTpPATH YOY avron, EPpy? be Kal
yvopnn Oia TavTos apxery. EWPWY yap avrov ov
mTrouTov, ov d0€av, ov dirtav Baciiixjv, od TO
THS aUTOV TaTpioos GuudEepov, oVK AdXAO TL TIS

avéijcews tov “Ayatoy érimpocbev tovovmevov.
54

ARATUS xxiv. 1-4

XXIV. As for Aratus, he at once made himselt master of the temple of Hera and the harbour of Lechaeum; he also seized five-and-twenty of the king’s ships, and sold five hundred horses and four hundred Syrians; Acrocorinthus, too, was garrisoned by the Achaeans with four hundred men-at- arms, and fifty dogs with as many keepers were maintained in the citadel.

Now the Romans, in their admiration of Philopoe- men, call him “the last of the Greeks,” implying that no great man arose among the Greeks after him; but I should say that this capture of Acro- corinthus was the very last and latest achievement of the Greeks, and that it rivalled their best, not only in daring, but also in happy results, as events atonce showed. Tor Megara seceded from Antigonus and attached herself to Aratus; Troezen and Epi- daurus were enrolled in the Achaean League; and Aratus, making a distant expedition for the first time, invaded Attica, and crossing the strait plundered Salamis, his Achaean forces, as though released from prison, obeying his every wish. But the freemen among his prisoners he sent back to the Athenians without ransom, thus laying a foundation for their revolt from Antigonus. He also made Ptolemy an ally of the Achaeans, with the leadership in war on land and sea. And he was so influential among the Achaeans that, since it was not permissible every year, they chose him general every other year, though, in fact, his wisdom made him their leader all the time. For they saw that he put first and foremost, not wealth, not fame, not friendship with kings, not his own native city’s advantage, but only the srowth in power of the Achaean League. For he considered

Se)

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to

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

nyetto yap acbeveis tora TAS TOXELS UTapYovaas
cwler bas dt GN ipeov @omTeEp evdedepwevas T@
KOLV@ oupdepovtt, Kat Kadamep Ta péepn TOV
cwopuatos CovtTa rat cuumveovTa Oia THY 7 pos
addnra cuuviar, oray atoomtacOy Kat yevnta
Xwpts, aTpopet Kat onTETAL, TapanAnoios TAS
TONELS amorrva bat fev vTr0 TOV tao @vrT@y
To Kowov, av&ecOar S€ UT adXAnA@Y, OTAV OAoU
TIVOS peydrou [LépN Yyevopuevat KoLVAS Tpovotas
:

TVYNaVO Ct.

XXV. ‘Opa@v b€ tovs apiatous Tov mpocot-
KV AUTOVOLOUMEVOUS, “Apyetos dé Sovhevovoww
ax Gopevos, ere BovA ever averely TOV TUpaVVOY
QUT OV ‘Apia Topaxov, pa TH TE WONEL Sperrnpta
THY édevGepiav amrovobvat PrroTLpoupevos Kat
Tots ‘Axatois 7 T poo Kopug ae THY TONY. Ob pev ow
TONMOV TES éUp peOnoay, Ov Aig xuros T POEL THKEL
Kal Nauicine o pavteis' Eidy de ovK elyov, GAN
ameipnto KexT ha Oat Kal Cnpiat weyadat Tots KEKTN-
pévols ernoav vio TOU TUparVoU. KaTacKevacas
ou o ly aurtots év Kopiv0e pix pas mapagepi-
das évépparpev ets CaYMATA’ KaL TAavTA mepiOets
umotuyiors oKEUN TIA TAPNMEANMEVA Kkopuitovow
ets "Apyos amréotetre. Naptpévous O€ TOU wadvTEews
mpothaBovros emt THY mpakw avOpwroy, ot TEpt
TOV Aloxvdov nyavaKxTnoav Ket &:’ €auT@v €7par-
TOV, TOU Naptuévous KATAYVOVTES. ata Oopevos
5é éxelvos opyn KaTeunvuce tovs avdpas %)6n
Badifovtas émi Tov TUpavvov' @V ol TrELTTOL
bOdcavtes €E& ayopas amépuyov Kat dieFErecov
eis Kopivfor.

1 Cf. chap. iii. le

that the Greek states which were weak would be preserved by mutual support when once they had been bound as it were by the common interest, and that just as the members of the body have a common life and breath because they cleave together in a common growth, but when they are drawn apart and become separate they wither away and decay, in like manner the several states are ruined by those who dissever their common bonds, but are augmented by mutual support, when they become parts of a great whole and enjoy a common foresight.

XXV. And so, since he saw that the best of the neighbouring peoples were autonomous, and was distressed at the servitude of the Argives, he plotted to kill Aristomachus the tyrant of Argos, being ambitious to restore its freedom to the city as a re- ward for the rearing it had given him,! as well as to attach it to the Achaean League. Accordingly, men were found to dare the deed, of whom Aeschylus and Charimenes the seer were the chief. They had no swords, however, the tyrant having prohibited the possession of them under heavy penalties. Aratus, therefore, ordered small daggers to be made for them in Corinth and sewed them up in pack-saddles; these he put upon beasts of burden carrying ordinary wares

and sent thei into Argos. But Charimenes the seer took on a partner in the enterprise, at which Aeschy-Jus and his friends were incensed and proceeded to act on their own account, ignoring Charimenes. When Charimenes was aware of this, he was angry and informed against the men just as they were setting out to attack the tyrant; most of them, however, succeeded in escaping from the market- place and fled to Corinth.

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4

or

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Od piv add\Xra ypovov Bpayéos SteNGovtos azro-
Ovioxee pev vo bovr@v *Aptotrouayxos, vUmo-
NapBavee S€ thy apynv POacas ’ApiotiTTos,
éEwréotepos éxetvou TUpavvos. oaoe $7) TaY
"Ayatov év AtKia TapovtTes ETVYXOV, TOUTOUS
avahaBov o “Apatos éBonber mpos THY ToALW
o&€éws, alouevos evpyoeayv ta Tav Apyetwv Tpo-
Ouya. tov dé TodArAwY dn ba cUVHOeLav eGero-
dovAws éyovTwy Kai pndevos adtatapévou pos
avTov, dveywpnoey EyKANMA KATETKEVAKWS TOTS
"Ayatots ws é€v eipyvn Toreuov éEevnvoxoat. Kai
dixny Exyov é€mi TovTw tapa Mavtiwebdow, iv
"Apdtov yl) wapovtos “Apiotimmos cide SiwKxwv
Kal pvov eéTounOn tTpraxovta. Tov 5é “Apatov
avUTOV dua Kai pic@v Kal dedoiK@s é7TEBovNEVEY
averety cuvepyovvtos ‘Avtiyovov tod Baciiéws’
Kal TAYTAXOD GYEdOV Hoav ot TOUTO TpAaTTOVTES
avTOls KAL KaLpov éTLTNPODPTES.
"AAN ovsev oiov adrnOivyn Kat BéBatos edvora
@vAakTypLov avdpos apxovTos. Otay yap ébicba-
ow ot Te TOOL Kal of SvvaTOL pn TOV HyoUpEVOY,
GX’ Urép Tov yyoupévou Sedtévat, ToANOTs pév
Oppaciw opd, dia Todkdov 66 wWTwy aKovet, Kal
mpoatabavetat Ta yivomeva. 610 Kal Bovropat
Tov Aoyov éemiaTtHcas évTadOa mov d.eFENOeiv
wept THs ’Aptotintou s&taitys, vy 1) CnNoTUTOV-
péevn TUpavvis avT@ Kal 6 THIS paxaptas kal
meptBontov povapyias oyKos TepteOnxer.
NAVI. ’Exeivos yap "Avtiyovov pév éxov
58
1039

Nevertheless, after a little while Aristomachus was killed by slaves, and Aristippus, a more pernicious tyrant than he, soon succeeded in seizing the power. Aratus at once took all the Achaeans of military age who were at hand and went swiftly to the aid of the city, supposing that he would be welcomed by the Argives. But since most of them were by this time habituated to slavery and willing to endure it, so that not a man came over to his side, he retired, after involving the Achaeans in the charge of having gone to war in time of peace. They were prosecuted on this charge before the Mantineans, and in the absence of Aratus, Aristippus as plaintiff won his case and was awarded damages to the amount of thirty minas.t_ Aratus himself the tyrant both hated and feared, and so laid plots to kill him with the assistance of Antigonus the king; and almost every- where there were men who undertook this deed for them and watched for an opportunity.

But there is no safeguard for a ruler like a sincere and steadfast goodwill on the part of the ruled. For when both the common people and the leading men are afraid, not of their leader, but for their leader, he sees with many eyes, hears with many ears, and so perceives betimes what is going on. ‘Therefore | wish to stop my story at this point, in order to describe the life that Aristippus led. This was laid upon him by his office of tyrant, so envied of men, and by the pride and pomp of monarchy, which men celebrate and call blessed.

XXVI. For though he had Antigonus as ally, and

1 Half a talent. equivalent to about £118, or $600, a merely nominal fine. Mantineia acted as arbitrator, perhaps by special agreement.

to

oUupayov, Tpépwy Ce TorNOVs EvEKA THS TOU
cwpatos aghadeias, ovdéva oe ev TH TOrAE
CavTa Tay €yOpav vmoveXoLTTOS, TOUS pev bo-
pudopouvs kat diAanas €Ew TrapeuBarrev éxeé-
Nevey EV TH WEPLTTVAM, Tovs Ce oOlKéTAS, OTFOTE
cevmvyjaat, TaXLOTA mavTas efehavvev Kal Tay
péTavrov ATOKAELWY [ETA THS ep@wevns AUTOS
Els olKnia KATEOUETO psx pov UTEP@OY, Oupa
KATAPPAKT? KELO [EVO ns UTrEepavw THY KALYNY
emeTeOeis exadevoev, ws e105 xabevdey TOV OUTWS
éXovra, Tapaxwoas Kal meptpoBos. TO O€ KA
ako) HS épwperns HNTNP upatpovoa Kare-
KAELEV ELS ETE pov olknpa, Kat Tad ap pep

mpooeTiBer Kal KATEKGAEL Tov Oavyactov TUpay-
vov, Qo TEP EPTETOV | ex podeod KATEPXOpEVov.
o 6¢é oux Om Aous Kara Biav, vow be vn’ dperis
dxataT avo ov apxny TEPLTET OLN {LEVOS, év (marie
Kal Krapudde T@ TUYOVTL, TOY TOTOTE TUpavver
KOLVOS drrobeberrypévos ex pos, axpe TS 77) He pov
nmEepas yEVvOS ev0oKLMa@TATOV am ohehouT ev Ev TOUS
“EAAnoev. exeivov be TOY TAS axpas Kata-
AapBavovtov wal TOUS Sopupopous TpepovTay
kal TAaOT Na Kal Tas mUAas Kal TOUS KaTappaKtas
7 poBarropéevav UTEep THS TOU TW LATOS acha-
deltas ONiryou TOV é€K PANY is Oavatov, Bamep Ol
Aaywot, Ouepuyov: oixos O€ 7; y) yévos 7) Tahos Exwr
TLLMLEVHY YH NY ovdevos NENELTTITAL-
XXVIT. pos & ody tov Apiotemmov 6 “Apa-
Tos Kal Kpvda TodXdakis Kal havep@s mpoc-
émTaLoev ETLVELPHNaAS KaTAaAapBave TO “Apyos.
amaké 5€ kXiwaxas wpodbels pet OALywv etl TO
Tetvyos avéBn TapaBdrAws, Kal Tovs BonOodvras
60
ARATUS xxvi. 1-xxvll. I

kept many guards to protect his person, and had left no single enemy alive in the city, yet he would order his spearmen and guards to bivouac outside in the colonnade ; and as for his servants, as soon as supper was over he would drive them all out. Then he would lock the doors of the inner house, and betake himself with his mistress to a little upper room, which was closed by a trap-door; on this door he would place his couch and sleep, as one in his state of mind would naturally sleep, by fits and starts and in great fear. The ladder the mother of his mistress would take away and lock up in another room, and in the morning would put it in place again and call the wonderful tyrant, who would come down like a creeping thing out of its hole. Aratus, on the other hand, not by force of arms, but legally and in con- sequence of his virtues, had invested himself with an enduring power, and yet went about in ordinary tunic and cloak; he declared himself a public foe of any and every tyrant; and he left behind him a posterity of the highest repute among the Greeks down to this day. But of the men who seize citadels, main- tain spearmen, and depend upon arms and gates and trap-doors for the safety of their persons, only a few, like timorous hares, have escaped a violent death ; while not one of them has left a house, or a family, or a tomb to keep his memory in honour. XXVII. Against Aristippus, then, and in trying to seize Argos, Aratus made many open and secret attempts in vain. Once he set up scaling-ladders, at great hazard got upon the wall with a few followers, and killed the sentries that defended the

1 Cf. chap. liv. ad jin.
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

2 éevtad0a Tav duraxwy aTéxtewev. eiTa Hepas
éripavelans Kat TOU TUpavvoU TaVTaYobEY ALTO

mpoaBddXovtos, ol ev “Apyetot, Kalarrep oux
uTep THS éxetvor €hevdepias THS MANNS ovens, aXr’
ws TOV ayava Tov Nepetwv BpaSevortes, i icol Kal
dixatot Geatat Kadivro Tay yevopever, TOMY
nouxXtay GryovTEs, o 6€ “A paros EUp@aTos apy o-
HLEVOS NOYXN pev ex Xeupos Ovehavvera TOV Npor,
eXpaTNoe o€ TOV TOTO €v ols WV, Kal ovK efewo On
EXPL VUKTOS Evox Novpevos UTo TOV TOMLOV.
3 et dé Kal THY VUKTA TO TOV | MpoceTararmopnaen,
ovx av Oujpaptev’ 0 yap TUpavvos ién Tept Spa-
Tmov etye Kal TONAA TOV idtwv etl Padacaav
mpoeEereprre’ vov O€ ToUTO pev ovdevos é€ay-
yethavros T pos tov “Apatop, datos dé emtne-
TOVTOS, EAVT@ oe xpncac bat dia TO Tpavpa py
SUVALLEVOS, dmiyarye TOUS TT PATLOTAS.
XXVIII. ’Evet 6¢ tavtny aréyvw thy oop,
éuBarov PavepOs TO 7 TpATOT EO THY ‘Apyonrioa
Xopav érropO en" Kad Tept TOV Xdpnra OTA LOY
loxXupas paxns YEVOLEVNS Tpos: “Aptotimmop
aitiay éaxev Os eycaTarim@v Tov ayova Kat
T POE {LEVOS TO viKn [a THS yap arANS duvapews 104
omohoyouperas émixpatovans Kal T@ roy pp
Todv mpoeNGovans eis Tovpmpodbev, aUTOS OvY
otTws éxBiacbels Urd ToV Kab aUTOV, WS aTl-
oTav T® KaTtopOwpat. Kai PoBnOeis, aveywpnoe
2 TeTapaypévos eis TO OTpaTOTredoV. érret OE ATO
THs Suwkews erravedGovtes of RAotTOL YaXreTTas
Epepoy OTe Tpewdapevot Tovs TorEulovs Kal
ToAU TWAELoVas EeKelvwy KaTaBadrcvTes 1) ThOY
aVT@VY GTOAeTAaVTES TWapareXolTage Tos NTTN-
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ARAEUS xxvit. 1=xxviu. 2

place. Then day came and the tyrant attacked him from all sides, while the Argives, as though it were not a battle to secure their liberties, but a contest in the Nemean games of which they were the judges, sat as just and impartial spectators of what was going on, without lifting a finger. Aratus, fighting sturdily, had his thigh transfixed by a spear-thrust, yet held his ground, and could not be dislodged at close quarters until night, though harassed by his enemies. And if through the night also he had maintained the struggle, he would not have failed in his attempt; for the tyrant was already bent on flight and had sent on many of his goods to the sea. As it was, however, no one told Aratus of this, and since water was failing him and he could not use his strength by

reason of his wound, he led his soldiers away.
XXVIII. Then, since he despaired of success in this way, he openly invaded the territory of Argos with his army and ravaged it; and in a fierce battle with Aristippus at the river Chares, he was accused of abandoning the struggle and throwing away the victory. For although the rest of his forces admittedly had the upper hand and had gone far on ahead in pursuit, he himself, not so much because he was ousted from his position by his opponents, as out of mistrust of success and in utter fear, withdrew in disorder to his camp. But when the rest of his army came back from the pursuit and were indignant because, though they had routed the enemy and slain far more of them than they had lost of their own number, they had suffered the vanquished to
03
PLUTARCRH'S LIVES

pévois oTioat Kat avTaVY TpoTaLoY, alayuVvOeis
, A
Tdadw éyvw diapayecOat Tepi Tov TpoTraiov, Kal

piav npépav Siaritrov avOis é€étacce THY oTpa-

tTiav. ws b€ yaOeTO Wrelovas yeyovotas Kal

\ 7

Gapparewtepov avOtatapévovs Tovs wept TOY TU-

' >] , 5 > 9 n \ Q

pavvov, ovk éTOALNTEV, EAN amHdAGEe Tovs vEeKpous

t td 3 , b] \ b] \ w~ \

UToaTovoous LLU SG EGLIS. ov pnv adda TH ee

THY Oulrtav Kal TroALTELaV ep metpig Kat xa pers

THY Sra wapriay TAUTHD dvapar opevos ™ poo nya-

yeto tas Krewvas Tots "Ayatois, Kal Tov ayava

tov Nepeiwy jyayev ev Krewvais, os mdatpiov
aA 4
dvTa Kal padXOVv TpoarKovTa TovTOLS. Hryaryov

dé kat ’Apyetor, Kal auvexvOn ToTe TpwToV 7

a 3 al 4 \
dedouevn Tols uywuiaTais adovrAla Kat aodarea,
? nw a ¢ /-
mavtas Tov Ayxatav, daous EXaBov Hywrid wévous
\ nA ;
év "Apyet, dia THs KW@pas Topevopmevous ws ToXeE-

pious atrodouévav. otw adhodpos tv Kal amrap-

aiTNTOS EV T@ ploEely TOS TUPaVVOUs.

XXIX. "Odiyo 6€ tatepov axovaas Tov ’Api-
oTimmov émeBourevery prev Tats Krewvais, poBet-
\ 9 A bf , / #
oat dé éxetvov év KopivOw xabefopevov, nO pore
, 4
éx TrapayyéApatos otpateiav. Kal auitia Ke-
fa al ,
AEevaas TAELOVWY HuEepaVv Komitey eis Keyypeas
A ’ , be) , >] ,
Kkathrbev, exxarovpevos O¢ atatns Tov Apioter-
¢ w~ \ / , na
jWov wS avTov pn mapovtos énriPécbat Tois
a nw
Krewvaios’ 6 Kai ovvé8y. taphyv yap evOus é&
ov ” A PY, e be v7 9
Apyous éxov tyhv dvvauv. o 6€ “Apatos eis
KopivOov 6n cxotaios ex Keyypeav troatpéwas,
tras Mian els heals Ee RRS gee O30 rane Teer SS
1 After the events narrated in xxxiv, ff,
64

ARATUS xxvii. 2—xxtx. 2

erect a trophy over the victors, Aratus was ashamed and determined again to fight out the question of the trophy, and on the next day but one put his army once more in battle array. However, on per- ceiving that the forces of the tyrant were more numerous than before and more courageous in their resistance, he would not venture a decisive battle, but withdrew after being allowed to take up his dead under a truce. Nevertheless, by his skill in dealing with men and public affairs, and by the favour in which he stood, he

retrieved this failure, brought Cleonae into the Achaean League, and celebrated the Nemean games in that city, on the ground that it had an ancient and more fitting claim upon them. But the games were also celebrated at Argos, and then for the first time the privilege of asylum and safe-conduct which had been granted to contestants in the games was violated, since the Achaeans treated as enemies and sold into slavery all contestants in the games at Argos whom they caught travelling through their territory. So fierce and implacable was Aratus in his hatred of tyrants.

ANik. A little while after this,! Aratus heard that Aristippus was plotting against Cleonae, but feared to attack it while his enemy was posted at Corinth; he therefore assembled an army by public proclamation. And after ordering his troops to carry provisions for several days, he marched down to Cenchreae, by this stratagem inviting Aristippus to attack Cleonae in the belief that his enemy was not at hand; and this was actually what happened. For the tyrant set out at once from Argos with his forces. But Aratus, returning from Cenchreae to Corinth as soon as it was dark, and posting guards

Kal Tas odous puraxais dcaraBon, YE TOUS
'A xatous ETOMEVOUS ott jeev EUTEKTOS, oUTa o€
TAXEDS Kal Tpolvuws WaTeE by {LOVOV odevovTas,
adna Kal TmapedBovras eis TAS Krewvas ere VUK-
TOS ovons Kal cuvrakapevous émwl aynv aryvoet-
a Oat kal AavOaveww Tov "Apiotimmov. Gia oe
nMEpa TOV TUAOY avorx Pera @v Kal THs cadmey-
yos ey xehevTapevns, Spomep Kal dharayp@ ™ poc-
Tec@v Tots Todeulows evOus érpevrato, Kal
KaTEtXe OL@xeov 7 padiora pevyyerv UTevoet TOV
'Apiatimmoy, € EXT POTTAS TONNAS TOV YoOpiwv eyov-
TOV. yevopevns Oe THS btw Fews aX pe Muxnvar,
0 [Lev _TUpavvos umd Kpnros Tivos, ws Acwias
ioTopel, TOUVOpA Tpayioxou, catarnolels amTro-
oparretat, Tov o€ dA\wV ETEecov UT Ep YUALous
mevtakxocious. 0 6é€ "Apatos oT AapyTpPaS
eUTUYNTAaS Kal pydéva TOV avTOD oTpaTiWTaV
aToBarov, ouws ovx eaBe to "Apyos oude
Nrevdepace, TOV TeEpl 'Ayiav Kal TOL VEw@TEPOV
"A pia Tomax ov pera Oupapews Raorrexiys TaAp-
ELT ET OVTOY Kal KATAGXOVTOV Ta TPLy Lara.
To pev odv ToAv THs dtaBorNs Kal Aoyous Kal
cKxwoppata Kal Bwportoxias TapeiNeTO TOV KONa-
KEVOVTWV TOUS TUpdvvoUs Kab OveEvovtan, EXELVOLS
xapeloneveor, Os TOU oTparnyou Tov "AXaLav
EXTAPUTTOLTO pev 7 KotNLa Tapa TAS payas,
Kapos b€ TpogTintoL Kal tduyyos dua TO Tapa-

oThvas TOV TANTLYKTHY, extd€as dé Thy OvvapLy
Kat TO cuvOnpa TAPEYYVITAS, Kat mv 6pevos
TOV UTOTTPATiyyov Kal AoXayav, pay TLS aUTOD
V peta TapovTos (BeBrRcPat yap Tovs aor pa-
yanous), aTépxorTo Kapadcoxijawy Troppwlev To
66

ARATUS xxix. 2-5

along all the roads, led his Achaeans towards Cleonae, and they followed him in such good order and with such swiftness and alacrity that not only while they were on the march, but also when they had got into Cieonae, before the night was over, and had arrayed themselves for battle, Aristippus knew nothing at all of it. Then, at daybreak, the gates were thrown open, the trumpet gave its loud signal, and dashing at a run and with shouts upon the enemy Aratus routed them at once, and kept on pursuing where he most suspected that Aristippus was in flight, the country having many diverging routes. The pursuit continued as far as Mycenae, where the tyrant was overtaken and slain by a certain Cretan named Tragiscus, as Deinias relates ; and besides him there fell over fifteen hundred. But although Aratus had won so brilliant a success, and had lost not a single one of his own soldiers, he nevertheless did not take Argos nor set it free, since Agias and the younger Aristomachus burst into the city with troops of the king and took control of affairs,

This success, then, refuted much of the calumny heaped upon Aratus, as well as the scoffing and abusive stories of the flatterers of the tyrants, who would recount, to please their masters, how the general of the Achaeans always had cramps in the bowels when a battle was imminent, and how torpor and dizziness would seize him as soon as the trumpeter stood by to give the signal, and how, after he had drawn up his forces and passed the watchword along, he would ask his leutenants and captains whether there was any further need of his presence (since the die was already cast), and then go off to await the issue anxiously at a distance. Tor

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

6 up Sno opevov. TavTa yap oUTWS iayUoEY WATE

68

Kat Tous prrogopous ev TALS oXonais on TouvTas
el TO Tarr€Ec Oat THY Kapolay Kal TO Xpopa Tpé-
mecOat Kal THY KotNLaY ebvypaiver@at Tapa Ta
pacvopeva dewa devas €oTLY 1) vo Kpacias TWVOS
TEpL TO copa Kal Yuxporntos, ovopmatew a adel Tov
"A patov ws ayabov pev évta oTpaTHyor, aél Oe
TAUTA TATXOVTA TAPA TOUS ayavas.
XXX. ‘Os & ody tov “Aptotum mov avetrer,

evOus em eBovdeuae Avosady TO Meyadoronhity
TUpavvourTl THS €avTov maT pibos. o 6€ ovK OV
ayevviys ovee Apihor pos THY guow, ovee Oo TeEp
ot TOOL TOV MovapXxev aKpacta Kat Treovebig
T pos TAUTNDY puels THY adiKiay, GX érra pOcis
Eport d0Ens Ett véos Kat Xoyous speudels Kal
KEVOUS AEYOMEVOUS mept Tupavvisos, OS peaxaptov
kai @avpaatod Tpayparos, els perya, ppovnpa
TapadeEdwevos avonTas, Kal KATATTHTAS EMUTOV
TUpavyov Taxy MET TOS mV THS €K povapxias Bapv-
TynTOS. apa 6é onhav eUnwepodvra Kat SEdOLKaS
emtBoudevovta TOV "A patov oppnoe KANO THY
oppeny peta Badopevos, 7 p@Tov pev EaUTOV edev-
Gepacar picous | kat goou Kal ppovpas Kal
Sopupapan, ELTA THS TaTpidos EVEPYETNS yever Oar
Kal peTaTenyapevos TOV "A paroy aphke Tip
apxny, Kal TV Tod eis TOUS “AXavous per-
EKOMLTED. ep ols weyaduvovTes avTov oi “Ayatol
oTPAaTHYOV ELAOVTO.
Drroripovpevos 66 evOus umepBaneiv d0&n TOV
"A patov ddXas Te ToAAaS m pagers OUK avayKaias
etvat Soxovaas Kal oTpateiay emi Naxedatuovious
Tapyyyedrev. eviataduevos b€ 0 "Apatos adto
ARATUS xxix. 5-Xxx. 3

these stories were so prevalent that even in the
schools of philosophy, when the query arises whether
palpitation of the heart and change of colour and
looseness of the bowels, in the presence of seeming
peril, are the mark of cowardice, or of some faulty
temperament and chilliness in the body, Aratus is
always mentioned by name as one who was a good
general, but always had these symptons when a
contest was impending.

XXX. Having thus made away with Aristippus, Aratus at once began to plot against Lydiades, who was tyrant in his native city of Megalopolis. This Lydiades was neither of mean birth nor naturally lacking in high ambition, nor, like most sole rulers, had he been driven by licence and rapacity into this iniquity, but he had been fired with a love of glory while still young, and had thoughtlessly associated with his high spirit the false and empty doctrines current concerning tyranny, to the effect that it was a wonderful and blessed thing. And now that he had made himself tyrant, he was quickly sated with the burdens which devolve upon the sole ruler. Therefore, at once envying the successes of Aratus and fearing his plots, he adopted a new and most admirable plan, first, to free himself from hatred and fear and guards and spearmen, and second, to become a benefactor of his native city. So he sent for Aratus, resigned his power, and made his city a member of the Achaean League. Wherefore the Achaeans exalted him and chose him general.

Lydiades was at once ambitious to surpass Aratus in reputation, and not only did many other things which were thought unnecessary, but also proclaimed an expedition against the Lacedaemonians. Aratus

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

plovety edoxet: Kal TO Ye OevTepov o Avosddns
oTparryos npeOn, aVTUT pat TOVvTOS AUTLK PUS ‘Apd-
TOU Kal omovdd Sovtos eTEP@ mapadodjvar THY
Boe AUTOS pev Vp, @s elpnTat, Tap’ evlauTor
Ap HEX pL pev ovv TpLTNS oTpaTnyias 6 Av-
bud re ev pepopevos dueTéeAeL Kal map évlavtov
Apyev évardrak& 7O Apatow oTparnyav' pavepav
d€ eLeverye devas éyO pav Kal ToAAdKis auTou
KaTnyopncas ev tois 'Ayxatois ameppipn Kal
Tapopen, TET AAG [EVE Ooxdp nOet mpos adn-
Oiwny Kat aKEpALOY apeTny apirrjgacBat. Kat
KabaTep TO KOKKUyt hynow Aicwros, epwTovTt
Tous NeTTOUS OpYViOas 6 TL PEevyoLeVy aUTOD, ELTrEtY
éxelvous ws éaTtat Tote iépak, oVTwWS EoLKE TO)
Avitdbn mapaxonrovbety éx tis tupavyidos vtro-
Wia Brartovea Tiyv hvaw avtovd Tis peTaBorNs.
DOR I Oo Apatos EVOOKLULNTE Kal mept
Tas AlitwALKas mpikers, OTE oupBarely pev avtot;
7 po THS Meyapixns @ppenpevov TOY ‘Axatan,
KaL TOU Bacthéws TOV Aaxebatpovior "Aytoos
dptcopevov peta Ourdpews Kal cuveLoppavros
ert THY paxny TOUS “Axatous, évavtiwbeis Kal
TONAa pev oveion, moArXa © Ets paraxtav Kat
aToApiay Kal cxwoppata Kal yevacmoy UTropei-
vas ov TponKaTO TOY TOV GUEdEPOYTOS AOYLG LOY
da TO havopevoy aicypov, adrAa Tapexwpnae
Tols ToAemloes UirepBarovar THv LVepdveray apa-
vet maperGeiy ets HeXomrovvnaov. ws pévtot Tap-
erOovtes cEaidyns Werxrnvnv xatéXaBov, obKéT Fy
e

td fT
0 altos, ovd Euerdre SraTpiBwv Kal Trepipérov

1 Chap. xxiv. 4. 4 About 241 nc. Cf. the Agis, xiv. f.
7°
ARATUS xxx. 3-Xxx1. 2

opposed him, but was thought to do so out of jealousy ; and Lydiades was chosen general for the second time, though Aratus openly worked against him and was eager to have the office given to some- one else. For Aratus himself, as I have said,! held the office every other year. Accordingly, until he was general for the third time, Lydiades continued to be held in favour, and held the office every other year in alternation with Aratus; but after displaying an open enmity to him and frequently denouncing him before the Achaeans, he was cast aside and ignored, since it was apparent that he was contend- ing, with a fictitious character, against a genuine and unadulterated virtue. And just as the cuckoo, in the fable of Aesop, when he asks the little birds why they fly away from him, is told by them that he will one day be a hawk, so it would seem that since Lydiades had once been a tyrant he was never free from a suspicion, which did injustice to his real nature, that he would change again.

XXXI. In the Aetolian war also Aratus won a good repute. For when the Achaeans were bent on an engagement with the Aetolians in front of Megara," and Agis the king of the Lacedaemonians was come up with an army and joined in urging the Achaeans on to battle, Aratus opposed this counsel, and in spite of much vilification and much scoffing abuse for weakness and cowardice would not abandon, because of any seeming disgrace, which he judged to be for the general advantage, but allowed the enemy to cross the Geraneian range without a battle and pass on into Peloponnesus. When, however, after thus passing on, they suddenly seized Pellene, he was no longer the same man, nor would he wait at

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

' lod AN ~ 3 3 x ,
abporcOnvat Kat cuverOety eis Tav'TO TavTay der
\ , b) y ' ' e \ a U
THY Ovvapty, AN EvOUs BpyNnoe peTa TOV Tapov-
Twy él TOUS ToAEuLouUs ey TO KpaTeiv acbeve-
, > ' , \ ef # ee b!
3aTatous 6 atakiay cai BBpw ovtas. dua yap
T® TapedOew els THY TOY Of ey TTPATLMTAL
ia) A "A
dvactrapevTes éy tails oixiats jnaoav, éEwOobvTes
\ / a
GNANAOVS Kal Crapayopmevolr TEpt THY YpHnuaTwD,
nryemoves S€ Kal AOYaYol Tas yuvatKas Kal Tas
/ A =f
Ouyatépas tov erAAnvéwy trepriovtes Aptralov,
\ " a
Kal Ta Kpavn Ta adTtav adgapodvtes éxeivats
/ "A a a

mepteTiOecay Tov undéva AaBEtvy ArXov, GAA TO
a > \ t
xpavet OnXrov elvat Tov deaTroTHY ExaaTNS. ovTW
bé Scaxerpévois avtois Kal tavtTa mpattovaw
3 4 ey b] \ / \
eEaipuns 0” Apatos émimet@v TpognyyérXOn. Kat
yevouevns extrrAN ews, olay etxos év atakia Tot-
/ , “~
avrTn, Wpiv } Tavtas TUdéd Oat Tov KivduVOY Ol TPa-
a A A ‘
TOL Epi TAS TrUAAS TOls AxYatots KAaLTA TpodaTEla
ovuptrecovTes Ehevyov Hon verixnpevol, Kat Kate- 104
‘
TwipTrAacay éAavvouevot TpoTpoTadny aTopias
Tovs gurtatapévous Kal tpocBonbodvtas.
XXXII. ’E Tw O€ TA i (a TG
. Ev tottwm 6€ 7 tapdyw pia Tov
3 ,
arxparwtwv, Esriynbous avdpos évdo€ou Ouyarnp,
s\
avutyn d€ KddAEL Kal peyéPer TMpaTos EevTpET NS,
A e a A b
eTuye ev év TO (ep@ Kabelopévn THs Aptémtcos,
ov KATETTNOEV ALTHV O ETLAEKTAPYNS EXWY EAUT@
\ \ \ f ” \ 3 A
Kal TrepeOets THY Tpirodiav, advw bé éxdpapovca
2 mpos tov OdpvBov, ws Estn po TOY Bupay Tod
lepov Kal KaTéBrEWeY Els TOUS payouevous avwber
Eyovga THY Tptropiav, avTois TE TOis ToALTALS
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ARATUS xxx. 2—xxxul. 2

all in order that his forces might assemble and come together from all quarters, but at once set out with those he had against the enemy, whom the disorder and wantonness attendant upon their success had wholly weakened. For as soon as they had entered the city, the common soldiers had scattered themselves among the houses, jostling and fighting with one another over the booty, while the leaders and captains were going about and seizing the wives and daughters of the Pellenians, on whose heads they put their own helmets, that no one else might seize them, but that the helmet might show to whom each woman belonged. But while they were in this situation and thus engaged, word was suddenly brought them that Aratus had attacked. Dismay fell upon them, as was natural amid such disorder, and before all had learned of the danger the fore- most of them, engaging with the Achaeans at the gates and in the suburbs, were already conquered and in full flight, and being driven in headlong rout, they filled with dismay those who were collecting together and coming to their aid.

XXXII. In the midst of this confusion, one of the captive women, daughter of Epigethes, a man of distinction, and herself conspicuous for beauty and stateliness of person, chanced to be sitting in the sanctuary of Artemis, where she had been placed by the captain of a picked corps, who had seized her for his prize and set his three-crested helmet upon her head. But suddenly she ran forth to view the tumult, and as she stood in front of the gate of the sanctuary and looked down upon the combatants from on high, with the three-crested helmet on her head, she seemed to the citizens themselves a vision

Géapa cepvotepov % Kat avOpwrov éepavy, Kal
Tots ToAEutots Pagpa Oetov opav Soxovar Ppixny
évéBare cat Cap Bos, Bote pydéva TpéwETV at TPOS
GXKNY.
Avtot 6€ TleAAnvets Xéyouot to Bpéras Tijs
Geov Tov pev addOv aTroKeta Oar ypovov aravaTor,
oTay O€ Kivnbeév v0 Tis iepetas exhépytat, unoéva
mpooBrérev évavtiov, aAN amotpétmecOar Trav-
Tas" ov yap av pwrous povov dpapa ppixtov
elvat Kal Xaremon, ava Kal devopa motel apopa
Kat KAPTFOUS drrauBrioKew, du @y ap Kopitntar.
Touto on TOTE THY léperay efeveyxapevyy Kat T pé-
Tovoav det KaTa TOvS Aitwdovs dv TT poo wm ov
exppovas KaTacThoat Kal waperécbat Tov Aoyt-
auov. o &€ "Apatos ovdev év Tois vropynpacey
ELPNKE TOLOUTOV, GANG not TpEWapevos TOUS
Aitwdous cal devyouat cuvercTEegay els THY TOALY
cEeXacat KaTAa KpdTos, Emtaxocious 5é amoKTeEl-
vat. TO rs Epryov év Tots peylaTous d1eB070n, Kai
Tipavns o Corypados émoinaey eumavTiKas TH
Si:abéoer THY paxny éxouoar.
XXXII. O8 pay GNAa TOAA@Y eOvav Kal
Rae TONS emt TOUS 'AxXatovs Tuva TA LEVY evOus
"A patos em parte pidiav 7 pos. tovs AitwAous,
Kal Ilavtadéovre T@ WET TOV Atrodov Ouvaperen
cuvepyo NPT pEvos ov povov elpnyny, andra Krai
cum PAX iar tots "Ayaois mpos tovs AitwXrovs
érroince.
Tovs dé "AGnvatous omovdator érevJ epic aut
Se BA7O% Kal KaKOS jKoveev U7Tr0 TOY "Axaav,
671 omoveas TET OLN MEVOY QUT@Y pos TOUS Make-
dovas Kal dvoyas ayovtev érexeipnoe Tov Tlepara

of more than human majesty, while the enemy
thought they saw an apparition from heaven and
were struck with amazement and terror, so that not
a man of them thought of defending himself.
But the Pellenians themselves tell us that the image of the goddess usually stands untouched, and that when it is removed by the priestess and carried forth from the temple, no man looks upon it, but all turn their gaze away ; for not only to mankind is it a grievous and terrible sight, but trees also, past which it may be carried, become barren and cast their fruit. This image, then, they say, the priestess carried forth from the temple at this time, and by ever turning it in the faces of the Aetolians robbed them of their senses and took away their reason. Aratus, however, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of such a thing, but says that after routing the Aetolians and bursting into the city with them as they fled, he drove them out by main force, and slew seven hundred of them. The action was ex- tolled as among the greatest exploits, and Timanthes the painter made a picture of the battle which in its composition vividly pourtrayed the event.

XXXIII. Notwithstanding, since inany peoples and
dynasts were combining against the Achaeans, Aratus
at once sought to make friends of the Aetolians, and
with the assistance of Pantaleon, their most in-
Huential man, not only made peace, but also an
alliance between them and the Achaeans.
But in his eagerness to set Athens free he incurred the bitter reproaches of the Achaeans, because, though they had made a truce and suspended hos- tilities with the Macedonians, he attempted to seize

~ 2 \ N b , bd a e
KaTadaPeiv. autos d€ apvoupevos év Tots vTO0-
pvnpacty ols atroAédotTev Epytvoy aitiatat, peO
\ Pd , al

ov Ta Tepi Tov “AxpoxoptivOov émpakev. éxetvor

\ eM alt A ~ a , \ nw /
yap tota T@ Uetpacet mpooBadovta Kai THs KAL-
paxos cuvtpiBeions SsmKopevov dvoyaterv Kat
Kanely cuveyws ”Apatoyv wWaTep TapoVTa, Kal dla-
duyety ovtTws éFaTatioavta TOUS TroAEMioUS. Ov
a lal wn \ al
pny doxet TLOaves atrodoyeicbar. tov yap Epyi-
s

vor, avO pwrov (OLWTNY Kal 2vpov, am’ ovdevos Vv
eLKOTOS éml vooy Barecbar Ty THMKAUTNY mpage,
el BY TOV "A patov elev nye Hove: Kal Tap éxelvou
THY SUVamLY Kal TOV Karpov ethane Tpos THY eTi-
Beouv. edijAwoe dé Kal avtos o “Apatos ov dis
ovoee T pls, QNAA TOAAAKLS, aoTeEp ol Sug Epwrtes,
ETLX ELIT AS TO Tleepacet Kal jpos Tas Orapaptias
OUK ATOKALWY, GAAA TO Tapa plKpov ael Kal
id , 4 ~ > id XN Ni
auveyyus aTooharrecat Tay édrridwY TpPOS TO
Gappety avaxarovpevos. atrak& b€ Kal to oKéXos
éomace Sta Tov Opiactov pevyov" Kal Topas
eraBe TOAXAS Jeparrevopevos, Kal TONY \povov
évy dopetw Kopelopevos ETOLELTO TAS oTpatelas.
XXXIV. ‘Avtiyovouv bé atoGavovtos cai An-

, \ , ‘ ” a
LnTpLov THv Pact\elav Tapadrafovtos Ete paddov
évéxerto tails “A@ynvais Kal OAws KaTeppover TOV
’ S N n
Makedovwr. 640 Kal Kpatnbev tos AUTOD payn
mTept Puraxiay t UT Bidvos TOU Anpntpiov oTpa-
THOU, Kat Adyou yevop.evou TONAOV pév, WS
EdXwKe, TOAKOD O€ ws TEOVYNKEV, O pev Tov Ile-
n n 4 wv 9) \ ’
2 para dpovpwv Atoyevns eeu ev EmiatoAny ets

1 Antigonus Gonatas died in 239 B.c , and was succeeded by his son Demetrius II., who reigned ten years,

the Peiraeus. He himself, however, in the Com- mentaries which he left, lays the blame for this attempt upon Erginus, with whose aid he had effected the capture of Acrocorinthus. He says that Erginus attacked the Peiraeus on his own private account, and that when his scaling-ladder broke and the enemy were pursuing him, he kept calling upon Aratus by name, as if Aratus were there, and thus deceived and made his escape from them. But this defence does not seem to be convincing. For Erginus was a private man and a Syrian, and there is no likelihood that he would have conceived of so great an undertaking if he had not been under the guidance of Aratus and obtained from him the force and the fitting time for the attack. And Aratus himself also made this plain, since he assaulted the Peiraeus, not twice or thrice, but many times, like a desperate lover, and would not desist in spite of his failures, but was roused to fresh courage

by the very narrow- ness of the slight margin by which he was dis- appointed of his hopes. And once he actually put his leg out of joint as he fled through the Thriasian plain; and while he was under treatment for this, the knife was often used upon him, and for a long time he was carried in a litter upon his campaigns. XXXIV. When Antigonus died and Demetrius succeeded to the throne,! Aratus was all the more bent upon getting Athens, and wholly despised the Macedonians. And so, after he had been overcome in a battle at Phylacia by Bithys the general of Demetrius, and reports were rife, one that he had been captured, and another that he was dead, Dio- genes, the guardian of the Peiraeus, sent a letter to

A ,
KopivOov é&iatacbat THs TodEws KEAEVOY TOdS
, / bl \ bf , Lg \ A
Ayatous, émerd7 Apatos anébavevr éruxe b€ THY
ypappdtov Kouicbevtwv Tapwy avTos ev KopivOe,
\ \ e " , ' , '
rat dtatpiSny ot ToD Atoyevovs Kai yéXwTa TOAUY
, b) / b) \ Nae '
TapacyovtTes aTnrAAaynaav. avTos 5é 0 Bacirevs
éx Maxedovias vabv Ereprpev, eh' 5 KopiaO noeTat
e A
apos avutov o "Apatos dedenévos. macav 6é
a i / "
'"AOnvaiot xovpotnta KoXakelas THS Tos Maxedo-
¢ , b] , cd a
vas vTepBarXortes eotehavnhopnaav OTe TPWTOV
b] , f & \ \ \ ' \ Wel \ '
nyyErOn TeOynKws. 610 Kal Tpos Opyny evOds éx-
9 ~
oTpatevoas é4 avtovs aype THs "Axadnueias
a ? \ QA +O?
mponrber> eita tetabeis ovdév noixnoen.
¢ ~ Con \
Oi de AOnvatos cupppovncavtes avtou THY ape-
THY, éTet Anuntpiov TeXevTHCAVTOS @punaav él
\ > , 9: a bd , = 4 ? e ,
Thv erevepiar, exeivov exadouy. Oo O€é, KaiTreEp ETE-
pov pev apyovtos tote Tav 'Axai@v, adTos dé
, ~ , ° 7
appwoTla pakpa KALYNPNS UTdpywv, Cyws év
4 f e , ~ , A \
pope Kopi Copevos UMTIVTNTE TH mone Tpos THY
VpEelav, Kat Toy ETL THS Ppoupas Atoyevn cuveTret-

“~ f n LY
gev avrooovvat Tov Te Iletpaca cai thy Movvuyiav
N ‘ SS ~ \ \ y Z ~ > ,
Kal THY SarXapiva Kat TO Novvioy tois AOnvaiors
€TL TEVTNKOVTA KAl EXATOV TANGYTOLS, WY AUTOS O
“A patos eixoot TH TOA TUVEBAXETO. TpoTEXo-
~ ¢€ ~ ~
pnaav & evOvs Alyevijtat nat “Eppuovets tots
’ a ef , a 3 , 6] “
Ayatots,) Te TAELTTN THS ApKadtas avTots cup-
/ \ ; t \ bd , ” 4
eTérXer. Kat Maxedovwy pev acyorwy ovtwy bia
TLVAS TPOTOiKOUS Kal OM“opous TroAéuOUS, AiTH-
Av € cUUpAayYoUVTOV, eTidoTW peydAnY H -OL
b ”~ 3 {A as
Ayatav éhauPSave dvvamts,
78
ARATUS xxxiv. 2-5

Corinth ordering the Achaeans to quit the city, since Aratus had been killed; but when the letter arrived at Corinth, Aratus chanced to be there in person, and so the messengers of Diogenes, after furnishing much diversion and laughter, went away. Moreover, the king himself sent a ship from Macedonia, on which Aratus was to be brought to him in chains. And the Athenians, carrying their flattery of the Macedonians to the highest pitch of levity, crowned themselves with garlands as soon as they heard that Aratus was dead. Therefore he was wroth, and at once made an expedition against them, and advanced as far as the Academy; then he listened to their entreaties and did them no harm.

So the Athenians came to recognize the excellence of his character, and when, upon the death of Demetrius,! they set out to regain their freedom, they called upon him. Then Aratus, although another was at that time general of the Achaeans, and he himself was confined to his bed by a long sickness, nevertheless was carried in a litter to help the city in its time of need, and joined in persuading Diogenes, the commander of the garrison, to give up the Peiraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium to the Athenians for a hundred and fifty talents, twenty of which Aratus contributed himself. Moreover, Aegina and Hermione at once came over to the Achaeans, and the greater part of Arcadia joined their league. And since the Macedonians were busy with certain neighbouring and adjacent wars, and the Aetolians were in alliance with the Achaeans, the power of the Achaean League was greatly increased.

1 In 229 z.c. He was succecded by Antigonus Doson, who reigned nine years,
19

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XXXV. ‘O dé"Apatos éFepyalouwevos THY Ta-
Aatav vToeow, Kai dSvcavacyeTav Thy év "“Apyet

TUupavvida yerTUidoav avTois, émeOe TEUTOV TOV
“Apia Tomaxov ets péo ov Geivar Kal mpocayayetv
tois Ayatots THY TONY, Kal CnocavTa Avéiadny
éOvous THALKOUTOV per evpypuas Kat TLLAS OTpa-
THYOV elva parov) plas TONEWS KivOuvEvoVTA
Kal pcovmevoyv TUpavvov. vTaKovaavTos dé Tod
“A plo TomaXov KAU KehevTavTos QUT@ TWEVTHKOVTA
TahavTa Téeunvat Tov “Apatov, OT WS amrarraty
Kal dradvontar TOUS Tap avT@ OT PATEVOMEVOUS,
Kal TOV XPNUAaTov rropitopévwr, 6 o Avésadns Ett
oTpATHYaV Kal HedoTipmovpeEvos idtov avTov TOXI-
TEU TOUTO Tpos TOUS “Axatovs yeveo Gas, TOU
pev ‘Apatov KATY OPEL 7 pos “A pto TO“axov as
duc pevas Kal adtadrAGKTws a ael ™ pos TOUS Tupav-
vous €xovtTos, auto dé Treicas THY wpakivy é7t-
Tpéwar Tpoarjyarye TOUS ‘Ayacots TOV av pwr ov.
évda 87 parvora pavepay eTroingav ot a uvedpor
TOV “AX auov THY T POs Tov “Apatov eUvolay Kat
TloTLD. Gv TELTOVTOS pev yap avtTod bv opyny
QTHAATAV TOUS mepl TOV Aptatopaxov" émel O€
ouptrera els Tadev aUTOS pEaTo mepl avTo@Vv dta-
Neyer au Tapwv, TwavTa TAX EOS Kal 7 pod ups
evn piaarto, Kal T poo edeFavTo [ev Tous “Apyetous
Kal Pracious ELS THY TontTelay, EvLaUT@ dé
UoTepov Kal TOV ‘Apiaropaxov etAovTo TT paTnyov.
‘O dé v7; Epa Tapa tots Axatots Kal Bovno-
HEVOS els THY Aaxovixny eu Barely exaret Tov
“A parov ef \Anvav. O b¢ eypape fev AUTO THV
oTpateiay aTayopevov Kai! 7a Kreouever Opdcos
1 «a. bracketed by Sint?
80
ARATUS xxxv. 1-4

XXXV. And now Aratus, seeking to effect his long-standing purpose, and impatient of the tyranny so near the Achaeans in Argos, sent messengers and tried to persuade Aristomachus to give his city freedom and attach it to the Achaean League, urging him to imitate Lydiades and be general of so great a nation with praise and honour, rather than tyrant of a single city with peril and hatred. Aristomachus consented, and told Aratus to send him fifty talents, in order that he might disband and send away the soldiers under him, and the money was being pro- vided. Upon this, Lydiades, who was still general and had an ambition that the Achaeans should regard this transaction as his own work, denounced Aratus to Aristomachus as a man who had always been an implacable enemy of tyrants, and after persuading Aristomachus to entrust the matter to himself, brought him before the Achaean council. Then the members of the council put into clearest light their goodwill towards Aratus and their confidence in him. For when he angrily opposed the project, they drove Aristomachus away; but when he had been won over again, and came before them in person, and began to argue for the project, they speedily and readily

adopted all his proposals, admitted Argos and Phlius into the league, and a year later! actually choose Aristomachus general.

Aristomachus, then, being in high favour with the Achaeans, and wishing to invade Laconia, summoned Aratus from Athens. Aratus wrote him a letter in which he tried to dissuade him from the expedition, and expressed unwillingness to involve the Achaeans in hostilities with Cleomenes, who was daring and

1 In 227 B.c.

EXovTL Kat TapaBorws avEavoperep gupTréxea Par
TOUS 7 Axavous en Bovropevos, @ppnwevov d€ Tav-
TOS UmnKouce Kal TApOv TUVETTPATEVEY. ore 67
Kal KWAUTAS mepl TO IladXavteov TOU Kyeo-
jevous eT UPAvEVTOS avtTois wayny cvvawat TOV
'Apis Topaxov vao Avéiadou Karn yop, Kat
Tepl THS oTpaTy yeas ets ayava Kal ayTiTmapay-
yedtav avT@ KaTacTas expaTnoe Th XElpoTovia
Ni TOOK ATOD mpeOn TTPATHYOS.
XXXVI. 'Ev TAUTY Th oTpaTnyia TEpt TO
Avxauov itTnOels Uo TOU KXeopevous Epuye' Kal
mravn ders VUKTOS eoge pev teOvavat kal maduy
oUTOS 0 AOYOS KAT avTOU TrOAUS eEepoitnaey els
TOUS "EXvas" avacwbeis 6€ Kal TOUS oTpPAaTLW-
Tas ouvayayov OUK HyaTrno ev aoparas atrerletr,
GX' apicta TO Katp@ X png dpevos ovdevos 7 poo-
SoxavTos ovdé cudroyiCopevov Td pedQov eEaip-
vns eémérece Mavtivevot cvppayows over Tov
KnrXeouévous: Kal THY woAL éEX@v hPpovpav evéBanre
Kal TOUS METOLKOUS TOALTAS ETOINTEV AUTOY, Kat
fLovos & VLK@YTES OVK AV Padlws EcyYoV éxTHTATO
verieneévoss Tois "Ayatois.
Addis 6&é TOD Aakedatpoviwy emt Meyadny
TOALY TT pareve avTov BonOyoas wKver pev are
paxouvTe TO Krcopever Aa Biv Tapaaxelv Kal
TOUS Meyadoroniraus Puafonevors avretXen, OvTE
ANOS Tpos TAS KaTa oTOpa paxXas ev TEPUKWS
Kal TOTE evTropevos Te TANCE Kal TpOs avopa
TOAUNTHY Kal véov 7O0n TapaxpagovTe TO Ovpo
Kal KexoAXacuevn TH PlroTipla TUVETTNKWS, KAL
1 See the Cleomenes, iv. 3~4.

29o°6 B.c. Cf. the Cleomenes, v. * Cf. the Cleomencs, vi.
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growing marvellously in power; but, since Aristo- machus was altogether insistent, Aratus obeyed orders and accompanied the expedition in person. It was at this time that he prevented Aristomachus from joining battle when Cleomenes came upon them at Pallantium,! and was denounced therefore by Lydiades, with whom he came into contest and competition for the office of general, winning the vote and being chosen general for the twelfth time.

XXXVI. In the campaign of this year? he was defeated by Cleomenes near Mount Lycaeum, and took to flight; and, since he lost his way in the night, he was thought to be dead, and once more a story to this effect had wide currency among the Greeks. But he escaped alive and rallied his soldiers, and then was not content to come off safely, but making the best use of his opportunity, when no one expected or had any idea ot what was to happen, he suddenly made an assault upon Mantineia, which was in alliance with Cleomenes; and having taken the city, he set a garrison there, and made its alien residents full citizens, thus acquiring single-handed for the conquered Achaeans what they could not easily have obtained as conquerors.
And again, when the Lacedaemonians made an expedition against Megalopolis,? he went to the aid of the city, but was loth to give Cleomenes a chance for the hand-to-hand fighting which he desired, and resisted the importunities of the Megalopolitans. For he was never at any time well fitted by nature for set battles, and at this time in particular he was inferior in numbers, and was matched against a man who was young and daring, while his own courage was past its prime, and his ambition chastened. He

¢ A N ~ A 9 al 5] ' e
vouitwrv hv dua TOU ToApav exeivos éE ovY UTap-
yout é€xtato ddFav avT@ KexTnpevwm puraxtéor
\ A
elvas Ota THS evAAaElas.
XXXVII. Od pHy adrra TOV Wirov éxdpapov-
Tov Kal woapévwmy Tovs Lraptiatas axypt TOD

\
oTpatomédou Kal Trepi Tas oxNVaS diacTapévTMD,
e \ bd PND Aa bd , 3 bd] b] /

o pev "“Apatos ovd’ &s emnjyayev, adr’ ev péow
AaBwv yapadpay éréatyce Kal KaTexwAvoe Sia-
“A \ ¢. 4 e \ 4 ~
Bhvat tods omritas: o b6€ Avédsadns treperabar
, \
Tpos Ta yuyvoneva nat tov “Apatov xaxilwv
aA \ e Cal f lal “A
AVEKANELTO TOUS LTTELS WS aUTOV, dELOV éTLhavi-
a , N \ ,
vat Tois StwWKOVaL Kat wn TpoéaAat TO viknwa
a VN \ A
unde CyKaTadiTrely avTOV UTEP THS TaTpiOos ayw-
~ \ 4
vitopevov. ToAAw@Y 5€ cVaTpadévTwY Kal aya-
“a / A A aA
Odv émippwcbeis évéBare TO S5€Et@ TOY TONELioY
\ 4 J 4 e ‘ a) \
nal Tpeyapevos édiwxev, vO Ovpod Kal dirott-
7
pias atamevtws ériotradbels eis ywpia oKxoALa
Kal peocta Oévdpwv mepuTevpévmy Kal Tadpor
A f a
TAATELMV, EV ots EOE pwEevou TOD Kreomévaus érrece
A x aA
AaALTPAS dywVigapEvos TOV KAAXALTTOV TOV ayo-
“a ,
vov émi Ovpats THS Tarpioos. ot & aAXro dev-
\ ,
youTes els THY hadXayya Kat cuvtapdEavtes Tous
€ ¢: \ A
omAtiTas ONOV TO OTPUTEvMA TIS HTTHS eveTrANCAD.
¢
aitiav 6€ peyadnv o *"Apatos éhaBe Sof€as mpoé-
\ sS \ \ e N al 9 ~
aOat Tov Avdtadny: Kat Bracbeis tro Tay Ayatav
f ’ A
ATEPYOMEVWY TPOS Opyv nKOAOVONGEY aUTOLS Ets
Alytov. éxet d€ cuverOovtes erndicarvto wn bu-
, a
dovat Xpyyata avT@ pndé praGohopous tpéderv,
b >] e n 4 by , a

GNX’ avT@ Tropivew, et S€oLTo TONEHETY.
84
ARATUS xxxvi. 3-xxxvil. 3

also thought that the glory which his adversary was trying to acquire by his daring and did not possess, had already been acquired by himself and must be preserved by his caution.

XXAVII. Nevertheless, his light infantry once made a sally, drove the Spartans as far as to their camp, and were scattered about among the tents. Aratus, however, would not even then lead up his men, but putting a ravine between himself and the enemy, halted there, and would not suffer his men- at-arms to cross it. Then Lydiades, distressed at what was going on, and loading Aratus with re- proaches, called his horsemen to him and exhorted them to go to the help of the pursuers, and not to let the victory slip out of their hands nor leave in the lurch a commander who was fighting in behalf of his native city. Many brave men gathering at his call, he was emboldened to charge upon the right wing of the enemy, which he routed and pursued. But his ardour and ambition robbed him of discretion, and he was drawn on into places that were intricate and full of planted trees and broad trenches. Here Cleomenes attacked him and he fell, after a brilliant and most honourable combat at the gates of his native city. The rest of his men fled to their main line, threw the men-at-arms into confusion, and thus infected the whole army with their defeat. Aratus was severely blamed for this, being thought to have betrayed Lydiades; and when the Achaeans left the field in anger, they forced him to accompany them to Aegium. Here they held an assembly, and voted not to give him money and not to maintain mer- cenaries for him; if he wanted to wage war, he must provide the means himself.

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XXXVHI. Ovrw 6é TpoTndaxto Gels éBourev-
gato pev evOus atroPéa bat THYv oppayica Kal THD
oTpaTnytay apetrar, opr po 6€ xXpngdpevos TOTE
[ev Umepetve, KL POS ‘Op xouevov eEayayov TOUS
‘Axatous payny éGeTo pos Meyiatovouv TOV
Kreopevous TATPWOV, EV 1) KpaTrjoas Tplaxoctous
wey amextewe, Cavta 88 Tov Merytorovouy J Uv-
éhu Bev. elwOas dé oTpaTnyety Tap évlauTon,
@S 1) Takts avuT@ Tmepeyre, KANOUBEVOS éFwo-
caTO, Kab Tepd£evos npeOn TT PATIHYOS. edaxe dé
7 pev T™pOs TOUS OX AoUS opy? Tpopaces elvat
Aeyomevn THS eEwpocias amiBavos, aitia & any
Ons Ta TEplerT aT TOUS ‘“Axaous, ovKEO ws TT pO-
TEpOV aTpépa Kal oxedny Tov KnXeopévous em Bas-
vOVTOS oud €pm LeKopevou TALS TohTeKals apxais,
GAN’ érel Tovs éfopous aTroKTEivas Kal THY Kwpay
dvadacdpevos Kal TONAOUS TOV HeToiKey €uBa-
wv els THY TONTELAY éaxev to xov dvuTrevOuvov,

evdus CTLKELMLEVOU TOLS “Axatots KaL TS nryeHovias
EQUTOP akvovvtos. 20 Kal péppovras TOV "A pa-
TOV €V TAAW peyarep Kal Netmarve TOY T Pay LaTav
pepopeveor OoTEp xuBepyntny agevra Kal ™ poé-
pevov ETEPO TOUS olaxas, ore KaN@s exe Kal aKov-
TOY emia TavTa owvew TO KOLVOV" el O aTEYYMKEL
TA TpPaypaTa Kal Ty Suva muy TOV “Axatan, elEat
TO Krsouéver, cal wi) radi thy Werorovynoov
éxBupBapooat dpovpals Maxedover, unoé ™ANPO-
oat Tov ‘AxpoxopiGov “DAupixav OmAwY Kal
LTaratixaor, undé ovs avtos év Tais mpakeot Kata-
1 Cf. the Cleomenes, xv. 1.
* For the year 224 Bc.
8 Cf. the Cleomenes, vili., xi.
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ARATUS xxxvi. 1-4

XXXVIII. Smarting under this insult, he resolved to give up his seal at once, and resign the office of general, but upon reflection he held on for the present, and after leading the Achaeans forth to Orchomenus, fought a battle there with Megistonoiis, the stepfather of Cleomenes, in which he got the upper hand, killing three hundred of the enemy and taking Megistonoiis prisoner. But when, accustomed as he was to be general every other year, his turn came round again and he was invited to take the office, he formally declined,t and Timoxenus was chosen general.22 Now the grounds usually given for this refusal of Aratus, namely, his anger at the people, were not thought to be convincing, and the real reason for it was the situation of the Achaeans. For the invasions of Cleomenes were no longer quiet and restrained, as formerly, nor was he fettered by the civil authorities, but after he had killed the ephors, divided up the land, advanced many resident aliens to the citizenship, and thus got an irresponsible power,? he immediately pressed the Achaeans hard, and demanded the supreme leader- ship for himself. And therefore men blame Aratus, because, when the ship of state was driving in a great surge and storm, he forsook the pilot’s helm and left it to another, although it had been well, even if the people were unwilling, to remain at their head and save them; and if he despaired of the government and power of the Achaeans, he ought to have yielded to Cleomenes, and not to have made Peloponnesus quite barbarous again under Mace- donian garrisons, nor to have filled Acrocorinthus with [Illyrian and Gallic arms, nor, in the case of

oTcaTnyaV Kal KaTaTroNLTevopevos, év € TOIS
irrouvnuace NoLdopav SueTéret, TOUTOLS emayesOaL
Scomdtas Tals TONETL TULMAKXOUS UToKOpLCopLEVoV.

3 \ ve , 9 / \ e /
et 6é Kreopévys av, NeyéoOw yap ovTws, Tapavo-
\ , 9 » ee 3 “ ,
wos Kal TupavyKes, GAN “Hpaxdeidar matépes
A =A £ ? \
avt® Kai Swaptn wartpis, js Tov apavéoratov
dEtov avTi TOD TpwTOU Makedovwy nyepmova Trovet-
\ ” / N € \ ,
oOat Tovs év Tit AOyo THY EAANVEKNY TtGenévous
/ ?
ebyéverav. Katto. Kreopuévns grec THY apxny
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mapa Tov Axatav WS TOAAA TroLnTwY ayaGa Tas
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TONELS AVTL THS TLULAS KALTHS TpocnyopLas exelyns,
’"Aptivovos S& Kal Kata yhv Kal Kata OadatTay
abtoxpdtwp iyyenmv avayopevOels ov UmNKOVCE
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mpiv Tov picOov avT@ THs NYyELovLas oporoynOi-
vat tov AxpoxdpivOov, atexva@s Tov Aicwrou pt-
4 / A
unodpmevos KUYNyOV. ov yap TpoTEpoy ETEB TOLS
> n , NP Le id e \ XN
Axatois Seopévors Kat UToBadAovaew avTous dta
TeV TperBeLa@y Kal TOY yndiapaTwy 7 TH ppoupa
Kal tols Ounpols waoTEp Xadwoupévous avacxe-
cba. xaitot wacay 6“Apatos adinat pwvny atro-
, e 4
AoyeLouevos Thy avayxnv. o TodrvBeos b€ avroy
éx TwoAdoD dyot xal Mpd Tis dvayxns vpopwpe-
yov To Opdaos TO TOV Kreopévovs Kpuga TH
’Ayriydve SiaréyerOar, Kal Tos MeyaXoroXitas
mpoxabsévat Seopévous "“Ayardv émixareta@ar Tov
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’Avtivyovov. oboe yap éméfovto TH TodEum
uddiota, TUVEYaS AyovTos avTovs Kat PEpovTos
ral /
rod Kreopévous. opoiws 8& cat Pvrapyxos toto-

1 Histories, ii. 47, 4 ff

men whom he was always defeating in the fields of war and statesmanship and abusing in the pages of his

Commentaries, to have made these men lords over the cities under the endearing name of allies. And if Cleomenes was, as must be granted, lawless and arbitrary, still, Heracleidae were his ancestors, and Sparta was his native land, the meanest citizen of which was more worthy than the foremost Macedonian to be made their leader by those who had any regard for Greek nobility of birth. And yet Cleomenes asked the Achaeans for the office, with the promise that he would confer many benefits upon their cities in return for that honour and its title, whereas Antigonus, although he was proclaimed leader with full powers by land and sea, would not accept the office until Acrocorinthus had _ been promised him as the pay for his leadership. In this he acted just like Aesop's hunter. For he would not mount the Achaeans, although they prayed him to do so and presented their backs to him by way of embassies and decrees, until they consented to wear the bit and bridle of the garrison they received and the hostages they gave. And yet Aratus says every- thing that he can say in explaining the necessity that was upon him. Polybius, however, says?! that for a long time, and before the necessity arose, Aratus mistrusted the daring temper of Cleomenes and made secret overtures to Antigonus, besides putting the Megalopolitans forward to beg the Achaeans to call in Antigonus. For the Megalo- politans were most oppressed by the war, since Cleomenes was continually plundering their territory. A similar account of these matters is given by Phylarchus also, in whom, but for the testimony of

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

PNKE Tept TOUTWY, pay TOU IorAvBiov papTupour-
TOS ov Tavu TL Tia TEVELY AELOV 7 Hp. evova ed, yap
OTav aypnrat TOU KAeopevous, UT evvoias, Kal
xabatep év dikn TH toTopia, TQ [MEV AVTLOLKOY
dtaTedel, TH O€ cuvaryopever.
XXXIX. 'AréBarov 8 oy o "Axatot TH
Mavtiveiav, wadww éXovtTes avtny Tov KXeope-
vous, Kal payn peyadn mept TO ExatopBarov
nr7nGevtes ouTM KATET AA YNO GY OTE TELTPELY
evdus éd Jiyepovia TOV Krcopevy KAN OUYTES els
"Apyos. o 66" "A patos os no Gero Badifovta Kai
mept A€épvav évTa pera TAS duvdpews, poPnbets
ATED TENAE T pea Bets TOUS af.obvras @s Tapa
pirous Kat TULPLAXOUS QUTOV ipKeLy META T pl
axoctwy, et 6€ amlaTtet, AaBeElvy opypovs. TavTa
UBpw ewat Kal yrAevacpov avTod dyaas o
Kreouevns avelevéev, éemtatoAny ypdawas Tots
'AYXatois eye djpara TOAAG Kata ToD Apatou
Kal diaBoras & exovoav. eypade b€ KiKeivos ért-
oToAaS Kara TOU Kreouevous: Kal epéeporro 7
Aowdoptat Kal Bracdnpiae pex pe yaLov Kat
YUVALKOV CAAIAOUS KAKWS AeyovTer.
"Ex tovTov xypuxa Tréurras o Knreopevns
TOAELOV TpoEpovvTa Tos "Ayatois, pLXpOdD pe

evade tHv Sexvwviov wordy aptracas 4a mpodo-
atas, eyyudev } dé atrotpamreis WerX vn 7pocEeBa-
Ne KaL TOU oTpaTnyov tTav “Axyatwv exTrEecoPrTOS
EVE THY TOALY. OALyw de DaTepov Kat Deveor
éraBe kai evrédXerov. eit’ evOds ’ Apryetor mrpoc-
exwpnoav avT@ cat DPrLdotot dpovpav édéEavto:
Kal GAwS ovdev ETL TOV érixTHToV BEBatov Hr
1 éyyuvéevy Bekker reads éxet@ev, with the Aldine.
go
ARATUS xxxvur. 8—xxx1x. 4

Polybius, one should not put entire credence. For goodwill makes his every mention of Cleomenes ecstatic, and as if he were pleading in a court of law, he is for ever accusing Aratus in his history, and defending Cleomenes.

XXXIX. So, then, the Achaeans lost Mantineia, which was taken again by Cleomenes, and after being defeated in a great battle at Hecatombaeum they were so dismayed that they sent at once and invited Cleomenes to come to Argos and assume the leadership. But Aratus, when he learned that Cleomenes was on the way and at Lerna with his forces, feared the issue, and sent an embassy to demand that he should come with three hundred men only, as to friends and allies, and that if he was distrustful, he should accept hostages. Cleomenes declared that he was insulted and mocked by this demand, and retired with his army, after writing a letter to the Achaeans which was full of bitter accusations against Aratus. Aratus also wrote letters against Cleomenes; and their mutual abuse and defamation reached the point of maligning one another's marriages and wives.

As a result of this, Cleomenes sent a herald to declare war against the Aclhiaeans, and almost succeeded in seizing the city of Sicyon with the help of traitors; he turned aside, however, when close at hand, and assaulted and took the city of Pellene, from which the Achaean commander fled. And not long afterwards he took Pheneus also and Penteleium. Then Argos went over to his side, and Phlius received a garrison which he sent. Ina word, not one of their acquisitions longer held firm to the

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XL. "Hrpéper Thee ovder ove€ € eaTEpyED ETL TOES
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Oiwy éyévovto TOOL caTapavers duetAeyévor
T® Knreopévee kat drat ™ pos TO KoLvoVv (dtwv
émOupla SUvaTTEL@V UTOVAWS EXovTEs. él TOU-
TOUS é£ovciar avuTevOuvov oO "A patos AaBov
TOUS pev ev Suxvove Sep appevous aTrEKTELVE,
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Korabety efny plate 70 T7805 76n vooovv Kai
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cuvepapovtes ouv Els TO TOU 'AToAR@VOS (epov
HETET EWTOVTO TOV "Aparov, avenely u) ouraBetv
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autos éperkouevos Tov immov ws ovK amiacTav
OVE UTOTTEVWY, AVATNONTAaVTWY bE TOAABV Kal
NoLdopovmevVv AUTH Kal KaTHYOpOWWTwY ED TwS
xaQeoT@TL T® TpoTMTHW Kal T@ AOYO TpPdws
exedeve Kabiaat cal pn Boav ataKxtws éataTtas,
andra Kab TOUS Tept Qupas évtas eicw Taptevat
Kat Tavd apa Aéyoou vmeg rel Badny ws Ta. pa.-
dwowy Tivi Tov immov. ovTws dé vimexdvs Kai
Tols UTavT@ot TaV Kopwbtwv adopvBas diare-
youevos Kal KeXevwr pos TO' AToAXNwVLOV Babt-
fev, ws érade ANT Lov THS dkpas YEVOLEVOS,
avannonaas él TOV immov Kab Krcorrdat pe TO
apxYovTt THs hpovpts Staxedevoapevos eyKpaTas
' With this chapter cf. the Cleomenes, xvii.—xix. 1.
SOLS Chia. Xilnele
g2

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ARATUS xxxix. 4-xXL. 4

Achaeans, but a vast confusion suddenly encompassea Aratus. Hesaw Peloponnesus shaking, and its cities everywhere stirred to revolt by restless agitators.1 XL. For there was no quiet anywhere, and no contentment with present conditions, but even among the Sicyonians and Corinthians themselves there were many who were known to have been in conference with Cleomenes, men whom a desire for private

domination had long ago led into secret hostility towards the common interests. For the punishment of these men Aratus was clothed with absolute power," and seizing those in Sicyon who were thus corrupted he put them to death; but when he tried to seek out and chastise those in Corinth, he roused the resentment of the populace there, which was already disaffected and ill at ease under the Achaean administration. So they as- sembled hastily in the temple of Apollo and sent for Aratus, determined to kill him or seize him, and then to revolt. Ele came, accordingly, leading his horse after him, as though he had no distrust or suspicion, and when many sprang up and abused and denounced him, with a composed countenance and gentle words he bade them sit down and not stand there shouting in disorderly fashion, but to admit also those who were outside at the door; and as he spoke, he withdrew slowly, as if he would hand his horse over to somebody. Having thus slipped out of the crowd, he conversed calmly with the Corinthians who met him, bidding them go to the temple of Apollo, and so, before his enemies were aware of it, came nigh the citadel. Then he leaped upon his horse, and after giving orders to Cleopater the commander of the garrison in the citadel to guard

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purAdtTTev adimmevoey ets LKvVova, TpiaKxovTa
Mev AUTO TTpPATLWTO@V ETOMEVMV, TOV bE AAOV
éykaTantTovT@V Kal SiappvevTwv.
b] , 3 € Yr ? b] 3 / \

Aic@opevoe 6 ot KoptvOtoe per edtyov THY

nw 4 ¢
aToépaciv avtov Kal diwkaytes, ws ov KaTéXa-
, \ ve f N ,
Bov, petevéuavto tov Kreopevn xat trapébo-
N 3
gav 7)v TONAL ovder olopevep LapBaver Tap
auTov TocoUTov 6aovu 61)) 1) ua prev apevtor' 'Apatov.
\
oUTOS ey OUD, T POTyEVOpLEV OV avT@ TOV THY
heyouevny "AKTHY KATOLKOU TOV Kal Tas monets
eyXelpiadvTwr, ameatTaupov Kal TepteTeryile TOV
Se,
XLI. Td 6é'Apat@ cui Oov ets Lexvova TOV
'uae ov Tonnot: 3 Kal yevoperns exknotas
npedn TT pAaTHyOs AUTOKPATwp. Kat TEPLET THT ATO
ppoupav ék TOV EAUTOD TONLTOY, THLAKOVTA [eV
, a y an
étn Kal Tpta me7rodTevpévos ev Tois 'Axatots,
i n e

mempwtevews O€ Kat duvaper kat So&n tov “EX-
ANVOV, TOTE O€ EPHLOS KAL ATTOPOS TUVYTETPLUBEVOS,
nn 6
@omep eT, vavaylov THs TaTtpidos €y ToTOUTH
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garAw Kai Kivdvvm Stadepomevos. Kai yap Ai-
twrot Seouévov BonGety atreitravto, Kal THV
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ovoay ot mept Kvpuxretdnv cai Mixiwva dvexo-
Avgav. dvTwy d¢ TO "ApaT@ Kal XpnuaTov ev
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KopivOe@ xai otxias, 0 Kvyeopévns tpyato pér
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ovoevos ovde adXAGY elacge, petaTEe“apevos 6¢é
a ‘
Tous dirovs avtTov Kai tous Sioicntas éxédeve

1 ov woAAoi Ziegler, with S& and most good MSS.: oi
mwoAAol.
94

ARATUS xu. 4-x11. 2

it with a strong hand, he rode off to Sicyon, followed
by only thirty of his soldiers; the rest deserted him
and dispersed.
After a little while the Corinthians learned of his fight and pursued him, but did not overtake him. Then they sent for Cleomenes and delivered their city into his hands,! although he thought that he had gained by what they gave him far less than he had lost by their letting Aratus get away. Cleomenes, accordingly, after the accession to him of the inhabitants of Acte, as the district is called, who placed their cities in his hands, proceeded to run a wall and palisade about Acrocorinthus.

XLI. But a few of the Achaeans came together with Aratus at Sicyon; and in an assembly there held he was chosen general with full powers. And now he surrounded himself with a guard from among his own citizens. For three-and-thirty years he had directed public affairs among the Achaeans, and had enjoyed more power and reputation than any other Greek ; but now, abandoned by his allies and helplessly crushed, he was like one drifting about in great surge and peril on the wreck of his native city. For the Aetolians refused him their aid when he asked for it, and the Athenians, whom gratitude made eager to help him, were prevented by Eury- cleides and Micion.?_ As for the house and property belonging to Aratus in Corinth, Cleomenes would not touch them at all, nor permit anyone else to do so, but sent for the friends and stewards of Aratus and ordered them to administer and watch over

1 Karly in 223 B.c. The story is told very differently in

the Cleomenes. xix. 1 f.
* Two leading orators of the time.
95

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

' A ' ld id
muvta dtoxeiv' kat duradoceyv ws Apatw Aoyov
e , > 4 X \ ] \ v 4
upéEovtas: tdta b€ mpos avTov Ereuwe Tpimvudov
, N ' 4
xat mddkw Meytotovovy Tov Tatpwov vmlayvov-
pevos aANA TE TWOAAA Kal SwoeKa TddraVTA
, , , al /
cuvtakiv éviavotov, uTepBadrdopevos TO Nutoer
wn nn \ A a 3
IItoNepatov: exetvos yap €& Tadavta TO Apat@
? b] N ? , ? , ' " > ~
Kat évavtov améotedrev. n&touv dé Tav Axat@v
A a >] a"
HYEM@V avayopevenvat Kat KOLYn MET AUTOV
f \ ' , a \ ? ,
durtacce tov "AxpoxopwOov. Tod oé 'Apatou
\ A
PHNTAVTOS WS OVK EYOL TA TpdypaTa, paAXrov bé
Un auT@v éyotto, Kal Kateipwvevaacbar 80-
b] N Or x Sv , 3 f
Eavtos, €uBarwy evdus thy XkKvwviav éroplet
\ \ " "A f A
Kat KaTépbetpe Kat mpocexaOnto Th monet Tpels
A A nw 2 any, 7
unvas, éyxaptepovvtos Tov 'Apdatov Kal é&a-
nn f N ? , lal
mopovvtos et Oé€erat Tov 'Avtiyovoy él Te
A \ ' , v \ >
Tapadovvar tov "AxpoxoptvOov' addws yap ovK
€Bovreto Bonbetv.
, e
XLU. Of pev obv 'Ayatot cuvernrvOortes els

" b A \ " ' , 9 \ 4
Alytov éxet Tov "Apatov éxanrouv. ty 6€ xivdvvos,
fa) , ,
tov KXeoménous pos TH TOAEL OTPATOTEsEVOVTOS,
AveAOety. Kal KaTEtxXov of ToNtTAaL, Seomevor Kal

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wponctecbat TO THA TOY TWONELLWY eyyUS GYTWY

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ov dackovtes’ eEnptnvTo 5é€ avTOD Kal yuraiKes
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On KAL TALES WAOTEP TATPOS KOLVOU Kal TWTHPOS
\ ,
TEPLEYOMELOL Kal OaKpvorTEs. OU pNY ddAdA Oap-
\ / ?
puvas Kal mapapvOnodpevos avtous éFimmevaoer
? \ \ 4 v , , ‘ \
él thy Oaratrav, Eywov déxa didous Kat Tov
' dioixeiy suggested by Sintenis, with comparison of
(leomenes, Xix. 3: morety,
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ARAILUS xem 2—XLil.-2

everything as though they are to render an account to Aratus. Moreover, he privately sent Tripylus to Aratus, and afterwards Megistonoiis, his stepfather, promising to give him, besides many other things, a yearly pension of twelve talents, thus doubling the amount which Aratus received annually from Ptolemy; for he sent six talents each year to Aratus.1 Cleomenes demanded, however, that he should be proclaimed leader of the Achaeans, and together with them should have the keeping of Acrocorinthus. Aratus made answer that he did not control affairs, but rather was controlled by them; whereupon Cleomenes, thinking himself mocked, at once invaded the territory of Sicyon, ravaged and laid it waste, and encamped before the city three months. All this while Aratus held out patiently, and debated with himself whether he should accept Antigonus as an ally on condition of handing over to him Acrocorinthus! for on any other terms Antigonus was unwilling to give him help.?

XLII. Accordingly, the Achaeans came together at Aegium and invited Aratus thither. But there was danger in his trying to get there, since Cleomenes was encamped before Sicyon. Besides, the citizens tried to detain him, beseeching him not to go and refusing to let him expose himself while the enemy were

near; and presently the women and children were clinging to him and tearfully embracing him as a common father and preserver. Nevertheless, after encouraging and comforting them, he rode out to the sea, accompanied by ten friends and by his

1 Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, king of Egypt 247—
wo eC:
2 Cf. the Cleomenes, xix. 3 f£.

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vidv 6n veaviay ovTa' Kai TapopLovYTwY éxet
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Troiwy, émeBavTes eis Alylov trapexopicOncar
> A \ ? / ? @ "~ \ ? ?
éeml THY ExkAnalay, €v 7 KaXrElY TOV AvTiyovoy
? \ / \ ' ,
éewndicavto cal mapadidovat tov 'AxpoxoptvOov.
4 \ \ \ eX wv \ > ' \
Ereuwe 5 kal Tov viov "Apatos mpos avTov peta
al ry ; ¢. ? , nm
TOY AAAwWY O-NnpwWY. eh ots of KopivOroe yareTas
deportes Ta TE Ypnpata cejptTacay avTovd Kal
S > / a / \ yv
Thy oixiav T@® Kreopéver dwpeav ESwxar.
A ,
XLII. Tot & 'Avtiyovov mpoactovtos 67 peta
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, e a ,
dovas, (mets 5€ ytNiouvs Kal TpLaKOGtoUS) aTnVTA
rn a ¢ % a N
HeTa TaV Onutovpyov o "Apatos avT@ Kata
\ /
Oarattav eis Unyds, KaOwv tors Todepious, ov
A /
mavu Te Oapp@v tov 'Avtiyovoy o¥6€ miaTEvwY
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tots Maxedoouw. der yap nvEnpévoy éavtov

cE wy éxelvous Kax@s éTroinoe Kal TPwTNY ELAN-
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hota peylotny urodect THS TOALTELAaS THY TPOS
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Avtiyovoy Tov TraXaov €xOpav. adda opev arra-
palTnToyv émixelpevny avayeny Kal Tov Kalpov, @
7 a ” \ \
SovrEvovaty of SoKovYTES apYeELV, EXWPEL TPOS TO
e ? ~ ?
Seevov. o b€ Avtiyovos, ss Tis AUT@ TpogLovTa
‘ # Vv \ 4 La ? ,
tov Apatov eppace, Tovs pev AXXOVS NaTTaGaTO
MeTPLWS Kal KolV@s, exeivoy b&€ Kal TEpL THY
TpeTny avavtnow édéEato TH Tih TWEplTTHS,
x Cy , b] \ >] na A a
Kal TaANG Tretpwpuevos avdpos ayabod Kal vovv
» ‘4 n. , ,
Exovtos évooTepw THS YpElas TpoanyayeEro.
> 4
Kai yap jv o "Apatos ov povov év mpaypact
98
ARATUS xii. 2-xLill. 3

son, who was now a young man. Vessels were lying at anchor off the shore, and upon these the party were conveyed to Aegium, where the assembly was sitting. Here it was voted to call in Antigonus and hand over to him Acrocorinthus.t Aratus even sent his son to Antigonus with the other hostages. At this the Corinthians were indignant; they plundered his property and made a present of his house to Cleomenes.

XLII]. And now, as Antigonus was approaching with his forces (he was follow ed by twenty thousand Macedonian footmen and thirteen hundred horse), Aratus, in company with his High Councillors,? went by sea to meet him at Pegae, eluding the enemy. He had no very great confidence in Antigonus, and put no trust in the Macedonians. For he knew that his own rise to power had been a consequence of the harm he had done to them, and that he had found the first and the chief basis for his conduct of affairs in his hatred towards the former Antigonus.? But sceing how inexorable was the necessity laid upon him in the demands of the hour, to which those we

call rulers are slaves, he went on towards the dread ordeal. But Antigonus, when he was told that Aratus was coming to him, gave the rest of the party an ordinary and moderate welcome; Aratus, however, he received at this first meeting with superlative honour, and afterwards, finding him to be a man of worth and wisdom, drew him in closer intimacy to himself.

For Aratus was not only helpful in large under-

1 In the spring of 223 B.c. Cf. the Cleomenes, xix. 4. 2 A body of ten men, chosen as admirers of the general. 8 Antigonus Gonatas. See the note on xxxiv. 1.

peyandous cipEtMOs, adra Kat o XO Sovre Bactde
ouryyevérbar Tap ovTevody emixapts. 610, Kaltrep
@V VvEOS O 'Avtiyovos, ws KaTEVONGE Thy puow
tod avdpos pndey apyov eis pidiav Baoirixny
ovcay, ov povov "Ayaan, andra Kat Maxedovon
TOV GUY aUuT@ Tay Tw pddiata. * XP@pevos
Exel Sueréder' Kab TO onpetov améBatvev @S 0
Geos ert Tay iepav dee. Reéverat yap ov mpo
TOANOD BvovtTe T@ 'Apdtw dvo Koras ey trate
pavivac ea mipens _ Teplexopevas: Kal TOV
pavrTiy Eeltrely Os TAXU Tpos Ta éxOtara Kal
TONE MLOTATA ouvercL els axpay pidiay. TOTE
bev ovv TrapynveyKe TO pnOév, ove AXAWS TrOAU
vé"ov TLITEWS Lepois Kal Havrevpact, GANA TO
Loyeo pep XPopevos. émel oe D Uatepov ev Xwpovr-
Tl TO TORE MD cuvayayov o 'Aptiryovos éotiagw
év Kopi Kal TONAOUS vTrodexouevos TOV "Apa-
Tov éemdva KaTEKALVED éavTod, Kal peETa pax pov
aityaas mepiBoratoy npwtnaeyv et Soxel KaKelvo
Woxos éivat, Tov d€ Kal mavu peyoov pyncavTos,
éxéXeuge 7 poo xwpety ey yuTepa Kat OaTrLoos KopLt-
aeons dpdotepous o"ov TreptéBarov ot aides,
tote 67) Tov "Apatov avayvnobévta Tay iepav
éxeivarv yéXws éXaSe, kal dunyeito TO Baciret
TO onuétov Kal THY Tpoayopeval. arra TavTA
pep émpaxen yoovocs VoTeEpov.

XLIV. 'Ev dé taiés IInyais Sovres Kat NaBovtes
Spxous evdus éBadslov emt Tovs Todeutovs. Kal

Tepl Thy TOA ayaves oav, ev TeppaypLevou
1 ravrwy utdtora Corads and Ziegler, after Reiske: mdvra.

takings, but also more acceptable than anyone else as a companion in the king's leisure hours. Therefore, although Antigonus was young, as soon as he perceived that Aratus was naturally well fitted to be a king's friend, he continually treated him with greater intimacy than anyone else, whether of the Achaeans, or of the Macedonians in his following ; and thus the omen proved true which the god had given to Aratus in his sacrificial victims. For it is related that as he was sacrificing a little while before this, a liver was found which had two gall-bladders enclosed in a single coil of fat; whereupon the seer had declared that Aratus would soon enter into close friendship with what he most hated and fought against. At the time, then, Aratus paid no heed to the utterance, since in general he put little faith in victims and divinations, and trusted rather to his reasoning powers. Later, however, when the war was going on well, Antigonus gave a feast in Corinth, at which he had many guests, and made Aratus recline just above himself. After a little while the king called for a coverlet, and asked Aratus if he too did_ not think it cold ; and when Aratus replied that he was very chilly, the king ordered him to come nearer ; so that the rug which the servants brought was thrown over both of them together. Then, indeed, Aratus called to mind his sacrificial victims and burst out laughing, and told the king about the omen and the seers prediction. But this took place at a later time.

XLIV. At Pegae Antigonus and Aratus exchanged oaths of fidelity, and straightway marched against the enemy at Corinth. And there were conflicts about the city, Cleomenes being well fortified, and

Tov Keo pevous Kal TOU Kopubiar @Lvvomeveov
TpoOvpws. év TrovTw b€ "AptatoTédns o "Apyetos
ptros OV "Apdtov Oram eumreTat xpupa ™ pos
aT OV, os aTOTTHOWY THY TOD, el STPATLOTAS
exelvos EXov érGot. 70d dé "Apatou ppdcavTos
7 "AvTUyov@ Kal pera YiXiwv Kal TevTAaKociwy
els 'Emidavpov G3 'To8 nob Totors KopeeComevov
KaTa TAX OS, ob pe "Apyetoe T™poeavactayt es
émeBevTo TOUS TOU Kreopevous KAL KATEKAELTAY
Eis THY axpoTrodw, 0 oe Kreopuevns v8 pevos 1048
TavTa, Kal Selcas pn KATATXOVTES Ol ToNEMLOL
TO "Apyos aTroKxoWoow avrov TIS otxade oWTN-
plas, é exdcTr@v TOV: "AxpoxoptvOov € ETL VUKTOS éBon-
der. Kal mapeOav pev els "Apyos epOn KL
T pom ny TWA TOV TOE LLOV emoingey, odiyp dé

bo Tepov * A patou T poo pe popevov Kal Tov Baot-
News emupaivouevov peTa THis Suva pews an
eX@pne ev Els Martivevay. eK TOUTOU TOLS pay
AXarois Twarw at ToneLs aT acat Tporexwpn-
gay, "Aptiryovos 6€ Tov A xpoxopirbov Tapéraenv,
“Apatos 6€ oTpaTnyos aipeeis UT’ "A pyétav
em eLoev avtous ’Avtiyova Ta TE TOV TUpAvVaD
Kat TA TOV mpodot ay yenpata Swpeav Sodvat.
Tov 0€ “A plat opayoy ev Keyxpeats otpeBhoaaves
KATETOVTLCAY, eb O Kat padiata KAK@S Heovoev
“Aparos, as dvOparov ou Tovnpov, arra Ka
wexpnuéror éxelv@ Kal TET ELS LEVOY adeivar THD
apy ny Kal T™ pogayaryety Tots “Axatots THV TONY,
OMWS TmepriO@y Tapavonos aTONNUpEVOD.
XLV. “Héy 6é «Kal: TOY addwv EKELVO TAS
aitias émédepor, olov 6Tt THY pev Kopwbiev TOA
102 7

ARATUS xtiv. I-xLv. 1

the Corinthians defending themselves with ardour. Meanwhile, however, Aristotle the Argive, who was a friend of Aratus, sent secretly to him and promised to bring his city to revolt from Cleomenes if Aratus would come thither with soldiers. So Aratus, after informing Antigonus, took fifteen hundred men and sailed from the Isthmus to Epidaurus with all speed.? But the Argives, revolting prematurely, attacked the garrison of Cleomenes and shut them up in the citadel, and Cleomenes, learning of this, and fearing that if his enemies got possession of Argos they would cut him off from a safe return home, abandoned Acrocorinthus while it was still night and went to their aid. He succeeded in getting into Argos first, routing some of the enemy on the way; but shortly afterwards Aratus came up, and Antigonus showed himself with his forces, and Cleomenes therefore retreated to Mantineia. Upon this the cities all came over to the Achaeans again, Acrocorinthus was handed over to Antigonus, and Aratus, having bcen chosen general by the Argives, persuaded them to make a present to Antigonus of the property of the tyrants and of the traitors. As for Aristomachus, he was tortured at Cenchreae and then thrown into the sea; for which deed, more than any other, Aratus was reproached, on the ground that he had allowed a man to be lawlessly put to death who was not wicked, but had coéperated with him, and at his persuasion had renounced his power and attached his city to the Achaean League.?

“XLV. Presently, too, men began to blame Aratus for whatever else was done, as, for instance, that the

1 Cf. the Cleomenes, xx. 3 f.
2 Cf. chap. xxxv.
103

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

’ A , 6 \ aN e A ‘

Avtiyovm Sdwpeav ébwxav, @oTED KWENY THV TU-
A N y \ 7 (os
yxovaav, Tov ‘Opxopevov b€ cuvexwpyncayv avT@
if \ bf] a 4
duaptacavte dpovpayvy éuBaretv Maxedovixny,
éewnficavto d¢ dd\Xw pn ypadew Bactret pode
, 8 ’
TpeaSevery pos aAdAov aKovtos ’Avteyovon,
a \
2 Tpehery Te nal ptacGodotety hnvayxafovto tovs
f , ~
Makxesdovas, Oucias 6€ nal Tomas Kal ayovas
"Avtiyovm cuvetéXoun, apEapévwv T@v’ Apatov Tro-
A N , A , egy , e 9
To Kai SeEauéevwv TH TOAEL TOY AvTiyovoy UT
> wn “
‘Apatov Eemlouevov, ntt@vto mwavtTwy éxeivor,
A of A s 4
G@YVOOUVTES OTL TAS NYLAS ExElv@ TrapaledwKas
\ AaCees a aA 3 id b 4
Kat TH pupn THS Bactruxhs eherxopevos eEovaias
? \ = A , a ” 4 3 a
ovdevos Hv 7) povns dwvis Ett KUptos, éemiadhary
/ A A
3 TY Tappynaiay eyovans. emrel havepws ye TOAAG
A ‘ ‘
TOV TpaTTOMEvwY éLUTEL TOV” ApaToY, WaTED TO
A 4 id \ i
TEpL TOV EtKoVWY? Oo yap AvTiyovos Tas Mev TOV
3 wv te , bd ,
ev Apye: tupavywy xataBeBrnpevas avéotyae,
\ \ a e 4 \ b] s e 4
Tas 6€ TOY ELovTwWY TOY AxKpoKopiwOov éEotwaas
b) 7 A A a b] / \ \ \
avetpewe TAY LLasS THS EXELVOU’ Kal TOANA TEP
, \ ev bf v sO / ‘
4 touvtwy denbeis o”Apatos ove erretcev. edoKet bE
\ N \ . ? b ¢ ~ aA
Kai Ta Tept Mavtiveray ovx ‘EAAnviKas St@Kh-
ofa trois 'Ayaois. Kpaticavtes yap avtov be
, \
"Aptiyovou tous pev €vdoEotatovs Kal wpwrTous
3 / a b A ‘ \ 9 he
amtéxTetvav, TOV 8 AAAWY TOUS pEeVv amédorTO,
\ S 3 we 5 , b Ul 3 28 1

TOUS ets Maxedoviavy ameoteiXayv év medals
a“ aA 4
Sedenuévous, taidas 6€ Kat yuvaixas nvdpatTosi-
A 4
gavto, Tov de auvaxyOévtos apyvpiov TO TpLTOV
\ a
avtot StetAovTo, Tas b€ SVO poipas Evetpay Tots
1 éy wé5ats Sint.?, followed by Ziegler: méSais.

104

ARATUS xiv. 1-4

Achaeans made a present to Antigonus of the city of Corinth, as if it had been an ordinary village; that they allowed the king to plunder Orchomenus and put a Macedonian garrison in it; that they decreed not to write or send an embassy to any other king against the wishes of Antigonus; that they were forced to furnish supplies and pay for the Macedonian troops; and that they celebrated sacri- fices, processions, and games in honour of Antigonus, the fellow-citizens of Aratus leading the way and receiving Antigonus into their city, where he was the guest of Aratus. For all these things men blamed Aratus, not knowing that, since he had entrusted the reins to the king and was dragged along in the wake of the king's power, he was no longer master of anything except his tongue, which it was dangerous for lin to use with freedom. At any rate Aratus was plainly annoyed at many acts of the king, and especially at his treatment of the statues in Argos ; for those of the tyrants, which had been cast down, Antigonus set up again, while those of the captors of Acrocorinthus, which were standing, he threw down, that of Aratus only excepted; and though Aratus made many appeals to him in the matter, he could not persuade him. It was thought also that the treatment of Mantineia by the Achaeans was not in accord with the Greek spirit. For after mastering that city with the aid of Antigonus, they put to death the leading and most noted citizens, and of the rest, some they sold into slavery, while others they sent off into Macedonia in chains, and made slaves of their wives and children, dividing a third of the money thus raised among themselves, and giving the remaining two-thirds to the Macedonians.

105

5

Z

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Maxedoou, Kal Tavra pev ExYe TOV THS apuvns
vopLov' Kal yap et Sewvov avopas opopudous Kab
ouryyevels OUTW peTaxetpioac bat bu Opry GXW
év avayKats YAUKD yiveTaL Kal ody pov,} KaTa
Lipovidny, OOTEP aryobvrt TO dupe Kal prery-
paivorTt Oeparretay Kab dvaT Anpwsw mpoo pe-

povTor. Ta be peTa, TavTa mpaxGevra, TEpl Thy
TOLD our cig KaANY OUT ELS dvarykaiay €oTL
décbas ™® ‘Apato@ Tpopacty. TOV yap “Ayacav
Tip Tok Tap’ ‘Avruyovou dwpeav ha Bovtov Kal
KATOLKLCELY EYVWKOTWY AUTOS oOlKLiaTHS ailpeOels
Kal TTpATHYOS Ov eynpicato pnere Kanetv
Mavtiverav, adn ‘Avtuyoveray, 0 0 kal HEX pl vov
Kanreitar. Kal doxet du éxetvov 7 peév épatewn
Mavtiveta ravtaracw éEarnridOat, diapéver Sé
1) TOALS EMWVULOS TOV ATOAETAVT@V Kal aVEdOV-
TWY TOUS TOALTAS.
NLVI. ’Ex tovtrov Kreopévns pev ntrnbeis
pax peyarn mepl Lehraciav efeduTre THY
LwapTyy Kal an em hevoev ets Alyumrov, ‘Avti-
yovos oe mavTa Ta dixata Kal prravOpora TO
“Apato TETOINKWS ave lev Eev els MaxeSoviav,
KUKEL VOTWY ON TOV 6uddoxov Tis Bactretas
Pirimmor, ovTe Tavu petpaxcov OvTa, MELT OV
els TleNorovynoov “Apat@ padoTa 7 poaexey
exehevoe kal dv éxelvou Tais mONEoLY evTuxely
Kal yvopicOivar toils Ayatois. Kal pevto Kal
1 val oxAnpoy with Bergk (Poct. Lyr. Gr. iii.* p. 530): nat
ov axAnpdr.
+ The repeated treacheries of the Mantineians towards the

Achaeans are related at length in Polybius, ii. 57 f.
* Homer, J/éad, ii. 607.
106

1049.

ARATUS xiv. 4-XLvI. 2

It is true that this came under the law of reprisal ;} for though it is a terrible thing to treat men of the same race and blood in this way, out of anger, still ‘in dire stress even cruelty is sweet,” as Simonides says, when men, as it were, give satisfaction and heal- ing care to a mind that is in anguish and inflamed. But the subsequent treatment of the city by Aratus was neither necessary nor honourable, and cannot be excused. For after the Achaeans had received the city from Antigonus asa present and had decided to colonize it, Aratus himself was chosen to be the founder of the new settlement, and being then general, got a decree passed that the city should no longer be called Mantineia, but Antigoneia, and this is its name down to the present time. And so it was due to Aratus that the name of “lovely Mantineia ” ? was altogether extinguished, and the city continues to bear the name of him who destroyed and slew its former citizens.°

XLVI. After this, Cleomenes, having been de- feated in a great battle at Sellasia,4 forsook Sparta and

sailed off to Egypt, and Antigonus, after having accorded to Aratus fair and kindly treatment in every way, led his army back to Macedonia. There, being now a sick man, he sent Philip, his successor in the kingdom, who was still a stripling, into the Pelopon- nesus, and urged him to attach himself to Aratus above all others, and through him to deal with the cities and make the acquaintance of the Achaeans.

8 The old name of the city was restored by the Emperor

Hadrian. Pausanias, viii. 8. 12.
4 In 221] n.c., ef. the Cleomenes, xxviii. ff.
107

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

waparaBov avr OV o "A patos otTMs d€OnKev @ OaTE
TONS ev EUVOLAS POS aUTOD, TOAANS de pos
TAS 'Edrnvexas mpakes tAoTipias Kal opuns
uweotov eis Maxedoviay atrooTetAat.
XLVI. Tedevtycavtos 6€ "Avtiyovov KarTa-
ppovicavres Aitwrol TOV "A Xarov dua THY padv-
pay (€0ca eves yap GROTPLALS cwler bat Xepot
Kal Tous Makedovev omoes AUTOUS UTETTANKOTES
eV apyig TOAAN Kat aragiq dunyov) émé0evTo
Tols KaTa TleAomovenaov T paypac Kat THY peev
llarpéwy Kat Avpaior AenAaalav ood Tape pryov
émrotngavro, TY 6€ Meco yvny eu Barovres em op-
2 Oouv. ep ois o "A patos aryavar Tov Kal Tov
oTpaTHnyourTa TOTE TOV "AX aLov Tepo£evov opav
oxvodyTa Kal dratpiBovra TOV Xpovov, hon THs
oTpatnyias aUT@ TENEUTOONS, AUTOS 1 pNpEvos
apxew eT éxetvov TpoéAaBev 1)mépats TEVTE THY
apynv évexa TOU BonOjoat Meconvias. Kal
cuvaryayav TOUS "AXatovs TOU TE cwpacw aryu-
pvdaTous OvTas Kal Tats dravotats EXAEAUHEVOUS
3 mpos Tov ToAEu"ov nTTaTAaL Tept Kagdvas' Kat
Ouyixwtepov éeatpatnynxéevat Sofas ottTws av
Tdrw amrnuBrUvOn Kal TpariKaTO Ta TpayLata
Kal Tas é€XrrlOas, WaoTE TONAAKIS AABNY TOUS
Alttwrous Twapacyovtas avéyerOur Kat Teptopav
woTrep Kwudlovtas év tH WNeXomrorvjow peta
4 TOMS do edyelas kat Opaourytos. avis ovv
Tas Xelpas operyov Tes els Maxeédoviar € eTETTOVTO
Kal KaTiyov emt Tas 'EdAnvexas mp kets TOV
Dirirrov, ox xtata dua THY TMpos TOV" ApaTtoy

—_————

1 In 22} B.c. See the Cleomenes, xxx.
») Y 3 .
* In 220 B.c. See the Cleomenes, xxxiv. 1.
108

ARATUS x.vi. 2-xLvul. 4

And indeed Aratus did take the prince in hand, and managed matters so us to send him back to Macedonia full of great goodwill towards his patron and of ardour and ambition for the conduct of Hellenic affairs.

XLVII. But upon the death of Antigonus! the Aetolians, despising the Achaeans on account of their slothful ways (for now that they were accustomed to save themselves by other men's prowess and had taken shelter behind the Macedonian arms, they were living in great inactivity and lack of discipline), proceeded to interfere in the affairs of Pelopon- nesus;* and after plundering the territories of Patrae and Dyme on their way, they invaded Messenia and ravaged it. At this Aratus was incensed, and seeing that Timoxenus, who at that time was general of the Achaeans, was hesitant and dilatory, since his term of office was just about to expire, he himself, having been chosen to succeed Timoxenus, anticipated his term of office by five days for the sake of giving aid to the Messenians, And having assembled the Achaeans, who were physically and mentally unfit for war, he met with defeat at Caphyae. Then, being thought to have conducted the campaign with too much ardour, his purposes were once more blunted and he gave up the cause and his hopes for lost, so that oftentimes, when the Aetolians gave him an advantage, he neglected it, and suffered them to revel, as it were, in Peloponnesus, with great boldness and wanton- ness. Once more, therefore, the Achaeans stretched out their hands imploringly to Macedonia, and brought Philip down to take part in Hellenic affairs, above all things because his goodwill towards Aratus

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Ww by 'a! \ , 9 , 5) s Q
EVVOLAY AUTOUV KAL TLOTLY EATLCOVTES EVKOAW TEPL
mavra ypncecOat nat yetpor et.
f la a"
XLVIIL. Kai tore rpa@tov 'Aveddov cat Meya-
a ? /
Néov Kai Tlywy avriKo@v aArOV diaBadrOvTwv
X wv ' \ e ld \
tov "Apatov avaTeiclets o Baairevs, Kai cup-
apyaipeciacas Tos amo THs évavtias ctdcews,
? N
€atrovoace tors 'Ayatous édécOat otpatnyov

f
‘Emjpatov. ws 6 éxeivov pev catadpovovpevov
4 e N' a bd la) A , 9? 2:
TEMEWS UTO TOY “AyYaLov, Tov d€ “Apatouv Tap-
“a “ , / ,
apedovvTos eyiveTo TOY yYpHoipwy ovdév, eyvw
aA \ € U \
Otapaptaywy Tov Tavtos o Pikimmos. Kal dva-
4 ° ? \ x ww 4 s 5) /
Kpovo dpevos avdis emi Tov» Apatov OAOos rv éxelvov,
A a > i
Kal TOV TeayLaT@V avT@® pos Te Suvamiy Kal
\ bw , b , 5] , n b] 4
mpos eveokiav éemididovtwy éEnptnto Tod avépos,
ws 6. éxeiroy evdoxipav Kal av&douevos. éddxer
~ ¢ WwW b) / , >) \
Te Tadiv 0 Apatos ov povoy dnuoxpatias, adda
\ f > \ z / ¢ Ay
kal BaotreElas ayaos eivat tatdaywyos: 1) yap
“A \ \ ° ~ a
Tpoatpeats avTov Kai To 700s ws yYp@pua Tais
? n bd / \ e
mpateat Tod Bacthéws errepaiveto. Kal yap 1)
‘ 4 , / lal
mpos Aakedathoviovs auaptovtas peTpLoTns TOU
, \ ¢ N n ¢ / Te ef
veavioxou Kat 7 mpos Kphtas operia, dv 5 bdXnv
\ A / 2, 7
TpoonyayeTo THY VvooVv iwépats OArLyaLS, H TE
f A
mpos AttwXovs otpateta yevowevn Oavyactas
y \ b) id \ a) ld / ’
evepyos evreiGeias pev TO PidimTe dd£av, evBov-
lal f 1 \ n.
dias 6€ TO ’"Apadtw mpoceti9a. Kai Sta tadTa
a € aA /
HadrXov ot Bacirtxol POovodrtes, ws obdév eTépat-
vov Kkpvda d:aBddXovtes, avadhavdov érotdopodvro
, a \

Kal TpocéKpovoy avT@ Tapa Tovs WoTous peTa
aire acl pa megs eee ere Oi ee
1 Cf. Polybius, v. 30.
110

and his confidence in him led them to hope that
they would find him easy-tempered in all things and
manageable.
XLVIII. And now for the first time Apelles, Megaleas, and sundry other courtiers made false charges against Aratus to which the king listened, and joining in the canvass made by those of the opposite faction, he favoured the election of Epera- tus as general of the Achaeans. But Eperatus was altogether despised by the Achaeans,! and as long as Aratus gave little heed to public matters nothing went well. Philip therefore perceived that he had been entirely wrong. So he reversed his course, went back to Aratus, and was wholly his; and since the progress of events now brought him increased power and reputation, he depended altogether upon Aratus, convinced that his repute and strength were due to him. And all the world thought that Aratus was a good guardian and tutor for a kingdom no less than for a democracy; for his principles and character were manifest, like — colour in a fabric, in the actions of the king. For instance, the moderation of the young prince in dealing with the offending Lacedaemonians, his engaging behaviour towards the Cretans, by means of which he won the whole island to obedience in a few days, and the astonishingly vigorous conduct of his campaign against the Aetolians, all added to the reputation of Philip for taking good advice, and to that of Aratus tor giving it. For this reason, too, the royal courtiers were all the more ~ envious of him, and since they could accomplish nothing by their secret calumnies, they took to abusing and insulting him openly at their banquets,

III

Lv)

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

a \ / ¢ \
TOAAS ageryelas Kal Bwporoyias: ara bé ral
f 6 ’ / % \ \ \
ALGors BadrXovtes atriovTa es THY OKNVHY pETA
x lal , > <, 4
To Ceitvov Katedim~ayv. ef ols 0 Bidurmos
5] \ Tera ba \ b \ dhe 4 M4
opyiabers evdus pey avTous Efnuiwce eixoot
, e¢ \ , \ 4
Taravtos, Vatepoy 6€ Avpaivec Oa TA TpdyuaTa
nw ,
KAL TAPATTELY SOKOVVTAS ATEXTELVED.
A , ,
XLIX. ’Evei b€ tis Tuyns evpoovans ératpo-
a , \ \ ’ f \
fLevos TOLS Tpaypace orXras pev avedve Kat
, 5) / e > f \ \
peyaras eriOumias, 1) 6 Euhvutos Kakia, Tov Tapa

dvaw oynpatiopov exBialouévn kai avadvovea,
\ \ al \
KATA pikpov ateyupvou Kal ovéhaivey avTov TO
4 nw \ >a? ‘ , wW
7003, mp@tov pev tdta tov vewtepoy “Apatop
, \ rad
ndiker TEpt THY YuVaixa Kal TOoAVY ypovoy éddv-
ae nN \ we? . 9 dA
Gavev éepéotios wv Kal Eevlopuevos im avTav:
emeta moos tas EddAnwiKxas éFetpayuveto roNs-
/ \ ‘ 2 v \ w)
Telas Kal gavepos Av dn Tov “Apatov amro-
f ? \ Ae , \ SS
geLomevos. apyiy dé vrowias ta Meconuaxa
ie \ A
TAPETVE. TTATIATAaYTwWY yap avTw@Y o pev”ApaTos
vatépe. Bonbav, o S€ Diremios nuépa mea Tp0-
per Bon bay, THOS Hméepa med Tp
) \ ) \ , 1)\ 3 ,
Tepoy €hOwv eis THY TOALY EvOS OlaTpOY TLVA
kat add.rov evéBare toils avOpwrrots, vola jLev
b) “~ \ ~
EpWwT@Y TOUS TTPAaTHYyOUS TOY Mecanviwy El vOpoUS
\ A n ?
KATA TOY TOAAMY OvK EXoUaLW, tdia Oé TadL
\ a “ fad A
TOUS TOY TOAAMY TpoecTMTAas El YEelpas KaTA
nw 4 ra
T@Y TUpavvoUWTwWY ovK Eyovaw. éx S€ ToUTOU
e \ n
Gappiicavtes of wev apyovtes émeAapSavovto Ta
“ “~ >] a \ N nm nw >
Onpaywyav, exetvor O€ pera THY TOAN@Y Erren-
ti2

1050

ARATUS xivin. 4-xLix. 3

with great wantonness and scurrility; and once
they actually pursued and threw stones at him as he
was going to his tent after supper. At this Philip
was enraged, and for the nonce fined them twenty
talents; afterwards, however, regarding them as a
noxious and confusing element in his affairs, he put

them to death.!
XLIX. But soon, as the king’s fortune flowed smoothly on, he was lifted up by his success, and developed many inordinate desires; his inherent badness, too, forcing aside the unnatural restraints of his assumed deportment and making its way to the light, little by little laid bare and revealed his true character. In the first place he inflicted a private wrong upon the younger Aratus by corrupt- ing his wife, and was for a long time undetected, since he was a housemate and a guest of the family ; in the second place, he began to show hostility towards the civil polities of the Greeks, and it was presently clear that he was trying to shake off Aratus. First grounds of suspicion were afforded by his conduct at Messene. For there was factional strife in the city, and Aratus was tardy in coming to its aid, and Philip, who got to the city a day before Aratus, at once goaded on the two parties against one another. In private he asked the generals of the Messenians if they had not laws to enforce against the common people, and again in private he asked the leaders of the common people if they had not hands to lift against the tyrants. Upon this the officials plucked up courage and tried to lay hands upon the leaders of the people, and they, coming to the attack at the head of their followers,

1 Cf. Polybius, v. 15 f.

OovTes Tovs TE apyovt ras aTréxTetvay Kal TOV
GAX@Y GALYOV cmOhElTOVTAS dtaxociwy.
L. Otto be deevov épyov eEeupryag pévov TOU
Dirimrou, Kal OVYKPOVOYTOS ere paddov EavTois
TOUS Meoonvious, émeh Gov O "A patos avTos TE
bijros 7 WY pépov Bapéws Kal Tov vioV ETLTLLOVTA
TIKPOS TO Dirinare Kat owopovpevoy ovK éK@-
Aucev. eSdxer 88 6 0 veavic KOs epav TOU Pirimrov
Kal TOTE Aeyor ele pos aUTOV ws OUde KAXOS
ETL gaivorto THY oyu avT@ Toavra épdcas,
Gna TAVT@V alaXtoTos. 6 88 Didurros exelvep
pev ovdév avteire, Kaltrep emido€os ov, UT opyhs
Kal TOAKGKIS eEvd\axtyoas NEyovTos avtov, TOV
bé m pea Butepor, WS eEvNVOXOS Taos Ta Nex Gevta
Kal TLS OV [ET Los Kal TONMTLKOS Thy pvaow, dy-
éatnaev éx TOU Oeatpou thy SeEtav éuBarwv, Kai
Tpociyev €lS TOV ‘TOmparav 7@ TE Au Ovowy Kal
Dewprja wv TOV TOTTOD. éore yap ovy HTT OV evepans
TOU "AxpoxopivOou, Kat AaBov poupav yiverat
yareTos Kai duvcexBiaotos Tois mapotKovety.
avaBas 5€ Kat Ovcas, @S TpognveyKeY a’T@ TA
oTA\dyyva Tod Boos o pdvtis, audotépats Tats

yepoty uTOAaBav edeiKvuE T@ TE “Apatp Kal To
Dapiw Anpntpiv, Tapa HEpOS UTOKALV@Y evs éxa-
Tepov Kal Tuy Oavopevos Te cabopoow €y ToL
\epols, KPATOUYTA THS axpas avTov } Tois Meoon-
viols amodioovTa. yeddoas OvV O Anpat ptos, ge Ee
pev, ' épn, “ MaVvTEws EXELS Wun, anaes TOV
TOT Ov" el &€ Baothéws, apport épav TOV KEpaTov
tov Bodv Kxabéfes,” aivittopevos Thv eXorrov-
1 A precinct of Zeus, on the summit of Mt. Ithome. Cf. Pausanias, iv. 3. 9.
thal

slew the officials and nearly two hundred citizens
besides.
L. After this outrageous deed of Philip's, and while he was striving more than ever to set the Messenians by the ears, Aratus reached the city. He showed clearly that he was indignant himself, and would not check his son when he bitterly reproached and reviled Philip. Now, it would seem that the young man was a lover of Philip; and so at this time he told Philip, among other things, that he no longer thought him fair to look upon, after so foul a deed, but the most repulsive of men. Philip made no answer to him, although it was expected that he would, since in his anger he had many times cried out savagely while the young man was speaking, but as though he meekly submitted to what had been said and was a person of moderation and not above the ordinary citizen, he gave the elder Aratus his hand, led him forth from the theatre, and brought him to the Ithomatas,! in order to sacrifice to Zeus and take a view of the place. For it is quite as well walled in as Acrocorinthus, and with a garrison in it is difficult of access and a hard place for its neighi- hours to take by force. hither Philip went up, and offered sacrifice, and when the seer brought him the entrails of the ox, he took them in both hands and showed them to Aratus and Demetrius of Pharos, leaning towards each one in turn and asking them what indications they saw in the omens; was he to be master of the citadel, or to give it back to the Messenians? Demetrius, with a laugh, replied: “ If thou hast the spirit of a seer, thou wilt give up the place ; but if that of a king, thou wilt hold the ox by both its horns,” speaking darkly of Peloponnesus,

vnooV, ws, el TpocrAaBot Tov lOwpdtav to *Axpo-
xopiv0@, TavTaTacw é€oopévnvy UVTOYELpLoV Kal
Tamewny. o 6€ “A patos emt TOAU pev novxate,
Seopévou € Tob Dedtrmov TO Patvopevov every,
“Toda pev,” eltrev, “wo Didsrre, Kpntov opn
Kal peyada, modral b€ Borwrav akpat Kal
Deoxécov exTrepuKaoe TIS YAS" clot dé Tov ToNAOL
Kal THS ‘A xapvavov TOUTO pev XEpraior, TOUTO

S €vadou toot Gavpacras oXupoTyTas eXovTes™
adr ovdéva TovTwY KaTEeiLAnphas, Kal TWavTeESs
exovolas For ToLover TO T poo Tac aojevov. Anorai
yap eupvovtat TETPALS wal KpnEvav TEPLEXOVTAL,
Baciret &é TLITEWS Kal XapLtos bo XupoTepov
ovoev ovodé OXUPWTEPOL. Tavta oot TO Kpntixov
avoiyee TéXaYOS, TavTa Thv TleAoTrOvynaoV. ato
TOUTWY OPLWLEVOS GU TOTOVTOS ALKIaY TV [ev
NYEH@V, T@aV S€ KUpLos Hon KAaDéoTHKAS.” ETL
NEYOVTOS aUTOU Ta pevY OTAAaYXYVa TO avec
mapédwxev o Dirsmmos, éxeivov S€ THS VELpos
éetmiotacapevos, ‘ Aevpo tou,” Eby, “ THY avTHY
odov iwpuev’” womep exBeBiacpévos UT avdtod Kal
THY TOALY adynpnpévos.
LI. ‘O be "Apatos aToppéwY HON THIS aunrips Kal
KaTa piKpoY éauToV avaKxopelouevos éK TIS Tpos
Tov Piremrov ouvnbetas, 61a Batvovros els “Hrec-
pov avtov Kal Seouévou ovotpatevev, ateirato
Kal KaTéwetve, dediws avatrrnaOhvat b0Ens trovn-
pas ag’ @v €Kelvos Emparrey. étrel O€ Tas Té€ vais
UTO Popaiwy aTwoN€oas alovicta kal OXWS aTrO-
TUX@Y Tals mpafeos éTavynrGev ets Nedomovvn-
cov, Kal TOUS Meoonvious aves emeXerpnaas
pevaxilew kai un AaAOwY Hoixer havepas Kal Try
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ARATUS L. 4-1. 2

which, if Philip added the Ithomatas to Acrocorin- thus, would be altogether subject and submissive to him, <Aratus held his peace for a long time, but upon Philip's asking him to express his opinion, said: “There are many lofty hills in Crete, O Philip, and many towering citadels in Boeotia and Phocis; in Acarnania, too, I suppose, as well inland as on its shores, there are many places which show an amazing strength ; but not one of these dost thou occupy, and yet all these peoples gladly do thy bidding. For it is robbers that cling to cliffs and crags, but for a king there is no stronger or more secure defence than trust and gratitude. These open up for thee the Cretan sea, these the Peloponnesus. Relying upon these, young as thou art, thou hast already made thyself leader here, and master there.” While he was yet speaking, Philip handed the entrails to the seer, and drawing Aratus to him by the hand, said: “Come hither, then, and let us take the same road,” implying that he had been constrained by him and made to give up the city.

LI. But Aratus presently began to withdraw from the court and little by little to retire from his intimacy with Philip. When the king was about to cross into Epeirus+! and asked him to join the ex- pedition, he refused and remained at home, fearing that he would be covered with ignominy by the king’s

proceedings. Philip lost his fleet most shame- fully at the hands of the Romans, and after utter failure in his undertakings, came back into Pelopon- nesus. Here he tried once more to hoodwink the Messenians, and after being detected in this, wronged

1JIn 215 ne. Philip had made an alliance with the Carthaginians against the Romans.

‘ ~ ts v
yopav avtav énopel, mavtamacw o Apatos
N
ameatpabn Kat SrefBrAOn mpos avtov, 7}6n Kal
TOV qTepl THY yuvatkwviTiy adicnudtov atcbo-
z “a ,
UEVOS Kal HéEpwWv AVLAPWS AUTOS, ATrOKPUTTTOMEVOS
\ x a4 > / \ is f ~ wv
Sé tov viv: eldévat yap vVBpiopevoy Tepinv, AXXO
4
5é ovdevy, apvvacbar pn duvapévo. peyiorny
yap 0 Didimmos Soxet Kal TapadroywtaTyY peTa-
,
Barécbar petaBorjv, €& nuepov Bactrdéws Kat
> \
petpaxiov sw@ppovos avyp aceryns Kat TUpaVvs
Seas ’ X eS 9 5 ” N
éEwAns yevouevos. TO O€ OVK Ty apa peTaBoAry
, bd > > 4 > Le , , \
hucews, GAN émideéis ev aceta KaKtas Todvy
4 \ 4 > é
ypovov dia hoBov ayvonleions.
7 \ f
LIT. “Ore yap av pepeypevov aioyuvn cai PoBo
\ 1 fae fo) rn.
To wpos Tov “Apatov avtov mados am apyis
a bd / a ¥ Q ’ ,
avvteOpappéevov, EdnLYwWoE O's ETpake Tept aUTOP.
9 n \ 3 n 4 WoO ‘ - 999
émiOupa@rv yap avedety Tov avdpa Kat vopitwv ovd
dv érevepos Exetvou CovTos Eivat, jLi) TL ye TUPAV-
K B , , Bi \ ae 3 , T
vos Pactrevs, Bia pev ovdev éreyetpnoe, Tav-
, N al “ N f
piwva 6€ TOV aTpAaTNHYaV TiVa Kal hirtwv exéXevceEV

, a ra
aoyXo TpoT@ TovUTO Tpakat, wadaTa bid happa-
n \ 4 ¢
KOV, AVTOU 141) TWAPOVTOS. Oo O€ TroLNaTawEVOS TOV
“A)0 i ITM OLO ov
patov ouv)0n happakov avT@ oldwoLtv, ovK
’ ‘ \ ca
o€0 Kal shokpov, dda Tov Oépuas Te paraKas
ze wo ~ “a
TO TpOTOV €v TH GwOpat. Kai BHhya KivobvTor
> rn > ee \ \ > \
apBrElav, Elta ovUTwWS KaTa puLxpov eis dOopav
/ ’ \ ” , N by 9 9
TEPALVOVTMY. OU puny EXaAGE ye TOV ApaTov' aAX
bf \ 9) ’ f n
@s ovdev Hv OdedXos EACYXOVTL, Tpaws Kal olLwTTH
\ , , ,
TO 7dG0s, ws 6 TVA VoOTOV KOLWIY Kat auVyAOn
n 5 / \ ¢€ / a Le 3
vooay, dunvTrAel. TWANY Evos ye TOV cuUVIiOwY ev
118

ARATUS Lt. 2-Ln. 3

them openly and ravaged their territory. Then Aratus was altogether estranged and filled with dis- trust of the king, being now aware also of the crime committed against his domestic life. At this he was sorely vexed himself, but kept it hidden from his son, who could only know that he had been shamefully abused, seeing that he was not able to avenge him- self. For Philip would seem to have undergone a very great and inexplicable change,’ in that from a gentle prince and chaste youth he became a lascivious man and a pernicious tyrant. In fact, however, this was not a change of nature, but a showing forth, in time of security, of a baseness which his fears had long led him to conceal. : LII. For that the feelings which he had cherished from the beginning towards Aratus had an admix- ture of shame and fear, was made plain by what he did to himatthe last. For he desired to kill Aratus, and thought he could not be a free man while Aratus lived, much less a tyrant or a king. In a violent way, however, he made no attempt upon him, but ordered Taurion, one of his officers and friends, to do this in a secret way, preferably by poison, when the king was absent. So Taurion made an intimate companion of Aratus, and gave him poison, not of a sharp and violent sort, but one of those which first induce gentle heats in the body, and a dull cough, and then little by little bring on consumption. The thing was not hidden from Aratus, but since it was no use for him to convict the criminal, he calmly and silently drank his cup of suffering to the dregs, as if his sickness had been of a common and _ familiar type. However, when one of his intimate com-

1 Cf, Polybius, vii. 13.

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aA , , 4 ? id
7@ Swpatio TapovTos avaTTvaas Olai“ov, LOovTOS
red \ ra) , oT a geese J “cw”
éxelvov Kat Oavuacartos, avta, etmev, “@
r fa) aA , 9
Kedaror, ériyvetpa tis Baciexns pedas.
e a 4 hin wes
LITI. Ovrtw 6€ avtod TeXeuTHGAavTOS ev Atyiw
X , A NX ~
TO éMTAKALOEKATOV OTpPATNYOUVTOS, Kal THY
’ ca) 4 ? a“ , \
Ayatay didotipoupévav xed yevéoPar radas
~ 4 ~ / ,
Kal pyjpata Tpérovta TO Biw TOD avépos, LUuKve-
x nA ‘ 3 al nw
plot avuopay ETrovovvTo 4) Tap avtots TeOHvat
“ ? \ ld /
TO TOma. Kal TOUS pev Ayatovs ETetoay epiévat,
wv / “
vouou O€ ovTOS apyatou pndeva Garter Oat TELYa@V
, “ “ ‘ /

EVTUS, La YUPaS TE TO VOR@ detgLdalpLovias Tpod-

? v ? \ e N ? > Lf
ovons, eTeuwav ets Aeddhovs urép TovTwy épnao-
\ , A] n ‘
evo. THv IIvOtav. 1 6€ avtots avatpet Tov
XN ,
Vpnapov Tovee

- ys , / aN 9 -

Bovreun, StKuwv, Cwayprov atev Apatou,
b] » HG 2 / / 4 14
app ootn Garin TE KATOLYOMEVOLO AvaKTOS ;
¢ N ‘ a A
ws To Bapvvopevov TOO avépt Kai TO Bapdvov
/ ” ? 9 4 \ ? ma S\N ,
yains €ot acéBnyua Kar ovpavo Hoe Oaracans.
’ be A , idd , \ ed
Kourabevons € THs pavTevas ot Te “AYator cUE-
v4 4 ,

mavTes oOncav, cai dvadepovtws ot Stxveovioe
$? e \ N , ? AY 3 a
WETABAAOVTES Els CopTHY TO TEVOOS EvOUS eK TOU
’ 4 \ ‘
Aiyiov Tov vexpov éotepavwpévor Kai Eevyetpo-
“ e N ~ f
VOUVTES UTO TaLdvwY Kal YXopav Els THY TOALY
3 a BS , f ,

avnyov, Kat ToTov e€eXopevot TEeploTTOv WaTTEP

5] \ A “

OLKIO THY KAL OWTHPA THS TOAEWS ExNnOEVTAV. KAL
w / ~ ? , a
KaneiTar pexpte viv Apatetov, Kai Ovovolv avT@

ee eee

+ fi 213_B.G,

mq
i>)
oO
ARATUS tn. 3-H. 4

panions who was with him in his chamber saw him spit blood, and expressed surprise, “Such, my dear Cephalo,” said Aratus, “are the wages of royal triendship.”’

LIII. And so he died,! at Aegium, while general for the seventeenth time, and the Achaeans were very desirous that he should have burial there and memorials befitting his life. But the Sicyonians re- garded it as a calamity that he should not be buried in their city, and persuaded the Achaeans to sur- render his body to them. They had, however, an ancient law that no one should be buried inside the city walls, and the law was supported by strong feel- ings of superstition. So they sent to Delphi to get advice in the matter from the Pythian priestess, and she gave them the following oracular answer :—

“Would’st thou, O Sicyon, pay Aratus lasting
honour for the lives he saved,
And join in pious funeral rites for thy departed
lord ?
Know that the place which vexes or is vexed by
him
Is sacrilegious, be it in earth or sky or sea.”

When the oracle was brought to them the Achaeans

were all delighted, and the Sicyonians, in particular, changing their mourning into festival, at once put on garlands and white raiment and brought the body ot Aratus from Aegium into their city, amid hymns of praise and choral dances; and choosing out a commanding place, they buried him there, calling him founder and saviour of the city. And the place is called to this day Arateium, and yearly sacrifices are made to Aratus there, one on the day when he

Guciar, THY HEY, Y THY TOMY anyprrake THS TuUpavvico; huépa TéuTtn Aatotov H2V0S, ov 'AOnvato xadovaly 'AvOeatnpiava, Kab THY Ouciay éxeivny Lwripra T pogaryopevover, TH O€ TOU pIvos ev D yevér Oar TOV avdpa O1apvnpovevovet, THS pev ov T poTEpas o tov Atos Tod Lwripos KAT PXETO unt oXos, TIS O€ CevTépas Oo Tov "Apdtou, a7 poptov ovy OOAEUKOD, arra peoT oppupov EXoV, pena) 6€ 70€TO T pos cGapay UmO TOV TrEpl TOV Atovucov TEXVIT OD, KAL OUVETIOMTeEveV) Yupvaciapxos YOUMEVOS TOV TE TALOWY KL TOV epryBov, eita epeitreTo 1 Bovny oTepavnpopovoa Kal TOV adhov ToheT ov c Bou opevos. ay eT Oeiypata pixpa Tais Twépas exelvars eEoovovpevot dvaguAattovow at € TrELTTAL TOV Tepay UTO \Ypovou Kai TpaypaTwy addrwv éxNEAOLTIAGLD.

LIV. *AdAa yap 0 pev mpea BuTEpos "A patos ott Bi@car Kal TOLOUTOS yevéo Gar THY pvow la Topettac: Tov o€ wor avTou pLapos av puoe Kat "eT MLOTHTOS UBpLaTns o Diru7os ov Oavagipos, adra pavixois efeotIc€ TOU Aoyeopod papparors Kal Taperpewer eis detvas Kal addoKOTOUS émidopas, mpakewy aTOT wy Kal ovV aioyun tavav Ore piv Operyopevov, WOTE TOV Gavatov avTo, KalTep OVTL Véw Kal avOobvtt, pe) ouppopayr, GX' amohvatv KAKOVY Kal gern piay yevéo Oat. dixas ye "nV oO Dirdemmos ov Meum Tas Aci Eeviw Kat Piriw THs dvoooupyias TavTyS Tivwy dreTéXeoe. KaTaTONEUNOEIs pév yap UIT

‘Pwpaiwy énétpewer éxeivois Ta Kal? autor, éx-
I22

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ARATUS ui. 4-1iv. 2

freed the city from its tyranny—the fifth day of the month Daesius (which the Athenians call Anthesterion), which sacrifice has the name Soteria, and one on the day of the month when, according to the records, he was born. The first of these sacrifices was performed by the priest of Zeus the Saviour; the second by the priest of Aratus, who wore a headband, not pure white but purple and white, and liymns with accompaniment of lyre were sung by the artists of Dionysus, and the gymnasiarch took part in the procession, at the head of the boys and young men of military age; then followed the councillors wearing garlands, and all other citizens who desired. Of these ceremonial rites the Sicyonians still preserve slight traces, celebrated on the same days of the year, but most of them, owing to the passage of time and the pressure. of other matters, have lapsed.

LIV. Such was the life and such the nature of the elder Aratus, as history tells us; and as for his son, he was deprived of his reason by Philip, who had an abominable nature and added savage cruelty to his wanton exercise of power. He gave the young man poisons which did not kill, but crazed, and thus made him a prey to strange and dreadful impulses, under which he grasped at absurd activities, and experiences not only shameful but destructive, so that death came to him, although he was young and in the flower of his life, not as a calamity, but us release from evils, and salvation. For this unholy deed, however, Philip paid ample penalties to Zeus, the guardian of hospitality and friendship, as long as he lived. For after being subdued by the Romans and putting his fortunes in their hands, he was

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

meawy O€ Tis aAANS apYRs Kai Tas vabs WAY
TéVTE TAGAaS TPOéMEVOS Kal XidLA TPOTEKTICELY
OmoAOYyHnCasS Tahara Kal TOV vLOV Omnpevoovra
Tmapadous be oix Tov eTUXE Maxedovias kal TOV
TUVTENOUITWY. aTOKTELVWY O€ EL TOUS dpiaTous
Kal cuyyevestatous ppixns évémAnge Kal ploous
OAnv Thv Bactreiav Tpos auTov. ev b€ povoy ép

TogovTa:s KQKOLS eUTUXN LA KTNTALEVOS, vioV
aperh Suapépovta, TOUTOY pbovw kat ndoTtuTia
THS Tapa ‘Popators TLS aveine, Hepoet Sé
Batépo THY dpxny mrapédoxer, Ov ov yynavov,
ann’ broBAyTov evar pact, €x Cvabawiouv Tivos
dxeot pias YeVOMEVOV. TODTOV Atpidsos eOptap-
Bevoe> Kai katéotpewev evtadba THS Aptuyoviniys
Baatretas y 61adox 9. To 6€ ’Apatov yévos év TH
Suxvavi cai TH WeAAnvn Sréuerve Kad” yas.
124

ARATUS trv. 2-3

stripped of most of his dominions, surrendered all his ships but five, agreed to pay a thousand talents besides, gave up his son to serve as hostage, and ‘only out of pity obtained Macedonia and its tributaries. But he was for ever putting to death the noblest of his subjects and his nearest kin, and thus filled his whole kingdom with horror and hatred of him. One piece of good fortune only was his, amid so many ills, and that was a son of sur- passing excellence; but this son he killed, out of envy and jealousy of the honour paid him by the Romans, and left his kingdom to his other son, Perseus, who was not legitimate, as we are told, but supposititious, the child of a sempstress, Gnathaenion.? This king graced the triumph of Aemilius, and with him ended the royal line of the Antigonids ; whereas the descendants of Aratus were living at Sicyon and Pellene in my time.

1 See the demiliu. Paulus, viii. 6f. 5; xxxiv., XXxVi.

125

APTOZEP=H2

1. ‘O pev TPWTOS ‘A prokepins, TOV €V Teépoaes
Bacirewr TPaoTHTL Kal peyarowuxea TpwoTEvoas,
Maxpoxerp €TEKANELTO THY defray petSova THs
Er Epas EXOD, Eépou O€ ty vids: o bé devTEpos,
Tept ov Tade ypadgeTat, Moijpov émixrnbels x
uyatpos iy exeivou. Aapeiov yap cat Llapuoa-
TLOOS Tales € eyevovTo Teg oapes, mpeaBuTatos pev
“A progepéns, pet exeivor 6é Kdpos, vewrepat bé
TOUT@V ‘Ooravns Kat ‘OEdApys. 0 peev ov Kuvpos
a0 Kvpov TOU TaNdatov ToUvOjLa EoXEV, éxeiv@ O€
a0 TOD NAtoU yeveoOat faci: Kipor yap Kanebp
Hlépoas tov Hrtov. o 6€ “AptoképEns ’Apoixas
mpoTepov éxanretto' Kaitor Acivwr yaiv» bre
‘Oupons. Gra tov Krnoiayv, & kat TaAXAa pudov
amvTidavwv Kal mapadhopwr euBeBAnKEv eis TA
BiBra mavrooamny TuAaLaV, OUK elxos ECT LI

ayvoety ToUvopa TOU Bactréws Tap © Over piBe
Jeparevwy avTov Kal yuvatka Kal pntépa Kat
matoas.
Il. ‘0 pev ou Kipos ¢ EV TOvOv Te Kab opodpor
evOvs &k TPOTNS WAKias eiXer, aTEPOS b€ Tpqo-
TEpos e€OOKEL mepl TaVTa Kal Tals opuais uae
Hahak@Tepos elvat. yuvaika dé KaANnV Kal aya-
Onv éXaBe pev Tov yovéwy Kerevovtwrv, épurake
1 Artaxerxes I. 465-425 n.c. The parallel form Artaxerxes
hax become fixed in English.
128

1012

ARTAXERXES

I. Tue first Artaxerxes,! preéminent among the kings of Persia for gentleness and magnanimity, was surnamed Longimanus, because his right hand was longer than his left, and was the son of Xerxes; the second Artaxerxes,? the subject of this Life, was surnamed Memor, or Mindful, and was the grandson of the first by his daughter Parysatis. For Dareius? and Parysatis had four sons—an eldest, Artaxerxes, and next to him Cyrus, and after these Ostanes and Oxathres. Cyrus took his name from Cyrus of old,‘ who, as they say, was named from the sun; for “Cyrus” is the Persian word for sun. Artaxerxes was at first called Arsicas; although Deinon gives the name as Oarses. But it is unlikely that Ctesias, even if he has put into his work a perfect farrago of extravagant and incredible tales, should be ignorant of the name of the king at whose court he lived as physician to the king’s wife and mother and children.

II. Now Cyrus, from his very earliest years, was high-strung and impetuous, but Artaxerxes seemed gentler in everything and naturally milder in his impulses. His wife,a beautiful and excellent woman, he married in compliance with his parents’ bidding,

2 Artaxerxes IT. 404-362 p c.
* Darius Li 424-408 pac
* Cyrus the Elder, 559-529 k.c,
129

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

‘ \ ~ /
5€ KWAVOYTWY’ TOV yap GbEeXPov AUTHS ATOKTELVAS
¢ ~ e \
20 Bacirevs éBovreveTo KaKelyny averetv, Oo 6€
. A ‘ N
"Apaixas THS MNTPOS (KETNS YEr'opevos Kal TOAAA
A ,
KATAKAAUGAS [LOALS ETTELTE fLITE ATOKTELVAL [LTE
a “ id \
avtov S:acticar tHy avOpwrrov. n O€ pnTNpP
umApye Tov Kipov wadrov hirovea kai BovrAopevy
: a ~ \ ~
Bactreve exetvov. 610 Kal TOD TaTpos vooovy-
Tos 70n peTameuTTOS amo GJardoons yevomevos
TavtaTmacw aveBaivev evEeXTLS WY, WS KATELPYya-
N aA a
opevns exeivns Siddoyov avtov amodetyOnvat THs
A “A 4
3 apyns. Kal yap elyev evrpeTh Aoyor 1) Ilapv-
? b S seaeees et e \ 3 £
cats, @ Kat BéepEns o wadatos éxpnocato, Anpa-
a , td 9 - N 9 , A
patou oiddEavtos, ws Apoixav pév idtwtn, Kipov
be 7 , a 1 bf \ w
é Bactrevovts Aapeiw texetv.s ov prj Emeccer,
7 5,
arr’ o mpecBuTepos umedetyOy Bactreus, ’Apto-
, , ~ \ , th es
EepEns wetovopacb«is, Ktpos 6€ Avdtas catpatns
Kal Tov éeTwt Oadkacans oTpAaTHYOS.
b] - 4 A A
IIT. “OdNtym & tarepov 4 teXeuTHOA Aapetov
y / 9 v4 ¢ , ¢
e&nXacev ets Llacapyadas 0 Baatrevs, O7Tws TEXE-
: , A : a ‘ iC: X aA 3 ,
oGein tTHy Bacidtxny TeXeTHY UTTO TaY év Tlépaats
e , ” \ a Ane , A 9 a
lepéwy. €att O€ Oeas ToremiKns lepov, hv AOnvav
2 av TLs elKacetevy. eis TOvTO Set TOY TENOUMLEVOY
s \ \ >] , 3 4 / b
Taped Oovta Thv pev totav arrobéc bat atoANy, ava-
- A e a A
AaBety dé Hv Kopos o wadatos époper piv 7) Ba-
atrevs yeverOat, Kai cuKwy TaraOns éudayovTa

TeputvOou KaTatpayeiv Kal ToT}pLov éxmLely o€vu-
ydXaktos. et d€ Tpos TovTOLs Etep aTTa Spwav,
v A ~ “~ ~~ :
3 addndov oti TOis GAAOLS. TavTa dpav’ AproképEou
1 +rexetvy Bekker has rexot, after Coraés.
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ARTAXERXES um. 1-111. 3 :

and kept her in defiance of them, for after the king had put her brother to death, he wished to kill her also. But Arsicas, throwing himself at his mother’s feet and supplicating her with many tears, at last obtained her promise that his wife should neither be killed nor separated from him. But the mother had more love for Cyrus, and wished that he should succeed to the throne. Therefore, when his father was now lying sick, Cyrus was summoned home from the sea-coast, and went up in full hope that by his mother’s efforts he had been designated as suc- cessor to the kingdom. For Parysatis had a specious argument (the same that Xerxes the Elder employed on the advice of Demaratus'), to the effect that she had borne Arsicas to Dareius when he was in private station, but Cyrus when he was a king. However, she could not prevail, but the elder son was declared king, under the new name of Artaxerxes, while Cyrus remained satrap of Lydia and commander of the forces in the maritime provinces.”

III. A little while after the death of Dareius, the new king made an expedition to Pasargadae, that he might receive the royal initiation at the hands of the Persian priests. Here there is a sanctuary of a warlike goddess whom one might conjecture to be Athena. Into this sanctuary the candidate for initia- tion must pass, and after laying aside his own proper robe, must put on that which Cyrus the Elder used to wear before he became king; then he must eat of a cake of figs, chew some turpentine-wood, and drink a cup of sour milk. Whatever else is done besides this is unknown to outsiders. As Artaxerxes

1 See Herodotus, vii. 3.
? Cf. Xenophon, Anab. i. 1, 1 tf.
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: PLUTARCH’S LIVES

HEAAOVTOS apiKeTo Ticadepyns ™ pos aUTOV ayov
éva TOV lepewy, Os év Taal Kupou THS vopuelo mers
ayoryAs ema TaTNs yevopevos Kal dudaEas paryevety
avTov ovdsevos HT TOV édoxet LlepsOv aviacbar wn
amodety GevTos éxeltvou Bactrews: S10 Kat TioTLW
EayVe KATH YOPOV Kupov. Karnyopet dé ws pér-
AovTos évedpeveny € €v T@ lepo, Kal éretday exdun rat
Thy éaOATa oO Baotrevs, émitiOecOar nai dua-
bOetpery avrov. of pev ex TavTNS THS dtaBors
THY ovhAn yw yeverOar pact, ot d€ Kal Traped-
ety TOV Kopov els TO epov Kat mapasod hvac
KpumTojevov UTO TOU Lepews. pédovTa. dé avrov

non arrobvijaKew 9 LNTNP mepiaxovca Tats ayKa-
als Kal Tous Boatpuxors mepiehifaca wal ovA-
AaBovca Tov éxetvou TPaxnrov Tpos TOV auras,
odupoev?) WoAAa Kal TOT VLE MEVT TAapyTnTaro
Kal KATET EMM ED addes é€7t OadXatTayv, ovK aya-
TOVTA THY adpxnv €xELVNV, OvdE pe pn wevov Tis
OveTEws, aryrXa THS TUAAMPEOS, Kal de) opyny
omapyovTa pLadXov 7 TpoTepov enh THY Baoid«tav,
IV. “Evioz 6é dagev otk apxovmevov ois éXdp-
Bavey eis to xa” rpépav Setrvov atoothnvas
Bactréws, eb) NeyovTes. el yap aro pndév,
arra) TH UTHOXE, xpha Pat Kal AauBaverv
dca Bovdotro TOV aurifs TapéXxouvga Kal OLdouca.
paptupet d€ TH TAOUTH Kal TO pra Bo opexov
TorARrAAX OH bua TOV dirav Kat Eévov avT@ Tapa-
Tpepopevov, OS =evopav ELPNKED. ib poous pen
yap ov cuvniyaryen', eT THY TupagKeUNY eTLKPUTTTO-
1 4dnad. i. 1, 6-11,

ef
&
ARTAXERXES mr. 3-iv. 1

was about to perform these rites, Tissaphernes brought to him a certain priest who had conducted Cyrus through the customary discipline for boys, had taught him the wisdom of the Magi, and was thought to be more distressed than any one in Persia because his pupil had not been declared king. For this reason, too, his accusation against Cyrus won cre- dence. And he accused him of planning to lie in wait for the king in the sanctuary until he should put off his garment, and then to fall upon him and kill him. Some say that Cyrus was arrested in con- sequence of this false charge, others that he actually made his way into the sanctuary and hid himself there, and was delivered into custody by the priest. But now, as he was about to be put to death, his mother clasped him in her arms, twined her tresses about him, pressed his neck against her own, and by much lamentation and entreaty prevailed upon the king to spare him, and sent him back to the sea-coast. Here he was not satisfied with the office assigned to him, nor mindful of his release, but only of his arrest; and his anger made him more eager than before to secure the kingdom.

IV. Some say that he revolted from the king because his allowance did not sufhce for his daily meals, which is absurd. For had no other resource been his, still, his mother was resource enough, who gave freely from her own wealth all that he wished to take and use. And that he had wealth is proved by the mercenary troops that were maintained for him in many places by his friends and connections, as Xenophon tells us.!_ For he did not bring these together into one body, since he was still trying to conceal his preparations, but in one place and another,

pevos, ddrAaYyoOs O€ GAXous ETT TOANALS Tpopaceat
a / \ e i“
2 Eevodoyodv7as cixe. Baothéws O€ TE pyTHP
a A \ “A N
Tapovaa Tas UTOWias apjpet, Kal Kopos autos aeéi
nA - ’
Geparevtixa@s &ypabe, TA per alTovpEvos Tap
“ ral \
autou, Ta be Trsadépvous avtixatnyopav, ws 57
A A ae “
Tpos éxeivoyv aUT@ $yjXov Kal ayavos OvTOS.
"Hy S€ tis Kal péd\XrAHoLs ev TH hvoet TOD Bact-

Néws, emleixera hatvomevy Tos ToAAOIS. ev apyYT
a b a
d€ Kal tmavu C$nrodv &dofe tHhv AptoképEou rod
\ /
OfwVULOU TPAOTHTA, NdiwW TE EAUTOY TapEeywv
aA ,
evruyxaveoGat, cai meal TO Tiuav Kat yapilec Gan
‘ b] > , e / f \ 7
To Kat akiav uTepBadrAwy, KoAaTEwWS dé Taans
? a \ ? 8 Lt , \ 500 b Oe a
augpatpwy to ebufpifoy Kat noouevov, €v ae
4 ’ & ~ “a nw
déyecOar yapitas OVX TTOY TOs StdobaLV 7 Tots
? bd] A / , yw
AapRavovaty év TO Stddvat hatvopevos evyapes
cal diravOpmmos. ovdev yap Hv oTwS ptKpOV TE
a 4 ra \ 4 - b] \

Tov dLdopévwy 0 ry TpocedéEaTo TpoOvmws, GAXa
a , i
Kal poay piav ureppun peycOet tpoceveyKavTos
a , \ b] fe Ge] TN \ ; (O 99 ?
pigous THOS Gute), Na tov Me pav, even,
‘obros 0 avnp Kal modkw av éx mLKpas Taye
Trouna ece peyadny miotevbeis.
V. ‘Emel 6€ GXXwy dda TpIThepovTwVv Kad
eQ\ ? \ ” +Q\ DAON a a
odov autoupyos avOpwmros ovdev evi Katpov POacas
“a A fal , - ~~
eupely TH ToTau@ Tpocédpame Kai Taiv yepowv
uToNaBwv tod bdatos TpognveyKev, oOels o

,, A a
"AproképEns hiarny éreprpev avt@ ypvony Kai
/ A
xedtous Saperxous. Evxderda d€ 76 Adxwvt, tron-
Na mappyo talopevyp Tpos avTov avdadss, éxé-
Nevoev eltreiv TOV yedtapyov Ste “ Sol ev EEeotev
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ARTAXERXES wv. 1r-v. 1

and on many pretexts, he kept recruiting-agents. And as for the king’s suspicions, his mother, who was at court, tried to remove them, and Cyrus himself would always write in a submissive vein, sometimes asking favours from him, and sometimes making countercharges against Tissaphernes, as if his eager contention were against him. .

There was, too, a certain dilatoriness in the nature of the king, which most people took for clemency. Moreover, in the beginning he appeared to be altogether emulous of the gentleness of the Artaxerxes whose name he bore, showing himself very agreeable in intercourse, and bestowing greater honours and favours than were really deserved, while from all his punishments he took away the element of insult or vindictive pleasure, and in his acceptance and bestowal of favours appeared no less gracious and kindly to the givers than to the recipients. For there was no gift so small that he did not accept it with alacrity; indeed, when a certain Omisus brought him a single pomegranate of surpassing size, he said: “ By Mithra, this man would speedily make a city great instead of small were he entrusted with it.”

V. Once when he was on a journey and various people were presenting him with various things, 4 labouring man, who could find nothing else at the moment, ran to the river, and, taking some of: the water in his hands, offered it to him; at which Artaxerxes was so pleased that he sent him a goblet of gold and a thousand darics. To Eucleidas the Lacedaemonian, who would often say bold and impudent. things to him, he sent this word by his oficer of the guard: “It is in thy power to say
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elTreiy & Bovnen, éuol d€ Kal A€yerv Kat Tovey.”
év 6€ Opa Tevt Py ptSaSov detEavros aUT@ Tov
Kavovv Eo XLT pevov, mporTna ev 6 te Sel mrosety.
éexelvou 6€ elmovTos, ‘ ‘"AdXov avTos évouaat, TOU-
TOV bé € €or bas,” ob TMs évrolnaen, elTrov, “ Alba
bev, @ Tnpisate, col TOUTOP, hopeiy b€ amtayo-
pevo.” Tov be Tnei8alou wy ppovticavtos (hy
yap ov Tovnpos, UT oxoudpos dé Kal mapadopos),
GANA TOV TE avouv evdvs éxetvov évouvTos Kai
dépaia xpuad Kal yuvarneta TOY Bacthikav Tépt-
Jepevou, TUVTES [ev NYavaKTOUY (ov yap €&nv), o
MEVTOL Bacvrevs Kateyédace Kal elTe “ Atéwpt
got Kal Ta ypvoia opety ws yuvarki Kai Thy
OTOANY WS patvouerer. Tpametns d€ TIS aur is
pndevos HETEX OVTOS arr # pnt pos Baciréws i
ya persis yUvarKos, Kabelouever THS mev Ur auton,
THS O€ LNT pos vTep avrov, ’AptroképEns cai tovs
iSeAgods € emt THY AUTH exdret Tpametay, "Octa-
vay cal ‘O&d@ pny, VEWTEPOUS 6vTas. é€py O€ Tots
padoTa KeXapto Leyny div Trapetye Tois Ilép-
oais 1 THS yuvarros LTareipas dppapata yumi)
TOY TapaTeTAgTUUdTwY del Tpopepomévy Kal d1d00-
ga Tais énpoticw aonmdcacba avtTny Kai Tpoc-
erbety, bev nyaTato toils Tools 1) Bacireta.
VI. Tov pévroe Kipov ot vewtepiatal Kai roXv-
mMpayuoves ws Nautpoy avodpa TH Wuyn Kat
ToAeuixoy Stadhepovtws Kal didétatpov wovTo Ta
mpaypata mode, Kat TO peyeBos THS yepovias
Bactréws beta Bar ppovnpa kal ptdoripiay €yov-
TOS. _0vX HT TO ody Tots ave TLOTEVMY 0 Kipos
7 Tols Tepi auTov éwexetpel TO TOAEUM Kal
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what thou pleasest, but it is in mine both to say
and to do.” Again, when he was hunting once
and Teribazus pointed out that the king’s coat
was rent, he asked him what was to be done. And
when Teribazus replied, “ Put on another for thyself,

but give this one to me," the king did so, saying, "I give this to thee, Teribazus, but I forbid thee to wear it." Teribazus gave no heed to this command (being not a bad man, but rather light-headed and witless), and at once put on the king's coat, and decked himself with golden necklaces and women's ornaments of royal splendour. Everybody was indignant at this (for it was a forbidden thing); but the king merely laughed, and said: "1 permit thee to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the — robe as a madman." Again, no one shared the table of a Persian king except his mother or his wedded wife, the wife sitting below him, the mother above him; but Artaxerxes invited to the same table with him his brothers Ostanes and Oxathres, although they were his juniors. But what gratified the Persians most of all was the sight of his wife Stateira's carriage, which always appeared with its curtains up,and thus permitted the women of the people to approach and greet the queen. This made her beloved of the common folk.

VI. Nevertheless, restless and factious men thought that affairs demanded Cyrus, a man who had a brilliant spirit, surpassing skill in war, and great love for his friends ; and that the magnitude of the empire required a king of lofty purpose and ambition. Ac- cordingly, Cyrus relied quite as much upon the people of the interior as upon those of his own province and command, when he began the war.

Aaxedatpoviots eypade Tupaxareov Bonbetv Kat TUVERTE TEL avopas, ols ep dwaey, ay pep mefot Tapaoty, iTTOUS, av Ge t inmets, guvwploas® éav o crypous EY wot, Kw "as: éav be KWMAS, TOAELS* pa Bob d€ TOls TTPATEVOMEVOLS OVK dprO por, ava JET pov éveoOar. peyahnyopav 6€ mepit avtod TONG Kal Kapotav én Tov adeh pov popety Bapv- Tépav Kat prrocodev padrov Kat paryevery Bédr1ov, olvov d€ Tretova mivew Kal pépery- exetvov o€ vTo devdias Kal paraxias éy sev TOOLS Kuvnyertous pnoe ep immou, ev dé Tois Kwdvvois pnde ert TOD Opovov xabjoOa. Aaxedaimovior pev odv oKUTG- Anv mpos Kréapyov améoTethav vIrnpeTelv Kup qavtTa KedevovTes. 6 6€ Kipos dveBatvev eri Baotrea BapBapexny TE TOANY EVV Ovvapuy

cat peaPodopous “KAXAnvas OALyo Tplaryedteov Kat
pupiwy atrodéovtas, adXNas er AAXNALS TrOLOUMEVOS
TpopaceEs THs oTparelas. ov pny édradé ye els
TOAVY Ypovoyv, aN KE Barret Trradépyns
avTdayyeros: Kal TOUS PopuBos eixe Ta Racine,
Ths te apvodatidos thy wAciotny aitiay Tob
TOAEMOU pepopernys, Kal TOV pirov avTAS ev
UTowiats 6 dvtwy kat d1aBorais. padiora de nvia
THY Tapvcatw 1 Lrdtetpa TO TONE pup TepiTra-
Govoa Kat Bowca, “ Ilob yuV at TLOTELS exetvat ;
Tov 6€ al denoets, als eFedopmevn TOV emt Bourev-
cavTa TO GOENGD TONELOU Kab KAKOY euTeTANKAS
nuas 3; éx 67 TOUTOY pucovoa THY Lrdrerpay my
Ilapvoatis, cat dice BapvOvpos ovea Kal Bap-
1Cf. Xenophon, Anab. i. 1,9; 2, 21; 4, 3.

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ARTAXERKXES vr. 2-5

He also wrote to the Lacedaemonians, inviting them to aid him and send him men, and promising that he would give to those who came, if they were foot- men, horses; if they were horsemen, chariots and pairs; if they had farms, he would give them villages ; if they had villages, cities; and the pay of the soldiers should not be counted, but measured out. Moreover, along with much high-sounding talk about himself, he said he carried a sturdier heart than his brother, was more of a philosopher, better versed in the wisdom of the Magi, and could drink and carry more wine than he. His brother, he said, was too effeminate and cowardly either to sit his horse in a hunt, or his throne in a time of peril. The Lacedae- monians, accordingly, sent a dispatch-roll to Clearchus ordering him to give Cyrus every assistance.4 So Cyrus marched up against the king with a large force of Barbarians and nearly thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries,? alleging one pretext after another for his expedition. But the real object of it was not long concealed, for Tissaphernes went in person to the king and informed him of it. Then there was a great commotion at the court, Parysatis being most blamed for the war, and her friends undergoing suspicion and accusation, And above all was she vexed by Stateira, who was greatly dis- tressed at the war, and kept crying: “ Where now are those pledges of thine? And where are the entreaties by which thou didst rescue the man who had plotted against the life of his brother, only to involve us in war and calamity?” Therefore Pary- satis hated Stateira, and being naturally of a harsh

2 Cf. Xenophon, Anab. i. 7, 10, where the force of Bar- barians is said to have numbered one hundred thousand.

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ts

PLUPARCEP SSIES

Bapos éy opyais Kat prnoiKaKiass, emreBovdevev
auTny avenety. ere! dé Acitvwy pev EV T@ TOAEL@
cuvTereaOivar Thy émeBovrAny eipyKe, Krnaoias é€
baTEpov, Ov OUTE ayvoe TOV Xpovor elKos éort
mapovTa Tais mpateoty, ovTe EKOOV aiTiay elven €x
Tov Ypovou peTacTihoat TO Epyov, @S émpaxOn
Sunryoupevos, ola Tao KEL TOAAUKLS O orvyos auTov
™ pos To puOm@des Kal 6papaticov _ EXT PET OLEVOS
TH)S arnOeias, ToUTO pev iv éxElvos aTrédwxe
yopav é&eu.
VII. Kup 6é rpoctoyte hijpat Kat Noyou Tpoc-
émim@tov, ws ov paxyetOar Bactréws evOds éyvw-
KOTOS OVOE TUVOPALELD ELS YELPAS AVT@ TTEVOGYTOS,
arn’ év Ilépcats vrropévery dype dv at duvdpets
exel Travtayoley avvér\Owar. Kal yap tadpov
evpos opyulav déxa Kai Babos icwv émt atadious
dia TOU TWedtou TeTPAKoGious évéBare Kat TAUTNS
Te Tepietoe TOV Kipov évtos TrapeAOovta Kai Ba-
Buravos avThs ov pakpav yevopevon. TypiBalou
5€, ws act, TpwTov TON LIT AVTOS el Trely ws Ov

det puyouaxeiy ovde Mynédias ékotavta cat Ba-
Buddvos dpa? Kal Lovowy évover Oat TH Hepoto:,
modaTagtav pev ExovTa Ovvapiy TOV TONE MLO,

puplous O€ catparas Kat OT PATHYOUS Kupov xai
ppovety Kal Haxeo Ga BeXtiovas, Opunae Etayw-
vioad Gat THY TAXLOTHY.
Kai to pee T paT ov eEaigyys Katahavets évern-
KovTa pLupldat oTpatov diakeKoopnmévats ap-
1 Gua Bekker and Ziegler, after Corais: add.

temper and savage in her wrath and resentment, she
plotted to kill her. Deinon says that her plot was
carried out during the war. Ctesias, however, says
that it was accomplished afterwards, and neither is

it likely that he was ignorant of the time since he was at the scene of action, nor had he any occasion, in his narrative of the deed, to change the time of it on purpose, however often his story turns aside from the truth into fable and romance. I shall therefore give the event the place which he has assigned to it.}

VII. As Cyrus proceeded on his march, rumours and reports kept coming to his ears that the king had decided not to give battle at once, and was not desirous of coming to close quarters with him, but rather of waiting in Persia until his forces should assemble there from all parts. For he had run a trench, ten fathoms in width and as many in depth, four hundred furlongs through the plain; and yet he allowed Cyrus to cross this and to come within a short distance of Babylon itself.2 And it was Teribazus, as we are told, who first plucked up courage to tell the king that he ought not to shun a battle, nor to retire from Media and Babylon, as well as Susa, and hide himself in Persia, when he had a force many times as numerous as that of the enemy, and countless satraps and generals who surpassed Cyrus in wisdom and military skill. The king therefore determined to fight the issue out as soon as possible.

So, to begin with, by his sudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thousand men in brilliant

1 See chap. xix.

* Cf. Xenophon, Anub. i. 7, 14-17.

T POS, TOUS Tohepious AOUVTAKTOVS Kal avoTrAOUS dua TO Oappeiv Kal KaTadpoveiv odourropobvras éEémAnEe Kal ocuvetapa€er, wate suv GopvBw Kal Bon TOMMY pores Ets Tag kadioracbat TOV Kipov Emelta olyn Kal oxedny ETAYOV Gaipa Tol "EAAnoe TAS. evragias TApELXe, Kpavyas aTaKTOUS Kal OKIPTH HATA Kal TONUY Tapayov avuTav Kal Svacmacpov € éy TAO EL TOT OUT@ T poo dex ojLevous. €v O€ Kal Kara TOUS "EX Aqvas avretage TOV Sperarnpopov Ta poparewrara Tpo THS €avToD parayyos, ws mply ev Nepal yeveo Ba dvaxowovta Tas Takes Bia THS elo ehdcews.

VIII. Ti Sé ayn éxeivny TONACV pev amny-
YEAKOT OD, Fevopavtos bé povovovyt O€LKVUOYTOS
Oye, Kal Tots Tpaypacw, ws OU Yyeyevnuevots,
ara yivouevos, epiotavtos ael TOV aKpoaTiy
éutrab nal cuyxivduvevovta dia THY évapyetar,
OUK €oTL vodv EXOVTOS emeEnryeta Oar, TAny boa
7 Oy akiov hoyou TapnrOev eirreiv exetvov. 0 jev
oy TOTOS, eV O mapeTabavto, Kovvaka KahetTae
Kal BaBvdéivos amex EL oTadtous mevTaKoctous.
Kipov 6€ mpd THs paxns Krt«edpxou Tapa a-
NOUVTOS efomrua bev TOV _MaXOopEveov elvat Kal pr)
KLVOUVEVELY avTOV ELTFELD pact, so reyers, @
KXEeapye ; ou KeXevers pe TOV Bacrreias operyo-
fLEVOV avatiov eivat Bactdetas ;” dpapTovTos ¢
Kupou peya T@ Ovval T POTET OS Els péoa Ta
dewa Kat pn) pudratacBau TOV KivdUVOY, OVX HTTOV
Hmaptev, eb 1) Kal “addon, eee avTiTakas
1 Anab. i. 8.

array, he so terrified and confounded the enemy, who were marching along in loose order and without arms because of their boldness and contempt for the king, that Cyrus could with difficulty bring them into battle array amid much tumult and shouting; and again, by leading his forces up slowly and in silence, he filled the Greeks with amazement at his good discipline, since they had expected in so vast a host random shouting, and leaping, with great confusion and dissipation of their lines. Besides this, he did well to craw up in front of his own line, and over against the Greeks, the mightiest of his scythe- | bearing chariots, in order that by the force of their charge they might cut to pieces the ranks of the Greeks before they had come to close quarters. VIII. Now, since many writers have reported to us this battle, and since Xenophon! brings it all but before our eyes, and by the vigour of his description makes his reader always a participant in the emotions and perils of the struggle, as though it belonged, not to the past, but to the present, it would be folly to describe it again, except so far as he has passed over things worthy of mention. The place, then, where the armies were drawn up, is called Cunaxa, and it is five hundred furlongs distant from Babylon. And we are told that Cyr us, before the battle; when Clearchus besought him to remain behind the com- batants and not risk his life, replied : “‘ What sayest thou, Clearchus? Dost thou bid me, who am reaching out for a kingdom, to be unworthy of a kingdom ?”’ It was a great mistake for Cyrus to plunge headlong into the midst of the fray, instead of trying to avoid its dangers; but it was no less a mistake, nay, even a greater one, for Clearchus to refuse to array his

Kata Tov Baciréa pn Gednoas TOUS "EXANvas,
adNG Tpoopieas 7 TOTApe TO beEtov, aos LN
Kcr ety. Tv yap da pidevay é& drartos b1a-
KOVTA Kal ELT TOV hoyov exovra rob poev
wadety olxou bévewv HY KpuTLa Tov. o O€ puptous
orabdlous ato Oaddaons év OTAOLS avaBeBnKws
undevos avayKalovros, GX ores Kipoy ets tov
Opovov Kablon TOV Bactrevov, eita TEpla KOT OV
Xopav Kal Tae, ovK ap HS TWOELE Tov nryepwova
Kab puaBodorny, GX év TivE Gépevos EaUTOV
acdaras payeitar cal novyiav, dOuotos Hv vITo
S€ovs TOV TapovTwY éxBeBAnKOTL TOLS TEP THY
OAwY NoyLapwous KAaL TpOiEMev@ THY THS TTpaTElas
uToecwv. OTL yap ovdels ay UTrépEetvEe TOV TETAY-
péveov mepi Baciréa tovs “EXAnvas éutecortTas,
wadevtoy & éxelivwv Kal Bactréws puyovTos y
TETOVTOS UT Ape Kup VUKOVTL cwber Gat Kab
Bacrrevew, € EX TOV TET PAayLEVOV Sidon € éott. 610
Thv KXeapyou padrnXov evrAudBerav 7) To ToD Kupov
Opuaos aitiatéov ws Ta Tpdypata Kai Kopov
uToheracay. et Yep autos éaxKoTres Bactrevs
omov tak~as Tovs "EdAnvas aBraBertarors XP?)
TET AL TONE LLOLS, OUK av érépav efevpev 7 THY
aT OT are Vv wpav éauTou Kal TOV mept éavtov, ap
Ns ovTE venders avros yobero kat Kopos EbOn
KATAKOTELS 7 XT apEVvos Te 7H Krteapxou viky.
KaiTot Kipos to cupudépov ovx nyvoncen, GX
excel Kr€apxov exédeve taTreo Gat KaTa pecov.
0 0 avT@ pede einwy Omws Ect KaAMOTA, TO
7 ap 5:é¢Oetpev,
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Greeks over against the king, and to keep his right wing close to the river, that he might not be surrounded. For if he sought safety above everything else and made it his chief object to avoid losses, it had been best for him to stay at home. But he had marched ten thousand furlongs up from the sea-coast under arms, with no compulsion upon him, but in order that he might place Cyrus upon the royal throne; and then, in looking about for a place and position which would enable him, not to save his leader and employer, but to fight safely and as he pleased, he was like one who, through fear of instant peril, had cast aside the plans made for general success and abandoned the object of the expedition. For had the Greeks charged upon the forces arrayed about the king, not a man of them would have stood his ground ; and had these been routed and the king either slain or put to flight, Cyrus would have won by his victory, not only

safety, but a kingdom. This is clear from the course of the action. Therefore the caution of Clearchus rather than the temerity of Cyrus must be held responsible for the ruin of Cyrus and his cause. For if the king himself had sought out a place to array the Greeks in which their attack would be least injurious to him, he could have found no other than that which was most remote from himself and his immediate following, since he himself did not know that his forces had been defeated there, and Cyrus could take no advantage at all of the victory of Clearchus, because he was cut down too soon. And yet Cyrus well knew what was for the best, and ordered Clearchus to take his position accordingly in the centre. But Clearchus, after telling Cyrus he would see to it that the best was done, ruined everything.

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PLUTARCH S7Livis

IxX..0t pev yap "EdAnves oaov éBovnovto TOUS
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146

A DAO hes bo oIk. 1=x.. I

IX. For the Greeks were victorious to their hearts' content over the Barbarians, and went forward a very great distance in pursuit of them; but Cyrus, riding a horse that was high-bred, but fierce and hard to guide (his name was Pasacas, as Ctesias tells us), was met in full course by Artagerses, commander of the Cadusians, who cried with a loud voice: '"O thou who disgracest the name of Cyrus, that noblest name among the Persians, thou most unjust and senseless of men, thou art come with evil Greeks on an evil journey after the good things of the Persians, and thou hopest to slay thine own brother and thy master, who hath a million servants that are better men than thou. And thou shalt at once have proot of this; for thou shalt lose thine own head here before thou hast seen the face of the king." With these words he hurled his spear at Cyrus. But the breastplate of Cyrus stoutly resisted, and its wearer was not wounded, though he reeled under the shock of the mighty blow. Then,as Artagerses turned his horse away, Cyrus hurled his spear and hit him, and drove its head through his neck past the collar-bone.

Thus Artagerses died at the hands of Cyrus, as nearly all writers are agreed in saying; but as regards the death of Cyrus himself, since Xenophon makes simple and brief mention of it,) because he was not present himself when it happened, there is no objection perhaps to my recounting, first what Deinon says about it, and then what Ctesias says.

X. Accordingly, Deinon says that after Artagerses had fallen, Cyrus charged furiously into those drawn up in front of the king, and wounded the king's horse, and that the king fell to the ground; but

1 Anabd. I. viii. 26.
147
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

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TANYIS aro TOU imarou. puyiis cé Kal Tapaxis
TOV TENL AUTOV YyEevomevNS, O MEV avacTas per
146

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ARTAXERNES x. 1-x1. 2

Teribazus quickly mounted him upon another horse, saying, '"'O king, remember this day, for it deserves not to be forgotten " ; whereupon Cyrus again plunged in and dismounted Artaxerxes. But at his third assault, the king, being enraged, and saying to those who were with him that death was better, rode out against Cyrus, who was rashly and impetuously rushing upon the missiles of his opponents. The king himself hit him with a spear, and he was hit by the attendants of the king. Thus Cyrus fell, as some say, by a wound at the hands of the king, but as sundry others have it, from the blow of a Carian, who was rewarded by the king for this exploit with the privilege of always carrying a golden cock upon his spear in front of the line during an expedition ; for the Persians call the Carians themselves cocks, because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets.

XI. But the narrative of Ctesias, to give it in a much-abbreviated form, is something as follows After he had slain Artagerses, Cyrus rode against the king himself, and the king against him, both without a word. But Ariaeus, the friend of Cyrus, was beforehand in hurling his spear at the king, though he did not wound him. And the king, casting his spear at Cyrus, did not hit him, but struck and killed Satiphernes, a trusted friend of

Cyrus and a man of noble birth. But Cyrus threw
his spear at the king and wounded him in the
breast through the cuirass, so that the weapon
sank in two fingers deep, and the king fell from
his horse with the blow. Amid the ensuing
confusion and flight of his immediate followers, the
king rose to his feet, and with a few companions
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

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150
ARTAXERXES x1. 2-6

among whom also was Ctesias, took possession of a certain hill near by and remained there quietly ; but Cyrus, enveloped by his enemies, was borne on a long distance by his spirited horse, and since it was now dark, his enemies did not recognize him and his friends could not find him. But lifted up by his victory, and full of impetuosity and confidence, he rode on through his foes, crying out, “Clear the way, ye beggars!’ ‘Thus he cried out many times, in Persian, and they cleared the way, and made him their obeisance. But the turban of Cyrus fell from his head, and a young Persian, Mithridates by name, running to his side, smote him with his spear in the temple, near the eye, not knowing who he was. Much blood gushed from the wound, and Cyrus, stunned and giddy, fell to the ground. His horse escaped and wandered about the field, but the horse’s saddle-cloth, which

had slipped: off, was captured by the attendant of the man who had struck Cyrus, and it was soaked with blood. Then, as Cyrus was slowly and with difficulty recovering from the blow, a few eunuchs who were at hand tried to put him upon another horse and bring him to a place of safety. But since he was unable to ride and desired to go on his own feet, they supported him and led him along. His head was heavy and he reeled to and fro, but he thought he was victorious because he heard the fugitives saluting Cyrus as king and begging him to spare them. Meanwhile some Caunians—low and poverty-stricken men who followed the king's army to do menial service—chanced to join the party about Cyrus, supposing them to be friends. But when at last they perceived that the tunics
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

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over their breastplates were of a purple colour, whereas all the king's people wore white ones, they knew that they were enemies. Accordingly, one of them, not knowing who Cyrus was, ventured to smite him from behind with his spear. The vein in the ham of Cyrus was ruptured and he fell, and at the same time struck his wounded temple against a stone, and so died. Such is the story of Ctesias, in which, as with a blunt sword, he is long in killing Cyrus, but kills him at last.

XII. When Cyrus was now dead, Artasyras, the king's Eye,! chanced to pass by on horseback, and recognizing the eunuchs as they lamented, he asked the trustiest of them, "Who is this man, Pariscas. by whom thou sittest mourning?'' And Pariscas answered: 'O Artasyras, dost thou not see Cyrus dead?"' Astonished at this, then, Artasyras bade the eunuch be of good courage and guard thie dead body, but he himself went in hot haste to Artaxerxes (who had already given up his cause for lost, and besides was physically in a wretched plight from thirst and from his wound), and joyfully told him that with his own eyes he had seen Cyrus dead. At first the king promptly set out to go in person to the place, and ordered Artasyras to conduct him thither; but since there was much talk about the Greeks, and it was feared that they were pursuing and conquering and making themselves masters everywhere, he decided to send a larger company to see where Cyrus lay. So thirty men were sent, with torches. Meanwhile, since the king was almost dead with thirst, Satibarzanes the eunuch

1 A confidential officer of high rank, a Superintendent of the Realm.

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ARTANERAES Ni. 3-XUl. 3

ran about in quest of a drink for him; for the place
had no water, and the camp was far away. At last,
then, he came upon one of those low Caunians, who
had vile and polluted water in a wretched skin,
about two quarts in all: this he took, brought it to
the king, and gave it to him. After the king had
drunk it all off, the eunuch asked him if he was not
altogether disgusted with the drink. But the king
swore by the gods that he had never drunk wine,

or the lightest and purest water, with so much pleasure. “ Therefore,’ said the king, “if I should be unable to find and reward the man who gave thee this drink, I pray the gods to make him rich and happy.”

XIII. And now the thirty messengers came riding up with joy and exultation in their faces, announcing to the king his unexpected good fortune. Presently, too, he was encouraged by the number of men who flocked back to him and formed in battle array, and so he came down from the hill under the light of many torches. And after he had halted at the dead body of Cyrus, and its right hand and head had been cut off (in accordance with a law of the Persians), he ordered the head to be brought to him; and grasping it by the hair, which was long and bushy, he showed it to those who were still wavering and disposed to fly. These were amazed, and made obeisance to the king, so that very soon seventy thousand men were about him and marched back with him to their camp. He had marched out to the battle, as Ctesias says, with four hundred thousand men. But Deinon and Xenophon say that the army which fought ander him was much larger. As to the number of his dead, Ctesias says that it

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

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was reported to Artaxerxes as nine thousand, but that he himself thought the slain no fewer than twenty thousand. This matter, then, is in dispute. But it is certainly a glaring falsehood on the part of Ctesias to say that he was sent to the Greeks along with Phalinus the Zacynthian and certain others. For Xenophon knew that Ctesias was in attendance upon the king, since he makes mention of him and had evidently read his works; if, then, Ctesias had come to the Greeks and served as an interpeter in so momentous a colloquy, Xenophon would not have left him nameless and named only Phalinus the Zacynthian.1 The truth is that Ctesias, being prodigiously ambitious, as it would seem, and none the less partial to Sparta and to Clearchus, always allows considerable space in his narrative for himself, and there he will say many fine things about Clearchus and Sparta.

XIV. After the battle, the king sent the largest and most beautiful gifts to the son of that Artagerses who fell at the hands of Cyrus; he also gave gener- ous rewards to Ctesias and others, and when he had found out the Caunian who had given him the skin of water, he raised him from obscurity and poveriy to honour and wealth. There was much watchful care also in his punishment of those who had gone wrong. for example, in the case of Arbaces, a Mede, who had run away to Cyrus during the battle, and, when Cyrus fell, had changed back again, the king pronounced him guilty, not of treachery, nor even of malice, but of cowardice and weakness, and ordered him to take a naked harlot astride his neck and carry her about in the market-place for a whole day. And in the case of another man, who, besides

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> ~ \ \ \ / \ ’ A 3)
éxetvov d€ au THY Kupou terevtny amnyyetras.
2 \ = 1, / b] A aA 7 .
6 pev ovv MiOpsdatns aTHrAGE ctwTH AVTrOvpLEVOS
tov d¢€ dOALov Kapa xowov te mabos €€ dBertepias
\ \ \ a
katéoxye. dtapGapels yap UTO TOY TApOVYTWY, ws
, ad ‘ a
coixev, aya0av, Kat avaTetcbels evOus avtitrotet-
a e \ b , ? > es \ /
oat Tay vTép avtov, ove nkiov ta d00évta
\ 3 , bya ’ >) v4 4
to Gor evayyedtwv EVELV, ANN NyavaKTer papTupo-
4 a ef nw ¢
peevos Kat Bowv ott Kopov ovdels Erepos, GAN
autos amextovol, Kal thy do€av adlkws atrocTe-
a fal \ > 7 ¢ ‘ /
poito, tavta b€ akovaas 0 Bacireds ohddpa
/ \ \ \ ’ / > a
mapwEuven Kai THY Keharny éxéXevoev aTroTEpELY
tov avOpwrov. tapovaa 8 1) wyntnp, “Mn av
> s. ‘cc 4 \ ra A 2 a
ye, elmev, ““ovTw Tov Kapa tovrov, & Bactnred,
7 a
Tov OdeOpov amadXaéns, adda Trap éuovd Tov

v » 4 X e a ? 99
agvoy amoNypetat peta Oov ov TOAMG Never.
fal 4
éemitpewavtos b€ Tov Bacthéws éxéXevoeEe TOUS
’ \ a a e / / \
eTL TwOV Tiuwpiav 7 Llapvoatis NaBovtas Tov
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ARTAXERXES xiv. 2-5

going over to the enemy, had lyingly boasted that he had slain two of them, the king ordered that his tongue should be pierced with three needles. Moreover, believing, and wishing all men to think, and say, that he had killed Cyrus with his own hand, he sent gifts to Mithridates, the one who first hit Cyrus, and ordered the bearers of the gifts to say: “This is thy reward from the king because thou didst find and bring to him the trappings of the horse of Cyrus.” Again, when the Carian, from whom Cyrus received the blow in the ham which brought him down, asked that he also should receive a gift, the king ordered its bearers to say: “The king gives thee these things as a second prize for good tidings; for Artasyras came first, and after him thou didst come, with tidings of the death of Cyrus.” Now, Mithridates went away without a _ word, although he was vexed; but the wretched Carian, in his folly, gave way to a common feeling. That is, he was corrupted, it would seem, by the good things which he had, and led by them to aspire at once to things beyond his reach, so that he would not deign to take the gifts as a reward for good tidings, but was indignant, calling men to witness and crying in loud tones that it was he himself, and no one else, who had killed Cyrus, and that he was unjustly robbed of his glory. When the king heard of this, he was vehemently angry and gave orders that the man should be beheaded. Whereupon the king’s mother, who was present, said to him: “O King, do not let this accursed Carian off so easily, but leave him to me, and he shall receive the fitting reward for his daring words.” So the king consigned the man to Parysatis, who ordered the executioners to

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avOpwtov eb 1wépas bexa ot peBhoby, elTa TOUS
opGarpous éfopugavtas els Ta OTA Oeppov évT)}-
KELY YAAKOV Ews aTroBarn,
XV. Kars dé dam@heTo kal Mi@pidatns wer
odMYOV xpovov éx THS auras aBedTeptas. crOels
yap emt dettrvoy év0a Kai Bactdéwe Kai TIS 21-
TOS evvovxor maphoav, meV ec Ont Kat xpya@
Kexoo unpéevos ols EXaBe Tapa Bacthéws. etre SE
els TO Tivelty UdiKovTo, N€yet POS AUTOV O pméryt-
otov Ouvapevos Tov Lapucatedos ebvovywv: “Os
Kadnv pev eoOtad cot TAaUTHY, @ MOpidara,)
Bac ireus Cédwxe, Kara é¢ oTpente Kal pera

TOAXOV O€ 510s 0 GKUVaKNS. y pax dplov Ge KAL
mepipdemroy é aTact TeTOoUNKer. Hon be peOuwy
o Mi@pidatns, “Tt 6€ tadta éotiv,” eitev, “@
Lrapapicy ; : Meubovey yap eyo Kal Kaddoveor
Bacirel THY nmepav éxeivyyny aEtov éuauTov Tap-
Ea XOP. ” Kal 0 Smapapifns eripedidoas, “ Pdovos
pev ovoels, @ @ MiOpidura,” elrev" ‘ rel dé paow
"EAXnves oivov Kal adn Gear elvat, TL apm pov, @
Tay, 1) peya, mtNov eupey UM TOU TepippuEevTa Kat
TOUTOV aveveyKely ; TavtTa O€ ovK ayvoov 70
id és Eheyev, ara Bovdopevos exxarvyat mpos
TOUS TAPLVTas varexivel TI KoupoTnta TOU av-
Opwmou Aaddov Kal axpatovs ‘1E/OVOTOS bua TOV
oivov. elev ovv pn KaTao Xo ST wets pev, & Tt
Bovreode, TlNOUS Aéyere Kat pdvapous’ eyo Oo
uuiy dey Sra ppnonv vio TAUTNS aun pijo Cas
Kopov THS HELPS. ov yap ws ‘Aprayépons 7 nKOY-
Tiga KEvov Kat paTaLov, adda TOD pev 6POarpod
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ARTAXERXES xiv. 5-xv. 4

take him and rack him on the wheel for ten days,
then to gouge out his eyes, and finally to drop molten
brass into his ears until he died.

XV. Mithridates also came to a miserable end a little while after, owing to the same folly. For being invited to a banquet at which eunuchs of the king and of the queen-mother were present, he came decked out with raiment and gold which he had received from the king. And when the company were at their cups, the chief eunuch of Parysatis said to him: “Mithridates, how beautiful this raiment is which the king gave thee, and how beautiful the collars and bracelets! Costly, too, is thy scimitar. Verily the king has made thee happy in the admiring eyes of all men.” Then Mithridates, now flushed with wine, replied: ‘“‘Sparamizes, what do these things amount to? Surely my services to the king on that day were worthy of greater and more beautiful gifts.” Here Sparamizes smiled at him and said: “ There’s no grudging them to thee, Mithridates; but since, according to the Greek maxim, there is truth in wine, what great or brilliant exploit was it, my good fellow, to find a horse's trappings that had slipped off, and bring them to the king?”’ In saying this, Sparamizes was not ignor- ant of the truth, but he wished to unveil Mithridates to the company, and therefore slyly stirred up his vanity when wine had made him talkative and robbed him of self-control. Accordingly, Mithridates threw away constraint and said: “ Ye may talk as ye please about horse-trappings and such nonsense ; but 1 declare to you explicitly that Cyrus was slain by this hand of mine; for I did not, like Artagerses, make a futile and an idle cast of spear, but I

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2

‘ 4 aA be ? \ \ } x ,
[LK pov HuapTov, TOU O€ KpoTAahou TUYwY Kal OLEAa-
b \ / e > 3 i
gas KatéBadov Tov avdpa* Kai TéEOvnKEY UT EKel-
mm ? ” e \ 2 ” \ ,
you Tov TpavuaTos. ob pey OvY ANAOL TO TEXOS
A \ , Lg aA
8n tod Mi@ptSatov Kal tH Kakodatpoviay opev-
] \ wn bYA ¢€ e e wn > a te @)
TEs ELS THY hv Exuav Oo O ETTLWY AUTOVS,
a 9 ‘ce ; 0 da , ? a ,
trav, én, “ Mi@ptdata, rivmpev ev T@ TapovTe
Kai ¢obiwpev Tov Bactréws Oatspova mpooKuvotv-
g \ , Aa > e@ fa) >? ”
Tes, AOyous Fé pelfovs 7) KAO Nydas Eaowper.
a ? -
XVI. ’Ex tovtov 17 pev Lapvodtids ppater
TOV AOYoV O EvVvodYos, éxeivn 5€ Bactret: Bactrevs
¢ , \
dé nyavaxtnoev waotep éFedeyYouevos Kat TO
? \ e > o wn -
KaNALoTOV Kal NOLaTOY aTo\AVwWY THS viKNS.
bd f \ ? e a é iY
éBovreto yap BapBapovs amavtas wereiaPat Kat
rad ‘ n
"EXAnvas ws év tais éEeXacect kal cvpTdoKais
\ \ \ \ > , \ 9 , 4
Sous Kal AaBwv TWANynVY ETpwON pév AUTOS, Ex-
XV b] a“ b] A ba N id
Teive O€ é€xeivov. éxédXevoev ovv Tov MiOpidatny
amolavely oxaghevbevra.
To d€ cxagpevOnvat totodrov €att' axddas dvo

U 5) ,
mTeTomnpevas ehapmotery add nAaLs NaBovrTes, eis
Thy éTépav KaTAakNivovat Tov KoNalomevor UrtLov'
3 \ / ,
eiTa T1v eTépay éTauyovTes Kal ovvappotortes,
@aTe THY Keharny Kai Tas yelpas éEw Kal TOUS
Todas aTrockauBadverbat, TO dé GAO CHpa Trav
> , Q 60 > , wn 3 , wv
atroxexpupGat, ddoact €ofiev TO avOpwre, Kav
\ , , wn \ 9,

pn Gédyn, TpocBialovtar KevtovvtTes Ta Supata:
/ a
gayovts O€ meeiv pédXt Kal yada cuyKexpapévov
; , ’ \ , n
éyYeovoly €l6 TO OTOMA KAL KATA TOU TpoTwToOU
, ? Y \ ;
KATAXEOVTLY. ELTA TPOS TOY HALOV del aTPéov-
3 , \ > A
ou evavTia Ta Oupata, Kal pul@v teocKadnpe-
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1019

ARTAXERXES xv. 4—-xv1. 3

narrowly missed his eye, struck him in the temple, pierced it, and brought the man down; and it was of that wound that he died.” The rest of the company, then, who already saw the end of Mithridates and his hapless fate, bowed their faces towards the ground ; and their host said: “ My good Mithridates, let us eat and drink now, revering the good genius of the king, and let us waive discourse that is too weighty for us.”’

XVI. Afterwards the eunuch told the matter to Parysatis, and she to the king; and the king was incensed, as being openly convicted of falsehood, and likely to forfeit the fairest and most pleasing feature of his victory. For he wished that all Barbarians and all Greeks should be fully persuaded that when he and his brother had charged and grappled with each other, he had given and received a blow, being only wounded himself, but killing his brother. He therefore gave orders that Mithridates should be put to death by the torture of the boats.

Now, this torture of the boats is as follows. Two boats are taken, which are so made as to fit over one another closely; in one of these the victim is laid, flat upon his back; then the other is laid over the first and carefully adjusted, so that the victim’s head, hands, and feet are left projecting, while the rest of his body is completely covered up. Then they give him food to eat, and if he refuse it, they force him to take it by pricking his eyes. After he has eaten, they give him a mixture of milk and honey. to drink, pouring it into his mouth, and also deluge his face with it. Then they keep his eyes always turned towards the sun, and a swarm of flies settles down

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vov wrAnbos wav aroKxpuTTETAaL TO TPOTwTOD.
évtos 6€ ToLovyTOS Gaa ToLely avayKatoy ear
ésOiovras avOpwrous Kat mivovtas, eval Kat
aKk@rnKes vo dOopas Kal onmedovos éx Tod
TepiTT@paTos avatéovaly, Up’ @Y avariaxetat TO
oa Seadvopevoy els Ta évtTes. OTav yap On
pavepos 7 TEOUNKOS) avO pwmos, apatpeecans
THS ETAVO oKadns opaat THY fev capKa KaTEON-
cecpevny, mept 66 TA OTAdYXVA TOLOVT@Y Anpio
éspovs éoOiovtwr Kat mpoatepuKotwv. olTwS
0 Mi@pidatns értaxaibexa ipépas POerpomevos
ports amrébave.
XVII. Aocros & av 1H Wapucdtiés cxoros o
THY Kehadiy aTroTEe“av Kal THY xetpa Tod Kupou
MacaBurns, Bactréws eUvoUXos. ws otv autos
ovdeniav kal’ éavTou AaBny mapedsoou, ToLovuTOY
émiBourns tpotov 7 Ilaptcatis cuveOnxev. Hv
ta Te GAXa Gupocodos yuvyn kal deuvyn KuBeverv:
510 Kab Baciret ™ po TOU Todewou TONaGKIS TUY-
exuSever pera dé TOV ToAenov dtaruleica pos
GUTOV OUK epevye Tas pirogpocvvas, arxra Kal
auveraive Kal Tov cpa ricav exowvervet cULT par-
tovaa Kal tapodaa, Kal bras Hux pot ar ov auTov
TH Lrareipa peredtdou xpiaGas Kal ouveivat,
hiaodad TE UaNLOTA TUaVTwY éxelvynV Kal pérytarov
av7?) Bovdopevn duvacbat. AaBoica én OTe TOV
“AproképEny @punpLevov ave oyYorgNs ovaons
TT pouKanretTo rept Xtdiwv Oa perk ay xuBevoar Kal
xuBevovTa Tepretoe viKhoat Kal 70 xpuatov antr-
édwKe. mpoorooumern b& avacbas Kal dtrove-
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ARTAXERXES XVi. BoXVIL: 3

upon his face and hides it completely. And since
inside the boats he does what must needs be done
when men eat and drink, worms and maggots seethe
up from the corruption and rottenness of the excre-
ment, devouring his body, and eating their way into
his vitals. For when at last the man is clearly dead
and the upper boat has been removed, his flesh is
seen to have been consumed away, while about his
entrails swarms of such animals as I have mentioned
are clinging fast and eating. In this way Mithridates

was slowly consumed for seventeen days, and at last
died.
XVII. And now there was one mark left for the vengeance of Parysatis—the man who had cut off the head and right hand of Cyrus, Masabates, an eunuch of the king. Against this man, then, since he himself gave her no chance to get at him, Parysatis concocted a plot of the following sort. She was in general an ingenious woman, and greatly addicted to playing at dice. For this reason she frequently played at dice with the king before the war, and after the war was over and she had been reconciled with him, she did not try to avoid his friendly over- tures, but actually joined in his diversions, and took part in his amours by her codperation and presence, and, in a word, left very little of the king for Stateira's use and society. For she hated Stateira above all others, and wished to have the chief influence herself. So, one day, finding Artaxerxes trying to amuse himself in a vacant hour, she challenged him to play at dice for a thousand darics, allowed him to win the game, and paid the money down. Then, pretending to be chagrined at her loss and to seek revenje, she challenged the king to play

Kelty éxéXevoev avis ef (px iis EPL evvouxXov
4 SiaxvBevoar KAKEWVOS UMNKOUCE. Tolnadpevot be
auvOnkas mévTe pev exadtepov Ume~eAéoOat TOUS
TLOTOTUTOUS, EK O€ TOV AOLTOV OV AV O VIK@Y
EdnTal, dovvat Tov HTT @pEvoy, emi TOUTOLS éxv-
Bevov. apodpa 67 yevopern TpOS TO mpaypare
Kat oTrovducaca Tept THY mardidv, ev O€ TwS
auth Kal Tov KUBY TEcOrTOY, ULKnTAaTA AALBa-
vet TOV MacaBarny: ov yap Hv év TOUS vmreEnpn-
5 pevors. Kat piv €v UTowig yever Oar Bactrea
TOU TMpadypatos éyxetpicaca Tots éml TOV TeLo-
pLav mpoaétatev éxdeipar CavrTa, Kab TO pev oOiLa
mraryiov bia TplL@v TTAVPOV avan7ngar, TO € déppa.
ywpis StaTaTTanevoal. Yevopevony 6€ TOVT@Y Kal
Bacthéews Naren Bs pepovTos xa ma pofvvopevou
Tpos aurny, e(povevopevn pera YEAWTOS, TKO
dus," EpacKey, " él Kal pad pLos, él Xareraivers
bua yéporta tovnpov evvodxov, eyo be xertous éK-
6 xuBevdeioa Oaperovs olwT® Kal otépyw. Baci-
hevs pev oop ep ots ety peTaped opevos
NouxXiav NYE, ') dé & LTdTetpa Kal mpos TadXa
havepos jvavT.ovTo Kal TOUTOLS édvayéparvev, ws
avépas evvouxXous KQl TLE TOUS Bactret d1a Kipov
OLAS Kal TAPAvo p05 aTrodAvovans QUTHS.
XVIII. 'Ewei dé KrXéapyov nal tovs Gros 1020
OTPATNYOUS Teaadepyns éEnmatnoe Kal Tap-
ea TOveno ED OpKeaV yevouévwv Kal cvAAABwv av-

émrenvev év rédats dedemevous, SenOivat pnow
avrob TOV Kreapyxor 0 Krycias o7ws KTEVOS
EUTOPNIGELE. TUXOVTA bé Kat TH MEAN TAVTA THY
Keharny noOhivat te TH ypeia Kal Tov daxTUALOY
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ARTAXERXES xvir. 3-xvin. 1

a second game, with an eunuch for the stake, and the king consented. They agreed that both might reserve five of their most trusty eunuchs, but that from the rest the loser must give whichever one the winner might select, and on these conditions played their game. Parysatis took the matter much to heart and was in great earnest with her playing, and since the dice also fell in her favour, she won the game, and selected Masabates ; for he was not among those who had been excepted. And before the king suspected her design, she put the eunuch in the hands of the executioners, who were ordered to Hay him alive, to set up his body slantwise on three stakes, and to nail up his skin to a fourth. This was done, and when the king was bitterly incensed at her, she said to him, with a mocking laugh: “ What a blessed simpleton thou art, to be incensed on account of a wretched old eunuch, when 1, who have diced away a thousand darics, accept my loss without a word.” So the king, although sorry that he had been deceived, kept quiet in the matter, but Stateira openly opposed Parysatis in other things, and above all was angry with her because, for the sake of Cyrus, she was cruelly and lawlessly putting to death eunuchs and others who were faithful to the king.

XVIII. Now, when Clearchus and his fellow-generals had been completely deceived by Tissa-phernes,? and, contrary to solemn oaths, had been seized and sent up to the king in chains, Ctesias tells us that he was asked by Clearchus to provide him with a comb. Clearchus got the comb and dressed his hair, and being pleased at the service

1 Cf. Xenophon, Azad. ii. 5.

avT@ dovvat cup Borov prrias 7 pos TOUS €v
Aaxedaipori _ouyyeveis Kat olKetous” elvat dé
yrudiy év TH opparyioe Kapvartiéas o opxoupevas.
7a S€ meumoueva oltia, To KrXedpyo TOUS ouUp-
dedeevous aTpaTLwTas adaipetabar Kab KaT-
avantoxety, ordtya THO Kredpye@ dsd0vtas aT avTav.
idcacOat 6é Kal tovto dyow o Krnolas, mretova
TO Kr«eapx@ meres Oat Siar pakapevos, toa be
éTepa Tois TTPATLOT ALS did0c0 at: Kal TavTa “pe
Umoupynaat Kat Tapas xeiv VaptTe Kat Youn TAS
Tapuaatioos. TE {LTO "EVV é€ Kad nuépav TO
Kredpy@ KWAHVOS esl Tots oLTloLs, mraparaneiv
avuToV Kal Oud Ket @S YP) [LK pov ELS TO Kpeas
éuParovta paxatpiov amoxpuyavta mena Kat
yen mepridety év TH Bactréos @LOTHTL 70 TéXOS
avToU yevomevov’ autos bé poPovpevos un eGeri-
oat. Baoirea 6€ TH bev pentpe TaparToupery
un KTEtvAL TOV KAdapyor opmoroyijaat Kal omogat:
mea evTa dé avOis vo THs Lrateipas amoxteivat
rartas TAnY Mévwvos. éx d€ TovTOU THY Tapv-
cat éemBoureda ar TH Lrateipa Kal ovoKeud-
cacbat Ty dappaxetav KaT auras, OUK elKoTa
Neyov. GAARA TOAATY droyiay éxovta THS aitias,
et Oeivov Epyov oUTwS edpacge Kal TapEexiWOUvEevaEY
n Ilapvaoatis da KXEéapyor, averetvy ToApnoaca
THY ynotay Bactrtéws yuvaixa cal Téxvwv Kolvw-
pov é7b Bactretg Tpepomevwov. AAA TATA pey
ouK adndov ws ETLTPAyMoElTaL TH Kredpxou
pyre. Kat yep avaipeGevtov pyat TOV o7Tpa-
THYOr TOUS wey GrOUS UTS KUVaY OTAapdTrecOal
1638

rendered, gave Ctesias his ring as a token of friend- ship which he might show to his kindred and friends in Sparta; and the device in the seal was a group of dancing Caryatides. Moreover, as Ctesias says, the provisions sent to Clearchus were seized by the soldiers in captivity with him, who consumed them freely and gave only a small part of them to Cle- archus. This hardship also Ctesias says he rernedied, by getting more provisions sent to Clearchus, and a separate supply given to the soldiers; and these services he says he rendered and performed to please Parysatis, and at her suggestion. He says further that a flitch of bacon was sent to Clearchus every day to supplement his rations, and that Clearchus earnestly advised him that he ought to bury a small knife in the meat and send it to him thus hidden away, and not allow his fate to be determined by the cruelty of the king; but he was afraid, and would not consent to do this. The king,

Ctesias says, at the solicitation of his mother, agreed and swore not to kill Clearehus; but he was won back again by Stateira, and put all the generals to death except Menon. It was because of this, Ctesias says, that Parysatis plotted against the life of Stateira and prepared the poison for her. But it is an unlikely story, and one that gives an absurd motive for her course, to say that Parysatis thus risked and wrought a dreadful deed because of Clearchus, and dared to kill the king's lawful wife, who was the mother by him of ehildren reared for the throne. Nay, it is quite evident that he add< this sensational detail out of regard for the memory of Clearchus. For he says that after the generals had been put to death, the rest of them were torn by dogs and birds, but that

Kal opvewy, T@ O€ Kreapxov vexp@ Ovedrav a ave-
pou Yhs Siva TONY pépovear emLY@oAL Kal
emuxpuyat TO copa howikwry o€ Tivwy dStacTra-
pévtav ordiyo Xpove Javpacrov aXoos avapivat
Kal KaTaCKiagat TOV TOTOV, WaTE Kal Bactret
cpodpa peTapedery, as avdpa Geois iro
ay NpnKore TOV Kréapxov.
XIX. 'H & ody Hapvcarcs, jug ous TE TPOS THY
LTaTetpay ef apxijs UToKetpmévou Kal noTUTIas,
opaca THY pev auras Suvapuv aidoupevov Bacthews
Kab TLL@VTOS ovoar, THY Oo EKELVNS EPWTE Kab TioTEl
BeBacov Kal toxupay, éemeBovrevoev UTED TOY
peyia Tor, os ETO, TmTapaBar \opevn. Jeparrawway
ele TLOTIHY eal duvapevny Tap avr peyeaTov
dvopa Tiyen, Hw o pev Aeivov Umoupynaat TH
dappaxeta prot, ouyyvavar dé fovoy aKovaay oO
Kryatas. tov d€ davta To dappaxov ovtos pev
ovonater BeXttapav, o dé Acivwy Merdavtav. éx
5é THs wWpodbev UToWias Kal dtahopas apEduevar
waXtv els TO avTo morta Kal OUVOELTVELD addy-
ats, UWS TO Gedtéva Kab puratrecbar Tos
avrots GLTLOLS Kat aTO TOV avToV eXPOvTO.
yiveta de pik pov ev Heépaacs opviOtov, @ TrEpLT-
TWMATOS OVOEV ETTLV, AAX OAXOV SLtaTTAEOV ipedns
Ta €vTOS' Kat vouifovaty avéuw Kal Spocw Tpéde-
obat TO C@ov- ovopaFeTar 6€ puVvTaKys. TOUTO
Ona oO Kraotas pK pa paxarpios K KEX PLO LEVY TH
happakw kata Oatepa TI Ilapvoatuv Siatpodoay
expaktat TO éETEp@ pwéper TO Pappakov' Kal TO pev
aypavtov Kai kaOapov eis To ordpa Barovaav

in the case of Clearchus, a blast of wind carried a great mass of earth and heaped it in a mound which covered his body; upon this some dates fell here and there, and in a short time a wonderful grove of trees sprang up and overshadowed the place, so that even the king was sorely repentant, believing that in Clearchus he had killed a man whom the gods loved.

XIX. Parysatis, accordingly, who from the outset had a lurking hatred and jealousy of Stateira, saw that her own influence with the king was based on feelings of respect and honour, while that of Stateira was grounded fast and strong in love and confidence ; she therefore plotted against her life and played for what she thought the highest stake. She had a trusted maidservant named Gigis, who had most influence with her and assisted her in preparing the poison, according to Deinon, although Ctesias says she was merely privy to the deed, and that against her will. The poison was actually given by a man named Jelitaras, according to Ctesias; Deinon gives his name as Melantas. After a period of dis- sension and suspicion, the two women? had begun again to meet and eat with one another, although their mutual fear and caution led them to partake of the same dishes served by the same hands. Now, there is a little Persian bird which has no excrement, but is all full of fat inside; and the creature is thought to live upon air and dew; the name of it is “rhyntaces.” It was a bird of this species, according to Ctesias, that Parysatis cut in two with a little knife smeared with poison on one side, thus wiping the poison off upon one part only of the bird; the undefiled and wholesome part she then put into her

1 t.¢e, Parysatis and Stateira.

avTny ea Ove, dovvat be 7H n RTarteipa TO mepappary-
pevov: o b€ Acivey ov TY Napicarwy, ara Tov
Medavtay TEMVOVTA TH paxaipicp Ta dappac-
TOmeva TOV Kpe@y reBevat Kara TY Lrdtewpay.
amoung Kovea S ouv a YUVI) LETH TOVOV heryahov
xa oTapay ua avr) TE ovvna Odvero TOU KaKov
cal Bacihet wapéoyey UTroiay Kata THS wNTPOS,
eldoTe TO Onpemdes avTHs Kal buapetrAcKTov. Gbev
evdus eri thy EjTyow opprnaas Tovs pev Uanpétas
Kat tpamreloxopous THS pntpos auvédaSe Kai
KatecTpeprwoe, THY 6€ Tiyer 4 Tlapvoatis toduv
ypovev etyey oixot pel’ atths Kat Baciréws
éEaitovyTos ovK éd@Kev, GAN UVaTEpov avTis
SenGeians ets Tov olxov apeOnvat vuKtos, ataGo-
pevos Kal AOxov Udels cTuYIpTase Kal KaTéeyvH
Gavatov. anmoOvncxovat €é€ of pappaxeis év
Hépoas KATA VOLOV OUTWS: iBos éorl TATUS,
ep ov THY cepaniy karadevres auT OY ETEDW iden

Talouat Kal melourw, ax pt ov ovrOrdowse TO
7 porwr ov Kal THY Keharny. 1 pev ovv Vines
avtTws anébare, THY dé Hapicati) “AproképEns
arro yey ovdev ovUTE Ele KAKOY OTE emoinaer,
ets 6€ BaBvaAdva Bovropevny ébéveurev citar,
Ews éxeivn mepieavivy autos ove deabar BaBu-
Ova. TA VEY KATA THY OlKiaV OUTwS ElyeED.
NX. 'Evet 6€ tovs Kipw cvvava8avtas “E)-
Ayvas oTovéacas AaPeiv o Bacirevs ovdev HrTov
» Kupou mepiyevécOat xal tiv BactXeiav Kata-
aye ovx éEXaBer, adkrAa Kipov tov ayewova xai
TOUS avT@Y aTpaTnyous aTroBarcvTes éF avTav
povorovyi Tav Baagwrelwv éeawmdnaar, éFeréyEavres
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own mouth and ate, but gave to Stateira the poisoned part. Deinon, however, says it was not Parysatis, but Melantas who cut the bird with the knife and placed the flesh that was poisoned before Stateira. Be that as it may, the woman died, in convulsions and great suffering, and she comprehended the evil that had befallen her, and brought the king to suspect his mother, whose fierce and implacable nature he knew. The king, therefore, at once set out upon the inquest, arrested the servants and table-attendants of his mother, and put them on the rack. Gigis, however, Parysatis kept for a long time at home with her, and would not give her up at the king’s demand. But after a while Gigis herself begged to be dismissed to her own home by night. The king learned of this, set an ambush for her, seized her, and condemned her to death. Now, the legal mode of death for poisoners in Persia is as follows. There is a broad stone, and on this the head of the culprit is placed ; and then with another stone they smite and pound until they crush the face and head to pulp. It was in this manner, then, that Gigis died; but Parysatis was not further rebuked or harmed by Artaxerxes, except that he sent her off to Babylon, in accordance with her wish, saying that as long as she lived he himself would not see Babylon. Such was the state of the king’s domestic affairs.

XX. Now, the king was no less eager to capture the Greeks who had come up with Cyrus than he had been to conquer Cyrus and preserve his throne. Nevertheless, he could not capture them, but though they had lost Cyrus their leader and their own com- manders, they rescued themselves from his very palace, as one might say, thus proving clearly to the

Kab amropyvavtes Ta llepowy xa Bacthéws mpary-
para xXpvoor 6vTa TroNUY Kal Tpupny Kal yu-

vaixas, Ta 0€ AAA TUdOY Kal aralovetay, Tasca
pev 7) EAXaS efeDappyce Kal kateppovnce Tay
BapBapov, Aaxebdatpovios 5é Kat Getvov epaiveto
BN vov ae Souretas éEeXécOar tovs thv ’Aciav
xatotxovvtTas “KAAnvas wndé Tavaoat TpoTynAakt-
Couévous uT avT@v. mpotepov oe da BipBpwvos,
elTa, dia AepxvaAdibdou TONELOUVTES, oudey Oé€
T paTTOVTES akioXoyon, ‘Ayyoihag TO Racine
TOV T ONE MOV emeTpeyray. o 6é rreparobeis vavoly
eis “Actay evOvs hy évepyos xal do€av elxe peya-
Anu Kal Ticapépynv TapaTakduevos eviKNG Kai
Tas TONES adiotn. TovtTwy dé yevouévwy cupL-
hpovnacas o ‘AptoképEns by tpomov avtois éott
moAreuntéov, repre Tipoxpatny tov “Podzov eis
\ Ao / U \ ld f
anv “EAAdéa xYpuctoy woAv Kopifovta, dedovat
kal dtapOeipery tovs mAElaTov év Tats TodAEcL
Suvapévous KedXeVcas, Kal ToAEwov “EAXnveKov
ively emt THY NaKkedaipova. tov dé Tioxparous
TavTa mpatrovtos Kal TOV peyloTwY ToEwD
ovutctapevey Kal tis HeXorovyicou dtatapat-
TOMES, wETETELTOVTO TOV ” Aynoidaov ex THs
‘Agias ol apXovres. OTE én Kai pac avTov
aTLOVTAa TPOS TOUS pirous ELTFELY ws Tpeapupiors
toEorars éFeXavvolto TIS "Actas ume Bacthéws:
70 yap Ilepatxov vopiopa rtokotny émrionpoy
elven.
AAI. "EEeSare 6€ cat tis Oadatrns Aaxe-
darpoviovs Kevwrt t@ “AOnvaim peta Papva-
Bafov atpatny® ypynoduevos. o yap Kovey
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ARTANER MES XX I=XXI. 1

world that the empire of the Persians and their king abounded in gold and luxury and women, but in all else was an empty vaunt. Therefore all Greece took heart and despised the Barbarians, and the Lacedaemonians in particular thought it strange if now at least they could not rescue the Greeks that dwelt in Asia from servitude, and put a stop to their outrage- ous treatment at the hands of the Persians. The war they waged was at first conducted by Thimbron, and then by Dercyllidas, but since they accomplished nothing worthy of note, they at last put the conduct of the war in the hands of their king, Agesilaiis. He crossed over to Asia with a fleet, went to work at once, won great fame, defeated Tissaphernes in a pitched battle, and set the Greek cities in revolt. This being the case, Artaxerxes considered how he must carry on the war with Agesilaiis, and sent Timocreon the Rhodian into Greece with a great sum of money, bidding him use it for the corruption of the most influential men in the cities there, and for stirring up the Greeks to make war upon Sparta. Timocrates did as he was bidden, the most important cities conspired together

against Sparta, Peloponnesus was in a turmoil, and the Spartan magistrates sum- moned Agesilaiis home from Asia. It was at this time, as we are told, and as he was going home, that Agesilaiis said to his friends; “The king has driven me out of Asia with thirty thousand archers’’; for the Persian coin has the figure of an archer stamped upon it.!

XXI. The king also expelled the Lacedaemonians from the sea, employing Conon the Athenian as his commander along with Pharnabazus. For Conon

1 Cf. the Agesilaiis, xv. 6.

over pte pev ev Kumpe ETA THY ev Alyos ToTa- jeois vaupayiay, ou Thv aoddretav ayaTay, aNNG THY TOV T parywaToy petaBoryy, WOTTEP ev Te Mayet TpoTny, TEPLLEvOV, op@v 6é Kal TOUS éautov oyitopous duvayews Kal Thy BacirEws Suvapw avdpos Euppovos Ceopevny, EmTeu rev érrt- oToAnv Bacirel epi wy Stevoeito. Kat TavTny éxedevoe tov Kouilovta pidoTa pev aTrotovvat bua ZLnvevos TOU Kpnros 7 u] oAvxpitou TOU Mev- Salou: TovTwy o 7 O pev Zrvoov OPXNTT NS, 0 dé [orvxpitos iatpos div 6€ ovToL my TAP@dt, bed Krnotov tov ‘arpod. évyeTas O€ O Kryoias TV émistoAny AaSwv mapeyypayrar TOLS UTrO tov Kovwvos ered TAN MEVvOLS Straws Kal Kryctav aTOGTELAN TPOS AUTOV, WS @PEALLOV OVTA Tats émt Dardoon tpdkcoww. o 6€ Ktycias avrov ag’ éavtov Bacthéa dynot tpocbetvat tv AEcToUp- ee au TH) aes "AXN’ érret Kparijaas Th wept Kyidov vaupa \la bua Papvafagov eal Kovwrvos adetrero THY «a> ta Oadarrap apxiyv Aaxedatpoviors, éméstpewe Tacay omop thy ‘Kh ANaba Tpos autor, wate Kal Thy meptBontov etpnuny Bpasedaat Tots "EdAnae thy et’ ‘Avtadkidov mpocayopevopevnv. o 6 "Avtarxidas Xaaptidtys Hy, A€ovtos vids, Kal aTousadas Bactret Over pataro Tas eV ‘Acta wrodets ‘EdA das andcas Kat vyacous, bdcat mpoo Kupobaww ‘Acta, Tapeivat AaxeSatpovious auT@ Kextia0ar dopwv UTOTENELS, eipyiyns ryevo- wévns Tous "EdAnow, et deo thy THs “EAXdéos UBpiv Kai mpodociay elpynyny Karel, hs TOAELOS oudels dkAXEegTEpOY ivEeyKE TENOS TOls KpaTnOetat.

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passed the time at Cyprus, after the sea-fight at Aegospotami,! not satisfied with mere safety, but awaiting a reversal in the course of affairs,as he would a change of wind at sea. And seeing that his own plans needed a military force, and the king's force needed a sagacious leader, he wrote a letter to the king explaining his purposes. This letter he ordered the bearer, if possible, to give the king by the hand of Zeno the Cretan or Polycritus the Mendaean (Zeno was a teacher of dancing, and Polycritus was a physician); but if these were not at court, by the hand of Ctesias the physician. And it is said that Ctesias, on receiving the letter, added to the sug- gestions which Conon made to the king a request to send Ctesias also to him, as likely to be of service in matters on the sea-coast. Ctesias, however, says that the king of his own accord conferred upon him this new duty.

But after Artaxerxes, by the sea-fight which Pharnabazus and Conon won for him off Cnidus, had stripped the Lacedaemonians of their power on the sea, he brought the whole of Greece into dependence upon him, so that he dictated to the Greeks the celebrated peace called the Peace of Antalcidas." Now Antalcidas was a Spartan, son of Leon, and acting in the interests of the king he induced the Lacedaemonians to surrender to the king all the Greek cities of Asia, and all the islands adjacent to Asia, to possess them on payment of tribute; and peace was thus established among the Grecks, if the mockery and betrayal of Greece can be called peace, a peace than which no war ever brought a more in- glorious consummation to the defeated.

1405B.c. Cf. the Alcibiades xxxvii. 2.
* In 387 B.o. Cf. the Ayesilais, xxiii. 1 ff.
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PLUTARCH Sar ES

XXII. Aro cai tods adXovs Saraptidtas ae
/ ee) 4 \ , ¢
BseruTTOMEvOs oO Aprogepins, Kat voutlwv, ws
pnee Aciveon, avo pwmav aT avTov avatoedTaTous
elvat, Tov At TarkiOay U vrepnyarnoey ets ILépoas
avaBavrTa. Kat OTE AaBov éva Tav avOw.weov
aTepavev Kab Barpas ELS pupov TO ToduTEN EO TA-
TOV, and dettvov emepue 7® 'Avtarxida Kai
mivres Oarvpacay thy diroppoatynv. iy 8, &s
EOLKED, EMLTNOELOS OUTOS evTpupndivar Kal TOLOv-
Tov ha Betv orepavor, efopXnodpevos ey Hepoass
Tov Aewvidav Kat Tov Kaddxpatioar. O mev yap
'Aynataos, as EouKe, TWPOS TOV el TOVTO,, "Dev
THs 'KAXdOos, Grou pwndtfovawy auiv of Aaxwves,
a a >
"Ov uaddov," ettrev, "ot Majdot Aaxwvifover ;"

Tov O€ pHuaTos 1 KouYoTNS THY TOD TpaywaTos
aicyuvny ouK adeirev, GXXA THY bev HyEe“oViaLY
aTmadecay éy A€UKTpOLS AYWVLTAMLEVOL KAKOS, 1)
dé d0fa This Lmaptns TWpoaT@deTO TaAis Opmodo-
ylats éxetvats.
wv \ \ 9 > f e SS ig ,
Aype péev ovv empwrevey 1) Xaraptn, Eevov
9 fa \ z >) , @ lal N b) la
ETOLELTO Kat PiNov wyopaleyv EavTOv Toy AvVTAAKL-
dav: evel O€ HTTHONnoaY év AéevKTpoIs, TaTELWa
Mpattovtes edéovTo ev Xpnuatov Kal Tov ’Ayn-
7 ’ a ges ¢ \ 9 ,
othaov eis AiyuTrov e€ereurwav,o b€ ‘Avtanki-
das avéBn mpos tov ‘AptoképEny mapaxadrav
4 eTapKécat Tots Aaxedatpoviows. 0 & ovtws é&n-

HéAnoe Kal Tapetoe Kal cre ppimpev auTov, wore
KatapavTa Kal Xrevalouevov UTd Tay éxOpar,
poBovmevoy oé Kat TOUS epopous, aToKaprepia ar.
"Ave 6€ mpos tov Bacthéa cal “Iopnvias 6

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ARTAXERXES xxu. 1-4

XXII. For this reason Artaxerxes, although he always held other Spartans in abomination, and considered them, as Deinon tells us, the most shameless of all mankind, showed great affection for Antalcidas when he came up to Persia. On one occasion he actually took a wreath of flowers, dipped it in the most costly ointment, and sent it to Antalcidas after supper; and all men wondered at the kindness.? But Antalcidas was a fit person, as it would seem, to be exquisitely treated and to receive such a wreath, now that he had danced away among the Persians the fair fame of Leonidas and Callicratidas. For Agesilaiis, as it would appear, when someone said to him: “ Alas for Greece, now that the Spartans are medizing,” replied, “Are not the Medes the rather spartanizing?"” However, the wittiness of the speech could not remove the shame of the deed, and the Spartans lost their supremacy in the disastrous battle of Leuctra,? though the glory of Sparta had been lost before that by this treaty.

So long, then, as Sparta kept the first place in Greece, Artaxerxes treated Antalcidas as his guest and called him his friend; but after the Spartans had been defeated at Leuctra, they fell so low as to beg for money, and sent Agesilaiis to Egypt, while Antalcidas went up to Artaxerxes to ask him to supply the wants of the Lacedaemonians. The king, however, so neglected and slighted and rejected him that, when he came back home, being railed at by

his enemies, and being in fear of the ephors, he
starved himself to death.
Ismenias the Theban also, and Pelopidas, who had

1 Cf. the Pelopidas, xxx. 4.
2 In 371 B.c. Cf. the Agesilaiis, xxviii. 5.

@)Baios Kal Lledomtdas non Thy év Aevuxtpols
waxy VEVLKN KOS. AX OUTOS pev ovdev aio x pov
emoinaey: Topnvias O€ TpoaKuyija ae KENEVOMEVOS
eFeBare ™po auTOU Napace Tov OaxTUNLOY, €iTa
KuWas avEtLheTO KAL Taped Xe d0fav mpoaKuvovr-
TOS. Tiparyopa 6é 70 "AOnvaiw bia Brdovps6os
TOU YPaLMaTéews elomówpavte ypappatiozoy & aTrop-
pyntov naGeis puptovs te Oapetkous Edwxe, Kal
yaraKktos Boetou deopévwm bt aabéverav dy6o7-
KOVTa Bois apenyer Oar mapnKorovdouv: ere d€
cdivyy Kal oTpOpata Kal TOUS TT pwVYUYTAaS ET EfL-
wev, ws od peuabynxotwry "EXdAnvwY vTooTper-
vuvat, Kal hopets tous KopiCovTas avTov péypt
Paducons padaKkes Eyovta. Tapovte dé Seimvoy
émèuteto AauTpOTAaTOY, wWaTE Kal TOV abeXpov
tov Baciréws, Ootavny, "O, Tipayopa," pavat,
" weuvnoo TauTns THS TpaTrétns: ov yap érl pt-
Kpots oUTW ToL KEKOG PN LEVN) mapanertar." TOUTO
o yy OVELOLT [LOS ELS Tpodoa lay Haddov 2 yapiTos
UTOpYHOLS. Tiparyopov yey ovv ota THY Swpodo-
KlaV 'AOnvator Gavatov KATE YVOT AY.
XXIIT. 'O dé 'AproképEns ev avtl ravtwr ov
éXumer Tovs "EAAnvas evhpawve, Trcadépyny tov
éyOtarov avrots Kal dua pevea Tatov aTOKTEiVaS.
aT EKTELVE O€ TALS diaBonrais abrou THS ITapuoa-
TLOOS cuveTt Demers. ov yep eve mete TN opyhi
TONUY Xpovov 0 Bactreus, ana Supra TH
MNTpl KAL pweTEeTTELWaTO, voUY Mev OpaY ExoUcaY

' Ci. the Pelopidas, xxx. 1-3.
* Cf. the Pelopidas, xxx. 6 f.
* Cf. the Agesilaiis, x. 3 f.

just been victorious in the battle of Leuctra, went up to the king.! Pelopidas did nothing to disgrace himself; but Ismnmenias, when ordered to make the obeisance to the king, threw his ring down on the ground in front of him, and then stooped and picked it up, thus giving men to think that he was making the obeisance. With Timagoras the Athenian, how- ever, who sent to him by his secretary, Beluris, a secret message in writing, the king was so pleased that he gave him ten thousand darics, and cighty inilch cows to follow in his train because he was sick and required cow's milk; and besides, he sent him a couch, with bedding for it, and servants to make the bed (on the ground that the Greeks had not learned the art of making beds), and bearers to carry him down to the sea-coast, enfeebled as he was. More- over, during his presence at court, he used to send him a most splendid supper, so that Ostanes, the brother of the king, said: "Timagoras, remember this table; it is no slight return which thou must make for such an array.'' Now this was a reproach for his treachery rather than a reminder of the king's favour. At any rate, for his venality, Timagoras was condemned to death by the Athenians.?

XXIII. But there was one thing by which Artaxerxes gladdened the hearts of the Greeks, in return for all the evils which he wrought them, and that was his putting Tissaphernes to death, their most hated and malicious enemy.? And he put him to death in consequence of accusations against him which were seconded by Parysatis. For the king did not long persist in his wrath against his mother, but was reconciled with her and summoned her to court, since he saw that she had intellect and a lofty

Kai ppovnua Bactreas afvov, aitias b€ poe Las
ovans euToowy ere St iy vrowovtat TUVOVTES
adrmoes n AUTH OVELW. éx 6€ TOUTOU TAVTO
T pos Xap uToupyovca Bacirel, Kat TO POS
pn dev ov éxeivos Em parTe duo Kodaivew éxouoa
To dvvacba map auT@® Kal TuyXavew AT AVTWY,
no Gero THIS eTepas TOV Ouyatépoy, "Arocons,
€p@VvTOS epwra Servov, eT LK PUTTOMEVOV dé bu' éxet-
yy oux Kota, Kal KOraLOVTOS TO Taos, OS
hac évtol, KaiToL yeryevn ev ns 89 7 pos THY
map évov operas auto Aadpaias. OS obv UT w-
TTEVTED 7] Mapvcares, THY maida, pearrov i} 7 po-
Tepov naomwakeTo, Kal Tpos Tov Apto&epEnv émrnve
TO TE KAXAOS aAUTHS Kai TO O05, ws BacirtKHs Kat
peyarompeTods. TéAOS ODY YHuaL THY KOpNY
emerge Kal yvnotiay amroceiEal yuraixa, Yatpev
edgavta bo€as "EXXnvev nat vopous, Tépcais de
VOMOV AUTOV UTO TOU Geod Kal OiKaALwWTIY alcYX pov
KaL KAX@Y aTrobederypévov. EvLOL EVTOL NEYOU-
ai, ov eatt Kat Hpakretdns o Kupaios, ov piav
{LOVOY THY Ouyatepwy, ara Kal Sevtépay, "Aun-

TT pW, ya tov *AptoképEnv, mEpi As odtyov
taTepov aTrayyeNouper. THY 6 “Atocgay ovTws
NYATNTEV O maT np cuvorxobaay WOTE arpov KaTa-
ve pn evtos auri}s TO o@fLa dug xepavar pev emt
TOUT® pnd OTLOvY, EUXOMELOS dé mept auras TH
”Hpa 7 pooKuLIjG al povny Dewy é exeivny, Tats Nepal
THS ys aYpapevos, d@pa te TH Oem TocavTa
T EurNrat TOUS caTpaTas Kat pirous avTou KENEV-
TAVTOS WaTE Ta peTAaEV TOU tepov Kal TOY Baor-
NEel@v excaidera oTadla Ypvaod Kal apyvpov Kat
mophupas Kal inwav éuminoOnvat.
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spirit worthy of a queen, and since there was no longer any ground for their suspecting and injuring one another if they were together. After this she consulted the king’s pleasure in ail things, and by approving of everything that he did, acquired influence with him and achieved all her ends. She perceived that the king was desperately in love with one of his two daughters, Atossa, and that, chiefly on his mother’s account, he was trying to conceal and restrain his passion, although some say that he had already had secret intercourse with the girl. When, accordingly, Parysatis became suspicious of the matter, she showed the girl more affection than before, and would speak to Artaxerxes in praise of her beauty and her disposition, saying that she was truly royal and magnificent. At last, then, she per- suaded the king to marry the girl and proclaim her his lawful wife, ignoring the opinions and laws of the Greeks, and regarding himself as appointed by Heaven to be a law unto the Persians and an arbitrator of good and evil. Some, however, say, and among them is Heracleides of Cymé, that Artaxerxes married, not one of his daughters only, but also a second, Amestris, of whom we shall speak a little later.! Atossa, however, was so beloved by her father as his consort, that when her body was covered with leprosy he was not offended at this in the least, but offered prayers to Hera in her behalf, making his obeisance and clutching the earth before this goddess as he did before no other; while his satraps and friends, at his command, sent the goddess so many gifts that the sixteen furlongs between her sanctuary and the royal palace were filled with gold and silver and purple and horses. A Chap, xx Vil. 4;

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to

RECT Ys ITO ewov b€ mpos pev Aiyum tious dta
PapvaBalov Kat ‘Ipixpatous EFEVEVKOV ul UTEETUXE,
TTATaAcavT@y EXELYMV* ETL OE Katovaious auros
eo TpaTevoe TplaKovTa pupiace metav Kal puptots

imTEvoLD. euBarav dé eis Xeopav TpaXvTNTE
Narenny Kat opixrAwon kal TOV amo oT opou
KapT@v dyovor, amos 6€ Kal pnrOLS Kal ToLOU-
Tols addots dx podovous Tpepovoay avOpwrous
TONE [LK OUS Kat Ovycerdets, éhade peyanars aT o-
plats Kal Kurdvvois TepiTec@v. ovdéev yap ébwbe-
pov mv Aap Saver ovode ef abev eTercoayea Oat, Ta
Ge urotuyta jLovov KATEKOT TOD, Morte Ovov xepa-
AnV poms dpay Lev éEncovta @vltov eat. TO be€
Baowrtxov Seitrvov éeFereihOn: xal tev tarwv
OdXLYOL Teplnaav ETL, Tous b€ arrous éaOiorTEs
KATAVNAWKES AY.
'Evtavda Tnpi8afos, avnp rodXaKis pev ev
aTpwtn bt avdpayabiay Tak&et yevopevos, TOAAAKIS
d€ aroppipets 61a KoupoTnTa Kal TOTE TaTeLva
T par TTY Kal TEPLOPWHEVOS, ETWOE Bacirea Kat
Tov oTpaTov. ovT@ yap dvety ev tois Kaéovu-
cLots Baorréwr, ExaTépov é€ Xepis oT patome-
SevovTos, évtuyav ta 'AptoképEn Kat ppacas
mepl ov dlevoetTO TpaTTELY, eBadeber AUTOS TT POs
TOV éTepov Ta Kadovctwy, Kai TPOs Tov eT Epov
Kpipa TOV vioV ETE {LTED. eEnmata 6é Ex aT EpoV
EXATEPOS, NEYO ws ATEPOS emum peo BeveTar T pos
Tov ‘AprokepEny tay Hove T pat Tov EauT@ Kat
Tuppaxiay: ovKovr, 6b coppovel, Xpivar 7 poTEpov
evTuy YavEly Exelv@, AUTO Fe oupmpacery a aT avrTa.
rovro.s ere Onoav apdhotepot, cat hOavew adr1-
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ARTAXERXES xxiv. 1-4

XXIV. In the war which Pharnabazus and
Iphicrates conducted for him against Egypt he was
unsuccessful, owing to the dissensions of these
commanders; against the Cadusians, therefore, he
made an expedition in person, with three hundred
thousand footmen and ten thousand horse. But the
country which he penetrated was rough and hard to
traverse, abounded in mists, and produced no grains,
although its pears and apples and other such tree-
fruits supported a warlike and courageous population.
Unawares, therefore, he became involved in great
distress and peril. For no food was to be got in the
country or imported from outside, and they could
only butcher their beasts of burden, so that an ass’s

head was scarcely to be bought for sixty drachmas.
Moreover, the royal banquets were abandoned ; and
of their horses only a few were left, the rest having
been consumed for food.
Here it was that Teribazus, a man whose bravery often set him in a leading place, but whose levity as often cast him down, so that at this time he was in disgrace and overlooked, saved the king and his army. For the Cadusians had two kings, and each of them encamped separately. So Teribazus, after an interview with Artaxerxes in which he told him what he purposed to do, went himself to one of the Cadusian kings, and sent his son secretly to the other. Each envoy, then, deceived his man, telling him that the other king was sending an embassy to Artaxerxes to secure friendship and alliance for him- self alone: he should, therefore, if he were wise, have an interview with Artaxerxes before the other did, and he himself wou!d help him all he could. Both kings were persuaded by this argument, and

Nous vopifovtes 0 pev TO TyptSiaSo ovvéreue
mpéa Bes, 0 6€ TH Madi TOU TypiBafov. Ssiatpt-
Bis oe yevopevns vrowiat Kal d:aBoral KaTa TOD
TnptBafov Te 'A progépEn TpooemiT Tov" AUTOS
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Balos 75) Kat Napmpos avelevyyve peta TOU
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THY paraxiay ob Tpvdis Kal ToduTEAELAS, BOTEP
oi ToNAol vouitovaw, exyovov ovcar, arra poxOn-
pas ducews Kal aryevvous Kat d0Fats movnpats
b ETOMEVTS. oUTEe yap Ypuaos oUTE KavduS OTE O
TOV puplov Kal dra xthiov TANAVT WY TEPLKELWEVOS
ael TO Bactréws THOMATL KOT 10s ex etvov aTreKw-
Ave Tovety Kal Tahartwpeiy, oonep ol TUXOVTES,
anna THY Té papétpav ev npufLevos Kal TH TENTIY
pépwy avtos éBadile wpw@tos odovs opetvas Kal
Tpoodvres, amwokuma@y Tov immov, waTe TOUS
ddXous mrepovabat Kal _ouverixoupiver bar Tap
EKELVOU mpoOupiay Kal pwounv opa@vTas: Kal yap
Stakoctoy Kat TAELOVWY OTACLWY KATIVUEV HUEpAas
EXaoTNIS Topelav.
AXV. "Eve 6€ eis ctab pov xatéB8n BactrrKov
mapacetaous éEXovTa Gavpactous Kal KeKOo [LN Le-
vous diampeTT@s ev TH mepLE adévope Kal Pre

Xopio, KPUOUS dyros, emérpepe TOUS TT PATLOT ALS ex
Tov mapaceiaou EvAilec Gar Ta Sévdpa KoWToVTas,
2 MITE TeUKNS NTE KUTapiTToU helopévous. OK-

each thinking that he was anticipating the other, one sent his envoys along with Teribazus, and the other with the son of Teribazus. But matters were delayed, and suspicions and calumnies against Teribazus came to the ears of Artaxerxes ; he himself also was ill at ease, and repented him of having put confidence in Teribazus, and gave occasion to his rivals to malign him. But at last Teribazus came, and his son came too, both bringing their Cadusian envoys, and a peace was ratified with both kings ; whereupon Teribazus, now a great and splendid personage, set out for home with the king. And the king now made it plain that cowardice and effeminacy are not always due to luxury and extravagance, as most people suppose, but to a base and ignoble nature under the sway of evil doctrines. For neither gold nor robe of state nor the twelve thousand talents' worth of adornment which always enveloped the person of the king prevented him from undergoing toils and hardships like an ordinary soldier; nay, with his quiver girt upon him and his shield on his arm he marched in person at the head of his troops, over precipitous mountain roads, abandoning his horse, so that the rest of the army had wings given them and felt their burdens lightened when they saw his ardour and vigour; for he made daily marches of two hundred furlongs and more.

XXV. At length he came down toa royal halting- place which had admirable parks in elaborate cultiva- _ tion, although the region round about was bare and treeless; and since it was cold, he gave permission to his soldiers to cut the trees of the park for wood, sparing neither pine nor cypress. And when they

ig \ \ ’ f N \ id \ \
VOUVVT@DV O€ Kal PEeLdopevwY OLA TA KAA Kal TA
, \ ¢ =
weyéOn, NaBav TéXEKUY AUTOS OTEP Hv péyLa TOV
\ , na “ ” ? \ f
Kal KaddLoTov THY huTa@V éxofrev, éx 5€ TOVTOU
/ \ \ “ a
EvriCopevot Kai TOAAA TrUpa TroLObVTES EVLApPaS
bf / 2. :) > \ \ \ 3 \
EVUKTEPEVTaY. ov NV adda TOAXOUS Kai ayaGous
’ \ wv sy \ ¢ “ 4
aToBarwv avopas, immous b€ Ou“od TL TavTas
“a , A
eavnrde. Kat do€as xatadpovetobar Sta tHv
aTvylavy Kat THhv amotevéiy THs otpateias, év
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UTowiats elye TOUS TpwTOUS’ Kal TOAXOUS MEV
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avnpet Oe opynv, mrEeLcovas Se PoRovpevos. 7 yap
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Ths. Oto Kal tov Onpiwy Ta atTiOdcevTa Kal
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duceEnuépwra odocen cai Serra, Ta b€ yervaia
4 a \ \ a > , \
TLGTEVOVTA MANXOV OLA TO Oappelv ov hevyer TAS
dpiroppoavvas.
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XXXVI. “O d€ ’Apro&épEns 76n wrpeo ButEepos ay
’ \ “ “
noGaveTo TOUS VloUs ay@va Tepl TIS BaairElas
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ev Tots PiAos Kal ToOis OuvaTOls EXOVTAS. Of eV
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yap evyvwpoves nEtovy, as éXaBev av’ros, oUTMS
? a a / \ 2 Ve € st
aTrouTrety tpeaBeta Aapeitw thy cpynv. o 8é
, . b] \ vv \ 4 ? \ \
vewratos ‘Qyos o€us @v Kal Biaios elye pev Kal
“a \ \ b > , /
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uv \ U 4 . ,
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4 N “A
yapnoouévny kat cupBactevoovaayv avT@ peta
\ “ X
THY TOU TaTpos TEXeUTHY. Hv S€ AOYOS OTL Kal
COvtos éXavOavev avthn wWAnaIdfwv. adda TOUTO
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ARTAXERNES xxv. 2-XxvI. 2

hesitated and were inclined to spare the trees op account of their great size and beauty, he took an axe himself and cut down the largest and most beautiful tree. After this the men provided them- selves with wood, and making many fires, passed the night in comfort. Nevertheless, he lost many and brave men, and almost all his horses before he reached home. And now, thinking that his subjects despised him because of the disastrous failure of his expedition, he was suspicious of his chief men; many of these he put to death in anger, and more out of fear. For it is cowardly fear in a tyrant that leads to most bloodshed; but bold confidence makes him gracious and mild and unsuspicious. So also among wild beasts, those that are refractory and hardest to tame are timorous and fearful, whereas the nobler sorts are led by their courage to put more confidence in men, and do not reject friendly advances.

XXVI. But Artaxerxes, being now advanced in years, perceived that his sons were forming rival parties among his friends and chief men with reference to the royal succession. For the con- servatives thought it right that, as he himself had received the royal power by virtue of seniority, in like manner he should leave it to Dareius. But his youngest son, Ochus, who was of an impetuous and violent disposition, not only had many adherents among the courtiers, but hoped for most success in winning over his father through the aid of Atossa. For he sought to gain Atossa’s favour by promising that she should be his wife and share the throne with him after the death of his father. And there was a report that even while his father was alive Ochus had secret relations with Atossa. But Artaxerxes

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pev nyvonoey) ‘Aproképéns: tayu 6¢ Bovdopevos
exxpovoa Ths éAmidos Tov ‘Oxov, OTwS pn Ta
avuta Kupw todrApnoavTos avTou TONE {LOL Kat
LY QVES avis KaTaraSwot THY Bactnretay, ave-
devEe Tov Aapetov Bacthea TEVTIKOTT OV ETOS
yeyovora, Kal TV Kkadoupevny kitapw opOinv
pe perv edwxe. vojov 6€ ovTOS év Hepoacs dw peav
aiteiy Tov dvadeixPérta al didovac TOV avadet-
Favta wav TO aitnev, av Trep 7 OUVATOY, TNT EV
‘Agrractav o 0 Aapéios THY padvora, omrovoad Jet-

cay UIro Kupou, Tote 6€ T@ Baotrer madaKev-
omevny. WV be Pwxais TO yéVOS am "Tovias,
éXevOepwr yovéewy kat TeOpappevy Koo Las. é7rel
dé Kupou devtrvobvTos etanxOn pel" ETEpwV yuvac-
KOV, al per arrat mapaxabelouevar 7 poo Trat-
Covtos avtov Kai Cm TOWEVOV Kal TKOTTOVTOS OUK
anoas Eevedeyovto Tas irodppoavvas, éxewn Se
Tapa THY KNiYnVY EloTHKEL oLtwmn Kal Kupov
KaNovYTOS OVX UmyKovEe' BovAopLéevwY SE TpOC-
QYyelY TAY KaTevvarT OD, Olpaferar pevTOL TOU-
TOV," elrrev, "* os av epol mpocayaryn Tas Xelpas."
édokev ovy ayapis Tos mapovotv elvat Kal aypot-
KOS. o b€ Kopos Ho dets eyehace, kal eltre 7 pos
TOV dryaryoura. Tas yuvatKas, "Apa non ouvopas
OTe plo ovny TAVTNY édevbépav Kal dduipOopov
KELS Kopeiseon 5 " é« 8€ TovTou mpoo eX ev upga-
HEvOS AUT, Kal partota TAaT@vV éorepe Kal
copny ™ poanryopEevaer. EUAW O€ Kupov TETOVTOS
ev TH LAX Kal Stapralopevov TOU OT PATOTEOOV.
XXVIL. Tautnv o Aapetos aitioas iviace Tov

Cf. Xenophon, Anab. i. 10.2; Plutarch, Pericles, xxiv. 7.
1990
1025

ARTAXERXES xxvi. 2-xxvul. 1

was ignorant of this; and wishing to shatter at once the hopes of Ochus, that he might not venture upon the same course as Cyrus and so involve the kingdom anew in wars and contests, he proclaimed Dareius, then fifty years of age, his successor to the throne, and gave him permission to wear the upright " kitanis," as the tiara was called. Now, there was a custom among the Persians that the one appointed to the royal succession should ask a boon, and that the one who appointed him should give whatever was asked, if it was within his power. Accordingly, Dareius asked for Aspasia, who had been the special favourite of Cyrus, and was then a concubine of the king. She was a native of Phocaea, in Ionia, born of free parents, and fittingly educated. Once when Cyrus was at supper she was led in to him along with other women. The rest of the women took the seats given them, and when Cyrus proceeded to sport and dally and jest with them, showed no displeasure at his friendly advances. But Aspasia stood by her couch in silence, and would not obey when Cyrus called her; and when his chamberlains would have led her to him, she said: ' Verily, whosoever lays his hands upon me shall rue the day."' The guests therefore thought her a graceless and rude creature. But Cyrus was delighted, and laughed, and said to the man who had brought the women: " Dost thou not see at once that this is the only free and unperverted woman thou hast brought me?" From this time on he was devoted to her, and loved her above all women, and called her The Wise. She was taken prisoner when Cyrus fell in the battle at Cunaxa and his camp was plundered.!

XXAVII. This was the woman for whom Dareius

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TO GKOAATTOV, WaTE 7 fovoY TOV TpocEeNOovTA
, an \
Kat Oryovta Tmaddranhs Bacthéws, GAGA Kal TOV
u .
év tropeta mpocEeNOovta Kai duckeXUcavTa Tas
3 4 §
apakas ef als xoutlovtar, Oavato Kxoraler Har.
KaiTtoe THY wev” ATooaay elyev Epwrte TolNaupmEVvos
~ 4 QA
yuratka Tapa Tov vouor, éEnxovta 5é Kat Tpla-
KOolat TrapeTpepovTo KadAdEL Stahépovaeat Tar-
gS
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érevOepay ednoev elvar Kat AauBavew éxédeuvce
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Bovropevnv, axovoav bé€ un BialecOar. perta-
Ul \ aA
meupberons oe Ths “Aomacias xat tap’ érmidas
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tou Bacthews éXopévns tov Aapetov, EdwKe pev
° 9 3 7 al , ‘ \ ’ f eo
UT avadxKns TOU popmouv, dovs b€ OrALyOV UVaTEpoV
4 tal al
agpetNeTo. THS yap “Aptéutdsos THs év ’ExBata-
A 5] Sy A e; 3S
vous, iw Avaitiv Kadovow, téperav avéderEev
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OLOMEVvOS OV YaeTIV, GAA Kal pEeTpiay TiVa Kai
A f lj
Tatolud pewiymevynyv TavTny ANnWerOat SiKny Tapa
“~ / €
Tov Tatdos. 0 & iveyxev ov peTtpiws, elt Epwre
aA ? gf \ ¢ SY ¢ f
THs Aotactas Tepitrabns yeyovws, elite uBpicbat
\ A

kat Kexrevacbar vopifwy Uo TOD TaTpos.
>
AtoOopevos & avtov ottws éyovta Tnpi8atos
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éTL uwadrov éEetpayuvev, év Tois éxetvou crvid@y
A ° Uy nA aA
ta Kal’ autov. av dé ToLtavTa. mAELovwY oom!
a“ 4 e f iA \
Bacitret Ouvyatépwv wporoynoe PapraBato pev
"Ama bw ixa, Podoyouvny d€ Opo
Atadpav dwoev yuvaixa, Podoyourny d€ ‘Opovrn,
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asked, and he gave offence thereby to his father; for the Barbarian folk are terribly jealous in all that pertains to the pleasures of love, so that it is death for a man, not only to come up and touch one of the royal concubines, but even in journeying to go along past the waggons on which they are conveyed. And yet there was Atossa, whom the king passionately loved and had made his wife contrary to the law, and he kept three hundred and sixty concubines ‘also, who were of surpassing beauty. However, since he had been asked for Aspasia, he said that she was a free woman, and bade his son take her if she was willing, but not to constrain her against her wishes. So Aspasia was summoned, and contrary to the hopes of the king, chose Dareius. And the king gave her to Dareius under constraint of the custom that prevailed, but a little while after he had given her, he took her away again. That is, he appointcd her a priestess of the Artemis of Ecbatana, who bears the name of Anaitis, in order that she might remain chaste for the rest of her life, thinking that in this way he would inflict a punishment upon his son which was not grievous, but actually quite within bounds and tinctured with pleasantry. The resent- ment of Dareius, however, knew no bounds, either because he was deeply stirred by his passion for Aspasia, or because he thought that he had been insulted and mocked by his father.

And now Teribazus, who became aware of the
prince’s feelings, sought to embitter him still more,
finding in his grievance a counterpart of his own,
which was as follows. The king had several
daughters, and promised to give Apama in marriage
to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Orontes, and Amestris
(93

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TnpiBato oe "Apna pty. Kab Tous pev addro1s
EOWKE, Tnpi8afov dé erevoato yipas QUTOS THY
"Apne T pty, avT exelvs dé TO TnpeBateo THY
vewtatny Atooaay éveyunaev. émet 6€ Kal Tav-
TV épacGeis eynpen, ws elpnTat, TAVvTaT Act
dug LEVvas 7 pos avTov 7) Tnpifatos EaXe?, oude

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Ta.padopos. 610 Kal vuUv pev eUnpep@v 6pola
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PEVOS ovdepuiar epepev EUPEROS petaBornr, drra
Kal TUL LEVOS WV eTraxOijs UTO XavvoTnTos, Kab
TO Kohovopevov ov TATEWOV ovde novYaioyv, ANAG
Tpaxu Kal aryepaxov exe.
XX VIF. Hip obv emi mp eyeveTo TO vEavia KM
7 poo KELMEVOS O TypiBafos det Ka éyov OS obdey
ovivag y KiTELpLS EOTM@OA TEPL TH Kepary TOUS
Ud avtav pn Entovvtas opOotabar Tois Tpay-
pact, Kaxeivoy aBéATEpa dpovetv, El, TOU ev
aderpou Ska THs yuvatxwvitidos évdvopevou Tois
Tpaypact, TOU be TAT POS OUTWS eT kn TOV 700s
Kab aBéBavov EYOVTOS, oieTat BéBatov auT@ THY
Suadox ny UTapXeEL. O yap “EXAnveKod Xap
yuvatou TOV dxpeva tov ev ITépoacs evodpevos
vopov ov 61) Tov TiaTOS €oTt TAS TEDL TOY peYyi-
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To pn Tuxely "Ox@ Kaneivep To otepecOar TIS
Baotreias) “OQyov péev yap ovdéva xwruUcELV
iOcwTnv Brovv paxapias, éxeivm 8 drrodedevypevep
Baoiret Bacireverv avayKny nde Shv eivat.
Chap. Sxiiew i. *Cicchap. xxviay

to Teribazus. He kept his promise to the other two, but broke his word to Teribazus and married Amestris himself, betrothing in her stead to Teribazus his youngest daughter, Atossa. But soon he fell enamoured of Atossa also and married her, as has been said, and then Teribazus became a downright foe to him. Teribazus was at no time of a stable disposition, but uneven and precipitate. And so, when he would be at one time in highest favour, and at another would find himself in disgrace and spurned aside, he could not bear either change of fortune with equanimity, but if he was held in honour his vanity made him offensive, and when he fell from favour he was not humble or quiet, but harsh and ferocious.

XXVIII. Accordingly, it was adding fire to fire when Teribazus attached himself to the young prince and

was forever telling him that the tiara standing upright on the head 2 was of no use to those who did not seek by their own efforts to stand upright in affairs of state, and that he was very foolish if, when his brother was insinuating himself into affairs of state by way of the harem, and his father was of a nature so fickle and insecure, he could suppose that the succession to the throne was securely his. Surely he whom regard for a Greek courtesan had led to violate the inviolable custom of the Persians, could not be trusted to abide by his agreements in the most important matters. Moreover, he said it was not the same thing for Ochus not to get the kingdom and for Dareius to be deprived of it; for no one would hinder Ochus from living happily in private station, but Dareius had been declared king, and must needs be king or not live at all.

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PLUTARCIDS LIVES

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KadéXov peév obv Vous, TO Lopoxreoy,
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taxela TEL THY KAKO odorTropet’
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a a f
amepiay TOV KaX@Y Kal ayvolay: ov pny adr\(a
fo a ©: \ N \ 5
To peyeOos TO THS aPXIS Kal TO Tpos TOV "Oyov
~ / a
tov Aapeiou déos irobecw TH TnpiBalo map-
fol , 1 , b>] ,
eiye Kumpoyévera 6 ov wapmTav avalTios, 1
a > , ,
tis “Aotracias apatpeats.
‘ a“
XXIX. EréSwxev obv éautov TO Trp Balto:
a 4 fal
Kal TOAR@Y ON TUVLTTALEVWY, EVVOU KOS eOnAWCE
A a \ \ ,
Th Bacirel Thy éTiBovrnv Kal Tov TPOTOV, ELOWS
an ¢ \ y A
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w N a \
eddnet, Kal TO TaTEvoaL pydevos eAeyYoU "yEVO-
, ¢ a
wévov SewvoTepov. oUTwS oUY €rrolen’ TOV je
| na ud wn
cbvouyoy éxelols exeXevTE TAapeElvat Kal wap-
a bere \ a 2 \ Yd
axorovbelv, adtos b€ Tov Gadapov Tov Garia Oev
a , ~
Ths KAlyns Tolyov éxxoas Kal Gupwoas Kat-
if >} , ‘ , 3 , \ wn
exddvwev avraia tas Gupas. evoTtacns d€ THS
ef a z XN
Opas Kal ppacavtos Tov evvovxov Tov KaLpov,
A , , f
él ths Kruwns Uméuerve Kal OvK éfavéatn Tpo-
Tepov i) TOY eT avTov épxXo“evwy Ta TpoTwTa
al , a ¢ ¢
katidciy Kab yvwplca. sapas Exactov. as oe
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clSev €omracpevous TA eyxerpiora Kal Tpoopepo-
\
uévous, TAXU THY avrAaiav UTrokaBav avexopnoev
a

1 fiom an unknown play, Nauck, Trag. Grace. Frag.’, p. dl.

Now, perhaps it is generally true, as Sophocles says,? that—

“Swiftly doth persuasion unto evil conduct make its way” 5

tor smooth and downward sloping is the passage to what a man desires, and most men desire the bad through inexperience and ignorance of the good. However, it was the greatness of the empire and the fear which Dareius felt towards Ochus that

paved the way for Teribazus although, since Aspasia had been taken away, the Cyprus-born goddess of love was not altogether without influence in the case.

XXIX. Accordingly, Dareius put himself in the hands of Teribazus ; and presently, when many were in the conspiracy, an eunuch made known to the king the plot and the manner of it, having accurate knowledge that the conspirators had resolved to enter the king’s chamber by night and kill him in his bed. When Artaxerxes heard the eunuch’s story, he thought it a grave matter to neglect the information and ignore so great a peril, and a graver still to believe it without any proof. He _ there- fore acted on this wise. He charged the eunuch to attend closely upon the conspirators; meanwhile he himself cut away the wall of his chamber behind the bed, put a doorway there, and covered the door with a hanging. Then, when the appointed hour was at hand and the eunuch told him the exact time, he kept his bed and did not rise from it until he saw the faces of his assailants and recognised each man clearly. But when he saw them advancing upon him with drawn swords, he quickly drew aside the

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xkpatov. opOérvtes ovv ot chayets vm auton,
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modéavres 5é€ nev, atexwpovy puyn dia Oupar,
ld 4 A
Kal Tous Tept Tov TnpiBaloy éxédevovy arroyYwpety
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Gévtes Euyov: 0 dé TyptBalos cvArapBavopevos
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poyls axovtim mAnyeEls TOppwHev Erreve. TO SE
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Bactreiovs Sixactds, ov Tapwy avTos, adr
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éxadatou ypawapmevous atopacty ws auTov émave-
aA 5 €
veyKety. atrodnvayévav dbé tmavray opoiws Kai
nw , 4 e \ 4,
KaTayvovtwy Tov Aapetov Gavatov, ot pev virnpe-
id SpaN bd ” /, >

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LA e \ tA \ @ \ \ v
nyayov, 0 Sé Snuwos KANOEis KE pev Evpov Exar,
N A
® Tas Kehadras amrotéuvovct Tov Koralopmevwr,
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idwav dé tov Aapetov éEerrAdyn Kal dveywpet TpOs
\ a, > , e 3 f b] \
Tas Ovpas amoBAéTTwv, @; ov Suvnaopevos ovde
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TOApLNOwWY avTroyerp yevéerOar Bactrews. é€wOev
a an ,
dé Tov dixact@v atethovvtwy Kal dtaKxedevopéevwy
3 / \ A e 'é \ / a)
auvacTpewas Kal TH eTEpa xeepe Spa fd pevos THS
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KOLNS QUTOU Kal KaTayaywv aTréTeue TO EvP@
TOV TPAYNAOD.
, / ,
"Evioe &€ dact thy Kpiow yevécbat Bactréws
a is a
avTov TapovTos, Tov 6é Aapetov, ws KateXap-
a , a aA
Baveto Tots éXeyyxols, Erl oTOMa TrecovTa betabat
Kal ixeteverv? tov b€ UT opyis avactavta Kai
CTATUPLEVOV TOY AKLVAKNY TUTTTELY EWS AITEKTELVEV’
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ARTAXERKXES xxix. 3-7

hanging, retired into the inner chamber, closed the door with a slam, and raised a cry. The murderers, accordingly, having been seen by the king, and having accomplished nothing, fled back through the door by which they bad come, and told Teribazus and his friends to be off since their plot was known. The rest, then, were dispersed and fled; but Teri- bazus slew many of the king’s guards as they sought to arrest him, and at last was smitten by a spear at long range, and fell. Dareius, together with his children, was brought to the king, who consigned him to the royal judges for trial. The king was not present in person at the trial, but others brought in the indictment. However, the king ordered clerks to take down in writing the opinion of each judge and bring them all to him. All the judges were of one opinion and condemned Dareius to death, where- upon the servants of the king seized him and led him away into a chamber near by, whither the executioner was summoned. The executioner came, with a sharp knife in his hand, wherewith the heads of condemned persons are cut off; but when he saw Dareius, he was confounded, and retired towards the door with averted gaze, declaring that he could not and would not take the life of a king. But since the judges outside the door plied him with threats and com- mands, he turned back, and with one hand clutching Dareius by the hair, dragged him to the ground, and cut off his head with the knife.

Some say, however, that the trial was held in the presence of the king, and that Dareius, when he was overwhelmed by the proofs, fell upon his face and begged and sued for mercy; but Artaxerxes rose up in anger, drew his scimitar, and smote him till he

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PLUTARCEYS LIVES

elTa els THD auany mpoerOovta Tov “TV Atop 7 poo -
Kuvhoat Kal elTrety’ “ Evgpatvecde ATLOVTES, a
Ilépoau, Ka NévyeTE TOLS arnows 6Tt Tols GOea pa
Kat tapdvoua diavonbeiaw o péyas ‘OQpopalns
dlenv émitéberkev.”
OVO CNEL ice esi emt Boury) TOLOUTOV EayE
,
TEKOS. 0 dé ‘OXo8 non pev my Tats emia Nap-
Tpas vTTro Tis ‘Arocans ETPALpOLEvos, Ere 6€ €fo-
Sette Tay ev yynoiwy Tov uToXoTOV AptacTny,
“ \ , > / ¢ \ \ > ,
Ttav 6€ vobwy "Ancaunv. o perv yap Aptaorns
ov dua TO mpecButepos civat Tod “Oyov, rpaos
\ ‘ e wn \ 4 > ~
Sé xal atrovs Kal diravOpwrros, 7EodTo Bact-
e “A a e ‘ a
Neverv UTIO Tay Tlepoa@y: o b€ Apoaduns Kat voor
a \
exyerv eOoxer Kal pddiota TO waTpi mpocgidrs
x 5) ~ Se 5) , $
@y oux éd\dv0ave tov “Qyov. émiBovrevwy ovv
? ¢ a ‘
auporepors Kal Sorepos @v o“ov Kal poviros
EXPYTATO TH MeV @MLOTYTL TIS pucews pos TOV
‘Apoauny, ™ 6€ Kaxoupylg ral Sewvornre Tos
TOV ‘Apidonny. bmémeprpe yap ™pos avTov eu-
vouxous kat pirovs Baotrtéws amrerrds TLVvas uel
Kat Aovyous poBepous amayyéXRovTas, @S TOU
TAT POS EYVOKOTOS AT OKTIWPUELY avTov OLOS Kal
éduBpiatws. ot d€ TadtTa Kad npuépav éexpépery
Soxovvtes @S aTroppyta, Kal Ta pev pédrety, TA
¢ , /

6¢ 6cov ow Tpdcoev Baciréa révyorTES, OUTWS
gus \ wv \ 4 Iz
eCemAn av TOV avO pwrov Kal TosavTny eveBadov
TTOLaV auT@ Kal Ta pay ny Kat dua dupiay els TOUS
Noyia pos, & Gare papparov axevacayvta tav Bava-
Cipwv Kat TiovtTa Tov CHv dvadrAayhvat. mvéo-
pevos 5€ 0 Bactrels TOY TpOTOV THS TedrEUTHS,
€xelvov péev aTéxAavoe, THY & aitiay UTwTTEvED.
> / \ ‘ a 3 le) ‘ a ”
éXéyyveuv O€ kai Enteiy éEadvvatav dua ynpas és
200
10

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had killed him; then, going forth into court, he made obeisance to the sun and said: “ Depart in joy and peace, ye Persians, and say to all whom ye meet that those who contrived impious and unlawful things have been punished by great Oromasdes.” XXX. Such, then, was the end of the conspiracy. And now Ochus was sanguine in the hopes with which Atossa inspired him, but he was still afraid of Ariaspes, the only legitimate son of the king remain- ing,and also of Arsames among the illegitimate sons. For Ariaspes, not because he was older than Ochus, but because he was mild and straightforward and humane, was deemed by the Persians worthy to be their king ; Arsames, however, was thought to have wisdom, and the fact that he was especially dear to his father was not unknown to Ochus. Accordingly, he plotted against the lives of both, and being at once wily and bloody-minded, he brought the cruelty of his nature into play against Arsames, but his villainy and craft against Ariaspes. For he secretly sent to Ariaspes eunuchs and friends of the king, who constantly brought him word of sundry threaten- ing and terrifying utterances implying that his father had determined to put him to a cruel and shameful death. Since they pretended that these daily re- ports of theirs were secrets of state, and declared, now that the king was delaying in the matter, and now that he was on the point of acting, they so terrified the prince, and filled his mind with so great trepidation, confusion, and despair, that he drank a deadly poison which he had prepared, and thus rid himself of life. When the king was informed of the manner of his death, he bewailed his son. He also suspected what had caused his death, but being

HadXov nomalero Tov "Apoapny, cal dSHros Hv
paddtoTa TioTEVwY éxeivw Kal TappynatalopeEvos.
ee ¢€ \ \ 3 b ? td \
ofev ot mept tov “Qyov ovK dveBdrovTo tH
mpakiv, ddd’ “Apratny viov Typi8alov tapa-
9 \

TKEVATAVTES ATEKTELVAY OL exeLvou Tov avOpwirov.
vy pév ody emt poms pepas) “A proképéns 61a TO
"yhpas non ToTE’ TpoamesovTos 5€ avT@ Tod rept
Tov Apodpunv wabovs ovbé OdXyov avTégyev, GAN
> \ e \ 3 \ , b] ,
evdus ume AvTNs Kat EvoOvpias atecBécbn,
Biwcas pev éveynxovta xal téscapa étn, Bacr-
Aevoas dé dvo Kal efyjxovra, do0Eas 6é ™ pabos eivat
Kal PihuT Koos avy Hewora dca tov viov *Oyor
@MOTHTL Kal prathovia Tdvtas vEepRaropevov.
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ARTAXERXES xxx. 4-5

unable by reason of his age to search out and convict the guilty one, he was still more well-affectioned towards Arsames, and clearly made him his chief support and confidant. Wherefore Ochus would not postpone his design, but set Arpates, a son of Teribazus, to the task and by his hand slew the prince. Now Artaxerxes, by reason of his age, was already hovering between life and death; and when the sad fate of Arsames came to his ears, he could not hold out even a little while, but straightway expired of grief and despair. He had lived ninety-four years, and had been king sixty-two, and had the reputation of being gentle and fond of his subjects; though this was chiefly due to his son Ochus, who surpassed all men in cruelty and blood-guiltiness.
203

PAABA

T. ‘O pev ’“A@nvaios Idixpatys tov picbodgo-
pov nEtov aTpaTiwTny Kal piromAovtTov eivar Kab
piAnoovor, Omws Tals émuOuptats Xopyyiav émritn-
TaV ayovitntat mapaBodwrepor, oi O€ ThelaTot,
cabanep éppmmévoy capa, TO TTPATLOTLKOD a€tov-
aw (ola pnoeTrore Xpomevoy OopLn ouywweraOar
Th Tov otpatnyov. do Kat [lavdAov Aipirzsov
A€youat THY ev Maxedovia Svvayiv TaparaBovta
Aartas Kae TeEpLepyias, otov tas tpatnyovcay,
avaTrhewy, _Trapeyyuijoae THY xetpa moveiv ETOL-
pny Kal THY payalpav ofeiay ExacTor, auT@ 6é

TOV GAXWV HENCE. O be TAdtwv ovdev Epyov
op@v dpxovTos ayabov Kat aT paTnyou oTpartias
un cw@ppovovens poe ouoTafovens, aNAa THY
meOapxtxny d apeTny opotws Th Bacirdtxy voutlov
pucews yevvalas Kal TpPOPys prrocogou detoBat,
padiara TO TPAw Kab prravOporep TO Oupoeices
Kab Spacripiov EMMEROS AVAKEPAVVULELNS, ada
te maOn Todda Kal Ta “Pwpaiow cupTecovTa
peta tHv Népwvos terevTny Exe paptupia Kal
Tapaceiypuata Tov unoev eivat hoBepwrepoy amrat-

1 With Plutarch’s Galba may be compared Suetonius, Gilba ; Dion Cassius, lxiv, 1-9; Tacitus, 7/ist. i. 1-45.

I. Ipnicrates the Athenian used to think that the mercenary soldier might well be fond of wealth and fond of pleasure, in order that his quest for the means to gratify his desires might lead him to fight with greater recklessness ; but most people think that a body of soldiers, just like a natural body in full vigour, ought to have no initiative of its own, but | should follow that of its commander. Wherefore Paulus Aemilius, as we are told, finding that the army which he had taken over in Macedonia was infected with loquacity and meddlesomeness, as though they were all generals, gave out word that each man was to have his hand ready and his sword sharp, but that he himself would look out for the rest.? Moreover, Plato® sees that a good commander or general can do nothing unless his army is amenable and loyal; and he “thinks that the quality of obedience, like the quality characteristic of a king, requires a noble nature and a philosophic training which, above all things, blends harmoniously the qualities of gentleness and humanity with those of high courage and aggressiveness. Many dire events, and particularly those which befell the Romans after the death of Nero, bear witness to this, and show plainly that an empire has nothing more fearful to

2 See the Aemilius, xiii. 4.
3 Of, c.g. Republic 376 U..

SEVTOLS Kpwwevns Kai GNoyols opmats ev Hye wovia
4 OTPAT WILKS Suva pews. Anuadns fev yap
"AXeEavdpou TENEUTHTAVTOS eixate tHv Maxe-
dover oTpariay exTeTUprWLEvp TO Kueiore,
TARAS Kevouperny opav KLVIT ELS ATAKTOUS Kal
mapapopous” Thy 6€ “Pwpatov nryEwoviay 6.0L,
ToS NEYOMEVOLS Teravixots wider Kat Kev} feaal
KkaTedapBaverv, els TOAAG Sragmoperny a aya Kat

Today olev avers EQuTy oupmimrovcay, oux
oUTMS Um purapxias TOV avaryopevopevev avtTo-
KPaT Of wV, Os pidorAoutias Kal axoXaaias TOU
TT pati@TiKoy oe adhiprwv @oTep ROUS TOUS
HryeLovas EXKPOVOVTOS. KALTOL Atovuctos Pepatov
apfarta Oetrrarav béxa pivas, eita evOus ap-
arpeOevra, Tov TparyeKov AVEKUNEL TUpavvon, ET L-
CKWOT TOV 70 TAXOS THS peta Bonfs. n 6€ TOY
Katodpov éoTia, TO Tanarcov, eV éeXdo Tove x po-
vep Tegoapas aut TOKPATOPAS umedéEaTo, TOV [ev
elo aryovTov @aTrEp La TKNVIS, Tov © eLayourwv.
arr' a ye mapapu0ia Tots KAKOS 'TagxXovat [La
To pn de Ojnvae Stens éEvrépas emi Tovs aitious, AAN
opav auTous ud éeavtav hovevopevous, tpa@tov ke
Kal OtxaloTata TavT@Y TOV dSedXedoavTa Kal O«-
da€avta TocovTov eATrivew emi petaBorr Kaica-
pos baov autos UTéayeTo, KaAXLCTOY Epyor bia-
Barov T@ pu080, THY avo Népwvos atoataciav
mTposodiar yEvopmerny.
Te Nuppitees yao La Bivos @ OV ET APXOS, OoT Ep
ELpnTat, pera TryeXAtvou THs aUrTS, ével Ta
Népwvos améyywoto tavtatac. kat dHAros ty
1 An allusion to the proverb HA@ 6 hAos exxpoverat.

show than a military force given over to untrained and unreasoning impulses. Demades, indeed, after Alexander had died, likened the Macedonian army to the blinded Cyclops, observing the many random and disorderly movements that it made; but the Roman Empire was a prey to convulsions and dis- asters like those caused by the Titans of mythology, being torn into many fragments, and again in many places collapsing upon itself, not so much through the ambition of those who were proclaimed emperors, as through the greed and licence of the soldiery, which drove out one commander with another as nail drives out nail. And yet the Pheraean * who ruled Thessaly for ten months and was then promptly killed, was called the tragedy-tyrant by Dionysius, with scornful reference to the quickness of the change. But the house of the Caesars, the Palatium, in a shorter time than this received four emperors, the soldiery ushering one in and another out, as in play. But the suffering people had one consolation at least in the fact that they needed no other punishment of the authors of their sufferings, but saw them slain by one another's hands, and first and most righteously of all, the man who ensnared the soldiery and taught them to expect from the deposition of a Caesar all the good things which he promised them, thus defiling a most noble deed by the pay he offered for it, and turning the revolt from Nero into treachery.

II. It was Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the court guard along with Tigellinus, as I have already stated,® who, when Nero's case was altogether desperate, and

2 Alexander, tyrant of Pherae. See the Pelopidas, xxiv.-

XX
XV.
* Probably in the lost Life of Nero.
209
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

amrobpag opevos Els Aiyurtop, ETELTE TO oT pPATLO-
TLKOD, os UNKETL TA poVvTos, aXr 8m mrepevyoros,
avToKpaTopa ParBav dvaryopedaau, wal Swpeav
UMET KETO KaT avd pa Tots avALKOLS Kal oTpatn-
yiKots 7 poo aryopevopLevous Spay was ETTAKLTXUMAS
mevtakoatas, Tois b€ EKTOS TTPATEVOMEVOLS TEVTN-
KOVTa Kal dlaKkooias emi XiAlals, Goov apryxXavov
nV cuvaryaryety pL TWAELOVA [LUPLAKLS KAKA 7a.pa-
TXOVTA 7 Tao avOpw@rrous & av Népov Taper Xe. ToU-
TO yap evOvs pev dm wea € Népova, beT odtyov d€
TarBav: tov pev yap ws An ropuevoe TponKavTo,
tov 6€ wn AauBavovtes atTéxTEvay. Elta Tov
TocovTov dwaovta Entovvtes EfOnoav ev Tats
aTootagedt Kal Tpodogiats avadwaavTes auTOUS
} TUYOVTES OY HATITaV. Ta pev odVv KAD EKaoTa
TOV yevopeveay amayyen ew ax piBas Tis ™ pary-
paTiKis (a Toptas éoTly, boa dé a&ta Aoryou TOUS
TOV Katoapey Epryous Kal TaGeot TULTETTTMWKE?,
ovde €mol MpoonKer TaperOeir.
III. TarSas LoudmeKLos OTL prev COLWTNS TAOU-
TLwTATOS aT avTwy els TOV Kavodpev mapibev
olxov, omoNoyerTar peya dé € EX ov EVYyEVvElas akio-
pa Tov Lepoviev olkov, AUTOS eppover petSov ert
TH Karhov ouyyevela, TPWTEVTAYTOS avdpos
apeTH Kal O0&n Tov nad éauTo?, et Ka TO duva-
aOat waddov EX@V ETEPOLS Ta phKev. 7v O€ Tt Kat
AiBia 7H Kaicapos yuvarnt KATA Yévos ™ pos ?)-
cov o TadBas, cal Sa todto ArBias Tapaa You-
1 Plutarch uses the Greek word drachma for the corre- sponding Roman denarius, a silver coin about equivalent to

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1054

GALBA 1, 1-1. 2

it was clear that he was going to run away to Egypt, persuaded the soldiery, as though Nero were no longer there but had already fled, to proclaim Galba emperor, and promised as largess seventy-five

hundred drachmas apiece for the court, or praetorian, guards, as they were called, and twelve hundred and fifty drachmas! for those in service outside of Rome, a sum which it was impossible to raise without inflicting ten thousand times more evils upon the world than those inflicted by Nero. This promise was at once the death of Nero, and soon afterwards of Galba: the one the soldiers abandoned to his fate in order to get their reward, the other they killed because they did not get it. Then, in trying to find someone who would give them as high a price, they destroyed themselves in a succession of revolts and treacheries before their expectations were satisfied. Now, the accurate and circumstantial narration of these events belongs to formal history ; but it is my duty also not to omit such incidents as are worthy of mention in the deeds and fates of the Caesars. III. That Sulpicius Galba was the richest private person who ever came to the imperial throne, is generally admitted; moreover, his connection with the noble house of the Servii gave him great prestige, although he prided himself more on his relationship to Catulus, who was the foremost man in his time in virtue and reputation, even if he gladly left to others the exercise of greater power. Galba was also some- how related to Livia, the wife of Augustus Caesar, and therefore, at the instance of Livia, he was made

the franc. But a Roman writer would reckon by sestertii, the sestertius being worth about a quarter of the denarius.

2Ii

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

? a , ‘
ons wratos é€x Ilaxatiov mponrOe. Réyetar OE
, , A U
Kalb otpatevpatos €v Vepparia Karas apkat cai
te
AtBdns avOuTatos yevosmevos cvY OXrjLYOLS éTTatVeE-
Onvat. To de EvVKONDY AUTON Tis Staitys Kal det-
, , ,
éwrov é€v daTrdvats Kal aTéptTTOV aitiay éoyev
, , A ¢ ,
AUTOKPATOPOS ‘yevomevov pikporoylas, Vv EwAov
, 3 , 4 \ ?
twa Oofav evtaktas épepe Kai awdporsivns.
’ / \ se ‘\ NY / 3 , 4 w
emTéeuhOn d€ ve Népwvos ‘IBnpias apywv, oro
, ~ ‘ 3 b>] , 4
dedtdaypevou hoPeicbat Tous év akimpact peya-
Nous! TOV ToAtT@Y. Exeiv@ é Kat Puaer SoKovY-
4 la ,
TL Tpaw yeyovevat tpoceTiOe miativ evrAaBeias
a “A
TO YHpas.
’ / a f , cal

IV. ’Evet? dé, rOv aditnpiwy emitpoT@Y WLes
\ ? ?
Kal aypiws Tas eTapxias éxelv@ StadhopovvTwn,
4 \ be > \ “~ 3 “ X “A x
ado pev eiyvev ovdev BonOeiv, ait@ 5é TO havepos
ELVAL TUVAAYOV KAL TUVAOLKOVLEVOS GL@S Yé THOS
/ a
avaTrvony Tiva Kal TapapuvOiay Tots Katadixalo-
\ , ,
HEVOLS KAL THAOULEVOLS TAapég YE’ Kal ToLnLaTOV
els Nepwva yivopévarv rai moAXAayod Trepidhepope-
3 f ld
VOV KAL AOOMEVaD, OVK EXWAVEV OVOE TUVNYAVAKTEL
a. 3 / 24% ” a ’ a e x
Tots ém@eTpoTrots® ep ols ETL “aAXOV HYATATO V7TO
~ ? \ 9
Tov avOpwrrwv. Kai yap hy dn avvnOns, ET 0s Ory Soov
9 a \ bl] A ” 3 e 3 f +7 bd ,
exetvo Thy apxny Exwv ev O Lovyios Ovivds errave-
aT Nepwvt, Varatias @v aotpatnyos. RéyeTat
2 \ a “A
pev ovV Kal TPO THs eupavods aToaTdcews ypau-
\ \ \ A
pata mpos avtov adixécbar Tapa tod Ovivé:xos,
, a A wn
ols MNTE TLOTEVOAL MITE LNVOTAL Kal KaTELTrELY,
1 weyddous Coraés and Bekker have peydAos, after Reiske.
2 éret Sint.? corrects to éxe? (there).
212

GALBA 111. 2-1¥. 2

consul! by the emperor. We are told also that he commanded an army in Germany with distinction, and that when he was pro-consul of Africa,2 he won such praise as few have done. But his simple and contented way of living, the sparing hand with which he dealt out money, always avoiding excess, were counted unto him, when he became emperor, as parsimony, so that the reputation which he bore for moderation and self-restraint was an insipid sort of thing. By Nero he was sent out as governor of Spain,? before Nero had yet learned to be afraid of citizens who were held in high esteem. Galba, however, was thought to be of a gentle nature,

and his great age gave an added confidence that he
would always act with caution.
IV. But when, as the nefarious agents of Nero savagely and cruelly harried the provinces, Galba could help the people in no other way than by making it plain that he shared in their distress and sense of wrong, this somehow brought relief and comfort to those who were being condemned in court and sold into slavery. And when verses were made about Nero, and men circulated and sang thein freely, he did not put a stop to it nor share in the displeasure of Nero’s agents; wherefore he was still more beloved by the inhabitants. For he was by this time well known to them, since it was in the eighth year of his governorship that Junius Vindex, a general in Gaul, revolted against Nero. It is said, indeed, that even before the open rebellion Galba received letters from Vindex, and that he neither put any trust in them nor gave accusing information

Pn 334. D. * In 45 a.D. * In 61 4.D.

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ws er epot TOV YE HOV LK OY eTLOTONAS avTots

ypaeloas émepypay 7 pos Néepava kal d:épOecpav
doov em avtTots THpv T pacuy, 78 VoTEpov peTa-
oXOVTES @pohoynaar auT@Y ovdey HTTOV th éxei-
vou mpooTar yeyovevar. GX’ érretdy AaMTpPOS
TOV TOAELOY EXPIHVAS O Ovivd.é eypaype TH DarSa
TApPAKaray avabegac bar THY nyéuoviay Kal

Tapacyely éavtoy iayup@ awpate Entovvti Ke-
darn, tais Taratias Séka pupiadas avdpov
WT ALO LEVOV exovoas aANaS TE TAELOVAS omhicat
duvapevais, mpovdnxe Bovrnp Tots irots. @ ov Ol wey
Elouv Tre pLLevely kapadoxodvra Tiva Kiyo ry
‘Pwpn Kat popay €£et 1pos Tov VEwT Epta Hav" Tiros
dé Ovinios. o TOU oTpatnytKob TAY MATOS NYE MOV
autos } elev" 0) anGa, Tiva, Tpomrov Bov-
NeveoGe ; sro yap ontety Népovt et mearol [Levov-
[Lev, OUK 10 HEvovT@Y éotiv. ws obv UMAPXOVTOS
ey Opov Nepevos ov 67 ™ poet cov TV TOU Oviv6e-
KOS puriay, 4) kal KaTnyopntéov evdus avrov Kal
TONE LNT EOD, OTL oe Bovnrerat “Popaious EVELy
apYovra padov 1) Nepwva TUpavvor.
V. Ex TOUTOV 7 poy papnpare pev édnAwoev 6
lad Bas aépay ev 7 TAS KaTA pEpos edevJepar-
GELS ATOOWOEL TOS Seopévors, Aania 6 Kal Pnuy
mpoextrecovaa TANOOS avOpamoy 70 po.ce 7 po-

Cupov emt TOV VEWTEPLT LOD. OUK fA yoov
pave Epos emt tov Bywatos yevouevos, Kal TAVTES
avrov opopavers avToKpatopa 7 poo etmoy. o 6é
TAUT NY peev evdvs ov mpoaedéefaro TV 7 poo-
nyopiay, KATNYVOPH TAS 6¢ ToD Népevos, Kal TOV
avnpnuévoy avopav bm' avtod Tovs émibaverta-
? abrors suggested by Sint.? for the airds of the MSS.
214
1055

GALBA Iv. 2-v. 2

about them, although other provincial governors sent to Nero the letters written to them, and thus did all they could to ruin the enterprise of Vindex ; and yet they afterwards took part in it, and thus confessed that they had been false to themselves no less than to Vindex. But after Vindex had openly declared war, he wrote to Galba inviting him to assume the imperial power, and thus to serve what was a vigorous body in need of a head, meaning the Gallic provinces, which already had a hundred thousand men under arms, and could arm other thousands besides. 'Then Galba took counsel with his friends. Some of these thought it best for him to wait and see what move- ment Rome would set on foot in response to the revolution; but Titus Vinius, the captain of the praetorian guard, said to them: "O Galba, what counsels are these? For to ask whether we shal! remain faithful to Nero means that we are already unfaithful. Assuming, then, that Nero is an enemy, we surely must not reject the friendship of Vindex ; or else we must at once denounce him and make war upon him because he wishes the Romans to have thee as their ruler rather than Nero as their tyrant."

V. After this, Galba issued an edict appointing a day on which he would grant individual manu- missions to all who desired them, and gossip and rumour flying all abroad brought together a multi- tude of men who were eager for the revolution. At any rate, no sooner was Galba seen upon the tribunal than all with one voice hailed him as emperor. However, he did not at once accept this appellation, but after denouncing Nero, and bewailing the most illustrious of the men who had been put to

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3

TOUS oho hupapevos, @pohoynoer em LOW ELy TH
maT plou THY EavTOU T povolay, OUTE Kaicap ouT
avToKpaTwp, TTPATHYOS b€ guyxAnTov Kal Onuou
‘Pwpyatoy dvopafopevos.
"Ore & dpOas o Oviwe&E cai Nedoyiopevas
éEexaretro tov VarBav émi tH nyEpoviar, eT t-
TTWTATO paptupe T@ Népwut. T poo ToLovpevos
14p éxelvou Kara povely Kab Tap. ovdey nryeta Bat
7a Tadatov, dpa TO mba bar Ta Tmepl PadBav
(eruxe O€ AeRoupévos Kal apiaTav) aveérpewe THV
tpamelav. ou piv adda TVYKANTOV Ynbioapevns
Todéu.ov Tov arBav avtos te maifery Kat Opa-
guverar Tos TOUS pirous Bovdopevos, ov dav-
Any Edn mpoppnawv eMTET TOKEVAL oye Lov d€o-
pevep NPNHATOV avT@ Kal ta pev Vararor, € otav
UTOXELpLot YEVOVTAL, Lapupaywynced Gat, O€
Targa Td pec Tiy ovela xpha Pas Kal TWAELY ON
TorEpiou TEPNVOTOS. OUTOS TE oy Ta Par Ba Tt-
mpag Kew exéheve, Kab ParSas axoveas, daa Neé-
pwvos nv év ‘TBnpiga KNPUTTWY eUpLaKE TOAAOLS
mpobuportepous a @VNTAS.
Vi. ‘Agiotapevor d€ TONA@DY TOU Népwvos . Kal
muvTwy emietkas TH L'adrBa TpoaTepever, [LGVOS
KA@d.os Maxpos ev AtBvn kat Ovepyivios ‘Poidos
ev Taratia TOU Deppavixod TT PATEUMATOS mryou-
HEVOS avtolt Kal’ EQUTOUS em parton, ov THY avT IY
aipeow EXOVTES. GrX’ 0 peep KrAwédcos, év dpruyais
T par HAT ov ryeryoves Kal povors avopav ore @pornTa
Kal Treovetiar, Sijos hv €v TO pnTE KaTEXEW
pyre adtévar THY apxny Sivacbat TEepipEepopevos,
Ovepyivios dé TAY MAT OV eTLOTATOV dwaTetator
TOAAUKES AUTOV AvayOpEVOVTWY AUTOKpaTOpa Kal
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death by him, promised to devote his best powers to
the service of his country, taking as his title, not
Caesar, nor Emperor, but General of the Roman
Senate and People.
Now, that Vindex acted wisely and well in calling upon Galba to be emperor, was convincingly proved by Nero. For though he pretended to despise Vindex and to regard matters in Gaul as of no moment, as soon

as he learned what Galba had done —Nero had just taken his bath and was at breakfast —he overturned his table. However, after the Senate had voted Galba an enemy, Nero, with a desire to jest and put on a bold countenance with his friends, said that an excellent idea had occurred to him in his need of money: the property of the Gauls would not fall to him as spoil of war until after they should be subdued ; but Galba's estate was ready to be used and sold at once, now that Galba had been declared a public enemy. So he ordered the property of Galba to be sold, and Galba, when he heard of it, put up at public sale all that Nero owned in Spain, and found many readier buvers.

VI. Many were now falling away from Nero, and almost all of them attached themselves to Galba; only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Verginius Rufus in

saul (where he commanded the German forces), acted on their own account, though each took a different course. Clodius, whose cruelty and greed had led him into robberies and murders, was clearly in a strait where he could neither retain nor give up his command; while Verginius, who commanded the strongest legions and was often saluted by them as emperor and strongly urged to take the title, declared

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Bralopévwy ovte autos bn AnWeoOas THY HyELo-
viav oUTE GAXw TrepLotred Oar SitOopéevny, Ov AV p1) 1)
TuyKAITOS EAT AL. TavTa TOV ParBav OU peT-
piws eOopuBet To 7 p@TOV" emrel dé Ta Ovepyiviou
Kal Ovive.xos TTPATEULATA, Tpomrov Tia Bia TOUS
NYELLOVAS, @OTEP VLOXOUS Kpathoae Xardevev Th
duvndévtas, els paxny eeveyxovta peyaday ouv-
éppakav, kat Ovivosxos éavtov avedovtTos émi
diapvplois LTaratav recovat, dundOe oyos ws
Bovropévoy Twavtwv ert vikn TooavTn Tov Ovep-
yivioy avadé~acbas tiv nyepoviay Tadw,
peTvaSaroupéveov Tos Nepova, Tote 6) Tapvta-
Tact TEpipoPos yevowevos o VadBas eyparre TO
Ovepyuvig, Tapakadow KOLVvOT pay ELV kai Sia-
puhaccew a THY nye woviay Kab THY éXevOepiav
'Pwpatois' avOis oe pera TOV giro els KnXovviap,
'TBypexny TOMY, dvaxwpycas ev TO peTavoety
mepl TOW yeyovor@r Kat To Gety THY ourydn Kal
cUvTpopor dm par woovyny PaAXOV 7) TWpaTTELV TL
TOV avaryKaoy d1éT piBev.
VI. "Hy 6€ Oépos 70N; cat Bpayd mpo detANns Kev
amo Pens' Txedos avnp amrerevbepos EBdopatos.
awu@ouevos 6€ Tov TarSav avaravecOar nad'
cautoy é€Babile ovvtdvas él TO OwWLATLOV AUTON,
Kat Bia TeV Garaynrorwy avoiEas Kal mapehOwy

cearajryryetnen & OTL Kal SavTos ETL TOU Nepwvos, OuK
ovtos 6é€ pavepod, TO oTpaTevpa Tp@TOv, ciTa 0
Opos Kall yy) TUYKANTOS avTOKpaTOpA 7 Tov VarBav
cVA*OPEUT ELED, oniryov be bo repov amraryyedein
TEOYNKOS Exelvos' ov pV AUTOS ye TlaTEvCAaS
Ebn Tols amayyéXXovow, adrAa erecOav TO
vexp@ Kal Keievov Oeacapevos, ovTws &EedOeiv.
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GALBA vi. 2—VvII. 2

that he would neither assume the imperial power himself, nor allow it to be given to anyone else whom the senate did not elect. ‘These things greatly dis- turbed Galba at first; but presently the armies of Verginius and Vindex in a manner forced their leaders, like charioteers who had lost control of the reins, into the crash of a great battle, and Vindex, after the loss of twenty thousand Gauls, died by his own hand, and a report was current that all the soldiers desired Verginius, in view of the great victory he had won, to assume the imperial power, or they would go back again to Nero. Then indeed Galba was all alarm, and wrote to Verginius inviting him to join in efforts for the preservation alike of the empire and the freedom of the Romans. But after this he retired with his friends to Clunia, a city in Spain, and spent his time in repenting of what he had done and in longing for his habitual and wonted freedom from care, rather than in taking any of the steps now made necessary.

VII. It was now summer,! and shortly before sun- set there came from Rome a freedman named Icelus, who had made the journey in seven days. Having learned that Galba was reposing by himself, he went in hot haste to his chamber, opened the door in spite of the chamberlains, entered, and announced that while Nero was still alive, but in hiding, that the army first, and then the senate and people, had proclaimed Galba emperor, and that a little while afterwards it was reported that Nero was dead; Icelus himself, however, as he said, had not believed the report, but had gone and seen the dead body where it lay, and then had set outon his journey. This announcement

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TavTa aTayyeANopeva AaLTpoY pe TOV Vardar,
Kai ovvedpape TAHGOS avdpav ert Oupas éxteOap-
pnxoTwov um avtov BeBaiws. Kaitot TO TaXOS
WW amtaTov. ara Kalb dvaiv nuépats VoTepor }
Ovivios Tiras * aro aTpatoméedou pO? (ETepov
aixeTo TA bofavta TH TUYEMITO Kal exao Tov
amrayyeXhav. ovTOS pev ovy eis TaEwy EvTipov
m™ porx On: TO 8 arerevd ep daxtundious TE
xpuaods ESeoce Kal Mapetavos o “InedXos On
KaNoupevos elye THY TowTHY ev TOS aTrEAEVOEpOLS

Suva pv.
VIH. ‘Ey d€ ‘Pon Nupdiozos LaPivos, ovK
npepa Kal KaTa HLL pov, aXnnra TAR BOnY onod,
TavTa mpaywara pépov TepunveryKeey els EAUTOP,
os TadSav pev dvta mpecBvtny Kai porss els
Pony eEapeécovra popaony Kopia Ojnvat bua
yhpas’ hv yap éT@V TpLav Kal éBSopnxovta- Ta
be avroou TTPATEVLATA, Kat Taras T pos QUT OV
EvvOwS EYOVTA Kal vo év0s eEnpTnweva [LOvov, da
To THS bwpeas péyeOos evepyerTny exeivov nyeta Oat,
PanrBav dé XpewperreTny. evOus ovv Teyedrivep
HEY TH TUVAaPYOVTL mpoceTagev aTroGécbat TO
Ethos, vmodoyas 5é trotovpevos éedeimutte Tovs
UTAaTLKOUS Kal TOUS NryEpwovtKoUs, ETL TO T'aXBa
TpoaTleis dvoua Tais KNHoECLY, Ev TE TO OTPATO-
TEOW TONNOUS TAPETKEVATE AE'YVELY WS TrELTTEOD
éoTt 7 pos Dada QiTOULEVOUS éTapKXoVv Eioael
Nupdidzoy ¢ aveu cuvapXovTos.
“A 6€ 4) ouyxAnToS els TINY ErpaTTEy avTOV

1 Jorepov supplied by Coraés, after Amyot.

highly elated Galba, and there came running to his door a multitude of men who had gained complete confidence as the result of Icelus’ report. And yet the messenger’s speed was incredible. But two days afterwards Titus Vinius with others came from the camp and reported in detail the decrees of the senate. Vinius, accordingly, was advanced to a position of honour, and as for the freedman, he was allowed to wear the gold ring, received the name of Marcianus instead of Icelus, and had the chief influence among the freedmen.

VIII. But at Rome Nymphidius Sabinus was forcing the entire control of affairs into his own hands, not slowly and little by little, but all at once. He thought that Galba was an old man and would hardly have the strength to be carried to Rome on a litter, by reason of his age, for he was in his seventy- third year ; moreover, he knew that the soldiery in the city had long been well disposed towards him and were now devoted to him alone, regarding him as their benefactor because of the large gifts which he promised, but Galba as their debtor. Straight- way, therefore, he ordered his colleague Tigellinus to lay down his sword, gave receptions at which he banqueted men who had been consuls or in high command (although he still affixed the name of Galba to his invitations), and instigated many of the soldiers to declare that a

deputation ought to be sent to Galba demanding that Nymphidius be made pre- fect for life without a colleague.

Moreover, the senate did much to enhance his

2 Tiros after this name the words woAAa tar, deleted by Coraés and Bekker, are retained by Sint.? with indication of a lacuna (woAAQ .. . TAY).
rae S|

Kal Ovvamty, dvakarodoa evEepyeTny Kat o UV Tpé- youoa Kal' ruépav emt Gupas kai TavTos eSapyerv Séryparos afwibca Kal BeBatovy, ETL TEPALTEpw TOAPNS aViyEv avTOr, @aTEe OdtLyOU Xpovou TOUS Oepamevovar pe) povov emipGovor, Gra Kat poBe- pov eval. TOV o UTAT@OV oLKEeTAS Snpoaious T POX ELLE a WEvOY Ta Soypara KoputCovtas TO avTo- Kparopt, Kal Ta kahovupeva OTA opara cern pa omeva Sovtwv, a yveoptfovres Of KATA TON pXOVTES ev Tals TOV ONNBET OV apolBats emita- xUvovet TAS TPOTOMTAS TOV [papuaTnpopor, ov MET PLOWS NYAVaKTHTEY OTL pny Tap avTod Kal adpayioa kal otpatiwtas AaBovtes avérremwar, GANA NéyeTat Kai BovrAeveacOat TEpl THY UTATOY, eiTa THY Opynv atoNoynoapevors Kat denOetowy ave. To O€ Sjuw yaplCopevos OK eExwAVE TOV mapanimrorra TOV Népavos atrotupTravi tery. Larikrov pév ovv Tov povopdyov avdpiaae Néewros EXKOMEVOLS vmoBarovtes év ayopa btéehOerpar, "Atroviov O€ TLva TOV KATNYO pLE@V avatpavaytes apdéas AvBopopous émiyayov, dAXous 6€ beara cav TOAXOUSs, éviouvs pndev abLKodYTAaS, MOTE Kal Mavpixov, avdpa tev apiotwy Kal ovta Kai d0- Kobyta, 7 pos THY TUVYKANTOV EiTrEly OTe HoPeEttar (41) foe Népova Cyto wal. OvtTw 6é Tpocayor o Nupdisdsos é eyyuTépo er eT a éepevye Laiov Kaicapos utos Neyer Bau TOU pera TiBepsov apEavtos. eyvexer yap o Vaios, as éorxe, Ti texotcav avtov ett
1 Caligula.

honour and power, giving him the title of benefactor, assembling daily at his door, and allowing him the privilege of initiating and confirming all their decrees. This raised him to a still higher pitch of boldness, so that within a short time those who paid court to him were filled, not only with jealousy, but also with fear. When the consuls provided public servants to carry the decrees of the senate to the emperor, and gave to these the diplomas, as they were called, sealed with their official seal (in order that the magistrates of the various cities, recognising this, might expedite the supply of fresh vehicles for the journey of the couriers), he was vexed beyond all bounds because the decrees had not been sent under his seal and in charge of his soldiers, nay, it is said that he actually thought of proceeding against the consuls, but put away his wrath when they excused themselves and begged for forgiveness. Again, in his desire to gratify the people, he would not prevent them from beating to death any follower of Nero who fell into their hands. Accordingly, they cast Spiculus the gladiator under statues of Nero that were being dragged about in the forum, and killed him; Aponius, one of Nero's informers, they threw to the ground and dragged waggons laden with stone over him; and many others, some of whom had done no wrong, they tore in pieces, so that Mauricus, who was justly deemed one of the best men in Rome, told the senate that he was afraid they would soon be searching for a Nero.

IX. Thus coming in his hopes nearer and nearer to his goal, Nymphidius was not averse to having it said that he was the son of the Caius Caesar! who succeeded Tiberius. For Caius, as it would appear, while still

, bal b] 3 fal \ lA ? ' '
petpaKloy @Y ovK aEelon THY driv ovcar, éx 6
b) f bd & Fe / /, 9
axeatpias émiutcbiov KadrXtote, Kaicapos an-
nN @ , , PO 4 € \ ih Fu
edevOepo, yeyernuevnyv. adr Hv mpos Vaiov
a f A nA 7
évteviis avTis, ws E€orKe, vewtépa THS Nupudsdiov
yevérews, aitiay dé éoxev x Maptiavod rod po-
a /
vomayou yeyovévar, THS Nupdidias épacbeians
\ / b] a \ cal 10 7 se ,
61a OoEay avtov, Kai waddop éddxet Ka' opotoTnta
al > ? 3 , , > 2 s "A
THs leas exeiv@ TpocHKELV. AAN OmoAOYV ye
5 \ a ,

Nuydidias eivas untpos epyov pév autod povou

\ id > “ / ® \ a A

tHhv Népwvos étroteito Katadvaw, abra b€ avTis
, fa)
ov vopiCwy ixava Kaptovabat Tas TL“as Kal Ta
\ a
Ypripara Kal TO Lwopw Tod Népwvos cuyxabevdey,

Ov EevOvs aro THs jWupas ETL KaLtopévou Tov vexpoU

MET ATrELWAaMEVOS EKELVOS EV yameThs eye TAEEL KaL 1057

:
llormaiay mpoonyopever, érl thy diadoyny Tap-
? wn ¢
EOUETO THS NYEMOVLAS. KaL Ta pev avTOS év “Pwomn
an , al
dia Tav dirwy vrreipyaleTo, Kal yuvatkKav TiVwY
b fal \ al > fal 7
aUuT@ Kal cuyKAnTLKOY avdpav Kpida cvAXapBa-
vopevoy, eva dé Trav dirwv, Vedreavov, els 1 Bnpiav
emeupey KaTacKkewopevov.
X. Toe 6€ VadBa peta tHv Népwvos tereuvtiy
/ a
exwper Tavta. Ovepryivios bé “Potdos audiBoros
N ” , a aA fo)
@y ETL PpovTioa TAapELYe, M1) TO Ouvadpmews TOAATS
KAL MAYLMLOTATHS UpYEly TWpoTELANHwWS TO VEVLKNKE-
vat Ovivdica kal KeyertpOcbat méeya pépos TIS
¢ ij e f ’ , , b
Pwpatwv NYEMOVLAS, ED cade YEVOMEVNY aTrooTAa-
A é & “~
TuK@ Ladatiay atacay, vraxovaat Tols Tapa-
KaNOVSW avTOY eT THY aPXV. ovdEvoS yap TV
4 a INN 3 , > \ 4 £ >
dvoua pellov, ovde eive Sokav ovdets Gaonv o Ovep-
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GALBA Ix. 1I-x. 2

a young man, had been intimate with the mother of Nymphidius, a woman of comely appearance and a daughter of Callistus, Caesar’s freedman, by a hired sempstress. But this intimacy, as it would seem, was later than the birth of Nymphidius, and it was believed that he was a son of Martianus, the gladiator (with whom Nymphidia fel] in love on account of his fame), and his resemblance to Martianus was thought to favour this connection. But although he certainly admitted that Nymphidia was his mother, he took to himself sole credit for the overthrow of Nero, and thinking himself insufficiently rewarded for this by the

honours and wealth which he enjoyed, and by the company of Sporus, Nero's favourite (whom he had sent for at once, while Nero's body was yet burning on its pyre, and treated as his consort, and addressed by the name of Poppaea), he aspired to the succession in the empire. Some secret steps to this end he himself took at Rome through the agency of his friends, and certain women and men of sena- torial rank secretly assisted him, and one of his friends, Gellianus, he sent to Spain to keep an eye upon matters there.

X. But everything went well with Galba after the death of Nero. Verginius Rufus, it is true, who was still hesitating, gave him anxiety. [For besides com- manding a large and most efficient army, Verginius had the added prestige of his victory over Vindex and his subjugation of all Gaul, which was a large part of the Roman Empire and had been in the throes of revolt. Galba therefore feared that Ver- ginius might listen to those who invited him to take the supreme power. Forno man's name was greater than that of Verginius, and no man had a reputation

ylvlos, Ws peyloTn pom) TOLS 'Pepaiov mpaypace
Tupavvibos 000 Nearer ijs kal Tadratixov TONE-
pov amadhayy ryevomevos. GAN €kElvOS TOTE TOLS
e& apxiis €LpLEvOV hoyeo pots epuratre TH ouy-
KANTO THY aipeow TOU aAVTOKPAaTOPOS. KaiTot pa-
vepas ye THIS Népavos TENEUTHS YEVOMEVNS TO TE
wrHOos evexetto TO Ovdepyvie want, Kat TOV
Xeredpyeov TLS To €y TH OKT OTT pEVvOS TO
Eios | exeeve TOV Ovepyivov SéyeoOat THY 1YELO-
viav ?) Tov otdnpov. émrel O€ Da Bros OvaXrns
dipxeov évos TaryHATOS OPKWTE TPOTOS ets ib arBar,
Kal ypanpara KEV ATO 'Poyns mept Ov u) ouy-
KANTOS eyngiaato, (XAAET OS lev Kal pores, €TELTE
6 ovy Tous OT PATLOTAS auToKpdTopa Tov ParBav
aveiTety' Kat TéwWavtTos avtod 61dd0Xov Prakcov
'Opdewvroy edeEaro. Kal ma pa.bovs exelvep THY
Sura jue avTos ATHVTNCE TO Parse Tpoaw Xo-
povvTt, Kab cuvaréo Tpepen, OUTE opy is ove TLBAS
éridijAou TUyYavwv. aiTtLos 5é Tov pev AUTOS 0
VarPas atdovpevos Tov avopa, Tov O€ ot piroe Kai
partota Ovivios Tiros, umo pOovov TOV Ovepyi-
viov olomevos fev KOAOVELV, ryvoe S€ apa 7
Ouvepytviov 4 XPNTT Satmove TUVEPYO, non TOV
advOpa TOAEMWY KAL KAKWI, COU TOUS AdXOUS 1/7E-
povas Katéoyev, exTOS ets Blov axvpova Kal
ynpas etpnvys Kal navxias peotov virexT: Geneva.
XI. Tar Bav 6€ wepi NapBwva, todw Varate-

KV, Ol TAaPA THS TvyKANTOV Tpéa Bets evTUYovTES
noTalovTo, Kal TapeKddovy eridavivat TO Onuw
moOovvTe TaxYéws. oO S€ TAS TE ANAS TApElxer
évtevters Kal ovvovatas autos diravOpwrous Kat
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GALBA x. 2-xI. 1

equal to his, since he had exercised the greatest in- Huence in ridding the Roman state alike of a grievous tyrant and of Gallic wars. But in the present crisis he was true to his original resolves and maintained the senate's right to choose the emperor. And yet when Nero's death was known for certain, the mass of his soldiery were insistent again with Verginius, and one of the military tribunes in his tent drew his sword and ordered Verginius to choose between imperial power and the steel. But after Fabius Valens, commander of a legion, had led off in taking the oath of allegiance to Galba, and letters had come from Rome telling of the senate's decrees, he suc- ceeded at last, though with the greatest difficulty, in persuading his soldiers to declare Galba emperor ; and when Galba sent Flaccus Hordeonius to succeed him, Verginius received that officer, handed over his army to him, and went himself to meet Galba as he advanced, and turned back in his company without re- ceiving any clear mark either of his anger or esteem. This was due, in the one case, to Galba himself, who had a wholesome respect for Verginius, and in the other to Galba's friends, especially Titus Vinius. Vinius was jealous of Verginius, and thought to block his career ; but without knowing it he was aiding the man's good genius, which was now removing him from al] the wars and miseries which encompassed the other leaders, and bringing him into a calm haven of life, and an old age full of peace and quiet.

XI. At Narbo, a city of Gaul, Galba was met by the deputies from the senate, who greeted him and begged him to gratify speedily the eager desire of the people to see him. In his general interviews and meetings with them he was kind and unassuming,

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Snpoticds, Mpos TE TAS ETTLATELS TONIS KATA
oKEUTS Kat Jeparetas Bacircxijs Tapovans, hy ex
TOV Népwvos 0 Nouppidzos avT@ T poo éTrener,
ovderl Ypwpevos éxetvor, inna Tots éavTod Tao,
evox ier, peyarog pov avip Kat KpeLT TOV aTreét-
poxadtas Parvopevos. TAXY HévTOL Ta yevvaia
TadTa Kab arupa Kal TONTLKA Onparyoyiay Oviveos
anopaivav Kat KonNpoTnTa peyarov anafvodoav
avTnY, emetoe xpnpact Te ypnoGat tois Népwvas
Kal Tepl TAS Drodoxas BN petoec Oat TIS Racine
KIS TOAUTEAELAS. KAL OAWS aia Onow avTov Kata
pexpov v0 TH Ovwviw yevnoopueévov Trapeiyev o
m peo BUTS.

XI. "Hy dé Ovinos apyupiou ev eoyaTos Kat
Tap oVvTevouv TT eV, EVvOX0S be Kal Tots mept
yuraikas a papTn Lao wv. éTL yap @y véos Kal
OT PATEVOUEVOS v7 KarBioto SaBive tHv Tparny
oTpatetay dKohag Tov ovcay THY Yyuraika Tod
iyryewovos Taperanyaye VUKTWP ELS TO oT pat omedov
ev coOnTL JO TPAT LOT LR Kat duep Gerpev év Tots
dpxetors, & mpuyximia Kadovot ‘Popaioc. err
TOUT@ O€ Ddios Katoap eonoev auTov: éxeivou bé
dmoBavevtas evTvYla NPNTawevos amrervOn. eeL-
mvav dé mapa Kravdio Katcape TOT IpLov apyupoov
DpetreTo- mudopevos d€ 0 Kaicap Th voTepata
TaN avrov ent dei Tvov éxanrecer, edOovre 88
ex éhevo ev éxetv@ pen dev apyupour, Gra Kepauea
TavTa mpoopépew eal TapariGévas Tous UT NpeTas.
TobTo bev ovv bua THY Katoapos HET pLOTNTA KO [Lt-
KWTEPAY YEVOMEVNVY YEXWTOS, OVK Opyhs aELov éb0-
Eev: 0 0€ Tov Vdd Bap Ey bp’ abT@, Kai dvvdpevos
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|
GALBA x1. 1-x1. 3

- and when he entertained them, though there was an abundance of royal furniture and service at his command, which Nymphidius had sent him from Nero’s palace, he used none of it, but only what was his own, thus winning a good repute, and showing him- self a man of large mind who was superior to vulgarity. Vinius, however, by declaring to him that this dignified, simple, and unassuming course was merely a flattery of the people and a refinement of delicacy which thought itself unworthy of great things, soon persuaded him to make use of Nero’s riches, and in his receptions not to shrink from a regal wealth of outlay. And in general the aged man let it be seen little by little that he was going to be under the direction of Vinius.

XII. Now Vinius was to the last degree and beyond all compare a slave of money, and was also addicted to loose conduct with women. For when he was still a young man and was serving his first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus, he brought his commanders wife, an unchaste woman, by night into the camp in the garb of a soldier, and had commerce with her in the general’s quarters (the Romans call them “principia”). For this offence Caius Caesar put him in prison; but on the death of the emperor he had the good fortune to be released. While he was at supper with Claudius Caesar, he purloined a silver drinking-cup, and Caesar, learning of it, invited him to supper again the next day, and when he came, ordered the attendants to set before him no silver plate at all, but only earthenware. This misdeed, it is true, owing to the comic turn which Caesar’s moderation took, was thought worthy of laughter, not of anger; but what he did when he had

peylotov emi Xpnwace, em parte, TpayLKav mabav
Kal cuppopeav peydrov Tois pev aitiav, Tots bé
Tpopacy Tapeo xev.

STIL ‘O yap Nupptovos evOUs émavedfovtos
ToU Peddavov 7 pos aAUTOD, OV eT ene TOU TarBa
TpoTrov TLWVa KATLoKOTOD, aKovaas THs mev aUANS
Kal TOV Sopupoper emrapXov am odebetx Gar Kop-
vay Atov Adxwva, To 6€ cturav eivat Tov Ovsviov
Kparos, auT@ 6é pnderrore Tou Parga ora
Ano tov eyyeryoveva poe évtuxely idta, TaVTOY
avTov Upopwpever Kal Suapvrarrovren, é0o-
puBiOn: Kal cuvayayov Tous yyewovas TOU oTpa-
TEUMATOS Eby Tad Bav fev AUTOD Elval T peo Butay
€TLELKT) KAL péTpLov, eAXayYLoTa O€ TOiS avUTOU
YpwOuwEevov oylapols vio Ovwwiov xal AdKxwvos
oUK 6 dioixeio Bat, amp ou hadetv avToUS iv
Eo Xe DuyedaAtvos toxov ev TOUS Tparypact KTNOA-
[evous, TE TTT EOV elvat TT pos TOV Hye Hove. T peo Beus
amo orpatomésou TOUS Oibafovtas 6 OTL TOV pidov
duo [sovous TOUTOUS aoa Kevac dpevos notov Ta.pe-
OTA TACl Kal moOevvorepos. érrel O€ TavTa Neyoou
OUK emetBev, GAX aToT ov edoxel Kat ANXOKOTOV
nryewova. mpeoBuTny, Oo TEp apre "evo pevov €fou-
aias peupaxvov, ols XPHTET AL pirors i) Hn, pv0 ut-
Ce, érépav odov TParropevos ey pade TO Para
OeCrTTOMEVOS, vov fev Os UrovAa Kal peTéwpa
TOANA Tis TONEWS EXOvaNS, vov 6€ KAwerov
Muaxpov év AtBby Ta ouTnya KATEXEW, a adds dé
Tapaxtvels ira Vepuanna Taypara., Kal Tept TOV
év Supia kat lovdaia duvapewv Gpora ruvOdvec Oat.
GALBA x1. 3-x111. 3

Galba under his control and was most influential with him in financial matters, was partly a cause and partly a pretext for tragic events and great calamities. XIII. For Nymphidius, as soon as Gellianus had come back to him, whom he had sent to be a sort of spy upon Galba, heard that Cornelius Laco had been appointed prefect of the praetorian guard, and that Vinius was all powerful with Galba, while Gellianus had never stood near him or seen him in private, but had been looked upon with suspicion and distrust by everyone. Nymphidius was therefore much disturbed, and calling together the officers of the army, told them that Galba himself was a well-meaning and moderate old man, but did not follow his own counsels

in the least, and was badly directed by Vinius and Laco. Therefore, before these men had succeeded in secretly acquiring the power which Tigellinus had held, a deputation should be sent to the emperor from the camp, to inform him that if he would put away from his company of friends only these two men, he would be more acceptable and welcome to all on his arrival. But this speech of Nymphidius did not convince his hearers; nay, they thought it a strange and unnatural thing to dictate to an aged emperor, as if he had been a youth just tasting power, what friends he was to have or not to have. Nymphidius therefore took another course, and wrote to Galba messages in- tended to alarm him—now, that there was much hidden distemper and unrest in the city, now, that Clodius Macer was holding back the grain supplies in Africa; again, that the legions in Germany were mutinous, and that like news came concerning the forces in Syria and Judaea. But since Galba gave

a \ “ ,

4 tod 6€ TadrBa py ravu tov vovv tpocEexovtTos
a / 4 a /
AUTO LNOE TLOTEVOVTOS EYVW TPOETLYELPELY* KALTOL
\ Ua wv
Kr wédios Kércos Avtioxevs, avnp Euppwv, evvous
, / > Nv
Sé éxeiva Kal TioTOS, amNyopEevE, A€yWY OVK aD
olecOat ptav év ‘Pon cuvorxiav Kaicapa mpoc-
rn 7 / \
evreiv Nupdidiov. adda TrOAAOL KATEYEAWY, KAL
\ i \
MiOpidatns o Wovtixos émicxwntwr thy para-
, Nepee: , a aby / a 4 ‘
KpoTnTa Kal puocotnta Tov VarBa viv edn tiva
a ® ¢ / bd / \ a a
Soxeiv eivar ‘Pwpyators, opOévta 5é€ havetcbar Tav
nuep@v ToUTwY as KadctTat Kaicap, dvetdos.
4S / \
XIV. "EdoEev otv mept pécas vuxtas eis THY
TmapeuBornvy tapayayovtas avadekvuety avTo-
xpatopa tov Nupdidiov. mpa@tos d€ TaV yId-
i / ?
apyov "Avrwos “Ovwpatos éomépas yevopevns
>] nw , \
Tous Ud’ éavT@ otpatiwotas curayaywv éxaxile
\ e , N 3 , ? 9 ,
uev autov, éxdnite d€ éxeivous év OALyYo Ypovw
TpoTas TOTAaUTAaS TpETTOMEVOUS KAT OvdéVA AOYL-

\ 2Q\ A b s ’ \ / ,
TOV Ovde aipecty awELVOVwY, adXra Sai povos TLI'OS
autovs ék mpococias eis tpodociav éhavvorTos.
2 Kai Ta wey TpaTAa TMpopaces éxev Ta Né€pwvos
/ a , , , ,
eyxAnuata: vov de arPav mpodsdovat, tiva hovov
a / ,
LNTpos eyxadrouvrTas 7) ohayijy yuvatKos, %} Tota
> / ~
aidoupévous Oupérny 7) Traywdiayv TOD avTOKpAaTo-
eo ’ jes 2 OA us , e ,
pos; “AXXN ovdé exelvov emt TOUVTOLS UTEMELVALEV
éyxatahiteiv, adda Nupdidim merodévtes dre
TMparos nuas eyKaTédiTve Kal Tépevyev ets
3 Atyurtov. rotepov ovv Népww VarSav eémi-
Ovawpeda, Kal tov éx« Nupdidias éXopevot Kai-
aapa Tov éx AtBias avéXwpev, ws Tov @& “Aypit-

no heed to him whatever and put no confidence in his reports, he determined not to wait before making his attempt. And yet Clodius Celsus of Antioch, a man of good sense, who was well-disposed and faithful to him, tried to dissuade him, saying that in his opinion not a single precinct in Rome would give Nymphidius the title of Caesar. But many ridiculed Galba, and especially Mithridates of Pontus, who scoffed about his bald head and wrinkled face, and said that now the Romans thought him a great personage, but when they saw him they would regard all the days in which he had borne the title of Caesar as a disgrace to them.

XIV. It was decided, therefore, to bring Nym- phidius into the camp about midnight and proclaim him emperor. But when it was evening, the lead- ing military tribune, Antonius Honoratus, calling together the soldiers under his command, reviled himself, and reviled them for changing about so often in so short a time, not according to any plan or choice of better things, but because some evil spirit drove them from one treachery to another. In the first instance, he said, they had an excuse in the crimes of Nero; but now, if they were to betray Galba, what charge of murdering his mother or slaying his wife could they bring against him, or what feelings of shame that their emperor should appear in public as musician or tragic actor? “ Nay, not even with these provocations would we consent to abandon a Nero, but we had to be persuaded by Nymphidius that Nero had first abandoned us and fled to Egypt. Shall we, then, sacrifice Galba after Nero, and choosing the son of Nymphidia as our Caesar, shall we slay the scion of the house of Livia,

mivns avetdomev; 1) TovT@ Sixny émiBevtes wv 1059
dé5paxe, TLswpot pev Népwvos, VadBa o€ dvraxes
ayabol Kal miaTol pavopev;”
Tatra \éyovts TO YLLdpy~@ mpogeHevto TavTEs
ol OTPATL@TAL, Kal TOUS AAOUS TpocLOVTES Eupé-
VELV TAPEKUAOUY TH TPOS TOV AVTOKPATOPA TLATEL
Kal TOUS WrElous peTéaTHaav. apOeians dé Bojs,
elite metaOels 0 Nuudicios, &s acu Eviot, Kadelv
avtov On TOUS oTpaTLMTas, elTe TpoAABeEiv orrEv-
Swv 1d OopvBody éte Kai diotafov, vO pwti
TOAA@ TMpone, Aoyov Tia Koullwyv ev BiBrtw
yeypampevov vio Kiyywviov Bappwvos, by éxpe-
UENETIKEL TPOS TOUS TTpaTLWTAS EiTrEty. LOw@Y bE
KekreLamevas TOU oTpaToTédov TAS TUAAS Kal
Tept TA TELXYN TOAAOUS TAL MEvOUS EdELTE’ KAL
Tpoci@yv npwta Te Bovrovtat Kal Tivos KEedeEvU-
gavTos €v OTAOLS yeyovacly. aTravTw@ans 6 avT@
Tapa TavTov pas Povns, LarBav avtoxpatopa
YLVMOKELY, KAKELVOS OMOTE YHOPOV EeTTEvgr}LEL Kat
TOUS ETOMEVOUS EXEAEVE. TOY O€ TAPA TAS TUAAS
TapevTwy avtov eiaedOciy pet GALywY avTos
axovrieTat AoyXn’ Kal TavTynY pev edcEaTO TPO
avtov Ovpe@ Nemripmos, dArdwv 66 yupvois Eiheow
emipepopevwy guyov Kat diwxOels ev olxrpate
OTpatiwtov apaTTEeTat. Kal TOY vexpor eis pégoV
EXKvoavTes Kal TepiBarovTes KLyKALOa Oéapa Tots
Bovropévors pel” uépav Tapéaxov.
XV. Otrtw b€ tod Nuydidiou catactpévavtos
0 LarSas rvOdpuevos, kai TOY suvwpoTtayv avtod

as we have slain the son of Agrippina? Or, shall
we inflict punishment on Nymphidius for his evil
deeds, and thereby show ourselves avengers of Nero,
but true and faithful guardians of Galba?”’
So spoke the tribune, and all his soldiers took his
side, and visiting their fellow-soldiers, exhorted them
to maintain their fidelity to the emperor; and they
brought over the greater part of them. But now
loud shouts arose, and Nymphidius, either because

he was convinced, as some say, that the soldiers were already calling him, or because he was anxious to win over betimes the element that was still unruly and mutinous, came up in a glare of lights, carrying in his hand a speech written out for him by Cingonius Varro ; this he had got by heart to deliver to the soldiers. But when he saw the gate of the camp closed and a great number of men under arms along the walls, he was struck with fear ; and drawing near, he asked what they meant, and by whose command they were under arms. One cry caine to him from the lips of all, and this was that they acknowledged Galba as emperor, whereupon he also, as he joined them, shouted in approval, and bade his followers do the same. But after the soldiers at the gate had permitted him to enter with a few followers, alance was hurled at him. This weapon was received in the shield which Septimius interposed, but others assailed him, with drawn swords, where-upon he fled, was pursued, and was cut down in a soldier’s hut. His dead body was dragged forth, surrounded with a paling, and exposed to public view all day.

XV. Such was the violent end of Nymphidius, and when Galba learned of it, he ordered such of his

a 3 “ ef \ bs ¢ ~ > ‘
Kerevoas amobaveiy boot pn bt auTa@v eEvdus amreOavor, ev ois nv Kab Kuyyeveos 0 TOV Aoyou yparpas Kal Mid pedarns o Lovtexos, edofe [1 VO pL LOS, el Kal Otxatws, pene OnMoTLKaS d avnpnKeva ™ po Kpioews avopas OUK don jous. ETE POV yap HY OVLAS XA ja. ™ pog ed€XOVTO TAVTES, efarrato-[LeEVvOL cv Gas UTO TOY €v apx heyomeva. ere d€ paddov Hwlag ev avtous avnp uTaTiKos Kal Népwrt wictos amobavely xedevobets, Letpwvios Tovpmtrtavos. Maxpov' yap év AtBun ota Tpe-Bwriov! cai Povrijiov év Deppavig Ova Ovdrertos avekov mpopactv elyev ev OTAOLS Kal oT PATOTE-dors ¢ ovTas PoOijvat. Touprthavov dé, yépovta yunVvov Kal dvomwAov, Noyou peTtadaBelv ovdev ex@huen, EL ie Nv emayyerdeTau HET PLOTHTA TOES

mpdypacty * Epye purdgew Emerre,
Taira pev ovy TOLAUTAS EveEL peurpers. émrel O€
7 POTLwy dmreixe TIS TONEWS Tept TeEVTE Kal elKoot
oTadious, éveTUYXavev aKor pbg Kat GopuBa TOV
EpETOV THY OOOV TPOKATEX OV TOY Kal TEPLKEX UME
vov TavTax oben. ovTOL 6€ Haav ods Els ev Taypa
0 Nepor cudroXioas ATEPNVE oT paTLoTas: Kal
TOTE TA POVTES exBeBavwcacbat Thy oTpatetav
OUT op Ohya Tots aTravT @aotv ovT axovadhvat
Tapiecay TOV avToxpaTopa, arr' eGopuBouv Bon
onmela TO TAYUATL Kau X@pav UCU ES: EKELVOU
8¢ breptiMeuévou Kal Tadw elreiv? KeredoavTos,
} Maxpoy (as in xiii. 3), TpeBwvlov, suggested by Sint.? for Maxpova and TpeBwrviavov of the MSS.

* rpayuaow Sint.? has ypiuuacw (in his Ictters), after
Emporius.
3 add eizetvy Bekker has wapelxew (yield), after Coraés.

2 36

GALBA xv. 1-4

fellow-conspirators as had not at once taken their own lives to be put to death. Among these was Cingonius, who wrote the speech for Nymphidius, and Mithridates of Pontus. But it was held to be illegal and despotic, even though just, to put to death without a trial men who were not without distinction. For everyone expected a different mode © of government, being thoroughly deceived, as is usual, by assurances made in the beginning. And people took it still more amiss when Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular dignity who was faithful to Nero, was ordered to take his own life. For in having Macer taken off in Africa at the hands of 'Trebonius, and Fonteius in Germany at the hands of Valens, Galba could excuse himself with the fear they inspired as commanders of armed forces. But there was no reason why Turpilianus, a helpless old man and unarmed, should not have a chance to defend himself, if the emperor was really going to observe that moderation in his dealings which he promised. Such, then, was the censure to which these acts exposed Galba. Moreover, when, in his approach to the city, he was distant from it about five-and- twenty furlongs, he fell in with a disorderly and tumultuous crowd of seamen, who beset his way and encompassed him on all sides. These were men whom Nero had formed into a legion and given the title of soldiers. And now they were there to enforce their just rights as soldiers, and would not suffer the emperor to be seen or heard by those who came to meet him, but with tumultuous shouts demanded standards for their legion and regular quarters. When Galba put off their demand and told them to renew it at another time, they declared

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PLUTARCH SS. EIVEs

' 4 an \ 3 x ie J ,

apyncews aY}wa THY avaBornv eivat PacKovTeEs
s \ U “A
HYAVAKTOUY KAL TapeLTovTo jA7) Pedouevor Bojjs.

/ >

éviwy d¢ Kal Tas payalpas oTAaTAapEevoeny, Exédevae
n lal ral e f e /
Tovs (rmeis éuBarety avtois o TadBas. vmectn
\ 3 \ >) ? 3 % e \ > ‘ $ i:
dé ovdels ExEeivwY, AX’ Of bev EvOUS avaTpaTEVTES,

, \ + Q\

of Sé dhevyovtes SuePOapnaoav, ob ypynatov ovdE
ra ~ f \ Ni 3 ,
aictov mo.obrtes TO LarPa Tov olwvov etovovtt

A fa) 7 > \

61a TOAAOD dhovov Kal vexp@v TOTOU’TMY Els THY

, 3 b] b] 7 3 A , ,
TOALY. GAN El KAL TLS AUTOD KaTEPpovet TpOTeE-
Tay / , A
pov acbevots Kal yépovTos Opwpévov, TOTE TAGt
dpixwdns Kal PoPepos éyeveto.
rer , A \ \

XVI. Bovaropevos 5é tis wepl tas Swpeds ape-
Tpias Kal ToANUTENELas TOU Népwvos aTodetxvuvat
peyarny petaBorny, aatoxely edoxer TOV Tpé-
- \ > / b] “A \
Tovtos. Kavov yap avAnoavtos avT@® mapa 1060
ra ’ , \ 4 e rf b] A
cetrvov (axpoapa O€ hv Oo Kavos evdoxipovpevor)
éraweoas Kal amodeEapevos éxéXevoev AUTO
KomaO vat TO yAwWooOKopoY' Kal AaBwY Ypuaods
b] / nw Yee & / > A b] , 3
Tivas eTédwKe TO Kava, dycas ex Tov idiwy, ovK
’ na a , \ \ \ a
2€« Tav Snpociwy yapilecOar. tas 5é Swpeds as
Népwy Edwxe Tols TEpl OKNVIVY Kat TANALaTpAa)Y,
aTateta Pat cuvTovws KeXEVaAS TAY TOD OEKATOU

f ‘ tA
pepous, €iTa pixpa Kal yAiaxypa Koprlopevos
/ \ wn la
(aynXwKecav yap ot TreloToL THY AaPovTwr,
? f \ \ ray f wv
épynuepot Kat aatupixol ois Pios avOpwtrot)
A 7 n 3 ~
TOUS Tplauevous Tap avTwY 7) AaBovTas oTLODY
> f a
3. avefnte. Kal Tap éxewwv é&érpatte. Tod &é
/ e pT
TpayLaTos Opov OvK ExXOVTOS, GAAA TopPPH
, a #
VEMOMEVOU KAL TpolovTOs emt TOAAOUS, AUTOS [eV
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GALBA xv. 4-xvI. 3

that the postponement was merely a way of refusing their demands, and were incensed, and followed along with unremitted shouts. Some actually drew their swords, and then Galba ordered his horsemen to charge upon them. Not a man of them stood his ground, but some were done to death at once in the rout, and others as they fled, nor was it a happy and auspicious omen that Galba should enter the city through so much slaughter and so many dead bodies. But whereas many had before this despised him and looked upon him as a weak old man, now all regarded him with shuddering fear.

AVI. And now, in his desire to display a great change from Nero’s immoderate and extravagant manner of giving, he was thought to fall short of what was fitting. For example, after Canus had played on the flute for him at a banquet (now Canus was a performer of high repute), he was loud in his praises and ordered his purse to be brought to him; and taking from it a few gold pieces, he gave them to Canus, with the remark that the gift was made from his own, and not from the public moneys. Again, he ordered that the gifts which Nero had made to people of the theatre and palaestra should be demanded back again with strictness, all but the tenth part; and then, when he got only slight and grudving returns (for most of the recipients had squandered their largess, being men of a loose and improvident way of living), he had a search made for such as had bought or received anything whatsoever from them, and tried to exact it from these. The business had no limits, but was far extended and affected many; it gave the emperor himself a bad

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

, \ a ? 2
nooker, PUovov dé Kat picos elyey Ovivios, ws
a \ # uA > , 4
Tois pev adXOLS ATraciy avEeNevOEpoy TapEeyov
f ‘ \ ‘
TOV nYyEMOVa Kal pixpodoyov, avTos Sé Kpwpmevos
, \ 4
dag@tTws Kal NapBavov TavTa Kal TiTpdoKey.
e \ \ ¢ /
o pev yap ‘Hotodos
4
apyouévou te 7iov Kai AnyovTOS Kopéecacbat
a e A a \ /
dyai dey, o 6é Ovivos op@v acbevn Kat yépovta
\ = ed b) , a 2 ¢e LA \
tov adap éevertiptAaTO THS TUXNS, OS apa pe
apxopuévns, dua O€ POwovons.
a \
XVII. ‘O 6 mpecBirns ndtkeito TA pev
a fal A A \
mpata tod Ovwwiov caxws dio.KodvTos, & 5€ avTOS
A wn /
opO@s mponpeito Sta8ddAovTos 1) KwAVOVTOS:
olov Hv TO Tept Tas KOAdoES TOV Nepwriavear.
> s \ \ , ’ e 2 ce
ATEKTELVE YAP TOUS TrovNpoUS, ev ols HV Oo” AXtos
a 7
cat LlodvKdectos kat Ierivos nat IarpdoBtos.
€ \ a a a
o 6€ Ojos expoter, Kal be ayopds a’Ta@v ayo-
/ bd , \ \ % \ a 4
Hévwv €Boa kadnv pev elvat cat GeoptrAn rouTny,
> A \ N \ \ 9 4 x ,
atraitety 6€ Kai Peovs Kal avOpwrrous Tov bidacKa-
Nov Kat tratdaywyov THs Tupavvidos Tuyeddivor.
\ e a aA
épOaxer b€ 0 yewaios mpoerAndas appaBace
, \ cf = \ 4
beyaros tov Ovimov. eita Toupmidsavos péy,
e /
OTe pty tpoedidov pnde euicee Tov yyeuova
a) ” , ” \ Nig ceN UA
TOLOUTOY OVTA puLgovpEVOS, AAO SE wHdEe EV péya
cuvabixnaas, aTéBavev: o 5€ Kal Toijoas dktov

4 / n
Gavatou Népwva Kat yevopevov to.odtov éyKxa-
TaXIT@Y Kal Mpodov’s TepiAv, uéya Sidaypya
1 Works and Days, 366.
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GALBA xvI. 3-xvil. 3

name, and brought envy and hatred upon Vinius as having made the emperor ungenerous and sordid with everybody else, while he himself used money lavishly, taking everything that was offered and selling freely. For Hesiod! bids men to
* Drink without stint at the beginning and end ot the cask,”
and so Vinius, seeing that Galba was old and feeble, sated himself with the good fortune which he thought was just beginning and at the same time was soon to end.

XVII. But the aged emperor suffered injustice not only when Vinius, as at first, administered affairs badly, but also when he brought into odium or pre- vented wise measures set on foot by Galba him- self; as, for instance, in the matter of punishing the adherents of Nero. For Galba set out to kill the bad ones, among whom were Helius and Polycleitus and Petinus and Patrobius. And the people applauded the act, and shouted, as the culprits were dragged through the forum to their doom, that it was a goodly procession indeed, and acceptable tothe gods, but that gods and men alike demanded justice on the tutor and teacher of the tyrant, namely, Tigel- linus. That worthy minister, however, had won the protection of Vinius betimes, by means of large advances, Again, Turpilianus, who was hated merely because he would not betray nor show hatred to Nero in spite of all that emperor's crimes, but apart from this had participated in no one serious offence, was put to death; whereas the man who had made Nero worthy of death, and betrayed and forsook him when he had come to that pass, was left alive — a great

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Tov prdey ampaxtov eivas Tapa Ortuviw pndé dvérxmictov toils Sudovcw. ovdevos yap odtw Oedpatos épacbeis o “Pwpatwy Sijpos ws Tov Tiyedr{ivov idety amayopuevov, ovdé Tavodpevos éy waot Gedtpows Kal otadiors aitovpevos éxetvor, eremANYOn Staypaupate Tod avtoxpatopos Tt- yerdivov pev ov modvy ett BiwoecGat pacxov- Tos ypovov wd POiwados vooov Satavwpevor, éxelvous O€ Tapatoupévov pry Stayplaivery
5 unde TUpavviKny Tolely THY Hyenoviav. ayOo-

lo

pévou 6€ Tod Oijuov Katayed@vTes o pev Tuyer-
a , \
Alvos GOuce GwTNpLA Kal TapetKEevacE NAmTpAaY
/ \ \ a >
éatiaciy, o 6€ Ovivios dvactas Tapa Tov avTo-
Kpatopos peta Oeltvov exwpacey WS ExELvOr,
ayov tiv Ouyatépa yipav ovcav. Kal TpoUTLED
Lf a a /
o Tiyeddtvos avtn mévte Kal elxoot pupiadas
’ / \ a , \ 3
apyuplov, Kal T@Y TaddAaKidwy THY ayerap-
n La ,
yodoav €KéXEVGE TOV TEpLOépaLovy Koo pov adedo-
/
pcvynv éxelin mepiarar, mervtexaidexa puptadwv
eivat NEyouEvov.
rr 3 \ , ,
AVIIT. Ex 6€ tovtov Kat ta petpims mpat-
, \ s e \ \ \ c
Topeva S:aRodyy elyev, WS TA Tpds ToVs Taratas
Ovivdcne svvapapevous. édoKovv yap ov dtrav-
Cpwria Tod avtoxpatopos, GAA wvovpEvot Tapa
/ a
Ovuviov tuyyaverv avécews Te Sacuav Kal
, e \ ¢ \ ‘ “a N
ToNLTelas. Ol ev ovY TOAXNOL Oia TADTA pds
\ / \
THY HYELoViay aTnyOavovTo, TOYS O€ GTPATLWTAS
\ \ \ / “
THY OwpEedy p41) KoutComévous ev upyn pev éArris
wn \ a e
Tapiyev WS, EL KaL pf TOoTOUTOV, AAN écov
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GALBA xvil. 3-xvitI. 2

object-lesson to show that Vinius could do anything and fulfil any expectation for those who gave him enough. For there was no spectacle on which the Roman people had so set their hearts as that of Tigellinus dragged away to punishment, and in all the theatres and circuses they would not cease demanding him, until they were quelled by an edict of the emperor in which he declared that Tigellinus was wasting away with consumption and had not much longer to live, and advised them not to exasperate the government or force it to be tyrannical. Then, in mockery of the dissatisfied people, ‘Tigel- linus offered sacrifices for his preservation and prepared a splendid feast; and Vinius, rising from beside the

emperor, afterwards went to a drinking- bout in Tigellinus' house, leading his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus pledged her health with a gift of twenty-five myriads of money,! and ordered the governess of his concubines to take the necklace from her own neck and put it about hers. The necklace was said to be worth fifteen myriads. XVIII. After this, even the reasonable measures of the emperor fell under censure, as, for instance, his treatment of the Gauls who had conspired with Vindex. For they were thought to have obtained their remission of tribute and their civil rights, not through the kindness of the emperor, but by purchase from Vinius. Such were the reasons, then, why most of the people hated the government; but the soldiers, though they had not received their promised largess, were led on at first by the hope that Galba would give them, if not the whiole of it, at least as much as

1 See the note on Chap. ii. 2.

Népav EOWKED, dr o8@a ov70s. ere bé pempopevous
aKkovaas apie peovipy nryewoue peyaro Tpé-
movoay, eitr@v elwOevar KaTaheyery oTpaTlwTas,
OUK dryopatety, mubopévors ToOTO Oeevov eta Oe
picos Kal dyptov 7 pos avuTov. éd0oKker yap ovK
autos amoaTepety }Ov0S, GXG vopoberetv Kab
ds0doKew TOUS peel? auToVv aUTOKPaTopas.
"AAG TO pev ev 'Pon Tupnov 9} yy éTe Kiva,
Kat TIS aldas apa T™ pos. Tapovta TOV Daa Bav
apBrutnta Kal pedANoLY éveTroiel TH VEWTEPLT MM,
Kal TO pndepiay apxny enpavi} peTaBoniis, opa-
aba TUVETTENXAE Kat OuvexpuT Tey apes ryé TOS
Ty Ovgpmévetay auTo@v. ot O€ mpoTepoy wird
Ovepyiwviw yevopevot, TOTEe 8 dvtTes Vd PraKK@
mept Teppaviav, peyadhov pev aktodvtes avtous
Sua Thy paynv iy euayécavto mpos Oviverxa,
pn devos dé TuyydvovTes, amapnyopntoe Tos
dpXovat Hoav. avtTov be TOV DrdkKxov wo
OUVTOVOU moddypas advvatov dvTa TO Topare
Kal Tpayparoy aTretpov €vy ovoevt Aorye 70
TapaTay émovovvTo. Kat TOTE Oéas ovaons, Kat
TOV Xeded pyeov Kal oyayav TO 'Peopators ouvnbes
evTUYiay eTTEUXOMEVOV TO avToKpaTopt DarBa,
CveBopuSnaar ol Toot TO ™p@Tov, elTa Tas
evxais émiuevovtTwy €xeivov avtehovouv 'hi
a&tos."

XIX. Totaita éé € Erepa Kal TOV umo A eryehhivep
TaypaToV UBpilovtwy TONAGKLS, emt ETO ypap-

pata TO Parse Tapa TOV emLTpoTT@D: 0 6€
poBnbeis @S mu) povoy Sta TO yhpas, AXA Kal
1 +o wev Coraés and Bekker have ray piv, the correction of
Reiske.
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GALBA xvirt. 2—xIx. 1

Nerv had given. When, however, Galba heard that
they were complaining, he spoke out as became a
great emperor, and declared that it was his custom
to enroll soldiers, not to buy them; whereupon they
began to cherish a dire and savage hatred towards
him. For they thought that he was not only
defrauding them himself, but laying down the law
and giving instructions for succeeding emperors.
But the agitation at Rome was still smouldering,
and at the same time a certain respect for Galba's
presence blunted and delayed the spirit of revolu-
tion, and the absence of any manifest occasion for a
change repressed and kept under cover, somehow or
other, the resentment of the soldiers. But the
army which had formerly served under Verginius,
and was now serving under Flaccus in Germany,
thinking themselves deserving of great rewards on
account of the battle they had fonght against
Vindex, and getting nothing, could not be appeased
by their officers. Of Flaccus himself, who was
physically incapacitated by an acute gout, and in-
experienced in the conduct of affairs, they made no
account whatever. And once at a spectacle, when
the military tribunes and centurions, after the Roman
custom, invoked health and happiness upon the
emperor Galba, the mass of the soldiery raised a
storm of dissent at first, and then, when the officers
persisted in their invocation, cried out in response,
"If he deserves it."
XIX. The legions also that were under the
command of Tigellinus frequently behaved with
similar insolence, and letters on the subject were
sent to Galba by his agents. So the emperor, fear-
ing that it was not only his old age but also his
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Sia Tv aTadiay Katadpovovpevos, éBovreveTo
maida bécba TaY émepavav TWA VEAVLOKOY Kal
° draboNov dmodeifar Tis a PXTS: AW O€ Madpxos
"Odwy, avnp yever ev ov« apavns, Tpudh 5é Kat
dirnsoviats evO ds € EK TALC € év orLYyOLS Popaiov
Step Oappevos. os 6€ Tov ’AnreEardpor * ‘Opnpos
G ‘EXevns Tool UKOMOLO, unoev EXOVTG. ™ pos
Sofav addo TE MVULOV amo THS YUVALKOS, ovopater
TONAGKLS, OUTWS YyEeyovas TeptBonTtos év ‘Pwopn
dua Tov llomratas yapov, 5 pa yey O Népov
K promive cuvovens, ere 5 aldovpevos thy eauTov
yUvatKa. Kal Ty pjTEpa poBovpevos upijxe TOV
3 O8wva TELpovTa THY llowmacav. die dé TO
‘Oveove Kal oupBLoTh oud Ty dowTav EY P1TO,
Kal CKOTTOLEVOS UT AUTOU TOANGKIS ELS MLKPO-
Noylav weal dvedevOepiav Exatpe. AeyeTar b¢
Tove puppy TOV TorUTENOY Xploajevou TOU
Nésawvos cat tov Obwva KataBpegavros, EKELVOS
Tad 7H varepaig Se XO LEV05 QUTOV Gua TOdAa-
yoblev apyvupoos Kal Xpvaovs m™poBanetv ave
owas, MoTeEp bowp 70 pLupov EXXEOVTAS Kal
4 KavaKulovras. ara THY ye Llomwmatav 7 po jL0t-
xevras TO Népwvt, kat SsapGetpas Tats ets
éxeivow édmiow, mercer aToTTHVvat TOU avopos.
éAGovans d€ Tap’ AUTOV WS YamETsS OvK HyaTa
HETEX OD, ann’ HOXANNE eTaSiOovs, Ovde aUTIS
a tx Goperns, 6 os fact, TH CydoTunta TiS llowraias.
Sai yap amoxhetoat Tov Népova NEYETAL [1
TU POVvT OS TOU ‘OPavoes, ELTE THS ndovhs apatpovoa
TO Wrrjopioy, elite, WS hac éviol, Bapvvouern
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GALBA xix. 1-5

childlessness that brought him into contempt, planned to adopt some young man of illustrious tamily and appoint him his successor. Marcus Otho, now, was a man of good lineage, but from his very childhood corrupted by luxury and the pursuit of pleasure as few Romans were. And as Homer often calls Paris “the husband of fair-haired Helen,” giving him a dignity borrowed from his wife, since he had no other title to fame, so Otho was celebrated at Rome for his marriage with Poppaea. With Poppaea Nero was enamoured while she was the wife of Crispinus, but since he respected his own wife still and feared his mother, he put Otho up to soliciting her favours for him. For because of . Otho’s lavish prodigality Nero made an intimate friend of him, and was well pleased to be rallied by him often for parsimony and

meanness. Thus, we are told that Nero once anointed himself with a costly ointment and sprinkled a little of it upon Otho; whereupon Otho, entertaining the emperor in his turn on the following day, suddenly brought into play gold and silver pipes on all sides of the room, out of which the ointment gushed freely, like so much water. But as for Poppaea, Otho corrupted her with hopes of Nero's favour and seduced her first himself, and persuaded her to leave her husband. However, after she had come to live with him as his wife, he was not content to have only a share in her favours, and was loth to give Nero a share, while Poppaea herself, as we are told, was not displeased at the rivalry between them. For it is said that she would shut out Nero although Otho was not at home; whether it was that she sought to keep his pleasure in her from cloying, or whethcr, as some

x ¥. f a ' lal \ \ if

tov Katoapos yapov, épastn O€ pn hevyouvca
xpHabac dua TO prhaxodac ov. éxivduvevoev
ov 0 "Odwy am oBaveiy: Kat Taparoryov 7 ore
TH yuvatia, Kab ade pny atroxteivas 1a TOV
Hommacas yapov epeicato TOU "OBwvos.
XX. Levéwav dé etXev evvoUY" KAKELVOU TOV
Népwva reicavtos Kat TapawveravTos eLem eu pon
Avo.tavav oT paTryos ert tov '"Oxeavov. Kai
Taper Xev EAUTOV OVK axapw ovoe€e emax On Tots
UTNKOOLS, elows Pvyas: UToKOpta pa Kal TapaKa-
2AuEpA THY UpXHY aUT@ Cedopevny. aTroagTavTos
dé Parpa TpP@TOS AUTO * TposexXwpnoe TOV
YE MOVOD, Kal pépwv ¢ doov elev éy eKTOPATL Kal
Tparretacs dpryupov Kal xpucov EOWKE KazaKxorral
TOLOU LEV VOomIoMa, Kal TOV oLkeTa@V edwpijcaro
tous elOtapévous mept Startay nyepove empedas
vroupyelV. Kal Ta aha TIT OS ay avT@, Kab
OLOovs 7 meicav ovdevos NT TOV edoxer Tparywarov
EMT ELPOS evar Kai BadilovTt Tay odoy dmacap
ep' Typepas ToNAS TUVOXOUBLEVOS OueTéhece.
3ev 5€ 7H cuvodia Kal TH ouvndeta tov Oviviov
eEeeparevoer épiréa Kat Sapous, padiora d€
TOV TPWTELOV dprepevos avT@ TO YE per" éxeivov
dvvacbat &v éxetrov _€iXe BeBaios. TO O€ apv-
emihOova Tepeny', TpoiKa CULT Pat Tov mavra Tots
deomevos, Kal TAapeX@v EaUTOV eUT poo 1yyopov Kab
pirrdvpwrov aract. Trelota o€ Tois oTpaTIW-
TLKOLS oUVEAapBave Kal Tpotye moddouvs ed
' aire Coraés and Bekker, after Du Soul: airtds.

1 Cf. Tacitus, Annals, xiii. 45 f,

say, she recoiled from a marriage with the emperor, but was not averse to having him as a lover, out of mere wantonness. Otho, accordingly, came into peril of his life; and it was strange that although his own wife and sister were put to death by Nero on account of his marriage with Poppaea, Otho himself was spared.!

XX. But Otho had the good will of Seneca, by whose advice and persuasion Nero sent him out as governor of Lusitania to the shores of the western ocean. Here he made himself acceptable and pleasing to his subjects, although he knew that his office had been given him to disguise and mitigate his banishment. When Galba revolted, Otho was the first of the provincial governors to go over to him, and bringing all the gold and silver that he had in the shape of drinking-cups and tables, he gave it to him for conversion into coin, presenting him also with those of his servants who were qualified to give suitable service for the table of an emperor. In other ways he was trusted by Galba, and when put to the test was thought to be inferior to none as a man of affairs; and during the entire journey of the emperor he would travel in the same carriage with him for many days together. Moreover, amid the intimacies of the common journey he paid court to Vinius, both in person and by means of gifts, and, above all else, by yielding to him the first place, he got his aid in holding securely the place of influence next to him. But in avoiding envy he was superior to Vinius, for he gave his petitioners every aid with- out any reward, and showed himself easy of access and kindly to all men. But it was the soldiers whom he was most ready to help, and he advanced many of

Hyewovias, TA wey AlTOUpEVOS ATO TOD aUvTOKpA-

4 topos, Ta 5é Tov Ovdimoy Kat Tods amedevOépous nmapakahov “Ikedov cal “Acwatixov? obTor yap Hoa év Suvdmer pwadiota TaYV Tepl THY avrAND. ocak dé Tov TadBav etotia, thy tapadunat- Tovaav det omeipay édéxale Ypucovuy exdoTo Stavéuwv, ols Tusay avTov éddxet KaTAaTOALTEVO- wevos Kal Snuwaywy@v TO OTPATLWTLKOV.

XXI. 7A’ oby Bovrevopévov ye tov TarBa

wept Siaboyou Tov "OPwva tapeciyyev 6 Ovinios,
ovde ToOUTO Tpolka Tpdaowr, arr eri yao Tis
PuyaTtpos, oporoyias yevouéevns yapuety avi Tov
"OOwva waiéa tod VadBa cai diddoyov azrodet-
yOévta THs nyepovias. o 6€ TarBas dei pev tv
dros Wo TOV Ldlou TO KoLVOY TLOEwEevos Kal EnTav
ovy avT@ OécOar Tov Hdiotov, addrAa ‘Popaiols
2 Tov wdhedAyuwtatov. Soxed d€ pnd av éme Tots
Ldious Xpynuact movov éErXéa0ar Tov "OPwva KANpoO-
VOMOV, AKOAATTOY Eld@s Kal TOAUTENT Kal TeVTA-
KtoxXthiwy pupiddov odrnuact BeBatticpévov.
d0ev axovaas Tod Ovdiviov ciwTh Kal Tpaws
uTepeOeto tiv Oiabectv. atrodeiEas 8 avuTov
vTatov Kat cuvapyovta tov Ovimov éridokos ty
étous apy tov diddoxov avayopevcev: Kai TO
TTPATIWTLKOD NOEWS ELYE TOV "OOwva Tap ovTLVOvY
adXov avayopevO hvar.
XXIV. KatadtapBaver 8 adbtov te pédXovta

1 See the note on Chap. ii. 2.

them to places of command, sometimes asking the appointment from the emperor, and sometimes getting the support of Vinius, and of the freedmen Icelus and Asiaticus; for these were the most influential men at court. And as often as he entertained Galba, he would compliment the cohort. on duty for the day by giving each man a gold piece, thus showing honour to the emperor, as it was thought, while really scheming for the support and favour of the soldiery.

XXI. So, then, while Galba was deliberating upon a successor, Vinius suggested Otho. And yet not even this was done for nothing, but as a return for the marriage of his daughter. For it had been agreed that Otho should marry her when he had been adopted by Galba and declared his successor. But Galba always showed clearly that he placed the public good before his private interests, and in the present case that he aimed to adopt, not the man who was most agreeable to himself, but the one who would be most serviceable to the Romans. And it does not seem that he would have chosen Otho merely as the heir of his own private fortune,’since he knew that he was unrestrained and extravagant und immersed in debts amounting to five millions.! Wherefore, after listening to Vinius calmly and without a word, he postponed his decision. But he appointed himself and Vinius consuls for the follow- ing year, and it was expected that on their accession to office he would declare his successor. And the soldiery would have been glad that Otho, rather than anyone else, should be so declared.

XXII. But while the emperor was hesitating
and deliberating, he was overtaken by the dis-
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Kal Bourevopevor € exparyevTa. Ta Deppaved. Kow? yap admavTes ot oTpaTEevopevor tov |" dr Bay € éuioouv ovK aTrodloovTa T1)V Sw pedy, idtas 6€ éxetvot Tpo- paces | €7r OLOVYTO Ovepyivioy te Povdov a aTrepptfe- pévov aTLiuLws Kal Dararov TOUS TORUS AVTAS

avtois Swpeov TuyNxavovTas, doot dé ey Tpoa-
éBevTo Ovivdsee Koralouevors, @ @ OVW TOV ParBav
yap elOevar Kat Toma reOvncoTa Kal 'yepaipecy
dnpoaioss évaryio pois, os vt' exetvou "Pw patwv
dro deSeury wévov avToKpaTopa. TOLOUTWY davadav-
dov 707 Lovyov év TO oTpaTon ede Tepuepomeveov
émnrdev 1) voupnvia TOU TpwrTou MNV0s; Ny Ka-
Aavéas "Javovapias Kxadovat tot dé DrdKKov
ouvayayovtos avtous ért tov Spxov dv EBos éativ
Ouvuew vUTép TOV avTOKPaTOPOS, TAS meV ELKOVAS
tov TadBa mpocedOovtes dvétpeyav Kal Kat-
éoTacap, avutol 5€ OuocayTes UTép TUYKANTOVU Kal
Orjwou 'Popator dtervOnoav. eita Tois Hye LOVe-
Kois TapiaTaTo dedorkévau THY dvapxiav @s
dnoaTacw. ever € Tes ev avrois" 2 Te Tao XO-
ev, A) TvaTpAaTOTat, nT addor Tyyepova. TOLOU~
pevoe pyre Tov vov ovTa pudarrovtes, @OTEP OV
TarBav, adr ors apxovra KQL TO dpxeoOat
pevyovres ; PraxKov pev ovv Opdedvioy ovdev
adro i) oxtay ovta Larsa Kat elOwrov éatéor,
nmEépas 6¢ pias odov apeotnKer LOY Ovitedrx0s,
0 THS eTEpas Deppantas HYOUMEVOS, TAT pos TE
TLULNTOU Kal Tpis UTATOV yEvomevouU Kal Kravdio
Katcapt tpoToy twa avvapEavtos, avtos Te TV
1 See Chap. iv. 3

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GALBA xxu. 1-5

orders which broke out among the trvops in Germany. For the soldiers in all parts of the empire had a common hatred of Galba because he had not given them their usual largess, but those in Germany made special excuses for them- selves out of the fact that Verginius Rufus had been cast off in dishonour; that

the Gauls who had fought against them were getting rewards, while all those who had not joined Vindex were being punished; and that to Vindex alone Galba showed gratitude by honouring him when he was dead and giving him the distinction of public obsequies, on the ground that Vindex had proclaimed him emperor of the Romans.! Such arguments as these were already circulating openly in the camp, when the first day of the first month came, which the Romans call the Calends of January. On this day Flaccus assembled the soldiers that they might take the customary oath of allegiance to the emperor; but they overturned and pulled down all the statues of Galba which they could find, and after swearing allegiance to the senate and people of Rome, went to their quarters. Then their officers began to fear that their lawless spirit might issue in revolt, and one of them made this speech : “What is wrong with us, my fellow soldiers? We are neither supporting the present emperor nor setting up another. It is as though we were averse, not to Galba, but to all rule and obedience. Flaccus Hordeonius, indeed, who is nothing but a shadow and image of Galba, we must ignore, but there is Vitellius, who is only a day’s march distant from us, and commands the forces in the other Germany. His father was censor, thrice consul, and in a manner the colleague of Claudius Caesar, and

Aovdopoupevny um evioy meviay deiypa Nap poy
EXOD XPIsTOTHTOS Kat peyarog poovvns. pepe,
TOUTOV ERopevot detEw ev avO par ots meow WS
‘TBnpev kat Avowtavov apeivous éopev avto-
KpaTopa aipeto bat.”
Tatra TOV pev HON Wpogleperwv, TOV o ou
Tpoclewevov, els vTEeEEAO@Y onpatodopos amny-
yetre TO OviterAALw VUKTOS, EGTLOMEVWY TOAA@Y
Tap avtT@. Tod o€ AOyou SvaTecoVTOS els TA
OT PATEvLATA T POT OS DaPros Ovdanrns, Hyepwov
EVOS TAY MATOS, TH voTEpaia META (TT EW cUXVOY
éAdoas avToKpatopa TOV Ovirerdsoy T POO ELTED.
0 6 TAS [ev eum poo bev » npépas edoxet diwmbeicbar
Kal avadved Gat, TO peyeBos THS APXAS. do Bou-
HevOS, Tote 6€ hac olvov Ord AEwy KaL Tpopiys
6vTa peonpBpwhs 7 poehGeip Kal vTaKovcat
Pepparvexor 6 dvopa Cenéevwv avTe, TO dé Kaicapos
ov m poo defdpevov. evO0s Ge Kal 70 peta DrdKKoV
oT paTeEvLa, TOUS Kadous € €KELVOUS want LOnMOKPATLKOUS
eis oUry KANT OV épKous apertes @ {LOO AV Ovitedrin
T@ AUTOKpAaTopl Town ey TO T pod Taga opevor.
XXUT. Ottw pev avyyopevOn Oditérd105
avToKpaTwp év Deppavia. Trudopevos 6¢ TOV éxel
VEWTEPITLOV O TadPas OUKETL THD elo Troinow
aveBarrero. yevooKeov b€ TOY pirov | €vlous Mev
UT Ep AoroBérxXa, TOUS d€ TAELT TOUS UTEP “Od wvos

dapxatpeoialovtas, ov ovdéTepov édoxipaler avTos,
ave pundev TpoerT@v peTeTeU aro Hetcova,
Kpaoaov Kal 2KpiBovias Ext/ovoy, avs Nepov
UN PHKEL, veaviay év TH Tpos Taoay apeTiy
evdvia TO Kooplov Kal avoTnpov éudavectata
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GALBA xxl. 5-xx11. 2

Vitellius himself, in the poverty with which some
reproach him, affords a splendid proof of probity and
magnanimity. Come, let us choose him, and so show
the world that we know how to select an emperor
better than Iberians and Lusitanians."
While some of the soldiers were already for adopt- ing this proposal and others for rejecting it, one standard-bearer stole away and brought tidings of the matter by night to Vitellius, as he was entertain- ing many guests. The news spread swiftly to the troops, and first Fabius Valens, commander of a legion, rode up next day with a large body of horse- men and saluted Vitellius as emperor. Hitherto Vitellius had seemed to decline and avoid the office, fearing the magnitude of it; but on this day, as they say, being fortified with wine and a midday meal, he came out to the soldiers and accepted the title of Germanicus which they conferred upon him, though he rejected that of Caesar. And straightway the army with Flaccus also, casting aside those fine and democratic oaths of theirs to support the senate, took oath that they would obey the orders of Vitellius the emperor.

XXIII. Thus was Vitellius proclaimed emperor in Germany ; and when Galba learned of the revolution there he no longer deferred his act of adoption. Knowing that some of his friends favoured the selec- tion of Dolabella, and most of them that of Otho, neither of whom was approved by himself, he suddenly, and without any previous notice of his intention, sent for Piso (whose parents, Crassus and Scribonia, had been put to death by Nero), a young man in whose predisposition to every virtue the traits of gravity and decorum were most conspicuous ; then

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éyovta' Kali kaTéBaivev els TO oTPAaTOTECOY ExeEl-
vov amoseiEwv Kaicapa nai d:ddoyov. Kattor
peyarat pev evOds éFrovte Stoonpiar TapnKodov-
Gouv, apEapévou 5€ TA prev éyety Ev TH TTPATO-
Téd@, TA OE AvaylvoaKELV, TOTaUTUKLs EBpovTnaeE
Kal KatyoTpawe, Kal TocodTos buBpos Kai Sopos
éEeyu0n els TO oTpaToOTESov Kal THY TOALY, ws
KATAOSNAOY ELVAL J) TPOTLELEVOY LNdE ETTALVODY TO
Saipoviov yivopevnv ovK« er ayab@ Thy elotroin-
aw. hv O€ Kal TA TOY GTPATLWTaYV UTOVAG Kal

oxvOpwra punodé Tote Swpeas avtois do0eans.
Tod dé Ieicwvos ot mapovtes eOavpacav TH
TE PWV TEKMALPOMEVOL KAL TO TPOTHTW TO TNAL-
KAUTNVY Yaply avEeuTARKTWS, OV pHV avatcOnTas
dexopuevov, @oTEp av Tod "Obwvos émedaireto
ToAAa oONpEela TH mophyn TeKpa@s Kal atv apy7
TIS €ATriOOS THY aTroTevELY hépovTos, Is TWPOTOS
akiwbeis Kai TOU TUXElY eyyuTAaTw YyEvosEvOS TO
un TUYXElV ETroLELTO Gnpuetov ExOous aya Kal KaKo-
voias Tov T'arBa mpos avtov. dev ovbé ahoBos
Hv Tept TOU péAXOVTOS, GAXA Kal Tov Ileiowva
dedi@s Kat Tov TdrBav mpoBadrrX.opevos Kai TO
Odwio yaretaivor ane ToNNOY TAD OY TAINS.
ovde yap TO éATiCov exdALTELY OVE ATTayOpEedaaL
TAVTATAGLY ELWY OL TEPL AUTOV OvTES del MaVTELS
Kat Xaddaio, eis ta pddrwota bé [ItoXenatos
iayuptlopevos TH WpoeTEly TOANAKLS WS OVK
atroxtevet Népwr avtov, dAXa TOV EET AL TPOTEpOS,
avros d€ mepléotar kal apfer‘ Pwualwy (éxeivo yap
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GALBA xxim. 2-4

he went down to the camp to declare him Caesar
and heir to the throne. And yet as soon as he set
out, great signs from heaven accompanied him on his
way, and after he had begun to pronounce and read
his address to the soldiers, there were many peals
of thunder and flashes of lightning, and much dark-
ness and rain pervaded both the camp and the city,
so that it was plain that the act of adoption was
inauspicious and was not favoured or approved by the
heavenly powers. The soldiers also were secretly
disloyal and sullen, since not even then was their
largess given to them.

As for Piso, those who were present at the scene and observed his voice and countenance were amazed to see him receive so great a favour without great emotion, though not without appreciation ; whereas in the outward aspect of Otho there were many clear signs of the bitterness and anger with which he took the disappointment of his hopes. He had been the first to be thought worthy of the prize, and had come very near attaining it, and his not attain- ing it was regarded by him as a sign of ill-will and hatred on Galba’s part towards him. Wherefore he was not without apprehension for the future, and fearing Piso, blaming Galba, and angry with Vinius, he went away full of various passions. For the soothsayers and Chaldaeans who were always about him would not suffer him to abandon his hopes or give up altogether, particularly Ptolemaeus, who dwelt much upon his frequent prediction that Nero would not kill Otho, but would die first himself, and that Otho would survive him and be emperor of the Romans (for now that he could point to the first part of the prediction as true, he thought that Otho

arnbes atrodetEas nEiouv pnde TauTa anehmigew):
ovy Kora 8° ot ouvaydépevor Kpupa Kal oup-
eT La TEVOVTES ws axaplioTa memovOor1. TAELT TOL
dé TOV mept Tuyeddivov Kal Nupgidcov év TUL
ryeyovoT@y dTrEeppluprevor TOTE Kal TAaTrEva Tpat-
TOVTES épOeipovto mpos avTOV Kai GUPNYaAVvUaKTOUD
Kal Tapw€Evvov.
XXIV. ‘Ey be TOUTOLS Oderoupios: kal BapBtos,
O mev omtion, o 6€ Teao Epaplos” oUTm yap Ka-
AodVTaL OF Searyryehov Kat Siom Tn pov Umnperias
TedovrTes. pe?” ov "Odwvos amehevGepos Ovopa-
oTos émiporta@y TOUS pev apyupte, tous 6€ éArriot
drepOerpev on aabpous ¢ ovTas Kab Seopevous 7 po-
pucews. ov yap Ty nmepav Tecoapav epyov
bytaivovTos oTpaTtoTrédou peTactijoat TLE TU, Ocal
peraty THs ELOTOLNT EWS EYEvOVTO Kat THS opayys.
ExTN yap avnpeOnoay, Hy dryouat ‘Pwpatot po
SexaoKr@ Karavdav PeSpovapior.
Exetvn yap Ewfev evOus o pev Dar Bas eOuev
év adatio tap pirwov TapovT@y, o 6€ Guts
‘Op Bpixvos dpa TO Aa Belv els TAS Xetpas TOU
tepelou Ta amhdyxva Kat mpoatoely ov ov aivuy-
Lov, aXX’ AV TUK PUS éby onpera peyanrns Tapaxys,
Kal peta 6ddou Kivduvov ék Keparns emi KEL LEVOY
TO avToKpatopl, fovovovyt Tov "Odava Tov Oeov
xespl ANTTOV Tapac.OovTos. Tapiy yep oma Gev
tov TadBa, Kat T pooelyé Tols Neyouevors Kal
Cecxvupévors UTO ToD ’OpuBpixiov. OopuBovpéev@
* January 15th (a.p. xviii. Cal, Feb.), 68 a.p.

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should not despair of the second part). Above all,
Otho was encouraged by those who secretly shared
his resentment and chagrin on the ground that he
had been thanklessly treated. Moreover, most ot

the adherents of Tigellinus and Nymphidius, men who had once been in high honour, but were now cast aside and of no account, treacherously went over to Otho, shared his resentment, and spurred him on to action.

XXIV. Among these were Veturius and Barbius, the one an “optio,” the other a“ tesserarius ” (these are the Roman names for scout and messenger). In company with these Onomastus, a freedman of Otho’s, went round corrupting the soldiers, some with money, and others with fair promises. The soldiers were already disaffected and wanted only a pretext for treachery. For four days would not have sufficed to change the allegiance of a loyal army, and only so many days intervened between the act of adoption and the murder, since on the sixth day after the adoption (the Romans call it the eighteenth before the Calends of February 1), Galba and Piso were slain.

On that day, shortly after dawn, Galba was sacrificing in the Palatium in the presence of his friends; and as soon as Umbricius, the officiating priest, had taken the entrails of the victim in his hands and inspected them, he declared not ambiguously, but in so many words, that there were sigus of a great commotion, and that peril mixed with treachery hung over the emperor's head. Thus the god all but delivered Otho over to arrest. For Otho was standing behind Galba, and noted what was said and pointed out by Umbricius. But

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dé aUT@ Kal ypoas apetBovtt Tavtobamas UT
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déovs tapactas ‘Ovopactos amerevOepos Hee
» , x ,
EDN KAL TEPLLEVELY AUTO OLKOL TOUS GPYLTEKTOVAS.
a Nv A a
nv b€ cupBorov Katpod, pos ov be aTavTncat
ov o~ 6
tov ‘O8wva tots ctpati@tats. elt@y ovv, Tt
\ > / eed / \ ef

Taratav ewynpévos oikiay BovreTtar Ta UroTTa
- ~ “ A \ “
detEat Tots TwANTAIs, aTHAGE, Kal da THS TeBe-
t / Div nl \ > >
piov KaXovpevns otxias KataBas éBadadifev eis
“ e , €
ayopav, o0 Ypucois ElaTnKEL Kiwy, eis SY al
, ol , e al val
TeTunmevat THS ItadXias ob0l Tacat TeXNEUT@OLY.
b a ,
XXV. ’Evtatéa tovs mpwtous éxdeEapevous
\ ‘ , \
aUTOV Kab TpocetTOVvTas avToKpaTtopa dact py
, A ,
TELoUS TpLO@V Kal elKoot yeveoOat. 610, KatTEp
’ \ \ “~ - , f
OU KATA THY TOU TWLAaTOS paraKktiav Kat OnruUTHTA
~ A , b] \ > \ A N
Th Woy StateOpuppevos, ddAdXa iTapos WY TpOS
\ \ \ /
Ta Selva Kab atpeTrtos, atredetdiacev. of Sé
U 3 by ts \ ~ , “~
TAPOVTES OUK ElwY, adrAA TOIs Etheat yumvots
af A \ “A ’
MeptiovTes avTov TO hopetov éxéXevov aipecOat,
/ f v , \ LY
wapadbeyyopuévou TOAAGKLS ATOAWAEVAL KAL TOUS
, c \ 4
popetadhopous émitayuvovtos. é&nKovov yap éviot
¢ a \ \
Oavpalovtes parrov 4 tapattopevo. Sia THY
bf uf aA / \
ONLYOTNTA TMV aTroTETOAUNMEVwWY. HhEepomwevm Se
ef b “” “A \
oUTw Ov ayopas amnyTncav ETEpoL TOTODTOL, Kal
f \ “ ,
TAAL KATA TPES KaL TETTAPAS AAXOL TPOTETE-
= 4
Aaflov. eita cuvaveotpehov amavTes avakandov-
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pevot Katcapa cai yupva ta Eihbn wpoioxopevot.
“a \ aA
TOV O€ yikidpywv o THY duraKkivy exwv TOD
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extrAayels 6€ 1H ampocbdoKi7m Kai dhoBnbei
ey, f POCOOKIT® Kat 7] S
260
GALBA xxiv. 3-Xxv. 3

as he stood there in confusion and with a countenance changing to all sorts of colours through fear, Onomastus his freedman came up and told him that the builders were come and were waiting for him at his house. Now, this was a token that the time was at hand when Otho was to meet the soldiers. With the remark, then, that he had bought an old house and wished to show its defects to the vendors, he went away, and passing through what was called the house of Tiberius, went down into the forum, to where a gilded column stood, at which all the roads that intersect Italy terminate.

XXV. Here, as we are told, the soldiers who first welcomed him and saluted him as emperor were no more than twenty-three. Therefore, although he was not sunken in spirit to match the weakness and effeminacy of his body, but was bold and adventurous in presence of danger, he began to be afraid. The soldiers who were there, however, would not suffer him to desist, but surrounding his litter with their swords drawn, ordered it to be taken up, while Otho urged the bearers to hasten, saving to himself many times that he wasalost man. For he was overheard by some of the bystanders, and they were astonished rather than disturbed, owing to the small number of those who had ventured upon the deed. But as he was thus borne through the forum, he was met by as many more soldiers, and others again kept joining the party by threes and fours. ‘Then all crowded around the litter, saluting Otho as emperor and brandishing their drawn swords. At the camp, Martialis, the military tribune in charge of the watch at the time, who was not privy to the plot, as they say, but was confounded by their unexpected

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PLUTARCH Seriv ers

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3 , ¢ \ ? al ,
ayTémecev. Ol yap ayvoouvTes TA TpaTTOMEvA
Tots eldoae Kal cuvEerT@o éx TaparKeuhs EMLTTE-
plex opevor cal’ éva Kai dvo otopddes, Ud Sdéous
TO TpPOTOY, eita meta OeVvTes emnxorov na av.
Kis 6d¢ 70 Hardteov evdus ey ann yyErn TO

Parse TApoVvTos ETL TOU Gurou Kat TOV Lepov ev
Nepaly OVTWY, WOTE Kal TOUS Wavy ™ pos Ta
ToLaUTA ova meO as Kal ATEVOS eXovTAs EXT ANTTE-
gai Kat Cavpaterv To Oetov: dyXov 6é TavToéda-

Tov cuppeovTos e& uyopas, avT@ péev Ovivios Kal
Adkwv kal Tov aTedevOépwy Eviot yuuva Ta
Eibn T pola X opEvor Tapert ar, o 6€ L[leicwy
™ poe rO ery TOUS puratrovat THY avhay Sopudopors
eveTUYXAVE. tov © “IdAuptxod tTaypatos ev TH
Kaouperyy TacTaol Bupavia otparomedevovTos
ameotddyn Madpios Keédoos, avnp ayalos, mpo-
KaTAANWOMEVOS.
XXXVI. Bovrevopévou d€ Tod TarBa wpoerOeiv,
kat Oviviou péev ove é@vtos, Kédoov bé cai Aad-
KWVOS TAPOPLOVTWY Kal a bod porepov TOU Ovsviou
Kaban Topevor, Opods Ou Oe TOUS WS avnpn-
pévou tov "Odwvos év TO oTpAaToT ede" Kal pera
_ptK pov oO “lovudtos “Arricos TOV OUK on wov
EV TOLS Sopudopots OTPATEVOMEVOS YUBV@ TO Eides
T poo PpEpopevos: Kat Bowv aunpnxevat tov Kaica-
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Breas m pos autor, “ Tis oe, elmrev, “exédeuge ; ;
tov O€ avOpwmmov THY TiotTL eiTOVTOS Kal Tov
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GALBA xxv. 3-XXVI. 2

appearance and terrified, permitted them to enter. And after Otho was inside the camp, no one opposed him. For those who were ignorant of what was going on, scattered about as they were by ones and twos, were designedly enveloped by those who knew and were privy to the plot, and so gave in their adherence, at first through fear, and then under persuasion.

News of this was carried at once to Galba in the Palatium and the priest was still standing there with the entrails in his hands, so that even men who were altogether indifferent and sceptical about such matters were confounded and filled with wonder at the divine portent. And now a motley crowd came streaming ont from the forum; Vinius and Laco and some of the freedmen stood at Galba’s side brandishing their naked swords ; Piso went out and held conference with the guards on duty in the court; and Marius Celsus, a man of worth, was sent off to secure the allegiance of the Illyrian legion encamped in what was called the Vipsanian portico.

XXVI. And now, as Galba purposed to go forth, and Vinius would not permit it, while Celsus and Laco urged it and vehemently chided Vinius, a rumour spread insistently that Otho had been slain in the camp; and after a little, Julius Atticus, a soldier of distinction among the guards, was seen rushing up with his

sword drawn, and crying out that he had slain the enemy of Caesar; and forcing his way through the crowd about Galba, he showed him his sword all stained with blood. Then Galba fixed his eyes upon him and said, ‘‘Who gave thee thy orders?’’ Whereupon the man replied that it was his fidelity and the oath that he had sworn, at

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Spxov Ov wuoge, KaL TOD TANGOUS eTLBOwVTOS ws
a \ >] KS A /
ev, Kal KpoToUVTOS, éuBas eis TO Popetov exop-
“ le a nw wn ,
teto TO Te Aut Oicat Kat havivar Tots TortTals
, > s \ 3 N 3 /
Bovdopmevos. éuBarovtos 6€ ets THY ayopar,
va , r ee / ,
WOTED TPOTALa TLEVMATOS, aTHVTNTE Pnun Kpa-

a a) 4
Tey Tov "OGwva tod otpatevmatos. ola dé év
an > J, n
mAnOEL TOTOUTW, TOV pEev avacTpedev, TOY Oe
. a \ a A \ a
mpoiévat, TaV bé Oappeiv, Tov 6é€ amtaTety Bowr-
Twy, Kal TOU hopelov, Kabatrep ev KAVOwWML, devpo
Kukel OLahepomerov Kal TUKVOV aTrovEevOVTOS, épai-
nA e A e A \ n
VOVTO TPWTOY ines, EiTAa OTATAL OLA TIS Hav-
hov BacidtiKns m poo pepouevot, pad pwvn peya
Bodytes éxtrobwy iatacbat tov iotwTny. TaDVv
Bev ODV TOANHY Spomos av, OV huyn TKLOVvaLEVWY,
> \ ~ na
GX él Tas oTOaS Kal TA pEeTéwpa THS ayopas,
waomep Oéav xatadayBavovtwy. "AtirrAlov &é
f
Bepyediwvos ecxova LadBa rpocovdicartos, ap-
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dopetovy ws 6 ovK étvyov avdtov, mpoanyov
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emrimepomevors €Boa Kai duexedeveTo phetdeaOat Tov
> id 4 aA
AUTOKPATOpOS. ETELTA TUUTTAEKOMEVWY AUTO
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264
GALBA xxvi. 2-5

which the multitude cried out that he had done well, and gave him their applause. Then Galba got into his litter and was carried forth, wishing to sacrifice to Jupiter and show himself to the citizens. But when he was come into the forum, there met him, like a change of wind, a report that Otho was master of the army. Then, as might be expected in so great a crowd, some cried out to him to turn back, others to go forward ; some bade him to be of good courage, others urged him to be cautious ; and so, while his litter was swept hither and thither, as in a surging sea, and often threatened to capsize, there came into view, first horsemen, and then men-at- arms, charging through the basilica of Paulus, and with one voice loudly ordering all private citizens out of their way. The multitude, accordingly, took to their heels, not scattering in flight, but seeking the porticoes and eminences of the forum, as if to get a view of a spectacle. Hostilities began with the overthrow of a statue of Galba by Attilius Vergilio, and then the soldiers hurled javelins at the litter; and since they failed to strike it, they advanced upon it with their swords drawn. No one opposed them or tried to defend the emperor, except one man, and he was the only one, among all the thousands there on whom the sun looked down, who was worthy of the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Densus, a centurion, and though he had received no special favours from Galba, yet in defence of honour and the law he took his stand in front of the litter. And first, lifting up the switch with which centurions punish soldiers deserving of stripes, he cried out to the assailants and ordered them to spare the emperor. Then, as they came to

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

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‘oTagapEVOS TO Eidos NHUVATO TONUY Ypovor,
ews TU Beis Tas iyvuas Emece.

SO a ‘ov Se LadtBayv, daroxkrOévtos Tov
dhopeiou mept Tov Kouptiou Kaoupevov NaKKOY,
exkuhio Berta TeOwpaxta pevov € ETUTTOV em 16 papov-
TES. o 6€ THY opayny 7 pOTeLvas, “Apate,” elev,
‘Eb TOTO a) Speco ‘Popaiwv Gpervov €oTt.
TONGS pev ovv EXaBe TANYAaS els Te Ta oKehn
KL TOUS Bpaxtovas, ites page dé avon, OS OL
TELA TOL héyouer, Kapovptos TLS €K TOU mevTeKau-
SexaTou TUYHATOS. éviot 6€ Tepévtior, oi dé Aeka-
pLov iaTopovaty, ol o¢€ PaBrov DuaBovrov, ov Kat
pac aToKOWaVTa THV ceparny Kopivey TO

imatio ouvrafovra, da THY Werornta Suomepi-
Ant Tov ovoay' éTELTa TOY GUY avT@ KpuT Tey
ouK €wvtTwv, AX éxdavhn waot Tovey Tv av-
‘ tf
dpayaliav, Tepimreipavta ‘rept hoy Kat
avaTAavTa mpeo BuTou T porwmToy, apxYovros
U4 \ f
TE Koo plou Kal apylepews Kal vTaTov, Opop
NYowpev, Oo TED at Baxxat, TONAGKLS peTaatpepo-
_HEVOY, Kal Kpadatvov7a ai AOYNKY alwate KaTAp-
peomevny.

Tov 6 "O@wva, tis ceparis Kopic Beans, a ava-
Kparyely heyouaw” “ Ovdev €ott TODTO, @ ovoTpa-
TLOTAL, Ty Ileicwvos feo Kepanny SetEate.” eT
oniyov bé HKe KopeSopern: T poets yap epevyev
0 VEAVLTKOS, Kal KaTac.ox Geis v umo Moupxov Tivos
ane payn 7 pos TO Lep@ THS ‘Eotias. ama part-
TETO O€ eal Odiveos OLONOY OV KOWOVOS yeyorevat
Ths él tov LVarBav avvwpocias: éB8oa yap
avroOvnaKkev tapa tiv “OPwvos yuounv. dadrra
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GALBA xxvi. 5—XXVII. 4

close quarters with him, he drew his sword, and
fought them off a long time, until he fell with a
wound in the groin.
XXVII. The litter was upset at the place called Lacus Curtius, and there Galba tumbled out and lay in his

corselet, while the soldiers ran up and struck at him. But he merely presented his neck to their swords, saying: “Do your work, if this is better for the Roman people.” So, then, after receiving many wounds in his legs and arms, he was slain, as most writers state, by a certain Camurius, of the fifteenth legion. Some, however, ascribe his death to Teren- tius, others to Lecanius, and others still to Fabius Fabulus, who, they say, cut off Galba’s head and was carrying it wrapped in his cloak, since its baldness made it difficult to grasp; then, since his companions would not suffer him to hide his deed of valour, but insisted on his displaying it to all eyes, he impaled on his spear and thrust on high the head of an aged man, who had been a temperate ruler, a high priest, and a consul, and ran with it, like a bacchanal,! whirling about often, and brandishing the spear all dripping with blood.

But Otho, as they say, when the head was brought to him, cried out: “This is nothing, fellow-soldiers ; show me the head of Piso.” And after a little it was brought to him; for the young man had been wounded and tried to escape, and a certain Murcus ran him down and slew him at the temple of Vesta Vinius also was slain, and he admitted himself a party to the conspiracy against Galba by crying out that he was put to death contrary to the wishes of

1 So the Bacchanals with the head of Pentheus (Euripides, Bacchae, 1153 ff.). ;

yap Kal TOUTOU THY Keparny dTOTELOVTES Kal Aaxwvos ex oma ay ™ pos Tov “OPwva Swpeas ai- rouvtes. ws 6€ dnow Apxiroyos,

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émTa yap vexpov TecovTwy, ods éeuaprraper Tooty,
f gu A /
ViALoL Hovnes Eo MeV,
oUTwWS TOTe TOAAOL TOU hovov pH cuvedaya- pevol, xetpas Sé Kal Eign Kadaipaccovres émre- deixvuvto Kal Smpeas qTouy BuBria dsdovtTes TO “Obert. eixoot ‘your Kal éxaTov eipeOnaav UYotepov eK TOV YPappatiov, os oO OviTerdtos avalntnaas amavras GTEKTELVEV. KE b€ Kar Mdpuos Kédoos els thy mapenBordyv. Kat ToA- NOY av’TOD KaTNYyopovYTwWY OTL TOUS TTPATLOTAS émeBe TP ParBa Bonbeiv, Kal Tov mAnOous amoxtivvverv Bowvros, "OOwv od« éBovreTOo- po- Bovpevos dé ay Tiheyery Ov | oUTWS edn TAXES AT OKTEVEL avrov elvat yap a& Set ™ poTepov éxTru- OécOat mapa Tov avopos. éxédXevoev obv Sjoavtas

duAdttTev, Kal TapédwKe Tos waddLoTA TLOTEU-
OMEVOLS.
XXVIII. Evéus 6€ Bovrn ocuvexaretto. Kat
kadatep addrXot yeyovotes 7) Je@v AXNwV Yeryovo-
TOY cuverovres @HyvoV OpKov Umep TOU “Obwvos,
OV AUTOS omoaas OuUK eTnpyoe Kal Kaicapa Kal
LeBacrov a avnyopevov, ETL TOV vex pov axepddov
év tais vmatixais éobjow Epplupwev av emt TiS
ayopas. Tals 6e Kedarais ws ovdey elyov ért
XpiaGar, tHvy per Ovwviov 7H Ovyarpi diayiriwv

1 Bergk, Lyr. Gr. Frag. ii.“ p. 398.

Otho. However, they cut off his head, and Laco’s too, and brought them to Otho, of whom they demanded largess. And as Archilochus says? that, “Only seven lay dead on the ground, where we trod their bodies under foot. But we who slew are a thousand,”
so in this case, many who had no part in the murder smeared their hands and swords with blood and showed them to Otho, as they presented him with written petitions for largess. At any rate, a hundred and twenty were afterwards discovered by means of these petitions, all of whom were sought out and put to death by Vitellius. Marius Celsus also came into the camp. There many denounced him for trying to persuade the soldiers to defend Galba, and the majority clamoured for his death, but Otho did not wish it; however, since he was afraid to oppose them, he said he would not put Celsus to death so quickly, since there were matters about which he must first question him. He therefore ordered that he be fettered and kept under guard, and handed over to those in whom he put most trust.
XXVIII. A senate was at once convened. And as if they were now other men, or had other gods to swear by, they united in swearing an oath to support Otho—an oath which he himself had sworn in support of Galba, but had not kept. Moreover, they gave him the titles of Caesar and Augustus, while the dead bodies, all headless in their consular robes, were still strewn over the forum. And as for the heads, when they had no further use for them, that of Vinius they sold to his daughter for twenty-

Kai TEVTAKOT LOD épax per amébovTo, THV be
Iletamvos 7 yyy éExaBev Ovepavia benbcioa, Thy
6é Tara Tots Tat poBtov Sovhois eowpicarro.
ha Bovres dé éxelvot Kal TavTa TpoTrov alka d-
HEVOL KAL cab uBpicavtes Eppipav 7 TOUS UT Tov
Kavodpov Koalopevous Gavatovow: o 6€ TOTOS
Lec oapiov KanretTal. TO 6é Tapa TOU TarBa
Il pioKos "EA Btds0s5 QVELNETO, Tov "Odwvos émt-
tTpewavtos: aie 5é€ vuxtos 'Apyetos ameXev-
Gepos.
XXIX. Totatdra ra xata tov TddBav, avopa
pte yéver nte TAOUTM TOAN@Y aTroAEpbEevTa
'Pwpaiwv, opod € mAOUTM Kal yévEer TmpwTeE-
gavta Tavtwyv Tov Kal' avTov, TévTEe avToKpa-
TOpwy nyenoviats éuSiwmoavTa peta Tuyns Kal
d0€ns, wate TH S0En pwadrov TH duvaper Kaf-
erety Népwrva. tav yap! cuvemitiOepévwy Tote
TOUS pev ovdels HEiwoE THS Hryemovias, ot 6' éav-
tous amnkiwoav, TarBas 6€ nat KrnPeis Kat
UTaKOUO as avTOKPATWP Kat TH Ovivdzcos euTra-
pacXxev ovopeat TOAMM, Kirn pa Kal VEewTE pia Lov
avTov AEyoLevny THY amoatactw eTroine Toe pov
eu purion, dvb pos 7 nryE"oVviKoD TUyovcay. Obey ovY
cauT@ Ta Tpayphata Aap Bavew, arnra HaNXov
EQUTOV old pevos ddovae Tots mpaypacw, apyetv
nEiov TOV UTO Teyeddivou Kab Nouppsdiov TeTWOa-
FEVLEVOV WS Lanrvov PXE Kal DaPpixsos Kab
Kapirros tTav ToTE Pwpaiwv. UT EPELTFO{LEVOS 6¢
TO Y1P@, ax pe Tov Om hov Kab TOY TTpAaTEUpA-
TWY AaKpaTos hv Kat a4pyatos avtoxpatwp, Ovivio
1 Kader civ Népwva. tav yap Ker,A, Bekker, after Coraés :
KadeXav Népwva TOY K.T.A.

five hundred drachmas; that of Piso was given to
his wife Verania in answer to her prayers; and that
of Galba was bestowed upon the servants of Patrobius.
They took it, and after heaping all manner of insult

and outrage upon it, cast it into a place called Sessorium, where those under condemnation of the emperors are put to death. The body of Galba was taken up by Priscus Helvidius, with the permission of Otho; and it was buried at night by Argivus, a freedman.

XXIX. Such were the fortunes of Galba, a man surpassed by few Romans in lineage and wealth, and both in wealth and lineage the foremost of his time. During the reigns of five emperors he lived with honour and high repute, so that it was by his high repute, rather than by his military power, that he overthrew Nero. For of his partners in the task, some were by all men deemed unworthy of the imperial dignity, and others deemed themselves unworthy. But to Galba the imperial title was offered and by him it was accepted; and by simply lending his name to the bold measures of Vindex, he gave to his revolt (as his rebellious agitation was called) the character of a civil war, because it had acquired a man who was worthy to rule. Wherefore, in the belief that he was not seizing the conduct of affairs for himself, but rather giving himself for the conduct of affairs, he set out with the idea of commanding the petted creatures of Tigellinus and Nymphidius as Scipio and Fabricius and Camillus used to command the Romans of their time. But being gradually weighed down by his years, in arms and camps, indeed, he was an "imperator" of a severe and ancient type; but

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dé cat Aakwvt Kal tois ameXevOépots TavtTa Ta
~ , £ , La ,
Tpaypata TwAovVGL Tapeywy eauTov, olov Népwv
A a : , "~
Taperye TOS amAnoToTAaTOLS, ovdeva TrOOodYTA

\ ' , ' , \ 'i \ \

THY apxny, oixteLoavtas S€ TOUS TroAXOUS TOV

Odvatov amrénuTev.

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GALBA xxix. 4

just as Nero put himself in the hands of his most insatiate favourites, so Galba put himself in the hands of Vinius and Laco and their freedmen, and they made merchandise of everything, so that he left behind him no one who wished him still in power, but very many who were moved to pity at his death,
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OTHO

OGOQN

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I. ‘O &€ vewtepos avToKpaTwp ay nepa Tpo-
\ a , i, \ 4
erddwv eis to Kamit@dtov éOvae Kat KeXevoas
f / ’ a \ e N ’ ,
Maptov KéXcov axOhvat mpos avtov notacaTo
N , a
cat duedkéyOn piravOpoeTws, Kal wapexadece THs
al A a ,
aitias émridkabécOar wadrXov h THs abécews pyn-
las X , ° a
poveverv. Tov de KéXcov pnt ayevvas amroxpt-
, Uiseoe ’ , b) \ f > N
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@ Yap oveeniav aherev, nyag@noav ou TapovTes
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ALPOTEPWY Kal TO TTPATLWTLKOY EmnvEeteVv. EV OE
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amrodeberyevors UTO Népwvos 7 TddXBSa maou
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, ‘4 t a“
nAtKLav mponKkovTas 1) doEav éxoapunae. Tots be
\ , a a
emt Nepwvos duyova: xai cateOovaryr émi 'adrBa
Tal a’ 4 ,
OUYKANTLKOLS TATLY UTédwWKEV BOG [I TET pAapLEva
nw ‘4 e , id
TOV KTHMaTwMY EexdoTtouv! é£evpicKev. OOev ot
“a 5 / £
TPOTOL KAL KPATLOTOL TEPPLKOTES TPOTEPOY WS
1 éxadotov Coraés and Bekker, after Stephanus, for the
éxaotov of the MSS. : éxdorwr.
276

1067

OTHO!

I. Ar daybreak the new emperor went forth to the Capitol and sacrificed; then, having ordered Marius Celsus to be brought to him, he greeted that officer, conversed with him kindly, and urged him to forget the cause of his imprisonment rather than to remember his release. Celsus replied in a manner that was neither ignoble nor ungrateful, saying that the very charge made against him afforded proof of his character, for the charge was that he had been loyal to Galba, from whom he had received no special favours. Both speakers were admired by those who were present, and the soldiery gave their approval. In the senate Otho spoke at length in a kindly strain and like a popular leader. For part of the time during which he himself was to have been consul, he assigned the office to Verginius Rufus, and all those who had been designated as future consuls by Nero or Galba he confirmed in their appointment. To the priesthoods he promoted those who were preeminent in age or reputation. More- over, to all the men of senatorial rank who had been exiled under Nero and restored under Galba, he restored whatever portions of each man’s property he found to be unsold. Wherefore the citizens of highest birth and greatest influence, who before this

1 With Plutarch’s Otho may be compared Suetonius, Otho ; Dion Cassius, Ixiv. 10—15; Tacitus, Hist. i. 46—ii. 49.

SB |

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ovK avopos, adrXa Tivos 7) Llowwns) TWaXapvaiov
Saiuovos dpya roils mpdypacw émimeTt@xKétos,
nodlous éyévovto Tals édrriat Tpos THY ryEwoviay
wotep Stapeciacay.
II. ‘Ouod 6é ‘Pwpaious wavras ovdev etppaver
oUTWS Ode WKELWOATO TPOS AUTOV ws TA TrEpt
TiyerXivov. érednOer perv yap 70n Koralopevos
avTa TO POBw THs KoAaTEws HY ws ypéos ATHTEL
Snuoctov 7 TONS, Kal voonmacity avynKéoTots
TWLATOS, AUTAS TE TAS AvoTLoUS Kal appHToUs év
yuvarél mopvais Kal axadaptos éyxuruvdijoess,
als étt wpocéotratpe SvaPavatovvTos avtTov Td
aKkoNacTov émidpaTToMEevov, éoyaTnv Tipwpiav
érolovvTo Kal ToAAov avTakia Oavatov oi
cwhpovodvTes. nvia d€ TOUS TOAXOUS Suws TOP
NALOV OpwY jEeTa TOTOvVTOUS Kal ToLoUToUS bi
aUuTOY OVX opwrTas. émeu er ovv én avTOoV 6
"OOwy eis Tovs Tepl Luvdeccav dypovs: éxel yap
Sintato, TAOiwY TapoppLovYTaY, ws hevEopmevos
uT@OTEpwW. Kal TOY ye TEuhOevTA ypUTiw TOAN®
mevOerv éemreveipnoe tmapetvar un rewcGévtr Se
dopa wey EOwKev ovdev HTTOV, GenOn Sé Vrropetvar
éws dv atotupntat To yévetov’ Kal NaBwv avTos
éauToy éhatpoTrounaev.
III. Odtw 6€ 76 Syuw thy Stxatotadtny 7Soviyy
avodous 0 Katcap, avros idias éyOpas ovdevi
TOTapaTaV EuvnoltKaKknoe, Tos O€ TOANOIS Yapt-
Couevos ovK Epevye TO TpaTov év Tols OedTpors
Népwy tpocayopeverOar xai tier eixdvas Né-
278

OTMO 1,301. 7

had felt a shuddering fear that it was not a man, but
some genius of retribution or avenging spirit, that
had suddenly fallen upon the state, became more
cheerful in their hopes for a government which wore
a face so smiling.
II. But nothing so gladdened all Romans alike, and won their allegiance to the new emperor so much, as his treatment of Tigellinus. Men were not aware that Tigellinus was already punished by his very fear of that punishment which the city was demanding as a debt due to the public, and also by incurable bodily diseases ; and besides, there were those unhallowed and unspeakable grovellings of his among the vilest harlots, for which his lustful nature still panted, clutching after them as his life painfully ebbed away; these were looked upon by reasonable men as extremest punishment and an equivalent of many deaths.

Nevertheless it vexed the common people that he should see the light of day after so many good men had been robbed of that light by him, Accordingly, Otho sent a messenger to fetch him from his country estate at Sinuessa ; for he was staying there, where vessels lay at anchor, that he might fly to more distant parts. He tried to bribe the messenger with a large sum of money to let him go, but failing in this, he made him gifts neverthe- less, and begged him to wait till he had shaved; and taking the razor he cut his own throat.

III. And now that the emperor had given the people this most righteous gratification, he did not remember his own private grievances against any man soever, and in his desire to please the multitude did not refuse at first to be hailed in the theatres by the name of Nero, and when statues of Nero

pwvos €bS ToUpPaves mpobepevov OUK éxwAUCE.
KnrovBtos dé‘ Povdos ets "[Bnpiav gnat Kouta Onvat
OLTA@pLATA, ols éxméutovat TOUS ypauLpatn-
popovs, TO TOU Népwvos Petrov évopa, T poarye-
YPappevov EXOvTA | T@ TOV’ OBwvos. ov pny andra
TOUS WpwToOUVs Kal KpatiaTous aicOopmevos én
TOUT® dvaxepaivortas € émavoaro.
Towadtny dé THs HYEMOViAS KATAGTAGLY AUT@
LapBavovons, OL pea Gopopor Xarerrous mapeixov
EaUTOUS, ama rety TApaKehEvouevoe Kal oud at-
TeaQat Kal KoNovElv Tors aELorOYoUS, elt AANOOS
hoBovpevor dt: evvoray, elite Tpopaces Ypwpmevot
TAVTH TOD Taparrew Kal ToAEwomTrotely. K pio ti-
vov Sé TEUWAVTOS auTou THY em TAKALOEKAT HY
otretpay ‘Qaotias andafovra, KAKELVOU VUKTOS ETL
aovaKxevalopévov Kai Ta baa Tails apakats érete-
Devos, ot Opacutatos mavTes €Bowv ovdev byees
TOV Kpvorivoy 7 ipeew dsavoovpevor, aN hig oy-
KAnTove emexerpelv mpaypact vewTépots, Kal Ta OTA
kata Kaicapos, ov Kaicapt wapaxopilverbar. Tov
dé NOyou TOAAGY ATTOLEVOU Kal TapoEVVOYTOS, Ot
[ev emehapBavovto TOV apator, ot dé Tovs év-
oTapEvous EKATOVTUPXAS dvo Kal Tov Kpeorrivoy
avTov aTréxTetvay, TavTes b€ StacKEevacdpevot Kal
Tapakanréoavtes dAAnAOUs Kaicape BonOetv nrav-
vov eis thy ‘Pwpnv: Kal tvdomevot Tap avT@
Sertrvety GydonKovTa avyYKANTLKOUS, epEpovTO pds
Ta Bacirea, viv keaepov elvat NeyouTes év TAUT@
mdvras avedetv TOUS Kaicapos movepiovs. 7 bev
obv Tos ws avtixa Staptaynoopevn OopuBov

were produced in public, he did not prevent it. Moreover, Cluvius Rufus tells us that “ diplomas,” ! such as couriers are provided with, were sent to Spain, in which the cognomen of Nero was added to the name of Otho. However, perceiving that the men of highest birth and greatest influence were displeased at this, Otho gave up the practice.

But while he was placing his government on this basis, the paid soldiers began to make themselves troublesome by urging him not to trust the influential citizens, but to be on his guard against them and restrict their power. It is uncertain whether their goodwill led them to be really apprehensive for him, or whether they used this pretext for raising dis- turbance and war. And so, when the emperor sent Crispinus to bring back the seventeenth legion from Ostia, and while that officer was still getting the baggage together at night and loading the arms upon the waggons, the boldest of the soldiers all began to cry out that Crispinus was come on no good errand, and that the senate was attempting to bring about a revolution, and that the transportation of the arms was an act of hostility, not of service, to the emperor. The notion prevailed with great numbers and exasperated them; some attacked the waggons, others killed two centurions who opposed them, as well as Crispinus himself; and then the whole body, putting themselves in array and exhort- ing one another to go to the help of the emperor, marched to Rome. Here, learning that eighty senators were at supper with Otho, they rushed to the palace, declaring that now was a good time to take off all the emperor’s enemies at one stroke. Accordingly, the city was in great commotion,

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\ id > 4
cai Tov Obwva Serv catedapPavev arropia. do-
7 A ¢ ‘ ~ b>] “ b] \ = \
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N / e 7 A
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’ Lal /
Ovreciv avavdouvs Kai Teptdecls, Evious Kal peTa
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coOat Kal wpaivew Kerevoas, dua 6€ TOUS KEKAY-
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tov ptcOodopav wOovpéver els TOY avdpava Kat
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muvGavomévwy Te yeyovaci ot Kaicapos mone-
t N @ > 4 ’ \ aA , N
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i? \ 6 Q \ \ de } ,
Tapnyopnaas Kai denels Kai undé Saxpvworv de-
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TUPEVOS MONLS amemeupen avTous 7H © voTEpata
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Swpnodpevos &tavtas Kat avdpa xtAtats Kai dsa-
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f \ \ \ el ,
aoTpatoTwesov, Kal TO pev TWAHOos érnvecev, ws
‘ \ \ Ul /
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’ b] 2 ’ “A / ¢ Cal /
ovK ew ayad@ dyoas Uroixoupeiv, duaBddrovTas
QUTOU TI)V METPLOTNTA Kab THY éxEivVOY EvoTA-
/ A
Gevav, nov cuvayavakteiv Kat auyKordbev.
ETAaLWOUVTM@Y b€ TavTwY Kal KeNEeVOYTWDY, bVO [LO-
vous maparkaBewv, ols ovdeis Ewerrev aybecbas
lal 3 4
Kov\ag beta, amndr\rXayn.
IV. Tatta ot peéev ayan@vrTes 76n Kab Te-
, 3 4 XN f e + Pe |
aoTevovtes COavualoyv Thy petaBorrv, ot & avay-
KAta TWONTEVUATA TPOS TOV Katpov NyouvTo,
282
1068,

OTHO 1. 5-1v. 1

expecting to be plundered at once; in the palace there were runnings to and fro; and a dire per- plexity fell upon Otho. For while he had fears about the safety of his guests, he himself was an object of fear to them, and he saw that they kept their eyes fixed upon him in speechless terror, some of them having even brought their wives with them to the supper. But he sent the prefects of the guard with orders to explain matters to the soldiers and appease them, while at the same time he dismissed his guests by another door; and they barely succeeded in making their escape as the soldiers, forcing their way through the guards into the great hall, asked what was become of the enemies of Caesar. In this crisis, then, Otho stood up on his couch, and after many exhortations, and entreaties, and not without plentiful tears, at last succeeded in

sending them away; but on the follow- ing day, after making a gift of twelve hundred and fifty drachmas to every man, he went into the camp. There he commended the great body of the soldiers for their goodwill and zeal in his service, but said that there were a few of them who were intriguing to no good purpose, thereby bringing his moderation and their fidelity into disrepute, and he demanded that they share his resentment against these and assist him in punishing them. All his hearers approving of this and bidding him to do as he wished, he took two men only, at whose punishment no one was likely to be distressed, and went away. IV. Those who were already fond of Otho and put confidence in him admired this change in his behaviour, but others thought it a policy forced upon him by the situation, wherein he courted popular

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Snuaywyoodvtos avtov Sia Tov TOAEHOV. dy yap
nyryéedreTo BeBatws OvitérXos aktwpua Kai dvva-
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pty avtToxpaTopos avetknpws' Kal mrTepopopot
cuvexas ehoitwy ael TL TeOTXwpEtV Exelvo Hpa-
\
Covtes, Erepot 6€1 ta Tlavvovna nat ta Aadua-
Tika Kal Ta Tept Muciay orpatevpata dnrobvtes
Cc a \ a e , 4 \ \
2 nphoba. peta Tov nyeuovav "Ofwva. tayv 6é
\ a
abixeto kat Tapa Movxiavod ypaupata Kai Tapa
Oveotrectavod piria, Tod ev év Xupia, Tod bé év
"lovéaia weyaras duvadpues éyovtav. td wv érrat-
a peydras Suvdpets éxdvTmv.
, lg bo / as
popevos éyparper OdvitedrAim Tapalwav oTpaTio-
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TUKA PPOVELY, WS VpnpaTa TOAAA SWGOVTOS avTOU
\ , bd 2 , ean G4
Kal Todw, év 4 Blwcetar paotov Kal Hototoy
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peO.Copevor TOANA BrYAcdynpua Kal dcenyh) yrEvC-
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dé Kai yedoiws Oatépov tov Erepov & mpoahy
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appoTéepols oveidn AoLvdopodyTos. agwTias yap

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Kat parakias Kal ametpias TroAkguwv Kal Tav
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mpooOev emi Evia KpEewv TANnOoUS Epyov Ty et TreElv
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4 Lnyeiwov b€ xal davtacuatwy ToAAwY eyo-
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HEVOV, TA [eV AKA Hyas adeaTOTOVS Kal apdi-
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Borous eiver, év 5€ Katritwrio Nixns épertoons
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a“ ed a
YVELPOV, WoTEP KpaTety un SuvaLEevNsS, Kal TOV év
pecotroTauia vitwm Vaiov Kaicapos avéptavta
284
OTHO iv. 1-4

favour because of the war. For already there were sure tidings that Vitellius had assumed the dignity and power of emperor; and swift couriers were continually coming with accounts of ever new accessions to him, although others made it clear that the armies in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, with their leaders, adhered to Otho. And quickly there came also friendly letters from Mucianus and Vespasian, who were at the head of large forces, the one in Syria, the other in Judaea. Otho was elated by these, and wrote to Vitellius advising him not to have more than a soldier’s ambitions, in which case he should be rewarded with a large sum of money, and a city, where he could live in the utmost ease and pleasure and be undisturbed. Vitellius also wrote to Otho in reply, at first in a somewhat dissembling manner; but afterwards both got excited and wrote one another abusive letters filled with shameful insults; not that either brought false charges, but it was foolish and ridiculous for one to storm the other with reproaches applicable to both. For as regards prodigality, effeminacy, inexperience in war, and multiplicity of debts incurred in a previous state of poverty, it were hard to say which of them had the advantage.

There were many reports of signs and apparitions, most of which were of uncertain and dubious origin ; but everybody saw that a Victory standing in a chariot on the Capitol had dropped the reins from her hands, as if she had not power to hold them, and that the statue of Caius Caesar on the island in

1 8% supplied by Sint.?, after Schaefer; Bekker assumes a lacuna before évepau.
285

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

pajre GET [LOU r/eyoveTos fajre TVEUMATOS ap éa-
Tépas peraoTpadevta T pos Tas avatonras)) pace

ovpShvar Tept TAS Nmepas exelvas ev als ot mept
Oveomeotavov eupavars 76n TOV TPayWaTwv avre-
NapPavorTo. Kal TO mepl TOV OvpSpw d€ TUp-
TT Co fLcL onpetov em ovodvTo Ot TOXol poxOnpov.
Ty pev yap apa Tepl Hv padiora ot ToTa pol TN-
Povo, arr ovTw ToaodT0s npOn mpotepov, ovde
aTWNETE TOTAUTA Kal | SuepGerpev, viepyulels Kal
kaTaxdvoas TONY He pos THS TrONEwS, meta Tov
dé év @ TOV emt T pacet SsaT@Novat cirov, @S
Sewvny aTroptav pepo TUXVOV KaTao xetv.
V. "Emel 688 Tas "A Marees KATEVOVTES 7)
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oT paTnyouvTes, ev “Pon AoroBernas, EVTATpt-
ons avnp, browiay mapelXe Tots pia Dod opors
ve@repa ppovety. EXELVOV LEV OUD, ELTE AUTOV ETE
(iNXOV O€60LKWS, Eis TOALY AKUVLOY Taper eure Ta-
pabappuvas. KaTareyov d€ TOV ev TEéNEL ouverdn-
jeous éTakev € ev Toutows Kal Aevxtov TOV Ovireddiou
adehpov, oure Tm poa Geis oudey ouUTE ader@v nS
ele TEMS. ioxupas dé Kal THS pT pos ere pe-
ARON Tod Oviterriov cal THs YUvALKos, 6T ws
ponder poBnoovrat TepL avtav. THS dé “Pwomns
puraka Praowwov daBivov, aden gov Over recta
vou, KaTéo TNGED, ere Kal TOUTO mpatas emt TULH
Népwvos (Tap éxeivou yap eth pet THY apynv
O 2aBivos, apetreto 6€ Taras avtov), ele panr-
Aov evvotay évedcixvuto Ovectreciav@ nal wiotiv
avewy 2aSivov.
Autos wey ovv év BorkiNXN@, trodes THs ItaXias
286

OTHO iv. 4-v. is

the Tiber, without the occurrence of earthquake or wind, had turned from west to east, which is said to have happened during the time when Vespasian was at last openly trying to seize the supreme power. The behaviour of the Tiber, too, was regarded by most people as a baleful sign. It was a time, to be sure, when rivers are at their fullest, but the Tiber had never before risen so high, nor caused so great ruin and destruction. It overflowed its banks and submerged a great part of the city, and especially the grain-market, so that dire scarcity of food prevailed for many days together.

V. And now, when word was brought to Rome that Caecina and Valens, who were in command with Vitellius, were in possession of the Alps, Dola-bella, a man of noble family, was suspected by the praetorian soldiers of revolutionary designs. Otho

therefore sent him away (through fear of him or of someone else) to the town of Aquinum, with words of encouragement. And in his selection of the men in authority who were to accompany him on his expedition he included also Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, without either increasing or diminishing his honours. He also took strong measures for the safety of the wife and mother of Vitellius, that they might have no fear for themselves. Moreover, he appointed Flavius Sabinus, a brother of Vespasian, prefect of the city, either because in this way also he could honour the memory of Nero (for Nero had bestowed the office upon Sabinus, but Galba had deprived him of it), or rather because, by advancing Sabinus, he could show how he favoured and trusted Vespasian.

Well, then, Otho himself tarried behind at Brixil-

or

mept tov "Hosdavov ameheipOn), o7parnyous 6é TOV Suvdpeor eféreprpe Mapzév te Kédocov xa Younrawviov UavaAtvoy érs te Vardov kal Sroupt-vay, avopas évdo£fous, xpncacbac dé py Suunbevtas emi TOV T pary par ov @S TponpovvTo Tols €av-TOV oye pots be dragiav Kal Opacutnta TOY OT PATLO TOD. ov yap n&louv é éTépeov axovel, @S Tap' avTav Tod avTox paTopos TO dipxew EXOVTOS. mW pey ovv ovbe TA TOV Tonepiey bryvatvovra, TavTdTacw ovde xetponn Tots YE WOOLY, ann CHT AIKT A Kal coBapa bua THY aT IY aitiav. ov pay arr enewoss eptrerpia rye Taphy TOU paxeo bar Kal TO Kapeverv * €Oabes ovtes OUK epevyoy, oUTOL dé paraxol pev hoav bro cords Kal diairns aTrOhEemov, TAELa TOV YpoVvoy év OedTpots Kal TaVN-yupeot Kal Tapa oxnyny BeBiwxKores, UBpe. Sé Kal KouT@ errapréxe éBovrNovTO, TpoTTrOLnCa-afat Tas NerToupyias ws KpeiTTOVes aTrakiodrTes, ovyY ws advvaTot Pépev. 066é Xaroupivas TpodBta-Fopevos. avTous exOuvevoe pxpov éd\Oovtas ay-eXety avtov. vBpews bé xal Pracdnpias OVOEMLAS

epeloarto, mpoooryy Kal Aupedva TOY Kaicapos
KalpOVv Kal Tpaypatwv AéyovTtes. Evior 5€ Kal
peOvabevres 70 vUKTOS ip Bor én Tay cKNVHY
epbodrov aitobyTes: elvan yap avrots mpos Kaicapa
Badtoréop, ¢ OT WS exeivou KATIYOPTOTLW.
Va. ‘Ovyce 6é€ Ta mpaypara Kal Lmoupivay ép
T@ TAPAUTLKA Aowdopia mept LXaxevtiav ryevopmevn)
TOV TTPATLWTOV. OL yep OvitedALov TOLS TeLyeot
mpoaBarrovtes éyrevatov tors "OOwvos Extras
1 +b xduvery Bekker, after Coraés: rod cduverv.

288

1069

OTHO v. 3-v1. 1

lum, a town of Italy on the river Po, but sent his forces on under the command of Marius Celsus and Suetonius Paulinus, besides Gallus and Spurina. These were men of distinction, but were unable to conduct the campaign according to their own plans and wishes, owing to the disorderly and arrogant spirit of their soldiers. For these would not deign to obey other officers, since, as they said, they had made the emperor their commander. It is true that the enemy’s troops also were not altogether in condition, nor under the control ot their officers, but fierce and haughty, and for the same reason. Nevertheless, they were certainly experienced in fighting, and being accustomed to hard labour, they did not shun it; whereas Otho’s men were soft, owing to their lack of employment and their unwarlike mode of life, having spent most of their time at spectacles and festivals and plays, and they wished to cloak their weakness with insolence and boasting, disdaining to perform the services laid upon them because they were above the work, not because they were unable to do it. When Spurina tried to force them into obedience, he came near being killed by them. They spared him no abuse nor insolence, declaring that he was betraying and ruining the opportunities and the cause of Caesar. Nay, some of them who were drunk came at night to his tent and demanded

money for a journey, for they must go, they said, to
Caesar, in order to denounce their commander,
VI. But Spurina and the emperor’s cause were
helped for the time by the abuse which his soldiers
received at Placentia. For when the troops of
Vitellius assaulted the walls, they railed at the
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PLUTARCE Seely ics

At > fi 4 \ \
mapa Tas ewudrkels, TKNVIKOUS KAL Tuppixia Tas
\ , Ar a3 , Q@ iA \
cat WvOiwy cal ’OdXvptriwy Gewpovs, TorNEuou Oe
> lal
Kal oTpateias aTELpoUs Kai aeadTOUS ATTOKAaNODY-
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Sovta THv viKnv éavtovd yevécOar tpl éxeivor
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OTHO vr. 1-5

soldiers of Otho who manned the ramparts, calling them actors, dancers, spectators at Pythian and Olympian games, men who had never known or seen a campaign or fighting, and thought highly of themselves because they had cut off the head of a defenceless old man (meaning Galba), but would not openly enter a conflict and battle of men. Otho’s soldiers were so disturbed by these reproaches, and so inflamed, that they threw themselves at the feet of Spurina, begging him to use them and command them, and pleading excuse from no danger or toil. And so, when a fierce assault was made upon the walls and many siege-engines were brought to bear upon them, Spurina’s men prevailed, repulsed their opponents with great slaughter, and held safe a city which was famous and more flourishing than any in Italy.

In other ways, too, the generals of Vitellius were more vexatious than those of Otho in their dealings with both cities and private persons. One of them, Caecina, had neither the speech nor the outward appearance ofa Roman citizen, but was offensive and strange, a man of huge stature, who wore Gaulish trousers and long sleeves, and conversed by signs even with Roman officials. His wife, too, accompanied him, with an escort of picked horsemen; she rode a horse, and was conspicuously adorned. Fabius Valens, the other general, was so rapacious that neither what he plundered from the enemy nor what he stole or received as gifts from the allies could satisfy him. Indeed, it was thought that this rapacity of his had delayed his march, so that he was too late for the battle at Placentia. But some blame Caecina, who, they say, was eager to win the

ee, ddrous Te Hux poTepous Te pTreo ety apapty-
pact Kat waxny ov KATA KaLpov ovde YEvvaiws
cuvayrat, pLKpov qTavTa Ta tTpaypata Ssapbei-
pacav avtots.
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médov. Kal doxodow av émedOovtes év Kaip@ pa-
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oXOAH TpoaBonOnaas aitiav éayev ease
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TOAAOL TOV OTPATLWTAY Kal mpodoatav évexa-
Nouv avT@, Kal tapwEvvoy tov "Odwva, peyadn-
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victory himself before Valens came, and so not only made other minor mistakes, but also joined battle inopportunely and without much spirit, thereby almost ruining their whole enterprise.

VII. For when Caecina, repulsed from Placentia, had set out to attack Cremona, another large and prosperous city, first Annius Gallus, who was coming to the help of Spurina at Placentia, hearing upon the march that Placentia was safe, but that Cremona was in peril, changed his course and led his army to Cremona, where he encamped near the enemy; then his colleagues! came one by one to his aid. Caecina now placed a large body of men-at-arms in ambush where the ground was rough and woody, and then ordered his horsemen to ride towards the enemy, and if they were attacked, to withdraw little by little and retreat, until they had in this way drawn their pursuers into the ambush. But deserters brought word of all this to Celsus, who rode out with good horsemen to meet the enemy, followed up his pursuit with caution, surrounded the men in ambush, and threw them into confusion. Then he summoned his men-at-arms from the camp. And apparently, if these had come up in time to the support of the cavalry, not a man of the enemy would have been left alive, but the whole army with Caecina would have been crushed and slain. As it was, however, Paulinus came to their aid too slowly and too late, and incurred the charge of sullying his reputation as a commander through excessive caution. But most of the soldiers actually accused him of treachery, and tried to incense Otho against him,

1 Celsus, Paulinus, and Spurina (v. 3), although Spurina is not mentioned further.

‘yopouvres @S VEVLKNKOTOV AUTO, Ths Se viKns
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0 6é’ Odwy ouNx oUTM@S emia TEVEV avTois w@s éBov-
AeTO pe) Soxety ama Tely. evreprbev ouv Tereavov
emt 7a, oTpaTevpata TOV adedpov Kab II poxdov
TOV émapxov, os elev Epy? THY 7 Gio av PX
T porxXnpa 6€ FV O Tittavés. of 83 mept Tov Kéd-
cov Kab IlavAtvov arArXWS epetAxovTo ovp.Povrov
dvopa Kal piron, eLovotay Kal Ouvapuv év Tots
Tpay pac pen depiay eXovTEs. my O€ GopuBadn
Kal TA Tapa Tots TOE HLLOLS, padiora d€ Tots uTo
TO Ovdarevre xat THIS Tept THY evédpav paxns
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pon oe Twuvav avepav TOTOUTWY arrobavovTwy.
poris b€ TWELTaS Kal TAPALTNOdMEVvOS WP_NLEVOUS

autous Badrrav avélevEe cai cuvirfe trois arepi
Kexivav.
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waxns. Kab Il pore prev €doKEL Kab Titiavo,
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Tov THs viens, draywvicac Bar Kal hn Kaba Gas
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b€ THS HON mapovans OUK éNaT Tova 7 po OoKtjLov
Elvat Suva poy eK Muoias Kab Mavvovias, ay TOV
avTou TE plpLery KaLpor, anna Ln oTpATHYH ™ pos
TOV TOV TOK LLWY. Ov yap apSruUTEpots ye YPN
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OTHO vu. 4-vin. 3

loudly boasting that they had been victorious, but that their victory was made incomplete by the cowardice of their commanders. Otho did not believe them, and yet wished to avoid the appear- ance of disbelieving them. He therefore sent to the armies his brother Titianus, and Proculus, the prefect of the guards; of these two men Proculus had the entire authority in reality, and Titianus only in appearance. Celsus and Paulinus, too, enjoyed the empty title of friends and counsellors, but had no power or influence in the conduct of affairs. There were disturbances also among the enemy, and especially among the troops of Valens ; for when these were told about the battle at the ambuscade, they were enraged because they were not present and had given no aid where so many men had lost their lives. They actually began to stone Valens, but he finally succeeded in pacifying them, and then broke camp and joined Caecina. VIII. Otho now came to the camp at Bedricum (a little village near Cremona) and held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of the opinion that he ought to fight a decisive battle while his armies were flushed with their recent victory, and not sit there dulling the efficiency of his troops and waiting for Vitellius to come in person from Gaul. Paulinus, on the contrary, said that the enemy already had all the resources with which they would give battle, and lacked nothing, whereas, in the case of Otho, a force as large as the one he already had might be expected from Mysia and Pannonia, if he would only wait for his own best opportunity and conduct the campaign to suit that of the enemy. For his men were now confident of success in spite

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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

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296
107)

OTHO vir, 3-1xe 3

of their inferior numbers, and he would not find them less keen after they had received reinforcements, nay, their superiority would lead them to fight all the better. And besides, delay was to their advantage, since they had everything in abundance, while to the enemy time would bring a scarcity of supplies, since they were occupying a hostile country. So Paulinus argued, and Marius Celsus voted with him. Annius Gallus was not present, being under treatment for a fall from his horse, but Otho asked his advice by letter, and his counsel was not to hasten the battle, but to await the forces from Mysia, which were already on the march. Nevertheless, Otho would not listen to these counsels, and the day was carried by those who urged immediate battle.

IX. Various other reasons for this are given by various writers; but manifestly the praetorian soldiers, as they were called, who served as the emperor's guards, since they were now getting a more generous taste of real military service and longed for their accustomed life of diversion at Rome in which festivals abounded and war was unknown, could not be restrained, but were eager for the battle, feeling sure that at the very first onset they would overwhelm their opponents. Moreover, it would seem that Otho himself could not longer bear up against the uncertainty of the issue, nor endure (so effeminate was he and so unused to command) his own thoughts of the dire peril con- fronting him ; but worn out by his anxieties, he veiled his eyes, like one about to leap froin a precipice, and hastened to commit his cause to fortune. And this is the account given by Secundus the rhetorician, who was Otho’s secretary. But others would tell us

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or

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

akovely OTL Tots TT PATEVLAT LY dpporéepous Tm a.pi-
oTAVTO oppat modal ws els TAVTO cuvendeiv: Kal
HadaTa [LEV AUTOUS omoppovijcavtas EK TOV 7a
povTwy HryEewovix@y érX€cOaL TOV apLoToV, Et SE fn,
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aipeoww éxelvyn Tov avTOKPdTOpPOS. Kal OUK aTret-
KOs eoTl, pndeTepov TOTE TOV T POT AYOPEVOMEVOY
AUTOKPAaTOpwY evoKipLovvTos, ememiT TE TOLOU-
TOUS dradoyia povs Tots yng toes Kal StaTrovois Kal

cwppovoial THY oTpaTLWTa@Y, ws EXOioTOV Ein
Kal Oeivov, & Tarat da <vddav kal Maptop, eita
Kaicapa Kal Tlopmijioy, @KTELPOVTO OpavTes an-
AmAous al TUT XOVTES Ol ToNtTAal, TAVTA VV UTrO-
peverv i) Oviterrup Laipapytas Kab oivodhuyias
7 Tpupns kal axoracias "Obavi THY 7YySMO-
viav Xopiynpa mpobepevous. TAUT oOvY UTO-
voovat Tovs Te wept Tov KédXaov aia Bavopevous
euBareiv dsaT pny, edmilovTas aveu BaXNS Kai
Tovey kptOnoecOar Ta T parypara, Kab TOUS TEpL
tov Obwva poBoupévous € emuTax oval THY paxny.
X. Avtos d€ maddy eis Bpigid ov dvexXw@pnge,
Kal TOUTO TmpooetapapTan, ovx OTe peovov THY €v
opGarots avTov TAPOvTOS alo® Kat prroripiar
adetre TOD arywretopevon, arrAa Kal TOUS €ppw-
LEVETTATOUS Kat 7 podupotatous du avTov MTEL
Kab meSous anayayer puvrakny TOU TopMaTos
womepel Tou wa * THS Suva pews améKoye.
LuvéBy 6€ Tals nmépats exelvans Kal Tepl TOV
“Hpidavor ayova yevér a, TOU peV Kexiva fev-
yvuvtos Thy diaBaow, tov &€ "OPwvos eipyovtwy
298

OTHO 1x. 3-x. 2

that both armies were strongly inclined to confer ; and above all, if they could agree, to elect as emperor the best of the commanders who were with them, but if not, to convene the senate and commit to it the choice of an emperor. And since neither of the men who then had the title of emperor enjoyed high repute, it is not unlikely that the real soldiers, those who knew what hardship was and had sense, should be led to reflect that it would be a dreadful and most hateful thing if the evils which the citizens had once to their sorrow inflicted upon one another and suffered because of Sulla and Marius, and again because of Caesar and Pompey, should now be endured again only to make the imperial power a means for providing for the glut- tony and drunkenness of Vitellius or for the luxury and licentiousness of Otho. It is suspected, then, that Celsus was aware of these feelings, and there- fore tried to interpose delay, hoping that the issue would thus be decided without hardship and battle, and that Otho, fearing this, hastened on the battle.

X. Otho himself returned to Brixillum, and in this too he made a mistake, not only because he took away from the combatants the respect and ambition which his presence and oversight inspired, but also because, by leading away as his bodyguard of foot and horse the men who were most vigorous and eager to please him, he cut away, as it were, the head and front of his army.

During this time there was also a conflict at the river Po, where Caecina tried to build a bridge across the stream, and Otho’'s so!diers attacked him

1 gréuwua Doehner’s correction of the vulgate ri caua,

adopted by Sint.?
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PLUTARCH’S LIVES

Kab T POT MAX OMEvor. ms € ovder eT EpaLvoy,
evOenevov eis TA Tota, da6a Oetov Kat miT TNS
avaTAewv, Sta TOU Topov TvEvLA WpooTeEToY
agpve tH Ta peo Kevag Hey ny DANY emt Tous TONE LL-
ous efeppimite. Kamvov dé TpaTov, ELTA apm pas
proyos exer OvaNS, TAPATTOMEVOL Kal atom N-
davrTes els TOV TOTaLOV Tas TE vads avéTpEeTOV
Kal T& GWpaTa Tols ToNEMLOLG ETA yéXWTOS
mapetyov. ot de Leppavot trois "Obwvos povo-
pdxous wept vnaida TOO ToTAaLoOv ‘Tpoopi€arres
éxpaTnoav Kal duepGetpav avT@v ovK odious.
XI. Tevopevwr 6€ tovtav, cal tev ev Byntpiaxd
oTpatiwTa@v Tov "Obwvos éexpepopevwv pet opyns
ETL THY LaXnVY, Tponyayey avTovs o IIpoxros éx
tov Bytptaxobd, kal Kxateotpatomédevoev ato
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dé U voTEpatla Bovropevov ™poayeu emt TOUS TOhE-
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evo uTotuyiwy Kab akohovdwv. ovons O€ TEpL
TOUTOV avTihoyias €v Tos oTpatnyots 70
map "OPwvos immevs TeV Kadovpevov Nopddav
ypaupata Kopi Gov KedevovTa pn bevel pide
Svat pi ferry, arn’ aye evOus emt TOUS TONEMLLOUS.
eExeivol ev ov apavtes exwpour, o be Kexivas
300
OTHO x. 2-xI. 3

and tried to prevent it. Not succeeding, Otho’s

men loaded their vessels with torchwood full of sulphur and pitch, and began to cross the river; but a blast of wind suddenly smote the material which they had prepared for use against the enemy, and fanned it afire. First smoke arose from it, then bright flames, so that the crews were confounded and leaped overboard into the river, upsetting their boats, and putting themselves at the mercy of a jeering enemy. Moreover, the Germans attacked Otho's gladiators at an island in the river, overpowered them and slew not a few of them.

XI. These disasters threw Otho's soldiers at Bedriacum into a rage for battle, and Proculus therefore led them forth out of Bedriacum, and after a march of fifty furlongs pitched his camp, but in a manner so ignorant and ridiculous that his men were troubled by lack of water, although it was the spring of the year and the plains around abounded in running streams and rivers that never dried up. On the following day he proposed to make a march of no less than a hundred furlongs and attack the enemy, but Paulinus objected, and thought they ought to wait and not tire themselves beforehand, nor join battle immediately after a march with men who had armed and arrayed themselves at their leisure, while they themselves were advancing so great a distance with all their beasts of burden and camp-followers. While the generals were disputing about the matter, there came from Otho a Numidian courier with a letter which ordered them not to wait or delay, but to march at once against the enemy. Accordingly, they decamped and moved forward, and Caecina, who was much disturbed on

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amovdiy aTrohiT wY Ta epya. kal Tov ToTapov
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TOV Todor, Kal TO cuvOnuwa TaparauBavovtwy
Tapa TOU Ovdrertos, € ev bom THY Taw dehdy-
yave TA Taypata, ToVs aploToUs TOY imTéwY
m poefeTepuyray.
Oe Kyrie dé Tous MporeTarywevors TOY

"Odwvos éx 8 Tivos aitias b0€a Kal doyos ws

petaBadoupevov TOV ObiredAtou oTpPATHYAV
T pos avTous. Os ovv éyyus joav, noTdoavrTo
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vwv O& THY ™ poo ayopevatv OUK EVLEVOS, ANNA
pera Oupob Kal povis TONEMLKHS dpwenpapevay,

Tots bev domacapevous abupia, Tous d€ Nowtrots
Umovola KATA Toy dom acapevooy os mpodidavrav
Tapert. Kal TOoUTO m™p@Tov auTous erdpa ev
On TOV Toe pLicov év Xepotv OVT@Y. EeiTa TOV
ddNwv ovdev Hy KOTMM ylvVOMEVOV, AANA TONARHY
pev atakiay ta oKevopopa TOUS aX opevors
éuTrravomeva Tapetye, TONOUS dé Ta Xwpla
StacTAaa MOVs eTrolEL ragppov 6 bvTa HEOTA KAL Opvry-
hatwv, a hoBovpevos Kai Teptiovtes nvayKalovto
dupony Kat Kara pépn TOANA cupTrreceabar Tois
evavTiors. povat dé dvo Aeyewves (obTe yap 7a
Tay pata ‘Popaior Kadovow), érixkAnow 1 peev
Oviterriou “Aprra€, 7 dé "OP wvos BonOos, ets
mrediov efehi€acar yirov Kal avarentapévon,
V0 pb fLov Tiva paxny, cupmerodoat parayyndov,
end XovTo mov ypovov. ot pev ovv “Odwvas
dvdpes hoa eUpwaTor Kal ayabot, mworéuov bé
KaL MaXNsS TOTE TP@Tov welpayv AayBavovtes: ot
302
10

OTHO x1, 3-x11. 3

learning of their approach, hastily abandoned his operations at the river and came to his camp. There most of the soldiers had already armed themselves, and Valens was giving out the watchword to them, and while the legions were taking up their positions, the best of the cavalry were sent out in advance.

XII. And now, for some reason, it was believed and rumoured among Otho’s vanguard that the generals of Vitellius would come over to their side. Accordingly, when these drew near, Otho’s men greeted them in a friendly fashion and called them fellow-soldiers. ‘The enemy, however, returned the salutation in no kindly spirit, but with anger and hostile cries, so that those who had greeted them were dejected, and were suspected of treachery by the others on their side. This was the first thing that threw Otho’s men into confusion, and at a time when the enemy were close at hand. And besides, nothing else was done properly, since the baggage-train wandered about among the fighting men and caused great disorder. Moreover, the line of battle was often broken by the nature of the ground, which was full of trenches and pits, and in avoiding or going around these the men were com- pelled to engage their opponents promiscuouly and in many detachments. Only two legions (to use the Roman word), that of Vitellius called “ Rapax’’ (or Devourer) and that of Otho called “ Adiutrix” (or Helper), got out into a treeless and extended plain, engaged in full formation, and fought a regular battle for a long time. Otho’s men were sturdy and brave, but were now for the first time getting a taste of war and fighting; those of Vitellius, on the

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6

ad

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

be OvireddAtov TohrA@v aywvwv eOdbes, dn &é
ynpatot Kat Tapax a lovTes.
Oppajoavtes ov ém’ AUTOUS OL "‘OPavos é wo avTo
Kal TOV aeTOoV ageidovTo, TavTas opod TL TOUS
T popLaxous dTroKTeLvayTes” ot dé vr aioxuvns Kal
opyhs eLTETOVTES av’ rots TOV TE mpeo BeutHy TOU
TAY MATOS "Opdidsov Extecvav Kal TONG TOV
onpeteov Hptacay. Tots dé Hovopay ous eperr evplay
te kai Oapoos eye wpos Tas cupTroKas SoKod-
aw éenynyayev Ovapos AXivos Tos KaXoupévous
BatdBous. état bé Lepuaveov tT Tels apia Tot,
vio ov OLKOUVTES ume TOU “Pijvou TEplppEomevny.
TOUTOUS OALyoL ev TOV HOvonwdyov UTéaTnoay, ot
dé TelaTo Pevryovtes € émt Tov TOTAMOv éurrimT ov-
ou els omeipas TOV TONE MLOY avro TeTaypevas,
vg oy dpvvopevot TAVTES OMAADS drepOdpnear.
aicxiota, 6€ 7} y@viTavTo TAVT OY ot TTpATNYLKOl,
Unde Ooov ev Yepal yevécOat Tovs EvayTious vTro0-
petvavres, arXrXA Kal TOvS anTTHTOUS ett poBou
Kal Tapax’s averriumhagay pevyovres be avTov.
ov pay ara TONAOE ye TOV ‘OG eves VEVLKNKOTES
tovs Kal’ autovs é8idoavto Kal dveEétecov bia
TOV TONEULLWY KPATOUVTWY Els TO OTPATOTESODV.
NIT. Tov 68 otpatynyay obte UpoxXos ote
HTavdtvos cvvercenOetv érorpnaay, arr éFexrivav
poSovmevot Tovs oTpaTLMOTas dn THY aitiav éri
TOUS aTpaTHYOUS TpeTovTas. “Avvtos 6€ TadXos
(vehapBaver év TH TOL Kal mapepudeito TOUS
€x THS paxns (TUNNEY OJLEVOUS, QS dryXopanrov
yerverneevns Kal ToNXots KEKPATHKOTAS MEpert
Tov Toneuiwv. Madptos d€ Kédcos tovs év rérec
304

GEO xis ext

other hand, had seen many battles and were used to them, but they were now old and past their prime.

So Otho’s men charged upon them, drove them back, and captured their eagle, killing nearly all who stood in the first rank ; but the others, impelled by shame and anger, fell upon their foes, slew Orfidius, the commander of the legion, and seized many of their standards. Against Otho’s gladiators, too, who were supposed to have experience and courage in close fighting, Alfenus Varus led up the troops called Batavians. They are the best cavalry of the Germans, and come from an island made by the Rhine. A few of the gladiators withstood these, but most of them fled towards the river, where they encountered cohorts of the enemy in battle array, and in defending themselves against these, were cut off to a man. But the praetorian soldiers fought more shamefully than any others. They did not even wait for their opponents to come to close quarters, but fled through the ranks of their still unvanquished comrades, filling them with fear and confusion. Notwithstanding all this, many of Otho’s men conquered those who opposed them, forced their way through the victorious enemy, and regained their camp.

NITI. But as for their generals, neither Proculus nor Paulinus ventured to enter the camp with them, but turned aside through fear of the soldiers, who were already laying the blame for their defeat upon their commanders. But Annius Gallus received into the town the soldiers who gathered there out of the battle, and tried to encourage them. The battle had been nearly equal, he said, and in many parts of it they had overcome their enemies. Marius Celsus,

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PLUTARCERS “GIVis

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cvvayayov EKENEVTE TKOTELW TO KOLVOV, WS ETL
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auudopa tyrALKavTH Kal hovw ToTOvTH TrONLTOY
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unde “Obwvos, eimrep avyp ayabos eat, eOed1-
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Kal Sentiov, Kaicape cpatodytt peta Papoadov
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moreover, assembled the officers and urged them to consult the public good. In view of so great a calamity, he said, and the slaughter of so many citizens, not even Otho himself, if he were a good man, would wish to make further trial of his fortune, since even Cato and Scipio, by refusing to yield to a victorious Caesar after Pharsalus, had incurred the charge of needlessly squandering the lives of many brave men in Africa, although their struggle was in behalf of Roman freedom. For in general all men alike are subject to the decrees of fortune, but of one thing she cannot rob a good man, and that is the privilege, in case of adversity, of taking reasonable measures to correct the situation that confronts him.

By this speech Celsus won over the officers. And after they had sounded the soldiers and found them desirous of peace, and when Titianus urged that an embassy be sent in the interest of concord, Celsus and Gallus decided to go and confer with Caecina and Valens. But as they were on the way they were met by some centurions of the enemy, who said that their army was already in motion and was on its way to Bedriacum, and that they themselves had been sent out by their generals to treat for concord. Accordingly, Celsus commended them, and bade them turn back with him and go to meet Caecina. But when they were near the army of Caecina, Celsus ran risk of his life. For it chanced that the horsemen who had formerly been worsted by him at the ambush were riding on in advance. So when they saw Celsus coming up, they forthwith raised a shout and dashed against him. But the centurions stood in front of him and kept them of;

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peiderbar Bowvtwy ot Tepl TOV Kexivay mv0o-
pevoe Kal \TpocehdoarTes THD KO [Lay TAXD TOV
imméewy éravoay, TOV be Kedoov doTad auevor
prroppovas éBads Sov pet auTay eis TO Bytpeaxov.
év bé TOUTW peTdvoua Titeavor é éo yer exe wpavta
TOUS mpéo Bes Kal TOV GTPATIWTOY TOUS PpacuD-

omévous avOis aveBiBatev eri ta Tetyn Kal TOUS
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eX igavTos TO immw Kal TY befvav OpeyovTos
ovdels aVTETXED, GN’ ot pev amo TOV TELN OV
nomacovTo TOUS TTPATLWOTAS, of 6€ Tas WUAaS
avol~avtes eEnecav Kal aveuiyvuvto toils wpos-
KOUTLY. noiker O€ oveeis, arXrxa Kat prro ppo-
ouvat Kal deEraoers noaV, Opmog av dé mavtes Tepl
Tod OviteAXiov Kat TpoceXmpnaay.
XIV. Ovtw pev ot TrElo TOL TOV Ta paryevope-
Yov at ayyédovat yevéeoOat Tipp bax, ovee
avtol capas omohoyodvres etdévat Ta Kad éxaora
dia TH atakiav Kal TI avopariayv. éuolt oe
Uorepov odevovTe Ola TOU mebtou Meo tpros PrABpos,
aviip UTATLKOS TOV TOTE [41) KATA yepny, GX’
avayKy peta tov "Obwyvos yevomeveoy, veo bvTa
maNnaov émtidetEas Ounyetto ETA THD pany
éemehOwy idety vEexpav c@pov THK ODTOV adore
Tov; émuToAns anrecOat TOV deTav. Kal TY
aitiav éhn C$nrav ovTEe avTos evpetv ove Tap"
dou tov mvlécOat. Ovnjo Kev ev yap Tapa
TOUS eupurious TONEMOUS, OTav TpoTrn yévnrat,
TreLovas (KOS éoTL, TO pndéva. Corypeiv, xphadas
yap ovx ote trois ddtcKopévots, % 8 él tocodTo
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OTHO xi. 5-x1v. 2

the other officers also shouted to the horsemen to spare Celsus, and Caecina, hearing their cries, rode up and speedily brought his horsemen to order. Then he greeted Celsus in a friendly manner and went on with him to Bedriacum. But meanwhile Titianus had repented of having sent the embassy, and after ordering the more resolute of the soldiers back again upon the walls, he exhorted the rest to go to their support. However, when Caecina rode up on his horse and stretched out his hand to them, not a man resisted further, but some greeted his soldiers from the walls, while others, throwing open the gates, went forth and mingled with the advancing troops. ‘There were no _ hostilities, on the part of Otho’s men, but only friendly salutations

and greetings, and all took oath to support Vitellius
and went over to his side.
XIV. This is the account which most of the participants give of the battle, although they them- selves confess that they were ignorant of its details, owing to the disorder and the unequal fortunes of the several groups. Ata later time, when I was travelling through the plain, Mestrius Florus, one of the men of consular rank who were at that time with Otho (by constraint, and not of their own will), pointed out to me an ancient temple, and told me how, as he came up to it after the battle, he saw a heap of dead bodies so high that those on top of it touched the gable of the temple. The reason for this he said he could neither discover himself nor learn from anyone else. I[t is natural, indeed, that in civil wars, when a rout takes place, more men should be killed, because no quarter is given (there being no use for prisoners); but why the dead

ow pela Kal oupdopnots ovk exer THY attiay
evovAAOYLO TOV.
XV. Ta 6¢”"O0@M mpwtov pev acadns, w@oTreEp
ele ep TOV THALKOUTOD, Tpooerere oryos"
émel O€ Kal TET PwfLevor TWWeS KO ex THS paxns
ATAYYENROVTES, TOUS pev pirous HTTOV av Us
eCOavpacey ovK é@vtTas aTayopevery, AAA Oappetv
TAapaKeNEVOpEvOUS, TO S€ THY oTPaTIWTa@Y TaO0S
inacav UTepeBare Tiativ. ws ovdels arnrOer,
ovdé meTécTN TMpos Tovs KpaTodYTas, OVO whOn
70 Kal’ autor (nT@v aTeyvwopmévou TOU 177yELOVOS,
mavtes & oparas emi Ovpas ArAGov, éxddrovy
avToxpatopa, TpoedOovtos éyivovto mpoaTpo-
Tator, peta Bons Kal ixesias yYetpav Hrtovto,
TPOTETLT TOV, édaxpvor, €S€0VTO p11) o pas eyKaTa-
Aerrely, fe mpodobvat Tots Trorepiors, adra XpioFac
expt av ELTVEDTL Kab puxais Kal TOLAT Umep
auToD. TavTa opiod TAvTEs LKETEVOD. els 6€ TOV
apaverTépov avareivas To Eihos Kal €lTov,
‘ToGe, Kaicap, oUTwWS UTép aod mapateTay-
juevous aravtas,” amea pakev éauTov.
"ANG TOUTO@Y ovoev eTrék hace TOV ‘Odeva,
parop@p dé kal xabeotare Tpoowome TAaVTAX OE
TAS ayers Tepiaryary wr, “ 'Tauvrny,” elTev, “oe
TVITPATLATAL, THY 7) HE pay éxelvns, év 7 pe
™ p@Tov eTToingare avTOKpatopa, paKaplorépav
NYyOULAL, TOLOUTOUS op@y ULaS Kal THALKOUT OD
a&tovpevos. adda ia) jet fovos aT-0G TEpElTe, TOU
KAXOS am obavety UTEP TOTOUT@Y Kal TOLOUT@Y

TOALTOV. él THs ‘Popator 1} nyEnovias aEvos yéyova,
de? pe THiS Euans Wuxiys t vmeép TIS mar pioos apevoety.
oida THY rixny Tots évavtiots oUTE BeBaiay ovTE
310
PHONY, 2=NVa4

bodies should be collected and heaped up in such a manner is not easy to determine.

XV. To Otho there came at first, as is usual in such catastrophes, an indistinct rumour of the result ; but presently some of his soldiers who had been wounded came with direct tidings of the battle. Here one cannot so much wonder that his friends would not let him give up all for lost, and exhorted him to be of good cheer; but the feelings of his soldiers towards him passed al} belief. Nota man of them left him, or went over to the victorious side, or was seen to despair of the emperor’s cause and seek his own safety, but all alike came to his door, called upon him as emperor, became his humble suppliants when he appeared before them, seized his hands with cries and prayers, fell down before him, wept, begged him not to abandon them, and not to betray them to their enemies, but to use their lives and persons in his service as long as they had breath. Such were their united supplications. And one obscure soldier held up his sword, and with the words “ Know, O Caesar, that all of us stand in this fashion at thy side,” slew himself.

None of these things, however, broke Otho down, but looking all around with a countenance composed and cheerful, he said : ‘‘ This day, my fellow-soldiers, I deem more blessed than that on which ye first made me emperor, since I see you so devoted to me and am judged worthy of so high honour at your hands. But do not rob me of a greater blessed- ness—that of dying nobly in behalf of fellow-citizens so many and so good. If 1 was worthy to be Roman emperor, I ought to give my life freely for my country. I know that the victory of our adversaries

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ia xupav ovcav. arrayyéAdovat THY €K Mvotas
nav Suvapuv ov TON OY NEEpOv odoy are Xe,
18" xataBatvovoay € em TOV "Adptav. “Acia kat
Nupia Kal Alyumrtos Kal Ta TrohewoovTa ‘Lovdaious
TTpaTevpaTa pe? NELOV, 1) TE TUyKANTOS Tap
7D Kat TeKVGL TOV évavTiwy Kal yuvaiKes. adr
OUK éort 7 pos “Avvi Bay ovee Tvppov ovde Kip-
Bpous o TONE LOS U vmép THS ‘Tradias, aNXG ‘Popaiors
TOAE{LOUVTES GpePorEpor THY marpioa Kal VIKOVTES
LOLKOD pEV Kal VIK@ {EVOL Kal yap TO dryadov TOU
rpaTouvTos éKElVN KAKOV OTL. TLoTEVTATE TOX-
Lakes, Ort _Ovvapar KadXAOoV aTroCavety h apyet’.
ov yap ope Th THALKOUTOV ‘Papaiors _ Operos

Er opear KpaTnoas, ALKOV em 6ovs épauToy vmrép
elonvns Kal omovoias, Kal TOD pn TddLy Huépay
TotavuTny éemideiy THY ItaXiav.”
XVI. Toratra drarex Ges, Kal Tos TOUS €vt-
orac0at Kat (TapaKanrelv emexerpoovTas ama XUpL-
TAMEVOS, Tous Te pirous exENEUEV aTarrarred Gat
Kat TOV TUYKANTIKOY TOUS mapovTas® TOLS. b€ pn
Tapovaw emEGTEANE KAL ypaupata ™ pos Tas
TOAELS, OTTWS TapaKoptab aa evTip@s Kal peta
acparelas. mpocayouevos 5é€ Tov aderdiOody
Koxkyiov, ¢ ETL pelpaKlov OvTa, Gappel TAPEKANEL
Kal en deduevar OdirerALov, ov Kal baTéepa Kal
yeveay Kal yuvatka avros, Oonep oiketoy Knd0-
prevos, OtadvrdeEa. Sta TodTO yap ovde OécOar
maida, Bovdopevos avutTov, adn dvaBanréo bat THY
elorroinaty, OT WS ovvapxor Kpariaavros avrod,
ey TpoTamonrotTo TT ALT AYTOS" “Exeivo 6é,”
eimev, “G) Tat, wapeyyu@pual oot TedevTaioD,
312

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OTHO xv. 4-xvi. 2

is neither decisive nor assured. I have word that our forces from Mysia are already approaching the Adriatic, and are only a few days distant from us. Asia, Syria, Egypt, and the armies fighting against the Jews, are on our side; the senate, too, is with us, as well as the wives and children of our adversaries, Still, it is not to defend Italy against Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbri, that our war is waged, but both parties are waging war against Romans, and we sin against our country whether we conquer or are conquered. For the victor’s gain is our country’s loss. Believe me when I insist that I can die more honourably than I can reign. For I do not see how my victory can be of so great advantage to the Romans as my offering up my life to secure peace and concord, and to prevent Italy from beholding such a day again.”

XVI. So he spake, and after resisting firmly those who tried to oppose and dissuade him, he ordered his friends to depart, as well as the men of senatorial rank who were present; to those who were absent he sent the same command, and wrote to the cities urging them to escort the travellers on their way with honour and in safety. Then he sent for his nephew Cocceius, who was still a youth, and bade him be of good cheer and not fear Vitellius, whose mother and wife and children he had kept safe and cared for as though they were his own. He had desired, he said, to make him his son, but had put off the adoption, in order that the youth might share his power after he had prevailed, and not perish with him after he had failed. ‘And now, my boy,” he said, “this is my last charge to thee; do not alto-

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MATE éemdabeabar ravTdnact pate ayav pvn-
povevely OTe Kaicapa Getov EaXES.
Devopevos 6€ a0 TOUTMY pera jeux pov HKOUTE
GopvBov kai Bons emi Oupais. of yap oTpati@rtat
TOV TVYKANTLKMY TOS aTLovaL StnTretNouy atro-
adatewv, ef pn Tapapevovaw, Gra oOLyoovTat
TOV QUTOKPATOPA KaTadLTOVTES. TWAaALY OY TpO-
nrGev vTép Tov avdpov PhoBnbeis, Kal Tovs
oT paTiaras, OvKETE SenTLKos ovee mpdos, anra
TPAax vs opOets, kal pet' opy iis els to OopuBovv
padiora dia Bras, amreOetv évroincer etEavras
Kal Stat pécavtas.
XVII. "Hdn dé éorrépas ovans edie, Kai
Tiwv oArtyov Udatos, dSvety dvtTwv avT@ Erhov,
ExaTépov KaTEepavOave TO oTUGUAa TOAVY YpovoOY,
Kal TO ETepov aTrédwxe, OaTEpov Cé Els TAS wyKdAAS
avaraBav Tous olKkétas TPooeKanreiTo. Kal ge-
Loppovovpevos Siéve pe TOV NPNLAT OY TO pev
wrEov, TO O€ EXATTOV, ovx HoT Ep dd2or plow
aderday, GANG TO KaT afiav Kai TO /ET prov
eT MEADS purarrov. arom éuyras: dé TOUTOUS
Hon TO Aovrrov GVETAUVETO THS VUKTOS, BATE TOUS
Katevvagtas atcbavec@at Babéws adtov Kad-
evdovTos. op0 pou dé Kad€éoas amehevOepov a)
cUSLMOKNTE TA TEPL TOUS TvyKANTLKOUS, pabedy
m poo erage: Kal Tv omevos yeyovevat TOiS ame p-
Xomevors QV ExaaTos expn cer, “"TOe toivuy, én,
'ov, Kal Troiet ToLs TT PATLOT ALS éeupavy ceavTor,
et or) OéreEus KaKas UT avtay amobavely ws enol
cguutpatas tov Oavatov." é£eXOovtos bé Tov
av0 pwtrou TO Eidos w UTOGTHGAS opGov dappotéepats
Tats YEpol, Kal TeptTecwOV avwOev, bcov aTak
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OTHO xvi. 2-xvil. 3

gether forget, and do not too well remember, that
thou hadst a Caesar for an uncle."
This done, after a little he heard tumult and
shouting at his door. For as the men of senatorial
rank were departing, the soldiers threatened to kill
them if they did not remain, instead of forsaking
their emperor. Once more, then, he went forth,
since he feared for the men's safety. He was no

longer gentle and suppliant, however, but stern of countenance, and looking angrily round upon the most turbulent of the soldiers, he made them go away submissively and in fear.

XVII. It was now evening, and being thirsty, he drank a little water. He had two swords, and after examining the blade of each for a long time, he laid one of them aside, but put the other under his arm, and then called his servants. ‘These he addressed kindly, and distributed money to them, -more to one and less to another, not as though lavish with what was no longer to be his, but with strict regard to moderation and the claims of merit. After sending the servants away, he betook himself to rest for the remainder of the night, and slept so soundly that his chamberlains heard his heavy breath- ing. Just before dawn he called a freedman with whom he had arranged for the departure of the senators, and bade him learn how they fared. And when he was told that all of them had what was needful for their journey, “ Go thou, then,” he said to the freedman, “and show thyself to the soldiers, unless thou wishest them to put thee to a miserable death for helping me to die.” Then, when the man had gone out, with both hands he held his sword upright beneath him, and fell upon it, giving but a

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by \ La us
alcOnow rapecyev. apapévoy b€ TOV Taldwy
\ e \ \
otpwyiy evdus Grav TO oTpatoTEdov Kal THV
f a / \ \ an e
rol érretye KNavO MOS’ Kal weTa Bons ot cTpaTi-
rat f ,
@Tat eoeTecov ext Tas OvUpas Kal wrohvporTo,
A \ a e \ \ ,
TepiTadovvtes Kat NocdopovvTes EavToUs pm hurAC-
‘\
Eavtas Tov avtToxpatopa pndé KwAVCAVTAS aToO-
Gavety uUTéep avT@y. améaTn Sé ovdels TOV KAT
Cee 5) \ M4 i a , ’ x /
QUTOV, EYYUS OVTWY TOV TONEMLIWV, ANAA KOT [L7)-
X\ a
TAVTES TO COUA Kal TUpay KaTAagKEeVacaPTES
>] ” “ > a) ee e ? ¢ A
éEexoutlov év tois brrA0Ls of HOadcaytes UToddvat
\ 4 ‘ , al
Kat Bactagat TO déyos eriyaupovpevot. Tov dé
wv e \ \ a A A /
UXXwY OL Mev TO TPALVUA TOU VEexpoD KaTEdhidovY

id \ A A e \
TPOTTLTTOVTES, OL O€ HTTOVTO TOV YEerpav, oi O€
- / ~ ral
Tpocexvvouy TroppwOev. Evioe O€ TH TUpa Nam G-
€ / \ / \ ,
das Udévtes éauTovs avéahakav, ovdev &xd7)AWS
dA / A is
ouTte werrovOoTes ypnotov wd Tod TEeOvNKOTOS
v ‘a \ nw aA if
ovte TetcedOar Servov LTO TOV KpaToUPTOS SEbLC-
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TES, GAN EOLKE uNoEVt TOY TwTOTE TUPaVYYwY h
f \ e
Baciréwv Sevos ovtws pws éyyevéaOat Kai
\ A 7 A A ¥
TEPL“LAYNS TOU apyeEV, ws exeivot TOD ApyerOat
‘ e / v > , ef >
Kat vrraxovew “Odwvos ipdcOncay: ots ye pnd
’ @ t é , ” 3 x f
aTtoVavovTos 0 TOOos TpovALTEV, ANAA TApEpELvEV
3 > / v a
ELS avykertov ExOos OviTeAN w TeXEUTHOAS.
\ a)
XVIII. Ta per ody addXa Katpov otxeiov Eyer
a / \ a “ “
AeXOhvar xpvrravtes 56 TH yh TA Aeirtvava TOD
"Od ” LQ , vs > eS
@Vvos ovTe peyéHer anuatos ovT émiypadhs
v \ / 3 / u
oyx@ tov taghov étoincay éripOovov. eidov dé
3 , , la
ev BprkiAXw yevoueros Kal pviwa pétproy Kal
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OTHO xvi. 3-xvut. 1

single groan as he felt the pang. The servants outside heard his groan and raised a wailing cry, and at once the whole camp and the city were filled with lamentation. The soldiers, with loud cries, burst in at the door, and then bewailed their emperor, full of anguish, and reviling themselves because they had not watched over him and prevented him from dying in their behalf. Not one of

his followers went away, although the enemy were near, but after attiring the body and preparing a funeral pyre for it, they escorted it thither with military honours, and full of exultation were those who won the privilege of carrying the bier. Of the rest, some embraced the emperor's body and kissed his wound, others grasped his hands, and others still made him their obeisance at a distance. There were some, too, who first put their torches to the pyre and then slew themselves, not, so far as could be known, because they were either indebted to the dead for favours, or fearful of punishment at the hands of the victor. Nay, it would seem that no king or tyrant was ever possessed by so dire and frenzied a passion for ruling as was that of these soldiers for being ruled and commanded by Otho; not even after his death did their yearning for him leave them, uay, it abode with them until it finally changed into an incurable hatred for Vitellius.

AVIII. Well, then, the rest of the story is now in place. They buried the remains of Otho, and made a tomb for them which neither by the great size of its mound nor by the boastfulness of its inscription could awaken jealousy. I saw it when I was at Brixillum. It is a modest memorial and the inscrip-

THY ereypadny oUTws Exovaay, ei petappacbetn'
" Andwoet? Mapxov 'Odavos.
Amébave 6é"'Obwn €é ern pev émta Kat TptdKovTa
Biwcas, aptas Se Tpels pivas, ATOM TDD 6 pn
Xetpovas pend €XatTous Tov tov PBiov avTov
Yeyoutay TOUS ematvobvTas Tov Oavator. Biocas
yap ovdev ériecxéatepov Népwvos amréBavev evye-
véaTepor.
Oc dé TTPATLOTAL Tloddtwvos Tov éTépov TOV
erapYov opvvety evOus els. cov OvirédXLov KErEV-
TAVTOS edva xepawwov" Kat mv opevor TOY ouy-
KANTLK@Y Evlouvs ETL mapetva TOUS pev addovs
apnKay, Ovepyurip 5é 'Povdeo mpaywara mapet-
yov dpa tots oot eaves € él THY olxtay wa
KATAKANODYTES adds Kal KEeAEVOVTES dpxev n

mpeo Beveww UTép avTov. o 6é€ THY ye moviay
HTTOMEVOY maparaBeiv, verenKoTor ™ pOTEpOV
fa) OeAnoas, paviKxoy HyeEtTor mpeo Bevery dé T pos
tous Leppavous bedims, ToAAa BeBidoGar mapa
yoounyv um avtov Soxovyvtas, dade be ETépwy
Oupav éxrod@v Totijcas éavtov. ws 6€ TovTO
éeyvooar ol OTPATLOT aL, TOUS TE OPKOUS edéEavro
Kat Tots Tepl tov Kexivav mpocébevto suyyvapuns
TUYOVTES.
' AndAeoe Bekker adopts Aalxoo:, the correction of
Lobeck.
OTHO xvii. 1-4

tion on it, in translation, runs thus: “To the
memory of Marcus Otho.”
Otho died at the age of thirty-seven years, but he
had ruled only three months, and when he was gone,
those who applauded his death were no fewer or
less illustrious than those who blamed his life. For
though he lived no more decently than Nero, he
died more nobly.
As for his soldiers, when Pollio, their remaining
prefect,! ordered them to swear allegiance at once
to Vitellius, they were incensed; and when they
learned that some of the senators were still there,
they let all of them go except Verginius Rufus,
and him they annoyed by going to his house in
military array and inviting him again,? and even
urging him, to assume the imperial power, or to go on
an embassy in their behalf. But Verginius thought
it would be madness for him to accept the imperial
dignity now, when they were defeated, after refusing
it before, when they were victorious, and as for
goiug on an embassy to the Germans, he feared to
do so, since they felt that he had often done them
violence beyond all reason; and so he stole away
unobserved by another door. When the soldiers
learned of this, they consented to take the oaths,
and joined the forces of Caecina, thus obtaining
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1 The other was Proculus, (vii. 4; sili. 1).
2 See The Galba, vi. 3; x, 2 ff,
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A name without a namber following two or more with numbers indicates uncertainty as to the identity of the person referred to.

Bergk is used for Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci, 4th ed.; Kock for Kock, Comicorum <Atticorum Fragmenta; Nauck for Nauck, Zragicorum Graecorum

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